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Staging the Carnivalesque: Seditious Strategies in Print and Performance from *Simplicissimus* to Berlin Dada, 1896-1920

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Abstract

‘Staging the Carnivalesque’ offers a revised reading of the print culture and performance of Berlin Dada, adopting an interdisciplinary approach to bring new or overlooked archival sources to light. The thesis considers unexplored points of contact and divergence with German humour magazines (Witzblätter) that emerged in the late nineteenth century, predating the formation of the Berlin group. It also undertakes a close analysis of performances by the Berlin Dadaists, as these events, while frequently cited in scholarly discussions, are rarely examined in depth.

Chapters 1 and 2 focus on magazines edited by the Berlin Dadaists, illustrating how the vernacular sources of Wilhelmine Witzblätter partly paved the way for the ‘ludic form’ and satirical techniques found in Berlin Dada’s avant-garde magazines. Analysis of montage and photography in the earlier Witzblätter evidences how these high-circulation commercial magazines informed some of the core aesthetic tenets of low-circulation Dadaist-edited magazines, such as their experimental design, figurative visual satire, and photomontage. Equally, a comparison with the restricted and regulated media of the Witzblätter more clearly illuminates modes of criticality developed in Dada magazines. I argue that the Berlin Dadaists developed Witzblatt strategies into ‘medial critiques’, defined in the thesis as critiques deployed through the medium of an artwork to question or disclose systems of ideological knowledge production.

In Chapters 3 and 4, surviving newspaper reports are cross-referenced to reconstruct audience spectatorship and Dadaist bodily performance seen in some of the group’s most well-attended performances, such as at their matinée at the Tribüne theatre in 1919, and the 1920 ‘Dada tour’. Thorough evaluation of the reportage reveals how the Berlin Dadaists often portrayed their performances in their own accounts in order to satisfy the avant-garde imperative to épater les bourgeois (shock or scandalise the bourgeoisie). Discrepancies between Dadaist accounts and the reportage prompt a reappraisal of what function Dada performances served for their audiences. A focus on the group’s dance and mime enables a further reassessment of Berlin Dada’s engagements with corporeality, a discussion whose parameters are
usually confined to their representations of cyborglike automata or the figure of the
*Kriegskrüppel* (war cripple).

Each chapter addresses a different carnivalesque archetype or leitmotif: ‘fools’,
‘kings’, the ‘carnivalesque crowd’, and the ‘grotesque body’. This thematic structure is
tailored to engage with two bifurcating modes of reception enjoyed by the group: the
widespread use of carnivalesque imagery and nomenclature by contemporary critics
reporting on Dada performances, and the enduring application of literary scholar and
philologist Mikhail Bakhtin’s notion of the ‘carnivalesque’ by scholars of Dada. The
thesis both extends and critically interrogates this discourse in Dada studies.
Lay Summary

The thesis offers a revised reading of the magazines and performance of Berlin Dada, bringing new or overlooked archival sources to light. In particular, it considers points of contact and divergence with German humour magazines and satirical magazines that emerged in the late nineteenth century, predating the formation of Berlin Dadaism. It also undertakes a close analysis of performances by the Berlin Dadaists, as these events, while frequently cited in academic literature, are rarely examined in-depth.

Chapters 1 and 2 focus on magazines edited by the Berlin Dadaists, illustrating how the everyday sources of humour magazines from before the First World War partly paved the way for the playful design and satirical techniques found in Berlin Dada’s avant-garde magazines. Analysis of forms of collage and photography in the humour magazines demonstrates how these widely circulated commercial magazines informed some of the core aesthetic qualities of non-commercial Dadaist-edited magazines, such as their experimental design, figurative visual satire, and photographic collages. Equally, however, a comparison with the restricted and regulated media of commercial humour magazines more clearly illuminates how the Dada magazines encouraged critical thinking in their readers. The thesis shows how the Berlin Dadaists developed strategies seen in imperial-era humour magazines into images that used their medium to question different forms of propaganda.

In Chapters 3 and 4, surviving newspaper reports are cross-referenced to reconstruct audience response and Dadaist dance and mime seen in some of the group’s most well-attended performances, such as at their matinée at the Tribüne theatre in 1919, and the 1920 ‘Dada tour’. Thorough evaluation of the reports reveals how the Berlin Dadaists often exaggerated or underplayed certain aspects of their performances in order to cast them in a more favourable light. These discrepancies prompt a reappraisal of what function these avant-garde performances served for their audiences. A focus on the group’s dance and mime enables a further reassessment of Berlin Dada’s engagements with the body, a discussion usually limited to their representations of cyborglike automata or disabled war veterans.
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Figure 89. Unattributed, Landung Ihrer Majestäten d. d. Kaisers u. d. Kaiserin in “Haifa” (The Disembarkment of their Majesties the Emperor and Empress in Haifa), commemorative postcard, 1898. Source: Folklore Research Centre, Hebrew University, Jerusalem.

Figure 90. Unattributed, Header for Le Charivari, 1833. Source: Library of Congress, www.loc.gov/resoucre/rbc0001.2017gen00376v2/?sp=5&r=-0.741,0,2.481,1.328,0.


Figure 92. Photographer unknown, Tribüne Theater, Charlottenburg, designed by Emilie Winkelmann, c.1915. Source: TU Berlin Architekturmuseum, Inv. Nr. TBS 021.0

Figure 93. Hans Ehrlich, Dada-Reklame-Gesellschaft (Dada Advertising Consultancy), 1919, 23 x 30cm, leaflet, in the Tzara Archive, Bibliothèque littéraire Jacques Doucet, Paris. Source: Hanne Bergius, Dada Triumphs, Fig. 31, n.p.

Figure 94. Unattributed, Programme for second performance at the Tribüne, 7 December 1919, print on paper, 29.7 x 23.3 cm. Source: Hannah Höch digitised archive, Berlinische Galerie, Berlin, sammlung-online.berlinischegalerie.de/eMP/eMuseumPlus?service=ExternalInterface&module=collection&objectId=204201&viewType=detailView.

Figure 95. Unattributed, Programme for second Tribune performance, 7 December 1919, 29.7 x 23.3cm, in Hannah Höch archive, Berlinische Galerie, Berlin. Source: Hanne Bergius, Dada Triumphs, Fig. 27, n.p.

Figure 96. Unattributed, Handbill for second performance at the Tribüne, 7 December 1919, handbill, 10 x 14 cm, printed in black on a sheet of cream laid paper, unknown private collection. Source: Antiquariat Günter Linke, Berlin, cat. no. 6, 2009.

Figure 97. Photographer unknown, Schlaraffia, Schlossberg Graz, Austria, c.1900. Source: Trentini Antik, Online Antiques Store, Graz, www.trentini-antik.at/.


Figure 99. Unknown Photographer, Ernst Toller’s Die Wandlung (Transfiguration), scene 4, barbed wire entanglement scene, dir. Karlheinz Martin, 30 September 1919,
at Die Tribüne Theater. Source: Michael Patterson, *Revolution in the German Theatre*, Fig. 21, n.p.

Figure 100. Unattributed, *Das Urteil gegen Toller* (Sentence brought against [Ernst] Toller), *Berliner-Börsen Courier*, 17 July 1919. Source: Author’s photograph, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich.


Figure 107. Photographer unknown, *Main hall of the Prague Produce Exchange*, now the ‘congress hall’ (Kongresové centrum) of the Czech National Bank (Česká národní banka). Source: Česká národní banka.

Figure 108. *Produce Exchange* (Plodinová burza), Prague, 1908, built 1893-1895, designed by Bedřich Ohmann and Rudolf Krighammer. Source: Czech National Digital Library, ndk.cz/view/uuid:beb47a10-14be-11e7-94e5- 001018b5eb5c?page=uuid:d508ee40-14c3-11e7-8a18- 5ef3f9ae867&fulltext=%22plodinov%C3%A1%20bursa%22.

Figure 109. *Produce Exchange* (Plodinová burza), Prague, 2022. Source: author’s photograph.

Figure 110. *Mozarteum concert hall*, Prague, Jungmannova 748, designed by Jan Kotěra, photographed by Karel Boromejský, 1922. Source: European Theatre Architecture Database, Arts and Theatre Institute, Prague, https://www.theatre-architecture.eu/en/db/?theatreId=52&detail=attachement.
Figure 11. Photographer Unknown, *Richard Huelsenbeck and Raoul Hausmann in Prague during the 'Dada-Tournee'*, March 1920, 14 x 9cm, photographic portrait postcard. Source: *Hausmann: Der Spießer ärgert sich*, ex. cat., ed. Eva Züchner, Fig. 282, 169.


Figure 113. George Grosz, *“Daum” marries her pedantic automaton “George” in May 1920, John Heartfield is very glad of it (Meta-Mech. constr. nach Prof. R Hausmann)*, 1920, 42 x 30.2cm, watercolour pen-and-ink collage, repr. in *Der Dada*, April 1920, issue 3. Source: Berlinische Galerie online, berlinischegalerie.de/en/collection/specialised-fields/prints-and-drawings/george-grosz/.

Figure 114. George Grosz and John Heartfield, *Der wildewordene Spiesser Heartfield: Elektro-mechan. Tatlin-Plastik* (The Philistine Heartfield turned Wild: Electromechanical Tatlin Sculpture), 1988 reconstruction of 1920 original, 220 x 45 x 45cm, multimedia electrified sculpture, Berlinische Galerie. Source: *Dada: Zurich*, ex. cat., ed. Leah Dickermann, 123.

Figure 115. Otto Dix, *Die Skatspieler* (Skat Players), 1920, oil on canvas, photomontage, collage, 110 x 87cm, Neue Nationalgalerie, Berlin. Source: MoMA, www.moma.org/audio/playlist/198/2632.

Figure 116. August Sander, *Raoul Hausmann als Tänzer* (Raoul Hausmann as a Dancer), 1929, 25.8 x 18.7cm, gelatin silver print. Source: MoMA, via the August Sander Archiv, Cologne, moma.org/collection/works/194180.

Figure 117. George Grosz, *Jedermann sein eigner Fussball* (Every man his own football), (detail, request for Foxtrott and Ragtime records), 15 February 1919, issue no. 1 of 1, design by John Heartfield, edited by Wieland Herzfelde, published by Malik Verlag Berlin, 43.5 x 29.5 cm. Source: Nachlass John und Gertrud Heartfield, Akademie der Künste, heartfield.adk.de/node/3876.

Figure 118. Unattributed, *Dada Soirée on 12 April 1918*, 1918, 21.2 x 13.9 cm, programme and flyer. Source: Hanne Bergius, *Dada Triumphs*, Fig. 24, n.p.

Figure 119. Photographer unknown, *Mr Meschugge (Robert Krüger) as a Tin Soldier*, c.1910, photograph. Source: Variete Lichtdruck Julius Staudt Photograph (Kunst Atelier Berlin).


Figure 123. George Grosz, *Mann muss Kautschukmann sein!* (One must be a rubber man!), *Neue Jugend*, edited by John Heartfield and Franz Jung, June 1917. Source: Scottish National Gallery of Modern Art reading rooms, author’s photograph.

Figure 124. Unattributed, *Fersen h-e-b-t, seeeeeenkt!* (Heels l-i-f-t, and looower!), *Der Dada* (detail), April 1920, issue 3, edited by Raoul Hausmann, Johannes Baader and Richard Huelsenbeck. Source: Kunsthaus Zürich, digital.kunsthaus.ch/viewer/image/25169/1/.

Figure 125. Gerhard Preiss [photographer unknown], *Dada-Trott: Der dadaistische Holzpuppentanz vorgeführt vom Musikdada Preiss* (Dada Trot: the dadaistic wooden puppet dance performed by the Musikdada Preiss), *Der Dada*, December 1920, issue 3, edited by Raoul Hausmann, Johannes Baader and Richard Huelsenbeck. Source: Kunsthaus Zürich, digital.kunsthaus.ch/viewer/image/25169/13/.

Figure 126. Gerhard Preiss [photographer unknown], *Dada Trot spread for Dadaco facsimile page*, 1919. Source: Hanne Bergius, *Das Lachen Dadas*, 227.

Figure 127. Gerhard Preiss [photographer unknown], *Dada Trot spread for Dadaco facsimile page* (detail no. 1), 1919. Source: Hanne Bergius, *Das Lachen Dadas*, 227.


Figure 129. Gerhard Preiss [photographer unknown], *Dada Trot spread for Dadaco facsimile page* (detail no. 2), 1919. Source: Hanne Bergius, *Das Lachen Dadas*, 227.


Figure 132. *Die Int. Dada-Company, Berlin sendet Charlie Chaplin, dem größten Künstler der Welt und guten Dadaisten, Sympathiegrüße. Wir protestieren gegen die Ausschließung der Chaplin-Films in Deutschland* (The international Dada Company
sends Charlie Chaplin, the world’s greatest artist and a good Dadaist, friendly greetings. We protest the censorship of Chaplin films in Germany), Der Dada, December 1920, issue 3, edited by Raoul Hausmann, Johannes Baader and Richard Huelsenbeck. Source: Kunsthau Zürich, digital.kunsthaus.ch/viewer/image/25169/5/.


Figure 134. Dada Soirée, Meistersaal on the Köthener Straße, 24 May 1919, Programme and Invitation. Source: Hanne Bergius, Das Lachen Dadas, 340.

Figure 135. Der Oberdada tanzt “Oxfordhose”, Neue Berliner Zeitung, 26 November 1926, image of Raoul Hausmann published on the occasion of his solo performance at the Sturm Gallery. Caption: ‘Hausmann [...] führte auf einem Vortragsabend der Sturmgruppe einen sehr originellen Grotesktanz vor durch den er die neuesten Ausschreitungen der Herrenmode parodierte. Unser Bild stellt ihn bei einem Tanze dar, der der Oxfordhose gewidmet ist.’ (Hausmann [...] performs a highly original grotesque dance at a Sturm group recital evening, in which he parodied the latest excesses in men’s fashion. Our picture shows him at a dance dedicated to Oxford bags.) Source: Raoul Hausmann: Der Spießer ärgert sich, ex. cat., ed. Eva Züchner, Fig. 225, 198.

Figure 136. Raymond Duncan, Isadora Duncan at the Theatre of Dionysus, Athens, 1903. Source: Jerome Robbins Dance Division Photograph files, The New York Public Library, repr. in Funkenstein, Marking Modern Movement, n.p. ebook.


Figure 138. Hugo Erfurth, Mary Wigman performs her Hexentanz (Witch Dance) piece, 1914. Source: Mary Ann Santos Newhall, Mary Wigman (New York: Routledge, 2008).


Figure 141. Photographer unknown, Demonstration by German World War One veterans for free healthcare and payment of a war disability pension, 1919. Bridgeman Art Library, search.alexanderstreet.com/view/work/bibliographic_entity%7Cbibliographic_details%7C3262308.

Figure 14.3. Ewig lebt der Sport bei Potsdam (Sport lives eternal in Potsdam), ex. cat. Ernst Internationale Dada-Messe (First International Dada Fair), edited by Wieland Herzfelde, 1920, detail on fold-out, dimensions unknown. Source: Facsimile in Stationen der Moderne: Kataloge epochemachender Kunstausstellungen in Deutschland, 1910-1962, ed. Eberhard Roters, n.p.

Figure 14.4. Raoul Hausmann, Print on copy of Carl Einstein’s Negerplastik, c. 1916, woodcut. Source: Yale University Library, online collection, collections.library.yale.edu/catalog/15261002.

Figure 14.5. Raoul Hausmann, Da-dü dada, Der Dada, June 1919, issue 1, edited by Raoul Hausmann. Source: Kunsthaus Zürich, digital.kunsthaus.ch/viewer/image/25146/6/.

Figure 14.6. Illustration from Carl Einstein, Negerplastik (Leipzig: Verlag der Weissen Bücher, 1915), 67. Source: Yale University Library, online collection, collections.library.yale.edu/catalog/15261002.
Introduction: ‘Carnival as Logic’

1.1. ‘Dada Carnival Parade’: The Thesis in Miniature

On 15 February 1919, the Dadaists in Berlin staged a public intervention in the streets between the Kurfürstendamm and Alexanderplatz. A brass band in frock coats and top hats performed Prussian military anthems from atop a horse-drawn charabanc. Berlin Dadaists George Grosz (1893-1959), Walter Mehring (1896-1981), John Heartfield (1891-1968), Richard Huelsenbeck (1892-1974), and Wieland Herzfelde (1896-1988) marched in tow behind the train, hawking copies of their satirical broadsheet Jedermann sein eigner Fussball (Everyman his own Football) as they went. Members of the public unfamiliar with the Dadaists would have recognised elements from similar displays occupying the streets in Berlin during the month leading up to the action. These included traditional military funerals for soldiers killed in the First World War, public marches by Freikorps or military regiments, and leafleting from open-top cars by the Social Democrats during their recent election campaign [Fig. 1].

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Years later, Mehring characterised the Dadaists' performed response to these public spectacles as a ‘Dadafaschingsumzug’ ('Dada carnival parade').

This ironically solemn Dada procession serves as an apt introduction to the thesis as it unwittingly distils the core concerns of the study. A means of distributing their magazine, and a form of promenade performance, the event sits at the intersection between Berlin Dada’s print culture, addressed in the first half of the thesis, and its performance, addressed in the second half. The parade deftly illustrates both the interdependent relationship between these two artistic media, and their existence as two distinct channels for the amplification and reception of Dadaist ideas. Whilst magazines served as a primary promotional organ for Dadaism among avant-garde and revolutionary circles, Dada performances, and their associated reportage in daily newspapers, functioned as one of the group’s key public-facing modes of promotion beyond these circles.

Parallel to its marriage between text and performance, encoded in the spectacle-driven dissemination of Jedermann sein eign Fussball are three dominant factors which have shaped art historical scholarship on Berlin Dadaism. These are: 1) historiographical conventions around periodisation; 2) a focus on the Dadaists’ own accounts of their movement; and 3) art history’s prioritisation of fine art objects, particularly two-dimensional visual pieces. Since the field of Dada Studies developed in earnest after the Second World War, these disciplinary bounds and prioritisations

5 Mehring, Berlin Dada, 68.
have shaped the ways in which histories of Dada are written. It is the implications of these bounds and biases that will be teased out and explored in this introductory chapter. I begin by using the example of the Dada carnival parade to illustrate how these three art historiographical biases influence our reading of the performance, surmising my responsive intervention within Dada studies in each case. I then sketch out the theory of the carnivalesque that informs the thesis methodology, before finally outlining how a Bakhtinian methodological framework may allow us to address some of the imbalances created by these art historiographical priorities.

Turning to the first listed bias, the musical element of the Berlin parade highlights how historiographical conventions around periodisation can occasionally limit the scope of art historical analysis. In this case, the periods in question are defined according to the regime changes brought about by the First World War. Berlin Dada, whose members were most active between 1917 and early 1920, is accordingly discussed primarily in relation to late wartime Germany (1917-1918), the November Revolution (1918-1919) and the earliest years of the Weimar Republic (1918-1920). Yet, in the case of the Dada carnival parade, one of its defining features was the nostalgic, near anachronistic tone evoked by the Prussian military anthems. The sombre and grandiose soundscape created by the parade’s tongue-in-cheek

\[\text{\footnotesize 6 Robert Motherwell’s 1951 anthology of Dada texts was foundational in this respect. See Robert Motherwell, ed., 'The Dada Painters and Poets: An Anthology' (New York: Schultz Wittenborn Inc., 1951).}\\ 
serenade was deliberately designed to conjure the culture of the pre-war Kaiserzeit, more relevant to nineteenth-century Germany than the Weimar Republic.

Indeed, it is only when we ask why the Dadaists orchestrated a public performance of nineteenth-century melodies, such as the Preußlied (the former Prussian national anthem), that the full satirical bent of their action begins to surface. As a response to the newly-announced results of the federal election and the resulting interim government, the Dada parade worked to rebuke the idea that the new republic signalled any meaningful or emancipatory change for the working classes. To begin to open up the narrow periodisation to which studies of Berlin Dada have previously been confined, in the thesis, I examine the movement’s creative output in tandem with elements of German culture that predate the First World War, stretching back to the fin de siècle.

The second art historiographical issue relates to the fact that, in the instance of the Berlin parade, as elsewhere, Dadaists’ biographies of their own movement remain the most frequently cited contemporary accounts of Dada performances and actions.

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8 Bornstein, ‘Zehn Jahre Malik,’ 79.
9 The election on 19 January 1919 determined who would form the provisional government of the National Assembly. The Assembly sat for the first time on 6 February 1919, and by 11 February, its members had drawn up a provisional constitution. Kessler, Tagebuch, vol. 7, 124, 131.
As is usually the case with regards to Berlin Dada’s performance, no photographs, films or visual depictions of the Dada carnival parade survive. Instead, the event has been preserved only through a handful of written accounts by Mehring, Herzfelde, and the publicist and journalist Josef Bornstein (1899-1952). Typically, only the accounts by Dadaists Mehring and Herzfelde are cited in critical histories of Dada, in spite of the fact that Dadaist accounts are widely acknowledged to contain exaggeration, misrepresentation, and erroneous details.

Although rarely referenced in art historical literature on the performance, the report of the event in Bornstein’s diary is particularly significant in that it offers a ‘non-Dada’ corroborating account from a third party, and provides invaluable details not repeated elsewhere. For example, from Bornstein’s account, we learn that the magazine title was painted onto blankets worn by the horses pulling the charabanc, and that the Dadaists bellowed ‘headlines’ from their magazine as they processed. These two passing details, though they are omitted in most of the literature, greatly enrich our understanding of the Dada parade. They show how the action saw Dada writing seep out from the pages of the group’s satirical broadsheet into components of the performance, with lines of Dadaist texts either performed as a form of live recital, or visually broadcast via ephemeral props. The daubed lettering on the horse blankets and the recital of lines of text from Jedermann sein eigner Fussball consequently point to a key contention of the thesis: that performances often served to animate the contents of Dada magazines, putting their provocative tracts to the test before a live audience.

12 Bornstein, ‘Zehn Jahre Malik,’ 79.
public. In response to the overriding primacy of Dadaist accounts in the scholarship, I have opted to deliberately privilege accounts by less well-known contemporary journalistic voices, such as that of Bornstein, over those of the Dadaists.

The third art historiographical issue concerns art history's prioritisation of artworks that most closely resemble the discipline's traditional subjects of study, namely two-dimensional artworks or sculptural objects. Alongside their personal accounts of the movement, the artworks by the Berlin Dadaists which are closest to paintings, such as their photomontages, have also accrued a disproportionate amount of scholarly attention, particularly relative to their more ephemeral, performance-based pieces. Art historical scholarship has ultimately focused on Dada photomontage at the expense of more marginal or ephemeral modes of cultural production, such as avant-garde performance, but also graphic design. In the case of performance, the fact that Berlin Dada's live appearances were not visually preserved, as they were neither photographed nor filmed, accounts for the dearth of detailed scholarship, even with regards to their performances that drew the largest audiences, from late 1919 and early 1920.


14 For a significant period, an article by Mel Gordon was the only focused consideration. Mel Gordon, 'Dada Berlin: A history of performance,' Drama Review 18, no. 2 (1974): 114-124. Bergius made the most significant early contribution: Hanne Bergius, Das Lachen Dadas: die Berliner Dadaisten und ihre Aktionen (Gießen: Abadas, 1989); Matthew Biro cogently draws together the extant literature on Berlin Dada's live appearances in his Dada Cyborg volume. Biro, Dada Cyborg, 50-64. Aside from an appendix entry on Kurt Schwitters' unrealised plans for a Merzbühne ('Merz' stage), the Berlin group's performances are not considered in Annabelle Melzer's volume on Dada and Surrealist performance, including its revised 1994
It will be important to address the lacuna in the literature around performance for several reasons. A relative scholarly neglect of Berlin Dada performance disallows us from discussing the Dadaists’ activities in their entirety, and impoverishes our understanding of other related artistic media by the group, such as Dada texts, and the magazines used to platform them. Staged events, such as the Dada carnival parade, were also particularly significant for securing their status among the ranks of the *enfant terribles* of the early twentieth-century avant-garde, due to the attention they drew from the press and the police.\(^{15}\) Further, the transience of performance as a medium is also inextricably linked with the topicality that characterised the Berlin group’s creative output. As has been mentioned, the Dada carnival parade was designed to present Berliners with a comic mimicry of the multiple public parades and marches that filled the streets of Berlin during early 1919.\(^{16}\) Through its ironic fusion of highly contemporary allusions to funerary rites and election campaign tactics, the parade worked to both reflect and reinforce the satirical contents contained in *Jedermann sein eigner Fussball*.

Although an art history thesis at its core, in order to counter the effects of the discipline’s historic prioritisation of cultural products closest to fine art media, each of the four chapters engage with additional disciplines relevant to their respective research questions. In the first two chapters, Dada magazines and pre-war Wilhelmine *Witzblätter* are consequently examined in relation to primary concerns in art history,

\(^{15}\) Mehring, *Berlin Dada*, 69.

\(^{16}\) Mehring, 68.
but also graphic design history; media studies; and material culture studies. In order to interrogate the legacy of Dada’s riotous performances, Chapter 3 applies methods drawn from theatre studies, such as theories of audience and spectatorship, to reviews of Dada performances. Finally, Chapter 4 offers a reading of Berlin Dada’s bodily performance practices informed by modern dance scholarship, intersecting issues of gender and race, in addition to the work of theorists contemporary to the Dadaists. In exhuming material from the underutilised sources of newspaper reports, and importing scholarly insight from relevant disciplines beyond art history, I have sought to bring to light some of the more elusive areas of the Berlin Dadaists’ creative output.

The interdisciplinary approach taken up here is particularly fitting due to the movement’s broad engagements with disciplines beyond fine art and literature, even by comparison with two of the avant-garde ‘isms’ that sit most closely to Berlin Dada: Expressionism and Surrealism. Several scholars have commented on this phenomenon. Andreas Kramer observes how ‘Expressionism remains closely associated with German(-language) culture, whereas the Dada movement was notably diffuse’. Similarly, Leah Dickerman notes how Dadaism, while not as literary as Surrealism, was instead more concerned with ‘the issue of the public, of politics, of popular music in the early Weimar Republic, and Kate Elswit’s writing on Weimar dance, are applied in Chapter 4.


18 For example, Susan Bennett’s concept of ‘theatrical frames’ and Astrid Breel’s categories of spectator agency, are applied in Chapter 3, while Jonathan Wipplinger’s insights into popular music in the early Weimar Republic, and Kate Elswit’s writing on Weimar dance, are applied in Chapter 4.

mass communication, [and] audience relationships’, responding to the rapid emergence of ‘a modern media culture’.20 As such, Dadaists based in Berlin worked across a staggering range of disciplines and capacities, a quality referred to by Dada and Expressionism scholar Deborah Lewer as ‘intermediality’.21 The range of these enterprises and identities can sometimes be flattened by the emphasis placed on visual fine art by art institutions and art historical scholarship.22

In short, the thesis seeks to address various imbalances created by these three earlier art historical priorities by staking out new ground within the subjects of Dada magazines and Dada performance. On a logistical level, this required that I prioritise archival evidence over secondary literature. My archival approach involved first establishing which magazines and newspaper reports could be located in online repositories, after which I consulted material from German and British archives in 2019. These were: the Dada and Surrealism archive at the Scottish National Gallery of Modern Art, Edinburgh; the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich; the Deutsches Kunstarchiv at the Germanischen Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg; the Akademie der Künste (AdK) archives, Berlin; the newspaper archives in the Zentral Landesbibliothek, also in Berlin; and the collections at the Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg. Of the archival materials consulted, the categories of items most central to the thesis are: Wilhelmine Witzblätter or ‘humour magazines’ (1896-1913); magazines edited by Dadaists (1917-20); and newspaper reports of late Dada

22 For a view of some of the constraints placed by art museums on the discipline of art history, see Hal Foster, ‘Archives of Modern Art,’ October 99 (2002): 81-95.
performances (1919-20). Instances of ludic or ‘foolish’ formal design discussed in the first chapter were sourced via a thorough investigation of imperial-era Witzblätter. During this investigation, I also located early cartoons by Grosz, each of which had been summarily cropped and divorced from their satirical captions in the artist’s Nachlass. Locating Grosz’s cartoons among the Witzblätter advertising spreads [Fig. 2] was vital for recovering the original publication contexts of his earliest work.

The Dada print culture examined encompasses the group’s ‘little magazines’, specifically the May and June 1917 issues of Neue Jugend (New Youth); and Der Dada (1919-20); in addition to the political magazines co-produced during Berlin Dada’s active period whose editorships were largely marshalled by Berlin Dada members. Counted among this latter group is the singular 1919 issue of Jedermann sein eigner Fussball, alongside 1919 issues of Die Pleite (Bankruptcy), Der Blutige Ernst (Bloody Serious), and issues of Der Gegner (The Adversary) from 1919-1920. In terms of performance, the thesis focuses on three of the Dadaists’ most well-

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23 Where a published English translation of any given German text is not readily available, German-language sources have been translated by the author. I have endeavoured to provide the German (or French) original alongside my translations.
24 This approach allowed me to, for example, discover an unsigned George Grosz cartoon in the Lustige Blätter by matching it to an undated image in the artist’s AdK Nachlass in Berlin.
25 The full print runs and editorships of the magazines examined are as follows: Neue Jugend (1914, 1916-17) was edited by Wieland Herzfelde, with John Heartfield and Franz Jung editing the 1917 issues; Jedermann sein eigner Fussball (1919) was edited by Herzfelde; Der Dada (1919-20) was edited by Raoul Hausmann for the first two issues, and additionally with George Grosz and John Heartfield on behalf of the Malik Verlag for issue 3; Die Pleite (1919-20, 1923-24) was edited by Herzfelde in its first two years, including a brief stint in 1920 when it appeared as a supplement in Der Gegner. After its revival in 1923 it was edited by Grosz and Heartfield, and then, to elude the censor, ‘E. Küng’ in 1924. The first two issues of Der Blutige Ernst (1919) were edited by John Hoexter, with Grosz and Carl Einstein taking up the reins thereafter. Der Gegner (1919-22) was initially edited by Julian Gumperz and Karl Otten, but Herzfelde replaced Otten in 1920. Die Freie Straße (1915-18), including its Club Dada special issue (1918), is mentioned in passing but not examined in depth. It was predominantly edited by Franz Jung, who was joined by Huelsenbeck and Hausmann for the Club Dada issue, with Johannes Baader and Hausmann editing an additional issue, titled Gegen den Besitz!, in November 1918.
attended shows, namely, the first matinée at the Tribüne Theater (Tribune Theatre), on 30 November 1919, and two of the ‘Dada tour’ appearances, one on 19 January 1920 in Dresden’s Haus der Dresdner Kaufmannschaft (Merchants’ Hall), and one on 1 March 1920 in Prague’s produce exchange.

1.2. A Bakhtinian Methodology

Underpinning the interventions undertaken in each chapter is the theory of ‘carnivalesque’ culture developed by the Russian literary theorist and philologist Mikhail Bakhtin (1895-1975). Bakhtin outlines this theory in his seminal *Rabelais and his World*, which was completed in 1940, published in 1965, and translated into English in 1968. Each thesis chapter examines a different carnivalesque archetype or leitmotif identified by Bakhtin: fools as ‘carnival’s representative’; the ‘uncrowning’ of kings; the ‘carnivalesque crowd’; and the ‘grotesque body’. Before specifying how Bakhtin’s theory of the ‘carnivalesque’ guides the research questions in each chapter, it is important to briefly establish some of the core tenets of Bakhtinian thought, and provide an overview of Berlin Dada’s multiple affinities to the theme of carnival.

According to Bakhtin, because carnival ‘built a second world and a second life outside officialdom’, carnivalesque culture serves as a bulwark against the ruling authority to which society must usually answer. Carnivalesque culture, exemplified for Bakhtin by the writings of sixteenth-century author François Rabelais (c.1494-

27 Bakhtin’s first mention of each is found on the following pages: Bakhtin, *Rabelais*, 8, 11, 188, 26.
1553), elevates the grotesque aspects of the body and life through ‘carnival laughter’, which is festive and universal in nature.\textsuperscript{29} For Bakhtin, time is cyclical, a fundamental truth expressed through the process of regeneration, and played out in the seasons and in the growth of the human body. Carnivalesque culture pays homage to what Bakhtin refers to as ‘the biocosmic circle of cyclic changes, the phases of nature’s and man’s reproductive life’.\textsuperscript{30} Contrastingly, ‘agelasts’, or representatives of officialdom, are ‘gloomy serious’ and cannot laugh, meaning that they ‘do not see themselves in the mirror of time, do not perceive their own origin, limitations and end’.\textsuperscript{31} Carnival celebrates the body as bound to eternal, material processes of decay and rebirth, concerns expressed through the Bakhtinian literary mode of ‘grotesque realism’.\textsuperscript{32} Crucially, Bakhtin theorised that because the tradition of carnival replaced divisive hierarchies with ‘free and familiar contact among people’, it allowed its participants to experience a revolutionary ‘utopian ideal’ first-hand.\textsuperscript{33}

A 1983 article by scholar Richard Sheppard, titled ‘Tricksters, Carnival and the Magical Figures of Dada Poetry’, seeded a rich, continuing discourse within studies of Dadaism.\textsuperscript{34} In this article, Sheppard—a Germanist rather than an art historian—shows

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{29} Bakhtin, 11.
\textsuperscript{30} Bakhtin, 24-25.
\textsuperscript{31} Bakhtin, 213.
\textsuperscript{32} Bakhtin, 18-19.
\textsuperscript{33} Bakhtin, 10.
how Bakhtin’s ideas offered a compelling tool for interpreting the role of the grotesque within Dadaism, and many scholars, the present author included, have followed suit in viewing Dada through what Lewer refers to as the ‘seductive filter’ of Bakhtinian analysis. Applying Bakhtin’s notion of carnival laughter to Dada poetry, particularly that of the Zurich group, Sheppard challenged a prevailing interpretation of Dadaism as nihilistic, arguing that Dada poetry, on the contrary, presents a carnivalesque celebration of the ‘infinite [and] contradictory flux of Nature’.

Art historian Sabine Kriebel contextualises Bakhtin’s publication of his thesis on carnivalesque culture as a response to the research conducted by the Commission of the Study of Satiric Genres, established in 1930 in Stalinist Russia and headed by the playwright and Soviet minister Anatoly Lunacharsky (1875-1933). Lunacharsky outlined the commission’s findings in a speech, posthumously published in 1935, in which he criticised the tradition of carnival as a form of societal pressure valve that indirectly serves the ruling classes by creating a space for sanctioned rebellion. More generally, although it interpreted ‘scornful, satirical laughter’ as a valuable ‘destructive, constructive political force’, the commission concluded that satire constituted ‘a moral

37 Kriebel, Revolutionary Beauty, 185, 187.
38 Kriebel, Revolutionary Beauty, 186. Another example of a scholar who applies the analogy of a societal ‘pressure value’ to carnivalesque culture is Simon Dentith. See Simon Dentith, Bakhtinian Thought: An Introductory Reader (London and New York: Routledge, 1995), 71.
victory lacking a material victory’. Bakhtin set out to challenge this line by advocating for the genuine subversive potential of the carnivalesque.

Besides its strong applicability to Dada’s grotesque mode of revolt, one of the reasons why applications of carnivalesque theory are so persistent within Dada Studies is that, as compelling as Lunacharsky’s argument is, to disavow Bakhtin’s ideas altogether is in some ways tantamount to denying the visionary, revolutionary efficacy of avant-garde art. Given the stakes of the aesthetic discourse around Dada’s carnivalesque and grotesque features, it is unsurprising that new inroads in the subject continue to be made forty years after Sheppard’s first publication. Rather than fully endorsing either Bakhtin or Lunacharsky in this thesis, I regard cultural production as neither inherently progressive nor regressive, positing that the revolutionary potential of any carnivalesque cultural output must be determined on a case-by-case basis. Only by considering an artwork’s specific context, function and relationship to power can its subversive potential be determined in any meaningful sense.

Another core reason why Bakhtin’s theory of the carnivalesque has often been applied to studies of Dada is the fact that the Dadaists were themselves deeply invested in the literary and philosophical import of carnival. In this respect, Mehring’s retroactive characterisation of their magazine procession as a ‘Dada carnival parade’ is in-keeping with the litany of allusions to carnival and Rabelais seen in the texts produced during the Dadaists’ active period. For example, in En Avant Dada (1920),

39 Kriebel, Revolutionary Beauty, 186.
40 Lewer distinguishes between the group’s critical engagements with carnival and their ‘straightforward embrace of modern, commercial Shrovetide festivity’. Lewer, ‘Dada, Carnival,’ 101-102.
Huelsenbeck criticises his former Zurich Dadaist peer Tristan Tzara, as well as his Parisian compatriots. Huelsenbeck implies that, in their efforts to become as famous as Rabelais, they chose to forgo the liberatory irony that sits at the heart of his work,

Where have these gentlemen [...] left their irony? Where is the eye that weeps and laughs at the gigantic rump and carnival of this world? [...] [Their] ambition to be as famous as Rabelais or Flaubert has robbed them of the courage to laugh.41

Huelsenbeck also cites one of Rabelais’ protagonists when characterising the figure of the Dadaist in his 1918 ‘Dadaistisches Manifest’ (Dada Manifesto), as a ‘halb Pantagruel, halb Franziskus’ (‘half Pantagruel, half St Francis’) hybrid.42 When asking why Mehring might describe a Dada performance as a form of carnival, or why Huelsenbeck turned to Rabelais and carnival when defining Dada, it is pertinent to consider how carnival is interpreted by Neo-Kantian philosopher and close affiliate of the group, Salomo Friedländer (1871-1946).

Scholars Timothy O. Benson and Seth Taylor have shown how Friedländer’s theory of ‘schöpferische Indifferenz’ (creative indifference) greatly influenced Berlin Dadaist Raoul Hausmann (1886-1971) in relation to his ideas around the automatism of consciousness, in addition to Huelsenbeck’s thinking around ‘simultaneity’.43

Surprisingly, scholars applying a Bakhtinian lens to Dada have yet to comment on the

fact that Friedländer published his first treatise on creative indifference in a 1912 article entitled ‘Fasching als Logik, Vortrag eines Marsbewohners’ (‘Carnival as Logic, Presentation of a Martian’).  

Originally published in the magazine *Pan*, the same text was subsequently republished as ‘Fasching der Logik’ (‘Carnival of Logic’) in the following year in a collection of his grotesques. In his ‘Carnival as Logic’ text, Friedländer responds to the Newtonian natural law that every action has an equal and opposite reaction, interpreting reality as an infinite set of balanced, polarised forces, which he then expresses using the mathematical equation '+∞ - ∞'. The enlightened state of ‘creative indifference’ is produced at the point where all poles cancel each other out. For Friedländer, the ‘fulcrum’ of mathematical zero amounts to the central ‘joist’ of the ‘perpetual motion machine’ of the world, ‘around which one can and must learn to play’. For both Bakhtin and Friedländer, then, carnival evokes cosmic themes of mirrored worlds, temporal cyclicality, eternity, relativity, and paradox.

A final, key aspect which has yet to be fully explored in Bakhtinian discussions on Dadaism is the fact that contemporary critics of the Dadaists, writing long before Bakhtin had formalised his ideas on the carnivalesque, also discussed Dada in tandem with carnival culture. For example, Dr. Paul Landau, in a review of Huelsenbeck’s

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45 Mynona [Friedländer], ‘Fasching der Logik,’ in *Rosa die schöne Schutzmannsfrau* (Leipzig: Verlag der Weißen Bücher, 1913), 31-42. He first wrote on creative indifference in *Der Sturm* in a shorter piece titled ‘Aërosophie’ in 1911. Emphasis mine.

46 Mynona [Friedländer], ‘Fasching,’ 32-33.


48 Lewer mentions this phenomenon briefly in ‘Dada, Carnival,’ 100, n. 6., as does Karin Füllner in a discussion on the disorderly conduct reported at Dada performances. See Karin Füllner.
Dada Siegt! (Dada Triumphs!), interprets Dada as a continuation of a longstanding tradition which began with ‘the exuberant romping about, the turning upside down of all values at carnival’.\textsuperscript{49} Evidently, scholars’ uptake of Bakhtin’s notion of the ‘carnivalesque’ is matched not only by evocations of carnival supplied by Dadaists and their peers, but also through the carnivalesque nomenclature employed by contemporary critics of the movement. The thesis takes stock of this phenomenon, critically assessing divergent invocations of ideas of carnival in the multiple stratified discourses surrounding the Berlin Dadaists. It exploits the fact that Bakhtinian theory presents itself as a familiar point of reference in relation to Dada, redirecting the theoretical tool of the carnivalesque towards the uncharted territories of new archival materials and perspectives.

2. Three Art Historiographical Biases

2.1. The Bias towards Periodisation versus Bakhtinian cyclicality

As has been mentioned, Dada is conventionally categorised as a product of late wartime and early Weimar culture.\textsuperscript{50} Where it is viewed within a wider historical framework, it is frequently ascribed proto-postmodern qualities, reflecting a temptation to examine the group’s more high octane aspects, rather than the cruder side of some


\textsuperscript{50} As a result, some readings link aspects of Berlin Dada’s work to the effects of widespread war trauma. For example, Brigid Doherty, “See: We are all Neurasthenics!” or, the Trauma of Dada Montage, \textit{Critical Inquiry} 24, no. 1 (1997): 82-132.
of their satirical works.\textsuperscript{51} A reluctance to think more laterally about art movements, often canonising them in sequential straight-jackets, is evident in Hans J. Kleinschmidt's preface to the 1974 edition of Huelsenbeck's \textit{Memoirs of a Dada Drummer}. Kleinschmidt characterises fin-de-siècle culture as defined by a 'general lassitude' manifest in an indulgence in the 'decadent' and an 'atmosphere of spiritual surrender to vague mysticism'.\textsuperscript{52} Here Kleinschmidt depicts art as having lapsed into a period of stagnation and decline, requiring its revitalisation through the Dadaists' avant-garde radicality. This plays into the image of Dadaism as a form of rupture in art's history which echoed the First World War's rupture in history.\textsuperscript{53} Writing of the movement's inception in Zurich, Lewer observes how "Dada" served well the stylized topos of a radical break with the past.\textsuperscript{54} By treating claims that Dadaism constituted a radical break in the history of art with due scepticism, scholars Christian Weikop and Richard Sheppard have been able to point to the many aesthetic and literary concerns common to the Berlin Dadaists' early work and that of their avowed enemies, the Expressionists.\textsuperscript{55}

By considering the Dada movement within an even broader set of temporal parameters, it is my intention to trouble Kleinschmidt's broad-brush characterisation,

\textsuperscript{53} Biro refers to the notion of Dada as a rupture in art history as one of the 'myths' surrounding Berlin Dadaism. Biro, \textit{Dada Cyborg}, 255.
\textsuperscript{54} Lewer, 'Dada's Genesis,' 22.
offering an alternate perspective on the significance of the German fin de siècle to
Berlin Dadaism. In doing so, I seek to present a case for viewing Berlin Dadaism as
fundamentally Janus-faced, in that it simultaneously anticipates some of the concerns
of postmodernism, but also looks backwards, borrowing from German satirical
techniques developed at the fin de siècle.

A more ‘Bakhtinian’ approach to temporality can aid this reassessment of Dada.
Much of the ridicule of figures of power seen at carnival, such as imitation coronations
and depositions, revolves around simulating the cyclical rise and fall of all hegemony:

In such a system, the king is the clown. He is elected by all the people
and is mocked by all the people. He is abused and beaten when the time
of his reign is over, just as the carnival dummy of winter or of the dying
year is mocked, beaten, torn to pieces.56

The carnival laughter generated by such mock depositions is therefore ‘regenerative’
in the sense that it serves as a form of memento mori for power. The term ‘avant-
garde’ is also necessarily time-bound, as it implies a position at the forefront of artistic
development. When discussing the Viennese fin-de-sième Ver Sacrum journal and its
recurring themes of patricide, Weikop posits youthful resistance as a ‘central tenet of
avant-gardism’, set within a permanent struggle between experimentation and
tradition.57 Equally, even in the context of the more commercial editorial agenda of the
humour magazine Jugend, its chief editor, Georg Hirth (1841-1916), also promoted
the idea of a revitalising cult of youth.58

56 Bakhtin, Rabelais, 197.
57 Christian Weikop, ‘Ver Sacrum (1898-1903): The Printed Face of the Vienna Secession,’
in Birth of the Modern: Style and Identity in Vienna 1900, ed. Jill Lloyd and Christian Witt-
Dörring (New York: Neue Galerie, 2011), 226. White similarly situates his study of the Club
Dada in relation to ‘the study of generations’. See White, Generation Dada, 16, 30.
58 Timothy W. Hiles, ‘Reality and Utopia in Munich’s Premier Magazines: Simplicissimus
(1896-1944) and Jugend (1896-1940),’ OCCHMM, vol. 3, bk. 2, 721.
Although some Dada texts position the movement as a radical break with the past, an article in the fourth issue of the Dadaist-edited magazine *Die Pleite* raises the idea of the avant-garde’s ever-changing, cyclical nature. Titled ‘Noch eine Ehrenrettung’ (‘Another Vindication’), the article was authored in 1919 by an anonymous ‘former subscriber to *Simplicissimus*. It argues that although *Simplicissimus* was once the ‘most courageous satirical front-line journal of the social movement’, now ‘the gentlemen at *Simplicissimus* have grown old […] blinkered, rotund and sickly’. It goes on to state how the popular humour magazine was destined at some point to lose its satirical sting, and should be judged for the achievements of its heyday, not its inevitable decline.

The article was illustrated with clippings of two *Simplicissimus* cartoons by Thomas Theodor Heine [Fig. 3]. The top image is a 1911 cartoon with the caption ‘old and new superstitions’. It portrays the evolving faces of kingly figures and their scapegoats through history. In the left-hand panel, church representatives tell a panicked crowd of medieval townspeople to fear the devil. The right-hand panel shows a modern-day equivalent to this scenario in which the Kaiser and Chancellor point to a consciously exaggerated caricature of a leering, bomb-wielding anarchist. Heine’s message in this cartoon is clear: time may alter the faces of power, but power through

60 This rule of a rise and fall of satirical efficacy may also be applied to one of the original liberal humour magazines *Kladderadatsch*, which was founded in 1848 and crept rightwards politically until was finally purchased by right-wing industrialist Hugo Stinnes in 1923. See Richard Scully, ‘Hindenburg: The Cartoon Titan of the Weimar Republic, 1918-1934,’ *German Studies Review* 35, no. 3 (2012): 547.
the ages will cyclically inflict the same tactics upon their subjects, such as stoking fear as a means of maintaining control.

The fact that Dadaist Wieland Herzfelde (1896-1988) published ‘Another Vindication’ in Die Pleite indicates that Dadaists could occasionally be mindful of the work of earlier satirical generations. Responding to the notion of successive generations of satirical, agitational artists, the thesis focuses on Berlin Dada’s active period (1917-20), but simultaneously extends the scope of its analysis back to 1896. This date is significant as the founding year of two of the imperial era’s most formative Witzblätter, the latter of which gave Jugendstil its name: Simplicissimus and Jugend, edited by Albert Langen (1869-1909) and Georg Hirth respectively.61 Both were founded in Germany’s premier city of culture during this period, Munich. Zurich Dada founders Hugo Ball (1886-1927) and Emmy Hennings (1885-1948) first met in the city’s bohemian artists’ quarter of Schwabing, and Dadaists Ball, Huelsenbeck, and John Heartfield studied in the city.62

The Age of the Witzblatt

To bridge the gap between these interconnected periods in the history of German satirical culture, it will here be useful to define Witzblätter and to precisely clarify the relevance of Witzblatt culture for Dada. The term Witzblatt is most directly translated as a ‘humour magazine’. Not as narrow in focus as a satirical magazine, humour

61 Hiles, ‘Munich’s Premier Magazines,’ 723. 1896 was also the year that writer Alfred Jarry (1873-1907) premièred his play Ubu Roi in Paris, which is considered proto-Dadaist in many respects, and created a great scandal that set the tone for the twentieth-century forays into avant-garde theatre.
magazines contain political satire, but also satirical pieces on society and the arts, as well as poetry, narratives, graphic art pieces, and other entertaining whimsies and jokes. These aspects are weighted differently according to the editorial agenda of each *Witzblatt*, giving each publication its own distinct ‘voice’. Beyond their emphasis on humour, what unites these magazines is their intensely illustration-rich presentation. The most widely-read *Witzblätter* were bourgeois and liberal, partly because many appeared as free supplements accompanying Germany’s main newspapers, although the socialist humour magazine *Der wahre Jacob* (The Real McCoy) also experienced high circulation numbers by the turn of the century.63

Among the liberal *Witzblätter* examined in the thesis, *ULK* (1872-1933) was a product of the Rudolf Mosse publishing house, appearing as a free supplement in the *Berliner Tageblatt*, and specialising primarily in social satire with a smattering of politics.64 The *Lustige Blätter* (1885-1944) had a similar focus on social satire, originally appearing as an insert in the *Berliner Börsen-Courier* from 1887-1891, after which it was published independently.65 The more high-quality independent magazine *Simplicissimus* was renowned instead for its grotesque political satire, complemented by a smaller proportion of social satire.66 Finally, the ‘illustrated weekly for Art and Life’ *Jugend* offered social satire as an integrated component of its arts and culture

64 In 1900, 70,000 copies of *ULK* were printed. Allen, *Satire and Society*, 3.
65 ‘Lustige Blätter: schönstes buntes Witzblatt Deutschlands’, Heidelberg Historic Literature digitised, [https://www.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/helios/digi/ulkhd.html](https://www.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/helios/digi/ulkhd.html), accessed 3 October 2022. The *Lustige Blätter* was founded in Hamburg in 1885 but was moved to Berlin after three months by Alexander Moszkowski and Otto Eysler. Eysler intended to replicate Viennese humour magazines.
66 *Simplicissimus* had 86,000 subscribers in 1908. Allen, *Satire and Society*, 3.
material, and was also released as a stand-alone magazine, like *Simplicissimus*, and the *Lustige Blätter* after 1891.\(^{67}\)

Although their vast print runs and wide-reaching availability mean they easily fall within the categories of mass media and popular culture, pre-war *Witzblätter* repeatedly featured high-profile artists. For example, *Jugend* provided a platform for Franz von Stuck (1863-1928) and writers such as Richard Dehmel (1863-1920) and Paul Scheerbart (1863-1915).\(^{68}\) They also occasionally functioned as outlets for literary or artistic content deemed by the state to be politically subversive, or even seditious.\(^{69}\)

Beyond the example of the ‘Vindication’ article in *Die Pleite*, to further reinforce the idea that pre-war *Witzblätter* functioned as an earlier satirical vanguard of relevance to Berlin Dadaism, we need look no further than Grosz and Herzfelde’s own accounts of the Dada movement. In his autobiography, *A Small Yes and a Big No* (1946), Grosz writes of his days training at the Academy in Dresden, ‘I was influenced by artists who worked for the various satirical papers’, namely, ‘Bruno Paul’, the ‘poster designer Julius Klinger’, and ‘the book illustrator Emil Preetorius, whose long-legged, lively figures in a Japanese style intrigued me’.\(^{70}\) Herzfelde, when explaining why he set up the Dadaist Malik publishing house, recalls hopes of igniting a ‘proletarian

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\(^{67}\) In the first decade of the twentieth century, the circulation numbers for *Jugend: Münchner illustrierte Wochenschrift für Kunst und Leben* rose to over 70,000. Hiles, ‘Munich’s Premier Magazines,’ 725.

\(^{68}\) Hiles, ‘Munich’s Premier Magazines,’ 722.

\(^{69}\) The 1898 ‘Palestine’ special issue, containing Frank Wedekind’s poem *Im heiligen Land* led to Wedekind’s imprisonment and saw readership numbers spike, climbing to 84,000. See Hiles, ‘Munich’s Premier Magazines,’ 715.

revolution’, stating that ‘this we tried to do with informative brochures and, above all, with satirical magazines’.\textsuperscript{71}

In particular, Herzfelde envisioned a new fleet of satirical magazines able to fill the vacuum left by two pre-existing magazines which, he believed, had lost their propensity for effective criticism. The first of these was the political Expressionist \textit{Der Sturm}, which Herzfelde deemed to be too closely monitored by the censors to divulge political critique.\textsuperscript{72} The second was Germany’s preeminent \textit{Witzblatt, Simplicissimus}, whose reputation had been permanently damaged following its lapse into jingoism at the outbreak of war in 1914.\textsuperscript{73} Although in some cases a gradual process, wartime conditions ultimately forced \textit{Witzblätter} to either fold or convert into nationalistic organs for wartime propaganda. Accordingly, all commercial and liberal material from the \textit{Witzblätter} examined in the thesis is contained to the pre-war period (from 1896 to 1913), as it was during this era that these publications were subject to lower levels of censorship.

\textit{Reviewing the Literature on Dada and German Witzblätter}

By the time the Dadaists were active during the First World War, the \textit{Witzblatt}’s central function as a visual and comedic foil to the newspapers had long been

\textsuperscript{72} Herzfelde, \textit{Der Malik Verlag}, 21.
threatened by the rise of photojournalism. The period between 1900 and the beginning of the war saw exponential growth in Germany’s illustrated press. Between 1900 and 1914, circulation numbers for the *Berliner Illustrierte Zeitung* (*BIZ*), which piloted the mass-market illustrated newspaper format in Germany, rose from 20,000 to one million copies.\(^74\) The linotype photographic reproductions of this paper found their way into numerous Dada photomontages, such as the seminal *Schnitt mit dem Küchenmesser* (Cut with the Kitchen Knife), 1919, montaged by Berlin Dadaist Hannah Höch (1889-1978).\(^75\) Dadaism’s efforts to deconstruct and expose the ideological mechanisms of the bourgeois illustrated press are widely noted.\(^76\) In the case of humour magazines, the fact that the *Witzblatt* format was increasingly outdated by the time the Dadaists were active has occluded their own significance to Dada.

To date, scholarship has tended to examine how the Dadaists modernised satirical print media in the Weimar Republic, rather than investigating how earlier *Witzblätter* themselves influenced the work of the Dadaists, including their avant-garde projects. Scholar Sherwin Simmons argues that publications with Dadaist involvement, such as *Jedermann sein eigner Fussball* (1919) and *Die Freie Welt* (The Free World) (1919-20), served as important transition points for the modernisation of the humour magazine during this period.\(^77\) The trajectory of this medial evolution is

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\(^75\) The work’s full title is *Schnitt Mit dem Küchenmesser Dada durch die letzte Weimarer Bierbauch-Kulturepoche Deutschlands* (Cut with the Dada kitchen knife through the last Weimar beer belly culture epoch in Germany). Denis Crockett, *German Post-Expressionism: The Art of Great Disorder, 1918-1924* (University Park, PA.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999), 37.

\(^76\) See, for example, Hanne Bergius, ‘Dada, the Montage and the Press: Catchphrase and Cliché as basic twentieth-century principles,’ in *Dada: The Coordinates*, 109; Bergius, *Dada Triumphs*, 166; and Biro, *Dada Cyborg*, 71.

\(^77\) Simmons, ‘War, Revolution,’ 50-52.
outlined in a 1925 article by editor and writer Kurt Tucholsky, in which he deems hand-illustrated Witzblatt cartoons inadequate for combatting the influence of the ‘bourgeois illustrated newspapers’, and encouraged satire’s uptake of photography to remedy the situation.\footnote{Ignaz Wrobel [Kurt Tucholsky], ‘Die Tendenzphotographie,’ \textit{Die Weltbühne}, 28 April 1925, 637. Kriebel also discusses German Witzblätter and Tucholsky’s article, in addition to another commentary on the decline of the Witzblatt by Fritz Wolff, ‘The Caricaturist’s Scream of Pain’ (1930), in \textit{Revolutionary Beauty}, 193-94.} As Kriebel points out, three years later, Tucholsky developed his ideas, writing that ‘What one can do with juxtapositions and pasted pictures of photographs need not be said, since John Heartfield has shown how one can do that on book covers’.\footnote{Peter Panther [Kurt Tucholsky], ‘Das Überholte Witzblatt,’ \textit{Die Weltbühne}, 22 May 1928, 793, quoted and trans. in Kriebel, \textit{Revolutionary Beauty}, 194.} In the eyes of Tucholsky, the former Dadaist had laid the groundwork for a transformation of the media landscape, producing visual agitational material fit for the age of photography.

Among further scholarly literature on Weimar-era magazines, Kriebel makes note of significant instances when ‘radical left’ satirical magazines from the late Weimar Republic borrowed from or alluded to the reputations of earlier German Witzblätter.\footnote{Sabine Kriebel, ‘Radical Left Magazines in Berlin: \textit{Die Pleite} (1919, 1923-4); \textit{Der Gegner} (1919-22); \textit{Der blutige Ernst} (1919); \textit{Der Knüppel} (1923-7); \textit{Eulenspiegel} (1928-31) and \textit{AIZ/VI} (1924-38)’ in OCCHMM, vol. 3, bk. 2, 848-849.} For example, Heartfield mockingly appropriated the \textit{Simplicissimus} bulldog mascot for a 1927 \textit{Der Knüppel} (The Bludgeon) cover design [Fig. 4], while the German Communist Party (KPD) organ \textit{Der Eulenspiegel} (The Owlglass) publicly announced its intentions to serve as ‘the radical alternative to \textit{Simplicissimus}’.\footnote{John Heartfield, \textit{Whoever reads the bourgeois papers becomes deaf and blind}, \textit{AIZ}, February 1930, issue 6, repr. in Kriebel, \textit{Revolutionary Beauty}, 194.} Similarly, a format adopted by Heartfield in his \textit{AIZ} work, of a satirical image captioned with a small poem, was, Kriebel notes, ‘modelled on \textit{Simplicissimus} lampoons’ [Fig. 5].\footnote{John Heartfield, \textit{Whoever reads the bourgeois papers becomes deaf and blind}, \textit{AIZ}, February 1930, issue 6, repr. in Kriebel, \textit{Revolutionary Beauty}, 194.} Clearly,
magazine editorships throughout the Weimar Republic openly attempted to respond to or replicate the legacy of the more notorious Witzblätter, framing their publications as forerunners of a new print vanguard. Instances such as Heartfield's allusion to Simplicissimus in his Der Knüppel design also demonstrate how these satirical fora were still very much in dialogue with one another, despite their sharply contrasting political orientations.

The fact that pre-war imperial Witzblatt subject matter and styles are also evident in Dadaist-edited magazines from the group’s active period (1917-1920) has been alluded to, but not investigated in depth. For example, in his Geschichte der europäischen Karikatur (1976), art historian Georg Piltz notes how Grosz’s representations of officers drew on imperial-era cartoons of soldiers, such as those by Simplicissimus graphic artist Eduard Thöny.82 In a discussion on Grosz’s reluctance to participate in the booming ‘war graphics’ industry, Simmons notes how ‘the satiric style found in Simplicissimus and other humour magazines was certainly one source for Grosz’s grotesque taste’.83

Finally, Weikop makes note of how Heartfield’s grotesque football-bellied photomontage on the cover of Jedermann sein eigner Fussball is reminiscent of a Lyonel Feininger cartoon on a 1907 cover of Lustige Blätter, which shows a soldier kicking the spherical, inflated body of the king of Portugal into the air [Fig. 6]. Weikop

posits how this shared satirical imagery ‘reveal[s] how German humour magazines were the forerunners of Berlin Dada publications’. Beyond these brief observations, the ‘Witzblatt’ qualities of magazines produced during the Dadaists’ active period have yet to be subjected to detailed visual analysis, an issue remedied here through formal analysis that deliberately cuts across consecutive generations of German satirical print culture.

2.2. Beyond Dadaist accounts: Journalism from the ‘popular sphere’

In Rabelais and his World, Bakhtin views culture as divided into two realms. A ‘sphere official speech’ works to preserve ‘classical canons’ and isolates itself from a contrasting ‘popular sphere’ of the marketplace. By demonstrating the carnivalesque nature of marketplace speech, Bakhtin excavated hidden meanings in popular culture and the grotesque, demonstrating why they are worthy topics of study. A central tenet of my approach in this thesis has been to heed Bakhtin’s call to look to cultural sources that typically lie outside of official canons. Bakhtin’s eschewal of ‘official speech’ and his alternative focus on neglected forms of popular vernaculars can be applied when seeking to respond to the dominance of Dadaist accounts within studies of Dada. The dichotomy identified by Bakhtin prompts the questions: what constitutes ‘official speech’ in the context of Dada Studies, and what might be equated to the marginalised sphere of ‘popular’ culture?

The canonisation of Berlin Dadaism into histories of art was a highly proactive process, initiated first and foremost by the Dadaists themselves. Huelsenbeck served

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84 Weikop, ‘Berlin Dada,’ 818.
85 Bakhtin, Rabelais, 17, 33, 9.
as the equivalent of Tristan Tzara for the Berlin group, publishing tracts, such as *En Avant Dada*, and compiling both the *Dada Almanac* and the unrealised *Dadaco* volume in 1920 while the group was still active. Grosz was first to publish his autobiography, *A Little Yes and a Big No* in 1946, with a German translation following in 1955, while Mehring published his account, *Berlin Dada: Eine Chronik mit Photos und Dokumenten*, in 1959 with Die Arche Verlag in Zurich. In 1957, Huelsenbeck published his memoirs *Mit Witz, Licht und Grütze*, portions of which were translated into English and published under the title of *Memoirs of a Dada Drummer* in 1969. Le Terrain Vague published Raoul Hausmann’s autobiography *Courrier Dada* in 1958, a text released in German translation as *Am Anfang war Dada* in 1972. Höch lectured on Dada in 1966. Finally, Herzfelde published the definitive biography of his brother, John Heartfield, in German in 1962.

The publication of each of these accounts has been invaluable for shedding light on the Dadaists’ own intentions and perspectives on their work. However, Dadaist accounts have often been approached uncritically and elevated to a status not dissimilar to that of Bakhtin’s ‘sphere of official speech’. As a result, scholars of Dada

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86 The *Dadaco: Dadaistischer Handatlas* was due to appear in 1920, published by Kurt Wolff in Munich.
92 Bakhtin, *Rabelais*, 17. For example, Mehring’s description of Grosz ‘pantomimically relieving himself in front of the exhibited canvases of Prof. Louis Corinth’ at the Secession performance on 12 April 1918 is reproduced in several texts. See RoseLee Goldberg,
have increasingly scrutinised the ways in which Dada’s legacies have been constructed.\(^93\)

This thesis looks to the under-examined sources of journalism and art criticism to diversify and revitalise our understanding of Berlin Dada’s contemporary reception. Articles published in the arts and culture sections of commercial German broadsheets and dailies offer some of the only contemporary ‘popular’ sources of information on Dadaism. As passages retrieved from bourgeois daily newspapers, reports and reviews naturally cannot claim to represent the kind of earthy, folkish culture denoted by Bakhtin’s carnivalesque. However, they are certainly ‘popular’ in comparison with the machinations and exchanges within contemporary avant-garde circles. Newspaper reports and reviews also exist firmly in the ‘popular sphere’, in the sense that they present rare, direct impressions of Dadaism in real time, without the benefit of hindsight. They avoid the distortions of memory faced by Dadaists writing their autobiographies decades after the fact. Dada accounts, although naturally invaluable in their own right, are riddled with errors. For example, Hausmann in *Courrier Dada / Am Anfang war Dada* confuses his Dada tour performance with Huelsenbeck at


Prague’s produce exchange in 1920 with the Merz tour he performed with Dadaist Kurt Schwitters (1887-1948) at Prague’s Urania theatre in 1921.\textsuperscript{94}

Scholars Hanne Bergius and Arndt Niebisch have addressed the deeply symbiotic relationship between Berlin Dadaism and the press. Bergius argues that the Dadaists, particularly Johannes Baader (1875-1955), critiqued and exploited the ‘simulacrum’ of the bourgeois press by hijacking media’s capitalistic drive to amplify scandal, thus creating a subsidiary simulacrum of Dadaism.\textsuperscript{95} On the other hand, Niebisch views the Dadaists’ interactions with the press in a more disempowered light, characterising this relationship as ‘parasitic’ and limiting the Dadaists’ impact to that of an ‘irritant’.\textsuperscript{96} The thesis builds on this work, but goes further, in that it examines how the Dadaists not only sought to generate as much press coverage as possible, but also attempted to use this and other material to control their legacy for posterity. They determined which ‘popular sphere’ journalistic material was most readily available to historians of Dada by including a curated selection of reviews in some of their own accounts of the movement.

Only reviews expressing the most outrage and reporting the greatest scandal make the cut. For example, the review of the early 1920 performance in Dresden by newspaper editor Friedrich Kummer appears in Huelsenbeck’s \textit{Dada siegt: eine Bilanz}

\textsuperscript{94} Hausmann, \textit{Am Anfang}, 66. This error is replicated in the secondary literature. See Melzer, \textit{Latest Rage}, 202. Further erroneous recollections in Hausmann’s autobiography are discussed in Chapter 3.
\textsuperscript{95} See Bergius, ‘Playing the Press,’ 67.
\textsuperscript{96} Arndt Niebisch, \textit{Media Parasites in the early Avant-garde: on the abuse of technology and communication} (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 36-43.
des Dadaismus (1920). Additionally, four pages of the Dada Almanac are reserved for a collection of commentaries by ‘critics from all newspapers of the world’, displaying the more sensationalist reviews to cement the Berlin group’s status among Dada’s other international outposts. As shall be discussed, the reviews most frequently cited are those that reinforce the impression of a scandalised and riotous audience reaction to the Dada material presented onstage.

The approach of viewing performance reviews as a form of ‘popular speech’, partly works to probe and challenge Dadaist portrayals of art critics as easily scandalised Spießer (bourgeois philistines). For example, in Der Kunstreporter (Kunstkritiker) (The Art Reporter [Art Critic]), c.1919-20, Hausmann presents a defaced photograph of Grosz to construct a highly caricatured vision of a professional critic [Fig. 7]. Montaged onto the face of the Dada art reporter are white, Pierrot-esque eyes and lips, complete with a grotesque wagging tongue, presenting the figure as a tragic, wailing clown with two holes punched into the paper around his genital area. A folded note slotted into the back of his neck implies that the wagging tongue and sabre-like pencil of the journalist may be animated when the figure is figurately wound up with a monetary incentive. This antipathy towards the press can be traced back to the figure of Ball in Zurich. When accounting for the impetus behind Dada Lautpoesie


98 Huelsenbeck, Dada Almanac, 42-44. A comment from critic Alfred Kerr, originally published in the Berliner Tageblatt, reading ‘Dada ist Ulk mit Weltanschauung’ (Dada is a prank with a world philosophy), is sarcastically mis-recorded as a review in the Communist Roten Tag. Huelsenbeck, Dada Almanac, 42.
(sound poetry), Ball noted how sound poems enabled their performers to ‘renounce the language that journalism has abused and corrupted’. 99

As Bergius points out, during the Dadaists’ active period, the function of the press was shifting from ‘explication and enlightenment’ to that of ‘manipulation through sensationalistic reporting’. 100 The approach adopted in the thesis is mindful of the fact that, in tandem with this shift, the role of the cultural critic was also evolving, as the pursuit was taken up by critical theorists such as Walter Benjamin (1892-1940), Siegfried Kracauer (1889-1966), and Georg Simmel (1858-1918). 101 Hausmann’s caricatured photomontage obscures the more complex dual reality that the rampant expansion of Boulevardzeitung (tabloid) journalism coincided with rich and evolving conventions of cultural criticism. Contrary to Hausmann’s caricatured image of the philistine art journalist, reportage and criticism retrieved from the popular sphere of the newspapers often contains lucid perspectives and insights.

Reconstructing a Dialogic Discourse

Bakhtin develops the twin terms of ‘dialogic’ and ‘heteroglossia’ to describe the way in which language functions in the ‘marketplace’ of the popular sphere. Bakhtinian dialogism is defined as ‘the characteristic epistemological mode of a world dominated by heteroglossia, [denoting] a constant interaction between meanings, all of which have the potential of conditioning others’, and come to the fore ‘at the moment of

99 Ball, 24 May 1916, Flight, 71.
101 Biro succinctly summarises their contributions to the development of critical theory. Biro, Dada Cyborg, 16.
utterance’. In other words, Bakhtin was concerned with the multiple pretextual meanings that proliferate at the point when language is animated and formulated. These meanings are impossible to predict or analyse in an isolated manner, because they exist beyond the text’s direct semantic value, only bubbling to the surface when language is spoken, or put into action in a specific context.

By focusing on reportage in the latter half of the thesis, and especially in the third chapter, the thesis lays the groundwork for a more ‘dialogised’ understanding of Dada’s operations and reception during its active period. Rather than existing as individualised, siloed interpretations, the reviews sit in contingent relationships with each other, building on one another to spread hearsay, relay scandal, and launch exegeses defending or attacking the group. Gaining a bird’s-eye view of the wider discourse constructed through the reportage allows us, in turn, to move towards a keener sense of the respective stylisations and different registers present in contemporary newspaper reports, thus illuminating previously lost pretextual meaning.

Clearly, a critical reassessment of the canonised, ‘official speech’ of Dada texts is necessary for any Dada scholar to take up. However, this task must be approached with an awareness that contemporary reportage and criticism are, in some senses, no less subjective than the artists’ own writings. In Watching Weimar Dance (2014), dance scholar Kate Elswit considers the challenges of analysing a performance based on ‘artefacts of reception’ such as reviews. She cautions how each review cannot

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'record' the piece as such, but instead forms one component of a wider polyvocal body of writing on any given performance, all of which together form an ‘archive of watching’. This ‘archive’ is a cultural product in its own right, whose commentaries are shaped as much by the social norms and mores brought by the spectator, as by the staged piece itself.

Crucially, Elswit draws attention to points at which reviews engage in purely figurative descriptions, as these instances reveal how review-writing was often approached as an opportunity to reflect on contemporary culture at large. In approaching reviews of Dada performances, I am also mindful of issues highlighted in theatre scholar Helen Freshwater’s *Theatre & Audience* (2009). Freshwater argues that the critic’s perspective is automatically privileged over their fellow spectators, and sometimes takes on a metonymic significance, where a subjective opinion is presented as one shared by the whole audience. When uncovering what theatre scholar Laura Bradley terms ‘archival traces of reception’, the present analysis consequently endeavours to be mindful of any figurative flourishes present in the reviews.

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105 Elswit, xii-xiii.
106 Elswit, xv.
2.3. From ‘classical canons’ towards the ephemeral: centring Dada magazines and performance

In Bakhtin’s theory of the carnivalesque, just as sombre ‘official speech’ contrasts with the marketplace’s coarse and earthy ‘popular’ speech, so too the ‘literary and artistic canon of antiquity’ which culturally represents the ‘official sphere’ sits in opposition with an insubordinate counter-canon of the grotesque.\textsuperscript{109} Two-dimensional visual art pieces, such as Berlin Dada’s mixed-media paintings and photomontages, are not only closest in format to art history’s traditional remit, they are also more easily preserved, reproduced in a catalogue, or hung on a gallery wall. As a result, Dada’s two-dimensional artworks have been studied extensively by art historians, with the consequence that these media have effectively risen to the status of ‘classical canons’ of the ‘official sphere’. In the thesis, I have sought to invert the field’s latent hierarchies of media and practice in art historical surveys of Berlin Dada. I do so by, firstly, articulating the significance of professional training and commercial practices, such as graphic design, to the work of avant-garde artists. And, secondly, through offering the most sustained discussions to date on both Berlin Dada’s late live performances, and neglected aspects of the group’s magazines, such as their design elements.

Artworks reproduced in the pages or on the covers of Dada magazines constitute some of Berlin Dada’s most widely recognised images. However, as Dada scholar Emily Hage has identified, researchers often mine the magazines for material, ‘extracting specific texts and images out of context’, and losing sight of the ‘artistic

\textsuperscript{109} Bakhtin, \textit{Rabelais}, 28. Weikop proposes a link between Dada magazines and the informal print culture of carnival broadsheets, classing the latter as part of a German ‘counter-canon aesthetic of the carnivalesque and grotesque’. Weikop, ‘Berlin Dada,’ 820.
merits’ of the medium in the process.\textsuperscript{110} Opting instead to analyse magazines as artistic products in their own right, Hage illustrates how materials first presented in Dada magazines were then exhibited in the gallery of art dealer Dr. Otto Burchard in 1920. She argues that the Dadaists’ roles as magazine editors informed the curatorial construction of this show as their largest and longest running group exhibition during their active period: the Erste Internationale Dada-Messe (the First International Dada Fair), which ran from 30 June to 25 August. The exhibition was curated and run by the Dadaists, distinguishing it from previous exhibitions in venues such as J. B. Neumann’s gallery.\textsuperscript{111} Hage persuasively argues that the Dadaists approached the gallery walls ‘much as they had the magazine spreads, as planes for excerpting, combining, and overlapping texts and images’.\textsuperscript{112} Like Hage, I view Dadaist-edited magazines on their own media-specific terms. However, my consideration of under-researched aspects of their contents, such as their typography, typesetting, layout, and editorial agendas, works to position Dadaist-edited magazines in a wider context of German print culture.

\textit{In pursuit of lost spectacles: The ‘grotesque body’ and the ‘carnivalesque crowd’ in Berlin Dada’s Live Performance}

The third identified imbalance, of a historical hierarchy of media, has greatly coloured how Berlin Dada is remembered. The Berlin Dadaists’ wittily titled \textit{Messe} (trade fair) exhibition demonstrates this influence well. As 1920 was the year of the \textit{Messe}, this is generally recognised as a highpoint in Berlin Dadaism, and the

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{111} The Berlin Dadaists had their first exhibition in April 1919 in J. B. Neumann’s gallery.
\textsuperscript{112} Hage, \textit{Dada Magazines}, 97.
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exhibition and its works have been researched in great depth. However, as Bergius has shown, footfall for the exhibition was in fact very low, averaging around eleven visitors each day. By 16 July, only 310 tickets had been sold, a number which rose to only 389 by 4 August, despite efforts to entice in visitors by programming live performances in late July by the ‘Oberdada and the Empress Dada’.

A few months earlier, three of the Berlin Dadaists (Huelsenbeck, Hausmann and—for most of the tour—Baader) performed before audiences of hundreds of people in east Germany and Czechoslovakia. Even by conservative estimates, over one thousand visitors attended the show in Prague’s stock exchange on 1 March 1920. So while contemporary crowds were drawn to the Dada tour performances, scholars of Dada have been preoccupied with the ill-attended Messe. This discrepancy is easily accounted for, as the exhibition was thoroughly documented, with many of the works still extant, generally lending its contents more easily to art historical analysis than unphotographed live performances. However, the fact that scholarship has yet to fully acknowledge and address these disproportionalities presents a notable oversight. The topics covered in the latter half of the thesis, of spectatorship and bodily performance, respond to this gap in the literature by bringing together two themes expounded in

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113 For example, the exhibition is discussed in dedicated chapters in White, *Generation Dada*, 259-302; Bergius, *Dada Triumphs*, 231-282; and is included in *Exhibitions that made Art History*, ed. Bruce Altshuler (New York: Phaidon, 2008), vol. 1, 189-202. Introducing her translation of Herzfelde’s programme for the *Messe*, Brigid Doherty notes how, while photographs of the opening were published in Italian and American illustrated weeklies, the exhibition in fact failed commercially. See Wieland Herzfelde and Brigid Doherty, ‘Introduction to the First International Dada Fair,’ *October* 105 (2003): 93-104.
114 Bergius, ‘Playing the Press,’ 78. Bergius puts this down to the expensive entry fee of 3.30 Marks. However, stops on the Dada Tour managed to draw large crowds despite expensive entry costs, such as 22 koruna for their Prague performance in March 1920.
115 See, for example, K-z., ‘Der Dadaisten-Abend in der Produktenbörse,’ *Prager Tagblatt*, 2 March 1920. Audience sizes are discussed in Chapter 3.
Bakhtin’s theory of the carnivalesque: the ‘carnivalesque crowd’ and the ‘grotesque body’.

As was touched on earlier, the live media of dance and performance present acute challenges in terms of reconstruction and interpretation. Elswit views the process of recovering Weimar-era performances and their spectatorship as inevitably a highly subjective, imaginative, and theoretical form of work. Curator and art historian Jeanpaul Goergen’s exemplary reconstruction of the Berlin Dadaists’ group debut performance on 12 April 1918 at the Neue Secession approaches this issue of performance’s ephemerality by presenting a compendium of all available archival materials related to the event. Where they are available, then, the thesis also considers supplementary sources, such as accounts by the Dadaists’ artist peers, alongside programmes, advertising strategies, and, in some cases, photographs of performance spaces. In doing so, I analyse these performances in a manner that approximates the more holistic and historical approach to performances adopted by Goergen, but also Bradley and Elswit. In the case of dance, the problem of analysing these ephemeral pieces is also navigated by comparing impressions of the Dadaists’ bodily movement cited in the reviews to the qualities of movement displayed by other key dance practitioners.

116 Elswit, Watching Weimar Dance, xvi.
117 Goergen, Urlaute dadaistischer Poesie.
118 In her discussions on spectatorship in the context of Brecht productions, Bradley’s observations are based on sources ranging from questionnaires and post-show discussions, to internal theatre reports and work logs. Laura Bradley, ‘Building New Audiences at the Berliner Ensemble, 1949-1956,’ Oxford German Studies 47, no. 2, 223; Bradley, ‘Training the Audience,’ 1045-1047.
Considering the significant body of literature on Zurich Dada’s performances, Dada performances in Berlin have been afforded comparatively limited analysis.\(^{119}\) Beyond their poor documentation, another significant factor contributing to this dearth in scholarship is the fact that Berlin Dada’s performances defy easy categorisation, sitting between different genres. The performances are omitted in surveys of early twentieth-century German theatre as they were closer in format to both cabaret, and recitals of poetry and music.\(^{120}\) Dada texts and poems do feature in Volker Kühn’s *Kleinkunststücke: Eine Kabarett-Bibliothek in fünf Bänden* (Cabaret Pieces: A Cabaret Library in Five Volumes) (2001), but Dadaist sound poetry is absent from this collection, as it does not quite sit comfortably in the category of ‘cabaret’.\(^{121}\)

Similarly, very little has been written about Berlin Dada’s bodily performance of dance and mime, partly as it too does not meet the definition of ‘concert dance’, affiliated with figures such as Mary Wigman (1886-1973) and Kurt Jooss (1901-1979).\(^{122}\) Instead, it is closer to the avant-garde bodily performance of Valeska Gert (1892-1978), anticipating certain elements of performance art. Scholar Catherine Damman attributes the lack of scholarship on Dada dance in general to ‘a gendered


\(^{120}\) For example, Michael Patterson’s volume on early twentieth-century German theatre does not include Dadaist avant-garde performance, but does examine Grosz and Heartfield’s later epic theatre work. See Michael Patterson, *The Revolution in German Theatre, 1900-1930* (London: Routledge, 1981), 196-203.


\(^{122}\) On this term, see Elswit, *Watching Weimar Dance*, xvii.
division between linguistic performance and dance that was established by first-hand accounts of Dada and perpetuated in later academic literature'. As Damman indicates, in the case of dance, hierarchies of media and the historic privileging of Dadaist accounts intersect. Alongside the pioneering work on Zurich Dada's performance by scholars such as Joyce Cheng and Damman, significant adjacent studies, by Elswit and the music historian Jonathan Wipplinger, have laid the foundations for an investigation into Berlin Dada's ephemeral bodily performances.

Based on evidence from the reportage, I argue that the Berlin Dadaists' bodily performances show them developing a cosmopolitan, modern vision of the Expressionist notion of the Neuer Mensch (New Man), arriving at a form of grotesque, dynamised dandyism. The chapters on performance consequently contribute to literature on masculinities of the German avant-garde, a topic previously addressed by scholar Susan Funkenstein. In her analysis of the self-imaging of the dandy, Funkenstein argues how engagements with dance and fashion exhibited by Otto Dix and Grosz, amount to a form of 'class drag' at the intersection between gender identity and social aspiration. In her work on fashion and dance, she discusses how the gendered body is again closely connected to issues of art history's hierarchies of

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media and practice, indicating how the scope of Dada Studies was constrained for decades by patriarchal notions of what constitutes high art. The fact that issues of gender and class are particularly acutely expressed through Berlin Dada’s bodily performance further strengthens the rationale for expanding the scope of studies of Dada beyond media derived from the ‘classical canons’ of Dadaism.

Hierarchies of Gender and Media in ‘Dada’ magazines

As Dada magazines also represent a highly gendered realm of collective creative production, a focus on this medium translates to a focus on the Männerbund (male association) of the ‘Club Dada’.\textsuperscript{126} The concept of the Club Dada was introduced in the April 1918 Dadaist takeover of the Freie Straße magazine, edited by Huelsenbeck, Hausmann and Franz Jung, and was used by the group to stress their presence as a united front.\textsuperscript{127} Dada scholar Michael White discusses how this constructed group was highly fractious, and defined themselves through incidents of dubious veracity, such as the de facto ‘blackballing’ of the Dadaist Kurt Schwitters (1887-1948), who was allegedly rejected from the Berlin group on the grounds that he was too bourgeois.\textsuperscript{128}

Given the exclusivist dynamics that defined the group, discussing the Berlin Dadaists as editors and magazine contributions has the unfortunate effect of downplaying the significance of the work of Höch and Schwitters. The Dadaists’ were keen followers of the ideas of the anarchist psychoanalyst Otto Gross (1877-1920), as evidenced by the discussions of the psychological impacts of bourgeois patriarchy.

\textsuperscript{126} White uses the term Männerbund in White, Generation Dada, 7.
\textsuperscript{127} White, Generation Dada, 8.
\textsuperscript{128} White, 8.
propounded in the *Freie Strasse* magazine.\textsuperscript{129} However, this interest by no means translated into an applied form of feminism in the context of Dada magazine production.

All but erased from the movement, only one work by Höch is featured in any Dadaist-edited magazine: an abstract illustration in the *Dadaco* advertisement in issue 2 of *Der Dada*, signed ‘M. Höch’ [Fig. 8].\textsuperscript{130} In her seminal volume, *Dada’s Women* (2009), feminist Dada scholar Ruth Hemus points out how this inaccurate signature is crossed out in Höch’s archive with the annotation ‘H. wieder mal verstümmelt’ (‘[Höch] mutilated again’).\textsuperscript{131} Moreover, beyond Grosz’s lurid and stereotyped visions of streetwalkers, women are rarely depicted or discussed in the magazines themselves. The absence of women in Berlin Dada’s publications is all the more acute considering the fact that, just as in Russia in 1917, women led and coordinated many of the mass strikes in Germany in April 1917 and January 1918.\textsuperscript{132} Indeed, Hans-Jörg Görlich notes that *Neue Jugend*’s anti-war literary evenings were attended by ‘the wives and


\textsuperscript{131} Hemus, *Dada’s Women*, 92.

widows of soldiers' who 'broke down in tears and cried out “Down with the War!”', occasionally resulting in impromptu demonstrations which were then broken up by the police.\textsuperscript{133} If dance represents a previously overlooked art form due to gendered hierarchies of media, magazines were a masculinist vehicle through which these hierarchies were maintained.

Within the category of magazines, the thesis views the Dadaists' avant-garde 'little magazines' as tantamount to the official artistic canons described by Bakhtin. The political radical magazines edited by the Dadaists relate more closely to the grotesque's 'counter-canon' status, in that scholarly positions vary on whether these publications should be viewed as a product of the avant-garde art movement of Dadaism. For example, in \textit{Dada and Surrealism Reviewed} (1974), Dawn Adès notes how some of the 'political and satirical reviews' published by the Communist faction of the group (Herzfelde, Grosz, and Heartfield) in 1919 are claimed 'rather too sweepingly as Dada'.\textsuperscript{134} Scholar Charles Haxthausen similarly regards \textit{Die Pleite} and \textit{Der blutige Ernst} as 'exclusively political in focus', noting how 'although they consisted largely of contributions from most of the core Berlin Dadaists, the word “Dada” never appeared in these publications'.\textsuperscript{135}

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An exception to this general rule is presented in Huelsenbeck’s ‘Die Panacee’ (Panacea) article, featured in the first issue of Der blutige Ernst, titled ‘Der Arzt’ (The Doctor) [Fig. 9], and published in November 1919. The prose piece opens with the dictum (‘homo homono Dada’), a maxim attributed by Huelsenbeck to ‘Daimonides’ (Edgar Firm). Huelsenbeck also proclaims that the only doctor able to offer a panacea to heal the Germans of their cretinous existence would be an ‘Dada-Arzt’ (‘Dada-Doctor’). Reading almost like a glitch, such instances have the effect of momentarily lifting the veil, again unsettling our understanding of what constitutes a ‘Dada’ publication, and hence which publications should be encompassed as part of Dada’s official ‘canon’.

To take another example, Weikop refers to Jedermann sein eigner Fussball as ‘the most notorious “little magazine” of Berlin Dada’, while David Hopkins similarly categorises this publication as a ‘Dada journal’. Certainly, the editors’ pioneering use of photomontage confirms its status as ‘avant-garde’. However, certain aspects of its design and content establish this four-page publication is one of the most ‘Witzblatt-like’ of any of the Dadaists’ printed material. Equally, its status as a political object is irrevocable, given that police raided Herzfelde’s apartment to confiscate the print run, arresting and briefly incarcerating Herzfelde as the responsible editor.


Scholars have also tended to view the Berlin Dadaists’ political projects as separate from their avant-garde output on temporal grounds. As Hage outlines, ‘Berlin witnessed a series of left-leaning periodicals by individuals who had made earlier Dada magazines, though these later publications were not devoted to promoting Dada’. Again, while it is correct that the ‘left-leaning’ magazines saw much longer print runs than the more avant-garde projects, spanning into the 1920s, arguably the Dadaists’ most productive period for their political projects substantially overlaps with the print run of their avant-garde ‘little’ magazines. The first issues of the more political Die Pleite (March 1919) and Der Gegner (April 1919) were published months before the first issue of Der Dada (June 1919). Hage’s chronology underplays how the Dadaists in Berlin in fact produced and contributed to a remarkably wide range of magazines between 1919 and 1920. These spanned the realms of avant-garde art; agitational propaganda; and radical leftist criticism; but also commercial cabaret, through their regular contributions to the Schall und Rauch magazine between December 1919 and February 1921, produced for Max Reinhardt’s homonymous cabaret.

Instead of tracing a clear trajectory from avant-gardism to radical leftism, the Dadaists’ magazine production during 1919 and 1920 might be more accurately characterised as a period of constant regrouping. During this period, Dada editors experimented with different styles, registers, and publication frequencies, attempting

140 Hage, Dada Magazines, 109.
to generate the most effective formula for radical change. By applying the term ‘Dadaist-edited magazines’ to both avant-garde Dada magazines and radical leftist Dada-affiliated magazines, the discussion aims to interrogation distinctions and tensions between avant-garde ‘little magazines’ and explicitly political satirical propaganda. This, in turn, acts as a kind of stress test for assumptions of the former as open-ended or non-prescriptive, and the latter as functional and prescriptive.

Finally, Kriebel observes how radical leftist magazines produced by Dadaists and their affiliates were also marginalised in that they were all but rejected by the German Communist Party (KPD), despite the fact that these publications promoted Communism and agitated for revolution. When Grosz and Heartfield were finally permitted significant influence over a KPD publication, Der Knüppel, the changes they instigated caused controversy, with Grosz in particular identified as ‘anarchistic’ rather than Communist. Simmons argues that the leftist Witzblätter of this period were a site of struggle between the conservative visual tastes of the KPD on the one hand, and the progressivist ideas of Dadaist and Malik Verlag founder Herzfelde, on the other hand. Herzfelde and Grosz’s ‘Kunstlump’ (‘Art Scab’) article berated traditional art’s pacifying tendency to ‘conjure up the false picture of a world of peace and order’. Pointing to the success of far-right propaganda’s use of photography and bold, grotesque imagery, Herzfelde encouraged engagement with techniques used by popular media, suggestions initially rebuffed with the remark, ‘The party press is not a

142 Kriebel, ‘Radical Left,’ 842.
143 Kriebel, ‘Radical Left,’ 849.
From the Dadaists’ perspective, the rejection of popular cultural forms by proponents of the official ‘literary and artistic canons’ of Communism was itself a form of philistinism – the kind of out-of-touch, regressive attitude to the modern culture of the metropolis that drove the Dadaists’ interest in the United States. In light of the Dadaists’ oppositional stance, the dichotomous tensions identified by Bakhtin between canonised official culture and culture from below guide the approach to media and genre adopted in this study.

3. Chapter Summaries

In Chapter 1, ‘Fools: Ludic Form and the Artist as “Carnival’s Representative”’, I argue that an earlier familiarity with the ‘ludic’ designs of imperial, pre-war Witzblätter informed the Dadaists’ incorporation of avant-garde formalist experiments into their own radical magazine design and montage principles. In the thesis, the term ‘ludic form’ is used to refer to the stylistically playful or ‘fool-like’ visuality evident in the imagery and design of both Dadaist-edited magazines and pre-war imperial Witzblätter. As Bakhtin saw the fool as ‘carnival’s representative’, and as fool figures were often used as a mascots for German Witzblätter, the magazines are viewed as the aesthetic dominions of the fool or foolishness (Narrheit). A key contention of the chapter is that Grosz’s early contributions to various Witzblätter shaped both his illustrative work and his editorial eye. Dada pieces are also considered alongside Witzblatt satirical cartoons which similarly ‘montaged’ text and photography.

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In Chapter 2, ‘Kings: Patriarchal Figures and their Depositions’, I argue that the influence of Witzblatt satire accounts for the figural, topical, and directly satirical imagery which distinguishes the Berlin group from Dadaism in other cities. The chapter takes up Bakhtin’s idea of hegemonic authorities—‘agelasts’ who ‘cannot and do not wish to laugh’—to examine the avant-garde’s ‘dethroning’ of patriarchal ‘kingly’ figures, such as the emperor, generals, or industrialists, in Dadaist-edited magazines. Herzfelde’s ideas on art’s revolutionary function are used to address a critique by Salomo Friedländer, concerning the malicious quality of Berlin Dada’s grotesque satire. Through this critical discussion, I show how Dada satire subverts caricature’s essentialising function, and constructs complex medial critiques intended to develop the critical faculties of viewers. In the thesis, the term ‘medial critique’ is used to define an artwork whose medium exposes systems of ideological knowledge production, such as propagandistic image-making, which aid and abet hegemonic ‘king’ figures within a given system.

Chapter 3, ““The Carnivalesque Crowd”: Spectatorship in Berlin Dada’s Performances, 1919-1920’, uses evidence from contemporary reportage to assess the Dadaists’ claims that the riotous behaviour seen at their performances in late 1919 and early 1920 should be viewed as evidence of the successful application of épater les bourgeois tactics (the use of scandal to shock middle-class sensibilities). Bakhtin’s idea of the ‘carnivalesque crowd’, or a crowd whose behaviour is governed by its own laws during carnival, points towards a different understanding of spectatorship at these performances, one which saw audience members engaging in pre-meditated behaviours and exercising agency over the performance. As such, the chapter challenges Dadaist accounts and secondary literature that depict audiences in a
homogenising manner, portraying their response to Dada material as a form of psychological ‘shock’. This discussion is designed to illustrate how the avant-garde imperative to épater les bourgeois cannot be indiscriminately applied to Dada performances; equally probing the Dadaists’ underlying motives for promoting this interpretative reading of their work.

Chapter 4, ‘Grotesque Bodies: Corporeality and Extracorporeality in Dada Dance and Mime’, applies Bakhtin’s principle of the ‘grotesque body’ to Berlin Dada’s bodily performance. The analysis focuses primarily on Grosz’s dance, performed at the Tribune theatre in late 1919, and Hausmann’s dances during the Dada tour in early 1920, additionally considering evidence for the use of mime in their performances. Bakhtin’s ‘grotesque body’ is characterised by, firstly, its ever-changing materiality, and, secondly, the resultant permeability of its boundaries. These two concepts form the basis of a discussion on ‘corporeality’, or the body’s materiality, and ‘extracorporeality’, or the permeability of bodily limits. I situate the ‘corporeality’ of Berlin Dada’s dance in relation to ragtime rhythms and the work of other key dance practitioners, such as Valeska Gert. Further, I elucidate how bodily performance may have been used to explore the body’s extracorporeal capacities and status as an open and adaptable medium, considering Berlin Dada’s dance and mime through the lens of different theorists or mystic scientists read by the Dadaists.

4. Conclusion: Revolutionary Dada’s creative indifference towards the popular and the avant-garde

In his autobiography, Huelsenbeck chastises Grosz for having ‘made the mistake of underestimating [Grosz’s] works by likening them to the drawings in the German
Rejecting any parallels with commercial satirical media, Huelsenbeck instead allies Dadaism with an established canon of nineteenth-century French literature by Charles Baudelaire, Arthur Rimbaud and Comte de Lautréamont. In seeking to overrule the parallels identified by Grosz, Huelsenbeck inadvertently points to a discordance between Dadaism’s avant-garde status, and the Berlin group’s critiques of and participations in popular and agitational mass media. Contributions by scholars of Berlin Dada who specialise in the group’s links to popular culture and media, such as those by Sherwin Simmons, Kurt Beals, Andreas Kramer, Katharina Hoins, and others, have transformed the field of Dada studies. Simmons in particular has shown how the Berlin Dadaists both parodied and engaged in contemporary discourses around advertising.

This thesis responds to and expands this body of work to broaden our scope of the Dada movement in Berlin by examining a wider range of media produced by the Dadaists themselves (such as Dada magazine design, and dance), and by analysing this output alongside the wider material cultures in which they were immersed (imperial Witzblätter; contemporary newspaper reporting). Among wider material culture sources, the case for examining Wilhelmine Witzblätter is particularly strong as, like Dadaism, Witzblatt satire also critiqued aspects of modernity, including the position of

146 Huelsenbeck, Dada Drummer, 119.
147 Huelsenbeck, 119, 58, 63.
the artist within wider ecologies of modern culture and media. As scholar David Ehrenpreis remarks, ‘With its fusion of pictorial clarity and subversive intent, caricature occupies a middle-ground between affirmative culture and the production of the critical avant-garde’.\textsuperscript{150} It is only by identifying this self-aware quality of commercial satire that the more deep-rooted and transformational critiques in Dadaist pieces may be fully comprehended.

Parallels between the ‘carnival logic’ of Friedländer’s theory of creative indifference and the ‘grotesque Rabelaisian logic’ of Bakhtin’s theory of the carnivalesque indicate that carnival presents a powerful conceit through which such critiques might be developed.\textsuperscript{151} Bakhtin advocated for the subversive, revolutionary potential of carnivalesque culture, while Friedländer wrote how his carnival logic of creative indifference can only be sensed by ‘the fool, the damned poet’.\textsuperscript{152} The Bakhtinian matrices in the thesis can be traced back to Weikop’s 2013 chapter for the Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines on Berlin Dada’s magazines. In this chapter, Weikop notes how Bakhtin’s concept of the carnivalesque and his closely related critical lexicon can ‘open up this academic field of inquiry in a new way’.\textsuperscript{153} He notes how his Bakhtinian discussion serves partly to signpost possibilities for future scholarship and a ‘richer application of Bakhtin’s ideas’.\textsuperscript{154} The present thesis not only takes up this call, but reworks it into an interdisciplinary recovery of archival material.

\textsuperscript{150} David Ehrenpreis, ‘The Figure of the Backfisch: Representing Puberty in Wilhelmine Germany,’ Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte 67, no. 4 (2004): 492.
\textsuperscript{151} Bakhtin, ‘The Rabelaisian Chronotope,’ in Dialogic Imagination, 175.
\textsuperscript{152} ‘Das ahnt nur der Narr, der verdammte Dichter’. Mynona [Friedländer], ‘Fasching,’ 32.
\textsuperscript{153} Weikop, ‘Berlin Dada,’ 816.
\textsuperscript{154} Weikop, 816-17.
Chapter 1. Fools: Ludic form and the Artist as ‘Carnival’s Representative’

1. Introductory Section and Methodology

1.1. Mikhail Bakhtin’s Fool and ‘Ludic form’

When outlining his theory of ‘the carnivalesque’ in *Rabelais and his World*, Mikhail Bakhtin cites the ‘feast of fools’ (*festum fatuorum*, or ‘fête des fous’) as one of the earliest ‘rites of pure laughter’ or manifestations of carnival.\(^1\) He quotes a 1444 anonymous tract from the Paris School for Theology which argues for the necessity of the feast of fools, as an occasion when ‘foolishness, which is our second nature, […] might freely spend itself at least once a year’.\(^2\) Throughout his study on carnivalesque culture, Bakhtin retains this core notion of foolishness as man’s inherent second nature, arguing how, as it was forbidden in ‘official cult and ideology’, man’s second nature became manifest through ‘a second world and a second life outside officialdom’.\(^3\) Bakhtin interprets the fool as a figure who occupies this second world at all times, including outside of traditional festival periods.

Affording archetypal status to this figure, Bakhtin dubs the fool ‘king of the upside-down world’ and ‘accredited representative of the carnival spirit’.\(^4\) He explains that

\(^{1}\) Bakhtin, *Rabelais*, 74-75.


\(^{3}\) Bakhtin, 6.

\(^{4}\) Bakhtin, 426, 8.
fools ‘were not actors playing their parts on a stage […] but remained fools and clowns always and wherever they made their appearance’. Scholar Richard Sheppard applies Bakhtin's writings on carnival and psychologist Carl Jung’s *Schelmenfigur* (Trickster) archetype when discussing the anarchic traits of Dadaism. He relates Jung’s shapeshifting Trickster to folkloric fool figures, such as Hanswurst, who ‘manage to achieve through their stupidity what others cannot through their intelligence’, an identity which, as Christian Weikop observes, was adopted by Dadaist Johannes Baader.

In this chapter, I examine this prevailing topos of foolishness by pitting the imagery and design of imperial *Witzblätter* against that of Dadaist-edited magazines. Even where German imperial *Witzblätter* are acknowledged in passing as part of the cultural heritage for these publications, by Weikop, Sabine Kriebel, and Sherwin Simmons, scholarship has yet to address precisely how commercial *Witzblätter* might have served as a source of Dada formalist technique. Doing so is important for two reasons. First, a comparative analysis with mainstream satirical print media allows for techniques unique to Dadaism to be identified and defined more closely and clearly. Second, it revises our current understanding of the sources and points of influence for Berlin Dada’s photomontage and typographic technique, which remain, in the words

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5 Bakhtin, 8.
7 Weikop, ‘Dada Berlin,’ 818; Kriebel, ‘Radical Left,’ 848-849; Simmons, ‘War, Revolution,’ 50-52.
of media studies scholar Kurt Beals, some of the movement’s most central ‘lasting legacies’.

This comparative formal exercise is designed to firmly institute the Witzblätter as one of several sources for Dada magazine design and montage, thus unsettling a series of established origin stories, such as Hannah Höch’s account of the ‘invention’ of photomontage. According to Höch, the idea for photomontage came about when herself and Dadaist Raoul Hausmann encountered a ‘montaged’ oleographic military portrait, in which photographs of a soldier’s head were pasted atop a series of regimental uniforms, and set within an idealised scene as a form of commemorative memorabilia [Fig. 10].

When discussing the origins of Dada photomontage, Simmons makes a strong case for the importance of Heartfield’s period as an apprentice in the graphic design studio of Ernst Neumann (1871-1954). The discussion here seeks to make a similar intervention. It considers the roles and functions ascribed by Bakhtin to the fool, using these to identify the presence of ‘ludic form’ in publications produced by Dada members (from 1917-1920), and pre-war Witzblätter from the late imperial period or Kaiserzeit (1896-1913).

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10 Simmons, ‘Advertising Seizes,’ 127.
To specify what is denoted by the term ‘ludic form’, it is first prudent to highlight parallels between Bakhtin’s notion of the carnivalesque and cultural historian Johan Huizinga’s work on the cultural construct of play, outlined in his *Homo Ludens* (1938). Just as Bakhtin writes of the formation of a ‘second world’ of carnivalesque foolishness, Huizinga similarly argues that play ‘creates a second, poetic world alongside the world of nature’.\textsuperscript{11} This is due to the fact that play is ‘based on the manipulation of certain images, on a certain “imagination” of reality (i.e. its conversion into images)’.\textsuperscript{12} Bakhtin also cites the importance of play in the context of the carnivalesque, arguing that carnival is ‘life itself, but shaped according to a certain pattern of play’.\textsuperscript{13}

This kinship between Bakhtin and Huizinga’s ideas is borne out in the context of the feast of fools or carnival celebrations. Within these spaces, fools preside over the ‘manipulation of images’, specifically images or icons of power, parodying power systems through the inversion of iconography and ritual: they elect, or are elected as, false monarchs; construct grotesque hybrids; or enact physical reversals, such as turning items of clothing inside out.\textsuperscript{14} The element of carnivalesque play is identified in Dadaism by a contemporary critic of Dada, Dr. Paul Landau, who positions Dada within a lineage of carnival and carnivalist associations. Landau describes participants in this heritage as fools juggling with life’s semiotics and nomenclature, ‘ingenious

\textsuperscript{13} Bakhtin, *Rabelais*, 7.
\textsuperscript{14} Bakhtin, 81.
spirits’ who ‘in a fantastic flight of irony […] played with life and the world as with colourful balls’.  

In the context of Dada Studies, Kriebel also maps this ludic aspect onto her Bakhtinian analysis of Berlin Dada. She states how, ‘Dada revived the merry premodern grotesque that Bakhtin so valued as a form of subversive, mirthful play’, noting how this informs their experiments in ‘montage, performance, installation, and print practice’, with the caveat that Dada’s mirthful play is laced with the venomous ‘sting of social critique’. In his own Bakhtinian analysis of Dada aesthetics, Weikop distinguishes between the figurative ‘carnivalesque imagery’ in the 1919 magazine *Jedermann sein eigner Fussball* [Fig. 11], and the ‘carnivalisation of form itself’, seen, for example, in the ‘little magazine’ *Der Dada* [Fig. 12].  

Specifically, Weikop notes how one of the photomontages featured on the *Jedermann* cover seems to riff off similar imagery to that found in the *Witzblätter*. He posits that this kinship in subject matter, or common ‘carnivalesque imagery […] serves to reveal how German humour magazines were the forerunners of Berlin Dada publications’. While Dadaist-edited magazines did undoubtedly draw from the carnivalesque figurative imagery found in commercial *Witzblätter*, through the case studies examined here, I propose that the *Witzblätter* also contain early traces of the Dada magazines’  

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15 Dr. Paul Landau, ‘Die Ahnen des “Dada”,’ *Berliner Börsen-Courier*, 17 July 1920. Landau cites the German jester figure Til Eulenspiegel, and lists the carnivalists associations of the ‘Weßlarer Rittergesellschaft’ (Wesslar Knights), to which Goethe belonged, the Viennese ‘Ludlamshöhle’ (Ludlam’s Cave), and the ‘Allschalraffia’ (Schlaraffia). The Schlaraffia are discussed in Chapter 3.  
16 Kriebel, *Revolutionary Beauty*, 201.  
17 Weikop, ‘Berlin Dada,’ 827.  
18 Weikop, 818.
more experimental stylistic qualities, referred to by Weikop as their ‘carnivalisation of form’.

In the context of the chapter, the term ‘ludic form’, refers to the playful, foolish approach to form seen in the magazines analysed, whose design or imagery deliberately rejects rationality and sobriety in favour of ironic assemblages or anarchic dissolutions. Specifically, the visual forms of foolish play found in German satirical print culture act to destabilise firm categories and orders, thus catalysing unorthodox confluences of signs or constituent parts. This playfulness also manifests in language, as fools speak in riddles, double entendre, and irony. As Bakhtin explains with reference to etymology of the French term for ‘folly’, ‘In the word fol […] praise and abuse are merged into an indissoluble whole. To take the word “fool” as pure negation and abuse or as pure praise […] would destroy the entire meaning of this protean litany’.19

Framing the argument here is the notion that imperial Witzblätter and Dada magazines, unbound from the strictures of rationality and free to embrace paradox, forged spaces for semiotic play, in which outlandish fusions or absurd arrangements of heterogenous fragments dominate. In doing so, both forms of magazine reacted against the dry, rationalistic prose and prosaic, sober design of German broadsheets. A comparison of the front pages of the Berliner Tageblatt from 1896 [Fig. 13.a] and 1917 [Fig. 13.b] show the stasis of German newspaper design. As domains of the fool reacting against the same German media tradition, imperial Witzblätter and Dada

19 Bakhtin, Rabelais, 426.
magazines presented constructions of topsy-turvy language, typesetting, imagery, and typography, variations of ludic form identified in each of the comparative case studies in the chapter.

For the purposes of this discussion, the Dada term ‘montage’ is applied to imperial Witzblatt cartoons that display the slicing, disassembly, reassembly and decontextualisation of heterogeneous print elements. This deliberate anachronism, of discussing pre-war Witzblatt ‘montage’ of text, or montages that incorporate rudimentary photographic images, is employed here to critically interrogate the meaning of the term, and argue for its application to the wider visual cultures from which Dada Klebebilder (glued or pasted pictures) and photomontage emerged.

1.2. Witzblatt Fools versus Dada Fools

Before turning to the case studies, it is worth briefly contextualising the carnivalesque credentials touted by the Witzblätter to account for the distinct role played by the ludic design found in this earlier form of print culture. The quality of Narrheit (foolishness), and its metamorphosis in the figure of the fool, is of particular significance to imperial Witzblätter, as these earlier publications used the stock character of the fool to allegorise their satirical role in society. Fool figures frequently appear in the title headers of these magazines, a tradition stretching back to 1848 and the Vormärz revolutionary period, when satirical magazines first began to be produced

[20] The closest approximation in English would be the term ‘collage’, but I do not use this term due to the specific Cubist connotations of the word, originating from the French ‘coller’ (to glue), and linked to the term papier collé, coined by Cubists Georges Braque and Pablo Picasso.
in the German-speaking territories. For example, in 1848, the header design for the *Fliegende Blätter*, the first German *Witzblatt*, founded in Munich, features a fool blowing bubbles among a group of courtiers [Fig. 14], while the header on an issue of *ULK* from roughly half a century later, in 1901, displays two symmetrical fools wearing the same fool’s cap and bells [Fig. 15]. As agents operating outside of hierarchies of power, such as that of the court, and providing a comedic commentary on these systems through the protective cloak of humour, fools were apt mascots for satirical magazines. During carnival season in Germany, the fool image proliferated, as each *Witzblatt* issued its own *Faschingsnummer* or carnival-themed special issue [Fig. 16].

Alongside an examination of the various parallels between the respective carnivalesque print cultures *Witzblätter* and Dada magazines explored in this chapter, I also endeavour to show how these two print cultures ultimately diverge when the intents behind their ‘ludic’ approaches to design and imagery are considered. Despite their revolutionary origins, by the end of the nineteenth century, the *Witzblätter* had become fully commercialised. *Witzblätter* exploited the rebellious fool figure as a strategy to stand out within an economy of attention, recalling a sanitisation and institutionalisation of carnival identified by Bakhtin. According to Bakhtin, this ‘degeneration’ of carnival laughter began in the seventeenth century and matured in the ‘bourgeois nineteenth century’, an age which ‘respected only satirical laughter, which was actually not laughter but rhetoric’, amounting to ‘an individual carnival

21 See the mid-nineteenth century title heads for the *Fliegende Blätter* (1845-1944) and *Eulenspiegel* (1848-53). *Eulenspiegel* is homonymous with the German picaresque fool, Til Eulenspiegel.
marked by a vivid sense of isolation’. As shall become evident, the imperial Witzblatt examples discussed here are illustrative of the fool’s hidden mandate to reinforce order and rationality beyond the temporal bounds of carnival and among non-fools. The latent order adhered to by the Witzblätter was that of German nationalist, capitalist liberalism. In seeking to uphold this form of free-market nationalism, German humour magazines variously appeased or critiqued the Kaiser.

Witzblatt satire’s corrective function in support of a liberal capitalist state is readily symbolised in a Simplicissimus cover from 1898 by one of the magazine’s first-rank graphic artists, Thomas Theodor Heine (1867-1948). Heine’s chromolithograph depicts the crew of a ship at storm reaching towards lifebelts distributed by a jester [Fig. 17]. The caption below reads ‘[I]f all the men don’t drown, let them thank the fool. He distributed the lifebelts’. Heine’s illustration, titled Das Staatswrack (The Wreck of the Nation), defends the societal importance of satire by figuring the Witzblatt Simplicissimus as a fool rescuing the crew of the ‘sinking ship’ of the nation. In a witty inversion of Plato’s ‘ship of fools’ allegory for poor governance, Heine positions the Kaiser as an incompetent captain, and satire as a cardinal tool for checking imperial power. Where here disorder and irrationality are represented as a stormy sea,

22 Bakhtin, Rabelais, 52, 51, 37. On the increasing role of bourgeois Karnevalsvereine (carnival associations) in nineteenth-century Germany, see James M. Brophy, Popular Culture and the Public Sphere in the Rhineland 1800-1850 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 179.
23 Thomas Theodor Heine, Das Staatswrack, cover illustration, Simplicissimus, 1897, issue 13.
elsewhere, we shall see how these qualities are represented through deliberately anarchic design.

After German unification in 1871, the fool was joined by further representative icons who also took on the form of foolish stock characters, updated to more accurately reflect an era of rampant urbanisation. In his tail coat and exuberant trousers, hips tilted forward in a conversational pose, ‘der Nunne’ reliably occupies every issue of the Berlin Witzblatt, ULK [Fig. 18], offering a topical commentary which reads like an editorial in thick Berlin dialect. Alongside the topical bulletins by ‘der Nunne’, the ‘Eckensteher Nante’ (loitering Nante) was another mouthpiece for Berliner Witz (Berlin humour), circulated via Witzhefte (joke booklets). The dim-witted, alcoholic character of Nante, who also spoke in Berlin dialect, featured in early humour magazines, functioning as a middle-class interpretation of the city’s underbelly of poverty. Much like the peripheral figure of the fool, it was precisely the marginalised status of the Nante character that caused him to be, in the words of historian Mary Townsend, ‘uniquely positioned […] to comment on and observe [society]’ acting as a valuable mouthpiece for ‘critical public discourse’. Dadaist George Grosz had long displayed a fascination with fringe ‘fool’ figures. One of his early Witzblatt cartoons, titled Empfindlich (Sensitive) [Fig. 19] thematises low-brow entertainment forms of the urban

25 By the eve of the First World War, Berlin was home to the third largest urban population in the world. Jelavich, Berlin Cabaret, 10.
26 Nante gained prominence through Adolf Glaßbrenner’s folk play Eckensteher Nante im Verhör (1833) and was a frequent character in the cartoons of Heinrich Zille. See Mary Lee Townsend, ‘Humour and the Public Sphere in Nineteenth-Century Germany,’ in A Cultural History of Humour: From Antiquity to the Present Day, ed. Jan Bremmer and Herman Roodenburg (Cambridge, MA.: Polity Press, 1997), 212.
27 Symptomatic of mass unemployment in the city, ‘corner standers’ (casual workers), were a frequent sight in nineteenth and early twentieth-century Berlin.
The corrective function of the fool in the context of liberal Witzblätter did not impede its uptake by the Dadaists in their own magazines. The group offered their own iteration of the ‘Eckensteher Nante’ and ‘der Nunne’ icon in their photomontage of a football-bellied Wieland Herzfelde [Fig. 20] gracing the cover of Jedermann sein eigner Fussball, and the back page of Der Dada issue 3 [Fig. 21]. Scholar Gavin Grindon highlights how John Heartfield’s iconic grotesque portrait fulfils the role of a Blatt ‘host’: ‘Mimicking the format of a newspaper, its nameplate incorporated a corresponding icon of a dapper gentleman […] doffing his bowler hat in a nonchalant greeting’. The lineage between the ‘Nunne’ fool in ULK and the Berlin Dadaists’ ball-bellied ‘host’ is strengthened by the fact that the chief editor of ULK, Sigmar Mehring (1856-1915), was Berlin Dadaist Walter Mehring’s father. In a manner characteristic of many of the case studies in this chapter, having borrowed this satirical conceit from the Witzblätter, the Dadaists then turned it on its head by presenting their Blatt ‘host’ as a grotesque middle-class ‘fool’ and a mouthpiece for absurd proclamations, such as ‘everyman [is] his own football!’.

29 Grindon, ‘Refusal,’ 94.
2. Typographic Dexterities and the Shift from Advertising to Branding

2.1. George Grosz's *Kannst du radfahren?* in *Neue Jugend* (1917) and the *ULK* header (1901)

When considering unorthodox approaches to typography in Dada magazines, it is first important to emphasise how these experiments broke with the publication formats of the group's Expressionist peers. In her *Dada Magazines* monograph, Emily Hage distinguishes between the treatment of text and image in Berlin Dada magazines vis-à-vis the Berlin-based Expressionist *Sturm* magazine, whose issues date back to 1910. Hage notes how the woodcut prints in *Der Sturm* ‘punctuate’ the texts featured in the periodical in a manner that establishes clear separations between the two media, pursuing a conventional relationship between printed text and image. Dada publications, on the other hand, ‘combined various kinds of text and images, scrambled layouts and font types and sizes [...] and used the publications themselves as sources and sites for collages’.

Discussing the cover design for Raoul Hausmann’s book *Material der Malerei Plastik Architektur* (Material of Painting, Sculpture, Architecture) (1918) [Fig. 22], Dada scholar Barbara Lindlar similarly observes how Hausmann pioneered a ‘new form, in which text and image are inextricably bound’, and letters are ‘manipulated like collage elements’. If, as Herzfelde asserts, Dada magazines sought to fill the void left by the pre-war iterations

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30 Hage, *Dada Magazines*, 63.
of *Der Sturm* and *Simplicissimus*, it was the latter publication that had begun to break down conventional demarcations between text and image since its inception in 1896.\(^{32}\)

For instance, in a header design for the *Simplicissimus* Beiblatt (supplement) from 1904, decorative flourishes frame the title, metamorphosing into mirrored portrayals of the magazine’s trademark icons: monstrous black satyrs and bulldogs [Fig. 23]. By designing graphic elements which interact with the header typography, treating text as a visual element, the *Simplicissimus* supplement followed in the steps of visual conventions established by earlier Witzblätter, such as ULK, which was founded in 1872. By way of tracing this visual heritage, we may begin by formally considering the playful typography in ULK’s header design alongside one of the Berlin Dadaists’ most innovative uses of typography: Grosz’s *Kannst du radfahren?* (Can you ride a bicycle?) essay in the June 1917 issue of *Neue Jugend*.

To start first with the example by Grosz, Simmons and Beals single out his *Kannst du radfahren?* ‘essay’ [Fig. 24] as a ground-breaking application of typeface within a magazine whose design was already revolutionary, namely, the ‘proto-Dada’ 1917 June issue of *Neue Jugend* [Fig. 25].\(^{33}\) According to Herzfelde, *Neue Jugend*

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\(^{33}\) Beals notes how Grosz consistently referred to these pieces as ‘essays’. See Kurt Beals, ‘Text and the City: George Grosz, *Neue Jugend*, and the Political Power of Popular Media’, *Dada/Surrealism* 19 (2013): 6-7, DOI: [https://doi.org/10.17077/0084-9537.1280](https://doi.org/10.17077/0084-9537.1280). Although technically pre-dating Dada’s arrival in Berlin, Grosz’s essay is included in a plate prepared for the unpublished *Dadaco: Dadaistischer Handatlas*, plate 7 (Munich: Kurt Wolff, 1919-20),
was banned in April 1917 while he had been called up to the front. During this time, Franz Jung and Heartfield printed the two special ‘weekly’ large format issues illegally in the absence of the head editor.34

Grosz’s Kannst du radfahren? essay invokes the experience of watching painted advertisements on the sides of tenements while riding the S-Bahn in Berlin, relaying the incessant presence of ‘ganze Straßen Buchstaben’ (‘whole streets of letters’) as ‘Erlasse des Kaufmanns’ (‘decrees of the salesman’).35 Beals identifies how the flurry of products listed in the essay, such as ‘Teppich-Thomas’ (‘Carpet Thomas’), ‘Steiners Paradiesbett’ (‘Steiner’s Paradise Bed’), and ‘Regie-Zigaretten’ (‘Director Cigarettes’) ‘approximate the wide range of lettering encountered in urban advertisements’ [Fig. 26].36 The quality of foolishness is visually signalled here in the sense that each brand name is transcribed in a different font and colour. Indeed, both Beals and Simmons comment on the ludic nature of Grosz’s technique, highlighting how his contributions to this issue of Neue Jugend ‘revelled in the hedonistic appeal of advertising and popular entertainment’ in order to goad the press’s claims to ‘objectivity and restraint’.37


35 George Grosz, Kannst du radfahren?, Neue Jugend, June 1917, issue 1. Sherwin Simmons, ‘Neue Jugend: A Case Study in Berlin Dada,’ in Companion to Dada and Surrealism, 41. It is important to note that this was almost certainly a collaboration between Grosz, as the text’s author, and Heartfield as the magazine’s primary designer, however, it is impossible to know who is responsible for the conception of the specific typographical decisions discussed here.
37 Beals, ‘Grosz,’ 22; Simmons, ‘Advertising Seizes,’ 131.
The gold standard in corrupting the press’s objectivity and restraint, Witzblätter like ULK displayed a similarly ludic approach to design. As the free supplement to the Berliner Tageblatt from 1872 to 1922, ULK functioned as this newspaper’s satirical foil, a ‘licensed carnival’ to the officiated worldview promoted by the Tageblatt. The ULK header of an issue printed in 1901 even visually represents its own ‘license’ in the ‘Ehrendiplom’ (honorary diploma) held in the owl’s claw [Fig. 15]. With a fool’s cap featured on the header of this meta-document, the mock diploma recalls the Latinate carnivalesque tradition cited by Bakhtin of producing faux municipal texts during carnival, such as epitaphs, council decrees and wills. The fools have stitched ribbons and bells through the letters of the ULK header, constructing swings for them to rest on. They have also adorned the letters, fastening them with bejewelled clasps, causing the font to take on a garnish yellow hue.

This playful ‘hacking’ of the header, performed by the fool icons, corrupts the traditional boundaries between text and image, clearly establishing the Witzblatt as the dominion of the fool. Like Grosz’s Kannst du radfahren? essay, the gaudy colours in the Witzblatt satirise the monochrome sobriety of the German bourgeois press. But while the Dadaists looked to new forms of visuality associated with accelerating commercialism, the Witzblatt header instead seems to hark back more to the visual foolishness seen in the carnivalesque marginalia of illuminated medieval manuscripts. This is commensurate with the fact that, in the wake of the emergence of photojournalism, the survival of the Witzblatt medium hinged on its ability to stress a uniquely entertaining visuality not easily replicated by photography.

38 Bakhtin, Rabelais, 14.
In its contrasting allusions to modernity, Grosz’s unconventional use of design elements forces an unexpected visual encounter upon the reader. This disrupts the experience of reading in a manner not unlike the design of the *ULK* header, whose fanciful details are intended to engage the reader, so that they view the heading as both text and an image. However, the detail of one of the brand names rendered by Grosz, which has heretofore been overlooked by scholars commenting on the piece, clearly distinguishes the critical application of typography in *Neue Jugend* from the carnivalesque typography in *ULK*.

Beyond simply evoking the city’s dizzying array of advertisements painted storeys high on tenement walls, in the case of the company name ‘AEG’ (Allgemeine Elektricitäts-Gesellschaft, or General Electric Company), Grosz mimics a specific company logo, namely the AEG logo designed by architect and corporate branding pioneer, Peter Behrens, in 1912 [Fig. 27].39 The bold Roman upper-case type with serifs set at a slant closely matches that of Behrens’ AEG logo, with the exception that the middle serif of the ‘E’ slants in the opposite direction. Positioning a real commercial logo in the body text implicitly asks the reader to approach logos as a literary component with visual attributes. The provocation of inserting a logo into a literary text amounts to a kind of performance of a brand, catalysing the mental associations signified by the company name.

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39 For a discussion on the AEG logo and the Deutscher Werkbund, see Frederic J. Schwartz, ‘Commodity Signs: Peter Behrens, the AEG, and the Trademark,’ *Journal of Design History* 9, no. 3 (1996): 153-184.
In terms of which semiotic meanings may have been signified by the AEG logo, this company’s branding was itself a topic of debate before the war. Behrens’ holistic approach as ‘artistic advisor’ for AEG, working as their advertising specialist, product designer, and architect, was lauded by members of the Deutscher Werkbund for its pursual of a coherence of style.\textsuperscript{40} In 1910, Behrens’ wrote how the ‘visual unity’ of modern approaches to design could forge a new relationship between arts and industry, in which visual design was able to communicate ‘the entire spiritual life of an epoch’.\textsuperscript{41} As editor of the June issue of \textit{Neue Jugend}, and Grosz’s likely collaborator on the \textit{Radfahren} essay’s typography, Heartfield was certainly familiar with the Werkbund’s aesthetic ideas and standards, having won first place for one of his designs submitted to the Cologne Werkbund exhibition in 1914.\textsuperscript{42}

This small detail consequently displays the Dadaists’ dexterity as artist-poets able to deftly master and parody cutting-edge forms of advertising. In his performed breech of copyright approximating a form of product placement, Grosz shows how the ‘honorary degree of the fool’ has been usurped by new ‘decrees of the salesman’. In a carnivalesque inversion, text usually found in the classified section is inserted into the main text, deliberately convoluting the traditionally distinct realms of advertising and poetry. The decontextualised company logo therefore deliberately perverts the unsullied realm of literature with the potent commercial symbol of the AEG logo. Given the redemptive value ascribed by Behrens and Werkbund commentators to this commercial visuality, the subversive design gesture embedded in Grosz’s \textit{Radfahren}

\textsuperscript{40} Schwartz, ‘Commodity Signs,’ 153, 157.
\textsuperscript{41} Peter Behrens, ‘Kunst und Technik’ (1910), in Schwartz, ‘Commodity Signs,’ 155.
\textsuperscript{42} Herzfelde, \textit{Heartfield: Leben und Werk}, 9-12.
essay critiques the realm of advertising as readily as it critiques the mores and standards of literature.

3. Ludic Structure and Image Circulation

3.1. *Die Pleite* insert in *Der Gegner* (December 1920) and Playing Card Designs by Julius Diez in *Jugend* (1898)

Moving from the micro design element of modified lettering to a macro consideration of magazine structure, in the following comparative case study, I posit that the overall structure of imperial *Witzblätter* and Dada magazines could also incorporate a ludic, ‘foolish’ quality. Further, I show how the ludic design of a magazine’s structure was determined by its status as a material object moving through distributive networks. A ludic approach to magazine structure can be seen in a broadsheet special edition of *Die Pleite*, featured in a late 1920 issue of *Der Gegner: Blätter zur Kritik der Zeit* (The Adversary: Notes toward Criticism of the Time) [Fig. 28] [Fig. 29], and a promotional card deck in a 1898 issue of *Jugend* [Fig. 30].\footnote{The insert appears in *Der Gegner*, Jahrgang 2, issue no. 6. It is dated by Hage as ‘December 1920 - January 1921’, in Le Bon, ed., *Dada: Paris*, 812.} Despite the two decades and vastly different editorial agendas that separate these examples, both pursued an unconventional approach to magazine structure, and drew attention to the magazine’s status as a material object in the process.

As Kriebel records, from late 1919, the radical left-wing aesthetics journal *Der Gegner* advertised that issues in 1920 would appear ‘in Verschmelzung mit’ (‘merged
Die Pleite. The first Der Gegner issue from 1920 is accordingly subtitled ‘mit den satirischen Teil Die Pleite’ (‘with the satirical section, Die Pleite’), presenting Die Pleite as the Witzblatt supplement of Der Gegner. Behind this move was an intervention by Herzfelde. At the end of 1919, the officer and high-ranking civil servant Otto Marloh was acquitted, despite having ordered the summary execution of twenty nine members of the People’s Naval Division in March of that year. The diaries of Dada patron Harry Graf Kessler record how the trial’s outcome determined Herzfelde’s resolve to continue printing Die Pleite, despite the risks involved.

During the course of its publication, Die Pleite performed some of the most dynamic shapeshifting of any of the Dada-affiliated magazines. It was conceived in Grosz’s studio as a replacement for Jedermann sein eigner Fussball. According to Mehring, the name ‘bankruptcy’ was chosen following Carl Einstein’s anticipation of its immediate censorship. As a magazine which, in the words of Kriebel, ‘from the outset anticipated its own extinction’, Die Pleite was sardonically ironic in its conception. Herzfelde was then unable to publish the second issue due to his incarceration for the publication of Jedermann sein eigner Fussball, instead releasing a pamphlet outlining his experiences during his imprisonment between 7-20 March 1919, titled Schutzhaft (Preventative Arrest). From its third issue, Die Pleite was

44 Kriebel, ‘Radical Left,’ 840. Until the first issue with Malik Verlag and Dadaist involvement, Der Gegner, having been set up by sociologist Julian Gumperz and Expressionist writer Karl Otten in April 1919, was devoid of any images or dynamic design, save the title. The first Malik issue (Jahrgang 1, 1919, Heft 8-9, early winter issue), though still edited by Otten and Gumperz, contained contributions by Jung and Herzfelde, and design elements were only restricted to the title page. From Heft 10-12, which reprinted the joint Grosz and Heartfield essay ‘Der Kunstlump’ (the Art Scab), Der Gegner was illustrated with images by Grosz.
46 Mehring in Herzfelde, Der Malik Verlag, 35.
47 Kriebel, ‘Radical Left,’ 836
48 Kriebel, ‘Radical Left,’ 838.
smuggled into factories to be distributed, as vendors deemed it too risky to sell on the street.\textsuperscript{49}

In the case of the particular \textit{Pleite} instalment analysed here, for the sixth issue of \textit{Der Gegner}’s second year of publication (Jg 2, Heft 6), the editorial team at the time—Herzfelde and the sociologist Julian Gumperz—opted to produce a ‘verstärkte Nummer’ (‘enhanced issue’), priced with the \textit{Pleite} supplement at three Marks. In addition to the insert, the contents of this more extensive issue included three further illustrations by Grosz, a play by Franz Jung, and the second instalment of a serialised essay by Herzfelde entitled ‘Gesellschaft, Künstler und Kommunismus’ (‘Society, Artists and Communism’).\textsuperscript{50} Once removed from between the pages of this issue of \textit{Der Gegner}, the \textit{Pleite} broadsheet unfolds to form a double-sided poster of Grosz illustrations four times the size of the original magazine page [Fig. 28] [Fig. 29]. The contents of the \textit{Beilage} (insert) are listed as ‘Neun Zeichnungen von George Grosz: \textit{Das reiche Ungeziefer} – \textit{Der Stinnes geht um! Ein Bilderbogen}’ (nine illustrations by George Grosz: ‘The rich pest’, ‘– Stinnes gets around! An illustrated Broadsheet’). Grosz’s pen and ink drawings are divided into an eight-part cartoon strip satirising the industrialist Hugo Stinnes on one side, and a poster showing ‘the rich pest’ of bourgeois factory owners on the verso.

\textsuperscript{49} Herzfelde reports smuggling between 4000 to 5000 copies of issue no. 3 into factories. See Kessler, 12 April 1919, \textit{Tagebuch}, vol. 7, 228, 231. See also Kriebel, ‘Radical Left,’ 838. \textsuperscript{50} Wieland Herzfelde, ‘Gesellschaft, Künstler und Kommunismus,’ \textit{Der Gegner} 1920/21, issue 5, 131-138; issue 6, 194-197; issue 8/9, 302-309; issue 11, 362-370. Jung’s play is titled \textit{Wie lange noch}?
Grosz’s illustrations are analysed in more detail in Chapter 2. For now, it is simply important to note how this issue has effectively been stripped back, compressed, and expanded into a double-sided broadsheet of visual material, with the image captions and header comprising the document’s only text. Examining Grosz and Einstein’s editorial takeover of Der Blutige Ernst from its third issue in 1919, Kriebel draws attention to a line published in the magazine stating that all illustrations would henceforth be featured in ‘poster’ format, indicative of the fact that the editors ‘envisioned a life for Grosz’s drawings outside of the magazine’. The Pleite insert is evidently created for this same purpose. Through its format, the expandible Pleite insert encourages the Gegner subscriber to remove the broadsheet, transferring Grosz’s imagery from its pages and onto a wall in a larger format. Both the Blutige Ernst and Pleite inserts therefore take into consideration the total material life of the periodical in which they appear. However, unlike the extractible poster images in Der Blutige Ernst, this issue of Die Pleite is unusual in that the entire publication was itself compressed into a double-sided broadsheet of cartoons.

Die Pleite adopted the streamlined format of Witzblatt cartoons as an ironic response to the blanket ban of the publication, imposed from January 1920. Assuming the liminal, transient form of a Witzblatt supplement forced the editorship to select the core elements it wished to retain when producing a dramatically truncated iteration of the magazine. Herzfelde settled on a form which centred the visual Witze (jokes) of Grosz’s poster cartoons. The insert exemplifies the shapeshifting performed

51 Kriebel, ‘Radical Left,’ 845. A good example of this is the Grosz illustration in issue 5 of Der Blutige Ernst, December 1919, occupying a double-page spread: Zum Prozeß Reinhard – Kessel – Marloh.
52 Görlich, ‘Einleitung,’ xiii.
by Dada magazines, as they continued to constantly re-emerge in new formats following each censorial restriction placed on their various publications. *Die Pleite*'s temporary masked guise as a Witzblatt insert for *Der Gegner* equates to yet another distribution strategy, enabling this contraband material to reach otherwise inaccessible readerships. None of the issues from the magazine’s time as a satirical insert for *Der Gegner*, after *Die Pleite*’s sixth issue (January 1920), are counted in the official chronological run of the magazine, a fact which further contributes to the clandestine quality of unnumbered inserts.\(^5\) It appears that the design choices made during this time contributed to the publication’s illustration-heavy format following its illegal revival as a full magazine in 1923.\(^4\)

The *Pleite* insert’s fin-de-siècle analogue in this discussion, a deck of cards designed by Julius Diez (1870-1954), also known as Julius Dietz, presents another example of a magazine whose design emphasises its own materiality as a compound object with extractible components. According to Herzfelde, Diez was one of Heartfield’s professors during his time at the Royal Bavarian School of Applied Arts from 1909, a key space for the early advocacy of design principles.\(^5\) In these samples from a promotional deck published in an 1898 issue of *Jugend* [Fig. 30], the joker icon is not confined to one card but moves through the set, lurking in doorways, riding a lobster, or preaching from the pulpit. The sinuous linearity of Diez’s illustrations

\(^{53}\) When *Die Pleite* resumed operations in July 1923, the series began where it left off, starting from issue 7, and copies were distributed in Leipzig as well as Berlin.
signifies a distinctly medieval vision of carnival by imitating Northern Renaissance woodcuts by Albrecht Dürer, such as his print depicting the ‘Ship of Fools’ [Fig. 31]. Like the Pleite broadsheet, the double spread of card designs exists as ‘open source’, or freely available to the subscriber for use beyond the confines of the magazine. The reproduction of these designs, whilst not directly asking the reader to incise and reassemble the cards into a handmade deck, certainly presents this as a viable possibility, one encouraged by the recurring iconography of the fool.

This particular issue of Jugend (Heft 49, 1898) features an incomplete deck of twenty-four cards, the remaining designs having been released in earlier issues. By staggering the release of the cards, Jugend made the deck less readily accessible than the Pleite insert. Indeed, the direct incentive for their publication was to pique the reader’s interest, and ideally to spur the purchase of additional merchandise produced by the Witzblatt’s marketing team under Georg Hirth’s directorship. A classified announcement [Fig. 32] in the same issue reads,

The Jugend playing cards, the last set of which are featured in this issue, are now available as a ready-to-use pack in a case for 1.50. Marks – Decoration based on drawings by the artist. – Orders are accepted at all Jugend outlets.56

From 1898, these cards were manufactured in a factory in Stralsund which specialised in the fabrication of playing cards [Fig. 33].57 Beyond its role as promotion for a commodity, however, the publication of the deck also showcased how the aestheticised, high-quality design promoted by the Jugendstil movement might

56 ‘Die Jugendspielkarten, deren letzte Folge wir in dieser Nummer bringen, liegen nunmehr als gebrauchsfähiges Spiel in Etui zu Mark 1.50 vor. – Ausstattung nach Zeichnungen des Künstlers. – Bestellungen werden an allen Verkaufsstellen der Jugend angenommen.’ Jugend, 1898, issue 49.
57 The cards were manufactured at the Vereinigte Stralsunder Spielkarten-Fabriken.
transform everyday objects. Diez’s contributions to Jugend thus functioned both as a platform for exhibiting his fine art drawings, and as a facsimile advertisement for the ‘ludic’ commercial product of playing cards.

Both this, and the very suggestion of taking a pair of scissors to the magazine, is significant as it breaks with the precedent set by Germany’s earliest artists’ journal, Pan (1895-1900), a publication described by Weikop as ‘the first truly avant-garde journal to emerge in Germany’.58 Founded by writer Otto Julius Bierbaum (1865-1910) and art critic Julius Meier-Graefe (1867-1935), Pan was designed as a collectible art object, printed on lavish paper and available to purchase from 75 Marks, or in the yet more exclusive forms of a deluxe and artists’ edition.59 Issues of Pan were inherently autotelic in nature, with each copy existing autonomously as an end in itself, or, in the words of Andreas Kramer, ‘an art object in its own right’.60 This editorial conception is comparable to Zurich Dada’s deluxe printed magazines: the deluxe editions of Dada 3 were 20 Swiss francs, in contrast to the 1.5 francs for the standard edition, while Dada 4/5 (1919) featured limited edition woodcut prints by Hans Arp (1886-1966).61

Despite his status as one of Jugend’s primary contributors, only a handful of Diez’s images were published in Pan.62 As Kramer argues, Pan promoted the autonomy of art, aiming to embody an exquisite outlet for Symbolism, Neo-

60 Kramer, ‘Between art and activism,’ 752.
61 Hage, Dada Magazines, 83 n.7, 75.
62 Hiesinger, Art Nouveau in Munich, 46.
Romanticism and Aestheticism, rejecting playful Historicism, such as that seen in Diez’s playing cards.\(^{63}\) In its earliest iteration, then, *Pan* was conceived as a complete art object, an agenda entirely at odds with the ludic approach to structure displayed by Diez’s collectable card designs, and the extractable *Pleite* broadsheet hidden in *Der Gegner*.

As such, Hage’s understanding that ‘Dada magazines catalysed what [Walter] Benjamin called the Dadaists’ “relentless destruction of the aura”’ may also be extended to the *Jugend* deck.\(^{64}\) By rebuffing the fetishisation of the magazine as a hermetically self-contained artwork, *Jugend*, while not ‘destroying’ the aura of the original altogether, certainly sought to disperse it through processes of mass production and circulation. The example of the *Jugend* deck therefore troubles Hage’s assertion that Dada magazines engendered ‘a fundamentally new perception of artworks as multiple, moving and mutable materials to be reused, reframed, cut up, and altered’.\(^{65}\) Embedded in the designs in *Jugend* by Heartfield’s professor is the possibility of the illustrations’ proliferation beyond the magazine confines, through their physical extraction or by their purchase as a ready-made *Jugendstil* deck.

Ultimately, the *Jugend* deck and the *Pleite* insert indicate how a magazine’s distribution networks may shape both the structure of the magazine, and the artistic conception of the material contained within its pages. Referring to Benjamin’s notion that ‘the work of art reproduced becomes the work of art designed for reproducibility’,

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\(^{63}\) Kramer, ‘Between Art,’ 750.

\(^{64}\) Hage, *Dada Magazines*, 77.

\(^{65}\) Hage, 77.
Hage highlights how the Dadaists’ focus on their magazines shaped their output, resulting in a prevalence of prints over painting, as the former was easier to reproduce within a magazine. The Jugend deck and Pleite insert were not only created with a view to their reproduction as images, but also their distribution as objects. Commercial imperial Witzblätter, propped up by high advertising fees, were available to purchase from a wide range of outlets, such as train stations, and enjoyed large readerships. By contrast, as Der Gegner and Die Pleite were produced by independent or bootleg printing presses, they could not attract such illustrious advertising sponsorship. For these latter publications, the high circulation numbers of media from the party press or commercial Witzblätter were unattainable.

As such, while the Jugend deck embraces the magazine as a platform and outlet for the widespread marketing of applied arts design, the Pleite insert instead wields its own ephemerality to its advantage. Its compression into an extractible Witzblatt component allows it to physically enact the magazine’s ideological function to spread its perspectives and values among the populace. Conceived with both reproduction and distribution in mind, the Pleite insert was designed to be deconstructed and reformed by a reader. Its ludic structure embodied the distributional strategy of ‘smuggling’ Grosz’s acerbic satire beyond the magazine bounds and, in turn, beyond the magazine readership.

66 Hage, 76.
67 In the case of twentieth-century avant-garde ‘little magazines’, these were extremely low-circulation as they were predominantly posted to specific recipients or stocked in select localities, such as the Café des Westens, the epicentre of avant-garde Berlin during the 1910s.
68 According to Herzfelde, all 7,600 copies of Jedermann were sold on a single afternoon during the promotional parade through the streets of Berlin. Taylor, Left-wing Nietzscheans, 200. By May 1919, between 10,000 to 12,000 copies of each Die Pleite issue were printed. Kessler, 3 May 1919, Tagebuch, vol 7., 242.
4. Textual Montage and Ludic Legibility

4.1. Cover Design for *Der Dada* 2 (1919) and *Das Königswort* cartoon in *ULK* (1912)

The remaining half of the chapter turns its focus to strategies of montage and photomontage, taking the cover design of *Der Dada*’s second issue, released in December 1919, as its first example [Fig. 12]. This cover is primarily considered alongside a cartoon from a 1912 issue of *ULK*, entitled *Das Königswort* (The Word of the King) [Fig. 34], and also, to a lesser extent, an *ULK* cover from 1911 depicting a toad crawling across an issue of the right-wing *Neue Preußische Zeitung* [Fig. 35]. Both the cover design and the cartoon are significant for the ways in which they deconstruct printed text in order to translate it into an image. In this sense, they both recall the fool’s carnivalesque mandate to destabilise categories. However, as shall become evident, these twin strategies, of treating text as image, and impairing textual legibility, are employed to different degrees in either example, and to drastically divergent ends, indicating how shared formal technique is not a reliable marker of shared aesthetic intent. In spite of these distinctions, the legibility of the text in each example is subverted to some degree, an effect that, I argue, converts text into an image in order to provide a critique on the way information is filtered through different media.

This second issue of *Der Dada* was the first to feature montage. The images in the first issue were limited to woodblock prints and compositions of printer’s tray.
symbols. In addition to the cover design, two further montages appear in the pages of this second issue, *Das ist die Erscheinung des Oberdadas* (This is the Appearance of the Oberdada) [Fig. 36], depicting Baader in the guise of a celestial entity, and Hausmann’s portrait of the poet Paul Gurk, captioned *Klebebild aus dem Dadaco* (Collage from the Dadaco) [Fig. 37]. Although only the representation of the ‘Oberdada’ can be categorised as a photomontage, both are abstracted portraits. In fact, all the images contained within *Der Dada* 2, aside from an image by Höch in an advertisement, are portraits of some kind, the remaining examples being Hausmann’s photographic double portrait of himself and Baader [Fig. 38], and Grosz’s pen and ink sketch *Selbstbildnis von George Grosz* (Self-portrait of George Grosz) [Fig. 39].

Weikop traces the development of abstracted portraiture through *Der Dada*. He notes how the Gurk portrait, categorised as an ‘antiportrait’ by Michel Giroud, seems to develop a genre introduced by an abstract woodcut portrait of the Oberdada on the back page of *Der Dada* 1 [Fig. 40].

The abstract, textual montage on the cover of *Der Dada* 2 may also be read as an equally ironic ‘portrait’, figuratively depicting the issue’s editorial team of Hausmann and Baader, or Berlin Dada itself, defined and represented through its core avant-garde publication. The *Klebebild* of textual fragments presents itself almost as a graphic rendering of the ‘Dada’ header, whose bold, uppercase lettering rivals the montage in size. When read as a carnivalesque portrait of Dadaism, as embodied by the magazine editors, it also alludes to Hausmann’s photographic double portrait of himself and Baader on page 3. If the montage is to be interpreted as a proxy portrait

69 On the marginalisation of Höch in the magazine projects, see Hemus, *Dada’s Women*, 92.
70 Weikop, ‘Berlin Dada,’ 825.
of the movement, the ludic fusion of text and montage is appropriate in this context. Before the Dadaists’ innovations in photomontage, they first experimented with montaging non-photographic, textual elements into *Klebebilder*, an innovation which, according to Hausmann, allowed the group to bypass ‘Darstellungen’ (‘representations’) in favour of ‘contact with matter’.\(^\text{71}\)

According to Michael White, one of the Berlin Dadaists’ earliest surviving montages is a ‘found’ piece of text, not an image: the phrase “Ich liebe dich!”, pasted by Hausmann onto a 1918 postcard addressed to Höch [Fig. 41].\(^\text{72}\) Hage elucidates how Dada magazines were also important sites for the development and dissemination of the movement’s ‘celebrated innovations in typography and layout that sabotaged legibility’.\(^\text{73}\) Hage interprets their subversions of legibility as ‘a provocative, political gesture at a time of fervent attempts to streamline communication technologies’.\(^\text{74}\) As Beals has shown through his work on Dada poetry, cryptography, and telegraphy’s abbreviations, the Dadaists’ subversions of legibility perhaps represented less of a provocative break with modern communication technologies and more of a reflective reappraisal of them.\(^\text{75}\)

The use of sheer black off-cuts throughout the image on the cover of *Der Dada* 2, particularly around the edges of the compacted montage, create the impression of

\(^{71}\) Benson, *Hausmann*, 116.
\(^{73}\) Hage, *Dada Magazines*, 12.
\(^{74}\) Hage, 12.
a dense crystalline object. Grainy flattened planes of text depict Dada as if it were a specimen under a microscope. Hage perceptively comments on how this low-resolution was the result of the editors’ decision to use the outdated nineteenth-century printing technique of photolithography, which served to amplify—rather than smooth out—printed ‘noise’ and other imperfections.76 Upon closer inspection, the absurd portrait of Dada presents to a reader familiar with the movement as a grotesque assemblage of off-cuts predominately sourced from Dada texts. These include: the manifesto signed by Hausmann, Huelsenbeck, and composer Jefim Golyscheff, ‘What is Dadaism and what does it want in Germany?’; Baader’s alternative dating system ‘Ao. 19.’; Baader’s ‘Jesus redivivus’ text; Hausmann’s name as featured in the contents page of Die Erde; and a smaller version of the letter ‘A’ from the header’s ‘DADA’ text.77

Only those familiar with Dada would be able to identify the fragments of text in the montage, their legibility having been obscured through both the photolithographic technique and the montaging of textual fragments [Fig. 42]. Despite the prompt on the cover to ‘tretet Dada bei’ (‘join Dada’), these factors grant the montage an esoteric quality to those not familiar with the movement. One further fragment of a text by Marxist and SPD activist Alexander Parvus, Klassenkampf des Proletariats (1911), though not penned by the Dadaists, equally requires at certain familiarity with German revolutionary politics on the part of a contemporary reader.78 Chapter 3 explores how

76 Hage, Dada Magazines, 87, n 46; 65.
77 Hage interprets the cover as a self-portrait of Hausmann, based on the premise that ‘most of the texts [he] used are by him’. Hage, Dada Magazines, 77. However, an ironic portrait of the overall editorship seems more likely if one tallies all of the identifiable texts.
78 For example, the montage includes a fragment from Marxist and SPD activist Alexander Parvus, Klassenkampf des Proletariats (1911), which reads: ‘Narren sind es, die glauben der Arbeiter werde aufhören, vorwärts zu streben, wenn seine materielle Not gelindert wird.’
the Dadaists’ self-referentiality was received by live audiences containing followers of the movement, but also large numbers of uninitiated members of the public. In this case, given the low circulation of avant-garde ‘little magazines’, this printed medium was a more appropriate site for the Dadaists’ self-reflexive focus.

Conversely, as the free supplement of the Berliner Tageblatt, the ULK cartoon from 1912 reached over 200,000 readers. These high circulation numbers ensured that the ‘montaging’ present in the cartoon was applied to markedly different ends, only gently impeding legibility. The cartoon addresses the issue of suffrage, showing Chancellor Theobald von Bethmann Hollweg, and Interior Minister of Prussia, Johann von Dallwitz, taking scissors to a quotation from a statement made by the Kaiser regarding voting reform [Fig. 34]. Kaiser Wilhelm II was on record as having declared, ‘I see [reform] as one of the most urgent tasks of the present day’. As this line was frequently quoted in the context of parliamentary debates published in the newspapers, it would have been familiar to the reader. In other words, its montaged fragmentation only simulates a loss of legibility. According to the caption, the ministers explain that they have crafted the Kaiser’s statement into ‘ein nettes Puzzle-Spiel’ (‘a lovely jigsaw’). The ministers’ reluctance to extend certain voting rights in Prussia is thus ridiculed as a childish deferment of their duty to the Kaiser. Symbolising their trivialisation of the word of the Kaiser, the ministers are depicted in tailcoats as deranged comic figures brandishing sharp scissors at an alarmed middle-class citizen.

('Fools are they who believe the worker will stop striving when his material need is alleviated').

79 Jörn Retterath, „Was ist das Volk?“ Volks- und Gemeinschaftskonzepte der politischen Mitte in Deutschland 1917-1924 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2016), 417.

Through this construction, the cartoon exemplifies a core strategy of bourgeois satire: figures of power are mocked at the expense of highlighting systemic corruption. The cartoon appeals to nationalist, but also pro-imperial sentiments, by showing the ministers as serving the interests of the German aristocracy from which they themselves hailed, over the will of the emperor.

Despite its fragmented design, the image ultimately illustrates how humour magazines, as ‘fools’ of the bourgeois press, nurtured a relationship with their the Kaiser. During the Wilhelmine period, it was common for Witzblätter to directly respond to their sovereign’s many public statements, replicating a fool’s sanctioned communiqués to a king. In the ULK cartoon, then, the act of montaging or dissembling the text reinforces the legitimacy of the ‘word of the king’, as the distorting act of its montaging is carried out by the corrupt agents of the ministers. It thus evokes literary scholar Hugh Haughton’s reading of the genre of ‘nonsense’ as an instrument used to ‘police the frontiers of acceptable meaning’.81 Here, the disfigured ludic form of the textual montage emulates the irrational properties of ‘nonsense’ to conversely stress the truthful credibility of the Kaiser’s comment. Such sharply divergent applications of montage seen in the Witzblätter and Dada magazines perhaps account for why the humour magazines are rarely considered as sources for the Dadaists’ montaging techniques.

Yet the suffrage cartoon was but one example in a broader trend experimenting with ever more innovative satirical imagery. To take another example, an ULK cover

from 1911 shows, like the Der Dada cover, an abstracted, montaged portrait of a magazine [Fig. 35]. The ULK cover presents a fragment of a Neue Preußische Zeitung cover, with perforations along its edges as if freshly torn from the newspaper. Although many of the letters in its title have been cropped along the simulated tear line, the iron cross logo clearly identifies the newspaper. Unlike the textual fragments on the cover of Der Dada 2, the print quality of the text on the ULK front cover is high enough that the visible text is legible. However, the newspaper’s text has also been transmuted into an image as its contents are largely obscured by a crude trompe l’oeil illustration of a toad crawling across the cover, leaving a trail of black bile in its wake.

The iron cross on the toad’s back reinforces the grotesque creature’s function as a symbolic portrait of the newspaper, metamorphosing the newspaper and its editorship into a putrid toad. Below the cover image, the caption refers to the Witzblatt’s ongoing feud with this paper: ‘The Kreuz newspaper demands stringent measures against other papers. A pure soul. “You stink!” it screams. Who stinks? It stinks!’.

The brazen imagery of the cover design presents a hand-drawn illustration over a singular fragment of text to appropriate and mock the visual branding of the conservative publication.

In sum, within both Dada and Witzblatt publications, the legibility of textual fragments undergoes a process of interference. The conversion of textual fragments into ludic forms of varying legibility emphasises how text in the context of media is not a neutral carrier of meaning or linguistic signification. Rather, text, when filtered

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through media, undergoes a process of visualisation that causes it to actively contribute to wider artistic or ideological agenda.

5. Ludic Photomontage

5.1. Jedermann sein eigner Fussball cover (1919) and Photography in Witzblatt cartoons (1911-1913)

In addition to textual fragments, photographic images were also subjected to ‘montaging’ processes in pre-war imperial German Witzblätter. Discussing the use of these images in the context of advertising, Simmons has established beyond doubt how Berlin Dada’s photomontage was partly shaped by photographic techniques developed in advertising studios; techniques Heartfield was exposed to during his time working under graphic designer Ernst Neumann.83 Further to this, Michael White also comments on Grosz’s training in commercial graphic design, noting how Grosz’s curriculum at the Unterrichtsanstalt (educational institution) of the Kunstgewerbemuseum (museum of applied arts) involved both fine and applied arts exercises. For example, in 1912, his first year at the school, he received an honourable mention in a competition whose entries could design either a full-page advertisement for a newspaper, or various types of certificates.84 What scholars have yet to address

84 White, Generation Dada, 112.
is the possible influence of the more satirical, subversive applications of photography seen not in photographic advertisements, but in the Witzblatt cartoons themselves.

In the following, I present examples that constitute a new source for Dada photomontage. Crucially, this new proposed source, of late Witzblatt cartoons, are much closer to Dada photomontage than any other known sources. This is due to the fact the Witzblatt cartoons examined here deliberately montage or decontextualise photographic fragments to visually communicate a sense of irony or subversion. By contrast, the recognised and documented sources of: sentimental and patriotic Liebesgaben (love gift) albums sent to the front in care packages; military oleographic portrait mementos, such as those described by Höch; and magazine advertisements featuring photography were all earnest and affirmative applications of ‘montaging’.85

In other words, they were produced not to subvert, but to directly perpetuate and bolster either the war effort or commerce. I argue that the relative proximity between Witzblatt cartoons featuring photography and early Dada photomontage reframes the photomontage medium as a mechanised iteration of the genre of satirical cartoons.

To begin to address this overlooked source for Dada photomontage, ludic photographic constructions in a 1911 issue of the Lustige Blätter and 1913 issue of ULK are here analysed in relation to the grotesque, fool-like portrait of Wieland Herzfelde on the cover of Jedermann sein eigner Fussball (February 1919) [Fig. 20].

Predating Der Dada 2 by ten months, the cover of Jedermann sein eigner Fussball demonstrates how the Berlin Dadaists’ first public, printed montages formed

highly figurative, albeit fantastical, constructions. This figurative imagery contrasts sharply with the abstracted textual montage on the cover of the second issue of the group’s avant-garde ‘little magazine’. Herzfelde writes of the magazine cover, ‘This type of political pictorial satire was a precursor to photomontage; even though the term didn’t exist back then’. As a detail from the Dadaists’ earliest photographic montage, the football-bellied Herzfelde ‘host’ illustrates how photomontage was first developed as a tool for satirical pillory, rather than aesthetic inquiry.

Here, the lampooning function of photomontage avant la lettre coheres with the remainder of the magazine’s topical, politicized content, manifesting—as Chapter 2 demonstrates—in an idiosyncratic cross between a political pamphlet and a humour magazine. In his volume, *Modernism-Dada-Postmodernism* (2000), Richard Sheppard cites the magazine as the first publication to use photomontage for political purposes, while Hage records how it features ‘the first published photomontages’. While these statements are not inaccurate, examples from the *Witzblätter* show how *Jedermann sein eigner Fussball* was not the first German satirical publication to use montaged photography in a politically-charged manner.

For example, an untitled cartoon in a 1911 *Lustige Blätter* issue features a montaged assemblage of text, illustration, and rudimentary reproductions of photographs [Fig. 43]. The cartoon depicts a police officer reaching into a pot of

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88 Grosz also contributed to *Lustige Blätter* in 1911, with a cartoon featured in issue 1, page 20, *Maler oder Offizier?*, dated 1910; and issue 41, page 2, *Furchtbar* (*Secessionsausstellung*). This was the year when he was still breaking into the market, carefully replicating *Jugendstil* aesthetics and *Witzblatt* humour to have his submissions
‘Sittlichkeits’ (‘morality’) to paste text reading ‘verboten’ (‘forbidden’) over famous Old Master paintings by artists such as Botticelli and Mantegna, each of which depict nude, mostly female, figures. Below the collaged cartoon, a poem entitled Die Liebesabenteuer des Jupiter (Jupiter’s Adventures of Love) further thematises censorship. In this satirical verse, the Berlin police force successively bans the romantic pursuits of gods of classical mythology.

The montaging of different media within one scene demonstrates a ludic approach to the spatiality of the magazine page, not unlike that seen in the ULK header, whose fools string together the letters in the magazine title [Fig. 15]. Here too, illustration exists on the same spatial plane as text, objectifying the text to transform it into a tangible paper item which is then pasted onto photographs of paintings by the illustrated police officer figure. Transplanting photographic images usually seen in the advertising section into the main body of the magazine, the Lustige Blätter cartoon subtly undercuts the reader’s expectations, recalling both Grosz’s typographic roll call of brands in Neue Jugend, and the fool’s mandate of destabilising taxonomised categories.

In the cartoon, the tension between its constituent elements drives the narrative. The illustrated figure of the police officer ‘montages’ segments of printed text, pasting them over the paintings to censor the risqué modern medium of photographic images. The officer pasting text over reproductions of famous artworks predominately from the Italian Renaissance consequently references the ‘montaging’ performed by the accepted, predating the more varied, impressionistic styles of his cartoons submitted from 1913.
censor, whose representatives recrafted and altered cultural products, modifying them according to legally permitted standards of morality. Additionally, the humour of the constructed scene lies in the iconoclastic nature of the policeman’s literal-minded response to an order to censor all nudity.

Extreme censorship measures threatening the work of Old Masters was in fact a topic of much debate from the 1890s in Germany. Artistic communities and industries were faced with the prospect of a legislative package, the Lex Heinze, which threatened to censor all nudity, including nude depictions in fine art and classical art, and reproductions of these canonical works. Two months before the Lustige Blätter cartoon was published, in March 1911, the Berlin Police Department established the Central Police Office for the Combat of Immoral Writings, Pictures, and Performances – known as ‘Section VIII’. The department was primarily responsible for prosecuting art and book dealers for displaying postcards showing nude paintings in their shop window displays. While Old Master paintings were exempt from such censorship powers, distributors of postcard reproductions of these same paintings were liable under the legal principle of ‘relative obscenity’. In other words, the police were permitted to prosecute differently depending on the context, ultimately policing shame

89 R. J. V. Lenman, ‘Art, Society, and the Law in Wilhelmine Germany: the Lex Heinze,’ *Oxford German Studies* 8, no. 1 (1973): 100. Although the bill was defeated in 1900, morality associations and umbrella lobby groups, such as the Union of Male Associations to Combat Public Immorality, kept up the pressure relating to censorship measures. Sherwin Simmons, ‘Ernst Kirchner’s Streetwalkers: Art, Luxury and Immorality in Berlin, 1913-1916,’ *The Art Bulletin* 82, no. 1 (2000): 144, n. 74.

90 The office was created by the Prussian government on 15 March 1911 following a 1910 international conference on the pornography trade. Simmons, ‘Kirchner’s Streetwalkers,’ 123, 144, n. 78.

91 These confiscations increased gradually until they were discussed in the Reichstag in 1913. Simmons outlines points made in Reichstag debates on the matter. See Simmons, ‘Kirchner’s Streetwalkers,’ 125-126.

92 Simmons, ‘Kirchner’s Streetwalkers,’ 121.
along class lines. Lower-class, mass distribution contexts of viewership, represented by postcards, were criminalised more readily than those pertaining to original artworks accessed in museums, galleries, and salons.

As the cartoon alludes to concerns relating to the distribution of reproductions, the use of the photographic medium in the cartoon is itself significant for helping to construct the cartoon’s satirical message. To quote Simmons, ‘mobilized and released from the museum’s sanctum through mass reproduction and mass distribution, the ideal nude became a streetwalker who must be regulated by the police’. The Lustige Blätter cartoon therefore inadvertently touches on themes adjacent to those in Walter Benjamin’s seminal essay ‘The work of art in the age of mechanical reproduction’, published much later in 1935. This case shows how humour magazines deployed multimedia montage within their visual satire, and how, in such images, the photographic medium contributed to the satirical message of the image.

The photographic montage elements in this example directly referenced the banning of postcards, goading the moral panic ascribed to modern technologies of photographic reproduction. Seven years later, in the Dada Messe of 1920, the Berlin Dadaists presented their own iconoclastically modified reproductions of Old Master works, such as Botticelli’s Rite of Spring (c.1480). Although the original is lost, the catalogue lists a work entitled Mißachtung eines Meisterwerkes von Botticelli

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93 Simmons, 126.
(Contempt of a Masterwork by Botticelli, cat. no. 51), a reproduction which Grosz had taped over to provocatively cross out the image [Fig. 44].

The implications of these montaged, photographic cartoons come to the fore in a comment made by Simmons. Discussing the ways in which photography was exploited as a satirical tool in post-war left-wing magazines, Simmons notes how photographs featured in *Die Freie Welt* (1919-20), published by the USPD newspaper *Die Freiheit*, were occasionally ‘manipulated in a satirical manner that approached caricature’. To illustrate this, he cites Grosz’s photomontage piece *Die kaiserliche Familie in Wandel der Zeiten* (The Imperial Family through the Ages), which appears under the title *Hohenzollern-Renaissance* in *Der Gegner* in 1920 [Fig. 45]. This point by Simmons captures how the more humorous applications of early photomontage were based on satirical cartoons. Just as the Dadaists moved away from the craft values of the Expressionists to reinvent art making as a mechanical process, so too were hand-illustrated *Witzblatt* cartoons reconceptualised as grotesque photographic assemblages. Naturally, however, the pictorial satire in *Jedermann sein eigner Fussball* presented a different mode of the grotesque to traditional hand-illustrated satirical cartoons. To draw out these distinctions, it will be instructive to briefly return to the comparison between the photomontaged Herzfelde portrait and the cartoon by Lyonel Feininger featured on a 1907 cover of *Lustige Blätter*, whose similarities were first highlighted by Weikop [Fig. 6].

96 Simmons, ‘War, Revolution,’ 52.
97 *Die Freie Welt* 1920, issue 37. Simmons, ‘War, Revolution,’ 52.
98 Weikop, ‘Berlin Dada,’ 818.
Both images depict men with inflated ballooning ‘football’ torsos, a parallel interpreted by Weikop as demonstrative of how Jedermann’s imagery is designed to intentionally ape the crude, bodily humour featured in Witzblatt satire. Yet the comparison is also useful for demonstrating the new possibilities of grotesque satire offered by photomontage. In the context of hand-rendered satire, Feininger’s illustration has recourse to an established heritage of satirical cartoons: a ballooning, buoyant figure catapulted into the air instantly evokes earlier satirical images of gluttonous, beer-bellied monarchs, visually punning on the weaknesses of Carlos I, the King of Portugal, by presenting him as a figure ‘full of hot air’ or inflated with self-importance. Herzfelde alludes to this satirical trope when he characterises Heartfield’s equivalent figure as an image of himself ‘greeting the reader as a flying football’.99

However, unlike Feininger’s dynamic illustration, Heartfield’s photomontaged figure is static, weighty and undynamic. As it is composed from mostly found elements, its distortions of scale are less controlled than those of the Feininger illustration, with chance playing a greater role in the construction of the image. Heartfield’s montaged figure is also presented in a completely decontextualised manner set against the blank plane of the page, rather than positioned within a narrativizing scene with a clearly assigned narrative role. The spatiality of the Jedermann sein eigner Fussball frontpage is therefore much closer to the 1911 Lustige Blätter cartoon on censorship than the contained and complete scene presented by Feininger’s cartoon.

Like on the cover of *Der Dada* 2, the general ambiguity of the image is further obscured by the monochromatic photolithograph, whose grainy quality melds together the composite elements, resulting in an absurd aesthetic effect. It is not the juxtaposition between the multimedia elements which contributes to the ludic quality of the montage, as in the censorship cartoon, but rather the near uncanny merging together of these elements to form a hybrid football man. The figure’s arms, raising a bowler hat in one hand and a cane in the other, are graphic illustrations rather than photographs, but they are detailed and naturalistic enough so that this aspect is only subtly apparent in the image. By constructing their mechanised ‘cartoons’ using fragments from advertisements and the illustrated press, the Dadaists presented satire of a more unnerving character than hand-illustrated cartoons.\(^{100}\)

Another mechanised *Witzblatt* cartoon, dating from 1913, shows how humour magazines exploited the novelty of mass-produced photographic images to tread the line between anti-imperial satire and nonsense imagery. A 1913 edition of *ULK* features an image taken from a wrapper of a bar of Theodor Hildebrand & Sohn chocolate, purportedly sent to the editors by ‘Lotte’ from Hannover [Fig. 46]. As with many items for sale in Wilhelmine Germany, the chocolate is touted as luxury ‘Hohenzollem Schokolade’, and the wrapper is decorated with an image of the Kaiser and one of his sons. The ‘cartoon’ caption mocks the placement of an imperial image on a high-end consumer product, reading, ‘Until now, we were under the impression

\(^{100}\) Although ‘cartoon’, from the Italian *cartone*, specifically denotes a hand-drawn representation, I have opted to use the phrase ‘mechanised satirical cartoon’ to stress how these images show the category of satirical images expanding to encompass photography.
that *Friedrich Wilhelm* and son appear on this lovely picture*.\textsuperscript{101} The text below the image therefore deliberately misreads and misrepresents the company name on the chocolates as a caption identifying the photographed individuals. This technique, of decontextualising photographs and then ascribing a new meaning to them through bespoke captions, recalls a much later strategy used by Heartfield in spreads for *Der Knüppel*. For instance, a 1925 example discussed by Simmons, titled *Ruhe und Ordnung* (Calm and Order), features an ironic photographic series captioned with extracts from a Kurt Tucholsky poem [Fig. 47].\textsuperscript{102}

Whilst the *ULK* chocolate wrapper cannot be considered ‘political’ in the sense of the photographic series in *Der Knüppel*, or even the censorship cartoon from the *Lustige Blätter*, at the very least, this joke pastiches the imperial kitsch proliferating in the commercial landscape of the German Reich through this literal ‘chocolate box’ image. The humour in this example shows how the technique of ‘montage’ might be extended to the decontextualisation and détournement of whole images, rather than simply the comic assemblage of heterogeneous elements. Blind caption writing is a skill to which editors were accustomed, as humour magazines accepted submissions of cartoons with and without captions.\textsuperscript{103} However, the captioning of *photographic* images during this period was fundamentally more subversive, as it parodically undermined the authority of the photographic image and its original intended context.

\textsuperscript{101} ‘Wir haben bisher immer geglaubt, das auf diesem hübschen Bilde *Friedrich Wilhelm* & Sohn zu sehen sind’.
\textsuperscript{102} Simmons, ‘War, Revolution,’ 53.
\textsuperscript{103} Grosz, *Little Yes*, 68.
These early satirical applications of ‘montaged’ photography, used to pastiche imperial kitsch or lampoon overzealous censorship, indicate that the political photomontages produced by members of Dada, particularly during the years of 1919 and 1920, were themselves partly conceived as a new form of mechanised satire, and part of the modernisation and evolution of hand-illustrated satirical cartoons. Through the ludic form of their grotesque football figure, then, the Dadaists exploited the new capacities latent in the photographic medium, mechanising visual satire to arrive at a profoundly absurd vision of modernity.

6. Ludic Criticality

6.1. George Grosz and John Heartfield's *Der Blutige Ernst* cover

*Arbeiten und nicht verzweifeln*! (1919) and George Grosz’s early *Witzblatt* cartoons (1910-1913)

The chapter’s final case study, a cover design for the fourth issue of *Der Blutige Ernst* [Fig. 48], synthesises many of the aforementioned techniques of ludic form. The design exhibits: a ludic approach to magazine structure; the use of textual fragments as visual components; and montaging via a process of decontextualisation, akin those of the montaged ‘cartoons’ discussed in the previous example. This section assesses how these techniques culminate here in order to critique the print medium itself. To support this thesis—of the *Blutige Ernst* cover design as an autocritical intervention—Heartfield and Grosz’s respective backgrounds, in commercial graphic design and *Witzblatt* cartoon composition, are addressed in more detail. Accordingly, the imperial *Witzblatt* cartoons in the section are those by a teenage Grosz, produced prior to the advent of Dadaism.
Titled *Arbeiten und nicht verzweifeln!* (Work and do not despair!) [Fig. 48], the *Blutige Ernst* piece centres a Grosz illustration of a sex worker and her client. A swarm of classifieds around the figures sparks the psychological urges signified by the products advertised, such as cabaret shows, bars and casinos. Timothy O. Benson emphasises the dynamism of the composition, interpreting the image as an anti-capitalist commentary rendered in a Futurist style.\(^{104}\) Kriebel expands on this reading, outlining how the construction ‘challenges readers with an image of vulgar capitalism’, noting the parallel set up between ‘the cloying embrace of media-issued indulgences’ and ‘the heavy groping to which we bear witness, each a different form of commodified desire’.\(^{105}\) Illustration does not construct the satirical image alone, but is rather treated as yet another montage element in a dreamlike scene.

The distinct character of the *Blutige Ernst* cover comes to the fore when considered alongside the Zurich magazine *Dada* 4-5 (1919), as this latter publication also features a page of classified advertisements on its cover [Fig. 49]. The limited ‘deluxe’ issue of *Dada*, edited by Tristan Tzara, features a collaged woodcut print by Hans Arp against an upturned page of *La Tribune de Genève* partly featuring a spread of classified announcements.\(^{106}\) Hage posits that the title’s placement against this backdrop tacitly frames Dada as a service to be bought or sold.\(^{107}\) The Zurich Dada cover design certainly thematises the question of value, presenting ‘Dada’ as both a culmination of detritus newspaper and a collectible, limited edition artists’ anthology.

\(^{104}\) Benson, *Hausmann*, 117.
\(^{105}\) Kriebel, ‘Radical Left,’ 845.
\(^{106}\) Hage, *Dada Magazines*, 75.
\(^{107}\) Hage, 75.
However, the classified advertisements themselves are faded, their legibility further obscured by the upended composition. Further, the entire page comprises the montage element, an approach greatly contrasting with the painstaking selection and arrangement of specific advertisements by Heartfield.

Rather than deemphasising the text, Heartfield’s carefully montaged composition, with the classifieds set askew at slightly different angles, causes text such as ‘Tanz’, ‘Ritz’, ‘Kabarett’, and ‘Weinstube’ to playfully jump out at the magazine reader. Through this subtly dynamizing effect, the frenzy of classified announcements assumes a protean nervous energy. The chaotic, off-kilter dispersal of the commercial textual fragments accentuates how advertisements in conventional classified sections vie for the reader’s attention, with their distinctive fonts punctuated by small illustrations.

Further, Grosz and Heartfield’s image performs a ludic restructuring, taking the classified advertisements usually contained within the magazine and placing them on its front cover in a chaotically crowded composition to form the magazine’s public ‘face’ and aesthetic centrepiece. Recalling tactics used in Grosz’s Kannst du radfahren? piece, Grosz and Heartfield turned the magazine inside out, a carnivalesque inversion that enables the reader to view the otherwise unremarkable advertisements anew. Heartfield’s dynamising textual montage additionally draws attention to print media’s role in facilitating different types of consumption, framing the magazine as a platform for furthering different agendas, whether these be commercial or ideological.
In the *Blutige Ernst* piece, Heartfield’s montaged text sits in dialogue with the irony-laden caption ‘Work and do not despair!’, pictorializing the capitalist logic of the metropolis: if you sell your labour, or your body, in return you are free to indulge in the delights offered by the night-time entertainment industry. In the context of the composition, the caption’s command generates a form of reverse psychology, undercutting and negating immediate responses to the classifieds, and asking the reader to instead critically observe the simulacrum of advertisements. The piece shows how Grosz and Heartfield were seeking to train the proletariat to consider visual material critically, anticipating a call that socialist theoretician Lu Märten would make one year later in *Der Gegner*. Märten stressed the need for a fundamental revolution of the print medium, a process that could only be achieved through a ‘revolutionary awareness of literature and the press itself’.\(^{108}\)

The proximity between the classifieds and Grosz’s pen and ink illustration conveys a diminishing distance between contemporary art and commercial imagery, categories that the image queries in earnest. Discussing Dadaist responses to advertising aesthetics, Beals has noted how scholarship now positions this engagement beyond that of simply ‘an ironic commentary on bourgeois consumerism, or [...] a highly effective form of self-promotion’.\(^{109}\) Such images instead reflect on and intervene in contemporary discourse on the relationship between advertising and art, eschewing conventional dichotomies established by opposing parties:

> Berlin Dadaists refused both the utopian symbiosis of art and industry proposed by cultural reformers such as the Deutscher Werkbund [...] and the ostensible renunciation of commercial aspirations by the

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\(^{108}\) Lu Märten, ‘Die revolutionäre Presse und das Feuilleton,’ *Der Gegner*, 1920/21, issue 6, 192.

\(^{109}\) Beals, ‘Dada Discourse,’ 43.
expressionists. What they offered instead was advertising in the service of art—even advertising as art [...].

Indeed, Heartfield’s montaged array of printed advertisements in the *Blutige Ernst* image shows him drawing on his skills as an advertising specialist, typographer, and fine artist to create the image.

Like Heartfield, Grosz was also sensitive to the influence held by market forces over images in modern media, but his early *Witzblatt* cartoon submissions afforded him a slightly different perspective to the ‘Monteurdada’ Heartfield. This difference can be illustrated through an advertisement spread from a 1912 edition of *Lustige Blätter*, featuring an illustration by Grosz—then Georg Groß—entitled *Empfindlich* (Sensitive) in the top left-hand corner [Fig. 50]. In Grosz’s early cartoon, a pair of iterant buskers serenade two children and their minders in a tenement rear courtyard. The caption provides a commentary by one of the women complaining about the endless shouting at home, only to reveal in the punchline that she is responsible for most of it.

The position of the cartoon amongst the classifieds was typical for Grosz’s early works. When viewing his first illustration in print, although Grosz recalls how he was ‘flushed with pride’, he also notes how he would ‘of course, […] have liked it in a more prominent position’. His early images were therefore designed to compete for the reader’s attention among an assortment of other visually compelling designs in the

\[\text{110 Beals, 43.}\]
\[\text{111 For a discussion on how the Expressionists’ own output was also influenced by commercial factors, despite their claims to the contrary, see Chapman, *Expressionism and Poster Design*, 4.}\]
\[\text{112 Grosz, *Little Yes*, 67.}\]
pages of classifieds. Here, Grosz’s image engages the reader by presenting a comic grotesque scene of urban poverty, set in deliberate and stark contrast to the luxury grooming items and pathways to personal betterment promised by the products in the advertising spread. The joke caption has the indirect effect of normalising the miserable squalor of the scene by casting it in a comedic light, as though such conditions are an inevitable part of everyday existence. As scholar Ulrich Luckhardt observes, the potency of Grosz’s social realist imagery is almost always undercut by such cartoon captions.

In this instance, it is not possible to definitively establish whether Grosz provided the captions for his cartoons, or whether these were written later by one of the editors of the Lustige Blätter. Grosz relays how alongside the creation of ‘hundreds’ of drawings, he also ‘invented a host of captions’ as he ‘knew that drawings sold better when the artist had provided them with a label’. According to his own account, this comic captioning was not a voluntary exercise: ‘In the end, it became torture to think up one more would-be funny comment, for I was no clown by any stretch of the imagination’.

Despite the laborious nature of this task, caption writing was also clearly a formative experience; one viewed by Grosz as a key part of his work for the Witzblätter. This is indicated in the postscript of a letter sent by the artist to a Jugend book dealer

113 George Grosz (signed Groß), Maler oder Offizier?, Lustige Blätter, 1911, issue 1.
115 Grosz, Little Yes, 68.
116 Grosz, 68.
and supplier in 1948, in which Grosz reminisces how, from the age of sixteen, he ‘sandte [...] an die Jugend kleinere Zeichs [sic]’ (‘sent Jugend small drawings’) and ‘auch verfertigte ich “Witze” dazu’ (‘also prepared “jokes” for them’) [Fig. 51].

The task of caption writing is significant because it shows how the editors at humour magazines granted Grosz partial creative control over the visual and textual content of his social vignettes. His early work for humour magazines subsequently allowed him to develop skills vital to his later work of fusing the visual and textual in acerbic caricatures of society. The editors of the Witzblätter thus invited him into the sector as a fool figure and deviser of jokes so that, in his own words, he ‘join[ed] the great circus to entertain the crowds’.

Returning to his joint cover design with Heartfield, as Grosz co-edited Der Blutige Ernst with Carl Einstein, he was here able to exercise full editorial control over the image and caption of the Arbeiten und nicht verzweifeln! cover. In doing so, he elided Dadaist montage, satirical propaganda, and the kind of ludic approaches to magazine design that he would have first encountered in imperial Witzblätter. Just as the classified pages of the Witzblätter provided a fertile environment for some of Grosz’s earliest work, against whose eye-catching branding his satire had to compete, the Blutige Ernst cover similarly works to set the medium of illustration in a stream of engaging advertising fonts.

117 ‘Herbert’ on 1 April 1948 from his US address in Huntington, Long Island, enquiring after a bound set of Jugend magazines.
118 Grosz, Little Yes, 68.
While Heartfield’s advertising training in the studio of Ernst Neumann may have led him towards new conceptions of a mechanised artistic process, the relationship between art and industry in the case of Grosz’s satirical Witzblatt submissions was more contested. Heartfield crafted advertisements for products, while Grosz’s Witzblatt cartoons were themselves products. The commercial status of Grosz’s early Witzblatt cartoons did not shape their formal qualities to the same extent as was the case with advertisement designs. However, the cartoonists’ wit and artistic skill were arguably only given more weight because the ‘product’, in these instances, was the artist, and particularly the artist inhabiting the role of the fool by satirising society as they saw fit. Beyond simply providing a critique of cosmopolitan capitalism, then, the Grosz-Heartfield montage interrogates its own printed medium as a site for the consumption of commercial and ideological data, a form of autocriticism contingent on the image’s position as an illustration in the magazine. It does so by unmooring the rectilinear layout of classified spreads in a manner that, as we have seen, was not unprecedented in some of the ludic satirical images found in the Witzblätter.

7. Conclusion: Witzblatt Nonsense versus Dada Entropy

Through its examination of ‘fool-like’ strategies of ludic form, this chapter has demonstrated how visual ‘patterns of play’ in the Witzblätter set a significant precedent for the Berlin Dadaists’ own formal radicalism. Imperial Witzblätter and Dada publications both employed formalist deconstructions of language and comic grotesque stylisation, often doing so to further their carnivalesque inversions of politics. Evidently, a ludic approach to form and imagery, derived partly from the

\[119\] Simmons, ‘Advertising Seizes,’ 127.
Witzblätter, runs through Dadaist print culture, in both its more avant-garde and political iterations. More specifically, we have seen how ludic form across imperial Witzblätter and Dada publications manifests variously as: experimental typographic spatiality; ludic interventions in magazine structure; the montaging and decontextualisation of textual and photographic fragments; and combinations of these. Further ludic strategies which unite the Witzblätter and Dada print culture, but which are beyond the scope of this chapter’s analysis, include visual puns, ideograms, faux classified announcements, and self-referential advertisements.

However, one key feature consistently separates the visual libertinism of the imperial Witzblätter from later Dadaist engagements with the Witzblatt format. Despite the revolutionary origins of the Witzblätter, by the late nineteenth century their dependence on advertisers of luxury goods and services prevented any possibility of sustained anti-capitalist satire among their pages. Ludic form in these settings became a corrective tool for the promotion of a worldview which understood socio-political dysfunctionalities as distorted aberrations to be rooted out and corrected, rather than flaws systemic to an imperial polity. It is therefore unsurprising that when faced with the prospect of folding or supporting the war effort, the Simplicissimus editors opted to sacrifice the magazine’s seditious credentials in 1914. Grosz signalled this fall from grace in his Pleite broadsheet insert, as one of the scenes in his cartoon strip show copies of Simplicissimus [Fig. 52] [Fig. 53] fluttering behind the notorious industrialist and right-wing politician, Hugo Stinnes.

In this chapter, I have sought to show how the Dadaists adopted and developed the critical capabilities of these ludic techniques. Through proposing photographic
Witzblatt cartoons as an overlooked source for Dada photomontage, I argue that photomontage exemplifies this link, as the medium was first deployed by the Dadaists in a similarly satirical, albeit more propagandistic manner in early 1919 with the publication of Jedermann sein eigner Fussball. The late 1919 Blutige Ernst cover also illustrates how the Dadaists adapted Witzblatt stylisation, as Grosz and Heartfield’s design is both ‘ludic’ in its visually engaging form, but equally presents an autocritical intervention that sought to retrain the eye of the reader.

Behind the carnivalesque elements of the Witzblätter ultimately lurks a call to stability and conformity. By contrast, Dadaist-edited magazines employed visual disorder to interrogate the ways in which modern media advance consumerism, in the case of the Blutige Ernst cover [Fig. 48], or to examine the entropic nature of disorder on its own terms, in the case of the cover of Der Dada 2 [Fig. 12]. As the Blutige Ernst cover demonstrates, the Dadaists harnessed imagery designed to engage in the attention economy, then redeploying a transformed iteration of this imagery for political and aesthetic, rather than commercial, ends.

A reluctance to look at the Dadaists’ early links to popular culture has led scholars to underplay the significance of the Witzblätter to Grosz, and resulted in an initial dearth of research on Heartfield’s advertising background. Contrary to the assumption that artists only submitted material to these publications in the earlier, more precarious stages of their careers, many established artists or writers affiliated

with Dada and Expressionism continued to publish in Witzblätter well into the 1920s. Accordingly, the majority of Grosz’s contributions to Simplicissimus and Jugend date from the mid 1920s, rather than his pre-Dada period.\textsuperscript{121}

Overseeing the chapter’s reassessment of the relationship between the Witzblätter and Berlin Dada’s print culture is the carnivalesque fool. While the fool was directly pictorialised in fin-de-siècle print culture, the carnivalesque effect of the figure is expressed across imperial and Dada print culture through ludic approaches to form. The fool served as a useful archetype through which successive generations of the German avant-garde chose to mediate an ultimately conflicted identity and status. Editors of imperial Witzblätter capitalised on the fool as a signifier for the free, unshackled spirit of carnival in their rejection of moralising Wilhelmine censorship.

Like the fool, the Berlin Dadaists also established a ‘second world’ of foolishness and play, adopted the observing role of fool-satirists, manipulated and metamorphosed images, and destabilised categories. Looking back on Dadaism’s development in Berlin in a 1926 interview for the magazine UHU, Huelsenbeck reflects on the satirical artillery developed by the group, asserting that ‘It was necessary to hold up the mirror to this time, by all means of satire, clever prudence – no grotesque circus tricks could be spared’.\textsuperscript{122} Recalling the fool’s dual mandate to entertain and

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{121} Grosz published 17 illustrations in Simplicissimus in 1926; 10 in 1927; 6 in 1928; 15 in 1929; 8 in 1930; 8 in 1931; 7 in 1932. For full listings, see the ‘Personenliste’ of ‘Simplicissimus’ (digitised by the Deutsches Literatur Archiv Marbach, Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg, RWTH Aachen Universität, and the Klassik Stiftung Weimar), accessed 20 November 2018, \url{http://www.simplicissimus.info/index.php?id=5}.

\textsuperscript{122} ‘Man mußte dieser Zeit ihre Spiegel vorhalten, mit allen Mitteln der Satire, der raffinierten Klugheit, kein groteskes Zirkusmittel durfte geschont werden.’ Richard Huelsenbeck, ‘Wozu war der Dada da?,’ Uhu, 1926/27, issue 5, 90.}
agitate, Huelsenbeck’s statement hints at how, for the Dadaists, the line between agitation and entertainment in their work was sometimes perilously thin.
Chapter 2. Kings: Patriarchal Figures and their Depositions

1. Introduction

Following the previous chapter’s exploration of the figure of the fool as a cipher for the satirising artist, this chapter interrogates the idea of ‘kingly’ figures as objects of the fool’s satire. In Bakhtinian terms, kingly figures equate to ‘agelasts’, who Mikhail Bakhtin defines in opposition to folk and carnival culture as ‘representatives of old authority’ who ‘cannot and do not wish to laugh’. In this chapter, kingly figures are broadly understood as patriarchs representing the institutions which, together, formed the German imperial or republican state apparatus. In addition to the Kaiser himself, these patriarchs include politicians, generals, priests, and figureheads of the Church. They also include industrialists, who, from the nineteenth century in Germany, worked more closely with the state than in many other newly-industrialised countries. The chapter investigates how these figures of power are represented or otherwise alluded to in the work of the Dadaists, alongside satire in the period from the fin de siècle right up to the years before the outbreak of the First World War.

In Rabelais and his World, Bakhtin identifies what he refers to as ‘uncrowning themes’, seen during festive periods and passed down to evolve into ‘revolutionary street song’. In the context of the German satirical magazines discussed here, kings

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1 Bakhtin, Rabelais, 212.
3 Bakhtin, Rabelais, 79. Bakhtin also makes use of other terms to denote carnival, such as prazdnik (festival), and pir (symposium). See Brian Poole, ‘Bakhtin and Cassirer: The
are figuratively ‘deposed’ when they are pilloried as the object of satire. Depositions may manifest as carnivalesque inversions of power structures, recalling the crowning of a ‘king of carnival’ or a Bacchanalian feast where masters serve their slaves. The depositions in these examples amount to various forms of grotesque figuration, each of which is designed to deconstruct or parody a patriarch’s diktats concerning, for example, morality, militarism, or state violence.

Art historian Ernst Gombrich writes of the potential impact of strategies of satirical deposition, stating that, ‘If the caricature fits, the victim really is transformed in our eyes. We learn through the artist to see him as a caricature. He is not only mocked at, or unmasked, but actually changed. He carries the caricature with him through his life and even through history’. Each ‘deposition’ analysed here is situated in the wider framework of a ‘little magazine’, Witzblatt, or radical publication whose own editorial agenda necessarily shapes the satirising approaches adopted in each case. I explore how and why Dadaist-edited magazines adapted approaches seen in earlier, imperial-era Witzblätter when portraying ‘kingly’ figures.

1.1. Salomo Friedländer and Wieland Herzfelde on the Grotesque

Before turning to the main body of the chapter, it is expedient to introduce the ideas of two contemporary thinkers who wrote on the grotesque: the Neo-Kantian philosopher Salomo Friedländer (1871-1946) and the Dadaist Wieland Herzfelde. In addition to collaborating with Dadaists such as Raoul Hausmann and Johannes

Baader, Friedländer was also a member of the *Stammtisch* for the Expressionist journal *Der Sturm*, for which he wrote literary grotesques under the pseudonym ‘Mynona’. As scholar Jack Zipes argues, Friedländer delved into the more free and fantastical realm of the grotesque, ‘to illustrate what theory was unable to accomplish’, meaning that his grotesques constitute forms of applied philosophy.

As outlined in the thesis introduction, Friedländer approached the grotesque as a tool of inquiry in the context of his wider Neo-Kantian projects. Friedländer was interested in the grotesque’s capacity to strengthen and expand the viewer’s *Einbildungskraft* or faculty of the imagination, but he was also wary of the distorting possibilities of this faculty, when it was left unchecked. As such, in his *Mynona über George Grosz* (Mynona on George Grosz) (1922), Friedländer adopts a notably ambivalent tone when writing on the creative capacities of Grosz,

> The artist’s imagination, heated by desires, should be cooled from the head, from reason to warm clarity, until it radiates with truth and involuntarily strengthens to good deeds [...] George Grosz’s fiery nature knows nothing of the metaphysics of his own head. This explains the weaknesses and strengths of his talent for drawing.

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5 Friedländer wrote for a wide range of publications, including *Jedermann sein eignen Fussball*, the Expressionist magazines *Der Sturm*, *Die Aktion*, and *Die Weißen Blätter*, and *Witzblätter*, such as *Jugend*.


By way of explanation, he cautions: ‘The abyss between rich and poor never closes when one incites anger against the rich, which is so easy and so seductive for children and perhaps also for artists’. Friedländer was concerned that the unchecked use of the grotesque through ‘boyish’ aesthetic strategies, might negatively impact perceptive faculties and interfere with mental interpretations of reality. The acerbic nature of Grosz’s art, Friedländer suggests, risks allowing the grotesque worldview to take root and fester, ultimately breeding an immobilising form of ‘Klassen-Ressentiment’ (‘class resentment’). As shall be discussed, the rise of grotesque caricature designed to incite racial hatred throughout the Weimar Republic mean that Friedländer’s concerns around resentment directed at large portions of society were certainly not unfounded.

In response to Friedländer’s forewarning, Herzfelde’s position on the grotesque is explored in parallel as a counterposing defence of the grotesque qualities of Dadaist imagery. In his ‘Gesellschaft, Künstler und Kommunismus’ text, first published in Der Gegner as a three-part essay series and then released by the Malik Verlag in 1921, Herzfelde lays out his rationale for assigning art, including grotesque art, the status of an important revolutionary tool. As is surmised by Barbara McCloskey in her analysis of Herzfelde’s main arguments, the Dadaist makes the case for art’s importance to the

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9 ‘Grosz ist glücklicherweise nur jung, nicht nur giftig, und wird dieser Gefahr leicht entgehen, wenn er den Unterschied zwischen Dynamit und Geist reifer erkennt und seinen so wütigen Geist auch rationalisiert, ohne seine Spannkraft einzubüßen. Dialektik und Rhetorik lügen. Der Abgrund zwischen Arm und Reich schließt sich nie, wenn man Arm gegen Reich zur Wut aufhetzt, wie das so kinderleicht ist und Kindern, eventuell auch Zeichnern so verführerisch nahelegt.’ Mynona [Friedländer], Grosz, 15.
10 Mynona [Friedländer], Grosz, 10.
11 Mynona [Friedländer], 16.
proletariat, stating how multiple successive thwarted revolutions in Germany have caused the class war to evolve into ‘a war of words more than weapons’.13

Of particular importance in this regard are themes of improved sight elucidated by Herzfelde. He contends that art should ‘make the bourgeoisie and its system so naked, so unequivocal, compelling and irrefutable, so plain to everyone so as to unmask it in an understandable and perceptible way, so that everyone recognises it for what it is’.14 Similarly, in another passage, he states that art of the revolution will allow the proletariat to ‘finally stop seeing only the façade of these things, while their true nature remains shrouded in a fog of abstract judgments for and against them’.15 For Herzfelde, the grotesque offers a tool for forging class consciousness in the minds of the proletariat, precisely because it counteracts the distorted and selective worldview presented by bourgeois media. Herzfelde writes of a revolutionary need for ‘images that show how beautiful the world is and how ugly people make each other’, implying that the grotesqueness of humanity, even its kingly figures, is precipitated by societal material conditions.16

13 Barbara McCloskey, George Grosz and the Communist Party: Art and Radicalism in Crisis, 1918 to 1936 (Princeton, NJ.: Princeton University Press, 1997), 89. By early 1921, this included the suppressed ‘March Action’ conducted in the spring by the KDP under Heinrich Brandler, which was initially supported by the Comintern, but then denounced by Lenin during his attempts to attract foreign investment through his New Economic Policy.
14 ‘[D]ie Bourgeoisie und ihr System so nackt, so eindeutig, zwingend und unwiderlegbar, so deutlich, jedem verständlich und wahrnehmbar zu demaskieren, daß ein jeder sie erkennt als das, was sie ist.’ Wieland Herzfelde, Gesellschaft, Künstler und Kommunismus (Berlin: Malik Verlag, 1921), 17.
15 ‘[E]ndlich aufhöre, nur die Fassade dieser Dinge zu sehen, während ihr wahres Wesen ihm verhüllt bleibt vom Nebel abstrakter Urteile für und wider sie.’ Herzfelde, Gesellschaft, 18.
16 ‘Bilder, die aufzeigen, wie schön die Welt ist und wie häßlich die Menschen sie sich gegenseitig machen.’ Herzfelde, Gesellschaft, 18.
Based on Herzfelde’s reasoning, I suggest that the ‘Witzblatt’ qualities of the case studies analysed here are not arbitrary, and instead signal a carefully considered approach to propagandistic image-making. This approach acknowledged Witzblatt techniques as a proven, effective means of communication, but crucially sought to adapt and develop them into what Herzfelde terms ‘tiefe und überzeugende gesellschaftskritische Werke’ (‘profound and convincing works of social critique’). As such, the chapter not only highlights strategies shared between imperial Witzblätter and radical or Dadaist-edited magazines, but also elucidates the points at which Dada magazines diverged from imperial Witzblätter in medium, strategy or style.

To demonstrate this distinction, the chapter moves through a series of examples, by George Grosz, Raoul Hausmann, John Heartfield, and Johannes Baader, starting with those whose satirical strategies align most closely with the Witzblätter, and gradually moving towards pieces that, while still satirical, move closer to Herzfelde’s ideal. The first group of case studies present instances of hand-illustrated caricature most closely aligned with Witzblatt technique. The second group fuse grotesque portrayals of ‘king’ figures with different forms of medial critique, i.e. a critique deployed through the medium of the artwork, to question or reveal the systems of ideological knowledge production that aid and abet the ‘king’ figures in question. Finally, the last case study examines a text by Baader in Der Dada 2 to reveal the limits of Witzblatt satire as a model for viewing Dadaist portrayals of patriarchal figures. Baader’s work, though highly parodic, presents a sustained, performed critique that extends well beyond satire’s conventional frames of reference.

17 Herzfelde, Gesellschaft, 18.
2. Hand-illustrated *Witzblatt* Strategies

2.1. George Grosz’s Physiologies of Capitalism

In this section, I examine modes of hand-illustrated grotesque caricature employed by Grosz in his portrayals of kingly figures, focusing on the example of the *Pleite* broadsheet poster design by Grosz, *Das reiche Ungeziefer* (The Rich Pest) [Fig. 28]. When the same image was reproduced in the 1921 portfolio *Das Gesicht der herrschenden Klasse* (The Face of the Ruling Class), it received the alternative title, *Besitzkröten* (Toads of Property), alluding to toads as traditional symbols of avarice [Fig. 54].

Grosz’s illustration is considered alongside two cover images from imperial-era *Witzblätter* with different political persuasions: the socialist *Der wahre Jacob* and the liberal *Simplicissimus*. Antagonisms between members of Dadaism and the Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands (German Communist Party, hereafter the KPD) regarding the role of art are widely noted in Dada Studies.

In the comparative visual analysis that follows, I argue that Grosz’s occasionally grotesque visual treatment of both ‘king’ figures and their proletariat ‘subjects’ presents an applied example of the specific function of the grotesque in Grosz’s work, deepening our understanding of why his work was initially rejected by the KPD. In order to bring this specific functionality to light, and query a characterisation of Grosz’s figuration as a form of

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18 This portfolio of 55 drawings was chosen as volume 4 of the Malik Verlag’s ‘Kleine Revolutionäre Bibliothek’, which put Grosz’s art alongside key Marxist texts such as György Lukács’s *History and Class Consciousness* (1923). The Malik Verlag was first to publish this latter text in Germany. See McCloskey, *Grosz*, 90.

‘political physiognomy’ by Barbara McCloskey, I conversely categorise Grosz’s imagery as an example of ‘grotesque physiology’.20

In the pen and ink drawing and poster image, Das reiche Ungeziefer, three men sit around a table laden with piles of money while workers, including a mother and child in rags, look on before the fortress of a guarded factory.21 Unnaturally wide heads and thick creased necks bulge from the starched white collars of the seated capitalists as their undersized hands clasp at banknotes or hold their cigars aloft. The three ‘toads’ resemble one another through facial details, such as capillaries crowding the surface of their skin, heavy brows, flared nostrils, and sagging jowls. Identified in Das Gesicht der herrschenden Klasse as property owners, these gentlemen, Grosz implies, extract value created by the workers they exploit. When viewed alongside a 1911 cartoon by Grosz [Fig. 55], it is clear where the artist first developed his use of flat planes and figures in profile view, described in simple, bold lines. The ULK cartoon, entitled Entfettung (Slimming) and rendered in a Jugendstil (Art Nouveau) manner, even features the detail of neck rolls, which would become so characteristic of Grosz’s later, more politicised physiologies.22

Grosz portrays the three ‘toads’ from a profile view at a severe ninety degree angle, allowing him to define their profiles with a heavy outline – an approach that he also adopted for many other ‘kingly’ figures, such as the officer who graces the cover

20 McCloskey, Grosz, 5.
21 Grosz features same haggard female figure holding an infant in his illustration Gebet dem Kaiser, was des Kaisers ist. See George Grosz, Das Gesicht der herrschenden Klasse (Frankfurt am Main: Malok Verlag, 1974), 11.
22 George Grosz, Entfettung, ULK, 1911, issue 29. A man in riding boots asks the rotund gentleman in the foreground whether he is going to the health spa resort of Karlsbad this year, to which the large man replies, ‘Can’t you see? I’ve already been for four weeks!’
of the portfolio *Gott mit uns* (God with us) [Fig. 56]. In the case of the three ‘toads’, Grosz does not sketch out any description of the background behind the two men facing each other at the bottom of the scene. His use of a neutral spatiality, recalling elements of Japonisme, allows for a sharper definition of the facial characteristics shown in profile. This strategy is common in physiognomy, or the study of physical appearance as symptomatic of qualities of character or racial heritage. As grotesque portraits in profile view stem from conventions in physiognomy, their presence in Grosz’s work prompts McCloskey to categorise these images as a form of ‘political physiognomy’.23

McCloskey contends that Grosz’s anti-capitalist images render the ruling class in grotesque terms, reserving an alternate ‘masculine, proletarian physiognomy of political resolve’ for the working class.24 This latter category works to ‘reduce workers and dissidents to a homogenous archetype of the oppressed: male, bloodied, yet defiant’.25 McCloskey’s observation is certainly true of a large portion of Grosz’s output, yet the grotesque manner in which workers are presented in the *Pleite* broadsheet presents an important exception.

Members of the proletariat in this poster are stationary, undynamic, and isolated from each other, portrayed in a diminutive scale and relegated to the midground [Fig. 57]. Grosz’s sinuous line creates a grotesque impression of ragged, patched clothing.

24 McCloskey, 79.
25 McCloskey, 79. For an example of the kind of image McCloskey is referring to, which Grosz turned to as he increased his involvement with the KPD, see George Grosz, *Unser die Welt trozt alledem!* (Ours the World in spite of Everything!), 1923, *Die Rote Fahne*, repr. in McCloskey, *Grosz*, 100.
The eyes of the mother figure are darkened and set back in her skull so that her face appears gaunt rather than idealised. Due to the ambiguous spatiality of the image, the one-legged veteran hunched over his crutches is presented in a similar scale to the child next to him, conveying a comic grotesque impression of diminished enfeeblement.

When compared with an unsigned cover illustration published by the socialist Witzblatt, Der wahre Jacob, it quickly becomes clear how Grosz’s image deviates from conventional visual models employed by artists agitating for socialism [Fig. 58]. The wahre Jacob cover image from February 1905 depicts two leading industrialists, Hugo Stinnes and August Thyssen, seated in a golden chariot pulled by a group of workers. The workers are forced onwards by a rider of the apocalypse who cracks a whip at their backs. Whilst the bloated bodies of industrialists dressed in dinner suits bear some resemblance with Grosz’s toads, the workers dominate the composition. Heavy hatching and tone emphasise their clenched fists and muscular arms, showing the artist borrowing from a social realist style, closer to the work of Käthe Kollwitz (1867-1945). This particular visual realisation imbues the worker figures with a sense of volume and solidity, showing their suffering yet maintaining their dignity. The more idealised and pathos-inducing depiction of the workers in the wahre Jacob cover is designed to provoke feelings of injustice. Meanwhile, the capitalists riding the golden chariot in the wahre Jacob cover are much more crudely rendered on a flattened plane as traditional caricatures. This raises the question of why Grosz chose to depict the workers in his broadsheet design as downtrodden and pathetic, rather than rendering them in a social realist style. Grosz’s focus on the capitalists and his grotesque
portrayal of the proletariat risks invoking the feelings of class resentment identified by Friedländer.26

A second imperial cartoon, which also takes labour rights and class struggle as its subject matter, proves instructive in resolving the question of Grosz’s grotesque treatment of both ‘kingly’ figures and the proletariat. This final design, which graced the cover of Simplicissimus in 1904, depicts the industrial action that took place in Crimmitschau from August 1903 to January 1904, some of the longest and most impactful strikes of the imperial period [Fig. 59]. In the lithograph by Simplicissimus’ head graphic artist, Thomas Theodor Heine (1867-1948), a group of workers are reduced to a bloody, macabre caricature, trampled under the feet of cigar-puffing representatives from the capitalist class. Heine has exposed the bodies of the workers and displayed them in a gruesome entanglement of bloodied and skeletal limbs. In contrast, the sturdy frames of the capitalists are concealed by long frock coats with fur linings. In this image, poverty is depicted as an assault on bodily privacy and dignity. The workers are universally haggard regardless of age, as is shown by the skin-and-bone form of a malnourished babe in arms [Fig. 60].

Simplicissimus editor Hermann Sinsheimer commented on Heine’s merciless depictions of oppressed members of society, noting that the individuals portrayed by Heine were ‘revolting and painful to see’ and ‘in the most infernal sense ridiculous – victims of the society and the times, but victims hardly worth saving’.27 His comments

26 Mynona [Friedländer], Grosz, 16.
27 Hermann Sinsheimer, Gelebt im Paradies (Munich, 1953), trans. and quoted in Allen, Satire and Society, 38. Sinshiemer was a later editor of the magazine.
support a claim by historian Ann Taylor Allen, that even though contributors to the magazine may have occasionally pitied and portrayed these groups, they did not offer meaningful solidarity.\(^{28}\) However, Heine’s cover also shows how portrayals of the working class as ‘revolting’ could occasionally be instrumental when criticising the ruling classes. In Heine’s image, even though grotesque stylisation is reserved for the workers not the ‘kings’, the comedic caption sets up the image to portray the factory owners as absurd and unreasonable in their cruelty, displacing the effect of the grotesqueness from the workers onto the capitalists. As a result, the issue was certainly perceived as seditious, and was accordingly confiscated for incitement to class conflict.\(^{29}\)

A similar displacement of the grotesque occurs in Grosz’s image. The proletariat’s grotesque nature is not an essentialised quality, but rather an extension of the grotesque caricature of the ‘toads of property’, and a manifestation of the structural exploitation endemic to capitalism. While Grosz flirts with the visual traditions around physiognomy, his equally grotesque treatment of the proletariat demonstrates that he does not use the grotesque to imply innate ugliness of character. Instead, his figures show the physiological effects of capitalism as indelible marks on the individual, material conditions able to mould some of humanity’s most odious monstrosities in its vision. His grotesque depiction of workers literally crippled by poverty sits much closer to the liberal Heine’s depiction than to the heroic workers on the cover of Der wahre Jacob.

\(^{28}\) Allen, *Satire and Society*, 95.
\(^{29}\) Allen, 87.
Simmons discusses another means by which Dadaist-edited magazines subverted physiognomic caricature. In an intriguing 1919 cartoon from issue 2 of Der Blutige Ernst, the young journalist and caricaturist Ludwig Wronkow (1900-1982) manipulated a mugshot format, typical of antisemitic cartoons by illustrators such as Otto von Kursell. Such cartoons sought to visually associate Jewish communities with criminality, and, in the process, exaggerate facial features understood to signify Jewish ethnic heritage [Fig. 61]. These images were consequently highly racialised and framed as ‘scientific’ in nature, but were also simultaneously distorted to the point of caricature.30 Wronkow responds to this practice by presenting a meta-caricature that satirises right-wing, essentialising grotesque physiognomies. His cartoon warps features, but in a manner that deviated from usual formulae of pseudoscientific antisemitic models.

The Dadaists’ emphasis on the grotesque hints at a wide gulf between their views and contemporary Marxist doctrine. The group were loath to incorporate themes of proletarian heroism and noble suffering into their work, and sharply critiqued commissions that did so by their Expressionist peers. For example, they rejected the triumphant images of the revolutionary Neuer Mensch (New Man) created by former Brücke artist, Max Pechstein (1881-1955), when producing work for the SPD publication An die Laterne [Fig. 62].31

Conversely, the KPD’s ideas on the subversive genre of the grotesque are surmised in Gertrud Alexander’s *Rote Fahne* review of the Dada *Messe* exhibition of 1920,

One could dismiss Dada as megalomania and transfer it to the pathological, if these things were not so ridiculously small, tiny and pathetically irrelevant compared to the mighty struggle for the liberation of the proletariat [...] The proletariat [...] has no understanding of such perversities.32

The KPD encouraged workers to aspire to high art over mass popular culture, as the latter was held in suspicion as a potential corrupting influence designed to distract from revolutionary struggle.33 Naturally then, the parodic engagements with mass media and material cultures exhibited at the Dada show were harshly criticised by the Marxist editor Alexander. Her essentialising language of ‘pathologies’ and ‘perversities’ mimics the visual strategies used by the right-wing conservative press in their own negative reviews of Dadaism.

In sum, when depicting ‘kings’ or their downtrodden subjects, Grosz did not employ the racialised *physiognomies* developed by right-wing groups. Instead, his use of the grotesque shows him developing grotesque applications of *physiology*, which expressed distortions of the economic system of capitalism rather than innate


distortions of character type or ethnic background. The proximity between Grosz’s *Reiche Ungeziefer* and Heine’s cover for *Simplicissimus* highlights how some of the Dadaists’ aesthetic approaches were founded on those of liberal Witzblatt caricature. However, these approaches were adapted to the needs of non-essentialising anti-capitalist propaganda. While liberal satirists held that all classes should be mocked as part of a healthy, functioning democracy upholding principles of free speech, the Dadaists sought to agitate for structural change by depicting the grotesqueness of a society shaped by extreme class stratification, which implicates all those in its grip. As such, the *Pleite* broadsheet shows Grosz crafting grotesque physiologies moulded in the visage of capitalism, fulfilling the need identified by Herzfelde for ‘images that show how beautiful the world is and how ugly people make each other’.  

2.2. Profiling Provincialism and Philistinism

The following section examines two examples of comedic character profiles, another strategy which combines image and text and is found in the print cultures of both Dada-edited magazines and imperial Witzblätter. These strikingly similar biographical sketches from both types of publication variously portray: commercial landowners, with backgrounds in horse insurance and pig breeding; followers of quack science; or members of a pedantic, anti-Communist youth. In Grosz’s *Unsere Gegner* (Our Opponents) illustration series in *Jedermann sein eigner Fussball* [Fig. 63], and a set of satirical images by Eduard Thöny in *Simplicissimus* [Fig. 64], the portrayed characters fall within the common denomination of the philistine. In these instances, kingly figures or their lackeys are characterised as ‘philistines’ in the sense that that

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34 ‘Wo sind die Bilder, die aufzeigen, wie schön die Welt ist und wie häßlich die Menschen sie sich gegenseitig machen [...]’. Herzfelde, *Gesellschaft*, 18.
the knowledge sets that they possess, and the way these knowledge sets are applied, do not qualify them to occupy positions of power or serve as representatives acting on the people’s behalf. This common strategy of fabricating crude character profiles consequently sheds light on how the creators of both publications sought to affirm a sense of artistic and political identity among their readerships by constructing satirical portraits of their supposed cultural antipodes.

Grosz’s *Unsere Gegner* [Fig. 63] series is one of the less frequently discussed pieces in *Jedermann sein eigner Fussball*. The sketches run down a central column between two items on the second page: a text by Herzfelde on the fraudulent nature of electoral politics; and a text by ‘Mynona’ (aka Friedländer) titled *Der nachträgliche Heldentod* (The Retrospective Death of a Hero). At the top of the column is Bruchmüller senior, a stout, double-chinned minister in a bowler hat holding an umbrella, introduced as the ‘Head of the Foreign Office (Radek’s personal enemy)’ who ‘tries to uncover secret Spartacus League weapons and ammunition stores on an astrological basis by means of a divining rod hidden in an umbrella’. The figure presents a parody of Georg Bruchmüller (1863-1948), a colonel and artillery officer who designed highly effective offensive strategies during the First World War, including those which endangered Germany’s own troops through the use of friendly fire.

Following the war, he wrote books on military technology, such as *Die deutsche Artillerie in den Durchbruchschlachten des Weltkrieges* (The German Artillery in the

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breakthrough Battles of the World War) (1921), research which earned him the nickname of ‘Der Durchbruchmüller’ (an elision of the term for ‘break through’ and his name). Equipping Bruchmüller with a dowsing rod introduces motifs of quackery and superstition into the setting of mechanised military science. In doing so, Grosz’s sketch roundly debunks this figure’s image as an esteemed expert in his field, but also mocks the renown afforded to him by German military strategists, by presenting him as a hermetic and eccentric soothsayer.

The next sketch presents a bespeckled ‘upper sixth former’ who ‘successfully [...] founded a student council to combat communist activities in German higher education institutions’.37 Embodying youthful naïveté, Bruchmüller junior’s legs whir away, rendered using a partly Cubist perspective, a trademark Groszian technique of spatial representation echoed in the description of the head and hat in the last profile. While the caricature of ‘Bruchmüller jun.’ is not directly a kingly patriarch, his name implicates him as an enabler figure, or a Bruchmüller-in-training. The figure of the complicit lackey embodies the notion of an Untertanenmentalität or Untertanengeist, denoting the ‘subservient mentality’ that many members of the avant-garde regarded as ingrained in German society.38 According to White, the character alludes to members of a right-wing youth league who started a street brawl during Communist leader Karl Liebneckt’s funerary procession.39 As is also habitually the case in relation to the Witzblätter, Grosz’s character sketches lend the Dada magazine an air of

37 ‘Bruchmüller junior, Oberprimaner, nahm erfolgreich an der Aktion gegen Liebknechts Sohn teil, gründete einen Schülerrat zur Bekämpfung kommunistischer Umtriebe in den deutschen höheren Lehranstalten.’ Grosz, Unsere Gegner.


39 White, Generation Dada, 102.
ephemerality, tying it to the locale and time period in which it was produced. In this sense, the magazine’s topical imagery puts *Jederman sein eigner Fussball* closer to satirical *Witzblätter* than the artists’ anthologies of avant-garde ‘little magazines’.

The final figure in the trio is a quintessential kingly patriarch: a retired ‘landowner Josef Bürr from Stolp’, the Pomeranian town where Grosz spent much of his childhood. A member of the National Assembly and ‘multiple award-winning beef cattle breeder’, Bürr is presented as an advocate for the ‘reintroduction of compulsory military service and the establishment of a Wendish-Kashubian republic on a monarchist basis’. The reference to Wends and Kashubians associates Grosz’s character with stereotypes of backwardness in rural Germano-Slavic peoples, reinforcing the impression of provincialism suggested through the figure’s cattle-rearing accolade and *Tirolerhut* (alpine Tyrolean hat) with its *Gamsbart* brush.

Moving to the *Witzblätter*, the same satirical format of ironic character profiles is found in a spread in a 1907 edition of *Simplicissimus* entitled *Reichstagswahlen in Bayern* (Parliamentary Elections in Bavaria) [Fig. 64], featuring monochrome reproductions of painted profiles by Eduard Thöny. Ridiculing what the editors considered to be the irrational and unfounded popularity of the Catholic Centre Party, fictional *Zentrum* candidates are displayed in direct contrast to the far more illustrious and educated Liberal candidates who lost the vote in the same district. For example, the winning Centre Party candidate for Passau is described as the ‘owner of the much-

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admired breeding sow “Lady”, while his educational credentials can be surmised from the qualification that he has only travelled abroad once in order to learn ‘pig carving’ techniques in northern Austria.\(^{41}\)

Thöny’s advocacy of the liberal institutions of the university and Academy greatly contrast with the later politics of Dada. Further, Simmons has shown how Thöny produced increasingly conservative satirical cartoons during and following the November Revolution.\(^{42}\) Even so, this political gulf in no way hindered the easy transfer of cosmopolitan condescension towards agrarian political opponents from the Munich \textit{Witzblatt} to the Berlin Dadaists’ radical-leftist pamphlet. Writing on \textit{Jedermann}’s overall typesetting, David Hopkins notes how, ‘Unlike other Berlin Dada journals, such as \textit{Der Dada} where varied typefaces and multidirectional layouts were employed, the design here functions as a skit on conservative layout’.\(^{43}\) The satirical design presented in \textit{Jedermann sein eigner Fussball} certainly mocked mass media culture to further its political message. However, in the case of the character sketches, \textit{Jedermann} arguably borrows directly from the techniques of comparatively ‘conservative’ commercial \textit{Witzblätter}, rather than presenting a parody of them. Although distinct in visual style and politics, the character profiles illuminate the extent to which the Dadaists lifted some of their satirical formulae straight from the playbook of the imperial \textit{Witzblätter}. We may therefore think of \textit{Jedermann sein eigner Fussball}

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Simmons, ‘War, Revolution,’ 46-47.
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\end{quote}
more productively as a cross between a radical agitational pamphlet and an experimental Witzblatt.

In these publications, the Spießer (bourgeois philistine) functioned as a convenient lynchpin or focal point against whom avant-garde or artistic circles could define themselves and their values. A repository for multiple identities and traits, this figure was mocked by both Dadaists and fin-de-siècle Moderne alike.44 Seth Taylor has traced the trope of the Spießer back to Nietzsche’s concept of the Bildungsspießer, which was then picked up and repeatedly referenced in the Expressionist Die Aktion.45 In particular, the Berlin Dadaists’ use of the term represents an awkward transition from bohemian and Expressionist conceptions of the artist as a kind of Nietzschean Übermensch, who is able to rise above or guide the philistine masses, towards a less certain position. The Dadaists alternatively viewed the artist as variously subjected to or complicit in wider systems of capital and imperial or militaristic power structures. Despite these revelations, Grosz’s profiles show how they reserved some aspects of an earlier, more exclusivist outlook by fashioning the archetypal figure of the Spießer as a class enemy, and replicating the elitist tone of an

44 The Berlin Dadaists’ most famous anti-Spießer text is likely Hausmann’s Der deutsche Spießer ärgert sich (The German Philistine gets upset), published in Der Dada, December 1919, issue 2. Also see issue 6 of Der Blutige Ernst, 1919, dedicated to the bourgeois philistine character of ‘Schulze’. The equivalent figure during the fin de siècle was Serenissimus. See the Simplicissimus cover for 1 January 1901, issue no. 24, ‘Serenissimus in Oberammergau’; and Willy Rath’s play performed at the Eleven Executioners Cabaret. Willy Rath, ‘Serenissimus: Unhistorische Genrebild aus Teutschlands Vergangenheit,’ in Willy Rath, Die Elf Scharfrichter, Münchner Künstlerbrettl (Leipzig: Schuster und Loeffler, 1901), 132-200. For another tirade against the philistine, which bridges these two periods, see Erich Mühsam, ‘Bohemia,’ (1906) in Erich Mühsam, Liberating Society from the State and Other Writings: A Political Reader (Oakland CA.: PM Press, 2011), 55-58. On the role of exclusivity and elitism in artistic circles more generally, see John D. Erickson, ‘The Cultural Politics of Dada,’ in Dada: The Coordinates, 10.

45 See Taylor, Left-Wing Nietzscheans, 49.
avant-garde café *Stammtisch* in the process. Crucially, however, the manner in which the *Spießer* are lambasted helps to account for the difference between Grosz and Thöny’s caricatures of provincialism. Where the *Simplicissimus* graphic artist, Thöny, is able to envisage his ideal political candidates, the Berlin Dadaists offer no such clear-cut alternative.

### 2.3. Raoul Hausmann’s Hurrah Automata

Having examined the trope of the philistine enabler, the following section turns to the ‘kingly’ satirical figure of the general or military commander, focusing in particular on how the speech of these figures is represented. As embodied language, speech is central to Bakhtin. Employing Bakhtinian terminology in his study on ideology, philosopher Terry Eagleton posits that the ruling classes express and impose dogma through ‘monological’ forms of speech.\(^{46}\) In Bakhtinian theory, the ‘monological’ voice of a hegemonic force expresses a ‘single and unified authorial consciousness’, consequently stifling dialogue and multivalent meaning, ‘to address its subjects with authoritarian certitude’.\(^{47}\) Bakhtin’s opposing terms of ‘heteroglossia’ and ‘dialogism’ conversely connote language ‘transformed from […] absolute dogma […] into a working hypothesis for comprehending and expressing reality’.\(^{48}\) As part of a ‘working hypothesis’, meaning is inherently negotiable in the context of heteroglossic language, existing as the product of a Socratic dialogue between two or more parties.\(^{49}\)


\(^{48}\) Terry Eagleton, *On Ideology*, 46.

\(^{49}\) Mikhail Bakhtin, ‘From the Pre-History of Novelistic Discourse,’ *Dialogic imagination*, 61. My emphasis.

Socratic dialogue is a model for philosophical inquiry in which two participants interrogate an idea in the form of a debate or conversation.
Bakhtin frames Socratic dialogue as a foil for the ‘logical authoritarianism’ of kingly ‘agelasts’, noting how ‘carnival forms […] freed [language] from one-sided rhetorical seriousness’.  

In the discussion that follows, the speech of military figures is represented as both monological, and increasingly mechanised. Human mechanisation and cyborgism is a Dadaist concern discussed at length in scholarly literature. Contrary to signalling humanity’s physical and psychological transformations in the wake of modern technology, the hand-illustrated caricatures of mechanised military men analysed here form part of a longstanding lineage of the grotesque. Visual imagery eliding man and machine was preceded by much older images, in which humanoid creatures are fused with synthetic technical objects that predated the industrial revolution.

For instance, as early as 1565, the French publisher Richard Breton produced a collection of wood engraving grotesqueries consisting of anthropomorphised man-made objects, inspired by the work of Rabelais and titled Les songes drolatiques de Pantagruel (The amusing dreams of Pantagruel) [Fig. 65]. As nineteenth-century writer Friedrich Vischer states, the grotesque genre may denote syntheses of the ‘organic and inorganic’, where ‘technical objects seem to become limbs of the human body, [and] tables and chairs speak’. The exercise of viewing Hausmann’s hand-drawn

50 Bakhtin, Rabelais, 37, 121.
51 See, for example, Biro, Dada Cyborg, 1-24; Doherty, ‘Neurasthenics,’ 82-132; Erickson, ‘Cultural Politics,’ 27. These themes are developed in Chapter 4.
52 ‘Die Tiergestalt wird mit der Menschengestalt vermischt, das Leben mit dem Unorganischen, technische Gegenstände erscheinen als Glieder des menschlichen Körpers, Tische und Stühle sprechen.’ Friedrich Vischer, Über das Erhabene und Komische und andere Texte zur Ästhetik (1837) (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1967), 204.
carnivalesque hybrids alongside similar mechanised ‘cyborgian’ figures in *Simplicissimus* shows how satirical cartoons from liberal imperial-era *Witzblätter* align more closely with Hausmann’s imagery than, for example, engagements with mechanised bodies seen in New York Dadaism.

In *Der Dada* 3, set between Hausmann’s text ‘Dada in Europa’ and a recent cartoon from the American *Collier’s* magazine, is a monochrome line drawing of one such hybrid. Titled *Heimatklänge!* (Sounds of the Homeland!) [Fig. 66], Hausmann’s cartoon presents the head of general high commander Paul von Hindenburg (1847-1934), capped with an American derby hat in place of the general’s traditional plumed *Pickelhaube* helmet. Hindenburg’s dismembered head is positioned on a phonograph, implying that it might comically rotate atop the playing record. The traditional German war cry of three hurrahs is converted into the abrupt distortions of a skipping record. Following Grosz’s preference for a pared-back pen-and-ink illustration, Hausmann translates Hindenburg’s features into a series of sweeping symmetrical forms.

A cover illustration for Hausmann’s volume of twelve prose satires, *Hurra! Hurra! Hurra! 12 Satiren* (Hurrah! Hurrah! Hurrah! 12 Satires) (Malik Verlag, 1921) [Fig. 67], echoes *Heimatklänge!* in that it also shows a trio of patriotic ‘hurrahs’ sounding from a grotesque gaping mouth, complementing the prose piece in the collection of the same title, which was also published in *Der Gegner*. Hausmann later developed an inversion of these militaristic depictions of speech in his photomontaged self-portrait *ABCD* (c.1924) [Fig. 68]. Poems such as Huelsenbeck’s *Schieber-Politik* (Racketeer

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Politics), published in *Der Blutige Ernst* 4, contextualise military calls as fervent echoes to a militaristic or imperial decree. Responding to a ‘tumult of people [...] caw[ing] a merry hurrah’, Huelsenbeck encourages ‘Fritz’ to ‘yell yourself hoarse [...] for the German hero emperor’. Hausmann and Huelsenbeck’s various depictions of figures proclaiming this war cry, although they might imply a ‘tumult of people’, cannot represent Socratic dialogue. Instead, the ‘hurrahs’ constitute a unanimous and pre-scripted response to the word of the king, which ultimately serves to maintain and reinforce the monological speech of kingly figures.

When reflecting on the relationship between humans and processes of mechanisation, the Dadaists recognised the inherent contradictory possibilities of the machine age. Huelsenbeck voices this tension in an unpublished manuscript titled ‘To the Keeper of the Dada Treasury’, in which he states that ‘we are supporters of technology and its consequences, yet moved by hatred of what technology does to us’. As is noted by scholars Weikop and Timothy O. Benson, Hausmann was interested in the notion of mechanical consciousness or a *Seelenmotor* (soul-motor). This concern is most readily associated with his *Mechanischer Kopf, der Geist unserer Zeit* (Mechanical Head, Spirit of our Time) sculpture begun in 1919. He was spurred on in his thinking by Friedländer’s *Schöpferische Indifferenz* (Creative Indifference)


(1918), a text which suggests that reality is partly mechanistic: ‘the world is machinery, men are but small wheels in this machinery’. Hausmann explored mechanisation’s liberatory and dialogical possibilities, particularly with regards to the opening up of language. For example, his ‘phoneme’ pieces, retroactively dubbed ‘optophonetic poetry’, comprise of strings of letters and symbols, reducing language to core phonic components akin to musical notation [Fig. 69]. Echoing the translation from text to sonic tones performed by an optophone device, Hausmann then translated his poster poems through performances of this material into wordless expressionistic sound. Conversely, through his Heimatklänge illustration, Hausmann explores mechanisation’s equally possible monological effects on language. Hindenburg’s militaristic voice is mechanised but in a diminutive fashion, reducing it to the refrain of a broken record.

A more developed pen and ink drawing titled Der eiserne Hindenburg (The Iron Hindenburg) [Fig. 70], also from 1920, shows how Hausmann further developed the motif in the Heimatklänge! illustration, due to the close match of the schematised facial features in each image. Both Hindenburg portraits also feature amplifying appendages: a phonograph in Heimatklänge!, and a megaphone extension in Der eiserne Hindenburg, reflecting Hausmann’s interest in sound technology, and particularly devices able to translate other data into sonic values. However, in these

59 Dachy, The Dada Movement, 96.
60 This sketch is closely related to two further pen and ink drawings by Hausmann also from 1920: Deutsche Freiheit, which depicts an automaton of an lower ranking officer, also mechanised with a sabre, and ‘Wir müssen siegen!’ which depicts a cropped close-up portrait of Hindenburg. See Le Bon, ed., Dada: Paris, 720-721.
images, Hausmann has drawn on ideas of a mechanised consciousness and sonic conversion technology for their satirical value in order to portray the commands of Prussian militarism as ruthless, but also mindless and defective.

Both *Heimatklänge!* and *Der eiserne Hindenburg* show how mechanical themes, while signalling a break from the nature and craft-based concerns espoused by their Expressionist peers, are not always described using a ‘machine aesthetic’, such as that seen in the work of the Dadaists and Constructivists. Hausmann’s images did not follow in the vein of New York Dadaist Francis Picabia’s technical drawings of electrical or mechanic components with their human titles, such as *Jeune fille américaine dans l’état de nudité* (Portrait of a young American Girl in a State of Nudity), 1915 [Fig. 71]. Rather than producing prints by replicating precise, mechanical processes, the flowing lines in *Heimatklänge!* are clearly rendered by hand, accompanied by the artist’s equally fluid signature.

In contrast to Picabia’s ‘portraits’, which treat mechanical objects or machines as increasingly conscious subjects, Hausmann’s *Heimatklänge!* and *Der eiserne Hindenburg* clearly depict male human figures undergoing a process of mechanisation. Maintaining a base level of anthropomorphised features grants these images their absurd, comedic tone. For example, in the *Eiserne Hindenburg* image, the megaphone extends from the groin of the high general, in an assemblage

described by Biro as a ‘prominent mechanical graft’.\(^{62}\) Hausmann’s ‘iron’ Hindenburg is depicted in two halves, with his lower half rotated forwards to reveal hairy buttocks, lending a distinct sense of fleshiness to the cyborg hybrid, with the ‘O’ in the acronym of ‘AOK’, denoting the rank ‘Armeeoberkommando’ (‘Army Higher Command’), positioned on the general’s anus. Grosz was clearly not the only Berlin Dadaist who produced images that operated partly on the level of crude satire. If the ‘Dadasoph’, as the in-house philosopher and theorist of the group, produced mechanised comic grotesque caricatures, clearly these strategies did not preclude further critical, philosophical inquiries into the subjects depicted.

The distinctive nature of Berlin Dada’s cyborgs vis-à-vis those seen in New York Dada is further illuminated when Hausmann’s Hindenburg automata are analysed alongside similar images by Heine. *Simplicissimus* had long satirised the commanding, monological voice of the general. Heine’s 1902 *Simplicissimus* cover illustration *Das neueste Geschütz* (The Latest Artillery) [Fig. 72] shows a red-faced, inebriated set of army commanders, imbibing bottles of champagne fed to them by gormless corporals. To the right of the composition, the bellowing voice of a general is depicted not as mechanised noise emitting from a phonograph, but as an automatic weapon.\(^{63}\) A series of religious and militaristic nouns and adjectives (‘holy’, ‘battlefield’, ‘Majesty’, ‘God’, ‘nation’, ‘army’) shoot forth from the gun-barrel mouth of the general. This vocabulary has been freed from the linear straightjacket of conventional magazine typesetting. The editors have even comically recreated the effect of sound

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\(^{63}\) Thomas Theodor Heine, *Das Neuste Geschütz, Simplicissimus*, 1902, issue 17.
wave dispersal, as the words further away from the general’s mouth use kerning with wider spacing between each letter (conventionally used in contemporary newspapers to signify bold text) [Fig. 73]. These words at first appear inconsequential and randomised in their state of disorder, however, upon closer inspection, they cohere to a wider ideological characterisation of the generals, lending a distinctly ‘monological’ tone to the portrait.

Another Simplicissimus cartoon by Heine titled Kulturfortschritt (Cultural Progress), from 1905, shows a torture scene conducted by another comically mechanised soldier, as a comment on the treatment of Russian revolutionaries [Fig. 74]. By mechanising the act of torture, rather than eliminating the act itself, the cartoon cautions against technological innovation without the advancement of democratic, human rights of the individual, themes which would become all too relevant in a domestic context a decade later. Although automated, the torturer also retains a roughly anthropomorphised form, most clearly articulated through his moustached face. Like Hausmann’s illustration, Heine’s cartoon grapples with themes of the transformations of humanity brought about by industrialisation, similarly affixing a megaphone to the cyborg’s mouth. However, aspects such as the moustache, and the fact that the torture victim is receiving a spanking on the derrière, sets this potentially disturbing depiction of senseless, mechanised violence firmly in realm of comic grotesque satire.

Hindenburg is himself easily identifiable in satirical contexts across the Wilhelmine and Weimar periods precisely due to his ‘handlebar’ Prussian moustache. In addition to its depiction in Hausmann’s illustrations, the general’s facial hair formed
the basis of a textual satire, ‘Warum Hindenburg einen Vollbart hat’ (Why Hindenburg has a Full Beard). This was published Hausmann’s Hurra! prose satire collection along with a reproduction of the Heimatklänge! sketch. In a German context, this male style of facial hair was a typical marker denoting an aristocratic Junker class, a subsection of the German nobility who owned vast estates in Prussia. Exercising influence over much of the land in the country’s largest state, and extensive influence in the military, civil service and government—through lobbying groups, such as the Agrarian League—this section of the aristocracy exercised unparalleled influence over the country. Hausmann’s depiction of a Prussian moustache in Heimatklänge! therefore shows him constructing a class-based physiology akin to that seen in Grosz’s Das reiche Ungeziefer. Hindenburg’s features, including his drooping facial furrows and moustache, are set within a geometrically circular visage, as though melted and compressed into a gramophone record.

As Michael White has observed, the proclamation on the walls of the Dada Messe exhibition, reading ‘Art is Dead. Long Live the Machine Art of Tatlin’, serves as a post-imperial, machine-age revision of the traditional address, ‘the King is Dead, long live the king’. The Heimatklänge! illustration presents an adjacent evolution of kingly, monological speech, whose humour hinges on the elision between the archetypal Junker and his imperialistic cries, and the modern signifiers of the phonograph and American hat. Although Hindenburg’s monological speech has been

64 Allen, Satire and Society, 51. The region’s relatively late industrialisation meant that German aristocracy were able to transition from pre-industrial land management to post-industrial extractive industries whilst maintaining a ‘neo-feudal’ de facto control over many governmental departments, a position cemented by the military victories that led to the unification of Germany in 1871. See Betz, ‘Elites and Class,’ 71-73.  
65 White, Generation Dada, 27.
mechanised through Hausmann’s carnivalesque hybrid, this mechanisation is hardly threatening, reducing the high commander to a stinted, caricatured appendage atop a broken record, a junk-shop general suitable for the cabaret tone evident throughout Der Dada 3. With regards to Friedländer’s concern that the distortions of the grotesque might lead to a worldview shot through with bitterness and class resentment, Hausmann’s Hindenburg sketch does not pose a risk in this respect. This is because the mechanised disembodiment of the figure, executed with a nod to Witzblatt satire traditions, roundly and jubilantly debunks the figure of the general through its construction of a comic grotesque. However, in the examples to come, a shift in medium paves the way for significantly more exploratory—if still comedic—satirical critiques.

3. A Medial Critique in a Dada Witzblatt Grotesque

3.1. George Grosz, Die Stimme des Volkes, die Stimme Gottes (1920)

The following case study examines how a montaged cartoon, Grosz’s Die Stimme des Volkes, die Stimme Gottes (The Voice of the People is the Voice of God, hereafter Die Stimme Gottes) [Fig. 75], featured in Der Gegner, on 17 June 1920, brings together two themes addressed thus far: that of grotesque hybrids in Dada-edited magazines, which draw from earlier examples seen in imperial Witzblätter, and the monological speech of patriarchal figures in positions of power. By comparison with the previous examples, it presents a more structural vision of power: rather than the singular figurehead of a body politic, the ‘king’ figures are fairly inconsequential.

representatives for inherently corrupt hegemonic structures. In the construction of the image, Grosz has pasted newspaper clippings over a scene of hybrid creatures to signify their voices and thoughts [Fig. 76]. As shall be argued here, whilst the base of *Die Stimme Gottes* is a hand-drawn monochrome caricature, the textual montage elements of the clippings shift the image into the realm of medial critique. *Die Stimme Gottes* may therefore be viewed as an important thematic mid-point in the trajectory between the Dadaists’ hand-illustrated satirical cartoons, with their *Witzblatt* heritage, and satirical works whose critical meaning is bound up with their use of media.\(^67\) The content of these clippings has not previously been analysed, yet a close reading and contextualisation quickly illuminates the critique embedded in Grosz’s image.

*Die Stimme Gottes* occupied a double page spread in a particularly long double issue of *Der Gegner*, featured as a visual interlude in a twenty-three page Marxist history piece by Georg Sinovjew, *N. Lenin: Sein Leben und seine Tätigkeit* (N. Lenin: his Life and Works).\(^68\) Instead of a single kingly figure dominating discourse with his monological speech, Grosz presents a polyphony of voices, indeed a whole zoo of animals, sitting in suits or military uniform in the Reichstag debating chamber.\(^69\) Similar bestial hybrids frequently populated the *Witzblatt* cartoons of the imperial era. For example, an illustration from a *Simplicissimus* carnival parade series from 1910 depicts a ‘Münchner Zoologischer Garten’ float [Fig. 77]. In this image, the lion, a

\(^{67}\) The cover of *Der Blutige Ernst*, ‘Work and do not despair!’, analysed in the first chapter, represents a similar midpoint.

\(^{68}\) This issue features another illustration by Grosz, titled *Unternehmer-Initiative*, while some of the additional prose pieces include: *Deutsche Dokumente* by Georg Scholz; *Zum Fall Kokoschka* by Kurt Hiller; and *Christlich-Sozial* by Hausmann.

symbol for Bavaria since the twelfth century—here transformed into a monk with a beer stein—leads a set of disproportioned Bavarian politicians.

Most of the creatures are identifiable animals which have been marginally anthropomorphised. In contrast, the rural, regressive views of the Upper Palatinate district representatives are denoted through their significantly more humanoid, and therefore more grotesque, portrayals. Dressed in shabby suits, the ‘Oberpfälzische Saurier’ (‘Upper Palatinate dinosaurs’) have grown tails and crawl on all fours. In his definition of the grotesque, Vischer classifies the coalescence of animal and human forms as a basic tenet of the genre. The very term ‘grotesque’ was originally developed to refer to the imagined life forms painted in the Roman emperor Nero’s Domus Aurea. According to Bakhtin, the hybrid bodies of such creatures denoted the carnivalesque quality of mutability.

As with the Simplicissimus carnival zoo parade, some of the beasts in Grosz’s menagerie parliament debate—asses, apes, or hyenas—are also easily identifiable, while others, such as the creature in the top left, are ambiguously amorphous mutants. The depictions of facial features in Grosz’s image are arguably more disturbing than those of the Simplicissimus dinosaurs, because they veer more towards depictions of deformity, as is the case with the figure in the top left of the composition. Again, despite their deformities, Grosz’s figures are not physiognomic portraits. Clearly fantastical and absurd, they show Grosz using the model of grotesque hybrids to comment on

71 Bakhtin, Rabelais, 32.
the substance of parliamentary debate, rather than to reveal the underlying nature of the representatives. No matter how visually grotesque, Grosz's cartoons are safely removed from medicalised contexts which identify ‘deformities’ as symptomatic of racial degeneration.\textsuperscript{72} Bearing this in mind, the most unsettling individual of the pack is undoubtedly the slight male figure right at the back of the composition. His eerily dehumanised form, because it does not yet represent an animal, is the least directly satirical and thus the least comedic. Instead, the figure’s dead eyes stare straight at the viewer, a swastika emblazoned on his forehead like an ashen crucifix.

Grosz’s title, by referring to the maxim \textit{Vox Populi, Vox Dei}, evokes the liberal belief in popular sovereignty over autocratic rule. The voices in the scene are materialised as clippings taken from a transcript of a Reichstag debate. Important debates were usually recorded by a stenographer and then published in the press, and Grosz has incised one or several of these readily available transcripts. As such, genuine fragments of speech uttered by representatives in the Reichstag emit from the creatures’ mouths in a cacophony of phrases. These call, for example, for ‘martial law’, the ‘state of exception’, or the withdrawal of African troops deployed by the French to the Ruhr region.\textsuperscript{73} \textit{Die Stimme Gottes} was published just days after the election of 6 June, which saw major losses of seats for the two largest parties, the


\textsuperscript{73} The German term for ‘state of exception’ is \textit{Ausnahmezustand}. This was a legal mechanism granting the government emergency powers during periods of civil unrest. Also visible is the sentence: ‘Erklären, daß die Verpflanzung von ungefähr 50 000 fremdrassigen Truppen in das Herz Europa sein Verbrechen am gesamten Europa ist. \textit{Beifall}.’ George Grosz, \textit{Die Stimme des Volkes, die Stimme Gottes} (Voice of the People, Voice of God), 1920, repr. in \textit{Dada: Zurich}, Dickerman et al., 116.
SPD and the (Catholic) Centre Party. Parties on more extreme ends of the political spectrum, such as the radical left USPD, and the conservative nationalist DNVP, also gained seats, marking an end to the post-war consensus which allowed the main parties to form a strong majority as the ‘Weimar Coalition’. Grosz has grotesquely animated the fraught claims published in newspapers around the election, fulfilling a need outlined by Herzfelde: for art which asks the proletariat to critically interpret the ‘figures, statistics, polemics, [and] single cases presented by the press’.

In this image, hand-illustrated grotesque hybrids serve to engage readers through the familiar forms of satirical cartoons featured in earlier Witzblätter. However, upon closer inspection, Grosz’s use of newspaper clippings extends the critical reach of the image. Textual montage elements ensure that both the politicians’ voices and the replication of these voices in the newspapers are implicated in the zoological scene. The hybrid creatures reduce the politicians’ debating points to meaningless brays, screeches, and squeals, while the medial critique introduced by the newspaper clippings highlights the tightly-bound relationship between the parliament and the press. Grosz’s montage thus decontextualises the debate clippings, relocating them in a comic grotesque scene to ridicule both the Reichstag’s platforming of far-right

74 The SPD refers to the Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands (Social Democratic Party of Germany); the ‘Zentrum’ refers to the (Catholic) Centre Party; the USPD refers to the Unabhängige Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands (the Independent Social Democratic Party of Germany); the DNVP refers to the Deutschnationale Volkspartei (the German National People’s Party). The Weimar Coalition was replaced with a new minority coalition, formed between the Centre Party, the severely weakened Social Democrats, and the conservative liberals in the People’s Party (DVP), led by Centre Party politician Konstantin Fehrenbach.

75 ‘All die Zahlen, Statistiken, Polemiken, herausgegriffenen Einzelfälle, die die Presse bringt, […] richtig gewertet werden […]’ Herzfelde, Gesellschaft, 18.
voices and their additional amplification via the newspapers. The media is here posited as a prop in the Weimar Republic’s ineffectual ‘staged’ democracy.

Although the polyphony of voices appears to present the opportunity for the kind of Socratic dialogue valued by Bakhtin, the hybrid image shows how the setting of a republican parliamentary debate alone cannot not guarantee genuine dialogue. The representatives in the montage merely parrot right-wing talking points, with three of the figures warning of the dangers of a radical leftist coup.\textsuperscript{76} Scholar John Erickson discusses this theme, citing the idea that the new order of the Weimar Republic merely ‘substituted a new master discourse for an old one’ and that ‘it was against this reinscription of the dominant discourse that Dada reacted’ by means of centring cultural relativism in their work.\textsuperscript{77} Eagleton relates Bakhtinian polyphony to the notion of bourgeois capitalism’s ‘intellectual marketplace’, asserting that ‘within this turmoil of competing creeds, any particular belief system will find itself wedged cheek and jowl with unwelcome competitors’.\textsuperscript{78} He further cautions that this environment encourages the rise of ‘philosophical scepticism and relativism’ where ‘no single way of thinking can claim more validity than any other’.\textsuperscript{79}

Far from permitting meaningful Socratic dialogue, Grosz here claims that the parameters of debates in the post-monarchist parliament are set by the agendas of the press, and the press then reproduce transcripts of these debates to lend them

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\textsuperscript{76} Legible phrases include: ‘Die Gefahr eines linksradikales Putsches’, ‘Putschabsichten von rechts und von links’, ‘Die Gefahr kommunistischer Putsche’.
\textsuperscript{77} Erickson, ‘Cultural Politics,’ 11.
\textsuperscript{78} Eagleton, \textit{On Ideology}, 107.
\textsuperscript{79} Eagleton, 107.
further credibility. Grosz suggests that, although monologism may be used as a strategy by a patriarch king to stifle dialogue, dialogism, or multivalent meaning, this does not preclude new ‘king’ figures from performing a hollow simulation of Socratic dialogue to also further their vested interests and maintain power. As such, the image highlights a distinction between Socratic dialogue and dialogical meaning, where the dissolution of the significance of language may undermine deliberative democracy.

4. Imperial kitsch for Republican Cabinets

4.1. John Heartfield, *Wer ist der Schönste?? (1919)*

Having explored Grosz’s transposition of newspaper clippings over satirical pen-and-ink drawings, the discussion now turns to images of various ‘kingly’ figures constructed exclusively from photographic fragments, having shed the hand-drawn ‘cartoon’ elements which most directly visually associated them with illustrated *Witzblatt* satire. It builds on the reinterpretation of these works offered in the previous chapter, which views early Dada photomontages as photographic plays on satirical cartoons, and categorises them as part of a wider visual culture of *Witzblatt* jokes composed using photographic images. Having considered the aesthetic implications of this innovation in the first chapter, the analysis now examines the specific sources for the following satirical constructions featured in Dadaist-edited magazines: the central photomontage, *Wer ist der Schönste?? (Who is the Prettiest??) (1919)* [Fig. 78], on Heartfield’s layout for the cover of *Jedermann sein eignen Fussball*; and Grosz’s *Hohenzollern-Renaissance* (Hohenzollem Renaissance) (1920) [Fig. 45],
reproduced in *Der Gegner.*

This section considers how these sources inform the respective interpretive frameworks for both images.

Where the use of textual newspaper clippings in Grosz’s *Die Stimme Gottes* critiques the German press, the analysis here shows how both satirical photomontages, in their choice of medium and form, parody propagandistic material culture items produced during the *Kaiserzeit.* As shall be discussed, the primary source material for Grosz’s *Hohenzollern-Renaissance* has been definitively identified as a reproduction of an imperial academic painting by Ferdinand Keller. However, in the case of the first case study, Heartfield’s *Wer ist der Schönste?*, the visual motif of political figureheads displayed on a fan remains somewhat of an enigma in Dada scholarship, although its immediate satirical appeal is self-evident. In order to recover some of the original resonances of the image, scholars’ interpretations of the fan are consolidated alongside a previously unconsidered material culture source for the ‘beauty contest’ portraits.

*Jedermann sein eigner Fussball* was the Berlin Dadaists’ only political magazine produced exclusively by core members. Billed as an ‘illustrierte Halbmonatschrift’ (‘illustrated bimonthly paper’) it was available for purchase at 30 Pfennig, or 40 Pfennig through the post. 

Heartfield’s arresting montage depicts the new ‘Kabinett Scheidemann’ government [Fig. 78], elected on 13 February 1919, only two days

80 Simmons attributes the cover layout to Heartfield and the photomontage elements to Grosz. See Simmons, ‘Advertising Seizes,’ 136.

81 A portfolio of drawings by George Grosz printed ‘auf echt Japan [sic]’ (‘on real Japanese paper’) and advertised on the last page of *Jedermann sein eigner Fussball* is priced at 38.50 Marks, indicating a wide range in the magazine’s readership.
before magazine’s release. This iconic image is one of the Berlin group’s most widely recognised magazine designs, arguably typifying its reputation for topical, propagandistic satire. There is relative consensus among scholars that the photomontage parodies visual promotional material for the incoming government. For example, White surmises that the portraits allude to the ‘many prints and postcards celebrating Germany’s post-revolution, republican government’. Simmons notes how the image’s caption references prize competitions for political poster designs, events frequently advertised in newspapers during the election. The caption suggests that elections are little more than a form of superficial ‘beauty competition’, determined by whichever party can fund the most compelling propaganda. Hopkins points out how this reinforces the message put forward in Herzfelde’s leading article, ‘the Socialisation of the Party Fund’. Heartfield’s carefully incised fan develops Herzfelde’s point into a gendered parody, where the viewer is asked to consider the ‘beauty’ of a series of stout middle-aged men, a judgement usually reserved for youthful women entrants to beauty pageants. The irony of this question posed to the reader is made clear through the overzealous use of question marks.

Beyond these initial readings, scholars have identified the base of the cabinet portrait as a ceremonial brisé fan. As Benson points out, Der Sturm mocked art critics’ comments on Kandinsky’s ‘pictures without objects’ by producing a parodic portrait series similarly showing famous composers on panels of a wooden brisé fan, bearing

82 White, Generation Dada, 103.
83 Simmons, ‘Advertising Seizes,’ 126-127. See also Hopkins, Short Introduction, 55. For another parody on the craze for poster competitions, see the special issue of Die Lustige Blätter, 1914, issue 25, ‘Das Berliner Plakat’, discussed in Simmons, ‘Kirchner’s Streetwalkers,’ 127.
84 Hopkins, Short Introduction, 55.
the title ‘pictures with objects’ [Fig. 79]. Art historian Peter-Klaus Schuster has compared the photomontage to a brisé fan from 1892 showing an array of paintings by Eduard Grützner [Fig. 80], an image of which was reproduced in a book owned by Grosz. Finally, Jindřich Toman argues that Heartfield’s photomontage represents a ‘step across the threshold’ as ‘the iconography of such fan-style portraits has until then been reserved for the stars of drama and opera’. Yet a mass-produced brisé fan made during the First World War, and depicting a different Central Power military leader on each slat, suggests otherwise [Fig. 81]. This item, examples of which are housed in the Cooper Hewitt Smithsonian Design Museum and the Greenwich Fan Museum, is important as it sheds new light on the specific cultural connotations presented by Heartfield’s montage, opening up the Jedermann sein eigner Fussball cover to fresh interpretation.

Produced in the first half of the war in circa 1915, the military fan is a clear example of the material culture of Kriegserinnerungen (war mementos), known colloquially as Hurrakitsch (war kitsch). Simmons discusses how Georg Scholz ironically alluded to the material culture of porcelain Hurrakitsch [Fig. 82] in a lost painting exhibited at the Dada-Messe, titled Hindenburgsülze: Ein duftendes Geburtstags-Geschenk für den Feldmarschall Hindenburg (Hindenburg Headcheese: 

85 Anon., ‘Bilder mit Dingen,’ Der Sturm, 1912, issue 132, cited by Benson in Hausmann, 114; 121-123.
86 This volume owned by Grosz was a biography of the artist Eduard Grützner by Fritz von Ostini. See Peter-Klaus Schuster et al., George Grosz: Berlin. New York (Berlin: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, 1995), 29.
87 Jindřich Toman, Foto/montáž tiskem = Photo/Montage in print, ed. Zdenek Primus and Jindřich Toman (Prague: Kant, 2009), 76.
88 Another example of the same fan is included in Fans: War and Peace, ex. cat. (London: Fan Museum Greenwich, 2009), 94. Their example has a pasted stamp reading ‘Welt-Krieg, 1914-1915’ on the first slat.
89 Simmons, ‘Dada and Kitsch,’ 228.
A Fragrant Birthday Present for Field Marshal Hindenburg) (1920). Like much of the porcelain alluded to by Scholz, the fan also features a portrait of Hindenburg alongside Kaiser Wilhelm II, however, most of the portraits are heads of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, or wearing Austrian military uniform, suggesting this design was produced for an Austrian market. Signatures add a personal touch to this nationalistic, mass-produced item, showing how the design of Hurrakitsch items readily drew from emergent celebrity culture. Signatures, in this case those of famous German artists, similarly feature on a hand-painted brisé fan from 1899 which displays miniature copies of famous paintings by different German artists, such as Grützner and Franz von Stuck [Fig. 83].

Assuming that equivalent products were also produced for the German market during the war, we may view Heartfield’s photomontage as a mimicry of a Hurrakitsch object. In the case the fan in Wer ist der Schönste??, the use of photographic images, rather than hand-drawn illustrations, helps to affirm the imaginary object’s status as a mass-produced item, creating an almost inverse effect to the signatures featured on the First World War brisé fan. Such a reading draws the photomontage into wider discussions surrounding the contested role of applied arts, particularly in relation to the production of jingoistic propaganda. Simmons examines Scholz’s Hurrakitsch painting alongside an essay by the artist entitled ‘Art and Kitsch’, in which Scholz takes stock of efforts by the Deutscher Werkbund and others to educate the masses on

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91 Hindenburg (fifth from left); Kaiser Wilhelm II (eighth from left); the Austrian Archduke Josef Ferdinand (sixth from left); Franz Josef I of Austria (ninth from left); and his heir, the Crown Prince Karl Franz Joseph of Austria (eleventh from left). Central Power leader Mohammed V of Turkey is notably absent.
‘good taste’.\footnote{Georg Scholz, ‘Kunst und Kitsch,’ cited in Simmons, ‘Dada and Kitsch,’ 228. The Dadaists’ contemporary, art historian Adolf Behne, also wrote positively on the engagements with kitsch seen in the Dada Messe. See, Adolf Behne, ‘Dada,’ \textit{Die Freiheit}, 9 July 1920, discussed in Simmons, ‘Grimaces,’ 31-35.} Given that such efforts are inevitably shaped by classist agendas, and provoke instantaneous, visceral dismissals of ‘kitschy’ artistic design, Scholz asks what lessons mass-produced material culture items might have to offer the avant-garde artist. Through \textit{Wer ist der Schönste?}, Heartfield successfully engages with cultural production in a manner advocated for by Scholz.

Another significant contemporary view on kitsch was published by writer and publicist Kurt Tucholsky just over a month after \textit{Jedermann sein eigner Fussball} was released. In his article, Tucholsky commented on the phenomenon of the distinctly kitsch and grotesque posters produced by the far-right Anti-Bolshevist League. Tucholsky situates these as part of a wider ‘war of posters’ in revolutionary Germany, recalling the ‘war of images’ alluded to by Herzfelde in \textit{Der Gegner}.

A key player in this visual war was the Central Office for Domestic Propaganda. Although originally set up for use during the war, this department continued its operations throughout the November Revolution under the leadership of Centre Party politician, Matthias Erzberger (1875-1921).\footnote{Ignaz Wrobel [Kurt Tucholsky], ‘Fratzen an den Mauern,’ \textit{Berliner Tageblatt}, 29 March 29 1919, quoted and trans. in Simmons, ‘Grimaces,’ 17.} Erzberger’s rotund face has been pasted onto the base of Heartfield’s fan, positioning the Scheidemann cabinet member and leading propagandist Erzberger as partly culpable for what the Dadaists interpreted as the restitution of the imperial order under President Friedrich Ebert. By mimicking

propagandistic *Hurrakitsch*, Heartfield's photomontage builds on concerns laid out by both its own title and Herzfelde's leading article, which accused artists of selling their labour in a manner that risked skewing election results. Heartfield's fan constitutes an ironically constructed phantom design of the sort of promotional material that such an artist might produce for the cabinet, either during the campaigning stage, or to celebrate their arrival in office.

By visually alluding to *Hurrakitsch*, Heartfield's mock propagandistic fan depicts the new government of February 1919 as distinctly militaristic, a point further emphasised through the two other figures pasted on the fan's base: Gustav Noske (1868-1946) and General Erich Ludendorff (1865-1937). Noske was the newly elected Minister of Defence, who had commandeered the Freikorps to suppress the Spartacist uprising in the previous month. Ludendorff had acted as First Quartermaster General or head of military policy during the de facto military dictatorship exercised in Germany during the latter half of the war. In this sense, the effeminate fan motif and beauty competition framing serve to mock the patriarchal militarism of these 'king' figures. From the Dadaists' perspective, Noske's suppression of the uprisings, under the command of President Ebert, meant that the government had consolidated its power by force, using violence against its own citizens. It follows that the 'Beauty Competition' photomontage is designed to stress the ongoing lineage between the imperial system and the new 'Weimar Coalition', SPD-led government. The fan presents a *Hurrakitsch* design for the government during its own domestic 'war' waged against the

95 Whilst General Erich Ludendorff held no major role in the new cabinet, he became embroiled in the Kapp Putsch in 1920.
communists. In doing so, it ironically participates in the propagandistic struggles of the revolutionary post-war era to question the legitimacy of the incoming government.

In Chapter 1, we saw how a satirical image of a chocolate wrapper featuring Kaiser Wilhelm and his son [Fig. 46] lightly mocked the pre-war German imperial kitsch from which wartime Hurrakitsch naturally developed. The caption below this familial photographic portrait in ULK reads, ‘Until now, we were under the impression that Friedrich Wilhelm and son appear on this lovely picture’, deliberately misinterpreting the name of the chocolate company—Theodor Hildebrand & Sohn—as a caption for the figures in the image. A comparison between this image and Heartfield’s photomontage for Jedermann further clarifies the extent to which the Dadaists pushed photographic satirical images into the realm of nuanced multivalent critique.

Both images goad forms of imperial kitsch through combinations of photographic imagery and heavily ironic captions. However, ULK’s satirical photograph appears to do so in a manner able to claim plausible deniability in case of lèse majesté charges, particularly as the photograph has purportedly been sent in by a reader, ‘Lotte from Hannover’, who, it is implied, is too young to know any better. In contrast, the Dadaist image is intentionally defamatory, producing a searing indictment of the new government’s repurposing of wartime resources (former troops in the Freikorps and the propaganda department) against its own population. It additionally questions how artists implicate themselves when they further the vested interests and ideologies of others through their work. Heartfield’s image immediately engages the reader through its arresting gendered parody, but it is only after closer inspection that its more serious underlying medial critique becomes perceptible.
4.2. George Grosz, *Hohenzollern-Renaissance* (1920)

The second photomontage in question, Grosz’s *Hohenzollern-Renaissance* (1920) [Fig. 45], presents a clear adaptation of a piece of outdated imperial kitsch from fourteen years, prior: Ferdinand Keller’s academic oil portrait, *Die Silberhochzeit der kaiserlichen Familie* (The Silver Wedding Anniversary of the Imperial Family) (1906) [Fig. 84]. In order to promote the imperial family of the Hohenzollerns, reproductions of this painting were mass produced and circulated, for example, in the form of a postcard. The postcard format is significant, as Biro notes how Berlin Dada’s photomontage partly stemmed from Grosz and Heartfield’s wartime practice of sending collaged postcards to one another. Designed for personal consumption, their humorous collages were less likely to be censored, as sending collages to the front was a common practice: so-called *Liebesgaben* albums were compiled and sent by women volunteers to soldiers.96 In these early (lost) examples of mock *Liebesgaben* tributes, Grosz and Heartfield privately produced a form of gendered and ironic *Hurrakitsch* prior to any of their avant-garde Dadaist collaborations.

As an example of another gendered medial critique involving an adapted postcard, Grosz’s *Hohenzollern-Renaissance* can be viewed as the successor piece to Heartfield’s *Wer ist der Schönste??*, and its parody of Scheidemann’s cabinet. This is due to the fact that, in this later satirical image, Grosz has pasted the heads of the subsequent SPD government and its associates over a reproduction of Keller’s 1906

96 Biro, ‘Hausmann’s Revolutionary Media,’ 32. The Dadaists continued this practice long after. See, for example, an altered postcard sent to Georg Scholz by George Grosz in 1923: https://www.nationalgalleries.org/art-and-artists/31342.
painting. Simmons has observed how Grosz’s image developed a technique piloted by New York Dada of desecrating reproductions of Old Masters. What has not been commented on is the more gendered aspect of the imperial pomp vested upon the politicians here, and how this both constructs an interpretative framework for the image, and links it to the earlier Wer ist der Schönste?? photomontage.

In Grosz’s mechanised satirical ‘cartoon’, the head of Chancellor Gustav Bauer (1870-1944) has been pasted onto the central figure of the German empress. Bauer the empress is seated next to the proxy ‘Kaiser’, his close friend and SPD colleague, Reichspräsident Friedrich Ebert [Fig. 45]. The legacy of the Bauer government was defined by two major political events: firstly, its signature of the Treaty of Versailles after much turbulent disagreement and multiple resignations regarding its punitive terms, and, secondly, the Kapp-Lüttwitz Putsch of 13 March 1920, defeated by the largest general strike in German history of around twelve million citizens.

According to Simmons, the failed Kapp Pustch is the primary subject of the photomontage, indicated by the presence of Wolfgang Kapp (1858-1922) and Walther von Lüttwitz (1895-1942), who stand in waiting behind Bauer as members of his entourage. In order to foreground the notion that corrupt ties between the military

98 Those also labelled in the Gegner version, alongside Wolfgang Kapp, Walther von Lüttwitz and Gustav Bauer, are Hermann Müller (1876-1931), foreign minister under Bauer and Chancellor of the new government following the putsch; Theodor von Watter (1856-1922), an infantry general during WWI; and Carl Severing (1875-1952), an SPD politician from the right-wing of the Party who, in 1920, occupied the post of Interior Minister of Prussia.
99 Simmons, ‘Dada and Kitsch,’ 232. The putsch is also alluded to in Richard Huelsenbeck, ‘Ein Besuch im Cabaret Dada,’ Der Dada, April 1920, issue 3, in Huelsenbeck’s reference to the DNVP (the German National People’s Party), Wolfgang Kapp’s party.
and government facilitated the attempted coup, Grosz deliberately misgenders four of the male figures. Playing on the original image’s wedding anniversary theme, the humour of his image revolves around various ‘marriages’ taking place. For example, below the unsuccessful putschists of Kapp and Lüttwitz to the right of the composition, the caption reads ‘das unglückliche Ehepaar’ (‘the unhappy couple’). Meanwhile, Bauer the empress is resplendently dressed in silk and lace, his delicate hand lightly touching the ermine fur wrap of his white dress. The ridiculous tone of the resultant scene means that the company is effectively presented in imperial drag.

In the case of both Heartfield’s brisé fan image of the Scheidemann cabinet and Grosz’s augmented postcard showing the Bauer cabinet, then, each image works to pastiche a form of imperial kitsch. Grosz constructs satirical iterations of material culture objects to emphasise the interpreted femininity of the two ruling governments, whose political leaders are surrounded by their military leaders like ladies in waiting. In doing so, he illustrates how both the crude, ‘boyish’ satire that Friedländer cautioned against and a complex medial critique may simultaneously sit in dialectical tension with each other within a single image.100 Grosz’s Hohenzollern-Renaissance is particularly carnivalesque, as it enacts gender role reversals and employs grotesque hybridised imagery of mismatched heads and bodies.

In a less directly gendered image, a Simplicissimus Beiblatt cover created by Heine for the August 1905 issue, titled Jaurès Zurückweisung (Jaurès’ Dismissal) [Fig. 85], also thematises the carnivalesque pomp and self-presentation of German politics.

100 Mynona [Friedländer], Grosz, 10.
In the chromolithograph, a chaotic curtained stage is populated by actors in fancy
dress, among them the Pope and the Kaiser on a hobby horse. These figures are
depicted in stark contrast to the French Socialist Jean Jaurès, who stands bewildered
before them in his ‘schlichten’ (‘simple’) jacket. The cartoon tagline, ‘[…] Berlin
politics is a costume party, only those in costume may enter’, conveys the
bourgeoisie’s embarrassment at the Kaiser’s foppish ceremonial splendour. The
image of the Kaiser riding a toy horse likely alludes to the dilettantism and poor grasp
of statecraft he demonstrated on many a diplomatic visit.

As per Bakhtin’s characterisation of the agelasts’ tendency to ‘strut majestically’,
Wilhelm II was known for expanding the use of public spectacle and touring well
beyond what was seen during the reign of his father. Politics, the cartoon implies,
is not a carnival play for a megalomaniac head of state, but a serious matter for level-
headed, elected politicians in black frock coats. Yet, as Doherty’s analysis of Harry
Graf Kessler’s diary entries of the republican swearing-in ceremony shows, when the
emperor’s theatricality was finally dismissed, the Social Democrats were at a loss as
to how to fill the ceremonial void left by the Kaiser. They instinctively resorted to
traditional ritual forms, resulting in Kessler’s impression of the inauguration as like
watching ‘a governess dancing a ballet’. Given the parallels in subject matter, it is
useful to briefly compare Heine’s chromolithograph and Grosz’s Hohenzollern-

101 Thomas Theodor Heine, Jaurès Zurückweisung (Jaurès’ Dismissal), Simplicissimus,
1905, issue 18, 213. See Allen, Satire and Society, 80. The full caption reads: ‘Er kam als
Vertreter des Volkes im schlichten Rock; die Berliner Politik ist aber ein Kostümfest. Nur
Kostümierte haben Zutritt’.
102 See, for example, the ‘Daily Telegraph affair’ outlined in Allen, Satire and Society, 59.
103 Bakhtin, Rabelais, 212.
104 Kessler, quoted in Brigid Doherty, ‘Figures of the Pseudorevolution,’ October 84 (1998):
71.
Renaissance to determine how a Dadaist mechanised satirical ‘cartoon’, and the medial critique it deploys, might be distinguished from hand-illustrated Witzblatt satirical cartoons.

The first point to consider is the specific grotesque effect of Grosz’s new form of mechanised satire, and how this compares to Heine’s hand-illustrated chromolithograph. Within Grosz’s montage, the disproportionalities of some of the figures’ heads takes the place of the physiognomic distortion seen in traditional satirical cartoons, and in Grosz’s pen-and-ink drawings. Having usurped the Kaiser, Ebert’s central position in the portrait is emphasised by the grotesque proportions of his oversized cranium. Despite these moments of disproportionality in the composition, the reproduced version of the image printed in Der Gegner and Die Freiheit means that the points at which incongruous pictorial elements meet—the ‘sutures’, to use Kriebel’s term—are not so sharply defined. This has the effect of naturalising parts of the scene. For example, the head of minister Otto Gessler is particularly seamlessly adjoined to the body of the Kaiser’s daughter, Princess Victoria Louise, producing the same uncanny effect described in the previous chapter in relation to the grotesque portrait of Herzfelde on the cover of Jedermann.

In the case of hand-drawn satire, the cartoonist must construct a scene that is easily legible for the viewer, often relying on distinctive physiognomies or semiotic markers to allow the reader to identify specific individuals. For example, in the line-up of kingly, historical or fantastical figures depicted on the 1905 Simplicissimus cover

[Fig. 86], the contemporary figure of Kaiser Wilhelm II is instantly recognisable from his moustache and eagle-topped imperial helmet. Conversely, Grosz uses the familiarity of the old imperial postcard to his advantage, the mass-produced image of Keller’s Silver Jubilee painting having built up an initial scene for him. Grosz is able to then transpose the heads of the politicians and generals onto the base layer of the postcard to hijack the designs of imperial promotional materials from the previous regime. In comparison to Heine’s elaborate hand-illustrated scene, Grosz’s mechanised satire is far slicker, deftly transposing a medial critique onto a pre-constructed scene.

This medial critique functions partly by drawing attention to the fact that the 1906 painting was created in order to be reproduced as a postcard, positing the postcard reproduction as the image’s primary form. Another postcard, also produced for the imperial Silver Jubilee, showcases a professionally ‘montaged’ oleograph whose constructed scene has a distinctly odd sense of spatiality, with different studio photographs of members of the royal family set within the same space [Fig. 87]. It is plausible that Grosz’s Hohenzollern-Renaissance equally alludes to these earliest airbrushed ‘photomontages’ created in the photography studio.

Ultimately, the Simplicissimus cover frames imperial pomp and spectacle as a smokescreen for incompetence. Grosz’s photomontage also presents a striking vision of the government bedecked in furs and golden thread, with the effect of stressing an

106 As is highlighted in Dada and Surrealism Reviewed, Ades et al., cat. no. 4.74, 101.
107 The imperial family portrait presents a rudimentary version of studio processes that Heartfield would later extensively employ in his work for the AIZ. See Kriebel, Revolutionary Beauty, 78-79.
inverse point. The montage conveys the message that, although the attire of the ruling class may evolve, and though their montaged heads may occasionally need switching around in a form of carnivalesque dismembering, structural German hegemony survived the war and the attempted revolution.

While Heine’s *Witzblatt* cartoon frames surface appearances as reliable indicators of political competency, Grosz’s satirical photomontage conversely seeks to expose the government’s veneer of respectability as skin-deep *Schein* (appearance), no more substantial than the crass ceremonialism that preceded it. Grosz achieves this by deconstructing the SPD’s marketing of themselves as a party founded on notions of middle-class respectability. Both Heartfield and Grosz’s adaptations of imperial kitsch also illustrate how some aspects of Dadaist material transcend the satirical content of the *Witzblätter*, satisfying Herzfelde’s mandate for ‘profound and convincing works of social critique’.\(^{108}\) This is because the medial critiques of the former fulfil direct satirical functions whilst also pointing to the presence of ideological influence embedded in quotidian objects and vernacular language.

5. Dada’s Performed Medial Critique

5.1. Johannes Baader: The ‘Oberster’ Bishop and the Oberdada in the Press

The chapter’s final case study focuses on the work of Johannes Baader to demonstrate how some of the medial critiques contained in Dadaist magazines eclipsed any critical strategies deployed in the context of Witzblatt satire. Also known as the ‘Oberdada’ (Supreme Dada), Baader rose to prominence largely as a result of the incendiary articles he published in the press, reporting on outlandish and (usually) fabricated events in his adopted role as envoy for the Berlin Dadaists. For example, an obituary for the artist appeared on 1 April 1919, which was quickly followed up by announcements of his resurrection.\textsuperscript{109} The section argues that Baader’s catalogue of hoaxes and interventions involving the press formed part of a performed and sustained critique of absolute monarchy. Having introduced some of the forms of imperial kitsch to which the Dadaists were exposed, I propose that the behaviours and public-facing image of the last Kaiser may partly account for certain strategies of self-mythologisation performed by Baader.

Baader is associated with the bombastic titles he awarded himself, accolades featured in his Reklame für mich (Advertisement for Myself) text in Der Dada 2: ‘Supreme Dada, President of the Earth and the Universe, High judge of the Apocalypse, true secret Chairman of the extra-terrestrial, Upper Dada League of

\textsuperscript{109} Lewer, ‘Dada, Carnival,’ 109.
Nations in the DADACO’. Shot through with religiosity and echoes of the divine right of kings, these titles initially caused Baader to be dismissed as the group’s fringe eccentric. Reappraisals of the artist, such as Stephen C. Foster’s attribution of him as the ‘complete Dada’; Adrian Sudhalter’s work on his interests in Nietzsche and monism; and White’s research into his complex iconographical constructions, have since been applied to this Dadaistic practice. Parallels with Nietzsche come to the fore in the grotesquely exaggerated chapter titles of the philosopher’s *Ecce Homo* text, such as ‘why I am so clever’ and ‘why I am destiny’.

Scholar Hubert van den Berg notes that Baader’s construction of a personal religiosity was also influenced by the radical individualism of Max Stirner (1806-1856) and this philosopher’s conviction in the incontestable primacy of the sovereign self. Foster interprets his fantastical title of president of the globe as a ‘mock role, designed to be filled by a fool’. Weikop similarly recognises how Baader ‘restyled himself as the “Narr” (fool or prankster) of Berlin Dada’. He quotes a line from a postcard the artist sent to Tzara in 1920, ‘Wir haben im Deutschen das schöne Wort “Narr”’ ('in

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114 Foster, ‘Complete Dada,’ 252.
German we have the wonderful word “fool”), as evidence of his central importance to any Bakhtinian analysis of Berlin Dadaism.\textsuperscript{116}

Given the proximity between fools and kings established by carnival traditions, it follows that Baader’s ‘fool’ status was intimately tied up in an examination of ‘kingly’ figures and their jurisdiction. Yet the impact that the figure of the emperor himself may have had on the carefully constructed identity of the ‘Oberdada’ has yet to be addressed, despite the fact that Sudhalter and Andréi Nakov correctly associate him with an older generation to the rest of the group.\textsuperscript{117} Baader’s self-aggrandising titles emphasise the primacy of a singular ruling figure, a theme which came to a head in the 1890s when Wilhelm II took the highly controversial decision to dismiss Chancellor Otto von Bismarck (1815-1898). In \textit{Germany without Bismarck} (1967), historian John Röhl argues that the Chancellor’s removal allowed the Kaiser to practise a form of ‘personal rule’ between 1897 and 1900.\textsuperscript{118} During this period, Wilhelm II exercised his influence over appointments in high office and the military. He also took up a leading role in matters of diplomacy, with disastrous consequences, culminating in the outbreak of the First World War.

Foster posits that Baader’s constructed imperial identity constituted a means of ‘finding an extracultural position from which to speak’.\textsuperscript{119} While the cosmic, utopian tone of some of his writings certainly situates him outside of the minutiae of cultural

\textsuperscript{116} Weikop, 831.
\textsuperscript{119} Foster, ‘Complete Dada,’ 252.
discourse, I would argue that he adopted this role as an exterior observer to more clearly interpret structural mechanisms of power within German society. Sudhalter categorises his publicity stunts as a form of ‘literary hoax’, which saw Baader extend this practice into the realm of public discourse via faux news bulletins.\textsuperscript{120} Studies on Berlin Dada have yet to consider the fact that Wilhelm II also made ample use of imperial privileges allowing him direct access to the press. The Kaiser delivered 406 speeches or proclamations in his first dozen years of rule, averaging three per month, each of which were broadcast to the nation via Germany’s main newspapers.\textsuperscript{121} As Baader was heavily invested in the idea that the media constructs history by setting the terms of discourse around current events, it is highly likely that he would have taken an active interest in the media’s amplification of the monological voice of Germany’s last formal monarch.

Having closely analysed Wilhelm II’s speeches, historian Gisela Brude-Firnau describes their style of writing as a ‘rhetorical mix of theological and military jargon’, which borrows heavily from the tradition of Nationalprotestantismus and the Lutheran Protestant sermon.\textsuperscript{122} For example, in one speech from 1899, addressed to the Brandenburg Municipal government, Wilhelm II described the German nation as a majestic tree which he, as its gardener, must tend to, cutting back superfluous branches and exterminating threatening parasites. In addition to his direct allusion to the biblical image of Christ as a gardener (John 20:15), the Kaiser also labours the

\textsuperscript{120} Sudhalter, ‘Baader,’ 234.
\textsuperscript{122} Brude-Firnau, ‘Preussische Predigt,’ 150.
already twee image by introducing the allegorical figure of the German ‘Michel’. Representative of the German people, as John Bull was for Britain, Michel was frequently depicted in the *Witzblätter* and thus, by the time the Kaiser delivered his speech, was increasingly associated with satirical or ironic contexts. In his grossly extended metaphor, the emperor expresses his wishes for the nation: ‘I hope then to see that the tree is developing splendidly, and in front of it is the German Michel, his hand on the hilt of the sword, looking outwards to shield him’.

As Brude-Firnau notes, the act of positioning himself as a Christ-like gardener figure of religious significance had some grounding in the fact that the German emperor was also head of the church. The Kaiser also held the title of high priest, a position known as the *Landesbischof*. Even following his abdication and exile in Holland, Wilhelm II would occasionally sign his letters as ‘Ihr oberster Bischof’ (‘your supreme bishop’). These two factors, of Wilhelm’s status as head of the German church, and his fondness for publicity, came together during his diplomatic mission to Palestine, a highly publicised effort to enlist the Ottoman empire as an ally for the Central Powers. The tour of the Middle East provided many opportunities for sightseeing, photoshoots and fanfare, most famously taking the form of a procession through the streets of Jerusalem [Fig. 88]. Wilhelm took the opportunity to visit the sites of the Holy Land, often on horseback. For example, he swore an oath of loyalty to Germany on the Mount of Olives and dedicated a new German Church for the


124 Brude-Firnau, ‘Preussische Predigt,’ 152.

125 Brude-Firnau, 152.
Templars in Jerusalem, occasions prompting the production of a large range of commemorative postcards [Fig. 89].

The trip generated invaluable material for the staff at *Simplicissimus*, with the resulting 1898 ‘Palestine’ special issue deemed so incendiary that head editor Albert Langen remained in exile in Paris for the next five years on the advice of his lawyer. An infamous poem by the poet, playwright and cabaret performer Frank Wedekind (1864-1918), for which he served time in prison under charges of *Majestätsbeleidigung* (*lese-majesté*), left no stone unturned in its parody of the Kaiser’s verbose posturing as a Christ-like figure in situ. A translation of Wedekind’s poem, *Im heiligen Land* (‘In the Holy Land’), by historian Ann Taylor Allen accurately captures Wedekind’s feigned deference:

A million Christians raise a loud “Hurrah!” / And what a favoured spot is Golgotha, / Which heard the words of Christ, and now is due / To hear some more well-chosen words from you.

Baader’s long list of embellished titles prefaces a description of his own diplomatic missions in the *Reklame für mich* text published in *Der Dada 2*.

As is claimed in the prose piece, Baader offered the promise of peace to the emperor in 1916, on the condition that the Kaiser must send the peoples of the world

\[\text{126 Brude-Firnau, 157.}\]
\[\text{127 Allen, *Satire and Society*, 39.}\]
\[\text{128 For the prosecution details of those implicated (Frank Wedekind as the poet, Thomas Theodor Heine as the illustrator, and Albert Langen as the editor), see Gary D. Stark, *Banned in Berlin: Literary Censorship in Imperial Germany 1871-1918* (Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2009), 92-93.}\]
\[\text{129 ‘Mit Stolz erfüllt du Millionen Christen; / Wie wird von nun an Golgotha sich brüsten, / Das einst vernahm das letzte Wort vom Kreuz / Und heute nun des erste deinerseits.’}\]
\[\text{Hieronymos [Frank Wedekind], ‘Im heiligen Land,’ *Simplicissimus*, 1898, issue 31, 249, trans. in Allen, *Satire and Society*, 123.}\]
before the Oberdada in his royal court, ‘the seat of judgement’ presided over by himself as ‘President of the Universe’. Baader’s otherworldly status is expressed in the accompanying photomontage self-portrait, titled Das ist die Erscheinung des Oberdada in den Wolken des Himmels (This is the Appearance of the Supreme Dada in the Clouds of Heaven) [Fig. 36]. In the same segment, Baader explains that his offer was rejected by the Kaiser ‘who was still labouring under the paranoid impression that he was the President of the World’. He thus contests the emperor’s authority by inserting himself into a reimagined account of the events of the First World War as a triumphant protagonist. Baader’s Reklame für mich piece and its accompanying photomontage may therefore be viewed as component parts of an extended medial critique exploring the relationship between imperial figures claiming absolute power and the modern media of the illustrated press.

Baader’s ‘dethroning’ of the Kaiser not only transcends the most controversial and highly admonished efforts of imperial Witzblatt satirists, such as Heine and Wedekind, but also advances the critique beyond what we have seen in the examples by Grosz, Hausmann, or Heartfield. Baader’s critique was enmeshed within his constructed and publicly performed identity, whose many hyperbolic accolades developed carnivalesque strategies of kingly deposition into forms of usurpation. In the words of Foster, his work interrogated ‘how politics works and operates as a social mechanism’, becoming ‘both a reification and parody of the social mechanisms he


means to address’. Baader’s esoteric attacks on patriarchal German institutions were subsequently more holistic and integral than many of those produced by his Dadaist peers, with Foster rightly acknowledging the resultant ‘postmodern’ quality of Baader’s art.

In short, Baader’s *Reklame für mich* piece exposes the limits of satire in the traditional sense. Through his constructed, performed identity, he sought to interrogate archaic forms of absolute power more applicable to the Kaiser than the new republican government. Grosz, Heartfield, and Baader’s artistic responses to ‘king’ figures all dwelled on the fact that the hegemonic structures responsible for the war were still extant, either unaccounted for or repackaged in the guise of a representative democracy. Baader chose not to engage in satire’s traditional carnivalesque depositions, instead presenting a performed usurpation in his construction of a faux despot, ultimately trading legibility of message for critical depth. When we reposition the Kaiser’s assumed omnipotence as the primary satirical object of Baader’s extended critique, it becomes clear how his seemingly eccentric performances are in fact far removed from the kind of grotesque distortions of reality outlined by Friedländer.

6. Conclusion: A Resolution to Salomo Friedländer’s Critique

When thinking about the transition between the imperial and republican eras in Germany, it is important to remember that the turmoil of the early Weimar Republic unfolded in the long shadow of Kaiser Wilhelm II’s deluded sense of supreme

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132 Foster, ‘Complete Baader,’ 268.
133 Foster, 249.
authority. As commercial, liberal Witzblätter from the fin de siècle were the core realms in which the German monarch’s monological voice was most loudly and publicly derided, Witzblatt culture naturally served as an important bridge between the Wilhelmine and republican eras. As has been demonstrated here, the Dadaists did not simply mine the vernacular print culture of the humour magazines in order to critique it. Rather, they occasionally drew directly from the proverbial Witzblatt playbook when seeking effective satirical strategies in the context of Germany throughout the turbulent era of revolutionary and post-revolutionary periods.

The Berlin Dadaists were tasked with designing material effective enough to uncrown the republic’s faces of power, both new and old, and capture the viewer-cum-reader’s attention during the first years of the new republic. This key priority prompted Grosz, Heartfield, and even Hausmann, to turn partly to the familiar precedent of grotesque Witzblatt satire. Having contributed to commercial Witzblätter earlier in his career, Grosz identified the multivalency of satirical techniques of caricature, exploiting their transferability between different political ideologies through his work.134 Its tried and tested strategies offered greater assurance with regards to the effectiveness of propaganda, and reemphasised the strong continuities between the imperial and republican eras which the Dadaists sought to communicate. Satirical strategies shared between these two print cultures position the Witzblätter as an important point of reference that accounts for some of the idiosyncratic features of Berlin Dada, such as

134 The political gulf between the Dadaists’ output and that of liberal magazines, such as Simplicissimus, particularly after many of the latter were adapted into wartime propaganda organs, means that scholars have been reluctant to account for parallels between their satire. See, for example, Mandarino, ‘Seeing Class,’ 155.
its topical engagements with live politics at the local, national, and international levels, which were often visually expressed figuratively rather than through abstraction.

Direct Witzblatt influence is evident in many aspects of Dadaist pieces. We see it in Grosz’s strategy of heightening the grotesqueness of ‘king’ capitalist figures by representing their proletarian subjects in a similarly grotesque light; in the mockery directed at the provincialism and philistinism of kingly spießer figures; and in Hausmann and Grosz’s recourse to comic grotesque Witzblatt caricature when envisioning human-animal hybrids, or automated forms of military obedience and violence.

Liberal, imperial Witzblätter and Dadaist edited magazines both explore the monological qualities of kingly speech, which Bakhtin views as at odds with the carnivalesque ideals of Socratic dialogue and dialogism. However, they offer distinct responses to this problem. The Witzblätter pieces analysed parody monological autocratic speech or forms of corruption by depicting these as comically disordered, as in Heine’s Das neueste Geschütz [Fig. 72]. Such pieces ultimately advance a liberal conviction in the right of reply held by satire as part of the free press. In contrast, Dada representations deconstruct voices of power by depicting them as the empty, anachronistic cries of a broken record, as in Hausmann’s Heimatklänge! [Fig. 66], or a chaotic polyphony amplified via the press, as in Grosz’s Die Stimme Gottes [Fig. 75]. In particular, the medial critique in Die Stimme Gottes heightens class consciousness by providing, in Herzfelde’s words, ‘the necessary insight [for the working classes] to resist the daily poison of the bourgeois press and to defend themselves against the
views they breed’. Among the Berlin Dadaists, it was Baader who picked up and continued the Wilhelmine project of critiquing imperial absolutism. However, he moved far beyond the efforts of Witzblatt caricature, developing a sustained, performed critique of Germany’s megalomaniac ‘highest bishop’ through his construction of a Nietzschean identity in the press.

Further to these distinctions, what the case studies examining montaged works in the latter half of the chapter seek to show, is how, in many of these visual ‘depositions’ of Bakhtinian agelasts, the satirical message or grotesque stylisation on the surface level of the image functions as a visually arresting hook. The comic grotesque quality of their montaged images serves as an engrossing primer, opening up an encounter that exposes a receptive viewer to the medial critique contained within the image. These critiques are deployed through the medium of the artwork, to question or reveal systems of ideological knowledge production that buttress the ‘king’ figures in question. For example, the imaginative free play of the grotesque forged new forms of textual montaged illustrations, such as is seen in Grosz’s Die Stimme Gottes, or photomontaged images which reworked imperial kitsch designs into mechanised satirical ‘cartoons’. Heartfield’s Wer ist der Schönste?? and Grosz’s Hohenzollern-Renaissance thus highlight the role played by mass-produced merchandise and media in legitimising successive hegemonic systems of governance by promoting select rationales of rule and naturalising images of power. As such, rather than distorting and impeding perceptive faculties as per Friedländer’s Kantian critique of the grotesque, the Dadaists showed how the grotesque can be used to

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135 Herzfelde, Gesellschaft, 17.
improve and strengthen perceptive faculties through the medial critiques embedded in their montaged pieces.

Despite Friedländer’s concern outlined in the chapter introduction, Dadaist portraits of ‘kings’ do not plant the violent seed of class resentment, as their grotesque characteristics are not ‘physiognomic’ or essentialised, i.e. they are not expressions of the innate and inevitable, but are instead the visible result of class structures, which distort all human bodies indiscriminately. This adheres with Herzfelde’s understanding that revolutionary art should show ‘how ugly people make each other’, as opposed to portraying figures as somehow inherently evil. It was also necessary for the Dadaists not to depict class as an integral and unshakeable factor because, in the words of Herzfelde, they themselves were ‘Deserteur der bourgeoisen Front’ (‘deserters of the bourgeois front’). Through his grotesque portrayals of king figures and their downtrodden subjects, then, Grosz makes the societal imbalances of class-based inequality legible in the bodies and faces of his figures. The chapter has shown how the need to portray a non-essentialised view of the impacts of capitalism ironically led the Dadaists to partly borrow from techniques found in liberal imperial Witzblätter, such as Simplicissimus, as graphic artists working for these commercial magazines used techniques of grotesque displacement to satirise all classes, including the new capitalist ‘kings’ of the bourgeoisie.

\[136\] Herzfelde, Gesellschaft, 14.
Chapter 3. ‘The Carnivalesque Crowd’: Spectatorship in Berlin Dada’s Performances, 1919-1920

1. Introduction: From épater les bourgeois to the ‘carnivalesque crowd’

Moving from print to performance, the present chapter examines modes of spectatorship in three Dada performances through the lens of newspaper reviews. This exercise helps cultivate a heightened sensitivity towards the issues that arise when using such media as a core primary source in historical performance analysis, before aspects of the Dadaists’ own staged material are finally considered in detail in the final chapter. Modes of spectatorship at the following Dada performances are analysed: the Dada matinée on 30 November 1919 at the Tribüne Theater (hereafter, the Tribune) in Berlin, and two of the ‘Dada tour’ performances; their show in the Merchants’ Hall in Dresden on 19 January 1920, and the performance in the Produce Exchange in Prague on 1 March 1920.

Both in the Dadaists’ own testimony and in subsequent scholarship, the group’s live appearances are frequently discussed in relation to the avant-garde mantra of épater les bourgeois (to astonish or dumbfound the bourgeois middle classes).¹ In

these accounts, the degree of public outrage generated serves as a form of barometer for measuring each performance’s value and effectiveness as an avant-garde event. Yet the spectatorship seen at Berlin Dada’s performances has never been considered at length. Equally, reconstructions of the performances themselves are far and few between, and are usually heavily reliant on highly subjective accounts by the Dadaists. The chapter cross-references surviving reports, asking what, if anything, in the performances sparked the spectators’ alleged wild and unruly behaviour. Discrepancies between newspaper reviews and the Dadaists’ own accounts expose the limitations of the Dadaists’ preferred épater les bourgeois framings of their performances. In order to open up the topic of spectatorship at Dada performances to new readings, I apply Bakhtin’s notion of the ‘carnivalesque crowd’, and his perspective on the related tradition of the charivari. These alternative framings illustrate how new interpretations of Dada performances may proliferate once we decentre the conventional reading that views lively audience response at avant-garde performances as a form of épater les bourgeois.

1.1. Mikhail Bakhtin’s ‘carnivalesque crowd’

In Rabelais and his World (1965), Bakhtin imagines the throng at carnival as follows:

The carnivalesque crowd [...] is the people as a whole, but organised in their own way [...] It is outside of and contrary to all existing forms of the coercive socioeconomic and political organization, which is suspended for the time of the festivity [...] In this whole the individual body ceases to a certain extent to be itself; it is possible, so to say, to exchange

https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780198609810.001.0001/acref-9780198609810-e-2441. One of the closest German terms is the nominalised Bürgerschreck (enfant terrible), emphasising the effect, rather than the act.
bodies, to be renewed [...] At the same time the people become aware of their sensual, material bodily unity [...].

‘Organised in its own way’, Bakhtin’s ‘carnivalesque crowd’ functions as an autonomous, active agent. During periods of carnival, when societal ranks and assigned identities have become negotiable and fluid, in turn, the crowd becomes aware of its collective agency and material existence.

Similar ideas are evoked by the theatre reformer and dramaturg Georg Fuchs (1868-1949), an acquaintance of Hugo Ball and the director of the Munich Artists’ Theatre from 1908 to 1914. When writing on the act of theatre-going in his Die Revolution des Theaters (The Revolution of the Theatre) (1909), Fuchs likened this to the act of participating in a carnivalesque crowd, noting how,

[T]here is an emotion which runs through each of us when, as part of a crowd, we find ourselves united in an overwhelming passion. This is the same compulsion which [...] draws peasants into the frenzy of a fair [or] enflames a city populace to mob violence or to revolution.

He draws a link between the experience of witnessing or participating in settings of carnival, revolution, or certain types of performance. For Fuchs, these spectacles and their associated congregations, real or staged, are comparable in that they all elicit unfamiliar emotions and behaviours within their participants.

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2 Bakhtin, Rabelais, 255. My emphasis.
To account for behaviours that arise during carnival, social theorist Fred D’Agostino quotes Michel Foucault’s 1986 essay, ‘Of Other Spaces’ in a comment on the striking connections between carnival and Foucault’s notion of heterotopia, arguing that they both provide a space where the ‘rest of the culture […] is “represented, contested, and reversed”’.\(^5\) According to Foucault, the term heterotopia denotes a ‘real place’ that forms a ‘counter-site’, which is somehow other, or outside of society.\(^6\) One of Foucault’s criteria for identifying the ‘counter-site’ of a heterotopia is its transitory nature, where temporality behaves ‘in the mode of the festival’.\(^7\) If, as identified by Foucault, carnival presents a ‘counter-site’, then Bakhtin’s ‘carnivalesque crowd’ typifies the behaviours adopted by those active within its bounds.

In their reviews, journalists consistently described the environment created by the Dada performances in language relating to German carnival culture. For example, reports dub the Dadaists ‘court jesters of the masses’ and ‘carnival organisers’, and they cite the spectators’ expectations of a ‘Fastnachtulk’ (‘proper carnival prank’).\(^8\) As one of the few scholars to examine Berlin Dada’s performances in detail, Karin Füllner interprets references to both carnival and the circus as wider metaphors designed to relegate Dadaism to the realm of sensationalist entertainment, rather than serious art.\(^9\)

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\(^7\) Foucault, ‘Other Spaces,’ 26.


This certainly applies in the case of reviews of individual performances, however, a handful of articles on the movement as a whole critically reflect on Dadaism’s affinities with carnival culture, relating this to the movement’s wider societal role. Whether the authors sought to diminish or critically interrogate Dada, the recurrent carnivalesque imagery in the performance reportage points to the fact that transgressive heterotopia were opened up during Dada performances, producing audience behaviours reminiscent of the crowds seen during subversive festive traditions.

Bakhtin invests much meaning in the visceral, experiential impact of mass folk spectacles in which rank and caste are abolished, as he believes such spaces enable their participants to temporarily experience the otherwise ‘utopian ideal’ of equality. In evoking Bakhtin’s carnivalesque crowd, I am not suggesting that utopian equality of any kind might be detected among the fraught relations between a heckling audience and performers on stage shouting back in return. However, the present analysis is designed to reveal how qualities of agency and autonomy assigned by Bakhtin to the carnivalesque crowd are directly relevant to spectatorship at Dada performances. In the field of theatre reception, scholar Astrid Breel writes on the topic of agency when considering conventions around participatory performance, defining agency as ‘the ability to make decisions and act in a way that might impact on or change the situation’. As shall be discussed, in their personal accounts, the Dadaists conversely portrayed their spectators as passive ‘unsuspecting’ bourgeoisie, who become

11 Bakhtin, Rabelais, 10.
involuntarily psychologically triggered or activated when viewing a Dada performance.\(^\text{13}\)

It should first be noted that this construct—of the passive bourgeois spectator activated by a Dada performance—underplays the reality of conventions of theatre-going during the period. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, forms of etiquette, such as reserving applause for the end of the performance only, were increasingly expected of bourgeois theatre audiences.\(^\text{14}\) Nonetheless, vocal signs of disapproval, such as heckling, were still fairly commonplace, particularly in the less formal settings of vaudeville or cabaret performances.\(^\text{15}\) Italian Futurist F. T. Marinetti (1876-1944), when outlining his aspirations for Futurist theatre, accordingly looked to variety shows as ‘the only theatre in which the public does not remain inert like a stupid onlooker, but noisily participates in the action […] communicating with the actor with unexpected quips and extravagant dialogues’.\(^\text{16}\) Further, the Dadaist construct of the passive bourgeois spectator positions the Dadaists as the dominant forces in the context of their performances, implying that they exercised a strong degree of influence over their audiences, where analysis of the reportage paints a markedly different picture.

Bakhtin delineates how the participants in a carnivalesque crowd generate the qualities of autonomy and agency between themselves by forming an unwieldy but

\(^{13}\) Richter, *Art and Anti-Art*, 129.

\(^{14}\) Blackadder, *Opposition*, 2, 11-12. In bourgeois theatre, orderly conduct was encouraged through tactics such as dimming the gas lamps during a performance, and providing individual seating rather than standing room or simple wooden benches.

\(^{15}\) Blackadder, *Opposition*, 13.

self-organising ‘mass body’ from the ‘pressing throng’. The collective agency of this ‘mass body’ temporarily overrides an interiorised sense of bourgeois individuality, in favour of an ‘exteriorised’ sense of the wider identity of the crowd and its inter-relations. As a result, the crowd appears to be able to sense and react to stimuli as though in unison. For Bakhtin, the collective agency exhibited by this self-organising body is indicative of carnival culture’s emancipatory qualities. Because the cultural phenomenon of carnival temporarily restructures society and interpersonal relations, within the heterotopic environment of the carnivalesque crowd, the imaginative capacities of participants are activated to envision what transformed class relations might look like. Similar forms of social restructuring entailing displays of autonomy and participation also took place in the context of Dada performances.

1.2. The Dada Tour and the ‘carnivalesque crowd’ of a charivari

Commenting on the extreme disorder seen on the Dada tour, Füllner posits that the way in which Dadaism was reported in the press attracted audience members with a desire to ‘participate’ and ‘perform’ themselves. My discussion seeks to further diversify our understanding of Dada audiences, and provide a more in-depth reading of the participatory role adopted by the most disruptive spectators, particularly in the Dresden and Prague audiences.

19 For example, Bakhtin refers to the carnival feast as transient ‘utopian realm of community, freedom, [and] equality.’ Bakhtin, *Rabelais*, 9.
20 Füllner, ‘Nachwort,’ in *Zeitungen*, 60.
A key contention of the argument presented here is that, within the heterotopic performance spaces created on the Dada tour of 1920, audience behaviours resembled a specific iteration of the carnivalesque crowd: traditions of ‘charivari’. Bakhtin uses the medieval French term *charivari* to denote a means for publicly administering justice. In *Bakhtinian Thought* (1995), Simon Dentith defines the charivari as ‘a carnivalesque ritual which involved such activities as loud satirical singing outside individuals’ houses’ designed to ‘degrade people who had transgressed community sexual norms’.\(^{21}\) This explains why the custom is sometimes known in the British Isles as ‘rough music’ and in Germany as *Katzenmusik* (‘cat music’ or ‘caterwauling’).\(^{22}\) Bakhtin cites the charivari as one of the primary ‘popular festive forms’ from which his idea of carnivalesque culture is derived.\(^{23}\) Referring to the charivari convention of performing a dissonant mock serenade with improvised instruments, Bakhtin draws parallels between ‘carnivals, charivari and diableries’ whose participants were all ‘armed with […] pots and pans’.\(^{24}\) Crucially, in a 1920 article for *Die neue Rundschau*, Huelsenbeck similarly recalls the audience practice of bringing ‘pipes, trumpets, and clubs’.\(^{25}\) Despite the fact that this claim is overwhelmingly borne out by the performance reviews, no especial significance has been assigned by scholars to the presence of charivari instruments at Dada shows.

To date, Gavin Grindon is the only scholar to highlight any links between Berlin Dada and the disruptive tradition of charivari spectacles. He writes that the Dadaists,

\(^{21}\) Dentith, *Bakhtinian Thought*, 72.
\(^{22}\) Violet Alford, ‘Rough Music or Charivari,’ *Folklore* 70, no. 4 (1959): 505-518, 508.
\(^{24}\) Bakhtin, *Rabelais*, 184.
when they handed out copies of Jedermann sein eigner Fussball accompanied by a marching band, ‘materially embod[ied] the performativity of rough music’. Grindon argues that by staging a cross between a charivari ritual and a mock political demonstration, the Dadaists deliberately ‘misperformed’ the role of ‘artist-citizen’ through their promotional parade. Despite these parallels drawn by Grindon, scholars have yet to comment on the idea that members of Dada’s audiences might themselves have mounted a form of rival charivari spectacle. In the last two case studies in the chapter, I show how the presence of pre-empted ‘charivari’ spectacles show some audience members deliberately ‘misperforming’ the roles of shocked Spießer (middle-class philistines) assigned to them by the Dadaists.

In the nineteenth century, the charivari evolved from a rural shaming ritual to a form of political or social protest seen in towns and cities, meaning they increasingly took place in new settings, such as before police stations and factories. As part of his studies on carnival culture, the psychiatrist, anarchist and satirist mainstay of the grotesque genre, Oskar Panizza (1853-1921), conducted research on how charivaris were deployed to resist the expansion of state and church powers in Bavaria. The emergence of the political charivari also precipitated its uptake by satirical publications. Examples of these include the French Le Charivari [Fig. 90], active in the

26 Grindon, ‘Refusal,’ 93.
27 Grindon, 91.
28 See Brophy, Popular Culture, 143. A late-nineteenth-century report of a charivari outside a local theatre director’s residence in the Czech town of Brno shows how the tradition was also be mobilised in the context of the arts. See ‘Eine Katzenmusik,’ Deutsche Zeitung, 5 April 1872.
1830s, and the Victorian magazine *Punch*, whose by-line was ‘The London Charivari’ [Fig. 91].

In this chapter, I demonstrate how, beyond the context of print media, modified forms of charivari practices endured into the early twentieth century, recurring even after the First World War. Analysing spectatorship at Dada performances in relation to charivari practices is illuminating for several reasons. First, a charivari model can account for premeditated aspects of audience responses, viewing audience conduct as a demonstration in itself, rather than a reaction to the performance. Second, some of the more aggressive spectator behaviours analysed speak to the more regressive, conservative applications of charivari rites.

### 1.3. Dada Audiences and Theories of Spectatorship

Alongside Bakhtin’s notion of the self-organising ‘carnavalesque crowd’, and his adjacent model of the charivari, analysis undertaken in the chapter is guided by the work of a selection of scholars addressing theories of spectatorship and audience response. As is briefly outlined here, these range from the founder of the discipline, theatre studies scholar Susan Bennett, who first applied reception theory to audiences in her 1990 volume *Theatre Audiences*, to some of the most recent interventions in the field, such as those by Breel and dance scholar Kate Elswit. Bennett distinguishes between a performance’s ‘inner frame’ and its ‘outer frame’, where the ‘inner frame’ relates to all aspects of a production onstage outside of the playscript, such as props, lighting, and actors’ body language. Conversely, the ‘outer frame’ refers to the wider

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30 Brophy, *Popular Culture*, 143.
‘theatrical event’ of a given production, viewing this event as culturally constructed and conditioned by the audience’s expectations and definitions of performance.\(^{32}\) As such, it is closely related to what scholar Ric Knowles refers to as the ‘politics of place’.\(^{33}\)

To illustrate what is entailed by the ‘outer frame’ of a Dada performance, it is instructive to return to the writings of the Dadaists’ near-contemporary, Fuchs. Fuchs delineates how the very atmosphere of the theatre can attract audiences to watch a show, evoking the sensory overload and frenetic energy experienced by spectators:

> We are there to see and to be seen. We stream through crowded halls and feast our senses upon splendour, diversity, sounds, moods, lights - upon stray perfumes and the heat of the mob […] As an afterthought we may perhaps be interested in art. Though in the end we may find that art is really nothing more than a systematic and well-organized technique for the satisfaction of that atavistic urge - the primitive greed for intensification of life.\(^{34}\)

This language echoes Bakhtin’s account of collective renewal among the material sensory ‘body’ of a carnivalesque crowd. Beyond simply acknowledging theatre-going as a social event, Fuchs centres the appeal of this sociality as a core motive for attendance.

Theatre studies historian Neil Blackadder notes how, since the first Naturalist plays were staged in the late nineteenth century, people often attended such productions to seem au courant or to witness the spectacle of scandal.\(^{35}\) Such observations highlight a fundamental issue with the avant-garde imperative to épater

\(^{32}\) Bennett, *Theatre Audiences*, 17.
\(^{34}\) Fuchs, *Revolution*, 3.
les bourgeois, namely that the exciting possibility of witnessing, and, by extension, participating in unruly behaviour was precisely what attracted many audience members to such shows. In other words, recovery of outer frame elements is essential to bring the researcher closer to Berlin Dada’s later performances as they existed in their original contexts in late 1919 and early 1920.

When assessing the ‘outer frame’ element of spectatorship at Dada performances, Breel’s term ‘proactive agency’ is particularly useful for considering how factions of the audience in some Dada shows staged a display akin to a charivari. In her entry for the Routledge Companion to Audiences and the Performing Arts (2022), Breel describes ‘proactive agency’ as ‘actions that are not a direct response to an invitation but are self-initiated by the participant’ and may subsequently be experienced as ‘subversive or disruptive’.36 Also important in this regard is Blackadder’s understanding that audience behaviours from the early twentieth century sometimes amounted to the staging of a ‘rival spectacle’.37 The discussion considers the respective work of scholar Helen Freshwater and French philosopher Jacques Rancière when determining how to interpret displays of agency on the part of audience members.

Both Freshwater, in her Theatre & Audience (2009) volume, and Rancière, in his The Emancipated Spectator (2008) text, trace how theatre reformers in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century ascribed utopian or democratising qualities to

37 Blackadder, Performing Opposition, 6.
the theatre, viewing a theatre audience as a temporary ‘living community’.38 Freshwater in particular examines the presuppositions and tensions underlying this idea, such as a general reluctance to engage retrospectively with audience members in search of evidence that spectators do in fact experience theatre-going as a communal or transformative.39 This discussion reveals how notions of theatre as a living, unifying community were indeed promoted by some of the Dadaists’ contemporaries. Freshwater and Rancière’s critiques accordingly serve to highlight the Dadaists’ own scepticism of such ideas.

Concordant with Freshwater and Rancière’s challenges to the longstanding notion of the audience as a form of ‘living community’ is Elswit’s hypothesis of the radically indeterminable nature of performance reception. Elswit understands performance reception as innately volatile and variegated, meaning that studies of the spectatorship of historic performances ultimately produce a ‘composite yet still dispersed picture’.40 Based on this view, where any myths of reception in Dadaism are dismantled in this chapter, no singular monolithic readings of Dada audiences or spectatorship are offered in their place, with the notion of ‘charivari’ displays identified as a possible reading applied to one category of spectators among many.

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40 For example, Elswit troubles the construct of the ‘ideal spectator’ who views a performance precisely as it is, or as is intended to be viewed by its creator. Elswit, Watching Weimar Dance, xviii, 35.
1.4. Épater les bourgeois in Dada Historiography

Épater les bourgeois is defined in the Oxford Dictionary of Literary Terms (2008) as ‘the conscious aim of the literary and artistic avant-garde in Europe since the late nineteenth century, especially in the movements of decadence, Dada, and Surrealism’.\(^{41}\) The term is widely accepted as a key raison d’être and rallying cry of the avant-garde. With regards to histories of performance, scholar Laurence Senelick traces the idea back to the Parisian literary group of the Hydropathes (1878-80), and then to Le Chat Noir cabaret (1881-97).\(^{42}\) To qualify use of the term épater les bourgeois, a bourgeois audience or public must necessarily be shocked, scandalised or surprised. Dada’s contemporary critics identified the group’s firm observance of this principle, with Leo Zahn writing in Der Ararat in 1920 that ‘Dadaism also adheres to the épater les bourgeois, which was so important to Futurism. All bruitist and scatological jokes with which the Futurists irritated the bourgeois eardrums are used by the Dadaists for the same purpose’.\(^{43}\)

In a segment published in Dada siegt! Eine Bilanz des Dadaismus (Dada Triumphs! A Record of Dadaism) (Berlin: Malik Verlag, 1920), Huelsenbeck narrates the audience’s internal monologue, “aber das sind doch keine anständigen Menschen” (“but they aren’t decent people”).\(^{44}\) He recalls the typical bourgeois male


\(^{43}\) Leo Zahn, ‘Dadaismus oder Klassizmus?’, Der Ararat, 1 April 1920, 51.

\(^{44}\) Richard Huelsenbeck, Dada siegt: Eine Bilanz des Dadaismus (1920), repr. in Richard Huelsenbeck and Tristan Tzara, Dada siegt! Bilanz und Erinnerung (Hamburg: Nautilus Press, 1985), 36.
spectator, ‘Herr X’ in grotesque terms, as ‘sitting in the crowd with a dropped jaw and a bloated stomach’. In his vivid account of the spectators’ transformation throughout the performance, Huelsenbeck identifies ‘mystical-magical points […] where the fun ceases and the primordial primate begins’. He relays how the spectators became increasingly violent following their descent into an animal state: ‘The exits have been blocked, they want to kill us, like they killed Liebknecht’.

Huelsenbeck’s account of the spectators’ regression from civilised, ‘gutangezogene’ (‘well-dressed’) bourgeois spectators into violent, primitive creatures shows him interpreting Dada’s impact in terms of nervous shock, rather than simply social scandal. Instead of presenting the audience as a ‘carnivalesque crowd’ composed of active agents all participating in the performance spectacle, Huelsenbeck depicts the spectators as overcome by the contents shown on stage. This triggers a psychological shock reaction, which, in turn, causes suppressed animalistic states to rise to the surface. Drawing on the trope of épater les bourgeois, Huelsenbeck presents Dada performances as primitivising experiences to which audience members are subjected. He thus typecasts the audience, and relegates the spectators to the status of easily controlled subjects ripe for manipulation by Dada performers.

The idea that the extreme épater triggered by Dadaism produced a psychological impact underpins not only Dadaist accounts, but also key texts in the secondary

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45 ‘[…] mit ausgefallenem Kiefer und aufgetriebenem Bauch in der Menge.’ Huelsenbeck, Dada siegt, 36.
46 ‘[M]ystisch-magische Punkte […] bei denen der Spaß aufhört und der Urwaldaffe anfängt.’ Huelsenbeck, Dada siegt, 36.
47 ‘Man hat die Ausgänge versperrt, man will uns totdschlagen, wie man Liebknecht […] totgeschlagen hat.’ Huelsenbeck, Dada siegt, 36.
48 Huelsenbeck, Dada siegt, 36.
literature. Art historian Dorothée Brill distinguishes between the social phenomenon of stirring up ‘scandal’ versus the Dadaists’ more psychological imperative of triggering nervous ‘shock’.\(^{49}\) Hans J. Kleinschmidt, upon asking Huelsenbeck to recount his experiences of Dada performances, relays Huelsenbeck’s response as follows:

\[T\]he audience was usually made up of […] unsuspecting citizens […] No doubt many burghers went to the dada evenings expecting to be entertained […] They were totally unprepared for Huelsenbeck’s incomprehensible poetry […] They were dumbfounded by […] the verbal abuse heaped upon them.\(^{50}\)

Hyperbolic descriptions of Dada audiences as ‘unsuspecting’, ‘totally unprepared’, and ‘dumbfounded’ are traded for more cautious and balanced interpretations in more recent secondary literature. For example, Sophie Bernard writes of the Dada tour that, ‘some episodes are skilfully mythologised’.\(^{51}\) But the task of disentangling the Dadaists’ self-mythologisations is set aside in favour of reiterating the épater les bourgeois line that ‘The Dadaists […] were met with animosity and incomprehension from the public, which gave rise to grotesque brawls’.\(^{52}\)

Dada scholar Hanne Bergius, having conducted the most extensive research on the Dadaists’ live appearances, similarly refers to the Dadaist intent of ‘making the audience uncomfortable’ by implementing ‘strategies to irritate the audience’.\(^{53}\)


\(^{53}\) Bergius, *Dada Triumphs*, 61, 63. For her collated translations and index of performance reviews, see Bergius, ‘Playing the Press,’ in *Dada and the Press*, 67-92.
Bergius determines that their bruitist and simultaneous poetry recitals ‘dramaturgically […] provoked an effective scandal in the audience’ by riling up the ‘nerves’ of the spectators.\(^5\) Perhaps most significantly, Walter Benjamin, when comparing Dada montage to film, describes Dada artworks in militaristic, psychological terms as ‘ballistic instruments’.\(^5\) Benjamin’s view reinforces psychological readings of Dadaism due to his assertion that one does not view a Dada artwork in contemplation, rather the work takes on an active role: ‘It hit the spectator like a bullet, it happened to him’.\(^5\)

These readings are not inaccurate per se, particularly in the cases of the earliest Dada performances. Much of the value of iconoclastic Dada poetry undoubtedly lay in the ‘discomfort’ and ‘irritation’ they created among their audiences. However, following close reading of journalistic reports on their later performances, more precise and varied audience reactions come into focus. Equally, even in instances where there is a strong case to suggest that bourgeois spectators were indeed scandalised, rarely are outer frame elements or contextual specifics offered to more accurately identify the source of any outrage caused. The present chapter asks what transformations occur when three of Berlin Dada’s most significant performances are analysed to centre the experiences of the spectators in the audience.

\(^5\) Bergius, Dada Triumphs, 59, 65.
2. Matinée at the Tribune Theatre, Berlin, 30 November 1919

On 30 November 1919, the Berlin Dadaists were invited to stage a matinée performance at the Tribune theatre in Charlottenburg. Whilst their performance in May of that year at Berlin’s Meistersaal—featuring a race between a sewing machine and a typewriter—is perhaps more widely known now, the sold-out performance at the 296-seat Tribune theatre attracted significantly more press coverage at the time. The venue was located in the former assembly hall of a girls’ school, the walls painted pale yellow, offset by green curtains and a crystal chandelier [Fig. 92]. It was the Berlin group’s first appearance on a theatre stage, as their previous performances had taken place in concert or recital halls, galleries, and cafés. United by Richard Huelsenbeck, both the ‘Neue Jugend’ contingent of George Grosz, Wieland Herzfelde, and John Heartfield appeared on stage with representatives from the ‘Freie Straße’ circle, Raoul Hausmann and Johannes Baader, in addition to Walter Mehring and Hans Ehrlich. Before the performance, Hausmann and Huelsenbeck distributed leaflets promoting the services of the ‘Dada Advertising Consultancy’ [Fig. 93].

The Dadaists performed two Dada matinées at the Tribune, on 30 November and 7 December, but only a programme [Fig. 94] [Fig. 95] and a handbill [Fig. 96] for the repeat performance in December have survived. As Bergius notes, no coverage of the

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58 Patterson, *German Theatre*, 99.
59 Previous Berlin venues included J. B. Neumann’s gallery and bookshop (22 January 1918, 30 April 1919); the Berlin Secession galleries (12 April 1918); the Café Austria (12 March 1919); and the Meistersaal concert hall (24 May 1919). According to Hausmann, the stage in the Tribune was decorated with Dada ‘scenery’ made from Baader’s designs for the Tierpark Hagenbeck in Berlin, Jungfernheide. See Bergius, *Lachen Dadas*, 344.
60 For an outline of these two groups, see Sheppard, *Modernism-Dada*, 322-323.
second show is contained in Tristan Tzara’s press clippings collection. Füllner, in her research compiling reviews of Berlin Dada performances, was also unable to locate any local press coverage of this elusive second performance. Multiple Dadaists provide vivid accounts of both performances in their autobiographies, however there are several puzzling inconsistencies between these accounts and the reviews for the first performance. Moreover, Füllner notes the curious fact that the announced schedule for the matinée performance at the Tribune on Sunday 7 December lists a different act. Given these inconsistencies, the analysis focuses exclusively on press coverage of the first night.

Bergius offers a reconstruction of the contents of the first Tribune performance based on cross-referencing Dadaist accounts and reviews of the matinée in the press, and by referring to the matinée the programme for the repeat performance in early December. She has helpfully published passages from a long review in the Hannoverscher Kurier by E. Neuhahn that describes sections of the performance in detail, such as the contents of Huelsenbeck’s Reklamebureau Bumbum-Dada sketch

63 Füllner, Huelsenbeck, 186, n.211.
64 For example, Herzfelde’s account of the first show records theatre director Erwin Piscator in the sketch, while none of the reviews cite his presence. The reviews also do not report an argument which Herzfelde recalls taking place between Huelsenbeck and the Dadaists onstage, which may have been concocted or exaggerated by Herzfelde to downplay Huelsenbeck’s role as the ‘director’ of the piece. In Herzfelde’s account, this disagreement was purportedly continued backstage and resulted in the performers having to play the sketch from the beginning. See Wieland Herzfelde, ‘George Grosz, John Heartfield, Erwin Piscator, Dada und die Folgen – oder die Macht der Freundschaft,’ Sinn und Form 23 (1971): 1243, quoted and trans. in Bergius, Dada Triumphs, 60-61.
65 Füllner, Huelsenbeck, 186, n.211.
66 Bergius, Dada Triumphs, 58-63.
featuring most of the Berlin group.\textsuperscript{67} Bergius very reasonably fills in any gaps in the running of the performance with reference to the surviving programme for the repeat show.\textsuperscript{68} However, granular cross-referencing of the reportage in fact reveals significant differences in the programmes for 30 November and 7 December, discrepancies that must be briefly laid out before the modes of spectatorship at the Tribune can be examined.

Neuhahn’s review confirms that Huelsenbeck opened the performance by announcing the Dadaists’ intentions to assassinate German art while intermittently pounding a large drum, with the Reklamebureau bumbum Dada (Advertising Agency Bum Bum Dada) sketch following straight after this opening.\textsuperscript{69} The reportage also corroborates that Mehring’s Schieber Kouplet (Racketeer Couplet) cabaret verse, and Grosz’s Foxwalk und Caketrott (Foxwalk and Caketrott) dance number were performed.\textsuperscript{70} The Vossische Zeitung and Vorwärts both mention Hausmann’s Klassische Beziehungen zur Mittelstandküche (Classical Relations of the Middle-class

\textsuperscript{67} E. Neuhahn, ‘Dada-Matinée,’ Hannoverscher Kurier, 2 December 1919, in Bergius, Dada Triumphs, 59-60.
\textsuperscript{68} Bergius, Dada Triumphs, 61-62, esp. the sentence beginning ‘Following in the program…’. White’s reconstruction also draws on a mixture of Dada accounts, the programme for 7 December, and reviews of the 30 November performance. See White, Generation Dada, 239-240.
\textsuperscript{69} Neuhahn in Bergius, Dada Triumphs, 59-62.
\textsuperscript{70} Mehring’s talents are briefly acknowledged in M. G-g., ‘Kinderwagen,’ Vossische Zeitung, 1 December 1919, in Füllner, Zeitungen, 32; and in Fechter, ‘Dadaistenmatinée in der Tribüne,’ Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung (Morgen-Ausgabe), 2 December 1919, in Füllner, Zeitungen, 35. Further, Mehring’s Schieber-Kouplet is directly cited in L.g., “‘Dadaismus” in der Tribüne,’ Berliner Börsen Courier, Erste Beilage, 2 December 1919, in Füllner, Zeitungen, 33. The Foxwalk und Caketrott dance is referenced in three reviews. These are: Alfred Kerr, ‘Dada. Tribüne,’ Berliner Tageblatt, Ausgabe A, 1 December 1919, in Füllner, Zeitungen, 28; in L.g., ‘Dadaismus,’ in Füllner, Zeitungen, 33; and in R-v., ‘Dada in der “Tribüne”,’ Berliner Volks-Zeitung, 3 December 1919, in Füllner, Zeitungen, 36.
Neuhahn relays how Baader, who was billed to recite a version of *Tretet Dada bei* (Join Dada), instead announced, ‘I am supposed to give a lecture, but you can buy that outside. Leave me alone!’ Bergius suggests that the matinée was organised in conjunction with the collation of *Der Dada* 2, so it is plausible that Baader was alluding to this issue featuring the piece in question just prior to its publication in December.

While Huelsenbeck’s *Schweinsblase als Rettungsanker* (The Pig’s Bladder as Sheet Anchor) and *Des Dada Totenklage* (Dada’s Death Wail) are simultaneous poems listed on the later December programme, these are not mentioned in any of the reviews I have been able to access. Three further pieces are instead alluded to, mainly in the report by famous theatre critic Alfred Kerr (1867-1948). In his review, Kerr relays how the first of these programme items was a poem by Herzfelde ‘delivered to his brother (or his brother to him?)’, whose heartfelt emotion was ceremoniously scorned by their fellow Dadaists. The second item cited by Kerr is a recital by an unidentified figure, probably Ehrlich, whose piece mocked the Dadaists and referenced the mathematical formula $\pi$. With regards to the third unlisted piece, both Neuhahn and Kerr quote from Hausmann’s *Der deutsche Spießer ärgert sich* (The German Philistine gets upset) tract, which appears in *Der Dada* 2. Without explicitly

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71 Hausmann’s *Klassische Beziehungen zur Mittelstandküche* piece is given a notable mention in M. G-g., ‘Kinderwagen,’ in Füllner, *Zeitungen*, 32; and in zd., ‘Dadaisten-Fasching,’ *Vorwärts*, 2 December 1919.
73 Bergius, *Dada Triumphs*, 61.
naming the title, both cite direct lines from Hausmann’s text, with Neuhahn also directly quoting slight variations, implying that Hausmann may have performed a working version of his prose piece at the matinée.\textsuperscript{76} The Berlin Dadaists’ first performance at the Tribune might therefore be viewed as both a showcase performance, featuring the most comprehensive line-up of Dadaists to perform at any of their shows, and a forum for testing out new material for their magazines.

2.1. Spectatorship at the Tribune Matinée

The reviews reveal how the matinée induced a notably mixed reception from the full house gathered in the Tribune theatre. Neuhahn observed how different Dada material was variously ‘rebuked, praised [...] ridiculed [or] applauded’, while Kerr records how Grosz’s dancing prompted a jubilant response from his ‘Getreuen’ (‘fans’).\textsuperscript{77} Similarly, a Vorwärts correspondent commented that, setting aside the ‘Hingerissenen des Publikums’ (‘audience’s captivation’), a reasonable proportion of spectators appeared to interpret the show as little more than ‘Bierulk’ (‘drunken humour’).\textsuperscript{78} From these observations, it is immediately evident that an épater les bourgeois framework alone is insufficient for describing the spectators’ heterogenous responses.

\textsuperscript{76} Kerr alludes to Hausmann’s Der deutsche Spießer ärgert sich in the line: ‘Der Satz erklang am Sontagvormittag: “Laß dir den Bauch bemalen”’. Kerr, ‘Dada,’ in Füllner, Zeitungen, 30. In Bergius’ translation of Neuhahn, the critic also directly quotes Hausmann’s text in the lines: ‘We are our own opponents’; ‘The absolute impossibility of saying anything is expressionism’; ‘Mr. […] Philistine, show your beautiful tattooed bellies’; also quoting some lines which were not published in the final text, such as, ‘We have other limbs on our bodies. We doodle and squeal Dada’. See Neuhahn, ‘Dada-Matinée,’ in Bergius, Dada Triumphs, 62.

\textsuperscript{77} Neuhahn, ‘Dada-Matinée,’ in Bergius, Dada Triumphs, 60. ‘[D]er Jubel seiner Getreuen […] schwillt glückselig an.’ Kerr, ‘Dada,’ in Füllner, Zeitungen, 28.

\textsuperscript{78} zd., ‘Dadaisten-Fasching’.
Aside from characterising the overall impression of the humour on stage, the critics rarely relay specific descriptions of the pieces performed. Instead, they tend to dwell on audience conduct, recording how spectators took part in heckling and other animated responses. For example, ‘K.’ from the *BZ am Mittag* relays how the event was ‘unfortunately attended by hecklers who were even less witty than the Dadaists’.79 Neuhahn quotes one of the hecklers’ remarks when they interrupted Hausmann’s *Der deutsche Spießer* recital, following Hausmann’s line ‘There is no more art’ with the riposte, ‘But only from today!’80 Writing in the present tense, as if reporting live, R-v. describes how the audience, ‘sings, whistles, whoops, kicks, jangles house keys’, commenting that ‘Clearly one sometimes simply wants to pay to play theatre and feel enormously witty’.81 Neuhahn also details the sound of the improvised instruments of house keys, additionally relaying how some spectators climbed on their seats to maximise their disruption.82

R-v. provides an insight into the dynamic between the performers and the spectators, recounting how the Dadaists responded negatively to cries from the stalls, ‘The audience […] shouts remarks that are supposed to be funny and were therefore resented from the stage’.83 K. similarly suggests that the performers ‘immediately forgot to pose as the unflinching *blagueur*’ when heckled, responding to any

79 ‘Leider saßen unter den Zuhörern Zwischenrufer, die noch viel witzloser waren als die Dadaisten.’ K., ‘Dada,’ *BZ am Mittag, Berliner Zeitung*, 1 December 1919.
81 ‘Das Publikum […] singt, pfeift, juchzt, strampelt, arbeitet mit dem Hausschlüssel […] Man will doch für sein Geld auch einmal Theater spielen und kommt sich enorm geistreich vor.’ R-v., ‘Dada,’ *Berliner Volks-Zeitung*, 3 December 1919, 36.
82 Neuhahn, ‘Dada-Matinée,’ in Bergius, *Dada Triumphs*, 60.
disturbances with ‘ill-tempered faces’. Neuhahn states that the ‘deafening hoots’ of the audience were met with ‘rude shouts of abuse answer[ing] from stage’, eventually leading to the premature fall of the curtain. The critic further claims this antagonism resulted in the theatre management switching off the lights and the Dadaists appearing ‘with rolled up sleeves among the furious audience […] egging [spectators] on, sneering’.

According to theatre studies scholar Michael Patterson, the intimate scale of the Tribune theatre meant that spectators would have been able to hear even a whisper on stage. Equally then, any expressions of disapproval from the audience would have been clearly audible to those in the stalls and on the small raised podium of the stage. Neuhahn’s account of spectators standing on their seats suggests that a segment of the Tribune audience deliberately overruled bourgeois etiquette designed to discourage collective behaviours in the theatre. Blackadder notes how scandals which occurred after bourgeois conventions of silent spectatorship had been established, between the 1880s and 1920s, ‘in effect reverted to older, no longer current modes of audience behaviour’.

The above reviews of the first Tribune matinée evidence how these earlier, more animated modes of spectatorship still occurred during the early Weimar Republic in certain settings.

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84 ‘Und diese wiederum vergaßen sogleich ihre Pose des unbeirrbaren Blagueurs und nahmen die Störungen mit sehr übellaunigen Gesichtern auf.’ K., ‘Dada’.
85 Neuhahn, ‘Dada-Matiniée,’ in Bergius, Dada Triumphs, 60; 62.
86 Neuhahn, 62.
87 Patterson, German Theatre, 99.
88 Blackadder, Opposition, 14.
Evidently, the Dada matinée generated a temporary environment which, like Bakhtin’s carnivalesque crowd, lay beyond forms of ‘coercive’ societal organisation, encouraging audience behaviours that went firmly against the grain of bourgeois standards.\(^89\) To probe what factors may have contributed to this mode of spectatorship, and, in turn, what the spectators’ conduct tells us about the immediate reception of the matinée, the Dadaists’ relationship with their audience must be considered from two viewpoints. Firstly, in relation to how spectators may have received Dada humour, and secondly, in relation to the outer frame aspect of the overall mission of the Tribune theatre as an artistic venture.

### 2.2. ‘Go to Montmartre’

The *Vossische Zeitung* reviewer disparagingly comments that, only with much maturation can the group ever hope to become a serious literary-political cabaret.\(^90\) Such remarks offer a glimpse as to possible audience expectations, which were then not met, possibly emboldening spectators to adopt forms of spectatorship that contravened prevailing bourgeois standards. The reviewer probably had in mind Berlin’s pre-war Expressionist cabarets, such as the Neopathetisches Cabaret evenings of the Neuer Club (1910-1912), and Kurt Hiller’s break-away GNU cabaret (1911-1914).\(^91\) Richard Sheppard describes these as ‘orderly literary evenings, held in fairly fashionable venues and designed partly to bring a young intelligentsia to the

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\(^89\) Bakhtin, *Rabelais*, 255.
notice of the established Berlin literary avant-garde’. As Füllner articulates, the Dadaists ‘wantonly rebuffed any expectations of a sophisticated literary cabaret’. Their more physical, confrontational performance style partly originated from the recital evenings for the Neue Jugend magazine, during which Grosz and Herzfelde performed alongside Expressionist mainstays Johannes R. Becher and Else Lasker-Schüler. By the time the Dadaists were performing in the Tribune, they had adapted the Expressionist recital soirée into more dramatic, percussive and interactive performances, recalling some aspects of early cabaret, but also drawing strong influence from Futurist performance.

Responding in his review to the Dadaists’ aggressive attempts to provoke the audience, Kerr advises the Dadaists to ‘go to Montmartre’ in order to learn from professional cabaret artists who have mastered the French craft of performed satire. Admonishing the audience was a favoured tactic of the Chat Noir’s second conferencier, Aristide Bruant (1851-1925), who famously ‘heap[ed] vulgar verbal abuse upon his patrons’ in 1880s Paris. In their similarly confrontational, metatheatrical strategy and épater les bourgeois intent, the Dadaists, in Kerr’s eyes, were indebted to these early innovators of cabaret.

92 Sheppard Modernism-Dada, 239.
93 Füllner, Huelsenbeck, 204.
94 The first of these was held on 13 September 1916 in Israel Ber Neumann’s Graphisches Kabinett gallery and bookshop. In late 1916, Herzfelde, Heartfield, and Grosz performed in Dresden, Munich, and Mannheim. See Neue Jugend, February/March, 1917, double issue 11-12.
95 For a discussion on Italian Futurism’s influence on Berlin Dada’s performance, see Sheppard, Modernism-Dada, 225-229.
97 Jelavich, Berlin Cabaret, 26.
Kerr describes Hausmann’s work as appropriate for a Bierzeitung, a low-brow, self-published Witzblatt, also known as a Kneipzeitung. These ephemeral amateur publications, typically produced by a male school group, association, or social circle, contained idiosyncratic, often base, humour, whose meaning was usually only privy to their creators. The Berliner Volks-Zeitung similarly wrote that the Dadaist humour at the Tribune resembled Bierulk ‘without the alcohol’, while the anonymous critic ‘B’ from Die Freiheit also referenced the impression of ‘Bierulk’ and ‘vaudeville wit’ left by the show. An article in Vorwärts similarly categorised the performance as ‘Dada vaudeville’.

In these instances, the term Bierulk is employed to discredit Dada as a buffoonish joke, an impression strengthened by the purportedly insular nature of the Dadaists’ humour. Referring to the secret nonsense clubs that originated in the nineteenth century and were dedicated to ‘art and humour’, Kerr dubs the group a ‘Schlaraffia nova’ (‘new Schlaraffia’) [Fig. 97]. Once again, he was not the only critic to draw this comparison between the Dadaists and a homosocial fraternal society. In the BZ am
Mittag, the critic ‘K’ commented that ‘The Dadaists […] were only able to offer clubbing “fidelity” (in literary jargon)’.\footnote{‘Aber die Dadaisten […] hatten nur noch eine vereinsmeierische “Fidelität” (im literarischen Jargon) zu bieten.’ K., ‘Dada’.
} Alongside literary jargon, a reference by L.g. to ‘Huelsenring’ shows how the Dadaists were already scrambling their names to sow confusion over their identities, a practice they repeated in Der Dada, issue 3 \cite{DerDadaIssue3}.
\footnote{L.g., ‘Dadaismus,’ in Füllner, \textit{Zeitungen}, 33. \textit{Der Dada}, issue 3, lists its directors as ‘groszfield’, ‘hearthaus’, and ‘georgemann’. \textit{Der Dada}, issue 3, April 1920.} According to the perspectives of these critics, by adopting the exclusivity and \textit{Bierulk} of an absurdist secret society or university fraternity, the Dadaists had shunned any prospect of a teasing, entertaining relationship between the spectators and performers, opting instead for a purely antagonistic dynamic. One of the reasons why this contempt from the stage was particularly striking to commentators, and thus frequently relayed in reviews, was partly due to the aspirations of the Tribune theatre’s wider programme and directorship.

2.3. ‘The Institute for Socialist Hypocrisy’

The newly inaugurated Expressionist ‘political humanist’ stage of the Tribune Theatre was founded by stage (and later film) director Karlheinz Martin (1886-1948).\footnote{Patterson, \textit{German Theatre}, 98.} Martin’s aspirations for the theatre present a key outer frame factor which would undoubtedly have conditioned the Dada matinée’s immediate reception, but which is not discussed in any existing scholarship.\footnote{Bergius and White mention briefly that the Tribune was a left-leaning theatre. Bergius, \textit{Lachen Dadas}, 344. White, \textit{Generation Dada}, 239.} As a theatre designed to further left-wing politics, its name played on the double meaning of ‘Tribune’, as both a platform for a speaker and an institution that advocates for civil and political rights.

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\footnote{104 ‘Aber die Dadaisten […] hatten nur noch eine vereinsmeierische “Fidelität” (im literarischen Jargon) zu bieten.’ K., ‘Dada’.}


\footnote{106 Patterson, \textit{German Theatre}, 98.}

\footnote{107 Bergius and White mention briefly that the Tribune was a left-leaning theatre. Bergius, \textit{Lachen Dadas}, 344. White, \textit{Generation Dada}, 239.}
On 30 September 1919, a week after opening, the Tribune immediately made its mark in German artistic circles, billing the first production of Die Wandlung (The Transformation) by Expressionist writer Ernst Toller (1893-1939) as its premiere play a few weeks prior to the Dadaists’ matinée.\textsuperscript{108} Drawing on his experiences serving at the front, Toller’s script sees the protagonist move through different stations of the cross, scenes populated by allegorical figures and the grotesque reanimated corpses of fallen troops [Fig. 99]. The play concludes with a redemptive resolve that the horrors of war shall bring about a revolution through mass spiritual rebirth, messaging which Sheppard interprets as reflective of the optimistic and ecstatic period in which the play was written.\textsuperscript{109} Toller started writing the script in 1917, but by the time of its late 1919 premiere, he was serving a five-year sentence for his role in the establishment of Kurt Eisner’s Freistaat Bayern (Bavarian Free State) [Fig. 100].\textsuperscript{110}

Only when it is analysed in light of the Wandlung premiere, and this premiere’s overwhelmingly positive reception, can we begin to understand the spectatorship at the Dada matinée in more specific terms than a blanket épater les bourgeois reading allows. In En Avant Dada (1920), Huelsenbeck dubs the theatre the ‘institute for socialist hypocrisy’.\textsuperscript{111} Although he does not divulge further, Huelsenbeck’s slight is not merely a Dadaist dig, intended highlight the perceived hypocrisy of certain

\textsuperscript{108} Patterson, German Theatre, 97-98.
\textsuperscript{109} Sheppard, Modernism-Dada, 258.
\textsuperscript{110} Patterson, German Theatre, 97.
subgroups of left-wing Expressionists. Rather, this comment appears to be a reference to a specific scandal associated with an organisation linked to the Tribune, the Bund für proletarische Kultur (League for Proletarian Culture). With its stated mission to ‘lay the foundations for a new proletarian culture’, the organisation was founded in September 1919 by writers Ludwig Rubiner, Alfons Goldschmidt and Arthur Holitscher.\textsuperscript{112} Seeking to promote Russian revolutionary ideas of \textit{Proletkult} (proletarian culture) in Germany, its membership was comprised of a mixture of shop stewards, workers, and literary figures, such as Johannes Becher and the Dadaist and \textit{Freie Straße} magazine editor Franz Jung (1888-1963).\textsuperscript{113}

The League became embroiled in a dispute in October when some of its members involved in the running of the Tribune rejected an invitation to perform the \textit{Wandlung} production to striking members of the metal workers’ union.\textsuperscript{114} Given that Toller had distributed scenes from his play to striking metal workers in January 1918, it is likely that this move would have been viewed by many in Berlin’s left-wing artistic scene as a betrayal of Toller’s original intentions for the play.\textsuperscript{115} Among the Club Dada and its extended circle, the scandal is likely to have completely delegitimised the League or the Tribune theatre as serious organs for advancing revolutionary ideas in Germany.

\textsuperscript{112} Sheppard, \textit{Modernism-Dada}, 261. 
\textsuperscript{113} Sheppard, \textit{Modernism-Dada}, 261; Guttsman, \textit{Art for the Workers}, 65. For an attack on the bourgeois liberalism of the Bund, see ‘Proletarisches Theater I,’ \textit{Die Rote Fahne}, 19 December 1919, ref. in McCloskey, \textit{Grosz}, 60. 
\textsuperscript{114} Sheppard, \textit{Modernism-Dada}, 261. These included several of the actors and the theatre manager, Friedrich Mellinger. 
\textsuperscript{115} Patterson, \textit{German Theatre}, 97.
Both Sheppard and Patterson suggest that the league voted not to perform for
striking workers in order to maintain middle-class, pro-SPD support for the new
theatre.\(^\text{116}\) The controversy caused the association to terminate its relationship with
the Tribune in October, prompting its members to briefly found a new theatre, the
Proletarian Theatre for the League of Proletarian Culture, which itself dissolved by the
spring of 1920.\(^\text{117}\) Additionally, expensive ticket prices further damaged the Tribune
theatre’s identity as a revolutionary institution. A tiered pricing system meant seats
could cost between 15 and 50 Marks. By comparison, a seat for one of Max
Reinhardt’s productions at the Kammerspiele did not cost more than 20 Marks.\(^\text{118}\)

In direct contrast to the lofty themes explored in the *Wandlung* production, the
Dada matinée’s main theatrical piece, Huelsenbeck’s *Reklame Bureau Bum Bum Dada*,
drew attention to the theatre as a commercial entity. It did so by setting the
sketch in a Dada advertising consultancy, presenting art as a commercial product and
artists as consultants.\(^\text{119}\) The review in *Vorwärts* quotes directly from the sketch,
repeating the Dadaists’ pledge to ‘captivate’ their customers ‘through the silent form
of the advert’.\(^\text{120}\) Rather than envisioning the future revolution, Huelsenbeck’s sketch
transported the audience to the office of purely commercial enterprise.

\(^{116}\) Patterson, 115.

\(^{117}\) Its full German title was the Proletarisches Theater des Bundes für proletarische Kultur.

\(^{118}\) Patterson, *German Theatre*, 99.

\(^{119}\) For Neuhahn’s account of this piece see Neuhahn, ‘Dada-Matinee,’ in Bergius, *Dada
Triumphs*, 59-60.

\(^{120}\) Zd. quotes directly from the stage: “Wir bannen den einzelnen durch die stille Form
ruhigen Werbens”. zd., ‘Dadaisten-Fasching’.
The Dadaists further ridiculed the pretentions of the Expressionist theatre during improvised moments onstage. According to Neuhahn, Huelsenbeck addressed the audience directly after the chaotic, bruitist ending of the *Reklamebureau* sketch: “‘Well, you see, ladies and gentlemen, you wouldn’t understand [...] everyone is an actor, primarily acting directly from his own emotion’.”\(^{121}\) The pretextual sentiment of this statement can be gleaned from Mehring’s retroactive description of the Tribune as a space for the ‘howling chants of the “mass man”’.\(^{122}\) Also relevant to this comment is the fact that Martin, in his adaptation, altered the ending of *Die Wandlung* to emphasise the personal rebirth of the *Neuer Mensch* (New Man), rather than mass societal regeneration.\(^{123}\) This emphasis was reinforced through Robert Neppach’s Expressionist stage design: a series of filmic backdrops composed of dramatic brushstrokes, which, as Patterson points out, were not functional or symbolic, but instead outwardly projected the internal reality of the protagonist [Fig. 101].\(^{124}\) Huelsenbeck’s tongue-in-cheek suggestion that the Dadaists were ‘acting […] from [their] own emotion’ during his *Reklamebureau* sketch may be read as yet another dig at Martin’s *Neuer Mensch* Expressionism.\(^{125}\)

### 2.4. Ideals of the Humanist and Political Theatre

By thematising and critiquing the relationship between commerce and Expressionist art, Huelsenbeck’s sketch appears to have critiqued the Tribune’s own

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\(^{121}\) Neuhahn, ‘Dada-Matinée,’ in Bergius, *Dada Triumphs*, 60.

\(^{122}\) ‘Die Tribüne war für die […] heulenden “Masse Mensch”-Sprechchören.’ Mehring, *Berlin Dada*, 50.

\(^{123}\) Patterson, *German Theatre*, 100. For a characterisation of the late Expressionist *Neuer Mensch*, see Sheppard, *Dada-Modernism*, 252.

\(^{124}\) Patterson, *German Theatre*, 101.

\(^{125}\) Neuhahn, ‘Dada-Matinée,’ in Bergius, *Dada Triumphs*, 60.
complicity in bourgeois capitalism before an audience that was probably largely sympathetic to the Tribune’s aims. The ire this provoked is reflected in the reviews. Commenting on the fact that the Dadaists were performing to a full house, Fechter from the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* wryly observed that Dadaism also appeared to be a lucrative business venture.\(^{126}\) In a caustic review of the show, critic L.g. argues that Dadaism in fact shares a common goal with ‘humanist’ Expressionism, employing the distinctly charivari image of a carnivalesque crowd equipped with blaring instruments:

> For the ideal would be for the stalls to overtake the noise and whirl of jokes onstage with shouting, keys and trumpeters, to establish the whole cultural status quo as a sell-out of itself, and [in doing so], set out the claim that Dada was among the audience and not on the stage. In the humanist and political theatre we are indeed not too far away from this ideal position. And because of this, Dada is but an army of damnation modelled after the Salvation Army.\(^{127}\)

Here, L.g. reveals their position as an advocate of the Expressionist ‘humanist and political theatre’ espoused by the Tribune. They assert that, just like the Dadaists, practitioners of this theatre also understand the need to interrogate bourgeois mechanisms of cultural production and awaken a carnivalesque crowd among the audience. Moreover, they accuse the Dadaists of undoing the Tribune’s valuable progress in this area.

\(^{126}\) ‘Man kann also auch mit dem Dadaismus bereits Geschäfte machen.’ Fechter, ‘Dadaistenmatinée,’ in Füllner, *Zeitungen*, 35.

In essence, the critic interprets Dada as a tool for seeding a sense of revolutionary political agency among the audience, suggesting that it sought to achieve this by harnessing theatre’s capacity to construct a temporary community of emboldened spectators. When outlining his vision for the Tribune, Martin discussed his aspirations along similar lines. He recounts how the intimacy of the theatre, with no orchestra pit, stage machinery, or footlights, was designed to encourage ‘the living unity of artistic space’, able to ‘unite all the participants in the act of creation’. He goes on, ‘We do not want a public, but a community within a single space’, referring to the theatre as a ‘shrine for [this] spiritual community’. Martin’s vision for his theatre is part of a wider trend among twentieth-century reformers of theatre. In The Emancipated Spectator (2008), Rancière highlights how such reformers saw ‘the separation of stage and auditorium as something to be transcended’, envisaging the transformation of an audience of ostensibly passive spectators into a ‘living community’ or ‘assembly’ of active agents. He notes how these reformers saw the act of ‘placing the spectators on the stage and the performers in the auditorium’, as a form of dress rehearsal for ‘taking possession of the street, the town or life’, revealing the parallels between this position and the possibilities projected by Bakhtin onto the carnivalesque crowd.

L.g.’s vivid imagery draws a series of misguided parallels between Expressionist theatre’s unifying, utopian aims, and the intentions of Dada performance. The critic

128 Karlheinz Martin, ‘Tribüne Programme,’ September 1919, quoted and trans. in Patterson, German Theatre, 99.
129 Martin, ‘Tribüne Programme,’ in Patterson, German Theatre, 99.
130 Rancière, Emancipated Spectator, 2-4.
131 Rancière, 9.
assumes far too much concern for the direct political empowerment of the audience, where the Dadaists instead sought to antagonise their spectators as part of their act of unmasking the Tribune’s complicity in bourgeois capitalism. While both the Dadaists and practitioners of the Expressionist humanist theatre sought to engage and activate spectators, the Dadaists did not do so with the intent of transforming a public into a community, as Martin suggests. As their heightened aggressivity sought to stoke, rather than overcome, societal divisions in class and culture, their performance in fact produced the inverse effect, ultimately dismantling the idea promoted by Martin and others of theatre as a ‘spiritual community’.  

In this earliest of the three case studies, whose audience was significantly smaller than those of the tour, the performance clearly did frustrate or bemuse the majority of the critics. However, simply characterising the spectators and their response as scandalised bourgeoisie erases the fact that some segments were positively received by the audience. It also does not address the root causes of why certain spectators diverted to emphatic forms of heckling, or why some critics expressed such aggravation in their reviews. Critics interpreted the matinée as a litany of crude, inaccessible humour that drew unwanted attention to pre-existing scandals surrounding the theatre’s inception in the wake of Martin’s successful premiere. The perceived nature of the humour on stage as a taunting form of Bierulk prompted the appearance of carnivalesque modes of spectatorship more commonly seen in Kleinkunst or Brettl shows than an experimental theatre with expensive ticket fees. Rather than experiencing a form of psychological activation through shock, the

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132 Martin, ‘Tribüne Programme,’ in Patterson, German Theatre, 99.
spectators diverted to recognisable, albeit increasingly outdated, forms of disruptive and participatory spectatorship. As was expressed by critic R-v., the matinée had the effect of ‘reducing the Tribune to a local dive’.\textsuperscript{133} What was transformed, then, was not the individual psyches of the spectators, but the performance environment; achieved via a heterotopic destabilisation of the original intent of the theatre.

3. The Dada Tour Audiences and Charivari Tactics

The following section examines two performances which took place at the start and close of the Berlin Dadaists’ tour through eastern Germany and Czechoslovakia. The tour, originally Baader’s initiative, ran between 19 January and 5 March 1920, ending five months before the First International Dada Fair was opened in Berlin, and under two months before the publication of their third and final issue of \textit{Der Dada}.\textsuperscript{134} Some of the audiences seen during the tour were the largest of any of their public performances or recitals, numbering around one thousand spectators.\textsuperscript{135} Analysis of the reportage indicates that it was at these performances that spectators took up more premeditated heckling behaviours partly resembling those from nineteenth-century ‘political charivaris’. By the time Hausmann, Huelsenbeck, and Baader performed in Dresden, the compounding effect of prior press coverage led to modes of spectatorship which increasingly resembled aspects of charivari protests. If earlier performances, such as the Tribune matinée, established the reputation of Berlin

\textsuperscript{133} ‘Arme Tribüne, man macht dich zur Kneipe.’ R-v., ‘Dada,’ in Füllner, \textit{Zeitungen}, 36.
\textsuperscript{134} Bergius, \textit{Lachen Dadas}, 352.
\textsuperscript{135} For example, a reporter in Dresden records ‘etwa tausend Zuhören’, ‘Dadaistenrummel in Dresden,’ \textit{Leipziger Tageblatt}, 21 January 1920, in Füllner, \textit{Zeitungen}, 42. Their stop at the Festsaal des Zentraltheaters in Leipzig likely saw the largest audience, as the venue had the highest capacity among all their tour stops.
Dada’s performances as carnivalesque, heterotopic environments, the implications of the resultant press coverage came to a head during the Dada tour.

Scholar Mel Gordon describes ‘enormous and unwieldy crowds’, who flocked to the shows in the wake of ‘an effective public relations campaign of promoters, local Dadas, and copy-hungry newspapers’.\(^{136}\) Yet the tour itself, like Berlin Dada performance generally, is rarely discussed in depth. One scholar who does offer a nuanced reading of the relationship between performers and spectators during the tour is media theorist Arndt Niebisch. He characterises this relationship as a self-contained amplifying system in which, ‘the physical energy projected by Dada noise entered a feedback loop: the aggravations of the stage irritated the audience, who threw them back on the stage’.\(^{137}\) As such, they ‘no longer behaved like a tame theatre audience, but rather became, as an angry mob, part of the performance’.\(^{138}\)

Niebisch’s view of the relationship between stage and stalls as a ‘feedback loop’ is useful in that it stresses how ‘outer frame’ aspects contribute to the overall spectacle of the performance, acknowledging audience members as active participants within this wider frame. However, although it grants the audience some agency in the context of the performance, even this reading denies the spectators their full autonomy. This is because it interprets audience behaviour on the tour as a spontaneous, ‘irritated’ reaction to the provocations on stage, surreptitiously converting the spectators from an audience into an ‘angry mob’ incapable of regulating their own behaviours. In

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\(^{136}\) Gordon, ‘History of Performance,’ 122-123.
\(^{137}\) Niebisch, Media Parasites, 131.
\(^{138}\) Niebisch, 131.
contrast, the ‘charivari’ reading applied here views the most vocal and prominent audience behaviours seen on the Dada tour as self-determined forms of spectatorship. By viewing this subset of behaviours seen at the shows as partly deliberate and premediated, rather than exclusively compelled and impulsive, the discussion restores spectators’ agency as conscious or willing participants in the overall spectacle. Such an exercise is important, as it queries how we might view the performances differently once the avant-garde concept of épater les bourgeois is removed as the primary lens. If an épater les bourgeois reading is overly simplistic and displaces spectators’ agency, how might we alternatively describe the forms of spectatorship that developed during these performances?

3.1. Dada Tour in Dresden, 19 January 1920

Among the Dadaists, Hausmann provides the most extensive account of the Dresden show in his autobiography. In Courrier Dada (1958) he recalls how, ‘in Dresden [...] we were not allowed to begin our program, [as] a frenetic crowd was waiting to unload its colère politique (political anger) on us’. The ‘Dadasoph’ invokes bloodthirsty cries from the audience in Dresden, such as, ‘Beat them! hang them! They have driven out our king, they are communists!’ In the German translation of this line in Am Anfang war Dada (1972), Hausmann switches into Saxon dialect to lend the exclamations a more localised flavour: ‘Hängt se, haut se, schlagt se dod, dad sin

\[\text{139} \] ‘A Dresde et à Hambourg, on ne nous laissa pas commencer notre programme, une foule frénétique nous attendait, pour décharger sa colère politique sur nous.’ Hausmann, Courrier Dada, 81.
\[\text{140} \] ‘A Dresde, la foule hurlait «Battez-les, pendez-les, ils ont chassé notre roi! [...] ce sont des communistes!»’ Hausmann, Courrier Dada, 81.
His translation of ‘roi’ (king) into ‘Geenich’ (‘König’ in Saxon dialect) for the German edition of his text brings Hausmann’s conservative, provincialising characterisation of the Dresden audience into focus, as the spectators, Hausmann implies, took the opportunity of the performance to mourn the loss of the Saxon royal family in local Saxon dialect. Following the abolition of the Kaiser in November 1918, the King of Saxony, Frederick Augustus III (1865-1932), who had reigned from 1904, followed suit by also voluntarily abdicating despite enjoying high levels of popularity within Saxony. Hausmann continues to ventriloquise the Dresden audience in regional dialect, ‘Hörn se mal, Se schreim ,uf de Delejrafendråhndn sitzn de Giehe un spieln Schach!’ – Was soll’n dad heesen?’ (‘Listen, they’re screaming, “Cows are sitting on telegraph lines and playing chess”! What’s that supposed to mean?’). In Hausmann’s caricatured depiction, the Dresden audience is perplexed by Huelsenbeck’s dream-like imagery in Ende der Welt (End of the World), one of the Dadaists’ most widely performed poems, first published in Phantastische Gebete (Fantastic Prayers) in 1916.

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141 Hausmann, Am Anfang, 116. Hausmann misremembers the Dresden performance as taking place at a ‘Getreide-Börse’ (produce exchange), instead of the merchants’ guildhall. See Hausmann, Am Anfang, 115. As their first Prague performance took place in a produce exchange, this caused Bergius to misattribute Hausmann’s recollection here to the Prague performance in Lachen Dadas, 357, and Dada Triumphs, 67-68. The evidence that Hausmann here largely refers to the Dresden show, as opposed to performances in Hamburg or Prague, is as follows: in Am Anfang, he introduces the episode as taking place in Dresden; the audience are depicted speaking in Saxon dialect; he recalls smoking on stage, and recalls how the podium was stormed by spectators, details both corroborated by the Dresden reviews. This is significant because, as shall be discussed, the spectators in Prague’s produce exchange did not mount the stage, but did use different disruptive tactics.


144 Hausmann, Am Anfang, 116.

By narrating the audience’s collective voice in transliterated dialect, and implying that Huelsenbeck’s poetry is incomprehensible to them, Hausmann paints the Dresden audience in distinctly localised, petit-bourgeois terms. He characterises the spectators as ignorant and violent, and as harbouring regressive, conservative values. Huelsenbeck also comments on the regional nature of the audience with disdain: ‘We began [the tour] in Leipzig, on the basis of the sound idea that all Germans are Saxons, a truth, it seems to me, that speaks for itself.’ The questions arise of why Hausmann constructed such an aggressively stereotypical image of a Saxon Spießer, and why he depicts the Dresden audience as fuelled by ‘political anger’, rather than simply shock at Dada’s denigration of artistic principles. Cross-referencing the reviews of the performance at the Merchants’ Guildhall in Dresden provides an alternative to Hausmann’s caricature of spectatorship of Dresden. It also sheds light on possible motives for presenting the Dresden audience in this passage as a homogenised crowd of particularly vicious Saxon Spießer.

3.2. Dada’s Rules of Engagement

The premiere performance of the Dada tour was held in the Haus der Dresdner Kaufmannschaft (Dresden Merchants’ Hall) on Ostra-Allee 9, a central location neighbouring the High Baroque court and gardens of the Zwinger palace [Fig. 102]. In his report, chief editor of the Dresdner Neueste Nachrichten Julius Ferdinand Wolff, records how the stage was a simple podium, before which stood rows of red chairs

146 Huelsenbeck, En Avant Dada, in Dada Painters, 45; also reproduced as an extract in Courrier Dada, 83.
separated by aisles.\textsuperscript{147} Multiple reports cite the fact that instruments were sounded in the crowd throughout the performance and before the Dadaists had mounted the podium. For example, F.Z. from the \textit{Dresdener Nachrichten} notes how, in addition to sounding their instruments at tedious parts of the first section of the performance, ‘People began to try out their whistles long before the wild banging of a tin gong announced the appearance of the literary clowns’\textsuperscript{148}. An anonymous reporter from the \textit{Unabhängige Volkszeitung} similarly specifies hearing whistles and children’s trumpets, while journalist Friedrich Kummer, writing in the \textit{Dresdner Anzeiger}, recalls this same soundscape of ‘noisy demonstrations with horns and dog whistles’\textsuperscript{149}. At the very least, the subsection of individuals with instruments were primed and ready to participate in disruptive ‘charivari’ modes of spectatorship from the outset.

Füllner makes the important observation that in Dresden, the public did not need to be ‘aktiviert’ (‘activated’) or riled up by the material on stage as they were already energised in anticipation of the performance\textsuperscript{150}. Based on this observation, Füllner suggests that the Dada tour performances brought about a ‘role reversal’, where spectators took on the role of performers\textsuperscript{151}. A significant portion of the spectators had undoubtedly adopted the role of unofficial co-performers. Indeed, F.Z. reports how,

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item\textsuperscript{147} Julius Ferdinand Wolff, ‘Dada,’ \textit{Dresdner Neueste Nachrichten}, 21 January 1920, in Füllner, \textit{Zeitungen}, 47.
\item\textsuperscript{150} Füllner, \textit{Huelsenbeck}, 195.
\item\textsuperscript{151} Füllner, 195.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
‘Huelsenbeck started to read a manifesto […] But he didn’t get far. The audience absolutely wanted to take part’. However, the idea of a role reversal between stalls and stage is not wholly applicable here, as the Dadaists did not adopt the role of spectators. Rather, we might view the relationship between the Dadaists and their audience more in line with Blackadder’s view, where both parties together form two rival, and occasionally interacting, spectacle-driven performances.

Details in the reportage evidence rules of engagement between the performers on stage and the rival ‘co-performers’ in the stalls. For instance, Wolff notes how the Dadaists opened their performance by discussing their anti-Expressionist principles while smoking cigarettes. This staging decision may be read as a form of power play: by smoking on stage, the Dadaists asserted their agency over the performance through a display of nonchalance towards the clamouring spectators, recalling what Tribune reviewer K. referred to as their ‘pose as unflinching blagueurs’. Wolff identifies several similar improvisational ‘Tricks’ designed to reassert the activity onstage as the primary performance. For example, when some of Huelsenbeck’s witty opening remarks felt flat, causing the ‘charivari’ cacophony to rise in volume, Baader purportedly admonished him by shouting, ‘You can’t take a break from the art just yet!’ Baader’s act of pre-emptively berating Huelsenbeck served to deter the ‘charivari’ contingent of the audience from doing the same. At another point, according

152 F.Z., ‘Dadaisten-Abend,’ in Füllner, Zeitungen; quoted and trans. in Bergius, Dada Triumphs, 66.
153 Blackadder, Performing Opposition, 6.
154 ‘[Sie] rauchten Zigaretten und redeten, redeten, redeten […] Vom dem Weltsiegelauf des Dada, von allem, was sie verneinten.’ Wolff, ‘Dada,’ in Füllner, Zeitungen, 47.
156 ‘Man hat Tricks … Alles „improvisiert“’. Wolff, ‘Dada,’ in Füllner, Zeitungen, 47.
157 ‘Du kannst doch nicht jetzt schon eine Kunstpause machen!’ Wolff, ‘Dada,’ in Füllner, Zeitungen, 47.
to F.Z., Baader responded to the ‘charivari’ ruckus by sounding his own crude instrument of a cow’s horn, thus parodically mimicking the spectators in real time.¹⁵⁸

F.Z. relays how, early in the performance, Baader and Hausmann were forced to move swiftly onto the next programme item, performing a lively recital of a simultaneous poem in order to ‘save’ the performance.¹⁵⁹ A surviving programme for the Hamburg performance on 18 February corroborates that Huelsenbeck’s ‘Introduction’ was indeed followed by the simultaneous poem Simultangespräch über das Messer (Simultaneous Poem about a Knife) by Baader and Hausmann [Fig. 103]. Unlike during the Tribune performance, the Dadaists were now improvising to try to control the disruption, rather than seeking to provoke this disorderliness themselves. This impression is further emphasised in the closing statement of an article in the Berliner Börsen-Courier by Dr. Leo Fanti. Fanti relays how ‘not far from playing the role of jugglers, [the Dadaists] were almost painted like martyrs by the unqualifiable behaviour of the Dresden philistine’.¹⁶⁰ We find echoes of Fanti’s carnivalesque simile of martyrs and jugglers in Wolff and Kummer’s assertions that spectators threw apples at the performers.¹⁶¹ Whether or not spectators threw rotten produce at the Dadaists, Kummer portrays the Dadaists in the stocks of a figurative public square. Taken

together, the reports suggest that heckling behaviours increased in the audience not when spectators were ‘scandalised’ by the avant-garde material on stage, but, conversely, at points when the spectators did not consider the performance to be entertaining or spectacular enough.

3.3. Stage Invasion at the Merchants’ Guildhall

F.Z. claims the Dadaists were able to perform in this manner for roughly half an hour before a group of spectators stormed the podium. Wolff provides the most specific account of this transgression,

Suddenly a terribly serious person steps onto the podium during the hellish roar of voices, horns and whistles. With a calm grip he takes the paper from the hands of the Weltdada – or was it the Dadasoph? – crumbles it and throws it aside, turning to the roaring flood of people, “We’re supposed to be Goethe’s people? Pfui!” A hellish noise breaks lose. A crowd storms the podium. It gets violent.

Rather than a crowd, F.Z. relays how a ‘band of boys with brown curly hair’ descended on the Dadaists ‘in closed battle order’. The identities of these Dada saboteurs are unclear. While some reports dismiss them as ‘philistines’, a statement published during the show’s aftermath by the tour manager enlisted by Baader, Rudolf Schönfelder, classed the perpetrators as participants of ‘a planned agitation, which

\[162\] ‘Ein halbes Stündchen wogte das sinnlose […] Getobe hin und her.’ F.Z., ‘Dadaisten-Abend,’ in Füllner, Zeitungen, 43.


was staged for political reasons by an explosive platoon’. They were purportedly cheered on by others, with many standing on their seats or occupying the aisles to get a good view of the ensuing brawl. Kummer and Wolff both report how a local opera singer, ‘Burg’, was thrown off the podium when he tried to calm the crowd.

Elaborating further on the incident, the Leipziger Tageblatt records how the Dadaists were reportedly set upon with ‘Gummiknüppel’ (‘rubber truncheons’) which ‘appeared to be brought along especially for this purpose’. An anonymous article in the Unabhängige Volkszeitung, also cites batons, alongside ‘Schlagringe’ (‘knuckle-dusters’), in the audience, but does not claim that these were used against Dadaists, suggesting they were merely brandished by the spectators as ‘charivari’ props. The Dadaists’ temporary loss of agency over the performance forced them to cancel their second date in Dresden, and generated a vast swathe of press coverage that would greatly inform the spectatorship and atmosphere of the rest of the tour.

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166 ‘Wer sich nicht über die Unwürdigkeit dieses Vorgangs ekelte, konnte vergnügt durch Hetzrufe das homerische Gewürdige anfeuern […] Man stellte sich auf die Stühle.’ F.Z., ‘Dadaisten-Abend,’ in Füllner, Zeitungen, 43.
The unnamed correspondent for the *Unabhängige Volkszeitung* reports how a group of individuals stepped in at this crucial moment to prevent the Dadaists from coming to serious harm. They relay how, ‘If level-headed elements, youth socialists and new writers, had not actively intervened and called for calm, the three speakers […] would not have escaped with only bruises and torn suits’.\(^{171}\) An anonymous piece in the *Dresdner Lokal-Anzeiger* conversely implies that it was ‘Dada supporters’ themselves who first mounted the podium out of ‘dissatisfaction’.\(^{172}\) In the secondary literature, Bergius suggests it was Baader who calmed the crowd, a view not corroborated by the reviews.\(^{173}\) The idea that Dada fans would have been responsible for storming the stage also seems highly unlikely, and the critic reporting this is open about the fact that they were not an eye witness.

Regardless of their precise role in the physical altercations, the presence of ‘Dada supporters’ alone is significant. The notion that any spectators present supported the Dadaists, let alone to the point where they would physically intervene on their behalf, is conspicuously glossed over in Dadaist-authored accounts. Acknowledging the presence of such individuals would complicate the *épater les bourgeois* convention of casting audiences indiscriminately as irate or stunned members of the public with conservative views on art. If the individuals who called for calm were indeed members of the Socialist Youth League, it is ironic that Hausmann’s


\(^{172}\) ‘Man will sogar bemerkt haben, daß die ersten Mißfallskundgebungen von Anhängern der Dadaisten ausgingen, um den Kontakt zwischen Bühne und Publikum herzustellen.’ ‘Die Konzertdirektion,’ in Füllner, *Zeitungen*, 51.

version of events depicts the attackers as ‘a group of youngsters […] from the socialist youth’. According to Hausmann, this group of youth socialists only ceased their violence when the Dadaists explained that they were ‘one of them’.174

According to Wolff, after two police officers had calmed the crowd and instigated a ‘Kampfpause’ (‘ceasefire’), Baader recommenced the performance with the words, ‘that was piece number five! The Oberdada as animal tamer!’175 Baader’s quip may once again be read as an attempt to re-establish the Dada material as the primary performance, in this instance, by reframing the commotion onstage as a dramatic Dadaist spectacle. His self-portrayal as a ringleader figure demonstrates in real time the Dadaist tactic of negating spectators’ agency, depicting them as ignorant zoo animals in order to claim ownership of their actions. The Dadaists then instigated a ‘freie Aussprache’ (‘free debate’), intended to encourage the participation of spectators, this time on the Dadaists’ own terms.176

During this ‘free debate’, spectators in Dresden were directly asked what course of action should be taken in response to the derailed performance. Among the issues raised were calls for police action and reimbursement, in addition to ironic suggestions that new acts of violence be committed.177 This open discussion comprises an

instance of what Breel terms ‘interactive agency’, where ‘participants are given a specific request but where the options for responding are open’. The channel of the free debate, while appearing to encourage a more autonomous mode of spectatorship among the unified ‘living community’ of stage and stalls, in fact comprised yet another strategy for the Dadaists to re-establish their control over of the audience. Such strategies were key during this performance to suppress the more spectacular, ‘charivari’ modes of spectatorship which, in the case of the Dresden performance, threatened to override and overwhelm the Dadaists’ staged material.

3.4. Heterotopia and Heterogeneity

Overall, the reviews convey how bourgeois norms of theatre-attendance were suspended during the Dresden performance. This established a form of heterotopic environment in which a number of spectators then felt emboldened to breach the division between stage and stalls. While is impossible to determine whether those who mounted the stage were politically motivated, it follows that the perceived attempts at violence caused critics to draw heavily on carnival’s suspension of law and order in their figurative retellings of performance event. For instance, F.Z. posits that the spectators’ ‘greed for sensation’ was driven by ‘expectations of a proper Fastnachtsulk (carnival prank)’. Kummer also surmised the event as a ‘failed, pathetic carnival evening’, and berates the Dadaists for their role as ‘carnival organisers’. In this role, Rückzahlung des Eintrittsgeldes waren das einzige, was [...] zur Debatte beigetragen wurde’. ‘Dadaisten-Abend,’ in Füllner, Zeitungen, 49.


he claims that the performers ‘mocked people as mere objects of exploitation’ through incomprehensible ‘karnevalistische Scherze’ (‘carnival jokes’).\footnote{Kummer in Huelsenbeck, \textit{Dada siegt}, 32-34.}

The review stresses the Dadaists’ intent to exploit their audience, without acknowledging how audience members equally intended to exploit the carnivalesque environment of the performance to their own ends. As such, Kummer’s scathing review works to the Dadaists’ advantage, accounting for why Huelsenbeck chose to republish it in \textit{Dada Siegt}.\footnote{Kummer in Huelsenbeck, \textit{Dada siegt}, 32-34.} A more insightful commentary on the Dadaists’ agency over the performance is provided by Wolff in his line that, ‘They turn the world on its head. Apparently. But what is not made evident is that it is their own head which is turned topsy-turvy’.\footnote{‘Sie stellen die Welt auf den Kopf. Angeblich. Aber das es ihr Kopf ist, kommt nichts dabei heraus.’ Wolff, ‘Dada,’ in Füllner, \textit{Zeitungen}, 47.} In this image, Wolff employs the carnivalesque trope of topsy-turvy inversions to argue that the Dadaists’ misconstrued the level of agency they exercised over their audiences. The audience were not protesting the Dadaists’ revolutionary, inverted \textit{Weltanschauung}. Instead, they were heckling hubristic artist-performers whose upside-down worldview, Wolff suggests, was the product of a headstand, rather than unique artistic insight.

Following the critics’ lead, Füllner posits that ‘Sensationslust’ (sensation-seeking) motivated the Dresden audience to attend the Dada performance.\footnote{Füllner, \textit{Huelsenbeck}, 192.} She contends that, because the audience no longer attended in order to see art, the ‘derision of art’
was not able to ‘provoke or wound philistine dispositions’\textsuperscript{185} In holding this view, she is one of the few scholars to explicitly challenge \textit{épater les bourgeois} readings of Berlin Dada’s performances. While this important reading is certainly applicable to a portion of the spectators, one of the only certainties pointed to by the reviews is the fact that the audience was composed from remarkably heterogeneous demographics. The audience were not homogenously petit-bourgeois, as is claimed by Hausmann, and neither were they purely sensation-seekers with no interest in art, as per Füllner’s characterisation. Instead, Freshwater’s observation that, within an audience, ‘there may be several distinct, co-existing audiences’ more accurately characterises the spectatorship at the performance.\textsuperscript{186} The critic Wolff even lists five of the ‘co-existing audiences’ or demographic sub-categories in attendance at the Dada show in the Dresden Merchants’ Hall.

Wolff’s first category of spectator is those in attendance to see the mystical oracle of the Oberdada speak: ‘Many hoped for the word of salvation […] This - believers believed - must somehow take place in a hidden, meaningful way’\textsuperscript{187} This demographic may have been attracted by advertisements which framed the performance as a talk delivered by the mystic figure of the ‘Oberdada’ in language replete with Baader’s fantastical accolades, such as ‘President of the Earth and Universe’\textsuperscript{188}. Wolff’s second category consists of the sensation-seeking ‘curious’, while his third category references artistic circles familiar with Dadaism, ‘the adepts

\textsuperscript{185}‘Die Verhöhnung von Kunst kann […] nicht aufrizen und spießbürgerliche Gesinnung nicht verletzen.’ Füllner, \textit{Huelsenbeck}, 196.

\textsuperscript{186}Freshwater, \textit{Theatre & Audience}, 9.

\textsuperscript{187}‘Viele hofften auf das erlösende Wort […] Dies - glaubten Gläubige - müsse sich irgendwie versteckt sinnvoll vollziehen.’ Wolff, ‘Dada,’ in Füllner, \textit{Zeitungen}, 46.

\textsuperscript{188}See, for example, Anon., ‘Anzeigen als Anzeichen: Der “Oberdada” kommt nach Dresden!’ \textit{Dresdener Lokal Anzeiger}, 13 January 1920, in Füllner, \textit{Zeitungen}, 38.
and the initiated’, presumably including those who, according to his account, physically intervened on the performers’ behalf.\textsuperscript{189}

He goes on, ‘Then there were the completely naïve. The people who had imagined cabaret fun, and spent their good money on it’.\textsuperscript{190} Another classified notice for a different performance, also organised by Schönfelder in the same venue of the merchants’ hall three days after the Dada show, attests to the attendance of this portion of spectators. The show, titled ‘The Laughing Journeymen’ (Lachende Gesellen) [Fig. 104], is listed as ‘back by popular demand’, starring well-known local actors Alfred Meyer and Alexander Wierth performing a series of Brettl (vaudeville) comedy sketches. These included numbers such as, ‘at the zoo’ and ‘if my wife is ill’ [Fig. 105] [Fig. 106].\textsuperscript{191} Indeed, a statement published by the venue management after the show claimed that they were not liable, as the hall had been hired out by the ‘well-known’ producer Schönfelder many times with no cause for complaint.\textsuperscript{192} As the merchants’ guildhall regularly hosted light social satire, the venue management was likely accustomed to lively audiences. Nonetheless, even accounting for the fact that Schönfelder and the venue management would have been familiar with more animated forms of spectatorship, the disorder seen at the Dada show was clearly unprecedented. Wolff’s final group consists simply of ‘those who had come purely to

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\textsuperscript{190} ‘Dann gab es noch die völlig Naiven. Die Leute, die sich einen Kabarettspaß vorgestellt, dafür ihr gutes Geld ausgegeben hatten.’ Wolff, ‘Dada,’ in Füllner, \textit{Zeitungen}, 46.
\end{flushleft}
make noise’, again emphasising the autonomy and agency displayed by the section of the audience who initiated a form of charivari.¹⁹³

These categories are naturally somewhat fluid and prone to overlap. However, Hausmann’s account works to collapse the multiple categories of spectator listed by Wolff into a singular homogenised caricature of a Saxon spectator. Hausmann constructed this caricature in response to the deeply humiliating prospect that the all-male Dadaist troupe, described by F.Z. as akin to a university fraternity, were made vulnerable by the very audience members they were supposed to disarm through shock.¹⁹⁴ Hausmann’s aggressive stereotyping may therefore be read as a response to this quandary of how to paint the Dadaists in the best light possible when relaying this episode.

4. Dada Tour in Prague, 1 March 1920

After their controversial Dresden debut, it took a month for the Dadaists to get back on the road.¹⁹⁵ They finished up their German leg of the tour in Hamburg and Leipzig, before crossing the border into Czechoslovakia, where they performed in Teplice (Teplitz), Prague (Prag), and Karlovy Vary (Karlsbad), all between 18 February and 5 March.¹⁹⁶ For the first performance in Prague on 1 March, tour manager Schönfelder, together with his Prague satellite organiser Dr. W. Zemánek, reserved the larger of the

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¹⁹³ ‘[… ] die, die überhaupt nur gekommen waren, um Krach zu machen.’ Wolff, ‘Dada,’ in Füllner, Zeitungen, 46.
¹⁹⁶ Bergius, Dada Triumphs, 65-66.
two stock exchange halls in the Produce Exchange (Plodinová burza) building [Fig. 107].\(^{197}\) The still-extant Plodinová burza was one of Prague’s premiere commercial centres, housed in a purpose-built Neo-Renaissance style edifice, erected between 1893-1895 [Fig. 108] [Fig. 109].\(^{198}\) Zemánek and Schönfelder secured the smaller-scale venue of the Mozarteum theatre [Fig. 110] for their second show the following evening.\(^{199}\)

Between Hausmann and Huelsenbeck, the latter provides the most extensive account of the Dadaists’ first performance in Prague in *En Avant Dada* (1920). Baader’s impromptu disappearance just prior to the performance dominates his version of events. Huelsenbeck construes the Oberdada’s departure as a deliberate move to endanger the safety of himself and Hausmann, framing Baader’s disappearance as an act of betrayal: ‘And so he left us up to the very last moment […] exposing us with all the more certainty to the fury of the public’.\(^{200}\) A line in a letter from Hausmann to Höch suggests that the remaining duo had reason to fear the audience: ‘for Prague [the audience] are promising a beating’.\(^{201}\) As this first show in

\(^{197}\) ‘Dr. W. Zemánek’ is listed as the concert director on the programme for Prague performance. Hausmann also asked Höch to address mail to ‘Dr. Zemánek Skala 1’ in ‘Prag - Smichow’, See his letter from Teplice, dated 27 February 1920, in *Höch: Eine Lebenscollage*, vol. 2, 642.


\(^{201}\) Letter from Hausmann to Höch, 27 February 1920, Teplice, in *Hoch: Eine Lebenscollage*, vol. 2, 642.
Prague threatened to be one of the largest and most violent, the touring Dadaists pressed Schönfelder into paying them twice the previously agreed cut of the profits.²⁰²

Huelsenbeck presents the first Prague performance as the closing anecdote in his short biography of Dada, and the moment at which Berlin Dada reached its apex. He builds up an electrifying crescendo, dramatising his account by greatly exaggerating the size of the Czech audience: ‘The whole city was in an uproar. Thousands crowded around the entrances of the produce exchange […] In the streets crowds formed behind us with the rhythmic roars of “Dada”’.²⁰³ Although this image of seething crowds is largely figurative, primary sources suggest a high level of anticipation in the city. For example, in a letter dated the day of the performance, Hausmann relays to Höch how he and his peers were recognised in cafés and in their hotel.²⁰⁴

This anticipation had built up over the weeks of the tour, with local papers having reported on the scandal in Dresden six weeks earlier.²⁰⁵ The tour generated a snowball effect, where the more ‘scandals’ were reported in the press, the greater the guarantee of similar audience conduct for the subsequent performance. Huelsenbeck alludes to this effect in his comment that, ‘weeks before their arrival, the newspapers had started

²⁰² Bergius, Dada Triumphs, 67. After their last performance in Karlovy Vary, they travelled back the next day via Dresden to collect the remainder of the money from Schönfelder. See letter from Hausmann to Höch, 3 March 1920, in Höch: Eine Lebenscollage, 647.
²⁰³ Huelsenbeck, En Avant Dada, in Dada Painters, 45-46.
²⁰⁴ Letter from Hausmann to Höch, 1 March 1920, in Höch: Eine Lebenscollage, 645.
²⁰⁵ For example, a closely paraphrased version of the section of Kummer’s report citing the audience throwing rotten apples at the performers was printed in the Prager Tagblatt, showing how these reports were often reproduced across different regional newspapers without verification. ‘Die verprügelten Dadaisten,’ Prager Tagblatt, 25 January 1920.
a monster Dada publicity campaign’. Bergius notes how the group also introduced themselves in the local press, as Hausmann published an article ‘What does Dada want in Europe?’ in the Prager Tageblatt on 23 February. Spectators therefore attended the performance expecting to express pre-formed perspectives, and, in the case of those bringing crude instruments, to step into the role of rival performers.

Having drummed up a sense of immense trepidation, Huelsenbeck then refers to the evening in a distinctly cursory and anti-climactic manner. He assures his readers that ‘with the help of God and our routine, a great victory was won for Dada in Prague on March 1’. A photograph of Hausmann and Huelsenbeck taken in a studio in Prague, and reproduced in the Dada Almanac (1920), presents the pair as defiant and confident, visually reinforcing Huelsenbeck’s report of a ‘great victory’ [Fig. 111]. Like most of the tour stops, the performance did achieve the intended success for the Dadaists of a performance embroiled in scandal. Yet it is striking that Huelsenbeck does not offer a detailed account of the performance itself, instead simply assuring the reader that the Dada repertoire once again spelled success for the group. Just as Hausmann’s caricature of the ‘Saxon’ audience is designed to provide a background narrative against which to interpret the attempted physical altercation at Dresden, so Huelsenbeck’s assurances also appear to fulfil a specific function. They serve to deliberately obscure a precise narrative account of the Dadaists’ first Prague performance, an aspect recoverable through cross-referencing of the reportage.

206 Huelsenbeck, En Avant Dada, in Dada Painters, 45.
207 Hausmann, ‘Was will der Dadaismus in Europa?’, Prager Tageblatt, 23 February 1920, referenced in Bergius, Dada Triumphs, 67. See also Füllner, Huelsenbeck, 198, and Bergius, Dada Triumphs, 68.
208 Huelsenbeck, En Avant Dada, in Dada Painters, 47.
209 See Dada Almanac, ed. Huelsenbeck, 8.
4.1. In the Produce Exchange: Free Debate and Stink Bomb Finale

The audience at Prague’s Produce Exchange was one of the largest of the tour, despite the high entrance fee of around 22 Czech koruna.\textsuperscript{210} Taking into account the Dadaists’ tendency to inflate their audience sizes in their accounts, Bergius adjusts Huelsenbeck’s claim of 2,500 spectators to a rough figure of over two thousand.\textsuperscript{211} In the \textit{Prager Tageblatt}, K-z. put the figure at ‘more than two thousand people’.\textsuperscript{212} However, looking at the larger hall within Prague’s historic stock exchange, a lower figure of around 1,000-1,500 attendees seems more realistic, and even this would have only been possible if the audience were standing.\textsuperscript{213} One of the few details Huelsenbeck provides about the performance in \textit{En Avant Dada} is that the position of the backstage area meant that he and Hausmann had to wind their way through the ‘massed audience’, implying that it was the case that many spectators were standing.\textsuperscript{214}

As in Dresden, the reviews emphasize the ruckus created by members of the Prague audience wielding a variety of makeshift and intentionally dissonant instruments.\textsuperscript{215} Writing in a local German-language paper, journalist aeo. opens their

\textsuperscript{210} ‘Dada kostet 22 Kronen’. Letter from Hausmann to Höch, 3 March 1920, Höch: \textit{Eine Lebenscollage}, vol. 2, 647. The programme was an additional crown to purchase.

\textsuperscript{211} Bergius, \textit{Dada Triumphs}, 67.


\textsuperscript{213} At 440 square metres, the hall’s modern maximum capacity for functions is only 500. See ‘The Congress and Social Centre of the Czech National Bank,’ informational brochure, 9, accessed 2 February 2023, \url{https://bit.ly/3Lpdi7v}.

\textsuperscript{214} Huelsenbeck, \textit{En Avant Dada}, in \textit{Dada Painters}, 47.

\textsuperscript{215} As the performance was reported on less widely than the Tribune and Dresden shows, the following analysis is based on only two reviews, from the \textit{Abendblatt der Deutschen Zeitung (Prag)}, and the \textit{Prager Tagblatt}, as these were accessible without travelling to
report with a description not of Dada material, but of the rival ‘charivari’ performance instigated by the spectators, noting how ‘the scandal began fifteen minutes before the performance’. The reviewer recalls ‘instruments, pipes, sirens [and] trumpets’, a detail corroborated by K-z., whose article in the Prager Tagblatt also cites ‘whistles and toy trumpets’. Aeo. also provides vivid descriptions of the disquiet created by shouts and jeers alone. One group in the audience purportedly resembled ‘an improvised men’s shouting club’ prior to the show’s start, and the performance itself witnessed the ‘incoherent screaming’ of a ‘pogrom’. Huelsenbeck responded to the displays of noise from the audience that ‘inarticulate shouting’ is superior to any harmony or melody. Applauding disharmony in answer to the spectators’ ‘charivari’ din was an improvisational strategy similar to those deployed in Dresden. In this instance, Huelsenbeck’s statement was not simply an ironic deflection; it also alluded to the Dadaists’ interest in ideas of atonality, explored through their ‘bruitist’ genre of performed poetry.

specialist Czech archives. A third review which I have been unable to source in any German or online archives is briefly cited by Bergius in Dada Triumphs, 67. F. ‘Dadaisten-abend,’ Morgenblatt, Prague, 8 March 1920. Bergius lists the Dadaist accounts and reportage relating to the first Prague performance in Dada Triumphs, 325, n.152.


220 On 30 April 1919 in J.B. Neumann’s gallery Hausmann and Huelsenbeck performed alongside Jefim Golyscheff who premiered his Anti-symphony. See Bergius, Lachen Dadas, 338.
Aeo. reports how the whistling and trumpeting rose in volume when the two Dadaists began a recital of their first piece after Huelsenbeck’s introduction, *Simultangespräch über das Messer*. However, ten minutes into the performance, interest among the ‘charivari’ subsection of the audience began to wane and the Dadaists’ efforts to assert agency over their spectators gave way to strategies for holding their attention.\(^{221}\) According to aeo., Hausmann followed the simultaneous poem recital with the dance piece ‘*Forty-one-step (Dada-trot)*’, followed by readings from *Phantastische Gebete*, and a ‘*Bruitistisches Konzert*’ (‘bruitist concert’).\(^{222}\) This is significant as a comparison between aeo.’s account and the running order on a surviving programme [Fig. 112] indicates that the duo significantly truncated their programme following the audience’s lacklustre response. They not only skipped two pieces featuring Baader, namely Baader’s *Mein letztes Leichenbegängnis* (My Last Funeral Procession), and a three-man untitled simultaneous poem, but also appear to have forgone the next programme item, Hausmann’s *Klassische Beziehungen zur Mittelstandsküche*. Hausmann and Huelsenbeck may have felt it was necessary to move straight to the ‘headliner’ piece of readings from *Phantastische Gebete*, as this collection contained some of Huelsenbeck’s earliest and most widely-known poetry.

Although Hausmann asserts in *Courrier Dada* that the ‘free debate’ was only staged in Dresden, the reviews reveal that this interactive segment was repeated at Prague’s Produce Exchange, perhaps in an improvised move to try and recapture the

If the Dadaists had not opted to initiate a free debate towards the end of their performance, the overwhelming impression of the audiences left by the reviews would have been of the particularly noisy and expressive ‘charivari’ contingent of spectators. However, the remarks offered during the ‘free debate’ reveal a range of demographics and perspectives among the audience. Bergius notes how, while Baader usually led this segment, Huelsenbeck stepped in during his absence. Aeo. records how three men lodged their esteemed opinions that Dada is ‘Blödsinn’ (‘nonsense’), after which Huelsenbeck pronounced them ‘vollendete Dadaisten’ (‘consummate Dadaists’). A further spectator offered a highly pertinent thesis that ‘the prerequisite for a negation of Geist does not necessitate Geist to be removed, but rather overcome’. According to aeo., Huelsenbeck responded to this salient remark by declaring this interpretation a hoax, and announcing a return to the “serious” programme.

The statement pertaining to Geist, made by an unidentified spectator, demonstrates a specialist knowledge of some of Dada’s grievances against Expressionism, particularly the Geist-oriented Activist Expressionism of Kurt Hiller. Reminiscent of the ‘new literati’ at Dresden who, reports suggest, rushed to the...
Dadaists’ aid, some of the attendees at the Prague performance were also evidently familiar with contemporary discourses in German literature. From individuals with an interest in the German avant-garde, to those who rejected Dada as Blödsinn, the free debate provides a tantalising glimpse of the range of parties present. As was the case in the Tribune and the merchants’ guildhall, the presence of a heterogeneous audience, holding a range of perspectives, undermines épater les bourgeois as a sufficient reading to describe spectatorship at Dada performances.

K-z. conveys the tediousness nature of a debate which welcomed coexisting and contradictory definitions of Dada: ‘The youthfully zealous pros and cons from the audience got stuck miserably in “on the one hand and on the other hand”’. If the Prague show was another carnivalesque heterotopia, in which two rival spectacles or performances met, the reviews suggest that the display in the crowd greatly outperformed that on stage. For example, K-z. writes how, ‘With whistles and children’s trumpets, the college students really had done more for the audience than the two boring young people on the podium’. Bergius cites a review by ‘F.’ of the Morgenblatt, which similarly reports how the ‘scandal’ promised by the Dadaists was instead brought to fruition by the audience. Echoing the reviews of the Tribune performance, K-z. concludes how, despite the visible efforts of the Dadaists, the

231 F. ‘Dadaisten-abend,’ referenced in Bergius, Dada Triumphs, 67.
performance was a dull mixture of ‘Kneipzeitungverse’ (‘pub newspaper verses’) and ‘monotonous blaring’.\textsuperscript{232}

An unknown number ‘youngsters’ responded this perceived stagnation in the performance by detonating stink bombs, thus staging a school-boy prank in answer to the crude \textit{Kneipzeitungsverse} on stage.\textsuperscript{233} Aeo. records how the incident abruptly drew the show to a close, causing the remainder of the crowd who had not already departed to rapidly disperse.\textsuperscript{234} By K-z.’s admission, the action spared the evening from concluding ‘without any punchline’.\textsuperscript{235} The fact that this episode both immediately concluded the performance and comprised its final twist or flourish evidences how the spectators were able to restructure the performance. Whereas in Dresden, the Dadaists eventually regained control over the performance when they initiated the ‘free debate’, in Prague, the spectators intervened to such an extent that they co-opted and reshaped the total performance event.

Mirroring the Dadaists’ guise of agitational performers, the ‘youngsters’ who threw the stink bombs overstimulated the senses of spectators and performers alike, recalling Fuchs’ notion of performance spaces as highly stimulating on a sensory


\textsuperscript{233} K-z., ‘Produktenbörse’. Bergius records how stink bombs were also detonated during the Leipzig performance. Bergius, \textit{Lachen Dadas}, 355.


\textsuperscript{235} ‘[H]ätten nicht einige Laufejungen Stinkbomben geworfen, wäre der Abend durchaus pointenlos verlaufen.’ K-z., ‘Produktenbörse’.
level.\textsuperscript{236} In doing so, this small gang of agent provocateurs employed practical joke tactics akin to those suggested by Marinetti in his manifesto for Futurist theatre.\textsuperscript{237} In his 1913 text, Marinetti called on the avant-garde to \textit{épater les bourgeois} via techniques such as selling two audience members the same seat, or coating the seats in glue.\textsuperscript{238} In both Marinetti’s blueprint for avant-garde performance and the Dadaists’ retrospective accounts of their historic performances, the spectator is depicted in homogenised terms as an uncreative bourgeois philistine, possessing little to no agency. The idea that spectators at an avant-garde performance might exercise a level of agency and autonomy that resulted in their own staging of practical jokes lies well outside the scope of Marinetti’s manifesto, leaving their Dadaist emulators woefully unprepared for this eventuality.

4.2. ‘We were unfortunately Germans’

In one passage in \textit{En Avant Dada}, Huelsenbeck obliquely references outer frame elements that coloured the Prague performance, and provides a far more diversified view of the audience,

Conditions in Prague were rather peculiar. The Germans had taken it into their heads that we were Bolsheviks, […] the Socialists threatened us with death and annihilation because they regarded us as reactionary

\textsuperscript{236} Fuchs, \textit{Revolution}, 3.
\textsuperscript{238} Marinetti, ‘Futurism and the Theatre,’ 114. Hausmann claims to have pranked the Dresden audience in a similar manner by ‘throwing a few firecrackers (Knall-Kapseln) from time to time from behind the curtain onto the stage’ before the performance began. See Hausmann, \textit{Am Anfang}, 115.
voluptuaries, [and] the Czechs wanted to beat us up because we were unfortunately Germans.\textsuperscript{239}

Huelsenbeck’s comment that the Dadaists’ German identity was ‘unfortunate’ in these ‘peculiar’ performance conditions shows how the Berlin Dadaists’ contempt for the \textit{deutsche Spießer} (German bourgeois philistine) sat rather awkwardly in the context of performing to a mixed Czech audience. Indeed, the presence of anti-German sentiment among the audience would have undermined the Dadaists’ identification of their audiences as congregations of \textit{Spießer} Teutons. The intensity of the charivari display in the Prague Produce exchange was compounded by the twin factors of the Dadaists’ hubris and their status as delegates from the German capital.

A detail provided in aeo.’s article hints at how these tensions manifested during the performance. He reports how the Dadaists received a ‘Militärsignal’ (‘military bugle call’) from the audience as they made their way to the performance area.\textsuperscript{240} A spectator evidently blew their kazoo-like \textit{Kindertrompet} (toy trumpet) in a manner that recalled a bugle call to the critic.\textsuperscript{241} The spectator responsible for this display serenaded the approaching performers to reconfigure their passage to the stage through the crowd as a walk of shame. Announcing the arrival of the Dadaists in this manner signalled a recognition of the Dadaists’ celebrity status, whilst also deriding and undermining their positions as figures of authority in the performance space. In the performance’s wider

\textsuperscript{239} Huelsenbeck, \textit{En Avant Dada}, in \textit{Dada Painters}, 45.

\textsuperscript{240} ‘Als die Dadaisten eintraten, empfing sie Militärsignal aus dem Publikum.’ Aeo., ‘Dadaistenskandal,’ in Füllner, \textit{Zeitungen}, 54.

\textsuperscript{241} It seems most likely that the ‘toy trumpets’ cited were German approximations of kazoos, which were mass produced in the US in the early twentieth-century. Among the many patents awarded for kazoos, Simon Seller applied to patent a device called the ‘toy trumpet/bugle’ in 1879, see https://patents.google.com/patent/US214010, accessed 12 June 2022.
Czech context, the refrain from a toy trumpet may also be read as an indirect reference to the Berlin Dadaists’ status as representatives hailing from the capital of war-mongering Germany. There were significant tensions between Germany and the newly-created state of Czechoslovakia, following a war which had little support among the Czech population. In this context, the ‘bugle call’ amounted both to a charivari display of carnivalesque ridicule and a form of protest.

Huelsenbeck’s final proclamation in *En Avant Dada*, that the duo’s routine in the Produce Exchange secured a ‘victory’ for Dada, also uses distinctly combative language to describe the performance’s impact. The Dadaist victors, it is implied, conquered their socially conservative spectators by offending their sensibilities and unmasking their true animalistic natures in the process. Huelsenbeck is correct that the performance was a ‘victory’ insomuch as it created press coverage broadly consistent with a scandal. It is also true that the relationship between the performers and the spectators was combative and antagonistic. However, the reports clearly establish the spectators as dominant instigators of the performance’s scandal, embodying the characteristics ascribed by Bakhtin to the carnivalesque crowd in their display of agency and their capacity to autonomously self-organise. Huelsenbeck’s unsupported claim of a Dada victory works to obscure the specificities of the performance event as it unfolded in real time. His text consequently presents yet another case of a Dadaist indiscriminately canonising their work in a positive light regardless of the relatively innovative and dynamic roles adopted by the spectators.

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242 During the First World War, Czech nationalists and deserters from the Austria-Hungarian army formed Czechoslovak Legion, a volunteer army of around 100,000 who fought on the side of the Allies. See David Bullock, *The Czech Legion, 1914-20* (Oxford: Osprey Publishers, 2008).
5. Conclusion: Rough Music versus Dada Bruitism

In this chapter, I have highlighted the pervasive application of épater les bourgeois readings in Dada accounts of their performances, demonstrating how this avant-garde intent is often uncritically framed as an automatic outcome of the performances. The chapter has presented clear evidence of the heterogeneous demographic compositions of Dada audiences in order to counter the ways in which épater les bourgeois readings homogenise audiences and mischaracterise the processes that occur within the heterotopic space of a Dada performance. It has also shown how the Dadaists’ psychologically inflected portrayals of their audiences too readily pre-empt spectators’ internalised responses and motives for attendance. Many of the accounts by the Dadaists or histories of Dada promote the idea that audiences responded directly to the material presented onstage. Here, I instead view spectatorship as a conditioned by a complex range of interacting and highly contingent factors. In the case of the three performances analysed, these included outer frame elements, such as the artistic aspirations and commercial restraints of the Tribune theatre’s directorship and management; interregional tensions in Dresden; the political context in Prague; and the reputation of the Dadaists constructed through ongoing press coverage and advertisements. These outer frame factors are occasionally hinted at, such as in Hausmann’s admission that the Dresden audience was fuelled by ‘political anger’, however, they are never acknowledged as the underlying causes for audience conduct at Dada performances.\(^\text{243}\)

\(^\text{243}\) Hausmann, Courrier Dada, 81.
To meaningfully interrogate accounts that centre *épater les bourgeois* principles, we must ask what function these accounts serve in the construction of a series of carefully crafted narratives around Dadaism. By erasing their audience members’ potential for proactive agency, the Dadaists were able to take credit for any disruptive interventions deliberately instigated on the part of certain spectators. The Dadaist tendency to deemphasise proactive agency when characterising their audiences sits uncomfortably with the group’s self-fashioning as a revolutionary ‘instrument of […] the masses’. These words appeared in June 1921 in an open letter to the *Novembergruppe*, a group depicted by the Dadaists as apolitical ‘aesthetic racketeers and academics’.

Despite the Dadaists’ claims here, their derisive characterisations of spectators coupled with descriptions of the Dadaists’ treatment of their audiences in the reportage establishes how they did not offer themselves as ‘instruments for the masses’ in these settings. Rather, the Dadaists instrumentalised the disorderly conduct at their shows to bolster their notoriety and avant-garde credentials.

As far as was possible, the Dadaists performed control over their audiences as a bluff strategy to facilitate their role as judges and arbiters of their audiences. In the press coverage generated after each performance, the specifics surrounding the ‘scandal’, such as who caused it, and what their motivations were for doing so, were not deemed overly important. As long as the Dadaists were able to secure coverage of general disorder, this approximated *épater les bourgeois* closely enough to serve as a foundation for the claims to ‘victory’ and ‘success’ in their personal accounts.

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244 The letter, signed by Hausmann, Grosz, Höch, Rudolf Schlichter, and Otto Dix, was composed when paintings by Schlichter and Dix were rejected by the committee. See Hausmann et al., ‘Offener Brief an die Novembergruppe,’ *Der Gegner*, 1920/1921, issues 8-9, 297ff, trans. Brigitte Pichon, in Bergius, *Dada Triumphs*, 72.
However, as avant-garde artists who specialised in bluff, the Dadaists were well within their rights to self-mythologise in this manner in their accounts. It is incumbent on scholars of Dada to challenge and probe instances where they do so.

This exercise, of critically interrogating épater les bourgeois framings, is important in its own right as it asks us to reconsider how avant-garde performances were received by their audiences, and what role was played by these performances at a social level. Some answers to this question are encapsulated in further instances of Dada reception. For example, the fact that a bourgeois Dada-themed evening, a ‘Dada-Futuristen-Maskenfest’, was held in Prague on Walpurgisnacht on 30 April 1920, a few weeks after the Dada tour, indicates how easily Dadaism was integrated into bourgeois carnival culture.\textsuperscript{245} The evening featured simultaneous poetry performances and a ‘Dada Trott’ dance tournament, in addition to a vote at midnight for the ‘Oberdada’ and the ‘Oerbaba’, equivalent to the May King and Queen.\textsuperscript{246}

Bergius reads these developments as evidence for the stagnation of Dada’s impact, as though the public eventually developed an immunity response to the ‘shock treatment’ of Dada.\textsuperscript{247} I would argue that consistent allusions in the reportage to cabaret, secret societies, \textit{Bierulk}, and carnival suggest that certain aspects of their performance felt familiar and trite to many critics from the outset. Many journalists naturally defaulted to the language of carnival when discussing Dada performances because they recognised the performances as carnival-adjacent, heterotopic spaces,

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\textsuperscript{245} ‘Dada-Futuristen Maskenfest,’ \textit{Bohemia}, 28 April 1920, quoted at length in Bergius, \textit{Lachen Dadas}, 357-58.
\textsuperscript{246} Bergius, \textit{Lachen Dadas}, 358.
\textsuperscript{247} Bergius, 357.
\end{flushright}
within which, to quote Bakhtin, ‘forms of coercive socioeconomic and political organization’ were suspended. They knew that the parallels to carnivalesque realms of culture would sanction more unruly and participatory modes of spectatorship as constituent elements of the performance.

As the reviews often readily dismiss the carnivalesque qualities of these performance environments, Bakhtinian evocations of carnivalesque crowds and charivari protests are useful because they seriously consider the social value of such spaces. Analysis of the Dada tour has shown how modified forms of political charivaris moved from the public realm of the street into the private realm of ticketed performances. Where an épater les bourgeois reading strips spectators of their autonomy, a ‘charivari’ reading, applied to the portion of the audiences sounding rudimentary instruments and detonating stink bombs, conveys how this subsection of Dada audiences felt emboldened to overrule bourgeois etiquettes pertaining to spectatorship. These spectators did not simply critique the performances through vocal heckling responses, but attempted to upstage the Dadaists altogether by staging a rival spectacle, paving the way for the most extreme faction of attendees, who mounted the stage at Dresden and engaged in physically aggressive conduct.

The spectators present at Dada performances, although they embodied the requisite qualities and behaviours of the carnivalesque crowd, such as autonomy, agency, and participation, ultimately fell short of the revolutionary potential implicitly ascribed to the crowd by Bakhtin. They demonstrated that, even when spectators

attend a performance with an elevated sense of agency, this does not necessarily lead to the cohesion and momentum needed for the performance to amount to a dress rehearsal for revolution. Instead, qualities of the carnivalesque crowd here coalesce with Breel’s understanding that, because proactive agency and audience participation do not translate to “genuine” power, agency in performance contexts amounts primarily to a ‘deconstruction of power relations’. The chapter has shown how deconstructions of power relations in various performance spaces were instigated by the spectators as much as by the performers. What Dada performances did achieve, then, was to disrupt entrenched utopian notions of performance as a form of unified living community.

Chapter 4. Grotesque Bodies: Corporeality and Extracorporeality in Dada Dance and Mime

1. Introduction: The Grotesque Body

The theme of the grotesque body is of utmost significance to Berlin Dadaism. Through their paintings, montages, and sculptural works, the Dadaists in Berlin explored the ways in which modernity indelibly inscribed itself onto the form of the human figure. The group employed mannequins, automata, cyborgs *avant la lettre*, and other placeholders for the human form to represent bodies subjected to increasing mechanisation. For writers such as Hal Foster, Dada is typified by the ‘dysfunctional automatons’ that inhabit their works during the years immediately after the First World War, between 1918 and 1920.¹ Grotesque, semi-mechanised bodies are found in pieces such as George Grosz’s *Daum Marries Her Pedantic Automaton “George”* (1920) [Fig. 113], Grosz and John Heartfield’s *Der wildgewordene Spiesser Heartfield: Elektro-mechan. Tatlin-Plastik* (The Philistine Heartfield turned Wild: Electromechanical Tatlin Sculpture) (1920) [Fig. 114], and *Skat Spieler* (Skat Players) (1920) [Fig. 115], by Club Dada-affiliate Otto Dix.

These and similar Dada works are frequently analysed in the context of contemporary thought around industrialisation, exemplified by texts such as Frederick Taylor’s *Principles of Scientific Management* (1911). As scholar Gavin Grindon notes, Taylor ‘extended the logic of Fordist production into the micro-control of working

subjects'. Dance scholar Kate Elswit further observes how Taylor’s rationalist lexis, designed to ‘conceptualize human industrial labour as a regulated part of the factory machine’, was taken up in the context of troops deployed during the First World War. The mechanisation of war removed any pretence of heroism on the battlefield, implicating the body as, at best, a dispensable biopolitical subject and, at its most diminished, a cog in an industrial war machine. Art historian Eberhard Roters identifies a resultant dialogical relationship emerging during this period: ‘Man is moulded by the machine and has become machine-like in various ways, while the machine is itself increasingly biomorphic and anthropomorphised’.

Scholars usually look to Dada paintings, montages, and sculptures when discussing the movement’s conceptions of the body. Instead, the chapter here turns to Berlin Dada’s dance and mime, asking how these concerns play out when the artists’ own bodies are at stake as the sites of live, movement-based artworks. Having taken the idea of the artist as the ‘fool’ or carnival’s representative as its starting point, moving through an examination of the ‘kings’ lambasted by the Dadaists, and the spectators who lambasted them, the thesis now returns once again to the idea of the artist. Shifting its focus from the audience to the stage, it considers bodily performance as a locus for Mikhail Bakhtin’s most central carnivalesque theme: the grotesque body.

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2 Grindon, ‘Refusal,’ 87.
5 Eberhard Roters, ‘Mechanomorphosen, Mechanomannequins, Metamaschinen,’ Dada in Europa: Werke und Dokumente, ed Hanne Bergius et al., ex. cat. (Frankfurt am Main: Städtische Galerie, 1977), 42.
Following the previous chapter’s discussion of spectators as active agents and co-creators of Dada performances, the present chapter focuses on dance as another constituent part of these performances. While the dances of the Dadaists in Zurich have been the topic of thorough scholarship, the non-verbal, bodily performance affiliated with Berlin Dadaism is rarely discussed in depth. This is understandable, due to the sparse, fragmentary nature of surviving anecdotes and extremely poor documentation of the soirées and matinées, even in comparison to records of Dada performances in other cities. In *Dada Bodies: Between Battlefield and Fairground* (2019), Elza Adamowicz does address performance and staging, but focuses on Dada performance, broadly defined, in Paris and Zurich. Annabelle Melzer’s *Latest Rage the Big Drum: Dada and Surrealist Performance* (1980, republished 1994) omits any discussion of soirées by the Berlin Dadaists.

To begin to address this gap in the literature and illuminate the significance of bodily performance to Berlin Dada, I analyse fragments from the reviews referring to the dance performances. What emerges from this exercise is a sense that bodily performance not only served as an important medium for the advancement of the group’s artistic concerns, but also featured prominently in the group’s reception. Due to the scarcity of the evidence, the discussion draws on some post-Dada sources, such as texts by Raoul Hausmann from 1921, 1922, and 1926, and the famous photograph of *Raoul Hausmann als Tänzer* (Raoul Hausmann as a Dancer) (1929) by

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7 Adamowicz, *Dada Bodies*, 115-140. Hausmann’s poetry performance is briefly discussed from 130-132.
August Sander [Fig. 116]. By approaching these sources with a cautious awareness of how they diverge from Dadaism and relate to later projects taken up by Hausmann, the analysis extracts elements relevant to their earlier dance and mime performances.

The discussion focuses on Grosz’s dance at the Tribune theatre in late 1919, and Hausmann’s dances staged during the Dada tour in early 1920, in addition to the group’s mime practices. I argue that these case studies reveal bodies which, though they may be influenced by new technologies, are not subjugated by the spectre of the machine in the industrial age. Their dance practices hint at the fact that, unlike many of their literary Expressionist peers, the Dadaists in Berlin did not wholly decry or resist the era’s permanent implications for the body. Rather, through dance, and the dance-adjacent art of mime, the Berlin Dadaists developed complex, but ultimately vivacious, vitalist practices which drew from both popular culture and experimental contemporary dance.

Bakhtin’s notion of the ‘grotesque body’ is therefore important to this discussion as it is able to counter the pejorative connotations usually ascribed to the grotesque bodies of Berlin Dada’s ‘dysfunctional automatons’. In Rabelais and his World, completed in 1940, Bakhtin responds to representations of the body in carnivalesque literature, arriving at the following definition of the ‘grotesque body’,

Contrary to modern canons, the grotesque body is not separated from the rest of the world. It is not a closed, completed unit; it is unfinished, outgrows itself, transgresses its own limits. The stress is laid on those parts of the body [...] through which the world enters the body or emerges from it, or through which the body itself goes out to meet the world [...] The body discloses its essence as a principle of growth which

exceeds its own limits only in copulation, pregnancy, childbirth, the throes of death, eating, drinking, or defecation.¹¹

From this description, two traits emerge. The first—a quality I define as corporeality—is a focus on the materiality of a living body, whose existence is inherently bound to the earth, and is subject to the bodily functions of its constituent parts. The second property is that of the body’s extracorporeality, of porousness, where the boundaries of the physical body serve as a permeable membrane through which the world moves into the body or through which the body moves out into the world. Extracorporeality describes how, because the grotesque body is bound to its own materiality, it is both ever-changing and growing in itself, but also constantly altering itself and transgressing its own limits, for example, through constant expulsion and absorption. Setting aside the natural processes cited by Bakhtin, such as birth, aging, and death, I view the notion of the ‘grotesque body’ as a fruitful analytical lens as it lends itself to the idea that Dada dances explore both corporeality and extracorporeality.

The first half of the chapter examines eye-witness accounts of dances by Grosz and Hausmann to assess the particular ways in which corporeality is expressed through Dada dance and mime. Analysis of the reportage shows how Grosz and Hausmann emphasised corporeality and materiality on stage by drawing on syncopated ragtime rhythms and movement associated with the foxtrot and cakewalk dance styles, or, in the case of mime, the racially-charged art of pugilism. The corporeal quality of their bodily performance can be broadly categorised as diametrically opposed to that seen in ballet, where movements are characterised by the appearance of near-weightlessness, precision of technique, and a graceful yet

¹¹ Bakhtin, Rabelais, 26.
controlled fluidity. A formal analysis of Hausmann’s Dada tour dance performance contributes to the chapter argument that, despite Hausmann’s insistence to the contrary in his 1926 ‘Tanz’ essay, his dance is particularly indebted to the innovations of contemporary dance practitioners, particularly Valeska Gert (1892-1978).

The second half of the chapter focuses on Bakhtin’s conception of the permeable boundaries of the grotesque body to consider the ways in which Berlin Dada’s dance and mime equally addressed new, extracorporeal possibilities for the body. Although the Dadaists wrote very little on dance itself during the group’s active period, they were engaged in and familiar with what were, at the time, cutting-edge theoretical discussions around bodily and psychic bounds of perception. Within this area, they were particularly fascinated by a number of contemporary ‘mystic’ sciences or theories that argued for the coexistence and entanglement of matter and Geist.\(^\text{12}\)

The discussion first contextualises this position in opposition to the thought of Activist Expressionists, such as Ludwig Rubiner (1881-1920), noting how the Dadaists rejected core principles of Rubiner’s thought in the May 1917 issue of Neue Jugend. It then applies the theories of philosopher Ernst Marcus (1856-1928), natural philosopher Ernst Haeckel (1834-1919), and art theorist Carl Einstein (1885-1940) to Berlin Dada’s bodily movement, evidencing the ability of the medium of dance to address philosophical issues pertinent to the Dadaists. As shall be discussed, the ideas of Marcus were introduced to Hausmann by the philosopher and honorary

Dadaist Salomo Friedländer. Dadaist Johannes Baader was a strong proponent of Haeckel’s natural philosophy, precipitating its uptake by Hausmann. Further, Einstein, before he worked with the Dadaists on Die Pleite and Der Blutige Ernst, introduced Hausmann, Hannah Höch, and Richard Huelsenbeck to theories of spatiality in primitive art.

1.1. Prosthesis Logic

The extracorporeal and technological transformation of the body in this era finds its apogee in the prosthesis. Writing on medical and commercial texts on prosthetics published during and immediately following WWI, philosopher Peter Sloterdijk christens these visions ‘Homo Prostheticus’, suggesting that they signal the emergence of a new species of human.13 Writing on the avant-garde’s relationship with the prosthesis sees the automaton as its logical endgame, a reading revitalised by Matthew Biro in his application of posthumanism and Donna Haraway’s ‘Cyborg Manifesto’ (1985) to Berlin Dada’s partially mechanised bodies.14 Foster notes that ‘the primary modernist positions on technology pro- and con- can be schematically mapped according to the double logic of the prosthesis’.15 He views Constructivist art as representative of a utopian view of the ‘prosthesis as extension of body’, while Dada represented ‘the critical counterpart of this position’ due to its tendency to ‘mock technology, set in a capitalist system of relations, as a constriction of the body’.16 While Foster attributes the utopian applications of prostheses (or the human transformed in

14 Biro, Dada Cyborg, 7-9.
the visage of technology) to Constructivism, scholar Martin Gaughan applies this utopian model to the more fascistic ideological bent of Futurism.\textsuperscript{17} Both maintain that Berlin Dada’s stance on prosthetic ‘logic’ was limited to that of a socialist critique.

Conversely, in \textit{Dada Bodies}, Adamowicz is careful not to limit Dada to either one of these poles, indicating how Dadaism variously engages in ‘the dystopian body (dysfunctional, disjunctive, dismembered) and utopian body (extended, exploded, exstatic)’.\textsuperscript{18} Also deploying a Bakhtinian framework, she situates Dadaist conceptions of the body ‘between death and rebirth, between the battlefield (in the satirical exposure of the physical and psychic violence of the times) and the fairground (in the regression to the infantile and the celebration of the life force)’.\textsuperscript{19} Referring to dance in particular, scholar Sascha Bru notes how Dada dances ‘move towards abstraction’ through their ‘exploration of prostheses-like objects such as masks and manipulable puppets’, ultimately elevating dance to ‘an art studying the boundaries of the self and the body’s integrity’.\textsuperscript{20} The section on extracorporeality focuses on the possible ‘utopian’ capacities ascribed to the body by Dadaism. It also adopts Bru’s idea that one of the primary functions of Dada dance is to redraw the body’s boundaries in response to the fact that these boundaries were reframed as negotiable through the technology of the prosthesis.

\textsuperscript{17} Gaughan, ‘The Prosthetic Body,’ 140-142.
\textsuperscript{18} Adamowicz, \textit{Dada Bodies}, 4.
\textsuperscript{19} Adamowicz, 4.
However, in the specific instances examined here, I contend that the Dadaists’ artistic investigations into dance did not consolidate the ‘abstraction’ or immaterialisation of the body. Instead, I show how Berlin Dada dance practice both stressed bodily materiality, and sought to extend the body’s capacities for spatial and sensory perception, framing the dancing body itself as a technology for overreaching bodily limits. Examining both the corporeal and the extracorporeal properties of Berlin Dada’s performance consequently enables a reappraisal of the discourse around Dada bodies. A focus on dance and mime takes us beyond Berlin Dada’s anti-capitalist critique, seen in its portrayals of automata or disabled war veterans, to address the ‘utopian’ possibilities of new corporealities.

2. Corporeality

2.1. Corporeality in George Grosz’s Cakewalk

Among the recitals of simultaneous poems, satirical texts, and polemical essays presented during the Tribune theatre matinée on 30 November 1919, Grosz opted to present a dance piece, thus diverging from forms of literary performance. The surviving programme for the performance dated the following week, on December 7, does not list an independent dance by Grosz [Fig. 95]. However, as the previous chapter demonstrated, press reports indicate that a dance piece by Grosz did take place during the first matinée. Most of the reviews cite Grosz alone, whereas L.g.

21 The previous chapter discusses the performance’s full line-up.
records Hans Ehrlich as also dancing alongside Grosz, although it is unclear in which segment. Grosz’s dance is referred to in multiple reviews as a *Caketrott und Foxwalk* (Caketrot and Foxwalk), allowing us to categorise the piece stylistically and culturally in relation to the dance genres referenced in its title, namely, the foxtrot and cakewalk.

Unfortunately, the surviving accounts offer no definitive answer as to whether this piece was accompanied by music, either live or recorded. It is plausible that Grosz’s dance was accompanied by music of some kind, as E. Neuhahn’s report in the *Hannoverscher Kurier* alludes to timpani drums and a piano accompanying bruitist outbursts onstage. Music and intermediality scholar Peter Dayan notes how, among the various manifestations of Dada in different cities, Dadaism in Berlin was unique for omitting composed musical pieces from its programmes, with the exception of Jefim Golyscheff’s *Antisymphonie* (Anti-Symphony), performed on 30 April 1919. Instead, the group generally favoured percussion-heavy bruitist crescendos, at least some of which were directed by Huelsenbeck. A gramophone is also alluded to in L.g.’s report, and the Berlin Dadaists featured gramophones in at least three of their other live shows, on 24 May 1919 at the Meistersaal in Berlin, and during their Leipzig and

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Dresden stops on the Dada tour, on 24 February and 19 January 1920. Further, Grosz’s record collection indicates he would have had German ragtime records on hand. A classified announcement on one of the top corners of Jedermann sein eigner Fussball introduces the artist as a prospective buyer of second-hand ‘foxtrott and ragtime records’ in good condition, providing a flavour of the contents of Grosz’s music collection [Fig. 117]. However, if the dance were a ‘tap dance’, as per Dadaist Walter Mehring’s description of Grosz’s movements during the earlier Secession performance in 1918, the piece could also have been entirely unaccompanied.

A handful of reviews characterise the dance itself. For example, theatre critic Alfred Kerr coyly commented of Grosz’s number, ‘he dances almost like a professional dancer from the Wintergarten. Almost’. Although undoubtedly amateur in comparison to the working dancers of one of Berlin’s largest commercial vaudeville stages of the Wintergarten, Grosz was a keen enthusiast of proto-jazz genres, attending and hosting private dance evenings. As a result, he was probably one of the more practised dancers among Berlin’s avant-garde circles. Grosz’s dance

28 Mocking Baader’s Swabian accent, L.g. regrets that Baader’s shouting was so incomprehensible that the song ‘Verlassen bin i’ (whose lyrics are in Swabian dialect) was not played on the gramophone during his exit. It is conceivable that this was a figurative reference. L.g., ‘Dadaismus,’ in Füllner, Zeitungen, 33. For other gramophone references, see Franz Schulz, ‘Dada: das dressierte Publikum,’ Prager Tageblatt, 17 June 1919, in Watts, Dada and the Press, 95-98; Dr. E.D., ‘Vortragsabend der Dadaisten,’ Leipziger Neueste Nachrichten, 25 February 1920, in Bergius, Lachen Dadas, 354; and Wolff, ‘Dada,’ in Füllner, Zeitungen, 46-48.


30 Mehring, Berlin Dada, 47.

31 Kerr, ‘Dada,’ in Füllner, Zeitungen, 28.

32 See, for example, George Grosz, Briefe: 1913-1959, ed. Herbert Knust (Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1979), 66-69.

33 Otto Dix, as another enthusiast, is an exception to this rule. See Susan Funkenstein, ‘A Man’s Place in a Woman’s World: Otto Dix, Social Dancing, and Constructions of Masculinity in Weimar Germany,’ Women in German Yearbook 21 (2005): 163-164.
number evidently received a positive reception from at least a portion of the Tribune audience, as Kerr notes that the piece was followed by the ‘Jubel seiner Getreuen’ (‘rejoicing of his fans’).\footnote{Kerr, ‘Dada,’ in Füllner, Zeitungen, 28.}

Grosz’s decision to splice and hybridise the foxtrot and cakewalk into a Foxwalk und Caketrott suggests that the artist did not intend to present a slick routine showcasing either dance. Instead it is likely that he performed a syncretic mix of moves from both styles. Mehring’s categorisation of Grosz’s style as ‘tap dance’ implies an emphasis on deft footwork set to an upbeat tempo. In a letter to Otto Schmalhausen from 13 May 1918, Grosz reveals his predilection for this genre, recalling ‘tap dancing the whole night on the studio floor’.\footnote{‘Meinenthalben: […] die ganze Nacht auf dem Atelierfußboden gestepptanzt […].’ Letter from Grosz to Schmalhausen, 13 May 1918, in Grosz, Briefe, 71.} Journalist R-v. also describes Grosz’s dance by referencing named dance styles, noting how ‘A brainwave inadvertently tempers the top part of the body, while below evolves into Schuhplatteln [a Germanic folk dance], foxtrotting or [African]* dance’.\footnote{R-v., ‘Dada,’ in Füllner, Zeitungen, 36. The Schuhplatteln is an Austrian and Bavaria folk dance, in which time is kept by slapping hands on knees and Lederhosen. The original quote from the review includes a racial slur more directly translated as ‘negro dance’.}

These brief vignettes, referencing the foxtrot, cakewalk, vaudeville dance, and tap dance, provide a sense of the rough style of Grosz’s performance. To understand the significance of the new ‘syncopated’ music with which these dances were associated, it is necessary to first return to Grosz’s earliest public appearance with the Dadaists in the Secession galleries in April 1918, whose programme bills Grosz’s contribution as Sincopations: eigene Verse (Syncopations, own verses) [Fig. 118]. In
his reconstruction of the Secession performance, scholar Jeanpaul Goergen notes how Grosz likely recited ‘or even sang’ his verses in a ‘ragtime style’. Additionally, Herzfelde anecdotally recalls how Grosz occasionally performed solo dance interludes as part of his poetry recitations during the intervals in each poem marked with dashes and dots. Grosz’s style of writing at the time, seen, for example, in his letters to Schmalhausen (‘Oz’) employs an expressionistic free verse punctuated with sketches and rhythmic dashes almost akin to musical notation: ‘o-o-o-o-old Oz – come in!’ [sic].

As the jazz syncopations of ragtime deviate from the regular beat patterns of Western classical music, it is plausible that setting poetry to a ragtime rhythm had the effect of emphasising syllables in an unnatural manner, distorting or subverting the intonations of conventional speech to produce an effect which would have been acoustically alien to the audience. While Grosz used his own voice as a rhythmic instrument during the Secession performance, in the case of his dance at the Tribune, the rhythmic instrument at play was not his voice, but his body. In syncopated or ‘ragged’ rhythms, notes playfully miss the beat in order to build anticipation, suspense which is finally resolved in an on-beat note at the end of a given musical phrase. Moments of constructed anticipation tease the listener, lending syncopated genres an energetic, even humorous feel. When danced to, even if Grosz were not accompanied

37 Goergen, Uirlute dadaistischer Poesie, 126. Goergen bases this observation on a comment by a review in the Berliner Börsen-Courier.
39 Letter from Grosz to Schmalhausen, 13 May 1918, in Grosz, Briefe, 74.
by the piano or a gramophone recording, these rhythmic characteristics would have encouraged an improvisational, rambunctious style.

When deciphering what Grosz would have understood as ‘ragtime’ in 1919, it is important to highlight how he was performing prior to the influx of jazz bands in Berlin seen from 1921, and well before Josephine Baker’s two trips to Germany in 1925 and 1926. As pointed out by scholar Jonathan Wipplinger, urban populations in Germany were first exposed to American music via recorded covers by German bands and so-called ‘eccentric’ musical acts. While American jazz musicians toured Paris, influencing Paris Dadaism, Germany’s defeat in the war meant that Berliners had to wait until after Dadaism’s core active period (1917-1920) for any touring bands to reach the city. Scholar Jody Blake notes how, despite the accessibility of the new genre in Paris, when Dadaists based in Paris organised Dada ‘Jazz Band’ performances, these consisted of anti-music bruitist pieces. This is significant because it suggests that the label of ‘jazz’ appealed to Dadaists due to its perceived proximity to so-called ‘primitivist’ culture.

Wipplinger analyses an extract from Grosz’s diary where the artist recalls visiting the concert of an ‘eccentric’ conductor-performer, Mr. Meschugge, at the Café Oranienburg sometime between 1912 and the outbreak of the First World War in July

42 Wipplinger explains how jazz was mainly present in zones of foreign occupation along the Rhine before this point. Wipplinger, *Jazz Republic*, 29.
44 For example, the ‘Jazz Band Dada’ performance on 5 March 1920 at the ‘Grand Bal Dada,’ organised by Dadaists in Paris and Geneva. Blake, ‘Tumulte noire,’ 46.
Grosz recalled how Mr. Meschugge, known partly for conducting German covers of ragtime songs, would ‘pretend that he had lost control, […] break his baton to pieces and smash his violin over the head of a musician’. While Grosz did not emulate this character directly in either the Secession or Tribune performances, it is certainly plausible that his dances to some extent drew from the eccentric conductor tradition by featuring characterisation and dramatic elements.

The distinct cultural histories of the foxtrot and cakewalk help us to further tease out the roles of corporeality and dramatic characterisation in Grosz’s dance. The precise origins of the ballroom dance of the foxtrot are disputed, but the dance was quickly absorbed into White mainstream American culture from 1914, and was often danced to ragtime. Foxtrotting was widespread by 1919, partly due to the simple nature of its core steps, which can be danced as a slow dance or sped up, incorporating more of a hop step for faster tempos. In Germany during the period immediately following the First World War, the foxtrot was not danced to American ragtime or jazz for the reasons highlighted above, but still saw widespread popularity. As a Berliner Tageblatt journalist reported of the New Year’s Eve celebrations at the close of 1918, ‘Music plays in hundreds of locales, dance after dance: waltz, foxtrot, one-step, two-step’. Grosz’s decision to place a foxtrot variant on the Tribune stage was deliberately provocative, as this popular dance was part of an emergent

45 Wipplinger, ‘Eccentric Modernism,’ 366.
47 Wipplinger, Jazz Republic, 29.
burgeoning night culture that was critiqued as frivolous by conservative and left-wing commentators.⁴⁹ While the foxtrot was an integrated part of popular culture, then, the cakewalk would have been less familiar to the Berlin public.

A competitive dance, designed to be performed before an audience, the cakewalk was associated with a more showman-like, entertaining style, often involving costumes and props, such as top hats and tails, canes, and umbrellas. Grosz expressed his interest in and affiliation with entertainer cakewalkers in a letter to Schmalhausen, dated 7 October 1918. In this letter, Grosz sketches a dancing cakewalker complete with bamboo cane, top hat, and bow tie, limbs ricocheting in a flurry of movement [Fig. 120]. In Der Dada, issue 2, compiled around the same time that the Dadaists would have been devising their Tribune performance, Grosz’s sole contribution to the magazine was a self-portrait posing as this same figure [Fig. 39]. Clearly, the figure of the cakewalker became incorporated into Grosz’s collection of alters, constructed guises adopted during studio visits and trips to avant-garde haunts, such as the Café des Westerns or the Romanisches Café.⁵⁰

Grosz’s self-characterisation as a cakewalker came to a head during the Berlin Dadaists’ performance at the Meistersaal on 24 May 1919. Ben Hecht, the Berlin correspondent for the New York Daily News, recalls how he ‘didn’t recognise Grosz for several minutes, because he spoke in German and was in blackface’.⁵¹ Hecht

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⁵⁰ On Grosz’s predilection for dressing in the guises of various alters, see White, Generation Dada, 105-108.
⁵¹ Hecht’s account appears to refer to the Meistersaal performance as he also mentions a race involving a typewriter, an act which was only staged at the Meistersaal. See Ben Hecht,
details Grosz as appearing in a ‘frock coat’ and a yellow straw hat while dancing ‘what he fancied was a Negro jig’ to the sound of another man tuning a cello onstage.\textsuperscript{52} If Hecht’s account is credible, Grosz engaged in a form of minstrelsy, a convention of mimicry and live caricature which works to maintain the ideology of White supremacy through the dehumanisation of Black people.\textsuperscript{53} Grosz was either oblivious to minstrelsy’s function or not perturbed enough by this function to prevent him from stepping into this racialised character for his performance. References to minstrelsy were not uncommon among the avant-garde, as Valeska Gert also relays performing a joint dance to Claude Debussy’s 1908 composition \textit{Golliwog’s Cakewalk}, although she does not record if and how this was thematised in the dance itself.\textsuperscript{54}

Although blackface and minstrelsy are arguably inextricable, in this context the latter was removed from its original function to mock Black people. In Grosz’s case, the act of dancing in blackface is more accurately interpreted as an intentional provocation, where Grosz sought to align himself with Black North American culture as a means of distancing himself from German culture.\textsuperscript{55} To borrow Christian Weikop’s terminology, Grosz’s Americanophile and ‘Afrophile’ tendencies here meet crude and

\begin{quotation}
\textsuperscript{52} Hecht, ‘Dadafest,’ 125.
\textsuperscript{53} Funkenstein, \textit{Modern Movement}, 140. On minstrelsy in the US, see Eric Lott, \textit{Love and Theft: Blackface Minstrelsy and the American Working Class} (1993) (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013). Lott argues how, in the United States, this quintessentially racist tradition was bound up with the construction of White, male working-class identity; gender dynamics; and a complex entanglement of repulsion, appreciation and envy projected onto Black people and Black culture.
\textsuperscript{54} See Valeska Gert, \textit{Ich bin eine Hexe: Kaleidoskop meines Lebens} (Munich: Franz Schneekluth, 1989), 32.
\textsuperscript{55} Similar motivations caused the artist to anglicize his name, from Georg Groß to George Grosz, in 1916.
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blatantly racist *épater les bourgeois* tactics.\(^56\) Contrastingly, Gert, in a later undated *Negro Dance* piece from the mid-1920s, signified her character by wearing a brimmed hat, white stocks and tight-fitting black clothing.\(^57\) None of the reviews allude to minstrelsy in Grosz’s Tribune performance six months after his appearance in blackface.

Grosz’s crude characterisation, and its later traces in the title of the *Foxwalk und Caketrott* dance, responded partly to the fact that, as the cakewalk grew in popularity, it was integrated into many minstrelsy routines staged by mostly White performers. Another probable source of influence was the internationally imported version of the cakewalk that saw the performance form filtered through racially-stereotyped representations in media and advertising [Fig. 121].\(^58\) These representations emphasised the comic and exaggerated elements of the dance identified by social historian Brooke Baldwin.\(^59\) Baldwin notes how the genre has its roots in a dance performed among slaves on Southern plantations in the United States.\(^60\) Ragtime entertainer Shephard Edmonds characterised the dance in 1950 as a ‘high-kicking, prancing walk-around’ and a ‘take-off on the high manners of the white folks in the “big

\(^{56}\) Christian Weikop, ‘Afrophilia and Afrophobia in Switzerland and Germany (1916-1938),’ in *Image of the Black in Western Art*, vol. 5, The Twentieth Century, ed. David Bindman, Henry Gates (Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press, 2014), 153-174. This dance appearance needs further research. Due to his American perspective, Hecht may have been one of the only journalists able to identify blackface. Wipplinger notes how Mehring’s Schall und Rauch cabaret number, ‘If the man in the moon were a coon’, ‘ironizes the [racist] anxieties’ of the German public, namely fears of miscegenation’. Grosz’s performance may be interpreted as similarly antagonistic. Wipplinger, *Jazz Republic*, 36.

\(^{57}\) Alexandra Kolb, “‘There was never anythin’ like this!!!’ Valeska Gert’s Performances in the Context of Weimar Culture,” *The European Legacy* 12, no. 3 (2007): 293-309, 296.


\(^{60}\) Baldwin, ‘Cakewalk,’ 208.
house””.\textsuperscript{61} Misunderstood by the slaveowners as sincere and pitiful attempts to emulate White culture—rather than a mocking satire of their oppressors—the slaveowners started watching the dances themselves. This then led to the genre’s international renown, the dance’s origins as a cultural mode of resistance against White supremacy remaining relatively covert.

Although it is doubtful that Grosz would have been aware of these origins, it is likely that the parodic elements of cakewalk opened up his routine at the Tribune to more exaggerated and acting-centric movements. For example, what one reviewer described as the Austrian folk dance of the \textit{Schuhplatteln}, may have alluded to the high kicking seen in the cakewalk. Solo versions of both the cakewalk and foxtrot are fundamentally a kind of strut or rhythmic walk, whose irregular, syncopated rhythm causes it to evolve into a jig. In this sense, we can think of the cakewalk as the antipode of the ideal laid out by one of the most influential modern dance innovators in the twentieth century, Isadora Duncan (1877-1927). The White, American-born Duncan wrote that a dancer’s body should be ‘light as a flame’.\textsuperscript{62} Conversely, any solo foxtrot or cakewalk dance to ragtime requires the body to work with gravity, not against it, usually in a series of bouncing hops and kicks, punctuated by tapping, high knees, gyration of the hips and swinging of the arms for balance.

Dance scholar Kate Elswit also considers the relationship between the dancer’s body and gravity when analysing the role of bodily materiality in dance in the Weimar

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\textsuperscript{61} Baldwin, 208.
\end{footnotesize}
Republic, for example in the choreography of Kurt Jooss’ *Death* sequence in his *The Green Table* (1932).\(^{63}\) Elswit notes how Jooss brought the materiality of his own body to the fore because he ‘replaced the traditional anti-gravitational buoyancy of ballet with a weighted “ignoble” physicality’.\(^{64}\) So while both dancers emphasised their own corporeality, the grand movements of Jooss’ ‘Death’ character staged the austere materiality of a combatant mortal body. In contrast, the rhythmic relationship with gravity encapsulated by Grosz’s dance staged a material body animated with energy and flamboyance.

Grosz exhibited his idiosyncratic interpretations of Black American dance to distinguish himself from the earnest pathos of the Expressionists, but also to mock conservative attitudes towards these metropolitan dance styles more generally. In this sense, Grosz did not engage with ragtime on an intellectual, critical level, evident in the fact that he ultimately reproduced racist stereotypes manufactured by White colonisers to invalidate Black people. This chimes with scholar and curator Ralf Burmeister’s assessment that ‘reflection on non-European art and culture was minimal in the politically heated situation of Dada Berlin’, citing Hannah Höch’s *Dada-Puppen* (Dada Puppets) sculptural pieces as an exception to this rule.\(^{65}\) However, Grosz’s decision to place a modified cakewalk on the Expressionist stage of the Tribune was not motivated by provocation alone, as his letters and record collection demonstrate a

\(^{64}\) Elswit, 15.
\(^{65}\) Ralf Burmeister, “‘Slashes through the thickest skin’: Dada Berlin between provocation and enlightenment,’ in *Dada Africa*, 150. Höch would develop her critique of the avant-garde’s objectification and instrumentalisation of the ‘Other’ in her later photomontage series *From an Ethnographic Museum* (1924-1930). See Ralf Burmeister, ‘‘Ars una or the synthesis of the disparate: On Hannah Höch’s collage series *Aus einem ethnographischen Museum*’ in *Dada Africa*, 184-190.
visceral interest in the popular phenomenon of ragtime and associated emergent dance styles. As Theodor Adorno’s later 1936 essay ‘On Jazz’ would demonstrate, cultural forms of Black origin were often upheld with suspicion even in left-wing circles.66 Adorno’s rhythmic, aesthetic analysis ultimately views jazz as a commodity and a mere simulation of social protest. It seems more accurate, then, to characterise Grosz’s embodied engagements with Black American culture as instigated on a purely corporeal, intuitive, and rhythmic basis, fuelled by a genuine, if critically underdeveloped, personal interest.

2.2. The Materialism of Mime

Editor of the Expressionist Die Weißen Blätter journal, René Schickele, was similarly suspicious of the impacts of North American influence on German culture. His essay on Theodore Roosevelt, published in Der Sturm in 1910, positions the president as a metonym of North American culture and materialism:

The Germans […] are famous for their willingness as well as their thoroughness in digestion. Once Roosevelt impresses them, they will swallow him wholeheartedly. It will pass into our spiritual life. The little children […] will all be called Teddy […] Teddy’s top hat dances the cakewalk of an imperialist republic above the enthusiastic crowd.67

Scolding the gluttony of a porous national body, ‘Teddyism’, Schickele cautions, is catching. His article warns how, behind the bubbly image of cakewalking America, lies a fundamental threat. Schickele understood American supremacy as a threat to

German ‘spiritual life’ partly due to prevailing perceptions of American culture as materialistic, hyper-individualistic, and dominated by commercialism.

The Dadaists in fact shared many of the Expressionists’ concerns regarding the dehumanising effects of capital-driven industrialisation, and the power reach of the United States. However, they deemed it essential that artists confront the sensorial onslaught of modern materiality, described by Hausmann as ‘wunderbare Konstellationen in wirklichem Material, Draht, Glas, Pappe’ (‘wonderous constellations in real material, wire, glass, cardboard’), and Huelsenbeck as ‘das Gebrüll der Makler an der Chicagoer Produktenbörse’ (‘the roar of the brokers at the Chicago Stock Exchange’). The Berlin group’s interests in scientific and philosophical hypotheses which proposed fusions or interactions between matter and Geist (explored later in the chapter) indicate that their expressions of singularly materialist views should not be taken at face value.

In the words of dance scholar Susan Funkenstein, the Dadaists ‘performed their Americanness through physical movement’ and touted American values in order to distinguish their movement from the Expressionist investment in a pacifistic, redemptive form of Geist. In particular, they were wary of the ways in which certain strains of Expressionism positioned the artist as a messianic representative of Geist,

68 For example, Bergius suggests that the form of their first manifesto, ‘What is Dadaism and what does it want in Germany?’, comprising of a list of numbered demands, satirised both the manifestos of politically active avant-garde groups and President Woodrow Wilson’s Fourteen Points. Bergius, Lachen Dadas, 40.
70 Funkenstein, Modern Movement, 178.
able to step up and play the role of saviour for the masses in the face of threats of spiritual impoverishment.\textsuperscript{71} Richard Sheppard argues that this caution stemmed from the group’s common belief that ‘all utopian yearnings carry the seeds of totalitarianism because of their desire for closure’.\textsuperscript{72}

As has been highlighted, Grosz explored the corporeal materialism associated with American culture by adapting the characterisation and role-play encompassed in the cakewalk. \textit{Kunstblatt} editor Paul Westheim recalls being taught by Grosz during a studio visit ‘how to act like an American – how to box, smoke a pipe, take photographs, sing Negro songs, and dance to ragtime music’.\textsuperscript{73} Höch’s recollection of Dada performance practices, shared in a lecture in 1966, suggests that, in addition to dancing to ragtime, boxing also made its way onto the stage during some of Berlin Dada’s performances. While not citing a specific dated performance, Höch recalls how Grosz ‘knew how to suddenly fill a gap in the programme with a highly disconcerting pantomime’, in which ‘he moved objects, boxed against a supposed opponent, or began to paint on a picture that was not there’.\textsuperscript{74}

When commenting on Dada’s use of irony in the wider context of the First World War, Foster discusses Dadaism in theoretical terms as a form of ‘traumatic mime’.\textsuperscript{75} However, to my knowledge, the art of mime itself has not been discussed in relation to Berlin Dadaism. Scholar Juliet Koss notes how, since the turn of the century, mime

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{71} Sheppard, \textit{Modernism-Dada}, 257.
\item \textsuperscript{72} Sheppard, 257.
\item \textsuperscript{73} Beth Irwin Lewis, \textit{George Grosz: Art and Politics in the Weimar Republic} (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1971), 25.
\item \textsuperscript{74} Höch, ‘Erinnerungen,’ 204.
\item \textsuperscript{75} Hal Foster, ‘Dada Mime,’ \textit{October} 105 (2003): 166-176, 169.
\end{itemize}
had taken on an increasingly significant role in theatre as part of a wider reaction against Naturalism, birthing movements such as Symbolism. Theatre reformer Georg Fuchs records incorporating dance and mime in his productions at the Artists’ Theatre in Munich in 1908 to distance them from what he referred to as the ‘dictatorship of literature’. Mime also featured in Hugo Ball’s early 1914 plans for an Expressionist Artists’ Theatre. This was to be hosted in Fuchs’ theatre in Munich, before the war forced Ball into exile, prompting him to found the Cabaret Voltaire in Zurich instead. According to Ball, the new theatre would embody Kandinskian notions of intermediality, staging plays composed from simultaneous ‘dance, colour, mime, music, and word’.

Unfortunately, Höch does not cite specific performances in which Grosz performed his mime segments. While there are no explicit mentions of boxing in the reportage, some of the reports do hint at the presence of mime on stage. For example, a review of the Tribune performance describes Grosz as an unskilled ‘Mime’ (‘mime’, or ‘ham actor’), advising him to keep to his vocation as an illustrator. Responding to their Dresden performance, journalist Friedrich Kummer dubs the Dadaists ‘cold intellectuals who mime drunkenness’.

Further, following Hausmann and

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77 Koss, ‘Empathy and Abstraction,’ 99.
Huelsenbeck's Prague performance, the unofficial ‘Dada’ carnival subsequently held in the city on 30 April 1920 featured an absurdist boxing match between ‘Pipsdada and Popsdada’, alongside a ‘Dada-Trot’ dance contest. This suggests that Grosz’s mimed boxing may have been adopted by Hausmann and Huelsenbeck during one of their two Prague performances on 1 and 2 March 1920. Alternatively, it hints at how Dadaism’s wider reception among the public associated the movement partly with a display of corporeal skills such as boxing, perhaps partly due to proto-Dadaist and amateur boxer Arthur Cravan’s 1916 stunt boxing match against Jack Johnson in Barcelona.

Andreas Kramer discusses how the Berlin Dadaists were less invested in the vocation of bare-knuckled wrestling associated with ancient Greece and taken up by some Expressionists, showing more of an interest in the modern ‘American’ sport of ring boxing. A 1924 photo in Grosz’s estate shows a staged match between Grosz and Heartfield, with Wieland Herzfelde acting as an umpire at the studio on the Kurfürstendamm, run by Sabri Mahir, where Grosz used to train [Fig. 122].

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81 Bru, European Avant-Gardes, 73. See ‘Dada-Futuristen Maskenfest,’ Bohemia, 28 April 1920, quoted at length in Bergius, Lachen Dadas, 357-358.
83 For example, Georg Kaiser and Max Pechstein associated the dynamism of wrestling with the Leben and Geist of the New Man. See Andreas Kramer, “‘Every Man his own Football’: Dada Berlin, Sport and Weimar Culture,’ in Virgin Microbe, 257; and Andreas Kramer and Przemyslaw Strożek, Sport and the European Avant-Garde (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2022), 112-116. For a list of visual Berlin Dada works associated with boxing, see Kramer and Strożek, Sport, 123-125.
also formed a part of the Berlin Dadaists' interest in Black American culture. From 1910, when Johnson took the title of world heavyweight champion from his White opponent, James Jeffries, boxing had evolved into an area in which notions surrounding the supremacy of White Western civilisation could be challenged.  

When asking what significance the Dada motif of boxing takes on when it is mimed on stage, as opposed to represented through photomontage, it will be useful to draw on Gert’s characterisation of her dance practice. Gert, whom I shall introduce in more detail in the next section, was herself known for ‘dancing’ various sports, including boxing. In her autobiography, she discusses her intent to ‘alienate’ themes through her dance, guided by the principle that ‘art is always an alienation of reality’. Accordingly, the act of stepping into the role of a boxer to mime or shadowbox alienates pugilism by accentuating the formal aspects of its movements. Any performed shadowboxing on the part of Grosz thus moved pugilistic display away from a primarily athletic activity towards a form of dance, whose jabs and hooks also worked to stress the corporeality of the body.

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86 Gert, *Hexe*, 57; Kolb, ‘Never anythin’ like this,’ 307. Kolb highlights archival and photographic evidence of Gert’s *Boxing* piece, but very little of this is dated. Further archival research is required to fully characterise the relationship between Grosz’s mimed boxing and Gert’s *Boxing* dance piece from the mid 1920s.

By shadowboxing on stage, Grosz also staged, by extension, the act of training the body, honing a reactive dynamism which he believed was required to navigate the modern world. Dada scholar Timothy O. Benson notes how the identity of a boxer, playfully reimagined, and the activity of training more broadly, allowed the Dadaists to revive the ‘transformative myth of a New Man and a new community, but in a form less vulnerable to the prevailing instability [of the modern world]’. The desire to train and transform the body into a ‘New Man’ able to keep pace with modernity was therefore partly rooted in biopolitical anxieties. These anxieties stemmed from the state-sanctioned maiming of the body as a form of collateral damage in conflicts on a new, global scale. Through pugilistic mime, Grosz not only resisted this state of affairs, but was also able to ‘dance’ one of his texts, Mann muss Kautschukmann sein! (‘One must be a rubberman!’) featured in the 1917 spring Neue Jugend issue [Fig. 123]. In this piece, Grosz associates boxing with the realm of circus and carnival by referencing the sport in parallel with a flea circus. He urges readers to ‘become elastic again, bouncing to all sides, in all directions’, further taking on the voice of a boxing coach, ‘bow- start boxing! A quick hook to the chin or the heart!’ Grosz’s shadowboxing body is also grotesque in the Bakhtinian sense, in that this physical endeavour transforms the body into a material which, though agile and powerful, may also be reshaped and remoulded, cohering with Bakhtin’s ‘principle of growth’.

Grosz’s shadowboxing shows how the Dadaists at times identified with an almost hyper-masculine dynamism, which they then undercut with acute self-awareness and

88 Benson, Hausmann, 2.
90 Bakhtin, Rabelais, 26.
irony. For instance, in *Der Dada*, issue 3, they satirised both the commercialisation and effeminisation of dance-based exercise. On the eighth page of the issue, a disembodied pair of legs in a leotard performs simple squatting exercises: ‘Fersen h-e-b-t, seeeeeenkt!’ (‘Heels l-i-f-t, and looower!’) [Fig. 124]. By the eleventh page, this athletic dancer’s costume appears to have been purchased for the purposes of a *Dada-Trott*, performed by a gangly Gerhardt Preiss (1899-1919) in three still-frame photographs [Fig. 125]. They adopted an ambivalent position, producing artistic responses to the art of boxing, whilst satirising the ways in which polarised gender roles were upheld through commercialised sport.

As Gaughan highlights, these ambivalences alone are enough to distinguish them from the Futurists’ uncritical embrace of a mechanised machismo based on strength and dynamism.⁹¹ Instead, the Dadaists subscribed to a model of a modern, fashionable masculinity offered by the image of an athletic, ragtime dancer.⁹² Eye-witness accounts of Grosz’s dance and mime indicate how he performed his identification with a new, cosmopolitan culture, imagining how a more savvy, modernised iteration of the New Man might move through the world. For his vision of a new artist, he ultimately constructed a form of dynamised dandyism which took on the visage of a cakewalking, shadowboxing performer. By contrast, review segments describing Hausmann’s *Dada-Trot* are suggestive of a more grotesque and satirical routine.

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⁹¹ Gaughan, ‘Prosthetic Body,’ 140-142.
2.3. Raoul Hausmann’s *Dada-Trot (Sixty-one-step)*

Hausmann consistently performed his *Dada-Trot (Sixty-one-step)*, hereafter *Dada-Trot*, throughout the six-week Dada tour, as is indicated by the programmes [Fig. 103] [Fig. 112]. Scholar Barbara Lindlar suggests that Hausmann probably opted to perform a dance instead of his sound poetry due to the hugely positive reception of Grosz’s dance at the Tribune performance in November. Her comparison with Grosz’s *Foxwalk und Caketrott* is apt, as Hausmann’s piece also responded to contemporary popular dance, in contrast to the more non-Western primitivist focus of Zurich Dada’s ‘soirées nègres’ hosted between 1917 and 1919. Remaining snippets of the reports certainly indicate a piece which references, if not satirises, the contemporary dance styles of the foxtrot and two-step. As a ‘sixty-one-step’, the routine’s title is itself satirical, implying a beat count which would be humanly impossible to dance. One journalist, reporting on the show in the Czech spa town of Teplice, described Hausmann’s *Dada-Trot* as an accomplished caricature of ‘moderner Tanzentartungen’ (‘modern degenerations in dance’). Similarly, one critic reporting on the Hamburg performance of 18 February called the dance, ‘A truly brilliant spoof of the most modern, exotic-erotic society dances that have stricken us like a plague, and of all the youths who know how to express their innermost feelings in the peacock gestures of the foxtrot’.

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93 This piece is sometimes alternatively referred to with another English title, ‘forty-one-step’.
95 Blake, ‘Tumulte noir,’ 45.
96 Lindlar, ‘Visuelle Lautpoesie,’ 170.
on the Hamburg performance referred to Hausmann’s piece as ‘an extract from today’s limb-dislocating, exotic salon dances’.\textsuperscript{98}

The parodic qualities of Hausmann’s Dada-Trot are generally accepted in the secondary literature. Dance scholar Susan Funkenstein characterises Hausmann’s Dada tour piece as a dance that ‘parodied ragtime and jazz steps’, while Bru dubs the piece a ‘parody of popular dance’ which delighted spectators as they ‘clearly recognised what they all knew well: popular culture’.\textsuperscript{99} The fact that the dance appears to have been set to recorded music makes this impression of a distorted take-off of society dance more plausible. Dr. E.D. reported how, in Leipzig on 24 February, Hausmann danced ‘the idiotic Dada trot […] to the accompaniment of a gramophone, and to the shrill clanging of house keys’.\textsuperscript{100} While this appearance in Leipzig resulted in a ‘charivari’ display of heckling in the form of spectators jangling their house keys, the performance in Hamburg was so well received that Hausmann was able to perform an encore.\textsuperscript{101}

When characterising the corporeality exhibited through Hausmann’s dance, it is important to note that he appears to have omitted any Groszian references to the cakewalk, with its showman-like choreography and adapted mime. However, if the dance was indeed a pastiche or adaptation of the society dances of the modern


\textsuperscript{100} ‘Der idiotische Dada-Trott, den Hausmann unter schrillem Hausschlüsselgetobe zu Grammophonbegleitung tanzte, paßte vollendet dazu.’ Dr. E.D., ‘Vortragsabend der Dadaisten,’ repr. in Bergius, \textit{Lachen Dadas}, 354.

\textsuperscript{101} Bergius, \textit{Lachen Dadas}, 354.
metropolis, Hausmann may have effectively performed another stereotype of a dancer who typically frequented such balls and dance halls. Accounts also indicate that Hausmann’s movements had a more grotesque quality than those of Grosz. For example, reviewer aeo., writing of the performance in Prague, described how ‘one had the sight of a man writhing in stomach pain’. Similarly, Höch characterised the dances as ‘Verrenkungen’ (‘convulsions’), again inferring a corporeality somehow inflected with pain or loss of bodily control, clearly in a partially comic sense, given the parodic quality relayed in the reports.

There is a clear parallel between the grotesque quality identified in these accounts, and August Sander’s 1929 photograph titled *Raoul Hausmann as a Dancer*, which shows Hausmann’s facial muscles deliberately tensed in an asymmetrical grimace [Fig. 116]. His right shoulder is also raised in a tension that travels down his right arm and into his wrist, while his left leg takes the weight of his body, forming a grotesque contrapposto. In Sander’s portrait, Hausmann’s grotesque dance extends to his facial expression, a technique pioneered by Gert, which again has the effect of bringing dance closer to acting. In line with Bakhtin’s embrace of the imperfect materiality of a live, ever-changing body, Hausmann’s dance explored the body’s capacities as a comic grotesque medium, accentuating its imperfect aspects through asymmetrical or unnatural poses and movements.

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In addition to Grosz’s dance practice, another important reference point for Hausmann’s grotesque foxtrot pastiche is that of the composer Gerhard Preiss’s own dance, immortalised in the photographic series in *Der Dada 3* as *Dada-Trott: Der dadaistsiche Holzpuppentanz vorgeführt vom Musikdada Preiss* (Dada Trot: the dadaistic wooden puppet dance performed by the Musikdada Preiss) [Fig. 125]. This aforementioned enigmatic photographic series featuring Preiss, although frequently cited and pictured in Dada scholarship, is usually discussed only in passing. In 1919, Preiss, variously nicknamed the ‘Musik-Dada’ and the ‘Obermusikdada’, was photographed performing this piece in preparation for the unrealised *Dadaco* volume [Fig. 126]. The twenty-six surviving frames of the dance are often compared to film stills.\(^{105}\) As none of the images are blurred in rapid movement, Preiss appears to have mimed segments of the dance to compose distinctly comic grotesque shapes from his slender, effeminate figure.\(^{106}\) One frame shows him dramatically thrusting his hips and thighs forward, his silhouette reminiscent of the striking gait of the Bavarian clown Karl Valentin (1882-1948) [Fig. 127] [Fig. 128]. Another shows him in a tense Nosferatu-like pose, torso tilted to one side, shoulders hunched, his large, claw-like hands held out before him [Fig. 129]. The photographer of the series is unknown, but as *Dadaco* was Huelsenbeck’s project, it seems likely he would have been involved in coordinating Preiss’ appearance behind the camera.


Very little is known about Preiss. He was one of the signatories of Huelsenbeck’s Dada manifesto. As Bergius points out, he took part in one of Grosz’s private dance parties, referred to by Grosz as an evening of ‘Apache dances in Futurist basements’ in the spring of 1918. The programme for the 7 December 1919 Tribune performance lists a ‘Bruistischer Kehraus in memoriam Gerhard Preiß (Musikdada)’ (‘bruitist finale in memory of Gerhard Preiß [the Music-Dada]’), with a cross symbol next to his name, indicating that he died not long after the photoshoot took place [Fig. 95]. The three frames from Preiss’ Dada-Trott in the third issue of Der Dada from April 1920, republished in May as the sixth ‘Dada’ issue of the Schall und Rauch magazine, were therefore published posthumously [Fig. 130].

The issue’s nod to the slapstick performance of Charlie Chaplin is hinted at through Preiss’s Chaplin-esque bowler hat, and through a further photograph of Preiss formally greeting a wooden mannequin [Fig. 113]. These visual references are made explicit in the issue’s solidarity statement addressed to Chaplin [Fig. 132]. Another parallel linking Hausmann’s Dada-Trot and Preiss’s earlier Dada-Trott is the fact that Hausmann, like Preiss, also chose to wear streamlined, body-hugging attire for some of his Dada tour performances, purchasing several pairs of blue and black striped silk stockings in Prague and wearing a different pair every evening.

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107 Huelsenbeck, ‘Dadaistisches Manifesto,’ in Dada Almanac, ed. Green, 49.
109 For an account of Chaplin’s influence, see Simmons, ‘Chaplin Smiles,’ 3-34, 8-12.
110 See Bergius, Lachen Dadas, 353; and see Hausmann’s letter to Höch, 3 March 1920, in Höch, Eine Lebenscollage, vol. 2, 648.
Preiss and Hausmann’s dance costumes were notably different in function to the constrictive and deliberately abstracting costumes worn during Zurich Dada performances. Joyce Cheng discusses how bodily awkwardness and constraint were first explored through the Zurich Dadaists’ performances in oversized or constrictive masks and costumes created by Sophie Taeuber-Arp (1889-1943), Hans Arp (1886-1966), and Marcel Janco (1895-1984) [Fig. 133]. In particular, the changing prominence of the mask in Dada performance demonstrates a shift away from the primitivist dance of Zurich Dada, and towards dances that drew from popular culture. Masks were essential in the context of Zurich Dada’s dance, with Ball recalling how it was the masks themselves which inspired the Dadaists’ performed movement. In contrast, among the Berlin Dada dances, only the programme for the performance in the Meistersaal on 24 May 1919 lists a ‘Dadaistischer Tanz mit Masken’ (‘Dadaistic Dance with Masks’) [Fig. 134].

A move away from masks and costumes and towards a more pared-back presentation of the body is consistent with the Berlin Dadaists’ preference for more modern, popular dance styles emphasising new modes of corporeality. While the Zurich Dadaists’ costumes intentionally impeded a performer’s ability to stage dynamic, corporeal movement, as a general rule masks also draw the attention away from the performer’s bodily materiality by creating distance between performer and

111 Cheng, ‘Cardboard Toys,’ 275-309.
112 See Ball, Flight, 64.
113 Hausmann writes how the Meistersaal performance included, ‘for the first time a dance with paper masks, created by me.’ Hausmann, Courrier Dada, 178. However, the reportage describes only Grosz’s dance. See, for example, G., ‘Die Dadaisten,’ Berliner Börsen-Courier, 26 May 1919. Indeed, if Hecht’s report for this event is accurate, the ‘Masken’ in question may have referred to Grosz’s blackface, as one translation for this term is ‘stage make-up’. Hecht, ‘Dadafest,’ 125.
audience. As Dada scholar Ruth Hemus notes, excessive stylisation of the performing body ‘drives a wedge between the spectator and the performer, inciting shock instead of empathy and identification’.¹¹⁴

Bakhtin views masks as fundamentally grotesque and carnivalesque. He refers to the mask as the ‘most complex theme of folk culture’ due to the metamorphoses it triggers, proposing the idea that all ‘parodies, caricatures […] eccentric postures’ are derived from the mask.¹¹⁵ Instead of Zurich Dada’s elaborate and colourful cardboard masks and primitivist costume, Grosz and Hausmann enacted a different kind of ‘masking’, more closely related to parody and caricature. Grosz stepped into the role of a showman cakewalker, whereas Hausmann followed Preiss’s lead by developing a grotesque foxtrot, comically displaying the materiality of the body itself as uncanny and ‘other’.

2.4. ‘Plaster cast’ Dance

A short article written by Hausmann six years after his Dada tour performances provides an insight into his thinking on the topic of corporeality in German dance.¹¹⁶ The article illustrates how ideas of race and gender intersect in contemporary discourses around dance in Weimar Germany, shedding light on some of the influences for Berlin Dada’s grotesque corporeality in the process. Hausmann’s essay was originally published in Der Sturm, following a dance performance in Herwarth Walden’s Sturm gallery in 1926 [Fig. 135].¹¹⁷ The solo performance prompted

¹¹⁴ Hemus, ‘Sex and the Cabaret,’ 95.
¹¹⁵ Bakhtin, Rabelais, 39-40.
¹¹⁶ Raoul Hausmann, ‘Tanz,’ Der Sturm, December 1926, issue 9, 143.
¹¹⁷ Lindlar, ‘Visuelle Lautpoesie,’ 171.
Hausmann to formalise and develop his position on dance, marking the culmination of a dance practice developed throughout the 1920s, starting with the Dada tour performances. Alongside the dances he performed for the Club Dada, Hausmann’s text is also informed by his post-Dada ideas around ‘PRÉsentism’, and ‘Pré’ theatre, in addition to his experiences performing with Dadaist Kurt Schwitters.\textsuperscript{118} Rather than laying out ‘Dadaist’ conceptions of dance, the text is useful for demonstrating how Hausmann tried to influence the way his dance practice was categorised. The text, which is titled ‘Tanz Manifest’ (‘Dance manifesto’) in his original transcript, pits Black dance culture against that of ‘the white race’, deriding the latter by arguing that White culture’s impoverished ‘Ausdrucksform’ (‘expressive form’) is rooted in ‘the plaster cast’.

To elucidate his position, and explain its significance to Dada ideas of corporeality, Hausmann’s ‘Tanz’ essay is quoted at length,

\begin{quote}
Man exists within a second and in a place. The multiplication of the second and the place is: time-space. Art has hitherto been concerned with casting the subtraction of second from place in plaster. We possess the expression of the plaster cast. Of the plaster cast in architectural, sculptural, literary, musical and dance-based representation [...] A constructed necessity, such as the metaphysical, the soul, or the erotic, took the place of the foundational elements of art [...] Metaphysical movements arouse displeasure, emotional movements cause nausea, and the white race does not know of erotic movements at all, or they know of it only in the form of a plaster cast, as a dance [...] Laban, Mary Wigman and Valeska Gert are plaster cast dancers. These dancers
\end{quote}

poorly express their ideas, cast in plaster, of the metaphysical, of the soul and of eroticism. They believe that they are classical, that is, Greek. Their plaster-cast brains overlook the fact that the Greeks were not the inventors of plaster. The Greeks were the inventors of gymnastics, the purpose of which was bodily function. The plaster-cast culture of the white race is created through a combination of the anti-temporal, the metaphysical, as well as the psychic non-values, with eroticism, in forms borrowed from the Greeks […] The black race has movement. The black race has dances, in spite of eroticism, which for them only represents the value of movement. For the plaster-cast white race, eroticism is worthless […] In America, the white race learnt to walk from the Indians and the negroes.¹¹⁹

Hausmann argues that the arts of the Occident neglected to take into account the fact that humans exist in both time and space, and thereby fostered a ‘plaster cast’ culture. These concerns partly reflect the PRÉsentist Hausmann advocating for an art able to engage with the essence of the present, thus developing and rebuffing the Futurist impulse to hurtle towards the future. Hausmann argues that this rejection of the temporal element in all Western arts, including dance, is highly detrimental as it results in a culture in which ‘eroticism is worthless’. In contrast, he lauds peoples of African descent for centring dances and movement in their culture, viewing eroticism as a

natural resulting biproduct. This statement by Hausmann thus implicitly reinforces the racist notion that peoples of African descent are less cerebral and governed more by instinctual drives.\textsuperscript{120} Conversely, he derides the Expressionist dance of Mary Wigman (1886-1973), and Rudolf Laban (1879-1958), and the grotesque dance of Gert (categorised in the literature variously as Dada, Expressionist or Realist) as ‘Gips abgegossene Tanz’ (‘plaster-cast dance’).\textsuperscript{121} Hausmann implies that these German dancers poorly express their imaginative visions of the metaphysical, the soul, and eroticism, figuratively casting them in plaster.

In \textit{Memoirs of a Dada Drummer} (1969), Huelsenbeck glosses over the significance of collaborations between the majority-male Cabaret Voltaire and the majority-female Laban school.\textsuperscript{122} Hemus observes how gender bias has also informed past scholarship on Dada dance, identifying a scholarly reluctance to associate Laban, Wigman’s teacher and one of the founders of Expressionist dance, with Dadaism. She attributes this to Laban’s privileging of the expressive qualities of the body, a position which initially appears to contradict the Dadaists’ rejection of individual expression.\textsuperscript{123} In their experiments with most media, the rejection or subversion of individual artistic expression also formed a core principle for the Berlin group, serving as a basis for their opposition to literary Expressionism. However, the reviews describing Hausmann’s \textit{Dada-Trot} hint at the fact that Berlin Dada’s dance practices did exhibit

\begin{footnotesize}
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\item[121] Hausmann, ‘Tanz,’ 143.
\item[122] Huelsenbeck refers to the Laban school primarily as a source for flirtatious encounters. Huelsenbeck, \textit{Dada Drummer}, 11.
\item[123] Hemus, ‘Sex and the Cabaret,’ 95.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
certain ‘expressive’ qualities, which more closely resembled grotesque Expressionist dance than Dada dance in Zurich.

Hausmann’s use of the term ‘plaster cast’—as opposed to simply ‘statue’ or ‘sculpture’—specifically connotes inauthentic, cheap casts of classical sculpture, such as those frequently used in the traditional bastions of art schools and Academies. In Dada Bodies, Adamowicz traces the ways in which the Dadaists rejected the ancient Greek ideal of an intact, deity-like body by featuring subverted classical motifs in their photomontages. She persuasively observes how, through such works, the Dadaists distanced themselves from art and society’s ‘return to order’ seen in the wake of the First World War. In the context of dance, however, renewed interest in classicism or ‘Hellenism’ had additional connotations, stretching back to the revival of the Olympic Games in 1896. Hausmann obliquely references this in his statement that ‘the Greeks were the inventors of gymnastics’.

Hausmann deploys the image of the plaster cast as a visual metaphor for the dance of Laban, Wigman, and Gert, arguing that their practices consist only of poorly-executed symbolic expressions of ‘die Idee, die Seele oder die Erotik’ (‘the metaphysical, the spiritual and the erotic’). He argues that dancers should move away from this derivative approach to instead take note of more immediate and authentic examples of non-Western dance. Hausmann contends that, in attempting to symbolise

124 Adamowicz, Dada Bodies, 46-69.
125 Adamowicz, 48-49, 59-61.
the metaphysical, instead of constructing movement from the fundamentals of artistic expression, these dancers merely replicate inauthentic fabrications of ideas: ‘Diese Tänzer geben ihre in Gips gegossenen Vorstellungen […] schlecht von sich’ (‘These dancers poorly express their ideas, cast in plaster’). In other words, in their quest to present translations of certain abstract ideas or emotional states, the performances of these dancers merely generate Platonic shadows of ideas which themselves remain inaccessible. Hausmann appears to interpret these dance practices as failed efforts to forge a connection between Geist and matter. In her volume The Language of Dance (1963), Wigman directly contradicts Hausmann’s reading of her dance, stating that as dance is ‘independent of any literary-interpretative content’ it ‘does not represent, it is’.127

Quite aside from the overt racialised generalisations and misogynistic undertones in Hausmann’s essay, the taxonomy he imposes on these dancers is plainly inaccurate and anachronistic. The text would have been clear to anyone familiar with the dancers he names as intentionally provocative. Many dancers at the time were familiar with Friedrich Nietzsche’s interpretation of the ‘Dionysian’ origins and traits of the Greek chorus, an interest first forged by Duncan during the fin de siècle.128 Duncan herself is curiously absent from Hausmann’s list. In 1903, she performed a piece in Athens before the ancient ruins of the Theatre of Dionysus [Fig. 136], and in 1905, she wrote that dance should invoke ‘the Dionysian ecstasy which

127 Mary Wigman, Language of Dance, quoted in Elswit, Watching Weimar Dance, 6.
carries away all’. Increasing interests in the release of Dionysian vitalism through dance advanced the medium’s rebellion against the strict conventions of ballet. The resultant dance form pioneered by Duncan entailed flowing, liberatory movements which could be dramatic, elegant, or sprightly. With her neck bending back and arms raised to the heavens, her choreography was characterised by ascendent movements, and she often performed in a flowing tunic to enable uninhibited motion.

In relegating major Expressionist innovators, such as Laban and Wigman, to the earlier Hellenistic movement in dance, Hausmann obscures the fact that their grotesque dance practices in fact challenged the feminine beauty associated with Duncan’s Greek primitivism. Further, this move by Hausmann ignores how Laban and Wigman’s choreographies drew from non-European ritual or performance forms, such as Sufi Dervishes and Japanese Noh theatre. Non-Western influence is clearly evident in an image of a masked and robed Laban from c.1915-18, showing him performing a ‘grotesque’ as ‘Mathematicus’ while wearing elongated nails resembling those used in traditional Southeast Asian ‘fingernail’ dances [Fig. 137]. Elswit notes that Wigman’s own distinctly grotesque style challenges assumptions attached to Duncan’s breakthrough work, namely the idea that modern dance brought about the

132 For example, Northern Malaysian and Southern Thai Nora dance; Northeast Thai Fon Phuthai; Indonesian Gending Srivijana; Philippine Pangalay, etc.
‘successive liberation of the body’. For example, in a photograph taken by Hugo Erfurth in 1914, Wigman adopts a pose taken from her original Hexentanz (Witch Dance) [Fig. 138]. Here, Wigman bends and constricts her torso, extending the tension into her right arm which juts vertically upwards to then bend sharply at a right angle, her talon-like fingers clasping around the centrifugal focal point of the pose. Similarly, Gert’s grotesque dances during the Weimar Republic stood in stark contrast to Duncan’s freeform ‘Dionysian’ dance, instead presenting highly grotesque realist vignettes from contemporary society.

Latent in Hausmann’s denigration of these practitioners is, I argue, an anxiety regarding how closely their work sits in relation to his own dance practice. An important pretext to this suggestion is Elswit’s observation that the realm of dance was dominated by women, many of whom had received years-long formal training, such as Anita Berber and Gert, who were both trained by dancer Rita Sacchetto. Hausmann appears to dispute the ongoing relevance of the trained dancer, instead extolling African dance, which he believed to be characterised by instinctive movement over formal dance training. His rhetoric can be interpreted as a tactic to elevate his own comparatively amateur, self-taught dance above the technical prowess of his peers.

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Of the three dancers mentioned by Hausmann, Wigman and Laban are usually discussed most frequently in tandem with Dada due to the fact that the Laban school worked closely with the Dadaists in Zurich. However, the dancer whose style was closest to that of Grosz and Hausmann was almost certainly Gert. In her autobiography, Gert notes that her dance set out to weave together 'modern dance-pantomime, [...] abstract dance, [...] satiric dances, dances to sounds, [and] expressionistic dances'. Her more pantomimic, satirical dances involved wild or erratic movement of her limbs and distorted facial expressions. Snippets of surviving footage, such as those featured in a 2010 documentary on Weimar-era cabaret by Fabienne Rousso-Lenoir, show invaluable extracts from her choreography [Fig. 139] [Fig. 140].

When satirising vaudeville or ballroom society dance, Gert’s high kicks were slack and her neck limp, exhibiting the materiality of Bakhtin’s grotesque body, which she then further heightened by, for example, biting her tongue or slapping her body. Scholar Alexandra Kolb identifies the manner in which Gert’s dance emphasises the material body as distinctly grotesque in the Bakhtinian sense, highlighting how carnivalesque tendencies unite the bodily performances of Gert and the Berlin Dadaists. Challenging the boundaries and meanings of the dance medium, Gert

137 Gert, Witch, in Drain, Twentieth-Century Theatre, 33.
140 Kolb, ‘Never anythin’ like this,’ 303.
adopted a partially dramaturgical approach in her practice of ‘dance[ing] human characters’, such as sex workers and other individuals typical of the metropolis, who had never before been represented in dance.  

Lindlar suggests that Gert’s pantomimic grotesque dance may have influenced Grosz’s own number at the Tribune. The Dadaists certainly encountered Gert’s distinctive style during her spontaneous intervention at their soiree at the Meistersaal held earlier that same year in May. Whilst her involvement in the Dada soiree at the Meistersaal is undisputed, her precise contribution is hard to determine, as accounts by Gert, the Dadaists, and the press outline wholly divergent details. One recurring impression across different accounts is the impact that Gert’s performance had on an audience originally assembled to see the Dadaists. In one of the few reports of the soiree in the press, journalist Franz Schulz relayed how the atmosphere changed once Gert took the stage. Gert reportedly began performing before a disorderly audience who quickly became transfixed and enraptured by her grotesque dance: ‘[She] dances marvellous grotesque dances. Silence descends. She dances for a long time without becoming fatigued, wilder and wilder’.

Put differently, Gert upstaged the Berlin Dadaists during one of their most significant performances. Hausmann specifies that Gert took the stage after an ill-received dance featuring paper masks that he himself had created. He writes how, in

142 Lindlar, ‘Visuelle Lautpoesie,’ 169.
143 For a comparison of different accounts, see Lindlar, ‘Visuelle Lautpoesie,’ 164.
response to the audience’s hostile reception of the piece, the famed dancer Gert ‘took this opportunity to take the stage and perform some of her grotesque dances which always thrilled the audience’. Gert’s own account of this episode, though it varies in some details, also frames her performance as spontaneous and improvised.

Lindlar raises the possibility that Kerr’s derisive remark about Grosz resembling a poorly-rehearsed revue dancer perhaps indicated that Grosz was in fact was performing a Gert-inspired parody of a vaudeville dance, which was then interpreted by Kerr as a sincere effort. While this is certainly plausible, based on the critics’ descriptions of Hausmann’s parodic Dada-Trot, the influence of Gert’s satirical movement appears to be most evident in Hausmann’s piece. This is because Hausmann constructed a conscious anti-naturalism which derived some of its core movements from contemporary dance styles, such as the foxtrot, doing so in a manner deemed grotesque by onlookers. In order to elevate his practice of grotesque corporeality above that of his more experienced dancer peers, Hausmann’s ‘Tanz’ essay constructed a hierarchy that was both gendered and racially coded. Through this text, he stressed the corporeality of his own dance practice by framing the practices of others as abstracted or immaterial. In doing so, he proposed a reading of Gert’s dance as stiff, derivative, and dematerialised, implicitly contrasting it to the innate temporality of dances of ‘the black race’ and, by extension, his own practice.

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145 Hausmann, Courrier Dada, 179.
146 While the episode is undated, Gert recalls dancing with a bundle of fresh asparagus under her arm, commensurate with the fact that the Meistersaal performance took place during German Spargelzeit (asparagus season). Gert, Hexe, 49.
147 Lindlar, ‘Visuelle Lautpoesie,’ 169.
148 For an overview of the satirical nature of Gert’s dance, see Norton, ‘Valeska Gert,’ 99.
3. Extracorporeality

3.1. Extracorporeality: Applying ‘Prosthesis Logic’ to the Dancing Body

Thus far, the analysis has scrutinised the few surviving accounts of Grosz and Hausmann’s dance pieces to show how the Dadaists used dance to explore a new sense of corporeality, and train the body for its new role in a rapidly modernising, mechanised era. Through their pieces, composed from self-taught two-stepping, cakewalking, and tap dancing moves, the Dadaists stressed the materiality of an imperfect, grotesque body subject to fast-paced rhythm and gravity. The present section takes up a notion from Elswit’s work, namely the idea of dance as a productive, rather than simply expressive or cathartic medium, asking how the body was to be ‘retrained’ and to what end.\(^{149}\) In order to determine what mechanics the Dadaists might have understood to be at play in their dancing bodies, the discussion considers potential occurrences of extracorporeality in their dance practice. Also derived from Bakhtin’s conception of the grotesque body, I use the term extracorporeality to denote Bakhtin’s understanding of the body as an ‘unfinished’ entity, which ‘outgrows itself’ to ‘transgress its own limits’ and ‘blend with the world’.\(^{150}\)

Extracorporeal tendencies are here viewed through the work of three thinkers—the philosopher Marcus; the natural philosopher Haeckel; and the satirist and art historian, Carl Einstein—whose theories the Dadaists engaged with to varying

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degrees. For the Dadaists, particularly Hausmann who maintained the most active interest in science and contemporary philosophy, the common denominator uniting this eclectic group of thinkers was their interest in the interplays between the physical and the metaphysical. The Dadaists applied these ideas in pursuit of, in the words of Benson, the ‘materialisation of Geist’ or, as expressed by Arndt Niebisch, ‘anthropotechnical exploration’. In order to grasp how ideas around geistig materialism might have shaped Dada dance and mime, the discussion also analyses the Expressionist Ludwig Rubiner’s notion of man as ‘an island surrounded by nature’, as this exemplifies the stance of an opposing camp which rallied against the existence of a synthesis of spirit and matter.

As outlined in the chapter introduction, the act of surpassing apparent physical, sensory or metaphysical boundaries in the technological age is encapsulated in the image of the prosthesis. Before clarifying the ways in which Dada conceived of the newly altered body as a tool for the expansion of human faculties, it is worth briefly contextualising one of Hausmann’s satirical texts. ‘Prothesenwirtschaft, Gedank eines Kapp-Offiziers’ (A Prosthetic Economy: Thoughts of a Kapp-Officer), first published in Die Aktion in November 1920, demonstrates how the more-than-human abilities of the prosthesis are engrained in Hausmann’s thinking on the subject, even in this highly critical and satirical context.

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151 Benson, Hausmann, 11, 48, 25.
In his short satire, Hausmann adopts the arch conservative character of one of Wolfgang Kapp’s paramilitary officers following the failed Kapp Putsch in March. Hausmann’s character argues that prosthesis-wearers demand too much of the fatherland and should revise their demands to the government to reflect their new rights as enhanced humans. These should include a 25-hour working day due to the fact that a prosthesis never tires, alongside low food rations, under the grounds that a prosthesis-wearer, because they are in possession of fewer limbs, needs less nutrition. The narrator outlines the advantages enjoyed by the prosthesis-wearer with a practical example, ‘Pour boiling water on it without getting scalded. Can a healthy arm do that?’ concluding by venerating the ‘Brandenburg’ artificial arm as ‘the biggest miracle of technology’, through which ‘even bullets pass through […] painlessly’.

Hausmann’s satire is both a critique of the political and economic conditions to which prosthesis-wearers were subjected, and a response to a new biopolitical discourse seen in the early Weimar Republic around corporeal rights [Fig. 141]. Developments in prosthesis production and discussions around the ‘right’ to body parts, artificial or otherwise, raised new questions surrounding bodily integrity and ability. For example, a technical volume by John Rich McDill from 1918 titled Lessons from the Enemy pictures an array of detachable implements available for the ‘Siemens-Schuckert-Werke’, a tool-holding prosthetic arm whose fixtures can be

\[155\] Hausmann, ‘Prothesenwirtschaft,’ 22.
switched out and swapped around according to the task on-hand [Fig. 142].\textsuperscript{157} In the context of the standardised Siemens prosthesis, the body itself became a mechanical tool, with its boundaries constantly renegotiated, and its physiology contingent on the type of manual labour undertaken. Marshalling perspectives of disability studies in her analysis of ‘Prothesenwirtschaft’, scholar Dorothy Price positions Hausmann’s ‘black humour’ piece as a response to both right-wing political discourse and socio-economic policy texts, such as Konrad Biesalski’s \textit{Kriegskrüppelfürsorge} (War Cripple Welfare) (1915).\textsuperscript{158}

Long before such prostheses were developed in Germany during the war, new philosophical and scientific fields had begun to question bodily boundaries. Wilhelm Wundt (1832-1920), founder of the discipline of experimental psychology in Germany, proposed a set of ‘principles for physiological psychology’ in 1874.\textsuperscript{159} Scholar Catherine Damman has shown how Wundt’s influence spread to avant-garde circles, including the Dadaists in Zurich.\textsuperscript{160} Damman revisits Ball’s description of one of Taeuber-Arp’s dances to a sounding gong, noting strong parallels between Ball’s description of the performance and Wundtian theory. For example, Ball writes how Taeuber-Arp ‘exhausts all vibrations of the sound’, conducting these vibrations through

\textsuperscript{157} Heather R. Perry, \textit{Recycling the Disabled: Army, Medicine, and Modernity in WWI Germany} (Manchester, Manchester Scholarship Online, 2015), 60, \url{https://academic-oup-com.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk/manchester-scholarship-online/book/16383}.
\textsuperscript{160} Damman, ‘Hundred-Jointed Body,’ 357.
her dancing body and into her psyche to convert them into intuitive movement.\textsuperscript{161} Scholar Adrian Curtin similarly reframes Huelsenbeck’s drumming practice as a physiologically stimulating ‘vibratory’ activity, rather than simply an exercise of generating protestant, anti-militaristic chaos.\textsuperscript{162} Evidently, the avant-garde increasingly used performance as a forum for the artistic exploration of proposed hypotheses, such as Wundt’s suggestion that vibrations were able to ‘permeate the body’s distinction between interior and exterior’.\textsuperscript{163}

### 3.2. Ludwig Rubiner on Man’s *Inselexistenz* (island existence)

Before applying Marcus, Haeckel, or Einstein’s ideas to aspects of Dada dance and mime, it is worth examining an opposing position that strove against the idea of extracorporeal reality or the porous state of the body’s boundaries. In turn, the wider discourse around Rubiner’s ideas can also develop our understanding in relation to the most chaotic and improvisational category of Berlin Dada’s bodily performance: bruitist dance. The Activist Expressionist writer Rubiner conceived of the Expressionist New Man as a complete, intact whole, uniquely distinct from the biologically mechanistic natural world. In a 1916 essay, ‘Zur Krise des geistigen Lebens’ (‘On the Crisis of Spiritual Life’), Rubiner expresses this view by proposing man’s

\[\text{\textsuperscript{161} Ball,} \textit{Fight}, 102. \text{Ball was intrigued by the connection between dance and music partly due to Kandinsky’s interests in a synthesis of all art forms, exemplified by his \textit{Der Gelbe Klang} (1912) abstract play. This play partly formed Kandinsky’s critique of Wagner’s Gesamtkunstwerk.}\]


\[\text{\textsuperscript{163} Damman, ‘Hundred-Jointed Body,’ 363. Damman notes how decades later Marcel Janco recalled the ‘jerky syncopated expression’ of Taueber’s dance, where her movements were ‘exactly like the chords of good jazz or the restrained and dignified sadness of American blues.’ Damman, ‘Hundred-Jointed Body,’ 360.}\]
‘Inselexistenz’ (‘island existence’), likening humanity to an island surrounded by nature.\footnote{`Inselexistenz des Menschenwesens umflossen von der Natur.’ Ludwig Rubiner, `Zur Krise des geistigen Lebens,’ Zeitschrift für Individual Psychologie 1 (1916): 231-240.} Espousing a fundamentally anthropocentric view, Rubiner believed that Geist enabled mankind to raise itself above natural drives and impulses as an agent of free will. He accuses psychoanalysis of profiteering through the privatisation of the individual, and pushing an agenda of ‘biologischen Determinismus’ (‘biological determinism’), reducing the human soul to a ‘biologische Substrate’ (‘biological substrate’).\footnote{`Inhaltlich ist sie ein System der Seelen-Mechanik; methodologisch ein System, um durch Enthüllung, Seiendes festzustellen.’ Rubiner, `Zur Krise,’ 121. Also see Taylor, Left-Wing Nietzscheans, 101.}

The sentiments in this article formed one instalment of a fraught debate between Rubiner and the psychoanalyst Otto Gross, which played out in the pages of various journals, including Die Aktion in 1913.\footnote{Richard Sheppard, `Dada and Expressionism,’ English Goethe Society 49 (1978/9): 45-83, 55.} Taylor identifies how this disagreement arose from the pair’s conflicting interpretations of Nietzsche. Rubiner adhered to Nietzsche’s call to rise above the ‘herd’ crowd by defining ‘the free spirit as antinature’.\footnote{Taylor, Left-Wing Nietzscheans, 101.} Contrastingly, Gross’ biopolitical view focused on Nietzschean notions of the suppression of interior ‘Dionysian’ impulses through societal, exterior forces, believing that ‘man should live in closer conformity with his natural drives’.\footnote{Taylor, 101.} Gross’s ideas on the ways in which the psyche was influenced and suppressed by societal structures were taken up by the ‘Freie Straße’ group (Baader, Jung, Huelsenbeck, Hausmann, and Höch), and greatly shaped Hausmann’s pivotal concept of Erleben...
Following the logic laid out by Gross, the Berlin Dadaists interpreted the body as a living, perceiving membrane between consciousness and the world. They acknowledged the existence of an internal, individualised self, but also recognised how this self must contest with a material body exposed to both internal instinctive drives and external, biopolitical forces seeking to suppress these drives.

As Sheppard points out, on the cover of the May issue of the proto-Dada magazine *Neue Jugend* in 1917, the editors printed an anonymous response to another article by Rubiner, titled ‘Der Kampf mit dem Engel’ (‘Struggle with the Angel’). In Rubiner’s text, published in *Die Aktion* in 1917, the Activist Expressionist implores his readers to strive with all their strength towards *geistig* insight. They must grapple with the angel, like the biblical figure of Jacob, or risk unleashing the ‘demonic element of nature’, allowing it to triumph over the Übermensch. Positing enlightenment through *Geist* as redemption for the war’s destruction, Rubiner writes how man must reconcile with the fact that ‘We cannot become animals or angels […] We are destined to be human: the centre of the world’. In response to his anthropocentric tract, a *Neue Jugend* author, likely Huelsenbeck or Franz Jung, published the short rejoinder in question titled ‘Kriegszustand’ (‘State of War’), declaring a figurative war on Rubiner’s position. Rubiner’s Expressionist text is characterised in *Neue Jugend* as a ‘deed full of latter-day miracles, and the thought of

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172 ‘Wir können weder Tier noch Engel werden […] Uns ist das Geschick gegeben, Mensch zu sein: Die Mitte der Welt.’ Rubiner, ‘Der Kampf.’
In response to Rubiner’s text, members of the ‘Neue Jugend’ group express their intentions to ‘severe any indirect relationship with [Rubiner’s] generation’, on the grounds that their existence should be ‘shattered in the consciousness of “too late”’. The group, whose members would shortly join with others to form the Club Dada, felt that Rubiner’s understanding of the relationship between human consciousness and nature was naïve, moralising, and did not truly interrogate the root causes of the war. It is on these grounds that they began to ask how the human body and psyche might be implicated in the extracorporeal processes of the material world. Indeed, it is through their declaration of a ‘state of war’ against ‘Rubiner’s generation’ that we see the position of Berlin Dadaism start to formalise.

As Huelsenbeck wrote in his 1918 manifesto, ‘to be a Dadaist means to let oneself be moved by things’.

A passage from an undated essay by Duncan entitled ‘Depth’ demonstrates how these concerns play out in the realm of dance. In this text, Duncan applied the extracorporeal quality of reflexivity to ‘modern’ dances, deriding their formal qualities on this basis:

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174 ‘Eine Tat voll später Wunder und dem Wissen eines Menschen, der aus dieser Zeit heraus nunmehr zwangsweise sich selbst Menschlichkeit schenken und die Welt vermenschlichen will.’ ‘Kriegszustand,’ Neue Jugend.
176 Alongside Rubiner, they also distanced themselves from other Activist Expressionists such as Kurt Hiller, in addition to Expressionists invested in religious ecstatic thinking, and uncritical idealism, pacifism and humanitarianism, such as Franz Werfel, Leonhard Frank, Johannes Becher, Rudolf Leonhard. See Sheppard, Modernism-Dada, 253.
177 Huelsenbeck, ‘Dada Manifesto,’ in Dada Almanac, ed. Green, 45.
Our modern dances know nothing [...] of harmony. Their movements are choppy, end-stopped, abrupt. They lack the continuing beauty of the curve. They are satisfied with being the points of angles which spur on the nerves. The music of today, too, only makes the nerves dance. Deep emotion, spiritual gravity, are entirely lacking. We dance with the jerky gestures of puppets.  

For Duncan, the ‘choppy’ movements generated by the syncopated rhythms of ‘music of today’ are mere mechanical reflexes, responding to extracorporeal stimuli and originating in the nervous system. The resultant grotesque style of movement, Duncan suggests, prohibits the dancing body from accessing more spiritually profound forces. Just as Rubiner shuns a view of man as subject to biological drives, through her mechanistic reading, Duncan discredits the more informal and fast-paced dance styles linked to ragtime rhythms. 

The Berlin Dadaists also saw modern dance in terms of reflexivity, but viewed this aspect in a positive light. As has been argued, Berlin Dada’s dances sought to tap into new urban sociality and cosmopolitan exuberance, playfully embracing reflexive movement triggered by extracorporeal stimuli. Huelsenbeck drew the link between the reflexivity induced by syncopated modern music and Dada bruitist noise-making in his comment that, ‘In modern Europe, the same initiative which in America made ragtime a national music, led to the convulsion of bruitism’.  

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178 Isadora Duncan, ‘Depth,’ 248-249. Drain estimates the essay dates from approximately 1905.  
179 Huelsenbeck, En Avant Dada, in Dada Painters, 26.
Rubiner's construal of man as a solitary ‘island’ above mechanistic processes stands in patent opposition to the Wundtian theory taken up by Ball.\(^ {180}\) As was previously mentioned, Ball’s description of Taueber-Arp’s dance strongly indicates an application of Wundt’s physiological hypothesis that percussive music conducts energy or ‘vibrations’ through a dancer’s psyche, via extracorporeal bodily channels.\(^ {181}\) Newspaper reports recording the Tribune performance certainly cite more reflexive, rather than slick or fluid, modes of dance. For example, Neuhahn alludes to multiple Dadaists, most likely Grosz and Hans Ehrlich, dancing simultaneously and responding to each other as they did so. He recalls an incomprehensible roaring of ‘Naturlaute’ (‘sounds of nature’), interrupted by drumbeats and purportedly soulless piano drumming, overlayed by unaesthetic ‘Stampfen und Drehen’ (‘stamping and spinning’) performed ‘individually, in pairs, in threes’.\(^ {182}\) Neuhahn’s report implies that Grosz, Ehrlich, and a third Dadaist danced erratically during an anarchic bruitist outburst.

When describing the chaos inherent in Dada poetry, such as during simultaneous or bruitist recitals, Ball notes how these performances illustrate ‘the fact that man is wound up in the mechanistic process […] [to] show the conflict of the vox humana with […] the world, whose rhythm and noise are inescapable’.\(^ {183}\) As Ball implies, the vox humana struggles to be heard amongst the din of the world’s rhythms and noise,


\(^ {182}\) Neuhahn, ‘Dada-Matinée,’ in Bergius, *Dada Triumphs*, 60.

striving for free will, but unable to completely rise above the world’s cacophonous ‘mechanistic process’ to Rubiner’s ‘island’ state. If, as Neuhahn suggests, several unnamed Dadaists were ‘stamping and spinning’ during simultaneous poetry and percussive music, the movement of their grotesque dancing bodies takes on a role equivalent to the *vox humana* of the poet’s voice.\(^\text{184}\) It asserts itself as a vitalist force, but one which responds to external stimuli.

Dada dances also contravened the Expressionist conception of the New Man as a whole intact entity through a variety of performance and staging tactics. Recalling the dancing performed by Grosz and Ehrlich on the Tribune stage, critic L.g. writes, ‘one could not be sure [who was who], because they switched legs and noses backstage […] Groß [sic] and Ehrlich danced a Caketrot, Groß with Ehrlich’s legs, and Ehrlich with Groß’s legs’.\(^\text{185}\) This appears to be a journalistic quip at both the Dadaists’ apparently chaotic dancing style, and the Dada practice of creating compound, hybridised neologisms and names, briefly highlighted in the previous chapter. Hybrid names appear in the magazines and texts of the Berlin Dadaists, for example, *Der Dada*, issue 3 (April 1920), lists the ‘directors’ of the club dada as ‘groszfield’, ‘hearthaus’ and ‘georgemann’ [sic], so it would have been consistent for them to take on similar aliases during their staged performances.\(^\text{186}\)

\(^\text{186}\) See *Der Dada*, April 1920, issue 3.
Elisions of the names of group members, expressed by the press as spliced bodies shared between two dance partners, served to playfully undermine Expressionist notions of authorship, which saw art as the authentic mark of a self-taught individual.\textsuperscript{187} In \textit{Wireless Dada} (2019), scholar Kurt Beals examines the linguistic conventions and technological mechanisms behind telegraphy, making the case for their influence on Dada poetry.\textsuperscript{188} If we apply Beal’s analytical framework to staged Dada characters, it becomes clear that the Dadaists’ scrambled names present artistic identity not as unique ‘islands’ of experience, but as randomised ‘data sets’ susceptible to corruption during extracorporeal processes of transmission. The conceit of the two performers swapping body parts may also refer to an apparent lack of autonomy over the performers’ own bodies, or the fact that the two dancers interacted with each other in their choreography. Responding to Baader’s comment that ‘Dada is not an art movement’ but simply movement itself, the critic R-v. wryly agrees that Dada is indeed ‘nothing but movement of legs, arms and tongues’.\textsuperscript{189} Antithetical to Duncan’s ideal that the dancer should be light as a flame, appearances on the Tribune stage evidently presented synecdochised, almost slapstick bodies, with diminished corporeal integrity.

3.3. Mime and the Æther of Ernst Marcus

Having established how Berlin Dada’s chaotic, reflexive ‘bruitist’ dances implicitly rejected Rubiner’s notion of man’s hermetically-sealed and transcendent

\textsuperscript{188} Beals, \textit{Wireless Dada}, 3-28.
\textsuperscript{189} R-v., ’Dada,’ in Füllner, \textit{Zeitungen}, 36.
‘Inselexistenz’, the discussion here turns to an extracorporeal theory known to the group, which may have provided a basis for this rejection. It considers how the Neo-Kantian philosopher Ernst Marcus’ theory of æther, developed from 1898 until the philosopher’s death in 1928, may have informed Hausmann’s interpretation of the group’s performances, using the specific example of Grosz’s improvisational mime. Rather than exclusively examining how external elements, such as musical vibrations, penetrate the boundaries of the body, Marcus was equally concerned with the ways in which bodily processes moved outwards to interact with the world. His theories attempted to solve the problem of what he referred to as ‘eccentric perception’. He wished to determine how it is possible that humans perceive visible and auditory sensations as extracorporeal, or as spatially outside of the body, despite the fact that these phenomena are perceived via internal organs.

In 1916, Friedländer invited Hausmann to accompany him during a visit to Marcus’ residence in Essen, following a decade-long correspondence between Friedländer and Marcus. Benson notes that Marcus’ theories in fact held the most sway over Hausmann’s work during his PRÉsentist activities from 1921. However, as Niebisch has identified, a letter from Hausmann to Höch, dated 23 November 1916, indicates how this encounter with Marcus had begun to influence Hausmann’s thinking

191 Ernst Marcus, Das Problem der excentrischen Empfindung und seine Lösung (Berlin: Sturmverlag, 1918).
192 Niebisch, Media Parasites, 163. Also referred to by Marcus as the problem of ‘transssomatic’ perception.
193 Benson, Hausmann, 11.
194 Benson, 11, 201.
well before 1921. In the letter, Hausmann explained Marcus’ hypothesis that perception is a phenomenological and partially extracorporeal process, arriving at his own personal deduction that ‘die Grenzen des Körpers [sind] nicht die Grenzen des Sinneswahrnehmungen’ (‘the boundaries of the body are not the boundaries of sense perception’). Marcus additionally proposes that bodily reactions to sensory stimuli must operate via a medium that is both material and geistig, a substance he calls æther. Niebisch provides an excellent summary of Marcus’ proposed mechanics of æther:

Objects emit vibrations that travel through the ether. Through the retina, these vibrations affect the nerve of the eye [...] moving to the central organ [of the brain]. Triggered by the stimulus, the brain then produces ethereal vibrations, which project the sensation of the object outside of the body.

Following Marcus’ theory, Niebisch posits that Hausmann interpreted each sensory process, such as seeing, as ‘a haptic operation that is in immediate contact with the perceived object’.

Marcus’ theories, as they were interpreted by Hausmann, altered the way in which the Dadaist wrote about his own sensations and memories. For example, in Am Anfang war Dada (In the Beginning was Dada), when recalling Golyscheff’s

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195 Thus even before Marcus’ work was published by the Sturm Verlag in 1918. Niebisch, Media Parasites, 163.
197 Niebisch, Media Parasites, 164.
198 Niebisch, 163. My emphasis.
199 Hausmann’s notion of the ‘haptic’, was partly a response to Marinetti’s ideas around ‘tactility’. Niebisch, Media Parasites, 169.
Antisymphonie (Anti-symphony) performed in April 1919 at J.B. Neumann’s gallery, Hausmann writes,

Forever this image will remain imprinted in my ‘eidophonischen Erinnerung’ (eidophonic memory), forever I will keep it on my retina rods, saturated with the ‘Mnemo-Photo-Phonen’ (mnemonic photophones) for more than half a century.200

Hausmann portrays his memory as an eidophone, or a device which visually represents sound waves. Meanwhile, his memory is like a ‘mnemonic’ (memorising) photophone, a telecommunications device which enabled the transmission of speech via modulated light.201 Although his mechanistic language partly reflected his interest in scientific instruments, most famously the optophone, Hausmann’s account of his saturated retina rods alludes to a key component in Marcus’ sensorium.202 This account suggests that the ‘haptic’ experience of witnessing of Golyscheff’s performance left a physical impression on Hausmann’s retina. Hausmann additionally frames the faculty of memory as the brain’s ability to retain all the ethereal vibrations ‘haptically’ encountered over a lifetime, lending them an additional transtemporal quality. While it is unclear whether Hausmann’s other Dada peers were as familiar with Marcusian ideas as himself and Höch, the Dadaists’ experiments with bodily performance gain renewed significance when viewed in relation to Marcus’ theory of ethereal vibrations passing through and projecting back out of the body.

200 Hausmann, Am Anfang, 106.
201 The photophone was an early model for fibreoptic technology.
202 The optophone was an extremely inefficient reading aid for the blind invented in 1913. It converted light (and thus text on a page) into different sonic tones. Although Hausmann’s work on the optophone materialised from 1922 when he began publishing articles on ‘optophonetics’ and applying for his own patent, he had begun to read literature and attend experiments on similar technologies from 1920. See Jacques Donguy, ‘Machine Head: Raoul Hausmann and the Optophone,’ Leonardo 34, no. 3 (2001): 217.
Earlier we saw how Grosz’s role as a boxing mime allowed him to dance the pugilistic message of his ‘Man must become a rubber man!’ text. Höch’s recollection that Grosz ‘boxed without an opponent’ in an improvisational manner during performances, is made more likely by the fact that he would have regularly shadowboxed during training at Mahir’s boxing ring.\(^{203}\) When shadowboxing, arguably itself a form of mime, the fighter must look ahead as if staring his opponent in the eye. If we follow the logic of Marcus’ theory, during his shadowboxing on stage, Grosz stares ahead to project ethereal vibrations as if they had already haptically encountered an opponent. Hausmann’s letter to Höch indicates that, in this situation, Hausmann would have considered the boundaries of Grosz’s physical senses to encompass the space between himself and his projected, phantom opponent. Theoretically, the more receptive Grosz is to extracorporeal vibrations emitting through the æther, the more rapidly he would be able to duck and dive in a match. We might subsequently say that to mime boxing onstage sees Grosz finetuning the porous extracorporeal channels between his brain, referred to by Niebisch as a ‘sensory interface’, and the æther, via the externalised orifice of the eye.\(^{204}\) The act of projecting an opponent and then interacting with this projection formed another component of Grosz’s training, part physical, part metaphysical, or imaginative.

### 3.4. Ernst Haeckel and Monist *Metachemie* (Metaphysical Chemistry)

According to Marcusian thought, if Grosz were to shadowbox with a punching bag, this object would be both a place marker for an opponent and a projection caused by ‘ethereal vibrations’ emanating from the eyes of the boxing Grosz. Issue 3 of *Der

\(^{203}\) Höch, ‘Erinnerungen,’ 204.  
\(^{204}\) Niebisch, *Media Parasites*, 163.
Dada contains a similar image, also featuring a Dadaist ‘training’ and involving a placeholder object overlaid with a projection of the imagination. The image in question is the photograph titled *Der Musikdada Preiss beim Morgentraining* (The Music-Dada Preiss at Morning Practice), showing him at his ‘morning training’ with a mannequin [Fig. 131]. In this directly haptic meeting, Preiss courteously bends to kiss the mannequin’s hand as she bows her head in return.

Whilst the episode does not immediately appear to redraw the boundaries of Preiss’ body, five pages later, the reader is presented with the three stills showcasing his *Dada-Trott*, a ‘dadaistic wooden puppet dance’ [Fig. 125]. The progression through both images narrativises how Preiss’s interactions with a non-human figure generate a new form of animation for his own body, resulting in a mimed homage to Charlie Chaplin.205 At its core, the skit thematises an exchange between the body and objects abiding in its external (or extracorporeal) environment. By viewing Preiss’ photographic series through the work of Ernst Haeckel, another scientist whose research appealed to the Dadaists, the implications of his extracorporeal exchange come to the fore. These insights concerning works by Preiss have additional implications for the Dadaists’ staged bodily performances, because, as has been argued, his photographic piece influenced other grotesque Dada dances, such as Hausmann’s own *Dada-Trot* performed on the Dada tour.

205 The bowler hat is a Chaplin-esque trademark, while the tights create impression of an effeminate character. On the Dada interest in Chaplin’s brand of ‘male hysteria’, see Simmons, ‘Chaplin Smiles,’ 9-12.
Haeckel subscribed to monism, a philosophy which first came to prominence in the eighteenth century as a rebuttal to Cartesian dualism. As monism states that reality is composed of one unified phenomenon, with no dividing principles between the physical and metaphysical, many scientists took an interest in monist thought towards the end of the nineteenth century. In 1906 the German Monist League was established, and Haeckel was announced as its honorary president. The league promoted a renewed emphasis on the idea of monism as a *Metachemie* (metaphysical chemistry). Among the Berlin Dadaists, the most fervent ambassador for Haeckel’s monism was Baader. In his 1914 treatise dedicated to Haeckel, *Vierzehn Briefe Christi* (Fourteen Letters of Christ), he drew on the monist understanding that the spiritual resides within matter to explore the idea of heaven on earth, adopting an ironic, egocentric religiosity in response to such revelations. Haeckel also believed that the soul should be studied through psychology, bringing him in line with some elements of the thought of Gross and Wundt.

By contrast, Hausmann’s interest in monism paid greater attention to the implications of Haeckel’s biological hypotheses, particularly the monist premise that *Geist* was encoded within all matter. This belief illuminates why Hausmann, in his 1918 manifesto, *Das neue Material in der Malerei* (New Materials in Painting), describes the relativity of all matter, such as glass, wire, etc., as a series of ‘wunderbare Konstellationen’ (‘fantastic constellations’). In contrast to Rubiner’s

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206 Benson, *Hausmann*, 86.
209 Benson, 48.
210 Raoul Hausmann, ‘Das neue Material in der Malerei,’ in *Texte*, vol. 1, 16.
privileging of human consciousness as a fulcrum of Geist, both Haeckel and Hausmann rejected hierarchies of matter as ‘anthropomorphic dogma’. To counter anthropocentric theories of Geist, Haeckel conducted research into crystalline structures that appeared to exhibit some of the behaviours of living organisms. In his Kristallseelen: Studien uber das anorganische Leben (Crystal Souls: Studies of Inorganic Life), 1917, Haeckel concluded that his findings had the potential to undo ‘artificial [disciplinary] boundaries which up to now have been erected between life and death, between natural science and moral science’. He further inferred from his experiments that ‘all substances, inorganic as well as organic, possess life [...] crystals as well as organisms’.

Monism therefore had important implications vis-à-vis the porousness of bodily boundaries. In effect, if Geist inhabits all matter indiscriminately, no meaningful distinction need be drawn between the body and the world it inhabits. According to Hausmann and Baader’s monism, then, Geist is written into the matter of both Preiss’ bowing body and the demure shop mannequin. In the dance following his training, Preiss has traded his organic body for an inorganic ‘wooden puppet’ prosthesis, embracing the fact that Geist is encoded within both states. In this context, extracorporeality is expansive, uniting the dancing body with the wider cosmos. Sheppard accordingly characterises how Dadaism, ‘seeks to perform [an] indefatigably joyous dance amid a universe in flux’. In the case of Preiss’

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211 Ernst Haeckel in Benson, Hausmann, 9.
Chaplinesque sketch of a dance rehearsal gone awry, his body is clearly removed from any privileged position of a unique ‘island’ surrounded by a world enslaved by natural drives. His dancing body is summarily demoted to an entity which, no matter how geistig, must navigate the hazardous materiality of the world. Its transformation into a comedic object is here represented as the dance of a stringless wooden puppet animated by extracorporeal forces.

Preiss’s Dada-Trott is also used as an expansive watermark image in Herzfelde’s catalogue for the Erste Internationale Dada-Messe (1920) [Fig. 143]. Preiss’s dance perhaps features so prominently across different Dada materials due to the fact that it appears to mock Rubiner’s fears around biological determinism’s threat to free will by deliberately reducing Preiss to a mechanistic ‘substrate’. The only ‘Entgrenzung’ ('dissolution of limits') envisioned by Rubiner is the New Man’s possible ascension beyond the herd to a wider spiritual community of Geist, rather than his material entanglement with nature and natural drives. By contrast, Baader viewed Haeckel’s natural philosophy as grounds for a different kind of personal empowerment, opening up the Geist-infused material world as a realm in which ungoverned individuals could act as their own gods. Similarly, in an account of German monism, Otto Herrmann wrote in a monist journal in 1913, ‘modern science and philosophy are revealing the world to us as a spiritual commonwealth, self-existing, self-governing, and self-directed’.\(^{215}\) Preiss’s Dada-Trott is therefore grotesque and slapstick, yet also emancipatory, in that it depicts a dissolution of the boundaries of Preiss’s body, trading

his organic corpus for a prosthetic one. Preiss dances as an animate material fragment tangled up in the ‘fantastic constellations’ of an infinite ‘spiritual commonwealth’.

3.5. Carl Einstein and the Zeit-Raum (Time-Space) of Dance

Having explored how the extracorporeal theories of Marcus’s æther and Haeckel’s monistic understanding of living matter might be applied to Dada performance, the final section takes a different tack. It identifies strong parallels between ideas initially introduced to the Dadaists via Carl Einstein’s work on African sculpture, and Hausmann’s post-Dada writings on the extracorporeal qualities of dance from between 1921 and 1926. The section traces an arc from the work of Einstein, which we know Hausmann and Höch were reading from around 1916, to Hausmann’s own later theory. This trajectory reveals how the period of the Dada tour brought about a shift in Hausmann’s thinking on dance. Writing about dance’s ability to intervene in both space and time, Hausmann began to apply dance as a solution to issues first raised by Einstein of conveying both temporality and spatiality through art. In the following, I propose that Hausmann’s Dada-Trot of 1920 proved to be formative in sowing the seeds for his theoretical writings on dance from the early to mid 1920s. Once again, examination of extracts from Hausmann’s post-Dada writings, from 1921, 1922, and 1926, are approached with due caution, as Hausmann’s PRÉsentist project departed from Dadaism in some respects.²¹⁶

²¹⁶ For example, the PRÉsentist Hausmann abandoned his Dadaist interest in grotesque movement: ‘Die scheinbare Freiheit der Grotesktänzeri wird […] verworfen’. Hausmann and Peri, ‘Die Absichten des Theaters “Pré”,’ 138.
In 1915, Einstein published his *Negerplastik* (African Sculpture) text, a copy of which Hausmann owned from at least late 1916, later gifting a copy to Höch.217 The following year, Hausmann created a cover design for the book by lino-printing directly onto his copy with one of his earliest abstract woodcuts [Fig. 144]. This same woodcut later featured in the first issue of *Der Dada* (June 1919), where it functions as a pipe-like mechanism with ‘da-dü dada’ as its output [Fig. 145]. Einstein additionally collaborated with the Dadaists from 1919, co-editing two revolutionary magazines with members of the core group, *Der Blutige Ernst* and *Die Pleite*.218 Extracts from Einstein’s *Negerplastik* indicate how Hausmann was exposed to the idea of non-Western art’s transformations of temporality and spatiality even before the formation of the Berlin group.

In his short publication, Einstein discussed what he referred to as the *kubische Raumanschauung* exhibited in African sculpture, a term translated by Haxthausen as the ‘cubic intuition of space’.219 Einstein used this term to denote a perceptive faculty which, he believed, allowed ‘primitive’ cultures to possess the uniquely ‘plastic’ sense of visuality evidenced in their sculptures [Fig. 146].220 Haxthausen relays how Einstein pitted the dynamic results of this ‘cubic intuition’ against European sculpture’s illusionistic ‘effect’ of a ‘unified image’, constructed from a limited series of flattening

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220 Einstein, *Negro Sculpture*, 34.
African three-dimensional works, Einstein argues, fulfil the 'task of sculpture to form an equation in which naturalistic sensations of movement, and hence of mass, are completely absorbed and where their successive differentiation is converted into a formal order'. We recall how, in Hausmann’s 1926 ‘Tanz’ essay, the dances of the ‘white race’ have traditionally been crafted by following a rule of temporal impoverishment: the ‘subtraction of the second from the place’. Here, Einstein identifies similar shortcomings in the weak planarity of Western sculpture. Equally, just as Hausmann begins his ‘Tanz’ manifesto with the mathematical calculation of a subtraction of time from place, Einstein similarly transcribes the spatiality of carved ethnographic objects using the terms of a physics equation.

Einstein characterises African sculpture’s relationship to space by dividing it up into constituent parts. He writes how, ‘[E]ach part [...] must be deformed in such a way that it absorbs depth, so that the mental image of how it appears from the opposite side is incorporated into the frontal, yet nonetheless three-dimensionally functional side’. As Haxthausen notes in his excellent translation of Einstein’s works, the ‘deformations’ described here are much easier to visualise when this description is applied to one of Einstein’s key influences: research on ancient Egyptian relief sculpture. With faces shown in profile, and torsos depicted frontally on the same figure, ancient Egyptian depictions of bodies encapsulate the totality of the body seen

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221 Einstein lifted his analysis of European art from German sculptor Adolf von Hildebrand’s Problem of Form in Visual Art, except that he conversely views illusionism as a negative trait. Haxthausen, Mythology, 34-35. Haxthausen’s emphasis.
222 Einstein in Haxthausen, Mythology, 53. My emphasis.
223 Hausmann, ‘Tanz,’ 143.
224 Haxthausen, Mythology, 36. My emphasis.
225 Specifically the work of Hedwig Fechheimer. Haxthausen, Mythology, 36-37.
simultaneously from different angles. The resulting ‘absorption of depth’ means that a figure or object is ‘presented not as an effect, but in its immediate spatiality’.\footnote{Einstein, \textit{Negro Sculpture}, 54.}

Crucially, Einstein explains that, in addition to absorbing depth, the work of art also ‘absorbs time by integrating into its form what we experience as movement’, a phenomenon he again mathematically classifies as ‘the entire spatial equation’.\footnote{Einstein, 51. My emphasis.} It is in Einstein’s slightly earlier book, \textit{Totalität} (Totality), 1914, that he most explicitly draws out the implications of his idea of art as powerful extracorporeal tool. Einstein postulates that art holds the capacity not just to capture, but also to shape and alter ‘unsere räumlichen Vorstellungen’ (‘our mental images of space’).\footnote{Einstein, \textit{Totality}, 26.} As noted by Haxthausen, Einstein’s charge was effectively that ‘to change the human experience of space [is] to change human beings and their construction of the world’.\footnote{Haxthausen, \textit{Mythology}, 39.}

After the Dada tour of 1920, Hausmann again performed dance pieces the subsequent year, this time with Kurt Schwitters in Prague’s Urania theatre, and he published his ‘PRÉsentismus’ manifesto in the Dutch ‘little magazine’ \textit{Der Stijl}.\footnote{On Hausmann’s tour with Schwitters, see Lindlar, ‘Der Modernste Mann,’ 291. Hausmann, ‘Presentismus,’ \textit{Texte}, vol. 2, 24-30. As Weikop points out, Hausmann borrowed the term from a much earlier piece by Friedländer, titled ‘Präsentismus’, published in \textit{Der Sturm} in January 1913. See Weikop, ‘Berlin Dada,’ 826. Sheppard summarises this article’s content as a message from the ‘Erdkaiser’ (‘Earth Emperor’), an allegorical figure who Friedländer used to elucidate his philosophy of ‘creative indifference’. Sheppard, \textit{Modernism-Dada}, 248.} In an italicised section at the end of his 1921 manifesto, Hausmann echoes Einstein’s critique of European sculpture by deriding the ‘Flachheit’ (‘flatness’) of German art: ‘\textit{In this Central European flatness, we finally desire the viewpoint of a world that is}’.
tangible’. Hausmann advocates for the same materiality of Geist steering the thought of Haeckel and Marcus, arguing how such an art would replace the ‘eternal, nagging analyses and trifles of the German soul’ with ‘a synthesis of spirit and matter’.

Hausmann links dance to his idea of a truly spatial and temporal art in a subsequent 1922 text on PRÉsentist theatre, published in Der Sturm, and titled Die Absichten des Theaters “Pré” (The intentions of ‘Pré’ theatre). Cowritten with the Constructivist László Peri (1889-1967), the text identifies theatre and dance as the arts capable of achieving this goal of presenting a viewpoint or aspect of the tangible world. In it, Hausmann and Peri discuss the body’s relationship to the stage’s spatial structure, explaining how the ‘background is now a living relation to the middle space, in that the dancer captures these [spatial] relations and transforms them into a synthesis of movement of the body’s limbs’.

The text shows Hausmann continuing to reflect on his practical experiments in dance, formalising in writing the relationship between a dancer performing on stage, and the space they occupy. Significantly, Hausmann’s description of a synthesis of Geist and matter has been refined into an idea of spatiality as a series of ‘living relations’ between different planes, animated through forces such as geistig matter.

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231 ‘Wir wollen in dieser mitteleuropäischen Flachheit endlich den Aspekt einer Welt, die real ist […]’ Hausmann, ‘Presentismus,’ 25. Hausmann’s emphasis.


and æther. The task of the dancer is to capture these extracorporeal intersecting planes, processing them through their corpus to transmute them into a synthesis of corporeal movement. In other words, the dancer’s body exists in a dialectical relationship with space. This is because it is subject to and situated within space, while simultaneously exerting extracorporeal influence on the planar living relations around it, through intuitive or choreographed movement.

As previously analysed, Hausmann’s 1926 ‘Tanz’ essay further developed these ideas in order to discredit the static, anti-temporal ‘plaster cast culture’ of his more experienced dancer peers, such as Wigman and Gert. The essay calls for dance which engages with and affirms the idea that the ‘multiplication of the second and the place is: Zeit-Raum (time-space)’. Dance should also acknowledge the idea that consciousness is caught within this ‘equation’ of time and space, meaning that ‘der Mensch existiert zur Sekunde und am Ort’ (‘man exists within the second and in a place’). The final line of his ‘Tanz’ text also references how the intersecting axes of space and time influence the dancer’s body: ‘The runner runs without a [metaphysical] idea. The boxer boxes without soul [...] Likewise, the dancer accordingly emerges from the second of a point [in space]’. Hausmann implies that the driving force propelling the body of a dancer is not an internalised Geist somehow distinct from the rest of the natural world. Rather the dancer is moved due to extracorporeal propulsions

234 Hausmann, ‘Tanz,’ 143. Despite his allusions to ‘time-space’, Hausmann’s continued interest in ether in fact prompted him to reject Albert Einstein’s theory of relativity and consequent notion of spacetime, as these disproved the existence of æther. See the transcript titled ‘Trommelfeuer der Wissenschaft,’ 1933, in the Hausmann Archive (BG-RHA 1354), referenced in Arndt Niebisch, ‘Ether Machines: Raoul Hausmann’s Optophonic Media,’ in Vibratory Modernism, 173, n.1.
235 Hausmann, ‘Tanz,’ 143.
of time and space, caught in the split second of the present. Over the course of these three texts, then, Hausmann becomes increasingly invested in the extracorporeal faculties of dance.

Evidently, there are strong threads of continuity between the artistic theories expounded in Carl Einstein’s *Negerplastik* and Hausmann’s PRÉsentism. Both Einstein and Hausmann are invested in the idea of an art which springs forth at the intersection between space and time. Dance provided a dynamic reimagining of the sculptural, which surpassed even the ‘plastic’ visuality or sculptural vision assigned by Einstein to ‘primitive man’. It achieved this by positioning the body as a temporal synthesiser of external spatial planes. Beyond altering spatial perception alone, by writing time into their artforms, both Einstein’s African sculpture and Hausmann’s dance are able to move beyond a stinted planarity and into a continuum where space meets time. Both Einstein’s theory and the dance practice first developed by Hausmann during the Dada tour thus fed into Hausmann’s later PRÉsentist ideas. Hausmann’s dance fulfilled the need for an art which could, in Einstein’s words, encapsulate the ‘successive differentiation’ of ‘naturalistic sensations of movement, and hence of mass’, synthesising space and time into a new ‘formal order’.237

4. Conclusion: Cosmic Dance in Prosthetic Economies

If grotesque Dada bodies are inevitably informed by the ‘double logic’ of the prosthesis, then dance may be likened to the ways in which a prosthesis-wearer’s physical abilities are both improved or extended beyond those of the traditional, natural

In contrast to the maimed and mechanised bodies seen in their photomontage and sculpture, the Berlin Dadaists’ dance and mime practices explored far more emancipatory possibilities for the grotesque body. The dance and mime developed during Dadaism’s active period works to counter the dehumanising effects of the era’s industrialised warfare, whilst simultaneously overwriting outdated and anthropocentric views of the body as a unique vessel for Geist, and an idealised, integral whole, impervious to external influence.

Through a focus on the medium of bodily performance, I have sought to show how the Berlin Dadaists embraced the material existence of the body, a quality integral to Bakhtin’s notion of the grotesque body. However, instead of portraying the growth of the life cycle, their own vitalist practice explored the body’s new materiality through routines set to syncopated rhythms which emphasised, rather than tried to erase, the gravitational weightiness and grotesque asymmetry of the body. Aided by the cosmopolitan dynamism of popular dance, they developed performances that diverged significantly from the primitivist, mask-centric Dada dance practices in Zurich.

While descriptions of these dances as singularly satirical may chime with the rest of Berlin Dada’s cultural output, they do not accurately capture the significance invested in dance practices by Hausmann and Grosz in their respective Dada-Trott and Foxwalk und Caketrott pieces. Close analysis of journalistic impressions recording these dance pieces has instead illustrated how Berlin Dada’s dance was consistent with Bakhtin’s categorisation of the grotesque as a positive, generative force. For Hausmann in particular, dance became one of his most enduring artistic practices, which he continued to develop long after Berlin Dada’s active period, and whose
legacy he sought to tightly monitor. Although Berlin Dada’s bodily performance was innovative in its own right, it was also indebted to contemporary practitioners, a debt Hausmann attempted to occlude in his ‘Tanz’ essay by deriding the work of Gert, Laban, and Wigman as non-corporeal and Hellenistic.

The idea of dance as a form of training, rather than cathartic expression, exposes the rift between Rubiner’s anxieties regarding biological determinism and the Berlin Dadaists’ embrace of a material world suffused with Geist. Activist Expressionists pursued the idea of Geist’s redemptive capacity to transform the world and society around them, as this interpretation cohered with their fundamental belief that man was ultimately good. Meanwhile, the Dadaists regarded this view to be misguided, instead aiming to foster an agile, ‘elastic’ adaptability in the face of the world’s radical relativism. Responding partly to the fact that the war had exposed bodily boundaries as permeable and negotiable, they engaged with the work of theorists, philosophers, and mystic scientists who rejected Cartesian dualism in order to interrogate new potentialities for the psyche and the body. Rather than arguing for man as a hopeful ‘island’ of free will within a universe dictated by laws of biological determinism, the Berlin Dadaists instead found consolation in the idea that Geist permeated all matter, as this implicitly unites us with the cosmos. Just as Bakhtin’s grotesque body gains cosmic significance through its cyclical materiality, not in spite of it, so too the Dadaists’ acceptance of the body’s flawed materiality opened them up to the possibilities of new sensory capacities able to modify, and even expand, its perceptive limits.

Conclusion: ‘Jeder Mensch sein eigener Fussball’ (‘Every Human his own Football’)

Returning once more to the opening gambit of the thesis, the carnivalesque distribution of the Jedermann sein eigner Fussball magazine provides a backdrop against which we may finally draw together the various discursive threads laid out in the different chapters. Doing so illuminates points of significant intersection and entanglement, which, in turn, point towards new areas in need of further research.

Wieland Herzfelde recalls how the editorial team of Jedermann sein eigner Fussball, when conceiving of the magazine and its accompanying ‘Dada carnival parade’, set out to vividly represent ‘die tragischen und grotesken Widersprüche’ (‘the tragic and grotesque contradictions’) of the incoming government.¹ We have seen how, in Bakhtinian theory, this grotesque-carnivalesque mode subverts or dismantles conventional interrelations between constituent elements, causing them to enter, in Bakhtin’s words, ‘free unions’ of a ‘monstrous’ nature.² The magazine title, ‘Everyman [is] his own football!’, and this declaration’s visual representation in the football-bellied portrait of Herzfelde, exemplify the ‘monstrous […] free unions’ and the absurdly ‘grotesque contradictions’ referenced by Bakhtin and Herzfelde respectively [Fig. 20].

¹ Herzfelde, Heartfield: Leben und Werk, 21.
² Bakhtin, ‘Forms of Time and of the Chronotope in the Novel: Notes toward a Historical Poetics,’ (1937) in Dialogic Imagination, 169.
As was observed in Chapter 1, the imagery and design of both Wilhelmine Witzblätter and Dadaist-edited magazines sanctioned the construction of grotesque contradictions by ringfencing their pages as figurative domains of the fool, or realms of free play. The chapter’s formal analysis revealed parallels between select design elements seen in Dadaist magazines and the ludic form found in Witzblatt typographies, typesetting, and interactive design. In turn, this investigation unearthed a new vernacular source for Dada photomontage: Witzblatt satirical cartoons featuring ironically subverted photographic elements [Fig. 43] [Fig. 46]. Clearly, within the realms of free play demarcated by the magazines, conventional taxonomies and hierarchies used to distinguish between art, advertising, and poetry were vehemently contested.

Confusions and dissolutions of genre contained within the magazines’ pages resemble a similar phenomenon that took place in the context of the Club Dada’s late staged appearances. Directed by Bakhtin’s understanding of the autonomous nature of the ‘carnivalesque crowd’, Chapter 3 took a previously undiscovered topic as its focus: the role of spectatorship in three of Berlin Dada’s performances. Based on the surviving reportage, I characterise Dada performance events as heterotopic environments harbouring audiences with incongruous spectatorial agendas. Like the pages of the magazines, Dada performances were also spaces in which respective categories, in this case, of literary recital, vaudeville, cabaret, and carnival spectacle, also appeared to destabilise and fracture.

In the second chapter, the term ‘medial critique’ is used to denote how certain Dada pieces went beyond satire’s traditional carnivalesque functions, instead
interrogating modes of ideological knowledge production through their medium. In other words, these works distinguish themselves from conventional satirical attacks of figures of power in that they took to task the media and tools through which emergent hegemonies were communicated and legitimised at a societal level. For example, in his *Volks Stimme ist Gottes Stimme* (1920) [Fig. 75] and *Hohenzollern-Renaissance* (1920) [Fig. 45], George Grosz overlays his immediate satirical messaging with montage elements that visually deconstruct a range of propagandistic media, spanning text-based journalism in the first image, and photojournalism in the second.

In the case of Heartfield’s *Wer ist der Schönste??* [Fig. 78] montage on the cover of *Jedermann sein eigner Fussball*, the new source of the military fan [Fig. 81] indicated how the Dadaists’ medial critiques also extended to propagandistic objects, such as political merchandise harking back to kitschy material culture items produced during the war. So too, by presenting a grotesque composite of elements from different public rituals and parades, the Dada carnival parade that took place in February 1919 critically probed performed modes of propaganda, such as the staging of carnivalesque spectacles for political gain. The promenade performance consequently went far beyond a promotional gimmick, instigating a multivalent and highly politicised form of medial critique.

Berlin Dadaist concerns around ideological knowledge production explored in Chapter 2 are paralleled by the group’s interest in and evaluations of scientific hypotheses explored in Chapter 4.\(^3\) Not only were they concerned with the

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\(^3\) For more on Berlin Dada’s critiques and engagements with scientific knowledge, see Haakenson, *Grotesque Visions*, 23-88.
propagandistic ways in which information was communicated, but also with how knowledge was produced and verified altogether. While the Berlin Dadaists viewed purely materialist, empirical views of the world as reductive, they also rejected Expressionist Ludwig Rubiner’s anthropocentric position that human consciousness operates above and beyond mechanistic natural drives.\(^4\) In his diary, Harry Graf Kessler alludes to this Expressionist view of humanity, recording how the provisional title of *Jedermann sein eigner Fussball* was in fact ‘Jeder Mensch sein eigener Fussball’ (‘every human is his own football’). Kessler explains how this original title was intended to snub the ‘sacrosanct stupidity and dullness, even in the radical camp’ surrounding the notion of the ‘untouchable “Great Man”’.\(^5\)

Chapter 4 argues how, as part of their rejection of ‘O Mensch’ Expressionism, the Berlin Dadaists investigated the possibility of a material world throughout which *Geist* was indiscriminately encoded. Bakhtin’s notion of the ‘grotesque body’ as fundamentally material, permeable, and ever-changing serves as the basis for the fourth chapter’s reassessment of Berlin Dada’s conceptions of the body, culminating in the first attempt to characterise the forms of dance and mime developed by the Berlin Dadaists. The chapter asks how the group applied the medium of dance and the insights of contemporary theorists to explore the possibilities of a grotesque body able to move beyond its own psychic and sensory bounds.

\(^4\) Rubiner, ‘Zur Krise,’ 123.

Very much related to these discourses on matter, Chapter 2 also confronts the subject of a grotesque body with permeable boundaries. The Dadaists’ dancing bodies discussed in the fourth chapter were grotesque in a more directly Bakhtinian sense, as they embraced the body’s imperfect materiality, moved to rhythms lifted from popular culture, and sought to supersede bodily bounds to reconnect the self with the cosmos. Conversely, Grosz’s *Das Reiche Ungeziefer* illustration in *Die Pleite* (1920/21, issue 6) [Fig. 28] presents bodies whose permeable boundaries have left them exposed to grotesque disfigurement by external economic forces. I argue that, in spite of this disfigurement, the fact that Grosz portrays the rich and the poor as equally grotesque works to subtly disrupt traditional applications of caricature, undermining physiognomy’s claim to reveal aspects of the essential nature of its subjects.

Chapter 3 disclosed how, although Bakhtin’s model of the carnivalesque applies so readily and coherently to Berlin Dadaism in some respects, their performances appear to also expose the limits of Bakhtin’s model. The group’s late performances were ‘carnivalesque’ in that they produced a heterotopic environment that recalled carnival for many participants. Like at carnival, these spaces saw the temporary suspension of conventional bourgeois modes of spectatorship, emboldening spectators to behave with a sense of agency and autonomy. However, both the Dadaists’ attacks on Expressionism and their contemptuous treatment of their audiences sit at odds with the indifferent embrace of relativity and cyclicality promised by Bakhtin’s carnival laughter and Friedländer’s notion of creative indifference.
In an effort to deconstruct the Expressionist ideal of theatre as a ‘living community’ and align themselves with épater les bourgeois conventions of avant-garde performance, the Dadaists typecast their audiences as crowds of homogenous Spießer. In doing so, they were obliged to physically perform this disdain during their performances, thus creating an environment vulnerable to co-option by a ‘carnivalesque crowd’ of spectators staging counterposing ‘charivari’ spectacles. In 1919, art critic and Dada ally Udo Rusker described the polemic of Dada as ‘the whip with which we scare [the bourgeois] out of the comfort he relishes’. What the Berlin Dadaists did not anticipate was the extent to which their audiences themselves also relished in their newfound roles as wielders of the figurative Narrenpritsche (fool’s slapstick). In a letter sent to Höch from Teplice, Czechoslovakia, in February 1920, Hausmann notes that the group originally planned to tour through Moravia, ending in Vienna. These plans never materialised due to exhaustion on the Dadaists’ part, indicative of just how acutely the Dadaists were tested by their larger audiences.

Herzfelde shared with Kessler his intention that the contents of Jedermann sein eigner Fussball would be ‘halb grotesk, halb Ernst’ (‘half-grotesque, half-serious’). In many ways, Herzfelde’s editorial line could serve as a maxim for the Club Dada, expressing a contradictory bind in which Dadaism in Berlin found itself to be caught. Throughout their active period, they continued to promote their ideal of creative indifference on the one hand, whilst frequently lapsing into extreme partiality directed

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7 Hausmann to Höch, 28 February 1920, Eine Lebenscollage, vol. 2, 645.
towards their perceived adversaries on the other. Based on my identification of moments in the performances when this adversarial atmosphere was particularly constructed and contrived, I have tried to demonstrate why *épater les bourgeois* should be regarded as an intent rather than an assured outcome of Dadaist performances.

A similar discrepancy is concealed in Huelsenbeck’s characterisation of the figure of the Dadaist as ‘halb Pantagruel, halb Franziskus’ (‘half Pantagruel, half St Francis’).\(^9\) The Dadaists may have presented their ironic deflections as a form of the carnivalesque exuberance and cosmic indifference, akin to the outlook embodied in Rabelais’ protagonist, Pantagruel. Yet many of the findings presented here, such as the subtexts behind their contemptuous treatment of their audiences, and the calculated, seditious critiques contained within their magazines’ imagery, point towards an alternative notion. Much like their resolve to *épater les bourgeois*, the Berlin Dadaists’ relationship with cosmic irony is most accurately described as aspirational; a desire which, at its root, is itself an extension or mutation of their rather more serious and Expressionist ‘Franciscan’ nature.

**Paths for Future Scholarship**

Based on the above findings, further lines of inquiry opened up by the thesis can be broadly divided into those relating to print culture and visual material, and those relating to histories of performance. The first half of the thesis offered a comparative formal analysis of one category of popular visual culture of significance to the

\(^9\) Huelsenbeck, ‘Dadaistisches Manifest,’ *Dada Almanac*, 40.
Dadaists: magazines. In doing so, it responded to chapters in *The Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines* (2013), particularly Christian Weikop’s chapter on *Der Dada* and *Jedermann sein eigner Fussball*.\footnote{Weikop, ‘Berlin Dada,’ 816-834; Weikop, ‘Transitions,’ 798-815; Kriebel, ‘Radical Left,’ 835-849.} Weikop presented the first focused analysis of Berlin Dada’s magazines viewed through a Bakhtinian framework, and flagged this area as worthy of in-depth investigation.\footnote{Weikop, ‘Berlin Dada,’ 816-817.} The thesis also built on the work of scholars such as Sherwin Simmons, Arndt Niebsich, Kurt Beals, Katharina Hoins, and Jeanne Brun, who have analysed Berlin Dadaism from the perspectives of design history, media studies, and material culture studies.\footnote{Specifically, Simmons, ‘War, Revolution,’ 46-54; ‘Advertising Seizes,’ 121-146; and ‘Dada and Kitsch,’ 227-251; Niebsich, *Media Parasites*, 1-19, 28-44, 70-79, 132-146, 162-171; Beals, *Wireless Dada*, 1-22, 115-149; Hoins, ‘Plasto-Dio-Dada-Drama,’ unpaginated; and Brun, ‘Typographie,’ in Le Bon, ed., *Dada: Paris*, 942.} Looking ahead, Dada Studies could also benefit from a formal comparative analysis between Dadaist works and other realms of visual popular culture, for example, wartime *Liebesgaben* (‘love gift’) collages created for soldiers at the front, one of the primary sources for Dada photomontage.\footnote{These collage books are discussed in Biro, *Dada Cyborg*, 194-196, and Brigid Doherty, ‘Berlin Dada: Montage and the Embodiment of Modernity, 1916-1920’ (PhD Diss. University of California, Berkeley, 1996), vol. 1, 50-54.} An investigation into the print studios in which each magazine was created, and the editorial and technical processes behind the co-creation of the magazines would also prove highly illuminating.\footnote{Hausmann briefly refers to the technical process involved in creating his poster poems in the printshop. Hausmann, *Am Anfang*, 46.}

The thesis has sought to illustrate how the array of radical magazines edited by the Dadaists present an underutilised resource for scholarship. For example, scholars discussing texts in *Der Gegner*, this author included, usually focus on Herzfelde’s
serialised essay on the revolutionary artist, or the ‘Kunstlump’ (‘Art Scab’) debate, yet this periodical is rich with untapped contributions by Dadaists dating from their active period. A collection of translated essays and satirical texts from Der Gegner, Die Pleite, and Der Blutige Ernst in the vein of Dawn Ades’ The Dada Reader: A Critical Anthology (2006) would prove immensely beneficial in this regard.

As part of a growing body of literature on Berlin Dada and the grotesque, by Thomas O. Haakenson and others, the thesis underlined the need for more research exploring the movement’s relationship with humorous, ironic, and grotesque Expressionist writing by figures such as Christian Morgenstern (1871-1914) and Paul Scheerbart (1863-1915). In the field of performance studies, the thesis is most indebted to the work of Karin Füllner, Hanne Bergius, Kate Elswit, Susan Funkenstein, Jonathan Wipplinger, Joyce Cheng, Barbara Lindlar, and Jeanpaul Goergen. While the discussion on the Tribune matinée in Chapter 3 broke new ground by addressing the relationship between Dada performance and Expressionist theatre, the Dadaists’ adjacent contributions to Rudolf Kurtz’s revival of Max Reinhardt’s commercial ‘Schall und Rauch’ (‘Sound and Smoke’) cabaret were beyond the remit of the thesis.

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15 Herzfelde, Gesellschaft. See, for example, the contributions by Grosz, Herzfelde, and Hausmann in the same issue of Der Gegner as Heartfield and Grosz’s ‘Kunstlump’ article. Der Gegner, April 1920, issues 10-12.
16 Key recent texts in this area include Haakenson, Grotesque Visions; and Adamowicz, Dada Bodies.
18 In the 13 issues of Schall und Rauch published between December 1919 and February 1921, there are 29 contributions to the magazine by Dadaists, not including the sixth ‘Dada’ issue of May 1920 (for which they reused Der Dada, issue 3, April 1920). For the cabaret evening on 8 December 1919, Mehring contributed the script for a marionette play Einfach Klassisch! Eine Orestie mit glücklichem Ausgang, Grosz designed the puppets, and
‘Staging the Carnivalesque’ has shown how press reports on the Dadaists’ activities, indexed most extensively by Bergius, remain an invaluable resource that could serve as the basis for further studies on Dada performance and reception.19 Similarly, Chapter 4’s discussion on the seminal impact of Valeska Gert’s dance on Dada performance has underscored the need for more research into women’s contributions to Berlin Dada’s performances. For example, the translator of Futurist poetry Else Hadwiger was central to the Berlin Dadaists’ first group performance at the Secession galleries in April 1918, yet next to nothing has been written on her.20 Pre-Dada wartime soirées, such as the Autoren-Abende (authors’ recital evenings) by the Neue Jugend circle in late 1916 and early 1917, also present important uncharted territory, as do the Berlin Dadaists’ public interventions, of which the Dada carnival parade is but one example.21 Close readings of aspects of Dada performance have also shown how some of the group’s most derogatory pieces, such as Grosz’s minstrel performance on 24 May 1919, are rarely discussed in the literature, an issue in need of urgent correction.22

Heartfield constructed them. For Grosz’s watercolour designs, see ed. Tobias Hoffmann, Ralph Jentsch, George Grosz in Berlin (Berlin: Kerber Verlag, 2018), 72-75.

19 Bergius, ‘Playing the Press,’ 134-152; and Bergius, Lachen Dadas, 414-416.

20 For a brief exception, see Sheppard, Modernism-Dada, 212-213, 226. Hadwiger was born in 1877 and her date of death is unknown.

21 For a schedule of the Neue Jugend group performances from autumn 1916 to spring 1917, see Neue Jugend, February/March, 1917, double issue 11-12. On these evenings, also see Wieland Herzfelde, ‘Wie ein Verlag entstand,’ in ed. Klaus Schumann, Sankt Ziegenzack Springt aus dem Ei: Texte, Bilder und Dokumente zum Dadaismus in Zürich, Berlin, Hannover und Köln (Leipzig: Gustav Kiepenheuer, 1991), 164-165. Also see White, Generation Dada, 90-91. Matthew Biro has laid the groundwork for reconstructions of the interventions based on the reportage. See Biro, Dada Cyborg, 54-64.

22 Wipplinger briefly mentions this episode. Wipplinger, Jazz Republic, 32, 237.
Finally, by focusing on realms of creative production that predominantly excluded women, ‘Staging the Carnivalesque’ has revealed the extent to which the Männerbund of the Club Dada is due a focused feminist analysis, which moves beyond the foundational work of feminist revisions of the canon.\textsuperscript{23} Despite valuable inroads made by Andreas Kramer through his work on sport, scholarship has yet to fully and systematically address the topic of masculinity in Berlin Dada, and its relation to the machismo of other avant-garde movements, such as the Italian Futurists.\textsuperscript{24} The present thesis has laid the groundwork for such inquiries. Its unifying undercurrent of Bakhtinian thought has endeavoured to encourage a more dialogical approach to Berlin Dada’s operations and reception, specifying how the topos of ‘Dada’ functions across different historical discourses, including our own.


\textsuperscript{24} Kramer, ‘Vive le sport!’, 108-129, and ‘Football’, 252-274. White uses the term Männerbund. White, \textit{Generation Dada}, 7. David Hopkins’ \textit{Dada’s Boys} (2007) is also significant, but his adopted approach of being ‘less apologetic’ with regards to masculinity would not be appropriate for a study of this topic in Berlin Dada, as the group occasionally displayed forms of deep-set misogyny. However, Hopkins’ identification of Dada ‘laddishness’ in the works of contemporary women artists, such as Sarah Lucas (b. 1960), is valuable because it begins to divorce constructs of masculinity from sex. See David Hopkins, \textit{Dada’s Boys: Masculinity after Duchamp} (London, Yale University Press, 2007), 179-189. For another strong example of a focused study of masculinity in Dada, see Nancy Ring, ‘New York Dada and the crisis of masculinity: Man Ray, Francis Picabia, and Marcel Duchamp in the United States, 1913-1921’ (PhD diss., Northwestern University, 1991).
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Other Media


Illustrations

Sources for all illustrations are located in the list of illustrations.

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Figure 2. Georg Groß [sic], Maler Oder Offizer? (Painter or Officer?), Lustige Blätter, 1911, issue 1. Advertising spread featuring cartoon.
Figure 3. Anonymous [a former subscriber of *Simplicissimus*]. *Noch eine Ehrenrettung* (Another Vindication), *Die Pleite*, issue 4, 1 May 1919, edited by Wieland Herzfelde. Featuring two cartoons from *Simplicissimus* by Thomas Theodor Heine: *Alter und neuer Aberglaube* (Old and new superstitions), 1911, and *Arbeiterschutz* (Worker Protection), 1909.
Figure 4. John Heartfield. *Und Wenn er noch so bellt […],* cover design for *Der Knüppel,* April 1927, issue 3. Caption: ‘Und wenn er noch so bellt, die Sterne scheinen doch’ (And no matter how he barks, the stars are still shining).
Figure 5. John Heartfield, Wer Bürgerblätter liest wird blind und taub. Weg mit dem Verdummungsbandagen! (Whoever reads the bourgeois papers becomes deaf and blind; away with the stultifying bandages!), Arbeiter-Illustrierte-Zeitung, February 1930, issue 6.
Figure 6. Lyonel Feininger, *Sport in Portugal* (*Sport in Portugal*), *Lustige Blätter*, issue 52, 1907.
Figure 7. Raoul Hausmann, Der Kunstreporter’ [Kunstkritiker] (The Art Reporter [The Art Critic]), c.1919-20, mixed-media photomontage.
Figure 8. ‘M. Höch’ [Hannah Höch], illustration featured in advertisement for the Dadaistischer Handatlas Dadaco (Dadaistic Handatlas Dadaco), *Der Dada*, December 1919, issue 2, page 3.
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Figure 10. Unattributed. Military souvenir, c.1887-9, labelled by Hannah Höch 'The Beginning of Photomontage', dimensions unknown, oleograph.
Figure 11. John Heartfield, *Jedermann sein eigner Fussball* (Every man his own football), 15 February 1919, issue 1 of 1, edited by Wieland Herzfelde, published by Malik Verlag Berlin, 43.5 x 29.5 cm.
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Figure 13.a. *Berliner Tageblatt*, 2 January 1896.

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Figure 14. Unattributed, Fliegende Blätter, 1848, issue 156 (header detail).

Figure 15. Unattributed, ULK, Illustriertes Wochenblatt für Humor und Satire, 1 February 1901, issue 5 (header detail).
Figure 16. Angelo Jank, *Faschingsnummer* (Carnival Issue), *Jugend*, 1900, issue 9, chromolithograph.
Figure 17. Thomas Theodor Heine, *Das Staatswrack* (The Wreck of the Nation), *Simplicissimus*, 1897, issue 13, 38.5 x 28.5 cm, chromolithograph. Caption: ‘...Wenn nicht alle Mannen ertranken, sollen sie sich bei dem Narren bedanken. D e r hat die Rettungsgürtel verteilt.’ (‘...If all the men don’t drown, let them thank the fool. He distributed the lifebelts).

Figure 18. ULK, 30 May 1913, issue 22 (detail of ‘Nunne’ editorial note).
Figure 19. Georg Groß, *Empfindlich* (Sensitive), *Lustige Blätter*, issue 34, signed 1911, published 1912, dimensions unknown.
Figure 20. John Heartfield, *Jedermann sein eigner Fussball* (Every man his own football), (detail of grotesque portrait of Wieland Herzfelde), 15 February 1919, issue no. 1 of 1, edited by Wieland Herzfelde.
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Figure 22. Raoul Hausmann, *Material der Malerei Plastik Architektur* (Material of Plastic Architecture Painting), 1918, book cover design, woodcut with watercolour, 31 x 17.5 cm.
Figure 23. Unattributed design, *Simplicissimus Beiblatt*, 1904, issue 19 (header detail).
Figure 24. Neue Jugend, June 1917, weekly edition, edited by John Heartfield and Franz Jung.
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Figure 27. Peter Behrens, Prospectus cover for the Allgemeine Elektricitäts-Gesellschaft (General Electric Company), after 1908.
Figure 28. George Grosz, *Das Reiche Ungeziefer* (The Rich Pest), cover illustration for *Die Pleite* insert [unnumbered issue], in *Der Gegner*, 1920/21, issue 6.
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Figure 32. Unattributed, *Die Jugend-Spielkarten* (The Youth Playing Cards), 1898, issue 49 (advertisement in classified section).
Figure 33. Julius Diez, *Jugend-Spielkarten* (Youth Playing Cards), 1897, 12 x 6.9cm, complete pack of 36 cards, printed by the Vereinigte Stralsunder Spielkarten-Fabriken in Stralsund.
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Figure 37. Raoul Hausmann, *Gurk*, December 1919, issue 2, edited by Raoul Hausmann.
Figure 38. Raoul Hausmann, *Double Portrait* (Hausmann and Baader), *Der Dada*, issue 2, December 1919, edited by Raoul Hausmann.
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Figure 40. Unattributed [Raoul Hausmann?]. *Porträt des Oberdada* (Portrait of the Supreme Dada), *Der Dada*, June 1919, issue 1, edited by Raoul Hausmann.

Figure 41. Raoul Hausmann, *Ich liebe Dich!* (I Love You!), 1918, dimensions unknown, montaged postcard.
Figure 42. Detail of *Der Dada*, December 1919, issue 2 cover, edited by Raoul Hausmann.
Die Liebesabenteuer des Jupiter.

Die Juno fuchste gleich beim Erwachen, Indes das halb ihr wieder mit; Der Zeus blieb bei der Liebe, ob ihm auch Reife drohten. 

Gott die Berliner Polizei, Die hat’s verboten.

Als goldner Neger aus der Höh’
Nicht es auf seine Danae, 

Dem Herrn verboten, 

gott die Berliner Polizei, 

Die hat’s verboten.

In einer anderen Medizin, 

Der Zeus sanft als Mannlein kam, 

Wass ungefähr so viel als Lieber, 

Europa hieß die Dame hier. 

Du war ja auch die Leda noch, 

Die Frieden im ewigen Schaf, 

Zwei blieb der Dampf nicht, frisch und 

Der Liebesanbeter, 

Dass vor dem Garten ganz vorgau, 

Die Leo sah es auf, 

Das hat’s verboten, m. 

Was immerhin, man lasse nicht, 

Der strengen Erde widersehen. 

Gott die Berliner Polizei, 

Die hat’s verboten.

Figure 43. Unattributed. *Die Liebesabenteuer des Jupiter* (Jupiter’s adventures of Love), *Lustige Blätter*, 1913, issue 18, mixed media cartoon.
Figure 44. George Grosz, *Mißachtung eines Meisterwerkes von Botticelli* (Contempt of a Masterwork by Botticelli, reconstruction by Michael Sellmann, 1988.)
Figure 45. George Grosz, *Hohenzollern-Renaissance* (Hohenzollern Renaissance), *Der Gegner*, 1920/1921, issue 3, monochrome magazine reproduction of photomontaged postcard.
Figure 46. Unattributed, *Hohenzollern Schokolade* (Hohenzollern Chocolate), *ULK*, 24 January 1913, issue 4.
Figure 47. Kurt Tucholsky and John Heartfield, Ruhe und Ordnung (Calm and Order), Der Knüppel, 10 February 1925, issue 2.
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Figure 49. Unattributed. *Dada* 4-5: *Anthologie Dada*, 1919, letterpress ‘Dada’ title and collaged Arp woodcut, limited ‘deluxe’ issue cover, edited by Tristan Tzara, Zurich.
Figure 50. Lustige Blätter double page spread, featuring Georg Groß (George Grosz), Empfindlich (Sensitive), signed 1911, published 1912, issue no. 34.
April 11/48

Lieber Herbert,

Du sagtest neulich etwas über Jugend-Jahrzehnte, die wir ablassen könntest für $25 — wenn noch gültig wurde ich sie gerne haben.

Schreibe mir ein paar Worte —

Sei dein alter

George

N.B. Vor vielen Jahren (ich war 16 Jahre alt) sandte ich an die Jugend kleine Zeichnungen. Eine von —

— aber ich war's ja nicht — — "illusions"

Figure 51. George Grosz, letter to German book dealer, 1948, private collection.
Figure 52. George Grosz, *Stinnes geht um* (Stinnes gets around) (detail no. 1), *Die Pleite* insert (verso), in *Der Gegner*, 1920/21, issue 6.

Figure 53. George Grosz, *Stinnes geht um* (Stinnes gets around) (detail no. 2), *Die Pleite* insert (verso), in *Der Gegner*, 1920/21, issue 6.
Figure 54. George Grosz, *Besitzkröten* (Toads of Property), in Grosz, *Das Gesicht der Herrschenden Klasse*, Malik Verlag, 22. Also repr. in *Die Pleite* insert, in *Der Gegner*, 1920/21, issue 6
Figure 55. George Grosz, *Entfettung* (Slimming), *ULK*, 1911, issue 29.

Figure 56. George Grosz, *Gott Mit Uns*, 1920, 41.3 x 20.6 cm, letter press and line block, Malik Verlag, 1920.
Figure 57. George Grosz, *Besitzkröten*, or *Das reiche Ungeziefer* (detail), 1920, in George Grosz, *Das Gesicht der Herrschenden Klasse*, Malik Verlag, 22. Also repr. in *Die Pleite* insert, in *Der Gegner*, 1920/21, issue 6.
Figure 58. Unattributed, *Ans Vaterland, ans teure, schließ’ dich an!*, Der Wahre Jacob, February 1905, issue 485.
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Figure 60. Thomas Theodor Heine, *Durchs dunkelste Deutschland: 13. Crimmitschau* (detail), *Simplicissimus*, 1904, issue 43.
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Figure 64. Eduard Thöny, *Reichstagswahlen in Bayern* (Parliamentary Elections in Bavaria), *Simplicissimus*, 1907, issue 43.
Figure 65. Richard Breton, *Les songes drolatiques de Pantagruel* (The amusing dreams of Pantagruel), 1565, dimensions unknown, woodcut.
daß nach sechtausend Jahren vergeblicher geistiger Anstrengung die Philosophie kläglich versagt und daß Ihnen die Naturwissenschaften ebensowenig ein festes Programm bieten können, so müssen Sie einsehen, daß DADA, geboren aus der Unerklärbarkeit eines glücklichen Augenblicks, die einzig praktische Religion unserer Zeit darstellt. **Sagen Sie sich von allen Hemmungen los, vergessen Sie Ihr Kartenspiel und die Wärme Ihrer Familientraualität — und Sie werden des Schwäbels, den die Künstler, die Dichter mit Ihnen treiben, inne werden; Sie werden begreifen lernen, daß diese Dinge nur einer besonderen Technik bedürfen, Eigenverkehrprobleme sind, die durch DADA aller Fröhlichkeit und Ambition entkleidet werden werden Sie Dadaist und Sie erwerben sich Angriffslust und die unbesiegbare Macht der Ironie!**

RAOUL HAUSMANN.

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Figure 66. Raoul Hausmann, *Heimatklänge* (Sounds of the Homeland!), *Der Dada*, April 1920, issue 3.
Figure 67. Raoul Hausmann, *Hurrah! Hurrah! Hurrah! 12 Satiren*, Der Malik Verlag, Berlin, 1921.
Figure 68. Raoul Hausmann, *ABCD*, c.1924, 40.4 x 28.2 cm, Indian ink and magazine illustrations cut and pasted on paper.

Figure 69. Raoul Hausmann, *kp’eri um, Der Dada*, June 1919, issue 1, edited by Raoul Hausmann.
Figure 70. Raoul Hausmann, *Der Eiserne Hindenburg* (The Iron Hindenburg), 1920, 39.5 x 27cm, Indian ink on tissue paper mounted on red tissue paper.
Figure 71. Francis Picabia, *Jeune fille américaine dans l’état de nudité* (Portrait of a young American Girl in a State of Nudity), 291, 1915, issues 5-6, 43.9 x 28.9cm.
Figure 72. Thomas Theodor Heine, *Das Neueste Geschütz* (The Latest Artillery), *Simplicissimus*, 1902, issue 17.
Figure 73. Thomas Theodor Heine, *Das Neueste Geschütz* (The Latest Artillery) (detail), *Simplicissimus*, 1902, issue 17.
Figure 74. Thomas Theodor Heine, *Kulturfortschritt* (Cultural Progress), *Simplicissimus*, 1905, issue 48.
Figure 75. George Grosz, *Volkes Stimme ist Gottes Stimme* (The Voice of the People is the Voice of God), *Der Gegner*, 17 June 1920, repr. as *Die Stimme des Volkes, die Stimme Gottes* (The Voice of the People is the Voice of God), in *Das Gesicht der Herrschenden Klasse* (Berlin: Malik Verlag, 1920), 8-9.
Figure 76. George Grosz, *Die Stimme des Volkes, die Stimme Gottes* (The Voice of the People is the Voice of God), 1920, 35.8 x 50cm, ink and collage on paper, Centre Pompidou.
Figure 77. Unattributed, Münchner Zoologischer Garten (Munich Zoo), Simplicissimus, 1910, issue 45.
Figure 78. John Heartfield (George Grosz?), *Wer ist der Schönste??* (Who is the most beautiful?), *Jedermann sein eigner Fussball* (cover detail), 15 February 1919, issue no. 1 of 1, edited by Wieland Herzfelde, published by Malik Verlag Berlin. 43.5 x 29.5 cm.

Figure 79. Unattributed, *Bilder mit Dingen* (Pictures with Objects), *Der Sturm*, October 1912, issue 132.
Figure 80. Brisé fan featuring paintings by Eduard Grützner, painted wood with fabric fastenings, 1892.

Figure 81. Unattributed, Wartime Brisé Fan, featuring portraits of German and Austrian military leaders with signatures, c.1915, Cooper Hewitt Smithsonian Design Museum.
Figure 82. Unattributed, *Eine Kriegsporzellan-Sammlung*, photographed in 1920. Repr. in *Mitteilungen des Verbands deutscher Kriegssammlungen* 2, no. 1 (1920).
Figure 83. Unattributed, hand-painted artist brisé fan, Germany, 1899, LACMA collection, featuring reproduced signatures, 31.12 x 59.37cm, printed cardboard leaf, wood sticks, gold metallic loop and button, silver metallic rivet.

Figure 84. Die Silberhochzeit der kaiserlichen Familie (The Silver Jubilee of the Imperial Family), 1906, monochrome postcard reproduction, dimensions unknown.
Figure 85. Thomas Theodor Heine, *Jaurès Zurückweisung* (Jaurès Dismissal), cover illustration for *Simplicissimus*, 1905, issue 18.
Figure 86. Thomas Theodor Heine, *Jaurès Zurückweisung* (Jaurès Dismissal) (detail), cover illustration for *Simplicissimus*, 1905, issue 18.
Figure 87. Unattributed. *Silberhochzeit in unserem Kaiserhause*. (Silver wedding anniversary in our imperial home), Verlag Gustav Liersch, 1906, postcard, dimensions unknown.

Figure 88. Photographer unknown, Kaiser Wilhelm II processing through the streets of Jerusalem on diplomatic visit to Ottoman Empire in 1898, 12.7 x 17.8cm, photograph.
Figure 89. Unattributed, *Landung Ihrer Majestäten d. d. Kaisers u. d. Kaiserin in “Haifa”* (The Disembarkment of their Majesties the Emperor and Empress in Haifa), commemorative postcard, 1898.

Figure 90. Unattributed, Header for *Le Charivari*, 1833.
Figure 92. Photographer unknown, Tribüne Theater, Charlottenburg, designed by Emilie Winkelmann, c.1915.
Figure 93. Hans Ehrlich, *Dada-Reklame-Gesellschaft* (Dada Advertising Consultancy), 1919, 23 x 30cm, leaflet, in the Tzara Archive, Bibliothèque littéraire Jacques Doucet, Paris.
Figure 94. Unattributed, *Programme for second performance at the Tribüne*, 7 December 1919, print on paper, 29.7 x 23.3 cm, featuring woodcut by Erich Heckel.
Figure 95. Unattributed, *Programme for second Tribune performance*, 7 December 1919, 29.7 x 23.3cm, in Hannah Höch archive, Berlinische Galerie, Berlin.
Figure 96. Unattributed, *Handbill for second performance at the Tribüne*, 7 December 1919, handbill, 10 x 14 cm, printed in black on a sheet of cream laid paper, unknown private collection.
Figure 97. Photographer unknown, *Schlaraffia*, Schlossberg Graz, Austria, c.1900.
Figure 98. Unattributed, Der Dada (detail), ‘directeurs: groszfield, hearthaus, georgemann’, issue 3, April 1920, edited by John Heartfield, George Grosz and Raoul Hausmann, published by the Malik Verlag.

Figure 99. Unknown Photographer, Ernst Toller’s Die Wandlung (Transfiguration), scene 4, barbed wire entanglement scene, dir. Karlheinz Martin, 30 September 1919, at Die Tribüne Theater.
Figure 100. Das Urteil gegen Toller (Sentence brought against [Ernst] Toller), Berliner-Börsen Courier, 17 July 1919.
Figure 101. Unknown Photographer, Robert Neppach set design in Ernst Toller’s *Die Wandlung*, dir. Karlheinz Martin, 30 September 1919, at Die Tribüne Theater, Berlin.
Figure 102. Unattributed, *Haus der Dresdner Kaufmannschaft* (Dresden merchants' hall) on Ostra-Allee 9, 1917, postcard, dimensions unknown.
Figure 103. Johannes Baader and Raoul Hausmann, Programme for Hamburg performance in the Curio-Haus, Hamburg, 18 February 1920, print on paper, 30 x 23cm.
Figure 104. *Lachende Gesellen* (The Laughing Journeymen), advertisement for Rudolf Schönfelder show, *Dresdener Anzeiger*, 18 January 1920.

Figure 105. Photographer Unknown, *Alexander Wierth and Alfred Meyer*, double portrait.
Figure 106. Photographer Unknown, Alexander Wierth as ‘Robert’ from Robert und Bertram, 1910, photographic portrait.
Figure 107. Photographer unknown, *Main hall of the Prague Produce Exchange*, now the 'congress hall' (Kongresové centrum) of the Czech National Bank (Česká národní banka).

Figure 108. *Produce Exchange* (Plodinová burza), Prague, 1908, built 1893-1895, designed by Bedřich Ohmann and Rudolf Krighammer.
Figure 109. *Produce Exchange* (Plodinová burza), Prague, author’s photograph, 2022.
Figure 110. *Mozarteum concert hall*, Prague, Jungmannova 748, designed by Jan Kotěra, photographed by Karel Boromejský, 1922.
Figure 111. Photographer Unknown, **Richard Huelsenbeck and Raoul Hausmann in Prague during the ‘Dada-Tournee’, March 1920**, 14 x 9cm, photographic portrait postcard.
Figure 112. Richard Huelsenbeck, Raoul Hausmann, and Johannes Baader, *Programme for Prague performance*, 1 March 1920, print on paper, 25 x 17cm, Berlinische Galerie.
Figure 113. George Grosz, “Daum” marries her pedantic automaton “George” in May 1920, John Heartfield is very glad of it (Meta-Mech. constr. nach Prof. R Hausmann), 1920, 42 x 30.2cm, watercolour pen-and-ink collage, repr. in Der Dada, April 1920, issue 3.
Figure 114. George Grosz and John Heartfield, *Der wildewordene Spiesser Heartfield: Elektro-mechan. Tatlin-Plastik* (The Philistine Heartfield turned Wild: Electromechanical Tatlin Sculpture), 1988 reconstruction of 1920 original, 220 x 45 x 45cm, multimedia electrified sculpture, Berlinische Galerie.
Figure 115. Otto Dix, *Die Skatspieler* (Skat Players), 1920, oil on canvas, photomontage, collage, 110 x 87cm, Neue Nationalgalerie, Berlin.
Figure 116. August Sander, *Raoul Hausmann als Tänzer* (Raoul Hausmann as a Dancer), 1929, 25.8 x 18.7cm, gelatin silver print.
Figure 117. George Grosz, Jedermann sein eigner Fussball (Every man his own football), (detail, request for Foxtrott and Ragtime records), 15 February 1919, issue no. 1 of 1, design by John Heartfield, edited by Wieland Herzfelde, published by Malik Verlag Berlin, 43.5 x 29.5 cm.
Programm und Einladung
zum
Vorfragsabend
Freitag, 12. April 1918, abends 8½ Uhr
in der
Berliner Sezession (Kurfürstendamm 238a).

Richard Huelsenbeck:
Der Dadaismus im Leben und in der Kunst.
Diese erste theoretische Betrachtung des dadaistischen Prinzips
soll in kürzerer Zeit in beschränkter Auflage im Druck er scheinen. Die Exemplare sind mit der Signatur des Verlassers versehen und kosten 3 M. Bestellungen bitten man zu richten an Richard Huelsenbeck, Charlottenburg, Kantstr. 118 III.

Else Hadwiger:
Futuristische und dadaistische Verse.
F. T. Marinetti: Verwandtentransport.
Paolo Buzzi: Brandenburger Tor — Die Wache zieht auf — Wachheim.
Libero Altomare: Die Häuser sprechen.
Luciano Folgore: Der Marsch.
Corrado Gavotti: Seiße.
Tristan Tzara: Retraite.
Aldo Palazzeschi: Lasst mir den Spaz.

George Grosz:
Sincopations, eigene Verse.

Raoul Hausmann:
Das neue Material in der Malerei.

Billette à 3, 2 und 1 M. an der Kasse.
Vorverkauf in der Berliner Sezession und bei Richard Hülsenbeck,
Tel: Steinl. 3790.

Figure 118. Unattributed, Dada Soirée on 12 April 1918, 1918, 21.2 x 13.9 cm, programme and flyer.
Figure 119. Photographer unknown, *Mr Meschugge (Robert Krüger) as a Tin Soldier*, c.1910, photograph.
Figure 120. Letter from George Grosz to Otto Schmalhausen, 7 October 1918, George Grosz Estate, Princeton.
Figure 121. *Kummer’s Ready-Made Cake Mix*, by Krewel & Co. GmbH, Cologne, 1904, poster, Historisches Museum Frankfurt am Main.
Figure 122. Photographer unknown, *Boxaktion mit Erwin Piscator, George Grosz, John Heartfield u. Wieland Herzfelde bei Sabri Mahir*, 1924. (Boxing project with Erwin Piscator, George Grosz, John Heartfield, and Wieland Herzfelde in Sabri Mahir’s [boxing studio on the Kurfürstendamm], 1924.
Man muß Kautschukmann sein!

Ja, Kautschukmann sein — eventuell den Kopf zwischen die Beine stecken oder durchs Faß springen — und spiralig in die Luft schmeißen! sich, ein Paragraph rumpft Dich an,

— eine Affiche,
— ein Flohkarussel,

(samtliche Pflöhe liegen an Schlingen — desertieren ausgeschlossen — springen von Flöhen auf Kommando, Paradenmarsch der Flöhe . . . .)

Immerhin wichtig ist, das Ohrzeugen nicht behalten! Wo wohnt die geistige Kirche, marsek sich heute das Warenhaus hoch — Die Fahrtstühle lausen Eisenbahnzugflecke.

Explosionskatastrophen — quer durchbrach der Balkan wie Mitteleuropa, doch gibt es auch Bauflüge und Edelarmmilade —

— Wie gesagt, Kautschukmann sein beweglich in allen Kästen nicht bloß im Dichter-Sessel diesen oder vor der Staffelei schön geätzte Bildein zeichnen.

Den Bequemlichkeiten müsste man beim Verabschieden nach dem patriotischen Pope zu äußern, rumort! explodiert! zerplatzt! — oder hängt euch ans Fensterrahmen.

Luft, Atem, Radauer in die Braustweige sausen bumerang! Jet! Wieder elastisch werden nach allen Seiten höchst lodernd — sich verbiegen — abwärts! Kurz oder Herzgrubehäupt!

Ladies and gentlemen! Jeder hat Zukunft!

Nur nähergetreten! .. nur nähergetreten!.. Schon heben sie den Wehrrauschüssel ein, Nervös nützt das weiche Gesäß nun und hier! Wenn nicht sämtliche Pflöhe an Schlingen tagen!..
Figure 124. Unattributed, *Fersen h-e-b-t, seeeeenkt!* (Heels l-i-f-t, and looower!), *Der Dada* (detail), April 1920, issue 3, edited by Raoul Hausmann, Johannes Baader and Richard Huelsenbeck.
Figure 125. Gerhard Preiss [photographer unknown], *Dada-Trott: Der dadaistische Holzpuppentanz vorgeführt vom Musikdada Preiss* (Dada Trot: the dadaistic wooden puppet dance performed by the Musikdada Preiss), *Der Dada*, December 1920, issue 3, edited by Raoul Hausmann, Johannes Baader and Richard Huelsenbeck.
Figure 126. Gerhard Preiss [photographer unknown], *Dada Trott* spread for *Dadaco* facsimile page, 1919.
Figure 127. Gerhard Preiss [photographer unknown], *Dada Trott spread for Dadaco facsimile page* (detail no. 1), 1919.

Figure 128. Photographer unknown, *Karl Valentin as an Imperial Policeman*, c.1920.
Figure 129. Gerhard Preiss [photographer unknown], *Dada Trott spread for Dadaco facsimile page* (detail no. 2), 1919.
Figure 130. Schall und Rauch, ‘Dada’ issue no. 6, May 1920, guest edited by John Heartfield, George Grosz and Raoul Hausmann, series editor Heinz Herald.
Figure 131. Gerhard Preiss, Der Musik-Dada Preiss beim Morgentraining (The Music Dada Preiss at Morning Rehearsal), Der Dada, December 1920, issue 3, edited by Raoul Hausmann, Johannes Baader and Richard Huelsenbeck.

Der Dada, December 1920, issue 3, edited by Raoul Hausmann, Johannes Baader and Richard Huelsenbeck.
Figure 133. Photographer unknown, *Dancer performing at the opening of the Galerie Dada, Zurich (Sophie Taeuber, later Taeuber-Arp?)*, 1917, photograph.
Figure 134. *Dada Soirée, Meistersaal on the Köthener Straße, 24 May 1919, Programme and Invitation.*
Figure 135. ‘Der Oberdada tanzt “Oxfordhose”’, Neue Berliner Zeitung, 26 November 1926, image of Raoul Hausmann published on the occasion of his solo performance at the Sturm Gallery.
Figure 136. Raymond Duncan, *Isadora Duncan at the Theatre of Dionysus*, Athens, 1903.
Figure 137. Rudolf von Laban [photographer unknown], *Mathematicus*, c.1915-18.
Figure 138. Hugo Erfurth, *Mary Wigman performs her Hexentanz (Witch Dance) piece*, 1914.
Figure 139. Valeska Gert, still from Cabaret-Berlin: die wilde Bühne (1919-1933), dir. Fabienne Rousso-Lenoir, 2010.
Figure 140. Valeska Gert, still from Cabaret-Berlin: die wilde Bühne (1919-1933), dir. Fabienne Rousso-Lenoir, 2010.
Figure 141. Photographer unknown, *Demonstration by German World War One veterans for free healthcare and payment of a war disability pension*, 1919.
Figure 142. The 'Siemens-Schuckert-Werke' tool-holder prosthetic limb, 1918.
Figure 143. *Ewig lebt der Sport bei Potsdam* (Sport lives eternal in Potsdam), ex. cat. Ernst Internationale Dada-Messe (First International Dada Fair), edited by Wieland Herzfelde, 1920, detail on fold-out, dimensions unknown.
Figure 144. Raoul Hausmann, *Print on copy of Carl Einstein’s Negerplastik*, c. 1916, woodcut.
Figure 145. Raoul Hausmann, Da-du dada, Der Dada, June 1919, issue 1, edited by Raoul Hausmann.
Figure 146. Illustration from Carl Einstein, *Negerplastik* (Leipzig: Verlag der Weissen Bücher, 1915), 67.