Cocottes, Garçonnes, and Cowboys: Gender and Figuration in the Work of George Grosz, Karl Hubbuch, and Hanna Nagel, 1915–1935

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This project considers how anxiety provoked by shifting gender norms between World War I and the end of the Weimar period operates in the work of George Grosz, Karl Hubbuch, and Hanna Nagel. These artists worked in a figurative mode that locates their work within the broad category of Neue Sachlichkeit, part of a pan-European "return to order." During this period, the so-called "new woman" became increasingly active and visible in public life, prompting anxious responses from men whose identities had been fundamentally shaken by the war and its aftermath. The work of Grosz, Hubbuch, and Nagel therefore reflects the extent to which changing gender roles contributed to a sense of individual and interpersonal crisis for both women and men.

Grosz's work reflects the artist's sense of traumatized masculinity by engaging with a mythical American West, the figure of the rationalized automaton, and finally with an authoritative Old Master tradition. Hubbuch's work shifts from a stereotyped image of women as embodiments of urban vice towards a more nuanced attempt to represent the multiplicity of the new woman. Nagel's work reflects her struggle to construct and inhabit the emerging persona of the professional female artist, as well as her disillusionment when the emancipatory promise of the new woman failed to materialize.

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234. Hanna Nagel, *Scherzender Tod (Fischfresser)*, 1931–1933, ink, wash, and watercolor on paper.
235. Hanna Nagel, *Geburt der Venus,* 1933–1945, ink and watercolor on paper.
236. Lea Grundig, *Das Ehebett,* plate 4 from the series *Frauenleben,* 1934, drypoint.
237. Hanna Nagel, *Chopin-Prélude Nr. 1 C-Dur*, from the series *Fantasien zu 24 Chopin-Préludes,* 1945–1946, ink and watercolor on paper.
238. Hanna Nagel, *Chopin-Prélude Nr. 20 c-Moll*, from the series *Fantasien zu 24 Chopin-Préludes,* 1945–1946, ink and watercolor on paper.
239. Hannah Höch, *Schnitt mit dem Küchenmesser Dada durch die letzte Weimarer Bierbauchkulturepoche Deutschlands,* 1919–1920, photomontage.
240. Detail of figure 239.
241. Hanna Nagel, *Selbstbildnis,* 1919, lithograph.

I. Introduction

Readers of the popular Weimar magazine *Uhu* might have been surprised by the October 1925 issue: in addition to a photo-essay on the health benefits of rhythmic gymnastics, an article on the future of radio, an account of the work habits of author Jakob Wassermann, and a portrait of film star Mary Pickford with her dogs, there appeared a review of an art exhibition.

While *Uhu* was known for its high standards of design and for publishing the work of leading photographers, it rarely published exhibition reviews. Apparently, however, the editors believed that this particular exhibition would be of interest to a wide readership. The title of the review asked simply: "Where is painting headed?" By way of an answer, the pseudonymous reviewer "Douglas Dick" provided an overview of *Neue Sachlichkeit: Deutsche Malerei seit dem Expressionismus,* which had debuted earlier that summer at the Kunsthalle Mannheim. According to the latest art-world chatter, he explains, expressionism is "dead as a doornail," and, in the wake of its death, artists had begun to paint figuratively once again.[1]

While acknowledging that the situation is more nuanced than his account suggests, Dick indicates that the exhibition, which does not declare the emergence of a new "ism," nonetheless gives satisfying evidence of an important trend: "[E]verything is beautifully clear and orderly. Everything is precise. Even overly precise. The kind of excruciating, unsettling sharpness that one sees in dreams. … loaded with a tension that you feel but at first cannot explain."[2] Although the new painting sometimes fails to rise above a "scrupulously pedantic dryness," Dick still finds

[1] "mausetot." Douglas Dick, "Neue Sachlichkeit: Wohin steuert die Malerei?," *Uhu* 1, no. 2 (October 1925): 57.

[2] "… alles ist hübsch klar und ordentlich. Alles ist deutlich. Überdeutlich sogar. Von dieser peinlichen Schärfe, mit der man zuweilen in Träumen sieht und die beunruhigt. … geladen mit irgendeiner Spannung, die man fühlt, aber zunächst nicht erklaren kann." Ibid., 57–58.

it a refreshing change from expressionism's "nonsense of painted cosmic mists."[3] He describes the featured artists as "children of an age of poison gas, the airplane and the radio, [who] raise their [collective] voice, which does not always sound sweet, but candidly says what it means. This stillness is eloquent: behind it is not silence, but a groaning and a roar … the chaos of our time, covered by a thin, smooth layer of colored paint. But this thin color-skin can jump and tear apart. And behind it are a thousand unpainted worlds of tomorrow."[4]

Dick's review captures essential elements of the dialogue surrounding the so-called return to figuration in the years leading up to 1925. Like other contemporary critics, he highlights artists' rejection of expressionism's formal experimentation and spiritual aspirations; their postwar cynicism; and the disquieting effect of their paintings' often exaggerated clarity. The paintings chosen by the editors to illustrate the review reinforce Dick's analysis. Heinrich Maria Davringhausen's self-portrait, titled *Der Künstler* [fig. 1], presents the artist as a stern and businesslike figure, a self-possessed counterpart of Georg Scholz's *Der Geschäftsmann* (1924) [fig. 2], who placidly orchestrates the global circulation of capital via the telephone on his desk. The map of North and South America on the wall with the caption "Hamburg-Amerika" suggests that the subject, identified as banker Herbert Kahnheimer, is involved in the shipping business. These figures seem to embody the sober, unsentimental attitude that Dick links to an age of technological innovation and standardization. Meanwhile, the subject of Carlo Mense's *Der Geistliche* (now known as *Don Pepe,* 1924) [fig. 3], with his stiff frontal pose and precisely

[3] "peinlich-pedantische Trockenheit"; "Quatsch von gemalten, kosmischen Nebeln." Ibid., 58.

[4] " … Kinder eines Zeitalters der Giftgase, des Flugzeugs und Radio erheben ihre Stimme, die nicht immer lieblich klingt, aber ehrlich sagt, was sie meint. Diese Stille ist beredt: hinter ihr ist nicht Schweigen, sondern ein Gedröhn und Getöse … des Chaos unserer Zeit, überdeckt von einer dünnen, glatten Farbenlackschicht. Aber diese dünne Farbenhaut kann springen und auseinanderreißen. Und dahinter liegen tausend ungemalte Welten von morgen." Ibid., 60.

detailed yet enigmatic expression, evokes the uncanny quality that Dick identifies as a key component of the new painting. As the review concludes, "[t]his 'Neue Sachlichkeit' is not so completely new—it is essentially very old and nothing more than what has made painters of every era meaningful: intensity, clarity of intuition, rigor of feeling, power of reproduction—that is a formula that has never lost its effect."[5] Dick's review identifies a paradox: while the new painting aspires to be modern, it is also ancient, as though the history of art has moved circularly and arrived back at its origins.

For Dick and other critics, the emergence of Neue Sachlichkeit—now acknowledged as an identifiable trend taking its name from the 1925 exhibition—seemed to function as an ideal paradigm for the art of the young Weimar Republic, a Janus-faced merging of a revered craft tradition with the precision and detachment of the machine age. Typically, Neue Sachlichkeit is understood as part of a collectively attempted pan-European "return to order" which occurred during and after World War I.[6] In France, Italy, and Germany, pioneers of cubism, futurism, and expressionism withdrew from their experiments with abstraction, the non-mimetic use of color, and the liquidation of linear perspective. They expressed a renewed interest in traditional representational techniques and norms, using line, color, and perspective to mimic real appearances as closely as possible. Some artists openly invoked historical precedents, including classical antiquity, the Renaissance, and academic painting of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

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[5] "Diese 'neue Sachlichkeit' ist nicht so ganz neu—sie ist im Grunde genommen uralt und nichts weiter als das, was Maler aller Zeiten bedeutend gemacht hat: Intensität, Klarheit der Anschauung, Strenge des Gefühls, Kraft der Wiedergabe—das ist ein Rezept, das noch nie seine Wirkung verfehlt hat." Dick, "Neue Sachlichkeit," 61.

[6] For a consideration of the return to order as a pan-European phenomenon, see Kenneth E. Silver, *Chaos and Classicism: Art in France, Italy, and Germany, 1918–1936* (New York: Guggenheim Museum, 2010). For the return to order in France and Italy, see Elizabeth Cowling and Jennifer Mundy, *On Classic Ground: Picasso, Léger, de Chirico and the New Classicism, 1910–1930* (London: Tate Gallery, 1990).

Dick's matter-of-fact tone in the *Uhu* review seems to accept Neue Sachlichkeit as an almost inevitable development, a logical response to the conditions of modern life, but, in point of fact, this belies the turmoil and uncertainty that accompanied its emergence. Indeed, the concept of Neue Sachlichkeit arose in response to a profound sense of crisis in the visual arts at the outset of the Weimar period. On the one hand, expressionism, the dominant force in German modernism since 1905, seemed exhausted and bankrupt even to many of its former supporters. On the other hand, the ever-broadening impact of mass media—film, photography, and the illustrated press—seemed poised to assume art's former function. Exacerbating this situation were the obvious facts of political and economic instability (e.g., the failed revolutionary efforts of 1919–1920, the reactionary impulse behind the thwarted Kapp Putsch of 1920, and the hyperinflation that peaked in 1923). It is not surprising, then, that some critics greeted the ascendance of Neue Sachlichkeit as proof that art had overcome a period of anxious volatility and entered a newly stable phase.

Unaddressed in Dick's review, but deeply intertwined with a widely perceived condition of crisis in the early 1920s, was a series of destabilizing shifts in the role of women. These shifts had roots in the bourgeois women's movement of the later nineteenth century, and gained momentum during the war, as women stepped into the professional roles of absent men and learned "crucial lessons in citizenship" by engaging directly with government agencies for the first time.[7] Women gained suffrage in November 1918, allowing them to take part in the national assembly elections of January 1919; later that year, Article 109 of the Weimar constitution

[7] Kathleen Canning, "Women and the Politics of Gender," in *Weimar Germany,* ed. Anthony McElligott (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 147.

declared that women and men were to be equal "in principle."[8] Yet the republic's stated commitment to equality was ambivalent from the outset. For example, Article 119 of the constitution declared that marriage was based on equality between the sexes, but the Civil Code of 1900, which legitimized husbands' control over their wives and children, remained in effect. Kathleen Canning sees this contradiction as evidence of a futile impulse to "restore gender ideologies and hierarchies" that had already been irreversibly altered by the war: Women had solidified their desire to participate in public life, while men had suffered physical and emotional trauma as well as the bitterness of defeat, undermining the ideal of heroic masculinity. Thus, the desire to restore or uphold old social norms and the impossibility of doing so created a "current of crisis that ran through the republic regarding matters of gender and sexuality," a current that persisted until the republic's very end.[9]

The rise of the "neue Frau," or new woman, seized the public's imagination, provoking both enthusiasm and anxiety. The new woman wielded unprecedented power as a voter and a consumer; pursued new forms of leisure; and, most disconcertingly to some, adopted short skirts, shorter hairstyles, and a bold, carefree attitude. Young women, the demographic group most likely to be categorized as new women, increasingly worked outside the home, filling a demand for secretaries and sales clerks in the burgeoning white-collar sector.[10] Changes in women's

[8] Women's suffrage was enacted under the Council of the People's Deputies, the provisional coalition government responsible for organizing the national assembly elections.

[9] Canning, "Women and the Politics of Gender," 154. In her study of prostitution reform in the Weimar period, Julia Roos goes so far as to argue that "[c]onflicts over gender and sexuality were perhaps as important for the crisis and ultimate demise of the Weimar Republic as class antagonism and the bitter political divisions between Left and Right." Julia Roos, *Weimar through the Lens of Gender: Prostitution Reform, Women's Emancipation, and German Democracy, 1919–33* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2010), 8.

[10] The overall percentage of employed women rose only 0.7% between 1907 and 1925, but the sectors in which women worked changed dramatically: while over two-thirds of women worked in agriculture in 1907, by 1925 that figure dropped to 55%. Nearly 1.5 million women worked in white-collar positions by 1925. Ute Frevert, *Women in*

behavior led to declining marriage and birth rates, provoking fears of crisis in both marriage and motherhood, while liberalizing attitudes towards prostitution, birth control, abortion, and homosexuality threw formerly stable social norms into question.

According to Atina Grossmann, the new woman constituted a challenge or counter-model to the "old woman" of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, represented either by the "proletarian mother of a large family" or the "single committed women's rights activist."[11] If the "old woman" devoted herself primarily to the needs of others, the "new woman" appeared much less inclined to pursue a path of dutiful self-sacrifice—especially if she first tasted the freedom that came from working outside the home. The behavior of young working women in both blue- and white-collar positions aroused contradictory fears in contemporary observers. Some worried that women who grew accustomed to the pursuit of leisure and entertainment would be unable to accept the necessary monotony of family life.[12] Others feared that young women who learned to prize speed and efficiency in the workplace would apply the logic of rationalization to their domestic life, so that the home would no longer offer a nurturing respite from the relentless demands of the modern workplace.[13] If the women's movement of the nineteenth century still upheld marriage and family as the central pillars of women's lives, the new woman appeared prepared, if not to reject those institutions outright, then at least to remake them on her own terms.

German History: From Bourgeois Emancipation to Sexual Liberation, trans. Stuart McKinnon with Terry Bond and Barbara Norden (Oxford: Berg, 1990), 176–177.

[11] Atina Grossmann, "*Girlkultur* or Thoroughly Rationalized Female? A New Woman in Weimar Germany," in *Women in Culture and Poltics: A Century of Change,* ed. Judith Friedländer (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1986), 67.

[12] Ibid., 68–69.

[13] Ibid., 75–76.

While *Uhu* persistently tracked the rise of the new woman and the social consequences of this phenomenon, the subject of women enters the 1925 exhibition review only implicitly, via its remaining two illustrations: Otto Dix's *Die Witwe* (1925) [fig. 4] and Georg Schrimpf's *Magd am Fenster* (now known as *Mädchen am Fenster*, 1925) [fig. 5]. These paintings ask us to consider how artists affiliated with Neue Sachlichkeit approached the subject of women and suggest two contrasting answers. Schrimpf, an autodidact, was known for his paintings of women and children in pastoral settings.[14] *Mädchen am Fenster* links the view of a pristine countryside bathed in soft light with the implied purity of the young woman, whose bare feet and loose hair suggest her innocence.[15] By contrast, Dix's war widow is clearly presented as an object of desire—and, by extension, a potential catalyst of moral corruption—beneath her translucent mourning veil. Her ostentatious bouquet of lilies, symbolizing purity and associated with the Virgin Mary, forms an ironic contrast with her implied sexual availability. The association between war widows and prostitutes derived from the fact that many widows turned to prostitution out of economic necessity; meanwhile, prostitutes who were not widows sometimes wore mourning clothes to take advantage of this association and attract more attention

[14] Although he was briefly a member of the communist party, Schrimpf's work, influenced by the Nazarenes, functioned as a timeless escape from contemporary politics, and earned him the designation "idyllist of proletarian life" ("Idylliker des Proletarierlebens"). Leopold Zahn, "Münchner Ausstellungen," *Der Cicerone* 13, no. 9 (May 1921): 284.

[15] Schrimpf became a professor in Berlin in 1933, but was terminated in 1937 due to his former KPD membership. *Mädchen am Fenster* was confiscated from the Nationalgalerie Berlin in 1937 and sold to the Kunstmuseum Basel in 1939. In her review of the 1985 Berlin retrospective of Schrimpf and his first wife, Maria Uhden (1892–1918), Petra Kiphoff names *Mädchen am Fenster* as an icon of Weimar figurative painting: "Again and again, in all the exhibitions on realism, Neue Sachlichkeit or even the art of the twenties, one has seen this painting … simple volumes, broad, velvety color surfaces, a figure seen from behind, simple and quiet, the sentimentally-laden job title of young maid comes to mind; since the chamber under the roof seems poor, the gaze moves towards the countryside." ("Immer wieder, in all den zahlreichen Ausstellungen über den Realismus, die Neue Sachlichkeit oder überhaupt die Kunst der zwanziger Jahre, hat man dieses Bild … gesehen … einfache Volumina, große, samtige Farbflächen, eine Rückenfigur, schlicht und still, die sentimentgeladene Berufsbezeichnung junge Magd liegt nahe, weil die Kammer unter dem Dach arm scheint, der Blick über das Land geht.") Petra Kiphoff, "Kleine Revolution, große Idylle," *Die Zeit,* June 14, 1985, zeit.de/1985/25/kleine-revolution-grosse-idylle.

from potential clients.[16] *Die Witwe* is characteristic of Dix's portrayals of women in public spaces, who are generally presented, either overtly or implicitly, as sexual commodities.[17] Schrimp and Dix thus provide *Uhu's* readers with opposing images of contemporary women, one suggestive of rural innocence, and the other, urban decadence.

The polarity captured by this pair of images epitomizes how artists associated with Neue Sachlichkeit often responded to women's shifting status with either denial or disdain. If Schrimpf disavows the figure of the new woman and substitutes for her a timeless image of purity, Dix seems to equate the modern woman with depraved sexuality—she is at worst a prostitute, at best dangerously promiscuous. Even the language of the *Uhu* review, on second glance, betrays gendered elements: the "thin, smooth layer of colored paint" that barely conceals the "chaos of our time" evokes women's newly standard use of makeup, which had not yet shed its pre-war associations with prostitution.[18] In both its text and its illustrations, then, the *Uhu* review conveys a latent anxiety about gender roles that was, I contend, characteristic of the moment of crisis in which Neue Sachlichkeit emerged.

My reading of the *Uhu* review suggests two related questions pertaining to this anxiety. First, how did the perceived crisis in art *intersect* with the perceived crisis in gender relations?

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[16] Jill Suzanne Smith, *Berlin Coquette: Prostitution and the New German Woman, 1890–1933* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2013), 16.

[17] Dix provoked a nationwide scandal when *Die Schützengraben* (1920–1923), a monumental depiction of the lurid aftermath of trench warfare, went on view at the Wallraf-Richartz Museum in Cologne in 1924. This painting, as well as the publication of his etching cycle *Der Krieg* in the same year, cemented Dix's reputation as the foremost portrayer of the war's most gruesome aspects. His depictions of war overshadowed his previous notoriety as a painter of grotesquely rendered prostitutes. Two paintings on this theme, *Mädchen am Spiegel* (1921) and *Salon II* (1921) were confiscated in 1923; on both occasions, Dix was tried for obscenity, but acquitted after arguing that he intended not to titillate, but to incite moral disgust.

[18] The widespread acceptance of makeup was a distinctive feature of postwar fashion; before the war, only prostitutes wore makeup during the day. Sabine Hake, "In the Mirror of Fashion," in *Women in the Metropolis,* ed. Katharina von Ankum (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), Kindle edition.

Second, where do these intersecting crises become *visible* in figurative art of the Weimar period? In order to understand how gendered language operates in the discourse on Neue Sachlichkeit, it is necessary, first, to examine the controversial position of women in the Weimar period and the varieties of confusion or hostility they provoked. Scholarship has long been concerned with inquiry into the shifting status of women in this era and its representation in literature, art, and popular media. This topic will therefore be reviewed here briefly before being discussed more extensively in chapter 3.

A. Woman as Machine or Morass

The increasing presence of women in public life after 1918 signaled the dissolution of formerly stable boundaries between the public (masculine) and private (feminine) spheres. A declining birthrate and increasing rates of divorce, combined with women's increasingly visible role in areas ranging from politics to education, stoked concerns that women were abandoning their "natural" desire and / or duty to become wives and mothers. These fears could intersect with anxieties about technology's encroachment into both work and daily life. For example, Andreas Huyssen reads the female robot in *Metropolis* (1927) as a symbol of male anxiety about the threatening otherness of both women and technology. (The female robot is made to impersonate the character of Maria, the virtuous, maternal woman, transforming into a dangerous "vamp" doppelgänger. This "false Maria" leads the workers of Metropolis in revolt, but they finally turn against her and burn her at the stake, while the "true Maria" rescues the workers' children from a flood.) Huyssen argues that the robot-as-vamp embodies "libidinal forces which end up threatening … the whole social fabric of Metropolis and which therefore have to be purged before order and control can be reestablished. This view of the vamp's sexuality posing a

threat to male rule and control … corresponds precisely to the notion of technology running out-of-control and unleashing its destructive potential on humanity."[19]

Women's newly prominent role in both the production and consumption of popular culture also raised concerns that the individualized, critical (male) individual was being replaced with a uniform, mindless (female) mass. This attitude surfaces in Siegfried Kracauer's analysis of the wildly popular Tiller Girls dance troupe. From his perspective, the Girls' tightly synchronized movements both mirrored and endorsed the logic of the machine, and thereby the capitalist fantasy of endless production. "When they formed themselves into an undulating snake, they delivered a radiant illustration of the virtues of the conveyor belt; when they stepped to a rapid beat, it sounded like 'business, business'; when they raised their legs with mathematical precision above their heads, they joyfully affirmed the progress of rationalization; and when they continually repeated the same maneuver, never breaking ranks, one had visions of an unbroken chain of automobiles gliding from the factory into the world and the feeling of knowing that there was no end to prosperity."[20] Kracauer's analysis of the "mass ornament" conflates the image of a mechanized, standardized, and infinitely reproducible woman with anxiety about the growth of technology, feeding capitalism's demand for ever-increasing production and consumption. Further, the hypnotic distraction offered by such spectacle diverts

[19] Andreas Huyssen, "The Vamp and the Machine: Fritz Lang's *Metropolis*," in *After the Great Divide: Modernism, Mass Culture, Postmodernism* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986), 74.

[20] Siegfried Kracauer, "Girls and Crisis," in *The Weimar Republic Sourcebook,* ed. Anton Kaes, Martin Jay, and Edward Dimendberg (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 237. Kracauer wrongly understood the Tiller Girls to be American exports; in fact, they originated in England in the late nineteenth century.

or seduces spectators into a passive state where they fail to notice or question their own economic and political disenfranchisement.[21]

Kracauer is equally critical of women as consumers of mass culture, particularly of sentimental films that present false promises of salvation through marriage to a wealthier man.[22] For Kracauer, the film industry represents a threat to subjectivity by creating a phantasmagoria of wish-fulfillment, offering limitless distraction from real problems of structural inequality and class conflict.[23] Women, of course, are posited as especially susceptible to film's attractive deceptions, which appeal to emotion rather than reason. The fact that the cinema was one of the first public spaces where women were able to congregate contributed to the perception that it was a dangerously feminized space. As Patrice Petro explains, "German law prohibited women from attending public meetings or joining political organizations until 1908… The cinema…became one of the few places in German cultural life that afforded women a prominent position and privileged access, and the growing visibility of women at the movies did not go unnoticed by those who held mass culture responsible for exacerbating the decay of standards brought about by technology and industrial rationalization."[24]

These examples demonstrate how anxiety surrounding women was typically connected with fears of excess, instability, or loss of control. Andreas Huyssen traces the association,

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[21] Patrice Petro, "Perceptions of Difference: Woman as Spectator and Spectacle," in von Ankum, *Women in the Metropolis,* Kindle edition.

[22] See Siegfried Kracauer, "The Little Shopgirls Go To the Movies," in *The Mass Ornament: Weimar Essays*, ed. and trans. Thomas Levin (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995), 291–304.

[23] For critiques of Kracauer's interpretation of women's filmgoing experience, see Petro, "Perceptions of Difference," Kindle edition, and Smith, *Berlin Coquette,* 128–130.

[24] Petro, "Perceptions of Difference," Kindle edition. The film industry estimated its audience to be up to 75 percent female; Helen Boak, *Women in the Weimar Republic* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013), 257–258.

originating in the nineteenth century, of mass culture with the specter of the uncontrollable feminine. "The fear of the masses … is always also a fear of woman, a fear of nature out of control, a fear of the unconscious, of sexuality, of the loss of identity and stable ego boundaries in the mass."[25] Bernd Widdig argues that women became associated with the excesses of hyperinflation through the figures of the witch and the prostitute.[26] Even discussions about the "woman surplus" at the war's end might be seen as a manifestation of anxiety about the destabilizing potential of women whose energies could not find a safe outlet in marriage and the duties of family life.[27]

In response to the threat of an ungovernable feminized mass, male subjects constructed psychological defenses. Klaus Theweleit notes that Freikorps officers fortified themselves against the threat of a feminized mass conceived as a "flood," "morass," or "pulp."[28] Helmut Lethen argues that male intellectuals constructed the protective façade of the "cool persona" to defend against the threat of shame, represented by the suffering, defenseless "creature."[29] The mask of the cool persona conceals both a fear of the feminine other and of becoming feminized

[25] Andreas Huyssen, "Mass Culture as Woman: Modernism's Other," in *After the Great Divide*, 52.

[26] Bernd Widdig, *Culture and Inflation in Weimar Germany* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 203–208 and 212–215. Widdig also describes the emergence of a "feminized modernity" consisting of the "enticing dreamworld of modern mass consumerism," linked to the rise of women as consumers. Ibid., 196–197.

[27] Boak, *Women in the Weimar Republic,* 200–201. Although the war resulted in a surplus of over 2 million women, including about 600,000 war widows, fears of a "generation of spinsters" did not materialize, as women proved willing to marry disabled veterans, younger men, and men of different social classes. Ibid., 201.

[28] Klaus Theweleit, *Male Fantasies,* vol. 1, *Women, Floods, Bodies, History,* trans. Stephen Conway with Erica Carter and Chris Turner (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987).

[29] Helmut Lethen, *Cool Conduct: The Culture of Distance in Weimar Germany,* trans. Don Reneau (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002).

by exposing one's own vulnerability.[30] From this perspective, the visual turn towards an aesthetic of precision, whether inspired by photography or by scrupulous Old Master techniques, might also be seen as an attempt to assert control, especially when engaging with subjects who themselves fall into the category of the defenseless "creature": crippled veterans, the unemployed, victims of political violence, prostitutes. As Lethen describes, "[t]he creature always figures as being in need of mercy in a time that knows no source for it, since the creator has retreated to an impossible distance and bourgeois institutions cannot make up the loss."[31]

Of course, reactions to shifting gender roles were not uniformly anxious. Relatively optimistic attitudes are found in *Die Frau von morgen, wie wir sie wünschen* (1929), an anthology of essays from prominent male authors who predict what the "woman of tomorrow" might look like. The authors concur that the appearance of the new woman is a generally positive development, and expect that she will continue to gain independence and push society towards more egalitarian relationships between the sexes.[32] This development, however, is imagined within preexisting gendered expectations. For example, Max Brod implores the "woman of tomorrow" to reintroduce ideas of love and spirituality to men who have become resolutely cynical through their brutal experience of war and defeat. He concludes, "if objectivity means Americanization, a refusal of the heart, of problems, of love, then it is not a protest against war but rather its result, its continuation and, finally …, its approbation. It will be the task of the woman of tomorrow, full of instinct and cleverness, to distinguish the good components of the

[30] Richard McCormick, Gender and Sexuality in Weimar Modernity: Film, Literature, and "New Objectivity" (New York: Palgrave, 2001), 120.

[31] Lethen, *Cool Conduct,* 205.

[32] Rüdiger Graf, "Anticipating the Future in the Present: 'New Women' and Other Beings of the Future in Weimar Germany," *Central European History* 14, no. 4 (December 2009): 668–669.

New Objectivity from the bad."[33]

Overall, however, changes in women's behavior proved massively unnerving, particularly in the context of sex and relationships. Prostitution became highly visible both during and after the war, especially in major urban areas, and younger women increasingly pursued romantic relationships without the expectation of marriage. These factors contributed to fears about rising rates of venereal disease or illegitimate births, but they also revealed an entrenched mistrust of female sexuality that cut across the political spectrum. The belief that prostitution was a manifestation of moral degeneracy rather than economic circumstance—in other words, that some women were "born prostitutes" whose deviant desires posed a threat to the institution of marriage—proved remarkably durable during the Weimar period, even among progressive women.[34] Leading criminologist Erich Wulffen (1862–1936), who theorized that criminal behavior in women was motivated by sexual desire, even argued that women who flirted or had relationships outside of marriage simply engaged in a more refined form of prostitution.[35]

Given the omnipresence of gender-based anxiety in this period, gendered language inevitably surfaced in discourse around art, especially in the context of the so-called "crisis of expressionism" and its resolution through a "return to order." Although artists and critics rarely discussed gender explicitly, it surfaces at critical points, revealing how thoroughly expectations about gender informed every level of cultural production.

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[33] Max Brod, "Women and the New Objectivity," in Kaes, Jay, and Dimendberg, *The Weimar Republic Sourcebook*, 206.

[34] Roos, Weimar through the Lens of Gender, 149–151.

[35] Barbara Hales, "Woman as Sexual Criminal: Weimar Constructions of the Criminal *Femme Fatale,*" *Women in German Yearbook* 12 (1996): 108.

B. Neue Sachlichkeit and the Gendered Language of Crisis

In Germany, the return to order emerged in a response to an implicitly gendered "crisis of expressionism" around 1920. A dominant trend in German modernism since 1905, expressionism (broadly speaking) used formal experimentation—drawing especially on medieval and non-western aesthetic models—as a means of conveying strong emotions in vivid and forceful ways. Immediately after World War I, expressionism became newly politicized, as many artists eagerly supported the November Revolution.[36] Artists and cultural commentators considered expressionism to be ideally suited to a revolutionary society because, as a movement, its rejection of academic conventions was, at least ostensibly, revolutionary by definition.[37] Further, expressionism's commitment to metaphysical truths and to ideals of liberty, equality, and fraternity was perceived of as being congruent with the principles of socialism.[38] By 1920, however, many critics, including those who had once been expressionism's most fervent supporters, began to express the belief that expressionism was in crisis.[39] Their discussion was prompted by *Deutscher Expressionismus Darmstadt* (1920), the largest exhibition of expressionism then to date. A common claim among critics was that the failure of the revolution had extinguished once and for all expressionism's utopian fervor. Another claim was that expressionism's formal experimentation, born of a genuine desire for spiritual renewal, had

[36] During this period, artists' advocacy organizations including the *Novembergruppe* and the *Arbeistrat für Kunst* formed, modeling themselves on the workers' councils. See Joan Weinstein, *The End of Expressionism: Art and the November Revolution in Germany, 1918–1919* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990).

[37] Kathleen Chapman, *Expressionism and Poster Design in Germany, 1905–1922: Between Spirit and Commerce* (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 227.

[38] Ibid., 229.

[39] For an overview of key texts in the debate about what Wilhelm Worringer called the "crisis and end of expressionism," see ibid., 259–327. Although some critics concluded that expressionism was no longer a viable style, others maintained that expressionism could renew itself by returning to a higher standard of quality.

degraded into a hollow, superficial exercise, the equivalent of "cosmic wallpaper."[40] Critics lamented the commercialization of expressionism as an advertising and design trend—"no cigarette poster, no bar can do without expressionism these days"[41]—and bourgeois collectors' rush to purchase expressionist art as a stable investment in an uncertain economic climate. Although the critics who diagnosed expressionism's shortcomings did not frame their discussion in explicitly gendered terms, gendered expectations were clearly operating, perhaps at a subconscious level. Once expressionism was seen not as unveiling higher truths, but rather, as fully integrated into the spheres of fashion and commerce, it became implicitly feminized and therefore devalued.

If expressionism was perceived by some to have reached its end, what, exactly, had ended? To visualize the changes in postwar expressionism that so unnerved some observers, we might consider the contrast between Ernst Ludwig Kirchner's woodcut poster advertising an exhibition of the Künstlergemeinschaft Brücke in Dresden (1910) [fig. 6] and Carl Gunschmann's lithographic poster advertising *Deutscher Expressionismus Darmstadt* (1920) [fig. 7]. Kirchner's iconic poster functions as a manifesto of the Brücke group's emerging aesthetic program at the level of both medium and style. His highly unusual use of woodcut for a poster highlights the Brücke group's commitment to this medium; they found its bold, coarse contours and simplified shapes well-suited to their goal of conveying emotions with powerful

[40] Kasimir Edschmid, "Stand des Expressionismus," in *Deutscher Expressionismus Darmstadt,* ed. Darmstädter Sezession (Darmstadt: Darmstädter Sezession, 1920), 23.

[41] Wilhelm Hausenstein, "Art of this Moment," in *German Expressionism: Documents from the End of the Wilhelmine Empire to the Rise of National Socialism,* ed. Rose Carol Washton-Long (New York: Maxwell Macmillan International, 1992), 282.

immediacy.[42] The poster's style, displaying the overt influence of ethnographic objects in the geometric, quasi-abstract contours of the young girl's face, foregrounds the Brücke group's interest in non-Western cultures, which were perceived (somewhat romantically) by Kirchner and his circle as vibrant alternatives to stifling European conventions.[43] Finally, the use of a young girl as model represents the fascination of Kirchner and his contemporaries with late childhood as a border between innocence and sexual awakening.[44]

Gunschmann's poster also features the torso of a female nude, but her schematized profile lacks the suggestive force of Kirchner's pre-adolescent model. The floating decorative elements surrounding Gunschmann's figure seem to recall the uneven texture of wood grain and the jagged edges of the block's carved design that are essential components of Kirchner's poster. Here, however, they are divorced from the materiality of the woodcut process, reappearing instead as ersatz gestures with no connection to the planar medium of lithography. Gunschmann's poster may have exemplified for some critics the gulf that seemed to have emerged between expressionism's earnest spiritual origins and the use to which it was ultimately put—namely, for shallow, decorative, and commercial ends. Thus, expressionism, its origins notwithstanding, became uncomfortably linked with the feminized realm of mass culture.[45]

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[42] Chapman, *Expressionism and Poster Design,* 159–160. Poster-sized woodcuts were challenging to produce because a large block was vulnerable to warping. Brücke group member Erich Heckel solved this problem by fixing several small blocks to a larger one and reinforcing the blocks with crossbars. Ibid., 160–161.

[43] Ibid., 163.

[44] On the problematic and potentially exploitative nature of Kirchner's relationship with his underage female models, see Sherwin Simmons, "'A suggestiveness that can make one crazy': Ernst Ludwig Kirchner's Images of Marzella," *Modernism/modernity* 22, no. 3 (2015): 523–563. Simmons argues that the small fetus-like sculpture held by the model (known as Marzella) symbolizes her future sexual maturity and fertility, while also serving to conceal her genital region in a gesture of modesty and, perhaps, discomfort. Ibid., 549.

[45] For an example of commercial advertising coopting the aesthetic language of expressionism, see Chapman, *Expressionism and Poster Design,* 305.

The term Neue Sachlichkeit itself emerged in a latently gendered context. Gustav Hartlaub, director of the Kunsthalle Mannheim, formulated the term in 1923 (the year he originally planned the exhibition to open). In his introduction to the exhibition catalogue, Hartlaub emphasizes that this stylistic trend is essentially a response to a brutal war, a failed revolution, and an unstable new republic—in other words, a product of traumatized masculinity. "[D]isillusioned, sobered, often resigned to the point of cynicism having nearly given up on themselves after a moment of unbounded, nearly apocalyptic hope … artists in the midst of the catastrophe have begun to ponder what is most immediate, certain, and durable: truth and craft."[46] Hartlaub identifies two distinct paths within this trend: a "left wing," devoted to unflinching social critique, and a "right wing," devoted to classicizing order and stability. The "verists" of the left wing "tea[r] the objective from the world of contemporary facts and projec[t] current experiencef in its tempo and fevered temperature."[47] The "classicists" of the right wing "searc[h] more for the object of *timeless* validity to embody the eternal laws of existence in the artistic sphere."[48] According to Hartlaub's taxonomy, artists may either occupy a position of hostile aggression, or appeal to the authority and lineage of tradition—both options that reinforce existing masculine norms in response to expressionism's "catastrophe" of formlessness and hollow appeals to fashion.

Subsequent attempts to define Neue Sachlichkeit tend to emphasize its masculine qualities. For example, Wieland Schmied identifies five "decisive moments" that characterize Neue Sachlichkeit work: "1. The sobriety and sharpness of the gaze, an unsentimental, largely

[46] Gustav Hartlaub, "Introduction," in Kaes, Jay, and Dimendberg, *The Weimar Republic Sourcebook*, 493.

[47] Ibid., 492.

[48] Ibid.

emotion-free way of seeing; 2. the direction of the gaze toward the everyday, the banal, toward insignificant and undemanding subjects, [and] the lack of aversion to the 'ugly'; 3. a statically fixed image structure, which often suggests an almost airless glassy space, the general preference for the static over the dynamic; 4. the eradication of traces of the painting process, the freeing of the image from all gestures of the hand; and 5. finally [a] new spiritual confrontation with the world of things."[49] For Schmied, Neue Sachlichkeit is as much a mindset (sober, sharp, unsentimental) as it is a style (static, airless, anti-gestural). The language here evokes mastery and consensus, suggesting the construction of a fortified subjectivity that is implicitly coded as masculine.

Some of the anxiety surrounding the new woman and her pursuit of relationships outside of marriage condensed onto the figure of the cocotte (*Kokotte*). This term refers to a prostitute whose elegant dress and manners made her difficult to distinguish from a "respectable" woman. A Germanization of the French "cocotte," or "little hen," *Kokotte* entered the German language around the turn of the century, and its usage spiked between 1900 and 1930.[50] In the context of women's increasing presence in public life, the cocotte was a particularly anxiety-provoking figure, since she embodied the blurring of previously clear boundaries.

Of course, the cocotte as an emblem of modernity was not original to the Weimar period. As the term's foreign origin indicates, the cocotte was endemic to France, above all Paris, where

[49] "1. Die Nüchternheit und Schärfe des Blicks, eine unsentimentale, von Emotionen weitgehend freie Sehweise; 2. die Richtung des Blicks auf das Alltägliche, Banale, auf unbedeutende und anspruchslose Sujets, die fehlende Scheu vor dem 'Häßlichen'; 3. einen statisch festgefügten Bildaufbau, der oft einen geradezu luftleeren gläsernen Raum suggiert, die allgemeine Bevorzugung des Statischen vor dem Dynamischen; 4. die Austilgung der Spuren des Malprozesses, die Freihaltung des Bildes von aller Gestik der Handschrift; und 5. schließlich durch eine neue geistige Auseinandersetzung mit der Dingwelt." Wieland Schmied, *Neue Sachlichkeit und Magischer Realismus in Deutschland, 1918–1933* (Hannover: Fackelträger-Verlag, 1969), 26.

[50] Smith*, Berlin Coquette,* 11, 13–14, 14n22.

this figure played a major role in literary and artistic modernism from the middle of the nineteenth century onwards. For Charles Baudelaire, the high-class prostitute, or courtesan, was a beguiling yet unsettling muse, "a perfect image of the savagery that lurks in the midst of civilization."[51] Decades later, both Georg Simmel and Walter Benjamin deemed the prostitute to be the quintessential symbol of urban modernity because she united the fleeting quality of contemporary life with the dominance of the money economy.[52]

For impressionist artists of the 1870s and early 1880s, the prostitute in the guise of the cocotte exercised a persistent fascination. Hollis Clayson has demonstrated that many impressionist images of women who worked as milliners and barmaids constitute veiled allusions to their ambiguous social status, while asserting the artists' control over, and covert enjoyment of, that very ambiguity. As Clayson argues, "[i]ndeterminacy and open-endedness worked for the painters as ways to master and contain certain male anxieties about women who were found ungovernable, especially sexually open, lower-class women. The use of ellipsis in pictures was a means to limit the threat of female sexual force."[53] The subtle indeterminacy of the impressionist cocotte soon gave way to the overtly corrupt and corrupting "femme fatale" of the later nineteenth century, a fixture across Europe in both academic painting and in the work of artists associated with symbolism.[54] The cocotte resurfaces as a subject among artists associated

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[51] Charles Baudelaire, "The Painter of Modern Life," in *The Painter of Modern Life and Other Essays,* trans. Jonathan Mayne (London: Phaidon, 1964, repr. 2010), 36.

[52] Hollis Clayson, *Painted Love: Prostitution in French Art of the Impressionist Era* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2003), 7–9.

[53] Ibid., 153.

[54] Patrick Bade argues that Gustav Klimt was the last major artist to make the femme fatale a significant part of his iconography. By 1900, this figure had become a cliché and no longer played a central role in the work of modernist artists, instead finding a second life in cinema as the "vamp" (i.e. vampire), portrayed by Theda Bara, Marlene Dietrich, and others. Patrick Bade, *Femme Fatale: Images of Evil and Fascinating Women* (New York: Mayflower Books, 1979), 28 and 39. We might consider Oskar Kokoschka's *Mörder, Hoffnung der Frauen* (1907–1910), a

with expressionism, most notably (and controversially) in Ernst Ludwig Kirchner's street scene paintings of the 1910s.[55] It was not until after 1918, however, that the cocotte became a notable subject in German art.

So how was the Weimar cocotte different from her pre-war counterparts? Kathleen Canning claims that it was the new fact of women's citizenship that compounded the anxiety already attending their changing behavior. As Canning argues, the consistent attention paid to women in the popular press "reveals a deep apprehension not only about women in public, but more specifically about women in public who were now endowed with the rights of citizenship."[56] The fact that, under the Weimar constitution, a cocotte was also a citizen who wielded actual political power (at least in theory) added a newly unnerving element to an already volatile situation.

If shifting understandings of gender provoked anxiety, how did that anxiety operate? In psychoanalytic terms, anxiety—specifically, "automatic anxiety," the model developed by Sigmund Freud in the 1920s—is a response to "an inflow of excitations" which the subject is "unable to master."[57] Such anxiety "could emerge whenever a potent stimulus overwhelmed a

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short play for which he also produced illustrations and a poster, to be another late manifestation of the femme fatale figure.

[55] Rosalyn Deutsche has interpreted Kirchner's images of cocottes as embodying the alienation of life under capitalism; Rosalyn Deutsche, "Alienation in Berlin: Kirchner's Street Scenes," *Art in America* 71, no. 1 (January 1983): 65–72. Other scholars, however, have interpreted these works as positive explorations of urban modernity; see, for example, Charles Haxthausen, "'A New Beauty': Ernst Ludwig Kirchner's Images of Berlin," in *Berlin: Culture and Metropolis,* ed. Charles Haxthausen and Heidrun Suhr (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1990), 58–94; Sherwin Simmons, "Ernst Kirchner's Streetwalkers: Art, Luxury, and Immorality in Berlin, 1913–16," *The Art Bulletin* 82, no. 1 (March 2000): 119–148; and Smith, *Berlin Coquette,* 14–18.

[56] Kathleen Canning, Gender History in Practice: Historical Perspectives on Bodies, Class and Citizenship (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006), 237.

[57] Jean Laplanche and J.-B. Pontalis, *The Language of Psycho-Analysis,* trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (London: Hogarth Press, 1973), 48.

person. … [A]nxiety served as a signal of some threat, warning of impending danger and activating defense mechanisms."[58] Freud described this type of anxiety as "a reaction to a situation of danger. It is obviated by the ego's doing something to avoid that situation or to withdraw from it. … symptoms are created so as to avoid a *danger-situation* whose presence has been signalled by the generation of Anxiety."[59] For individual (male) subjects encountering potential cocottes, the "danger-situation" was the new ambiguity of women's public behavior combined with their identity as active citizens, and the symptoms, at least among certain artists, were attempts to visually control or defuse this newly "potent stimulus."

The cocotte emerges unexpectedly in contemporary discussions of verism as a symptom of the anxious disavowal of changes in women's behavior and expectations. In psychoanalytic terms, disavowal is a "mode of defense which consists in the subject's refusing to recognize the reality of a traumatic perception …."[60] Disavowal requires a bifurcated response: simultaneously, the subject denies that the traumatic condition exists, yet also acknowledges its presence and thus becomes anxious.[61] The process of disavowal operates clearly in the texts discussed in the following section: the more insistently the significance of the cocotte is denied or brushed aside, the more this figure stands out as an emblem of gender-based anxiety.

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[58] Allan Horwitz, *Anxiety: A Short History* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013), 87–89.

[59] Sigmund Freud, *Inhibitions, Symptoms, and Anxiety* (New York: Norton, 1926, repr. 1989), 57. The theory of anxiety that Freud formulated in the 1920s was the reverse of his initial theory from the 1890s. While Freud formerly believed that repression caused anxiety, he later came to believe that anxiety caused repression. Horwitz, *Anxiety,* 88.

[60] Laplanche and Pontalis, *The Language of Psycho-Analysis*, 118.

[61] Ibid., 119.

C. The Disappearing Cocotte

The cocotte emerges as a disruptive figure in a 1924 debate between two prominent museum directors about the proper goals of the return to figuration. One side of the debate is represented by "Cynicism as a Tendency in Art," published by Hartlaub following the initial deferral of his exhibition.[62] Hartlaub laments that the failed revolution pushed many young artists towards a virulent pessimism. "Was the political disappointment of a few years ago sufficient to fundamentally reverse such almost religious beliefs in humanity? The reaction came all too quickly, a resignation, a skepticism even more bottomless than yesterday's hope."[63] He describes what appears to be a plate from a Grosz portfolio as a touchstone for his misgivings.[64] Initially attracted by the object's style, Hartlaub is ultimately repelled by its distasteful subject matter. "Every form x-rayed with the scrupulously sober gaze of the police-informer, with prying objectivity shining through the sexual and the bestial. … Although almost infatuated with this graphic manner, I can recognize in the scribbling certainty of this writing … only a grim, pedantically repeated, monomaniacal representation-fury."[65]

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[62] Gustav Hartlaub, "Der Zynismus als Kunstrichtung," *Frankfurter Zeitung*, September 13, 1924, n.p. Karoline Hille suggests that Hartlaub's critique was motivated by his irritation with Grosz, Dix, and Scholz, who demanded that he not censor their more provocative works, creating roadblocks that contributed to the exhibition's postponement. Karoline Hille, *Spuren der Moderne: Die Mannheimer Kunsthalle von 1918 bis 1933* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1994), 116. The official reason for the cancellation was the difficulty of transporting objects, caused by increased rail freight costs during the hyperinflation. Dennis Crockett, *German Post-Expressionism: The Art of the Great Disorder, 1918–1924* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999), 148.

[63] "War die politische Enttäuschung von ein paar Jahren hinreichend, um solchen, fast religiös anmutenden Glauben an die Menschheit so gründlich umzukehren? Allzu schnell ist die Reaktion gekommen, eine Resignation, eine Skepsis noch bodenloser, als die Hoffnung gestern verstiegen war." Hartlaub, "Zynismus," n.p.

[64] Hille's claim that Hartlaub must be referring to the newly acquired painting *Blick in die Großstadt* (now known as *Metropolis*), purchased by the Kunsthalle Mannheim in 1924, seems unlikely, given that none of the anecdotes Hartlaub describes (e.g. suicide) are present in that work. Hille, *Spuren der Moderne*, 114–115.

[65] "Jede gestalt mit einem peinlich nüchternen Polizeispitzelblick geröngt, mit neugieriger Sachlichkeit auf das Sexuelle und das Bestialische hin durchleuchtet. … Ich kann, obgleich fast vernarrt in diese zeichnerische Manier, in die kritzelnde Sicherheit dieser Schrift … nur eine verbissene, in ihrer pedantischen Wiederholung monomane

Hartlaub concludes that the artist (i.e. Grosz) could have omitted all of the violent and lewd details without altering the truthfulness of the depiction. "Is not the world truly full of murderers, profiteers, cocottes, carnivores …? Who would deny it? Who would also dispute the right, indeed the duty, of the artist to extract from this radical evil of existence what appeals to the artist: tempo, color, rhythm, life, demonism."[66] Linking the cocotte to the murderer or profiteer, Hartlaub implicitly echoes the widespread contemporary belief that promiscuity is a form of inherent moral depravity, a claim repeated in both scientific literature and the mainstream press.[67] By exposing the cocotte as a central figure of modern life, Hartlaub assumes that the artist endorses both her behavior and the moral chaos it engenders. Hartlaub's classification of the cocotte as someone who engages in outright criminal behavior erases the true ambiguity of this figure and thereby reveals just how much anxiety her ambiguous status provokes.

Hartlaub's outburst was countered by a retort from Paul Ferdinand Schmidt, director of the Stadtmuseum Dresden, in the "The German Verists."[68] Schmidt describes this group—led by Grosz, Dix, Scholz, Schlichter, and Otto Griebel—as having made "the most decisive step

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Konstatierungswut erkenne." Hartlaub, "Zynismus," n.p. Several paragraphs later, Hartlaub alludes to Grosz's ongoing obscenity trial for the portfolio *Ecce Homo*, further implying that his work is being analyzed here.

[66] "Ist nicht wirklich die Welt voller Mörder, Schieber, Kokotten, Raubtiergefichter …? Wer möchte es leugnen? Wer möchte auch das Recht, ja die Pflicht des Künstlers bestreiten, diesem Radikal-Bösen des Daseins das abzugewinnen, was den Künstler reizt: Tempo, Farbe, Rhythmus, Leben, Dämonie." Ibid.

[67] For example, the author of "Prostitution and Criminality" (1928) argues that the degenerate woman expresses her criminal tendencies via prostitution, just as the degenerate man expresses his via theft or other criminal behavior. Hales, "Woman as Sexual Criminal," 105.

[68] An early champion of expressionism, Schmidt became director of the Statdmuseum Dresden in fall 1919, acquiring work by established expressionist figures as well as younger verists such as Dix and Grosz. Condemned by local conservatives as a "cultural Bolshevist," Schmidt was dismissed from his directorship in January 1924, the first victim of what would later become a universal policy under National Socialism.

towards the opposite side of expressionism," which "could appear only on German soil."[69] He acknowledges the affinity of this group for both mass media imagery and a machine aesthetic; their work is characterized by a "cold passion for the exactness of the cliché-print, whose dead clarity is sometimes directly sought (by Schlichter, Griebel, Dix), and of the machine, which conveys with its precision a horrifyingly heightened logic in the construction and the visibility of their pictures."[70] The result is pure antagonism and provocation, "… the hitting of the bourgeois in the face with a whole statement of his vices, his heartlessness and obsequiousness, wants to function simply as visibly raw and unprocessed material; no surprise if it works as provocatively as the red cloth does on the bull."[71]

In a coda, Schmidt responds directly to Hartlaub's editorial with language that implicitly acknowledges femininity as a threat. Declaring that "art doesn't give a damn about the art judge,"[72] he argues that the very purpose and significance of art has already changed irreversibly. "… it is true, art is dying; that is, the art which the well-to-do citizen used to hang in gold frames over his plush sofas and mahogany pianos, from Botticelli to Monet. And art, if it still exists at

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[69] "den entscheidensten Schritt nach der Gegenseite des Expressionismus"; "nur auf deutschem Boden gewachsen konnte." Paul Ferdinand Schmidt, "Die deutschen Veristen," *Das Kunstblatt* 8, no. 12 (December 1924): 368. Schmidt's choice of figures might be explained by the fact that Grosz, Dix, Schlichter, and Griebel were all members of the newly-founded Rote Gruppe (1924–1927). This was an artists' group organized by KPD members committed to placing art in the service of class struggle. However, Schmidt does not mention the Rote Gruppe or any specific political aims of the artists named in his article.

[70] "die resolute Strenge des Bildaufbaus und der Erfassung der wirklichen Erscheinung im Raum; überkorrekte und darum peinlich nüchterne, ja verzerrte Darstellung des Perspektivischen und Modellierten der Körper; eine penetrante Genauigkeit der Detailbildung, die beständig an Ironie streift, und nicht zuletzt die kalte Leidenschaft für die Exaktheit des Klischees, dessen tote Anschaulichkeit bisweilen direkt erstrebt wird (von Schlichter, Griebel, Dix), und der Maschine, die mit ihrer Präzision ein Moment bis zum Grauen gesteigerter Logik in den Bau und in die Anschaubarkeit ihrer Bilder trägt.." Ibid.

[71] "… diese ganze, dem Bürger ins Gesicht schlagende Feststellung seiner Laster, seiner Herzensträgheit und Spießigkeit will ganz einfach als scheinbar roher und unverarbeiteter Stoff wirken; kein Wunder, wenn sie aufreizend wirkt wie das rote Tuch auf den Stier." Ibid., 369.

[72] "Die Kunst kümmert sich den Teufel um die Kunstrichter." Ibid., 373.

all, must seek a new meaning, new tasks and new technology."[73] Schmidt deliberately situates the figure of the wealthy collector in an overtly feminized interior of gleaming surfaces soft fabrics, playing upon historical associations between women, luxury, and sensuality. It is precisely this femininized, private domestic space that contemporary art must reject, in favor of either aggressive engagement with current events or with the construction of technological utopias. "On the one hand, it will thoroughly destroy the past, the life of the optimist, the aspect of the present—whether with derision, callousness, political tendency, or whatever else, it's all the same, what the verists do, and with full consciousness—on the other, it will connect itself with life, where it is productive, present and comprehensible: in its technology, its machines: here we have the constructivists, or as we may call them, builders of a new spatial synthesis in all of Europe."[74]

The only direct reference to women in Schmidt's article is a comment about Dix's "cocotte-pictures that strive towards obscenity,"[75] which the author claims should not be understood as characteristic of his work. Yet the cocotte emerges again as a destabilizing factor in the illustrations to the article. In Scholz's *Cactus Still Life*, the symbolic implications of a strip of sticky flypaper hanging next to an oval portrait of a coy young woman are almost too obvious to ignore [fig. 8]. Grosz's untitled drawing, typical of his post-1925 focus on innocuous scenes of

[73] "… es stimmt, die Kunst ist am Verrecken; d.h. die Kunst, welche der wohlsituierte Bürger sich in Goldrahmen über seine Plüschsofas und Mahagoniflügel zu hängen pflegte, von Botticelli bis zu Monet. Und die Kunst, soll sie überhaupt noch existieren, muß sich einen neuen Sinn, neue Aufgaben und neue Technik suchen." Ibid.

[74] "Sie wird auf der einen Seite das Bisherige, das Leben des Optimisten, der Aspekt der Gegenwart gründlich zerstören – ob mit Hohn, Kaltschnäuzigkeit, politischer Tendenz oder was sonst, ist gleich, wie es die Veristen tun, und mit vollem Bewußtsein – auf der anderen Seite wird sie sich mit dem Leben verbinden, da wo es produktiv, gegenwärtig und erfaßbar ist: bei seiner Technik, seinen Maschinen: hier haben wir die Konstruktivisten oder wie man die Auferbauer neuer Raumsynthese in ganz Europa nennen mag." Ibid.

[75] "ans Öbszone streifenden Kokotten-Bilder." Ibid.

urban leisure, features a woman with a cloche hat pulled low over her face who could easily be interpreted as a cocotte on the prowl [fig. 9]. The drawing recalls another, more striking rendering of a cocotte in Grosz's *Street Scene (Kurfürstendamm)* (oil on canvas, 1925) [fig. 10]. Here, the glow of the woman's white-powdered face and red-lipsticked mouth create a seductive visual draw within an otherwise monochrome cityscape. Paired with a man whose plump form denotes exploitative wealth, she is a symbol of a corrupt capitalist system that turns sex into commerce, yet is also implied to be an agent of corruption herself. In Otto Griebel's *Das grosse Glück*, the figure in the tree at upper right (given her open legs and raised skirt) might represent a cocotte whose presence underscores the hypocrisy of bourgeois marriage, embodied by the older and younger couple below [fig. 11].

Most striking of all is a curious visual intervention on the first page of the article. Reproduced above the title is an unnamed watercolor by Karl Hubbuch, featuring a female model lying face-forward with black-stockinged legs scandalously splayed [fig. 12].[76] Hubbuch's watercolor serves as a winking reminder that the role of "cocotte-pictures" in the context of "German verism" cannot be disavowed as easily as Schmidt would like. Presiding silently over Schmidt's article, the woman's spread legs become an unwitting metaphor for the growing presence of women in public life and popular culture—and for the cocotte in particular, a figure who inspires such anxious dread that she must be insistently and repeatedly disavowed.

D. Drawing Through Crisis

This study will consider how anxiety provoked by shifting gender norms between World War I and the end of the Weimar period operates in the work of George Grosz (1893–1959), Karl

[76] The current location of this object is unknown to the author.

Hubbuch (1881–1979), and Hanna Nagel (1907–1975). In the work of Grosz, crisis is *visualized* as a series of endlessly destabilized and destabilizing shifts in relations between women and men. By contrast, the work of both Hubbuch and Nagel functions as a space where gender-based crisis is not merely visualized, but *resolved,* if only in a tentative, provisional way. With respect to all three figures, I will consider moments where gendered behaviors or expectations play out at the level of technique, paying special attention to the medium of drawing.

Part one examines how Grosz reimagined drawing as a space for articulating aggression against the omnipresent threat of a feminized other. This endeavor persisted in the transition from his anarchic, graffiti-like style of the 1910s to the more regimented, legible, and "objective" style of the 1920s.

Part two considers Hubbuch's ambivalent attempts to confront the figure of the new woman as few other (male) artists of the verist wing did. Initially limited to the roles of either mothers or prostitutes, women in Hubbuch's work of the later 1920s acquire new autonomy and become active agents of their own display. While Hartlaub and Schmidt both disavow the cocotte as an appropriate or meaningful subject, Hubbuch attempts to transform female subjects who would otherwise have inhabited this role into more complex characters. Yet the resurgence of the cocotte in his work of the early 1930s suggests that this figure ultimately became essential once again for articulating Hubbuch's sense of personal and social crisis.

Part three considers Hanna Nagel, one of Hubbuch's best-known students, and her attempt to envision herself as a new woman who also participated in the return to figuration. For women of Nagel's generation, who were the first to benefit from unrestricted access to state art academies, the decision to embrace figuration was less a conscious rejection of expressionism than a belated opportunity to pursue an artistic tradition from which they had long been

excluded. Nagel's striking portrait studies and depictions of male-female relationships in the late 1920s and early 1930s suggest the necessity of considering women not only as subjects but as *producers* of Neue Sachlichkeit work.

II. George Grosz

In 1922, George Grosz, in the course of responding to a survey about the "new naturalism," remarked: "The so-called new concreteness is worthless for us today. The return to classical French painting: Poussin, Ingres, and Corot is a shoddy Biedermeier style. It seems that the political reaction is now followed by the spiritual."[77] Echoing Schmidt's derisive description of the bourgeois collector's living room, Grosz invokes a period known for its cozy interior design and sentimental painting to suggest his rejection of aspects of culture that could conceivably be coded as feminine. For Grosz, film is a far more relevant example of "Gegenständlichkeit": "A more worthwhile and pure concreteness is and remains the film. Today film satisfies the image-hunger of many, many thousands of people every day. The film is the most modern image-plane; it possesses every dynamic, simultaneous, and futuristic possibility. Is it any wonder Chaplin and Fatty are more alive than the best art exhibition?—here lies also the art of the future."[78]

Although Grosz appears to endorse mass culture in the form of film, he is ultimately concerned with fortifying himself against aspects of mass culture that might be perceived as feminine. As he continues, "Another concreteness appears to lie in journalism, and indeed in the journalistic daily-draftsman with access to the rotary press. This type of draftsman will survive when the easel-painter is long dead. He is political—as in America, where such a draftsman has a

[77] "Die sogennante neue Gegeständlichkeit ist für uns heute wertlos. Das Zurückgehen auf die klassische französische Malerei: Poussin, Ingres und Corot ist eine schlechte Biedermeiermode. Es scheint, daß der politischen Reaktion nun auch die geistige folgt." George Grosz, untitled survey response, *Das Kunstblatt* 6, no. 9 (September 1922): 382. (Grosz's last name is given as "Groß.")

[78] "Eine wertvollere und reine Gegenständlichkeit ist und bleibt der Film. Heute befriedigt bereits der Film den Bildhunger von vielen, vielen tausend Menschen täglich. Der Film ist die modernste Bildebene überhaupt, er hat jede dynamische, simultane und futuristische Möglichkeit. Ist es ein Wunder, daß Chaplin und Fatty lebendiger wirken als die beste Kunstausstellung?—hier liegt auch die Kunst der Zukunft." Ibid., 382–383.

power of which we have no concept here. This line of development will place him together with the technical artists and painters of industry and advertising—with the constructivist draftsman and with the inventor and engineer."[79] Grosz binds the work of the "daily-draftsman" to that of the specialists who produce designedly functional objects, thereby locating his work outside the categories of the decorative or the purely aesthetic. By associating his work with the factual inquiry of the journalist, the mechanical precision of the rotary press, and the rational designs of the engineer, Grosz allies himself with aspects of mass culture that can be construed as masculine.

When we look at the transformations which Grosz's work underwent between 1915 and 1920, however, the picture of Grosz's relationship to then-changing understandings of art and gender becomes more complicated. During this period, his style broke free from the sinuous "spaghetti-orgy of lines"[80] of Jugendstil. Instead, he explored a jagged futurism distinguished by overlapping forms and diagonal lines, as well as a faux-naïve style, described by critic Max Osborn as being reminiscent of "street-urchins who scribble on walls and fences."[81] Alexander Dückers rightly distinguishes this era as the "Geniezeit," or golden period, of Grosz's output as a

[79] "Eine andere Gegenständlichkeit scheint in der Journalistik zu liegen, und zwar im journalistischen Tageszeichner mit Anschluß an die Rotationspresse. Dieser Zeichner-typ wird noch leben, wenn der Staffeleibildmaler längst ausgestorben ist. Er ist politisch – ähnlich wie in Amerika, wo solch ein Zeichner eine Macht darstellt, von der wir uns hier keinen Begriff machen können. Diese Linie der Entwicklung wird ihn zusammenstellen mit den technischen Künstlern und Malern der Industrie und Reklame – mit dem konstruktivistischen Zeichner und mit dem Erfinder und Ingenieur." Ibid., 383.

[80] George Grosz, *A Little Yes and a Big No*, trans. Lola Sachs Dorin (New York: Dial Press, 1946), 22.

[81] "Straßenjungen, die Mauern und Zäune bekritzeln." Max Osborn, "Dada," *Vossische Zeitung,* July 17, 1920. Later, Paul Westheim also described Grosz's work as "originating from drawings that unsentimental cheeky street-urchins scribble on rotunda-wands and building fences" ("entwickelt aus den Zeichnereien, mit denen unsentimental kesse Gassenjungen Rotundenwände und Bauzäune bekritzeln"). Paul Westheim, "Stil der Sachlichkeit. Zur Entwicklung der jungen Kunst," *Frankfurter Zeitung,* November 10, 1923.

draftsperson.[82]

Around 1917, Grosz became a key participant in the Berlin branch of the Dada movement, collaborating with John Heartfield to pioneer the medium of photomontage. After joining the newly formed KPD (Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands) in early 1919, he began to produce series of highly legible, unambiguous drawings in the service of a communist agenda. These drawings appeared in left-wing journals and in portfolios published by Heartfield's brother, Wieland Herzfelde, founder of the Malik-Verlag.[83] Following the dissolution of Berlin Dada in late 1920, Grosz completed a series of large watercolors that often incorporate montaged elements. These works adopt the iconography of *pittura metafisica*, the short-lived but broadly influential Italian movement that sought to capture a sense of timeless disembodiment through the use of mannequins and statues, stark shadows, and steeply receding arcades.

Grosz's largest portfolio to date, *Ecce Homo*, appeared in late 1922. Highlighting the sexual depravity of the "ruling class," it contained a panorama of one hundred drawings from the past seven years of his career, including a dozen watercolors reproduced in full color.[84] A major turning point in Grosz's style appeared in summer 1925 at the Neue Sachlichkeit exhibition, where his celebrated portrait of author Max Herrmann-Neisse seemed to announce his own "return" to a distinctly traditional style.

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[82] "Geniezeit"; Alexander Dückers, "Der Zeichner George Grosz," in *George Grosz: Berlin-New York,* ed. Peter-Klaus Schuster (Berlin: Ars Nicolai, 1994), 159.

[83] Grosz and Herzfelde were tried for defamation of the military based on the content of *Gott mit Uns*, contributing to Grosz's public notoriety.

[84] *Ecce Homo* was the second of Grosz's portfolios to be put on trial, this time for obscenity. When the trial concluded in early 1924, Grosz was forced to pay a large fine. The portfolio was not completely banned, but the court decreed that many plates were to be confiscated. The third and final trial, for blasphemy, occurred in 1928 over the print *Christ in a Gasmask* from the portfolio *Hintergrund*. For overviews of all three trials, see Rosamunde Neugebauer, *George Grosz: Macht und Ohnmacht satirischer Kunst: Die Graphikfolgen "Gott mit uns," Ecce homo, und Hintergrund* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1993).

What was Grosz seeking in his early period of rapid stylistic change? In this chapter, I argue that Grosz approached drawing as a space where damaged or threatened masculinity could be continuously fortified and reasserted. While his early "infantile" style is typically understood as a reaction to the trauma of war, this reaction almost inevitably took the form of aggression against a feminine threat in the form of the voracious prostitute. In his early work, Grosz imagined the American Wild West not simply as an escape from the stuffiness of Wilhelmine culture, but as a space where the feminine threat was absent or contained. This space is contrasted with the metropolis, a site of entrapment where the predatory figure of the prostitute is omnipresent as a menace who must be either evaded or destroyed. Grosz also defined his persona—often that of the toughened criminal—in relation to key figures in his life who represented the more "feminine" aspects of expressionism or mass culture.

After 1919, as Grosz's style moved toward greater clarity, he developed an identification with the machine as a new way to distance himself from femininity. The machine functioned as a more extreme renunciation of the feminine, necessitated by accelerating changes in women's public role in the new republic. Finally, the mainstream acceptance of Neue Sachlichkeit as an appropriately "masculine" tendency allowed Grosz to embrace a style informed by tradition. Aligning himself with a legacy of German realism provided a final way for Grosz to defend a stable masculinity that now took refuge in the studio rather than the chaotic urban street.

A. Escape to the West

Grosz made his official public debut in July 1916, when a pair of his drawings appeared in the first issue of Herzfelde's antiwar journal *Neue Jugend.* They showcase the jagged, graffiti-like lines and deliberately childlike aesthetic that would become Grosz's signature style during

the next few years. The first drawing depicts a profoundly unsettling Berlin street [fig. 13]. A funeral procession reminds the viewer that death lurks constantly in the minds of all young men awaiting their summons to slaughter. In the foreground are grimacing characters with faces deformed by slashing lines; one of them holds a child's coffin. The heart of the composition, however, is a cocotte who is not really a cocotte—she is not a flirt but, rather, unambiguously a sexual commodity. Her nudity is outlined sharply and obscenely beneath her clothing. She is also a merciless predator: peering over her shoulder, perhaps at the man with the coffin, she contemplates her next customer, or rather, victim.

The second drawing presents an entirely different space, a fantasy of the American Wild West where a small frontier town meets the open countryside [fig. 14]. In the foreground, gold prospectors smoke, drink, and gamble; in the background, a man lies stabbed at the right, while another at left seems to be the victim of a lynching. As in the first drawing, the figures here are presented as coarse, criminal types, cruelly indifferent to the violence taking place behind them. The face of the standing man near the center is almost obliterated by an onslaught of scratched lines, as if to indicate his own brutal nature. Yet these figures also seem freer than those in the first drawing. They can jump on a horse, like the man at upper right, or hitch a ride on the train chugging along at left, and move on to new territory. Most importantly, perhaps, they are free from the menace of the cocotte. In Grosz's depictions, the Wild West offers a fantasy of liberation not simply because it is non-German, but because it is a space that exists entirely apart from women.

Grosz created these drawings in the midst of extreme mental anguish. He had enlisted for the war in November 1914, but entered a military hospital by February 1915— apparently due recurring sinus problems that required surgery—and was dismissed in May as unfit to serve. In

January 1917, he was called up for service once more, but was soon hospitalized for further sinus problems. He was transferred to a mental asylum near Berlin and dismissed for the second and final time in May of that year.

Biding his time in Berlin between 1915 and 1916, dreading the prospect of a second military summons, Grosz began to develop a style that would express his internal agitation: crude, aggressive, deliberately infantile, and inspired by lewd graffiti. He later described the origins of this style in an autobiographical text called "Abwicklung" (1924): "In order to arrive at a style that reflected the drastic and unbroken hardness and lovelessness of my objects, I studied the most dramatic manifestations of the art instinct. I copied the folkloristic drawings in urinals, they seemed to me the most immediate expression and the most succinct translation of strong feelings…So I came gradually to this knife-hard style of drawing, which I needed to transmit my observations dictated by absolute hatred of humanity at that time."[85] Scholars concur that Grosz developed this style to express his general misanthropy and paranoia as he waited anxiously for the military to summon him again.[86]

However, treating Grosz's drawings of this period as general expressions of anti-militaristic rage ignores the way that traumatized masculinity operates in his depictions of both the Wild West and the metropolis. A sense that he experienced his first, truncated period of

[85] "Um zu einen Stil zu gelangen, der so die drastisch und unverblümte Härte und Lieblosigkeit meiner Objekte wiedergab, studierte ich die drastischen Manifestationen des Kunsttriebes. Ich kopierte in Pissoirs die folkloristischen Zeichnungen, sie erschienen mir als der unmittelbarste Ausdruck und die kürzeste Übersetzung starker Gefühle. Auch Kinderzeichnungen regten mich ihrer Eindeutigkeit wegen an. So kam ich allmählich zu diesem messerharten Zeichenstil, dessen ich zur Übertragung meiner damals von absolutem Menschenhaß diktierten Beobachtungen bedurfte." George Grosz, "Abwicklung," *Das Kunstblatt* 8, no. 2 (February 1924): 34. This text was riginally published as the introduction to the (undated) exhibition catalogue for Grosz's solo exhibition at Galerie Flechtheim, Berlin, 1923.

[86] See, for example, Beth Irwin Lewis, *George Grosz: Art and Politics in the Weimar Republic,* rev. ed. (1971; repr., Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 51–52.

military service as a kind of emasculating humiliation is visible in a famous self-portrait depicting the artist as a post-operative patient [fig. 15]. Dressed in the dandyish clothes that became his hallmark around this time, the artist's nose is penetrated by a surgical implement, and his scalp is peeled open to reveal his vulnerable brain. Meanwhile, the space between his legs is emphatically negated, a void of crisscrossing lines.[87] As if to compensate for this devastating incident, Grosz titled his next series of sketchbooks the "Medical Journal[s] of Dr. William King Thomas," identifying with an American criminal who blew up one of his own ships to collect insurance, killing hundreds. Grosz responded to his sense of emasculation by identifying with a notorious mass-murderer. He also began to explore an imagined American West as a space where damaged masculinity could be restored.

Grosz's image of America derived largely from the novels of Karl May (1842–1912), wildly popular with boys and young men in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Born in poverty, May became the most successful novelist of his time, publishing dozens of novels primarily set in a romanticized American West. Many novels feature the protagonist "Old Shatterhand," a German-born hero of "supernatural strength" who joins forces with the Apache chief, Winnetou, to fight both white and Native American villains.[88] The "cult of friendship" between paired characters such as Old Shatterhand and Winnetou is central to May's work, whereas women rarely appear in significant roles.[89] Old Shatterhand also served as May's alter-ego; he was photographed in costume as this character and sent these photographs, signed as Old

[87] Brigid Doherty discusses how symbolic castration operates here and in several related images. Brigid Doherty, "'See: We are all Neurasthenics!' or, the Trauma of Dada Montage, *Critical Inquiry* 24, no. 1 (Autumn 1997): 114.

[88] Heribert Feilitzsch, "Karl May: The 'Wild West' as seen in Germany," *Journal of Popular Culture* 27, no. 3 (Winter 1993): 181.

[89] Karl Markus Kreis, "German Wild West: Karl May's Invention of the Definitive Indian," in *I Like America: Fictions of the Wild West,* ed. Pamela Kort and Max Hollein (Frankfurt: Schirn Kunsthalle, 2006), 256.

Shatterhand, to his fans.[90] Eventually, this identification grew into a delusion. May claimed to have actually experienced many of the events in his novels and appeared unable to distinguish between fantasy and reality.[91] Yet the demonstrated fraudulence of May's supposedly firsthand accounts of life in America did nothing to dim his popularity. As Ernst Bloch explained, "Although Karl May never did what he relates of himself … every boy still finds him correct. So there must be something in the lie, namely the genuine wish for distant lands which it fulfills."[92]

Grosz recalled immersing himself in May's books to escape the dreariness and poverty of his childhood. He also read James Fenimore Cooper's *The Leatherstocking Tales*, a series of novels featuring a heroic Native American character, Chingachgook, much like May's Winnetou.[93] As Grosz recalled, "Beneath me were neither streets, schools nor coalyards: for I was off with the noble old Indian, Chingachgook."[94] As an adult, Grosz found a refuge for

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[90] Karl Markus Kreis argues that May's publicity photographs, in which he appears in the guise of Old Shatterhand, are directly influenced by those of "Buffalo Bill" Cody, who became a massively popular celebrity when his travelling Wild West show toured Germany in the early 1890s and in 1906. May's trilogy of Winnetou novels was published in 1893, shortly after Cody completed his first German tour, suggesting that May and his publisher hoped to capitalize on Cody's popularity. Ibid., 260.

[91] In addition to being accused of lying about his supposed travels in the United States (during which he was actually serving time in prison), May was also brought to trial for plagiarism. Feilitzsch, "Karl May," 176.

[92] Ernst Bloch, "Winnetou's Silver Rifle," first published 1929, in *Heritage of our Times*, trans. Neville Plaice and Stephen Plaice (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 154.

[93] According to Pamela Kort, *The Leatherstocking Tales* (1823–1841) inaugurated Germans' fascination with the United States, and specifically with mythologized encounters between white settlers and Native Americans. Cooper's work was at least partly responsible for the division of Native Americans into "good" and "bad" types, a structure perpetuated in May's novels. Pamela Kort, "'The Unmastered Past of the Indians' Murder,'" in *I Like America: Fictions of the Wild West,* ed. Pamela Kort and Max Hollein (Frankfurt: Schirn Kunsthalle, 2006), 45.

[94] Grosz, *A Little Yes and a Big No,* 261. Rudolf Schlichter, another member of the Berlin Dada circle, recalled a similar affection for Karl May in the first volume of his autobiography: "From this state of gray afflictions and crippling constriction, I rescued myself again and again in the colorful world of my beloved books. Above all, it was Karl May who gave me countless hours of sublime reverie, fantastic upswings …." ("Aus diesem Zustand grauer Bedrängnisse und lähmender Einengung rettete ich mich immer wieder in die bunte Welt meiner geliebten Bücher. Vor allem war es Karl May, der mir unzählige Stunden sublimster Träumerei, fantastischer Aufschwünge bescherte ….") Rudolf Schlichter, *Das widerspenstige Fleisch,* ed. Curt Grützmacher (1932; repr., Berlin: Edition Hentrich, 1991), 207. For Schlichter's fixation on May's work and its reflection in his artistic output, see Dieter Sudhoff, "Obsessionen eines Malers: Rudolf Schlichter und Karl May," *Jahrbuch der Karl May Gesellschaft* 1999: 360–421.

traumatized masculinity in the fantasy space supplied by May's novels. The now-lost painting *Der Abenteurer* (1916 or 1917) shows the artist as a fierce western vagabond with a cowboy hat, spurs, and a bag full of gold. Masculinity returns with a vengeance, not only in figure's visible erection, but in the pair of pistols he brandishes [fig. 16].[95] In the drawing *Der Goldgräber* (1916), a figure who may also be assumed to represent the artist similarly dominates the composition [fig. 17]. Stocky, muscular, and heavily tattooed, he signals his virility through a prospecting shovel, a pipe, and a knife and pistol perched symbolically over his crotch. Crucially, Grosz sets this figure apart from the American metropolis glimpsed in the background, a space now equated with the emasculating threat of the prostitute. Safely set apart from this anxiety-provoking space by a body of water, the gold-digger occupies a position of near omnipotence.

The use of the Wild West as a fantasy escape extended to Grosz's first Berlin studio. Recalling his first visit to this studio in 1915, Wieland Herzfelde recalls how Grosz created an immersive experience whose escapist function is obvious.

> The chalk walls were covered with pictures, or at least beer and whisky ads, circus posters, photographs of clowns, artists, and cowboys. Most of these bore dedications. I can still remember one of them: "To my dear old friend Chingachgook from his old friend, Thomas A. Edison." Quite seriously, he said that he had been to America, but from the large number of such dedications and from a certain similarity in the signatures, I decided that all of them had been written by their owner, as a sort of mockery of his own daydreams. I said as much and with a boyish, teasing laugh he readily admitted it.[96]

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[95] Sherwin Simmons also interprets this painting as displaying "compensation for a feared lack." Sherwin Simmons, "Chaplin Smiles on the Wall: Berlin Dada and Wish-Images of Popular Culture," *New German Critique,* no. 84 (Autumn 2001): 24. Sherwin's argument about masculine anxiety focuses on the Dada circle's disdain for the femininity in the form of mass-cultural kitsch, rather than specific changes in women's social behavior and public visibility.

[96] Wieland Herzfelde, "The Curious Merchant from Holland," *Harper's* 187 (November 1943): 574. Grosz's original studio, which he occupied from 1915 to 1918, was located at Stephanstraße 15. No detailed photographs of this studio appear to survive.

Paul Westheim offered a similar recollection of this venue.

> He had his studio in Südende. A more than modest roof studio. Even more fantastic was the way it was arranged, all in redskin. One felt as if entering the wigwam of a Sioux chief. Wonderfully boyish. On the walls [were] tomahawks, clubs, buffalo skin shields, real or painted, I do not remember, nor whether scalps dangled or not. Between them hung photos, manifestos or epigrams, as they later adorned the Dada exhibition. Among other things, a large photograph of Edison, which Grosz had altered by writing a dedication: "My dear George Grosz. Thomas A. Edison." The whole presentation was a foretaste of Dada. In the middle of this wigwam, we squatted on low stools in a circle, Däubler, Grosz, and I, drank not firewater but tea, and instead of the peace-pipe, unfortunately, it was native war-tobacco we smoked.[97]

By forcing his visitors to participate in the ritual of "squatt[ing] on low stools" and smoking, as if gathered around a campfire with Old Shatterhand and Winnetou, Grosz replicated the strong homosocial bonds showcased in May's novels, reinforcing his studio as a protected space of inviolable masculinity, shrouded in buffalo skins and accented with gleaming tomahawks.

A further dimension of Grosz's interest in America is suggested by the remembered inscriptions on the photographs. Herzfelde recalls a dedication from Edison to Chingachgook, while Westheim recalls a dedication from Edison to Grosz. Grosz himself later described writing "a beautiful dedication to 'George Grosz, the artist, from his admirer, Henry Ford.'"[98] The invented inscriptions from Edison and Ford reveal an additional facet of Grosz's obsession with America: not only its romanticized and highly fictionalized Wild West, but also its status as a leader in commerce and technology. The masculine-coded world of business and manufacturing

[97] "Sein Atelier hatte er in Südende. Ein mehr als bescheidenes Dachatelier. Um so phantastischer war es hergerichtet, ganz auf Rothaut. Man glaubte in den Wigwam eines Sioux-Häuptlings zu kommen. Wunderbar jungenhaft. An den Wänden Tomahawks, Keulen, Büffelhautschilde, ob wirklich oder gemalt, weiß ich nicht mehr, auch nicht, ob Skalps baumelten oder nicht. Dazwischen hingen Photos, Manifeste oder Epigramme, wie sie später die Dada-Austellung zierten. Unter anderem eine große Photographie von Edison, die Grosz sich zurechtgemacht hatte, indem er nämlich eine Widmung draufgeschrieben hatte: 'Meinem lieben George Grosz. Thomas A. Edison.' Die ganze Aufmachung war schon Vorgeschmack von Dada. In der Mitte dieses Wigwams kauerten wir, Däubler, Grosz und ich, auf niedrigen Hockern im Kreise herum, tranken zwar nicht Feuerwasser, sondern Tee, und statt der Friedenspfeife war es leider heimischer Kriegstabak, den wir rauchten." Paul Westheim, "Erinnerungen an George Grosz," *Die Weltkunst* 32, no. 22 (November 1962): 16.

[98] Grosz, A Little Yes and a Big No, 147.

offered another kind of refuge from the unruly feminine that Grosz would explore more thoroughly after 1919. Meanwhile, however, he was preoccupied with the figure of the prostitute as the embodiment of urban anxiety.

As Grosz began to depict himself in the context of Berlin, he took measures to fortify himself against an inescapable feminine threat. In *Der Liebeskranke* (1916) [fig. 18], Grosz appears as a suave dandy with a white-powdered face and a cartoonishly visible heart that matches the artificial red of his lips; yet he also has the anchor tattoo and earring of an adventurous sailor, and directly below his heart is a pistol that wards off the specter of weakness. Brigid Doherty has interpreted this painting as an "anguished travesty" of melancholy; Grosz invokes the trope of the melancholy artist (a trope especially significant in the history of German portraiture) in order to negate it, replacing the soft, emotional inwardness and passivity of melancholy with a smirking mask and weapon ready to be drawn.[99] In *Selbstmord* (1916) [fig. 19], probably intended as a pendant to *Der Liebeskranke,* Grosz-as-dandy lies dead on the street, having shot himself with the same pistol.[100] Another man hangs from a lamppost, while a topless prostitute peers shamelessly from a window; she is the agent of chaos who has provoked, directly or indirectly, the violent tragedy below.

The contrast between the dissolute city and the wild west first visualized in *Neue Jugend* returns the *First George Grosz Portfolio* (1917). In *Texas Picture for my Friend Chingachgook* [fig. 20], Grosz once again presents an (almost entirely) masculine space where, in the guise of a bald, scarred, smoking silhouette at lower right, he greets his Native American companion. Here,

[99] Brigid Doherty, "Berlin Dada: Montage and the Embodiment of Modernity, 1916–1920" (PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1996), 102–104.

[100] Ronald Alley, Catalogue of the Tate Gallery's Collection of Modern Art other than Works by British Artists (London: Tate Gallery, 1981), 342.

the slashing activity of the pen literalizes the activity of drawing as an act of physical aggression. In describing his style during this period as "knife-hard," Grosz invokes the model of graffiti as something that is carved and scratched with a sharp blade onto a surface, rather than as a superficial defacement.

It is easy to imagine the jagged contours of *Texas Picture* as having been incised with Chingachgook's knife; the marks along the knife's edge might belong to a fringed sheath, but they might also represent drops of blood. Chingachgook and Grosz-as-cowboy are linked by their elaborate facial scars, perhaps acquired together during an episode of righteous combat.[101] The lynching underway at upper left might signify the anti-hierarchical nature of frontier society: oblivious to the ostensibly unholy cleric in front of them, the lynching's perpetrators enact their own version of brutal justice. Barely visible at right is a woman who displays her bare chest from the first-floor window of a building reminiscent of a Berlin tenement. This figure is contained and neutralized, however, by the bars bisecting her face and chest. Grosz, Chingachgook, and the central figure gripping a rifle and the reins of his horse retain their mastery of this fantasy space.

In *Memory of New York* [fig. 21], Grosz appears again at lower right, this time barely removed from a dense matrix of lines describing skyscrapers, billboards, and a train hurtling through the center of the composition. Here, the artist casts himself as a sly criminal type whose eye swivels with both suspicion and desire towards the nude woman over his shoulder. The violent energy of the lines in *Texas Picture* recurs here, but with an inverse effect: the city's inhabitants do not dominate their surroundings, but are dominated by them. Following his representation of these imagined excursions, the artist supplies a jaded view of contemporary

[101] Facial scars function differently here than in, for example, the portfolio *Gott mit uns,* where the ornamental scars of military officials, acquired during ritualized duels that generated elaborate souvenirs of participants' supposed bravery, instead signify the pointless brutality of German military culture.

Berlin with *People in the Street* [fig. 22]. Vice in the form of violence, lust, or suicide appears on every floor of an apartment building. A probable cocotte greets a potential client in the foreground, directly behind a man who confronts the viewer with a vicious stare. In casting the cocotte as a key figure in this scene, Grosz suggests her culpability in the lurid activities unfolding at left.

The most extreme manifestation of Grosz's antagonism toward the cocotte occur in his depictions of *Lustmord*, or sex-murder. Sometimes, as in *Metropolis* (1917), the brutalized victim appears as the logical inverse of the marauding prostitute; the murderer could be any one of the four depicted men [fig. 23]. Elsewhere, as in *John, der Frauenmörder* (1918), the murderer is revealed departing the scene of the crime [fig. 24], or, as in *Lustmord in der Ackerstrasse* (1916–1917), washing his hands of the beheaded, blood-smeared corpse [fig. 25]. Perhaps most disturbing is *Apachen* (1917); having stuffed his victim in a box, the perpetrator sits on this makeshift coffin and plays cards [fig. 26]. Kathrin Hoffmann-Curtius suggests that the *Lustmord* motif functions in Grosz's work not simply as symbol of aggrieved masculinity, but as a symptom of the "repression and displacement of male desire."[102] Yet it also seems tied to Grosz's retreat to the childhood haven of the Wild West; the "murderers" themselves appear more like naughty children then savage adults. Like the imagined entry into the world of Old Shatterhand, the *Lustmord* offers a fantasy of omnipotence from a seemingly juvenile perspective.[103]

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[102] "Verdrängung und Verschiebung männlichen Begehrens." Kathrin Hoffmann-Curtius, "'Wenn Blicke töten könnten' oder: Der Künstler als Lustmörder," in *Blick-Wechsel: Konstruktionen von Männlichkeit und Weiblichkeit in Kunst und Kunstgeschichte,* ed. Ines Lindner et al. (Berlin: D. Reimer, 1989), 388.

[103] In 1929, Grosz recalled his childhood fondness for sensational penny-novels such as *Jack, der geheimnisvolle Mädchenmörder.* George Grosz, "Jugenderinnerungen," *Das Kunstblatt* 13, no. 6 (June 1929): 172.

Brigid Doherty argues that Grosz and his Berlin Dada peers visualized infantile regression in their work as a response to, and protest against, the traumatic symptoms of shell shock victims, who displayed, among other symptoms, childlike behaviors.[104] Doherty draws in particular on the analysis of Sándor Ferenczi, who posited that "the entire personality of most of the victims of trauma corresponds … to the child who is fretting, whimpering, unrestrained and naughty in consequence of a fright."[105] Doherty examines moments in the work of Grosz and his peers where the Dada subject seems to take on childlike qualities in response to a traumatic shock.

In a similar vein, we might consider Grosz's use of wild west imagery as suggestive of a pattern of regressive behaviors. In psychoanalytic terms, regression is a "return from a point already reached to an earlier one."[106] This may happen temporally, as the subject reverts to past developmental phases, or formally, as the subject "transitions to modes of expression that are on a lower level as regards complexity, structure, and differentiation."[107] If, in a temporal sense, Grosz returned to his childhood obsessions via the theme of the wild west; in a formal sense, he adopted a style deliberately modeled on the naïve scribbling of "street-urchins." In response to the trauma-ridden encounter of a compromised masculinity with the corrosive femininity of the cocotte, Grosz reverted to a world familiar from childhood, where the heroic protagonist always

[104] Doherty, "'See: We are all Neurasthenics!'," 106–114.

[105] Sándor Ferenczi, untitled paper delivered at the Fifth International Psycho-Analytical Congress, Budapest, September 1918, in *Psycho-Analysis and the War Neuroses,* ed. Ernest Jones (London: The International Psycho-Analytical Press, 1921), 19.

[106] Laplanche and Pontalis, *The Language of Psycho-Analysis*, 386.

[107] Ibid.

triumphed. As Else Lasker-Schüler remarked in a poem dedicated to the artist in 1916, "And still he is a child / The hero of the leather-stocking; / On familiar terms with the Indian tribe."[108]

B. Expressionist Others

In addition to defending himself from psychological trauma, Grosz may also have been motivated to develop a hyper-masculine persona in opposition to the anti-masculine qualities—pacifism, emotional earnestness, spiritual yearning—of the expressionist circle around *Neue Jugend.* The contrast between Grosz's aims and those of the expressionist circle was abundantly apparent in the very first issue of the journal, where Grosz's crude drawings provided an aggressive contrast with texts such as Johannes Becher's ode to peace, "An den Frieden," or an excerpt from Else Lasker-Schüler's lyrical antiwar novel, *Der Malik*.

One key member of the *Neue Jugend* circle was the poet and art critic Theodor Däubler (1878–1934). Famous for *Das Nordlicht* (1910), an epic, multi-volume collection of poetry about sublime natural phenomena, Däubler also championed young avant-garde artists. His 1916 profile of Grosz for *Die Weißen Blätter* brought the artist wide exposure in artistic and literary circles, and the two men remained friends throughout the 1920s.[109] However, Grosz quickly came to view Däubler's expressionist attitude as something that must be countered by a new conception of the artist as a figure who, rather than yielding to his environment with sublime

[108] "Und doch ist er ein Kind / Der Held aus dem Lederstrumpf; / Mit dem Indianerstamm auf Duzfuß." Else Lasker-Schüler, "Georg Grosz," *Neue Jugend* 1, no. 8 (August 1916): 154.

[109] See Grosz's recollections of Däubler in his autobiography; Grosz, *A Little Yes and a Big No,* 149–153.

awe, takes an aggressive, antagonistic, defensive, and arguably, quasi-Nietzschean, stance towards it.[110]

Other artist's portrayals of Däubler around this time reinforce his reputation as a mystic sage above the fray of *agon* celebrated by Grosz. Franz Pfemfert, who published a *Sonderheft* of *Die Aktion* devoted to Däubler in 1916, praised Däubler in his opening remarks as a "creator of worlds, gigantic and tender, exalted and kind, announcement and fulfillment at the same time, a heroic prophet and a faithful comrade."[111] The cover image for the *Sonderheft,* a quasi-Cubist portrait by Hans Richter [fig. 27], presents Däubler as a solemn stoic, his voluminous hair and beard crystallized into monumental planes. Later in the issue, Walter Bangerter's drawing [fig. 28] shows Däubler tranquilly asleep, one arm draped gently over his ample stomach. Conrad Felixmüller's 1918 woodcut [fig. 29], alluding to Däubler's book *Der silberner Sichel* (*The Silver Sickle,* 1915)*,* shows the poet as a whimsical seafarer in a small boat, his sail bisecting a crescent moon. Meidner's small drypoint of 1920 [fig. 30] shows Däubler in profile from forehead to chin, a noble embodiment of wisdom. Collectively, these images evoke Däubler as he wished to be seen, as a revered purveyor of transcendent or mystical knowledge.

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[110] In the midst of World War I, political theorist Carl Schmitt (1888–1985) published a commentary on *Das Nordlicht* that interpreted Däubler's work as an indictment of contemporary western society and its elevation of rationalization and mechanization at the expense of spirituality. Schmitt criticized his contemporaries for desiring "heaven on earth, heaven as the product of trade and industry … a heaven with bathing facilities, automobiles, and club chairs, whose holy book is the road map" ("Himmel auf der Erde, den Himmel als Ergebnis von Handel und Industrie … einen Himmel mit Badeeinrichtungen, Automobilen und Klubsesseln, dessen heiliges Buch der Fahrplan wäre"). Carl Schmitt, *Theodor Däublers "Nordlicht": Drei Studien über die Elemente, die Geist und Aktualität des Werkes* (Munich: G. Müller, 1916), 59. Given Schmitt's later associations with proto-fascist thought, his early interest in Däubler reveals how the poet's interest in spiritual transcendence could be interpreted in a reactionary light.

[111] "Weltenschöpfer, gigantisch und zart, erhaben und gütig, Ankündigung und Erfüllung zugleich, ein heroischer Prophet und ein treuer Kamerad." Franz Pfemfert, "Anmerkung zu dieser Sondernummer," *Die Aktion* 6, no. 11–12 (March 18, 1916): 131.

Grosz quickly developed an irreverent response to Däubler's grandiose, spiritually oriented expressionism. This response first became evident in the October 1916 issue of *Neue Jugend*, a *Sonderheft* devoted to the esteemed poet. In the essay "Alpenglow," Däubler describes his solitary viewing of this natural phenomenon (a reddish glow that illuminates mountain peaks after sunset) as a terrifying yet ecstatic encounter with nature that threatens to demolish the boundaries of his identity. "Flickering fire ripples through the cracks in darkness: gaping curves with swelling lips excite me. Painful stars pierce my skeptical view that one will never find oneself in such confusion. It will be futile for me to feel woe and not to lose myself!"[112] Grosz's drawing *Friedvolle Rheinlandschaft* [fig. 31] counters Däubler's exuberance with the image of a landscape transformed and ceaselessly animated by technology. Trains emerge from the mouth of an anthropomorphized mountain and speed across a bridge over the river; a hot-air balloon floats among lopsided stars; smoke billows from the smokestacks of factories and ships in the form of spiraling childlike doodles. It is tempting to see the mountain itself as a surrogate for the famously long-winded and physically imposing Däubler, an endless succession of words streaming from his tunnel-mouth.

Grosz quickly came to see Däubler's expressionism as an outmoded artistic outlook that must be overcome, and he began to portray the poet as a vulnerable, melancholy figure.[113] In

[112] "Flimmerndes Feuer durchschwirrt die zerklüfteten Finsternisbrüche: Klaffende Rundungen mit schwellenden Lippen erregen mich. Schmerzenssterne stechen in meine skeptische Ansicht, daß man sich in solchem Wirrwarr nimmer wieder finden wird. Nichtig wird es mir, Weh zu empfinden und mich nicht selbst zu verlieren!" Theodor Däubler, "Alpenglühn," *Neue Jugend* 1, no. 10 (October 1916): 202.

[113] In a letter of June 1917, Grosz refers to an "editorial split" ("Redaktionsspaltung") within the *Neue Jugend* circle prompted by the publication of that month's issue, the first to incorporate Heartfield's bold typographic designs inspired by American advertising. "Lord" Däubler, Lasker-Schüler, and Johannes Becher evidently opposed this new direction, which represented a break with the magazine's heretofore expressionist aesthetic. Grosz to Otto Schmalhausen, June 30, 1917, in *George Grosz: Briefe 1913–1959,* ed. Herbert Knust (Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1979), 54.

Fern im Süd das schöne Spanien (1919) [fig. 32], Däubler appears at upper right as an impoverished matchseller, forlornly isolated from the criminal or depraved figures around him. While he appears more lively in *Belebte Straßenszene* (1919) [fig. 33], he returns to an idle, melancholy state in a composition featured on the back cover of *Tragigrotesken der Nacht* (1920), where he sits with a pen at a small table, again profoundly separate from the unsavory types around him [fig. 34].[114] Däubler emerges in the world of Grosz's drawings as an impotent, childlike figure, quite different from his monumental and sage-like appearance elsewhere. He symbolizes, as Michael White argues, "the penniless, romanticised idea of artistic independence against which a new form of artistic engagement was being developed."[115]

The origin of Däubler's form in these drawings either lies in or is mirrored by two double-page spreads from a sketchbook dated March–August 1918, where Grosz plays with the possibilities suggested by an oval with two curves at the bottom. In the first spread [fig. 35], this form becomes Däubler when a beard, moustache, and hair are added; to the right, the same form becomes first a man with spectacles and a cigar, and below, a figure that seems to be a chubby-cheeked baby with stubby arms, except that it also has a protruding bosom. The second spread features Däubler again, this time in full length [fig. 36], while the spread opposite shows his distinctive face propped on an easel [fig. 37], although here he appears to be attached to a crawling body; meanwhile, a figure standing to the left seems to moon the viewer. His buttocks mirror Däubler's chins, as he looks over his shoulder mischievously. These private images reveal

[114] The latter evidently reproduces a pen and ink drawing of 1919 titled *Strassenszene*, reproduced in *German Realist Drawings of the 1920s,* ed. Peter Nisbet (Cambridge, MA: Busch-Reisinger Museum, 1986), cat. 44.

[115] Michael White, *Generation Dada: The Berlin Avant-Garde and the First World War* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), 137.

how Grosz developed a mocking attitude towards Däubler's expressionist outlook by fusing his image with the lewd, fleshy vulnerability of bosoms and buttocks.

Another figure who prompted a well-developed aesthetic response from Grosz was Wieland Herzfelde, editor of *Neue Jugend* and founder of the Malik-Verlag (named for Lasker-Schüler's novel), the press that published all of Grosz's early portfolios. Herzfelde began his career as an aspiring poet with a thoroughly expressionist mindset. He shared Grosz's interest in the metropolis as an artistic subject, but unlike Grosz, he expressed that enthusiasm in a fundamentally reverent tone. For example, his poem "Berlin," published in 1917 but written before 1914, resembles a love poem in which the speaker imagines physically commingling with the object of his address, who seems to entrance him against his will. It begins "Will I be interwoven with you / Racing city full of rattling haste / Through which my blood vibrates in sparks?", and concludes, "[My] eyelids yearn for slumbering darkness. / But you keep them open by force! / With peacock-eyes I stare into your face: / helpless and ruling, the enchanted caliph."[116]

In 1917, Herzfelde published *Sulamith,* a collection of love poems written between 1915 and 1916 and previously published in various issues of *Neue Jugend*. The poems, addressed to figures like "Daisy," "Colombine," and "Niobe," all contain references to women he knew at the time.[117] The book's cover design [fig. 38] reproduces a work considered to be Grosz's first

[116] "Werde ich mit dir verwoben sein / Reißende Stadt voll knatternde Eile, / Durch die mein Blut in Funken flattert?"; "Es brennen die Lider mit schlummernden Schwarz. / Doch du hältst Sie gewaltsam offen! / Mit Pfauenaugen schaue ich ins Antlitz dir; / Hilflos und herrschend, der verwunschene Kalif." Wieland Herzfelde, "Berlin," *Neue Jugend* 1, no. 11–12 (February-March 1917): 215. Herzfelde notes that this poem was written before the war began.

[117] White, Generation Dada, 93.

montage, a drawing incorporating newspaper clippings and stenciled or stamped elements [fig. 39].[118] The central figure is a mouthless man in a suit and fedora who gazes skyward, four spindly fingers propped on his hip. He inhabits a landscape of flowers, trees, mountains, stars, and a pulsating sun. The montaged subtitle "Gedichte" appears twice, once intact at lower left, and once in fragments at lower right. Throughout the composition are handwritten names, including Wieland, Muti (Heartfield's nickname, short for his given name, Helmut), Lena (Helene Balzer, who Heartfield married that year), and Tom (Heartfield's not-yet-born son), whose name floats upward in a hot-air balloon. At lower left, the phrase "it is a long way to tipperary [sic]" refers to a song popular among British soldiers and familiar to both Herzfelde and Grosz.[119]

A stenciled doily design floats in the sky like a marvelous cloud, splitting the montaged name "Wieland Herzfelde" in half, while a smaller doily at lower left seems to represent a flower. Grosz's apparent use of a lacework design here suggests intriguing parallels with the work of Hannah Höch, his former classmate at the Unterrichtsanstalt, the art academy affiliated with Berlin's Kunstgewerbemuseum. Around this time, Höch began incorporating textile designs from the Ullstein Verlag, where she worked as a pattern designer, into her emerging photomontage practice. Also relevant may be the influence of Grosz's girlfriend and future wife, Eva Peter, who had taken a course in embroidery at the Unterrichtsanstalt, and who later

[118] White contests the oft-repeated claim that the montage was co-designed by Herzfelde, concluding that this is "very unlikely," since Herzfelde had been conscripted at the time Grosz completed the cover design. Ibid.

[119] Ibid., 92–93.

operated her own fashion design studio.[120] In either case, the lacework design introduces a clear element of femininity and domesticity into the space of the montage.

It would be reasonable to assume that the mouthless figure is a portrait of Herzfelde. This is the interpretation offered by Michael White, who analyzes the shifting bonds of friendship within the Berlin Dada circle and how the work of this circle encodes gestures of mutual influence, homage, and rivalry. White draws his conclusion based on the names mentioned above and on the references to Herzfelde's origins at left (Rigi, near his Swiss birthplace, and Mönchsberg, near Salzburg, where he spent much of his childhood).[121] On the other hand, Birgit Möckel asserts that the figure represents Grosz, who is identified by the "G" on his chest.[122] The second conclusion seems more convincing, and also allows for a further reading of the upper part of the composition as a veiled portrait of Herzfelde, represented by the two halves of his name linked by the elaborate doily shape. What Grosz may be staging in his design for *Sulamith* is the relationship between himself and Herzfelde circa 1917. While Herzfelde floats above, the core of his identity symbolized by a fantastic crystalline shape seemingly emerging from a billowing cloud, Grosz remains emphatically grounded. If Herzfelde, Grosz suggests, is still essentially expressionist—and, therefore, feminine—at his crystalline core, yearning to rise above his surroundings through poetic reverie, Grosz shows himself as resolutely earthbound, held in place by vigorous lines that cut across his torso.

[120] For Höch and Peter's coursework, see ibid., 118–121. The printed cover shows a third doily under the name "Daisy," now missing from the original design.

[121] Ibid., 92.

[122] Birgit Möckel, "'Arbeiten und nicht verzweifeln': Zum Prinzip der Montage im Werke von George Grosz," in *George Grosz montiert: Collagen 1917 bis 1959,* ed. Birgit Möckel (Berlin: Akademie der Künste, 2010), 39–40.

After 1917, Grosz's attention largely turned toward programmatic political illustration and toward his photomontage work with Heartfield. However, on some occasions, he continued to display interest in crafting a hyper-masculine persona defined in opposition to a feminine other. In *Self-Portrait for Charlie Chaplin* (1919), Grosz seems to assume the stance of a boxer, alluding to the new and explosive popularity of this sport in the early Weimar period [fig. 40].[123] Grosz essentially exchanges the heroism of Old Shatterhand for that of the professional boxer, a new type of hero appropriate to the postwar moment. Chaplin's films, like all foreign imports, were banned in Germany during the war and did not begin to appear in Germany until 1921; Grosz's homage to Chaplin, therefore, is entirely theoretical.[124] He might view Chaplin's popularity in the Anglophone world as evidence of the triumph of a masculine subject in an otherwise feminized world of popular film. Grosz's fists, on closer inspection, are not ready to fight, but to draw. One hand extends a drawing implement that traces a woman's bottom; meanwhile, a disembodied female leg and a female torso with a death's head, both adjacent to his face, indicate his continued preoccupation with the project of self-fortification in the face of traumatic assault.

C. A Scrap of Lace

Grosz's girlfriend and eventual wife, Eva Peter, played a pivotal role in his ongoing development of a masculine identity. Before their marriage in 1920, Peter appears most

[123] Before 1918, restrictions imposed by imperial government meant that boxing was largely prohibited; only the liberalization of these policies under the Weimar constitution allowed a genuine boxing culture to develop in Germany. Erik Jensen, *Body by Weimar: Athletes, Gender, and German Modernity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 54–55.

[124] Joseph Garncarz, "'Films that are applauded all over the world': Questioning Chaplin's Popularity in Weimar Germany," *Early Popular Visual Culture* 8, no. 3 (August 2010): 287.

frequently in Grosz's work in the guise of a prostitute. For example, in *An Eva, meine Freundin* (1918), she is nude, smoking, and seated at a café table fingering a pile of coins; her lower thigh intersects with the brim of Grosz's fedora, and a bottle plays an obscenely suggestive role between her legs [fig. 41]. A figure probably meant to represent a pimp eyes her from the upper right corner. Peter, Grosz suggests, is an object of erotic interest not just to himself, but to a predatory male populace at large. She is at risk of transmuting into the violated female corpse at lower left, whose slashed buttocks are eagerly investigated by a curious man. While White suggests that Peter is the dominant figure in the composition, literally and figuratively weighing on Grosz's mind, we might also see her as pinned in place by his profile and phallic bottle, which capture and contain her sexual potential.[125]

In *Fern im Süd …* [fig. 32], Peter appears again as a prostitute, first as a large nude, and again at lower left seemingly entertaining a client on a couch. (Grosz also appears twice, accompanied by Otto Schmalhausen, another artist affiliated with Dada; Schmalhausen later married Peter's sister, Lotte, who may be represented by the nude blonde figure.) An anxiety that previously took the form of generic cocottes now crystallizes into the likeness of Peter, who, not yet linked to Grosz by marriage, still possesses the potential to control other men's behavior through her sexuality. A famous photograph staged in Grosz's studio further dramatizes this anxiety [fig. 42]. Grosz, playing the role of the sex-murderer, extends a knife as he peers around a large mirror at Peter, who is oblivious to his presence.

The most important image of Grosz's relationship with Peter is a montage commemorating their marriage [fig. 43]. It bears the complex English title *'Daum' marries her pedantic automaton 'George' in May 1920, John Heartfield is very glad of it. (Meta-mech.*

[125] White, *Generation Dada*, 128.

Constr. nach Prof. R. Haussmann). Peter is represented once again as excessively sexual, while her faceless husband has become a cyborgean figure who crunches numbers fed directly into his brain. Doherty suggests that this work is "a parody suggesting that postwar modernity makes men into automatons, and women into spectacles."[126] It presents Grosz, in the outfit of a white-collar office worker, as a dehumanized victim of rationalization, completely alienated from the possibility of human intimacy. However, Grosz's identification with the "pedantic automaton" could also function as a defensive maneuver. The scrap of white lace on the edge of "Daum's" bloomers creates an explicit contrast with Grosz's partly mechanical body. It identifies Peter as someone who exists in a domestic, feminine world, entirely separate from Grosz's professional life. Grosz had increasingly begun to identify his work with the concept of mechanized production; he and Heartfield, in the guise of engineers, signed their photomontages as "Grosz-Heartfield mont." (an abbreviation of "montieren," to assemble), replacing the traditional "pinx." (pinxit) of a painter's signature.[127] Perhaps, upon entering a marriage that would tie him permanently to a domestic, feminized space, Grosz felt a particular need to assert his independence and difference from this space, retreating into the fully rationalized persona of the "pedantic automaton."

The scrap of lace on Peter's bloomers reappears in Herzfelde's *Tragigrotesken der Nacht* (1920), a collection of dreams recorded between summer 1913 and August 1919 (with the exception of the first dream, recalled from when Herzfelde was nine years old). Herzfelde's dreams frequently involved intrigue, suspense, and violence. They often become grotesque, as

[126] Ibid., 169.

[127] Möckel, "'Arbeiten und nicht verzweifeln,'" 43.

when Herzfelde accidentally beheads a love interest; a hungry mob cannibalizes a group of train passengers who have frozen to death; an auction of prisoners takes place in a schoolyard; or a flayed child is displayed for sale in a grocery-store window. Other dreams, in which Herzfelde is accused of murder and sentenced to hanging, or forced to serve in the military, reflect his persistent fear and hatred of military authority, stimulated by his wartime service and his experience in "protective custody" in March 1919.[128]

The book is illustrated throughout with images from Grosz's previous portfolios. Reflecting Herzfelde's traumatic encounters with military authority, the book's endpapers reproduce *Gott mit uns*, plate one from Grosz's portfolio of the same name, featuring four marching officers [fig. 44]. An image that formed part of a cohesive anti-military statement in the context of the portfolio appears here as a sinister accompaniment to Herzfelde's dream narratives, as the officers, with their bloated torsos and caricatured faces, literally patrol the boundaries of his interior life. By including this illustration, Herzfelde suggests that, although hemmed in on both sides by oppressive militarism, he still accesses polyvalent freedom in a dream state, and that this experience of freedom is itself a form of resistance, a way to envision alternative realities.

Midway through the book, within the dream about the "Soviet cloud," Herzfelde includes Grosz's montaged portrait of him [fig. 45].[129] In the dream, Herzfelde is sucked into an enormous cloud representing the global expansion of the Soviet Union, then finds himself on a lush island, and finally awakens on Lindwerder, an island in southwest Berlin. Grosz's portrait

[128] Herzfelde documented this experience in *Schutzhaft,* a special issue of *Die Pleite* (March 1919). See Barbara McCloskey, *George Grosz and the Communist Party: Art and Radicalism in Crisis, 1918 to 1936* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 63–64. For Herzfelde's military experience, see White, *Generation Dada,* 75–77.

[129] This portrait was exhibited at the First International Dada Fair (1920) and listed in the catalogue as cat. 64, *Porträt des Dichters vom Kurfürstendamm Wieland Herzfelde*, with *Tragigrotesken* given as the source.

features a photograph of Herzfelde in profile, overlaid with enigmatic montaged components resembling eyes and an ear or mouth. A palm tree and a violin sprout from Herzfelde's head, adjacent to the word "Daisy," a reference to one of his love poems.

The figure's torso consists of an upside-down typewriter perched on sturdily drawn legs. Lines of typewritten nonsense emanate from the figure's right side, and attached to his left side is a textual fragment: the title and first lines of "Mein erster Traum beim Militär," actually the subtitle of the dream "Der Grizzlybär" (1916), reproduced in full in the book itself. In this dream, Herzfelde watches as a soldier, punished for stepping out of line to avoid the rain, transforms into a monstrous half-orangutan, half-bear who charges the other troops and is shot. When the dream ends, he concludes, "Awake, sweaty, I lay in the dormitory of the barracks … between snoring soldiers. … And as I slowly realized that this was the first night in the military, that countless might follow, …. then the death just experienced in the dream appeared to me more acceptable than this reality between snoring slaves."[130]

In its combination of text and image, Grosz's portrait captures the essential components of Herzfelde's identity: busily exuding text as a publisher and author, but also immersed in a complex, private dream-world (suggested by his face being almost totally obscured). While the typewriter and the angular lines of his lower body suggest rationality and efficiency, the elements around his head—palm fronds, flowers, violin—are associated with emotion and with sensual pleasure. Most significantly, perhaps, is the piece of lace trim that later reappears on "Daum's" undergarments. The lace represents Herzfelde's ties to femininity, softness, and

[130] "Wach, schweißgebadet lag ich im Schlafsaal der Kaserne … zwischen schnarchenden Soldaten. Und wie es mir langsam bewußt wurde, daß dies die erste Nacht beim Militär ist, daß zahllose vielleicht folgen werden, …da erschien mir der soeben im Traum erlebte Tod annahmbarer als diese Wirklichkeit zwischen schnarchenden Sklaven." Wieland Herzfelde, *Tragigrotesken der Nacht: Träume* (Berlin: Malik-Verlag, 1920), 48. In another military dream, "Der Granattrichter" (1917), Herzfelde imagines witnessing his brother's death and awakens in the barracks haunted by Heartfield's "death mask" ("Totenmaske"); ibid., 58.

interiority. The polyvalence of Grosz's portrait may allude to the book itself, in which Herzfelde undergoes many protean transformations: for example, he finds himself changed into a cake covered in whipped cream who is mistaken for a returning king ("Tortentraum," 1915), or resurrected as a yellow cowslip after his plane is shot down by the English ("Die Schlüsselblume," June 1917). However, it also serves to distinguish Herzfelde as a subject whose transformation into a text-producing automaton is incomplete. The text that he emits is garbled—perhaps a malfunction due to his traumatic military experience, but also, perhaps, due to his lingering expressionist allegiance, a feminine softness that prevents him from becoming fully rationalized.[131]

The scrap of lace appears yet again in a "corrected masterpiece" from the Dada Fair, co-created with Heartfield [fig. 46].[132] Grosz and Heartfield openly derided the work of popular self-taught painter Henri Rousseau, a figure whom Grosz referred to as "dear old dumb Douanier" (Rousseau's nickname, derived from his primary profession as a tax collector).[133] Pasted over Rousseau's self-portrait is a photograph of artist Raoul Hausmann's face, as well as photographs of the Eiffel Tower and the Leibniz biscuit factory in Hannover. Hanging over the sky is a piece of the same white lace trim that adorned Daum's bloomers. By including this detail, Grosz could be criticizing Haussmann's close association with Hannah Höch, who, in addition to being the only female member of the Dada Berlin circle, was trained as a textile designer and therefore belonged (like Grosz's wife) to the world of fashion, femininity, and

[131] White suggests that the garbled text symbolizes Herzfelde's lingering wartime trauma, which turns him into a "malfunctioning mechanism." White, *Generation Dada,* 270.

[132] For a discussion of this work, including the possible symbolism of other photomontage additions, see ibid., 286–287 and 290–291.

[133] "den lieben, alten, dummen Douanier"; George Grosz, "Statt einer Biographie," *Der Gegner* 2, no. 3 (1920–1921): 69.

domesticity.[134] It could also signify, more broadly, Hausmann's professed interest in dismantling patriarchal structures. In the place of such structures, Hausmann advocated for the acceptance of homosexuality, and for the establishment of a female-driven polyamory as an alternative to the rigid (if hypocritically disregarded) expectations of monogamy that governed bourgeois heterosexual relationships.[135] Hausmann's general argument— that "human beings could transform themselves by paying greater attention to their instinctual drives and by emulating non-dominant forms of gender identity"[136]—may well have been entirely unappealing to Grosz, in light of his devotion to a securely masculine identity. The scrap of lace, as it recurs in Grosz's work of this period, seems to embody an idea of femininity that must be repeatedly contained and disavowed if it is to be controlled.

D. The New Automaton

Daum marries ... is related to larger project that Grosz undertook between 1919 and 1922: a series of images which he called "materializations." He explained this project in the essay "My New Pictures," written in November 1920 and published in *Das Kunstblatt* in January 1921 alongside five illustrations.[137] Grosz begins by declaring: "Art is today an absolutely

[134] White suggests that Hausmann's *Der Kunstkritiker,* with its grotesque portrait of Grosz, constitutes a "riposte" to this critique; White, *Generation Dada,* 291. For Grosz's possible rivalry with Höch during their time as students, see ibid., 119–120.

[135] Matthew Biro, "Raoul Hausmann's Revolutionary Media: Dada Performance, Photomontage and the Cyborg," *Art History* 30, no. 1 (February 2007): 40.

[136] Ibid.

[137] The two extant objects from this group are *Republikanische Automaten* (Museum of Modern Art, New York) and *Der neue Mensch*, which last appeared at auction in 2009.

secondary affair."[138] Nonetheless, he declares his intent "once again to give an absolutely realistic picture of the world."[139] He acknowledges the influence of *pittura metafisica,* but rejects its metaphysical, bourgeois associations.[140] The "new pictures," Grosz claims, are best approached "as training-works—a systematic work on the ball—without a view into the eternal! … Man is no longer represented individually, with finely-honed psychology, but as a collectivist, almost mechanical concept."[141] Grosz also asserts that painting must be treated as a form of rationalized production: "The objectivity and clarity of the engineer's drawing is a better model than the uncontrollable gibberish of Kabbalah and metaphysics and saint-ecstasy."[142]

Roland März has linked the emergence of Grosz's new style to "Die Gesetze der Malerei," a programmatic text written in September 1920 by former Dadaists Grosz, Heartfield, Hausmann, and Rudolf Schlichter.[143] Rejecting their previous interest in parodic ambiguity, these newly devoted KPD members argued for a return to a more disciplined and legible style that would emphasize clarity over polyvalence and collectivity over individuality.[144] "We introduce

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[138] "Kunst ist heute eine absolut sekundäre Angelegenheit." George Grosz, "Zu meinen neuen Bildern," *Das Kunstblatt* 5, no. 1 (January 1921): 11.

[139] "Ich versuche wieder ein absolut realistische Weltbild zu geben"; ibid., 14.

[140] Grosz would have seen reproductions of works by Carrà and de Chirico at Hans Goltz in Munich sometime between 1919 and 1920. Roland März, "Republikanische Automaten: George Grosz und die Pittura metafisica," in Schuster, *George Grosz: Berlin-New York*, 147.

[141] "… als Trainings-Arbeiten zu erkennen—ein systematisches Arbeiten am Ball—ohne Ausblick ins Ewige! … Der Mensch ist nicht mehr individuell, mit feinschürfender Psychologie dargestellt, sondern als kollektivistischer, fast mechanischer Begriff." Grosz, "Zu meinen neuen Bildern," 14.

[142] "Die Sachlichkeit und Klarheit der Ingenieurzeichnung ist ein besseres Lehrbild als das unkontrollierbare Geschwafel von Kabbala und Metaphysik und Heiligenekstase." Ibid.

[143] Unpublished in the authors' lifetimes. George Grosz, John Heartfield, Rudolf Schlichter, and Raoul Hausmann, "Die Gesetze der Malerei," in *Hannah Höch: Eine Lebenscollage,* ed. Cornelia Thater-Schulz, vol. 1, part 2 (Berlin: Argon, 1989), 696–698.

[144] März, "Republikanische Automaten," 147.

historical materialism into painting ... In Europe, painting first begins again with Ingres, and finally finds its further development in Carrà and Chirico ... painting is a language that has to increase the optical ideas of the mass to unambiguousness ... Painting is collective ... In our time, we advocate a clear and specific materialistic painting."[145] At first glance, the images accompanying Grosz's essay—reproductions of watercolors featuring often-faceless automatons moving through bleak cityscapes—do seem to embody his call for a collectivist depiction of humanity and an approach to drawing informed by the precision and functionality of industrial design.

The illustrations in *Das Kunstblatt* superficially conform to the principles articulated in "Die Gesetze der Malerei" and "My New Pictures," offering the viewer a scupulously defined sense of space and a reduced color palette. However, they also recapitulate Grosz's preoccupation with evading a feminine or feminizing threat. In *Berlin C.* [fig. 47], the figure in the left foreground has a repulsively oversized nose and eyes that seem swollen shut, evoking the sight of the disfigured war veteran.[146] The female figure in the center of the composition appears as a grotesque, hairless cyclops with a bestial, upside-down mouth and breasts visible beneath a cylindrical dress; even in the rationalized world of the "new pictures," the menacing—even death-dealing— prostitute remains central. The bourgeois dandy of *Der schöne Fritz* [fig. 48], with a foppish moustache and a clenched fist, looks over his shoulder at an unseen menace; to his left, a shop-window appears to contain two montaged elements, a female silhouette and a fan,

[145] "Wir führen den historischen Materialismus in die Malerei ein … In Europa fängt die Malerei erst bei Ingres wieder an, ihre Weiterentwicklung findet sie endgültig bei Carrà und Chirico … die Malerei is eine Sprache, die die optischen Vorstellungen der Masse zur Eindeutigkeit zu steigern hat … Die Malerei is kollektiv … Wir treten in unserer Zeit für eine klare und bestimmte materialistische Malerei ein." Grosz et al., "Die Gesetze der Malerei," 696–698.

[146] Although Grosz rarely addresses the topic of facial disfigurement, Otto Dix engaged with this topic frequently, including in works exhibited at the Dada Fair.

both alluding to the commoditization of desire in a modern capitalist society.[147] Meanwhile, the mindless pair in *Republikanische Automaten* [fig. 49], one of whom eagerly absorbs a patriotic slogan into his empty brain, can be seen as existing in an exclusively male world of power, intrigue, and brutality.

The most personal work in this group seems to be *Der neue Mensch* [fig. 50]. Its central figure is a plausible surrogate for the artist, who was known to train with a punching-bag in his studio. The work's title recalls Richard Huelsenbeck's essay "Der neue Mensch," which defines the active, highly practical "new man" in opposition to the ineffectual self-absorption of expressionism: "The new man, who has the weight of his personality, hates slapstick, useless noise, babbling for the sake of babbling, all the grimaces of erotically excited youthfulness; because he knows too well what the era wants from him—namely, masculinity and competence, simplicity, solidity."[148] Grosz's image of the "new man" seems to be a straightforward inversion of a painting such as de Chirico's *The Seer* [fig. 51]. It replaces de Chirico's elegantly idle and armless mannequin with a figure in purposeful motion. Yet Grosz's apparently active figure is also strangely powerless and inert, lacking at least one hand and, presumably, a face. Placing the figure between the punching-bag and the easel, Grosz implies an equivalence between the repetitive physical action of pummeling ("a systematic work on the ball") and the activity of a productive artist in the service of the proletariat, whose work is suggested here by a mechanical

[147] März suggests that *Der schöne Fritz* is inspired by Oskar Panizza's grotesque short story "Korsetten-Fritz" (1893), in which the narrator, writing from a psychiatric clinic, describes becoming obsessed with a shop-window display of corsets as a teenager, mistaking the mannequins who modeled them for preserved human flesh. März, "Republikanische Automaten," 150.

[148] "Der neue Mensch, der das Gewicht seiner Persönlichkeit hat, hasst den Klamauk, den unnützen Lärm, das Plärren um des Plärrens willen, alle Faxen erogen excitierter Jugendlichkeit; denn er weiss zu gut, was die Zeit von ihm will—sie will das Männliche und Tüchtige, die Einfachkeit, die Solidität." Richard Huelsenbeck, "Der Neue Mensch," *Neue Jugend,* no. 1 (May 1917): 3. For more on Huelsenbeck, see White, *Generation Dada,* 29–66.

diagram of unknown purpose. At leisure, as pictured in *Der Diabolospieler* [fig. 52], the "new man" escapes from the feminized mayhem of the city by confining himself to a monochrome room and playing a solitary game of diabolo. He disavows nature so completely that his only décor is an engineering diagram and a group of geometric solids.

The portfolio *Mit Pinsel und Schere* (1922) reproduces seven watercolor montages made between 1919 and 1921 in black and white, including *Daum marries …* Again, Grosz thematizes the contrast between the depraved world of the urban bourgeois, where the prostitute is predator as much as prey—see, for example, the image *Tatlinischer Plan (Akt)* [fig. 53]—and a rationalized world of "pedantic automatons."[149] One image [fig. 54] features an armless automaton with an appendage strapped to its right shoulder, standing before what might be a conveyor belt.[150] Recalling Grosz's statement about the "rotary press" that same year, the large wheel might represent a commercial press, with the automaton a stand-in for Grosz the efficient propagandist (although his armless state seems to be a significant impediment to his functioning). The only reliable escape from the prostitute, Grosz suggest, is a retreat into a mechanized and rationalized world that precludes uncritical engagement with femininity altogether. This image might also reflect the wartime practice of "active treatment" for veterans suffering from neurosis. Believing that such individuals could recover only through authoritarian discipline and the avoidance of idleness, doctors created "neurosis stations" where patients engaged in repetitive forms of labor, often in factories. Those who administered active treatment advocated keeping patients away from the home, where too much contact with feminine pity and

[149] The title of this work refers to Vladimir Tatlin, the constructivist sculptor and designer who was a subject of great, if poorly understood, acclaim for the Berlin Dada group. At the Dada Fair, Grosz and Heartfield posed with the sign "Die Kunst ist tot—es lebe die Maschinenkunst Tatlins."

[150] This diagrammatic image may refer to Francis Picabia's mecanomorphs; for more on this topic, see Doherty, "Berlin Dada," 174–176.

charity would inhibit their recovery.[151] Grosz's armless automaton might invoke the figure of a veteran engaged in a compulsory work regimen, his physical and psychological devastation having been repurposed for productive ends by the state.

E. A Return to Tradition

Ecce Homo, comprising reproductions of 100 drawings and watercolors from a seven-year period, appeared late in 1922. The portfolio attempted to unmask the moral hypocrisy of the bourgeoisie by chronicling its depraved sexual behavior. The sign of depravity inevitably takes the form of the cocotte in this context. Images like *Vor Sonnenaufgang* [fig. 55] unveil the cocotte's bourgeois disguise; the streetwalkers' nudity, and hence their true nature, is revealed beneath their stylish clothes. Throughout the portfolio, prostitutes in various stages of undress are omnipresent—on the street, in nightclubs, in brothels and bedrooms, and even in the fantasies of older men reminiscing about their youth [*Aus der Jugendzeit,* fig. 56]. The portfolio also includes Grosz's earlier images of *Lustmord* and domestic violence. *Ecce Homo* quickly attracted attention from Berlin authorities, who ultimately brought the artist to trial for obscenity and confiscated a number of plates designated as "lewd" or "grossly lewd."[152]

Grosz and his defenders asserted that the intent of *Ecce Homo* was purely moralistic. As Grosz stated during his trial, "It is the mindless, brutal world that I have presented here. Otherwise you get the truth, so to speak, always packed in a bonbon. My book, however, shows

[151] Paul Lerner, *Hysterical Men: War, Psychiatry, and the Politics of Trauma in Germany, 1890–1930* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003), 139–155.

[152] For the 1924 trial, see Neugebauer, *George Grosz: Macht und Ohnmacht satirischer Kunst,* 111–120.

the truth naked and bare, and therefore it is, in a way, an educational book."[153] The language of unmasking or laying bare also occurs in Max Herrmann-Neisse's review of the portfolio in early 1923. He notes certain plates that "eliminate the halo that draws eroticism elegantly, the fine bourgeois kitsch-wear around the ugly greedy swindle that in our high-capitalist era must also be erotic …."[154] Herrmann-Neisse also regards the book as a kind of reference work or educational tool: "You cannot get rid of this book any more, this inventory of today's German bourgeois is complete, for all time classic, historic, plastically demonstrative, an album of today's physiognomy of Germany!"[155]

If *Ecce Homo* reveals some hidden truth, what is the nature of that truth? If its purpose is educational, who is being educated? Herrmann-Neisse suggests that Grosz reveals an equivalence between the bourgeoisie's material greed and their unchecked lust. The "naked and bare" truth is that this class is driven by base instincts rather than elevated ideals in both public and private life. Kathrin Hoffmann-Curtius argues that Grosz displays a view of sexuality diametrically opposed to that of his friend Eduard Fuchs, noted collector and historian of caricature and erotic art.[156] While Fuchs believed that sexual desire was a productive impulse

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[153] "Es ist die willenlose, brutale Welt, die von mir hier dargestellt worden ist. Man bekommt sonst die Wahrheit gewissermaßen immer in einem Bonbon eingepackt zu sehen. Mein Buch aber zeigt die Wahrheit nackt und bloß, und deshalb ist es sozusagen ein Erziehungsbuch." George Grosz quoted in Anonymous, "Der Liebesbetrieb von heute. 'Ecce Homo' vor Gericht," *8-Uhr-Abendblatt,* February 16, 1924, quoted in ibid., 114.

[154] "… beseitigen den Nimbus, der Erotisches mondän aufzieht, den vornehmen bourgeoisen Kitschtrug um die häßliche habgierige Nepperei, die in unserer hochkapitalistischen Ära auch Erotik sein muß …." Max Herrmann-Neisse, "Ein Bürgerspiegel," *Die Aktion* 13, no. 8 (April 1923): 214.

[155] "Man kommt von diesem Buche überhaupt nicht mehr los, diese Inventuraufnahme heutigen deutschen Bürger-Bestandes ist komplett, für lange klassisch, geschichtlich, plastisch demonstrativ, ein Album der heutigen Physiognognomie Deutschlands!" Ibid., 215.

[156] Grosz himself cultivated an extensive collection of pornographic postcards and photographs; see M. Kay Flavell, "*Über alles die Liebe:* Food, Sex, and Money in the Work of George Grosz," *Journal of European Studies* 13, no. 4 (December 1983): 279.

that should be liberated from bourgeois repression, Hoffmann-Curtius claims that Grosz is far more skeptical about the emancipatory potential of sexuality.[157]

Yet Grosz also seems to comment on his own position as an artist. The portfolio's title comes from the watercolor plate of the same name [fig. 57], featuring a self-portrait that also serves as the cover image. Grosz is set apart from the interior scene, which features a prostitute and her wealthy client, yet his self-portrait is also linked to it via the slight overlap between his hat and the woman's body, and perhaps even by their matching black eyes. Encoding references both to the suffering Christ presented by Pontius Pilate and to Nietzsche's autobiography (written 1888, published 1908) affirming his rejection of Christian morality, Grosz presents his own battered face as both a symbol of suffering and of his unveiling of moral hypocrisy. "Behold the man" invites the viewer to confront not only the underlying structure of bourgeois society, but the role of the artist as a damaged witness whose masculinity is guaranteed by evidence of surviving physical combat.

After signing a contract in 1923 with Alfred Flechtheim, the leading modern art dealer in Germany, Grosz began to contribute regularly to Flechtheim's journal, *Der Querschnitt* (1921–1936),[158] which showcased the latest trends in international modern art and literature in a stylish and resolutely apolitical manner.[159] With the exception of the portfolio *Hintergrund* (1928), Grosz rarely produced explicitly political images after 1925, possibly deterred by the negative

[157] Kathrin Hoffmann-Curtius, "Erotik im Blick des George Grosz," in Schuster, *George Grosz: Berlin-New York*, 185.

[158] Crockett, *German Post-Expressionism*, 57.

[159] Erika Esau, "'The Magazine of Enduring Value': *Der Querschnitt* (1921–36) and the World of Illustrated Magazines," in *The Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines*, vol. III, part II, ed. Peter Brooker et al. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 870.

publicity generated by the *Ecce Homo* trial.[160] However, the coalescence of Neue Sachlichkeit as a recognized style whose "masculine" qualities attracted mainstream approval may have prompted Grosz to engage more consistently with traditional painting styles and subjects.

In the 1925 exhibition in Mannheim, Grosz received his own gallery, described by Hartlaub as the "Herzstück" of the exhibition.[161] While some of the seven paintings represented Grosz's early style of chaotic futurism, the work that drew the most attention and acclaim was his portrait of Max Hermann-Neisse [fig. 58]. As one critic responded admiringly, "the painter of the symphonic witches' Sabbath shows in pictures from the years 1916 to 1925 a development that retains all technical and thematic freedom, but brings along something like a simplification of the image, a composed coolness, a clearer spatial form, up to the most recent painting, a portrait that knows how to combine compelling objectivity with its expressive technique."[162]

Grosz shows the well-known author, whose dwarfism and baldness contributed to his distinctive appearance, seemingly absorbed in thought. His oversized head and spectacles contribute to the impression of a formidable intellect. Although Hermann-Neisse regularly

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[160] *Hintergrund,* based on stage designs for Erwin Piscator's production of *The Good Soldier Schwejk*, was prosecuted for blasphemy due to its depiction of Christ in a gas mask. Another rare example of political imagery in Grosz's post-1925 work is *Der Agitator* (1928, Stedelijk Museum), depicting a manic Nazi sympathizer (note the tiny swastika pinned under his collar) addressing a bestial crowd. Hovering above him are an enormous military boot, a roast fowl, a bottle of wine, and an exposed female bottom glimpsed through a window, perhaps implying that the "agitator" derives as much pleasure from the concept of an authoritarian state as from more traditional sensual delights.

[161] Hille, *Spuren der Moderne,* 353n155. Unfortunately, no photographs of the original installation have survived. Grosz was also featured prominently in a Graphisches Kabinett devoted to works on paper; see Helen Adkins, "Neue Sachlichkeit—Deutsche Malerei seit dem Expressionismus, Mannheim 1925," in *Stationen der Moderne: Die bedeutenden Kunstausstellungen des 20. Jahrhunderts in Deutschland,* ed. Michael Bollé and Eva Züchner (Berlin: Berlinische Galerie, 1988), 219.

[162] "… der Maler des symphonischen Hexensabbats, zeigt in Bildern der Jahre 1916 bis 1925 eine Entwicklung, die alle technische und thematische Freiheit bewahrt, doch etwas wie Vereinfachung der Bildgestalt, beruhigte Kühle, deutlichere Raumform mit sich bringt, bis hin zum jüngsten Bild, einem Porträt, das zwingende Objektivität mit seiner ausdrucksvollen Technik zu verbinden weiß." L.F., review of *Neue Sachlichkeit*, *Frankfurter Zeitung,* July 20, 1925, quoted in Hille, *Spuren der Moderne*, 144–145.

performed at cabarets, Grosz gives no hint of these bohemian tendencies; instead, he presents the author as the ultimate image of the "sachlich" man, emotionally aloof and driven only by rational thought. Over the next two years, Grosz completed a half-dozen further portraits of subjects including Walter Mehring, Wieland Herzfelde, author John Förste, scholar Felix Weil, and celebrity boxer Max Schmeling.[163] Working in an Old Master-inspired technique that combined oil and tempera, Grosz seemed prepared to assert his masculinity in a new way: not through the accusatory exposure of female sexuality, but through establishing his relation to a centuries-deep lineage of (male) painters working in a naturalistic tradition. Even his portrayal of his wife shifted in a more conventional direction. In *Self-Portrait with a Model* (1928) [fig. 59], Peter is no longer an urban prostitute or a potential target of *Lustmord*; she is simply an artist's model who turns her back to the viewer and holds a piece of fabric modestly in front of her legs.

While in 1922 he had openly scorned the "neue Gegenständlichkeit," Grosz must have been somewhat gratified by the positive publicity he attained through the 1925 exhibition, even joking that he intended to put "Mitbegründer von Neue Sachlichkeit" on his calling card.[164] His embrace of this new status is suggested by a 1926 self-portrait showing the artist comfortably ensconced in his studio, a fluffy dog in his lap, with a blank canvas on the easel behind him [fig. 60]. This work makes an illuminating comparison with *Street Scene with Draftsman* (c. 1917) [fig. 61], in which Grosz, seated at his drafting table, confronts a bestially grinning man who in turn regards a crouching nude woman with a violently disfigured face; to the artist's right is a stick-figure child in a pose of alarm. If Grosz imagined himself circa 1917 immersed in the

[163] Incidentally, 1925 was also the publication date of Herrmann-Neisse's *Die Begegnung,* a collection of four short stories widely considered to be his first contribution to the literature of Neue Sachlichkeit.

[164] Grosz to Otto Schmalhausen, 1927, in Knust, *George Grosz: Briefe,* 104.

depraved activities of nocturnal Berlin, about a decade later, he depicted himself as serene and secure, no longer drawing feverishly, but waiting patiently for his next painting subject to arrive.

While the image of contemporary women remained essentially static in much of Grosz's work, his contemporary Karl Hubbuch took a different approach to the phenomenon of destabilized gender norms. The next chapter considers how Hubbuch's experience of compromised masculinity differed from Grosz's, and how his role as an instructor at a newly coeducational institution compelled him to consider with the emergence of a new kind of woman—one who was no longer defined exclusively as a predatory cocotte but as a potential producer of art.

III. Karl Hubbuch

"*It is not yet time to make a conclusive judgment on the curious art of Hubbuch's abundance of faces. But it possesses opportunities to create a documentary and most wonderful customer of the people of our time.*"[165]

Consider the poster-sized self-portrait with which Karl Hubbuch advertised his first solo gallery exhibition, which took place in 1924 at Kunsthandlung Trittler, Frankfurt [fig. 62].[166] Drawn with a lithographic crayon, it stands over one-and-a-half feet high and is mounted to board, with the stiff backing indicating functional nature that this work once served.[167] Even the use of the thick, greasy lithographic crayon, which Hubbuch employed often for his drawings in the mid-1920s, suggests that he was thinking in the visual language of the poster. Propped in the gallery window, it would have announced to the viewer what kind of work to expect within, and what kind of artistic persona produced that work.

Hubbuch's upper body occupies at least half of the available space, in a three-quarter frontal view that deliberately exceeds the compositional frame. His forehead is truncated by the upper border of the support, and his hands are concealed by the tilted rectangular inset that announces the subject of the exhibition: "Drawings and Lithos by Karl Hubbuch." The artist's

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[165] "Es ist noch nicht an der Zeit, ein abschließendes Urteil über die eigenartige, unter der Fülle von Gesichten stehende Kunst Hubbuchs abzugeben. Aber diese besitzt Möglichkeiten zur Schaffung einer dokumentarischen und höchst wunderbaren Kunde von dem Menschen unserer Zeit." F.R., "Ausstellungsbresprechung," *Frankfurter Generalanzeiger,* 1924, quoted in *Karl Hubbuch: Retrospektive,* ed. Erika Rödiger-Diruf, Sylvia Bieber, and Dürten Hartmann (Stuttgart: G. Hatje, 1993), 161.

[166] *Karl Hubbuch: Zeichnungen und Skizzen* (Munich: Michael Hasenclever, 1981), cat. 28. The presumable dates were October 1–30, based on an alternate version of this work (see fig. 63).

[167] Hubbuch would return to the format of large drawings mounted to board in the months immediately after World War II, when he created propaganda for a local Antifa group in the town of Rastatt; see Karl-Ludwig Hofmann and Christmut Präger, "'Aufrämungsarbeiten!'—Karl Hubbuch und die Antifa," in *Karl Hubbuch 1891–1979*, ed. Helmut Goettl, Wolfgang Hartmann, and Michael Schwarz (Karlsruhe: Badischer Kunstverein Karlsruhe, 1981), 65–70. A large collection of this material is now in the Deutsches Historisches Museum, Berlin.

name appears as a dramatic signature, the lower loop of the "H" dipping showily below the sign-within-a-sign. Although Hubbuch's hands are obscured, the position of his left arm, extended forward slightly, suggests that he is proffering a comically large business card.

This drawing / poster hybrid announces Hubbuch as a self-confident representative of the post-expressionist moment while identifying him with its masculine-gendered qualities of sobriety or emotional restraint. Hubbuch's outfit, an impeccably fitted suit jacket complete with a tie and striped shirt, seems more appropriate for a slick businessman than a bohemian artist. His gaze is both antagonistic and skeptical. Hubbuch's left eye, with its exaggerated surrounding lids, suggests an apotropaic talisman, at once drawing in and repelling the viewer. The intense furrow of his brow suggests the massive internal pressure being exerted from within to maintain this carefully constructed, self-contained persona. Drawing functions here as an ostentatious display of "objectivity," in which line describes the contour of a face or the fluting of a pilaster with equal weight and precision. The greasiness of the lithographic crayon allows the artist to make bold, heavy strokes that convey confidence, authority, and mastery.

Equally important for the drawing's impact is its background: not the studio, the classic locus of the self-portrait, but the street. Behind Hubbuch is the façade of a multi-story building, and at left are three figures: a woman with a revealing attire and a leering smile—probably a prostitute; a grinning, bespectacled man; and a stern man in a hat, perhaps representing a street-hardened detective, if not a criminal. A second version of this image, almost identical in size, shows Hubbuch in a slightly less cropped view; in the group of figures, the tough-looking man has been replaced by a grave-faced child [fig. 63]. In both cases, Hubbuch defines himself in opposition to an implied urban mass composed of promiscuous women, unscrupulous criminals, and streetwise children.

Perhaps the reviewer for the *Frankfurter Generalanzeiger* saw the first version in the window when he visited the gallery, and, with that in mind, described Hubbuch's potential to become "a documentary and most wonderful customer of the people of our time." The phrase invites us to imagine Hubbuch as a consumer who "shops" for the best "products," the products in this case being people encountered in public spaces, available to be looked at, drawn, and thereby "consumed." Given Hubbuch's emphatically professional attire, the metaphor seems relevant: he appears in the guise of a professional, most likely a businessman, deeply embedded in a network of exchange, control, and consumption. Even the reviewer's characterization of Hubbuch's work as an "abundance of faces" invokes the idea of ever-more-plentiful goods that drives a capitalist economy.

Hubbuch's self-portrait-poster hybrid shares affinities with Otto Dix's *An die Schönheit* (1922), which treats a similar subject in a highly controlled painting [fig. 64]. Dix inverts Max Klinger's etching of the same title, replacing Klinger's image of the boundlessness of nature with a nightclub interior populated by highly artificial types. Dressed, like Hubbuch, in a tailored suit Dix grips a telephone (rather than a brush and palette), an item associated both with business and with the technologized warfare of World War I.[168] He defines himself in opposition to the exoticized "other," represented cumulatively by the black musician and the Native American figure on his drum set, and the gaudy mannequins and the couple, with sensually flushed faces, who figure in the feminized atmosphere of the dance hall. Key to both Hubbuch's and Dix's self-portraits is the creation of an impenetrable masculine persona that defends each artist against the threat of a feminized mass.

[168] Änne Söll, "'An die Schönheit'—Selbst, Männlichkeit und Moderne in Otto Dix Selbstbildnis von 1922," in *Der schöne Körper: Mode und Kosmetik in Kunst und Gesellschaft*, ed. Annette Geiger (Cologne: Böhlau, 2008), 165n36.

This chapter will examine moments in Hubbuch's work at which a fortified masculine identity begins to falter or shift. I argue that this process of destabilization happens in relation to changes in Hubbuch's perception of the feminine other. After his early, limited depictions of women in the roles of either mother or prostitute, Hubbuch later attempted to engage seriously with the concept of the new woman, and with the challenge that this figure posed to entrenched notions of femininity. However, the figure of the prostitute ultimately returned to his work after 1930, once again serving as a symbol of crisis.

Section one considers Hubbuch's early period as an art student, its interruption by war, and the effect of these events on his construction of a masculine artistic persona. Section two considers his representations of Berlin in the early 1920s as reactions to the ongoing crisis of the city's supposedly "formless"—and by extension, feminine—qualities. Hubbuch's cityscapes suggest the necessity of constructing a stable, clearly delineated masculine identity as a defense against the city's threatening lack of form, while his complex political satires repeatedly invoke the prostitute as integral to the experience of urban modernity.

Section three considers how Hubbuch shifted from depicting women in the limited guise of the prostitute to engaging substantially with the idea of the new woman. His portraits of the later 1920s envision women as shifting sets of characteristics, poses, and attitudes, rather than as collections of calcified stereotypes. A major impetus for this turn was Hubbuch's student, Hilde Isai, who briefly became his wife. In addition to Hubbuch's portraits of Isai, which suggest the inherent multiplicity of the new woman, the pair's collaborative experiments with photography turned the studio into a space where gender roles acquired a new flexibility. While Hubbuch's portraits attempted to present female sexuality as a positive force rather than a negative menace, his ultimate condemnation for "harlot-painting" ("Hurenmalerei") in the early 1930s

demonstrates how this resurgent figure generated reactionary responses.[169] Revisiting Hubbuch's confrontation with shifting gender norms in the earliest stages of his career may help us to understand how these issues came to play a central role in his work.

A. Origins

Hubbuch enrolled as a drawing student in 1908 at Karlsruhe's Grossherzogliche Badische Akademie der bildenden Künste, one of the most important art academies in Germany. The most detailed account of his early student days comes from *Feet of Clay* (*Tönerne Füße*), volume two of Rudolf Schlichter's two-part autobiography.[170] Schlichter recalls Hubbuch as a liminal figure who gravitated towards Schlichter's group of "Ultramoderns" without ever joining it fully.

> there was only one man among the company of academics, who was not only pleasant to us, but even compelled respect. He drew very precisely, but without the annoying pedantry of the diligent. Although he made the impression of an eccentric, his behavior was free from the arrogant secrecy which always leads to uneasy frictions within such collectives. To his classmates he applied an acceptable comradely behavior, but avoided any intimate approach. We soon realized that he preferred our group to the others. Yet he never took part in our rough jokes; he only smiled sympathetically, when we occasionally harassed one of these nerds. The only thing he took part in were discussions about art. In this case, he always stood out through bold claims and complicated trains of thought. For a long time we saw nothing from him except his well-drawn heads. After about half a year of our acquaintance, Zack discovered by chance in an art shop unusual drawings by him. We looked with interest at the strange sheets. There were mysterious empty rooms, where ghostly furniture or terrifying instruments lay around, crumpled beds, more like the teleplasma of spiritual phenomena than real human deposits. Bare walls, hung with sinister crucifixes or apparatuses, grinned at you. On other sheets, one saw desolate city courtyards, façades covered with repulsive ornaments, with staring black windowsills. All this was drawn with thin, very precise pencil strokes and lifted by a light coloration into a ghostly sphere. It was exactly the sober precision of his stroke that increased the

[169] See the present text, p. 103, note 252.

[170] Schlichter enrolled at the Karlsruhe Academy in 1910 after beginning his studies at the Kunstgewerbeschule Stuttgart. He co-founded Gruppe Rih in 1919 and moved to Berlin later that year, where he participated in the First International Dada Fair in 1920. His work appeared in the Neue Sachlichkeit exhibition in 1925. The first volume of his autobiography, *Das widerspenstige Fleisch,* appeared in 1932. A planned third volume was never published due to the ascent of the National Socialist government.

> effect of eerie fantasy. We were all surprised and a little struck. Our respect for him grew. … The result of this insight into the creations of this striking oddball was a stronger mutual approach. But this only worked to a certain extent, when suddenly reserve began with him and mistrust prevailed among us. He remained henceforth a stranger to us.[171]

Hans Kinkel describes a large pencil drawing titled *Ich* (1911) as "perhaps the only surviving evidence of this period of work." This drawing reveals Hubbuch's "unconventional attitude" and "surrender to the grotesque-shocking punch line."[172] An exquisite interior complete with Jugendstil wallpaper and carpet, an open wardrobe hung with long, dandyish jackets, and a caned chair strewn with personal grooming implements acquires a fantastic element through the presence of two masks, one scowling and one grinning, strung from a clothesline [fig. 65]. In this self-portrait, the self is imagined as a constellation of moving parts to be re-arranged endlessly around an invisible core. Hubbuch later explained this image: "Everything that belongs to

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[171] "… befand sich unter der Schar der Akademiker nur noch ein Mann, der uns nicht nur angenehm war, sondern sogar Achtung abnötigte. Er zeichnete sehr präzis, aber ohne die auf die Nerven gehende Pedanterie der Fleißbolde. Obgleich er den Eindruck eines Sonderlings machte, war sein Benehmen doch frei von der hochmütigen Absonderungssucht, die innerhalb solcher Kollektivs stets zu unguten Reibereien führt. Seinen Mitschülern gegenüber befleißigte er sich eines korrekten kameradschaftlichen Verhaltens, vermied aber jede intime Annäherung. Wir merkten auch bald, daß er unsere Gruppe den anderen vorzog. Doch beteiligte er sich nie an unseren rauhen Scherzen; er lächelte nur verständnisvoll, wenn wir hin und wieder einen dieser Streber zum Platzen brachten. Das einzige, woran er sich beteiligte, waren Diskussionen über Kunst. Hierbei fiel er jedesmal durch kühne Behauptungen und komplizierte Gedankengänge auf. Lange Zeit bekamen wir außer seinen gutgezeichneten Köpfen nichts von ihm zu sehen. Erst nach ungefähr einem halben Jahr unserer Bekanntschaft entdeckte Zack einmal durch Zufall in einem Kunstladen merkwürdige Zeichnungen von ihm. Interessiert schauten wir uns die seltsamen Blätter an. Da sah man mysteriöse leere Zimmer, in denen gespenstige Möbel standen oder schauerliche Instrumente herumlagen, zerknüllte Betten, die eher dem Teleplasma spiritistischer Erscheinungen glichen als wirklichen menschlichen Lagerstätten. Kahle Wände, mit unheimlichen Kruzifixen oder Apparaten behangen, grinsten einem entgegen. Auf anderen Blättern sah man trostlose Großstadthinterhäuser, Fassaden, bedeckt von widerwärtigen Ornamenten mit glotzenden schwarzen Fensterhöhlen. Das alles war mit dünnen, sehr exakten Bleistiftstrichen gezeichnet und durch eine leichte Kolorierung in eine geisterhafte Sphäre gehoben. Gerade die nüchterne Präzision seines Striches erhöhte die Wirkung schauerlicher Phantastik. Wir waren alle überrascht und etwas vor den Kopf geschlagen. Unser Respekt vor ihm wuchs. … Die Folge dieses Einblicks in das Schaffen des auffallenden Sonderlings war eine stärkere gegenseitige Annäherung. Doch gedieh diese nur bis zu einem gewissen Punkt, wo bei ihm plötzlich die Reserve begann und bei uns das Mißtrauen einsetzte. Er blieb uns auch fernerhin fremd." Rudolf Schlichter, *Tönerne Füße* (1933; repr., Berlin: Edition Hentrich, 1992), 95–96. "Zack" refers to Julius Kaspar (1888–1922); see Hans Kinkel, *Der frühe Hubbuch: Zeichnungen und Druckgraphik 1911 bis 1925* (Bremen: Kunsthalle Bremen, 1973), n.p.

[172] "dem vielleicht einzigen erhaltenen Zeugnis jener Arbeitsdekade"; "unkonventionelle Attitüde"; "Auslieferung an die grotesk-schockierende Pointe …." Ibid., n.p.

outward "appearance" (except for the hands) is there: head in two moods, clothes, and shoes. At the time, I went around in 'self-designed' clothes (in Berlin I quickly broke myself of this habit)."[173] The interplay between the banal interior scene and the "punchline" of the artist's face imagined as a pair of comic and tragic masks prefigures Hubbuch's later interest in testing the boundaries of "objectivity." His depiction of "objectivity" incorporates moments at which observed reality gives way to a latent sense of stylized disquiet.

In 1912, Hubbuch moved to Berlin to study drawing at the Kunstgewerbeschule under Emil Orlik. Describing himself as a "cheerful loner," he sought out quiet spots around the city to draw.[174] One attraction that Hubbuch visited at least once was Castan's Panoptikum, comprising wax-figure models of important historical figures, genre scenes, and a "chamber of horrors."[175] In two pencil drawings (circa 1913–1914) [figs. 66–67], Hubbuch depicts part of a tableau containing the figures of Adolph Menzel and Friedrich Schiller. The figure of Menzel, famously aloof from society despite his towering artistic acclaim, may have exerted a particular fascination for Hubbuch the self-described loner.

Hubbuch's studies were cut short by the outbreak of war in 1914. He apparently reported to Heidelberg for mobilization, and after a brief deployment in France, spent the rest of the war

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173 "Es ist alles drauf (außer den Händen), was zur äußeren 'Erscheinung' gehört: Kopf in 2erlei Stimmung, Kleidung und Schuhe. Ich bin damals in 'selbstentworfenen' Kleidern rumgelaufen (in Berlin habe ich mirs dann sehr schnell abgewöhnt)." Hubbuch to Hans Kinkel, March 25, 1970, in Kinkel, *Der frühe Hubbuch,* n.p.

174 "fröhlicher Einzelgänger"; Hubbuch to Hans Kinkel, February 19, 1970, in ibid., n.p.

175 Founded by sculptor Louis Castan and his brother Gustav in 1869, the Panoptikum quickly became one of Berlin's most popular tourist attractions, although its popularity declined gradually after the turn of the century. Castan's Panopticum should not be confused with the Passage-Panopticum in the Kaisergalerie shopping arcades, a rival institution established after Castan's moved from the Kaisergalerie to the Pschorrbräu-Haus (across the street) in 1888. Peter Letkemann, "Das Berliner Panoptikum: Namen, Häuser und Schicksale," *Mitteilungen des Vereins für die Geschichte Berlins* 69, no. 11 (July 1973): 322. Hubbuch seems to have confused the two institutions in his inscription on the verso of the first drawing, which reads "IN CASTANS PANOPTIKUM / (SCHILLER UND MENZEL)" at left and "das alte Panoptikum in der Lindenpassage" at right; presumably, he also visited the Passage-Panoptikum around the same time and later conflated them in his memory.

in Tyrol, Galicia, and the Carpathian mountains, where he served as a cannoneer, driver, and telephone operator.[176] While Hubbuch created relatively few works that deal with his wartime experience, those still extant document moments at which the fragility or tenuousness of masculine identity is revealed.

Many Germans greeted the outbreak of war as an opportunity to re-energize a collective masculinity weakened by the decadence of modern civilization.[177] A common belief was that the "iron bath" of war would strengthen and refresh nerves weakened by physical idleness and the confusing, depleting stimuli of modern urban life.[178] This attitude is embodied in Ernst Barlach's *Holy War*, which appeared in the December 16, 1914 issue of Paul Cassirer's *Wartime* [fig. 68].[179] Barlach's imposing figure, described as "crystallized war, a storm over all obstacles," strides toward the viewer, poised in the moment of greatest tension, as he prepares to strike the enemy with his curved sword.

Hubbuch seems to react quite differently to the onset of war in the small drawing *Hurra* [fig. 69]. A mysterious vehicle carries an assortment of figures on its back. The vehicle appears to be part mechanical and part organic; it perches on enormous rickety wheels and billows smoke from a chimney-like attachment; yet there is something animalistic about its squat, round shape and powerful, bird-like jaws. Perhaps this hybrid figure is meant as a travesty of the *Reichsadler,* or imperial eagle. This interpretation is perhaps reinforced by the unmistakable likeness of

[176] Wolfgang Hartmann, "Karl Hubbuch: Leben und Werk," in Rödiger-Diruf, Bieber, and Hartmann, *Karl Hubbuch: Retrospektive*, 36.

[177] Lerner, *Hysterical Men*, 45.

[178] Ibid., 45–46.

[179] At this time, Barlach had not yet experienced the brief period of military service that would transform his perspective from enthusiastic endorsement of the war to staunch pacifism.

Kaiser Wilhelm II, with his moustache, crown, orb, and scepter, adorning the side of the vehicle. The vehicle's "head" is steered by a soldier who appears oblivious or indifferent to the beseeching figure behind him. A figure wearing long robes and carrying a scythe over his shoulder—perhaps the figure of death—gazes impassively at the retreating vehicle. While Barlach visualizes the outset of war as embodied by single heroic figure, Hubbuch seems to view it as disorderly, surreal, and already beyond human control.

Hubbuch's documentation of precarious masculinity continues in *Musterung und Abreise,* where conscripted men lining up for their medical examinations [fig. 70]. The men's discarded clothes are draped over a partition, contrasting humorously with the flags and banners above, the jaunty patriotism of which is countered and deflated by the shirts with their helplessly dangling arms. The recruits, meanwhile, look more confused than heroic. The figure half-visible at left, who seems to peer anxiously into the scene, bears a faint resemblance to Hubbuch himself. By encasing this scene in a scalloped border with decorative medallions, Hubbuch may be alluding to popular "reservists' pictures" used to commemorate military service. Such works often included a space above the neck where a soldier's photograph could be inserted [fig. 71]. Surrounded by abundant decorative flourishes, the soldier thus depicted is ennobled and removed from the brutal reality of warfare. In Hubbuch's drawing, however, the inherent humiliation and confusion of conscription is highlighted rather than disguised.

Hubbuch contracted malaria late in the war, and recovered from 1918 to 1920 at the home of his parents, who had moved from Karlsruhe to the small rural town of Neuenburg. Scholars have generally downplayed the war's effect on Hubbuch's self-perception. For example, Achim Gnann claims about his postwar images of Neuenburg, "[w]ith drawings and etchings of the idyllic village life, he sought to completely suppress his thoughts about the

terrible wartime experiences."[180] Similarly, Eva Karcher, under the heading "War as Marginal Experience," claims that the war had little or no effect on Hubbuch's work: "In contrast to Otto Dix, for whom the war was a lasting key experience, for which he needed decades of drawing and painting, Hubbuch negates this event."[181]

However, Hubbuch does appear to meditate on a sense of disturbed masculinity in several postwar works. In the etching *Self-Portrait as Soldier (Der Invalide)* (1919), Hubbuch appears as an idle, isolated, and melancholy figure, resting impotently with folded hands as a modest cloud of smoke billows from his cigarette [fig. 72]. He appears alienated from the other residents of his small town, not only set apart by illness, perhaps, but by his traumatic wartime experiences. This work might be compared with Dix's *Selbstbildnis als Soldat* from 1917 [fig. 73], one of several works on this theme that Dix made both during and after the war. Dix looks askance at the viewer as he slouches against a ledge, his teeth bared and gripping a cigarette spouting vigorous plumes of smoke. Though idle, Dix appears menacing and alert, as if he might spring to action if provoked. Hubbuch, on the other hand, presents himself as a powerless figure marooned in a strange setting.

In the etching *Der Taubstumme (Selbstbildnis)* (1920) [fig. 74], Hubbuch depicts himself mid-yawn in the guise of a "deaf-mute," taking on the identity of a victim of shell shock. As he later recalled of his wartime experience, "[o]ne had survived these years more or less

[180] "Mit Zeichnungen und Radierungen des idyllischen Dorflebens suchte er hier seine Gedanken an die schrecklichen Kriegerlebnisse ganz zu verdrängen." Achim Gnann, *Karl Hubbuch und seine Modelle* (Munich: Scaneg, 2001), 17.

[181] "Krieg als Randerlebnis"; "In Gegensatz zu Otto Dix, für den der Krieg ein nachhaltiges Schlüsselerlebnis war, zu dessen Verarbeitung er Jahrzehnte des Zeichnens und Malens brauchte, negiert Hubbuch dieses Ereignis." Eva Karcher, "Die Abgründe des Alltäglichen," in *Karl Hubbuch: Druckgraphik* (Munich: Michael Hasenclever, 1983), n.p.

damaged."[182] Returning to Berlin in the early 1920s, he found new occasions to engage with the topic of damaged or threatened masculinity as he confronted the threatening space of the city.

B. "Formless" Berlin

After a period of renewed study in Karlsruhe as a master student of etching instructor Walter Conz, Hubbuch returned to Berlin in 1922 (where he studied again with Orlik) and in 1924. He began to focus with unprecedented intensity on depicting the city's architecture and distinctive sense of space.[183] Unlike Karlsruhe, a "Fächerstadt" (fan city) that radiates outward from its central palace according to a precise shape, Berlin has no single dominant center. The apparent formlessness of the city, a space already coded as feminine, posed a particular threat to masculine identity that Hubbuch sought to explore in his cityscapes.

The heterogeneous nature of the Berlin cityscape triggered a variety of critical reactions in the early twentieth century. August Endell's *Die Schönheit des großen Stadt* (1908) argued that the modern city (implied to be Berlin) has a distinctive beauty that artists should regard as equal the beauty of nature. Ludwig Meidner's "Guide to Painting the Metropolis" (1914) demanded that artists engage with the city's chaotic elements using the energetic geometries of futurism.[184] However, these positive approaches were countered by Karl Scheffler's *Berlin: Ein*

[182] "… Man hatte diese Jahre mehr oder weniger lädiert überstanden." Hubbuch, handwritten note from the archive of Michael Hasenclever, Munich, quoted in Gnann, *Karl Hubbuch und seine Modelle,* 49n100.

[183] These trips were financed through the patronage of Otto Oppenheimer, a rug merchant from Bruchsal. Sylvia Bieber suggests that the complex drawings produced during these trips were intended for Oppenheimer; Sylvia Bieber, "Stadtbilder—Menschenbilder. Zu den Berlin-Zeichnungen Karl Hubbuchs im Besitz der Städtischen Galerie Karlsruhe," in *Karl Hubbuch: Stadtbilder—Menschenbilder,* ed. Erika Rödiger-Diruf and Sylvia Bieber (Karlsruhe: Städtische Galerie, 2000), 26. From 1920 to 1922, Hubbuch resumed his studies at the Badische Landeskunstschule (renamed following the merger of the Akademie der bildenden Künste with the Kunstgewerbeschule in 1920) as a master student of Walter Conz and Ernst Würtenberger.

[184] Ludwig Meidner, "Anleitung zum Malen von Grossstadtbildern," *Kunst und Künstler* 12, no. 6 (March 1914): 312–314.

Stadschicksal (1910). Scheffler offers unrelenting scorn for Berlin, famously deeming it "the capital of all modern ugliness."[185] Berlin, he claims, is "like a gigantic emergency structure, and more difficult to comprehend as a unity than other cities."[186] Scheffler considers the lack of visual and spatial unity within the city to be a liability rather than an asset. The appearance of the city is a direct manifestation of the lack of unified identity among its inhabitants: "[t]he spirit condemned to formlessness has created a formless urban body."[187]

Hubbuch's cityscapes reveal an attempt to grapple with the threatening "formlessness" that Scheffler diagnoses. In some of these works, architecture takes on a monumental and menacing heft in relation to comparatively powerless spectators. *Vor dem Schloss* (etching, 1922) [fig. 75] depicts a side view of the Kaiser-Wilhelm-Denkmal that mostly obscures the figure of the young man personifying peace, highlighting instead the pair of lions and the winged female figures. These sculpted figures are drawn with such insistent clarity that they seem poised to spring to life and devour the uneasy spectators gathered at the monument's base. A similar effect characterizes *In einem Museum I* (drawing, 1922), where a low-angle view of the Castor and Pollux casts on the first floor of the Neues Museum emphasizes the powerful sculptural forms of the mythical twins, who are far more distinct than the cluster of spectators at right [fig. 76].

Figural architectural ornamentation receives a heightened, nearly surreal emphasis in *Hauseingang in der Potsdamer Straße* (1924) and *Hochbahn und Bücherstand* (1924) [figs. 77–78]. In the former, lions guarding a building entrance emerge with startling precision from a

[185] "die Hauptstadt aller modernen Häßlichkeit." Karl Scheffler, *Berlin: Ein Stadtschicksal* (Berlin: E. Reiss, 1910), 200.

[186] "Berlin ist … wie ein riesiges Notgebilde und schwerer als andere Städte als Einheit zu begreifen." Ibid., 7.

[187] "Der zur Formlosigkeit verdammte Geist hat sich einen formlosen Stadtkörper gebildet." Ibid., 49.

composition that quickly dissolves into blankness around its edges. In *Hochbahn und Bücherstand*, which shows one of the distinctive ornamental columns of the Bülowstraße station, Hubbuch lavishes attention on the stone face adorning the column and the architecture of the elevated rail track.[188] The insistent boldness of the lines describing these areas, enhanced with a lithographic crayon, seems like an attempt to convey the weight and tactility of iron and stone. As these details emerge with surreal intensity from a mostly blank background, they acquire a vital force that overwhelms the more casually sketched street vendors below the bridge.[189]

Other works that experiment with fullness and absence seem to investigate the role of advertising in creating a hallucinatory spatial experience. In *Admiralspalast* and *Theater am Nollendorfplatz* (pencil, lithographic crayon, and colored chalk, 1924) [figs. 79–80]*,* the depicted theater entrances seem to dissolve and coalesce simultaneously. Touches of colored chalk, such as the repeating "9 Monate" in *Admiralspalast* or the red advertising poster in *Nollendorfplatz,* create a hypnotic effect. These works seem to invoke the feminized quality of mass culture as a key factor in the hallucinatory formlessness of the city, as hinted at in *Admiralspalast* by a poster featuring a leg-flashing showgirl. The interplay between form and formlessness also becomes visible in *Ecke Leipziger- und Friedrichstraße* (drypoint, 1922)*,* where a subway construction site beneath a façade covered in advertising material dissolves abruptly at the bottom of the composition [fig. 81].

The link between the city's formlessness and its femininity becomes especially evident in *Jannowitzbrücke* (etching, 1922) [fig. 82]. Hubbuch, a ghostly, barely visible presence at lower

[188] This station, dedicated to the Prussian general Friedrich Wilhelm Freiherr von Bülow, opened in 1902.

[189] Note that the male half-figure in the foreground of *Hochbahn und Bücherstand* was added years later, somewhat mitigating the original impact of the monumental female head. Hubbuch added similar figures to a number of his 1920s architectural drawings in the 1950s, recognizable by their loosely drawn quality. Bieber, "Stadtbilder—Menschenbilder," 33, 36n35.

left, witnesses a dispute between a police officer and a belligerent man, which is also being watched by a prostitute and a group of vagrants. The densely-rendered detail of the iron bridge, building facades, and advertising signs contrasts with areas of extreme absence, as if the steam emitted from the locomotive at upper right is also engulfing the lower left of the composition and literally dissolving the figure of the artist.[190] One critic offered the following praise: "the dreadfulness of certain parts of the Berlin cityscape … he has marvelously and surely felt through and worked out."[191] Surely the "dreadfulness" the critic has in mind is not simply the visual irritant of advertising, but also the presence of distasteful characters—above all, prostitutes—who lurk in liminal spaces like the banks of the Spree.

A pair of self-portrait drawings from 1924 suggest how Hubbuch responded to the city's disorientation by constructing his own version of fortified masculinity. In *Selbstporträt im Kronprinzenpalais* (drawing, 1924), he depicts himself full-length within a large framed mirror, as if imagining his self-portrait already hanging on the museum's walls [fig. 83]. To the right is the façade of the Zeughaus, which had served as a military museum since 1875. A sculptural finger points sharply towards the Zeughaus. Uwe Schneede claims that Hubbuch sets up a scathing contrast between the world of art and that of a militaristic ex-monarchy: "Secured in a place of rest and art, the artist takes a look at the exterior of another museum, a museum that tells the history of the army: two museum situations that stand for different attitudes to social reality; two kinds of culture, the humane [culture] of the individual, and the collective delusion, which is raised to the point of monumental monstrosity; creative potential and militant potential;

[190] This work was featured in the portfolio *Die Schaffenden*, as well as an issue of *Der Knüppel*.

[191] "die Scheußlichkeit gewisser Partien des Berliner Stadtbildes … hat er fabelhaft sicher herausgefühlt und herausgearbeitet." Lh., "Karlsruher Künstler bei Schaller," *Schwäbischer Merkur*, March 8, 1923, quoted in Rödiger-Diruf, Bieber, and Hartmann, *Karl Hubbuch: Retrospektive*, 158–59.

incitement to thoughtfulness and to refreshment and incitement to war and struggle, concealed by a state aesthetic."[192]

Hubbuch's depiction of the interior of the Zeughaus (*Im Zeughaus*, drawing, 1922 or 1924) does seem to express an antimilitaristic sentiment through the confrontation between a display of bristling weaponry, helmed by a fierce sculpture of Germania, and a timid boy [fig. 84]. However, Hubbuch may also have been highly conscious of Ludwig Justi's 1919 conversion of the Kronprinzenpalais into a "Galerie der Lebenden" (gallery of living artists).[193] Perhaps this self-portrait attempts to envision the inclusion of his work in a future iteration of the "Galerie der Lebenden." By imagining his work securely incorporated into a major institution, he approaches the space of the Kronprinzenpalais as a refuge from the formless threat of the city, envisioning himself safely contained within the mirror's frame.

The second major self-portrait, *Berliner Reise* (watercolor, 1924), again shows Hubbuch attempting to establish a fixed masculine identity in response to a diffuse urban threat [fig. 85]. Hubbuch confronts the viewer with an expression of exaggerated surprise or puzzlement as he prepares to removing or put on his jacket, a situation made more ambiguous by his partly undone shirt and rolled sleeves. Beside him, a man playing a harmonica seems entirely self-absorbed, while a woman leaning backward with raised arms seems to be dozing, as does a third man at

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[192] "Geborgen an einem Ort der Ruhe und der Künste, ausgegrenzt, wirft der Künstler einen Blick auf das Äußere eines anderen Museums, eines Museums, in dem die Geschichte des Heeres erzählt wird: zwei museale Situationen, die für unterschiedliche Haltungen zur gesellschaftlichen Wirklichkeit stehen; zweierlei Kultur, die humane des Individuums und die waffenstarrende, zum Denkmal erhobene kollektiven Wahns; schöpferisches Potential und militantes Potential; Anstiftung zur Nachdenklichkeit und zur Einkehr und Anstiftung zu Krieg und Kampf, kaschiert durch eine staatliche Ästhetik." Uwe Schneede, "Hubbuch, Grosz, Nerlinger," in *Karl Hubbuch, 1891–1979,* ed. Helmut Goettl, Wolfgang Hartmann, and Michael Schwarz (Karlsruhe: Badischer Kunstverein, 1981), 40.

[193] Justi, director of the Nationalgalerie, installed nineteenth-century work on the ground floor and twentieth-century work on the upper floor, primarily by artists associated with expressionism. This decision was controversial and led to an ongoing feud between Justi and Karl Scheffler; see Timo Saalmann, "Der Berliner Museumskrieg," in *Kunstpolitik der Berliner Museen, 1919–1959* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014), 55–61.

right whose head is tipped forward. The window behind this group reveals a typical Berlin view: elevated tracks, buildings, snippets of advertisements (for coffee, sugar, and tea), and figures idling near a pair of circus wagons, identified as a prostitute, a pimp, and their client.[194]

Leaning against the chair at left is what appears to be a silver frame, providing a clue to the setting of this image: it must be Hubbuch's studio, or studio-residence, during his last Berlin trip. This is further suggested by the still life of a partially eaten meal on the table, a feature Hubbuch often includes in other works set in his studio. The figures, then, might be friends, models, or fellow artists, but their actual relationship to Hubbuch and to one other remains mysterious. The artist demonstrates masterful control over the competing demands of form and formlessness, balancing the nearly sculptural folds of his hair and shirt with the pale blue wash that seems on the verge of dissolving his companions. The edge of Hubbuch's shirt sleeve appears to touch the woman's outstretched arm, linking the two figures yet maintaining their separation. Hubbuch manipulates the viewer's sense of reality by rendering the building and elevated train track in the background with excessive clarity, while delineating objects and figures in the foreground with a much lighter touch. Drawn with faint lines and engulfed in a delicate wash, the studio companions seem to inhabit a separate, dreamlike dimension, whereas the confrontation outside the window seems emphatically real. With this self-portrait, Hubbuch seemingly declares his ability to capture the formless or phantasmagorical elements of the metropolis without being consumed by them.

Wolfgang Hartmann argues that this work commemorates Hubbuch's third and final departure from the capital and showcases his new self-confidence as a mature artist prepared to resume his career in Karlsruhe: "The meal is over, as the meager still-life leftovers on the table in

[194] Wolfgang Hartmann, *Karl Hubbuch: Der Zeichner* (Stuttgart: Verlag Gerd Hatje, 1991), 27.

the foreground indicate, the picture frame is empty, there's nothing left to do. The artist takes his jacket to go. … nobody takes notice of his departure."[195] Although this explanation provides a satisfying narrative, it seems unlikely that Hubbuch would have known definitively in 1924 that he would not return to Berlin. Rather than a valediction, *Berliner Reise* might function more as another instance of Hubbuch's attempt to fortify himself against the feminized formlessness of the city, represented both by the prostitute seen through the window and the dozing woman whose sexual availability is implied by her pose and the suggestive patch of hair beneath her raised arm.

Around the time of his return trips to Berlin, Hubbuch went through a brief period as an aspiring political satirist, likely spurred by the influence of Grosz.[196] The significance of the prostitute as an iconographic element in these images has been essentially overlooked. Hubbuch's use of prostitutes in images with explicit political intent underscores how this figure continued to serve as an essential symbol of political and moral corruption.

The figure of the prostitute recurs in a series of about 25 drypoints and lithographs, many incorporating self-portraits, which Hubbuch made between 1921 and 1922, just before he returned to Berlin. Typically set in elaborate architectural spaces, these works primarily depict "fierce disputes or a dull melancholy, dreamlike visions, romantic longings as well as

[195] "Die Mahlzeit ist beendet, wie die kargen stillebenhaften Reste auf dem Tisch im Vordergrund andeuten, der Bilderrahmen ist leer, es gibt nichts mehr zu tun. Der Künstler ergreift seine Jacke, um zu gehen. … von seinem Aufbruch nimmt niemand Notiz." Ibid.

[196] Hubbuch and Grosz met as students in the 1910s, and evidently renewed contact sometime after the war, possibly during Hubbuch's return trip to Berlin in 1922. They could have resumed contact as early as 1920 via Rudolf Schlichter, who moved to Berlin that year. Another former classmate of Hubbuch's who could have facilitated contact with Grosz was Georg Scholz. Scholz spent time in Berlin before the war and, like Schlichter, participated in the 1920 Dada-Messe. He maintained ties to Grosz and his circle after returning to teach at the BLKS in the 1920s, as indicated by the appearance of one of his lithographs in the 1924 issue of *Die Pleite*.

unfortunate or thwarted love affairs."[197] A major example is *Wissend und Blind* (drypoint, 1922), featuring a self-portrait of Hubbuch in a belligerent pose, bound to a seated, blindfolded figure, as well as an enormous telescope and a series of figural groupings. The artist later described this work [fig. 86]: "The two main figures add up to a single person: half energetic, purposeful, half sentimental and suffering, bound together with merciless ropes ... The telescope: wanting to see things better, more clearly, even distant ones. Tool, instrument for verism."[198] The bust of Dante suggests that Hubbuch imagines himself on a journey through the underworld.[199] On either side of the composition, prostitutes threaten the project of objective investigation with their brazenly tempting bodies.

Prostitutes became increasingly visible in Hubbuch's work Berlin upon his two return trips in 1922 and 1924. Berlin had become known for its seemingly rampant prostitution since the city's rapid expansion the late nineteenth century, and its reputation as the premiere site of decadence and vice only increased in the Weimar period.[200] Thomas Wehrling's "Berlin is Becoming a Whore" (1920) reflected a common perception that the city's streets had become engulfed with formerly respectable women who now behaved like whores. While the prostitute was often conceived in opposition to the innocent mother, Marsha Meskimmon notes that this

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[197] "heftige Auseinandersetzungen oder eine dumpfe Melancholie, traumhafte Vorstellungen, romantische Sehnsüchte sowie unglückliche oder unvollziehbare Liebschaften. … religiöse Handlungen, Gebets-oder Beichtszenen sowie den Gegensatz von Stadt und Land." Wolfgang Hartmann, "Wissend und Blind: Eine 'allégorie réelle' von Karl Hubbuch," *Zeitschrift des deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft* 37, no. 1–4 (1983): 141.

[198] "Die zwei Hauptfiguren ergeben in ihrer Summe einen Mensch: halb energetisch, zielbewußt, halb sentimental und erduldend, mit unbarmherzigen Stricken zusammengefesselt … Das Fernrohr: die Dinge besser sehen wollen, deutlicher, auch die entfernt liegenden. Werkzeug, Instrument für den Verismus." Hubbuch to Hans Kinkel, February 26, 1973, in Kinkel, *Der frühe Hubbuch,* n.p.

[199] Hubbuch also cast himself in the title role in a series of twelve etchings on *Faust* (1922).

[200] Curt Moreck's *Führer durch das "lasterhafte" Berlin* (1931) served as a travel guide for those wishing to explore the city's more risqué nightlife. For an analysis of this work, see Smith, *Berlin Coquette,* 139–150.

figure also tended to encode multiple meanings: "The prostitute could, simultaneously, be a frightening predator *and* a pathetic victim, a sexually desirable other *and* a disgusting carrier of disease and death …."[201]

In *Milly in Berlin* (1922), the prostitute bares her teeth voraciously, seemingly poised to devour the city [fig. 87]; in *Der Untertan* (1923), a prostitute eagerly dominates her client [fig. 88]. The prostitute also appears in *Statisten der konventionellen Sehnsucht* (1923) [fig. 89], where an inscrutable drama plays out on a stage-like scaffolding. The prostitute at lower center contrasts with the infant and hapless mother at left, the older woman in rags, and the older bourgeois woman at upper left. Hubbuch appears twice, as a bewildered observer within the composition and as a stern portrait head in the lower margin. In both cases, he isolates and fortifies himself against the threatening mass overall and the prostitute in particular.

Hubbuch's attempt to create political satires in the vein of Grosz produced works such as *Der Dollar* (etching, 1922). This work addresses the hyperinflation that would peak the following year by depicting various powerful figures involved in the issue of German reparations [fig. 90].[202] While the upper register is populated by powerful men, the lower register is home to violent criminals as well as prostitutes and their clients, reinforcing the connection between prostitution and inflation. *Der Mörderzentrale* (etching, 1922) offers a complex narrative that combines a view of Berlin's Siegessäule with the 1922 assassination of Walter Rathenau (below the bridge at upper right) [fig. 91]. The man on the ladder holding a puppet-like figure is

[201] Marsha Meskimmon, *We Weren't Modern Enough: Women Artists and the Limits of German Modernism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 28. Meskimmon considers works by female artists such Gerta Overbeck, Elsa Haengsen-Dingkuhn, and Elfriede Lohse-Wächtler that depict prostitutes with agency, rather than as predators or victims.

[202] Identifiable figures include David Lloyd George and Woodrow Wilson (in portrait medallions), Georgy Chicherin (behind the desk), Hugo Stinnes (seated in the chair), and J. Pierpont Morgan, Jr. (in the crate).

journalist Maximilian Harden, who was severely beaten by Freikorps members shortly after Rathenau's death. A masked figure in the center appears prepared to orchestrate more violence via telephone. As in *Der Dollar,* a series of anonymous figures at the base of the composition suggests the haplessness of common people in the face of misdeeds by the powerful and corrupt.[203] The only woman among them is a prostitute, who again functions in a double sense, as both cause and symptom of moral decay and lawlessness in the capital.

Notausgänge der Ehe (lithograph, 1923) [fig. 92] comments specifically, if cryptically, on the linked institutions of marriage and prostitution. Two paths lead from an empty bed: one ends at the top of a staircase with a mother and young child, while the other, filled with cavorting prostitutes, leads to the right foreground, where the figure of Hubbuch is unhappily besieged by further prostitutes who compete for his business. Above, an older married couple regards a younger bourgeois man embracing a nude woman. Is Hubbuch presenting marriage as an ideal state threatened by the "emergency exits" of prostitution?[204] Or does he suggest that both institutions pose a threat to more equal relationships between men and women, given the argument that bourgeois marriage was simply another form of prostitution based entirely on financial transactions?[205]

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[203] For a thorough decoding of the iconography of *Der Dollar* and *Der Mörderzentrale,* see Karl-Ludwig Hofmann, "Karl Hubbuchs 'Kino sozialer Klitterungen,' 1922–1924," in Rödiger-Diruf, Bieber, and Hartmann, *Karl Hubbuch: Retrospektive,* 131–144. Hubbuch commented on *Der Mörderzentrale* years later, describing the figure of Harden as "der Sprecher, der Aufklährende" (the speaker, the enlightener) and the Siegessäule as a "Wahnzeichen" (sign of delusion) symbolizing false explanations for the attacks on Rathenau and Harden. See Hartmann, *Karl Hubbuch: Der Zeichner,* 367.

[204] Sigrun Paas, "Notausgänge der Ehe," in *Eva und die Zukunft: Das Bild der Frau seit der Franzözischen Revolution,* ed. Werner Hofmann (Munich: Prestel-Verlag, 1986), 199.

[205] In 1923, Hubbuch sent *Wissend und Blind, Notausgänge der Ehe* (which he dedicated to Grosz), and an unknown group of other political images to Grosz in Berlin, hoping that they might be published in *Die Pleite* or *Der Knüppel.* However, Grosz responded that he was unable to understand the complexities of *Wissend …* and *Notausgänge …,* and that the political images were too overloaded to be effective propaganda. As Hubbuch later explained, his prints "were not direct enough for [Grosz] and the editorial staff. My sheets were too interlaced, not able to be grasped

Some of these works were shown on the occasion of Hubbuch's first solo exhibition in late 1924 (see p. 65), on which occasion critics received them as evidence of the artist's debt to Grosz. The reviewer R. Diehl praises Hubbuch's ability to balance precise observation with thematic complexity: "A cool observer, a philosophical mind full of ideas, a decidedly satirical talent, and finally a draftsman of quite outstanding qualities. … That some of these strange sheets are overloaded with thought-cargo, filled to the point of bursting with meaning, is the most negative thing one can say about them. An influence from George Grosz may be present, but Hubbuch is superior in terms of universality:."[206] Benno Reifenberg also notes Grosz's influence and characterizes Hubbuch's method in a particularly physical way: "He throws himself into the soulless, debauched world with the sharpest, harshest pencil, and draws: the cursed, corrupt architecture of the nineties, with bad iron balconies and false Renaissance decor; he draws the empty, exuberant Jugendstil ornamentation of the Berlin Hochbahn, of course plump capitalists, of course the naked harlot, the anxiety- and wish-dream of boys."[207] Reifenberg conveys, approvingly, a sense of masculine aggression in his description of the "sharpest, harshest pencil" with which the

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quickly enough by the viewer." ("Die waren ihm und dem Redaktionsstab nicht direkt genug. Meine Blätter waren ihm zu sehr verschachtelt, für den Beschauer nicht rasch genug erfaßbar.") Hubbuch to Hans Kinkel, February 19, 1970, in Kinkel, *Der frühe Hubbuch,* n.p.

[206] "Ein kühler Beobachter, ein philosophischer Kopf voller Einfälle, ein entschiedenes zeitsatirisches Talent und schließlich ein Zeichner von ganz hervorragenden Qualitäten. … Daß manche dieser merkwürdigen Blätter mit Gedankenfracht überladen, mit Bedeutung bis zum Bersten gefüllt sind, ist das Negativste, was man ihnen nachsagen kann. Eine Beeinflussung von George Grosz her mag vorhanden sein, dem Hubbuch jedoch an Universalität überlegen ist: er steht geistig wie künstlerisch auf höherer Warte." R. Diehl, "Kunst in Frankfurt," *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung (Süddeutsche Ausgabe),* October 28, 1924, quoted in Rödiger-Diruf, Bieber, and Hartmann, *Karl Hubbuch: Retrospektive*, 160.

[207] "Er stürzt sich mit allerschärfstem härtestem Bleistift auf die entseelte, verkommende Welt und zeichnet: die verteufelte, verdorbende Architektur der neunziger Jahre, mit schlechten Eisenbalkonen und falschem Renaissance-Dekor; er zeichnet die leere wuchernde Jugendstil-Ornamentik der Berliner Hochbahn, selbstverständlich feiste Kapitalisten, selbstverständlich das nackte Dirnen-Weib, den Angst- und Wunsch-Traum der Jungen." Benno Reifenberg, "Kunst in Frankfurt," *Frankfurter Zeitung,* October 22, 1924, quoted in Rödiger-Diruf, Bieber, and Hartmann, *Karl Hubbuch: Retrospektive,* 160.

artist "throws himself" into his milieu. He also accepts the "naked harlot," a figure of both desire and dread, as the natural counterpart of the city's ostentatious architecture and heartless profiteers.

A third reviewer, however, is more critical of Hubbuch's focus on the senstionalizing subjects of violence and sexual depravity.

> a young artist from Karlsruhe, is currently showing his ruthless and pitiless way of seeing. This way of seeing is combined with great graphic skill; in the numerous lithographs, drawings and watercolors, less so in the etchings, a strong talent appears. Much less pleasing, on the other hand, is the intellectual nature of the art of the Karlsruher. Most of them are reminiscent of Grosz, only Hubbuch has not yet reached the utmost limit of disregard for any sentiment; he still pursues a somewhat cheap, sometimes satire-slipping-into-kitsch symbolism of a negating worldview, whose poles are woman, capital, criminality and all sorts of libidinal impulses. But above it all stands the artist, who will one day free himself from this morbid pessimism, from this cinema of social hodgepodges. Proof of this is the splendid picture of his father and the female bodies drawn with artistic bravura, as well as the male figures. This is also an art of characterization, which only requires a renunciation of the tendency-visions to make Hubbuch's rich talent productive in a higher artistic sense.[208]

The reviewer urges Hubbuch to renounce his "morbid pessimism" and focus on portraiture rather than documenting social ills. If, however, some critics could regard Hubbuch's frank depictions of prostitutes as proof of his commitment to unmasking social hypocrisy and deviance, others, suspicious of politically oriented *Tendenzkunst,* were far less convinced that

[208] "Bei Trittler auf dem Goetheplatze zeigt gegenwärtig K. Hubbuch, ein junger Künstler aus Karlsruhe, seine schonungs- und mitleidlose Art zu sehen. Mit dieser Art verbindet sich große zeichnerische Gewandtheit; in den zahlreichen Lithos, Handzeichnungen und Aquarellen, weniger in den Radierungen, tritt ein starkes Talent in Erscheinung. Viel weniger erfreulich ist dagegen das geistige Wesen der Kunst des Karlsruhers. Das meiste erinnert an Grosz, nur ist Hubbuch noch nicht an der äußersten Grenze der Mißachtung jeglichen Gefühls angelangt, er betreibt noch eine etwas billige, manchmal der Satire ins Kitschige entgleitende Symbolik einer negierenden Weltanschauung, deren Pole Weib, Kapital, Verbrechertum und allerlei Triebhaftigkeiten sind. Aber über allem steht der Künstler, der sich von diesem krankhaften Pessimismus, von diesem Kino sozialer Klitterungen eines Tages freimachen wird. Beweis dafür das prachtvolle Bild seines Vaters und die mit künstlerischer Bravour gezeichneten Mädchenkörper, auch die männlichen Typen. Hier zeigt sich auch eine Kunst des Charakterisierens, die nur der Abkehr von den Tendenz-Visionen bedarf, um Hubbuchs reiche Begabung produktiv in höherem künstlerischen Sinne zu gestalten." H. T. W., "Ausstellungsbesprechung," *Frankfurter Nachrichten und Intelligenzblatt*, October 16, 1924, quoted in Rödiger-Diruf, Bieber, and Hartmann, *Karl Hubbuch: Retrospektive*, 161.

this topic was a proper subject for art. When Hubbuch returned to this thematic area after 1930, it would prove professionally disastrous.

C. Women, Authority, Defiance

Hubbuch became the assistant to Würtenberger's lithography class at the BLKS in 1924, advancing to drawing instructor in 1925, and ultimately professor of painting in 1928. In his new position of authority, Hubbuch seemed newly inclined to interrogate structures of authority and codes of masculinity. One work where this shift becomes evident is *Schulstube* (oil on paper, 1925), his first known painting.[209] Hubbuch depicts the interior of a schoolroom in Karlsruhe [fig. 93]. A picture of a ship pinned to the wall heightens the contrast between the students' confinement and their yearning for escape. The students face their unseen instructor attentively; only one boy, in the last row, ignores the instructor as he writes in his notebook. Perhaps Hubbuch felt especially conscious of the way his students might perceive his authority in his new role.

If *Schulstube* suggests preparation for a life of conformity within a bureaucratic society, an alternative masculinity is showcased in *Die Entenräuber* (1925) [fig. 94]. Under cover of night, liberated from the stifling schoolroom, a pair of boys engages in criminal activity that indulges their fantasies of masculine omnipotence or transgression. The scowling boy with the bloody knife inhabits the persona of the toughened criminal, while the boy with the hat and cigarette seems to envision himself as a sophisticated urbanite with connections to a criminal

[209] In the *Neue Sachlichkeit* exhibition of 1925, Hubbuch exhibited *Schulstube* and an unknown number of works on paper. Galerie Tannenbaum, Mannheim submitted thirteen drawings and three lithographs, some of which are difficult to identify due to inconsistent titles. The drawings ranged from portraits (*Zigeunerjunge*) and studies of inanimate objects to political satire (*Der ländliche Multiplikator,* now known as *Fresser, Schieber und Bäuerin*) and multi-figure compositions (*Die Giftaffaire*). For a full list of titles, see Hartmann, "Karl Hubbuch: Leben und Werk," 83n38.

underworld. That popular literature has stoked these fantasies is suggested by the book in the second boy's pocket revealing a Native American figure and the word "Rache" (revenge). Hubbuch seems to suggest that young men might escape the restrictive monotony of the education system through performative fantasies of violence. Both boys meet the artist's gaze as if to suggest his complicity with their actions. Hubbuch presents these figures sympathetically, while also drawing attention to the artificiality of their posturing, perhaps questioning the legitimacy of this particular expression of masculine identity.[210]

Another work that meditates on the student-instructor relationship is a large pencil drawing of the philosopher Martin Buber preparing to give a lecture at the Technischen Höchschule in Karlsruhe [fig. 95]. Buber could have been presenting material from his most famous work, *Ich und Du* (1923). In this work, Buber identified the "Ich-Es" relationship as a central ill of modernity, as increasing rationalization encouraged people to objectify one another and to strengthen boundaries between self and other. He encouraged people instead to pursue more empathetic "Ich-Du" relationships in which boundaries between "self" and "other" dissolve.

In the drawing, Buber stands silently in front of a large, empty chalkboard, surrounded on either side by chemical formulas and lab equipment. By showing Buber somewhat dwarfed by his setting, particularly by the looming blankness of the chalkboard, Hubbuch implies that the educator's task can be both daunting and isolating, perhaps identifying with Buber's role as lecturer. Does Hubbuch imply that Buber has become an unwitting "Es," a source of shallow

[210] The Staastgalerie Stuttgart notes that the figure with the knife seems to resemble Otto Dix, perhaps indicating that Hubbuch is offering a subtle critique or ridicule of Dix's favored persona. Staatsgalerie Stuttgart, "Die Entenräuber," https://www.staatsgalerie.de/en/g/collection/digital-collection/einzelansicht/sgs/werk/einzelansicht/35F3E9524B5DBA28995B539E87A74DCF.html, accessed December 1, 2019.

entertainment for a bored, distracted audience? Or does he anticipate that Buber's lecture will help his audience establish more profound "Ich-Du" relationships with each other? Most importantly, did the lecture prompt Hubbuch to reconsider the relationship between himself and the subjects of his work?

Returning, now in the role of instructor, to an institution newly populated by female students, Hubbuch was forced to re-negotiate the relationship between himself and the women who modeled for him. Now part of an environment where women were no longer simply objects of a unilateral gaze, Hubbuch seemed to cultivate new levels of empathy and attention to the character of his mostly female subjects. This shift in attitude is especially notable in depictions of his student and eventual wife, Hilde Isai.[211] In his work of the later 1920s, Isai and other female models adopt a variety of poses and expressions that destabilize conventions of female portraiture.

A new attitude towards female models surfaces in a pair of drawings from Hubbuch's early period as an instructor. In a drawing known as *Mädi* (circa 1925), the model wears a hat, gloves, and a coat pulled open to reveal one side of her chest [fig. 96].[212] Turning to the side and grinning, she holds a spoon and plate, further calling attention to the incongruity of her partial

[211] Hilde Isai (1905–1971) enrolled at the BLKS in 1926, where she studied drawing with Hubbuch and also took courses in ceramics. Unfortunately, none of her student drawings survive. She and Hubbuch married in 1928. In the summer of 1931, she enrolled at the Bauhaus in Dessau, where she studied photography with Walter Peterhans. When the Dessau location closed in October of the following year, she moved to Vienna and worked for a press agency. Hubbuch and Isai divorced in 1935, and Isai moved to New York, where she spent the rest of her career as a photographer specializing in children's portraits under the name "Hilde Hubbuck." The divorce was probably amicable, since she remained in contact with Hubbuch and even visited him occasionally after 1945. For the most comprehensive biography of Isai to date, see Elizabeth Otto and Patrick Rössler, *Bauhaus Women: A Global Perspective* (London: Herbert Press, 2019), 180–183.

[212] Ketterer Kunst suggests 1923 as the date, but Mädi does not begin to appear in Hubbuch's work until circa 1925, suggesting a slightly later date; Gnann, *Karl Hubbuch und seine Modelle,* 20–21.

nudity. Mädi's exposure suggests she still has the potential to be perceived as a prostitute, yet the space she is granted to convey hints of a playful personality suggests a shift in the way her agency is perceived and recorded. A major watercolor of this period, *Die Schwimmerin von Köln* (1924–1925), places the female model in an entirely new setting [fig. 97]. A woman described as a "breaststroke champion" poses in her swimming costume on the former Deutzer Hängebrücke. The soft curves of her body contrast with the monumental steel components of the bridge and, in the distance, the cathedral with its famously lofty spires. This work has been interpreted as either mocking the swimmer's ambition— "the victory pose and pride in athletic achievement seem deformed and ridiculous in front of the overpowering steel structure"—or as representing society's alienation from old values via new technology.[213] However, the figure's resolute pose might also suggest her determination to occupy formerly inaccessible spaces and roles. In both drawings, female models formerly confined to the explicit or implicit role of prostitutes display new potential for self-expression, agency, and the right to appear in settings other than the street corner or brothel, engaged in activities other than monetized seduction.

Hubbuch's images of Isai defy the subjection of the new woman to the "classification mania" that characterized the 1920s.[214] In their multiplicity, his depictions of Isai counteract the concept of typology, an attempt to read character through stable physical clues that gained

[213] "Die Siegerpose und der Stolz auf die sportliche Höchstleistung wirken deformiert und lächerlich vor der übermächtigen Stahlkonstruktion …"; Rainer Schoch, "Eine Zeichnung von Karl Hubbuch," *Monats Anzeiger,* no. 22 (January 1983): 175; Marlene Angemeyer-Deubner, *Neue Sachlichkeit und Verismus in Karlsruhe, 1920–1933* (Karlsruhe: C.F. Müller, 1988), 29.

[214] As Helmut Lethen explains, "In a classification mania, contemporary observers of the social field categorize phenomena ranging from body type to moral character, from handwriting to race. Thus the 1920s appear to us both as a period of overheated social mobility, blurred class distinctions, and exaggerated reassertions of old orienting values and as a decade in which distinctions between friend and enemy, between opposing fronts, are very clearly drawn." Lethen, *Cool Conduct,* 22–23.

widespread popularity during the Weimar period.[215] While scientific texts and articles in the popular press sought to create guidelines for identifying whether, for instance, a given woman could be classified as "Girl" or "Garçonne," Hubbuch's portraits of Isai reject the idea that typology is a useful means of analyzing character.[216] Instead, they present a shifting array of expressions that contravene the contemporary obsession with physiognomy, and the related idea that a single image could encapsulate and lay bare the essence of a subject's persona. By showing Isai in a variety of poses reflecting different aspects of her personality, Hubbuch suggests the artificiality of typological categories. Further, the collaboration that took place between Hubbuch and Isai in his studio suggests a renegotiation of the traditional artist-model relationship that had to occur once women entered the space of the studio as artists themselves.

Part of Hubbuch's engagement with shifting gender roles took place via his experiments with photography, beginning around 1925 and continuing for the next decade.[217] Surviving photographs of Hubbuch and Isai from 1927 on suggest that they began to experiment with photography around the same time, with Isai taking an active role in her own representation.[218] One example of their collaboration is a group of images taken with the aid of a large mirror and a self-timer. Adopting expressions ranging from serious to absurd, they treat everyday objects—a

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[215] For typology, see Claudia Schmölders and Sander L. Gilman, eds., *Gesichter der Weimarer Republik: Eine physiognomische Kulturgeschichte* (Cologne: DuMont, 2000).

[216] For the Weimar period's fixation on classifying women in particular, see Lynne Frame, "Gretchen, Girl, Garçonne? Weimar Science and Popular Culture in Search of the Ideal New Woman," in von Ankum, *Women in the Metropolis*, Kindle edition.

[217] Most of Hubbuch's surviving photographs are in the collection of the Münchner Stadtmuseum (circa 500 negatives and 100 original prints) and the Städtische Galerie Karlsruhe (circa 70 negatives). Karin Koschkar, "Karl Hubbuch als Model und Straßenfotograf: Eine Neubetrachtung seines Schaffens zwischen 1925 und 1935," in *Karl Hubbuch und das Neue Sehen,* ed. Ulrich Pohlmann and Karin Koschkar (Munich: Münchner Stadtmuseum, 2011), 15n13.

[218] Evidently, they also visited the important photography exhibitions *Pressa* (Cologne, 1928) and *Film und Foto* (Stuttgart, 1929) together. Ibid., 10–11.

hairdryer, a broom, a rolling pin—as props in a comic pantomime [figs. 98–100].[219] The mock-aggression visible in these images suggests a play with the balance of power, while the use of the rolling pin, broom, and hairdryer, implements associated with female domesticity, suggests that Isai's presence in a formerly masculine space provides a pretext for disassembling fixed assumptions about gender roles. Visible in the foreground of these images is a watercolor of Isai's classmate, Ellen Rosenberg, in the role of "director" [fig. 101]. Rosenberg's distinctly androgynous appearance further underscores the blurring of gendered lines implicit in the photographs.[220]

Many of the studio photographs reveal items of Bauhaus furniture that Isai brought to Hubbuch's studio after their marriage, especially a set of coffee tables that often function as stools [fig. 102].[221] Isai sits on one of these stools in a portrait that suggests the reconfiguration of the traditional artist-model relationship [fig. 103]. The mirror, reflecting her gaze directly back at the viewer, also reveals the back of her figure, as well as the figure of Hubbuch operating the camera next to her. Isai's cloud of hair obscures and thereby with her husband's face, connecting their bodies in a moment that suggests the partnership at work in their photographic experiments.

One of Hubbuch's best-known depictions of Isai is *Mit Föhn und Fahrrad* (watercolor, 1928–29), which shows her interacting playfully with a group of ultra-modern props: a bicycle, a

[219] Contemporary advertising photography suggested that hairdryers could be used to dry stockings and, perhaps significantly for Hubbuch and Isai, photographic negatives; Rudolf Scheutle, "Das Atelier als Bühne: Zu den humoristisch inszenierten Portraitfotografien von Karl Hubbuch," in Pohlmann and Koschkar, *Karl Hubbuch und das Neue Sehen*, 19.

[220] Ellen Rosenberg (1906–2004), best known by her married name, Ellen Auberbach, studied sculpture at the BLKS from 1924 to 1927. In 1930, she and Grete Stern (1904–1999), a fellow photography student of Walter Peterhans in Berlin, created the photographic collaborative ringl + pit. For photographs of Rosenberg in Hubbuch's studio, see Pohlmann and Koschkar, *Karl Hubbuch und das Neue Sehen,* 86–87.

[221] Rudolf Scheutle notes that Hilde's collection of Bauhaus furniture included an armchair, a lamp, and at least three coffee tables, but does not mention the second Bauhaus chair (without arms) that also appears in certain studio photographs as well as in *Viermal Hilde*. Scheutle, "Das Atelier als Bühne," 18.

Breuer armchair, and a hairdryer, which she brandishes like a gun, as Hubbuch does in the studio photographs [fig. 104]. Frederic Schwartz offers an interpretation of this work in "Utopia for Sale," where he considers the reception of "Bauhaus style" in the context of popular culture.[222] "Here Hubbuch shows his wife, Hilde, as a 'New Woman.' She is relaxed, with bobbed hair, and independent (the mobility provided by the bicycle)—and sitting in an early Wassily chair by Breuer."[223] Neither wealthy nor proletarian, she belongs to "the world of the young, the fashionable-on-a-shoestring, the office workers, salespeople, clerks, and secretaries who were seen to represent a 'new middle class' at the time," a class that "had bourgeois claims to status and prestige but wages as low and employment as precarious as the traditional proletariat."[224]

This interpretation misrepresents Isai as a typical secretary or shop girl—a member of the "salaried masses"—who aspire towards membership in the ultra-chic through trendy purchases. Schwartz either ignores or is unaware of the fact that Isai is herself an artist and an active collaborator with Hubbuch in his photographs and drawings of her. Far from presenting a straightforward and self-satisfied paean to consumerism, Isai, rather, immerses herself in a parody of consumer excess, wielding three fashionable implements—the hair dryer, the Breuer chair, and the bicycle—that represent the pinnacle of newness.[225] Schwartz also seems to assume that this image is a strictly domestic scene, but the surviving photographs of Isai's furniture in

[222] The theme of the essay is the Bauhaus's failure to achieve its hoped-for commercial success via manufacturing partnerships. Schwartz argues that this was due in part to the mainstream fad for Bauhaus-style objects, which diluted the Bauhaus "brand" via knockoff products.

[223] Frederic J. Schwartz, "Utopia for Sale: The Bauhaus and Weimar Germany's Consumer Culture," in *Bauhaus Culture: From Weimar to the Cold War*, ed. Kathleen James-Chakraborty (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006), 133.

[224] Ibid.

[225] The bicycle could also allude to the fact that Breuer was inspired by the tubular steel used in bicycle design in creating his now-iconic furniture.

Hubbuch's studio suggest that the setting of *Mit Föhn und Fahrrad* is his studio rather than their apartment.[226] Of course, since Hubbuch lived in his studio intermittently, the line between living space and workspace was often blurred.[227] However, given that Hubbuch and Isai habitually treated his studio as a kind of stage set, the artificial and self-ironizing nature of Isai's pose seems obvious.

We might see this image as a potent counterpart to Eric Consemüller's iconic photograph of a woman seated elegantly in a Breuer chair, wearing a dress from the Bauhaus weaving workshop and a mask by Oskar Schlemmer that reduces her face to a smooth orb (photograph, circa 1926) [fig. 105]. For Leah Dickerman, this photograph encapsulates the utopian ideal of the post-World War I "new figure," whose "blank visage is both deracinated and classless, just as the Bauhaus accouterments of modern life are stripped of cultural traces."[228] Working against this ideal, Hubbuch offers instead the unruly specificity of Isai's grinning face and dynamic body. She slouches backward into her modish chair, directing her gaze toward the rumpled bed, which Andrea Gottdang interprets as an allusion to the sexual behavior of the new woman.[229]

If, as Schwartz argues, "Bauhaus style" was perceived as the height of chic by the urban middle class, Isai must have been conscious of the trendiness of her furniture. Yet, by posing with this furniture in a disorderly studio rather than the pristine, minimalist interior for which it

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[226] Georg Scholz also described Hubbuch's studio as "im Bauhausstil möbliert" (furnished in Bauhaus style). Georg Scholz, "als ob," unpublished manuscript, 1930, quoted in Bettina Götz, "Viermal Hilde," in *Die Neue Frau: Herausforderung für Bildmedien der Zwanziger Jahre,* ed. Katharina Sykora et al. (Marburg: Jonas Verlag, 1993), 157.

[227] Hubbuch was known to live in his studio at the BLKS from time to time, although this was technically forbidden. Scheutle, "Das Atelier als Bühne," 18.

[228] Leah Dickerman, "Bauhaus Fundaments," in *Bauhaus 1919–1933: Workshops for Modernity*, ed. Barry Bergdoll and Leah Dickerman (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 2009), 23.

[229] Andrea Gottdang, "Viermal Hilde—Viermal Schwarzer Peter: Karl Hubbuch und die Krise des Porträts," *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch* 66 (2005): 170.

was designed, Isai suggests a desire to engage with these symbols of modernity on her own terms. Even her farcical misuse of the hairdryer, described in advertisements as "essential for body- and beauty-care," seems to convey a willful indifference to the messages conveyed by the beauty and fashion industries. As Gabriele Tergit noted, working women struggling to find a foothold in an unstable era turned to fashion and cosmetics as necessary tools for self-improvement: "Everywhere the smart, pretty girls have an easier time of it … But nowadays, pretty isn't something you are, it's something you can become."[230] Vicki Baum detailed the tribulations of a fictional young woman who strives to keep up with trends in order to remain appealing to her husband, acquiring "uncomfortable chairs made of aluminum in her strictly *au courant* apartment … shoes too small, hats too small, undergarments too thin in winter."[231]-Isai, on the other hand, as she sprawls and grins in her highly covetable chair, seems to delight in the incongruence between her stylish accessories, which suggest an obsession with status and image, and her pose, which implies a relaxed indifference to social norms.

Alongside his portrait photographs, Hubbuch also began to portray Isai frequently in drawings and prints, especially after 1928. In *Hilde on the Stairs* (watercolor, 1926–1928) [fig. 106], she poses confidently on the stairs of the BLKS in a vivid striped dress, as if reveling in her ability to inhabit this space as a student.[232] In *Hilde* (etching, after 1926)[233] [fig. 107] she is elegant and refined, fingering the edge of a fur-trimmed dress, while in *Der Krach am*

[230] Ingrid Sharp, "Riding the Tiger: Ambivalent Images of the New Woman in the Popular Press of the Weimar Republic," in *New Woman Hybridities: Femininity, Feminism, and International Consumer Culture 1880–1930*, ed. Ann Heilmann and Margaret Beetham (London: Routledge, 2004), 132.

[231] Ibid., 127.

[232] See also the study for this work, *My Wife in a Striped Dress.*

[233] The Staatsgalerie Stuttgart dates this etching to 1925, but it cannot have been made before 1926, when Hilde arrived at the Landeskunstschule, and probably dates from after their marriage in 1928.

Marmortisch (watercolor, 1929–29) [fig. 108], she is mischievous or insolent. She even takes on the role of a dutiful housewife, complete with floral apron, in *Hilde cleans the Bauhaus Lamp* [fig. 109].

Hubbuch's most ambitious depiction of Isai (and his only completed oil painting of her) was formerly known as *Viermal Hilde* before its division into two halves, each called *Zweimal Hilde* [figs. 110–111].[234] Hubbuch later explained, "I wanted to represent characteristic attitudes and states of this woman / inner states, which are reflected in facial expressions and overall posture."[235] In the original painting, the first Isai, at left, is defined as an intellectual through her glasses, introverted pose, and implied status as an enthusiast of Bauhaus design. The second Isai, elegantly dressed in a fur-trimmed coat, gloves, and a cloche hat, appears uncertain and perhaps slightly sullen. The third wears a fashionable set of pajamas (also seen in *Mit Föhn und Fahrrad*) and holds a cigarette in a long holder; with spread legs and an upturned nose, she appears confident, even haughty. The fourth Isai wears her gaudy flowered apron over underwear and seems to be the most flirtatious of the four. It is this aspect of Isai's personality that is captured in Georg Scholz's account of his visit to Hubbuch's studio, where he encountered Isai in a

[234] The work was originally titled *Viermal Schwartzer Peter* after a card game (known in English as "Old Maid"). Players draw cards and try to create matching pairs. In advance, a single card is removed from the deck, leaving one "unmatchable" card—the *schwartzer Peter*; the player who draws this card loses the game. For a description of the game, see Gottdang, "Viermal Hilde," 180. The original title may therefore suggest that the four figures are "unmarriageable," which would have functioned as a joke between Hubbuch and Isai, given that they were already married. Hubbuch divided the painting after World War II for reasons that are still unclear. He claimed that he needed to hide the painting during the war and that he cut it in half for easier storage. It is also possible that he was no longer satisfied with the composition. See ibid., 185n3. Today, the left half belongs to the Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid, and the right half belongs to the Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich.

[235] "Darstellen wollte ich charakteristische Haltungen und Zustände dieser Frau / Innere Zustände / die sich im Gesichtsausdruck und in der ganzen Körperhaltung widerspiegeln." Hubbuch to Claude Keisch, May 26, 1971, in Claude Keisch, "Portraits in mehrfacher Ansicht. Überlieferung und Sinnwandel einer Bildidee," *Forschungen und Berichte* 17 (1976): 235.

negligé.[236] In her essay on this painting, Bettina Götz argues that, by focusing on specific details of fasion, Hubbuch suggests that the new woman is "above all, a fad, that is, an optical phenomenon."[237]

Although Gottdang suggests that Hubbuch derived the idea of a quadruple portrait from contemporary photographs that showed the same subject from multiple angles, he could just as easily have arrived at the concept from his experience leading the drawing course at the BLKS, where he often drew from live models alongside his students.[238] For example, a pair of drawings circa 1926 again featuring the model Mädi [figs. 112–113] shows his interest in portraying the same figure twice in a single composition, in each case with a different pose, expression, and outfit. The fact that both compositions are enlarged with additional bits of paper at top and bottom suggests that they originated spontaneously during one of Hubbuch's many sessions with the model.[239] Hubbuch also completed a watercolor, *Three Models* (1926–28) [fig. 114], and a painting called *Drillinge* (1928–29), showing a model named Offi in three poses, further indicating his interest in this motif [fig. 115].[240]

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[236] Scholz, "als ob," cited in Götz, "Viermal Hilde," 158. Gottdang also suggests that Hilde's pose invokes that of a prostitute leaning against a building while soliciting clients; Gottdang, "Viermal Hilde," 179.

[237] "vor allem eine Modeerscheinung, das heißt ein optisches Phänomenon." Götz, "Viermal Hilde," 162. Götz and Gottdang both argue that Hubbuch tries to dismantle the stereotypes of the new woman, yet both suggest that he deliberately invokes the model of the four humors or temperaments, which seems to contradict their arguments.

[238] Gottdang, "Viermal Hilde," 171–172.

[239] Gitta Ho, "Zwei Studien eines Modells," in *Das wahre Gesicht unserer Zeit: Bilder vom Menschen in der Zeichnung der Neuen Sachlichkeit,* ed. Uwe Fleckner and Dirk Luckow (Kiel: Kunsthalle zu Kiel, 2004), 106. Hubbuch was responsible for leading a drawing class three days a week; Helmut Goettl, "Karl Hubbuch als Lehrer," in Goettl, Hartmann, and Schwarz, *Karl Hubbuch 1891–1979*, 50. Sabine Rewald suggests that Hubbuch sometimes used additional strips of paper deliberately because he liked the impromptu effect they created; Sabine Rewald, "Martha with Raincoat," in *Glitter and Doom: German Portraits from the 1920s* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2006), 264.

[240] Hubbuch submitted *Viermal Hilde* (under its original title) and *Drillinge* to the exhibition *Badisches Kunstschaffen der Gegenwart* at the Kunsthalle Mannheim, but both paintings were rejected by the jury. This so

A large study for *Viermal Hilde* (watercolor, pencil, and chalk, about 1929) suggests how Hubbuch might have arrived at his final composition [fig. 116]. The fact that the composition comprises three different pieces of paper suggests that Hubbuch did not begin with his original composition in mind, but developed it over time. He must have started with either the seated figure at far left or the figure in the flowered apron at far right. The figure in the apron is more or less centered on the paper support, and Hubbuch's signature below her feet suggests that he originally conceived of this drawing as an independent work. The same can be said of the seated figure, who is carefully placed in the corner of the sheet; Hubbuch also signed the space below the chair, again indicating that he considered this work complete on its own. The two central figures must have been added later. Arguably, the figure in pajamas was the third addition; one elbow covers the arm of the aproned figure, and the other extends onto the support that now forms the left side of the drawing. Her foot appears on a third sheet of paper that expands the length of the right-hand sheet to match that of the left. Once he had joined the different supports, Hubbuch perhaps realized that he had room for a fourth standing figure—the one in the fur-trimmed coat—but underestimated or ignored the space he would need, with the effect that this figure's foot ended up on top of the original seated figure's ankle. It seems, then, that Hubbuch may have arrived at the idea of a quadruple portrait through a series of experiments, rather than planning the four-figure composition from the beginning. Perhaps, starting with the intent to produce a single portrait, Hubbuch realized that a multi-figure portrait was necessary to give a more complete picture of Isai's personality. His photographing of Isai in a limitless variety of poses could have stimulated this need by revealing the inadequacy of the traditional portrait.

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irritated Hubbuch that he threatened to pull his drawings out of the exhibition, as well, although Hartlaub ultimately placated him; Gottdang, "Viermal Hilde," 183.

In her interpretation of the original painting, Andrea Gottdang argues that Hubbuch devised this work in direct response to the exhibition *Das schönste deutsche Frauenporträt*, the result of a contest sponsored by cosmetics company Elida in 1928. Artists were invited to submit their attempts at the "most beautiful German female portrait." The prize ultimately went to Willy Jaeckel, but a traveling exhibition comprising 26 of the top entries toured the country in 1929, appearing from March 16 to April 2 in Karlsruhe. Since Hubbuch began working on his painting in April of that year, Gottdang believes that he was motivated to create a work that would counteract the otherwise conventional portraits featured in the exhibition.[241] She further suggests that Isai's poses (i.e. leaning forward or standing with legs apart) deliberately violate norms set forth in popular *Benimmbücher* (behavior guides) of the 1920s, concluding that "[a]ll four women violate bourgeois ideas of perfect appearance. The new woman does not know how to behave, she ignores behavioral codes."[242] While compelling, this argument could benefit from more attention to Isai's agency in the selection of poses for *Viermal Hilde*. Given her seemingly active role in choosing poses for the joint photographs with Hubbuch (a topic that Gottdang does not address), not to mention her own experience drawing models in different poses in Hubbuch's class, it is possible that Isai played a significant part in choosing the four personas on display in the final painting.

Isai seems to have provided a reservoir of invention superseding that of other models who also appear in Hubbuch's work at this time. For example, the dancer Martha Huber became a favorite model of Hubbuch when he met her in 1926, after which she served as the subject of

[241] Ibid., 177–178.

[242] "Alle vier Frauen verstoßen gegen bürgerliche Vorstellungen korekten Auftretens. Die neue Frau weiß sich nicht zu benehmen, sie ignoriert Verhaltenscodices." Ibid., 179.

Martha beim Frühstuck (etching, 1927) [fig. 117], which won the top graphic prize from *Die Schaffenden* in 1928. As Paul Westheim explained, "What particularly distinguishes Hubbuch's etching … is amazing skill. With very few, unheard of few means—almost with contour lines alone—the surface is given shape."[243] He praises the work's "severity, the conscious and emphasized renunciation of 'painterly effect,'" which "has something specifically German."[244] This work forms a striking contrast to a watercolor of Isai theatrically preparing to eat an egg, with raised eyes, a flushed face, and upswept hair [fig. 118]. *Martha beim Frühstuck* perhaps appealed to the jury not only through its fastidious use of line, but also through its presentation of Huber as innocent, demure, and safely contained in a domestic space. Isai, on the other hand, with her limitless reservoir of poses and expressions, consistently embodies the qualities of changeability and excess that were part of the new woman's existential threat.

Hubbuch's different perceptions of Isai and Martha are evident in a watercolor double portrait from 1928 [fig. 119]. While Martha appears serene and innocent, both here and in his other portraits of her, Isai allows herself to be revealed in poses that verge on the grotesque. In two of his late depictions of Isai, *Hilde in Pose* and *Beim Arzt* (lithographs, 1928–30) [figs. 120–121], she seemingly allows Hubbuch's hand to manipulate her face into bizarre expressions, a display that seems slightly masochistic but that ultimately must reflect the intimacy the two shared in their marriage. In one of their last known photographic self-portraits, Isai embraces her husband and leans her head against his face [fig. 122]. Seated on the same level and wearing

[243] "Was die Radierung von Hubbuch besonders auszeichnet … ist das erstaunliche Können. Mit ganz wenigen, unerhört wenigen Mitteln—fast nur mit Konturlinien—ist diese Fläche gestaltet." Paul Westheim, "Graphik-Preisausschreiben der 'Schaffenden,'" *Das Kunstblatt* 12, no. 4 (April 1928): 120. The jury included Grosz and Karlsruhe native Karl Hofer (1878–1955).

[244] "ihrer Strenge, dem bewußten und betonten Verzicht auf 'malerische Wirkung' … etwas spezifisch Deutsches hat". Ibid.

similar jackets, they have the potential to be read as professional collaborators as well as affectionate spouses.

D. Return of the Cocotte

Hubbuch displayed a renewed interest in political topics after 1929, perhaps prompted by the aftereffects of the financial crash. With actor Hermann Brand and artists Erwin Spuler and Anton Weber (both former BKLS students), he founded the short-lived satirical magazine *Zakpo*, published as two issues in May and June 1930.[245] The second issue features a drawing titled *Jannette* [sic] [fig. 123]. A model known as Jeannette, seated in the nude, gestures and grins, evidently engaged in a lively conversation. The sketchy pen strokes defining her form typify the loosened drawing style that appears in Hubbuch's work around this time. Jeannette's relaxed nudity contrasts with a drawing on the reverse showing a bourgeois audience attending a performance of a scantily clad Tiller Girls troupe [fig. 124]. (The drawing is attributed to "Franz Radek," but is clearly in Hubbuch's hand.)[246] The audience members appear shallow or grotesque, and their eager approbation of the parade of flesh reads as a sign of their spiritual vacuity. It is the audience, more than the dancing "girls," who are the target of Hubbuch's critique.

Hubbuch began to paint more consistently after 1929, continuing the series of

[245] For the context and content of these two issues, see "Das Karlsruher Monstrum," in *Zakpo: Monatsschrift für Zeitkunst, Zeitbetrachtung, Satire und Karikatur*, 1930, facsimile reprint (Munich: Verlag der Neuen Münchner Galerie, 1980), n.p. Hubbuch published another political work, *La France*, in 1931. Dedicated to the "workers and creators … who want peace," it featured Hubbuch's drawings of life in Paris and Marseilles, created during his frequent trips to France in the later 1920s.

[246] Hubbuch and Spuler appear to have published some of their *Zakpo* drawings under pseudonyms, including Franz Radek, Pierre Raquet, and Boris Budawoy. Ibid., n.p.

"Versuchsbilder," or experimental paintings, inaugurated with *Schulstube* in 1925.[247] Many of these paintings feature female models depicted at an over-life-sized scale, often on unprimed canvas. *Marianne vor dem Spiegel* (1929–30) shows Marianne Beffart posing confidently beside a mirror; at nearly forty inches square, her nude form takes on a monumental quality [fig. 125].[248] Jeannette appears once again in the painting *Jeannette diskutiert gern* [fig. 126], elegantly raising her cigarette as she leans toward her unseen conversation partner. Especially provocative is *Lissy im Café* [fig. 127], where the model, with her heavy makeup, sly grin, cigarette, and fur-trimmed coat, appears to play the role of a prostitute.[249] Disconcertingly, the (male) viewer occupies an ambiguous position: is Lissy soliciting potential clients, or is she simply a café patron who, like the chatty Jeannette, is engaged in a friendly conversation? Hubbuch now seems to delight in the confusion that the cocotte provokes, perhaps hoping his viewers will be forced to question their assumptions about the ways in which nudity, makeup, and confidence signify in these portraits.

The new prominence in Hubbuch's work of women who may or not be cocottes quickly attracted condemnation from conservative critics after 1930. Wilhelm Rüdiger, reviewing a spring exhibition of the Badische Kunstverein in 1931, remarked, "The first room is hung by him

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[247] An unknown number of the "Versuchsbilder," completed between 1925 and 1934, were lost during the 1930s and 1940s. Some disappeared, while others were destroyed by the artist. See Richard Hiepe, "Die Versuchsbilder von Karl Hubbuch," in *Dezennium I: Zehn Jahre VEB Verlag der Kunst* (Verlag der Kunst: Dresden, 1962), 25. Hubbuch experimented with both a "Rubens technique" and a "Van Eyck technique," aided by Max Doerner's popular handbook.

[248] Beffart became involved with Hubbuch sometime after 1930. His photographs of her emphasize her athleticism. For their relationship, see Gnann, *Karl Hubbuch und seine Modelle*, 33–34. The verso of this painting features a portrait of a different, older model.

[249] The model Lissy has been identified as 22-year-old Elisabeth Schindler, who, in addition to modeling, also worked as a department store mannequin. Gnann, *Karl Hubbuch und seine Modelle*, 31.

... with a row of the worst nudities, a meat show that only appeals to brutish people, street harlots with and without clothing decorate the walls as in a panopticon. Watercolors, colored drawings and pen and ink sketches degrade the Kunstverein to the most revolting venue; it is time that the representatives of the ministry who are in the administration of the public good [...], pay attention to the shameful work of the eroticist Hubbuch [...]. What poisoning effect, with such technical ability, emanating from the Bolshevist art-mentality of this state professor, cannot be imagined."[250] Rüdiger repeated a similar critique the following year, singling out *Lissy im Café* as an example of immorality: "Little Karl Hubbuch still delights in the worst harlot-painting with full technical cunning; he is truly a connoisseur and expert in this chosen field! When will his acknowledged talent finally abandon this whim, this meat show? [...] In the new Germany, such Bolshevist nudities will disappear from the Kunstverein without a jury."[251] Rüdiger seems to equate Hubbuch's nudes with the nude or semi-nude musical reviews sometimes referred to as "meat shows."[252] Although Hubbuch had criticized the concept of the "meat show" in his drawing for *Zakpo*, critics like Rüdiger saw no difference between a titillating kickline and a gallery filled with the artist's oversized nudes. Another critic offered a similar response: "It is

[250] "Gleich der erste Saal ist von ihm ... mit einer Reihe schlimmster Nuditäten behängt, eine Fleischbeschau, die nur vertierten Menschen gilt, Straßendirnen mit und ohne Kostüm zieren wie in einem Panoptikum die Wände. Aquarelle, kolorierte Zeichnungen und Rohrfederskizzen degradieren den Kunstverein zur übelsten Schaubude; es ist an der Zeit, daß die Vertreter des Ministeriums die in der Verwaltung des gemeinnützigen Vereins sitzen [...], sich die Schandwerke dieses Erotisten Hubbuch ansehen [...]. Welch vergiftende Wirkung, bei allem technischen Können, von der bolschewistischen Kunstgesinnung dieses staatlichen Professors ausgehen, läßt sich nicht ausdenken." Wilhelm Rüdiger, "Ausstellung im Badischen Kunstverein, Karlsruhe, im Mai 1931," *Der Führer,* May 5, 1931, quoted in Goettl, Hartmann, and Schwarz, *Karl Hubbuch 1891–1979*, 96.

[251] "Karlchen Hubbuch ergötzt sich immer noch an schlimmster Hurenmalerei mit vollsaftig technischer Gerissenheit; er ist für wahr ein Kenner und Könner auf diesem von ihm gepachteten Gebiet! Wann wird sein anerkanntes Talent endlich diese Marotte, diese perverse Fleischbeschau verlassen? ... Im neuen Deutschland werden derartig bolschewistischen Nuditäten auch aus dem Kunstverein jurylos verschwinden." Wilhelm Rüdiger, "Ausstellung im Badischer Kunstverein, Karlsruhe, im November 1932," *Der Führer*, November 10, 1932, quoted in ibid.

[252] Peter Jelavich, *Berlin Cabaret* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), 176.

quite possible that somewhere in this country there is a club of shrews and harlots, but why the members of this club are painted and exhibited in all their provocative repulsiveness and indecency is a question we do not want to answer."[253] In response to negative reviews such as these, the Kunstverein voted to remove three of Hubbuch's works from the exhibition.[254] Criticism of this type also contributed directly to Hubbuch's dismissal from his teaching position in 1933.[255]

Even critics more sympathetic to the left-wing project of verist social critique interpreted Hubbuch's nudes in a traditional light. One anonymous reviewer assumed that the models depicted were prostitutes, and that they therefore continued the Grosz-esque project of critiquing bourgeois moral duplicity. "The artist supplies harlot- and demimonde-pictures, which, in their repulsive ugliness and naked libidinousness, pull the dense veil of hypocrisy from the other side of our civilization."[256] The fact that Hubbuch's nudes were immediately interpreted as "harlots" meant to arouse disgust indicates how durable the association between unashamed nudity and the

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[253] "Es ist durchaus möglich, daß es irgendwo in diesem Lande einen Klub von Megären und Dirnen gibt. Warum aber die Mitglieder dieses Klubs in ihrer ganzen aufreizenden Widerwärtigkeit und Unanständigkeit gemalt und auch noch ausgestellt werden, das ist eine Frage, die wir nicht zu beantworten vermögen." C. Amend, "Ausstellung im Badischen Kunstverein, Karlsruhe im November 1932," *Karlsruher Zeitung,* November 9, 1932, quoted in Goettl, Hartmann, and Schwarz, *Karl Hubbuch 1891–1979*, 96.

[254] Schuster, "Kontinuitäten, Transformationen oder Brüche?," 75. According to the minutes of the Kunstverein, the works removed were *Alkoholschmuggler auf dem Ball der schönen Sünderinnen, Gott sei Dank hat Tinette noch etwas zu sagen,* and *Milly.* Ibid., 75n184. The negative reviews cited above were published after the Kunstverein voted to remove the offending works on November 5, but the reviewers could have had advanced access to the exhibition as members of the press.

[255] Hubbuch was targeted in the conservative press more consistently and harshly than peers like Georg Scholz. Helmut Goettl claims that the official pretext for dismissing Hubbuch was his having "morally poisoned" ("sittlich vergiftet") Hanna Nagel, who entered his class at the age of 18, and whom he had compelled to make "immoral drawings" ("unmoralischen Zeichnungen"). Goettl, "Karl Hubbuch als Lehrer," 57. Caroline Hess, however, has disputed the validity of this story; see p. 148n237.

[256] "Der Künstler bringt Dirnen- und Demimonde-Bilder, die in ihrer abstoßenden Häßlichkeit und unverhüllten Triebhaftigkeit den dichten Schleier der Heuchelei von der Kehrseite unserer Zivilisation ziehen." Anonymous, *Der Volksfreund,* November 12, 1932, quoted in Goettl, Hartmann, and Schwarz, *Karl Hubbuch 1891–1979*, 97.

figure of the prostitute remained, on either end of the political spectrum. On the right, the prostitute remained a symbol of overall moral decay, while on the left, this figure remained an indictment of bourgeois morality.

In the early 1930s, Hubbuch's paintings could arguably *only* be recognized as images of depraved cocottes, rather than as images that resisted or complicated this stereotypical category. It is possible that the novelty of Hubbuch's approach to the female model could not be appreciated until decades later. In 1967, Nickel Grünstein could claim, "With this artistic approach he achieves his greatest and most superior things: the images of women of the twenties, those smiling and laughing faces above the same consumed and serviceable flesh, over which Dix, Grosz and Schlichter lapsed into continuous scorn or erotic curiosity."[257]

Hubbuch ultimately seemed ambivalent about the classification of his work under the rubric of Neue Sachlichkeit, at one point writing, "NEW OBJECTIVITY—this sounds as sterile as pharmacist boxes on the wall, with emergency bandages and quick-acting medicine."[258] The association of Neue Sachlichkeit with efficient medical procedures brings to mind Franz Roh's description of Dix's studio: "The painting space of a well-known post-expressionist is similar to a surgery room where brushes, tubes, and paints are taken from a dust-free medicine cabinet that rolls on rubber wheels. It is here that something of the precise conceptions of the new art, of radii-waves, of exactly calculated bridge voltages, of the engineer's spirit, can be expected,

[257] "Mit diesem künstlerischen Vorgehen gelangen ihm seine größten und überlegensten Sachen: die Frauenbilder der zwanziger Jahre, jene lächelnden und lachenden Gesichter über dem gleichen verbrauchten und brauchbaren Fleisch, über welches Dix, Gr. und Schlichter in ununterbrochenen Hohn oder erotische Neugier verfielen." Nickel Grünstein, "Das Werk von Karl Hubbuch," *Tendenzen* 8, no. 46 (August–September 1967): n.p.

[258] "NEUE SACHLICHKEIT—das klingt so steril wie Apothekerkästschen an der Wand, mit Notverbänden und Schnellmedizin." Hubbuch, handwritten note from the archive of Michael Hasenclever, Munich, quoted in Gnann, *Karl Hubbuch und seine Modelle,* 48n100.

which can be counted with every millimeter of wind pressure in bright consciousness."[259] Paul Westheim provided a similar description of Grosz's studio during the 1920s (quite different from the former bohemian space he visited in 1917): "Very matter-of-fact, quite a workplace, a little even like a Prussian office. At least as far as the faultless order is concerned. Above all I was impressed by a table with a shelf, the drawers of which, labeled with small drawings, indicated the contents: stripping, drawing nails, pencils, coal, etc. As precise and clear as George Grosz's drawings."[260]

As if providing a counter-narrative to Roh and Westheim's accounts of businesslike studios that resemble surgery rooms or government offices, Hubbuch's enormous drawing *Im Atelier (Der Maler und Das Bügelbrett)* (lithographic crayon, 1929) [fig. 128] suggests a space in flux. Beginning, as in the study for *Viermal Hilde*, with a single sheet of paper, Hubbuch built out this composition through the addition of four additional sheets. The original drawing seems to have been the still life at lower left, again suggested by Hubbuch's signature below the ironing board. He must have decided later to add a nude female model—perhaps Isai once again, judging by the shape of her hairstyle—who stands on a chair with her back to the viewer. An extra piece

[259] "Der Malraum eines bekannten Nachexpressionistsen sieht bezeichnenderweise einem Operationszimmer ähnlich, wo Pinsel, Tuben und Farben aus einem auf Gummirädern rollenden staubfreien Medizinschränkchen genommen werden. Hier schwingt eher etwas von den präzisen Vorstellungen, an denen dieser neuen Kunst gelegen, von Radiowellen, genau berechneten Brückenspannungen, vom Ingenieurgeiste, der in hellem Bewußtsein mit jedem Millimeter Winddruck zu rechnen versteht." Franz Roh, *Nach-Expressionismus: Magischer Realismus: Probleme der neuesten Europäischen Malerei* (Leipzig: Klinkhardt and Biermann, 1925), 96. This comparison also brings to mind Dix's habit of wearing a white smock similar to that of medical professionals, lending his work, per Söll, "the halo of progress and modernity, without losing its tie to tradition (the handwork of painting)" ("den Nimbus des Fortschritts und der Modernität zu verleihen, ohne die Verbindung zur Tradition [zum Handwerk des Malens] zu verlieren"). Änne Söll, *Der neue Mann? Männerporträts von Otto Dix, Christian Schad und Anton Räderscheidt, 1914–1930* (Paderborn: Wilhelm Fink, 2016), 215. For further discussion of the significance of the white smock in the work of Dix and Schad, see ibid., 210–215.

[260] "Sehr sachlich, ganz Arbeitswerkstatt, ein bißchen sogar wie preußisches Amtsbüro. Wenigstens, was die tadellose Ordnung anbetrifft. Am meisten imponierte mir immer ein Tisch mit einem Regal, dessen Fächer, mit kleinen Zeichnungen beschriftet, den Inhalt anzeigten: Strippe, Reißnagel, Bleistifte, Kohle usw. So exakt und übersichtlich wie George Grosz' Zeichnungen." Paul Westheim, "Erinnerungen an George Grosz," *Die Weltkunst* 32, no. 22 (November 1962): 16.

of paper attached at the top provides space for her head. Before or after adding the model, Hubbuch also chose to add a self-portrait with a surprised or enraged expression, again adding paper to accommodate the right half of his torso. His clenched fists, heavily outlined in pencil, suggest an imminent dispute, and are humorously complemented by the crumpled paper bag. The areas with the heaviest contour lines—the model's legs and torso, the garment on the ironing board, and Hubbuch's jacket and fists—create a triangle of emphasis that seems to link the artist's exaggerated displeasure with these other two elements.

By presenting his studio as a visibly untidy space where personal dramas intersect with professional aspirations, Hubbuch seems to depicts the turbulent renegotiation of the relationship between artist and model that took place in this space during the 1920s. More so than other verists of his generation, Hubbuch displayed a heightened interest in, and receptivity to, the destabilizing emergence of the new woman—even if this receptivity remained ambivalent, and the project of renegotiating gendered expectations remained incomplete. The chaotic openness of his studio at this moment suggests both the tensions and the possibilities inherent in Hubbuch's relationships with Isai and other models before the rupture of 1933.

The centrality of female models in Hubbuch's work of the later 1920s brings us closer to an understanding of women in the context of Neue Sachlichkeit art, but it also leads inevitably to a further question: how did women who *produced* work that falls into the category of Neue Sachlichkeit understand their relationship to this strongly gendered style? Given the frequent identification of Neue Sachlichkeit with "masculine" qualities, how did female artists understand their place within this historical moment? The next chapter will explore this question through the figure of Hanna Nagel, one of Hubbuch's most distinguished students of the mid-1920s. While Nagel, like many of her classmates, was

deeply influenced by her instructor's style, she quickly established a nuanced approach to issues surrounding gender and the concept of the new woman, adding new dimensions to our understanding of the relationship between female artists and the category of Neue Sachlichkeit.

IV. Hanna Nagel

Now considered a leading female artist of the Weimar period, Nagel's reputation largely rests on two distinct bodies of work.[261] The first is epitomized by *Frau mit Hakennase* (1928), a portrait marked by crisp contours and subtle physical distortions [fig. 129]. The subject displays the cropped haircut and knee-length skirt of a fashionable 1920s woman, but her distinctive nose, augmented by the profile view that Nagel takes, is slightly exaggerated, resulting in an unconventional personification of glamour. Depicted in isolation against a blank background, the subject of *Frau mit Hakennase* appears monumental and iconic, perhaps reflecting Nagel's own self-confidence in the early phase of her studies.

The second component of Nagel's work that has attracted the most attention is exemplified by *Frühes Selbstbildnis* (1930) [fig. 130]. Here, the artist depicts herself attempting to draw while besieged by a group of miniature figures, each bearing the face of her (future) husband, Hans Fischer. *Frühes Selbstbildnis* belongs to a group of works from the early 1930s in which Nagel visualizes fears and frustrations related to marriage, motherhood, and their potential conflict with her artistic career. If *Frau mit Hakennase* represents Nagel's ability to create portraits that balance grotesque distortion with empathy, *Frühes Selbstbildnis* reveals her ability to give imaginative visual form to personal anxieties.

This chapter examines moments where crisis become visible in Nagel's work. Tracing the artist's development from the mid-1920s through the postwar period, I argue that her work

[261] Erika Rödiger-Diruf defines Nagel's work through dichotomy: "She worked on two levels, on one hand committed to the style and critical worldview of her teacher Karl Hubbuch, on the other hand creating from the world of female sensitivities and obsessions a world of motifs both peculiar and original" ("Sie arbeitete zweigleisig, das heißt einerseits in Stil und kritischer Wirklichkeitssicht ihrem Lehrer Karl Hubbuch verplichtet, andererseits aus der Welt weiblicher Befindlichkeiten und Obsessionen heraus eine sowohl eigen- als auch neuartige Motivwelt erfindend"). Erika Rödiger-Diruf, "Zum Geleit," in *Frauen im Aufbruch? Künstlerinnen im deutschen Südwesten, 1800–1945,* ed. Sylvia Bieber, Ursula Merkel, and Erika Rödiger-Diruf (Karlsruhe: Städtische Galerie, 1995), 27.

navigates unfolding states of crisis in her identity and personal relationships, as she struggled to envision and inhabit the emerging persona of the professional female artist.

Section one considers Nagel's striking figure studies of the late 1920s, including her astonishing portraits of nude male and female models. At a moment when male and female bodies were equally subject to anxious scrutiny, Nagel's portrait studies envision a more accommodating space where bodies might evade the rigid, standardized norms which they were otherwise expected to exhibit.

Section two explores Nagel's personal photographic album as a site of identity formation in the context of crisis. The album's photographs and handwritten annotations reveal Nagel's ongoing attempts to define her identity as both a new woman and a professional artist. This identity was threatened not only by the controversy surrounding women's suitability for careers in the visual arts, but by Nagel's personal relationships. The dramatic break with her favorite mentor, Hubbuch, and the start of a romance with her classmate and eventual husband, Hans Fischer, destabilized Nagel's project of identity formation, causing her to question her potential as an artist and her ability to sustain a both serious relationship and a demanding career.

Section three considers Nagel's drawings and prints circa 1928 to 1932 as explorations of emerging states of crisis in relationships between women and men. Conscious of discussions surrounding the so-called "crisis of marriage," Nagel's work explores how heterosexual relationships struggled to accommodate women's changing behaviors and expectations, particularly in the context of the *Künstlerehepaar,* or artists' marriage.

Section four considers Nagel's so-called "dark pictures" (*dunkle Blätter*) as evidence of a resigned response to a formerly unresolved crisis situation. The dark pictures are drawings in ink and wash that typically feature Nagel in dreamlike, melancholy scenarios. I argue that these

works reflect Nagel's inability fully to inhabit the longed-for role of professional artist. Presenting herself as a mythic, historic, or timeless figure rather than a visibly modern woman, Nagel implicitly critiques the concept of the new woman and the varieties of liberation that it promised but ultimately failed to deliver. If Nagel's crisis of identity implied the potential for multiple possible outcomes, the dark pictures signal the end of that potential and the closure of alternative paths.

A. Reception History

Nagel enrolled at the Badische Landeskunstschule (BLKS) in Karlsruhe in 1925 and remained there until 1929, when she moved to Berlin to study at the Vereinigten Staatlichen Schulen für freie und angewandte Kunst. In 1931, she married a fellow student, Hans Fischer, and concluded her studies the following year. She received the Rome Prize of the Deutsche Akademie in Berlin in 1933, which funded a nine-month residency in Rome, and the Dürer Prize in 1935.[262] In 1937, she received the Kassel Prize, as well as a silver medal for graphic art at the Interationale Weltausstellung in Paris. The outbreak of war in 1939 presented a new challenge: her husband was conscripted, leaving her the sole caretaker of their daughter (born 1938).[263]

[262] Hans Fischer also received the Rome Prize in 1934, enabling the couple to spend a second nine-month residency in Rome.

[263] Following the ascent of the National Socialist regime, Nagel hid her provocative student work of the 1920s, anticipating that it would be classified as degenerate and that her ability to work would be revoked. During the war, she lived a financially precarious existence and supported herself with various jobs: drawing for the Heidelberg anatomical institute and working in a drug factory, a bottle factory, and an industrial kitchen. See Meinhold Lurz, "Hanna Nagel (1907–1975): 'Meine Blätter soll man ansehen, daß sie von einer Frau herrühren'," *Hierzuland* 14, no. 28 (November 1999): 29. Nagel also remained in contact with Käthe Kollwitz, who was condemned as degenerate, through the 1930s.

Nagel and her husband separated after the war, and she returned to Heidelberg, where she supported herself, her mother, and her daughter through commercial illustration.[264]

Nagel continued to produce "dark pictures" until the end of her life, eventually completing about 500 such works. Meanwhile, her student work of the 1920s and early 1930s, which she hid following the ascension of the National Socialist regime in 1933, remained unknown until after her death.[265] Nagel's turn to commercial work after 1945 may have been motivated primarily by financial necessity, but she may also have felt alienated by the widespread embrace of abstraction in West Germany during the postwar period. This possibility is suggested by an undated self-portrait drawing in which Nagel holds an abstract work at arm's length and regards it indifferently. The title, "Ich kann und kann nicht abstrakt," seems to summarize Nagel's lack of interest in exploring this style.[266]

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[264] Nagel produced illustrations for newspapers, magazines, and books during this period; she also taught *Volkshochschule* (adult education) courses. Anne-Kathrin Herber, "Frauen an deutschen Kunstakademien im 20. Jahrhundert. Ausbildungsmöglichkeiten für Künstlerinnen ab 1919 unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der süddeutschen Kunstakademien," PhD diss. (Universität Heidelberg, 2009), 144. Herber contrasts Nagel's professional trajectory with that of Fridel Dethleffs-Edelmann (1899–1982), one of the first female students to enroll at the BLKS in 1919. Dethleffs-Edelmann received ongoing financial and moral support from her husband and did not seem to share Nagel's anxiety about balancing family with career; ibid., 145. (Like Nagel, Dethleffs-Edelmann had one daughter, born in 1933.)

[265] Irene Fischer-Nagel suggests that her mother kept her work hidden in a locked chest because she feared persecution from the government. Irene Fischer-Nagel, conversation with the author, June 2015.

[266] The drawing is reproduced in Eberhard Ruhmer, *Hanna Nagel* (Munich: Bruckmann, 1965), 13. Herber again contrasts Nagel with Dethleffs-Edelmann, who willingly experimented with abstract painting and collage during the postwar period; Herber, "Frauen an deutschen Kunstakademien," 180n592. In 1953, Ludwig Meidner expressed similar apprehension that the work of his wife, Else Meidner (1901–1987), would not be well-received on the contemporary market: "My wife did very nice figurative oil paintings last year …. Unfortunately, this kind of art is not up-to-date in London at all; here, purely abstract (non-figurative) work is coming to the fore more and more. In New York, this kind of painting has been en vogue for years, and in Germany, figurative painting is hardly even accepted at the big exhibitions any more." Ludwig Meidner to Franz Landsberger, June 16, 1953, quoted in Georg Heuberger, *Ludwig und Else Meidner* (Frankfurt: Jüdisches Museum, 2002), 95. On the difficulties that female artists faced when trying to reestablish their careers in the 1950s, see Gisela Breitling, "Rückkehr der Männer: Kunst und Künstlerinnen in der 50er Jahre," in *Das verborgene Museum,* vol. 1, *Dokumentation der Kunst von Frauen in Berliner öffentlichen Sammlungen* (Berlin: Hentrich, 1987), 39–44, and Ursula Rüter, "'Müssen Malerinnen häßlich sein?' Bildende Künstlerinnen im Berlin der Nachkriegzeit," in *Profession ohne Tradition: 125 Jahre Verein der Berliner Künstlerinnen,* ed. Dietmar Fuhrmann et al. (Berlin: Berlinische Galerie, 1992), 171–182. For a nuanced look at the postwar period and women's substantial contributions therein, see Lynette Roth, ed., *Inventur: Art in*

Today, Nagel's work of the late 1920s and early 1930s is widely acknowledged as a major contribution to figurative graphic art of the Weimar period.[267] Yet the interrupted progress of her career makes the task of assessing her historical significance somewhat challenging. Ingrid van der Dollen describes the "double 'disappearance'" experienced by female artists born between 1890 and 1910: not only were their careers interrupted by the onset of dictatorship and war, but they also remained largely absent from scholarship and exhibitions until the 1980s.[268]

Germany, 1943–1955 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Art Museums, 2018). In 1953, Nagel remarked that she would have liked to become a professor ("'Frau Professor Nagel'—darüber wäre ich glücklich." Nagel quoted in Irene Fischer-Nagel, ed., *Ich zeichne, weil es mein Leben ist* (Karlsruhe: G. Braun, 1977), 34. Although the BLKS reopened in winter 1947 (as the Badische Akademie der Bildenden Künste), the first female professor (Silvia Bächli, b. 1956) was not hired until 1993; Brigitte Baumstark, "Vorwort," in *Hanna Nagel: Frühe Werke 1926–1933* (Karlsruhe: Städtische Galerie, 2007), 11.

[267] Awareness of Nagel's work has remained consistently strong in Karlsruhe, where she has been the subject of two solo exhibitions: *Hanna Nagel: Frühe Arbeiten 1926–1934* (Künstlerhaus-Galerie, 1981) and *Hanna Nagel: Frühe Werke 1926–1933* (Städtische Galerie, 2007). The landmark exhibition *Profession ohne Tradition: 150 Jahre Verein der Berliner Künstlerinnen* (Berlinische Galerie, 1992) included a representative group of her portrait studies. The Städtische Galerie Karlsruhe devoted an entire gallery to her work in the comprehensive exhibition *Frauen im Aufbruch? Künstlerinnen im deutschen Südwesten 1800–1945* (1995). The Städtische Galerie also included five drawings and Nagel's sole self-portrait in oil (1928) in the exhibition *Die 20er Jahre in Karlsruhe* (2005), although they are not reproduced in the catalogue. A more limited but representative selection of Nagel's work appeared in *Splendor and Misery of the Weimar Republic* (Schirn Kunsthalle Frankfurt, 2017), further confirming her status as a key artist of the Weimar period. Caroline Hess's dissertation, published as *Hanna Nagels politisches Frühwerk: Bilder alltägliche Discrimination* (Norderstedt: BoD, 2019), examines Nagel's work through the lens of feminist theory.

On the other hand, the two most recent major exhibitions on Neue Sachlichkeit in the United States, *Glitter and Doom: German Portraits from the 1920s* (Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2006) and *New Objectivity: Modern German Art in the Weimar Republic, 1919–1933* (Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 2015) did not feature work by Nagel, perhaps indicating that awareness of her work remains low outside of Germany. Her omission from *Glitter and Doom* is somewhat surprising given that the museum purchased a pair of 1928 portrait studies in 2004; see Sabine Rewald, two entries on Hanna Nagel, in "Recent Acquisitions, A Selection: 2004–2005," *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 63, no. 2 (Fall 2005): 39. Although Rewald notes that Nagel "remains little known even in her native Germany," her visibility has obviously increased over the past fifteen years.

[268] "die doppelte 'Verschollenheit'." Ingrid von der Dollen, *Malerinnen im 20. Jahrhundert: Bildkunst der 'verschollenen Generation': Gebuhrtsjahrgänge 1890–1910* (Munich: Hirmer, 2000), 9–10. As artist Gertrud von Hassel (1908–1999) remarked in 1981, "Our entire generation is actually an intermediate generation, which was still too young and undeveloped in the 1920s and did not want to belong to Nazi art, and which today is seen by young people as old-fashioned and also unwanted." ("Unsere ganze Generation ist eigentlich eine Zwischengeneration, die für die 20er Jahre noch zu jung und unentwickelt war und die zur Nazikunst nicht gehören wollte, und die heute von den Jungen als altmodisch auch wieder nicht gewollt wird.") Von Hassel to Ulrika Evers, June 17, 1981, quoted in ibid., 9.

These factors certainly affected Nagel's reception, as did the fact that her most significant and critically-acclaimed work remained unknown before 1975.

Nagel's work allows us to approach the question of the relationship of the so-called new woman with the category of Neue Sachlichkeit. Nagel clearly understood herself to be a member of the emerging category of the new woman, an omnipresent and controversial figure in the popular imagination of the Weimar period. The new woman enjoyed greater independence and expanded opportunities in the areas of education, work, and romantic relationships.[269] Through countless images in the popular illustrated press, the new woman became indelibly associated with a specific look, consisting of bobbed hair (a style known as the "Bubikopf"), shortened skirts, and even masculine-inspired attire.[270] The new ideal of a slim and muscular body led many women to pursue sports and other forms of exercise. Through film and illustrated magazines and newspapers, the new woman became highly visible as a concept, even if her emancipated lifestyle remained more of an aspirational ideal than a reality for many women.

While the landmark 2015 exhibition *Die Neue Frau? Malerinnen und Grafikerinnen der Neuen Sachlichkeit* (which featured Nagel's work prominently) implies a clear link between the "neue Frau" and the "neue Sachlichkeit," the relationship between these two categories is less

[269] Literature on the topic of the new woman is vast and beyond the scope of this chapter. For the history of women in the Weimar period, see Frevert, *Women in German History*; Canning, "Women and the Politics of Gender"; and Boak, *Women in the Weimar Republic.* For the new woman in art and popular visual culture, see Katharina Sykora et al., eds., *Die Neue Frau: Herausforderung für Bildmedien der Zwanziger Jahre* (Marburg: Jonas Verlag, 1993); Katharina von Ankum, ed., *Women in the Metropolis* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997); and Gesa Kessemeier, *Sportlich, sachlich, männlich: Das Bild der "Neuen Frau" in den zwanziger Jahren: Zur Konstruktion geschlechtsspezifischer Körperbilder in der Mode der Jahre 1920 bis 1929* (Dortmund: Edition Ebersbach, 2000). For an overview the of issues at stake in the concept of the new woman—including the so-called "crisis of masculinity," concerns about sexuality and reproduction, and reactionary responses to modernity in general—see Graf, "Anticipating the Future in the Present."

[270] Graf, "Anticipating the Future in the Present," 663.

obvious than it might first appear.[271] In fact, Neue Sachlichkeit has frequently been understood as a "masculine" tendency, both during the Weimar period and after.[272] Marsha Meskimmon argues that "the practitioners and the audience" of Neue Sachlichkeit "were assumed to be male which meant that the art both conveyed and responded to the viewpoint of men living in the Weimar Republic."[273] In his study of "the gendering of New Objectivity," Richard McCormick comes to a very similar conclusion: "the gender of the subject who seemingly produced it, the subject it glorified, and to whom it was addressed, was obviously, explicitly, indeed definitely *masculine*. New Objectivity is typified by engineers, technicians, scientists, journalists, boxers, athletes, and the spectators for whom the Tiller girls displayed their legs."[274] If both the creators of and the audience for Neue Sachlichkeit cultural products are assumed to be male, this raises the question of whether a concomitant trend of Neue Sachlichkeit work produced by and for a female audience can be said to exist.

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[271] This exhibition brought together nearly 200 works by seventeen women artists of the Weimar period, many of whom have long been excluded from the "canon" of Neue Sachlichkeit: "Die weibliche Künstlerschaft wurde bisher kaum zum Kanon der Neuen Sachlichkeit gezählt." Isabell Schenk-Weininger, "Vorwort und Dank," in *Die Neue Frau? Malerinnen und Grafikerinnen der Neuen Sachlichkeit* (Bietigheim-Bissingen: Städtische Galerie Bietigheim-Bissingen, 2015), 6. The exhibition catalogue does not explicitly interrogate the relationship between these two terms. Isabell Schenk-Weininger's introduction assumes that the artists featured in the exhibition can be classified unequivocally as exemplifying Neue Sachlichkeit tendencies, even if some figures, such as Elfried Lohse-Wächtler, do not seem to fit comfortably in this category; see Isabell Schenk-Weininger, "Die Neue Frau? Zur Differenzierung des Frauenbildes in Darstellungen von Malerinnen und Grafikerinnen der Neuen Sachlichkeit," in ibid., 8–21.

[272] Christine Ujma explores some of the gendered rhetoric surrounding Neue Sachlichkeit, particularly in the writings of Emil Utitz and Ernst Bloch. Utitz praises Neue Sachlichkeit as a restoration of a "stern, austere form of masculine humanity," rescuing culture from the decadent, sensual (and thus feminine) qualities of expressionism. Bloch also sees Neue Sachlichkeit as restoring a "male bourgeois" system, but interprets this as a harmful suppression of the spiritual, "feminine" aspect of creativity. See Christine Ujma, "Masculine Territories? Women and the Theories of the Avant-Garde," in *Practicing Modernity: Female Creativity in the Weimar Republic*, ed. Christiane Schönfeld (Würzburg: Königshausen und Neumann, 2006), 14–26.

[273] Marsha Meskimmon, "Domesticity and Dissent: The Role of Women Realists in the Weimar Republic," in *Domesticity and Dissent: The Role of Women Artists in Germany, 1918–1938,* ed. Amanda Wadsley (Leicester: Leicester Museums, Arts and Records Service, 1992), 23.

[274] McCormick, *Gender and Sexuality in Weimar Modernity*, 47. For a seminal reading of female spectatorship as a crucial yet overlooked factor in Weimar cinema and photojournalism, see Patrice Petro, *Joyless Streets: Women and Melodramatic Representation in Weimar Germany* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989).

To my knowledge, no single study about the relationship between gender and Neue Sachlichkeit in visual art of the 1920s currently exists.[275] Marsha Meskimmon perhaps comes closest to addressing this topic, arguing for a politically-oriented reevaluation of the work by women artists (including Nagel) that has in the past been classified as purely personal.[276] In *We Weren't Modern Enough,* Meskimmon offers a broad overview of the often fraught cultural position of women artists in the Weimar period.[277] Manja Seelen offers an iconographical approach to depictions of women in the work of both male and female artists during the Weimar period, but does not interrogate the gendered connotations of the term Neue Sachlichkeit.[278] McCormick's *Gender and Sexuality in Weimar Modernity* represents the strongest and most sustained attempt to address this topic, but with a focus on film and literature rather than visual art; similarly, Patrice Petro's *Joyless Streets* interrogates female subjectivity in relation to film and photojournalism. More recently, Maria Makela has explored the trope of the "masculine" woman as a threat to male subjectivity and to the emerging study of sexology during the 1920s,

[275] An exception to this rule is Söll's *Der Neue Mann?,* which deals explicitly with the question of masculinity and Neue Sachlichkeit through an analysis of male portraiture between World War I and 1930. Söll suggests that this conceptual approach is overdue: "In contrast to literary and film studies, art history has hardly dealt with aspects of masculinity in New Objectivity…." ("Im Gegensatz zur Literatur- und Filmwissenschaft hat sich die Kunstwissenschaft mit Aspekten der Männlichkeit in der Neuen Sachlichkeit noch so gut wie gar nicht befasst ...."). Söll, *Der neue Mann?*, 236n42.

[276] Marsha Meskimmon, "Politics, the Neue Sachlichkeit and Women Artists," in *Visions of the "Neue Frau": Women and the Visual Arts in Weimar Germany*, ed. Marsha Meskimmon and Shearer West (Aldershot, England: Scolar Press, 1995), 9–27.

[277] Meskimmon, We Weren't Modern Enough.

[278] Manja Seelen, Das Bild der Frau in Werken deutscher Künstlerinnen und Künstler der Neuen Sachlichkeit (Münster: Lit Verlag, 1995).

which classified "normal" versus "deviant" modes of sexual expression; however, her work does not explore whether Neue Sachlichkeit can or should be understood in gendered terms.[279]

The question of the relationship between Neue Sachlichkeit and gender is complicated by the fact that for women of Nagel's generation, who had suddenly gained access to artistic training that was previously beyond their reach, the question of whether to pursue a "new" objectivity or a "return to order" came with a different set of stakes than it did for their male peers. Nagel belonged to the first generation of women permitted to study at state art academies following the reforms of the Weimar Constitution in 1919.[280] As Jörn Merkert notes, aspiring female artists were eager to enter the academy not only to gain access to more resources, but also

[279] Maria Makela, "New Women, New Men, New Objectivity," in *New Objectivity: Modern German Art in the Weimar Republic,* ed. Stephanie Barron and Sabine Eckmann (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 2015), 51–63.

[280] Before 1919, women could seek artistic instruction either through private women-only art schools—where tuition was significantly more expensive—or through individual private lessons. A well-known women's art school opened in Karlsruhe in 1885 and finally closed due to dwindling enrollment in 1923. For more on this institution, see Ulrike Grammbitter, "Die 'Malweiber' oder: Wer küßt den Künstler, wenn die Muse sich selbst küßt?," in *Kunst in Karlsruhe 1900–1950* (Karlsruhe: Müller, 1981), 27–28. For the history of women's art education in southwest Germany, see Bieber, Merkel, and Rödiger-Diruf, *Frauen im Aufbruch?;* for the history of the same topic in Berlin, see Fuhrmann et al., *Profession ohne Tradition.*

Recently, Paris Spies-Gans has introduced a revisionist view of women's participation in the visual arts in London and Paris between 1760 and 1830. Examining exhibition records from both the Royal Academy and the Salon, Spies-Gans demonstrates that women participated in public exhibitions during this period at a much higher rate than scholars have previously acknowledged. She argues that the "emergence of at least thirteen hundred female artists over the course of the Revolutionary era necessitates a crucial recasting of the period's narrative to include the ubiquity of women in the professional, public art world, and a concomitant reevaluation of their dominant categorization as 'amateur' artists" (394). While the data Spies-Gans presents are valuable and will undoubtedly generate further research, more information—pertaining to such questions as where these women received their training; the genre and medium of the works they submitted for exhibition; and contemporary critical reactions to their work—would provide a fuller picture of their status and reception in a professional context. Spies-Gans downplays the significance of women's exclusion from figure drawing courses, reasoning that their access to female models compensated for this hindrance, but without further evidence about women's critical reception, this argument is not entirely persuasive. See Paris Spies-Gans, "Exceptional, but not Exceptions: Public Exhibitions and the Rise of the Woman Artist in London and Paris, 1760–1830," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 51, no. 4 (Summer 2018): 393–416.

to evade the "blemish of dilettantism" associated with women's art schools.[281] Once women entered state academies, the imperative to prove their professional competence led many of them to embrace the "academicism" that some of their (male) contemporaries were in the process of undermining, if not entirely rejecting.[282] Dorothy Rowe concludes that the use of figuration by female artists in the 1920s cannot be understood simply as a reactionary rejection of modernist strategies, but must be seen as a self-affirming display of professional achievement.[283]

Nagel's work suggests that the relationship between the "neue Frau" and the "Neue Sachlichkeit" should be linked not by the binary-generating "*und*" but the participatory "*in.*" Through her work, Nagel found space *within* the implicitly male-gendered concept of "Sachlichkeit" to explore topics specific to women—specifically, the unfolding crisis of identity that accompanied her entry into professional training.

B. Women and the Visual Arts in Weimar: Ambivalent Gains

Women achieved unprecedented prominence and success in the visual arts during Weimar period. As young women enrolled at state art academies in increasing numbers, women who had received their artistic training before 1919 (whether through private instruction, applied art schools, or foreign study) found themselves in an environment newly receptive to the concept of the professional female artist. They increasingly found employment as illustrators for the

[281] "Makel des Dilettantismus"; Jörn Merkert, "Darum geht es. Geht es darum? Oder die Entwicklung und Mißachtung der Kunst von Frauen erforscht und ausgestellt durch die Wissenschaftsgruppe des Vereins der Berliner Künstlerinnen unter Anleitung der Berlinischen Galerie," in Fuhrmann et al., *Profession ohne Tradition,* 17.

[282] Ibid.

[283] Dorothy Rowe, "Representing Herself: Lotte Laserstein Between Subject and Object," in Schönfeld, *Practicing Modernity,* 70.

popular press; among this group, Jeanne Mammen (1890–1976) achieved particular acclaim.[284] A large number of women established careers in the expanding field of photography.[285] Some women, such as Hannah Höch (1889–1978) and Marta Hegemann (1894–1970), participated in the avant-garde activities of Dada, while others, such as Lotte Laserstein (1898–1993), found success working in a more traditional academic style.[286] Women also produced "Tendenzkunst," art with a specific political agenda. For example, Lea Grundig (1906–1977) co-founded the *Association of Revolutionary Visual Artists of Germany* (ARBKD or Asso) in 1928.[287] Alice Lex-Nerlinger (1893–1975) also joined this group and experimented with political photomontage in the vein of John Heartfield.[288] Associations that promoted women in the arts, such as the Verein der Berliner Künstlerinnen (founded 1867), were joined by new organizations like the Gemeinschaft Deutscher und Oesterreichischer Künsterlinnenvereine (GEDOK, founded 1926).

Although increasingly visible and active in the art world, women had to contend with lingering skepticism about the legitimacy of their pursuits. As late as 1928, Hans Hildebrandt questioned how far women's professional aspirations could lead. "The woman as creative artist has never sought, let alone achieved, the highest level. And one wonders if she will ever achieve it. … In spite of an unexpected increase in independence, the old experience still proves true: the

[284] See Thomas Köhler and Annelie Lütgens, eds., *Jeanne Mammen: The Observer: Retrospective 1910–1975* (Munich: Hirmer, 2017).

[285] See Ute Eskildsen, ed., Fotografieren hieß teilnehmen: Fotografinnen der Weimarer Republik (Düsseldorf: Richter, 1994).

[286] For Höch, see Dawn Ades and Daniel Herrmann, eds., *Hannah Höch* (Munich: Prestel, 2014); for Hegemann, see Dorothy Rowe, *After Dada: Marta Hegemann and the Cologne Avant-Garde* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013)*;* for Laserstein, see Alexander Eiling and Elena Schroll, eds., *Lotte Laserstein: Face to Face* (Munich: Prestel Verlag, 2018).

[287] See *Lea Grundig: Jüdin, Kommunistin, Grafikerin* (Berlin: Ladengalerie, 1997).

[288] See Marion Beckers, ed., *Alice Lex-Nerlinger, 1893–1975: Fotomonteurin und Malerin* (Berlin: Das verborgene Museum, 2016).

woman's art accompanies the man's. She is the second voice in the orchestra ...."[289] Hildebrandt essentially recapitulates an argument that Karl Scheffler made twenty years previously ("Thus, the female painter is essentially dependent on the imitation and after-sensation of men's work ... [t]here is always a lack of originality"), proving how durable such opinions could be.[290]

The collision of new opportunities for professional development with old prejudices about women's innate talent (or lack thereof) generated a significant amount of controversy. In the introduction to *Die Bildende Künstlerin*—an anthology of texts constituting "a history of professionalization" of the female artist in Germany between 1855 and 1945—Carola Muysers claims that "[h]ardly any other professional aspiration experienced similarly long-lasting and lively reactions in the public media."[291] The critical discussion surrounding female artists reached a peak of intensity between 1927 and 1931, stimulated by six major exhibitions of women's art that took place during these years—precisely at the time when Nagel was attempting to envision her potential future in this role.[292]

An influential paradigm for the female artist crystallized in Robert Breuer's "The Woman in Self-Portraiture: How Painting Women See Themselves" (*Uhu,* February 1927). Regarding the category of women's self-portraiture, Breuer concludes that "its most valuable specimens

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[289] "Das Allerhöchste ... hat eine Frau als gestaltende Künstlerin noch nie erstrebt, geschweige denn erreicht. Und es fragt sich, ob sie es je erreichen wird. … Trotz unverhoffter Steigerung der Selbstständigkeit bewahrheitet sich dennoch die alte Erfahrung auch jetzt: Die Kunst der Frau begleitet die Kunst des Mannes. Sie ist die zweite Stimme im Orchester …." Hans Hildebrandt, *Die Frau als Künstlerin* (Berlin: Mosse Buchverlag, 1928), quoted in Carola Muysers, ed., *Die Bildende Künstlerin: Wertung und Wandel in deutschen Quellentexten, 1855–1945* (Amsterdam: Verlag der Kunst, 1999), 186 and 191.

[290] "So ist denn auch die Malerin im wesentlichen auf Nachahmung und Nachempfindung der Männerwerke angewiesen ... Immer fehlt es an Originalität." Karl Scheffler, *Die Frau und die Kunst* (Berlin: Bard, 1908), quoted in ibid., 106.

[291] "eine Professionalisierungsgeschichte"; "Kaum eine andere berufliche Bestrebung hat vergleichbar langjährige und lebhafte Reaktionen in den öffentlichen Medien ... erfahren." Carola Muysers, "Einleitung," in ibid., 17.

[292] Ibid., 24.

make the sacred song of love and motherliness audible."[293] The opening spread juxtaposes Paula Modersohn-Becker's *Selbstbildnis mit Kamelienzweig*, paired with a photograph of the artist in bed with her newborn child, and a pensive self-portrait etching by Käthe Kollwitz [figs. 131–132]. Breuer assesses both artists in terms of their fundamental "motherliness." Describing Modersohn-Becker, he says, "[h]er entire life, her artistic life, was a hidden longing for motherliness: her painting is like a gentle birth of form."[294] Breuer also claims, with regards to Kollwitz's numerous self-portraits, that "we are always gazing at the face of a mother … who wants to hold in her lap forever, not just her own children, but those of all unfortunate people."[295]

Muysers distinguishes Breuer's article as a key moment when critics began to understand "motherliness," previously seen as a liability that diminished the stature of women's art, as a positive and essential element of female creativity.[296] "To this day, Kollwitz and Modersohn-Becker are recognized as the best-known female personalities in German art and as the ones who incorporated the motherhood-motif into modern painting and graphics. Combined with their fates—Modersohn-Becker dying in childbirth and Kollwitz losing a son in World War I—this provided art history with a convenient fundamental model of a still-prevailing 'female' artist-myth."[297] The fact that these two figures—one who had been dead for twenty years and one who

[293] "… gerade seine wertvollsten Exemplare das hohe Lied der Liebe und der Mütterlichkeit hörbar werden lassen." Robert Breuer, "Die Frau im Selbstbildnis: Wie malende Frauen sich sehen," *Uhu* 3, no. 5 (February 1927): 61.

[294] "Ihr ganzes Leben, ihr Künstlerleben, war geheime Sehnsucht nach der Mütterlichkeit: ihr Malen ist wie ein sanftes Gebären der Form ….." Ibid., 66.

[295] "stets blicken wir in das Antlitz einer Mutter, … die nicht nur ihre leibliche Kinder, die alles arme Volk in ihrem Schoß ewiglich bergen möchte." Ibid.

[296] "Mütterlichkeit"; Muysers, "Einleitung," 23.

[297] "Bis heute gelten Kollwitz und Modersohn-Becker als die bekanntesten weiblichen Persönlichkeiten der deutschen Kunst und als diejenigen, die das Mutterschaftsmotiv der modernen Malerei und Graphik einverleibten.

was already 60 years old—were implicitly acknowledged as the most important representatives of women as modernists indicates the dearth of role models for a young female artist in 1927.[298]

If the concept of "motherliness" became enshrined in the later 1920s as the primary impetus behind women's artistic output, it also seemed to disbar women from the objective, impartial mindset associated with Neue Sachlichkeit. In 1930, Paul Ferdinandt Schmidt contended that "portraying one's own child is the most beautiful reward and the most mature achievement for the artist who is herself a mother. In this work she experiences the act of birth once more, at a higher level and more completely. One might put it this way: she sublimates it through her art."[299] The expectation that art produced by women must reveal a certain degree of "motherliness" could lead to disappointment. Reviewing the exhibition *Das Kind* (Berlin, 1930), Paul Friedrich complains, "I really miss the inner warmth of feeling in this 'primal theme of woman.' It demonstrates how devastatingly the idiotic 'Sachlichkeit' destroys God's mercy in these spiritual districts."[300] Here, work that attempted to approach the subject of motherhood in a

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Vereint mit ihren Schicksalen—Modersohn-Becker im Kindbett verstorben und Kollwitz einen Sohn im Ersten Weltkrieg verlierend—, bot dies der Kunstgeschichte des passende Grundmuster zu einem immer noch aktuellen 'weiblichen' Künstlermythos." Ibid., 23–24.

[298] In April 1930, *Die Neue Illustrierte Frauenzeitung* ran a multi-week competition called "Profession and Face" ("Beruf und Gesicht), asking readers to guess women's professions based on photographs of their faces. Käthe Kollwitz served as the example of the artist—an unsurprising choice given her towering reputation, but also indicative, perhaps, of a lack of alternative options that the magazine's editors felt could convincingly represent this role. Rowe, "Representing Herself," 72–74.

[299] "... das eigne Kind zu schildern ist schönster Lohn und reifste Ausgabe für die Künstlerin, die selbst Mutter ist. In dieser Arbeit erlebt sie den Akt der Geburt auf einer höhern Stufe noch einmal und vollendeter. Man möchte es so ausdrücken: sie sublimiert ihn durch ihre Kunst." Paul Ferdinand Schmidt, "Künstlerinnen und ihre Kinder," *Frau und Gegenwart* 27 (1930–31), quoted in Muysers, *Die bildende Künstlerin,* 212.

[300] "Ich vermisse bei diesem 'Urthema der Frau' so recht die innere Wärme des Gefühls. Es zeigt, wie verheerend die blöde 'Sachlichkeit' das Gott erbarm gerade in diesen seelischen Bezirken wütet." Paul Friedrich, "Das Kind," *Berliner Börsen-Courier*, November 19, 1930, quoted in ibid., 215.

contemporary "sachlich" style was perceived to be an inappropriate use of women's artistic capacity.

Returning to Breuer's article, the remaining illustrations suggest a limited range of role models who would have accessible to someone like Nagel in 1927. Marie Laurencin (1883–1956) renowned for her affiliation with the Section d'Or in Paris, appears "distant from the world and close to life, behind the fantasy of a seductive and even rescuing screen" [fig. 133].[301] Berlin-based Augusta von Zitzewitz (1880–1960), a former member of the Freie Secession who contributed woodcuts to the left-wing magazine *Die Aktion*, appears in a self-portrait with her daughter on her lap; she embraces the child with one hand and holds a brush with the other, suggesting a seamless unity between her roles as mother and artist [fig. 134]. The 1909 self-portrait of the Russian Zinaida Serebriakova (1884–1967) embodies a pre-war ideal of glamour [fig. 135], while Olga Sacharoff (here "Sacharowa") (1889–1967), who collaborated with Francis Picabia on the Dadaist magazine *391*, appears in a Henri Rousseau-style interior with her pet birds and cat [fig. 136]. Overall, these images bolster the associations between women and either motherhood or domesticity. Only the self-taught French Hélène Perdriat (1894–1969) suggests an alternative. In her portrait photograph by Man Ray, she embodies the ideal of the new woman as a figure of imposing glamour, while her nude self-portrait in an imaginary landscape is described as representing "the inner essence of the artist in symbolic form" [fig. 137].[302]

[301] "… weltfern und lebensnah, hinter der Phantastik eine verführenden und doch rettenden Gitters." Breuer, "Die Frau im Selbstbildnis," 64.

[302] "das innere Wesen der Malerin in symbolisierender Gestalt"; ibid., 63.

Given the uncertain status of the female artist in the 1920s, Nagel perceived her own entry into professional training as shaped by implicit crises. Women's presence in the formerly restricted space of the life drawing class destabilized entrenched expectations about the relationship between students and models. Further, changing expectations about male and female bodies, which now had to contend with standardized ideals of physical fitness, affected her interactions with the models who posed for her classes. Nagel's figure studies of the late 1920s document her attempt to respond to these crises by taking advantage of the fluid, mobile capacity of drawing.

C. The Male Body Between "Crisis" and "Fortification"

Nagel's depictions of male models are of particular interest due to both the longstanding controversy surrounding women's study of nude models and the gender politics at play at the BLKS during the 1920s. Although drawing from nude models was regarded as evidence of professional competence, women's participation in this aspect of artistic training was long considered morally taboo. Even women's art schools who made use of nude models did so in secret, as public knowledge of this behavior could result in scandal and outrage; for example, the women's art school in Karlsruhe endured severe criticism in the press in the early 1890s when its use of nude male models became publicly known.[303] A major objection to admitting women to state art academies was the space constraint that would result from the supposed necessity of creating separate classroom areas for men and women.[304] The presence of Nagel and her female

[303] Herber, "Frauen an deutschen Kunstakademien," 51.

[304] Ibid., 50. Another objection was that female students would distract their male classmates.

classmate in figure drawing classes at the BLKS was therefore far from a neutral situation; indeed, it created an unspoken crisis.

The arrival of women at the academy added a potentially destabilizing element to an environment in which the sexual availability of female models had long been taken for granted. Schlichter's account of the relationship among models, students, and professors during his time as a student reveals a sexually permissive dynamic that seems to have persisted into the 1920s. Describing the women who served as models, he explained, "They recruited themselves mainly from that indefinable class of women who are constantly changing back and forth between prostitutes and proletarians. Their effect was a completely demoralizing one given the lack of control at the school. Through the establishment of the master studios, door and gate were open to every debauchery. Hardly a semester passed that did not have its scandals."[305] An environment of "debauchery" is also implied in Scholz's account of his visit to Hubbuch's studio, where his wife, Hilde Isai, informs Scholz that "My husband is in the brothel!"[306] to indicate that Hubbuch was currently in a life drawing class.

Nagel's album contains a comment next to a photograph of male classmates that seems to acknowledge the sometimes predatory nature of the artist-model relationship: "Master students see the world *only* from an erotic point of view, the privilege of the 'artist'!"[307] This "privilege" is further suggested by a photograph of Hubbuch's students posing with models on their laps

[305] "Sie rekrutierten sich hauptsächlich aus jener undefinierbaren Schicht von Frauen, die zwischen Prostituierten und Proletarierinnen ständig hin und her wechseln. Ihre Wirkung war bei der mangelhaften Kontrolle an der Schule eine durchaus demoralisierende. Durch die Einrichtung der Meisterateliers war jeder Ausschweifung Tor und Tör geöffnet. Es verging kaum ein Semester, das nicht seine Skandale aufzuweisen hatte." Schlichter, *Tönerne Füße*, 91–92.

[306] "Mein Mann ist gerade im Puff!" Scholz, "als ob," quoted in Götz, "Viermal Hilde," 157.

[307] "Meisterschüler sehen die Welt nur von erotischen Standpunkt, das Privileg des 'Künstlers'!"

(February 1927); Nagel notes the presence of models Milli and Mädi, describing the latter as a "hussy" [fig. 138].[308] Another photograph features a student known as Knöppche posing playfully with the model Friedel, who is nude aside from her shoes [fig. 139]. The caption reads, "Knöppche as rapist and Friedel, who loves him. Is this how it goes in the etching class?"[309] The porous boundaries between models and students is further suggested by a photograph from the etching class, where Nagel sits next to a student who might be sharing a flirtatious moment with Friedel, propping his foot familiarly on the stage where she sits and meeting her gaze intently [fig. 140]. The sudden entrance of women into a space where such interactions were tacitly permitted must have made Nagel and her female classmates acutely aware of the uneven power dynamic that persisted between models and students.

Nagel's studies of male nudes reveal an attempt to correct this power imbalance by showing the male body in positions that undermine its traditional manifestation as a symbol of heroism and strength.[310] The unusual nature of these images is apparent when compared with a more conventional study from Hermann Gehri's class (May 1928) [fig. 141]. With confident strokes, Nagel twice captures the contours of the reclining model, adding extensive modeling to the figure at the top. This drawing is akin to similar studies from 1924 by Gretel Haas-Gerber

[308] "Luder." In the same caption, Nagel notes that Hubbuch warned her future husband, Hans Fischer (pictured with an "X" over his head) to "beware of little girls!" ("nehmen sie sich vor den kleinen Mädchen in Acht!"), a comment that Nadine Schuster finds hypocritical, as Hubbuch was known to be involved with the 16-year-old dancer Martha Huber at this time; Nadine Schuster, "Kontinuitäten, Transformationen oder Brüche? Aspekte der Aktmalerei in Karlsruhe in den 1920er und 1930er Jahre," PhD diss. (Universität Heidelberg, 2011), 242.

[309] "Knöppche als Vergewaltiger und Friedel, die ihn liebt. In der Radierklasse gehts so zu?"

[310] Nadine Schuster claims that female models had become the default in life drawing classes since their legalization in the late nineteenth century, and that the use of male models at the Landeskunstschule would have been unusual; Schuster, "Kontinuitäten, Transformationen oder Brüche?," 237. On the general topic of the male nude in art, see Tobias Natter and Elizabeth Leopold, eds., *Nude Men: From 1800 to the Present Day* (Munich: Hirmer, 2012).

(1903–1998).[311] Haas-Gerber's *Männlicher Akt, stehend* [fig. 142] and *Knabenakt, auf einem Stuhl posierend* [fig. 143] convey a spontaneity of gesture that one would expect from exercises whose main purpose was to practice capturing the length of a torso or the angle of a foreshortened thigh.

However, Nagel also used her figure drawing sessions as opportunities to create more finished portraits that present the male body as a fallible and slightly ridiculous entity. A study from Hermann Gehri's class (November 1928) features a model whose otherwise conventional pose is undermined by the addition of red to his lips and eyes, as well as pale pink wash highlighting his lower eyelids, nipples, navel, and genitals (and, oddly, a patch on his jawline) [fig. 144]. While Nagel sharply outlines the model's clearly powerful body, her addition of colors with deliberately feminine associations may be a means of acknowledging the gulf between her experience and that of her male peers and instructors. If the latter assumed that female models were always potentially romantically available, Nagel's portrayal of a male model with a sensuous red mouth and enticing pink nipples appears more comic than erotic, and perhaps suggests an intent to ridicule her peers' preoccupations with certain physical attributes of female models.[312]

Nagel's irreverent response to the male body is evident in further studies that place models in unexpected contexts. Some figures receive improbable appendages, such as one who sprouts small wings [*Engel,* fig. 145], another who grows a rope from his chest [fig. 146], or a third who exhibits a small horse's tail [*Hengstmann,* fig. 147]. Others pose with props, such as a

[311] Haas-Gerber studied with Hermann Gehri at the BLKS from 1922 to 1925. For more on Haas-Gerber, see Städtische Galerie Offenburg, *Gretel Haas-Gerber: Ich und die Welt* (Freiburg: Br. Modo, 2007).

[312] The enigmatic inscription on this study might relate to Nagel's acknowledgment of the absurdity of this situation: "Lache unbändig über etwas unerfindliches, alle Leute werden sich interessieren, warum du lachst …"

figure who holds a sword [*Das Schwert,* fig. 148], or one who holds a tiny flower in his comically oversized hands [*Dolce far niente, asino maledotto,* fig. 149]. [313] The latter figure also appears in a study where he reclines frontally, gazing leftward with a suspicious or disgruntled expression, with the legs of a skeleton visible to the right of his feet [fig. 150]. Most of these studies pointedly highlight the models' genitals with pink wash, adding an element of vulnerability that further undermines any heroic associations their well-sculpted bodies would otherwise suggest. The unusual nature of Nagel's approach to her models is apparent in comparing these studies with a pair of male nudes by Lotte Laserstein. Working from a "repertoire" of established poses, Laserstein's *Untitled* (c. 1923) [fig. 151] and *Untitled* (1926) [fig. 152] emphasize the models' graceful strength and balanced proportions.[314] By contrast, Nagel's models appear stiff, uneasy, and inelegant, with awkwardly oversized hands and feet and torsos that seem uncomfortably stretched.

By equipping figures with imaginary appendages like wings or a tail, Nagel may allude to the traditional use of figure studies as preparation for history paintings featuring mythical or biblical figures.[315] Since female artists, frequently lacking access to figure drawing courses before the Weimar reforms, had largely avoided history painting in favor of less-prestigious genres like still life and landscape, Nagel seems to stake her claim on this previously unattainable or forbidden domain. At the same time, her allusions to traditional iconography

[313] The latter may depict an individual called "the lifeguard" who was known for harassing the female models. Nagel's title, "sweet idleness, damn fool," may reveal Nagel's contempt for his unsavory reputation. Rita Täuber, "Hanna Nagel / 'Hengstmänner'," in *Gnadenlos: Künstlerinnen und das Komische,* ed. Rita Täuber (Cologne: Wienand, 2012), 63.

[314] Eiling and Schroll, *Lotte Laserstein,* 71.

[315] Caroline Hess interprets *Hengstmann* as a direct reference to the figure of Silenus, known in Greek myth as a member of the retinue of Dionysus. Caroline Hess, "Hanna Nagel: 'Trennung besteht'— Zu ihren frühen Motiven," in *Die Neue Frau?,* 130.

seem to emphasize their anachronistic or archaic qualities, especially in conjunction with her deliberately unidealized models. Nagel's "angel" is decidedly un-angelic, and her stiff "horse-man" reveals none of the chaotic, sinister energy of the satyr. The figure reclining near a skeleton might invoke the motif of death and the maiden, a variation on the *vanitas* theme that warned viewers of the connection between lust and death.[316] Nagel offers a humorous inversion of this motif by pairing a partial view of a skeleton with a disgruntled male nude. The dainty flower in *Docle far niente* ... recalls portraits in which the sitter holds a single carnation, symbolizing love and marriage.

In Nagel's depiction, the flower contrasts ironically with the model's hunched, sprawling pose, and with his designation as an "asino maledotto" with a possibly lecherous reputation. *Das Schwert*, while creating an obvious visual pun based on the proximity of sword and genitals, also recalls the frequent use of swords and medieval imagery in German propaganda posters during World War I.[317] Rendered utterly obsolete by the implementation of deadly technologies, the sword nonetheless remained a popular motif among poster designers during the war. Paul Neumann's war bond poster of 1918, for example, shows a soldier with a modern *Stahlhelm,* a bare torso, and a massive sword [fig. 153].[318] The model holding a sword both recalls the

[316] Emerging in the fifteenth century, this motif became especially popular in Germany in the sixteenth century. Stefanie Knöll, "Death and the Maiden: A German Topic?", in *Women and Death: Representations of Female Victims and Perpetrators in German Culture, 1500–2000,* ed. Helen Fronius and Anna Linton (Rochester: Camden House, 2008), 11.

[317] On the popularity of swords, armor, and other medieval motifs in German propaganda posters of World War I, see Jakub Kazecki and Jason Lieblang, "Regression versus Progression: Fundamental Differences in German and American War Posters of the First World War," in *Picture This: World War I Posters and Visual Culture,* ed. Pearl James (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2010), 120–122.

[318] A related phenomenon was that of "war landmarks" (*Kriegswahrzeichen zum Benageln*), large wooden statues frequently taking the form of a medieval knight with a sword and shield. These public objects proliferated between 1915 and 1916. Participants would contribute money in exchange for the privilege of hammering iron nails into the statue. See Stefan Goebel, "Chivalrous Knights versus Iron Warriors: Representations of the Battle of *Matériel* and Slaughter in Britain and Germany, 1914–1940," in ibid., 83–87.

persistence of the knight in German visual culture and suggests the tragic gulf between this idealized figure and the reality of technologized warfare, a gulf made more poignant by the model's vulnerable nudity. As a group, these studies exhibit delight in women's newly unrestricted access to figure drawing, but also seem to question how women might engage with a tradition from which they had historically been excluded.

A recollection by classmate Rudolf Dischinger suggests that Nagel was largely responsible for the creative use of props in figure drawing classes at the BLKS. As he later described, "[Nagel] was a bit idiosyncratic. I can remember that during figure drawing with Hubbuch, she always added something to her nude drawings of male models. One nude model, a male, she equipped with a revolver; another one, she laid on a cupboard, there was some Latin saying on it, and Hubbuch always said: Miss Nagel get rid of these side-effects! He wanted to point out to her that things should remain objective, without these attitudes. But she was completely uncomprehending."[319]

Nadine Schuster concludes that Hubbuch objected to Nagel's use of props because he was sensitive to her apparent ridicule of male sexuality, and suggests that his comments reveal a fundamental hypocrisy concerning the portrayal of nude models. "While the man usually carries out an evaluation of femininity in his figure studies, which of course includes a sexual component, the man now conversely expects an objective consideration of his sexuality by the

[319] "Sie war etwas eigenwillig. Kann mich erinnern, dass sie beim Aktzeichnen, das war bei Hubbuch, dass sie immer ihren Aktzeichnungen also männlichen Modellen irgendwas beigegeben hat. Ein Aktmodell, ein männliches, hat sie mit einem Revolver ausgestattet; ein anderes, hat sie auf irgendeinen Schrank gelegt, da stand irgendein lateinischer Spruch drauf, und Hubbuch meinte immer: Fräulein Nagel lassen Sie doch diese Beigaben weg! Er hat sie darauf hinweisen wollen, dass es sachlich bleiben soll, ohne diese Attitüden. Aber da war sie dann ganz verständnislos." Rudolf Dischinger, interview excerpt from "Die Hurenmaler," radio broadcast, Baden-Baden, 1988, quoted in Schuster, "Kontinuitäten, Transformationen oder Brüche?," 236.

woman."[320] In highlighting the models' genitals with pink wash, Nagel might be offering a sly inversion of the unspoken expectation that female models are subject to constant evaluation of their sexual potential. Schuster further suggests that Hubbuch's critique of Nagel's props, as well as his complaint that Nagel's work is marred by excessive "Gefühl," indicates that female artists "should neither charge the male figure with emotion nor reveal its ridiculousness with accessories."[321] However, Nagel's "side-effects," both real and imagined, do not seem explicitly intended to ridicule her subjects, or to embed them in specific narratives. Rather, they reveal the gulf between the historical legacy of figure drawing and women's newly won access to the spaces where such drawing took place. From this belated vantage point, Nagel may have sensed that the conventional use of the male nude in the context of mythological, religious, or historical subject matter was already outmoded, and that the study of the figure in the early twentieth century must be turned towards new ends.

These works might also be read another way, as correctives to contemporary anxieties about the status of the male body. Michael Cowan and Kai Marcel Sicks read the Weimar period's intense engagement with "Körpertechniken"—competitive sports, *Freikörperkultur,* and *Ausdrucks- or Revuetanz*—as attempts to "counteract the war's humiliation with new, self-confident identities through the restitution of beautiful, strong and healthy bodies."[322] Adherents

[320] "Während der Mann zumeist eine Bewertung der Weiblichkeit in seinen Akten vornimmt, die eine sexuelle Konponente selbstverständlich mit einschließt, wird von Seiten des Mannes nun wiederum eine sachliche Betrachtung seiner Geschlechtlichkeit durch die Frau erwartet." Ibid., 238–239.

[321] "den männlichen Akt weder mit Emotion aufladen noch mit Beiwerk der Lächerlichkeit preisgeben sollte." Ibid., 239.

[322] "… der Kriegsdemütigung neue, selbstbewusste Identitäten durch die Restitution von schönen, starken und gesunden Körpern entgegenzusetzen." Michael Cowan and Kai Marcel Sicks, "Technik, Krieg und Medien. Zur Imagination von Idealkörpern in den zwanziger Jahren," in *Leibhaftige Moderne: Körper in Kunst und Massenmedien 1918 bis 1933,* ed. Michael Cowan and Kai Marcel Sicks (Bielefeld: transcript, 2005), 20.

of *Freikörperkultur* sought harmony with nature through outdoor nude exercise, and molded their bodies to resemble classical sculpture. At the same time, the ideals of *Freikörperkultur* increasingly intersected with the concept of the "armored" body, a defensive response to the physical and psychological trauma of war.[323] A photograph of Friedrich Ebert and Gustav Noske in swim trunks, published on the cover of the *BIZ* on the day of Ebert's inauguration, inadvertently fed the Weimar period's obsession with sports and fitness. Dismayed by the somewhat flabby appearance of the president and defense minister, the public received these "droopy, frail" bodies as emblems of the troubling "softness" of the new republic, a softness that must be counteracted through vigorous physical activity [fig. 154].[324]

Relieving the implicit pressure on the male body to appear universally invulnerable, Nagel's portrayals suggest a more fluid and forgiving approach to masculinity. For example, in a study featuring the model from *Das Schwert* standing in profile [fig. 155], the figure's relaxed posture and gently protruding belly offer a sensitive counterpoint to the relentlessly sleek bodies propagated in photographs of *Freikörperkultur* devotees [fig. 156].

A group of studies featuring a man in a suit further suggests Nagel's engagement with changing concepts of masculinity. The man's elegant attire contrasts unexpectedly with Nagel's exaggerated, slightly grotesque rendering of his oversized hands, garishly red mouth, and pink-rimmed eyes [figs. 157–159]. With his slouching posture and oddly proportioned form, he

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[323] Maren Möhring suggests a connection between bestselling author Hans Surén's recommendation of a "Stahlbad der Gymnastik" and Ernst Jünger's memoir *In Stahlgewittern*; Maren Möhring, "Der bronzene Leib. Die FKK-Ästhetik in der Weimarer Republik," in Cowan and Sicks, *Leibhaftige Moderne*, 212. Bernd Hüppauf notes the transition from the "Langemarck myth" of the vulnerable, heroic youth to the "Verdun myth" of the technologically-fortified warrior, which was the model ultimately embraced by fascism; Bernd Hüppauf, "Langemarck, Verdun, and the Myth of the *New Man* in Germany after the First World War," *War and Society* 6, no. 2 (September 1988): 70–103.

[324] Jensen, *Body by Weimar*, 4.

suggests the individual deformed or constrained by the conditions of urban life, as portrayed in the opening sequences of the popular film *Wege zu Kraft und Schönheit* (1925). The film showcases contemporary "body culture" and the many paths to optimizing the body, including sports, gymnastics, and dance, especially when performed in nature. The opening scenes, however, lament the physical shortcomings of contemporary Germans who have strayed disastrously from the ancient Greek emphasis on physical health. As an early title card explains, "People today are not all well-built, not all strong, but always nervous."[325] Early scenes show people hunched over desks in schools and offices, cultivating their minds but neglecting their bodies, and finally wasting their leisure hours in drunken dissipation. Another title card blames urbanization for this state of affairs: "We poor, run-down people are condemned to live in big cities … our bodies constantly mistreated on account of our daily obligations."[326] It is easy to imagine the model as one of these "run-down people," perhaps an office worker visibly marked by the unnatural constraints of his modern lifestyle, his forehead permanently creased with tension and anxiety.

In another sense, though, these portraits bear an interesting relationship to a debate about masculinity carried out between critics Kurt Pinthus and Béla Balázs in 1929. In the essay "Männliche Literatur," Pinthus famously diagnoses a transition in recent literature from the perspective of the emotionally volatile youth to that of the disillusioned, hardened man.[327] As he

[325] "Die Menschen heute sind nicht alle gut gebaut, nicht alle kräftig, aber stets sind sie nervös."

[326] "Wir armen, heruntergekommenen Menschen sind verurteilt, in großen Städten zu leben … beständig unseren Körper schlecht behandelnd über den täglichen Pflichten."

[327] Pinthus notes that female authors have pursued this style with equal success, naming Anna Seghers, Marieluise Fleißer, and Gina Kaus as notable examples. Kurt Pinthus, "Männliche Literatur," *Das Tagebuch* 10, no. 1 (June 1, 1929): 903–911, quoted in *Weimarer Republik: Manifeste und Dokumente zur deutschen Literatur, 1918–1933,* ed. Anton Kaes (Stuttgart: J.B. Metzler, 1983), 331–332.

claims, certain authors have begun exploring a style of writing that is "unemotional, unsentimental, unadorned, and succinct;" it is "without lyrical fat … hard, tough, trained, comparable to the body of a boxer."[328] Through these authors' insistent focus on tangible facts, "[r]eportage rises to the field of poetry, and the bulletin becomes an art form."[329] While Pinthus uniformly praises this stylistic direction, Balázs' response, "Männlich oder kriegsblind?," is far more critical. According to Balázs, there is nothing inherently "manly" about the trend towards pure reportage; in fact, it is a sign of resignation and spiritual fatigue. Approaching the human subject as a "thing" or a "number" rather than a being with an interior life, contemporary authors seem incapable of unearthing deeper meaning behind the facts they scrupulously report. Balázs diagnoses their work as "a literature of cripples" and of the "war-blinded."[330]

The debate between Pinthus and Balázs suggests an ongoing urgency surrounding the topic of masculinity a full decade after the war's end. In this context, the man in the suit, as portrayed by Nagel, both reflects and challenges these critics' assessments. The man's slouching or diffident posture and skeptical expression suggest the resignation and disillusionment that Pinthus praises and Balázs deplores. Yet the touches of color on his eyes and mouth add a note of surprising vulnerability, distinguishing him from the type of man who, per Pinthus, "does not scream and lament, but clarifies and confirms—and thereby himself becomes firm and clear."[331] At the same time, the figure's oversized and consistently upturned eyes suggest an alertness that

[328] "unpathetisch, unsentimental, schmucklos und knapp;" "ohne lyrisches Fett … hart, zäh, trainiert, dem Körper des Boxers vergleichen." Ibid., 328.

[329] "Die Reportage erhebt sich ins Bereich der Dichtung, und der Bericht wird zur Kunstform." Ibid., 329.

[330] "der Mensch … als Sache und Nummer"; "eine Literatur von Krüppeln. Und … eine Literatur von Kriegsblinden!"; Béla Balázs, "Männlich oder kriegsblind?", *Die Weltbühne* 25, no. 26 (1929): 970.

[331] "der Mann, der nicht schreit und jammert, sondern klärt und feststellt—und damit selber klar und fest wird." Pinthus, "Männliche Literatur," 329.

separates him from the "war-blinded" who, as Balázs claims, cannot see beyond surface-level facts. In particular, the title of "Kopf senken, aber mit den Augen oben bleiben!" [fig. 159], although it may record a posing instruction from someone in the studio, also suggests the ability to look upward in spite of a sinking head, or more broadly, to remain acutely curious and perceptive in spite of discouraging circumstances.

D. The Problem of the "Frauenporträt"

Just as Nagel's studies of male models engage with changing concepts of masculinity, her studies of female models suggest an awareness of the enormous scrutiny that women's changed appearance received in the press. The inaugural issue of *Uhu* featured an article on "Body-Fashions" that examined evolving beauty standards over the centuries. As the author explained, "The emancipation of woman is the leitmotif of our era. She seeks to make herself equal to the man in the struggle for existence and to eradicate aspects of difference. She rides in a men's saddle, smokes in the street, wears trousers and ties, a monocle and glasses, a walking stick and a short, straight, manly hairstyle."[332] The so-called "masculinization" of women—both in a visual sense, via short hair and straight silhouettes, and in a cultural sense, as women participated in work and leisure activities formerly exclusive to men—prompted ceaseless discussion in the popular press.[333]

The ascendance and perceived dominance of the slim, athletic figure generated fears that bodies were becoming increasingly standardized. One author predicted that the popularity of

[332] "Für unsere Epoche ist die Emanzipation der Frau das Leitmotiv. Sie sucht sich im Kampf ums Dasein dem Manne gleich zu machen und die Aspekte des Unterschiedes wegzuradieren. Sie reitet im Herrensattel, raucht auf der Straße, trägt Hosen und Schlipse, Einglas und Brille, Spazierstock und kurze, glatte, männliche Haartracht." Eugen Holländer, "Körper-Moden: Der Wandel im Schönheitsgeschmack," *Uhu* 1, no. 1 (October 1924): 24.

[333] See Katie Sutton, *The Masculine Woman in Weimar Germany* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2011).

exercise regimens would result in a loss of individuality: "The new body-feeling … is absolutely a mass-feeling! Depending on the progress of the training, thousands of people, combined in sport and play, feel the same effort, the same soreness, the same exhilarating high tension, and the same relief in their ever-more-similar-becoming bodies."[334] The author sees this phenomenon as an extension of "the whole development of the machine age" and the encroaching tyranny of mass culture.[335] Such anxieties arose in response to content such as *Uhu's* profile of female student-athletes in Berlin; the title photograph of students engaged in synchronized group training suggested a future in which bodies themselves could be subject to standardization [fig. 160].

Some found women's evident willingness to experiment with their appearance profoundly unnerving.[336] Susanne Meyer-Büse argues that the widely-publicized competition "Das schönste deutsche Frauenporträt 1928," sponsored by cosmetics company Elida, reflected a determination to locate a fixed, "normal" image of German femininity in response to destabilizing changes in women's appearance.[337] From hundreds of submissions, the jury chose 26 finalists for a touring exhibition. Although jury member Max Osborn explained in the

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[334] "Das neue Körpergefühl … ist absolut ein Massen-gefühl! Je nach dem Fortschrittsgrad des Trainings empfinden Tausende von Menschen, zusammengefaßt in Sport und Spiel, die gleiche Anstrengung, den gleichen Muskelkater, die gleiche beglückende Hochspannung und Erlösung ihrer immer gleicher werdenden Körper." M. M. Gehrke, "Auf dem Weg zum Typenkörper," *Der Querschnitt* 10, no. 9 (September 1930): 599.

[335] "der ganzen Entwicklung des Maschinenzeitalters …" Ibid.

[336] The all-male contributors to the often-cited anthology *Die Frau von morgen, wie wir sie wünschen* focus far more on women's changed appearance than on structural changes such as the new right to vote and women's increasing participation in the workforce, demonstrating just how unsettling these aesthetic shifts were perceived to be. Silvia Bovenschen, "Krieg und Schneiderkunst oder Wie sich die Männer von gestern die Frau von morgen vorstellten: Vorwort zu Neuausgabe," in Friedrich Huebner, ed., *Die Frau von morgen, wie wir sie wünschen* (Frankfurt: Insel Verlag, 1929, repr. 1990), 14.

[337] Susanne Meyer-Büse, *Bubikopf und Gretchenzopf: Die Frau der zwanziger Jahre* (Hamburg: Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, 1995), 8.

catalogue introduction that "[t]here is hardly any connection between the appearance of women in 1928 and in 1908,"[338] the winning portraits largely attempt to integrate what Osborn describes as a "completely new type of woman" with traditional portrait conventions, resulting in images of ostensibly modern women that appear curiously retrograde.

Acting against implicit pressure to fit the new woman unnaturally into the framework of the traditional portrait, Nagel's studies of female models attempt to establish new conventions appropriate to her subjects' bold self-presentation. In *Frau mit Hakennase* [fig. 129] and a related drawing of the same model wearing a bright green hat and a fur-collar coat [fig. 161], Nagel allows the woman's form to fill the composition, giving her a monumental presence as well as the striking contours of a photograph detached from its background, a device used often in *Uhu* to highlight women engaged in athletic activity [fig. 162]. A similar effect appears in her study of the equally stylish but more demure *Ilse Muß* (1929) [fig. 163].[339] Studies of *Paule* [fig. 164] and *Frauenakt mit Tierschweif* [fig. 165] use spatial isolation to emphasize these figures' powerful muscularity, thereby evoking the specter of "masculinization" as a cause or consequence of the roles that women increasingly occupied.

Even when portraying models whose bodies do not conform to the slim, athletic ideal of the new woman, Nagel gives these figures a monumental presence [figs. 166–168]. Her depictions of these figures draw attention to the fact that working women who did not belong to the growing white-collar sector were essentially excluded from the iconography of the new

[338] Max Osborn, "Frauenporträts," *Deutsche Kunst und Dekoration* 63 (February 1929): 329.

[339] Ilse Muß was presumably one of Nagel's classmates; she appears in the album in the 1928 photograph of Hubbuch's class (see fig. 187). However, like many of the students recorded in Nagel's album, her name does not appear on the reconstructed list of former students compiled by Axel Heil and Harald Klingelhöller. For the list, see Axel Heil and Harald Klingelhöller, eds., *150 Jahre: Die Geschichte der Kunstakademie Karlsruhe in Bildern und Texten* (Künzelsau, Germany: Swiridoff, 2004), 330–336.

woman—even though far more women were employed in the physically demanding areas of agriculture, industry, or domestic service.[340] Nagel inscribes the fatigue of manual labor into these women's bodies via a heaviness of line and of shading that heightens, for example, the shadows under the eyes of the woman in fig. 161. If the new woman was increasingly expected to bring the logic of the Taylorized factory into daily life via a "rationalized," efficient form of housekeeping, Nagel underscores how life for women of certain social backgrounds remained dependent on the unrelenting labor of their own bodies.[341]

One of Nagel's most iconic female portraits is that of a model seated on the wheel of the BLKS printing press [fig. 169]. Marlene Angemeyer-Deubner has compared this work to Georg Scholz's now-lost painting *Fleisch und Eisen* (1922), describing the juxtaposition of semi-nude women and heavy machinery as unique to the Karlsruhe "wing" [fig. 170].[342] Janina Nentwig identifies the women in Scholz's painting, clearly marked as prostitutes, as symbolizing employers and workers who both "prostitute" themselves for the sake of access to American cash.[343] Nagel's portrait, however, has a different agenda, implicitly arguing that the female body belongs in the space of the printing workshop. The model's physical intimacy with the wheel of the press as she rests her weight on it embodies Nagel's aspiration to become a printmaker who is deeply familiar with the press and whose works will multiply and enter new spaces. The

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[340] For women and work, see Boak, *Women in Weimar Germany,* 134–199; for statistical tables, see ibid., 139–142.

[341] For the "rationalized" housewife, see Grossmann, "*Girlkultur* or Thoroughly Rationalized Female?", 71–72; for the discourse on efficiency and the ideal of a "body without fatigue," see Anson Rabinbach, *The Human Motor: Energy, Fatigue, and the Origins of Modernity* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1992).

[342] Angemeyer-Deubner includes Hubbuch's *Schwimmerin von Köln* as part of this sub-group.

[343] Janina Nentwig, "Fleisch und Eisen: Georg Scholz und die Rationalisierung in der Weimarer Republik," in *Der Neue Mensch: Utopien, Leitbilder und Reformkonzepte zwischen den Weltkriegen,* ed. Alexander Gerstner, Barbara Könczöl, and Janina Nentwig (Frankfurt: Lang, 2006), 147.

portrait functions as a kind of manifesto for Nagel's ambitions as she imagines herself producing work for a wider public.

E. The Album as a Discursive Space

The decision to make an album is accompanied by the wish to put things in order.[344]

Nagel's urgent need to define her identity as both a new woman and an aspiring professional artist becomes visible in her personal photographic album. The album contains images of Nagel, her classmates, and her instructors during her years as a student, chronologically organized and supplemented with handwritten annotations.[345] It also functions as a scrapbook, since it periodically incorporates media clippings and postcards. Fundamentally, the album is a document of student life at the BLKS in the 1920s.[346] However, it is most significant for the way it reveals Nagel's efforts to construct a durable identity for herself in an environment where new opportunities for women frequently collided with existing social expectations. Given the skewed gender politics of the BLKS during the 1920s and the obvious dearth of women who could serve as role models for Nagel's anticipated future career, the album became a space where she could envision herself inhabiting the role of a professional artist.

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[344] "Die Entscheidung, ein Album anzulegen, geht mit dem Wunsch einher, die Dinge in eine Ordnung zu bringen." Anke Kramer and Annegret Pelz, "Einleitung," in *Album: Organisationsform narrativer Kohärenz*, ed. Anke Kramer and Annegret Pelz (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2013), 12.

[345] The album, along with the majority of her extant works on paper, are in the collection of Irene Fischer-Nagel, Karlsruhe. No catalogue raisonné of the drawings yet exists. Nadine Schuster states that the collection contains 400 figure studies in total; presumably, this number refers only to drawings and not prints. Schuster, "Kontinuitäten, Transformationen oder Brüche?," 240.

[346] Today known as the Staatliche Akademie der Bildenden Künste Karlsruhe. Such documentation is especially valuable given that the school's archives were destroyed towards the end of World War II. The Generallandesarchiv Karlsruhe (GLAK) did not maintain any files on the Landeskunstschule; Herber, "Frauen an deutschen Kunstakademien," 16.

The album's function as a photographic archive has been largely overlooked. Scholars often quote from the captions, yet no sustained discussion of the photographs yet exists. In general, the personal photographic album—and, more generally, the vernacular photograph—has largely been excluded from the history of photography.[347] As Geoffrey Batchen suggests, the snapshot poses a challenge for historians of photography because of its banal omnipresence. Due to the similarity, repetitiveness, and sheer volume of such photographs, they do not fit easily into histories of photography that prize originality and innovation. Batchen urges historians to consider the snapshot photograph as "both a complex social device and a personal talisman, rather than simply as a static art object."[348] He argues that snapshots have a particular value because, "[a]s a collective activity of picture-making," they "show the struggles of particular individuals to conform to social expectations, and visual tropes, of their sex and class."[349] Nagel's quest to conform to the "visual tropes" of the new woman takes shape in the pages of her album, alongside another, even more important task—that of visibly inhabiting the role of the professional female artist.

F. "Girl" and "Garçonne"

Early in the album, Nagel assesses her appearance in relation to potential female role models. Below a portrait from July 1925 [fig. 171], Nagel attaches a small photograph of her mother's face and adds the caption "Mother, at my age. Don't *I* look very similar?

[347] Mette Sandbye, "Looking at the family photo album: A resumed theoretical discussion of why and how," *Journal of Aesthetics and Culture* 6, no. 1 (2014): 2.

[348] Geoffrey Batchen, "Snapshots: Art History and the Ethnographic Turn," *Photographies* 1, no. 2 (September 2008): 133. Batchen and Sandbye both note that museums have shown increasing interest in exhibiting vernacular photography since the late 1990s.

[349] Ibid.

Compliment!"[350] An adjacent portrait features Nagel smiling broadly [fig. 172] with the caption "I look a bit like Olga Tscheschowa. 18 years old and not yet in love?"[351] Tschechowa (1897–1980), a Russian-born actress who found success in the German film industry in the 1920s, could have symbolized both glamour and professional success for Nagel. Nagel seems to imagine herself suspended between two paths: the traditional one embodied by her mother, and the modern one embodied by Tschechowa, a professional woman with a creative career. That Nagel saw these paths as mutually exclusive is suggested by the caption under a third portrait: "Dear God! Either give me a kind man and three dear children or let me become an artist."[352]

Nagel's comparison of herself and her mother might reflect her awareness of the gulf between both women's experiences. This gulf is explored by Vicki Baum (1888–1960) in "The Mothers of Tomorrow—The Teenagers of Today," which opens with a meditation on a photograph of the author's mother at eighteen, shortly after becoming engaged. This photograph suggests to the author the incomprehensible gap between her mother's experience of young adulthood and her own. Baum describes her mother as resembling a woman of forty, yet possessing "the understanding and life skills of a nine-year-old girl of today."[353] She continues, "Poor mothers of 1890! Your world was as narrow as a rabbit-hutch, boarded up on all sides and without ventilation. How we startled you when we broke out of your walls, we young girls of

[350] "Mutti, so alt wie ich. Sehe ich ihn nicht sehr änhlich? Kompliment!"

[351] "Ich sehe etwas Olga Tscheschowa [sic] ähnlich. 18 Jahre alt und noch nicht verliebt?"

[352] "Lieber Gott! Entweder gib mir einen gütigen Mann und drei liebe Kinder oder lass mich eine Künstlerin werden."

[353] "den Verstand und die Lebenskenntnis eines neunjährigen Mädchens von heute." Vicki Baum, "Die Mütter von morgen—die Backfische von heute," *Uhu* 5, no. 5 (February 1929): 51.

1905, … we with the demand for our own paths and air and work."[354] Nagel might be equally conscious that her own path could diverge substantially from her mother's.

Upon enrolling at the BLKS in late 1925, Nagel announced "[a] new stage of life: art school and pen. I have no more time for sentimental thoughts … I throw myself upon art!"[355] She soon became aware of the importance of cultivating her public image. Initially, her appearance remained unchanged. In a photograph from February 1926, she wears her hair looped over her ears while posing in front of her first poster design, an advertisement for the "Kinderfest Kunstschule" [fig. 173]. Dismissing the poster as "nothing yet" ("noch nichts"), Nagel appears somewhat diffident as she tucks her hand into her pocket.

A few months later, however, Nagel adopted a new look. On April 10, she records entertaining "thoughts of a *Bubikopf*," and two days later, she announces the "historic moment … when the shaggy braids fell. … Now getting used to the stubble."[356] Nagel marks this transition in the album with a photograph of herself seated at the piano with her old hairstyle [fig. 174], with the caption "[o]n the next page, I am another person."[357] The following page shows her in profile with bobbed hair and a beam of light that she describes as "the inadvertent grace of God that streams over me."[358] [fig. 175]. Next to the inaugural image of the bob is a photograph

[354] "Arme Mütter von 1890! Eure Welt war so eng wie ein Kaninchenstall, auf allen Seiten mit Brettern vernagelt und ohne Lüftung. Wie haben wir euch erschreckt, als wir aus euren Wänden ausbrachen, wir jungen Mädchen von 1905, ... wir mit der Forderung nach eigenen Wegen und Luft und Arbeit …." Ibid., 52.

[355] "Ein neuer Lebensabschnitt: Kunstschule und Stift. Für sentimentale Gedanken … hab ich nie mehr Zeit. Ich schmeiss mich auf die Kunscht [sic]!"

[356] "Ich trag mich mit Bubikopfgedanken" (10 Apr 1926); "Montag, 12. April 1926, war der historische Moment, wo das struppige Zöpfle fiel. Der erste Schritt war bestialisch, warum hängt man so an den paar Härle [sic!]? Jetzt Gewöhnung an die Stoppeln." Herber, "Frauen an deutschen Kunstakademien," 140n452.

[357] "…auf der nächsten Seite bin ich ein andere Mensch."

[358] "Das erste; der Lichtstrahl ist die unbeabsichtigte Gnade Gottes, die über mich hereinströmt. … – 1926."

showing Nagel with her second poster design, which features a woman in a ballgown, also with bobbed hair [fig. 176]. Posing in profile to showcase her new hairstyle, Nagel establishes a connection between the subject of her poster, a woman who embodies idealized glamour, and her own intent to cultivate an appearance reflecting her status as a new woman.

Other photographs depict Nagel conforming to visual tropes of the new woman in a seemingly conscious way. Three photographs from February 1927 show her walking across the Kaiserplatz, a major plaza in Karlsruhe, with her friend and classmate, Klara [fig. 177]. Wearing stylish hats, coats, and skirts that reveal their stockings from the knees down, the two women recall photographs of young women in urban settings that appeared often in illustrated journals [fig. 178]. The increased visibility of women in public spaces was a significant component of discourse on the new woman and was associated with emancipation.[359] Nagel also seems to associate these images with an expectation of freedom. As she notes, "Karlsruhe is my second home, where will my third be?",[360] suggesting an assumption that her future will involve further opportunities for mobility. In these images, Nagel seems to inhabit the persona of the "girl." The girl was known for being slim, athletic, confident, and always on the move. She modeled her appearance and behavior on young American women and their supposedly liberated, carefree lifestyles. The association of the girl with urbanization and technology is suggested by Fritz Giese's description of her as someone who "rushes with an elegant spring from the streetcar or the automobile in a quick response to the telephone—as this rapid era constantly demands."[361]

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[359] Kessemeier, *Sportlich, sachlich, männlich*, 32.

[360] "Karlsruhe ist meine zweite Heimat, wo wird meine dritte sein?"

[361] "die in elegantem Sprunge auf die Straßenbahn, vom Automobil herunter, in schneller Reaktion zum Telefon eilt: wie es diese rasche Zeit dauernd erfordert." Fritz Giese, *Girlkultur: Vergleiche zwischen amerikanischem und europäischem Rhythmus und Lebensgefühl* (Munich: Delphin-Verlag, 1925), 97.

Elsewhere, Nagel appears to experiment with the persona of the "garçonne." The garçonne wore masculine clothing and was perceived as more intellectual and career-focused than the "girl," yet was also known for being sexually open-minded.[362] In one photograph, Nagel poses in a raincoat with a serious expression [fig. 179], adding the caption "I tantalize the men!—The mackintosh inspired by Hubbuch."[363] If Nagel's raincoat is a deliberate nod to her instructor's style, her pose recalls that of the lithography assistant, Schweinfurth, who appears in a photograph from few months earlier [fig. 180]. Adopting an outfit and a pose with "masculine" connotations, Nagel knowingly plays the role of the aloof, seductive garçonne as part of her ongoing exploration of potential identities.

In the absence of a clearly established visual identity for female artists, Nagel seemed to display a desire to be photographed in contexts where her role as an artist would be obvious.[364] In a photograph from December 1928, Nagel leans against the wall of her studio while wearing her glasses and an unbuttoned artist's smock [fig. 181].[365] In another image, Nagel cradles a doll pensively in front of two large drawings partly pinned to her studio wall [fig. 182]. These images suggest Nagel's attempt to imagine a future wherein she might retain her professional identity alongside a family. Yet another photograph shows Nagel posing with a work she describes as her

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[362] Kessemeier, Sportlich, sachlich, männlich, 52.

[363] "Ich die Männer zappeln lassen!—Der von Hubbuch angeregte Gummimantel." September 1927.

[364] *Vogue* often published portraits of professional women, including painters and sculptors, but their professions were indicated only by captions. For examples, see Kessemeier, *Sportlich, sachlich, männlich*, 54–61.

[365] Nagel received her own studio in 1927 as a master student of etching instructor Walter Conz. The typical course of study at the BLKS consisted of a one-year preparatory class, a two-year "development phase" (*Ausbildungsabteilung*) with various subject classes, and a two-year master class; Brigitte Baumstark, "Zwischen Landeskunstschule und Dammerstock: Angewandte Kunst der 20er Jahre in Karlsruhe," in *Die 20er Jahre in Karlsruhe*, ed. Erika Rödiger-Diruf, Ursula Merkel, and Sylvia Bieber (Karlsruhe: Städtische Galerie, 2005), 47. Nagel was able to skip the second year of the development phase and become a master student a year earlier than expected.

"terrible wall-painting." Again wearing her glasses and smock, she leans against the wall painting with raised arms to signify her authorship and possession of this work [fig. 183].

Over time, Nagel became more confident and deliberate in switching between the "girl" and "garçonne" personas. In a set of photobooth pictures from late 1928, she poses as two different "characters" [fig. 184]: "The pretty Hanna and stupid—the interesting Hanna with horn-rimmed glasses and absolutely *not* stupid but also not pretty anymore!"[366] In another set of photobooth pictures from March 1929, Nagel wears a blouse, vest, and a dark necktie, a classic "garçonne" outfit [fig. 185]. She juxtaposes one of these images with a photograph of herself at age fifteen to underscore her transformed appearance. Another image [fig. 186] is set apart from the others and captioned "Hanna, the art-school-pig."[367] In this case, Nagel jokingly imagines herself as a male student who indulges in libertine behavior, pushing the garçonne persona towards a fantasy of actual gender reversal.

G. Hubbuch as Mentor and Villain

Undergirding Nagel's attempt cultivate a clear visual identity as an aspiring professional artist is a narrative that traces her relationship with Hubbuch, her first and most influential drawing instructor at the BLKS.[368] Later in life, she acknowledged his impact on her style: "Hubbuch taught me to emphasize the unusual, to bring eccentricity bordering on the grotesque

[366] "Die schöne Hanna und dumm–die interessante Hanna mit der Hornbrille und absolut nicht dumm aber auch nicht mehr hübsch! Dez. 28."

[367] "Hanna, das Kunst-schul-schwein."

[368] Nagel also studied with Wilhelm Schnarrenberger from 1925 and Hermann Gehri from 1927. In winter 1927–1928, she became a master student in the etching class of Walter Conz and also received her own studio at the school.

to an almost caricaturing peak."[369] Hubbuch also considered Nagel to be his most talented student. However, their relationship was marked by conflict, and Hubbuch finally expelled Nagel from his class in April 1927—although she returned to his class, perhaps on an informal basis, throughout most of her remaining time at the BLKS.[370]

Hubbuch first appears in the album in a photograph dated January 1926, where Nagel describes him as "my 34-year-old partly beloved partly hated teacher … more hated than loved … In short: I like him … That's what he looks like when he draws. Serious, sure, purposeful"[371] [fig. 187]. Months later, Nagel added a second caption: "The hairy monkey. Disgusting!"[372] Next to a magazine clipping featuring Hubbuch's portrait of his friend, actor Hermann Brand, she writes, "*My* teacher Hubbuch drew that! I am so proud and so happy, he is becoming a professor and famous. If only I were a man! I lack the tenacious energy, the concentration, I am too spoiled as a 'girl.' How I love him, he draws so wonderfully, all the brutal practice exercises do nothing for me."[373]

Hubbuch seems to have recognized Nagel's talent and encouraged her to move to Berlin to continue her studies with his former instructor, Emil Orlik. "I'm supposed to experience more,

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[369] "Bei Hubbuch wurde ich gehalten, das Einmalige, die ans Groteske grenzende Besonderheit einer Erscheinung in fast karikaturistischer Zuspitzung zu packen." Nagel quoted in Ruhmer, *Hanna Nagel*, 25.

[370] Many drawings dated between May 1927 and January 1929 are inscribed "bei Hubbuch" in the artist's hand. Schuster, "Kontinuitäten, Transformationen oder Brüche?," 245n593. For an account of the trajectory of Nagel and Hubbuch's relationship, see ibid., 234–253. Many of Nagel's comments related to Hubbuch have been fully or partially blacked out, making a full reconstruction of their relationship difficult.

[371] "Karl Hubbuch, mein 34 jährige[r] teils geliebte[r] teils gehasste[r] Lehrer … mehr gehasst als geliebt. … Kurz: ich mag ihm. … So sieht er aus, wenn er zeichnet. Ernst, sicher, zielbewusst."

[372] "Der haarige Affe. Ein Ekel!" October 1926.

[373] "Mein Lehrer Hubbuch hat das gezeichnet! Ich bin so stolz und so glücklich, er wird Professor und berühmt. Wenn ich nur auch ein Mann wäre! Mir fehlt die zähe Energie, die Konzentration, ich bin als "Mädchen" zu sehr verwöhnt. Wie hab ich ihn lieb, dass er so wunderbar zeichnet, alle brutaler Uebensachen gehen mich ja nichts an." February 1927.

not drive home on Saturdays, because there I slip too much into the bourgeois, alone to Berlin, the inner workings of the world, out of Karlsruhe … —Says Hubbuch, the disgusting infallible."[374] A few months later, however, the relationship between student and instructor concluded with a traumatic break.

> The *Hubbuch* affair is thoroughly over … "You have complained about me, so I advise you to leave my class. You are dishonest, because I have praised you, you have clutched at delusions of grandeur. You are very tactless, you complain behind my back, and you benefit from me in the front. *You* have benefited most of all from me, you are infinitely conceited and sensitive. Go." *So*, he kicked me out with one step, and I was perhaps his most talented student. I never would have thought so, maybe I only said "disgusting beast" sometimes because I did not want to show anyone that I really liked him. And admired! *How* did I fall for such a peasant. It hurts a lot.[375]

Nagel ruminated on this incident for several months, yet her admiration for Hubbuch was undiminished, as she continued to collect clippings of his published work in the album for the next several years. Beneath a reproduction of Hubbuch's etching *Zigeunerjunge*, Nagel records a quotation implicitly attributed to him: "'That Nagel has exhibited such crap, when she was the most talented in the etching class.' As a person he is too nauseating, but nonetheless!!"[376] Several months later, Nagel evaluated her four primary instructors: "Schnarrenberger left me cold. Conz is too haughty to me, he despises me and I am proud of it! Gehri is adorable to me, I like him, sometimes very much. [blacked out] He has brought me a lot of understanding, and he

[374] "Ich soll mehr erleben, nicht mehr Samstags nach Hause fahren, weil ich da zu sehr ins bürgerliche abrutsche, allein nach Berlin, Weltgetriebe, aus Karlsruhe raus … – Sagt Hubbuch, der ekelhafte Unfehlbare." Drawing of Fischer with model (not in album), March 1927.

[375] "Die Affäre Hubbuch ist also gründlich aus, am 29. April 1927–. „Sie haben über mich geschimpft, deshalb rate ich Ihnen, aus meiner Klasse zu gehen. Sie sind unehrlich, weil ich Sie gelobt habe, hat Sie der Größenwahn gepackt. Sie sind von großer Taktlosigkeit, hintenrum schimpfen Sie, und vorne profitieren Sie von mir. Sie haben am allermeisten von mir profitiert, Sie sind grenzenlos eingebildet und empfindlich. Gehen Sie." So, mit einem Fußtritt schmeißt er mich hinaus, und vielleicht war ich seine talentvollste Schülerin. Das hätte ich nie gedacht, vielleicht habe ich nur manchmal „ekelhaftes Biest" gesagt, weil ich niemandem zeigen wollte, dass ich ihn sehr gern gehabt habe. Und bewundert! Wie bin ich nur auf so einen Bauern hereingefallen. Es tut sehr weh."

[376] "'Dass die Nagel so einen Mist ausgestellt hat, wo sie doch die Begabste von der Radierklasse ist.' Als Mensch ist er zu ekelhaft, aber sonst!! Juni 1928."

is the most important of the four. I owe *him* pretty much everything. He has sausage fingers and wonderful eyes and draws so *very* well."[377] Hubbuch's name is erased, but it is obvious that he is "the most important of the four." Nagel's repeated praise for Hubbuch's drawing abililty implies both a longing to match his level of skill and a persistent doubt that she will be able attain the same degree of professional success. Given Hubbuch's role as her most revered mentor, the rupture between them constituted a crisis that forced Nagel to question her own capabilities and her commitment to a career.

The conflict between them may have resulted from Hubbuch's unspoken assumptions about his male and female students. The former Großherzogliche Badische Akademie, where Hubbuch received his early training, underwent significant reform at the outset of the Weimar period. In the winter of 1919, women were admitted for the first time, and in 1920, the academy fused with the Kunstgewerbeschule to form the Badische Landeskunstschule. By 1928, the number of courses offered grew from eight to twenty; enrollment increased by 150%; and younger instructors (especially former students like Hubbuch) were hired in greater numbers.[378] Meanwhile, the proportion of female students steadily increased, from 6% in 1919–1920 to 28% in 1923–1924.[379] Unlike the Bauhaus, where Walter Gropius attempted to limit the number of women admitted and to quarantine them in the weaving workshop, the BLKS does not seem to

[377] "Meine vier Lehrer: Schnarrenberger hat mich kalt gelassen. Conz ist mir zu hochmütig, er verachtet mir u. ich bin stolz! Gehri ist entzückend zu mir, ihm habe ich gern, manchmal auch sehr gern. [blacked out] Er hat mir für vieles das Verständnis beigebracht, u. der bedeutendste von den vieren ist er. Ich verdanke ihm so ziemlich alles. Er hat Wurstfinger und wundervolle Augen und zeichnet so sehr gut." September 1928.

[378] Renate Berger, "Zu Hanna Nagels frühen Zeichnungen (1929–1931)," in *Liebe Macht Kunst: Künstlerpaare im 20. Jahrhundert,* ed. Renate Berger (Cologne: Böhlau, 2000), 328.

[379] Herber, "Frauen an deutschen Kunstakademien," 72. Exact figures are difficult to determine due to the desctruction of the BLKS archives in the 1940s. Caroline Hess notes that the reconstructed list of former students in Heil and Klingelhöller, *150 Jahre,* 330–336 (see the present text, p. 135, note 340) includes more women than men, yet the class photographs in Nagel's albums consistently show male students as a majority; Hess, *Hanna Nagels politisches Frühwerk,* 75.

have placed restrictions on female enrollment.[380] By 1925—Hubbuch's first year as a drawing instructor and Nagel's first year as a student—the BLKS had been a coeducational institution for several years. This did not mean, however, that the exclusively male faculty adjusted seamlessly to the presence of women in the very classrooms where some of them had once been students.

That Hubbuch did not regard his students impartially is suggested by a photograph of his class from 1926; Nagel notes that he chose the arrangement of figures himself [fig. 188]. The male students pose in a diagonal line terminating with Hubbuch, forming a clear chain of descent, while the three female students stand apart. The arrangement suggests that Hubbuch easily envisioned his male students as replicas of himself, but struggled to approach his female students in the same manner. Other photographs in the album suggest that the students themselves adapted easily to their mixed-gender classes. For example, a photograph of Ernst Würtenberger's class shows male and female students casually wearing one other's hats [fig. 189], while Nagel's photographs of her etching class show the only other female student, "Miss Amerika," blending in seamlessly with her classmates' antics [figs. 190–191].[381]

Hubbuch's recorded criticisms of Nagel also seem to exhibit a gendered flavor. In one instance, he remarked, "When I see your drawings, it's as if I have to eat sauerkraut, the most revolting thing there is."[382] In another comment, Nagel recorded that Hubbuch "absolutely wants to seduce me to Neue Sachlichkeit, but I do too much with 'emotion.' Hubbuch is annoyed, and I

[380] Berger, "Zu Hanna Nagels frühen Zeichnungen," 328.

[381] Herber makes the intriguing suggestion that students at the former Badische Akademie might have pushed for the admission of women, citing a memo from November 11, 1919 declaring that admission should not be restricted by gender. Herber, "Frauen an deutschen Kunstakademien," 72.

[382] "Wenn ich Ihre Zeichnungen sehe, ist mir, als müsst ich Sauerkraut essen, das ekligste, was es gibt." December 1925.

keep making 'green beans and sauerkraut.'"[383] Complaints that Nagel is overly "sensitive," or that her work is too "emotional," rely on stereotypes of femininity as pretexts for Hubbuch's displeasure. Similarly, the accusation that she is "infinitely conceited" suggests discomfort with her visible display of ambition, even though Hubbuch himself had encouraged her to pursue additional study in Berlin. One year after her expulsion, Nagel revisited Hubbuch's class and took a photograph of his current students [fig. 192], remarking "[w]hen the personality of a teacher is so strong that the students are just copies."[384] Only one female student remains in the photograph; perhaps Hubbuch found it more difficult to mentor students whose expectations as young women did not align easily with his own.

Nagel continued to collect reproductions of Hubbuch's work in the album until 1930, when she declared: "He is finished. He hardly interests me anymore."[385] Yet even this statement was premature, as Hubbuch began to appear as a figure in her work until about 1932, often in the company of his student-turned-wife, Hilde Isai.[386] Nagel began to engage with changing concepts of romance and marriage in multi-figure compositions, staging anxious, ambiguous, and sometimes violent scenes between men and women where power shifts continuously

[383] "Er will mich absolut zur neuen Sachlichkeit verführen, aber dazu mach ich zu sehr mit dem 'Gefuhl.' Hubbuch ärgert sich, und ich mach weiter 'grüne Bohnen und Sauerkraut.'" December 18, 1925.

[384] "Wenn die Persönlichkeit eines Lehrers so groß ist, dass die Schüler nur noch Kopien sind." Nagel's impression of Hubbuch as overly strict is contradicted by Helmut Goettl's account of him as a rigorous instructor who still allowed his students a good deal of freedom. See Helmut Goettl, "Karl Hubbuch als Lehrer," 50–55.

[385] "Er ist erledigt. Er interessiert mich kaum mehr."

[386] Helmut Goettl claims that Hubbuch was dismissed from his teaching post in summer 1933 on the grounds that he had "incited to immoral drawings and thereby morally poisoned" an 18-year-old female student, who was, in fact, Nagel herself. Hubbuch's reply, that Nagel had used these drawings to gain entrance to the Berlin Academy and that her career was "at its best" did not placate his accusers. Goettl, "Karl Hubbuch als Lehrer," 57. However, Caroline Hess argues that while Hubbuch suspected Nagel of denouncing him, there is no evidence to confirm this. She notes that his work had been attacked by conservative critics well before 1933. Goettl never repeated his statement elsewhere, and Hess was unable to seek clarification from him at the time of writing due to his poor health. Hess, *Hanna Nagels politisches Frühwerk*, 22–24.

between one party and the other. She often used herself and her eventual husband, Hans Fischer, as the primary figures these scenes, suggesting that she understood their relationship as a test case for new relationship models—but she also paid close attention to the Hubbuch-Isai marriage and its potential internal conflicts.

H. Marriage Models: The "Kameradschaftsehe" and the "Künstlerehepaar"

The introduction to *Uhu's* 1929 marriage survey dramatically announced that "In literature and theater, in newspapers and conversation, the marriage crisis of our time is in the foreground." Yet as the piece acknowledged, that source and potential impact of this problem remained obscure: "where is the core of this crisis?"[387] One aspect of the controversy surrounding contemporary marriage pertained to the Weimar constitution. While the new constitution enshrined the equality of men and women, including within the institution of marriage, the old Civil Code, instituted in 1900, upheld the rights of men over their wives and children and remained in effect after 1918.[388] This prompted ongoing efforts from women on the left to institute reforms such as more equitable divorce laws.[389]

Another aspect of the supposed marriage crisis was an increasing tendency among young people to pursue romantic relationships that did not necessarily lead to marriage. As an editorial

[387] "In Literatur und Theater, in Zeitung und Gespräch steht die Ehekrise unserer Zeit im Vordergrund. Aber wo liegt eigentlich der Kern dieser Krise?" Frizt Zielesch and Li Zielesch, "Wie sieht die glückliche Ehe aus? Wie sieht die unglückliche Ehe aus? Wie sieht die weder glückliche noch unglückliche Ehe aus? Versuch einer Ehe-Statistik," *Uhu* 5, no. 7 (April 1929): 60.

[388] Jochen Hung, "The Modernized Gretchen: Transformations of the 'New Woman' in the Late Weimar Republic," *German History* 33, no. 1 (March 2015): 54; Larissa Stiglich, "A Crisis of Marriage? The Debate on Marriage Reform in the Social Democratic Weimar Women's Press, 1919–1933," MA thesis (University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 2014), 3.

[389] Stiglich, "A Crisis of Marriage?", 32.

in Ullstein's daily newspaper *Tempo* declared, "is safe to say that today women will only marry if they want to have children. If they don't, they won't. Because there can hardly be any doubt that … they have taken an enormous step forward, especially regarding love and marriage. And men will need to hurry up or be left behind."[390]

An alternative to traditional marriage that attracted great attention in the press was the "Kameradschaftsehe," or "companionate marriage," popularized by the book of the same title published in Germany in 1928. The author, American jurist Benjamin Lindsey, advocated for a "trial marriage" which would allow young couples to pursue a committed relationship without the legal and financial obligations of marriage.[391] The by now venerable, Enlightenment-vintage concept of the companionate marriage as a relationship between equals, free from the cultural expectations of a traditional marriage, appealed to a younger generation whose patterns of behavior were already moving in this direction.

Lola Landau's editorial for *Die Tat* remarks that "The marriage of the future will perhaps be a companionate marriage, but in a much broader sense than Lindsey's. … It will unite the woman, with her informed views and matured heart, to the man as a free comrade, and two free personalities will march along the same path toward a great goal …."[392] As Jochen Hung demonstrates in his study of the daily advice column in *Tempo,* the newspaper's target audience of younger adults widely embraced the companionate marriage, but struggled to manage the unclear etiquette and expectations of such non-traditional relationships. Further, the editor or

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[390] Dr. Nanette, "Warum noch heiraten? Was 'moderne' Frauenköpfe beschäftigt," *Tempo,* September 13, 1928: 7, quoted and translated in Hung, "The Modernized Gretchen," 61.

[391] Ibid., 73.

[392] Lola Landau, "The Companionate Marriage," *Die Tat* 20, no. 11 (February 1929): 831–835, in Kaes, Jay, and Dimendberg, *The Weimar Republic Sourcebook*, 702.

editors who dispensed advice under the pseudonym "Frau Christine" still promoted traditional marriage for the sake of the woman's financial security, indicating that even a socially liberal publication like *Tempo* approached the concept of the companionate marriage with caution.[393]

However, the "Kameradschaftsehe" often received positive coverage in the press and was even treated as the new status quo. Gina Kaus' short story "Die Kameradschaftsehe" portrays a young couple who embark on a trial marriage; while both briefly pursue romances with other partners, they eventually reunite happily, implying that the new paradigm of the companionate marriage serves a useful purpose.[394] Baum's "The Mothers of Tomorrow …" is illustrated with a pair of images contrasting the ideal of nineteenth-century romance, represented by Edoardo Tofano's painting of a young bride embraced protectively by her husband [fig. 193], with the new model of "healthy companionship" ("Gesunde Kameradschaft") represented by Friedrich Seidenstücker's photograph of a modern couple in matching outfits engaged in gymnastic exercise together [fig. 194].

There were also indications that young men now expected a wife who would be an equal rather than a dependent. Baum's young son describes his future wife as conforming to expectations of the new woman—educated, athletic, and able to drive and to earn an income.[395] Alfred Polgar's "The Defenseless" presents a fictional dialogue between a father and his adult son. When the father rebukes his son for failing to offer his seat to women on the streetcar, the son explains that women no longer desire or expect this gesture; women, he explains, "have become companions, in work and in play, in pleasure and in struggle, and between companions

[393] Hung, "The Modernized Gretchen," 76.

[394] Gina Kaus, "Die Kameradschaftsehe," *Uhu* 5, no. 7 (April 1929): 82–91.

[395] Baum, "Die Mütter von morgen," 53. Automobiles and the new woman were closely linked in popular visual media; see Kessemeier, *Sportlich, sachlich, männlich,* 71–75.

everything is equal."[396] In *Uhu's* "Controversy about the Single Woman," an anonymous husband asserts that "marriage with a self-sufficient woman is the only marriage that is feasible today."[397] That the staff of *Uhu* implicitly endorse women's expanded participation in the workforce is suggested by the opening montage that accompanies this article, featuring women photographed at work in a variety of roles. In addition to the positions of secretary and telephone operator, two roles known for employing young women, women are shown in positions including pharmacist, optician, bookbinder, and architect [fig. 195].

Nagel almost certainly paid attention to contemporary debates about marriage reform. In her second year of study, she wrote in her album, "I am *so* bourgeois that I want to be married," acknowledging that this desire might already be considered retrograde.[398] Reflecting on her future with Fischer in June 1929, Nagel wrote that "[m]y greatest wish now is a companionate marriage. If only we could make money. We are both so skilled and talented and certainly suited for *many* purposes."[399] Written shortly before the couple's move to Berlin, Nagel's comment reveals an expectation or hope that she and Fischer will regard each other as equals and support each other's professional goals. Under a published announcement of the couple's engagement in December of that year, however, Nagel expressed considerable anxiety about this development: "I've made the most idiotic decisions of my life."[400]

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[396] "Sie sind Kameraden geworden, in der Arbeit und im Spiel, in der Lust und im Kampf, und unter Kameraden ist alles egal." Alfred Polgar, "Die Schutzlose," *Uhu* 5, no. 3 (December 1928): 57.

[397] "Die Ehe mit der selbständigen Frau ist die einzige Ehe, die sich heute als brauchbar erweist." "Ein Ehemann," survey response, in "Streit um die ledige Frau," *Uhu* 5, no. 6 (March 1929): 94.

[398] "Ich bin so spießig, daß ich geheiratet sein will."

[399] "Mein größter Wunsch jetzt ist eine Kameradschaftsehe. Wenn wir doch Geld verdienen könnten. Wir sind doch beide so geschickt und begabt und bestimmt zu vielen Zwecken verwendbar."

[400] "Ich habe die größten Dummheiten meines Lebens gemacht."

Nagel's anxiety during this period is suggested by a pair of watercolor drawings that envision two alternate futures for herself. *Träume!* (December 1928) shows Nagel and Fischer standing side-by-side as Fischer cradles an infant while Nagel strokes its cheek [fig. 196]. This is perhaps the only instance where Nagel depicts herself and Fischer as members of an equal and relatively untroubled partnership. In *Meine Zukunft, wie sie sein wird* (January 1929), Nagel imagines an entirely different outcome: visibly aged and alone, she paints dolls in a studio, implying that she has never had children of her own and that, presumably, she has evaded marriage for the sake of her career [fig. 197].

Nagel's ambivalent attitude towards marriage seems to derive from a need to reconcile the new ideal of "Kameradschaftsehe" with the precedent of the "Künstlerehepaar," or artists' marriage. An idealized image of the reconciliation of these two paradigms is exemplified by the article "Two Married Couples—Four Pals," featuring a "Malerehepaar" (painter-couple) and another couple in which the wife is an author and artist. The unambiguous equality within these relationships is suggested by the title page, featuring all four "pals" dressed in almost identical outfits [fig. 198], and in a photograph of the "painter-couple," who recline on top of one another in a decidedly anti-hierarchical pose [fig. 199].[401] Nonetheless, as Erika Esau observes, while marriages between artists were relatively common, they traditionally resulted in the wife's career being subordinated to the husband's.[402]

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[401] "Zwei Ehepaare—Vier Kameraden," *Das Leben* 10, no. 4 (October 1932): 53, 55.

[402] Erika Esau, "The *Künstlerehepaar:* Ideal and Reality," in Meskimmon and West, *Visions of the "Neue Frau,"* 28–41. The institution of marriage, and of the *Künstlerehepaar* specifically, does not seem to have been a major topic among Nagel's contemporaries. An exception occurs in the "einsame Paare," or lonely couple, paintings of Anton Räderscheidt (1892–1970). Räderscheidt and his wife Marta Hegemann serve as models for the couples in these paintings, who inhabit empty cityscapes and seem unable or unwilling to communicate with one another. While Hegemann does not seem to have produced an equivalent body of work on this theme, the (now lost) painting *Familienbildnis* (c. 1924) shows her ironically inhabiting a traditional housewife role as her husband's signature

Nagel may have sensed that the emancipatory allure of the companionate marriage was threatened by the paradigm of the artists' marriage with its implicit expectation that the husband's career would take precedence. These anxieties manifest themselves in several of Nagel's lithographs from 1928. In *Die unvollkommene Ehe*, Nagel holds an infant while a man seated with his back to the viewer draws a female nude [fig. 200]. Inverting the title of Theodoor van de Velde's *Die vollkommene Ehe* (1926)*,* a guide to sexual satisfaction within marriage, Nagel implies that equal satisfaction within an artists' marriage is not so easily attained. In *Kritik Magnus Hirschfeld* (1928), a self-satisfied man resembling Fischer sits on a fence and looks down at an emaciated, distressed woman resembling Nagel [fig. 201]. Hirschfeld ran a famous sexology clinic in Berlin whose services included marriage counseling; again, Nagel seems to imply that the potential conflicts within an artists' marriage are perhaps beyond even Hirschfeld's capacity to repair. In *Untitled*, Nagel holds a puppet representing a hapless Fischer while a man in front of her brandishes a gun, implying that she has orchestrated a hostage situation [fig. 202]. These lithographs set a precedent for Nagel's subsequent depictions of herself and her future husband. Her representations of this relationship are almost universally characterized by a skewed balance of power, as she and Fischer alternate between the roles of victim and oppressor.

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bowler hat is elevated by birds. For more on the relationship between Räderscheidt and Hegemann, see Dorothy Rowe, "The Lonely Couple: Hegemann and Räderscheidt as *Künstlerehepaar*," in Rowe, *After Dada,* 124–175.

Another example of this motif is Jeanne Mammen's *Künstlerehe* (watercolor, c. 1928), which depicts a bohemian couple in an untidy studio. The wife, one of the elegantly bored or cynical young women who appear frequently in Mammen's work, appears disenchanted with her husband, herself, or both. In *Simplicissimus,* this image is reproduced under the title "The Prodigy" ("Das Wunder"), with a colloquial caption that seems to voice the wife's frustration: "Charakter haste keen', Talent haste nich—Mensch, wo nimmste nur das viele Pech hier?" *Simpliccissimus* 33, no. 31 (October 29, 1928): 400.

Nagel's anxieties surrounding the balance of power in her relationship take a more violent and inscrutable form in a group of etchings from 1928. In *Tortur,* Nagel watches as a nude man is disemboweled, his entrails snaking across the ground, while another man (perhaps Hubbuch) stands and sketches the scene [fig. 203]. In *Hans und ich* (1928), Nagel grips a decapitated male head while preparing to kick or stomp another; Fischer, holding a camera, looks on fearfully behind her [fig. 204]. In *Untitled*, she threatens a nude male figure with a knife, as if prepared to perform the disemboweling herself [fig. 205]. Some of these predatory interactions take on a more sexual nature. In one etching, wearing a "masculine" outfit of collared blouse, tie, and lapeled jacket, she caresses the bare leg of a pantsless man, perhaps envisioning herself in the role of the "art school pig" as she did in the photo album [fig. 206]. In another etching, she wears a corset-like top while stepping aggressively on the chest of a prone man, holding up a pen-like object that suggests a new kind of "femme fatale"—an artist who ensnares her prey and then cruelly discards it for the sake of her career [fig. 207]. A small drawing in the album shows Nagel pulling the arm off of a doll-sized figure of Fischer with the comment "I am predisposed to torment, a sadist" [fig. 208].[403]

These depictions of imagined violence form an unparalleled counterpart to the genre of the "Lustmord." This pathology gripped public imagination in the 1920s and appeared in works by Grosz, Dix, Schlichter, and even Hubbuch.[404] Nagel's imagined scenes of violence or

[403] "Ich bin quälerisch veranlagt, eine Sadistlerin."

[404] Maria Tatar's *Lustmord: Sexual Murder in Weimar Germany* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995) is the only comprehensive study in English on this topic, although its conclusions are unfortunately lacking in nuance. For a thoughtful analysis of this work, which ignores the "specific political circumstances in which the *Lustmord* imagery was made" and reduces artists to "unwilling conduit[s] for a general fear of women," see the review by Robert Jensen, *The Art Bulletin* 78, no. 1 (March 1996): 168–172. More attentive to historical context is Beth Irwin Lewis's "*Lustmord*: Inside the Windows of the Metropolis," in von Ankum, *Women in the Metropolis,* Kindle edition.

exploitation suggest an attempt to sublimate anxieties about her professional future. Throughout the album, she proclaims her affection for Fischer, yet in these etchings and in later drawings, their relationship becomes a scaffold onto which she projects fantasies of revenge or domination. This frustration takes a more benign form in an etching where she regards a number of miniaturized men, including Fischer and Hubbuch, who she has planted like seedlings in pots [fig. 209].

I. Isai As Muse And Rival

Nagel paid close attention to Hilde Isai and her marriage to Hubbuch as a potential model for her own future with Fischer. Nagel's fixation on Isai is likely due to the fact that she viewed her as a rival (and indeed, a victorious one) for Hubbuch's affection and respect. In an album caption from early 1928, Nagel alludes to Hubbuch's marriage: "So now is the perfect conclusion: he has married Isai, the song of songs. She loves him very much. And me? I am interested in how he proves himself as a husband."[405] Hilde appears in the album in a photograph

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Klaus Theleweit, basing his analysis on literature and memoir rather than art, provides the most compelling explanation of the meaning of *Lustmord:* "It's as if two male compulsions were tearing at the woman with equal strength. One is trying to push them away, to keep them at arm's length (defense); the other wants to penetrate them, to have them very near. Both compulsions seem to find satisfaction in the act of killing, where the man pushes the woman far away (takes her life), and gets very close to her (penetrates her with a bullet, stab wound, club, etc.). … What we are dealing with here is the *dissolution* of the body itself, and of the woman as bodily entity as well as love object. It is only after she has been reduced to this state that her sensuousness meets with an almost appreciative tolerance. The 'red roses' of her sex *only* blossom from the wounds on her dead, deformed, opened-up body. Whatever it is about the sensuous woman that excites these men lies beneath the surface, under her skin. It looks very much as if the killings are conceived as corrective measures, which alter the false appearances of women so that their 'true natures' can become visible." Theleweit, *Male Fantasies*, vol. 1, 196.

[405] "Jetzt ist also vollkommenen Schluss: er hat sich verheiratet mit der Isai, dem hohen Lied. Sie liebt ihn sehr. Und ich? Ich bin interessiert, wie er sich als Ehemann bewährt."

of the sculpture class from December 1928, where she is described as "the main attraction … Mrs. Hubbuch without glasses.[406] [fig. 210].

Isai began to appear, both with and without Hubbuch, in Nagel's drawings and etchings from 1928 onwards. Nagel's portrayals of the Hubbuch-Isai marriage, however, often to tip the balance of power in Isai's favor rather than presenting her as part of an equal partnership. For example, the etching *Herrn Hubbuch in Dankbarkeit* (1928) shows Hubbuch striding away from Hilde with a rope wrapped around his hand, while she stands in place and holds the other end of the rope; he appears to lead, but she is ultimately in charge [fig. 211]. The lithograph *Gemeinsames Erlebnis* (May 1928) envisions Isai towering over a subservient Hubbuch opposite a cabaret scene with an ambiguously gendered dance troupe and a black performer [fig. 212]. Elsewhere, Isai's authority is less clear. One etching (1929) shows Isai seated in profile and holding a sheet bearing two female portrait drawings of the type Hubbuch might produce [fig. 213]. Her ambiguous expression might reveal suspicion about her husband's relationship with his models. Nagel imagines this possibility in another study sheet drawing, where Isai approaches her husband with a knife as she discovers him with another woman on his lap [fig. 214].

In addition to speculating about the nature of their marriage, Nagel also imagines how Hubbuch and Isai relate to one another as artists. The watercolor *Hundertmal Isai* [fig. 215] shows Hubbuch holding a brush to a canvas featuring four nude Isai-figures with rosy cheeks and nipples; behind him, Isai, in her underwear, caresses his brush-wielding arm. Gottdang interprets this gesture as symbolizing Isai's desire to contribute to the composition, highlighting

[406] "der Clou … Frau Hubbuch ohne Hornbrille." The caption continues, mysteriously, "[sie] bekommt dafür jetzt ein Kind: Täuschung, hähä!" The "deception" here is unclear. Were there rumors that Isai had tricked Hubbuch into having a child, or is Nagel simply imagining this scenario?

her role as productive subject rather than as passive object.[407] However, Nagel also envisioned Isai as potentially disenchanted with her role as Hubbuch's muse. The drawing *Hubbuch und Isai* (1929) shows the pair in his studio, where Hubbuch sits before an easel with a schematic painting of his wife; meanwhile, Isai turns her back to the viewer and raises a brush, as if disengaging from her role as muse in order to attend to her own work [fig. 216]. Whether Nagel actually observed a shifting balance of power in the Hubbuch-Isai marriage or simply imagined it, their relationship clearly functioned as a model against which Nagel could compare her own. Isai's presence also haunted Nagel's studio. Nagel photographed herself in her studio in May 1929 [fig. 217] with the caption "Photographed in my mirror. I'm becoming so old, so wasted!"[408] Visible above her shoulder at right is a drawing that seems to depict a kind of beach fantasy, featuring Isai in a revealing outfit, waves, and a tiny sailboat. Shortly before she departed for Berlin, Nagel took a photograph of her studio, this time featuring another portrait of Isai to the left of Nagel's sole self-portrait in oil [fig. 218]. Depicted in a large (presumably lost) drawing, Isai wears trousers whose fabric strains against her spread thighs, a sleeveless top, and gloves over hands clenched into fists. Nagel's self-portrait in oil at upper right on the same wall suggests that she might be thinking of her own image as inspired by, or in competition with, that of Isai, since she also wears a sleeveless top and emphasizes the strength of her arms. In these two contrasting views of Isai—one that reads as flirtatious and feminine, the other as aggressive and masculine—Nagel seems to convey a fascination with, and perhaps envy of, Isai's ability to

[407] This drawing seems to confirm Gottdang's speculation that Hubbuch shared *Viermal Hilde* with his students; Gottdang, "Viermal Hilde," 183. This is also suggested by one of Nagel's drawings featuring Hilde wearing a flowered apron, probably inspired by the fourth figure in *Viermal Hilde.*

[408] "In meinem Spiegel photografiert. Ich werde so alt, so wüst! Mai 29."

shift between the identities of "girl" and "garçonne" while remaining a persistent object of desire for Hubbuch.

To what extent did Isai's Jewish identity influence Nagel's perception of her as a paragon of new womanhood? Katharina von Ankum argues that after 1918, "[t]he New Woman… became the target of modernist fascination as much as anti-modernist aggression and was frequently identified with Jewishness. Weimar cultural discourse cast Jewish women in the role of promulgators of the single life style, vanguard fashion, and female professionalism."[409] Sharon Gillerman similarly claims that "while Jewish community leaders denounced the (Jewish) New Woman as rejecting Judaism, non-Jewish contemporaries in the larger German cultural sphere often read the bobbed hair, bold fashions, and sexual assertiveness of the New Woman as dangerously Jewish."[410] The association of Jewish women with displays of wealth and luxury also linked them to the new woman's participation in fashion and consumer culture.[411] In addition to the presumed link between her Jewishness and new womanhood, another signal of Isai's indifference to convention was her entrance into a mixed marriage (*Mischehe*) with Hubbuch, a decision far more likely to be undertaken by Jewish women who were independent of their families and had professional aspirations.[412]

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[409] Katharina von Ankum, "Between Maternity and Modernity: Jewish Femininity and the German-Jewish 'Symbiosis'," *Shofar* 17, no. 4 (Summer 1999): 27.

[410] Sharon Gillerman, *Germans into Jews: Remaking the Jewish Social Body in the Weimar Republic* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009), 32. Atina Grossmann suggests, contra to von Ankum and Gillerman, that the association between sexual reform and the new woman, on the one hand, and "Jewish" and "Bolshevist" tendencies, on the other, did not crystallize until the advent of National Socialism. Atina Grossmann, "Die Sexualreform und die 'Neue Frau': Wie jüdisch waren sie?," in *Was war deutsches Judentum? 1870–1933,* ed. Christina von Braun (Berlin: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2015), 264.

[411] Gillerman, *Germans into Jews,* 34–35.

[412] Claudia Prestel argues that a greater willingness among Jewish women to enter mixed marriages after 1918 is unrelated to their identity as new women, since mixed marriages had occurred since the nineteenth century. Claudia Prestel, "The 'New Jewish Woman' in Weimar Germany," in *Jews in the Weimar Republic,* ed. Wolfgang Benz,

Isai seems to unite for Nagel two contrasting images of the modern Jewish woman: the sensual, exoticized "other" and the defiantly masculinized intellectual. Von Ankum analyzes Else Croner's *Die moderne Jüdin* (1913) as an example of Jewish women's self-perceptions of their own exoticism. Croner defines the quintessential Jewish woman as an "oriental type" with pale skin, "long, dark eye lashes" and "velvety, somewhat melancholic almond shaped eyes," and suggests that the Jewish woman may be either maternal or sensual (but not both).[413] In the Weimar period, however, the popular image of the modern Jewish woman—at least in the literary examples that von Ankum provides—stereotyped this figure as excessively masculine, intellectual, and either homosexual or sexually frigid.[414] Nagel's images of Isai refuse both stereotypes by presenting Isai in both seductive and authoritative guises. Nagel's use of an Old Testament epithet ("the song of songs") to describe Isai may indicate her perception of Isai as an exoticized and tantalizing "other," especially in comparison with the slender blond women who Hubbuch often favored as models. However, in her more "masculine" depictions of Isai, Nagel shows a clear fascination with Isai's apparent independence, as well as an interest in Isai's authority (or lack thereof) within her marriage to Hubbuch.

Arnold Paucker, and Peter Pulzer (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998), 148. On the other hand, Till van Rahden, using marriage records in Breslau as a case study, demonstrates that Jewish women (and men) who chose mixed marriages in both the late Imperial and early Weimar periods tended to act with far more independence from their families; for example, a large percentage of women who entered such marriages worked outside the home before marriage, whereas the vast majority of women who married within the Jewish community never worked outside the home. Till van Rahden, "Intermarriages, the 'New Woman,' and the Situational Ethnicity of Breslau Jews from the 1870s to the 1920s," *The Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook* 46, no. 1 (2001): 140.

[413] Else Croner, *Die moderne Jüdin* (Berlin: Axel Juncker, 1913), quoted in von Ankum, "Between Maternity and Modernity," 24.

[414] Ibid., 27–29.

J. Darkness Falls: The "Dark Pictures"

In late 1929, Nagel moved to Berlin and commenced two years of study as a master student of Emil Orlik.[415] Orlik's influence produced a dramatic change in her style.[416] The sharply-defined contours that distinguished her earlier work began to soften, and she abandoned pencil in favor of ink, often enhanced with broad areas of dark wash. Although most of her student work from Berlin was destroyed during the war, a few surviving studies show the transition to a softer style [fig. 219].[417]

Nagel continued to explore marriage-related anxieties in drawings such as *Mühevolle Ehe* (1930) or *Frühes Selbstbildnis* (1930) [figs. 220, 130]. Nagel imagines herself forced to pull a cart, labeled "FISCHER," laden with stacks of prints or drawings and a pair of infants, or envisions herself bedeviled by a dozen tiny Fischers as she sits discontentedly at her drafting table. The balance of power between Nagel and Fischer continues to alternate. In *Das reiche Herz* (1930), Fischer collects coins emanating from Nagel's bare chest [fig. 221], while in *Schmarotzer* (November 1930), Nagel draws blood from Fischer's chest as ink for her drawing [fig. 222]; a sketch of Hubbuch and Isai on the easel behind them suggests her ongoing preoccupation with this relationship.

In spite of Hubbuch's admonishment to move to Berlin in order to "experience more," Nagel's subject matter seemed to narrow inward rather than expand outward following her relocation. The burden of Hubbuch's expectations surfaces in certain works around this time. In

[415] Orlik also taught both Grosz and Hubbuch when they were students; see chapter 2. Nagel also studied etching with Hans Meid during this period, although none of the work she made under him appears to survive.

[416] Nagel's respect for her new teacher is evident in several photographs of him in the album, as well as a group photograph with the caption "It's lovely with Orlik and I've already learned a lot" ("Es ist schön bei Orlik und ich habe schon viel gelernt.")

[417] Hans Höfstätter, *Hanna Nagel—Das frühe Werk* (Freiburg: Schillinger, 1975), 11.

Die Falsche Dreizahl (1930), Nagel imagines a sustained tension among herself, Hubbuch, and Fischer, anticipating a struggle between two figures who represent, respectively, career and family [fig. 223]. Hubbuch's probable distaste for Nagel's increasing preoccupation with marriage and motherhood is suggested by *Der Revolver* (1931) [fig. 224]. Here, Nagel sits before a drawing of infants' heads while Hubbuch sits across from her with the titular weapon on his knee and a downcast expression of tense disappointment.

Nagel's drawings after 1930 increasingly feature her with one or more infants, sometimes staging the perceived conflict between marriage, motherhood, and career in an extremely literal way, as in *Die Frage: "Kind—Kunst—Mann?"* [fig. 225]. Other depictions of this subject are more surreal. In *Furcht vor Verlust* (1930), Nagel sits with a bandaged head and draws infants' faces as Fischer stands and holds a hooked fish with one skeletal hand [fig. 226]. *Gedanken über das Bild von Otto Dix: Straßenkampf* (1930) [fig. 227] presumably refers to Dix's now-lost painting of 1927, depicting a row of Freikorps troops gunning down left-wing protesters. Nagel transmutes the visible entrails of the slain victims, painted with repulsive detail by Dix, into a vision of sleeping infants with brains oozing from their heads, while she and Fischer pose in the foreground with their own infant. Another work from 1930, *Meine Kinder sehen so jüdisch aus,* shows Fischer drawing a family portrait of Nagel with several young children, evidently alluding to rising anti-Semitism during that period [fig. 228].[418] Nagel continued to explore anxieties surrounding motherhood in a number of drawings from 1931 that deal with the topic of Paragraph 218, which outlawed abortion and attracted sustained protest during the 1920s among

[418] A note in Nagel's album dated April 17, 1933 reads "My Hansi ist not a Nazi. I don't want a child now" ("Mein Hansi ist kein Nazi. Ich möchte jetzt kein Kind"). Hess, *Hanna Nagels politisches Frühwerk*, 23.

left-wing circles.[419] Some of these drawings belonged to a group of twelve that Nagel showed at the "Frauen im Not' exhibition in 1931.

One of the most famous images from this exhibition is Alice Lex-Nerlinger's *Paragraph 218,* which shows women collectively pushing over the law against the silhouette of a pregnant, faceless proletarian woman [fig. 229]. Nagel's drawings, however, are far more ambiguous. Angemeyer-Deubner has even interpreted *Der Paragraph* [fig. 230] and *Paragraph 218* [fig. 231] as evidence that Nagel, who hoped for a child but would not give birth until 1938, supported the abortion ban.[420] On the other hand, *Angst* [fig. 232] seems to suggest the anxiety of a woman (represented by Nagel) that her relationship will lead to an unwanted pregnancy that the law will not allow her to terminate. Since Nagel plays a role in all three drawings listed here—twice as implied victim and once as perpetrator—her actual opinion remains frustratingly obscure.[421]

Nagel's shift in style culminated in the so-called "dark pictures," an ongoing series begun around 1931 that would preoccupy her for the rest of her career.[422] In dozens of self-portraits

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[419] Hess notes one or two additional drawings on this subject. Nagel showed the second highest number of drawings after Kollwitz, who showed between 25 and 30. Ibid., 29. For an account of the campaign to abolish Paragraph 218, see Atina Grossmann, "Abortion and Economic Crisis: The 1931 Campaign Against Paragraph 218, in *When Biology Became Destiny: Women in Weimar and Nazi Germany,* ed. Renate Bridenthal, Atina Grossmann, and Marion Kaplan (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1984), 66–86.

[420] Angemeyer-Deubner, *Neue Sachlichkeit und Verismus in Karlsruhe*, 132. Hess also cites letters in which Nagel appears to express opposition to abortion; Hess, *Hanna Nagels politisches Frühwerk*, 461–462.

[421] Tellingly, in her essay on Paragraph 218, Karoline Hille reproduces all three drawings but does not discuss a single one. Karoline Hille, "Paragraph 218 and the 'Women's Matter": Notes on a Subject Which is Still Topical Today," in *Splendor and Misery in the Weimar Republic,* ed. Ingrid Pfeiffer (Frankfurt: Schirn Kunsthalle Frankfurt, 2017), 183–188. Petra Lanfermann, however, acknowledges that this group remains as ambiguous as most of Nagel's other work; Petra Lanfermann, "'Die Frau von heute'—die Künstlerin um 1929: Themen, Motive, Impulse und Hintergründe," in *Die Neue Frau?*, 182.

[422] The "dark pictures" have generally attracted less scholarly interest than the student work of the 1920s. Irene Fischer-Nagel, conversation with author, June 2015. The largest group of these works yet published is found in Fischer-Nagel, *Ich zeichne, weil es mein Leben ist.* For other analyses of the "dark pictures," see, for example, Ingrid von der Dollen, "Hanna Nagel, das intime Tagebuch," in von der Dollen, *Malerinnen im 20. Jahrhundert,* 221–225;

incorporating surreal elements, Nagel gradually sheds her identity as a new woman, instead presenting herself in long gowns and anachronistic headdresses. *Als Judith* (1933–1945) typifies Nagel's evolving approach, featuring the artist as a biblical character while also showcasing the emergence of her new-signature style [fig. 233]. The minimalist linearity of the artist's early work is superseded by a system of loose hatching that creates areas of soft tonality. Further tonality is provided by areas of reddish wash that partially saturate the sky above the Roman vista, Nagel's dress, and the blood-soaked cloth covering Holofernes' head. The deliberately murky and fluid quality of *Als Judith* reads as an emphatic rejection of the crisp contours and spacious compositions once favored by Nagel's favorite instructor.

Nagel's interpretation of Judith is notably passive. While this figure is commonly portrayed with the betrayed king's sword either before, during, or after the beheading, Nagel-as-Judith lacks a sword and, in her solemn, kneeling position, appears more resigned or regretful than triumphant. Her partly exposed chest suggests Judith's use of seduction to entrap her victim, but her covered hair contradicts this impression of sensuality. Overall, *Als Judith* embodies Nagel's gradual rejection of the masculine-coded linearity of her early training in favor of the engulfing, feminized softness of ink hatching and wash. The general style and theme of *Als Judith* repeats in images such as *Scherzender Tod* (1931–1933) [fig. 234], where Nagel portrays herself as part of a traditional "young woman and death" motif. The fish that Nagel grasps in the latter drawing becomes a recurring motif, sometimes growing to a monstrous size, as in *Geburt*

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and Svenja Moor, two catalogue entries on Hanna Nagel, in Fleckner and Luckow, *Das wahre Gesicht unsere Zeit*, 144–149.

der Venus [fig. 235]; she later described "the fish with the open mouth as the epitome of fear, as an expression of the material which never succeeds in 'reaching the moon.'"[423]

Some scholars regard the dark pictures as a definitive break with the verist aesthetic that Nagel learned from Hubbuch and other instructors at the BLKS. Angemeyer-Deubner concludes that "[t]hese drawings have nothing more to do with Sachlichkeit or verism"[424] and describes them as evidence of an "almost pathological introversion."[425] However, we might also read the dark pictures as symptoms of a process of disenchantment. Analyzing voting patterns in the early 1930s, Renate Bridenthal and Claudia Koonz argue that women's apparent support for National Socialism can be explained by "the fraudulence of their supposed emancipation," as "patriarchal ideology continued to dominate all institutions of German economic and political life"[426] during the Weimar period.

More recent scholarship has questioned this thesis and emphasized the positive gains for women before 1933.[427] Yet the dark pictures, which coincide with the end of Nagel's studies and the beginning of her marriage, do seem to constitute, if not a recognition of the "fraudulence of emancipation," at least a record of Nagel's inability to imagine a variety of potential outcomes for herself. They replace the multiplicity Nagel had embraced in the later 1920s with repetitive, static, and resigned imagery. The dark pictures seem to constitute Nagel's renunciation of the

[423] "Neben dem, was Angst macht, zeichne ich das was Angst hat, zum Beispiel viele Fische. Das war immer mein Thema: der Fisch mit dem aufgesperrten Maul als Inbegriff der Angst, als Ausdruck des Materiellen, dem es nie gelingt, 'den Mond zu erreichen.'" Nagel quoted in Ruhmer, *Hanna Nagel,* 14.

[424] "Diese Zeichnungen haben mit Sachlichkeit oder Verismus nichts mehr zu tun." Angemeyer-Deubner, *Neue Sachlichkeit und Verismus in Karlsruhe,* 103.

[425] "fast pathologische Introversion"; Ibid., 128.

[426] Renate Bridenthal and Claudia Koonz, "Beyond *Kinder, Küche, Kirche:* Weimar Women in Politics and Work," in Bridenthal, Grossmann, and Kaplan, *When Biology Became Destiny*, 34–35.

[427] Boak, Women in Weimar Germany, 171.

emancipatory potential of the new woman, which had previously constituted a key part of her identity.

K. "This Thoroughly Feminine Artist"

Towards the end of the album, Nagel includes two reviews from her earliest exhibitions. The first, a review of an exhibition at the Heidelberger Kunstverein during Christmas 1930, includes the following commentary from a critic: "the etchings and drawings by Hanna Nagel ... are serious, absorbing images of human existence and essence."[428] Nagel also preserved reviews from the Berlin Juryfreie Kunstausstellung of May 10, 1931. One review describes her as presenting a "haunting, Goya-like autobiography in a cycle of drawings."[429] A second review was less favorable: "The not untalented Hanna Nagel alienates with bizarrely-drawn anxiety dreams."[430] In response, Nagel marveled, "Am I really useful [and] not untalented?"[431] Such reviews hint frustratingly at the type of career Nagel could have developed, if she had found a way to connect her autobiographical impulses with broader social concerns. This is precisely what Lea Grundig achieved, for example, in her etching cycle *Frauenleben* (1934) with images like *Das Ehebett* [fig. 236]. In this group of images detailing the daily life of working-class women, with its grinding physical labor, exhaustion, and brief moments of leisure and pleasure,

[428] "die Radierungen und Zeichnungen von Hanna Nagel … sind ernste, packende Bilder menschlichen Da- und Soseins."

[429] "Eine gespentische Goya-hafte Selbstbiographie gibt die junge Heidelbergerin Hanna Nagel in einem Zyklus von Zeichnungen."

[430] "Die nicht unbegabte Hanna Nagel befremdet durch bizarr gezeichnete Angstträume."

[431] "Na ja, diese Bonzen. Blamabel. Bin ich wirklich nützlich [und] 'nicht unbegabt?'"

Grundig portrayed herself and her husband as central figures, yet their function as universal symbols transcends their specific identities.

As the figure of the new woman gradually receded from Nagel's work and was replaced with that of the melancholy or passive woman in dreamlike, mythical settings, critics responded with language that emphasized the essential femininity of Nagel's work. Her newly anodyne images proved amenable to a National Socialist worldview, especially where they could be read as unambiguous endorsements of motherhood. In 1942, Liselotte Holeisen offered the following description of Nagel: "She is a lyric poet, [she] possesses and gives us that rare, purest poetry, drawing from the deepest wells of female essence, ascending to the symbol of true womanhood. … She gives the child, the fulfillment of the longing of this thoroughly feminine artist, joyous, jubilant affirmation in her art."[432] In 1946, Nagel exhibited her Chopin Preludes cycle, comprising drawings with watercolor inspired by the composer's 24 preludes for piano [figs. 237–238]. During the exhibition, Nagel's friend, pianist Frida Kwast-Hodapp, performed the preludes behind the gallery walls. Günther Michel's review of these works mirrors the language of Holeisen's 1942 review: "With her most recent major work, Hanna Nagel has achieved what she really strives for: to express the emotions of a woman who knows how to connect deeply with all women, in all their diversity. … Everything that a woman's heart can understand of love and suffering, of need and fulfillment is packed into these images. It almost seems as if there are no limits to the sensibility of a woman, to the capacity for insight of a female heart."[433] Nagel

[432] "Sie ist Lyrikerin, besitzt und schenkt uns jene ach so seltene, reinste, aus tiefsten Brunnen weiblichen Wesens schöpfende Lyrik, emporsteigend zum Symbol wahren Frauentums. ... Dem Kind, der Erfüllung des Sehnens dieser so durch und durch weiblichen Künstlerin, schenkt sie in ihrer Kunst freudige, jubelnde Bejahung." Liselotte Holeisen, "Besuch bei Hanna Nagel," *Die Westmark* 11, no. 10 (1942): 380.

[433] "Mit dieser letzten großen Arbeit hat Hanna Nagel das verwirklicht, was sie eigentlich erstrebt: die Empfindungen einer Frau, die sich mit allen Frauen zutiefst verbunden weiß, in all ihrer Vielfalt wiederzugeben. … Fast scheint es, als ob keine Grenzen gäbe für das Empfindungsvermögen einer Frau, für die Fassungskraft eines

even spoke about her work in similar terms later in life. “As different as a woman is from a man, so different are the expressions of the soul. Accordingly, women's art is something completely different than men's art. My sheets should be recognized as originating from a woman. After all, there are vanishingly few women who arrive artistically at a true statement—a statement so personal that you recognize the woman in the creation. For me it is essential to draw feminine emotional nuances, even those that perhaps no woman has ever drawn before.”[434] Nagel seemed to internalize critics’ assessment of her work as “thoroughly feminine” to such an extent that she echoed their language in her own self-analysis.

One artist who seemed to be a potential model for Nagel’s career during her first years in Berlin was Käthe Kollwitz. As Nagel later recalled, Orlik “saw in me the successor of Käthe Kollwitz and advised me to use all my strength to achieve this goal.”[435] The two women eventually connected and remained in touch through the 1930s. In a journal entry from 1932, Kollwitz expressed her shock that Nagel had never given birth, since it was rumored, likely based on her melancholy images of motherhood, that she had a child who had died. Kollwitz further described Nagel as “somewhat erotically perverse. But her works still attract me greatly,

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weiblichen Herzens.” Günther Michel, “Die Zeichnerin Hanna Nagel,” *Assaat* 1, no. 5 (January 1946): 19. The cycle consisted of 24 drawings with watercolor inspired by Chopin’s 24 preludes for piano. Nagel’s friend, pianist Frida Kwast-Hodapp, performed the preludes behind the gallery walls during the exhibition.

[434] “So verschieden eine Frau von einem Mann ist, so verschieden sind auch die Äußerungen der Seele. Entsprechend ist Frauenkunst etwas völlig anderes als Männerkunst. Meinen Blätter soll man ansehen, daß sie von einer Frau herrühren. Es gibt ja doch nur verschwindend wenige Frauen, die künstlerisch zu einer wirklichen Aussage gelangen—einer Aussage, die so persönlich ist, daß man in der Schöpfung die Frau erkennt. Für mich kommt es darauf an, die weiblichen Gefühlsnuancen zu zeichnen, auch solches, was vielleicht noch nie eine Frau gezeichnet hat.” Nagel quoted in Ruhmer, *Hanna Nagel*, 14.

[435] “Er sah in mir die Nachfolgerin von Käthe Kollwitz und riet mir, zur Erreichung dieses Ziels meine ganze Kraft einzusetzen.” Nagel quoted in ibid., 11.

they are *distinctive* [emphasis in original] and accomplished."[436] Apparently, Kollwitz even offered to take Nagel on as a student in 1933.[437]

Taking Orlik's flattery as a serious thought experiment, what would it mean for a female artist in the 1920s to view herself, or to be viewed by others, as the successor of Kollwitz? As the first woman to be elected to the Prussian Academy of the Arts in 1919, Kollwitz occupied an enormously symbolic position for women artists of the 1920s. This is perhaps best signified by her inclusion in Hannah Höch's *Cut with the Kitchen Knife* (1919–1920) [fig. 239], where her head, at the very center of the composition, is tossed into the air jubilantly by dancer Niddy Impekoven [fig. 240].[438] However, as Klaus Mugdan notes, "Nothing seems to be further from one another than the graphic art of these two women."[439] Hartmann also suggests that we should be wary of this comparison: "Pushing her into the role of a second Käthe Kollwitz was indicative of an artistic conception which believed it had found in the bourgeois-humane Kollwitz a universal form of women's art—whereby the revolutionary and realistic works of Lea Grundig and Alice Lex-Nerlinger remained beyond the visual field of Emil Orlik or Hanna Nagel."[440] Hartmann is right to be cautious, especially since we do not know exactly what prompted Orlik's

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[436] "erotisch etwas pervers. Aber ihre Arbeiten ziehn mich doch sehr an, sind *eigen* und gekonnt." Käthe Kollwitz, journal entry, May 1932, in *Käthe Kollwitz: Die Tagebücher,* ed. Jutta Bohnke-Kollwitz (Berlin: Siedler, 1989), 659.

[437] Schuster, "Kontinuitäten, Transformationen oder Brüche?," 246n596.

[438] For Kollwitz's significance in the context of this work, see Maud Lavin, *Cut with the Kitchen Knife: The Weimar Photomontages of Hannah Höch* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 30–31.

[439] "Nichts scheint einander ferner zu sein als die Grafik dieser beiden Frauen …." Klaus Mugdan, "Einführung," in Fischer-Nagel, *Ich zeichne, weil es mein Leben ist,* 7.

[440] "Sie in der Rolle einer zweiten Käthe Kollwitz zu drängen, war bezeichnend für eine Kunstauffassung, die in der bürgerlich-menschlichen Kollwitz gleich eine allgemeingültige Form der Frauenkunst gefunden zu haben glaubte,—wobei die revolutionären und realistischen Arbeiten von Lea Grundig und Alice Lex-Nerlinger außerhalb des Gesichtsfeldes um Emil Orlik oder Hanna Nagel blieben." Wolfgang Hartmann, "Innenwelt—Außenwelt. Hanna Nagels Studienjahre und ihr Karlsruher Lehrer Karl Hubbuch," in *Hanna Nagel, Frühe Arbeiten 1926–1934,* 17.

claim. Was he impressed primarily by Nagel's technical proficiency? Did he expect that Nagel would ultimately embrace Kollwitz's socially engaged subject matter? Or did he believe that Nagel's increasing focus on mother-and-child imagery made her a natural successor to Kollwitz, given the popular understanding of Kollwitz as an artist preoccupied above all with maternity? Whether Nagel truly shared Orlik's aspiration that she become "the next Kollwitz" remains an open question.

One of the few works where Nagel visualized her experiments with self-presentation outside of the album is the lithograph *Selbstbildnis* (1929) [fig. 241]. Nagel appears in the guise of eight different personas. At left, she is a glamorous ingenue applying face powder and a young man who grabs this figure's waist; at right, she is a woman in a fur-collar coat and a woman in a pantsuit who might be furtively receiving a gun from the former. In the center, she is both drawing artist and reclining model. The last two figures are those of Nagel covering her face and a half-length figure anxiously cradling an embryo in a jar. *Selbstbildnis* may exhibit anxiety about Nagel's ability to reconcile these disparate personas, but it is equally conscious of the enjoyable freedom that such play with identity could provide. If *Uhu* could describe Kollwitz's work as always depicting the "face of a mother," Nagel asserts her intent to display multiple faces. It is this multiplicity of identity that she later rejected, replacing it with the static self-representation of the dark pictures.

V. Conclusion

Throughout this dissertation, I have considered how the internal contradictions of Neue Sachlichkeit—modern and ancient, contemporary and timeless—reflect not only its ambivalent relationship to modernity, but also the extent to which Weimar modernity itself existed in multiple, contested forms. Matei Calinescu notes the opposition between "bourgeois modernity," which embraces the principles of progress, reason, and the benefits of technology and rationalization, and "cultural modernity," which rejects these values through rebellion, anarchy, or "aristocratic self-exile."[441] Yet cultural modernity in Weimar entailed a complex set of affirmations, as artists of the avant-garde embraced certain aspects of technology and mass culture while rejecting others. Typically, the aspects of modernity that were rejected were those coded as feminine, but the ways in which artists of the Neue Sachlichkeit enacted that rejection occurred were manifold and diversely motivated.

What, then, are we to make of Neue Sachlichkeit? Here, I have suggested that, in light of the widespread social turmoil of the period, these choices were not regarded neutrally at the time; correspondingly, contemporary scholarship, too, should read historical choices pertaining to the collective rejection of overt and coded femininity with reference to the crisis of expressionism out of which Neue Sachlichkeit emerged. By associating expressionism with the formlessness of the "cosmic" and with the shallow, fleeting whims of fashion, critics seemed to conceptualize the crisis of expressionism as a crisis of excessive femininity that could only be resolved through the reassertion of a stable masculine identity. In response to the linked crises of art's uncertain future and shifting gender roles, male artists tended to respond defensively in ways that asserted their

[441] Matei Călinescu, Five Faces of Modernity: Modernism, Avant-Garde, Decadence, Kitsch, Postmodernism (Durham: Duke University Press, 1987), 41–42.

distance from, or control over, the threat of a feminized other.

Neue Sachlichkeit artists quickly found varied ways to align themselves with aspects of modernity perceived as masculine. Some artists seem to identify with the mechanical eye of the camera, taking its automated image-production as a model for their own work. "The sobriety and sharpness of the gaze also requires that [the artist] takes all the details seriously, that he tries to grasp them as evenly and clearly as possible ... The visual approach is comparable to the photo-lens, indeed, it exceeds it in precision: it draws everything equally sharply, even the background. The gaze falls aloof and as if by chance on the objects it precisely registers."[442] For some critics, the superficial resemblance between photography and certain Neue Sachlichkeit works suggested that Weimar's modernity could be defined by a common visual vocabulary of precision—more specifically, a precision defined in opposition to formlessness or emotional excess.[443]

However, while some could interpret artists' turn towards precision as evidence of the triumph of a machine aesthetic, others took a contrary view. Particularly in Germany, the revival of interest in traditional figuration was accompanied by a renewed interest in Old Master painting techniques, as exemplified by Max Doerner's popular handbook *The Artist's Materials and their Use in Painting* (*Malmaterial und seine Verwendung im Bilde*, 1921). Simultaneously, renewed scholarly interest in late Gothic, Renaissance, Neoclassical and Biedermeier art primed many critics to draw connections between contemporary figuration and its alleged predecessors from the fifteenth through nineteenth centuries. Some critics even argued that Sachlichkeit was a

[442] "Zur Nüchternheit und Schärfe des Blicks gehört auch, daß er alle Details wichtig nimmet, daß er sie möglichst gleichmäßig genau und klar zu fassen bekommen versucht .... Die Optik ist der der Fotolinse vergleichbar, ja, geht in der Präzision über sie hinaus: Sie zeichnet alles gleich scharf, sogar den Hintergrund. Der Blick fällt unbeteiligt und wie absichtslos auf die Objekte, die er genau registriert." Schmied, *Neue Sachlichkeit und Magischer Realismus,* 26.

[443] Matthias Eberle suggests that many Neue Sachlichkeit artists saw themselves in direct competition with photography. Matthias Eberle, "Neue Sachlichkeit in Germany: A Brief History," in Rewald, *Glitter and Doom*, 35.

uniquely German achievement, pioneered by painters of the fifteenth and sixteenth century and consciously revived by contemporary artists.[444] For such critics, the "newness" of Neue Sachlichkeit was more precisely a *renewal* of historical tendencies. Matthias Eberle has interpreted the revival of Old Master techniques as a reaction against the mass mechanization of society. "Many of the Neue Sachlichkeit artists polished their paintings until they indeed resembled industrial products. Yet while they derived precision and brilliance from machinery, they did so … in order to defend individual skill and craft against the growing hegemony of technology. As individuals, outmoded brush in hand, they entered competition with the machine."[445] As these competing interpretations indicate, it is possible to read "precision" as signaling either an embrace of modernity via a positive identification with the camera lens *or* as a conscious recourse to tradition via a rejection of the machine and an exaltation of the artist's hand. However, whether they identified with an emotionless (masculine) machine or with a historic (masculine) tradition, artists showed an inclination to fortify themselves against the specter of a feminine formlessness.

The term "crisis" often occurs in discussions of Neue Sachlichkeit in conjunction with the idea of the Republic itself as a crisis-ridden, fatally flawed enterprise—and, as in the context of the "end of expressionism," this crisis tends to take a feminized form. For example, the title of the 2006 exhibition *Glitter and Doom* (The Metropolitan Museum, New York) implies that "doom" resulted from a predetermined backlash occasioned by the "glitter" of Weimar's liberal, cosmopolitan, and therefore feminized culture. Knowledge of Weimar's demise encourages the

[444] Eberle, "Neue Sachlichkeit in Germany," 36 and 38n38. Marlene Angemeyer-Deubner notes the proliferation of literature on German Old Masters between 1911 and 1920, which has been interpreted as a reaction against expressionism. Angemeyer-Deubner, *Neue Sachlichkeit und Verismus in Karlsruhe,* 19.

[445] Matthias Eberle, *World War I and the Weimar Artists: Dix, Grosz, Beckmann, Schlemmer,* trans. John Gabriel (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 13.

reading of certain verist works as omens of the Republic's dismal end and the horrors that followed.[446] Conversely, classicist works have sometimes been read as complacent retreats that attempt to master the chaos of political upheaval and social change by simply ignoring it. The return to figuration in the 1920s has even been diagnosed as a sinister forerunner of fascist aesthetics—and, by extension, a prelude to the reimposition of regressive norms surrounding gender and sexuality in the 1930s.[447]

Recently, scholars have challenged the assumption that crisis is synonymous with catastrophe. Analyzing the proliferation of texts on crisis between 1919 and 1933, Rüdiger Graf demonstrates that commentators both understood and used the term crisis in a form closer to its meaning in the original Greek: "neither a negative development nor a precursor of secured doom, but rather the moment of decision in which the future remained open and two alternative developments were possible."[448] In light of this definition, Graf and Moritz Föllmer critique

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[446] In his review of *Glitter and Doom,* Graham Bader suggests that "… the worst, we know, was yet to come: Looking at Schad's careful rendering of the upside-down rib cage and brown skin of the fairground performers known respectively as Agosta the 'Winged One' and Rasha the 'Black Dove,' or at Dix's dramatic representation of Jewish art dealer Alfred Flechtheim's monumental nose, we can't help but see these figures' imminent doom in the very particularity of their bodies themselves." Graham Bader, "The Body Politic," *Artforum International* 45, no. 5 (January 2007): 229.

[447] Benjamin Buchloh's "Figures of Authority, Ciphers of Regression" draws parallels between the pan-European "return to order" of the 1910s and 20s with the resurgence of figurative painting in Germany and Italy during the 1960s and 1970s. In both cases, "the atavistic notion of the master artist is reintroduced to continue a culture oriented to an esoteric elite, thus guaranteeing that elite's right to continued cultural and political leadership. The language of the artists themselves … blatantly reveals the intricate connection between aesthetic mastery and authoritarian domination." Benjamin H.D. Buchloh, "Figures of Authority, Ciphers of Regression: Notes on the Return of Representation in European Painting," *October* 16 (Spring 1981): 46.

Olaf Peters offers an important alternative to this viewpoint by examining the spectrum of "affirmation and critique" evinced by key Neue Sachlichkeit artists in their stance towards National Socialism. For example, he demonstrates how Rudolf Schlichter, who became increasingly conservative in the late Weimar period, began his political allegory *Blinde Macht* (1932–1936) as a glorification of anti-democratic principles, but ended it as a symbol of opposition to dictatorship. Olaf Peters, *Neue Sachlichkeit und Nationalsozialismus: Affirmation und Kritik, 1931–1947* (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 1998), 229–262.

[448] Rüdiger Graf, "Either-Or: The Narrative of 'Crisis' in Weimar Germany and in Historiography," *Central European History* 43, no. 4 (December 2010): 599.

scholars' tendency to interpret crisis as an inexorable "prelude to calamity" rather than as a point of decision and, crucially, potential revitalization.[449] For citizens of Weimar, "the future appeared to be malleable and various visions of radically alternative futures or even utopias were vigorously debated."[450] However, the crisis provoked by women's shifting behaviors did not always prompt progressive ideas about the future. While some people were able to envision continued transformations in women's roles and relationships, others responded with panic, hostility, or appeals to tradition.

The transition to National Socialism in 1933 marked the definitive end of a cultural milieu that tolerated the existence of shifting gender norms and the productive artistic tensions they generated. The party's enshrinement of a model of female citizenship oriented exclusively towards "Kinder, Küche, Kirche" effectively negated the limited but meaningful inroads into political and cultural life that women had made under the Weimar constitution.[451] In Germany and Italy alike, the weaponization of gender norms formed a crucial component of the consolidation of power under dictatorship. Meanwhile, the pursuit of an "objective" viewpoint, even one that claimed to reveal social ills and inequities, ultimately proved ethically and politically impotent.[452]

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[449] Rüdiger Graf and Moritz Föllmer, "The Culture of 'Crisis' in the Weimar Republic," *Thesis Eleven* 3, no. 1 (September 2012): 39.

[450] Graf, "Anticipating the Future in the Present," 649.

[451] For iconographical studies of the female image in art and popular culture under National Socialism, see Elke Frietsch, *"Kulturproblem Frau": Weiblichkeitsbilder in der Kunst des Nationalsozialismus* (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 2006), and Helena Ketter, *Zum Bild der Frau in der Malerei des Nationalsozialismus: Eine Analyse von Kunstzeitschriften aus der Zeit des Nationalsozialismus* (Münster: Lit Verlag, 2002).

[452] As George Steiner notes, "We now realize that extremes of collective hysteria and savagery can coexist with a parallel conservation and, indeed, further development of the institutions, bureaucracies, and professional codes of high culture. In other words, the libraries, museums, theatres, universities, research centers, in and through which the transmission of the humanities and sciences mainly take place, can prosper next to the concentration camps."

This study has attempted to suggest how gender-based anxiety operated in the context of Neue Sachlichkeit. "Objectivity," far from being a neutral term, is itself inherently gendered. The fact that a majority of major Neue Sachlichkeit artists were affiliated with the political left has obscured the ways in which gender anxiety contributed to the work they produced. Buchloh, one of the most significant voices to question the progressive agenda of the "return to order," has argued that it implicitly endorsed an authoritarian worldview. In a related but necessarily different vein, I suggest that Neue Sachlichkeit must also be understood as a manifestation of threatened masculinity in the context of the Weimar era destabilizations of gender norms.

I have attempted to suggest how Grosz's work in the context of Dada and Neue Sachlichkeit alike was motivated by the anxiety of threatened masculinity. As a result, I hope to have demonstrated that canonical interpretations of his work as pure anti-bourgeois propaganda must be revised. Doherty and White have made major contributions to the role that gender plays in Grosz's work, but further interpretation remains to be done on the role of gender not only in his work, but the work of other members of the Dada circle.

I have argued in favor of Hubbuch's significance as a mainstream representative of Neue Sachlichkeit who showed a more sustained and complex interest in the emergence of the new woman than most of his peers. His work highlights the fact that most male artists of the "verist" wing, even as they claimed to engage directly with contemporary life, largely failed to engage with the new woman as a subject beyond the role of the cocotte. Further work remains to be done on the largely obscured role of gender in the reception of Neue Sachlichkeit, both in the 1920s

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George Steiner, *In Bluebeard's Castle: Some Notes towards the Redefinition of Culture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974), 77.

and subsequently.

Finally, I have argued that Nagel's stymied professional and creative development is directly tied to the thwarted ideal of the new woman, whose emancipatory potential failed to materialize fully, and whose existence was essentially liquidated after 1933.[453] More work remains to be done on the careers of women belonging to the "lost generation" born immediately before and after 1900.

In a 2015 review of recent literature on Weimar gender history, Marti Lybeck notes that contributions to this subfield continue to "cluster around the traditional topics of women's history: family, sexuality, and reproduction."[454] She asks the question of whether "we can envision gendered histories of other topics not usually viewed 'through the lens of gender'" and whether future studies will increasingly consider gender as "a system that includes men and masculinities."[455] This study has attempted to provide a gendered history of figurative art of the Weimar period that incorporates issues of masculinity as well as femininity. More work remains to be done on the role of gender in figurative art of this period and its relationship to broader debates and shifting understandings of gender in Weimar culture at large. Another potential area of investigation might involve continuities or ruptures in understandings of gender between

[453] For an interesting snapshot of the National Socialist stance toward women artists, see Ines Schlenker's discussion of women's participation in the eight annual iterations of the *Große Deutsche Kunstausstellung* in Munich between 1937 and 1944. Slightly less than ten percent of the artists represented in this exhibition series were female, and their work mainly consisted of relatively low-value objects: prints, drawings, watercolors, and small-scale sculpture. Flowers, still lifes, landscapes, and portraits of children or animals were the predominant genres. Schlenker suggests that the exhibition organizers included work by women "to provide a certain kind of 'harmless' and popular subject matter that easily appealed to the visitors;" such work, with its low prices and anodyne content, sold fairly well. Ines Schlenker, *Hitler's Salon: The* Große Deutsche Kunstausstellung *at the Haus der Deutschen Kunst in Munich, 1937–1944* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2007), 156–159.

[454] Marti Lybeck, "The Return of the New Woman and Other Subjects of Weimar Gender History," *Contemporary European History* 24, no. 1 (2015): 137.

[455] Ibid.

Weimar and the post-World War II moment. In other words, how and to what extent did shifting ideas about gender set into motion in the 1920s re-emerge after 1945 in the art of both West and East Germany?

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Fig. 1



Fig. 2



Fig. 3

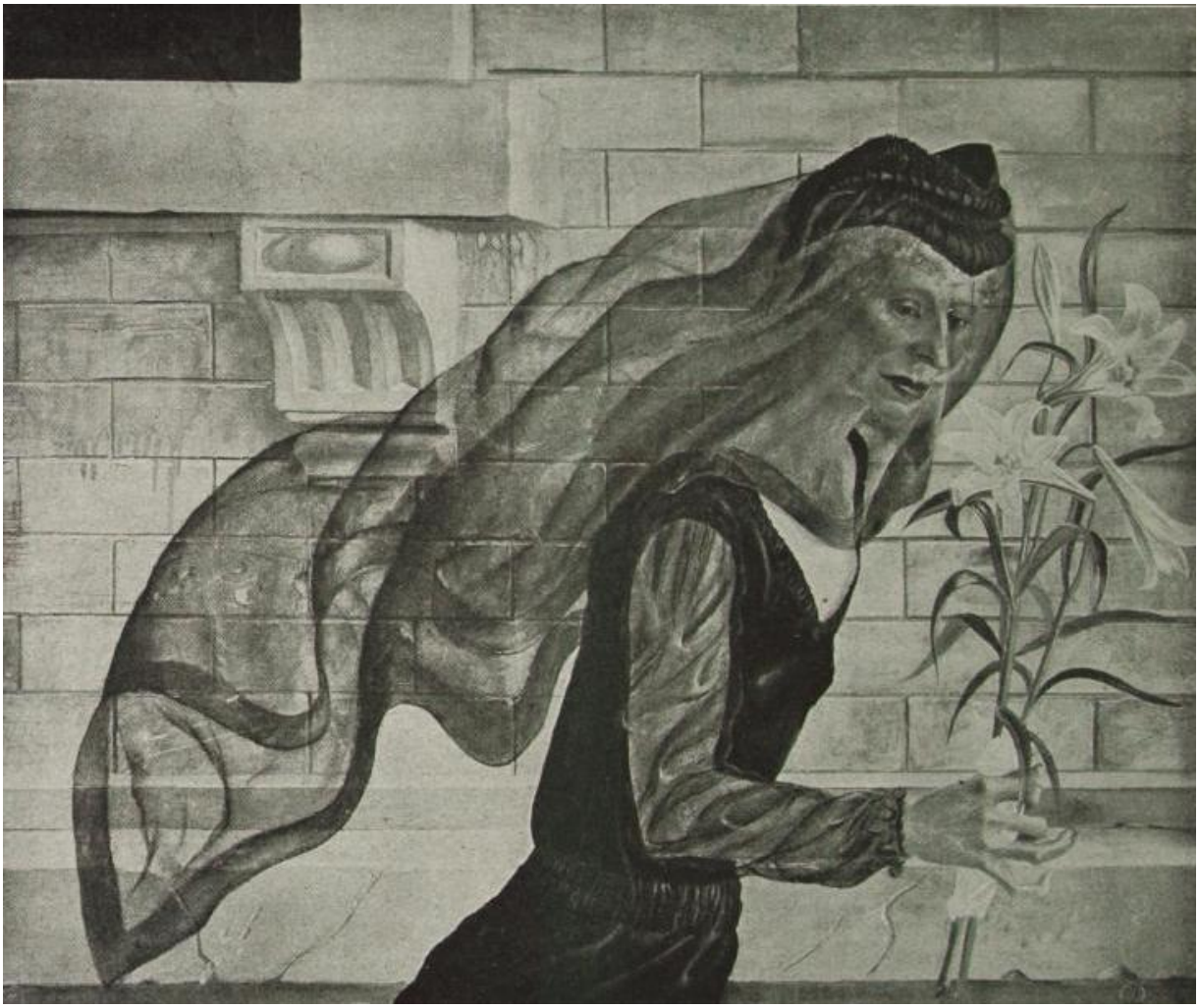


Fig. 4



Fig. 5


KG Brücke
Schlossstrasse
in Galerie Arnold
Gärtnersche Druckerei
E.L.Kirchner

Fig. 6

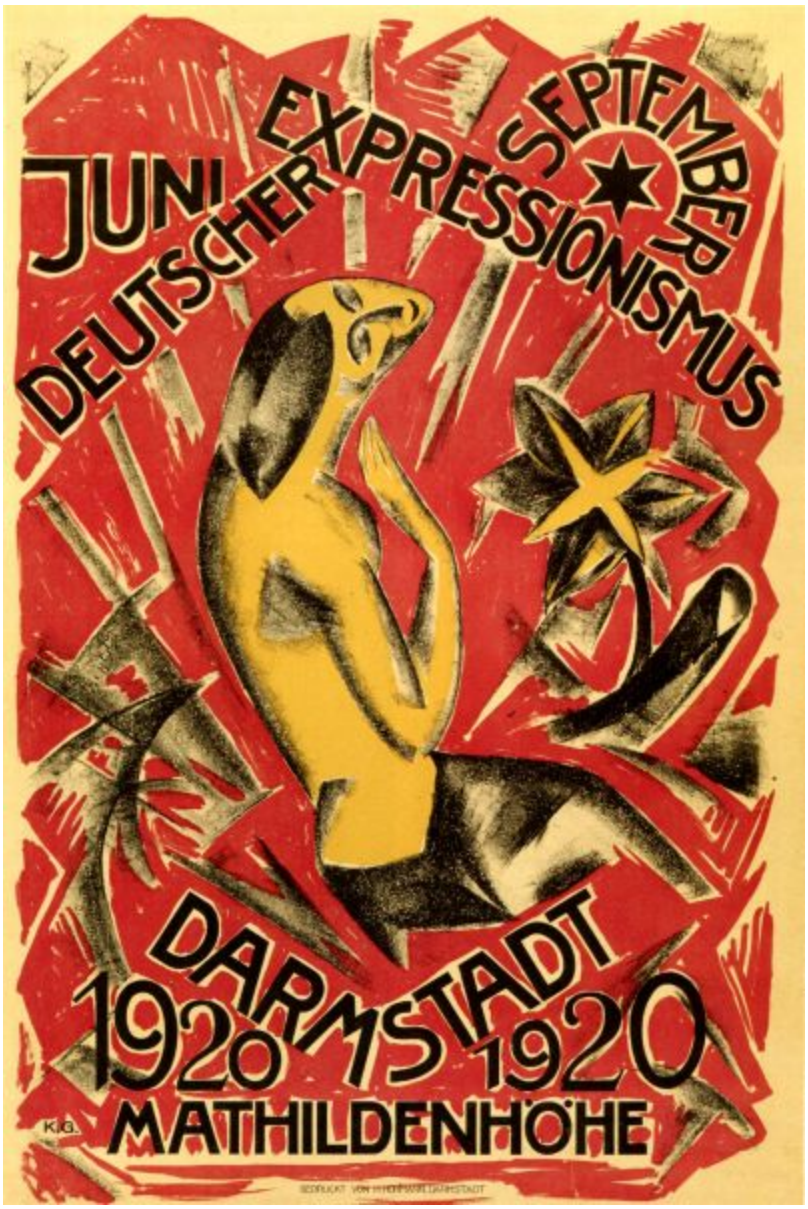

JUNI
DEUTSCHER EXPRESSIONISMUS
SEPTEMBER
DARMSTADT
1920 1920
MATHILDENHÖHE
K.G.

Fig. 7

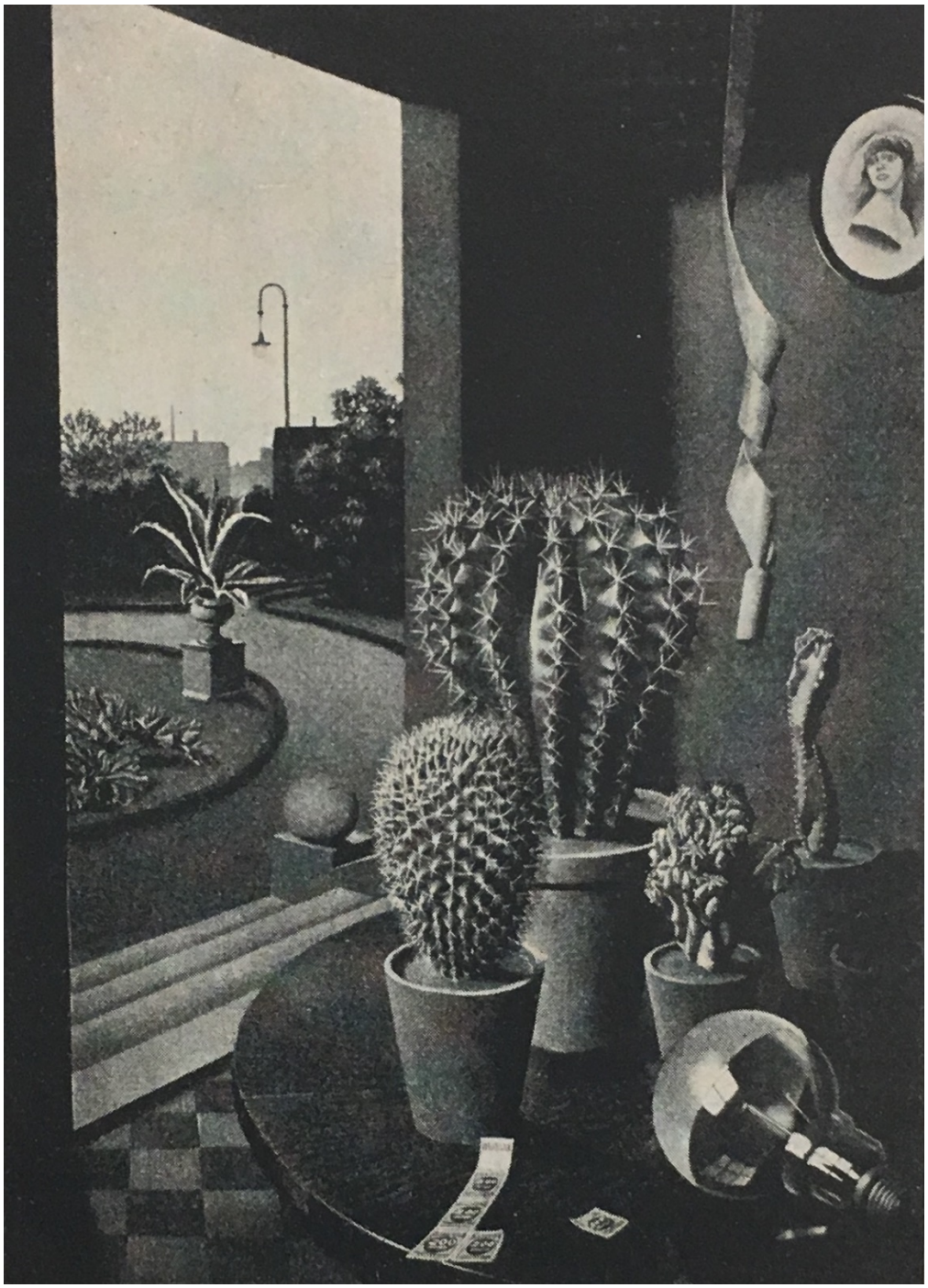


Fig. 8

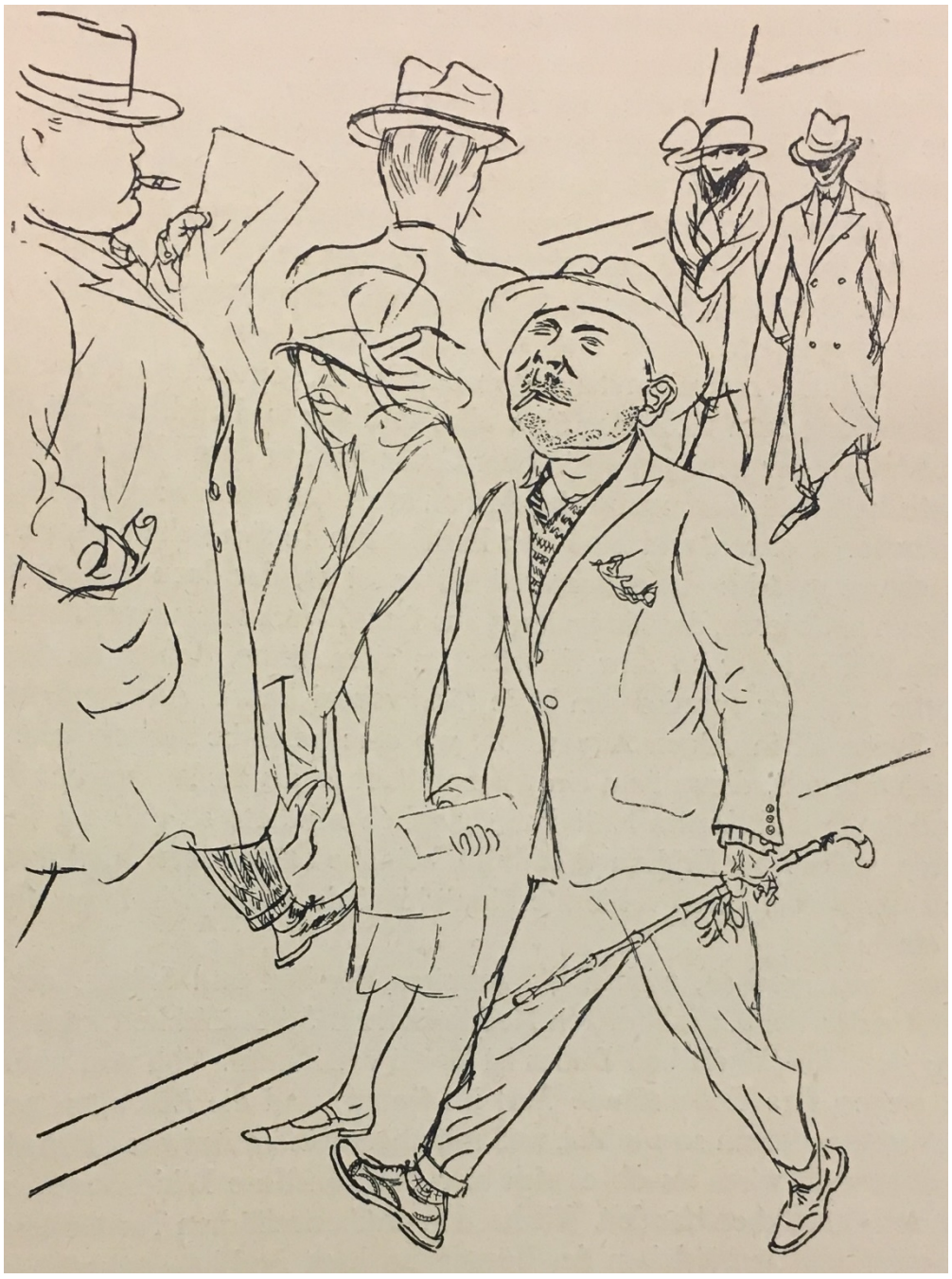


Fig. 9



Fig. 10



Fig. 11



Fig. 12



Fig. 13



Fig. 14



Fig. 15

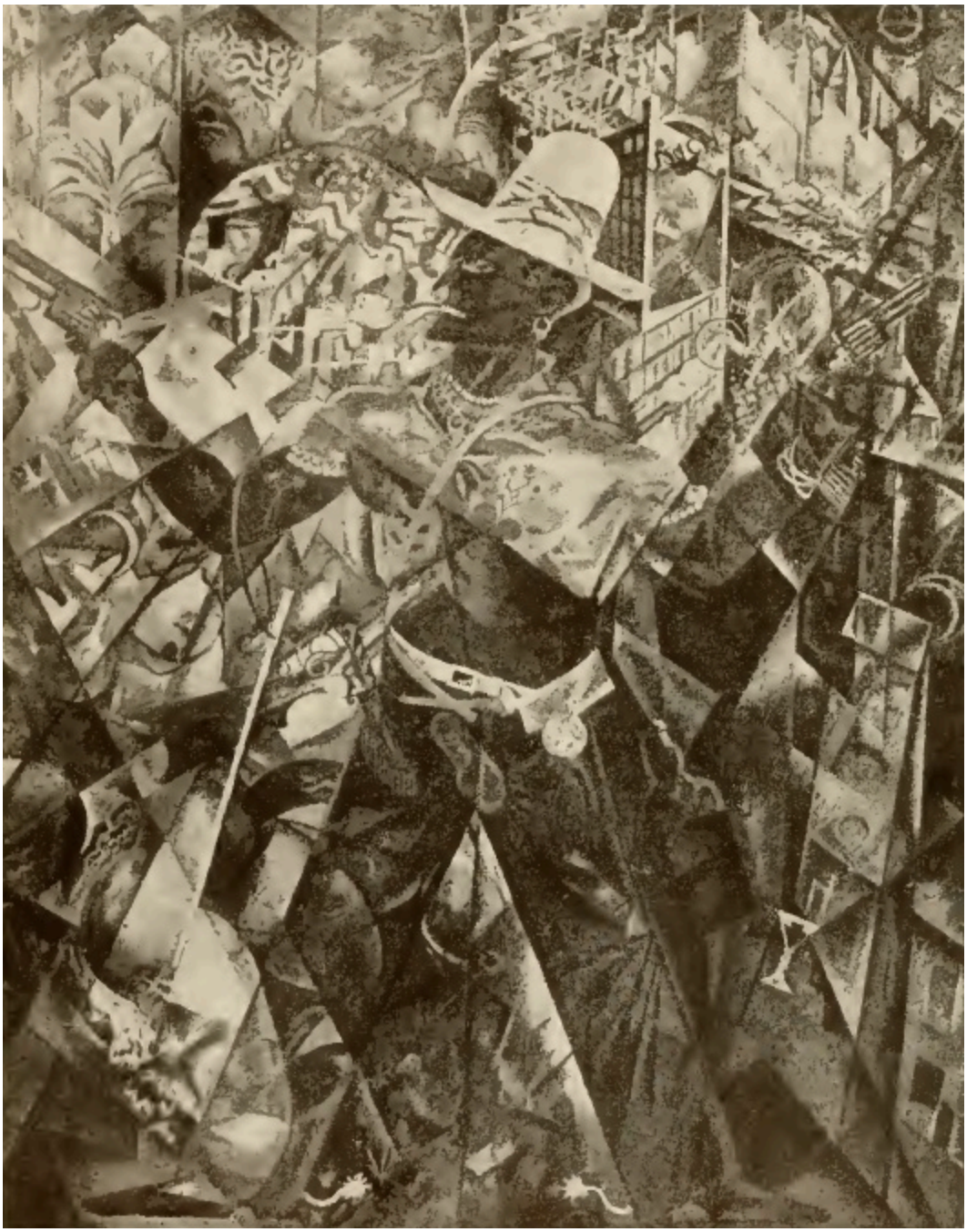


Fig. 16



Fig. 17

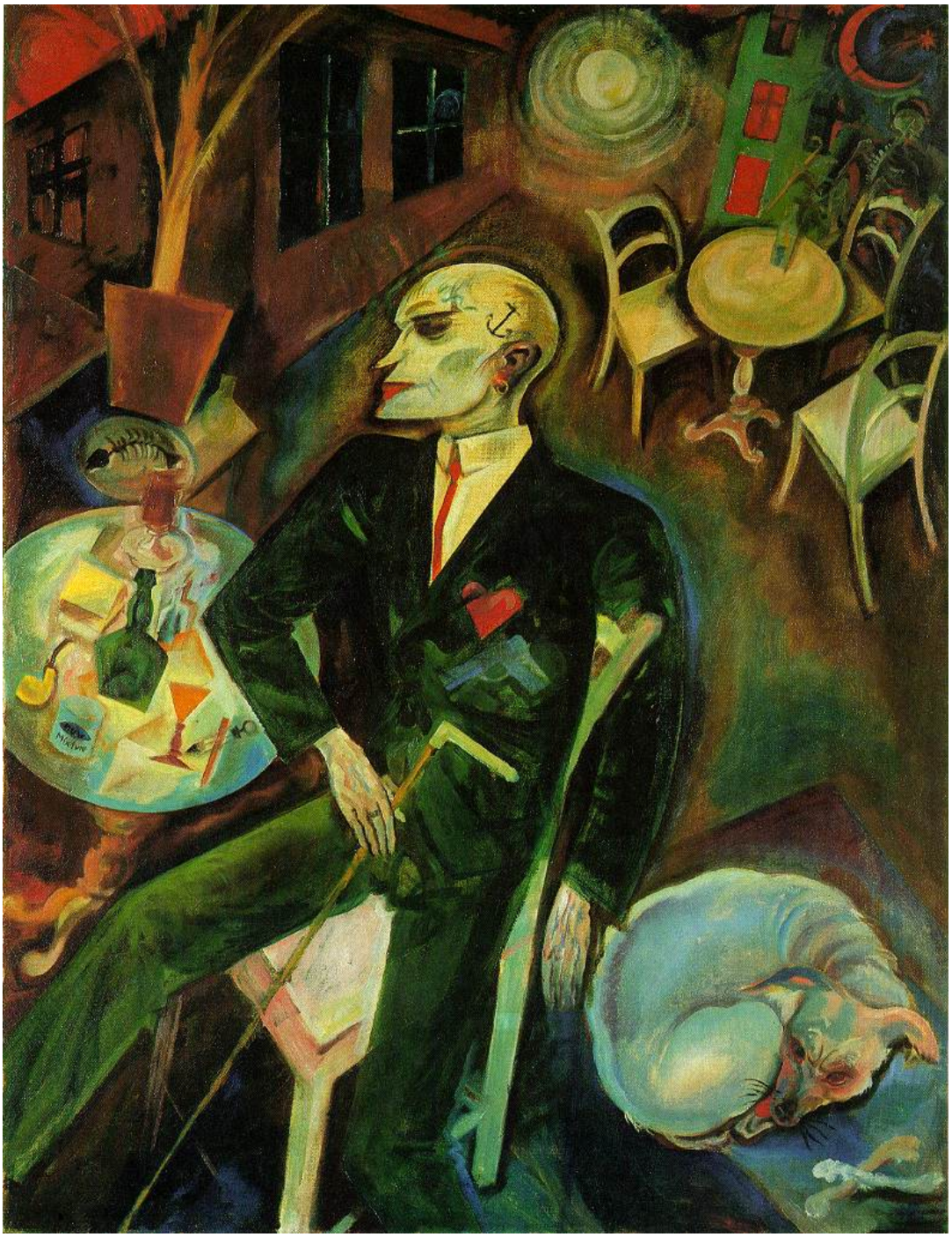


Fig. 18



Fig. 19



Fig. 20

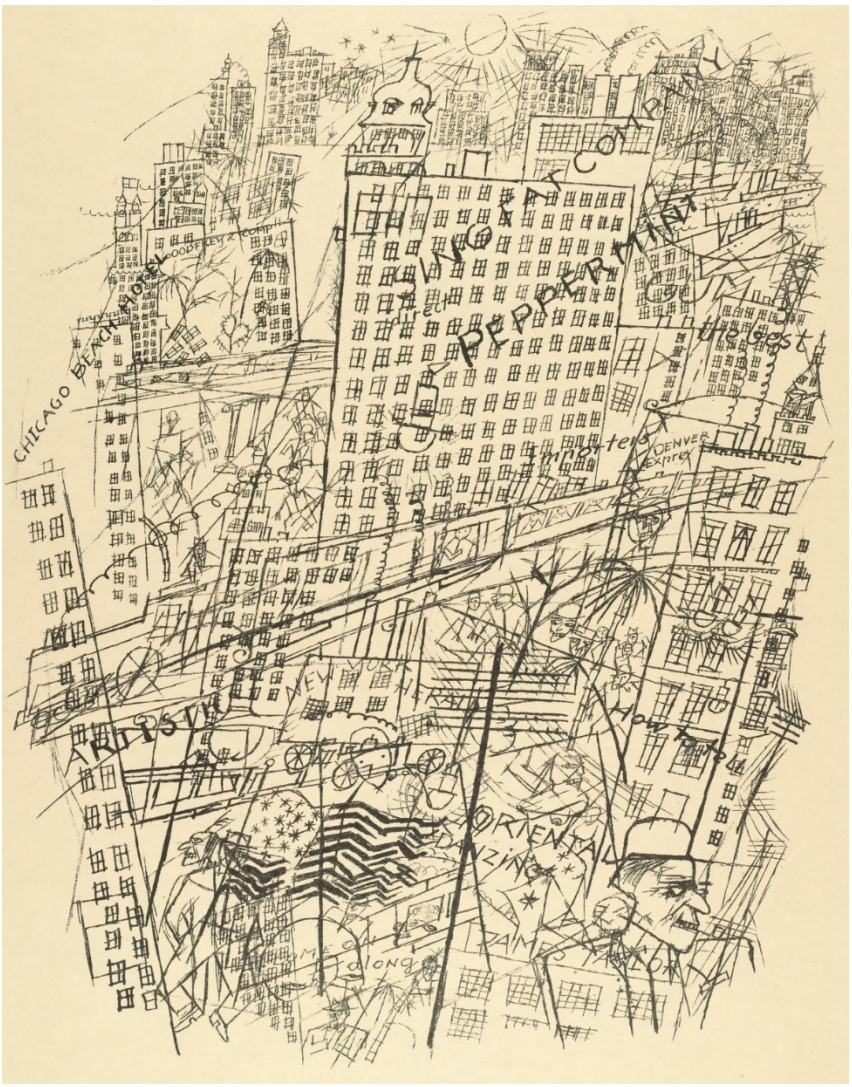

CHICAGO BLACKHOSE
the east
ARRIVAL
ORIENTAL
DANCING
JAMES

Fig. 21



Fig. 22



Fig. 23



Fig. 24



Fig. 25



Fig. 26



Fig. 27



Fig. 28



Fig. 29



Fig. 30

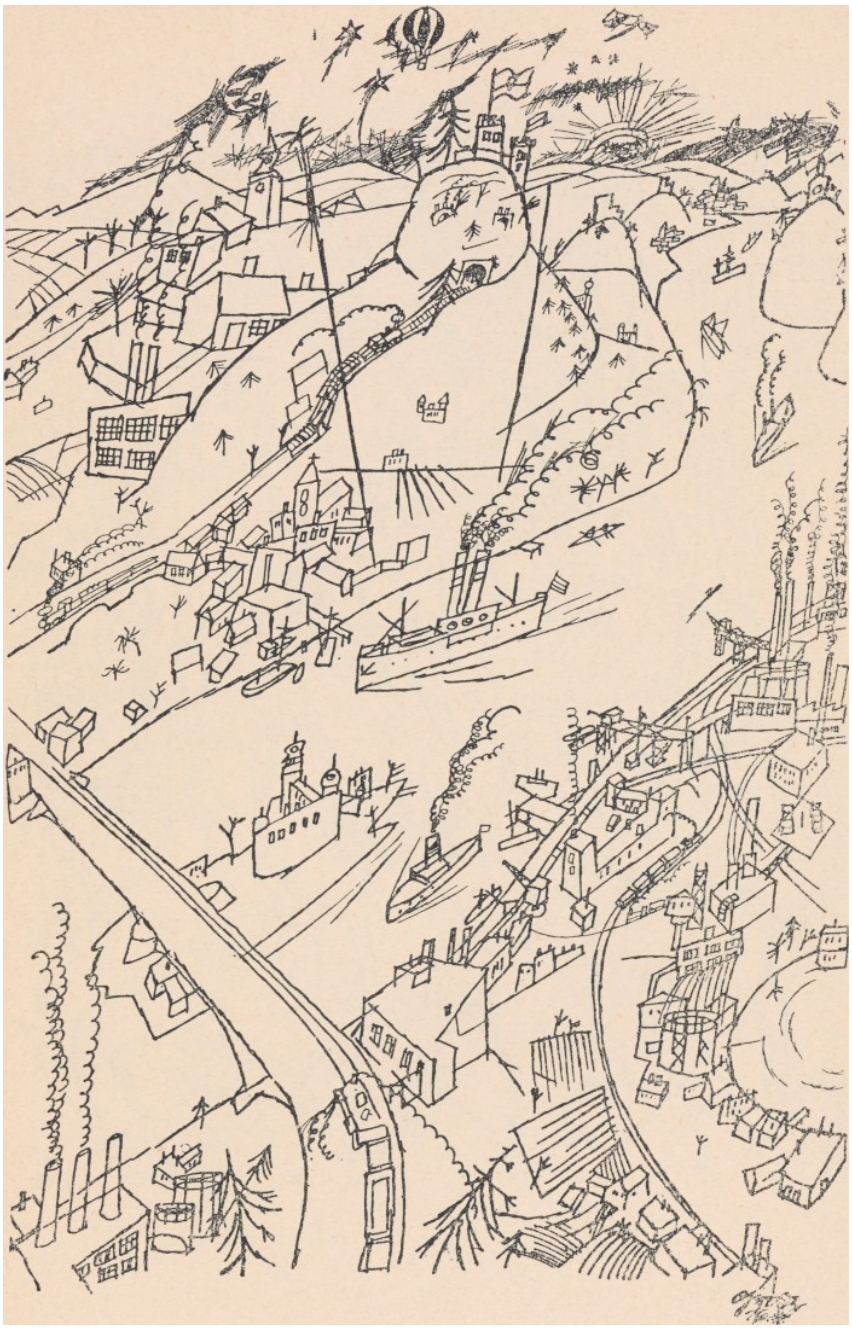


Fig. 31



Fig. 32



Fig. 33

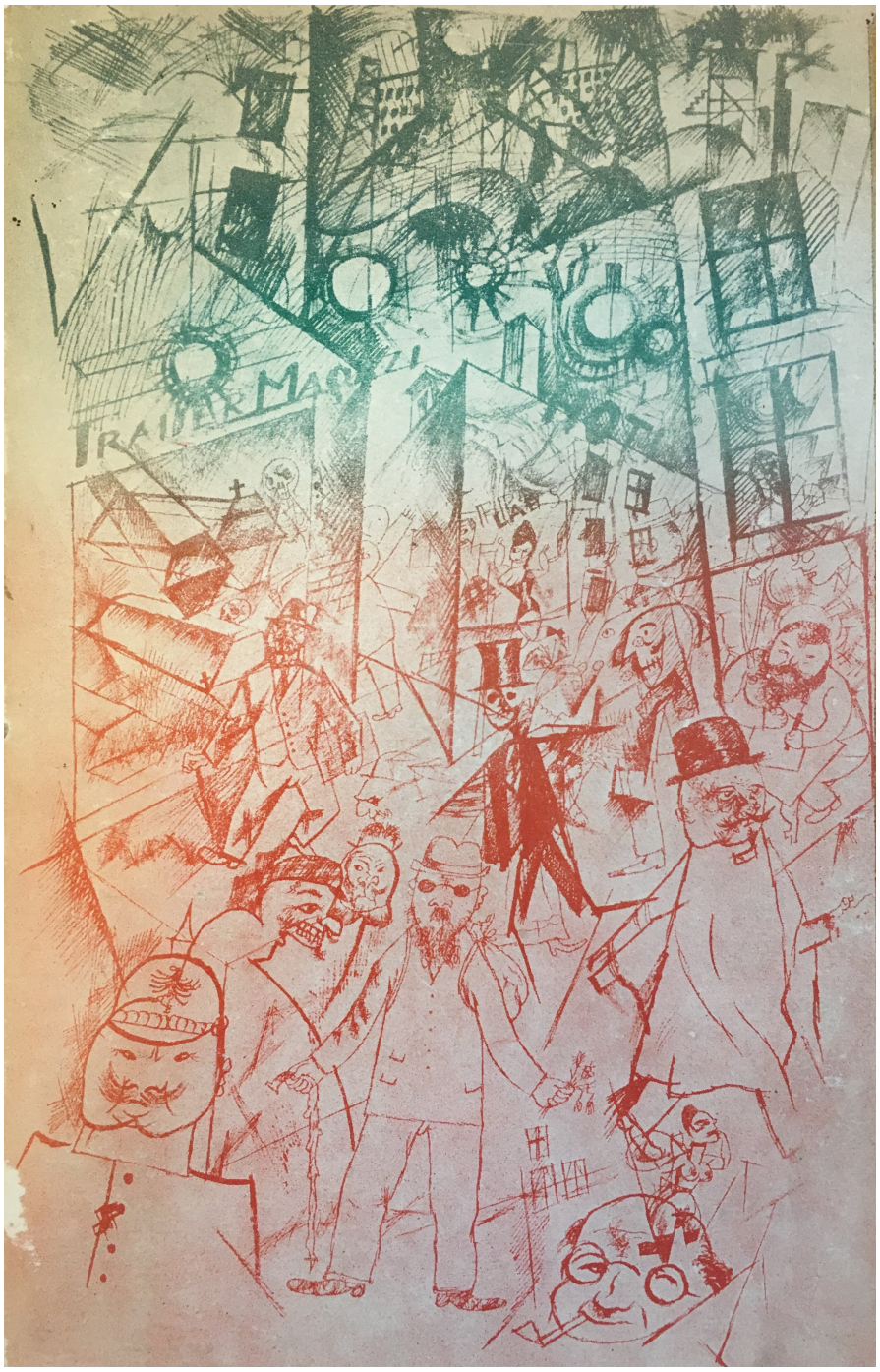


Fig. 34

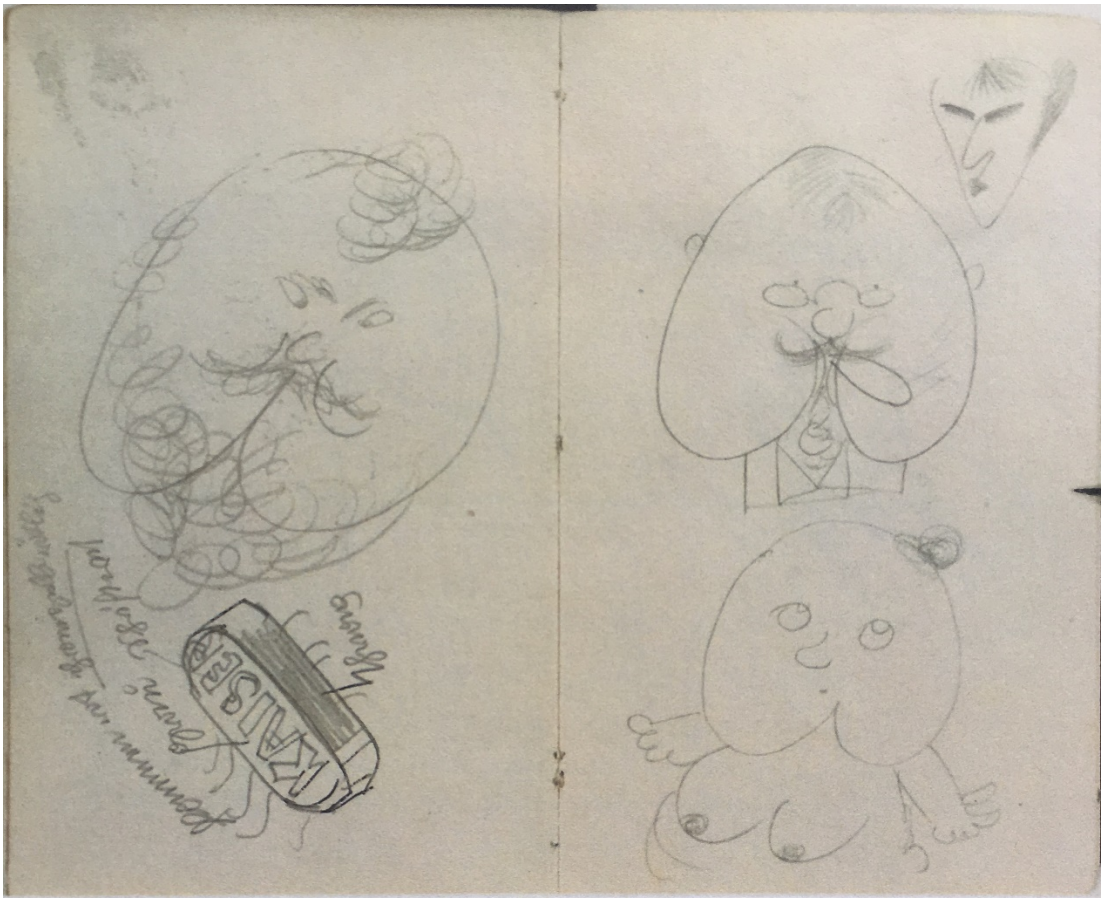


Fig. 35

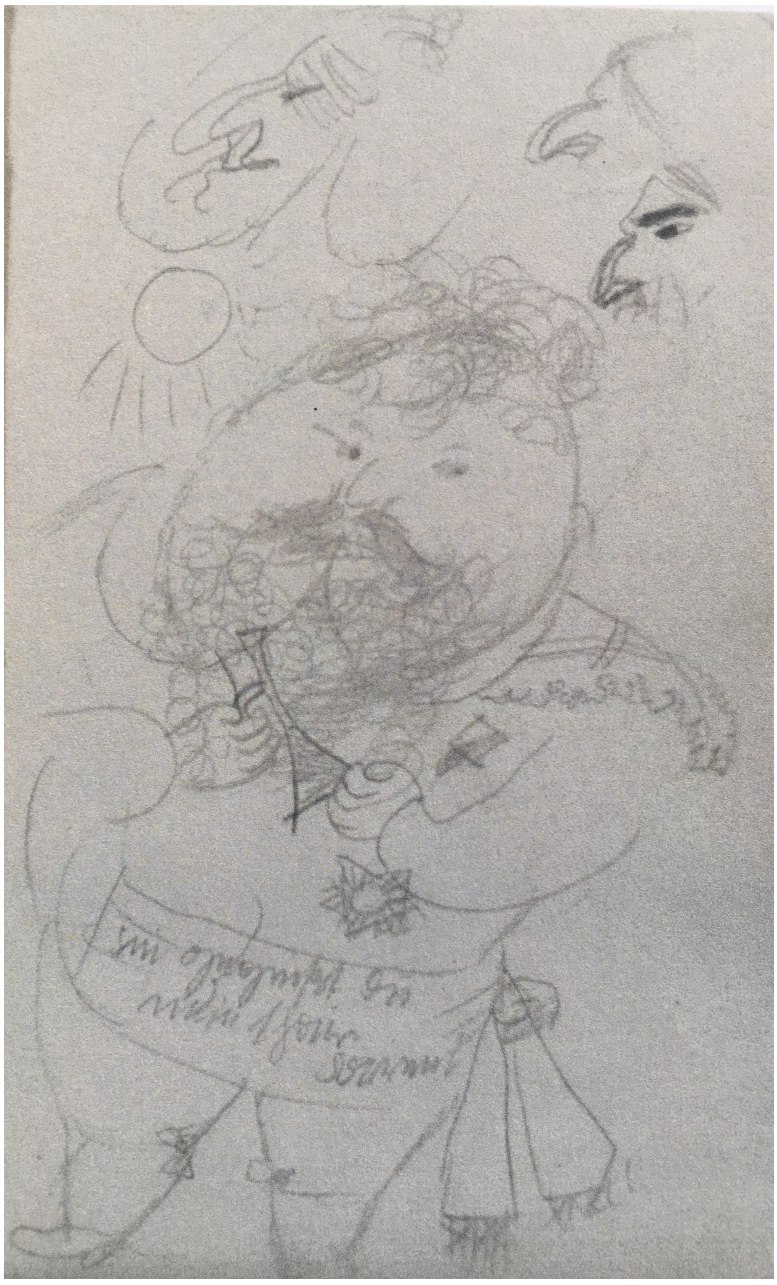


Fig. 36

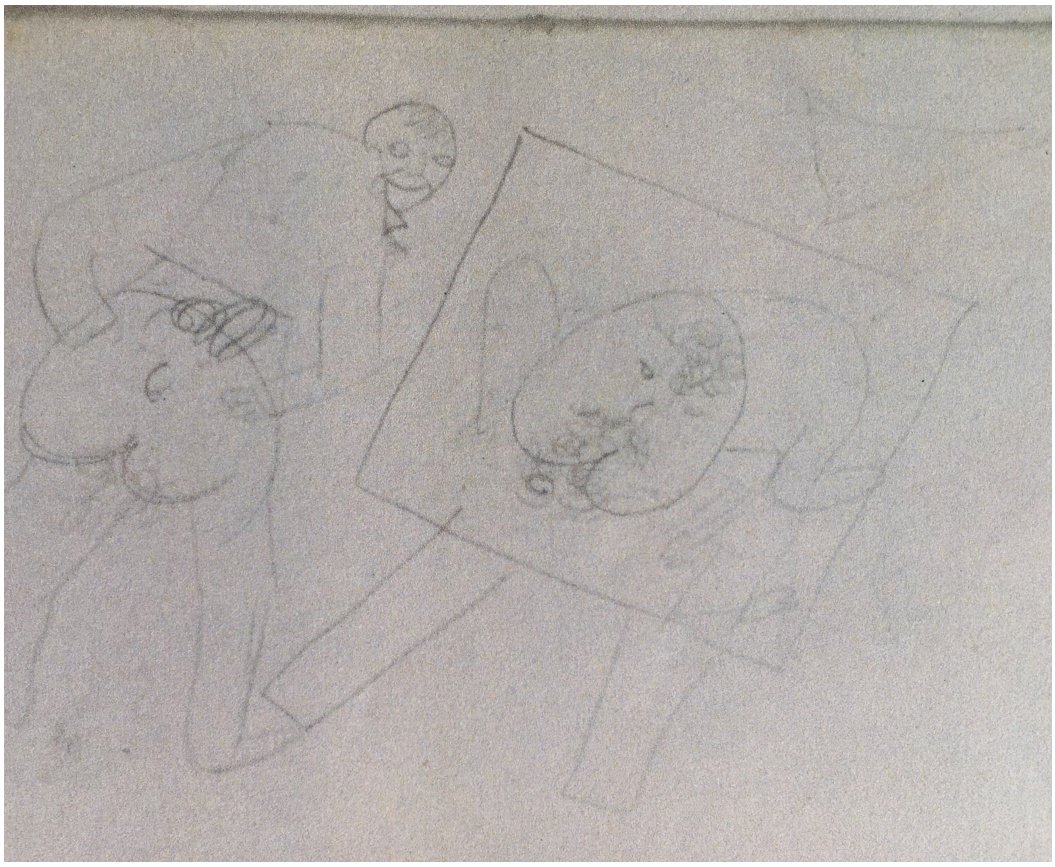


Fig. 37



Fig. 38

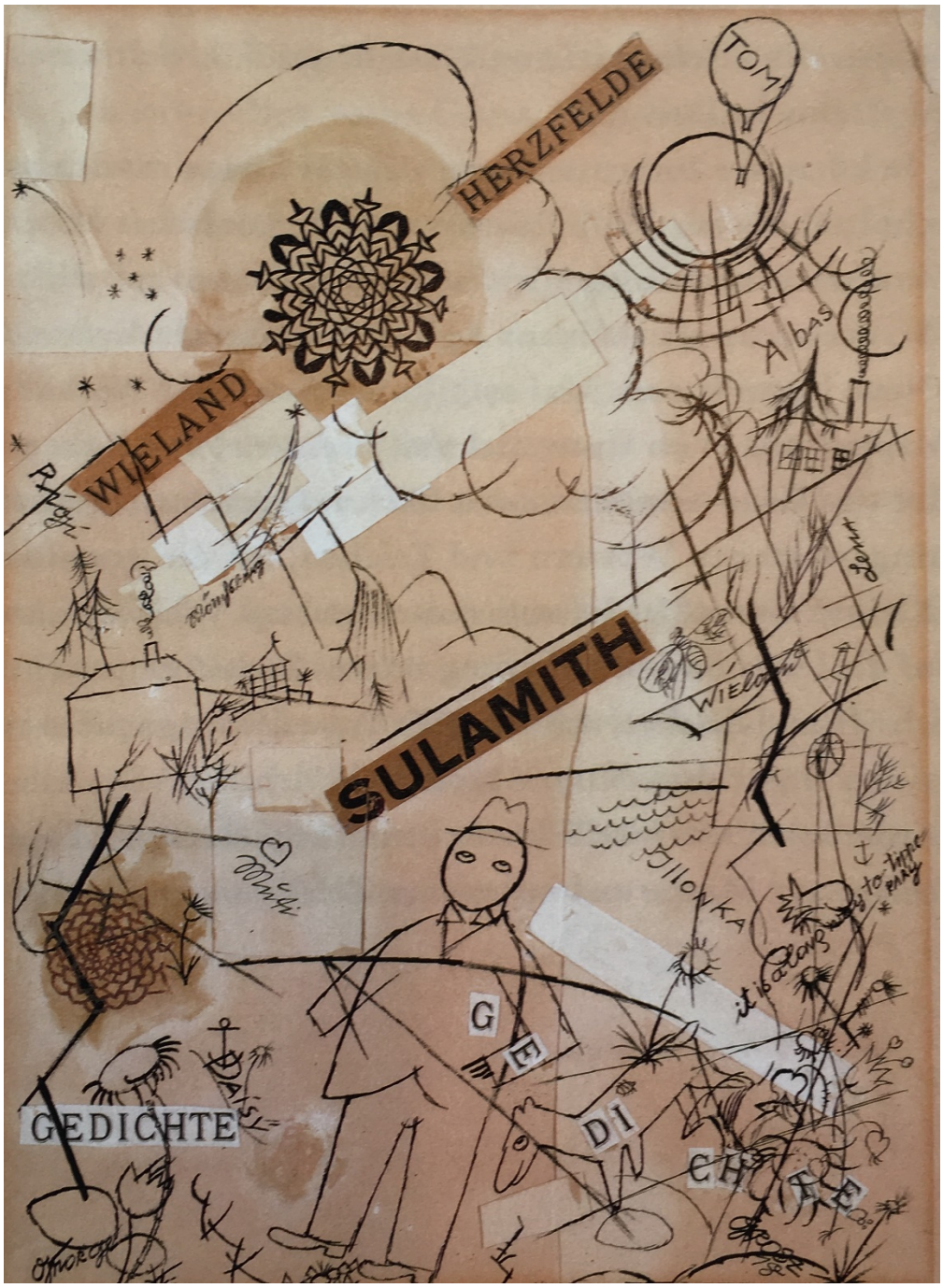


Fig. 39



Fig. 40



Fig. 41



Fig. 42

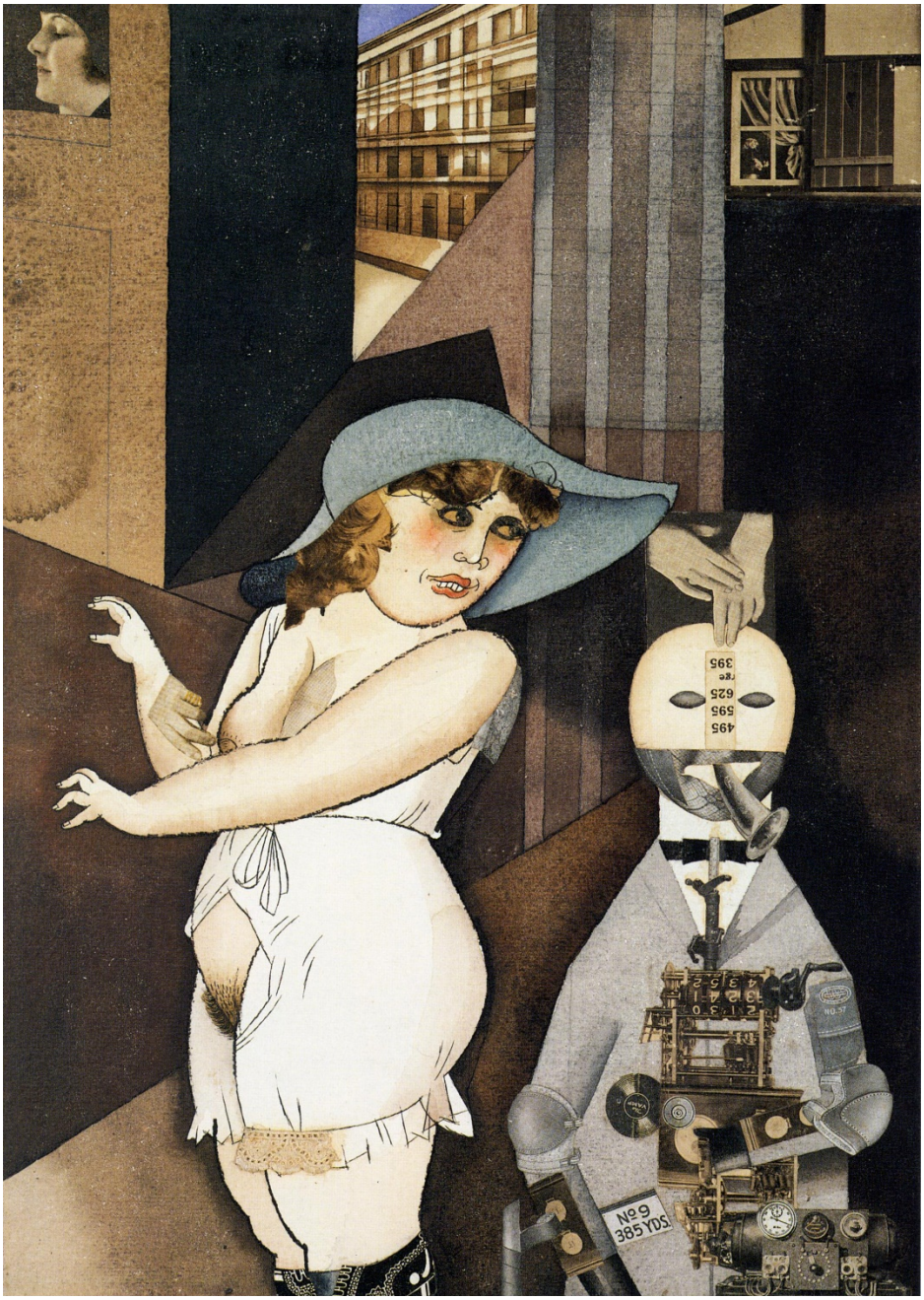


Fig. 43



Fig. 44

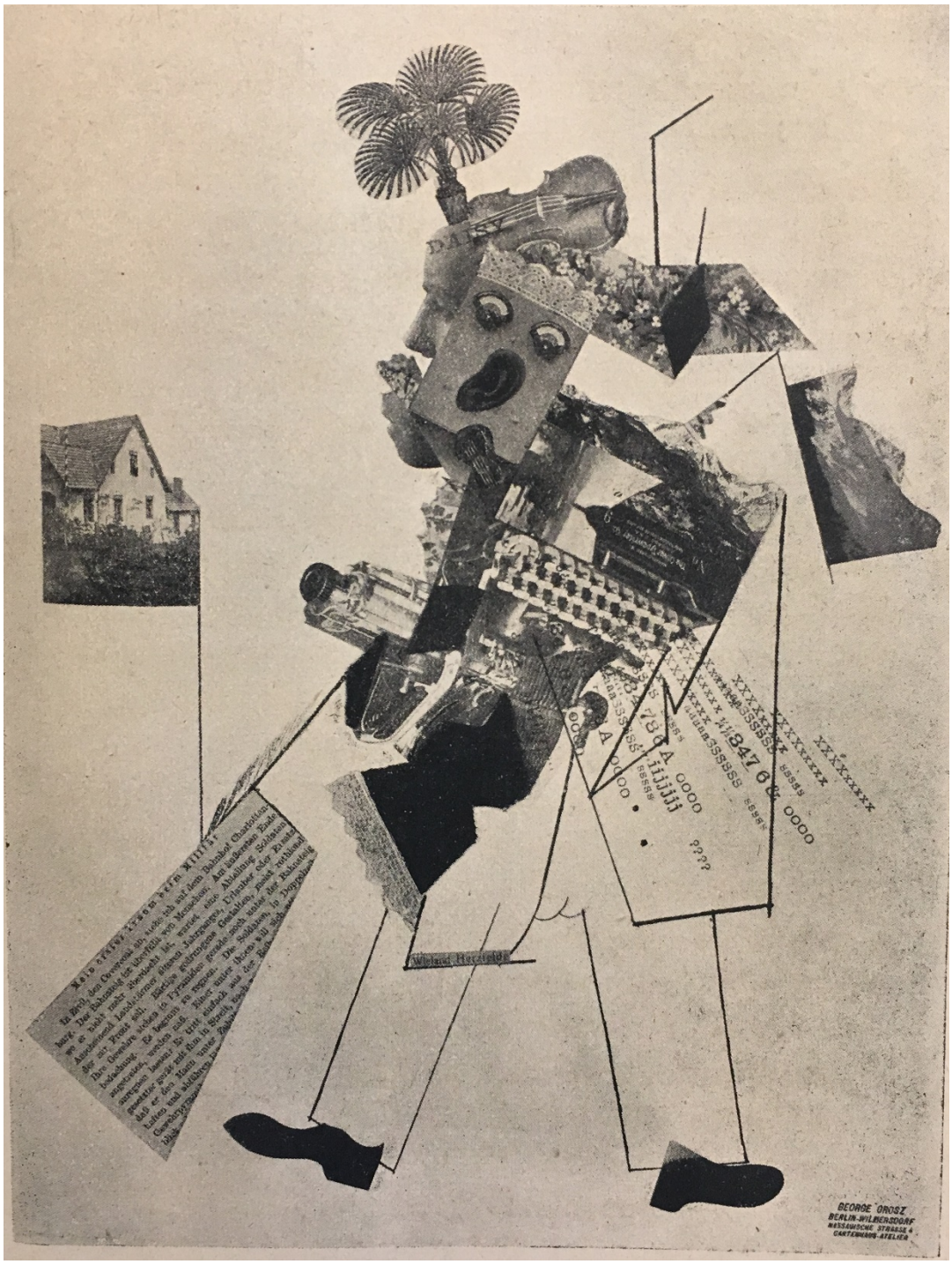

GEORGE GROSZ
BERLIN-WILMERSDORF
WESTFÄLISCHE STRASSE 4
GARTENHAUS-ATELIER

Fig. 45


da
da
1. Henri Rousseau - Selbstbildnis
Grosz-Heartfield mont.

Fig. 46

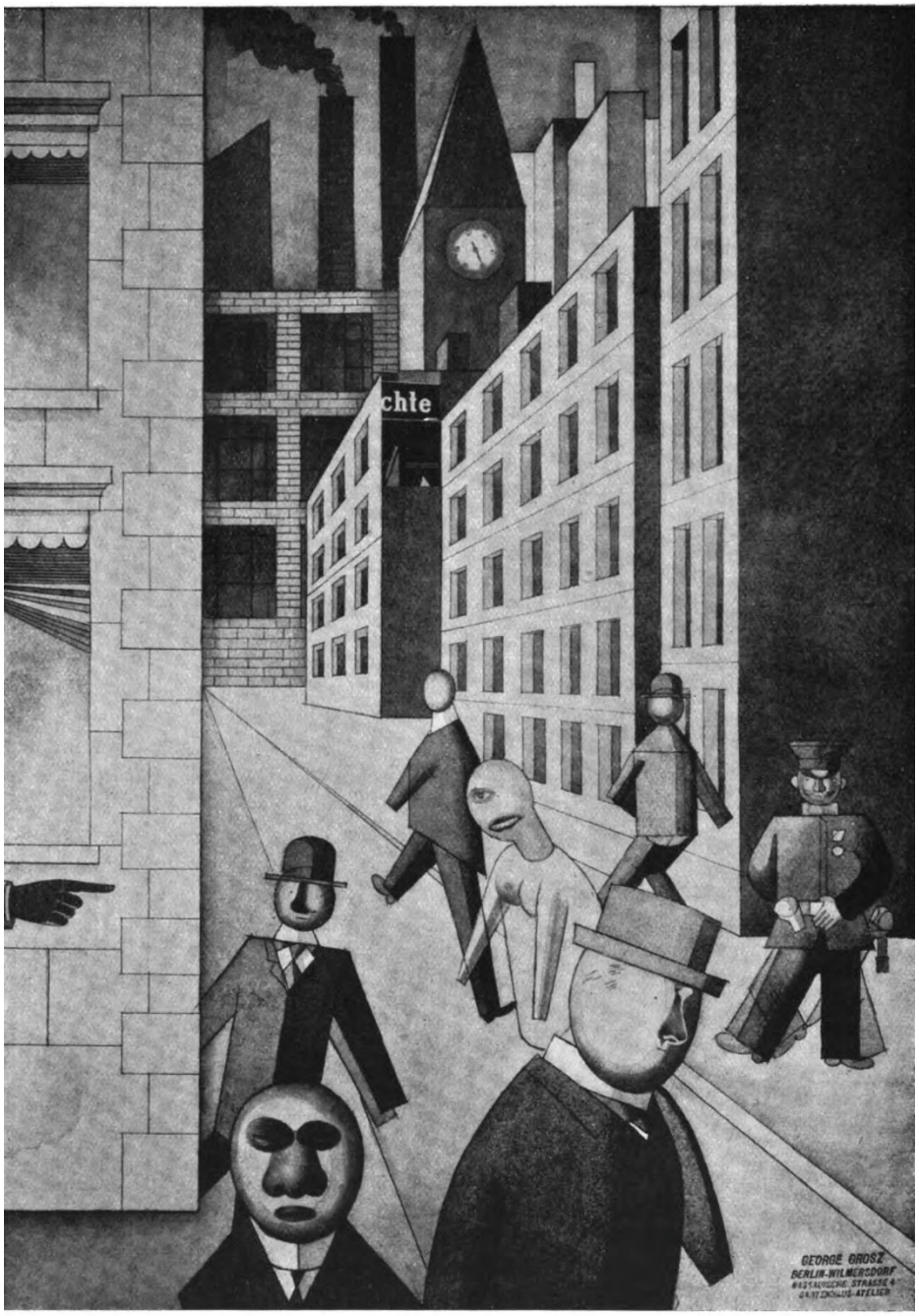


Fig. 47

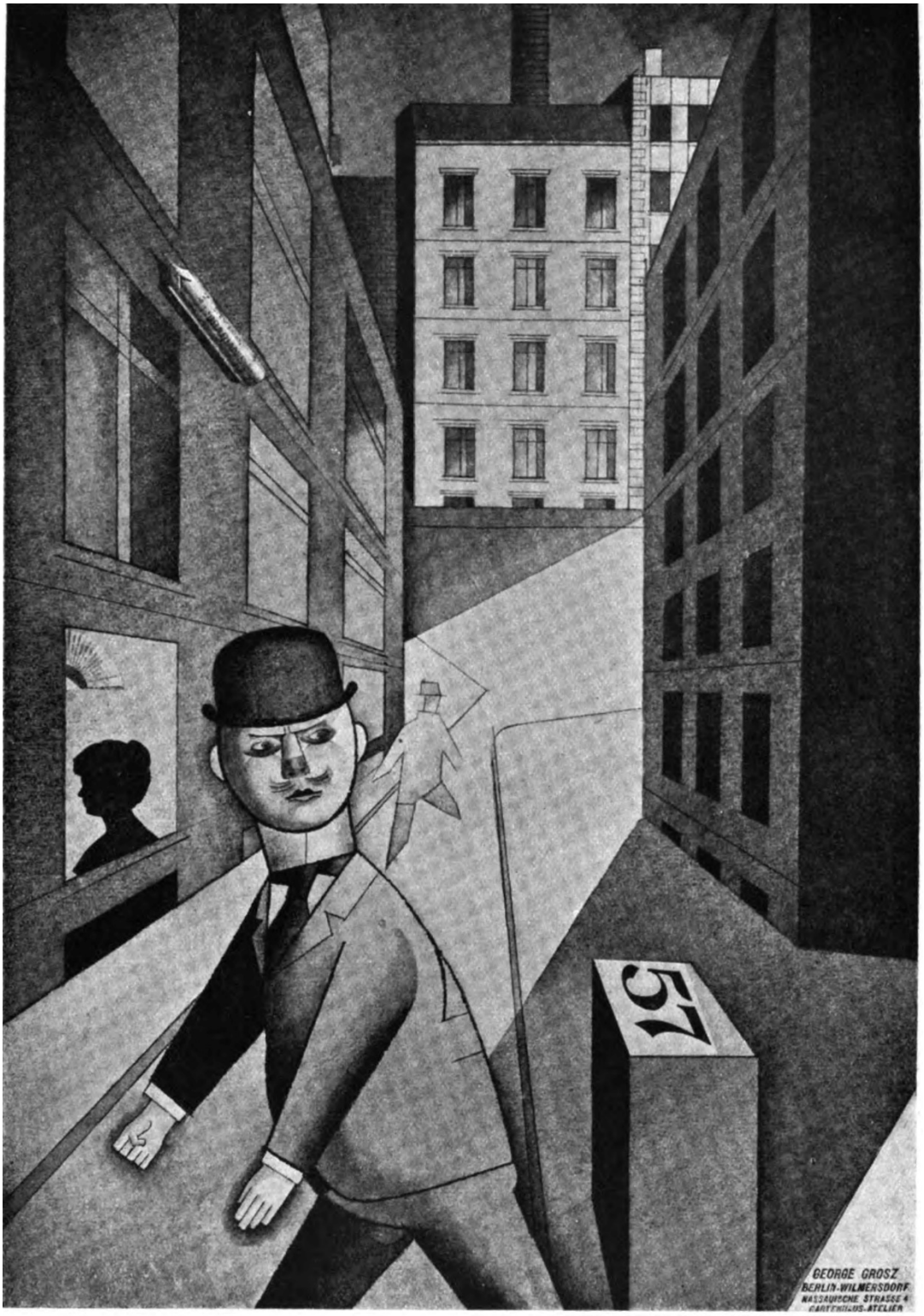


Fig. 48



Fig. 49



Fig. 50

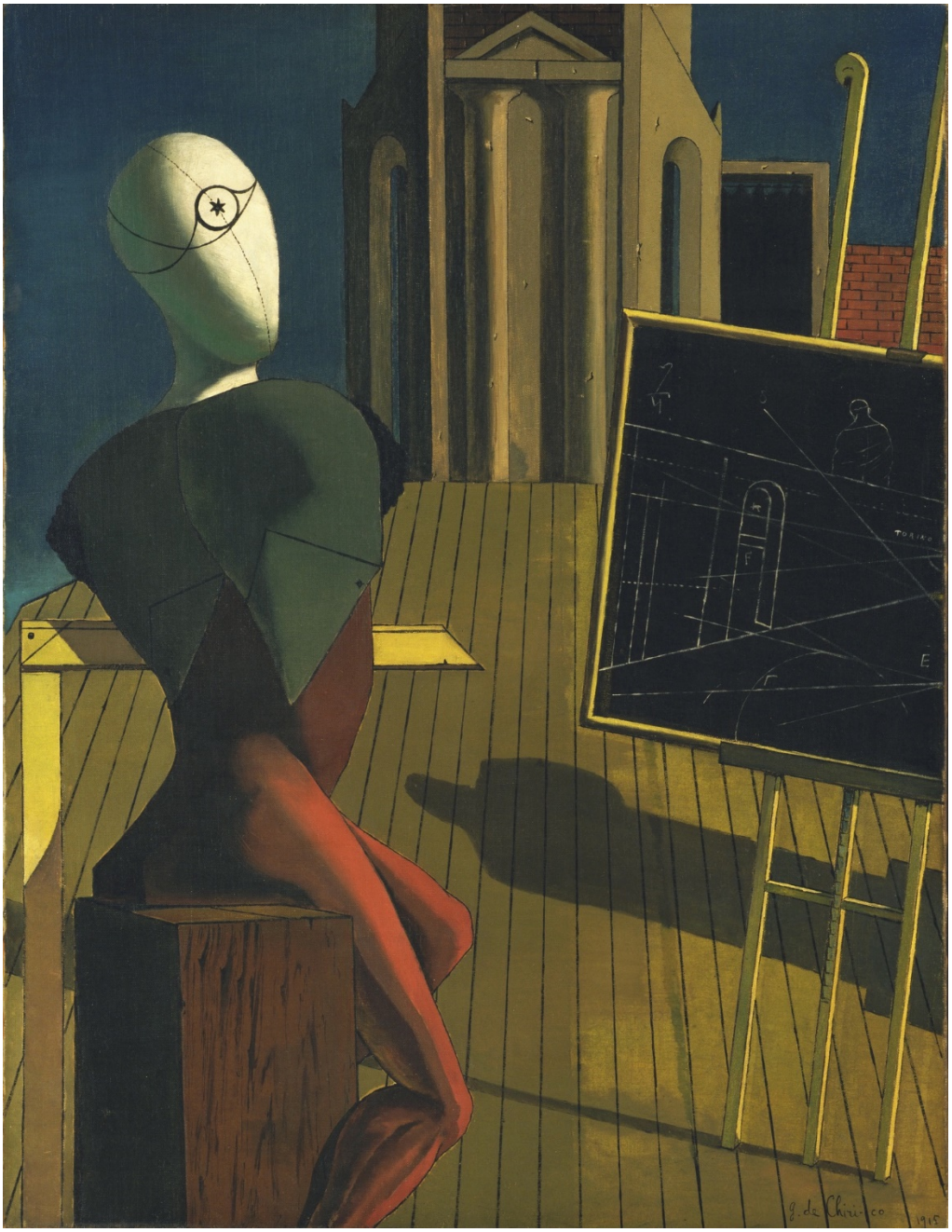


Fig. 51

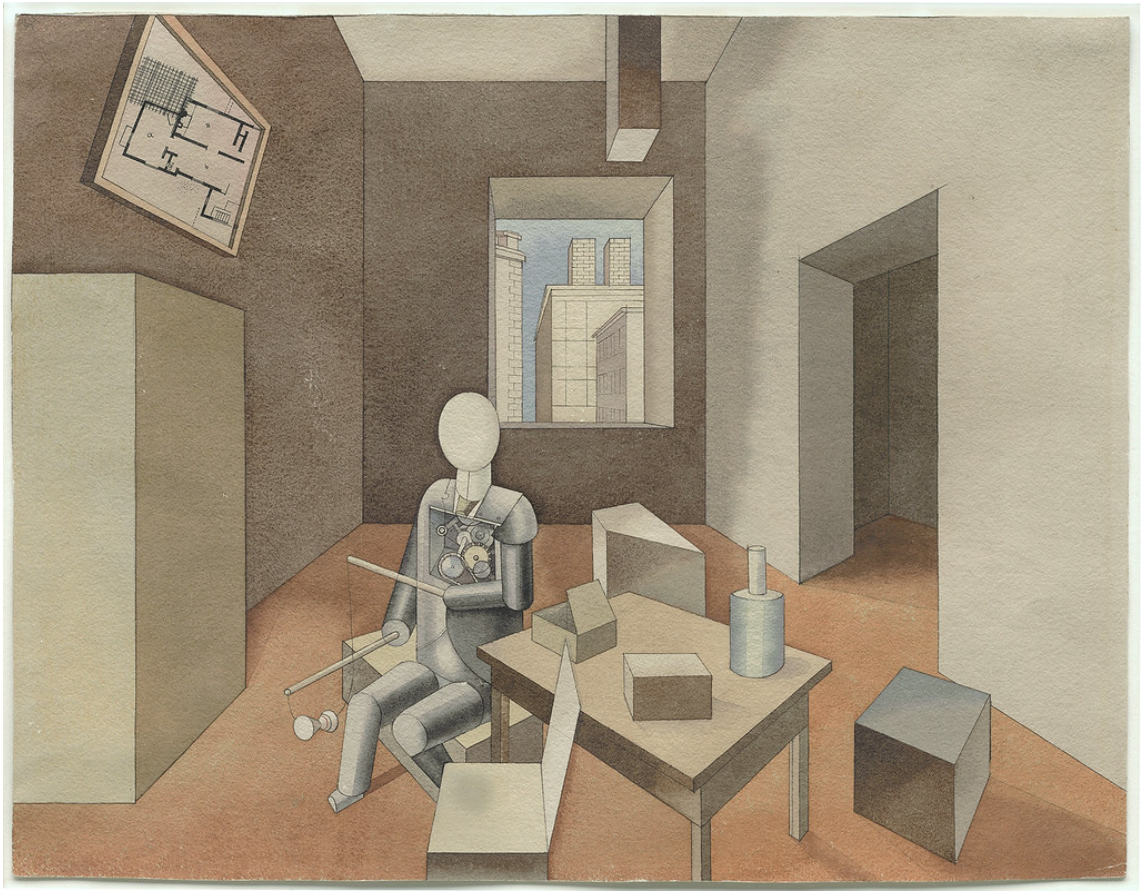


Fig. 52



Fig. 53

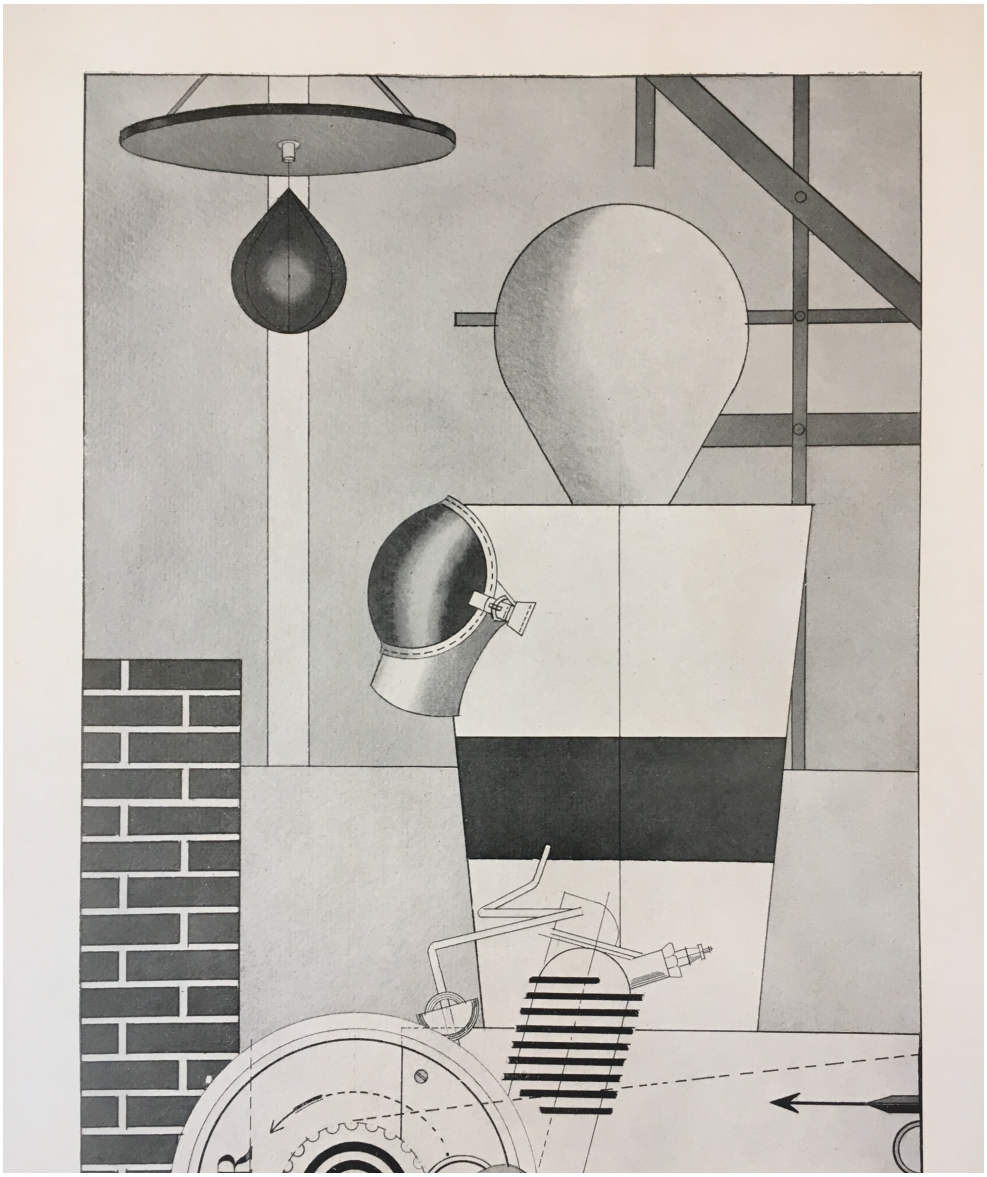


Fig. 54



Fig. 55

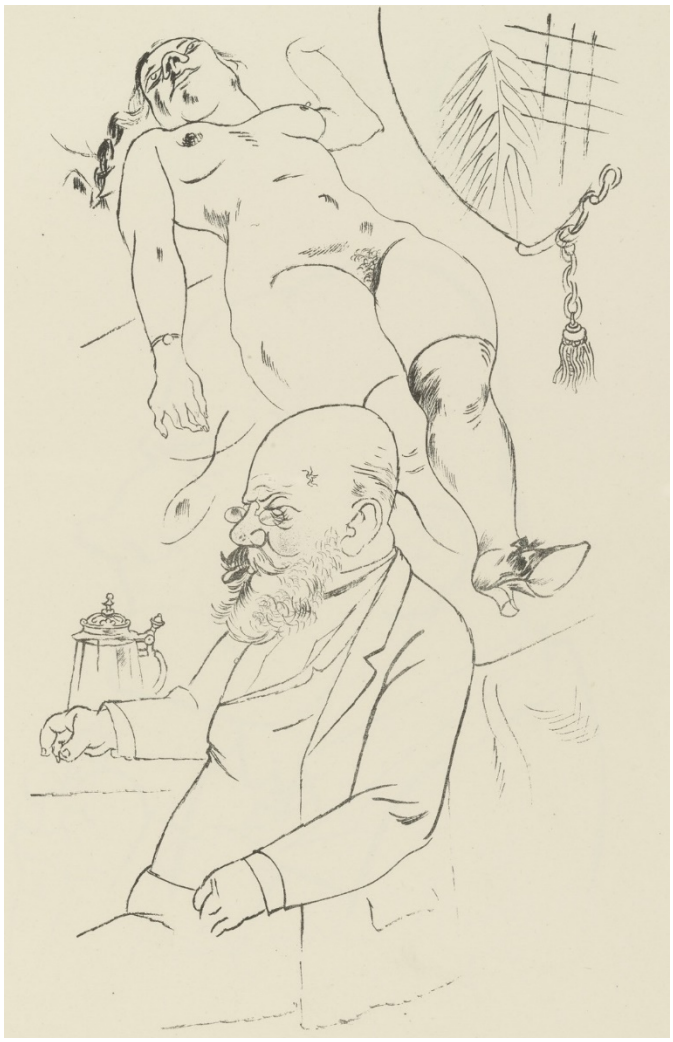


Fig. 56

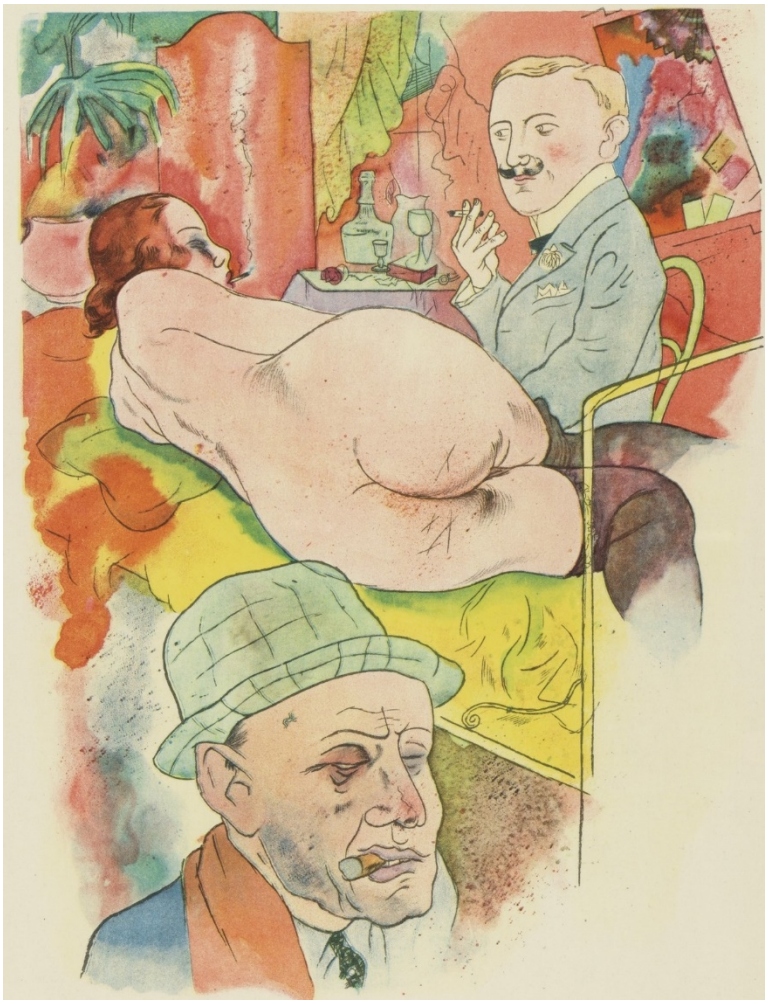


Fig. 57



Fig. 58



Fig. 59



Fig. 60



Fig. 61



Fig. 62


Karl Zübbrich
AUSSTELLUNG!
1.–30. OKTOBER.
Zeichnungen, Radierungen,
Lithos.

Fig. 63



Fig. 64



Fig. 65



Fig. 66



Fig. 67



Fig. 68



Fig. 69

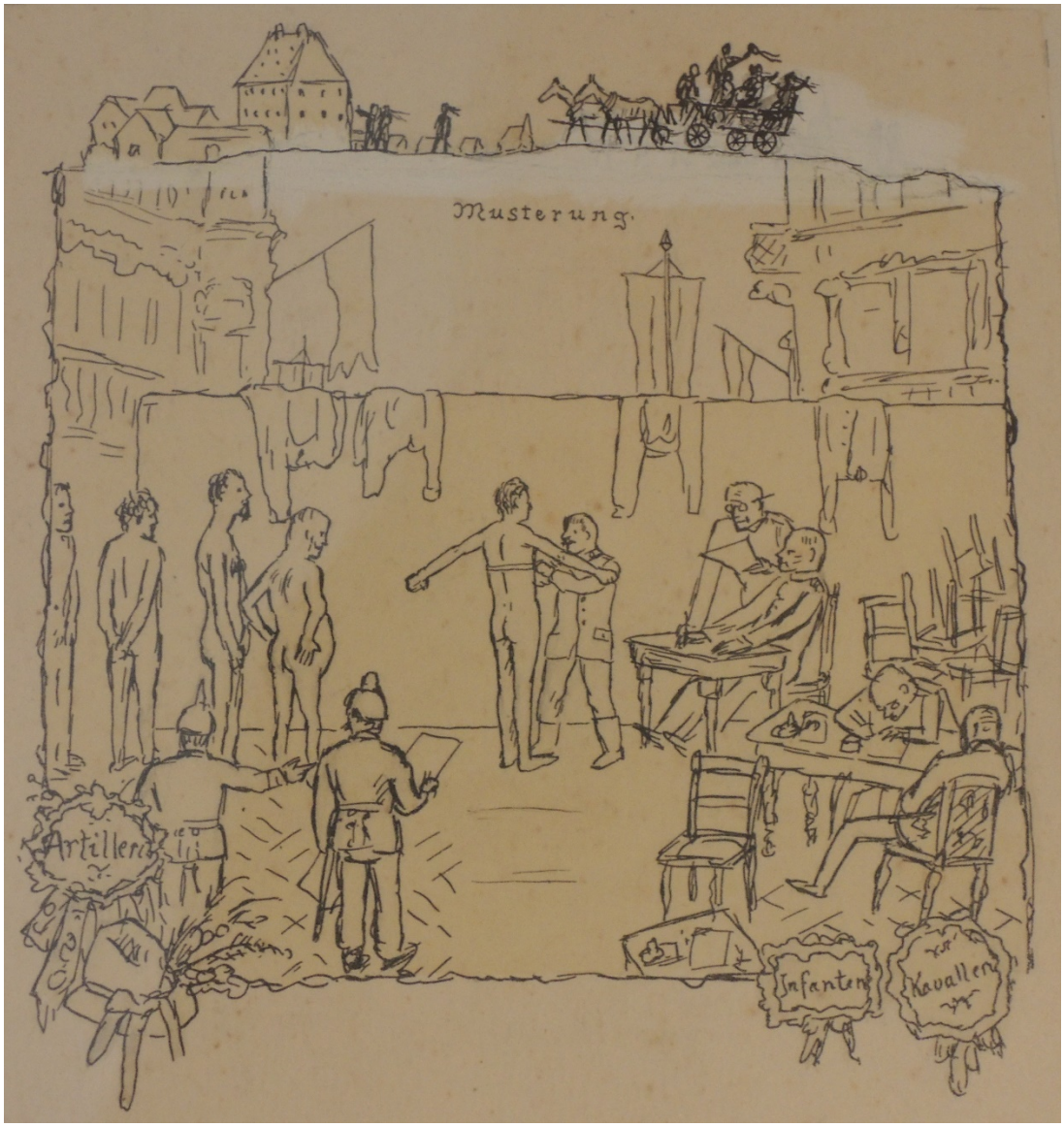


Fig. 70


Einigkeit macht stark
Mit Gott für König und Vaterland
Zur Erinnerung an meine Dienstzeit.
Wilh. Riehm
b.d. 8 Comp. 2. Bad. Grenad. Regt. Kaiser Wilhelm I. No 110.

Fig. 71



Fig. 72



Fig. 73



Fig. 74



Fig. 75

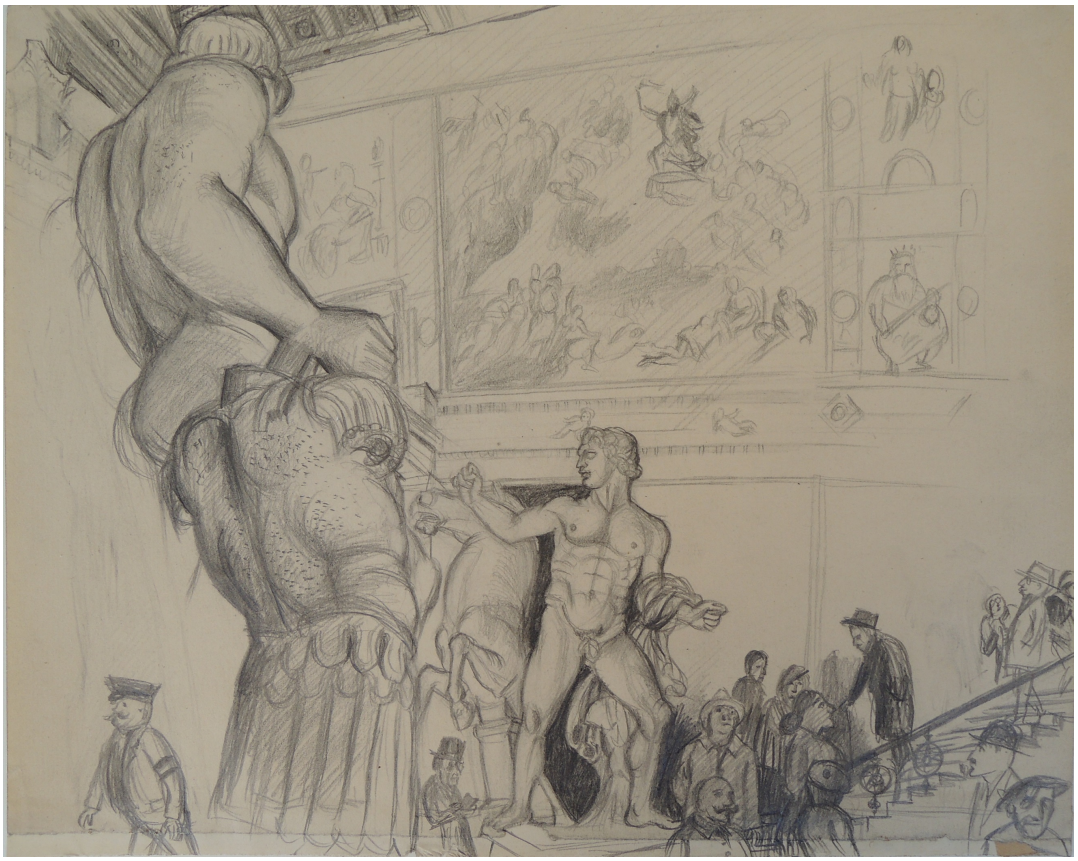


Fig. 76



Fig. 77



Fig. 78


THEATER IM
ADMIRALS-PA T
ADMIRALS-BA
von 4 Uhr
vo6½ Uhr ab
9 Monate
Drunter und Drob
250
DRUNTER
9 Monate
250
9 Monate
DRUNTER
9 Monate
250
9 Monate

Fig. 79


CAFE
HINGA MOTZSTRAS
HAROLD LLOYD
DER BERG RUFT SCHICK
LICHTSPIELE

Fig. 80


RUDOLF MOSSE
WIEN
TURNER & GLANZ
Berliner Tageblatt
Berlin Volks Zeitung
JULIUS M. BIER
KELZMEIERS
KEMPUDS
WEIN Probir Stube
Wein Probirstub
C. S. GEROLD SOHNS
Weingrosshandlung
Perlen Diam
PERLE DIAMANT

Fig. 81



Fig. 82

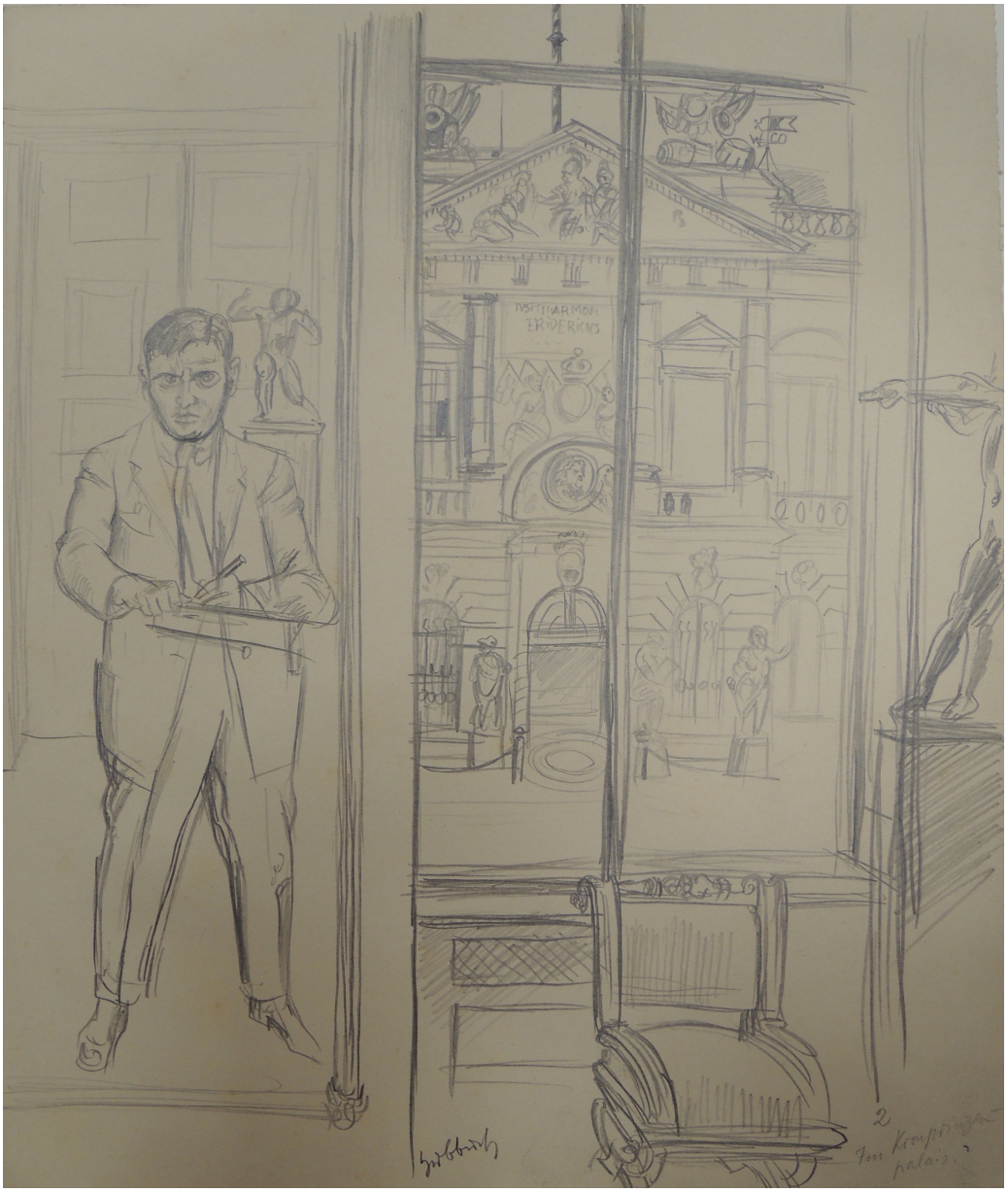


Fig. 83



Fig. 84



Fig. 85



Fig. 86



Fig. 87



Fig. 88

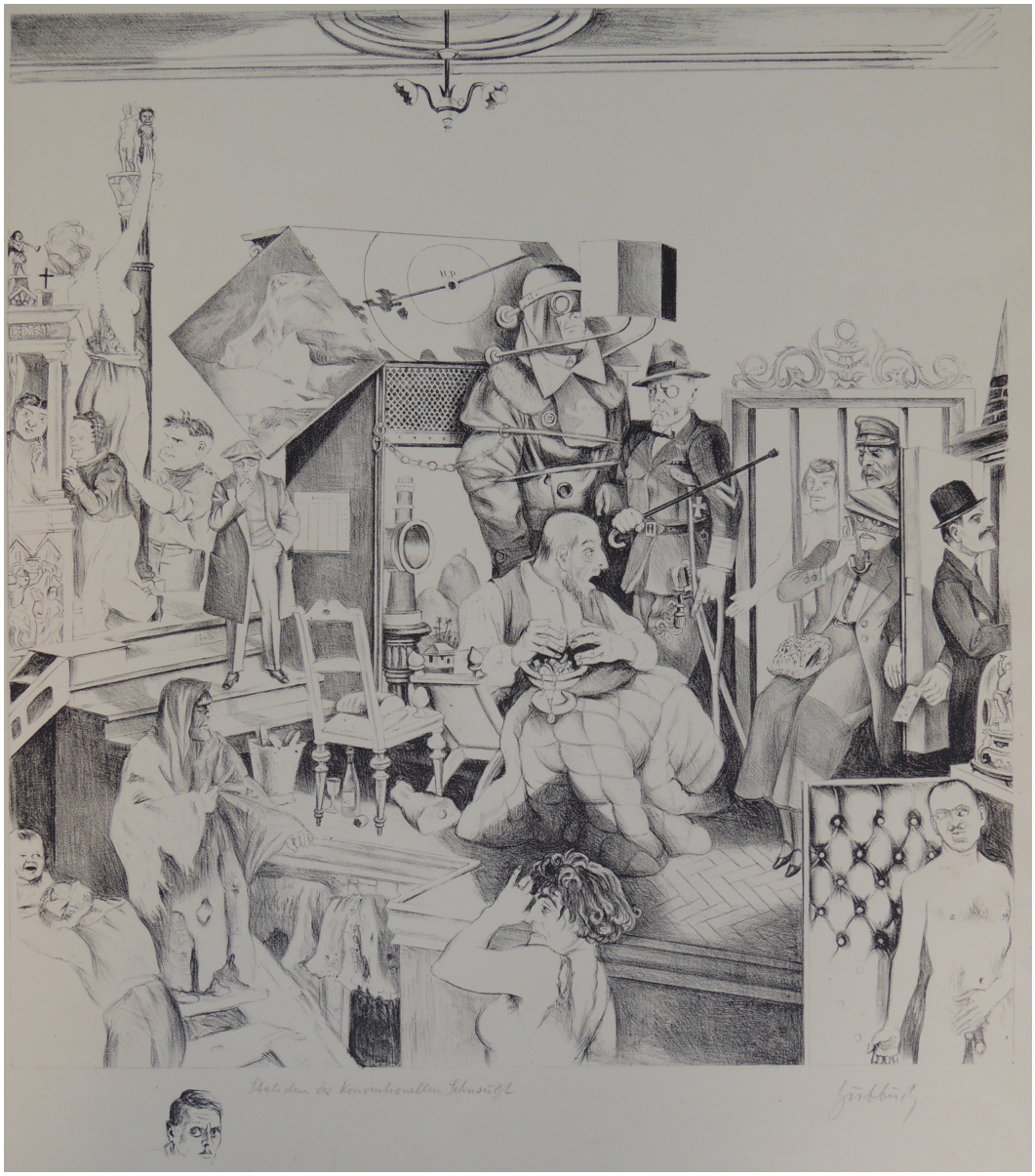


Fig. 89

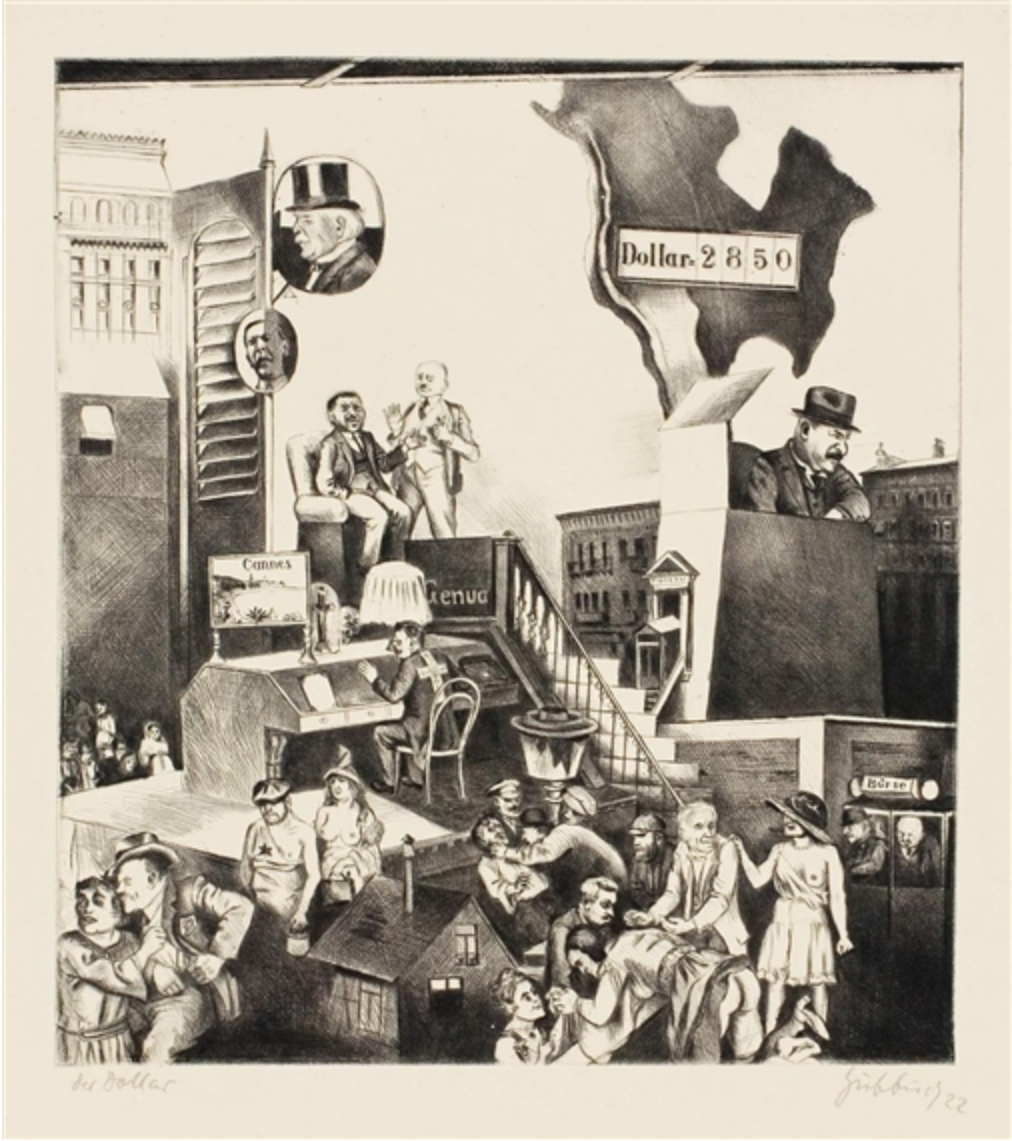


Fig. 90

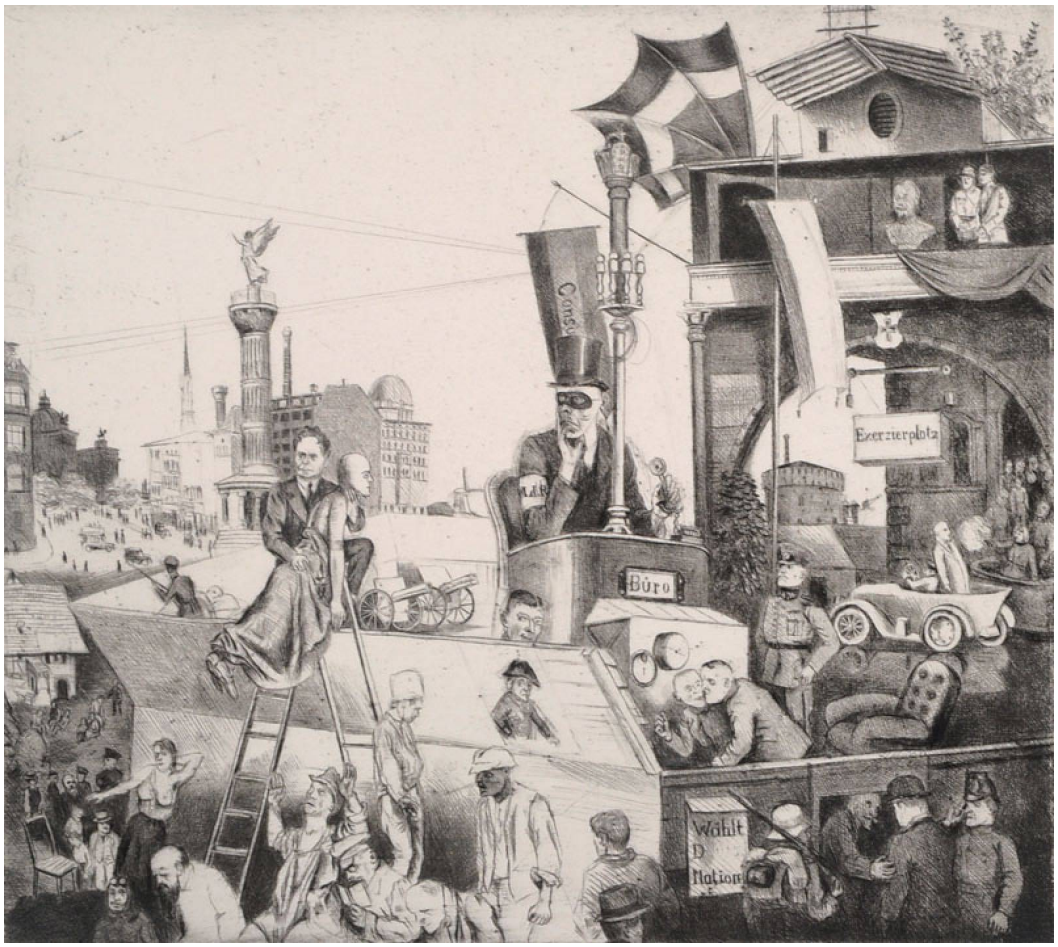


Fig. 91

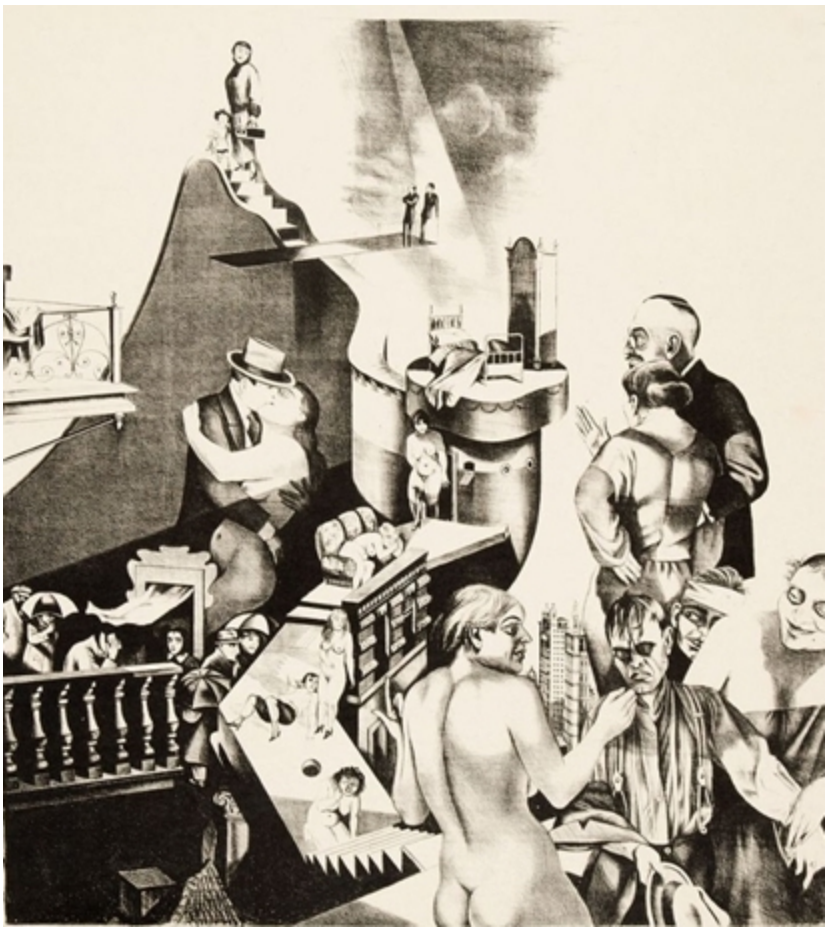


Fig. 92

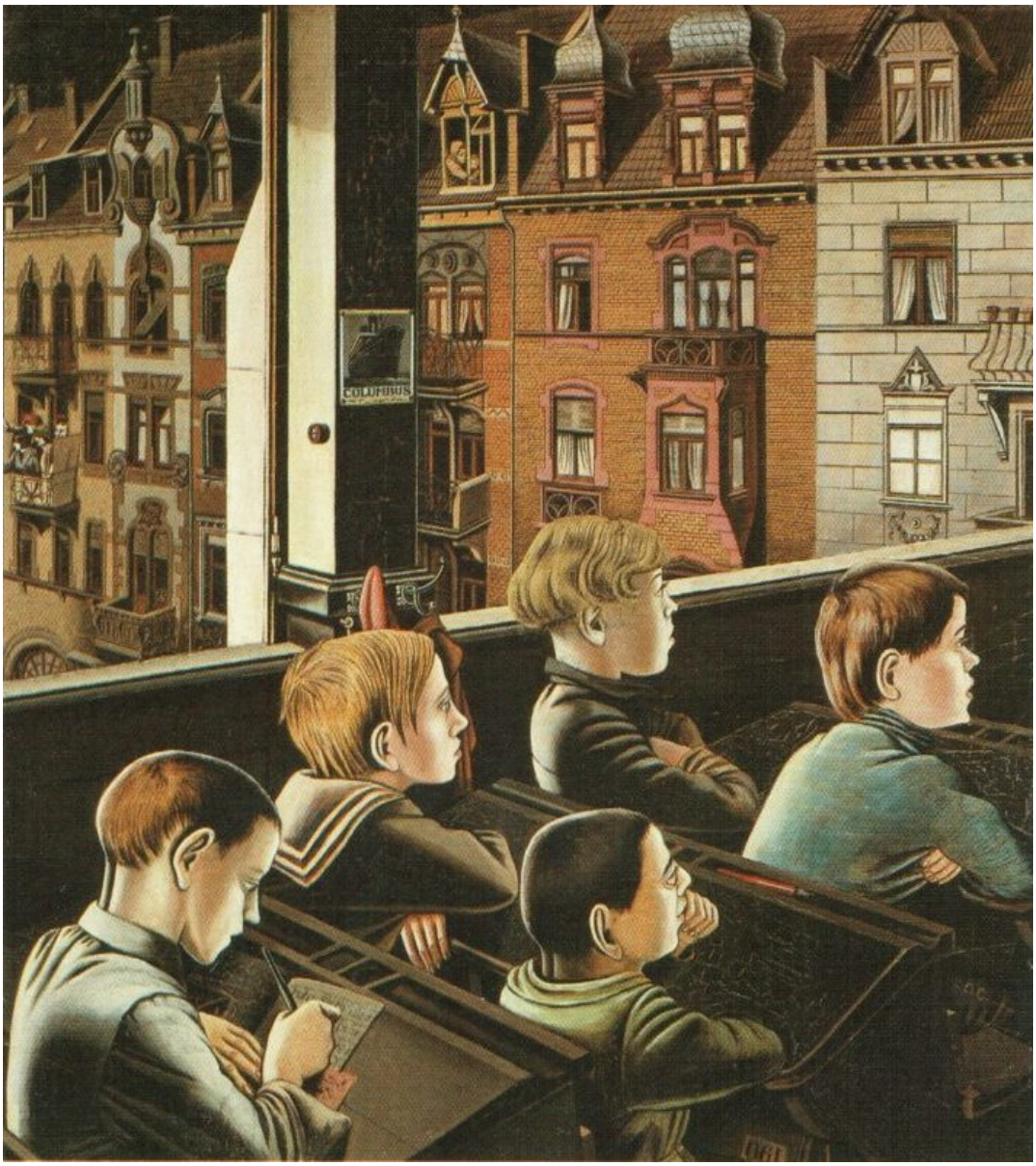


Fig. 93



Fig. 94


Gruppe 0
2 H
10 Ne
18 Ar
Kr
60 70 Yb Lu
ESENHALTEN ERDRIN
SAUERSTOFF 4629
SILICHONI 2721
ALUMINIUM 781
EISEN 5
GALCIUM 2,36
MAGNESIUM 2,40
NATRIUM 2,40
KALIUM 0,21
TITAN 0,32
Mg AL Mn Zn Cd Pb P

Fig. 95



Fig. 96



Fig. 97



Fig. 98



Fig. 99



Fig. 100



Fig. 101



Fig. 102



Fig. 103

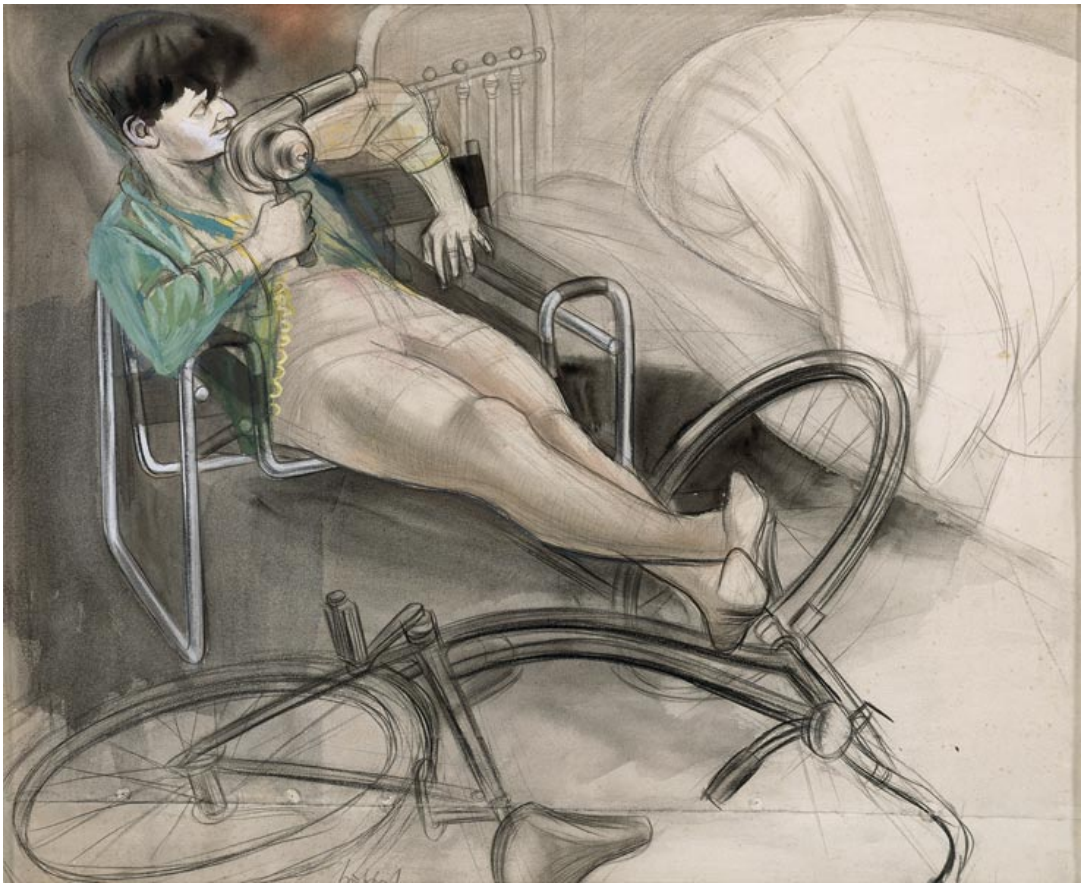


Fig. 104

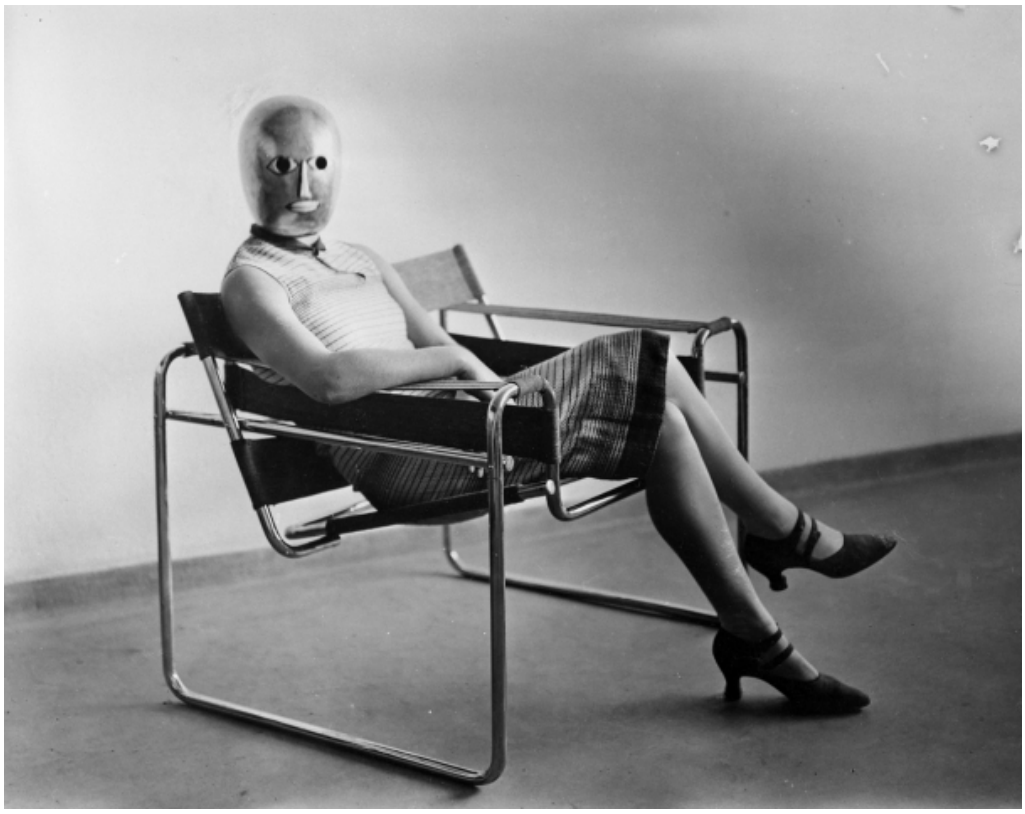


Fig. 105



Fig. 106



Fig. 107



Fig. 108



Fig. 109



Fig. 110



Fig. 111



Fig. 112



Fig. 113



Fig. 114

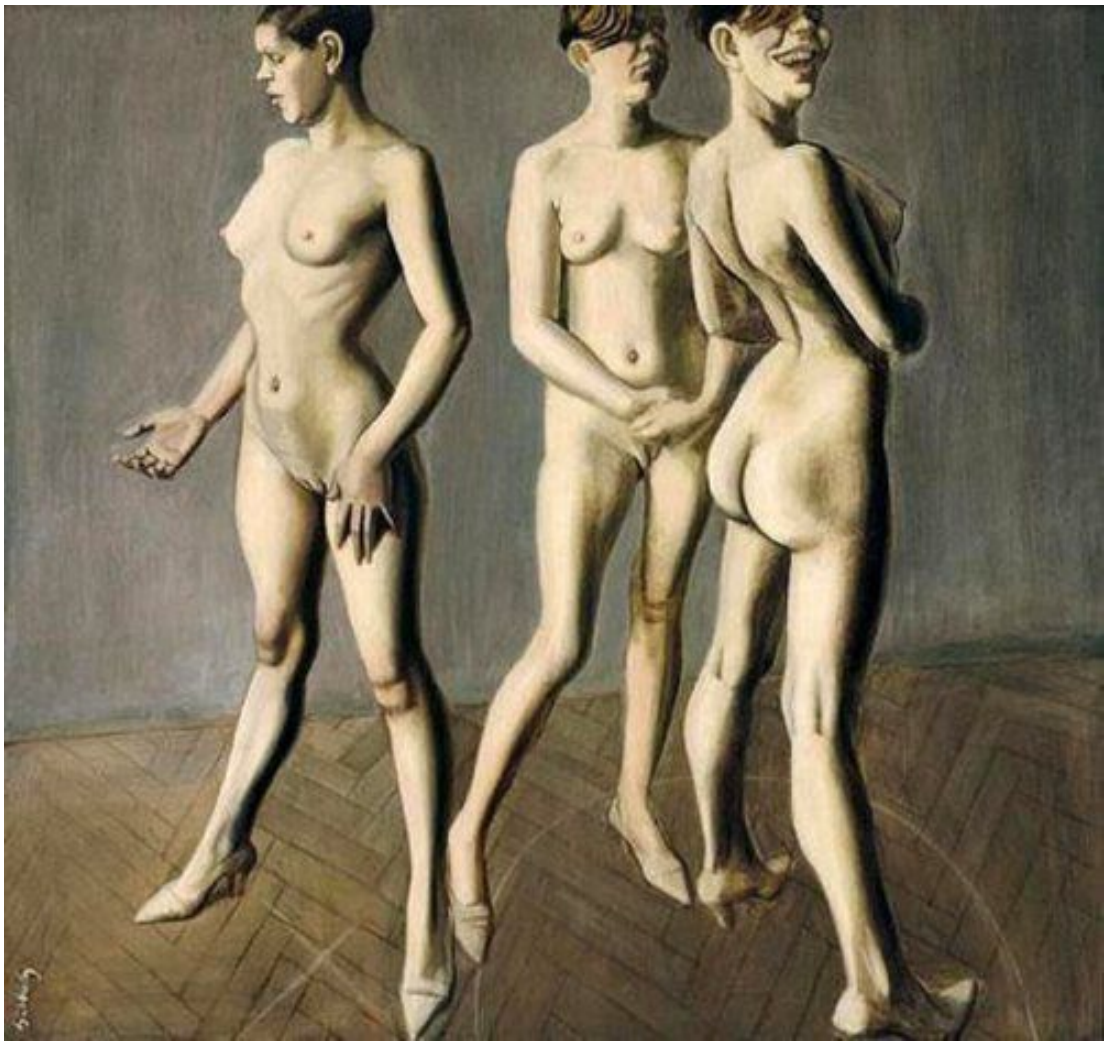


Fig. 115



Fig. 116

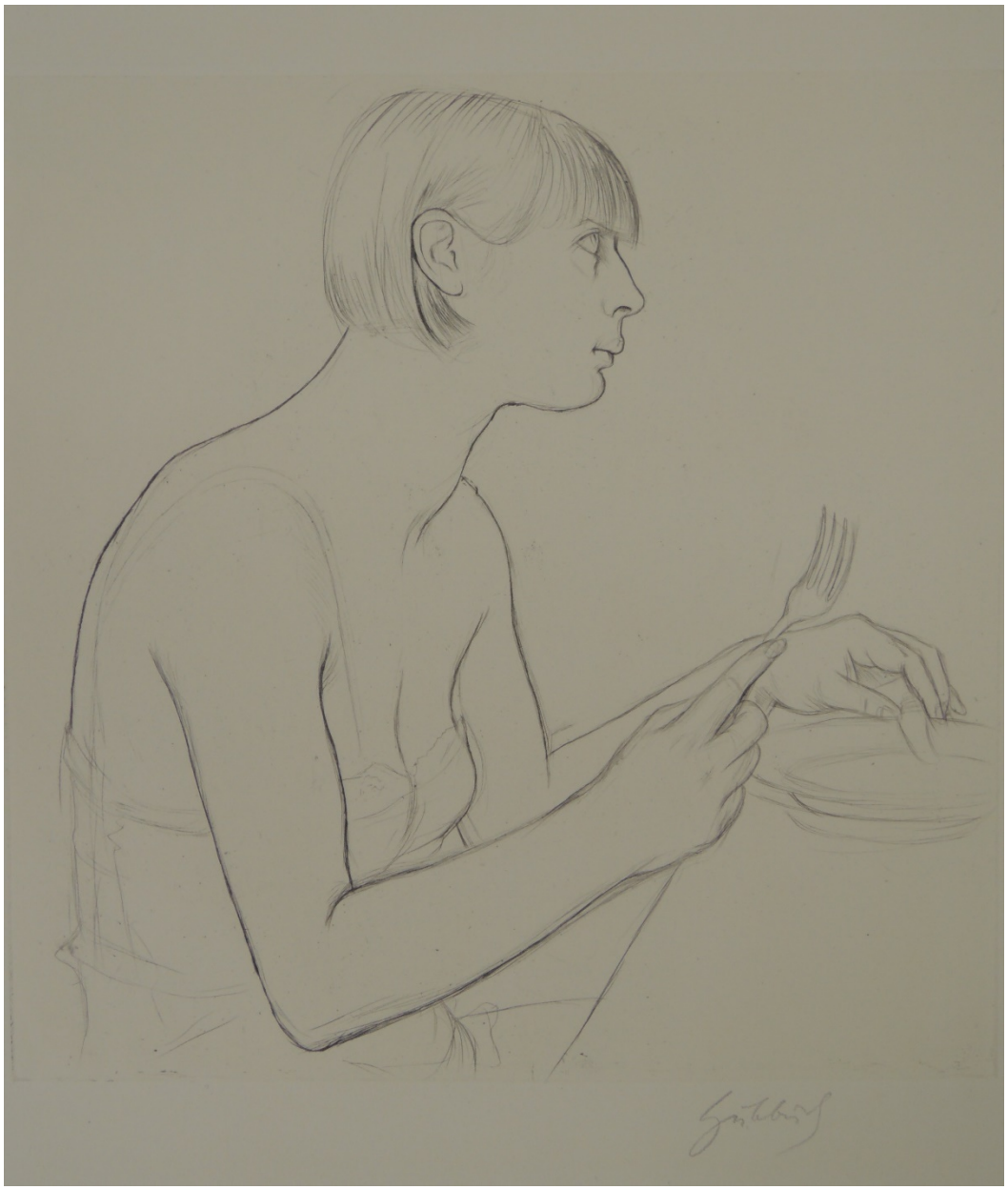


Fig. 117



Fig. 118



Fig. 119

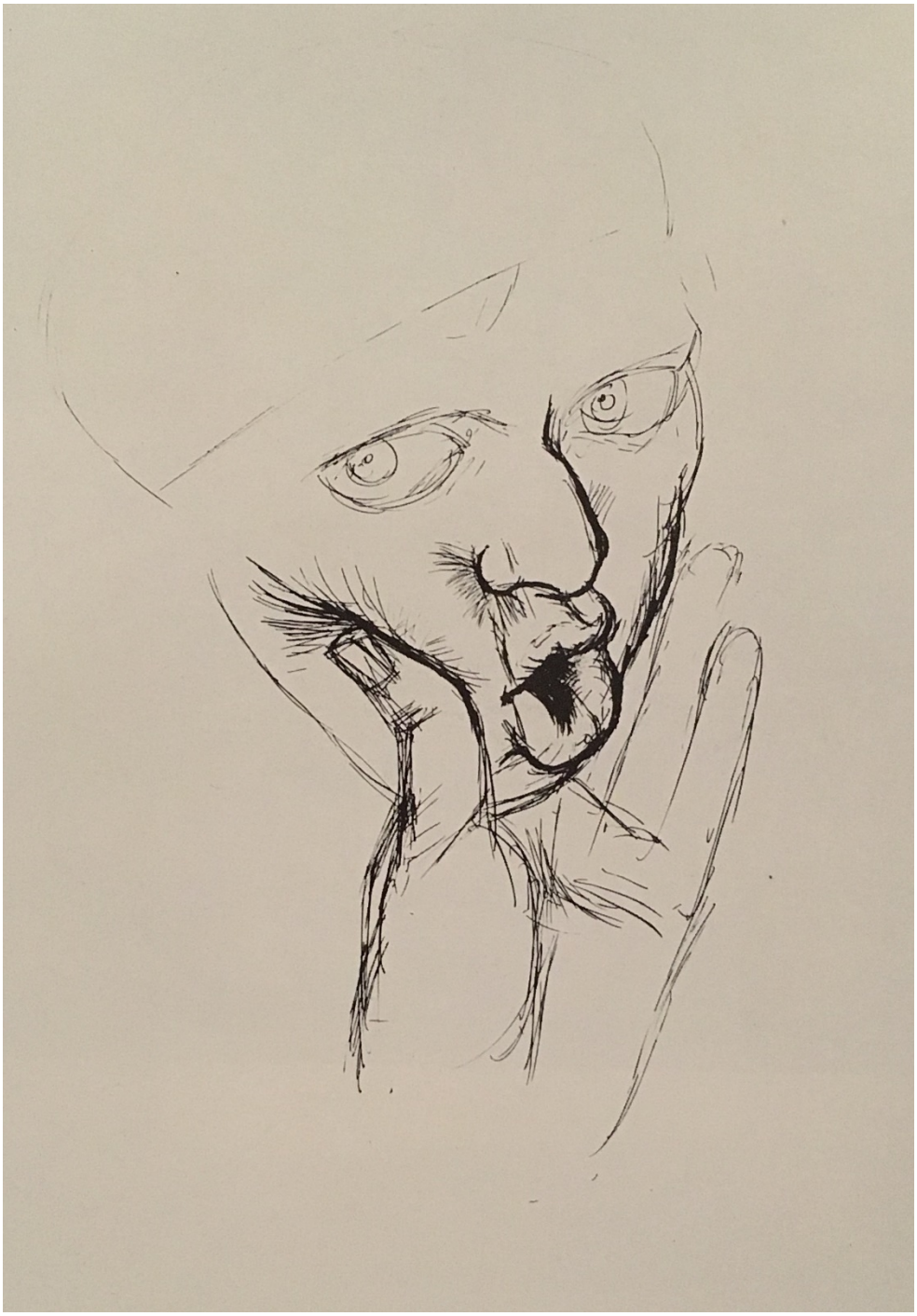


Fig. 120



Fig. 121



Fig. 122



Fig. 123

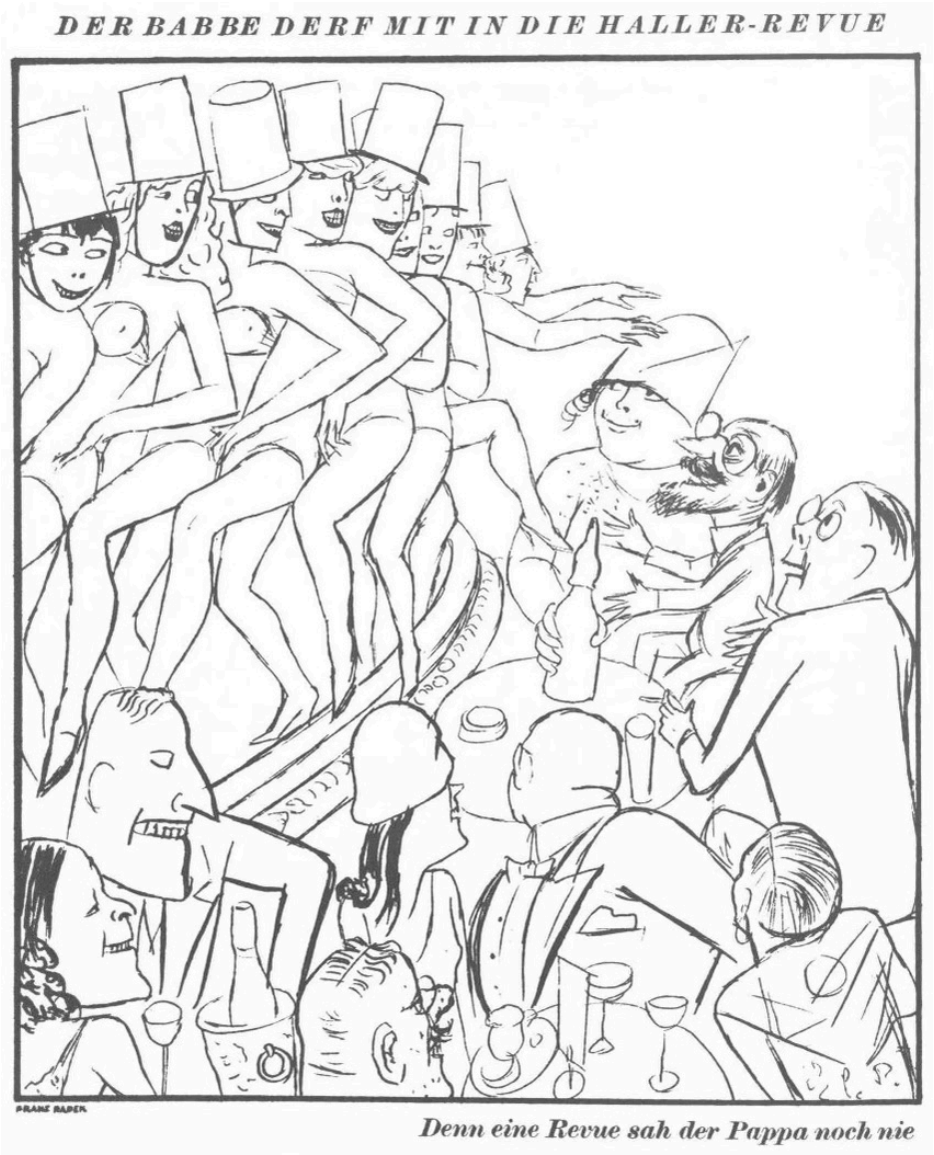

DER BABBE DERF MIT IN DIE HALLER-REVUE
FRANZ BAUER
Denn eine Revue sah der Pappa noch nie

Fig. 124



Fig. 125



Fig. 126



Fig. 127

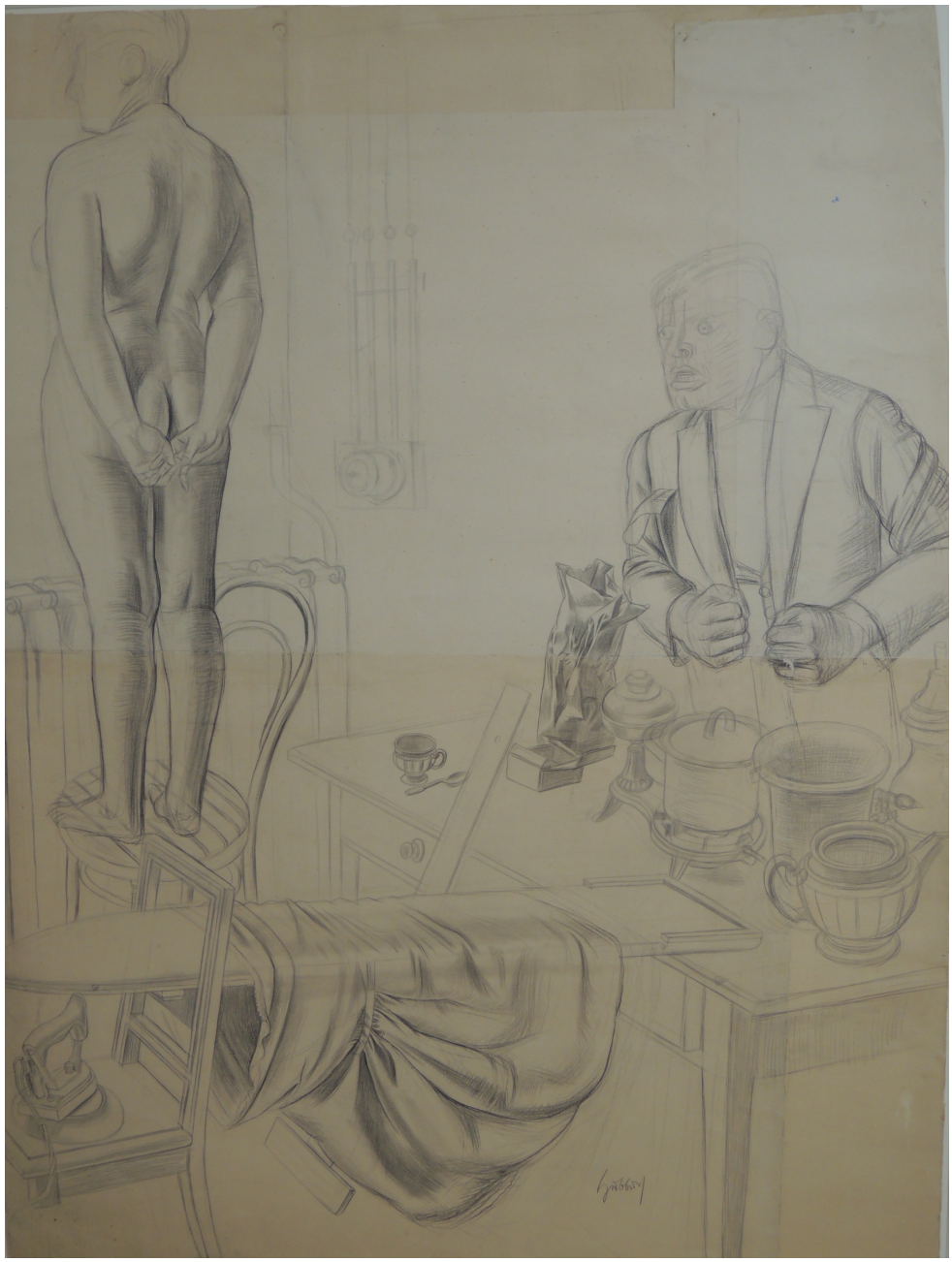


Fig. 128



Fig. 129

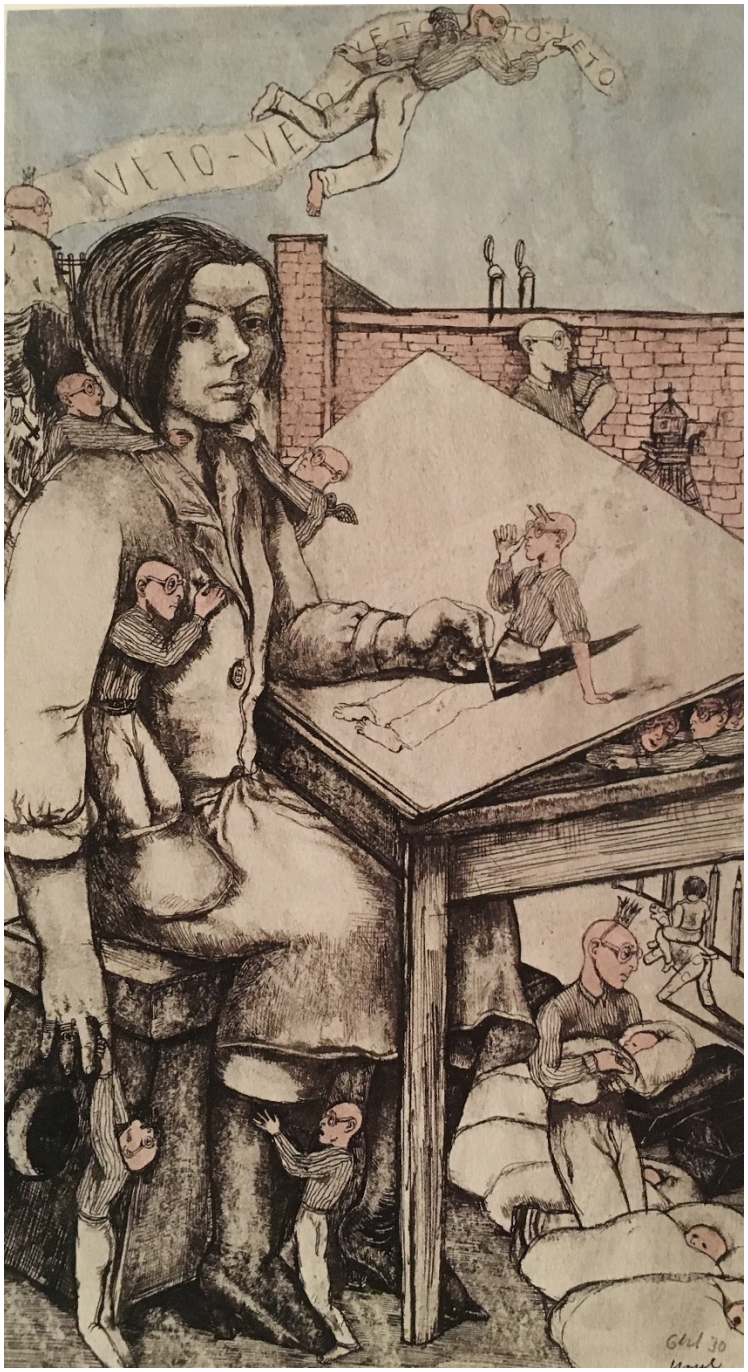


Fig. 130



DIE FRAU IM SELBST-BILDNIS

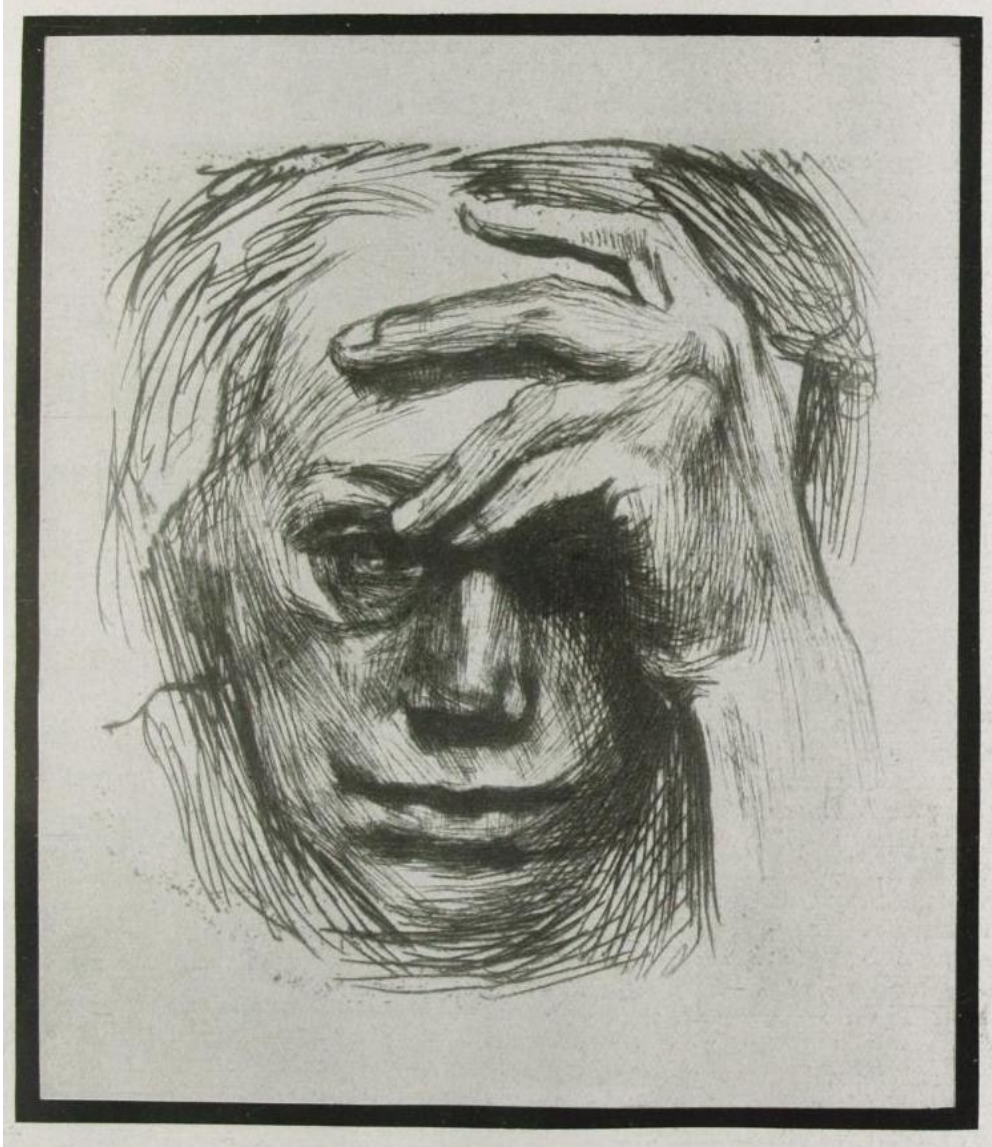
Wie malende Frauen sich sehen

Von
Robert Breuer

Die Frau im Selbstbildnis: Paula Modersohn-Becker
Die hochbegabte Worpsweder Malerin, die auf der Höhe ihres Lebens und Schaffens ein jäher Tod hinwegraffte.

Die Künstlerin mit ihrem Kind
Photographische Aufnahme

Fig. 131



Käthe Kollwitz,
die geniale unbestechliche Künderin des Großstadtelends.

Fig. 132

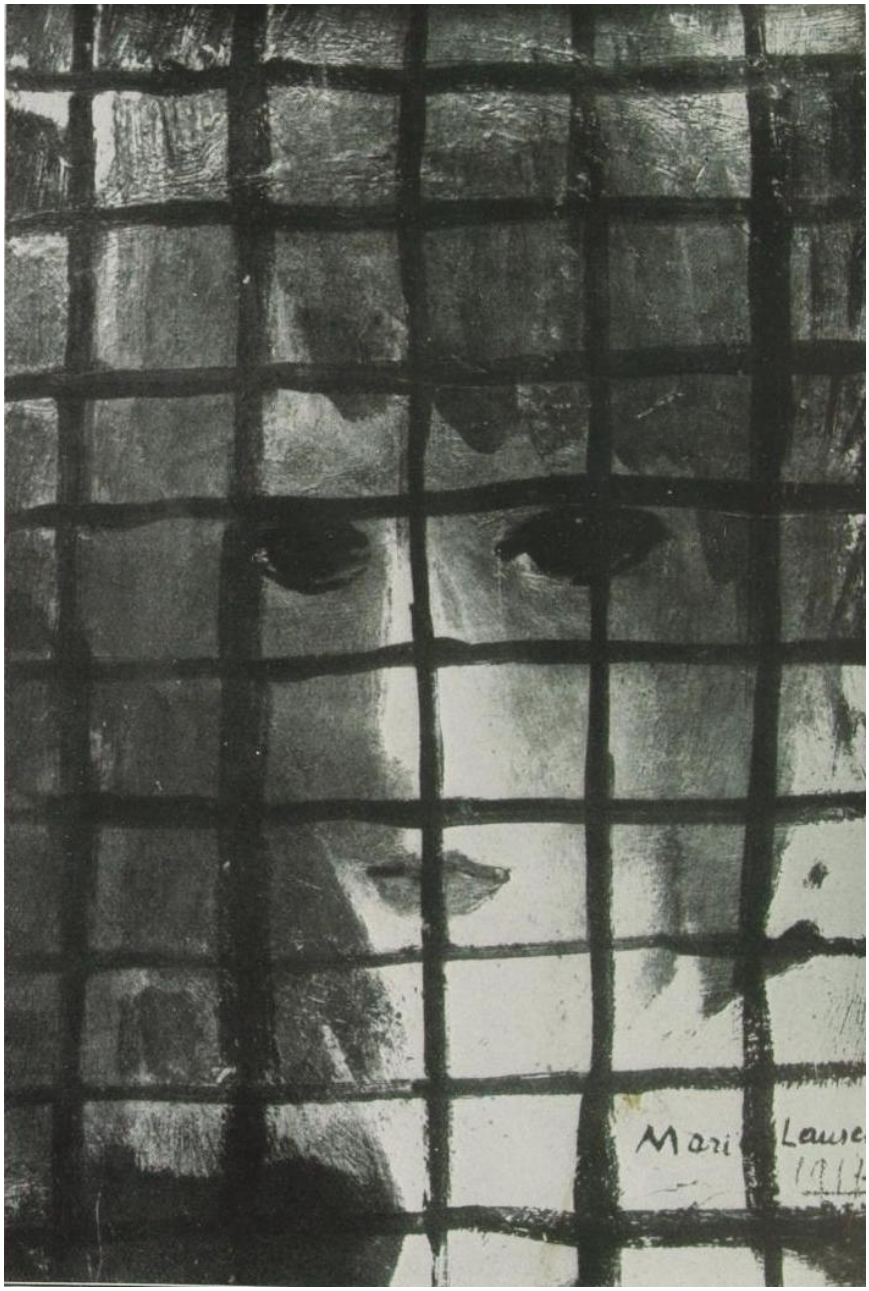


Fig. 133



Fig. 134



Fig. 135

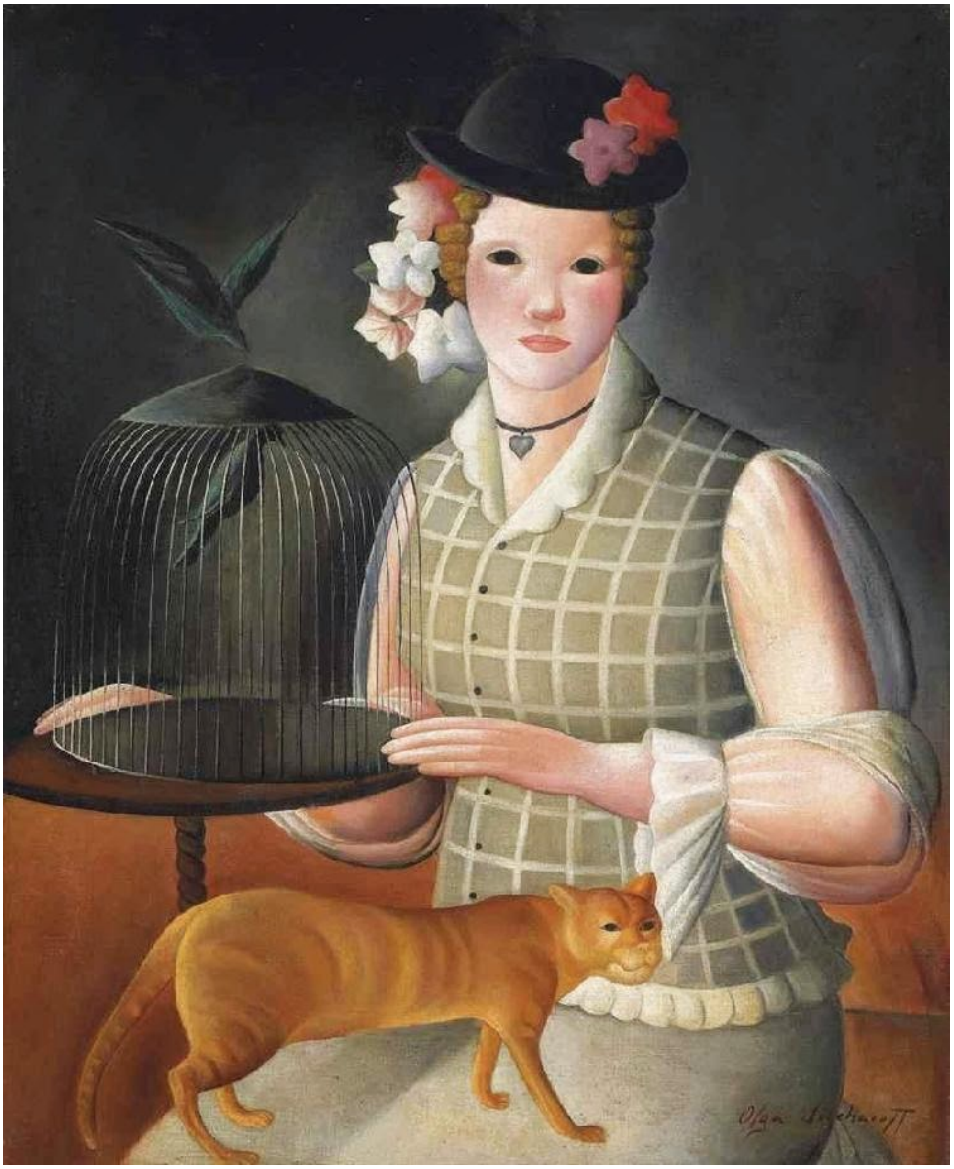
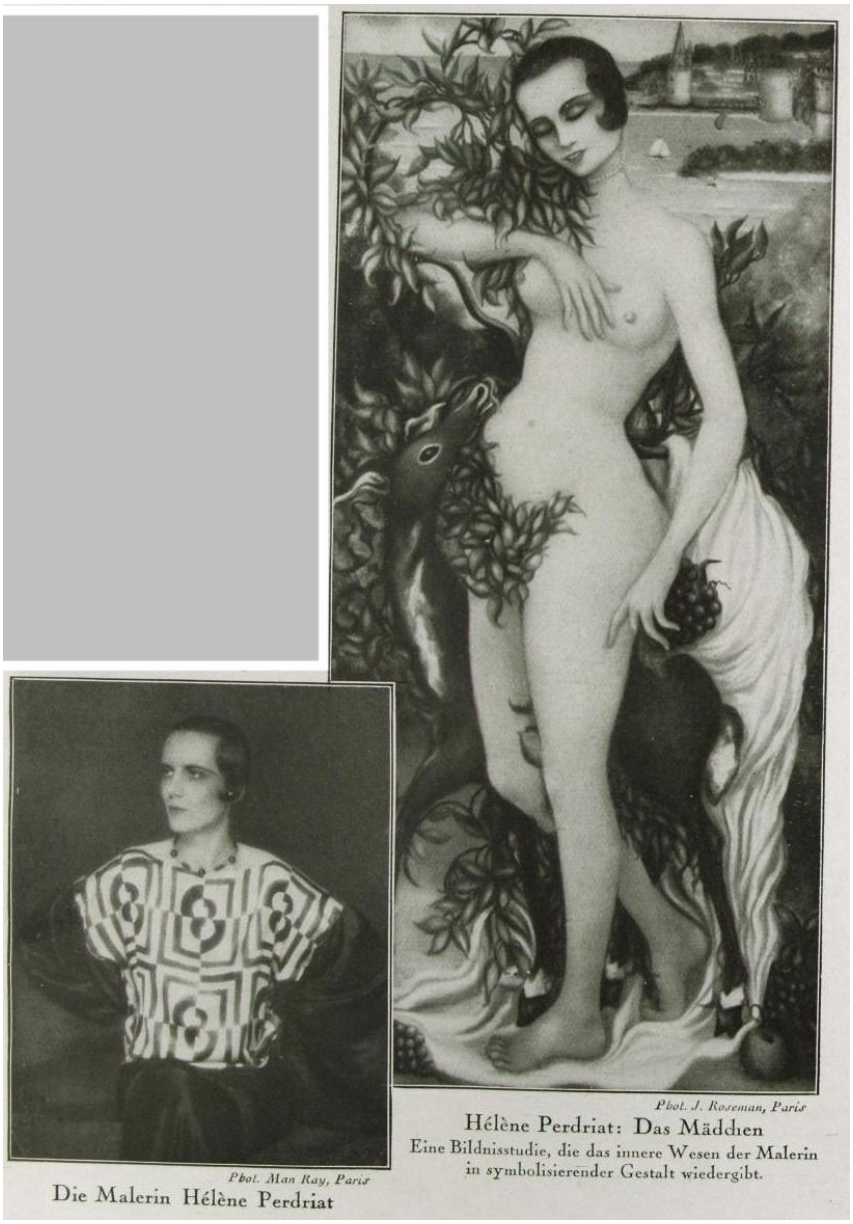


Fig. 136



Phot. J. Roseman, Paris

Hélène Perdriat: Das Mädchen

Eine Bildnisstudie, die das innere Wesen der Malerin in symbolisierender Gestalt wiedergibt.

Phot. Man Ray, Paris

Die Malerin Hélène Perdriat

Fig. 137



Fig. 138



Fig. 139



Fig. 140



Fig. 141



Fig. 142



Fig. 143

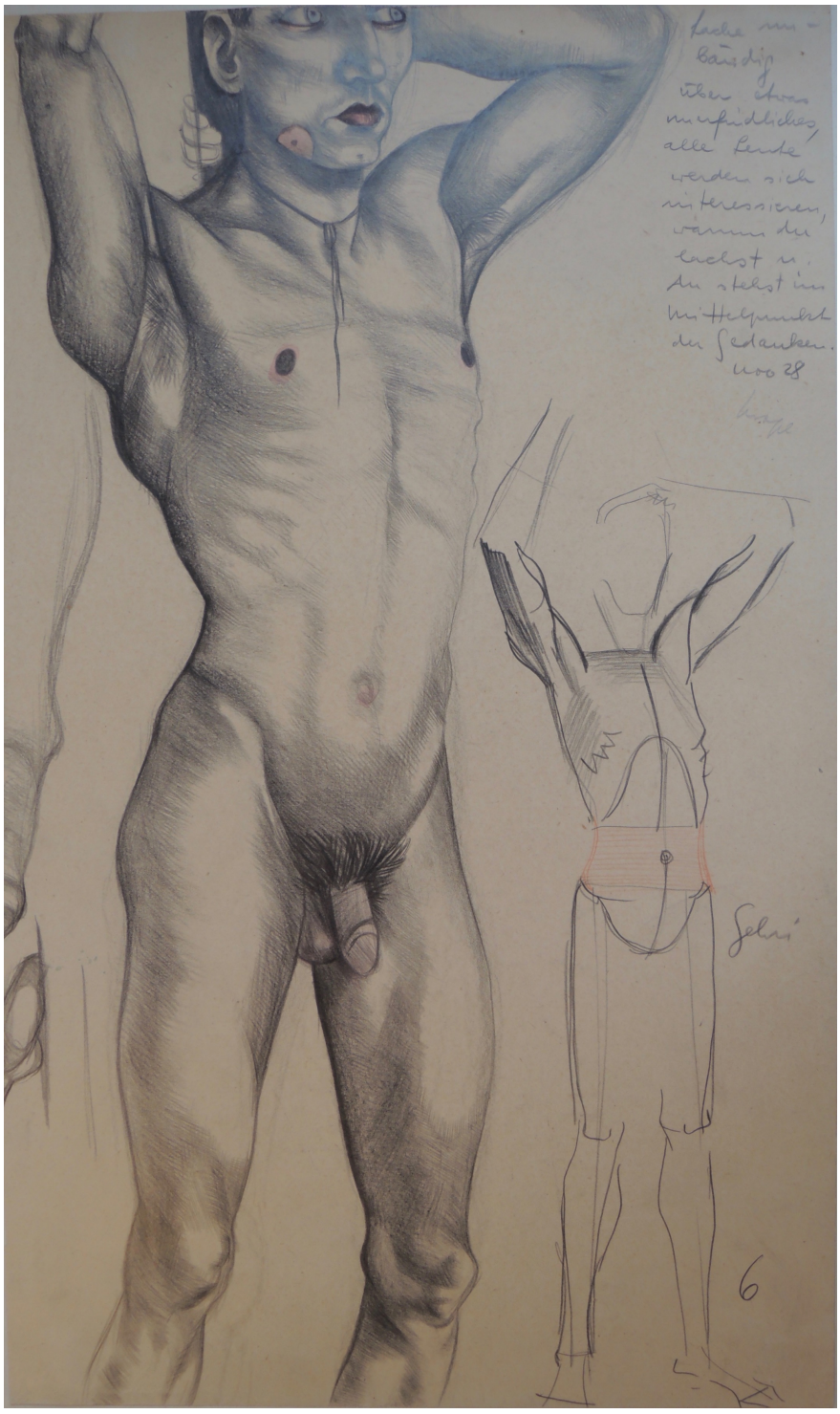


Fig. 144



Fig. 145

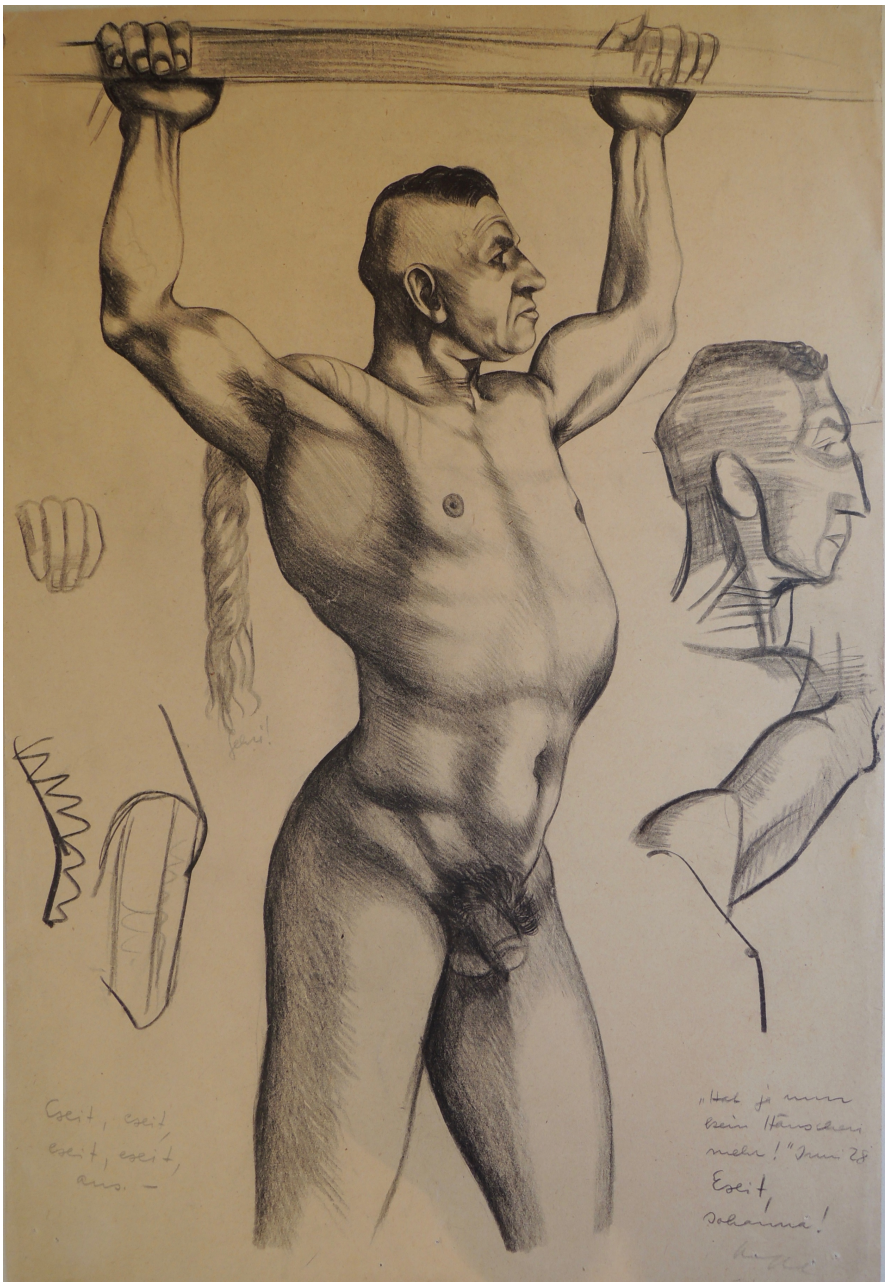


Fig. 146



Fig. 147



Fig. 148



Fig. 149



Fig. 150



Fig. 151

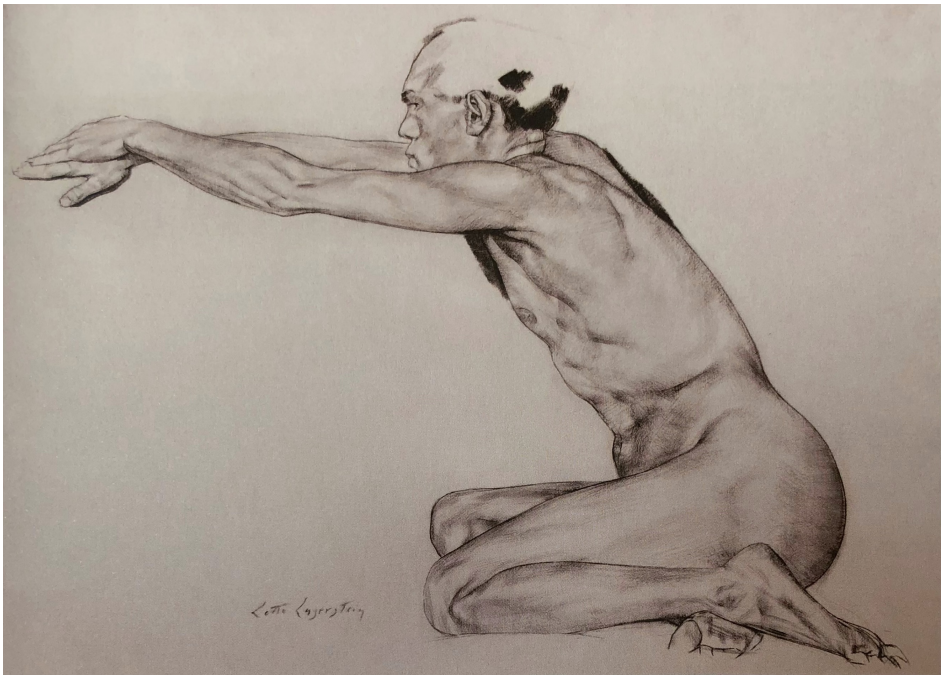


Fig. 152


DER LETZTE HIEB
Paul Neumann
A·E·N
ist die
8. KRIEGSANLEIHE
Bestellwort: Ritter

Fig. 153


24. August 1910
Nr. 34
28. Jahrgang
Berliner
Einzelpreis des Heftes 25 Pfg.
Illustrirte Zeitung
Verlag Ullstein & Co, Berlin SW 68
Ebert und Noske in der Sommerfrische.
Aufgenommen während eines Besuchs des Seebads Hafftrug bei Travemünde.
bpk bildarchiv preussischer kulturbesitz

Fig. 154

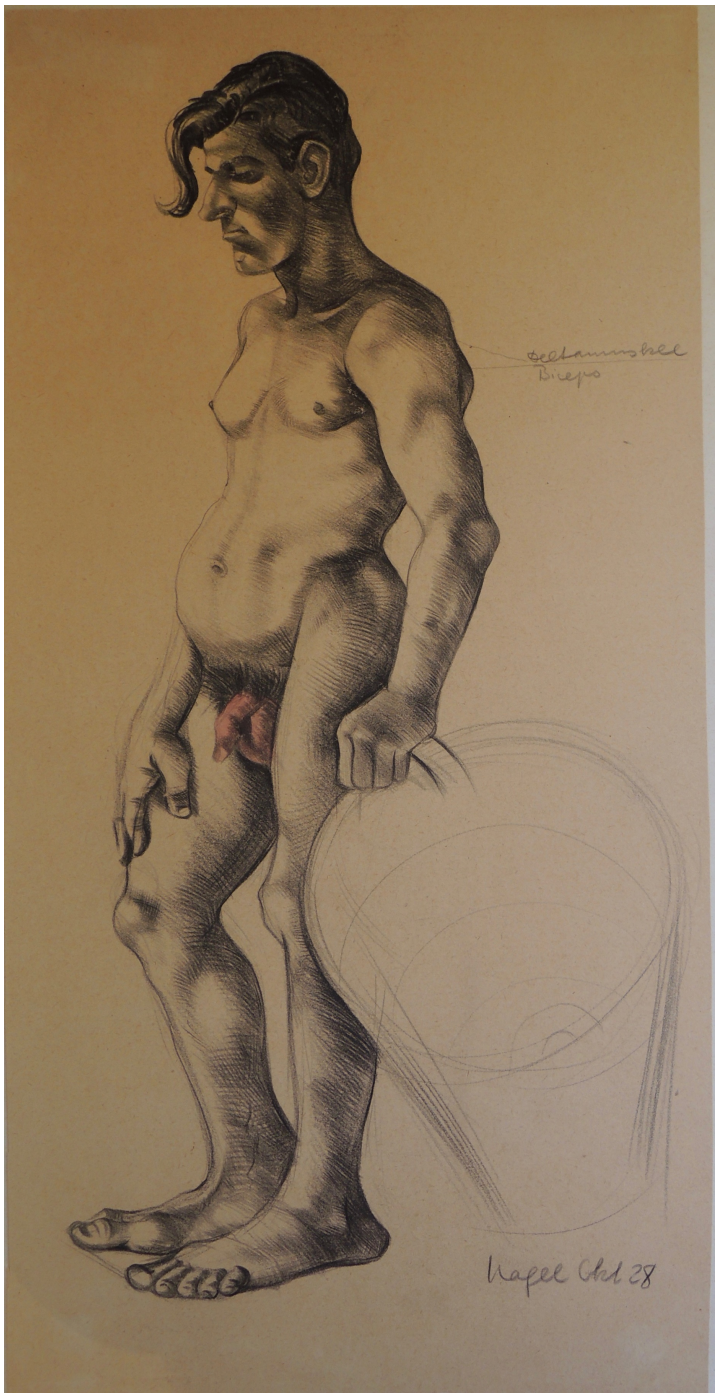


Fig. 155



Fig. 156



Fig. 157



Fig. 158



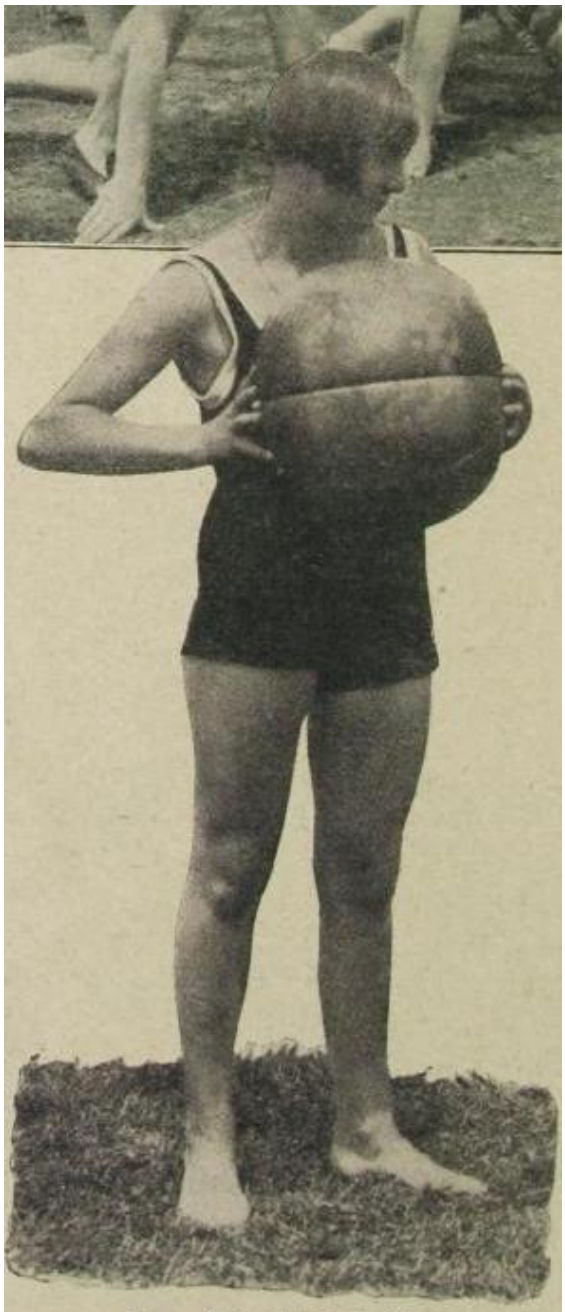
Fig. 159


Massenturnen der Sportstudentinnen
im Berliner Stadion
Die Sport
Studentin
Ein neuer Beruf.
Von Dr. Carl Diem
Die Kerze,
eine bekannte Turnübung, die zur Kräftigung
des Genicks und der Wirbelsäule dient.

Fig. 160



Fig. 161



Der Medizinball,
der zum Muskeltraining benutzt wird

Fig. 162



Fig. 163

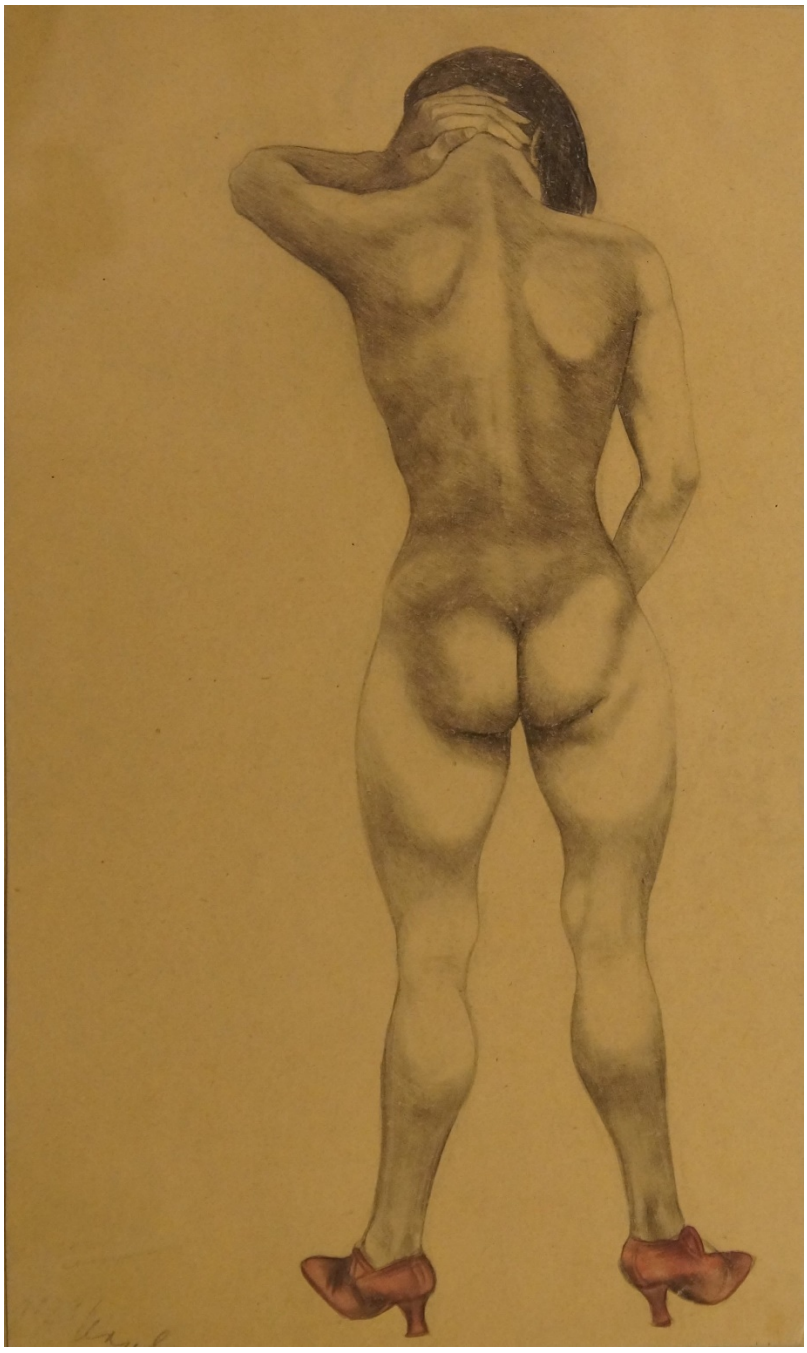


Fig. 164



Fig. 165



Fig. 166



Fig. 167



Fig. 168



Fig. 169

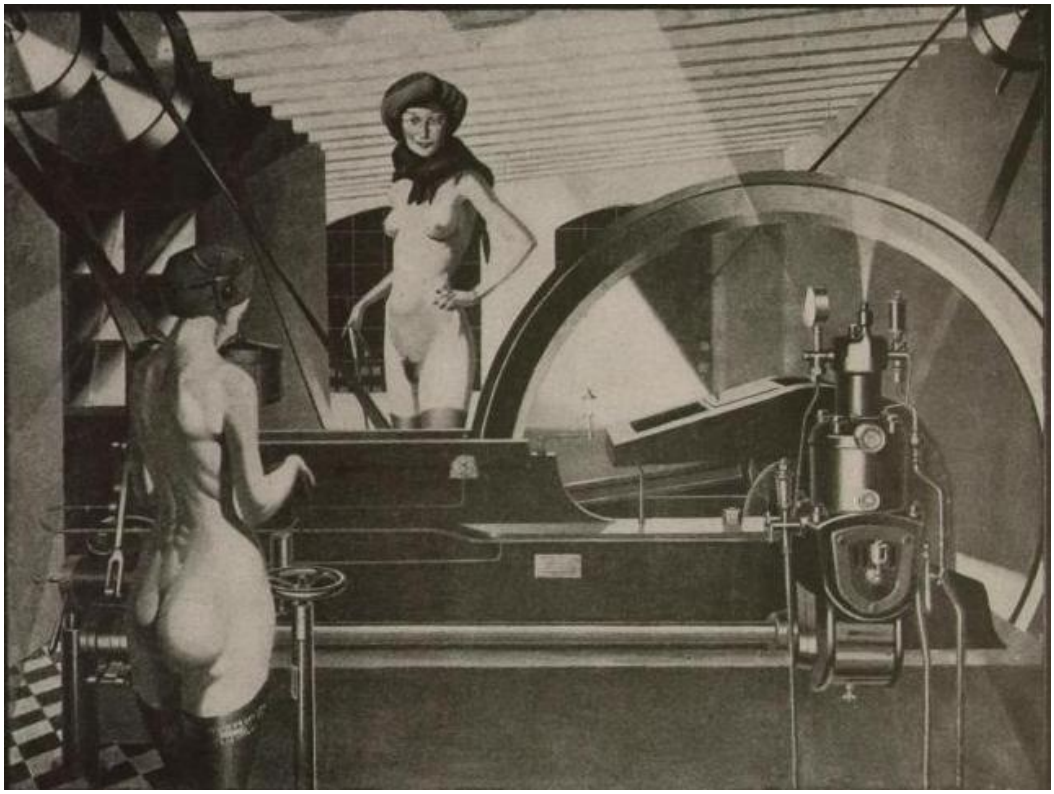


Fig. 170



Fig. 171



Fig. 172



Fig. 173



Fig. 174



Fig. 175



Fig. 176



Fig. 177



Fig. 178



Fig. 179

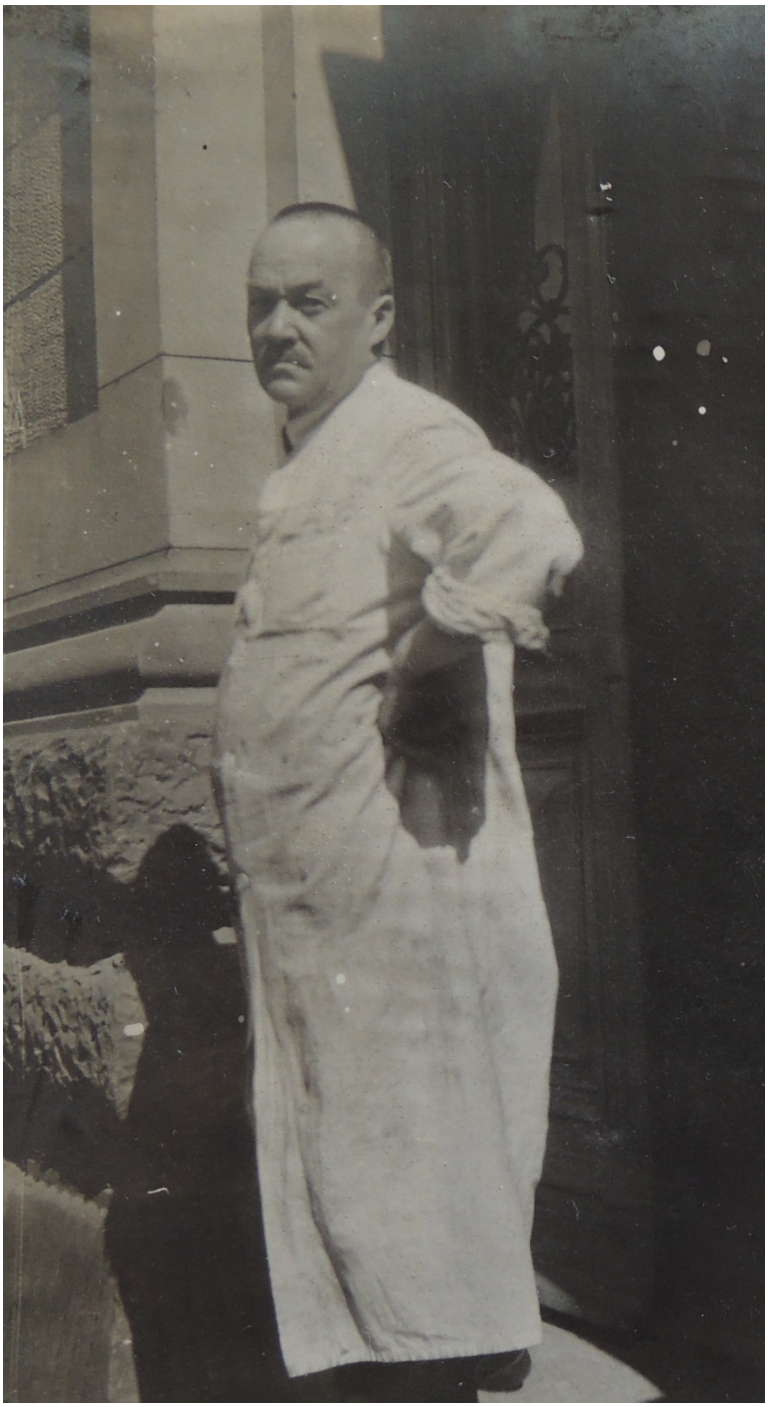


Fig. 180



Fig. 181



Fig. 182



Fig. 183



Fig. 184



Fig. 185



Fig. 186

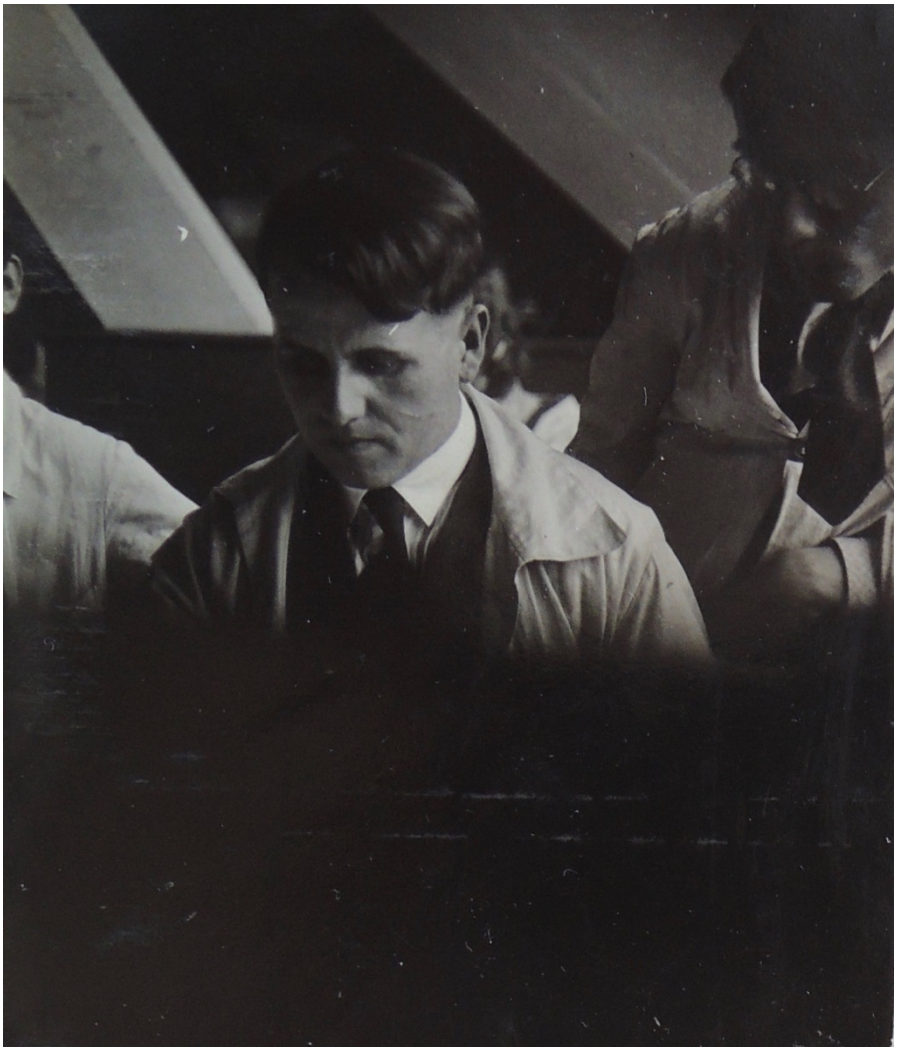


Fig. 187



Fig. 188



Fig. 189

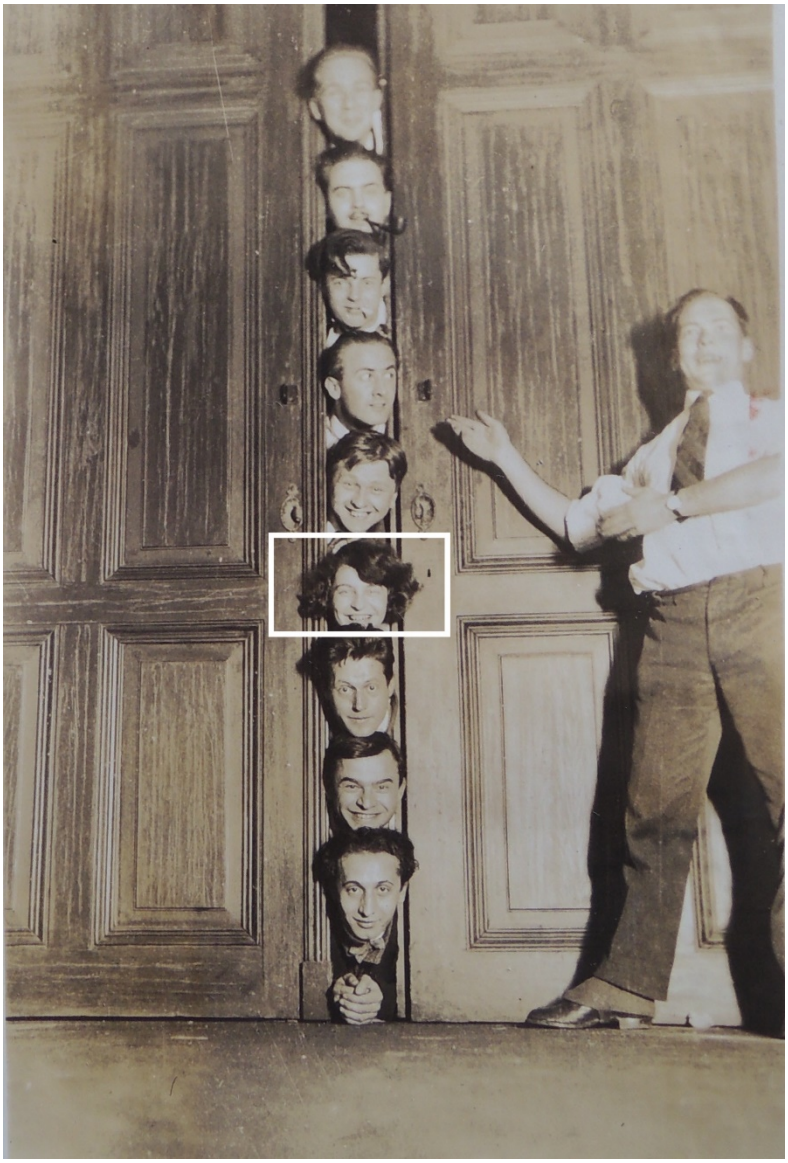


Fig. 190

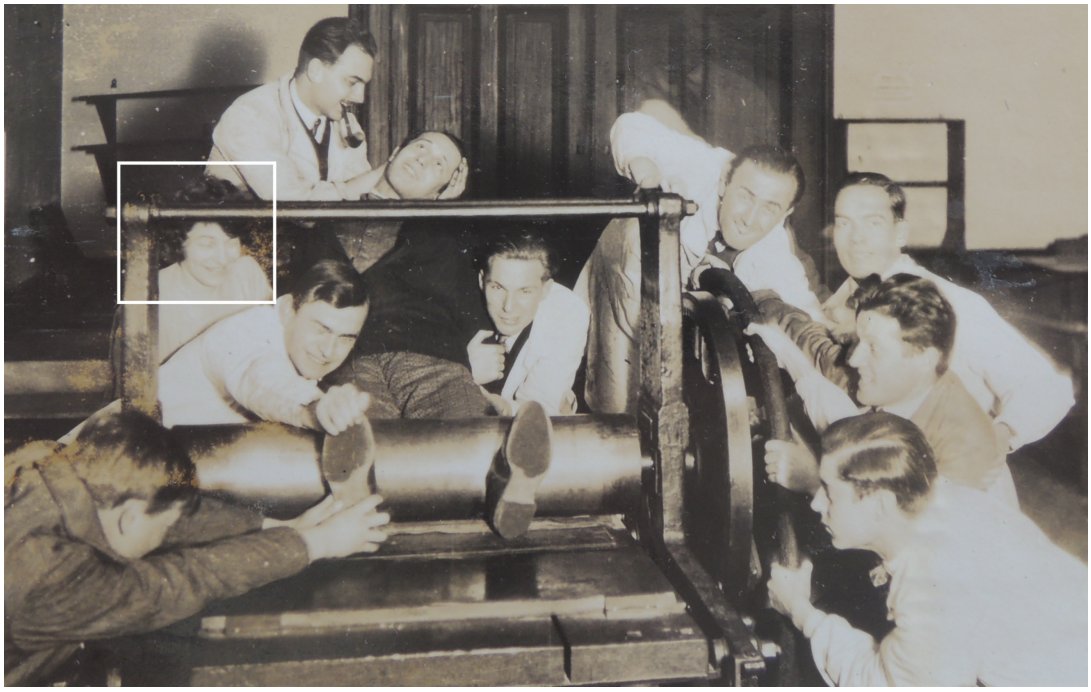


Fig. 191



Fig. 192



Fig. 193



Fig. 194


Streit
um die ledige Frau
An der Nähmaschine
An der Schreibmaschine
Die Architektin
Die Optikerin
Die Zahntechnikerin
Die Säuglingsschwester
Die Goldschmiedin
Die Apothekerin
Die Direktrice
Im Telefonamt
Die Buchbinderin

Fig. 195



Fig. 196



Fig. 197



Fig. 198



Fig. 199



Fig. 200

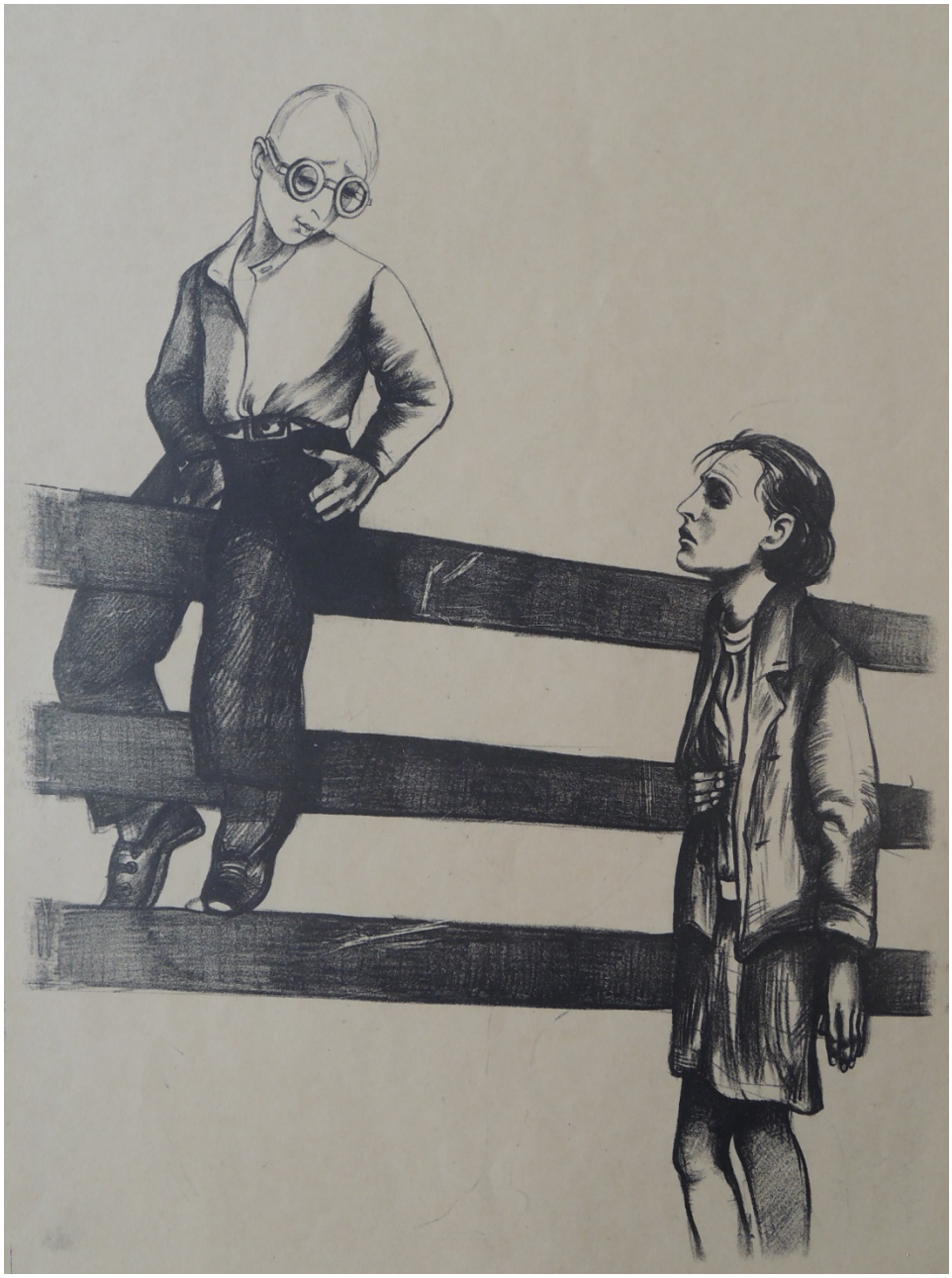


Fig. 201



Fig. 202



Fig. 203



Fig. 204



Fig. 205



Fig. 206



Fig. 207



Fig. 208



Fig. 209



Fig. 210



Fig. 211



Fig. 212



Fig. 213

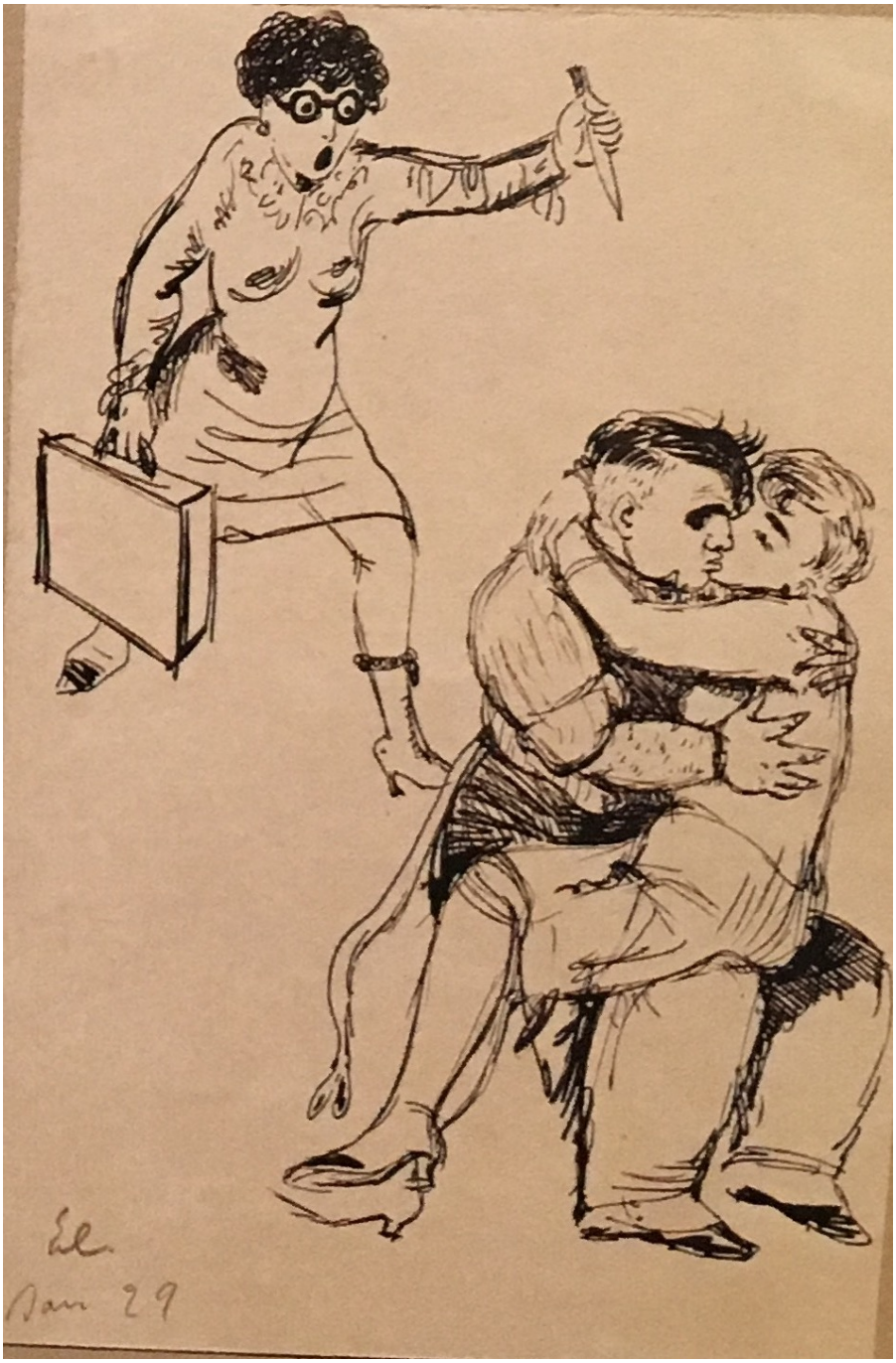


Fig. 214

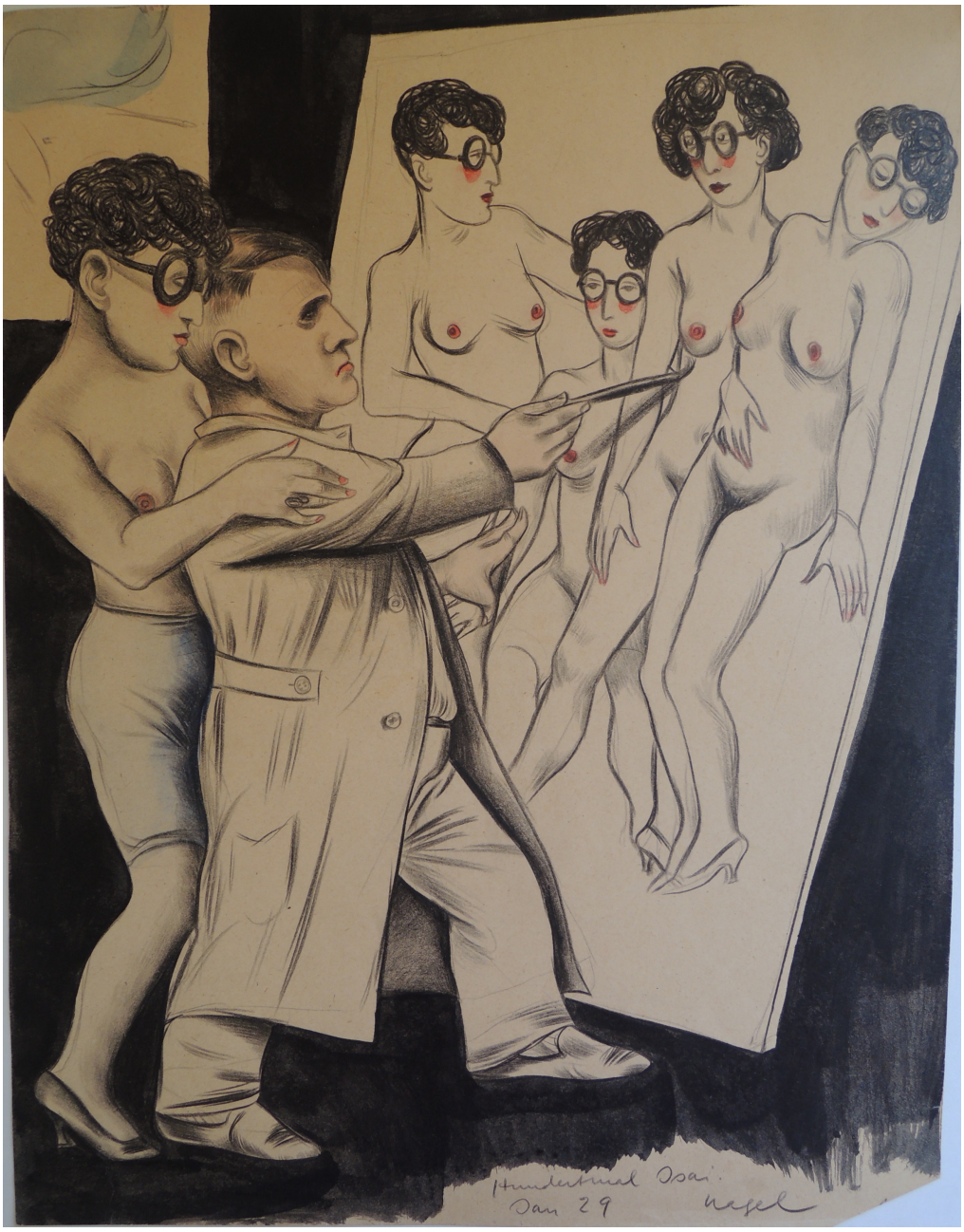


Fig. 215



Fig. 216



Fig. 217



Fig. 218



Fig. 219



Fig. 220



Fig. 221



Fig. 222



Fig. 223



Fig. 224

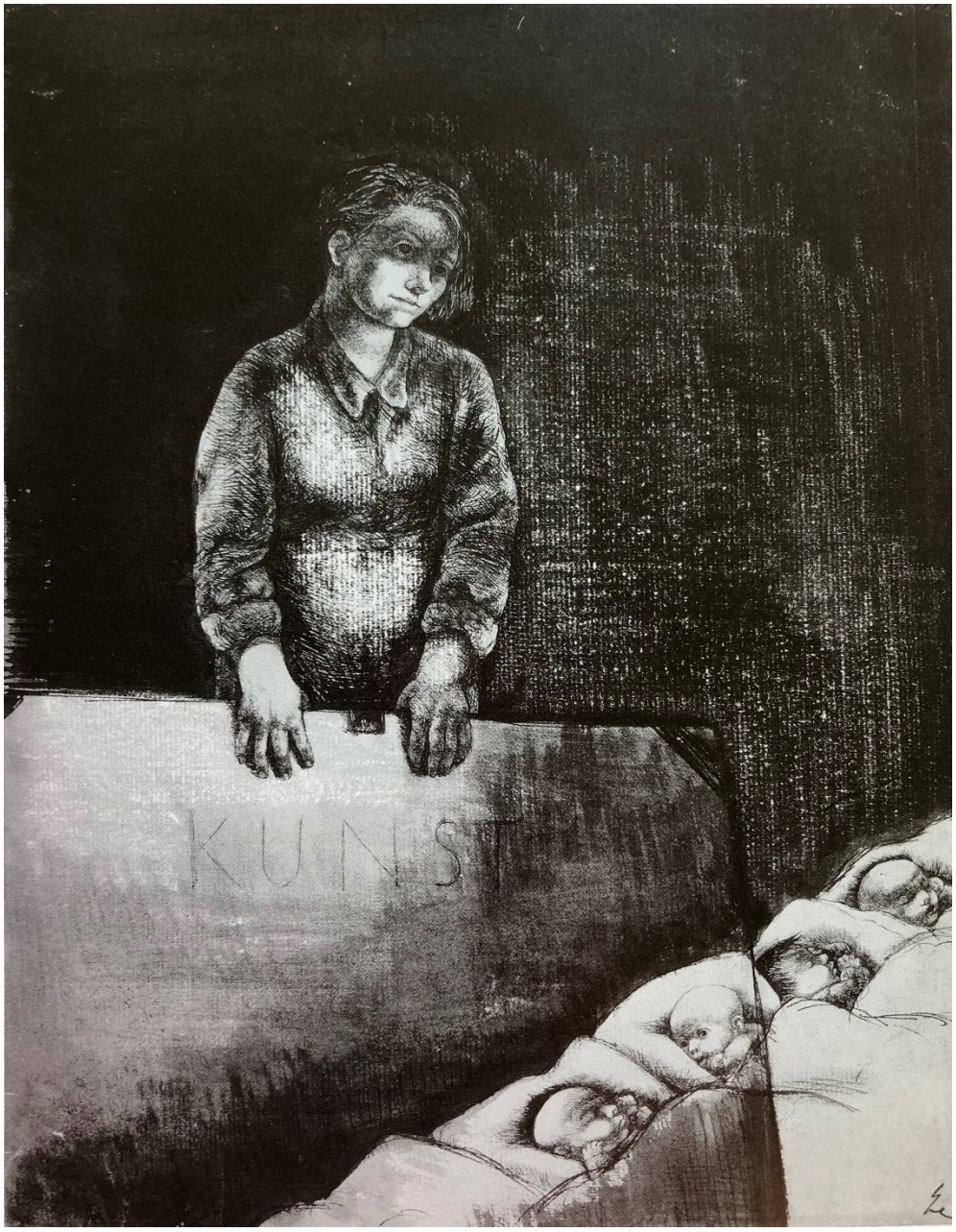


Fig. 225


DENN ICH BIN
DEIN TOD
UND DEIN
LEBEN
DU, DU, MEIN
EINZIG
HERZ
DENN ICH BIN DEIN
TOD UND DEIN LEBEN

Fig. 226



Fig. 227

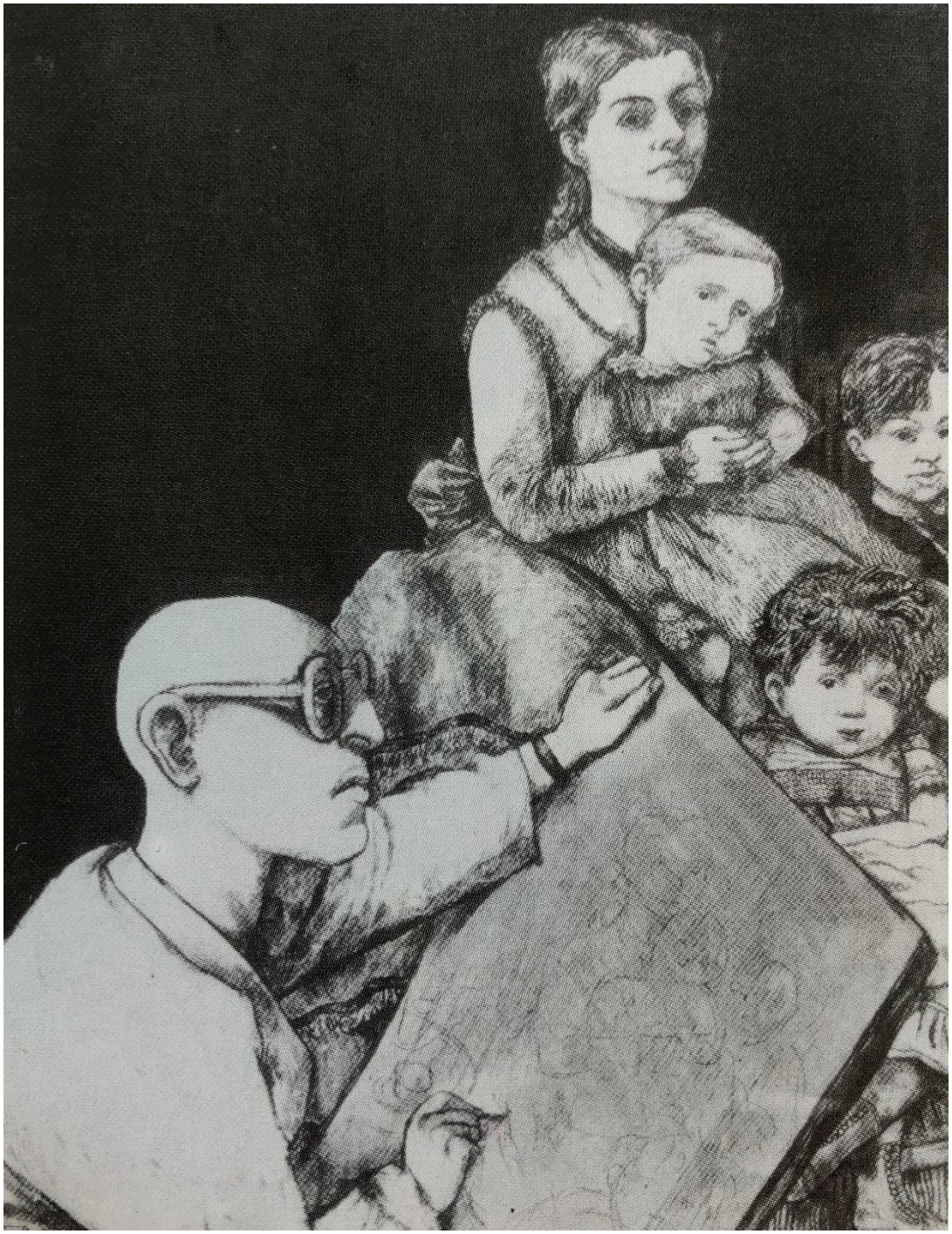


Fig. 228



Fig. 229



Fig. 230

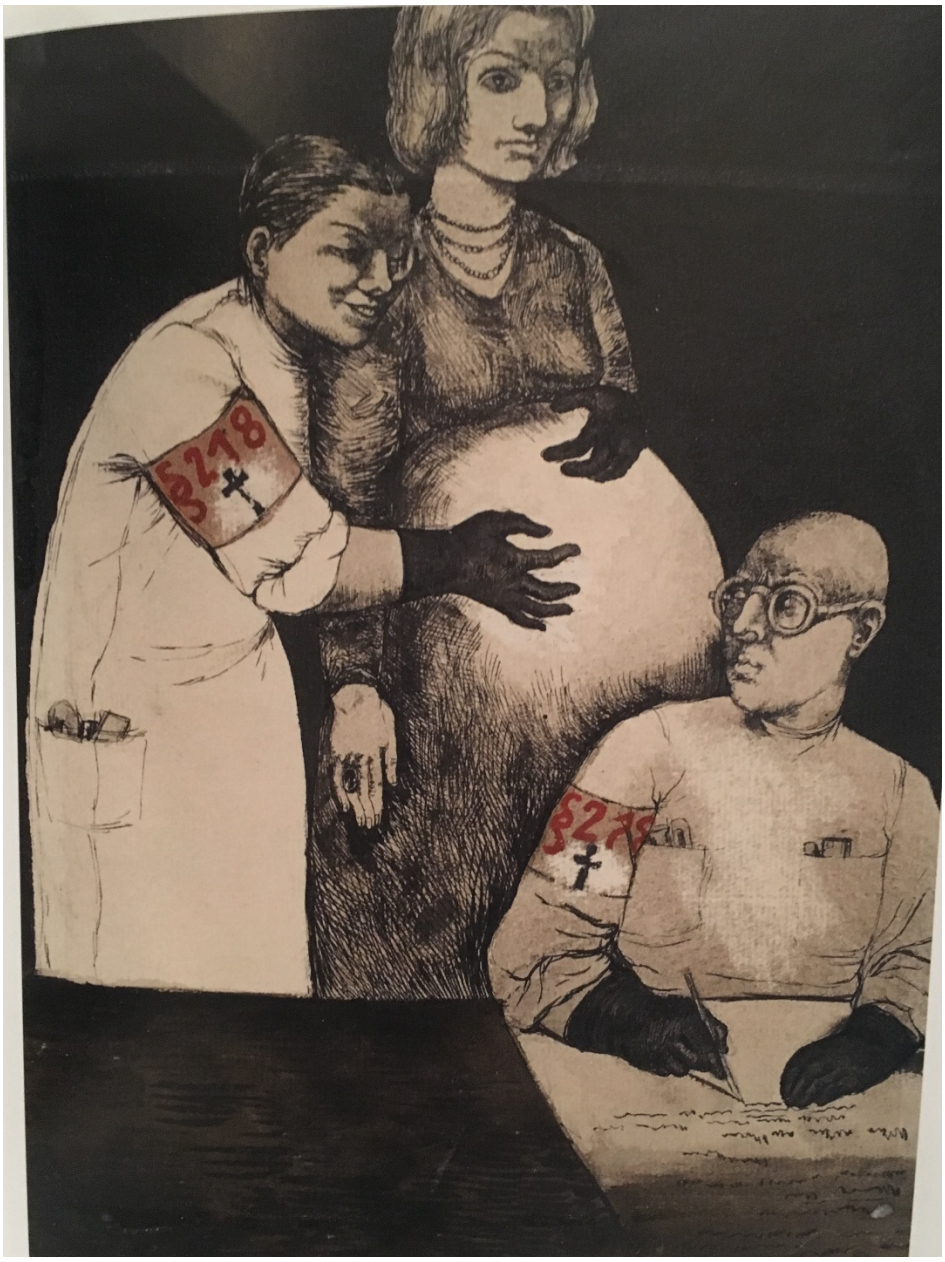


Fig. 231



Fig. 232



Fig. 233



Fig. 234



Fig. 235



Fig. 236



Fig. 237



Fig. 238


dada
Komm
nf
Die
dada
He, he, Sie junger Mann
Dada ist keine Kunstrichtung
Die große
dada
DADA i Sten
HH

Fig. 239

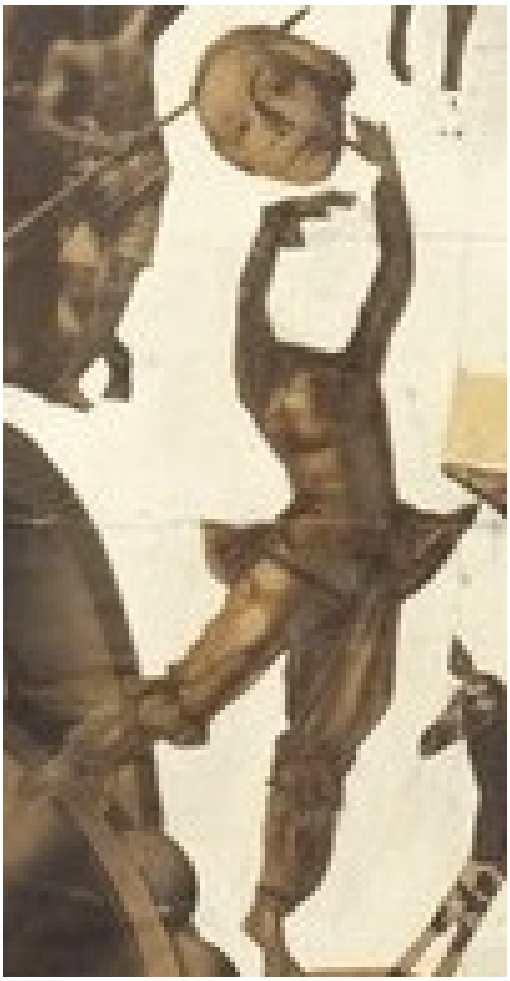


Fig. 240



Fig. 241