

The Text and the Coming of Age of the Avant-Garde in Germany

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The radical change in the appearance of the text which occurred in German artists' publications during the teens demonstrates a coming of age of the avant-garde, a transformation in the way the avant-garde viewed itself and its role within the broader culture. Traditionally, the instrumental purpose of the text had been to interpret an "aesthetic" activity and convey the historical intentions and meaning associated with that activity. The prerogative of artists as well as critics, apologists and historians, the text attempted to reach an observer believed to be "situated" in a shared web of events, thus enacting the historicist myth based on the rationalist notion of causality which underlies the avant-garde.

By the onset of the twentieth century, however, both the rationalist basis and the utopian telos generally assumed in the historicist myth were being increasingly challenged in the metaphors of a declining civilization, a dissolving self, and a disintegrating cosmos so much a part of the cultural pessimism of the symbolist era of "decadence."¹ By the mid-teens, many of the Expressionists had gone beyond the theme of an apocalypse to posit a catastrophe so deep as to void the whole notion of progressive social change.² The aesthetic realm, as an arena of pure form and structure rather than material and temporal causality, became more than a natural haven for those artists and writers who persisted in yearning for such ideals as *Totalität*; that sense of wholeness for the individual and human-

*65. Richard Huelsenbeck

En avant Dada: Die Geschichte des Dadaismus

Hannover, Paul Steegemann, 1920

Book, 23.5 x 15 cm., 44 pp.



65. One of the first historical studies of Dada by a founding member of the movement, the publication reflects Dada's strong historical selfconsciousness and its awareness of the visible profile that it had already attained by 1920.

66. George Grosz and Wieland Herzfelde

Die Kunst ist in Gefahr

Berlin, Der Malik-Verlag, 1925

Book, 18 x 12 cm., 45 pp.; Cover by George Grosz.

ity, with roots running back to German Idealism, so often extolled in Expressionism. While serving the Expressionists' need for something identifiable as "absolute," the aesthetic realm also offered strategies for restructuring the text and other cultural artifacts whose historical purposefulness was increasingly in doubt. This prospect was especially important to the German Dadaists who, while overtly disgusted with the absolutist claims for art made by the Expressionist "swindlers," always maintained a covert respect for art.

When social conditions forced artists and intellectuals from all over Europe into exile in Zurich, an unprecedented situation came into existence. The participants in what came to be known as Zurich Dada virtually constructed a generic art movement in isolation from both the national bourgeois cultures which had begrudgingly supported avant-garde circles and from the political turmoil which was now threatening their existence. Under the unusually hermetic conditions prevailing in the Cabaret Voltaire circle, the text was largely appropriated by artists and poets. Decisions regarding structure and assumptions pertaining to context — and with them the interpretation and expected reception of the text — were now more than ever merged into the structuring and forming enterprises of aesthetic activity.

In Berlin the German Dadaists responded to the immediacy of the political and cultural crisis by holding all of culture accountable, including the avant-garde. Their parodies of Expressionism, Futurism, and Cubism produced a sign-system for situating a "movement" — in the generic sense of the term being increasingly recognized in critical discourse³ — within the broader setting of the surrounding culture. Their self-referential approach allowed the German Dadaists to attempt a broad restructuring of the elitist "institution of art," or social "subsystem" attendant on the aesthetic ritual of avant-garde movements including exhibitions, publications, the art market, criticism, etc.⁴ The result can be called an "anti-ism" intended as social criticism. This rejection of the bourgeois setting for art also had its idealist aspect, as the participants considered their alternative a potential embodiment of such convictions as *Totalität* presented in an array of vehicles suited to the widest

62. Richard Huelsenbeck, *Phantastische Gebete*
Berlin, Der Malik-Verlag/Abteilung Dada, 1920
Book, 26 x 18 cm., 31 pp.
Covers, front, and back by George Grosz.

- *63. Wieland Herzfelde, *Tragigrotesken der Nacht: Träume*
Berlin, Der Malik-Verlag, 1920
Book, 23.5 x 16 cm., 89 pp.
Cover, twenty drawings and
one photomontage by George Grosz.

- *64. George Grosz, *Ecce Homo*
Berlin, Der Malik-Verlag, 1923



- Folio of lithographs, deluxe edition,
in cloth-covered slipcase, 35.5 x 27 cm.
Vol. I, 176 pp.
with 84 black and white lithographs;
Vol II, 16 color lithographs.

64. Wieland Herzfelde, editor of Malik-Verlag publishing house, would regularly assist George Grosz in the organization and preparation of his prints for folio editions, often providing timely political captions for the satirical works. Composed of a series of lithographs completed by Grosz over a period of five to six years prior to its release, *Ecce Homo* was produced in both regular and deluxe editions, the latter prepared for publication in order to accrue funds for other Malik-Verlag publication ventures.

possible audience. While the Berlin Dadaists were as deeply ambivalent of a future utopia as they were skeptical of the means of its attainment recommended in either political or aesthetic radicalism, they were able to envision what the "Dadasoph" Raoul Hausmann called an *Übergangsform* [form of transition] in the immediate present.⁵ While ultimately no less "fictional" than the historicist myth it sought to replace, this concept accepted the material conditions in which meaning occurs and thus conferred an unprecedented degree of objecthood on the text. This attitude briefly opened aesthetic activity, and in particular treatment of the text, to a host of hitherto excluded influences from the broader culture. The Dada text assumed guises ranging from the vernacular to the fashionable, from the found object to the commercial product, illustrated journal, and American film. This paper is concerned primarily with the formal transformation of the text as artists took advantage of this opportunity.

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In the early modernist era prior to the twentieth century, it had generally been the content rather than the appearance of a given text which conveyed the revolutionary objectives of radical artists and writers. There existed, however, a long tradition of declarative devices alluding to the text. The red masthead of Hans Leybold's journal *Revolution* (figure 25, cat # 18) continues this legacy while sharing with Richard Seewald's cover woodcut the straightforward purpose of referring to the image of revolution as "active, singular, sudden," and "chaotic," as Erich Muhsam defined it when setting forth the journal's ideological framework in its opening essay.⁶ Developing a circulation of 5,000 during just two months of publication, *Revolution* was quickly banned by the censors.⁷ Within the context of other such journals, the visual format for *Revolution* assumes additional impor-



Figure 25

60. *Der Dada* (no. 1) and *Der Dada* (no. 2) were offered as antidotes to the Malik-Verlag's point of view, with which both John Heartfield and George Grosz were associated. Issue number two offers an outstanding alternative to the Malik-Verlag perspective and was basically a direct collaboration between Hausmann and Baader. The periodical provides access to a point of view specific to Berlin Dada and is considered to be one of the most visually exciting of the publications generated by the Berlin group.

61. *Der Dada* (no. 3) was published under the Malik-Verlag imprint and represents the absorption of the periodical into a more broadly based perspective. Johannes Baader has been dropped from the role of substantial contributor and the issue is signed by "Groszfield" (George Grosz), "Hearthaus" (John Heartfield) and "Georgemann" (George Grosz). Based in part on its distance from the aftermath of the First World War and on the preparation of the never published *Dadaco*, *Der Dada* (no. 3) was far more international in scope than were its precursors, *Der Dada* (no. 1) and *Der Dada* (no. 2).

- *60. Raoul Hausmann, editor;
Der Dada (no. 2)
 Berlin, December 1919
 Little review, 29 x 23 cm.,
 8 pp.
 Cover by Raoul Hausmann.



- *61. George Grosz, Raoul Hausmann and John Heartfield, editors
Der Dada (no. 3)
 Berlin, Der Malik-Verlag,
 April 1920
 Little review,
 23 x 15.5 cm., 16 pp.
 Cover by John Heartfield.



tance as a further step among several attempts to establish an antibourgeois setting for the text. Its format was directly indebted to the modernized appearance of Franz Pfemfert's activist journal, *Die Aktion*,⁸ which in turn was a reaction to Herwarth Walden's popular and more apolitical *Der Sturm* (cat.#s 11-13).⁹ For its part, *Der Sturm* had appeared in an expansive American format with tradition-breaking antiqua type and large, forceful graphics at a time when nearly all artistic and literary reviews were in small formats set in German fraktur.¹⁰

Der Sturm also gave voice to a development which would challenge its own antimaterialist ideological foundations. Filippo Marinetti's *Technical Manifesto of Futurist Literature*, published in *Der Sturm* in 1912,¹¹ advocated the liberation of the text from syntax and made it available for formal approaches ranging from calligraphic arabesques to the new "typographic revolution" employing multiple colors of ink and numerous typefaces on the same page, an approach described in his slightly later *L'immaginazione senza fili e le parole in libertà* [Imagination without Strings and the Words in Freedom] (Milan, 1913, cat.#7).¹² The Expressionists' failure to respond to the Futurists' visual liberation of the page and use of vernacular sources was undoubtedly related to their abhorrence of the material world.¹³ While the Expressionist *Wortkunst* poets of the Sturm circle shared with the Futurists a desire to be released from the literary conventions of syntax and narrative development, they felt less affinity with the expansionist aesthetic implied in the Futurists' celebration of the "bruitism" (noise aesthetic) and the material qualities of art. Wassily Kandinsky's antimaterialist paradigm for historical change (based on the abstraction of a moving triangle) as described in his influential *Über das Geistige in der Kunst* (cat.# 9), opposed the demands made by the "practical-purposeful" world of matter.¹⁴ His influence helped ensure that the visual appearance of the Expressionist text remain generally exempted from decisions which would make it suited to vernacular modes of communication.

Partly as a consequence of this pervasive antimaterialist approach, a rift was growing ever wider between political activism and the more esoteric aesthetic radicalism

*56. Wieland Herzfelde, editor

Die Pleite (no. 4)

Berlin, Leipzig; Der Malik-Verlag, May 1, 1919

Little review, 40.2 x 26 cm., 4 pp.

Cover by George Grosz.

+ 57. Wieland Herzfelde, editor

Die Pleite (no. 7)

Berlin, July 1923

Little review, 46 x 29.5 cm., 24 pp.

Cover by George Grosz.

+ 58. Wieland Herzfelde

Die Pleite (no. 9)

Berlin, 1923

Little review, 41.3 x 29.5 cm., 9 pp.

59. *The first official Berlin Dada little magazine, Der Dada* (no. 1) was self-published by Raoul Hausmann. The review clarified the distinction between the two Berlin Dada camps; the first dominated by Hausmann and Johannes Baader, the second by George Grosz and John Heartfield.

*59. Raoul Hausmann, editor

Der Dada (no. 1)

Berlin, June 1919

Little review, 29 x 22 cm., 8 pp.

Cover by hausmann-baader.

within the avant-garde. In Berlin, the Novembergruppe and Arbeitsrat für Kunst (Workers Council for Art), modeled after the soldiers' and workers' soviets, were among the groups most affirmative of socialist ideology in their rhetoric. Their exhibitions, however, were too diverse, disunited, and confusing to find a socially effective reception. Attacks came from both the socialist and bourgeois press as well as from the Dadaists who, in their "Open Letter to the Novembergruppe," accused the Novembergruppe of snobbery and betrayal of the cause through a "purely aesthetic revolution."¹⁵ Naturally, there were exceptions. Max Pechstein, for example, produced a rousing apocalyptic cover image for the Novembergruppe's banner publication, *An alle Künstler!* His woodcut cover for the 1919 Arbeitsrat für Kunst pamphlet was equally effective,¹⁶ and his posters for the new socialist government in 1919 were successful in reaching a proletarian audience.¹⁷ In Dresden, too, artists and intellectuals generally failed to fuse the political and aesthetic revolutions. As early as 1918, *Menschen* publisher Walter Rheiner altered the magazine's declaration of purpose under the masthead, advancing Expressionism as a preserve of a "prinzipielle Idealismus" [fundamental idealism], a metaphysical "absolute" threatened by the material world.¹⁸ A few of the younger generation in Dresden were able to successfully continue the exuberance of the hopes for change while also furthering the formal revolution begun by Expressionism. Among them was Conrad Felixmüller who had honed his skills as a prodigious illustrator for Franz Pfemfert's "Aktion" publications (e.g., his cover for *Das Aktionsbuch*). Exploiting the arbitrary qualities letters share with the visual ambiguity of the Expressionist woodcut aesthetic, he incorporated text and image to achieve a direct yet lingering impact in his cover for *Sezession Gruppe* (figure 26, cat. # 23). For many artists of this era, however, the aesthetic revolution was assumed as a *fait accompli*, its results needing only to be offered in the service of the chosen ideologies.¹⁹ Consequently, as the Expressionist movement became irreversibly divided and embroiled in political and philosophical disputes during the mid to late teens, the text retained its vigor as the most reflexive and discursive component of the avant-garde.



Figure 26

54. *Die Pleite* (Bankruptcy) was also heavily political and its visual contents dominated by Propaganda. George Grosz's politically satirical drawings. The third of such collaborations between Wieland Herzfelde, John Heartfield, and Grosz, the periodical was eventually incorporated into *Der Gegner* (see catalogue #27).

- + 54. Wieland Herzfelde, editor
Die Pleite (no. 1)
Berlin, Leipzig; Der Malik-Verlag, 1919
Little review, 43 x 30 cm., 4 pp.
Cover by George Grosz.

- + *55. Wieland Herzfelde, editor
Die Pleite (no. 3)
Berlin, Leipzig
Der Malik-Verlag, April 1919
Little review, 40 x 29 cm., 4 pp.
Cover by George Grosz.



In Zurich, the text departed from the absolutist purposes it had served in Expressionism to assume the object qualities and promotional role which would ultimately make it capable of attempting the restructuring of the "institution of art." The very diversity of the international personnel in Zurich Dada made such a restructuring necessary. Their movement evolved from simultaneous influences which included Expressionism, Cubism, and Futurism. Jakob van Hoddis, August Stramm, Oskar Kokoschka, and many other Sturm artists were represented in the journals, evenings, and exhibitions, some imported directly from the Berlin Sturm Gallery (cat. #s 32-35). Picasso and Delaunay were reproduced in *Cabaret Voltaire* (figure 7, cat. # 31) and *Dada*, (figures 13, 19, and 22, cat. #s 40-43) and Marinetti's typographic revolution was continued in *Cabaret Voltaire*, *Dada*, and *Der Zeltweg* (cat. # 45). These trends were accommodated among the components which were needed to "make" an international cabaret. As Hugo Ball recounted in his opening proclamation in the periodical *Cabaret Voltaire* (figure 10, cat.# 31), he assembled what he needed by type: some young people, a cabaret room, art works to exhibit, notices to the press, songs, poems, dances of various nationalities to be performed, and so on.²⁰ Unlike his Futurist and Expressionist predecessors, Ball's desired setting for these components was one isolated from the specificity of war and fatherland. While the Dada celebration of simultaneity, nonsense, and chaos was partly an ideological response to the war, the promotion of the mature products identified with several modernist movements under the generic term "Dada" also shows how the Zurich circle articulated itself as a paradigm of the modernist movement.

While the text reflected these diverse tendencies, it also unified them. Chaotic Futurist texts and emotionally-charged Expressionist poems were presented on the page with an elegance and restraint conceivable only beyond the political turmoil in Germany. The text layout was discretely varied on the spacious pages of *Cabaret Voltaire* and often coaxed into horizontal and vertical structures in *Dada*. In *Dada 3* (December 1918, figure 20, cat. # 42), the diverse typefaces suddenly attained a baroque decorative quality not unlike the accompanying woodcuts by Marcel Janco.

*51. Carl Einstein and George Grosz, editors

Der Blutige Ernst (no. 4)

Berlin, Trianon-Verlag,

November / December 1919

Little review, 40.6 x 28.7 cm., 8 pp.

Cover by George Grosz.

52. Carl Einstein and George Grosz, editors

Der Blutige Ernst (no. 5)

Berlin, Trianon-Verlag, 1920

Little review, 38.2 x 26.7 cm., 8 pp.

Cover by George Grosz.

*53. Carl Einstein and George Grosz, editors

Der Blutige Ernst (no. 6)

Berlin, Trianon-Verlag, February 1920

Little review 30.5 x 22.5 cm., 12 pp.

Cover by George Grosz and John Heartfield.



Texts presented unexpectedly askew, or in horizontal streams between columns, invariably promoted other reviews and editions: *Sic* and *Nord Sud* as well as editions by Reverdy, Picabia, and Tzara. While the later Zurich and Paris publications *Dada 4-5* (May 1919, figures 21 and 22, cat. # 43) *Bulletin Dada* (February 1920, cat. # 70) and *Dadaphone* (March 1920, cat. # 71) borrowed more directly from modes of promotional communication in the mass print media (e.g., the cover for the deluxe edition of *Dada IV-V*), the neatly organized layouts of text usually took on qualities of balance and symmetry. A poem by Pierre Albert-Birot, for example, is carefully balanced against a Hausmann woodcut (figure 27, cat. # 43). Scattered among the poems and reproductions of art works are Dada manifestos and promotions of Dada publications. Absent are the discursive analyses and ruminations on metaphysical absolutes common in Expressionist periodicals and publications. No

where to be found are the contemporary references to political activism having currency in the material world beyond, so abundant in such periodicals as Franz Pfemfert's *Der rote Hahn*. Instead, meaning was now largely restricted to a contextual existence "inside" the social structure of the avant-garde.

The nonsense term "Dada" served as a label within the generic movement, a device drawing attention to each performance and publication as a component of the institutional setting. Yet despite its international sophistication, the entire Zurich enterprise was largely unavailable to the observer situated beyond the conventional social boundaries of the avant-garde. The Berlin Dadaists redressed this concern by accepting the text as a primary mediator between their institutional setting and the broader culture. Their borrowing of text fragments and idioms of text manipulation from vernacular sources contested the atmosphere of aesthetic privilege sustained in most of the early Expressionist publications and in the Zurich Dada periodicals alike.

Even prior to the official founding of Berlin Dada in 1918, a decisive advance was made in 1917 by John Heartfield and George Grosz in the publications of the

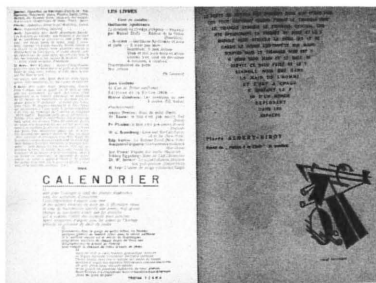


Figure 27

48. During the Weimar National Assembly, in July 1919, Berlin Oberdada, Johannes Baader, showered the press boxes with a broadside entitled, the *Grüne Leiche* (Green Cadavor). The tract proclaimed Baader as the "Präsident des Weitballs" (President of the Globe) and was printed on the backside of *Dadaisten gegen Weimar* (Dadaists against Weimar), a broadside attacking the Weimar government signed by "The Central Dada Council of World Revolution". Widely reported the press, the incident provides an outstanding example of the use of text as an instrument of avant-garde intentions, that is to say, as a means by which to intercept cultural and political events.

*48. Johannes Baader

Grüne Leiche

Berlin, January 27, 1919

Broadside manifesto, 23.5 x 21 cm., recto and verso;

Distributed on February 2, 1919.

Verso *Dadaisten gegen Weimar*.

*49. Carl Einstein and George Grosz

"Prospectus for Der Blutige Ernst"

Berlin, October-November, 1919

Prospectus, 40 x 28 cm., recto and verso.

50. As its title implies *Der Blutige Ernst* (In Bloody Ernest) was political in content. The periodical was directed toward a wide, varied audience and emphasized political satire. Several of George Grosz's most biting satirical drawings are reproduced in this issue.

*50. Carl Einstein and George Grosz, editors

Der Blutige Ernst (no. 3)

Berlin, Trianon-Verlag, November 1919

Little review, 40.6 x 28.7 cm., 8 pp.

Cover by George Grosz.



Figure 28

Malik-Verlag that had been founded a year earlier. As a tactic to gain a publication license, they had used the title of Else Lasker-Schüler's novella, *Der Malik*.²¹ When their periodical *Neue Jugend* was officially banned, they replaced the monthly format with that of the weekly broadside (Wochenausgabe, June 1917). The second number shows their innovative use of different typefaces, surprints, and color diversity to create an engaging layout which anticipated both the Dada photomontage and Constructivist typography (figure 3, cat. # 20). Trademarks of commerce including "Regie-Zigaretten" and "AEG" are directly incorporated into the Futurist inspired poems, "Kannst du radfahren?" ["Can ya' bicycle/

brown-nose?"]. Grosz's portfolio of lithographs, *Kleine Grosz Mappe*, is advertised in a collage-like array of generic steel engravings that overlay the titles of the portfolio images printed askew to appear like slogans: "Mord," "Hinrichtung," "Goldgräber-Bar," etc. (figure 28, cat. # 20). This appropriation of vernacular ingredients from the mass media shunned the celebration of individuality conveyed in the graphical codes of gesture and spontaneity in the *Revolution* masthead (figure 25, cat. # 18). The satirical content of *Neue Jugend* is conveyed in mechanized typography and photographs borrowed from the industrialized culture of the capitalist economy, leaving far behind the aura of uniqueness in Seewald's "original woodcut" in *Revolution*. As an announcement for Grosz's portfolio, *Neue Jugend* acknowledged the inevitable consumer status of the audience and advanced the mode of self-promotion based on advertising which would become a central Dada tactic. The standardized steel engraving illustrations and banner slogans used here are continued in the *Vorblatt* of the portfolio itself,²² thus eroding the boundary between promotion and art object.

Photographs also provided an effective "mechanical" means of incorporating vernacular references while refer-

Berlin Dada

46. *The establishment of the Club Dada in 1918 marked the formal birth of Berlin Dada and the Club Dada prospectus was the group's first official publication. The prospectus appeared as a special issue of Die freie Strasse, an expressionist periodical which reflected a strong pro-Dada voice despite the fact that it was not a publishing organ specific to Dada. Dadasoph, Raoul Hausmann, was the featured contributor for Die freie Strasse (no. 9) and Oberdada, Johannes Baader, for issue number 10 of the journal (see catalogue #21 and 22).*

*46. Raoul Hausmann, Richard Huelsenbeck, and Franz Jung, editors

Club Dada (special number, Die freie Strasse)

Berlin, Verlag Freie Strasse, 1918

Little review, 26.5 x 18 cm., 16 pp.

Cover by Raoul Hausmann.

*47. Raoul Hausmann

Material der Malerei, Plastik, Architektur 1918

Zurich, Club Dada, October 1918

Book, 32 x 17.5 cm., 12 pp.

ring to the public understanding of historical events,²² as Heartfield demonstrated in his cover for the Malik “illustrated” *Jedermann sein eigener Fussball* (February 1919), which reached a distribution of 7,600 copies.²⁴ Exploiting the techniques of propaganda and advertising, he used photographs to present six members of the Ebert-Scheidemann government across a fan and Noske, Ludendorff, and Erzberger, on the fan's handle, to accompany the slogan: “Preisausschreiben! Wer ist der Schönste?” [Open Competition! Who is the Prettiest?].²⁵

If Grosz and Heartfield's borrowing of vernacular sources contributed generally to the foundation of the Berlin Dadaists' materialist strategy for their assault on Expressionism,²⁶ their interpretation of photographs as factual documents contributed directly to the best known of the Berlin Dada means for manipulating the text, the photcollage. Wieland Herzfelde's well-known description of his brother's approach, in the 1920 Dada-Messe catalog, lays emphasis on the qualities photographs share with objects:

The Dadaists say...we need only take scissors and cut out the paintings, photographic reproductions of all of these things we need, and as far as something smaller in size is concerned, we don't need representation at all but take the things themselves...merely things.²⁷

This remarkably pure approach (which avoided even a hint of drawing or the woodcut) was seen in yet another protest paper, *Der blutige Ernst* (cat. #s 50-53). In both the cover of issue number six of the periodical and in George Grosz's collage, “Schulzens Seele” (figure 29, cat. # 53), actual text fragments and reproductions are accepted as raw material for the structuring of what Grosz called “materializations.”²⁸ Grosz's “Schulzens Seele” presents contemporary reality as mediated by the press while criticizing the entire German society in its full breadth as vernacular and high culture. References include the German Minister of the Interior (Gustav Noske), Tolstoy, mass murder, popular slogans, public monuments, Gothic architecture, advertisements, and the outspoken proclamation of rejection in Richard Huelsenbeck's 1918 Dada manifesto: “Nein! Nein! Nein!” The diversity of these references suggests a populist alternative to the ideological hierarchies of historical



Figure 29

*44. Marcel Janco

Mouvement Dada, Zur Meise
Zurich, Thursday, July 23, 1918
Poster, colored lithograph,
46.8 x 32.2 cm.



45. *The review is the last magazine published by the Zurich Dadaists and, in contrast to Dada 4-5 (see catalogue #43), entirely German in content. Named after Zeltweg 83, the street address of Mouvement Dada, Der Zeltweg is closer in format to its precursor, Cabaret Voltaire, than to the last Zurich-based issue of the periodical Dada.*

45. Otto Flake, Walter Serner, and Tristan Tzara, editors
Der Zeltweg
Zurich, Verlag Mouvement Dada, November 1919
Little review, 31 x 22 cm., 32 pp.
Cover by Hans (Jean) Arp.

meaning usually assumed as the framework for the text. As an objectification of the expectation horizon of the "situated" observer, they provided a more immediate and concrete setting.²⁹ The subversive potential of this kind of approach was recognized by Hausmann in his tract on Dada strategies. "Dadaism," he insisted, "applies itself tactically against the Christian-bourgeois world and uncovers pitilessly the absurdity and senselessness of its spiritual and social mechanism."³⁰ In "Schulzens Seele," fragments of an official history such as the "Alte Helden" [Old Heroes] are unmasked as merely sensationalist headlines on an equal status with "Germania ohne Hemd" [Germania shirtless] or "Ein Triumph der Wissenschaft!" [A Triumph of Science]. The entire setting of the historical epoch, as it would be perceived in the popular public imagery of great men, monuments, and heroes, is reconstructed in a vast array of contradictions. Yet precisely because their resolution tends to occur in a timeless aesthetic realm rather than according to an external ideological system, this approach risked inaccessibility. In contrast with the politically-directed journal, *Die Pleite* (cat. #s 54-58), with its artistically more conventional but scathing satirical drawings by George Grosz, *Der blutige Ernst* was less intelligible to the mass audience.

On the other hand, while releasing the text from its traditional roles of explanation and interpretation, Grosz and Heartfield allowed it to reflect the structure, appearance, and information value of the surrounding context in which it was transacted. The content of the photocollages *Sonniges Land* (used as a cover for Huelsenbeck's *Dada Siegt!*)³¹ and *Leben und Treiben in Universal City um 12 Uhr 5 Mittags* (used for the cover for the 1920 "Dada Fair" catalog) served the artists' consensus on how their movement ought to be positioned historically and socially. As an "empty" term, "Dada" gradually accrued meaning by virtue of being situated in such collages. The text thus became part of the articulation of the institutional setting desired for Dadaism. Assuming the pose of "monteurs" (mechanics or fitters who assemble a product), Grosz and Heartfield used clippings from Dada periodicals and film advertisements along with photographs from the arenas of popular culture, politics, and industry to suggest an omni-

*42. Tristan Tzara, editor; *Dada 3*

Zurich, Julius Heuberger, December 1918

Little review, 33.5 x 24.5 cm., 16 pp.; Cover by Marcel Janco.



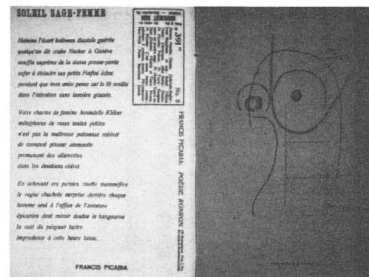
*43. Tristan Tzara, editor; *Dada 4-5 (Anthologie Dada)*

Zurich, Julius Heuberger, May 1919

Little review, 28 x 19 cm., 32 pp.

Covers by Hans (Jean) Arp and Francis Picabia.

43. The periodical carries double covers. The first is a biomorphic image by Arp, the second a mechanomorphic drawing by Picabia. The visually innovative journal was a direct collaboration between Picabia and Tristan Tzara which served as a bridge between Zurich and Paris Dada and included contributions by the Paris moderns. Picabia would later be partially responsible for the French avant-garde's sympathetic reception of Tzara upon his arrival in Paris in early 1920.



presence of Dada in precisely those realms excluded in the elite institutional setting of art being perpetuated at the time; for example, in such late Expressionist periodicals as *Genius* which proposed in its subtitle to align “nascent” with “old” art.

Despite their pose as “outsiders” to the institution of art, the significance of the Berlin Dadaists rests on the artistic decisions they made. Heartfield and especially Grosz had developed a proto-Dada collage style using a compositional armature derived from Cubist and Futurist canons. Indeed, both artists shared a special admiration for Carlo Carrà whose *Funerali dell' anarchio Galli* (1911) was “treasured” by Heartfield and was a likely inspiration for Grosz’ painting, *Widmung an Oskar Panizza* (1917-1918).³² Even when Grosz fought against “Futuristic romantic dynamism” by “suppressing color” and using line “in an impersonal and photographic way” in such works as his *Der Mensch ist gut* (illustrated in *Ecce Homo*, cat. # 64), his model was the clarity and simplicity he perceived in Carrà.³³

If the restructuring of the “institution of art” conducted “from the inside” by artists required a blending of aesthetic and instrumentalist strategies, then the historical situation in which the Dadaists found themselves could result only in a profound ambivalence. In opposition to the expressionists’ anti-materialist imperative of using pure aesthetic forms to convey meaning, the Dadaists desired a disruption of the aesthetic ritual in order to convey meaning situationally through concrete objects and texts borrowing object qualities perceived in the surrounding culture as useful tools of communication. Yet, while incorporating found forms, the Berlin Dadaists also made formal decisions which would render these chosen implements suitable for the aesthetic ritual without totally sacrificing the communicative function needed to disrupt and redefine the institutional realm in which the aesthetic ritual had traditionally taken place. The condition of aesthetic contemplation permitted the suspension of conventional signification and allowed the recontextualization of meaning by using the associational logic of play celebrated in Dada ideology. By accepting the object quality the text shares with other cultural artifacts, they approached culture as a mate-

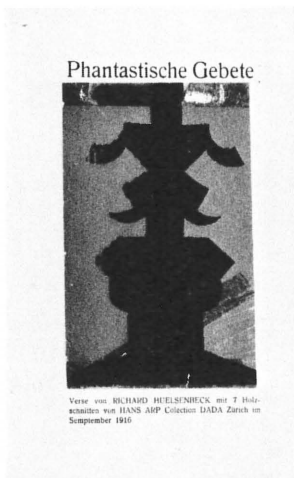
39. *Arp's style integrates severe hierarchic totemic forms with the random configurations evident within the grain of the wood-block itself and constitutes an example of one of his early experiments with chance procedure.*

*39. Richard Huelsenbeck, *Phantastische Gebete*

Zurich: Collection Dada, September 1916

Book, 23 x 14.5 cm., 15 pp.

Seven woodcuts by Hans (Jean) Arp.



*40. Tristan Tzara, editor; *Dada 1*

40. *The relatively conservative magazine followed Cabaret Voltaire and was the first number of a series of Zurich/Paris periodicals that appeared under the title Dada.*

Zurich, Julius Heuberger, July 1917

Little review, 23 x 20 cm., 16 pp.

*41. Tristan Tzara, editor; *Dada 2*

Zurich, Julius Heuberger, December 1917

Little review, 23 x 20 cm., 22 pp.

rial field which could be articulated aesthetically yet also hold the potential for contextualizing new meanings.

Considered from the perspective of intentionality, it was monism — and especially Ernst Haeckel's version thereof championed by Hausmann and Johannes Baader — which made the Dadaist strategy of adopting a materialist position possible.³⁴ The Dada attack on Expressionist dualist metaphysics was launched during the first official Dada soirée in April 1918 with the reading of manifestos by Huelsenbeck and Hausmann extolling new materials in art.³⁵ Over the course of the following two years, the restructuring and recontextualization of text and image advanced to the presentation of a text incorporating images as an object in the general field of culture. Appearing in a variety of situations approximating given cultural artifacts, the text developed a mobile and flexible array of fragments which were constantly interchanged and reused on the pages of little reviews, in mass-distributed broadsides, and in poster-collages. In so broad a setting, the text developed a standardized vocabulary capable of functioning in its various roles as “document,” “relic,” “product,” “sculpture,” “corrected masterpiece,” and “propaganda.”

For Hausmann, who was deeply influenced by the definition of culture in Salomo Friedländer's theory of creative indifference,³⁶ the linguistic component of all culture consisted in arbitrary visual and auditory forms which attained their meaning situationally. The transient and arbitrary aspects of meaning were reflected in Hausmann's earliest writings which expounded on the “world' as a fiction.”³⁷ His use of automatist procedures and coincidence in his Dada textual manipulations, rendered provisional structures—working myths having currency in the immediacy of the present. Baader also viewed Dada as revelatory of man's provisional systems imposed on an unfathomable reality, insisting in his “Erklärung des Club Dada” that “Dada is the chaos from which thousands of systems arise and are tangled again in Dada chaos.”³⁸ With the Dada “movement” as their focus, Hausmann and Baader manipulated the text to unmask what they regarded as a flawed revolution and the failure of modernist movements (specifically Expressionism), while mounting provisional alternative structures in periodicals, posters, broadsides, collages,

37. *Mouvement Dada, Abonnement-Liste No.*

Zurich, 1916

Printed sheet, 27.8 x 21.4 cm., (1 leaf).

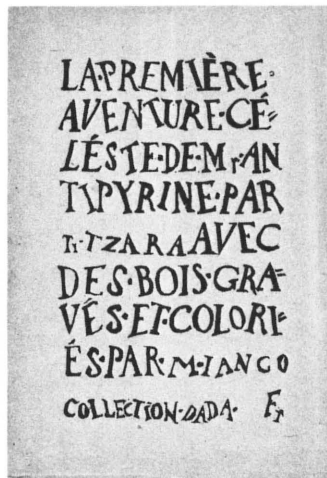
*38. Tristan Tzara, *La Première aventure céleste de Mr. Antipyrine*

Zurich: Collection Dada, July 28, 1916

Book, 23.5 x 16.5 cm., 16 pp.

Seven woodcuts

by Marcel Janco.



38. The first of a long series of collaborations between the Dada painters and poets published under the Collection Dada imprint. The text for the book consists of Tzara's poetic rendering of what can perhaps best be described as a score for a manifesto that was originally composed for public recitation.

33. *Sturm-Ausstellung, Galerie Dada, I Serie*

Zurich, Galerie Dada, March 17 - April 7, 1917

Announcement/Program, 27 X 21 cm., (1 leaf).

34. *Sturm-Ausstellung, Galerie Dada, II Serie*

Zurich, Galerie Dada, April 7, 1917

Announcement/Program, 28 x 21.3 cm., (1 leaf).

35. *Sturm-Ausstellung: I Serie, 17. Marz - 7. April: II Terie (sic) 9. April - 30. April*

Zurich, Galerie Dada, 1917

Exhibition catalogue, 15.5 x 12 cm., 16 pp.

Cover by Oskar Kokoschka.

36. *Mouvement Dada*

Zurich, n.d.

Stationery, 13.9 x 21.7 cm.



Figure 31



Figure 32

rived directly from the striated forms and architectonic vocabulary of his earlier woodcuts now combined with the letters of the words “Club Dada”. Multiple phonetic codes begin to appear in this jumble of shapes appearing like eggs in a Dada nest: “uab”, “Dab”, “Du”. The arbitrary forms of the letters also find visual echoes in the abstract shapes which surround them.

The cover for *Der Dada 1* (figure 32, cat. #59) is probably a “hausmann-baader” collaboration and presents a visually abstract structure of standardized mechanical typography, mathematical abstractions, Hebrew letters, generic steel engraving vignettes, and the letters “Ad1” (referring to the mock resurrection of the Oberdada) – all lending an air of mystery to the signifiers “Dadadegie”, “Dada”, and “IOADGDATTTSAE”. Paging through the periodical, one finds Hausmann’s phonetic poem, “kp’erium”, several of his abstract woodcuts, and various vertical and horizontal

slogans and mock headlines which allude to the belief systems of government, religion, and economics: “The Virgin Mary called to the Defense of Germany — the raising of the immaculate conception to state religion imminent,” “invest your money in Dada,” and “make Dada advertisements!” The text is also used to situate Dada artifacts fictionally in social institutions of authority. “Whoever wants to be informed about Dada” an article entitled “Erklärung Dada” explains, “must be shown the documents” available in the State Chancery and Office of the President of the Republic. The subversive logic of the *Der Dada* enterprise is thus established: the Dada text, and with it the institutional setting of the “Zentralamt des Dadaismus” [Dada Central Office], attains significance not in isolation but increasingly in terms dictated by the belief systems, communication modes, and social institutions of the surrounding culture.

The separate numbers of *Die freie Strasse* which Hausmann and Baader produced in late 1918, show their differing approaches to virtually identical working materials. Hausmann’s careful asymmetrical balance of bold geometrically articulated text blocks for the title page of

Zurich Dada

31. *The periodical shared its name with the cabaret around which Dada was birthed as a movement. Although conservative in format, the heavily illustrated journal included contributions by the Futurists and Cubists as well as by the Dadaists and reflects early Zurich Dada's catholic embrace of European modernism.*

*31. Hugo Ball, editor

Cabaret Voltaire

Zurich, Meierei Spiegelgasse 1, May 15, 1916

Little review, 27 x 22 cm., 32 pp.

Cover by Hans (Jean) Arp.

*32. Sturm-Ausstellung, II Serie

Zurich, Galerie Dada,

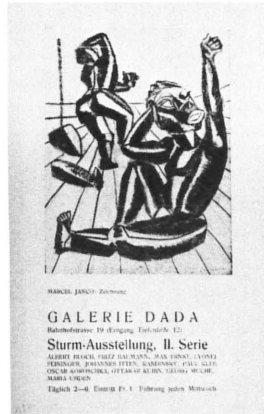
April 1917

Exhibition catalogue,

11 x 7 cm., 4 pp.

(1 folded sheet).

Cover by Marcel Janco.



Die freie Strasse no. 9 (cat. # 21) conveys the proto-constructivist attitude already seen in his *Material der Malerei Plastik Architektur*. Baader, on the other hand, was trained as an architect specializing in cemetery monuments and was generally unaware of vanguard artistic styles. His idiosyncratic, yet monumental exclamation point dominates the title page of *Die freie Strasse* no. 10 (cat. # 22), which otherwise remains within the vernacular conventions of typography he had used in his 1914 tract, *Vierzehn Briefe Christi*. Unlike Grosz and Heartfield who brought vernacular convention into the vanguard artistic styles of Cubism and Futurism to affirm a political ideology (the Communist line taken in *Die Pleite*), Baader simply moved the accrued components (documents, events, publications) of his conceptual project, based around the

monumental figure of the messianic Oberdada, through various settings. Hausmann had moved the journal toward aesthetic purity; Baader had then drawn it back towards the vernacular.

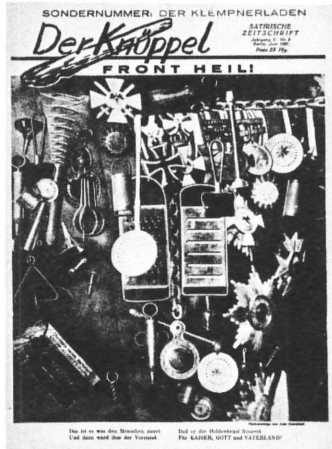
The half-tone technology added in *Der Dada 2* (cat. # 60) facilitated further inroads into the mass media, as is seen in Hausmann and Baader's "Klebebilder" ("glued pictures," known later as photocol- lages). While still influenced by the abstraction of Otto van Rees and Hans Arp he had absorbed from reproductions in *Dada*, Hausmann incorporated clippings from earlier Dada documents in his cover collage (figure 33, cat. # 60) to accompany the proclamations "Dada conquers!" and "Join up with Dada."

His "Gurk" (appearing on the back cover) presents a portrait of the poet Paul Gurk made up of clippings from Hausmann's own woodcuts (e.g., that used in *Club Dada*, p. 11) as well as appropriations clipped from woodcuts by Arthur Segal and Hans Richter which he had admired when they appeared in *Dada 3* (pp. 9 and 10, cat. # 42).



Figure 33

- *29. Ernst Schneller, content editor; *Der Knüppel* (Jahrgang V, no. 4)
 Berlin, Verlag Vereinigung Internationaler Verlagsanstalten G.m.b.h.,
 September 1927; Little review, 32.5 x 24 cm., 12 pp.
 Cover by John Heartfield.



30. One of the many journals published by the politically radical Malik -Verlag publishing house. The magazine successfully integrates photomontage and journalism. Its political concerns deliberately eclipse its aesthetic intentions.

- *30. Julian Gumperz, editor; *Platz! dem Arbeiter*
 Berlin, Der Malik-Verlag, n.d. [1923-24]
 Book, 23 x 15 cm., 238 pp.



Phonetic fragments of Pierre Albert-Birot's poem *Crayon Bleu (Dada 3, p. 8)* are mixed with advertising passages and headline clippings from the conventional press. Thus transported, these text fragments convey multiple meanings in forms suitable to be transacted across the international Dada movement and into the surrounding culture. In Baader's photocolage, *Das ist die Erscheinung des Oberdada in den Wolken des Himmels*, a quasi-occultist array of letters and numbers transcends the earthly sphere and conveys his cosmological program based around the fictional persona of the Oberdada. His accompanying text, "Reklame für mich" [Advertisement for Me], anchors that identity in the vast array of contemporary political events. Baader had actually participated in at least one of the events he mentions when, after gaining access to the founding celebration of the new German Republic in Weimar, he showered the press box with a mock political pamphlet entitled *Grüne Leiche [Green Corpse]* (figure 4, cat. # 48) declaring himself President of the World, thus manipulating the coverage of an event in the conventional press and thereby appropriating it as a Dada event. As a political tract which at the same time carries aesthetic value, Baader's flier was exemplary of the Dada text which attained currency while simultaneously challenging and altering the structures in which it was situated. The process of mapping and labelling the surrounding context is apparent also in Hausmann's mock advertisement "Was ist Dada?", a series of questions each set in a different typeface and printed at a ninety-degree angle to the rest of the page layout: "What is Dada? An Art? A Philosophy? A Politics? A fire insurance? or: State religion? Is Dada really energy? or is it nothing, i.e. everything?" By simultaneously announcing and questioning the meaning of the term "Dada," the Dadaists disrupted the orienting framework, implicating and rendering visible the process by which meaning is received.

Similarly, *Der Dada 2* (cat. # 60) simultaneously advances and subverts the institutional claims of Dada. In the text parody, "Tretet dada bei," the Club Dada is presented as a mock bureaucracy with a Dada Graphological Institute, Dada Health Department, Dada Advertising Department, and Central Office for Private Male and Female Welfare. A

25. Rudolf A. Dietrich, editor
Der Komet (no. 4)
Dresden, 1919
Little review, 22 x 17 cm., 4 pp. (1 folded sheet).
Johannes Baader issue.

26. Paul Steegemann, editor
Der Marstall (no. 1-2)
Hannover, Leipzig, Vienna, Zurich; Paul Steegemann Verlag, 1920
Little review, 22 x 14.5 cm., 58 pp.

27. Illustrates the ties between radical politics,
Expressionism, and Dada during Germany's post
World War I period.

27. Wieland Herzfelde, Julian Gumperz, and Karl Otten, editors
Der Gegner (no. 3, *Blätter zur Kritik der Zeit*)
Halle, Leipzig, Berlin; 1920/21
Little review, 23 x 15.5 cm., 88 pp.

28. H. Remmele, content editor
Der Knüppel (*Jahrgang III, no. 10*)
Berlin, Verlag Vereinigung Internationaler Verlagsanstalten G.m.b.h.,
September 15, 1925
Little review, 38.5 x 28 cm., 8 pp.; Cover drawing by Rudolf Schlichter.

massive Dadaco hand atlas to be produced by the “Central Office of the Dada Movement in Germany” is advertised in a bold full-page spread of varied typography (*Der Dada* 2, p. 3). But Hausmann’s text, “Der deutsche Spiesser ärgert sich” [The German Bourgeois takes Offense] proclaims “We...laugh the irony: Dada! Because we are Antidadaists! . . . And we are Antidadaists, because for us Dada still has too much feeling and aesthetics.”

In *Der Dada* 3, (figure 34, cat. # 61) and in the various artifacts on display at the International Dada Fair, the “Dada Advertising Campaign” attained its widest diversity in a general promotion of the mass imagery of politics, sports, fashion, film, and the machine. Taken over by Herzfelde’s Malik Verlag, *Der Dada* 3 was produced through the combined efforts of its “directeurs: groszfield, hearthaus, and georgemann.” Using overlapping typography in red and black, cartoons, photocollages, and photographs, *Dada* 3 incorporated references to Dada in Zurich, Paris, and Cologne. Yet it was the very dominance of the Dada allusions and the consolidation of Dada as an international avant-garde movement which brought to an end the potential restructuring of the “institution of art” in terms of the surrounding vernacular institutions. Despite the unprecedented complexity of the Dada texts and objects it illustrates, the periodical takes on the characters of an anthology, reverting back to the booklet format to become a visual pendant to Huelsenbeck’s *Dada Almanach*.

As was also the case with the technically sophisticated and facile, but ill-fated *Dadaco* project, the innovative text existed again in a conventional vehicle of the modernist movement and was thereby beginning to lose its instrumental capacity in the transactional arena beyond.

Precisely the same fate was suffered by the text in the International Dada Fair where, via the text as object, Berlin Dada exhibited itself as a movement. Appearing in political posters by Heartfield, advertising poster-collages by Hausmann, Dada “relics” by Baader, and “corrected masterpieces” by Grosz and Heartfield, the text was presented in an encyclopedic display of new idioms of its manipulation. The limits of its materialization were tested in



Figure 34

*23. *Sezession Gruppe 1919*

Dresden, Verlag Emil Richter, 1919

Book 28.5 x 22 cm., 36 pp.

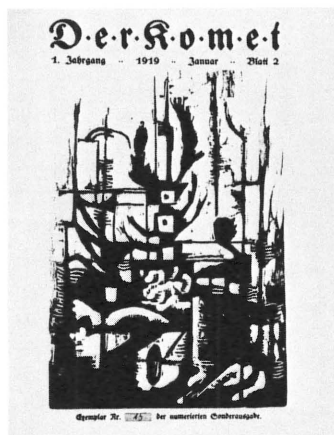
Cover by Conrad Felixmüller.

*24. Rudolf A. Dietrich, editor

Der Komet (no. 2); Dresden, January 1919

Little review, 22 x 17 cm., 4 pp. (1 folded sheet).

Marcel Janco issue.



Hausmann's use of wooden display letters in a relief he later called his first "Konkretisation-Skulptur-Assemblage."⁴¹ The text was the raw material for Baader's five-story architectural model of German culture reconstructed around Dadaism and the Oberdada, an assemblage of newspapers, Dada propaganda, and other objects ironically entitled *The Great Plasto-Dio-Dada-Drama: Germany's Rise and Fall*. Such modes of communication were inherently idiomatic in nature; that is, their meaning was highly situational and intentionally related to the transitory context of an avant-garde institution and its relationship to the broader culture. Presenting itself as an alternative, Berlin Dada attacked the military, the government, the ruling class, and, above all, Expressionism. The Dadaists implicitly challenged the modernist historical myth of the "movement" and posed an ahistorical alternative based on other "fictions": ironical personas (Dadasoph, Monteurdada, and Marschall announced on the *Dada-Messe* cover) performing as Dada "managers" and "directors" of a bureaucratic "Dada Central Office" and "Advertising Bureau." As boldly proclaimed across the cover of the broadside catalog, the "Dada Movement" would lead "to the suspension of art dealing," offering instead "Dadaist products" for sale. But as the Weimar era of relative social stability dawned, the instrumental potential of the Dada text as subversive, and with it the promise of Dada as an alternative institution for art, was losing its potency beyond the context of Otto Burchard's art gallery.

The transient balance attained in Berlin Dada between the aesthetic and instrumental potentials of the text was rarely regained in subsequent developments of the text in Germany during the 1920s. Greatly simplified, the innovative text served either a commitment to political ideology or the formal revolutions of Constructivism. By 1922, the art of both Grosz and Heartfield had taken to the streets in Agitprop and in 1926, Grosz and Herzfelde were practicing the conventions of political persuasion (which Berlin Dada had parodied) in their Malik Verlag booklet, *Die Kunst ist in Gefahr* (cat. # 66). Heartfield, in collaboration with colleague-satirist, Kurt Tucholsky, achieved a relationship of irony between text and image in the 1929 book, *Deutschland, Deutschland über alles*. His contributions to *Der*

21. Franz Jung, editor

Die freie Strasse (no. 9)

Berlin, November 1918

Little review, 41.5 x 27 cm., 4 pp.

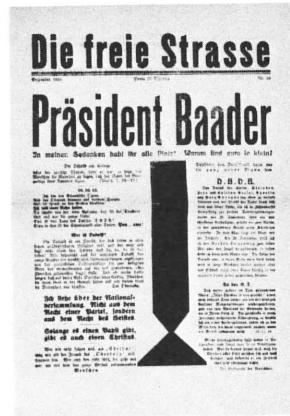
Raoul Hausmann, featured contributor.

*22. Franz Jung, editor

Die freie Strasse (no. 10); Berlin, December 1918

Little review, 42 x 29 cm., 4 pp.

Johannes Baader, featured contributor.



Knüppel (cat. # 29), *Die rote Fahne* (which editorially distanced him from the bourgeois "Romanticism" of the Dada "engineers"),⁴² and the *Arbeiter-Illustrierte-Zeitung* reached an incomparably greater audience than had the Dadaists, even in the heyday of the Dada Tournée and its mass appeal. While Heartfield's photomontage technique insured a continual appropriation of topical and vernacular sources, the pursuit of a restructured society was again being perceived in an historicist framework for which a largely politicized institutional setting for art was the most logical objective.

The consolidation of modernist "-isms" continued during the 1920s in the new associations of artists variously aligned with Constructivism. Something of the self-reflective attitude of Dadaism persisted in Kurt Schwitters' "Merz" activities. These included Anti-Dada-Merz evenings in collaboration with Hausmann beginning in 1921 (e.g., *Merz-Matinéen in Revon*, cat. # 89). While Schwitters had been excluded from the Berlin circle by Huelsenbeck's decree, he had situated his Merz activities in relation to Dadaism almost from the beginning. In 1920, he displayed the phrase "Vorsicht: Anti-Dada" [Caution: Anti-Dada] on the cover of his book of lithographs, *Die Kathedrale* (cat. # 86).⁴³ By 1923, he was proclaiming in *Merz 1* that "Wir leben im Dadazeitalter" [We live in the Dada Era]⁴⁴ and using Dada as a mainstay among framing references for Merz which included also El Lissitzky's "Proun" and Theo van Doesburg's "Stijl" activities. An admirer of the "Stillosigkeit" [absence of style] of Dada, his essential activity was one of a continual restructuring (using sources ranging from *Der Sturm* to *G*) of a movement that aimed for universal validity. *Merz 4* (cat. # 91) even carries a price in 16 currencies on the back cover adjacent to a listing of ten vanguard periodicals from various countries. In its reconstructive effort, *Merz* draws upon many of the conventions of modernist movements including Dada. While more serious in tone, the "Manifest Proletkunst" in *Merz 2* uses arguments against the idea of proletarian art very similar to those in Hausmann's tracts against a specifically proletarian art.⁴⁵ Not surprisingly, given Schwitters' Dadaist affinities, the appearance of the text in *Merz* moves from appropriations from the vernacular in the *Merz-Reklame* [*Merz Advertise-*

18. Hugo Ball and Hans Leybold's Munich based little review was particularly noteworthy for the radicalism of its political and critical intentions. The review, which integrated expressionist poetry with extreme criticism of contemporary culture, was overtly opposed to political neutrality. *Revolution* provided Ball with the background out of which his concept of Dada emerged and was later also to influence the Berlin Dadaists of the late teens and early twenties.

19. *Neue Jugend* provided a breeding ground for Berlin Dada. For example, Richard Huelsenbeck, who imported the movement from Zurich to the German capital, published "Der neue Mensch," his proto-Dadaist manifestos, in *Neue Jugend* (no. 13), the first of the two large format issues of the journal. These issues were patterned after the New York dailies and appeared under the newly established Malik Verlag imprint which, during its long life, would become one of the most radical of the Berlin based publishing houses.

20. The second and last of the large format issues of the journal, *Neue Jugend* (no. 14), which was expensively produced, made use of multi-colored printing and unconventional layout, and is considered to be one of the most handsome and formally innovative avant-garde experiments with the text.

*18 Hugo Ball and Hans Leybold, editors *Revolution* (no.1)
Munich, Verlag Heinrich F.S. Bachmair, October 1913
Little review, 30.5 x 22.5 cm., 8 pp.
Revolution (no. 1), cover woodcut by Richard Seewald,
nos. 1, 2, 3 and 4 are rebound under one cover,
October 15 - December 1, 1913.

19. John Heartfield, editor
Neue Jugend (no. 13)
Berlin, Der Malik-Verlag, May 1917
Little review, 64 x 51.5 cm., 4 pp.

*20. John Heartfield, editor
Neue Jugend (no. 14)
Berlin, Der Malik-Verlag, June 1917
Little review, 64 x 51.5 cm., 4 pp.

ments] to the collage-like lithographs in *Merz 3*, while the use of diverse typefaces and steel engraving vignettes in *Merz 4* and *Merz 6* yields to the stunning formal clarity of the Lissitzky collaboration *Merz 8/9* (cat. # 92) and the inventive and imaginative *Die Scheuche* (cat. # 94) produced in collaboration with Kate Steinitz and van Doesburg Doesburg. Schwitters' bold *Typo-Reklame* in *Merz 11* (cat. # 93), printed in a run of 5,000, perhaps comes closest to the image of an alternative to the institution of art that the Dadaists had hoped for. Its innovative full-page layouts succeed as aggressive advertising. The slogans in *Merz 20* convey a strong echo of the Dada Advertising Company while its visual sophistication provides the periodical with a greater chance of succeeding as a means of transacting aesthetic objects across mass culture: "Entwürfe jeder Art für Propagandazwecke" [designs of every kind for propaganda purposes]. Lacking, however, is the critical dimension, the sharp sting of the Dadaists' subversive message and of Heartfield's contemporary photomontages employing vernacular imagery.

If the text had largely lost its potential for effecting social criticism as mediation between the modernist movement and the surrounding culture, it remained an integral part of the new structures of modernism. The developments in the periodical *Merz* illustrate that articulating the text could still imply a restructuring of a movement. Hans Arp and Lissitzky's 1925 book *Kunstismen* (cat. # 113) illustrates the unprecedented degree of sophistication the avant-garde had attained in articulating its identity via the text. Yet, without a reciprocal exchange with the surrounding social forces and vernacular patterns of culture, artists found it increasingly difficult to extricate the modernist "movement" from its historical dilemma. The text had only briefly enabled artists to articulate meaning independent of the institutional constraints of the avant-garde.

14. Herwarth Walden, *Die neue Malerei*

Berlin, Verlag Der Sturm, 1919; Book, 24.5 x 16.4 cm., 30 pp.

15. A spin-off of the Sturm circle which illustrates the points of congruence between Expressionism and Dada.

15. Rudolf Blümner, editor

Die Quirlsanze: Für Ball, Sidiographie und Politik; Berlin, 1921

Little review, 28.5 x 22 cm., 12 pp.

16. Oskar Kokoschka, *Zwanzig Zeichnungen*

Berlin, Verlag Der Sturm, n.d.; Portfolio of 20 drawings, 42.5 x 31.5 cm.

*17. Herwarth Walden, *Die Judentochter*

Berlin, Verlag Der Sturm, n.d.

Musical score,

41 x 29.5 cm., 8 pp.

Cover by Oskar Kokoschka.



NOTES

1. On this background, see Donald E. Gordon, *Expressionism: Art and Idea* (New Haven, 1987), pp. 1-25.
2. See, for example, the discussion of Georg Heym and Jakob van Hoddis in Rainer Rumold, "Crisis as Event: The Avant-Garde, Revolution, and Catastrophe as Metaphors" in: *"Event" Arts and Art Events*, Stephen C. Foster, ed. (Ann Arbor, 1988), pp. 11-28.
3. This recognition was evident, for example, in the reception of the first Berlin Dada *soirée* at the Berliner Sezession in April 1918. Willi Wolfradt could not accept the Dadaists seriously in part because he believed they had taken over the "pose" of a movement without any motivating beliefs: "Aber alle Definitionsversuche geben eine viel zu ernsthafte Vorstellung von dieser peinlichsten Flegelei, die je startete, nicht ohne zuerst einmal jede Beziehung zu den veralteten Erscheinungen des Futurismus, Kubismus, Aktivismus, etc. lärmend abzuschwören. Und mit Recht": denn jene jüngsten Bewegungen entstiegen in alle ihren Krassheiten und Verzerrungen einem heiligen, fanatischen Glauben, während hier tatsächlich, wie ja auch die Manager des Dadaismus mit Stolz sagen, eine 'Erfindung' (ohne Treu und Glauben) vorliegt." Willi Wolfradt, "Der Dadaismus," *Der Friede* 1, 18 (May 24, 1918): 434-435, rpt. in Karl Riha, *Da Dada da war ist Dada da: Aufsätze und Dokumente* (Munich, 1980), pp. 283-284, n. 3.
4. Peter Bürger, *Theory of the Avant-Garde*, trans. Michael Shaw, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984), p. 33.
5. Raoul Hausmann, "Objektive Betrachtung der Rolle des Dadaismus," *Der Kunsttopf* 4 (October 1920): 62-68, rpt. in Raoul Hausmann, *Texte bis 1933*, Michael Erlhoff, ed. 2 vols. (Munich, 1982), 1:112.
6. Erich Muhsam, "Revolution" in *Revolution* 1, no. 1 (October 15, 1913), p. 2.
7. Fritz Schlawe, *Literarische Zeitschriften: 1910-1933*, Second Edition (Stuttgart, 1973), p. 15. The first number was confiscated due to Hugo Ball's poem "Der Gehenkte" according to Paul Raabe, *Die Zeitschriften und Sammlungen des Literarischen Expressionismus* (Stuttgart, 1964), p. 50.

11. Herwarth Walden, editor

Der Sturm (vol. 3, no. 130) Berlin, Verlag Der Sturm, October 1912

Periodical, 41.5 x 31 cm., 8 pp. Cover by Wassily Kandinsky.

12. *Der Sturm* was the first of the Expressionist journals and set the tone for many of its successors in both content and format. The periodical was active for an extended period of time, its first issue appearing in 1910, and its last in 1932. The widely circulated journal was the publication organ of the group of artists who exhibited at Herwarth Walden's influential gallery of the same name and its editorial offices provided one of the major centers of ferment and artistic thinking of the period. Walden's *Der Sturm* gallery exhibited works by artists from throughout Europe and served as a training ground for members of a variety of subsequent movements, groups as diverse as Dada, International Constructivism and the Budapest/Vienna based MA circle.

*12. Herwarth Walden, editor.

Der Sturm (vol. 3, no. 132)

Berlin, Verlag Der Sturm,

October 1912

Periodical, 41.5 x 31 cm.,

8 pp.

Cover by Arthur Segal.



13. Herwarth Walden, editor

Der Sturm (vol. 7, no. 12)

Berlin, Verlag Der Sturm, March 1917

Periodical, 41.5 x 31 cm., 8 pp.

Cover by Paul Klee.

8. The appearance of *Die Aktion* began to be refined within a year of its first issue when it gradually became more streamlined, dropping its gothic script and employing bold graphic art on its first page. For a detailed account, see Paul Raabe, "Die Aktion: Geschichte einer Zeitschrift" in *Die Aktion*, reprint edition, Paul Raabe, ed. (Munich, 1961) 1: 11ff.
9. The circulation of *Der Sturm* in 1912 was 10,000 while that of *Die Aktion* in 1913 was 5,000-8,000. Schlawe, *Literarische Zeitschriften*, pp. 39 and 86.
10. Raabe, *Zeitschriften*, p. 7.
11. F.T. Marinetti, "Die futuristische Literatur. Technisches Manifest," *Der Sturm* 3, 133 (1912), pp. 194-195.
12. Trans. in Umbro Apollonio, *Futurist Manifestos* (New York, 1973), pp. 95-106.
13. For an overview of the complexities of the mixed reception of Futurism in Germany, see Johanna Eltz, *Der Italienische Futurismus in Deutschland 1912-1922: Ein Beitrag zur Analyse seiner Rezeptionsgeschichte* (Bamberg, 1986).
14. cf. Kandinsky's discussion of "praktisch-zweckmässigg" in "Über die Fromage" in *Der Blaue Reiter* (Munich, 1912), pp. 84 ff.
15. "Offener Brief an die Novembergruppe," *Der Gegner* 2, 8-9 (1920-1921): 297-301, rpt. in Helga Kliemann, *Die Novembergruppe* (Berlin, 1969), pp. 61-64.
16. The entire pamphlet is illustrated in Eberhard Steneberg, *Arbeitsrat für Kunst Berlin 1918-1921* (Düsseldorf, 1987), pp. 2-9.
17. For further discussion of the posters and other public art of the Novembergruppe and Arbeitsrat für Kunst, see Ida Katherine Rigby, *An alle Künstler! War-Revolution-Weimar* (Exh. cat., San Diego: University Gallery, 1983), pp. 33-39 and 69-91.
18. [Walter Rheiner], "Die Zeitschrift 'MENSCHEN'" in *Menschen* 2. 1 (1919).
19. This conclusion is largely borne out in Joan Weinstein's recent study, *Art and the November Revolution in Germany 1918-1919*, PhD. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1986.
20. Hugo Ball, "Als ich das Cabaret Voltaire gründete..." in *Cabaret Voltaire* (1916): 5.

Expressionism

9. *An influential statement of Expressionist artistic theory, centered on Kandinsky's concept of "internal necessity." For Kandinsky the individual's experience of the environment produced an inner necessity, subsequently formulated into values which found their objectification in works of art. The principles of this theory operated independently of specific artistic genre and informed totalistic concepts of art in France, Switzerland, and Russia, as well as Germany. Kandinsky's theories deeply influenced Hugo Ball, the founder of Dada in Zurich.*

10. *The Blue Rider Almanach represents a stage of Expressionism subsequent to the Dresden Bridge Group, founded in 1905. The publication brought together a group of artists and writers who were never, strictly speaking, composed into a movement. The Almanach was a heavily illustrated collection of writings about art and literature which focused on the origin and process of art as such could be identified in the production of folk artists (the Bavarian glass painters) and the "modern primitives" (Rousseau). The collection also reproduces a number of Kandinsky's "Improvisations," paintings typically interpreted as the first sustained manifestations of abstraction.*

- *9. Wassily Kandinsky, *Über das Geistige in der Kunst*
Munich, R. Piper, 1912
Book, 21 x 18 cm.,
106 pp .
Cover by Wassily Kandinsky.



- *10. Wassily Kandinsky and Franz Marc, editors
Der Blaue Reiter
Munich,
R. Piper, 1912
Book, 29 x 21 cm.,
140 pp.
Rebound in cloth.



21. Wieland Herzfelde, ed., *Der Malik-Verlag: 1916-1947* (Exh. cat., Berlin: Deutsche Akademie der Künste zu Berlin, 1967), p. 21. At the time, Lasker-Schüler's *Der Malik* was being published in installments in *Der Brenner*, *Die Aktion*, and *Neue Jugend*.
22. Illustration in Wieland Herzfelde, *John Heartfield: Leben und Werk* (Dresden, 1971), plates 2-5.
23. For a discussion of the relationship of photographs and the popular conception of history, see Estera Milman, "Photomontage, the Event, and Historism" in: "Event" Arts, Stephen Foster, ed., pp. 203-238.
24. Although typically unsigned, Heartfield is given credit for the cover in Herzfelde, *Heartfield*, p. 21.
25. Wieland Herzfelde, "George Grosz, John Heartfield, Erwin Piscator, Dada und die Folgen — oder Die Macht der Freundschaft", *Sinn und Form*, 23, 6 (1971): 1224-51, rpt. in John Heartfield, *Der Schnitt entlang der Zeit: Selbstzeugnisse, Erinnerungen, Interpretationen* (Dresden, 1981), p. 88.
26. Timothy O. Benson, *Raoul Hausmann and Berlin Dada* (Ann Arbor, 1987), pp. 79ff.
27. Wieland Herzfelde, "Zur Einführung," *Katalog der Erste Internationale Dada-Messe* (Exh. cat., Berlin: Kunsthandlung Dr. Otto Burchard, 1920), rpt. in Heartfield, *Schnitt entlang der Zeit*, p. 41.
28. George Grosz, *Mit Pensel und Schere: Sieben Materialisationen*, book of monochrome reproductions after watercolor collages employing photographic fragments (Berlin, 1922).
29. For a discussion of the concept of "horizon of expectations," see Hans Robert Jauss, *Toward an Aesthetic of Reception* (Minneapolis, 1982), pp. 23-24.
30. Hausmann, "Objektive Betrachtung," rpt. in Hausmann, *Texte* 1: 112.
31. Richard Huelsenbeck, *Dada Siegt! Eine Bilanz des Dadaismus* (Berlin, 1920).
32. "Aus einem Interview mit Heartfield" in Heartfield, *Schnitt entlang der Zeit*, p. 464.
33. George Grosz, "Zu meinen neuen Bildern." *Das Kunstblatt* 5, 1 (1921): 10-16, trans. in Victor Miesel, ed., *Voices of German Expressionism* (Englewood Cliffs, 1970), p. 187.
34. See Timothy O. Benson, "Mysticism, Materialism, and the Machine in Berlin Dada," *Art Journal* 46, 1 (Spring 1987): 46-55.

8. The book, composed primarily of Marinetti's theoretical writings, includes four fold outs which illustrate the typographical and pictorial potential of language freed from the constraint of conventions. It was an attempt to allow language to speak in an idiom unencumbered by its cultural usage. A vivid illustration of the Futurists' image of themselves as the "primitives of a new age."

- *8. Filippo Tommaso Marinetti, *Les mots en liberté futuristes*
Venice, Milan,
Edizioni Futuriste di "Poesia," 1919 Book, 19 x 12.5 cm.,
112 pp., (4 fold outs).



35. Richard Huelsenbeck, "Der Dadaismus im Leben und in der Kunst" published as "Dadaistisches Manifest" in *Dada Almanach*, Richard Huelsenbeck, ed., (Berlin, 1920), pp. 36-41; Raoul Hausmann, "Das Neue Material in der Malerei," published as "Synthetisches Cino der Malerei" in Hausmann, *Texte* 1: 14-16.
36. Hausmann and Baader both were closely associated with Friedländer in 1915, by which time his theory was codified. See Salomo Friedländer, *Schöpferische Indifferenz* (Munich, 1918), pp. xxi-xxiii.
37. Raoul Hausmann, "Notiz," *Die Aktion* 7, 31/32 (August 11, 1917), cols. 421-422, rpt. in Hausmann, *Texte* 1: 12.
38. Johannes Baader, "Erklärung des Club Dada" in Huelsenbeck, ed., *Dada Almanach*, p. 132.
39. "eine Gestaltung organische in Analogie der gesehenen Momente weder nachamend noch beschreibend." Hausmann, *Material der Malerei Plastik Architektur* (Berlin, 1918), rpt. in Hausmann, *Texte* 1: 19.
40. Hausmann, "Typografie," *Qualität* 10 (1932): 16-17, rpt. in Hausmann, *Texte* 2: 183.
41. Raoul Hausmann, *Am Anfang war Dada*, Karl Riha and Günter Kämpf, eds. (Giessen, second edition, 1980), p. 122; illus. in Benson, *Hausmann*, p. 155.
42. Duras [Alfred Kemeny] "Photomontage und Buchgraphik. Zur 3. Ausstellung des Bundes revolutionärer Künstler," *Die rote Fahne* 15, 17 (1932), rpt. in Heartfield, *Schnitt entlang der Zeit*, pp. 178-179
43. Kurt Schwitters, *Die Kathedrale* (Hanover, 1920).
44. *Merz 1 (Holland Dada)* (January 1923), p. 5.
45. The "Manifest Proletkunst" was signed by Theo van Doesburg, Kurt Schwitters, Hans Arp, Tristan Tzara, and Christof Spengemann in *Merz 2 ("i")* (April 1923): 24-25. Cf. e.g., Raoul Hausmann, "Der Proletarier und die Kunst," *Das Kunstblatt* 2, 12 (December 1918): 388-89, rpt. in Hausmann, *Texte* 1: 24-26.

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and Raoul Hausmann and
Berlin Dada (1987).

4. Umberto Boccioni and Arnaldo Bonzagni

La pittura futurista: Manifesto tecnico

Milan, April 11, 1910

Manifesto, 29 x 23 cm., 4 pp. (1 folded sheet).

5. Umberto Boccioni, Carlo Carrà, Carlo Dalmazzo

Manifesto dei pittori futuristi: Agli artisti giovani d'Italia!

Milan, 1910

Manifesto, 29 x 23 cm., 4 pp. (1 folded sheet).

6. Umberto Boccioni

Manifesto tecnico della scultura futurista

Milan, April 11, 1912

Manifesto, 29 x 23 cm., 4 pp. (1 folded sheet).

7. Filippo Tommaso Marinetti

L'immaginazione senza fili e le parole in libertà: Manifesto Futurista

Milan, May 11, 1913

Manifesto, 29 x 23 cm., 4 pp. (1 folded sheet).