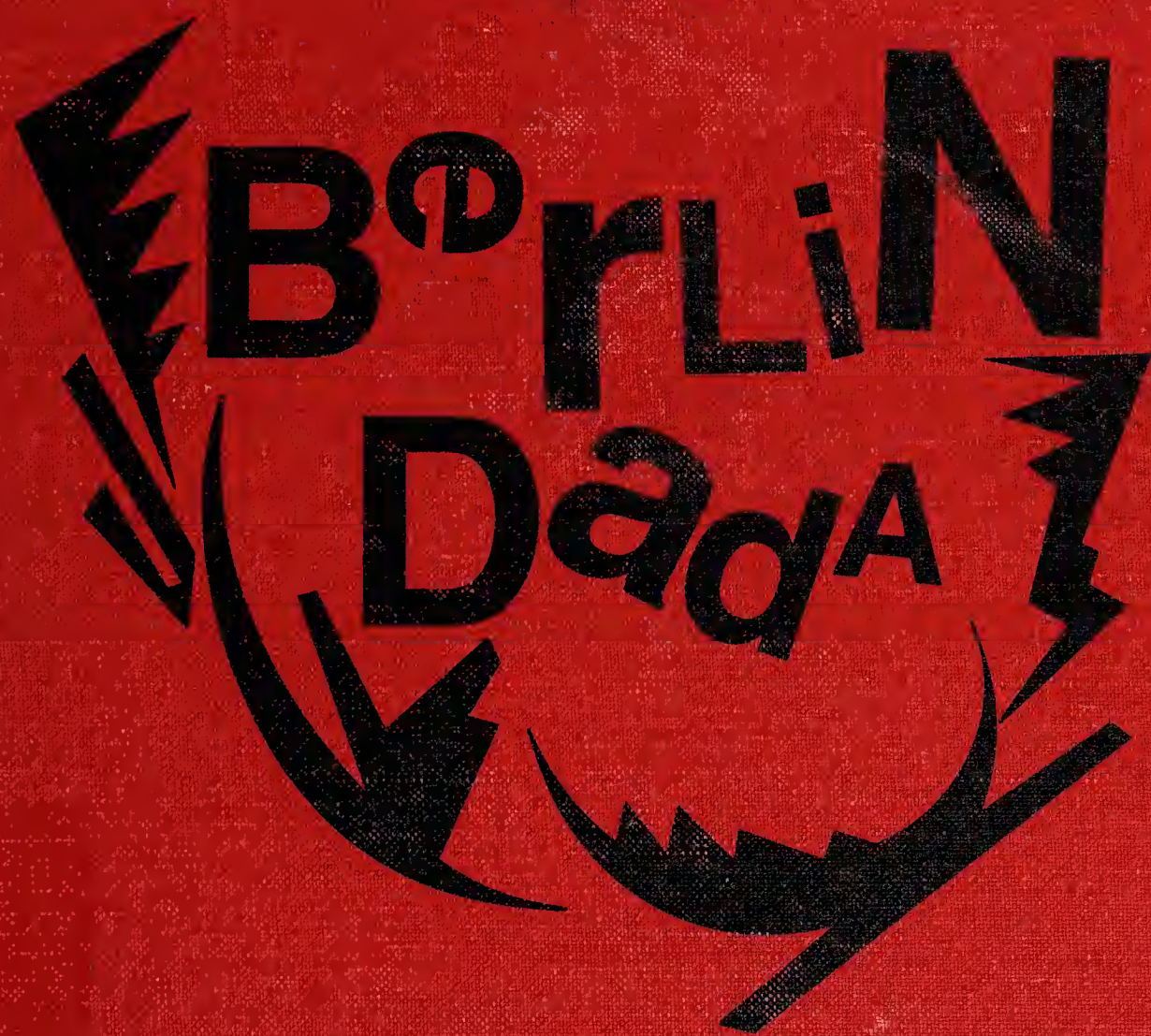


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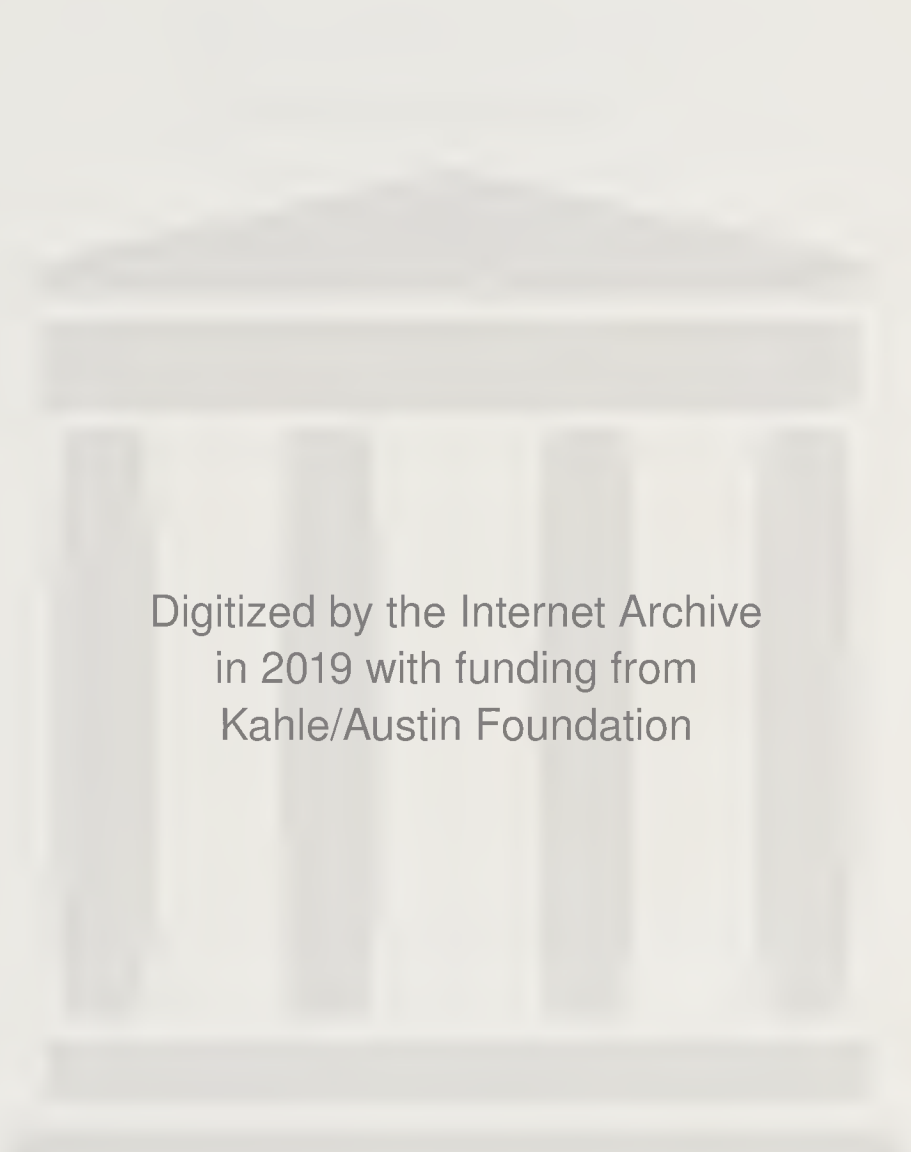


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Raoul Hausmann and Berlin Dada

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Raoul Hausmann and Berlin Dada

by
Timothy O. Benson

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To Susan

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Raoul Hausmann,
der als Dadasoph die erkenntnis-kritischen Voraussetzungen des Dadaismus
erfolgreich untersuchte.

Figure 1. Anonymous, Photograph of Raoul Hausmann with
Caption Identifying Him as the "Dadasoph"
(Reproduced in *Dada Almanach*, edited by Richard
Huelsenbeck. Berlin: Erich Reiss Verlag, 1920)

Introduction: Raoul Hausmann and Berlin Dada

*We endure, scream, curse, laugh the irony:
Dada! Because we are—Antidadaists.*

“Der deutsche Spiesser ärgert sich” (1919)

*Hey, Hey, You young man
Dada is no art direction*

Slogan in *Der Dada 2* (1919)

The Berlin Dadaists are often portrayed as the heretical sect among modernist movements. Their notoriety and supremacy lay in their iconoclasm, their relentless efforts to disrupt any interpretation of their activities. Far from attempting to refute such an explanation, this book will seek to expand on it and to probe into the brief history of concrete art forms the Dadaists evolved between 1915 and 1920 to further their provocations. Berlin Dada is too often misunderstood as either an extension of aesthetic Expressionism or more frequently as political radicalism, both of which it staunchly rejected. I propose instead to explore the historical significance of the rejection of these alternatives by the participants of Berlin Dada.

For Adolf Behne, a leading critic of the day, the Berlin Dadaists performed an “important service” by shooting “arrows” at Expressionism. Raoul Hausmann, the “Dadasoph” or resident theorist of the movement (fig. 1), was, in Behne’s view, writing critiques of “absolutely devastating veracity.”² As Behne realized reviewing Russian émigré Jefim Golyscheff’s contributions to the first official Dada exhibition in Berlin in 1919 (compare figs. 68 and 69), the Dadaist “criticism” concerned “the accomplishment of the Expressionists from the very moment where the Expressionists become ‘Expressionists,’... where they become historical, typical, characteristic, final!”³ While Behne characterized it as merely “sleeping,” Expressionism had

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already become highly "problematic" for the crucial figure who first brought the term into currency in Germany, historian and critic Wilhelm Worringer.⁴ In fact in 1920 he went so far as to express some sympathy with what he called the Dadaists' recognition of the "tragic situation."⁵ The disillusionment had become so widespread that critic Gustav Hartlaub was discussing Expressionism as in crisis, while obituaries for the movement began to appear, from Wilhelm Hausenstein and Iwan Goll, for example.⁶ Challenging the term "Expressionism" with "Dada" in a fanfare of publicity during the spring of 1918, Berlin Dada was among the earliest organized recognitions of the crisis in avant-garde intellectual and artistic circles which had as its ultimate origins World War I and the accompanying political turmoil.

Behne had recognized a historical moment when man's identity and the beliefs he accepts however reservedly as his working myth are suddenly thrown open to question. As late as 1917, artists and literati could still conceive revolution in apocalyptic terms: the ultimate outcome of the unparalleled destruction of the Great War would be a sweeping spiritual Wandlung [transformation] resulting in a New Man, a new Gemeinschaft [community], and a new language of spiritual forms. They saw any rational reduction of this absolute unity to the mechanics of political or economic change as a materialist threat to the *Geist* [spirit] surging through man, the "cathedral" of Expressionism. Just as these long-cherished hopes were being christened "Expressionism," the Russian October Revolution of 1917 had made political revolution in Germany seem an actual possibility. Reality was forced on Berlin by the November Revolution of 1918 and the Spartacist revolt of 1919 marked by the *Freikorps*' repression and their murder of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. As responses to such events became intense in the avant-garde community, it was increasingly difficult to sustain the belief that political and aesthetic revolution were compatible. The new community, the new language, and the New Man were soon joining the fragmentary ruins of the great devastation.

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* As part of a culture decimated by the brutal conditions of human carnage and political repression, the avant-garde degenerated into the chaos of disillusionment and factionalism. Berlin Dada thrived on the resulting conflicts between political activists and cultural radicals during the turbulent years 1918-20. Earlier, Zurich Dada had flourished in exile, not having to contend directly with these forces. When Richard Huelsenbeck brought the word "Dada" to Berlin it was transformed through the subtleties of humor and satire into a revival of the transformative myth of a New Man and a new community but in a form less vulnerable to the prevailing instability. It had become obvious to many that the aesthetic abstraction to which Expressionism, Futurism, Cubism, as well as Zurich Dada had committed themselves, and indeed the whole idea of an art movement as a means of

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fostering communication and social change, were no longer worthy of serious consideration. Nonetheless, as socially conscious artists to whom the alternatives seemed even worse, the Berlin Dadaists could neither completely abandon their aesthetic inclinations nor do without an art movement. By parodying the *modus operandi* of art movements and of the broader culture (politics, religion, commerce), the Dadaists hoped to transform the social setting of modernist art into a *tabula rasa*, a non-elitist community in which the New Man could develop and sustain a new language. By becoming "managers" of the Dada "bureaucracy," for example, they assumed authority in a far wider arena of cultural transactions than the salon and little magazine of the avant-garde circle. Through irony they qualified the myth-building role expected of the modern artist while acknowledging the transitional character of their historical enterprise. They not only "exhibited" themselves as an "art movement," but generally portrayed procedures for building culture. Using satire and the "tactic" of materialism, they established a testing ground for many of the alternatives to traditional artistic activity seen later in Constructivism.⁷

During the upheaval of the teens, and within the context of cultural rebuilding which the Dadaist strategies provided, verbal abstractions such as "Dada" and "Expressionism" could function in an altogether unprecedented way. The Berlin Dadaists, and Hausmann in particular, were vitally interested in the way behavior, words, symbols, and artifacts of all kinds functioned socially to provide the working "fictions" for building myth.

Hausmann, Johannes Baader, Hannah Höch, George Grosz, John Heartfield, and others associated with the Berlin Dada circle presented a variety of formal strategies in their works which were suited to the alternatives they sought to articulate through their movement. This is not to say that they sought a unified style; indeed what they held in common was more idiomatic than stylistic. That is, when the Berlin Dadaists produced their forms of expression, the issue to them was largely meaning, not artistic style. And their expressions could never have been intended as anything but peculiar to the ephemeral and transitional setting and related "tactics" they made for themselves in the midst of the surrounding social and cultural instability. While consideration of linguistic function is thus most useful in understanding what the Berlin Dadaists had in common, remarkable formal changes, derived from their agreement on purpose, are evident in every medium they used. As the movement evolved, Berlin Dada art and performance became progressively more expansive and structurally sophisticated. Advocating "materialism," for example, they not only incorporated actual objects and photographs into collage and assemblage, but attempted to encompass what they regarded as the "mechanisms" of interpretation used by the art critic, the popular press, the live audience, and—at least during the heyday of the "Dada

Tour"—the common man. The Dadaists did not merely satirize prejudices, beliefs, and rhetorical arguments prevalent in their society, but also borrowed the dominant means of communication, especially by adopting the journalistic and promotional styles of the popular press and advertising.

Hausmann was the artist who most fully committed the formal direction of his art to Berlin Dadaism. Perhaps for this reason he is among those participants who have never fared well in discussions which neglect the formal significance of Dadaism. When not simply dismissed as a political radical, he is often cast as a maverick Expressionist. Some insist that his simultaneous efforts in media as diverse as the woodcut, typography, phonetic-poetry, collage, assemblage, and dance were simply manifestations of the chaos of Dada. But it is precisely Hausmann's deep immersion in what he called the "tactics" of Dada that gave his work meaning, purpose, and direction. In this way, Hausmann's multi-faceted contributions as an artist were enriched by his activity as a theorist. His advocacy of "satire" and the pursuit of the "concrete" codified the essential "tactics" for the development of form and content in culture, which he understood as the materialization of *Geist*. Deriving his pseudo-mechanistic interpretations of thought, creativity, and the evolution of culture from Ernst Haeckel, Ernst Mach, and his colleagues Baader and Salomo Friedländer, Hausmann became an early pioneer of automatist art forms. While not all of the Berlin Dadaists accepted his monist assumptions, there was a brief and important concurrence among them on materialism and satire as Dada tactics. At the climactic "Erste Internationale Dada-Messe" [First International Dada Fair] exhibition of 1920, they exploited the metaphor of the machine to convey an ironical and self-aware attitude toward the condition of man (figs. 75, 82, and 85). Both man and his cultural surroundings, it was implied, function mechanically without need of the emotional empathy of Expressionism. Hausmann understood this portrayal of man's condition as corresponding to the elusive, mysterious, and essentially mystical reality of *Geist*.

The primary focus of this book is the history of the concrete forms evolved by Hausmann during the brief life of the Dada movement. Nowhere prior to Dadaism did the issue of form as a functioning part of social conditions—that is to say, as a visible and audible language—receive more profound and sustained attention than in Hausmann's visual and auditory works, his closely related satirical constructs, and his essays on art and social theory. And rarely did the physical, social, and psychological conditions in which such forms function receive comparable attention in the visual arts.

1

The New Language of Cosmic Consciousness

*A truly new advance into life-forming powers is never abstraction, but rather pictorial likeness, as it were, the formation of letters or words of a new language for our re-awakened cosmic consciousness. . . . The New Man . . . requires a New Language without stains of the past . . . it will become the language of the masses and of no individual, it is the binding force for a new community.**

“Die neue Kunst” (1921)

Even before the Great War, subsequent revolution, and attempted reconstruction could run its course, the German avant-garde accepted that a long-enduring balance between the fictional in language and the concreteness of experience had been shattered. The yearning for wholeness became increasingly more compelling, often even desperate, as the totality that had to be regained took on the proportions of the mythical. Artists could no longer envision themselves as simply perfecting the expression of experience; their task had become one of giving shape to myth, to the New Man and his new language of forms.

In common with many of the German Expressionists, Raoul Hausmann never questioned the communal nature of the New Man nor did he doubt the possibility of a universal new language of spiritual intensity. Yet the

* “Ein wirkliches neues Vordringen zu den lebensgestaltenden Kräften [ist] niemals Abstraktion, sondern bildhaftes Gleichnis, gewissermaßen das Bilden von Buchstaben oder Worten einer neuen Sprache für unser wiedererwachendes kosmisches Bewußtsein. . . . der neue Mensch . . . bedarf einer neuen, von keiner Vergangenheit beschmutzten Sprache. . . . sie wird die Sprache der Masse sein und keines einzelnen; sie ist die Verbindlichkeit für eine neue Gemeinschaft.” Raoul Hausmann, “Die neue Kunst, Betrachtungen (für Arbeiter),” *Die Aktion* 9, 19–20 (May 14, 1921), cols. 282 and 284.

relationship Hausmann and his Dadaist colleagues maintained toward Expressionism was inherently ambivalent, even though often openly antagonistic. If the differences between the two movements went beyond the Dadaists' denial of the transcendent work of art in favor of the concreteness of found materials, the similarities ran deeper than the shared revulsion toward the militarism, economic oppression, and reactionary cultural values they held responsible for the Great War. The roots of this ambivalence and the reasons the Dadaists rebuilt the myth of unity so differently from the Expressionists were developing long before the terms Dadaism and Expressionism had any recognized meaning.

Hausmann and most of his Dada colleagues had not shared in the activist, ecstatic, and sentimentalist tendencies of Expressionist literati such as Kurt Hiller, Franz Werfel, and Leonard Frank. Such enthusiastic and intoxicating subjectivity, according to Walter Sokel, was responsible for the Expressionists' blending of the contradictory philosophical tenets of ethical and aesthetic idealism implicit in the New Man and "the new form."¹ In their quest for the New Man, the Dadaists stepped back from such subjectivity and into a constellation of personas they created to populate the Dada movement: the Dadasoph (Hausmann), the Meisterdada and Weltdada (Huelsenbeck), the Dadamarschal and Propagandada (Grosz), and the Oberdada (Baader). These fictional characters provided the artists with new means of structuring and enacting the relationship of self to cultural present, past, and future.

The Education of the Dadasoph

Raoul Hausmann's Dada persona, proclaimed on his calling card and certified officially by Richard Huelsenbeck in the *Dada Almanach* as the "Dadasoph" (fig. 1), might have seemed unlikely during his formative years. Born in 1886, the same year as fellow Viennese Oskar Kokoschka, Hausmann was of the early Expressionist generation. Yet he was distinctly an outsider to that movement. His art education had come primarily from his father, Viktor Hausmann, an academic painter who restored paintings, and his earliest works appear as empirical studies (fig. 2). Arriving in Berlin in 1900 with no education beyond the *Realschule*, Hausmann would never experience the broad formal education of Huelsenbeck, who had studied art history, literature, philosophy, and medicine at the university level;² nor would he be exposed to the more specialized training of Franz Jung in law and political economy. Yet by the time these three collaborated to launch the *Club Dada* special number of *Die freie Straße* in 1918 (fig. 36),³ he was the one most absorbed in the major issue facing avant-garde literati and artists: regaining a sense of synthetic *Totalität* or wholeness in the wake of the shattered hopes for a New Man and a corresponding new art which had been cherished among the Expressionists.



Figure 2. Raoul Hausmann, *Self-Portrait*, 1901
Graphite and white pastel on board, 10 1/2 × 7 1/2 inches.
(*Marthe Prévot Collection, Limoges*)

The Dadasoph began to be forged during the decade preceding Dada when Hausmann was closely associated with the utopian architect Johannes Baader. Their friendship may help explain why Baader's messianic persona of the "Oberdada" was in so many ways the perfect complement to the "Dadasoph." The Dadasoph was also born of Hausmann's intellectual contact with Expressionism. This came primarily through his friendship with the philosopher and satirist Salomo Friedländer which began in 1915. Affinities are also clear between Hausmann and some of Friedländer's associates, in particular his fellow satirist Carl Einstein.

Baader, in Hausmann's words, was "the man who was necessary for Dada because there was nothing which could stop him once he got an idea into his head."⁴ Having met Baader in 1905, Hausmann was familiar with his social-utopian ideals and the extremes to which he pursued them. In 1911 Hausmann enthusiastically wrote of the architect's cemetery monuments.⁵ During the era of the garden city movement in architecture, Baader shared in the communionistic "trust of all popular groups," and had already conceived of his own "New Jerusalem" as a "World Temple" in 1906. A reorganized society would take 1000 years to build the 1500 meter high structure: "a work," according to Baader, "which would allow all religions and all peoples their legitimacy, their belief, and would merely unite them through the things that they all love."⁶

Quite unlike many Expressionists in their quest for an immaterial *Totalität*, Baader was led to monistic pantheism in his search for a sense of cosmic unity compatible with a secular view of nature.⁷ His book *Vierzehn Briefe Christi* [Fourteen Letters of Christ] (1914) was dedicated to the Darwinian biologist and philosopher Ernst Haeckel whose monism Baader portrayed as a step toward scientific verification of his own belief that "life is the eternal condition of soul content."⁸ In response to the conflicting claims of positivism, spiritualism, and materialism, Haeckel had posited a universal "substance" with spirit and matter as its fundamental attributes.⁹

The monists made science more palatable to artists like Baader and Hausmann by seeking to reintegrate the apparently displaced man described in mechanistic doctrines of nature. Their voluntarism and embrace of Schopenhauer had allowed them to posit a spontaneous force to energize the mechanical system and, particularly in the case of Haeckel and other later monists, to drive evolution.¹⁰ The sciences contributed a sense of order to the frightening irrationality of the will, Schopenhauer's replacement for Kant's unknowable *Ding an sich*. No longer hostile to man, "scientific" theory, in what Renato Poggioli has called its allegorical and emblematic use by members of the avant-garde, "reduces all powers and faculties, even spiritual ones, to the lowest common denominator of the scientific concept of energy," providing for a revival of the "cosmic myth" which dynamism had attained

among the German romantics.¹¹ In his struggle against what he called “anthropomorphic dogma,” Haeckel provided Baader and Hausmann with a view of the cosmos in which the soul is “a natural phenomenon” and true “scientific study of the soul” consists in “psychology.”¹² The “Oberdada” and “Dadasoph” alter egos were fashioned in order to enact a mystical world view which accommodated just such attitudes of objectivity in science and materialism.

Baader and Hausmann accepted Haeckel’s views as credible science, and, however undisciplined from a purely philosophical point of view, their tendency to conjoin inconsistent assumptions from various disciplines into an eclectic system of thought would be typical of the “Hausmann-Baader” wing of Berlin Dada. Hausmann knew precisely how to encourage Baader in September 1918, during the early days of the movement when the two were virtually alone in sustaining Berlin Dada. Their long-standing consensus is evident in a letter he wrote to Baader expressing the enthusiastic hope that their “written pieces” might someday “have a future meaning, as had Brahmanism or Buddhism or Christianity” and to acknowledge the “efforts of Mach, Haeckel, Fliess, Freud, etc.”¹³ This expectation that empiricism, materialism, and mysticism should be compatible sustained the Dada movement through its early months of police harassment and meager public interest.

While mysticism of both the Eastern and Western traditions was pervasive in the Expressionist circles, it was generally engaged in a battle against materialism, bourgeois culture, and positivist science. In mentioning the thought of Austrian scientist and philosopher Ernst Mach as part of the bond of ideas he shared with Baader, Hausmann aligned their common interests with one of the most extreme manifestations of the nineteenth-century anti-metaphysical movement in philosophy. Mach’s major work, *Beiträge zur Analyse der Empfindungen* [Contributions to the Analysis of Sensation] (1886), had come out in a second edition in 1900 and was widely influential.¹⁴ Like Haeckel, Mach held Darwin in high esteem (placing him next to Galileo) and embraced positivism through a monist view which assumed ordering rules of cause and effect to govern reality. Reducing the metaphysically posed distinction between subject and object in a radical phenomenism, Mach held that all reality is nothing more than a combination of sensations standing in a definite relation to one another. His theory of direct perception and participation in total reality, at once sensed and articulated and unmediated by the localizing and distorting features of the individual ego, resembles naturalistic theories of art.

The Cubists, Futurists, and Expressionists had moved beyond Impressionist painting and prose into new materials, onomatopoeia, and the telegraphic style of *Wortkunst* [word-art] poetry. Huelsenbeck and Einstein

are the most immediate associates of Hausmann who sought a direct immersion in reality. Huelsenbeck acknowledged Futurist Filippo Marinetti and stated that "Bruitism is life itself . . . a kind of return to nature," thus reflecting a desire to place experience on the level of pure sensation.¹⁵ The dislocations in Carl Einstein's novel *Bebuquin oder die Dilettanten des Wunders* [Bebuquin or the Dilettantes of Wonder] (1912, written 1906–9)¹⁶ present the ego as an impermanent collection of sensations which changes its composition through the passage of time.

For Mach, the ego was a kind of illusion distinguished from the rest of the world arbitrarily on the basis of functionality. All concepts including that of the "self" were convenient fictions, thus symbols for groups of sensations originating in those sensations and the connections between them.¹⁷ The fictional scaffolding of thought was for Mach a tool at the service of evolution. Our image of reality could be a fantasy as well as being grounded in sensation so long as it served its practical purpose. Psychology became for Mach but a branch of physics.¹⁸ It is precisely this kind of practical, even strategic, fictionalizing—an accomodation of sensation and fantasy—that Baader and Hausmann needed when rebuilding a myth for cultural progress within Dada.

Quite apart from the enterprises of the philosopher and scientist, Hausmann and the Berlin Dadaists were primarily artists and artistic creation was their only real hope for the New Man. Their first opportunity for the fashioning of a new art within a concrete social context occurred during a lull in activity in Expressionist circles in 1915 when Salomo Friedländer joined Hausmann and Baader in an ill-fated attempt to launch a journal. *Erde* reflected their desire to enact or facilitate through myth-making the "essence" of a newly defined man in a transforming world. They promoted the effort with a pronouncement from Baader's *Vierzehn Briefe Christi*:

The mythos of the old earth plays across this living present into the poem of the New Earth foreseen, promised, and prepared by it.

Baader, Friedländer, Hausmann¹⁹

While the journal never materialized, Friedländer remained decisive in the formation of the Dadasoph as theorist and, fifteen years Hausmann's senior, as a role model of the bohemian philosopher. Friedländer was one of the most prolific and significant of the speculative philosopher-writers working in Berlin. When they met, apparently through Hans Richter, Friedländer was supporting himself as a writer (sometimes under the pseudonym "Mynona," retrograde of anonym), producing satires, grotesques, and diverse contributions to *Der Sturm* and *Die Aktion*.²⁰ Well known at the Berlin Café des Westens and on the cabaret scene, he had participated with Carl Einstein in one of Kurt Hiller's "Neo-Pathetiker" evenings in 1912 and with Einstein,

Franz Jung, Franz Pfemfert, and Jacob van Hoddis in an “Aktion” evening in 1913. By 1915 he was one of the few remaining regulars in the wartime Sturm circle.²¹ A frequenter of the studios of Arthur Segal and Ludwig Meidner, he was also acquainted with numerous artists, including Hans Arp and Grosz.

At the center of Hausmann’s friendship with Friedländer were theoretical debates. When, for example, Hausmann accompanied Friedländer on one of his nightlong wanderings through the streets of Berlin-Charlottenburg in August 1915, they disputed the possibility of a *geistiger Mensch* [spiritual man] into the morning hours. Hausmann posed the “anti-polarist” views of the sixth century B.C. founder of Taoism, Lao-tse, whom he had read in 1908, to Friedländer’s dualism. Friedländer had university studies in Munich, Berlin, and Jena, where he graduated in 1902 with a dissertation on Schopenhauer and Kant’s *Critique of Pure Reason*. He had written an intellectual biography of Nietzsche (1911), as well as treatises on logic (1907) and psychology (1907).²² Accompanying Friedländer on a two-month family vacation to Westfalen in 1916, Hausmann spent entire nights discussing with Friedländer his theory of “Creative Indifference.”²³ Subsequently the two apparently visited the Neo-Kantian philosopher Ernst Marcus in Essen, with whom Friedländer had been corresponding for more than a decade.²⁴ Hausmann understood Friedländer’s theory well enough to be enlisted to explain it to the doubting Marcus, under whose strong influence Friedländer was being brought from Nietzsche closer to Kant,²⁵ and to which Hausmann was also not immune. Eventually Marcus would become Hausmann’s major inspiration for his “Presentist” activities which succeeded Dada in 1921.

Like Mach, Haeckel, and Baader, Friedländer proposed a less agonizing and more matter-of-fact conception of individual consciousness than those prevailing within Expressionist circles. Man’s existence could be one of an ordered harmony wherein unity over the diversity of the world was gained above the level of individual consciousness. Unity for the modern individual was not to be found in a hermetic “inner” existence, but in man’s relationship with the shared manifestations of culture. Hausmann had been drawn to Friedländer’s position as early as 1914, when he recommended to Baader an article, “Wink zur Abschaffung des Menschen” [Hint for the Abolition of Mankind], in which Friedländer presents man as merely a “thing among things.”²⁶ Separated from his grandiose anthropocentric delusions, man could be a “Weltangel,” experiencing a force of creation something similar to Henri Bergson’s *élan vital*. Agreeing with Bergson, Friedländer saw man’s conventional thinking and linguistic constructions as facets intervening between himself and reality.²⁷ In a seminal essay for the Dada movement, “Präsentismus: Rede des Erdkaisers an die Menschen” [Presentism: The Earth-Emperor’s Address to Humanity] (*Der Sturm*, 1913), Friedländer presented man’s identity in terms of the absolutes and absurdities identified by

both Nietzsche and Bergson. His protagonist, the “Erdkaiser,” represented man embodied in the unfathomable concept of an “inner nothingness” as “the synthesis of the world”:

I am no man, I am no one and everyone, indifferentist. If people wish to understand me they must die, be destroyed, like me, undifferentiated. . . . I am indifference, man is my plaything, time is the driving wheel of my eternity, of my eternal present. I am present. . . . I am the living nothing. . . . I have annulled all the opposites within me. . . . I am no reason, but therefore everything: because I am the indifferent center of all reason, the neuter of all logic, the logical null! . . . I am.²⁸

In “Absolutismus” [Absolutism] (*Der Sturm*, 1914), Friedländer responded to the revival of Max Stirner’s individual-anarchism and defended his “universal world-person” with a satirical tone which would be echoed later in the Dadaists’ debunking of the Expressionists’ conception of the individual:

The Person, Mr. Stirner, was that which was most concealed. You too, my Kaspers, have not yet blown away the haze of apparent subjectivity . . . But “now ’tis time to be noisy!” Egoism has for the first time reached its first and last concentration.²⁹

For Friedländer, “Magic,” “Utopia,” “the absolute,” the “perpetual motion machine,” and the “location of the inexhaustible power” are all “in the universal World-Person, not outside it.”³⁰

In “Notiz” [Note] (*Die Aktion*, 1917), Hausmann’s absolute individual, like Friedländer’s “world-person” and Baader’s Man-Christ-God universality,³¹ emerges from the “fiction” of culture as its source:

From the sphere of the most inner, highest reality flows everything “efficacious” into the reality of the “world” as a fiction. The working out in the world-humanity; Time-World generally, obeys the voice of the spirit, of the true reality—the “sense,” “meaning,” “value” flows out and flows back, is recognized through the play of the “senseless” organ “chance,” the immovable source of direction, eternal Creator-Person, Spirit-God.³²

While accepting Friedländer’s concept of “the living point of play which is found only in the individuum, in the totally undifferentiated person,”³³ Hausmann structured his “inner man” along the lines of Baader’s monism, attempting to overcome his own yet dualistic and static categories:

Only the reality of the Spirit-Sphere is real. The reality of the “world” is illusion. The balance of the Spirit-Sphere, the inner-most I, God-Person, can therefore not lead to disappointment: the man-person would be identical with it—its huge antithesis must be recognized, its continuity as permeation of the world with spirit.³⁴

Hausmann’s “inner man” was not the anguished figure of Expressionism, out of balance with the world and requiring a new “pathos” to regain his unity, but

rather an "Ethos-Idea born in the first cause of essence. . . . Out of its gradually diverse strengths and coming to consciousness arises all."³⁵ In parallel with Expressionist utopian communionism, however, Hausmann believed in the *Gemeinschaft* [community]: "the highest form of existence: community."³⁶

A New Art for the New Man

If Friedländer's philosophy remained more dualistic than the views of Hausmann and Baader, he advocated an attitude which Hausmann could apply as a strategy of creation: "Because indifference is the most neutral of all," Friedländer insisted in a passage which Hausmann copied in his notes, "it guarantees, in place of all polemics, the most enduring tranquility."³⁷ "The automation of man through the making spontaneous of the neutral person is in progress," Friedländer had proclaimed in the article Hausmann recommended to Baader in 1914.³⁸ Finding Friedländer's "creative indifference" to be a theory of automatism quite compatible with his attitude toward perception, Hausmann hoped to bring its application to his experience as a visual artist. The spontaneous New Man whose inspiration came through an automatism divorced entirely from extraordinary emotions was less compatible, however, with dominant views on the Berlin scene: the empathy theory of Wilhelm Worringer and Herwarth Walden; the abstracting tendencies of the complementary style of poet Auguste Stramm's *Wortkunst*; the autonomous and protean forms of Wassily Kandinsky, Karl Schmidt-Rottluff, and Erich Heckel; and the pathos of Ludwig Meidner (fig. 3).

As Hausmann attempted to cultivate an automatism which could unify perception and articulation, a coherent progression became apparent in the way he altered and enlarged his working terms. Beginning with the formal abstraction of French modernism and its German transformations in the later work of the *Brücke* and *Blaue Reiter* artists, he moved from gesture to plastic form. Gradually the arbitrary manifestations of form accrued to a point where an intentional standardizing of visual vocabulary was possible. This allowed for a complementary move from an imitative plastic structure toward the syntactical structuring of arbitrary and standardized forms. Concurrently, Hausmann's subject matter departed from overtly religious themes in favor of a secularized mysticism.

By 1910, Hausmann had reduced his formal means to the potent, suggestive energy of bold outlines in nude studies possibly inspired by Matisse (fig. 4).³⁹ By 1912, the forceful linear elements in Wassily Kandinsky's "lyricals" and "compositions" and the graphic energy of Erich Heckel and Ernst Ludwig Kirchner are influences in the disruption of spatial representation in Hausmann's watercolor technique (fig. 5). Here the Byzantine linear network dissolves the traditional spatial distinctions between foreground and background. Features emerge slowly during the process of

Figure 3. Ludwig Meidner, *Burning City*, 1913
Oil on canvas, $27 \times 31 \frac{3}{4}$ inches.
(The St. Louis Art Museum. Bequest of Morton D. May)





Figure 4. Raoul Hausmann, Untitled (Seated Nudes), 1912
Ink on paper, 9 × 11 3/4 inches.
(*Marthe Prévot Collection, Limoges*)



Figure 5. Raoul Hausmann, *Untitled (Window Design)*, 1912
Watercolor on paper, 11 1/2 × 6 inches.
(*Marthe Prévot Collection, Limoges*)

perception to suit, without entirely confirming, our conceptualizations of subject matter: two nude figures surrounded by a pantheistic landscape not unlike those of the Brücke artists. In a series of sketches leading up to his first published lithograph of 1913 (figs. 6, 7, and 8) Hausmann's line further asserts itself as an autonomous element capable of developing its own gestural energy. The descriptive function is usurped as smoke becomes a wiry gesture and the surface of the water is rendered in dashes. Hausmann was inspired by the unregulated scribbling exploited by the Brücke artists and often applied by Heckel in the tradition of the spontaneous *croquis*.⁴⁰ When he published his lithograph in *Das neue Pathos*—edited by his friend, Ludwig Meidner (fig. 8),⁴¹ Hausmann chose a vertical format and—like many of the Brücke artists—used a high horizon line permitting the composition to be contained at the sides by the page alone. The composition was reduced to the active elements of line and page.

At the time of the 1913 Erster deutscher Herbstsalon, with its sampling of the major visual revolutions occurring across Europe, Hausmann was at work on biblical illuminations (fig. 9). Their sharp angles and lines may indicate an awareness of major stylistic changes in the work of Kirchner and Heckel, initiated under the influence of Futurism and the Blaue Reiter. Hausmann's pictorial elements share an existence on the surface of the page with letters. The scene of Christ washing the disciple's feet takes place in a field of symbolic rather than optical depth. Such details as the bucket for the feet and the chair back are severely tilted into a single plane and have both a symbolic, or "naming," function and a compositional function. The illuminated letter "U" on the left page brings the abstract qualities of an arbitrary sign—the letter U—into direct fusion with Hausmann's Expressionist-derived forms. The image nearly dissolves into the array of highly charged white and black areas.

This formal energy is also present in Hausmann's earliest woodcuts. Two of these were apparently included later in a collaborative "typographic woodcuts" project which he proposed to Hannah Höch in 1915:⁴² the "title for St. Francis" (fig. 10) and the "initial U" (fig. 11). The large illuminated "U" shows how directly Hausmann could move typographic concerns into the woodcut medium. The huge "U" frames the image and exploits the white of the page to bring other areas in the composition to the surface. The figure is outlined in an array of jagged and angular lines which become almost entirely abstract in the lower foreground. A background wall and window provide an extremely shallow spatial context. An undated portrait is similar in both its shallow spatial context and in the abstract quality of the predominantly irregular white areas and linear elements (fig. 12). Not unlike the woodcuts being exhibited by Kirchner at the first Freie Secession exhibition in April 1914 (for which Hausmann wrote an unpublished review), Hausmann's figure

Figure 6. Raoul Hausmann, *Untitled (Landscape with Sun)*, ca. 1912
Graphite on paper, $5\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{3}{4}$ inches.
(*Marthe Prévot Collection, Limoges*)





Figure 7. Raoul Hausmann, *Untitled (Harbor)*, ca. 1912
Graphite on paper, $4\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$ inches.
(*Marthe Prévot Collection, Limoges*)



Figure 8. Raoul Hausmann, *Untitled (Harbor)*, 1913
Lithograph, 11 × 7 1/2 inches.
(*Marthe Prévot Collection, Limoges*)

Figure 10. Raoul Hausmann, *Des Heiligen Franciscus von Assisi:
Blumelein*, ca. 1912
Woodcut.
(*Marthe Prévot Collection, Limoges*)

DES HEILIGEN
FRANCISCUS
VON ASSISI
BLUMELEIN



Figure 11. Raoul Hausmann, *Untitled (Illuminated Letter U)*, ca. 1913
Woodcut, 7 1/2 × 4 inches.
(*Marthe Prévot Collection, Limoges*)



Figure 12. Raoul Hausmann, *Untitled (Seated Woman)*, ca. 1912
Woodcut.
(*Marthe Prévot Collection, Limoges*)

almost dissolves into the complexity of its highly abstract environment. This setting can be described, as have those of the Brücke artists, as “pregnant with possible forms.”⁴³

Hausmann’s woodcuts, while sharing generally in the deliberate coarsening of technique seen in the Brücke artists, are particularly close to the work of Heckel. A close friend, Hausmann was sketching and pulling prints in Heckel’s studio during 1915.⁴⁴ Although it is not known precisely when they met, Hausmann’s woodcut of December 1913, representing a man seated at a table, already shows the influence of Heckel (fig. 13). The elongated proportions of head, arm, and hands can be seen in *Man in Brown* (1912) and other paintings and woodcuts executed following Heckel’s arrival in Berlin in the autumn of 1911.⁴⁵ Hausmann was apparently aware of Heckel’s major painting of the following year, often referred to as *Scene from Dostoevsky* (1912), and the related woodcut.⁴⁶ Heckel’s exceptional composition integrates the elongated figures within a powerfully unified setting which includes a wrenching pietà and a primitivizing portrait. In the woodcut, the same black-suited figures are found in a composition of sharp angles and diagonally oriented planes. Unlike Heckel, whose attitude at this time has aptly been characterized as tragic,⁴⁷ Hausmann appears to have been interested simply in experimenting with the formal elements of the Expressionists’ vocabulary. Accelerating the flattening of the composition inherent in such details as the upturned tabletop, laterally placed chair, and picture frame on the wall behind, he organized his composition steeply in space. The resultant forms take on autonomy and ambiguity but avoid the eerily confining space and tortured figures Heckel brought to perfection in his 1914 painting, *Der Irre* [The Madman].⁴⁸ Hausmann appears to have been most interested in Heckel’s straightforward and often primitivizing simplification and articulation of form.

Hausmann also shared Heckel’s interest in primitive art and made a sketch study of an East African mask Heckel owned and used as a still-life subject (figs. 14 and 15).⁴⁹ Resorting to traditional descriptive means, Hausmann attempted to resolve formal problems of vocabulary and composition with the aid of the strongly plastic characteristics of primitive sculpture. At about the time of this sketch, Carl Einstein published *Negerplastik*, the first analysis of African sculpture in Germany. As much about contemporary avant-garde art as African sculpture, Einstein’s book presented the “plastic vision” of the primitive as surpassing the “Cubist vision.” By late 1916, Hausmann had obtained a copy and added marginalia identifying the plates.⁵⁰ Later he fashioned an eloquent cover testifying to his admiration (fig. 63).

As a precursor of Dadaism, Einstein viewed the individual psyche as fragmentary and absurd, at one with the cosmos only through contact with the



December 1913

R Hausmann

Figure 13. Raoul Hausmann, *Untitled (Man Seated at Table)*, 1913
Woodcut.
(*Marthe Prévot Collection, Limoges*)

reality surrounding it. On this view, the integrated and unified inner personality being claimed by the Expressionists was dissolved. While studying philosophy, history, and art history in Berlin (1904–8), Einstein had made brief visits to Paris where he met Braque, Picasso, and Gris. His ideas on art were expounded in print beginning in 1911 and were probably voiced during some of the *Die Aktion Vortragsabende* in the course of 1914. Active as a satirist, editor, and art critic, he would collaborate with Grosz and Heartfield to produce the anarchist reviews *Der blutige Ernst* [Bloody Seriousness] and *Die Pleite* [Bankruptcy] in 1919.

For Einstein, perception was not merely passive, but the “creation of ordered contents...[the] creation of concrete organisms.”⁵¹ Einstein had been influenced by Conrad Fiedler, the originator of the term “inner necessity,”⁵² for whom “the artistic urge is a perceptual urge, the artistic activity an operation of perceptual capacity, the artistic result a perceptual result.”⁵³ Like Fiedler, Einstein was not interested in the emotional forces which came to dominate empathy theory in Expressionism, but rather in the intrinsic interrelationship of articulation and perception as process.⁵⁴ Einstein’s “Sehen” [seeing] was condensed into a single psychic act in which the “subject/object opposition” was dissolved. Having discarded transcendent Kantian or Platonic absolutes, Einstein developed instead what he eventually called a “concrete absolute,”⁵⁵ understood as a functional and relational mode of perception. Acknowledging his affinities with Mach, Einstein accepted his argument for a “sensual sphere” of “consciousness” in which “every object is at once physical and psychic.”⁵⁶ This idea was very much in the air and had prevailed, for example, in Bergson’s notion that “sensory organs and motor organs are in fact coordinated with each other....the organism thus evidences, in a visible and tangible form, the perfect accord of perception and action.”⁵⁷ The elements of the monists’ functional explanation of consciousness are affirmed in Einstein’s insistence that “the transient perception always presents a new constellation.”⁵⁸ Einstein’s “concrete experience” (1921) required understanding not in terms of “laws adored and believed,” but rather as a recognition of “the hallucination of the pure act, which is made into the object.”⁵⁹ In the manuscript notes to his novel, *Bebuquin*, Einstein insisted that “hallucination” be understood to result in the “negation of the stable ego-sphere.”⁶⁰ Einstein’s “Totality,” not unlike Bergson’s proposal of a *néant* in 1906,⁶¹ could affirm both the subject and object in the perceptual process: “the Totality makes possible the concrete appearance, and through it every concrete object becomes transcendent.”⁶²

Einstein’s *Negerplastik* set itself the task of resolving a “gap” which was seen to have evolved between “consideration of the work” and its “creation” (vii).⁶³ Hausmann would have been interested in Einstein’s argument that

“individual calligraphy” (x), planar perspective, and imitative naturalism impair the “plastic-view,” the transcendent moment of “formal clarification” experienced by primitive man. Even Cubism, locked into the frontality of planes, amounted to little more than a continuation of the “metaphor of effects” (xv) of the history of European art—an aesthetic of symbolic forms alienated from the process of creation itself.⁶⁴ The parallels with Friedländer’s idea of “eternal present” must have particularly excited Hausmann. To overcome the “temporal” displacement (xv) between maker and viewer, the dissolution of art into “fore- and afterplay” (x), Einstein would reestablish forms which could “absorb” the displacement in time (xvi). Maker and worshiper were united in the primitive religious artifact. In his “Die neue Kunst” [The New Art] (1921), Hausmann would explain his anti-aesthetic stance with essentially the same argument: in earlier eras, “the concept ‘Art’ as an aesthetic idea did not yet exist.” Rather, “the representation in the picture was an act of religious concentration, the making visible of an eternal sense.”⁶⁵

Hausmann’s abstraction was guided by this general desire for a concrete vision. He first investigated abstract forms in 1915 in a tiny drawing, *Gesticktes Kissen* [Embroidered Cushion], apparently an embroidery pattern for Hannah Höch (fig. 21). When Hausmann met her in April 1915, Höch was studying in Emil Orlik’s graphic arts class at the Kunstgewerbemuseum and had obtained a part-time position in the Ullstein publishing house.⁶⁶ Given this involvement in layout and design, Höch may also have been working towards abstraction at the time. Her earliest surviving abstract work, a collage entitled *Weißer Wolke*, dates from 1916 (fig. 22). Certainly Höch was involved with the collage technique from 1907 onward and this influence is implied in the overlapping of forms in *Gesticktes Kissen*.⁶⁷ Sonia Delaunay’s numerous book covers, shown at the Herbstsalon of 1913, as well as the collages by Picasso, Braque, and Boccioni exhibited in the early teens, are also possible sources. Hans Richter, with whom Hausmann became acquainted in 1915, produced a series of paintings and drawings on musical themes which verged on pure abstraction in their presentation of geometrical forms. Not unlike the forms in Hausmann’s *Gesticktes Kissen*, Richter’s forms overlap in stark contrasts of light and dark. A sketch of 1915, entitled *Music*, is perhaps closest to Hausmann’s more simplified composition.⁶⁸

As Hugo Ball, who was in Berlin during the spring of 1915, recorded, a new yearning among vanguard artists was no longer satisfied in Germany: “There is but one: abroad, Switzerland, Paris, Italy, Russia.”⁶⁹ Similarly, Hausmann shows his interest in sources abroad in a letter of 1915: “Yesterday I brought a couple of issues of the Czech journal *Umělecký měsíčník* from Heckel’s garret . . . which excited me very much; there are fabulous things in them, Negro sculpture, Rousseau, Pablo Picasso, bohemian applied arts . . . it is extraordinary the sort of intellectual life there is at hand in Prague.”

Hausmann extols a “reproduction of Picasso” as “so splendid” that he immediately made a watercolor copy of it: “a woman’s head from ‘early prehistory.’”⁷⁰

The influence of Picasso’s primitivizing is seen in several Hausmann drawings of Hannah Höch, made around 1915 (figs. 16 and 17).⁷¹ A new and sparse vocabulary of severely reduced forms emphasizes the sculptural quality of his subjects, replacing a gestural and sometimes decorative approach (fig. 18). This economy is seen in another 1915 portrait, in watercolor and ink, using minimal and unifying means (fig. 19). Hausmann developed a faceted background, suggested already in his drawings, to complement the facial forms and to reduce the isolation of the figure in its environment.

In 1915 Hausmann increasingly concentrated his search for plastic structure on painting, experiencing some reservations about his previous five years of activity in bookbinding, typography, stained-glass work and book covers. In “Die Kunst und die Zeit” [Art and Time] Hausmann proclaimed as “pioneers” those artists who seemed to him in retrospect to have participated in the direction he saw culminating in the “painted or modeled critique of perception” in assemblage and collage.⁷² Picasso, Albert Gleizes, Umberto Boccioni, Ugo Giannattasio, and Otto Freundlich are seen to have established new ground, while the rest of the Futurists and Robert Delaunay are noted as having played a valuable role in a transition from an optically correct representation based on perspective, chiaroscuro, or spectral Impressionism, towards a new and as yet undefined world of the New Man. All of the artists mentioned by Hausmann were represented in Walden’s gallery and in the 1913 Herbstsalon, with the exception of Freundlich, who established a friendship with Hausmann after his return to Berlin from Paris in 1914.⁷³ The allied style of Freundlich’s friend Otto van Rees was represented by three works in the Herbstsalon.⁷⁴

Höch recalls that she and Hausmann were “enthusiastic admirers of almost all the art that was being shown in the exhibitions of Herwarth Walden’s Der Sturm Gallery.”⁷⁵ The faceting in Hausmann’s portraits of 1915 (figs. 19 and 20) is certainly a response to the general attempt to find a formal vocabulary which could unify the picture surface in works by artists as diverse as Natalia Goncharova, Gleizes, Fernand Léger, the Delaunays, Boccioni, Marc, Macke, and others exhibiting at the Sturm Galleries. The Russian Cubo-Futurist works of David and Vladimir Burliuk in the Herbstsalon exhibition had made a particularly strong impression on Hausmann.⁷⁶ While both artists shared strong affinities with the Munich Blaue Reiter group (both were represented in the first Blaue Reiter exhibition in Munich in 1911 and had works illustrated in *Der Blaue Reiter*), Vladimir Burliuk, especially, was using highly plastic faceted forms in an extremely energetic neo-primitivist approach.



Figure 14. Raoul Hausmann, *Untitled (Primitive Mask and Table)*, 1915
Ink on paper, 12 × 13 inches.
(*Berlinische Galerie, Berlin*)

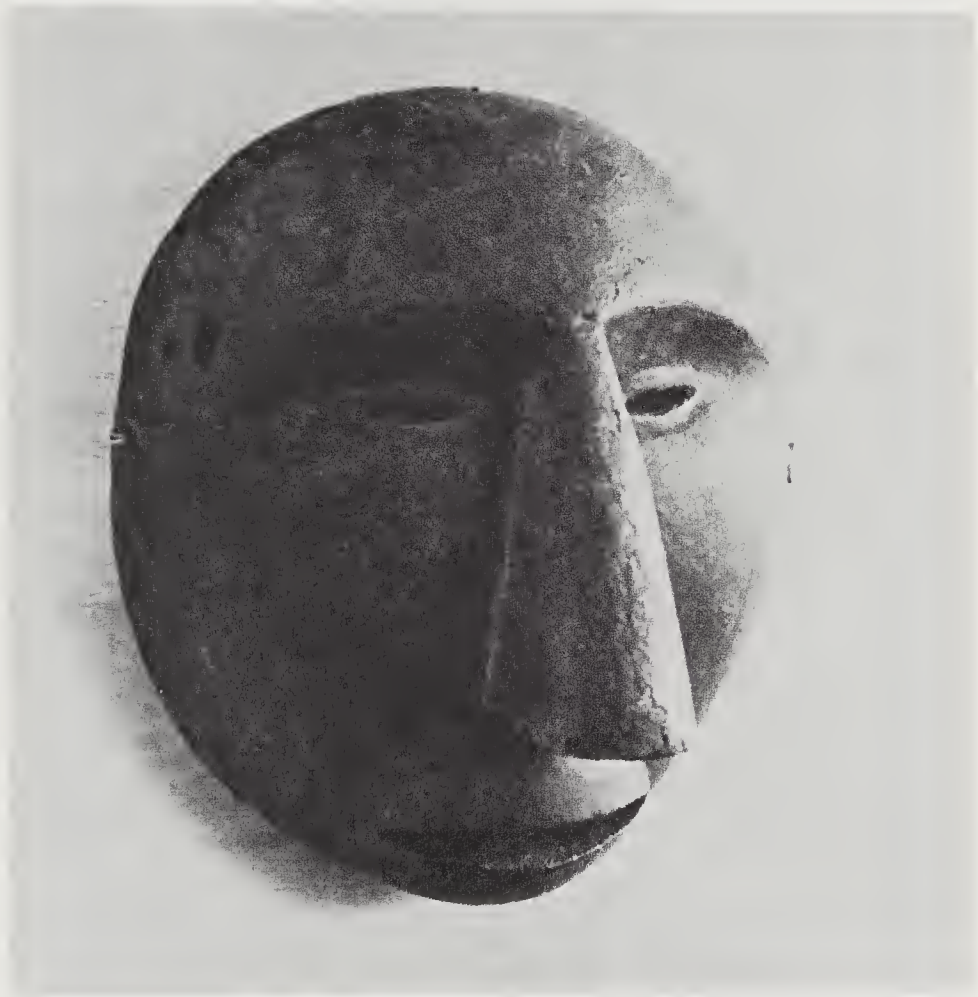


Figure 15. Mask
Wood, East Africa, 8 1/4 inches high.
(*Erich Heckel Estate, Hemmenhofen, West Germany*)



Figure 16. Raoul Hausmann, *Portrait of Hannah Höch*, 1915
Graphite on paper, 13 1/4 × 10 inches.
(Berlinische Galerie, Berlin)



Figure 17. Raoul Hausmann, *Portrait of Hannah Höch*, ca. 1915
Graphite on paper, 10 × 7 3/4 inches.
(Marthe Prévot Collection, Limoges)



Figure 18. Raoul Hausmann, *Portrait of Hannah Höch*, ca. 1915
Ink drawing, $20 \frac{1}{8} \times 13$ inches.
(Private Collection. Photo: Fischer Fine Art, Ltd., London)



Figure 19. Raoul Hausmann, *Portrait of Hannah Höch*, 1915
Watercolor with ink wash on paper, 10 1/4 × 8 1/4 inches.
(Private Collection)

Figure 20. Raoul Hausmann, Untitled (Self-Portrait with Hannah Höch), ca. 1915
Oil on canvas.
(*Location unknown*)





Gesticktes
Kissen 1915.
R.H.

Ist von Dr. H. aus
gestickt worden,
Fläche völlig zu -
Farben blau - grau - Weiss
schwarz,

RG HK
1915/19

Figure 21. Raoul Hausmann, *Gesticktes Kissen*, 1915
Ink on paper, 8 1/2 × 6 1/2 inches.
(Berlinische Galerie, Berlin)



Figure 22. Hannah Höch, *Weiße Wolke*, 1916
Fragments of paper and woodcuts on paper, $5\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$ inches.
(Galerie Nierendorf, Berlin. By permission of Heinrich Rössner, Backnag)

Departing from the patchwork of irregular planes of his 1915 portraits (figs. 19 and 20), Hausmann sought a more standardized vocabulary. The Cubist building-up of a limited selection of abstract forms seen in Léger's *Nude Model in the Studio* and *Woman in Blue* (exhibited at the Herbstsalon) is a possible source of Hausmann's semicircular forms in his woodcuts and paintings of 1916–17 (figs. 23 and 24).⁷⁷ Picabia also had developed a highly abstract and ambiguous vocabulary in *Procession* and *New York*, which he exhibited at the Herbstsalon.⁷⁸ Guillaume Apollinaire said of *Procession* that it "lacks a veritable subject" and pronounced it "not orphic cubism, [but] something else still developing."⁷⁹ Hausmann's forms in *Gesticktes Kissen*, although flattened, more severe, and geometricized, also share with those of Léger and Picabia the quality of generating a subtle and ambiguous pictorial space.

The simplified plastic vocabulary of Hausmann's primitivizing studies began to merge during 1916 with standardized abstract forms. This did not necessarily mean an abandonment of an art of perception. In *Negerplastik* (1915), Einstein had argued that the autonomous elements of form in a primitive composition constituted a more valid reality than naturalistic representation (xix–xxi). But form was especially refined such that even a true "Cubist vision" was attained only by the primitive: "what appears in the former [European art] as abstraction is in the latter [primitive art] nature rendered directly" (xvii, xi).⁸⁰ Form accounted for both the "visible and invisible" parts from any particular point of view and thus the emphasis was placed on a "plastic vision" (analogous with "Cubist vision"), lost in the Renaissance system of planar perspective but available in form: "Negro sculpture, in the formal sense, proves to be the strongest of realisms" (xix, xi).⁸¹ The Cubist artist was unable to attain a true "Cubist" or "plastic" vision because, of necessity, he adhered to frontality in his planar sequences. In order for the totality to be absorbed into the form, "every part must become plastically autonomous and deformed" (xxi).

Alexander Archipenko, as much as any other artist exhibiting in Berlin in the early teens, was able to achieve in painting a sense of spatial realism through the application of the conventions of an abstract and highly formal language derived in sculpture. Richard Huelsenbeck later insisted that the Dadaists held Archipenko as "an unequalled model in the field of plastic art" because he "maintained that art must be neither realistic nor idealistic, it must be true; and by this he meant above all that any imitation of nature, however concealed, is a lie."⁸² In 1914, long before he met Archipenko, Hausmann obtained Apollinaire's foreword to Archipenko's one-man exhibition in the Sturm Galleries in December 1913. "In sculpture," claimed Apollinaire, "Archipenko seeks above all the purity of forms. He wants to find the most abstract, most symbolic, newest forms, and he wants to be able to shape them



Figure 23. Raoul Hausmann, *Blue Nude*, 1916
Oil on canvas, 29 1/4 × 22 3/4 inches.
(*Marthe Prévot Collection, Limoges*)



Figure 24. Raoul Hausmann, *Untitled (Female Nude in Landscape)*, 1917
Woodcut, 13 × 9 3/4 inches.
(*Marthe Prévot Collection, Limoges*)

Figure 25. Raoul Hausmann, Untitled (Study of Female Nude and Head), ca. 1916
Graphite on paper, 7 5/8 × 5 1/2 inches.
(*Berlinische Galerie, Berlin*)



as he pleases.”⁸³ For Apollinaire, “Archipenko constructs reality,” a claim which is echoed in a related article he published in *Der Sturm* (March 1914): “What he is looking for is realism. Passionately he works to create his ideal: ‘Reality’.”⁸⁴ The Sturm exhibition presented the evolution of Archipenko’s style in 35 drawings and 22 sculptures, including *Venus* and *Two Bodies*, which were illustrated in the catalog. Later, in 1917, many of Archipenko’s works were illustrated in the second book of the Sturm *Bilderbücher* series.

Archipenko’s extremely twisted postures, distorted proportions, and tilted heads are probably the source for the similar characteristics of Hausmann’s *Blue Nude* (fig. 23). A particularly close affinity exists between this work and the drawings Archipenko exhibited in 1913 which are shaded to appear as if in shallow relief.⁸⁵ Archipenko was also executing boldly simplified collages in this fashion.⁸⁶ A sketch by Hausmann dated prior to October 31, 1916, shows even more clearly the working out of distorted yet balanced forms in a way closely related to Archipenko’s sculpture (fig. 25). The profile head in this drawing suggests that it is almost certainly a preparatory sketch for a striking print executed in 1917 (fig. 24), which resembles Archipenko’s *Venus* in the slanted shoulders and reverse slanted twist of the head. Other Hausmann works reflecting Archipenko’s influence include a woodcut of a female head, dated 1916 or 1917 (fig. 26), and a related study (fig. 27), both of which were illustrated in *Die Aktion* during 1917.

Hausmann’s advances in constructing with form in *Blue Nude* (1916) are seen in contrast with the earlier *Yellow Horse* (ca. 1916, fig. 28) and *Self Portrait with Animal and Chalice* (1914–15, fig. 29). While recalling the cover of Kandinsky’s *Der Blaue Reiter* almanac, the animal theme may also have been inspired by the November memorial exhibition for Marc at the Sturm galleries, as Hausmann is known to have sketched a copy of one of Marc’s works on the back of his current issue of *Die Aktion*.⁸⁷ *Yellow Horse* is executed in broad, open gestural patches with diverse colors. Whereas the tentative Cubist treatment in the “Self Portrait” is limited to the wine glass in the foreground and a few surrounding planes, *Blue Nude* is unified by stark contours indebted to the fractured compositions of Cubism and Futurism, Léger’s reduced vocabulary of basic shapes, and Archipenko’s plastic form.

Although Hausmann’s compositions were becoming constructive, an unsettling quality persists in this group of paintings, and especially in the most successful of them, *Blue Nude*. Ambiguity dominates the character of the overall array of forms, causing a shifting of the identities of objects in several areas of the painting, and lending a general spatial ambiguity to the entire composition. As in such contemporary pictures as Richter’s *Violoncello, Orchestra* (1915), and abstract prints of 1917–18, the unresolved passages reflect a desire to preserve the “automatic” psychological process.⁸⁸



Figure 26. Raoul Hausmann, *Untitled (Swooning Female Head)*, 1916
Woodcut, 11 1/2 × 8 1/4 inches.
(*Marthe Prévot Collection, Limoges*)



Figure 27. Raoul Hausmann, *Study*, ca. 1916
Ink on paper.
(Reproduced in *Die Aktion* 7, 31–32 [1917], col. 422)



Figure 28. Raoul Hausmann, *Yellow Horse*, ca. 1916
Oil on canvas, 25 1/4 × 27 inches.
(Musée National d'Art Moderne, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris)



Figure 29. Raoul Hausmann, *Self-Portrait with Animal and Chalice*, 1914–1915
Oil on canvas, 27 1/4 × 21 1/4 inches.
(Musée et Galerie des Beaux-Arts, Bordeaux)

The Dadaism of Hausmann, Arp, and Huelsenbeck, would differ significantly from the early Expressionists' celebration of unarticulated *Rausch* [delirium]. "Form" for the Dadaists no longer necessarily closed out "life." The two contradictory realms could be accepted as one with form containing the immediacy of chaos.⁸⁹ The relationship between the New Man and the world could be understood, as Einstein would desire, as taking place beyond the antagonistic gap between subject and object and within the context of highly arbitrary and situational forms. Like the monists, Hausmann hoped to narrow this gap between "outer" and "inner" worlds in the act of perception itself. Unlike Kandinsky, for whom matter existed as "a kind of larder from which the spirit chooses what is *necessary* for itself, much as a cook would,"⁹⁰ Hausmann accepted the monist premise that all matter was secretly patterned by the inherent presence of the Geist. His enterprise became increasingly one of discovering how matter regulated and structured itself into arbitrary and often standardized forms. Prior to his Dada works, Hausmann usually restricted his investigations to two dimensions. *Des Heiligen Franciscus von Assisi: Bluemelein* (ca. 1912, fig. 10) and the Biblical illuminations (figs. 9 and 11) make use of the standardized arbitrary forms of the alphabet. The possibility of arbitrary plastic form had suggested another vocabulary (figs. 23 and 25). Other conventions were derived in the inherent qualities of the woodcut. Gestural zigzag notations in a drawing of a female nude (fig. 27) appear as striations in the related print (fig. 26). Becoming autonomous, these striations take on the meanings "cheek," "shoulder," and "background," not descriptively but by virtue of their placement within the entire array of forms. Such a reduction to a sparse vocabulary of economically employed forms is also present in the rough-hewn works of Conrad Felixmüller, the sweeping rhythmic arabesques of Freundlich, and the psychologically charged images of Richter being reproduced at the time in *Die Aktion*. The attenuated process of reading such autonomous and arbitrary forms allowed the images to hover on the edge of abstraction and to accept multiple meanings that constantly call into question the process of perception itself.

Regularized shapes, including rectangles and triangles, join the cluster of striated forms which make up the landscape setting Hausmann used to advertise Franz Jung's novel, *Der Sprung aus der Welt!* in his first Dada publication, the *Club Dada* number of *Die freie Straße* (1918, fig. 30). This vocabulary of striated forms also appears among the collage elements in the 1919 portraits *Gurk* (fig. 58) and *Mynona* (fig. 60). These passages are clipped directly from an impression of the woodcut. Similarly, the semicircular variations of these striations which appear in the ambiguously jumbled composition of the nude woodcut of 1917 (fig. 24)—probably derived from the *Blue Nude* (fig. 23)—turn up in the *Club Dada* cover (fig. 36).



Figure 30. Raoul Hausmann, Untitled ("Der Sprung aus der Welt"), ca. 1917
 Woodcut, 10 5/8 × 7 7/8 inches.
 (Illustration in Club Dada Prospekt. Die freie Straße 7/8
 [1918]. Marthe Prévot Collection, Limoges)

In his advertisement for Jung's novel (fig. 30), Hausmann disrupted the syntax enough to "stretch" the visual sign systems of both the alphabet and visual representation, while permitting them to be read. The page functions as foreground and background, rectangles and triangles are given multiple purposes, and striated forms become variously rooftops, ground, and trees. In his *Club Dada* cover, the impersonal arbitrary forms of the alphabet are directly intermingled with Expressionist-derived forms to create a visual and semiotic ambiguity.

In moving toward a vocabulary of autonomous forms which could be given multiple and situational purposes in their repeated usage, Hausmann had begun to provide an impersonal language as "the binding force for a new community" for the anonymous New Man. Obstructing the path was the heritage of the Renaissance man. Recalling his artistic development in a notebook entry of 1921, Hausmann objected to central-point illusionism. "The will to anthropomorphize . . . to be ruler of the world, [and] of things, gave birth to illusionist art. This old art was a construction, a summary . . . around a center-point." A major proposal for composition followed: "new art is a decentralization, the disintegration of a center-point, a dissolution."⁹¹ As late as 1922, Hausmann remained preoccupied with a "way out" of the "three-dimensional, solipsistically-centered world."⁹² Much like Wilhelm Worringer, whose views he usually rejected, Hausmann saw abstraction as something man had created "in opposition to the terrifying reality" which he desired "banned."⁹³ Consequently Hausmann's desire to neutralize the composition was not related to any interest in abstraction. He simply wanted a visual analogy to Friedländer's description of the self as an entirely "neutral center of gravity of all diverse weights."⁹⁴

Hausmann's compositional procedures began to change around 1916–17. Previously Burliuk's managing of highly plastic faceting and Archipenko's handling of regularized sculptural forms had provided Hausmann with a provisional means of keeping order. Now the two-dimensional surface of his work was increasingly accepted as a field, subject to various sorts of order and structure. The dispersed forms and letters of the *Club Dada* cover are contained by the arbitrary forms of a Dada "nest" (fig. 36). The poem *grün* (1918, fig. 40) is made up of a cluster of letters. An architectonic matrix was generated semiautomatically from his gestures and geometric forms in a landscape sketch made up of arbitrary rectangles (fig. 31). Variations on this procedure are seen in the advertisement for Jung's *Der Sprung aus der Welt!* (fig. 30), the series of *abstrakte Bildideen* [abstract picture ideas] (fig. 32), and the *Milchstrasse* [Milky Way] poster (fig. 55). Structure could be varied considerably in its degree of order and disorder while embracing the surface and departing from the depiction of depth through illusion.



Figure 31. Raoul Hausmann, *Untitled (Landscape with Buildings)*, ca. 1916
Ink on paper, $8\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ inches.
(*Marthe Prévot Collection, Limoges*)



Figure 32. Raoul Hausmann, *Abstrakte Bildidee*, 1919
Watercolor and ink, 10 5/8 × 6 7/8 inches.
(Marthe Prévot Collection, Limoges)

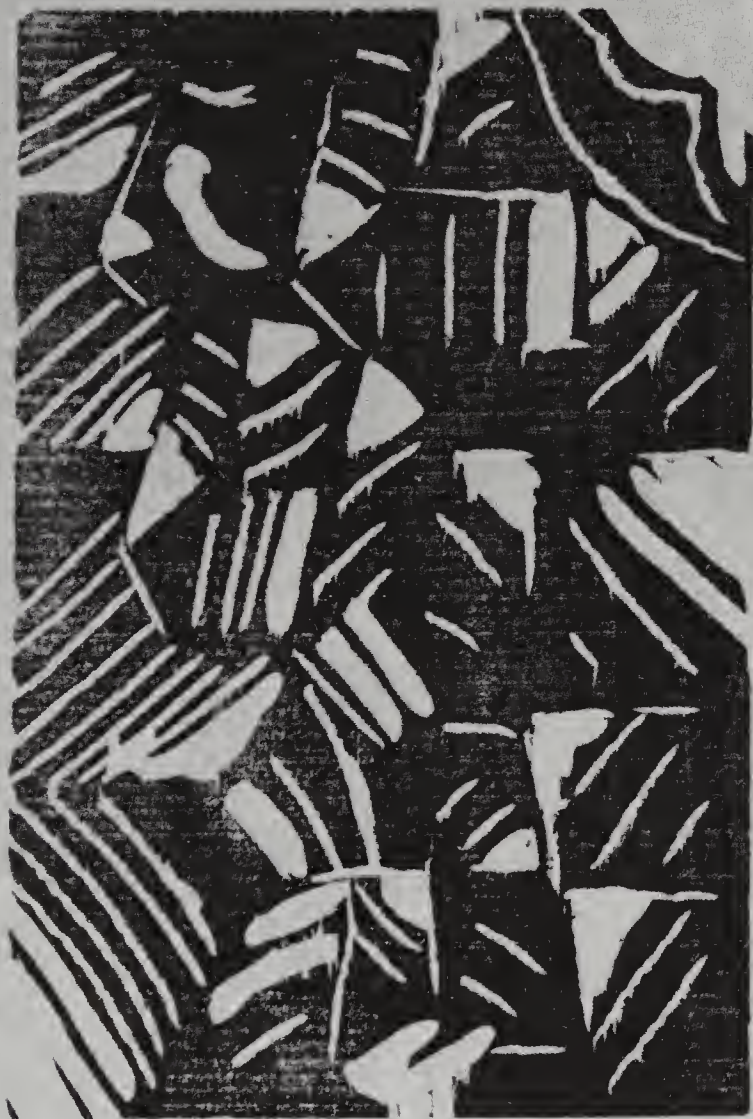


Figure 33. Arthur Segal, Untitled
Woodcut.

(Location unknown; Reproduced in *Dada 3* [Zurich: December 1918], p. 9.
Collection Hans J. Kleinschmidt, New York)

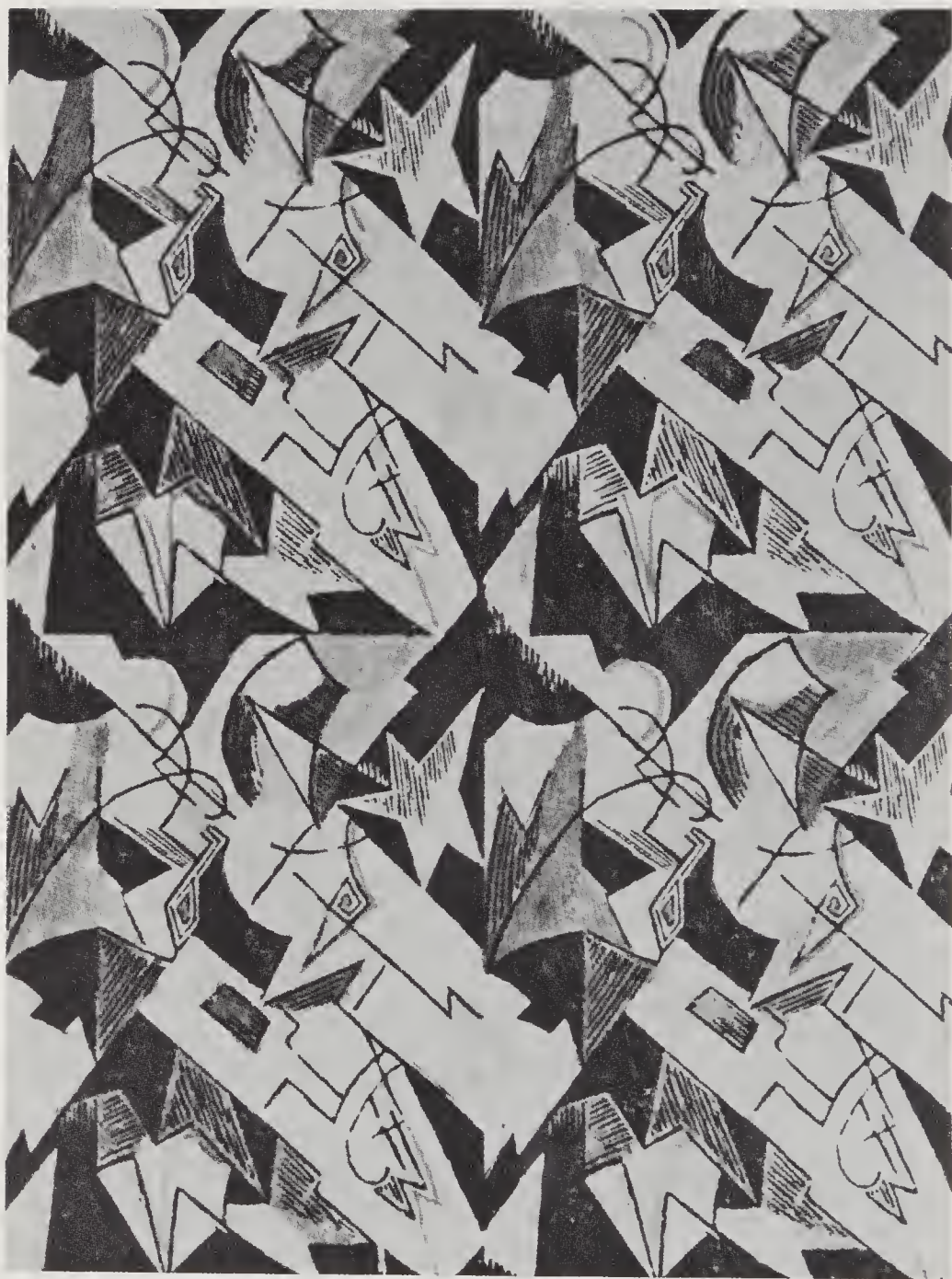


Figure 34. Hannah Höch, *Series of Stenographic Variations*, 1917
Watercolor, $9 \frac{5}{8} \times 7 \frac{1}{4}$ inches.
(Arturo Schwarz Collection, Milan)

An interest in structuring an evenly dispersed surface had become increasingly common in the mid-teens. Examples by artists as diverse as Robert Delaunay, Marc, Heinrich Hoerle, Arthur Segal, and Georg Muche were among the reproductions in *Die Aktion* and *Der Sturm* during 1915–17. Works by Arp and van Reese were available in the Zurich Dada journal *Cabaret Voltaire*, which was in Berlin at the latest by 1917 when Huelsenbeck returned from his Swiss sojourn.⁹⁵ Hausmann especially admired as “pioneers” Giannattasio and Delaunay because they brought pure sensation in their works:

Delaunay conceived the problem far more sensually in the principle of simultaneity, which the Futurists had already applied, in that, they built up the picture out of partial impressions, just as in film.⁹⁶

For Hausmann, the constructive principles of composing a work had to have a purpose based in perception to correspond with the “altered world-picture of mankind.”⁹⁷ In *The Revolving Door of the Taverne de Paris* (1913), Giannattasio used abbreviations of light distributed across the entire surface as a pattern without privileging a center-point.⁹⁸ Hausmann’s admiration for Boccioni’s studies of *dinamismo* may well be reflected in his use of diagonals to help structure a portrait of himself with Höch of about 1915 (fig. 20) and the *Blue Nude* (1916, fig. 23). The theoretically inclined Romanian painter Arthur Segal is credited in Hausmann’s notebooks with having achieved perhaps the greatest progress:

After the theories of Picasso and Kandinsky emerges the theory of equivalence of Segal. It was desired that the artwork—through destructive decentralization[which]equalized from the middle-point outwards—approaches truth (i.e., spiritual form), in which the value distinctions no longer existed.⁹⁹

Hausmann had probably met Segal by 1915. The two apparently remained well acquainted, possibly as members of the Novembergruppe (where Segal was a director) and probably also as constructivist associates. Segal’s early work, which had affinities with the bold style of Schmidt-Rottluff, had been illustrated in *Der Sturm* from 1911 onward and appeared in a folio in Alfred Meyer’s *Lyrische Flugblätter* series in 1913.¹⁰⁰ His strong sympathies with Cubism and related trends, particularly those developed by Robert Delaunay, led in 1916–17 to a technique of equalizing the entire picture surface, achieved by breaking it down into discrete areas, sometimes based on repeated patterns or grids, which were given equal or equivalent emphasis (fig. 33). Höch was also an admirer of Segal and was working on highly abstract and elaborate floral pattern designs in 1917 (fig. 34). Her interest in intricate asymmetrical rhythms was worked out in a series of tempera embroidery designs. The

vocabulary of irregular yet standardized forms she created in 1917 reappears with a more precise articulation in her later stage sets.¹⁰¹ Hausmann is probably indebted to her combinations of curvilinear and striated forms in his untitled nude woodcut and the woodcut used for the Jung advertisement (figs. 24 and 30).

Hausmann and Höch may have attended the 1916 Sturm summer exhibition which presented Segal, Muche, Chagall, Picabia, Marc, Kandinsky, among others, as "Expressionisten." Hausmann's woodcut of 1917, used for the Jung advertisement (fig. 30), reflects several of these sources. The upper left quarter of the composition has particular affinities with Segal's mature work, while the right half consists in floating forms in a manner quite similar to Chagall's use of fragmented "memory" images and symbols within a flattened, gravity-defying space. Hausmann had admired the Chagalls from both the Russian and the Parisian periods which he saw at the Sturm galleries in 1915.¹⁰²

Chagall had devotees within all factions of the Berlin avant-garde. He was clearly the inspiration, for example, in Richter's works reproduced in *Zeit-Echo* during the spring of 1917 and in his illustrations for Iwan Goll's *Unterwelt* [Underworld], several of which were published in *Die Aktion* at the end of 1917.¹⁰³ Muche's admiration of Chagall was shown in his paintings of constructed abstract forms, *Der Stadt meiner Geliebten II* [The City of my beloved II] and *Gestaltung des Kreises* [Form of the Circle], shown at the Georg Muche-Max Ernst Sturm exhibition of January 1916.¹⁰⁴

Hausmann's affinity with Muche is seen in the distribution of geometric forms in architectonic structures in his 1917 print (fig. 30), in sketches from the mid-teens (fig. 31), and in the irregular structures in the *abstrakte Bildidee* series begun in 1918 (fig. 32). Hausmann's imaginary architecture is similar to Muche's *Nell Walden Gewidmet* [To Nell Walden] (1915), with its suggestions of girders and architecture (shown also at the January 1916 Sturm exhibition), and to his drawings and prints of 1916, with their highly irregular geometric and architectonic structures.¹⁰⁵ By 1919, Hausmann's structures had evolved into a "Fantastic Architecture" series with affinities with both Muche's complex compositions of interlocking planes within *Gittermotiven* [Trellis-Motifs] and the fantasies of Jefim Golyscheff (figs. 68 and 69).

Like Segal, Hausmann attempted a balance of forms away from the center of his compositions. But whereas Segal evolved regular patterns, Hausmann, like Muche, exploited irregularity to produce a complex and intricate balance. As recombinations of a given vocabulary of autonomous forms derived from previous works (figs. 30 and 60), his compositional structures function in a way analogous to Bergson's concept of "space," that is, as symbols of "the tendency of the human intellect to fabrication. . . . The intellect is characterized by the unlimited power of decomposing according to

any law and of recomposing into any system.”¹⁰⁶ Hausmann’s autonomous forms belong to a perceptual process of psychological complexity suggesting Einstein’s “concrete organisms.” As explained in *Negerplastik*, the process of “formal clarification,” as an alternative to Cubist composition,

must engender functional centers, according to which it is ordered; out of these cubistic “points-centrales” a necessary [and] pronounced distribution occurs without further ado which can be described as a powerful autonomy of the parts . . . the naturalistic masses play no role. (xxi)

Einstein hoped that “a powerful realism of the formula will emerge” (xv) which, unlike “closed-out” imitative naturalism (xv), “is real through its closed form, because it is autonomous and powerful throughout” (xv). For Hausmann, a rejection of the anthropomorphic perspective meant that “there will no longer be composition as hitherto understood in new art . . . there will be only tensions, relationships of colors or formal elements to one another.”¹⁰⁷ Consequently,

there can not and will not . . . be any longer any sort of compositional center point, because in the higher sense, tensions can only be formed diagrammatically as lines of undulation, without center points.¹⁰⁸

Hausmann’s new art became a kind of diagram of the inherent structure of reality and a map of cosmic consciousness. His anonymous *New Man* was to be enacted not in emotional empathy but in the regaining and cultivation of vision:

Seeing is an enchanted process and the transformation of this process in art is conjuring, transfixing, magic. . . . In early times of humanity the representation of man’s environment was not naturalism, simple reproduction, rather man’s total relations to and perceptions of the world and the powers stirring within them were symbolically and magically grasped, condensed, transfixed.¹⁰⁹

Hausmann's New Man in Search of the New Community

*The inner transformation of man from his yet extant isolation, indissolubleness in the We, of the community, liberation of the experience of all, requires the agitationally political deed, the immediate destruction of the hitherto society.**

"Menschen leben Erleben" (1918)

Long before "Dada" was discovered in Zurich, the social context for the Club Dada began to develop against the background of the Expressionist communionism which came increasingly to the fore during the war years. The distant and exotic stirrings of the Russian Revolution exerted a profound influence on intellectual circles, and through the influence of Dostoevsky and Tolstoy, what Sokel has called "the image of the fraternal way of life of apostolic Christianity" was revived.¹ In his journal, *Zeit-Echo*, Ludwig Rubiner extolled the Russian Revolution and had exhorted intellectuals in Germany to drop their generally apolitical stance. Hans Richter contributed anti-war sketches to the journal, as well as an article on politics and art.² Many other writers, such as Leonhard Frank and Johannes Becher, were convinced that the *Wandlung*, or total transformation of man and society which they yearned for, had indeed occurred in Russia.³

Hausmann also reacted favorably to the Russian Revolution and apparently pinned many of his hopes for a New Man on its outcome. A text in Hausmann's hand declares that the Western press had every reason to be alarmed about the Revolution and extols the "Russian Man" who "is

* "Die innere Umgestaltung des Menschen aus seiner noch bestehenden Isolierung, Nichtauflösung im Wir, der Gemeinschaft, Freimachung des Erlebens aller fordert die agitatorisch politische Tat, die sofortige Zerstörung der bisherigen Gesellschaft." Hausmann, "Menschen leben Erleben," rpt. in Hausmann, *Texte* 1: 23.

beginning to awaken," to "see clearly the true ideal of the state of mankind on the earth." Recognizing that "the embryo of God exists in all men," the "new European man . . . born in Russia" would cut off "the soulless force of the materialistic and militaristic machine."⁴ This attempt to unify religious, social, political, and philosophical ideals within the concept of the New Man shows how Hausmann, like so many writers of the day, looked to the Russian tradition of Dostoevsky, Tolstoy, and a primitive Christianity when assessing its contemporary politics.

Despite his enthusiasm, Hausmann was developing a position critical of the Russian tradition which would contribute to his concept of Dadaism. While Dostoevsky is a launching point in the text "*Der Mensch ergreift Besitz von sich*," [Man seizes Possession of Himself] written in late 1916 and early 1917, within a year Hausmann had found himself "sentence for sentence" in agreement with Demetri Merezhkovskiy's appraisal of Tolstoy and Dostoevsky. A "new synthetic truth" could only "be born" from the encounter "of these two opposing principles—the anarchy of Tolstoy and the theocracy of Dostoevsky."⁵ The Dadasoph as iconoclast is forecast in Hausmann's insistence with Merezhkovskiy that "the first flash of the last religious manifestation can produce the last revolutionary action. . . . The true Kingdom of God distinguishes itself, however, through the abolition of all symbols."⁶

Hausmann's appraisal of Tolstoy and Dostoevsky developed over the course of the next year and was published in 1920. Although their views depended upon a grasp of the essential contradictory nature of the Russian people without which "the democratization of Russia would never have been possible," they ultimately failed to ignite the called-for total transformation, for "these were men of thoughts, not men of deeds."⁷ It was also partly on the basis of this appraisal that Hausmann took his stance against the intellectual factions among the Expressionists while sharing their objective of a "deklassierte" [classless] society. As he expressed it in his early political theory in "*Der Proletarier und die Kunst*" [The Proletarian and Art] (1918), "We proclaim the participation of the proletarian in play"—"play" for Hausmann being both "joy in the nearness of expression to reality and pleasure, which gives the urge to form."⁸ Hausmann objected to the paternalism shown by intellectuals in their reaction to the social revolution: "The proletarian requires no particular 'spiritual' incendiary art." He felt that the confusion of art with a propaganda created for the proletarian by literati was "stimulated by Tolstoy's thoughts."⁹

Hausmann's New Man arose from a synthesis of several religious traditions which were blended with social, psychological, and metaphysical descriptions of reality. But while Hausmann was interested in Eastern mysticism and had read Chuang Tzu, Lao-tse, and the Tao Te Ching, his

attention was directed most avidly toward Christianity which became for him a rather unorthodox melting pot. In his appraisal of Tolstoy and Dostoevsky, Hausmann saw the ideal man of their conception as a Napoleon and his own as closer to Christ: "Napoleon against Christ—the violator against the redeemer, the spirits of Europe have no other choice."¹⁰ Thus in a text Hausmann wrote at the end of August 1917 Dostoevsky is seen as only a "precursor" of the recognition of "the true and complete, the sole possible anarchy, as a theocracy of human trinity, man, woman, child" as "unity, commonalty of man."¹¹ A few days later, upon buying a book by Merezhkovskiy, Hausmann quoted with approval the passage "the entirety of Christianity [is] but a way to a coming religion of the trinity."¹²

Strongly influenced by the dualistic terminology of Friedländer, Hausmann's New Man, the "eternal Creator-Person, Spirit-God," or "God-person," was required to maintain his balance amid opposites.¹³ In contrast with the Activists' cry "Der Mensch ist Gut" [Man is good], and with Rubiner's belief in the fundamental goodness of man—concepts pitting man against the evils of the world—Hausmann viewed "God in man as humility and violence, Good and Evil" and praised Merezhkovskiy as "the first, who is conscious of Evil also in the divine vision," while criticizing Dostoevsky for failing to understand this "Gegen-Spiel" [counter-play].¹⁴

Hausmann's eccentric Christianity and vision of a New Man in an identity close to that of Christ was, in his view, transitional to a later more perfect "Heaven on Earth"; and it functions in the intellectual history leading up to Dada as the final stage of Hausmann's thinking prior to its secularization. His "Christ" identity was an urgent concern in September when he requested from Höch a manuscript of his text "Christus." Roughed out in March 1917, but never published, "Christus" presents Christ—not to be confused with Christianity, which "never comprehended Christ"—as an inner haven of indeterminacy.¹⁵ Like Huelsenbeck's "neuer Mensch" who "carries pandemonium within himself," this figure offered an alternative to the Expressionist Apocalyptic vision of Jacob van Hoddiss' "Weltende" (1910), the war poetry of Trakl and Lichtenstein, Meidner's "Burning City" pictures (fig. 3), and Dix's *War* (1914):¹⁶

The idea of the end of the world was not expressed by Christ as negation.... On the contrary Christ said: Heaven is closer to you than thou knowest! and meant thereby: the world will end in heaven! The idea of the end of the world is deterministic, Christ was indeterminist!¹⁷

Hausmann's figure in "Christus" seemed to fulfill his objective stated in early 1917: "so the egoistical superficiality and isolation of man will be exploded, destroyed, determinism transformed into indeterminism."¹⁸ "The demand of Christ" in "Christus" includes "love thine enemy" and "do unto others as you

would have them do to you," raising a primary concern with the constant struggle of the "I" and the "You": "Be not-I! I against You."¹⁹

Concurrently Hausmann was presenting almost precisely the same demands in the more secularized vocabulary of psychology in "Du Mensch" (June 1917), "Menschen leben Erleben" (1917, published 1918), and in his untitled text beginning, "Der innere Mensch . . ." dated December 10, 1917, passages of which appeared verbatim in the trappings of political discourse in "Zu Kommunismus und Anarchie," (*Der Einzige*, 1919), and "Schnitt durch die Zeit" (*Die Erde*, 1919). As had Baader in his *Vierzehn Briefe Christi* (1914), Hausmann was advocating a utopian community based on a fundamental attitude of acceptance—a "Heaven on Earth"—in which such polarities as good-evil and self-other could be accommodated.

The prevailing trend towards communal utopianism in which Hausmann shared was frustrated by events beyond the control of the avant-garde circles, and soon after the outbreak of the war, activity fell into an involuntary lull. Of the dozen or so Expressionist journals flourishing in Berlin prior to August 1914, only *Die Aktion* and *Der Sturm* survived the course of the following year and virtually no literary evenings were held beyond those of the Sturm group.²⁰ This dissolution of the literary and artistic circles and the loss of such figures as Franz Marc, Auguste Macke, Auguste Stramm, George Trakl, and Alfred Lichtenstein made continuity impossible. Alliances and allegiances among individuals were broken, shifted, and formed anew. Paul Cassirer, a leading Expressionist publisher and gallery owner, quickly brought out a new journal, *Kriegszeit*, which featured works by Max Liebermann and Ernst Barlach in support of the war, whereas Franz Pfemfert fervently continued his leftist anti-war attacks in *Die Aktion*, despite being restricted to marginal commentary by censors. By January 1916, when Herwarth Walden published his "Hohes Lied des Preußentums" [Prussian Song of Songs] which extolled the political order, military pride, and the sun, moon and stars as "preußisch," Cassirer had published his last number of *Kriegszeit*. In April he shifted to a new position of dismay over the suffering of the war and presented many of the same artists (Liebermann, Slevogt et al.) with a demand for peace in a new journal, *Der Bildermann*. The anguished voices of Heckel, Kirchner, and other Expressionists were added to the effort. Although *Der Sturm* remained neutral throughout the war, Walden gradually changed his views, becoming an active communist after the war.

Hausmann sought a pacifist position amidst this uncertainty. His dissatisfaction with Walden, evident as early as 1915, was only intensified by his "Hohes Lied des Preußentums."²¹ Hausmann shifted to Pfemfert's circle and published in *Die Aktion* and the *Aktionsbuch* during 1917. This was his first opportunity to take up writing seriously.

An important new circle grew out of a group which was meeting in 1915 in the studio of Hausmann's close associate, Ludwig Meidner. Prior to his

induction in August 1916, Meidner was intensely associated with Franz Pfemfert's *Die Aktion*. It was in his studio in 1915 that Grosz met Wieland Herzfelde and Hausmann met Conrad Felixmüller. Friedländer and another close associate of Pfemfert's, Franz Jung, also attended the meetings. Jung was significant in the early phases of Berlin Dada but left just before it began to flourish in 1919. Richter called the friendship which developed between Hausmann and Jung "remarkable . . . cold blooded, and macabre."²²

Unlike the earlier Expressionist groups, Meidner's circle did not simply foster the aesthetic and philosophical radicalism of an insular bohemian world. Events forced the group to set its focus on the broader society they held responsible for the ongoing catastrophe. The avant-garde was no longer distinguished as separate, nor was it exempted from their harsh criticism. As Wieland Herzfelde later remarked, the unifying ambition in this group was simply "to do 'something' against the war."²³

Shrewdly avoiding the censorship on new publications, Herzfelde purchased the publishing rights for *Neue Jugend* [New Youth], a journal which had been suspended by its editor who objected to the generally pro-war sentiments of its final "Kriegs-Sonderausgabe" [Special War Edition] of December 1914. Resuming publication in July 1916, *Neue Jugend* took an entirely new direction which provided an important forum independent of the remaining institutions of Expressionism. By the following spring, the final two issues would offer early evidence of the essential distinctions between Dada and Expressionism and of the emerging polemic against the Expressionists.

Initially the attack, led by Richard Huelsenbeck, was quite subtle. His "Der neue Mensch," while expounding the New Man theme common among the Expressionist writers, took a position against Kurt Hiller, leader of the Activists. In contrast with this Expressionist New Man, who was pitted against a troubled, fragmented, and uncertain world, and who derived strength by looking inward for unity (fig. 3), Huelsenbeck created a figure who "carries pandemonium within himself . . . for or against which no one can do anything."²⁴ Huelsenbeck continued his assault in later issues of *Neue Jugend*.

Neue Jugend also provided an important emphasis on visual presentation, especially when it appeared in a newspaper format in its final two numbers. Accompanying this new American format was a new name, John Heartfield, the subversive Americanization chosen by Helmut Herzfelde when he took over the journal in the absence of his brother, Wieland, who had returned to the front. Among Heartfield's earliest work was the innovative typography in the announcement "Prospekt zur kleinen Grosz-Mappe" which appeared in the second number (fig. 35). Phrases and slogans, sometimes overlapping, were scattered across the page at several different angles in a style even more innovative than that of the four introductory pages of the portfolio being advertised.²⁵ The portfolio pages were described by Herzfelde in the

**Soeben
erschienen!**

in die überaus einfache Handlung der Komik unweigerlich eingefangen, die Ruhe Adolfs ist der größten Wirkung fähig. Die vornehme Selbstbeobachtung des Direktors Albert Schumann in seinen hervorragend gearbeiteten Dreifurakt ist zu bekannt, als daß noch besondere Worte darüber zu verlieren wären. Gut sind auch die 4 Veras, Drahtseilkünstlerinnen. Sie wirken in der Manege sehr noch besser, als unlängst im Apollo-Theater. Das übrige ist Kriegsdurchschnitt. Dem großen Publikum gefallen Turt Dambolers Bayrische Alpen-Spiele. (Die Tauben auf der Szene schlagen gottseidank das Theater aus dem Feld). Die Pantomime Halail, Parforce-Schnitzeljagd, gehört nicht gerade zur besten Tradition des Unternehmens.

eine ganze Romanserie verlegen will. Die Aufmachung spottet jeder Beschreibung, jeder Marienkalender ist besser. Paul Adler, im Zeichen höchster „Deutschheit“ — sagt er, hat das Wort!

Heinrich Michalski, Gründer von Beruf, hat mit der Europäischen Staats- und Wirtschaftszeitung Pech gehabt — er ist trotz Gründung ausgebootet worden. Dort sitzen jetzt andere Herren am Tisch. Es ist zu begreifen, daß Heinrich bald was Neues gemanagt hat: Die Dreil Sehr bekcheiden. Michalski sollte ruhig sagen: Die Tausend! Man lese aber dies Blatt, das in München mit irgendwelcher Politik und sonstwie erscheint. Man lese es um Heinrichs willen

**Soeben
erschienen!**

**Soeben
erschienen!**

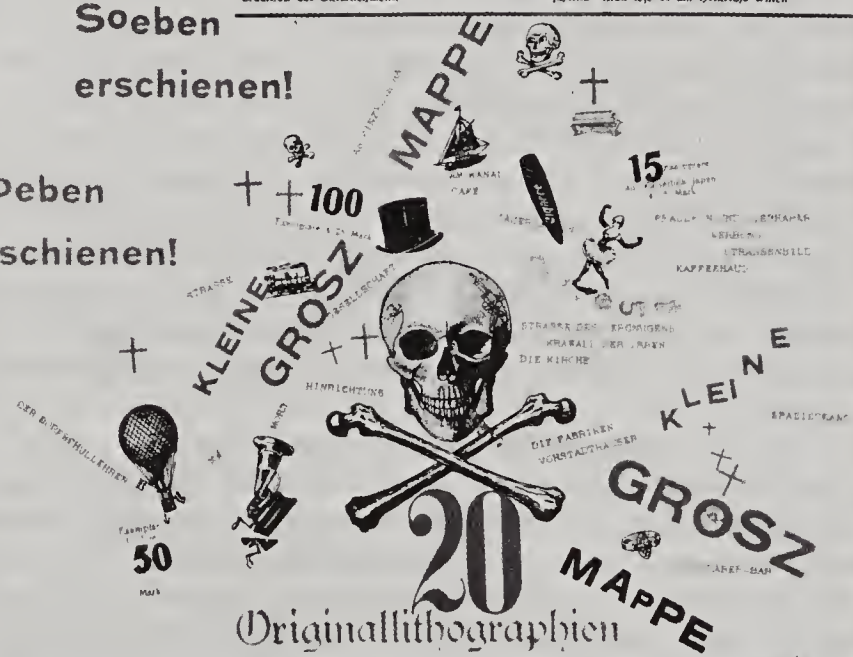


Figure 35. John Heartfield, *Prospekt zur kleinen Grosz-Mappe*, 1917
 Typography.
 (Announcement in *Neue Jugend* 2, 2 [1917])

1920 *Dada-Messe* catalog (the first retrospective exhibition of the Berlin movement) as “the first Dadaist printing effort in Germany.” Heartfield’s incorporation of generic images of the sort found in advertisements, dictionaries, and mail-order catalogs corresponds to Herzfelde’s criteria, as expounded in 1920, demanding the presence of contemporary and local events within the content of Dadaist imagery.²⁶ Hausmann’s use of such imagery on the cover of *Der Dada 1* (fig. 37) would find its transformation in the “photomontage” technique which became the hallmark of Berlin Dada. The use of multiple colors (which Heartfield intended to extend to the use of white print on black mourning crepe paper in a proposed number of *Neue Jugend*) would find its way into *Der Dada 3* when its typography was under Heartfield’s direction.

George Grosz (the subversive American name chosen by Georg Ehrenfried Groß) was now working in his first mature style and contributing ingredients essential to the Dadaist groundwork of *Neue Jugend*. Having moved from the grotesqueries and horrors of popular fiction seen in his drawings of the early teens, Grosz was now portraying similar subjects as he found them in the real world—and in a style derived from the crude graffiti expressions of the actual victims. In a drawing in the February-March issue, Grosz refined his style into a chaotic arabesque out of which emerged the portrayal of the brutal and predatory world of the modern urban environment.

At this time, Grosz was working toward a balance between two styles. One could be formally innovative, as exemplified in his 1917 bookcover for Herzfelde’s *Sulamith*,²⁷ a combining of collaged letters from a printed source with Grosz’ own whimsical descriptions penciled into the scene portrayed (“daisy” near a flower, “à bas” under the sun). On the other hand, works such as the painting, *Deutschland, ein Wintermärchen* [Germany, a Winter’s Tale] (1917–19, visible on the back wall in fig. 82), were more conventional in their representation but sounded a strongly political mood of protest. Grosz later described the stereotype of the German bourgeois portrayed here as sitting “clinging desperately to his knife and fork, the world . . . reeling around him.”²⁸ Below the Futuristically tumbling scene the “pillars of society” stand undaunted: “army, church, and school.”

Herzfelde’s *Neue Jugend* circle was critically important for Hausmann, although he never contributed to the journal. Hausmann’s absence may have been due to the clash of personalities involved. He reported his first encounter with Herzfelde in Meidner’s studio in August 1915 to Höch as unpleasant. He was called a “Schwein” by the man whom he came to regard as “mein—Herr Gegner.”²⁹ Over the course of two years, however, relations between the two improved and Hausmann was eventually asked to submit something to *Neue Jugend*.

Indeed, it was apparently Herzfelde who established the important liaison between Grosz and Hausmann. Hausmann's first impression was far different from Walter Mehring's encounter with an "unemployed circus-clown" or "dance acrobat" at the "Café des Westens" (ca. 1912) and Herzfelde's confrontation with a "salesman from Holland" who intended to employ war-cripples in the making of hand-painted artifacts from grenade splinters.³⁰

This is a man, [who] . . . can be pleasing man to man. We understood one another sans façon in 5 words—really he pleases me. . . . But this is one who does *not* carry his heart on his tongue. Fabulously ironic, he only *appears* to twaddle, but leaves the others unmasked. He is calm, certain and can be quiet. He will certainly make something of himself.³¹

Before anything could come of these contacts for Hausmann, publication of *Neue Jugend* was suspended during the summer of 1917. Not only was censorship a problem, but as Herzfelde recounted, political events had led the participants to consider direct protest action as being more important than publishing ventures.³² Seven evenings were held during the fall and spring of 1916–17. These evenings were, according to Heartfield, intended "more as agitation against the war than as propaganda for the journal."³³ As Roy F. Allen has emphasized, few of the intellectuals in Berlin were not strongly influenced by "outer-directed socio-political ideals" as their opposition grew.³⁴ By the time the last meeting was conducted on April 17, 1917, the Russian Revolution had begun in Petrograd on March 8, and America had entered the war against Germany.

The remnants of the *Neue Jugend* circle formed the Berlin Dada group during the following year as the revolutionary fervor was beginning to grow in Germany. When Huelsenbeck arrived in Berlin from Zurich sometime in January 1917, he had brought with him the "magic" word "Dada" as well as a comprehensive set of tactics and assumptions for launching a movement—what Richter has called the Dada bomb which had been perfected and tested in Zurich.³⁵ Although the word "Dada" would eventually help unify the Berlin group, Huelsenbeck's initial tactics, derived from what he would later lambaste as the "manicure salon of the fine arts" of the Zurich Galerie Dada, were apparently less successful than Richter's comments would imply.³⁶ By February 16 he was already planning a "Propagandaabend Dada" [Dada propaganda evening] and later in the spring was asking Tristan Tzara for material from Zurich to "propagate." By August he was boasting in a letter signed also by Georg Schrimpf and Franz Jung that the *Neue Jugend* group amounted to "eine Bewegung" [a movement] comparable with that which was beginning to blossom in Zurich, and that he was about to launch a propaganda evening, journal, and exhibition.³⁷ If the word "Dada" and intense political activity had been all that was required, Berlin Dada would by

then have been well underway. But, in fact, no events or publications associated with the word "Dada" are reported originating in Berlin prior to January 1918; nor was anyone, with the exception of Huelsenbeck, calling himself a Dadaist before then.³⁸ Instead the situation was far more complex and, as Huelsenbeck recognized in 1920, Dada entered Germany as a "mere word" and accumulated its meaning as events unfolded.³⁹

Among the factors the Berlin Dadaists had to contend with was the presence of a true social revolution. It may have been the October Revolution of November 7, 1917, which prompted Huelsenbeck unexpectedly to dress the word Dada in a decidedly political and internationalist tone in his "Dadarede" [Dada speech] delivered at a Vortragsabend in I. B. Neumann's gallery in Berlin on January 22, 1918.⁴⁰ In this speech he distanced Dada from "the elements of Futurism" and "the theorems of Cubism," making "Dada" more available to the concerns immediately at hand, proclaiming "politics are only a step away." This tone was essential to attract the interest of the politically minded figures Grosz, Heartfield, Herzfelde, and Jung. Hausmann and Baader, by contrast, would come to Dada by another route, and they were very much closer to Huelsenbeck's image of man as a container of pandemonium as he had expressed it in his essay, "Der neue Mensch."

Although Hausmann did not sign Huelsenbeck's August 1917 letter to Tzara declaring the existence of a "movement" in Berlin, he was certainly in contact with signatories Schrimpf and Jung. In a letter to Höch in May, Hausmann noted that Schrimpf had paid him a visit and had informed him that Grosz would be exhibiting in the upcoming Sturm group show. Schrimpf, as an illustrator, and Jung, as an editor, were involved in an important journal which had begun publication in 1915, *Die freie Straße* [The Free Streets]. Beyond the important personal contacts he made there, the Freie Straße circle had a special importance for Hausmann: "In the Freie Straße we had an exemplary education and applied ourselves to it every instant for three years."⁴¹

Founded in the autumn of 1915 by Jung and Richard Oehring, *Die freie Straße* was a center of the intense revival of anarchist and anti-authoritarian views of the period. The members of the group held much in common with political revolutionaries of the day. The writings of Engels, Marx, and Proudhon were well known to them and are the background for Hausmann's argument against property in his "Gegen den Besitz!" [Against Property!], published in *Die freie Straße* when it was under his own editorship in 1918. In addition to the usual bohemian staples of Nietzsche, Bergson, Simmel, Strindberg, Whitman, Dostoevsky, and others, both individual-anarchism, as derived from Max Stirner's (pseudonym of Johann Kaspar Schmidt, b. 1806) solipsistic *Der Einzige und sein Eigentum* [The Ego and his Own] (1845), and anarcho-communism, with roots in Michael Bakunin (b. 1814) and Peter

Krapotkin (b. 1842), were of decisive importance. Interest in Stirner had begun to flourish in the 1890s as part of the search for precursors of Nietzsche. Given the efforts of Anselm Ruest and others, Stirner's views became more clearly known and were adopted as common currency among many bohemians during the first decade of the century, and Hausmann had read both Stirner and Bakunin by 1910.⁴²

What most distinguished the Freie Straße group was the overwhelming preoccupation of its members with the psychological theories of Sigmund Freud, Alfred Adler, Ernst Kretschmer, and, above all, Otto Groß. Although he resided briefly in Berlin early in the decade, Groß' influence was accomplished primarily through the devoted efforts of interpretation carried on by Franz Jung. Jung would eventually extol Groß as an "exploding star" for whom "time was not yet ripe."⁴³ The two had met in 1911 in Munich where Groß held court at the Café Stefanie with a group which included Hugo Ball, who would be a central figure in Zurich Dada. By 1913 Groß was rooming with Jung in Berlin and the two were planning to launch a journal.⁴⁴ By the time anything came of this collaboration—*Die freie Straße* 4 (1916) under their joint editorship—Groß was no longer in Berlin and had attained the status of a *cause célèbre* among bohemians and intellectuals in Germany. His father, a noted criminology professor, horrified by his life of narcotics and apparent sexual abandon, had had Groß arrested and committed in 1913.⁴⁵ Groß seemed to have enacted Stirner's demand "that one rise or exalt oneself" in an individual rebellion, without regard for "institutions"—whether they be revolutionary or reactionary.⁴⁶ This conflict with familial and social authority and the successful journalistic campaign for his release, which Jung mounted with the aid of Pfemfert, Huelsenbeck, and Groß' polemical antagonist, Ludwig Rubiner, among others, helped establish the atmosphere in which Berlin Dada would flourish. Jung's promotion of Groß' writings and anarchistic beliefs has been seen as providing "a rationale for the outrageous anarchism of dadaist activities."⁴⁷

Groß' theory was a major influence on Hausmann. It became a major framework for his diverse reading and helped him define the essential problem he was approaching as an artist: the relationship of the consciousness of the New Man to reality. Typically Hausmann first absorbed Groß' views theoretically, and then applied them as a guide in his artistic exploration.

In a crucial essay published in 1914, "Vom Konflikt des Eigenen und Fremden" [On the Conflict of the Self and Other], Groß (acknowledging Alfred Adler) posited a "conflict" which thrives "in the depths of the human interior... which tears the spiritual unity."⁴⁸ Man's struggle with social authority (the "Other") was understood as an integral part of his psyche. This unavoidable "inner disunity, the suffering upon oneself" of the "inner conflict of the Self and Other," remained "unresolved" in the "unconscious."⁴⁹ As

early as 1910, Groß had speculated on the operations of the unconscious as a "preparation" for revolution, and he stated in an article published in *Die Aktion* in 1913 that "the psychology of the unconscious is the philosophy of revolution."⁵⁰ Under the influence of the revival of the romantic matriarchal theories of J. J. Bachofen and others, he now argued for a supplanting of the repressive patriarchy and a return of a matriarchal Ur-culture. The moral implications of his integration of social and psychological solutions, his call for a "new ethic," had already removed him from the good graces of his mentor, Sigmund Freud.⁵¹ Until perceiving this threat to his assumption of scientific-neutrality, Freud had considered Groß as one of his two most promising students.

By 1913, the influence of Groß' views had become apparent. His hypothetical man, integral with society and subject to analysis, had led him into a dispute with Ludwig Rubiner conducted in the pages of *Die Aktion*. Rubiner could not accept Groß' challenge to his own view of man as an island ("Inselexistenz"), a unified inner personality cherished by many of the early Expressionist writers. Groß' departure from anthropocentrism had a more positive effect on the prose writings of Franz Jung. His *Sophie* (1915) is certainly less positivist (indeed it is "pre-analytical") than Groß' writings, but it does function as "a kind of literary psychogram" in its treatment of Groß and the figures in his circle.⁵² Huelsenbeck's essay, "Der neue Mensch," with its claim of an inner "pandemonium," Einstein's novel, *Bebuquin*, which portrays the inner mind as fragmented, capable of attaining unity only as part of a community vision, and Friedländer's "Präsentismus," with its protagonist "Erdkaiser" whose "inner nothingness is the synthesis of the world," are all presentations of a fractured state of mind, of the individual dissolved into the apparent disorder of the world.⁵³

It is difficult to determine exactly when Hausmann became deeply involved in the Freie Straße circle. Jung has maintained that Hausmann found his way into the group after the second number and was so energetic as to be virtually responsible for the continuance of the journal.⁵⁴ However, it is more likely his participation began after the sixth number in 1917. Hausmann was certainly very interested in the journal by April of 1917 when he was quoting from it in a letter to Höch. Ultimately his participation produced one of the earliest Dada publications, the *Club Dada* issue (no. 7/8) of 1918 (fig. 36).

Hausmann was already fascinated with the subconscious processes of perception in his autonomous woodcut forms and absorbed Groß' crucial essay when it was published by Jung in *Die freie Straße* in 1916. By late 1917, Hausmann was convinced that "the conflict of the Self and Other" is the "sole decisive mainspring of all behavior" and that this conflict is integral with our very nature: "this conflict resides firstly within us."⁵⁵ By January 1918, just



Figure 36. Raoul Hausmann, *Club Dada Prospekt*, 1918
 Woodcut cover for *Die freie Straße* 7/8, 10 1/2 × 7 1/2 inches.
 (Collection Hans J. Kleinschmidt, New York)

Direktion r. hausmann
Steglitz zimmermann
strasse 34

dada

50 Pfg.

DER

IOADGDAITTTSA

hausmann - baader

3/ 3333/3333

5,0

dadadegie



Ach

3,14159

3,14159

Jahr I des Weltfriedens. Av. dada

Hasch Kupfer schwächer. Wird Deutschland verlagert. Dann muß es unterzeichnen. Fesche junge Dame, zwanzvierziger Figur für Hermann Loeb. Wenn Deutschland nicht unterzeichnet, so wird es wahrscheinlich unterzeichnen. Am Markt der Einheitswerte überwiegen die Kursrückgänge. Wenn aber Deutschland unterzeichnet, so ist es wahrscheinlich, daß es unterzeichnet um nicht zu unterzeichnen. Amorale. Achtuhr-abendblatt mit brausendeshimmels. Von Viktorhahn. Loyo George meint, daß es möglich wäre, daß Clemenceau der Ansicht ist, daß Wilson glaubt, Deutschland müsse unterzeichnen, weil es nicht unterzeichnen nicht wird können. Infolgedessen erklärt der club dada sich für die absolute Preßfreiheit, da die Presse das Kulturinstrument ist, ohne das man nie erfahren würde, daß Deutschland endgültig nicht unterzeichnet, bloß um zu unterzeichnen. (Club dada, Abt. für Preßfreiheit soweit die guten Sitten es erlauben.)

Die neue Zeit beginnt
mit dem Todesjahr
des Oberdada

Ad 1

Mitwirkende Baader,
Hausmann, Helsenbeck,
Tristan Tzara.

Figure 37. Raoul Hausmann, Cover: *Der Dada 1*, 1919
Journal with woodcuts, 11 3/8 × 9 inches.
(Collection Hans J. Kleinschmidt, New York)

four months prior to his first involvement in Dada, Hausmann had fully assimilated Groß' formula into his own integrated New Man:

The New Man: Community, the dissolution of the I, of the individual, into the impetus, the truth of the We; the suspension of the alien power as violent authority in the innermost authority of the own as boundless responsibility: because We will exist when I am also the Other, I the Other am also other I.⁵⁶

A few months earlier Hausmann had ended a related 1917 text with the statement which became the theme of the first proclamation he published in *Die freie Straße*, "Menschen leben Erleben": "the highest form of existence: community."⁵⁷ This statement reflected an important shift which occurred generally in the Freie Straße circle away from a Stirnerian conception of individualism in terms of compulsion and towards a communitarian ideology closer to the anarcho-communism of Kropotkin and Bakunin. This emphasis on experience as communal, reflected, for example, in Richard Oehring's essay "Zwang und Erleben" [Compulsion and Experience], has been shown to be a logical development of Groß' departure from Freud's emphasis on raw sexual instinct in favor of an understanding of instinct in terms of social organization.⁵⁸

Hausmann's departure from the individual-anarchism espoused in the revival of Stirner and Nietzsche was proclaimed directly in 1919 when he accused Anselm Ruest, a major exponent of Stirner and editor of *Der Einzige*, of altering his "Pamphlet gegen die Weimarische Lebensauffassung" [Pamphlet against the Weimar View of Life]—even though his "position as an anarcho-communist" was "well known."⁵⁹ Hausmann aggressively attacked Stirner in his "Schnitt durch die Zeit" [Section through Time] a few months later.⁶⁰ By this time, however, the point was certainly moot. Hausmann had not only been influenced by Groß to embrace a position of communionism, but was espousing a theory of revolution which took this position more seriously than even Groß's champion, Jung. Ruest would later become the target of Hausmann's mild humor in *Der Dada I* and in a related *Klebebild* [glued picture] portrait (figs. 62 and 59).

Jung clearly thought in more strongly political terms despite the eccentricity of his hijacking a freighter to Russia and attempting to donate it to the cause. For example, he also organized an armed Spartacist band, and eventually joined the KAPD (German Communist Workers' Party). His series of essays on the "means and ends" in the class struggle treated the fully reformed "human community" with its social, sexual, and intellectual equality, as dependent on, but not necessarily simultaneous with, the primary economic revolution.⁶¹ Hausmann's essay, "Zur Weltrevolution" [On World Revolution] by contrast begins:

We experience today the most enormous revolution in all areas of human organization. Not only the capitalist economy, but also all truth, order, justice, morality, also everything masculine and feminine is in dissolution. . . . This revolution would be short, were it only a question of economic transformation. It is long, it will represent the largest and greatest revolution ever seen on earth.⁶²

The focus Hausmann had gained from Groß is evident in his 1919 essay, "Schnitt durch die Zeit": "The foundation of every community is the rise in awareness of the conflict of the Self and Other. From this are formed laws governing economic and sexual, spiritual and technological, relations."⁶³

"Human life," beyond the conflicts of the masculine society and motherhood, would be "quite simply a human trust in the necessity of the human psycho-physic."⁶⁴ Hausmann's commitment gained from his experience in the Freie Straße circle was the pursuit of "Erleben" [experience] in the "Gemeinschaft" [community]. This view was clearly indebted to Jung's emphasis, in the pages of *Die freie Straße*, on the fundamental good, "God, who is in man," which could be manifested in the world, if only man could suspend the conventional authorities: "Be good! Hate religions and laws."⁶⁵ Hausmann admitted that no one can escape the self as "unconditional determinism, the submission to the law of the past" in an unpublished text, "Niemand kann über sich selbst hinaus" [No one can escape Himself], which he was working on during the winter of 1917.⁶⁶ But Hausmann added a challenge to "the unbounded determinism" to be echoed in the Dada manifestos of the following two years: "Transform the stasis of law into the dynamic!"⁶⁷ As a means to this end, Hausmann advocated an escape from and destruction of "the egoistical superficiality and isolation of man": "determinism transformed into indeterminism."⁶⁸

For Hausmann, language was both a direct manifestation of the essentially divine forces of "Erleben" and an opportunity for man's enactment of his essential and communal self. The communal existence and experience of "indeterminism" could be realized,

if everyone only properly understood that his inner conversations, the expressions of the divine cause within him, are dialogues; that they are signs of the universal as well as the extraordinary in the individual-soul, and with this the universal-soul.⁶⁹

The New Man would have to discard all language (whether visual or verbal) of mere representation, regarded by Hausmann as the tyranny of "the Other" as maintained socially by the prevailing bourgeois society. Instead the artist must *reinvent* language and recapture valid experience on the basis of the hitherto ignored psychological operations of man. Following Groß, Hausmann believed that "the immediate altering of outer life, of society, has

as its origin the altering of man.”⁷⁰ In harmony with Einstein, as well as with Jung and Groß, Hausmann sought to reduce language to this psychological level of pure articulation, formation, and sensation.

The views of Groß and the members of the Freie Straße provided an alternative theoretical groundwork which might be drawn upon in building a myth of a new community as integral with the New Man. But myth-building requires a context in which theory can be challenged by reality and become transformed into a socially operative set of beliefs. Through a group begun in Dresden during the fall of 1917 under the name “Expressionistische Arbeitsgemeinschaft Dresden” [Dresden Expressionist Working Group], Hausmann encountered the schism forced on Expressionism by the war, the Russian Revolution and the resultant rise in political radicalism. A major force in the formation of the group was the twenty-year-old Conrad Felixmüller who had already been attempting to start a group two years earlier when Hausmann met him in Meidner’s studio. While Hausmann was reluctant to feel he had “much in common” with the young eighteen-year-old, he found him to be “gifted and very amiable.”⁷¹ By 1917 Felixmüller—working in a late Brücke woodcut style seen in his work exhibited at the Sturm Galleries the previous year—had been featured in a special number of *Die Aktion* and had produced the cover illustration for the *Aktionsbuch*.⁷² That fall Felixmüller worked closely with two Dresden publishers, Heinar Schilling and Felix Stiemer, to form a group to further “Expressionismus” beyond the realm of art. Other participants included Recha Rothschild, Walter Rheiner, Bess Brenck Kalischer, and Hausmann’s acquaintance, Max Bruhn.

Hausmann apparently received a proposed founding statement of the group in August, when it was called simply “Der Bund.” In dismay, he crossed out most of every line of the proposal until he finally gave up and crossed out an entire page and wrote “Unsinn!” [nonsense!] across the bottom and “Ein etwas ungotlicher Bund!” [a somewhat ungodly alliance!] across another. Hausmann was annoyed by an awkward imbalance in the statement between politics and the concern—common currency in all bohemian intellectual circles—with Geist and the transformation of man. The social turmoil in Europe was leading to the general politicization of the Expressionist movement, and Hausmann seemed reluctant when he wrote Höch in late September to announce that he would go into the politically charged atmosphere of Dresden to speak at the Expressionist *soirée* at Felixmüller’s studio.

The events of the October meeting, the third program for the group, were recounted by Schilling. Approximately forty were in attendance and a mood of protest dominated which Schilling characterized as a desire to paint, chisel, write and cry protest “or [else] share the blame.”⁷³ Hausmann’s oration clearly

appeared to be religious and uncompromising in its demands: "Raoul Hausmann placed religiosity next to deed, conceived them as one, thereby the religious, the bound existence would suspend every other expression of life."⁷⁴ Schilling's account shows that Hausmann envisioned "bound existence" monistically and in active, rather than contemplative, terms: "A contradiction awakens. The ultimate reassurance can today, where we stand in all awe, not only be a spiritual concern, it must wade through the terror itself, it must come out of contact with matter."⁷⁵ The social crisis from which Dada would be born became readily apparent when the meeting broke up into small groups. The lines were clearly drawn between the *geistige* [intellectual or spiritual] "fighters," who disdained the means of the opponents (that is, of the *Ungeistigen* seen to dominate German culture and politics) and those who wished first to "end the disgrace with the weapons of the opponents," permitting finally a *geistige* existence to come about. Hausmann would later declare the need for what he called the "agitationally political deed," and proclaim Dada as "the full absence of what is called Geist,"⁷⁶ but on this occasion he appeared as a leading spokesman for the avid *geistige* fighters. His ambivalence would also be seen in the pages of *Menschen* when he attacked the "misuse" of "Geist" among intellectuals as a source of the evils of property and a "means for the stabilization" of bourgeois culture.⁷⁷

The group formulated their mission in 1918 in the first number of *Menschen*. By then the membership included Friedländer, Albert Ehrenstein, Oskar Maria Graf, Walter Hasenclever, Schmidt-Rottluff, and Georg Tappert, among others. Their statement is revealing of the forces which were straining the meaning and identity of late Expressionism:

The monthly "MENSCHEN," as a journal, is the expression of poets, literati, painters and musicians to whom art signifies a means for the changing of man and a call to unity and concentration [Sammlung]. From the establishment of our feeling for life, which is today designated by the word EXPRESSIONISM, to the final consequence, the deed, this series contains chiefly those contributions whose path was previously barred by cliquedom and radicalism. Bound to those nearest us of the older generation, whom we recognize as prerequisites to our activity, we hope for the propaganda [support] of those who, for their part, see in us young completion (not the completed).⁷⁸

The term "Expressionism," while identified as a "feeling for life," is here rescued discursively and polemically from the social mechanisms of "cliquedom" and "radicalism." Other efforts to promote Expressionism reflect this desire to shun political and artistic extremism. Kasimir Edschmid's programmatic statement, "Über den Expressionismus" of 1917, for example, magnified the religious and mystical aspects generally being associated with the term while rebuking the fadish extremism of some of its participants.⁷⁹

Paul Kornfeld, to whom Huelsenbeck refers in his *En avant dada*, also criticized as *bourgeois manqués* those who would deny naturalism for the arbitrary distortions of modernist experimentation.⁸⁰

As Schilling observed, the "plan" was to create an "artistic center of the movement voicing solely artistic values" next to the activity which "was fast becoming political." In this approach, "both circles were thought of as thoroughly concentric."⁸¹ This effort to contain the contradictions was especially apparent in many of the pronouncements on the meaning of "Expressionism" and in the qualifications in these declarations.

While the Expressionists seemed often to flirt with the social and political meaning which "Expressionism" was beginning to accrue, they usually attempted to withdraw the term into a safer realm, to shield "Expressionism" within a metaphysical context. In a lecture during one of the evenings at the Dresden Stierner Verlag, Schilling characterized "Expressionism" as a "slogan [Schlagwort] for the opposition of our new art" and was even willing to accept the meaning of "crass radicalism" assigned the term by the critics in preference to any appearance of compromise.⁸² Nine days earlier in Berlin Huelsenbeck had made provocative statements which also played on social prejudices about slogans: "Dadaism today is still for the war" (as "things must collide") and "Dada is a word, which exists in all languages—it expresses nothing further than the internationality of the movement."⁸³ But in contrast with Huelsenbeck's Dada as the "transition to the new joy of real things,"⁸⁴ Schilling sought to withdraw the term "Expressionism" from the mechanisms of social meaning exploited by the Dadaists and attempted to place it instead within the context of the "absolutes": "it is innermost vision—therefore creation already becomes visionary."⁸⁵

Such differences in attitude about social meaning, more than any factors of belief and intent, reveal the essential distinctions emerging between Dada and Expressionism. Many a Dadaist proclamation would resemble Schilling's criticism of painters for oversimplifying the experience of the "chaotic multiplicity" and his call on artists to live in the present. But for Schilling, it is "all new art" which is "activist"—something not to be specified but "experienced" in an "absolute" sense.⁸⁶ When taking charge of a number of *Menschen* in 1919, Walter Rheiner went even further by altering the declaration of purpose under the masthead such that the materialism responsible for the "four-year-long bloodbath" be challenged by a "prinzipiellen Idealismus" [fundamental Idealism] which was to be called "Expressionist."⁸⁷ For the Dadaists, Expressionism came to embody the formal and political extremism it had wanted to transcend. The Dadaists could not accept any resolution of the inherent conflicts, least of all idealistic ones. While Hausmann and Huelsenbeck would avoid any political line (shunning even the less orthodox manifestations in Herzfelde's journals,

Jedermann sein eigener Fussball and *Die Pleite*), they did alter their artistic production to incorporate references to political (as well as other) systems of meaning. They accepted the way the material and social world confers meaning, rather than referring meaning to a "fundamental Idealism." Indeed they promoted the word "Dada" as a slogan precisely to draw attention to how meaning occurs in the material context. The Expressionists accepted their label as a slogan only as a last resort in the preservation of higher chosen "absolutes." With Expressionism in increasing strife, it is not surprising that Hausmann should prefer the "mere word" Huelsenbeck presented to the public in January 1918. Finally distanced by Huelsenbeck from the movement in Zurich, "Dada" now held a new and, to Hausmann, unbounded potential meaning. Indeed its meaning might "come out of contact with matter."

The New Materiality and the Promise of Dada

*The discarded child's doll or a brightly colored rag are more necessary expressions than those of some ass who would transplant himself eternally in oil paints ultimately in fine parlors.**

“Das neue Material in der Malerei” (1918)

In Zurich, as Hugo Ball expressed it in 1915, the artist was deprived of the “Boden” (or general support) and “Publikum” [public], and consequently “experienced life’s problems more substantially, more radically than at any other time.”¹ Yet this isolation also permitted the Zurich Dadaists to function without much disruption as an avant-garde group based around aesthetic pursuits in exhibitions, poetry readings, and cabarets. When Huelsenbeck returned to Berlin from Zurich in early 1917, he found a situation which was “the greatest possible contrast to the conditions in Zurich.” With the “German Empire cracking in all its joints” and “worry and secret fear on everyone’s faces . . . the Dadaist saw Expressionism as a withdrawal, a flight from the hard edginess of things.”²

While the Berlin dadaists remained “outsiders,” Expressionism was coming into vogue. By 1919 the works of the Brücke artists had increased tenfold in value.³ Max Slevogt, Oskar Kokoschka, Otto Mueller, Christian Rohlf, Cesar Klein, and other Expressionists would be associated with the academy or have academic professorships by 1920. With their works being purchased by the museums, many artists of the newly formed Novembergruppe and Arbeitsrat für Kunst (despite some determined efforts at protest)

* “Die weggeworfene Puppe des Kindes oder ein bunter Lappen sind notwendige Expressionen als die irgend eines Esels, der sich in Ölfarben ewig in endliche gute Stuben verpflanzen will.” Hausmann, “Synthetisches Cino der Malerei,” rpt. in Hausmann, *Texte* 1: 14.

were supporting the new state with posters and publications when the Weimar Assembly adopted its constitution in July 1919. As “yesterday’s outsiders became the new insiders,” and Expressionism became, as Huelsenbeck observed in 1920, the “official art movement,” all was not well among bohemian artists and writers.⁴ Some of the best artists, Otto Dix and Max Beckmann among them, developed in new directions, but many artists, writers, and critics became disillusioned with what they saw as a failure of the Revolution followed by a usurping of Expressionism by the commercial interests of galleries and publishers.

Hausmann and the artists of the *Neue Jugend* and *Freie Straße* groups were among those who rejected the reigning cultural institutions. But they did not share with such literati as Kasimir Edschmid and Johannes R. Becher a concern with the debasing of Expressionism to mass tastes. Moreover, Hausmann, Baader, and Friedländer’s positivist-influenced outlook permitted a quest for the present, concrete reality as it existed across culturally imposed boundaries. The *deklassierte* [classless] *Gemeinschaft* of “all” implied the negation of the need for the separate “Boden,” or supporting subgroup, which had in the past been part of the social mechanism of avant-garde “movements.”

Desiring a direct and neutral encounter with his material and cosmic surroundings, Hausmann was at the forefront of the Dada efforts to reduce art, culture, and language to its pure material existence. In his premiere Dada proclamation, presented at the first official Dada evening on April 12, 1918, and entitled “Das neue Material in der Malerei” [The New Material in Painting] (later published as “Synthetisches Cino der Malerei” [Synthetic Cinema of Painting]), Hausmann insisted: “In Dada you will recognize your real state of mind: miraculous constellations in real material, wire, glass, cardboard, tissue, corresponding organically to your own equally brittle bulging fragility.”⁵ By June of 1918, Hausmann’s search for a balance between man and his social and material surroundings had become almost fully secularized, in contrast with the “religiosity” of the previous autumn: “*Experience* of the community as connectivity in relations must take the place of *belief*, of religion—for which reasons Taoism, Buddhism, and Christianity became a lie.”⁶ Hausmann’s poetry, typography, and collage, as the first Dada works, were part of a consistent pursuit of a synthesis of the conflicting tendencies associated generally with reconciling *Lebensphilosophie* and Positivism, Expressionism and Naturalism. Thus Hausmann’s artistic response to the Expressionist crisis was partly an attempt to preserve the Romantic roots he thought were being corrupted. By accommodating a “disinterested” positivist neutrality—in the vein of Salomo Friedländer’s “creative indifference”—he believed he could unlock the dynamic realm of the Spirit behind concrete reality. Hausmann’s anti-anthropocentrism is in

accord with many of the Idealist and Romantic responses to Kant's exploration of experience, as is seen, for example, in Johann Gottlieb Fichte's "Wissenschaftslehre" [scientific doctrine] which posited a supra-individual ego as a unifying creative force in the universe (thus anticipating Friedländer's concept of *individuum*).⁷ Novalis, a favorite of Hausmann's among the Romantics, approached the universe through language understood—in both visual and verbal terms—as autonomous, "like a mathematical formula," and held that "chance is not unfathomable, it has its own lawfulness."⁸ The genuine experience of "Erleben" within a cosmos of mechanistic operations powered by Geist could be in opposition to the cultivation of emotional states as they welled up in the isolated "cathedral" man cherished by many of the Expressionists. Hausmann's concept of "Erleben," like the definition provided somewhat earlier by Wilhelm Dilthey,⁹ assumed an exchange of life forces with others which would result in the utopian Gemeinschaft. The "new material" demanded by Hausmann and his colleagues was not intended as a rejection of the metaphysical but as a transitional means towards a utopian future which acknowledged conditions of the present.

New material was incorporated into Hausmann's artistic activity in a variety of ways through several fairly discrete stages. While continuing to explore the woodcut (figs. 36, 43, and 45), he developed his optophonetic poetry and innovative typography during the first half of 1918 (figs. 36, 39, 40, and 42) and began to use collage elements toward the end of the year (fig. 42). Despite the arguments that it was "invented" during the summer of 1918, the photocollage did not reach its full application until 1920 (e.g., *The Art Critic*, fig. 78). During the intervening months, and especially during the summer of 1919, Hausmann made collage portraits of Friedländer-Mynona, Paul Gurk, and Anselm Ruest (figs. 60, 58, and 59) which absorbed fragments of texts and scraps from his woodcuts. Photographs, such as those of the small faces in *Ruest*, apparently remained rare in these transitional *Klebebilder* [glued pictures]. The durable motif of the *abstrakte Bildidee* (fig. 32) developed from the structural qualities in the woodcut (figs. 38 and 45). These architectonic fantasies became armatures for such Dada works as the *Milchstrasse* poster (fig. 55). Hausmann's tendency to build structures from one medium into another, while often employing the earlier medium literally as raw material, led finally to such complex photomontages as the *The Art Critic* and *Dada Cino* (figs. 78 and 80).

By 1920 Hausmann was also producing reliefs and assemblages (figs. 70 and 71), only one of which survives, the *Tête mécanique* (fig. 72, ca. 1921). These works had particularly close affinities with contemporary works by Baader, Höch, Golyscheff, Grosz, Dix, Rudolf Schlichter, and Kurt Schwitters. During 1920 Hausmann returned to a kind of classical reserve, not unlike the restraint of his early academic works, in a series of veristic



Figure 38. Raoul Hausmann, Untitled, ca. 1917
Woodcut for *Material der Malerei Plastik
Architektur*, 12 1/4 × 7 1/2 inches.
(Marthe Prévot Collection, Limoges)

watercolors and dry “mechanical” drawings (figs. 87 and 88). Significantly, even this traditional approach was justified by a call for materiality in painting in Hausmann’s unpublished manifesto of 1920, “Die Gesetze der Malerei” [The Laws of Painting], which was apparently signed also by Schlichter, Grosz, and Heartfield. By 1924, Hausmann had come full circle back to the naturalistic portrait while simultaneously abandoning photomontage for the radically direct experiments in synaesthesia of the “optophone” (fig. 95).

The public image of Dada materiality began as an extension of the “bruitism” (or noise aesthetic) which the Zurich Dadaists had borrowed from the Futurists. This was announced at the riotous Dada event of April 12 in Huelsenbeck’s collective “Dadaistisches Manifest” [Dadaist manifesto], then entitled “Der Dadaismus im Leben und in der Kunst” [Dadaism in Life and Art].¹⁰ Also on the program were Grosz, who read “syncopations” and poetry, and Else Hadwiger, who presented Marinetti’s “Beschießung” [Bombardment] to the accompaniment of Huelsenbeck’s ratchet and drum noises.¹¹ This was followed by her presentation of numerous other poems, including Tristan Tzara’s “Retraite” [Retreat]. The event concluded uproariously with Hausmann’s manifesto on “new materials.”

What made the evening so decisive, however, was neither the presence of any decidedly innovative Berlin Dada art nor the determination of any political program. Most significant was that Expressionism, Futurism, and Cubism were, in the words of one reviewer, “noisily renounced” with the obligatory “fanaticism” expected of new art movements.¹² As Huelsenbeck later claimed, the attacks were in a conscious sense propagandistic only insofar as they served “revolutionary ideas” without following any political line.¹³ This antagonistic approach—“playing” revolution, as it seemed to another critic¹⁴—carried out in the midst of the relatively sedate atmosphere of the Berliner Secession galleries perhaps exceeded the desired effect; such was the “volcanic eruption,” as Hausmann later called it,¹⁵ that by the end of the evening, the din of the audience culminated in what a reviewer called “powerful nature noises” which drowned out the last presentations.¹⁶

Huelsenbeck’s manifesto was apparently distributed that evening in an interesting broadside version which included some carefully disrupted typography, probably added by Hausmann.¹⁷ The signatures of Hausmann, Jung, Grosz, Gerhard Preiß, and numerous others were added to lend a “collective” status to the manifesto. Adding further to the disturbance, the *Club Dada* number of *Die freie Straße*, with Hausmann’s typography, was also distributed as a “prospectus” (fig. 36). Hausmann’s manifesto would eventually be transformed into collage versions under the title, “Synthetisches Cino der Malerei” (figs. 64 and 65).

Both Huelsenbeck and Hausmann began their texts as reasoned, theoretical discussions and then exploded into scathing attacks directed primarily against Expressionism. Huelsenbeck’s statement began by

attempting to live up to its billing on the program as “the first theoretical discussion of the Dadaist principle,” but built quickly into a reflection of the violence of the era with a flurry of sharp attacks surpassing those of his earlier “Erste Dadarede in Deutschland”:¹⁸

Art in its execution and direction is dependent on the time in which it lives, and artists are creatures of their epoch. The highest art will be that which in its conscious content presents the thousandfold problems of the day, the art which has been visibly shattered by the explosions of last week, which is forever trying to collect its limbs after yesterday's crash.¹⁹

The manifesto then proceeded to charge Expressionism with gross inadequacies:

Has expressionism fulfilled our expectations of such an art, which should be an expression of our most vital concerns? No! No! No! Have the expressionists fulfilled our expectations of an art that burns the essence of life into our flesh? No! No! No!

Driven by the desire for “honorable mention in the histories of literature and art,” the Expressionists, while espousing a “melioristic philosophy,” had “found their way back to the abstract, pathetic gestures which presuppose a comfortable life free from content or strife.” Under “the battle cry: Dada !!!!” the new direction would embrace “the most primitive relation to the reality of the environment,” cease to take on “an aesthetic attitude toward life,” and lead “to amazing new possibilities and forms of expression in all the arts.” Particularly important for Hausmann, Huelsenbeck insisted that “Dada wants to use new material in painting.”²⁰ As a “club,” as a “state of mind” [Geistesart], as “affirmation-negation,” Dada was now set loose on the world.

Hausmann's manifesto, which takes its title “The New Material in Painting” almost literally from Huelsenbeck, is remarkably similar in its attack on those who “want to sustain imposed conventions”: “the painter paints as the ox lows.” Expressionism is assailed as “the symbolism of this reversal—inner necessity—[which] constantly declines deeper into aesthetic world-domination” and is fit only for “people far from the mark.”²¹ It was undoubtedly comments such as these which brought the house to such an uproar that gallery officials, fearing for the safety of the surrounding paintings, shut out the lights, reducing Hausmann's oration to silent darkness.²² Although most critics reacted negatively to the efforts of Hausmann and Huelsenbeck, or found them to be too “serious” in the midst of the laughter and noise of the notorious event, Willi Wolfradt, for one, showed that the Dadaists succeeded in establishing a focus: he came away with the impression that one is “Dadaist when one undertakes to transform his existence into Dada-existence [Dadasein].”²³ *trans. Dada-being*

Despite his strong rejection of Expressionist *Klamauk* [hullabaloo], Hausmann's ambivalence towards Expressionism was evident in his

Dasein - H. W. Hausmann

manifesto. Some of the primary precepts of Dada, the “perfect well-wishing malice,” appear to be markedly close to those advanced in *defense* of Expressionism slightly more than a year earlier by Paul Hirsch, a Vienna-born author and student of science writing under the pseudonym Paul Hatvani, in “Versuch über den Expressionismus” [Inquiry on Expressionism].²⁴ Indeed, Hausmann had requested the return of his copy of this article from Höch during April 1917, and added his own comments and underlining.²⁵

— Hatvani was widely admired in Expressionist circles because he railed—and with some authority—against the “scientific” pretensions of university philologists;²⁶ and Hausmann, who often directed his attacks against intellectuals, may have been drawn to Hatvani’s opposition of the traditional restraints they placed on language. He might also have approved of Hatvani’s supplanting of Newton—as had Friedländer in his argument for Goethe’s color theory.²⁷ But Hatvani’s reconciliation of a scientific outlook with “spiritual” beliefs and the conclusions he drew regarding the psychological nature of art would have most interested Hausmann. His underlining shows, for example, that he was interested in Hatvani’s pronouncement, “everything is movement.” For Hatvani, it was “a remarkable coming together of spiritual experiences” that “almost simultaneously with the birth of new Expressionist art, the theory of relativity (above all [Albert] Einstein) began to take hold in the sciences.”²⁸ Hatvani reasoned that “rhythm is a time-reflex to the art work. It is the inner periodicity of a metaphysical confirmation of life and with this also the visible characteristic of a force which has its effect through the artwork.”²⁹ Influenced by Baader and Friedländer, Hausmann would have approved of such an empirical outlook which could aid in man’s perception of the totality and mechanical workings of the physical cosmos without threatening the metaphysical. Hatvani also offered an interpretation of consciousness which supplanted the anthropocentrism of much Expressionism. For Hatvani, “Expressionism establishes again the *a priori* of the consciousness,” but he believed in the “differentiated” man,³⁰ who, like Friedländer’s “Individual,” struggles toward the undifferentiated realm of the *Individuum*.³¹ His artist is one who will say, “I am conscious, the world is my expression.”³² Hatvani presented a kind of Nietzschean “eternal recurrence” in which “everything flows...back to where it once came from: in the consciousness.”³³ Hausmann used a similar metaphor a month after he had requested Hatvani’s article in a draft of his “Notiz”: “From the sphere of the most inner, highest reality flows everything ‘efficacious’ into the reality of the ‘world’ as a fiction... ‘value’ flows out and flows back.”³⁴ Finally, Hatvani’s distinction between the “static and the dynamic” led him to suggest that “every expression of consciousness is movement” and that Expressionism, in its discovery of movement, furthered a “psycho-centrally oriented” perception.³⁵

Deeply interested in the psyche, Hausmann insisted in his “Das neue

Material in der Malerei" manifesto that "in Dada you will recognize your real state of mind [wirklichen Zustand]." ³⁶ While Hausmann's word "Zustand" may echo somewhat the meaning of Huelsenbeck's phrase, Dada as a "Geistesart," Hausmann's view shares with Hatvani an emphasis on the relational in establishing consciousness. Hatvani's Einsteinian notion is that to gain "the organic unity of the picture, thought, action . . . requires that relativity of perception which the physicist has also come upon"—a demand satisfied simply by the viewer giving up his "position" and having instead "positions." ³⁷ Hausmann offered a similar remedy in his manifesto: "L'art Dada" would offer an "enormous refreshment, an impetus toward the true experience [Erleben] of all relations." ³⁸

Hausmann's focus on a "state of mind," and his proposal of art as "an evolutionary presentation of the self conceived in motion," ³⁹ suggests that he accepted Hatvani's claim that motion is a scientifically grounded psychological property. Hausmann's explorations in the early twenties of a "sixth sense" (understood as "movement") and a "time-space sense" may also have origins here. Hausmann's attention to a centrality among contradictions, gained from his study of Groß and Friedländer, was also reflected in his reading of Hatvani. When Hatvani insisted that "everything is movement" Hausmann felt constrained to add the word "balance" in the margin. ⁴⁰

Hausmann's confrontation with matter, the effort to attain a balance in an inherently relational world, was presented in the "Das neue Material in der Malerei" manifesto as a central strategy in the Dadaist enterprise:

Here and for the first time, there are no repressions, no anguished obstinacies; we are far removed from the symbolic, from totemism; electric piano, gas attacks, established relations, screaming men in military hospitals, which we—for the first time with our marvelous contradictory organisms—help attain some kind of a qualification, central turning axis, reason to stand up straight or to fall. ⁴¹

This approach to materials—as inherently relational but also in balance and "corresponding organically" to a mental and ultimately metaphysical state—was posed in opposition to Kandinsky's notion of an "inner sound," understood as deriving in part from the isolation of materials themselves from their rhythmic relationships:

The material of the Expressionist painter terminates in an almost astral imbecility of color and linear values for the interpretation of so-called spiritual sounds—which never once had attained rhythm, hacked off and allowed to fall, as it were, away from all experience [Erleben], existing as aesthetic Romantic. ⁴²

Similarly, in the opening passage of his "Das neue Material in der Malerei" manifesto, Hausmann presented reality as a kind of cacophonous "field" of flux, not unlike the "myriads of sun-seas" of Baader's "Metachemie" in its

vastness and diversity.⁴³ He then objected to the Expressionist's removal of art from the fragmented tensions of life:

At first life appears complete to us in an enormous uproar, as a tension of the collapsing of expressions which themselves are never clearly directed, . . . l'art Dada is the condition outside of the conflicts of protesting creative arrogance; art, the unrelated lie of a (quasi) inner necessity is shown to be hullabaloo.⁴⁴

To experience reality—and attain “Erleben”—Hausmann's New Man would cultivate the act of perception and articulation. Hausmann was open to empiricism and pure sensation because they permitted direct experience without the intrusion of the emotion of Expressionist empathy theory. For the Expressionist, according to its leading theorist Wilhelm Worringer, unity with the divine is found “not in the devout immersion in nature but in that special world of the spirit.”⁴⁵ Furthermore “the world of sensual reality and affiliation surges up only from afar.”⁴⁶ For Worringer, the Expressionist—the “child of the age of the sciences”—“awakens” to a new reality, wonders where he has been prior to this enlightenment, and answers, “in the sciences, in materialism.”⁴⁷ With this awareness, Worringer's Expressionist, while he might share with Baader, Hausmann, and Friedländer the ultimate goal of “a supra-personal will to expression” (a supra-personal and “spiritual” art),⁴⁸ would find that the indivisibility of sensuality and individuality which had prevailed in western art since the Renaissance had now closed off the sensual approach to him. The Expressionist must attempt, however tragically, the “scream” which can transcend individuality.

Hausmann and Baader, by contrast, had assimilated the monist view of Haeckel which held that “like all other natural phenomena, the psychic processes are subject to the supreme, all-ruling law of substance.”⁴⁹ Hence they could cultivate a life lived with all the senses as demanded in Lebensphilosophie. For Hausmann, the intellect, not the emotions, was the divinely inspired neutral mediator between articulation and perception.

During 1918 Hausmann sought to put his “new material” in the service of the motion and dynamism extolled by the Futurists, Bergson, Hatvani, and others. But he also sought to understand the functioning of the world as a balanced, interrelated cacophony, functioning, in Friedländer's word, as “machinery.”⁵⁰ His earliest successes consisted in typography and optophonetic poetry: the *Club Dada* “Prospekt”—a special number of *Die freie Straße* which included innovative covers and the announcement pages “Club Dada Wunder der Wunder!” and “Franz Jung, Der Sprung aus der Welt!” (figs. 36 and 30)—and the early phonetic poems: *bbbb*, *l'inconnu*, and *grün* (figs. 39 and 40).

Typography, as an essential part of the broader culture, had long been a mechanized process, removed from the creative realm of the artist. If the artist

desired to use this material, this artifact of the living culture, he had to respect both its mechanical processes and the speech forms associated with it. A recognition of these artifactual characteristics of typography could provide an alternative to the aesthetic approach in Cubist and Futurist predecessors. Hausmann's understanding of this linking of materials and process in typography is shown in a statement he made in a letter to Hannah Höch, whom he was then attempting to bring away from Expressionism:

You don't regard my new artistic efforts as a letting go of Expressionism. So, for example, the Expressionist artist becomes a poem like wanting to chop a forest into wood. The Dadaist can not want that at all; he will not translate something which today has a purely machine character, like typography, or its dynamic form, like the dadaist kind of typography, into another material. Precisely the mechanical there should be differentiated.⁵¹

Hausmann added typography to a woodcut he had made the previous year for an advertisement for Franz Jung's *Der Sprung aus der Welt!* presented in *Club Dada*, the journal which Hausmann, Huelsenbeck, and Jung prepared in secret to launch their movement (fig. 30). While the letters remained fenced out from the psychological operations of the image, they formulated and positioned themselves to disrupt syntax and visual order. Hausmann's composition, while innovative, was but a partial response to the celebrated "Prospekt zur kleinen Grosz-Mappe" [Prospectus on the small Grosz portfolio] (fig. 35).

According to Grosz, Heartfield developed a new style which fully incorporated words and images into a single collage-like compositional array.⁵² The macabre aspects—leering skull, words like "Hinrichtung" [execution] and "Krawall der Irren" [riot of the mad]—recall Grosz' favorite themes of Lustmord [murder-lust] and social degradation. Although reflecting the "chaos" of the world, this work, in its overlapping and collaging of its innovative compositional elements, functioned much like the simultaneous overlapping of street scenes, derived from Futurism, which was presented in Grosz' *Mappe* lithographs. Such favorite Grosz motifs as the clusters of crosses show the connection clearly. This advanced use of varied typography and mass-produced imagery was seen again in a four-page forward to Grosz' lithographs.⁵³ Such use of scattered phrases and typography became the model for the general treatment of typography throughout much of the *Club Dada* publication, as well as for Huelsenbeck's "Dadaistisches Manifest" flier. Grosz and Heartfield continued this approach into 1919 when they contributed to Carl Einstein's journal, *Der blutige Ernst* [Bloody Seriousness].

Hausmann's apprenticeship in this style is clearly seen in *Club Dada*: the "Wunder der Wunder!" layout and the back cover announcement, which

employs a bold circle much like those used in a very effective *Vortragsabend* announcement in *Neue Jugend*.⁵⁴ But while the typography in the *Neue Jugend* announcement is occasionally unruly enough to overlap columns of text, the overall design is restrained by the bold circles and a grid of horizontal and vertical bands which might be considered an important predecessor of Bauhaus page design. The restraint of the layout is complemented by a tasteful architectural motif which, in its “democratic” simplicity, anticipates the stark environments of Neue Sachlichkeit painting. The back cover for *Club Dada*, by contrast, relies to a greater degree on the properties of the letters themselves and the tradition of their symmetrical layout in horizontal rows. Traditional typography is suggested only to be disrupted by text material which is less discursive and more aggressive than that of the *Neue Jugend* announcement. A major tactic of Hausmann’s Dadaist (and later Presentist) propaganda is well under way in the use of the rapid-fire sequence of short interrogative and imperative statements—an approach possibly borrowed from the growing field of hard-sell advertising: “What does one want? What can one do? Pay attention to your health! Too late buy *Sprung aus der Welt!!!*”⁵⁵ Similar announcements are printed boldly in large red letters across the otherwise conventionally displayed columns of Huelsenbeck’s texts throughout *Club Dada*.

A “Great Propaganda Evening” for the “Club Dada,” promised in the advertisement for the end of May, was probably Huelsenbeck’s idea. However, conditions forced Huelsenbeck to depart from Berlin for several months, leaving behind Baader and Hausmann (who was under police observation) with the difficult task of carrying forth the Dada movement in Berlin for nearly a year. Their first event was the Dada *matinée* on June 6 at the Café Austria where Hausmann apparently first read his sound poetry.

The cover for *Club Dada* (fig. 36), dating around March or April 1918, is Hausmann’s response to the challenge posed in the early Heartfield-Grosz style. An extremely abstracted bird appears to be nesting over a jumble of letters which have moved from their earlier marginal status in the Jung announcement (fig. 30) into the midst of the composition. Their energy is barely contained by the fragmented shapes (derived from the striated forms and architectonic vocabulary of the earlier woodcuts); indeed they seem to explode outward. Although more irregular, his forms have a boldness not unlike Arp’s woodcut illustrations for Huelsenbeck’s *Phantastische Gebete*, a source which Hausmann later singled out as the only material from Zurich he had seen in 1917.⁵⁶

Hausmann was seeking to conjoin a standardized visual vocabulary, rooted in Marc, Heckel, and the Russian Archipenko, with the standard and “mechanical” qualities of letters—all within a single psychological process. This was an attempt to recapture the “agreement between picture and text” he

had found and admired in the “epoch of heraldic, hieroglyphic vision” which preceded the “spatial seeing” of Renaissance perspective. By attempting to reclaim a condition in which image and text correspond in a way which is “concerned with signs but not with proximity to nature,”⁵⁷ Hausmann permitted an entirely new dimension to enter his typography. A fusion of the letters with the other forms was underway: the “l” and part of the “b” in “Club” can be read as bold lines which respond to other formal shapes in the composition. The rounded forms of the letters “c,” “D,” “d,” “b,” and “a” also find their complements in the surrounding abstract shapes. Phonetic signals become fragmented, and the words disperse into pure sounds which are recombined to form new words: “uad,” “Dab,” and “Du,” among others. The total effect is what Hausmann later referred to as “the Dadaist method of dislocating and disintegrating semantic forms, of intermingling words following certain sonorous associations.”⁵⁸

Presenting “new ‘word-complexes’ or ‘complementary words,’” Hausmann had arrived at what he called “multimeaning words,”⁵⁹ producing a condition which has been described as a “kinetically interrelating sound environment which functions as a simultaneous whole.”⁶⁰ Such results would be very close to Carl Einstein’s concept of “Totalität” in which “transient perception always presents a new constellation.”⁶¹

Hausmann’s phonetic poetry was born the following month with the poems *bbbb* and *grün*, both dated May 1918 (figs. 39 and 40). *bbbb*, executed on a typewriter, has a strong structural aspect of rows and columns not unlike Marinetti’s “Parole in libertà,” which Hausmann may have seen in the Zurich revue, *Cabaret Voltaire*.⁶² The sounds also appear to be structured—in this case sequentially—into variations largely on the sound “ou,” the word “Dada” becoming “DADDOU.” The rhythms in such phonetic poetry may be related to the Czech counting rhythms Hausmann had learned as a child.⁶³ While the overall visual “gestalt” of *bbbb* has a rhythmic spiraling and twisting quality not unlike Hausmann’s later dancing figures, Hatvani’s concept of “rhythm” as “the time-reflex to the art work” and the “inner periodicity of a metaphysical confirmation of life” was more likely in mind at the time.

The isolation of phonemes in *bbbb* may have precedents in “L’amiral cherche une maison à louer” (a simultaneous poem by Huelsenbeck, Janco, and Tzara), Marinetti’s “Parole in libertà,” and Huelsenbeck’s outbursts in “Dada, Dialogue entre un cocher et un alouette”—all literary contributions in *Cabaret Voltaire*. But, while Hausmann could have been aware of these sources, his approach was quite different and based more exclusively in rhythm, as he later ruminated:

I think the poem is the rhythm of sounds. Why the words? From the rhythmic series of consonants, diphthongs and as countermovement to their complement of vowels, results

Raoul HAUSMANN

Mai 1918

bbbb
N' m o u m m' o n o u m o n o p o u h
p
o
n
n
e
ee lousoo kilikilikoum
t' neksout coun' tsoumt sonou
correyiosou ou kolou
Y' IIITTITTTTIYYH
kirriou korrothumm
-N' onou
mousah
da
ou
D A D D O U
irridadoumth
t' hmoum
kollokoum
o n o o o h h o o u u u m h n

Figure 39. Raoul Hausmann, *bbbb*, 1918
Typewriter ink on paper.
(Marthe Prévot Collection, Limoges)

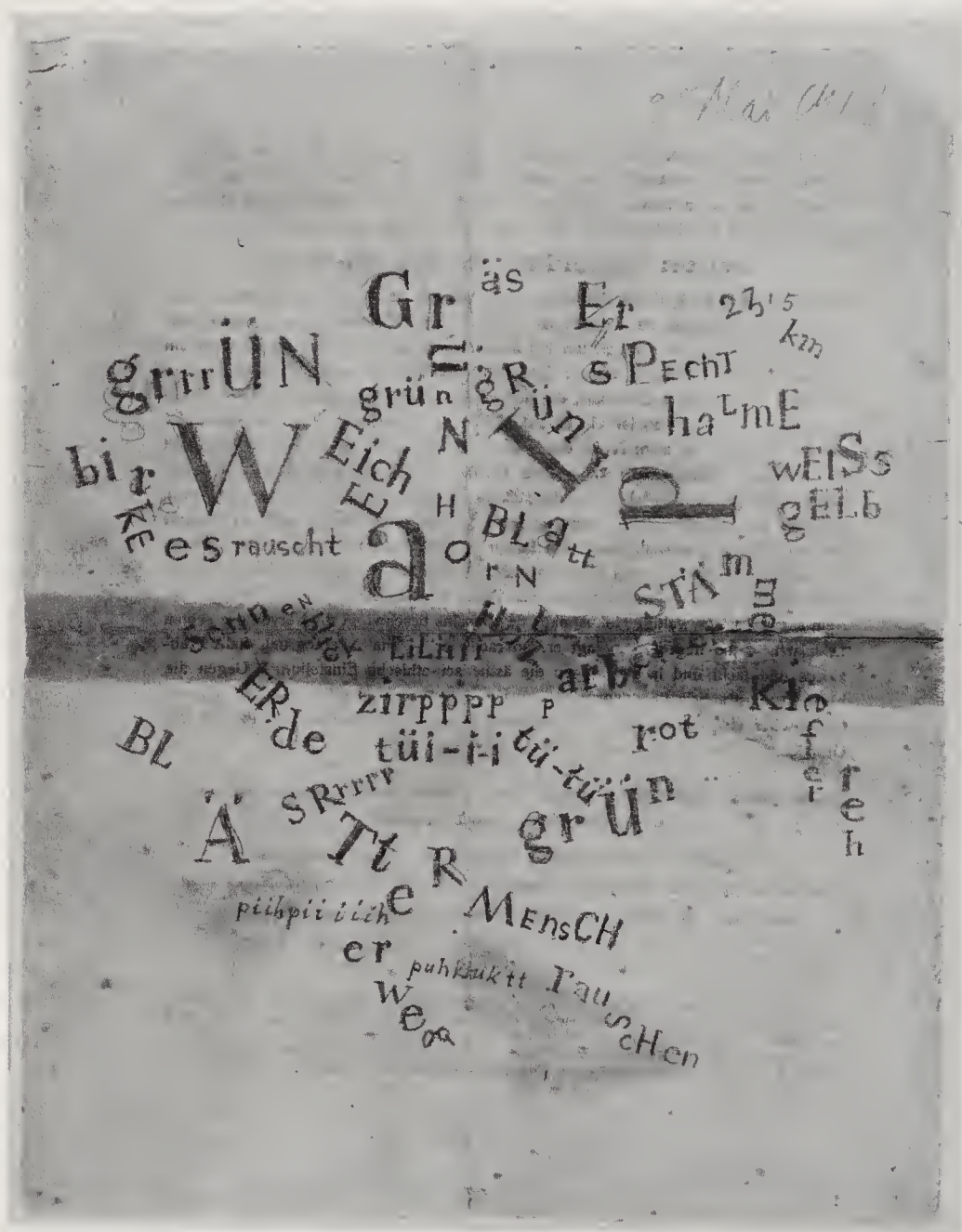


Figure 40. Raoul Hausmann, *grün*, 1918
 Graphite on paper, 11 × 8 3/4 inches.
 (Musée National d'Art Moderne, Centre Georges Pompidou,
 Paris. Photo: Musée National d'Art Moderne, Paris)

the poem, which must be oriented simultaneously, optically and phonetically. The poem is the fusion of dissonance and onomatopoeia. The poem bursts forth from the inner gaze and the interior hearing of the poet by the material power of the sounds, the noises of the tonal form, established in the very gesture of language.⁶⁴

Correspondingly, Hausmann has insisted that his poetry was discovered independently of—and differed fundamentally from—the incantations of Ball by virtue of his emphasis on the letter,⁶⁵ “the ultimate visual expression of mankind’s sound form,” rather than verbal and musical onomatopoeics.⁶⁶ This poetry was the first step “toward a perfectly non-objective *abstract* poetry.”⁶⁷

This approach resulted in “a deliberate decomposition” which departed from the overlapping Futurist arrays of Grosz and Heartfield, as was succinctly summarized in Hausmann’s article of 1932 on typography. This passage also shows precisely what Hausmann hoped typography, optophonetic poetry and photomontage would have in common:

Not without reason the purely phonetic poem was discovered which was optically supported by a novel Typo-graphy. Photomontage, also propagated by the Dadaists, served the same purpose: renewal and strengthening of the physiological in typography. It was already recognized then that the increasing need of the age for the image—thus the doubling of a text through optical illustration—was not to be solved through simple juxtaposition, but rather only through an optical construction referring back to linguistic-conceptual foundations.⁶⁸

In referring to the physiological, Hausmann was staking his hopes for a new language again on the dual process of articulation and perception in the subconscious, but without being limited to a single sense: “Typography is the end product of an optical-acoustical process of formation.”⁶⁹ As he expressed it decades later, “from the great zone of pre-conscious silence will be torn an energetic language of free formation [*Gestaltung*].”⁷⁰

The early stages of Hausmann’s attempts to move from word to letter and to fuse typography with the psychological process of apperception is demonstrated in a delightful poem entitled *grün*, worked out rather carefully on the back of a flier for a Dada event (fig. 40). The poem explores articulation through several senses. Presented dynamically and on the verge of chaos as a kind of equivalent to the appearance of nature, *grün* evokes natural sounds and movements as well. Gradually one makes out the words “Gräser, Eiche, Wald, Blätter, Mensch, Erde” [Grass, oaks, woods, leaves, man, earth], and so on—and also “rauschen,” and “zirpen” [rustle, chirp]. The phonetic clues prompt us to hear bird sounds: zirppp, tuii-ii, tü-tü—or is it not ourselves we hear articulating abstractions for what we see and hear? Hausmann gives us not only “grün” [green] but also “grrrün.” To the series of abstract equivalents to colors (*grün, weiss, gelb, rot*) Hausmann adds “23,5 km.,” further

emphasizing the arbitrary and approximate quality of all the signs we use to articulate our sensual response to reality. In some cases the letters have drifted apart, requiring our concentration to unify the “correct” words. We find ourselves conjuring up an impression of nature in our minds, arrived at through the random order and multiple readings which the poem presents.

The poem *grün* shows that Hausmann was moving toward what Christopher Middleton has identified in poetry of the era as “magical exposure of psychic happenings, meta-language, only lightly misted over by existing linguistic rationales.”⁷¹ As Richard Sheppard has claimed, the aim of such poetry goes beyond imitating the five senses to “translate into words magical waves and daemonic powers that are accessible to the imagination which can see behind matter.”⁷² The overall visual form of *grün* may appear in three dimensions, as though it were a spherical form. Its “gestalt” is also suggestive of a tree or a face. As Michael Erlhoff has pointed out, this poem, for all of its success in achieving our participation through more than one sense, remains above all optical.⁷³ And it is in this sense that many of the literary precedents remain irrelevant for, as Hausmann later insisted in his article, “Typografie,” “reading or communication of sounds can only be made effective optically.”⁷⁴ *grün* and the *Club Dada* cover were the first steps toward a realization of this principle. Hausmann would continue this approach the following year in such poems as *l'inconnu* and *Sound-Rel.*⁷⁵

Hausmann next developed what he later would call the “autophonic” orientation of an “apparently new anarchy.”⁷⁶ Automatism in typography offered Hausmann a means toward Friedländer’s “creative indifference.” Between April and October 1918, Hausmann exploited chance in four phonetic poster poems. Two of these still exist while a third, *NVMWNAUR*, is visible in the surviving photograph of Baader’s remarkable assemblage of 1920, *Plasto-Dio-Dada-Drama* (fig. 41 and lower area of fig. 83). According to Hausmann, the printer Robert Barth was allowed to choose the letters

as they came out of their box—just according to his own mood and chance. . . . a great *écriture automatique*, automatic writing with question marks, exclamation points and even a pointer!⁷⁷

Perhaps to complement the neutrality and arbitrariness of chance, Hausmann presented the visual results “mechanically” and traditionally, calling to mind his *Des Heiligen Franciscus von Assisi: Bluemelein* of 1912 (fig. 10). These works were “the raw construction of chance,” intended to destroy the semantics of words.⁷⁸ They became sound poetry when read aloud, possibly during the Dada evening at the Café Austria on June 6, 1918. As chance-derived sound poetry, Hausmann’s poster poems are very different from the declamatory posters exhibited at the 1920 Dada-Messe and Grosz’ presentation of contradictory phrases and slogans in his anti-war placards.⁷⁹

OFFEABDC
BOQU, quivE!

typ. d'Alphonse-Des Ligne

L. Hausmann 1918

Figure 41. Raoul Hausmann, *OFFEABDC* (Poster Poem), 1918
Ink, paper, and cardboard, 18 × 25 3/4 inches.
(Musée National d'Art Moderne, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris. Photo: Musée
National d'Art Moderne, Paris)

Hausmann's bold letters, as Sheppard has pointed out, force the viewer "to realize the arbitrary and approximate relationship in which they stand to the multifarious reality which lies behind them."⁸⁰

In his "Seelen-Automobil" [soul-automobile] poems, or what he called "the auto of my soul,"⁸¹ probably written in late April 1918, Hausmann attempted to permit his sound to "divide time-space into values of pre-logical numbers."⁸² To accomplish this obviation of the logic and tradition of language, Hausmann delved into physiology, taking note

of the multitude of possibilities which our voices offer us . . . which we produce with the aid of the numerous techniques of breathing, the positioning of the tongue in the palate, the opening of the larynx and the exertion of different degrees of pressure on the vocal cords.⁸³

Hausmann's material became the entire "chaos of sounds and tones" from which—like the printer who aided in the creation of the poster poems (fig. 41)—"man has chosen a certain number and rejected the rest," signifying "his choice with the names of concord and harmony."⁸⁴ The new "Seelen-Automobil" poem, "an action of respiratory and auditory associations, inseparably linked to the passage of time,"⁸⁵ was composed "while maintaining a subconscious frame of mind that allows the introduction of any noise which is practicable for the human voice,"⁸⁶ and resulted in such works as *kp'erium*, published in his *Der Dada 1*, and the "Seelen-Automobil," presented in *Der Dada 3*:

Solao Solaan Alamt
lanee laneao amamb
ambi ambée enebemp
enepao kalopoo senou
seneakpooo sanakoumt
saddabt kadou koorou
korrokoum oumkpaal
lapidadkal adathoum
adaneop ealop noamth

In this rhythmic series of sound-gestures separated by breathing pauses, each gesture is broken down into one, two, and three syllable sounds, with the exception of the sound, "lapidadkal." The poem is essentially a brief and rhythmically ordered "word-complex."

kp'erium was an important transitional work as Hausmann's first "optophonetic" poem. His sequence of letters was now presented in differing typefaces and sizes, intended to offer clues to the dynamics and pitch of its aural presentation. Each sequence of letters is a complex sound-gesture, breathed out and followed by a pause. The sequence of vowels in each attenuated gesture is not always clearly divisible into syllables, and the

rhythm, consequentially, is not logically imposed by any exterior structure in the score. Instead, the rhythm is determined by the sounds themselves and such immediate physical conditions of their presentation as how much breath can be exhaled. In its final slightly altered form, *kp'erioum*, the poem was used as the perfect pendant for his first major manifesto on poetry, the "Manifest von der Gesetzmässigkeit des Lautes" [Manifesto on the Lawfulness of Sound], an important contribution to Hausmann's art theory also written in 1918.

First published in 1920 under a different title,⁸⁷ Hausmann's "Manifest von der Gesetzmässigkeit des Lautes" was probably written at about the same time as was *bbbb* (which directly followed the manifesto when it appeared more definitively under its proper title in Theo van Doesburg's *Mécano* in 1922). As Richard Taylor has suggested in his close analysis of this text, Hausmann was concerned with how verbal sound is rendered material and perceptible.⁸⁸ Hausmann's text, possibly itself an exercise in *écriture automatique*, achieved this through the metaphor of smoking "viewed from abstract-concrete being": "smoking a shag-calumet represents the comforting certainty of the uniqueness of the event."⁸⁹ As articulation and perception, smoking represents "at the same time the absoluteness, indifference of the moment, the eternal return of everything suspended within the inner submersion of dissolving in smoke." Hausmann's psycho-anatomically generated "Seelen-Automobile" are "lunar [i.e., cosmic] occurrences [Angelegenheiten] within the mouth's chaotic cave." As an occurrence, "the 'sound-image' of phonic poetry invariably derives from the 'observed sound.'"⁹⁰ Thus, the "lawfulness" of sound is inherent in the objective nature of reality attained empirically—even if this reality is presented to man as a chaotic field, as "an enormous uproar, as a tension of the collapsing of expressions," as Hausmann described it in the "Das neue Material in der Malerei." Hausmann viewed the transition between visual and aural media as simply inherent in the immersion of consciousness in reality. In the "Manifest von der Gesetzmässigkeit des Lautes" he says that "man, needing a catalyst for his hearing discrepancies, invests fat with the mobility of the smell in soap."⁹¹ This reference to more than one sense, quite typical of Hausmann (as was seen in *grün*), suggests that a sense of wholeness, a "Gestaltung der Sprache" or "Totalität," is dependent on a transaction between the senses. Hausmann's belief in the "empirical" nature of this experience was not "some amorphous excursion into synaesthesia," but rather, as Taylor suggests, "trans-sensory integration" as "scientifically founded in the tenets of *Gestalt* perception."⁹² Although he was unaware of Gestalt psychology, it is possible that Hausmann accumulated a "gestalt" approach in reading non-scientific sources. The Expressionists' desire for a defamiliarization, estrangement or alienation, an attitude similar to that given the term "ostranenie" by Viktor Shklovsky,⁹³

could entail both transfers across the senses and disorienting departures from traditional perspectives which would allow the shaping of new cognitive structures.⁹⁴ The extremes to which Hausmann pursued this possibility thoroughly qualifies him as a pan-artist, a distinction he shared with his colleagues Arp and Moholy-Nagy. His belief that material could shape cognitive structure and render superfluous the traditionally held boundaries between painting, sculpture, and architecture was directly implied in his first book, *Material der Malerei Plastik Architektur* [Material of Painting, Sculpture, Architecture] of 1918.

Material der Malerei Plastik Architektur was among Hausmann's major visual works of 1918 (figs. 42–45). It was an attempt to fulfill the philosophical premises stated in his “Manifest der Gesetzmässigkeit des Lautes” and “Das neue Material in der Malerei”: a new language could evolve through an indifferent creative process closely bound to the actual materials of the physical world, divorced, if need be, from the aesthetic aura and high emotional tone cherished by many of the Expressionists. Because the Expressionist woodcut aesthetic still lingered in Hausmann's visual vocabulary, the three woodcuts included in *Material der Malerei Plastik Architektur* might be regarded as a summary and reexamination of the past (figs. 43–45). Yet the innovative use of watercolor overlays for these woodcuts, and the full integration of typography within one of them, is clearly forward-looking (fig. 43). Furthermore, the architectonic quality in these woodcuts, especially in the one destined to appear later as a *Porträt des Oberdada* in *Der Dada I* (fig. 45), is clearly allied to the *abstrakte Bildidee* and “fantastic architecture” series (figs. 32 and 67). Finally, Hausmann's text and the collage cover—perhaps his first use of this medium—helped establish the new direction which was to lead to photomontage (fig. 42).

What may be Hausmann's earliest woodcut for *Material der Malerei Plastik Architektur* uses forms very close to those in two of his untitled woodcuts of 1917 and 1918 (figs. 44, 46, and 30). Again a vocabulary of highly autonomous forms is presented in a boldly simplified composition of diagonals. When the composition is inverted 180 degrees, it appears to be a child on a fast-moving, downhill sled. If intentional, this inversion suggests that Hausmann was experimenting with different ways of activating compositional elements while removing them gradually from their representational roles. This procedure was often used by Hausmann and runs parallel with the departure from nominalistic and descriptive uses of language in his phonetic poetry.

Much of the vocabulary of striations, curves, and solid geometric shapes in this woodcut is shared by the landscape print used to promote Jung's *Der Sprung aus der Welt!* (fig. 30). The distribution of floating forms throughout the composition has close affinities with the works of Chagall, Marc, and



Figure 42. Raoul Hausmann, *Material der Malerei Plastik Architektur*, 1918
 Collage of colored paper, 12 × 6 1/2 inches.
 (Marthe Prévot Collection, Limoges)



Figure 43. Raoul Hausmann, Untitled (*Construction A-I*), ca. 1917
Woodcut for *Material der Malerei Plastik Architektur*,
13 3/4 × 10 inches.
(Marthe Prévot Collection, Limoges)



Figure 44. Raoul Hausmann, Untitled, ca. 1918
Woodcut for *Material der Malerei Plastik Architektur*,
12 × 6 3/4 inches.
(Marthe Prévot Collection, Limoges)

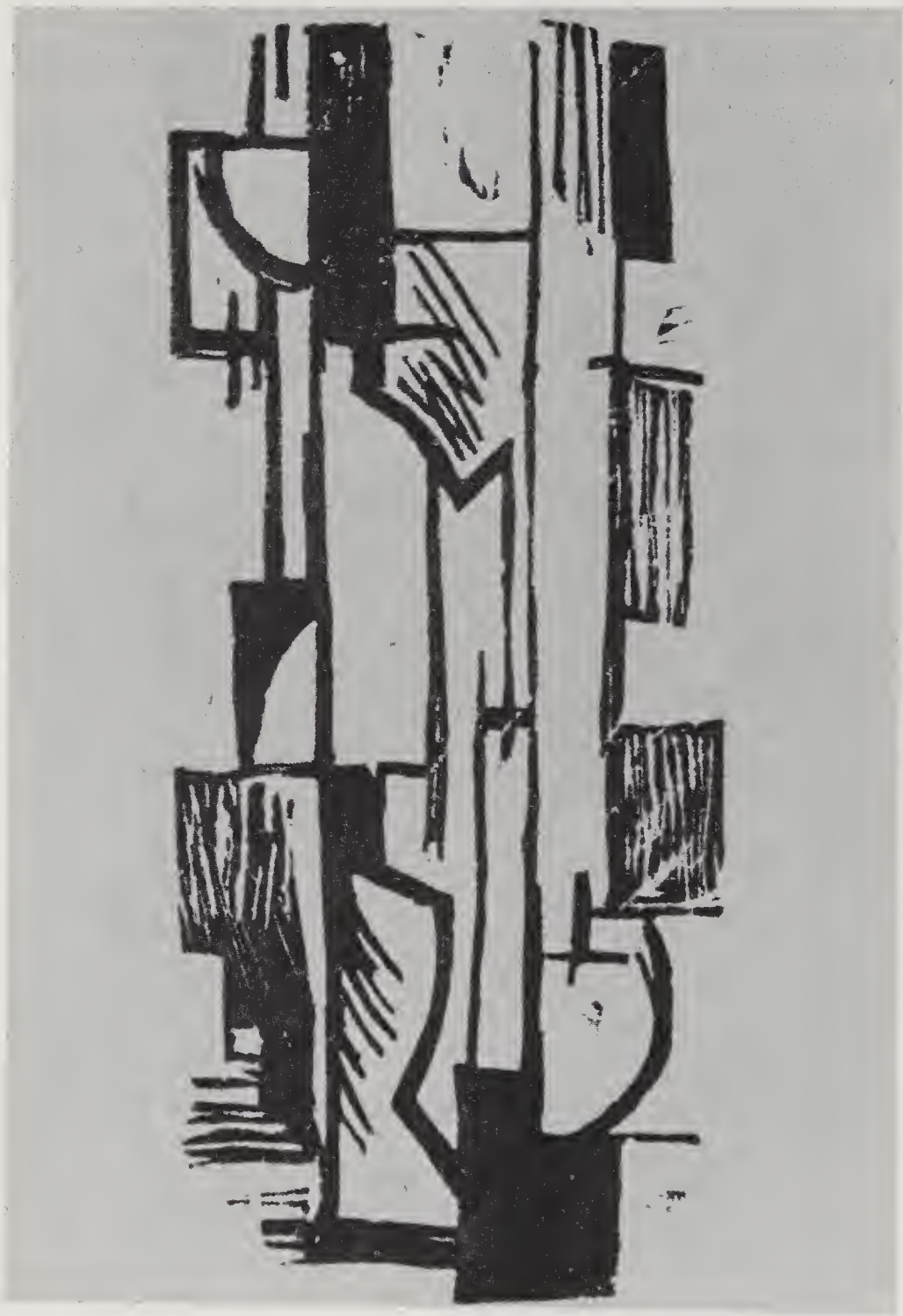


Figure 45. Raoul Hausmann, *Untitled*, ca. 1917
Woodcut for *Material der Malerei Plastik Architektur*, 12 1/4 × 7 1/2 inches.
(Marthe Prévot Collection, Limoges)



Figure 46. Raoul Hausmann, *Untitled (Abstract Forms with Sun)*, 1917
Woodcut, 11 × 9 inches.
(*Marthe Prévot Collection, Limoges*)

Segal. However, the other two woodcuts used in *Material der Malerei Plastik Architektur* exhibit a new static and architectonic quality not previously seen in Hausmann's work.

Beyond the presence of works by such Hausmann favorites at the Sturm exhibitions during 1916–18 as Marc, Muche, and Archipenko, there were numerous sources in Berlin which might have suggested this new direction for Hausmann. Max Ernst was in the midst of a post-Cubist technique of constructing forms when he exhibited with Muche at the Sturm Galleries in 1916.⁹⁵ Richter was moving toward his highly abstract and architectonic portraits and exhibiting at the Die Aktion rooms in the Kaiserallee in late 1917. Also exhibiting there were Freundlich and Schad, who was just beginning to radically fracture his pictorial surface.⁹⁶ Richter, Freundlich, and Felixmüller (with whose group in Dresden Hausmann still had connections) all had works reproduced in *Die Aktion* during 1917 and early 1918, as did Hausmann himself. Despite these sources, however, it is difficult to imagine Hausmann's architectonic woodcuts and collage without the influence of Zurich Dada in general and Janco, Arp, and van Rees in particular.

Despite conflicting reports, there is evidence that Huelsenbeck met with success in his avid desire to import the Zurich Dada publications, *Cabaret Voltaire* and *Dada*. Clearly the attack of the moment was on Expressionism, with reservations being voiced on Cubism and Futurism, while the branding of Zurich Dada as overly aesthetic was some time away. In May 1919, Hausmann had just received *Dada 3* from Tzara and was anxious to receive *Dada 4/5*.⁹⁷

Janco's architectonic tendencies were prominently displayed in *Dada 1* in an extremely abstract and evocative woodcut, a three dimensional *Relief A7*, and in an early assemblage entitled *Construction 3*. The bold simplicity of Arp's style was to be seen in a symmetrical woodcut similar to his illustrations for Huelsenbeck's *Phantastische Gebete*. Also illustrated was Arp's structurally complex exploration of symmetry and asymmetry in an embroidery. Two of Hausmann's three *Material der Malerei Plastik Architektur* woodcuts are probably indebted to these sources (figs. 43 and 45). Like Janco, Hausmann had created ambiguous structures which could be read as landscapes, architecture, or human features. Now, like Janco, Hausmann took advantage of the primitive techniques of scratching and gouging textures which are possible in the woodcut medium. This introduced a textural richness into his previously more starkly black and white compositions (cf. figs. 43 and 46). This decorative richness is seen also in another related work by Hausmann, probably also dating 1918, which resonates a greater dynamism through the inclusion of diagonals and sweeping curves (fig. 38).

The most architectonic of Hausmann's *Material der Malerei Plastik Architektur* woodcuts is also the closest in its compositional logic to the reliefs Janco began in 1917 (fig. 45). Hausmann's woodcut might almost be a blueprint for the kind of compositional procedures in Janco's *Relief 3*, reproduced in *Dada 2*, published in December 1917, which provides an ascending vertical, linear structure which supports overlapping planes in three dimensions. Consequently, Hausmann's architectonic woodcut is suitable to the pan-artistic theme implied by the title of his book.

In opposition to the Expressionists' pathos-derived distortions, Hausmann decentralized and standardized forms so that they could take on meaning situationally. A full integration of letters within the scheme of standardized curves and angles occurs in a woodcut for *Material der Malerei Plastik Architektur*, also known as *Construction A1* (fig. 43). This approach may be indebted to Janco's loosening of his Cubist-derived forms so that they flow in and out of his structural armature. Hausmann's complex and diverse compositions were now closer to Janco's baroque variety than they would ever be again (figs. 38 and 43). By the time *Dada 4/5* was published in May 1919, Hausmann had moved toward a severity and simplicity of structure, while Janco's work had become unreservedly decorative.

The application of new materials, as well as a striving for a simplicity of overall form, placed Hausmann in close affinity with the direction being taken by Arp. Huelsenbeck had drawn attention to Arp's groundbreaking use of new materials as early as 1916 and had given Arp's understanding of the Spirit-Matter problem a monist interpretation. In his essay entitled "Die Arbeiten von Hans Arp" [The Works of Hans Arp] (1916, published in *Dada 3* in 1918),⁹⁸ Huelsenbeck praised Arp as "the first pure artist":

The world is large and full of wonder. Wondrous are the rarest abstractions and spiritual essences of will *greatly behind things*. . . . A new will to spirituality has come down to us prophets, it is fanatical, burning, resounding in its zeal.⁹⁹

Hausmann probably discussed Arp's art and the importance of new materials in Zurich with Huelsenbeck. Hausmann had already met Arp during a Sturm exhibition in 1912, and spent some time with him in Berlin's Café Josty "talking painting." Hausmann later claimed to have been impressed that Arp was already involved in "accident-alliterations." As a "sculptor, painter, poet Hans Arp was a Sunday's Child":¹⁰⁰

Here we have the authentic representation of Arp's inspired way of working, which followed "without preference" the laws of chance, one would like to say, a creative indifference in which things are not yet ordered into categories, speaking to us directly without yet being laden with prejudiced meaning.¹⁰¹

Further, it was Arp's attitude toward articulation which Hausmann most admired:

Arp saw precisely in unlogic the most unprecedented phonetic and, at the same time, meaning-entangling or transforming possibilities of expression-complexes, which no one before him dreamed of. While Ball, Huelsenbeck, Serner, and Tzara began with an anomie or a language-indifference, Arp began at the beginning with the *recognition that the logical norms of language are chance forms*.¹⁰²

In finding this recognition in Arp, Hausmann placed him squarely in the Romantic tradition of Novalis, whose demands for an "apparently uncontrolled, undirected *Daherreden* [speaking away] . . . now found through Arp its true unending form and its final radical change."¹⁰³ In his eulogy to Arp, Hausmann speculated that his admiration for the German Romantics permitted Arp to discover an *écriture automatique* a decade before Andre Breton's claim.¹⁰⁴ For Hausmann, "Arp permitted forms to come into appearance" and "developed the meaning of 'eidos' in an entirely new way."¹⁰⁵ During the teens, the simplicity of Arp's forms, especially of the woodcuts in Huelsenbeck's *Phantastische Gebete*, may be reflected in Hausmann's increased clarity of highly charged forms in his woodcuts and *Club Dada* cover (figs. 36, 44, and 46).

Arp may also have figured in Hausmann's use of collage in his cover for *Material der Malerei Plastik Architektur*, and in his eventual incorporation of cigar bands and fabric in his 1919 collage version of "Synthetisches Cino der Malerei," the new title he had given to his "Das neue Material in der Malerei" manifesto (figs. 64 and 65). Arp's *Papierbild*, reproduced in *Cabaret Voltaire*, employing overlapping, simplified shapes in several textures and incorporating a wrapper from a thread spool, was doubtless known to Hausmann by the fall of 1918. Having designed an embroidery pattern in 1915 (fig. 21), Hausmann would have admired Arp's abstract tapestry and embroidery patterns in *Cabaret Voltaire* and *Dada*. Arp's manner of overlaying forms was closely followed by van Rees, who had become acquainted with Arp at Ascona in 1915, in a *Papierbild* also reproduced in *Cabaret Voltaire*.

One of Robert Delaunay's *Fenêtres* was reproduced in *Dada 2*. His prismatic faceting may well have been on Hausmann's mind in June 1918, when he wrote the semi-automatic and grammatically disruptive text for his *Material der Malerei Plastik Architektur*, which extols "in the glittering cleanness of the paper pictures the instants electric prisms of fragile event."¹⁰⁶ Hausmann was never interested simply in novel abstraction or employing exotic materials, but rather wanted "an optical construction referring back to linguistic-conceptual foundations."¹⁰⁷ He apparently did not employ the "real material" of "wire, glass, tissue" called for in his manifesto "Das neue Material

in der Malerei” until his assemblages of more than a year later, even though he was certainly aware of the new materials in Cubism and Futurism. Instead, he sought to maintain his links with perception and articulation first in collage and then in photocollage.

The period during which collage (as opposed to later photocollage) offered a solution for Hausmann was short-lived; and it was probably prompted by his successful incorporation of concrete sounds in phonetic poetry:

I found myself with this need on account of my conviction that, in the same way that in a poem it is not the sense and rhetoric of the words but the vowels and consonants, and even the letters of the alphabet which must be carriers of a rhythm, in painting it is the complexes of pure color which should establish the equilibrium of a new creation.¹⁰⁸

Hausmann wanted to interact as directly with color as he had with sound in his phonetic poetry. Just as the words in *grün* were broken into their component phonemes, creating a kind of map of consciousness in the act of hearing, now the purity of colors alluded to there (“grün, weiss, gelb, rot”) would be directly experienced in the automatist mode of articulation called for in the “Das neue Material in der Malerei” manifesto. Thus Hausmann’s semi-automatic text for *Material der Malerei Plastik Architektur* seems appropriate to the collage cover:

Painting dynamism of colors of form thought in the surface they will be made as pure as possible a formulation organic in analogy of the observed moments neither intuitive nor descriptive.¹⁰⁹

He understood each “observed moment” as a “living vision” based on a direct contact with materials.

In Hausmann’s collage, a logical sequence of overlapping forms sets up a zigzag pattern, beginning with the sheet containing the typography, which dominates the top half of the composition (fig. 42). These forms, although possibly “materializations” of the woodcut forms, are irregular and often take on a haphazard local placement within the overall logic of the composition, just as do the fragments in van Rees’ *Papierbild* in *Cabaret Voltaire* and in Arp’s *Tableau en papier* reproduced in *Dada 2*. The sequential overlapping of forms is enhanced by a color closure scheme of purple (the sheet dominating the upper right), a complementary red (the diamond in the upper right and large sheet dominating the left half of the composition), and brown (the sheet containing typography and one of the sheets to the right of it).¹¹⁰ Additional single sheets of green and pink offset the composition, giving it a fresh delicacy. The typography takes the same approach seen in the Jung advertisement (fig. 30) and in the general typographic layout throughout *Club*

Dada; although the syntax is disoriented, the integrity of the words is preserved. The haphazard disruption of typographic norms, the contrast of colors, and the decided roughness of the cut-out forms serve to emphasize the material and its physical resistance to manipulation.

For Hausmann, materiality promised a restoring of the lost primitive relations to the world which had been lamented by Einstein in his *Negerplastik* and called for by Huelsenbeck in his "Dadaistisches Manifest":

Dada skips over with laughter the free intelligible I and again approaches the world primitively, which is somewhat expressed in the application of pure sounds, imitations of noise, in the direct application of given material like wood, iron, glass, cardboard, paper.¹¹¹

But this encounter with matter, the "dynamic instant" discussed in *Material der Malerei Plastik Architektur*, was also seen by Hausmann as representative of "an event that is good, consoling, and full of the higher reality, the nature of formation, the norm."¹¹² It produced, in other words, *culture*, not as the emotive expressions or willkürlich form of inner necessity, but as a diverse field of arbitrarily derived *norms* prevailing across the entire society.

Herein lay the most significant promise of materiality for Dada. When culture is considered as a part of the material reality, the use of unusual materials may in itself be insufficient to the task at hand. Hausmann recognized that exotic materials had often been chosen for their suitability to the constraints of routine artistic activity. If existence was to be transformed and the artist was to remove himself from his anthropocentric view of reality, then the activity of the artist and the *processes* which produced his works—their logic and order—would have to change.

The Dada *Klebebild* and *Plastik*

In contrast with the Expressionist quest for the “inner sound,” the Dada artwork would employ new materials to reflect and reveal the surrounding “culture situation.”¹ What the Dadaists referred to as the *Klebebild* [glued picture] and the *Plastik* [sculpture] were to them the logical place to begin the formation of a new language and myth. As had the Brücke artists, the Cubists, the Futurists, and numerous other avant-garde groups, the Dadaists worked communally, creating their own “testing ground” in which their art works were developed. But until several months after the first official Dada exhibition was held in I. B. Neumann’s Graphisches Kabinett in May 1919, the major members of the Berlin group were not yet functioning as a unit so much as they were around two distinct identities which they promoted eventually as “Grosz-Heartfield mont.” (the abbreviation meaning “monteur”) and “Hausmann-Baader.” Scholars have often tried to characterize Grosz and Heartfield as the “political” wing of the movement while Hausmann and Baader are designated “aesthetic” Dadaists. But the Dadaists’ own promotion of their fictional personas (Hausmann the Dadasoph, Baader the Oberdada, Grosz the Dadamarshal, and Heartfield the Monteur) suggests that their associations with one another were based in part on their desire to avoid what they perceived as the extremes of political or aesthetic radicalism dominating other groups.²

As an important factor in the environment in which the *Klebebild* and *Plastik* developed, these associations offer an alternative to the concentration on the medium of collage in many explanations of Dada art. In the wake of the interest in collage and assemblage in the 1960s, German scholars and historians attempted sweeping explanations of modern art in terms of a “Prinzip Collage” [collage principle], in which the Berlin Dadaists were credited with the “invention” of the “photomontage.”³ But disputes as to whether this invention was a “mere technique” of a “principle of thought and formation” often obscured the historical context. Frequently either formal concepts—such as “formation” or “destruction”—or social ideas—such as the “avant-garde” dominated the discussions.⁴

Certainly, the Berlin Dadaists' choice of technique did have significant consequences, especially in their acceptance of the methods, even "stigma," of mass production. Abhorred by the Expressionists, mass production was bringing culture into the era of mechanical reproduction. This threatened the traditional meaning of images and objects by removing them from their traditional systems of meaning and their roles in religious, political, and aesthetic rituals. Such a release of meaning, or negation of "aura" under the conditions of "reproducibility," was seen later by Walter Benjamin as forecast in the melancholic attitude of the "allegorizer" of the Baroque Era,⁵ and many interpretations of the Dadaists' cultivation nihilism assume a continuation of such an attitude.⁶ Benjamin saw the "aura" as being rehabilitated in Surrealism in a "state of surprise," a "profane illumination" which, in its emphasis on *experience*, might appear similar in concept to Friedländer's "creative indifference," Carl Einstein's "Sehen," and Hausmann's "Erleben."⁷ However, Benjamin's analysis of this experience as *Erfahrung*, integral with tradition and superior to an atomistic, momentary, and fleeting *Erlebnisse*,⁸ may be contrary to their views. The concept of "Presentism," as articulated by both Friedländer and Hausmann, had as a central tenet the abandonment of the *Vorurteile* [prejudices] of the past.⁹ But it remains beyond any doubt that the Dadaists thought of their works as functionally related to both ritualistic functions and to the conditions of mass production: Baader made "relics" and Grosz and Heartfield manufactured "products."

The "Invention" of "Photomontage": Conflicting Histories

A desire among the Dadaists for an "official history" of "photomontage" was foiled by innumerable disputes, inaccuracies, distortions, and petty rivalries. Perhaps desiring recognition in an art world which has tended to construe the history of art as one of linear development within media categories, Grosz, Heartfield, Höch, and Hausmann have all made claims to the invention of "photomontage." Their conflicting anecdotal accounts have shifted attention from the primary artifacts.

A dispute over the invention of photomontage between Hausmann and Grosz developed as early as 1928 with Grosz' claim:

In 1916, when John Heartfield and I invented photomontage in my studio at the south end of the town at five o'clock one May morning, we had no idea of the immense possibilities, or of the thorny but successful career, that awaited the new invention.¹⁰

This tongue-in-cheek account was later corrected by Herzfelde, who suggested that the word "collage" would be more appropriate and hinted that Heartfield considered what he was doing to be "photomontage" only in the

1920s.¹¹ Herzfelde's claim seems substantiated in another version of Grosz' story as recounted by Richter:

On a piece of cardboard we pasted a *mischmasch* [*sic*] of advertisements for hernia belts, student song-books and dog food, labels from schnaps- and wine- bottles, and photographs from picture papers, cut up at will in such a way as to say, in pictures, what would have been banned by the censors if we had said it in words. In this way we made postcards supposed to have been sent home from the Front, or from home to the Front.¹²

Also in 1928 Jan Tschichold published his *Die neue Typographie*,¹³ which gave Heartfield, who himself was claiming credit for the invention as late as 1969,¹⁴ the honor of having invented photomontage while omitting Hausmann's name altogether. Tschichold's book prompted an angry letter from Hausmann in which Baader was credited with "the first so-called *Klebebild*" in March 1918, and Hausmann himself took credit for making the first "*Klebebild* made of photoclipings" at the beginning of 1919.¹⁵ While his dates are disputable, Hausmann's terminology is precisely that being used in the teens.¹⁶ His *Gurk* was published for the first time in *Der Dada 2* and was identified then as a "*Klebebild*." Hausmann later recounted that he adopted the pseudonym "Algernon Syndetikon" after the "Syndetikon" trademark of the glue he was using at the time.¹⁷

By 1930 Grosz had not only moved his date for the creation of "photo-glued-montage-experiments" up to 1915, but had also insisted that the "Grosz-Heartfield Konzern" (the Dada "combine" espousing the industrialization of culture as a gesture against bourgeois cultural institutions) was established in that year.¹⁸ Grosz' inaccuracies of dating prompted another letter from Hausmann asserting that Grosz, along with Höch, was still a student in Emil Orlik's studio in 1915, and consequently could have had no association so early with *Klebebilder*—a claim seriously challenged by Höch's 1916 collage *Weisse Wolke*.¹⁹ While Baader's influence is again mentioned in his letter, Hausmann's counterclaim, often rehearsed in the Dada literature, of having discovered photomontage during the summer of 1918 when he was vacationing with Höch in the fishing village of Heidebrink on the Baltic island of Usedom, is altogether absent and is nowhere to be found in this early phase of the dispute.²⁰ Nonetheless Höch's frequent allusions to these events in her reminiscences corroborate Hausmann's story.²¹

In their lodgings at Heidebrink, the vacationing Hausmann and Höch are said to have noticed an artifact from popular culture on the wall: a color lithograph of a barracks or city which included a soldier ("almost always a grenadier") whose face would be left blank for the insertion of a photograph of an individual soldier.²² Such items were common for several decades prior to

Dada and must be considered among the sources of collage and "photomontage." Indeed, the first photographs incorporated in the surviving *Klebebilder* by Hausmann were faces (figs. 58 and 60), and Heartfield and Golyscheff also began their *Klebebilder* in early 1919 with an emphasis on faces and figures (fig. 47).

Hausmann claimed to have begun photomontage immediately on his return from Heidebrink in September and he did make at least one small *Klebebild* for Höch at about that time: a Club Dada postcard with the printed text, "Ich liebe Dich!" affixed (fig. 49).²³ In October he published his *Material der Malerei Plastik Architektur* for which he fashioned a collage cover (fig. 42). Höch's inventive abstract collage of 1916, *Weißer Wolke* (fig. 22), employs fragments of "Abdeckschablonen" (byproducts of the process used in preparation of woodcuts) fully three years before Hausmann incorporated fragments of woodcuts in his *Klebebilder* (figs. 58, 59, and 60).²⁴ Höch encountered these materials during her studies in 1915 with Emil Orlik, and by 1918 she could have been working with photographic material in her position at the Ullstein publishing house.²⁵ But despite their involvement in collage, the first surviving works by either Höch or Hausmann which make substantial use of photographs appear to date from the year after the Heidebrink trip (figs. 77, 78, and 80).²⁶

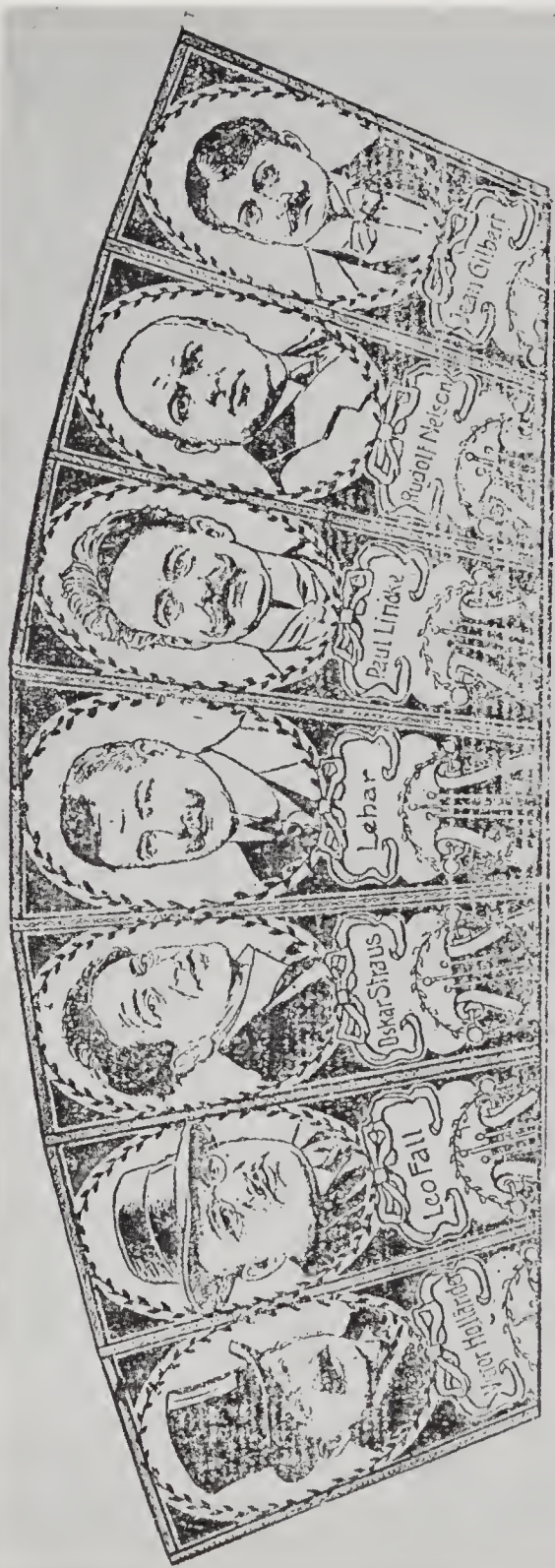
Hausmann may have met Kurt Schwitters at the Café des Westens during the fall of 1918.²⁷ Schwitters had been coming to Berlin to visit Herwarth Walden since June, when he participated in a Sturm exhibition.²⁸ According to Hausmann, he was approached by Schwitters at his table and when asked what he did, Schwitters responded, "I am a painter, I nail my pictures." Schwitters then requested membership in the Club Dada.²⁹ Hausmann favored his application but Huelsenbeck opposed it on grounds that Schwitters was associated with the Expressionist Sturm circle. While there is clearly corroborating evidence for Schwitters' interest in Dada and for the rejection of his application to the group, it is probable that either his comment about "nailing" his pictures should be associated with a later meeting, possibly in late June or July 1919,³⁰ when Schwitters exhibited his "Merzbilder" (and possibly Merz assemblages) at the Sturm galleries, or that the initial meeting between the two artists took place in early 1919.³¹

In 1918 Schwitters was occupied with a series of increasingly abstract drawings in chalk and also produced his first two collages, *Drawing A2 Hansi* and *Drawing A6*.³² *Hansi* is above all an homage to Hans Arp, whom Schwitters is said also to have met at the Café des Westens in 1918.³³ Hausmann's collage for *Material der Malerei Plastik Architektur* also owed a debt to Arp, and a mutual interest in Arp and *Klebebilder* may well have been intensified in a meeting with Schwitters—especially if *Hansi* can be associated with Schwitters' jubilant reaction to the Revolution of November 8–9.³⁴



Figure 47. John Heartfield, *Preisanschreiben! Wer ist der Schönste??*, 1919
Collage of photographs reproduced on cover of *Jedermann sein eigener Fussball* (1919).
(From the Library of the Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, Santa Monica, California)

Figure 48. Anonymous, *Bilder mit Dingen*
(Illustration in Der Sturm, vol. 3, no. 132 [Berlin: October 1912])



Bilder mit Dingen / Zur Beruhigung der berliner Kunstkritik / I: Die Künstler der Lebensfreude /
 Originalzeichnung aus dem Anzeigenteil der geführten Tageszeitungen

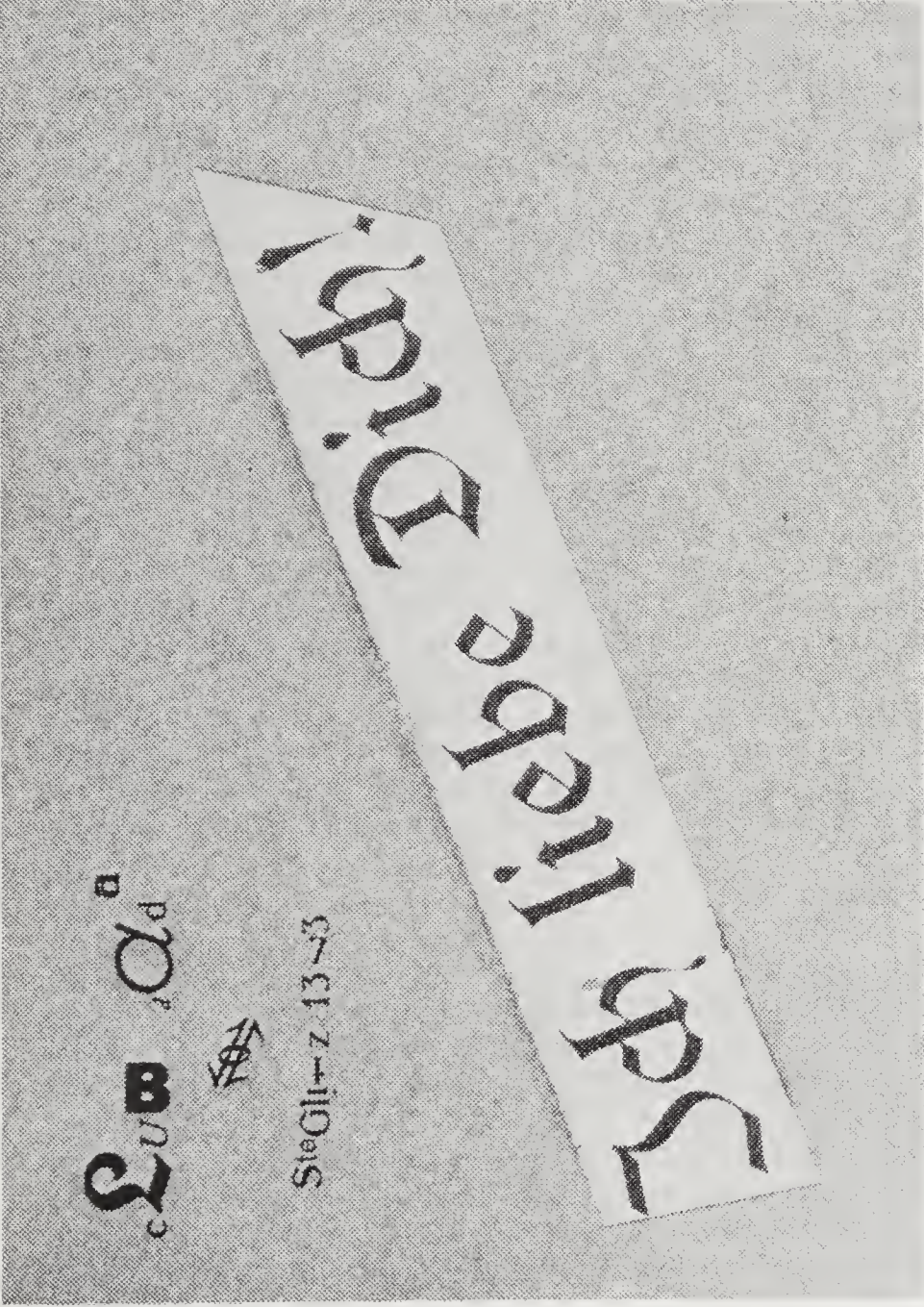


Figure 49. Raoul Hausmann, *Ich liebe Dich!*, 1918.
Text fragment on Club Dada Postcard.
(*Berlinische Galerie, Berlin*)

Particularly significant is the presence of the commercial chocolate wrapper in *Hansi*, a feature not found in Schwitters' other signed collage of 1918, *Drawing A6*. Arp's use of a commercial wrapper in his *Papierbild* (illustrated in *Cabaret Voltaire*), as well as Hausmann and possibly Baader's use of newspaper texts and vernacular phrases, might well have come into discussion.

Having found with Schwitters a "wohl mineralische Verwandtschaft" [deep kinship],³⁵ Hausmann may well have been interested in the "Merz" works in the Schwitters Sturm exhibition of the spring of 1919. It is clear, nonetheless, that their deep friendship did not begin to develop until after December 1920, when they were still sufficiently distant from one another that "without knowing it," they could publish "almost the same statements" as "defenders of nonsense."³⁶

These accounts suggest that the "invention" of "photomontage" seemed of decisive importance only later and probably had little to do with the artists' concerns of the era. The medium of the *Klebebild* was adopted quite intentionally, however, as part of the rebellion against Expressionism. The *Klebebild* promised a "contact with matter" (Hausmann) and "the most primitive relation to the reality of the environment" (Huelsenbeck). Like the bruitism brought into the movement by Huelsenbeck, the *Plastiken* [sculpture] of Hausmann, Heartfield, and Grosz, and the incorporation of photographs (and eventually actual objects) in *Klebebilder* were intended to supplant *Darstellungen* [representations] with what Herzfelde referred to as simply "*Sachen*" [things].³⁷ At the same time, by incorporating and altering advertising and journalistic slogans, and by referring to religious and political systems of meaning, the *Klebebild* could help draw attention to the conventions which mediate between man and his empirical reality.

"Grosz-Heartfield Mont."

The earliest published collage using photographs stemmed from the Grosz-Heartfield collaboration. Heartfield's *Preisausschreiben! Wer ist der Schönste?* [Open Competition! Who is the Prettiest?], was not then associated with Dada but made for the cover of the protest paper, *Jedermann sein eigener Fussball* (February 1919, fig. 47).³⁸ Remarkable for the purity of its approach, it employs photographs directly without any hint of drawing or painting. A fan forms the background upon which were superimposed "six photographic portraits of members of the Ebert/Scheidemann government as well as—on the handle of the fan—Noske, Ludendorff, Erzberger."³⁹ Seventy-six hundred copies of the paper were sold on the Berlin streets, an accomplishment for which Herzfelde was later arrested and briefly imprisoned.

In contrast with Heartfield's use of direct means, Grosz' development over the course of 1919 and early 1920 involved an absorption of photographs

and newspaper clippings into his primary medium of drawing. Accordingly, his incorporation of collage occurs in a logical series of artistic decisions, despite the frequent anti-aesthetic statements made in the Club Dada “propaganda.” Grosz’ content remained as pointed as ever, and broadened as he mined the world of mass media—along with its support structure in the modern industrialized city-state—for examples of hypocrisy and injustice. After creating his *Salumith* collage in 1917, Grosz had been largely occupied with the approach refined in his paintings *Widmung an Oskar Panizza* [Dedication to Oskar Panizza] (1917–18) and *Deutschland, ein Wintermärchen* [Germany, a Winter’s Tale] (1917–19), both of which present jumbled and dynamic compositions based on Futurism and a fragmentary and disparate reality owing a good deal to Cubist collage.⁴⁰ Although the content is very different, Grosz’ placing of an actual front page from the conservative Berlin *Lokal-Anzeiger* in his *Deutschland, ein Wintermärchen*, like both Georg Scholz’ introduction of *Der Bote* in his painting, *Industrialized Peasants* (1920), and Dix’s use of newspapers in his *War Cripples* (1920),⁴¹ falls within the tradition initiated by Cubism and Futurism. As Richard Hiepe has pointed out, both Grosz’ paintings and Heartfield’s collages, as early as 1915, “point . . . more to Cubist and Futurist forerunners than to the then not yet fully developed collages of the Zurich Dada movement, with which they would always be connected.”⁴² In particular, both Grosz and Heartfield were strongly influenced by Carlo Carrà.⁴³ If any one source could be named which forged the Grosz-Heartfield bond, it would be Carrà’s *Funerali dell’ anarchio Galli* (1911) which was “treasured” by Heartfield and possibly an influence on Grosz’ *Widmung an Oskar Panizza* (1917–18).⁴⁴ Despite the all too frequent description of Berlin “photo-montage” as “chaotic,” it turned out often to be “rational” in contrast with the chaotic “Typo-montages” of Soffici and Marinetti of 1914–15 or with the “alogical” collages of other Dada centers.⁴⁵

Returning to the *Klebebild* technique only late in 1919, Grosz used a collage of newspaper clippings simply as a backdrop for his biting caricatures of a complacent capitalist and his scheming prostitute companion in *Arbeiten und nicht verzweifeln!* [Work and do not despair!] for the cover of *Der blutige Ernst* 4.⁴⁶ While the collage background is a dynamic jumble of references to film, dance, and the cabaret and suggests the filmatic vision Heartfield attempted in *Leben und Treiben in Universal City um 12 Uhr 5 Mittags*,⁴⁷ *Arbeiten und nicht verzweifeln!* is essentially a juxtaposition of two approaches. Strongly influenced by Heartfield and possibly by Baader (fig. 53), Grosz subsequently experimented with newspaper clippings, diagrams, and photographs, adjusting them to the Futurist-derived dynamism so successfully handled in such drawings as *Schulze psychoanalysiert* (*Der blutige Ernst* 6, February 1920). His collage, *Schulzens Seele*, presented a kind of cross section of the world as mediated through the newspaper—a medium

which itself conveys a "collage" of reality.⁴⁸ Grosz' collage makes references to the whole front of vernacular and high culture including the Minister of the Interior, Gustav Noske, Tolstoy, mass murder, popular slogans, Gothic architecture, advertisements and the outspoken rejection in Huelsenbeck's 1918 Dada manifesto: "Nein! Nein! Nein!" Grosz and Heartfield saw in newspapers and photographs primarily another vernacular source, what has been called a "poor man's art."⁴⁹ But throughout the Dada era, Grosz and Heartfield treated these sources only as would highly sophisticated avant-garde artists. Only in the twenties did Heartfield depart into the democratic style he called "photomontage," while Grosz' "pillars of society"—the militarist, junker, and priest—were made recognizable to the masses through the regressive artistic style of the posters made in the twenties by the Social Democrats.⁵⁰

When Grosz became more comfortable with the collage technique in *Der Schuldige bleibt unerkant* [The Guilty One Remains Unknown] (1919),⁵¹ he accomplished a tight unity through increased restraint and sparseness and a reduction of the fragmentary photographs and texts to discrete units which he coerced back into a Cubo-Futurist armature. For a few months in 1920, in such works as *The Diamond Racketeer*,⁵² Grosz fought against "Futurist romantic dynamism" by "suppressing color" and using line "in an impersonal, photographic way," an attitude seen also in Hausmann's dry draftsman's style (figs. 32, 88, and 89).⁵³ This control is the concession Grosz made to the machine character of his materials and it effected his composition as much as any "exploding of perception" through "discontinuity."⁵⁴

What Grosz and Heartfield held in common can be seen in "corrected masterpieces" exhibited at the 1920 Dada-Messe under the authorship "Grosz-Heartfield mont."—the abbreviation referring to "Monteur" [fitter, assembler] (fig. 51). While the "Korrigierter Picasso" appears to be a critique primarily of the materials and subject matter of Cubism, it openly accepts and maintains an indebtedness to the collage technique. The related *Henri Rousseau Selbstbildnis* is another "corrected masterpiece" which presents a reproduction of Henri Rousseau's *Myself, Portrait Landscape* of 1890 in which the Douanier has been replaced by a photograph of Hausmann. It comments more directly and ironically on the identity of the artist by augmenting the setting with added photographs.⁵⁵ A dapper and fashionable Hausmann, rendered photographically, seems to call into question the use of the palette and paintbrush which he holds in his hands.

Grosz and Heartfield used the photograph as a material fact which they accepted into the creative process as a raw material, relieving them of the obligation of depicting reality. The photograph became a crucial ingredient in what Grosz called his "materializations" in the subtitle of a 1922 collection of his collages.⁵⁶ Heartfield abandoned traditional techniques of artistic



Figure 50. John Heartfield, *Der Dada 3*, 1920
 Cover with reproduction of collage, 9 × 6 inches.
 (Collection Hans J. Kleinschmidt, New York)

handiwork altogether in favor of collages of photographs. This is seen in the *Preis ausschreiben!* (fig. 47) and in his cover for *Der Dada 3* (fig. 50), which presents a dynamic composition based entirely on the qualities of the materials themselves. This approach is explained in Herzfelde's introduction to the Dada-Messe catalog:

The Dadaists say: while earlier huge quantities of time, love, and effort were spent on painting a body, flower, a hat, a cast shadow etc., we need only take scissors and cut out the paintings, photographic reproductions of all of these things we need, and as far as something of smaller size is concerned, we don't need representation at all but take the things themselves, e.g., pocket knives, ash trays, books, etc., merely things [lauter Sachen].⁵⁷

In his account to Tschichold, Hausmann cited the cover for *Der Dada 3* (fig. 50) and the collage *Dada-merika* (fig. 52) as the first productions of the "Grosz-Heartfield Konzern."⁵⁸ The absence of Heartfield's pseudonym in his earlier collage for *Jedermann sein eigener Fussball* (February 1919, fig. 47), and of such pseudonyms generally in the Malik Verlag protest paper, *Die Pleite* [Bankruptcy], supports Hausmann's claim. While the cover for *Der Dada 3* (fig. 50) and a related work of 1919, *Sonniges Land* (used also as a cover for Huelsenbeck's book of 1920, *Dada siegt!*),⁵⁹ remains within the technique of the *Klebebild*, *Dada-merika* extends the process, incorporating "merely things"—a measuring tape, knife, tufts of hair, coins, and matches—and is a step toward the manikin assemblages of the "Grosz-Heartfield Konzern" shown at the Dada-Messe (fig. 82). This important transitional work shows how actual objects are carefully absorbed into the tight structure of the composition: the knife blade has a photograph applied over it, the measuring tape is covered by paper collage elements in several places. As in *Sonniges Land*, reproductions of religious art, fragments of American newspapers (possibly sent by Grosz' brother-in-law in San Francisco), machine imagery, and clippings from Dada publications are also included. The cluster of objects is placed on a plain background with little attempt to establish a spatial setting of the sort to be seen later in the photomontages of Heartfield and Hausmann.

The "Grosz-Heartfield mont." signature has sparked the popular argument that the verb "montieren" (to assemble, to fit, or to mount) designates the recognition of a crucial mechanical aspect potentially available in the technical production of their works which had decisive anti-artistic ramifications.⁶⁰ Yet the collage technique employed consistently by Grosz and Heartfield from *Preis ausschreiben! Wer ist der Schönste?* (fig. 47) through *Dada-merika* (fig. 52), was apparently unaltered by the term "montieren," which came midway in this development. Heartfield's *Preis ausschreiben!* (fig. 47), can be compared with a similar layout of a fan of faces rendered conventionally in an anonymous drawing taken from the newspaper which appeared in *Der Sturm* in 1912 (as part of the rebuttal to criticism of



Figure 52. George Grosz and John Heartfield, *Dada-merika*, 1919
 Photographs, typography, hair, matches, and other objects, 10 1/4 × 9 inches.
 (Location unknown)

Kandinsky's "pictures without things," fig. 48). While both works serve didactic purposes, Heartfield's work is visually more tasteful in its departure from repetition and symmetry (often considered "mechanical" qualities) and is obviously the better work of art.⁶¹ Heartfield was "the enemy of the picture" only to the extent that he attempted to "paint with the means of film": he so disrupted scale and unity in *Leben und Treiben in Universal City um 12 Uhr 5 Mittags* (1919) that "it is best to walk 40 steps back through the wall (mind the step!)," as Herzfelde advised in the Dada-Messe catalog.⁶²

Herzfelde maintained that Heartfield's title "Monteur" was "not due to his working technique" but related to his preference for wearing a "Monteuranzug" [overalls]: "he did not want to look like an artist but not like an advertising man either."⁶³ Grosz corroborated this account in his statement that he had discovered the term "Monteur" for Heartfield "who constantly wore an old blue suit and whose activity in our association was reminiscent mostly of montieren."⁶⁴

The importance of social posturing should not be underestimated for these men who anglicized their names, altered their daily appearance, and modified their rituals of behavior in protest against surrounding norms. Hausmann's 1930 account of their decision to take on personas suggests that the term "Monteur" helped the group to reunite after the difficult months of Huelsenbeck's absence:

The title "Monteur-Dada" was discovered by Grosz only after the reconciliation of the Hausmann-Baader group (including Huelsenbeck who had meanwhile reappeared) on the one hand, and Grosz-Heartfield and Mehring on the other. At that time, in July 1919, we all received typeset visiting cards from John Heartfield with our titles: Baader, who had named himself Oberdada in 1918 in Jacobsohn's *Weltbühne*, Huelsenbeck, who named himself World Dada, I, who called myself Dadasoph, Heartfield Monteurdada, Grosz received the title Marshal and Mehring became Pipidada. Those are the historical facts.⁶⁵

If this account is correct, then the use of "Monteurdada" was above all part of a Dada tactic intended to establish for the artist a position outside of the conventions provided him in artists' cultural institutions and to foster new meanings for his work.

"Hausmann-Baader"

Writing in his notebook during the first week of May 1918, Hausmann was bubbling with a fresh enthusiasm in the wake of the first official Dada *soirée*, which had been held on April 12:

With Baader I've done several things, simultaneous poems, a simultaneous novel, new woodcuts, I have gotten Sent M'ahesa enthused about cubist dance, will make her a new costume, have a wonderful idea for a dance and new music, then I'll bring out a new journal, the gallery Dada will be founded—it's really a new movement.⁶⁶

In the earliest "official" phase of Berlin Dadaism, Hausmann was closely associated with Baader, as yet an "outsider" who had not participated in the first *soirée*. Hausmann had become aware of the movement through Jung who introduced him to Huelsenbeck after the "Erste Dadarede" had taken place in February.⁶⁷ During the summer and autumn of 1918, Huelsenbeck was absent from Berlin and Grosz was collaborating with Heartfield in his work for a newly founded government film agency. This left Baader and Hausmann to set the stage for Berlin Dada. Their joint activities were a kind of testing ground for decisions which were often inseparably artistic and tactical. This activity contributed a contextual framework which lent an idiomatic character to Dada art. While the other members of the Club Dada sometimes objected—especially to what they regarded as Baader's meddling—their contributions to the movement unavoidably derived meaning from Hausmann's visual and linguistic manipulations and Baader's theatrical fabrications in the popular press.

The "Hausmann-Baader" performances included a *Dada-matinée* in Berlin's Café Austria (June 6), during which Hausmann first read his sound poems, an event in the Kaisersaal des Rheingold (February 6, 1919) where Baader was proclaimed "Präsident des Erdballs" [President of the Earth], and a "Club Milchstrasse" *Propaganda-Abend* at the Café Austria (March 12), during which Baader proclaimed a mock "Anationales Rat unbezahlter Arbeiter" [Anational Council of Unpaid Workers] (probably in response to Kurt Hiller's "Rat geistiger Arbeiter" [Council of Intellectual Workers] which had been founded in November 1918).⁶⁸ Their publications included Baader's "Acht Weltsätze" (*BZ am Mittag* July 30, 1918), Hausmann's *Material der Malerei Plastik Architektur* (October 1918), and the numbers 9 and 10 of *Die freie Straße*, edited in November and December 1918, by Hausmann and Baader respectively. By April 1919, Baader managed to have the "death" and "resurrection" of the "Oberdada" reported in the German press. During the following months he gained public press attention through his demand that the Dadaists be awarded the Nobel Prize,⁶⁹ his candidacy for the Reichstag,⁷⁰ and his arrest for blasphemy after commandeering the pulpit of the Berliner Dom to shout "Christus ist uns Wurscht!"⁷¹ By April 1919, a proclamation of a "Dada-Republic" in Berlin-Nikolassee was taken seriously enough by the authorities that a regiment was held in readiness on the announced date.

The broader audience which the Berlin group began to reach during the spring of 1919 was doubtless indebted to Baader's continuing sensational maneuvers. Examples include the donation of a large picture of Schiller with an inscription prophesying the destruction of the Weimar Republic to the German National Assembly in May and his leafleting of the Weimar National Assembly on July 16 with a special edition of the "Grüne Leiche" [Green Corpse], a mock publication proclaiming "The President of the Globe sits in the saddle of the white horse Dada."⁷²

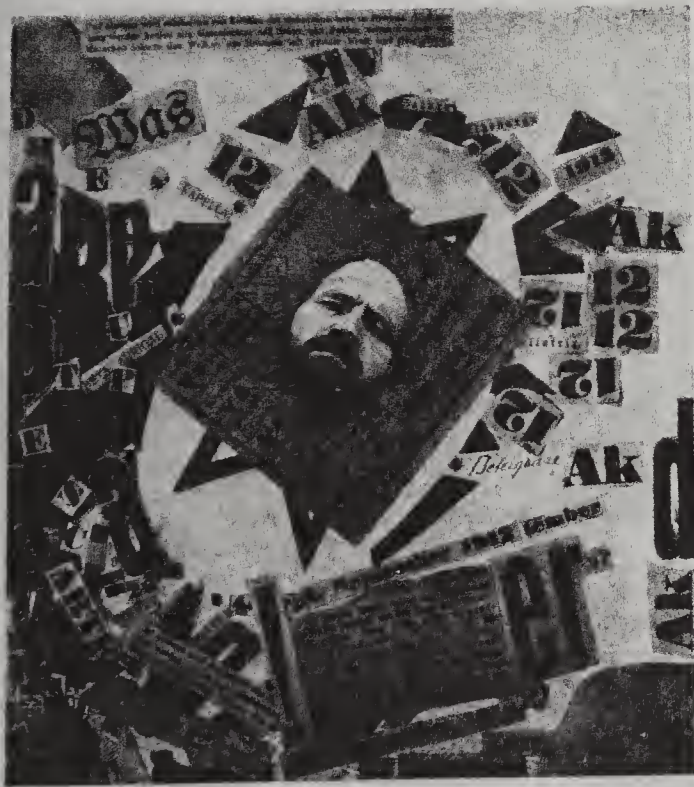
The first official Dada exhibition in I. B. Neumann's Graphisches Kabinett in April 1919, produced constant "loud laughter" and was followed by two Dada *soirées* on April 30 and May 24.⁷³ These events presented various proclamations and simultaneous poems by Hausmann, Huelsenbeck, and Baader: "Seelen-Automobile" by Hausmann; poetry and dance by Walter Mehring; musical compositions involving kitchen equipment by Jefim Golyscheff; "jungle-songs" by Grosz and Mehring; and a "race between [a] typewriter and sewing machine."⁷⁴ The Club Dada activity now accelerating, Huelsenbeck boasted to Tzara that "the center of Dada is in Berlin."⁷⁵ During the summer, Hausmann and Baader published the first number of *Der Dada* and by August Huelsenbeck had signed a contract with publisher Kurt Wolff to produce *Dadaco*, the "Dada Hand Atlas" which would be an "authentic" compendium of Dada texts, visual material, and documents.⁷⁶ The movement had been fully launched into the public arena.

The public manifestations of Berlin Dada, whether staged or often simply imaginary, were all related in the *Klebebilder* through provocative Dada handbills, journals, announcements, invitations, and the like. In the first published example by the Hausmann-Baader collaboration, *Eine originelle Aufnahme des Führers der "Dadaistischen Bewegung,"* Baader is presented in "An Original Photograph of the Leader of the 'Dada Movement'" (fig. 53). Included among the fragments of text are the "Dadaisten gegen Weimar" [Dadaists against Weimar] flier, issued by "Der dadaistische Zentralrat der Weltrevolution" ["The Dadaist Central Office of the World Revolution"] during the February Kaisersaal event, and the mock "ARUA" ("Anationales Rat unbezahlter Arbeiter") proclamation. These clippings are mingled with snippets from the German press: "Morgen[blatt]," "Abendblatt," "Der Welt," and "Spiegel." Baader himself is presented in the center in a photograph taken in the mid-teens, accompanied by a reproduction of his 1906 sketch for a "World Temple." Other references to the surrounding culture include the German eagle and cross and the plea, "Entwaffnet Euch" [disarm yourselves]. Intermingled with these references to the official culture are other allusions to Baader's program: "der Weltrevolution," the question "Warum versagte die deutsche . . . Geistlichkeit?" ["Why did the German . . . deny spirituality?"], and references to the appearance of Christ (meaning Baader himself) in the clouds of heaven (fig. 56). This array almost entirely covers a fragment of Hausmann's *Milchstrasse* poster used to advertise the March 12 *soirée* at the Café Austria (fig. 55). Although the name, "r. hausmann," appears right beneath the phrase "Architekt Johannes Baader" in the lower center, the layout can be said to be largely Baader's and closely resembles his later *Gutenberggedenkblatt* exhibited at the Dada-Messe.⁷⁷

Baader's incorporation of artifacts from the culture around him as collage material can be understood as a restructuring of the "residue" of his

(Rein geschäftlich)

Hindenburg, Lindenborg sind keine historischen Namen. Es gibt nur einen historischen Namen: Haider. Diese Herren, die an den Marionettenspielen der Ewigkeit baumeln, die ich lenke, vergessen, dass der Krieg verloren ging, weil sie in Deutschland kläger sein wollten als der Präsident des Weltalls. Schon im Januar 1914 erklärte ich ganz klar und deutlich: Deutschland ist der Sitz des Weltalls, belege diese Erklärung mit den tiefsten kosmischen Gedanken und unterzeichnete sie mit dem mächtigsten aller Namen, sodass kein Einseitiger vor der Tatsache vorbeigehen konnte, dass hier endgültig das Ultimatum gestellt war, dessen Nichtbeantwortung zur Katastrophe von Sarajewo führen musste. Noch am 23. Juli 1914 war es Zeit, durch Einräumung der Funkstation Nauen dem Präsidenten des Weltalls das Wort zur Niederschlagung der drohenden Wolke zu erteilen. Allein die konstitutionell verantwortliche Weltregierung erklärte dem Präsidenten die Notwendigkeit des Verzehs und so konnte die Mächtemache angeordnet befohlen werden. Am 12. September 1914 war die Illusion des Sieges über Frankreich vorüber. Die Regierung liess durch untergeordnete Gemeindegänge dem Präsidenten der Welt verkünden, dass es war umsonst, dass sie ihn am 11. Oktober wieder frei gab; die



Das ist die Erscheinung des Oberdada in den Wolken des Himmels
(Illustration aus dem Dadako. Mit gütiger Erlaubnis des Verlages Kurt Wolff, München.)

tochter wieder
 frei zu; die
 Knechtgebude
 Wahrheit war
 zu spät. Papst
 Benedikt XV.
 konnte sich nicht
 entschließen.
 Ende 1915 eine
 Rundreise durch
 die Kriegführung
 den Staaten zu
 unternehmen.
 Deshalb blieben
 alle seine Friede-
 densversuche ein
 Schlag ins
 Wasser, und was
 der Amerikaner
 Russell in
 Brooklyn voran-
 geschickt hatte, fand
 ein, das Papst-
 tum hat abge-
 wirtschaftet die
 Presse bringt
 seine Kundge-
 bungen nur noch
 auf der zweiten
 Seite unter
 Miscellen. Ich
 wollte den bedrängten Hindenburg und Lind-
 burg Ende 1916
 im Friedenbrett
 rücken. Ich er-
 klärte dem Kai-
 ser: ruhen Sie zu
 Weinbarten.
 1916 die Völker
 der Erde vor den
 Richterstuhl des
 Präsidenten des
 Weltalls in das
 Königliche
 Schloss zu Stutt-
 gart. Aber der
 Kaiser der im

Figure 56. Johannes Baader, *Reklame für mich*, 1919
Article with reproduction of collage made of fragments of photographs and Dada documents entitled *Das ist die Erscheinung des Oberdada in den Wolken des Himmels* in *Der Dada 2* (Berlin: December 1919).
(Collection Hans J. Kleinschmidt, New York)

activities.⁷⁸ This restructuring extends a program begun as early as October 1906, when Baader's convictions concerning his self-identity as "successor of Christ" had led to what Hausmann recounts as a "critical situation." Baader had begun to disseminate propaganda for his utopian "World Temple," to "neglect his métier [as a trained architect], and to give himself to an activity which is difficult to define."⁷⁹ According to Hausmann, Baader began to operate first as a kind of promoter, exploiting the mass media to announce an occasion when he would be present as the "Successor of Christ"—"entirely nude"—and would receive visitors. By the mid-teens, Baader had evolved his tactics to exploit not only the press, but the social systems it served (religion and politics in particular) by implying or actually attempting to establish contacts between himself and leading cultural figures. In 1916, for example, he wrote to Prince Friedrich Wilhelm of Prussia asserting his authority as "Commander of the Empire of the Spirit" and demanding that the war be stopped immediately.⁸⁰ His phrase "Solang es einen Papst gibt, gibt es auch einen Christus" [As long as there is a pope, there is also a Christ], which appears in *Eine originelle Aufnahme des Führers der "Dadaistischen Bewegung"* and in one of the *Milchstrasse* posters (figs. 53 and 54), is again the assertion of authority by association. In this case the statement is clipped directly from the front page of the number of *Die freie Straße* (no. 10, December 1918) in which Baader announced his presidency in a banner headline.

While a "Führer" of events, Baader was also an interpreter, deciphering them as a myriad of hidden signs in relation to his own cosmic presence. The events of 1916, for example, are interspersed with other cosmic signs, and unraveled by Baader in a text entitled "D. A. D. A." (1918) on official Club Dada stationery.⁸¹ Combining reality and fiction, Baader blames Germany for ignoring his commands and prophecies and thus engulfing Europe in war. Similarly, the phrase "Die Schuld am Krieg" [the guilt for the war] in *Eine originelle Aufnahme des Führers der "Dadaistischen Bewegung"* continues "President" Baader's charge, presented with the same phrase in his *Die freie Straße* number, that this guilt resides with the German "Priest" for ignoring the Sermon on the Mount (a reference to Matt. 7: 24–27 is added there to amplify the point).

Baader's boldly messianic behavior, and the attendant identity of "Christ," were popular and well-established conventions among social radicals of his day, and his usurpation of them leads naturally from his view of the entire culture as raw material for his activities. For the "Oberdada," the "President of the Globe" and "Architekt Johannes Baader," the avoiding of the tradition of "playing the artist," which had led to the persona of the "Monteur" chosen by Grosz and Heartfield, was practically superfluous. Not only was he free of their burden of a sophisticated knowledge of modernism

(Cubism and Futurism), but the making of art works and participation in an art movement were to him simply additional events in the “myriad of sun seas of the milky way,” locations in the cacophonous array of culture under his domain. The “Club Dada,” for which his position as “Führer” was a given, was a particularly convenient focus of social transactions, a theatrical arena for him to center his activities of intervention in and redirection of the belief systems on which the culture was based. As Baader asserted in his “Eine Erklärung des Club Dada” [An Explanation of the Club Dada], “Dada is the chaos from which thousands of systems arise and are tangled again in the Dada Chaos. Dada is simultaneously the course and the content of the entire world events.”⁸² More than once Baader’s exercise of his presumed authority led to a falling-out with his Dada colleagues and even threatened his close friendship with Hausmann. As early as February 1919, Hausmann advised Tzara not to use Baader’s works, characterizing him as a “bourgeois turncoat” who created “egoistical sabotage” and who “in the future is no longer a member of the Club Dada.”⁸³ Around the same time, Huelsenbeck advised Tzara to “be on guard against Baader, who has nothing to do with our thoughts,” and complained that Baader’s “Blödsinn” [insanity] had so “compromised” Berlin Dada that he could no longer “produce any more notices in the newspapers” himself.⁸⁴ The particular offense had been the typically Baaderian procedure of prominently associating the name of A[lfred] R[ichard] Meyer (whose pro-war poetry offended Huelsenbeck) with the Dadaist movement in the “Dadaisten gegen Weimar” leaflet advertising the Dada event of February 6.⁸⁵ Baader may also have been behind a spoof announcement which appeared in the September *Deutsche Tageszeitung* declaring Prime Minister Scheidemann as a member of the “Club Dada.” It was precisely in making associations of this kind, in creating situations which determined public meaning, that Baader reached his mastery as Dada impresario. The idea of a communal statement, authenticated by signatories, taken so seriously by Huelsenbeck, was to Baader but another cultural practice suitable for his intervention and the exercise of his role as a kind of “Ober-functionary.”⁸⁶ From this role he derived the authority to make what Huelsenbeck decried as jokes,⁸⁷ a central tenet of his strategy being that his gestures would be perceived simply as humor. His demand for the Nobel Prize during the summer of 1918, for example, had gained him the publication of his “Acht Weltsätze” in the *BZ am Mittag*.⁸⁸

Baader’s activity, presented with visual clarity for the first time in *Eine originelle Aufnahme des Führers der “Dadaistischen Bewegung”* and refined later in his collage and article, “Reklame für Mich” in *Der Dada 2* (fig. 56), was one of presenting himself in the midst of a constellation of cultural events and signs, along with the cultural mechanisms (newspapers, linguistic and numerical systems, and so forth) which conferred meaning upon them. His

procedure, as often as not, was simply to appropriate events, personages, and symbols (the eagle and German cross, for example) and bring them into new associations, implying for them alternative meanings. Despite Baader's motivating attitude of "egoistical sabotage," it was clearly this process of generating multiple meanings which appealed to Hausmann. Perhaps he also recognized that without Baader's extreme behavior in the blending of fiction and reality of the "Oberdada" the myth-building dimension of Berlin Dada would have been greatly diminished.

"The World War is a war of newspapers. In reality it never existed," Baader proclaimed with irony in his text, "Deutschlands Größe und Untergang oder Die phantastische Lebensgeschichte des Oberdada" [Germany's Rise and Fall or the Fantastic Life Story of the Oberdada], which he wrote in explanation of his monumental assemblage of 1920, the *Plasto-Dio-Dada-Drama* (fig. 83).⁸⁹ As the most accessible of myth-making forces of his day, the world of newspapers had offered Baader a means of direct intervention on a scale which approached his cosmic presumptions. With apparent ignorance of collage as practiced by the Cubists, Baader proceeded to make *Klebebilder* with a deliberateness reported by Hausmann in his *Courrier Dada*:

In 1919 Baader began to make photocollages; his montages surpassed every measure in their vast quantity and their format. In this area he was comparable to Schwitters. Everywhere, wherever he could, he tore entire posters from the walls and kiosks and carried them home where he carefully classified them.⁹⁰

We may be privileged with a glimpse of Baader's classification process in the background of his collage of 1920, *Der Verfasser des Buches Vierzehn Briefe Christi in Seinem Heim* [The Author of the Book "Vierzehn Briefe Christi" in his Home] (fig. 57): a tack-board on which a hoard of documents are "assembled in his room."⁹¹ Included in Baader's selection are Hausmann's optophonetic poem, *kp'erioum*, and the front page of Baader's *Die freie Straße* (no. 10, December 1918) with its proclamation, "Präsident Baader!"

The lost *HADO* ("Handbuch des Oberdadaismus") was undoubtedly the major fruit of Baader's efforts. This was a huge collage project, the first volume of which was made available ("by appointment") to the public, on June 28, 1919, to correspond with the German signing of the Peace Treaty of Versailles.⁹² The book was also promoted in post cards and circulars in the religious guise of the "Book of the Last Judgment." As described by Hausmann, the two-volume *HADO* was presented in "newspaper format, with pages entirely of collages, which contained mysterious and supernatural connections of every day of his life between 1919 and 1920."⁹³

Clues regarding Baader's *HADO* project may be found in other posters in the *Milchstrasse* series and in the collage, *Das ist die Erscheinung des*

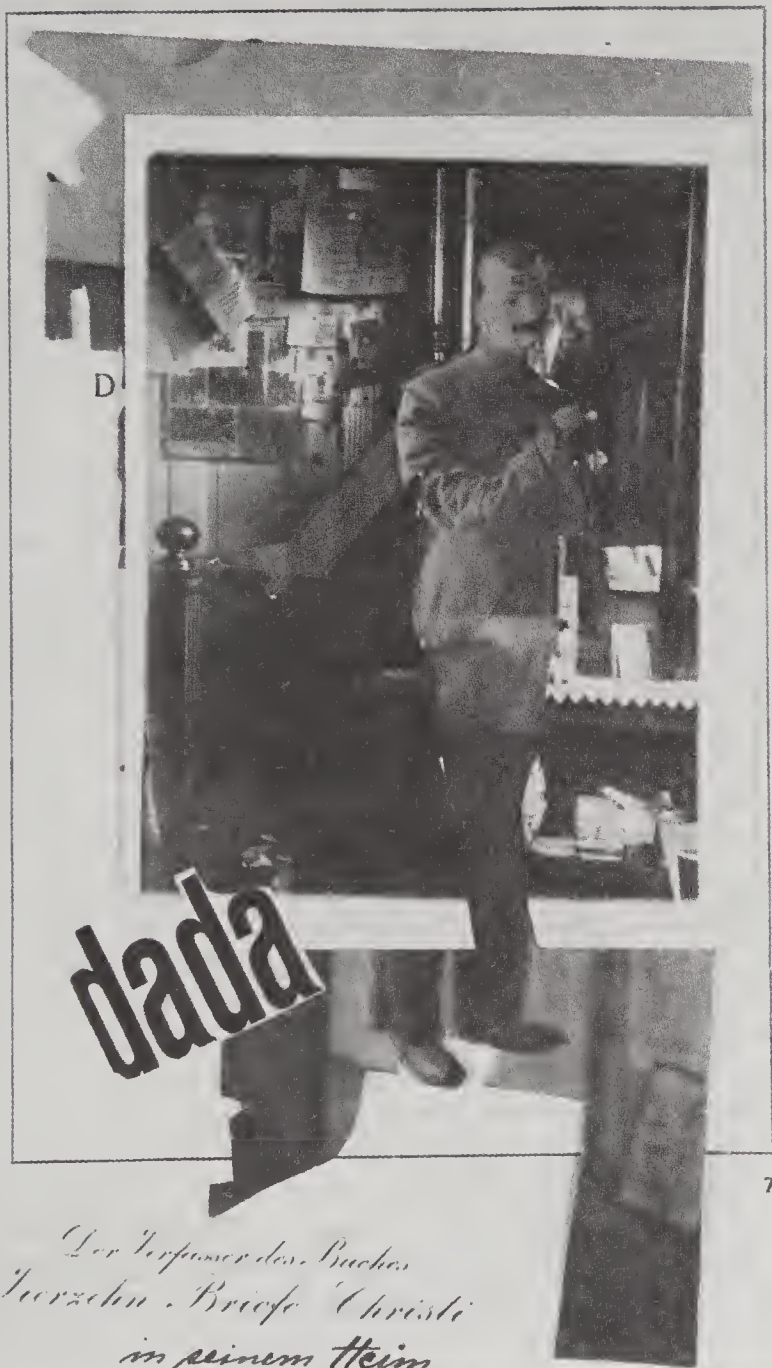


Figure 57. Johannes Baader, *The Author in His Home*, ca. 1920
 Fragments of photographs and typography on page 7 of Baader's
Vierzehn Briefe Christi (1914), 8 1/2 × 5 3/4 inches.
 (Collection, The Museum of Modern Art, New York. Purchase)

Oberdada in den Wolken des Himmels [That is the Appearance of the Oberdada in the Clouds of Heaven] which accompanied his essay, "Reklame für mich" [Advertisement for Me] (figs. 54 and 56). These works would resemble his *HADO* for which the addition of "new documentation daily" had included "new documents, spots of color, letters, numbers, and even figurative representations from his harvest of posters. With this he created a kind of collage-literature or collage-poetry."⁹⁴ In making his *Dada Milchstrasse* collage (fig. 54) Baader began with Hausmann's poster as an armature (fig. 55) and added information regarding the performance in March, a photograph of the "World Temple" drawing, the "Dada Erklärung" announcement for the *HADO*, and the "Dadaisten gegen Weimar" flier. The photographic material includes tiny images of Baader's face and a central fragment of the "corrected masterpiece" by Grosz and Heartfield which presents Hausmann's image in place of the Douanier Rousseau. Hausmann's original compositional armature is largely obscured in Baader's treatment. Although the forceful diagonal in Hausmann's design remains, what is preserved is primarily information: the letters and numbers in the lower right and a portion of the "Milchstrasse." Hausmann's arrangement of the letters "DADA" is covered by information about the "Oberdada." In another version, the original poster is little more than a foundation board for Baader's overlaid material which promotes again the "Oberdada."⁹⁵

The *Milchstrasse* posters and *Eine originelle Aufnahme des Führers der "Dadaistischen Bewegung"* show how Baader moves an assemblage of documents onto paper while constantly manipulating them in a process of overlapping which may have no absolute point of termination. Visually the texts become textures within the overall rectilinear patterning while also inviting close inspection and reading. Baader presents a constant exchange of information, constantly reordered and obscured in compositions which in themselves contain many sensitive visual passages. While they clearly exploit a programmatic approach, Baader's works are not entirely governed by any one of the artistic and verbal constraints he uses. Consequently they remain open systems—a presentation of process.

During the politically turbulent winter and spring prior to the first Dada exhibition of 1919, the collaboration between Hausmann and Baader was the functioning nucleus of the Berlin Club Dada. In continual contact with Tzara in Zurich, Baader and Hausmann sent him publications and artworks including the *Lautgedichte* and woodcuts by Hausmann. In return they received 391, *Dada* and other Zurich publications.⁹⁶ The "official" Dada material the two artists were sending to Zurich had been developed in the previous months: woodcuts, statements on innovative "Club Dada" stationery (fig. 49), the *Die freie Straße* numbers they had edited, and Hausmann's book of woodcuts, *Material der Malerei Plastik Architektur*.

Herzfelde's *Jedermann sein eigener Fussball* revue is mentioned, but only as a product of the "Neue Jugend" group.

The most innovative and experimental of the early material was typography which would lead to the layouts of *Der Dada I* (June 1919, figs. 37 and 62). The visual treatment of words in some of Baader's post cards, where texts appear at right angles, upside down, and in implied diagonals,⁹⁷ are more advanced than Hausmann's straightforward typography in an invitation and poster for the "Club Milchstraße Propaganda Abend" which he and Baader held on March 12.⁹⁸ But Hausmann was already beginning to develop the optophonetic (that is to say, at once visual and aural) system of lettering which culminated in settings of *kp'erioum* later in 1919.⁹⁹ Hausmann sent his poem *l'inconnu* to Tzara in February, and then designed a full-scale presentation with detailed instructions for the typesetter specifying a variety of typefaces of different sizes.¹⁰⁰ The Hausmann-Baader collaboration was too close to determine who had the decisive role in the innovative typography on the official "Club Dada" stationery and post cards. Baader's procedure of turning letters 90 and 180 degrees, for example, had also been used by Hausmann in the "Club Dada" number of *Die freie Straße*.

A few small innovative collages were also worked out on post cards by Baader and Hausmann sometime between January and the summer of 1919. Among them may have been what Hausmann has described as his first "photomontage . . . made entirely with clippings from illustrated reviews and photos, offering thus a new means for publicity."¹⁰¹

Gurk and *Dr. Max Ruest* are Hausmann's first known works to incorporate newspaper clippings with photographs (figs. 58 and 59). Like Baader, Hausmann incorporated culture as material taken from the "enormous uproar" ("Das neue Material in der Malerei"). But while Baader became a subtle practitioner of restructuring procedures and tasteful composition in order to present a program, Hausmann was drawn directly to the "machine character" of typography and sought to integrate it with fragments from his woodcuts. Not yet involved with the cult of technology so evident in late Berlin Dada, his fascination was with the "abbreviated" and arbitrary forms of the alphabet. To him they represented "the end product of an optical-acoustical process of formation," derived through a "melting pot process" lasting "thousands of years."¹⁰² While admitting that "this forming has approximately attained its end point," Hausmann was constantly searching for ways of regaining what he saw as a primordial linguistic unity of the aural and visual. Whereas the "Seelen-Automobil" poems had provided an automatist process of articulation and perception based in physical reality, the incorporation of actual materials required some other means, however provisional, of structuring them.

In his first group of works in which newspaper clippings and photographs

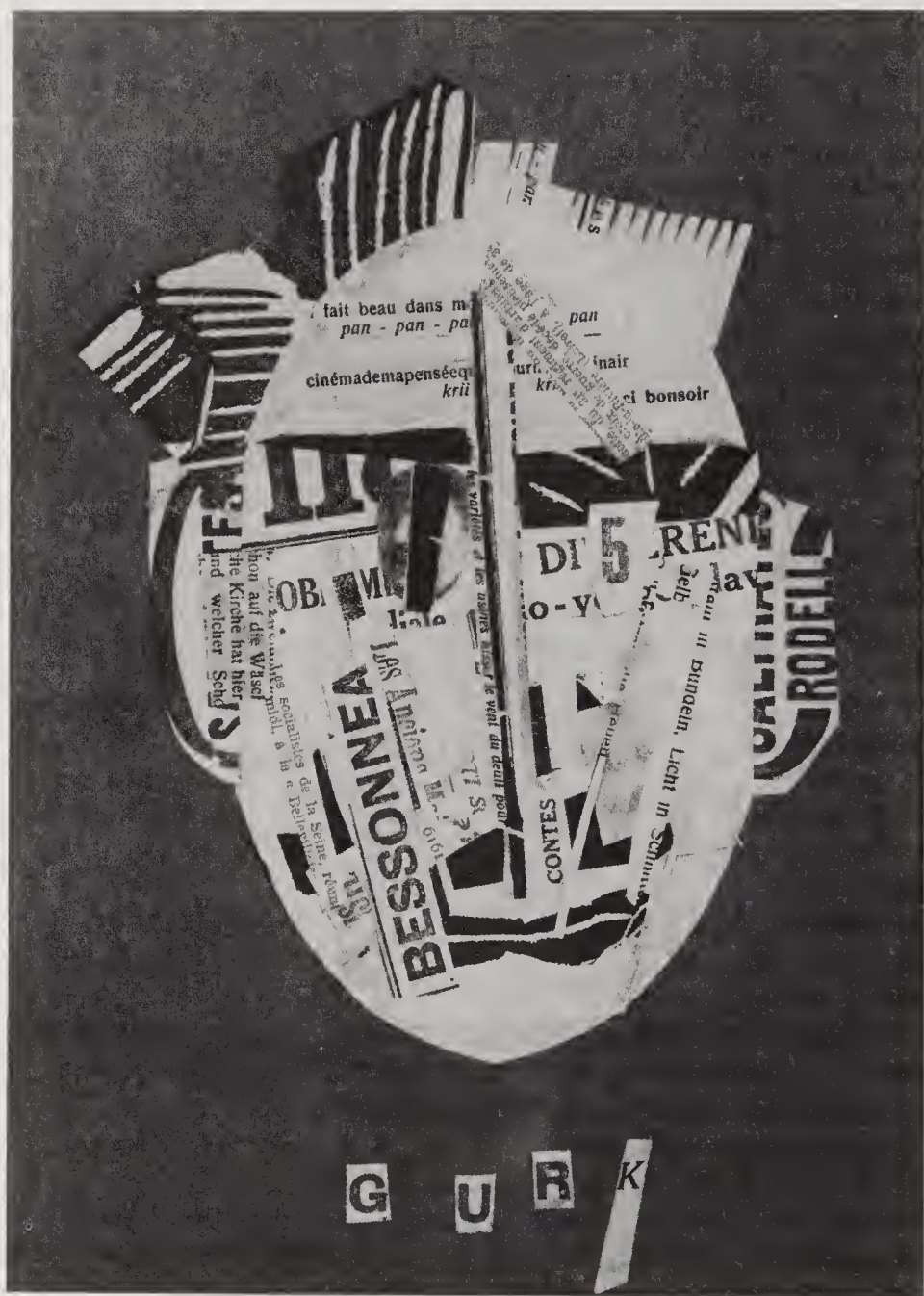


Figure 58. Raoul Hausmann, *Gurk*, 1919

Collage of clippings from woodcuts and journals on blue paper,
10 1/2 x 8 1/2 inches.

(Collection of Wilhelm Arntz, Haag)

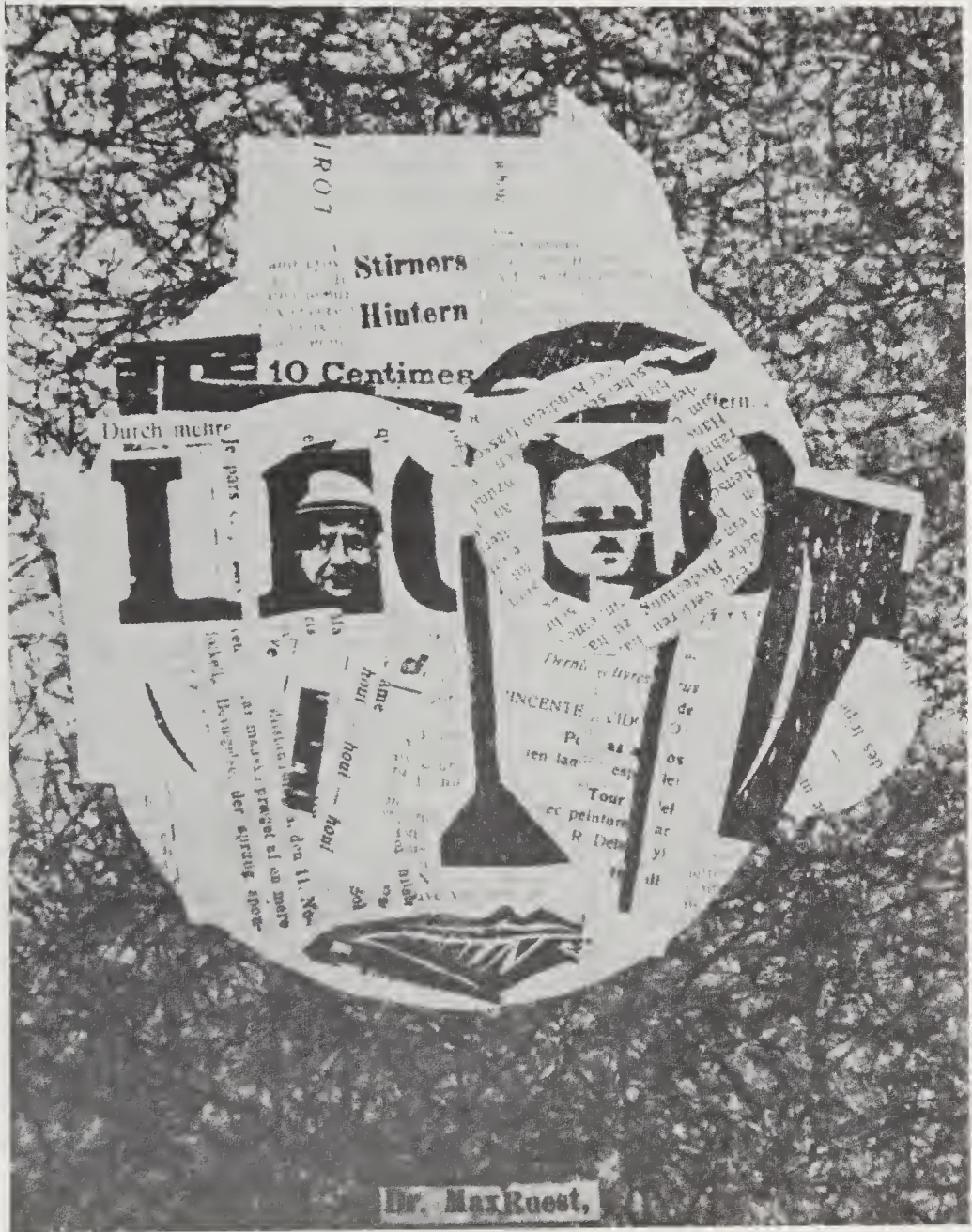


Figure 59. Raoul Hausmann, *Dr. Max Ruest*, 1919

Collage of photographs and clippings from woodcuts and journals on reflective foil.
(Location unknown)

are incorporated, Hausmann continued the direction of his woodcuts: establishing a formal language of "multimeaning" standardized forms which functioned much like the letters of the alphabet (figs. 44, 58, 59, and 60). Like Baader, he included references to Dada events in his collages, but his choices were entirely different from Baader's cosmological program built around his identity as the Oberdada. Hausmann selected sources on which he could confer a kind of anonymity, allowing him to produce not cosmic self-portraits in the Baaderian mode, but rather what Michel Giroud has aptly called the "antiportrait."¹⁰³ Indeed, Hausmann viewed culture as so thoroughly anonymous that he freely incorporated fragments from woodcuts by Richter and Segal, artists whom he admired for their suggestive abstractions and innovative compositions.

Dr. Max Ruest incorporates clippings of pages of *Der Dada 1* (published June 1919), and *Mynona* (fig. 60) incorporates fragments of Hausmann's woodcut reproduced in *Die freie Straße* no. 7 (fig. 30). *Gurk* was reproduced on the back page of *Der Dada 2* (December 1919), reversing the process. These three closely related works must date between June and December 1919, but may all have been completed during the summer. *dada siegt! Tretet dada bei*, the cover collage for *Der Dada 2* (fig. 61), should be included in this group as it shares an architectonic quality with the collage for *Material der Malerei Plastik Architektur* (fig. 42) and includes fragments related to texts Hausmann published in April and June.¹⁰⁴

The small photographs used in *Dr. Max Ruest* and *Gurk* play but a minor role in these works which are more akin to "collage" than to "photomontage." Hausmann's *Klebebilder* differ significantly from the early efforts of his colleagues in the mere fact that their diverse elements form a face or mask (figs. 60, 58, and 59). And while the construction of an image from arbitrary forms had been evident in Hausmann's paintings (fig. 20), woodcuts (figs. 26 and 30), and possibly suggested in his poetry (fig. 40), his *Klebebilder* mark the first occurrence of an image involving the full integration of letters with abstract forms.

Hausmann's use of arbitrary forms to suggest a face is not unlike Richter's approach in his Dada portraits. Hausmann was drawn to Richter's contribution in *Dada 3* when he incorporated fragments clipped from of several pages of this number into his *Klebebilder*. The hair from Richter's portrait (*Dada 3*, p. 10) becomes the "mouth" for *Mynona* (fig. 60). The hair and right eyebrow of *Gurk* (fig. 58) are taken from Arthur Segal's woodcut (fig. 33), a work composed of regularized forms in the "decentralized" pattern Hausmann admired in this artist. The meanings "sky" and "house" in the print by Segal have been transformed, not by virtue of any altering of these forms, but by their truncation, relocation, and realignment within a new context. The establishment of multi-meaning forms is also seen in *Ruest* (fig. 59) whose

Direktion r. hausmann

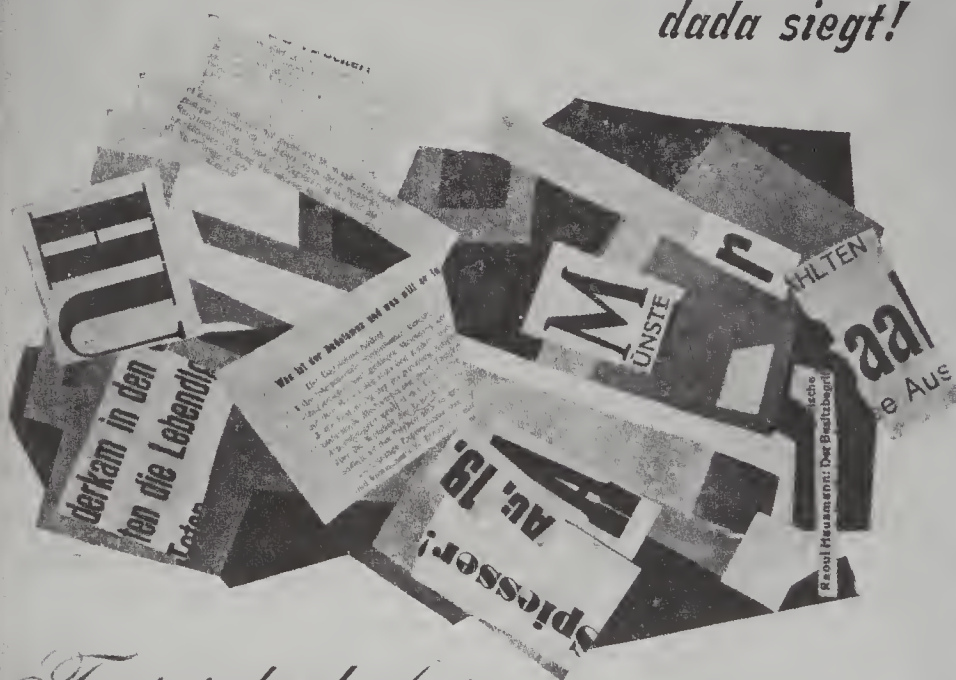
N^o 2

DER

Preis 1 Mark

DADA

dada siegt!



Tretet dada bei.

Figure 61. Raoul Hausmann, *Der Dada 2*, December 1919
Cover with reproduction of lost collage, 11 3/8 × 9 inches.
(Collection Hans J. Kleinschmidt, New York)

"mouth" is simply the upper right area of Hausmann's ambiguous woodcut from *Der Dada 1* turned 90 degrees counterclockwise (fig. 62). The phrase "Stirners Hintern" [Stirner's behind] is, of course, derived from the same page and is a further twist of the Dada joke: Stirner, whose rear "pressed" the chair in *Der Dada 1*, is part of Ruest's brain—Anselm Ruest being one of the foremost exponents of Stirner's views through his journal *Der Einzige*. Ruest's "nose" is taken from Hausmann's "da-dü-dada" woodcut in the same number which he had also used in a book cover for Einstein's *Negerplastik* (fig. 63). A fragment from the same woodcut is added as the left area of the "mouth" in *Mynona*. Meanwhile Mynona's "nose" comes from the area just to the left of the "W" in Hausmann's print advertising Jung's *Der Sprung aus der Welt!* in *Club Dada* (fig. 30). The crisp rectilinear area of the left cheek comes from the area in the lower right of the same source while Mynona's "ear" is a combination of two "door" areas of the "house."

Hausmann's "antiportraits" are presentations of a momentary and circumstantial consciousness. Not derived from the Expressionists' assertion of inner emotions, they are arrays of verbal and visual conventions shared generally. By recycling his vocabulary, and that of other artists, in combination with the entirely impersonal signs of the industrialized culture of mass media, Hausmann produced an appropriate image of "Mynona" (retrograde of anonym), the chosen pseudonym of Friedländer, for whom "the innermost self is not man, man already belongs to his expression, to automatic expression of the innermost freedom."¹⁰⁵

By openly borrowing from other artists and writers, Hausmann called into question the cult of artistic originality and the concept of the art work as consciously created by the individual. The consciousness of his New Man was the communal phenomenon described by Friedländer in "Präsentismus" as a "neutral center of gravity of all diverse weights." The associations within Hausmann's image remain indeterminate, corresponding with his call (in his early essay, "Notiz") for a recognition of the "true reality" perceived only "through the play of the 'senseless' organ 'chance'."

As had Segal in his decentralized compositions and Höch in her pattern pictures of 1917 (figs. 33 and 34), Hausmann established rhythms across the composition, but with greater irregularity. Now he also incorporated his interest in verbal rhythm. The phonetic fragments "whou-whou-whou," in *Mynona*, and "pan-pan-pan," in *Gurk*, are borrowed from Pierre Albert-Birot's poem *Crayon Bleu* in *Dada 3* (p. 8) (part of Birot's signature appears in the hair of *Ruest* while the fragment left over with Hausmann's rhythmic cut marks becomes "hair" for *Gurk*). The names R. Delaunay and Vincent Huidobro which appear in *Ruest* are from the same page in *Dada 3*. For Delaunay, as well as for Klee who translated Delaunay's article "Light" when it appeared in *Der Sturm*, "Art in Nature is rhythmic and has a horror of constraint."¹⁰⁶

Kaufen Sie: Material der
Malerei Plastik Architektur
Note und Holzschnitte von
T. Hausmann

Kirchhagen, K. e. K. e. 2 3 w. Weg. Le. h.
zu Pissow

Jeden Sonntagabend sei der Garten des Koerdsch gedünelt. Erst-
malig am Sonntag den 21. Juni am (Reibsteg der grünen
Leiche (Hofkette sei) mitzunehmen Trellpunkt. Ab-
schnitt 45 der Brandenburger Landstraße eine kleine Dada-
sche von Werder. Man gehe den (Postweg) links bis über Kne-
bech (10 Minuten).

Abfahrt in Berlin 5 Uhr 10 abends (2. Badmer Bahnhof)
Reckant 5 Uhr 10 morgens aus Werder oder eine Viertel-
Stunde vor Mitternacht

Zentralamt des dadaismus.

Figure 62. Raoul Hausmann, *Der Dada 1*, June 1919
Journal with woodcuts, page 4, 11 3/8 x 9 inches.
(Marthe Prévot Collection, Limoges)

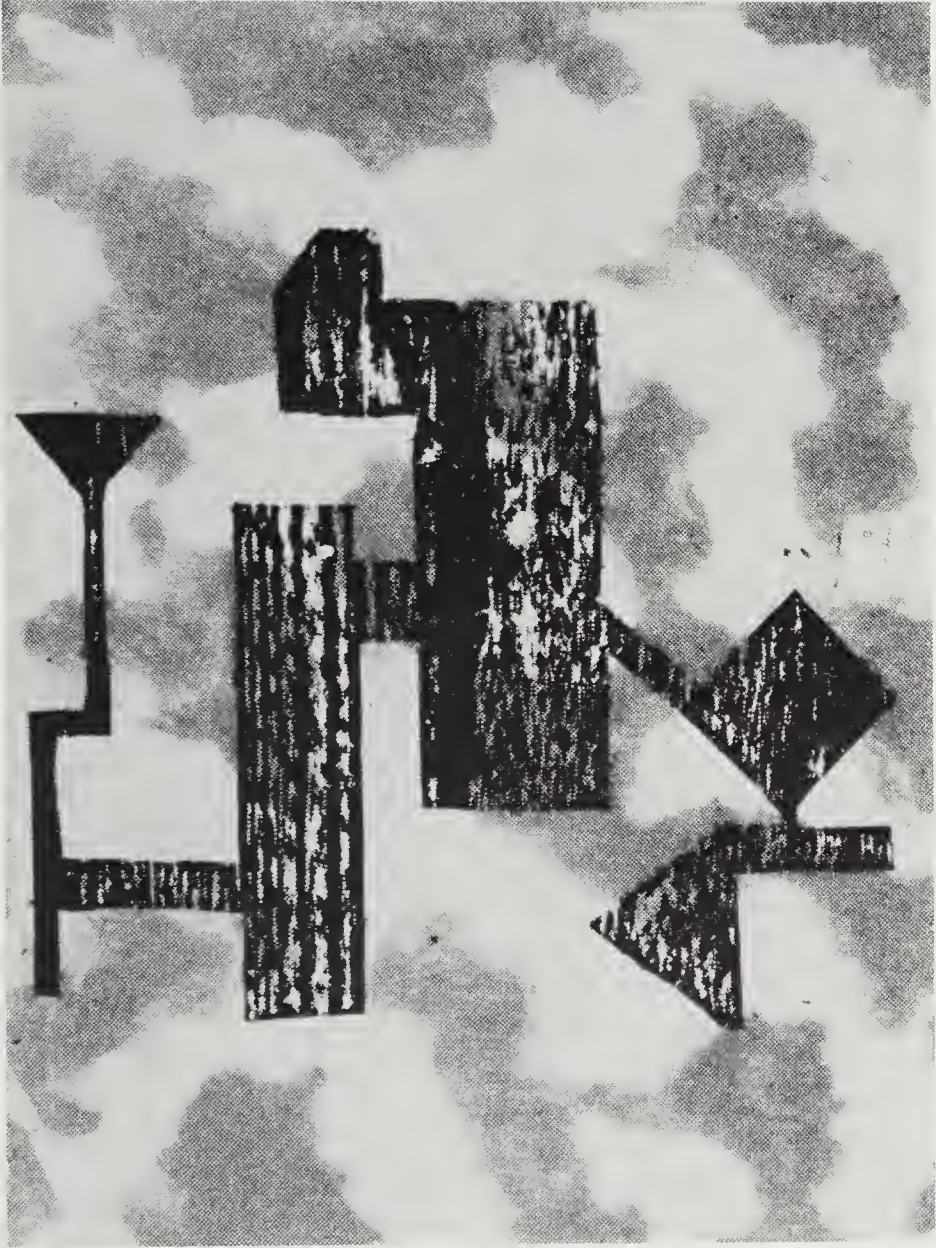


Figure 63. Raoul Hausmann, Cover: *Negerplastik*, by Carl Einstein, ca. 1917
Woodcut cover, 10 × 7 3/4 inches.
(Private Collection)

Hausmann's presentation of various kinds of rhythm alludes to his understanding of perception and thought as mechanical. This mechanized vision was increasingly being associated by Hausmann with film, the corresponding state of mind being the "cinémademapensée" in the phrase borrowed from Albert-Birot's poem emblazoned across the forehead of *Gurk*. At about the time *Gurk* was made, Hausmann retitled his "Das neue Material in der Malerei" manifesto "Synthetisches Cino der Malerei" [Synthetic Cinema of Painting] (figs. 64 and 65). As was the case for Heartfield, Moholy-Nagy, and others, film was becoming a central metaphor in Hausmann's theory of consciousness. Two years later, in his first "Presentist" manifesto, he would declare, "Our art is already today film! At once event, sculpture, and image!"¹⁰⁷ The film presented the "mechanical" consciousness of his transformed New Man. As "static film" and "static poetry," Hausmann's works were intended as an instantaneous present with its relationships partially formed and subject to change. As such, they are explorations not only of "the convention of the psychology of cinema,"¹⁰⁸ but of the inseparable processes of articulation and sensation explored by Mach, Bergson, and Einstein.

The First Dada Exhibition

The first Dada exhibition took place in I. B. Neumann's Graphisches Kabinett in May 1919. In his review of the exhibition, Udo Rukser noted that "Hausmann is stronger [than Fritz Stuckenberg] in composition but is so strongly inclined toward plasticism that he has trouble remaining in flat planes."¹⁰⁹ The works Rukser saw were probably very close in approach to the *Milchstrasse* poster Hausmann made, apparently in late February 1919 (fig. 55). While this highly structured composition continues the integration of letters and forms seen in *Construction A-1* (fig. 43), it also suggests the projecting into space of abstract forms. Similar advances are seen during 1919 in the *abstrakte Bildidee* series and in a lost woodcut presenting what appears to be an architectonically structured head (figs. 32 and 66).

Some of this work had probably been undertaken in collaboration with Höch, whose "non-objective watercolors" were shown in the I. B. Neumann exhibition.¹¹⁰ Particularly close affinities with Hausmann are seen in the progression in her watercolors and gouaches from complex decorative compositions in 1918 and 1919 which bear some similarities with Janco's reliefs, to more simplified "constructions" (*Construction with Blue* and *Construction in Red* of 1919, for example).¹¹¹ A graphic work by Höch, reproduced as part of the *Dadaco* announcement in *Der Dada 2*, is close to the more severe simplification of forms being conducted in Hausmann's *abstrakte Bildidee* series. Höch's work presents a human figure made up of geometric



Die Abgeleitete Konvention stürze wer es will: zunächst erscheint uns das Leben komplett ein ungeheurer Lärm, Spannung in Zusammenstoßen, nie eindeutig geschichteten Expressionen, ein (weil auch) belangvolles Anschwellen heter Belanglosigkeit zu Gestalt ohne einische Salto auf schmalen Grundlage. Iart dada ist der Stand außer den Konflikten protesthafter Schöpfungsmassung: Kunst, die beziehungslose Lüge einer (quasi) inneren Notwendigkeit bis zum Klamauk aufsteigend. Kunst hat niemals einen tieferen Sinn als den Unsinn feierlich genommener Selbstbespiegelung reiner Toren mit Lappenspiel tragischer Komplexverschränkungen. Der Maler malt wie der Ochs brüllt — diese tierische Unverfrorenheit festgefahrener Markeure mit Tiersinn vermengt ergab wichtige Jagdreviere besonders deutscher Kunsthistoriker. Die weggeworfene Puppe des Kindes oder ein hunter Lappen sind notwendige Expressionen als die irgend eines Esels, der sich in Oellarbe ewig in endliche gute Stuben verpflanzen will. Die unklar verschlungenen Komplexauflösungen der inneren Notwendigkeit als einer ethischen Entschuldigung, auf Leinwand projiziert — ein primitiver Versuch psycho — physischer Gesunderbetei. Aber Gesandbetei, wie Psychanalyse, sind objektive Medizin, statt subjektiver Balancierfähigkeit; in Widersprüchen zusammenbruchloser Auflösungen, deren wichtigste bleibt Sexualität. Alle Aeusserungen sind sexuell — die ungeheuersten Differenzierungen, scheinbare Degeneration, zeigen auch noch den Schwund, der mit Kunst getrieben wird, als eine Verfüllung mangelnden Erlebens in ethische Selbstlichtpositionen. Der Expressionismus, als von hier aus immer noch eindringend erscheinend, wird mit dem Tier als dem sich komplexmäßig und funktionell in diesen Selbstbeziehungen vollkommen Erlebenden, Auslebenden zugebilligt werden dürfen. Mensch ist simultan, Ungeheuer von eigen und fremd, jetzt, vorher, nachher und zugleich — platzender Buffalo-Bill von Apachenomantik, grenzenloser Realität des fortwährend widersprüchligste Komplexe umfassendsten Erlebens, Beziehungen. In Form von Kinderschuh als Telepathie, Theosophie, Okkultismus Suggestion, Magnetismus, Schreck vor Verbrechen, Sicherung in Tradition, gegen grenzenauflösende Fähigkeit der Blutschande, der Homosexualität, der Polygamie und Polyandrie, der inneren Notwendigkeit der Kunst und so weiterer Komplexverschränkungen erlebt der Mensch keimhaft, schamvoll, aus der Not der Verdrängungen eine Tugend heraushofend schon heute, wie undenkliche Versuche — Weltkrieg oder Iart pour Iart — beweisen, die ungeheure Möglichkeit der Aufgeschlossenheit seiner sexualpsychischen Erlebensfähigkeit, die der ethischen Sprünge irgend welcher Künste nicht mehr bedarf. Versuche einer Steigerung der Sinnesorgane durch Wissenschaft und Kunst, die dennoch bloße Auslösungsgeste, Aggressionsumkehrung, gegen den Mensch gerichtet bleiben — wo die Kunst noch voraus vor der Wissenschaft eine bewußte Unmoral, Unobjektivität behält und als Haben buchen kann. Kubismus, Futurismus, Ausdrucksmittel visueller Intellektualität, mit der großen Geste des Durchbruchs des Erlebens in die vierte Dimension, tieferer Versuche zu einer Komplexerweiterung der Wahrnehmung optischer Chemotropismen. Im optischen Kubismus und Futurismus sind vielleicht die spontansten Erkenntnisse weit über okkultistische Od-Lehren hinaus gemacht worden — beinahe Naturismus unserer bislang erst innerst funktionierenden, unethischen Konventionen, Echtheit. Der Expressionismus, Symbolik in einer Trakt-mehreren p.

Figure 64. Raoul Hausmann, *Synthetisches Cino der Malerei*, ca.1919
Cigar bands and cloth on page designed by Hausmann for
the ill-fated *Dadaco* project, 14 3/4 × 11 inches.
(Marthe Prévot Collection, Limoges)

Figure 65. Raoul Hausmann, *Synthetisches Cino der Malerei*, ca. 1919
Fragments of photographs on page designed by Hausmann for the ill-fated
Dadaco project.
(*Location unknown*)



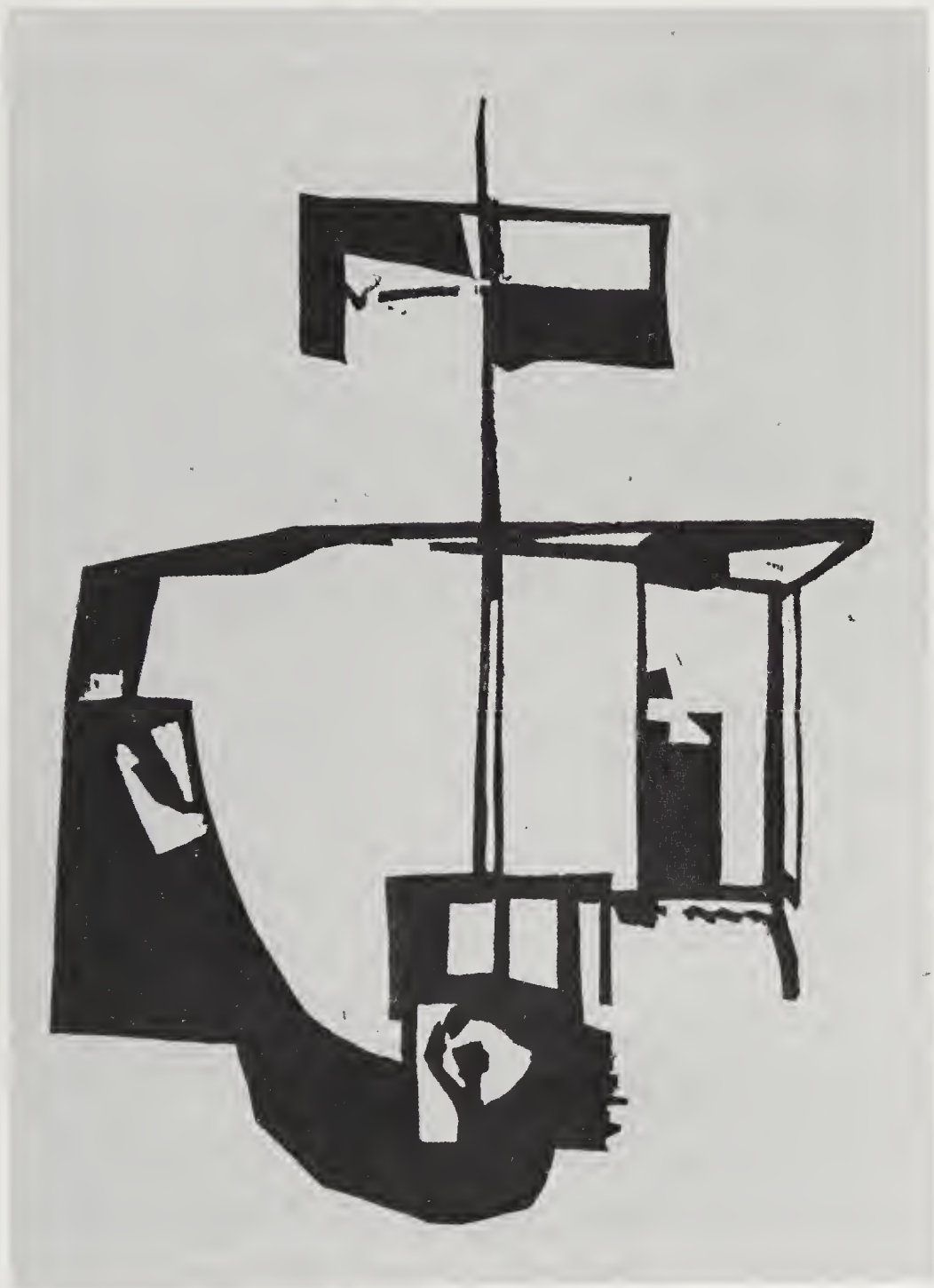


Figure 66. Raoul Hausmann, *Untitled*, ca. 1919-1920

Woodcut.

*(Location unknown. Reproduced in Der Kunsttopf 5 [Berlin: November 1920].
Collection of Wilhelm Arntz, Haag)*

and decorative forms similar to those of her costume designs and Dada puppets which she may have made at this time (visible in fig. 85).

Although still relying on a rough and somewhat gestural line, Hausmann's composition in the *Milchstrasse* poster has begun to move into the open structures of "fantastic architecture" sketches such as the one later reproduced in the Viennese constructivist journal, *MA* (fig. 67). Hausmann's fantasies—at least one of which was apparently made in collaboration with Baader¹¹²—employ lattice motifs similar to those associated earlier with Muche and seen also in the open compositional structures by Jefim Golyscheff, who also exhibited in the first Dada exhibition (figs. 68 and 69). At the exhibition of "unknown architects" sponsored by the newly founded Arbeitsrat für Kunst at Neumann's gallery in April, Golyscheff had exhibited drawings of "bridge systems, concert halls made of armored glass," and "long levers" on which would "hang houses for 200 families."¹¹³

With Hausmann and Grosz, it was Golyscheff who most impressed the reviewers of the first Dada exhibition.¹¹⁴ Behne praised the childlike and primitive (and consequently democratizing) qualities of Golyscheff's independent approach, his departure from the rectilinear frame, and his bringing forth of "cells, seeds of a truly new art" which he saw as comparable in feeling with Paul Klee.¹¹⁵ His fantasy and spatial disorientation is seen in an enchanting collage, *Der tanzende Raum* [The dancing Room] (fig. 69). Golyscheff's highly abstracted distributions of forms across the surface—whether as a prismatic array such as those of Arthur Segal, or in fanciful architectonic or biomorphic settings—made a strong impression. For Rukser,

Golyscheff is perhaps the most profound of all. Some of his little drawings have an extraordinary intensity of abstraction, a system of lines released from all objectivity builds up within the planes to a mystical picture which expresses very clearly a singular mentality for perception. A colored mask by him is easily the most important work in the whole show.¹¹⁶

Hausmann also remembers being impressed with the diversity of activity—aural as well as visual—in which Golyscheff was involved. Hausmann recounts that he came "to know and respect" Golyscheff during the I. B. Neumann exhibition and that they made "for this occasion 'technical' drawings like electric ringer apparatuses or a gasometer and such."¹¹⁷ Such drawings would be important precedents for Hausmann's mechanical drawings and caricatures which survive from 1920 onward. Examples include *Die Schieberger* [The Racketeers],¹¹⁸ *Der eiserne Hindenburg* [The iron Hindenburg] (fig. 86), and *Deutsche Freiheit* [German Freedom]—all of which date 1920 and present mechanized puppet-like militarists—as well as the engineering drawings of machines which culminated in *D2818* (fig. 94) and the "Optophone" (fig. 95). However these works also show clear affinities with

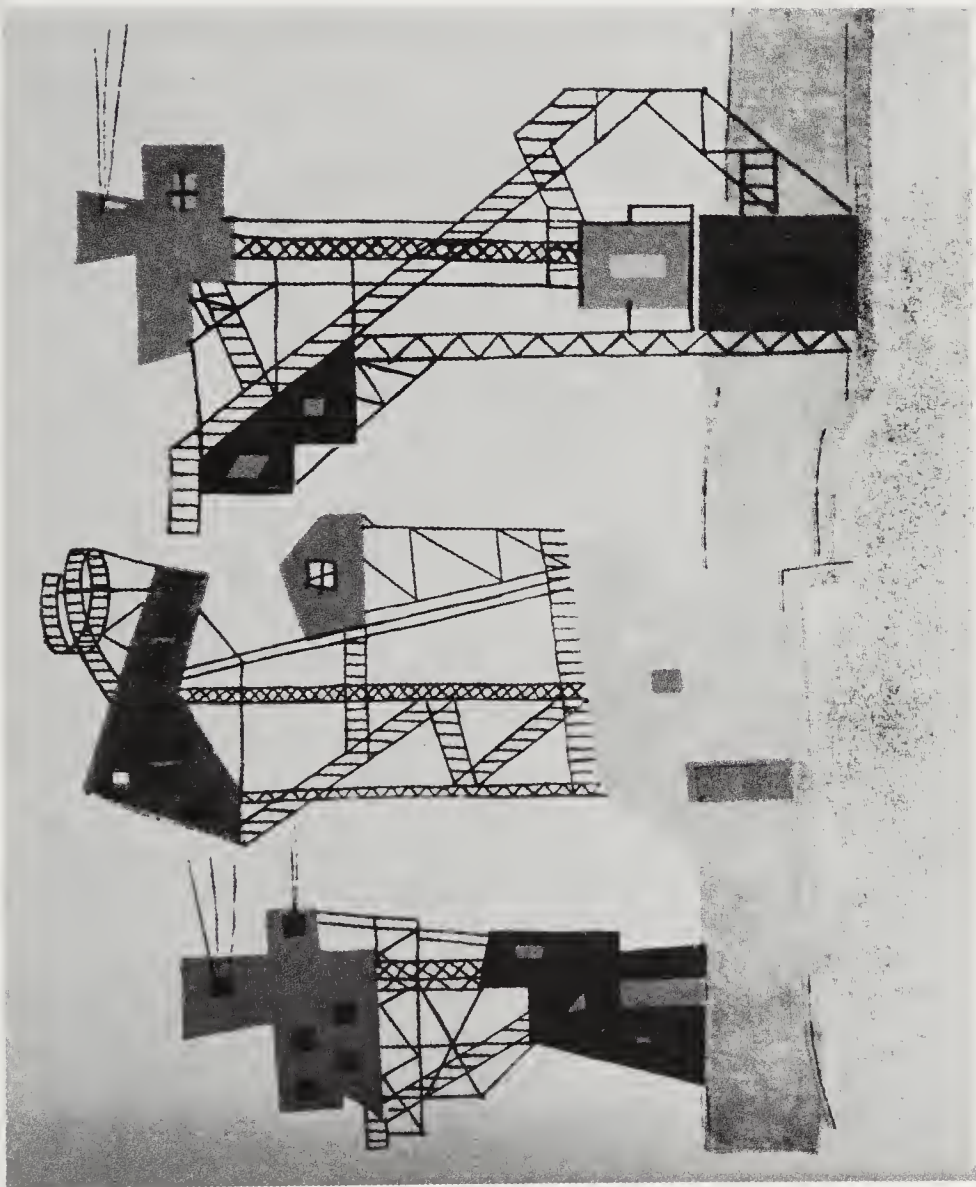


Figure 67. Raoul Hausmann, *Jelzódílművészet* (Fantastic Architecture), 1919
Drawing with color overlays illustrated in *MA* 7, 5-6 (1922), p. 5.

Figure 68. Jefim Golysheff, Untitled, ca. 1919
Ink on paper.
(Location unknown. Reproduced in Der Cicerone 9 [1919])

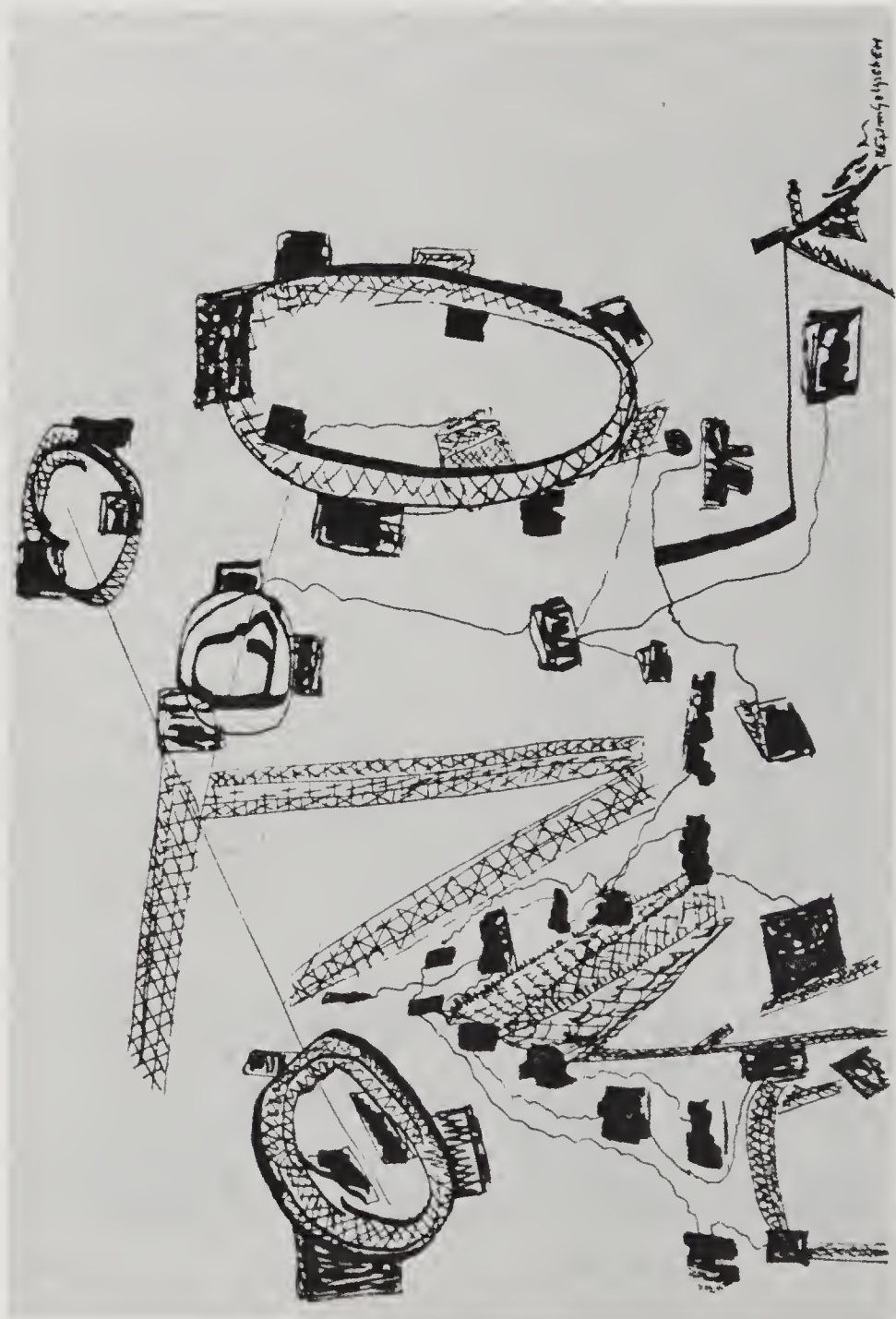




Figure 69. Jefim Golyscheff, *Der tanzende Raum*
Collage.
(Location unknown. Reproduced in *Der Kunsttopf* 5
[Berlin: November 1920]. Collection of Wilhelm Arntz, Haag)

Picabia's *Abri* (reproduced in *Dada* 2), *Réveil matin*, and *Rotation de naïveté* (both reproduced in *Dada* 4/5). Picabia's application of a dry engineering style was probably known to Hausmann before he saw Max Ernst's *Fiat Modes, pereat ars* [Let there be Fashion, down with art],¹¹⁹ the cover of which he used in his *Fiat Modes* (fig. 91).

The metaphor of the machine also emerged in the Dada performances which took place in conjunction with the I. B. Neumann exhibition. In the program, the term "DADA-machinel" was given to the ensemble which performed a "Simultan-Gedichte" for seven persons. A mechanized voice played a role in Golyscheff's "Anti-Symphony," leaving a strong impression on Hausmann's "eidophonique" memory.¹²⁰ This work—which in the title of its second movement, "Chaotic mouth-cave," may refer to Hausmann's manifesto on the "lawfulness of sound"—was apparently an exploration of chance and bruitism. Having already evolved complex musical and rhythmic structures in a twelve-tone system around 1914, Golyscheff was soon studying natural laws in chemistry and acoustics.¹²¹ By the time Hausmann met him in 1919, he was apparently expanding his means through the invention of new musical instruments and the use of found sounds produced by kitchen utensils.¹²² Hausmann later described the work in terms of "its arhythm, its transparent notes, a jumble of tones... which no longer wanted to be harmonies, which simply: are Dada."¹²³

Golyscheff may have been an influence on Hausmann—or even co-creator with him—in the simultaneous poem, *Chaoplasma*, which appeared on the program for the next Dada performance on May 24 in Berlin's Harmonium-Saal.¹²⁴ The announced performance for "10 women and one letter carrier" was actually scored for 10 voices accompanied by two kettledrums and 10 rattles. The poem begins with the simultaneous recitation of the symmetrical grouping of vowels, "o a e u e a o," with the dynamic marking *forte*. The poem then breaks into what Michael Erlhoff has called a combination of "cultural scrap metal: Schiller, the daily press, political commentary, Goethe, Porno, Luther, advertising, etc. Through simultaneity it becomes a *mélange*."¹²⁵ Each voice is given entirely different fragments to read, unified only by the common dynamic markings (*piano* to *forte*) and the relatively even length of each recitation, all of which end in a series of seven short syllables (e.g., "is is is is is is is"). A final coda of irregular syllabic combinations ends in the vowel missing from the opening sequence, "i." The overall effect of this communal effort would have been the cacophonous atmosphere of the "enormous uproar." Like the text fragments in *Gurk*, *Ruest*, and *Mynona* (figs. 58, 59, and 60), this sound field would present multiple linguistic associations and irregular, highly situational rhythms arranged in an asymmetrical balance. For Hausmann:

The phonic must take on the sense of signs and signals in space. In space, because it is no longer possible to construct phonetic poetry in classical typography according to the rules of symmetry. This was a necessary step which had to accompany the conception of noise, emanations of "unregulated" tones, [which] no longer submitted to the well-tempered clavier. Asymmetry was an unavoidable consequence.¹²⁶

Like the *Klebebilder*, *Chaoplasma* achieved its effect with entirely secondhand material, "quoted and mounted."¹²⁷ A sense of order arises primarily acoustically in the actual apperception of the work; its "essence," as in all of Hausmann's art, "consists in the contemplation."¹²⁸ The classical qualities of order, symmetrical balance, and rhythm are abandoned after being stated in the opening phrase, marked *unisono*.

The Dada Plastiken

As an "outsider and independent,"¹²⁹ Golyscheff had taken an expansive direction in his visual works (fig. 69). According to Behne, they were made of "figures pasted together of brightly colored scraps of paper, bright book-binding paper, within whose playful patterns he drew some lines—giving rise to enchanting atmospheric pictures—tiny drawings glued on colorful long strips."¹³⁰ Golyscheff was apparently the first to exhibit an assemblage within the Berlin Dada context. On the occasion of the I. B. Neumann show in April, he combined such items as food-tins, little bottles, bits of cardboard, wood, cotton (or velvet), and hair.¹³¹ Such an extension into generic materials would have been a significant departure from Janco's freestanding plaster and wire *Construction 3*, illustrated in *Dada 1*, published two years earlier. Whether Golyscheff's work was a relief or freestanding work,¹³² his inclusion of real materials within his highly irregular structures must have made a singular impression on Hausmann who remembered these "first assemblages" as "small precious sculptures" which were "built" from "small bottles, scraps of material, shreds of paper and so on."¹³³ Hausmann claims also to have "exhibited in the middle of the room an abstract form made of white cardboard" which became an assemblage "the day after the opening, [when] the oh so witty 'comrades' Grosz and Heartfield placed several coins which stole from the public the first opportunity to express nasty derision."¹³⁴

As assemblage became more widespread across Europe, the use of new materials was very much "in the air" in Berlin following the spring of 1919. Within roughly a year, Dada assemblage would be a dominant factor at the Dada-Messe exhibition of June 1920. Shortly after Golyscheff's work was exhibited at the first Dada exhibition, Schwitters' "Merzbilder," incorporating chicken wire, string, wood, newspaper, and nails in subtle abstract compositions, and possibly his assemblages, *Gallows of Desire* and the *Cult*

Pump, were shown in the Sturm galleries during July 1919. Also during 1919, Grosz expanded beyond his inclusion of collage materials in such paintings as *Deutschland, ein Wintermärchen* (1917–19) to incorporate buttons and photographs in a somewhat nonsensical manner in his *Remember uncle August, the unhappy inventor* (1919, visible to the left in fig. 82). Dix, working in Dresden, applied metal filings, a metal button, a toy anchor, a map, and numerous folk drawings to his dream-like fantasy, *The Sailor Fritz Müller from Pieschen* (1919).¹³⁵ After he met Grosz in 1920, Dix used the collage technique to produce a grimmer social realism in such works as the now-lost *War Cripples* (1920), shown at the Dada-Messe exhibition in 1920 (fig. 82). This descriptive approach using the collage procedure was used by several other artists who would become identified with Neue Sachlichkeit. Georg Scholz used photographs and newspapers in his *Industrialized Peasants* (1920),¹³⁶ while Rudolf Schlichter, in collaboration with Heartfield, produced the *Prussian Archangel*, a life-sized German officer equipped with a pig's head which hung from the ceiling at the Dada-Messe exhibition (fig. 82). A more abstract approach (learned from his older brother Paul) prevailed in a work of Hans Citroen in the show—a collection of objects, texts, and reproductions entitled *Wilson's Fourteen Points*.¹³⁷ By this time Baader had surpassed the other participants in scale with his huge assemblage, *Plasto-Dio-Dada-Drama* (fig. 83). Meanwhile, Grosz and Heartfield had moved from their puppets, designed for the “Schall and Rauch” cabaret in late November,¹³⁸ to the manikin assemblages shown at the Dada-Messe (fig. 82).

Hausmann probably entered this broadening trend around the fall of 1919 with such *Plastiken* as the *Abendliche Toilette* and a work he referred to later as the “first ‘Konkretisation-Skulptur-Assemblage,’” both of which were shown at the Dada-Messe (figs. 70 and 71).¹³⁹ It is difficult to single out any one influence from the many which could have prompted these works. By late 1919, Hausmann may have been back in contact, through Viking Eggeling,¹⁴⁰ with Richter, who had made an assemblage as early as 1917.¹⁴¹ Hausmann has also claimed to have met Ivan Puni and Naum Gabo in 1918.¹⁴² Puni had made constructions as early as 1915.

Hausmann's later attempts to appear as an *innovateur* have tended to obscure the more interesting historical record. Generally his activities were motivated by a strong sense of purpose rather than by experimentation for its own sake. Despite his encounters with formal abstraction in the Sturm exhibitions of the early teens, for example, his involvement with abstract art had remained integral with his work at the time in typography (figs. 9 and 11) and had continued logically into the mid-teens as part of his effort to attain in composition the decentralized vision of the New Man (figs. 21, 23, 24, 26, and 46). And whereas Hausmann was certainly aware of collage by the time he met Höch in 1915, he apparently did not use it himself until he had first evolved a



Figure 70. Raoul Hausmann, *Untitled*, ca. 1920
Assemblage of wood, porcelain, metal rods, razor blades,
paper, and other materials as seen at the *Erste
Internationale Dada-Messe*, 1920.
(*Destroyed*)

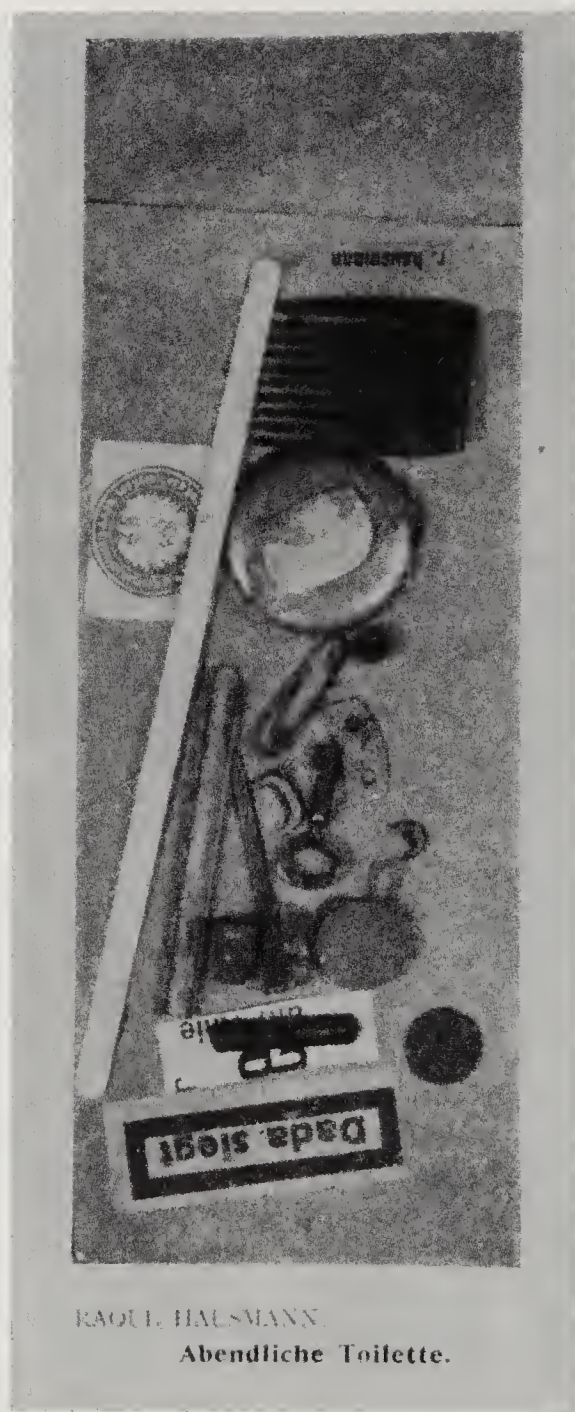


Figure 71. Raoul Hausmann, *Abendliche Toilette*, ca. 1920
Assemblage of typography clippings, paper clip, coins, key,
and other materials.
(Location unknown. As reproduced in *Der Dada* 3 [1920].
Collection Hans J. Kleinschmidt, New York)

vocabulary of standardized, autonomous forms in his woodcuts (figs. 36 and 42). Having seen Golyscheff's assemblages at the first Dada exhibition and apparently in contact with Schwitters at the time, Hausmann probably incorporated actual materials into his works gradually, beginning possibly with the "Synthetisches Cino der Malerei" collage which uses cloth and cigar bands (fig. 64). His pursuit of the psychological process of articulation and perception was then continued into the assemblage:

When I discovered the idea of the material-picture in 1918 [probably 1919], what is called assemblage today, I understood that it exists outside of every conventional aesthetic, and in order to clarify this I applied psychoanalysis.¹⁴³

While denying that he had any theory for making "matières-collages,"¹⁴⁴ Hausmann outlined clear objectives for them later in a discussion of the culminating *Tête mécanique*, *L'Esprit de notre temps* [Mechanical Head, The Spirit of our Age] (fig. 72). In his statement, "L'Esprit de notre temps 1919," Hausmann insisted that "to be a Dadaist for me meant to have a keen sense of perception and to see objects as they are. . . . I said to myself that taking an object and putting its name below is too simple."¹⁴⁵ His idea of allowing objects to "liberate themselves from the prison accorded by their usage"¹⁴⁶ echoes Friedländer's view that "localization is object, function of the Will . . . but the Will itself is not a locale, no where, no when, no objective something but rather the creator of all of this, omnipotence."¹⁴⁷ For Hausmann, Dada was an "explosion" permitting a "dissolution and reformation of the concept of thing, of the object, of forming, of 'reality'."¹⁴⁸ He sought to release materials, to "let them assume a voice, a language proper to their different structures":¹⁴⁹

The assemblage is a creation contradictory to every Pathos and every measure. The assemblage reveals itself through its opposing parts, it is not a pseudologie of beautiful truth—it simply *is*, and it is *there*. This is the content and the sense of anti-art.¹⁵⁰

This acceptance of materials as relational and capable of determining structure is seen in Hausmann's "Konkretisation-Skulptur-Assemblage" shown at the Dada-Messe (fig. 70) and, like most of the others exhibited, "destroyed after the show closed":¹⁵¹

It consisted of a plank of wood painted black about a centimeter long upon which were affixed a drawing board decorated with the rods of an umbrella stand. On top of it I added a blue faience plate and the whole thing was scattered over with razor blades.¹⁵²

This assemblage may be that listed in the Dada-Messe catalog as "Dada im gewöhnlichen Leben" [Dada in everyday Life]. Hausmann also included large

display letters and abstract, monotone wooden fragments which continued the formal tensions of the asymmetrical structures which had dominated the earlier woodcuts and *Klebebilder*. As standardized components of culture, the found objects and display letters could become multi-meaning and situational as had the arbitrary signs in the woodcuts and *Klebebilder*. Hausmann was more direct in his attitude toward materials than Baader, who endowed one of his works in the Dada-Messe with the ironic status of a "Dada-Reliquie, Historisch." Hausmann, by contrast, insisted in retrospect: "If I employ letters or fragments of texts, I do it in an optophonetic manner in lieu of making reference to pretended events."¹⁵³

Hausmann's attitude towards the concrete object shares with Schwitters the view that "all individual materials are of equal value";¹⁵⁴ but his desire to preserve contradiction and refusal to alter his materials runs counter to the "Merz" concept. For Schwitters, materials, once selected, undergo a process of "deformation," often "supported by dismemberment, bending and twisting, covering up or overpainting." In *Merz 6*, Schwitters insisted of his term "Merz": "The term came into being organically in the Merzing of the picture, not accidentally, for where artistic values are concerned, nothing consistent is accidental."¹⁵⁵ The quality of being "consistent" [konsequent] was central to Schwitters' art works: "A consistent work of art can never refer to anything outside itself without loosening its ties to art."¹⁵⁶ While Schwitters seemed to violate this dictum by allowing objects to have a personal meaning in his own private "fictive" world, this was merely a symptom of his central objective of "shortening the path from intuition to realization."¹⁵⁷

Both artists viewed chance as having its own "laws." For Hausmann, chance was "the immovable source of direction, eternal Creator-Person, Spirit-God."¹⁵⁸ For Schwitters, "Nature or Chance often carries together things which correspond to that which we call Rhythm";¹⁵⁹ and "the only artistic forming that comes in is the recognition of rhythm and expression in some part of nature."¹⁶⁰ Schwitters' statement that "in principle there are no accidents" suggests that he viewed reality as essentially the presentation of several possible contradictory orders.¹⁶¹ For him, "the only task of the artist is to recognize and limit, to limit and recognize" these possible manifestations of coherence.¹⁶² While agreeing with Schwitters that form is "the frozen instantaneous picture of a process,"¹⁶³ Hausmann viewed rhythm and form as more irregular and less stable. Distrusting of inherited aesthetic forms, Hausmann complained when Schwitters transformed his 1918 poster-poem, *fmsbwtözü* into the *Ursonata* (1922–32). In contrast with Schwitters' aesthetic approach, Hausmann's desire that the assemblage simply "reveal itself" in its materials led to his cultivation of coincidence rather than consistency. This may be why Hausmann's works generally have more

“asymmetry and centrifugalism” than Schwitters’ works.¹⁶⁴ While Hausmann might have agreed with Schwitters that art was “exclusively a balance attained through the evaluation of its parts,”¹⁶⁵ he also sought a dynamism contrary to Schwitters’ static order.

Although Hausmann and Schwitters produced distinctly different works and differed on some of their theoretical claims, they were increasingly drawn to one another and collaborated on “Anti-Dada Merz” *soirées* beginning in 1921. What they most shared was a vision of the creative process. In his “Merz” manifesto (1921), Schwitters insisted “I know only my medium, of which I partake. . . . The medium is as unimportant as I myself. Essential is only the forming.”¹⁶⁶ Writing in February 1921, Hausmann declared: “Beauty, that is something which originates during the process of production.”¹⁶⁷

In his *Abendliche Toilette* (fig. 71), Hausmann sought to attain what Friedländer called “creative indifference” by presenting a haphazard arrangement of objects: a paper clip, scraps of paper with typography, a key, a stamp, possibly a watch, possibly a broken comb, several coins, and a number of perhaps intentionally unidentifiable scraps of metal. Despite Hausmann’s later claims to an abandonment of preconceived ideas in order to allow himself “to sense with which other materials my first piece could be assembled,”¹⁶⁸ this collection suggests the haphazard residue a Dadaist might empty from his pockets at the end of the day. Hausmann’s Dada strategies of the “concrete” and the “satire” are merged in this ironic presentation of what he called “banalities”—a term he may have borrowed from Schwitters¹⁶⁹—in lieu of bourgeois expectations of the traditional *Toilette* genre. Hausmann later expressed the hope that his assemblages, each a “concretization through the transformation which lay behind them,”¹⁷⁰ could avoid being judged “according to certain rules (harmony, logical ordering of the parts)” he felt were still latent in the “ready-mades” of Duchamp and Man Ray. The assemblage, by contrast, arose “out of a point of balance, out of the contradiction of coincidence, and [was] entirely indifferent.”¹⁷¹

Hausmann attempted to bring this indifference to his “materials-thoughts-actions” by submitting them to the physiological demands of the unconscious.¹⁷² His *New Man* was conceived in terms of Friedländer’s “Creator [who] creates automatically”: “All individual voluntary acts too are automatic like mechanisms; but of course the entire mechanism is only the objective function of the subjective creator.”¹⁷³ Hausmann experimented with automatism in a work which eventually gained the title *Tête mécanique, L’Esprit de notre temps* (fig. 72). To create it “automatically,” he incorporated prefabricated objects by a process of free association which avoided aesthetic or artistic expectations:

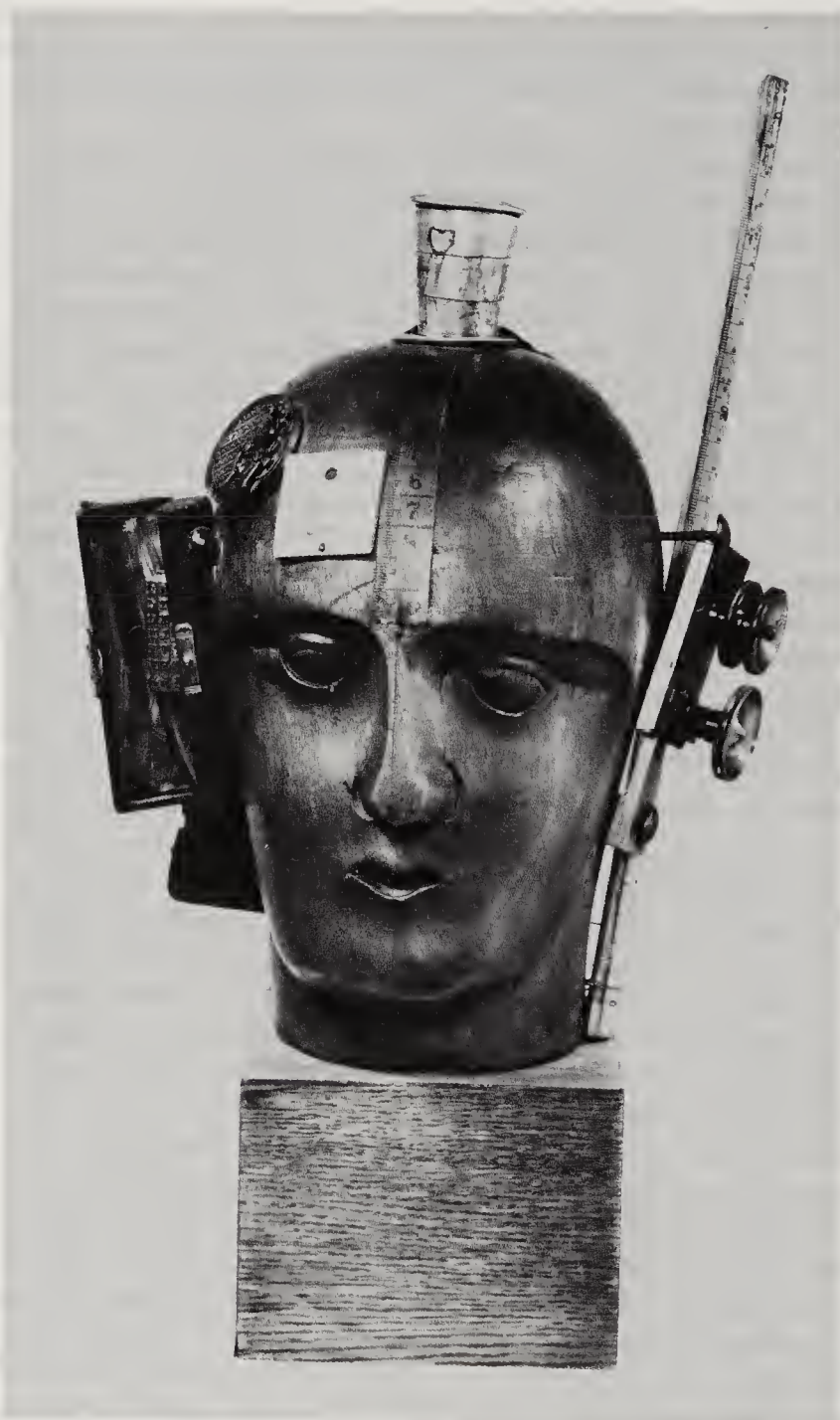


Figure 72. Raoul Hausmann, *Tête mécanique*, *L'Esprit de notre temps*, ca. 1921
Assemblage of wood, metal, cardboard, leather and other materials,
12 1/2 × 7 1/2 × 7 1/2 inches.
(Musée National d'Art Moderne, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.
Photo: Musée National d'Art Moderne, Paris)

I wanted to reveal the spirit of our times, the spirit of everyone in his rudimentary state. . . . The everyday man has nothing but the capacities which chance has glued to his skull, on the exterior, the brain was vacant. So I took a nice wooden head, polished it for a long time with sandpaper. I crowned it with a collapsible cup. I fixed a wallet to the back of it. I took a small jewel box and attached it in place of the right ear. I added further a typographic cylinder inside and a pipe stem. Now on to the left side. And yes, I had a mind to change materials. I fixed onto a wooden ruler a piece of bronze used to raise an old antiquated camera and I looked at it. Ah, I still needed this little white cardboard with the number 22 because, obviously, the spirit of our time has but a numerical signification. Thus it still stands today with its screws in the temples and a piece of a centimeter ruler on the forehead.¹⁷⁴

Hausmann sought to present metaphorically an image of the modern autonomous consciousness, what Friedländer had defined as “the entire differentiated psyche [which] is . . . only the superficial symptom . . . of the Individuum.”¹⁷⁵ In Friedländer’s terminology the “Individuum” is the supra-personal undifferentiated creative force. In the “Das neue Material in der Malerei” manifesto, Hausmann’s emphasis had not been just on materials themselves but on how they functioned. Reality was not only the “enormous uproar” of a cacophonous field of contradictions, but in Dada art “an enormous refreshment, an impetus toward the experience [Erleben] of all relations,” was offered in the “miraculous constellations in real material.”¹⁷⁶ The ruler, watch, typographic cylinder, and number 22 affixed to the *Tête mécanique* are conventions of measuring or of symbolic communication. As such they can provide no more than approximations of the true reality. The field soldier’s cup which crowns the work, the money pouch, and the general references to calculation may be ironic reflections of the bourgeois capitalist, “the reflection of the masses, deprived of personality by their dependence upon automatism, technology, and consumption”;¹⁷⁷ but Hausmann’s portrayal of what has been called “mountability of human consciousness” does not stop with a demonstration that it can be “manipulated” or “programmed.”¹⁷⁸ Nor is it simply a derisive portrait of “l’esprit petit bourgeois.”¹⁷⁹ The *Tête mécanique* is a codification of Hausmann’s dictum voiced during the “Constructivist” termination of the Dada era: “What can be given, always in human formulae, are approximations to the referrals of the creative flux of the Universe, but never this flux itself.”¹⁸⁰

The *Tête mécanique*, like the portrait Hausmann made of his friend Felixmüller during an extended visit to Dresden in 1920 (fig. 89), presents man imprisoned in the unsettling and enigmatic space of De Chirico, perceiving the world through a mask of arbitrary symbols. During the ascendancy of Dada, Hausmann’s intentions for his “empty” *Tête* may have been a response of “ironic indifference,”¹⁸¹ corresponding to his challenge in his essay “Dada in Europa”: “Why have spirit in a world which runs on mechanically?”¹⁸² But this presentation of a blank anonymous consciousness, in its studied

avoidance of pathos and its use of neutral materials, also anticipates Hausmann's sober declaration of "the task of the artist" in his 1922 essay, "Lob des Konventionellen" [In Praise of the Conventional]: "to formulate the new conventionality of the simple, obvious life, not philosophical eccentricities and alleged spiritual Romanticism!"¹⁸³ The *Tête mécanique* had a heuristic purpose: to strip back or "uncover" the cultural facade, the cult of the Gothic in Expressionism, and the rest of the "spiritual and social mechanism" of the "Christian-bourgeois world,"¹⁸⁴ in order that the "rudimentary state of mind" be recognized and transcended in the arrival of the New Man.

The Dada “Strategy”

*Seeing is a social process—we banalize things through visual allegory which takes from them their multiplicity of meaning. . . . Our perception appears to be blind to the background, the space between things—and it is precisely this that the photomonteur lets us perceive and recognize. He creates his photomontage out of the insignificant in-between-parts and uses the unperceived optics.**

Am Anfang war Dada (1971)

As Udo Rukser recognized in his review of the Dada *soirée* and exhibition at the I. B. Neumann gallery in April and May of 1919, “Dadaism is a strategy” and, as “revenge of the artist on the bourgeois,” it defeated the philistine’s desire for a “Bildungsideal” [ideal picture]: “Dadaism is thus no direction; it is the confirmation of a feeling of independence.”¹ Rukser’s statement emphasized a Dada slogan which was later splashed across an advertisement for the *Dadaco* “handatlas” in *Der Dada 2*: “Hey, hey, you young man Dada is no art direction.” Although it was not on the program, one wonders if Hausmann on this occasion read an early version of his “Dadaistische Abrechnung” [Dadaist Revenge] in which he proclaimed “Dada is no movement; it is a new existence.”² As a “strategy,” a critical enterprise which from its very beginnings amplified, exploited, and subverted the expectations, rituals, and trappings of an art movement, Dada was a struggle for a social, political, and artistic position which would make a new existence possible.


*“Sehen ist ein gesellschaftlicher Vorgang—wir banalisieren die Dinge durch visuelle Allegorie, die ihnen ihre vielförmige Bedeutung nimmt. . . . Unsere Wahrnehmung erscheint blind für den Hintergrund, für den Raum zwischen den Dingen—und gerade dies läßt uns der Fotomonteur erkennen und wahrnehmen. Er schafft seine Fotomontage aus unbedeutenden Zwischenteilen und benützt die nicht-wahrgenommene Optik.” Hausmann, *Am Anfang*, p. 49.

The Club Dada was for Hausmann "the sling against the 'spiritual worker,' against the intellectuals"³—a group he publicly lambasted during a Dada *soirée* in Dresden in 1920, three years after his oration at the Expressionist Arbeitsgemeinschaft meeting. As "foolish parrots of a latest greek gesture of heroicizing the bourgeoisie and of glorification of the individual personality," they had "convincingly proven their stupidity."⁴ This statement was as much in "revenge" against the early Dada audience he and Baader had encountered at the Milchstrasse *soirée* in March 1919; an audience which he described to Tzara at the time as "editors and students who wanted to examine everything thoroughly from a moral-scientific point of view, as if Dadaism had arisen from misery of the spirit, ennui or humor of the despondent!"⁵

While the small elite audience initially attracted by Hausmann and Baader was well suited to a conventional art movement, the Dadaists could no longer accept the the roles of "Jugend," "Expressionisten," or "geistige Arbeiter"—what today we might refer to as avant-garde artists. A remark by Grosz shows how events had brought about this realization:

The German Dada movement had its roots in the perception that came simultaneously to some of my comrades and to me that it was utter insanity to believe that spirit or anyone spiritual ruled the world. Goethe in the bombardments, Nietzsche in knapsacks, Jesus in trenches—and still there were people who considered that spirit and art had autonomous power.⁶

Grosz saw Dadaism as a response to the immediacy of a reality where the abstract ideals which avant-garde artists and intellectuals persisted in cherishing had simply lost any relevance:

 Dadaism was not an ideological movement, but an organic product which arose as rain upon the wandering-in-the-clouds tendency of so-called holy art which meditated upon cubes and the gothic while the generals painted with blood.⁷

And although Grosz would later come to blame Dadaism for not seeing "that this insanity was grounded in a system,"⁸ and although he often claimed to place his art in the service of the working class, his letters to Otto Schmalhausen (known later as "Dada-Oz") reveal a deep suspicion of political solutions just days after he joined the KPD (German Communist Party) in 1919.⁹ He refers to Spartacist League members as "criminals" and satirizes the middle class as "heroic" in their efforts to reestablish order.¹⁰ Despite his statements to the contrary, Grosz was simply never able to render either his hatred for mankind or his penetrating analysis of human behavior subservient to the dictates of the "Klassenkampf." Hausmann, who never joined the KPD, was also deeply suspicious of organized politics, stating that "there is no proletarian culture at all outside of a bourgeois culture, indeed the proletarian

himself is essentially contaminated and defined as bourgeois."¹¹ And he could only express dismay in April 1919, when his friend and fellow supporter of Otto Groß, Franz Jung, quit writing to become a communist.¹²

When Herzfelde, Heartfield, and Grosz eagerly joined the Communist Party, they immediately set about supporting its position during the brutal street fighting of the winter of 1919 with their publications *Jedermann sein eigener Fussball*, *Die Pleite*, and, in September, *Der blutige Ernst*. Their public endorsement of the communist line may somewhat justify Huelsenbeck's controversial phrase of 1920, "Dada is a German Bolshevist affair."¹³ But the Spartacist uprising in March, in which more than 1200 lost their lives in the cause of protest, had also shown where that direction could lead. Many of the "geistige Arbeiter," meanwhile, had placed their skills in the service of the bourgeois political structure and its provisional government, thereby helping to bring to fruition the modern illustrated political poster.¹⁴ Heinrich Fuchs, Cesar Klein, Heinrich Richter-Berlin and others of the then recently founded Novembergruppe and Arbeitsrat für Kunst [Work Council for Art] were now exhorting workers to return to their jobs and to provide the peace and calm needed by the same forces which had summoned the brutal Freikorps to quell the rebellions.

Such activity was symptomatic of the shift in late Expressionism from the cult of the isolated and alienated self of the pre-war era to an equally anthropocentric yearning for what Richard Sheppard has called an "ideal corporate utopia."¹⁵ Hiller's ethical rationalism, which prevailed in the *Rat Geistiger Arbeiter*, exemplifies the attitude which assumed that the revolution and its resulting social structures were manifestations of a rational spirit which would eventually bring about a natural utopian order. Hausmann saw this sort of attitude as a "naive will to anthropomorphize" and inveighed against the belief in a "natural right," in his 1919 article, "Zu Kommunismus und Anarchie" [On Communism and Anarchy].¹⁶ He disclaimed any association of morality with natural phenomena or any possibility of a rationalistic interpretation.

In its unstable state, culture was a suitable environment for Dadaism described in "Objektive Betrachtung der Rolle des Dadaismus" [Objective Consideration of the Role of Dadaism] as

a form of transition, which applies itself tactically against the Christian-bourgeois world and uncovers pitilessly the absurdity and senselessness of its spiritual and social mechanism... This effort is accomplished in the sphere of art by Dadaism, which then rejects every sham Idealism or radicalism (of l'art pour l'art) and pushes to its climax the materialism of the given world- and culture situation.¹⁷

The reliance simply on "things" emphasized in Heartfield's *Dada-Messe* catalog comments, the reification of associative events in Baader's *Klebebilder*, and Hausmann's emphasis on the circumstantial order of things

in his assemblages were all ways of posing "materialism" in opposition to "the classical educational ideal of the order-loving bourgeois and his latest offshoot, Expressionism."¹⁸ Hausmann elaborated his strategy further, stating succinctly that "Dadaism is a conscious tactic for the destruction of the surviving bourgeois culture" and that any Dadaist

who would want to make use of the "abstract" or an "activist" art would be an ass and a double swindler, because it was precisely him [the Dadaist] who understood the necessity and the possible efficacy of the concrete and the satire.¹⁹

Satire allowed the Dadaists to approach the surrounding culture—and especially the conventions of the avant-garde—and render it more visible, in a sense, "concrete." By replacing "belief" with "discovery," in the critic Willi Wolfradt's terminology,²⁰ they remaining indifferent, perceiving culture as an array of equalized and contradictory values for which taking a single position was no longer feasible.

Satire was a notorious weapon in the arsenal used in the Dada performances to arouse contradictory attitudes in the audience. One of the more outrageous of these confrontations was the statement Hausmann read at the Dada *matinée* at the Tribüne Theater on November 30, 1919, during which the audience attempted to shout him down.²¹ As published later in *Der Dada* 2, Hausmann's statement, entitled "Der deutsche Spiesser ärgert sich" [The German Bourgeois Takes Offense], began with the provocative statement: "Your positions are all the same to us."²² Although scarcely exempted from his condemnations, the offended German bourgeois was advised to "sew up" his "torn trap," having concerned himself "for nothing": "We endure, scream, blaspheme, [and] laugh [out] the irony: Dada! Because we are ANTIDADAISTS!"²³ Hausmann's point was that Dadaism was, after all, protecting the bourgeoisie from the "romantic mendacity" and "war profiteering" of Expressionism. According to E. Neuhahn's account of his oration, Hausmann managed to get across a few more blows over the growing protests:

Art no longer exists. . . . The absolute incapability of saying anything is Expressionism. . . . My dear bourgeois sirs, show your beautiful tattooed bellies! . . . You dumbhead! . . . We want unrest instead of rest! . . . Down with the bourgeoisie! Down with you! Join up with Dada! Dada!!²⁴

Despite their efforts to avoid taking positions, the Dadaists continually found themselves entangled in the very forces they were seeking to reject. Hausmann and Grosz acknowledged this fact by assuming the ironical bourgeois personas, "Puffke" and "Boff." Höch included the phrase "Die antidadaistische Bewegung" [The Anti-Dada Movement] in her photomon-

tage shown at the Dada-Messe, *Schnitt mit dem Küchenmesser Dada* (fig. 73). Hausmann, Höch, and Grosz all participated in the Novembergruppe but were also among the "opposition of the Novembergruppe" which published an open letter attacking the group's leadership in its handling of an important exhibition at the Lehrter Bahnhof and its general failure to live up to its "revolutionary" promise.²⁵ Even Baader, who enacted the roles of "Christ" and "President of the World" through the fictional popularist figure of the Oberdada, admitted that it was "against his nature" to be the sort of simplistic "spiritual dictator" which "suited the agitationist activity in the broad masses."²⁶ Confronted with this unsuitability of the available alternatives, Grosz, Hausmann, and Huelsenbeck—despite their reservations about one another and possibly against their suspicions regarding Baader's sanity—found it possible to be enthusiastic and productive in the social entity in which they found themselves. Baader was, after all, already acting on the belief that "the only means" to counter "the loss of power and values," without the Geistigen, "was the *Dada means*."²⁷ As Theo Van Doesburg appraised the situation in 1923: "the bourgeois have called Dada Bolshevist, the Communists have called it bourgeois. Dada laughs."²⁸

Reviewing the first Dada *soirée* at the Berliner Sezession of April 1918, Wolfradt saw the Dadaists as noisily renouncing "every connection with the antiquated Futurism, Cubism, Activism, etc."²⁹ While the Dadaists sought to purge bourgeois culture by playing themselves off against expectations of an "ism," they also constructed an ironic myth for their activities using terminology beyond the usual jargon of the salon and aesthetics. Expressionists ran "spiritual retail shops" while Dadaism had a "central office" with "managers" and "departments."

Hausmann added a further twist by using self-irony to anticipate how culture might respond to Dada as a "movement." Enacting the adversary role of critic in an essay published in the Dada-Messe catalog, "Was die Kunstkritik nach Ansicht des Dadasophen zur Dadaausstellung sagen wird" [The Dadasoph's Opinion of What Art Criticism Will Say About the Dada Exhibition], Hausmann was so convincing that his remarks were reprinted verbatim in a negative review of the exhibition: "While Germany is trembling and jerking in a governmental crisis...these boys come along making wretched trivialities out of rags, trash and garbage" (figs. 75, 82, and 85).³⁰ The Dadaists were simply a "decadent group":

They don't surprise us anymore; everything goes down in cramps of originality mania, which, devoid of all creativity, lets off steam with foolish nonsense. "Mechanical art work" may pass in Russia as a type of art—here it is talentless and artless mimicry, the utmost in snobbism and insolence towards serious criticism.³¹

Hausmann's "review" ended by alleging that Dadaism really did not belong in the context of the surrounding cultural institutions: "The perhaps misled owner of this gallery should be warned—but the Dadaists should receive merciful silence!"³²

Similarly, Hausmann promoted the word "Dada" so as to reveal, map, and label the surrounding culture. His "Was ist DADA?" (fig. 74), which appeared in a bold typographical layout in his journal *Der Dada 2*, shows his "tactical application" of Dada to "uncover" and drive "to absurdity" the "spiritual and social mechanism" of the "Christian-bourgeois world." By overtly seeming to announce and deny the meaning of the word "Dada" in a mock advertisement, Hausmann implicates the whole process by which meaning occurs: "What is dada? An Art? A Philosophy? A Politics? A Fire Insurance? Or: State Religion? is dada really Energy? or is it Nothing at all, i.e., everything?"³³ Using the press and advertising, the Dada "managers" sought to "direct" their promotional efforts across the entire front of culture and beyond the elect audience which Baader and Hausmann had encountered in their early *soirées*. While Baader was the most successful, all of the Club Dada members contributed to what Huelsenbeck called the "Dada publicity campaign."³⁴ As Hausmann suggested in "Dada in Europa," the Dada movement had begun in Zurich with the recognition of the "advertising potential of this word dada." And it was, in Huelsenbeck's words, "the aggressive power and propagandistic force of the word" which provided "the true meaning of Dadaism" in Berlin: "If someone hurls a word into the crowd, accompanying it with a grand gesture, they make a religion of it." Unlike the Dresden Expressionists' attempts to preserve the realm of the absolute for their slogans, Huelsenbeck delighted in the fact that a "mere word" could have an "immense effect" on "the great mass of the artistically indifferent."³⁵

The best examples of this approach include the appeal "Legen Sie Ihr Geld in dada an!" [Invest in Dada] in *Der Dada 1*, "Tretet dada bei" [Join up with Dada] in *Der Dada 2*, and Baader's "Reklame für mich" [Advertisement for me] in *Der Dada 2*, where it was accompanied by a *Klebebild* showing his "appearance in the clouds of heaven" (fig. 56). The "Dada-Reklame-Gesellschaft" [Dada Advertising Agency], as a department of the "Zentralamt des Dadaismus" [Central Office of Dadaism], campaigned for business in *Der Dada* and in a flier which eventually found its way into the *Dada Almanach*. This self-referential emphasis on promotion also characterized various Dada performances. For example, the chaotic Dada *matinée* at the Tribüne theater at the end of November 1919, was opened by the "Reklamechef" of the "Reklamebureau Bum-bum-dada."³⁶ That by February 1920, Hausmann and Baader could stage a tour which included an event in Leipzig attended by more than 2,000 spectators attests to the success of their efforts.



Figure 73. Hannah Höch, *Schnitt mit dem Küchenmesser Dada durch die letzte weimarer Bierbauchkulturepoche Deutschlands*, 1920
 Fragments of photographs and typography, 44 3/4 × 35 1/2 inches.
 (Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Nationalgalerie, Berlin[West]. Photo: Jörg P. Anders)

Was ist **dada**?

Eine Kunst? Eine Philosophie? eine Politik?

Eine Feuerversicherung?

Oder: Staatsreligion?

ist **dada** wirkliche **Energie**?

oder ist es  **Garnichts**, d. h.
alles?

Figure 74. Raoul Hausmann, *Was ist Dada?*, 1919
Typography.
(Der Dada 2 [Berlin: December 1919])

The advertising campaign was also a dominant theme at the Dada-Messe. The Dada wares of industrialized modernity (locomotive and automobile wheel), fashion, and the alternative Dada art of optophonetic poetry spill forth from Hausmann's now-lost photomontage, the *Dada-Reklame "Plakat"* [poster] (visible in fig. 75). Hausmann's *Malik-Verlag* (visible in fig. 76), Höch's *Ali Baba-Diele* (visible in fig. 75), Heartfield's poster with the proclamation "Nieder die Kunst" [Down with art], and Baader's *Bekanntmachungen des Oberdada* [Announcements of the Oberdada] (both visible in fig. 85), show how the Dada *Klebebild* had become a means of mock advertising designed to avoid the appearance of an art movement. As the catalog proclaimed, the "First International Dada Fair" would lead to the ~~"abolition of art-dealing;"~~ what was sold there were Dadaist "products."³⁷ Indeed, Herzfelde has suggested that, in writing the catalog, he intentionally avoided terms such as "works" and "creations."³⁸

With a broader audience in mind, Hausmann and the other Dadaists allowed the word "Dada" to become associated with the wider culture simply by including it with the diverse references in the photomontages they made. "Dada siegt" [Dada conquers] the worlds of fashion, modernity, and urbanism in *Dada Cino* (fig. 80). In *Dada siegt* (fig. 77), "Dada" affixes itself across a map of the world. Höch's poster title, *Schnitt mit dem Küchenmesser Dada durch die letzte weimarer Bierbauchkulturepoche Deutschlands* [Cut with the Kitchen Knife Dada Through the Last Weimar Beer-Belly Cultural Epoch of Germany] (fig. 73), and the Grosz-Heartfield cover for *Der Dada 3* (fig. 50) weave references to Dada into the diverse fabric of industrialized society.

As the Club Dada promotion became a communal effort to evolve a cohesive language for the New Man, the process of communal myth-making, the actual routines of mounting an alternative to the "art movement," became increasingly self-referential and inherently idiomatic. The handbills, posters, small magazines, and announcements needed to organize a movement scarcely originated with the Dadaists, of course, but when the Dadaists found themselves coerced into the gallery setting they proclaimed to disdain, they made such ephemerae, and hence the visual language of social reorganization, the major communal content of their works.

By the time Hausmann began to incorporate photographs into his *Klebebilder* in late 1919 or early 1920, he had already helped to launch the movement as a self-referential enterprise in the first number of *Der Dada*. *Mynona*, *Gurk*, and *Ruest*, while presenting the anonymous identity of the New Man, had also made references to the Dada movement in their fragments from journals and woodcuts. But the "materialism" which had been called for over the course of the previous year in the public proclamations and the texts *Material der Malerei Plastik Architektur* and "Gesetzmässigkeit des Lautes"



Figure 75. Raoul Hausmann and Hannah Höch at the Erste Internationale Dada-Messe, 1920
 Photograph taken during the exhibition held during the summer of 1920 at the Berlin gallery of Otto Burchard.



Figure 76. Raoul Hausmann, *Der Malik-Verlag Berlin-Halensee Kufürstendamm 56*, ca. 1920
 Poster as seen at the Erste Internationale Dada-Messe, Berlin, 1920. *From left: Wieland Herzfelde, Rudolf Schlichter, Ludwig Mies van der Rohe.*
(Location of poster unknown)

did not expand into the Dada "advertising campaign" in Hausmann's *Klebebilder* until late 1919 or early 1920. Prior to this he began to test various materials in the "Synthetisches Cino der Malerei" proof sheets he had prepared for the *Dadaco* project (figs. 64 and 65). Possibly the first of these (fig. 64) remains within the compositional mode of the collage, as seen in the *Material der Malerei Plastik Architektur* cover (fig. 42) and in a collage from late in the year reproduced on the cover of *Der Dada 2* which uses fragments from Hausmann's earlier publications (fig. 61). In a now-lost version of the "Synthetisches Cino der Malerei" *Dadaco* proof sheet, an apparently unaltered 1919 "Dada-photograph" of Hausmann and Baader is presented straightforwardly as part of a publication layout (visible on the left in fig. 85). A compositionally more advanced version of "Synthetisches Cino der Malerei" made from materials available in late 1919 or early 1920 presents a fragmented image of the monocled Dadasoph (fig. 65). This marks a significant change from the use of small newspaper photographs in *Gurk* and *Mynona* which may appear somewhat anomalous but which did not alter basic compositional principles. In the "Synthetisches Cino der Malerei," the viewer must visually reassemble the fragments while the restriction of the image to eyes and a mouth suggests the "optophonetic" theme. The swirling motion of the three photographic fragments is seen also in Baader's *Das ist die Erscheinung des Oberdada in den Wolken des Himmels* (fig. 56), suggesting a continuing collaboration between the two artists.

As the collage began to absorb photographs in the *Malik-Verlag* and *Dada Reklame* "Plakate" [posters] (visible in figs. 76 and 75), the Dada "publicity campaign" broadened into the surrounding culture of technology, mass media, and political events. It was during this expansive period that the members of the group most shared metaphors and visual references. Hausmann was working very closely with Höch and numerous similarities appear between his posters and her large *Ali Baba-Diele* (visible on the upper left behind Hausmann in fig. 75) and *Schnitt mit dem Küchenmesser Dada* (fig. 73). Her early *Klebebild*, *Dada Rundschau* (1919–20), and relief (above Hausmann's head in the illustration) show her progress from typography and layout to the *Klebebild* and *Plastik*.³⁹ Apparently beginning to incorporate photographs with *Dada Rundschau*, Höch's works show a strong structural sense related to the exploration of asymmetrical structure in her abstract drawings of 1918 and 1919. The early "Plakat," *Ali Baba-Diele*, is an eloquent precursor restricted to pure collage materials and typography which includes fragments of Hausmann's Plakatgedichte. As in Hausmann's *Malik-Verlag* and *Dada Reklame*, words are spelled out by clipping individual letters out of various sources.

Hausmann's *Malik-Verlag* promotes the publications of Herzfelde's firm with the masthead of Herzfelde's magazine, *Die Pleite*, and may include a few

photographs (fig. 76). The *Dada Reklame* poster maintains the same approach, but the photographic material it incorporates is now carefully manipulated amidst the typographic elements. The Dada references include the masthead of *Der Dada I* and the "optophonetic" layout of *kp'erioum*. The references to fashion, machinery, and a diagram of human intestines similar to that seen in *Dada siegt* (fig. 77) suggest that it was made in late 1919 or early 1920, that is, at about the same time Höch must have been at work on *Dada-Rundschau*. She uses words and sentences in long strips to provide an armature for her photographs of soldiers at war, fashion plates, and two standing figures in bathing suits identical with those of her *Staatshäupter*.⁴⁰ Unencumbered by Hausmann's thicket of theoretical issues, she moved expansively into photographic imagery in *Schnitt mit dem Küchenmesser Dada* (1919–20). Illusionistic space is now opened into a structure through which figures tumble between organically clustered machine forms.

In *Dada Reklame* and *Malik-Verlag*, Hausmann presented contradictions by employing photographs as simply additional material, without letting them depart too far from a compositional based on collage. The fragments in *The Art Critic* (fig. 78), however, present an inconsistency of scale and suggest an ambiguous spatial setting through such contradictory clues as the atmosphere established in the battleship photograph, the flatness of the bright orange background plane of the poster poem, and the implied depth of the diagonal relationship of the figures. While these effects may remain bound to the limitations of the collage technique, the characteristics of photography have begun to amplify, alter, and even to caricature the collage technique.

Whereas his Dada colleagues might easily absorb the photograph into their collages by assuming for it an illustrational, artifactual, or simply factual role, Hausmann as the Dadasoph was absorbed in the contradictory natures of the photograph as a mechanized artifact of vision, a linguistic sign, and as an inferior approximation to be used by the New Man in his transitional and ironic existence between past and future. Hausmann's monist, quasi-mystical philosophy led him to expect the new language of art, now incorporating photography, to transcend the mechanical laws of matter and attain contact with an acausal state of universal experience. Like Carl Einstein, Hausmann lamented the loss of the language of early man in which his "total relations to and perceptions of the world and the powers stirring within them were symbolically and magically grasped, condensed, transfixed."⁴¹ He had tried to regain this elemental language and process by making culture palpable, exposing it as arbitrary and contradictory, and by enacting it in satire and irony. Employing photographs in the collage as optical approximations of "mechanical consciousness"⁴² would permit "the elaboration of the most dialectical formulas" on the basis of its "antagonisms of structures and dimensions . . . of rough and smooth, of the aerial view and the first plane, of



Figure 77. Raoul Hausmann, *Dada siegt*, 1920
Fragments of photographs and typography, 23 1/2 × 17 inches.
(Private Collection)

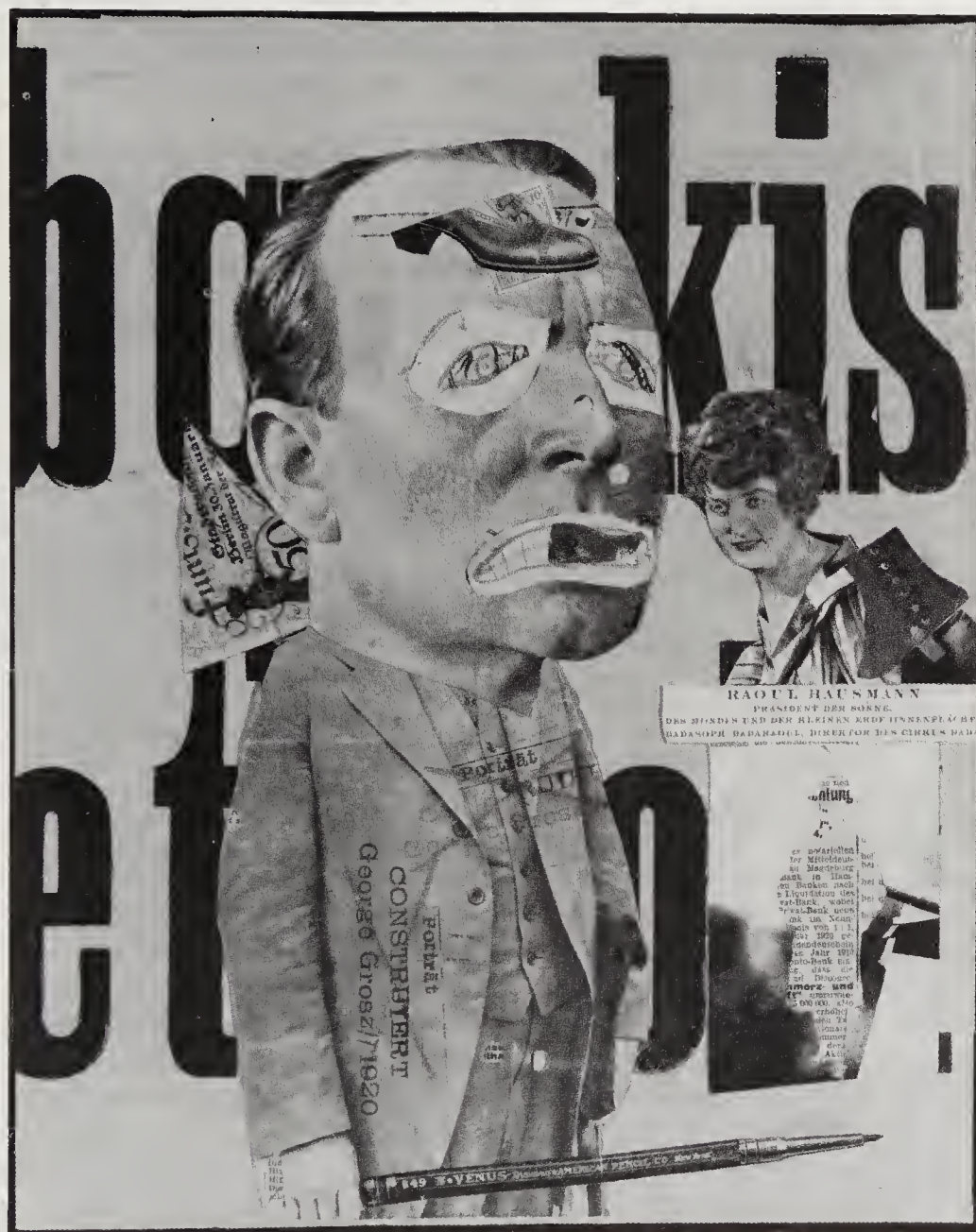


Figure 78. Raoul Hausmann, *The Art Critic*, 1920
 Photographs, newsprint, currency, stamp, fragments of drawing, and ink on paper,
 12 1/2 × 10 inches.
 (The Tate Gallery, London)

perspective and flatness."⁴³ This new art form provided a means for a spatial ambiguity comparable with the plasticity he was seeking in his reliefs and *abstrakte Bildideen* while also conveying the contradictions and multiple viewpoints suggested in the essays by Friedländer and Hatvani he had read. It promised to be the perfect visual complement to the establishment of multiple positions in the Dada critique of culture.

In *The Art Critic* (fig. 78), Hausmann used photography as an integral element to present the "art reporter" in a sparse atmosphere of fashion (shoes and spats), Dada art (the poster-poem which forms its foundation), the newspaper, and the "currency" of the banknote and postage stamp. Absent are the references to high art often included in the *Klebebilder* of the Grosz-Heartfield "Konzern" which would suggest the traditional values of art criticism. Instead the aggressive critic, sticking out his tongue and carrying an American pencil as a weapon, is accompanied by a fragment of Hausmann's visiting card, allowing the collage to expound on the identity first proclaimed at the Milchstrasse *soirée* in March 1919: "President of the Sun, little Earth and Moon."⁴⁴ This presentation of the "Dadasoph, Dadaraoul, Director of the Dada Circus" may be a visual manifesto for the role of the Dada "manager" officiating over the material of culture, although the actual identity of the figure remains elusive (the identities of Grosz and Heartfield have also been suggested).⁴⁵

The critic finds himself as "the organism, man on this earth," with "the multifaceted, interlaced, and interconnected thought systems (governmental forms, capitalist economy, bourgeois society as just so many wills-to-power)."⁴⁶ The faces and images in *The Art Critic* are as anonymous as the elegant cutout of the fashionable standing figure in the lower right. The aggressive countenance of the critic is rare in Hausmann's *Klebebilder* but may be less out of place in terms of the grotesque grimacing Hausmann is reported to have exercised in the presentation of his phonetic poetry and dances in the Dada performances. The crudely drawn features are also unusual for Hausmann, who by now had abandoned gesture for the more precise constructional approach of the *abstrakte Bildideen* (fig. 32). The identity of the New Man seems trapped between the fashion plate anonymity of the newspaper cutout and the aggressive and troubled presence of the art critic. Hausmann restricted his sources primarily to the realm of cultural communications. As in the "antiportrait" *Klebebilder* (figs. 58, 59, and 60), Hausmann used extant cultural material, some created by himself, some taken from Grosz (the stamp "Porträt konstruiert George Grosz/1920," canceled with red X's), but primarily derived from entirely anonymous sources. The references to the "Dadasoph" and "Merz," which appear in bold type in the newspaper cutout, take their positions within a context which is enigmatic both symbolically and visually. The contradictory and ambiguous spatial

setting implies multiple readings and alludes metaphorically to a culture consisting in an arbitrary and exchangeable currency of signs.

As much as the photographs, it was the non-programmatic presentation of them which Hausmann regarded as a true means toward empirical apperception:

The Dadaist, as man . . . balances the givens of this finite world, which appears to explode out of nothing and plunge back into this nothing for its own amusement, entirely unconcerned with any sort of serious theories of a transcendent-cosmic or of a rational-veristic character.⁴⁷

Contradictions in and of themselves were cherished by Hausmann, whose reading of Friedländer, Lao-tse, and Nicholas of Cusa had led him to expect a *coincidentia oppositorum* (coincidence of oppositions), a spiritual unity above the plurality.⁴⁸ With links to what has been called "Romantic occasionalism,"⁴⁹ Hausmann's monist embrace of the heterogeneous and contradictory "field" of reality included the "material of photography" as part of the autonomous new language for the New Man which could absorb the imitative while both containing and maintaining contradiction. By subverting the attempted aesthetic accomodation exercised by the reigning social order, this language contributed to Dadaism as "a kind of cultural criticism" which "stopped at nothing."⁵⁰ In place of aesthetics, Hausmann proposed an organic unity similar to Carl Einstein's "Totalität":

They [the Dadaists] were the first to use the material of photography in order to create a new unity from structural parts of a particular, often contradictory (in concrete and spatial ways) sort--[a unity] which tore from the chaos or war and revolution an optically and conceptually new reflection.⁵¹

This organic unity corresponded analogously with the identity of man as a function of his direct transactions with his surroundings. Applied as linguistic conventions, photographs could both represent reality with optical precision and distort reality when applied as a persuasive means. Yet by virtue of the novelty of their approach, Hausmann felt the Dadaists had little to fear, insisting that "they [the Dadaists] were convinced that within their methods resided a powerful propagandistic power which contemporary life was not audacious enough to develop and absorb."⁵² The Dadaist critique was intended neither as persuasion nor as simply a value-neutral attempt at ordering: "Dada is not so downright impudent as the seriously intended systems of archiving our world of discordant harmonies." Instead the purpose was conceived as one of revelation, "to the Dadaist, life is simply an enigma."⁵³

Seeking a compositional means to convey the inherent uncertainty of the

transitional environment of the New Man, Hausmann borrowed from Giorgio De Chirico's ambiguous spatial setting in his *Klebebilder* of early 1920, *Tatlin at Home* and *Dada siegt* (figs. 77 and 79). De Chirico offered an approximate and "deficient" language, a "reaching back to geometric representation of space" which Hausmann noted in "Die neue Kunst" as a general trend among artists who were responding to a "condition of suspension between two worlds when we have broken with the old and cannot yet form the new"—through "the forming of an erroneous world an even higher world is approached."⁵⁴ Hausmann might have seen De Chirico's *Le mauvais génie d'un roi* in *Dada 2* as early as the spring of 1918 through his new acquaintance, Huelsenbeck. He clearly had seen the number by early 1919, and his colleague Grosz reportedly encountered the first number of *Valori Plastici* at Hanz Goltz' gallery in Munich where he was having an exhibition that April.⁵⁵ Under the influence of De Chirico and Carrá, Grosz would eventually evolve the "dry style" of the *The Diabolo Player* (1920). Max Ernst's mastery of this influence was to be seen in *Fiat Modes, pereat ars* and *Bulletin D*, circulating in late 1919. By this time Höch had created her *Er und sein Milieu* [He and his Milieu],⁵⁶ a 1919 watercolor which uses the eerie exterior space of De Chirico effectively to provide illusionistic depth and to contain miniaturized symbols of nature (a forest) and civilization (a pyramid, a cathedral, the Eiffel Tower, the Tower of Pisa, and a skyscraper), all in neatly contained geometric modules. Höch's setting forms the backdrop for a puppet figure dangling helplessly by his leg from a gaslight.

Tatlin at Home and *Dada siegt* present a discontinuity of perception: floor planes are tilted severely, attaining an ambiguous status between implied depth and flat picture planes, an effect enhanced by obscured vanishing points. Figures and objects both affirm and deny gravity, moving in and out of the ambiguous depth. Hausmann applies De Chirico's perspective system both as an approximate diagram of space, suited to his functional world of maps, diagrams, and pictures-within-pictures, and as an anonymous, empty environment for the automaton: the manikin, mechanomorph, and engineer. While Grosz referred to his own pictures as "an entirely real platform," Hausmann's "stage space" has been aptly described as a kind of "mediator of publicity,"⁵⁷ analogous with the Dada performance stage and the promotional Dada-*Plakate*. Thus *Dada siegt* announces Dada conquering the northern hemisphere and the Wenzelplatz in Prague, which was among the cities "conquered" in the Dada-*tournee* made by Hausmann, Huelsenbeck, and Baader in early 1920. The Wenzelplatz photograph, on the easel behind Hausmann, is emblazoned with the words "DADA" and "391," referring to Picabia's journal. Also on hand are a football, which may refer to *Jedermann sein eigener Fussball*, calculating machines, and typewriters—the latter a possible reference to the Grosz-Mehring "race" between a sewing machine and typewriter on May 24, 1919.

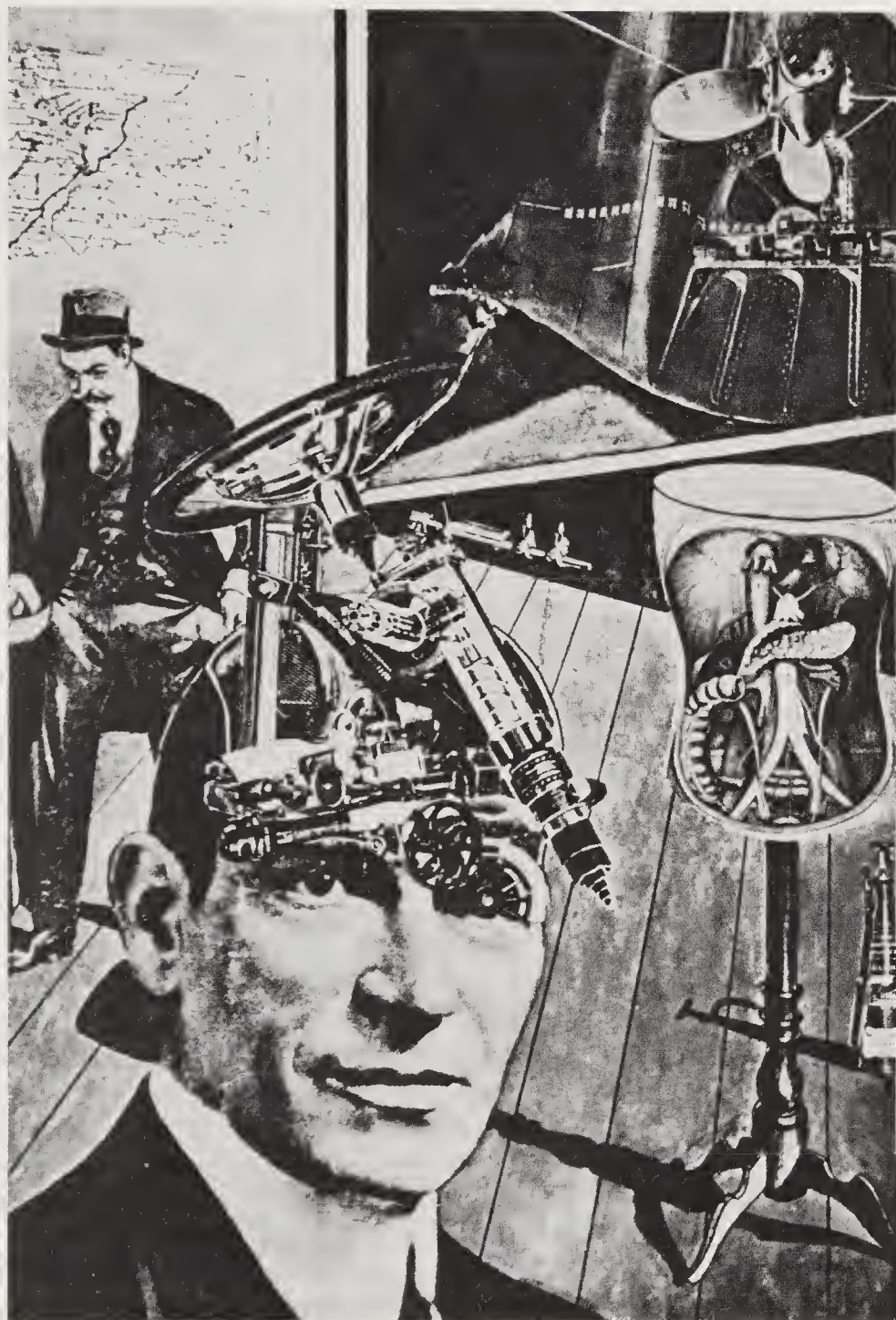


Figure 79. Raoul Hausmann, *Tatlin at Home*, 1920
Fragments of photographs, map, watercolor and ink on
paper, $3 \times 3 \frac{1}{2}$ inches.
(Location unknown)

While continuing the promotional intent of Hausmann's early *Klebebilder*, the visual effect in *Dada siegt* and *Tatlin at Home* is quite novel. Seeking "an explosion of viewpoints and jumbled pictorial planes,"⁵⁸ Hausmann took "a superrealist attitude... which permitted an agreeable application of several perspective centers and the overlapping of objects and surfaces."⁵⁹ Overlapping planes, pictures-within-pictures, and conflicting scales mediated through diagrams present a world which seems functional but offers the viewer no consistent and stable position.

At the time he made *Dada siegt*, Hausmann could have already been thinking of supplanting its metaphorical presentation of the world as a "Zwischenphase" [in-between-phase] with a more concrete "confusion of the senses," a pushing of perception into "materialism." In Hausmann's "Presentism" of 1921, physiology—based in the "feineren Naturkräfte" [refined forces of nature] alluded to in the foreground of *Dada siegt*—was approached in "the refinement of our most important bodily senses."⁶⁰ By the summer of 1920, when the Dada-Messe brought Berlin Dada to its climactic end, Hausmann's desire for a social criticism was beginning to yield to a physiologically-based investigation of man's vision, what Hausmann referred to as a new "optics."

A tension between the metaphorical and concrete approaches is evident in *Dada Cino* and *Elasticum*, which avoid perspective and drawing and rely instead on overlaid photographs to achieve a spatial ambiguity (figs. 80 and 81). The dynamic and swirling *Dada Cino* was exhibited in the Dada-Messe while the more static *Elasticum* was begun slightly later and incorporates fragments from the exhibition catalog. They mark the height of Hausmann's merging of current imagery with his search for dynamic plasticity. As artifacts of "cinematic" consciousness, they were made in the expectation of reflecting at once the social experience of "Erleben" and the sensation of "Sehen."

Hausmann returned to a provisional collage armature in *Dada Cino* but managed the conflicting contexts of scale, distance, and viewpoint of the fragments into a dynamic compositional balance. Fashion, urban architecture, and references to popular entertainment are combined with the slogans "Dada siegt" and "Cannibale," referring to Picabia's contemporaneous Paris journal. In their topicality, these choices are particularly close to Höch's use of popular illustrated magazines including *Der Weltspiegel*, *Die Dame*, and *The Berliner Illustrierte Zeitung*, as sources of imagery for her *Schnitt mit dem Küchenmesser Dada*.⁶¹ In *Elasticum*, metallic sheens of reflected light produce a transparency unprecedented in Hausmann's work: one perceives only spatial discontinuity through the layers of symbols. Several photocollages by Höch, including *Das schöne Mädchen* (1920), *Bürgerliches Brautpaar (Streit)* [Bourgeois Bride and Groom (Quarrel)] (ca. 1920), and *Da Dandy* (ca. 1920),⁶² also attain their animated spatial ambiguity through the

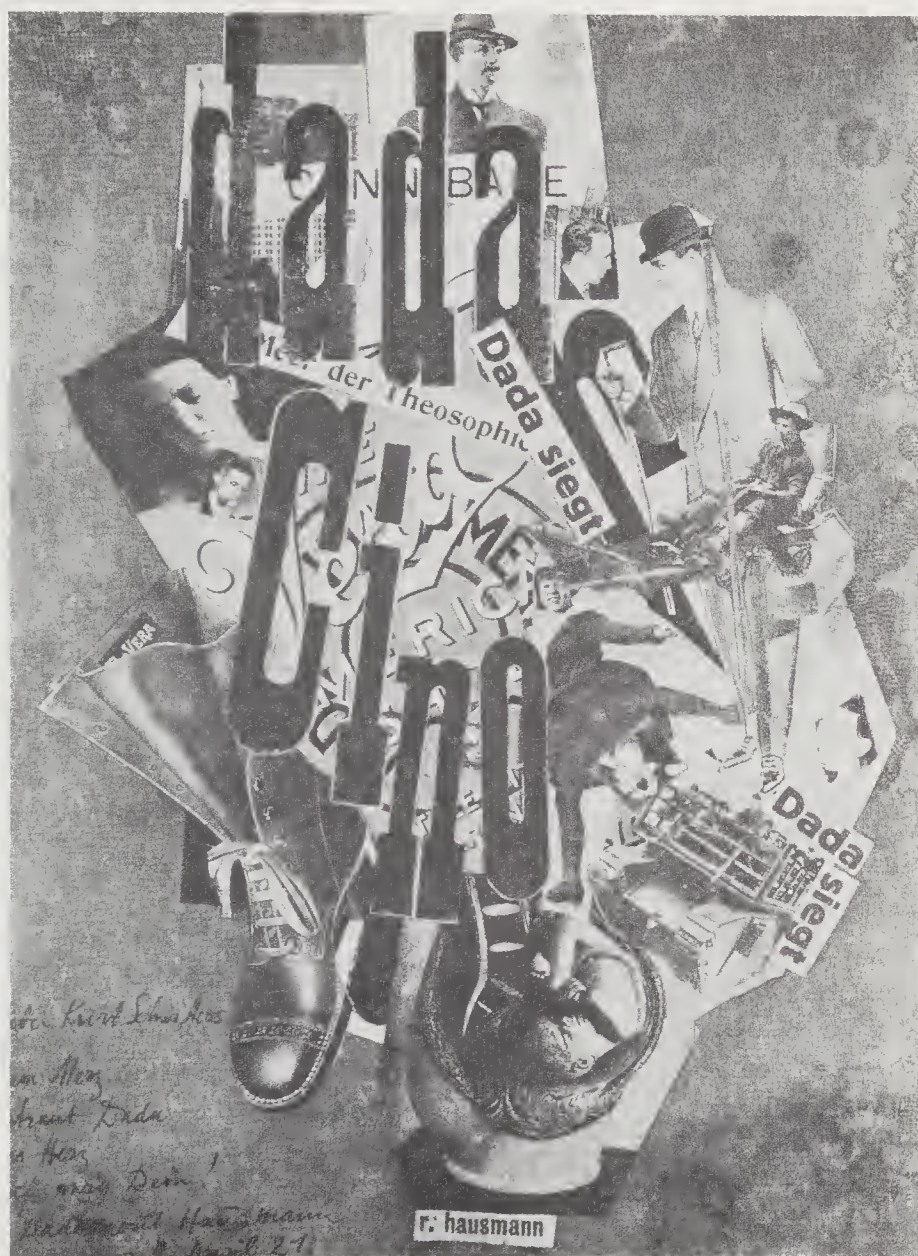
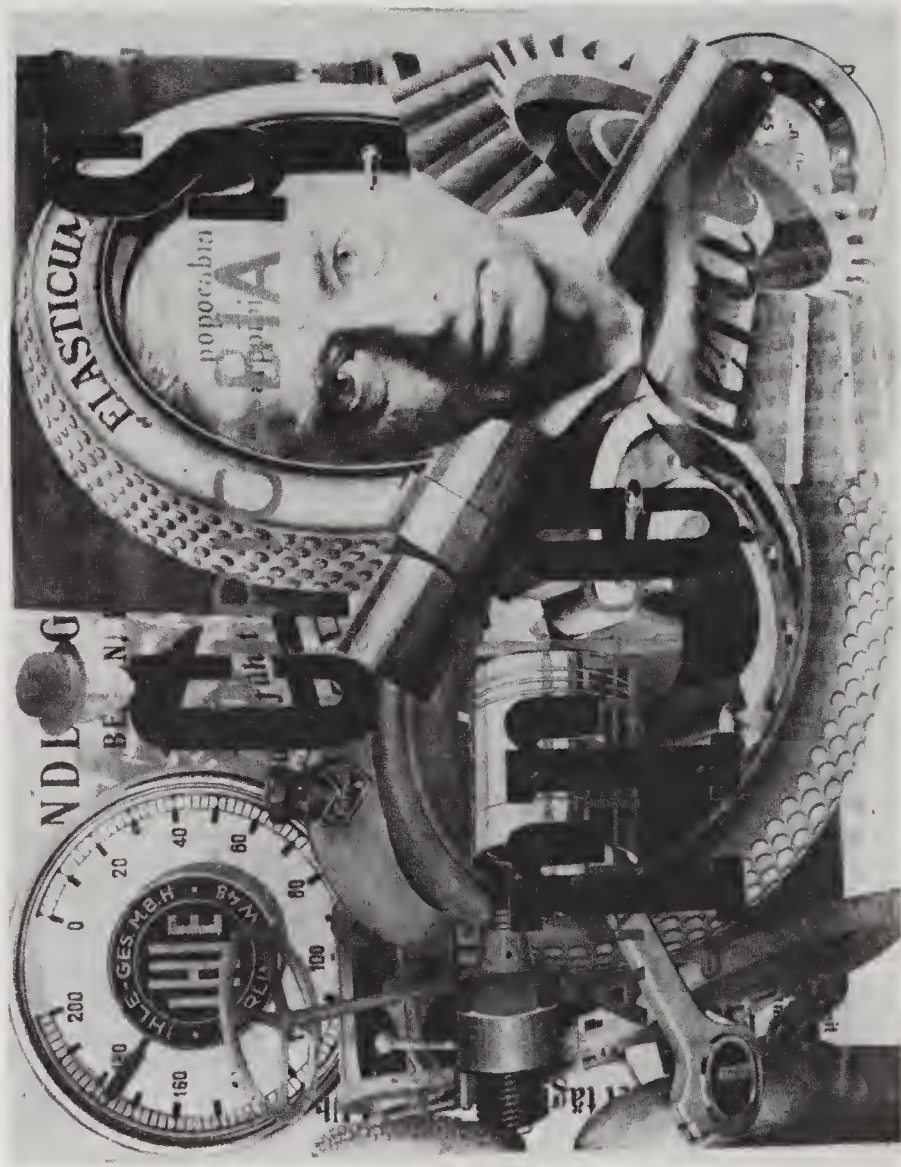


Figure 80. Raoul Hausmann, *Dada Cino*, 1920
 Fragments of photographs and typography on paper,
 12 1/2 × 9 inches.
 (Collection of Philippe-Guy E. Woog, Geneva)

Figure 81. Raoul Hausmann, *Elasticum*, 1920
Photograph by Hausmann of lost original. Fragments of
photograph and typography, 2 3/4 × 3 1/2 inches.
(Musée National d'Art Moderne, Centre Georges
Pompidou, Paris)



conflicting clues of a wide range of photographic fragments. Commercial trademarks, Dada typography, and references to fashion evoke a new sense of immediacy in Höch's art.

While working in close collaboration with Höch, Hausmann was continuing his physiological investigation of perception. In his essay, "Die neue Kunst," Hausmann saw the "world of calm space" being replaced by a "world of time and dynamic forces." This would require man to "experience something similar in optics."⁶³ Like Bergson, who compared thought to a "cinematographical mechanism,"⁶⁴ Hausmann viewed consciousness as mechanical and was concerned with the "functional principle of time, which, as kinetic energy, forms space and matter."⁶⁵ Conceiving of and seeing motion was not natural but rather was "learned" through "mechanical and technical development."⁶⁶ With many of his contemporaries, Hausmann celebrated modernity for the transforming force of its technological accomplishments: "Man in our consciousness has changed entirely, not only because we have the telephone and airplane and electric piano or lathe, but rather because our entire psychophysique is transformed by our experience."⁶⁷ Hausmann's ideal artist works purposefully like an engineer to establish "the convention of the psychology of cinema, which can be completely simple in its general validity."⁶⁸

In both *Dada Cino* and *Elasticum* (figs. 80 and 81), Hausmann tried to present "a frozen instantaneous image of an event,"⁶⁹ "static film" corresponding with the earlier "static poetry."⁷⁰ While the rectilinear and diagonal emphasis in *Elasticum* results in a relatively stable composition, contradictions of scale and viewpoint and a multiplicity of associations are presented to the mind of the observer. "Under the influence of cinema" Hausmann had begun "decompose photos" in an approach similar to that of Heartfield's *Leben und Triebe in Universal City 12 Uhr 15 mittags*, characterized by Herzfelde as "painted with the means of film."⁷¹ The "decentralization" and "dissolution" of the composition implied in the multiple focal points of *Elasticum* is not unlike the proposal for a Cubist stage for the dance in his 1922 essay, "Die Absichten des Theaters 'Pré,'" which had the "task of showing man as a moving part of a spatial tension of a changing character."⁷²

Dada Cino and *Elasticum* were made during the short period when Hausmann had his greatest confidence in the *Klebebild*. Its role in his cultural criticism, as he later stated, was heuristic and indebted to the idea which had prevailed in the Freie Straße circle that all expression was "a sort of auto-education of man":⁷³

Photomontage can still contribute much [which is] unsuspected to the education of our vision, our knowledge concerning the optical, psychological and social structure through the clarity of its means, through which content and form, sense and forming coincide.⁷⁴

Yet Hausmann's expectation that his art could accomplish a blending of pure "seeing" with a "social process" in "Erleben" rested more on his faith in the automatism he associated with thought and imagination than on an "invention" of "photomontage." As he later reflected, "about all that can be said for the introduction of photomontage as a new process [is that] it succumbs to chance, the visual impulse and to the automatic imagination."⁷⁵ Decades later he recounted the genesis of *Tatlin at Home* (fig. 79):

One day, I thumbed through an American magazine absolutely absent-mindedly. All of a sudden, the face of an unknown man struck me, and I don't know why I automatically made the association between him and the Russian Tatlin, the creator to the machine art. . . . I wanted to make the image of a man who had nothing in his head but machines, cylinders and motors, brakes and car steering wheels. . . . I began to paint a room, viewed from a slightly high angle. I cut out the head of a man and . . . pieces from an auto magazine and I assembled them above his eyes. . . . This man must be thinking of a grand machine. I searched for this in my photos and found the stern of a ship with a huge propeller. . . . Didn't this man want to be a voyager, as well? Here is the map of Pomerania on the left wall. Tatlin was assuredly not rich, so I cut out a man walking towards us anxiously, turning out the empty pockets of his pants. . . . But now something is needed to the right. I drew a tailor's mannequin on my painting. . . . I cut the interior organs of the human body from an anatomy book and placed them in the mannequin's torso. At the foot, a fire extinguisher. I regarded it one more time. No, nothing must change. It was good. It was done.⁷⁶

Much of the fantasy in Hausmann's works results from his automatism. Hausmann later insisted that "art must never be anything other than fantastic or it is not art."⁷⁷ He had referred to the "true world" in "Notiz" (1917) as "on the cutting edge of the dream"⁷⁸ and based his argument against Tolstoy on "play" [Spiel]. The emphasis on "play" in Berlin Dadaism may coincide with Nietzsche's concept of "senseless and goalless play of worlds," the childish urge to play he calls "holy Yes-Saying."⁷⁹ In his 1918 notebook, Hausmann saw the "ascetic" Tolstoy as "the opposite of Nietzsche" the Dionysian. But Hausmann's main hope was for a universal art and he believed that play was the true operation of the Geist deep within the enigmatic "mechanical consciousness" shared by man. Thus the Dada strategy of using irony to promote "machine art" and the "mechanization of life" as a major theme of the Dada-Messe had a deeper purpose for him.⁸⁰

While the placard reading "Die Kunst ist tot - Es lebe die neue Maschinenkunst Tatlins" [Art is dead, Long Live the new machine art of Tatlin] at the Dada-Messe (fig. 75) was based more on Konstantin Umanski's article on "Tatlinismus" as a "conquering materialism" than on any actual knowledge of Vladimir Tatlin's work,⁸¹ it signalled all the more clearly the culmination of the Dadaists' accommodation of the machine as a symbol of the positivism and mechanism which was so abhorrent to most Expressionists. Even though the attitudes of the Expressionists toward technology were often more ambivalent than is suggested in the writings of

their apologists,⁸² their works never remotely approached the Dadaist "strategy" of founding a "production" intentionally based on modern technology (thus "advertised" by the Dadaists as an alternative to Expressionism), nor did they engage in the irony and satire which is at the heart of the Dadaists' "machine art."

The direct presentation in photographs of gears, gauges, wheels and other technological artifacts in Hausmann's *Dada-Reklame*, *Festival Dada*, *Tatlin at Home*, and *Dada siegt* (figs. 75, 77, and 79); the integration of man, animal, and machine in Höch's *Schnitt mit dem Küchenmesser Dada* (fig. 73), and of female identity and machine in her *Das schöne Mädchen* (1920); and the inclusion of actual wheels and gears as in Baader's *Plasto-Dio-Dada-Drama* and Hausmann's *Tête mécanique* (figs. 83 and 72) all would have been unacceptable to the Expressionists. Equally appalling would have been Grosz' "Tatlinist mechanical construction dedicated to the Socialist Reichstag delegates who voted for the war" consisting of a prosthesis-ridden manikin with a lighted bulb for a head and a pistol for its right arm (visible on the right in fig. 82). Yet the real subject of these works was a reappraisal of the human condition, as was acknowledged by Behne in his receptive review of the Dada-Messe: "Man is a machine, civilization is in shreds."⁸³

The materialism of Berlin Dada was doubtless to some extent a continuation of Huelsenbeck's extolling of life in the everyday urban industrialized world in opposition to the exotic primitivism of the Zurich group. For Huelsenbeck, the Berlin Dadaists continued the use of bruitism, simultaneity, and accident to celebrate their love for "the noises of the Métro" and awareness of "the big city, the Dada circus, crashing, screeching, steam whistles, house fronts, the smell of roast veal."⁸⁴ Their explicitly urban imagery sets the Berlin Dadaists apart from their Zurich counterparts whose preference for natural imagery is best exemplified by Arp's works. Nature soon came to be considered by many of the Constructivist artists as, in Van Doesburg's words, "the old culture, the culture of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, the culture of the heart, the uncultured culture of a petit-bourgeois intelligentsia."⁸⁵ Increasingly the metaphor of growth in the natural environment as a totality was being replaced by that of process, accompanied by an intense interest in science, technology, and the machine. The Dadaists, however, remained more ambivalent than the Constructivists about the rationality implied by science and technology. The Constructivists tended to supplant nature and the culture of the past with "a new social and aesthetic system based on reason, intellect, and dispassionate thought" which they associated with the intellectual and objective means of science.⁸⁶ Their faith in technology as a means of progress towards a utopian future differed from the Dadaists, who accepted "as their sole program the obligation of making events of the present the content of their pictures in a timely and endemic fashion."⁸⁷

Figure 82. View of the Erste Internationale Dada-Messe, 1920

Photograph taken on occasion of the exhibition held during the summer of 1920 at the Berlin gallery of Otto Burchard. *From left:* Raoul Hausmann, Hannah Hoch (seated), Otto Burchard, Johannes Baader, Wieland Herzfelde, Mrs. Heartfield, Otto Schmalhausen (seated), George Grosz, John Heartfield. (Reproduced in *Richard Huelsenbeck's Dada Almanach* [1920])



The irony and satire of Berlin Dada was intrinsically bound to this insistence on the present. The machine theme and the publicity campaign mounted at the Dada-Messe were a way of presenting Dada as without an adequate social position and hence as representative of the dilemma faced by the New Man. As masterfully demonstrated by Hausmann and Baader in the first two issues of *Der Dada*, conditions prohibited the voicing of any hopes for a utopian future without accepting the givens in the surrounding "fictions" of man's will which they felt had been banned by Expressionism. Their references to the broader culture of popular religion, politics, and economics as reflected in the mass media helped to situate Dada within the terms culture itself had dictated. Thus Dada sought the ironic status of a "state religion," an "advertising bureau," or an "investment" strategy. By consistently accepting the concrete cultural artifacts of the immediate present—through physical objects and linguistic signs—and then attempting to define "Dada" in terms of the "fictions" man construed between these artifacts, Hausmann and Baader created an entirely situational "movement" which seemed to have no position at all. Similarly, the Dada-Messe [Dada Fair], as an alternative to an art exhibition, might reflect the technology, publicity, and currency of the culture of the immediate present.

The Dadaists certainly succeeded in mystifying the traditional art gallery audience. One critic came away from the Dada-Messe with the impression that Dada was "against everything," including art,⁸⁸ while another remarked on the utter lack of "logic or principles."⁸⁹ Irony triumphed in a remarkably broad range of humorous attacks. The immediacy of the dark anti-war humor of Dix's war cripples, Grosz' controversial political caricatures, and Schlichter's anti-militarist "ceiling sculpture" called the "Prussian Archangel" (fig. 82) were bolstered by numerous affronts on tradition. The latter included Otto Schmalhausen's defiled bust of Beethoven, Hausmann's "Portrait of an Old Woman," which was actually his *Mynona* (fig. 60), and the Grosz-Heartfield "Corrected Masterpieces" based on Rousseau and Picasso (fig. 51). Finally, the entire history of German culture was assaulted in Baader's masterful *Plasto-Dio-Dada-Drama*, subtitled "Deutschlands Groesse und Untergang" [The Rise and Fall of Germany] (fig. 83), and its elaborate explanatory text. Unremittingly, the Dadaists satirized even themselves in such works as Grosz' *Daum marries* (fig. 84), Schmalhausen's *High School Course in Dada*, and Baader's *Bekanntmachungen des Oberdada* [Announcements of the Oberdada] (on the easel in fig. 85). This self-irony manifested their value-neutrality in what Hausmann called the "condition of suspension between two worlds" out of which the "satire, grotesque, caricature, clown, and puppet come forth."⁹⁰ The Dada-Messe was among the most spectacular demonstrations of how "the senseless and comic character of the word Dada" could be responsible for the "immense effect of Dadaism on the great mass of the artistically indifferent."⁹¹



Figure 83. Johannes Baader, *Das große Plasto-Dio-Dada-Drama*, 1920
 Assemblage of newspapers, Dada documents, wood, metal, and other objects.
(Destroyed. Photograph in the Archives Nakov, Paris)



Figure 84. George Grosz, "*Daum*" marries her pedantic automaton "*George*" in May 1920, John Heartfield is very glad of it. (*Meta-Mech. constr. nach Prof. R. Hausmann*), 1920
 Watercolor, pencil, ink, and fragments of photographs and typography on board,
 16 1/2 × 11 7/8 inches.
 (Galerie Nierendorf, Berlin. Photo: Galerie Nierendorf, Berlin. By permission of the Estate of George Grosz, Princeton, New Jersey)

Figure 85. View of the Erste Internationale Dada-Messe, 1920
 Photograph taken on occasion of the exhibition held during the summer of 1920 at
 the Berlin gallery of Otto Burchard.
(Berlinische Galerie, Berlin)



At the same time, the ultimate failure of Dadaist satire was highlighted in the "Dada Prozeß," a controversial trial of 1921 which had been prompted when several works in the Dada-Messe were accused of "insulting the German Army." Held to be particularly offensive were Grosz' portfolio of caricatures, *Gott mit uns!* and Schlichter's "Prussian Archangel," consisting of a dummy of a field officer with the head of a pig hanging from the ceiling (fig. 82). In what amounted to a legal sanctioning of artistic license, Grosz and Heartfield got off with small fines, with charges being dropped for Burchard, Baader, and Schlichter. Expert testimony, by both the "Oberdada" and by Dr. Paul Schmidt, director of the Dresden Municipal Collections, also established that Dada was indefinable and that the satire and humor in the show were a general response to everything, including the Dadaists themselves.⁹² Thus while this official recognition of Dadaist humor acknowledged the essential positionlessness of the movement, it also reduced Dadaism, as Hausmann later put it, to "an old thing tilting at windmills."⁹³ Naturally, the Dadaists had only themselves to blame, for by its very promotion in the context of Burchard's gallery, the "International Dada Fair," which was as yet international only to the extent that works of Arp and Picabia were included, had set Dada on precisely that fatal course it sought to avoid: that of an "art direction."

Dadaist humor had been based on a shared assumption that culture was a manifestation of man's mechanical functioning. In the Dada-Messe catalog, for example, Herzfelde used Friedländer's metaphor to describe Grosz' work entitled (in the original): "*Daum*" marries her pedantic automaton "George" in May 1920, John Heartfield is very glad of it. (*Meta-Mech. constr. nach Prof. R. Hausmann*) (fig. 84). This work presented "society" as "like a mechanism" in which man took his place as "a small machine in the great clockwork."⁹⁴ Hausmann presented a similar image of the relationship of man and machine in a mechanized stage environment proposed in his 1920 text, "Kabarett zum Menschen" [Mankind's Cabaret]:

a kind of iron cage in two stories, with a home trainer, a motorbike in the first story and a power lathe and stamping machine in the second story. In addition would come a wind machine and a dirty clothes basket with very tiny scraps of paper on which would be printed "soul." With that the entire innerness-hocus-pocus, which is called man, is splendidly displayed.⁹⁵

With a spurt of activity, the "milieu" clanks into motion to "show how the mechanism of the soul functions":

with a violent bang and clatter... engineers... at work... After three minutes a trilling whistle sounds: everything stops. The wind machine steps into action and puffs the 10,000 scraps of paper with the printed "soul!" over the assembled public... man is really this way, nothing more, an empty-running absurdity.⁹⁶

Both Hausmann and Baader viewed satire as a particularly appropriate means in combating their German heritage. Hausmann had based an early unpublished essay entitled "Der Satiriker und die Satire in Deutschland" [The Satirist and Satire in Germany] on Gottlieb Rabener's statement of 1759 that "Germany is not the land in which a better satire is risked. . . . I wouldn't want to risk telling the small town school master the sort of truths a Lord-Archbishop in London must hear."⁹⁷ Baader, testifying at the "Dada Prozeß," insisted that: "Dadaism has given itself the task of working against the culturally detrimental structures with the greatest elasticity. This occurs best through humor, because this is lacking in us Germans most of all."⁹⁸ Satire had been framed early on as a central Dada tactic by Baader in the public announcement of the mock coronation of the "President of the Earth": "What does satire dare? . . . Everything!"⁹⁹

Hausmann had read Bergson's *Laughter* in 1915, just at the time he became acquainted with the satirist Friedländer. Later, as an advocate of *Unsinn*, the Dadasoph may have recalled Bergson's "comic spirit" which, as a "living thing," having a "logic of its own, even in its wildest eccentricities," has as its "natural environment" the "indifference" of society, understood as the community of human intelligences.¹⁰⁰ On this view, laughter, by "imposing silence" on emotions, has a thoroughly "social" function: as a "social gesture" it "restrains eccentricity" and pursues the "utilitarian aim of general improvement." While laughter accomplishes this unconsciously, it focuses attention on the automatic and inelastic in human behavior (a sign of eccentricity) and, by making these characteristics recognizable, it helps bring into effect "tension" and "elasticity," crucial life forces which help man as he "discerns the outlines of the present situation."¹⁰¹

In "Dada in Europa," Hausmann insisted that "Dada became the great elasticity of time, which found its measure in the bourgeois: the more senile and stiff he became, the more flexible became Dada."¹⁰² Perhaps this was also the meaning in the title *Elasticum*, one of the last works Hausmann made while Dada still seemed viable (fig. 81).

After Dada

For Hausmann, Dada had been a heuristic enterprise, a “practical self-decontamination.”¹ As Dada came to an end, he sought to transform the New Man from clown and puppet into engineer and constructor, the insider of the new Gemeinschaft of functionality and practicality. Departing from satire, Hausmann attempted to probe deeper into perception and consciousness in a new activity which he proclaimed in 1921 as “Presentism”: a “synthesis of spirit and matter” and “the elevation of the so-called sciences and arts to the level of the present.”²

In the atmosphere of growing social stability after the Dada-Messe, Hausmann withdrew from the social criticism of *Der eiserne Hindenburg* (fig. 86) into the sobriety of *Les Ingénieurs* and *Kutschenbauch dichtet* (figs. 87 and 88), a direction seen simultaneously in Grosz’ *Republican Automats* (1920) and Schlichter’s *Studio Roof* (1920).³ This return to traditional artistic media and the application of illusionist perspective was accompanied by a demand for “materialism in painting” voiced in Hausmann’s text of September 1920, “Die Gesetze der Malerei” [The Laws of Painting]. Signed ostensibly also by Grosz, Schlichter, and Heartfield, this manifesto presented a monist interpretation of the elements of art, apparently as an alternative to Dadaism. Attempting to propose a purely visual medium (presumed to be “collective”) as linked to purely physical (and consequently universally shared) laws, Hausmann renewed his commitment to a new “optics”:

Painting is the visualization of material space through the relations of bodies. The concepts of bodies were discovered through the rules of stereometry and perspective, which made possible for the first time a clear conception of vision and the optical milieu.⁴

Perspective, “the reins and rudder of painting,” had been lost during the individualist approach of the High Renaissance and was now being regained in Carrà and De Chirico. With this return, Hausmann believed, vision could be understood in its true existence, “based in matter itself.”⁵

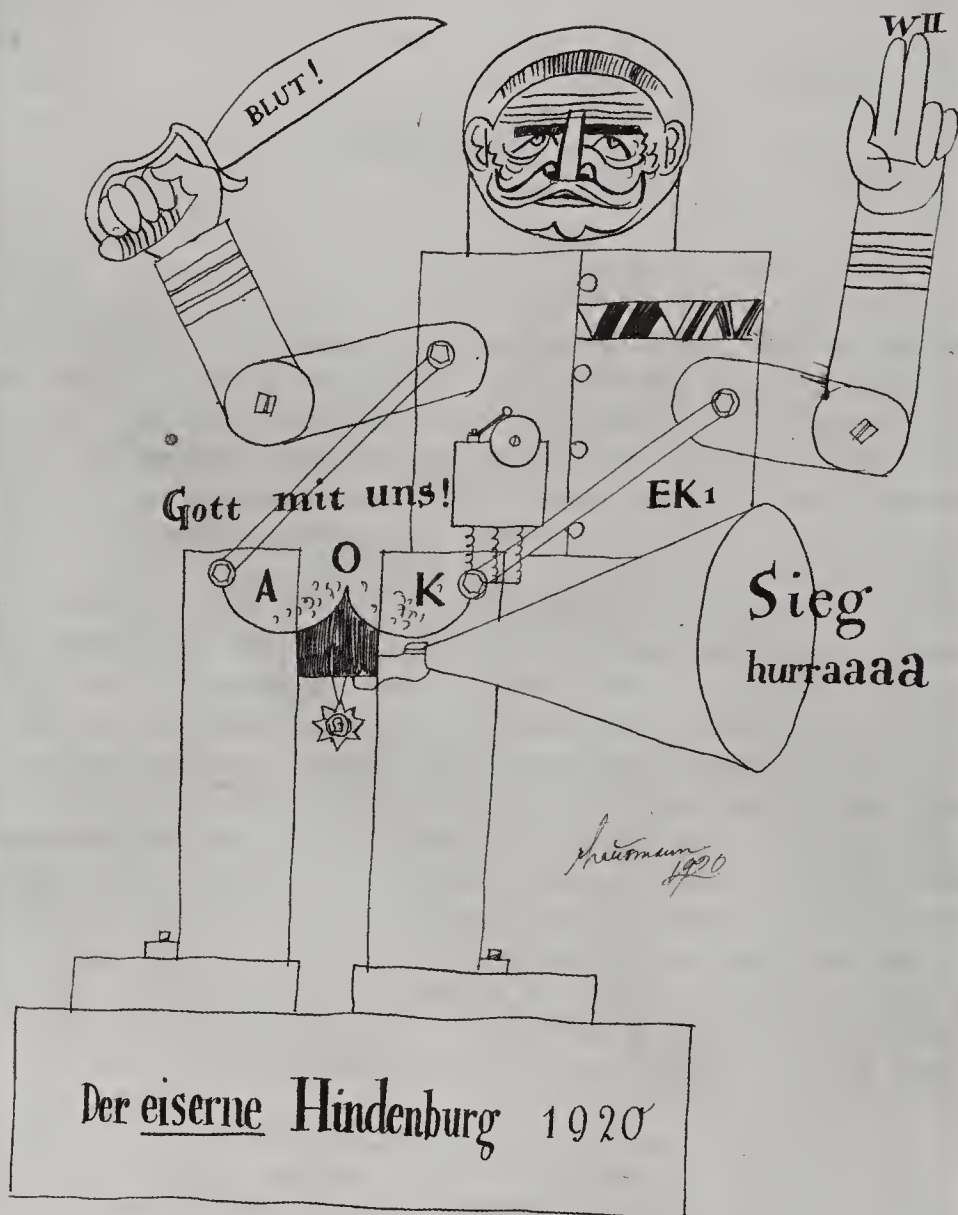


Figure 86. Raoul Hausmann, *Der eiserne Hindenburg*, 1920
 Ink on paper, 15 3/4 × 10 1/2 inches.
 (Musée National d'Art Moderne, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris. Photo: Musée
 National d'Art Moderne, Paris)

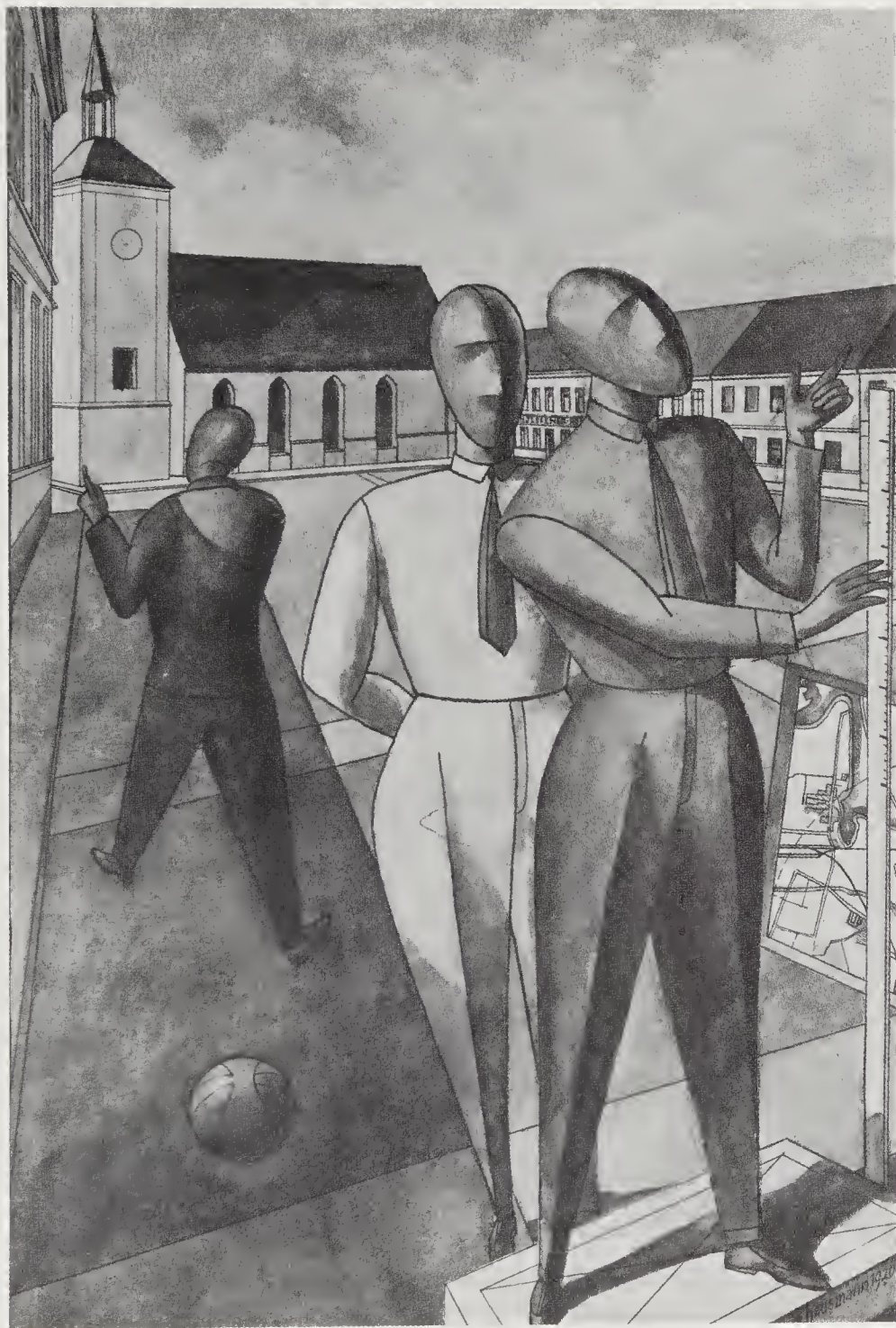


Figure 87. Raoul Hausmann, *Les Ingénieurs*, 1920
Watercolor on paper, 13 3/4 × 9 1/4 inches.
(Arturo Schwarz Collection, Milan)



Figure 88. Raoul Hausmann, *Kutschenbaum dichtet*, 1920
Watercolor and ink on paper, 16 3/4 × 12 1/2 inches.
(Musée d'Art et d'Industrie, St. Etienne)

Unlike "Die neue Kunst," which treated perspective, manikins, and the "language" of art generally as satirical means for understanding reality, "Die Gesetz der Malerei" appears entirely serious, even absurdly academic, in its prescription of rules and precise designation of colors. Like Grosz during the period of his *The Diabolo Player* (1920) and *Republican Automats*,⁶ Hausmann's involvement with the enigmatic space of De Chirico was short-lived and intense. In *Kutschenbauch dichtet* (fig. 88), and in a portrait of Felixmüller (fig. 89),⁷ Hausmann presented the interior spatial conventions, stark shadows, and manikins of De Chirico. In *Kutschenbauch dichtet*, the poet Adolf Kutschenbauch, or possibly Hausmann himself,⁸ grinds out "Seelenautomobile" on his coffee grinder. *Les Ingénieurs* (fig. 87) presents the practical New Man in opposition to those who would be "artistes" and whose attitudes were derided in Hausmann's 1922 text, "Lob des Konventionellen" [In Praise of the Conventional]. Their "artistic fantasy" was "romantic, retrospective and ridiculous" in the face of "the fantasy of the technician, the constructor of machines... the scientific experimenter... the watchmaker, welder or locomotive engineer."⁹ In order "to divine and feel another life,"¹⁰ the New Man would need "a new language, unpolluted by the past," which would help man "seek and find an approximation of this new reality in the creative condition which we call art."¹¹

Hausmann's functionalist philosophy, his search for order in the material elements of art, and his continued hopes for a new Gemeinschaft were furthered in new associations with members of the incipient Constructivist movement. In 1921 he began publishing manifestos and articles in *De Stijl* which had been founded in 1917 by Van Doesburg whom Hausmann met in late 1920.¹² These included the first "Presentist" manifesto, entitled "Présentismus gegen den Puffkeismus der teutschen Seele" [Presentism against the Puffkeism (Philistinism) of the Teutonic Soul], and "Aufruf zur elementaren Kunst" [Call for Elementarist Art]. Also signed by Ivan Puni, Arp, and Moholy-Nagy, "Aufruf zur elementaren Kunst" has been considered an early expression of ideas associated with Functionalism in architecture.¹³ An exchange of post cards concerning last minute changes confirms Hausmann as a primary author, although the term "elementary art" was probably Van Doesburg's.¹⁴ While the statement is clearly a provisional one, the emphasis on an "expression of our own time" which "does not philosophize, because it is built up of its own elements alone" is consistent with Hausmann's pursuit of a "contact with matter."¹⁵ Both "Aufruf zur elementaren Kunst" and the "Presentist" manifesto argue against "beauty" and "plagiarism" (that is, tradition); but the extolling of universal "STYLE" for all "artists" in "Aufruf zur elementaren Kunst" is very likely Van Doesburg's terminology,¹⁶ for while the two manifestos are frequently similar, the "Presentist" manifesto extols fashion, the film, the engineer, and the

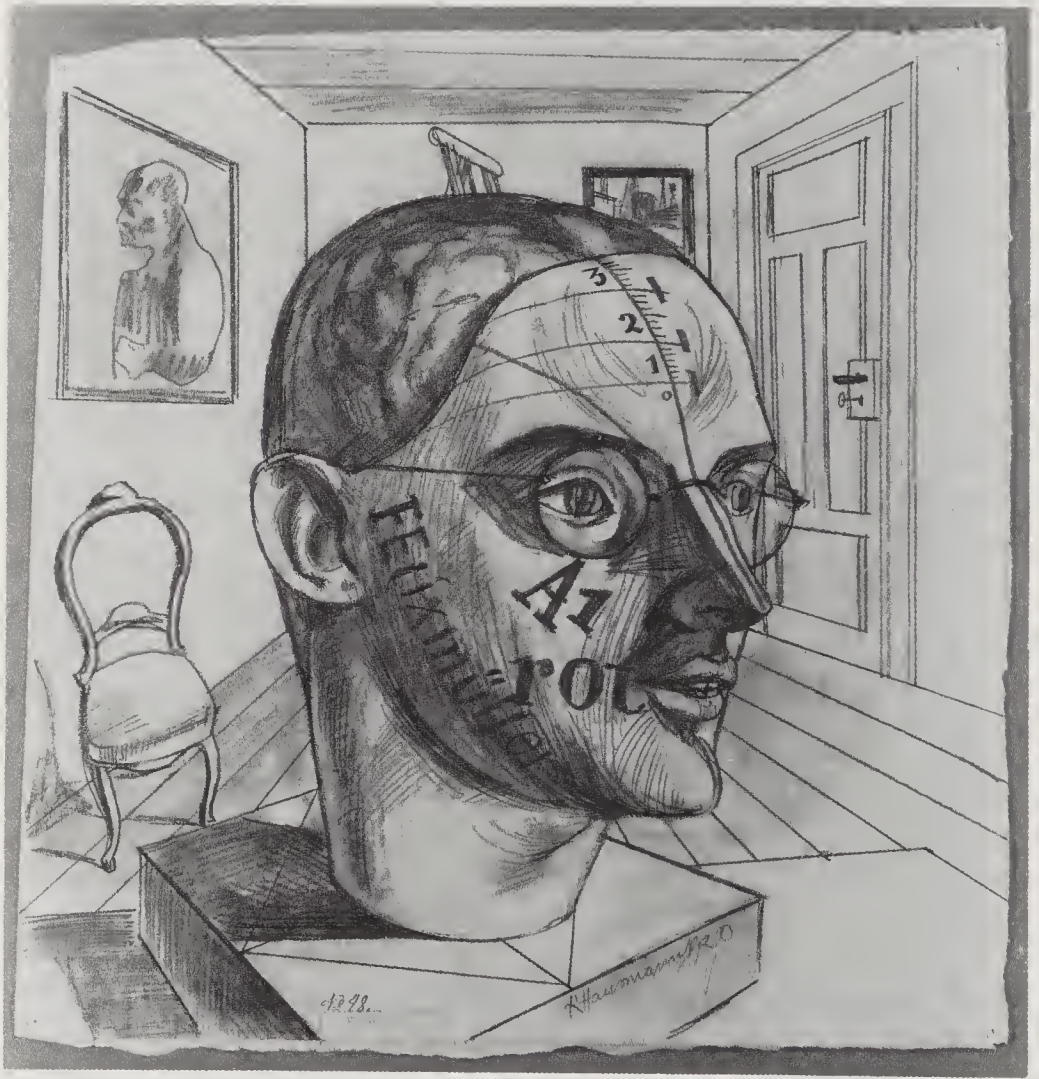


Figure 89. Raoul Hausmann, *Conrad Felixmüller*, 1920
Graphite on paper, 14 1/2 × 13 1/2 inches.
(Nationalgalerie, Staatliche Museen Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin [West].
Photo: Jörg P. Anders)

technician, whereas “Aufruf zur elementaren Kunst” emphasizes the “elements of art” which “can be discovered only by an artist” over “passing fashion.”

Die Menschen sind Engel und Leben im Himmel [Men are Angels and live in Heaven] (ca. 1921) has been attributed to Hausmann and may reflect his transition between the Dada past and his new Constructivist associations (fig. 90). The collage derives its title from the first line of Baader's monist treatise, the “Acht Weltsätze,” which is included in a line of German *faktur*. The “N” and “B” are clipped from a new logo Van Doesburg had designed for his *De Stijl* activities during 1920.¹⁷ The “material” in Hausmann's monist formulations was becoming the human body as the facilitator of sensation, and the X-ray image of a head may reflect Hausmann's interest in how “the central organ brain” attains a “time-space sense.”¹⁸ In his second “Presentist” manifesto, he credited this direction to the neo-Kantian philosopher Ernst Marcus, who blended physiology, psychology, physics, and philosophy in an effort to solve the “problem of sensation” in a “cosmic” dimension.¹⁹

Hausmann's celebration of fashion is seen in *Fiat Modes* (fig. 91) which finds him departing from the more severe approach to painting which his Dada associates Dix and Schlichter were then developing towards Neue Sachlichkeit. Incorporating the actual cover of Ernst's 1919 *Fiat Modes, pereat ars* (Let there be Fashion, down with art) as a foundation, he affixed a reproduction of his watercolor, *Kutschenbauch dichtet* (fig. 88). The image is overlaid with references to the ephemeral world of fashion, resulting in the impression that the New Man makes fashion while “eternal art is dead.”²⁰ A kind of pattern-poetry with an elegance and delicacy reminiscent of Höch's lace and pattern works of 1919–20 appears in rows of accidental random typography. On top of this is placed a dynamic array of legs and shoes, interspersed with sports scenes. Shoes also appear as an emblem of fashion in Hausmann's *The Art Critic* and *Dada Cino* (figs. 78 and 80), as well as in *Da Dandy* (fig. 92) and other works Höch made at the time, possibly in collaboration with Hausmann. As did Höch in her *Bürgerliches Brautpaar (Streit)* (ca. 1920), *Der Vater* [The Father] (ca. 1920), and *Schnitt mit dem Küchenmesser Dada*, Hausmann associated fashion and sports with the communal public and active life.²¹ To Hausmann, fashion reflected a “Körperbewußtsein” [awareness of the body] as a moving and functioning part of the modern world.²² In his article, “Mode” (1924), he emphasized the practical value of modern British and American clothing over what he saw as tradition-bound and impractical German clothing. The article included photographs of Hausmann in stylish clothing which were “constructively fitted to the human body.” Such practical clothing is found also in *Les Ingénieurs*, *Dada siegt*, and *Dada Cino* (figs. 77, 80, and 87).



Figure 90. Raoul Hausmann, *Die Menschen sind Engel und leben im Himmel*, ca. 1921
Collage of photographs and typography, 12 1/4 × 8 1/2 inches.
(Berlinische Galerie, Berlin)

FIAT MODES

pereat ars



Figure 91. Raoul Hausmann, *Fiat Modes*, ca. 1920
Fragments of photographs and typography on
reproduction of *Kutschenbauch dichtet* on cover from
Max Ernst's portfolio, *Fiat Modes, pereat ars*.
(Location unknown)



Figure 92. Hannah Höch, *Da Dandy*, ca. 1920
Collage of photographs, 12 × 9 inches.
(Private Collection)

Fashion is also a vernacular product of the standardization of culture. Consequently, as avant-garde theorist Renato Poggioli has remarked, the avant-garde and fashion are inextricably linked as modern phenomena: "Fashion... an important factor in what we might call the sociology of taste... appears simultaneously as the great justifier, modifier, and denier of avant-garde art."²³ But unlike the producer of fashion Poggioli has in mind, Hausmann did not put "rarity or novelty into general and universal use" to pass "on to another rarity or novelty when the first has ceased to be such."²⁴ Instead, he accepted fashion precisely because it responds to novelty and tradition by making of them cultural currency. Hausmann used fashion as a strategy against the values and taste of both the avant-garde and the bourgeoisie throughout the early twenties. In his "Lob des Konventionellen," for example, he prefers the barbershop, the tailor's dummy, and pictures from the fashion journal to Caligari, the Golem, and the "Venus di Milo in plaster." The vernacular culture was a source of materials which had been generated impersonally and mechanically as arbitrary forms which were as vital in their functions as the standardized abstract symbols of the alphabet. Thus Hausmann declared in his "Presentist" manifesto of 1921:

Naive anthropomorphism has played out its role. The beauty of our daily life is defined by the manikins, the wig-making skills of the hairdressers, the exactness of a technical construction! We strive anew towards conformity with the mechanical work process: we will have to get used to the idea of seeing art originating in the factories.²⁵

Hausmann shunned the alienation of the detached dandy and the Impressionist *flâneur* who wished to treat culture with a "disinterested attention" and sought instead to accept culture at its most functional, to conduct an exchange with it on its own terms. Fashion and style were "givens" of the sort Friedländer viewed as impersonal signs, entirely anonymous and fundamentally shared. Thus while carrying values of elegance, simplicity, and economy which appealed to Hausmann's visual sense, fashion satisfied the increasing emphasis on the functional and conventional in his philosophy.²⁶ Seeking "the higher unity of universal functionality,"²⁷ he distinguished the conventional from the traditional, allowing conventions to operate purely in their practical functions. In his new community, all would share "splendid," "conventional things."²⁸

Hausmann's Presentist works were often artifactual and diagrammatic portraits of consciousness. Using photographs, typography, and other cultural artifacts, he presented a provisional schematization of a momentary psychological state of perception in his last photomontage, *ABCD* (fig. 93). Included in the references surrounding the photograph of Hausmann's face are a Czech banknote evoking the 1921 Prague *tourn  e*, where Hausmann and Schwitters collaborated to produce the first "Anti-Dada-Merz" performance,



Figure 93. Raoul Hausmann, *ABCD*, ca. 1923

Fragments of photographs, typography, currency, tickets, maps and ink on paper,
16 × 11 1/4 inches.

(Musée National d'Art Moderne, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris. Photo: Musée
National d'Art Moderne, Paris)

and an announcement designed by El Lissitzky for a Merz *soirée* of September 1923 in Hanover where Hausmann recited his "Seelenmargarine" [Soul-Margarine] poetry. The numbered tickets for the Kaiser Jubilee were also used by Schwitters in his more static collage of 1922, *Mz439 (Fürs Fenster)*.²⁹ Interspersed with these fragments are bits of typography, including some from a poster poem, and parts of a galactic photograph, a possible reference to Baader's *Cabaret blaue Milchstrasse*. This exploding array of fragments has been described as a "semantic proliferation of the present."³⁰

The more abstract schematization of culture in *D2818* (fig. 94) is almost certainly indebted to such works as Picabia's *Tamis du vent* (shown at the Dada-Messe exhibition) and his other drawings in *Dada 3*, as well as to Ernst's frontispiece drawing in *Die Schammade*.³¹ Hausmann's drawing avoids Picabia's erotic humor, concentrating instead on the pseudoscience of "optophonetics." Articulated in an essay of 1922, "optophonetics" was an attempt to give "a united form to the vibrations of sound and light."³²

Hausmann's desire to explore the natural phenomena of light and sound more directly was a logical consequence of what he perceived as the limitations of his Dada art. The Dadaist "plane for the appearance of conflicts"³³—the phonetic poetry, assemblages, and *Klebebilder*—had remained tied to an underlying armature structure for which the order implied was essentially arbitrary. The organic qualities present were intended only analogously. In his notes, discussing "gestures and forms" as "carriers of spiritual dynamos," Hausmann clarified his reservations, noting that these forms entailed an "illusion" [Täuschung]:

Because, while the seeing-creating, by welding together the lines, forms, colors . . . builds out of these dynamos an idol, an organic expression full of the most mysterious relationships, full of flows and counterflows. . . [T]he observer believes in [it] . . . only insofar as . . . he can recall having caught a glance of something analogous or only similar to this image in the world-reality surrounding him.³⁴

With the dissolution of Dada, the context for Hausmann's satirical social idiom had largely vanished and this limitation of art as being essentially a diagram of reality was more apparent.

Hausmann's reservations about Constructivism were also based on "the expansion and conquest of all our senses" which he demanded in the second "Presentist" manifesto of 1923, signed also by Viking Eggeling.³⁵ The manifesto was in partial response to the "International Constructivists" and extolled "physics and physiology" as the best available means for the "broadening of all human functions" to attain the "time-space-sense."³⁶ Like Thomas Wilfred, whose color experiments he mentioned in the "Presentist" manifesto, and Moholy-Nagy, a friend throughout the twenties, Hausmann constructed an experimental machine to explore the effects of light.³⁷ His

photoelectric "optophone" device was intended to explore the relationships between light and sound waves (fig. 95). By the mid-twenties, his interest in light had led him away from traditional artistic media altogether in favor of photography.

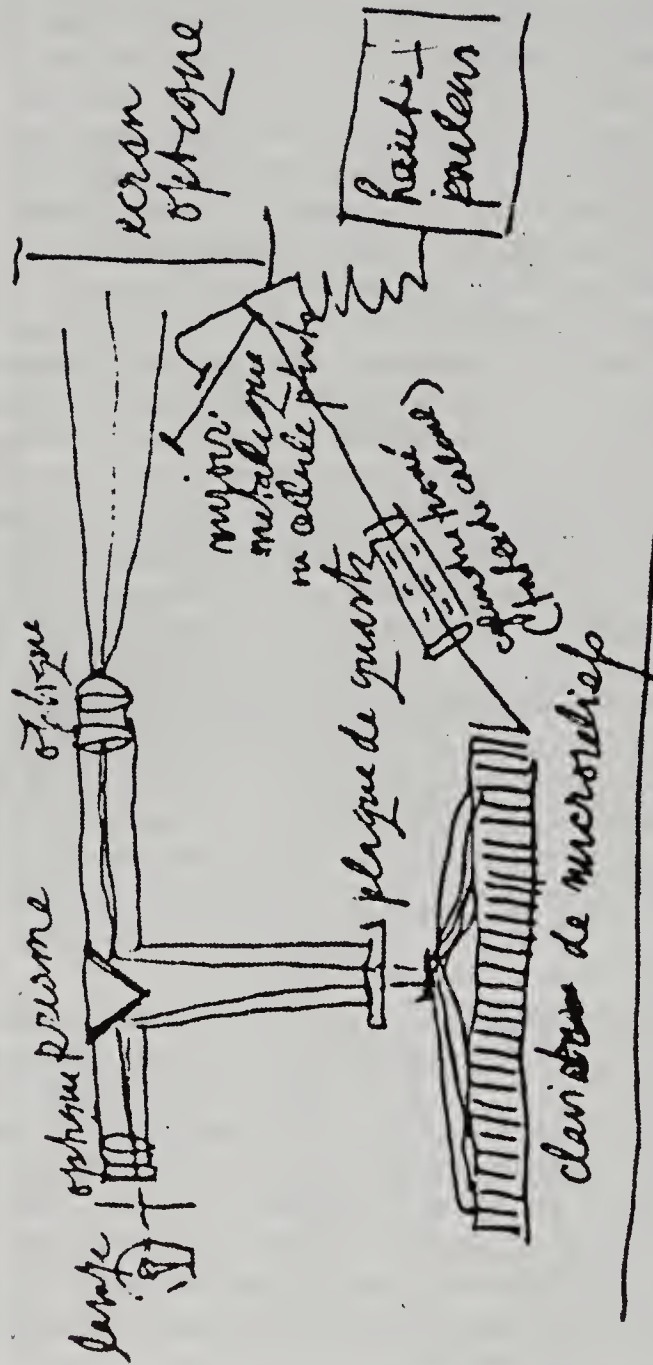
After Dada, Hausmann's motivations remained much what they had been prior to the movement. His desire for mankind to transcend the "lever mechanics" of the material world and human consciousness in an acausal realm of "organic thought" shared with Einstein's "Sehen" and Friedländer's "Presentism" the pursuit of an organic form which coincided with concrete experience.³⁸ This totality had momentarily seemed available during Dadaism in shared linguistic forms. During the upheaval in accepted traditional meanings brought on by the war and political turmoil, the avant-garde community and its ideology of transformation and revolution had been especially affected. Linguistic forms seemed suddenly to have the situational or multi-meaning capacity of pure material and thus resembled the autonomous forms and sounds of the "enormous uproar" of reality.

The Berlin Dadaists borrowed their artistic resources from the major modernist movements, Cubism, Futurism, and Expressionism, which they were reacting against. Grosz and Heartfield transformed the Cubist *papier collé* through Futurist dynamism and the use of new materials including photography. Hausmann and Höch exploited the same technique with compositional strategies closer to Expressionism and Zurich Dada. Huelsenbeck's advocacy of simultaneity, bruitism, and new materials derived in Futurism was particularly effective in the Dada performance and provided much of the inspiration for the Dada *Klebebilder* and *Plastiken*. By bringing these influences together, the Berlin Dadaists produced what Werner Haftmann called "a unified expression of experiences and emotions that were wholly of the present . . . Dada finally cut the umbilical cord that bound us to history. . . . Dada was, in a true sense, Nothing. Dada was, so to speak, pure connective tissue, an elusive, gelatinous substance."³⁹

The historical significance of Berlin Dada is not simply that it rejected Cubism, Expressionism, and Futurism and established the *tabula rasa* and some of the strategies which would be developed into Constructivism. As Hausmann proclaimed in his "Pamphlet gegen die Weimarische Lebensauffassung" [Pamphlet against the Weimar View of Life], "the Dadaist is against humanism, against historical refinement!"⁴⁰ While rejecting the historical myth they held accountable for the disastrous social and political events of the war era, the Dadaists also posed themselves against modernism and against its social institution, the avant-garde "movement" which they identified and rejected as the generic "ism."

Hausmann's quasi-mystical monism, his belief that the instability around him was in the divine state of indeterminacy Nicolas of Cusa called

Figure 95. Raoul Hausmann, Schema de l'Optophone (simplifié)
 Drawing.
 (Location unknown)



Schema de l'OPTOPHONE (simplifié)

Raoul Hausmann

coincidentia oppositorum, made his new automatist art forms as well as his strategies of satire and the pursuit of the concrete possible. But the significance of his contribution goes beyond conveying the essence of a secularized mysticism to a developing and rebuilding of the myth of the purpose of art and the setting in which art attains its meaning. His crucial strategies and shrewd promotion of materialism, not as a philosophy, but as a means of concretizing contradiction, helped to make Dadaism something other than a development in the history of style or a manifestation of a particular set of beliefs. Berlin Dada became a concrete situation which determined the meaning of the art object in a way which, if only briefly, was beyond the control of established social institutions, including those of the avant-garde.

Notes

The abbreviations to archival sources used in the notes and bibliography are as follows: "Artist's Estate" for Raoul Hausmann Estate, Collection of Marthe Prévot, Limoges; "Höch Estate" for Hannah Höch Corpus, Berlinische Galerie, Berlin; and "Schwitters Archive" for Kurt Schwitters-Archiv, Stadtbüchereien, Hanover.

Introduction

1. References to the Berlin Dadaists as political radicals are legion in the secondary literature. They began with Georges Hugnet, "L'esprit Dada dans la peinture: Il Berlin (1918–1922)." *Cahiers d'Art* 7, 6–7 (1932): 281–85, trans. in Robert Motherwell, ed., *The Dada Painters and Poets: An Anthology* (second edition, Boston: G. K. Hall, 1981), pp. 141–53. See also Georges Hugnet, *L'aventure Dada (1916–1922)* (Paris: Galerie de l'Institut, 1957). Studies which treat Berlin Dada from the point of view of political theory include Reinhart Meyer, *Dada in Zürich und Berlin, 1916–1920: Literatur zwischen Revolution und Reaktion* (Kronberg: Scriptor Verlag, 1973) and Walter Fähnders and Martin Rector, *Linksradikalismus und Literatur: Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der sozialistischen Literatur in der Weimar Republik*, 2 vols. (Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1974). For useful discussions of the essential background of Dada in Germany, see Eckhard Philipp, *Dadaismus: Einführung in den literarischen Dadaismus und die Wortkunst des 'Sturm'-Kreises* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1980) and Hans-Georg Kemper, *Vom Expressionismus zum Dadaismus: Eine Einführung in die dadaistische Literatur* (Kronberg/Taunus: Scriptor, 1974). Clear discussions of the philosophical distinctions between Dada and Expressionism include J. C. Middleton, "Dada versus Expressionism or the Red King's Dream," *German Life and Letters* 15, 1 (October 1961): 37–52, and Richard Sheppard, "Dada and Expressionism," *The Publications of the English Goethe Society* 49 (1979): 45–83.
2. Adolf Behne, "Werkstattbesuche: II. Jefim Golyscheff," *Der Cicerone* 11, 22 (1919): 723.
3. "Sie [die Kritik Golyscheffs] trifft die Leistung der Expressionisten erst von dem Moment an, wo die Expressionisten—'Expressionisten' werden... wo sie historisch werden, typisch, charakteristisch, endlich!" Behne, "Werkstattbesuche," p. 722.
4. In one of the first uses of the term, Worringer related "synthesists and expressionists" in France to primitive art. Wilhelm Worringer, "Zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der modernen Malerei," *Der Sturm* 2, 75 (August 1911): 597. Worringer's disenchantment was apparent in his "Kritische Gedanken zur neuen Kunst," *Genius* (1919): 221–36, a lecture given in March at the Kölnischen Kunstverein in which he identified the "Problematik des Expressionismus" (pp. 230ff).

5. Worringer's remarks were made in a lecture given on October 19, 1920, to the Deutsche Goethesellschaft in Munich and published as *Künstlerische Zeitfragen* (Munich: Hugo Bruckmann Verlag, 1921), see pp. 14 and 23.
6. Gustav Hartlaub, "Deutscher Expressionismus," *Frankfurter Zeitung* (July 15, 1920), according to Fritz Schmalenbach in "The Term *Neue Sachlichkeit*," *Art Bulletin* 22, no. 3 (September 1940): 161–65, 163. On the end of Expressionism, see Iwan Goll, "Der Expressionismus stirbt," *Zenit*, 1 (Zagreb, 1921): 8–9, and Wilhelm Hausenstein, *Die Kunst in diesem Augenblick* (Munich: 1920).
7. See Stephen C. Foster, "Constructivist Recipes for Dada Breakfasts," *Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art Bulletin* 7, 7 (October 1982): 72–82.

Chapter 1

1. Walter H. Sokel, *The Writer in Extremis: Expressionism in Twentieth-Century German Literature* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1959), pp. 227 and passim.
2. Karin Füllner, *Richard Huelsenbeck: Texte und Aktionen eines Dadaisten* (Heidelberg, Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1983), pp. 41ff.
3. The "Club Dada" proclaimed itself as early as January 27, 1918, when, in a spoof announcement in the *Vossische Zeitung*, it named Ferdinand Hardekopf, Theodor Däubler, Max Herrmann-Neisse, and Anselm Ruest as members. Richard Sheppard, ed., *New Studies in Dada: Essays and Documents* (Driffield: Hutton Press, 1981), p. 171.
4. "Baader, den ich seit 1905 kannte, war der Mann, der für Dada nötig war, weil es nichts gab, das ihn abgehalten hätte, eine Sache durchzuführen, wenn sie einmal in seinem Kopf Platz gefunden hatte." Raoul Hausmann, "Johannes Baader war Dada," *Manuskripte* 7, 3 (October 1967–February 1968): 21.
5. Hausmann, "Von deutscher Grabmalkunst," manuscript, March 29, 1911, Höch Estate. For the importance of Baader's participation in current trends in cemetery art, see Hanne Bergius, "Zur phantastischen Politik der Anti-Politik Johannes Baaders oder Die unbefleckte Empfängnis der Welt" in Johannes Baader, *Johannes Baader Oberdada: Schriften, Manifeste, Flugblätter, Billeets, Werke und Taten*, edited by Hanne Bergius, Nobert Miller, and Karl Riha (Gießen: Anabas-Verlag, 1977), pp. 181–91.
6. See Baader, *Oberdada*, p. 14, no. 9, for Baader's sketch and pp. 9–17 for his statement of 1906, "Architekt Johannes Baader."
7. See Richard Sheppard, "Dada and Mysticism: Influences and Affinities" in *Dada Spectrum: The Dialectics of Revolt*, edited by Stephen Foster and Rudolf Kuenzli (Madison, Coda Press, 1979), p. 101, and Bergius, "Zur phantastischen Politik" in Baader, *Oberdada*, p. 182.
8. "Leben ist der ewige Zustand des Seeleninhalts." Johannes Baader, *Vierzehn Briefe Christi* (Berlin: Verlag der Tagebücher, 1914), pp. 5 and 20.
9. Ernst Haeckel, *The Riddle of the Universe at the Close of the Nineteenth Century*, trans. Joseph McCabe (London: Harper & Row, 1900), pp. 20, 21, and 180. Originally published as *Die Welträtsel* (1899).

10. [Antonio] Aliotta, *The Idealistic Reaction against Science*, trans. Agnes McCaskill (London: Macmillan and Co., 1914), p. 28. Aliotta distinguishes the earlier monists as those who retain the *Ding an sich* as "metaphysical."
11. Renato Poggioli, *The Theory of the Avant-Garde*, trans. Gerald Fitzgerald (New York: Harper and Row, Icon Editions, 1968), p. 139.
12. Haeckel, *Riddle*, pp. 12–13 and 88–89.
13. Letter from Hausmann to Baader dated September 12, 1918, Höch Estate.
14. The second edition was retitled *Die Analyse der Empfindungen und das Verhältnis des Psychischen zum Physischen* (Jena, 1900).
15. "Bruitismus ist das Leben selbst...eine Art Rückkehr zur Natur." Hans Arp, Richard Huelsenbeck, Tristan Tzara, *Die Geburt des Dada: Dichtung und Chronik der Gründer*, ed. Peter Schifferli (Zurich: Verlag der Arche, 1957), pp. 164f., quoted in Kemper, *Expressionismus zum Dadaismus*, p. 122, where this point is also made.
16. This dating suggested in Sheppard, "Dada and Expressionism," p. 47.
17. See John Richardson, *Modern Art and Scientific Thought* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1971), pp. 61–62.
18. William M. Johnston, *The Austrian Mind: An Intellectual and Social History, 1848–1938* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972), pp. 181–86.
19. "Der Mythos der alten Erde spielt in dieser lebendigen Gegenwart hinüber in das von ihm vorausgesehene, verheissene und vorbereitete Gedicht der neuen Erde." Announcement for "Erde 1915 Eine Zeitschrift," Höch Estate. Cf. Baader *Vierzehn Briefe Christi*, p. 35.
20. Hausmann's relationship is recounted in his correspondence with Doris Hahn in the Schwitters Archive. See also his letter to Höch of August 31, 1915, in Götz Adriani, *Hannah Höch: Fotomontagen, Gemälde, Aquarelle* (Cologne: DuMont, 1980), pp. 9–10. For Friedländer's bibliography see *Salomo Friedländer/Mynona 1871–1946* (ex. cat., Berlin: Akademie der Künste, 1972), pp. 74ff.
21. Roy F. Allen, *Literary Life in German Expressionism and the Berlin Circles* (Göppingen: Alfred Kümmerle, 1974), p. 209.
22. Salomo Friedländer, *Versuch einer Kritik der Stellung Schopenhauer's zu den erkenntnistheoretischen Grundlagen der "Kritik der reinen Vernunft"* (diss., Berlin: Schmitz and Bukofzer, 1902), *Friedrich Nietzsche: Eine intellektuale Biographie* (Leipzig: Göschen, 1911), *Logik (Die Lehre vom Denken)* (Berlin: Hilliger, 1907), and *Psychologie (Die Lehre von der Seele)* (Berlin: Hilliger, 1907).
23. The theory was codified in Salomo Friedländer, *Schöpferische Indifferenz* (Munich: Müller, 1918). The book was begun in 1912, according to Eberhard Roters, "Big-City Expressionism: Berlin and German Expressionism" in *Expressionism—A German Intuition: 1905–1920* (ex. cat., New York: Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, 1980), p. 245.
24. Some of this correspondence beginning in 1900 is in the Sammlung Salomo Friedländer/Mynona in the Akademie der Künste, Berlin.
25. Joseph Strelka, "Mynona" in Wolfgang Rothe, ed., *Expressionismus als Literatur: Gesammelte Studien* (Bern and Munich: Franke Verlag, 1969), p. 628.

26. Salomo Friedländer, "Wink zur Abschaffung des Menschen," *Die Aktion* 4, 40–41 (October 10, 1914), cols. 799–803, rpt. in Paul Raabe, ed., *Ich schneide die Zeit aus: Expressionismus und Politik in Franz Pfemferts "Aktion" 1911–1918* (Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1964), pp. 169–99. Sheppard suggests that Hausmann recommended the text to Baader in Richard Sheppard, ed., "Raoul Hausmann's Annotations of *Die Aktion*: Marginal Notes on Some Contributory Sources to Dada in Berlin," *German Life and Letters*, n.s., 37, 1 (October 1983): 24 and 34.
27. Bergson's argument concerning language as a "veil" between man and reality was presented, for example, in "Über Kunst," *Die Aktion* 5, 49–50 (December 4, 1915), cols. 609–13.
28. "Ich bin kein Mensch, ich bin Niemand und Jedermann, Indifferentist. Wenn Menschen mich verstehen wollen, müssen sie sterben, vernichtet sein wie ich, indifferenziert. . . . Ich bin die Indifferenz, der Mensch ist mein Spielzeug, die Zeit ist das Triebrad meiner Ewigkeit, meiner ewigen Gegenwart. Ich bin präsent. . . . Ich bin das lebendige Nichts. . . . Ich habe alle Gegensätze in mir annulliert. . . . [Mein inneres Nichts ist die Synthese der Welt]. . . . Ich bin keine Vernunft, aber deshalb alle: weil ich das indifferente Zentrum aller Vernunft bin, das neutrum aller Logik, die logische Null! . . . Ich bin." Salomo Friedländer, "Präsensismus: Rede des Erdkaisers an die Menschen," *Der Sturm* 3, 144–45 (January 1913): 1–2.
29. "Person, Herr Stirner, war das Allerverborgenste. Auch Sie, mein Kasperle, haben die Nebel scheinbarer Subjektivität noch nicht von sich weggeblasen. . . . Aber 'jetzt ist's Zeit zu lärmen!' Der Egoismus hat erst jetzt seine allererste und letzte Konzentration erreicht." Salomo Friedländer, "Absolutismus," *Der Sturm* 4, 194–95 (January 1914): 162.
30. "Wo ist die Quadratur des Zirkels? . . . Wo Magie? Wo Utopien? Wo das Absolutum? Wo das Perpetuum mobile, die Station unerschöpflicher Kraft? Im Herrn über alles wo, wann und wozu: in der universalen Welt-Person, nicht draußen." Friedländer, "Absolutismus."
31. A brief discussion of the affinities of Baader and Friedländer with Stirner's views is given in Hanne Bergius, "Baader, la fantasia politica dell'antipolitica dell'Oberdada," *Alfa-beta*, nos. 5–6 (January–March 1976): 39.
32. "Aus der Sphäre der innersten, höchsten Realität fließt alles 'Wirken' in die Realität der 'Welt' als einer Fiktion. Die Auswirkung in der Welt-Menschlichkeit; Zeit-Welt überhaupt gehorcht der Stimme des Giestes, der wahren Realität, die 'Sinn', 'Bedeutung', 'Wert', ausstrahlt und zurückstrahlt, erkennen läßt durch das Spiel 'sinnloser' Organe 'Zufall', die unerschütterte Richtquelle, ewige Schöpfer-Person, Geist-Gott." Hausmann, "Notiz," cols. 421–22, rpt. in Raoul Hausmann, *Texte bis 1933*, edited by Michael Erlhoff, 2 vols. (Munich: Text und Kritik, 1982), 1: 12. Whenever possible I will cite Hausmann's writings as reprinted in this source.
33. "...die persönliche Balance des Ganzen, der lebendige Spielpunkt, den es nur im Individuum, in der total indifferenzierten Person findet." Salomo Friedländer, "Das Individuum und die soziale Frage," *Die Aktion* 3, 51 (December 20, 1913), col. 1186.
34. "Nur die Realität der Geist-Sphäre ist wirklich. Die Realität der 'Welt' ist Schein. Die Balance der Geistsphäre, das innerste Ich, Gott-Person, darf darum nicht zur Täuschung führen: die Mensch-Person sei mit ihr identisch—erkannt muß werden ihr ungeheurer Gegensatz, ihr Zusammenhang als Durchdringung der Welt mit Geist." Hausmann, "Notiz," col. 421, rpt. in Hausmann, *Texte* 1: 12.
35. "Der innere Mensch, das aus dem Urgrund der Wesen geborene [*sic*] Ethos-Idee. . . . aus seiner graduell verschiedenen Stärke und Bewusstwerdung entsteht alles." Hausmann, "Der

- innere Mensch," typescript, December 10, 1917, Höch Estate. Much of this text was later published under the pseudonym Panarchos as "Zu Kommunismus und Anarchie," *Der Einzige*, no. 2 (January 26, 1919): 5-7; cf. p. 5, rpt. in Hausmann, *Texte* 1: 27.
36. "... die höchste Form des Da-Seins: Gemeinschaft." Hausmann, "Der innere Mensch."
 37. "Denn Indifferenz ist das Neutralste von allem, sie gewährleistet, statt aller Polemik, die dauerhafteste Irenik." Friedländer, "Das Individuum," col. 1185.
 38. "Die Automatisierung des Menschen durch Spontanisierung der neutralen Person ist im Gang." Friedländer, "Wink" in Raabe, ed., *Ich Schneide die Zeit aus*, p. 198.
 39. See, for example, *La Danse* (1909), illus. in Alfred H. Barr, Jr., *Matisse: His Art and His Public* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1951, 1974), p. 362.
 40. So concerned was Heckel with this element of spontaneity in nature that he constructed a special frame for his paper which he could wear, thus leaving his arm unencumbered and capable of making broad linear gestures; see Heinz Köhn, *Erich Heckel: Aquarelle und Zeichnungen* (Munich: Verlag F. Bruckmann, 1959), p. 26.
 41. *Das neue Pathos*, no. 3-4 (August 1913): 51. Hausmann's friendship with Meidner may have begun as early as 1912 when Heckel and Meidner met. Meidner sketched a portrait of Hausmann which is signed and dated 1913, illus. in Thomas Grochowiak, *Ludwig Meidner* (Recklinghausen: Verlag Aurel Bongers, 1966), no. 94.
 42. Letter from Hausmann to Höch dated August 24, 1915, Höch Estate. Excerpts are reprinted in Adriani, *Höch*, p. 9.
 43. Robert Goldwater, *Primitivism in Modern Art* (New York: Random House, revised edition, 1967), p. 116.
 44. Letter from Hausmann to Höch, July 24, 1915, Höch Estate.
 45. Illus. in *Erich Heckel: Paintings, Watercolors, Drawings, Graphics* (ex. cat., Ottawa: The National Gallery of Canada, 1971), no. 8. According to Roters, "Big City Expressionism," p. 240, Heckel arrived in Berlin some time after Kirchner who arrived in October 1911.
 46. The painting is also known as *Two Men at a Table*. For illus., see *Erich Heckel, 1882-1970: Gemälde, Aquarelle, Zeichnungen und Graphik* (ex. cat., Essen, Museum Folkwang, published in Munich by Prestel-Verlag, 1983), p. 109. The woodcut, dated 1912, is illus. in John Willett, *Expressionism* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1970), p. 84.
 47. Samuel Myers, *The German Expressionists: A Generation in Revolt* (New York: Praeger, 1966), pp. 147-48.
 48. Illus. in Museum Folkwang, *Heckel*, p. 120.
 49. See Erich Heckel's oil, *Still Life with Mask* (1912), illus. in "Primitivism" in *20th Century Art: Affinity of the Tribal and the Modern*, ed. William Rubin, 2 vols. (ex. cat., New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1984), 2: 388.
 50. Carl Einstein, *Negerplastik* (Leipzig: Verlag der Weissen Bücher, 1915). Hausmann's personal copy is listed in Hans Bolliger, *Dokumentation: Kunst und Literature des 20. Jahrhunderts*. Catalog 7 (Zurich: Hans Bolliger Bücher und Graphik, 1980), p. 5, no. 16.
 51. "... daß Erkennen nicht ein kritisches Verhalten ausmache, vielmehr ein Schaffen von geordneten Inhalten... Indem wir das Erkennen als Schaffen konkreter Organismen definieren." Carl Einstein, "Totalität," 4 (1914), col. 346, rpt. in Ernst Nef, ed., *Carl Einstein - Gesammelte Werke* (Wiesbaden: Limes, 1962), pp. 76-77.

52. Peter Selz, *German Expressionist Painting* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), p. 5.
53. "Der künstlerische Trieb ist ein Erkenntnistrieb, die künstlerische Tätigkeit eine Operation des Erkenntnisvermögens, das künstlerische Resultat ein Erkenntnisresultat." Conrad Fiedler, *Über die Beurteilung von Werken der bildenden Kunst* (1876), cited in Heidemarie Oehm, *Die Kunsttheorie Carl Einsteins* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1976), p. 36.
54. Selz, *Painting*, p. 5.
55. Carl Einstein, "Absolute Kunst und absolute Politik" (1921), *Alternative* 13, 75 (December 1970): 257. See also Oehm, *Kunsttheorie*, p. 14.
56. "Theoretisch am nächsten steht mir vielleicht Mach." Letter from Einstein to Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler, April 1923, published in Sibylle Penkert, *Carl Einstein: Beiträge zu einer Monographie* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1969), p. 143. "In der sinnlichen Sphäre meines Bewußtseins ist jedes Objekt zugleich physisch und psychisch." Ernst Mach, *Die Analyse der Empfindungen* (Jena, 1900), p. 36, quoted in Oehm, *Kunsttheorie*, p. 12.
57. Henri Bergson, *Creative Evolution*, trans. Arthur Mitchell (New York: Modern Library, 1944), p. 326.
58. "Die zeitliche Anschauung stellt immer eine neue Konstellation dar." Einstein, "Totalität," in Nef, ed., *Gesammelte Werke*, p. 80.
59. "Statt gläubig adorierter Gesetze, . . . stellt man ihm Halluzination des puren Aktes hin, der zum Gegenstand gemacht wird." Einstein, "Absolute Kunst," pp. 256–57.
60. "Unter *Halluzination* verstehe ich ein zwanghaftes Stauen, das eine Vernichtung der stabilen Ichsfäre und damit dessen Realität einschließt." Quoted in Oehm, *Kunsttheorie*, p. 20.
61. Henri Bergson, "L'Idée de néant," *Revue Philosophique de la France et de l'Etranger* 62 (1906): 452.
62. "Die Totalität ermöglicht die konkrete Anschauung, und durch sie wird jeder konkrete Gegenstand transzendent." Einstein, "Totalität," rpt. in Nef, ed., *Gesammelte Werke*, p. 77.
63. Einstein, *Negerplastik*. Page numbers will be given in the text in parentheses.
64. Hartmut Rosshoff, "Der Kunstkritiker Einstein: Bemerkungen zu einem Selbstverständnis," *Alternative* 13, 75 (December 1970): 248.
65. "Der Begriff 'Kunst' als ästhetischer Begriff existierte in diesen Zeiten noch gar nicht; die Darstellung im Bildwerk war ein Akt religiöser Konzentration, das Sichtbarmachen eines ewigen Sinnes." Hausmann, "Die neue Kunst," col. 281, rpt. in Hausmann, *Texte* 1: 179.
66. Delia Güssefeld, "Hannah Höch: Freunde und Briefpartner, 1915–1935," unpub. master's thesis (Berlin: Freien Universität, 1984), pp. 8–9.
67. E.g., Höch's collage *Nitte unterm Baum* (1907), illus. in Adriani, *Höch*, p. 17, no. 1.
68. Illus. in *Hans Richter: Dadaismo e Astazione (1909–1923)* (ex. cat., Milan: Galleria Schwarz, 1965), no. 16.

69. "Es gibt nur eines: Das Ausland. Die Schweiz. Paris. Italien. Russland." Letter to Käthe Brodnitz, April 9, 1915, in Richard W. Sheppard, ed., "Hugo Ball an Käthe Brodnitz. Bisher unveröffentlichte Briefe und Kurzmitteilungen aus den 'Dada'-Jahren," in *Jahrbuch der Deutschen Schillergesellschaft* 16 (1972): 41f.
70. "Von Heckels Boden habe ich gestern ein paar Hefte von einer tschechischen Zeitschrift, Uměličký měsíčník, mitgebracht . . . die mich sehr erregten; es sind fabelhafte Sachen drin, Negerplastik, Rousseau, Pablo Picasso, böhmisches Kunstgewerbe . . . welch geistiges Leben in Prag vorhanden ist. . . . Eine Reproduktion nach Picasso fand ich so herrlich . . . Ein Frauenkopf von 'Urweltfrühe.'" Letter from Hausmann to Höch, July 25, 1915, Höch Estate.
71. Several of Picasso's primitive heads were being exhibited in Germany during the early teens. See Selz, *Painting*, plate 75, for an example which was shown in the Neue Künstlervereinigung München show of 1911.
72. Hausmann, "Die Kunst und die Zeit," rpt. in Hausmann, *Texte* 2: 7–11. Hausmann uses the complex term "Erkenntniskritik" which implies cognition and knowledge as well as perception.
73. Edouard Roditi, "Interview with Hannah Höch." *Arts* 34, 3 (December 1959): 24.
74. Two of the Herbstsalon works are illus. in *Otto en Adya van Rees: Leven en Werk tot 1934* (ex. cat.: Utrecht, Centraal Museum, 1975), pp. 74 and 90.
75. Roditi, "Interview," p. 24.
76. A valuable resource on this and other Russian influences is Hausmann's correspondence with Russian art historian Eberhard Steneberg in the Berlinische Galerie.
77. Léger's *Nude Model in the Studio* was reproduced in *Erster deutscher Herbstsalon* (Berlin: Der Sturm, 1913), no. 253.
78. Nos. 303 and 304 in the Herbstsalon catalog. "Procession," now lost, was illustrated in the catalog. "New York" cannot be identified but must be related to the series of studies reproduced on the cover of 291, no. 2 (New York: April 1915). For illus., see William Camfield, *Francis Picabia: His Art, Life, and Times* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), fig. 13.
79. Guillaume Apollinaire, *Chroniques d'art*, ed. L. C. Breunig (Paris: Gallimard, 1960), p. 302, trans. in Camfield, *Picabia*, pp. 37–38.
80. Trans. in Goldwater, *Primitivism*, p. 36.
81. Trans. in Goldwater, *Primitivism*, p. 36.
82. Huelsenbeck was probably referring to attitudes in the Zurich circle, but Archipenko also gained important early exposure in Berlin. Richard Huelsenbeck, *En avant dada: Die Geschichte des Dadaismus* (Hannover: Paul Steegemann Verlag, 1920), trans. in Motherwell, *Dada Painters*, p. 24.
83. *Alexander Archipenko*, forward by Guillaume Apollinaire (ex. cat., Berlin: Der Sturm, September 1913), trans. in *Apollinaire on Art: Essays and Reviews, 1902–1918*, ed. Leroy C. Breunig, trans. Susan Suleiman (New York: Viking, 1972), p. 360. Hausmann indicates in a letter to Steneberg dated June 20, 1970, that he did not meet Archipenko until 1920.
84. Guillaume Apollinaire, "Alexander Archipenko," *Der Sturm*, 4, 200–201 (March 1914): 194, trans. in Breunig, ed., *Apollinaire*, p. 365.

85. Illus. in Katherine Jánky Michaelson, *Archipenko: A Study of the Early Works, 1908–1920*, Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1975 (New York: Garland, 1977), no. D9.
86. Michaelson, *Archipenko*, no. D10.
87. Bolliger, *Dokumentation*, p. 7, no. 31.
88. "The Orchestra" (1915), illus. in Galleria Schwarz, *Richter*, no. 14, and "Violoncello" (1914), illus., no. 8; also illus. in *Hans Richter: 1888–1976* (ex. cat., Berlin: Akademie der Künste, 1982), p. 26, no. 36 and pp. 17–20.
89. Kemper, *Expressionismus zum Dadaismus*, p. 72.
90. Wassily Kandinsky, "Über die Formfrage" in *Der Blaue Reiter* (Munich: R. Piper, 1912), trans.: "On the Question of Form," in *The Blue Reiter Almanach*, ed. Klaus Lankheit (New York: Viking, 1974), p. 147. Kandinsky's emphasis.
91. "Der Vermenschlichungswille... Herr der Welt, der Dinge zu werden, liess die illusionistische Kunst entstehen. Dies alte Kunst ist Konstruktion, Zusammenfassung... um einen Mittelpunkt gelagert gewesen, die neue Kunst ist Decentralisation, die Aufteilung des Mittelpunktes, eine Auflösung." "Der Vermenschlichungswille" in "Neun kurze Beiträge aus den Dada-Jahren von Raoul Hausmann," ed. Richard Sheppard, *Sprache im technischen Zeitalter*, no. 58 (April-June 1976): 166.
92. Hausmann, "Neue Wahrheiten" in Sheppard, "Neun," p. 169, and Hausmann, *Texte 2*: 62.
93. Hausmann, "Die Kunst und die Zeit," rpt. in Hausmann, *Texte 2*: 8.
94. Friedländer, "Präsentismus."
95. According to Willett, Wieland Herzfelde was sent a copy of *Cabaret Voltaire* in 1916; see John Willett, *Art and Politics in the Weimar Period: The New Sobriety, 1917–1933* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978), p. 29.
96. "Delaunay faßte das Problem viel sensueller im Prinzip der Simultaneität, das schon die Futuristen angewandt hatten, indem sie das Bild aus Teilimpressionen aufbauten, ähnlich wie im Film." Hausmann, "Die Kunst und die Zeit," rpt. in Hausmann, *Texte 2*: 10.
97. Hausmann, "Die Kunst und die Zeit," rpt. in Hausmann, *Texte 2*: 10.
98. Illus. in Joshua C. Taylor, *Futurism* (ex. cat., New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1961), p. 102.
99. "Nach den Theorien Picassos und Kandinskys tauchte die Gleichwertigkeitstheorie Segals auf, man wollte das [*sic*] Kunstwerke durch gleichmässige vom Mittelpunkt nach aussen verschobene Decentralisation destruktiv der Wahrheit (d. h. geistigen Form) annähern, in der es die Wertunterschiede nicht mehr gab." Hausmann, "Nach den Theorien Picassos und Kandinskys..." in Sheppard, "Neun," pp. 166–67.
100. Arthur Segal, *Vom Strande: Achte Original-Holzschnitte mit Nachwort von Rudolf Leonhard*, Lyrische Flugblätter, May 1913. For a representative selection of Segal's prints of the teens, see *Arthur Segal 1875–1944* (ex. cat., Zurich: Kunsthaus Zürich, 1974).
101. See Adriani, *Höch*, p. 41.
102. See Hausmann's letter of August 24, 1915, in Adriani, *Höch*, p. 9.
103. *Die Aktion* 7, 51–52 (December 27, 1917), cols. 684–90.

104. These works now bear the titles: *Das kleine Bild XX* and *Vollendung des Kreises*. For illus., see Georg Muche: *Das künstlerische Werk, 1912–1927* (ex. cat., Berlin: Bauhaus-Archiv, 1980), pp. 79 and 80, nos. M19 and M14.
105. Bauhaus, Muche, p. 79, no. M17.
106. Bergson, *Creative Evolution*, p. 173.
107. “Es wird in der neuen Kunst . . . keinerlei Komposition im bisherigen Sinne mehr geben. Es wird nur Spannungsverhältnisse, Beziehungen farbiger oder formaler Elemente zueinander geben.” Hausmann, “Die Kunst und die Zeit,” rpt. in Hausmann, *Texte 2*: 11.
108. “. . . es wird und kann . . . keinerlei Compositions Mittelpunkt mehr geben, denn im höheren Sinne können Spannungsverhältnisse nur diagrammatisch ohne Mittelpunkte, als Undulationslinien gestaltet werden.” Hausmann, “Nach den Theorien Picassos und Kandinskys . . .” in Sheppard, “Neun,” p. 167.
109. “Sehen ist ein zauberhafter Vorgang und die Umformung dieses Vorgangs in der Kunst ist Beschwörung, Bannung, Zauberei. . . In frühen Zeiten der Menschheit war die Darstellung der Umwelt des Menschen nicht Naturalismus, einfache Wiedergabe, in ihr waren vielmehr die gesamten Beziehungen und Erkenntnisse des Menschen zur Welt und den sie bewegenden Kräften symbolisch und magisch gefaßt, verdichtet, genannt.” Hausmann, “Die neue Kunst,” col. 281, rpt. in Hausmann, *Texte 1*: 179.

Chapter 2

1. Sokel, *The Writer*, p. 155.
2. See Theda Shapiro, *Painters and Politics: The European Avant-Garde and Society, 1900–1925* (New York: Elsevier Scientific Publishing Company, 1976), pp. 162–63, and Richard Sheppard, “Dada and Politics” in *Dada: Studies of a Movement*, ed. Richard Sheppard (Buckinghamshire: Alpha Academic, 1979), pp. 50–51. For Richter’s anti-war sketches, see *Hans Richter by Hans Richter*, ed. Cleve Gray (New York: Holt, Reinhart and Winston, 1971), pp. 30–31.
3. Sokel, *The Writer*, p. 191.
4. “Beginnt dieser Mensch zu erwachen . . . das wahre Ideal der Menschenstaates auf Erden durchsehen . . . Der neue europäische Mensch . . . in Russland geboren . . . der erkennt, dass in allen Menschen der Keim Gottes liegt . . . den seelenlosen Zwang der materialistischen und militaristischen Maschine abschnittelt.” Unsigned ms. in Hausmann’s hand dated “27.3.17,” Höch Estate. Hausmann was quoting either another source or himself.
5. “Nur aus dem Zusammenstoss dieser zwei entgegengesetzten Prinzipien—der Anarchie von Tolstoi und der Theokratie von Dostoiewski—kann die neue synthetische Wahrheit geboren werden.” Hausmann quoting Merezhkovskiy to Höch, September 28, 1917, Höch Estate. Eight days earlier he had purchased Merezhkovskiy’s *Religion and Revolution*.
6. “. . . kann das erste Aufleuchten der letzten religiösen Offenbarung, die letzte revolutionäre Handlung entstehen. . . Das wahre Reich Gottes zeichnet sich aber durch Abschaffung aller Symbole aus.” Hausmann quoting Merezhkovskiy to Höch, September 28, 1917, Höch Estate.
7. “Tolstoi und Dostoiewski, deren gedanken auf dem eigentlich russischen Bauertum fassen . . . und ohne das die Demokratisierung Russlands garnicht möglich gewesen wäre.” Hausmann, “Tolstoi und Dostoiewski in Europa,” ms. dated 24 August 1918, Höch Estate.

This passage was omitted in the published version, "Tolstoi, Dostojewski" *Die neue Schaubühne* 2, 4 (April 1920): 94–96, rpt. in Hausmann, *Texte* 1: 103–6. The statement, "diese Menschen des Gedankens, die keine Menschen der Tat waren," concludes the 1918 ms. and is found in Hausmann, *Texte* 1: 104.

8. "Proklamieren wir den Anteil des Proletariats am Spiel." Earlier in this text Hausmann states: "Spiel wird aber wesentlich beides sein, Freude an der Ausdrucksannäherung an die Wirklichkeit und die Lust, die der Gestaltungstrieb verleiht." Hausmann, "Der Proletariat und die Kunst," rpt. in Hausmann, *Texte* 1: 25–26.
9. "Nun wollen gewisse Gruppen politisch gerichteter Literaten und Maler, hauptsächlich angeregt durch Gedanken Tolstois, eine Kunst besonders für den Proletariat schaffen, die vor allem pädagogisch, sich moralisch erheben dünkt über die 'frivole Sinnlosigkeit' der Kunst, die aus dem Spieltrieb entstanden ist. . . . Der Proletariat bedarf keiner besonderen 'geistigen' Anfeuerungskunst." Hausmann, "Der Proletariat und die Kunst," rpt. in Hausmann, *Texte* 1: 25.
10. "Napoleon contra Christus—der Vergewaltiger gegen den Erlöser, die Geister Europas haben keine andere Wahl." Hausmann, "Tolstoi, Dostojewski," pp. 95–96, rpt. in Hausmann, *Texte* 1: 104.
11. "... die wahre und volle, einzig mögliche Anarchie, als eine Theokratie der menschlichen Dreieinigkeit, Mann, Weib, Kind; deren Einigkeit, Gemeinsamkeit der Mensch endlich erkenne!" Untitled and unsigned typescript dated 21 August 1917, Höch Estate.
12. "... das ganze Christentum nur ein Weg zu einer kommenden Religion der Dreieinigkeit." Discussion of Merezhovskiy's *Religion und Revolution* in Hausmann's letter to Höch, September 28, 1917, Höch Estate.
13. "Die Balance der Geistsphäre, das innerste Ich, Gott-Person." Hausmann, "Notiz," rpt. in Hausmann, *Texte* 1: 12.
14. "Merezhkowski ist der erste, der das Böse bewusst, auch im Göttlichen sieht." Letter from Hausmann to Höch dated September 28, 1917. "Dostojewsky... ganz unklar über ihre Bedeutung als Gegen-Spiel." Hausmann, typescript, August 21, 1917, Höch Estate.
15. "Christus war Indeterminist!... Das Christentum hat Christus nie begriffen." Raoul Hausmann, "Christus," ms. dated March and June 1917, Höch Estate.
16. Huelsenbeck, "Der neue Mensch," *Neue Jugend* 2, 1 (May 23, 1917): 1–3, trans. in Richard Huelsenbeck, *Memoirs of a Dada Drummer*, ed. Hans J. Kleinschmidt, trans. Joachim Neugroschel (New York: Viking, 1974), p. xxxi. Hoddis' "Weltende" first appeared in *Demokraten* 2 (January 11, 1911), col. 43. A convenient reprint and translation of this poem, among the most famous in Expressionism, is found in Roters, "Big-City Expressionism," p. 240.
17. "Die Idee des Weltendes ist von Christus nicht als Negation ausgesprochen... Christus sagte im Gegenteil: der Himmel ist euch näher als ihr wisst! und meint damit: Die Welt wird enden im Himmel! Die Idee vom Ende der Welt ist deterministisch, Christus war Indeterminist!" Hausmann "Christus," Höch Estate.
18. "So wurde die egoistische Halbheit und Isolation des Menschen gesprengt, zerstört sein—Determinismus gewandelt in Indeterminismus." Hausmann, "Niemand kann über sich selbst hinaus," unsigned one-page typescript dated March 12, 1917, Höch Estate.
19. "Die Forderung Christi... Tu dem Andern was du willst, dass dir getan werde, und: liebe deinem Feind... der Ich kämpft gegen alle zum Leben im Du. Seid nicht—Ich! Ich gegen Du." Hausmann, "Christus," Höch Estate.

20. Significant exceptions were mounted by Ball and Huelsenbeck: The "politischer Abend" at the Café Austria in Berlin on March 26, 1915 (where Huelsenbeck lectured on politics in Spain and Ball on the Russian Revolution), and the "Expressionisten-Abend" of May 12 where Ball read pre-Dada nonsense poetry. See chronology in Sheppard, *New Studies*, p. 164.
21. Raoul Hausmann, "Meine Beziehungen zur Weltliteratur," unpub. ms. quoted in Karl Riha, "Porträt Raoul Hausmann" in Karl Riha, *Da Dada da war ist Dada da: Aufsätze und Dokumente* (Munich and Vienna: Carl Hanser Verlag, 1980), p. 121.
22. Hans Richter, *Dada: Art and Anti-Art* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), p. 133.
23. "... alle wollten 'etwas' gegen den Krieg tun. Aber was?" Wieland Herzfelde, "Aus der Jugendzeit des Malik Verlags: Zum Neuedruck der Zeitschrift, *Neue Jugend*" in *Neue Jugend: Monatschrift und Wochenausgabe* (reprint edition, Berlin: Rütten & Loening, 1967), p. 6. Cf. Herzfelde's more detailed account in "Wieland Herzfelde über den Malik-Verlag" in *Der Malik Verlag: 1916-1947* (ex. cat., Berlin: Akademie der Künste, 1966).
24. Huelsenbeck, "Der neue Mensch." This passage is from the partial translation in Hans. J. Kleinschmidt, "The New Man—Armed with the Weapons of Doubt and Defiance: Introduction" in Huelsenbeck, *Memoirs*, p. xxxi.
25. Wieland Herzfelde, *John Heartfield: Leben und Werk* (Dresden: VEB Verlag der Kunst, 1971), pp. 15-20, and plates 2-5.
26. Herzfelde, "Zur Einführung" in *Erste Internationale Dada-Messe* (ex. cat., Berlin: Kunsthandlung Dr. Otto Burchard, June 24-August 5, 1920), rpt. in John Heartfield, *Schnitt entlang der Zeit: Selbstzeugnisse, Erinnerungen, Interpretationen*, ed. Roland März (Dresden: VEB Verlag der Kunst, 1981), p. 42.
27. Illus. in Hans Hess, *George Grosz* (New York: Macmillan, 1974), p. 67.
28. George Grosz, *Ein kleines Ja und ein großes Nein* (Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1974), p. 116.
29. Letter, Hausmann to Höch July 19 - August 19, 1915, in Adriani, *Höch*, p. 7.
30. Walter Mehring, *Berlin Dada: Eine Chronik mit Photos und Dokumenten* (Zurich: Verlag der Arche, 1959), pp. 27-28, and Wieland Herzfelde, *Immergrün: Merkwürdige Erlebnisse und Erfahrungen eines fröhlichen Waisenknaben* (Reinbeck bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1961), p. 126.
31. "Das ist ein Mensch... von Mann zu Mann kann er einem gefallen. Wir verstanden uns sans façon mit 5 Worten - wirklich, er gefällt mir... Aber das ist einer, der sein Herz *nicht* auf der Zunge trägt - fabelhaft ironisch, er quatscht *scheinbar*, legt aber die anderen entlarvend rein. Er ist ruhig, sicher, und kann schweigen. Er wird wohl noch was werden." Hausmann undated letter, Höch Estate. Hausmann also recounts first meeting Herzfelde, who introduced him to Grosz.
32. Herzfelde, "Über," p. 23.
33. Quoted in Allen, *Literary Life*, p. 525.
34. Allen, *Literary Life*, pp. 23, 527, and passim.
35. Richter, *Dada: Art and Anti-Art*, p. 102. Cf. Raoul Hausmann, *Am Anfang war Dada*, ed. Karl Riha and Günter Kämpf (Gießen: Anabas-Verlag, 1971; second edition, 1980). The word "Dada" had already in fact arrived in 1916 when Wieland Herzfelde received a copy of *Cabaret Voltaire*.

36. Huelsenbeck, *En avant dada*, p. 26, trans. in Motherwell, *Dada Painters*, p. 33.
37. This correspondence is published in Richard Huelsenbeck, Tristan Tzara and Kurt Wolff, *Zürich - Dadaco - Dadaglobe: The Correspondence between Richard Huelsenbeck, Tristan Tzara and Kurt Wolff (1916-1924)*, ed. Richard Sheppard (Fife: Hutton Press, 1982), pp. 10-12.
38. Herzfelde, "Aus der Jugendzeit," p. 15.
39. Huelsenbeck, *En avant dada*, trans. in Motherwell, *Dada Painters*, p. 33.
40. "Erste Dadarede in Deutschland" in Richard Huelsenbeck, ed., *Dada Almanach* (Berlin: Erich Reiss Verlag, 1920; rpt. edition, New York: Something Else Press, 1966), pp. 104-8.
41. "Wir haben in der Freien Strasse eine exemplarische Erziehung gehabt und auf uns selbst während 3 Jahren in jedem Augenblick angewendet." Hausmann to Doris Hahn, November 29, 1966, Schwitters Archive.
42. Raoul Hausmann, "Nachwort" in *Hurra! Hurra! Hurra!* (rpt. edition, Steinbach: Anabas-Verlag, 1970), p. 46.
43. "Der Stern ist explodiert... die Zeit war nicht reif." Franz Jung, *Der Weg nach unten: Aufzeichnungen aus einer großen Zeit* (Berlin: Luchterhand, 1961), p. 92.
44. Allen, *Literary Life*, p. 46. A July appearance of the journal, to be entitled *Sigyn*, was announced in *Die Aktion* 3, 16 (April 16, 1913), col. 439.
45. Groß was committed to an asylum partly on the basis of an affidavit signed by Carl Jung. See Arthur Mitzman, "Anarchism, Expressionism, and Psychoanalysis" in *New German Critique*, no. 10 (Winter 1977), pp. 86ff. Allen, *Literary Life*, p. 280, Kreiler, *Gross*, p. 157, and Martin Green, *The von Richthofen Sisters: The Triumphant and Tragic Modes of Love* (New York: Basic Books, 1974), pp. 64ff.
46. Green, *von Richthofen*, p. 63.
47. Hans Kleinschmidt, "Berlin Dada" in Foster and Kuenzli, *Dada Spectrum*, p. 157.
48. "In der Tiefe des menschlichen Innern lebt ein Konflikt, der die seelische Einheit zerreit." Groß, "Vom Konflikt des Eigenen und Fremden," rpt. in Kreiler, *Gross*, p. 27.
49. Groß, "Vom Konflikt des Eigenen und Fremden," rpt. in Kreiler, *Gross*, pp. 28-29.
50. "Die Psychologie des Unbewuten ist die Philosophie der Revolution." Otto Groß, "Zur Überwindung der kulturellen Krise," rpt. in Kreiler, *Gross*, p. 13.
51. Kreiler, ed., *Gross*, p. 153.
52. Franz Jung, *Sophie: Der Kreuzweg der Demut* (Berlin, 1915). See Kurt Kreiler, "Zum Fall Otto Gross" in Kreiler, ed., *Gross*, p. 162.
53. Friedländer, "Präsentismus."
54. Letter from Franz Jung, in Georges Hugnet, *Dictionnaire du Dadaïsme, 1916-1922* (Paris: Jean Claude Simoën, 1976), p. 159.
55. "Der Konflikt des Eigenen und Fremden... der die einzig entscheidende Triebfeder alles Handelns, alles Wollens ist—dieser Konflikt liegt zuerst in uns." Untitled typescript, December 10, 1917, Höch Estate. Cf. Hausmann, "Zu Kommunismus und Anarchie," p. 18 and "Schnitt durch die Zeit," p. 543, rpt. in Hausmann, *Texte* 1: 27 and 76.

56. "Der neue Mensch: Gemeinschaft, die Auflösung des Ich, des Einzelnen, in der Wucht, der Wahrheit des Wir; die Aufhebung der fremden Macht als Gewaltautorität in die innerste eigne Autorität als grenzenlose Verantwortung: denn Wir wird sein wenn Ich zugleich der Andere bin, ich der Andere zugleich anderes Ich bin." Notation dated January 29, 1918, in Hausmann's notebook, Höch Estate.
57. "Die höchste Form des Da-Seins: Gemeinschaft." Hausmann, typescript, December 10, 1917, Höch Estate.
58. Richard Oehring, "Zwang und Erleben," *Die freie Straße*, no. 5 (1916), pp. 3–11. See Mitzman, "Anarchism," pp. 97ff.
59. The accusation is made in a footnote to "Der individualistische Anarchist und die Diktatur," p. 276, rpt. in Hausmann, *Texte* 1: 208.
60. Hausmann, "Schnitt durch die Zeit," p. 542, rpt. in Hausmann, *Texte* 1: 75.
61. Franz Jung, "Zweck und Mittel im Klassenkampf," *Die Erde* 1 (1919): 357–60, 427–31, 550–53, and 670–73.
62. "Wir erleben heute die ungeheuerste Revolution auf allen Gebieten des menschlichen Organisierens. Nicht nur die kapitalistische Wirtschaft, sondern auch alle Wahrheit, Ordnung, Recht, Moral, auch alles Männliche und Weibliche ist in Auflösung. . . . Diese Revolution wäre kurz, wenn es sich nur darum handeln würde, Oekonomisches umzuwälzen. Sie ist lang, sie wird die längste und größte Revolution darstellen, die die Erdentwicklung gesehen hat." Hausmann, "Zur Weltrevolution," p. 368, rpt. in Hausmann, *Texte* 1: 50.
63. "Der Grund jeder Gemeinschaftsbildung ist das Bewußtwerden des Konfliktes des Eigenen und Fremden. Von hier aus bilden sich Gesetze in ökonomischer und sexueller, in geistiger und technischer Beziehung." Hausmann, "Schnitt durch die Zeit," pp. 544–45, rpt. in Hausmann, *Texte* 1: 78.
64. Hausmann, "Menschliches Leben: das wäre . . . ganz einfach ein menschliches Vertrauen in die Notwendigkeit der menschlichen Psyche-Physis." Untitled and undated ms. fragment, Höch Estate.
65. "Sei gut! Hasse Religionen und Gesetze. . . . den Gott, der in den Mensch ist." Franz Jung, "Reden gegen Gott," *Die freie Straße*, no. 1 (1915): 8.
66. "... über unbedingten Determinismus, Hingabe an das Gesetz der Vergangenheit." Hausmann, "Niemand kann über sich selbst hinaus," typescript, March 12, 1917, Höch Estate.
67. "Die Statik des Gesetzes verwandeln in Dynamik!" "Niemand kann über sich selbst hinaus," typescript, March 12, 1917, Höch Estate.
68. "So wurde die egoistische Halbheit und Isolation des Menschen gesprengt, zerstört sein—Determinismus gewandelt in Indeterminismus." "Niemand kann über sich selbst hinaus," typescript, March 12, 1917, Höch Estate.
69. "... wenn jeder nur recht erkannte, dass seine Selbstgespräche, die Aeusserungen des göttlichen Grundes in ihm, Dialoge sind; dass sie Zeichen sind des Allgemeinen wie des Ungemeinen in der Einzel-Seele, hiermit der Allseele." "Niemand kann über sich selbst hinaus," typescript, March 12, 1917, Höch Estate.

70. "Die sofortige Aenderung des äußeren Lebens, der Gesellschaft, hat zum Ursprung die Aenderung des Menschen." Hausmann, "Menschen leben Erleben," *Menschen* 1, 10 (December 1918): 2.
71. Letter, Hausmann to Höch, July 19 - August 19, 1915, in Adriani, *Höch*, p. 7.
72. The forty-second Sturm exhibition in June 1916 featured Lyonel Feininger, Paul Kothar, and Felixmüller. *Die Aktion* 8, 7-8 (February 17, 1917).
73. "Protest wird gemalt, gemeißelt, geschrieben, geschrieen. Wir müssen ihn tun oder unserer Mitschuld erliegen." Heinar Schilling, "Bericht über die Verlagsjahre 1917/1918," *Menschen* 2, 10 (September 21, 1919): 7.
74. "Raoul Hausmann stellt Religiöses neben Tat, faßt sie in eines, damit die Religio, das gebundene Sein jede andere Lebensäußerung aufhebe." Schilling, "Bericht," p. 7.
75. "Ein Widerspruch wird wach. Letzte Beruhigung kann heute, wo wir in allen Schauern stehen, nicht nur seelische Angelegenheit sein, sie muß die Schrecken selbst durchwatzen, muß aus der Berührung mit der Materie kommen." Schilling, "Bericht," p. 7.
76. "Die innere Umgestaltung des Menschen... Freimachung des Erlebens aller fordert die agitatorisch politische Tat." Hausmann, "Menschen leben Erleben," p. 2, rpt. in Hausmann, *Texte* 1: 23; "DADA ist die völlige Abwesenheit dessen, was man Geist nennt." Hausmann "Dada in Europa," *Der Dada* 3 (April 1920).
77. "Als neues Mittel zur Stabilisierung der Bourgeoisie mißbraucht." For this argument, see Hausmann, "Der geistige Proletarier," *Menschen* 2, 8 (February 17, 1919): 3, rpt. in Hausmann, *Texte* 1: 31.
78. "Die Monatsschrift MENSCHEN ist als Flugblatt Ausdruck von Dichtern, Literaten, Malern und Musikern, denen Kunst ein Mittel zur Änderung des Menschen und Ruf zur Einung und Sammlung bedeutet. Von der Fixierung unseres Lebensgefühls, das man heute mit dem Worte EXPRESSIONISMUS bezeichnet, bis zur letzten Konsequenz, der Tat, enthält diese Folge vorwiegend Beiträge, denen Cliquentum und Radikalismus bisher den Weg versperrten. Verbunden mit den uns nahestehenden der älteren Generation, die wir als Voraussetzung unseres Handelns erkennen, hoffen wir auf die Propaganda derer, die ihreseits in uns Jungen die Vollender (nicht die Vollendeten) sehen." *Menschen* 1, 1 (1918): 1. This statement was repeated almost identically in later numbers of the journal.
79. Kasimir Edschmid [Eduard Schmid], *Über den Expressionismus in der Literatur und die neue Dichtung* (Berlin: Erich Reiss, 1919). Edschmid first presented this view in a lecture of December 13, 1917, in Berlin.
80. Huelsenbeck, *En avant dada* in Motherwell, *Dada Painters*, p. 42. Kornfeld's views are presented in his "Der beseelte und der psychologische Mensch," *Das junge Deutschland: Monatsschrift für Theater und Literatur* 1 (1918): 9-10.
81. "In diesem Zusammenhang entstand der Plan, neben diesem sehr bald rein politisch orientierten Unternehmen ein lediglich die künstlerische Wertung betonendes Zentrum der Bewegung zu schaffen, wobei beide Kreise durchaus als konzentrisch gedacht waren." Schilling, "Bericht," p. 9.
82. "'Expressionismus' ist ein Schlagwort der Gegensätzlichkeit unserer neuen Kunst. . . . Aus Kompromissen wird keine innere Einheit geboren,—krassesten Radikalismus, den man uns vorwirft, wollen wir lieber verwirklichen." Schilling, "Expressionismus," *Menschen* 1, 3 (May 15, 1918): 3-4. Schilling's lecture was given on January 31, 1918.

83. "Der Dadaismus ist heute noch für den Krieg. Die Dinge müssen sich stoßen. . . Dada ist ein Wort, das in allen Sprachen existiert—es drückt nichts weiter aus, als die Internationalität der Bewegung." Huelsenbeck, "Erste Dadarede in Deutschland" in Huelsenbeck, ed., *Dada Almanach*, pp. 106–7.
84. "Er [Dadaismus] ist die Ueberleitung zu der neuen Freude an den realen Dingen." Huelsenbeck "Erste Dadarede" in Huelsenbeck, *Dada Almanach*, p. 108.
85. "Es ist innerstes Gesicht,—schon deshalb wird das Schaffen visionär." Shilling, "Expressionismus," p. 4.
86. "Alle neue Kunst ist aktivivistische." Shilling, "Expressionismus," p. 4.
87. [Walter Rheiner], "Die Zeitschrift 'MENSCHEN'" in *Menschen* 2, 1 (1919).

Chapter 3

1. "[Irgendwie] empfindet er in Lebensfragen realer, radikaler als je." H[ugo] B[all], "Die junge Literatur in Deutschland," *Der Revoluzzer* 1 (August 14, 1915), unpag., quoted in Sheppard, "Dada and Expressionism," p. 53.
2. Huelsenbeck, "Die dadaistische Bewegung," *Die neue Rundschau* 31, 8 (August 1920): 972–79, trans. in Paul Raabe, ed., *The Era of German Expressionism*, trans. J. M. Ritchie (Woodstock: Overlook Press, 1974), p. 352, n. 2.
3. *The Expressionist Revolution in German Art: 1871–1933* (ex. cat., Leicester: Leicestershire Museums, 1978), p. 47, and Willett, *Expressionism*, pp. 136 and 140.
4. "In Deutschland hatte sich . . . die expressionistische Bewegung zur offiziellen Kunstrichtung entwickelt." Huelsenbeck, "Die dadaistische Bewegung," p. 976, trans. in Raabe, *Era*, p. 352, n. 2. See also Walter Laqueur, *Weimar: A Cultural History 1918–1933* (New York: Perigee, 1974), p. 165, and Peter Gay, *Weimar Culture: The Outsider as Insider* (New York: Harper, 1968), pp. 1–22.
5. "In Dada werden Sie Ihren wirklichen Zustand erkennen: wunderbare Konstellationen in wirklichem Material, Draht, Glas, Pappe, Stoff, organisch entsprechend Ihrer eigenen geradezu vollendeten Brüchigkeit, Ausgebeultheit." Published under the title "Synthetisches Cino der Malerei," rpt. in Hausmann, *Texte* 1: 16.
6. "Das *Erleben* der Gemeinschaft als Bindung in Beziehungen muss an Stelle des *Glaubens*, der Religion treten—aus welchen Gründen aus dem Taoismus, dem Buddhismus, dem Christentum eine Lüge wurde." Hausmann to Hannah Höch, June 18, 1918, Höch Estate. Hausmann's emphasis.
7. August K. Wiedmann, *Romantic Roots in Modern Art* (Old Woking: Gresham Press, 1979), pp. 118–20.
8. Novalis [pseud. of Friedrich von Hardenberg], "Monolog" and "Das Allgemeine Brouillon," *Schriften*, ed. P. Kluckholm and R. Samuel (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer Verlag, 1960) 2: 672 and 3: 414; trans. in Wiedmann, *Romantic Roots*, pp. 59, 64, and 261, n. 38.
9. Roy Pascal, *From Naturalism to Expressionism: German Literature and Society, 1880–1918* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), p. 50.
10. Huelsenbeck's text was retitled "Dadaistisches Manifest" and included in his *Dada Almanach*, pp. 36–41.

11. "Dadaismus," review in *Berlin Lokal-Anzeiger*, (April 14, 1918).
12. Willi Wolfradt, "Der Dadaismus," *Der Friede* 1, 18 (May 24, 1918): 434–35, rpt. in Riha, *Da Dada da war*, pp. 283–84, n. 3.
13. Huelsenbeck, "Die dadaistische Bewegung," trans. in Raabe, *Era*, pp. 352–54, n. 2.
14. K., "Dadaismus," *BZ am Mittag* (April 13, 1918).
15. Hausmann, *Am Anfang*, p. 23.
16. "Dadaismus," *Berlin Lokal-Anzeiger*.
17. Illus. in Hausmann, *Am Anfang*, p. 26.
18. This talk, delivered on January 22, 1918, in I. B. Neumann's Berlin gallery, is printed in Huelsenbeck, *Dada Almanach*, pp. 104–8.
19. Huelsenbeck, "Dadaistisches Manifest," trans. by Ralph Manheim in Motherwell, *Dada Painters*, pp. 242–43.
20. "Dada will die Benutzung des neuen Materials in der Malerei." Huelsenbeck, "Dadaistisches Manifest," rpt. in *Dada Almanach*, p. 40. My trans.
21. "Der Maler malt wie der Ochs brüllt... Der Expressionismus, Symbolik dieser Triebumkehrung—inner Notwendigkeit—immer mehr in ästhetischer Weltüberwindung versinkend... für Leute weit vom Schuß." Hausmann, "Synthetisches Cino der Malerei," rpt. in Hausmann, *Texte* 1: 14–15.
22. Hausmann, *Am Anfang*, p. 27.
23. "Dadaist ist ein Mann, der es unternimmt, sein Dasein in ein Dadasein zu verwandeln." Wolfradt, "Der Dadaismus," rpt. in Riha, *Da Dada da war*, p. 283, n. 3. Cf. "Dadaismus," *BZ am Mittag* (April 13, 1918).
24. Paul Hatvani [pseud. of Paul Hirsh], "Versuch über den Expressionismus," *Die Aktion* 7, 11–12 (March 17, 1917), cols. 146–50. Hatvani had studied chemistry and natural science at the University in Vienna.
25. Hausmann to Höch, April 20, 1917, Höch Estate. See Sheppard, "Annotations," pp. 28, 35–36.
26. J. Christopher Middleton, "The Rise of Primitivism and Its Relevance to the Poetry of Expressionism and Dada" in *The Discontinuous Tradition*, ed. P. F. Ganz, Studies in German Literature in honor of Ernest Ludwig Stahl (Oxford, 1971), p. 197, n. 2, and Allen, *Literary Life*, pp. 39–40 and 397.
27. See e.g., "Goethe contra Newton," *Die Aktion* 1, 23 (July 1911), cols. 721–23.
28. "Ein beachtenswertes Zusammentreffen geistiger Erlebnisse: gleichzeitig fast mit der Geburt der neuen expressionistischen Kunst begann sich die neue Relativitätstheorie (vor Allem Einstein) der Naturwissenschaften zu bemächtigen." Hatvani, "Versuch," col. 149.
29. "Rhythmus ist ein Zeit-Reflex auf das Kunstwerk. Er ist die innere Periodizität einer metaphysischen Lebensbejahung und damit auch das sichtbare Merkmal einer Kraft, die durch das Kunstwerk wirkt." Hatvani, "Versuch," col. 147.
30. "Der Mann ist differenziert; der Künstler eine höhere Potenz davon... Der Expressionismus stellt wiederum die Apriorität des Bewußtseins her." Hatvani, "Versuch," cols. 146 and 149.

31. Friedländer, *Schöpferische Indifferenz*, pp. xxx and passim.
32. "Der Künstler spricht: Ich bin das Bewußtsein, die Welt ist mein Ausdruck." Hatvani, "Versuch," col. 149.
33. "So fließt alles dorthin zurück, woher es einmal gekommen ist: ins Bewußtsein." Hatvani, "Versuch," col. 149.
34. "Aus der Sphäre der innersten, höchsten Realität fließt alles 'Wirken' in die Realität der 'Welt' als einer Fiktion... 'Wert' ausstrahlt und zurückstrahlt." Hausmann, ms. dated May 27, 1917, Höch Estate.
35. "Jeder Ausdruck des Bewußtseins ist Bewegung." Hatvani, "Versuch," col. 150; cf. col. 149 on "psychozentrische Orientierung."
36. "In Dada werden Sie Ihren wirklichen Zustand erkennen." Hausmann, "Synthetisches Cino der Malerei," rpt. in Hausmann, *Texte* 1: 16.
37. "Die organische Einheit des Bildes, des Gedankens, der Handlung... bedarf... jener Relativität der Anschauung, auf die es ja auch dem Physiker ankommt. Man hat nichts weiter zu tun, als seinen Standpunkt aufzugeben... Standpunkte zu haben." Hatvani, "Versuch," col. 149.
38. "L'Art Dada wird ihnen eine ungeheure Erfrischung, einen Anstoß zum wirklichen Erleben aller Beziehungen bieten." Hausmann, "Synthetisches Cino der Malerei," rpt. in Hausmann, *Texte* 1: 16.
39. "...einer in Bewegung begriffenen, fortschreitenden Selbstdarstellung." Hausmann, "Synthetisches Cino der Malerei," rpt. in Hausmann, *Texte* 1: 16.
40. "Alles ist Bewegung." Hatvani, "Versuch," col. 149. See Sheppard, "Annotations," pp. 28, 35, and 36.
41. "Nur hier gibt es erstmals keinerlei Verdrängungen, Angstobstinationen, wir sind weit entfernt von der Symbolik, dem Totemismus; elektrisches Klavier, Gasangriffe, hergestellte Beziehungen, Brüllender in Lazaretten, denen wir erst durch unsere wunderbaren widerspruchsvollen Organismen zu irgend einer Berechtigung, drehender Mittelachse, Grund zum Stehen oder Fallen verhelfen." Hausmann, "Synthetisches Cino der Malerei," rpt. in Hausmann, *Texte* 1: 16.
42. "Das Material des expressionistischen Malers endigend in einer beinahe astralen Blödigkeit der Farb—und Linienwerte zur Ausdeutung sogenannter seelischer Klänge—wo noch nicht einmal der Rhythmus zulängt, abgehackt ausfallenlassend, außer allem beziehungsweise Erleben stehend als ästhetische Romantik." Hausmann, "Synthetisches Cino der Malerei," rpt. in Hausmann, *Texte* 1: 15–16.
43. Baader, "Metachemie" in *Vierzehn Briefe Christi*, p. 5.
44. "Zunächst erscheint uns das Leben komplett ein ungeheurer Lärm, Spannung in Zusammenbrüchen nie eindeutig gerichteter Expressionen,... l'art dada ist der Stand außer den Konflikten protesthafter Schöpferanmaßung; Kunst, die beziehungslose Lüge einer (quasi) inneren Notwendigkeit bis zum Klamauk aufzeigend." Hausmann, "Synthetisches Cino der Malerei," rpt. in Hausmann, *Texte* 1: 14.
45. "[Seine Begegnungen mit Gott] finden nicht statt in der gläubigen Naturversenkung, sondern in jener Sonderwelt des Geistigen." Worringer, "Kritische Gedanken," p. 228.
46. "...die Welt der sinnlichen Gegebenheit und Gebundenheit nur von ferne heranbrandet." Worringer, "Kritische Gedanken," p. 228.

47. "Die Antwort: in den Naturwissenschaften, im Materialismus." Worringer, "Kritische Gedanken," p. 230.
48. "Eines geistigen Kunstverlangens, eines überpersönlichen Ausdruckwillens." Worringer, "Kritische Gedanken," p. 232.
49. Haeckel, *Riddle*, p. 91.
50. "Welt, das ist eine Maschinerie." Friedländer, *Schöpferische Indifferenz*, p. xxi.
51. "Meine neuen Kunstbestrebungen betrachtest Du nicht als Loslösung vom Expressionismus. So wird z. B. der expressionistische Künstler ein Gedicht, wie den Wald in Holz schneiden wollen. Der Dadaist kann das garnicht wollen: er wird nicht etwas, was heute rein maschinellen Charakter hat, wie Typographie, oder ihre dynamische Form, wie die dadaistische Art der Typographie, in ein andres Material übersetzen. Gerade das maschinelle daran soll differenziert werden." Hausmann to Hannah Höch, June 5, 1918(?), Höch Estate.
52. Grosz, *Ein kleines Ja*, p. 183.
53. Illus. in Herzfelde, *Heartfield*, plates 4–5, after p. 115.
54. Hausmann's "Wunder der Wunder!" layout is illus. in Hausmann, *Texte* 1: 13. The announcement for the tenth Neue Jugend Abend in *Neue Jugend* no. 2 (June 1917) is reproduced in Herzfelde, *Heartfield*, plate 7.
55. "Was will man? Was kann man? Achten Sie auf Ihre Gesundheit! Zu spät kaufen Sie den Sprung aus der Welt!!!" *Club Dada*, back cover.
56. Michel Giroud, ed., *Raoul Hausmann: "Je ne suis pas un photographe"* (Paris: Chêne, 1975), p. 13.
57. "[Die alten europäischen Holzschnittbücher] zeigen eine große Übereinstimmung von bild und Schrift... die Anordnung bezog sich auf den Begleittext und wurde in einer Art ausgeführt die man mit Merkzeichen, nicht aber mit Naturnähe bezeichnen kann." Hausmann, "Typografie," rpt. in Hausmann, *Texte* 2: 182.
58. "La méthode dadaïste de disloquer et de désintégrer les formes sémantiques, d'entremêler des mots suivant certaines associations sonores." Raoul Hausmann, *Courrier Dada* (Paris: Le Terrain Vague, 1958), p. 141.
59. Raoul Hausmann, "Meaning and Technique in Phonic Poetry," trans. Stephen Bann, *Form*, no. 5 (September 1967), p. 16.
60. Richard Taylor, "The Relation between Physiological Character and Artistic Gestalt (Figure), or Smoking, a Preface to Articulation." Typescript, p. 4, Schwitters Archive. Taylor is referring specifically to Hausmann's "Manifest von der Gesetzmässigkeit des Lautes" of 1918.
61. "Die zeitliche Anschauung stellt immer eine neue Konstellation dar." Einstein, "Totalität," in Nef, ed., *Gesammelte Werke*, p. 80.
62. *Cabaret Voltaire* (Zurich: May 1916), pp. 22–23.
63. Giroud, *Hausmann*, p. 13.
64. "Je pensais que le poème est le rythme de sons. Pourquoi des mots? De la suite rythmique des consonnes, diphtongues et comme contre-mouvement de leur complément de voyelles, résulte le poème, qui doit être orienté simultanément, optiquement et phonétiquement. Le

poème est la fusion de la dissonance et de l'onomatopée. Le poème jaillit du regard et de l'ouïe intérieurs du poète par le pouvoir matériel des sons, des bruits et de la forme tonale, ancrée dans le geste même du langage." Hausmann, *Courrier Dada*, p. 59.

65. Hausmann, *Courrier Dada*, pp. 55–57.
66. Hausmann, "Meaning and Technique."
67. "Vers une poésie parfaitement non-objective, *abstraite*." Hausmann, *Courrier Dada*, p. 59, original emphasis.
68. "Nicht ohne Sinn wurde das rein fonetische Gedicht erfunden, das durch eine neuartige Typo-grafie optisch unterstützt war. Die ebenfalls von den Dadaisten propagierte Fotomontage diente der gleichen Absicht: Erneuerung und Verstärkung des Physiologischen in der Typografie. Es wurde bereits damals erkannt, daß das gesteigerte Bedürfnis der Zeit nach dem Bild, also der Verdoppelung eines Textes durch die optische Illustration, nicht durch einfaches Nebeneinander, sondern nur durch eine auf sprachgedankliche Grundlagen zurückgreifende optische Konstruktion zu lösen war." Hausmann, "Typografie," rpt. in Hausmann, *Texte 2*: 183.
69. "Typografie ist das Endergebnis eines optisch-akustischen Gestaltungsvorganges." Hausmann, "Typografie," rpt. in Hausmann, *Texte 2*: 181.
70. "Der großen Zone des vorbewußten Schweigens wird eine energetische Sprache freier Gestaltung entrissen werden." Hausmann, "Zur Gestaltung einer energetischen Sprachform," *Sprache im technischen Zeitalter*, no. 14 (April–June 1965): 1196.
71. Middleton, "Rise of Primitivism," p. 195.
72. Richard Sheppard, "Aspects of European Dada: The Limitations of Vitalism." Ph.D. diss., University of East Anglia, 1979, p. 356.
73. Michael Erlhoff, *Raoul Hausmann, Dadasoph: Versuch einer Politisierung der Ästhetik* (Hanover: Verlag Zweitschrift, 1982), p. 189.
74. "Lesen, oder Mitteilen von Lauten nur optisch wirksam gemacht werden kann." Hausmann, "Typografie," rpt. Hausmann, *Texte 2*: 183.
75. Hausmann's *l'inconnu* is illus. in *Tendenzen der Zwanziger Jahre*, 15. Europäische Kunstausstellung unter den Auspizien der Europarates (ex. cat., Berlin: Reimer, 1977), p. 3/200. *Sound-Rel* appears in Motherwell, *Dada Painters*, p. 316, in a facsimile typescript version made later by Hausmann.
76. Hausmann, "Typografie," rpt. Hausmann, *Texte 2*: 182.
77. Hausmann, "Zur Geschichte des Lautgedichtes," in *Am Anfang*, p. 43, passage trans. in Rudolf E. Kuenzli, "The Semiotics of Dada Poetry," in Foster and Kuenzli, eds., *Dada Spectrum*, p. 62.
78. Erlhoff, *Dadasoph*, p. 190.
79. See Beth Irwin Lewis, *George Grosz: Art and Politics in the Weimar Republic* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1971), p. 60.
80. Sheppard, "Aspects of European Dada," p. 364.
81. "Das Auto meiner Seele." Hausmann, "Klassische Beziehungen zur deutschen Mittelstandsküche," p. 7, rpt. in Hausmann, *Texte 1*: 173.

82. "Le poème phonétique divise le temps-espace en valeurs de nombres pré-logiques." Hausmann, *Courrier Dada*, p. 59.
83. Hausmann, "Meaning and Technique."
84. Hausmann, "Meaning and Technique."
85. "[Le poème est] une action d'associations respiratoires et auditives, inséparablement liées au déroulement du temps." Hausmann, *Courrier Dada*, p. 59.
86. Hausmann, "Meaning and Technique."
87. Hausmann, "Schulze philosophiert," *Der blutige Ernst* 1, 6 (1920): 6.
88. Taylor, "Relation," *passim*.
89. Hausmann, "Manifesto on the Lawfulness of Sound," *Form*, no. 4 (April 15, 1967): 32, trans. by Richard Taylor.
90. Hausmann, "Meaning and Technique."
91. Hausmann, "Manifesto on the Lawfulness of Sound."
92. Taylor, "Relation," p. 6.
93. Vladimir Markov, *Russian Futurism: A History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968), pp. 140–41 and 283–84; Sheppard, "Annotations," p. 36.
94. Taylor, "Relation," p. 9; Sheppard "Annotations," p. 36.
95. See Nell Walden and Lothar Shreyer, *Der Sturm: Ein Erinnerungsbuch an Herwarth Walden und die Künstler aus dem Sturmkreis* (Baden-Baden: Woldemar Klein Verlag, 1954) for further information on the Sturm exhibitions.
96. See Paul Raabe, ed., *Die Aktion* (rpt. edition, Munich: Köel-Verlag, 1961) 1: 123, for a list of additional exhibitions held in the Die Aktion galleries.
97. For Hausmann's letters to Tzara of February 2, 1919, and May 17, 1919, see "Nineteen Letters, Telegrams and Cards from Raoul Hausmann to Tristan Tzara (1919–1921)" in Sheppard, *New Studies*, pp. 108 and 114. Unless otherwise noted, all references to the Dada series are to the *éditions ordinaires* reprinted in *Dada: Réimpression intégrale et dossier critique de la revue publiée de 1916 à 1922 par Tristan Tzara*, ed. Michel Sanouillet (Nice: Centre du XX^e siècle, 1976). For some numbers there was an *édition de luxe* and/or variant German edition.
98. This essay was published in an alternate German version of *Dada* 3 (December 1918): 9. See "Four Unpublished or Partially Published Dada Manifestos (1916–1920)" in Sheppard *New Studies*, pp. 99–102.
99. "... der erste reine Künstler. ... Die Welt ist gross und voller Wunder. Die Wunder sind die seltsamsten Abstraktionen und geistigen Willenswesen weit [[über]] hinter den Dingen. ... Ein neuer Wille zur Geistigkeit ist [[wichtig geworden]] niedergekommen auf uns Propheten, er ist fanatisch, brennend, hallend in seinem Eifer." Huelsenbeck, "Die Arbeiten," in Sheppard, *New Studies*, p. 100. The double brackets indicate Huelsenbeck's deletions. The first of these, which I have emphasized above, indicates to Sheppard (p. 98) that "the visual work of Hans Arp... is seen to be saying that the vital force which gives meaning to life should be sought *through* rather than *above* matter."
100. Hausmann, "Hans Arp," *Manuskripte* (19) 7, 1 (February–May 1967): 26.

101. "Hier haben wir die authentische Darstellung von Arp's inspirierter Arbeitsweise, die 'ohne Vorliebe' den Gesetzen des Zufalls folgte, man möchte lieber sagen, einer schöpferischen Indifferenz, in der die Dinge noch nicht nach Kategorien geordnet sind, noch nicht mit voreingenommenem Sinn beladen unmittelbar zu uns sprechend." Raoul Hausmann, "In Memoriam Hans Arp," *Manuskripte* (18) 6, 3 (1966-67): 3.
102. "Arp sah gerade in der Unlogik die unerhörtesten phonetischen und zugleich sinnverwirrenden oder sinnverwandelnden Möglichkeiten der Ausdruckskomplexe, die vor ihm niemand auch nur erträumte. Gingen Ball, Huelsenbeck, Serner und Tzara von einer Anomie oder auch einer Sprach-Indifferenz aus, so ging Arp von vornherein von der Erkenntnis aus, daß die logischen Normen der Sprache Zufalls-Gestalten sind." Hausmann, "Hans Arp," p. 27. My emphasis.
103. "Das scheinbar unkontrollierte, zwecklose 'Daherreden' . . . fand nunmehr durch Arp seine wirkliche unendliche Gestalt und seinen endlichen Umbruch." Hausmann, "Hans Arp," p. 27.
104. Hausmann, "In Memoriam Hans Arp." Cf. *Courrier Dada*, p. 61.
105. "Arp ließ Gestalten in Erscheinung treten, er war es, der den Sinn des 'Eidos' gänzlich neu entwickelt hat." Hausmann, "Hans Arp," p. 27.
106. "In der glänzenden Sauberkeit des Papiers Bilder die Augenblicke elektrische Prismen des zerbrechlichen Geschehens." Hausmann, *Material der Malerei Plastik Architektur* (Berlin: By the author, 1918), rpt. in Hausmann, *Texte* 1: 19.
107. Hausmann, "Typografie," in Hausmann, *Texte* 2: 183.
108. "Je me trouvais dans cette nécessité à cause de ma conviction que, de même que dans un poème ce ne sont pas le sens et la rhétorique des mots mais les voyelles et les consonnes et même les caractères de l'alphabet qui doivent être porteurs d'un rythme, de même en peinture ce sont des complexes de couleurs pures qui doivent établir l'équilibre d'une création nouvelle." Quoted in Giroud, *Hausmann*, p. 13.
109. "Malerei Dynamismus der Farben der Form gedacht in der Fläche man wird sie so rein machen als möglich eine Gestaltung organisch in Analogie der gesehenen Momente weder nachahmend noch beschreibend." Hausmann, *Material der Malerei*, rpt. in Hausmann, *Texte* 1: 19.
110. For a color reproduction of Hausmann's collage cover, see *Raoul Hausmann* (ex. cat., Malmö: Malmö Konsthall, 1980), p. 43.
111. "Dada übergeht mit Gelächter das freie intelligible Ich und stellt sich wieder primitiv zur Welt, was etwas in der Verwendung von reinen Lauten, Geräuschnachahmungen, im direkten Anwenden gegebenen Materials wie Holz, Eisen, Glas, Stoff, Papier zum Ausdruck kommt." Hausmann, "Dada ist mehr als Dada," rpt. in Hausmann, *Texte* 1: 169.
112. "... eines Geschehens das gut ist trostreich un voll hoher Realität die Natur der Gestaltung. Die Norm." Hausmann, *Material der Malerei*, rpt. in Hausmann, *Texte* 1: 19.

Chapter 4

1. Hausmann, "Objektive Betrachtung der Rolle des Dadaismus," rpt. in Hausmann, *Texte* 1: 112.
2. On the joint identity "Hausmann-Baader," see Stephen C. Foster, "hausmann-baader: Die eigentliche Dada," *Kurt Schwitters Almanach* (1986), pp. 163-89.

3. The issue was raised in a symposium held in conjunction with an exhibition entitled *Von der Collage zur Assemblage* (ex. cat., Nürnberg: Institut für moderne Kunst, 1968). For the proceedings of the symposium, see: *Prinzip Collage*, ed., Franz Mon and Heinz Neidel (Neuwied and Berlin: Luchterhand, 1968). For criticism of this approach, see Annegret Jürgens-Kirchoff, *Technik und Tendenz der Montage in der Bildenden Kunst des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Gießen: Anabas-Verlag, 1978), p. 179. See also Richard Hiepe, "Zur Theorie der Photomontage" in *Die Fotomontage: Geschichte und Wesen einer Kunstform* (ex. cat., Ingolstadt: Kunstverein, 1969), unpag.
4. See Peter Bürger, *Theorie der Avantgarde* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1974). trans. edition: *Theory of the Avant-Garde*, trans. by Michael Shaw (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984).
5. Walter Benjamin, "Das Kunstwerk im Zeitalter seiner technischen Reproduzierbarkeit," trans. in Walter Benjamin, *Illuminations*, ed. Hannah Arendt (New York: Schocken, 1969), pp. 217–51. For the discussion of Baroque allegory, see Walter Benjamin, *Ursprung des deutschen Trauerspiels* (Frankfurt, 1972), p. 204.
6. See e.g., Hanne Bergius, "The Ambiguous Aesthetic of Dada: Towards a Definition of Its Categories" in Sheppard, ed., *Dada: Studies*, pp. 26–38 and Hanne Bergius, "Der Danddy—Das 'Narrenspiel aus dem Nichts,'" in *Tendenzen*, pp. 3/12–3/29.
7. Walter Benjamin, "Der Surrealismus," *Ueber Literatur* (Frankfurt am Main, Suhrkamp, 1970), cited in Harriett Ann Watts, *Chance: A Perspective on Dada* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1980), pp. 19–20.
8. Martin Jay, *The Dialectical Imagination: A History of the Frankfurt School and the Institute of Social Research, 1923–1950* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1973), p. 208.
9. Hausmann, "Präsentismus gegen den Puffkeißmus der deutschen Seele," rpt. in Hausmann, *Texte 2*: 24. See also Friedländer, "Präsentismus."
10. "Als John Heartfield und ich 1916 in meinem Südender-Atelier an einem Maientage frühmorgens um fünf Uhr die Fotomontage erfanden, ahnten wir beide weder die großen Möglichkeiten noch den dornenvollen, aber erfolgreichen Weg, den diese Entdeckung nehmen sollte." George Grosz, "Randzeichnungen zum Thema" in *Schulter am Schulter: Blätter der Piscatorbühne* (1928): 8–9. Cf. trans. in *Erwin Piscator: Political Theater 1920–1966* (ex. cat., London and Berlin, GDR: Deutsche Akademie der Künste zu Berlin and the Arts Council of Great Britain), pp. 33–34. For accounts of this rivalry, see Richter, *Dada: Art and Anti-Art*, pp. 117–18, and Richard Hiepe, "Über Photographie und Photocollage" in *Dada Photographie und Photocollage*, ed. by Carl-Albrecht Haenlein (ex. cat., Hanover: Kestner-Gesellschaft, 1979), p. 32.
11. Herzfelde, *Heartfield*, pp. 17–18.
12. Richter, *Dada: Art and Anti-Art*, p. 117. Herzfelde (*Heartfield*, p. 17) reports receiving a gift package from Grosz late in 1916 which matches Grosz' description. However in the second edition of his book (1971, p. 17), Herzfelde adds in parentheses: "Die Annahme, solche Collagen seien von Frontsoldaten in die Heimat geschickt worden, ist Legende."
13. Jan Tschichold, *Die neue Typographie* (Berlin: Bildungsverband der deutschen Buchdrucker, 1928). See also Tschichold's "Fotographie und Typographie," *Die Form*, no. 7 (1928): 221–27, rpt. in Ute Eskildsen and Jan-Christopher Horak, eds., *Film und Foto der zwanziger Jahre* (Stuttgart: Hatje, 1979), pp. 157–59.

14. See, e.g., Jean Rollin, "Begegnung mit einem großen antifaschistischen deutschen Künstler" in *John Heartfield*, exhibition brochure (Paris: May 1969), cited in John Heartfield, *Schnitt entlang*, p. 29.
15. "Klebebild aus Photocliche'es." Letter, Hausmann to Jan Tschichold. Bolliger Collection, Zurich. This letter must date prior to April 3, 1930.
16. The date is variable in Hausmann's accounts. See, e.g., Hausmann, *Courrier Dada*, p. 79: "En 1919 Baader commença à faire des photomontages." See also Herbert Remmert and Peter Barth, eds., *Hannah Höch: Werke und Worte* (ex. cat., Berlin: Galerie Remmert und Barth, published in Berlin by Frölich und Kaufmann, 1982), p. 96, n. 1, under 1920 for the claim that Höch also called her early collages "*Klebebilder*."
17. Hausmann, *Am Anfang*, p. 45.
18. George Grosz, Letter to Franz Roh dated 1929 and published in Franz Roh and Jan Tschichold, *foto-auge* (Stuttgart, 1929), quoted in Heartfield, *Schnitt entlang*, p. 29.
19. Letter, Hausmann to Tschichold dated April 9, 1930, in the Bolliger Collection, Zurich.
20. Hausmann "Fotomontage," rpt. in Hausmann, *Texte 2*: 130–32.
21. See, e.g., Roditi, "Interview," p. 26, Adriani, *Höch*, p. 16, and her corroboration of Hausmann's story in Richter, *Dada: Art and Anti-Art*, p. 117. See also Heinz Ohff, *Hannah Höch* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1968), p. 15.
22. Hausmann, *Am Anfang*, p. 45.
23. Hausmann, *Am Anfang*, p. 45.
24. Adriani, *Höch*, p. 12.
25. Ellen Maurer, "Symbolische Gemälde von Hannah Höch aus den Jahren 1920–1930" (Master's thesis, Munich: Ludwig Maximilian Universität, 1983), p. 9; Adriani, *Höch*, p. 72.
26. According to Güssefeld, the earliest known photocollages by Höch are dated ca. 1919: *Oz der Tragödie* and *Die Mädchen*. Both survive only in photographs in the Höch Estate. Delia Güssefeld, "Hannah Höch: Freunde und Briefpartner," pp. 21–23.
27. Schwitters, letter to Hausmann, November 11, 1946, published in Kurt Schwitters, *Wir spielen, Bis uns der Tod abholt: Briefe aus fünf Jahrzehnten*, ed. by Ernst Nündel (Frankfurt: Ullstein, 1974), p. 247.
28. Schwitters first signed the guest book belonging to Nel and Herwarth Walden on June 27, 1918, according to Friedhelm Lach, *Der Merzkünstler Kurt Schwitters* (Cologne: DuMont Schauberg, 1971), p. 29. He participated in the sixty-fourth Sturm exhibition of June 1918.
29. "Ich bin Maler, ich nagle meine Bilder." Schwitters quoted in Hausmann, *Am Anfang*, p. 63.
30. See John Elderfield, *Kurt Schwitters* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1985), pp. 36–41, and Werner Schmalenbach, *Kurt Schwitters* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1977), pp. 44–47. Adriani (*Höch*, p. 20) claims that Höch, Hausmann, and Schwitters met one another in late June 1919. Höch (Roditi, "Interview," p. 27) claims that "Kurt Schwitters and Moholy-Nagy . . . both came to Berlin after our first two Dada exhibitions."
31. Dating suggested by Elderfield who also notes that Schwitters' first assemblages were made between January and June 1919. Elderfield, *Schwitters*, p. 35.

32. Illus. in Schmalenbach, *Schwitters*, plate 31 and fig. 32.
33. On *Hansi*, see Annegreth Nill, "Rethinking Kurt Schwitters, Part One: An Interpretation of 'Hansi,'" *Arts Magazine* 55, 1 (January 1981): 112, and Elderfield, *Schwitters*, p. 72. The meeting was recounted in an oral communication between Arp and Schmalenbach. See Schmalenbach, *Schwitters*, p. 43.
34. This is argued in Nill, "Hansi," p. 112.
35. Hausmann, *Am Anfang*, p. 63.
36. "Für die innere Verwandtschaft zwischen Kurt und mir ist es bezeichnend, daß wir zur gleichen Zeit (Dezember 1920), ohne es zu wissen, beinahe die gleichen Sätze veröffentlichten, ich in Berlin, er in Hannover, in denen wir uns als die Verteidiger des Unsinnigen bekannten." Hausmann, *Am Anfang*, p. 64.
37. Herzfelde, "Zur Einführung," in *Dada-Messe*, rpt. in Heartfield, *Schnitt entlang*, p. 41.
38. This cover remained typically unsigned; Heartfield is given credit for it in Herzfelde, *Heartfield*, p. 21.
39. "Sechs Porträtfotos von Mitgliedern der Regierung Ebert/Scheidemann, sowie - auf dem Griff des Fächers - Noske, Ludendorff, Erzberger." 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 Herzfelde, *Schnitt entlang*, p. 88. See also Herzfelde, *Heartfield*, pp. 21–22.
40. Illus. in Hess, *Grosz*, pp. 82 and 76.
41. Color illus. in *Neue Sachlichkeit and German Realism of the Twenties* (ex. cat., London: Hayward Gallery, pub. by the Arts Council of Great Britain, 1978), p. 40, no. 250, and p. 34, no. 33.
42. Richard Hiepe, "Über Photographie," p. 32.
43. "In my efforts to develop a clear and simple style I can't help drawing closer to Carrà." George Grosz, "Zu meinen neuen Bildern," *Das Kunstblatt* 5, 1 (1921): 10–16, trans. in Victor Miesel, *Voices of German Expressionism* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1970), p. 187.
44. "Aus einem Interview mit Heartfield" in Heartfield, *Schnitt entlang*, p. 464.
45. Hiepe, "Über Photographie," p. 32.
46. Illus. in Willy Verkauf, ed., *Dada: Monograph of a Movement* (London: Academy Editions, 1975), p. 90. While absolute dating remains uncertain, *Der blutige Ernst* 4 must date between November 1919 and February 1920.
47. Illus. in Sheppard, *Dada: Studies*, fig. 5.
48. Kemper, *Expressionismus zum Dadaismus*, p. 210.
49. Manuela Hoelterhoff, "Heartfield's Contempt," *Artforum* 15, 3 (November 1976): 61.
50. See, e.g., *Politische Plakate der Weimarer Republik: 1918–1933* (ex. cat., Darmstadt: Hessisches Landesmuseum, 1980), nos. 26, 62, and 63, pp. 54 and 72.
51. Illus. in Hess, *Grosz*, p. 88.
52. Illus. in Uwe M. Schneede, *George Grosz: His Life and Work*, trans. Susanne Flatauer (New York: Universe Books, 1979), p. 68.

53. Grosz, "Bildern," trans. in Miesel, ed., *Voices*, p. 187.
54. Hanne Bergius, "Zur Wahrnehmung und Wahrnehmungskritik im Berliner Dadaismus," *Sprache im technischen Zeitalter* 55 (1975): 243.
55. Illus. in Giroud, *Hausmann*, p. 42.
56. George Grosz, *Mit Pinsel und Schere: Sieben Materialisationen*, book of monochrome reproductions after watercolor collages employing photographic fragments (Berlin: Malik Verlag, 1922).
57. "Die Dadaisten sagen: Wenn früher Unmengen von Zeit, Liebe und Anstrengung auf das Malen eines Körpers, einer Blume, eines Hutes, eines Schlagschattens usw. verwandt wurden, so brauchen wir nur die Schere zu nehmen und uns unter den Malereien, photographischen Darstellungen all dieser Dinge ausschneiden, was wir brauchen; handelt es sich um Dinge geringeren Umfanges, so brauchen wir auch gar nicht Darstellungen, sondern nehmen die Gegenstände selbst, z. B. Taschenmesser, Aschenbecker, Bücher, etc., lauter Sachen." Herzfelde, "Zur Einführung," rpt. in Heartfield, *Schnitt entlang*, p. 41.
58. Hausmann to Tschichold, April 9, 1930, Bolliger Collection, Zurich.
59. Illus. in Eckhard Siepmann, *Montage: John Heartfield vom Club Dada zur Arbeiter-Illustrierten Zeitung; Dokumente, Analysen, Berichte* (Berlin: Elefanten Press, 1977), p. 72. Huelsenbeck's *Dada siegt!* is illus. in Verkauf, *Dada: Monograph*, p. 61.
60. See Jürgens-Kirchhoff, *Technik und Tendenz*, pp. 1–13 and passim; Hiepe, "Über Photographie," p. 31; and Marianne Stockebrand, "Collage: Untersuchungen zur Intention des Verfahrens bei Raoul Hausmann" (Master's thesis, Munich: Institut für Kunstgeschichte der Universität München, July 1974), pp. 26ff.
61. It was the influence of Heartfield's "bahnbrechenden Arbeit" which led Alfred Kemeny to declare, in an official communist journal, that "Die Photomontage ist kein Kran und kein Eisenbahnwagen, und der Photomonteur ist kein Ingenieur." Duras [Alfred Kemeny], "Photomontage und Buchgraphik. Zur 3. Ausstellung des Bundes revolutionärer Künstler," *Die rote Fahne* 15, 17 (1932), rpt. in Heartfield, *Schnitt entlang*, pp. 178–79.
62. "Trete man am besten 40 Schritte durch die Wand (Achtung, Stufe!) zurück. Dann ergibt sich von selbst, daß der Dadaist John Heartfield der Feind des Bildes ist." Herzfelde, description of cat. no. 152 in *Dada-Messe*.
63. "John wurde von seinen Freunden zwar schon im Kriege Monteur genannt, aber nicht seiner Arbeitstechnik wegen, sondern weil er einen Monteuranzug zu tragen pflegte. Er wollte nicht wie ein Künstler aussehen, aber auch nicht wie ein Werbefachmann." Herzfelde, "Dada und die Folgen," rpt. in Heartfield, *Schnitt entlang*, p. 95.
64. "Das Wort 'Monteur' erfand ich für Heartfield, der dauernd in einem alten blauen Anzug auftrat und dessen Tätigkeit in unserer Gemeinschaft am meisten an montieren erinnerte." Grosz, letter to Franz Roh dated 1929 and published in Roh and Tschichold, *foto-auge*, quoted in Heartfield, *Schnitt entlang*, p. 29.
65. "Den Titel 'Monteur-dada' erfand Grosz erst nach der Aussöhnung der Gruppen Baader-Hausmann mit dem inzwischen wieder aufgetauchten Huelsenbeck einerseits und Grosz-Heartfield und Mehring andererseits. Damals, im Juli 1919 erhielten wir alle von John Heartfield gesetzte Visitenkarten mit unseren Titeln: Baader, den der Weltbühnen-Jacobsohn zum Oberdada 1918 ernannt hatte, Huelsenbeck, der sich Weltdada nannte, ich, der sich Dadasoph nannte, Heartfield Monteurdada, Grosz erhielt den Titel Marschall

- und Mehring wurde Pipidada. Das sind die historischen Tatsachen." Hausmann, letter to Jan Tschichold dated April 9, 1930 (Bolliger Collection, Zurich). Baader was first referred to in print as the "Oberdada" in Jacobsohn's *Die Weltbühne* 14, 35 (August 29, 1918): 204.
66. "Ich habe mit Baader verschiedenes gemacht, Simultangedichte, ein Simultan-Roman, neue Holzschnitte; ich habe die Sent M'ahesa für den kubistischen Tanz begeistert, werde ihr neue Kostüme machen, habe eine wunderbare Idee für einen Tanz und neue Musik, dann gebe ich jetzt ein neues Heft heraus, die Galerie dada wird gegründet—es ist wirklich eine neue Bewegung da." Hausmann's notebook dated May 1–5, 1918, pp. 23–24, Höch Estate.
 67. Letter, Hausmann to Huelsenbeck, March 14, 1962, Artist's Estate.
 68. For chronologies on the Dada movement, see Sheppard, *New Studies*, pp. 159–88, and *Tendenzen*, pp. 3/131–3/149.
 69. Reported in *BZ am Mittag*, July 30, 1918.
 70. Reported in *Berliner Tageblatt* (September 9, 1918) and in *BZ am Mittag* and *Tägliche Rundschau* (September 11, 1919).
 71. "What does Jesus Christ signify to you? You don't notice him!" Hausmann's translation. Undated [ca. 1960] statement, Artist's Estate. As part of the publicity tactics of the Baader-Hausmann "Gesellschaft Freie Erde," a broadside was published with a long excerpt of the sermon, rpt. in Baader, *Oberdada*, p. 40.
 72. Illus. in Baader, *Oberdada*, p. 49.
 73. See Karl Scheffler's review in *Kunst und Künstler* 17, 9 (1919): 377.
 74. See Mehring, *Berlin Dada*, pp. 50–52.
 75. "Die Centrale des Dadaismus ist in Berlin." Card from Huelsenbeck to Tzara dated May 3, 1919, published in Sheppard, *Zürich-Dadaco-Dadaglobe*, doc. 15, p. 17.
 76. Advertised as the "Grösstes Standard-Werk der Welt" in *Der Dada* 2 (December 1919), unpag. Huelsenbeck reports signing the contract in his letter to Tzara of August 9, 1919, pub. in Sheppard, *Zürich-Dadaco-Dadaglobe*, doc. 16, p. 17.
 77. Illus. in Baader, *Oberdada*, p. 53.
 78. See Hanne Bergius, "Baader, la fantasia politica," pp. 25–40, and Stephen C. Foster, "Johannes Baader: Kunst und Kulturkritik" in *Sinn aus Unsinn: Dada International*, ed. Wolfgang Paulsen and Helmut G. Hermann (Bern and Munich: Francke Verlag, 1982), p. 161.
 79. What he calls Baader's "proto-Dada" activity is assessed by Hausmann in an undated four-page typescript, "A la memoire de Johannes Baader," Artist's Estate.
 80. Hausmann, "A la memoire de Johannes Baader," Artist's Estate. According to Sheppard, Baader was certified insane as a direct result of this event; see Sheppard, *New Studies*, p. 168.
 81. Illus. in Baader, *Oberdada*, doc. 17, p. 36.
 82. "Dada ist das Chaos, aus dem sich tausend Ordnungen erheben, die sich wieder zum Chaos Dada verschlingen. Dada ist der Verlauf und der Inhalt des gesamten Weltgeschehens gleichzeitig." Baader, "Eine Erklärung des Club Dada" in Huelsenbeck, ed., *Dada Almanach*, p. 132.

83. "Baader—il est renegat d'une couleur bourgeois et fait sabotage égoïste. En future il n'est pas me[m]bre du Club Dada." Postcard from Hausmann to Tzara, February 10, 1919, in Sheppard, ed., *New Studies*, p. 109.
84. "Hüten Sie sich vor *Baader*, der mit unseren Gedanken nichts zu tun hat... und den Dadaismus in Berlin durch seinen Blödsinn so kompromittiert hat, dass ich nicht einmal mehr Notizen in den Zeitungen unterbringen kann." Letter from Huelsenbeck to Tzara dated by Sheppard February 1919, in Sheppard, ed., *Zürich-Dadaco-Dadaglobe*, doc. 2, p. 14.
85. Illus. in Baader, *Oberdada*, p. 48.
86. Foster, "Kunst und Kulturkritik," pp. 157 and passim.
87. Huelsenbeck, *Memoirs*, p. 67.
88. The "Acht Weltsätze" were published on July 30, 1918. See Baader's account in "Bemerkungen" in Baader, *Oberdada*, p. 78.
89. "Der Weltkrieg ist ein Krieg der Zeitungen. In Wirklichkeit hat er niemals existiert." Baader, "Deutschlands Größe und Untergang oder Die phantastische Lebensgeschichte des Oberdada" in Huelsenbeck, *Dada Almanach*, p. 94, rpt. in Baader, *Oberdada*, p. 93.
90. "En 1919 Baader commença à faire des photomontages. Ses montages dépassaient toute mesure par leur quantité formidable et leurs formats. Dans ce domaine il était comparable à Schwitters. Partout, où il le pouvait, il arrachait des pancartes entières des murs et des colonnes d'affiches et les rapportait chez lui, où il les classait soigneusement." Hausmann, *Courrier Dada*, p. 79. See also Hausmann's letters of January 31 and February 10, 1969, in *Leonardo* 2, 2 (July 1969): 327-28.
91. Hausmann's account of Baader's assembling procedures is given in Richter, *Dada: Art and Anti-Art*, p. 127.
92. Baader, "Reklame für mich," *Der Dada* 2, unpag. See also "Erklärung Dada" in *Der Dada* 1. For rpts., see Baader, *Oberdada*, p. 56. and pp. 67-69.
93. "Format papier journal, avec des pages entières en collages, qui contenaient des rapports mystérieux et surnaturels de chaque jour de sa vie entre 1919 et 1920." Hausmann, "A La memoire de Johannes Baader," ms., p. 4, Artist's Estate.
94. "Il collait journellement des documents nouveaux, des taches colorées, des lettres, des chiffres et même des représentations figuratives de sa moisson d'affiches. Avec cela il créa une sorte de collage-littérature ou collage-poésie." Hausmann, *Courrier Dada*, p. 79.
95. For a color illus. of this poster, see *El Espiritu Dada: 1915/1925* (ex. cat.: Caracas, Museo de Arte Contemporaneo de Caracas, 1980), p. 18.
96. What survives of this material is found in the Bibliothèque Littéraire Jacques Doucet, Paris. See Sheppard, *New Studies*, pp. 107-21 and 144-58, and *Zürich-Dadaco-Dadaglobe*, passim.
97. See, e.g., Baader's cards to Tzara of January 19, 1919, and February 11, 1919, illus. in Baader, *Oberdada*, p. 44, with texts transcribed in Sheppard, ed., *New Studies*, doc. 3, p. 147, and doc. 4, p. 148.
98. Illus. in Baader, *Oberdada*, no. 33, p. 51.
99. Cf. illus. in Hausmann, *Am Anfang*, p. 34.

100. See respectively Sheppard, ed., *New Studies*, doc. 6, p. 109, and *Tendenzen*, no. 3/415, p. 3/210, illus. p. 3/200.
101. "Le Photomontage de 1918 était une innovation, car il était fait entièrement avec des coupures de revues illustrées et des photos, ouvrant ainsi une nouvelle voie à la publicité." Hausmann, "A noter: les innovations dadaïstes créées par Raoul Hausmann," undated typescript, Artist's Estate. Hausmann claimed in his letter to Jan Tschichold of April 2, 1930, to have exhibited his "erste Photomontage" at the Dada-Messe.
102. "Typographie ist das Endergebnis eines optisch-akustischen Gestaltungsvorganges. . . . Die Abkürzungswerte unserer heutigen Staben wurden erst erreicht durch einen Jahrtausende dauernden Umschmelzungsprozeß." Hausmann, "Typografie," rpt. Hausmann, *Texte* 2: 181.
103. Giroud, *Hausmann*, p. 24.
104. The fragments are from the table of contents of *Die Erde* 1: 8 (April 15, 1919), in which Hausmann published his "Der Besitzbegriff in der Familie und das Recht auf den eigenen Körper," pp. 242–45; and from the flier "Was ist der Dadaismus und was will er in Deutschland" which was inserted in *Der Dada* 1.
105. "Das innerste Selbst ist kein Mensch, der Mensch gehört bereits zu seiner Aeusserung, zur automatischen Aeusserung der innersten Freiheit." Friedländer, *Schöpferische Indifferenz*, p. xxx.
106. Robert Delaunay, "Über das Licht," German translation by Paul Klee, *Der Sturm* 3, 144–45 (January 1913): 255–56. For English trans., see Herschel B. Chipp, ed., *Theories of Modern Art: A Source Book by Artists and Critics* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971), pp. 319–20.
107. "Unsere Kunst, das ist schon heute der Film! Zugleich Vorgang, Plastik und Bild!" Hausmann, "Présentismus," rpt. in Hausmann, *Texte* 2: 26.
108. "Uns nötig ist . . . die Konvention der Kinopsychologie." Hausmann, "Lob des Konventionellen," p. 5, rpt. in Hausmann, *Texte* 2: 49.
109. "Haußmann [*sic*] ist im Kompositionellen stärker, neigt aber so stark zum Plastischen, daß er Mühe hat, im Flächigen zu bleiben." Udo Rukser, "Dada. Aufführung und Ausstellung im Salon Neumann, Kurfürstendamm," *Freie Zeitung* 28 (May 8, 1919).
110. Hausmann, *Am Anfang*, p. 77.
111. Decorative examples by Höch include *Das blaue Blatt* (1918) and *Bild XIII Rot-Gelb* (1919), illus. in Adriani, *Höch*, pp. 108–9. See p. 111 for *Construction with Blue*. *Construction in Red* is illus. in *El Espiritu Dada*, p. 68.
112. Illus. in Baader, *Oberdada*, p. 65. This work was to appear on a *Dadaco* page with Hausmann's architectural fantasies. The proof sheet, now in the Berlinische Galerie, is illus. in Cynthia Jaffee McCabe, *Artistic Collaboration in the Twentieth Century* (ex. cat., Washington, D. C.: Hirshhorn Museum, pub. by Smithsonian Institution Press, 1984), p. 96.
113. Eberhard Steneberg, *Russische Kunst: Berlin 1919–1932* (Berlin: Deutsche Gesellschaft für Bildende Künste, Mann Verlag, 1969), pp. 11–12.
114. According to Behne ("Werkstattbesuche," p. 723), Fritz Stuckenberg, Arnold Topp, Höch, Erica Deetjen, Mehring, and "Kurt" Baader also exhibited in the I. B. Neumann show. On Grosz, see Udo Rukser, "Dada."

115. Behne, "Werkstattbesuche," pp. 725–26.
116. "Golyschew ist vielleicht der tiefste von allen. Einige seiner kleinen Zeichnungen sind von außerordentlicher Intensität der Abstraktion, ein von allem Gegenständlichem losgelöstes System von Linien, baut sich innerhalb der Fläche zu einem mystischen Gebilde auf, das einen seltsamen Empfindungszustand sehr deutlich ausspricht. Eine farbige Maske von ihm war wohl das bedeutendste Werk der ganzen Ausstellung." Rukser, "Dada."
117. "Er und ich, wir machten für diese Gelegenheit 'technische' Zeichnungen sowie elektrische Klingelanlagen oder einen Gasometer und Ähnliches." Hausmann, *Am Anfang*, p. 77.
118. This drawing was published in *Schall und Rauch*, no. 4 (March 1920), p. 9, and is more readily available in *Dada 1916–1966: Documents of the International Dada Movement*, with commentary by Hans Richter (ex. cat., Munich: Goethe-Institut zur Pflege deutscher Sprache und Kulture im Ausland e. V., 1966), p. 11. *Deutsche Freiheit* is illus. in Malmö, Hausmann, p. 44.
119. Max Ernst, *Fiat Modes, pereat ars* (Cologne: Schönmlich Verlag, 1919), portfolio of ten lithographs. For illus., see *Dada: Berlin Cologne Hannover* (ex. cat., Boston: Institute of Contemporary Art, 1980), unpag.
120. Hausmann, "A Jef Golyscheff," *Phases* 13, 11 (May 1967): 75–77.
121. At age 12 in 1909, Golyscheff had come from Russia to Berlin. He studied music theory, composition and painting privately between 1910 and 1914 and then attended the Konservatorium. See Detlef Gojowy, "Jefim Golyscheff - der unbequeme Vorläufer," *Melos/NZ* 1: 3 (May-June 1975): 188.
122. Herta Wescher, *Collage*, trans. Robert E. Wolf (New York: Abrams), p. 138.
123. "Seine Arhythmie, seine durchdringenden Noten, ein Sammelsurium von tönen... die nicht mehr Harmonien sein wollen, die einfach: DADA sind." Hausmann, "Golyscheff," in *Am Anfang*, p. 106.
124. "Chaoplasma" first appeared with Hausmann's signature in *Merz* no. 4 (July 1923), p. 3a. For a reproduction, see Hausmann, *Texte* 2: 75.
125. "[Das Mittelstück] besteht aus einem Nebeneinander verschiedener Zitate des als Kulturshrott Ansehbaren: Schiller, Tagespresse, politische Kommentare, Goethe, Porno, Luther, Reklame etc. Das wird durch die Simultaneität zu einer Melange." Erlhoff, *Dadasoph*, p. 113.
126. "Die Phonie muß den Sinn von Zeichen und Signalen im Raum annehmen. Im Raum, denn es ist nicht mehr möglich, ein phonetisches Gedicht in klassischer Typographie nach den Regeln der Symmetrie zu konstruieren. Dies war ein notwendiger Schritt, der die Auffassung des Geräusches begleiten mußte, Emanation 'unregelmäßiger' Töne, nicht mehr dem wohl-temperierten Klavier unterworfen. Die Asymmetrie war eine unvermeidliche Konsequenz." Hausmann, "Eidophonetische Morgenröte," ms., quoted in Riha, "Porträt Raoul Hausmann" in Riha, *Da Dada da war*, p. 127.
127. "Alles war zitiert und montiert." Erlhoff, *Dadasoph*, p. 115.
128. "Das Wesen der Kunst besteht im Anschauen." Hausmann, "Die neue Kunst," col. 284, rpt. in Hausmann, *Texte* 1: 184.
129. Gojowy, "Golyscheff," p. 190.

130. "Aus bunten Zetteln zusammengeklebte Figuren, bunte Vorsatzpapiere, in deren spielende Muster er einige Linien zeichnet—reizende atmosphärische Gebilde entstehen so—aufgeklebte kleine Zeichnungen auf bunten, langen Streifen." Behne, "Werkstattbesuche," p. 726.
131. Hausmann, "A Jef Golyscheff." For corroborating evidence on materials, see description of a self-portrait of Golyscheff's described in 1920 as including cigar box covers, matches, and bread crusts: review by Willi Kurth in *Die Kunst* 35, 41 (1920): 401f., rpt. in Helga Kliemann, *Die Novembergruppe* (Berlin: Deutsche Gesellschaft für Bildende Kunst e. V. and Mann Verlag, 1969), p. 85.
132. For a possible example of a freestanding assemblage by Golyscheff, see Mehring, *Berlin Dada*, plate 14, which Hausmann has claimed is erroneously attributed to Höch. For this claim, see Wescher, *Collage*, p. 136.
133. "Golyscheff hatte aus kleinen Flaschen, aus Stoffresten, aus Papierschnipseln und so weiter kleine, köstliche Skulpturen gebaut, die ersten 'Assemblagen.'" Hausmann, *Am Anfang*, p. 77.
134. "Ich stellte in der Mitte des Saales eine abstrakte Form aus weißem Karton aus, auf die, am Tag nach der Eröffnung, die ach so witzigen 'Kameraden' Grosz und Heartfield mehrere kleine Geldstücke gelegt hatte, die Verhohnepiepelung durch das Publikum vorwegnehmend." Hausmann, *Am Anfang*, p. 77.
135. Illus. in Michel Sanouillet, *Il Movimento Dada* (Milan: Fratelli Fabbri Editori, 1969), plate XXXIX.
136. Illus. in *Neue Sachlichkeit and German Realism*, p. 40.
137. The assemblage, now lost, is illus. in *Hamburger Illustrierte Zeitung* 2, 28 (1920): 9, and in K. Schippers, *Holland Dada* (Amsterdam: Querido, 1974), p. 29.
138. Illus. on the first page of *Der Dada* 3 and in Heartfield, *Schnitt entlang*, p. 54.
139. Hausmann, *Am Anfang*, p. 122.
140. Louise O'Konor, *Viking Eggeling 1880-1925: Artist and Film-Maker, Life and Work*, Stockholm Studies in History of Art no. 23 (Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1971), p. 45.
141. A reconstruction of Richter's lost work, *Justitia Minor*, is illus. in Gray, ed., *Richter by Richter*, p. 93.
142. Letter, Hausmann to Steneberg, November 15, 1967, Berlinische Galerie.
143. "Als ich 1918 die Idee des Material-Bildes erfand, was man jetzt Assemblage nennt, hatte ich verstanden, dass es ausserhalb jeder konventionellen Aesthetik steht' und um dies zu erklären, wendete ich die Psychoanalyse an." Hausmann, "Die Dadaistischen Montagen und Ihre Beziehungen zum Neodadaismus und Neorealismus," undated typescript, p. 3, Artist's Estate. Cf. Hausmann, *Am Anfang*, p. 123.
144. Hausmann, "Matières-Collages" in *Raoul Hausmann, autour de "L'Esprit de notre temps": Assemblages, collages, photomontages* (ex. cat., Paris: Musée National d'Art Moderne, 1974), unpag.
145. "Etre dadaïste, cela voulait dire pour moi avoir un sens aigu de perception et voir les objets tels qu'ils sont. . . . Je me disais que prendre un objet et mettre son nom dessus est trop simple." Hausmann, "L'Esprit de notre temps 1919" (1967) in Giroud, *Hausmann*, p. 30.

146. "Le matériel soi-disant préfabriqué n'attend que d'être employé pour se libérer de la prison selon l'usage." Hausmann "Matières-Collages" in *Hausmann, autour*, unpag.
147. "Lokalisation ist Objekt, Funktion des Willens . . . aber der Wille selber ist kein Lokal, kein Wo, kein Wann, kein objektives Etwas, sondern Schöpfer alles dessen, Allmacht." Friedländer, *Schöpferische Indifferenz*, p. xxiv.
148. "Auflösung und Wiederformulierung der Auffassung von Ding, vom Objekt, der Formung, der 'Realität.'" Hausmann, "Was war Dada," typescript, January 6, 1959, Artist's Estate.
149. "...pour leur prêter une voix, un langage propre à leurs structures différentes." Hausmann, "Matières-Collages" in *Hausmann, autour*, unpag.
150. "Die Assemblage ist eine Schöpfung gegensätzlich jedem Pathos und jedem Maass [*sic*]. Die Assemblage offenbart sich durch ihre gegensätzlichen Teile, sie ist nicht eine Pseudologie der schönen Wahrheit—sie IST einfach und sie ist DA. Dies ist der Inhalt und der Sinn der Anti-Kunst." Hausmann, "Die Dadaistischen Montagen und Ihre Beziehungen zum Neodadaismus und Neorealismus," typescript, p. 3. See Hausmann, *Am Anfang*, p. 123, for this passage with slight modifications.
151. Hausmann, *Am Anfang*, p. 122.
152. "Sie bestand aus einem schwarzgemalten Holzbrett von ungefähr einem Meter, auf welchem ein mit Stäben eines Schirmständers geschmücktes Reißbrett befestigt war. Darüber hatte ich einen blauen Fayenceteller angebracht, und das Ganze war mit Rasierklingen übersät." Hausmann, *Am Anfang*, p. 122.
153. "Si j'emploie des lettres ou des morceaux de textes, je le fais d'une manière optophonétique au lieu de faire parler de prétendus événements." Hausmann, "Matières-Collages" in *Hausmann, autour*, unpag.
154. Kurt Schwitters, "Die Merzmalerei," *Der Sturm* 10, 4 (July 1919): 61, trans. in *Dada: Berlin, Cologne, Hannover*, unpag.
155. Kurt Schwitters, *Merz 6. Imitatoren watch step!* (Hanover: Redaktion des Merzverlages Kurt Schwitters, October 1923), trans. in Schmalenbach, *Schwitters*, p. 93.
156. Kurt Schwitters, *Merz 1. Holland Dada* (Hanover: January 1923), trans. in Schmalenbach, *Schwitters*, p. 97. Cf. p. 247, n. 44a.
157. Schwitters, "Die Merzmalerei," trans. in *Dada: Berlin, Cologne, Hannover*, unpag.
158. "...die unerschütterte Richtquelle, ewige Schöpfer-Person, Geist-Gott." Hausmann, "Notiz," rpt. in Hausmann, *Texte* 1: 12.
159. Kurt Schwitters, "Kunst und Zeiten" (1926), trans. in Elderfield, *Schwitters*, p. 189.
160. Kurt Schwitters, "i (Ein Manifest)," *Der Sturm* 13, 5 (May 1922): 80, trans. in Elderfield, *Schwitters*, p. 189.
161. "Zufälle gibt es prinzipiell nicht." Schwitters, *Das literarische Werk*, ed. Friedhelm Lach (Cologne: 1973) 2: 28, quoted in Meridith McClain, "Merz, ein Weg zum Wissen: Relativität und Komplementarität in Kurt Schwitters' Weltanschauung," in Paulsen and Hermann, eds., *Sinn aus Unsinn*, p. 202.
162. Schwitters, "Kunst und Zeiten," trans. in Elderfield, *Schwitters*, p. 189.
163. Kurt Schwitters, *Nasci (Merz 8-9)* (April-July 1924), trans. in Elderfield, *Schwitters*, p. 189.

164. Jane Beckett, "Dada, Van Doesburg and *De Stijl*" in Sheppard, *Dada: Studies*, p. 15.
165. Schwitters, *Merz 6*, trans. in Schmalenbach, *Schwitters*, p. 97.
166. Kurt Schwitters, "Merz," *Der Ararat* 2: 1 (January 1921): 3–9, trans. by Ralph Manheim in Motherwell, *Dada Painters*, p. 59.
167. "Schönheit, das ist eine Sache, die während des Produktionsprozesses entsteht!" Hausmann, "Présentismus," rpt. in Hausmann, *Texte* 2: 25.
168. "De sentir avec quelles autres matières ma première pièce voudrait être assemblée." Hausmann, "Matières-Collages" in *Hausmann, autour*, unpag.
169. Hausmann, "Dada Riots, Moves and Dies in Berlin" in *The Twenties in Berlin* (ex. cat., London: Annely Juda Fine Art, 1978), p. 25.
170. "...einige der Assemblagen... waren Konkretisationen durch die Umformung, die sie unterlagen." Hausmann, *Am Anfang*, p. 122.
171. "...aus einem Gleichgewichtspunkt hervorgegangen, aus dem Widerspruch der Koinzidenz, und gänzlich indifferent." Hausmann, *Am Anfang*, p. 123.
172. Hausmann, "Matières-Collages" in *Hausmann, autour*.
173. "Der Schöpfer erschafft automatisch... Auch alle vereinzelt Willkür-Akte sind automatisch wie Mechanismen; aber natürlich ist der gesamte Mechanismus nur die objektive Funktion des subjektiven Schöpfers." Friedländer, *Schöpferische Indifferenz*, pp. xxii–xxiii.
174. "Je voulais dévoiler l'esprit de notre temps, l'esprit de chacun dans son état rudimentaire... Un homme de tous les jours n'avait que les capacités que le hasard lui avait collées sur le crâne, extérieurement, le cerveau était vide. Je pris alors une belle tête en bois, je la polis longuement avec du papier de verre. Je la couronnai d'une timbale pliable. Je lui fixai un beau porte-monnaie derrière. Je pris un petit écrin à bijoux et le plaçai à la place de l'oreille droite. J'ajoutai encore un cylindre typographique à l'intérieur et un tuyau de pipe. Maintenant au côté gauche. Eh oui, j'avais envie de changer de matériel. Je fixai sur une règle en bois une pièce en bronze enlevée à un vieil appareil photographique suranné et je regardai. Ah, il me fallait encore ce petit carton blanc portant le chiffre 22 car, évidemment, l'esprit de notre temps n'avait qu'une signification numérique. Ainsi il se dresse encore aujourd'hui avec ses vices dans les tempes et un morceau de centimètre sur le front." Hausmann, "L'Esprit de notre temps 1919" in Giroud, *Hausmann*, p. 30.
175. "Die gesamte differenzierte Psyche ist... nur die oberflächliche Symptomatik... des Individuums." Friedländer, *Schöpferische Indifferenz*, p. xxvii.
176. "L'Art Dada wird ihnen eine ungeheure Erfrischung, einen Anstoß zum wirklichen Erleben aller Beziehungen bieten... wunderbare Konstellationen in wirklichem Material." Hausmann, "Synthetisches Cino der Malerei," rpt. in Hausmann, *Texte* 1: 16.
177. "...das Spiegelbild der vom Persönlichkeitsverlust gekennzeichneten Massen in ihrer Abhängigkeit von Automation, Technik und Konsum." Hanne Bergius, "Dada Machine!" in *Kunst und Technik in den 20er Jahren* (ex. cat., Munich: Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus, 1980), p. 134.
178. Stockebrand, "Collage," p. 61.
179. Françoise Cachin-Nora, "L'Esprit de notre temps" in *Hausmann, autour*, unpag.

180. "Was gegeben werden kann, sind, stets in menschlichen Formeln, Angleichungen an die Bezüglichkeiten des schöpferischen Fluidums des Universums, aber nie dies Fluidum selbst." Hausmann, "Ausblick," p. 6, rpt. in Hausmann, *Texte* 2: 99.
181. Hanne Bergius, "Dada à Berlin" in *Paris-Berlin: Rapports et contrastes France-Allemagne, 1900–1933* (ex. cat., Paris: Centre National d'Art et de Culture Georges Pompidou, 1978), p. 134.
182. "Wozu Geist haben in einer Welt, die mechanisch weiterläuft?" Hausmann, "Dada in Europa."
183. "Die Künstler hätten die Aufgabe zu erfüllen... die neue Konventionalität des einfachen, selbstverständlichen Lebens zu formulieren, nicht philosophische Verstiegheiten und angebliche seelische Romantik!" Hausmann, "Lob des Konventionellen," rpt. in Hausmann, *Texte* 2: 49–50.
184. Hausmann, "Objektive Betrachtung," p. 66, rpt. in Hausmann, *Texte* 1: 112.

Chapter 5

1. "Dadaismus... ist... gegen das Bildungsideal des Philisters... ist die Rache des Künstlers am Bourgeois... Der Dadaismus ist eine Strategie... Dadaismus ist also keine Richtung; es ist die Bestätigung eines Selbstständigkeitsgefühls." Rukser, "Dada," rpt. in Heartfield, *Schnitt entlang*, pp. 34–35.
2. "Der Dadaismus ist keine Bewegung—er ist ein neues Sein." Hausmann, "Dadaistische Abrechnung," 9–10, rpt. in Hausmann, *Texte* 1: 48.
3. "Der Club Dada war die Fronde gegen den 'geistigen Arbeiter,' gegen die 'Intellektuellen!'" Hausmann, "Pamphlet gegen die Weimarische Lebensauffassung," rpt. in Hausmann, *Texte* 1: 42.
4. "Diese albernsten Nachbeter einer spätest-griechischen Heroisierungsgeste des Bürgers und der Verherrlichung der Einzelpersonlichkeit haben... ihre bis an Verzweiflung grenzende Dummheit schlagend bewiesen." Hausmann, "Dadaistische Abrechnung," rpt. in Hausmann, *Texte* 1: 48.
5. "A notre dernière soirée il y avait des rédacteurs et étudiants, qui voulaient tout sérieusement approfondir du point de vue moral-scientifique, si le Dadaïsme est sorti de la misère de l'âme, de l'ennui ou de l'humeur d'un désespéré!" Letter, Hausmann to Tzara, March 26, 1919, in Sheppard, *New Studies*, p. 110. Cf. the description of this audience in [Mg-G], "Klub Milchstraße," *B Z am Mittag* (March 13, 1919).
6. George Grosz, "Abwicklung," *Das Kunstblatt* 8: 2 (February 1924): 37, trans., Beth Lewis, "Grosz/ Heartfield: The Artist as Social Critic." In *Grosz/ Heartfield: The Artist as Social Critic* (ex. cat., Minneapolis: University Gallery, University of Minnesota, 1980), p. 28.
7. "Der Dadaismus war keine ideologische Bewegung, sondern ein organisches Produkt, entstanden als Reagens auf die Wolkenwanderer-Tendenzen der sogenannten heiligen Kunst, die über Kuben und Gotik nachsann, während die Feldherren mit Blut malten." Grosz, "Abwicklung," p. 37.
8. "Noch nicht sahen wir, daß diesem Irrsinn ein System zugrunde lag." Grosz, "Abwicklung," p. 38.

9. Herzfelde claims that he, along with Grosz, Heartfield, and Erwin Piscator, joined the Communist Party on the night of December 31, 1918; see Wieland Herzfelde, "John Heartfield und George Grosz: zum 75. Geburtstag meines Bruders," *Die Weltbühne* (June 15, 1966): 747. Cf. Lewis, *Grosz*, pp. 251–2, n. 9.
10. See Lewis, "Artist as a Social Critic," pp. 36–37, and George Grosz, *Briefe: 1913–1959*, ed. Herbert Knust (Reinbek: Rowohlt, 1979), p. 80.
11. "... außer einer bürgerlichen Kultur noch gar keine proletarische Kultur gibt, ja, daß der Proletarier selbst wesentlich bürgerlich bedingt und verseucht ist." Hausmann, "Objektive Betrachtung," p. 66, rpt. in Hausmann, *Texte* 1: 112.
12. Letter, Hausmann to Tzara, dated by Sheppard ca. April 1919, rpt. in Sheppard, *New Studies*, doc. no. 12, pp. 112–13.
13. "Dada ist eine deutsche bolschewistische Angelegenheit." Huelsenbeck, *En avant dada* (rpt.: Hamburg: Edition Nautilus, 1978), p. 43. For a slightly different trans., see Motherwell, *Dada Painters*, p. 44. For discussion of this phrase in relation to the Dada movement, see J. C. Middleton, "Bolshevism in Art" and Meyer, *Dada in Zürich und Berlin*, pp. 194ff.
14. Much of this activity was extolled and examined by A. Behne, P. Landau, and H. Löwing in *Das Politische Plakat*, a well-illustrated book published in 1919 by the Berlin-Charlottenburg journal *Das Plakat*. A recent exhibition which treats the important development of posters beginning in this era is *Politische Plakate der Weimarer Republik 1918–1923* (Darmstadt: Hessisches Landesmuseum, 1980). See also Peter Hielscher, "Propagande par l'image; Affiches politiques sous la République de Weimar," *Paris-Berlin*, pp. 410–19, and Ida Katherine Rigby, "German Expressionist Political Posters 1918–1919: Art and Politics, A Failed Alliance," *Art Journal* 44, 1 (spring 1984): 33–39.
15. Sheppard, "Dada and Expressionism," p. 75.
16. "Zu Kommunismus und Anarchie," p. 18, rpt. in Hausmann, *Texte* 1: 28.
17. "Der Dadaismus ist eine Übergangsform, die sich taktisch gegen die christlich-bürgerliche Welt wendet und die Lächerlichkeit und Sinnlosigkeit ihres geistigen und sozialen Mechanismus schonungslos aufdeckt... Diese Arbeit leistet auf dem Gebiet der Kunst der Dadaismus, der deshalb jeden zur Schau getragenen Idealismus oder den Radikalismus (des l'art pour l'art) ablehnt und den Materialismus der gegebenen Welt- und Kultursituation auf den Gipfel treibt." Hausmann, "Objektive Betrachtung," pp. 66–67, rpt. in Hausmann, *Texte* 1: 112. My emphasis.
18. "Der Dadaismus hat als einzige Kunstform der Gegenwart für eine Erneuerung der Ausdrucksmittel und gegen das klassische Bildungsideal des ordnungsliebenden Bürgers und seinen letzten Ausläufer, den Expressionismus gekämpft!" Hausmann, "Pamphlet," pp. 163–64, rpt. in Hausmann, *Texte* 1: 41.
19. "Dadaismus ist eine bewußte Taktik zur Zerstörung der überlebten bürgerlichen Kultur... so wäre der Dadaist, der sich der 'abstrakten' oder einer 'aktivistischen' Kunst bedienen wollte, ein Esel oder ein doppelter Schwindler—denn gerade er hat die Notwendigkeit und die Wirkungsmöglichkeit des Konkreten und der Satire begriffen." Hausmann, "Objektive Betrachtung," pp. 67–68, rpt. in Hausmann, *Texte* 1: 112.
20. Willie Wolfradt, "Der Dadaismus," *Der Friede* 1, 18 (May 24, 1918): 434–35, rpt. in Riha, *Da Dada da war*, pp. 283–84.

21. Alfred Kerr, "Dada: Tribune" *Berliner Tageblatt* (December 1, 1919).
22. "Begreifen Sie doch, daß Ihre Positionen uns völlig gleichgültig sind." Raoul Hausmann "Der deutsche Spiesser ärgert sich," *Der Dada* 2, rpt. in Hausmann, *Texte* 1: 82.
23. "Wir dudeln, quietschen, fluchen, lachen die Ironie: Dada! Denn wir sind—ANTIDADAISTEN!" Hausmann "Der deutsche Spiesser ärgert sich," rpt. in Hausmann, *Texte* 1: 82.
24. "Kunst gibt es nicht mehr.... Das absolute Unvermögen, etwas zu sagen, ist der Expressionismus. Meine Herren Spießer, zeigen Sie Ihre schönen tätowierten Bäuche!... Sie Dummkopf!... Wir wünschen Unruhe, statt Ruhe!... Nieder mit den Spießern! Nieder mit Ihnen! Tretet dada bei! dada!!" quoted in E. Neuhahn, "Dada Matinee" in *Hannoverscher Kurier* (December 2, 1919).
25. "Offener Brief an die November-Gruppe," *Der Gegner* 2, 8–9 (1920–21): 297–301, rpt. in Hausmann, *Texte* 1: 189–94, and in Kliemann, *Novembergruppe*, pp. 61–64, with discussion, p. 15.
26. "Weder seiner [the Oberdada's] Natur, noch der Natur seines Gegenstandes entsprach die agitatorische Wirkung in der grossen Volksmasse." Baader, "Bemerkungen" in Baader, *Oberdada*, p. 78.
27. "Das einzige Mittel, dieser Macht- und Wehrlosigkeit, auch ohne die Mitwirkung der Geistigen, zu begegnen, war das *Mittel dada*." Baader, "Bemerkungen" in Baader, *Oberdada*, p. 79, emphasis in the original.
28. "Door deze dadaïstische onverschillingheid heeft de bourgeoisie het dadaïsme voor 'bolsjewiek' de communisten het dadaïsme voor 'bourgeois' gescholden. Dada lacht." Theo Van Doesburg in Kurt Schwitters, ed., *Merz* 2 (April 1923): 32, trans. in Middleton, "Bolshevism," p. 422.
29. "Zuerst einmal jede Beziehung zu den veralteten Erscheinungen des Futurismus, Kubismus, Aktivismus etc. lärmend abzuschwören." Wolfradt, "Der Dadaismus," pp. 434–35, rpt. in Riha, *Da Dada da war*, p. 284, n. 3.
30. "Während Deutschland bebt und zuckt in einer Regierungskrise... gehen diese Burschen her und machen trostlose Trivialitäten aus Lumpen, Abfällen und Müll." Hausmann, "Kunstkritik" in *Dada-Messe*, rpt. in Hausmann, *Texte* 1: 107. Hausmann's essay was published in the negative review: P. F., "Kunst-Bolschewismus," *Neue Preussische [Kreuz-] Zeitung*, (Morgen-Ausgabe, July 3, 1920).
31. "Nichts kann bei ihnen mehr überraschen; alles geht unter in Krämpfen der Originalitätswut, die, alles Schöpferischen bar, sich austollt in albernen Mätzchen. 'Mechanisches Kunstwerk' mag ein in Rußland hingängiger Typus sein—hier ist es talent- und kunstlos Nachäfferei, das äußerste an Snobismus und Frechheit der ernsthaften Kritik gegenüber." Hausmann, "Kunstkritik," rpt. in Hausmann, *Texte* 1: 107, trans. in Lucy Lippard, ed., *Dadas on Art* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1971), p. 58.
32. "Der vielleicht irregeleitete Inhaber des Salons sei gewarnt—über die Dadaisten aber breite sich gnädiges Schweigen!" Hausmann, "Kunstkritik," rpt. in Hausmann, *Texte* 1: 107.
33. "Was ist Dada? Eine Kunst? Eine Philosophie? eine Politik? Eine Feuerversicherung? Oder: Staatsreligion? ist dada wirkliche Energie? oder ist es Garnichts, d. h. alles?" *Der Dada* 2, unpag.

34. Huelsenbeck, *En avant dada*, trans. in Motherwell, *Dada Painters*, p. 45.
35. Huelsenbeck, *En avant dada*, trans. in Motherwell, *Dada Painters*, pp. 33 and 31.
36. Neuhahn, "Dada Matinee."
37. "Die Bewegung Dada führt zur Aufhebung des Kunsthandels . . . Ausstellung und Verkauf dadaistischer Erzeugnisse." *Dada-Messe*, cover.
38. Herzfelde, "Dada und die Folgen," rpt. in Heartfield, *Schnitt entlang*, p. 92. See also Herzfelde, *Heartfield*, p. 26.
39. *Dada Rundschau* is illus. in *Tendenzen*, p. 3/249.
40. Illus. in Adriani, *Höch*, p. 114.
41. "...die gesamten Beziehungen und Erkenntnisse des Menschen zur Welt und den sie bewegenden Kräften symbolisch und magisch gefaßt, verdichtet, gebannt." Hausmann, "Die neue Kunst," col. 281, rpt. in Hausmann, *Texte* 1: 179.
42. Hausmann, "Présentismus," rpt. in Hausmann, *Texte* 2: 24.
43. "Le photomontage permet d'élaborer les formules les plus dialectiques, en raison de ses antagonismes de structures et dimensions . . . du rugueux et du lisse, de la vue aérienne et du premier plan, de la perspective et du plat." Hausmann, *Courrier Dada*, p. 48.
44. Unsigned review, "Was Kostet ein Witz?" *Vossische Zeitung* (March 14, 1919).
45. For discussion of the identity of the figure, see Ronald Alley, *Catalog of the Tate Gallery's Collection of Modern Art Other than Works by British Artists* (London, Tate Gallery, 1981), pp. 335–36. As Alley notes, *The Art Critic* may have been the work listed as *Der Kunstreporter* in *Dada-Messe* (no. 37).
46. "Der Organismus: Mensch, auf dieser Erde, die tausendfach verflochtenen, sich durchkreuzenden Gedankensysteme (Regierungsformen, Kapitalwirtschaft, bürgerliche Gesellschaft als ebensovieler Machtwillen)." Hausmann, "Notiz," col. 421, rpt. in Hausmann, *Texte* 1: 12.
47. "Der Dadaist als Mensch . . . balanciert die Gegebenheiten dieser Welt, die scheinbar aus dem Nihil explodiert, und zu ihrer eigenen Belustigung in dieses Nihil zurückstürzt, ganz unbekümmert um irgendwelche ernsthaften Theoreme von transzendent-kosmischer oder rational-veristischer Prägung." Hausmann, "Dada ist mehr als Dada," rpt. in Hausmann, *Texte* 1: 169.
48. See Timothy O. Benson, "Mysticism, Materialism, and the Machine in Berlin Dada," *Art Journal* 46, 1 (spring 1987), in press.
49. See Wiedmann, *Romantic Roots*, pp. 60–61.
50. "Der Dadaismus, der eine Art von Kulturkritik war, machte vor nichts halt." Hausmann, "Fotomontage," rpt. in Hausmann, *Texte* 2: 130.
51. "Sie waren die Ersten, die das Material der Fotografie benutzen, um aus Strukturteilen besonderer, einander oftmals entgegengesetzter dinglicher und räumlicher Art, eine neue Einheit zu schaffen, die dem Chaos der Kriegs- und Revolutionszeit ein optisch und gedanklich neues Spiegelbild entriß." Hausmann, "Fotomontage," rpt. in Hausmann, *Texte* 2: 130.

52. "Und sie waren sich darüber klar, daß ihrer Methode eine starke propagandistische Kraft innewohnte, die auszugestalten und aufzunehmen das zeitgenössische Leben nicht mutvoll genug war." Hausmann, "Fotomontage," rpt. in Hausmann, *Texte* 2: 130.
53. "Dem Dadaisten ist das Leben schlechtweg eine Unerklärbarkeit . . . Dada ist nicht so platt unverschämt wie die ernstgemeinten Systeme zur ad-actalegung unserer Welt der disharmonischen Harmonie." Hausmann, "Dada ist Mehr als Dada," rpt. in Hausmann, *Texte* 1: 169–70.
54. "Durch die Gestaltung einer fehlerhaften Welt eben eine höhere Welt ahnen läßt . . . In dem Zustand des Schwebens zwischen zwei Welten, wenn wir mit der alten gebrochen haben, und die neue noch nicht formen können." Hausmann, "Die neue Kunst," col. 284, rpt. in Hausmann, *Texte* 1: 184.
55. See Sheppard, *New Studies*, doc. 4, p. 108 and *Tendenzen*, no. 4/65, p. 4/114. The journal contained reproductions of works by De Chirico and Carrà.
56. Ohff, *Höch*, no. 14.
57. "Eine ganz reale Plattform." George Grosz, "Zu meinen neuen Bildern." *Das Kunstblatt* 5, 1 (1921): 14; Stockebrand, "Collage," pp. 56–58.
58. "... eine Explosion von Blickpunkten und durcheinandergewirbelten Bildebenen." Hausmann, "Fotomontage," p. 62, rpt. in Hausmann, *Texte* 2: 131.
59. "[Andrerseits Gehielt ich] eine superrealistische Haltung . . . die eine beliebige Anwendung mehrer perspektivischer Zentren und die Übereinanderlagerung von Gegenständen und Oberflächen erlaubte." Hausmann, "Mein Weg zur neuen Entwicklung in der Kuensten," typescript, Artist's Estate.
60. "... die Verfeinerung unseres wichtigsten Körpersinnes." Hausmann, "Präsentismus," rpt. in Hausmann, *Texte* 2: 29.
61. Gertrud Jula Dech, *Schnitt mit dem Küchenmesser Dada durch die letzte weimarer Bierbauchkulturepoche Deutschlands: Untersuchungen zur Fotomontage bei Hannah Höch* (Münster: Lit Verlag, 1981), p. 153.
62. *Das schöne Mädchen, Bürgerliches Brautpaar (Streit)*, and *Da Dandy* are illus. in color in Christos M. Joachimides, Norman Rosenthal, and Wieland Schmied, eds., *German Art of the 20th Century: Painting and Sculpture, 1905–1985* (Munich: Prestel-Verlag, 1985), nos. 135–37. *Da Dandy* and *Bürgerliches Brautpaar (Streit)* are often erroneously dated on the basis of the apparently post-dated signature "Hannah Höch 19." It is unlikely that Höch added the "h" to Hanna until 1921 when she was more closely associated with Schwitters who altered the spelling so that it could be read forwards and backwards in the manner described in his 1919 poem, "An Anna Blume." Höch signed her works "H.H." or "H. Höch" throughout the period 1919–1920.
63. "Diese untergehende Welt war eine Welt vor allem des ruhenden Raumes-, wir sind im Begriff, in eine Welt der Zeit und der dynamischen Kräfte zu schreiten . . . Auch in der Optik erleben wir ein Gleiches." Hausmann, "Die neue Kunst," cols. 252–83, rpt. in Hausmann, *Texte* 1: 182.
64. Bergson, *Creative Evolution*, p. 296.
65. "Funktionalitätsprinzip der Zeit, die als kinetische Energie Raum und Materie bildet." Hausmann and Eggeling, "Zweite präsentistische Deklaration," rpt. in Hausmann, *Texte* 2: 87.

66. "Durch die mechanische und technische Entwicklung haben wir gelernt, die Bewegung zu erfassen." Hausmann, "Die neue Kunst," col. 283, rpt. in Hausmann, *Texte* 1: 182.
67. "Sich der Mensch in unserem Bewußtsein vollkommen verändert hat, nicht nur weil wir Telefon und Flugzeug und elektrisches Klavier oder die Revolverdrehbank haben, sondern weil unsere ganze Psychophysis durch die Erfahrung umgewandelt ist." Hausmann, "Présentismus," rpt. in Hausmann, *Texte* 2: 26.
68. "...die Konvention der Kinopsychologie, die ganz einfach sein kann in ihrer Allgemeingültigkeit." Hausmann, "Lob des Konventionellen," rpt. in Hausmann, *Texte* 2: 49.
69. "...jede Form ein erstarrtes Momentbild eines Geschehens ist." Hausmann, "Ausblick," p. 5, rpt. in Hausmann, *Texte* 2: 97.
70. Hausmann, "Fotomontage," rpt. in Hausmann, *Texte* 2: 130.
71. "Sous l'influence du cinéma j'ai commencé à décomposer des photos." Quoted in Giroud, *Hausmann*, p. 9; "Schildert mit den Mitteln des Filmes." Herzfelde's description in *Dada-Messe*, no. 152.
72. "Das Theater 'Pré' hat die Aufgabe, den Menschen als Bewegungsteil einer räumlichen Spannung von wechselnder Beschaffenheit zu zeigen." Hausmann and [László] Peri, "Die Absichten des Theaters 'Pré,'" rpt. in Hausmann, *Texte* 2: 58.
73. Giroud, *Hausmann*, p. 13.
74. "Die Fotomontage zur Erziehung unseres sehens, unseres Wissens um die optische, psychologische und soziale Strukturen noch Vieles und Ungeahantes beitragen kann durch die Klarheit ihrer Mittel, bei denen Inhalt und Form, Sinn und Gestaltung sich decken." Hausmann, "Der Strukturalismus wie er ist und die Phonie," undated typescript, Artist's Estate.
75. "Das ist ungefähr alles, was man über die Einführung der Fotomontage als neues Verfahren sagen kann; sie unterliegt dem Zufall, dem visuellen Trieb und der automatischen Vorstellung." Hausmann, *Am Anfang*, p. 48.
76. Hausmann, "Tatlin at Home prend forme," Giroud, *Hausmann*, p. 52, trans. M. Goodwin in Boston, *Dada: Berlin, Cologne, Hannover*, unpag.
77. Hausmann, "Dada: Anti-Art and Photomontage."
78. "...steht die wahre Welt... auf der Schneide des Traums." Hausmann, "Notiz," rpt. in Hausmann, *Texte* 1: 12.
79. Hanne Bergius, "The Ambiguous Aesthetic of Dada: Towards a Definition of its Categories" in Sheppard, *Dada: Studies*, p. 31.
80. Hausmann, "Die neue Kunst," col. 284, rpt. in Hausmann, *Texte* 1: 184. See also "Présentismus" in Hausmann, *Texte* 2: 24.
81. Konstantin Umanski, "Neue Kunstrichtungen in Rußland: 1. Der Tatlinismus oder die Maschinenkunst," *Der Ararat* 1, 1 (January 1920): 12-13. Umanski's discussion of Tatlin includes the statement: "Die Kunst ist Tot—es lebe die Kunst, die Kunst der Maschine mit ihrer Konstruktion und Logik, ihrem Rhythmus, ihren Bestandteilen, ihrem Material, ihrem metaphysischen Geist—die Kunst des 'Kontreliefs.'"
82. See Ron Manheim, "Die Welt der Technik in der deutschen expressionistischen Malerei" in *Kunst und Technik*, pp. 113ff.

83. "Es ist so: Der Mensch ist eine Maschine, die Kultur sind Fetzen." Adolf Behne, "Dada," *Die Freiheit* (July 9, 1920).
84. Huelsenbeck, *En avant dada*, trans. in Motherwell, *Dada Painters*, pp. 28 and 36–37.
85. Theo Van Doesburg, *De Stijl* 2: 103, trans. in Steven A. Mansbach, *Visions of Totality: Laszlo Moholy-Nagy, Theo Van Doesburg, and El Lissitzky* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1980), p. 12.
86. Mansbach, *Visions of Totality*, p. 32.
87. "Die Dadaisten anerkennen als einziges Programm die Pflicht, zeitlich und örtlich das gegenwärtige Geschehen zum Inhalt ihrer Bilder zu machen." Herzfelde, "Zur Einführung," rpt. in Heartfield, *Schnitt entlang*, p. 42. My emphasis.
88. "Dada," *Frankfurter Zeitung* (July 17, 1920).
89. P. F. "Kunst-Bolschewismus."
90. "In dem Zustand des Schwebens zwischen zwei Welten, wenn wir mit der alten gebrochen haben, und die neue noch nicht formen können, tritt die Satire, die Groteske, die Karikatur, der Clown und die Puppe auf." Hausmann, "Die neue Kunst," col. 284, rpt. in Hausmann, *Texte* 1: 184.
91. Huelsenbeck, *En avant dada*, trans. in Motherwell, *Dada Painters*, p. 31.
92. "Der 'Oberdada' vor Gericht," *Berliner Morgenpost*, n. d., rpt. in Riha, *Da Dada da war*, pp. 59–60.
93. "Dada Riots, Moves and Dies in Berlin" in *Twenties in Berlin*, p. 27.
94. "Gewissermaßen ein Zugeständnis an die Gesellschaft, die einem Maschinismus gleich, der unfehlbar den Mann zu ihrem Bestandteil, zu einer kleinen Maschine im großen Räderwerk macht." Herzfelde's comment on no. 52 in *Dada-Messe*.
95. "Das wäre so'ne Art Eisenkäfig in zwei Etagen, mit einem Hometrainer, einem Motorrad in der ersten und einer Leitspindeldrehbank und Stanzmaschine in der zweiten Etage. Dazu käme noch'n Föhnapparat und ein Waschkorb mit ganz, ganz winzigen Zettelchen, auf denen gedruckt steht: Seele. Damit kann man den ganzen Innerlichkeitshokuspokus, der sich Mensch sein heißt, glänzend darstellen." Hausmann "Kabarett zum Menschen," rpt. in Hausmann, *Texte* 1: 92.
96. "Mit gewaltigem Gepuff und Geknatter... arbeiten heftig die... Monteure... Nach 3 Minuten ertönt ein Trillerpfeiff: alles stoppt ab, der Föhnapparat tritt in Aktion und pustet die zehntausend Zettelchen mit dem Aufdruck: Seele! über das gesamte Publikum... der Mensch wirklich so ist, nichts weiter, ein leerlaufender Unsinn." "Kabarett zum Menschen," rpt. in Hausmann, *Texte* 1: 92–93.
97. "Deutschland ist nicht das Land, in welchem eine bessernde Satire es wagen durfte... In Deutschland mag ich es nicht wagen, einem Dorfschulmeister diejenige Wahrheit zu sagen, die in London ein Lord-Erzbischof anhören muss." [Gottlieb] Rabener, 1759, quoted in Hausmann, "Der Satiriker und die Satire in Deutschland," undated ms., Höch Estate.
98. "Der Dadaismus habe sich zur Aufgabe gemacht, mit höchster Elastizität kulturell schädlichen Bildungen entgegenzuwirken. Dies geschehe am besten durch den Humor, denn dieser fehle uns Deutschen am meisten." Statement by Baader recounted in "Der Oberdada vor Gericht" in Riha, *Da Dada da war*, p. 59.

99. "Was darf Satire? . . . Alles!" Baader, "Was Darf Satire?" in Baader, *Oberdada*, p. 46.
100. Henri Bergson, "Laughter" in *Comedy*, ed. Wylie Sypher (Garden City: Doubleday, 1956), pp. 61–65.
101. Bergson, "Laughter," p. 72–73.
102. "DADA wurde aber die große Elastizität der Zeit, die ihren Maßstab an dem Bürger fand: je seniler und steifer dieser wurde, um so beweglicher wurde DADA." Hausmann, "Dada in Europa."

Chapter 6

1. "Dada ist praktische Selbstentgiftung." Hausmann, "Dada ist mehr als Dada," col. 47, rpt. in Hausmann, *Texte 1*: 171. See also Hausmann, "Dada in Europa."
2. "Wir wollen . . . eine Synthese des Geistes und der Materie . . . unsere Aufgabe ist es . . . der sogenannten Wissenschaften und Künste auf den Stand der Gegenwart zu bringen." Hausmann, "Präsentismus," rpt. in Hausmann, *Texte 2*: 25–26.
3. For illus. of Schlichter's *Studio Roof* and Grosz' *Republican Automatons*, see *Neue Sachlichkeit and German Realism*, pp. 38 and 60.
4. "Die Malerei ist Verbildlichung des materiellen Raumes durch die Beziehungen der Körper. Die Begriffe der Körper fand man durch die Regeln der Stereometrie und der Perspektive, die erst eine klare Auffassung des Sehens und des optischen Milieus ermöglichten." Hausmann, "Die Gesetze der Malerei," typescript, p. 1, Höch Estate.
5. "Wenn man sehen gezwungen sein sollte, eine Metaphysik anzunehmen, so liegt sie in der Materie selbst begründet und ist nicht von ihr getrennt darzustellen." Hausmann, "Die Gesetze der Malerei," p. 1, Höch Estate.
6. For illus. and discussion of Grosz' works in the context of the Constructivist era, see Ingeborg Güssow, "Die Malerei des Gegenständlichen Konstruktivismus," in *Kunst und Technik*, pp. 88ff.
7. For a related Felixmüller drawing by Hausmann, see Malmö, *Hausmann*, p. 45.
8. The work was first reproduced under the title *Kutschenbauch dichtet* in Hausmann, *Hurra! Hurra! Hurra!*, p. 43. Höch inventoried the work when it was in her collection under the title *Puffke zu Hause* ("Puffke" being among Hausmann's pseudonyms).
9. "Die künstlerische Phantasie ist Sabotage am Leben, sie ist romantisch, retrospektiv und dumm gegen die Phantasie des Technikers, des Konstrukteurs von Maschinen, gegen den naturwissenschaftlichen Experimentator und selbst gegen die Fähigkeit eines Urmachers, Schweißers oder Lokomotivführers." Hausmann, "Lob des Konventionellen," p. 5, rpt. in Hausmann, *Texte 2*: 49.
10. "Und es ist der tiefe Sinn dieser Ausdrucksformen . . . uns ein anderes Leben erraten und fühlen zu lassen." Hausmann, "Die neue Kunst," col. 284, rpt. in Hausmann, *Texte 1*: 184.
11. "Denn der neue Mensch . . . bedarf einer neuen, von keiner Vergangenheit beschmutzten Sprache . . . ein Gleichnis dieser höheren Wirklichkeit suchen und finden in dem schöpferischen Zustand, den wir Kunst nennen." Hausmann, "Die neue Kunst," col. 285, rpt. in Hausmann, *Texte 1*: 185.

12. *Theo van Doesburg, 1883–1931: Een Documentaire op Basis van Materiaal uit de Shenking van Moorsel*, ed. Evert van Straaten ('s-Gravenhage: Staatsuitgeverij, 1983), p. 98.
13. Joost Baljeu, *Theo van Doesburg* (New York: Macmillan, 1974), p. 48.
14. Baljeu, *Theo van Doesburg*, p. 48. In a post card of October 26, 1921, Van Doesburg queries Hausmann as to whether Schwitters identifies with Van Doesburg and "L'art elementaire," suggesting that attempts toward a new alliance were underway, Höch Estate. That last minute changes were apparently made may explain the remark withholding full De Stijl endorsement Van Doesburg published with the manifesto. See also John Elderfield, "On the Dada-Constructivist Axis," *Dada/Surrealism* no. 13 (1984): 12 and n. 18 for additional confirmation by Hausmann of his authorship.
15. Hausmann, "Aufruf zur elementaren Kunst," *De Stijl* 4, 10 (October 1921): 156, rpt. in Hausmann, *Texte* 2: 31, trans. in Stephen Bann, ed., *The Tradition of Constructivism* (New York: Viking, 1974), p. 52.
16. Van Doesburg's letter to Hausmann of August 18, 1921, finds much agreement with Hausmann's "Presentist" manifesto but also extols the "collective" and "impersonal" aspect of "De Stijl," Höch Estate.
17. The "NB" in *Die Menschen sind Engel und leben im Himmel* does not match the logo as it first appeared in *De Stijl* 4, 1 (January 1921). It does match a related flier from around 1922. Van Doesburg collaborated on the logo with Piet Mondrian. See *Theo van Doesburg, 1883–1931*, pp. 97–98.
18. Hausmann, "Zweite Präsentistische Deklaration," rpt. in Hausmann, *Texte* 2: 86–87. See also Hausmann, "Optophonetik," rpt. in Hausmann, *Texte* 2: 51.
19. Ernst Marcus, *Das Problem der exzentrischen Empfindung und seine Lösung* (Berlin: Verlag Der Sturm, 1918), p. 7.
20. "L'art éternel est mort." Giroud, *Hausmann*, p. 36.
21. For illus. of *Der Vater*, see Ohff, *Höch*, no. 15.
22. Hausmann, "Mode," rpt. in Hausmann, *Texte* 2: 103.
23. Poggioli, *Theory of the Avant-Garde*, p. 83. Cf. Bürger's negative attitude toward fads in *Theorie*, pp. 85–86, trans. edition, p. 63.
24. Poggioli, *Theory of the Avant-Garde*, p. 79.
25. "Der naive Anthropomorphismus hat seine Rolle ausgespielt. Die Schönheit unseres täglichen Lebens wird bestimmt durch die Mannequins, die Perrückenkünste der Friseure, die Exaktheit einer technischen Konstruktion! Wir streben wieder nach der Konformität mit dem mechanischen Arbeitsprozeß: wir werden uns daran gewöhnen müssen, die Kunst in den Werkstätten entstehen zu sehen!" Hausmann, "Présentismus," rpt. in Hausmann, *Texte* 2: 26.
26. See Timothy O. Benson, "The Functional and the Conventional in the Dada Philosophy of Raoul Hausmann" in Stephen C. Foster, ed., *Dada/Dimensions* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1985), pp. 131–63.
27. "Das Wesen des Seins oder vielmehr des Werdens . . . ist in sich gegenläufig, die Gegensätze der Kräfte und Erscheinung hervorruhend, und ihre Entsprechungen äußern sich für uns in der höheren Einheit der universalen Funktionalität." Hausmann, "Ausblick," p. 4, rpt. in Hausmann, *Texte* 2: 96.

28. Hausmann, "Lob des Konventionellen," rpt. in Hausmann, *Texte* 2: 50.
29. Schmalenbach, *Schwitters*, plate 65.
30. Giroud, *Hausmann*, p. 54.
31. Picabia's *Tamis du Vent* is illus. in *391*, no. 8 (February 1919), p. 5. Picabia was represented in the Dada-Messe by six works including two pages from *391* and his program for the Festival Dada of May 26, 1920. His *Abri*, was reproduced in *Dada* 3 (December 1918) p. 6; *Réveil matin* and *Rotation de naïveté* were in *Dada* 4/5 (May 15, 1919), pp. 1 and 7; Max Ernst, *Die Schammade* (Cologne, February 1920).
32. First published as Hausmann, "Optofonetika," *MA* 8, 1 (1922), unpag., German version rpt. in Hausmann, *Texte* 2: 51–57, trans.: "Optophonetics" in Hausmann, *La sensorialité excentrique* (Cambridge: Collection OU, 1970), unpag.
33. "Plan à apparence de conflits." Hausmann, *Courrier Dada*, p. 38.
34. "Denn während der Schauend-Schaffende diese Dynamos für sich durch Zusammenschweissen hier symbolisch gesetzten Linien, Formen, Farben zu einem organischen Ausdruck, einem Idol bildete, voll geheimster Beziehungen, voll Strömens und Widerströmens, glaubt... der Beschauer, ... nur in soweit, als ... er sich besinnen kann, diesem Gebilde Analoges oder auch nur Ähnliches in der ihn umgebenden Welt-Wirklichkeit schon erblickt zu haben." Hausmann, undated text fragment, Höch Estate.
35. "Wir fordern die Erweiterung und Eroberung aller unserer Sinne." Hausmann and Viking Eggeling, "Zweite präsentistische Deklaration," rpt. in Hausmann, *Texte* 2: 85.
36. Hausmann, "Zweite präsentistische Deklaration," rpt. in Hausmann, *Texte* 2: 85–6. The manifesto probably grew out of Hausmann's protest made during the Congress of International Progressive Artists in Düsseldorf during May 1922.
37. Hausmann, "Présentismus," rpt. in Hausmann, *Texte* 2: 27. In his correspondence with Steneberg, Hausmann claims he met Moholy-Nagy in 1922. Moholy-Nagy acknowledged Hausmann's influence in László Moholy-Nagy, *Painting, Photography, Film*, trans. by Janet Seligman (Cambridge: M. I. T. Press, 1969), p. 22. In fact Hausmann's machine had more to do with an analogue reproduction device than any true exploration of wave theory. Cf. Hausmann, "Vom Sprechenden Film zur Optophonetik," rpt. in Hausmann, *Texte* 2: 72–74.
38. For Hausmann's mention of "lever mechanics," see, for example, "Sieg Triumph Tabak mit Bohnen" and "Neue Wahrheiten," rpt. in Hausmann, *Texte* 2: 32–35 and 60–62. See Hausmann's "Zweite präsentistische Deklaration" and "Ausblick" for his arguments for a new organic sensibility beyond "mechanical consciousness," rpt. in Hausmann, *Texte* 2: 85–87 and 95–100.
39. Werner Haftmann, "Postscript" in Richter, *Dada: Art and Anti-Art*, p. 218.
40. "Der Dadaist ist gegen den Humanismus, gegen die historische Bildung!" Hausmann, "Pamphlet," rpt. in Hausmann, *Texte* 1: 42.

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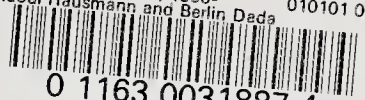
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