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Abstract

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Keywords

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Disciplines

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Visual Weimar: The Iconography of Social and Political Identities a

Kerry Wallach

The Oxford Handbook of the Weimar Republic
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In the Weimar Republic, images were perceived to be as unreliable as they were powerful. They helped create and codify difference while simultaneously blurring lines within the categories of gender and race. Visual culture provided a wild playground for discourses about gender presentation and sexuality that encompassed veterans, athletes, criminals, the New Woman, and androgynous figures. Despite the growing prominence of images in race science, it was widely held that images could not be trusted to convey accurate information about race. The propagandistic use of images for political purposes had the potential to be equally ambiguous. It was ultimately up to the beholder to interpret the multiple meanings and symbolic potential of a given image.

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Weimar culture was flooded with symbolic images, and a wide range of social and political types emerged within its visual landscape. It is difficult to imagine Weimar without the New Woman, the shop girl, the jazz musician, the athlete, the worker, the disillusioned veteran, the unemployed, the revolutionary, or even the budding Nazi. The shorthand established by widely disseminated images of these and other types—particularly in photographs, advertisements, and films, but also as literary and cultural figures—provided an iconographic framework for the construction of identities. Whereas some chose to emulate or pursue membership in a social group based on these types and their collective appeal, others disavowed or otherwise negatively responded to such archetypes and the collectives they represented. Key to understanding the iconography (a term which here refers to visual content including symbolic forms and motifs) of Weimar's social and political identities is the notion of how these images reinforced and also challenged depictions of visible difference.[1]

The mass media in which images appeared likewise played a crucial role in facilitating the visibility of iconic types. Widespread use of Leica and Ermanox cameras starting in the mid-1920s helped make photography more accessible, and photojournalism became

increasingly popular. With around four thousand newspapers and magazines published for Weimar readers, including over thirty dailies in Berlin alone, images featured in periodicals could reach the masses very quickly.[2] Photojournalists, artists, and graphic designers were commissioned to create the images and advertisements that filled these pages. Major illustrated weeklies from the *Berliner Illustrirte Zeitung* (*BIZ*) to the *Arbeiter Illustrierte Zeitung* (*AIZ*) enjoyed large circulations of nearly two million and 450,000, respectively, and were responsible for sharing some of the most widely known images.[3] Standard newspapers stayed competitive by using outside publishing houses to produce attractive weekly illustrated supplements.[4] Cinemas, too, gained prominence as Germans sought out innovative forms of entertainment. The German film industry responded to the growing interest in moving images by producing over 3,500 full-length feature films from 1919 to 1933.[5] Most were genre films, suggesting filmgoers became accustomed to seeing certain types and plotlines repeated on screen.

To analyse Weimar's images and the major trends among them, visual cultural studies offers a number of methods and theories, including some that originated in the Weimar years. Theorists of visual culture today commonly consider the literal and symbolic messages of images, the historical contexts of meanings and subjects, the role of accompanying text, as well as the role of the viewer in deciphering meaning.[6] This interpretive model draws from the reception of Weimar photography and photobooks, which has much to teach about visual analysis.[7] For example, artist Johannes Molzahn's aptly titled essay, 'Stop Reading! Look!' (1928), was symptomatic of the growing importance of images in newspapers and photobooks and their educational value. Bauhaus professor László Moholy-Nagy similarly emphasized the need to become visually literate given the growing ubiquity of photographs.[8] And in his 1931 essay, 'A Short History of Photography', cultural theorist Walter Benjamin pointed out the significance of photographer August Sander's portraits in the photo series *Antlitz der Zeit* ('Face of our Time', 1929). According to Benjamin, Sander's series of faces provided an 'atlas of instruction' in 'physiognomic awareness', which Benjamin anticipated would become increasingly meaningful with shifts in political power. In this essay Benjamin also famously inquired, 'Won't inscription become the most important part of the photograph?'[9] Text cannot be ignored in the analysis of images. Sander's photographs used captions to transform anonymous subjects into types, often based on their professions. The types became iconic in and of themselves, eclipsing the relevance of individuals. Some scholars interpret Sander's series as subtly questioning narratives of progress within modernity.[10] These early theories of image analysis suggest that Weimar visual culture successfully constructed original constellations of images and introduced new ways of viewing and interpreting them. Images took on symbolic potential in light of how they were represented, used, and perceived. The symbolic or iconographic potential of images was thus closely tied to their reception.

Finally, with Weimar culture's imperative to look also came subtle instructions on how to see—including warnings about deception. Even as some texts contained captions or guidelines for interpreting visual images, others challenged the stability or reliability of common categories of difference (gender, race, class) and instead taught viewers to look twice. Art historian Maria Makela has suggested that the blurring of identity in Weimar

culture related to the widespread perception 'that one could no longer trust vision as a means of gauging class, ethnicity, or … gender, sexuality, and age'.[11] Blurred and changeable identities were typical for Weimar. Viewers were insecure about misreading these identities and the ensuing 'feeling of being duped', which was exacerbated by such phenomena as doctored April Fools' photomontages in illustrated papers and the many imposter characters in early Weimar cinema.[12] Whether accurate or misleading, visual attributes were paramount in conveying information about identities. The complexity of this visually encoded information prompted viewers to stare at, scrutinize, and attempt to decipher the messages about their subjects contained in each image. In the following, this chapter explores how visual representations of gendered, racialized, and political and class differences called attention to these categories in both divisive and unifying ways.

Gendered Figures: Disabled Veterans to Fashionable Façades

Otto Dix's *Großstadt* ('Metropolis') triptych painting from 1928 introduces viewers to a Weimar nightclub's interior and exterior spaces. The triptych form recalls medieval altarpieces and their ability to harness the power of familiar symbols.[13] Inside the nightclub, in the centre panel, jazz musicians entertain decadent and fashionably dressed clientele, some dancing. On the street outside, we see a fallen soldier, a crippled veteran, a begging amputee, as well as numerous scantily clad streetwalkers. As with many other works associated with *Neue Sachlichkeit* or New Objectivity, Dix's painting opens up a discussion of several key gendered types that recurred in Weimar culture. The disfigured men's' bodies reflect on war's destruction. Women's bodies are on display, contested sites of decorative ornament and pleasure. Here, too, at least one person challenges the gender binary and confronts viewers with hard-to-place androgyny. Dix's painting is one of many images that helped to codify, uphold, and subvert common and idealized notions of belonging and difference that played out along gender lines.

The category of gender—and related notions of sexuality—provided Weimar culture with the means to construct new iconic figures and dismantle traditional ones. Many of the gendered figures now associated with the 1920s and early 1930s were not new, but rather updated versions of modern women and men that began to emerge around the turn of the century: the soldier injured in the Great War; the criminal or ex-con down on his luck in a rough economy; the masculine-inspired New Woman with short, bobbed hair, ready to work as a stenographer or shopgirl; the hypersexualized female dancer; and the femme fatale, now wearing furs and reading fashion magazines such as *Die Dame*. Sexually transgressive practices from prostitution and pornography to cross-dressing, androgyny, and homosexuality (or non-heterosexuality) were a constant source of fascination for Weimar society.[14] Visual representations of transgressive practices can be found in countless films and works of art that draw the viewer's attention to the roles gender and sexual difference played. Again, the possible blurring of gender and sexual identities complicat-

ed these texts' reception. In each instance, the available visual evidence and clues may or may not have sufficed to help viewers determine who or what exactly was depicted.

Masculinity and male identity were often bound up with representations of the First World War. Artists, photographers, and filmmakers all attempted to harness the great potential of visual images to reflect critically on the treatment of soldiers who returned with scars, wounds, trauma, or other signs of battle. For example, Otto Dix's *Die Skatspieler* ('Skat Players', 1920) foregrounds disfigured and amputated veterans with a hearing aid and prosthetic jaws.[15] George Grosz's drawing of a Berlin street scene featuring an amputee beggar with an Iron Cross was a widely known image of disabled veterans.[16] Some images served as political caricatures or as part of political pamphlets or campaigns. Grosz illustrated a different 1921 pamphlet with the slogan 'Der Dank des Vaterlandes' ('The Thanks of the Fatherland'). In the cover illustration, an arm reaches through a crutch to hold out a military-style cap; the Communist Party of Germany also used this image on election posters in 1924.[17] Although these images reflected a common urban sight, official investigations determined that many street beggars were in fact peacetime disabled men who could earn more from begging in a military uniform.[18] In this case, popular images heightened the visibility of disabled men and veterans and associated them with economic problems. Disability and disabled male bodies came to symbolize weakness, defeat, and vagrancy even when they were not actually what they seemed.

Photographs and documentary film footage of wounded soldiers and soldiers in battle were regularly used for political purposes, including as evidence against fighting wars that demoralized a generation of men. Notably, Ernst Friedrich's photobook, *Krieg dem Kriege!—War Against War!* (1924), embedded close-up graphic photos of the faces of wounded and mutilated soldiers—among other horrific and shocking images—within a pacifist narrative of victimization to protest war and military action.[19] Some of these photographs were also exhibited in the Anti-War Museum in Berlin, which Friedrich founded in 1925. Susan Sontag suggested that these photographs were 'superior to any painting' in terms of how they affected viewers; however, the photographs originated in a medical publication about the achievements of reconstructive surgery, not the effects of war.[20] Plastic surgery became increasingly popular throughout the Weimar period; it was difficult for many people to come to terms with the fact that faces could change and render someone unrecognizable from his or her former self.[21] Friedrich's use of these particular images of the war-disabled thus reflects both male vulnerability and changeability, which hints at the disruption caused by both wounds and surgical procedures.

It was not only veterans with visible physical damage who featured prominently in iconic images of men's post-war suffering. One historian has suggested that the 'male hysteric … haunted the German imagination' in the Weimar Republic.[22] Post-war psychological trauma, shell shock, and memory loss—which were more difficult to depict in still images —were common themes of Weimar films.[23] Many of these films are set not on the battlefield, but as encounters with those psychologically damaged by war. The early Expressionist film *Nerven* ('Nerves', 1919) addressed madness, hallucination, and suicide among

revolutionaries and other characters.[24] Known widely for its formal Expressionist innovations and surprise ending, *Das Cabinet des Dr Caligari* ('The Cabinet of Dr Caligari', 1920) used the genre of horror to project wartime anxieties onto residents of an insane asylum. In *Caligari*, it remains unclear who is the insane patient, and who the director of the asylum. Profound unease about confused identities is also the theme of many Weimar films about soldiers returning from war. In *Mensch ohne Namen* ('The Man without a Name', 1932), a protagonist who suffered from amnesia for sixteen years must verify his identity after being declared dead. This film implies somewhat alarmingly that there may be no way to confirm someone's alleged identity in the absence of visible scars.[25] Whether implicitly or explicitly, images of those physically and psychologically damaged in the war offer a reflection on the unstable status of men within German society.

Fig. 1. Boxer Max Schmeling with his manager and trainer, 1930.

Photograph by Georg Pahl.

Weimar's focus on athleticism and sports also put gendered bodies on display, which emphasized physical differences between men and women (women's bodies are discussed further below). Athletes became celebrities as images of their muscular physiques were put on display and circulated. For example, well-known boxer Hans Breitensträter was immediately invited to work with gallery owner Alfred Flechtheim upon arriving in Berlin, and Galerie Flechtheim published artist Rudolf Großmann's lithographs of Breitensträter in 1921.[26] Similarly, boxer Max Schmeling was featured repeatedly as his winnings continued to grow (see fig. 1). Satirical magazines including *Simplicissimus* and *Ulk* depicted Schmeling as someone who had ascended to greater heights than Goethe or Bismarck, and whose earnings had surpassed Thomas Mann's.[27] At least three artists made formal portraits of Schmeling; George Grosz's appeared in the magazine *Der Querschnitt*.[28] In contrast, less athletic bodies were subjected to criticism and were believed to reflect a nation in crisis, as discussed below in the section on political figures.

Weimar's constant state of crisis—whether real or perceived—catalysed both corruption and criminality, particularly as objects of scandal or obsession. Crime rates rose with inflation in the early 1920s but decreased sharply after 1924. Still, the fantasy of lawless-

ness persisted, and murderers and underworld figures loomed large in Weimar culture.[29] Visual culture helped popularize criminal figures, mostly men—though women criminals also featured prominently on occasion. Many of Weimar's most infamous murderers became iconic through media representations. London's Jack the Ripper (active circa 1888) had inspired a series of copycat *Lustmord* or 'lust murder' attacks on prostitutes and others that conflated sex and violence, and these persisted in different forms. Broadly conceived, such violence reflected a crisis of gender anxiety, masculinity, and sexuality. In many instances, criminal motivation was related to the fascination with the 'other', and 'abnormal' forms of sexuality also entered the fray.[30] Such killers simultaneously shocked the public and held its attention: Carl Grossmann, who dismembered women; homosexual serial killer Fritz Haarmann; child murderer Peter Kürten, who terrorized Düsseldorf.[31] Grossmann's case provided a set of visual themes for such artists as George Grosz and Otto Dix, including mutilated and violated female bodies.[32] The remarkable visuals of Fritz Lang's film *M* (1931), which was criticized for exploiting the real case of Peter Kürten, bring together 'mass murder, mass culture, and mass public' by allowing viewers to reflect on how the masses might contribute to criminal investigations. The shot of the murderer examining himself in a mirror to see the identifying chalk 'M' on his back offers insight into how outsiders could be physically marked as other, as Todd Herzog has argued.[33] Terrifying individuals and threatening situations created a culture obsessed with both criminal and sexual deviance and their consequences.

Thus unsurprisingly, many quintessential Weimar stories and films centre on criminal protagonists who have become representative of Weimar culture. They represent the continuation of a long-time fascination with crime stories, while also adding modern, new dimensions. Bertolt Brecht's hit crime drama, *Die Dreigroschenoper* ('The Threepenny Opera', 1928), which G. W. Pabst made into a musical film in 1931, introduced an underworld in which beggars threaten to pretend to be disabled to deceive the public and disrupt the queen's coronation.[34] Rudolf Forster's performance as gangster boss and anti-hero Mackie Messer (Mack the Knife) in the film version made a particularly strong impression; his razor-sharp moustache hinted at the cruel and sinister deeds of an apparently dashing, elegant gentleman. In contrast, Franz Biberkopf, the seemingly hapless protagonist of Alfred Döblin's *Berlin Alexanderplatz* (1929 novel; 1930 radio play; 1931 film), attempted to rehabilitate himself into an upstanding citizen after a four-year prison sentence for involuntary manslaughter. Despite his brutal treatment of women, Biberkopf was for many a sympathetic character broken in part by the system.[35] Heinrich George's portrayal of Biberkopf recalled the actor's previous roles, many consisting of similar 'good-natured brutality'.[36] Mackie Messer and Franz Biberkopf represent different types of male criminals who mistreated women and at times managed to evade the law through duplicity.

Women criminals, too, were the subjects of many media scandals; the femme fatale became a common fixture in films. Criminality and violence were often entangled with sexual transgression or difference here as well. In 1923, the sensational five-day trial of two women rocked the German press. Ella Klein and Margarete Nebbe, who became lovers while both were married to men, slowly poisoned Ella's husband and plotted to kill

Margarete's husband. Their case was immortalized in Alfred Döblin's work *Die beiden Freundinnen und ihr Giftmord* ('The Two Girlfriends and their Murder by Poisoning', 1924), which included Döblin's illustrations of phases of their case to chart alleged sexual pathology.[37] This story associates criminal lesbians with 'a female masculinity that is characterized by excessive sexuality'.[38] The perversion mapped onto women who transgressed sexual boundaries is also on full display in *Die Büchse der Pandora* ('Pandora's Box', 1929), the breakout German film for actress Louise Brooks, who starred as Lulu. This Lulu figure updated playwright Frank Wedekind's femme fatale and exemplified the New Woman on screen in many ways.[39] Brooks's spellbinding Lulu exemplified the iconic women who challenged laws and conventions with their appearance, behaviour, and emancipated sexuality.[40]

Fig. 2. *Die Frau von heute* (The Woman of Today) Exhibition organized by the Verein der Künstlerinnen zu Berlin, 1929. The painting *Die Berufstätige* (The Working Woman) by Käthe Münzer–Neumann can be seen in the top row on the left.

The *Neue Frau* or New Woman, one of the Weimar period's most iconic figures, was known for her self-determination in defying the status quo, and especially for challenging gender boundaries. After 1924, ubiquitous visual representations of slim, masculinized modern women with short *Bubikopf* (pageboy bob) hairstyles helped create and popularize this symbol of feminist liberation. In addition to Louise Brooks, such actresses as Asta Nielsen, Pola Negri, and Tilla Durieux wore and were associated with the *Bubikopf* and its symbolism.[41] The New Woman was often depicted as sporty or athletic, as in Lotte Laserstein's painting, *Tennisspielerin* ('Tennis Player', 1929). The fashionable New Woman wore makeup and short skirts or pants, smoked cigarettes, drove automobiles, frequented cinemas and dance halls, and—in contrast to her American counterpart, the flapper—went to work.[42] White-collar working women were represented as stenographers, journalists, designers, and shop girls. Paintings such as Käthe Münzer-Neumann's *Die Berufstätige* ('The Working Woman', 1929), which was featured in an exhibition on *Die Frau von heute* ('The Woman of Today'), simply showed a woman wearing a tie seated at a table, with her exact profession left somewhat ambiguous (see fig. 2).[43] Newly em-

powered with disposable incomes and the right to vote, women began to be seen as sought-after consumers, moviegoers, and voters.[44]

Images of the New Woman unquestionably impacted the way people thought about the roles of women and gender during the Weimar period. Much has been written about mass media representations of the New Woman in advertisements, fashion magazines, newspaper supplements, photography, and film.[45] The New Woman was an especially effective mode of visual address 'because she was both desirable and recognizable'.[46] She appeared in countless product logos (e.g. Bahlsen cookies, designed by Bauhaus artist Martel Schwichtenberg) and advertisements for such products as cosmetics, household items (especially Persil detergent), stockings, shoes, furs, and clothing.[47] She enticed potential consumers in advertisements for department stores including KaDeWe and Hermann Tietz in Berlin. While some scholars have argued that the New Woman was more of a myth or fictional type, others have pointed to the real ways in which women modelled their tastes after the New Woman, for example by using makeup and dress to experiment with gender presentation.[48] And the New Woman was a formidable role model, particularly for such Bauhaus photographers as Marianne Brandt who used self-portraits as an intervention into what images of women and new forms of femininity could accomplish.[49]

Female bodies had special symbolic potential; women's legs in particular represented both rationalized and sexualized aspects of gender difference. On display everywhere thanks to the shortest hemlines in history, legs appeared as a new sex symbol, often clad in either silk or artificial silk (rayon) stockings. Illustrated magazines including *Das Magazin* boldly called for women to reveal their legs.[50] Of course, legs also featured prominently in a range of dance performances. In his essay, 'Das Ornament der Masse' ('The Mass Ornament', 1927), Siegfried Kracauer suggested that the legs of the dancers in the Tiller Girls revue moved in such a mechanized way that they corresponded to hands in a factory.[51] Actress Marlene Dietrich's character Lola Lola famously caught the eye of Professor Unrat in the film *Der blaue Engel* ('The Blue Angel', 1930) by exposing her legs, including her inner thighs. For her part, Dietrich gained notoriety for singing a popular song about how all of Berlin was crazy about her legs. One of the many artistic images titled *Beine* ('Legs', c. 1927–9) by the photographer Yva (Else Neuländer-Simon), whose work included many photographs of objects for product advertisements, was included alongside still-lifes in the 1929 Film und Foto exhibition.[52] Such legs simultaneously symbolized sexual availability and the objectification of women's bodies. Legs-as-art also begged the question as to whether life was masquerading as art, or vice versa.

Fig. 3. Klaus and Erika Mann, 1930, Munich.

Photograph by Lotte Jacobi. University of New Hampshire. Used with permission.

Perhaps the most arresting visual affronts to traditional notions of gender were ambiguously gendered representations of bodies. Androgyny in paintings, photographs, and films helped disrupt the ways gender and sexuality were perceived and understood. Scientists such as Magnus Hirschfeld developed models for assessing sexuality that were contingent on gender and gender expression, and Hirschfeld further argued for the existence of sexual intermediaries.[53] Artist Oskar Schlemmer explored gender-neutral bodies in paintings and other art installations.[54] Such paintings as Willy Jaeckel's *Dame mit Zigarette* ('Woman with Cigarette', 1925), Otto Dix's *Bildnis der Journalistin Sylvia von Harden* ('Portrait of the Journalist Sylvia von Harden', 1926), and Christian Schad's *Sonja* (1928), as well as August Sander's photograph *Sekretärin* ('Secretary', 1931), portrayed androgynous seated women with bobbed hair and cigarettes.[55] For all of these images, the title alerts the viewer that the subject is female, but the images themselves disavow typical forms of femininity, resulting in a disconnect. The same could be said for some works by Jeanne Mammen, whose watercolours regularly paired two androgynous-looking female figures.[56] Films starring such actresses as Ossi Oswalda and Elisabeth Bergner featured stories of cross-dressing and gender confusion. Several actresses became known for playing *Hosenrollen*, or pants-roles.[57] In other cases, androgyny and cross-dressing symbolized alternate sexualities. Photographer Lotte Jacobi's double portrait of Erika and Klaus Mann famously depicted the sister and brother both wearing white shirts and neckties, and with similar hairstyles, suggesting a trend toward sameness that transcended gender difference (see fig. 3).[58] Some representations of non-traditional gendered figures were designed to confound, as in one image of transvestites in the Eldorado Bar (see fig. 4). With the decline of Weimar culture in the early 1930s came a greater emphasis on traditional gender roles, especially mothers.[59]

Fig. 4. Transvestites in the Eldorado Bar, Berlin, circa 1929.

Photograph by Herbert Hoffmann. Original title: 'Which lady is real? Don't give yourself a headache: only the one in the middle.'

Racialized Others: Jews, Blacks, and Other Minorities

Nazi propaganda relied heavily on visual constructions of racial difference that were already widespread long before 1933. With the emergence of new scientific and pseudoscientific biomedical fields in the late nineteenth century, visual evidence played an increasingly central role in establishing physiological, hereditary, and pathological norms.[60] Images in circulation during the Weimar period reflect developments in the burgeoning field of nationalistic race theory that coincided with the growing popularity of photography. Indeed, it is difficult to imagine modern race theory without its photographic visualizations of what supposedly constituted racial difference and above all set 'other' racialized identities—especially Jews, Blacks, and so-called gypsies—against white 'German' or 'Aryan' appearance. This section examines how visual representations and coding constructed notions of racial otherness, as well as the ways images were used and manipulated to create racial groups. Important here, too, are instances when racialized difference was allegedly invisible or difficult to see. In these cases, appearances were thought to be misleading or deceptive.

Photography played a critical role in documenting alleged physical differences between Germans and others designated racially non-white or non-German, though photography was not considered to be entirely reliable. Although scientific writings since the 1870s had described certain visually perceptible racial types (including two 'pure' types: the 'blonde' and the 'brunette'), publications of the 1920s depended even more on photographs and illustrations.[61] Scientist Eugen Fischer, whose work on African populations of mixed descent (1913) led to a career in genetics that extended to the Nazi regime, laid the groundwork for using photographs in studies about race. But by prioritizing actual

bloodlines over appearance, Fischer concluded that photographs could deceive—they could not show recessive genes—and thus were not fully trustworthy.[62] Race theorist Hans F. K. Günther's work, *Rassenkunde des deutschen Volkes* ('Racial Science of the German People', 1922), which was reprinted numerous times and heavily influenced racist Nazi ideologies, contained dozens of photographic examples of racial types. Amos Morris-Reich has argued that Günther's own suspicions impacted his photographic series because Günther believed racial characteristics had become more camouflaged and thus were more difficult to see. Careful observation of numerous images was necessary to detect what he understood to be racial essence.[63] The notion that it was at times difficult to see difference often led to caricatures or exaggerations designed to render difference conspicuously visible.

The differences postulated by race scientists impacted visual culture well beyond the academic realm. Like Günther, race theorist Ludwig Ferdinand Clauß clustered photographs to show different racial types, and also to show movement and facial expressions.[64] He juxtaposed and contrasted photos of Jews and others with images of 'Nordic' types. Interestingly, Clauß's work was perceived as less biased, and excerpts and images from his *Seele und Antlitz der Rassen und Völker* ('On the Soul and Face of Races and Peoples', 1929) were reprinted in the illustrated *Israelitisches Familienblatt*, a Jewish newspaper whose editors sought to arm readers with a scientific basis for challenging allegations of racial inferiority. Here and elsewhere, systems of differentiating German racial types from others were not seen as harmful as long as the 'other' was seen as different but not inferior.[65] Yet growing right-wing nationalism continued to privilege so-called 'Aryan' colouring and appearance. By the Weimar Republic's final years, advertisements and other images in illustrated magazines no longer featured dark-haired women or others who could have been interpreted as Jewish.[66] Blond became the dominant hair colour in German magazines by the early 1930s.[67]

The process of visually excluding Jewishness from Germanness involved racializing Jews as a population, or attributing distinctive stereotypical traits to Jews. As Sander Gilman and other scholars have shown, the Western tradition has long considered the Jewish body inherently different.[68] Visual constructions of Jewish otherness appeared in countless antisemitic cartoons in both mainstream and right-wing periodicals beginning in the nineteenth century. Popular satirical magazines including the Vienna-based *Kikeriki* regularly published cartoons that reproduced Jewish-coded figures with despicable physical features.[69] Nazi Party member Julius Streicher's virulently antisemitic newspaper *Der Stürmer* sold 25,000 copies weekly even before Hitler took power. The paper began including cartoons in 1925 and photographs in 1930; many of its cartoons were repulsive anti-Jewish caricatures by cartoonist Philippe Rupprecht, penname 'Fips'. In Fips's hand, 'the Jew' was 'short, fat, ugly, unshaven, drooling, sexually perverted, bent-nosed, with piglike eyes'.[70] These unflattering stereotypes also recurred in photographs in works like Günther's *Rassenkunde des jüdischen Volkes* ('Racial Characteristics of the Jewish People', 1930), which attempted to relate Jewish features physiognomically to those of peoples of Near Eastern and Oriental racial origin. Günther's work also repeated age-old stereotypes of Jews as people who limped, were flatfooted, and had a distinctive accent

and manner of speaking (*Mauscheln*).[71] Because many of these and other distinctive traits could be concealed, Jews were also widely suspected of trying to 'pass' for non-Jews.

As a precaution against growing antisemitism, some Weimar Jews found ways to encode and display Jewishness to make it more ambiguous but still visible to those with a trained eye. In contrast to the stereotypical hair and eye colour and exaggerated features found in Nazi caricatures, Jews emphasized their connections to Jewish organizations. Photographs of members of student fraternal organizations that were part of the Kartell-Convent deutscher Studenten jüdischen Glaubens (Association of German Students of the Jewish Faith) demonstrate that these students proudly wore the distinctive colour (*Couleur*) yellow—which had long been associated with Jewishness—on caps, sashes or bands, and pins. Zionist student groups sometimes paired yellow with the colours blue and white or with a Star of David. Similarly, members of the Reichsbund jüdischer Frontsoldaten (Reich League of Jewish Front Line Soldiers, RjF) advocated for members to wear their 'RjF' lapel pins, which made them easily recognizable to one another in public.[72] Jewish periodicals, such as Martin Buber's journal *Der Jude* and the *Israelitisches Familienblatt*, famously displayed variations on the word 'Jew' or 'Israelite' in their titles and mastheads, and some—for example, *Die jüdische Frau* (1925–7)—boldly included such symbols as a menorah on their covers. Jewish visual artists including Hermann Struck, Ludwig Meidner, Jakob Steinhardt, and Rahel Szalit-Marcus used subtle characteristics to depict Jewish or biblical subjects in etchings, woodcuts, lithographs, paintings, and illustrations.

Aside from Jews, Blacks constituted the racialized minority group most often depicted in visual culture, yet images of Blacks signified quite differently. Before the Weimar period, caricatures of Black figures were widespread in advertisements produced by most colonial powers. The rise of modern advertising culture was intertwined with the subjugation of colonized peoples.[73] In the 1920s, several phenomena affected depictions of Black people. On the one hand, grotesque and racist images were central to the Rhineland's *schwarze Schmach* or 'Black Shame' campaign, and such imagery and scare tactics persisted for decades. On the other hand, Black jazz musicians and other performers symbolized American culture's influence, though these were sometimes overshadowed by more overtly racist images.

When the Allied Forces sent Black troops from French colonies in Africa to occupy important areas of Germany following the Treaty of Versailles, a new fear emerged of non-white violent 'beasts' who could commit sexual crimes against white German women. Newspapers, novels, pamphlets, caricatures, posters, postcards, photographs, films, and other propaganda materials promoted the 'Black Horror' stereotype. They targeted the 'Negro pest' on the Rhine and warned against their allegedly primitive forms of sexuality.[74] The satirical magazine *Kladderadatsch*, for example, featured caricatures depicting Black men as gorillas attacking or ravaging white women.[75] Stamps and flyers with disturbing images of large, militaristic black men further fuelled the campaign against the African French soldiers.[76] Many of these images exploited fears of racial mixing stoked by Eugen

Fischer and others who studied German colonial populations. Such fears led to debates about mixed marriages and the *Mulattisierung* or 'mulattoization' of white Europe.[77] Underlying this discourse was the idea that racial difference in the form of Blackness would become less visible—and therefore more dangerous—with the mixing of populations. Racial difference was considered all the more dangerous when it could not easily be seen.

Fig. 5. Josephine Baker in the role of a modern schoolgirl in La Revue nègre, Paris, 1925.

Taken symbolically, images of Black American performers often stood for American culture or jazz culture. Such images were generally coded as other or exotic, and although jazz itself was highly contested, images of Black jazz did not offer a simple criticism of their subjects. Rather, jazz was sometimes depicted as a means to liberate the body. As Jonathan Wipplinger has shown, 'jazz bands' began performing in Berlin in 1921, and with them came a number of highly visible Black performers.[78] Otto Dix responded with representations of Black jazz musicians in paintings like *An die Schönheit* ('To Beauty', 1922).[79] Josephine Baker's performances with La Revue nègre in 1925 and 1926—many in her famous banana skirt—played on nostalgia for the lost colonial past and profoundly influenced German perceptions of jazz as sexualized and even primitive (see fig. 5).[80] The cabaret sequence in Walter Ruttmann's avant-garde film *Berlin, Die Sinfonie der Großstadt* (1927) includes glimpses of both a quartet of Black singers and a female dancer in a skirt reminiscent of Baker's bananas (in addition to endless rows of dancers' legs). But it was the images of Black saxophone musicians that appeared time and again in visual culture. Photographs such as Yva's *Charleston* (1927), a multiple exposure photograph of women dancing around a Black saxophone player, were splashed across the covers of magazines including the *BIZ*.[81] For those who rejected American and Jewish culture, the film *The Jazz Singer*, starring Al Jolson, which first played in German theatres as a silent version in 1928 and a sound version in 1929, supported perceptions of jazz as created by

Blacks and marketed by Jews. The Nazis famously changed the Weimar-era trope of a Black saxophone player—further known for its association with Ernst Krenek's 1927 jazz opera *Jonny spielt auf* ('Jonny Strikes Up')—by marking the saxophonist with a Star of David, which became the face of the *Entartete Musik* (Degenerate Music) exhibition in 1938.[82] This grotesque image again dehumanized both Blacks and Jews by emphasizing physical difference using derogatory imagery that couldn't be unseen.

Visual constructions of racialized difference also brought other minorities to the fore. Sinti and Roma peoples were among those categorized as *Zigeuner* (gypsies) and were depicted as particularly visible outliers. In fact, the term 'gypsy' extended beyond a strictly racialized group to include others who embraced the fantasy of a Bohemian lifestyle. The category also included vagabonds, beggars, prostitutes, and even artists. Gypsies were often characterized negatively as childlike, asocial, homeless, unruly, or criminal.[83] Images of gypsies in the Weimar period ranged from drawings and lithographs by Expressionist artist Otto Pankok, who had lived with many Sinti near Düsseldorf, as well as paintings by Jewish artist Julo Levin and his students, to far less sympathetic portrayals of stereotypical gypsy characters.[84] In addition, numerous films from the 1910s and Weimar period were considered part of the *Zigeunerdrama* genre, including some that dealt with artists or 'foreign' customs.[85] Many representations of gypsies did not attempt a realistic portrayal and instead defaulted to traits that invoked an objectionable lifestyle.

Countless images in Weimar culture reinforced notions of racialized difference, but even photographs were not fully trusted to convey information about race. Many who believed in the importance of visible racial difference were also apt to believe that it was sometimes difficult or impossible to see, which subsequently elevated the significance of factors like heredity and ancestry. Visual culture nevertheless contains key examples of how images were used to convey information about physiognomy, race, and the alleged racial inferiority of minorities.

Class and Political Power Struggles

Weimar's visual culture was inextricably intertwined with its swift political changes. Photographs in illustrated periodicals and photomontages, along with films, posters, and pamphlets, had the potential to garner political support and at times even wielded their own political power. Iconic images of key politicians became ubiquitous symbols of particular political events or movements. Imagery emphasizing the working class fuelled political parties across the spectrum, from the Communists to the National Socialists. In fact, some of these images relied on common symbols or slogans—for example, 'work and bread'—that made it difficult to discern which party they represented. Politicized images targeting such nebulous groups as 'the workers', 'the masses', and 'the Germans' indicate that visual language was but one part of a larger affective appeal. Still, the ways political parties and members of other movements visualized leaders, heroes, and adherents reveals much about their platforms and ideologies with respect to gender, race, and class difference.

Visual Weimar: The Iconography of Social and Political Identities

In the 1920s and early 1930s, the likenesses of key political figures circulated among mass readerships as never before due to *Illustrierten*. Both the people depicted and the ways they were portrayed reflect the Weimar Republic's dance with democracy. Photographs provided enduring evidence of a political moment that had occurred, and some moments were restaged so that they could be captured on film. Certain political images, such as photographs of SPD politician and future Chancellor Philipp Scheidemann's call for a democratic republic from the window of the Reich Chancellery on 9 November 1918, were at once iconographic and iconic. With arms outstretched, Scheidemann called upon a sea of workers and soldiers to reject the old monarchy and embrace the new democracy. Photographs of Karl Liebnecht, who had declared a free socialist republic on 9 November, showed him amidst similar political fervour at a rally.

In contrast, other iconic images reflected a nation in crisis. The infamous, unflattering photograph of President Friedrich Ebert and Defence Minister Gustav Noske in swimming trunks that appeared on the *BIZ*'s cover on 21 August 1919, the day Ebert took the oath of office, demonstrates how images of men's bodies were used to defamatory political ends. This cover image provided 'a vivid corporeal metaphor for the state of the postwar republic at its very inception', as well as an impetus to heal the national body.[86] If the men leading the country lacked dignity and were seen as weak and soft, then the republic itself had reason to fixate on physical self-improvement. Other images, such as Erich Salomon's supposedly candid snapshots of political figures including Foreign Minister Gustav Stresemann and President Paul von Hindenburg, likewise showed Weimar leadership in all of its precariousness.[87] However, Salomon's choice of photographs in the final version of his photobook also advocated for the ailing republic by favourably depicting certain scenes and by omitting prominent German politicians from the far right or far left, as Daniel Magilow has pointed out.[88]

Fig. 6. Woodcut by Käthe Kollwitz, Commemoration of Karl Liebknecht's death, 1919.

Many images of political figures—especially those who became more iconic when they were murdered—indeed supported the notion that Weimar was struggling under the weight of revolutions and political transformations. Avant-garde artists responded to the violent deaths of Spartacists Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht in January 1919, and

of the prime minister of the Bavarian Republic, Kurt Eisner, in February 1919, with a 'visual iconography of martyrdom, redemption, and resurrection', especially in a portfolio of woodcuts titled *Lebendige* ('The Living').[89] Artist Käthe Kollwitz commemorated Liebknecht's death using traditional Christian iconography: a mother and her baby, among other mourners, bent in deference to the deceased (see fig. 6).[90] Foreign Minister Walther Rathenau, the first German Jew to hold such a high governmental position, became a warning of the dangers of antisemitism when he was assassinated by right-wing extremists in 1922. Rathenau's image came to symbolize both progress and doom for Jewish acculturation. He was beloved in the Jewish press; one of his self-portraits appeared on the cover of the first issue of *Das jüdische Magazin* in July 1929. He further served as a martyr of the republic in general.[91]

Any study of political figures in Weimar must also mention the prevalence of photographs of Adolf Hitler, beginning in 1925 with the frontispieces in different editions of *Mein Kampf*. Hitler's 'personal photographer' Heinrich Hoffmann took many of the photos of Hitler in circulation and for celebratory volumes like *Das Antlitz des Führers* (The Führer's Countenance, 1939). Earlier photographs of Hitler enable the beholder to feel greater proximity to the subject, whereas later photographs depict him in statesman's poses.[92] The ways political figures were depicted is of great significance for how iconic images made an impact.

Photography in art, especially in avant-garde photomontage, served as a potent political tool in the Weimar period. Many montages compiled images and text in a sophisticated way that required several levels of interpretation; others offered more overt political commentary. In many instances, the positioning of a photographic image within an unexpected or unlikely context prompted viewers to reconsider its meaning. Deborah Ascher Barnstone and Elizabeth Otto have proposed that artistic resistance alters dominant worldviews through commentary and functions as political resistance through critique of accepted cultural symbols and meanings.[93] For example, Dadaist photomonteur John Heartfield was the master of modifying photographs for political ends, and his montages demonstrate both complex critiques of bourgeois capitalism and shameless caricatures of nationalism and Adolf Hitler. Together with satirist Kurt Tucholsky, Heartfield created the photobook *Deutschland, Deutschland über alles* (1929), which excoriated Germany for its capitalist cultural practices, militarism, and political leadership past and present.[94] Many of Heartfield's most political montages also appeared on the cover of the Communist *AIZ*, including *Der Sinn des Hitlergrusses* ('The Meaning of the Hitler Salute'), which circulated in October 1932, two weeks before national elections. In this montage, a capitalist behind Hitler deposits a handful of cash into Hitler's saluting hand.[95] Its power lies in how it modifies actual photographs; viewers know that some of this image is genuine, although the overall product is fabricated. The act of looking behind the scenes to separate the 'real' photograph from the art leads to an understanding of its critique. Then as today, such modified images—which we now sometimes refer to as 'photoshopped' or a 'deepfake', in the case of videos—were delightfully deceptive and considered dangerous.

Workers and the unemployed were the subject of countless photographs of Weimar's periods of economic instability. The concept of a collective 'Arbeiter-Fotografie' (Workers' Photography) was promoted through anonymity in *Arbeiter-Fotograf*, which included only photographers' initials, and the *AIZ*, which generally eschewed photo credits.[96] Yet there were still established leftist photographers who became known as individuals. Walter Ballhause, for example, photographed the effects of the world economic crisis from 1930 to 1933, including queues in front of employment agencies, the unemployed sitting on park benches, and housewives searching for edible scraps in the waste from weekly markets.[97] Taken from the up-close perspective by a member of the social class depicted, Ballhause's images differ from those of such press photographers as Willy Römer. Some of Römer's images seem posed or composed, and he did not go unnoticed by many of his subjects. Römer's images of the inflation period in 1922 and 1923 show old beggar women, women waiting in line for meat, children bringing home scraps from the market, and mountains of worthless banknotes. One photo of unemployed men and women from 1931 captures a sea of faces turned upward toward the camera, some smiling.[98] Whereas Römer did photograph some workers, he also documented the ascent of Hitler and the Nazi Party in 1932 and 1933, including masses of people giving the Hitler salute. All of these photos challenge viewers to determine and question possible political messages.

Fig. 7. 'Arbeit und Brot' (Work and Bread), Nazi Party Poster for the Reichstag elections in November 1932.

Propaganda images of workers were used to mobilize people across the political spectrum. They appeared on political posters, in pamphlets and periodicals, and in theatre and film. The worker stood in for the average person; the worker became the 'face of the masses', a powerful if nebulous symbol in and of itself.[99] All parties included images of women workers, though parties varied in their support for married women as workers. The Communist Party appealed to women to join the revolutionary struggle while simulta-

neously depicting them as too downtrodden to fight; in contrast, the National Socialist party promised women 'emancipation from emancipation' and a return to marriage and the family.[100] Early Nazi propaganda, taking a cue from advertising theory, relied heavily on the memorable visuals created by pairing symbols with a political 'brand'.[101] Like several political campaigns used by the Communist Party, many National Socialist posters from the early 1930s also appealed to workers with basic promises of work and bread. One Nazi poster campaign for the 1932 Reichstag elections paired the slogan 'Arbeit und Brot' with images of factory smokestacks or outstretched hands receiving tools (see fig. 7). The swastika is secondary to the symbols of work in these posters.[102] The worker himself—or herself—needs the context of additional images or words to be fully politicized.

In the early 1930s, a number of films mobilized images of workers for Communist purposes. Filmmaker Slatan Dudow, who would later make films in East Germany, directed several notable films during the late Weimar period including *Zeitprobleme: Wie der Arbeiter wohnt* ('How the Berliner Worker Lives', 1930) and *Kuhle Wampe oder: Wem gehört die Welt?* ('Kuhle Wampe or Who Owns the World?', 1932). A short documentary-style film, *Zeitprobleme* included close-ups of individual workers' faces that placed the viewer in much greater proximity than the portraits of someone like photographer August Sander. With an early focus on an employment office (*Arbeitsamt*), the word 'Arbeit' appears on signs and documents in the film's first few minutes with great frequency. In *Kuhle Wampe*, a feature film with a script and song lyrics by Bertolt Brecht, young workers unite to participate in a sports day that culminates in everyone singing 'The Solidarity Song'. In keeping with the song's lyrics that emphasize the word 'forward', many sequences in *Kuhle Wampe* are rapid montages that show forward motion. The film's final scene in the S-Bahn conveys that only those unsatisfied with the world will use their power to change it. This appeal to collective power suggests that radical change is still possible, though great challenges stand in its way. This underlying tension between political messages and the supposedly authentic portrayals of workers characterizes many such images.

Conclusion

Because of the rapid changes in technology and the broad reach of illustrated periodicals, photography, films, and advertisements, the sheer volume of images created and disseminated in Weimar Germany suggests that Weimar visual culture is worth studying on its own terms. Acts of looking, seeing, and gazing took place in new venues and in innovative ways. Yet viewers were also mistrustful of images that had the potential to be unreliable. Ambivalence prevailed with respect to the representation of social groups, from veterans and criminals to New Women and Jews; the contours and differences of these groups were not always clearly defined. Such ambiguities made room for both fluidity and volatility among and between members of social groups. In many representations of political groups, however, strong collective symbols hint at attempts toward unambiguous identifi-

cation. But here, too, political ideologies were not always immediately clear, and some slogans and images were deliberately vague.

With the rise of National Socialism in 1933, Weimar visual culture was rapidly extinguished. Still, there are some noteworthy continuities between the periods: images remained central, and such themes as athletic bodies persisted well into the 1930s. Traditional gender roles were prevalent, including a renewed emphasis on motherhood, fatherhood, and family, which played out visually in both overt and subtle ways. Swastikas appeared in the foreground and background of countless Nazi-era photographs taken in urban areas. Already by the summer of 1933, *Die Dame* featured an image of Magda Goebbels with her baby daughter: blond women and their 'Aryan' babies were the best that German fashion had to offer.[103] In stark contrast, many people associated with various forms of difference—visible and invisible—became the subjects of propaganda campaigns and were persecuted on new levels from eugenics to genocide. Much of what characterized Weimar culture was obscured, erased, or exiled. In its place, new propaganda mills offered a dramatically different way of seeing that left little room for subtlety or nuance.

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Notes:

(1.) On the evolution and use of the terms 'iconography' and 'iconology' in the Weimar period, see Emily J. Levine, *Dreamland of Humanists: Warburg, Cassirer, Panofsky, and the Hamburg School* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013).

(2.) Corey Ross, *Media and the Making of Modern Germany: Mass Communications, Society, and Politics from the Empire to the Third Reich* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 147.

(3.) Anton Kaes, Martin Jay, and Edward Dimendberg, *The Weimar Republic Sourcebook* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1994), 641, 643; and Peter de Mendelssohn, *Zeitungsstadt Berlin: Menschen und Mächte in der Geschichte der deutschen Presse* (Berlin: Ullstein, 1959).

(4.) Konrad Dussel, *Pressebilder in der Weimarer Republik: Entgrenzung der Information* (Berlin: LIT Verlag, 2012), 43.

(5.) Christian Rogowski, 'Preface', in Rogowski (ed.), *The Many Faces of Weimar Cinema: Rediscovering Germany's Filmic Legacy* (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2010), p. xii.

(6.) See n. 1 to this chapter. Cf. Jessica Evans and Stuart Hall, 'What is Visual Culture?', in Evans and Hall (eds), *Visual Culture: The Reader* (London: SAGE Publications, 1999), 1–7. Cited here, among others, are Roland Barthes, W. J. T. Mitchell, and Walter Benjamin.

(7.) Cf. Anton Holzer, 'Picture Stories: The Rise of the Photoessay in the Weimar Republic', *International Journal for History, Culture and Modernity*, 6/1 (2018), 1–39.

(8.) Cf. Pepper Stetler, *Stop Reading! Look! Modern Vision and the Weimar Photographic Book* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2015).

(9.) Walter Benjamin, 'Little History of Photography', in *Walter Benjamin: Selected Writings*, vol. 2. *1927–1934*, ed. Michael W. Jennings, Howard Eiland, and Gary Smith (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1999), 507–30, 527.

(10.) Daniel H. Magilow, *The Photography of Crisis: The Photo Essays of Weimar Germany* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2012), 97.

(11.) Maria Makela, 'Rejuvenation and Regen(d)eration: *Der Steinachfilm*, Sex Glands, and Weimar-Era Visual and Literary Culture', *German Studies Review*, 38/1 (2015), 35–62; here 56; and Maria Makela, 'Mistaken Identity in Fritz Lang's *Metropolis*', in Elizabeth Otto and Vanessa Rocco (eds), *The New Woman International: Representations in*

Photography and Film from the 1870s through the 1960s (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2011), 175–93.

(12.) Cf. Daniel H. Magilow, 'April Fools' in Weimar: Photography and Crisis in the *Illustrierten*', *Monatshefte*, 109/2 (2017), 255–69; and Noah Isenberg, introduction to Isenberg (ed.), *Weimar Cinema: An Essential Guide to the Classic Films of the Era* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009), 1-12, here 5–6. Isenberg references Peter Sloterdijk's term for the Weimar Republic, namely the 'German Republic of Imposters'.

(13.) Cf. Sabine Rewald, Ian Buruma, and Matthias Eberle, *Glitter and Doom: German Portraits from the 1920s* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 212–13.

(14.) Cf. Mary Ann Doane, *Femmes Fatales: Feminism, Film Theory, Psychoanalysis* (New York: Routledge, 1991), 142.

(15.) Cf. Dorothy Price, 'A "Prosthetic Economy": Representing the "Kriegskrüppel" in the Weimar Republic', *Art History*, 42/4 (2019), 750–79; and Maria Tatar, 'Entstellung im Vollzug: Das Gesicht des Krieges in der Malerei', in Claudia Schmölders and Sander L. Gilman (eds), *Gesichter der Weimarer Republik: Eine physiognomische Kulturgeschichte* (Cologne: DuMont, 2000), 113–30.

(16.) Deborah Cohen, *The War Come Home: Veterans in Britain and Germany, 1914–1939* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2001), 149–50.

(17.) Carol Poore, *Disability in Twentieth-Century German Culture* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2007), 23–4.

(18.) Cohen, *War Come Home*, 151.

(19.) Cf. Astrid Wenger-Deilmann, '1924: Die "Kriegszermalmten": Die visuelle Schockrhetorik des Antikriegsdiskurses', in Gerhard Paul (ed.), *Das Jahrhundert der Bilder*, vol. 1 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2009), 308–15.

(20.) Susan Sontag's *Regarding the Pain of Others* (2003), 24, cited in Annelie Ramsbrock, 'The "Face of War" in Weimar Visual Culture', in Jennifer Evans, Paul Betts, and Stefan-Ludwig Hoffmann (eds), *The Ethics of Seeing: Photography and Twentieth-Century Germany* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2018), 57–78, here 57. Cf. Annelie Ramsbrock, *The Science of Beauty: Culture and Cosmetics in Modern Germany, 1750–1930*, tr. David Burnett (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 87.

(21.) Cf. Sander L. Gilman, *Making the Body Beautiful: A Cultural History of Aesthetic Surgery* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999).

(22.) Paul Lerner, *Hysterical Men: War, Psychiatry, and the Politics of Trauma in Germany, 1890–1930* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2003), 250.

(23.) Anton Kaes, *Shell Shock Cinema: Weimar Culture and the Wounds of War* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009).

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(25.) Cf. Kerry Wallach, *Passing Illusions: Jewish Visibility in Weimar Germany* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2017), 148–58.

(26.) Marion Beckers and Elisabeth Moortgat, *Die Riess: Fotografisches Atelier und Salon in Berlin 1918–1932* (Berlin: Das Verborgene Museum e.V., 2008), 102.

(27.) Th. Th. Heine, 'Deutschlands Aufstieg', *Simplicissimus*, 35/15 (7 July 1930); and Walter Herzberg, 'Zwei Machthaber', *Ulk*, 58/48 (29 Nov. 1929). Cf. Erik N. Jensen, *Body by Weimar: Athletes, Gender, and German Modernity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 60–1, 76.

(28.) Jon Hughes, *Max Schmeling and the Making of a National Hero in Twentieth-Century Germany* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 42

(29.) Todd Herzog, *Crime Stories: Criminalistic Fantasy and the Culture of Crisis in Weimar Germany* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2009), 2.

(30.) Scott Spector, *Violent Sensations: Sex, Crime, and Utopia in Vienna and Berlin, 1860–1914* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016), 166–71.

(31.) Maria Tatar, *Lustmord: Sexual Murder in Weimar Germany* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), 41–52.

(32.) Sace Elder, 'Prostitutes, Respectable Women, and Women from "Outside": The Carl Grossmann Sexual Murder Case in Postwar Berlin', in Richard F. Wetzell (ed.), *Crime and Criminal Justice in Modern Germany* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2014), 185–206, here 185.

(33.) Herzog, *Crime Stories*, 110–33, here 112. Herzog further points to the visual similarities between this shot in *M* and Felix Nussbaum's 1943 painting *Self-Portrait with Jewish Identity Card*, which highlights the Nazi obsession with being able to identify the Jew as other. Cf. Todd Herzog, '"Den Verbrecher erkennen": Zur Geschichte der Kriminalistik', in Schmölders and Gilman, *Gesichter der Weimarer Republik*, 51–77.

(34.) Cf. Poore, *Disability in Twentieth-Century German Culture*, 27–8.

(35.) Cf. Tatar, *Lustmord*, 135–47.

(36.) Peter Jelavich, *Berlin Alexanderplatz: Radio, Film, and the Death of Weimar Culture* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2006), 222.

(37.) Cf. Veronika Fuechtner, *Berlin Psychoanalytic: Psychoanalysis and Culture in Weimar Republic Germany* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2011), 53–5.

(38.) Katie Sutton, 'Bridging the Rural/Urban Divide: Representations of Queer Female Experience in 1920s Germany', in Florence Feiereisen and Kyle Frackman (eds), *From Weimar to Christiania: German and Scandinavian Studies in Context* (Newcastle, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2007), 37–53, here 45.

(39.) Margaret McCarthy, 'Surface Sheen and Charged Bodies: Louise Brooks as Lulu in *Pandora's Box* (1929)', in Isenberg, *Weimar Cinema*, 217–36.

(40.) Doane, *Femmes Fatales*, 143, 152.

(41.) Sabine Hake, 'In the Mirror of Fashion', in Katharina von Ankum (ed.), *Women in the Metropolis: Gender and Modernity in Weimar Culture* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1997), 185–201, here 189.

(42.) Janet Ward, *Weimar Surfaces: Urban Visual Culture in 1920s Germany* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2001), 11, 82–90.

(43.) Käthe Münzer-Neumann, 'Die Berufstätige', *Die Dame*, 57/9 (Jan. 1930), 38. In the exhibition catalogue, Münzer-Neumann's painting had the full title '*Die Berufstätige* (Kinoschauspielerin Aga v. Rosen)'. Verein der Künstlerinnen zu Berlin, *Die Frau von heute Ausstellung. Gemälde, Graphik, Plastik*, exhibition catalogue, Nov. 1929, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz.

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(45.) Cf. Mila Ganeva, *Women in Weimar Fashion: Discourses and Displays in German Culture, 1918–1933* (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2008).

(46.) Darcy Buerkle, 'Gendered Spectatorship, Jewish Women and Psychological Advertising in Weimar Germany', *Women's History Review*, 15/4 (2006), 625–36, here 631.

(47.) On the marketing of Persil, cf. Martina Heßler, '1922: Die "weiße Dame": Eine Frauenfigur der Werbung im Wandel der Zeit', in Paul, *Das Jahrhundert der Bilder*, vol. 1, 284–91.

(48.) Ward, *Weimar Surfaces*, 86; and Jill Suzanne Smith, *Berlin Coquette: Prostitution and the New German Woman, 1890–1933* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2013), 140, 149

(49.) Elizabeth Otto, *Haunted Bauhaus: Occult Spirituality, Gender Fluidity, Queer Identities, and Radical Politics* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2019), 110–21; and Elizabeth Otto and Patrick Rössler, *Bauhaus Women: A Global Perspective* (London: Herbert Press, 2019), 80–85.

(50.) Barbara Kosta, *Willing Seduction: The Blue Angel, Marlene Dietrich, and Mass Culture* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2009), 108 n. 17.

(51.) Siegfried Kracauer, 'The Mass Ornament', in Thomas Y. Levin (tr. and ed.), *The Mass Ornament: Weimar Essays* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995), 75–88, here 79. Cf. Kate Elswit, *Watching Weimar Dance* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 48–58.

(52.) Mila Ganeva, 'Fashion Photography and Women's Modernity in Weimar Germany: The Case of Yva', *NWSA Journal*, 15/3 (2003), 1–25, here 13.

(53.) Cf. Elena Mancini, *Magnus Hirschfeld and the Quest for Sexual Freedom: A History of the First International Sexual Freedom Movement* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).

(54.) Cf. Deborah Ascher Barnstone, 'Androgyny in Oskar Schlemmer's Figural Art', in Elizabeth Otto and Patrick Rössler (eds), *Bauhaus Bodies: Gender, Sexuality, and Body Culture in Modernism's Legendary Art School* (New York: Bloomsbury Visual Arts, 2019), 217–39.

(55.) Cf. Rewald, *Glitter and Doom*, 146–8; and Hake, 'In the Mirror of Fashion', 189.

(56.) Cf. Thomas Köhler and Annelie Lütgens (eds), *Jeanne Mammen: The Observer, Retrospective 1910–1975* (Munich: Hirmer Verlag, 2017).

(57.) Cf. Katie Sutton, *The Masculine Women in Weimar Germany* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2011), 126–50.

(58.) Marion Beckers and Elisabeth Moortgat, *Atelier Lotte Jacobi: Berlin–New York* (Berlin: Das Verborgene Museum e.V., 1998), 75.

(59.) Cf. Sneeringer, *Winning Women's Votes*, 274.

(60.) Cf. Kevin S. Amidon, 'Intersexes and Mixed Races: Visuality, Narrative, and "Bastard" Identity in Early Twentieth-Century Germany', in Deborah Ascher Barnstone and Thomas O. Haakenson (eds), *Representations of German Identity: German Visual Culture*, vol. 1 (New York: Peter Lang, 2013), 103–27. On the term pseudoscience, cf. Amos Morris-Reich, *Race and Photography: Racial Photography as Scientific Evidence, 1876–1980* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016), 17–21.

(61.) Andrew Zimmerman, 'Anti-Semitism as Skill: Rudolf Virchow's "Schulstatistik" and the Racial Composition of Germany', *Central European History*, 32/4 (1999), 409–29, here 413.

(62.) Morris-Reich, *Race and Photography*, 71–5.

(63.) Morris-Reich, *Race and Photography*, 117–55, here 122–4.

(64.) Morris-Reich, *Race and Photography*, 156–86, here 159.

(65.) Wallach, *Passing Illusions*, 39–40.

(66.) Buerkle, 'Gendered Spectatorship', 631.

(67.) Irene Guenther, *Nazi Chic? Fashioning Women in the Third Reich* (Oxford: Berg, 2004), 91–2, 98–109.

(68.) Cf. Sander Gilman, *The Jew's Body* (New York: Routledge, 1991); and Jay Geller, *The Other Jewish Question: Identifying the Jew and Making Sense of Modernity* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2011).

(69.) Julia Schäfer, *Vermessen, gezeichnet, verlacht: Judenbilder in populären Zeitschriften 1918–1933* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus Verlag, 2005).

(70.) Randall L. Bytwerk, *Julius Streicher: Nazi Editor of the Notorious Anti-Semitic Newspaper* Der Stürmer (New York: Cooper Square Press, 2001), 56–7.

(71.) Alan E. Steinweis, *Studying the Jew: Scholarly Antisemitism in Nazi Germany* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006), 28, 33.

(72.) Wallach, *Passing Illusions*, 52–5.

(73.) David Ciarlo, *Advertising Empire: Race and Visual Culture in Imperial Germany* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011), 3.

(74.) Cf. Iris Wigger, *The 'Black Horror on the Rhine': Intersections of Race, Nation, Gender and Class in 1920s Germany* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017).

(75.) Cf. 'Der schwarze Terror in deutschen Landen', *Kladderadatsch*, 73/22 (30 May 1920).

(76.) Cf. Julia Roos, 'Nationalism, Racism and Propaganda in Early Weimar Germany: Contradictions in the Campaign Against the "Black Horror on the Rhine"', *German History*, 30/1 (2012), 45–74.

(77.) Tina Campt, *Other Germans: Black Germans and the Politics of Race, Gender, and Memory in the Third Reich* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004), 37–61.

(78.) Jonathan O. Wipplinger, *The Jazz Republic: Music, Race, and American Culture in Weimar Germany* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2017), 37, 46.

(79.) This painting includes a tin drum bearing the name 'Tom Boston', the pseudonym of an African American jazz artist who performed in Germany in the 1920s. Wipplinger, *The Jazz Republic*, 47–8.

(80.) Dorothy Price and Camilla Smith, 'Weimar's Others: Art History, Alterity and Regionalism in Inter-War Germany', *Art History*, 42/4 (2019), 628–51, here 639.

(81.) Marion Beckers and Elisabeth Moortgat (eds), *Yva: Photographien 1925–1938* (Berlin: Das Verborgene Museum, 2001), 44–6.

(82.) Cf. Wallach, *Passing Illusions*, 82–4, and Wipplinger, *Jazz Republic*, 226–37.

(83.) Anna-Lena Sälzer, 'Arme, Asoziale, Außenseiter. Künstler- und Zigeuner-Diskurse von 1900 bis zum Nationalsozialismus', in Herbert Uerlings and Iulia-Karin Patrut (eds), *'Zigeuner' und Nation: Repräsentation—Inklusion—Exklusion* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2008), 203–30.

(84.) Susan Tebbutt, 'Disproportional Representation: Romanies and European Art', in Nicholas Saul and Susan Tebbutt (eds), *The Role of the Romanies: Images and Counter-Images of 'Gypsies'/Romanies in European Cultures* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2004), 159–77, here 167–8.

(85.) Anjeana Hans, 'The *Zigeunerdrama* Reloaded: Leni Riefenstahl's Fantasy Gypsies and Sacrificial Others', in Barbara Hales, Mihaela Petrescu, and Valerie Weinstein (eds), *Continuity and Crisis in German Cinema, 1928–1936* (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2016), 151–66, here 154.

(86.) Jensen, *Body by Weimar*, 3–4. Cf. Walter Mühlhausen, '1919: Die Weimarer Republik entblößt Das Badehosen-Foto von Friedrich Ebert und Gustav Noske', in Paul, *Das Jahrhundert der Bilder*, vol. 1, 236–43.

(87.) Erich Salomon, *Berühmte Zeitgenossen in unbewachten Augenblicken* (Munich: Schirmer/Mosel, 1931).

(88.) Magilow, *Photography of Crisis*, 137–40.

(89.) Debbie Lewer, 'Revolution and the Weimar Avant-Garde: Contesting the Politics of Art, 1919–1924', in John Alexander Williams (ed.), *Weimar Culture Revisited* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 1–21, here 3–4.

(90.) Neil MacGregor, *Germany: Memories of a Nation* (New York: Vintage Books, 2017), 409–10.

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(92.) Claudia Schmölders, *Hitler's Face: The Biography of an Image*, tr. Adrian Daub (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), 77.

(93.) Deborah Ascher Barnstone and Elizabeth Otto, 'How Art Resists', in Ascher Barnstone and Otto (eds), *Art and Resistance in Germany* (New York: Bloomsbury Visual Arts, 2019), 1–20, here 7.

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(95.) Sabine Kriebel, 'Montage as Meme: Learning from the Radical Avant-Gardes', in Ascher Barnstone and Otto, *Art and Resistance*, 135–49, here 143.

(96.) Rudolf Stumberger, *Klassen-Bilder: Sozialdokumentarische Fotografie 1900–1945* (Konstanz: UVK Verlagsgesellschaft, 2007), 146–7.

(97.) Stumberger, *Klassen-Bilder*, 147.

(98.) Willy Römer, *Berlin in den Weltstadtjahren. Fotografien von Willy Römer, 1919–1933*, ed. and with a text by Enno Kaufhold (Berlin: Braus Berlin GmbH, 2012), 64–81, 161.

(99.) Karen J. Kenkel, 'Das Gesicht der Masse: Soziologische Visionen', in Schmölders and Gilman, *Gesichter der Weimarer Republik: Eine physiognomische Kulturgeschichte*, 206–27.

(100.) Sneeringer, *Winning Women's Votes*, 282, 272–3.

(101.) Gerhard Paul, *Aufstand der Bilder: Die NS-Propaganda vor 1933* (Bonn: Verlag J. H. W. Dietz Nachf., 1990), 33.

(102.) Paul, *Aufstand der Bilder*, 247–84; cf. image plates between pages 240 and 241: 72, 73, 75.

(103.) Curt Meyer, 'Frau Dr. Goebbels', *Die Dame*, 60/19 (June 1933), 1.

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