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Die Drucklegung dieses Werkes wurde unterstützt mit den Mitteln des Bundesministeriums für Bildung und Forschung unter den Förderkennzeichen 1UG0712 und 01UG1412.

Bibliografische Information der Deutschen Nationalbibliothek

Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek verzeichnet diese Publikation in der Deutschen Nationalbibliografie; detaillierte bibliografische Daten sind im Internet über <http://dnb.d-nb.de> abrufbar.

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(Wilhelm Fink GmbH & Co. Verlags-KG, Jühenplatz 1, D-33098 Paderborn)
Internet: www.fink.de

Lektorat: Bettina Moll, Berlin; www.texttiger.de
Satz: Tilo Lothar Rölleke, Berlin
Einbandgestaltung: Evelyn Ziegler, München
Printed in Germany
Herstellung: Ferdinand Schöningh GmbH & Co. KG, Paderborn

ISBN 978-3-7705-5782-0

TAMAR AVISHAI

Shock and Aura Benjamin on Dada

Benjamin's philosophy invites misreading: it dares the reader to consume and reduce it to a succession of desultory aperçus, governed by the happenstance of mood and light. This must be challenged by the tensely spiritual character of his insights – every one of his insights has its place within an extraordinary unity of philosophical consciousness. (Theodor W. Adorno)¹

Never trust what writers say about their own writings.
(Walter Benjamin)²

Midway into »Aesthetics and Anaesthetics,« her cogent analysis of Walter Benjamin's iconic essay, »A Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction,« Susan Buck-Morss – like many scholars of early 20th-century Germany – finds herself unable to continue without a brief exposition on neurasthenia. A commonly diagnosed, uniquely modern condition, neurasthenia gave a name to the nervous exhaustion, anxiety, and depression that emerged as a response to the war.³ The diagnosis, comparable to shellshock, though at the time administered in equal measures both on and off the battlefield, codified the »fragmentation of the psyche,« the »shattered« nerves, the proverbial »going to pieces« that the German population experienced during and following WWI.⁴ This »disintegration of the capacity for experience« was a direct result of an immediate »excess of stimulation« and the »incapacity to react to same.«⁵ In other words, as Germans

1 Theodor W. Adorno: »Introduction to Benjamin's Schriften«, in: Gary Smith (ed.): *On Walter Benjamin. Critical Essays and Recollections*, Cambridge (MIT Press) 1988, p. 5.

2 Walter Benjamin: *The Arcades Project*, trans. Howard Eiland/Kevin McLaughlin, Cambridge (Belknap Press/Harvard University Press) 1999, H1,3, p. 203.

3 Brigid Doherty: »See: We Are All Neurasthenics!« or, the Trauma of Dada Montage«, in: *Critical Inquiry* 24 (1997) 1, p. 105.

4 Susan Buck-Morss: »Aesthetics and Anesthetics: Walter Benjamin's Artwork Essay Reconsidered«, in: *October* 62 (1992), p. 19.

5 Janet Oppenheim: *Shattered Nerves Doctors, Patients and Depression in Victorian England*, New York (Oxford University Press) 1991, p. 120, quoted in: Buck-Morss: »Aesthetics and Anesthetics« (note 4), p. 19.

graphically came to understand, one simply could not sustain the impact – the shock – of modernity without, as it were, coming apart.

To Benjamin, the modern experience in Europe was defined by the response to this shock. And like his fellow Germans, he, too, experienced this fragmentation; indeed, the intellectually disparate and historically unfinished nature of Benjamin's writings – and his entire philosophy, as his sometime friend Theodor Adorno concluded – proved just how shocking his times were.⁶ Yet it is through this shock that Benjamin produced the fragments, writings, and reflections that, taken posthumously together, constitute as sensitive and subtle a finger on the pulse of modernity as came out of his generation. In them, he articulated the fundamental concern as to how shock, the quintessential repercussion of modernity, could be manipulated and converted from a destructive to a constructive force, and perhaps in the process awaken the conscience of a traumatized public to the causes of its own destruction.

Indeed, »A Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction« was written in direct response to the circumstances of Benjamin's generation. In it he identified the vocabulary – *aura* and *authenticity*, specifically – that risked becoming obsolete in the face of immediacy, and, as is the privilege of writers, idiosyncratically refined the meanings of these terms to accommodate his argument. Both concepts function to ground an artwork in its history and assume its future survival, and thus, according to Benjamin, play little role in how a collective responds to the shock of immediacy in art, technology, and politics. Moreover, he claims, these entities – art, technology, politics – alter their function to account for the lack of aura when they respond back to us. Therefore, he asks, when the danger of becoming anesthetized from shock threatens to leave a collective ripe for manipulation, how can works of art elevate this shell-shocked modern audience to a self-conception that is active and therefore capable of self-liberation? And how can an artist *use* the shock of immediacy to subsequently have an impact on this audience such that the political implications are productive, rather than devastating?

In order to address these questions, Benjamin looked actively to past societies that had been confronted by the shock of the new. Painstakingly documented in his unfinished masterwork, *The Arcades Project*, 19th-century Paris unfolded into an ideal case study, a veritable montage of phantasmagoric torpor and technological immediacy. And yet, as we can see, Benjamin's impetus for studying Paris – his home in exile – came, of course, from a very relevant threat. Decades after Haussmann and the Commune, Benjamin found himself calling for a state of emergency as he witnessed first-hand the catastrophic effects of technological

6 Adorno: »Introduction« (note 1), p. 3.

shock on his own generation, and his own city. If there was ever a time when a collective needed attention drawn to what its incapacitated response to shock was allowing to take place, it was, for Benjamin, now.

The Artwork Essay: Establishing Aura's Role

Written in 1936, »A Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction,« is, fundamentally, a warning against the Fascist control of art. As Benjamin sees it, the insidious manipulations of Nazi propaganda, whereby a culturally »enlightened« totalitarian government placed aesthetics in the service of politics as a means of employing control, necessitated an awakening en masse. Most alarmingly, he points out, Nazism hijacked film, and is using it to employ a two-pronged strategy: first, by appropriating the aura of an art that was wedded to another period as a means of pushing a contemporary political agenda, and second, by presenting this stolen aura through film, a mechanically-produced lens. Film, Benjamin argues, is a shocking, immediate medium, capable of assuming the nostalgic, awe-inducing posture of aura and authenticity as it bullies its viewers into unquestioned submission.⁷ Remarking on the structure of film, Benjamin quotes Georges Duhamel: »I can no longer think what I want to think. My thoughts have been replaced with moving images.«⁸

In order to counteract this appropriation of art that has no business in contemporary politics, Benjamin implores the masses to respond by, in turn, »politicizing art.« By setting up a mechanically-reproduced artwork in diametric opposition to a monad, he explains how the politicization of the artwork allows ordinary people to place *politics* in the service of *aesthetics*. A lithograph illustrates »daily changing forms«; daily life, in turn, »keeps pace with printing,« and »to an ever greater degree, the work of art reproduced becomes a work of art *designed for reproducibility*.«⁹ These reproductions now have the ability to reach a diversity of audience that the originals never could, and thus a political sensibility is born. Due to their immediacy, these images are bound specifically to their time, with no illusions of an appropriated past; unlike Fascist films, politicized artworks

7 Lutz Koepnick: *Walter Benjamin and the Aesthetics of Power*, Lincoln (University of Nebraska Press) 1999, p. 4.

8 Georges Duhamel, quoted in Walter Benjamin: »A Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction«, in: *Illuminations*, ed. by Hannah Arendt, New York (Schocken) 1968, p. 238. It must also be stated that Benjamin's relationship with film is one of contradictions, akin to the inherent contradictory nature of media culture during this time. My examination of film will be largely limited to his discussion of Fascist filmmaking, although I will address various exceptions in my discussion of John Heartfield.

9 *Ibid.*, p. 224; italics by T. A.

are indeed genuinely authentic to their moment. Images based on politics have a political lifespan: they are instantaneous, printed on cheap newsprint and filmstrips, easily disposable, and not meant to outlive their immediate usefulness.

It is here, of course, that Benjamin concludes the following, today almost eponymous, assertion: »that which withers in the age of mechanical reproduction is the aura of a work of art.«¹⁰ Variations of this statement appear throughout his writings, newly textured with each mention.¹¹ The aura is, at its most fundamental, a residue of the past that is inherently present in a work of art, and what is rendered obsolete in the pursuit of immediacy. Its task is to cushion a work of art in its »appearance of distance, no matter how near it may be,«¹² couched in the permanence of the monad's oils, in the connection to its ritual value, to the *Geist* of its moment of inception. And yet, by definition, we only perceive this »other spatio-temporal nexus« in relation to our own.¹³ This »metaphoric activity«¹⁴ of art interpretation is a delicate, uniquely personal experience of sudden, active transference, wherein the »innermost symbolic structure«¹⁵ of the artwork is seen only through the lens of our own symbolic projection *onto* the artwork. Art viewing is thus a phenomenological experience, heightened by the fact that this interactive moment anticipates reciprocity: by bestowing onto an art object the existence of aura, Benjamin writes, we invest it with the ability to return our gaze.¹⁶

Therefore, what Benjamin saw taking place in Nazi Germany – what he identifies as the »aestheticization of politics« – was a manipulation of this interaction in an attempt to force art to conform its aura to the Nazi-dictated, rather than its inherent, ritual value. Hitler once famously said, »Jedes meiner Worte ist historisch«,¹⁷ the Nazi propaganda films of the mid-1930s – Leni Riefenstahl's *Triumph des Willens*, as well as the films created for the 1936 Olympics, *Fest der*

10 Ibid., p. 221.

11 See, for example, Benjamin's discussion of aura in »On Some Motifs in Benjamin,« writing that Baudelaire »indicated the *price* for which the sensation of the modern age may be had: the disintegration of the aura in the experience of shock.« (Walter Benjamin: »On Some Motifs in Baudelaire« in: id.: *Illuminations* [note 8], p. 194).

12 Walter Benjamin, quoted in Peter Fenves: »Is There an Answer to the Aestheticizing of the Political?«, in: Andrew Benjamin (ed.): *Walter Benjamin and Art*, London (Continuum) 2005, p. 64. Benjamin goes on to describe aura as »the criterion of genuineness« that rolls over in the face of politics (ibid., p. 67).

13 Ibid., p. 64.

14 Miriam Hansen: »Benjamin, Cinema, and Experience: The Blue Flower in the Land of Technology«, in: *New German Critique* (1987) 40, *Special Issue on Weimar Film Theory*, p. 188.

15 Jürgen Habermas: »Walter Benjamin: Consciousness-Raising or Rescuing Critique«, in: Smith (ed.): *On Walter Benjamin* (note 1), p. 94.

16 Benjamin: »On Some Motifs in Baudelaire« (note 11), p. 188.

17 »Every one of my words is historical«, quoted in: Eckhard Siepmann: *Montage: John Heartfield. Vom Club Dada zur Arbeiter-Illustrierten-Zeitung. Dokumente – Analysen – Berichte*, created by Jürgen Holtfreter, Berlin (Elefanten Press) 1977, p. 189.

Völker and *Fest der Schönheit* – gloriously intended to validate Hitler's claims that his three-year-old ›Thousand Year Reich‹ was the rightful heir to Athens and Sparta. Meanwhile, the conflation of the iconic Early Classical discus thrower with a lithe German Olympian (fig. 1) was a clear aesthetic example of an aura violated.

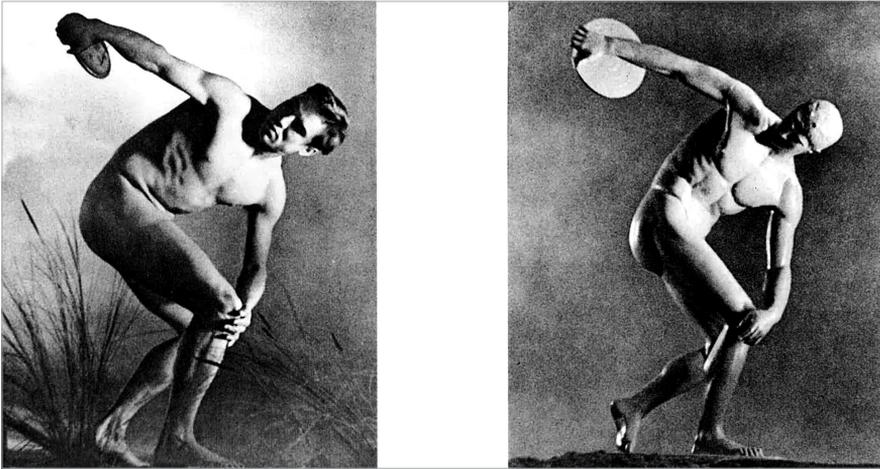


Fig. 1: Leni Riefenstahl: *Erwin Huber as 'living statue' / Myron: Discus Thrower c. 450 BCE* (1937).

Yet Benjamin is not focusing his argument only on the Nazi appropriation of high art; rather, it is Nazi imposition of this appropriated aura onto and through mechanically produced art – film, specifically – that he found so alarming. This manipulation was now taking place on a mass scale – instead of only a single pair of eyes, now a camera, with its implication of mass viewership, lingers on the sculpture of the discus thrower as special effects dissolve the stone body into the living flesh of the German decathlete. Furthermore, presenting this manipulated aura through a non-auratic medium has the potential to overwhelm its audience of thousands even unto paralysis: as Benjamin quotes Freud: »for a living organism, protection *against* stimuli is an almost more important function than the reception of stimuli.«¹⁸

Yet interaction is a two-way street; Benjamin's interest lies in how we, the masses, respond to this shock. In his 1939 essay »On Some Motifs in Baudelaire,« a disquisition on the lyrical writings of his 19th-century Parisian proxy, Benjamin holds onto the definition of aura he presented three years earlier, yet here

¹⁸ Benjamin: »On Some Motifs in Baudelaire« (note 11), p. 161.

it is in the service of expounding on the imperative role of critical interaction in productively receiving the experience of shock. Here, he identifies *Erfahrung* and *Erlebnis* – both translate as ›experience,‹ yet are crucially distinct. *Erfahrung* demonstrably places us in the immediacy of the moment: a primary mimetic state, experience without any sort of critical reflection.¹⁹ *Erlebnis*, meanwhile, is the moment lived, extrapolated from the moment of. Benjamin describes this progression as a ›peak achievement of the intellect,‹ and further relates this intellectual process to what happens daily in modern life: ›using consciousness as a screen against stimuli.‹²⁰ We employ our *Geistesgegenwart*, our conscious presence of mind, our watchful ›moral alertness‹ to the ›presence of the present,‹²¹ as a buffer between our shock and ourselves – the greater the shock, the stronger our critical faculties must be. Without reflection there would be nothing but a sudden start, usually a sensation of fright, which, according to Freud, ›confirms the *failure* of the shock defense.‹²² And, as Benjamin continues to quote Freud, this shock defense often fails; the natural inclination is to protect oneself in a wholly unintellectual way. Rather than stabilizing and overcoming shock, we surrender to the immediacy of it, we become a passive victim of it, and we ›go to pieces.‹ Indeed, ›the first tremors of awakening,‹ Benjamin remarks, ›serve to deepen sleep.‹²³

Therefore, if reproducibility can so thoroughly violate an aura, and we, in our own innate self-preservation, cannot be trusted to tell the difference, it makes sense that Benjamin would call for a response to the ›aestheticization of politics‹ with an art that eliminates aura altogether. When he argues for the ›politicization of art‹ in his artwork essay, he is identifying an immediate, time-bound art that is ›pried from its shell,‹²⁴ where the ›appearance of distance‹ is rendered obsolete, and a non-auratic interaction, by definition, can no longer be manipulated.

Yet is Benjamin perhaps choosing not to give his generation the benefit of the doubt? And in consequently calling for a strictly non-auratic art, does he not risk, as it were, throwing the baby out with the bathwater? Why must all of aura's implications – specifically, in Benjamin's own words, the phenomenological, reciprocated moment of interaction – be eliminated simply because an artwork is mechanically reproduced? If we take Benjamin's definitions to their logical conclusion, then the monad and the reproduced copy are set unequivocally into

19 Matthew Rampley: *Remembrance of Things Past. On Aby M. Warburg and Walter Benjamin*, Hamburg (Otto Harrassowitz) 2000, p. 16.

20 Benjamin: ›On Some Motifs in Baudelaire‹ (note 11), p. 163.

21 David Michael Kleinberg-Levin: *Gestures of Ethical Life. Reading Hölderlin's Question of Measure After Heidegger*, Palo Alto (Stanford University Press) 2005, p. 162.

22 Benjamin: ›On Some Motifs in Baudelaire‹ (note 11), p. 163.

23 Id.: *The Arcades Project* (note 2; K1a,9), p. 391.

24 Id.: ›A Work of Art‹ (note 8), p. 223.

binary opposition, as we, the masses capable and most needful of action, are implicitly denied the potential for liberation through aesthetic experience.²⁵ This denial could not have been his long-term intention. When we take into account the breadth of his writings in response to Fascism, and we look at the artistic movements, Dada in particular, that Benjamin defines as ›politicizing art,‹ it seems as though we risk too narrow a reading of Benjamin's theories by assuming the aura can be, or must be, done away with. Rather, I would argue that this moment of auratic interaction is crucial to effectively politicizing art at all. Mechanically-produced art, in order to function politically, must allow its audience the space necessary to step back, awaken their *Geistesgegenwart*, and take action *before* the present moment is finished and past.²⁶ The elimination of aura – as per Benjamin's own definitions of aura – neuters the interaction this awakening requires. While Benjamin provides the framework and asks the right questions, when determining what will allow his definitions to realize their aims most fully, I submit that he draws his line in the wrong place.

Berlin Dada: Authenticity and Politicized Anti-Art

We find our most appurtenant case study in Benjamin's relationship to Dada. Benjamin was well aware of the iterations of Dada taking place post-WWI and into the 1920s, and by exploring his writings on the subject, we can see that he regarded Berlin Dada in particular as an example of a movement that ›politicized art‹ and thus validated the definitions he laid out in the artwork essay. A closer analysis of the movement itself, however, drawn largely through a close reading of his own work, will ultimately question Benjamin's assertions of how the movement's effectiveness – and the politicized artwork – results from the withering of the aura.

Benjamin's position requires a political aesthetic movement that would speak directly to its audiences, a movement defined by its own reception, and Dada handily fit the bill. Benjamin wrote on Dada at length twice, the first in his 1934 lecture, ›The Author as Producer,‹ and the second in the artwork essay. Let us take each in turn. In ›The Author as Producer,‹ he recognizes Berlin Dada's implicit politics and ability to keep pace with the printing press – in sum, that it was the quintessential movement to come out of the age of mechanical reproduction. The lecture's argument focuses on the now familiar conflation of politics and, here, literature: his thesis, questioning the relationship between form

25 For a more in-depth argument to this point, cf. Hansen: ›Benjamin, Cinema, and Experience‹ (note 14), p. 186.

26 Kia Lindroos: ›Benjamin's Moment‹, in: *Redescriptions. Yearbook of Political Thought and Conceptual History* 10 (2006), pp. 129–130.

and content in political poetry, is materially similar to his questioning of the nature of politicized aesthetics.²⁷ In Berlin Dada, the mode of communication dictates what is being communicated: it is a political, immediate, and ephemeral movement whose sole purpose is to render itself obsolete, to »destroy itself as a historical necessity.«²⁸ Dada's »revolutionary strength,« Benjamin writes, »is to test art for its *authenticity*.«²⁹

What does he mean by this? Is he suggesting that Dada's strength hinges upon ›authentic‹ political resonance? Does political resonance require authenticity to be effective? After all, authenticity, »the essence of all that is transmissible from its beginning, ranging from its substantive duration to its testimony to the history which it has experienced,«³⁰ is destroyed alongside the aura; it is defined as – and only exists in – a sphere outside of technical reproducibility. The prerequisite of authenticity's existence is the presence of an original, which, in this case, no longer exists (asking for an ›authentic‹ mechanically-produced print »makes no

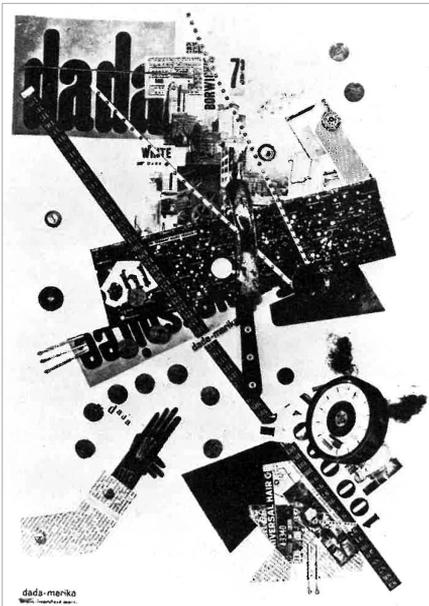


Fig. 2: John Heartfield/Georg Grosz: *Dada-merika* (1919).

27 Walter Benjamin: »The Author as Producer«, in: Peter Demetz (ed.): *Reflections. Essays – Aphorisms – Autobiographical Writings*, trans. Edmund Jephcott, New York (Harcourt Brace Jovanovich) 1978, pp. 221–222.

28 Douglas Kahn: *John Heartfield. Art and Mass Media*, New York (Tanam Press) 1985, p. 14.

29 Benjamin: »The Author as Producer« (note 27), p. 229.

30 *Ibid.*, p. 221.

sense».³¹ So let us dissect this sentence: *Dada's ability to be politically effective, its revolutionary strength, comes from testing art for ›authenticity.‹* If authenticity in art is everything that is revealed about the object during the interaction between itself and viewer, the object's response to the aura we project when we initiate dialogue, then, as Benjamin writes, see what we are looking at *now* when we explore a Dada artwork: »still lifes...put together from tickets, spools of cotton, cigarette butts...linked with painted elements.«³² Or, for example, John Heartfield and George Grosz's 1919 collaborative montage, *Dada-merika* (fig. 2), which contains, in addition to photographs and typography, hair, matches, and various other bric-à-brac. »The whole thing,« Benjamin writes, »was put into a frame. And thereby the public was shown: look, your picture frame ruptures time; the tiniest fragment of daily life says more than painting. You need only think of the work of John Heartfield, whose technique made the book cover into a political instrument.«³³

Berlin Dada is meant to be the opposite of timeless; rather, it *ruptures* time, it is comprised of mundane, valueless materials that are then given art's privileges – framing and mounting – in order to draw the viewer's attention to its utter expendability. Heartfield said as much about his own creations: »I am full of good hope that the struggle of humanity for the preservation of freedom will *bring their timelessness to an end* in the not too distant future.«³⁴ What is revealed about a Dada art object – seemingly – requires no unearthing of aura, as there is nothing historical or eternal in this interaction. And this, Benjamin believes, is Dada's political strength, its effectiveness as a political art movement: it begins and ends in its present moment, and, moreover, it is authentic *to* that moment.

While Benjamin takes for granted that a viewer of a Dada montage in 1934 has the wherewithal to come to this conclusion himself, the shock upon the viewer that would ensue, in this essay at least, is largely ignored. This is not the case in the artwork essay, the next time Benjamin discusses Dada at length. Now the shock effects of Dada on the spectator are brought to the fore, with the conclusion that they are analogous to the shock effects of the film: »Dadaism,« he writes, »attempted to create by pictorial – and literary – means the effect which the public today seeks in the film.«³⁵ However – and this is crucial – the Dada on which Benjamin chooses to focus in this essay is not the Dada from »The Author as Producer.« Rather than discussing the political Berlin Dada, he focuses on the nonsensical Zurich Dada of Hugo Ball and Jean Arp. Yet this other branch of Dada is still relevant to our purposes, as it seems to trap Benjamin in his own logic. Here, we have an excellent example of what happens

31 Benjamin: »A Work of Art« (note 8), pp. 220–224.

32 Id.: »The Author as Producer« (note 27), p. 229.

33 Ibid.

34 Kahn: *John Heartfield* (note 28), pp. 14–15; italics by T. A.

35 Benjamin: »A Work of Art« (note 8), p. 237.

when, in Benjamin's own words, the aura *is* completely destroyed. To Benjamin, »what [the Dadaists] intended and achieved was a relentless destruction of aura of their creations.«³⁶ This intentionally incoherent brand of Dada was impervious to »contemplative immersion« because nowhere in it can a spectator participate. Before an image of Arp's, Benjamin writes, »it is impossible to take time for contemplation and evaluation.«³⁷ Rather, he continues, »the works of art of the Dadaists became an instrument of ballistics. It hit the spectator like a bullet, it happened *to* him.«³⁸ Zurich Dada is distracting; it assails the viewer, denying him the critical space to »abandon himself to his associations.« Like watching a film, »no sooner has his eye grasped a scene than it is already changed. It cannot be arrested... The spectator's process of association in view of these images is indeed interrupted by their constant, sudden change. This constitutes the shock effect of the film, which,« he adds, »like all shocks, should be cushioned by a heightened presence of mind.«³⁹



Fig. 3: Heartfield/Grosz at the Dada Fair (1920).

36 Ibid., pp. 237–238.

37 Ibid., p. 238.

38 Ibid.

39 Ibid.

BENJAMIN SAW BERLIN Dadaists in much the way they saw themselves: as the proprietors of a political, and, more crucially, non-auratic, movement. And yet, whether or not Berlin Dada saw itself as anti-art, and its creators as anti-artists, I would argue that their work invited the same critical, auratic distance that they required to be an effective political movement in the first place. In order to substantiate this argument, we must now look more closely at Berlin Dada: its aims, its participants, and, more specifically, at the role that Berlin Dada itself intended to play as an illustrative example of the necessity for aura that both Benjamin, and the Dadaists themselves, had not taken into account.

»Die Kunst ist tot. Es lebe die neue Maschinenkunst Tatlins.«⁴⁰ This was the slogan for the widely publicized *First International Dada Fair* in Berlin (1920), as seen in a famous photograph taken of Berlin Dada's most prominent artists, John Heartfield and George Grosz (fig. 3). Both men were close friends who had responded to the years following Germany's defeat in the First World War with the same biting disdain; both anglicized their names (Heartfield was born Helmut Herzfeld; Grosz's given name was originally Georg) in 1918 in a bout of intense disillusionment as a response to the common German greeting, »May God Punish England.« Both were exasperated by the corruption that followed, and, along with photomontagist Raoul Hausmann, spearheaded a critical response to what they considered to be an impotent and embarrassing moment in German history by employing mechanically-reproduced materials to specifically test the boundaries between aesthetics and politics and create a movement that aimed to destroy *Kunstkalt*.⁴¹ »I considered as useless,« Grosz wrote, »any art which did not offer itself as a weapon in the political struggle.«⁴²

Indeed, Berlin Dada defined itself as anti-art from its inception. Art, the Dadaists believed, as it had been established, was the product of a corrupt capitalist society that exploited its workers. The Dadaists' response to what they saw taking place in terms of art's elitist appropriation was not unlike what Benjamin's would be when he wrote the artwork essay: the bourgeoisie, they argued, meant to repress the workers by confining art within the realms of elitism, irreproducibility, and profitability – they, too, were using art as a weapon. For both Heartfield and Grosz, the reverence of art and culture was a »bourgeois swindle designed to keep the masses docile, to dampen revolutionary ardor, and to undermine the class consciousness of the proletariat.«⁴³ This statement is strikingly reminiscent of

40 »Art is dead. Long live the Machine Art of Tatlin.«

41 Timothy O. Benson: »Mysticism, Materialism, and the Machine in Berlin Dada«, *Art Journal* 46 (1987) 1, p. 49.

42 Title page, Exhibition Catalogue: *Grosz/Heartfield. The Artist as Social Critic*, Minneapolis (University Gallery/University of Minnesota) 1980.

43 Beth Irwin Lewis: »Grosz/Heartfield: The Artist as Social Critic«, in: Exhibition Catalogue: *Grosz/Heartfield* (note 42), p. 27.

what Benjamin described with frustration in his 1940 essay »Theses on the Concept of History«; in much the same way that he was fighting to »abandon the epic element in history,«⁴⁴ one that »romanticizes and obscures the facts,«⁴⁵ the 1918 Dada Manifesto found its enemy in the »overblown historical significance«⁴⁶ of



Fig. 4: John Heartfield/Georg Grosz: *The Golden Chain* (1928).

44 Walter Benjamin: »Eduard Fuchs. Collector and Historian«, in: *New German Critique* (1975) 5, pp. 28–29.

45 Id.: »One-Way Street«, in: Demetz (ed.): *Reflections* (note 27).

46 Sidney Simon: »The Weimar Republic and the Verist Tradition in Art«, in: Exhibition Catalogue: *Grosz/Heartfield* (note 42), p. 10.

early German Expressionism. *Die Brücke* and *Der Blaue Reiter* were seen as selfishly apolitical in their inwardness, their utopian idealism, their empty rhetoric.⁴⁷ The stigma attached to oil painting and its exclusive irreproducibility runs parallel to Benjamin's definition of why the aura has the potential to be so dangerous in the first place: look no further than »The Golden or the Legend of the Freedom of Art« (fig. 4), a 1928 photomontage by Heartfield, incorporating drawings by Grosz, as an illustration of aura's ability to keep art firmly in the hands of only those who have access to the experience, and thus blatantly repressing the proletariat. Dada fought this repression through images that identified and acknowledged it, and was published widely through the *Arbeiter-Illustrierte-Zeitung* (AIZ). Where »Dada struggles on the side of the revolutionary proletariat,«⁴⁸ as another banner mounted at the 1920 Dada Fair declared, Grosz claimed that Expressionist paintings, far from treasures to be elevated above the struggle, were merely symptomatic of it: »You pretend to be timeless and stand above party, you keepers of the ivory tower,« he wrote in an essay to Expressionist artists. »Do away with your individual isolation, let yourselves be possessed by the ideas of the working masses!«⁴⁹

Benjamin's later theses on history demonstrably echoed this worldview. If history writing had always been the task of the victors, and the perpetual danger was that the masses will become a tool of elite control, then, Benjamin writes, the historical materialist must »disassociate himself from it as far as possible.«⁵⁰ If history writing is therefore no longer siding with the elite, then it must be siding with the proletariat. If art is no longer confined to a museum, held hostage by its aura and accessible only to an exclusive few, it can become a mass tool of revolution. This new vocabulary for what art became in Weimar Germany reformulated its function (»art designed for reproducibility«), and, moreover, validated its politicization: if art – like history – is no longer epic, rhetorical, and elitist, it must instead be instantaneous, specific, and egalitarian, and, if possible, it should appropriate the shock of technological newness for its own purposes.

Berlin Dada did just this. Where Expressionism's enthusiasm for the ego was summed up in its motto, »Man is Good,« the Dadaists, determined to look clearly and critically at the banal, retorted: »Man is a Beast.«⁵¹ The movement defined itself as a technologically aggressive, wild yawp of immediacy, proudly toting its deliberate absence of *Geist*; indeed, as Raoul Hausmann said, »Why have *Geist* in

47 Dawn Ades: *Photomontage*, London (Thames and Hudson Ltd.) 1976, p. 26.

48 Paul Wood: »Realism and Realities«, in: Brionny Fer et. al. (eds.): *From Realism, Rationalism, Surrealism. Art Between the Wars*, New Haven (The Open University) 1993, p. 41.

49 *Ibid.*, p. 291.

50 Walter Benjamin: »Theses On the Concept of History«, in: id.: *Illuminations* (note 8), p. 256.

51 Wolf-Dieter Dube: *Expressionism*, New York (Praeger Publishers) 1973, p. 207.

a world that runs mechanically?»⁵² Rather, their manifesto declared that high art should – as their art already did – deal with:

... the thousandfold problems *of its day*, an art which one can see has let itself be thrown by the explosions of last week which is forever gathering up its limbs after yesterday's crash. The best and most extraordinary artists will be those who [hold] fast to the intellect *of their time*, bleeding from hands and hearts.⁵³

The rejection of the epic propelled the newfound excitement over specificity. Dada was, as Douglas Kahn writes, »nihilistic«; if Dada was a revolt against the higher powers, a response to the »powerlessness of the spiritual,« then the spiritual needed to be destroyed and replaced with the concrete: the trouser buttons, hair, matches, newspaper clippings, and so on (loved so well by Benjamin), that were ultimately incorporated into their work.⁵⁴ These objects illustrated in art what Hausmann had conceived Dada to be from the beginning: a communal *Übergangsform* (form of transition) that served to »decontaminate« man from his past and begin anew in an immediate, material experience of wholeness, a »living present.«⁵⁵ And the ultimate tool in the Dada arsenal, made up not only of found objects, but of remnants of mechanically produced media as well, was the photomontage.

The origins of the photomontage are traceable, though they shift depending on whom you ask. While Grosz and Heartfield take credit for its invention, fellow Berlin Dadaists Hausmann, Johannes Baader, and Hannah Hoch have claimed responsibility as well. Though montage itself was no longer a new aesthetic medium – Picasso and Braque had experimented with mixed media, collage, and montage during prewar Synthetic Cubism – photomontage, such that comprised Heartfield's later work, maintained an element of objective documentation that pervaded its subjective manipulation; it was heavily influenced by the work of the soldiers from the Western Front, who, thinking nothing of artistry, had resorted to pasting together photographs and cutouts from illustrated magazines in order to get their »reports of butchery« past the censors and home to their loved ones.⁵⁶ In this way, the origins of Dada photomontage were demonstrably political:

52 Benson: »Mysticism, Materialism, and the Machine in Berlin Dada« (note 41), p. 46.

53 Raoul Hausmann: »Dada Manifesto«, cited in: Doherty: »See: We Are All Neurasthenics!« (note 3), p. 88; italics by T. A.

54 Kahn: *John Heartfield* (note 28), p. 31.

55 Benson: »Mysticism, Materialism, and the Machine in Berlin Dada« (note 41), p. 47. Though space constrains a longer discussion, consider Benjamin's concept of *Jetztzeit*, the presence of the now, as it exists in an art object that »ruptures time«.

56 Peter Selz: »John Heartfield's Photomontages«, in: John Heartfield/Wieland Herzfelde (eds.): *Photomontages of the Nazi Era*, New York (Universe Books) 1977, p. 7.

a medium of necessity, not of aesthetics. Benjamin certainly thought so. In one of his rare mentions of Heartfield, he wrote a disparaging response to the Surrealist photomontage's intentions to present itself as an artistic medium: »The attempt of the Surrealists, the ›artistic‹ photomontage, has failed,« he writes. »You misjudged the striking social power of the photomontage and thus the importance of the inscription, which is the fuse of the critical spark towards which the montage drives (as we see best with Heartfield).«⁵⁷ This critical spark was not recognized solely by Benjamin; critics throughout the 1920s and 1930s immediately understood the driving political force behind Heartfield's creations. As critic Adolf Bahne recognized in 1931, Heartfield's montages were »photography plus dynamite.«⁵⁸

If both Benjamin and the Dadaists have established that their politicized art is, indeed, not art at all, then it logically follows that Heartfield, Grosz, and others were not artists. Grosz, for his part, never contested this. His refusal to identify with both the Expressionists and the Verists, even when exhibiting his own paintings, illustrate how deeply he was opposed to the role of the artist and all that the title implied.⁵⁹ Photomontagists on the whole tended to see

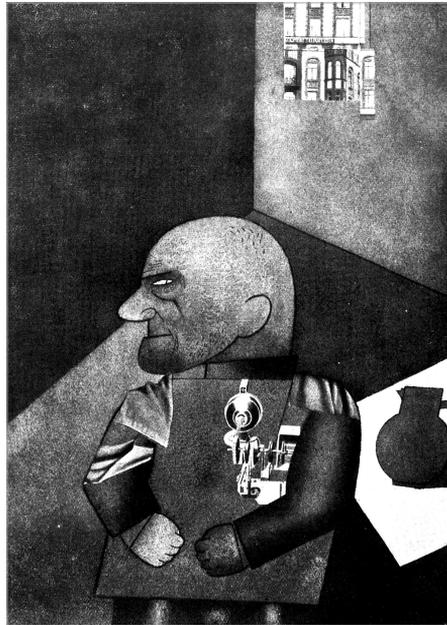


Fig. 5: George Grosz: »The Convict«. *Monteur John Heartfield after Franz Jung's Attempt to Get Him Up on His Feet* (1920).

57 Walter Benjamin: »Pariser Brief: Malerei und Fotomontage«, quoted in: Siepmann: *Montage: John Heartfield* (note 17), p. 189; trans. T. A.

58 Lewis: »Grosz/Heartfield« (note 43), p. 39.

59 Simon: »The Weimar Republic and the Verist Tradition in Art« (note 46), p. 19.

themselves rather as workers, playing into the ideal of art as a political, proletariat struggle. *Montage* in German translates into ›fitting‹ or ›assembly line‹; as Hausmann said, »[Photomontage] translates our aversion at playing the artist, and, thinking of ourselves as engineers ... we meant to construct, to assemble our works.«⁶⁰ Heartfield's colleagues referred to him as ›Monteur Heartfield‹ – *Monteur* translating as ›mechanic‹ or ›engineer‹ – in recognition of his work's response to existing artistic hierarchies.⁶¹ Grosz's »The Convict: Monteur John Heartfield after Franz Jung's Attempt to Get Him Up on His Feet,« a watercolor and photomontage from 1920 (fig. 5), presents a portrait of Heartfield playing his dual role of both maker of montages and prisoner. By highlighting the photographic pieces of cotton cloth mounted on his shoulder and sleeve, this image juxtaposes a convalescent's smock with its role as a worker's blue coveralls (*Monteuranzug*), which Heartfield was known to wear in his studio.⁶² As Brigid Doherty notes, this juxtaposition of worker and prisoner, or perhaps convalescent, as well as the mechanical pump that has replaced Heartfield's heart, serves to emphasize the social response to neurasthenia: shutting down one's emotions to preclude coming apart.⁶³

Heartfield's photomontage was a quintessential proletariat art form, its task »to work as well, strongly, and intensively as possible on the masses.«⁶⁴ Yet how could this goal have been achieved in a productive way without a semblance of artistic merit? Moreover, what separated the work of Heartfield – mechanically produced, widely disseminated, and largely propagandistic – from what the Nazis were producing? Perhaps this question above all drives the dialectical model that Benjamin explores in both the artwork essay and in the ruminations on Paris that comprise *The Arcades Project*: a society assaulted by modernity can be pacified into phantasmagoric complacency or, upon harnessing it, roused into self-liberating action, and Heartfield could only achieve the latter by creating *interaction* between his viewers and his work, and by insisting on a phenomenological moment of reciprocity, an aura, between spectacle and spectator. We can unpack this statement by looking first at the artistic properties of Heartfield's art, and secondly, at the auratic.

It is unclear if Heartfield even considered himself an artist in the traditional sense. As I have suggested, Dada, and photomontage itself, did little to lend itself to the production of *art*; the camera produced anonymous political images and »addressed everyone in the same manner.« In other words, no one was asking

60 Ades: *Photomontage* (note 47), p. 12.

61 Ibid.

62 Doherty: »See: We Are All Neurasthenics!« (note 3), p. 102.

63 Ibid., pp. 104–105. Doherty is also swift to notice, despite Heartfield's never having seen the battlefield, how closely the mechanical heart resembles military decorations.

64 Lewis: »Grosz/Heartfield« (note 43), p. 27.

after the author.⁶⁵ Heartfield claimed that the pencil was »too slow a medium« to be political,⁶⁶ and that his photographs and montages were an explicitly political tool; the fact that when they were exhibited Heartfield insisted on having copies of the newspapers and journals in which they were published hung alongside the originals emphasized the work as aimed at the masses, and not meant to retain the aura of private and irreproducible artworks.⁶⁷ Yet for all of its political clamor, Heartfield's work did have rather ingenious aspects of artistry, simply in his deft manipulation of photographs. As his contemporary Heidi Strub described, »Heartfield always considered his photomontages as artistic achievements,« and though he was producing ephemeral political propaganda – decidedly not for an art market – still, she continues:

[...] artistic quality, for Heartfield, was identical with the clear solution of a concept, with the purposeful accomplishment of the substance and form of an idea. The graphic means, the distribution of space, the proportions, the choice of lettering, the tonal quality or the color of the photograph were subordinated to this.⁶⁸

Even Grosz begrudgingly admits that what began as an »inflammatory political joke,« Heartfield developed into »a conscious artistic technique.«⁶⁹ Hausmann described the extreme complexity of photomontage, its structure and dimension, its contrasts, its »utmost flexibility and lucid formal dialectics [...] [Its] ability to manage the most striking contrasts, and achieve perfect states of equilibrium.«⁷⁰ Louis Aragon, an active member of the French Surrealists, praised Heartfield's [...] ability to »salute the very beauty of our age« by becoming a »master of a technique entirely of his own invention, a technique which uses for its palette the whole range of impressions from the world of actuality [...] transl[ate]d into black and white.«⁷¹

Yet pure artistry is not enough; the films of Leni Riefenstahl never lacked artistry, despite their lack of aura. Indeed, Joseph Goebbels' resounding praise for *Triumph der Willen* cited its »steel-like conviction and passionate artistry,«⁷²

65 Heidi Strub: »An Art for the Revolutionary Struggle«, in: Heartfield/Herzfelde (eds.): *Photomontages of the Nazi Era* (note 56), pp. 23–26.

66 John Heartfield: »Über den operierenden Künstler«, quoted in: Lewis: »Grosz/Heartfield« (note 43), p. 27.

67 Ades: *Photomontage* (note 47), p. 43.

68 Strub: »An Art for the Revolutionary Struggle« (note 65), p. 24.

69 Hans Richter: *Dada: Art and Anti-Art*, London (Thames and Hudson Ltd.) 1997, p. 117.

70 *Ibid.*, p. 16.

71 Louis Aragon: »John Heartfield und die revolutionäre Schönheit«, quoted in: Selz: »John Heartfield's Photomontages« (note 56), p. 15.

72 Alan Rosenthal: »Book Review: *The Power of Film Propaganda: Myth or Reality?* By Nicholas Reeves«, in: *Film Quarterly* 55 (2001–2002) 2, p. 68.

and it is largely determined that the reason for the film's success over the relative failure of later propagandistic films such as Fritz Hippler's *Der Ewige Jude* was the latter's »grotesque exaggerations«; as an artistic creation, that film was deemed »rubbish.«⁷³ Artistry that could rouse an audience required their interaction with the object, a nuanced, empathic exchange, something for which Nazi propaganda, with good reason, never asked.



Fig. 6: John Heartfield: *Adolf the Superman Swallows Gold and Spouts Junk* (1932).

Yet such interaction in political art had precedent, and Heartfield, it seems, looked towards an undisputed *artist* of authentically politicized art in his own 19th-century proxy, Honoré Daumier. Georg Grosz spoke of Daumier as one of the few artists he could tolerate; along with Hogarth and Goya, Daumier was »tendentious« and »a moralist,« and Grosz encouraged all the »Daumiers of today« to »speak directly to the masses.«⁷⁴ For his own part, Heartfield had been introduced to Daumier's work through the collector Eduard Fuchs, and began incorporating similar motifs from the caricaturist's work into his own montages.⁷⁵ Heartfield's 1932 »Adolf the Superman Swallows Gold and Spouts Junk« (fig. 6) demonstrably echoes one of Daumier's most controversial caricatures,

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Kahn: *John Heartfield* (note 28), p. 50.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

»Gargantua« (fig. 7): both depict an overfed leader – for Heartfield, Adolf Hitler, for Daumier, the French People’s monarch, Louis Philippe – consuming the public wealth and trust, yet producing nothing but waste. Daumier’s journals

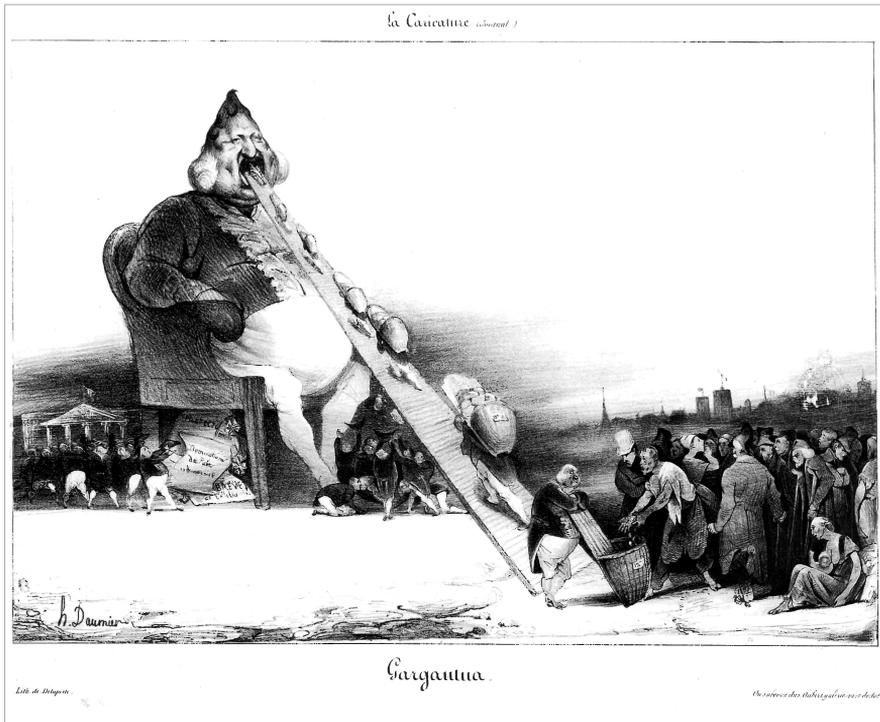


Fig. 7: Honoré Daumier: *Gargantua* (1830).

La Caricature and *Le Charivari* became Heartfield’s *Neue Jugend* and *AIZ* – the latter even published an homage to Daumier by reproducing his caricature on its cover (fig. 8). Daumier and Heartfield thematically brought together »epochal consciousness«;⁷⁶ both exploited the newest technological innovation of their periods to comment on that period with »powerful anger« and »great artistic talent.«⁷⁷

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Selz: »John Heartfield’s Photomontages« (note 56), p. 11. I am grateful to Judith Wechsler, Professor Emerita at Tufts University, for her excellent, seminal work on Daumier – which turned me onto this subject – and for her support on this article.



Fig. 8: John Heartfield: Daumier caricature on the cover of *A-I-Z* (1929).

Technically speaking, Heartfield successfully emulated what made Daumier such a powerfully political artist: the ability to turn the proverbial lens onto his own society, to criticize his contemporaries by identifying with them – to, as Benjamin wrote on the critic Karl Kraus, »insert the crowbar of his hate into the finest joints of their posture.«⁷⁸ Daumier's caricatures, at least those that fascinated Benjamin enough to be reproduced in *The Arcades Project*, illustrated the fashionable fools of his day, entranced by phantasmagoria and



Fig. 9: Honoré Daumier: *Ladies of the Demi-Monde, but Having No Demi-Skirts* (1855).

⁷⁸ Walter Benjamin: »Karl Kraus«, in: Demetz (ed.): *Reflections* (note 27), p. 244.

oblivious to the (even minor) dangers it posed; we see this insensibility exemplified by the ladies struggling to accommodate their massive crinoline into a small carriage in »Ladies of the Demi-monde, but having no demi-skirts« (fig. 9). In the same vein, Heartfield made it his mission to point out a society asleep. His 1929 photomontage, »The Sleeping Reichstag« (fig. 10) depicting a parliament member napping



Fig. 10: John Heartfield: *The Sleeping Reichstag* (1929).

atop the iconic government building, criticizes the »somnolent complacency« of Parliament in the face of Nazism.⁷⁹ The 1933 montage »Durch Licht zur Nacht« (Through Light to Night; fig. 11) illustrates the infamous Bebelplatz book burning, and sports the caption: »Thus spake Dr. Goebbels: Let us start new fires so that those who are blinded shall not wake up!« (»Laßt uns aufs neue Brände

⁷⁹ Ades: *Photomontage* (note 47), p. 47.



Fig. 11: John Heartfield: *Durch Licht zur Nacht* (1933).

entfachen, auf daß die Verblendeten nicht erwachen!«; trans. Dawn Ades) These works, accompanied by the ever-present trademark Dada yell – members of the movement both screaming in each other’s ears and out towards the viewer (figs. 12–14) – accentuated their mission of awakening the enervated masses.

Yet this awakening, for all its zeal, would have not been effective if its strategy was simply, and solely, an outward scream, an »instrument of ballistics«, at the audience. This is where we ultimately see how Heartfield’s work combated Goebbels’, and where Benjamin drew a line separating political art and aura

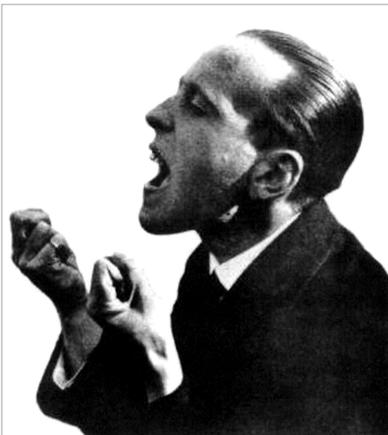


Fig. 12: Heartfield in ›Dada-yell-Pose (o. J.).

somewhat prematurely: in order to create noise enough to awaken – but not to pummel senseless – one's audience, *Geistesgegenwart* must be produced. Critical distance must be employed; in essence, an auratic interaction must be provoked. This interaction took place between a Heartfield photomontage and a viewer asked to approach an image comprised of subtle, clever juxtapositions and create *for himself* the relationship. Heartfield's work consequently transformed »consumers« into »collaborators«⁸⁰ by allowing them to recognize its deliberate distortion.

Indeed, it is here that we recognize the difference between active decision-making and decision-making that is utterly prescribed. Benjamin returns to this dialectic repeatedly with respect to film, where at once Fascist filmmakers are exploiting the »rebellion of technology«⁸¹ on our senses, and yet our sympathy towards



Fig. 13: Hausmann yelling in Heartfield's ear (o. J.).

Mickey Mouse, recognizing »[our] own life in [him],«⁸² returns to us our common humanity. An audience watching Charlie Chaplin is never in a state of passivity; we »must either double up laughing or be very sad,« all the while aching actively

80 Wood: »Realism and Realities« (note 48), p. 236.

81 Benjamin: »A Work of Art« (note 8), p. 242.

82 Id.: »Mickey Mouse«, in: Michael W. Jennings/Brigid Doherty/Thomas E. Levin (eds.): *Walter Benjamin. The Work of Art in the Age of Technological Reproducibility and Other Writings on Media*, Cambridge (Belknap Press/Harvard University Press) 2008, p. 338.

for an ending that will invariably sneak up on us.⁸³ In characteristic contradiction to his writings on film's ballistic shock effect when discussing Fascist propaganda, Benjamin's short, largely unpublished writings on Hollywood film further enhance the auratic properties that allow for Heartfield's work to be so effective – because it is not the film itself, but rather the fact of the universal authenticity of its content that our conscience responds to. A film that makes us laugh or elicits our empathy requires our own active participation; likewise, photomontage, writes Hausmann, is a medium that uses photography as a means to »create,« to »transform« the meaning of a photograph,⁸⁴



Fig. 14: »Dada Yell« at *First International Dada Fair* (1920).

83 Walter Benjamin: »Chaplin«, in: Jennings/Doherty/Levin: *Walter Benjamin. The Work of Art* (note 82), p. 333.

84 Ades: *Photomontage* (note 47), pp. 16–24.

to »divert the photograph from what it ›naturally‹ seems to say, and to underscore the need for the viewer's active ›reading‹ of the image.«⁸⁵ In approaching a Heartfield print, viewers jarred and startled themselves into recognition; »underlying realities and unavoidable truths« were revealed when it became »absurdly« clear that this photomontage was indeed a manipulation and never claimed to be otherwise.⁸⁶ The »absolute clarity of metaphor« engendered an emotional flare in the viewer, bringing him, as it were, to his senses.⁸⁷ Suddenly Nazi propaganda, which admitted to no such thing, was exposed for its inauthenticity.

Conclusion

Can we therefore argue for the expansion of Benjamin's definitions to include what it seems he would have, with the luxury of distance, have intended to himself include? Indeed, »it is impossible,« Rolf Tiedemann writes, »to determine whether [Benjamin] planned to retain this or that idea in the course of his work. Some theoretical notes contradict each other; others are hardly compatible.«⁸⁸ What writings we are left with would no doubt have been reconsidered, linked in ever more complex ways; as is the nature of a cultural historian, *un homme de lettres*, ideas and writings evolve as organically as the experiences he is able to capture in real time. Perhaps, at this moment, we too can step back, and appreciate the fundamental mission of his Fascist-era writings: to rally against what he foresaw – correctly – as the inevitable consequences of inaction. »It is our task,« he wrote just months before his death, »to bring about a real state of emergency, and this will improve our position in the struggle against Fascism.«⁸⁹ There is a deeply empowering message in this directive: we possess the gift of our critical consciousness, the faculties necessary to harness our own response to modernity. This is a message of hope, and indeed, in Benjamin's work, Adorno concluded, »hope truly appears only where there is danger.«⁹⁰

Of course, what was meant to inspire hope at the time becomes, having gone unheeded, all the more troubling and tragic today. Yet the fact that Benjamin's writings can still resonate so powerfully beyond their own generation is a tribute

85 Christopher Phillips: »Introduction«, in: Matthew Teitelbaum (ed.): *Montage and Modern Life*, Cambridge et al. (MIT Press) 1992, p. 28.

86 Lewis: »Grosz/Heartfield« (note 43), p. 38.

87 Selz: »John Heartfield's Photomontages« (note 56), p. 16.

88 Rolf Tiedemann: »Dialectics at a Standstill: Approaches to the *Passagen-Werke*«, in: Gary Smith (ed.): *On Walter Benjamin. Critical Essays and Recollections*, Cambridge (MIT Press) 1988, pp. 260–292.

89 Benjamin: »Theses On the Concept of History« (note 50), p. 257.

90 Adorno: »Introduction« (note 1), p. 12.

to his lucid sensitivity, to his own writerly aura, which survives still. His plea to his contemporaries, which is no less pressing to us today, echoes the same absence of rhetoric, the same clarity of purpose, as Wieland Herzfelde, brother of John, presents in the final lines of his poem, »Soldiers of Peace«:

Peoples, may your children
be saved from war.
Preventing war
shall be our triumph.⁹¹

91 Wieland Herzfelde: »Heartfield's Photomontages and Contemporary History«, in: Heartfield/
id. (eds.): *Photomontages of the Nazi Era* (note 56), p. 22.

Abbildungsnachweise

TAMAR AVISHAI

Shock and Aura. Benjamin on Dada

Abb. 1:

Leni Riefenstahl: *Erwin Huber as ›living statue‹; Myron: Discus Thrower c. 450 BCE* (1937); abgebildet in: Ian Boyd Whyte: »National Socialism and Modernism«, in: Dawn Ades u. a. (Hg.): *Art and Power: Europe Under the Dictators 1930–45*, London (Thames & Hudson) 1995, S. 267.

Abb. 2:

John Heartfield/Georg Grosz: *Dada-merika* (1919); abgebildet in: Dawn Ades: *Photomontage*, London (Thames and Hudson Ltd.) 1976, S. 23.

Abb. 3:

Heartfield/Grosz at the Dada Fair (1920), Fotografie; abgebildet in: Beth Irwin Lewis: »Grosz/Heartfield: The Artist as Social Critic«, in: *Exhibition Catalogue: Grosz/Heartfield. The Artist as Social Critic*, Minneapolis (University Gallery/University of Minnesota) 1980, o. S.

Abb. 4:

John Heartfield/Georg Grosz: *The Golden Chain* (1928); abgebildet in: Beth Irwin Lewis: »Grosz/Heartfield: The Artist as Social Critic«, in: *Exhibition Catalogue: Grosz/Heartfield. The Artist as Social Critic*, Minneapolis (University Gallery/University of Minnesota) 1980, o. S.

Abb. 5:

George Grosz: »*The Convict*«. *Monteur John Heartfield after Franz Jung's Attempt to Get Him Up on His Feet* (1920); abgebildet auf der Titelseite von: Dawn Ades: *Photomontage*, London (Thames and Hudson Ltd.) 1976.

Abb. 6:

John Heartfield: *Adolf the Superman Swallows Gold and Spouts Junk* (1932), in: Peter Selz: »John Heartfield's Photomontages«, abgebildet in: ders.: *Photomontages of the Nazi Era*, New York (Universe Books) 1977, S. 43.

Abb. 7:

Honoré Daumier: *Gargantua* (1830); abgebildet in: *Royal Academy of Art exhibition catalogue: »Daumier, Visions of Paris«*, London (Thames and Hudson Ltd.) 2013, S. 57.

Abb. 8:

John Heartfield: Daumier caricature on the cover of *A-I-Z, Arbeiter-Illustrierte-Zeitung*, 8 (1929) 8 Heft 8: *Honoré Daumier, zum 50. Todestag des großen Revolutionären Zeichners*, Berlin/Neuer Deutscher Verlag); abgebildet in: Douglas Kahn: *John Heartfield. Art and Mass Media*, New York (Tanam Press) 1985, S. 51.

Abb. 9:

Honoré Daumier: *Ladies of the Demi-Monde, but Having No Demi-Skirts* (1855); abgebildet in: Walter Benjamin: *The Arcades Project*, hg. v. Howard Eiland/Kevin McLaughlin, Cambridge (Belknap Press/Harvard University Press) 1999, S. 67.

Abb. 10:

John Heartfield: *The Sleeping Reichstag* (1929); abgebildet in: Dawn Ades: *Photomontage*, London (Thames and Hudson Ltd.) 1976, S. 46.

Abb. 11:

John Heartfield: *Durch Licht zur Nacht* (1933); abgebildet in: Dawn Ades: *Photomontage*, London (Thames and Hudson Ltd.) 1976, S. 47.

Abb. 12:

Heartfield in ›Dada-yell‹-Pose (o. J.), Fotografie; abgebildet auf folgender Webseite; Rechte dem Eigentümer vorbehalten: <http://daveubank.wordpress.com/2008/11/10/rodchenko-heartfield-fairey-the-vocabulary-of-change/>.

Abb. 13:

Hausmann yelling in Heartfield's ear (o. J.), Fotografie (Fotograf unbekannt); abgebildet in: Beth Irwin Lewis: »Grosz/Heartfield: The Artist as Social Critic«, in: *Exhibition Catalogue: Grosz/Heartfield. The Artist as Social Critic*, Minneapolis (University Gallery/University of Minnesota) 1980, o. S.

Abb. 14:

›Dada Yell‹ at *First International Dada Fair* (1920), Fotografie (Fotograf unbekannt); abgebildet in: Beth Irwin Lewis: »Grosz/Heartfield: The Artist as Social Critic«, in: *Exhibition Catalogue: Grosz/Heartfield. The Artist as Social Critic*, Minneapolis (University Gallery/University of Minnesota) 1980, o. S.