Heralds of change?

On the societal function of Weimar Republic journals 1918–1933

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To my mother, who did not get to see this undertaking concluded.

Abstract

"Heralds of change? On the societal function of Weimar Republic journals 1918–1933". Peter Hanisch, New College. Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Medieval & Modern Languages, Trinity Term 2016.

This thesis investigates how societal change is represented and negotiated in Weimar Republic journals. I advance the idea that journals serve as unique crystallisations of the negotiation of social change within social communities due to their inherent periodicity, polyphony and materiality. I elucidate how these journals function, both as material objects with their own specific identities and within Weimar society more generally. To do so, I examine six selected journals: *Die Weltbühne*, *Kladderadatsch*, *Simplicissimus*, *Die Gartenkunst*, *Sport im Bild* and *Fürs Haus*. Together, these journals cover a wide range of bourgeois communities, exemplifying a multiplicity of strategies in order to negotiate the challenges posed by modernisation to their communal identities as well as to the individual identities of their creators and readers. This thesis thus establishes a *history of small steps* visible in the continuous development of the journals' content and material form, offering an understanding of history as a continuous development of social practices rather than a history of caesuras and breaks.

Accordingly, I propose that journals tell us about culture, their material *Eigenlogik* setting them apart from newspaper and book alike. I then develop a notion of culture as dynamic and of journal communities as communities of practice. Next, I provide a case study of the *Simplicissimus*'s communal practices materialised in shifts of its editorial content and material form, before generalising these findings to include non-authorial voices in advertisements and letters to the editor. Finally, I investigate the negotiation of modernisation in the form of sport and the "New Woman" in the journals, highlighting the concurrency of discourse and active participation, and the coexistence of rejection and incorporation. Ultimately, Weimar journal communities exhibit a continuity of social practices and identities that span from the Kaiserreich to Nazi Germany, both negotiating and furthering modernisation in the process.

Long Abstract

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1. Synopsis

This thesis investigates how societal change is represented and negotiated in Weimar Republic journals. In answering this question, I elucidate how these journals function, both as material objects with their own specific identities and within the historical context of Weimar society. In order to do so, I examine a selection of six journals – namely *Die Weltbühne*, *Kladderadatsch*, *Simplicissimus*, *Die Gartenkunst*, *Sport im Bild* and *Fürs Haus* – which cover a wide range of bourgeois communities and a number of which have not yet been subject to extensive in-depth study.

I argue that Weimar journals function as nodes in which established communal and individual social identities – understood as particular ways of making sense of the world, of society and the self – are confronted with social change, focusing on how these challenges to identity are represented and negotiated within my material. The consciousness of historical groups cannot be accessed directly, but the journals serve as manifestations of their ideas, ideals and their identity as historical communities, expressed in journal materiality as well as message. Consequently, changes in material or message thus signal changes in a journal's identity, which in turn lets us understand how social developments specifically influence the identity of a particular journal community of both producers and consumers.

Traditionally, many Weimar journals have been neglected by scholarship, and the few that have garnered critical attention (like the *Simplicissimus)* predominantly have been treated as mere repositories from which texts and images have been extracted and studied divorced from their original material context. By contrast, my thesis focuses on the journals themselves, taking their specific material form and construction principles into account, which differ significantly from those of the singular, authorial literary text. I thereby advance a reading that considers my material's intrinsic logic, namely its inherent polyphony, periodicity and multimediality. This analysis of *material form* and *message* together offers a complex view of how a journal's identity is negotiated.

Furthermore, I seek to understand not just how individual journals serve as material crystallisations of specific communal identities but how these individual communities interact with and differentiate themselves from each other. This analysis establishes a complex network of relationships not limited to a traditional division along political fault lines, which I will

demonstrate to be insufficient to characterise how journals function within society or to decide which journals are worthy of study. Instead, this thesis establishes a more complicated set of relationships between these journals, explicating the fundamentally shared aspects of material, political and social practices as expressed in the journals' identities.

By focussing not on the abstract metahistorical development of society, but on its specific negotiation in specific material practice, this thesis offers a view of the negotiation of social identity as a *continuous* historical process as it unfolds in social activity. Consequently, identities and practices contained in the journals have to be understood as intrinsically historically connected to both preceding and subsequent historical developments. Accordingly, the Weimar Republic was neither fully predetermined by the Kaiserreich and the war, nor was it simply a pre-history for Nazi Germany or *a priori* doomed to fail. Instead, we have to take into account both how the developments of the Weimar Republic serve as a foundation for subsequent negotiations and practices within existing and new communities and how they are in turn selected from previously existing practices, thus ultimately modifying how we understand subsequent developments under the NS regime and how we position the Weimar Republic in a *continuous* social history of Germany.

2. Introduction

This chapter introduces the premise that journals serve as markers and crystallisation points of social change. Due to their periodicity, continuous identity and communal practices, journals are well suited for the analysis of historical processes of social change in general, and for the development of Weimar society in particular.

The field of journal studies, if one can even call it that, is far from unified, whether in its overall thrust, interest or methodology. Nevertheless, it has begun to differentiate itself both from more traditional media studies mainly focused on newspapers on the one hand and from traditional literary criticism focused on individual authorial texts or works on the other. Accordingly, the concept of the material's intrinsic logic (*Eigenlogik*) and acceptance of the journal's specific material form lead to a break with established literary scholarship in order to emancipate the journal from a variety of approaches merely borrowed from other areas of study and so inattentive to its specific materiality. Thus, *Materialgerechtigkeit* becomes a criterion, and the (literary) word finds itself side by side with a plethora of other material, without being necessarily superordinate.

This thesis follows these concepts and attempts to gain a better understanding of the journals' function within society while also seeking to elucidate some of the fundamental building blocks that separate the analysis of journals from other material forms. It thus marks a departure from the author-focused methods of traditional literary criticism and instead elects to focus more on the journals' materiality as well as on their reception.

3. Theory

The purpose of this chapter is to outline the wider theoretical preconditions for my study of Weimar journals. I establish a view of history as a set of strictly evolutionary, concurrent

processes, as series of selections from past practices and decisions. Theses traces of social activity can establish a *history of small steps*. I avoid regarding Weimar as an *a priori* doomed society and its media landscape as a deficient bi-partisan area in desperate need of better or external organising principles.

Leaning on Raymond Williams's overarching characterisation of historical processes as a steady cycle of conservative, prevailing and innovative tendencies and developments, my focus is on the negotiation and incorporation of these societal elements in social action. I adopt Pierre Bourdieu's slant on social (and historical) practice: the assumption of a recursive social process where past social action shapes social practices, which in turn actively influence present identities, decisions and actions and thus have implications for future developments.

However, instead of adopting Bourdieu's notions of an increasingly objectivist *habitus* or of a social room structured as separate social fields in which each individual ultimately stands alone, I move on to Etienne Wenger's understanding of *communities of practice*: social practice is understood in terms of relative levels of participation in common, shared practices. Thus, society ultimately appears as a conglomerate of various intersecting, partially competing or partially cooperating, largely coexisting communities, each of which is fundamentally preoccupied with arranging its own identity with wider societal and global historical developments and events.

4. The journal in history: The *Simplicissimus* and Weimar Germany

Drawing on these ideas of social development and history as ultimately evolutionary processes, I then analyse the social and historical practices as incorporated and crystallised in a specific Weimar Journal with a case-study: the *Simplicissimus*. The chapter demonstrates that the given journal serves as a marker for and specific place of the negotiation of wider social processes and practices while reacting in its own, specific way and while forming its own version of said practices.

The *Simplicissimus* itself had existed for over twenty years prior to the inauguration of the Weimar Republic, and it continued its existence into Nazi Germany and thus past 1933. Throughout its existence, we get to assume a stable identity for this journal, as it always remains distinct from other journals and as it survives through very different times and under very different social circumstances. The assumption of a stable identity, however, does not imply a *static* identity. Instead, the continuous historical movement of conservative, prevailing and innovative social practices poses an equally continuous challenge to the journal's identity. These social processes tug and pull at the journal's delineations and boundaries, forcing its community to negotiate these currents and social challenges, be it via incorporation or rejection.

However, this steady process of negotiation and, in some cases, of incorporation does not solely happen on an editorial level, but instead influences both the journal's material form as well as its editorial message. Furthermore, while the *Simplicissimus* displays overall conservative tendencies in dealing with societal change and in safeguarding its distinct identity, it nevertheless incorporates wider historical developments into its material and editorial practice. Such incorporation includes material changes in page layout, typography, image/text relations and the placement of advertisements, which are accompanied by editorial shifts towards more

decidedly patriotic positions.

5. The journal within its community

Where the previous case study outlined strategies for negotiating a journal's identity in both form and editorial content, this chapter focuses on the relationship between a journal and its readers. A journal cannot exist without readers, and the continuous need to cover a journal's production costs means that its producers do not simply have to reconcile their own identities with changing social circumstances. Instead, they need to ensure that their readers continue to share the same views and engage in the same practices or risk losing not just readers but consumers. Together, the journal's producers and recipients thus act as *journal communities* who share common practices and negotiation strategies. Readers are therefore not merely passive recipients of a given editorial message, but they fundamentally influence the journal's content. They do not simply feature as implied readers, but they appear more directly, as both projected buyers of advertised products and as incorporated voices in letters to the editor.

In order to account for this dual status of readers as both buyers of material artefacts and as recipients of editorial messages, the journals' advertisements serve as material markers of the journals' embeddedness in wider economical, social and ideological developments. Advertisements are seen as integral parts of a journal, complementing the editorial content in the process of reading, i.e. of reception. Since the intrinsic goal of advertisements is to motivate their recipient to consume and to buy, they offer a more defined image of the kind of people who form a journal community. They are also subject to very different necessities and thus further burst asunder a journal's editorial intention (or programme) and its historical practice.

Alongside seeing the advertisements as a way of engaging recipients on a different level, this chapter also examines the use of letters to the editor as an exchange of ideas between authors and readers (i.e. between producers and consumers). They prove to be a vital tool for reader identification with a journal, since they inscribe reader voices into the journal's editorial content, linking both identities and their trajectories even further. Despite their potential, however, this chapter also shows that these letters are nevertheless filtered (or reframed) and thus by no means neutral markers of participation or reader responses. Rather, they too are subject to a process of negotiation and incorporation into a journal's identity, which in turn influences the journal's wider community of practice.

6. Journal communities in history

While the first part focused on a specific journal throughout a historical period as well as on how a specific community is included in and influences a journal's identity, this second part seeks to round out the analysis of Weimar journals. Wenger's *communities of practice* highlight that no single community exists in a vacuum, but that it is embedded in a shared social space with many other communities. This chapter therefore offers two exemplary analyses showing the confrontation between such different journal communities and their encounter with common

historical and social challenges that none of them specifically produced themselves, yet which all of them have to negotiate in order to uphold their specific identities.

The chapter focuses on the interconnected developments of sport on one hand and the "New Woman" on the other as they appear in the journals during the year 1927. This period in Weimar history between the earlier (hyper-) inflation and the later World Economic Crisis has traditionally been regarded as offering little of interest compared to the more acute periods of crisis around it. Yet, while it is hardly surprising that identities are threatened in moments of severe crisis, the same pattern of negotiating identity is observable in this period of relative stability, establishing it as a more general social practice.

6.1. Sport

Sport then appears as a wider social development enveloping varying and very different groups of people within society, an area of social life that means very different things to different communities. It transforms existing groups and creates new communities, offering both challenges and potential to existing social identities. And while sport is certainly ideologically used or coloured, it is nevertheless important for a historical view of both democratisation and the development of fascism during the Weimar years: it is ultimately linked to both higher levels of individualisation and group activity, each of which in turn influence existing and newly formed communities of practice. Sport also marks the struggle between more nationalist and more internationalist tendencies, depending on specific communities' general inclinations.

By looking at the negotiation of sport in six distinct journal communities, I give an exemplary reading of each journal's particular strategies and practices when confronted with this particular wider social development. My journal communities cover the whole gamut of possible negotiation strategies, from outright rejection and ridicule to agreement and deep incorporation into existing identities and practices.

6.2. New Women

Akin to some of the trends seen in the development of sport, the role of women changes radically during the Weimar Republic. The appearance of the "New Woman" and of girl culture challenge existing ideals of womanhood and manliness as well as traditional gender roles.

With the "New Woman" on one end of the spectrum and the traditional German "Hausfrau" on the other, this development is similarly important for a wider process of democratisation and participation and a further retreat into mass movements or the private home alike. This development thus includes the political woman, vamp, girl and flapper just as much as the forerunners of Nazi Germany's "Mütter der Nation", passive housewives and an overall more conservative female gender image.

These different ways of configuring femininity challenge existing ideas and identities not just of women, but of all people within Weimar society, forcing them to reconcile their own views and ideas with these movements. As with sport, the six journal communities negotiate these common challenges differently, though a form of consensus ultimately seems to emerge which

fuses some of the visual markers and practices of the "New Woman" with more conservative ideals of women as housewives.

7. Conclusion

The concluding chapter acts as a final aggregation of the assumption that journals are extraordinary markers of historical social change. It concludes this thesis's attempt of a history of small steps that focuses on parallel analyses of the journals' messages as well as form, looking at their embeddedness in social communities and practices. It thus avoids the more typical meta history or crisis history that has been popular with Weimar scholars. It ultimately also highlights that first material form and editorial message *together* allow a more complete and vastly more complex view of embeddedness in a wider evolutionary historical process that ultimately asserts the connectedness of these six journal communities to the overall social developments in the Weimar Republic, rendering them as sites that both negotiate and further historical development from the Kaiserreich all the way to Nazi Germany.

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1. Introduction

In this thesis, I argue that journals offer a unique perspective on the social development of the Weimar Republic, allowing me to investigate how societal change is represented and negotiated within these journals. In answering this question, I seek to elucidate how these journals function, both as material objects with their own specific identities and within the historical context of Weimar society. In order to do so, I examine a selection of six journals – namely *Die Weltbühne*, *Kladderadatsch*, *Simplicissimus*, *Die Gartenkunst*, *Sport im Bild* and *Fürs Haus* – which cover a wide range of bourgeois communities and a number of which have not yet been subject to extensive in-depth study.[1]

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Traditionally, many Weimar journals (like *Sport im Bild*) have been neglected by scholarship, and the few that have garnered critical attention (like the *Simplicissimus)* predominantly have been treated as mere repositories, from which texts and images have been extracted and studied

1 I will introduce each of the six journals more properly later, cf. section 1.4, p. 18.

divorced from their original material context. By contrast, my thesis focuses on the journals themselves, taking their specific material form and construction principles into account, which differ significantly from those of the singular, authorial literary text. I thereby advance a reading that considers my material's intrinsic logic, namely its inherent polyphony, periodicity and multimediality. An analysis of *material form* and *message* together offers a complex view of how a journal's identity is negotiated.

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By focussing not on the abstract metahistorical development of society, but on its specific negotiation in specific material practice, this thesis offers a view of the negotiation of social identity as a continuous historical process as it unfolds in social activity, challenging notions of history as solely being grouped around breaks and ceasuras where new social realities are somehow independent of previous tendencies and practices, as is often the case when Weimar Germany is characterised as inherently proto-fascist or inevitably doomed to fail. Consequently, identities and practices contained in the journals have to be understood as intrinsically historically connected to both preceding and subsequent historical developments. Accordingly, the Weimar Republic was neither fully predetermined by the Kaiserreich and the war, nor was it simply a pre-history for Nazi Germany or *a priori* doomed to fail. Instead, we have to take into account both how the developments of the Weimar Republic serve as a foundation for subsequent negotiations and practices within existing and new communities

and how they are in turn selected from previously existing practices, thus ultimately modifying how we understand subsequent developments under the NS regime and how we position the Weimar Republic in a *continuous* social history of Germany.

1.1. A case for studying journals

Magazines are a highly successful cultural form and have been a mainstay of cultural production during the 20th century. In fact, "the magazine constitutes a lively and fascinating part of our intellectual existence, and has played a crucial role in moulding the social and cultural forms of the twentieth century".[2] More so, "if culture is the stories we tell about ourselves then magazines are prime examples of cultural resource. They are full of stories which we tell about ourselves, which we make up about ourselves, which we accept as being about ourselves – and now those stories are being sent around the world".[3] David Abrahamson even goes as far as to propose the concept of "magazine exceptionalism", for

> it might also be suggested that magazines can serve, in both professional and scholarly research, as singularly useful markers of the sociocultural reality. […] And therein lies the essence of the central claim of Magazine Exceptionalism: that magazines not only reflect or are a product of the social reality of the times, but they also serve a larger and more pro-active function – that they can also be a catalyst, shaping the very social reality of their sociocultural moment.[4]

One might assume that the study of journals is well established, given their apparent cultural importance. Yet, the opposite is the case: "Why this neglect?" asks Tim Holmes in his article *Mapping the magazine* in regards to the general state of scholarship concerned with journals, despite his assertion that "magazines have an important role to play in our culture. They are, as almost everyone will readily admit, sources of pleasure for millions of readers and that alone gives them a cultural value".[5] Accordingly, journals seem to play an important role in the

2 William Owen. *Magazine design*. London: Laurence King, 1991, p. 6.
3 Tim Holmes. "Mapping the magazine". In: *Journalism Studies* 8.4 (2007), pp. 510–521, p. 515.
4 David Abrahamson. "Magazine Exceptionalism. The concept, the criteria, the challenge". In: *Journalism Studies* 8.4 (2007), pp. 667–670, pp. 667–668.
5 Holmes, "Mapping the magazine", p. 510.

generation of pleasure, the acquisition of knowledge and even the formation of identity, "all this is rolled into a highly successful cultural form – yet it is a form which scholars have, with a few exceptions, tended to underestimate and overlook".[6] His résumé of the general activity relating to the academic study of journals is as concise as it is damning: "Given all these possibilities, the question must be – why has the point of reading magazines to help the understanding of the way society and culture evolves and adapts, the way socio-cultural-economic changes are initiated and disseminated, been overlooked?"[7]

In this light, it seems necessary to plead the case of journal studies as an area of research. As a field of research, journal studies are far from unified, but while Holmes is not wrong in diagnosing a certain blindness to the specificity and potential of studying journals, the current state of scholarship is not quite as dire as he makes it out to be. Nevertheless, studying journals is traditionally not the normal course of action when it comes to cultural analysis, especially not within the wider area of German Studies, traditionally more concerned with literature and philosophy. Yet even here, journals are commonly *used* within wider studies, even if they do seldom form the *core* of said studies. It is therefore worth explaining in some more detail why this study focuses entirely on journals in order to ultimately try to illuminate some of the processes involved in the Weimar Republic's historical development.

1.2. Materiality

In his book *Aufschreibesysteme 1800/1900*, Friedrich Kittler argues that advances in technology and accompanying shifts in media fundamentally challenge how we think of mediality, as well as how we store and relay data and information, leading to his concept of *Aufschreibesysteme*: "Das Wort Aufschreibesystem, wie Gott es der paranoischen Erkenntnis seines Senatspräsidenten Schreber offenbarte, kann auch das Netzwerk von Techniken und Institutionen bezeichnen, die einer gegebenen Kultur die Entnahme, Speicherung und Verarbeitung relevanter Daten

6 Holmes, "Mapping the magazine", pp. 510–511.
7 Ibid., p. 511.

erlauben."[8]

Accordingly, Kittler identifies literature as *the* Aufschreibesystem around 1800; specifically, he means Romantic literature, an idealist system that privileges the author as somebody gifted enough to conceive his writings from some higher, ethereal plane: the writing itself becomes automatic, an *écriture automatique* long before any surrealists see the light of day, though what gets lost in this understanding of literature is an understanding of the prerequisities of writing and, even more, an understanding of its *materiality*. With the advent of new technologies around 1900 (such as the typewriter, grammophone and film, as exemplified in the title of Kittler's other main book, "Grammophon, Film, Typewriter"), this idealist notion of writing gets superseded, "wo das Aufschreibesystem von 1800 ein Kontinuum gehabt hat, das vom unartikulierten Minimalsignifikant organisch zu den Bedeutungen faktischer Sprachen führte, steht fortan ein Buch".[9] According to Kittler, writing thus ceases to be the handwritten transfer from nature to culture, but instead becomes a gathering of blindspots "des Schreibers, des Schreibens, der Schrift".[10] Whereas writing used to be the only way not just to relay a sequence of events but to *record* and *store* it, new technological inventions allow for the *accurate* storage of data: "Zum wahrhaft ersten Mal hört Schreiben auf, mit serieller Datenspeicherung synonym zu sein. Zur symbolischen Fixierung von Symbolischem tritt die technische Aufzeichnung von Realem in Konkurrenz."[11] Until then, writing served to store sound, colour and movement, as well as "historical fact".[12] Yet "um 1900 wird die Ersatzsinnlichkeit Dichtung ersetzbar, natürlich nicht durch irgendeine Natur, sondern durch Techniken".[13] From around 1900 onward, sound can be recorded with the phonograph, looks and even movement can be stored

8 Friedrich Kittler. *Aufschreibesysteme 1800/1900*. 2nd ed. München: W. Fink, 1987, p. 429.
9 Ibid., p. 193.
10 Cf. ibid., pp. 201–202.
11 Ibid., p. 235.
12 Cf. Friedrich Kittler. *Grammophon, Film, Typewriter*. Berlin: Brinkmann & Bose, 1986, p. 12: "Was demnächst im Monopol der Bits und Glasfaserkabel enden wird, begann mit dem Monopol von Schrift. Geschichte war das homogene Feld, dem schon als Lehrfach nur Schriftkulturen zuzählten. Münder und Graphismen fielen aus zur Prähistorie. Anders wären die Ereignisse und ihre Erzählungen (der Doppelwortsinn von Geschichte) gar nicht zu koppeln gewesen."
13 Kittler, *Aufschreibesysteme 1800/1900*, p. 252.

via photographs and their serialisation as film, and the process of writing – as handwriting – is challenged by the advent of the typewriter, the technological abstraction of writing itself. Thus, Kittler coins the idea of *Materialgerechtigkeit*; the formerly privileged word now no longer resides above other materials, and writing (and thus also script or type) now has to be seen alongside other materials: colours, sounds, gestures, images etc.[14]

> Nun sind zwar alle Bibliotheken Aufschreibesysteme, aber nicht alle Aufschreibesysteme Bücher. Spätestens seit der zweiten industriellen Revolution mit ihrer Automatisierung von Informationsflüssen erschöpft eine Analyse nur von Diskursen die Macht- und Wissensformen noch nicht. Archäologien der Gegenwart müssen auch Datenspeicherung, -übertragung und -berechnung in technischen Medien zur Kenntnis nehmen.[15]

With Kittler's understanding of *Aufschreibesysteme*, then, comes an understanding of *materiality*, of the technological means and material conditions of a message or act, but it also marks a critique of any notion of authorial intention as well as of the primacy of authorial messages regardless of their specific materiality: "Wenn Erinnerungen und Träume, Tote und Gespenster technisch reproduzierbar werden, erübrigt sich die Kraft des Halluzinierens bei Schreibern, wie bei Lesern", which means nothing less than the fact that "Phonographie besagt Tod des Autors; sie speichert statt ewiger Gedanken und Wortprägungen eine sterbliche Stimme".[16] And in a remark on doctors filming patients in an asylum, Kittler further highlights this disenfranchising of the author: "Wenn die professoralen Medientechniker der Gründerzeit an ihre Experimente gehen, spielen sie ja zugleich Versuchsleiter und Versuchsperson, Täter und Opfer, Psychiater und Irre, ohne daß die Speichertechnik diesen Unterschied noch festhalten könnte oder wollte."[17] Authorial intentions, then, are always already apocryphal, the *medium itself* neither records, stores nor relays them. Kittler thus asserts that a study of *material*, rather than one of historical intention or historical messages devoid of their materiality, needs to be

14 Cf. Kittler, *Grammophon, Film, Typewriter*, p. 27: "Der Traum von einer wirklichen, sichtbaren oder auch hörbaren Welt nach den Worten ist ausgeträumt. Mit der historischen Gleichzeitigkeit von Kino, Phonographie und Maschinenschreiben wurden die Datenflüsse ebenso getrennt wie autonom. Daß elektrische oder elektronische Medien sie dann wieder verschalten können, ändert nichts am Faktum dieser Ausdifferenzierung."
15 Kittler, *Aufschreibesysteme 1800/1900*, p. 429.
16 Kittler, *Aufschreibesysteme 1800/1900*, pp. 20–21; cf. Kittler, *Grammophon, Film, Typewriter*, p. 243.
17 Kittler, *Grammophon, Film, Typewriter*, p. 222.

undertaken.

If Kittler thus suggests focussing on the material circumstances of textual production in order to leave behind a dependency on apocryphal authorial intention, he effectively proclaims once more the "death of the author", as both Michel Foucault and Roland Barthes have done before. Rather than contradict or supersede each other, however, together these three scholars make a strong case for an understanding of texts that allows us to focus less on original intention and instead to focus on a combination of production, reception and the social function of texts. Foucault, in his well-known *What Is an Author?*, argues that an author's name does not necessarily illuminate the person behind a given writing, but that it instead serves a distinct function. "In this sense, the function of an author is to characterize the existence, circulation, and operation of certain discourses within a society," the author serves as a *function* of discourse.[18] Foucault thus marks the shift from hermeneutics to discourse analysis:

> Clearly, in undertaking an internal and architectonic analysis of a work (whether it be a literary text, a philosophical system, or a scientific work) and in delimiting psychological and biographical references, suspicions arise concerning the absolute nature and creative role of the subject. But the subject should not be entirely abandoned. It should be reconsidered, not to restore the theme of an originating subject, but to seize its functions, its intervention in discourse, and its system of dependencies.[19]

Instead of trying to infer more about the author from the text (and vice versa), the author's name stands in for the interconnectedness of a text with various social discourses and the circumstances of its creation.

Similarly, Barthes, in his seminal (yet equally often critisised) *The Death of the Author*, leaves no doubt that every seeking of guidance from a factual author cannot be anything but misguided. "Who is speaking thus? […] We shall never know, for the good reason that writing is the destruction of every voice, of every point of origin. Writing is that neutral, composite, oblique space where our subject slips away, the negative where all identity is lost, starting with

18 Michel Foucault. "What Is an Author?" In: *Language, counter-memory, practice. Selected Essays and Interviews*. Ed., with an introd., by Donald F. Bouchard. Trans. by Donald F. Bouchard and Sherry Simon. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1977, pp. 113–138, p. 124.

19 Ibid., p. 137.

the very identity of the body writing."[20] Barthes also concludes, in a far more decisive manner than Foucault, that "once the Author is removed, the claim to decipher a text becomes quite futile. To give a text an Author is to impose a limit on that text, to furnish it with a final signified, to close the writing".[21] By declaring the death of the author, Barthes's text thus marks the *birth of the reader*, "thus is revealed the total existence of writing: a text is made of multiple writings, drawn from many cultures and entering into mutual relations of dialogue, parody, contestation, but there is one place where this multiplicity is focused and that place is the reader, not, as was hitherto said, the author".[22]

With no author to guide our understanding and to offer the possibility of exhausting a given text's meaning, we need to look elsewhere. Foucault's focus shifts towards discourse analysis and thus social communciation, a shift that is not unlike my own enquiry into how journals create *social* meaning, as well as how they engage with wider social processes, be they political, economic or "cultural" in the widest sense. However, Barthes's destruction of the author implies a turn towards *reception*, we are now to investigate a reader's response to a given text instead of "simply" looking for an author's intention and its transmission within a text. Researching reception, however, is difficult, doubly so if the reader and thus the act of reception is *historical*. Where traditional hermeneutics rely on accounts of intent, such as diaries, letters, autographs etc., historical reception usually similarly relies on incidental findings, people *storing* their impressions in one way or the other (and mostly in writing of their own). While this seems equally problematic, Barthes himself offers an alternative in one of his other essays, titled *The Photographic Message*, which handily combines Kittler's focus on materiality, Foucault's notion of social connectedness and Barthes's turn towards reception:

> The press photograph is a message. Considered overall this message is formed by a source of emission, a channel of transmission and a point of reception. The source of emission is the staff of the newspaper, the group of technicians certain of whom take the photo,

20 Roland Barthes. "The Death of the Author". In: *Image Music Text*. Trans. by Stephen Heath. London: Fontana, 1977, pp. 142–148, p. 142.
21 Ibid., p. 147.
22 Ibid., p. 148.

> some of whom choose, compose and treat it, while others, finally, give it a title, a caption and a commentary. The point of reception is the public which reads the paper. As for the channel of transmission, this is the newspaper itself, or, more precisely, a complex of concurrent messages with the photograph as centre and surrounds constituted by the text, the title, the caption, the lay-out and, in a more abstract but no less "informative" way, by the very name of the paper.[23]

There is no "author" to speak of here, for we have *technicians* involved in the multifaceted process of producing a media product, an incorporation of image, text, paratexts and space (as layout) which appear to the recipient as a "complex of concurrent messages".

> Naturally, even from the perspective of a purely immanent analysis, the structure of the photograph is not an isolated structure; it is in communication with at least one other structure, namely the text – title, caption or article – accompanying every press photograph. The totality of the information is thus carried by two different structures (one of which is linguistic).[24]

Barthes thus acknowledges that a given image's meaning cannot be inferred from external hints in the sense of authorial intention, but that its material existence alongside other material products influences its reception and *thus* its meaning. Accordingly, he arrives at the conclusion that images can be connoted:

> Connotation is not necessarily immediately graspable at the level of the message itself (it is, one could say, at once invisible and active, clear and implicit) but it can already be inferred from certain phenomena which occur at the levels of the production and reception of the message: on the one hand, the press photograph is an object that has been worked on, chosen, composed, constructed, treated according to professional, aesthetic or ideological norms which are so many factors of connotation; while on the other, this same photograph is not only perceived, received, it is *read*, connected more or less consciously by the public that consumes it to a traditional stock of signs.[25]

These findings can be connected back to two points made earlier: On one hand, Barthes's emphasis of a given image's *surroundings* leads to an analysis of an image (or, as Barthes mentions in passing, a text) alongside other images or texts *as they appear in the original material*, i.e. in a journal. On the other hand, we thus also move beyond Foucault's discourse

23 Roland Barthes. "The Photographic Message". In: *Image Music Text*. Trans. by Stephen Heath. London: Fontana, 1977, pp. 15–31, p. 15.
24 Ibid., p. 16.
25 Ibid., p. 19.

analysis towards what Kittler calls a study of discourses *together* with a discussion of the storage of information. In regards to studying Weimar Republic journals, we therefore gain a new trajectory of analysis. The destruction of authorial intention as a source for an exhaustive reading, alongside the inauguration of a *comparative* approach towards a given text or image in its surrounding published material, allows us to focus on journals as *physical* historical material. It also means that texts or images do not have to be chosen according to the availability of background information about their authors, such as private letters or diaries; in fact, the names of the authors become marginalia, incorporated into a whole system of texts and images, connotations, layout decisions and creative practices. Additionally, this shift also allows us to engage with texts and images whose authors are *unknown* or *anonymous*.[26]

1.3. Little archives

With Kittler, Foucault and Barthes in mind, it is safe to assert that both materiality and reception are certainly not without precedent when it comes to approaching media within literary studies. Yet, this shift towards the journals as material objects simultaneously marks a departure from many of the categories literary studies have hitherto used to "read" journals, or, as Kittler succinctly puts it: "Um solche Regelkreise von Sendern, Kanälen und Empfängern zu beschreiben, helfen Momentaufnahmen weiter als Geistesgeschichten", advocating the study of materiality rather than "Gefühlslagen".[27] A further critique of existing scholarship is also expressed in Gustav Frank, Madleen Podewski and Stefan Scherer's article *Kultur – Zeit – Schrift*, who focus specifically on the state of adequate ways of studying journals (or lack thereof) before proceeding to propose an alternative approach that takes into account the specific mediality of journals. They open with a scathing review of the status quo:

26 We are thus able to engage with anonymous material that nevertheless *exists* and that nevertheless *interacts* with its surrounding material. Gone are the days where "literary anonymity was of interest only as a puzzle to be solved as, in our day, literary works are totally dominated by the sovereignty of the author," cf. Foucault, "What Is an Author?", p. 126.

27 Cf. Kittler, *Aufschreibesysteme 1800/1900*, p. 430.

> Die Literaturwissenschaft erfasst diese Periodika in erster Linie katalogisierend, deskriptiv und typologisch oder sie ignoriert mit sehr allgemeinen Kategorien wie Unterhaltung oder Essay die mediale Eigenlogik, die spezifischen Textsorten und Organisationsformen des Wissens, nicht zuletzt den institutionellen Ort dieser Zeitschriftenform im Kulturprozess.[28]

Before we can develop a more thorough understanding of this "mediale Eigenlogik", which ultimately situates the journal as operating on a timescale somewhere between the book and the newspaper in their respective engagements with wider social events, however, we have to address some of the more fundamental problems of scholarly approaches to journals. These problems already start with the classification and genealogy of the journal as a research object; the most fundamental problem – that of an exhaustive typological definition of the journal – has remained disputed at the very least since the late 1960s.[29] In an article dedicated to a summary of the various attempts to define what exactly a journal is, Günter Kieslich shows that the most common trait in various definitions suggests "daß ein Gebilde mit etwa folgenden Eigenschaften: periodisch-regelmäßigem Erscheinen, Zeitnähe, universaler oder auch nur fachlich-spezieller Thematik, allgemein-öffentlichem oder auch nur fachlich, beruflich oder gruppenmäßig begrenztem Wirkenwollen unter Umständen *Zeitschrift* sein kann."[30] Frank/Podewski/Scherer similarly point out that a generic definition that differentiates the journal from the newspaper is very difficult, since both fulfil the cardinal criteria of "Periodizität, Aktualität, Universalität" and "Publizität", which means that the difference between these

28 Gustav Frank, Madleen Podewski, and Stefan Scherer. "Kultur – Zeit – Schrift. Literatur- und Kulturzeitschriften als 'kleine Archive'". In: *Internationales Archiv für Sozialgeschichte der deutschen Literatur* 34.2 (2009), pp. 1–45, p. 1.

29 Cf. Wilmont Haacke. "The German Magazine. Its Origins and Development". In: *Journalism Quarterly* 45.4 (Winter 1968), pp. 706–712, esp. p. 709. Haacke marks an early attempt to outline the journal's history in Germany, though his article is heavily tainted by notions of a devaluation of then contemporary journals when compared to their "superior" predecessors, where he particularly lauds the "Querschnitt", cf. ibid., pp. 708 & 711-712.

30 Günter Kieslich. "Begriff". In: *Handbuch der Publizistik*. Ed. by Emil Dovifat. Vol. 3. 3 vols. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1969, pp. 370–383, p. 375. The article also provides a very useful overview of the struggles to find *one* generic definition for the journal, before suggesting that different areas of study might require different definitions of what a journal is, depending on whether they are more interested in a "genetic definition", a summative definition that allows a systematisation of the main types of journals, a definition of a journal's function within society or a definition based on the medial processes involved in and invoked by the publication of a journal, cf. ibid., pp. 381–382.

two medial forms is gradual at best.[31] In order to differentiate either type, additional criteria need to be introduced, "[t]reten weitere Kriterien wie das Informationsgebot hinzu, so rutscht die Typologie aus dem Idealen zunehmend in die Funktionale. Damit geraten die sozialen, politischen und ideologischen Aufgaben, ja die Aufträge der Presse in den Blick".[32] Rather than trying to establish one general, generic definition of what a journal is, they move towards a view of the journal as the product of a complex process of differentiation that evolves from the newspaper:[33]

> Betrachtet man die Zeitung also im historischen Zusammenhang, so erlauben die Kardinalkriterien der Presse eine Beschreibung der spezifischen Problematik des Mediums, die im kulturellen Prozess virulent und durch neue Formen wieder beruhigt wird. […] In jedem Fall etablieren sie sich erst aus einem kulturellen Bedürfnis heraus, mediale und institutionelle Lücken, die durch soziale und ideologische Zwänge entstehen, zu schließen. […] Neue Presseformate prägen keinen neuen Idealtypus aus, sondern werden als funktionale Variante *ausdifferenziert*. Solche funktionalen Varianten werden dann durch Ausloten der jeweiligen Breite des Marktes mehr oder weniger *diversifiziert*.[34]

Thus, a definition and location of the journal has to be seen as part of wider cultural processes of diversification and specialisation; the journal is the product of a long line of processes that started with Gutenberg at the lastest.

> Die spannungsreiche Polarität zwischen Buchdruck (zunächst nur zur bereits selbstwidersprüchlichen Vervielfältigung des singulären und ewigen Buchs der Bücher) und höchst vergänglichen Tagesgeschehen in der aktuellen Presse bringt schließlich ein Mittleres hervor, das die Zeitschriften, von den Grenzen des Buches ausgehend, bis an die Grenze der Zeitung graduell ausmessen. Insofern muss sich die Erforschung der Zeitschrift für die Zeitung und das Buch gleichermaßen interessieren.[35]

The journal, then, stands somewhere between the printed book and the printed newspaper

31 Cf. Frank, Podewski, and Scherer, "Kultur – Zeit – Schrift", p. 3; cf. Kieslich, "Begriff", p. 375.
32 Frank, Podewski, and Scherer, "Kultur – Zeit – Schrift", p. 3.
33 This kind of approach comes close to what Kieslich had already outlined 40 years earlier as an approach that does away with many of the problems imported from communication sciences (*Publizistik*): "Man könnte alle bisherigen Ansätze in Bausch und Bogen verwerfen und davon ausgehen, daß sich das Kommunikationsmedium Zeitschrift nicht primär durch die Begrenzung der für die Zeitung gefundenen Wesensmerkmale bestimmen läßt, sondern vielmehr von seinen Funktionen in der Gesellschaft und in der Zeit," Kieslich, "Begriff", p. 382.
34 Frank, Podewski, and Scherer, "Kultur – Zeit – Schrift", p. 4.
35 Ibid., p. 9.

while it is not identical with either.[36] Therefore, it is perhaps unsurprising that literary studies, whose chief concern lies with the book, tend to see the journal as a deficient way of publishing: "Ermittelt man den *common sense* der literaturwissenschaftlichen Aussagen zum Thema, so gelten ihnen Zeitung und Zeitschrift zum einen als der steinige Umweg des Autors über den Markt zum Buch als Werk, zum andern als der nicht minder dornige Weg dieses Werks über den Kritiker zum Leser."[37] Often, the journal finds itself in the uneasy position of standing between the high-cultural book and the low-cultured masses, with the journal acting as a messenger in either direction. More than that, however, Frank/Podewski/Scherer strongly criticise existing scholarship for its adherence to notions of authorial and artistic autonomy:

> Mit der Ausrichtung an der auch für neuere methodische Zugriffe offenbar noch immer relevanten Norm Kunstautonomie ist zudem eine bestimmte Auffassung vom Medium verknüpft, mit der die Literaturwissenschaft einem verbreiteten kultur- und sozialgeschichtlichen Umgang mit Zeitungen und Zeitschriften folgt: Zwar werden hier Zeitung und Zeitschrift als veritable, weil vermeintlich ungefilterte und materialgesättigte Dokumente für diverse Geschichtsschreibungen entdeckt. Sie bleiben dabei aber eben als bloße Dokumente gedacht, für deren spezifischen Medienstatus man sich nicht mehr weiter interessiert.[38]

And they continue: "Die Darstellungen bleiben oft personal, thematisch oder institutionell orientiert und lenken die Aufmerksamkeit auf einzelne Autoren oder Verleger, auf

36 Rudolf Stöber comes to a similar conclusion when he similarly defines the journal *ex negativo*: "Gleichwohl kann man, wenn schon nicht positiv, so die Zeitschrift doch negativ definieren: Sie ist ein Periodikum und damit ist sie vom Buch zu unterscheiden. Und jedes Periodikum, das nicht als Zeitung zu gelten hat, kann als Zeitschrift angesprochen werden," Rudolf Stöber. "Historische Zeitschriftenforschung heute". In: *Zeitschriften und Zeitschriftenforschung*. Ed. by Andreas Vogel and Christina Holtz-Bacha. Publizistik Sonderhefte 3. 2002, pp. 42–59, p. 42. Patrick Rössler additionally positions the journal not just between newspaper and book, but highlights its intermediate position also between the more immediate newspaper and the (at least initially) relatively slow audiovisual media, which only later would come to occupy an even more immediate "Tagesaktualität" via radio and TV, cf. Patrick Rössler and Anina Veigel. "Was interessiert an Stars und Sternchen? Entwicklung und Anwendung einer Skala zur Messung der Gratifikationsleistung von People-Magazinen: eine qualitativ-quantitative Pilotstudie". In: *Publizistik* 50.4 (Dec. 2005), pp. 438–461, p. 441; Patrick Rössler. "Dem Zeitgeist auf der Spur. Zur 'kulturellen Neugestaltung' als Leitmotiv von Illustriertenumschlägen der 1920er Jahre". In: *Aufmacher. Titelstorys deutscher Zeitschriften*. Ed. by Frank Duerr and Ernst Seidl. Schriften des Museums der Universität Tübingen MUT 5. Tübingen: Museum der Universität Tübingen MUT, 2014, pp. 166–183, p. 169; Patrick Rössler. "Global Players, Émigrés, and Zeitgeist". In: *Journalism Studies* 8.4 (2007), pp. 566–583, p. 568. Finally, Ruari McLean concludes that "a magazine is, usually, less ephemeral than a newspaper, less permanent than a book", Ruari McLean. *Magazine design*. London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1969, p. 1.

37 Frank, Podewski, and Scherer, "Kultur – Zeit – Schrift", p. 10.

38 Ibid., p. 12.

kulturprogrammatische Aspekte, auf die Geschichte der Verlage oder auf weltanschauliche Positionierungen."[39] Literary studies have thus mainly been interested in the fact *that* texts have been published in journals, "kaum jedoch dafür, *wie* sie dort in das jeweilige Nebeneinander von verlegerischer (Erscheinungsweise), redaktioneller (Rubriken) und ökonomischer Ordnung (Ausstattung, Anzeigen) eingelassen sind und welche Konsequenz dies für den Status und die genuin literarischen Verfahrensweisen der einzelnen Texte hat".[40] Hitherto, the journal has all too often been treated as a neutral repository of historical texts, ripe for the picking: "Als Apriori der Artikulation bleibt der mediale Ort durchweg unberücksichtigt. Die Zeitschrift ist hier insgesamt nur ein gegebenes historisches Faktum, das für die Analyse der Quellen, die in ihr gefunden werden, konzeptionell nicht weiter berücksichtigt werden muß."[41]

In order not to repeat these shortcomings, we accordingly need to start thinking more seriously about "Materialgerechtigkeit" and the journal's own materiality and characteristics, or, as Patrick Rössler puts it: "Doch während sich die Forschung auf pressetypologische Fragen, den Inhalt der Zeitschriften, ihre Berichterstattung, die Produktionsbedingungen oder die wirtschaftlichen Grundlagen konzentrierte, blieb andererseits die Gestaltung von Zeitschriften weitgehend unbeachtet."[42] With the journal being neither book nor newspaper, its layout and the hierarchisation of its content become of interest, which transforms the investigation of journals into a *twofold* analysis of their social as well as material function. The journals' function can only be described when seen as distinct from book *and* newspaper, as networks of relations and differences inside the journals, but also between them.[43] Yet, the journals'

39 Frank, Podewski, and Scherer, "Kultur – Zeit – Schrift", pp. 12–13.

40 Ibid., p. 13.

41 Ibid., p. 13. And Gertrud Maria Rösch similarly remarks: "Die medialen Bedingungen sollten künftig stärker als bisher einbezogen werden, will man die Zeitschrift nicht einfach als einen Katalog berühmter und weniger berühmter Autoren beschreiben," Gertrud Maria Rösch. "Einführung". In: *Simplicissimus. Glanz und Elend der Satire in Deutschland*. Ed. by Gertrud Maria Rösch. Regensburg: Universitätsverlag Regensburg, 1996, pp. 9–16, p. 14.

42 Rössler, "Dem Zeitgeist auf der Spur", p. 167.

43 Rössler highlights that the relative modernity as well as the overall state of design and layout can only be judged when compared with its contemporaries, which remains true not just for his focus on avantgarde movements that find their expression in some journals, but for any journal, cf. Patrick Rössler. "Moderne Illustrierte – Illustrierte Moderne". In: *Moderne Illustrierte, Illustrierte Moderne. Zeitschriftenkonzepte im 20. Jahrhundert*. Ed. by Patrick Rössler. Stuttgart: Württembergische Landesbibliothek, 1998, pp. 9–26, p. 16.

materiality has to serve as a point of departure for any such (differential) analysis, for "die inhaltliche und formale Gestalt von Zeitschriften schafft die Basis für ihre Lesbarkeit und Anschaulichkeit, damit auch für Erkenntnisgewinne und Meinungsbildung".[44] Understanding how journals function in terms of their material *Eigenlogik* thus ultimately paves the way to understand not just how they function as material objects, but to understand their function within society; their position between book and newspaper, both in scope and periodicity, further contributes to his line of enquiry:

> Die Relevanz von Literatur- und Kulturzeitschriften als Modus der Wissensaufbereitung besteht nicht nur in ihren sekundären Funktionen der Verbreitung, Verarbeitung und kritischen Begleitung von Literatur und Kulturprozessen. Denn über ihr rezeptives Selbstverständnis hinaus sind sie zugleich *primäre Diskursgeneratoren* und dynamische *Schnittstellen für interdiskursive Austauschprozesse*. So funktioneren auch Literatur- und Kulturzeitschriften als ein variables und offenes Medium für "prozessuale Reflexivität" – im Unterschied zu Zeitung und Buch aber mit ganz eigener Aufmerksamkeit auf die Gesamtheit der Phänomene zwischen Hoch- und Populärkultur.[45]

The journals, then, do not simply react to external social processes, but they instead serve an important function: self-reflection. "Although they operate at a different speed in comparison to the mainstream news press, they can offer seasoned reflection and commentary on affairs rather than report the drama of events as they unfold."[46] This leads us back to the initial claims of magazine exceptionalism, for "Zeitschriften begleiten zeitnah die Entwicklung unserer Gesellschaft. Sie haben in der gesellschaftlichen Kommunikation als jeder Gruppierung zugängliche Publikations- und Rezeptionsform eine wesentliche Funktion für die Verständigung innerhalb und zwischen den gesellschaftlichen, politischen und wirtschaftlichen Teilgruppen".[47] Due to a certain delay in engaging with wider social processes, the journals can scrutinise (and, where necessary, criticise) the "Gleichzeitigkeitsmedien", thus occupying a middle position

44 Uwe Göbel. "Zeitschriftengestaltung im Wandel". In: *Zeitschriften und Zeitschriftenforschung*. Ed. by Andreas Vogel and Christina Holtz-Bacha. Publizistik Sonderhefte 3. 2002, pp. 219–240, p. 219.
45 Frank, Podewski, and Scherer, "Kultur – Zeit – Schrift", p. 27.
46 Rössler, "Global Players, Émigrés, and Zeitgeist", p. 569.
47 Andreas Vogel. "Pressegattungen im Zeitschriftengewand. Warum die Wissenschaft eine Pressesystematik braucht". In: *Zeitschriften und Zeitschriftenforschung*. Ed. by Andreas Vogel and Christina Holtz-Bacha. Publizistik Sonderhefte 3. 2002, pp. 11–27, p. 12.

that is slower in response and publication time than the newspaper, yet faster than the book. Frank/Podewski/Scherer also configure this median position as one between "forced actuality" and "academic assessment", which are part of wider processes of *sedimentation* and *reflection*:

> Zeitschriften reagieren nicht nur empfindlich, sie agieren auch prompt und effizient in einem mittleren zeitlichen Horizont zwischen ihren medialen und diskursiven Umgebungen, genauer auf einer zeitlichen Schwelle oberhalb der tagesaktuellen Reaktion einer Zeitung. Vom Tagesgeschehen, der Nachricht wie ihrer sprachlich formalen Präsentation und medialen Verbreitung provoziert, beginnt das Aktuelle sich in ihr zu sedimentieren, ohne schon zum Stillstand zu kommen und in die abschließende Form gebracht zu sein. Zwischen Tagesaktualität und ihrer diskursiven Bewältigung leistet die Kulturzeitschrift einen ersten Bearbeitungsschritt.[48]

The journal is thus a medium in more than one sense. Between two poles – newspaper and book – it can concern itself with actuality as reported in the newspaper, but also with reflections on the content of other journals, as well as with reflections on the slower-moving yet more deliberate books. "Das Ganze einer Kultur (ihr Archiv und alle ihre Phänomene) ist nicht zu überschauen und zu erkennen. Wahrnehmbar sind nur einzelne Kommunikationen, die in den gespaltenen Aufmerksamkeiten der selektionsarmen Zeitung und des im Vergleich dazu hochselektiven Buchmarkts unvermittelt bleiben."[49] Ultimately, journals offer a unique glimpse into the *unfolding* processes of sedimentation of wider social developments while being actively engaged in their reflection as well in their propulsion, incorporation or rejection, which in turn also affects the journals' own materiality: "It must be remembered that good magazines are never static: they cannot afford to stay the same for too long, especially at a time when the physical surroundings of human beings and the conditions of 'civilized' life are changing so fast."[50] Rössler therefore also describes journals as an important engine of wider diffusion processes when it comes to the adoption (and, by extension, rejection) of social developments, which is plausible even beyond the idea that "Massenmedien werden als zentrale Vermittlungsinstanzen des Diffusionsprozesses gesehen, denn sie verbinden die

48 Frank, Podewski, and Scherer, "Kultur – Zeit – Schrift", p. 30.
49 Ibid., p. 31.
50 McLean, *Magazine design*, p. 120.

Avantgarde mit der 'Masse'" if we understand the journals as active participants in social discourse and the negotiation of social identities more generally. Journals, then, are nothing short of an "indispensable source of cultural history, providing a very vivid and compact record of the Zeitgeist. This applies not only to the big names like *Life*, *Berliner Illustrierte*, *National Geographic*, *The New Yorker*, *Vu*, *The Economist*, and so on, but also to those relatively short-lived and apparently unimportant magazines in which a valuable and original voice may have been recorded".[51] It is in this vein that Frank/Podewski/Scherer define journals as "kleine Archive" – little archives – whereas

> deren "Kleinheit" ist vom Medium produziert. Deshalb haben diese "Archive" spezifische Grenzen: materielle (im Bezug auf die positive Gegebenheit der Zeitschriften), pragmatisch-soziologische (im Bezug auf die Kommunikationsprozesse bestimmter Gruppen) und wissensgeschichtliche (im Bezug auf die spezifisch historischen Bedingungen der Genese von Wissen und der Strategien seiner Differenzierung und Entdifferenzierung).[52]

Materialgerechtigkeit, as Kittler demands it, thus means taking into account the journals' intrinsic logic as well as their inherent possibilities as well as limitations. This marks a movement *away* from authors' or editors' intention and authority towards a more dynamic and interdependent generation of meaning:

> Nur so wird die Isolation des Textes ebenso ausgeschlossen wie eine reduktive Textanalyse, die nur eine oder wenige Dimensionen des Textes heranzieht. In dieses funktionale Doppelgefüge von differenziertem Zeitschriftenaufbau und ebenso differenzierten historischen Medienkonstellationen sind auch literarische Texte eingebunden.[53]

In order to adequately understand Weimar Republic journals' social function as well as their tremendous potential for cultural analysis, however, we first have to understand how a journal itself functions, how its parts interact and how its messages are created:[54]

51 Horst Moser. *The Art directors' handbook of professional magazine design. Classic Techniques and Inspirational Approaches*. 3rd ed. London: Thames & Hudson, 2011, p. 7. Uwe Göbel further highlights that "Zeitschriften funktionieren in ihrer Zeit und reagieren auf die vorherrschenden Zeitströmungen und Moden", Göbel, "Zeitschriftengestaltung im Wandel", p. 219.

52 Frank, Podewski, and Scherer, "Kultur – Zeit – Schrift", pp. 41–42.

53 Ibid., p. 44.

54 For a good example of an analysis that takes into account the interplay of materiality and wider cultural significance, cf. Madleen Podewski. "Die Unterhaltungsseite als Kontext. Irmgard Keuns Zeitungs- und Zeitschriftenpublikationen". In: *Text + Kritik* 183 (2009), pp. 47–57, esp. pp. 50–54.

> Aus der internen Organisation der Zeitschriften lassen sich dann etwa Erkenntnisse über Graduierungen von Relevanz gewinnen: Es macht einen Unterschied, ob ein bestimmtes Thema im Programmartikel oder als Notiz, Rezension oder knappe Anzeige in einer der hinteren Rubriken verhandelt wird, die schon durch Satz (statt Blocksatz mehrspaltig) und Typengröße Zeitungsnähe und Beiläufigkeit bzw. Marginalität signalisieren (zum Teil gestützt durch eine entsprechend explizite Rubrikenüberschrift) – oder ob auf es mit (möglicherweise kommentierter) Verlagswerbung verwiesen wird. Die Zeitschriften lassen sich hier nach Form und Grad solcher Binnenhierarchisierungen unterscheiden.[55]

1.4. The journals

Finally, before moving on to an overview of the thesis structure and before diving into the actual analysis itself, I would like to give a very brief overview of the journals that underpin this thesis alongside some more general caveats. I have established so far the potential of an analysis of the material and societal function of journals for a wider understanding of society, which becomes more resilient when undertaken as a comparative study, drawing from more than one journal. However, a relative lack of scholarship when it comes to journals more generally means that detailed information about many journals is difficult (if not outright impossible) to obtain, starting from seemingly obvious things such as publication numbers which, if they have been collected at all, and if they survived World War II, more often than not are solely based on numbers made public by the journals themselves. Moreover, even access to journals can be difficult even before trying to obtain secondary information about them, which in part has to do with the general position of journals in research:

> In gemilderter Form lenken Werturteile allerdings immer noch die Forschung: Prominente, interessante, vorgeblich "kulturhistorisch wertvolle" Gattungsbeispiele finden am ehesten ihren Weg in die Historiographie. […] Ein Problem der Forschung ist auch seit jeher die Archivlage, denn oftmals schieben sich Archive und Bibliotheken gegenseitig die Verantwortung zu, während viele "kleinere" oder "unbedeutendere" Zeitschriften gar nicht erst gesammelt oder im Laufe der Zeit verloren wurden.[56]

These circumstances are, to a degree, reflected in my choice of journals, which purposefully combines relatively well-known journals with others that are not commonly studied. My study

55 Frank, Podewski, and Scherer, "Kultur – Zeit – Schrift", pp. 42–43.
56 Stöber, "Historische Zeitschriftenforschung heute", p. 45.

combines the analysis of the *Simplicissimus* and *Die Weltbühne*, perhaps two of the best-known Weimar Republic journals that certainly fall within a traditional understanding of "kulturhistorisch wertvolle" journals, with the significantly less-studied though quite similar *Kladderadatsch*, forming a core of three "political" journals that span a wide political spectrum from left to right. In order to not simply rehash a view of Weimar journals as simply organised alongside partisan divisions, as Bernhard Fulda does for Weimar newspapers,[57] these three journals are joined by *Die Gartenkunst*, *Fürs Haus* and *Sport im Bild*, which offer additional viewpoints, add differing (and not least female) voices and which emphasise facets of everyday life that are not as immediately visible in the "political" journals. This combination of relatively familiar and relatively unfamiliar journals serves to show more general characteristics of Weimar journals that remain comparatively stable across the board, while it also allows for an understanding of at least some of the breadth of social discourse as well as social activity that takes place within these journals. Including more "prominent" examples (for even here, systematic studies are few and far in between) promises that "an den prominenten Exemplaren lassen sich wichtige Charakteristika vertiefend herausarbeiten".[58]

There remain, however, some caveats: despite my attempt to include rather diverse journals regarding scope, readership, topics and material expression, the sheer amount of material available means that no analysis can strive to be anything more than exemplary, at best, or, as Stöber correctly asserts: "Und um einen Eindruck von der Entwicklung zu erhalten, wird es mangels Platz auch hier nicht anders möglich sein, als etliche Beispiele gar nicht erst zu erwähnen und statt dessen eine kleine Auswahl intensiver vorzustellen".[59] Moreover, as Rössler aptly highlights, even a comparative study of multiple journals has to be seen as a case study at heart: "Doch auch diese Untersuchungen sind nicht mehr als ein Tropfen auf den heißen Stein, denn sie berücksichtigen nur einen verschwindenden Bruchteil der in den vergangenen

57 Cf. Bernhard Fulda. *Press and Politics in the Weimar Republic*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009, pp. 46, 66, 206 & esp. 214–218.
58 Stöber, "Historische Zeitschriftenforschung heute", p. 45.
59 Ibid., p. 45.

rund 100 Jahren erschienen Zeitschriftenumschläge – wie sich leicht ausrechnen lässt, wenn man weiß, dass alleine im Deutschen Reich der Zwischenkriegszeit phasenweise rund 6000 Zeitschriften gleichzeitig auf dem Markt erhältlich waren."[60] Of these 6000 journals published during the Weimar Republic, six feature in this study; of these six, only select volumes can be compared, for each year contains already a plethora of material even for each individual journal. Furthermore, all six journals ultimately represent "bourgeois" communities in the widest sense despite their differing political leanings, which means that shared structures and practices that become clearer during this analysis might or might not be able to be mapped one-to-one onto workers' journals.

On the other hand, my selection of journals allows for an analysis beyond the well-trodden focus on partisanship or a split into right-wing and left-wing politics, offering multiple perspectives on and polyvocal accounts of wider social developments encompassing all of Weimar society, permeating not just the "political" journals but forming an integral part of social activity across the board.

Of these six journals, *Die Weltbühne* (1905–1933) is perhaps the best known journal of these for literary critics, "in deren kleinformatigen, nicht illustrierten Heften wöchentlich die Elite deutscher Publizisten und Literaten zu Wort kam", and which alongside the *Tagebuch* and the exile journal *Die Sammlung* "verkörpern allesamt den Typus der klassischen, textlastigen Intellektuellenzeitschrift".[61] However, while it is well known in scholarly circles not least because of its writers and contributors – namely Siegfried Jacobsohn, Carl von Ossietzky and Kurt Tucholsky but also writers like Arnold Zweig, Alfred Polgar, Kurt Hiller, Ernst Toller, Rudolf Arnheim and Lion Feuchtwanger and nowadays somewhat forgotten writers like Hellmut von Gerlach and Julius Bab – we have to remember that "dabei handelt es sich jedoch um eine ausgesprochene Minderheitenpublizistik, deren Gewicht vorwiegend darin bestand, daß sie die Auffassungen einer politischen Elite zum Ausdruck brachte".[62] Due to

60 Rössler, "Dem Zeitgeist auf der Spur", pp. 167–168.
61 Rössler, "Moderne Illustrierte – Illustrierte Moderne", p. 19.
62 Ibid., p. 19.

the prolonged interest in the journal, numbers are relatively easily available, suggesting a peak print run of around 15000 around 1930/31, with runs ranging from just over 1000 copies before and shortly after World War I and an increase to around 13000 copies around 1926, based on numbers from the editors.[63] The journal combines literary criticism, theatre reviews (Jacobsohn's original focus and the reason for the journal's original name *Die Schaubühne*), political commentary and political satire, exhibiting generally left-leaning political affiliations without explicit allegiance to any specific political Weimar party. It also marks the only one of six journal that ceased publication in 1933 and that saw a significant number of its contributors persecuted and/or exiled.[64]

The *Simplicissimus* (1896–1944) is perhaps similarly well-known, though attention is usually split between its political drawings by its regular artists such as Thomas Theodor Heine, Karl Arnold, Olaf Gulbransson, Ferdinand von Rezniček, Erich Schilling, Wilhelm Schulz and Eduardy Thöny on the one hand and its writers on the other, though research focus more often lies on pieces published by independently famous writers such as Hermann Hesse, Erich Kästner, Heinrich Mann, Thomas Mann, Gustav Meyrink, Jakob Wassermann etc. rather than the journal's regular writers such as Hans Erich Blaich, Peter Scher or Ludwig Thoma.[65] Very much a product of Wilhelmine society, the *Simplicissimus* enjoyed its highest popularity around 1904 with a print run of around 85000, which slowly decreases to a run of around 30000 copies by 1926, still more than twice that of the *Weltbühne* at its strongest.[66] Its

63 Cf. Gunter Nickel. *Die Schaubühne – Die Weltbühne. Siegfried Jacobsohns Wochenschrift und ihr ästhetisches Programm*. Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1996, p. 7, esp. Footnote 2.

64 In fact, a number of its contributors share the questionable honour of being listed on the "Erste Ausbürgerungsliste des Deutschen Reichs von 1933", the first expatriation list of Nazi Germany, which explicitly brands Feuchtwanger, von Gerlach, Toller and Tucholsky as prominent opponents of the (then new) Nazi administration. During the infamous book burnings on the 10 May 1933, the last of nine "fire slogans" (*Feuersprüche*) further singled out Tucholsky and Ossietzky, quoted as "Gegen Frechheit und Anmaßung, für Achtung und Ehrfurcht vor dem unsterblichen deutschen Volksgeist! Verschlinge, Flamme, auch die Schriften von Tucholsky und Ossietzky!", cf. *Neuköllner Tageblatt*. May 12, 1933.

65 These differences in scholarly focus further reinforce points made above about a disregard for the specific materiality and creation of a journal in favour of a loose extraction of some of its written parts in order to slot them into the general oeuvre of its writer, gathering their "lesser" publications from across various journals.

66 Cf. Ruprecht Konrad. *Nationale und internationale Tendenzen im "Simplicissimus" (1896–1933). Der Wandel künstlerisch-politischer Bewusstseinsstrukturen im Spiegel von Satire und Karikatur in Bayern*. Thesis. München, 1975, pp. 40 & 183.

trademark combination of high quality political drawings and political satire in the form of poems and prose made the journal particularly popular; it has since become a source of easily extractable and quotable social commentary about the Weimar Republic in the form of its images, especially given its generally conservative political leanings.

Older than both *Weltbühne* and the *Simplicissimus*, the *Kladderadatsch* (1848–1944) shared with the latter that it was most successful before 1914: with an initial run of around 50000 copies from 1848, numbers remained relatively steady around 40000 copies from 1884 until 1914, before declining rapidly to around 17500 copies around 1934 (with the number of copies falling further, to around 11000, by 1938).[67] Similar in style to the *Simplicissimus* (though, perhaps, one ought to say that the *Simplicissimus* is similar in style to the decidedly older *Kladderadatsch*), the journal combines drawings, poems and prose, though it lacks the "big names" of the *Simplicissimus* and has subsequently received scant scholarly attention, not least because of its staunchly right-wing leanings.

Fürs Haus (1882–1943) has to be counted as a nearly forgotten journal, though its lineage can tentatively be traced beyond 1943 and via *Ullstein's Blatt der Hausfrau* to the journal *Brigitte*, which has been ongoing since 1952. This lineage, as well as its subtitle, also already suggests the journal's focus on being a "praktisches Wochenblatt für alle Hausfrauen", complete with practical advice for bringing up children and doing housework, experiences of women's lives, recipes and a forum for letters to the editor for an exchange of ideas between readers. I have been unable to find any numbers for the journal, and it has received little scholarly attention. As a women's magazine, it is confronted with wider developments such as the "New Woman", though it remains both family- and home-focused, with strong religious as well as politically conservative leanings, while combining photography, occasional drawings, occasional poems and prose.

Sport im Bild (1895–1934), in contrast, developed over time from a sports magazine into

67 Cf. Klaus Schultz. *"Kladderadatsch". Ein bürgerliches Witzblatt von der Märzrevolution bis zum Nationalsozialismus 1848–1944*. Bochum: Brockmeyer, 1975, pp. 1 & 193.

a women's or – as one would perhaps say today – "lifestyle" magazine, focussing on sport (incuding automobiles), theatre, travelling and fashion. The journal was bought in 1904 by the infamous publisher August Scherl, one of the three leading newspaper publishers of the Weimar Republic (who also bought the hugely popular journal *Die Gartenlaube*). *Sport im Bild* started with a run of 30000 copies (a first run much bigger than any other sports journal before 1895), which rose to a run of 80000 copies in 1905 (i.e. after the acquisition by Scherl) to a height of 125000 copies in 1912, though few reliable numbers can be found for the time after World War I.[68] The journal has received increased scholarly attention in the last twenty years, both due to its reach as well as its wealth of topics and its modern layout and appearance; some of this more recent attention further coincides with an increased interest in the social history of sport as well as further scrutiny of the history of photography. The journal focuses on the rich and famous as well as on modern living which is interwoven with more conservative tendencies. As the journal morphed more and more into a fashion and lifestyle magazine before it was ultimately rebranded as *Der Silberspiegel* in 1934, it provides a hugely popular version of Weimar social activity that provides a very different view on its social developments, combining high quality drawings and photography with mainly prose content from a wide range of contributors.

Finally, *Die Gartenkunst* (1899–1944) adds a very different facet to the the overall selection of journals: published by the "Gesellschaft für Gartenkunst e.V.", it constitutes a magazine that combines informing members of its parent society about proceedings and developments with topical editorial discussions and content. In 1927, the society counted 1475 members, a majority of them situated in Germany with a small percentage living in Austria or further abroad, which means its average print run was also just shy of 1500 copies.[69] Its focus lies

68 Cf. Christine Walther. *Siegertypen. Zur fotografischen Vermittlung eines gesellschaftlichen Selbstbildes um 1900*. Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2007, pp. 33–35.

69 Cf. Karl Heicke, ed. *Die Gartenkunst. Monatsschrift für Gartenkunst und verwandte Gebiete*. Vol. 40. Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Gartenkunst, 1927 (henceforth cited as GK40), No. 6, p. 1. And while self-disclosure usually has to be taken with a grain of salt, the publisher's legal status as a registered society (hence the e.V. for "eingetragener Verein") as well as the assertion of a slowly but steadily climbing membership, coupled with its overall addressing to members of a profession, these numbers seem quite reliable. This is especially true as they

on the development of landscape design as both a profession and as an area of social and cultural occupation, with a focus on city planning and professional organisation. Smaller in size than the other journals, this journal nevertheless showcases many similar functioning principles, coupled with an unusual view on wider developments that nevertheless feature in multiple journals. Furthermore, *Die Gartenkunst* is the only monthly journal, all others are published weekly, though *Sport im Bild* eventually switches to a fortnightly rhythm, which in turn allowed for overall increased content.

1.5. Structure

While I have established so far that journals let us study culture, *how* to understand and study culture, however, is the topic of the first chapter, which develops a notion of culture as a continuous participatory social process rather a set of monuments. The historical development of culture thus understood becomes manifest in the practices of various social communities which are built around similar enterprises and subsequent similar practices, allowing for an analysis of conservative, prevailing and innovative social practices and tendencies within these communities of practice as a way of negotiating wider social developments and more general social change. Social history is thus seen as a set of evolutionary, concurrent processes, a series of past actions and decisions informing the present and future, whose traces establish a *history of small steps* rather than a teleological idea of history as progress or of the Weimar Republic as an *a priori* doomed society, as has often been the case in scholarship of this period.

The second chapter draws on the idea of a history of small steps, analysing the social and historical practices as incorporated and crystallised in a specific Weimar journal with a case-study of the *Simplicissimus*. I demonstrate the negotiation and subsequent rejection or incorporation of wider social processes while simultaneously highlighting the polyphony involved in creating the journal's message, identifying the very process of creating and maintaining a coherent

appear in the non-sequentially numbered part of the journal that also publishes proceedings and society-related news, marking this more as informing society members, rather than appealing to advertisers, as was often the case with publicised journal numbers.

journal identity. In order to do so, the chapter pays special attention to the journal's specific materiality – its layout, its structure and its combination of editorial content and advertisements – in order to satisfy the demand of "Materialgerechtigkeit", showing that content and layout are mutually dependent in order to create the *little archive* we know as the *Simplicissimus*.

The third chapter builds on this notion of a community of creators who together negotiate a journal's identity before introducing the notion of a journal community as a combination of a community of creators *and* a community of recipients (i.e. readers), which together form the specific community of practice that not only creates but also sustains a given journal. The chapter then proceeds to further challenge the traditional differentiation between active creators and passive recipients through a closer analysis of the relationship of anticipating reception as well as more active involvement of recipients in the creation of a communal identity through the inclusion of advertisements as well as reader-created content and letters to the editor. A journal community thus ultimately encompasses the entirety of social practices involved in supporting both a journal and a communal identity, adding additional layers to the negotiation of wider social developments across the journal's polyvocal messages.

The fourth and last main chapter then takes this notion of a journal community in order to carry out a final comparative analysis of multiple journal communities, understanding that no single community exists in a vacuum, but that it is embededded in a shared social space alongside many other communities. In order to compare and contrast the different journal identities as well as their specific processes of negotiating their identities, the chapter focuses on the negotiation of two wider (and, to a degree, interlinked) social developments and how the journal communities engage with them: the first major development is the development of sport as a social activity, the second the development of the "New Woman" in Weimar society. Different journals negotiate these challenges to their existing identities in very different ways, ranging from rejection to incorporation and various steps inbetween. The chapter thus elucidates the integral involvement of communities in wider historical development, showing

in the process that culture does not develop independently, but that all cultural tendencies, whether conservative, prevailing or innovative, are the product of active negotiation and active participation in various communities of practice. Futhermore, the journals' status as *little archives* allows us to follow the evolutionary developments that ultimately become part of what we can later regard in hindsight as "social history", accenting in the process that some of the notions regarding sport and women that we would later see in Nazi Germany are, in fact, not entirely innovative, but merely recombined and rearranged, a direct product of previous social developments and the negotiation of identity within the analysed journal communities. And while this chapter does not claim that journal communities are exlusive contributors to the negotiation of social change during the Weimar Republic, it nevertheless shows their involvement as well as the unique perspective offered by an analysis of its journals appropriate to their materiality.

Finally, the conclusion rounds out the main body's movement that began with a community of creators via a journal community to the final analysis of journal communities. It emphasises that journals are extraordinary markers of historical social change and juxtaposes a history of small steps (focused on parallel analyses of the journals' messages and form alongside their embeddedness in social communities of practice) with more familiar meta or crisis history. While these traditionally focus on select individuals such as exiled writers or regard Nazi Germany as a historical anomaly rather than a product of a complex, multifaceted and polyvocal process of negotiating social change, I highlight the expansive processes of negotiating communal as well as personal identities contingent upon far-reaching historical developments stretching back to World War I, the Kaiserreich and even older notions of German identity and culture.

Part I.

Journal practices

2. Theory

If journals let us catch a unique glimpse of a culture, and especially a past culture that we cannot directly experience ourselves anymore, then what do we hope to learn; what are we investigating, and what do we understand when we analyse culture. What does "culture" mean in this context?

The following chapter will outline a general understanding of culture neither as a division between high and low – between Culture with a capital "C" on one side and popular or mass culture on the other – nor as a differentiation between art and life (and thus between ideal and status quo). Instead, culture is understood as a continuous, evolutionary and recursive social process, which is formed by and, in turn, forms social activities; it is understood as the multifaceted collection of human enterprises. In order to understand culture as the product of social actions of real people, I will start by disentangling the various definitions and implied notions that all form part of common conceptions of what culture might be, following, in the process, Herbert Marcuse and Raymond Williams in their surprisingly similar analyses of the *genesis* of common ideas of culture.[1] This reading emphasises that culture ceases to be conceptualised as a singular solid institution or ideal, instead becoming a malleable social process that functions without being fully determined by external structures and without

1 In a curious little essay in 1969 – a few years after his initial work on *Culture and Society* and *The Long Revolution* had been completed –, Williams described his first encounter with the "German" Marcuse, i.e. the earlier works of Marcuse as opposed to his later "American" writings, as well as his surprise at his discovery of how close their independently developed understandings of culture in fact were: "Affirmative culture was the historical form in which were preserved those human wants which surpassed the material reproduction of existence. This is exactly my own conclusion, of the essential origin and operation of the idea of culture," Raymond Williams. "On Reading Marcuse". In: *The Cambridge mind. Ninety years of the Cambridge Review, 1879-1969*. Ed. by Eric Homberger, William Janeway, and Simon Schama. London: Cape, 1970, pp. 162–166, p. 165.

simply fulfilling a single teleological project. Additionally, in accordance with Etienne Wenger, culture has to be understood as the collection of individual and communal social practices that govern the enterprises of individual people as well as those of communities that form around common practices.

Yet, these writers are particularly useful not just because they allow me to describe and analyse the relationships between various individuals and communities: Marcuse and Williams both insist on culture as a continuous process rather than one shaped by caesuras and breaks, which resonates with my overall view of a continuous development of social practices that range from the late Kaiserreich all the way to Nazi Germany. Furthermore, Williams's own background as a scholar of literature and media means that the analysis of cultural artefacts is already built into his theories at a fundamental level; artefacts are the starting point for social analysis. Similarly, Wenger's theory is ultimately a theory of learning, emphasising the evolutionary development of various social practices as well as their reification in shared artefacts, all of which lends itself particularly well to an analysis of communities that only exist because of their respective journals and which, in turn, sustain the same journal's continuous existence. While more general sociological theories like Network Theory or Systems Theory allow for the modelling of complex relationships between groups of people, they do not have the same focus on the *material* expressions of social practices, nor do they necessarily focus on practices as the social activity of individuals, both of which are central notions for this thesis.

Ultimately, these communities of practice allow me to see the journals of the Weimar Republic not just as expressions of ideological positions, as mere works of art or purely as reflections of social processes that happen elsewhere, separated from their own practices. Instead, journals are ultimately always part of the very same cultural processes and activities as the practices that are described therein, allowing for an analysis of their own creative practices as much as those reflected *upon* within their content. If the journals are not to be treated as neutral repositories of historical data or anecdotes of the past, they, too, have to be understood as

artefacts of cultural practices that are deeply embedded in and intricately interconnected with the many communities of practice that surround them. Weimar Republic journals thus do not simply "tell" us about Weimar culture, they do not simply reflect it, but they have to be understood as integral *and* integrated parts of Weimar culture, shaping it as much as they are themselves shaped by it.

2.1. Affirmative culture: Herbert Marcuse

At the core of Herbert Marcuse's essay *Über den affirmativen Charakter der Kultur*, written during his exile in 1937, is the realisation that what is commonly understood as "culture" is in fact neither unitary nor a "natural kind" nor an unchanging essence. Equally important, Marcuse's essay strongly asserts the existence of historical continuity by seeing Nazi Germany as the direct product of Weimar society, a point to which I will return later.[2] The text therefore focuses on an aspect of our common understanding of culture that he identifies as "affirmative", laying bare what Marcuse calls the bourgeois bias as well as the artificial process of naturalisation involved in shaping what we normally think of when we hear the term culture. Accordingly, one crucial assumption underpins the whole argument, contrasting two *notions* of culture:

> Es gibt einen Kulturbegriff, der ein für die Sozialforschung wichtiges Werkzeug darstellen kann, weil in ihm die Verflochtenheit des Geistes in den geschichtlichen Prozeß der Gesellschaft ausgesprochen wird. Er meint das jeweilige Ganze des gesellschaftlichen Lebens, sofern darin sowohl die Gebiete der ideellen Reproduktion (Kultur im engeren Sinne, die "geistige Welt") als auch der materiellen Reproduktion (der "Zivilisation") eine historisch abhebbare und begreifbare Einheit bilden.[3]

This *sociological* notion of culture, however, stands in stark opposition to another understanding of culture:

> Es gibt jedoch noch eine andere sehr verbreitete Verwendung des Kulturbegriffs, bei welcher die geistige Welt aus einem gesellschaftlichen Ganzen herausgehoben und hier-

2 This notion of continuity and of a continuous development from the Weimar Republic to Nazi Germany is especially important for the analysis of shifts in the *Simplicissimus*, cf. section 3.1, p. 63. It also plays a central role in my investigation of the developments of sport and the "New Woman", cf. section 5.1, p. 143.

3 Herbert Marcuse. "Über den affirmativen Charakter der Kultur". In: *Kultur und Gesellschaft 1*. 7th ed. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1968, pp. 56–101, p. 62.

> durch die Kultur zu einem (falschen) Kollektivum und zu einer (falschen) Allgemeinheit erhöht wird. Dieser zweite Kulturbegriff […] spielt die geistige Welt gegen die materielle Welt aus, indem er die Kultur als Reich der eigentlichen Werte und Selbst-Zwecke der gesellschaftlichen Nutz- und Mittel-Welt entgegenhält.[4]

The usage of the term "Kulturbegriff", as well as the existence of opposing understandings of what culture means, highlight one of the most important conclusions about culture as such: culture is not one independent entity or one universal constant. Any understanding of culture depends on its *use* during analysis, as is highlighted when one notion of culture is seen as a *Werkzeug*, while the other can be observed due to its "sehr verbreitete Verwendung", its common *use*. Strongly favouring the first notion of culture while criticising the second, Marcuse's title is aimed at the latter. By separating the realm of ideal production ("culture") from the realm of material production ("civilisation"), it becomes possible for one to be favoured over the other: "Hinter der ontologischen und erkenntnistheoretischen Trennung von Sinnen- und Ideenwelt, von Sinnlichkeit und Vernunft, von Notwendigem und Schönem steckt nicht nur die Verwerfung, sondern zugleich auch schon die Entlastung einer schlechten geschichtlichen Form des Daseins."[5] This separation is not, however, a natural distinction, but a man-made one; more specifically, it is the product of idealist thought as well as a marker of what Marcuse calls the "bürgerliche Epoche" – the bourgeois age following the collapse of feudalism, which replaced the notion of beauty as an occupation of artists with the "These von der Allgemeinheit und Allgemeingültigkeit der 'Kultur'".[6] It is this movement of totalising the ideal aspects of culture, as well as the reinforcement of the distinction between culture and civilisation, that make bourgeois culture *affirmative*:

> Unter affirmativer Kultur sei jene der bürgerlichen Epoche angehörige Kultur verstanden, welche im Laufe ihrer eigenen Entwicklung dazu geführt hat, die geistig-seelische Welt als ein selbständiges Wertreich von der Zivilisation abzulösen und über sie zu erhöhen. Ihr entscheidender Zug ist die Behauptung einer allgemein verpflichtenden, unbedingt zu bejahenden, ewig besseren, wertvolleren Welt, welche von der tatsächlichen Welt des alltäglichen Daseinskampfes wesentlich verschieden ist, die aber jedes Individuum "von

4 Marcuse, "Über den affirmativen Charakter der Kultur", pp. 62–63.
5 Ibid., p. 60.
6 Ibid., p. 61.

> innen her", ohne jene Tatsächlichkeit zu verändern, für sich realisieren kann. Erst in dieser Kultur gewinnen die kulturellen Tätigkeiten und Gegenstände ihre hoch über den Alltag emporsteigende Würde: ihre Rezeption wird zu einem Akt der Feierstunde und der Erhebung.[7]

Unlike a notion of culture that understands ideal as well as real production as part of the same social processes, subject to the same challenges and influences, and thus part of the same *historical* process, affirmative culture seeks to replace its specific genesis with a notion of eternal truth. Affirmative culture, then, becomes a tool of power, as well as an expression of domination: where notions of freedom and ideal equality cemented the rise to power of bourgeois groups during the enlightenment, bringing together workers and the bourgeoisie to overthrow their feudal lords, the subsequent social reality of a stark divide between those who own and those who do not made it necessary to justify that little had changed for the lower strata of society. Accordingly, *affirmative* culture furthers the idea of *ideal* equality while accepting (and thus perpetuating) *de facto* inequality: "So wird aus der Forderung ein Postulat, aus ihrem Gegenstand eine Idee. Die Bestimmung des Menschen, dem die allgemeine Erfüllung in der materiellen Welt versagt ist, wird als Ideal hypostasiert."[8] And Marcuse becomes even more explicit: "Auf die Not des isolierten Individuums antwortet sie [affirmative culture] mit der allgemeinen Menschlichkeit, auf das leibliche Elend mit der Schönheit der Seele, auf die äußere Knechtschaft mit der inneren Freiheit, auf den brutalen Egoismus mit dem Tugendreich der Pflicht."[9] Culture, in its common definition as the realm of transcendent ideals, which finds its expression in the slogan "Dem Wahren, Schönen, Guten", as can be read to this day on the old opera house in Frankfurt, is thus an expression of social domination, shaped and propagated by a dominant group of people with the purpose to stay in power, "sie dienen dazu, die Gewalt des Bestehenden über den Geist zu befestigen […], und sie tragen dazu bei, den Rang dessen, was *ist*, gegenüber dem, was *sein kann* und *sein sollte*, zu stärken – sein sollte, wenn die Kulturwerte

7 Marcuse, "Über den affirmativen Charakter der Kultur", p. 63.
8 Ibid., p. 66.
9 Ibid., p. 66.

Wahrheit enthalten."[10]

Affirmative culture thus only allows excess and utopian movements in the inner realm, the realm of the soul, of art, of ideal equality and purity, separate from the realm of material existence. Even more, fascism then figures not as a radical break with established bourgeois ideas of culture, but as its evolution,

> wie die gesellschaftliche Umorganisation von der parlamentarischen Demokratie zum autoritären Führerstaat nur eine Umorganisation innerhalb der bestehenden Ordnung ist, so vollzieht sich auch die kulturelle Umorganisation vom liberalistischen Idealismus zum "heroischen Realismus" noch innerhalb der affirmativen Kultur selbst.[11]

Subsequently, fascism merely externalises what had previously been internalised: fascism marks the move from internalised equality in the realm of culture to an externalised equality within the collective of "Rasse, Volkstum, Blut und Boden", which similarly leaves real material differences untouched while propagating an ideal unity: "Entsagung und Einordnung in das Bestehende, erträglich gemacht durch den realen Schein der Befriedigung. Daß die nun seit über vierhundert Jahren befreiten Individuen so gut in den Gemeinschaftskolonnen des autoritären Staates marschieren, dazu hat die affirmative Kultur ein gut Teil beigetragen."[12]

Finally, this last point, the transformation of ideal culture into authoritarian culture as part of the same social framework, leads back to Marcuse's (and thus our) starting point: overcoming *affirmative* culture "wird nicht zu einem Abbau der Kultur überhaupt führen, sondern zu einer Aufhebung ihres affirmativen Charakters."[13] Understanding culture not as ideal and eternal, but as part of wider social and historical processes does not mean that culture ceases to exist, but that is stripped of its status as a process of social domination. First when we understand that multiple understandings of culture may exist, and that any notion of culture is historically contingent can we start analysing culture not just as a permanent fixture independent of its surroundings or of the social processes that govern its creation, but as an integrated part of

10 Herbert Marcuse. "Bemerkungen zu einer Neubestimmung der Kultur". In: *Kultur und Gesellschaft 2*. 6th ed. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1968, pp. 147–171, p. 151.
11 Marcuse, "Über den affirmativen Charakter der Kultur", p. 93.
12 Ibid., p. 93.
13 Ibid., p. 97.

social activity by real people. Rather than analysing something that is specifically upheld to be static and confined, the antithesis of having an effect on society, non-affirmative culture – culture that is tied into material as well as ideal production – might be able to highlight its effect on products *as well as* the processes that shape them in the first place, letting us witness both cultural creation *and* the social conditions of its creation. Where affirmative culture understood as culture (or as *sole* culture, as "Culture") is the product of a specific undertaking to secure the dominion of a limited group of people in society, offering abstract and ideal consolation in exchange for the perpetuation of an unjust status quo, affirmative culture understood as *a notion of culture* (as "*ein* Kulturbegriff") lets us understand its genesis and its conditions, as well as its artefacts. Thus, Weimar journals, if merely seen as works of art or as neutral repositories, as sole products of the realm of culture and hence as sole products of its creators, would appear merely as bystanders and reflectors, mirroring and accompanying Weimar history without being integrated or actually part of its social processes. Yet Marcuse's analysis shows the possibility of understanding culture *as something that is made*, the outcome of a process, subject to various agendas and influences. Accordingly, journals become expressions of culture as much as they are engaged in its reproduction and its creation; thus, if journals let us analyse culture it means that they let us analyse the processes involved in *creating* and in *defining* culture.

2.2. Beyond affirmative culture: Raymond Williams

If any understanding of *culture* is at its core dependent on a specific history preceding it, as well as specific actions that decide about its status within society, that means that we have to ask ourselves how to best understand this process of "making culture", and how to best unravel the historical movement contained therein. In order to do so, the theoretical works of Raymond Williams prove particularly fruitful, since they both expand upon Marcuse's findings on notions of culture and introduce on top of it a concept of social groups as well as an idea of

cultural analysis through an analysis of cultural artefacts.

In Williams's writing, there exists not just one singular notion of culture, but there exist three aspects of culture, namely ideal, documentary and social culture. Ideal culture is defined as "a state or process of human perfection, in terms of certain absolute or universal values", which encapsulates the visionary function of "leading towards an ideal state of being", essentially understanding culture as a set of values that one should strive for.[14] Documentary culture is understood as "the body of intellectual and imaginative work, in which, in a detailed way, human thought and experience are variously recorded", as the sum of artefacts and overall records produced throughout history, while social culture means "a description of a particular way of life, which expresses certain meanings and values not only in art and learning but also in institutions and ordinary behaviour".[15] The idea of coexisting aspects in this case highlights that these different notions of culture are by no means mutually exclusive, quite the contrary: these three aspects exist alongside and sometimes even in opposition to each other, which is part of the reason why culture is such a difficult concept to define. Williams, too, sees a need to retain all three aspects, for

> there is value in each of these kinds of definition. For it certainly seems necessary to look for meanings and values, the record of creative human activity, not only in art and intellectual work, but also in institutions and forms of behaviour. At the same time, the degree to which we depend, in our knowledge of many past societies and past stages of our own, on the body of intellectual and imaginative work which has retained its major communicative power, makes the description of culture in these terms, if not complete, at least reasonable.[16]

This clear separation of culture into different, distinct aspects is one of Williams's core achievements when compared to the earlier writings of the Frankfurt School on similar matters, where culture is certainly understood as more than affirmative culture, yet where the distinction between *ideal* and *social* culture remains fuzzy. Marcuse implies the existence of different levels of culture in *Bemerkungen zu einer Neubestimmung der Kultur* when he leads with the

14 Cf. Raymond Williams. *The Long Revolution*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1965, p. 57.
15 Cf. ibid., p. 57.
16 Ibid., p. 58.

Webster dictionary's definition of culture as "der Komplex spezifischer Glaubensanschauungen, Errungenschaften, Traditionen usw. […], die den 'Hintergrund' einer Gesellschaft bilden", before defining the common understanding of culture as "einen Prozeß der *Humanisierung* […], charakterisiert durch die kollektive Anstrengung, das menschliche Leben zu erhalten, den Kampf ums Dasein zu befriedigen oder ihn in kontrollierbaren Grenzen zu halten, eine produktive Organisation der Gesellschaft zu festigen, die geistigen Fähigkeiten der Menschen zu entwickeln und Aggressionen, Gewalt und Elend zu verringern und zu sublimieren".[17] Culture is then understood as the ideal movement from "mere" civilisation to a *cultured* society; however, for Marcuse, this ideal understanding then produces affirmative culture, yet some of these ideas remain valid for him even if affirmative culture does not. Where Marcuse thus remarks on the differentiation of culture into "ideal" and "material", his analysis still sees a fundamental difference only between bourgeois culture and material culture, staying within the confines of a rather narrowly defined Marxist historical materialism. Similarly, Max Horkheimer, in the "Allgemeiner Teil" of the collaborative *Studien über Autorität und Familie*, differentiates between idealism and materialism; on one hand, this differentiation allows him to highlight that "die gesamte Kultur ist damit in die geschichtliche Dynamik einbezogen, ihre Gebiete, also die Gewohnheiten, Sitten, Kunst, Religion und Philosophie bilden in ihrer Verflechtung jeweils dynamische Faktoren bei der Aufrechterhaltung oder Sprengung einer bestimmten Gesellschaftsform. Die Kultur ist in jedem einzelnen Zeitpunkt selbst ein Inbegriff von Kräften im Wechsel der Kulturen".[18] On the other hand, this dynamic notion of culture still subordinates the dynamic process of culture to the more general development of modern capitalism, which leaves Horkheimer and his fellow writers wondering how capitalism manages to subjugate the working classes, leading him to an investigation of authority as it is created by various institutions in order to unearth the *external* mechanism through which capitalists

17 Marcuse, "Bemerkungen zu einer Neubestimmung der Kultur", pp. 147–148.

18 Max Horkheimer. "Allgemeiner Teil". In: Institut für Sozialforschung. *Studien über Autorität und Familie. Forschungsberichte aus dem Institut für Sozialforschung*. Ed. by Max Horkheimer. Schriften des Instituts für Sozialforschung 5. Paris: F. Alcan, 1936, pp. 3–76, p. 10.

rig society and which would have to be overcome by a thoroughly Marxist vision of society.[19] So while both Marcuse and Horkheimer understand that culture is not a single identity, but rather as a "dynamischen Begriff der Kultur", and while both are able to describe the divide between culture-as-ideal and culture-as-lived, Williams separates them into aspects which allow us a description of the *processes* that create social culture, its habits and historical processes, just as much as reflecting the *processes* that shape historical notions of *ideal* culture as well as our very own. Williams, then, takes up these arguments, similarly pointing out the idealised nature of the culture/civilisation split, as well as the overall thrust of ideal culture. However, for Williams, the differentiation does not stop with an analysis of "affirmative culture", but he goes one step further to develop a wider theory of social domination and social control as a dynamic participatory process of dominant groups – a theory of social hegemony. In order to develop an understanding of culture as the product of dynamic participatory processes of groups more generally, we first need to investigate Williams's narrower concept of hegemony.

As a concept, hegemony replaces the static model of the two Marxist classes with a more encompassing and more general dynamic system of social domination; instead of equating the consciousness, values and ideas of a dominant class with "culture",

> it sees the relations of domination and subordination, in their forms as practical consciousness, as in effect a saturation of the whole process of living – not only of political and economic activity, nor only of manifest social activity, but of the whole substance of lived identities and relationships, to such a depth that the pressures and limits of what can ultimately be seen as a specific economic, political, and cultural system seem to most of us the pressures and limits of simple experience and common sense.[20]

Much more than simply describing a reified external system of domination, hegemony means "a whole body of practices and expectations, over the whole of living", which ultimately means that social domination works primarily through internalisation, where the boundaries and pressures exerted by dominant practices come to mean – for many, if not for most – the felt absolute limit of what is at all possible inside society; hegemony is then another way of

19 Cf. Horkheimer, "Allgemeiner Teil", pp. 21–22.
20 Raymond Williams. *Marxism and Literature*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977, p. 110.

describing how affirmative culture could become as seemingly natural and universal as Marcuse considered it to be.[21] More importantly, "a lived hegemony is always a process. It is not, except analytically, a system or a structure. It is a realized complex of experiences, relationships, and activities, with specific and changing pressures and limits".[22] Accordingly, hegemonic groups within society are continuously engaged in an *active* process of creating and recreating one of the most important aspects of any cultural process: tradition. In this instance, tradition is not just "surviving past", instead, it "is in practice the most evident expression of the dominant and hegemonic pressures and limits. It is always more than an inert historicized segment; indeed it is the most powerful practical means of incorporation".[23] Tradition, like culture more generally, is by no means natural or universal; tradition is always "an aspect of *contemporary* social and cultural organization" in the interest of a dominant group within society.[24] There is no single social tradition, but any tradition is always a *selective* tradition, which connects the lived culture "of a particular time and place, only fully accessible to those living in that time and place" and a recorded culture "of every kind, from art to the most everyday facts: the culture of a period".[25] If tradition is only ever selective tradition, that means that any tradition is always already a select*ed* tradition, which requires the active process of select*ing* tradition. Any selective tradition therefore always connects three distinct levels of history: a "general human culture", a "historical record of a particular society" and a "rejection of considerable areas of what was once a living culture", which means that "in a society as a whole, and in all its particular activities, the cultural tradition can be seen as a continual selection and re-selection of ancestors".[26]

Hence, any notion of culture or of a cultural tradition at any point in history is always man-made, selected from a pool of past social processes in accordance with contemporary

21 Cf. Williams, *Marxism and Literature*, p. 110.
22 Ibid., p. 112.
23 Ibid., p. 115.
24 Cf. ibid., p. 115.
25 Williams, *The Long Revolution*, p. 66.
26 Cf. ibid., pp. 68–69.

ideas, goals or projects. Rather than a static system of determinations or a similarly static superstructure, Williams thus defines a sequential process that shapes the *hegemonic* notion of culture within a society at any given moment.[27] "Thus 'documentary' analysis will lead out to 'social' analysis, whether in a lived culture, a past period, or in the selective tradition which is itself a social organization."[28] By analysing historical documents – as is the case with Weimar Republic journals – we are not simply looking at artefacts that represent unfiltered history or a Ranke-esque notion of the past "wie es eigentlich gewesen", but we are looking at documents of past social processes and, more specifically, at documents of past instances of selective traditions.

Yet, while selective traditions are only one part of hegemony – alongside the creation and preservation of institutions and more general social formations – the *process* of selecting tradition, rather than the existence of a selective tradition itself, becomes the focus of Williams's analysis. "It is at the vital points of *connection*, where a version of the past is used to ratify the present and to indicate directions for the future, that a selective tradition is at once powerful and vulnerable."[29] Subsequently, Williams points out that the continuous social process of selecting tradition can be understood as a recursive (and thus, by nature, evolutionary) selection of past activity in the present in order to potentially shape the future. The idea of recursion is perhaps best defined by an altogether different discipline however, by Computer Sciences:

> When we describe a procedure as recursive, we are referring to the syntactic fact that the procedure definition refers (either directly or indirectly) to the procedure itself. But when we describe a process as following a pattern that is, say, linearly recursive, we are speaking about how the process evolves, not about the syntax of how a procedure is written.[30]

When it comes to the process of selecting culture, this means that each repetition of this social process builds upon the previous instances of this process. Thus, cultural hegemony is

27 For another perspective on Williams's handling of the Marxist superstructure, cf. Terry Eagleton. "Base and Superstructure in Raymond Williams". In: *Raymond Williams. Critical Perspectives*. Ed. by Terry Eagleton. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1989, pp. 165–175.

28 Williams, *The Long Revolution*, p. 70.

29 Williams, *Marxism and Literature*, p. 116.

30 Harold Abelson, Gerald Jay Sussman, and Julie Sussman. *Structure and Interpretation of Computer Programs*. With a forew. by Alan J. Perlis. 2nd ed. Cambridge, MA and London: MIT Press, 1996, p. 35.

not something that is simply determined by an active force outside its own scope, but it is *internally* determined by hegemony; it is the product of its *own* past and in turn shapes its *own* future.[31] Williams points out that the concept of "determination" is usually understood only as the erection of limits for somebody even though it also contains an *active* element:

> For in practice determination is never only the setting of limits; it is also the exertion of pressures. As it happens this is also a sense of "determine" in English: to determine or be determined to do something is an act of will and purpose. In a whole social process, these positive determinations, which may be experienced individually but which are always social acts, indeed often specific social formations, have very complex relations with the negative determinations that are experienced as limits. For they are by no means only pressures against the limits, though these are crucially important. They are at least as often pressures derived from the formation and momentum of a given social mode: in effect a compulsion to act in ways that maintain and renew it. They are also, and vitally, pressures exerted by new formations, with their as yet unrealized intentions and demands.[32]

Not only is a selective tradition thus an active, recursive process, but it is also a process that sets limits while simultaneously opening up the possibility to exert pressure on preexisting limits at the same time. Accordingly, in order to avoid ignoring the dynamic aspects of *creating* culture when we seek to give epochal divisions, Williams coins the concept of the *effective* (which marks the present in which any given process of selecting tradition happens and which can thus also be called the *dominant*), *residual* and *emergent*, "which recognize not only 'stages' and 'variations' but the internal dynamic relations of any actual process".[33] In this context, the "residual" does not mean anything archaic or something wholly recognised as an element of the past, but something that "has been effectively formed in the past, but it is still active in the cultural process, not only and often not at all as an element of the past, but as an effective element of the present".[34] Similarly, the "emergent" means "new meanings and values,

31 Luhmann similarly highlights that a communicative system (which is always also a social system) can *only* act recursively because it makes use of its own internal present and future: "Kommunikative Systeme sind nur als rekursive Systeme möglich, da sie ihre einzelnen Operationen nur durch Rückgriff und Vorgriff auf andere Operationen desselben Systems produzieren können", Niklas Luhmann. *Die Gesellschaft der Gesellschaft*. Vol. 1. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1998, p. 74.
32 Williams, *Marxism and Literature*, p. 87.
33 Ibid., p. 121.
34 Ibid., p. 122.

new practices, new relationships and kinds of relationship".[35] In any analysis of culture, and especially in an analysis of historical culture, both the residual and emergent can only really be understood in relation to the dominant, since the dominant is the base for the selection of a tradition as much as the screen in front of which the emergent might develop. Additionally, since this concept contains within itself the process of man-made selection, it shows that at no time can the dominant be *absolute* since it can neither exhaust all possible selections from the past nor determine all potential emerging developments.[36] However, one peculiarity of this concept is its strong emphasis on non-exclusivity and its overall focus on the dominant, which means that the emergent becomes more narrowly defined as the emergence of new practices that are not simply a continuation of the dominant; for Williams, the emergent comes to stand for any potential counter-hegemonic developments that are in the process of emerging.[37] There exists no immediate theoretical reason for this limitation, however, though it certainly finds its foundation in Williams's own interests in art. Since I focus, in the context of this study, less on potentially emergent activity that resists dominant groups, but instead am interested in the negotiation of dominant as well as potentially subversive social practices, I would like to call this tripartite dimension of social activity the *conservative*, *prevailing* and *innovative*, thus moving towards a more general notion of social processes regardless of their hegemonic or counter-hegemonic status and regardless of their political affiliations. Accordingly, the conservative denotes elements of the past that are still active in a (contemporary) present, the prevailing characterises practices and identities that are active in the present, while the innovative includes *any* social activity that can be seen to emerge in the present. This differentiation from Williams's original concept is crucial since it allows for the recognition of innovative aspects even within a given hegemony, further reinforcing the notion that culture is not just dynamic when it

35 Williams, *Marxism and Literature*, p. 123.

36 "What has really to be said, as a way of defining important elements of both the residual and emergent, and as a way of understanding the character of the dominant, is that *no mode of production and therefore no dominant social order and therefore no dominant culture ever in reality includes or exhausts all human practice, human energy, and human intention*", ibid., p. 125, emphasis in the original.

37 Ibid., pp. 123–124.

comes to the development of preferred alternatives, but that *all* cultural activity is subject to the same recursive development of continuously changing limits and pressures, regardless of any ideological assessment of the value of any potential outcomes.[38]

Ultimately, Williams arrives at a concept that he calls "structures of feeling", which encapsulate social consciousness as well as active social processes that always contain, absorb and create social activity at the same time. This stands in stark opposition to cultural analysis based solely on an analysis of institutions or formally organised social formations (e.g. parties), trying instead to grasp various social forms in a much wider sense, which "become social consciousness only when they are lived, actively, in real relationships, and moreover in relationships which are more than systematic exchanges between fixed units".[39] Rather than reproducing the popular opposition of "official consciousness" and the unconscious (as mythicized in bourgeois culture at the very least since Freud), this allows for various notions of social consciousness across vastly different groups within a given culture, whether hegemonic or not.

> It is not only that we must go beyond formally held and systematic beliefs, though of course we have always to include them. It is that we are concerned with meanings and values as they are actively loved and felt, and the relations between these and formal or systematic beliefs are in practice variable (including historically variable), over a range from formal assent with private dissent to the more nuanced interaction between selected and interpreted beliefs and acted and justified experiences.[40]

Williams thus shifts the focus from institutions and static beliefs to the *relationship* between various social forms, i.e. various concurrent forms of social consciousness. Instead of looking

38 Accordingly, it becomes possible to see all three aspects within *any* given cultural development, which means that no historical development can be framed simply as a "regression" in a general progress narrative or in a teleological understanding of "humanisation". This further emphasises the importance of Williams's own initial distinction of culture as ideal, documentary and social. In other words, the rise of National Socialism during the Weimar Republic thus ceases to be an extraordinary historical development that appears to be structurally distinct from any other social activity, since National Socialism engages just as much in the same processes of selecting tradition. This also further echoes Marcuse's notion that fascism developed very much within the confines of Weimar's political system, yet it rejects his implication that bourgeois culture necessarily had to culminate in fascism.

39 Williams, *Marxism and Literature*, p. 130. He also notes that organisational structures are always "recovered in abstraction": "We learn each element as a precipitate, but in the living experience of the time every element was in solution, an inseparable part of a complex whole," cf. Williams, *The Long Revolution*, p. 63.

40 Williams, *Marxism and Literature*, p. 132.

simply at the Weimar Republic's political parties or even simply at a few journals as static entities, this means to focus on the relationships between and constellation of these social forms, understood as structures of feeling, which are used in order to describe not just an abstract institution, but *a way of life*: "it is as firm and definite as 'structure' suggests, yet it operates in the most delicate and least tangible parts of our activity. In one sense, this structure of feeling is the culture of a period: it is the particular living result of all the elements in the general organization."[41] It is therefore precisely this understanding of culture as something that can only be understood as a collection of social processes that are actively happening within and between social groups that allows me to move to a more defined understanding of *how* the journals function both as material artefacts of real social production processes and as integral, integrated parts of social activity in shaping culture through their participation. As John Higgins formulates it, Williams's cultural materialism "was a theory which, as a *cultural* materialism, seeks to establish the constitutive force of culture for any account of historical change and any political practice; and, as a cultural *materialism*, stresses the historical and political determinants of any cultural or signifying practice against bourgeois theories which are usually predicated upon an overestimation of individual creativity."[42] Additionally, Williams is most useful *especially* because his general theory does *not* differentiate between what ought and ought not be analysed as culture, which runs counter to Terry Eagleton's wish for an understanding of culture that is less descriptive or analytical and more prescriptive: "If culture was once too rarified a notion, it now has the flabbiness of a term which leaves out too little. But at the same time it has grown overspecialized, obediently reflecting the fragmentation of modern life rather than, as with a more classical concept of culture, seeking to repair it."[43]

Yet, while Williams's *structures of feeling* certainly point in the right direction by understanding culture as a general collection of social activity with all its internal power relationships,

41 Williams, *The Long Revolution*, p. 64.
42 John Higgins. "The Legacy of Raymond Williams". In: *English Academy Review* 29 (sup. 1 2012), pp. 97–115, p. 98.
43 Cf. Terry Eagleton. *The Idea of Culture*. Oxford: Blackwell, 2000, pp. 33–38, here p. 37.

analysable on a number of theoretical levels, they remain somewhat ill-defined for a practical analysis of the various processes involved in the function of Weimar Republic journals. Throughout this section, I have used the notion of practice already, especially during my outline of the recursive movement of history as a sequence of conservative, prevailing and innovative *practices*. If cultural analysis scrutinises the relationships between various structures of feeling, we in fact look at the practices within various social groups which structure these groups internally and which also govern their relationship with surrounding groups. Instead of the fuzzy differentiation between Williams's structures, institutions, formations and practices, it seems useful to move one step further in order to fully establish the theoretical framework of this thesis: in order to analyse *how* Weimar journals function, both internally – as social groups – as well as externally – as journals among other journals or within wider discourses –, we need to be able to conceptualise the participation and organisation of social groups more generally. Thus, the final step, having moved already from Culture to culture-as-contingent and onward to culture-as-dynamic-process, requires us to understand culture as the combined social activity of social groups based around their social practices; we thus move towards an understanding of social practices that Etienne Wenger developed further into the concept of *communities of practice*.

2.3. Communities of practice: Etienne Wenger

Whenever we use the term "social practice", it is perhaps impossible not to think of Pierre Bourdieu and his social theory in which social practices form a core component of social production as well as its analysis. Thus, before I can move to a discussion of Wenger's concept, I will briefly outline Bourdieu's understanding of social practices which is implicit in Wenger's own use of the concept, even though he does not use Bourdieu's other concepts (e.g. *habitus*) developed alongside the notion of social practices.

2.3.1. Procatalepsis: Pierre Bourdieu

Much like Marcuse and Williams, Bourdieu tries to understand how societies organise themselves internally. Much like Williams, this means for Bourdieu to move his analysis from institutions and abstract objective structures towards social practice, which means "to pass from the *opus operatum* to the *modus operandi*, from statistical regularity or algebraic structure to the principle of the production of this observed order, and to construct the theory of practice, or, more precisely, the theory of the mode of generation of practice."[44] He is thus investigating the generation principles of social practices which ultimately produce an "opus operatum", the artefact. Thus, Bourdieu places the concept of *habitus* at the centre of his theory, whereby the habitus is "a set of *dispositions* which incline agents to act and react in certain ways. The dispositions generate practices, perceptions and attitudes which are 'regular' without being consciously co-ordinated or governed by any 'rule'".[45] Habitus thus becomes a system of semi-permanent past selections which are available to generate potential responses in the form of established practices that an individual might use to confront a situation in the present in order to affect its future outcome.[46] Yet, practices are not the product of the habitus as such, but a product of the *relation between* the general habitus and the specific social context at hand.[47] This line of thought then leads Bourdieu to question the connection between habitus on one hand and dominant groups or practices on the other, which means that social analysis always marks an analysis of relationships within a given area of social activity, which Bourdieu subdivides into "fields": "The field as a whole is defined as a system of deviations on different levels and nothing, either in the institutions or in the agents, the acts or the discourses

44 Pierre Bourdieu. *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Trans. by Richard Nice. Cambridge Studies in Social and Cultural Anthropology 16. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977, p. 72.

45 John B. Thompson. "Editor's Introduction". In: *Language and Symbolic Power*. Ed., with an introd., by John B. Thompson. Trans. by Gino Raymond and Matthew Adamson. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991, pp. 1–31, pp. 12–13.

46 Cf. Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, pp. 72–73.

47 Cf. Thompson, "Editor's Introduction", p. 14; cf. Pierre Bourdieu. *Entwurf einer Theorie der Praxis auf der ethnologischen Grundlage der kabylischen Gesellschaft*. Trans. by Cordula Pialoux and Bernd Schwibs. 2nd ed. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2009, p. 171.

they produce, has meaning except relationally, by virtue of the interplay of opposition and distinctions."[48] He thus assumes that the habitus is a system of unconscious dispositions which, in general, takes on the notion of being natural and not socially generated; Bourdieu calls this a *doxa*. Accordingly, since habitus is used to generate practices that are already preconditioned by past practices that, in turn, became part of habitus upon proving successful, habitus is most likely to reproduce the conditions under which it developed, for "every established order tends to produce (to very different degrees and with very different means) the naturalization of its own arbitrariness".[49] Thus, if habitus is a tacit structure that generates practices usable by the individual in any given social situation, and if we seek to describe not just the outcome of implementing the practice – the outcome of a social act in the form of an artefact – that means we have to understand the past selections and practices that in turn formed habitus in the past. Bourdieu himself calls the naturalisation of habitus – the creation of a doxa – the process of forgetting history: "The 'unconscious' is never anything other than the forgetting of history which history itself produces by incorporating the objective structures it produces in the second natures of habitus".[50] Creating a doxa, then, is nothing other than Williams's process of selecting tradition, which makes the habitus itself a *selected* tradition. However, where Williams couples the process of selecting tradition with social hegemony, Bourdieu's creation of doxa takes on a more objective notion of history producing structures, rather than an understanding of history as always specifically made. Nevertheless, where Williams loosely uses the terms practice or tendency, we can now make full use of the notion of practice as social activity that is most likely determined by past social activity and by past selections made within society which makes it *likely* that these practices will continue what past selections have begun *without* categorically precluding innovative practices from emerging. Consequently, when we look at a historical artefact, we look at a product (the *opus operatum*) of a social practice (the

48 Pierre Bourdieu. *Language and Symbolic Power*. Ed., with an introd., by John B. Thompson. Trans. by Gino Raymond and Matthew Adamson. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991, p. 185.
49 Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, p. 164.
50 Ibid., pp. 78–79.

modus operandi), which in turn is inextricably part of a whole set of interrelated practices and which is subject to more general social limitations as well as pressures, which are all tied into a historical process that, at any given time, combines conservative, prevailing and innovative practices in order to form what we can retrospectively identify as historical culture.

Yet, while this ties the specific artefact (which, in this thesis, means each specific issue of a Weimar Republic journal) into a history of practices, we have not yet fully accounted for those who actually practise these practices, the people whose actions make up the entirety of this social process. If I have talked before about "the bourgeoisie" when discussing Marcuse, about "hegemonic" and "counter-hegemonic" groups when analysing Williams or about "agents" or "individuals" when introducing Bourdieu, what becomes clear is that we are always dealing with individuals in a social context, i.e. with individuals who are always connected to other individuals by virtue of sharing common practices, a common history and by engaging in various acts of communication.[51] Therefore, when we analyse practices, we are always necessarily analysing practices *within* social groups (however loosely defined), which means we are always looking at social groups, which none of the theorists discussed thus far can help us fully grasp. Hence, we need to introduce Etienne Wenger's understanding of groups who engage in practice as *communities of practice*, marking our final step in developing a theory that allows for an analysis of journals not just as artefacts that "tell us something about culture", but as artefacts that lay bare the social practices that they are themselves a product of, created by historical individuals entwined with many other people.

2.3.2. Towards communities of practice

So far, it has been difficult to more accurately grasp not just *how* social activity is shaped and, in turn, shapes present and past social practice, but *who* actually engages in these practices.

51 Luhmann highlights that any social system is necessarily always a system of communication, while communication, in turn, is always social: "Der basale Prozeß sozialer Systeme, der die Elemente produziert, aus denen diese Systeme bestehen, kann unter diesen Umständen nur Kommunikation sein," Niklas Luhmann. *Soziale Systeme. Grundriß einer allgemeinen Theorie*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1987, p. 192.

Marcuse describes how "the bourgeoisie" engages in certain hegemonic practices without locating either himself or those who act in a counter-hegemonic way, while Williams sees social practices at play in structures of feelings, yet it remains unclear how any *specific* individual ties into these structures. At the other end of the spectrum, Bourdieu locates practices at precisely the junction between the intents and actions of individuals as they are confronted with the very history of history in the form of habitus. The latter runs the risk of re-introducing objective determinism, as the underlying division between individual (or agent, as Bourdieu sometimes prefers) and habitus veers dangerously close to simply erecting a division between the objective (history) and the singular (the individual), whereas the former simply determines the actions of the latter by virtue of being unconsciously present at all times.[52] Between these two theoretical positions of ill-defined actors on one hand and over-determined actors on the other, we need a notion of communities as the place of any practice as inherently social. Where Luhmann highlights that any social system makes use of communication, Williams adds the connection between communication and community: "Since our way of seeing things is literally our way of living, the process of communication is in fact the process of community: the sharing of common meanings, and thence common activities and purposes; the offering, reception and comparison of new meanings, leading to the tensions and achievements of growth and change."[53]

Accordingly, Etienne Wenger's most basic assumption about communities of practice is as simple as it is far-reaching: "We all belong to communities of practice. At home, at work, at school, in our hobbies – we belong to several communities of practice at any given time. And the communities of practice to which we belong change over the course of our lives. In fact, communities of practice are everywhere. […] Communities of practice are an integral part of our daily lives."[54] Thus, the fact that we are members of various communities of practice is

52 "What is more, as a deterministic model it relies upon a simple base-superstructure metaphor inasmuch as the 'objective structures' mediated through the habitus (culture) generate practice", Richard Jenkins. "Pierre Bourdieu and the Reproduction of Determinism". In: *Sociology* 16.2 (May 1982), pp. 270–281, p. 272.

53 Williams, *The Long Revolution*, p. 55.

54 Etienne Wenger. *Communities of Practice. Learning, Meaning, and Identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University

usually not marked as such, but membership just *is*. Wenger further asserts that social practice marks less the junction of individual projects and the determination of history as such, as is the case for Bourdieu; rather, practices are the results of our "pursuit of enterprises of all kinds", which necessarily lead us to "interact with each other and with the world and we tune our relations with each other and with the world accordingly".[55] This thus "results in practices that reflect both the pursuit of enterprises and the attendant social relations. These practices are thus the property of a kind of community created over time by the sustained pursuit of shared enterprise".[56] Therefore, "the concept of practice connotes doing, but not just doing in and of itself. It is doing in a historical and social context that gives structure and meaning to what we do. In this sense, practice is always social practice".[57] Any analysis of social practices subsequently means an analysis of the pursuit of individual enterprises alongside others with *similar* enterprises, comprising not just individual practice, but *communities of practice*; we do not simply analyse "doing" but "doing" in context. Likewise, practice is "a process by which we can experience the world and our engagement with it as meaningful".[58] The foremost function of communities of practice is therefore one of *negotiating meaning*, for even if the practice is informed by habitus, it nevertheless only happens because we seek to gain some meaning for pursuing an enterprise that includes a practice:

> Our engagement in practice may have patterns, but it is the production of such patterns anew that gives rise to an experience of meaning. […] All that we do and say may refer to what has been done and said in the past, and yet we produce again a new situation, an impression, an experience: we produce meanings that extend, redirect, dismiss, reinterpret, modify or confirm – in a word, negotiate anew – the histories of meanings of which they are part. In this sense, living is a constant process of *negotiation of meaning*.[59]

Rather than marking a simple determination of individual practice by history (itself the outcome of selecting tradition, i.e. of culture), social practices thus mark the permanent

Press, 1999, pp. 6–7.
55 Wenger, *Communities of Practice*, p. 45.
56 Ibid., p. 45.
57 Ibid., p. 47.
58 Ibid., p. 51.
59 Ibid., pp. 52–53.

negotiation and thus continuous actualisation of culture. Accordingly, meaning always has to be *negotiated*, it is not inherent to any one act in and of itself, but rather stems from the combination of those acts with our projects. Hence, if practices are always social practices, and if social practices mean engaging with others in similar practices, we get to a notion of social activity as the *active process of participation* in social communities; if the chief function of engaging in practices – of social participation – is to experience the world as meaningful, that means that "the meanings of what we do are always social".[60]

However, participation is only one part of a duality when analysing communities of practice (and especially historical communities of practice); the other part is what Wenger terms "reification". As participation in a community continues over time, the community will begin to reify parts of its social practices thus capturing the experience of participation in a more solid form: "the process of reification so construed is central to every practice. Any community of practice produces abstractions, tools, symbols, terms and concepts that reify something of that practice in a congealed form."[61] Yet, participation and reification are not a simple opposition or dichotomy, but it is the duality of the two, and the dynamic between them, that "is a fundamental aspect of the constitution of communities of practice, of their evolution over time, of the relations among practices, of the identities of participants, and of the broader organizations in which communities of practice exist".[62] This point is especially important for my analysis of Weimar Republic journals, as it allows us to see common symbols, topics, but also the journals themselves in their entirety as tied into the dynamic of participation and reification, allowing us access to the continuous development and, indeed, evolution of historical communities of practices. If culture is the continuous process of selecting traditions, the dynamic between conservative, prevailing and innovative practices, then the same holds true for communities, which similarly continuously select, renew and reify past social practices that are still active in the present in the hope that they will remain relevant in the future

60 Wenger, *Communities of Practice*, p. 57.
61 Ibid., p. 59.
62 Ibid., p. 65.

for the pursuit of their shared enterprises. For Marcuse, culture previously amounted to a "bourgeois conspiracy" in need of unmasking that the individual had to face alone (affirmative culture). For Bourdieu, the individual was determined by an objective habitus without a clear way of influencing said habitus (that has a tendency to appear as objective). Here, however, through the notion of participation and reification, the individual instead enters into a *reciprocal* interplay between his own participation and the world around him, which means that while he is influenced by past practices, there always exists a way to also influence the future of a community directly *through participation*:

> [O]ur experience and our world shape each other through a reciprocal relation that goes to the very essence of who we are. The world as we shape it, and our experience as the world shapes it, are like the mountain and the river. They shape each other, but they have their own shape. They are reflections of each other, but they have their own existence, in their own realms. They fit around each other, but they remain distinct from each other. They cannot be transformed into each other, yet they transform each other.[63]

It is important to note, however, that this reciprocity does not entail homogeneity. In fact, "each participant in a community of practice finds a unique place and gains a unique identity, which is both further integrated and further defined in the course of engagement in practice. These identities become interlocked and articulated with one another through mutual engagement, but they do not fuse".[64] Yet, while individual identities and communal identities remain distinct, this reciprocity also means that the formation of identity *is always a process*, "building an identity consists of negotiating the meanings of our experience of membership in social communities".[65] Thus, identity always has to be viewed in social terms, which does not deny individuality per se, but understands individuality as "something that is part of the practices of specific communities".[66] In many ways, then, if we look at social practice, we look at continuous processes of forming identities, "not an object, but a constant becoming"; on the other hand, we have to understand that identity-as-a-process is more than simply self-image:

63 Wenger, *Communities of Practice*, p. 71.
64 Ibid., pp. 75–76.
65 Ibid., p. 145.
66 Ibid., p. 146.

"it is not, in its essence, discursive or reflective. […] Who we are lies in the way we live day to day, not just in what we think or say about ourselves, though that is of course part (but only part) of the way we live".[67] More importantly, if the *negotiation of meaning* lies at the core of our membership in various communities of practice, and if our participation in social practices marks the very process of forming our identity, then an analysis of social practices is, in essence, an analysis of the *negotiation of identity*.

Additionally, it is important to remember that we are not just members of a single community. Instead, there exist two complementary aspects of membership that influence the overall process of forming identity: on one hand, membership in a specific community follows certain trajectories, which means that "a community of practice is a field of possible trajectories and thus the proposal of an identity. It is a history and the promise of that history".[68] On the other hand, identity cannot simply change depending on which group the individual currently participates in, "our forms of participation are not merely sequences in time"; identity is thus not just a single trajectory within a single group, but has to be understood as a "nexus of multimembership", adding a notion of multiplicity to the idea of trajectories.[69] This means that one individual draws on all, or at least a number, of memberships in multiple communities of practice; in turn, these trajectories do not fully merge, but exist alongside each other, where they might coexist, clash or even reinforce each other. The negotiation of identity therefore always requires at least some form of reconciliation of the different aspects of being part of distinct communities, which means that multimembership is "the living experience of boundaries", which also suggests that social identity is rarely based merely on the perceived membership in a single group.[70]

By configuring the negotiation of identity as strictly social, the process of identity formation gets bound directly to the generational shifts within communities of practice. Since we defined

67 Wenger, *Communities of Practice*, pp. 151 & 153–154.
68 Ibid., p. 156.
69 Cf. ibid., p. 159.
70 Cf. ibid., pp. 160–161.

culture earlier as a recursive process of conservative, prevailing and innovative practices, this means that participation in communities of practices follows the same schema, tying the negotiation of identity into the same social processes:

> When newcomers join a community of practice, generational discontinuities spread through multiple levels; relations shift in a cascading process. Relative newcomers become relative old-timers. […] As these successive generations interact, some of the history of the practice remains embodied in the generational relations that structure the community. The past, the present, and the future live together.[71]

More importantly, Williams's assertion that full hegemony, full determination of innovative tendencies, is not possible remains true for communities of practice as well: since people might join or leave communities, and since people are always members of multiple groups, the negotiation of meaning within any community cannot be fully determined:

> Yet, because meaning is always negotiated anew and because participation and reification are not locked in, there is always an uncertainty, an opening for a "slippage" of practice. No form of control over the future can be complete and secured. In order to sustain the social coherence of participation and reification within which it can be exercised, control must constantly be reproduced, reasserted, renegotiated in practice.[72]

In this sense, the journals – as artefacts – "are in fact nexus of perspectives", since each member of the community has only "partial control over the interpretation of the object", and, one might add, even about its creation; Wenger asserts that "an author has jurisdiction over what is written, but readers have jurisdiction over what it comes to mean to them", which is all the more topical for journals which cannot exist without both creators *and* recipients.[73] Thus, the journal as artefact contains within it multiple perspectives and is the product of the negotiation of meaning of a diverse community, in turn an integral part of the negotiation of identity of each of its members.

Additionally, since participation in communities of practice means participation in their negotiation of meaning, and since this participation in turn influences the individual's negotiation

71 Wenger, *Communities of Practice*, p. 90.
72 Ibid., p. 93.
73 Ibid., p. 108.

of identity, we have to keep in mind that there exists a twofold process between identification with a community and the negotiability of identity: identification with a community is both participative and reificative, it is a combination of "identifying as" and "identifying with", which means that the negotiation of identity results in a notion of identification that is both active *and* passive: The member of a community identifies as a member of that community, but others similarly identify that person *as* a member of a community.[74] Due to this dynamic of identification, we have to keep in mind that there exists an *economy of meaning*, i.e. a competition of multiple meanings produced in different locations, which subsequently "compete for the definition of certain events, actions, or artifacts".[75]

2.4. Weimar journals as communities of practice

Our initial assumption was that journals tell us "something" about culture, and about their time. Since then, I have highlighted that culture has to be understood as the product of a dynamic historical process at the time of observation, as the junction of a past, (contemporary) present and a future, which in turn means that it also serves as the junction of conservative, prevailing and innovative practices. With Wenger, we can now add that when we analyse practices, we analyse social practices, which necessarily tie them into communities of practice. When we analyse communities of practice(s), we then analyse their negotiation of meaning, which in turn lets us understand some of the specific trajectories that are integral to the negotiation of identity for a community's members. Weimar journals, then, as historical artefacts, are the (reified) products of these communities of practice, whereas their periodicity mirrors the continuous movement of culture, making the process of negotiating identities *visible*. As artefacts, the journals contain various perspectives by distinct individuals, yet they also combine these perspectives into a *nexus of perspectives*, which reminds us that each issue marks another

74 "Identification is not merely a relation between people, but between participants and the constituents of their social existence, which includes other participants, social configurations, categories, enterprises, actions, artifacts and so forth. Identification is not merely a subjective experience; it is socially organized", Wenger, *Communities of Practice*, p. 192.

75 Ibid., p. 199.

step in the continuous process of negotiating the identities of contemporary individuals when challenged by community-external events as well as their own multimembership in various communities. An analysis of Weimar journals thus means an analysis of the recursive processes that ultimately shape the world that surrounds these individuals as well as their communities: the journals, then, do not simply mirror or discuss social activity that happens in another sphere of life somewhere outside them, but they are an integral as well as integrated part of these social processes, since they are directly involved in peoples' projects of experiencing the world around them as meaningful. By looking at a Weimar journal, we thus get to catch a glimpse of a specific way of making sense of its contemporary present, which always also includes traces of its past as well as its future in the moment of observation. From issue to issue, we get to see the changes and consistencies in the negotiation of identity. Yet, we have to keep in mind that none of these processes are *absolute*. What we find in a journal is not "history as it was", but the attempt of a community of individuals to come to terms with the world while simultaneously influencing its future. By having multiple journals, we reduce the risk of seeing any specific journal as *the* singular way of understanding Weimar culture, for the constellation of their interconnected practices reminds us that we have to try to better understand their geography in terms of relative proximities and distances.[76] We are thus not assuming for example that the *Simplicissimus* uniquely reflects "true Weimar culture" acting as a neutral repository of historical truth, but instead, the journal exposes *one* version of negotiating what the Weimar Republic is for those who create the journal, and for those for whom the journal is created. Additionally, we are reminded that if the negotiation of identity for any individual, as well as for any group, is always social, then no individual can exist outside society; the same is true for any journal: since the journal is the product of social practices within a community, it *never exists outside its social context*. The analysis of multiple Weimar journals thus means the analysis of Weimar culture *in context* and as part of a continuous historical process that is not

76 Cf. Wenger, *Communities of Practice*, p. 130 – "Constellations define relations of locality, proximity, and distance, which are not necessarily congruent with physical proximity, institutional affiliations, or even interactions."

externally determined, but instead the continuous product of the social activity of real people and their social participation.

3. The journal in history

It has been asserted so far, with Marcuse, Williams and Wenger, that history forms a steady evolutionary process that consists of conservative, prevailing and innovative social practices. Any identity, whether communal or individual, is therefore continuously confronted with an interplay of stability and change, whereby innovative tendencies pose a challenge to the adherence to prevailing or conservative practices in engaging with the world. While history, understood as a recursive process, is constantly in flux and thus constantly challenges any given identity, identities necessarily become dynamic and subject to change. This does not mean, however, that we assume a movement from a static identity to a completely fluid one; instead, it stands to assume that a large number of conservative tendencies (actively resisting change) as well as simply unchallenged prevailing tendencies form most of an identity, while any incorporated innovative tendencies only ever act upon distinct areas of a person's or group's identity. We can thus assume a *relatively* stable identity at any given time; however, a stable identity does not mean a static identity, and seen over a period of time, sections of this identity are bound to change, either following more general trends or innovative practices, or retreating further into chosen conservative practices. To make this process visible, it is therefore paramount to look at the processes of negotiating identity over a longer period of time. Thus, this chapter focuses on the general developments of the *Simplicissimus* centred around the Weimar Republic. Instead of sweeping changes, it lays bare a slow but steady development of different attitudes, some prevailing and some emerging. Yet, while many of these developments run parallel to wider social developments throughout Weimar, we have to

keep in mind that the journal had existed prior to 1918, and that it continued to exist past 1933. Ultimately, the *Simplicissimus* existed within three vastly different political systems and continued to exist amidst sweeping social changes. Nevertheless, just like Nazi Germany is in many ways linked to both its predecessors – the Kaiserreich and the Weimar Republic – so the *Simplicissimus* is always recognisable as such despite various changes in its identity. The *Simplicissimus* from 1890 is not the *exact* same journal as the *Simplicissimus* anno 1939, yet enough of its practices and enough of its identity remain stable during its existence to remain identifiable, to remain distinguishable.

A historical study of a magazine, and in this case the study of the *Simplicissimus*, is thus a study of the changes of its identity. These processes are, in turn, expressed in an evolution of the magazine's content, as well as its material form. For ultimately, not only do opinions and ideals change over time, but so do contributors, creators, techniques and readerships. Not only does the *Simplicissimus* write *about* different topics over the years, but it also writes differently. Furthermore, the magazine also looks different; it incorporates new elements while also retaining some old ones. These changes in form allow us to see that the *Simplicissimus* is more than simply the sum of its writers and artists, but that the development of audiences (and those audiences' tastes), technological advancements, market influences and overall changed social attitudes are just as contingent as the magazine's editorial content. Studying the magazine over a period of time thus allows us to see a *history of small steps*, where radical caesuras are rare and small evolutionary, incremental steps are much more common. Furthermore, this analysis also shows that radical caesuras, where they do exist in the *Simplicissimus*'s history in the first half of the twentieth century, do not happen because they are "natural", enforced by society or a superstructure as such, but because those involved in creating the magazine actively choose to incorporate specific changes and practices while purposefully rejecting others. Before I can come back to this level of analysis, however, a historical contextualisation of the *Simplicissimus* is necessary.

William Owen describes a general type of magazine – the "illustrated magazine" – of which the first wave harkens back to the 1840s, with magazines such as the English *Illustrated London News* (1842), the French *L'Illustration* (1843), as well as the German *Die illustrierte Zeitung* (1843), followed among others by the *Fliegende Blätter* (1844) and *Kladderadatsch* (1848).[1] A second wave of magazines falls in the period 1870–1900, as the "golden age" of magazine illustration, for "colour lithography, born out of experiments by Jules Cheret in Paris and London in the 1860s, brought colour to magazines for the first time and provided an artistic freedom on which many of the innovations of the modern movement in graphic design were founded".[2] Among these "golden age" illustrated magazines is also the *Simplicissimus*, alongside magazines such as *Graphic*, *Harper's* and the slightly later French *L'Assiette au Beurre*.[3]

The *Simplicissimus* itself was published in Munich between 1896 and 1944, effectively spanning the late Kaiserreich, World War I, the Weimar Republic, as well as pre-War Nazi Germany and most of World War II. Both during and especially after its existence, the magazine managed to be regarded as perhaps *the* archetypical satirical embodiment of the Kaiserreich, which in turn created the myth of the *Simplicissimus* as the perpetually reliable and critical magazine of high quality. This aura survived much longer than the magazine itself, and even today illustrations from the *Simplicissimus* often feature as if they were factual, objective representations of the Kaiserreich or Weimar Republic Germany, even in scholarly contexts. Yet, as Gertrud Maria Rösch points out, much of this glorification of the *Simplicissimus* is the result of an active process of self-stylisation by those responsible for the magazine,[4] as well as by its numerous outspoken famous contributors and readers, for "bis heute wird die Forschung zum Simplicissimus von den Beobachtungen und Wertungen bestimmt, die

1 Cf. Owen, *Magazine design*, pp. 14–16.

2 Ibid., p. 17.

3 Ursula Koch also describes the *Simplicissimus* as "von Albert Langen nach Pariser Muster gegründeten *Simplicissimus*", cf. Ursula E. Koch. "'Bestes Witzblatt der Welt' oder 'Ware von vorgestern'? Der Simplicissimus in der Weimarer Republik (1918 bis 1933)". In: *Simplicissimus. Glanz und Elend der Satire in Deutschland*. Ed. by Gertrud Maria Rösch. Regensburg: Universitätsverlag Regensburg, 1996, pp. 126–148, pp. 127–128.

4 "Die nahezu fünfzig Jahre seines Bestehens waren für den Simplicissimus auch ein Prozeß der Verfestigung seiner Reputation, eine zunehmende Selbststilisierung, die sich an der Gestaltwerdung des Namenspatrons verfolgen läßt", cf. Rösch, "Einführung", p. 16.

Zeitgenossen, meist Mitarbeiter oder diesen nahestehend, über die Zeitschrift äußerten".[5] This leads Rösch to the more sober conclusion that active work is required to recontextualise the magazine's contents both intertextually (by relating text, image and layout) and historically (by situating it in its *contemporary* reception situation), if the assumption is to be avoided that the *Simplicissimus* somehow had a more objective and more truthful view of the social processes that it was itself part of than other journals.[6] In the same volume as Rösch, Jürgen Joachimsthaler follows up on her thoughts with a more pointed (and much more critical) assessment of the *Simplicissimus*'s legacy. Accordingly, the reason why the *Simplicissimus* is still regarded as particularly noteworthy and as exceptional, especially compared to magazines such as the much older *Kladderadatsch* or the vastly more widely distributed Social-Democratic *Der Wahre Jacob* or *Süddeutscher Postillion*, is not its somehow inherent or superior view of its time, but the process that Rösch called "Selbststilisierung", and which Joachimsthaler heightens in his concept of *Selbstanekdotisierung*:

> Diese Überschätzung nun, unabhängig davon, wie unberechtigt immer sie war, in den Köpfen der Mit- und Nachwelt nachhaltig festgesetzt zu haben, stellt die wohl größte kollektive künstlerische Leistung der Simplicissimus-Redaktion dar, bedurfte es dazu doch einer geschickten Selbtdarstellung, die im Spannungsfeld zwischen unterschiedlichen Publikumserwartungen, Geschäftsinteressen und internen Auseinandersetzungen ein Bild des Simplicissimus öffentlich zu etablieren wußte, mit dessen Hilfe der kompromißhafte Charakter der Zeitschrift erfolgreich verdrängt und durch den Eindruck ersetzt werden konnte, der Simplicissimus spreche genau jene unliebsamen Wahrheiten mit beneidenswerter Offenheit aus, die seine Leser selbst kaum laut zu äußern wagten.[7]

Thus, what sets the *Simplicissimus* apart from other magazines that are formally not unlike it is neither its particular political unambiguousness nor the sharpness of its content or even its circulation figures, but the exceptional ability of its creators to establish it as the de-facto most critical, most stylish and most accurate representation of its time.[8] This kind of system-

5 Rösch, "Einführung", p. 9.

6 "Der Simplicissimus-Geist hat sich verflüchtigt, geblieben ist die Statue […] das Denkmal eines schelmischen Satirikers", cf. ibid., p. 16.

7 Jürgen Joachimsthaler. "Das Ende der Satire in der Anekdote. Warum werden Verfasser von Anekdoten zu Objekten von Anekdoten?" In: *Simplicissimus. Glanz und Elend der Satire in Deutschland*. Ed. by Gertrud Maria Rösch. Regensburg: Universitätsverlag Regensburg, 1996, pp. 97–109, p. 99.

8 More than simply regarding the *Simplicissimus*'s political expression as compromised, Joachimsthaler even calls

immanent, non-extremist and not overly confrontational satire seems to have been more at home in the authoritarian, yet not overly dangerous Kaiserreich than in the more diverse Weimar Republic which lacked a clear and defined top-down social structure that could be made fun of easily while being firmly entrenched inside.[9] Ursula Koch therefore accurately sums up what seems to be the case for both contemporary as well as more recent views of the *Simplicissimus* when she says that "freilich denken die meisten, wenn sie wehmütig oder zornig vom 'Simpl' sprechen, an die 'schöne Zeit vor Anno '14'".[10] Rösch, Joachimsthaler and Koch thus highlight the importance of focussing not just on singular images or even just the "general assumption" (or aura) of competency in this analysis of the *Simplicissimus*'s history especially around the Weimar Republic, but that its specific practices, expressions and form need to be contextualised within its historical reception as well as the very process of self-stylising and ultimately the magazine's auratization. The *Simplicissimus* is therefore not an external onlooker or watchdog (like its mascot, the red mastiff, might suggest), but it is actively involved in shaping the society that it describes and satirises.

Most importantly, it is worth emphasising that this focus on self-stylising and gradually shifting practices moves away from seeing the magazine as a mere reflector of its surrounding social space and thus away from the notion that general social developments and chances necessarily and automatically change the practices that govern the *Simplicissimus*. Rather, the pertinent question becomes how the *Simplicissimus* changes *itself* when confronted with wider social changes. This is more than a simple play on semantics, since the former understanding

the magazine's satire "reichsimmanent", and answers his own question why the *Simplicissimus* gained such prominence by concluding: "Dennoch gelang es dem Wahren Jacob nie, über die Kreise der organisierten Arbeiterschaft hinaus ins Bewußtsein des Bildungsbürgertums vorzudringen, das von solch systemsprengender Fundamentalopposition nichts wissen wollte und sich stattdessen lieber die reichsimmanente Satire des Simplicissimus als die stärkstmögliche Form nachvollziehbarer, ja überhaupt vorstellbarer Kritik beschreiben ließ", cf. Joachimsthaler, "Das Ende der Satire in der Anekdote", p. 99

9 Cf. Lennart Kjellberg. "Der Simplicissimus und die Slawen, 1896–1914". In: *Scando-Slavica* 28.1 (1982), pp. 69–90, p. 69.

10 Koch, "'Bestes Witzblatt der Welt' oder 'Ware von vorgestern'?", p. 128. This perhaps also explains why many studies that engage with the *Simplicissimus* in particular conventiently only look at the years 1896–1914. A notable exception alongside Rösch's collection of essays is Konrad, *Nationale und internationale Tendenzen im "Simplicissimus" (1896–1933)*, which at least covers the magazine's broad development until 1933 and which I will come back to later.

relegates those involved in shaping the magazine to a passive role, subject to external determination, while the latter view assumes an altogether more active role of the journal in negotiating social change and, perhaps even more, its own identity when social changes and developments threaten the boundaries of its hitherto stable identity. Ruprecht Konrad describes a somewhat similar view when he outlines his own understanding of history as "dynamischer Prozeß komplexer Strukturen", where an individual identity ("individuelles Bewußtsein") is, on one hand, intimately connected to specific "sozio-ökonomischen Bedingungen und deren Wandel im historischen Prozeß", while their expressions are also subject to a steady "Wechselwirkung zwischen Persönlichkeit, Umwelt und Werk".[11] Nevertheless, as the word "Werk" suggests, Konrad seems to think that this is particularly true for any form of art, which highlights the somewhat unnecessarily limited scope of his work, given that these exchanges exist not just in the realm of the "Wandel künstlerisch-politischer Bewußtseinsstrukturen" – as Konrad's subtitle suggests – but that they are more universal. The journal therefore serves an important social role since it does not simply "relay" external social change to an internal group of writers and readers:

> Magazines, then, are vectors of pleasure, they encourage the acquisition of knowledge, they may play an important role in the formation of identity, they are open to resistant readings, they easily encompass and incorporate flexible and varying conditions of consumption and production, and they form a readily accessible community focus. All this is rolled into a highly successful cultural form […].[12]

Where Konrad's *Wechselwirkung* could still be either active or passive, Holmes firmly stresses the magazine's active role in the *formation* of identity. Yet, it is worth remembering that, while a given magazine certainly possesses a distinct identity, there is hardly "one" *Simplicissimus*, a perfect unity of opinions, practices and views. Rather, the very processes of negotiating identity mean that the journal contains opposite ideals and ideas, and that its message will necessarily be conflicting at times. The *Simplicissimus* is not simply an abstract entity, but the product

11 Konrad, *Nationale und internationale Tendenzen im "Simplicissimus" (1896–1933)*, pp. 4–5.
12 Holmes, "Mapping the magazine", pp. 510–511.

of specific, defined and traceable historical social practices. It is the result of various people's contributions, who in turn express their own views and negotiate their own identities in their content. Furthermore, additional negotiation of identity happens on the level of the journal's form, where continuity and change also occur in line with (or are purposefully avoided despite) more general developments and "modernisations".

3.1. Content & history

The *Simplicissimus* undoubtedly had its formative years, as well as its heyday, during the late Kaiserreich, or more specificially between 1896 and before 1914. Even though the journal was originally founded by the publisher Albert Langen, the main contributors who shaped the overall image of the *Simplicissimus* had always been its artists, people like Thomas Theodor Heine, Eduard Thöny, Karl Arnold and Olaf Gulbransson, alongside some writers such as Ludwig Thoma, Hans Erich Blaich (with the pseudonyms Dr. Owlglaß/Ratatöskr/Eulenspiegel) and Fritz Schweynert (as Peter Scher and Trim). From 1906, these artists' importance also found its expression in how the publishing "Simplicissimus-Verlag" was legally structured: Heine, Thöny, Arnold and Gulbransson became stakeholders alongside Langen (as did Thoma), which meant that they did not only have *de facto* influence on the journal's overall message, but that they also had *de jure* influence.[13] The importance of their drawings can also be seen even today, where the number of exhibitions, exhibition catalogues, individual publications and overall showcases of individual artists works far outweigh more general accounts of the journal's history. Together, they also devised the governing principle for many of the "typical" caricatures, which otherwise differed significantly in artistic style: Joachimsthaler calls this general paradigm "Baukastentechnik" (Koch calls it "Baukastenprinzip"), which functions by establishing characters and their associated traits as set pieces that can be combined and recombined almost at will.

13 Cf. Koch, "'Bestes Witzblatt der Welt' oder 'Ware von vorgestern'?", pp. 131–133; cf. Konrad, *Nationale und internationale Tendenzen im "Simplicissimus" (1896–1933)*, pp. 41–43.

> Mag es sich dabei um dümmliche Staatsanwälte, bigotte Kleriker oder aufgeblasene Junker handeln: Diese Witzfiguren bildeten das statische Ensemble des *Simplicissimus*, seine quasi atomaren Grundbestandteile, die sich beliebig miteinander kombinieren und kaleidoskopartig zu den Erzählmolekülen des Simplicissimus zusammensetzen ließen, den erzähltechnisch kleinsten Einheiten, die oft nur aus Situationen und kontrastreichen Begegnungen bestehen, aus einem gespanntem Bei- und Gegeneinander binär gezeichneter Typen.[14]

Thus, they created an ensemble of types "mit deren Hilfe die wilhelminische Gesellschaft in eine schematisierte Typologie statischer Figuren zerteilt werden konnte, in Minimalcharaktere, die aus einer einzigen, dominanten, nicht weiter zerlegbaren und keiner weiteren Analyse mehr zugänglichen Eigenschaft zu bestehen schienen".[15] The rigid and mostly static social system of Wilhelmine Germany made this possible, since the usual targets of their ridicule – officers and squires (*Junker*), officials, judges, proletarians etc. – were unlikely to fundamentally move away from their current positions within society. Additionally, symbols like the German Michel, Uncle Sam, John Bull, Germania, Marianne etc. are added to the cast, alongside some of the bigger personalities of a given time. This enabled the caricatures to become instantly recognisable and infinitely variable.[16] Nevertheless, this principle enabled the *Simplicissimus* to conjure stark oppositions and differences between these "minimally defined" types, which prompts Joachimthaler's description of the *Simplicissimus* as belonging "zum psychischen Verdauungstrakt der wilhelminischen Gesellschaft", since it continuously asserted the existence of clear political divisions while also posing as a general opposition, "die binäre Grundopposition" of the journal *here* and Wilhelmine Germany *there*, without ever actually questioning or criticising the Kaiserreich as such, rather than its individual protagonists.[17]

14 Joachimsthaler, "Das Ende der Satire in der Anekdote", p. 100.

15 Ibid., p. 100.

16 Konrad Strauß nevertheless is convinced that the writers were just as important, adding their own unique twists to every drawing that they captioned: "Von all diesen Männern war nicht zu erwarten, daß sie so etwas wie eine Klavierbegleitung zu den Linien gäben, die der Künstler zeichnete. Ihre Unterschriften sprechen niemals aus, was da zu sehen, sondern nur, was nicht zu sehen ist. Die besten Unterschriften im 'Simplicissimus' stehen ebenbürtig neben den Bildern, obgleich sie unter ihnen stehen", Konrad Strauß, ed. and introd. *Der gute Ton. Aus dem "Simplicissimus" 1986–1932*. München: Piper, 1965, p. 10. I would go even further and argue that these captions often might have been the only way to differentiate between otherwise similar and repeating constellations of returning cast members.

17 Cf. Joachimsthaler, "Das Ende der Satire in der Anekdote", p. 109.

Furthermore, financially secure and culturally successful, there existed little reason for the creators of the *Simplicissimus* to ever try and break out of the existing social system and its confines: "Es war, trotz aller Schwierigkeiten, realitiv[sic!] gefahrlos, im Kaiserreich, noch dazu in Bayern, Kritik an den herrschenden Verhältnissen zu üben. Im Grunde war man selbst wenig betroffen, Skandale und Gefängnishaft förderten sogar das gesellschaftliche Ansehen und den wirtschaftlichen Erfolg."[18] And it is precisely this ultimately conforming existence that first allows us to understand the various shifts in communal identity and message following 1914.

3.1.1. The looming war

Only with the onset of World War I in 1914 did some of the established practices change. Where the "Baukastenprinzip" of binary opposites and types hitherto portrayed the *Simplicissimus* as a critical other within Wilhelmine society, a new binary opposition between "us" and "them" arose on a much larger scale, namely as the opposition between Germany – the "Vaterland" and Kaiserreich – on one side, and its external enemies on the other. This development ultimately prompted the journal to fall in line with a more general nationalist and patriotic mindset, joining the masses that cheered the arrival of war. However, it is worth looking more closely at the journal issues before as well as during Germany's full mobilisation and declaration of war, in order to see the very process of negotiating the *Simplicissimus*'s communal identity, as well as its social position and the different views of different authors within the magazine itself.

By the end of June, a few political comments about Russia stand alongside various texts and the odd drawing about the summer and its increasingly warmer temperatures. A long, humourous story entitled *Meine Qualen und Wonnen im Jenseits*, with the caption "Der Redaktion des Simplicissimus durch spiritistische Klopflaute mitgeteilt von Gustav Meyrink", makes fun of the contemporary craze with the supernatural, as well as the Austrian writer Meyrink – then very much still alive – spanning the better part of three of the issue's sixteen pages.(Fritz Schweynert,

18 Konrad, *Nationale und internationale Tendenzen im "Simplicissimus" (1896–1933)*, p. 148.

ed. *Simplicissimus*. Vol. 19. München: Simplicissimus-Verlag, 1914–1915 [henceforth cited as S19], pp. 200–202) The issue also contains a number of advertisement pages, a drawing about Jews lending money to rulers and thus ruining them while getting rich, as well as a piece about how ridiculous modern (abstract) art appears to the unknowing, yet rich "Opfer des Kunsthandels". The next issue from 6 July 1914 is even a special issue entitled "Sommerfrische".[19] It sports a somewhat unusual titlepage with the title *Am Bodensee* by Brynolf Wennerberg, depicting a young woman at the lakeside who is in the process of undressing, with the caption "In ganz Konstanz kriegt man keine Feldstecher mehr, seitdem ich hier bade", suggesting that everybody is sitting somewhere in the bushes with their binoculars while trying to watch her swim almost (if not outright) naked.(S19, p. 213) The next page, Th. Th. Heine's *Deutschland in den Ferien*, may serve as a good illustration of the above mentioned "Baukastenprinzip", combining well-known character types (the mythical Siegfried, current politicians, the popular actors Ernst von Possart and Sara Bernhardt etc.) in uncommon contexts, with a joke added to each by the caption, essentially contrasting their regular function and normal image with the unusual surroundings of their supposed holidays.(Cf. Figure A.1, p. 267) The issue is overall unremarkable, with some hints of social critique expressed by a drawing depicting a seemingly proletarian life where the father is worried about who will bring him his alcohol while the children are on (state-paid) holiday. It also contains Theobald Tiger's (Tucholsky) poem *Die Sonne*, which starts with the lines "Kind, die Sonne ist nur für die reichen Leute,//unsereinen sengt sie, bis der Buckel schwitzt –//heller Himmel macht dich traurig so wie heute,//wenn du müde im Fabriksaal sitzt", pointing out that the very "Sommerfrische" the issue is dedicated to, as well as the idle enjoyment of a holiday, bathing and the beach are thorougly bourgeois practices that have little in common with the life experiences of proletarians and (especially) proletarian children.(S19, p. 217) A frivolous aura surrounds these issues, and there are few

19 For a more general look at the relationship between the *Simplicissimus* and tourism with a specific focus on the "collision" of inhabitants and vacationers, cf. Wolfgang Hackl. "'Sommerfrischler' und 'Eingeborene'. Eine kulturgeschichtliche Lektüre des Simplicissimus". In: *Simplicissimus. Glanz und Elend der Satire in Deutschland*. Ed. by Gertrud Maria Rösch. Regensburg: Universitätsverlag Regensburg, 1996, pp. 161–173.

signs of even worries or anxiety regarding contemporary developments. Only Th. Th. Heine's *Im Balkan-Blutmeer*, the last page in the next issue, directly references the assassination of Franz Ferdinand on the 28 June 1914 in Sarajevo, with a wooden ship tumbling in enormous waves of blood, and the succinct caption "Steuermann über Bord!".(S19, p. 248) This first changes with the 3 August and 10 August issues, both of which were published *after* the war began, but which were conceptualised, written and printed *before*.

Both issues contain a fair amount of hesitation, and some warnings regarding the by then possible but not yet certain war. In the poem *Friedrich Wilhelm*, Peter Scher (one of Schweynert's pseudonyms) muses why the relatively young Friedrich Wilhelm, Germany's last crown prince, seems to support those who steer Germany towards war:

> In der deutschen Volkesseele
> Regt sich doch Verwundernuß,
> Daß der Friedrich Wilhelm tele-
> graphisch immer wieder muß.
>
> […]
>
> Warum lobt er den Professor,
> Welcher Bethmann so verreißt?
> Kann es Friedrich Wilhelm bessor?
> Also fragt der deutsche Geist.
>
> Warum lobt er einen Hauptmann,
> Welcher mit dem Säbel klirrt?
> In dem deutschen Volke glaubt man,
> Daß noch längst kein Krieg nicht wird. (S19, p. 282)

Hesitation is expressed in Scher's insinuation that war appears to many by no means inevitable, and he therefore advises some restraint when it comes to supporting any kind of war rhetoric. Two (unsigned!) complementary poems that face each other on the following issue's second page make this even clearer; the poems are entitled *An die Verantwortlichen* and *An die Unverantwortlichen*:

> *An die Verantwortlichen*
> Es naht, ihr Herrn der Erde,

Gar eine böse Zeit;
Nun sorgt, daß eure Herde
In eurem Schutz gedeiht!

Euch ward in guten Tagen
Recht merklich wohl dahier –
Nun laßt euch einmal sagen:
Ihr Herrn, nun sorgt auch ihr!

Nun sorgt für alle Braven
Und was euch Wert gewinnt…
Und daß sie nicht gleich Schafen
In Hut von Wölfen sind!

An die Unverantwortlichen

Die ihr mit dem Munde kämpfet,
Weil ihr knapp beim Landsturm seid –
Ach, ihr guten Helden, dämpfet,
Dämpfet die Verwegenheit!

Laßt ihr nur die Banner fliegen,
Putscht ihr nur den deutschen Mann,
Denn zum Sterben, denn zum Siegen
Kommt ihr selbst wohl kaum daran!

Immerhin: durch Sturm und Wetter
Hetzt ihr her und hetzt ihr hin,
Und im Kampf um Extrablätter
Explodiert der Kriegersinn. (S19, p. 298)

The two titles play on the concept of responsibility, addressing on one hand those responsible, the "Herrn" and those in command, politics and overall leaders, while also pointing at those who are not just not responsible, but who are irresponsible in their cheering for war. The dawning war is described as a "böse Zeit", and the call for those responsible is to make sure that they try to protect their subjects from the worst, lest they behave like wolves in charge of protecting a flock of sheep. On the other hand, the second poem chastises those who campaign the loudest for war, since they are most likely those who are established enough (both in the press – hence the "Kampf um Extrablätter" – as well as elsewhere) that they are unlikely to be sent to the front as soldiers. They are the ones that are least likely to contribute to the war, and who are unlikely to die or truly win anything. This seems to be especially true for journalists

and other writers, which furthermore suggests that those who create the *Simplicissimus* consider themselves different, more sober and more thoughtful than many of their "colleagues". This overall mood continues on the last two pages of the issue, despite an interior that continues to be more concerned with various everyday occurences and the summer. Below a striking drawing by Eduard Thöny entitled Grenzwacht, a poem by Edgar Steiger is set with the title *Es ist das alte Narrenspiel – –*:

> Am Waldrand sitzt Gevatter Tod
> Und dengelt seine Sense.
> Sein Streitgaul glotzt ins Abendrot
> Und kaut vergnügt die Trense.
> Er spürt: was lange währt, wird gut.
> Ihn prickelt's in den Weichen.
> Der ganze Himmel schwimmt in Blut,
> Und ringsum riecht's nach Leichen.
>
> Es ist das alte Narrenspiel,
> Es ist die alte Schmiere,
> Der alte Kolportagestil:
> Die Menschen werden Tiere,
> Das Morden wird zum Gottesdienst,
> Die Puppen müssen tanzen,
> Und hinter den Kulissen grinst
> Der Regisseur des Ganzen.
>
> Und durch des Bühnenvorhangs Loch
> Schielt er und reibt die Hände
> Und überzählt – wie lange noch? –
> Die fette Dividende.
> Was wankt ihr, Völker, hin und her
> In Fiebertraumdelirien?
> Auf! Holt herab den Regisseur
> Und schickt ihn nach Sibirien! (S19, p. 311)

The Grim Reaper and his horse are depicted on the edge of the forest, and the "Abendrot" evokes the image of the eve of destruction. For him, "was lange währt, wird gut" means that his years of work towards war are about to pay off, for the whole sky is swimming in blood and he is surrounded by corpses. The second stanza gives a strong rejection of war, which is described as a fool's errand, something that turns men into animals and whose worship is

murder, orchestrated by the Grim Reaper himself. The focus is on the visceral, brutal and overall deadly quality of war that seems to preclude any heroism. Furthermore, the last stanza addresses a group, "ihr, Völker", i.e. numerous nations, all of which are caught in fever dreams. It precludes any specific notion of nationalism and which discounts the possibility of any individual nation single-handedly causing a war. Instead, the poem advocates cooperation in avoiding the seemingly inevitable slaughter by realising that the only thing war will bring is death. This powerful anti-war sentiment and the notion of war as murder on a massive scale is then continued in the last (full-page) drawing of the same issue, Eduard Thöny's *Die Diplomaten*, which shows two men in rich military garb and decoration with the caption: "In fünfzig Jahren werden es unsere Kollege noch schwerer haben. Wenn es da einmal zum Krieg kommen sollte, wird man Ihnen wegen fahrlässigen Massenmords den Prozeß machen."(S19, p. 312) While the drawing suggests that this is not yet the case, it hints at the fact that the overall attitude towards war might potentially shift to be more in line with Steiger's notion of war as mass murder. Yet, where both issues show a mixture of other topics, hesitation, worry and some engagement with the situation in Eastern Europe, the next issue will fundamently (and abruptly) unify these polyphonous views and attempts by different authors to come to terms with the possibility of war.

3.1.2. War, at last

Published on the 17 August 1914, *Simplicissimus* issue 20 begins with a drawing and poem by Th. Th. Heine entitled *Durch!!*, showing a knight on horseback with feathers on his helmet in the Prussian colours – black, white and red – fighting off an alligator, a rat pierced by his lance and a heavily bleeding bear with a crown (the "Russian Bear"). Said knight seems to be in hell, additionally flanked by a Prussian flag, while the poem reads:

> Und wenn die Welt voll Teufel wär'
> Und wollt' uns gar verschlingen,
> So fürchten wir uns nit so sehr –
> Es muß uns doch gelingen! (S19, p. 313)

Germany's official entrance into war had thus arrived in the *Simplicissimus*, and the issue's second page leaves no doubt as to what that could mean for its communal identity. The page combines a re-print of issue 19's titlepage *Schwarz-Gelb* by Eduard Thöny, depicting mobilising and marching Austrian troops, alongside the poem *Huldigung* by Hans Krallsheimer, which is an ode to Germany.(Cf. Figure A.2, p. 268) More importantly, it also contains a short piece entitled *An unsre Leser*, signed by "Die Redaktion":

> Die Nummern 18 und 19, die schon vor der Mobilmachung in Druck gegangen waren, haben wir – soweit es sich ermöglichen ließ – zurückgehalten. Es geschah dies nicht aus Besorgnis vor irgendwelchen Zensurschwierigkeiten – zu solchen lag keinerlei Anlaß vor –, sondern lediglich aus dem Gefühl heraus, daß es in diesen Tagen der deutschen Erhebung eine Kritik innerpolitischer Vorgänge selbstverständlich nicht mehr gibt.(S19, p. 314)

This marks the creators' executive (and thus also editorial) decision that internal political critique is at odds with being a patriotic German. Ruprecht Konrad points out that this is a consequence of making a decision between two propositions: Ludwig Thoma suggested closing down the magazine altogether, while Th. Th. Heine thought that "man müsse sich vielmehr, wie bisher auch, auf den Boden der jeweiligen Tatsachen stellen, und dies sei jetzt eben der Krieg. Der 'Simplicissimus' habe nun die Aufgabe, rückhaltlos die deutschen Interessen zu unterstützen".[20] This suggests, just like the piece itself, that we are looking at a conscious decision that puts an abrupt end to the hitherto organic process of negotiating the journal's identity in the preceding weeks while setting the *Simplicissimus* on course to support the German war effort. Interestingly, this decision is dictated by a feeling ("aus dem Gefühl heraus"), not rational weighing of options, and criticising political processes at home therefore becomes *selbstverständlich* impossible. Patriotic feelings as well as the sense of belonging to a wider patriotic and national community centred around something called "Vaterland" thus lead the way, and the rest of the issue follows in its footsteps. Accordingly, a new set of topics quickly emerges, while the stark condemnation of war as mass murder that everybody should unite

20 Konrad, *Nationale und internationale Tendenzen im "Simplicissimus" (1896–1933)*, p. 144.

against is quietly dropped. Instead, Heine's *Durch!!* positions Germany against the World (that threatens to devour Germany), while Krallsheimer's *Huldigung* sees Germany rising: "Ganz jäh bist du, ein brausender Koloß,//Emporgebrandet aus dem Unsichtbaren,//Entflammte Zeit – mit blitzenden Fanfaren //Brachst du das Dämmer, das uns dumpf umschloß."(S19, p. 314) This opposition of "Germany (and Austria) versus the world" is accompanied by pieces that deal with the *personal* sacrifice involved in going to war. In *Zum Aufbruch*, Oskar Wöhrle admonishes that "Aus ist der Traum,//es heißt marschieren,//heißt sein weniges Leben verlieren.//Rot ist jeder Wolke Saum.", before he concludes his poem three stanzas later with the rather more positive ending that urges the soldier to stop worrying and to have a nice drink of wine instead, for "Tot ist tot! Wie süß das Leben,//wenn man es noch leben kann!"(S19, p. 315) Yet, despite the realisation that war amounts to death, it is portrayed as inevitable, neither made by nations nor by diplomats, but tantamount to fate. Wilhelm Klemm's *Tristissimus* continues in the same vein, conjuring an impressive image before surrending individually:

> Der Dom des Todes droht am Saum der Welt –
> Die Türme brechen in den Wolken ab –
> Wie blutige Rümpfe, über die herab
> Ein sterbend Zwielicht grau wie Asche fällt.
>
> Der Pesthauch toter Götter gärt empor
> An seinen Fronten schwarz und schmuckberaubt.
> Von Zeit verätzt, von Untergang bestaubt –
> Geborstene Engel stehn am düstren Tor.
>
> Das ewig gähnt. Ein Riesenschlund, gehackt
> Ins blasige Dunkel eines Nachtsgesichts –
> Ich seh' mich selber in das blinde Nichts
> Hineingehn. Einsam, winzig klein und nackt. (S19, p. 316)

War thus might become a *personal* tragedy for those who are going to die, as well as those close to them, yet "Die Unverantwortlichen", chastised just before, are no longer to be criticised. This shift is further emphasised by another reuse of an image that already appeared in the previous issue, Olaf Gulbransson's *Die Großfürstenpartei* about Russia which now has to follow through with war after threatening as much, for "Nur weiter, Väterchen! Wir haben doch

für die Vorstellung schon einkassiert!". Interestingly, however, while the drawing and caption remain unchanged, this image was previously set alongside the poems *An die Verantwortlichen* and *An die Unverantwortlichen* on the second page of issue 19.(Cf. Figure A.3, p. 269) Now, it appears on the penultimate page, set alongside a poem by Klabund entitled *Akim Akimitsch*, which openly calls for the ousting of the Romanow dynasty:

> Akim Akimitsch,
> An deinem Blute saugen die fetten Egel
> Der Romanows. Nimm deinen Dreschflegel,
> Akim Akimitsch – schlag sie tot! (S19, p. 327)

Where the previous issue displayed hesitation and pondered whether war could still be avoided, as well as a call for moderation from all involved, the new (re-)combination of Gulbransson's drawing with the overtly anti-Russian poem firmly reinforces the opposition between Germany and Russia, but also insinuates that Russia was to blame for the war to begin with.

3.1.3. German soldiers, German heroes

The next issue, 25 August 1914, extends this development while widening the possible pro-war topics and further reinforcing in its content the notion that no internal strife must get in the way of a unified Germany's struggle against the world. Therefore, Th. Th. Heines titlepage *Zwei Deutsche* brings together the ethereal images of Bismarck and Bebel shaking hands in heaven while German soldiers can be seen marching below the clouds, with the caption "Na, Bebel, jetzt lernen wir uns doch noch richtig kennen!"(S19, p. 329) The war, then, is to unite the Kaiserreich and its ever rebellious socialists, as Karl Nötzel further explains on the next page in *An Deutschlands Proletarier*: "Heil euch, ihr Begnadeten, die ihr alle Kränkungen, alle Demütigungen und allen Hohn vergaßt, denen der Arme auf Erden nie entgeht! […] Denn Kämpfer stehen bei uns, die sich selber besiegten, bevor sie noch gegen den Feind zogen."(S19, p. 330) Thus, the *Simplicissmus* lived what politics preached: *Burgfrieden* in Germany, united in war. Another motive that gets added is that of the *Belgische Schande*, which tries to brand

Belgians as assassins, ruthlessly killing dutiful and honourable German soldiers during their advance towards France – in Alphons Woelfle's words and image:

> Und ruht sich irgendwo im Haus
> Ein wack'rer deutscher Krieger aus –
> Gott mög' ihn schützen für und für –
> Der Meuchelmord hockt vor der Tür.
>
> Und liegt ersterbend drauß' im Feld
> Ein schwergetroff'ner deutscher Held –
> Gott helf' ihm, daß er rasch erbleicht,
> Eh' ihn ein belg'scher Schuft erreicht! (S19, p. 333)

For the *Simplicissimus*, it has been a quick transition from war as murder, brought about by recklessness, to a holy war against the world, fought by valiant warriors (*Krieger*), who die as German heroes while fighting the Belgian assassins and scoundrels.[21] And in perhaps one of the best examples of what Joachimsthaler described as "Baukastenprinzip", instead of just recombining types and texts, the same issue includes a variation of a previously printed drawing. What used to be Eduard Thöny's *Die Diplomaten* on the previous issue's last page has now received a new title and caption, while the drawing itself appears unchanged: it is now called *Petersburg–London–Paris*, and where the diplomats were pondering whether war amounted to mass murder, these foreign, *enemy* figures simply deliberate: "Das Gute hat der Krieg doch, daß wir jetzt nur noch das eigene Volk zu belügen brauchen!"(S19, p. 334) Once the depicted figures (or, rather, types) are marked as decidedly foreign by the title, they become liars and warmongers who lied to all nations, and who now only have to lie to their own people after bringing about the war.(Cf. Figure A.4, p. 270)

The swift transformation from critical and somewhat distanced journal into a journal of yea-sayers can be safely concluded at the very latest with the 1 September issue, number 22, which displays a titlepage by Olaf Gulbransson entitled *Unsere sieben Feinde*, depicting, in two drawings with a poem split into two times two lines, the new-found image of Germany:

21 Another variant of the same configuration can be found a few pages later in Dr. Owlglaß's (Blaich) *Die Glocke kündet Flanderns Schmach*, which closes with the line "Es schwand das Rechte. Die finsteren Mächte herrschen im flandrischen Land", with which he dedicedly does not mean the invading German army, cf. S19, p. 339.

standing taller than any other figure, a valiant German soldier parries with his bayonet a jab from a long spear, fielded by seven figures, all the while standing under clear skies while his opponents are overshadowed by a dark cloud. The seven figures have little labels on their hats to aid with their identification, and thus represent Belgium, England, France, Japan, Montenegro, Russia and Serbia. And as the poem reads "Was wollt ihr Tröpf', ihr Hanswürscht ha'n,//Habt mir's schon lang zu bunt getrieben –//Ratsch bautz – *so* packt's der Deutsche an,//Eu'r langer Spieß langt just für sieben!", the German turns the spear around, impaling all seven "tomfools".(S19, p. 341) This titlepage combines the notion of Germany as pure and upstanding (also in the most literal sense, as England is portrayed as hunching while Germany stands upright), of Germany fighting the combined wickedness of seven nations (who are rendered more evil by the dark cloud overhead), and of Germany as a defender against seven aggressors, a defender that ultimately uses *the attackers' own weapon* against them. Thus, Gulbransson's titlepage already combines all elements that will continue to frame a widely popular German view on World War I that will prevail long past 1918, all the way through to the 1950s. And finally, Dr. Owlglaß's *Die Kinder* offers the *other* apotheosis of war in Germany on the following page:

> Viel Männer sind ins Feld gerückt.
> Viel Frauen stehn und gehn bedrückt,
> Aber die Kinder wachsen weiter!
>
> […]
>
> Kehrt auch mancher, der auszog, nimmer nach Haus,
> Die deutsche Rasse stirbt nicht aus.
> Unsere Kinder wachsen weiter! (S19, p. 342)

Like Gulbransson above, Owlglaß's poem speaks of a communal identity, for the seven enemies are "*Unsere* sieben Feinde" – *our* enemies –, while the latter poem clarifies who is meant by that: *die deutsche Rasse*, for "*unsere* Kinder" continue to grow.

3.1.4. The lost war

What we can witness by comparing the development seen in these issues as a whole is not just an expressed opinion or identity at that specific point, but the very *process* of how that identity is shaped. The *Simplicissimus*-stakeholders' conscious decision to *voluntarily* cease their critical existence begins a rapid transformation of the journal's identity over the course of little more than three issues or a couple of weeks. What becomes apparent is the attempt of a *retroactive* unification of the journal's disparate and diverse, multifaceted and polyphonous contributions through an explicitly stated programme. Even more, the journal's identity does not simply exist autonomously, but it hinges on the *structures of feeling* and individual identities of its creators; a shift in their self-understanding, challenged by the outbreak of the war, prompts the need to actively decide where the journal should position itself. This also strongly supports Kjellberg's off-the-cuff assessment that "jedenfalls kann man ruhig annehmen, daß kein Zeichner während der Zeit von der hier die Rede ist, etwas illustrieren mußte, was seiner Auffassung widerstritt".[22] More than that, however, the identity shift contained within the journal can be shown through its own development, rather than basing it on the assumption of more widespread cooperation in creating the journal that Kjellberg fails to attribute or cite properly.[23] And where Joachimsthaler was already sceptical of the journal's actual oppositional potential during the Kaiserreich, he at least ascribed it a psychological function:

> Dieses polyvalent-grobianische, "lausbübisch"-anarchische "Ausflegeln" (nach heutiger Lesart) kritisch gezeichneter Figuren jedenfalls war weniger Oppositionshaltung als expressiver Ausbruch aus der gesellschaftlichen Lethargie, phantastische Imagination des "Unerlaubten", vitalistisches (und politisch neutrales) Überschreiten der von den innersimplicianischen "Spießern" repräsentierten Grenzen, Spott auf "Schwächlinge" (wie den Kaiser), visionär sublimierende Frustrationsabfuhr.[24]

Yet, when its creators decide to publicly award Germany their unquestioning loyalty in *An unsre Leser*, the *Simplicissimus* loses even this sublimating function, the "Frustrationsabfuhr" –

22 Cf. Kjellberg, "Der Simplicissimus und die Slawen, 1896–1914", p. 71.
23 Cf. ibid., p. 69.
24 Joachimsthaler, "Das Ende der Satire in der Anekdote", p. 109.

albeit part of the system. This issue marks the active movement away from the *Simplicissimus*'s self-created yet universally acclaimed social function as a privileged critic of its time, which explains why its heyday is so often associated with the time "before the war". More precisely, we could now say that its heyday and hitherto carefully created identity end with the publication of its 17 August 1914 issue. And even though *An unsre Leser* promises that "die beiden Nummern [18 and 19] werden nach dem Friedensschluß unsern Abonnenten zugestellt, ebenso sämtliche Kriegsflugblätter", they would then appear as artefacts of a *Simplicissimus* that no longer existed quite like that. Consequently, the *Simplicissimus* never quite recovered its old status after the war and during the Weimar Republic: "Redakteure und Zeichner unterstützten – als 'Vernunftrepublikaner' – die aus der Novemberrevolution hervorgegangene neue Regierungsform. Von einem Bruch mit der Vergangenheit kann dennoch keine Rede sein."[25] Instead, the *Simplicissimus* did what it always did: it extended its Baukasten:

> Der verlorene Krieg und der Sturz des Kaiserreichs zwangen den *Simplicissimus* zu einer Anpassung an die veränderte Situation. Hatten vor 1914 Wilhelm II. und die Stützen der Monarchie – Hof, Adel, Militär […], Justiz, Klerus, Großbürgertum und Schwerindustrie – eine einheitliche Angriffslinie gebildet, so galt es nunmehr, "scharf nach allen Seiten" zu schießen. Nach und nach enstand eine ganze Menagerie typischer Repräsentanten der deutschen (insbesondere Berliner) Nachkriegsgesellschaft.[26]

Where the brave and valiant soldier emerged just as quickly as the cowardly Belgian or the role of Germany as a defender against a war brought about by "the world" (i.e. the Entente), new types such as "der tapfere, 'von keinem Feind besiegte', gesunde, erblindete oder beinamputierte Kriegsheimkehrer und seine Antipoden, der Drückeberger und der Deserteur" became a mainstay during and especially after the war.[27] Accordingly, Konrad highlights that many elements of the *Simplicissimus*'s war years continue to be effective until at least 1933.[28] "Man war – wieder einmal – 'Realpolitiker' genug, um, auch unter den veränderten Verhältnissen, die eigenen, im Grunde wenig veränderten, allgemein menschlichen Grundsätze

25 Koch, "'Bestes Witzblatt der Welt' oder 'Ware von vorgestern'?", p. 142.
26 Ibid., p. 135.
27 Ibid., p. 135.
28 Cf. Konrad, *Nationale und internationale Tendenzen im "Simplicissimus" (1896–1933)*, p. 175.

der neuen Gesellschaft im Spiegel der Satire vorzuhalten."[29] Special attention needs to be paid to the expression "veränderte Verhältnisse", since none of the fundamental practices inside the journal significantly change after the war. Where rallying slogans were the norm towards the end of the war, a campaign of encouragement followed suit in 1919. A strong focus is placed on the valiant soldier(s), while the overall blame for the war remains with the European powers and the United States, who are also blamed for a tainted peace, as evidenced by Wilhelm Schulze's drawing *Die Meuchelmörder* serving as the titlepage for the 15 October issue, which depicts Clemenceau, Lloyd George and Wilson with knives above a stabbed angel of peace (notably, only Wilson's knife and hand are actually covered in blood), while the caption betrays their collusion: "Wir mußten ihn rasch um die Ecke bringen – sonst hätten unsere Völker vielleicht doch Gefallen an ihm gefunden."(Fritz Schweynert, ed. *Simplicissimus*. Vol. 23. München: Simplicissimus-Verlag, 1918–1919 [henceforth cited as S23], p. 345) And the issue's final page further helps to create the myth of the "undeafeated" German soldiers, in a drawing by Eduard Thöny, accompanied by a Ludwig Thoma poem, entitled *Im Westen*, i.e. on the Western Front.(Cf. Figure A.5, p. 271)

> Die Wogen branden um uns her,
> Sie sollen an der deutschen Wehr
> Zerschellen, wie sie's oft getan.
> Laßt sie heran!
>
> Wie auch der Lärm der Schlachten dröhnt.
> Er übertönt den Herzschlag unsrer Heimat nicht.
> Wir hören ihn, und daran bricht
> Sich alle Furcht.
>
> Die Wogen branden um uns her,
> Doch jeder Mann ist Schutz und Wehr. (S23, p. 360)

Thoma's poem makes vivid use of imagery that, as Klaus Theweleit has shown, is similarly employed whenever the "deutsche Wehr" is defending itself against anything deemed un-German: "Die Abwehrkräfte sind durchweg vom scharfen Gegensatz zwischen Gipfel und

29 Konrad, *Nationale und internationale Tendenzen im "Simplicissimus" (1896–1933)*, p. 192.

Tal, Höhe und Tiefe, Ragen und Strömen strukturiert. Das Unten: verschlingend, naß, in Bewegung. Die Höhe: sicher, trocken, unbeweglich. Der Bewegungsablauf der Sätze: das Unten zerschellt an der Höhe oder wird von ihr eingedämmt."[30] Everything that resists these floods is configured as German, an embodiment of Heimat, stemming against the waves, squashing fear. At this point in time, these threatening floods are still the external enemies – the Entente –, but the same imagery and the same oppositions will also prove fruitful during the Weimar Republic, and especially in the wake of the Spartacist uprising that was soon to come. Ratatöskr's (Blaich's) poem *Das innere Licht* in the next issue uses a similar opposition between internal and external, both rallying call and warning, for "Reiß' dich zusammen, duck' dich nicht!//Merk's: gegen Schatten hilft nur Licht;//Und kannst du keins von außen kriegen,mußt du von innen sie besiegen."(S23, p. 362) Where the German soldiers figure as a valiant guard against external aggressors, it seems that the civilians need admonishing in order to remind them of *their* patriotic duties. Furthermore, light comes from the inside, "Du mußt dein Herze mutig ründen//und in dir selbst ein Licht entzünden,//Du mußt's mit deinem Blute speisen –//kein Teufel kann dir's dann entreißen." Both poems share the notion of the heart as the centre of strength, which is unambiguously charged as a specifically German strength. And the issue's last page shows – in another drawing by Wilhelm Schulz entitled *Seid einig!* – how these two parts, soldiers and civilians "in der Heimat", should work together: a soldier, partially submerged in water (the *Fluten*, once more) and carrying a small angel of peace, arrives at the shore where he is greeted by civilians. One man extends his hand towards the soldier's own reaching hand, no doubt ready to help him ashore, while the caption reminds the reader: "Wenn ihr mir nicht die Hand reicht, kann ich euch den Frieden nicht bringen!"(S23, p. 372) Here, again, it is not the soldier but the civilian who is wavering while the soldier is the bringer of peace, not war.

I suggest, more so than Koch, that this remarkable convergence of imagery suggests strong conservative tendencies in the *Simplicissimus*, to the point where it refuses to acknowledge

30 Klaus Theweleit. *Männerphantasien*. Vol. 1. Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Roter Stern, 1977, p. 311.

Germany's role in the war, as well as the war's ultimate outcome.[31] The suggestion that valiant German soldiers never lost and never wavered, while simultaneously adding new types such as the "Drückeberger" and the war profiteer to the journal's "Baukasten", lays bare the same fundamental structure that is at play in the *Dolchstoßlegende* later, through which right-wing circles tried to perpetuate the idea that an unbeaten German army was betrayed by those at home who were unpatriotic.[32] With the end of the war, there thus exist within the pages of the *Simplicissimus* not just conservative, but fundamentally reactionary views. Furthermore, these views have to be assumed to be widely held and, to a degree, have to be taken as the journal's overall core of its post-war self-understanding and communal identity, for the rapid change of tone in 1914 has shown that a readjustment and realignment of its identity is entirely possible *if* desired by its creators. And thus, over the following issues, Germany configures more and more as a victim of fate and history, subject to cruel peace demands and ultimately left by all, as Olaf Gulbransson's *Deutscher Herbst* in the 19 November 1918 issue encapsulates well: A grey Germania sits under a tree (depicted only as a black silhouette) that has lost most of its leaves and is in the process of losing the remaining few, all in front of an equally muted background. The caption reads "Treu in der Gefahr – verlassen in der Not", which might be a play on the "Nibelungentreue" with Austria and an attempt to further frame Germany as a defender who initially came to help its allies just to be deserted by those very allies in the end.(S23, p. 413) It is telling that the *Simplicissimus* returns to Germania (as well as the French Marianne) – female figures – whenever victimhood is displayed, while Germany is defended by knights and soldiers, and while murder is commited not by Marianne, but by Clemenceau.[33]

31 Cf. Koch, "'Bestes Witzblatt der Welt' oder 'Ware von vorgestern'?", p. 142.

32 This does not mean that the *Simplicissimus* necessarily follows the same ideals as those on the far-right; these building blocks could certainly be used as elements within satire, though both the tone in the pieces themselves as well as the journal's overarching development seem to suggest a more literal adherence to and belief in this structurally similar imagery.

33 Issue 29, which showed the above mentioned murder of the angel of peace on the cover, nicely showcases this division in another drawing by Karl Arnold entitled *Zukunftsbild*, which shows "John Bull" and Wilson standing over a dead Marianne lying in state, while the caption has Wilson saying "Laß deinen Tränen freien Lauf, John Bull. Du bist ja der Witwer – ich bin bloß der Erbe", suggesting that England (therefore represented by John Bull and *not* Lloyd George) is at least partially a victim, France fully a victim, while Wilson is ultimately the biggest war profiteer and ultimate perpetrator; cf. S23, p. 438.

3.1.5. Vernunftrepublikaner

Bearing these views and this specific way of configuring identity in mind, the *Simplicissimus*'s subsequent views toward left-wing revolution, as well as toward the later ascendency of the NSDAP, appear remarkably consistent and mark a continuous development that harkens back at the very least to 1914's *An unsre Leser*. With "Heimat" and patriotic duty at the core of its self-understanding, most of the journal's pages thus oppose everyone and everything perceived to be a foreign element. This explains the preoccupation with (and staunch opposition to) the French occupation of the Saarland and Rhineland, the Dawes plan and American oversight over reparations and the German economy in a wider sense, the "American" way of life, but also communists as well National Socialists. "Vor allem auf der Grundlage der durch das Kriegserlebnis entstandenen 'Schicksalsgemeinschaft' des Volkes erhoffte man eine Überwindung der gesellschaftlichen Gegensätze."[34] Trying to safeguard this national community (which is understood to be *natural*), "nach 1918 bekämpfte er [the *Simplicissimus*] Bolschewiki, Spartakisten und Kommunisten als rote beziehungsweise affenähnliche Ungeheuer, Volksbeglücker, Weltverbesserer und Ideologen."[35] Koch's ape-like creature refers to a titlepage by Th. Th. Heine from the 21 January 1919 with the title *In den Schächten*, referring to communist miners' strikes. It depicts a red creature that, in pressing against the mine shaft's ceiling, shatters not just the mine, but also the ground overhead, thus destroying the whole industry situated above ground.(Cf. Figure A.6, p. 272) Yet, the caption lets the reader know that this is not just any ground, for "Geister der Tiefe sind an der Arbeit, die Heimaterde zu vernichten."(S23, p. 525) Red beasts (i.e. communist) are thus destroying Germany from below, from under ground. And it is not just the miners who destroy the *Heimat* (by shattering its *Heimaterde*), but Eduard Thöny's *Spartakus* in the same issue also shows the readers an image of a revolutionary proletarian (as identified by his worker's cap), armed with a gun and two hand grenades, while silhouttes of people in the background seem to flee. The caption, however, frames the scene

34 Konrad, *Nationale und internationale Tendenzen im "Simplicissimus" (1896–1933)*, p. 192.
35 Koch, "'Bestes Witzblatt der Welt' oder 'Ware von vorgestern'?", p. 142.

not just as one of revolutionary struggle, but as a fundamentally un-German activity: "Nur keinen Widerstand gegen Polen! Die polnische Wirtschaft muß sich über ganz Deutschland ausbreiten!"(S23, p. 532) Consequently, "Spartakus" does not only destroy German unity and the *Heimat* through direct action underground, but it also enables Germany's external enemies to take over once solidarity and order are destroyed. If the German soldier was unwavering and valiant, and if the civilian perhaps wavered but ultimately swayed towards patriotic unity, the communist acts openly against both. Koch asserts that these views are, of course, not unique to the *Simplicissimus*: "Freilich findet sich diese negative Kommentierung der Ereignisse keineswegs nur im *Simplicissimus*, sondern auch in anderen Münchner Satire-Journalen (*Rote Hand*, *Phosphor*) und Bildmagazinen. Wie diese, so tabuisierte das Blatt den 'weißen Terror' der Freikorps, der sowohl in München als auch in Berlin über 1000 Todesopfer gefordert hatte."[36] Yet is also becomes clear that ignoring the actions of the Freikorps while focussing on Spartakus in the pages of the *Simplicissimus* is not just part of a wider, much more general understanding of its time, but also intrinsic to the journal's own identity as well as its position in society as a *patriotic* watchdog. Thus, Wilhelm Schulze's *Wenn's nottut, wird jeder Arm bereit sein, sich gegen die feindliche Flut anzustemmen* exemplifies Theweleit's conclusion that the notion of all righteous people banding together to fight the *hostile* flood sweeping over Germany lays bare a fundamentally reactionary way of seeing the world. It is this reactionary identity that allows the *Simplicissimus* to continue without interruption after 1914 *and* 1918, configuring its own identity as uncompromisingly patriotic above all else. "United against the hostile flood" thus remains malleable, the hostile flood can morph from war-time enemies (the Entente) to internal enemies (Spartakus), and then back to external enemies (the League of Nations, France, the USA), while it can include in its sense of patriotic duty the Freikorps and Kapp, Hindenburg and the army.[37]

Perhaps therefore, the *Simplicissimus* underestimated, for the longest time, the true scope of

36 Koch, "'Bestes Witzblatt der Welt' oder 'Ware von vorgestern'?", p. 142.
37 Cf. Konrad, *Nationale und internationale Tendenzen im "Simplicissimus" (1896–1933)*, pp. 185–193.

the NSDAP's rise to power, only once in a while criticising extremist excess where it occured without really questioning its apparently patriotic foundation.[38] By 1927, Nazis had become something of a common sight in daily life – especially in Berlin – but it is ridicule, rather than the more imminent sense of danger observed with Spartakus, that appears as the unifying principle behind various depictions of right-wing extremism in the *Simplicissimus*. Where reference to violence and physical harm is made, it is embedded in jest, and the Nazi movement's overt anti-semitism is configured in much the same way. In Karl Schnog's *Frühling in Berlin* from 4 April 1927, public Nazi appearances and society's reaction are caught brilliantly:

> In windbejackte Hakenkreuzsoldaten
> steigt sichtbarlich des Lenzes Säftestrom,
> und vor dem Kaffeehaus der Literaten
> tobt ein Pogrom.
>
> Zwei blasse Nutten läßt das Blut erbeben,
> das einem Juden von der Backe tropft.
> Ein Kellner freut sich, mal was zu erleben.
> Sein Bierherz klopft.
>
> Ein alter Mann sucht seine Kneifergläschen,
> ein Schupo wandelt, ehern, stumm und taub.
> Um die Gedächtniskirche rings die Gräschen
> sind welk vom Staub.
>
> (Peter Scher, ed. *Simplicissimus*. Vol. 32. München: Simplicissimus-Verlag, 1927–1928 [henceforth cited as S32], p. 4)

Swastika-displaying Nazis bloodied a jew's face during aggressive activities in front of the "Kaffeehaus der Literaten", and the only people truly shocked are two prostitutes who are seemingly naturally present near both jews and the literati (often, perhaps, in personal union), while policemen and regular people are either not particularly bothered by this display or are even happy since it creates a feeling of excitement and spectacle. Reinhard Koester's *Metropolismen* echo similar scenes, again situated in Berlin, this time also represented by its typical accent:

38 Koch, "'Bestes Witzblatt der Welt' oder 'Ware von vorgestern'?", pp. 145 & 148.

> Nu hammwa hier in Berlin 'n richtjen oberbayrischen Frühling –: überall jrünt's und blüht's und junge Hakenkreuzler schießen auf (harmlose Passanten, Frauen und rote Frontkämpfer, wenn die in der Minderzahl sind) und schlagen aus (mit Totschlägern, Gasrohren, Stahlknüppeln und anderen politischen Kampfmitteln), kurzum: die Straße dient wieder dem Partei-Verkehr. Der Polizei is das fuuuchtba unsympathisch! Jarnich sehn kann se's! Darum dreht se sich um und jeht lieba in stillere Jejenden. Aba jejen de Linksparteien isse anders gesinnt – jleich isse dabei und schießt mit. Die Rechtsleute ham janz recht, wenn se sich beschweren!(S32, p. 20)

Yet, Koester's humorous depiction highlights apparently common topics: he shows the open right-wing violence (seemingly replacing political arguments), as well as the apparent collusion with the police, who are once again actively ignoring Nazi violence (like in Schnog's poem), but who additionally are more than willing to aid in attacks on the left. Nevertheless, Nazis are portrayed as cowardly, for they mainly engage unarmed passersby and (armed) "rote Frontkämpfer" only if the Nazis outnumber them; Nazis are also provincial – it is a "oberbayrischer Frühling" – and have no political arguments. Where the *Simplicissimus* portrayed Spartakus and Bolsheviki as forces that were in the process of actively destroying Germany ("die Heimaterde zu vernichten"), Nazis appear to be merely ridiculous figures that are only really a problem in the metropolis Berlin (as are many things that the Munich-based *Simplicissimus* saw as negative). Hitler himself is even more of a ridiculous figure, as exemplified by Erich Schilling's drawing *Münchner Zirkus* in the same issue as Schnog's poem. Hitler, shown with his typical gesture, is giving a speech in the circus manege, while a second picture shows a clown performing tricks. In the background, the audience is clapping and laughing at both acts, and the caption, stretched so that it says "Adolf" under the first image, "und" in between and "August" underneath the clown's image, makes it clear that both are merely entertaining clowns.(Cf. Figure A.7, p. 273) Hitler, then, figures as Germany's "dummer August" and not as a fundamental threat. This underestimation of Hitler persisted until very late, even when it should have been rather more obvious where Germany was headed already. In the poem *Das Heils-Problem*, with the subtitle "Für Laien erläutert", Karl Kinndt explains some of the problems with rising prices for basic commodities, before concluding:

> Diesen Gord'schen Knoten zu entwirrn,
> braucht's – statt eines Schwerts – wohl mehr ein Hirn!
> Denn Verteuerung bei Kaufkraftschwund
> bringt uns doch nur weiter auf den Hund.
>
> Darum klingt's auch aus den weitgefunkten
> Hitlerischen zwölf Regierungs-Punkten:
> Es muß anders werden, als es war!
> (Nur das "Wie" ist leider noch nicht klar – – –)
>
> (Wilhelm Schulz, ed. *Simplicissimus*. Vol. 37. München: Simplicissimus-Verlag, 1932–1933 [henceforth cited as S37], p. 574)

This poem, published on the 26 February 1933, criticises Hitler for his seemingly diffuse politics. A few weeks earlier, Karl Arnold also made fun of Hitler in *Der braune Engel* in the 11 December 1932 issue. Hitler, with spurs on his boots, flies over the Berlin Reichstag, carrying a bundle of proposed (yet rejected) laws, while the caption gives the "brown angel" a defiant voice: "So sollen die Kinder eben wieder ohne Weihnachtsgeschenke bleiben, Vater Hindenburg war nicht artig genug."(S37, p. 436) Only at some point between these two issues, around New Year 1933 does it slowly dawn on the writers that Hitler is, in fact, going to enter power, and that this will have direct consequences, such as a curtailing of free speech (in Karl Kinndt's *Des bekehrten Republikaners Nachtgebet*, cf. S37, p. 590) and the banning of newspapers alongside the abolishing of press freedom (in hs.'s *Die kleine Zeitgeschichte*, cf. S37, p. 595).

3.1.6. Republicans no more

Without ever siding with a particular party, the *Simplicissimus* had ultimately weathered the Weimar Republic, hitting out against various enemies of Germany. However, with Hitler quickly establishing and extending his power, the *Simplicissimus* decided to repeat once more its self-correcting alignment with "general" national interests, remembering its core value of a Germany united against any hostile flood. On the 16 April 1933, in its "Ostern" (Easter) special issue, the following text is printed at the bottom of the issue's second page:

> Erklärung! Schon einmal, beim Beginn und im Verlauf des Weltkrieges, hat der "Simplicissimus", der als Kampfblatt gegründet wurde, bewiesen, daß er nicht bloß kritisch und negativ, sondern sehr nachdrücklich positiv sein kann: Wenn es sich nämlich um *Deutschland* handelt. So sind denn auch die Ereignisse der letzten Monate nicht spurlos an ihm vorübergegangen. Wieder handelt es sich um Deutschland, diesmal nicht um das im Kampf mit einer ganzen Welt stehende alte, sondern um das nach langen Wehen und Wirrnissen jetzt zu sich selbst erwachte neue Deutschland. Ihm und seinen großen Zielen im Innern wie nach außen auf seine Art zu dienen, sieht der *Simplicissimus*, nach einer grundlegenden Umbesetzung der Redaktion, als seine vaterländische Pflicht an.(Anton Rath, ed. *Simplicissimus*. Vol. 38. München: Simplicissimus-Verlag, 1933–1934 [henceforth cited as S38], p. 26)

This text is jointly signed simply as "Simplicissimus". It is telling that specific reference is made to 1914's *An unsre Leser*, and that those responsible for the *Simplicissimus* see a historical parallel between their *voluntary* alignment with patriotic values in 1914 and their de-facto *Gleichschaltung* 1933. As previously shown, the notion of Germany "im Kampf mit einer ganzen Welt" had already been fully established by August 1914 at the latest, evidenced by Gulbransson's titlepage. Even more, this notion did not simply survive past 1918 and until 1933, but still seems to be embedded in the journal's identity and its self-understanding, both of Germany and its own history. The *Simplicissimus* thus (retroactively) abridges the "Great War" and the relatively brief democratic episode of the Weimar Republic as "Wehen und Wirrnisse", a brief intermezzo between the good old Germany of the Kaiser and a new Germany, "awoken to itself". And even though my use of the term *Gleichschaltung* suggests at least some coercion by the new Nazi government, it becomes clear that the fundamental relinquishing of social satire and of a genuinely critical stance is not only something that is not foreign to the *Simplicissimus*'s self-understanding, but something that, in fact, is a direct repetition of the same act anno 1914. Nevertheless, a certain coercion did of course exist, as the *Erklärung* also hints when it mentions a "grundlegende Umbesetzung der Redaktion": "Während sich die Mehrheit der Künstler den 'neuen Realitäten' beugen mußte, K. Arnold noch einen letzten Widerstandsversuch mit befristetem Arbeitsverbot 'büßte', war mit Th. Th. Heines Flucht ins Exil der 'alte Simplicissimus' gestorben."[39] Given its conservative, if

39 Konrad, *Nationale und internationale Tendenzen im "Simplicissimus" (1896–1933)*, p. 200. This split would

not at times reactionary tendencies and practices following 1914, it is not surprising that the *Simplicissimus* also managed to survive this second formal readjustment, which marks by no means a fundamental break with its previous self-understanding or editorial practices, but a mere realignment to *fully* suit the new axioms of Nazi Germany, echoing its previous unification of identity. Despite a high degree of overall consistency in identity and practices, as well as imagery, however, this does not mean that the *Simplicissimus* did not go with the times, that its practices and views were somehow "stuck" in 1914 or that it would have lost all relevance. Despite this remarkably stable identity, the *Simplicissimus* is far from static, evolving as time progressed to stay relevant in its current surroundings. More so than in the very conservative (and often formulaic) development of its editorial content, however, this continuous process of negotiating communal identity and adjusting the journal in light of new developments becomes visible in the journal's form and layout, which more readily incorporated aspects of the Weimar Republic and more general developments that the editorial struggled with.

3.2. Form & history

The journal's specific content, its messages transported by drawings and texts alike, is not the only marker of its communal identity. The sequence of pages, the combination of texts, images etc., the ordering of its components, as well as their visual arrangement are all integral parts of the journal's creation as well as of its reception.[40] And just as outlined above for the *Simplicissimus*'s content, it also combines both innovative and conservative, as well as prevailing

later be framed as a fundamental difference in opinion and character, when in 1939 Wilhelm Schäfer writes about Olaf Gulbransson: "Ein solcher Humorist ist Olaf Gulbransson, der darum in keiner Zeichnung jene Schärfe und Bosheit zeigt, die seinem Konkurrenten Th. Th. Heine das ressentiment des Juden mitgibt. Dort ist Haß der Generalbaß, bei ihm Liebe", Wilhelm Schäfer. *Der andere Gulbransson*. Königsberg: Kanter, 1939, p. 15. Thus, Schäfer tries to retroactively unify – much like the 1914 programme – the polyphonous voices within the journal, positioning the stakeholders Heine and Gulbransson as rivals in order to assert Gulbransson's patriotic love for Germany while associating all negative feelings the journal might have evoked with the *Jewish* nature of the non-practicing, non-religious Heine. The *Simplicissimus* is thus framed as always having been patriotic if it weren't for the undermining Jewish influences, which tries to retrospectively eradicate the very process of its negotiation of identity in favour of an artificial ideological purity and static pre-history.

40 Cf. McLean, *Magazine design*, p. 1: "A magazine is, in fact, a whole entity, and is designed as such, even though it consists of a lot of separate, different-looking ingredients. It is given its unity, and identity, by the existence of its readers."

tendencies in order to present its various contents to its readers. Ultimately, innovative practices find their expression in various steps towards a more modernised layout and look, while a strong adherence to long established visual characteristics safeguards easy recognition of the *Simplicissimus* throughout its entire existence.

Initially, just after its inception on 4 April 1896, the *Simplicissimus* was made up of 8 pages that are not consecutively labeled throughout the volume but reset pagination for each issue anew. The basic layout of the titlepage would remain the same throughout its existence, with a stylish logotype designed by hand in an artistic sans serif type dominating the masthead, which in turn is clearly separated by a line from the rest of the page. The space below the line is filled by a lightly framed (often colour-printed) drawing, with its title above and potentially a caption (or subtext) below.(Cf. Figure A.8, p. 274) The following pages contain, depending on the specific contents, either full-page drawings, or a mixture of texts, of texts and drawings, or of multiple drawings, arranged in one, two or three columns. During its first year, the journal contains a single page of advertisements, usually as the penultimate page, filling the page exclusively. The advertisement page additionally breaks with otherwise established visual patterns, as it is arranged (and, in fact sold to advertisers) in a very flexible nonpareille five-column layout that allows advertisers to occupy anywhere between one and five columns in width, with variable heights. Within the respective columns and advertisements, no additional visual guidelines need to be observed, as advertisers vie for the readers' attention with different typefaces, borders, font weights and illustrations. The non-advertisement pages follow a somewhat more stringent visual language, though the *Simplicissimus* initially employs an almost eclectic mix of different blackletter typefaces and even a few texts set in Antiqua. While regular texts are set in a form of Fraktur and headings in another, bolder typeface, poems draw attention towards them due to more leading, heavier fonts and altogether different typefaces.[41] Alongside Antiqua, we

41 It is this type of layout and visual language Jan Tschichold has in mind when he says that "zugleich verwirrte die Erscheinung der durch die Erfindungen ermöglichten neuen typographischen Gebilde: der Zeitungen und Zeitschriften, die typographische Sicherheit", Jan Tschichold. *Die Neue Typographie. Ein Handbuch für zeitgemäß Schaffende*. 2nd ed. Berlin: Brinkmann & Bose, 1987, p. 23.

especially see a strange typeface that appears as a mixture of stylised Textura and Bastarda elements, set in bold.(Cf. Figure A.9, p. 275) During the next couple of years, advertisements first grow to one and a half, later two pages; during this development, a combination of advertisements and editorial content on the same page can be observed, which means that advertisements are either set to fit into the three-column content layout, they are set in five columns with a full-width drawing above, or the whole page is sized to fit into advertisement columns, with an illustration stretching an appropriate number of columns.

An overall trend over the first years of the *Simplicissimus* is a convergence towards a more unified and more stringent layout and visual design. This is expressed most importantly by unification of typefaces and a stronger adherence to strict (two or three-column) grid layouts. In order to lessen the visual impact of and the drawing of attention towards specific texts, poems are mostly differentiated through their narrower setting – i.e. through wider margins – and by being set ragged left, rather than the justified setting of the remaining text in the columns. The sole other way to visually distinguish poems from other text now exists in increased leading or by using a somewhat bigger font of the same typeface, replacing the odd mixture of various blackletter and antiqua variants. This development suggests an even bigger focus on the drawings, since the overall typesetting draws less attention to any individual piece of text. Part of this development is also the containment of advertisements to their own, separate pages, making sure that the editorial content's unified visual and typographical design is not disrupted or outshone by the visually diverse, attention-seeking advertisements. The sole exception to this containment is the inclusion of small, usually humorous illustrations already fitted to the overall advertisement column width and layout, akin to political cartoons in newspapers and usually not drawn by any of the journal's major artists.

The more conservative tendencies in the *Simplicissimus*'s layout and overall design can best be seen when compared to the only marginally older illustrated magazine *Sport im Bild*. Founded by the two Brits Andrew Pitcairn-Knowles and Horace F. Simon in Berlin in 1895, the sports

magazine strove for an unabashedly modern look from the beginning.[42] Thus, it followed much more rigorous design principles, with unified typefaces and strict adherence to a three-column layout. It was also one of the first illustrated magazines to exclusively feature photographs instead of drawings.[43] The body texts are typeset in an Antiqua, with big headings and some bigger captions set in a Sans Serif.(Cf. Figure A.10, p. 276) Additionally, the journal always featured a combination of editorial content and advertisements on the same page, combining the strict three column text layout with a five column advertisement layout, visually separated by a border around the latter. Nevertheless, the advertisements are relegated to the later pages of the journal here as well, behind the "main" content. Due to the unified typeface, no particular text body draws more attention than another, while the photographs draw the eye, as do bigger and bolder headings. Aimed at an relatively more affluent audience (the journal was quite expensive) and seeing itself as belonging to the social elite, a lot of care is taken to portray the distinctly modern development of German (and international) sports in an adequately modern, clear and clean design.[44]

The *Simplicissimus*, on the other hand, is made up of a variety of (ornate) blackletter typefaces and, during its visual consolidation, settles on unified typesetting in Fraktur rather than the occasionally used Antiqua. Furthermore, it never features photography in its editorial content (though smaller photographs did appear over time in various advertisements, i.e. outside the realm of the journal's own visual design language), cultivating its shareholders' trademark drawings and emphasising them even more through a cleaner structuring of its textual content.

42 Cf. Christiane Eisenberg. *"English Sports" und deutsche Bürger. Eine Gesellschaftsgeschichte, 1800–1939*. Paderborn: F. Schoningh, 1999, pp. 156–157.

43 Despite this strong focus on photography in the beginning, I have outlined elsewhere the historical development in *Sport im Bild* towards a (re)introduction and increased importance of the drawing during the Weimar Republic, especially as a replacement for the titlepage's photographs, cf. Peter Hanisch. "Die Sportzeitschrift ohne Sport. Die schrittweise Entwicklung von 'Sport im Bild' zu 'Der Silberspiegel'". In: *Aufmacher. Titelstorys deutscher Zeitschriften*. Ed. by Frank Duerr and Ernst Seidl. Schriften des Museums der Universität Tübingen MUT 5. Tübingen: Museum der Universität Tübingen MUT, 2014, pp. 142–149, esp. pp. 146–147.

44 Cf. Moser, *The Art directors' handbook of professional magazine design*, p. 7: "Compared to books, magazine design is more flexible, often more elaborate, more expensive, and more experimental. Photography, typography and illustration all work together. Art directors, like their colleagues in the cinema and theatre – though on far smaller budgets – can create a complete work of art."

The drawings, then, are undoubtedly positioned as the journal's major features, while the poems and some longer texts constitute minor features and rubrics like "Lieber Simplicissimus" or the various anecdotes may count as miscellany.[45] There are two particular instances, however, where this principle of avoiding photography seems to be broken at first glance: In the 1 June 1914 issue, a full-page photograph without heading appears, though its byline (in Fraktur) at the top-right above the image itself emulates the regular *Simplicissimus* byline for major drawings. The byline reads "Spezial-Aufnahme für die 'Berliner Illustrirte Zeitung'", and the photograph itself shows a stopped train, with a conductor talking to a passenger emerging from the waggon. First the caption hints at the fact that this is, in fact, an advertisement, when it reads: "'Was ist denn los? Warum haben Sie die Notleine gezogen?' 'Auf der letzten Station hat man mir ein Mark-Buch verkauft, das gar kein Ullsteinbuch ist.'"(S19, p. 139) This page perfectly emulates the journal's usual visual design (down to the use of Fraktur) and also follows the usual logic of all drawings, which consist of heading and byline, followed by the image(s), with the caption(s) coming after.(Cf. Figure A.11, p. 277) Thus, the advertisement makes sure to draw as little attention as possible to the fact that it is *not* part of the editorial content in the expectation that a reader would dedicate as much attention to its message as to the usual *Simplicissimus* drawing – after all its major feature. This same trick is employed two additional times, in the issues 12 and 14 of the same year. Issue 12 features a drawing, with the byline "Zeichnung von Fritz Koch-Gotha" and a high-quality advertisement drawing rivalling that of the journals major artists.(Cf. Figure A.12, p. 278) Just like the drawing, the last of the set, another photograph, more openly features the term "Ullsteinbücher", this time on a sign at a train station, while the advertisement itself otherwise makes use of the same formal principles as the other two.(Cf. Figure A.13, p. 279) The two latter advertisements additionally add another three lines below the caption, advertising the latest released books in a smaller size. Except for the last one, all others mark the first page of a block of advertisements and are

45 Cf. Owen, *Magazine design*, p. 22: "The magazine is a continuum of cover, contents page, minor features, major features and miscellany, with a specific architectural integry which, in this respect, differs from other forms of printed matter."

immediately preceeded by editorial content without a direct hint that the reader should expect any advertisement on the new page. The last advertisement is preceeded by a typical page of mixed advertisements. What is highlighted here is the – by then well-established – strong design language of the *Simplicissimus*, which assigns various elements and features distinct levels of importance, as emphasised by the attempt of an advertisement to garner attention not by competing with other advertisements, but by being seen as genuine editorial content, drawing on the expected drawings' specific form.

This tactic is a direct consequence of advertisements that are, by that time, strictly segregated from the *Simplicissimus*'s editorial content. From April 1906 (volume 11), the journal – with either 12, 16 or 20 pages – contains advertisements as a dedicated "block" (or, sometimes, two blocks) of pages, continuing the tradition of a small humorous drawing among them, while they are otherwise contained.(Cf. Julius Linnekogel, ed. *Simplicissimus*. Vol. 11. München: Simplicissimus-Verlag, 1906–1907 [henceforth cited as S11], pp. 7–10 & 12–14) This means that a reader can more easily skip advertisements and is less likely to see any individual one, since no mixing of major drawings or even the regular texts on one hand and advertisements on the other hand occurs. Alongside this more pronounced division between editorial and commercial content, an overall increase of advertisements can be observed in the early 1900s, which is also the main driver behind the increase in overall pages. This development also further reinforces the overall trend towards a unified look and feel for all editorial content, making sure that no "regular" pages are juxtaposed with the more variable layout of any given advertisements. Following this change, the journal's layout enjoys a longer period of stability, arranging its editorial content mainly in its established three-column layout, setting all text in the same Fraktur typeface, with bolder and slightly larger headings, ultimately dominated by the full-width (or, though quite rare, column-sized) drawings that people normally associate with the *Simplicissimus*.

Major attempts at a modernisation of this established and recognisable layout are first un-

dertaken in the 1920s. While advertisements and some minor features (anecdotes, "Lieber Simplicissimus" and other texts) start to be set on pages that otherwise mainly contain advertisements as early as 1922, it is not before early 1924 that, perhaps as a result of the increased economic pressure of the inflation, the hard-won division of editorial content and advertisements is completely dissolved.(Cf. Hans Erich Blaich and Peter Scher, eds. *Simplicissimus*. Vol. 29. München: Simplicissimus-Verlag, 1924–1925 [henceforth cited as S29], pp. 98ff.) Starting in issue 7, a significant number of pages (seven pages out of sixteen total) are split between editorial content – both text and drawing – and at least half a page of advertisements. This combination of different types of content thus has the same effect on the journal's visual reception as the various typefaces had in the beginning: various page elements vie for the reader's attention. Thus, the clarity and strict visual language the *Simplicissimus* had developed over the course of a decade and which became its fundamental layout principle for closer to two decades was dissolved in favour of greater visibility, and thus greater marketability, of its advertisement spaces. Consequently, a journal that is positioned as a satirical journal carried by its excellent drawings and that critically reflects many achievements of modern civilisation (from expressionism and modern art to the automobile) and outright rejects some of the most modern visual media (photography and, by extension, film) alongside their associated practices (the cinema) nevertheless aids their continued distribution and adds to their seeming ubiquity by positioning their visual representations through advertisement in plain sight of its readers, sharing the same space as its carefully crafted editorial content.

A further step towards a more modern look of the journal begins in 1928, when the *Simplicissimus* mostly drops its trademark Fraktur typeface in favour of a sans serif (*Grotesk*) for all text parts including headings, bylines, captions and body text save for the traditional (and unchanged) logotype on the titlepage.(Cf. Hermann Sinsheimer and Peter Scher, eds. *Simplicissimus*. Vol. 33. München: Simplicissimus-Verlag, 1928–1929 [henceforth cited as S33], pp. 1ff.) Yet, this stark change in looks still follows the older ideal that all (editorial!)

content should be set the same way, lending no particular emphasis to one feature over the other.[46] However, this relative unity of typefaces (relative, since advertisements are not bound by the same unifying principle) gets further dissolved the following year by introducing italicised titles for drawings and poems (but not necessarily other texts), and italics for the poems' bodies. This marks, in a way, a return to some of the more diverse looks held before any unification of the journal's visual identity was achieved, separating drawings, poems and some major texts from other, minor features and thus creating an interal differentation that influences where the reader should focus by adding visual emphasis to some parts of the page, but not others. This is further complicated after 1933, when additional variance and even greater fluctation appears with a mixture of Sans, italics and a (reintroduced) Fraktur all used at various stages (and regularly on the same page) for poems. What was unified is thus broken up, leaving behind many of the design principles and developments achieved during the late Kaiserreich and especially the early Weimar Republic.

And while the *Simplicissimus*'s size is reduced to octavo after the beginning of World War II in 1939, the last major development in terms of the *Simplicissimus*'s form yet again marks a modernisation that follows more general social developments outside the journal itself: Where inflation and the emergence of consumer culture lead to an increased importance of advertisements, the geopolitical situation of Germany in 1940 leads to a closer association with Germany's fascist ally, Mussolini's Italy. Starting with issue 17, published on the 28 April 1940, all drawings appear with both German *and Italian* headings as well as captions. In a notice to the journal's readers, the editorial staff explains this recent introduction in both German and

46 This fundamental design change coincides with Jan Tschichold's 1928 treatise about the "New Typography", which advocates this very development: "Alle Schriftformen, deren Wesen durch zum Skelett hinzutretende Ornamente (Schraffuren bei der Antiqua, Rauten und Rüssel bei der Fraktur) entstellt ist, entsprechen nicht unserem Streben nach Klarheit und Reinheit. Unter allen vorhandenen Schriftarten ist die sogenannte 'Grotesk' oder Blockschrift (die richtige Bezeichnung wäre 'Skelettschrift') die einzige, die unserer Zeit geistig gemäß ist", Tschichold, *Die Neue Typographie*, p. 75. However, as the *Simplicissimus* already developed a specific typographical practice that was intended to support the inherent hierarchisation of its content, it had already followed, to a degree, Tschichold's additional demand that "der Typograph muß in höchstem Maße bedacht sein, die Art, wie man seine Arbeit liest und lesen soll, zu studieren", rendering the striving for a unified visual language even prior to 1928 an ultimately progressive endeavour, cf. ibid., p. 68.

Italian:

> Wir machen die Freunde des "Simplicissimus" in Italien darauf aufmerksam, daß von jetzt ab die Hauptbilder auch mit italienischem Text erscheinen. Es ist ihnen dadurch Gelegenheit geboten, ihren italienischen Bekannten den "Simplicissimus" näherzubringen und das altbekannte und gerngelesene satirische Blatt in ihren Kreisen zu verbreiten.(Walter Foitzick, ed. *Simplicissimus*. Vol. 45. München: Knorr & Hirth, 1940 [henceforth cited as S45], p. 194)

This suggests that the journal's *Baukastenprinzip* has evolved to the point where its satirical accounts have become understandable not just by the journal's "friends" in Germany and a long-standing German readership, but also by similarly minded Italians (similar at the very least in their fascist worldview). This extension also follows the logic of a journal directed at "external" threats while striving towards internal unity, as outlined in the 1914 and 1933 programme changes above. Furthermore, the announcement makes the existence of a division between different features within the journal explicit when it talks about "die Hauptbilder". As the evolution of visual emphasis via the various developmental steps of the *Simplicissimus*'s layout has already highlighted a prioritisation of specific types of content over others, this open programmatic evocation of the "main images" shows that certain content is indeed deemed more central to the journal's visual as well as overall identity. Even more, this announcement also suggests that said main images transport all that is important about the *Simplicissimus*, as its future Italian readers would be able to fully join the reception of "das altbekannte und gerngelesene satirische Blatt" even if only select parts are translated for them.[47] To the visual differentation between major features, minor features and miscellany comes thus the additional differention between "main" content that needs to be translated to fulfil the journal's core function and "other" content that is not integral to its overall message and thus optional. Furthermore, this pronounces as an explicit editorial programme and decision what has been a governing principle and thus active practice long before, underlining that the journal's form is

47 This point remains valid whether translation of the whole journal would have been deemed unfeasible due to economic reasons or because of a seemingly more universal appeal of its imagery, for the above notice assumes that Italian readers would be able to join German readers in their proper experience of the "Simplicissimus" regardless simply by being able to understand these major drawings.

an integral part of the overall expression of the *Simplicissimus*'s identity.

3.3. Unifying form and content: Simpl & Spartakus

So far, I have looked at the *Simplicissimus*'s content and form mostly in isolation from each other, outlining first the development of its content while simultaneously asserting the continuation of journal-specific practices from 1914 all the way through the Weimar Republic. I have afterwards outlined the evolution of its visual form and organising principles from its inception to the end of its publication, pointing out an overarching trend towards a unified, modern and consistent form language, followed by the slow subsequent dissolution of this hard-won unity following 1933 (and thus following its second major "readjustment", as well as the departure of Th. Th. Heine). What remains, however, is to show specifically not just these parallel developments and trajectories, but the concrete interaction and entanglement of editorial content and journal form, which first *together* create the journal's complete message when they are perceived together in the act of reading.

Hence, in order to wrap up this chapter about the developments in the *Simplicissimus*'s editorial content as well as form, it is worth looking at one very special issue that highlights better than any other individual issue in the journal's history the interdependence of content and form for the journal's message. This issue in question was published on 18 March 1919, and deals with the Spartakus uprising. It breaks with the otherwise consistent and by that time strictly defined layout principles for some of the major features of the journal, while others remain in effect unchanged. That this issue is special indeed becomes apparent already on the titlepage. Its drawing has no external heading, byline or caption, though the drawing itself carries the title *Die ersten Kätzchen*, depicting three exaggeratedly cute kittens playing with some branches and thus illustrating a pun inherent in the title: "Kätzchen" denote both kittens and the plant they are playing with, a pussy willow (*Weidenkätzchen*). The drawing also gives us the artist's name with the line "Schilling facit", marking this as a drawing by Erich Schilling,

though it is very different from his usual style.(Cf. Figure A.14a, p. 280) A red block, plastered across the front, makes clear why this odd cover exists in the first place:

> In der Nacht vom 21. zum 22. Februar 1919 besetzte eine kriegerische Schar von Spartakusmännern Redaktion und Expedition des Simplicissimus, wobei der Inhalt mehrerer Portokassen und eine Anzahl beweglicher Gegenstände dem politischen Kampf zum Opfer fielen. Um der spartakistischen Auffassung von Preßfreiheit Rechnung zu tragen, bringen wir die vorliegende, wie wir hoffen, unanstößige Nummer heraus. So stellt man sich auf den Boden der Tatsachen.(S23, p. 649)

This notice to the readers sets the tone for the remaining issue. Suggesting that the Spartacists oppose freedom of the press, the *Simplicissimus* decides to publish a supposedly harmless issue that would be in line with an uncritical journal to the liking of the revolutionaries. This fundamental opposition to press freedom is witnessed by the revolutionary fighters' occupation of the *Simplicissimus*'s editorial offices, a direct, physical attack on the journal's independence. The text also insinuates that all the "politischer Kampf" ultimately amounts to is petty theft (of money and other small items). The titlepage thus promises an issue that, for the initiated reader, drips with irony and thinly veiled attacks on the Spartacist movement, published long after the actual uprising, after both Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemberg had been murdered and after the uprising had been violently suppressed by the Freikorps.[48] Kittens playing with branches thus emphasise the "harmless" nature of this special issue. The next page then continues with an illustrated piece called *Moralische Erzählungen*, which consists of four illustrated situations, each of which is followed by a "moral" of the story, offering a supposed communist/Spartacist teaching; this part is typeset in bold to draw additional reader attention. Directly below, however, the piece adds an addendum (*Nachtrag*), which directly contradicts the "Spartacist" interpretation, suggesting that, in hindsight, the original moral had been wrong to begin with. The page additionally features an odd dividing line that is normally

48 Cf. Helmut Trotnow. "…Es kam auf einen mehr oder weniger nicht an". In: *Walther Rathenau, 1867–1922. Die Extreme berühren sich*. Ed. by Hans Wilderotter. Berlin: Argon & Deutsches Historisches Museum, 1993, pp. 209–220, pp. 210–211. This is also a direct example for the above mentioned strong opposition of the *Simplicissimus* to the Spartacist movement and uprising, while it also illustrates its ignorance regarding the Freikorps' "white terror" including outright murder, cf. footnote 36, p. 82.

not used in the journal, alongside an inconsequential poem below, typeset in italics.(Cf. S23, p. 650) The following page continues in the same vein, breaking established and otherwise adhered to visual principles. The drawing *Die kleine Schwärmerin* is again missing the typical byline (though the drawing itself is signed by Th. Th. Heine), while heading and caption are typeset in a squiggly Fraktur variant with capitals decorated to the point where they are barely readable.(Cf. Figure A.14b, p. 280) Keeping in line with the "harmless" theme of the issue, the caption contains the truism "Weißt du, Schatz, was mir an der Natur so gefällt, das ist, daß sie immer im Freien stattfindet!"(S23, p. 651) The same page also contains a text entitled "Siegende Liebe", typeset in a similarly atypical decorated Fraktur, supposedly the "247. Fortsetzung" of said story, and promising "Fortsetzung folgt". The page thus does not simply stay within the realm of "harmless" political jokes, but it constitutes a persiflage of the "typical" women's magazine or other journals that are seen as inconsequential due to their focus on shallow romance and bad literature. The typeface used for the text portions of the page underline this mockery as much as the drawing itself, emphasising that this page is *not* a typical page of the *Simplicissimus*, but rather something extraordinary. Karl Arnold's *Amor* on the next page extends this theme further, combining yet another inconsequential poem with a corny drawing of Amor in front of a sunset over a lake, with swans and a Greek temple.(Cf. Figure A.15, p. 281) The typeface is yet again a heavily decorated, barely readable Fraktur variant, while drawing and poem are additionally framed by an unusual, adorned red frame.[49]

The next four pages contain the usual fully contained block of advertisements, which highlights the financial importance of the advertisements that need to appear even in an issue that is otherwise shaped to be satirical *in toto*. The regular appearance of the advertisements also suggest that they are, indeed "harmless" (by virtue of being non-political) and, more than

49 Cf. S23, p. 652. Owen highlights a similar trend among many editors who use photography in their magazines, calling it the "'art' treatment"; this page thus similarly mocks this design trend which the *Simplicissimus* otherwise abstains from, using thin plain black borders instead, cf. Owen, *Magazine design*, pp. 16 & 19. Similarly, Tschichold lambasts these trends by saying that "Die Linienkünstelei der [18]70er Jahre , die Zeit des Rahmenbaus der 80er und die schlimme 'freie Richtung' der 90er Jahre sind die letzten Etappen des Verfalls. Hand in Hand mit diesem Verfall der Gesamterscheinung des Druckwerks geht das Sinken der Qualität der gewöhnlichen Drucktype", Tschichold, *Die Neue Typographie*, p. 22.

that, that they do not follow any editorial guidelines, programmes or intent, since their visual presentation need not adhere to the overall satire that plays out in both content and form. After the block of advertisements, two further pages employ a mixture of the exaggerated, ornate Fraktur for title and caption (both have a regular *Simplicissimus*-style byline) and the normal Fraktur used in the regular issues and layout for the poems and anecdotes below. Brynolf Wennerberg's *Neckerei* pokes fun at the reparations Germany has to pay to the Entente by interpreting the expression "goldig sein" (to be cute) literally to mean "made of gold" and thus subject to reparations.(S23, p. 657) Wilhelm Schulz's *Die Mühle* has the caption "In einem kühlen Grunde//Da geht ein Mühlenrad,//Der Müller ist verschwunden,//Der schwarz gemahlen hat", insinuating that his previous work was made without having paid taxes, while the caption itself echoes the first two lines of Joseph von Eichendorff's poem *Das zerbrochene Ringlein*.(S23, p. 658) Both drawings are uncontroversial insofar, as tax evasion and the war reparations constitute more general topics that are relevant across the political spectrum, unlikely to clash with any Spartacist views, thus keeping in line with the issue's supposed "uncontroversial" topics.

The following page, typeset in an Antiqua, contains the drawing *Jägerlatein* by Eduard Thöny and, more importantly, the poem *Zurück zur Natur!* by Ratatöskr (Blaich), which constitutes a satirical comment about the Spartacist understanding of press freedom:

> Was soll ich mich mit Zeitgeschichte plagen?
> Es führt zu nichts,
> wenn sie mich gröblich um die Ohren schlagen
> infolge eines kritischen Gedichts.
> Da meid' ich denn doch lieber jede Panik
> und gleite sittig-sanft in die Botanik.
>
> […]
>
> Es gibt unendlich viele Gegenstände
> für meinen Stift,
> wenn ich mich zwitschernd nach der Seite wende,
> die Gartenbau und Landwirtschaft betrifft.
> So schwing' ich ums Natürliche die Flügel,
> und außerdem riskier' ich keine Prügel.(S23, p. 659)

The satirical nature of the poem is twofold: the fact that Ratatöskr writes a critical poem about the curtailing of critical writing by brute force (such as occupying an editorial office) is, in itself, already ironic. Furthermore, the title "Zurück zur Natur" alongside the writer's supposed shift towards realistic telling and botany pose a potential side-swipe at the radical left's presumed preference for naturalism and social realism in the arts. Finally, the issue's last page returns to another set of "universal" topics, with two drawings by Olaf Gulbransson, entitled *Die erste Apfelsine* and *Die kleine Schlaubergerin im besetzten Gebiet*. Typeset yet again in the decorated Fraktur, the first drawing refers to hunger and malnutrition following the end of the war, with children asking their mother in a somewhat common children's idiom that replaces "g" with "d" about the topical orange: "Mammi, hat uns die der dute Onkel Wilson deschickt?".(S23, p. 660) President Wilson was regularly accused of causing unnecessary suffering to the German populace by withholding food aid in the *Simplicissimus*.[50] The second drawing depicts a schoolgirl that lets a French officer do her French homework, making use of the "seltene Gelegenheit" of French occupation of German territory in both the Rhineland and Saarland. Thus, Gulbransson equally touches on universal topics that have little to do with the Spartacist uprising and that enraged Germans across the board.

What makes this issue stand out from the regular *Simplicissimus* issues is the fact that the journal's form actively enters into creating the very message *together with* the editorial content. However, the issue can only be recognised as satire and as a fundamentally ironic comment on its contemporary situation when two prerequisites are fulfilled: First, the issue has to be read *in toto*. Without the programmatic exposition on the titlepage, no common setting and continuous thread would exist for the subsequent pages, rendering much of the ironic subtext ineffective. Second, the issue needs to be read together with the "regular" issues before and after, for only then can we understand what sets this *particular* issue apart from a standard *Simplicissimus* issue. In turn, this issue highlights some of the main building blocks and practices that normally govern and form the *Simplicissimus*, by virtue of consciously

50 Cf. S23, pp. 585, 588 & 604.

altering core principles in the selection and combination of content, as well as in the visual representation and layout of said content. Without both of these prerequisites, any given extract from this particular issue would have to be understood as-is, i.e. as representative of "the" *Simplicissimus* in general. Only when it is seen embedded in its material and historical context, both internal (in terms of the journal's own practices and governing principles) as well as external (in regard to wider political developments, namely the rise of the Weimar Republic and the subsequent Spartacist uprising), does this issue develop its actual satirical potential. In turn, "harmless" content and form (unusual typefaces) are used *together* to create this particular image. This *Simplicissimus* issue relies heavily on the readers' familiarity with the journal's usual practices, ideals and form in order to transport a message implicitly by virtue of transgressing many of its usual habits and boundaries.[51] Only if the *Simplicissimus* is commonly understood to be impartial, satirical, opposed to extremism of any kind (though especially left-wing extremism), and unafraid of touching upon all topics that threaten truly patriotic Germans, embedding all of these virtues in a stringent, exceedingly stable visual identity that draws attention towards the "Hauptbilder" and separates editorial content and advertisements, can this issue be understood to adhere to the *Simplicissimus*'s self-understanding and communal identity by virtue of *only temporarily* breaking with its established practices. In other words, the Spartakus issue only works because it breaks out of an otherwise established and stable identity, in order to further reaffirm this identity by openly pointing out its own transgression in the titlepage's programmatic notice as much as in its obviously altered physical form, only to return to its regular form in the next issue.

Yet, while this satirical issue is in many ways exceptional and therefore particularly useful to make the integrative process of fusing editorial content and editorial form visible, the underlying principles apply to all issues of the *Simplicissimus* throughout its existence. Compared with a journal like *Sport im Bild*, the *Simplicissimus*'s overall more conservative visual principles

51 Cf. McLean, *Magazine design*, p. 1: "For a magazine is always planned either for a definite group of people, with known or predictable tastes and interests, or for certain defined attitudes or interests of people."

and the direction of focus towards its most prolific drawings are fully in line with a more general, overarching conservative worldview as well as strong adherence to the ideal of high culture, art and the agency of individuals within society, including adherence to the "Norm Kunstautonomie". In turn, the dissolution of rigid and clear visual principles follows a similar dissolution of the journal's core editorial principles from 1933, ultimately ending a period of stability attested to by the adherence to continuous social practices that date back at least to 1914 in both editorial message and visual form. If the satirical "Spartakus" issue shines a light on the journal's self-understanding and identity by virtue of ironically abandoning it (even if only for one issue), it is only the combination of editorial and visual practices that define the journal's long-term identity in the first place. And while this identity remains recognisable throughout, both form and content of the *Simplicissimus* do "go with the times", continuously challenged by surrounding communities and social practices, continuously negotiating its own (communal) identity as much as the individual identities of its creators, in turn. However, so far, the interplay between content and form appears to be governed primarily by the social practices of its creators; merely the satirical issue has pointed out that a stable identity is not just necessary in order to be able to *create* a journal (and to break with its established practices), but that an understanding of this coherent identity is also required for readers to be able to understand the message of the journal. Therefore, while I have focused so far on the practices involved in *creating* the journal, the next chapter will add a notion of journal reception, linking the creation of both content and form more closely to a notion of anticipating reception, which in turn will lead to an extended notion of social practices involved in negotiating communal identities.

4. The journal within its community

The previous chapter focused on a set of practices that govern the creation of a journal, establishing that both editorial content and the journal's layout are mutually dependent when creating the journal's message. Furthermore, an integral part of these creative practices has been the creators' focus on governing the visibility of content and on guiding attention towards specific types of contents; this means, in turn, that the creative practices already anticipate the journal's *reception* – the creators try to guide their readers' attention.

Accordingly, while the journal's visual form is independently created by its creators, they include elements which they anticipate will resonate with their readers while simultaneously trying to steer this very reception. Reception is a practice specific to readers who are thus already directly inscribed into the journal's form itself by virtue of creators trying to influence a specific reading experience and thus a specific understanding of the messages they create. This assumes that the transportation of messages – communication – does not follow the overly simplified principle of sender/message/receiver. Reception, instead, has to be understood as an *active* process, which means that communication – the sending of a message – *can fail*. Williams points out that the traditional sender/receiver model is caused by an oversimplification of social production: "the means of communication, having been reduced from their status as means of social production, are seen only as 'media': devices for the passing of 'information' and 'messages' between persons who either generally, or in terms of some specific act of production, are abstracted from the communication process as unproblematic 'senders' or 'receivers'."[1]

1 Raymond Williams. "Means of Communication as Means of Production". In: *Problems in Materialism and Culture. Selected essays*. London: Verso, 1980, pp. 50–63, p. 50.

Similarly, Bourdieu, with reference to Bakhtin's concept of polysemic language, points out that "there are no longer any innocent words. […] Each word, each expression, threatens to take on two antagonistic senses, reflecting the way in which it is understood by the sender and the receiver".[2] Outlining a more general theory of communication, Luhmann further highlights that the sending of a message in itself already fully constitutes an act of communication, "die Kommunikation legt einen Zustand des Empfängers fest, der ohne sie nicht bestehen würde, aber nur durch ihn selbst bestimmt werden kann. Auf Annahme oder Ablehung und auf weitere Reaktion kommt es daher beim Kommunikations*begriff* nicht an."[3] Acceptance or rejection of a communicative act are "nicht Teil des kommunikativen Geschehens; es sind Anschlußakte", which means that the mere sending of a message does not yet guarantee any kind of communicative success for a sender.[4] Finally, Stuart Hall has famously described the sending of a message as a "complex structure in dominance", where a creator's meanings, ideals and agendas (however implicit or explicit) are encoded in the message, which has to be decoded by the recipient:[5]

> The codes of encoding and decoding may not be perfectly symmetrical. The degrees of symmetry – that is, the degrees of "understanding" and "misunderstanding" in the communicative exchange – depend on the degrees of symmetry/asymmetry (relations of equivalence) established between the positions of the *personifications*, encoder-producer and decoder-receiver. But this in turn depends on the degrees of identity/non-identity between the codes which perfectly or imperfectly transmit, interrupt or systematically distort what has been transmitted.[6]

Consequently, the creators of a journal *cannot* ensure that their messages are understood specifically like they envisioned them or how they intended them to be received. However, by anticipating potential reader reactions and by trying to guide their readers' reception through visual as well as editorial clues, hierarchies and conventions, they can try to make a "successful"

2 Bourdieu, *Language and Symbolic Power*, p. 40.
3 Luhmann, *Soziale Systeme*, p. 204.
4 Ibid., p. 204.
5 Cf. Stuart Hall. "Encoding/decoding". In: *Culture, Media, Language. Working papers in cultural studies, 1972–79*. Ed. by Stuart Hall et al. London: Hutchinson, 1980, pp. 117–128, pp. 117–119.
6 Ibid., pp. 121–122.

understanding of their own sent messages more likely. By trying to anticipate their readers' specific identities and by trying to encode the journal's messages both visually and symbolically in a way that is most likely to resonate with their readers and which is thus most likely to be understood, the creators can attempt to secure communicative success, which, in turn, might lead to additional identification with the journal's messages and senders by its recipients, the journal's readers.[7] In other words, in order to enhance the chance of communicative success, creators anticipate potential receptions and try to influence communication. To better understand how journals function, we have to bear in mind that while a journal is created by its creators, it is always already created *for* somebody – a journal is created for its readers. In turn, these readers – in their dual function as recipients and consumers, as readers and buyers – sustain the continued creation of the journal as long as its messages resonate enough with their own views and identities and as long as a reasonable amount of the journal's communicative messages are perceived to be successful.

Thus, polyphony does not simply exist among the creators we think of when we traditionally look for "authors" or "artists" in literary studies. Instead, a multitude of voices, both imagined (i.e. anticipated) and real (i.e. personal), exist in the journal already during its creation, while these additional voices are closely interrelated with the journals' recipients. With reference to Bakhtin's heteroglossia as a "multitude of voices", Fiske asserts that "these voices cannot finally be pinned down in a 'hierarchy of discourses', for different readers can 'listen' more or less attentively to different voices. The reader makes his or her text out of this 'weaving of voices' by a process that is fundamentally similar to that of the writer when s/he created the work out of the multitude of voices available in the culture."[8] However, where Fiske's focus on literature

7 This relationship does not simply hold true for creators anticipating reception, but also works the other way round, as John Fiske points out in a text that is technically concerned with television, but which shows that the same principles are applicable to both literature (as is the case when Fiske refers to Barthes's *S/Z* in the same section) and communicative acts in general, further highlighting the active nature of both creation *and* reception: "The writerly text […] requires us, its readers, to participate in the production of meaning and thus of our own subjectivities, it requires us to speak rather than be spoken and to subordinate the moment of production to the moment of reception", John Fiske. *Television Culture*. London: Methuen, 1987, pp. 76–77.

8 Ibid., p. 77.

and – by extension – television lacks any kind of "control channel" or communicative reflow of whether communication is ultimately successful, two specific types of content in the journal both challenge the firm division between creator and recipient, adding their own distinct sets of voices and thus their own distinct messages to the journal, inscribing their own measurements of communicative success in the process: advertisements and letters to the editor.

If the reader is decoder-receiver and buyer at the same time, his consumption habits serve as markers of communicative outcomes; consistent failure to identify with a journal's messages will most likely lead to a reader ceasing to be a reader, and thus ultimately ceasing to buy said journal. However, in most cases, the readers' consumption habits do not simply secure a journal's continued existence by making sure they continue to spend their money on a subscription or (more rarely) individual issues on their own. Instead, in most cases, these journals are to a significant degree financed by advertisements, which in turn can only be successful if they successfully pitch their own messages to the journal's readers. Hermann Boventer rightly asserts, albeit in a study of post-World War II illustrated magazines: "Keine Zeitung kann auf Marktorientierung verzichten, kein Verlag kann auf die werbungtreibenden Interessen heute verzichten, es sei denn, er subventioniert seine Objekte."[9] David Crowley even goes so far as to suggest that advertisements are, in fact, the main reason why magazines exist in the first place. For him there exists a "meeting of interests" between the reader and a given journal,"driven by the need to sell. The cover promotes a product, the magazine itself. And magazines deliver readers to advertisers".[10] For Crowley, then, a magazine's cover advertises a product – the magazine –, just like any given advertisement inside the magazine advertises, in turn, its own product to the reader. However, while he is right in highlighting that the magazine itself is a commercial product as well, it is the "meeting of interests" that is more relevant for my analysis. While it is certainly true that the advertisements are necessary for the magazine, the *specific* selection of advertisements *in* a given magazine depends on the magazine's

9 Hermann Boventer. "Die Illustrierten". In: *Handbuch der Publizistik*. Ed. by Emil Dovifat. Vol. 3. 3 vols. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1969, pp. 536–546, p. 540.

10 David Crowley. *Magazine Covers*. London: Mitchell Beazley, 2003, p. 8.

readers. In order to evoke desire or identification with a product, the advertisement has to correspond to a reader's lifestyle on a very fundamental level. In other words, advertisement and reader need to have common social practices, a similar lifestyle and compatible social identities. And even if advertisements are perhaps not a journal's sole raison d'être – assuming its creators want to send messages of their own –, the advertisements *in* a given journal are nevertheless specifically targeted at specific groups and audiences of their own; this fact in turn offers a wealth of information about the habits and identities of a journal's readers as readers, and beyond.

On the other hand, letters to the editor allow for a more direct participation in the creation process by its recipients. They make direct input possible and enable communication that flows from the reader – the traditionally "passive" recipient – to the author – the traditionally active, authoritative sender. As acts of communication in their own right (in Luhmann's sense), letters to the editor can again spawn new acts of communication, since they are subject to success or rejection of communication like any other message. However, more than that, they can also challenge a journal's creators, eliciting direct or indirect responses, positions and actions in reply to a reader's message. Additionally, other readers can join this communication via their own letters to the editor, further blurring the line between creators and readers if the latter can become creators of messages themselves while adding to the overall polyphony of the journal.

Nevertheless, it is important to remember that both of these additional sources of polyphony are filtered: advertisements are filtered through advertisement offices, companies and expeditions, while letters to the editor are selected or rejected by the creators of the journal. They thus do not offer "unfettered" access to the journals' historical reception, yet their very existence and the way they are embedded and anticipated in the journals' form and editorial content challenge the perceived unity of creation and message that Literary Studies are used to seek and expect. Where the previous chapter focused on the practices that solely lie in the hands of a journal's creators, this chapter examines the inclusion and anticipation of a journal's recipients

in the journal's form and content. Thus a community of creators is joined by a community of readers in order to form a community of interdependent creators *and* readers which I would like to call a *journal community*. In a journal community, there can be no creators if they do not create their messages for a specific set of recipients, regardless of these recipients' real existence, while there cannot be any readers without creators who create a journal that is to be received, in turn.[11] Accordingly, the identity of a journal does not simply depend on the sum of its authors' opinions and ideals, sent out as messages to passive recipients, or even on the simple outcome of a series of negotiations of identity among the creators. Instead, a journal's identity consists of the negotiation of the identities of its creators *and* its readers, which each influence the other.

4.1. Advertisements

By the late 1920s, advertising had fully emerged as an important part not just of commerce and consumption, but also as a field of theoretical study and increased professionalisation. Part of this wider development, the field of "advertisement psychology" (*Reklamepsychologie*) emerged in the wake of an increased interest in improving the effectiveness of advertisements by studying their effects and possibilities on the foundation of the relatively new field of experimental psychology. I will first introduce the main theoretical ideas as well as practical recommendations of this contemporary area of research, which in turn directly influenced publication of advertisements during that time, before contrasting them with the somewhat more complicated reality of the active negotiation of identity within my actual journal communities.

Part of the influential "Würzburger Schule", the circle around Karl Marbe, professor of psychology in Würzburg from 1909–1935 as successor to Oswald Külpe, with whom he had founded the institute in 1896, focussed on questions of will and mental set (*Einstellung*), which

11 Even if his work is never published or never actually read, each author or creator nevertheless has to assume some kind of recipient, no matter how abstract, i.e. an "ideal" reader. This is reminiscent of the literary concept of the "implied reader", which according to Wolfgang Iser "meint den im Text vorgezeichneten Aktcharakter des Lesens und nicht eine Typologie möglicher Leser", Wolfgang Iser. *Der implizite Leser. Kommunikationsformen des Romans von Bunyan bis Beckett*. München: Fink, 1972, p. 9.

in turn lead to deeper engagement with the theoretical foundations of advertising and its more practical implementation.[12] Research into the *effectiveness* and methods of advertising thereby follow the basic methods of experimental psychology, making use of the tachistoscope and other (manual) ways of exposing sequences of images in order to measure response times, memory retention and pattern recognition.[13] Overall, we can observe a focus on the *eye*, on seeing and thus on the visual perception and the visual effects of advertisements, i.e. on "diejenigen Wirkungen der Reklamemittel, welche durch das *Auge* unserer Psyche vermittelt werden".[14] Additionally, Wilhelm Weber justifies the overall scope of advertisement psychology: "Da die Methoden, mittels deren die Kauflust erregt wird, unter dem Namen 'Reklame' bekannt sind, so werden wir auch hauptsächlich dieser unsere Aufmerksamkeit zuwenden, und durchweg den Ausdruck Reklamepsychologie für die mit der Erregung der Kauflust zusammenhängenden Vorgänge wählen."[15] Thus, advertisement psychology – in its contemporary sense – is interested in how a propensity to buy can be instigated in the recipients of advertisements, focussing on the visual aspects of advertisements, as well as the psychological and physiological principles underpinning the visual reception of advertisements. Where the previous chapter has already emphasised the importance of layout and the guidance of attention, I now focus on the general creation of attention in contemporary teachings about advertising, which in turn allows us to better understand to what degree the recipient – the reader/buyer – is already anticipated in

12 Cf. Joachim Hoffmann and Armin Stock. "The Würzburg School. Proceedings of the ninth conference of the European Society for Cognitive Psychology". In: *Cognitive psychology in Europe*. Ed. by Joachim Hoffmann. Lengerich: Pabst, 1996, pp. 147–172, pp. 147–150.

13 In the words of Marbe's pupil Theodor König: "Die Reklamepsychologie ist ein Zweig der angewandten oder praktischen Psychologie, jenes Teiles der psychologischen Wissenschaft, welcher sich den Problemen des Lebens mit empirisch-experimentellen Untersuchungen widmet, gestützt auf die Lehren der reinen oder theoretischen Psychologie, die bis vor wenigen Jahren noch als eine Disziplin der Philosophie galt, aber nun eine selbständige, positive Wissenschaft von hoher Bedeutung geworden ist und sich mit den Bewußtseinsvorgängen oder Erlebnissen beschäftigt", Theodor König. *Reklame-Psychologie. Ihr gegenwärtiger Stand – ihre praktische Bedeutung*. München and Berlin: Oldenbourg, 1924, p. 2. Or, as Wilhelm Weber succinctly puts it: "Die Methoden der Reklamepsychologie sind die der experimentellen Psychologie überhaupt, die Beobachtung, die Statistik, die Messung und das Experiment", Wilhelm Weber. *Die praktische Psychologie im Wirtschaftsleben. Eine systematische und kritische Zusammenfassung des gesamten Gebietes der Wirtschafts-Psychotechnik*. Leipzig: Barth, 1927, p. 339.

14 König, *Reklame-Psychologie*, p. IV.

15 Weber, *Die praktische Psychologie im Wirtschaftsleben*, p. 337.

the process of both creating and publishing advertisements.

The most basic contemporary principle upon which advertisement psychology relies is based on Marbe's idea of "Gleichförmigkeit des psychischen Geschehens" – the uniformity of people's psychological and physiological processes –, which lets advertisers assume that most recipients will react in roughly similar ways to the same methods employed by various creators.[16] According to Theodor König, there exist *two* forms of uniformity: *primary* uniformity denotes "das gleichförmige Verhalten der eine Masse bildenden Individuen, ganz unabhängig von dem gegenseitigen Einfluß der Individuen aufeinander", while *secondary* uniformity denotes a uniformness "die ausschließlich durch den Einfluß der Individuen aufeinander hervorgerufen wird, z.B. durch Nachahmung entsteht".[17] Whereas primary uniformity is assumed to be relatively universal,[18] secondary uniformity finds its expression via imitation of fashion or class-specific behaviour and habits, which is furthered by both the media and advertisements.[19] Uniformity is thus conditioned by external systemic factors, not necessarily by individual identity or individual practices, which leads König to another axis of "uniformity" perpendicular to the primary/secondary distinction:

> Von noch größerem Interesse als diese "allgemeine" Gleichförmigkeit sind für uns die gewissermaßen "spezielleren" Gleichförmigkeiten, die unter Gliedern eines Volkes, Angehörigen einer Rasse, bei den Geschlechtern – Männern einerseits, Frauen andererseits – bestehen und die volle Aufmerksamkeit des Reklamepsychologen erfordern, wenn er nicht schadenbringende Fehlschläge der Reklametätigkeit erfahren will.[20]

This suggests that while certain universal psychological preconditions certainly exist for the reception of advertisements, they are too broad to ensure successful advertising – the flip side of "schadenbringende Fehlschläge" – and thus do not make *communicative success* between

16 Cf. Karl Marbe. *Psychologie der Werbung*. Stuttgart: Poeschel, 1927, p. 9.
17 König, *Reklame-Psychologie*, p. 18.
18 I say "relatively" because Marbe formulates the idea that the greater the "anatomisch-physiologische Beziehung" between individuals the greater the uniformity, whereby he bases uniformity on the physical difference between people (perhaps in the wake of more general race theories popular at the time) rather than an increased uniformity based on relative cultural and communal proximity and belonging, which would be more in line with modern cultural theories, cf. ibid., p. 19.
19 Cf. ibid., p. 18.
20 Ibid., p. 19.

advertisement creators and recipients significantly more likely. Instead, a more granular focus on specific groups of people is required: the basis for targeted marketing, focus groups and even today's personalised advertisements.

However, a second component also accompanies Marbe's concept of uniformity, namely the idea of "Einstellung", which is difficult to translate since it encompasses both the English idea of attitude as well as the active process of adjustment (to which I will return further below). Accordingly, uniformity is modified by "Einstellung der Persönlichkeit"; "die geistige oder seelische Persönlichkeit des Menschen besteht in seinen psychischen Anlagen und Neigungen, kurz in seinen seelischen Dispositionen. Die körperliche Persönlichkeit umfaßt den Körper des Menschen und die leiblichen Dispositionen. Geistige und körperliche Persönlichkeiten können aber nur begrifflich getrennt werden und hängen tatsächlich auf das allerengste zusammen."[21] Marbe further combines inherent as well as habitual modifications, whereby innate dispositions are modified by both education and experience, leading to an *acquired* personality, fusing them as momentary personality (*momentane Persönlichkeit*), "[die] für keinen Menschen eine einmal gegebene Größe ist, sondern daß sie vielmehr einem steten Wechsel unterworfen ist, so daß man geradezu den Begriff der momentanen Persönlichkeit, d.i. der lediglich in einem bestimmten Moment vorhandenen Persönlichkeit prägen kann".[22] This momentary personality is further influenced by somatic conditions (health, age etc.), which means that every individual – while fundamentally uniform in terms of generalised psychological and physiological processes – has a very specific personality that is ultimately malleable.[23] This is where the idea of "Einstellung" governs both the habitual aspects that serve as a foundation for attitudes as well as the more active adjustment according to momentary influences. However,

21 Marbe, *Psychologie der Werbung*, p. 9.

22 Ibid., p. 10.

23 Marbe's overall concept comes remarkably close to Bourdieu's concept of *habitus*, which he defines as "a set of *dispositions* which incline agents to act and react in certain ways. The dispositions generate practices, perceptions and attitudes which are 'regular' without being consciously co-ordinated or governed by any 'rule'. […] As a durably installed set of dispositions, the habitus tends to generate practices and perceptions, works and appreciations, which concur with the conditions of existence of which the habitus is itself the product", which subsequently influences individual practices and which is, in turn, influenced by individual action (hence Bourdieu's use of the term "agent"), cf. Bourdieu, *Language and Symbolic Power*, pp. 12–13.

in order for advertisement to be able to have an effect on people's momentary personality – both in the sense of temporarily influencing a person's *Einstellung* as well as creating a lasting "habituelle Einstellung" –, there exists one fundamental prerequisite: attention.

While I have pointed out the guidance of attention as a governing principle in the processes of creating the layout in the previous section already, it features prominently in contemporary advertisement psychology studies which are concerned with achieving better, more effective advertisements. More specifically, Marbe outlines the *fundamental* function of advertising as creating favourable dispositions in customers: "Die Reklame will solche Einstellungen schaffen, die den Konsumenten zum Kauf bestimmter Waren veranlassen."[24] Before it becomes possible to have any kind of effect on potential buyers, however, it is necessary to *address* them, which alone is insufficient without first grabbing their attention. The process of grabbing attention is seen by Marbe and König as a psychological process, "die Aufmerksamkeit, welche durch die Reklamemittel zunächst erregt werden soll, ist nun nicht jene willkürliche Aufmerksamkeit, die wir absichtlich und bewußt den Dingen zuwenden, sondern die sog. unwillkürliche, durch welche der Gegenstand des Interesses ohne aktive Betätigung sozusagen von selbst in den Mittelpunkt des Bewußtseins, den sog. Blickpunkt der Aufmerksamkeit gerückt wird".[25] Subsequently, König asserts that initial involuntary (*unwillkürliche*) attention is required before any apperception may happen, which in turn leads him to believe "daß die, zunächst vielleicht unwillkürliche, Aufmerksamkeit auf dasselbe [Objekt] gelenkt wird".[26] Weber further defines the act of garnering attention as "den in den Tag hinein lebenden Menschen derart auf einen Gegenstand aufmerksam machen, daß er den Gedanken an ihn unwillkürlich in sich aufnimmt, 'apperzipiert'".[27] Most importantly, all three assume that the recipient is passive and – perhaps even more – not even fully aware of the physiological (and subsequent psychological) processes that *make* him notice something. Instead, a stimulus reaches the recipient, which in turn *might*

24 Marbe, *Psychologie der Werbung*, p. 30.
25 Ibid., pp. 34–35.
26 König, *Reklame-Psychologie*, p. 64.
27 Weber, *Die praktische Psychologie im Wirtschaftsleben*, p. 340.

turn into attention after it went through a number of processes that are, while not unconscious (*unbewußt*), at the very least subconscious (*unterbewußt*), "die Reklamemittel sollen nun in solchen und ähnlichen Fällen aus dem Gebiet des Unterbewußten in das des hellen Bewußtseins, in den sog. Blickpunkt der Aufmerksamkeit emporgehoben werden".[28] Accordingly, the creator of an advertisement figures as the sender of subliminal stimuli which have to be tailored in order to enter the mind of the unsuspecting recipient with the least possible resistance.[29] This explains why most of the space in contemporary books about advertisement psychology is commonly directed at interested advertisement professionals, for whom they give a plethora of practical advice that has its roots in psychological experiments about the minimal amount of time any stimulus needs to be visible in order to enter the subject's (or, in this case, reader/buyer's) brain, undertaken for example with a tachistoscope. Accordingly, the *form* of an advertisement has to be chosen in order to be as effective as possible in creating attention: apperception is quicker for certain letters than for others, and "die *Art und Gestaltung der Schrift* ist hierbei von wesentlichem Einfluß, denn eine schwer leserliche Schrift wird in den meisten Fällen den Beschauer abhalten, sich überhaupt um deren Entzifferung zu bemühen", which means that if the (uniform) process of apperception becomes too taxing, a given advertisement might never make the "jump" from subliminal to conscious attention, thus failing to become an effective advertisement.[30] Consequently, even the choice of typeface between Antiqua or Fraktur is important for the psychology of advertising: "Die vielfältigen, teilweise recht umstrittenen experimentellen Untersuchungen dieser Frage dürften wohl das ziemlich sichere Ergebnis gezeitigt haben, daß die lateinische Druckschrift der deutschen in Bezug auf die Lesbarkeit überlegen ist; sie ergaben aber gleichzeitig, daß diese Überlegenheit keine bedeutende ist."[31] Advertising thus becomes a question of its generated stimuli's conditions: size, colour, contrast, position or typeface. The precise tailoring of an advertisement's *physical form*, its layout and

28 Marbe, *Psychologie der Werbung*, p. 35.
29 Cf. Weber, *Die praktische Psychologie im Wirtschaftsleben*, p. 341: "Wichtig ist auch, die Einstellung auf den abzusetzenden Gegenstand mit möglichst geringer Anstrengung herbeizuführen."
30 Cf. König, *Reklame-Psychologie*, pp. 47–49.
31 Ibid., p. 50.

visual stimuli hence becomes a *fundamental* aspect of creating successful advertisements. Where advertisements traditionally focussed on their content – the copy text – in order to convince the reader/buyer of a product's merits, advertisement psychology highlights the importance of an advertisement's physicality for its effect, especially in a modern society overfull of stimuli, where a given advertisement does not simply need to convince an already attentive reader, but instead has to actively fight for the attention of people already surrounded (and sometimes overwhelmed) by a myriad of other stimuli.

Once a recipient's attention has been garnered by the successful alignment of form, physics and psychology, the most important step towards a successful advertisement may follow, namely association with existing ideas and ideals by the recipients. Here, the advertisement begins to interface with their momentary personality, calling upon experiences, associations, habitus and more momentary factors in the process. Advertisements are therefore seen as a method of suggestion, following a general movement from attention via association to an effect, which might include the creation of affect, a strong binding to existing memories or – ideally – even a modification of habits.[32] According to König, association and its outcomes are more often than not passive:

> Wir können nicht darüber im Zweifel sein, daß eine innere Aktivität als Wirkung einer Reklame auftreten kann, z.B. wenn sich diese durch hinreichend begründete Darlegungen an das Urteil wendet, aber andererseits haben wir es gerade bei der Reklamewirkung besonders häufig mit einer Beeinflussung unseres Willens zu tun, der wir passiv gegenüber stehen: wir werden *eingestellt* durch die Reklame, gerade so zu wollen und so zu handeln und nicht anders.[33]

This quote betrays the secondary meaning of "Einstellung", not in the sense of attitudes, but as the active process of adjustment, specifically the adjustment of a passive recipient's "innere Aktivität" through an active creator of advertisements. For the recipient to retain

32 Cf. König, *Reklame-Psychologie*, p. 168: "Ob die Reklamewirkung durch die Sinnespforten ihren Weg über die Aufmerksamkeit und das Gedächtnis, oder unter Ausschaltung des letztgenannten unmittelbar durch ein starkes Gefühl nimmt, in jedem Falle ist ihr Ziel eine Beeinflussung des Willens, wenn sie zu einem Erfolge führen soll, und zwar die Herbeiführung der Willensbereitschaft zu der Kaufhandlung."

33 Ibid., pp. 169–170.

any of this "Einstellung", it has to be tied to existing structures in his identity, creating associations and integrating it into practices which might at some point congeal into habits.[34] Furthermore, in order to make sure that an association does not fade over time, repetition of the whole movement from stimulus to association is necessary, which requires a repetition in the publication (or even creation) of a given advertisement.[35] Once association is ensured, successful advertisements are now finally able to have an effect. The most immediate effect is one that stipulates affect and which leads to immediate action by, as well as instant gratification for, a reader/buyer. In order to achieve this effect, advertisers pander to their recipients' feelings, where the decision to buy consists of two parts – prospect and feeling –, though "zwischen diesen beiden Bestandteilen besteht selten volles Gleichgewicht; meist hat der eine zeitweise oder durchgängig das Übergewicht über den anderen".[36] In order to get somebody to act sooner rather than later, it seems necessary to connect an advertisement's subject directly to the feelings of the recipient (i.e. potential buyer), calling on their sense of desire, anticipation or easing of a burden.[37] "Den einen packt man besser bei seinem Selbstbewußtsein, den andern bei seiner Gewinnsucht, den dritten bei seiner Sparsamkeit, den vierten bei seiner Eitelkeit an usw."[38] It is thus the advertiser's task to find those points in the recipients' identities that are most likely to pave a way towards influencing their behaviour and acts of free will (*Willensentscheidungen*) –

34 Cf. König, *Reklame-Psychologie*, pp. 109–110.

35 Marbe openly uses the idea of suggestion when he says that "insbesondere die fortwährende Wiederholung derselben Ansichten ist geeignet, sie auch anderen zu suggerieren, wie unter anderem auch die Geschichte des Sozialismus deutlich zeigt", cf. Marbe, *Psychologie der Werbung*, p. 25. König even ties repetition to the principle of learning, where repetition conditions "Bekanntheit": "Durch die Wiederholung in der Reklame wird also, ähnlich wie beim Lernen, ein und dieselbe Vorstellung bzw. Bewußtseinslage immer wieder hervorgerufen; sie prägt sich dadurch fest ein und verbindet sich mit bereits bestehenden Inhalten", cf. König, *Reklame-Psychologie*, p. 128. And Weber concludes: "Schon längst ist Allgemeingut geworden, daß die *ständige Wiederholung* der Reklame ein vorzügliches Werbemittel ist. Hier liegt die hauptsächliche Assoziationswirkung, die bis zur selbstverständlichen Bekanntheit der betreffenden Reklame führen muß", cf. Weber, *Die praktische Psychologie im Wirtschaftsleben*, p. 342.

36 König, *Reklame-Psychologie*, p. 151.

37 Cf. ibid., p. 150.

38 Marbe, *Psychologie der Werbung*, p. 53. And Marbe is even more explicit when he talks about capitalising on a recipient's ego: "Doch ist es im allgemeinen natürlich richtig, die generellen Eigenschaften der menschlichen Persönlichkeit und besonders den Egoismus auszunützen, da die Hoffnung auf die Befriedigung dieses Triebes eine lustbetonte Bewußtseinslage darstellt, die den Gefühlswert der Reklamen erhöht und der gewollten Einstellung auf den Endzweck der Reklame und der Assoziation der gewünschten Willenshandlungen förderlich ist", ibid., p. 49.

"Schließlich ist es ja auch die Eitelkeit, welche zur Mithilfe angerufen wird, wenn in Anzeigen und Plakaten über Rasierseife, Zigaretten, Sektmarken usw. immer recht elegante Herren und Damen dargestellt werden, denen es der Beschauer gleichzutun suchen soll".[39] However, while affect purchases are not to be underestimated, the more likely outcome of a successful advertising process (sending a stimulus, garnering attention, creating an association) is the long-term association of a brand or product with the buyer's own needs, practices, habits and feelings.[40] The more integrated into practices and habits an association becomes, the more likely the recipient becomes to buy that specific product when a need arises.

> Aus der Praxis können wir auf Grund langjähriger Erfahrung feststellen, daß es ohne Zweifel durch systematische, unermüdliche Reklame möglich ist, einem Käuferkreise eine besonders vorzügliche Qualität eines Fabrikates zu suggerieren und es durch die ganze Aufmachung der Reklamemittel, durch die Art der Beweisführung, die Wahl der Worte usw. so einzustellen, daß es gerade dieses Fabrikat für besser, preiswürdiger hält als ein anderes.[41]

The ultimate goal is thus to create a habit, whereby buyers do not question why they buy or consume a certain product, but where it becomes incorporated into their own practices and into their own identity to the degree of feeling entirely "natural". Hence, advertisements are seen as a way of creating certain dispositions in its recipients by way of suggestion.[42] Contemporary theories and methods assume a passive recipient/reader/buyer who is affected by habitus, current practices and physical constants (pattern recognition etc.) and who is thus susceptible to conscious and subconscious suggestion. Accordingly, common methods must exist in order to achieve success in advertising and to ensure communicative success in the first place: on one hand, ensuring potential success by influencing the advertisement's physical form, on the other hand, positioning advertisements where they are most likely to resonate

39 König, *Reklame-Psychologie*, p. 155.

40 "Nur in ganz seltenen Fällen werden wir doch sofort nach der Einwirkung einer Reklame den Kaufentschluß in uns bewirken; fast stets werden wir mehr oder weniger bewußt den Reklameeindruck für einen späteren Bedarfsfall in uns aufspeichern", ibid., pp. 108–109.

41 Ibid., p. 172.

42 Cf. Weber, *Die praktische Psychologie im Wirtschaftsleben*, p. 344: "Der Wille in dem Konsumenten muß, ohne daß seine Einstellung darauf gerichtet ist, geweckt werden. Diese Einstellung ist suggestiv zu erwecken."

with their future recipients/readers/buyers:

> Es ist nun selbstverständlich, daß wenn diese Mittel wirken sollen, die Menschen, für die sie bestimmt sind, zunächst etwas von ihnen wissen müssen. Der Geschäftsmann muß also zunächst einmal darauf bedacht sein, sein Publikum mit der Reklame auch wirklich zu erreichen. Er darf sich daher mit seinen Empfehlungen nicht an Leute wenden, die nach ihrer Erziehung und ihren sozialen Verhältnissen für seinen Artikel gar nicht in Frage kommen.[43]

At this point journal advertisement comes fully into its own: a journal, as the product of various processes of negotiating individual as well as communal identities brings with it a general trajectory as well as a group of readers that are already interested in similar things and who engage in similar practices, not least of all the practice of reading (and buying!) the same journal repeatedly. If the creation process of a journal encompasses both its physical form as well as various negotiations of its creators' identities, advertisements duplicate this process and enter onto the same pages, which means that they enter the same process of reception for the reader as the editorial content, potentially offering a shortcut to garnering the recipient/buyer's attention, since he already chose to focus on a limited set of stimuli by deciding to dedicate his general attention to reading the journal. Instead of gaining attention out of nowhere, journal advertisement "only" needs to shift the focus of attention.

In line with this assumption, we can see increasingly prominent placement of advertisements in some of the journals, on one hand, and very specific types of advertisements that only appear in some journals, depending on their expected reach and readership, on the other hand. More so, two general trends can be observed: a convergence of editorial content and advertisements along similar trajectories on one hand, and contradicting messages between editorial content and advertisements, on the other.

One of the clearest cut examples for converging messages, with advertisements specifically tailored to the journal's readership, is perhaps *Die Gartenkunst*, a vocational magazine serving as the official publishing organ of a defined vocational group, the "Deutsche Gesellschaft für

43 Marbe, *Psychologie der Werbung*, p. 31.

Gartenkunst". In the journal, advertisements are embedded among a wider set of "miscellany", marginal rubrics such as internal proceedings from local group meetings, notifications upon changes of address of members, as well as various "Standesnachrichten". These miscellany are continuously numbered, yet page numbering starts anew for them in each separate issue, while the editorial main content is continuously numbered throughout the year. As such, we can see a division between marginal content and editorial content, which is reinforced both by a strict logical as well as spatial separation, where miscellany remain contained. Around 1918, each advertisement is divided off by its own thin separator, which usually leads to double borders since most individual adverts are framed separately by their specific agencies or companies, leading to a variety of boxes and subdivisions on the page with each advert vying for attention. This is especially pronounced on pages that mix somewhat more editorial sections like a "Bücher- und Zeitschriftenschau" with advertisements.(Cf. Karl Heicke, ed. *Die Gartenkunst. Zeitschrift für Gartenkunst und verwandte Gebiete*. Vol. 31. Würzburg: Selbstverlag der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Gartenkunst, 1918 [henceforth cited as GK31], No. 6, p. 6) This becomes especially striking when we compare the visual differentiation of different sections on the page: the journal's editorial content is consistently typeset in a clear Antiqua, with headings in bold and a larger size and internal structuring typeset in bold, all of the same typeface. The marginalia are additionally arranged in a three-column layout, with additional separators between sections (above the section headings). The advertisements, on the other hand, do not follow any unified design principles or layout, using a plethora of different typefaces (various Antiqua variants alongside Fraktur and mixed types, as well as hand-lettering), combined with different weights, borders, line spacing etc. Where a page without advertisements flows naturally in line with the general reading direction (top left to bottom right, for each of the three columns), mixed pages challenge this more uniform guidance of its reception. The contemporary typographer Tschichold comments in his 1928 treatise:

> Die Funktionen des Textes sind der Zweck der Mitteilung, Betonung (Wortwert) und der logische Ablauf des Inhalts. […] Jeder Teil eines Textes steht zu dem anderen in einem bestimmten, logischen Betonungs- und Wertverhältnis, das von vornherein gegeben ist. Es kommt für den Typographen darauf an, ihm einen eindeutigen sichtbaren Ausdruck zu geben: durch Größen- und Stärkenverhältnisse, Reihenfolge, Farbe, Photographien usw.[44]

This basic function of editorial text is fundamentally different from that of advertisements, for "es ist schwer, allgemeine Normen über die Gestaltung von Reklamedrucksachen aufzustellen, da dies eigentlich der ganzen Art der Materie widerspricht. Die Reklame besteht nur durch Vielfalt, Abweichung von der Regel, durch Überraschungen".[45] Where all editorial content (even in the marginalia) is created in relation to its surrounding sections, each advertisement has to function on its own; more than that, the editorial content can assume that the journal's reader/buyer is interested in the subject matter, which is why he bought it in the first place, yet the advertiser has to divert this attention to his own offerings, away from editorial content *as well as* other advertisements. In the case of *Die Gartenkunst*, advertisements are already pre-selected to align with readers' interests: as a journal "für Gartenkunst und verwandte Gebiete", the journal is created by gardening professionals for gardening professionals. As such, it can be assumed that readers are members of many other groups and communities, and that they receive news etc. elsewhere. Thus, the journal is free to focus on professional concerns and developments, and the advertisements follow suit. While one could conceivably advertise various every-day products, the advertisements instead focus on the wider realm of gardening, since that aligns with the reader's interest and motivation in reading the journal to begin with. Therefore, we can find advertisements for grass seeds, tree nurseries, greenhouses, and various tools surrounding gardening, related books and journals, alongside job advertisements by employers as well as situations wanted by readers. Advertisers, journal creators and recipients/buyers (of the latter or both) thus share common practices and needs by virtue of belonging to a community of practice centred around garden work in its various forms. *Die*

44 Tschichold, *Die Neue Typographie*, p. 68.
45 Ibid., p. 155.

Gartenkunst serves as a central hub for the exchange of ideas, ideals, practices and messages, where the division between creators, readers and advertisers is not particularly strong and where all three can, in fact, be the same person. These fundamental relationships do not change, even if some layout and design aspects get altered during the Weimar Republic: despite changes to the grid layout which make it clearer, more flexible and give it more visual consistency, advertisements still vie for attention all the same, competing with editorial content and other advertisements alike.(Cf. Karl Heicke, ed. *Die Gartenkunst. Monatsschrift für Gartenkunst und verwandte Gebiete*. Vol. 37. Frankfurt: Verlag Gartenkunst, 1924 [henceforth cited as GK37], No. 6, p. 2; Karl Heicke, ed. *Die Gartenkunst. Monatsschrift für Gartenkunst und verwandte Gebiete*. Vol. 40. Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Gartenkunst, 1927 [henceforth cited as GK40], No. 6, pp. 2–3) Thus, both editorial content and advertisements are purposefully selected and curated to be relevant for this specific group of creators and recipients, and while this may serve as a prime example, we can see a similar correlation between topic and advertisements as well as an orientation towards the more general class and wealth of a journal's readership in many of the journals.

In *Fürs Haus*, for example, its mostly female readers get presented with a wide array of products aimed at women in general, as well as the more particular needs of the housewife and mother.[46] Additionally, advertisements occupy a mixture of dedicated pages (which often follow their own numbering scheme in Roman numerals) as well as space above or (mainly) below editorial content on regularly numbered pages. As such, we see advertisements for cosmetics, dietary supplements for women or children, fabrics as well as washing agents and various food items. Additionally, we find appliances (vacuums, refrigerators etc.) as well as books, including those of authors like Hedwig Courths-Mahler, who is often seen as part of an inferior type of literature aimed at shallow young men and women by critics in more literary journals such as the *Simplicissimus*.(Cf. Emmy Besler, ed. *Fürs Haus. Praktisches Wochenblatt für*

46 While the former and two latter usually converged at some point during most women's life during the Weimar Republic, *Fürs Haus* is also targeted at older daughters and young professionals who have not (yet) reached that stage, even if the journal seems to often suggest that this convergence is merely a matter of time.

alle Hausfrauen. Vol. 37. Berlin: Deutsches Druck- und Verlagshaus, 1918–1919 [henceforth cited as FH37], p. 66)

Interestingly enough, while many advertisements in the *Simplicissimus* such as the publishing house Albert Langen's own book advertisements for the big Scandinavian naturalists similarly harmonise with the assumed social standing, ideals and practices of its readership, as is the case in *Fürs Haus*, we can also find an orientation towards common practices that seem to be at odds with the journal's editorial messages, causing potential contradictions between editorial and advertisement messages. For example, in a *Simplicissimus* special issue from 25 April 1927 entitled "Der Motor", many of the editorial texts and images make fun of the seemingly overwhelming draw and power of motorised vehicles to the detriment of pedestrians and, in a wider sense, people in general. In a text entitled *Motoren-Tagung*, Mynona describes how anthropomorphised motors decide to get rid of people: "Längst war der Fußgänger allen Motorfahrzeugen ein Dorn im Scheinwerfer. Um ihn, diesen Dorn, sich auszureißen, beriefen sie ihre Konferenz ein. […] Gegenstand der Besprechung war also die Landplage der üblen Fußgänger, die sich, wie Junkers und ein rundbäuchiger Rotor bemerkten, auch in der Luft und zu Wasser unangenehm empfindlich machten."(S32, p. 38) The text touches on many of the journal's mainstay topics, such as the increasing presence of Nazis in daily life, observing that "Der arische Mensch verwächst gelungener mit der Maschine, eignet sich zum Auto-Kentauren", or the vilification of pacifism by those who seek to profit from war, for "Ohne Krieg sei es Essig mit der Herrschaft der Maschine über die Menschheit!" Even the dubious quality of the literati makes an appearance when, even in its murderous rage, a car is bested: "Die Innensteuerlimousine versuchte auch einen ebenso beliebten wie beleibten Dichterfürsten abzukillen, prallte aber an dessen korpulentem Roman ab. 'Es lebe der Ford-Schritt!', stöhnte der Poet und lahmte weiter." The editorial content is ripe with sarcastic remarks regarding motorisation, such as a visually striking drawing by Olaf Gulbransson entitled *In der Wüste*, which shows two Lions sitting in the exhaust of a car that can be seen speeding off into

the distance, whereas the female lion remarks, with a wrinkled nose: "So viel steht fest: der Mensch stinkt und ist geräuschvoll!"(S32, p. 40) Two pages on, a story with the title *Ich und die Sintflut* by Roland Betsch humorously describes the death of all mankind, save for three people: the narrator, an insane scientist who caused the catastrophe in the first place, and a single woman (one of the literati): "Sie saß schwärmerisch am Schreibtisch und schrieb mit heißgelaufener Feder die 278. Fortsetzung zu ihrem Roman 'Die da voll der Liebe sind!' Es war Gräfin Remulade. In einer reineren Welt lebend, war sie der Sintflut entgangen."(S32, p. 42) The editorial content thus picks up on an overall scepticism regarding the increased motorisation of modernity, simultaneously using this overarching critique to return to many of the topics that commonly and frequently feature in the journal and which its readers/buyers have come to expect and desire. However, this seemingly clear editorial message is profoundly undermined by the inclusion of advertisements for the very products that are criticised and ridiculed in the texts and drawings: the Mercedes-Benz Sechszylinder automobile, the DKW Einzylinder motorcycle, BMW motorcycles, Dapolin petrol, Wanderer cars, NSU and more. In accordance with the dissolution of the strict division between advertisements and content in the *Simplicissimus* that I have described in the previous chapter, we thus face the curious situation where Betsch's *Ich und die Sintflut* occupies two out of three columns of a page that is additionally split in half, with text at the top and an advertisement at the bottom. When we look at the page itself, the most attention-grabbing piece is certainly the half-page BMW advertisement, featuring huge (non-Fraktur) type, a picture and both ample margins and white space, compared to the dense, clustered Fraktur text of the editorial content. And on the next page, the sheer number, visual design and positioning of related advertisements becomes even more apparent. This suggests, however, that the same readers/buyers who read (and buy!) the *Simplicissimus* for its satirical assessment of Weimar society are at the same time buyers (or at least seen as potential buyers) of a plethora of cars, motorcycles etc. Thus, it is conceivable that the driver and motorphiliac reads a journal full of motorphobia while identifying both as a

Simplicissimus-reader and a driver. Additionally, this issue contains, in fact, more motor-related advertisements than the issues surrounding it, suggesting that an overall interest in motorisation might cover both aspects equally when it comes to paying attention. Where separate creation processes (writers/artists here, advertisers there) spawned each individual part of the page, they are nevertheless unified in the reception process by virtue of sharing the same visual space and they are equally vying for the reader's attention. Similarly, this example highlights the importance of bearing in mind that the reader/buyer (as well as the creator!) can be a member of many different communities at once, which in turn means that various and even competing practices and ideals might need to be negotiated at the same time. In studying the *Simplicissimus*, it is therefore not enough to only extract the summary messages of its editorial content and then to assume that the reader/buyer obviously would have to support and *live* the same conclusions by virtue of being part of the journal community. Instead, the journal serves as a negotiating instance between communal and individual identities or practices, with various mutual channels of feedback and various communicative successes existing between creators, recipients and advertisers.

A more extreme example of juxtaposed messages can also be seen when editorial content and advertisement specifically refer to the same practice, as is similarly the case in the *Simplicissimus*: Wilhelm Schulz's *Der Erwerbslose*, in an issue from late 1927, shows a poor person – the unemployed – standing in front of an advertisement poster that shows the well-known real-world slogan "Trinkt deutschen Wein" (which appears every now and then as a real advertisement in both the *Simplicissimus* and *Kladderadatsch*) looking at the small amount of money in his hand, while the subtitle reads "Is nur guat, daß i däs grad no' g'lesen hab. Sonst hätt' i mir am End' gar heut abend an französischen Sekt kaaft!"(S32, p. 464) The drawing thus makes fun of an advertisement initiative that explained its own origins in the previous year's volume: "Aus tiefster Not des deutschen Winzerstandes heraus wurde im Reichstag der Plan eines Werbefeldzugs zur Hebung des Absatzes deutscher Weine geboren. Vertreter der beteiligten Behörden

und der Verbände von Weinbau und Weinhandel traten zum 'Reichsausschuß für Weinpropaganda' zusammen. Seine Arbeit dient der deutschen Volkswirtschaft, ist eine gemeinnützige Angelegenheit, keine Interessenreklame."(Peter Scher, ed. *Simplicissimus*. Vol. 31. München: Simplicissimus-Verlag, 1926–1927 [henceforth cited as S31], p. 684) At odds with the poverty and *Not* of the unemployed, who are unable to afford luxury goods such as wine, no matter where it comes from, the drawing contrasts this daily and ubiquitous poverty and want with the proclaimed "tiefste Not" of German wine-growers and the alleged importance of German wine for the wellbeing of the German economy as a whole. Yet, on the next (facing!) page, the journal also shows a completely unironic full-page advertisement for *Söhnlein Rheingold*, a sparkling wine, highlighting that its excellence dates back already to its gold award at the 1867 Paris world exhibition, which ensures that "Söhnlein Rheingold hat Weltgeltung".(S32, p. 465) On the following pages, we find a (full-page) advertisement for *Creme Mouson* (a vanishing creme for women), books, a competition from *Most* chocolate for humorous photos of its products in everyday life (which means recipients are assumed to own a camera), a *Parlophon-Odeon-Columbia* gramophone, shaving creme, more sparkling wine, a male sexual enhancement pill and many other (visually smaller) advertisements.[47] The focus lies on luxury goods, suggesting that the editorial worry about and commiseration with the unemployed poor is perhaps *ideal*, yet it is likely not reflected in the usual *Simplicissimus*-reader's daily life and practices, which are centred very much around being able to consume and in which the need to decide between German and French wine is a more likely occurrence.

On the other hand, the imagery employed in editorial content and advertisements can also converge remarkably, suggesting a close affiliation between editorial and adverts, which are both designed to attract the reader's attention. One striking example can be seen in *Sport im Bild*, the self-stylised magazine for the respectable society (*Die Gute Gesellschaft*), with the

47 Gertrud Maria Rösch mentions a similar "sich öffnende Schere zwischen den Inhalten der Anzeigensiten und der Tendenz der Karikaturen", though her article unfortunately does not tie this into any more general developments, cf. Gertrud Maria Rösch. "Werbeseiten im Simplicissimus. Ein weites Forschungsfeld". In: *Simplicissimus. Glanz und Elend der Satire in Deutschland*. Ed. by Gertrud Maria Rösch. Regensburg: Universitätsverlag Regensburg, 1996, pp. 110–125, esp. pp. 116–118, here p. 117.

subtitle "Sport – Gesellschaft – Theater". Advertisements for cars, cosmetics and other luxury items are frequent – even in 1918 –, alongside advertisements for a *Rittergut*, i.e. a manor its owner wishes to sell. A particular example can be found on a page in a late-November 1918 issue that is split horizontally in two halves; the upper half shows a photograph with subtitle, while the lower half displays an illustrated advertisement. The photograph shows 5 men, three of them (in the foreground) obviously soldiers, while the subtitle reads: "Berühmte Kampfflieger: Hauptmann Loerzer (mit dem Pour le mérite), neben ihm Oberleutnant Udet (in Fliegerkleidung.)"(Kurt Doerry, ed. *Sport im Bild. Sport, Gesellschaft, Theater*. Vol. 24. Berlin and Wien: Deutscher Sport-Verlag, 1918 [henceforth cited as SiB24], p. 637) While fighter pilots where often seen as daredevils and met with admiration, the photo additionally displays the high honours bestowed upon some (complete with a very visible medal), while Oberleutnant Udet's fight against the French became immortalised in a book entitled *Kreuz wider Kokarde*, which is advertised in an earlier issue. Below this photo is an advertisement for Mercedes, showing a double-decker plane (Mercedes produced engines for aircraft) in the back-ground, a Mercedes automobile in the middle-ground and two German officers (as can be seen by them carrying sabres) with German spiked helmets (*Pickelhauben*) mid-conversation in the fore. Mercedes products are thus visually tied to the (just recently lost) World War, echoing the journal's apparent interest in the German military and especially its leaders and figureheads, such as its pilots and other officers. In a journal that, alongside sport, pays close attention to recent events among Germany's and related (Austrian etc.) nobilities, this interest in national matters and the higher echelons of the military (many of whom were noble) seems in agreement with a readership that is itself part of the upper strata of society, or at least aspires to be. Accordingly, nationalist interests similarly represent reader as well as creator practices, as well as those of the journal's publisher, the August Scherl publishing company, owned by the notoriously right-wing Alfred Hugenberg and thus part of his media empire, which also published the very popular right-wing newspaper *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger*.

The combined placement of advertisements and editorial content on the same page challenges reader attention knowingly and – as per advertisement psychology – by design. Yet, while the same holds true for the practice of putting full-page advertisements or dedicated advertisement pages in between the journal's cover and its first page of editorial content (similarly employed in *Sport im Bild*), we can also observe the opposite treatment of advertisements which is chiefly concerned with separating or outright avoiding advertisements. The *Simplicissimus*'s early practice of relegating advertisement to a dedicated block of pages in the middle of an issue is one example, while marginal placement of advertisement is especially visible in *Die Weltbühne*. During most of its existence, the journal did not print *any* advertisements, though there exist short stretches where it did. In early 1919, we can observe a mixture of "Geschäftliche Mitteilungen" – copy text without illustrations, custom borders etc. that looks like the journal's regular text – and "regular" advertisements. Interestingly, both types are placed at the very end of the issue, on its last page, separated from its traditional last section (the "Antworten" section, which I will turn to in the next section) by a thick double line.(Siegfried Jacobsohn, ed. *Die Weltbühne*. Vol. 15.1. Charlottenburg: Verlag der Weltbühne, 1919 [henceforth cited as WB15.1], p. 272) The reader thus has to get to the very last page in order to even have a chance of encountering the advertisement. The 6 March 1919 issue only has a single "regular" advertisement that is visually distinct from the journal's general layout by using bigger and bolder lettering, by being typeset in Antiqua (as opposed to Fraktur used for editorial content as well as *Geschäftliche Mitteilungen*) and by using bold black borders, drawing the eye towards its name *Reichersche Hochschule für dramatische Kunst*, as well as the line "Zwanzigster Jahrgang", which highlights the institution's history and longer existence. In the previous issue, advertisements similarly are relegated to the very back of the issue, filling a page and a half in total, each advertisement adhering only to its own visual principles, with the usual individual mix of typefaces and weights, borders, sizes and products.(Cf. WB15.1, pp. 239–240) Out of the four advertisements, two are directly related to the journal itself (one

advertising *Weltbühne* issues that contain characterisations of influential people by Johannes Fischart, the other advertising Siegfried Jacobsohn's – the journal's main creator and editor – book about Max Reinhardt). It can be assumed that readers of the journal will easily be interested in *other* things produced by its creators, akin to Albert Langen's book advertisements in the *Simplicissimus*. The two advertisement are – once again – the Reichersche Hochschule and "Kinder-Erholungsheim Nordseebad Lakolk", thus focussing on education and welfare rather than luxury goods. Interestingly, these advertisements disappear again altogether later in the same year.

A few years later, in 1924, we can find another sequence of issues that include advertisements in *Die Weltbühne*. This time, the strict relegation to the very bottom of the last page(s) is softened, though advertisements still appear at the bottom of the page. Issue 7, from mid-January 1924, shows a typical page that is split between editorial content and advertisement; yet, while the advertisement is not situated on the last page, it is nevertheless positioned as marginal, not just on the page itself, but also within the journal's overall structure: by that time, the last two regular sections of every *Weltbühne* issue are the *Bemerkungen*, a group of shorter miscellany by various contributors, which is itself typeset in a two-column layout as opposed to the full-width text of the "main" texts, followed by the *Antworten* section that contains replies to letters to the editor. Thus, the advertisement for "Benno Balan", a book trader, while visually disruptive, does not draw attention while reading any of the "main" sections, but merely when the reader already arrived in the "lesser" sections, the marginalia.(Siegfried Jacobsohn, ed. *Die Weltbühne*. Vol. 20.1. Charlottenburg: Verlag der Weltbühne, 1924 [henceforth cited as WB20.1], p. 59) And the advertisement on the next page goes as far as making it unclear whether it is a genuine advertisement or, as was sometimes the case in the journal, a satirical comment, as it reads: "Für Hitler wärs von Wert gewesen, hätt er ein Malik-Buch gelesen", referring to Wieland Herzfelde's Malik publishing house famous for its avantgarde and left-wing publications.(WB20.1, p. 60) In the following issues, the scope of advertised

products slowly widens to include other products, though advertisements stay confined to the "minor", marginal sections at the end of each issue. Nevertheless, advertisements for M. Gerstel's "Elegante Damenmoden", as well as *Sanatogen*, "das altbewährte Kräftigungsmittel für Körper und Nerven", *Manoli* cigarettes and the *Vossische Zeitung* suggest a widening in products that are more closely related to those in other journals with mainly bourgeois readerships, such as the *Simplicissimus*, *Kladderadatsch* or *Sport im Bild*, regardless of their differing political views.(WB20.1, pp. 155, 181–185) The advertisements diversify to include some items that are more generally part of everyday life while books and authors (not least those who help create the *Weltbühne* as writers and contributors) remain a second stable, such as the aforementioned Malik-Buchhandlung or Arnold Zweig, which appear alongside advertisements for more cigarettes ("Manoli privat – Die Allerfeinsten"), spirits and gramophone music records, all markers of readers able to consume, rather than Schulz's unemployed proletarian.(Cf. WB20.1, pp. 245–252) Nevertheless, the continued marginal placement and subsumption under (and, more specifically, below) "minor" journal sections suggests that the *Weltbühne* creators are acutely aware of the challenges posed by advertisement inclusion and placement, in turn reinforcing the separation between more and less important parts of the journal and thus between unchallenged reader attention and potential distraction during the process of reception.

Thus, we can ultimately see increasingly prominent placement of advertisements in some of the journals, and distinct restrictions in others. We can also see a correlation between topic and advertisements (books in the *Simplicissimus*, household items in *Fürs Haus* etc.) as well as an orientation towards the more general class and wealth of a journal's readership (cars, sparkling wine etc.). Last but not least, the absence (or near absence) of advertisements in *Die Weltbühne* suggests that exactly these distracting and, to a degree, detracting aspects of journal advertisements that could potentially clash with editorial contents are purposefully omitted at the cost of greater financial risks. On the other hand, advertisements allow for an integration of a journal (as *Ware*, but also as the practice of a journal community) to be fitted into a life

that requires (and invites) people to integrate consumption into their sense of self, i.e. their identities. In turn, the journals show us what is generally considered part of a certain *kind* of identity, suggesting that somebody who reads a given journal is more likely to also be interested in buying, owning or doing similar things as fellow readers/buyers. Where contemporary advertisement psychology assumes the "Gleichförmigkeit des psychischen Geschehens" and advocates active suggestion to passive subjects by active creators, a look at the physical and thus visual manifestation of advertisements alongside editorial content instead suggests the integration of both elements into the *active* process of reception and thus of the continuous negotiation of the reader/buyer's own identity with that of the journal community that he chooses to be part of. This journal community then marks a community of creators and recipients, whose combined practices are additionally intertwined with wider social practices that are drawn into the journal and thus its community via its creators, its advertisers and its readers, alike.

4.2. Letters to the editor et. al.

Where advertisements serve to "deliver customers" to the advertisers and tie the practices that govern a journal community into more general social practices and developments (such as the increased motorisation of society via cars and motorbikes or the increased rationalisation of labour even in the house via home appliances etc.), letters to the editor serve as a more direct and thus important aspect of community building which enable readers/buyers to *actively* participate in the shared *creative* practices governing a journal community, rather than "just" sharing a more abstract set of values and practices in general.

This active involvement of recipients appears in most of the journals discussed in this thesis, though it exists in various forms and to varying degrees: we find anonymous anecdotes in the *Simplicissimus*'s "Lieber Simplicissimus!" sections; there exist letters about the press in the *Kladderadatsch*'s "Briefkasten", editor's responses to questions in the *Weltbühne*'s "Antworten",

as well as fully developed to-and-fro discussions among readers (with occasional input from editors) in the *Gartenkunst* and especially in *Fürs Haus*'s "Sie haben das Wort!".

"Lieber Simplicissimus!" sections mark, compared to the other types, perhaps the simplest and least discursive form of allowing readers to become creators. Here, the journal allows people to send in short anecdotes or other titbits, which might or might not be taken up and published. At the same time, anecdotes are generally published anonymously, which makes it difficult to pinpoint more precisely what is made up by editors, what is made up by readers and what is, indeed an anecdote that happened as told and has been sent in. Yet, the breadth of topics and multitude of viewpoints suggests that more than the usual (relatively few) journal authors and editors are involved. More specifically, the frequent use of "we", "us" and especially "I" as pronouns in various stories confer the standpoint of intra-diegetic narrators, suggesting a direct involvement of the narrator in what is told. More than that, this personalisation implies a direct involvement of the narrator in a set of specific practices and situations that are assumed to be both humorous *and* relatable enough for them to be published in order to be received by the journal's reader/buyers. Accordingly, the anecdotes are partially in line with the *Simplicissimus*'s more general topics, such as politics, but they additionally convey a plethora of everyday practices and events as well: "In der Residenz habe ich eine Stunde übrige Zeit und sehe mir den 'Zoologischen' an", is one such instance of scene-setting, as is "Kürzlich wurde bei mir musiziert und unter anderem auch Goethes Ballade 'Der Fischer' gesungen."(S23, p. 383) Additionally, vastly different narrators from very different walks of life seem to be present, as can be seen in a section containing three anecdotes, one of which begins with "Unsere Fabrik befand sich auf dem Lande, etwa eine Stunde von der Stadt entfernt", while another reads "Jüngst kehrte ich mit meinem galizischen Unterhändler im gleichen Hotel ein" – the first-person narrators work in a factory and as tradesmen, respectively.(S23, p. 399) Especially in 1918 and 1919, but also later, we can also find anecdotes that harken back to the war: on the same page as the defiant drawing *Im Westen*, which I have discussed before, two

military-themed anecdotes also have found space above the dramatic image: "Im Sommer 1917 lagen wir in einem kleinen wolhynischen Nest an der galizisch-russischen Grenze. Unseren Bedarf an Eiern, Speck usw. pflegten wir in dem fetten Galizien einzudecken […]", while the next one tells us about "Professor N. vom Gymnasium in R. ist in seiner Eigenschaft als Hauptmann d. L. 'ins Feld' gerückt als Führer einer – Beutesammelkompanie".(S23, p. 360) The strong imagery and ideological stance of Eduard Thöny's drawing thus stands side-by-side with somewhat harmless anecdotes that nevertheless share a common source, namely the war as well as the fact that many German men fought in one of the many theatres of war. On the other hand, the anecdotes shine a light on experiences that are only tangentially related to the "big" topics of ideology and the clash of worlds and nations: The first anecdote describes the (irregular) acquisition of provisions by German soldiers and how they (humorously) evaded detection by friendly sentries, while the latter pokes gentle fun at the high military honours bestowed upon the professor (a reserve officer in the *Landwehr*) who did not see any actual combat – he went "ins Feld" including quotation marks, after all – yet received an Iron Cross Second Class alongside additional medals and who then tells his students that he could well endure cannon- and rifle fire, but not the annoying sound of paper wrapped around their food. The abbreviated (and thus anonymised) initials of the professor's name as well as his location further suggest a connection to real events known to a specific narrator yet submitted for a wider audience. This fundamental form, then, does not change over the years, giving ample examples for the practices various narrators engage in, and thus also of the circles they usually move within. "Korpskneipe! Man ist feudal. Man trinkt 1a. Biere. Man wird dementsprechend patriotisch", while two additional anecdotes take place "In einem Leipziger Kaffeehaus" and "Auf dem Münchner Ostfriedhof", respectively.(S31, pp. 667 & 676) As a journal section, "Lieber Simplicissimus!" is recurring yet somewhat marginal; often, the section itself is split and occurs numerous times in the same issue, with the same heading, allowing the journal's creators to fill pages where the layout offers space, which in turn means

that anecdotes differ greatly in length. Nevertheless, while its placement and treatment suggest a "minor" category, the voices and messages expressed are polyphonous and hardly unified: They take place in the field and at home, in Leipzig, Munich or an unspecified rural setting, in "R." or many unspecified places. They describe the coffeehouse-goer and the salesman, the soldier, the male fraternity student (or former student) well-versed in the practices involved in being in a "Korpskneipe", as well as the private citizen. Yet, these anecdotes all appear in the context of the various other pages of the *Simplicissimus*, next to advertisement just as much as above or below finely crafted political drawings or musings; they are embedded in the journal's overall set of polyphonous voices, in turn adding their various described practices and places, experiences and habits, injecting their topics into the overall reception process. The narrators that appear, as different as they are, are united in some ways: they are working and predominantly male, they live in or near the city, many were involved in the war, they participate in various cultural events and communities in their spare time, in short: they are bourgeois. In many ways, the anecdotes in the *Simplicissimus* are as diverse (or as little diverse) as its readership, the same readership that is likely to buy cars,sparkling wines and cremes, and that goes on holidays. Where the editorial texts and drawings are often marked with the names of their creators, these anecdotes appear anonymously and are thus at the same time personal (through their specific viewpoints and often first-person narrators) *and* universal by virtue of not being attributable to a single person. Where Eduard Thöny's *Im Westen* stands chiefly for its creator, and by extension perhaps for a group of creators who create *their* works *for* their recipients, the anecdotes seem to come from many different places, without adhering strictly to specific personal styles or situations while simultaneously embodying various facets of the kinds of identities and practices that together form the journal's overall journal community.

The *Kladderadatsch*'s "Briefkasten" works in a somewhat similar way, though it more obviously integrates material sent in by readers with additional commentary by one of the journal creators. Within this section, each individual entry is prefaced with a place name that refers to the

sending reader's location, followed by the reader's initials (or titles and initials, if applicable). Normally, the main body consists of a quote from a newspaper or journal sent in by the reader, including attribution such as "In Nr. 143 der 'Bremer Nachrichten'", followed by a humorous comment, twist or addendum by the *Kladderadatsch* creators.(Cf. Rudolf Hofmann, ed. *Kladderadatsch*. Vol. 77. Berlin: A. Hofmann & Co., 1924 [henceforth cited as KL77], p. 8) Unlike the fully anonymised *Simplicissimus* anecdotes, the "Briefkasten" entries give a more direct impression of the various places the journal's readers hail from, as well as their *reading* habits outside the *Kladderadatsch*, such as their newspapers of choice or other journals they at least casually read and which they happily submit to their chosen (non-regional) journal in order to mock the original quotes' phrasing, grammar, ideas or worldview. There seems to exist, then, a difference between the (usually) local newspaper, for which few alternatives might exist and which is used to keep up with local as well as current events, and the chosen journal, situated elsewhere and thus chosen for different reasons. Here, compatibility of ideals, common views and practices seem to govern adoption, i.e. reading/buying, which leads either to *shared* mocking of an *external* subject, or even to a more direct exchange and agreement of ideas, such as in this case: "Stendal. G. B.: In der Beurteilung dieses Lakaien, der sich zur Zeit Kaiser Wilhelms II. 'Hofmarschall' nannte und jetzt dieses – für ihn selbst so blamable Buch herausgegeben hat, stimmen wir Ihnen rückhaltlos bei."(KL77, p. 11) Here, a specific (albeit anonymised reader) apparently criticised an author and former member of the royal household, which prompts agreement from the journal creators (the "we") who do not, however, reprint the original letter. Similarly, even where an excerpt from a newspaper is quoted, readers can only guess at the form or wording of the original letter sent to the editors. Nevertheless, the "Briefkasten" allows readers to actively participate by supplying opinions and general material which editors can then latch onto in order to fit the material to the rest of the issue. The "Briefkasten" is a recurring section, visually differentiated from the "main" texts, poems and drawings, but also from the advertisements, through a specific illustrated head as well as distinct

borders. While it tends to be located towards the back of an issue, it still depends on how much space is available after all "major" material has found its place, which means the "Briefkasten" can be shorter or longer, split across multiple pages (with its specific head in front of *each* occurrence) or can be omitted altogether. Additionally, the section is very popular, as can be seen both by a list of rejected submissions at the beginning as well as a message at the end of the section, which reads: "Bei der großen Menge der uns zugehenden Beiträge müssen wir um Geduld bitten, wenn sich ihre Aufnahme verzögert; auch können wir uns unverlangt Übersandtes nicht aufbewahren. […] Für Briefkastenbeiträge wird nichts vergütet."(KL77, p. 11) Thus, readers seem keen to contribute content to the journal they are reading and buying without getting paid to do so, suggesting that they derive something else from this exchange. When their letters get selected and thus transformed into editorial content, they do not only gain recognition from the editors, but their voices can in turn be received by other readers, strengthening the communal ties within the journal community beyond the voices of its immediate creators and authors.

The *Weltbühne*'s "Antworten" section is yet another interesting type, albeit closely related to the "Briefkasten" in some senses. In this section, we can witness a feedback loop from a letter to the reception by the editor, who in turn publishes a reply (hence the section's title) in the journal, which then in turn can be received again by the original writer, as well as any other reader/buyer. The filtered nature of these answers becomes apparent by their omission of the original letters, as well as a high degree of anonymisation in many cases (though some are specifically addressed to a person by name). Furthermore, where the *Kladderadatsch* does not specifically mark who replies in its "Briefkasten" section (note the use of "we" in the example above), the only person giving answers in the *Weltbühne* is its editor (initially Siegfried Jacobsohn, intermittently Kurt Tucholsky, later Carl von Ossietzky). Thus, the editor gets to make unopposed (though quite possibly provoked) statements or recommendations and he may utter personal opinions, while the section itself does not directly include challenging

voices in the journal itself. Furthermore, the *Antworten* always have a distinct personal voice and style, directly traceable to their author, while the recipient can only guess as to the wording, content, style or even tendency of the original submission to the editor, which can be seen by the frequent use of the first-person in the replies: "*August P.* Nein: mich werden Sie nicht gegen Gerhart Hauptmann aufhetzen, mich nicht" as well as "*Zeitungsmann.* O je, o je, wie rührt mich dies! Sie versuchen, mir in beweglichen Tönen klar zu machen, daß ich unter gar keinen Umständen der Vergewaltigung, die das Haus Scherl erleide oder erlitten habe, das Wort reden dürfe" for example hint at a clearly defined and familiar (to the frequent *Weltbühne* reader) voice that enters into a more direct question-response scheme and thus a direct argument with those submitting material to be answered.(Siegfried Jacobsohn, ed. *Die Weltbühne*. Vol. 14.2. Charlottenburg: Verlag der Weltbühne, 1918 [henceforth cited as WB14.2], p. 494) Additionally, the "Antworten" sometimes serve as a section for small, quasi-marginal notes and comments, especially before the inauguration of the "Bemerkungen" as a dedicated section for short contributions, though some of these notes still find their way into the answers: "*Peter Panter*. Sie haben in den alten hamburger 'Wespen', die mein guter Freund Julius Stettenheim in den sechziger Jahren redigierte, dieses gefunden und apportieren es schwanzwedelnd: […]" directly addresses Peter Panter, one of Kurt Tucholsky's pseudonyms – another frequent (and well-known) participant in the creation of the *Weltbühne*, as well as a confidant of Jacobsohn – where the closeness to the "reader" is emphasised by the jovial tone of the answer, comparing Panter to a loyal dog.(WB15.1, p. 271)

A further interesting aspect of the "Antworten" section is one that ties them more directly into the experience of shared practices among the journal's readers: every now and then, an answer responds to requests to advertise (or rather, to publicise) meetings of readers in local readership groups, bringing together face to face various people that are more abstractly unified in their common practices of readership and who are already part of the journal community. To give just some examples for this direct sense of being part of a distinct community:

> "*Hamburger Leser*. Sie wünschen mitzuteilen, daß sie bereit sind, eine Vereinigung der Leser Ihrer Stadt ins Leben zu rufen und bitten diese Leser, sich an Sie zu wenden: Hugo Hertz, Blücherstr. 38, Hamburg."(Carl von Ossietzky, ed. *Die Weltbühne*. Vol. 23.1. Charlottenburg: Verlag der Weltbühne, 1927 [henceforth cited as WB23.1], p. 39)
>
> "*Breslauer Weltbühnenleser*, die sich zu einem Freundeskreis zusammenschließen wollen, sind gebeten, sich mit Herrn Herbert Paul, Breslau 2, Neudorff-Straße 4a, in Verbindung zu setzen." (WB23.1, p. 199)
>
> "*Bücherstube Werner Lippmann, Plauen i.V.*, Goethestr. 99. Sie wünschen eine Vereinigung der Plauener Weltbühnenleser und geben zu diesem Zweck Ihre Adresse bekannt." (WB23.1, p. 40)
>
> "*Weltbühnenleser Stuttgart* treffen sich am Montag, den 17. Januar 1927, abends ½9, im Hotel am Stadtgarten, Kanzleistr. 33."(WB23.1, p. 80)
>
> "*Paula Weinstein, 1352 Carroll Street, Brooklyn, New York.* Sie teilen mit, daß bei Ihnen regelmäßige Zusammenkünfte der New Yorker Weltbühnenleser stattfinden."(WB23.1, p. 200)

Apart from indirectly inducing the creation of replies in the "Antworten", readers thus also use the pages of the journal in order to organise getting together wherever they might be, from Hamburg and Breslau to Stuttgart all the way to New York, in order to share not just a more abstract notion of belonging to a journal community, but a real sense of membership by creating *physical togetherness* founded upon their membership in the *Weltbühne*'s journal community. What these special "Antworten" seem to suggest is that since all who come together *already* share a set of practices and – by extension – certain ideals, which means they are specifically *not* complete strangers to one another, since they have something in common: they are all reader/buyers of the same journal – *Die Weltbühne* – and thus *already* part of its journal community. Where the "Antworten" generally serve as a section for one-sided editorial responses, they thus also help to further the most direct and most literal connection between journal recipients, thematising and thus including the very existence of a journal community in the pages of the journal this community is centred around.

The last type of reader participation in my selected journals is the most conversational and therefore also one that, in its medial form, most resembles natural face-to-face communication. In *Fürs Haus*'s "Sie haben das Wort!" (as well as in various exchanges in *Die Gartenkunst*), a topic (or a number of topics) are put up for debate, or space is given for people to exchange

ideas, hints and experiences, leading to more or less direct discussion between readers with the option for creators to "chime in" as involved people where necessary or appropriate. Typically, this section involves a letter to the editors or (more rarely) a question by an editor to the readers, which then prompts additional replies, follow-ups and at times controversial arguments which naturally span multiple issues due to the journal's periodicity, which means replies take time in order to get published while answers can first be formulated after something that has been published prompted them. One striking example, which will play a greater roll in the following chapter as well, is started by a somewhat open yet equally biased question by "E.B." (presumably Emmy Besler, *Fürs Haus*'s editor at the time) about the cultural ramifications of treating sports as a *Weltanschauung*, with subsequent replies appearing throughout the next ten issues.(Emmy Besler, ed. *Fürs Haus. Das illustrierte Blatt der Frau*. Vol. 45. Berlin: Guido Hackebeil, 1926–1927 [henceforth cited as FH45], No. 26, "Sport als Weltanschauung", n.p.) However, despite the possibility of directly addressing a certain person or of directly contributing to an ongoing discussion, we have to keep in mind that these letters are nevertheless *selected* and thus filtered; they are screened by the journal's creators for appropriateness based on a set of arbitrary rules they hold themselves to. In an editor's note to a female reader who apparently sent in a question, this selective process is highlighted: "Ihre Fragen mit politischer und religiöser Tendenz können nicht aufgenommen werden. Wir raten Ihnen, sich mit Ihrem Gatten, den Sie ja als einen guten Menschen schildern, zu einigen. Es gibt sicher einen Weg, der zu dieser Einigung führt."(FH45, No. 29, "Betrübte Mutter", n.p.) Where accepted replies get printed in full, this reply informs the readers that a letter was received that *they* (the "we" once again denotes the creators as a unity) do not think would be appropriate for publication, citing political as well as religious issues as their reason. Without having to specifically highlight that a "neutral" expression without any bias is impossible, this line of reasoning is interesting in light of a discussion about communities for another reason: *Fürs Haus* in general displays strong conservative as well as religious tendencies which the editors however seem to regard as

"natural" rather than simply another set of biases.[48] Accordingly, critique is not aimed at the overall existence of political or religious tendencies in this letter to the editor, but the *wrong* set of tendencies, one at odds with those generally accepted, practised and prevalent in the journal's community.

Nevertheless, "Sie haben das Wort" and its to-and-fro between various recipients (whether initially creator or reader) allows for direct engagement with other readers while at the same time being inscribed into the pages and thus the layout and content of the journal itself, rather than being relegated to a realm of communication outside the immediate process of the journal's reception (as is the case with the *Weltbühne*'s reader meetings). Though fenced in and hierarchically separated from the remaining journal content (that is marked with usual bylines and author names specifically as "creator-created"), this section includes voices of readers (i.e. of nominal recipients) in the pages, which are in turn received by readers in subsequent reception events.

Thus, all of these forms of letters to the editor have in common that they allow for more direct forms of participation, making it possible to shape the contents of a journal beyond simply being a consumer and buyer/reader. This turns a more abstract belonging to a community into active belonging and participation through an interplay of creation and reception, turning readers into creators and creators into recipients (of reader responses). These specific communicative exchanges cannot be replicated in non-periodical media, as the latter do not offer a continuous process that would allow feedback and communication to flow back and forth, whereas the journal serves as a centre of a very real exchange of ideas, ideals and communicative actions among those who belong to the respective journal communities.

48 Shortly after the end of the war, in its 1918 christmas issue, an article entitled "Nun aber bleibet Glaube, Hoffnung, Liebe" by Elsbeth Sellien is hard at work interlocking *Volk*, family, nation and belief: "Darum laßt uns, wenn wir am Weihnachtsfeste, diesem ersten Friedensweihnachtsfeste, mit unsern Vätern und Söhnen, Gatten und Brüdern unter dem Lichterbaum vereint stehen, ihnen als Dank für ihr opfervolles Heimatverteidigen und im treuen Gedenken aller gefallenen Helden die schönsten Gaben darbringen: den Glauben an göttliches Walten, an uns, an unser Volk, die Hoffnung auf Deutschlands glückliche Zukunft und die Liebe, die die Seele der Menschheit ist – 'diese drei; aber die Liebe ist die größeste unter ihnen'", cf. Emmy Besler, ed. *Fürs Haus. Praktisches Wochenblatt für alle Hausfrauen*. Vol. 37. Berlin: Deutsches Druck- und Verlagshaus, 1918–1919 (henceforth cited as FH37), p. 89.

4.3. Communicative success, community and belonging

Advertisements as well as letters to the editor thus constitute strategies that directly contribute to the creation and continuation of journal communities. By directly anticipating and inscribing their readers' practices into the journal itself, as well as by trying to steer and control the journal's reception, the journal itself becomes more closely linked to its readers' personal identities. Readers find their own practices, interests, habits and ideals represented or even mirrored in the journal, while the journal, in turn, challenges them by providing additional voices beyond the singular ones of any individual creator or reader. The journals therefore inject wider developments and additional challenges to held beliefs into the process of negotiating individual identities that takes place whenever a reader/buyer sits down with a journal and reads it (i.e. engages in a process of reception). At the same time, a journal offers its readers as well as creators a sense of belonging to a community (the journal community), enabling identification with this community more generally, which in turn connects individual, isolated readers to a wider group of people who share at least some of the same practices, ideals and interests with them.

Additionally, continued identification with a journal and felt belonging to a journal community makes communicative successes for journal creators more likely. Where contemporary advertisement psychology positioned active creators and passive recipients as polar opposites, whereby the former had to rely on physical as well as psychological factors in order to ultimately suggest whatever they wanted to their only partially conscious recipients in order to achieve their goals of selling and of creating practices, habits and ideals, the focus on identification suggests that reception is very much an active process. While certain physical tricks in terms of layout might exist in order to draw attention, the best way of making sure that a reader continues to be a reader and thus, by extension a buyer as well as consumer, seems to be to enter into a complex set of exchanges and relations, interweaving a reader's personal identity with a journal's communal identity. Instead of manipulation for a temporary goal, belonging to

a community promises a greater receptiveness by a reader for messages included in the journal, not because he is passive, but because these messages are already fundamentally connected to his sense of identity and his sense of self.

Both advertisements and letters to the editor thus serve to strengthen the bond between creators and recipients (and sometimes functionally eradicate the division between them), creating a genuine community: a journal community. Like any other community, multimembership is of course possible and, in fact, the norm. Journal communities further serve to reduce complexity by grouping people in communities that share common goals and practices, differentiating them from other communities. Internal differentiations and negotiation processes continue to exist, but the journal community allows its members to approach other communities (which can be, but do not have to be, journal communities) in further processes of negotiating social identities, incorporating or rejecting wider social developments. Journal communities thus offer an intermediate step between a "single person" (the reader, but also the creator) and "society", which is more manageable and, at the same time, more directly aligned with individual habits and practices, allowing for incorporation and rejection of practices based on a reduction of complexity.

Accordingly, where the previous chapter focused on how the works of single creators are combined in order to form a group of creators – the creation of a journal –, this chapter has integrated this group of creators of a journal with that specific journal's readers, locating the journal in a journal community. So far, however, each journal existed mainly as its own group, with only limited links to other communities surrounding it. But because communities cannot exist in a vacuum or without myriad connections to other communities, the next chapter will attempt to move away from *a* journal community as a group of creators and readers of *a* journal to group*s* of creators and readers of multiple journal*s*, i.e. to the interactions and collisions of *multiple* journal communities, thus approaching the somewhat elusive processes involved in negotiating both personal and communal identities when confronted with a plethora of other

communities, each with their own specific identities.

Part II.

Comparing journal communities

5. Journal communities in history

5.1. New types of social history

When we think of Nazi Germany before the onset of World War II, we encounter certain events, situations and images that are especially present in cultural memory: films and images of young (blond) boys, girls, men and women, wearing sports clothes and engaging in communal and mass sport events; the 1936 Olympic games with an audience displaying the Hitler salute and Leni Riefenstahl's film about the games afterwards; the mass demonstrations and "Fackelzüge" in Berlin and especially during the party meetings in Nürnberg; images of Women as "Mütter der Nation" who bear the "Führer" many sons, many future soldiers. Nazi Germany thus appears as a new kind of society, one that had undergone massive transformation immediately after the Nazi's "Machtübernahme" in 1933. The new state then appears as an innovator, as the creator of countless new ways of social behaviour and of new social forces; it also appears as the antithesis of the bourgeois-democratic, individualist Weimar Germany, the "Golden Twenties" and all of its famous authors.

However, recent research into the organisational history of sports and gender, as well as into political and mass movements suggests otherwise. What has often been forgotten in traditional depictions is that sports and mass displays are older than 1933 and can be found outside right-wing movements as well.[1] Likewise often forgotten is that the same people who planned and organised the 1936 Olympic games were already supposed to direct the cancelled 1916 Olympic games, even before the inception of the Weimar Republic, let alone the "Third

1 The sport and mass scenes in the 1932 movie *Kuhle Wampe* for example show similar imagery in a proletarian context.

Reich". Mass demonstrations and "Fackelzüge" were often employed during celebrations of very different natures and across the political spectrum.[2] Seen in this light, Nazi Germany appears less as an *innovator* and more as an *integrator*, codifying, organising and embedding diverse social practices while unifying them under a common ideology and into common trajectories. Furthermore, traditional histories of the Weimar Republic assume that the onset of the Great Depression around 1930 acts as the final crisis , ultimately serving as a catalyst for heightening voter support for the NSDAP and therefore as the ultimate point-of-no-return.[3]

The following chapter argues instead that many developments that have become iconic for Germany post-1933 had in fact already developed and differentiated themselves much earlier than either the "Machtergreifung" or even the Great Depression; we can already observe their negotiation in 1927 during what is often seen as a period of relative stability in Weimar Germany. Addressing sports and the "New Woman" as a way of configuring femininity, the chapter takes off from this observation and offers a history of these two interlinked social developments, highlighting their social *negotiatedness* alongside their specific social practices, even before they find themselves fully integrated into governmental structures and before they are seen as "official" ideology.

Rather than offering an organisational history of these developments, however, I return to the idea of journals as focal points of their respective journal communities and as sites of negotiation of identity: centring precisely on a single year, 1927, I concentrate on sports and the "New Woman" as each challenges specific identities as established by specific journal communities. So far, I have analysed in my initial case study the *Simplicissimus*'s material and editorial development as interwoven parts of the negotiation of its identity, and I have subsequently established in the previous chapter how journals function as a gathering point for their respective communities of creators and recipients. In the body of the present chapter I

2 "Fackelzüge" are not even a specifically German way of celebrating something, as can be seen on various occasions in Scandinavia when outstanding authors were honoured that way, as was the case for Ibsen's seventieth birthday in 1902.

3 Cf. footnote 6, p. 146.

analyse a group of journals together, relating both their specific strategies and their reactions to one another and to wider historical developments. The analysis will thus highlight differences as well as similiarities in the negotiation and representation of instances of social change within the journals.

However, before examining in detail the specific depictions and appearances of modern sports and gymnastics as well as of modern women and housewives in order to determine the challenges they posed to existing journal communities, I will have to situate the analysis within its wider research context. I therefore include Rüdiger Graf and Moritz Föllmer's criticism of traditional, crisis-oriented histories of the Weimar Republic. Then I present the research consensus that has emerged in recent years on the idea of the fundamental interconnectedness and shared nature of sport, the "New Woman" and more general social developments such as the development of a consumer culture during the Weimar Republic.[4] This background, in turn, ultimately allows me to link the specific analysis of material from within my journals with broader, overarching social developments and social practices.

5.1.1. On crisis narratives

Most retrospective accounts of the Weimar Republic, whether quasicontemporary or written post-1945, traditionally depict the Weimar Republic as a fundamentally flawed state, ultimately doomed to fail. Weimar Germany then appears as a mere overture to Nazi Germany or, in some senses, as an interlude between two militarist, dictatorial regimes. For example, Siegfried Kracauer's well-known study *Von Caligari zu Hitler* attempts to show how German film was based from its very inception on a proto-fascist unconscious while simultaneously seeing Weimar society as a weak, complacent breeding ground for Nazi ideology.[5] From among

4 For a more general view on the conjunction of advertising, modernity and consumer society, cf. Rainer Gries, Volker Ilgen, and Dirk Schindelbeck. *"Ins Gehirn der Masse kriechen!" Werbung und Mentalitätsgeschichte*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1995.

5 Cf. Siegfried Kracauer. "Von Caligari zu Hitler. Eine psychologische Geschichte des deutschen Films". In: *Werke*. Ed. by Inka Mülder-Bach and Ingrid Belke. Vol. 2.1. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2006. Looking back on Weimar society, he says: "An den Ruinen dieses 'Systems', das nie ein echtes Gebäude gewesen war, gedieh die Denkungsart der Nazis", ibid., p. 21. And in his conclusion, Kracauer highlights the inevitability

historical studies, Detlev Peukert's "– im doppelten Wortsinn – 'klassisches' Krisennarrativ" *Die Weimarer Republik. Krisenjahre der Klassischen Moderne* stands out as perhaps the archetypical expression of what has become paradigmatic for the historical study of Weimar history in general.[6] And within media studies, Bernhard Fulda's *Press and Politics in the Weimar Republic* similarly employs the idea of Weimar media (and to a degree Weimar society in general) as a site of perpetual crisis, going so far as to suggest that this crisis played a crucial role in Hitler's rise to power.[7] My own focus on developments that are already formed and in the process of negotiation (or even adoption) in 1927 offers an alternative to these often employed interpretations of Weimar Germany, which tend to emphasise either of two major crises in the process: the preceding (hyper-)inflation of the years 1923/1924 or the subsequent onset of the Great Depression from 1930. It marks a conscious move away from the paradigm of the "crisis history" that runs the risk of being both reductive and ahistorical by superimposing a sense of historical inevitability and that simply "jumps" through history crisis by crisis.[8]

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of Nazi rule based on existing psychological preconditions: "Rettungslos der Regression verfallen konnte der Großteil des deutschen Volkes nicht anders, als sich Hitler zu unterwerfen. Da Deutschland so verwirklicht, was in seinem Film von Anfang an bereits angelegt war, wurden auffällige Leinwandgestalten im Leben selbst wahr," Kracauer, "Von Caligari zu Hitler", p. 326.

6 Peukert himself describes his project in these words: "In der hier eingenommenen Kontinutitätsperspektive betonen wir die Krisenhaftigkeit der industriegesellschaftlichen Modernität. Angesichts der aufgeregten Atmosphäre soziokultureller Neuerungen erscheinen uns die Jahre der Weimarer Republik als eine Krisenzeit der *klassischen Moderne*. […] In den Jahren zwischen Erstem Weltkrieg und Weltwirtschaftskrise setzte sich die klassiche Moderne auf breiter Front durch, entfaltete ihre Widersprüche und stürzte in ihre tiefste Krise. 'Weimar' spielte uns in kurzer Zeit und in rasantem Tempo die faszinierenden und die fatalen Möglichkeiten unserer modernen Welt vor," Detlev Peukert. *Die Weimarer Republik. Krisenjahre der klassischen Moderne*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1987, pp. 10–11. For the above evaluation of Peukert's work as well as the play on words, cf. Per Leo. "Tagungsbericht: 'Krisenjahre der Klassischen Moderne'? Diskurs- und Erfahrungsgeschichte der Weimarer Republik, 25.07.2003 – 26.07.2003 Berlin. Diskurs- und Erfahrungsgeschichte der Weimarer Republik". In: *H-Soz-Kult* (Sept. 8, 2003). URL: `http://www.hsozkult.de/conferencereport/id/tagungsberichte-285` (visited on 09/20/2016), pp. 1–2.

7 Cf. Fulda, *Press and Politics in the Weimar Republic*, p. 222: "The extinction of press freedom in Germany in the early 1930s has to be seen as the result of an endogenous crisis of a political–media system; a crisis which had smouldered ever since the revolutionary establishment of the Weimar Republic. As the preceding chapters have demonstrated, the dysfunctional relationship between press and politics played a crucial role in the undermining of the political legitimacy of parliamentary democracy, in bringing about Hitler, and with Hitler the end of press freedom."

8 Cf. David Midgley. *Writing Weimar. Critical realism in German literature 1918–1933*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000, p. 3, who describes this tendency in his introduction: "There were two considerations which initially suggested to me that a book of this kind was needed. One was the tendency for Weimar culture to be discussed as if all elements of it were contributing in one way or another to the political catastrophe which overtook Germany in 1933. The other was the tendency for German literary history to be presented in

Of course, I am not the first to see the potential problems of a historical view that understands crisis as a historical state independent of social practice or people experiencing it. I follow Rüdiger Graf and Moritz Föllmer, who correctly point out that "only in rare cases are distinctions drawn between crises and crisis-*perceptions*; seldom is separate treatment given to crisis-consciousness with due attention to factors of discursive construction".[9] They refer back to the etymology of the Greek *krisis* as the differentiation between division and decision, and therefore suggest that the "uses of the concept of crisis as a concept are bound up with human perception to a greater extent than other historical categories"; crises thus do not exist independently in the world "and await discovery by human beings", but they are instead "first constituted in the narrative structures with which both contemporaries and subsequent historians seek to make sense of complex processes".[10] Seen in this light, crisis becomes a marker of human perception as an interpretative category that tries to make sense of a world in flux. The question for a historical analysis is then not simply whether there *exists* a crisis or not, but what effect it has on institutions and organisations within society as well as on the people *experiencing* it.[11] Bernd Widdig, in his analysis of Heinrich Mann's *Kobes*, perhaps sums up best what happens not just to the fictional character, but how a "crisis history" divorced from the negotiation process of identity works: "The overwhelming presentness of time, its

terms of a tidy sequence of epochal styles, each constituting a logical reaction against the preceding one."

9 Rüdiger Graf and Moritz Föllmer. "The culture of 'crisis' in the Weimar Republic". In: *Thesis Eleven* 111.1 (2012), pp. 36–47, p. 42. As an example for a typical crisis history for the Weimar Republic, cf. Peukert, *Die Weimarer Republik*, who is consequently criticised by Graf/Föllmer for not being rigorous enough in his application of the idea if crisis: "Just as the crisis in Peukert's work occurs as both a phenomenon to be explained and a phenomenon of explanatory value, so similarly, in many other studies, crises are understood in a more or less substantialist fashion and are no longer considered matters to be explained but are invoked only to explain other phenomena. Frequently no effort is made to specify what exactly is meant by the crisis, let alone what the relevant crisis's causal effects may have been," Graf and Föllmer, "The culture of 'crisis' in the Weimar Republic", p. 41.

10 Ibid., p. 38.

11 Bernd Widdig is aware of this necessity when he outlines the goals of his study of the 1923/1924 inflation time as an inquiry "into the cultural and psychological dimensions of inflation", which becomes even more apparent when he is interested in how the crisis of inflation influences people's trust in money as a medium and in the state as its guarantor, as well as "what kinds of anxieties are created by such an event" and how a culture affected by "the increasing breakdown of monetary functions" tries "to conceptualize the reality that seems increasingly bizarre and beyond rational comprehension", cf. Bernd Widdig. *Culture and Inflation in Weimar Germany*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2001, pp. 12 & 16.

unpredictable flow and liveliness during the inflation, insults his [Professor Cornelius's] sense of order and meaning. Yet he also realizes that history, with its demand for structure and coherence, ossifies human experience; even the most chaotic revolution will one day present itself in the history books as another piece in a great coherent narrative."[12]

This "great coherent narrative" usually takes the form of a political system, state, society or people doomed to fail, inevitably (sometimes through sheer inactivity, sometimes actively) bringing about Nazi Germany. Crises are therefore usually seen simply as threats to a way of life or an existing system. According to this view, each new crisis serves as a catalyst for subsequent decline, failure or developments that are seen as negative in historical hindsight, mere anchoring points on a downward spiral. However, Graf and Föllmer remind us that crises also offer a chance of renewal.[13] In this chapter, the period around 1927 therefore does not simply feature as a period devoid of an acute crisis in between the catastrophes of inflation and depression, but it serves instead as a period of social development and of modernisation to a level not reached before.

5.1.2. Sport, women and society

An important part of what makes studies of crises and modernisation processes interesting, however, holds true for this study as well: Sport and the "New Woman" are inextricably linked with the development of a highly complex, more differentiated modern capitalist society. They are connected to a general development of consumer culture just as much as they are to the emergence of modern mass society, city life and the "Metropolis". Recent scholarship has begun to investigate the inherent connectedness of these modernisation processes which can

12 Widdig, *Culture and Inflation in Weimar Germany*, p. 177.

13 Cf. Graf and Föllmer, "The culture of 'crisis' in the Weimar Republic", p. 39: "This applies particularly to the historiography of the Weimar Republic where the more positive valence of the concept as a productive mode and space of possibility is not often appreciated and is frequently ignored in favour of its purely pessimistic register as prelude to National Socialist ascendancy." Additionally, Nadine Rossol highlights that such "new approaches question the concept of a 'doomed' republic and turn away from presenting Weimar democracy as an accumulation of mistakes, shortcomings, and failures", Nadine Rossol. "Performing the Nation. Sports, Spectacles, and Aesthetics in Germany, 1926–1936". In: *Central European History* 43 (2010), pp. 616–638, pp. 616–617.

be described with Luhmann as inter-dependent and co-evolutionary.[14] For example, Julia Sneeringer sees the experience of inflation as a key factor for the development of consumer society, which by 1927 is well established and fully developed: "The post-inflation period thus saw a concerted effort from key quarters not only to stabilize Germany's existing economic order, but to push forward into a mass consumerist future, in which women and their consumption choices would play a vital role in anchoring stability and prosperity."[15] Especially noteworthy is the fact that women are earmarked to play a vital role by participating in consumption. Many other scholars additionally draw explicit parallels between mass society, consumption, women (or gender more generally), advertising and sports. Fiona Skillen highlights that women's participation in sports "marked them out as a distinct set of consumers", because "the role of sports within concepts of modernity is perhaps epitomised by its increasing representation in advertising. Sports were an important aspect of modern advertising. The imagery and language of sport were used regardless of the type of product being promoted".[16] Similarly, Alon Confino and Rudy Koshar advocate a more specific field of the"history of consumption",

14 Birgit Nübel and Anne Fleig call some of these developments "Figurationen der Moderne" and accordingly edited a collection with an eye towards fashion, sport and pornography, through which "drei gesellschaftliche Bereiche in den Mittelpunkt gerückt [werden], deren Praktiken und Diskurse in besonderer Weise durch den Modernisierungsprozess seit dem Ausgang des 19. Jahrhunderts hervorgebracht oder verändert worden sind," Birgit Nübel and Anne Fleig. "Figurationen der Moderne. Einleitung". In: *Figurationen der Moderne. Mode, Sport, Pornographie*. Ed. by Birgit Nübel and Anne Fleig. München: W. Fink, 2011, p. 7. For a first approximation of interdependence, cf. Luhmann, *Soziale Systeme*, pp. 113 & 249–250; for Luhmann's understanding of co-evolution, cf. ibid., pp. 92, 270, 294 & 299.

15 Julia Sneeringer. "The Shopper as Voter. Women, Advertising, and Politics in Post-Inflation Germany". In: *German Studies Review* 27.3 (Oct. 2004), pp. 476–501, p. 486. Bernd Widdig also sees mass consumption as a direct consequence of the inflation period, which he situates in contemporary Weimar valuation opposite "high culture", where the latter leaves the consumer "with an asset of lasting value", whereas popular culture does not accumulate any such "savings": "Because it did not rely on the investment of cultural capital, it was not related to an idea of formation and saving. Because it did not deny the centrality of money for its formation, mass culture provided, in a sense the most suitable cultural economy for the period of inflation," cf. Widdig, *Culture and Inflation in Weimar Germany*, p. 191. Furthermore, Lynn Abrams shows that consumer culture (or commercial culture, as she calls it) also had an effect on the traditionally very differently organised working class which hitherto tended to be focused on local culture: "The gradual enchroachment of a commercial entertainment culture into the hitherto sectional cultures that existed in urban working-class communities could never have gained such a hold in the 1920s without tapping a new consumerist ideology amongst a working class that was undergoing change in terms of its structure, geographical distribution, level of integration and political loyalty," Lynn Abrams. "From Control to Commercialization. The Triumph of Mass Entertainment in Germany 1900–25?" In: *German History* 8.3 (1990), pp. 278–293, p. 289.

16 Fiona Skillen. "'Woman and the Sport Fetish'. Modernity, Consumerism and Sports Participation in Inter-War Britain". In: *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 29.5 (2012), pp. 750–765, p. 759.

which they think should "be written as a history of small steps when material goods, linked to everydayness, shaped sentiments of pleasure, self-fulfillment or disappointment, and came to identify a period, an identity and a state of mind."[17] Finally, Erik N. Jensen even suggests that "Weimar Germany makes an ideal case study for the intersection of sports, gender, and 'modernity' because its citizens, cultural commentators, and popular media devoted so much attention to each".[18]

The nexus of consumer society, women and sport also extends to another area of historical development, already recognised by Siegfried Kracauer in his seminal study *Die Angestellten*, which is concerned with the struggle(s) of the new, emergent social class of white-collar workers that sees itself as belonging to the middle class while sinking into the ranks of the proletariat without even realising.[19] He also explicitly relates the particularly high number of women working in the "Angestelltenberufe" to the economic consequences of war and inflation, as well as to the "Bedürfnis der neuen Frauengeneration nach wirtschaftlicher Selbständigkeit".[20]

Thus, there seem to exist direct links between the development of new gender roles (the "New Woman"), consumption, the struggle for social legitimacy of a new class of working people and the overall process of modernisation. These associations are further supported when consumer society is directly linked to "Wirtschaftswerbung" and emphasis is placed on the fact that "nicht nur in Deutschland war Wirtschaftswerbung gerade kein Ausdruck des (Bildungs-)-Bürgertums, wohl aber aufs engste verknüpft mit dem Aufstieg der neuen Mittelschichten".[21] The extraordinary sport historian Christiane Eisenberg further asserts this last connection and directly links it to the development of sports in Germany when she characterises football as

17 Alon Confino and Rudy Koshar. "Régimes of Consumer Culture. New Narratives in Twentieth-Century German History". In: *German History* 19.2 (2001), pp. 135–161, p. 154.

18 Erik Norman Jensen. *Body by Weimar. Athletes, gender, and German modernity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010, p. 9.

19 Cf. Siegfried Kracauer. "Die Angestellten. Aus dem neuesten Deutschland". In: *Werke*. Ed. by Inka Mülder-Bach and Ingrid Belke. Vol. 1. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2006, pp. 218–222. Especially noteworth is Kracauer's choice of words when he writes: "Über das Quantum der Sklaverei hier und dort läßt sich streiten, aber die Proletarisierung der Angestellten ist nicht zu bezweifeln," ibid., pp. 219–220.

20 Ibid., p. 219.

21 Peter Borscheid, Jürgen Teuteberg, and Clemens Wischermann. *Bilderwelt des Alltags. Werbung in der Konsumgesellschaft des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1995, p. 18.

a sport mainly popularised "durch Angestellte": "Im Fußball versuchten Angestellte, solche individuellen Strategien der Selbstdarstellung kollektiv abzustützen. Dieser Versuch äußerte sich darin, daß ein Sport, der zunächst wenig mehr war als ein Geschicklichkeits- und Wettspiel, zum Anlaß genommen wurde, um ein Verkleidungs- bzw. Schauspiel aufzuführen. Das Stück, das gegeben wurde, hieß 'bürgerliche Gesellschaft'."[22]

An analysis of sport history and the "New Woman" thus has to be understood as *Zeitgeschichte* that allows us better to understand how these social developments challenge established identities and how they force a (re-)negotiation of social identities in general, and in particular of the specific journal identities I focus on here. The six journals discussed in this thesis let us see both the challenge to and negotiation of specifically bourgeois (*bürgerliche*) identities and communities, who have to reassess their stable social identities and who have to confront developments that originally stemmed from their own class but which are rapidly being co-opted by other social groups.

It is perhaps telling that Christiane Eisenberg chose the subtitle "Eine Gesellschaftsgeschichte" for her seminal study *"English Sports" und deutsche Bürger*, in which she develops the idea that the history of sport is inseparable from that of its surrounding society.[23] A study of sport can thus serve as a marker of incorporation, and it can be indicative of social change. Eisenberg even goes so far as to say that "der so umrissene Gegenstand Sport ist ein sozialwissenschaftliches Thema par excellence und zugleich eine besondere Herausforderung für die (Historische) Sozialwissenschaft. Denn seine Erforschung kann sich nicht auf eine der drei Dimensionen beschränken, sondern muß stets auch deren Interdependenzen in den Blick nehmen".[24] In an

22 Cf. Eisenberg, *"English Sports" und deutsche Bürger*, pp. 184–185. Kracauer also makes it explicit that there is a difference between "Angestelltenkultur" and "genuine" middle-class culture, which features for him simply as *Kultur* (as opposed to the compound *Angestelltenkultur*) when he remarks: "Berlin ist heute die Stadt der ausgesprochenen Angestelltenkultur; das heißt einer Kultur, die von Angestellten für Angestellte gemacht und von den meisten Angestellten für eine Kultur gehalten wird," Kracauer, "Die Angestellten", p. 222.

23 Cf. Eisenberg, *"English Sports" und deutsche Bürger*, p. 13: "Dennoch ist der Sport stets auch ein integraler Bestandteil der umgebenden Gesellschaft, von der er geprägt wird und auf die er zurückwirkt. Indem er bestimmte Lebensstile und Prinzipien der Lebensführung nahelegt, beeinflußt er die *Strukturen sozialer Ungleichheit* (Stände, Klassen, Schichten, Minoritäten, Geschlechter, Altersgruppen), die er entweder spiegelbildlich abbildet oder konterkariert."

24 Ibid., p. 14. The "three dimensions" here mean 1) sport and its relationship with other societal areas, such as

earlier, more abstract article, Eisenberg addresses the wider implications of sports history for sociology and social history in general while also addressing the problem of theory. The article places her *Sportgeschichte* within an international research context, as well as within studies of modernisation in general:

> Aus solchen Beobachtungen ergibt sich für eine sich als Kulturgeschichte verstehende Sportgeschichte zum einen die Aufgabe, die Durchsetzungsmuster der kulturellen Moderne und ihre nationalspezifischen Aneignungen zu analysieren und gegebenenfalls zu Typen zusammenzufassen. Als Modernisierungs*geschichte* in diesem Sinn könnte sie sich den Anspruch der alten Modernisierungs*theorien* zu eigen machen, ohne in deren Einseitigkeiten zu verfallen. Zum anderen kann die Sportgeschichte die Konsequenzen des durch Kulturtransfer exogen induzierten sozialen Wandels in den jeweiligen Ländern und Regionen, also vor Ort, untersuchen.[25]

A somewhat similar view can also be found in Klaus Cachay's description of his study's wider social integration:

> Über diese Absicht hinaus, kann die Arbeit auch als Versuch verstanden werden, sowohl einen (partial) theoretischen Beitrag zu einer (Global)Theorie gesellschaftlicher Differenzierung zu leisten, indem neben den bislang anerkannten und thematisierten funktionsspezifisch ausdifferenzierten gesellschaftlichen Teilsystemen, wie Politik, Wirtschaft, Recht, Wissenschaft, Religion und Erziehung, nun auch der Sport Eingang findet in differenzierungstheoretische Fragen, als auch einen Beitrag zu einer Theorie gesellschaftlicher Steuerung.[26]

Drawing heavily on Luhmann's version of systems theory, Cachay shows how sport differentiates itself from existing social systems in order to become an inter-dependent subsystem of society that establishes itself as a site for the handling of a specific set of social problems, namely that of "Volksgesundheit".[27] With reference to Luhmann's theory of interpenetration, as well as the idea of system and environment, he asserts that sport ought to be studied in

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the military, politics, as well as the economic, medical and health systems; 2) sport and its specific connections to (and origins within) bourgeois culture; 3) sport and its international character, especially its English origins and the subsequent interplay between nationalism and internationalism as it presented itself in the Olympic movement.

25 Christiane Eisenberg. "Sportgeschichte. Eine Dimension der modernen Kulturgeschichte". In: *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 23.2 (Apr. 1997), pp. 295–310, p. 308.

26 Klaus Cachay. *Sport und Gesellschaft. Zur Ausdifferenzierung einer Funktion und ihrer Folgen*. Schorndorf: Hofmann, 1988, p. 11.

27 Cf. ibid., pp. 232–250.

connection with other social developments of its time, developments upon which it depends while simultaneously furthering them. Sports history thus becomes, to a degree, a cultural history of the German *Bürgertum*, but in doing so, it also forms an integral part of the cultural history of Weimar Germany as such.

While the above view on sport history as a social history might not seem obvious at first, this connection is far less suprising when it comes to the history of gender relations and gender images. Feminist scholars in particular have always seen their contributions as (re-)evaluations of social developments that had hitherto been understood as male dominated, should the seemingly "natural" patriarchal social structure have been questioned at all. Gender studies, interested in the development and change of male and female identities alike, have since come to focus not just on a reevaluation, but on a fundamental relativisation of gender relationships in general. From that focus they assume that a change in female identities challenge male identities just as well, leading to a dynamisation of our understanding of gender as a whole.

As has been put forward earlier, there exist close links between the development of sport and the increased independence and inclusion in social processes of women. It therefore makes sense to place an exemplary reading of my journals in terms of images and ideas of womanhood alongside an analysis of sports. This does not mean, however, that a section on ideas of womanhood merely repeats what has already been said. On the contrary, a focus on women works on an even more fundamental level not just of identification and ascribed values, but of physical identity and those concepts traditionally tied to it. Where the development of sports enables new forms of "Geselligkeit" (Eisenberg) alongside new institutions and organisations,[28] new ways of configuring female identity do not simply offer new and alternative ways of living, but they also fundamentally challenge (and potentially change) existing ways of life by questioning social roles that hitherto had seemed "natural". The development of the "New Woman" therefore marks a fundamental challenge to existing social identities and is an important indicator of the state of modernisation (and its processes) as well as of its cultural

28 Cf. Eisenberg, *"English Sports" und deutsche Bürger*, pp. 200 & 293.

negotiation.

The development of *new ideas* of womanhood necessarily clashed with *existing ideals*, as Widdig states when he discusses Hans Ostwald's 1931 *Sittengeschichte der Inflation* in order to explicate the connection between inflation, womanhood and morality: "It is significant that he and many of his contemporaries cite, next to the increase in crime and corruption, women's changed behavior as evidence for the moral decay of society during the currency devaluation. The extent to which women begin to deviate from traditional gender norms becomes an indicator that measures the loosening of society's moral fabric."[29]

Sylvain Ferez identifies a similar correspondence between women and morality, though interestingly enough, he does so through an analysis of sexual categorisation within sports: "In spite of the emergence of a new ideal of feminine beauty linked to 'sportswomen' in the work of writers such as Paul Morand or Henry de Montherland in the 1930s, the old norms of setting women's beauty in the context of modesty and fragility tended to keep them away from sports grounds through much of the twentieth century."[30] He makes explicit that sports could be constructed as the antithesis of (traditional views of) femininity, which in turn suggests that a new idea of femininity had to evolve alongside sports. If sport has been established as a marker of modernity, so, too, can the "New Woman" be seen as specifically modern and thus part of the modernisation process. Fiona Skillen ascribes exactly this specific modernity to the new "young modern": "The way she dressed, the way she spent her time, the way she used her body, the way she styled her hair, the make-up she used all marked her out as 'different'. Thus the flapper was a potent symbol of modernity; she epitomised the changes that were taking place and provided a stark contrast to previous generations."[31] This contrast between

29 Widdig, *Culture and Inflation in Weimar Germany*, p. 201.

30 Sylvain Ferez. "From Women's Exclusion to Gender Institution. A Brief History of the Sexual Categorisation Process within Sport". In: *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 29.2 (2012), pp. 272–285, p. 273.

31 Skillen, "'Woman and the Sport Fetish'", p. 751. And although Skillen's article has England and the English "new modern" as its subject, she highlights that "the Modern Girl was not a uniquely British phenomenon. She appeared across the globe from France to China, the USA to India. She appeared in films, plays, short stories and her image was used to promote and sell products as diverse as cigarettes to holidays and films to tyres", suggesting that her findings are just as applicable for this study while also highlighting once more the connection between modernity, consumption, advertisement and new forms of womanhood, cf. ibid., p. 751.

generations (and also between "types" of women) can roughly be thought of as the divide between the housewife on one hand and the "New Woman" on the other, as Darcy Buerkle notes with regard to the depiction of women in the media and especially in advertisement.[32] More than that, however, she also situates the development of the New Woman specifically within the media, where notably the "New Woman" is largely a product of visual culture:

> Visual culture mobilized to respond to advertising psychology's directives. It reveals aspects of a public imagination that advertising textbooks and related ruminations obscure, even if at times inadvertently. Most importantly and strangely, textbook advertising guidelines did not mention the regularity and ubiquity with which print media invoked the New Woman; she appears nowhere explicitly in their thinking, yet she appeared persistently in visual culture of the 1920s.[33]

Buerkle thus directly questions the primacy of "theory" (in this case that of advertisement psychology) in favour of what can be found *in practice*, i.e. in the magazines and advertisements: "Of what, then, did this seemingly all-important visual address consist? The answer lies not in advertising psychology texts; it appears in the visual record itself."[34]

This is the reason why approaching seemingly "abstract" and general social developments *through* a reading of journals makes sense. Coming back to Confino and Koshar's notion of a *history of small steps*, we can now define more closely what an analysis of sports and the New Woman in the *Simplicissimus*, *Die Weltbühne*, the *Kladderadatsch*, *Die Gartenkunst*, *Sport im Bild* and *Fürs Haus* can offer. As commercial products and as expressions of their specific communal identities, these journals contain these wider social developments. The New Woman appears in caricatures and texts just as much as in advertisements and photos; sport features in essays and news, image and text. Since both developments are linked to a wider process of modernisation, but also to a renewal and evolution of bourgeois culture, analysing their

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In support of this view, cf. Tani E. Barlow et al. "The Modern Girl around the World. A Research Agenda and Preliminary Findings". In: *Gender & History* 17.2 (2005), pp. 245–294, pp. 245–246.

32 Cf. Darcy Buerkle. "Gendered Spectatorship, Jewish Women and Psychological Advertising in Weimar Germany". In: *Women's History Review* 15.4 (2006), pp. 625–636, p. 630: "Images of women in advertisements of the 1920s fall, generally, in two categories: the housewife and the New Woman."

33 Ibid., p. 630.

34 Ibid., p. 630.

depiction and appearance in these journals lays bare the state of adoption, incorporation and negotiation of these specific historical developments. While these developments are not quite theory themselves (though they feature heavily in theorising efforts of intellectuals and other contemporaries), they first become tangible when approached through historical practice. It stands to reason that the journals as products of social practice thus include these developments just as much as they include political, economic or artistic modernisation processes. In Confino and Koshar's ideal "history of consumption", a *history of small steps* is linked with a *history of things* – i.e. of artefacts and products, their creation and use – as well as with a *history of society* as such: "Alongside the histories of things and of small steps, our narratives should also capture the view from above by linking consumption to politics, ideology and economics. In contrast to a history of small steps, this is a history of state interventions, economic policies and trends, and world views."[35]

The journals offer all three layers of analysis, in that they are "things" – artefacts – themselves while also functioning as sites of discourse, communal activity and pleasure for authors and readers alike. In their function as media, they also help their specific communities negotiate their identities; more than that, however, the journals further serve as instances of negotiation between institutions, organisations, companies, artistic movements and their readers.

By looking at a group of journals and how they each represent and negotiate the same wider developments, it also becomes possible to compare their specific reactions. Consequently, a network of relationships can be drawn that eschews the typical division along political fault lines in favour of a more differentiated, more complex set of relationships between these individual communities.[36] By centring on developments that are not intrinsically political (although

35 Confino and Koshar, "Régimes of Consumer Culture", p. 158.

36 Williams's notion of hegemonic and counter-hegemonic practices provided the original basis for this widened scope. My own reconfiguration of Williams's notion of the residual, dominant and emergent into the more general relationship between conservative, prevailing and innovative practices then further allows us to move not just beyond immediate politial divisions, but beyond the division of hegemonic and counter-hegemonic – still inscribed into Williams's trajectory of overthrowing a specific hegemony – in favour of a complex set of relationships that allows for a coexistence of hegemonic and counter-hegemonic tendencies within the same communities or even within the same identity, cf. section 2.2, p. 41.

certainly ideologically charged and politically used)[37] but that converge instead on bourgeois culture and developments that stem from within, this analysis underscores similarities and common strategies in negotiating the journals' middle-class responses perhaps even more than their doubtlessly existing differences. This approach runs counter to Helmuth Lethen's assertion that the "New Objectivity" similarly spawned a set of codes of social distance as a reaction to a specific configuration of political and institutional factors when he writes that "the 1920s is a boom period for codes of conduct. But their effective radius tends either to be restricted to expressions of the new objectivity itself or overwhelmed by the mass of rules they promised to relieve, which are rules generated by surrounding institutions, parties, and political camps".[38] Instead, what can be shown through comparative analysis is that politics are but one way of making sense of the world when negotiating identity, and that there are other factors such as a set of middle-class values that span the political spectrum.[39]

Furthermore, by taking into account a *group* of journals, I avoid simplifications that assume a fundamentally bi-partisan historical disposition resulting in a *Weltanschauungspresse* where these journals do not share the same "Lebenswelt" (in Habermas's sense), as Fulda seems to assume when he writes that "Readers of the Communist newspaper *Rote Fahne* and those of the reactionary *Neue Preussische Kreuz-Zeitung* would move in completely different worlds.

37 Darcy Buerkle for example shows how the "type" of the New Woman comes to be associated over time with that of the Jewish temptress, and how it spawns a more concerted and concentrated effort to reestablish an alternative form of femininity: "The late-twenties image of woman was specifically constructed against conceptions of femininity that took hold in the early and mid-1920s. The perimeter of this construction was first a decision to promote a certain kind of image of womanhood, to cast out those aspects of the New Woman that were deemed un-German; to cause, in effect, social death through symbolic domination," Buerkle, "Gendered Spectatorship", p. 633.

38 Helmut Lethen. *Cool Conduct. The Culture of Distance in Weimar Germany*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2001, p. 44.

39 Confino/Koshar hope for similar outcomes with their projected "history of consumptions" when they assert that "viewing the history of consumption as one of small steps and large movements challenges the received political narrative and chronology of modern German history," Confino and Koshar, "Régimes of Consumer Culture", p. 158. Eisenberg similarly highlights that a focus on historical practice necessarily marks a movement away from purely structural or political histories, leading to new a perspective on social history: "Ein erster Befund ergibt sich aus der für Langzeituntersuchungen noch ungewöhnlichen Analyseperspektive 'von unten nach oben' statt 'von oben nach unten'. Die hier gewählte Betrachtungsweise auf das soziale Handeln führte zu einer Betonung der Kontinuitäten in der deutschen Geschichte, hinter denen die durch Revolutionen und Regimewechsel erzeugten Brüche, die von struktur- und institutionsgeschichtlichen Ansätzen hervorgehoben werden, zurücktraten," Eisenberg, *"English Sports" und deutsche Bürger*, p. 430.

Here, as in other overtly political papers, the effects of political polarization on the paper's information policy were fundamental".[40] For Fulda, the bi-partisan press is ultimately one of the main contributing factors leading Germany into Nazi Germany, and it is seen as a continuous "structural crisis of German Weltanschauung journalism", a crisis that "was solved only through the Allied occupation forces after 1945".[41]

I offer a different understanding of the Weimar journals, one that does not see them as part of a media system that is in perpetual crisis until it is finally "fixed" by an external, superior organisation principle. Instead, I show the negotiation of six distinct variants of bourgeois cultural identity, only some of which proclaim to have politics as a guiding principle, unearthing in the process the much more fundamental *shared nature* of common values, interpretations and negotiation strategies, highlighting aspects of continuity as well as social differentiation.

5.2. Sport

Having established the idea of sport history as social history, I now turn to my material to show more specifically the challenges sport poses to existing social identities, as well as the different valuations and depictions of sport which elucidate the negotiation of identity. In order to do so, I have identified within the journals three distinct areas with their specific negotiation strategies: "modernity", culture and spirit (*Geist*); health, city life and *Wehrkraft*; desire, commerce and advertisement. These three areas, in turn, correspond loosely to three different negotiation strategies for coming to terms with the modern development of sport: namely, rejection, adaptation and incorporation. However, first I give a very brief definition of what I mean when I talk about sport or sports.

The main difficulty in defining "sport" is that the word had originally been imported from England but had come to mean something slightly different in Germany both during the Kaiserreich and during the Weimar Republic.[42] Eisenberg subsequently separates "Sport" from

40 Fulda, *Press and Politics in the Weimar Republic*, p. 18.
41 Cf. ibid., p. 222.
42 Cf. Eisenberg, *"English Sports" und deutsche Bürger*, p. 11: "Mitte der 1880er Jahre waren diese Überset-

"Körperertüchtigung" and "Touristik", which makes sense given her focus on a statistical analysis of institutions, clubs and associations where a more precise separation is necessary.[43] However, this strict separation does not seem to exist to the same degree in the journals themselves, where sport is sometimes seen as distinct from gymnastics or body culture, and sometimes part of the same grouping. Accordingly, many scholars (Eisenberg perhaps notwithstanding) seem to sometimes think of competitive sports when they mention sports, while at other times, sports are seen as part of the wider group of "Leibesübungen". The latter view follows the contemporary attempt to institutionally and ideologically unify sports, gymnastics and various other areas of "body culture" under the specifically German concept of "Leibesübungen" with the *Deutsche Reichsausschuss für Leibesübungen* (DRA) as its institutional (and political) representative.[44] While an investigation into the organisational structures of sports might require stricter separation, my inquiry into the *reception* of social change is better served by the "fuzzier" distinctions that are at work in the journals, which happily combine (or contrast)

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zungsschwierigkeiten darauf zurückzuführen, daß die 'sports' aus England 'importiert' worden waren und das Wort nur einer kleinen Avantgarde etwas Konkretes sagte." Stefan Nielsen similarly highlights the problem of defining sport, which he hopes to solve by recurring to the concept's (German) etymology, cf. Stefan Nielsen. *Sport und Großstadt 1870 bis 1930. Komparative Studien zur Entstehung bürgerlicher Freizeitkultur*. Frankfurt am Main & Oxford: Peter Lang, 2002, pp. 69–73.

43 Cf. Christiane Eisenberg. "Massensport in der Weimarer Republik. Ein statistischer Überblick". In: *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte* 33 (1993), pp. 137–177, pp. 142–144.

44 For the institutional history of the DRA, its predecessors and successor, cf. Eisenberg, *"English Sports" und deutsche Bürger*, 313ff. Regarding the grouping of sports and other "Leibesübungen", cf. Michael Hau. "Sports in the Human Economy. 'Leibesübungen', Medicine, Psychology and Performance Enhancement during the Weimar Republic". In: *Central European History* 41 (Sept. 2008), pp. 381–412, 390ff. who understands sports *and* gymnastics as integral part of biopolitics and the strengthening of national health ever since World War I and who fittingly starts his article by quoting the 1926 president of the DRA, Theodor Lewald. Somewhat similarly, while Erik N. Jensen focuses on three distinct "individual, competetive sports" for his analysis (tennis, boxing, track and field), his wider assumptions about athletes as rolemodels and of the impacts of sport for health and fitness seem to be very much in line with the wider understanding of sports as part of *Leibesübungen*, cf. Jensen, *Body by Weimar*, pp. 7–10. Bernd Wedemeyer-Kolwe focuses instead on the "Körperkulturbewegung", which sometimes has practices that develop in parallel to sports or gymnastics, and some that develop in an orthogonal direction, further highlighting the difficulty of separating them neatly, as he states in his introduction: "Die Zeitgenossen betrachteten die Körperkulturbewegung als formal und inhaltlich geschlossenes Element innerhalb der deutschen Leibesübungen und faßten sie als eigenständige Säule neben Turnen und Sport auf. Umso mehr erstaunt jedoch, daß die Bewegung und ihre Organisationen und Praktiken bei einem ersten stichpunktartigen Überblick keineswegs die von den Zeitgenossen postulierte Geschlossenheit vermitteln, sondern eher einen ausgesprochen heterogenen und zersplitterten Eindruck hinterlassen," cf. Bernd Wedemeyer-Kolwe. *"Der neue Mensch". Körperkultur im Kaiserreich und in der Weimarer Republik*. Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2004, p. 12.

sports, gymnastics, body culture, "Leibesübungen" and sometimes even dance, generally seeing them as part of more general social developments or of modernisation as such.[45] Perhaps, this slight reluctance towards separation is what makes the focus on sport particularly useful, insofar as it allowed contemporary practitioners to negotiate the challenges sports pose in different and vastly diverse ways.

5.2.1. Modernity, culture & *Geist*

If, as Jensen asserts, Weimar Germany is a prime candidate for a study of the intersection between modernity, sports and gender, and if the development of sports mark wider social modernisation processes, then it is appropriate to assume that these innovative forms of configuring identity come into contact (and conflict) with existing identities. Bernd Wedemeyer-Kolwe situates his study in such an area of conflict when he outlines the development of various new forms of body culture and its milieu: "Die betroffenen Zeitgenossen – und hier besonders die Bildungsbürger und die neue Mittelschicht, die ihr soziales und ökonomisches Umfeld bedroht sahen oder auf der Suche nach einer kulturellen und ökonomischen Einbindung waren – hatten das Gefühl, einer Fragmentierung der Welt beizuwohnen, einer Welt, die 'mit ihrem ungeheuren geistigen Durcheinander viele Menschen vollständig aus dem Geleise' bringe."[46] This understanding of a *felt* crisis goes back to Baudelaire's definition of modernity: "La modernité, c'est le transitoire, le fugitif, le contingent, la moitié de l'art, dont l'autre moitié est l'éternel et l'immuable."[47] Thus, Wedemeyer-Kolwe sees conservative (if not outright reactionary) tendencies in middle-class responses (and in those of the up-and-coming social "Angestellten" class) to a continuous modernisation process. Jensen highlights a similar set of responses in regard to various forms of body culture, yet he contrasts these conservative tendencies with the innovative tendency of sports as "a set of counter images and discourses on

45 Wedemeyer-Kolwe specifically includes dance-like elements alongside other parts of body culture, while other studies generally seem to exclude it, cf. Wedemeyer-Kolwe, *"Der neue Mensch"*, pp. 25–29

46 Ibid., pp. 16–17.

47 Charles Baudelaire. "Le peintre de la vie moderne". In: *L'Art romantique*. Vol. 3. Oeuvres complètes. Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1868, pp. 51–115, p. 69.

physical fitness and the body that […] exerted an even more powerful influence on Weimar Germany. In stark contrast to the adherents of those other movements, male and female athletes eagerly embraced modernity in all of its rationalized, individualistic, commercial, competitive, time-oriented, and achievement-focused excess. Instead of fleeing 'the tyranny of the clock,' athletes pursued it".[48] This clash between conservative and innovative tendencies, between anti-modernist ideals and modern development is particularly relevant to my investigation of changes in social identity. The journals elucidate this opposition and show how it is used to reassure a distinctly conservative bourgeois identity, making visible the negotiation of identity in practice.

A common strand of trying to come to terms with the development and ever-increasing presence of sport in daily life is by embedding it in the nexus of culture, modernity, modernisation, *Geist* and nationality. Or, to be more precise, a common conservative way of framing sport is to contrast it with culture and the specifically German idea of *Geist*. Sport is seen as a genuine expression of modernity, the very same modernity that brought about a revolution, counter-revolution and a lost war, threatening the continued existence of the *Bürgertum* and giving rise to works such as Oskar Spengler's slightly earlier (1918) narrative of "The Decline of the West". In the comment section of *Fürs Haus*, some of the back and forth arguments between the readers regarding a comment entitled "Sport als Weltanschauung" explicitly lay bare these connections. Paul Walter writes:

> Der Sport in der maßlosen Uebertreibung unserer Zeit ist ein jedem gesunden Geistesleben widersprechender Wahnsinn, der den freien Geistesflug hemmt, zersetzend auf jede Geisteskultur wirkt. […] Er hat aus einem Volk, das sich vor wenigen Jahrzehnten das Volk der Dichter und Denker nennen konnte, ein Volk von Boxern und Athleten gemacht, aus einer Geisteskultur eine Körperkultur, die bei einem weiteren Umsichgreifen bald Deutschlands Zukunft zu Grabe tragen wird.(FH45, No. 29, "Sie haben das Wort", n.p.)

48 Jensen, *Body by Weimar*, p. 6. His comment on the conservative tendencies of body culture echoes once more the above assumption of modernity-as-a-crisis and Baudelaire's original definition: "Nudism, hiking, and gymnastics, to name just three strands of postwar physical culture, clearly positioned themselves as antidotes to the hectic, atomized, and high-pressured environment that so many cultural critics had come to associate with postwar society," cf. ibid., p. 6.

Referring to Germany as a country of "Dichter und Denker" and locating this Germany in the past, he encapsulates the foundation of a bourgeois identity. Germany appears as the country of culture and Geist, of Goethe and Schiller and other "Dichter und Denker", a country that has little in common with modern Weimar Germany and its modernisation processes. Other articles in the same journal highlight this connection even more: in order to stay in touch with current cultural developments, the (mainly female) reader is reminded by Anna Kappstein to also read some newer literature, whose danger can be tamed thanks to Goethe: "Was an Gärendem, an Ungestüm, an Wortrausch und Unmaß des Stoffes dahertaumelt, wird denjenigen Leser kaum verwirren, der sich gründlich am Vollmenschentum Goethes gebildet hat. Und wer sich freudig dem Neuen zuwendet, weil es ihn blitzhaft anregt und Perspektiven öffnet, von denen er nichts ahnte, der wieder reguliert seine Benommenheit, indem er hin und wieder zu seinem Goethe greift."(FH45, No. 21, "Die Frau und das Buch", n.p.) Goethe serves as antidote to a modern literature that itself embodies a fragmented, hectic modern life. Hanns Martin Elster similarly recurs to Goethe when he tries to answer the question of what a woman should read: "Weder Musik noch Technik, weder bildende Künste noch Fähigkeiten wie der Sport vermitteln des Menschen Sein und Wesen so universal und unmittelbar wie das schöpferische Buch. Ein Werther, ein Faust ist durch kein Kino, kein Radio zu ersetzen."(FH45, No. 34, "Was soll die Frau lesen?", n.p.)

There seems to exist a direct opposition between a cultured, mindful, educated, tasteful and individualist bourgeois identity on one hand and an uncultured, sensationalist, mindless and uneducated *mass* development on the other. This opposition exists not just in the discussions in *Fürs Haus*, however, but can be seen in other journals as well, suggesting a more general validity within burgeois communities, beyond single journal communities. In a poem with the ambiguous title *Den Schläger an die Wand!*, the *Kladderadatsch* gives us an impression of what it means to do sports, while it simultaneously riles against a clampdown on the practice of fencing and duelling in the (traditionally rightwing) fraternities (*schlagende Burschenschaften*),

creating an opposition between *modern* sports and *traditional*, German bourgeous-academic tradition. The title's ambiguity lies in the fact that it can be understood as resting a racket or bat against a wall, where "Schläger" then simply means a sport implement. However, if "Schläger" is understood as "a person who hits", bearing in mind that duelling fraternities are known as "schlagend" and that they were typically nationalist and right-wing, this could also be understood as "put the fencer up against the wall", framing the following as a diatribe against left-wing post-revolutionary politics and social practices:

> Stürz' ab, brich's Bein, fall' über Bord,
> Ersaufe – aber treibe Sport!
>
> Gib auch, wenn dich das Boxfieber faßt,
> Den Geist auf, falls du so was hast.
>
> Verunglücke in Wald und Flur,
> Nur hüte dich vor der Mensur!
>
> Denn wem der Schläger die Arme strafft,
> Der kriegt leicht längere Festungshaft.
>
> Wir sind sehr pazifistisch heute,
> Die Waffe empört moderne Leute.
>
> Der einzige Kampf sei der am Skattisch.
> Die Zeit ist eben demokratisch,
>
> Und Kämpfen ein versunk'nes Problem.
> Wenn deine Leidenschaften trotzdem
>
> Nach eines Gegners Blute brennen,
> So ford're ihn zum Sechstagerennen!
>
> (Rudolf Hofmann, ed. *Kladderadatsch*. Vol. 80. Berlin: A. Hofmann & Co., 1927 [henceforth cited as KL80], p. 26)

Sport features as brainless – "Gib auch den Geist auf" –, but it also becomes loaded with additional characteristics. For the above critics, sport clashes with a German nation of *Dichter und Denker*; for the *Kladderadatsch* writer, this traditional understanding of Germany also contains a notion of a victorious, warring nation, whereas the new, sporty, modern Germany is one that has lost the Great War, exemplifying a state that is weak, pacifist and democratic. The same journal further illustrates this strict divide between history (tradition) and modernity

(progress) with a caricature entitled *Sport auf geschichtlicher Grundlage*, which shows us some of the heroic figures of history engaged in various sports: Jeanne d'Arc is iceskating, Achilles is depicted as a hockey player, Refretete[sic!] (Nofretete) can be seen during skiing practice in Gizeh and Hermann der Cherusker is tobogganing.(Cf. Figure A.16, p. 282) In a way, sport robs these historic figures of their dignity and of their historic significance by associating them with mundane activity. The anachronicity of these images only adds to the ridicule, portraying a unification of traditional values and modern development as laughable. The specific choice of historic figures is also interesting and perhaps indicative of wider associations of the *Kladderadatsch* with specifically right-wing ideas. While Jeanne d'Arc is seemingly included for the pun of "Bogen – (arc) – Schlagen", she also represents a figure of war and sacrifice, as does Achilles, especially considering the fact that he is described as a goalkeeper. Nofretete is perhaps included because the Nefertiti Bust had been in German possession for some time and had been on public display since 1924. Hermann der Cherusker – Arminius – is a stable identification figure of German nationalism as both victor over the Romans in the Teutoburger Forest and as a symbol of the Prussian struggle against Napoleon as embodied in Kleist's *Hermannsschlacht*. This suggests that imagining these figures as sportspeople is akin to sacrilege, entirely absurd and fully undignified. The often at least implicit tendency of mixing nationalist sentiments with criticism of modernity can be further observed more clearly in another reader's comment in *Fürs Haus*, where Frau Baurat H. writes:

> Ich möchte hier nur von den Tänzen sprechen. Möchte einmal fragen, ob denn diese Tänze, die wir von Amerika importieren, dem deutschen Wesen entsprechen. Sind wir denn wirklich gezwungen, diese, gelinde ausgedrückt, merkwürdigen Tänze nachzuahmen, die für Neger und Mestizen die passende Tanzform sein mögen und für die Schenken niedrigster Art in südamerikanischen Hafenstädten am Platze sind aber doch nicht für Menschen, die sich gebildet nennen. […] Bildung umfasst doch alle Ausdrucksformen des Lebens, ist nicht nur mit Wissen identisch. (FH45, No. 17, "Weshalb die Nachahmung der ausländischen Tänze", n.p.)

Instead of modern sports or modern literature, modern dance (specifically the Charleston) serves as the antithesis of German *Bildung*, which again responds to the idea of Geist as much

as to that of the *Dichter und Denker*. Associating modernity with "Neger und Mestizen" and with the seemingly "wild" South America additionally introduces both notions of racial superiority (of Germans) and of racial degeneration to the overall impression of modernity as the "Untergang des Abendlandes" (Spengler).

However, racism and nationalism are not quintessential for this specific way of configuring modernity, while the notion of culture as rooted in German tradition is essential. The less chauvinist *Simplicissimus* shows a similar connection between tradition and valued identity while focusing on the decline of culture, which is portrayed as a steady decline of the *quality of art*, seeing Goethe and Schiller as literary and the "Alte Meister" as artistic apexes of German culture, while Expressionism in both literature and the visual arts marks its more recent low-point, "Schundliteratur" not even withstanding. Sandwiched between an advertisement for sparkling wine ("Söhnlein Rheingold") and beer ("Spaten-Franziskaner-Leistbräu A.G."), Th. Th. Heine's drawing *Das neue Ideal* frames the conflict between tradition and modernity not just as one between culture and sport, but as a generational conflict: "Mein Sohn hat kolossal viel Talent zum Malen, aber der Bengel ist zu ehrgeizig, er will durchaus Preisboxer werden", the father – a painter – tells his guests.(Cf. Figure A.17, p. 283) The son thus chooses being a sportsman over being an artist, eschewing in the process many of the hitherto held bourgeois values, supported by the caricature's composition, where both the father and the visitors are depicted wearing formal clothing and where an "antique" piece of furniture can be seen standing in the back, marking the bourgeois setting of the home. This contrasts with the sportive boy, dynamically engaged mid-thrust (and thus not just standing, but moving), who is wearing decidedly *informal* clothing – shorts and T-Shirt rather than a traditional suit.[49] The son thus epitomises a modernity that seemingly ignores (high) art, and thus rejects an important part of "culture". Furthermore, the drawing also marks ambition as specifically

49 On the importance of the development of dedicated sportswear, Skillen remarks: "The body, and in particular the female body, was a central focus of modernity. Bodies were expected to be slim, toned but not overly muscular. Sport and exercise could be used to create the idealised silhouette but the way the body was dressed was as important as its natural shape," cf. Skillen, "'Woman and the Sport Fetish'", pp. 756–757.

modern by contrasting it with the more innate talent. By opposing "becoming" to "being" in the process, this can serve as the fundamental opposition between an up-and-coming, rapidly growing and developing group of people on one side (white-collar workers) and a stagnant group of middle-class people fearing social decline and having been hit hard by the inflation on the other.

The opposition between art and sport, and thus between culture and its other (without specifically naming it), finds yet another twist in a further *Simplicissimus* piece. Published as part of an entire special issue dedicated to ridiculing the phenomenon of "Wintersport", Mynona's *Wintersportmord* tells the fiction of a psychiatrist in an ayslum, beaten to death by some of the resident lunatics, specifically after they had come into contact with some of the sportspeople who are there for their *Winterfrische*. Apart from certain hints and nods towards Mann's *Der Zauberberg*,[50] a much more explicit and direct link between sport, art and culture is made: not only do the sportsmen race downhill (on the skeleton bob) against a chimp dressed up like one of them, but simply watching sports already agitates the otherwise intimidated and usually calm lunatics, causing the "armen Irren" to fall into "allerfrohsinnigsten Paroxysmus", which then tips in enough mental confusion that they drown the psychiatrist and exhibit him as a "snowman": "Auch sie wollten ihren Sport. Mindestens wollten sie einen Schneemann machen. Prinzhornviecher geradezu wurden aus ihnen, indem sich ihrem Irrsinn der Infantilismus gesellte."(S32, p. 478) Here, sport causes confusion in the on-looker, i.e. in the audience, and the sportspeople themselves are not that different from apes in sportswear. However, while this is damning in itself, it is the reference to Prinzhorn that means this text can also be read as a comment on the state of modernity when it comes to art. Hans Prinzhorn's 1922 publication *Bildnerei der Geisteskranken* exhibited the abstract, often confused artworks of some of his patients. This publication is often regarded as groundbreaking for artists (though

50 Cf. S32, p. 478: "Psychiater Blödin (auf dem Gegenberg) behandelte seine Patienten – aus Wut auf Thomas Mann? – möglichst unliterarisch: kalte Dusche, Purgantien, Gummizelle, Zwangsjacke. Alle Heilung der Psyche hielt er für lukrativen Unfug. Eine junge Berliner Milliardärin, die sich aus der Haut ihrer Zofe ein Luftkissen gemacht hatte, ließ er prügeln. – Indessen hatten die Patienten, grade weil man sie jederzeit scharf anfassen konnte, sonst ihre Freiheit."

its reception within the field of psychiatry was decidedly more mixed) by highlighting the primal nature of this unreflected art, which was of interest to both modernists interested in stream-of-consciousness narratives and surrealists with their exploration of art decoupled from reason via an *écriture automatique*. This importance is echoed in similar reflections within literary criticism and psychiatry on the relationship between literature and schizophrenia.[51] These new and decidedly modern understandings of literature and forms of writing are at odds with the traditional view of the inspired genius come artist associated with the classic German *Dichter und Denker*, e.g. Goethe, Schiller or some of the Romantics, further highlighting a preference for the latter over the seemingly "mad" modern developments.[52] Furthermore, the second part of the compound "Prinzhornviecher" relegates sport's audience to the realm of animals, just as the sportsperson has its functional equivalent in the chimp, rendering both as sub-human. Coming in a way full circle, Paul Walter in his *Fürs Haus* letter evokes a similar parallel:

> Es ist das Signum unserer Zeit, sich zu verlieren in einer oberflächlichen Lebensmoral, ohne in die Tiefen des Lebens zu dringen. Ein Wort wie das: Sport als Weltanschauung, charakterisiert aufs treffendste unser Zeitalter. Das, was den Menschen vom Tier unterscheidet, ist der Geist, und nimmt man ihm den Geist, so nimmt man ihm den Menschen. Ein Mensch, der von sich sagen kann, seine Weltanschauung sei sein Sport, der das Ideal seines Lebens in einem sportgestählten Körper sieht, der steht nicht weit über den Tieren

51 For the specific link between the "Sammlung Prinzhorn" and Surrealism, cf. Thomas Röske and Ingrid von Beyme, eds. *Surrealismus und Wahnsinn*. Austellungskatalog zur Austellung "Surrealismus und Wahnsinn", 26.11.2009 - 14.2.2010, Sammlung Prinzhorn, Heidelberg. Heidelberg: Wunderhorn and Sammlung Prinzhorn, 2009. For perhaps the most important German-speaking work regarding madness and language, cf. Leo Navratil. *Schizophrenie und Sprache. Zur Psychologie der Dichtung*. München: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1966. For an overview of the field, and more specific viewpoints, cf. Winfried Kudszus, ed. *Literatur und Schizophrenie. Theorie und Interpretation eines Grenzgebiets*. Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1977, and there especially Winfried Kudszus. "Literatur und Schizophrenie. Forschungsperspektiven". In: *Literatur und Schizophrenie*. Ed. by Winfried Kudszus. Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1977, pp. 1–12, Peter Gorsen. "Literatur und Psychopathologie heute. Zur Genealogie der grenzüberschreitenden bürgerlichen Ästhetik". In: *Literatur und Schizophrenie*. Ed. by Winfried Kudszus. Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1977, pp. 13–68 and Leo Navratil. "Psychopathologie und Sprache. Theorie und Interpretation eines Grenzgebiets". In: *Literatur und Schizophrenie*. Ed. by Winfried Kudszus. Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1977, pp. 113–134.

52 Friedrich Kittler asserts that the cultural concept of the "enlightened" and "inspired" artist was superseded by modern technological inventions, namely grammophone, film and typewriter, which made it possible to record sound, movement and letters de-coupled from handwriting and which thus relegated each of these functions to their own media types while they had been combined in literature before. He thus advocates a different, demystified view of both authorship and writing *as a process*, "aus Dichtung wird um 1880 Literatur," cf. Kittler, *Aufschreibesysteme 1800/1900*, 200ff. Kittler, *Grammophon, Film, Typewriter*, p. 27.

des Waldes.(FH45, No. 29, "Sie haben das Wort", n.p.)

The nexus of sport, modernity and lack of culture thus also includes mental illness (or rather, as it would have been called, the ideas of nervosity or neurasthenia); the acceleration and continued modernisation of life producing not just ever more homogeneous, unreflected, herd-like masses, but also an irritable society.[53] Jensen sees the athlete's individuality as a prime factor of modernisation and, in many ways, as an engine for change of social values and norms, ascribing to them "star power" and thus a celebrity status that makes them ideal role models for wider strata of society; by virtue of being either male and female, he also sees an element of democratisation in the proliferation of modern sport.[54] However, reactions in my material suggest that this new "star cult" was often subsumed under modernity and therefore came to be associated with its other negative effects, focusing most on the fleetingness (and seeming randomness) of celebrity. In the poem *Per Phot'graphie*, published in the "Alles im Urlaub" special issue of the *Simplicissimus* that satirises modern holiday practices, the author J.K.H. mocks the whole notion of an emerging celebrity culture and a wider public interest in the "personal" life of the stars, which include for him both actors and sportspeople. He also points out that the illustrated papers are the main driving force behind this development:[55]

Wer zeigt uns unsre Götter, die entfernten
Pussi Bestussi, sanft und doch voll Pli
Gelehnt an eine Kuh in ihrem Heim in Kärnten

53 This view is not all that novel, however; in fact, this opposition to and classification of modernity can be found already in Simmel's *Die Großstädte und das Geistesleben* from 1903, further highlighting that the bourgeois identity that is forced to defend itself here against the continuous development of modernity (through sport and other means) is a fundamentally traditional, conservative one; cf. Georg Simmel. "Die Großstädte und das Geistesleben". In: *Aufsätze und Abhandlungen 1901–1908*. Vol. 1. Georg Simmel: Gesamtausgabe, Bd. 7. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1995, pp. 116–131.

54 Cf. Jensen, *Body by Weimar*, pp. 5–6. Going even further, Jensen sees athletes not just as role models, but as *national* role models and, in a way, as ideal citizens: "Athletes represented the sorts of individuals that many Germans wished to become and perhaps fantasized about one day becoming, even if those same Germans showed no signs of beginning that self-transformation. Moreover, athletes represented the types of citizens that many officials and commentators would have liked to see populate, and repopulate, the postwar nation," ibid., p. 8.

55 For a modern analysis of the connection between illustrated journals and celebrity culture, cf. Rössler and Veigel, "Was interessiert an Stars und Sternchen?", esp. pp. 441–449.

> Per Phot'graphie
> […]
> Die Helden all, die wir so wild verehren
> Vom Fülm den Fatzken und das Sportschenie,
> Wer zeigt sie uns auf Wiesen und auf Meeren
> Per Phot'graphie?
> Den Kaviar im Trikot, wer serviert den?
> Wer knipst den Stuß? Wer bringt's im Hui?
> Das tun die lieben knorken Illustrierten
> Per Phot'grapfui.(S32, p. 266)

The fictional Pussi Bestussi, whose last name contains the word "Stuss", meaning nonsense, alongside the description of celebrities as "Götter" set the satirical tone, which continues by depicting actors as swellheads (*Fatzken*) and with the malapropism of Sport*schenie* instead of *-genie*. More than that, this poem also lays bare the negotiation of identity on the level of a journal community's shared identity: not only does the author reject the seemingly shallow modern personality cult with its superficial focus on idyllic settings, beauty and money, but he implicates the decidedly modern photography and the illustrated magazines, for which the photograph was a developmental necessity, as furthering these processes which, for him, mark a decline in culture. He thus distances himself *as an author* published in the *Simplicissimus* from these "new" forms of mediality, compounded by the fact that the *Simplicissimus* itself neither prints photographs nor looks like the illustrated papers in terms of layout. Combined with the fact that both the author and his readers share this moment of criticism of modernity, their continued practices suggest that the material form of the journal they are currently writing and reading, respectively, is appropriate for their own identity and conforms to their own ideals.

Returning once more to *Fürs Haus*, E.B. (presumably Emmy Besler, the magazine's editor and also the person to start this specific thread of comments) further explicates this association between sport, spectatorship (for what else is also the above poem about, if not about the audience lusting after sensation) and sensationalism:

> Nun erfaßt aber der Sport mehr als der Geist gerade die Massen, und da ist es kein Wunder, wenn die Leibesübungen im Mittelpunkt des Interesses stehen, wenn Lehrer

> über zunehmende Interesselosigkeit der Jugend klagen, Sportplätze und Veranstaltungen wie Sechstagerennen und Boxkämpfe überfüllt sind. […] Wie befriedige ich mein Sensationsbedürfnis – das ist das Motto für die allermeisten, die sich einbilden, Interesse am Sport zu haben.(FH45, No. 10, "Sie haben das Wort!", n.p.)

If the connection between sport, sensation, modernity and mindlessness was not already negative enough, both of these texts further associate all of these tendencies with "the masses", creating in the process a distinction between "us" and "them" or between "us" and the masses, in turn setting themselves apart *from* these masses; they see themselves as lucid and mindful, able to recognise, and subsequently criticise, social change, uncovering that it amounts to decline or degeneration. More importantly, however, this view does not simply include the author, but also the specific journal's readers, since they *read* this criticism, (presumably) understand it and are thus already elevated over the uneducated and ignorant masses. As Raymond Williams puts it, this is most important for an analysis of social identity, where we do not analyse a people or "the masses", but where we see social formulae and identities which underpin actual, observable, lived social experience: "What we see, neutrally, is other people, many others, people unknown to us. In practice, we mass them, and interpret them, according to some convenient formula. Within its terms, the formula will hold. Yet it is the formula, not the mass, which it is our real business to examine."[56] Consequently, the formula to analyse is that of a society of *Dichter und Denker*.

Seeing oneself as the "cultured" and reflective individual within society alongside a division between the individual and "the masses" can perhaps be observed best in Ratatöskr's poem *Der Denker*, published in the same "Wintersport" issue as Mynona's story discussed earlier. The poem connects, by virtue of being a poem, its author as a *Dichter* with the lyrical I as a *Denker*, thus encapsulating the idea of the individual writing not for the masses, but for a select community of equally cultured people:[57]

56 Raymond Williams. *Culture and Society. 1780–1950*. London: Chatto & Windus, 1958, p. 300.

57 Interestingly enough, the pseudonym *Ratatöskr* itself harkens back to the Old Norse figure Ratatoskr, a squirrel that runs up and down the world-ash Yggdrasil to relay messages between the unnamed eagle perched atop the tree and the wyrm Niðhöggr, who is gnawing on the roots of the world-tree and is commonly seen as a symbol

> Wenn's um mich rodelt, springt und schwingt
> in Sweatern (um nicht zu verkühlien),
> dann frag' ich: wer hat was bedingt?
> Ist Sport primär? Sind's die Textilien?
> […]
>
> Man sieht: ein schwieriges Problem
> und wert, es gründlich durchzudenken…
> Na, rodelt ihr trotzdem alledem!
> – Nur bitte, *mich* nicht abzulenken. (S32, p. 482)

I will come back to the consumption aspects of sport in one of the later sections, but what is most important for this discussion is the description of the thinker's surroundings: he sits there *thinking* while everybody around him is engaged in *doing* (sport, in this case). Subsequently, the ultimate demand is that these other people may do as they please if they leave the thinker to his own devices. He seems to hope that their engagement in mindless activity does not distract him from his mindful engagement in thought. It is thus perhaps no surprise that the same Ratatöskr in another poem, entitled *Schöne Aussicht*, nominally concerned with the increasingly volatile political situation in China and Japan in 1927, finds perhaps the most direct words to associate sport, democracy, mindlessness and weakness:

> Schon prügelt man sich in den Wandelgängen…
> Und sinnend frag' ich: Sollte dieses mit
> dem Siegeszug des Sports zusammenhängen,
> der heut den "Geist" ver- respektiv zertritt?
>
> Der aufräumt mit dem langgestielten Quatschen
> und mit dem dialektischen Gepieps,
> als Champion des wahrhaft demokrat'schen,
> des alle Welt umfassenden Prinzips? (S32, p. 14)

Accordingly, not only does sport substitute for "Geist", but Geist is trampled to death by sport, an act in turn characterised via a sport metaphor as "champion of the truly democratic, world-spanning principle". If the initial assumption was that the development of sport challenged

of decay and destruction. For a closer look at the personal history of Blaich, the writer behind the pseudonym, cf. Volker Hoffmann, ed. and introd. *Dr. Owlglass. Ausgewählte Werke des "Simplicissimus"-Dichters Hans Erich Blaich*. Kirchheim/Teck: Schweier, 1981.

existing social identities, it has become clear so far that this challenge is met by linking sport with a variety of more general modernisation processes ("modernity") and many of its perceived after-effects. For communities that see their way of life (including their standing in society) and their beliefs threatened by these modernisation processes, the adequate strategy to negotiate this challenge is *to reject it*. By linking sport to a number of contested contemporary topics such as democracy, mass movements, modern art, and by seeing it *in abstracto*, a critique of sport becomes identical with a critique of modernity, which means on the other hand that the more general rejection of the consequences of ongoing modernisation processes necessitates a rejection of sport as one of the factors furthering these processes. Sport then appears as anti-bourgeois, as part of the masses, as mindless, uncultured, unreflected, superficial and overall damaging, furthering the decline and degeneration of a bourgeois society. Yet, this configuration of identity and the valuation of sport is not the only way to negotiate these modernisation processes and, in fact, it is worth remembering that this specific form of rejection does not represent the only possible reaction within the given journals. In line with my material's inherent polyphony due to different authorial and material voices and texts, other interpretations are just as present in the very same journals that have so far been shown to reject sport so thoroughly.

5.2.2. Health, city life & *Wehrkraft*

The previous subsection has shown how sport is identified as part of a wider concept of modernity, which is subsequently rejected since it does not fit into a bourgeois identity that exists within the journal communities of the *Simplicissimus*, *Kladderadatsch* and *Fürs Haus*. I call this a *bourgeois* identity because there exist some significant political differences between the journals, as could be seen when it came to more or less overt nationalist tendencies as well as racist ideals. Nevertheless, culture and a historical, traditional idea of Germany as a nation of *Dichter und Denker* lie at the core of all of these identities.

However, outright rejection of sports is only one negotiation strategy when confronted with

the modern development of sport. In fact, sport may offer something for those who think of modernity as something negative and as a decline, yet who believe that this decline can be halted or even reversed. If strong anti-modernist tendencies lead to outright rejection, a more moderate feeling of modernity perhaps as a *crisis* or as a challenge promises to allow for a more open, integrative identity. E.B. (the same commentator as before) hints at this potential of sport before outright rejecting sport in its modern form, while others pick up on this idea and see sport not just as another driver behind modernity, but also as a possible antidote. She says: "Das Schlimmste ist, daß die wahre Körperkultur, die als Ergänzung der Geisteskultur eine Notwendigkeit ist und früher gerade bei uns zu sehr vernachlässigt wurde, mit diesem Sport nicht das Geringste zu tun hat."(FH45, No. 10, "Sie haben das Wort!", n.p.) There might be a way, then, to somehow reconcile "Geisteskultur" and "Körperkultur" after all, and instead of an outright rejection of sport, specific aspects of it can be made productive for society. An anonymous commentator in *Fürs Haus* gives a first hint as to what this reconciliation could look like: "Der Hauptgedanke, der sich mit dem Wort 'Sporttreiben' verbindet, heißt: Stählung, Gesundung und Erstarkung des Körpers! Die Masse des Volkes soll durch Sport gestählt werden!"(FH45, No. 19, "Sie haben das Wort!", n.p.) The formula that is often used to encapsulate this thought is "mens sana in corpore sano", a healthy mind in a healthy body. The choice of words in hardening (*Stählung*), recovery (*Gesundung*) and strengthening (*Erstarkung*) of the body already suggest that the modern body is everything but steely, that it is soft, sickly and weak. Interestingly enough, the above quote sees a need to thus strengthen the bodies of "the masses", which would lay the ground work for a subsequent *Geisteskultur*, a development of a mindful culture across all strata of society. This might still paint the masses as inferior, but unlike in the previous discussion, there seems to be hope that the modern malady can be remedied. The commentator expresses this hope rather precisely: "Und wenn dann der Körper gestählt und durchgebildet ist im Zeichen der Freude am schönen, gesunden Menschen, dann regt es sich auch im Herzen und es verlangt nach tiefer seelischer Kost. In einem gesunden

Körper wohnt auch ein gesunder Geist. Ohne Sport wird ein Volk nie gedeihen."(FH45, No. 19, "Sie haben das Wort!", n.p.) Sport, then, does not need to be rejected outright and *in toto*, but it can serve as an intermediate step between the uncultured, "vermasste" society of the day and an ideal, cultured future German *nation*, formed according to a bourgeois ideal and exhibiting specifically bourgeois identity traits. Sport then becomes essential for the survival of the German nation, and it becomes important for an improvement of *Volksgesundheit*, of public health.

Klaus Cachay's system-theoretical approach assumes a functional differentiation of specific social subsystems, which means that sport becomes a distinct, albeit interdependent, subsystem of society: "Ausgehend von dem hier dargelegten Systembegriff der funktional-strukturellen Systemtheorie läßt sich das Sportsystem nicht durch eine Aufzählung von Organisationen wie Sportvereine, Sportverbände und Schulsport bestimmen, sondern es muß funktional bestimmt werden als ein Komplex sozialer Prozesse, die speziell dazu dienen, bestimmte gesellschaftliche Probleme zu lösen."[58] If a subsystem has to solve specific social problems, sport uniquely promises to solve the problem of public health, and it tries to establish itself as the only system within society that has any chance to solve current social problems.[59] Cachay says as much when he suggests that "ausgehend vom Bezugsproblem Volksgesundheit galt es nun, den Sport als Problemlösungsinstanz ins Spiel zu bringen, indem sowohl der gesundheitliche Nutzen des Sports allgemein als auch die spezifische Bedeutung der Förderung der Volksgesundheit durch Sport für das Wirtschaftssystem herausgearbeitet wurde".[60] He also suggests a link between *Volksgesundheit* and the economy, because whereas the anonymous commentator above hopes that sport will lead to able bodies as vessels for his own ideal form of cultured minds, Cachay sees able bodies as an integral part of a strong economy, which in turn is what

58 Cachay, *Sport und Gesellschaft*, p. 33.

59 The idea of specialised systems responsible for single tasks within society stems from Cachay's systems theory background of a functional differentation of society, which, while somewhat questionable, is not a discussion to be had here. However, whether or not one accepts unique functional systems does not influence the fact that Cachay's wider findings, especially about the connection between public health and sport, are both useful and applicable in their own right.

60 Cachay, *Sport und Gesellschaft*, p. 237.

actually keeps a nation afloat. Cachay thus outlines what Michael Hau in his analysis calls *biopolitics*: "Increasing the physical performance levels of the German population in general was an important aspect of Weimar biopolitics understood in a broad sense as attempts to manage and improve the physical and psychological condition of the German population in a systematic manner."[61] According to Hau, then, biopolitics are general attempts to improve people; accordingly, the interest in sports follows a more general interest in a "human economy" (*Menschenökonomie*) and in human resources, where both the body and the availability of labour are seen as finite resources that need to be rejuvenated and guarded, linking an interest in sport and public health to the rationalisation of movement and labour, as well as the emergence of "Arbeitsphysiologie".[62]

There seems to exist then an aspect of sport that can be productive and that can potentially cure some of the damage modernity is causing, as long as it avoids "eine Ueberkultur der Muskeln und eine Unterkultur des Denkens, die unausbleibliche Folge der heute herrschenden Sportwut sein wird" in favour of a "healthy" sport.(FH45, No. 10, "Sie haben das Wort!", n.p.) Sport needs to be moderated and tamed in order to be both useful and acceptable, because, as another commentator writes, "Einseitigkeit ist vom Uebel, das ist richtig".(FH45, No. 18, "Sie haben das Wort!", n.p.) Interestingly enough, these comments also show the reason why I operate with a wider understanding of sport than for example Eisenberg, for whom these utterances would have to be subsumed under the category "Körperertüchtigung" about which she says: "Auch verurteilten sie gerade jene Begleiterscheinungen des Wettkampfsports, die für seine Vergesellschaftungsfähigkeit einen hohen Stellenwert besaßen: 'Rekordsucht' und 'Presserummel', das 'Gigerltum' (Abzeichen, modische Sportbekleidung) und das sportliche 'Heldentum'."[63] It seems that for the contemporary commentator, "Sport", "Leibesübungen"

61 Hau, "Sports in the Human Economy", p. 382.

62 Cf. ibid., pp. 383 & 390–394. For Hau, this also explains why people became more interested in eugenics in general, which he describes as being ultimately interested in finding a more permanent way of sustaining public health in order to prevent social costs from rising in the long-term, which would also account for the later ideological link between "lebensunwert" und "arbeitsunfähig" during Nazi Germany, as it was practiced in the extermination camps, short-circuiting health, productivity and human rights, cf. ibid., pp. 407–410.

63 Eisenberg, "Massensport in der Weimarer Republik", p. 143.

and "Körperkultur" are not strictly separated, but they seem to be used either interchangably or in different contexts. Either way, what remains central is the idea that sport is able to enhance a people. Nevertheless, while this idea of "bettering" lies at the core of a number of strategies that try to incorporate sport into their own identity, there exist a few different ways of adopting sport.

A first common strategy is to criticise not sport in itself, but its excesses, which for many commentators seem to stand once more for a modernity divorced from traditional bourgeois values. In a *Kladderadatsch* article simply entitled *Rekorde*, the author ("ri-ri.") criticises the ever increasing tendency to try and achieve new records. Referring to a new top speed "im Automobilfahren", he remarks:

> Und ebenso gehoben wie dieser Rekord fühlt sich die gesamte Menschheit, die einen so fixen Mister zu den Ihren zählen darf. Solche Geschwindigkeit macht das Sprichwort zunichte, daß sie keine Hexerei sei. Denn wenn dies Gerase auch kein Zauber ist – *fauler* Zauber ist es sicherlich. […] Aber – wozu dieses Gerase? Mehr Zeitlupe wäre dem Tempo des heutigen Lebens sehr dienlich. Rekord ist das Idol unserer Tage: […] Wie wär's mal mit einem Rekord von hinten: Mit einem Rekord der Langsamkeit, der Schweigsamkeit, der Beschaulichkeit?(KL80, p. 248)

Unlike the general rejection of sport as a mere expression of modernity, the author does not reject the idea of sport itself, but instead questions the idea of "harder, stronger, faster". The text even admits that the record *in itself* is very impressive, proving wrong the notion that such speed is "keine Hexerei", yet the fundamental drive behind attempting these records is what remains problematic. The record might not be magic, but it certainly is flim-flam, as there seems to be no point in simply trying to achieve records for their own sake. He suggests instead that the hectic modern world would benefit more from a general slowing down, but perhaps even more than that, what he wants are *reasons* for doing something. Sport in itself is not the problem here, as long as it serves a purpose, but it is the excess in sport that seems to mirror a more general excess and acceleration of life, leading to a self-reinforcing movement of acceleration without taking into account what use it could be for people. Hanns Looser explicates this connection between acceleration of life and hunts for further records in an article

in *Sport im Bild* entitled *Die Dame und der Dämon*. Interestingly enough, the article itself is concerned with collecting exotic masks, but because it is published in *Sport im Bild* we can trace a direct connection between the journal's community, its identities and sport: "Man hat nur wenig Muße, zu träumen in dieser dämonischen Zeit, die Körper und Gedanken auf einen rasenden Rhythmus drillt. Eine Zeit, in der sich der Teufel des Rekords in die Hirne gefressen, in der es statt Gourmets nur noch Gourmands des Genusses gibt."(Kurt Doerry, ed. *Sport im Bild. Das Blatt der guten Gesellschaft*. Vol. 33. Berlin: August Scherl, 1927 [henceforth cited as SiB33], p. 279) By referring to a "slower" past, full of leisure and of actual enjoyment – he remains in the metaphorical sphere of food, making use of a literal reading of "in die Hirne gefressen" when holding up the Gourmets and despising the Gourmand – the author tells us something about his identity, identifying a time when he (and his readers) had more than strictly necessary and could thus indulge in it. And while there might not be a lack of material things (this is about collecting nonessential items, after all), there seems to be a lack of time and, even more than that, a lack of regard for time and leisure in modern life. "Tempo. Tempo. Zermürbendes Tempo. Romantik ist aufgeschluckt von nüchterner Technik, die, gigantisch, die Nerven peitscht, kalt und unbarmherzig das Gefühl zertritt. Lust und Freude wird in sportliche Gesetze und Formeln gepreßt."(SiB33, p. 279) Where the *Kladderadatsch* article enquired about the reasoning behind an ever accelerating life, here, *Tempo* and modern technology seem to inevitably cause nervous states while simultaneously being both cold and merciless. This view of modernity is once more contrasted with a romantic and warm past that let people find delight in more basic things. In modern life, the hunt for records seems to conform instead with the framework established in sports, "die Bahn des Lebens ist trostlos geworden wie die gefühlslose, unbestechliche Stoppuhr, die das Tempo dieser Jagd markiert, mit trockenen Zahlen, die Sieg und Platz erweisen".(SiB33, p. 279) The image of the clock, mercilessly ticking and thus marking the passing of every second, is what causes people to fall into an almost mechanical frenzy, and it leads people to compete for victories and rank instead

of enjoying life. Interestingly, this does not lead to a *fundamental* critique of sport *as such*, nor does it lead back to the traditional ideal of a Germany of *Dichter und Denker*, as would have been the case above, but instead, collecting exotic masks becomes a point of calm, connecting tradition, patience and permanence. More importantly, however, the act of collecting is likened to the realm of physical exercise: "'Sammeln' ist eine Gymnastik für die Seele."(SiB33, p. 279) If gymnastics helps the body to remain flexible and relaxed it might also help to weather the harmful influences of daily life, then, the argument is, a similar point of focus and calm for the mind can do wonders for the busy modern individual. While modernity remains hectic, merciless and competitive, the author does not see a wholesale rejection of modernity as a valid alternative, but instead tries to find and recommend ways of *actively* coping with the negative effects of modernity and even leaves open the option that modernity might have positive effects or might be able to free the individual, even if at a cost. "Dann fielen wohl die Fesseln die der graue Tag um die Seele legt, ein wenig ab. Für einige Minuten nur. Doch genug, daß sie sich auf sich selbst besann. Untergang des Abendlandes? Nein. Der Mensch von heute, auf der Suche nach einem neuen Lebensideal zwischen den Extremen taumelnd, hat genug Energien, sich ein neues Idol zu gestalten."(SiB33, p. 280) By pausing for a moment, by slowing down and focusing, it should become possible to mentally escape the onslaught of modern life (as is the case with physical exercise and the physical demands of life).

Accordingly, gymnastics (and sport in general) promise to soften the side-effects of modernity, modernisation processes and various hardships in life, provided they are done in moderation.[64] The task at hand for the modern individual is thus to reconcile the fleetingness and hecticness of their external life with a calm, conscious and mindful internal as well as private life; the

64 Hans Bonde asserts a similar pattern in his analysis of the development of J.P.J. Lindhard's Danish gymnastics system, which was decidedly pitted against the "record mania" of modern competitive sports, cf. Hans Bonde. "Projection of Male Fantasies. The Creation of 'Scientific' Female Gymnastics". In: *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 29.2 (2012), pp. 228–246, pp. 231 & 236. A somewhat similar appraisal, albeit focussed on rhythm more generally than sport in particular, can be found in Michael Cowan's study of rhythm as an integral part of modernisation in Germany, in which he contrasts the rhythm of music and avantgarde art with the rhythm of the city and that of industrial labour in order to similarly highlight very different trajectories and practices of negotiating modernity, cf. Michael Cowan. *Technology's Pulse. Essays on Rhythm in German Modernism*. London: Institute of Germanic and Romance Studies, 2011.

crucial factor for an incorporation of sport into an existing bourgeois lifestyle and identity therefore lies in finding *balance*. In *Fürs Haus*, an article entitled *Die gesundheitlichen Gefahren der Gymnastik*, suggests as much when it highlights that gymnastics in particular promise to make people healthy. "Eine moderne Pädagogik hat inzwischen Leitsätze aufgestellt, nach denen der Mensch zu einer harmonischen Einheit von Geist und Körper erzogen werden soll."(FH45, No. 28, "Die gesundheitlichen Gefahren der Gymnastik", n.p.) What is especially important here is the emphasis on pedagogics, i.e. on a system of guidances that can help individuals to find a balance between mind and body, coming to terms with the problems modern life causes instead of trying to reject it. The article goes on by referring to the mantra of the *mens sana*, highlighting once more, however, that this only becomes possible when the hunt for records is purged from sport and when conscious exercise is done in moderation:

> Es ist bedingt richtig, daß ein gesunder Geist sich nur in einem gesunden Körper entfalten kann. Aber leider haben die körperlich am vorbildlichsten Geschulten allzuoft eine recht geringschätzige Einstellung zu den wesentlichen Fragen der Kultur- und Gedankenwelt. Der amerikanische Rekordfimmel ist auch schon in Europa weit verbreitet, und eine beträchtliche Anzahl sonst mehr geistig eingestellter Menschen ist beispiellos daran interessiert, wer am schnellsten gelaufen, geschwommen, gefahren oder geritten ist.(FH45, No. 28, "Die gesundheitlichen Gefahren der Gymnastik", n.p.)

America, emblem of a rationalised modernity without limits, exported this "record fad", which threatens to overwhelm the traditionally more European (not German!) concern with solving relevant questions within the realm of culture and thought. Instead of a blanket rejection of modernity, a specifically American strand of modernity is rejected here, while an integration of modern life, *European* tradition and sport promises to create a self-sufficient culture that takes into account the mind *and* body. If idealist Germany, the Germany of Goethe and Schiller, stood for a one-sided emphasis on culture and mind to the detriment of everything else, modern America seems to swing the opposite direction, embodying a thoroughly materialist, body-centred kind of modernity.[65] What the comments and authors

65 Frank Becker summarises these developments as *Amerikanismus*, which combines the German development of sport and a more general orientation towards what is conceived to be a specifically American type of

dicussed so far suggest, however, is finding a balance between the two, getting rid in the process of some of the traditional, elitist notions of "the masses" by adopting a notion of masses capable of education and guidance, while also trying to moderate the more extreme consequences of an ever more rationalised, competitive modernity.[66] This attempt to "moderate" modernity through development of the body followed by a corresponding development of the mind, however, seems to come "from the inside", it does not have an external justification but is caused instead by a mind that is trying to preserve some of its tradition while striking a balance with a moderated materialist modernity. Yet, as suggested above, this internal motivation marks only one version of sport seen as productive or useful alongside two other versions, which advocate sport for more practical, political reasons beyond the "mens sana".

In order to assimilate sport to an existing bourgeois identity *without* having to rely on the individual's sensibility and intrinsic motivation to counter modernity – as outlined above –, sport was alternatively seen as having national importance for a post-war Germany that had lost many young men in the trenches, alongside those who died at home or were weakened due to hunger or malnourishment, and the countless traumatised and/or physically wounded returned soldiers. Where the previous strategy was aimed at "curing" modernity's hectic and nervous

modernisation, which includes the Dawes plan as much as Fordism and Taylorism. He further explicates that especially the champions of the *Neue Sachlichkeit* seem to adopt New York as a vanishing point and symbol of their own understanding of modernity, alongside their own efforts to further it. This reorientation of cultural symbols and role models goes hand in hand with the reassessment of hitherto valid European and German values and simultaneously tries to overcome some of the traditional prejudices against the "New World", cf. Frank Becker. *Amerikanismus in Weimar. Sportsymbole und politische Kultur, 1918–1933*. Wiesbaden: Deutscher Universitäts Verlag, 1993, pp. 30–32 & 104–110. The above cited identification of modernity and America, as well as the subsequent critique of the specifically American type of modernity that seemingly brought *Rekordsucht* to Germany, seems to reinforce Becker's finding of a more general connection between modernity, modernisation and a growing importance of America; my material's more critical stance towards America then appears as a specific form of negotiation of a more general social trend or change.

66 Hau correctly points out that the idea of sport as *hardening* of the body brings along with it the idea of sport as compensation for one-sided physical labour, as was usually the case in typical working-class jobs. He also remarks that Taylorism, seen as the ultimate science-based exploitation of human resources, was rejected by German physiologists as being too extreme and too American, cf. Hau, "Sports in the Human Economy", pp. 393–394. Wedemeyer-Kolwe additionally asserts parallels to the *Lebensreform* movements when he highlights similar tendencies of creating new "Sinnstiftungen" beyond the previously unifying religious worldview, which resulted in an attempt to create new lifestyles which would act as "notwendiges Korrektiv zur Moderne […], da sie die Kultur in Opposition zu sich selbst zwinge und dadurch 'neue' Werte und Techniken hervorbrächte, die die Moderne brauche, um überhaupt 'Fortschritt' erzielen zu können," cf. Wedemeyer-Kolwe, *"Der neue Mensch"*, pp. 17–18.

acceleration, sport promised to heal some of the wounds a more tangible modern development – modern war – had left upon German bodies. While the adherence to a Germany of *Dichter und Denker* could be mixed with nationalist sentiment without being oriented towards the future, this functional understanding of sport sees sports as part of modernisation processes that are part of a wider progress narrative; accordingly, the continued survival and flourishing of Germany in a modern world and amidst modern challenges is seen to be at stake. A "bettering" of people therefore does not simply serve to regain some calm in the individual's life, but it co-opts the individual's "bettering" in order to simultaneously strenghten the German nation. After the war, many felt that Germany would not be able to protect itself adequately from external aggression (or, for that matter, from internal strife) due to a limitation of the maximum number of soldiers under arms to 100000 and the abolition of conscription following the Versailles Treaty, as well as due to a general decline in available, healthy bodies and people of "sound spirit". A "bettering" of people then means, for those who are concerned about Germany's *Wehrfähigkeit*, that they will have to find a way to get able bodies and to train them to be soldiers without making them official members of the *Reichswehr*. Eisenberg therefore points out that, starting in the early 1920s, "die 'Leibesübungen' wurden fortan auch in der bürgerlichen Öffentlichkeit als Wehrersatz, die Klubs und Vereine als Operationsbasis für die geheime Wiederbewaffnung betrachtet, und die Rhetorik der 'Befreiungskriege' erlebte eine neue Blüte".[67] More and more people certainly participated in civil sports, but a number of them did so "in militärischer Absicht", in lieu of actual military training.[68] The idea of *mens sana in corpore sano* only applies in a modified sense in this case: it is true that the healthy mind will require a healthy body, but here, the mind does not simply exist for its own sake, but to serve the nation. If the body is dominated by the mind and necessary for its development, so,

67 Eisenberg, *"English Sports" und deutsche Bürger*, p. 329. The basic idea of physical education as military training "in disguise" harkens back to the roots of the German "Turnvater" Jahn, who developed and praised *Turnen* as a way to train soldiers in order to ultimately rid Germany of Napoleon, hence Eisenberg's reference to the "Befreiungskriege", hinting at the traditionalist frame of reference involved in this nationalist understanding of sport.

68 Ibid., p. 333.

too, is the mind only subordinate to wider political and historical forces. A poem by Friedrich Halm in *Fürs Haus* makes this clear when he expresses his own view of what it means *to want*, entitled "Ich will!":

> Ich will! das Wort ist mächtig;
> Ich soll! das Wort wiegt schwer.
> Das eine spricht der Diener,
> Das andere spricht der Herr!
>
> Laß beide eins dir werden
> Im Herzen, ohne Groll;
> Es gibt kein Glück auf Erden
> Als wollen, was man soll! (FH45, No. 34, "Ich will!", n.p.)

The poem contrasts what the individual *wants* to do and what it *ought* to do, associating the former with the servant who might have wishes but certainly no power, unlike the latter, the *Herr* or master, who gets to decide what ought to be done, what *needs* to be done. While this in itself might merely serve as stating the obvious, the second stanza tries fundamentally to change the relationship between these two: there is no greater happiness than to want what one ought. Consequently, the master's words are not to be questioned, they are pronounced and remain valid; what is expected of the individual is that he will heed those commands either way, but in order to have a happier life, he needs to adjust his own wishes to be in line with the things he is expected to do. In order to resolve the potential conflict between what the individual wants and what he ought to do, individual desires have to give, which means that there is also no potential for change in wanting something different. This authoritarian ideal seems to be involved in the idea of serving the nation as well, where the given command is that one *ought* to serve ones *Vaterland* and that it needs to be protected against external aggression. This pattern of thought subjugates the individual's will under an "objective" (or at the very least a communal) will; sport similarly is used to enable a healthy body which, while it might be the host for a healthy mind, above all is necessary to serve that nation. The soldier's body has to function in defense of the nation, whether his mind is healthy or even compliant in the process is of secondary concern. And while Klaus Cachay correctly points out that seeing sport as a necessary part of

(and prerequisite for) military training was already common in Wilhelminian Germany and can thus be regarded as a conservative tendency during the Weimar years, the nexus of public health, military adequacy and sport seems to incorporate these thoughts to a degree where they are *actively* traceable during the Weimar Republic as well.[69] Nationalist sentiments have of course a long tradition and are deeply embedded especially in bourgeois identities, harkening back to the initial rise to power of bourgeois circles amid waning aristocratic influence. It is therefore perhaps no surprise that the direct connection between militarism, nationalism and sport was made explicit and sharply criticised by left-leaning writers who developed a more international mindset in line with the idea of a Marxist world revolution and the Communist International (Comintern).[70]

Die Weltbühne, whose writers tend to be left-leaning *Bürgerliche*, subsequently printed a number of articles that highlight the interconnectedness of militarism and sports. In his article *Revolutions- und Sportausfuhr aus USA*, Valeriu Marcu leads with a critique of America's meddling in the internal affairs of the South-American nations, and especially its role in causing a revolution in Nicaragua in 1927. Just like some of the commentators above, he identifies the USA as *prime* embodiment of modernity, which leads him to wonder how exactly it manages to reconcile its militaristic antics and its specific modernity. Not unlike the German idea of

69 Cf. Cachay, *Sport und Gesellschaft*, pp. 230–231: "Der Bezug auf dieses Problem, das in der Wilhelminischen Gesellschaft als außerordentlich bedeutsam erachtet wurde, und der Versuch, zu dessen Lösung mit beizutragen, brachte dem Sportsystem enorme Anerkennung von außen, durch das Militär, durch die Regierungen und Verwaltungen sowie durch weite Teile der Bevölkerung."

70 Eisenberg points out that the original idea of sports as imported from England alongside the renewed Olympic movement brought an element of internationalism into sports, which had been absent from the more specifically German (and traditionally conservative) "Turnbewegung". She subsequently sees the formation of the German idea of "Leibesübungen" as part of a national-liberal effort to develop a version of sport that can be more readily assimilated into an existing national-liberal bourgeois identity, which allows for easier incorporation into existing social practices. Eisenberg therefore sees the post-war rechristening of the *Deutscher Reichsauschuß für Olympische Spiele* (DRAfOS) into the above mentioned *Deutscher Reichsausschuß für Leibesübungen* (DRA) as a sign "daß der sportliche Internationalismus nun nachdem auch der Termin für die Olympischen Spiele in Berlin verstrichen war, endgültig passé war; der auch schon vorher anerkannte Organisationszweck 'Förderung der Leibesübungen' rückte damit in den Vordergrund", Eisenberg, *"English Sports" und deutsche Bürger*, p. 317. The *Förderung der Leibesübungen* explicitly includes the productive use of sport for military training, as Cachay has pointed out above and as Eisenberg sums up when she concludes: "1914–1918 war nicht nur der sportliche Geist ins Militär, sondern umgekehrt auch der Geist des Militärs in den Sport eingezogen, und die schon vor dem Krieg erkennbare Tendenz zur Identifizierung von Sport und Krieg hatte sich verallgemeinert," ibid., p. 322.

Leibesübungen, sports seem to be the key connection between these two, as Marcu asserts: "Seiner [Coolidge's] Herrschaft Gebiet kennt die allgemeine Wehrpflicht nicht, hat vielleicht deshalb die neue Form des Militarismus entdeckt; es besitzt ja die breitesten Grundlagen alles umändernder Kämpfe. Hier ist die Nation durch den Sport, durch die Jugendbewegung, durch den Optimismus der Minderjährigen für den Gedanken des Massakers mobilisiert."(WB23.1, pp. 47–48) In a land without conscription, which in Germany was traditionally seen as important in the creation of good (male) citizens who would be willing to fight (and die) for their nation, sport steps in to create the same structures as had been the case for conscription elsewhere. For Marcu, sport therefore becomes a *new* form of militarism, but a form of it nonetheless, one specifically geared towards preparing the contemporary youth for war. This view is directly related to the development of sports in Germany, where the idea of the *Spielbewegung* sought to distance itself from both *Sport* and *Turnen* in order to establish the inbetween idea of *Leibesübungen*, which first started within the German youth movement and the *Jungdeutschlandbund* before it became more official, received direct financial and practical support from the government and ultimately laid the foundation for the transition from *Jungdeutschlandbund* to the *Deutscher Reichsausschuß für Olympische Spiele* (DRAfOS) and from there to the *Deutscher Reichsausschuß für Leibesübungen* (DRA).[71] Continuing his argument, Marcu additionally asserts that his critique of the USA simultaneously aims to uncover something about *German* identity:

> Der Staat brauchte die Kaserne nicht so sehr, wie sich die Sozialisten einbildeten, wegen des innern Feindes, der nie da war, auch nicht um des Paradeschritts willen, als vielmehr wegen der seelischen Disziplinierung und Vorbereitung der Menschen zum Kampf. Das bewaffnete Müllern hätte man auch in einigen Wochen erlernen können. Hauptsache war die Eindrillung des Gedankens: Es gibt Menschen auf der Welt, die ihr umbringen müßt. Jetzt machen das die amerikanischen Massen aus eignem Antrieb.(WB23.1, p. 48)

His reference to "die Sozialisten" is aimed at the German Left that traditionally tried to get rid of conscription and, in fact, was responsible for its abolition following the obligations

71 Cf. Eisenberg, *"English Sports" und deutsche Bürger*, pp. 264–272. Also cf. footnote 70, p. 183.

of the Versailles Treaty. However, he suggests that conscription did more than merely instil reactionary, right-wing (and thus anti-leftist) sentiments in the conscripts, and that it also was not just concerned with the Wilhelminian ideals of discipline and order, as exemplified in the uniformity of the "Paradeschritt". Instead, conscription inculcated in young soldiers the fundamental mental disposition towards battle (and thus towards war), superiority and competition.[72] Even more to the point, his expression "das bewaffnete Müllern" refers directly to a system of gymnastics following the system of Danish gymnastics teacher J.P. Müller, further highlighting through his choice of words the link between sport and war. However, unlike the indoctrination conscripts forcefully underwent, the "American masses" now undergo this inculcation of their own accord, and Marcu therefore concludes that "der Sport ist das gesellschaftliche Geheimnis des amerikanischen Militarismus".(WB23.1, p. 48) Once again, America is seen as leading the way in terms of modern developments, and there seems to exist the distinct possibility that Germany might follow suit. However, instead of a conservative, or even regressive, reaction, the critique leveled against modern sport as part of modern development seems to come in the wake of a more general left-wing and pacifist leaning. It thus offers yet another form of negotiation of a bourgeois identity that has a critique of modernity at its core, without specifically condemning sport *eo ipso*, and without the same contempt for the masses as exhibited in some of the previously mentioned articles; after all, the masses are seen as being able to do things of their own accord, i.e. to participate *willingly*.

While Marcu's article develops this point more thoroughly, Peter Panter's (Tucholsky) *Ein Stoß Papier* soon thereafter contrasts what he regards to be a specifically German attitude towards sport with French life. The small piece follows the premise that the author just bought a stack of five hundred sheets of paper, now wondering what will end up being written on them after going through them all:

72 Eisenberg points out that sport was liked in both civil and military circles for roughly the same reasons: "Denn ganz wie im Zivilleben erzeugten die Wettkämpfe im Feldheer Ehrgeiz, Leistungsbewußtsein und Rekordstreben," Eisenberg, *"English Sports" und deutsche Bürger*, p. 320.

> Und französische Bücher und französische Provinz, um die sich kein Mensch kümmert, als sei Paris Frankreich, und als lägen nicht hundert und hundert kleiner Städte da, still atmend und ihr kleines Leben lebend, friedlich, ohne Wehrvereine und ohne Sportlehrer, die anderswo eine ganze Jugend im Schießen ausbilden, während die Regierung so europäisch ist, daß es einem himmelangst wird…(WB23.1, p. 78)

Not only do people not really understand how France functions and not only do they take whatever happens in Paris to be true for all of France (which would be just as true for Berlin and Germany), but Panter contrasts the peaceful French life with another life "elsewhere", where *Wehrvereine* and sport teachers are busy educating a whole youth in shooting. Referring to the specifically German (and therefore hard to translate) "Wehrvereine" and the rather new phenomenon of dedicated "Sportlehrer", a professional group first able to gain an official diploma, and thus official recognition, from the *Deutsche Hochschule für Leibesübungen* (DHfL) in Berlin from 1920 onward, suggests that this "elsewhere" might in fact be Germany.[73] His view therefore aligns with Marcu's wider argument about sport as only the most recent expression of militarism, used to train soldiers in lieu of official basic training. Moreover, he additionally asserts the covert nature of this education, which he sees as contradicting an outwardly pro-European government, which thus manages to pursue internal (re-)armament while seemingly working more closely with its neighbours and the other European powers. If sport was the secret of American militarism for Marcu, then for Panter sport marks the secret of German militarism and rearmament, hidden behind a mask of outward internationalism. Yet, the problem lies not so much in the nature of sport itself, but in the way it is incorporated into a nationalist, right-wing identity while simultaneously reinstating the outlawed practice of conscription under a different guise.

The final link between sport, Marcu's article, Panter's piece and the current state of the *Reichswehr* following the Versailles Treaty is provided by Konrad Widerhold's article *Das Reichskleinod*, in which he writes about the 1927 budget for the German army. He suggests that there exists a system behind the fact that many of the army units are spread out over different

73 Cf. Eisenberg, *"English Sports" und deutsche Bürger*, pp. 353–355.

bases, corresponding to the above worry about a covert rearmament: "Durch diese eigenartige Standortverteilung läßt sich das gegenwärtige 100 000-Mann-Heer bei den vorhandnen Unterkunftsverhältnissen jederzeit mühelos auf das Zwei- bis Dreifache verstärken."(WB23.1, p. 131) There seems to be enough space to simply reinforce existing units with more soldiers if necessary. Furthermore, by looking at the amount of money requested in the budget for upkeep, there is little doubt for Widerhold that the budget's actual purpose is to secretly gain the means to double or triple the number of active soldiers in short order, breaking the obligations of the Versailles Treaty in the process: "Eine teure 'Unterhaltung', wenn hier nicht glattweg gelogen wird. Mit diesen Summen kann das Reichsheer in jedem Jahr die Hälfte der ihr bewilligten Waffen neu anschaffen, um so schon jetzt die Waffenvorräte für das zukünftige 200- bis 300 000-Mann-Heer aufzustapeln."(WB23.1, p. 135) Combined with the above view of sport as a covert tool of militarism, it is not much of a leap to assume that these new soldiers will have received prior training in the form of sport, leaving only a few things that still need to be taught once the guise is dropped and Germany openly decides to field a stronger army again. Instead of a conservative yearning for a Germany of the past and instead of the idea of sport as an antidote to modernity's hectic pace if practiced in moderation, or as preparation for a subsequent heightening of the individual's soul, sport is here criticised not so much for its specific practices, but for its (mis)use in rebuilding a German army. Sport then becomes a tool in a wider deception of the general public, most sportspeople and the international community. More specifically, it is institutionalised sport (via the *Sportlehrer*) that is criticised not so much because of its specific practices, but because of a fundamental distrust in the institutions of the Weimar Republic by all three *Weltbühne* writers.

However, the *Weltbühne* writers fail to recognise the transformative potential sport can have when the idea of *Volksgesundheit* is taken at face value, a view presented instead by *Die Gartenkunst*. Rather than seeing public health merely as a vehicle either for further development of each individual into a "healthy mind" according to a specificially bourgeois idea of a German

Geist or as a conspiracy-like disguise for illegal, anti-pacifist and ultimately warmongering political practices, some of the gardening practitioners of *Die Gartenkunst* are more concerned with the practical implications of sport as physical practices. Rather than delving into bi-partisan politics, they address the question of how to enable sport in the first place, leaving it up to the sportspeople themselves to decide *why* exactly they engage in sport. Amongst these gardeners (and garden directors, i.e. city planning officials), the modern development of sport primarily poses a practical problem: how does one create spaces for sport, and how does one give people a chance to get a healthy body, especially in the big city?

In his article *Gartenkunst und Städtebau*, Stadtbaudirektor Wilhelm Arntz (the author's name in the *Gartenkunst* is sometimes accompanied by the author's official job title) describes the rapid changes big cities, and in this case Cologne more specifically, undertake in order to respond to the new requirement of public health:

> Heute birgt sich unter dem unscheinbaren namen "Grünanlagen" oder "Freiflächensystem" ein weit gespannter Organismus, ein weit verzweigtes und reich differenziertes System von Funktionen, das, wie der Hausgarten mit dem Haus, so mit der Stadt, dem Siedlungskörper als Ganzem, aufs engste und lebendigste verflochten oder, besser gesagt, mit ihm als lebenswichtiges Organ unlösbar innig verwachsen ist.(GK40, p. 63)

A complex system of public green spaces is created in order to span the city and to provide the physical space necessary for various social practices, itself a "richly differentiated system of functions" that ultimately seeks to provide on a general, public scale what the house garden traditionally used to provide before industrialisation lead to more and more people moving to the cities. Particularly noteworthy is the use of metaphors that suggest life and health, as is the case with a "widely spanning organism", a body of settlements, closely and lively interwoven, where public green spaces are a vital organ that cannot be separated from the city as such. And he continues: "Wie das Ringen um die Gestaltung der Wohnung und des Wohnhauses im einzelnen, so ist auch das Ringen um die Gestaltung der Gesamtsiedlung, der Stadt und vor allem der Großstadt, als Ganzes beherrscht von dem Streben zu Licht und Luft, zur Natur als Mutterkraft alles gesunden Lebens und aller Kultur."(GK40, p. 53) The introduction (or

expansion) of public green spaces and public spaces in general is thus closely connected to a pursuit of light and air, which is seen as a return to nature in so far as it promises healthy lives and a healthy culture. In turn, this suggests that the city in its current form is everything but healthy; it is artificial, dusty, hectic and very much a health risk. This is presented as a matter of fact; it is neither modernity, excess nor any specific form of sport or living in particular that threatens public health, but a conglomerate of modern practices, the consequences of wider modernisation processes. Simple modern requirements seem to inhibit people's healthy development, especially for those living in crammed quarters in the city.

This development of public spaces as a method of furthering public health is made more explicit in Fritz Encke's article *Großstädtige Grünanlagen und ihre Bedeutung für das Volkswohl*, a reprint of his talk at the Gartenkunst society's annual assembly, which describes an interconnected system of public green spaces serving a number of functions from simple recreation to child's play, each with dedicated spaces, before he summarises:

> Wird ein solches Reservat in angemessener Berücksichtigung des bisher Gesagten behandelt, so dient es in umfassender Weise dem Volkswohle. Insbesondere wird es auch sanitäre und schulhygienische Sondereinrichtungen wie Waldschulen, Sanatorien, Licht- und Luftbäder für Erwachsene wie für kränkliche Kinder, Wöchnerinnenasyle und ähnliche Anstalten aufnehmen können. (GK40, p. 141)

More than simple public spaces, these green spaces house a variety of institutions that specifically support public health by dedicating spaces for physical recuperation, a category under which sport also falls for Encke. He thus concludes about "sportliche Einrichtungen" that "man braucht ihre Bedeutung für das Volkswohl ja auch nicht erst besonders aufzuzeigen. Sie sind in diesem Sinne reine Nutzbauten".(GK40, p. 141) Far from a discussion of sport as either causing the decline of German culture or as furthering the militarisation of Germany, sport appears here first and foremost as a practical, functional challenge that promises, together with other sanitary city institutions, to improve public health more generally. In direct continuation, Bernd Tepper gives an overview of the practical work done so far on the occasion of Encke's retirement as garden director of Cologne. Following the Versailles Treaty, the old system of

fortresses that traditionally surrounded the inner city of Cologne (the *Festungsgürtel*) had to be demolished. This occasion was used to convert what used to be military spaces into public spaces: "Ein Teil wurde zu Erholungsanlagen, andere für Spiel- und Sportzwecke, je zwei Zwischenwerke zu Freiluftschulen und Luftbädern und ein Zwischenwerk zu einer Waldschule bestimmt. Bei der Mehrzahl ist die Umgestaltung bereits durchgeführt."(GK40, p. 64) If public health appeared only as an instrument for the military to get more able bodies that can be turned into soldiers in *Die Weltbühne*, this *Gartenkunst* article shows the opposite: military space is decommisioned, made public and thus made available for civil use. It thereby hints at the fact that sport might not only be a way *into* the military, but that sport can also replace some of the functions hitherto ascribed to the military, casting them into a genuinely civil form, not just a mask to be worn by militarists to hide their true colours. This illustrates Eisenberg's assertion that the connection between militarism and sport should nevertheless not be exaggerated; it certainly exists, but the inclusion of military personnel in civilian sports after the end of World War I did not simply mean that all civilian sport simply turned into a hidden form of military training, but that many of these soldiers were (re-)socialised and integrated into a civilian lifestyle, in turn.[74]

The most interesting aspect of these practical deliberations on the use and implementation of sport is that they move away from both individualist "moderation" of modernity and the individualist return to more traditional values, instead advocating a democractic enabling of people to live a healthier life. In another *Gartenkunst* article entitled *Die neue Wohnung und ihr Garten*, Architekt Franz Schuster certainly implies that modern development has left behind a significant portion of people, yet this is not necessarily the fault of modernity in itself, and neither does modernity appear as an external force that is driven either by the masses (as *Vermassung*) or by America:

> Berauscht an den großen Möglichkeiten unserer neuen Maschinen und Werkzeuge, haben wir übersehen, daß wir vorerst ihre Sklaven wurden. Die Technik, die Wissenschaft, –

74 Cf. Eisenberg, *"English Sports" und deutsche Bürger*, p. 334.

> wenn sie wollen – die Kunst, haben es herrlich weit gebracht, aber die Menschen sind dabei elend geworden. Wir sind in jeder Hinsicht arm geworden. Die großen Aufgaben, die wir haben, sind nur deshalb groß, weil sie das Wohl und Wehe von Tausenden bedeuten; es geht nicht um kostbare Einzelheiten, es geht um das Ganze.(GK40, p. 145)

He thus outlines how a rationalisation of living in the sense of the *Neue Sachlichkeit* alongside new ways of building and planning will be able to counter these modernisation effects. More important even than the idea that people are slaves to their machines and tools is the utterance that they are "*vorerst* ihre Sklaven", i.e. they might be slaves *for now*, which casts present calamity as *fleeting* and changeable, ultimately betraying an optimistic view of the future. Enhancing public health is thus a task that benefits everybody, and sport is just as much part of this undertaking as a fundamental reconfiguration of the physical surroundings, of cityscapes, housing, infrastructure and public sanitary institutions.

This is the closest we have come so far in this analysis to sport being integrated into a bourgeois identity – bourgeois also insofar as the average writers and readers of *Die Gartenkunst* are gardening professionals, usually either as *Angestellte* or as civil servants. Modernity appears here not just as an external process and threat, but as a movement and development of social practices that opens up a field of possibilities in which the individual can attempt to further positive aspects of modernisation while trying to mitigate negative consequences. If we have so far moved from outright rejection of sport (and modernity) to varying degrees of acceptance in moderation or a rejection of at least only certain aspects or traits, these practitioners hint at the fact that there is a possibility of incorporating sport (and perhaps even modernity in general) into a given community's sense of identity. The following subsection will show how sport can be directly and positively negotiated, not just as "a means to an end" or simply as a useful instrument, where sport and modernity stop being developments that only originate in others, the masses, America or a general movement of a decline of culture; instead, I show how the journal communities themselves are part of modernisation, negotiating, incorporating and furthering a change of social practices in the process.

5.2.3. Desire, commerce & advertisement

Perhaps the greatest difficulty when investigating the incorporation of social practices into existing social identities lies in showing what is considered by members of that community to be normal, integrated and *not* overly noteworthy. Incorporation – completed negotiation – means that the incorporated social practices become part of communal practice, rather than being part of discussion or the main topic of discourse. In the two previous subsections, sport appeared as something that either needed to be rejected or that needed to be moderated, mitigated, that *should be* integrated; in short, sport remained overall problematic, a challenge to existing identities and ideals. Yet, once sport becomes an integral (and integrated) aspect of a social community, it necessarily also becomes visible in different ways. Incorporation happens at a more fundamental level than direct discourse, discussion, question and response. Instead, sport becomes part of a general lifestyle. In turn, this means that sport can be something that people simply *do* without reflecting too much about it, it becomes a backdrop for other topics or enables new discussions. This subsection, with its focus on incorporation, thus shifts its investigative focus to include not just texts and images that focus on sport as a topic, but also to texts and images that make use of sport on a more structural level, as a background behind or a vehicle for other messages. Accordingly, advertisements become more important, since they mark a final stage of incorporation of sport into existing social practices. As I have explicated already, it is the very nature of advertisements that they try to market products to the recipient, either by leading them towards a direct purchase decision or by planting a desire, by charging a product to the point where it becomes desirable, preparing a potential future purchase decision that will favour the advertised product over others. Advertisements thus promise to either address a need (or a lack) in the present, or they allow their recipient to identify with the values transmitted alongside a product.[75]

Foreign products, advertised by foreign people, will fare worse in a nationalist magazine than

75 Cf. section 4.1, p. 108.

a product "made at home", and sparkling wine advertised as ideal for *Herren* will perhaps not realise its full potential when printed in a communist worker's magazine. Consequently, using sport to advertise any given product suggests that at least for a significant number of readers, sport itself is not just acceptable by virtue of not being outright and categorically rejected, but that *sport is part of their own social identity*, something they see as part of their own social practices or, at the very least, something they can imagine to be part of their existence. Unlike sport rejected as an expression of modernity, and unlike sport seen as a means to achieve better levels of public health or a moderation of modernity, sport then appears at once more as *itself* – not as part of an overall crisis caused by modernisation – and as part of an identity that is sufficiently modern to be able to accommodate sport. Sport thus enters into a nexus of city life, lifestyle, desire, commerce and people's identification with these areas of life, interfacing with each of them.

The previous subsection has shown how the creation of new public spaces fundamentally changes landscapes and cityscapes alike. And while sports remained part of a wider set of practices that promised to enhance public health, this integration into public space marks an important step towards wider incorporation of sport *as* sport, i.e. as something that is part of living in the city. In turn, sport becomes integrated, as Lynn Abrams points out, into more and more aspects of bourgeois culture in the wake of a more general move towards popular recreation, public amusements and an increasing commercialisation of social life: "It was the urban bourgeoisie who, while decrying the drinking and dancing of the lower classes, began to take their own recreations into the public arena: they visited theatres, played sport, strolled in the parks and zoological gardens, and commandeered trains to transport them out of the cities."[76] If sport previously appeared as something "foreign" to one's identity, something that either threatened *Geist* or that promised to solve the problem of creating healthy soldiers, sport fundamentally becomes something people *do*. People work, they move around town, they have a *weekend*, visit friends, they eat, sleep, meet, talk, and they exercise.

76 Abrams, "From Control to Commercialization", p. 278.

Thus, the status of sport as a *social practice* is even more pertinent here. Sport becomes part of modern life, and as such, a modern person might read a given journal (and is thus part of its journal community), while also working somewhere, having a family and while being a sportsperson. Journals are commercial products themselves; by further advertising products to their readers, who already are consumers since they already *bought* the journal itself, they exemplify a distinctly modern development of approaching the world as one of choice, of consumers, products and consumption. If sport enters into this modern configuration, if it becomes part of social identities that understand themselves in these terms, it is unsurprising that sport itself gets integrated not just into people's daily routines and into the city itself, but also into consumer culture. "The role of sports within concepts of modernity is perhaps epitomised by its increasing representation in advertising. Sports were an important aspect of modern advertising. The imagery and language of sport were used regardless of the type of product being promoted."[77] An advertisement that sells a product by making use of sport is, therefore, not simply selling an object, but it is selling a version of social identity, it is selling a lifestyle. It does not simply advertise an object, but it advertises an object *to* somebody who will have to find that object useful for his or her specific life. If advertisements use sport to sell products, they do so because the prospective buyer has already "bought into" sport as part of their identity. In order to be able to sell through sport, sport has to be incorporated into a consumers social practice already.

In order to illustrate this fundamental function of incorporation, I will give some examples of advertisment that use sport in order to sell their respective products. The examples, in turn, are taken from the same magazines that contained the aforementioned different attempts of negotiating sport, suggesting that while negotiation might be an explicit topic of the authorial texts of the journals, they may simultaneously contain the very same practices already in an incorporated form, as practices that can already be used to serve another purpose, namely that of selling. Taking into account the material the journals offer, there exist at the same

77 Skillen, "'Woman and the Sport Fetish'", p. 759.

time processes of negotiation and of incorporated practices, complicating the idea that any of the journals is simply "anti-modern", rejecting sport wholesale or that the only messages transmitted exist on the level of authorial messages.

A good example for this coexistence of diverging understandings of a community's identity can be found in the car and motorcycle advertisements as they appear in the *Simplicissimus*. Sportspeople and "Rekordfimmel" are certainly a topic in the journal, as can be seen in Olaf Gulbransson's drawing *Der Held der Minute*, which shows us a fainted (or at least fainting) athlete, held upright by two people clad in white, with a timekeeper (with a red cross on his arm) prominently displaying the time in the foreground. The subtitle reads "Er hat den Weltrekord aufgestellt…aber bis er zu sich kommt, ist er wieder geschlagen."(Cf. Figure A.18, p. 284) Not only does the athlete exhaust himself physically while the medic is more interested in measuring the record than in ensuring the athlete's health, but the hunt for a new world record remains ultimately in vain, since any given record will be beaten within the minute or – in a less literal way – will be beaten eventually, leading to an ever-increasing spiral of records that leave the individual recordholder without anything to show for his efforts. However, the drawing only focuses on the futility of achieving records – and on the damaging aspects of this "craze". What it fails to register is the ever-increasing, accumulating improvement necessary to repeatedly beat the old record and to set a new top mark. This more positive understanding of what it means to achieve new records exists instead more readily in the various journal advertisements for BMW, Mercedes, NSU and Victoria.

Victoria motorcycles get advertised as "das deutsche Rekord-Motorrad", listing its recent achievements directly underneath: two "Deutsche Rekorde" – one solo and one with side-car – and, perhaps even more impressive, a "Weltrekord überboten mit 165 km/Std".(Cf. Figure A.19, p. 285) Interestingly enough, the advertisement makes its reader aware of the transience of these record marks when it notes in parentheses that these records were valid on the "31. Juli 1926". It is entirely possible that all of these records were already long beaten by

the time this specific advertisement appeared in the first issue of the year 1927, yet whether they remain in effect or not, these records seem to serve as markers of both quality and achievement. In doing so, the advertisement suggests two things: that Victoria motorcycles are a *quality* product, second to none in their category (hence the mention of the motorcycle's cubic capacity in order to avoid being confused with bigger and therefore more powerful models), and secondly, that the motorcycle's (potential) buyer – the journal recipient – can achieve these records himself simply because he can *buy* a product that is capable of similar performance. The advertisement thus does not simply advertise that its product is good, but it also suggests that it will allow any buyer to achieve similar heights. If Gulbransson sees the hunt for records as a futile undertaking, it is exactly the reproducibility and reiteration of records, alongside the potential to beat any given record at any given time, that marks the motorcycle's appeal to the consumer according to the advertisement. Where Gulbransson might distance himself from the record craze, the advertisement uses the hunt for records as indicative of the desire for betterment and records, which in turn are used to shine a positive light on their advertised product. The latter stance is only possible if at least a subset of readers/buyers ascribes *positive* notions to the hunt for records and, in fact, sees records themselves not as yet another craze brought about by modernity, but as human improvement and as signs of quality. The buyer has to have *incorporated* records and striving after success as fundamental principles that form part of his own life, identity and social practices, in order for this advertisement to be able to work as intended.

The idea that achieved records may serve as visible markers of quality is further substantiated in a Mercedes-Benz car advertisement later in the year. The advertisement's title reads "Neue schwere Prüfsteine für die außerordentliche Güte und Leistungsfähigkeit der Mercedes-Benz-Wagen".(Cf. Figure A.20, p. 286) What follows in this busy, text- and type-heavy advertisment are various lists of achievements, both during the "Klausen-Rennen", which is described as "das Bergderby der Welt": "Rosenberger schafft neuen Klausenrekord für Rennwagen", "Caracciola

auf Serienwagen schafft neuen Klausenrekord für Sportwagen", "Caracciola auf Serienwagen schafft neuen Klausenrekord für Tourenwagen" and so on. The advertisement thus asserts the *superiority* of Mercedes products over their competition. Moreso, the way the advertisement is typeset and structured lets us see a few more things: while following a somewhat odd non-symmetrical column-layout, the advertisement uses a sans-serif to great effect in order to highlight its most important selling points. If we only concentrate on the sans-serif headings – mostly set in upper case – the gist of the advertisement is still conveyed: "Neue schwere Prüfsteine […] Mercedes-Benz-Wagen […] Klausen-Rennen [additionally spaced, PH] […] Rosenberger neuen Klausenrekord […] Caracciola neuen Klausenrekord […] Caracciola neuen Klausenrekord […] Daimler-Benz A.-G. Stuttgart-Untertürkheim". New records thus appear as new touchstones for the advertised cars, achieved in a masterful fashion. Moreover, the fact that the advertisement highlights not just the car but also the drivers' names further suggests that the car in conjunction with a good sportsman, a racing driver, is what ultimately achieves greatness. In a feature entitled "The Klausen Hill Climb", the British *Motor Sport* gives its readers in 1934 a short introduction to the Klausen-Rennen, and why it is important:

> Probably the greatest hill climbing event in the world, the "Klausen" this year attracted a fine entry of the leading cars and drivers. […] Without some knowledge of Alpine Passes it is difficult to realise fully the skill required from man and machine in order to make a fast time at an event like the Klausen. To begin with it is nearly 14 miles long, and abounds in the most acute hairpin bends. It is impossible to "learn" the hill, and those shades of difference between drivers that can easily be missed on easy circuits are fully exposed at the Klausen hill climb.[78]

Additionally, the journal also lists past Klausen record holders, the car manufacturer who built the record car, and their respective times. Accordingly, Rosenberger's advertised record would stand for another year before being bested in 1929, and Caracciola would set his own overall record in 1932 in an Alfa-Romeo, being almost a minute and a half faster than Rosenberger.[79] The advertisement in the *Simplicissimus* also lists the actual times for each achievement, typeset

78 Anonymous, ed. *Motor Sport. Land – Air – Water*. London: Motor Sport, Sept. 1934, p. 511.
79 Cf. ibid., p. 511.

just slightly smaller than the attention-grabbing headlines themselves. On the right side of the advertisement follows a more detailed list of awards and achievements, each with a driver's name and appropriate automotive class. As the above article in the *Motor Sport* suggests, by buying a Mercedes car, the reader/buyer can share this sense of achievement; he, too, can buy quality and success, and his own Mercedes in turn reinforces that he is a "Siegertyp", beating competition just like Mercedes (and its racing drivers) beat "strongest international competition". This line of reasoning and of suggestion thus validates the assumption that sport, success and records correspond to a set of values that are not simply uncontroversial for the prospective buyer, but in fact both positively connoted and *desirable* aspects of modern life. This nexus of quality, success and superiority is also expressed directly, albeit in a much less striking visual form, in a "Geschäftliche Notiz", i.e. an advertisement text in the same journal a few issues later, which nevertheless emphasises both the records and the cars consistency in pursuing them:

> Neue Siege von Mercedes-Benz. Die außerordentlich lebhafte Rennsaison 1927 brachte in ihrem allmählichen Ausklang der Marke Mercedes-Benz zu ihren hervorragenden Siegen des Jahrens neuerlich eine Anzahl sportlicher Erfolge von weittragender Bedeutung. […] Die Gleichmäßigkeit dieser Erfolge, die sich nun in lückenloser Reihenfolge während der ganzen Saison aneinanderreihen, ist ein Beweis für Leistung und Qualität der Mercedes-Benz-Wagen, wie er eindrucksvoller nicht erbracht werden kann.(S32, p. 390)

Records are not the only way to sell motorcycles and cars, however. Where Mercedes uses its racing pedigree and continuous success to show its cars as desirable, NSU highlights the more practical aspects of its motorcycles, as well as its impact on the owner's quality of life. With a quirky (and idyllic) illustration accompanied by a block of text, NSU advertises its motorcycles as "Der schönste Sport ist das Motorrad-Fahren. Und dabei so leicht zu lernen, wenn Sie das betriebssichere NSU-Motorrad fahren. Nur wenige Hebelgriffe, die Sie schnell beherrschen – und das Rad gehorcht Ihnen. Es trägt Sie und Ihren Begleiter oder Ihre Begleiterin durch die flache Ebene und auf Berge hinauf, auf guten und auf schlechten Wegen."(Cf. Figure A.21, p. 287) Where the above Mercedes advertisement focused on performance, achievement and

beating the competition, NSU highlights a more private version of sport (riding a motorcycle *is* seen as sport, not simply as transportation), one that needs to be accessible simply because most of the potential buyers are decidedly *not* Rosenbergers or Caracciolas, but average sportspeople keen to engage in the modern sport of "Motorrad-Fahren". The advertisement therefore highlights the easy manageability, and it also mentions that "Und billig ist das NSU-Motorrad in Anschaffung und Betrieb", positioning NSU as the sensible choice for the eager, yet unexperienced sportsperson with a limited budget. If the Mercedes advertisements above indicate an incorporation of ideals such as success and competition, NSU depicts a piece of modernity: individual transportation, attainable for ever more people. Modernity, sport and speed are thus not framed in terms of crisis or excess, but they are shown as something entirely *normal*, achievable and desirable, not so much because of their exclusiveness, but because of their fundamental accessibility. Motorcycle sport almost ceases to be a sport in this advertisement, where the motorcycle's chief function is to carry one or two across the flatland or into the mountains.[80] Yet, it is this "normality" that suggests a deeper incorporation of sport into existing lifestyles; sport and riding a motorcycle become regular, normal activities, they do not need the rush and excitement of the record or even necessarily the element of competition in order to be seen as part of "what one does", i.e. part of one's social practices.

BMW, who advertise more than any other automotive manufacturer in the *Simplicissimus* (which might have to do with their common Munich origin), seem to make use of both forms of advertisement. Their first advertisement echoes the same sentiment as the NSU advertisement, positioning their motorcycle in the context of modern leisure culture and the relatively new *weekend*.[81] With "Elegant – zuverlässig für Reise u. Sport" as their tagline below an illustration, the advertisement is concise and clear in its message.(Cf. Figure A.22,

80 Eisenberg would probably classify this kind of "Motorrad-Fahren" as tourism rather than sport in her tripartite scheme, cf. Eisenberg, "Massensport in der Weimarer Republik", pp. 144–145.

81 Of note is perhaps also that both times this advertisement is printed, it shares advertisement space with advertisements for alcohol – another part of leisure –, once with Spaten beer and both times with the official campaign "Trinkt deutschen Wein!" and its characteristic, old-fashioned Sütterlin typography, cf. S32, pp. 6 & 22.

p. 288) More importantly, it shows three versions of a man and woman sharing their free time, either directly on a motorcycle, on a motorcycle with sidecar, or during a picnic in a rural setting which lets us assume that they got there with a BMW motorcycle. Additionally, the women's clothes, hats and especially the short skirt of the woman standing next to the motorcycle evoke a rather typical type of 1920s clothing and especially a particular modern city clothing style. A similar message is rendered in a more striking fashion a few issues later, where typography and especially whitespace replace the idyllic setting of the illustration. In heavy lettering and a mixture of serif and sans-serif, the letters BMW and the word "Motorräder" draw the eye towards the advertisement's upper left corner. A listing of prices in a much lighter sans-serif draws the eyes towards the right above the strong statement "Die ideale Maschine für Reise und Sport".(Cf. Figure A.23, p. 289) This advertisement seems particularly bold and eye-catching when seen in the context of a whole page. The (editorial) illustration below appears to have exceedingly fine lines in comparison – especially considering the unusually thick line separating the top advertisement from the rest of the page – and the three-column layout for the Fraktur typeface appears as an undefined block of text compared to the spacious and visually strong letters of the advertisement. Compared with the advertisement for *Sebald's Haartinktur* below, the absence of copy text or (hand-drawn) illustration, as well as the greater contrast of the sans-serif letters become particularly visible. The advertisement's design suggests that the potential buyer does not need a lot of convincing or even showing, for BMW is enough of a household name that its brandname alone can draw attention, and it is also this brand recognition which seems to support the claim that BMW is not just "elegant" and "zuverlässig" for travel and sport, but that it is, indeed, *the ideal machine* for both. The lack of additional illustration also suggests an at least assumed familiarity of potential buyers with the product itself, while the lack of any reasoning or verbose copy text, normally supposed to convince a "resisting" or "doubting" customer, hints that BMW expects "complicit" readers for whom sport and travel are integrated and even necessary parts of life. The same idea is repeated

and exacerbated – to the point of dilution – in a slightly later version which dominates its respective pages even more. This version adorns the left with a somewhat odd repetition of the letters "BMW" almost like a thick, delineating line that detracts from the clear lines and prominent placement of the same BMW/Motorräder area that drew attention to the previous advertisement.(Cf. Figure A.24, p. 290)

These BMW advertisements can be read as experiments in terms of modern design, trying out various versions that seem to emphasise clarity, conciseness and strong typography in order to draw attention to themselves rather than extensive copy texts, reasoning or even an explicit description of specific merits when compared to surrounding advertisements.[82] The difference between "old" and "new" typography (Tschichold) becomes apparent with an advertisement on a page that features four advertisements in total, which utterly dominate a page that also sports some editorial content which is hard to notice. On the page itself, we see a mixture of typefaces and weights: Bostanjoglo cigarettes even make use of the typically handwritten Sütterlin and use inverted colours to draw attention, *Sebald's Haartinktur* once again features a lengthy (Fraktur) copy text and a different illustration from the previous one, while the *Simplicissimus*'s own publisher Albert Langen uses Fraktur and different weights to achieve a visual hierarchy. The page in total is covered with dense text in general and relatively little white space. BMW uses a combination of a slightly lighter sans-serif for BMW/Motorräder alongside an image of its R47 motorcycle in order to advertise its product.(Cf. Figure A.25, p. 291) However, unlike the surrounding advertisements, the rest of the body is dominated by non-functional black lines on both sides (the advertisement itself is delineated from the others

82 Tschichold highlighted both in his 1928 book *Die Neue Typographie* and in some of his post-war books the connection between readability, clarity, typeface, layout, white space, framing and modernity, defining new typography such that "*Das Wesen der Neuen Typographie ist Klarheit*. Dies stellt sie in den bewußten Gegensatz zu der alten Typographie, die auf 'Schönheit' ausgeht und deren Klarheit nicht das heute erforderliche Maß erreicht. […] Die Funktionen des Textes sind der Zweck der Mitteilung, Betonung (Wortwert) und der logische Ablauf des Inhalts. […] Der Typograph muß in höchstem Maße bedacht sein, die Art, wie man seine Arbeit liest und lesen soll, zu studieren," Tschichold, *Die Neue Typographie*, pp. 67–68. Tschichold also continuously stresses the importance of these principles for typography as used in advertisement, giving examples and even advice on how to typeset modern *and* effective advertisements as well as using advertisements as illustrating examples throughout, cf. esp. Jan Tschichold. *Erfreuliche Drucksachen durch gute Typographie. Eine Fibel für jedermann*. Augsburg: Maro, 2001, pp. 50ff.

by typical thin black lines) and a fair amount of otherwise unused white space. Where the previous variants all featured at least some form of targeting, this variant presents its product as-is. More than that, it falls in line with attempts to find a modern form language for the advertisement of a decidedly modern product, showing a sharp contrast between traditional forms of selling, traditional ideas of layout and a modern way of expression which seems to assume the potential buyer can identify with a more modern approach to design.

Yet, BMW also uses its motor sport pedigree much in the same way as Mercedes previously did, and perhaps in a visually even more striking fashion: in its advertisement about the "Bergrennen Königsaal-Jilowischt", the letters BMW are surrounded by two numbers (I. and II.) that come close to being separators or lines as they were used above to demarcate different advertisements from each other.(Cf. Figure A.26, p. 292) The bold "1927" makes it clear that the achievements are current, and the first and second price respectively – the former marking a new record – visually speak for themselves. "Bergrennen Königsaal-Jilowischt […] BMW zum zweiten Male Sieger […] I. Preis […] II. Preis […] 1927"; the smaller, lighter conclusion "Die grosse Überlegenheit der Kardanmaschine" seems optional for the achievement of communicative success. Once more, sport and the hunt for records appear as proving grounds for technological developments as well as warrants for quality. Interestingly enough, the same issue also contains a "Geschäftliche Notiz" by BMW, which deals with the same race and the same results, which however follows a much more conventional and, when seen as part of the whole page, much more visually integrated *textual* approach, using a small and dense Fraktur in order to narrate the racing achievements while naming the drivers, giving some background information and deploying superlatives such as "gestaltete sich gleich der erste Start zu einem überwältigenden Sieg gegen größte internationale Klasse".(S32, p. 113) While particularly striking both in their choice of visuals and content, automotive manufacturers are however not the only companies which associate sport with positive developments, traits and a community of potential buyers who share the same sentiments, and the *Simplicissimus* is not

the only journal that incorporates sport in such a way in its material.

Alongside the connection between technology, modernity and sport, a similar nexus exists between youth, beauty, health and sport. Siegfried Kracauer already highlighted this connection in his seminal Weimar study *Die Angestellten* when he wrote that youth (*die Jugend*) "ist der Fetisch der illustrierten Zeitungen und ihres Publikums, die Älteren umwerben sie, und Verjüngungsmittel sollen sie halten. Wenn Altern dem Tod entgegengehen heißt, so ist dieser mit der Jugend getriebene Götzendienst das Zeichen der Flucht vor dem Tod".[83] He concludes that if youth is *the* middle-class fetish, people stop living their lives properly, since they are too busy with their "flight from death" to live life, robbing themselves of the chance to grow old with dignity and robbing those who are already old of their dignity by invalidating their life experiences and life choices.[84] Kracauer's work is itself a contemporary critique of a capitalist society that spawned a new middle-class not sufficiently class-conscious to realise its subjugation, which would in turn be necessary in order to win the *Angestellten* as accomplices for a Marxist revolution alongside the proletariat, as Kracauer seems to prefer. These political overtones aside, Kracauer's fundamental identification of the "fetish youth" certainly seems to hold true for my selection of journals. Instead of reducing this "fetish" to a mere reflex to a society simply dominated by a sinister capitalism, the link to the above analysis can reframe this trope as part of the general negotiation of identity in the face of rapid modernisation processes.

An advertisement in *Fürs Haus* succinctly expresses this sentiment: "Der Kampf ums Dasein stellt heute wohl an jeden die größten Anforderungen. Darum mach' dich stark mit *Eubiose*. Der seit 25 Jahren von Autoritäten glänzend begutachtete Blutbildner. Ein Gläschen des öfteren abends genommen wirkt wunderbar."(FH45, No. 28, "Werbung", n.p.) The present (and thus modernity) force the individual into a struggle for life, which in turn forces each

83 Kracauer, "Die Angestellten", pp. 253–254.

84 Cf. ibid., p. 254: "Wird also das Alter entthront, so hat zwar die Jugend gewonnen, aber das Leben verspielt. […] Beide Erscheinungen bezeugen mittelbar, daß unter den gegenwärtigen ökonomischen und sozialen Bedingungen die Menschen das Leben nicht leben."

individual to look out for himself and to make sure he is in competitive shape. Strenghtening (or simply increasing) ones blood seems to be one of the many things that promises to help, while the notion of a struggle for life fully incorporates the ideas of competition, success and failure, as well as of individual skill, constitution and strength that sports already required and propagated. The connection between blood and the body's capability makes immediate sense, yet more products similarly promise to be of paramount importance when it comes to achieving (and maintaining!) a body that fares well during or against competition. Both the *Simplicissimus* and *Fürs Haus* run an advertisement for Odol mouthwash that claims to do just that:

> Höchstleistungen im Sport sind nur möglich bei vollkommen gesundem Körper. Ein vollkommen gesunder Körper ist nicht denkbar ohne gesunde Zähne – man denke sich *z.B. einen Nurmi oder einen Houben mit Zahnschmerzen*, wenn es gilt, einen neuen Rekord zu schaffen. *Gesunde Zähne sind nur möglich bei konsequenter Pflege mit ODOL*. (FH45, No. 38, "Werbung", n.p.; S32, p. 165)

The mouthwash seems to be important in order to make every part of the body as good as it can be, the goal is a "vollkommen gesunder Körper", which means *every* aspect of it has to be healthy. The advertisement itself follows a simple logic: the person winning has to be the best; the best person has the best body; the best body is necessarily a healthy body; every part of the body has to be healthy; teeth are part of the body; teeth need to be healthy; Odol helps the customer with that. Thus, a direct line is drawn from cleaning teeth to achieving greatness, a goal, one might add, that appears unabashedly positive. Winning and – perhaps even more so – achieving a record (which means one automatically also wins) are thus actions that the individual should strive for. In this advertisement, records are anything but bad, the hunt for records is neither "too modern" nor an ailment of modernity itself, instead, the attempt to achieve records is an incorporated, integral part of life, universal enough not to be questioned. Consequently, referencing known record holding sportsmen of the time further suggests that the consumer might see them as examples worthy of being followed or perhaps even bested. It is only fitting to illustrate this positively modern understanding of sport with an illustration of a

sassy young sportswoman, complete with crossed arms, short hair, sports clothing and a tennis racket, who emblemises yet another symptomatic type of modern life.(Cf. Figure A.27, p. 293) A second Odol advertisement earlier in the year makes the connection between beauty, youth, health and desirability even more explicit. "Ein Kuß von ihr,//jetzt weiß ich's wohl,//Schmeckt immer frisch,//sie nimmt Odol!", the poem by the presumably male lyric I proclaims after having kissed the young woman that can be seen on a photograph next to the copy text itself. The young lady is a dancer, mid-step, in provocatively short clothing and a raised skirt that makes her bare legs fully visible, while the copy text itself lets us know that "Tanz hat heute wieder die Bedeutung gewonnen, die er in früheren Zeiten hatte, er ist ein Ausdruck dessen, das uns innerlich erfüllt, ein Triumphieren über irdische Schwere, ein Losgelöstsein von dem Alltäglichen, Selbstvergessenheit und Seligsein."(S32, p. 41) Modern dance, provocative purpose-made clothing, youth, sexuality and desirability are thus brought into connection with each other, receiving a positive appraisal. The advertisement itself anticipates its reader's identification with the subject matter when it says "Bevor Du zum tanze gehst, pflege Mund und Zähne mit Odol!".(Cf. Figure A.28, p. 294) The casual "Du" instead of a more formal "Sie", together with the insinuation that the reader goes to dances and that he, too, would not mind kissing a woman like the one pictured, suggest that none of the raised subjects are assumed to be controversial for an Odol customer; in fact, the same customer who goes to dances and likes to kiss beautiful, modern women might very well be the same person who, when he does sport, aims not just for participation, and not even just for victory, but for a record.

In a similar vein, other products make use of the same idea of a healthy, strong body as a prerequisite for sport, which in turn means that the consumer would want to buy these products in order to achieve or maintain said healthy body. *Elida* soap and cremes are advertised in *Sport im Bild* via a full-page advertisement at the beginning of the journal, prominently situated between the outer and inner titlepage.(Cf. Figure A.29, p. 295) A young woman on

the right – with obligatory short hair – is holding a pair of skis, while the dense, evenly spread copy text reads in two different serif typefaces:

> Auch im Winter blüht die Schönheit. Wenn der glitzernde Schnee Sie lockt, in froher Gesellschaft hinaus zu ziehen in Berg und Wald – wenn Ihr erfrischtes Blut das Leben doppelt schön macht, dann genießen Sie den gesunden, verjüngenden Sport ohne Bedenken. Einfach ist das Geheimnis. Keine Dame, noch so zart und empfindlich, braucht im Winter Angst für ihren Teint zu haben.(SiB33, pp. 96/1)

If Kracauer links youth and the "flight from death", *Elida* advertises that it can guarantee the *external* appearance of youth. Sport (especially in a group with others) in nature is what rejuvenates the blood (with or without *Eubiose*?) making life "doppelt schön". Sport is *verjüngend*, juvenescent, for the body, which in turn supposedly leads to happiness. The advertised creme, in turn, helps once more in preparing the body in order to be able to participate in various sports. Beyond the *mens sana in corpore sano*, it seems that sport, with a little help from a commercial product here or there, creates not just a healthy, but a beautiful body. If the sportsperson is the epitome of modernity, these products position themselves as sport's little helpers.[85] And if modern life, according to Kracauer, is the eternal pursuit of youth, it is in these advertisements where the myth of lasting youth is developed, cultivated and, ultimately, perpetuated. Similarly, the washing liquid *Lysoform* is advertised as yet another useful product that will help the sportsperson in maintaining a youthful, strong and healthy body.

> Lysoform. Die höchste Leistungsfähigkeit bei jedem Sport, beim Wandern, Turnen und Rudern, beim Tennis-, Fußball und Hockeyspiel, verbürgt erst die sachgemäße tägliche Pflege des Körpers und der Haut. Regelmäßige Waschungen mit schwacher Lysoformlösung machen die Haut elastisch und widerstandsfähig, stärken die Muskeln, schützen vor Verletzung und ihren Folgen und wirken nach körperlichen Anstrengungen ungemein wohltuend.(SiB33, pp. 91 & 149)

85 Jensen correctly points out that the Weimar vision of the ideal and, indeed, of the modern body remains our ideal even today, which suggests a fundamental continuity in the development of modern beauty and body ideals decoupled from abstract biopolitics or simple political ideology in general, cf. Jensen, *Body by Weimar*, p. 13: "While architects created visions of the modern built environment, athletes energetically shaped a vision of the modern body, as sleek and efficient as any Bauhaus design and one that remains with us as an ideal to this day."

The product supposedly makes the skin elastic, i.e. free of wrinkles, yet resistant, strengthening muscles and protecting from injury – in short, the bodywash helps to maintain external beauty while simultaneously strengthening the body (making it healthier) and ensuring that it stays healthy. These advertisements naturally assume a readership for *Sport im Bild* that does not simply *read* about sport, but that has integrated sport, as well as its modern body image, into their own identity. The advertisement mentions *tägliche Pflege*, suggesting an integration into daily life and even daily routine (and toilette), where ideals such as a strengthened, healthy body, the active participation in various sports and the pursuit of youth and beauty also fundamentally influence buying behaviour. The *Simplicissimus*'s advertisements for *Pallabona* powder which "reinigt u. entfettet das Haar auf trockenem Wege, macht schöne Frisur, besonders geeignet für Bubikopf" similarly asserts that beauty and sport go hand in hand as the powder itself is "Bei Tanz und Sport unentbehrlich", while *Dialon*, an antiseptic powder used to treat wounds (and that is also used and advertised as baby powder) simply appeals to its reader that "man verlange die Sport Packung".(S31, pp. 535 & 659)

All of these advertisements have in common that they take the nexus of health, beauty, youth and sport for granted, not as something that is in the process of negotiation in the sense of an active pro-and-contra discussion or even as a direct discussion topic. They do not try to assimilate sport to other purposes such as an improvement of public health or *Wehrfähigkeit*, and they also do not try to moderate the hunt for records or the ideals of competitiveness and striving for success, but they understand sport as a social practice that is fully incorporated into their recipients' identities and lifestyles. They do not instrumentalise sport in order to further their capitalist agenda, but they instead seek to connect their own use value to the social practice of sport, portraying themselves as essential in order to reach the ideals of beauty, health and success, whose main pursuit and expression can be found in the lived social practices of the readers of these journals when they do sports. Thus, we can respond to Ratatöskr's previously mentioned question in *Der Denker*, this time including his second stanza:[86]

86 Cf. subsection 5.2.1, p. 170.

Wenn's um mich rodelt, springt und schwingt
in Sweatern (um nicht zu verkühlien),
dann frag' ich: *wer* hat *was* bedingt?
Ist Sport primär? Sind's die Textilien?

Ad zwei: erwächst der *Industrie*
aus dem Betrieb das größ're Bene
durch Warenumsatzsteig'rung? Wie?
Und nicht etwa der *Hygiene*? (S32, p. 482)

Its lyric I alleges that sport really only came into existence to further the profitmaking of the industry; the whole idea of sport as a necessity of enhancing *Volksgesundheit* – the poem refers to it widely as *Hygiene* – consequently appears to be a decoy in order to make people believe that sport is, in fact, more than simply capitalists making a profit. The question of *who* presupposes *what* thus becomes central and is answered accordingly. The poem itself highlights and thus signposts these topics explicitly in its typography, adding extra spacing to the words *wer*, *was*, *Industrie* and *Hygiene*, which is the equivalent of emphasising serif texts by using italics. The marking of these words seems to exist in order to make sure that the reader cannot mistake the lyric I's rejection of sport, yet the simplified dynamic the poem outlines in just three stanzas is, as can be seen above, less clearly cut. Advertisements certainly presuppose a certain level of incorporation of sports into communal and individual identities of the journal communities and readers, yet the strategies which the advertisements employ suggest that the products are tied to much wider, more universal ideals and social practices such as healthy living, the pursuit of happiness, success, sociability and individual strength. These ideals and their enabling practices, however, are not all simply born of industrial calculatio, but they are direct consequences of much more universal social changes and more general modernisation processes. Sport does not simply exist as a social practice because the industry or advertisement agencies invented ideals and thus artificially created desires, but sport, consumer culture, journal culture and technology exist alongside each other as *co-evolutionary* processes that together form what contemporaries conceived of as "modernity".

5.2.4. Intermediate results: sport

What my material has shown so far is that three distinct ways of negotiating the existence and prominence of sport in daily life circa 1927 can be traced. More importantly, these three distinct ways – rejection, adaptation, incorporation – exist not simply concurrently, but they are interwoven; they exist in the same journals and even in the same issues side-by-side. All three describe ways of configuring bourgeois identities – what it means to be *bürgerlich* and how to come to terms with the symptoms and consequences of rapid modernisation. By approaching the journals not just from a production angle – focussing on what "the author" says and how that fits with the author's overall stances and works – but by instead taking into account their visual form, their design and their non-editorial sections, this analysis constitutes a reception-based interpretation of the material at hand. What can thus be seen is the *inherent* polyphony and multiplicity that exists within these bourgeois journals, where different voices and, indeed, different agendas, ideals and identities appear side-by-side to the contemporary and modern reader alike.

When it comes to the particular understanding of sport, the analysis shows that sport in 1927 was not one single, monolithic entity or social practice that meant the same to everybody who might consider themselves middle-class. Instead, the three ways of negotiation highlight the co-existing and, in fact, co-evolutionary nature of various understandings of sport. Consequently, conservative, prevailing and innovative tendencies exist at the same time and within the same social space, they exist within the same social communities. Yet, none of these tendencies inevitably determine that sport will be understood and incorporated one way or the other in the following years and especially during Nazi reign. There, the rejection of a bourgeois modernity goes hand in hand with the Nazi regime's own modernizing movement, including the attempt to meaningfully adapt sport in order to create closer ties of camaraderie between practitioners or the attempt to make Germans fit for their gender-specific roles as either soldiers or mothers. To that end, sport gets incorporated into the official party and youth organisations

of Nazi Germany, shedding in the process some of the close ties between consumer culture and sport. Yet, as has been pointed out, many of the ideals of sport continue to be effective long past the end of Nazi reign and World War II, returning to a close integration of sport, fitness, public health, performance and consumption while also subscribing to a similar image of a healthy, efficient body.

The specific negotiation strategies of rejection, adaptation or integration thus appear less as determined by a single political system or, indeed, a specific political ideology, but they seem to be constants of a *modern* civil society instead. The fact that similar practices and similar forms of negotiation of bourgeois identities exist across the political fault lines between the journals when confronted with sport suggests a deeper connection of people as *bürgerlich*, even before they start to separate into different understandings of politics, society and such. An analysis of these specific journal communities thus lays bare a set of common ways of coming to terms with the modernisation processes of the Weimar Republic – a common bourgeois culture. Rather than pointing out single authors as either "conservative" or "progressive", looking at my material in this ways opens up the possibility of much more intricate, more complex and at the same time more connected ways of understanding any specific text, drawing or advertisement within the journals, as well as their governing social practices.

5.3. New Women

When we look at visual documents of the 1920s, a new type of woman, whether we call her the "New Woman", young modern, flapper or simply "girl", can be seen all around. As Fiona Skillen puts it, the "young modern" was "both symbol and aspiration", signalling a modernisation of gender relationships following the upheavals of World War I, as well as the first significant steps towards a more modern, more emancipated understanding of what it means to be a woman.[87] By describing these women as belonging to a *new* type, there must

87 Cf. Skillen, "'Woman and the Sport Fetish'", p. 751.

exist, then, an *old* type, just as well: the traditional, unliberated, conservative housewife.[88] Accordingly, we assume a movement away from the ideals of the latter, away from the homely sphere, and towards the former, i.e. towards an overall more liberated, more self-reliant and more independent type of woman. Birgitte Søland describes this modernisation when she says that "the decade following World War I therefore constitutes a pivotal transitional moment in the history of European gender relations during which Victorian gender arrangements met their final demise and a re-formed gender order gradually was established".[89]

If we assume, however, a modernisation of gender roles, a general movement towards liberation and independence of German women, how do we explain the seeming "return" to more traditional forms of family life and gender relations in Nazi Germany? As Renate Bridenthal puts this question so succinctly:

> If liberation had been proceeding apace, it is not difficult to see why men would react against it, but why did the women implicitly repudiate it when they consistently voted for the tradition-minded right and Center parties and when they later cheered Hitler, voting themselves back into the bondage of pure housewifery? Did they innately prefer it? Were they escaping from freedom? Or was there something dubious about all these new options?[90]

Bridenthal then continues to focus on the "purported economic liberation of German women", suggesting in turn "how much the notion of the German women's economic emancipation was a myth".[91] Does that mean, however, that instead of a "regression" in Nazi Germany, there had been no progress, no modernisation of gender roles in the first place? Both Bridenthal's and Tim Mason's studies of historical, census-based employment figures suggest, indeed, that much of the economic liberation so often seen as part of this type of femininity is far less impressive if seen not simply in absolute, but in relative terms.[92] Seen in this light, Nazi Germany appears

88 Cf. Buerkle, "Gendered Spectatorship", p. 630.

89 Birgitte Søland. *Becoming modern. Young women and the reconstruction of womanhood in the 1920s*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2000, p. 6.

90 Renate Bridenthal. "Beyond Kinder, Küche, Kirche. Weimar Women at Work". In: *Central European History* 6.2 (June 1973), pp. 148–166, p. 149.

91 Ibid., p. 149.

92 Bridenthal argues, in fact, that "modernization of techniques and concentration of ownership reshuffled jobs so that women as a group tended to fall further to the bottom. Pressed more and more into unskilled work with

to mark less of a break, especially considering the fact that many women were already displaced from the labour market during the Depression, i.e. post-1929.

Yet, the sheer frequency of occurrence of the "New Woman" in the media suggests that the common perception of the 1920s as a period of radical change in gender relations is not merely made up. Even though relative employment of women did not, perhaps, grow faster than that of men, this newly visible type of femininity nevertheless seemed to have an effect.[93] Søland suggests historians like Bridenthal and Mason are certainly right in their fundamental assumptions and readings "of the long-term impact on women's lives", as signified by census data and other statistical material, yet they "have tended to overlook contemporary reports that described, with enthusiasm or anxiety, what many observers believed to be the rapid dismantling of traditional forms of womanhood and the emergence of new social and sexual patterns".[94] Thus, a perception of rapid social change seems to exist. What we can witness, then, in line with Graf and Föllmer's argument about crisis, is a *felt* crisis rather than perhaps an objective crisis.[95] Rather than dismiss this crisis-*perception* outright, we should focus on this cultural reality, for "through analyses of a society's discourse on gender, we may therefore uncover central aspects of its values and fears, its hopes and conflicts, and its power relations and social dynamics".[96] This brings with it a differentiation between the creation and perpetuation of new stereo- and archetypes of womanhood in social *discourse* on one hand, and the perhaps

lessened responsibility or out of the economy altogether, women lost status and relative independence and, quite probably, a corresponding sense of competence and self-worth", suggesting that while women certainly became more visible in social life, their actual development was hardly a positive one, cf. Bridenthal, "Beyond Kinder, Küche, Kirche", p. 165. Instead of commonly held beliefs (and loudly voiced opinions) of women displacing men in the workforce, women themselves were displaced, "moving out of agriculture and home industry into factories where they were more visible as a work force and more likely to provoke resentment", ibid., p. 158. Similarly, Mason highlights that more women working did not, in fact, mean a fundamental shift towards more emancipated lives, instead their "new" role "was a highly restricted role, which perhaps involved less independent responsibility in sustaining the family than had often been exercised by the wives of farmers, craftsmen and workers in an earlier industrial era", Tim Mason. "Women in Germany, 1925–1940. Family, Welfare and Work, Part I". in: *History Workshop* 1 (Spring 1976), pp. 74–113, p. 83.

93 "Three million more women entered the work force, but so did four million more men. Women's presence was felt more because it had never really been accepted in the first place and because inflation and depression made jobs scarce and competitive", cf. Bridenthal, "Beyond Kinder, Küche, Kirche", p. 150.

94 Søland, *Becoming modern*, p. 7.

95 Cf. Graf and Föllmer, "The culture of 'crisis' in the Weimar Republic", pp. 42–43.

96 Søland, *Becoming modern*, p. 7.

less polarised lived *experience*, on the other. Thus, just as there existed a difference between negotiation of identity and incorporation when it came to sport in the previous section, we will have to look at both the negotiation of people's identity when faced with a perceived change in women's social roles, as well as the actual incorporation of these aspects of womanhood in historical practice. As Søland puts it:

> Surely, the "Modern Woman" – the scantily clad, sexually liberated, economically independent, self-reliant female – was a rhetorical construction, the quintessential symbol of a world in disarray. But "modern women" – women who cut their hair, wore short skirts, worked for wages, and enjoyed themselves outside the home – were not just figments of anxious imaginations, and to read the postwar debates about women as solely, or predominantly, debates about changes wrought by the war ignores both the social and sexual struggles that characterized the 1920s and the very real changes in women's behavior that this decade witnessed.[97]

Rather than a world split between the two discursive extremes of the "New Woman" and the housewife, between Josephine Baker on one side and Magda Goebbels on the other, it is imperative to investigate how these extremes are practically integrated and negotiated. This means looking at *more* modern forms of being, such as being a modern housewife, incorporating newer cultural developments such as the weekend as well as technological progress, aspiring to a more equal relationship between men and women and overall family structures. I will thus ultimately focus on the incorporation of commerce, work, family, leisure, sport, city life and other modern achievements into women's lives. First, however, I will have to characterise the two *discursive extremes* more closely, analysing how a set of modern practices is received and negotiated in 1927 within the journals, and how observed modernisation practices over time create discursive types. In the process, I will show how various behaviours and practices of *new women* first lead to the archetype of *the* New Woman, before this archetype in turn is then charged in cultural discourse with more negative and more sinister connotations. What becomes visible is the abstraction and stereotyping of practices in order to devalue them, which in turn affects the future of these practices. Additionally, by focusing on depictions of modern

97 Søland, *Becoming modern*, p. 7.

women in the journals, we get to see how changes in the practices of womanhood influence not just women, but men and women alike. Perhaps even more than for women, a change in gender roles can be perceived by men as a (subjective) crisis, challenging established gender relationships and therefore ultimately existing power relations, in turn threatening established male gender roles as such.[98]

5.3.1. Modern women, modern practices

The first question to answer, then, is this: what makes women modern? And what marks modern women? Perhaps more than anything else, what makes a woman a modern woman is her self-identification as one. In general, being modern is not something that only few can hope to achieve, but instead is something that one can express, live and display, as well as something one can aspire to. An investigation of modern women in 1927 therefore has to first try and establish what kind of markers, symbols and imagery led to self-identification of a woman as a *modern* woman. Buerkle calls this an enquiry into "historicized identificatory practice", which she defines as "the relationship between what women saw and the way in which this experience of 'seeing' defines a range of identities".[99] The term *identificatory* practice is useful in order to distinguish these from communal social practices. The latter create a pattern of steady innovation, which can be understood as the continuous movement of conservative, prevailing and innovative tendencies, which, in turn, mark a more general process of modernization. The individuals – the women – however, will become aware at various times of these more general, more abstract development processes, which challenge their current identities with all of their tendencies. Every innovation must therefore be negotiated by the individual, though this need not be done consciously. Where this process is conscious, however, each woman will have

98 "As many cultural historians have pointed out, debates about gender such as those that characterized the decade following World War I always mask concerns both about gender and about 'something else again'. In the case of the 1920s, the obsession with women's roles and behavior clearly reflected more general anxieties over social disorder, socioeconomic change, and the collapse of long-standing moral and ideological doctrines", Søland, *Becoming modern*, p. 7

99 Buerkle, "Gendered Spectatorship", p. 627.

to decide which innovative social (general) practices match the views, ideas and ideals that form her individual identity, and which do not. In the case of modern women, this process is in no small part a *visual* process. Innovative practices appear in visual form, as new ways of movement, of clothing and of seeing as well as of being seen.

More even than via a specific set of values or sentiments, modern women most obviously distinguish themselves from more traditional understandings of womanhood by virtue of looks, exterior attributes and visible markers. Skillen can therefore distinguish and identify the "young modern" simply by "the way she dressed, the way she spent her time, the way she used her body, the way she styled her hair, the make-up she used", which all "marked her out as 'different'".[100] Similarly, Søland specifies three distinct areas for her own analysis of modern women: self-presentation, e.g. fashion, looks, body usage and body ideals; female leisure and autonomy, e.g. lifestyle disassociated from their families, generation conflicts and the negotiation of boundaries of femininity; as well as marriage and domestic labour, i.e. the reconciliation of financial dependency and marriage with a new form of housewifery and domesticity suitable for a modern woman.[101] More than that, she also specifically highlights the importance of consumer culture for many of these visual and outward-facing aspects, which meant that cultural images and types could spread even to places where industrialisation did not necessarily already reach. Accordingly, it was a mixture of self-presentation, visual and media images, as well as a consumer culture that allowed wider strata of society to obtain these markers (or symbols) in order to incorporate them into their own lifestyle.[102]

Consequently, Buerkle does not only advocate an inclusion of the historical material record as a whole (hence her description of *historicized* identificatory practice), which would loosely correspond to the content of a journal in its entirety, but she further highlights the importance of advertisements and overall visual representation for a study of the interplay between depiction and reception of femininity: advertising can be seen, then, as "instrumentalized energy that

100 Skillen, "'Woman and the Sport Fetish'", p. 751.
101 Cf. Søland, *Becoming modern*, pp. 15–16.
102 Cf. ibid., pp. 16–17.

could be directed for economic gain. Women were not 'victims' of advertising. Rather, advertising functioned then (and now, for that matter) as constitutive of a visual public sphere that is, conversely, constitutive of identities".[103] Accordingly, depictions of modern women have to be recognisable as such due to specific ways they style themselves, specific activities, body types and practices. And since many of them are conveyed and transported visually, they go beyond the written or oral confession of being a modern woman, relying on incorporated practices to carry their social meaning. In turn, the two-fold process of displaying and of seeing (or being seen) promises to elucidate the very process of negotiating female identity, which necessarily arbitrates between communal and individual practices in order to allow modern women to position themselves within rapidly changing social practices and constantly evolving communities. These modern women do not simply look at advertisements and see visually modern women, but this exchange between display and look forces them to negotiate between the images thus seen, other women they encounter and their self-images. As a consequence, they might decide to reject what they see, or they might decide to incorporate said practices, which means either a detachment or an alignment of their own habits with those displayed in visual culture.

Some of the more overt markers when it comes to clothes are present in cultural memory even today; when we think of the flapper or the 1920s, we think of short hair, skirts that stop above the knee and high-heeled shoes. The already previously cited Frau Baurat H. in her diatribe against "ausländische Tänze" in *Fürs Haus* succinctly sums up how identification, visual symbols and activities go hand in hand: "Für den gleichfalls vom Ausland importierten hyperschlanken Girltyp bleibt das kniefreie Kleidchen Trumpf, und der Bubikopf die Krone. Für sie ist selbstverständlich Jazzmusik und Charleston die Höhe der Kultur und jedenfalls ureigenster Ausdruck ihrer Persönlichkeit."(FH45, No. 17, "Weshalb die Nachahmung der ausländischen Tänze", n.p.) If we ignore the jibes infering a lack of culture and nationalism, she sums up a whole nexus of markers of new women: very slim, knee-free skirt, crop, jazz

103 Buerkle, "Gendered Spectatorship", p. 627.

music, charleston. More than that, however, she also suggests that these external markers are not merely symbols, but that the women themselves see them as distinct *expressions* of their personality and self. They serve to mark and express their identification as modern women, and they serve as expressions of modern behaviours, interests, practices and identities. In turn, these same symbols can be observed again and again in the journals, and they seem to be universal enough to be identifiable by those who identify *with* them just as much as by those who do not see themselves as part of the same modern kind of identity. Sometimes acutely aware of the direct connection between these symbols and certain practices, some advertisements even emulate the tone of somebody like the concerned Frau Baurat in order to then associate their own product with the wider identifiers of modern womanhood. "Welche Gefahren hat der Bubikopf?", a full-page advertisement in *Fürs Haus* asks in big letters, before answering its own question in the copy text:

> Jede moderne Frau kennt die Vorteile des Bubikopfes. Sie schwört, daß sie nie wieder eine andere Frisur tragen wird, weil sie ihr so gut steht, weil sie so jugendlich aussieht, weil die Frisur so bequem zu behandeln ist, weil sie so wenig Zeit zur Pflege braucht. Aber hier droht eine Gefahr: Die Schuppenbildung, welche der Beginn des Haarausfalles ist und die sich nach dem Urteil der Hautärzte und Friseure enorm ausbreitet, seit der Bubikopf die Welt beherrscht. Der Grund liegt natürlich nicht in dem kurz geschnittenen Haar, sondern in der verringerten Pflege, welche die Frauen ihrem Haar angedeihen lassen.(FH45, No. 42, "Elida Shampoo", n.p.)

Playing on the notion that there is something dangerous about being a modern woman, the advertisement nevertheless tells us in no uncertain terms about the de facto state of affairs. *Every* modern woman knows about the advantages offered by the crop, which lets her look young and which is convenient. The only danger, it seems, lies in women neglecting their haircare, which in turn necessitates a grave warning from the producers of *Elida Shampoo*, thus positioned as the perfect product to save modern women from this associated danger. The advertisement thus reinforces the connection between a modern woman and her cropped hair, strengthening the identification of the former with the latter and specifically marketing its product to female customers who already readily identify with being modern. Furthermore, what can be observed

in both cited cases is a *reciprocal* identification, the possibility of identifying a correlation in both directions: cropped hair is a marker of modern women, which in turn means that seeing a woman with cropped hair suggests that she sees herself as a new woman.[104] In fact, these associations and visual markers become so established in contemporary culture that they are nearly ubiquitous. Furthermore, within the journals, as much as within cultural depictions in general, these overt visual cues that mark women as modern women can be combined almost at will, which means that they can be encountered in various contexts. This chapter's introduction already hinted at the fundamental interconnectedness of modernisation, modern practices and commercial culture, and the representation of modern women is perhaps best suited to illustrate this claim.

In many ways, identification of women as modern transcended hitherto existing traditional boundaries, such as visual distinctions between aristocrats, middle-class women and members of the petite-bourgeoisie. The section "Chronik der Gesellschaft" in *Sport im Bild* shows us four photographs, taken at three different social occasions in Berlin.(Cf. SiB33, p. 110) The top and top-right photos depict a "Gesellschaftsabend" in the "Deutsche Adelsgenossenschaft", the association of German aristocrats. Spacious interior and opulent decor represent wealth as well as tradition, and the men look more or less unchanged when compared to older photos.(Cf. Figure A.30, p. 296) The pictured women, however, or at least some of the younger ones, appear to be more "of their time", exhibiting rather modest clothing yet two of them towards the right of the table sport the often typical *Bubikopf*. The other two pictures on the page, then, which also take place in the higher strata of society, show two costume parties. More important than the costumes, however, are the women who openly sport many more markers of modern femininity. In the bottom left picture, the woman in the centre of the frame displays the easily recognisable combination of short hair, above-the-knee skirt and heeled shoes, while the woman sitting on the ground to her right displays even shorter hair and reveals a lot more leg, as does the woman of whom only the bare legs are visible behind her. None of these women seem

104 Cf. Søland, *Becoming modern*, p. 16.

to wear a specific costume, and little of their clothes and overall looks are specific to carneval. And even in the small photo on the right, both women sport visibly short hair. The *overall* looks of these women are not at all different from depictions elsewhere within the same journal, despite being marked as obvious members of the social elite. Another page in the same issue shows us similar characteristics and markers in different surroundings and, in fact, in different forms of media. The top half of the page shows new fashion that is to be worn when doing sport, while the bottom half shows an advertisement for *Mauxion* chocolate.(Cf. Figure A.31, p. 297) Both display a remarkable consistency in their depiction of different women, who all sport the trademark short hair. Furthermore, all depicted women are associated with sport in its various forms, a modern development in itself, as previously discussed. The women at the top of the page model *Sportmoden*, while sport and short hair as a visual marker are combined in the advertisement in order to sell something entirely unrelated, namely chocolate. Buerkle explains this remarkable convergence and standardisation of imagery by highlighting that "the specularization of women during the Weimar period produced habits of seeing: to market specifically to women and to encourage them to identify with the women in advertisements, sellers had to understand and cultivate specular desire. Choices about which kinds of women did and did not appear in advertising articulate the contours of what I term a historicized identificatory practice".[105] However, the same attributes and visual cues are not specific to women-oriented journals such as *Fürs Haus* or *Sport im Bild*, but instead can be found across the board.

One of a longer series of fictional advertisement characters, *Pixavon*'s "Florence" emphasises yet again a preference for a certain visual type in advertisments, while "Grace" a few issues later proudly claims that "Der kultivierte Mensch kennt heute nicht mehr *eine* Schönheit – er hat Schönheit*en* entdeckt, die Menschen früherer Generationen noch nicht empfinden konnten".(Cf. S32, pp. 265 & 381) Not only do "Florence's" girlfriends envy her hair, but the

105 Buerkle, "Gendered Spectatorship", p. 627 – The specific concept of specularisation can here be understood to include both the display and looking at the displayed and will be explored more closely in subsection 5.3.2, p. 224.

crop is an expression of *cultivated* people as well as an expression of beauty. Both advertisements appear in the *Simplicissimus*,[106] which is otherwise not specifically geared towards women, yet the same visual markers of what makes a woman modern feature just as well. This is perhaps even more poignant when one compares the Florence advertisement to the Marcel Frischmann caricature on the same page entitled *Der Genießer*, in which a Northerner proclaims: "Een' Spaß muß der Mensch haben: jetzt seh ich mir am Strand die nackten Mädchen an un denn geh' ich heim un prügel' meine Olle."(Cf. Figure A.32, p. 298) Life in this instance seems rather less glamorous, and women feature in a very different form. Not only are young women – Mädchen – naked and thus ready to be ogled, but watching them is the only fun the depicted man can experience in life apart from going home and beating up his (presumably old) wife. And in another caricature by Eduard Thöny, entitled *Silberstreifen am Horizont*, these typical visual markers of modern femininity appear yet again and are easily recognisable: the older man in the foreground stands in stark contrast to the three women in the background, only one of whom is looking in his direction while the others show no particular interest in him.(Cf. S32, p. 512) All three women again sport Bubikopf (even if hidden twice under a hat), bare legs and high heeled shoes, while the subtitle additionally associates them with youth when the older man says: "Über Geldverdienen bin ich alt geworden. Auf zu Steinach. Jetzt will ich endlich die Jugend genießen." A nexus similar to the one in the Frischmann caricature is thus established between youth, modern women and male enjoyment of both, additionally connoted by the fact that the old man is implying his financial wealth, in a rather obvious (and at least partially successful) attempt to get the women's attention. Remarkably, we are presented with a group of women out and about, not a married couple or some such, showing women who move more independently within social space. This visual consistency and assumed identificatory potential is established enough to become the target of ironic satire, as "kiki." demonstrates in a collection of fictional telegrams from Munich in the *Kladderadatsch*, another

106 The "Florence" advertisement is part of the "Alles im Urlaub" special issue of the *Simplicissimus* that already featured in the previous section, cf. subsection 5.2.1, p. 168.

journal not primarily geared towards women:

> Großes Aufsehen erregte hier eine junge Dame, die am hellichten Tage in einem bis fast an die Knöchel reichenden und bis zum Hals geschlossenen, völlig undurchsichtigen Kleide im Hofbräuhaus erschien und dazu noch um den Kopf zwei dicke Zöpfe trug. Die dadurch herausgeforderte, immer stärker anwachsende Menge nahm eine bedrohliche Haltung an, weil sie sofort wußte, was vorn und hinten ist, und konnte von alarmierten Schupo nur mit Mühe zerstreut werden, während die offenbar anormale Attentäterin trotz heftigen Widerstandes in Schutzhaft genommen wurde.(KL80, p. 108)

The mocking tone asserts that a woman in traditional getup, i.e. one that does not visually present herself as a modern woman, is rarely seen and strange enough for her contemporaries to require police intervention because of a crowd that assembles in disbelief. The next telegram adds to this overall depiction by explaining that her look apparently was an "allerdings sehr 'originelles' und auf dem Ball der 'Ganz Verblödeten' mit dem 1. Preis ausgezeichnetes – Faschingskostüm". The ironic association of a traditional look, carneval and the completely stultified in turn suggests, through inversion, that the "new" look is in fact part of a craze of silly people, akin to an epidemic. This suggests that the typical markers of being modern are so consistent and powerful that they even work when alluded to in an inverted setting. Even more, the *Kladderadatsch* article seems to suggest that *every* woman styles herself in this new look, which would lead us to assume that all of these women identify as being modern women. This assumption leads to an interesting question, however: If the image of modernity among women is so consistent and pervasive that it can be easily recognised even when satirised, that it exists in advertisements, caricatures and articles, whether sympathetic or critical, can it really serve as a marker of identifying as modern? If seemingly every woman thus identifies as being modern, does this category not lose any cohesion? If every woman can easily identify as modern and styles herself accordingly, what does it mean to be modern?

5.3.2. From individual women to "the New Woman"

So far, these visual attributes and markers are in themselves fairly innocuous. They do not necessarily reflect or betray Zeitgeist as much as simple fashion. Since every woman could

at least in theory identify with them, this would suggest that every woman could be seen as modern. However, this identification as modern does not stop at visual symbols, and it did not develop in a vacuum; instead, other sentiments of modernity are fused and interconnected with it. The very notion of modern women is linked to a more general modernisation of society, unfolding in parallel with the development of sports, for example. Identifying as a modern woman is therefore not merely self-referential, it does not simply mean that she is visually representing herself as modern because that is what is in fashion, nor are the attributes merely modern because women who think of themselves as modern in this sense happen to present themselves in a specific way. To describe oneself as *modern* connects one's individual identity to a more general set of social developments. In turn, a preexisting, more general feeling of anxiety about modernity, modern development, the state of society, the state of politics, internationalisation (and more specifically Americanisation) – as has been laid bare in the previous section about the different states of negotiation and incorporation of modernity as signified by sport – means that people come to associate modern women with everything else that frightens them about modernity in general, negatively connoting and judging the whole idea of "the" modern woman. This is why Skillen can see the "young modern" as symbol and aspiration, as providing an identity that is decidedly *different* from previous identities of women. Similarly, in her study about melodramatic representation of women, Patrice Petro establishes a direct link not just between the cinematic representation and reception of women and the more general visual representation of women, but between visual representation and modern life in general; "[…] the widespread circulation of images established conventions of representation relating to female sexuality and gender identity, and new ways of perceiving modern life".[107] And while Søland emphasises women's agency in negotiating new and genuinely modern forms of female identity, she nevertheless also reminds us that this process is embedded in wider social discourse. Accordingly, young women "were not only the object of discourse but also

107 Patrice Petro. *Joyless streets. Women and melodramatic representation in Weimar Germany*. Princeton and Guildford: Princeton University Press, 1989, p. 91.

central agents in the charting of new female identities. When contemporaries struggled to determine how 'modern' the 'modern woman' would be, […] the answers to those questions certainly grew not only from cultural discourses but also from the social practices of the women in question".[108] This brings us to the crucial problem that female identity never stands simply for itself and never just applies to individual women, but that it has a strong influence on our more general perception not just of women, but of what it means to be *a* woman, which in turn influences what it means to be a man.

In an extraordinary article about gender as a useful category of historical analysis that has lost little of its relevance, Joan W. Scott uncovers four interrelated elements of gender – understood "as a constitutive element of social relationships based on perceived differences between the sexes".[109] The first element consists of culturally available symbols that evoke multiple representations with corresponding connotations which assign certain values to specific images of femininity, as the common dichotomies Eve/dark/pollution versus Mary/light/purity (and one could add here the common dichotomy nature/culture) suggest.[110] The second element are "normative concepts that set forth interpretations of the meanings of symbols, that attempt to limit and contain their metaphoric possibilities", such as different representations in religious, educational, scientific, legal and political doctrines, which nevertheless seek to limit the potential power women can obtain within these symbolic systems.[111] A third element of social relationships perceived through the difference between men and women is a notion of politics as well as reference to social institutions and organizations, such as the structuring of the family, the division in the labour market, in education and polity; finally, the fourth

108 Søland, *Becoming modern*, p. 8.

109 Joan W. Scott. "Gender. A useful category of historical analysis". In: *American Historical Review* 91.5 (Dec. 1986), pp. 1053–1075, p. 1067. In an assessment of the history of gender as a field of research, Joanne Meyerowitz asserts both the continued importance as well as validity of Scott's article, which she describes as having "no discernible date of expiration", crediting it as instrumental in supporting the emerging shift in historiography from women's history to gender history, cf. Joanne Meyerowitz. "A History of 'Gender'". In: *The American Historical Review* 113.5 (2008), 1346–1356, pp. 1346–1347.

110 Cf. Scott, "Gender", p. 1067.

111 Ibid., p. 1067.

element is the subjective identity of individuals.[112]

Until now, this section has been concerned mainly with the negotiation and general construction of the subjective identity of individuals, in turn, it now has to link this constitutive element of gender to these other, wider social implications, since a "question for historical research is, in fact, what the relationships among the four aspects are".[113] If the development of sport when seen as part of wider modernisation processes has previously shown how sport was connected for many people to some of the most fundamental questions of social activity, culture and society, it can be assumed that this is even more true for something as central as gender identity. Or, as Søland formulates: "Because many men perceived the modern fashions as posing a more fundamental threat to a sexual order based on male control and initiative and female modesty and passivity, they responded with vehement anger."[114] Additionally, my basic assumption has been that of women displaying something, and of other women seeing what is displayed. The use of the term *specularisation*, however, opens up another layer that has to be considered when we talk about depictions of femininity. Specularisation can be understood as hinting towards a certain eroticised visual depiction of women, as Laura Mulvey suggests when she states that "in their traditional exhibitionist role women are simultaneously looked at and displayed, with their appearance coded for strong visual and erotic impact so that they can be said to connote *to-be-looked-at-ness*".[115] Specularisation thus includes the dynamic between displaying and seeing, but even more than that, it is closely tied to our understanding of commodities on one hand, and to gender, on the other. In fact, "what is at work therefore in the complex social, psychic, and material processes that collectively foster connotative associations between femininity, modernity, and the commodity is an economy of desire operating on the register of the visual, which is itself commodity culture's primary and

112 Cf. Scott, "Gender", pp. 1067–1068.
113 Ibid., p. 1069.
114 Søland, *Becoming modern*, p. 27.
115 Laura Mulvey. "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema". In: *Visual and Other Pleasures*. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 1989, pp. 14–26, p. 14.

privileged mode of address. This libidinal economy, needless to say, is gendered".[116] In other words, what becomes important then is not only what is displayed and who is looking, but the unspoken intermediate between the two: who governs the way something is displayed, who mediates between displaying and seeing, who gets to exert power by manipulating and thus controlling the very process that is at the core of identity negotiation. Mulvey identifies in her essay how the *male* gaze is inscribed into the very process of representing women, i.e. in the physical process of drawing, photographing or – in Mulvey's case – filming women.[117] If the above extracts were mainly directed at female readers, we must not forget that notions of beauty, of looks and allure are not simply defined between female models and female readers, but between female models, male *or* female producers who create the visual record, as well as male *or* female readers.[118]

This last observation marks the movement from self-identification of women as modern towards a more universal identification of women as modern. If the person identifying modern women, however, happens to be anxious about modernity and modern developments, or if he happens to be anxious and male, then we cross into the realm of social discourse and a negotiation of values. Just as the new look became for some observers, such as the previously quoted *Kladderadatsch* satirist, essentially a marker not just of women who self-identify as modern, but ubiquitous, they stop regarding modern women as individual women with very different experiences, inner lives, motivations or outlooks, instead starting to see them as part of a type. Instead of many modern women, they start to see *the* modern *woman*, assuming that their exterior representation simply mirrors their interior disposition, and that they are uniform

116 Abigail Solomon-Godeau. "The Other Side of Venus. The visual Economy of Feminine Display". In: *The sex of things. Gender and consumption in historical perspective*. Ed. by Victoria de Grazia and Ellen Furlough. With an intro. by Victoria de Grazia. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1996, pp. 113–150, p. 114. I have previously pointed out the same primacy of the visual as Solomon-Godeau during my introduction of contemporary advertisement psychology, after all one of the the main drivers behind the development of a more general commodity culture, cf. section 4.1, p. 109.

117 Cf. Mulvey, "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema", pp. 20–21.

118 Buerkle therefore correctly points out that the *sellers* of advertisements are an interested and involved third party in the selection and ultimate creation of visual representations of women, cf. Buerkle, "Gendered Spectatorship", p. 627.

in their modernity. This movement corresponds to the generic form of stereotyping, where the members of a group of people – usually a group one does not identify with, i.e. does not feel part of – get categorised as a means to reduce complexity, based on salient criteria (e.g. looks) in order to be able to approach them based on their perceived commonality.[119] This reduction in complexity lets us assume that somebody who we perceive to belong to a certain group shares whichever characteristics we inscribe upon the group as a whole. Where an individual woman might have very different ideals and a very different relationship to modernity, she nevertheless can be perceived to identify as a modern woman based on salient features, such as the Bubikopf and her overall looks. Instead of seeing the individual women as individuals, the observer thus starts to see them as part of a group of women, all of whom seem to adhere to a given type, which each woman is assumed to reproduce, in turn. This movement can be expressed in grammatical term as one from *a* woman via women to *the* woman, which in turn means that any specific experiences and encounters with particular individuals of this social category feed back into the category as a whole. For the critic of modernity, every woman he encounters serves as an *exemplar* of *the* modern woman; in turn, he sees modern women everywhere, which suggests that modernity is gaining a hold everywhere.[120] This marks the movement from simple stereotyping to prejudice, which combines stereotypes with negative feelings or expectations, adding an emotional component to the "massing" of individuals.[121] More often than not, then, if we encounter "modern women" in these journals, we in fact encounter various stereotypical representations of *the* modern woman. This allows us to take into account notions of normativity and politics, as well as the overall functioning of cultural symbols, as Scott stipulated:

> Gender, then, provides a way to decode meaning and to understand the complex connections among various forms of human interaction. When historians look for the ways in which the concept of gender legitimizes and constructs social relationships, they de-

119 Cf. Charles Stangor. *Stereotypes and prejudice. Essential readings*. Philadelphia, PA: Psychology Press, 2000, pp. 4–7.
120 Cf. Søland, *Becoming modern*, p. 13.
121 Cf. Stangor, *Stereotypes and prejudice*, pp. 7–8.

> velop insight into the reciprocal nature of gender and society and into the particular and contextually specific ways in which politics constructs gender and gender constructs politics.[122]

Kittler draws attention to these idealised aspects of traditional authorship and traditional notions of "the woman" when he says that "Frauen konnten und mußten ideell wie Fausts Gretchen bleiben, solange alles Materielle am Schreiben Männersache war, viel zu nahe, um es überhaupt zu wissen. Ein Gretchen inspirierte das Werk, ihre vielen Geschlechtsgenossinen durften dasselbe durch Identifikation mit der einen konsumieren".[123] Thus, we have to take into account not just who gets represented, but who is writing, and who they are writing for. In the case of the *Kladderadatsch* and *Simplicissimus*, we can assume a predominantly male audience and an almost exclusively male group of authors, while *Sport im Bild* and, perhaps even more, *Fürs Haus* are addressed towards female readers, with a higher portion of female authors. The logical next step is to show this stereotyping and its communication of specific values and prejudices in the journals, i.e. in practice.

The titlepage is important in reeling readers in, and is therefore chosen carefully according to appeal to a given audience while communicating a given journal's identity.[124] The combination of imagery chosen for two *Simplicissimus* issues therefore becomes particularly important. Ludwig Kainer's titlepage drawing *Training* shows a couple; the man is hugging the woman from behind while both are on skis.(Cf. Figure A.33, p. 299) Both wear fashionable clothes

122 Scott, "Gender", p. 1070.

123 Kittler, *Grammophon, Film, Typewriter*, p. 276 – It is noteworthy that Kittler always talks about women in the plural, or about a specific woman, i.e. a specific individual, exactly because he tries to destroy the idealist foundation that enables male authors to talk about *the* woman as such. "Kein Wort, kein Buch, kein Dichter kann anschreiben, was Frauen sind. Eben darum mußten zur Goethezeit poetische Träume einspringen, die mit Psychotricks aus dem Wort 'Blume' eine Idealfrau und damit auch einen Dichter produzierten," ibid., p. 248. Similarly, Birgitte Søland also takes great care to talk about women rather than "the young woman". And Fiona Skillen similarly marks the "flapper", the "modern woman" and the "young modern" by putting each of them in quotation marks, suggesting as well that this categorisation is problematic, cf. Skillen, "'Woman and the Sport Fetish'", p. 751.

124 Cf. Stéphane Duperray and Raphaële Vidaling. *Front page. Covers of the twentieth century*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2003, p. 9. Additionally, David Crowley highlights the connection between cover and reader, in turn quoting another work: "'The cover', according to cultural theorist Ellen McCracken, 'serves not to label only the magazine but the consumer who possesses it'. Covers try to connect with our values, dreams and needs," cf. Crowley, *Magazine Covers*, p. 7.

suitable for sport, and the woman additionally displays the typical markers of a modern woman: she does sport, wears a short skirt (albeit with leggings underneath due to the wintery weather), sports the crop and is wearing make-up; the subtitle reads "'Soll das eine Art Verlobung sein, Rölfchen?' – 'Nee, bloß Geländeübung!'"(Cf. S32, p. 477) The subtitle thus lets us know that both are indeed a couple – the diminutive "Rölfchen" suggests familiarity as well as informality – yet both are obviously not married, since she is asking whether him touching her while pressing up against her from behind in a sexual way should be understood as an engagement. The term "Geländeübung" evokes notions of military exercises and marks her body as an area of fighting. The *Simplicissimus* issue as a whole is dedicated to "Wintersport", and I have previously referred to some of its contents in that capacity, though by virtue of being the titlepage, this drawing sets the tone for most that is to come in the issue itself. It firmly situates a *type* of modern woman within a decidedly modern situation – an unmarried couple doing sports unsupervised – while introducing a suggestion of secrecy – they are alone in the mountains – as well as indecency, i.e. an allusion to pre-maritial sex. Earlier in the year, another titlepage featured a rather similar motive, and similar undertones. Eduard Thöny's titlepage drawing *Nicht auf der Höhe* makes more open use of innuendo; we see a younger woman in trousers (perhaps an even more modern occurrence than a woman in a skirt) and a jacket, sporting the trademark short hair under a hat while skiing, with an older man leaning heavily on his ski sticks, apparently exhausted. The subtitle reads "'Schlapp, Doktor?' – 'Nee, ich denk' an meine Frau.' – 'Also doch schlapp!'"(Cf. S31, p. 553) Again, we can observe a man and a woman doing sport together. Both are not married to each other, quite the contrary, the use of "schlapp" and the title suggesting that the doctor is "nicht auf der Höhe" mark him as exhausted, while the woman's comment that thinking of his wife makes him "schlapp" suggest a sexual dimension to their relationship. He might be floppy when thinking of (and presumably when he is with) his wife, yet he has no such problems when he is with his young companion. Both titlepages are remarkably consistent in their depictions of the surrounding situation –

couples skiing – while layering on this situation another layer of meaning. *The* modern woman appears as somebody who engages in sport and sexual activity, without being married. Another drawing by Eduard Thöny with the title *Gefallen!*, in the same wintersport issue as Kainer's drawing, yet again evokes the same nexus of (sinful) sexuality, sport and a young modern woman. The drawing shows a young woman with cropped hair, wearing trousers, her ski stick abandoned in the snow behind her, one of her ski bindings open, her jacket open over her half-unbuttoned blouse and her belt in disarray.(Cf. Figure A.34, p. 300) She is holding what looks like a glove in her hand, while another woman, warmly dressed with a hat and a thick scarf, appears behind her, with the subtitle reading: "'Aber, Kind, wie war denn sowas möglich?' – 'Ach, Mutti, ich konnte mit den Skiern doch nicht aufstehn.'"(Cf. S32, p. 496) The disordered clothing together with the admonishing tone of the young woman's mother give the whole scene a less innocent twist; the title "Gefallen!" can be understood not just as a crash, but as downfall, or a fall from grace, where her clothing suggest a sexual encounter away from the mother's watchful gaze, to which the young woman's explanation is simply that the skis kept her from getting up. The same combination of a modern woman, skiing as a sport, secrecy and sexuality are conjured up, suggesting a more consistent identification of modern women, sport as a modern practice, and promiscuity, while the double entendre marks female sexuality as something that cannot be openly discussed and as something that requires secrecy lest it leads to disapproval. Each of these drawings on their own would perhaps not draw specific attention, but the consistency of representation as well as the common hints and allusions to "forbidden" activity create, bit by bit, an association of the depicted young women as exemplars of a specific *type* of women, casting doubt on the merits and moral status of this type of women.[125] Female sexuality is thus cast into a questionable light, not least because the concept of *specularisation* reminds us that these depictions of women (by men!) contain an eroticising aspect and hence the projection of male desire and wishful thinking that women

125 Cf. Ann Taylor Allen. "Sex and Satire in Wilhelmine Germany. 'Simplicissimus' Looks at Family Life". In: *Journal of European Studies* 7 (1977), pp. 19–40, esp. pp. 31–33.

would act out their sexuality like those depicted. What can be seen is how in themselves fairly innocent practices and markers get amalgamated to take on a more specific meaning.

Another such amalgamation can be seen in the *Kladderadatsch*, where three distinct pieces all react to the same news headline, which would not otherwise have had any impact for the journal's readers. The first of these three pieces states in a simple annotation what spawned the satirical response, setting the scene so that the reader can understand the context, as is often the case when the *Kladderadatsch* reacts to a news item. This annotation reads "(In England werden die Frauenabteile der Eisenbahn abgeschafft und in Nichtraucherabteile verwandelt)" and is situated between the title *Umkehr* and the actual poem by the author "a.d.n". Underneath, the poem discusses this headline:

> Wer sitzt denn noch drinnen im Damencoupé?
> Eine Nonn', eine Bonn' mit dem Wickelbébé,
> Eine alte Mamsell, und ein Mops mit Gebell –
> Dann Schluß! …Doch wo sitzen die Damen?
>
> Die Damen, die sitzen im Raucherdepot
> Und frisieren in die Stirn sich ihr Bubikopfstroh,
> Und sie paffen wie Schlöt' und erzählen sich blöd
> Von Boxen und Tennis und Charlston.
>
> Natürlich kapier ich, 's ist nicht mehr modern:
> Abteile für Fräulein, Abteile für Herrn, –
> Es gibt nur noch eins: Nikotin oder keins?
> Was scheren uns Männchen und Weibchen?
>
> Drum, wenn du nicht rauchst, dann geschieht es dir recht:
> Dann geh' ins Coupé nur fürs schwache Geschlecht!
> Wer raucht, ist ein Mann, ob er Hosen hat an
> oder bloß eine Tüllcombinäsch'n. (KL80, p. 11)

What begins as a simple factual summary of a news item quickly opens up an example of intense male anxiety. The first stanza suggests that no "real" women sit in the women's compartment, only an asexual nun, the housemaid carrying a small child and an older, proper yet unmarried woman, alongside a barking dog. All of the "actual" women sit in the smoker's compartment, where they are marked specifically as *modern* women, as they sport the typical

Bubikopf – additionally described as strawlike –, who smoke in a way that is decidedly unbecoming for a traditional woman while engaging in *stupid* conversation about boxing, tennis and Charlston. The previous section about sport has made clear that the combination of sport, daftness and especially modern dance and boxing is often employed to devalue sport as *geistlos*, rendering these modern women as similarly daft by association. The third stanza more specifically refers to this as a specifically modern development, where the behaviour of modern women blurs (if not outright breaks) the established boundary between the sexes. The fourth stanza then associates this new type of femininity with "being a man", regardless of the person's sex, which in turn is signalled by their clothes. Much like *the* modern woman is identifiable by her look, so is *the* man, who traditionally wears trousers. The idiom "to wear the trousers" seems to be at play here, since these women seem to usurp traditionally male behaviour and thus directly threaten male power and social control. The term "schwaches Geschlecht", traditionally reserved for women, in turn threatens to now denominate those men who are not strong and manly enough to put the "masculine" woman in her place. *The* modern woman thus takes on decidedly male attributes, an affront against their nature, while simultaneously being marked as decidedly modern, thus getting associated for a conservative man with everything that is bad and threatening. The poem's title *Umkehr* then refers to a fundamental inversion of hitherto existing (and cherished) power relations between "man" and "woman".

This profound expression of male anxiety, triggered by a seemingly unimportant topic is expressed again a few pages later in a short section of a piece called *Dies und jenes* by "kiki". It refers again to the news item before adding its own satirical analysis: "Diese Neuordnung soll auf Rat und Verlangen der englischen Eisenbahnschaffner zurückzuführen sein, die sich außerstande sehen, Männer und Frauen für die richtige Verteilung auf die einzelnen Abteile auseinanderzuhalten ohne langwierige, gründliche, ohne medizinisches Studium unmögliche – anatomische Untersuchung".(KL80, p. 26) The piece's hyperbole suggests that the *masculin-*

isation of *the* modern woman is so far reaching, in fact, that only direct anatomical analysis would still be able to tell the sexes apart. The masculinisation of *the* modern woman thus seems to go hand in hand with a corresponding emasculation of men, breaking down all boundaries between the sexes, threatening all social gender divisions and the power structures based upon them. Modern man and woman are identical, according to this satire, which is seen as negative.[126] Interestingly, the same story gets picked up again four issues later with a drawing by Garvens entitled *Zeitgemäß*.(Cf. Figure A.35, p. 301) Here, a somewhat larger man, who might be English as signified by the typical bowler hat,[127] tries to enter the smoker's compartment, which is fully occupied by four women, who consequently tell him "Erlauben Sie, mein Herr, hier ist 'Raucher'!"(KL80, p. 244) The women display the typical markers of being modern women: high-heeled shoes, bare legs, short skirts and the crop underneath a hat. The woman on the right is even wearing a tie and a monocle, both typically male attires, while the larger, ostensibly older woman is smoking a pipe while reading a newspaper, echoing another male-connoted image.[128] Not only are these women all of a type, but they are perched above the chubby, harmless looking male who seems disturbed by the whole episode. The women, in turn, look confident and self-assured. The image mirrors, in effect, the situation already expressed by the poem *Umkehr*, while its title *Zeitgemäß* lets us know that this is a depiction of the present, carrying a connotation of being appropriately modern. Furthermore, the same consistent attributes mark *the* modern woman, who is represented by each of the *actual* women presented. Where the poem used the strong/weak dichotomy, the image uses an up/down division, suggesting a situation in which the women are in control. The markers of modern femininity remain unchanged and easily recognisable, but much like

126 What can also be observed here is that contemporaries had no concept of social "gender" separate from biological sex, since women's gender role is not merely seen to be changing, but men and women become virtually indistinguishable instead; women become, in fact, manly.

127 If this hat does indeed mark the man as an Englishman in line with the news story's original origin, it would act in itself as a marker akin to the crop and short skirt, different only in so far that it separates not by gender, but by nationality.

128 Katie Sutton identifies similar visual markers of modernity and associates them with contemporary notions of "the masculinization" of modern women, cf. Katie Sutton. *The masculine woman in Weimar Germany*. New York and Oxford: Berghahn, 2011, pp. 27–28.

in the *Simplicissimus* drawings, another discursive layer is added to the otherwise typical use of these symbols, with a clear message: these women are modern women, and their behaviour is that of a man, which threatens the traditionally superior position of men within society *as a whole*.[129] So far, then, *the* new woman – as evoked in male discourse – is promiscuous and dangerous, gains power, becomes more masculine, is at the same time daft and hollow, enjoys smoking and chitchats about sport more than any semblance of culture.

Yet, the *Simplicissimus* and *Kladderadatsch* with their chiefly male authors and a predominantly male readership are certainly not alone in overlaying actual women and externally assigned, stereotypical behaviour that comes to be associated with *the* new woman. This kind of discursive layering is more universal, and men are not the only ones who partake in it. Nevertheless, there seems to exist a difference between different journals, and especially in *Sport im Bild* can we notice a marked change in tone, which has to do with its specific community of readers and a different set of governing identities and practices. The same can be said for *Fürs Haus*, where critical voices nevertheless work somewhat differently.

In *Fürs Haus*, Elise von Hopffgarten's *Woran es unserer Jugend fehlt* explicates what she regards as the main failure of modern Weimar youth, namely that they forget history and forego traditions. Unlike the authors in the *Kladderadatsch*, however, this female author sees danger not so much in the masculinisation of women, but in turn criticises more overtly what had been merely insinuated in the *Simplicissimus*:

> Eine Zeiterscheinung, die sehr zu denken gibt, ist der Typus des modernen jungen Mädchens. Man sagt heute von der Frau, sie sei vermännlicht, und man schließt das daraus, daß sie einen Bubikopf trägt. O nein, die Kleidung der heutigen Frau ist nichts weniger als männlich, sie ist sogar sehr weiblich. […] Das junge Mädchen, das in seltenen Fällen zu einer Heirat gelangt, sucht den Mann anzuziehen. Die werbende Frau ist ein ebenso häßliches Bild wie der unritterliche Mann.(FH45, No. 23, "Woran es unserer Jugend fehlt", n.p.)

129 Bernd Widdig identifies a similar combination of visual and symbolic representation of women in order to describe society during his analysis of the nexus money/prostitution/female sexuality/inflation, where the associations that create this nexus are rooted in male anxieties, cf. Widdig, *Culture and Inflation in Weimar Germany*, pp. 201–202.

Accordingly, the only way out of this perceived malady of the sexualised, alluring and luring young woman has little to do with criticising the visual markers of her modernity – the Bubikopf – but instead needs to address underlying psychological and social issues; von Hopffgarten suggests that only "stärkste Zucht und kraftvolle Disziplin" can help. Here, a vague mixture of morality, tradition, "Ehrfurcht, die die Urquelle vergeistigter Ritterlichkeit ist" and following parental order are seen as necessary to halt a genuinely modern development merely exemplified by these modern girls.

Similarly, Werner Suhr's *Tanz in der Sonne* in the same magazine shows us young women dancing outside, including a picture of the young Leni Riefenstahl long before she would become the main documentor of the 1936 Berlin Olympic Games. In his article, the author highlights the *natural* affinities of this type of dance, for "Gazeröckchen und Ballettschuhe, Charakteristika einer heftig bekämpften Unnatur, sind sinnlos und harmonieverletzend auf der Wiese, im Wald und im Sande".(FH45, No. 36, "Tanz in der Sonne", n.p.) At the same time, the articles makes sure to highlight that these natural movements in minimal clothing (in other cases, some women even dance fully naked) has nothing to do with sexuality: "Die Freilicht-Tänzerin ist keusch, naiv und von unverdorbener Sinnlichkeit. Sie kennt nicht die 'Raffinements der Bühne' und verrät sich leicht. Ihres Leibes Linie ist klar und einfach, bisweilen von überwältigender Macht." Thus, the article explicates a dichotomy that pits the nexus nature–naturalness–innocence–expression against the constellation culture–artifice–sexuality–sin–ideas. The overly intellectual nature of cultural displays is associated with artificiality, the city, modernity and sexuality, while his choice of words – denouncing culture as "Unnatur" and refinement while praising the non-sexual dancer as chaste, untainted and natural – clearly mark a type of femininity devoid of sexuality as ideal. Lotte Mittendorf-Wolff's, too, draws upon a similar nexus of connotations in *Die Frau in der nordischen Dichtung*, where she writes that "Immer wieder muß unterschieden werden, zwischen der Frau aus der großen Stadt und der vom Lande, der wirklichen nordischen Frau, dem Instinkt- und Gefühlsmenschen, der nur

der inneren Stimme folgt, gewiß, in ihr Gottes Stimme zu erkennen".(FH45, No. 44, "Die Frau in der nordischen Dichtung", n.p.) Here, the "true nordic" woman is characterised as one guided by instinct and feelings (not ratio!) thus coming closer to understanding the voice of God. In turn, this rural type is the polar opposite of the citydweller. By describing the nordic woman as "ursprünglich", this dichotomy suggests once more that the modern city woman is unnatural, out of touch with her feelings and true spirit. Additionally, we can see here first hints towards the increasingly popular nexus in *völkische* circles that associates rural living with traditions, history and racial purity (i.e. the "nordic race"), as opposed to the ambiguous racial and national characteristics of an increasingly globalised modernity as exemplified by modern women. Coming back, then, to Scott's interrelated types of understanding gender, these articles show how implied connotations and negative discursive charges interact with wider value systems. Through an intricate system of analogies, modern women, their visual markers, sexuality, modernity, the city, artificiality and racial, national as well as historic impurity become intertwined in a diffuse image of "otherness" and an overall negative image of *the* modern woman.

While less drastic and less explicit in their associations, some of the authors in *Sport im Bild* draw on a very similar set of associations when they create their (chiefly narrative, i.e. fictional) women. In Volkmar Iro's *Die süsse Susi*, a young, pretty and flirtatious woman (with the frivolous name Fritzi) joins the protagonist for a regatta on the Austrian Attersee. Fritzi is also fancied by the protagonist's longtime competitor, whom she flirts with while being in the lead with the protagonist, just before she lets go of part of the sail, on purpose. The competitor wins, and Fritzi can be seen flirting with him in the evening. For a little while, she flirts with both men before disappearing for good, sending a note a few weeks later of her marriage to a completely different, third man. Fritzi, "noch nicht zwanzig, Wienerin, blond, die schönsten Hände, eine brillante Figur, dunkelblaue Märchenaugen", knows what she wants, flirts and seems sure of her sexual appeal.(SiB33, p. 89) More than that, she cannot

be controlled or owned by either man. However, her description already serves to mark her as a modern woman, highlighting her young age, utter beauty and the fact that she comes from a big city – Vienna –; it is this modern woman who ruins both men in their own way: the protagonist loses the regatta, the competitor loses his car after she drives it into a ditch when "Herbert hatte einen Schwips und wurde zärtlich", leading her to miss a corner while behind the wheel. This young modern woman, then, can of course drive, and she, of course, drives badly, crashing the expensive car (though in no small part due do his sexual advances). In the end, neither man can "tame" her; yet, unlike the *Kladderadatsch*, male admiration for her exceptional beauty as well as a certain fascination for her overtly sexualised nature and free spirit shine through the story as a whole. Nevertheless, the same *type* of *the* modern woman is at work here, the same markers and the same underlying anxieties continue to exist, while only the discursive judgement and connotation is somewhat less negative.

Another example for this specific combination of male desire, male gaze and male anxiety is Erich Maria Remarque's *Koffer-Elegie* a few issues later. The protagonist, of course the proud owner of a car and enough free time to go on a holiday, meets Mad, and "Mad hatte großen Vorteil, daß sie nicht intelligent war, jedoch Einfälle hatte. Dazu kamen ein sonniges Gemüt, eine starke Tierliebe und große Bescheidenheit".(SiB33, p. 283) The description as "bescheiden" – modest – is quickly shown to be a euphemism: Mad takes little luggage on the trip, because her chief interest is shopping – "Innsbruck, Bozen und Venedig waren herrlich. Mad interessierte sich so sehr für alles, daß der dritte Koffer nicht ausreichte".(SiB33, p. 284) Not only does she like shopping however, she is also "nicht intelligent" and therefore a bit naive, so she keeps buying fakes that she believes to be original, such as "köstliche, alte Brokatstoffe und Spitzen", which she "zeigte sie mir stolz – sie entstammten alle der Renaissance des 20. Jahrhunderts von Plauen im Vogtland", before we are told "sie habe eine wundervolle Büste Hadrians erstanden. Echt antik. Man könne es daran sehen, daß einige Kanten fehlten. Die Büste kam. Eine traurige Fälschung".(SiB33, p. 285) Mad, of course, finally finds another,

richer man, with whom she disappears, leaving the protagonist with all of her worthless purchases, which he proceeds to drape and then shoot to pieces with a revolver. While in many ways a harmless and really rather funny story – not least thanks to Remarque's witty style – the *underlying* stereotypes and valuations nevertheless directly correspond to those in the other examples presented thus far. The woman here is naive and dabbles in conspicuous consumption, evokes sexual desire, she is alluring but ultimately unsteady, easily duped and not intelligent. The image presented is that of a shallow female consumer whose only interest in men depends on those men's riches. In turn, she uses her own sexuality and allure to get what she wants. Mad thus corresponds to a typical image of the female customer that harkens back at least to World War I, as Belinda Davis highlights when she describes a view of women as irrational, "heedless, wasteful consumers".[130] Furthermore, the story moves dangerously close to an association with prostitution, where the woman's presence can be paid for by purchasing commodities for her.

Ultimately, then, there seems to be a great deal of commonality between these texts despite their individual interpretations and ultimate viewpoints. The *type* of the New Woman takes on decidedly *mondäne*, bourgeois traits; she is configured as a temptress, as self-obsessed, flirtatious, swanky, as sexual and unsteady. With this sense of fascination and allure, however, comes a sense of danger and anxiety: these modern women threaten traditional gender relations where the man was in charge and made the advances, they forego traditional ideals of chastity and run the danger of coming ever closer to being prostitutes, they appear as morally questionably if not outright morally corrupt. It is perhaps telling that all of these women are unmarried or – in the case of the *Kladderadatsch* articles – in public, in the majority, on higher ground or ultimately leave the men. None of these women are wives, *partners* or somebody who stays. All of these pieces portray these women – this *type* of woman – as "other", something other women are, those who one should not associate with in earnest. These "other" women are

130 Cf. Belinda Davis. "Food Scarcity and the Empowerment of the Female Consumer in World War I Berlin". In: *The sex of things. Gender and consumption in historical perspective*. Ed. by Victoria de Grazia and Ellen Furlough. With an intro. by Victoria de Grazia. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1996, pp. 287–310, p. 288.

thus negatively connoted, they cause anxiety, and they are threatening, at least according to the imagery connecting all of these stories. If these women, however, are all the other women, those who one should avoid or – as a male – should enjoy while one can, i.e. before one marries, who does one marry? If all of those women are modern women, exemplars of *the* modern woman, what type of woman is different?

5.3.3. Moderately modern women?

So far, we have seen the development from modern women to *the* new woman as a discursive type. In the process, I have shown how inherently neutral visual markers and a process of self-identification develop into a process of external identification and, even more than that, a system of value judgements, ideological stances and manifold interaction with wider social developments as well as social fears. At the same time, *the* new woman is chiefly exemplified by "other" women. If this is true, then there must exist different images and different discursive "types" of women alongside this (over-)sexualised, dangerous and altogether too modern woman. Søland describes this "type" of women as women who identify themselves as "nice girls", an "ideological and rhetorical construction" that meant avoiding an overt display of sexuality while reinforcing that one might *look* modern, but that one really is not too modern, not like *those* women, not like those *other* girls.[131] Accordingly, "most older people seemed willing to testify to the morality of young women in their own social circles, and generally they were much less alarmed by the activities of young women they knew personally than by the alleged improprieties of the group as a whole", which suggests that the construction of *the* new woman is, indeed, the construction of a stereotype that can always exempt specific individuals without questioning the validity of the category as a whole.[132] This means, in turn, that "rather than challenging the continued division of women into the pure and the fallen and possibly develop a competing politic to the good girl/bad girl distinction", women

131 Cf. Søland, *Becoming modern*, pp. 85–86.
132 Ibid., p. 87.

who identify themselves as "nice girls" actively support the very process of stereotyping and of rejecting a specific way of *being* a woman.[133] If the category of *the* modern woman triggers all sorts of anxieties and fears in that it might promise too much freedom, too much liberation and too many exemplars, i.e. too many women who actually identify as modern women not just visually but *in toto*, there needs to be an alternative, a type of woman that includes the obvious visual markers of modern women without all of the potentially dangerous promises that the process of self-identification as modern women certainly offered. If *the* modern woman contains at the very least the promise of social change, of new ways of being a woman and of a fundamental change of traditional gender relations, it can be seen as potentially revolutionary. The mere promise or potential of social change and innovation – innovative practices –, however, already triggers anxiety and conservative reflexes, which suggests that the discursive stereotyping and subsequent devaluation of modern women as *the* modern woman has at its core a fundamentally conservative (if not sometimes outright reactionary) impulse. In turn, "respectable" women have to distance themselves from the negative association with or identification as *that kind of* modern woman. Instead, the image of "the" modern housewife is created, a *type* that incorporates the visual markers of modern women but removes even the potential of social upheaval and danger by integrating these markers with the acceptance of a traditional understanding of women's place in society and an inclusion of a moderated modernity stripped of its disruptive potential. But how exactly should these not-too-modern women behave?

Atina Grossmann describes the views of young working women (whether blue-collar or white-collar workers) insofar, that "few seemed to worry that women would not take their work seriously and try to get married as quickly as possible. Rather, observers were concerned that women sought sexual adventures and urban diversions that would make marriage and family seem virtually as boring and unattractive as work in the office or factory".[134] If women

133 Søland, *Becoming modern*, p. 86.

134 Atina Grossmann. "Girlkultur or Thoroughly Rationalized Female. A New Woman in Weimar Germany?" In: *Women in culture and politics*. Ed. by Judith Friedlaender. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1986,

wanted to work, the problem appearing at the time was that of the "double burden", i.e. having to juggle both their work and all of the chores of domestic life.[135] Women who work and possibly even eschew family life as a whole are therefore still somewhat dangerous and still cause anxieties regarding sexuality and their ultimate role as mothers. In *Fürs Haus*, Margaret Miller-Conrad tells us in no uncertain terms whose fault this worry about the double burden is before reaching a conclusion different from what we as modern observers would perhaps expect. In *Die Schuld der Hausfrau*, she asserts "daß der Beruf der Hausfrau immer noch nicht in seiner ideellen und wirtschaftlichen Bedeutung gewertet wird, ist zum großen Teil Schuld der Hausfrau. Sie selbst unterschätzt nicht nur den Wert ihrer Arbeit, nein, sie mißachtet ihr Tun, weil es sich aus vielen kleinen Handreichungen zusammensetzt und sich wiederholt".(FH45, No. 28, "Die Schuld der Hausfrau", n.p.) For Miller-Conrad, being a housewife is not simply an additional burden, but being a housewife means working, and she thus qualifies domestic labour as a "Beruf", i.e. as an occupation. Accordingly, nobody should have *two* occupations – two jobs –, so she sees the housewife as the most natural form of female labour, implying that ultimately, being a housewife should become every woman's sole occupation. However, Miller-Conrad is aware of the social importance of female labour in general, as she makes clear when she writes that "was der Hausfrau fehlt, ist das Bewußtsein, daß das Haus ein Teil des Staates ist, und zwar der notwendigste. Dieses schließt ein, daß die Hausfrau nicht nur Pflichten gegen das Haus, sondern auch gegen den Staat hat. Dieses Bewußtsein macht aus der Arbeit der Frau die Aufgabe. Denn die Leistung der Hausfrau ist über ihr Haus hinaus von volkswirtschaftlicher, kultureller und sozialer Bedeutung". Accordingly, being a housewife is not simply work in itself, and it is not simply *like* any other occupation, but exemplifies *the* female occupation, duty (*Aufgabe*) instead of mere work, and thus an expression of her obligations (*Pflichten*) to the household *and* the state.

This line of thought is strengthened by other articles in the same magazine. In Charlotte

pp. 62–80, p. 68.

135 Cf. Grossmann, "Girlkultur or Thoroughly Rationalized Female", pp. 65–67.

Röhn-Behrens's *Das Recht des andern*, the author introduces her deliberations with a general diagnosis of the time as one "die an dem Gedanken der zu starken Individualisierung krankt. Denn ein jeder meint seine vornehmste Pflicht in dem Suchen nach eigenem Recht zu finden".(FH45, No. 35, "Das Recht des andern", n.p.) And while she does not outright reject the notion that self-realisation is a valid goal, she nevertheless expresses what she understands to be the inevitable trajectory of *female* self-realisation: "Wir müssen viel in diesem Gedanken lernen, müssen uns selbst bekämpfen und besiegen, wenn wir das Schwerste in unseres Lebens Streben erfüllen wollen. Nur eine kann es aus unbewußter Heiligkeit ihres Gefühls von selbst: die echte Mutter. Denn Mutter sein, heißt tragende Liebe haben. In jeder Frau aber lebt als schönstes Geschenk der Natur: 'die Mütterlichkeit'." Accordingly, being a mother (and thus, necessarily, tending to the home) is therefore not just obligation, but natural, a *gift* of nature. If the "New Woman" earlier was seen as unnatural, artifical and overly sexualised, this understanding of the housewife and mother occupies the other end of the spectrum, where she falls into her natural and, in fact, essentially divine position in society. In an extract from the book *Das Weib als Persönlichkeit*, published in *Fürs Haus* under the title *Die Frau als Mensch*, Emanuele Meyer even goes a step further in trying to establish *the* woman as a fully fledged person, not somebody who is second to men. In order to do so, however, an interesting combination of humanism and religion is used to highlight that "Vor Gott, vor den Vernunftgesetzen sind die zwei Geschlechter als Menschen gleich, niemals kann das Geschlecht als solches daran etwas ändern. Und daran ändern auch des Mannes Herrenwille und die Willkür nichts".(FH45, No. 41, "Die Frau als Mensch", n.p.) And while this would essentially make a strong case for both judicial *and* practical equality of men and women, the article continues to reaffirm yet again that women get to be theoretically equal while they practically have their own, natural position in life: "Die Wollenden und die Strebenden sind die Träger der neuen Kultur, die Pioniere neuen Bodens. Dieses neue Leben aber wird geboren aus Geist, Herz und Schoß dieses starken weiblichen Menschen." While women are at least attributed not just with heart,

but also with having a mind (*Geist*), it is nevertheless the combination of heart, mind *and womb* that defines them. Ultimately, these articles serve to *reinforce* women's traditional role and position in society. Yet, they do contain a genuinly modern aspect in that they understand that self-realisation, a working mind and modern definitions of labour nevertheless apply to *the* housewife/mother-woman. What Rayna Rapp and Ellen Ross have described for the United States seems to hold true here as well, namely that these *modern* views of *the* housewife fall in line with modern commercial culture, which was "not so much directly antifeminist as it was co-optive of feminist issues and concerns. By the late twenties, much that passed for feminist thought dealt with individual choices and personal fulfillment – life-style feminism supplanted its activist predecessor".[136]

What seems to be at the core of the creation of the "modern housewife" is therefore an interesting reduction of revolutionary potential. Claudia Koonz brilliantly describes this process as one where chiefly middle-class activist women (and all of the above articles in *Fürs Haus* certainly fall into this category) are trying to carve out "their own *Lebensraum* as a specific space within German society and culture".[137] However, as *Die Frau als Mensch* nicely showed, this means that "[i]n the face of antifeminists' hysterical anxieties about 'masculinized' women, proponents of emancipation relinquished their claims to equal human rights and instead vowed, 'We want our special nature to be especially esteemed'. Women in politics scrupulously avoided the Enlightenment rhetoric of individual rights and emphasized instead Romantic notions of women's special nature".[138] The "modern housewife" thus carves out a space where

136 Rayna Rapp and Ellen Ross. "The 1920s – Feminism, Consumerism, and political backlash in the United States". In: *Women in culture and politics*. Ed. by Judith Friedlaender. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1986, pp. 52–61, pp. 58–59. Victoria de Grazia makes the same point when she highlights that consumer culture begins to permeate the home while simultaneously hollowing out old-style traditional feminism alongside its traditional emphasis on suffrage and political equality, cf. Victoria de Grazia. "Empowering Women as Citizen-Consumers. Introduction". In: *The sex of things. Gender and consumption in historical perspective*. Ed. by Victoria de Grazia and Ellen Furlough. With an intro. by Victoria de Grazia. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1996, pp. 275–286, p. 281.

137 Claudia Koonz. "Some political implications of separatism. German women between democracy and nazism, 1928–1934". In: *Women in culture and politics*. Ed. by Judith Friedlaender. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1986, pp. 269–285, p. 273.

138 Ibid., p. 272.

women are allowed to be modern, but at a cost: in order to carve out this space, they have to accept the gender divisions, as well as the political and social hierarchies as such; only then can they begin to claim some breathing space that does not immediately run the danger of being associated with the rebellious "New Woman". Once this acknowledgement of the status quo has been made, however, these housewives certainly gain the freedom of incorporating aspects of more general modernisation processes that would otherwise have caused substantial anxiety.

In his *Fürs Haus* article *Freund Staubsauger*, Dr. C. Herrmann exemplifies this new understanding and image of modern housewives. "Die Zeiten haben sich geändert. 'Weekend' heißt das Losungswort des Tages. Schon um 1 Uhr erscheint der Mann auf dem häuslichen Kriegsschauplatz. Da will er nicht, daß ihn seine Frau mit eingebundenem Haar und der großen Schürze empfängt. Nein! Sie soll schon im Tenniskostüm, im Golfdreß, gerüstet zur Wanderung oder sonst einer für die in Aussicht genommene Betätigung passenden Kleidung bereit stehen."(FH45, No. 32, "Freund Staubsauger", n.p.) Thus, the author specifically acknowledges that times have changed and that modernisation is ubiquitous. Curiously enough, this sense of modern life is *not* tied up with an underhanded connotation of women as dangerous or sexualised, and it does not seem to trigger anxiety. Instead, *the* housewife can do sports and even wear the appropriate modern clothes that specifically emerged alongside sport. In other words, these modern housewives are allowed and even encouraged to display the visual markers of modern women without running the risk of being mistaken for another type of woman. The latter is only possible because their overall standing in life marks them as respectable, as married women (and usually as mothers), i.e. as *nice* girls of unquestionable morality. Herrmann even adopts the idea of the double burden, however, for him, this double burden of juggling work and domestic life means the unification of domestic *labour* and domestic *leisure*, the facilitation of which are *both* female obligations:

> Damit taucht für die Hausfrau der Zwiespalt der Pflichten auf. Wie soll man in den kurzen Vormittagsstunden fertig werden und obendrein noch Zeit finden, den Dreß vorzubereiten, den Bubikopf ondulieren zu lassen und was eben sonst noch dazu gehört, daß man jene Pflichten der Frau erfülle, die die neue Lebensgestaltung, die das Weekend,

> die Freude am Sport, an der Natur, an geistigen Genüssen, an Kunst an sie stellen? Die Frau von heute ist nicht mehr einzig und allein Hausfrau. Der Kreis ihrer Interessen ist ein vielseitigerer, ein größerer, ein umfangreicherer geworden.(FH45, No. 32, "Freund Staubsauger", n.p.)

Here, Bubikopf and modern dress, the weekend, sport, intellect and participation in arts and culture all belong together and are, in fact, inseparable from this new *type* of woman. Yet, the article is keen to assert that "the woman of today is not *only* and solely a housewife", which means, in turn, that no matter what else she additionally might be, she remains a housewife at the very core of her existence. Furthermore, the male author manages to externalise the source of all of these "modern pressures", for "Durch die Erfindung des Staubsaugers ist der Zwiespalt der Pflichten für sie beendet. Die Frau von heute kann ebenso gründlich sein, wie ihre Mutter und Großmutter es waren, und findet doch Zeit genug, um all den Anforderungen zu genügen, die das moderne Leben an sie stellt"; it is not society or, indeed, *her husband* who demands her participation and a certain lifestyle, and it is not even the woman herself, but "das moderne Leben". Technology – the vacuum – and rationalisation of household labour thus enable modern life, but modern life, not men, not women, "the system" or patriarchy, but modernity as such allegedly also creates new pressures.

Alwin Steinitz's *…und doch Hausfrau* in the same journal further illustrates this fortification of a separate, domestic female sphere when he shows and describes to the reader a number of female artists in their "natural" (i.e. domestic) environments, in the style of the "home story" typical for emerging celebrity culture. The depicted women are the Reinhardt actress Else Eckersberg, the actress Käthe Haack, the singer Marschesa[sic!] Violetta di Strozzi, the cabaret artist Alice Hechy "beim Rollen der Wäsche", the singer Charlotte Ander "am häuslichen Herd" and the actress Leopoldine Konstantin who "versteht es auch, einen guten Kuchen zu backen".(FH45, No. 33, "…und doch Hausfrau", n.p.) These women are in many ways extraordinary, they are public figures and artists, which means they belong to a group that traditionally has a greater amount of freedom within society. Yet, Steinitz's article amounts to a reterritorialisation, i.e. a way of reclaiming a "deterritorialised" and thus seemingly free

social space, subjugating it again in the process.[139] Not only does he highlight that everyday, domestic life is necessary for women because of their special nature,[140] but it is first domestic life and their core identity *as housewives* that then enable these women to be artists, "[d]agegen erstehen ihr aus ihrem Tun als Hausfrau und Mutter neue Gefühlsquellen, die sich in ihrem Künstlertum auswirken. Das lebendige Sein steht hinter ihrer Kunst, vertieft ihre Darstellung und beeinflußt ihre künstlerische Auffassung. Wirklichkeit und Schein verschmelzen zu einem vollen Ganzen". Only *because* they are housewives and mothers can these six women be extraordinary, successful and well-known artists. Behind their art stands "das lebendige Sein", which is motherhood and marriage and being a housewife. In turn, it is this very foundation in the domestic sphere that makes them artists and positive rolemodels, not exemplars of *the* modern woman that should be exploited and/or avoided. And, as the title suggests, they might be modern women, they might be artists, but what matters most is the *und doch*: and yet they are housewives.

A similar foundation of legitimacy when it comes to being modern women can be seen in action in *Sport in Bild*. In *Club-Atmosphäre*, Ursula von Zedlitz describes more generally the intensely fashionable clubs – especially sport clubs – and their three main types: tennis club, golf club and polo club. The club serves, in many ways, as an extension of the domestic sphere, and especially the tennis clubs were often almost exclusively social.[141] But, much like the family and the domestic sphere in its regular sense, these clubs served to give a certain legitimacy to behaviour that would otherwise be discouraged, "[d]er Tennis-Club ist sehr wichtig für die Entwicklung der jungen Mädchen. Welche Ausrede bliebe ihnen für die Mama, wenn nicht der Club – für verbotene Gelegenheiten?"(SiB33, p. 98) Von Zedlitz thus does not simply

139 Cf. Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari. *Capitalism and schizophrenia*. Vol. 1: *Anti-Oedipus*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000, pp. 261ff.

140 "So ist der Alltag dem Künsler notwendig zum Ausruhen und zur Erneuerung. Gerade die Frau in ihrer empfindsamen Seele bedarf dieser Entspannung mehr noch als der Mann, denn nur zu rasch entäußert sich die Frau," FH45, No. 33, "…und doch Hausfrau", n.p.

141 Eisenstein points out that "[i]n der Tat wurden die Plätze auf den Baugrundstücken im Volksmund bald 'Verlobungszwinger' genannt, und über die zahlreichen Spielvereinigungen vom Typ 'Zum Standesamt' machten die Zeitgenossen ihre Witze", cf. Eisenberg, *"English Sports" und deutsche Bürger*, pp. 199–200.

describe, but implicitly even condones "morally questionable" behaviour of young women that happens seemingly without their mothers knowledge, though her awareness suggests that many mothers had a very good idea that their daughters might not only play tennis in their free time. Furthermore, the club serves to establish certain boundaries of what is deemed acceptable, and perhaps even more importantly, *who* is deemed appropriate. By integrating older and younger members, parents and children alike, some of the dangers of sport and modern life become blunted and overall less threatening.

In *Die Gnädige Frau lädt ein*, Paula Freifrau von Reznicek also combines this idea(l) of modern housewives as modern women. Here, displaying and seeing come to mean displaying and also seeing one's own display, "Sie liebt es sehr, sich selbst zu sehen, sich in ihrem Tun und Wirken widerzuspiegeln. Die Dame ist unerhört gewandt, sie weiß zu gefallen und versteht zu fesseln – ihr eigenstes 'Ich' im Kreise ihrer Gäste – durch die Art der Gastfreundschaft – graziös zur Schau zu tragen".(SiB33, p. 118) The semi-public invitation into her home allows her to display her "inner self" (or at least its public representation, hence perhaps the quotation marks in the above quote) to her guests. At the same time, a more refined (read: richer) version of the above vacuum-owning housewife makes her appearance in a section entitled *Man gehe nur nach gutem Essen ins Theater!*: "Nicht nur in St. Moritz kennen wir die 'midnight suppers'. Oh, unser Berlin weiß von den phantastischsten Mitternachtsdiners nach absolvierten Kostümbällen ein Lied zu singen. […] Scheinbar improvisiert – nur das Menü ist fabelhaft vorbereitet. Ein Grammophon ersetzt das zurückgelassene Orchester, und dem in Strömen fließenden Sekt folgt 'die große Katastrophe' von 'Munkepunke'."(SiB33, p. 119) The new, modern housewife von Reznicek thus describes again manages spectacularly well to unite domestic labour (preparing the menu) and leisure (balls or theatre visits), ensuring that modern rationalisation and housekeeping go hand in hand with modern citylife. More than that, the use of the English term "midnight suppers", the costume balls and the reference to swanky St. Moritz, as well as the fact that a grammophone exists in the household, mark the

author not simply as wealthy, but as decidedly modern when it comes to lifestyle.

Additionally, Elsa Herzog's *Hinter der Maske* explores the idea of the carnival mask and of artificiality when it comes to cultural gatherings. Where culture, artificiality and the city were seen as unnatural when it came to *the* new woman, here – without the discursive overlay of negative connotation – the costume ball allows women to play with identity.

> Dazu kommt das Befreiende des Kostüms an sich. Es ist meist leicht und beschwingt und beflügelt das Temperament vieler Frauen, denn im Kostüm wollen sie die Rolle spielen, die es vorschreibt. Man kann daher aus der Wahl des Kostüms die interessantesten Rückschlüsse auf den Charakter der Trägerin ziehen. Der moderne schlanke Sporttyp, wohl gegenwärtig der beliebteste unter den Frauen, wird gern ein Hosenkostüm wählen, um die Schlankheit der Glieder, namentlich aber der Beine, voll zur Geltung kommen zu lassen.(SiB33, pp. 24–25)

The modern, lean *type* of woman has certain preferences in order to show off her lean (and assumed to be pretty) limbs. By explicitly talking about a *type* of women, however, Herzog uses the visual markers of modern women *without* subscribing to the discursive notion of modern women as exemplars of *the* modern woman. Those who attend these costume balls are usually part of the higher strata of society, part of "die gute Gesellschaft" as a rubric in *Sport im Bild* is called, which seems to vouch for their general legitimacy, which in turn allows them to play freely with outward expressions of modernity – after all, the article highlights them as *types*, aware that their external appearance and the *active play* with costumes and masks says little about the identities *behind* the mask. Herzog seems to be very aware of the fact that self-identification and external identification are very different processes; consequently, simply having a modern outward appearance is not at odds with being respectable. Louise Diel expresses this even more precisely in *Coiffuren und Temperamente* when she says that "Wir reden von der so praktischen Haarmode – und opfern ihr mehr Zeit und Pflege als je einer anderen. Und warum? C'est la mode, la coiffure-ultra-internationale – die Tracht unseres Jahrhunderts. Wir marschieren alle getrennt …und schlagen doch vereint die gute, alte Frisur in Acht und Bann."(SiB33, p. 125) Not only is the Bubikopf modern, but it even transcends national borders, it is international, fashionable and *the* expression of its time (of its century).

Yet, the women who sport the Bubikopf in its many variants nevertheless "march apart", they are *not* all the same, and they do *not* necessarily share the same kind of identity simply because of their looks. It is telling that these *female* accounts are more differentiated in their views of how female self-identification and identity work, highlighting that respectability and looks are separate categories. Nevertheless, these latter accounts also fundamentally undermine any sense of *unity* amongst these different women. By emphasising that all of these women are either choosing styles like masks or that they nevertheless are very different despite their looks all serve to disarm the potential danger of being associated with *the* modern woman as a revolutionary and disruptive appearance. In other words, these accounts specifically mark the move from traditional feminism to a life-style feminism that allows each individual woman her own freedom of expression at the cost of any unified potential. By highlighting themselves as singular, as individual women who have to be valued depending on their specific identities and positions in society, these women surrender much of their innovative potential. Instead, they are modern because being modern is simply what one does – c'est la mode. By distancing themselves from the Bubikopf as an expression of a *specific* understanding of modernity, they make it clear that they would just as likely sport a different kind of hairdo if it were fashionable, simply because it is "what one does".

A *Simplicissimus* anecdote published anonymously in its recurring "Lieber Simplicissimus!" section,[142] a humorous description of a modern housewife further establishes the differentiation between "the" modern woman, who is always another woman, and one's own wife. "Ich fahre im Auto durch Nürnberg. Meine Frau mit Etonkopf und schwarzer Hornbrille sitzt neben mir. Da – dieser Herr – biederer deutscher Beamter – will noch über die Straße. Ich hupe, ich bremse, ich hupe noch einmal. Er prallt zurück und stammelt – mit starrem Blick auf meine Frau: 'Beg your pardon!'"(S32, p. 38) The "Etonkopf" is a variant of the Bubikopf, marking the wife as a modern woman, as do the black horn-rimmed spectacles. The German official is additionally characterised as respectable, with a tendency towards being boring, while husband

142 Cf. section 4.2, p. 130

and wife are decidedly not boring, driving around in their car. The story makes fun of the seemingly petty official who thinks they are English because of the wife's extremely fashionable looks, but at the core of it, they remain simply that: looks. For the narrator, his wife is first and foremost that, his wife, and only beyond that might she be a modern woman, and she certainly is modern in behaviour. Yet, her respectability is unquestionable, not only is she together with her husband, but she does not appear in a sexualised fashion. Her outward appearance is no different from that of Mad in Remarque's *Koffer-Elegie*, yet the knowledge of her "true" self as housewife means that she is *conceived of* very differently.

Perhaps unsurprisingly, female voices are rare in the "political" journals, *Die Weltbühne* has a select handful of articles, *Kladderadatsch* and *Simplicissmus* essentially none. This observation suggests a trend in line with the reterritorialisation of modern housewives, for in the end, politics and satire remain male domains, situated in the public sphere and thus far away from domestic life. Despite suffrage and full political rights for women in Germany since the *Novemberrevolution*, women remain marginal in some of the more prominent artefacts and arenas of political discourse. However, where *the* new woman is the subject of anxiety, satire and scrutiny in the latter two, women seem to be overall mostly absent in *Die Weltbühne*. If they appear at all, they do so as part of a wider critique of capitalist society. In Richard Huelsenbeck's *Charlie Chaplin und die Amerikanerin*, the author describes American housewives in terms of their economic function, rendering their subjugation not as one under a patriarchal or male hegemony, but an economic, capitalist one: "Die Frau ist in dieser großkapitalistischen Atmosphäre der wahre, sozusagen einzig sichre, durch Reklame und Mode nachhaltig zu beeinflussende Konsument. Wer sich den Frauen Amerikas entgegensetzt, setzt sich der Volkswirtschaft entgegen."(WB23.1, p. 305) Accordingly, marriage, girl culture and gender relations all appear subordinate to an abstract capitalist system: "Die Ehe ist so eingerichtet, daß das Geld, vom Manne erschuftet, durch die Hände der Frau den Bankkonten der Kapitalisten wieder zufließt. Die 'Girlkultur', die kitschige Verherrlichung der Frau im Kino und den

Revuen haben keinen andern Sinn." Huelsenbeck highlights here how modern consumer culture essentially obliterated any kind of political movement – not just feminism – in favour of a society that defines itself via its consumption. Women only appear liberated insofar as their economic situation gives them a certain degree of freedom as consumers outside the household. The term "modern" does not feature as a meaningful category in this article, which overlooks the difference between men and women in an attempt to paint them as *equally* subjugated by capitalist pressures. "In der amerikanischen Durchschnittsehe wird der prachtvolle Kollektivmensch erzeugt, der Alltags die Welt in Zahlen aufrechnet und Sonntags nach Besuch des Christian-Science-Tempels seine Freistunden durch Autowaschen und Radiobasteln verschönt."(WB23.1, p. 306) Where new obligations and duties for the vacuum-owning housewife were a result of "modern life" and modern development earlier, they are direct results of capitalism here. In turn, both specularization (roughly present in "kitschige Verherrlichung") and female self-identification ("Girlkultur", note the quotation marks) are simply other functions of capitalism; therefore, neither posit any threat to the left-wing critic, because he can subsume them under capitalism as such, without having to attribute any specific potential or danger to something like *the* modern woman on her own – the only genuine threat for the author is (American) capitalism, which explains why women in general, let alone modern women, have little place in the *Weltbühne*'s political discussions.

What ultimately emerges, then, are modern housewives who get to display all of the markers of modern women and who get to *define themselves* as modern, as long as their self-identification includes the ideal of *the* housewife at its very core. In turn, as long as they are *identifiable* by others as housewives, they gain a greater degree of freedom. As Kathy Peiss puts it when talking about the connection between makeup, advertisment and, in this specific case, lipstick: "Social identities that had once been fundamental to women's consciousness, fixed in parentage, class position, conventions of respectability, and sexual codes, were now released from small swiveling cylinders. Not only could women choose these categories of identity, but for two dollars, they

could enjoy both. 'Lady' and 'hussy' were no longer the moral poles of womanhood but rather 'types' and 'moods' defined largely by external signs."[143] As long as others(!) can be reasonably sure that women are, indeed, nice women – "nice girls" – they are allowed to incorporate a lot of genuinely modern practices into their daily lives and their identity. Bubikopf and clothes, being around men or doing sports are in themselves merely markers of self-identification and of lifestyle choices. They are permissable if adherence to widely legitimised views of what women are allowed to do can be demonstrated beyond reasonable doubt, yet they turn into markers of danger or suspicion if legitimacy cannot be proven *to the observer or commentator*. Consequently, a stark difference exists between women writing about female identities, be it their very personal identity or in more general terms, and men describing female identities. Men thereby project not just their own desires, but also their own biases onto the discussion, which is nevertheless enmeshed with female voices to discuss "the woman" in general. However, where articles of women writers more obviously contain both a level of self-identification and personal identity as well as communal identity and more general ideas of what it means to be a woman, feminist scholarship has helped to show that the same is true for articles by male authors. While they more obviously engage in the negotiation of communal identity, *their* own individual identities (as well as more communal identities as "the man") are equally at stake when new forms of femininity and new women threaten established understandings of what it means to be the breadwinner, man, or in a dominant social position.

5.3.4. Intermediate results: modern women

If we now return to the original question of how the Weimar Republic could on one hand enable a number of very modern female ideals and identities while also giving rise to the anti-feminists and, indeed, seemingly anti-modern realities of Nazi Germany, we have come closer to showing how these two supposed extremes exist, in fact, chiefly because they rely

143 Kathy Peiss. "Making Up, Making Over. Cosmetics, Consumer Culture, and Women's Identity". In: *The sex of things. Gender and consumption in historical perspective*. Ed. by Victoria de Grazia and Ellen Furlough. With an intro. by Victoria de Grazia. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1996, pp. 311–336, p. 311.

on extreme readings of discursive practices without paying enough attention to underlying social practices. The difference between "nice" girls and "bad" girls, between "the" new woman and "the" housewife is not really that their overall practices are different. Bubikopf, sport, clothes, cars, living in the city and their work do not differentiate one from the other. Quite the contrary, based on these practices, there seems to exist no distinct difference between them at all. Instead, what differentiates them are *discursive* practices – cultural connotations and value judgements. While a girl fleetingly encountered somewhere might very well be sexually alluring and of questionable moral status, nothing categorically separates her from the "modern housewife", other than the fact that she is not the observer's wife, or at the very least somebody who is *verifiably* virtuous. In his outstanding work *Männerphantasien*, which is ultimately a study of the men of Germany's reactionary and right-wing white terror, Klaus Theweleit develops the dichotomy between "red" and "white" women, where the former are often proletarian in origin and always sexualised, while the latter carry notions of purity and innocence. In a section about a miner, he concludes:

> Die er [the miner] heiratet, kommt aus der Gruppe jener Mädchen, für die ihm bis dahin "eben völlig das Verständnis" gefehlt hat. Die Ehefrau wird nicht mehr unter sexuellem Aspekt betrachtet; ihre Funktionsfähigkeit bezüglich der in der Ehe zu erwartenden Arbeiten tritt in den Vordergrund, da wäre zu viel lustvolle Sexualität störend. So nimmt er die "Weiße". Seine bisherigen Beziehungen zu Frauen waren solche des sexuellen Vergnügens; mit der Ehe wird seine Beziehung zur Frau ein Arbeits- und Herrschaftsverhältnis.[144]

In other words, what is sexually desirable and alluring in *girls*, in others, is somehow transformed and moderated in *wives*, where the former are unsteady and not tied down, the latter fall into a category that is chiefly one of control. The difference between the two can only be understood – as Scott made clear – when the connections between individual identity and more general social discourses is established. In this case, the "male gaze" – a stand-in for patriarchal views and practices in general – sexualises or desexualises, and its categories fundamentally influence not just male discourse or male identities, but they warp all available

144 Theweleit, *Männerphantasien*, pp. 199–200.

and, indeed, potential social identities, both male and female.

The conundrum of how the modern women of the Weimar Republic that are so easily present in our cultural and visual memory could support a regime that stripped them of their hard-won freedom and emancipation thus appears as a question of severe historical – if not scholarly – bias. It ignores the process of "othering" and of negatively connoting modern women *unless* they are provably modern housewives. It retroactively applies ideals and ideas of emancipation to women who appear to be very modern based on their visual and overall outward appearance. It ignores, however, the fundamental difference between *the* modern woman and modern women, assuming that the former – the category or stereotype – was in fact a unified type that would be exemplified in lived social practice. Once one forgets (or ignores) that "the New Woman" never existed as such, but that there only ever existed individual *women* with individual identities and views, one can indeed wonder how "the" new woman could be replaced by "the" Nazi housewife. Claudia Koonz therefore correctly asserts that

> early advocates of suffrage had always assumed that women, once enfranchised, would rush into political party life and usher in further reforms. As it turned out, the reverse occured. Women did "go public", but they did so by participating in the same traditionalist organizations which their mothers and grandmothers might have joined. Far from pressing for further victories, they organized against feminist demands which they believed would further erode their status as wives and mothers.[145]

The above question seems to stem from a similar ideal that assumes that women would somehow inherently resist, as a group, Nazi ideology, an assumption that has been proven wrong by history. When one looks at "the" new woman however as a stereotype and, indeed, when one looks at the process of how this notion is created, in short, when one looks at the negotiation of social identity, it becomes clear that the stark contrast between *new* modern woman and *the* housewife never existed.[146]

145 Koonz, "Some political implications of separatism", p. 273.

146 Sutton asserts that "[i]mages of 'mothers' by the early 1930s were far more likely to incorporate the short haircuts, slim and boyish fashion lines, and even athletic pursuits of the 1920s New Woman than the corsets and braids of her Wilhelmine predecessor", cf. Sutton, *The masculine woman in Weimar Germany*, p. 182.

Generally speaking, consumer culture and many modern women happily traded the traditional feminist *movement* for a mixture of consumer culture, rationalised domesticity, a moderated modernity and a greater degree of *personal* freedom. In doing so, however, "women's long-standing reluctance to link their demands for inalienable rights within a broader concept of human liberty had eroded their ability to advance nonnegotiable demands of any kind and rendered them docile vis-à-vis any political system or policy. […] Like a single-issue lobby, they declared themselves willing to cooperate with any male state – for a price. They bargained for privileges rather than fighting for equality".[147] In the journals, we can see this whole historical process unfold; stereotyping, identification, self-identification and the shift from universal feminist movement to life-style feminism are not only present in direct social discourse, in the journals' explicit messages, but they exist also on a more fundamental level, as underlying lived experience and as social practices that in turn find their way into specific *types* of depiction as much as in the choice of subjects (both in editorial and advertisement content). The writing of men and women alike allows us to gain valuable insight not just into the discursive elements, the things they actively say, but they also highlight many of the more implicit and, indeed, incorporated practices that form the foundation of these discussions. In short, the journals show what is displayed (new women), how they are seen (*the* new woman) and how modern women and modern men see what is displayed. They thus do not just show the implicit as well as explicit levels of *specularisation*, but they let us understand the very processes of negotiating social identity.

Therefore, the Weimar Republic perhaps does not so much pose the problem of why *the* new woman did not stop the rise of Nazi Germany, but it shows how many social practices, such as sport, practical clothing, rationalisation, domestic and non-domestic labour, the car, new media and technologies are, in fact, incorporated regardless of their subsequent ideological discursive valuation. Thus, the short-haired, blond German mother and housewife who practices sport under the umbrella of the Nazi's *Kraft durch Freude* organisation is perhaps not

147 Koonz, "Some political implications of separatism", p. 282.

so fundamentally different from the short-haired, blond German mother and housewife who practices sport in the local tennis club in 1927.

6. Conclusion

At the beginning of this thesis, I asserted that journals exhibit unique characteristics that allow for an understanding of the Weimar Republic as a complicated set of concurrent evolutionary processes which we can see unfold step-by-step as we analyse the journals' material as well as editorial development. Over the course of my thesis, I have therefore developed the following basis for an analysis of journals as integral to understanding the social history of the German interwar period as intrinsically connected both to the Kaiserreich and World War I on one hand and to Nazi Germany on the other:

While most existing scholarship – especially within literary studies – tends to use journals as neutral repositories of various texts or images that can be cited to illustrate their respective objects of study or that are required to satisfy notions of completing an author's collected works, the journals' *Eigenlogik* is distinct from that of either the book or the newspaper. Journals thus occupy a midpoint between these two, as their periodicity sets them apart from the book (which has none) while their publication frequency differentiates them from newspapers (which try to be published as quickly and as often as possible). Unlike the book, the journals' periodicity allows us to observe a continuous development of content *and* form from issue to issue and from volume to volume. And whereas newspapers typically strive for immediate coverage – during the Weimar Republic often additionally split between a morning and evening edition –, a certain distance from the lastest news means that events and developments have some time to sediment in the journals before being taken up in the next issue, typically several days or even weeks later. Since journals offer a continuous, periodic and thus long-term view which

differentiates between single-day fads, daily news and longer-lasting events and developments, they are important indicators for and integral parts of wider social developments. Journals tell us about the culture and society they are embedded in, offering a level of resolution different from the abridged and often monovocal historical accounts of a book and the frantic polyvocality of the newspaper, which offers only limited facilities for reflection and sedimentation. Instead, journals offer an account of history closer to the changing of habits as negotiated challenges to their identities are rejected and incorporated, thus becoming engrained. Where initial scepticism existed in the *Simplicissimus* regarding World War I, four years of war and the subsequent defeat inculcated a different view of German soldiers, Germany's enemies and of what it means to be German, ultimately resulting in practices and views that would remain stable not just during the Weimar Republic, but that prevailed both during Nazi rule and World War II. Similarly, gradual shifts in the journals' appraisal of new forms of femininity emerged alongside an underlying reluctance to embrace fully the "New Woman", uncovering the incorporation and, in some ways, assimiliation of some aspects (e.g. looks, participation in sport) while also exemplifying a wider rejection of other aspects such as greater independence from husband or family (especially among younger women working as *Angestellte*), ultimately significantly reducing the often assumed schism between new women during the Weimar Republic and Nazi Germany's specific understanding of women as mothers and guardians of racial health and purity.

In this sense, culture has to be understood as a set of continuous social processes, centred around the negotiaton of meaning (and thus of identity) in and between various communities. In turn, there exists no singular "Weimar culture" exemplified by a single social group or a single institution, but Weimar Republic culture only exists in and through the interactions between its various communities, some of which are journal communities. While communities exist everywhere in society, whether as professional communities (such as Wenger's insurance claim processors), political communities, sport communities, groups of friends or even famil-

ies, journal communities are particularly suitable for this type of analysis since the journals themselves, as material objects, serve as reifications – as artefacts – of their communal practices, documenting various sedimentation and negotiation processes. Unlike traditional understandings of journals as objects created by active authors for passive readers, journal communities contain both journal creators ("authors") *and* journal recipients ("readers"). Various formal as well as editorial elements of journals further complicate the differentiation between active creators and passive recipients, tying both together in a more dynamic set of negotiating practices, which means that journals ultimately incorporate their *combined* practices, further reifying the negotiating processes within these communities. This means, however, that there exists no singular voice that speaks for a whole community, for communities always consist of various people with variant practices and separate identities – communities are always polyvocal. A singular text or author thus cannot stand for "the" journal as such, or for the entirety of its journal community, but it may, at best, stand simply for its creator, one voice among others, tied into the negotiation of identities within the community. Nevertheless, if we define culture as the result of the negotiations within and between various communities, that means that no community – whether a journal community or not – exists on its own; instead, each community is always already integrated into a complex set of relationships with (and among) other (journal) communities. There exist, then, relative similarities, relative distances, shared structures and obvious differences between these communities, though they are always connected and they all act within a common social space, each contributing to the continuous development of Weimar Republic society as such. Thus, when studying Weimar Republic journals, it becomes possible to elucidate various steps in a long *history of small steps*, which together ultimately form the continuous, evolutionary historical process that we can then delineate as "Weimar Republic". As such, we gain insights into the negotiation of individual as well as communal identities as the journal communities are confronted with more general social developments as well as the *experience* of a crisis caused by "modernisation" as such,

which in turn leads to the possible incorporation or rejection of innovative practices into prevailing (i.e. existing) social practices within these communities.

By focussing on a combination of material form and editorial content, taking into account the visual processes involved in garnering or guiding attention, I have been able to highlight a number of interrelated phenomena:

The *Simplicissimus* showed how a journal's identity is the product of negotiation processes among its creators; these processes might include caesuras *if* the creators decide upon them. At the same time, while such more radical shifts might directly influence some existing practices and identities, there exists a simultaneous continuity of other editorial elements as well as of other practices, such as within layout or advertising. The shift from multiple views on the nature of war – ranging from war as inevitable via war as murder to war as patriotic duty – to a *coordinated* message at the start of World War I provides an excellent example of such a transformation, while the continuity of advertisements, layout and many other topics simultaneously underlines the continued effectiveness of other communal practices. Furthermore, the journal also exemplified the coexistence of seemingly opposing ideals and identities, further highlighting that communal identities are always products of negotiation processes that are constantly *in flux*. The parallel existence of a satirical critique of motorisation (as one embodiment of modernisation) and advertisements for cars and motorcycles within the same journal issues and commonly even on the same pages, as highlighted in the subsequent chapter, marked just one such instance. This coexistence as well as the differing voices before the journal's self-imposed caesura(s) also attest to the existence of *many* voices within the same community both among creators and readers. This inherent polyvocality also refutes simplified notions of singular authorial messages or of singular, fully unified identities for journal communities in particular or communities of practice more generally. The abilities to reuse images simply by changing their subtitles and to create an entire satirical issue by purposefully transgressing the established rules of visual form as well as editorial topics additionally further accentuated

the close relationship between the journal's form, messages, periodicity and its *recognised* (i.e. previously negotiated) identity, which remains at the same time both relatively stable and malleable. Various shifts and steps in the development of the journal's visual form thus further illustrated the concurrency of innovative practices such as an evolution of typography and layout in line with more modern understandings of typography on one hand and conservative tendencies on the other, namely the rejection of photography within the *editorial* content, while the journal's overall identity always remained coherent enough to be easily recognisable.

By looking at the incorporation of advertisements into the journals' layout, and by unravelling interactions inscribed into the journal via letters to the editor, I have additionally underlined the more complicated nature of the relationship between creators and readers. This relationship is not exhausted simply by understanding communication as the unidirectional flow of messages from active senders to passive receivers, but it instead has to be seen as anticipatory and ultimately as *reciprocal*. Accordingly, texts and images might certainly have *intended* messages, but whether these intended messages are understood, let alone accepted, by their recipients cannot be assured; this point, then, served to illustrate the importance of focussing on the interplay of anticipation and reception of the material. The inclusion of advertisements and letters to the editor thus further asserts the insufficiency of any notion of authorial intention by first focussing and combining a journal's polyvocal messages – within images, texts, letters and advertisements – in the act of *reception*, rather than understanding them as determined by any singular act of authorial creation. The incorporation of these additional elements into the journal's overall material form thus enriches the number of voices and hence the number of identities represented within the journal itself, allowing for a juxtaposition of different practices and different identities side-by-side – often literally so as they share visual space on the same page.

Finally, the comparative analysis of multiple journals (and thus of multiple journal communities) has highlighted common patterns of negotiation across community boundaries on

one hand, but also community-specific strategies and differences, on the other. This comparative nature further allows us to show the complicated processes involved in negotiating as well as furthering social developments that do not originate in any single community or any single individual activity, but that pose challenges to a whole host of communal and, by extension, individual identities across large areas of society. Not only do the interlinked developments of "New Women" and sport appear as genuinely *modern* challenges, but they challenge existing practices and identities in particular ways. As such – keeping in mind the lessons of coexisting messages and polyvocality –, we can see the coexistence of practices of incorporation and practices of rejection; we can see fascination as well as repulsion, participation as well as absence. Similarly, we see the coexistence of seemingly mutually exclusive notions of feminity or of valuations of sport "as a lifestyle". In turn, this suggests that subsequent historical developments post-1933 constitute a recombination and adaptation of prevailing social practices as well as the rejection of other previously existing social practices, rather than the radical creation of completely novel social practices and identities. Nazi Germany's "Mütter der Nation" suggest an amalgamation of nationalism, women-as-housewives and conservative sexual role models, all of which existed in various configurations already before 1933. Similarly, sport becomes incorporated into official as well as private practices as both competition and for reasons of common "betterment" as well as national health (especially via the *Kraft durch Freude* organisation), combined with newly adopted notions of racial superiority, racial purity and racial health.

This notion of continuity is furthered by the journals' developments post-1933: out of the six analysed journals, only *Die Weltbühne* ceased publication in 1933, which also saw its editor Carl von Ossietzky incarcerated, displaced and tortured (ultimately causing his death in 1938) and other contributors either arrested or exiled. Yet, it marked an exception to the rule; the other journals continued to exist, and while some of their positions and parts of their identities (as well as parts of their staff) shifted, they remained recognisable, thus

retaining their relatively stable identities. The *Simplicissimus* was continuously published until 1944, and while its second "realignment" with national values meant that it stopped criticising internal (Nazi) politics, this move echoed its first realignment during World War I. Instead, the journal continued its attacks on left-wing politics and intensified its long-established criticism of Germany's "external enemies", namely France, England and the US. Similarly, the *Kladderadatsch* dropped its criticism of internal politics – hardly difficult for a journal that had been decidedly nationalist and anti-Republican already since World War I – to focus its effort outwards, thus similarly remaining in circulation until 1944. In *Fürs Haus*, traditional notions of motherhood, feminity and family remained mainstay topics, while its previous fusion of religious, individual and national tendencies shifted towards a combination of race, *Volk*, individual and nation. Nevertheless, the journal continued publication until 1943, while the notion of women as housewives being essential for the survival of nation and race certainly marked a direct continuation of practices already established within the journal long before 1933. On the other hand, *Sport im Bild* ceased publication as such already in 1934, returning as the re-branded *Der Silberspiegel* thereafter, a shift in many ways consistent with the journal's gradual development from a sport journal to a lifestyle journal already during the 1920s. Its final rechristening thus crowned a long evolution of both content and material form, now also formally designating an ultimately new journal identity which nevertheless retained significant parts of its by then mainly female readership thereafter until its closure in 1938. Finally, *Die Gartenkunst* also remained in publication until 1944 virtually unchanged, which is perhaps unsurprising given its specific practical focus, given its origin within a specific profession and given that many of the society's members were either city or state officials. This strong continuity of both communal identities and communal practices – which can additionally be observed in the fact that little changed among advertisements – suggests the continued existence of social practices post-1933 that harken back at the very least to the Weimar Republic. Furthermore, the sheer *amount* of consistency suggests that a sole focus

on exile writing and on exiled journals – all too common in literary studies – runs the risk of forgetting that for every Ossietzky, Tucholsky, Hiller or Mann, there existed many more Gulbranssons and Mynonas, Ratatöskrs and Frau Baurat H.s who incorporated elements of Nazi Germany – innovative practices just as well – into their existing identities and ultimately also into their journal communities. Ultimately, we can see in action what Raymond Williams called *hegemony*, for Germany post-1933 marks in many ways a new form of hegemony rather than entirely new communities and practices. Consequently, we can observe "new" ways of configuring identities and *new* selected traditions, but we have to remember that they always select from a continuous history of past selections, of conservative, prevailing and innovative practices.

Yet, the analysis of journals as material manifestations of "the" Weimar Republic as cultural process, while epistemologically promising, has also shown that paying attention to the journals' specific materiality also poses some practical challenges:

The sheer scale of available material makes any analysis that seeks to be more than a case study (regardless of its respective scope) unlikely. A "full" study of a given journal in its entirety would quickly devolve into an exercise in statistics, both due to the number of voices involved and the amount of polyvocality in the material not just per volume, but already per issue and often per page. Thus, while a *comparative* analysis of journal communities – of journal reception based on journal materiality – can elucidate the interconnectedness of various communities and their respective practices, identities and negotiation strategies, there is great value in future studies that focus on singular journal communities and their long-term development, or that focus on the negotiation of specific topics in a journal or a number of journals. However, even these studies would do well to pay close attention to their subjects' specific material *Eigenlogik* and materiality in order to still retain a sense of connectedness to their historical social contexts and in order to preserve both their polyvocality and negotiation of identity, which in turn sustain the connection of individual voices and individual issues to their wider communities.

Another challenge arises when dealing with the materiality of the printed page, which fundamentally stems from the difficulty of representing material objects and especially visual processes (e.g. the apperception of content and layout) *in text*. Whether a sentence appeared in its original material context either upside-down in a barely readable Sütterlin variant at the bottom of the page or in red full-page sans-serif lettering, quoting them in text eradicates these differentiations. Yet, the requirements of a unified typographical form within any academic study means that materiality necessarily becomes, once more, superseded by "Schrift", a problem that Kittler himself could not solve. Pairing texts with illustrations can alleviate some of these problems, though even these illustrations are nevertheless unable to adequately reproduce tactile sensations (e.g. paper quality) as well as original colours, paper sizes etc. However, the material compositions of journals are *meaningful* and, more than that, integral to our understanding of the journals, their production and their integration into wider social processes; thus, the inclusion of the journals' materiality remains imperative despite these representational shortcomings.

The title of my thesis asks whether the journals can be read as heralds of change. What has emerged in the course of discussion is the degree to which they *participate* in processes of transformation rather than simply announce or proclaim them. Accordingly, the six Weimar Republic journals analysed in this thesis are *integral* to the unfolding, continuous process that we ultimately call culture; even more, the journals are in turn integrated into these very processes, for they both influence other communities and innovative practices while they are also affected by other communities and innovative practices, in return. And while the above analysis certainly highlighted the genesis and negotiation of a set of practices that continued to be active in Nazi Germany, none of these negotiations of identity simply formed a "pre-history", inevitably leading to the rise and rule of the NSDAP. Instead, these journals' negotiations and communal practices formed part of everyday life during the Weimar Republic, again both integrated and integral at the same time. On the other hand, they also formed part of the

continuous evolutionary process that is Weimar Republic history, which in turn becomes available as a past set of selections and negotiations to the new Nazi rulers post-1933 for their *own* processes of selecting tradition and negotiation of identity and thus, ultimately, of history. These journals are therefore not simply heralds of change, but they are, at the same time, also the cause of change. And while no singular journal or community can completely determine society or enact social change on its own, each community is nevertheless inherently tied into the very processes of shaping the society that it is part of itself. Thus, the journals are both heralds *and* makers of change, and their analysis gives us access to both aspects alike. This thesis therefore marks a study of *Die Weltbühne*, the *Simplicissimus*, *Kladderadatsch*, *Fürs Haus*, *Sport im Bild* and *Die Gartenkunst* as interconnected historical journal communities that negotiated the challenges posed by Weimar Republic social developments while in turn furthering these very developments, thus sustaining conservative practices and incorporating innovative practices which then served as a basis for subsequent negotiations of identity post-1933. These journals were shaped by the Weimar Republic, and they shaped it, in turn, subsequently making their own social practices and negotiated identities available for future selections within various communities (and not least their own journal communities) in Nazi Germany.

Appendices

A. Journal pages

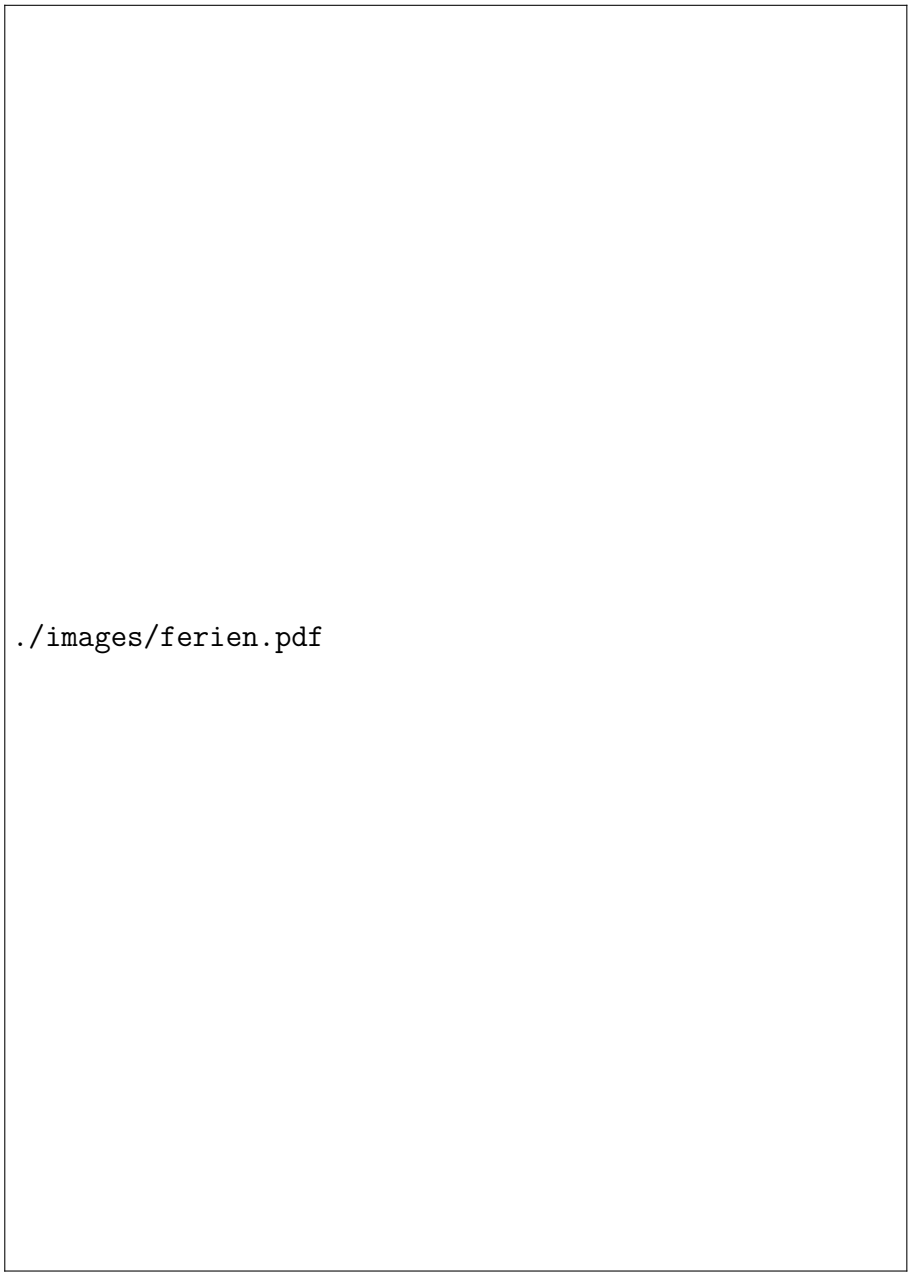

Figure A.1.: Th. Th. Heine: *Deutschland in den Ferien* (S19, p. 214)

./images/schwarz-gelb_1.pdf

(a) E. Thöny: *Schwarz-Gelb* (S19, p. 297)

./images/schwarz-gelb_2.pdf

(b) E. Thöny: *Schwarz-Gelb* (S19, p. 314)

Figure A.2.: Reuse and recombination of editorial content in the *Simplicissimus*



(a) O. Gulbransson: *Die Großfürstenpartei* (S19, p. 298)



(b) O. Gulbransson: *Die Großfürstenpartei* (S19, p. 327)

Figure A.3.: Reuse and recombination of editorial content in the *Simplicissimus*

./images/diplomaten_1.pdf

(a) E. Thöny: *Die Diplomaten* (S19, p. 312)

./images/diplomaten_2.pdf

(b) E. Thöny: *Petersburg—London—Paris* (S19, p. 334)

Figure A.4.: Reuse and recombination of editorial content in the *Simplicissimus*



Figure A.5.: E. Thöny: *Im Westen* (S23, p. 360)



Figure A.6.: Th. Th. Heine: *In den Schächten* (S23, p. 525)

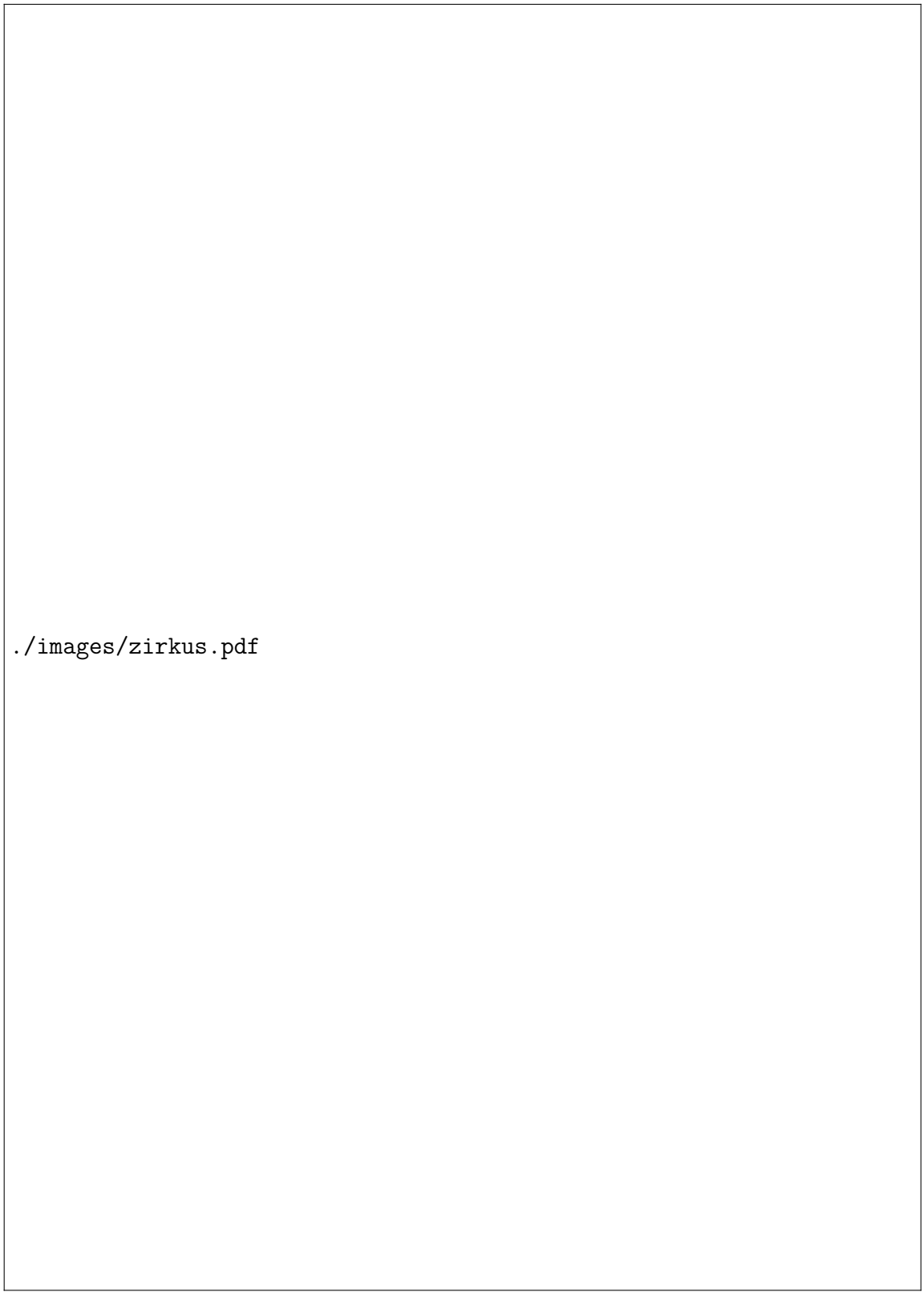

Figure A.7.: E. Schilling: *Münchner Zirkus* (S32, p. 16)

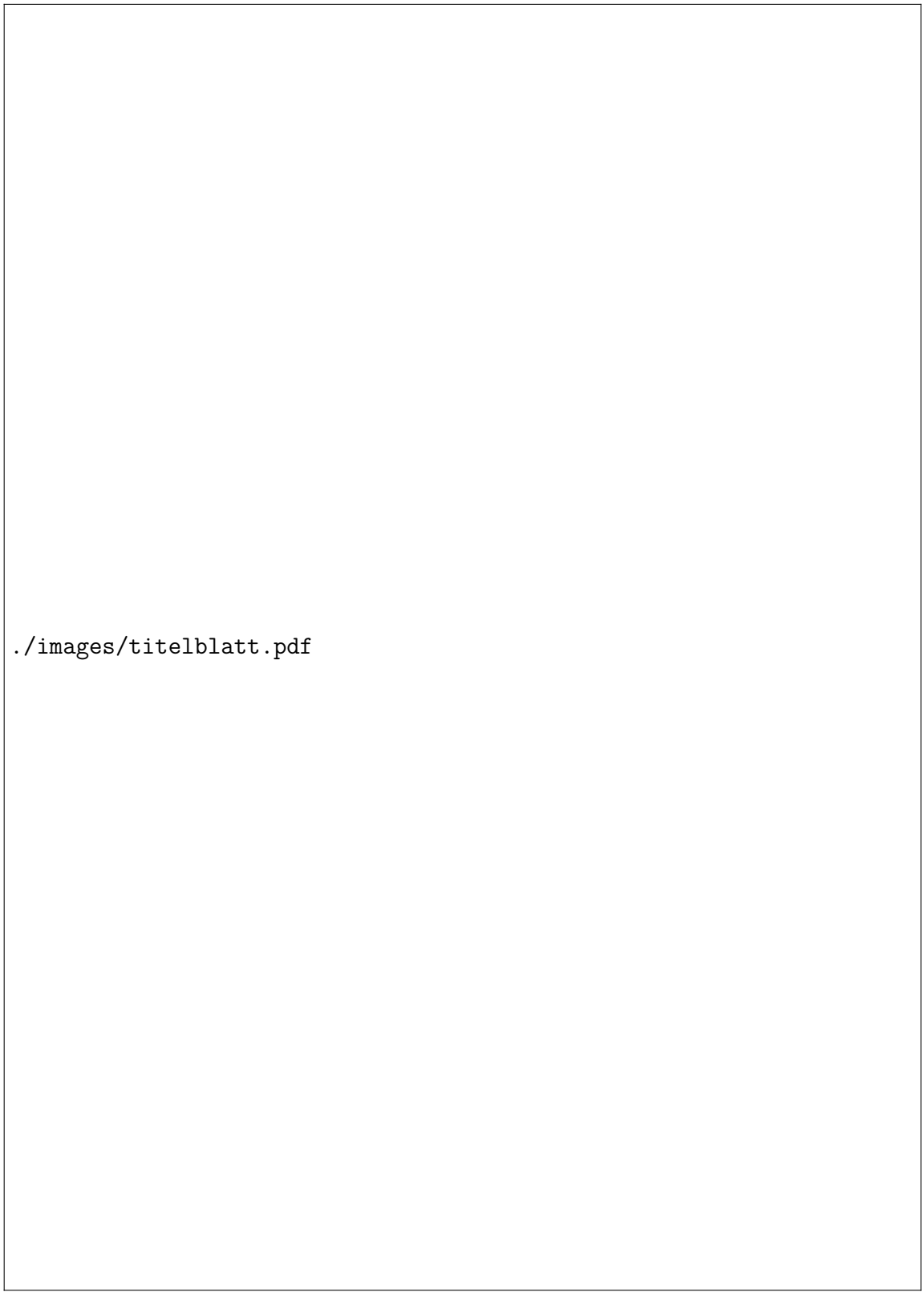

Figure A.8.: A typical *Simplicissimus* titlepage (S1, No. 1, p. 1)

./images/bastarda_1.pdf

(a) Typographical variance (S1, No. 11, p. 3)

./images/bastarda_2.pdf

(b) Additional typographical variance (S1, No. 15, p. 3)

Figure A.9.: Typographical variance in the early *Simplicissimus*

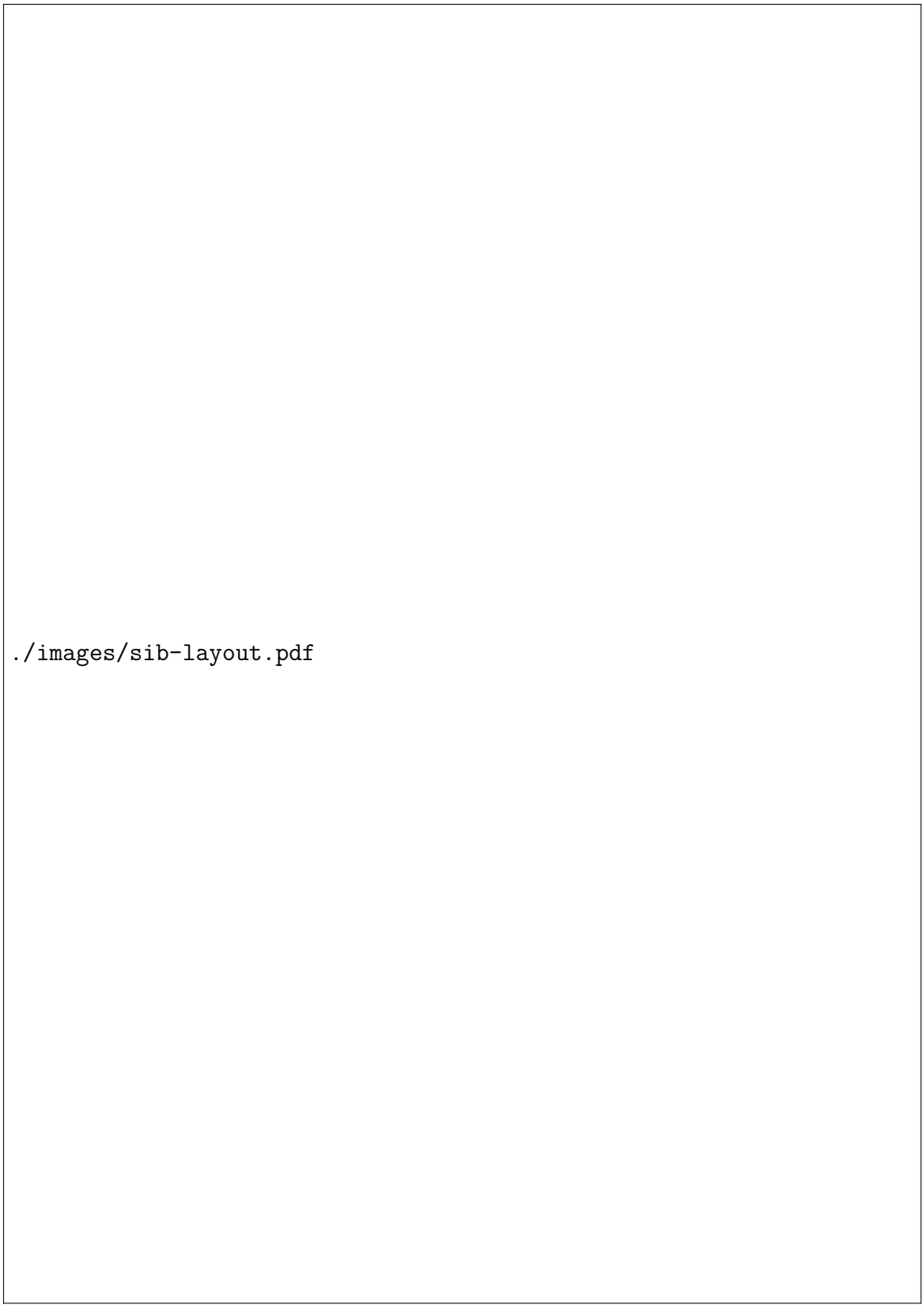

Figure A.10.: A typical *Sport im Bild* page (SiB4, p. 5)

./images/ullstein_1-1.pdf

(a) Left page – F. Spiegel: *Weil's gleich is* (S19, p. 138)

./images/ullstein_1-2.pdf

(b) Facing page – Advertisement: *Ullstein* (S19, p. 139)

Figure A.11.: Facing pages in the *Simplicissimus*, with an *Ullstein* advertisement imitating content



(a) Left page – M. Dudovich: *Fleischfressende Pflanzen* (S19, p. 186)



(b) Facing page – Advertisement: *Ullstein* (S19, p. 187)

Figure A.12.: Facing pages in the *Simplicissimus*, with an *Ullstein* advertisement imitating content

./images/ullstein_3-1.pdf

(a) Left page – Various advertisements (S19, p. 220)

./images/ullstein_3-2.pdf

(b) Facing page – Advertisement: *Ullstein* (S19, p. 221)

Figure A.13.: Facing pages in the *Simplicissimus*, with an *Ullstein* advertisement imitating content

./images/spartakus_1.pdf

(a) E. Schilling: *Simplicissimus* "Spartakus" issue (S23, p. 649)

./images/spartakus_2.pdf

(b) Th. Th. Heine: "Die kleine Schwärmerin" (S19, p. 651)

Figure A.14.: Two pages from the *Simplicissimus*'s "Spartakus" issue



Figure A.15.: K. Arnold: *Amor* (S19, p. 652)



Figure A.16.: *Sport auf geschichtlicher Grundlage* (KL80, p. 135)



Figure A.17.: Th. Th. Heine: *Das neue Ideal* (S31, p. 557)

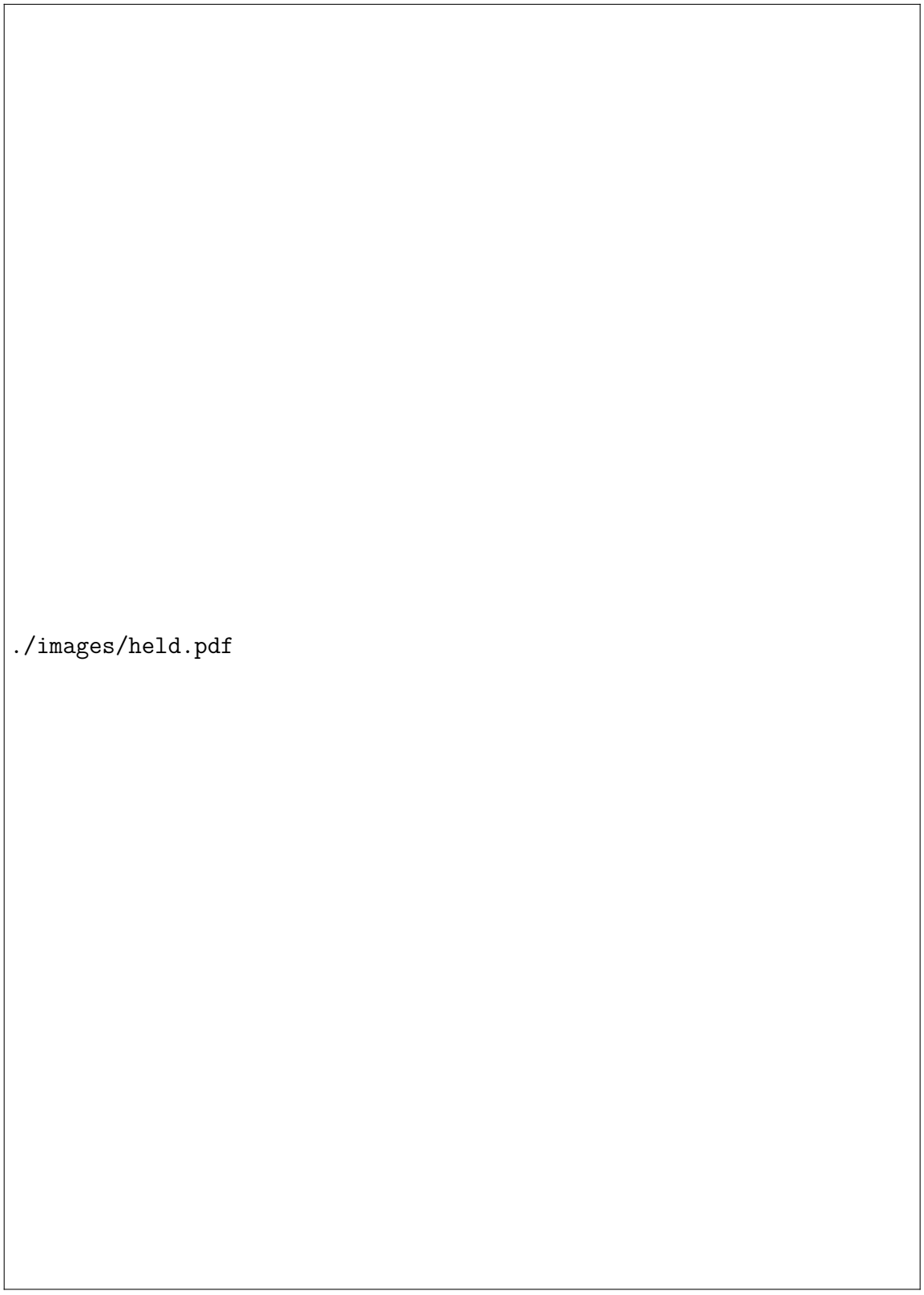

Figure A.18.: O. Gulbransson: *Der Held der Minute* (S32, p. 208)

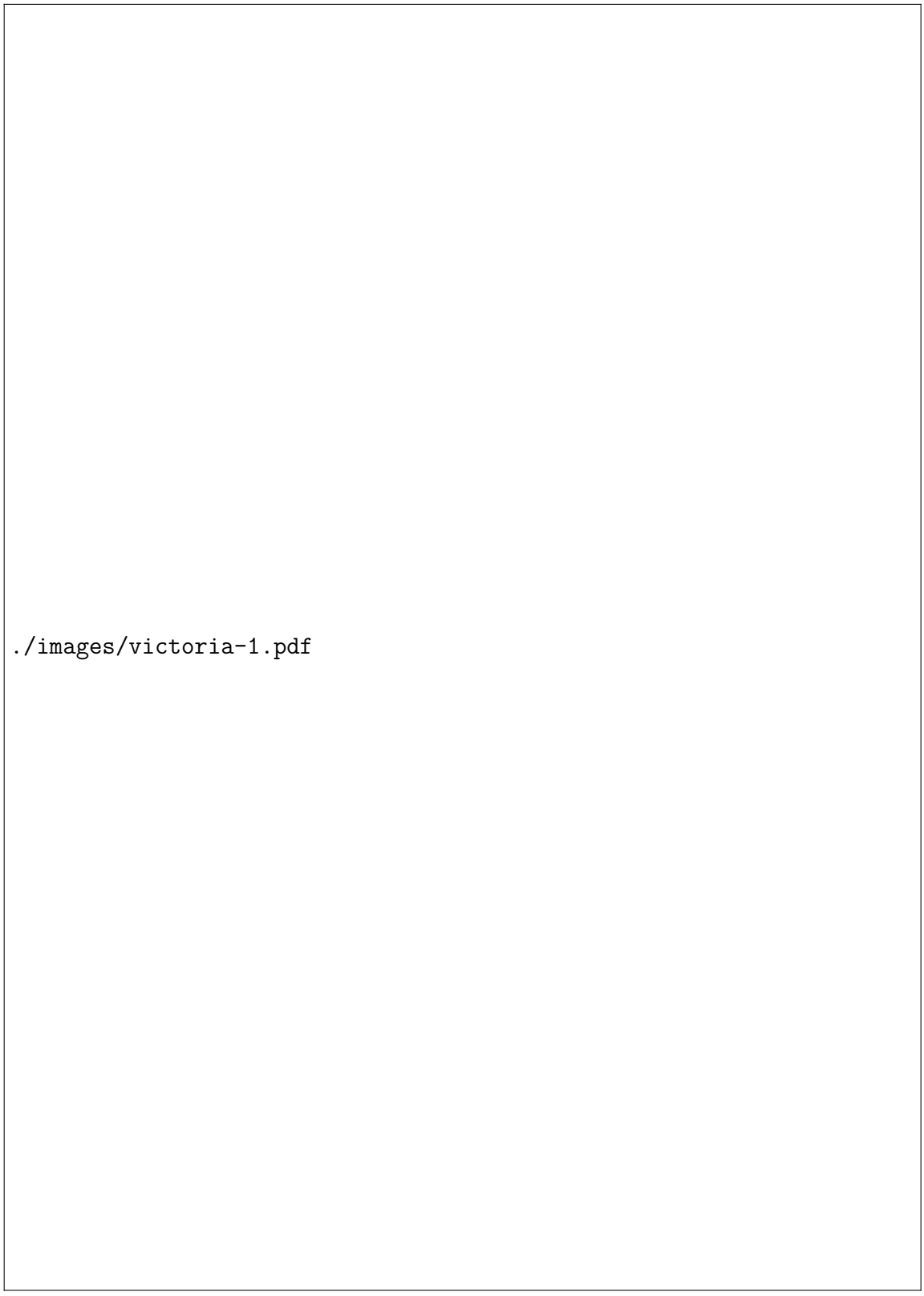

Figure A.19.: Advertisement: *Victoria* (S31, p. 536)



Figure A.20.: Advertisement: *Daimler-Benz* (S32, p. 310)



Figure A.21.: Advertisement: *NSU Vereinigte Fahrzeugwerke* (S32, p. 175)

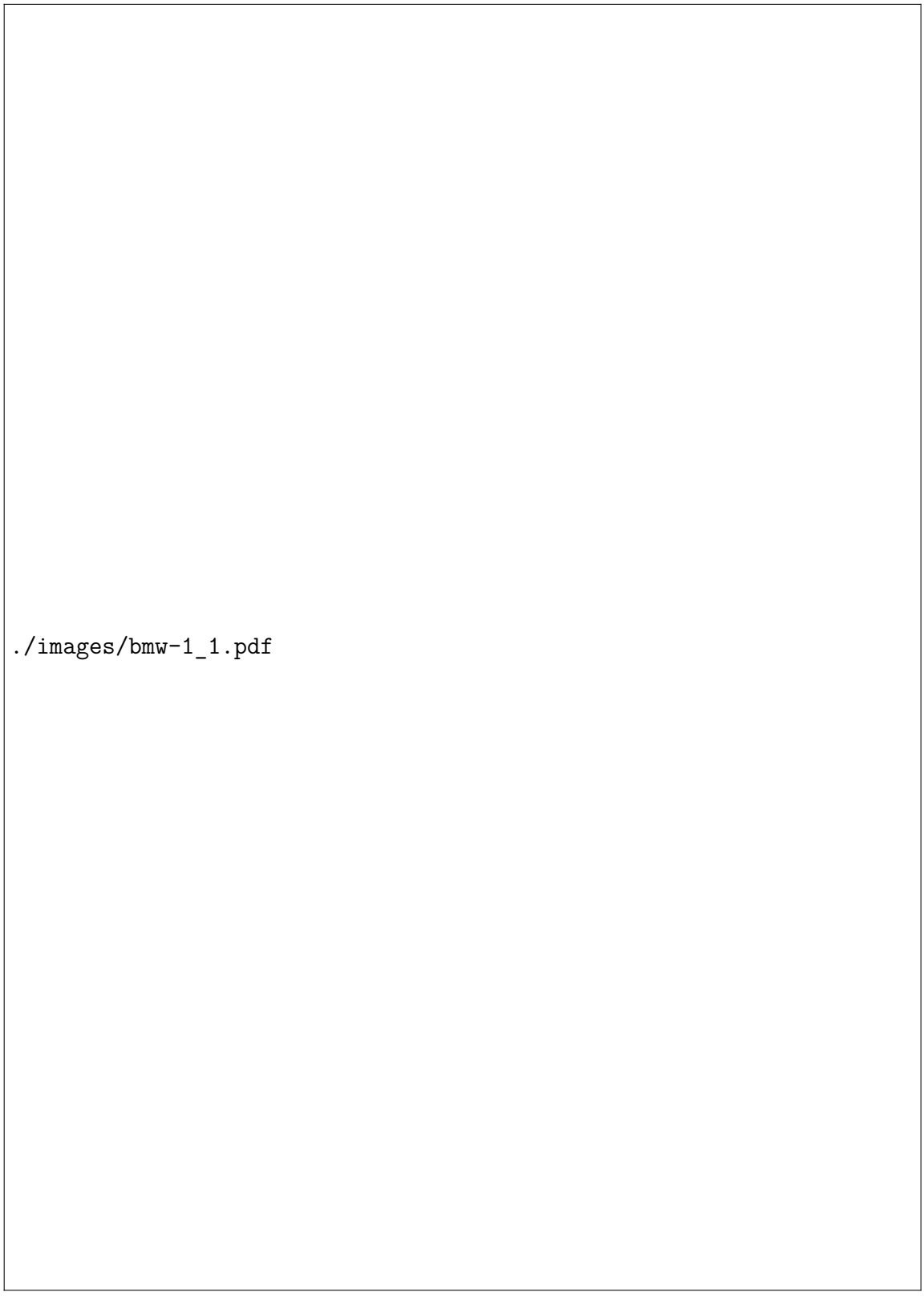

Figure A.22.: Advertisement: *Bayerische Motorenwerke* (S32, p. 6)

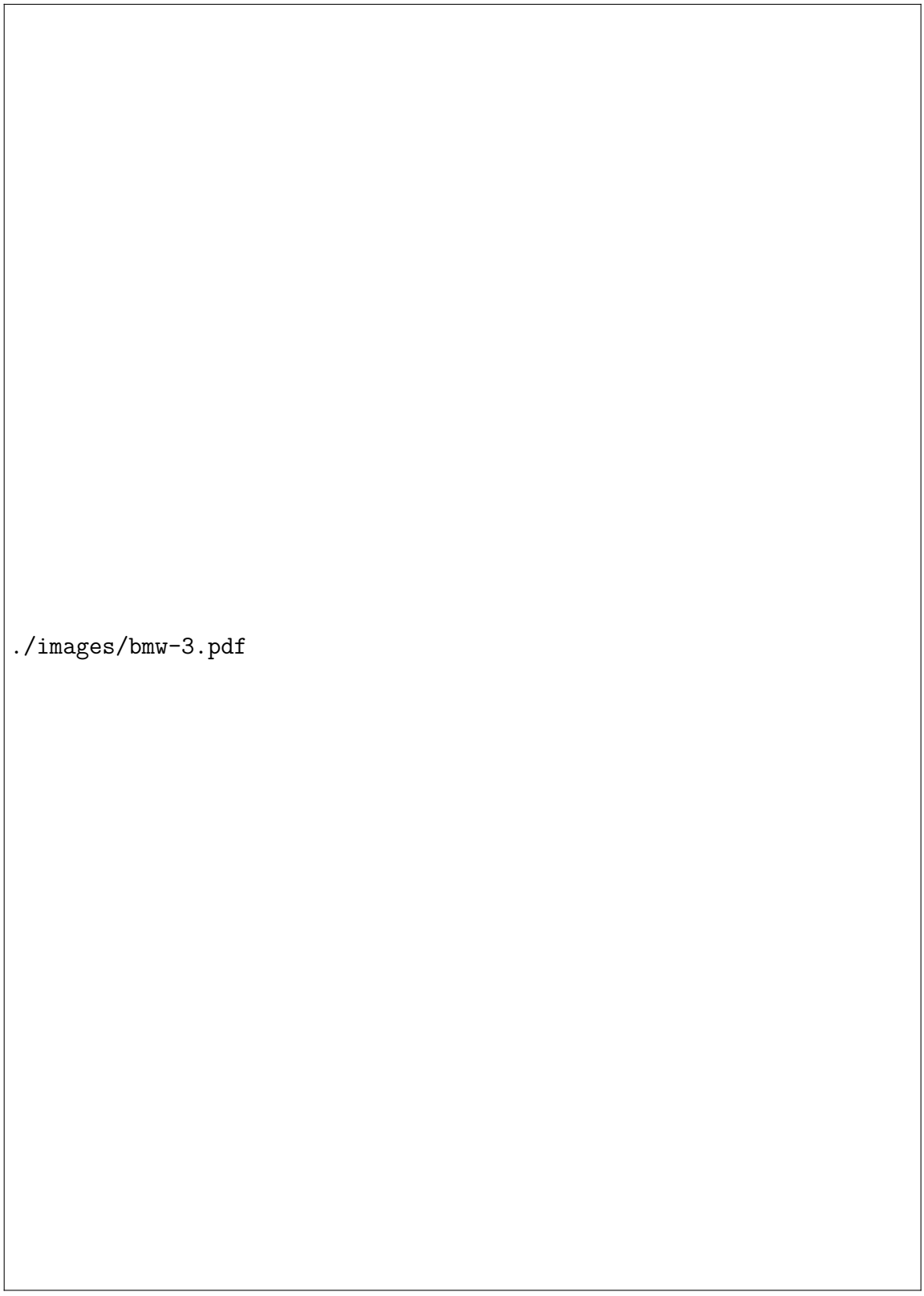

Figure A.23.: Advertisement: *Bayerische Motorenwerke* (S32, p. 84)

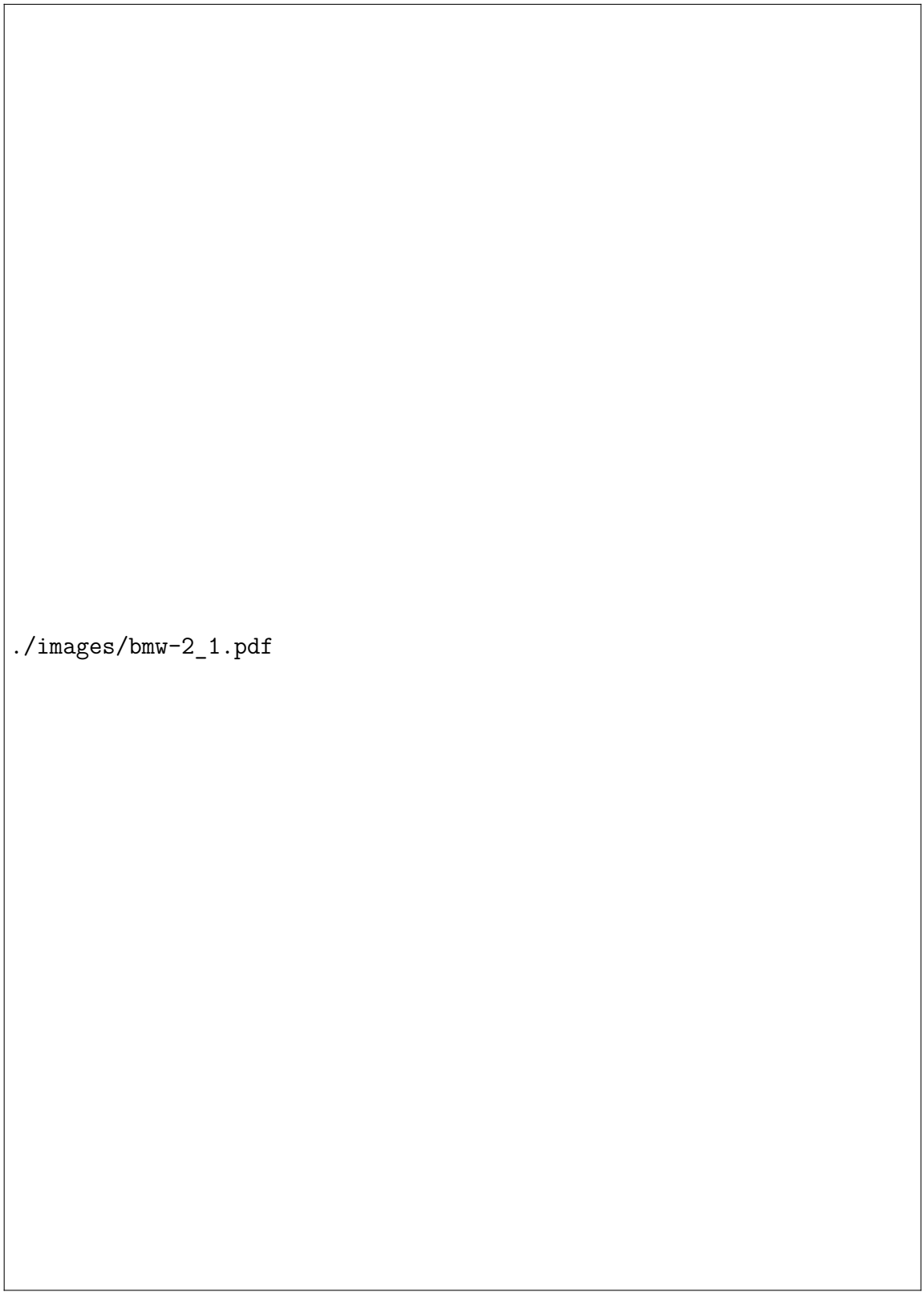

Figure A.24.: Advertisement: *Bayerische Motorenwerke* (S32, p. 130)

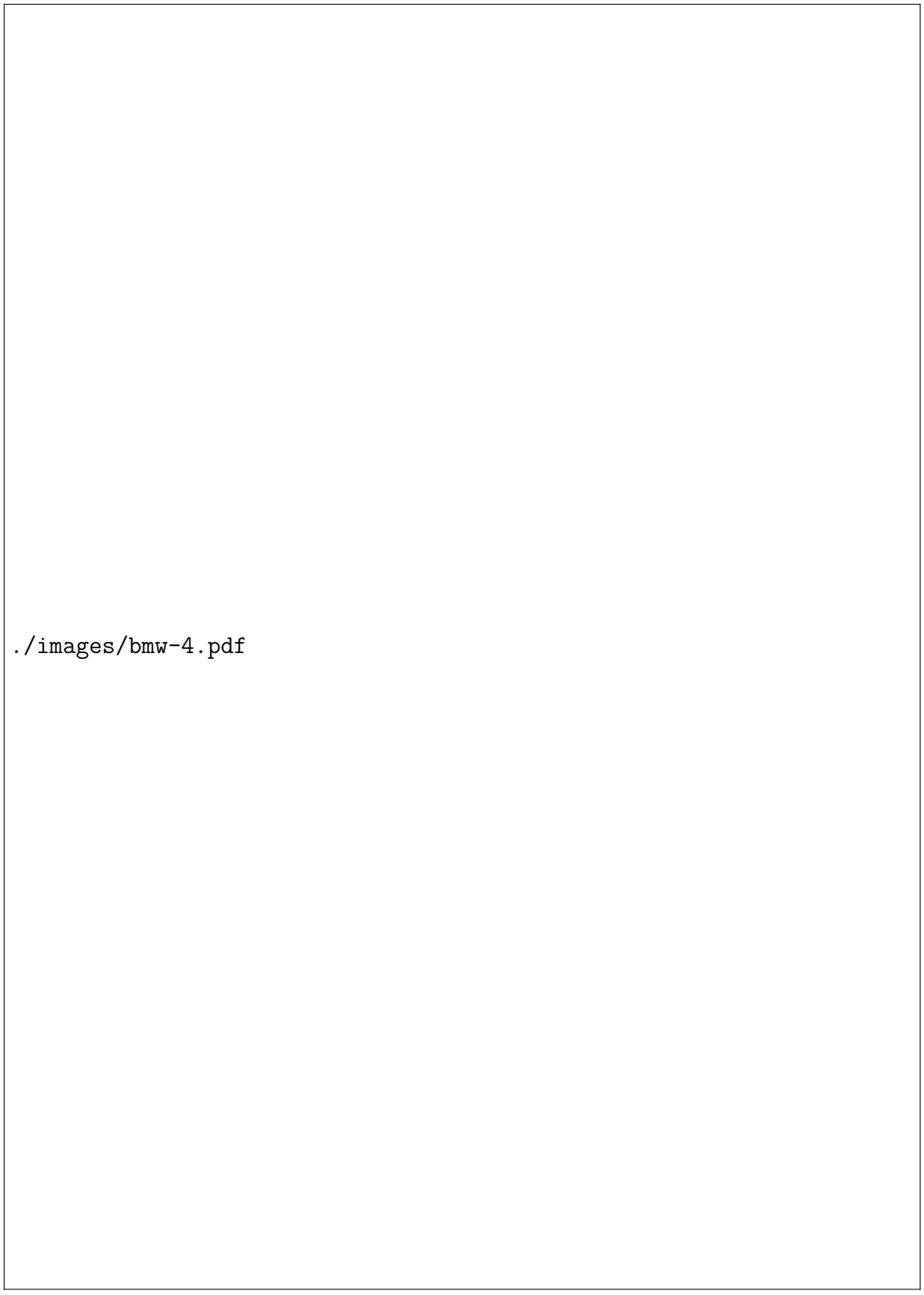

Figure A.25.: Advertisement: *Bayerische Motorenwerke* (S32, p. 200)

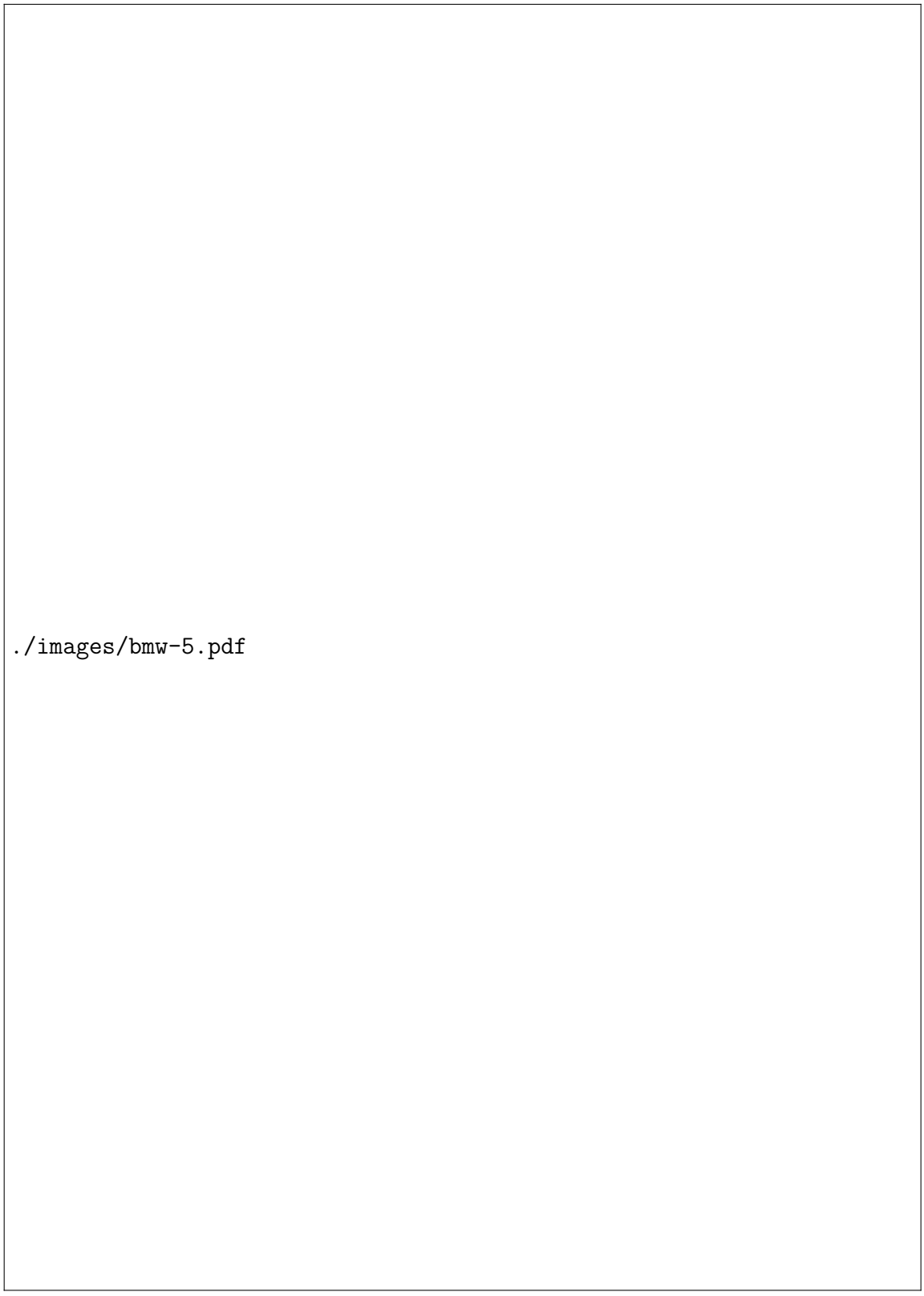

Figure A.26.: Advertisement: *Bayerische Motorenwerke* (S32, p. 106)

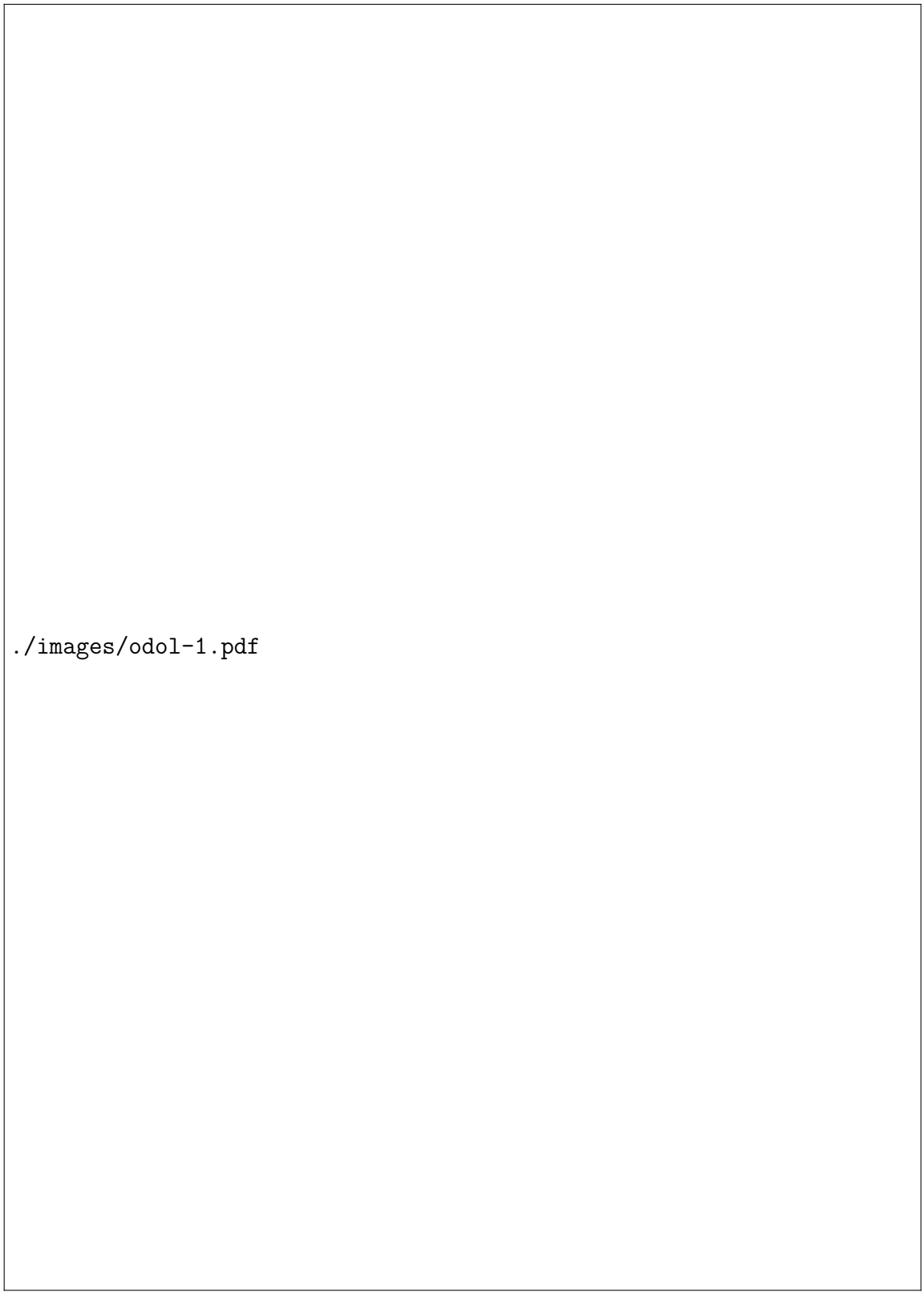

Figure A.27.: Advertisement: *Odol* (S32, p. 165)

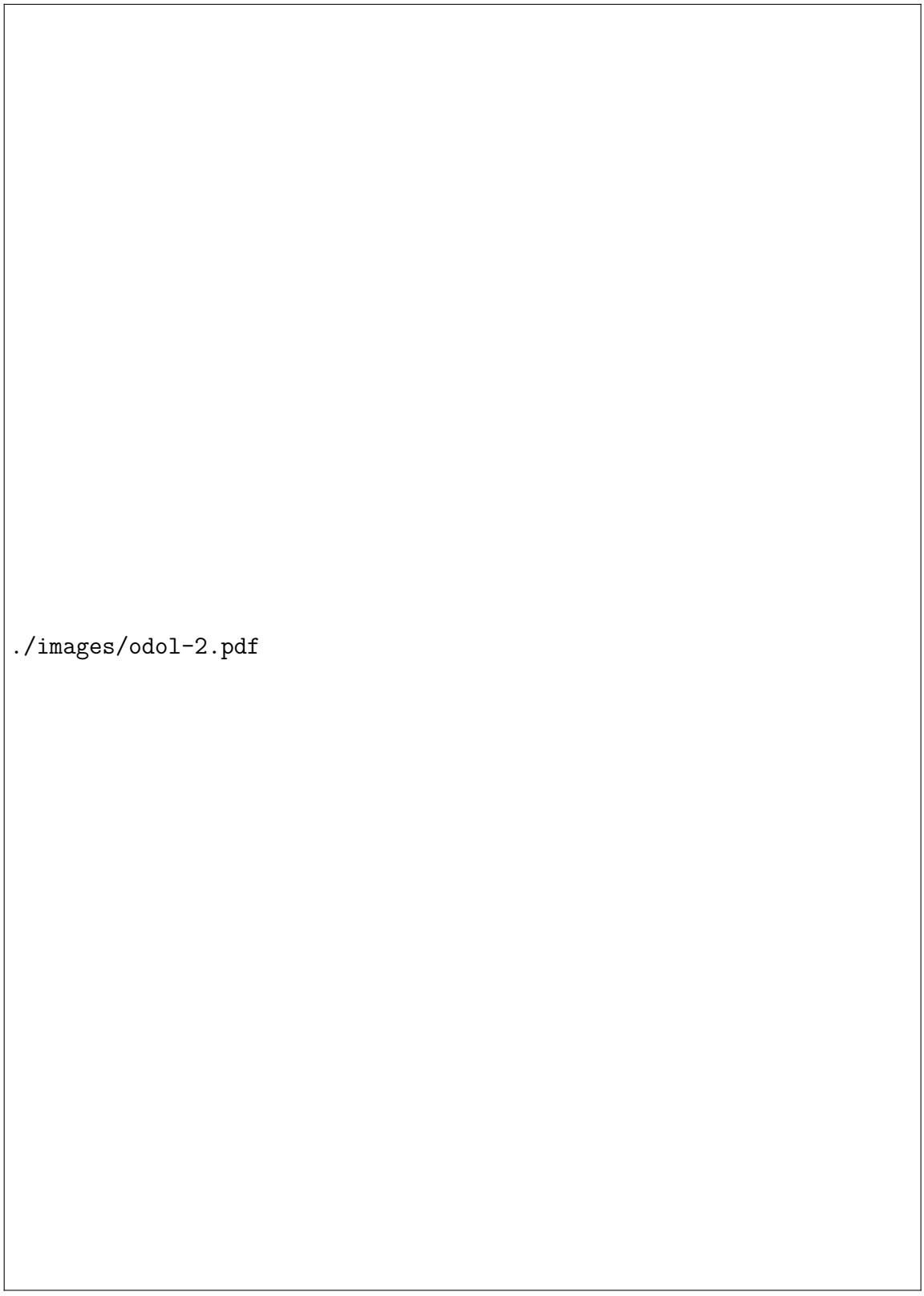

Figure A.28.: Advertisement: *Odol* (S32, p. 41)

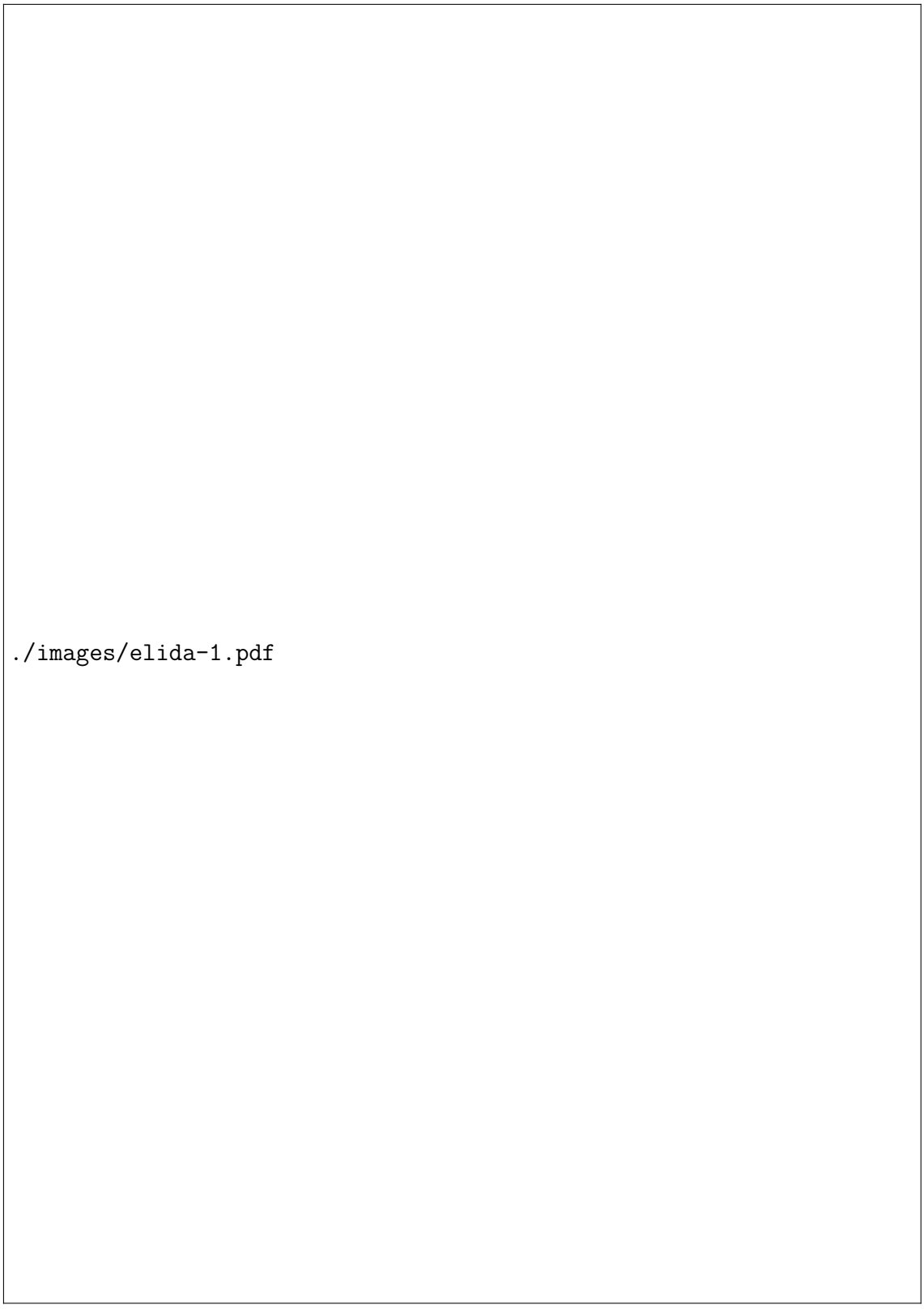

Figure A.29.: Advertisement: *Elida Hautpflege* (SiB33, p. 96/1)

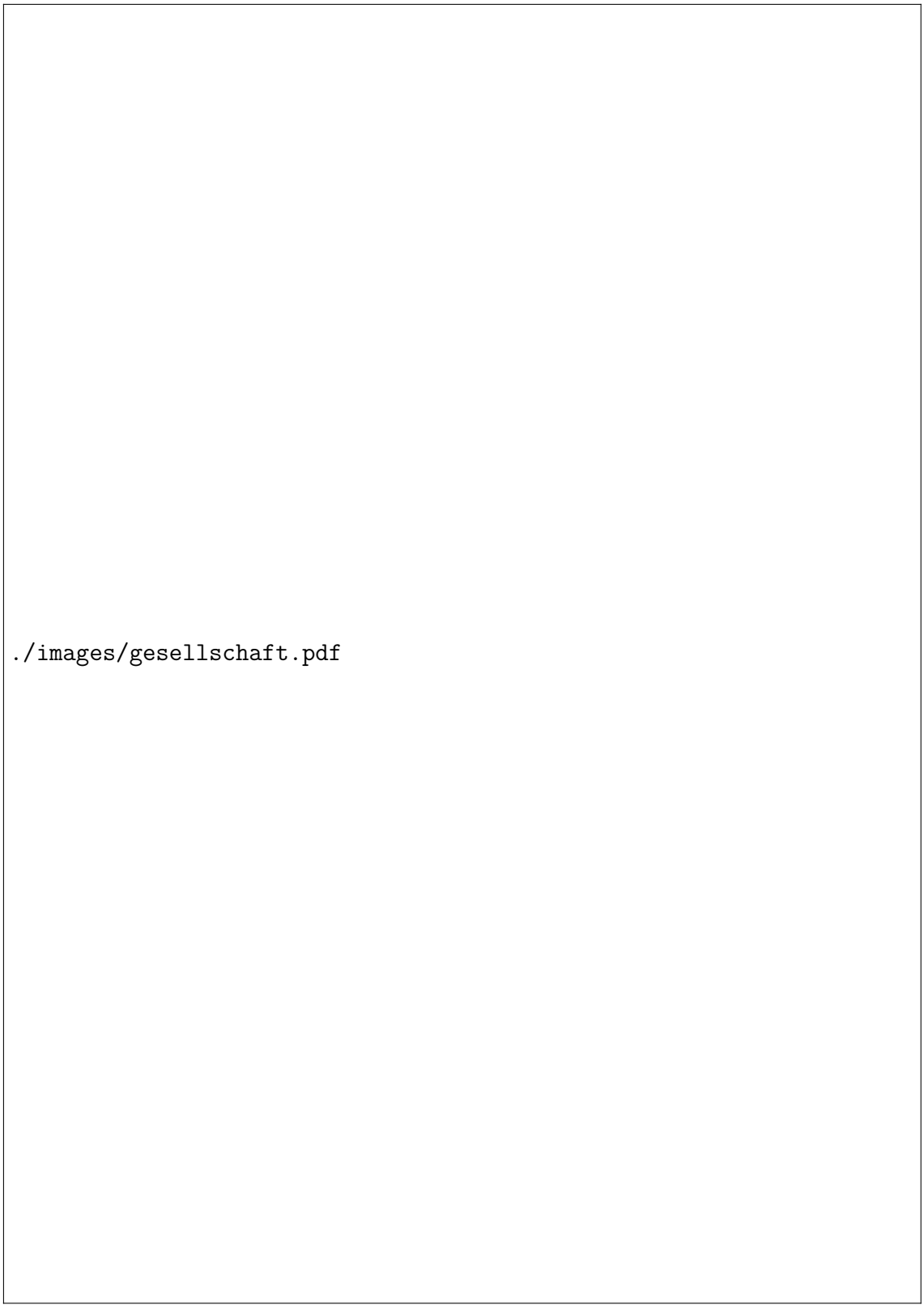

Figure A.30.: *Chronik der Gesellschaft* (SiB33, p. 110)

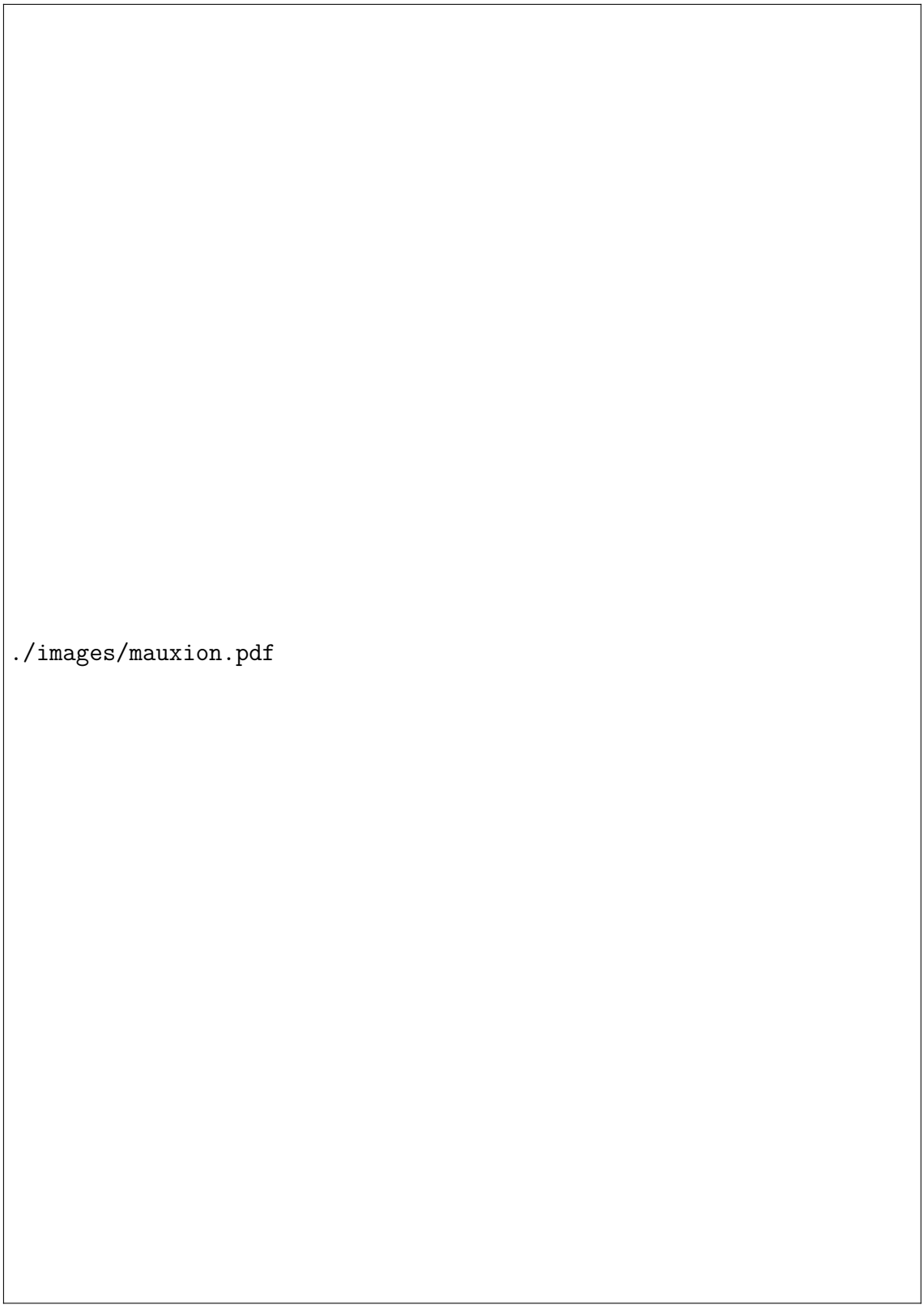

Figure A.31.: *Sport-Moden* & advertisement *Mauxion* (SiB33, p. 132)



Figure A.32.: M. Frischmann: *Der Genießer* & advertisement *Pixavon* (S32, p. 265)



Figure A.33.: L. Kainer: *Training* (S32, p. 477)

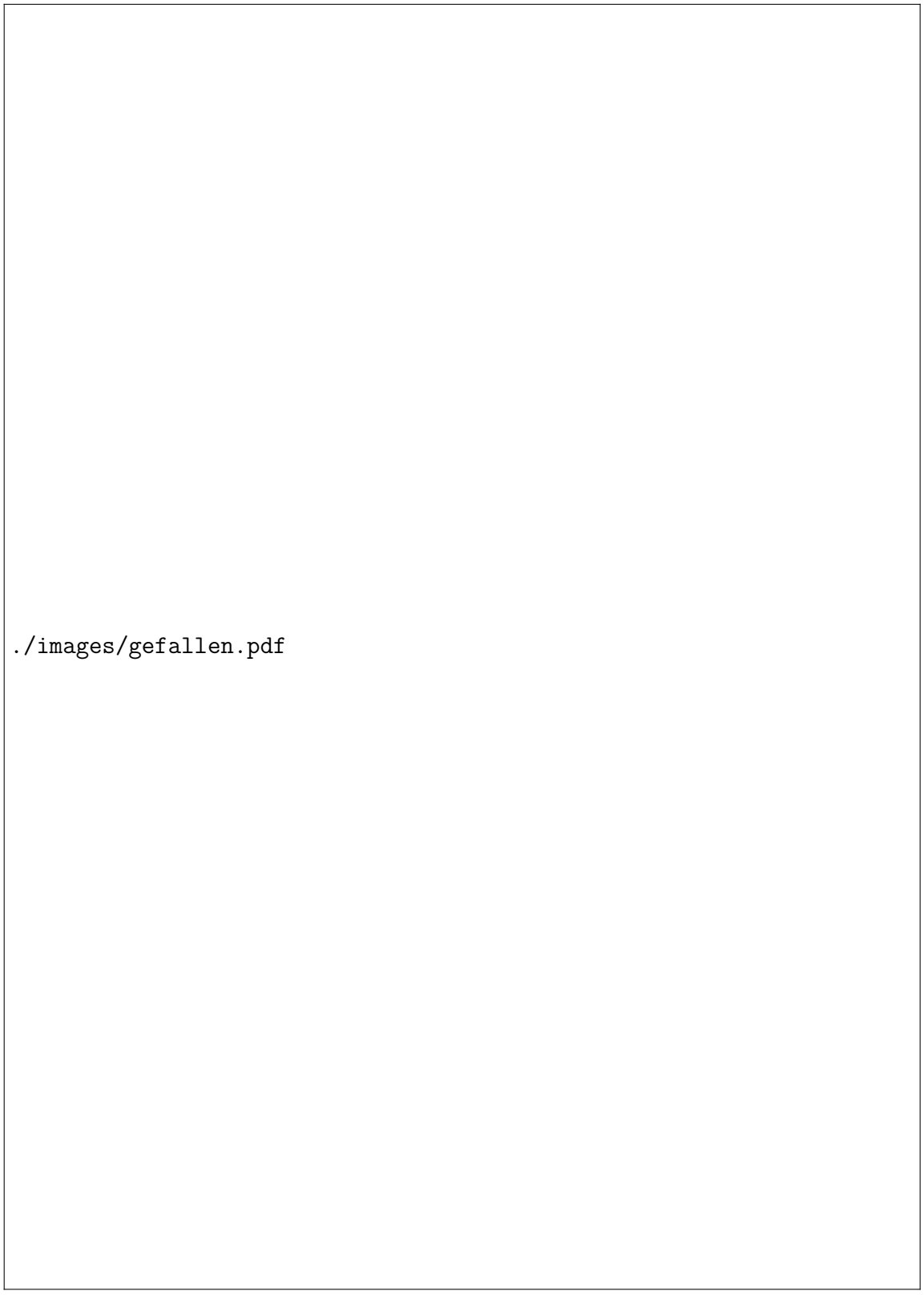

Figure A.34.: E. Thöny: *Gefallen!* (S32, p. 496)



Figure A.35.: Garves: *Zeitgemäß* (KL80, p. 244)

List of Shorthands

FH37 Emmy Besler, ed. *Fürs Haus. Praktisches Wochenblatt für alle Hausfrauen*. Vol. 37. Berlin: Deutsches Druck- und Verlagshaus, 1918–1919.

FH45 Emmy Besler, ed. *Fürs Haus. Das illustrierte Blatt der Frau*. Vol. 45. Berlin: Guido Hackebeil, 1926–1927.

GK31 Karl Heicke, ed. *Die Gartenkunst. Zeitschrift für Gartenkunst und verwandte Gebiete*. Vol. 31. Würzburg: Selbstverlag der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Gartenkunst, 1918.

GK37 Karl Heicke, ed. *Die Gartenkunst. Monatsschrift für Gartenkunst und verwandte Gebiete*. Vol. 37. Frankfurt: Verlag Gartenkunst, 1924.

GK40 Karl Heicke, ed. *Die Gartenkunst. Monatsschrift für Gartenkunst und verwandte Gebiete*. Vol. 40. Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Gartenkunst, 1927.

KL77 Rudolf Hofmann, ed. *Kladderadatsch*. Vol. 77. Berlin: A. Hofmann & Co., 1924.

KL80 Rudolf Hofmann, ed. *Kladderadatsch*. Vol. 80. Berlin: A. Hofmann & Co., 1927.

S1 Albert Langen, ed. *Simplicissimus*. Vol. 1. Paris, Leipzig, and München: Albert Langen, 1896–1897.

S11 Julius Linnekogel, ed. *Simplicissimus*. Vol. 11. München: Simplicissimus-Verlag, 1906–1907.

S19 Fritz Schweynert, ed. *Simplicissimus*. Vol. 19. München: Simplicissimus-Verlag, 1914–1915.

S23 Fritz Schweynert, ed. *Simplicissimus*. Vol. 23. München: Simplicissimus-Verlag, 1918–1919.

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