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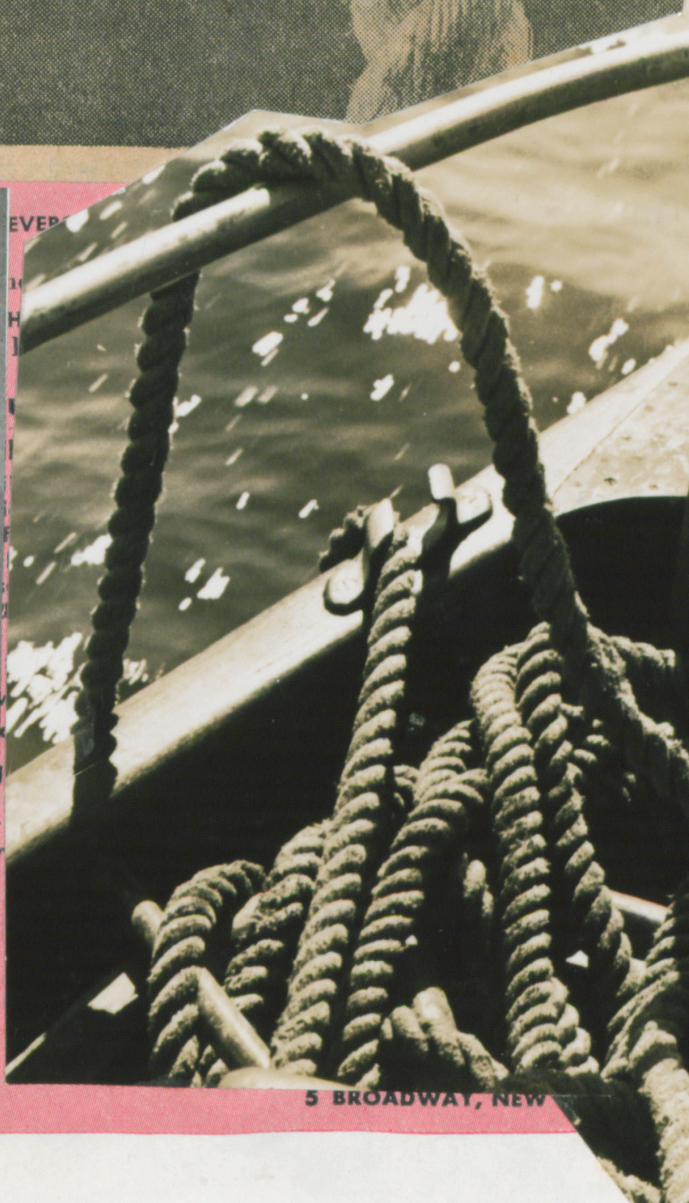
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Mustering Memory: George Grosz's Late Montages

Michael White

When George Grosz returned to Germany in May 1959, he left behind a number of things in the USA. These included not least two adult sons, a number of close friends, a teaching position and extensive professional contacts established over a quarter of a century. He also left papers, correspondence and a small group of perhaps two dozen montages that he had made shortly before his departure. In 1982, his sons donated these archival materials to Harvard University, since when they have become an invaluable resource for art historians. The montages also eventually made their way into the public sphere but in a more haphazard manner, one with a dramatic effect on the reception of the artist's work and on the perception of his relationship to the historical avant-garde. Surprisingly, understanding the significance of this until recently rather obscure and small repository of informal objects has major implications for the interpretation of the artistic practice of montage.

The profound reassessments of modernism made over the last half century, in particular of its claims to originality and radicalism, have left the category of the composite image (understood as artworks grouped under the terms collage, montage, photomontage and assemblage) surprisingly unscathed. Whether that be in accounts written from the perspective of semiotics and post-structuralism, critical theory and neo-Marxism, or information and media studies, in the case of collage, montage and assemblage, the rhetoric of invention, intervention and resistance still underpins nearly every analysis.¹ Thus, describing the 'language effect' of dada montage, Rosalind Krauss refers to a 'seamlessness' that it 'disrupts in an attempt to infiltrate reality with interpretation'.² Discord is also central to Jacques Rancière's account. He groups the practice of the surrealists with that of John Heartfield and artists such as Martha Rosler and Hans Haake, and judges their common approach to be one that 'involves organizing a clash, presenting the strangeness of the familiar in order to reveal a different order of measurement that is only uncovered by the violence of a conflict'.³ Rediscovering Krauss's 'seamlessness' in the effects of contemporary digital compositing and the production of virtual space, Lev Manovich finds it essentially at odds with montage. He describes the latter as the 'dominant aesthetic [...] throughout the twentieth century, from the avant-garde of the 1920s up until the postmodernism of the 1980s', the aims of which were 'to create visual, stylistic, semantic and emotional dissonance between different elements'.⁴

The peculiarity of Manovich's assessment of montage as both a radical challenge to the accepted visual order as well as an all-pervasive, dominant and defining aesthetic is not exceptional. The landmark exhibition *Montage and Modern Life* invoked

Detail from George Grosz, *The Musterbook: Textures, undated scrapbook [1940–58], page 23 (plate 15).*

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'the discontinuous and ruptured as the talisman of our century'.⁵ Elsewhere, Benjamin Buchloh has referred to collage-montage as a 'cultural paradigm' and even an 'episteme'.⁶ Thinking outside this paradigm, or even questioning its basic premise has been difficult. For example, echoing Krauss, Elsa Adamowicz concludes her recent analysis of Max Ernst's post-First World War photomontages by observing that: 'through a dislocated syntax and disparate juxtapositions [Ernst] perturbs the complacent belief in the transparency of language'. She then follows this with the assertion that Ernst is thus 'a visionary who creates – out of photographic and textual parts – new and liberating images', a description so uncritical it could easily have been written by the surrealists themselves.⁷

Visionary is not a characteristic easily ascribable to Grosz's late montages, although, as we shall see in a moment, similar ahistorical claims to their avant-garde credentials have been made. They are sometimes unsettling, sometimes comical, largely fragmentary and frequently created from very few components. A typical example is one that now goes under the title of *Frauenaffe im Triumph-Modell* (Female Ape in Triumph Model) (plate 1). The initial joke is easy to get. Grosz has replaced the face of a fashion model in a corset with that of a chimpanzee wearing what looks like a wig. Deploying a semiotic approach, we can note how the cuts and blank spaces present the assembled images as signs for absent referents, setting in play the

1 George Grosz, *Frauenaffe im Triumph-Modell*, 1956. Collage, 25 × 19 cm. Berlin: Akademie der Künste. © DACS.



production of meaning through difference. Beauty and the beast collide. The demure pose of the fashion model contrasts with the chimp's blasé stare. Grosz's montage brings human/animal distinctions, desire and gender to the fore, the role of the wig to accentuate a contrast between hairiness and hairlessness. From the perspective of critical theory, we could add that the questions the montage raises concerning beauty and judgement as human characteristics allow us to place it in the trajectory of avant-garde assaults on accepted aesthetic norms and the overturning of a notion of art as the route to individual self-understanding. Finally, the combination of model and chimp draws attention to the use of images in different knowledge systems, here the worlds of fashion and natural history, but also the ways that these image-worlds frequently jar on the pages of the modern magazine.

One element of *Frauenaffe im Triumph-Modell* not so easily absorbed into these standard accounts of montage's avant-gardism, though, is the signature in the lower right. That is not for the most obvious reason, namely the idea of making a prominent claim to artistic authorship in a medium based supposedly on its denial. No, the significance of the signature is because it is itself part of the montage, it is as much a reproduction and a sign as any of its other parts. The montaged signature makes this a work as much about Grosz (or even a representation of Grosz) as one by him. Furthermore, it is a version of his signature that he used only briefly just after the Second World War and is thus anachronistic to this montage.⁸ The signature inserts a temporal jump in the

‘seamlessness’ of reality far less obvious than the spatial disjuncture already mentioned. It is an important reminder that, despite the repeated rhetoric of dissonance, we need to challenge the idea of historical continuity to be found in so many histories of the composite image, expressed so clearly in Manovich’s notion of a direct trajectory from the 1920s to the 1980s. As we will see, this is especially important to address in connection to Grosz whose engagement with montage was highly sporadic and visually varied.

For example, much of the value to art history of Anke te Heesen’s important research on the clipping as a material object evaporates when she turns to Grosz as a case study and claims that ‘throughout his career as a painter, which started right before the First World War, he was also well known for his collages and montages’.⁹ This is simply untrue. A briefest look at the catalogue of Grosz’s 1954 retrospective at the Whitney Museum of American Art reveals a different story, one of an artist who had spent years asserting his credentials as a master of traditional artistic techniques. Of 120 works included in what was Grosz’s most important exhibition of his lifetime, only one contained collage elements and, where the catalogue text touches very briefly on this aspect of his career, it is only to state that ‘the typically shocking and irrational Dada spirit is rarely found in Grosz’s work’.¹⁰

Te Heesen bases her assertion on analysis of the survival in Grosz’s archive of much of the material he used for his montages: thousands of clippings still kept in the folders in which he left them. While they certainly prove that he continued to collect the materials out of which to make montages, they say nothing about his public reputation. Moreover, Te Heesen uses this collection to make further assertions that withstand little scrutiny. One is that it originates in the dada moment at the end of the First World War. Another that Grosz’s labelling of some of the folders demonstrates that his process was ‘scientific or systematic’, points which both serve an argument Te Heesen makes concerning the valence of the newspaper clipping in Weimar Germany.¹¹

In each case, Te Heesen’s desire to find continuity in Grosz’s practice overrides very straightforward inspection of the objects themselves. The overwhelming majority of the clippings in the archive post-date Grosz’s immigration to the USA in 1933. He cut a huge proportion of them from English-language sources. Equally, Grosz labelled his folders using English words, or sometimes combinations of English and German, also indicating their assembly post immigration. Some of his chosen themes were as broad as ‘TEXTURES & SURFACES & THINGS’, some as darkly comical as ‘DISASTER, RUINS, ACCIDENTS, SMASUPS [sic], FLOOD, FIRES’, hardly the most rigorously systematic approach one could imagine.¹²

Finally, Te Heesen tells us that Grosz had two collections; ‘one was of material for his art; the other dealt with his work and his person’.¹³ Indeed, the archive reveals that Grosz avidly collected published information about himself and used agencies to supply him with his press mentions, which were many. While Te Heesen insists that these two collections were distinct from one another, the printed signature in *Frauenaffe im Triumph-Modell* is already evidence that this was not always the case and we will see further examples of this later. Moreover, when we examine the archival folders for clues concerning the source of the images used in *Frauenaffe im Triumph-Modell*, we find that they reveal not ‘an idiosyncratic and rigid order’, as Te Heesen would have it, but competing orders of organization, some of which are less than deducible.¹⁴

For example, it seems that Grosz voraciously collected images of women’s underwear, for which he had distinct folders labelled ‘SHOES CORSETS BRAS Slips,

2 George Grosz, loose page from folder 1179/3 with stuck on clippings of female figures, undated. Berlin: George Grosz Archive, Akademie der Künste. © DACS.



panties, shoes, handbags, jewels' and 'CORSETS x BRAS x undies, laces, panties'.¹⁵ From these he could easily have selected the image of the model in the corset used in the montage. He dedicated other folders to heads and profiles, almost exclusively those of women, from which he might have taken the wig or styled hair sported by the *Frauenaffe*. However, in another folder we find an undated scrapbook, titled *Musterbook Woman*, in which these categories blur. In it, Grosz combined similar images drawn from advertising and mass culture with large numbers of reproductions of female nudes from various art-historical contexts. Elsewhere we find Grosz again combining lingerie adverts with reproductions of a diverse range of artworks (plate 2). Which of these approaches to image collection and organization underpins our sample montage?

Grosz's image collection habits were not stable, nor was his approach to montage singular.

Meanwhile, the only animals to which Grosz dedicated folders were birds and rats. During my investigative trawl, just one chimpanzee stood out, appearing in an untitled folder containing general art-related material. Here Grosz kept a clipping relating to Viki, an animal who shot to fame in 1951 not only for her ability to talk but also to paint.¹⁶ The fact that Viki's owners dressed her in girls' clothes makes her an interesting potential thematic source for the montage but, unlike the underwear advert, Grosz collected this item less for its image typology than for the content of the article.

There is much evidence in the archive, then, to demonstrate Grosz's long-standing engagement with the practice of montage but all of that evidence points to considerable changes in Grosz's approach over time and to the significance he accorded to it. As we shall see, numerous factors prompted those changes, such as his exile and critical reception, as well as the varied fortunes of montage itself. After 1920, Grosz remained exceptionally marginal as a montage maker. However, he used it often in private communication and, due to dada, he was regularly invoked in histories of the practice and invited to exhibit earlier works. What a close analysis of Grosz's late montages reveals is the entanglement of the theory and practice of montage over time. From this perspective we see montage used not just for innovation and the creation of new meaning but for purposes of reflection, reinstatement and recuperation, all of which scholarship has barely recognized to date.¹⁷

The Lateness of Grosz's Montages

Aside from two displayed in the memorial exhibition the Akademie der Künste organized shortly after his death, initially Grosz's late montages remained unseen. The title of a small exhibition in Chicago in 1965, *The Unknown George Grosz*, which showed a further six alongside a handful of rare drawings, reflects their obscurity.¹⁸ It took a feature article in the UK *Sunday Times Magazine* in 1973 to propel them into the spotlight. One even featured as its cover image (plate 3, plate 4 and plate 5). There, *Self Portrait as Clown and Variety Girl* (as the montage has subsequently come to be known) was accompanied by the sensationalist headline 'George Grosz in America: Published for the first time – the last pictures of one of the century's great satirists'. Slightly overstating his scoop, the art critic (and occasional surrealist) Robert Melville continued in the article inside:

Just before he [Grosz] left America, he made these photomontages, which have remained unpublished until now. They are the last brilliant testament to his failure to realise a life-long dream of becoming a good American instead of a demoralised German. The photomontage on the cover makes it clear that he at last realised that his protracted love affair with America was a kind of clowning. Against a background of New York skyscrapers, his image of himself as a *Blue Angel* hybrid ironically recaptures the spirit of Berlin in the Inflation years.¹⁹

Art historians immediately took up Melville's interpretation of the montages as Grosz's dramatic return to an avant-gardism that he had relinquished in American exile. Hans Hess was not necessarily impressed by Melville's scholarship, but in the monograph he published on Grosz the next year he essentially restated his view: 'There, in one brief moment, Grosz discovered Pop, and with great brilliance invented

a range of images which do not qualify him as a “Vorbeidada” [dada has-been], but as an “avant-gardist”.²⁰ Uwe Schneede was hot on Hess's heels, describing how,

shortly before his death Grosz went back once more to the principles of his Dada past. He created a series of grotesque collages from the pictorial material of illustrated magazines and their advertisements. In attacking the fetishization of consumer goods, he anticipated American Pop Art.²¹

The most recent restatement of this position is in Brigit McCloskey's otherwise excellent account of Grosz's exile years: 'Since 1957, he [Grosz] had returned to his Dadaist roots and begun working in the collage medium once again.'²²

Other scholars qualified the idea that Grosz made a sudden return to his avant-garde past. The first was Kay Flavell, who in her 1988 biography of Grosz challenged both Melville and Hess, commenting that the montages were 'the work of an artist



3 Cover of *The Sunday Times Magazine*, 4 November 1973, featuring George Grosz, *Self Portrait as Clown and Variety Girl*, 1957. Collection of the author. © DACS.



4 Robert Melville, 'The Bastard from Berlin', *Sunday Times Magazine*, 4 November 1973, pages 60–61, featuring (left to right): George Grosz, *The Duke of Windsor*, 1958; George Grosz, *Frankfurter Wurstchen (American Lunch)*, 1958; and George Grosz, *Bericht Marc... in seinem Atelier*, 1958. Collection of the author. © DACS.

who is still exploring ways of using art as a form of social critique', and finding in them concerns similar to works from throughout his career.²³ Almost a decade later, Birgit Möckel published her PhD dissertation on Grosz in the USA, which includes a catalogue of his American period and therein the first attempt to list the late montages systematically.²⁴ Documenting some forty works, the whereabouts of not all of which we know, Möckel made the most substantial case for the survival of the practice of montage in the artist's work post-emigration.²⁵

Möckel's research formed the basis of a 2010 exhibition at the Akademie der Künste, Berlin, *George Grosz: Korrekt und anarchisch* [George Grosz: Proper and Anarchic], which represented the artist as primarily a montage-maker. The Akademie's then president, the lawyer and political poster artist Klaus Staack, claimed that Grosz 'remained true to montage also in the USA and after the Second World War'.²⁶

This now consistent interpretation is in tension with the two sole surviving documents in which the artist commented directly on his late montages, letters written to his wife contemporaneous to their production. In the first of these, dated 14 June 1958, Grosz writes that he has just made 'around 40 montages [...] (like the elderly Matisse), not bad, I'm enjoying it [...] it is a lot of fun [...] did something like this 60 years ago. OK.'²⁷ Intriguingly, Grosz's original dada montages date from around forty years prior to those he described in his letter, not sixty, a peculiar mathematical miscalculation for a person of sixty-four to make but nevertheless, this is very different from a claim of continuity. Ten days later, Grosz mentioned the montages once more, this time as evidence of his positive state of mind: 'I'm making a lot of Montages, I'm really enjoying it. I am NOT going INTO A SANATORIUM (I'm totally alert, healthy and OK) [...] I'd happily go to the Baltic coast.'²⁸ This statement reinforces the connection made in the first letter between montage making and the artist's sense of well-being. The manner in which Grosz associated himself with the debilitated Matisse adds to the sense of chronological distance Grosz articulated but also reinforces the therapeutic



5 Robert Melville, 'The Bastard from Berlin', *Sunday Times Magazine*, 4 November 1973, pages 64–65, featuring (left to right): George Grosz, *Kochschule*, 1958; and George Grosz, *The Lighthouse and the Floating Boatsman... (A Pasted Poem)*, 1933. Collection of the author. © DACS.

potential that the artist found in the practice, as he struggled with alcoholism and bouts of inactivity at this stage in his life.

Only one author has noted Grosz's curious backdating of the start of his engagement with montage to a moment prior to dada. In a chapter on Grosz in a recent book, Will Norman uses the late montages to conclude his overall argument that Grosz's 'emigration heralded not so much a sea change in his career as a shift or reconfiguration'.²⁹ Having identified the 'curiously elliptical' nature of Grosz's statement about the origin of montage and noted how it 'uncomfortably juxtaposes a set of binaries between childhood and old age', Norman then does his best to normalize that strangeness.³⁰ Without taking a breath, he translates the childhood/old age binary onto another, juxtaposing 'Dada's revolutionary timeliness' to 'its now reified reputation', continuing in familiar terms:

The collages are self-consciously anachronistic but also oddly prophetic, anticipating by several years the development of 1960s pop art in their deployment of kitsch and pulp found images. On several levels, then, they are untimely, shuttling between childhood and old age, too late or too early to reconcile themselves to the present.³¹

Let us leave aside the fact that Grosz's late montages actually post-date the deployment of kitsch in art post-Second World War, clearly evident in events such as Eduardo Paolozzi's 'Bunk!' lecture at the ICA, London in 1952, and focus instead on the problem of timeliness. Norman continues his analysis by invoking Adorno's account of 'late style' and its resistance to aesthetic synthesis. He drops this point very quickly, though, because it is highly disruptive to the manner in which he has deployed the montages to synthesize two Groszs, German and American, into a biographical whole and to repeat the model of the avant-gardist reborn.³² Untimeliness is here a disguise

for the kind of ahistorical continuity persistently accorded to montage in histories of the avant-garde.

Adorno's celebrated essay on 'Late Style Beethoven' in fact contains some specific warnings against the kind of generative futurity Norman reads into Grosz's late montages. Late works of significant artists 'show more traces of history than of growth' is how Adorno puts it quite explicitly, then offering three correctives to the approach to such bodies of work that are useful for our analysis.³³ His overarching point is that we will not be able to account for late works by recourse to an idea of an 'uninhibited subjectivity' expressing itself freely.³⁴ We will not be able to make proper sense of Grosz's late montages by limiting them to some final outburst of his essential personality. The following are the means by which we can avoid this pitfall.

The first corrective to overemphasizing the biographical subject in late works, Adorno counsels, is attention to the works themselves. In our case, despite the significant reputation that Grosz's late montages have now attained, oddly they have hardly been described, let alone analysed. Second, Adorno directs us to consider the conventions present in late works – some of those 'traces of history' that he mentions – as a counter to the perception that late works provide evidence of only an intense singularity. We need to consider Grosz's underappreciated engagement with the development of montage throughout his time in the USA, a period when he was supposedly devoting his energies to painting and to his self-presentation as an artist in the grand European tradition. As we shall see, that includes both formal transformations in montage practice and its vigorous theorization. Finally, Adorno rejects the idea of biographical last-ness, such that the late montages might bring us nearer to the 'true' Grosz, experienced at his death. For Adorno, rather than expressing itself most directly in such late works, subjectivity is freed from the need to communicate itself at all, while, reciprocally, artistic elements are 'set free' and, in such moments, can speak for themselves.³⁵

Grosz's late montages have a highly precarious status as works of art, something that has been accorded to them, perversely, by neglecting their artistic qualities and turning them into biographical documents, as can be seen in the retrospective titling and interpretation of *Self Portrait as Clown and Variety Girl*. In order to do this, scholars such as Möckel and Te Heesen have activated many items from the archive. But in making the archive speak in this way, they have also significantly silenced it. Occluding or simply forgetting the collaborative nature of dada montage, they have suppressed debates about the very meaning of montage present in the archive, overlooking the voices and authorship of important correspondents and fellow artists.³⁶ It is now very tricky to produce an alternative story. To do so requires the recovery of those other voices to be found among the documents, including those of different Groszs. Otherwise, it is impossible to grasp the particular place of montage in his career and the complex questions that the late works pose for our accepted history of twentieth-century avant-gardism.

Reinventing Montage

Lurking among the montages Melville illustrated and described in his article as 'final comments on himself and his relations with America' was one that Grosz made not facing his impending departure from America but almost directly on his arrival twenty-five years previously. Nor was it unpublished, as Melville claimed. It had been reproduced as far back as 1948 (plate 6), having just been displayed at the Museum of Modern Art no less, in its landmark *Collage* exhibition.³⁷ The checklist identifies it as *The Lighthouse of Bornholm and the Floating Boatsman*, a slightly modified title of a work Grosz made shortly after his arrival, mentioned elsewhere in his correspondence as

The lighthouse and the floating boatsman ... (a pasted poem).³⁸ As we shall see later, the Collage exhibition was a significant moment for both the reception of montage and Grosz. First, though, we need to consider the curious fact that almost immediately on his arrival Grosz was introduced to an American audience as a montage maker despite having hardly made such a work in more than a decade.

Grosz's opportunity for immigration had been provided by the offer of a teaching position at the Art Students League in New York but it was clear from the start that he would need to supplement his income. After a brief dalliance with the satirical magazine *Americana*, he began contributing to *Vanity Fair*, whose editor, Frank Crowninshield, had taken a personal interest in him and was buying his drawings and watercolours.³⁹ Grosz's diary contains a note for 11 September 1933, 'Monday Vanity Fair 5 Montages 7 Drawings', suggesting a delivery trip to the magazine's office



Ernst's *The Chinese Nightingale*.

By Thomas B. Hess

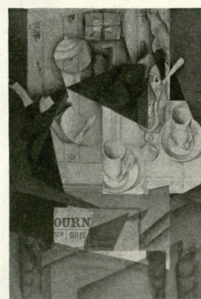
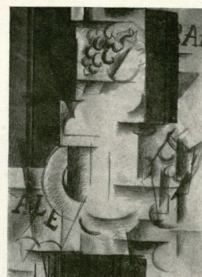
Paste mixed with paint

The Museum of Modern Art's survey of the collage technique shows how this invention of the cubists has become a popular formula for today's commercial artists

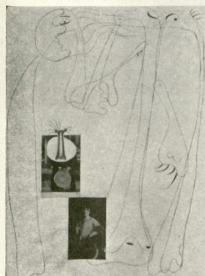
How a difficult and obscure pictorial idiom became, in a few decades, a simple, international jargon is seen in the Museum of Modern Art's almost definitive exhibition of collages—those works in which the artist mixed glue or paste as well as oil, used fragments of printed matter as well as pigment, to set his images on the flat surface. The complex motives and theories that led Braque—then working closely with Picasso—to paste strips of wallpaper on his *Fruit Bowl* of 1912 (right), and thus execute the first recorded collage, have been changed to the glib formulas that Hollywood applies to a dream sequence, the art director to his layout for a girdle advertisement and the fashion designer to a blouse that will signal *Je t'aime* among Eiffel Towers.

In this lively and scholarly exhibition, selected and installed by Miss Margaret Miller, one understands how the intellectual language of cubism became an esperanto for many mediums. On his intricate scaffolding of dissected still-life shapes, Picasso, in 1912, could paste the label of *Suze*, then a popular, gentian-flavored tonic, and could paper his forms with news clippings, some reporting a left-wing pacifist rally, others detailing atroc-

In 1912, Braque made the first known collage, *Fruit-Bowl*. It is now lost.



Gris used a section of a headline as his signature in *The Breakfast*, 1914.



Experiment in fantasy, not form, led Miró to paste photos on this drawing.

Grosz' photo-montages made in post-war Germany were nihilistic satires.



ities of the Balkan wars (p. 25, colorplate). Thus the pure, painterly still-life, inherited from Chardin and Cézanne, could, following the tendency of the period, become more and more abstract, but could also be charged with a complex mysterious subject matter. These early collages created a marvelous scheme of contradictions. Bottles and guitars were broken into crystalline patterns, yet each facet of pattern might be made of real wallpaper, posters or headlines, and offer the total illusion of naturalism. A patch of color would be, simultaneously, an arbitrary pink rectangle and the real, everyday hue of an old streetcar transfer. Forms became so abstract that they were almost illegible, but they could also be read like a book or a map. This, obviously, is a perfect way to display topography; the reading matter is pushed by the design right into the spectator's eye. Form and word become one. The commonplace—tawdry postcards in Miró's refined drawing, snatches of dull conversation in T. S. Eliot's *Prufrock* or the advertiser's product—gets a new frame of reference, is shoved into some fantastic situation and becomes, in itself, exciting—an object to be discovered. The artists and poets became junk collectors. In that fantastically inventive decade of 1915-25, the technique

6 Thomas B. Hess, 'Paste Mixed with Paint', *Art News*, volume 47, number 6, October 1948, page 25, featuring (lower centre) a reproduction of George Grosz, *The Lighthouse and the Floating Boatsman... (A Pasted Poem)*, 1933. Collection of the author. © DACS.

Finally the Moors modified their demands and, helped by some friends in France to whom I had written, I was in a position to purchase old Bark. The negotiations were wonderful. They lasted eight days and were conducted by us, seated in a circle in the sand, fifteen Moors and myself. Zin Ould Khattari, a brigand who was a friend of Bark's owner and of myself, secretly helped me.

"Sell him. You'll lose him in any case," he said to the owner, acting on my instructions. "He is ill. The disease is not immediately visible, but it is inside. The day will come when he'll swell up. Sell him at once to the French."

I had promised fifty posetas to another handi, Raggi, if he would help me to conclude the sale. Raggi told the owner:



CRIME NEVER PAYS—PHOTOMONTAGE BY GROSZ



AMERICAN LANDSCAPE—PHOTOMONTAGE BY GROSZ

"With the money you can buy camels, guns and bullets. Then you can make war on the French and bring back three or four Senegalese from Atar. Get rid of that old chap."

They sold me Bark, and I locked him up for a week in our hut, because the Moors would have stolen him, if he had wandered outside before the aeroplane arrived. He lived in quiet captivity in our hut until the hour of his departure. Twenty times a day he made us describe the easy journey. He would leave the plane at Agadir, and there he would receive a motor bus ticket for Marrakech. He must be sure not to miss the bus. Bark was playing at being a free man, as a child plays at being an explorer: this adventure into life, this motor bus, the crowds, the cities he would see...

"Come on, old Bark. Get on your way and be a man."

The aeroplane hummed, ready to start. Bark leaned out to look for the last time at the immense desolation of Cape Juby. In front of the plane two hundred Moors had gathered to see what a slave looked like on the threshold of freedom. In case there was a breakdown, they would recapture him later on.

We were waving goodbye to our new, fifty-year-old child, somewhat anxious about sending him out into the world.

"Good-bye, Bark."

"No."

"What do you mean?"

"No, I am Mohammed ben Lhaoussin."

For the last time we heard of him from the Arab Abdallah, who assisted Bark at Agadir, at our request.

The motor bus did not leave until evening: so Bark had a whole day to himself. At first he wandered so much about the little town and was so silent that Abdallah, guessing he was uneasy, was moved:

"What is wrong with you?"

"Nothing."

Not quite accustomed to this sudden holiday, Bark had not yet realized his resurrection. True, he felt a certain obscure happiness, but apart from that, there was practically no difference between the Bark of yesterday and the Bark of today. Nevertheless, henceforward he possessed, on equal terms with other men, the sun and the right to sit in the little arbor of the Arabian café. He sat down and ordered tea for Abdallah and himself. This was his first lordly gesture. His power should have transfigured it. But the waiter served the tea as a matter of course, as if it were an ordinary gesture. He did not realize that he was glorifying a free man.

"Let us go somewhere else," said Bark. They went up towards the Kasbah



DRAWING IN THE CLASSIC MANNER BY GROSZ

quarter, the red-light district of Agadir.

The little Berber prostitutes came to them. They showed such sweet tenderness that Bark believed he would come to life again. Without knowing it, they would welcome him back to life. Taking his hand they offered him tea and love, as they would to any other. Full of his message, Bark wanted to tell of his resurrection. They laughed softly. They were glad because he was glad. To impress them he said: "I am Mohammed ben Lhaoussin." But this hardly surprised them. All men have names and many come from far places. But they could see that this one had suffered, and to the best of their ability they were nice to this poor devil of a black. He enjoyed this softness, the first gift which life was offering him, but his uneasiness was not allayed. He could not find his Empire.

He dragged Abdallah back towards the town. He wandered in front of the Jewish stalls, looked at the sea, and remembered that he could go wherever he liked, that he was free. . . . But his freedom seemed bitter; it made him realize acutely to what extent he had lost contact with the world.

A child passed, and Bark gently caressed its cheek. The child smiled. This was not flattery a master's child. This was a helpless child to whom Bark was giving a caress—a child that smiled. This child awakened Bark and Bark realized he was more important upon earth because a helpless child had smiled because of him. He remembered something and began to walk rapidly.

"What are you looking for?" Abdallah asked.

"Nothing," Bark replied.

But when he turned a corner and came upon a group of children playing, he stopped. This was what he was looking for. He watched them (Continued on page 69)



George Grosz
German satirist

At the age of forty, George Grosz is probably the most widely known living German artist. His fame is the result of a variety of causes: an extraordinary fecundity and energy; a devastating satirical gift; twenty-one illustrated books and thirteen portfolios; frequent exhibits in the world's principal capitals; a distinguished career as a teacher (most recently, at the New York Art Students' League); a supremacy in water color and the fashioning of the new art of photo-

montage. Since Forain, there has been, in the art of Europe, no more bitter or ironic spirit. But the ever recurring note of cruelty in his cartoons is only a weapon with which he combats political wrongs and social evils, for Grosz is a trenchant and crusading moralist. A frequent contributor to *Vanity Fair*, he is about to launch an ambitious art school of his own in New York. On the opposite page is shown a drawing in his more classical manner. Also two of his recent photomontages.

7 Uncredited author, 'George Grosz: German Satirist', *Vanity Fair*, November 1933, pages 34–35. London: British Library. © DACS.

on Lexington Avenue.⁴⁰ Two months later, *Vanity Fair* featured an article on 'George Grosz: German Satirist', illustrated by a drawing of a nude in three-quarter pose and two montages, titled *American Landscape* and *Crime Never Pays* (plate 7).⁴¹ A short text accompanying the illustrations set Grosz up in avant-garde terms, celebrating his 'fecundity and energy', his 'devastating satirical gift' and innovatory role in 'fathoming the new art of photomontage'.⁴²

Crime Never Pays is now in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC where it has the more expansive title, *The Case of the Iron Club or Crime Does't Pay [sic]* (plate 8).⁴³ At an unknown later date, Grosz made additions to *American Landscape* and gave it a new title, *Keep Smiling*.⁴⁴ It is now also in a museum collection, the Institut Valencià d'Art Modern (IVAM). *The lighthouse and the floating boatsman . . . (a pasted poem)* has recently resurfaced in a private collection, while the current whereabouts of the other two montages are unknown.⁴⁵ In 1936 Grosz sent *Esquire* magazine two of what he described to the editor as his 'weird and sinister photomontages', inviting him to take a gamble on a 'forgotten' practice that could 'add quite some new sensation' to his magazine.⁴⁶ Forgotten by whom, however, is not made clear in Grosz's letter.

As *Esquire* published neither work, we do not know if the montages Grosz sent were any of those made originally for *Vanity Fair*. 'Weird and sinister' aspects are certainly present in the three that are known. *American Landscape* includes a bound corpse at lower left, which Grosz combined with many motifs drawn from the exoticist European view of America, including a bathing beauty and Native American, surrounded by fashion accessories and commodities, all set against a backdrop of stock prices. There are still noticeable traces of the Querschnitt (cross-section) big city format of Grosz and Heartfield's dada montages here, primarily

8 George Grosz, *The Case of the Iron Club or Crime Does't Pay*, 1932. Collage over graphite with red ink on heavy wove paper sheet, 53.66 × 43.82 cm. Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art. © DACS.



the spreading of fragments across a surface and the sense of a 'landscape' no longer involving a view to a horizon rather than the piling up of urban experiences in one spot. In comparison to the works Grosz made jointly with Heartfield in 1919–20, though, there is a notable absence of text: no clippings of phrases and slogans that were such a feature of dada works. If the montage provides any kind of commentary, it is to be found in the constant linking and displacement of eyes with mouths, which join visual pleasure to consumption, such as the eyes glued to the behind of the model with her back to us upper centre.

Some of the same qualities are in evidence in the two other known montages of this moment, although all three are quite different in format. *The lighthouse and the floating boatsman ...* (a pasted poem) features many ripped and torn elements, primarily parts of cloud and sea pasted over a large photographic image of the titular lighthouse. The motif has a connection to a drawing Grosz made around 1915, *The Tower of Love*, which shows a lighthouse keeper lustfully gazing at a naked female corpse. In the case of the later montage, the erotic element is displaced from the hovering figure at lower centre (who may be dreaming as much as floating in the sea) to the leering moon

at upper right, which appears to be constructed of a mouth over some buttocks – smiling and mooning simultaneously.

The Case of the Iron Club or Crime Does't Pay has a far simpler compositional structure that belies its own ambiguities and disguised eroticism. On one hand, the club, handcuffs, fingerprint and prison bars all speak directly of crime detection and punishment. There is less certainty, though, in how to read the partial face with singular eye that dominates the upper left of the composition. Is this a criminal into whose head we peer to see thoughts of the crime committed with the club? Or, is this a sadistic prison guard who wields the club in punishment? A fragment of what could be an elbow or knee inside this figure's head can also be read as buttocks. They are bared and ready to be beaten by the very phallic club of the title of the work.

The elusive, ambiguous and erotic aspects of Grosz's first American montages can be accounted for in a number of ways. Their lack of explicit textual elements might have been due to Grosz's desire to avoid the risk of specific political messages, given his precarious position as a new immigrant, having just escaped Nazi Germany for the USA with his young family, with no possibility of return. Post-dada, the 'new art of photomontage' Grosz was credited with 'fathering' had been repurposed in Europe for commercial advertising and explicit political propaganda. Finally, and partially in response to its propagandist uses, the first attempts had been made to account for photomontage and collage practices artistically and theoretically. Grosz had been specifically invoked in this regard in Franz Roh's landmark publication of 1925, *Nach-Expressionismus* [Post-Expressionism], as the progenitor of the *Fotoklebebild* [Photo-glue-picture], in which Roh found the essential combination of the varied characteristics of contemporary art: 'extreme fantasy with extreme sobriety, the freest composition with imitation of reality, Cubist faceting with pure reproduction'.⁴⁷

The nascent dialectical account of photomontage initiated by Roh received its most significant elaboration five years later in Louis Aragon's catalogue introduction to an exhibition of mainly surrealist works at the Galerie Goemans, Paris, titled 'La peinture au défi' [In Defiance of Painting]. There are many remarkable aspects of this essay but perhaps the one most fundamental for all subsequent accounts is his argument that collage was not synonymous with cubist *papiers collés* [glued papers]. The practice ought not to be reduced to the mere act of cutting and pasting. As he put it, 'the use of glue is but one of the characteristics of this operation, and not even an essential one'.⁴⁸ There were two contrasting aspects to the 'glued element', according to Aragon, one related to form, as part of a representational function, and one to material. Aragon identified the latter with a very different set of practices to those we would normally consider collage, namely Marcel Duchamp's ready-mades and Francis Picabia's anti-art works.⁴⁹ For Aragon, the lesson of collage had less to do with technique than a complex relationship to the history of art, specifically the dialectical negation and surpassing of painting.⁵⁰ At the furthest pole from the artistic concerns of cubist *papiers collés* Aragon placed the varied practices of Max Ernst, notably his photomontages, which Aragon referred to as 'photographic collage' [*le collage photographique*].⁵¹

Since the early twentieth century, confusion has abounded as to appropriate use of the terms collage and montage, which have different valences in different languages and territories. I have followed Grosz's own nomenclature for the purpose of this article. The most crucial thing to understand at this juncture, though, is the emergent connection between these terms and a theory of the avant-garde itself. One year after Aragon's intervention, at the inauguration of an exhibition dedicated to photomontage in Berlin, Raoul Hausmann mounted a similar defence of montage practices but from the opposite end of the spectrum. Where Aragon's starting position was to distinguish

collage from conventional art making, cubism in particular, Hausmann began from the position of the non-artistic, opening his address by acknowledging that 'photomontage is only possible in two forms, political or commercial'.⁵² However, he then went on to describe its artistic potential by focusing on the 'structural and spatial oppositions it afforded', which enabled 'the most forceful elaboration of the dialectic of forms'.⁵³

It was in connection with the work of Grosz's former collaborator, John Heartfield, that the emergent dialectical theory of photomontage was worked out in the most thoroughgoing way, though. Since 1930, Heartfield had been regularly contributing political photomontages to the *Arbeiter-Illustrierte-Zeitung* [Workers' Illustrated Newspaper]. In 1935, he exhibited around 150 of these at the *Maison de la Culture* in Paris. Louis Aragon revised the argument of his earlier essay to become a deep meditation on Heartfield. In it, he made absolutely clear the artist's political intent, while at the same time asserting the aesthetic value of his works, repeating over and over the phrase 'John Heartfield today knows how to greet beauty'.⁵⁴ For Aragon, arguing dialectically, it was precisely because they embodied 'the cry of the masses' that Heartfield's photomontages conveyed 'the beauty of our time'.⁵⁵

The poster for Heartfield's Paris exhibition had simply advertised it as a show of 'topical political and satirical photomontages'. Aragon, however, reinforced Heartfield's artistic credentials with his claim that visitors would rediscover in it 'not just the legacy of Dada, but the whole of painting through the centuries', bringing his dialectical model into relation with a concept of historical memory.⁵⁶ Invoking both Max Ernst and Grosz as forerunners to photomontage practice of the day, Aragon dismissed the former as stuck in the past and commented caustically on the latter: 'We know what will become of Grosz.' Instead he proposed to focus intently 'on the destiny of John Heartfield' and on his exhibition, 'where there are things of which we can dream, and before which we can clench our fists'.⁵⁷

The dialectics at play in Aragon's essay, constantly reversing the poles of art and anti-art, dream and reality, escapism and activism, were further developed a short time later in Sergei Tretjakow's 1936 essay on Heartfield, celebrated for its definition that 'photomontage begins where a conscious transformation of the actual content of photographs takes place'.⁵⁸ Here the distinction that Aragon had first drawn between dada and surrealist anti-art practices and cubist *papiers collés* reached its apogee. Tretjakow brought collage/montage specifically into relation with the ambivalence of the photographic image and positioned it as a critical practice. For the kind of transformatory operation to take place that Tretjakow claims for Heartfield's photomontages, its photographic components must be more than one thing at a time. They must be both stable signifiers of reality and, simultaneously, shifting, shift-able ciphers for that reality's constructed-ness. In the terms established by Tretjakow, not every cut and pasted assemblage of photographs qualifies as photomontage. However, while art historians have readily translated this concept of montage as a critical practice onto Grosz's late works, they have not considered either his awareness of these debates or his own varied uses of the practice during this period.

Montage as Stimulus

Despite their increasingly diverging political positions, Grosz remained in contact with Heartfield from afar after his immigration and actively tried to promote his work in the USA. Writing to his old friend in 1938 about these prospects, Grosz commented pessimistically, though: 'I tried to interest the people at *Esquire* in photomontage, in regards to your really good work – but they declined. They are mainly realists and only value pure photography'.⁵⁹ This chimes with Sally Stein's comprehensive analysis of the limited use of photomontage in American publications in the interwar period.⁶⁰ It was

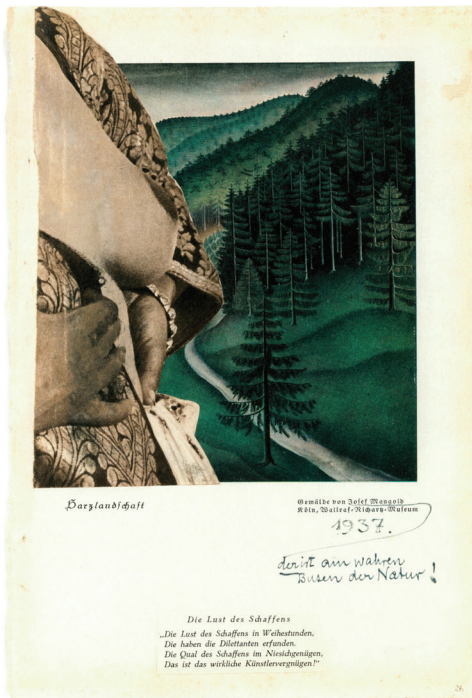
in a gallery rather than magazine context, then, that Heartfield was introduced to an American audience, at a solo exhibition at the A. C. A. Gallery on Madison Avenue in 1938. At the opening, the German exiled philosopher Günther Anders gave a full-blown avant-gardist defence of photomontage along the lines now established: the ‘artistic medium’ he claimed ‘is founded on the principle of dialectical contradiction’.⁶¹ Defending Heartfield’s brand of photomontage against its use by fascist regimes, he found such propagandistic imagery precisely lacking in contradiction. Anders’ powerful summary was that ‘Photomontage is there to expose and not to celebrate’.⁶² Critics, however, found the idea that there could be an artistic aspect to photomontage hard to grasp. The *New York Times* critic described Heartfield’s works as ‘social documents rather than art’.⁶³

While the mobilization of America for World War Two did give new opportunities for montage – the Museum of Modern Art’s ‘Road to Victory’ exhibition, designed by Edward Steichen and Herbert Bayer was notable in its use of large photomontage murals, for example – Grosz still held out little hope for its broader take-up. In a 1943 letter to his friend, the art collector Rebecca Reis, concerning an exhibition on collage, Grosz mentioned sending the five *Vanity Fair* montages, but noted the lack of interest on the part of American magazines that he had experienced. ‘You know they don’t like (in general) the slightly “irrationalistic” touch’, he complained, which meant that, ‘Since 1932 I haven’t [sic] done anything in that line’.⁶⁴ However, Grosz had also just described his earlier dada works to Reis in the very same letter in different terms: ‘I used it around 1919 for a rather very rationalistic-political purpose.’ Grosz also described to her how he had “played” with it too [...] I mean “free fancy” it’s a lot of fun [sic]. Some even use it as a stimulant if there are no other “ideas” around [...] it is almost inexhaustible what one can do with pasting together’.⁶⁵ There were, then, at least three ways at this historical moment that Grosz was able to describe the practice of montage: rationalist-political, irrationalist and playful stimulant, suggesting that his own use of it had followed in that order chronologically. He links them only by the view that ‘Those things I did were never “astehtike” [sic]’, affirming an anti-art stance, in Aragon’s terms.⁶⁶

Earlier we considered the surviving source material for Grosz’s montage making, almost fifty folders of clippings from newspapers and magazines, some organized

9 Sheet 63 (verso) of untitled collage book compiled by Amrey and Herbert Fiedler, undated [1938]. Berlin: George Grosz Archive, Akademie der Künste (cat. no. 1152).





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Volhagen & Klasings Monats-Hefte, 26 x 17 cm
Mai 1937, der ist am wahren Busen der Natur ...
AKR, Berlin, GGA 1192.36
September 1937, Ausstellungseröffnung ...
AKR, Berlin, GGA 1192.7

10 Montages from collage books compiled by Amrey and Herbert Fiedler, undated [1938]. Berlin: George Grosz Archive, Akademie der Künste (cat. Nos 1151 and 1152). As illustrated in Birgit Möckel, ed., George Grosz Montiert, Berlin, 2010, pages 76–77. © Sabine Frank-Fiedler.

thematically reflecting the artist's interests and the topics of many of his paintings and drawings. Many of the early clippings are from newspapers, a diverse range of New York publications: Daily News, New York American, New York Evening Journal, New York Herald Tribune, New York Journal, New York Times and New York World-Telegram. As the years go on, the number of titles increases to include weeklies, supplements and magazines, often with colour photographs: American Weekly, Harper's Bazaar, Ladies Home Journal, Life, New Yorker, Sunday News and Woman's Day.

In his 1946 autobiography, Grosz gave a vivid account of his clippings collection but noted its origin in yet another use for magazine clippings than those just listed, as a resource for his work as an illustrator.

I clipped everything that I thought could ever come in handy and put it in a 'morgue', as the press people call it [...] folders and cardboard boxes filled quickly with clippings: costumes, operations, ships, animals, soldiers, floods, kitchen tables, faces, exotic trees, foreign landscapes, magnified materials, folds in wind, fluttering flags, flowers, beetles. A whole morphology and a chaotic world of shapes got heaped in my morgue.⁶⁷

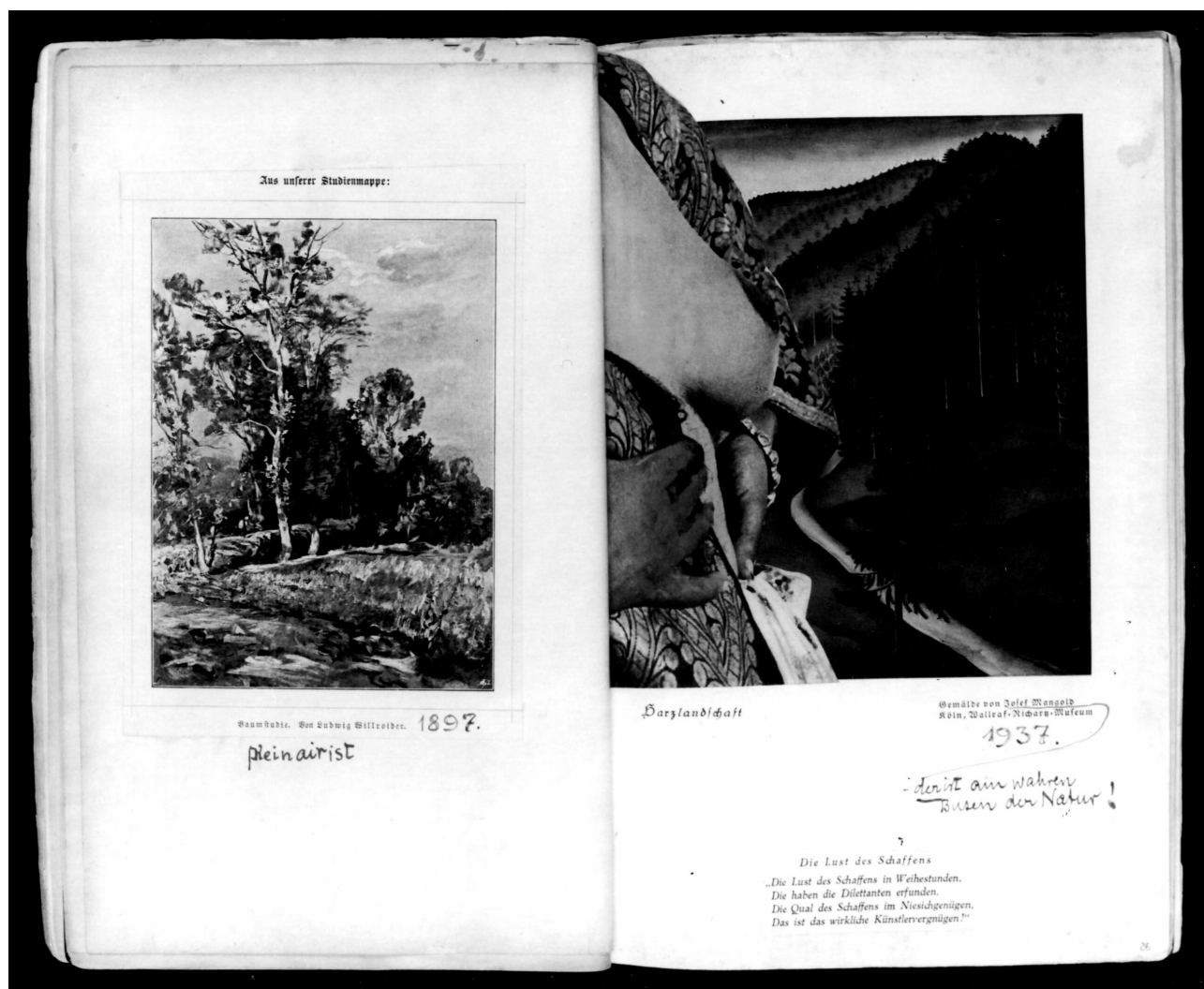
Throughout his career, Grosz was a compulsive sketcher. He inherited the practice of always carrying a small sketchbook with him from Emil Orlik, his teacher at the *Unterrichtsanstalt des Kunstgewerbesmuseum* in Berlin, and passed it on to his own students. That he also used photographs and reproductions as source material awaits proper analysis. The sheer volume and repetitive nature of the material indicates something beyond Grosz's need to supplement his sketching, though. It could well have functioned as a stimulus, as he suggested to Reis.

Someone for whom clipping and pasting performed exactly such a role was Grosz's old friend and regular correspondent Herbert Fiedler.⁶⁸ Fiedler left Germany at a similar moment to Grosz, moving to the Netherlands, and their extensive correspondence is increasingly marked by reflections on the transformation of their respective migrations into exile. While Grosz kept Fiedler alert to developments in the American art world, Fiedler was an incredibly important source of information for Grosz about the European (and specifically German) context. Writing to Fiedler in March 1938, Grosz noted the recent arrival of some very unusual items:

[...] your glued-together cross-section books [zusammengeklebten Querschnittbücher] are always welcome and are looked at with great pleasure and fun [...] lots of material that we hardly know about here [...] I'm always thankful for it [...] you must have taken lots of old magazines with you. It's so informative to look backwards in time every now and then [...] how often there in embryo was what today is presented as new German and with Nazi stamped on it.⁶⁹

Letters in May, July and December 1938 record the arrival of further instalments of these objects containing what Grosz called 'this awful-wonderful material'.⁷⁰ Awful was the Nazi art they contained, wonderful Fiedler's transformations of it and

11 Sheets 25 (verso) and 26 (recto) of untitled collage book [Malerei, Dichtkunst & Kritik: Einst und Heute] compiled by Amrey and Herbert Fiedler, undated [1938]. Berlin: George Grosz Archive, Akademie der Künste (cat. no. 1151). Photographed in 2006. © Sabine Frank-Fiedler.



some of the nineteenth-century illustration that accompanied it: 'I really like the old woodcut illustrations, these pages where always there's a portrayal of romantic animal adventures. The page with the lion leaping in the air, brilliant.'⁷¹

This comment by Grosz identifies the *Querschnittbuch* he referred to as item number 1152 in the George Grosz archive at the Akademie der Künste, catalogued until recently as 'Unbekannt: Collagebuch [in Velhagen & Klasings Monatshefte, Sept 1937]', a page of which contains just such an illustration (plate 9). There are five such objects in the archive. There is little doubt from the commentary on them in Grosz's letters and from comparison to many similar items in Fiedler's archives and to Herbert and Amrey Fiedler's handwriting that the Fiedlers sent these extraordinary objects to Grosz.⁷² As the archive listing notes, these are collage books, made by interweaving and rebinding old and recent copies of the German art magazine *Velhagen & Klasings Monatshefte*. They need to be understood as whole objects.⁷³

Unfortunately, in the zeal to support the argument that Grosz 'remained true to montage', some individual pages of the *Querschnittbücher* were presented as works by Grosz in the context of the Akademie's 2010 *George Grosz: Korrekt und anarchisch* exhibition. An example is the recto of sheet 26 of 1151, which features a landscape painting of the Harz Mountains by Josef Mangold (an artist of the *Neue Sachlichkeit* and member of the *Rheinischen Sezession*), onto which a women's breast has been montaged. Below it has been pasted a witty verse of a poem on the 'Pleasure of Creation' and a handwritten joke comment, 'der ist am wahren Busen der Natur', translating literally as 'he is really at nature's bosom' and meaning idiomatically 'he is at the heart of nature'. The page is reproduced in the exhibition's accompanying publication opposite one from another

of the books (the recto of sheet 7 from 1152), featuring a montage of Hitler and other men admiring a sculpture of a young girl, to which it has obvious thematic connections (plate 10). This ties the montage into a critique of approved Nazi art, for which Mangold was an interesting example as an artist who was connected with avant-garde circles but anodyne enough to avoid sanction.

In its original context, though, the recto of sheet 26 comes at the end of a sequence of landscape images, all with marginal comments (plate 11) beginning three pages earlier with a Caspar David Friedrich landscape (labelled 'Romantiker'), followed by an 1870's Adolf Schweitzer landscape (labelled 'Idylliker') and a Ludwig Willroder painting opposite (labelled 'Plenairist'). What has been effaced in the process is precisely the comparisons of older and recent German art that prompted Grosz's comment that it was possible to see Nazi-approved art 'in embryo' in nineteenth-century forerunners. While certainly critical of Nazism, the montage is actually part of a deeper meditation on its origins in German culture.

The extraction of montages from the Fiedlers' *Querschnittbücher* disguised the interactive, social and collaborative nature of montage making and its use in forms of personal networking and private communication. Most significantly, though, it obscured

12 *Die Hochzeitsreise ins Unreine*, sheet 8 (verso) from untitled collage book compiled by Amrey and Herbert Fiedler, undated [1938]. Berlin: George Grosz Archive, Akademie der Künste (cat. no. 1152). © Sabine Frank-Fiedler.





13 Illustration of Ferdinand Georg Waldmüller, *Die entblätterte Rose*, 1839, sheet 9 (recto) from untitled collage book compiled by Amrey and Herbert Fiedler, undated [1938]. Berlin: George Grosz Archive, Akademie der Künste (cat. no. 1152).

an important use of montage to bring together images not just to make spatial comparison (as Hausmann articulated, for example) but temporal as well, another good example of which is the montage on the verso of sheet 8 from 1152. Titled *Die Hochzeitsreise ins Unreine* [The Honeymoon Journey into Impurity], it features an erotic image with prurient and scandalized onlookers (plate 12). Presented as an individual sheet, it is impossible to see how it was originally specifically positioned across a double page to resonate with the recto of sheet 9, which features an illustration of a nineteenth-century painting by Ferdinand Georg Waldmüller, *Die entblätterte Rose* [The Rose with Picked Petals] (plate 13). The polite reference to deflowering in this painting is the embryo from which the less subtle gender politics of the montage have emerged.⁷⁴

The *Querschnittbücher* are not the only things from the Fiedlers to survive in Grosz's papers. There are also two homespun cuttings albums, dedicated by Herbert Fiedler to Grosz, one of which is dated 1935.⁷⁵ Each is titled 'Textures' and features a huge array of illustrations stuck into existing books, one of medieval images, the other East Asian. Fiedler made a number of such objects for himself, assembled as if to produce his own art history, but the most significant thing for this essay is their titles and their connection to another curious item in the Grosz archive in Berlin, a collage book called *The*

Musterbook: Textures.⁷⁶ 'Textures' in this context suggests something like a collection of interrelated images, following the French figurative meaning of the term relating to underlying structure. 'Musterbook' is potentially an interesting mistranslation, though.

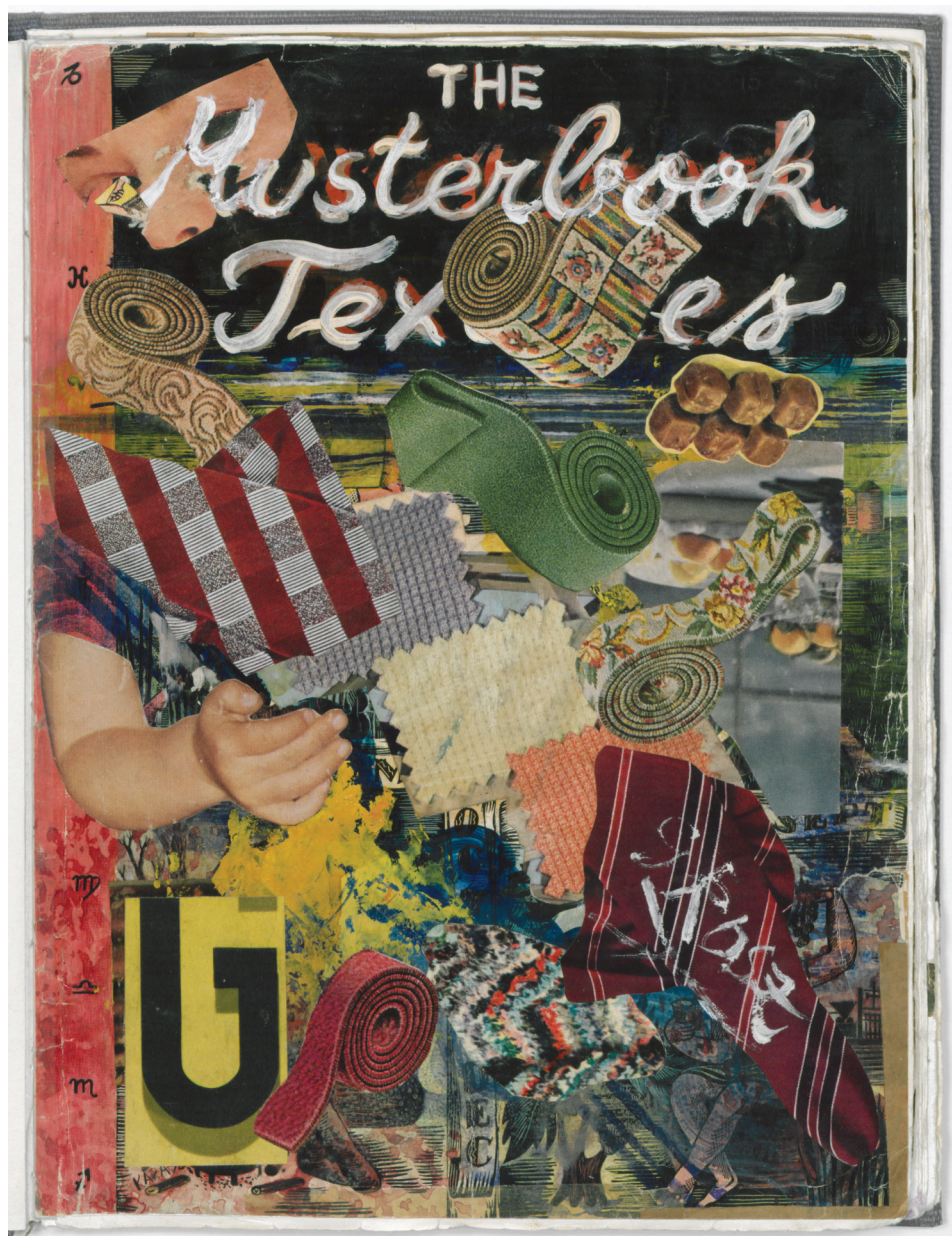
Montaging Temporality

The first American publication on Grosz was an instalment of a short-lived Chicago chapbook series called *Musterbook*.⁷⁷ In English, a *musterbook* is a register of troops. However, to Grosz, it must have sounded like the German *Musterbuch*, a sample book of fabrics or suchlike. Grosz's cover montage, with its carpet rolls and swatches certainly corresponds to that idea (plate 14). Some pages of *The Musterbook: Textures* are quite literally about texture (plate 15) and connect to Grosz's teaching practice, notes on which demonstrate how he encouraged his pupils not to 'copy textures exactly, but acquire the ability to clearly express their differences. Study wire, net, hair, wool, linen, velvet, wood, stone, flesh, cloth, etc.', sounding if anything more Bauhaus than dada, but also a reminder of his own education in a design school as well as a fine art academy.⁷⁸ Other pages of *The Musterbook: Textures* reveal traces of the 'morgue', pages given over to the collection of images of particular objects, such as certain items of clothing, interior furnishings, food and drink (plate 16). Others contain odd temporal juxtapositions, which do not have the political bite of the Fiedlers but raise interesting questions about Grosz's changing attitude to montage. For example, one double page spread towards the end of *The Musterbook: Textures* features a series of clippings of fur coats (plate 17). They might have been collected by Grosz to serve a number of purposes, the two most obvious being visual source material for his drawings and the comparative textures of

14 Cover of George Grosz, *The Musterbook: Textures*, undated scrapbook [1940–58]. Berlin: George Grosz Archive, Akademie der Künste. © DACS.

15 George Grosz, *The Musterbook: Textures*, undated scrapbook [1940–58], page 23. Berlin: George Grosz Archive, Akademie der Künste. © DACS.

16 George Grosz, *The Musterbook: Textures*, undated scrapbook [1940–58], page 33. Berlin: George Grosz Archive, Akademie der Künste. © DACS.



furs. Grosz labelled several of them: 'Persian Lamb'; 'brown sealskin'; 'cape of sables'; and 'skunk'. He also dated two of them 1936, which gives us a problem to consider.

Dating *The Musterbook: Textures* is a challenge. Möckel has offered 1940–58 on the basis, I assume, that Grosz used a January 1941 issue of the *New Yorker* magazine into which to glue his clippings.⁷⁹ Grosz then further bound this magazine-cum-scrapbook into the cover of a 1946 book on Renoir drawings by John Rewald.⁸⁰ Many of the clippings are colour and appear to date from after the Second World War. Some of the pages include other handwritten dates from the 1950s and bear a strong resemblance to the montages of 1958. None of this explains why Grosz identified these furs as 1936, though, which pre-dates all of the above. The 'morgue' was supposedly a visual library for his commercial illustration. The 1936 dating demonstrates that Grosz was also collecting outdated images, making their usefulness for work supposedly involving the representation of the contemporary scene questionable. If, however, Grosz's interest was not in the fashions themselves but simply in the textures of the furs, then he had





17 George Grosz, *The Musterbook: Textures*, undated scrapbook [1940–58], page 48. Berlin: George Grosz Archive, Akademie der Künste. © DACS.

no need to add dates. Furthermore, neither of these uses explains Grosz's interference with the images, his additions of comical faces to a number of the models, making them older or changing their gender. The most remarkable transformation is the attachment of a bull's head to the figure in the sealskin coat. Coupled with the date 1936, this cannot but prompt thoughts of the surrealist obsession with the image of the Minotaur at precisely this time and of Picasso's *Vollard Suite*. Could its joking Picasso-esque appearance have further significance?

Fiedler used montage to comment satirically on the German art world. In return, Grosz relayed events in New York to him, in particular his struggle for recognition in the face of institutional preference for the Parisian avant-garde. The artist who concerned them both most of all, though, was Picasso, nicknamed 'Pipencasso' in their letters (a joke on the German word for a debt collector, *inkasso*), of whom Grosz was begrudgingly admiring. Fiedler was likewise fascinated and in his surviving papers in Amsterdam is a large scrapbook of cuttings about Picasso, some serious, some satirical. Right in the middle of it is a feature article on the booming gallery scene of Manhattan's 57th Street, pulled out of an unidentified English-language magazine. Mention of the recent death of Alfred Stieglitz dates the insert to 1946, and much of its content concerns the movement of European art dealing to America during the war. Yet, despite the decline of Paris as the art market's centre, the article notes that 'in modern art the great French primacy still exists'. A slip of typed text stuck on its front reads 'this gives you an overview of 57 Street and its various galleries [...] mine is Associated American Artists/As you see here as well: Pipencasso "rules supreme"'.⁸¹ This identifies the sender as Grosz and there are many further comments of that ilk throughout the pull-out in Grosz's hand. At its heart are a couple of extraordinary pastiches of Picasso, one an overpainted cubist still-life/self-portrait with a flipbook cover, the other a transformation of a sleeping nude into a Picasso-esque figure (plate 18).

If Picasso's current success in the American art market sharpened Grosz's attention to him, the marginal comment next to the sleeping nude, 'Corregiert von Pipencasso II' ['Corrected by Pipencasso II'], is a startling recollection of an earlier moment of rivalry, namely Grosz and Heartfield's 'Corrected Picasso', illustrated in the catalogue of the 1920 *Erste Internationale Dada-Messe* (plate 19). That earlier gesture has been widely interpreted as an attack on the idea of autonomous art. The reappearance of the term 'corrected' in Grosz's later Picasso pastiche is more complex to interpret. Here Grosz poses as a successor to Picasso, the invented character Pipencasso II, 'correcting' an image produced by someone who could be seen as an unwitting forerunner. Albert Sterner, whose 'Nude Asleep' Grosz overdrew, was a European artist who immigrated to the USA before Grosz, had some limited success as an illustrator and taught as well at the Art Students League. Grosz added further text to the drawing, signing it 'Picasso 1937', a hugely resonant date, the year of both the Nazi's *Entartete Kunst* exhibition in Munich, where Grosz was exhibited as a 'degenerate' artist, and the Paris World's Fair, where Picasso's *Guernica* was first shown. No other date could mark so powerfully the alternative directions of their careers.

The levels of meaning at work here, along with strategies of imitation, citation and adaptation, invoke various temporalities. We are looking at a cutting from a 1937 newspaper with an illustration by Sterner that Grosz retrieved after his colleague's death in 1946 and transformed into a pastiche of Picasso. Grosz then inserted it in a series of other pastiches related to the artist's contemporary currency in the art market but backdated it to 1937. He then further annotated his pseudo-Picasso with a comment that refers the whole enterprise back to 1920. What we see is not dada used as a historical anchor point from where it might leap into the future but its continuous interweaving with the present.

18 George Grosz, Picasso pastiches in Herbert Fiedler's undated scrapbook on Picasso. Amsterdam: Herbert Fiedler Archive. © DACS.



Grosz was prompted on more than one occasion during the Second World War to reconsider dada. The presence in New York from 1940 of Heartfield's brother and dada collaborator, Wieland Herzfelde, was one reason. The Herzfelde family even stayed with the Groszs briefly before finding permanent accommodation. In 1943, Herzfelde published an article in *Harper's Bazaar* to commemorate Grosz's fiftieth birthday, which tells the story of their first encounter in Berlin during the First World War.⁸² Interactions with Herzfelde prompted Grosz to begin the process of reflection that led to the publication of his autobiography in 1946, which includes a chapter on dada. Herzfelde's presence is indicative of the arrival of many more exiles and émigrés fleeing the war, which created a richer context for the reception of the European avant-garde in the USA than had existed previously.

For example, the context of the correspondence between Grosz and Reis quoted earlier was his invitation to contribute to an exhibition of collage at Peggy Guggenheim's newly founded *Art of this Century* gallery. Grosz's initial response, as we saw, was to send the five montages made for *Vanity Fair*. However, he also mentioned to Reis that he would perhaps 'send one more, don't know yet [...] a very old one 1920 or so, have to look whether it is in good condition [...] Title: remember uncle August the unhappy inventor [...]'.⁸³ Grosz followed up this letter with another the very same day, writing that he had found the work in a good state: '[...] the paste or glue still sticks like the color on an old master', even though, he added, 'it is not abstract nor beautyfull [sic] nor astetic [sic]. I then in those days was director of the

19 Catalogue for the Erste Internationale Dada-Messe, Berlin, 1920, page 2, featuring George Grosz and John Heartfield, Korrigierter Picasso/La Vie Heureuse (Dr Karl Einstein gewidmet). Iowa City: International Dada Archive, Special Collections, University of Iowa Libraries. © DACS/The Heartfield Community of Heirs/VG Bild-Kunst Bonn.



20 George Grosz, *Ein Opfer der Gesellschaft/Remember Uncle August, the Unhappy Inventor*, 1919. Oil, pencil and collage on canvas, 49 × 39.5 cm. Paris: MNAM, Centre Georges Pompidou. © DACS.



Grosz-Heartfield concern [...] a big undertaking in those days with lots of publicity too.' Jokingly, Grosz handwrote at the bottom of his typed letter that the work 'was very famous during the 1920 ties [1920s] – it was honoured by the "Great Dada Gold Medal 1920 Berlin"'.⁸⁴

The work to which Grosz referred had been known to this point as *Ein Opfer der Gesellschaft* [A Victim of Society] (plate 20). He did indeed exhibit it at the *Erste Internationale Dada-Messe* in 1920 (although there were no prizes). Grosz's intriguing retitling fits the process of the de-politicization we saw in connection to the *Vanity Fair* works but there is another factor at play now. Grosz briefly mentions an uncle August in his autobiography. Grosz recounts the moment that he first told his mother of his ambition to become an artist. In response, she brought up his uncle to indicate her disapproval.⁸⁵ Apparently, this uncle August had 'a lot of crazy ideas', all of which came to nothing, and he ended in an asylum: 'But elegant he was Georg, and full of great ideas, and a painter.'⁸⁶ Montage was thus not just a stimulus to memory but a prompt for Grosz to reconsider his status as an artist.

Collage vs. Montage, Art vs. Anti-Art

The Art of this Century collage exhibition attracted little critical attention. Howard Devree gave it short shrift in his regular round up in the *New York Times*, commenting on what he considered its 'cynical disillusion'.⁸⁷ He expressed a somewhat different view, though, just five years later at the next moment collage was presented on a major scale to an American audience, the 1948 exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art. On this occasion he pursued a distinction similar to the one made in 1930 by Aragon between cubist *papiers collés* and dada/surrealist montage, although reversing the poet's value judgement, describing the former as evidence of 'beauty, strength and originality' and the latter as 'trivial, arbitrary and sensationalist'.⁸⁸ Such a distinction had been set up in the exhibition's press release, which identified two currents in collage, one emerging from Picasso, Braque and Gris's cubism, identified as 'the revolt against painting as an art of imitation', the other stemming from dada as a 'form of protest against art as cult'.⁸⁹

Invited once more to participate, Grosz sent *Remember Uncle August the Unhappy Inventor*, along with two of the *Vanity Fair* montages, each of which also had their own minor title modifications. *Crime Never Pays* became *Crime Doesn't Pay (The Case of the Own Club)*, and *The lighthouse and the floating boatsman . . . (a pasted poem)* was adjusted to *The Lighthouse of Bornholm and the Floating Boatsman*. As in the case of uncle August, Grosz's reminiscences concerning his mother may have played a part in the subtle addition of Bornholm to this title. Grosz first visited Bornholm in 1935, after he made the montage. The occasion was his last visit to Europe before the Second World War, and the last time he saw his mother, who visited him there. She died in Berlin in 1945 when her house was bombed, an event which Grosz did not hear about until many months after it occurred but of which he later wrote that he had a premonition.⁹⁰ Of the works he offered to the exhibition, only the lighthouse montage was displayed, together with another Grosz montage from the 1920 dada show (loaned by Anson Conger Goodyear), *Der Monteur John Heartfield. Nach Franz Jungs Versuch ihn auf die Beine zu stellen* [The Monteur John Heartfield. After Franz Jung's Attempt to Get Him Up on His Feet], its title abbreviated to *The Mechanic Heartfield*.⁹¹

According to the 1948 exhibition's press release, the term collage was 'interpreted broadly as a technique of cutting and pasting, whether the materials are newspaper, cloth, bus tickets or photographs and advertisement', precisely the definition Aragon had been keen to avoid.⁹² Elsewhere it specifically mentioned Grosz and Heartfield as the originators of the related term montage, 'meaning, in German, mechanical engine fitting – to emphasize the anti-artistic nature of the process'.⁹³ Additional comments from the exhibition's curator, Margaret Miller, grappled with the differences between cubist-derived collage and montage, the latter of which she described had led to 'new types of composite images, bold, direct, communicable in a glance, [. . .] developed for the purposes of political propaganda and commercial advertising'.⁹⁴ Miller attempted to link cubism to surrealism, though, by describing how the former demonstrated 'the power of the mind to conceive and hold several aspects of an object simultaneously', permitting the emergence in the latter of 'another type of mental imagery [. . .], the free unregulated vision on the borderline of the conscious and unconscious'.⁹⁵

As her surviving correspondence with Raoul Hausmann shows, Miller had originally hoped to include an extensive amount of photomontage in the exhibition and to discuss Berlin dada specifically in the catalogue.⁹⁶ Neither of these things happened. Despite their prime billing in the press release, ultimately little was visible of the *Grosz-Heartfield Concern* in the final exhibition. Heartfield was represented by just a single work from 1937; Grosz, the two just mentioned. Miller included one work each by Hausmann and Hannah Höch, and two by Johannes Baader. The geometric and



21 George Grosz, *The Musterbuch: Texture, undated scrapbook* [1940–58], page 31. Berlin: George Grosz Archive, Akademie der Künste. © DACS.

chance-driven collages of Hans Arp were far more prominent. She exhibited eight of them, along with nineteen works by Kurt Schwitters. All of this paled by comparison with the twenty-one works by Picasso selected, supplemented by four by Braque and four by Gris, a number of which were already in the museum's collection. A catalogue never appeared.

The Collage exhibition was to have an extraordinary delayed critical reaction. Thomas Hess provided one of the first considered responses to it in the *Art News* article mentioned earlier, in which *The lighthouse and the floating boatsman ...* (a pasted poem) was reproduced. Trying to accommodate both *papiers collés* and photomontages into his argument, Hess turned to 'the magical interjection of a fragment of reality into an abstract setting', as their unifying aspect.⁹⁷ It was in direct opposition to arguments such as this – a supposed artistic turn to 'reality' – that Clement Greenberg launched his first assessment of the exhibition, which focused entirely on the *papiers collés* and declared them a step beyond the overcoming of illusion that he considered to be at the heart of the cubist project.⁹⁸ Greenberg dismissed the works of dada and surrealism in the exhibition with disdain as 'not works of art [...] but montages, truly stunts [...] whose value is wholly exhausted in literary shock effects that have by now become unspeakably stale'.⁹⁹

This critical review is the basis of a more considered article by Greenberg, which he published in 1958 in *Art News* under the title 'The pasted-paper revolution'. In it, he repeated his earlier dismissal, declaring that 'after classical Cubism' collage had 'declined into montage and stunts of illustration, or into decoration pure and simple'.¹⁰⁰ Infamous for its total lack of interest in the origins of the material from which the cubists made their collages, Greenberg's article (which he revised once more for

his collection of essays *Art and Culture* of 1961) dismissed outright the search for the meaning of collage in the cubists' 'need for renewed contact with "reality"'.¹⁰¹ Instead, for him, the only reality collage invoked was that of the surface of the support, not in order to destroy pictorial space but instead to 'fuse the illusion with the picture plane without derogation of either'.¹⁰²

Grosz was certainly aware of Greenberg and knew of his support of emergent abstract expressionism.¹⁰³ I have yet to find any evidence, though, of his awareness of the critic's view of collage and its related practices aside from an extraordinary possible reference in *The Musterbook: Textures*. It comes between a typical double-page, one that exemplifies the transformation of the 'morgue' into something more playful (plate 21). The image of a gloopy, glossy slice of cherry pie dominates the left-hand page, its synthetic redness standing out sharply against a black and white rock face and its triangularity mimicked by the shape cut out next to it. On either side, two profiles, one male, one female, merge into, or emerge from the rocks to admire the pie like two proud parents. Grosz labelled this grandiosely, 'BIRTH OF CHERRIES'. Below it, an equally triangular piece of Swiss cheese nestles against a pan of frying chicken that has acquired a nose and an eye. More blocks of what looks like cheese but could be stones are cut into the side of the pan. The original logic of the groupings of food and stones might well have concerned textures, playing off rough and smooth, matt and gloss, hard and soft materials, but the bizarre and strangely obscene qualities of the page now make this logic almost impossible to recover. On the right-hand page, which Grosz labelled 'the waves all the time', he pasted images of reed mats and sand married up with boxes of chocolates and the sets of false teeth that eating too many of them might lead to. A large eye looks out at us from the top right while in the bottom right Grosz wrote the words 'somewhat older'. In between the two pages, Grosz glued a smaller, independent clipping featuring an image of a ring cake, partially cut to reveal its delicate sponginess. He did nothing further to alter it apart from giving it a title, 'Monumentality or the DREAM CASTLE', and adding the amusing signature, 'BY BRAQUE 1952'.

Bringing this clipping into play with the sequence of references around it, we find an interweaving of contrasts: sweet and savoury, American and European taste (as suggested by fried chicken and Swiss cheese), youth and age (fresh food and false teeth). Not only did Grosz parody that most French of cubist masters by using a very German looking *topfkuchen*, extraordinarily he either referred directly to, or uncannily anticipated Greenberg's summative assessment of collage in his article 'The pasted-paper revolution'. The critic's dramatic conclusion regarding cubism's preservation of representation beyond illusion was that 'Monumental is, in fact, the one word I choose to describe Cubism's pre-eminent quality'.¹⁰⁴

It is worth recalling at this moment what Miller considered Grosz had invented. It was not the practice of cutting and pasting photographs, as had been suggested in the 1933 *Vanity Fair* article. It was the naming of the practice 'montage', with its anti-artistic implications. Greenberg had been extremely precise on this point. In his original review of the *Collage* exhibition, he identified the dada and surrealist contributions as 'not works of art [...] but montages', before going on to describe them as 'rectangles littered with small pictures connected by no aesthetic necessity'.¹⁰⁵ As we saw, in his letters to Reis, Grosz also reiterated that he considered montage not aesthetic. It is then intriguing that, in his Braque confection, Grosz took a non-aesthetic position from which to comment on aesthetics. Even more puzzling is that in doing so he also commented on definitions of collage and montage without actually doing any cutting

and pasting, aside from extracting from its original context an image of something, ironically enough, cut with a cake knife.¹⁰⁶

The Late Montages as Art History

Such forms of self-reflexivity occur elsewhere in Grosz's late montages. One in particular is striking for its integration of reproductions of Grosz's own paintings. Now known as *Purgatory* (plate 22), it was first exhibited in 1962 as *Farbphotomontage II* [Colour Photomontage II]. It juxtaposes images of *The Pit* (1946) and one of Grosz's now most iconic early works, *Funeral: Dedicated to Oskar Panizza* (1917/18). We might expect their pairing to produce exactly the position so frequently repeated: Grosz used montage to recover his older avant-garde identity. Although she makes no comment on this particular montage, Flavell makes exactly this kind of connection, stating that 'The series of allegorical paintings which Grosz had begun around 1916 is [...] brought to a close with oil paintings such as *The Pit* and



22 George Grosz, *Purgatory*, 1958. Collage, 65.7×50.5 cm. George Grosz Estate. © DACS.

Peace [...]’, arguing that they had always been part of a single trajectory.¹⁰⁷ Rather than reconcile a whole, on close inspection, *Purgatory* reminds us how broken this trajectory had been.

Critics quickly recycled the title of Grosz’s autobiography, *A Little Yes and a Big No*, to structure their analyses. For example, we find it misused in a commentary in *Time* magazine in 1955, summarizing Grosz’s career as essentially bifurcated, the German part equalling ‘The Determined No!’, his American years ‘The Reluctant Yes’.¹⁰⁸ This short article, which focuses on *The Pit*, found on this occasion, however, that, ‘the big no sounded loud and clear again. In it [*The Pit*] are memories Grosz has tried to drown in the oil of his canvases.’¹⁰⁹ On the clipping of the text of this article in Grosz’s archive can be found some scribbled notes he wrote to his son Peter asking him to cut out the reproduction of the painting and hang it in his office.¹¹⁰ *The Pit* was by this point in the Wichita Art Museum. It had been reproduced just once before, as the only colour plate in the catalogue of Grosz’s 1954 retrospective at the Whitney Museum of American Art. I have no idea if the reproduction ended up on Grosz’s wall but three years later, he was prompted by the sudden appearance in *Life* magazine of a reproduction of *Funeral: Dedicated to Oskar Panizza* to do something rather unusual with it.¹¹¹ At the time of the Whitney exhibition, Grosz thought *Funeral: Dedicated to Oskar Panizza* had been lost, presumably destroyed by the Nazis as ‘degenerate art’.¹¹² Its reproduction in *Life* was Grosz’s first sight of it in at least a quarter of a century and might have deserved equal space on the office wall. Instead, he gave both images less than reverential treatment.

Purgatory connects the two reproductions with elements familiar from *The Musterbook: Textures*, primarily images of cut-up bodies and foodstuffs. A roast turkey is the tissue joining their seam. Directly below, various body parts float in a giant bowl of soup, stirred by a bone-like spoon next to which a flayed figure stares out wildly at us. Below that, the montage thins out into textured fragments derived from architectural, mechanical and landscape images, the sources of which are harder to read. Grosz glued *The Pit* to the left of *Funeral: Dedicated to Oskar Panizza*. The strong diagonal of the latter, running from bottom left to top right makes this the most obvious compositional solution as it directs focus into the centre. However, it reverses the sequence of the paintings’ production, inviting us to think not so much about how the later work had closed a chapter in Grosz’s career but how it had opened one. In many ways, *The Pit* set the scene for the recovery of *Funeral: Dedicated to Oskar Panizza* in the 1950s. Without *The Pit*, would it have been recognized as such an important work? Indeed, their pairing in this alignment causes us to think about both Grosz’s dedication to the grand tradition of painting even at the height of dada, as well as the tormented surfaces and anti-aesthetic character of some of his late canvases.

Grosz couples the left/right comparative structure of the montage with another top/bottom, whereby he plays off the large areas of photographic reproduction above against rough, torn edges of less identifiable fragments below. The first title we have for the montage, *Farbphotomontage II*, seems less improbable in connection with this part of the work. Does the lower half also thereby read as more artistic than the reproductions above? As more original and creative than the images of the artist’s own works? This is the uncertain territory into which the montage takes us.

The deeper we go into *Purgatory*, the more each of the current explanations of Grosz’s late montages fails. Grosz did not suddenly return to montage in 1958 and through it reconnect with dada and anticipate pop art. There is much evidence in *Purgatory* of the kind of enjoyment he explained montage held for him in his 1943 correspondence with Reis and that with his wife at the time of its making. Likewise, the temporal as well as spatial links montage allowed him to make in *Purgatory* are very

similar to those present in the Fiedlers' *Querschnittbücher* and objects Grosz sent them in return, while the contrasts of surfaces and materials in it are highly comparable to *The Musterbook: Textures*. However, equally unhelpful is Staeck's claim that Grosz remained ever 'true' to montage. While we have seen the continuing presence of montage in Grosz's studio practice, we have not found the continued production of titled works, merely Grosz's repeated touting of the five *Vanity Fair* montages when asked for contributions to exhibitions in the 1940s, and his eventual retrieval of even older works.

As the commentary accompanying the reproduction of *The Pit* in *Time* magazine explained, although painted in the immediate aftermath of the Second World War, many of its references were to the First, such as a veteran soldier on crutches in the immediate foreground, so reminiscent of German visual culture of the Weimar



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23 Smirnoff 'Bullshot' advertisement, *Life*, volume 44, number 8, 24 February 1958, page 117. Collection of the author.

years.¹¹³ We might expect this retrospective character to be present in *Purgatory*. It is also a work of memory and about memory, and in bringing *The Pit* alongside *Funeral: Dedicated to Oskar Panizza*, Grosz connected his earlier reflection on the catastrophic effects of war to the later moment. However, the kind of remembering going on in *Purgatory* does not produce a re-membering. It does not put back together a whole Grosz, figured almost literally here in the multitude of dismembered bodies we see across its surface. What we witness is more a form of self-cannibalization, one that leaves *The Pit* and *Funeral: Dedicated to Oskar Panizza* suspended in a chiasmic relation, and along with them aspects of projection and retrospection that underpin histories of avant-gardism based on loss and recovery.

Although it lacks a comparative structure, we can find similar temporal effects in *Self Portrait as Clown* and *Variety Girl*. To highlight them, I offer one last discovery from the archive, a cutting contemporary to it that appealed enough to Grosz for him to add it to his 'morgue'. It is an advert from the Smirnoff Company, intended to brand its vodka as the most versatile base for cocktail making (plate 23). One such drink was the 'Bullshot', vodka with a splash of beef stock. The advert shows a drinker so in tune with the product that he has become a cocktail himself, having grown a bull's head. Consider it in connection to Grosz's own appropriation of contemporary alcohol marketing. The bottle of Four Roses whiskey the hybrid figure in *Self Portrait as Clown* and *Variety Girl* clutches was an interesting choice. What was the best-selling quality bourbon when Grosz arrived in the USA had now become a cheap blend. The Seagram Company acquired the name in 1948 but attached it to an inferior product. By the late 1950s, Four Roses had its own range of jaunty adverts incorporating montage to shed its heritage associations. Ideal then for Grosz to link it to a series of lowbrow clichés, not least the drunken clown, a staple of stage and screen by this time. Like the whiskey, the clown signifies degradation and displacement. Grosz joins it to other hackneyed images, the Manhattan skyline and a showgirl. *Life* magazine reported consistently through the late 1950s on the demise of the big top travelling circus, but it also recorded the two most popular New York tourist attractions of the day to be a trip to the top of the Empire State Building and a visit to a 'girl show'.¹¹⁴

When Grosz wrote about montage in 1958 that he 'did something like this 60 years ago', he was not attempting a reference to its origin in dada and getting it wrong. Indeed, his correspondent, Eva Grosz, was more than conversant with that history herself. Not only had she met her husband before the First World War and been witness to his entire artistic career, but Grosz had exhibited a montage commemorating their marriage in 1920 at the *First International Dada Fair* that year, a work that Roh subsequently reproduced in his book *Nach-Expressionismus*. Grosz's comment reads far more as a reference to the sheer ordinariness of montage by this point. The Smirnoff advert is an important reminder of how montage had become so commonplace by the 1950s that it could even afford Grosz a chuckling side-reference to surrealism, the irruption of the Minotaur into a joke about the effects of drinking.

Self Portrait as Clown and *Variety Girl* is similarly concerned with the conventional and outmoded, one stock image after another. Like the Smirnoff Minotaur, it too offers a glimpse backwards, though not to Grosz's Weimar years, as all commentators have insisted. At the point he was contemplating return to Germany, this montage brought him back to his arrival in New York, when the concrete was still drying on Empire State, Four Roses was a quality drink, the Ziegfield Follies had its first revival and 42nd Street offered him myriad forms of perverse entertainment. It is the recall of the moment where fantasy and reality collided profoundly, where memories of a place he had never visited encountered dreams of a new life he would try to forge. It was

a recollection of the place he first tried to present himself to art history as montage maker, and of the start of his obsessive collecting of clippings and messing about with them, the contradictory trajectories of which we have traced. That contradiction is not resolved in the late montages but heightened. Here we find Grosz most at liberty but also most deeply entangled in his own history.

By way of conclusion, then, I offer *Self Portrait as Clown and Variety Girl* an alternative title: *Remember George Grosz, the unhappy inventor of photomontage*.

Notes

I would like to thank the British Academy for the grant that enabled important primary research for this article. I would also like to thank Megan Luke, Liz Prettejohn, Adrian Sudhalter and the two anonymous readers for *Art History* for their comments, which helped improve the article considerably.

- The literature on collage, montage and assemblage is now vast but representative examples of the approaches to which I refer include: Rosalind Krauss 'The Motivation of the Sign', in *Picasso and Braque: A Symposium*, ed. William Rubin and Lynn Zelevansky, New York, 1992, 261–286 and *The Picasso Papers*, New York, 1998; Gregory Ulmer, 'The Object of Post-Criticism', in *Postmodern Culture*, ed. Hal Foster, London and Sydney, 1985, 83–110; Peter Bürger, *Theory of the Avant-Garde*, trans. Michael Shaw, Minneapolis, 1984; Jacques Rancière, *The Future of the Image*, trans. Gregory Elliott, London and New York, 2007; Leo Steinberg, 'Other Criteria', in *Other Criteria: Confrontations with Twentieth-Century Art*, New York, 1972, 55–91; Lev Manovich, *The Language of New Media*, Cambridge, MA and London, 2001; and Anke te Heesen, *The Newspaper Clipping: A Modern Paper Object*, trans. Lori Lantz, Manchester, 2014.
- Rosalind Krauss, 'Photography in the Service of Surrealism', in Rosalind Krauss and Jane Livingston, *L'Amour Fou: Photography and Surrealism*, New York, 1985, 28. Sabine Kriebel has turned the term 'seamless' back onto John Heartfield's photomontages of the 1930s in fascinating ways, noting their 'sutured illusionism' (*Revolutionary Beauty: The Radical Photomontages of John Heartfield*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London, 2014, 13). Having questioned the historical specificity of montage and variations in its practice in ways that have been instructive for this article, ultimately, though, Kriebel recuperates Heartfield's radicalism in familiar terms.
- Rancière, *The Future of the Image*, 57.
- Manovich, *The Language of New Media*, 144.
- Matthew Tietelbaum, 'Preface', in *Modernism and Modern Life, 1919–1942*, ed. Matthew Tietelbaum and Maud Lavin, Cambridge, MA and London, 1992, 7.
- Benjamin Buchloh, 'Gerhard Richter's "Atlas": The Anomic Archive', *October*, 88, Spring 1999, 128.
- Elsa Adamowicz, *Dada Bodies: Between Battleground and Fairground*, Manchester, 2019, 155–156.
- See Alexander Dückers, *George Grosz: Das druckgraphische Werk / The Graphic Work*, San Francisco, 1996, 265, for a full list of the signatures Grosz used at various points throughout his professional career. The form that Grosz pasted here is closer to the signature he used in contemporary private correspondence. His preferred signature for his artworks was just his last name.
- Anke te Heesen, 'News, Paper, Scissors: Clippings in the Science and Arts Around 1920', in *Things that Talk: Object Lessons from Art and Science*, ed. Lorraine Daston, New York, 2004, 319.
- John Baur, *George Grosz*, New York, 1954, 17.
- Te Heesen, 'News, Paper, Scissors', 326.
- George Grosz Archive, Akademie der Künste, Berlin, cat. no.1179/9.
- Te Heesen, 'News, Paper, Scissors', 324.
- Te Heesen, 'News, Paper, Scissors', 326.
- George Grosz Archive, Akademie der Künste, Berlin, cat. no.1178/5.
- I have not been able to deduce the precise source of the clipping. For contemporary reportage on Viki, see Anon., 'Chimp that Can Talk: 4-year-old Viki Knows Four Words, Eats at Table', *Life*, 31: 23, 3 December 1951, 108–111.
- At the very end of his book on Heartfield, Andrés Zervigón makes brief comment on photomontage and memory that could bear comparison to my interest in Grosz if it were more developed (Andrés Mario Zervigón, *John Heartfield and the Agitated Image*, Chicago, 2012, 232). More exceptional to the mainstream and more helpful for my own thinking is the account of the archive and memory in Branden Joseph's analysis of Rauschenberg's 'combines' in *Random Order: Robert Rauschenberg and the Neo-Avant-Garde*, Cambridge, MA and London, 2007, 128–163.
- The Unknown George Grosz*, B. C. Holland Gallery, Chicago, 5 November–9 December 1965.
- Robert Melville, 'The Bastard from Berlin', *Sunday Times Magazine*, 4 November 1973, 59.
- Hans Hess, *George Grosz*, London, 1974, 249. See correspondence between Hess and Wieland Herzfelde on Melville's article in the Wieland Herzfelde Archive, Akademie der Künste, Berlin, cat. no. 703.
- Uwe Schneede, *George Grosz: Life and Work*, trans. Suzanne Flatauer, London, 1979, 134.
- Brigit McCloskey, *The Exile of George Grosz: Modernism, America and the One World Order*, Oakland, CA, 2015, 179.
- M. Kay Flavell, *George Grosz: A Biography*, New Haven, 1988, 295.
- Birgit Möckel, *George Grosz in Amerika: 1932–1959*, Frankfurt am Main, 1997, 587–593.
- Möckel, *George Grosz in Amerika: 1932–1959*, 187–193.
- 'Auch in den USA und nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg blieb Grosz der Montage treu [...]' Klaus Staack, 'Der Künstler als engagierter Bürger', in *George Grosz montiert: Collagen 1917–1958*, ed. Birgit Möckel, Berlin, 2010, 8.
- 'Machte zirka 40 Montagen [...]' (wie der alte Matisse) nicht schlecht, macht mir aber sehr Spass [...] ist auch ganz spasshaft [...] hatte mal früher vor 60 Jahren sowas gemacht. OK.' George Grosz letter to Eva Grosz, 14 June 1958, carbon copy, George Grosz Archive, Houghton Library, Harvard, cat. no. 607.
- 'Ich mache viele Montagen macht mir viel Spass. IN EIN SANATORIUM gehe ich NICHT (bin absolut alert, gesund und OK) [...] an die OST-see gerne gehe ich.' George Grosz letter to Eva Grosz, 24 July 1958, carbon copy, George Grosz Archive, Houghton Library, Harvard, cat. no. 607.
- Will Norman, *Transatlantic Aliens: Modernism, Exile, and Culture in Midcentury America*, Baltimore, 2016, 64.
- Norman, *Transatlantic Aliens*, 86.
- Norman, *Transatlantic Aliens*, 86.
- Norman uses an interesting metaphor of uniting two worlds geographically when he discusses montages made by Grosz in 1933, which he feels 'provide a bridge between Grosz's Dada phase and his artistic identity in the United States in the 1930s'. Norman, *Transatlantic Aliens*, 81.
- Theodor Adorno, 'Late Style in Beethoven', in *Essays on Music*, ed. Richard Leppert, trans. Susan Gillespie, Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London, 2002, 564.
- Adorno, 'Late Style in Beethoven', 564.
- Adorno, 'Late Style in Beethoven', 567.
- For this concept of silencing and archival power, I am indebted to Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History*, Boston, 1995.
- Thomas Hess, 'Paste Mixed with Paint', *Art News*, 47: 6, October 1948, 25. To her credit, Birgit Möckel spotted this. Given the lack of evidence that Grosz was actively making montages around that date, she grouped it in her catalogue with a series Grosz is known to have made in 1933: '782 O.T., um 1933 / Collage, Maße unbekannt / Ohne Bezeichnung', [Untitled, around 1933 / Collage, dimensions unknown / Untitled], in Möckel, *George Grosz in Amerika: 1932–1959*, 587.

- 38 The online version of the master checklist for the Collage exhibition (https://www.moma.org/documents/moma_master-checklist_387278.pdf) unfortunately crops this item (no. 45 on the list). Many thanks to Adrian Sudhalter for directing me to loan requests in the MoMA archive, which provide further details on the items Grosz lent to the exhibition. For the first title of the work, see George Grosz letter to Rebecca Reis, 7 April 1943, *Papers Relating to George Grosz*, Getty Research Institute, 850703. The work is listed as no. 785 in Möckel's catalogue.
- 39 Crowninshield, it must be noted, had published one of the very first histories of dada in his magazine (Tristan Tzara, 'Some Memoirs of Dadaism', *Vanity Fair*, July 1922, 70, 92 and 94), and his cultural interests made *Vanity Fair* extremely progressive in its artistic content. He also acted as an expert witness in the 1927 Brancusi trial.
- 40 This is an interestingly bilingual entry, the original text reading, 'Monday Vanity Fair 5 Montagen 7 Zeichnungen.' 'George Grosz, Agenda 1933', George Grosz Archive, Houghton Library, Harvard, cat. no. 1084.
- 41 Anon., 'George Grosz: German Satirist', *Vanity Fair*, November 1933, 34–35.
- 42 Anon., 'George Grosz: German Satirist', 35.
- 43 This title is written in pencil on the lower right of the work and derives from the 1943 letter Grosz wrote to Rebecca Reis (see note 38), which includes the typographic misplacement of the apostrophe. It was sold by Ketterer and Kunst in 2013 with the variant title *Crime Does't Pay – The Case of the Own Club*. The proximity of the German words Eisen [Iron] and eigen [Own] suggests an original German title that has at some point been either misread or incorrectly transcribed.
- 44 This, at least, is the assumption from the list of titles Grosz gave to Rebecca Reis in 1943. See note 38.
- 45 Adrian Sudhalter located *The lighthouse and the floating boatsman* in a private collection during the time I was preparing this article. The two montages whose fate has yet to be confirmed have titles of *Tabloid* and *The absent minded bride (romantic collage)*, according to Grosz's letter to Reis (see note 38).
- 46 George Grosz letter to Arnold Gingrich quoted in Norman, *Transatlantic Aliens: Modernism, Exile*, 80.
- 47 'Nichts kann so deutlich die völlige Durchdringung der beiden großen Wesenheiten neuester Kunst zeigen: äußerste Phantastik bei äußerster Nüchternheit, freiestes Komponieren bei Wirklichkeitsabklatsch, kubistische Schachtelung bei barem Abbild.' Franz Roh, *Nach-Expressionismus: Magischer Realismus: Probleme der Neuesten Europäischen Malerei*, Leipzig, 1925, 46. Grosz would also receive attention as an innovator of photomontage in Franz Roh and Jan Tschichold, *Foto-Auge*, Stuttgart, 1929, 33.
- 48 '[...] L'emploi de la colle ne soit qu'une des caractéristiques de cette opération, et même pas une caractéristique essentielle.' Louis Aragon, *La peinture au défi*, 1930, reprinted in *Écrits sur l'art moderne*, Paris, 1981, 32.
- 49 Aragon, *La peinture au défi*, 33–34.
- 50 'Il [collage] la [notre attention] requiert pour ce que qu'il a de concerté, d'absolument opposable à la peinture, au delà de la peinture. Pour ce qu'il représente de possibilité humaine. Pour ce qu'il substitue à un art avili un mode d'expression d'une force et d'une portée inconnues.' [It [collage] requires it [our attention] for what it has in common, absolute opposition to painting, beyond painting, for what it represents of human possibility. For what it substitutes for a degraded art, a mode of expression of an unknown force and range.] Aragon, *La peinture au défi*, 37.
- 51 Aragon, *La peinture au défi*, 40.
- 52 'im streit der meinungen wird des öfteren behauptet, die fotomontage sei nur in zwei formen möglich: in der politischen, oder in der gebrauchsgraphischen.' Raoul Hausmann, 'fotomontage', a bis z, 2: 16, 1931, reprinted in Paul-Armand Gette and Eje Höggestatt, eds, *Raoul Hausmann*, Malmo, 1980, 28.
- 53 'überall hat die erkenntniss platzgegriffen, daß das bildoptische element ein äußerst vielseitiges mittel darstellt das im spezialfall der fotomontage mit seinen gegensätzen von strukturen und dimensionen, also etwa rauh gegen glatt, luftbild gegen nahaufnahme, perspective gegen fläche, die technisch größte mannigfaltigkeit oder klarsten formdialektischen herausarbeitungen erlaubt.' Raoul Hausmann, 'fotomontage', 29.
- 54 Louis Aragon, 'John Heartfield et la beauté révolutionnaire', in *Commune* (May 1935) reprinted in *Écrits sur l'art moderne*, 48–54.
- 55 'Il sait créer ces images qui sont la beauté même de notre temps, parce qu'elles sont le cri même des masses [...]' Aragon, 'John Heartfield et la beauté révolutionnaire', 52.
- 56 '[...] et ce n'est pas le seul heritage de Dada qu'il y retrouvera, mais celui de toute la peinture des siècles.' Aragon, 'John Heartfield et la beauté révolutionnaire', 54.
- 57 'On sait qu'il est advenu de Georges [sic] Grosz. Aujourd'hui nous fixerons plus particulièrement le destin de John Heartfield, dont l'A.E.A.R. présente à la Maison de la Culture une exposition où il y a de quoi rêver et de quoi serrer les poings.' Aragon, 'John Heartfield et la beauté révolutionnaire', 50.
- 58 'Mit einem Satz: die Fotomontage entstand dort, wo einen bewußte Veränderung des eigentlichen Inhalts der Fotografien einsetzte.' Sergei Tretjakow, 'John Heartfield montiert', 1936, in *John Heartfield: Der Schnitt entlang der Zeit*, ed. Roland März, Dresden, 1981, 293.
- 59 '[...] ich versuchte, die Esquire leute für Fotomontage im Hinblick auf Deine wirklich guten Arbeiten zu interessieren – aber sie lehnten ab. Sie sind Realisten meistens und schätzen die reine Fotografie.' George Grosz letter to John Heartfield, 31 March 1938, carbon copy, George Grosz Archive, Houghton Library, Harvard, cat. no. 633.
- 60 Sally Stein, "'Good Fences Make Good Neighbours': American Resistance to Photomontage between the Wars", in *Montage and Modern Life: 1919–1942*, ed. Lavin and Teitelbaum, 128–189.
- 61 'Am interessanten ist es natürlich, das Kunstmittel der montage, das auf dem Prinzip des dialektischen Widerspruchs aufgebaut ist [...], zu beobachten, wenn es in die Hände des Feindes gerät, also in die Hände des Fachismus.' Günther Anders, 'Moderne Hieroglyphen. Eine neue Kunst: Photomontage. 1938', in *John Heartfield: Der Schnitt entlang der Zeit*, ed. März, 403.
- 62 'Photomontage ist da zum Enthüllen und nicht zum Preisen.' Anders, 'Moderne Hieroglyphen', 404. I do not have a record of Grosz's attendance at the exhibition or its opening but he urged Bernard Reis to see it. George Grosz letter to Bernard Reis, 19 October 1938, *Papers Relating to George Grosz*, Getty Research Institute, 850703.
- 63 H. D. [Howard Devree], 'Among the Solo Shows', *New York Times*, 16 October 1938.
- 64 George Grosz letter to Rebecca Reis, 7 April 1943 (see note 38).
- 65 George Grosz letter to Rebecca Reis, 7 April 1943.
- 66 George Grosz letter to Rebecca Reis, 7 April 1943.
- 67 George Grosz, *An Autobiography*, trans. Nora Hodges, New York, 1983, 254. Revised translation of *Ein kleines Ja und ein grosses Nein*, Hamburg, 1955.
- 68 This is precisely how Sabine Frank-Fiedler described to me its use by her father. Conversation with the author, Amsterdam, 23 June 2017.
- 69 'Ich möchte Dir noch sagen dasz [sic] deine zusammengeklebten Querschnittbücher immer hoch willkommen sind und mit grosser Freude und Spass angesehen [...] massen wir ja hier dieses Material wenig kennen [...] dafür bin ich immer dankbar [...] musst ja viele alte Zeitschriften mitgenommen haben, es ist ja sehr aufschlussreich so gelegentlich einmal rückwärts in die Zeit zu sehen [...] wie manches doch schon im Keime vorhanden was heutzutage als ganz neudeutsch und auf Nazi gebügelt stattfindet.' George Grosz letter to Herbert Fiedler, 14 March 1938, carbon copy, George Grosz Archive, Houghton Library, Harvard, cat. no. 582.
- 70 '[...] es ist erstaunlich wo und wie Du nur immer wieder all dieses schuesslich-schöne Material auftriebst [...]' George Grosz letter to Herbert Fiedler, 12 May 1938, carbon copy, George Grosz Archive, Houghton Library, Harvard, cat. no. 582.
- 71 '[...] ich fand diese alten Holzschnittillustrationen sehr schön, diese Blätter wo immerzu romantische Tierabenteuer geschildert. Das Blatt mit dem absprigenden Löwen in der Luft ausgezeichnet [...]' George Grosz letter to Herbert Fiedler, 18 July 1938, carbon copy, George Grosz Archive, Houghton Library, Harvard, cat. no. 582.
- 72 The Akademie der Künste has now attributed the five *Collagebücher* to the Fiedlers. I am very grateful to Michael Krejsa, head of the fine art archive at the Akademie for his engagement with my research in this process.
- 73 I first inspected the *Collagebücher* in 2006 and had photographs made of a few pages in their original bound form. For future researchers, it is

- important to note that their current presentation as loose sheets, while aiding their protection, makes their frequent double-page comparisons less detectable.
- 74 Waldmüller's painting had recently been installed in the Reichskanzlei, following its forcible removal from its Austrian owners. See Gabriele Anderl and Alexandra Caruso, *Kunstraub in Österreich und die Folgen*, Innsbruck, 2005, 97.
 - 75 George Grosz Archive, Akademie der Künste, Berlin, cat. Nos 1148 and 1149.
 - 76 Further connections are possible to two very interesting collage books in Herbert Fiedler's archive in Amsterdam, made in a similar way to the *Collagebücher*, this time using issues of *Kunst und Künstler*, one titled *Varia Germanisches*, and the other *Varia Romanisches*, identifying traditions in northern and southern European art.
 - 77 Hi Simons, *George Grosz: Twelve Reproductions from his Original Lithographs*, Chicago, 1921.
 - 78 'Notes about my teaching collected from my pupils, Fall 1935–6 Art League New York', typescript, George Grosz Archive, Akademie der Künste, Berlin, cat. no. 1046, 4.
 - 79 In his autobiography, Grosz tells amusingly of how he recruited Wieland Herzfelde to bring order to his cuttings collections: 'Wieland sat for days at a long, improvised table in the living room of the small house that we had rented. The room was soon knee-deep in clippings. He cut and arranged everything according to a system that he seemed to understand. [...] The morgue was done, was perfect, and to this very day those pretty colored files are there in the corner of my studio.' George Grosz, *An Autobiography*, 256–257. *The Musterbook: Textures may have had its origin in this moment*.
 - 80 The use of the Rewald cover might not be entirely random. Grosz wrote to John Heartfield on 4 April 1945, 'By the way: John Rewald a young art critic (former german [sic]) is an admirer of your work. He writes for the leading Art magazines in the States. Wrote a good book about Seurat and another about Defas [sic].' Carbon copy, George Grosz Archive, Houghton Library, Harvard, cat. no. 633.
 - 81 'Da hast Du mal'ne Uebersicht ueber die 57 streetnebst [sic] den diversen Gallerien [...] meine ist Associated American Artists / Wie Du siehst auch hier: Pipencasso "rules supreme".' Typewritten comment on cutting in unpaginated, undated Picasso scrapbook, Herbert Fiedler Archive, Amsterdam.
 - 82 Wieland Herzfelde, 'The Curious Merchant from Holland', *Harper's Bazaar*, 187, November 1943, 569–576.
 - 83 George Grosz letter to Rebecca Reis, 7 April 1943, Bernard and Rebecca Reis Papers, Getty Research Institute, 900184.
 - 84 George Grosz letter to Rebecca Reis, 7 April 1943, Bernard and Rebecca Reis Papers, Getty Research Institute, 900184.
 - 85 Grosz, *An Autobiography*, 45.
 - 86 Grosz, *An Autobiography*, 45.
 - 87 Howard Devree, 'A Reviewer's Notebook', *New York Times*, 25 April 1943, not paginated.
 - 88 Howard Devree, 'Collage and Leger', *New York Times*, 26 September 1948, not paginated.
 - 89 Museum of Modern Art, 'Large Retrospective Exhibition of Collages by Modern Europeans and Americans', undated press release [September 1948], 1–2, https://www.moma.org/documents/moma_press-release_325615.pdf, accessed 24 August 2017. The quoted text includes part of a commentary by the exhibition's curator, Margaret Miller. I have benefited enormously from discussions with Adrian Sudhalter concerning her pioneering research on the history of this exhibition and its curator. Some of this was presented in her keynote lecture at the conference 'Collage, Montage, Assemblage: Collected and Composite Forms, 1700–Present', University of Edinburgh, 19 April 2018 and will be published shortly as 'Collage as Symbolic Form: Margaret Miller, Collage and the "Dislocations of War"', in the conference proceedings edited by Cole Collins.
 - 90 Kay Flavell gives a good account of the peculiar circumstances in which Grosz experienced this event (*George Grosz: A Biography*, 247). Grosz described his premonition in an extraordinary text, belied by its banal title: 'I Teach Fundamentals', *College Art Journal*, 9: 2, Winter 1949–50, 199–201.
 - 91 Goodyear subsequently gifted the work to the Museum of Modern Art in 1952. See Anne Umland and Adrian Sudhalter, *Dada in the Collection of the Museum of Modern Art*, New York, 2008, 183–186.
 - 92 Museum of Modern Art, 'Large Retrospective Exhibition of Collages by Modern Europeans and Americans', 1.
 - 93 Museum of Modern Art, 'Large Retrospective Exhibition of Collages by Modern Europeans and Americans', 1.
 - 94 Museum of Modern Art, 'Large Retrospective Exhibition of Collages by Modern Europeans and Americans', 2.
 - 95 Museum of Modern Art, 'Large Retrospective Exhibition of Collages by Modern Europeans and Americans', 2.
 - 96 Letters from Margaret Miller to Raoul Hausmann, 20 June, 17 July, 30 July, 26 August and 19 September 1947, 17 January and 3 November 1948; Letters from Raoul Hausmann to Margaret Miller, 4 July, 16 August, 4 October 1947, carbon copies, Raoul Hausmann Archive, Musée départemental d'art contemporain de Rochechouart, folder no. 30.
 - 97 Thomas Hess, 'Paste Mixed with Paint', 60.
 - 98 Clement Greenberg, 'Review of the Exhibition Collage', 1948, reprinted in *The Collected Essays and Criticism, Volume 2 Arrogant Purpose, 1945–1949*, ed. John O'Brian, Chicago and London, 1986, 259–263.
 - 99 Greenberg, 'Review of the Exhibition Collage', 262.
 - 100 Greenberg, 'The Pasted-Paper Revolution', *Art News*, September 1958, 49.
 - 101 Clement Greenberg, 'The Pasted-Paper Revolution', 47. The third version of this article no longer makes mention of montage at all (Clement Greenberg, 'Collage', in *Art and Culture: Critical Essays*, Boston, 1961, 70–83).
 - 102 Clement Greenberg, 'The Pasted-Paper Revolution', 48.
 - 103 See Grosz's letter to Otto Schmalhausen, 18 August 1949, in George Grosz, *Briefe 1913–1959*, ed. Herbert Knust, Hamburg, 1979, 435.
 - 104 Clement Greenberg, 'The Pasted-Paper Revolution', 60.
 - 105 Clement Greenberg, 'Review of the Exhibition Collage', 262.
 - 106 The title of Hannah Höch's celebrated photomontage was still commonly given at this point as exhibited in 1920, *Schnitt mit dem Kuchenmesser Dada durch die letzte weimarer Bierbauchkulturepoche Deutschlands* [Cut with Cake Knife Dada Through the Germany's Last Weimar Beer Belly Cultural Epoch].
 - 107 M. Kay Flavell, *George Grosz: A Biography*, 239.
 - 108 Anon., 'Public Favorite: Grosz's "The Pit"', *Time*, 66: 21, 21 November 1955, 94–95.
 - 109 Anon., 'Public Favorite: Grosz's "The Pit"', 94.
 - 110 George Grosz Archive, Akademie der Künste, Berlin, cat. no. 1125.
 - 111 Anon., 'Violent Images of Emotion: Expressionist Art Has a Big Revival', *Life*, 44: 19, 12 May 1958, 82–88.
 - 112 The collector Heinrich Kirchoff bought the painting from Grosz almost immediately on its completion and later deposited it in the Museum Wiesbaden. In the 1940s, Grosz wondered if he might be able to retrieve it from Kirchoff's widow, not knowing at this point that after Kirchoff's death in 1934, his collection, which had already been forcibly removed from the museum, had been dispersed. The painting resurfaced after the war and become part of the collection of the Staatgalerie Stuttgart, where it remains. See letters in George Grosz, *Briefe 1913–1959*, 329, 409.
 - 113 Anon., 'Public Favorite: Grosz's "The Pit"', 94.
 - 114 See Anon., 'Circus Plays a Sad Last Act', *Life*, 41: 3, 16 July 1956, 30–31; 'Big Top Bows Out for Ever', *Life*, 41: 5, 30 July 1956, 13–18; 'Girls Still Glorify Follies', *Life*, 42: 11, 18 March 1957, 89, 95; 'Top is Off the Big Top', *Life*, 43: 7, 12 August 1957, 62; and 'The Big City's Best Girl Show', *Life*, 45: 1, 7 July 1958, 63–64.

Mustering Memory: George Grosz's Late Montages

Michael White

This essay challenges the received account of montage practice in the later career of George Grosz as the recovery of his dada identity and anticipation of pop art. Close examination of surviving works and the traces of the practice in his archives reveals montage making to be intimately connected to Grosz's exchanges with other artists over a long period and to his work in other media. Most significantly, montage making was deeply implicated with his own changing attitude towards the avant-garde. Dada was not a stable concept that could be reinitiated untransformed, nor was montage a static category. An examination of Grosz's participation in the reception of practices such as collage and photomontage is coupled here with reflection on the relationship between montage and processes of memorialization and recollection to demonstrate their unexpected interconnection.

Michael White is Professor in History of Art at the University of York. His recent book publications include: *Mondrian and His Studios: Colour in Space* (Tate Publishing, 2015); *Generation Dada: The Berlin Avant-Garde and the First World War* (Yale University Press, 2013); and *Virgin Microbe: Essays on Dada* (Northwestern University Press, 2013).