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Weimar's Others:

Art History, Alterity and Regionalism in Inter-War Germany

Dorothy Price and Camilla Smith

Crushed underneath the broken marble of former empires / lies an entire narrative / of the bloody conquest / the colonial scroll palimpsest / the interest in the unrest / the beginning and the end.[1] (Philipp Khabo Koepsell, 2014)

In 2014 the British Museum in London staged an ambitious sweep through six hundred years of German history as told through a carefully selected range of diverse material objects. Curated by the museum's then director Neil MacGregor, *Germany: Memories of a Nation* explored how the country had fashioned and refashioned its fragmentary identity from the Holy Roman Empire through to unification in the 1870s, post-war division and eventual reunification in 1989. The curatorial narrative moved boldly and fluidly across different regions and times: visitors encountered artworks by Albrecht Dürer, Käthe Kollwitz and Gerhard Richter; they could marvel at the technological achievements of the Gutenberg printing press and the development of Meissen porcelain, as well as explore modernist examples of Bauhaus design and the VW Beetle

(*plate 1*). Together, such objects revealed the complex jigsaw that constitutes Germany's ruptured past. Indeed, the historical malleability of German borders, so succinctly mapped through material artefacts, reminded viewers of just how many of the country's former major polities, including the Holy Roman Empire and the Prussian state, have long since disappeared.

As the popularity of the exhibition, its accompanying BBC radio series and substantial monograph attested, curiosity about a country that now represents an economic powerhouse, and which has sat at the helm of Europe since 1993, remains unabated. Yet amidst the plethora of seminal moments in Germany's long and fractured history, it is the Weimar Republic above all that has received more attention in popular culture and academic discourse since the fall of the Berlin Wall than almost any other phase of German history.[2] Germany's fragile republic was a period of intense creation, regular crisis and oft-cited 'inevitable' collapse into a dictatorship of unprecedented extremes within modern Europe. As the peace-time interlude between the First World War and the ascendancy of Hitler, it continues to yield significant historical, economic and cultural lessons about Germany's place in the matrix of contemporary global politics.[3]

On the centenary of its foundation, then, it is the aim of this special issue of *Art History* to ask: how has the wealth of scholarship on Weimar culture from the last two and a half

decades, since re-unification, contributed specifically to the discipline of art history (as opposed to German studies, film studies, political history or performance studies, for example) and vice versa? And where might art-historical research on the Weimar Republic be heading? What, if any, are the continued resonances of art made during the era, well beyond the immediacy of its origins in 1920s and 1930s Germany? How might a focus on art-historical margins – what we are referring to in this special issue as Weimar's 'others' – either change our thinking about what the Republic was, or perhaps confirm the dominant narratives of decadent excess, moral decay and imminent political danger that have so long defined this period of study? What role, if any, do the Republic's intellectuals, artists and cultural producers continue to play in the present? This special issue explores the cultural practices, production and reception of art from both the Republic's cities and its rural provinces. As a de-centrist project, it seeks what Gustav Frank has suggested ought to be an openness to diversity in its varied explorations of Weimar visual culture.[4] It does so by foregrounding in-depth analyses of art made by historiographically under-represented Berlin-based women such as Lotte Laserstein and Jeanne Mammen, as well as lesser-known work by regionally-based artists including Elsa Haensgen-Dingkuhn, Gela Forster and Heinrich Hoerle. In addition, it includes essays on the overlooked material and

iconographic contexts for the Merz collages of the more celebrated Kurt Schwitters, as well as in-depth research on the production and appearance of *Notgeld* – the vast sums of emergency money that were produced during Germany's period of hyper-inflation, between 1914 and 1923. It is this shift of focus, then, from the usual suspects of Weimar cultural historiography (Otto Dix, George Grosz, Bertolt Brecht, Thomas Mann, Marlene Dietrich, Fritz Lang and countless others – justly celebrated but perhaps over-determined figures from the era) that opens up further possibilities for a varied and nuanced account of the period under investigation. It does this through a variety of methodological lenses, from material cultural analysis to gender, queer and disability studies. 'Weimar's Others' heralds a shift from centre to periphery and attends closely to the regional inflections and intersectional biases of art made in Germany between the First and Second World Wars.[5]

Centres and Peripheries

The hasty political compromise that became the Weimar Republic was spawned in November 1918 after the abdication of Kaiser Wilhelm II and the ensuing popular revolution that swept the country. Both had been engendered by Germany's crushing defeat in the First World War. Yet the political struggles that ensued between the newly emergent communists and the right-wing upholders of an outmoded, pre-war imperial

order began not in the nation's capital Berlin but in the port town of Kiel. The republic's regional genesis was further underscored through the choice of Weimar as the city in which the new constitution was eventually declared on 11 August 1919. Choosing Weimar, not the capital Berlin, for such a historically momentous political occasion was a deliberate strategy; it shifted the values and ideals of the emergent republic away from the extreme partisan politics of the immediately preceding bloody civil war that had been bitterly fought on Berlin's streets. Weimar enabled an alternative cultural vision for Germany's future, away from metropolis. As a city of poets, it was traditionally associated with the golden age of Goethe and Schiller, but it soon became the site of the first incarnation of that quintessentially modernist institution, the Bauhaus (*plate 2*). One hundred years ago, in 1919, Walter Gropius literally stood at the nexus between Germany's past, present and future. The founder and first director of the state-sponsored school of applied arts and design, he was also commissioned to produce a commemorative bronze plaque marking the inauguration of the Weimar government. The inscription was placed in the German National Theatre in which Goethe and Schiller were most often performed and in which the new constitution had been vigorously debated by politicians of all parties.[6] Thus, from the outset both Germany's cultural producers and its regions were pivotal to the political visions of a Republican future. Yet when

we originally conceived this collection of essays, our thinking was motivated by a general sense that scholarship on Weimar Germany often conflated it with its metropolitan capital, Berlin, standing in for the entire country.[7] As the regional origins of the Republic remind us, Berlin was not the only or even the whole story. Whilst a variety of cultural practices in outlying areas of the country may have been inflected by aspects of Berlin's metropolitan chic, they also retained their own peculiar strengths and variations, some of which are explored by our contributors. It also seemed apposite that a special issue of *Art History* should be devoted to the varieties of Weimar visual culture produced during the same period that engendered some of the key disciplinary accomplishments of the modern discipline's founders: Aby Warburg, Ernst Cassirer, Erwin Panofsky, Fritz Saxl, Gertrud Bing and the so-called 'Hamburg School'.[8]

Hamburg and the Survival of Art History

It was unequivocally through the vision of Hamburg-based Jewish banker-turned-scholar, Aby Warburg, financially assisted by his brother Max, that in May 1919 the newly established University of Hamburg opened its doors for the first time. As a member of a long-standing family from the area, it was Warburg's mission to overturn the city's diminished reputation from being a purely a mercantile port peopled by

intellectually impoverished traders into a municipality with scholarly ambitions that matched its outward-facing character. By donating his personal library, Warburg enabled the new university to become the premier centre for humanist scholarship in interwar Europe. Emily Levine has expertly outlined the origins of the Hamburg School, pointing out the peculiarities of the regional ambitions of the city and the propitious timing of its decision to establish a seat of learning.[9] Germany after the bloody civil war was ready for intellectual renewal and cultural change. The prospect of a modern university initiated by members of the lay public, albeit hugely financially influential ones, coincided with the humanist ideals of the newly established democracy (in much the same way that the founding, survival and fate of the state Bauhaus was also intimately bound to the politics of the new order). Ernst Cassirer was appointed as the university's first chair of philosophy in 1919 (and ultimately rector of the University from 1929 until he went into exile in 1933).[10] Although already a distinguished scholar in pre-1914 Germany, Cassirer had until this point been unable to obtain a full professorship on account of his Jewish identity. As Levine observes:

> That the birth of Hamburg's university coincided with that of a new age might have been enough to land Cassirer a position there. That he promoted an interpretation which

> placed German thought into the context of European intellectual history, however, signalled the potential for a strong partnership with Hamburg's reimagined urban identity.[11]

The cosmopolitan aspirations of both republican Hamburg and the Warburg family provided a favourable environment in which Jewish intellectual excellence could flourish. For many centuries prior to the country's unification in 1871, Jews in Germany had been denied the rights of full citizenship. By 1900, however, the situation began to improve, although German Jews were still prohibited from holding high offices in the military, judiciary, diplomatic service and equivalent senior posts.[12] Under the Weimar constitution, restrictions on Jewish social, cultural and political advancement were lifted. For the first time in the nation's history, Jews were able to play a major role in the political, diplomatic, economic and cultural life of their native country.[13] In 1921 Erwin Panofsky joined Cassirer as a teaching assistant and by 1928 he had become full professor. Between them, Warburg, Cassirer, Panofsky, Gertrud Bing, Fritz Saxl (Warburg's librarian), Edgar Wind and others in their intellectual circle, established Hamburg and in particular the Kulturwissenschaftliche Bibliothek Warburg (Warburg Library for the Science of Culture, abbreviated to KBW) as the preeminent centre in Europe for a particular branch of art-

historical enquiry. For Warburg this included a focus on the after-life – or survival – of motifs from classical antiquity (*das Nachleben der Antike*) via recourse to an interdisciplinary visual study of iconology, symbolic meaning and *Pathosformeln* (pathos formulae). As Georges Didi-Huberman has commented, for Warburg '*Nachleben* meant making historical time more complex, recognising specific, non-natural temporalities in the cultural world.' He explains:

> The surviving form does not triumphantly outlive the death of its competitors. On the contrary, it symptomatically and phantomatically survives its own death: disappearing from a point in history, reappearing much later at a moment when it is perhaps no longer expected and consequently having survived in the still poorly defined reaches of a 'collective memory'.[14]

Scholars like Margaret Iversen and Didi-Huberman have expertly unravelled some of the indeterminate impulses of Warburg's thought and both point to the idea that fully conscious explanations of the concept of *Pathosformeln* remain purposefully elusive.[15] Giorgio Agamben has suggested that it refers to 'an indissoluble intertwining of an emotional charge and an iconographic formula in which it is impossible to distinguish between form and content'.[16] Iversen observes that

‘Warburg thought of antiquity as best symbolized by a Janus-faced herm […] of Apollo and Dionysus’ in dialectical tension, one dependent upon the other and that ‘the pathos formulae’ […] were exemplary expressions of primitive emotion and ‘tragic unrest’.’ For Agamben ‘what is unique and significant about Warburg’s method as a scholar is not so much that he adopts a new way of writing art history as that he always directs his research toward the overcoming of the borders of art history.’[17] In recent scholarship it is the unfinished *Bilderatlas* (picture book) or *Mnemosyne* that has redirected the discipline’s attention to this specific moment in its own historical formation.[18] Begun in 1924 and left unfinished at Warburg’s death in 1929, black and white reproductions of classical and Renaissance sculptures, frescoes, eastern and western medieval manuscript pages, popular prints, calendars, tapestries, astrological charts, playing cards, newspaper clippings, stamps and advertisements were pinned in various arrangements over a sequence of more than sixty cloth-covered boards. Neither definitively montage, nor quite mosaic, these were images in motion – never permanently fixed and subject to regular re-iteration. Their heterogeneity was inherently suggestive – a far cry from the methodological system of interpretation promulgated posthumously in the exilic aftermath of the Hamburg School. As Iversen has outlined, for several decades after Warburg’s death Panofsky (and Gombrich after him)

became responsible for reifying some of the key tenets of Warburg's dialectical thinking into a more easily manageable register of different levels of iconographic interpretation.[19] Panofsky and Gombrich's identification of a logical set of co-ordinates with which to understand, identify and taxonomise what Warburgian thought might entail was counter-intuitive. Warburg's ideas remain evasive – and deliberately so; value lies precisely in their resistance to narratives of progress. Rather, it is on the taut thread between Dionysian and Apollonian impulses where symptoms of collective pain in human culture may be identified and critiqued; the dark and violent underside of Renaissance culture (and latterly 'the colonial scroll palimpsest' of Philipp Khabo Koepsell's epigraph) is where redemptive possibilities might be sought. As Emily Levine has commented, 'unfortunately for Warburg, the struggle between reason and irrationality was also deeply personal, thwarting his productivity', and lead to a significant mental breakdown for which he was hospitalised in Kreuzlingen between 1921 and 1924.[20] It was largely visits by, and continued belief in the scholarly enterprise of, Cassirer that enabled Warburg to return to the library in 1925 to resume his work (before his untimely death from a heart attack a few years later).

Levine's richly detailed account persuasively argues for the auspicious conditions in which Weimar cultural life could thrive in regional cities like Hamburg. In this special issue,

Hamburg signifies as a location for both the origins of art history and its limits. By 1933 Saxl, Bing, Wind, Cassirer and the library had fled to London to escape Nazism and Panofsky was already teaching in the USA. With Warburg dead, the revolutionary but difficult aspects of his thinking were inevitably by-passed in favour of Panofsky's more systemised approach to methods of iconographic interpretation.

Returning though for a moment to Hamburg in 1919, whilst Warburg, Cassirer, Panofsky, Saxl and their circle were mostly preoccupied in the reading room of the KBW on Heilwigstraße, across town a young Elsa Haensgen-Dingkuhn (the subject of Elinor Beaven's essay in this volume) was enrolling in the newly re-opened Staatliche Kunstgewerbeschule (State Arts and Crafts School) at Lerchenfeld in Hamburg-Nord (now the Hochschule für bildende Künste Hamburg or HFBK Hamburg). A new building for the school had been inaugurated in 1913 to accommodate its growing enrolment figures, but during the war educational activities were suspended and the building had served as a military hospital. When it resumed its function as an art school in 1918, the ceremonial speech dedicated to the completion of a wall painting in the auditorium was delivered by Aby Warburg.[21] Whilst it is unlikely that Haensgen-Dingkuhn and Warburg knew each other personally, their parallel ties to the Hanseatic city through art and its histories – as retrieved here – is a coincidence that we propose

as an example of the significance of regionalism to Weimar's art history, one of the strands of this special issue.[22] Indeed, the major role that towns like Hamburg, Frankfurt, Weimar, Dresden, Munich, Mannheim and others played in the fostering of inter-war Germany's unparalleled intellectual and artistic climate – many of which feature in the range of essays assembled here – are central to our re-thinking the urban dynamics of the era under investigation.

The Lure of Berlin

Cultural histories of Weimar Germany remain dominated by the inevitable lure of Berlin.[23] Undoubtedly an exemplary modern city during this period, it was a vigorous barometer of the ways in which modernity was made manifest in post-First World War Germany. Yet can the dominant narratives of the capital's avant-garde adequately represent the experiences of democracy for the German nation at large? With a population explosion from just under two million in 1919 to well over four million by 1933, it was the second largest city in Europe and attracted numerous visitors of all hues from across the continent and beyond. With its trade exhibitions, film studios, light installations, living window displays and cross-dressing nightclubs, visitors were 'struck dumb with amazement'.[24] Although its critics were also quick to condemn the city's overcrowding, crime and poverty generated by rapid urbanisation and industrialisation. In much of

the masculinist culture of the era, the figure of the prostitute who haunted the ‘Berliner Strich’ (Berlin’s red-light district) became synonymous with the city. In gendered satirical visions of modernity, so fierce was the competition amongst the ‘modish’ women lining the streets, that they often outnumbered the potential clientele. For art critic and editor of the journal *Kunst und Künstler*, Karl Scheffler (1869-1951), its quick construction and modern infrastructure signified the negative eradication of past histories. Berlin became the city of ‘modern ugliness’.[25] For Georg Simmel (1858-1918), Germany’s first cultural sociologist of modernity, it was also the site of modern alienated individualism, brought on by the commodification of relationships as transactional exchanges within the mature money economy.[26] In many respects, the rapid urbanisation and modernisation that developed in Germany overall during this period was not unlike the landscape found elsewhere in France or Britain. Yet Germany’s defeat in war, the loss of its colonies, the abdication of its monarchy and its failed 1918-1919 revolution meant that it was marked by political strife from the very beginning of the post-war period.

Despite or perhaps because of its bloody beginnings, the Weimar Republic also developed into a radical testing ground for social reformism, parliamentary democracy, mass consumerism and nationalist mobilisation. A particularly revealing episode can be found in the activities of the African

Aid Association: the occupation of the Rhineland by French colonial troops after 1918 had caused a vehement propaganda campaign against what came to be known as the 'schwarze Schmach' (the Black Shame) in Germany.[27] Anti-black sentiment was at its height in the immediate aftermath of the war. Yet as Christian Rogowski has demonstrated, Black Germans mobilised and in 1918 the first self-help group for people of African-descent living in Germany was founded in Hamburg, the Afrikanischer Hilfsverein (African Aid Association). Prompted by an attack on a fellow Black German, on 24 May 1921 the film actor Louis Brody penned an open letter, published on behalf of the association in the *Berliner Zeitung am Mittag*. He called on Germany to respect its colonial migrants 'and not constantly to stir up hatred against them by reporting on the Black Shame'.[28] He exhorted the German populous to remember their obligations as a result of their own colonial misadventures, particularly as their former colonial subjects now found themselves in legal and political limbo. Brody's letter is both extraordinary and significant in giving voice to the concerns of Weimar Germany's burgeoning black population at a time when black voices were at best mute and more often than not invisible. This was a political era in which revolutionary artists, Bauhaus architects, social democrats, radical nationalists, Zionists, communist intellectuals, sexual reformers, 'new women' and avant-garde artists brushed up

against one another and frequently collided. It was a time when Germany developed the greatest number of social housing projects in Europe and cooking a meal efficiently was likened to the time-motion systems of Henry Ford and Frederick Taylor.[29] Sexual reform movements saw the world's first Institute for Sexual Science established by Magnus Hirschfeld in Berlin; Bertolt Brecht believed that technology in the future might permit people to be taken apart and put back together like machines. Mass sport and expressionist dance possessed the potential to rebuild a nation, while after the Dawes Plan, American imports including jazz, the Charleston, chewing gum, cotton, machinery and tobacco provided succor to a defeated nation intent on forgetting the immediate past.[30] For white women over the age of twenty one, article 109 of the new constitution afforded them the freedoms and, in principle at least, the rights of suffrage and equality with white men that preceding generations had fought for without success. Yet for most ethnic minorities living, born or married within Weimar Germany, the promised freedoms and ideals of the new Republic often brushed up against entrenched Imperial legislation and conservative regulations, particularly around fraught questions of German citizenship. Questions about who belonged and who did not were vigorously debated with reference to the 1913 citizenship laws which promoted the principle of *jus sanguinis* (the law of blood) over *jus soli* (law of

the soil or residency). As Annemarie Sammartino has indicated, ‘German ancestry became an important test of an applicant’s suitability for German citizenship’.[31] Yet the criteria for determining who was and who was not eligible was increasingly muddied. In 1920 the Reich Interior Ministry stipulated that the most important measure was a foreigner’s ‘way of life’.[32] With such loose guidelines, it was far easier for individual states to find grounds for dismissal of applications than it was to grant them. Those who could become citizens and those who were excluded were determined by privileges of ethnicity and race. So what positions were left open to those who were unable to obtain citizenship?

Weimar’s Citizens or Weimar’s Others?

The concept of ‘others’, the framing trope for this special issue, depends in any context on one’s perspective, whether one positions oneself at the centre or periphery of a dominant discourse. For the four decades following the Second World War, art-historical scholarship on the Weimar Republic almost exclusively celebrated its key male protagonists, George Grosz and Otto Dix in particular. Indeed, female artists and designers such as Lotte Laserstein and Anni Albers have only recently been re-discovered in the last few years by major art galleries and museums and added to the ranks of other key artists from the period.[33] The gains of feminism, Jewish and queer studies in

rethinking Weimar scholarship through the lens of gender, ethnicity and sexuality have been enormous, but art-historical research on interwar Germany still has a long way to go if it is to take seriously the imperatives of intersectional thinking. Such an approach demands the ongoing interrogation of identity and its relationship to all forms of power.[34] One such area might also include a more holistic inclusion of academic discourse on the histories and cultures of Black Germany, for example. This field of enquiry has steadily blossomed since the 1980s, yet art history's address to the nexus of race, class, ableism and gender operational in art's production before, during and after the Weimar era remains infrequent and sporadic.[35] Sara Lennox, Tobias Nagl, Tina Campt and many others have pointed out how 'research into the history of the Black diaspora in Germany […] has always been confronted with a complex epistemological framework of visibility and invisibility'.[36] As Campt has observed, being Afro-German or Black German is 'at once a demand to question what constitutes Germanness and a desire to express a relationship to blackness […] Black German identity provokes not only a different conception of German cultural identity but, at the same time, contests essential, phenotypical and nationalist definitions of race'.[37] And as Sara Lennox has commented, because the history of Black presence in Germany is the history of individuals, 'not a consequence of the violent mass dispersal of slavery', and 'only to a lesser degree the result

of the European colonization of Africa […] no comprehensive inclusive and continuous Black German history can as yet be written'.[38] At present all that historians – and indeed art historians – can offer are *Geschichtssplitter* (historical shards or fragments) pieced together from incomplete archives.[39] Consequently, as Tobias Nagl has observed, it is mainly biographical accounts that have been retrieved from official records, not in themselves accounts without substantial methodological problems:

> There is no immediate access to a subaltern consciousness; forms of subaltern articulation are neither transparent nor easily readable as expressions of a logically presumed, self-identical subject of enunciation. Rather they flicker between different poles of subjugation and subjectivation, split, highly positioned, bearing traces of what W. E. B. Du Bois has described as the 'peculiar sensation' of a 'double consciousness'.[40]

The archival fragments that reveal glimpses into the histories and subjectivities of Black Germans offer scholars challenges but also opportunities to engage in alternative methodological approaches. Although none of the essays collected in this issue address Weimar culture through the lens of post-colonialism, the broken fragments of history inherent in the concept of

Geschichtssplitter (resonant with Warburg's *Bilderatlas*) serve to remind us of the limits of our discipline. All but one of the essays in this volume (that by Erin Sullivan Maynes) focuses on named individuals. The narratives that unfold through the selected case studies on artists as disparate as Kurt Schwitters, Heinrich Hoerle, Gela Forster, Jeanne Mammen, Elsa Haensgen-Dingkuhn and Lotte Laserstein, are the fragmentary narratives of only a tiny sample of Weimar subjects caught up in the political maelstrom of the era. So, if, as we have done here, one takes MacGregor's impressive curatorial project as an exemplary model of one version of German history and recalibrates aspects of it through the lens of Black German scholarship, for example, what might Germany's 'memories of a nation' look like?

In the same year as the British Museum's sweeping chronicle of the hegemonic history of (white) Germany, black German poet and activist Philipp Khabo Koepsell and American-born, Berlin-based Asoka Esuruoso published a collection of poetry and creative writing by black writers living in Germany. In their anthology *Arriving in the Future,* Esuruoso, Khabo Koepsell and their collaborators put forward a series of alternative experiences of home and exile that reclaim a presence for themselves and their peers within national narratives of German identity. Esuruoso's introductory essay offers an incisive historical overview of the presence of people

of African descent in Germany, from black soldiers in the Imperial Roman armies to Audre Lorde's account of her seminal 1992 visit to Berlin, immediately after the fall of the wall.[41] Esuruoso's opening gambit focuses on the narrative of Saint Maurice, a third-century Nubian legionnaire who became central to the reign of the Holy Roman Emperor, Otto I, from 962 to 973.[42] The legend of the saint was first chronicled between 443 and 450 by Eucherius, Bishop of Lyon.[43]According to Eucherius's account, Mauritius (known today as Maurice) was a native of Thebes in Egypt. He became a high-ranking officer in the Imperial Roman army, commanding a unit of over six thousand soldiers composed entirely of Christians. Normally deployed in the east, Maurice and his men were sent from Egypt to Europe to quell the Gauls on the west bank of the Rhine. When Emperor Maximian (250-310) ordered them to persecute Christians, they refused, and the entire unit was executed.[44] In tenth-century Germany, Emperor Otto decided to establish a cult around the saint, transferring his remains in 961 to the royal territories in Magdeburg, Saxony. There, he established a monastery, a church and an archiepiscopal residence around the relics.[45] Maurice became the patron saint of the Holy Roman Empire. From the mid-twelfth century until the sixteenth, 'the emperor was anointed at the altar of Saint Maurice in Saint Peter's Basilica in Rome'.[46]As Ainsworth, Hindriks and Terjanian have commented in their analysis of Cranach's 1520

painting of the saint (*plate 3*), 'hailing from a remote corner of the Roman Empire that was populated by blacks and also representing the virtues of the perfect Christian warrior, Maurice was ideally suited to epitomize the contemporary ambitions to expand Christian rule'.[47] He became 'one of the most prominent saints in the Holy Roman Empire', and his sword and spurs 'would become part of the regalia used at coronations of Austro-Hungarian Emperors right up until 1916', the coronation of Charles I, the last Emperor of Austria.[48] Whilst early German depictions of Maurice, such as an anonymous sculptural rendition (*c*. 1240) on the exterior of Madgeburg cathedral, the detailed painting of St Maurice by Lucas Cranach and Matthias Grünewald's *Meeting of St Erasmus and St Maurice* (1520-24) in the Alte Pinakothek Munich unequivocally represent him as black African, by the sixteenth century across most of Europe, in works such as Jacopo Pontormo's *Martyrdom of St Maurice and the Theban Legion* of 1528 (Palazzo Pitti, Florence) and El Greco's *The Martyrdom of St Maurice* of 1580-82 (Monasterio de El Escorial, Madrid), the saint had been bleached. Esuruoso comments:

> As the ancient sword and spurs of Saint Maurice proclaim, Black German history did not spring from the wreckage of the First and Second World Wars, or even German colonization, as it was once believed. Black history has

> been here far longer and yet, like the body and face of Maurice, has been actively whitened and negligently forgotten over time […].[49]

Indeed, Saint Maurice was not the only medieval Black saint in Germany; as Paul Kaplan reminds us, ‘there were several lesser-known black saints of a similar type, including St Gregor Maurus of Cologne’ and the short-lived sister saint to Maurice, St Fidis.[50] A buried lineage of Black saints in Germany notwithstanding, Maurice is significant to narratives of German nationhood because of his centrality to the ceremonies of the Holy Roman Empire (the Austro-Hungarian Empire after 1806) for almost seven centuries until its dissolution in 1918 (and the inauguration of the Weimar Republic a year later). Apart from saints, there were of course other historical exceptions, perhaps the most notable of whom was the Ghanian Enlightenment philosopher, Nzima Antonius Wilhelm Amo Afer (*c*. 1703 to *c*.1753) who wrote a major thesis, *On the Rights of Moors in Europe* (*De Jure Maurorum in Europa*), likely ‘the first defence of Black people written on German soil’.[51]

Both Amo and Maurice are unusual examples of Black Germans whose fabled life stories stand out within orthodox narratives of German history precisely because of their exceptionalism. Nevertheless, they serve as important milestones in the German national story. They prompt us to

beware of the occlusions within historicist narratives of nationhood. Indeed, the opening epigraph to this introduction is a timely contemporary reminder by Philip Khabo Koepsell of the bloody histories of Germany's multi-faceted past that have nevertheless propelled him and his contemporary Afro-Germans to 'arrive in the future'.[52] Yet, despite the archival evidence of many centuries of individual black people arriving in the courts, universities and armies of Germany, the birth of modern Black Germany can undoubtedly be traced back to the 1884 Berlin West-Africa congress and its aftermath. This was the event that precipitated the so-called 'scramble for Africa' by the major European colonial powers. As Robbie Aitken and Eve Rosenhaft have demonstrated, young men 'who hailed from Germany's new African colonies became the founding generation for a substantial black presence in Germany.'[53]

The nation's defeat in 1918 and the concomitant loss of its colonial territories left many of this generation in limbo. As Marcia Klotz observes, the Weimar Republic occupied a peculiar place within Europe of the 1920s and 30s as 'a post-colonial state in a still colonial world'.[54] Whilst a number of male colonial migrants had chosen to partner with white German women, have children and raise families, they were not permitted to gain German citizenship since once the colonies were lost they became stateless and in limbo. Denied passports and facing bureaucratic hindrances to securing identity papers,

they were also unable to leave Germany. From the outset, the myth of the country's Golden Twenties remained an elusive one for many of Weimar's post-colonial Black Germans who were forced into the entertainment industry as exotic 'extras' for the amusement of the indigenous population if they were to subsist in the devastated post-war economy.[55]

Considerations of regionalism on one hand or Black Germans during the Weimar era on the other are of course only partial ways of thinking through who or what 'others' might encompass in a methodological framework for the analysis of Weimar's modernity. The burgeoning scholarship in the areas of Jewish, LGBTQ, gender, ethnicity, disability and critical race studies (amongst others) pertaining to modern Germany is testament to the ever-expanding field of research that this rich period of history continues to yield for new researchers, but what is its specific value for art history?

Figuring 'Difference' in the Art of New Objectivity

In visual terms, the representation of difference in Weimar culture is also inevitably contextually contingent. Ethnic identities as diverse as Jewish, Roma, African, Indian, Arab, Mongolian and Chinese were frequently conflated within visual representation of the era to signal a trope of exoticised 'other' or tolerated 'foreigner'. As Katherine Tubb has observed, 'in the Weimar period, to depict a person of colour was to take a socio-

political position on modernity, on German-ness, and on the tensions between them'.[56] Popular mass entertainment shows like Josephine Baker's *La Revue Négre* and those of The Chocolate Kiddies played up to Weimar audiences' nostalgia for their lost colonial pasts in dialogue with their enthusiastic embrace of American jazz culture. Baker in particular was a mass media sensation and the subject of numerous visual representations in all media. Yet she was also an exception in her carefully crafted visual presence as a deliberately staged 'exotic outsider' originally from the USA via France and performing 'Africa' in a post-colonial Germany nostalgia for its lost colonies.[57] Baker's fame, socio-economic status and performativity enabled her to come and go within the country as she pleased, as someone popularly celebrated and desired.[58] Her situation and that of her African American peers, including The Chocolate Kiddies and Duke Ellington, all of whom found huge success in Weimar Germany, differed markedly from that of the numerous African, Indian, and Roma protagonists of Weimar visual culture who were far less mobile, economically impoverished and, within visual representations of the era, often anonymous. They are to be found more readily in the margins of the leisure industry: the circus, the freak show, the insalubrious nightclub and as one amongst many anonymous extras on the sets of the era's booming film industry. Amongst the most striking images that conform to this type are August Sander's

photographs of circus workers at rest, during their time off from Germany's famous Circus Barum taken between 1926 and 1932 and Christian Schad's extraordinary double-portrait, *Agosta the Winged Man and Rasha the Black Dove* (*plate 4*). Whilst limitations of space prevent us from considering Sander in any great detail here, Tubb has provided a compelling in-depth analysis of *Circus Workers* in her essay 'Face to Face? An Ethical Encounter with Germany's Dark Strangers in August Sander's *People of the Twentieth Century*'.[59] Using a post-colonial framework borrowed in part from Homi Bhabha, she considers the multivalent ways in which Sander's photograph might signify in an era in which 'racial inclusiveness under the laws of a German nation that determined citizenship by blood' remained an impossibility.[60]

Christian Schad's detailed attention to the 'otherness' of Agosta and Rasha remains unparalleled within Weimar painting. Scholars have as yet not been able to retrieve either of their surnames from the *Geschichtsgesplitter* of the archives; even though Schad wrote about the work in retrospect almost fifty years later and hinted that he learned much about them during their sittings for him, he failed to register their full names. He did, however, comment that he had first seen Agosta and Rasha at a side show in Onkel Pelle's funfair in the Wedding district of northern Berlin where he went with his friend, anthropologist and entomologist Felix Bryk, in search of 'everything that was

somehow outside the norm'.[61] Departing from his usual practice of painting from memory, he invited both performers to model for him in his studio. As he recalled:

> Agosta, who lived in the city with his pretty wife and their children – he was also paraded before the students in the teaching hospital as a medical phenomenon – used to display his crippled upper body. Once he complained to me that he was forever having to ward off explicit offers and attentions from sensation-hungry women in whom he had no interest whatsoever because he loved his wife. Rasha – she was born in Madagascar – performed with a huge snake, turning round a few times before she would fling the heavy creature around her own body. She lived with her German husband and their little son in a caravan inside the wooden fence. Her husband, who used to lift weights and other heavy objects by means of a hook inserted through a hole in his tongue, performed in another side show. The boa constrictor lived in a cage under the ceiling of the caravan; underneath the caravan there were hens, and sometimes Rasha would bring me fresh eggs when she came to my studio in Hardenbergstrasse to sit for me.[62]

As was the norm for Schad's portraits, particularly those from his Berlin Neue Sachlichkeit (New Objectivity) period after 1928, both sitters were painted in fully frontal position, mouths closed, passive and starting directly at the viewer. Their hierarchical arrangement on the canvas, however, departs from Schad's other portraits of this period. Rasha sits on the floor at Agosta's feet, already encoding a gendered and racial divide between them. Agosta's discarded clothes reveal his torso as visible to inspection but also indicate the possibility that he can 'pass' as non-deviant by simply getting dressed. Albeit circumscribed, beyond this painting he has an element of choice in how he appears in the world. Rasha's difference on the other hand, is written on her skin, inescapably epidermalized. She is consciously exoticised by Schad through the allusion to Africa in the glimpse of her red-dyed printed cotton dress. The cowry shells which adorn its edging were a legal form of tender across several continents until well into the nineteenth century, in particular across Africa, South Asia and East Asia. Yet they have especially disturbing connotations in West Africa where they were traded by Dutch, English, Portuguese and French merchants from the seventeenth century onwards in exchange for enslaved African people.[63] Although Schad knew that Rasha was born on the southern east-coast island of Madagascar, in his fictive re-classification of her as an exoticised 'other', a black woman out of place in 1920s Germany, he overrides the facts

for sensationalist, albeit blunt, symbolism instead. The composition recalls the pinned butterflies familiar to the entomological gaze of Bryk, but the sitters are reconfigured as birds, trapped by Schad in an interracial pairing of anthropological fascination for the artist (and by implication the complicit viewer). The surgical precision in Schad's depiction of the sumptuous textures – the damask fabric of the throne-like chair on which Agosta is seated, his discarded cotton shirt and rich velvet jacket, Rasha's glistening pearl-drop earrings, and most of all the taut rendition of the smooth, unblemished skin of both sitters – heightens the fetishism of this dance-off between different tones of white and black, male and female, norms and deviants, Apollonian and Dionysian in Warburgian terms. As Thomas Ratzka has observed, Schad's portraits 'do not reveal an individual's interior, but, through the perfect smoothness of the surface, create a cool detachment from the beholder, as though the sitters were almost uninvolved'.[64] Kristen Schroeder (whose essay in this volume focuses on the new objectivity qualities of Lotte Laserstein's *Evening over Potsdam*), has also remarked that:

> Schad produced portraits of Weimar society outsiders for his middle-to-upper class white European audience. In doing so, he adopted a strategy of detachment and objectivity that resonates with the problematic enterprise

of ethnography. In *Agosta the Winged Man and Rasha the Black Dove*, Schad's subjects become visible as ethnographic objects – removed from social conditions and placed in a decontextualized space – their otherness rendered in dazzling, yet *sachlich* detail.[65]

The verism of the *sachlich* is exposed as fiction in portraits such as these. The ethnographic impulse of Schad's *Neue Sachlichkeit* vision, the cool detachment of his observed scenarios in which objects and people are rendered of equal value, have neutralised the agency of both subjects in one of Weimar's most revealing portraits of alterity. Disability and blackness are rendered as sites of exotic fascination within a codified register of racial and gendered hierarchy.

Ernst Neuschul's less familiar but equally remarkable *Neue Sachlichkeit* painting, *Black Mother* (*plate 5*), departs from the viewing conventions established by Schad and Sander and places his painting in a slightly different position in relation to its depicted subject. It is a rare example within Weimar visual art of a black nursing mother in fashionable contemporary dress and cloche hat, posed like an archetypal western *Madonna Lactans* but seated on a red bench located in a setting painted to resemble an outdoor environment such as a public park. It is one of a pair of paintings, the other of which is missing, presumed destroyed after 1933 by the National Socialists and which now

only survives in the form of a monochrome photograph from Neuschul's studio (*plate 6*).[66] The missing work depicts the mother seated in profile, looking in front of her to the right of the canvas, a large baby on her knee with its head turned towards us. The mother is flanked by a man behind her, presumably the father, and a boy (son) in front, both posed frontally and staring directly at the artist/viewer. The boy in particular looks wary and interested, whilst the mother and father remain stiffly posed. The upright posture of the seated mother and the standing father suggests that they were likely employed by Neuschul to model for him. The more naturalistic pose of *Black Mother* however, shows her as potentially caught by surprise whilst nursing her infant. Both paintings were likely constructed in Neuschul's Charlottenburg studio, although the latter seems to be caught more deliberately in a fiction of spontaneous action. As a member of the socialist Novembergruppe (November group) of artists in Berlin after 1926, Neuschul and his comrades were vigorous opponents of fascism.[67] His interest in painting ethnically diverse subjects – outsiders – may have had its roots in his own origins as the son of Sephardic Jewish parents, as well as the lengthy period of time that he lived and performed (under the pseudonym Yoga-Taro) with Dutch-Javanese German dancer Taka-Taka (in Prague, Paris, across Europe, America and finally in Berlin). *Black Mother* and the companion painting of her family are a

testament to Neuschul's interest in portraying Weimar Germany's 'underclass of Gypsies and the unemployed'.[68] In addition to traditional subject matter of portraits, self-portraits, landscapes, male and female nudes, his oeuvre is replete with paintings produced in the later 1920s bearing titles such as *Jews*, *Gypsies*, *Mulatto Woman*, and subject matter ranging from Old Testament narratives to urban dives, nightclubs and bars.[69] In 1935 Neuschul took *Black Mother* with him to the USSR and exhibited it in a one-man show in Moscow, 'where it was seen as a vivid representation of the kind of 'revolutionary' theme guaranteed to frighten the reactionary forces of German authoritarianism'.[70] Whilst for Schad and Sander, it was ethnographic impulses that dominated their vision, for Neuschul the representation of ethnic difference was more likely a political stance against the forces of fascism.

As already suggested, the concept of who or what 'others' might mean and how they signify in the context of Weimar visual culture is contingent upon where one positions oneself in relation to dominant norms and political inflections. The aesthetic of new objectivity registered a variety of subject positions at play in figuring difference. Essays in this special issue position points of 'otherness' as located in the gender, able-bodiedness and sexual preferences of the subjects under consideration but also in the materiality of the objects being discussed and the regional inflections of their content. What

each of them reveal in common though, is that ‘otherness’ is always mobile, contingent and porous.

‘A Republic with No Instruction Manual’

The German writer Alfred Döblin (author of the landmark novel *Berlin Alexanderplatz* published in 1929) observed that Weimar was ‘a republic with no instruction manual’, signalling its potential as a period of radical experimentation and possibilities.[71] Art and culture played a defining role in – and were central to – the popularisation of and continued fascination with the era’s social, cultural, economic and political histories. This special issue aims to move beyond narratives of Weimar as simply a period of cultural pluralism and decadent excess marked by imminent political danger. Its art-historical analysis of specific artworks, regions and contexts contributes to broader histories that foreground the cultural pluralities and complexities of the Weimar period. The Republic’s underlying federal structure meant that there was no single artistic centre but rather multiple locations of cultural production. Essays about artists, artworks and material culture produced in Hannover, Bielefeld, Gera, Dresden, Cologne, Hamburg, Potsdam and other regions, sit alongside scholarship about urban minorities in Berlin, in order to foreground some of the untold experiences of Weimar that are linked to both provincial communities and urban centres.

Maria Makela's essay, 'Making Lemonade out of Lemons: Merz and Material Poverty', focuses on Kurt Schwitters within his Hannoverian context. Makela shows how his collages and the aesthetic enterprise of Merz can be compellingly contextualised in relation to the extreme material shortages within which the artist was operating in Hannover during the early post-war years. Specifically, the liberal use of textiles adorning the surfaces of Schwitters' collages can be better understood within the context of Germany's *Ersatzkultur* (the culture of substitute materials), which saw fruit pits, sunflowers and poppies used for fuel and acorns instead of coffee due to widespread shortages after the First World War and during German inflation. Whilst the lack of food and malnutrition has been well documented, the lack of other goods such as textiles and its effect on German visual culture has been less thoroughly considered. The model of modernity that Schwitters' work represents is both rich and paradoxical; the innovative method of collage signals the tenets of modernism, yet the salvaging of detritus is a reminder of the basic level of survival that inter-war modernity demanded. Moreover, Makela draws attention to the fact that the use of hair as an *Ersatz* product and shortages in cloth dictated some of the trends for women usually associated with the 'modern' fashionability of the Weimar period, such as the page-boy haircut and the raised hemline. Both can be understood as consequences of the exigencies of the time.

Likewise, Erin Sullivan Maynes' article, 'Making Money: *Notgeld* and the Material Experience of Inflation in Weimar Germany', reveals how inherently intertwined culture and socio-economic crisis were by exploring the production of regional designs for *Notgeld* (emergency money) during the decade of inflation between 1914 and 1924 when coinage was scarce. In the face of the inflationary assault on the worthlessness of paper after 1919, some regions of Germany took refuge instead in things with more concrete value. Sullivan Maynes' study draws much-needed art-historical attention to the complex and diverse designs of regional banknotes issued on linen, leather, silk and even Meissen porcelain, as well as those produced by artists on paper. These notes served as currency but also as collectors' commodity with increased material value.[72] Banknotes designed by artists such as Olaf Gulbransson, Wenzel Hablik and Herbert Bayer satirised economic problems, named and shamed political targets and adopted the aesthetic language of post-war Expressionism and Bauhaus design. The essay demonstrates the fundamental importance of federalism as a constituent part of the republic's richness and complexity; *Notgeld* issuers relied upon local printers and paper manufacturers rather than the centralised imperial bank.

Contributions by Nina Lübbren and Elinor Beaven consider the dialectics of gender, regionalism and nationalism at play in the works of sculptor Gela Forster and painter Elsa

Haensgen-Dingkuhn respectively and in doing so, build on pioneering work by scholars who have examined the gendered constraints of the Weimar Republic.[73] In 'Regional Women Artists and the Artist as Mother', Beaven explores how Haensgen-Dingkuhn negotiated her complex position as an independent artist and one half of a *Künstlerehepaare* (artist couple) – a common social situation for women artists at the time. Contrary to popular accounts of the tensions between the ideals of financially-independent new womanhood and the realities of domestic duty within marriage, the essay reveals how Haensgen-Dingkuhn was able to exploit her multiple roles as artist, wife and mother to make her work an economic success. The artist's work can be usefully considered in line with the burgeoning women-oriented cultural sphere or *Frauenkultur* that challenged the masculine cult of the artist-as-genius and foregrounded conceptions of *Mütterlichkeit* (motherliness) to define feminine creative practice.

In her essay 'Gela Forster's Radical New Sculpture: Feminism, War and Revolution', Lübbren demonstrates how Forster was at the forefront of unfolding debates about formalism in Germany between 1915 and 1925. Forster's artworks encompass characteristics of the archaic-primordial and the modern. These features were identified by contemporary theorists such as Carl Einstein and Wilhelm Hausenstein as central to abstract autonomous form in modern sculpture which

made it distinct from antique precedents. Forster's work was critically acclaimed during her lifetime by leading art historians including Will Grohmann and Paul Westheim. Her sculptures could be argued as engaging with conventional conceptions of *Mütterlichkeit* (motherliness) through her choice of subject matter, which included motherhood and pregnancy. Yet gendered assumptions about the artist's oeuvre are radically altered by her unusual attempt to engage with the masculine experience of war through the veteran's broken (and according to critics 'sensual') body in her male nude sculpture. Seen together the pieces highlighted in Lübbren's article – all of which were completed in 1919 – signal the complex dialectics of 'primitive' wholeness and Western fragmentation at a time of acute political change and artistic renewal. Forster's identity as a woman artist who addresses masculine experiences of the First World War through her sculptural practice places her firmly in the category of Weimar's 'others'. She is a rare example of a regionally-based woman artist who has been neglected by canonical accounts of the period. Her work addresses themes that rupture the norms of contemporary critical discourse concerning women's roles that have left her art-historically adrift until now.

Kristin Schroeder's article, 'An Ambivalent Elegy: Lotte Laserstein's *Evening Over Potsdam* (1930)', offers a compelling examination of the artist's realist, new objectivity painting in

temporal terms.[74] Schroeder's article draws attention to the situational and material specificities of *Neue Sachlichkeit* in Laserstein's work. She argues that the painting signals a transitional moment between seasons and decades – an uneasy dialectic between Berlin and its neighbouring Potsdam and between art's histories in an uncertain, political present.

Other contributions by Dorothy Price and Camilla Smith engage with the complex and explicit graphic works of the Cologne-based erstwhile dadaist Heinrich Hoerle and Berlin-based artist Jeanne Mammen in the context of the Gurlitt family of art dealers. Price considers depictions of disabled war veterans in Hoerle's oeuvre, in particular the 1920 series of prints known as *Krüppelmappe* (Cripple Portfolio) alongside discourses of disability and rehabilitation in Weimar Germany. Smith analyses the visualisation of gay relationships in Mammen's 1930-1932 illustrations of Pierre Louÿs' erotic poems, *The Songs of Bilitis* (1894), both of which challenged fluctuating censorship laws throughout the 1920s. Whilst the excoriating graphic works of Otto Dix and George Grosz have become characteristic of the bitter aftermath of a lost war, with over four million German soldiers left disabled, less attention has been given to Hoerle's engagement with the failing welfare systems for war veterans in Cologne. In 'A 'Prosthetic Economy': Representing the 'Kriegskrüppel' in the Weimar Republic', Price argues that the body of the disabled war veteran

was used by the leftist avant-garde as a visual symptom for the diseased ‘body politic’. She contends that the artworks produced by Heinrich Hoerle reveal more about the construction of ‘normalcy’ and the ‘ideal’ during this period, than they do about the disabled veterans they portray.

The recent ‘sexological turn’ within academic scholarship has generally focused on intersections between the discipline of sexology and works of literature. Yet studies of the mobilisation of visual culture – specifically the use of art and artists to ‘legitimise’ the field, have been less forthcoming.[75] Smith’s essay begins to address this by exploring the role images played in erotic *Sittengeschichten* (Histories of Morals) and a deluxe series of books such as *Der Venuswagen* (The Chariot of Venus), which attempted to aestheticise sexual reform in a respectable manner for liberal *Bildungsbürgertum* (middle class) bibliophiles. In ‘Sex Sells! Wolfgang Gurlitt, Erotic Print Culture and Women Artists in the Weimar Republic’, Smith explores how Jeanne Mammen’s sensual work deliberately engaged with a female audience, a demographic often overlooked in discussions on erotica during this period, in which legislation did not acknowledge that same-sex female relations even existed.[76]

The essays in this special issue chronologically explore work produced throughout the fourteen years of the Republic – from its early unstable inception to its tumultuous end. Gela

Forster's sculptures, Heinrich Hoerle's prints and Wolfgang Gurlitt's erotic books and portfolios were produced in the immediate post-war years, characterised by the context of revolutionary hope, hyperinflation and poverty. Schwitters' assemblages of paper and three-dimensional objects affixed to wood or cardboard, seen alongside the innovative, diverse designs of *Notgeld,* signal both the material history of inflation and improvisation, as well as German resilience and patriotism, even before things began to improve in Germany under the Dawes Plan in 1924. Other contributions explore how the work of Laserstein and Haensgen-Dingkuhn, responded to the global economic crisis and growing presence of fascism in Germany towards the end of the Weimar era. Whereas Haensgen-Dingkuhn's later representations of motherhood offer a non-confrontational image of feminine creative practice, Lotte Laserstein's painting *Evening over Potsdam* (1930) depicts a prophetic 'Last Supper' in Potsdam as an ambivalent elegy – a farewell to the indulgence of the Golden Twenties. Yet, we have deliberately not included dates in our special issue title, as the dogma of a unified time or *Zeitgeist* of the Weimar period is not our underlying principal here.[77] Rather, we wish to demonstrate the many temporalities, regionalisms, multidisciplinary character and diversity of subject positions within Weimar artistic production and visual culture. Many of the essays challenge a neat Weimar telos, whether this be through close

analysis of Schwitters' dialectical, untotalising collages that abandon historical naturalism, or the designs for *Notgeld* showing the work of historic artists such as Albrecht Dürer and landmark designs crucial to Germany's rich, federal patina of traditions. Together, all of the essays represent multiple modernities that draw on different features and geographical dimensions that are not always synonymous with modernism.

Conclusions

Jochen Hung has compellingly argued that every generation of scholars and critics has sought (whether intentionally or not) to represent and foreground elements of the Weimar Republic that best represent and suit the contemporary context in which they are writing.[78] Thus, in the immediate post First World War era, Weimar's fostering of expressionist and abstract artists were explored in detail as a way of directing attention away from the perceived political weaknesses of Weimar that lead to the 'inevitable' rise of the right. Conversely, during the 1960s, when German youth began asking questions and holding the older generations to account for their recent past, the radical politically socialist works of Bertolt Brecht, Erwin Piscator and the work of the Frankfurt School and their circle were explored with renewed vigour to demonstrate proof of active resistance to Nazism and the horrors of the Holocaust.[79]

If Weimar's historiography is so telling, what does our approach in this issue signal about today's concerns? Many scholars have made compelling comparisons between the contemporary political climate and the fascist Europe of the 1930s.[80] Indeed, many parallels can be drawn directly between the recent gains made by popular socially motivated protest movements such as #Occupy and #BlackLivesMatter and the radical political advancement of the socialists, Spartacists and communists of Weimar Germany. The lines from Phillipp Khabo Koepsell's 'Fanfare for the Colonized' cited in the epigraph, for example, cement the links between post-colonial Weimar and the lived experiences of contemporary Afro-Germans born from the ashes of Empire. Perhaps more readily available comparisons though are to be drawn between the rise of National Socialism in 1930s Germany and the current populist right-wing insurgencies in the USA, the National Front in France, the Jobbik party in Hungary, the Alternative für Deutschland in Germany and UKIP (United Kingdom Independence Party) in Britain to name but a few. As Jochen Bittner, amongst others, has suggested, perhaps this is indeed Europe's 'Weimar moment' witnessed in the galvanisation of populist votes, swathes of poverty and unemployment, the invocation of anti-immigrant sentiment and the regular circulation of damaging xenophobic rhetoric.[81] Whilst the frequent media analogies between Donald Trump and Adolf

Hitler are, some would argue, inappropriate, others suggest they are in fact hardly misplaced.[82] Nathan Stoltzfus reminds us that 'as Weimar warns, constitutional protections can crumble in the face of majorities amassed by a demagogue'.[83] The democratic complexities of the Weimar Republic – at once a period of liberal promise and uncertainty – continue to be a compelling reminder of how dangerous mass popularity and political conservatism can be.

Notes

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[1] Philipp Khabo Koepsell 'Fanfare for the Colonized' in Asoka Esuruoso and Khabo Koepsell *Arriving in the Future: Stories of Home and Exile*, Germany, 2014, 196-197.

[2] The era of National Socialism under Hitler after 1933 still receives a disproportionately high level of attention in both popular culture and academic discourse and has done since its end in 1945, if not since its inception but what we are suggesting is that it is specifically since the fall of the Berlin wall in 1989 that more sustained focus on and re-evaluation of the Weimar era also ensued.

[3] Jochen Hung, Godela Weiss-Sussex and Geoff Wilkes (eds.) *The Contingency of the Weimar Republic Beyond Glitter and Doom* London 2012, 9.

[4] Gustav Frank 'Beyond the republic? Post-expressionist complexity in the arts' in Jochen Hung, et al (eds.) *The Contingency of the Weimar Republic* 2012, 48-49.

[5] Intersectionality is a term that refers to the complex and cumulative ways in which the effects of different forms of discrimination, particularly against marginalised groups (racism, sexism, classicism, ableism, transphobia, homophobia) combine, overlap, intersect. It is an enormously productive term when thinking about social justice. As is by now well-rehearsed, the term 'intersectional' was coined by scholar and civil rights activist Kimberlé Crenshaw in her ground-breaking article 'Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics' *University of Chicago Legal Forum* Issue 1, Volume 1989, Article 8, 139-167.
http://chicagounbound.uchicago.edu/uclf/vol1989/iss1/8
The context for Crenshaw's article was her realisation that women of colour were being ill-served by a justice system that dealt with gender and race as separate categories; this meant that they were being doubly discriminated against within the US legal system. As Crenshaw has commented, 'intersectionality is an analytic sensibility, a way of thinking about identity and its relationship to power. Originally articulated on behalf of black women, the term brought to light the invisibility of many constituents within groups that claim them as members but often fail to represent them.' Kimberlé Crenshaw 'Why intersectionality can't wait' *Washington Post,* September 24, 2015. Available: https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/in-theory/wp/2015/09/24/why-intersectionality-cant-wait/?noredirect=on&utm_term=.455340357157

[6] Walter Gropius 'In this house the German people, through their National Assembly, gave themselves the Weimar constitution of 11 August 1919' cited in Neil McGregor *Germany Memories of a Nation* London 2014, 355. The plaque still remains in the same location today.

[7] This special issue originated in a session that the Smith and Price co-convened for the Association for Art History's annual conference at the University of East Anglia in April 2015. We would like to thank the conference organisers Sarah Monks and David Peters Corbett for the original platform, as well as all of our speakers and the loyal audience we garnered, for their contributions to some stimulating conversations.

[8] The Hamburg School is a good example of Weimar Germany's strong regionally-based triumphs before its enforced exile to London in 1934 as the Warburg Institute. See Emily Levine *Dreamland of Humanists: Warburg, Cassirer, Panofsky and the Hamburg School*, Chicago 2013.

[9] Emily Levine *Dreamland of the Humanists* 2013, 2-3.

[10] When the National Socialists seized power in 1933, the virulent anti-semitism they promulgated forced Ernst Cassirer (1874-1945) to flee to England, then to Sweden and eventually to New York where he settled in a teaching post at Columbia University. Panofsky (1892-1968) had already begun dividing his time between New York and Hamburg in 1931. When his post at Hamburg was terminated by the Nazis in 1933, he continued to teach at New York University before joining the Faculty of the Institute of Advanced Studies at Princeton in 1935, where he spent the rest of his career. By 1933 Warburg had been dead for 4 years but on 12 December Fritz Saxl (1890-1948) and his partner Gertrud Bing (1892-1964) rescued the KBW library (consisting of nearly 60,000 books and 25,000 photographs) from Hamburg and relocated it and themselves to London, where Saxl became the first Director of the Warburg Institute, succeeded at his death in 1948 by Bing. [https://warburg.sas.ac.uk/library/library-aby-warburg]

[11] Emily Levine *Dreamland of the Humanists* 2013, 3.

[12] For a trenchant account of anti-semitism in Imperial Germany and its ramifications in the visual arts see Peter Paret 'Modernism and the "Alien Element" in German Art' in *German Encounters with Modernism 1840-1945* Cambridge, 2001, 60-91.

[13] For more information see Volker Berghahn, *Imperial Germany, 1871–1914: Economy, Society, Culture, and Politics,* Oxford 1994, 102.

[14] Georges Didi-Huberman 'The Surviving Image: Aby Warburg and Tylorian Anthropology' *Oxford Art Journal* Vol.25, No.1, 2002, 61-69.

[15] Margaret Iversen 'Retrieving Warburg's Tradition' *Art History* vol.16 no.4 December 1993, 541-553

[16] Giorgio Agamben 'Aby Warburg and the Nameless Science' in Daniel Heller-Roazen (trans. and ed.) *Potentialities: Collected Essays in Philosophy* Standford 1999, 90.

[17] Giorgio Agamben 'Aby Warburg and the Nameless Science' in Heller-Roazen (trans. and ed.) 1999, 90.

[18] Literature on the significance of Warburg to the discipline of art history has grown considerably since the 1990s. In addition to Iversen 'Retrieving Warburg's Tradition' *Art History* 1993, other accounts include Matthew Rampley 'From Symbol to Allegory: Aby Warburg's Theory of Art' *The Art Bulletin,* vol.79, no.1 March 1997, 41-55; Georges Didi-Huberman *L'image survivante: Histoire de l'art et temps des fantômes selon Aby Warburg*, Paris 2002 (published in English as *The Surviving Image: Phantoms of Time and Time of Phantoms,* Pennsylvania 2017); Colleen Becker 'Aby Warburg's *Pathosformel* as methodological paradigm' *Journal of Historiography* no.9 December 2013, 1-25 and Griselda Pollock 'Whither Art History' *The Art Bulletin* Vol.96, no.1 March 2014, 9-23. Essays on Warburg's significance to the disciplines of history and philosophy include Carlo Ginzburg 'From Aby Warburg to E.H. Gombrich: A Problem of Method' in John and Anne C. Tedeschi (eds.) *Clues, Myths and the Historical Method,* Baltimore 1986, 17-59 and Giorgio Agamben 'Aby Warburg and the Nameless Science' in Heller-Roazen (ed.) 1999, 89-103. For additional bibliographic sources, particularly in German, see Claudia Wedepohl 'Aby Warburg' *Oxford Bibliographies Online*. Oxford 2016. DOI: 10.1093/OBO/9780199920105-0087

[19] Iversen 'Retrieving Warburg's Tradition' *Art History,* 1993.

[20] Emily Levine *Dreamland of the Humanists* 2013, 8.

[21] The painting was Willy von Beckerath's *Die Ewige Welle* (*The Eternal Wave*) and it is still in situ today.

[22] The Hanseatic League was a German trading association or guild founded in northern Europe and active from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries to protect German trading activities. For further details see Ulf Christian Ewert and Stephan Selzer *Institutions of Hanseatic Trade: Studies on the Political Economy of a Medieval Network Organisation,* Oxford 2016.

[23] The plethora of publications on Weimar Berlin are too numerous to cite in full here but key publications spanning the last two decades include Charles Haxthausen and Heidrun Suhr (eds.) *Berlin: Culture and Metropolis* Minneapolis 1992; Dorothy Rowe *Representing Berlin* London 2003; Monica Black *Death in Berlin* Cambridge 2010; David Frisby and Iain Boyd Whyte *Metropolis Berlin 1880-1940,* Berkeley 2012; Olaf Peters (ed.) *Berlin Metropolis 1918-1933,* New York 2014; Jill Suzanne Smith *Berlin Coquette* Ithaca 2014; Frances Mossop *Mapping Berlin*, Oxford 2015 amongst others.

[24] Hans Ostwald, 'Dunkle Winkel in Berlin' *Die Großstadt Dokumente* Berlin 1905-08, 21-24.

[25] Karl Scheffler *Berlin: Ein Stadtschicksal* Berlin 1910. For discussions of his work see Dorothy Rowe *Representing Berlin* 2003, 16-18 and Lothar Müller 'The Beauty of the Metropolis' in Haxthausen and Suhr (eds.) *Berlin* 1992, 49.

[26] Georg Simmel, 'The Metropolis and Mental Life' (1903) in Donald Levine (ed.) *Georg Simmel: On Individuality and Social Forms* Chicago 1971 and Tom Bottomore and David Frisby (eds.) *Georg Simmel The Philosophy of Money* (first published in 1900) New York 1990.

[27] Christian Rogowski 'Black Voices on the 'Black Horror on the Rhine'' in Sara Lennox (ed.) *Remapping Black Germany*, 2016, 118.

[28] Louis Brody 'Die deutschen Neger und die 'schwarze Schmach' *Berliner Zeitung am Mittag*, 24 May 1921, vol.44, no.118.

[29] Charles S. Maier 'Between Taylorism and Technocracy: European Ideologies and the Vision of Industrial Productivity in the 1920s' *Journal of Contemporary History* Vol. 5, No. 2 (1970), 27-61.

[30] For more on the celebratory aspects of the Weimar Republic see Eric D. Weitz *Weimar Germany: Promise and Tragedy* New Jersey 2007.

[31] Annemarie Sammartino 'Citizenship Policy in the Early Weimar Republic' in Kathleen Canning et al (eds.) *Weimar Publics/ Weimar Subjects: Rethinking the Political Culture of Germany in the 1920s* Oxford, 2010, 324-325.

[32] Annemarie Sammartino'Citizenship Policy' in Canning et al (eds.) 2010, 325.

[33] Recent relevant exhibitions include Daniel F. Herrmann and Dawn Ades (eds.) *Hannah Höch* London: Whitechapel 2014; Roxana Marcoci and Sarah Meister (eds) *From Bauhaus to Buenos Aires: Grete Stern and Horacio Coppola* New York: MoMA 2015; Ingrid Pfeiffer (ed.) *Splendour and Misery in the Weimar Republic* Frankfurt: Schirn Kunsthalle 2017; Alexander Eiling and Elena Schroll (eds.) *Lotte Laserstein: Face to Face* Frankfurt: Städl Museum 2018 and Ann Coxon and Bryony Fer (eds.) *Anni Albers* London: Tate Modern 2018.

[34] For more on intersectionality, see endnote 5.

[35] Studies of German modernism in terms of race have been largely focused on the aesthetics of primitivism and/or negrophilia, particularly in relation to the cultural products of expressionism, for example Jill Lloyd *German Expressionism: Primitivism and Modernity* London 1991 and those in terms of gender, most often in relation to white women, for example Helen Boak *Women in the Weimar Republic* Manchester, 2013. Intersectional studies of German modernism remain rare.

[36] Tobias Nagl 'Counterfeit Money/Counterfeit Discourse: A Black German Trickster's Tale' in Lennox (ed.) *Remapping Black Germany*, Boston, 2016, 105.

[37] Tina Campt 'Reading the Black German Experience: An Introduction' *Callaloo* vol.26, no. 2 Spring 2003, 290.

[38] Sara Lennox 'Introduction' *Remapping Black Germany*, Boston, 2016, 11-12.

[39] The term *Geschichtssplitter* (historical shards or fragments) is cited in Lennox *ibid.* She borrows it from Kien Nghi Ha, Nicola Lauré al-Samarai and Sheila Mysorekar (eds.) *re/visionen: Postkoloniale Perspektiven von People of Color auf Rassismus, Kulturpolitik und Widerstand in Deutschland*, Münster, 2007, 111.

[40] Tobias Nagl 'Counterfeit Money/Counterfeit Discourse: A Black German Trickster's Tale' in Lennox (ed.) *Remapping Black Germany*, Boston, 2016, 106.

[41] Asoka Esuruoso 'Historical Overview' in Esuruoso and Khabo Koepsell (eds.) *Arriving in the Future: Stories of Home and Exile*, Germany, 2014, 14 -35.

[42] Asoka Esuruoso 'Historical Overview' in Esuruoso and Khabo Koepsell (eds.) *Arriving in the Future,* 2014, 15.

[43] Eucherius, 'Passio Acaunensium Martyrum' *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptorum Rerum Merovingicarum*, Vol. III Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Hahniani, 1896, 32-40. Available to read online here: https://www.dmgh.de/de/fs1/object/display/bsb00000750_00028.html?sortIndex=010%3A020%3A0003%3A010%3A00%3A00&zoom=0.75

For further information about the historiography of Eucherius' account, see Jeff Bowersox 'The Legend of St Maurice (ca.434-450)' at https://blackcentraleurope.com/sources/1000-1500/the-legend-of-st-maurice-ca-434-450/

[44] However, as many scholars have since suggested, the veracity of Eucherius's account is uncertain. For more information see David Woods 'The Origin of the Legend of Maurice and the Theban Legion' *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 45, 1994, 385-95 and Jean Devisse 'A Sanctified Black: Maurice' in David Bindman and Henry Louis Gates Junior (eds.) *The Image of the Black in Western Art*, vol.2 From the Early Christian Era to the 'Age of Discovery.' Revised 2nd edition. London, 2010, 139-269.
[45] Maryan Ainsworth, Sandra Hindriks and Pierre Terjanian 'Lucas Cranach's 'Saint Maurice' *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* Vol.72, No.4 Spring 2015, 7.
[46] Maryan Ainsworth et al 'Lucas Cranach's 'Saint Maurice' 2015, 7.
[47] Maryan Ainsworth et al 'Lucas Cranach's 'Saint Maurice' 2015, 7.
[48] Asoka Esuruoso 'Historical Overview' 2014, 15. Amongst the relics designated with cult status by Otto, Maurice's Holy Lance or the Longinus Lance was believed to have inflicted Christ's mortal wound and as part of the establishment of the cult of the saint, was declared by Otto as Maurice's personal weapon. See Ainsworth et al 2015, 7 for more information.
[49] Asoka Esuruoso 'Historical Overview' 2014, 16.
[50] Paul H.D. Kaplan 'The Calenberg Altarpiece: Black African Christians in Renaissance Germany' in Mischa Honek, Martin Klimke and Anne Kuhlemann (eds.) *Germany and the Black Diaspora Points of Contact 1250-1914* New York and Oxford, 2013, 21.
[51] Sara Lennox 'Introduction' *Remapping Black Germany*, Boston, 2016, 13. There are a variety of available accounts about the existence and achievements of Amo Afer, some of which vary slightly in historical detail but all of which follow the same basic account. See for example Burchard Brentjes 'Anton Wilhelm Amo, First African Philosopher in European Universities' *Current Anthropology* vol.16, no.3 September 1975, 443-444; Reginald Bess 'A.W.Amo: First Great Black Man of Letters' *Journal of Black Studies,* vol.19, no.4 June 1989, 387-393; Marilyn Sephocle 'Anton

Wilhelm Amo' *Journal of Black Studies,* vol.23, no.2 Special Issue: The Image of Africa in German Society, December 1992, 182-187 and more recently Jacob Emmanuel Mabe *Anton Wilhelm Amo interkutlurell gelesen*, Nordhausen 2007.

[52] Philipp Khabo Koepsell 'Fanfare for the Colonized' in Asoka Esuruoso and Khabo Koepsell *Arriving in the Future: Stories of Home and Exile*, Germany, 2014, 196-197.

[53] Robbie Aitken and Eve Rosenhaft *Black Germany: The Making and Unmaking of a Diaspora Community, 1884-1960*, Cambridge, 2013, 2.

[54] Marcia Klotz 'The Weimar Republic: a postcolonial state in a still-colonial world' in Ames, Klotz and Wildenthal (eds.) *Germany's Colonial Pasts* Nebraska 2005, 135-147.

[55] The term 'Golden Twenties' is generally applied to the temporary period of economic stability in the Weimar Republic between 1924-1929 when American loans to Germany, in the form of the Dawes Plan, helped to quell hyper-inflation. However, with the Wall Street crash in 1929 American banks immediately withdrew their loans and demanded repayments with interest. The German economy spiralled into collapse once more and the era of the Great Depression began.

[56] Katherine Tubb 'Face to Face? An Ethical Encounter with Germany's Dark Strangers in August Sander's *People of the Twentieth Century*' in *Tate Papers*, no.19, Spring 2013. https://www.tate.org.uk/research/publications/tate-papers/19/face-to-face-an-ethical-encounter-with-germany-dark-strangers-in-august-sanders-people-of-the-twentieth-century

[57] For more on Weimar nostalgia for its colonial pasts see Jared Poley *Decolonization in Germany: Weimar Narratives of Colonial Loss and Foreign Occupation* Oxford 2005. See also Brett van Hoesen 'Postcolonial Cosmopolitanism: Constructing the Weimar New Woman out of a Colonial Imaginary' in Elizabeth Otto and Vanessa Rocco (eds.) *The New Woman*

International: Representations in Photography and Film from the 1870s through the 1960s Michigan 2011, 95-114.

[58] For more on Josephine Baker see Petrine Archer Straw *Negrophilia: avant-garde Paris and Black culture in the 1920s*, London 2000. For more on the German context see Christian Weikop 'Afrophilia and Afrophobia in Switzerland and Germany (1916-1938)' in David Bindman and Henry Louis Gates Jr. (eds.) *The Image of the Black in Western Art* Vol. V Part 1 'The Twentieth Century: The Impact of Africa' Massachusetts 2014, 153-174.

[59] Katherine Tubb 'Face to Face? *Tate Papers*, no.19, Spring 2013. See note 45 for URL.

[60] Katherine Tubb 'Face to Face? *Tate Papers*, no.19, Spring 2013.

[61] Christian Schad 'Felix Bryk' in *Bildlegenden* 1976-77 in Jill Lloyd and Michael Peppiatt (eds.) *Christian Schad and the Neue Sachlichkeit* New York 2003, 232.

[62] Christian Schad 'Agosta, the Winged Man, and Rasha, the Black Dove, Berlin 1929' in Lloyd and Peppiatt (eds.) 2003, 234.

[63] Jan Hogendorn and Marion Johnson *The Shell Money of the Slave Trade* Cambridge 1986.

[64] Thomas Ratzka ''The Human Being is the most important and the most Mysterious' - Christian Schad's Artistic Development to 1945' in Michael Fuhr (ed.) *Christian Schad 1894-1982 Retrospective* Vienna 2008, 19-20.

[65] Kristen Schroeder 'From Sideshow to Portrait: Looking at *Agosta, the Pigeon-Chested Man and Rasha, the Black Dove*' unpublished paper kindly shared with the editors, College Art Association February 2018, 2.

[66] The editors would like to thank Simon Lake from New Walk Art Gallery, Leicestershire Museums service and Tyl (Khalil) Norland, Neuschul's son for furnishing us with details of the lost painting. Email correspondence between Lake and Price and Norland and Price 6 December and 12 December 2018.

[67] The Novembergruppe were formed in the aftermath of the November Revolution and held shared socialist values. Prominent members included Max Pechstein and Ludwig Meidner. For more details see Joan Weinstein *The End of Expressionism: Art and the November Revolution* Chicago 1990.

[68] Christian Weikop 'Afrophilia and Afrophobia' in Bindman et al (eds.) *The Image of the Black in Western Art* 2014, 168.

[69] For further examples see Julia Collieu (ed.) *Ernest Neuschul 1895-1968* Leicester, Leicestershire Museum and Art Gallery 1988. In email correspondence dated 12 December 2018 between Neuschul's son Tyl Norland and Price, Tyl suggested that many of these works are now either lost, destroyed or dispersed in private collections in the former eastern bloc.

[70] Barry Herbert 'Ernest Neuschul 1895-1968' in Adrienne Avery-Gray (ed.) *Expressionism and Beyond: Fourteen Paintings from the German Art Collection at New Walk Museum and Art Gallery, Leicester* Leicester, 2002, 61.

[71] Helmut, Lethen, *Cool Conduct*, p. 42.

[72] The British Museum exhibition 'Germany: Memories of a Nation' also displayed examples of banknotes and drew attention to the fundamental importance of their design.

[73] Some of notable studies include Marsha Meskimmon and Shearer West (eds.) *Visions of the Neue Frau: Women and the Visual Arts in Weimar Germany* Hampshire, 1995; Marsha Meskimmon *We Weren't Modern Enough: Women Artists and the Limits of German Modernism* London 1999; Katharina von Ankum (ed.) *Women in the Metropolis*, Berkeley 1997; Vibeke Rützou Petersen *Women and Modernity in Weimar Germany: Reality and Representation in Popular Fiction* Oxford 2001; Christane Schönfeld *Practicing Modernity: Female Creativity in the Weimar Republic,* Würzburg 2006; Julia Roos *Weimar Through the Lens of Gender* Ann Arbor 2010; Katie Sutton *The Masculine Woman in Weimar Germany* Oxford 2011; Helen Boak *Women in the Weimar Republic* Manchester 2013 and many

others.

[74] Ernst Bloch, *Heritage of Our Times*, Neville and Stephen Plaice, trans., Cambridge, 1991 and Frederic J. Schwartz, *Blind Spots: Critical Theory and the History of Art in Twentieth-century Germany*, New Haven, 2005, 103-136.

[75] The 2014-15 exhibition, 'The Institute of Sexology' held at The Wellcome Institute in London seemed like a missed opportunity in its lack of engagement with the visual culture of the discipline.

[76] Exceptions include Clare Rogan, 'Desiring Women: Constructing the Lesbian and Female Homoeroticism in German Art and Visual Culture, 1900–1933' PhD diss., Brown University, 2005 and Rogan's compelling discussion of Germaine Krull's erotic photographs in 'Acting the Lesbian: Les Amies *by Germaine Krull'* in Elizabeth Otto and Vanessa Rocco (eds.) *The New Woman International: Representations in Photography and Film from the 1870s through the 1960s* Ann Arbor 2011, 134-151.

[77] In doing so, this collection of essays takes its lead from Peter E. Gordon and John P. McCormick's *Weimar Thought. A Contested Legacy* Princeton 2013, 4.

[78] Jochen Hung, et al (eds.) *The Contingency of the Weimar Republic* 2012, 2.

[79] Frankfurt school members and their circle included György Lukács, Herbert Marcuse, Maz Horkheimer, Hannah Arendt, Walter Benjamin, Siegfried Kracauer, Theodor Adorno and Ernst Bloch.

[80] Comparisons between Weimar Germany and the present day have been debated by many prominent historians including Edward Ross Dickinson, Jochen Hung, Laurie Marhoefer and Julia Roos 'A backlash against liberalism? What the Weimar Republic can teach us about today's politics' *International Journal for History, Culture and Modernity*, Vol. 5, issue 1, 91-107. Available:

https://www.history-culture-modernity.org/articles/10.18352/hcm.533/

[81] Jochen Bittner 'Is this the West's Weimar Moment?' *New York Times* 31 May 2016

[82] Many recent comparisons between Weimar Germany and the present day political swings to the right across Europe and America have been drawn over the last few years. Examples include Eric D. Weitz 'Weimar Germany and Donald Trump' *Tablet* 18 July 2016; Daniel Bessin and Udi Greenberg 'The Weimar Analogy' *Jacobin* 17 December 2016 and many others. An up to date record is kept by Jochen Hung's *Weimar Studies Network* available here: https://wsn.hypotheses.org/

[83] Nathan Stoltzfus 'Trump Versus Hitler: What We Can Learn From Weimar Germany' *Daily Beast,* 'Common Ground' 31 June 2016 https://weimarstudies.wordpress.com/2016/12/04/trump-and-weimar-germany/