

CHAPTER 5

Lustmord: Inside the Windows of the Metropolis

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At the end of June 1917, two months after being discharged from a military mental asylum, George Grosz, writing to his close friend Otto Schmalhausen, discussed his new large paintings of city scenes. His description of the chaotic street scene intermingled violence and sex with the technology of the modern city. Screams of women giving birth, jangling telephones, knuckle-dusters and Solingen knives resting in the trouser pocket of the pimp, Circe turning men into swine, gramophone music, and murder by strangling in a dusty cellar—all these Grosz called the “emotions of the metropolis,” which he executed with a remarkable palette of reds.¹ In this letter, Grosz was probably referring to two of his major paintings of 1917–18, *Metropolis* and *Dedicated to Oskar Panizza*; however, the theme of the suspicious and bestial world of the streets and of the life inside the windows was not a new one for him. It was the dominant subject in his first published works, both drawings and poetry, in journals and portfolios. In the *Erste George Grosz Mappe* (1917), seven of the nine lithographs were street scenes in which windows in multistory buildings revealed scenes of seduction, assault, and suicide. In the twenty prints of the *Kleine Grosz Mappe* of the same year, not only did fourteen show street scenes, but the long, expressionist title-page poem was a verbal counterpart to the drawings, in which the windows of the city displayed drinking, sex, murder, and mayhem.² The windows serve as a catalog of the signs of degeneracy—the “sickness of the age” according to Max Nordau—attributed to the modern metropolis.³ In his poem Grosz expressed this view of the degeneration within the city characterizing those who inhabit the dingy streets and toppling tenements as:

and always evil people, degenerate,
meaty-handed, with ball-like feet.

(und immer böse Menschen, entartete,
großhändig, mit Ballenfüßen.)

Looking from the outside in, Grosz presented domestic scenes during the First World War in which people commit suicide, fight and murder, or stare in bleak desolation out onto streets where funeral hearses mingle with respectable burghers and degenerate figures.

The first critics who wrote about Grosz concentrated upon his brutal vision of the metropolis and his disturbing view inside the windows. Theodor Däubler, in the earliest review of his work in 1916, described Grosz's penchant for portraying the windows of the city with violent scenes within and, in the following year in a major art journal, stated that in Grosz's drawings one did not look, as is usual, *out* of a window, but instead looked *into* windows like stacked boxes containing quarrelsome, sentimental, murderous people. Even the deep cellars, Däubler said, contained raging suicides, sadists, drunks, gamblers, and whores.⁴ By 1918, Däubler developed his theme further, seeing Grosz as passionately affirming violent modern urban life, even the bitter life within the tenements of the great city. Grosz's tenements virtually exploded, said Däubler, from the force of the emotions raging within: itching, cringing, rioting, rutting.⁵ Each of Däubler's articles was accompanied with drawings and poems by Grosz that confirmed his observations (figure 21).

Within this catalog of passion that Grosz portrayed in word and line and that critics discussed was the *Lustmord* (sex or rape murder). In the second part of the title-page poem, published in 1932 under the title "Berlin, 1917," Grosz intimated a scene of sexual violence.

Gloomily the overcoat flaps at the pimp's bones,
Back bent, brass knuckles fixed,
Descending with a sharp Solingen knife
Deep into tenements
Into fur shops and silk houses
Or coal cellars
Afterwards one sometimes finds a bloody
Piece of taffetta or a wool stocking
Or the bill with a handprint.

(Schwarz schlägt der Paletot ans Zuhältergebein
Rückenkrumm, schlagringfest
Mit scharfem Solingmesser gehts bergab
Mietskasernen tief
In die Pelzgeschäfte und Seidenhäuser



Figure 21. George Grosz. People in the Street, 1915-16. Transfer lithograph in Erste George Grosz Mappe, Malik Verlag, 1917, pl. 5, 27.6 x 21.7 cm. Los Angeles County Museum of Art, The Robert Gore Rifkind Center for German Expressionist Studies.

Oder Kohlenkeller
Nachher findet einer mal ein blutiges
Stück Taft oder einen Wollstrumpf
Oder die Rechnung mit Handabdruck.)⁶



Figure 22. George Grosz. *World of the Bourgeoisie*, 1918, Offset lithograph in *Ecce Homo*, Malik Verlag, 1923, pl. 18, 21.0 x 26.3 cm. Los Angeles County Museum of Art, The Robert Gore Rifkind Center for German Expressionist Studies, purchased with funds provided by Anna Bing Arnold, Museum Acquisition Fund, and Deaccession Funds.

In his drawings and paintings of sexual murders, Grosz was more explicit. Several of the paintings were published in the early reviews of his work and the descriptions by avant-garde critics are surprisingly matter-of-fact, concentrating upon the formal elements of the works. For example, Däubler wrote in 1917, "Grosz also painted many a *Lustmord*. . . . The red of the blood stains and marks intertwined with the arabesques of the imitation Genoese damask carpet."⁷

This acceptance of sexual murder as an expected manifestation of the nasty underworld of the metropolis can be viewed as an extension of the bourgeois preoccupation with the degeneracy and corruption of urban life at the end of the century. Grosz himself clearly viewed the prostitute, both alive and dead, as very much part of bourgeois life. In *World of the Bourgeoisie* (figure 22), drawn in July 1918, Grosz integrated both respectably conventional prostitutes and those engaged in sadistic practices into a crowded ur-

ban scene presided over by a top-hatted aristocrat and a straight-laced burgher seated at a table. In this corrupt metropolis, Grosz included a truncated image of the *Lustmord*: a bloody knife and a dismembered female torso with lash marks on her buttocks rest on the burgher's table. Furthermore, the bloody knife connects the torso to the profile of the artist himself.⁸

In this essay, I shall address the question of why Grosz and other avant-garde artists of his generation chose to present images of violated and dismembered women in bleak urban settings. I shall argue that these artists portrayed domestic violence in its extreme form—the *Lustmord* or sex murder—because of pervasive social anxieties about the role of women that many of the artists and intellectuals shared with the middle classes in this period. Anxiety about the "woman question" constituted one of the burning social issues of the day, debated by intellectuals, artists, and politicians. An underlying theme of the essay is that these artists, who constituted the second generation of German expressionists, or the generation of 1914,⁹ consciously turned to popular urban culture for artistic themes to express their own anxieties.

Reinhold Heller and Bram Dijkstra have both analyzed the misogynistic response of artists at the turn of the century to the increasingly strong women's movement and to social changes within the industrial world. These artists of the 1890s, they argue, objectified their anxiety about women in the images of the seductive femme fatale and the dangerous animalistic woman.¹⁰ The artists who came of age on the eve of the war—the generation of 1914—were affected by a different complex of cultural and social changes. As adolescents, they consumed the violent and pornographic trash literature and itinerant films that had their heyday in the decade before the First World War. As young men, they became enamored with the misogynistic ideas of the earlier generation of Symbolists, shortly before most of them had to confront service in the war, which was, for many, traumatic. Most of these young men were aware of the turn-of-the-century sexology that sought to define normative sexual activity for both male and female. At the same time, troubling social problems associated with the metropolis—such as the rising visibility of prostitution, contraceptive usage, abortion, venereal diseases, sexual promiscuity, and pornography—combined with Darwinian ideas, produced on the part of many intellectuals a preoccupation with degeneracy that was linked with woman. A critical factor associated with all of these phenomena was anxiety about sexual roles that was accelerated by the social changes brought about by the women's movement and later by the war.

Grosz started drawing sex murders in 1912–13, several years before the war. The earliest examples of the *Lustmord* theme in his work were presented in a hazy, stylized fashion, clearly inspired by images from popular culture and from his reading of horror novels. Grosz often recounted in later years that he was fascinated as a child by the horror stories shown in primitive peep shows in country fairs. He liked to read newspaper accounts of sensational murders and he devoured trashy pornographic, adventure, and detective novels. A voracious reader of fantastic and demonic writers, he was particularly fond of Gustav Meyrink, Hanns Heinz Ewers, and E. A. Poe; hence, the title of one of his early depictions of a man murdering a woman: *Double Murder on the Rue Morgue, dedicated to E. A. Poe*. In the decades before the war, pulp novels, sold in installments, and cheap pamphlet stories constituted a lucrative trade throughout Germany, so extensive that one scholar has claimed that “the world picture of millions of late 19th century Germans was formed more by pamphlet stories than anything else.”¹¹ Estimates of annual sales on the eve of the war range from 25 to 300 million. The most popular colporteur novels combined violence and sex; Victor von Falk’s *The Executioner of Berlin*, possibly the best-selling novel in nineteenth-century Germany with over a million copies sold, included graphic descriptions of murders, executions, dismemberments, torture, and kidnapping in its 3,000 pages.¹² Beginning in the 1880s, the covers of the pamphlet stories displayed multicolored scenes of sensational, violent acts.¹³ Itinerant films, introduced in 1895, did not lag far behind in portraying endless cycles of violence and sadism. The cinemas spread so rapidly that by 1914, millions of lower-class Germans were viewing films each day in over 2,500 cinema houses.¹⁴ Together, the trash novels and the cinema constituted a burgeoning urban culture, providing the working urban classes with escape into the windows of distant exotic worlds or nearby urban underworlds.

Grosz attested to the power of the pamphlet novels and primitive films over his imagination in his autobiographical statements, first published in 1929, in which he recounted both titles and plots of the ones he most relished, and reproduced an illustration from *Jack the Mysterious Maiden Killer*, a childhood book he still owned.¹⁵ In 1943 he planned to dedicate his autobiography to several men, including the author of his favorite dime novels.¹⁶ Not surprisingly, given Grosz’s penchant for expressing the same ideas in written and visual form, a long series of Grosz drawings from 1912–14 have the gruesome and exotic quality of the pulp novels. Scenes of harems, family tragedies, modern Bluebeards, and sailors of death disposing of female victims mixed with the predominant image—that of the *Lustmord*. These sex murders took place in prostitutes’ rooms, disordered, with indications of alcoholism and debauchery, both believed at that time to be characteristics of urban degeneration. The sense of uncanny agitation in most of these

images was emphasized by Grosz’s use of fine, spidery lines to envelop the figures.

Although Grosz reveled in these tales, many in the educated middle and upper classes did not. Reacting against the widespread popularity of these cheap, colorful, and trashy manifestations of popular culture, middle-class crusaders by the late 1890s mounted campaigns against the pornographic and violent books and films, which they charged had deleterious effects upon young people and the lower classes. Forming a large number of morality associations, the purity crusaders agitated in journals, newspapers, and demonstrations in front of various city councils and state legislatures. By 1912, limited forms of censorship were put into place. These crusades were significant for the public debate and attention that they generated over the linked themes of sexuality and violence in popular culture at the time when Grosz and his peers were adolescents. Scholars who have examined these crusades speak of the “unprecedented obsession with and fear of sexuality” at that time.¹⁷

This obsession with sexuality also emerged in the high culture of the pre-war period. The fear of women became visible in misogynist writings by intellectuals and in the preoccupation with sexuality in the medical world throughout Europe. The “science” of sexology that emerged in the late nineteenth century was both a response to and a manifestation of anxiety about moral and national degeneracy. Sexology was an attempt to define and then regulate sexual pathologies that were perceived to underlie patterns of national degeneration. A basic axiom among sexologists was that sexuality was biologically determined, not socially constructed. The concern was to define respectable bourgeois roles or, conversely, to liberate people from social constraints and enable them to fulfil “normal” biological needs. Whether reformist or conservative, the sexologists agreed that woman is determined by her biology, that her being is overwhelming sexual, and that her purpose is reproductive.¹⁸ This concentration upon woman’s sexual nature and reproductive purpose indicated that underneath the concern for respectable and healthy sexual norms lay considerable anxiety about the threat to the traditional male-dominant role that the “woman question” was posing. That a woman’s normal nature was fulfilled by sexual relations and reproduction was a powerful argument for maintaining traditional roles against women’s demands for equal rights and independence.¹⁹

The assumption of the fundamentally sexual nature of woman underlay the misogyny of writers in Germany, Austria, and France who cultivated a reactionary view of women. Drawing on Schopenhauer’s pessimistic study *On Women*, which was reissued in 1908 in an edition of 50,000, on Nietzsche’s brief aphoristic condemnation in *Beyond Good and Evil* of woman as a mindless and soulless being, and on Strindberg’s unbounded hatred of and fascination with strong aggressive women, writers and artists

plast-
non-reprod
-masc

compulsively explored the nature of the battle of the sexes. In *Die Frau und die Kunst* (1908), Karl Scheffler, editor of *Kunst und Künstler*, attacked the women's rights movement because it denied the fundamental, eternal, and natural polarity of the sexes. Arguing that man's true nature is active, creative, and individualized, but that woman's true nature is passive, imitative, undifferentiated, and childlike, Scheffler insisted that man fulfils his nature by creative activity. When woman, however, attempts to become active or creative, she either becomes a poor imitation of man or she destroys herself.²⁰ The ultimate statement of pseudoscientific sexology and pseudo-philosophical writing came from Otto Weininger in his 1903 book on *Sex and Character*, in which he defined woman totally as a sexual being (*Geschlechtswesen*) who has no consciousness, no soul, and no existence beyond her sexuality. As pure sexual being, the female, living only for the phallus, threatens all that is transcendent and godlike in the male. Men, as moral beings, can only be destroyed by the immoral sensual omnipotence of the female.²¹ Weininger himself chose suicide after he completed his passionate discourse, but Weininger's woman, possessed by her sexual organs and her omnivorous appetite for the phallus, emerged in startling clarity in the images of the femme fatale in turn-of-the-century German art.²²

Weininger's woman appeared around 1912 in a series of Grosz's drawings of Circe, whose imperious sexuality reduced men to degraded cringing animals. In other drawings, under her direction an ape with knife and ax slaughtered and beheaded a man, handing her the gory head. The images conflate Salome, Judith, Circe, Poe, and cheap novels. Grosz's drawings, expressing the pessimism of high culture, were indebted to the images of urban mass culture. When he came to Berlin in 1912, Grosz was not only reading horror novels, he was enamored—as were most young artists—by fashionable writers, all of whom were noted for agonizing over woman's sexuality.

We worshipped Zola, Strindberg, Weininger, Wedekind—naturalistic enlighteners, anarchistic self-tormenters, devotees of death, and erotomaniacs.²³

Filled with the diatribes of Nietzsche and Schopenhauer, Grosz was particularly drawn to "the truly great Huysmans and Strindberg,"²⁴ whose works he read, admired, and wrote about throughout his life. He remembers seeing a series of Strindberg plays in Berlin at this time. His letters, poetry, and drawings were awash with his own fascination, influenced by his reading, with sex and death. In a letter to his friend Otto Schmalhausen in 1916, he used language from Weininger to analyze Otto's problems.²⁵ Däubler, describing the denizens of Grosz's street scenes in 1917, referred to "a criminal, in Weininger's sense." Yet Grosz also shared Weininger's awe before the eternal reproductive power of women. Writing about a childhood

experience—whether actual or fantasy—of peering through a window and finding within a woman undressing, Grosz, transfixed by the fleshy vision, concluded:

It was as if someone I don't know had shown me a symbol, something eternal—for as long as we exist, there will be the symbol of nudity: woman as the everlasting source and continuation of our species.²⁶

Enthralled by the power of sex, fearful of women embodying that power, Grosz and his generation of artists, like Bohemians before them, glorified and vilified the prostitute. He read Flaubert and de Maupassant and reveled in the prostitutes of Berlin, for, as he said, "The Friedrichstadt was alive with whores."²⁷

Grosz's observation coincided with contemporary controversies over the conspicuous growth and visibility of prostitution in German cities in the decades before the First World War. As a result of social and economic changes produced by rapid industrialization, prostitutes not only increased in numbers but spread out of the old police-regulated bordellos into the streets of the industrial cities in Germany. In 1897, Berlin police regulated 3,000 registered prostitutes, but estimated there were another 40–50,000 unregistered prostitutes in the city. By 1900, estimates for prostitutes in Germany varied between 100 and 200,000. By 1914, 330,000.²⁸ In addition to prostitutes becoming more visible and, therefore, more threatening to middle-class morals, a whole lower-class entertainment industry grew up around prostitution in the cities: cafés, cabarets, beer-halls, and music halls. With the prostitutes also came venereal diseases that reached epidemic proportions in the early years of the century; according to one source, VD was second only to tuberculosis in the number of cases treated in hospitals.²⁹ Women as prostitutes were perceived as carriers of sickness and death. The connection between sex and death was concrete and physical. Prostitutes, usually as victims, were also involved in the rising crime statistics. The number of sexual crimes and homicides increased: in Prussia in 1900, 191 women were killed; that number rose to 365 in 1914. While the raw numbers seem low to our violence-saturated minds, they caused alarm in the prewar period, particularly the female homicides, because the newspapers tended to run lurid stories on murdered women, heightening the perception of women as victims of the industrial city. Women who were single, living and working independently in Berlin and other cities, were more likely to be murder victims than women who remained in traditional roles in rural areas.³⁰ Women, therefore, became visible symbols for fears about the degeneration and corruption produced by industrial city life. Morality associations, as well as crusading against pornographic books and films, were actively trying in the years before the war to cleanse the city streets of the social disorder represented by the prostitutes.³¹

Another form of degeneration—again connected with women—that raised national anxieties at this time was the declining birth rate and rise of abortions in Germany. Both of these phenomena were occurring in other European countries, but the proportions of each in Germany were sufficient to alarm authorities, who began to talk about a “birth strike.” The downward trend of the birth rate, begun in the 1870s, became most visible after the turn of the century, and declined precipitously during and after the First World War. In 1914 there were 27 births per 1,000 persons; in 1922, 11.5 per 1,000.³² Particularly worrisome was the declining birth rate among the lower-middle and lower classes. Motivation for the refusal to bear children appears to have gone, in many cases, beyond fear of pregnancy to a rejection of male sexual demands.³³ Despite increased prosecution of women, abortions increased from an estimated 100,000 in 1912 to 1 million in 1931. In 1914, half of all German women were estimated to have had at least one abortion. By 1930, that estimate became two abortions per woman and abortions exceeded live births.³⁴ Already by 1914, fears raised by illegal abortions and by the specter of a birth strike brought debates in the Prussian parliament and the Reichstag. Newspaper articles not only blamed socialism and feminism for this decline of births, but charged the birth strike with undermining the health and strength of the nation.³⁵

Anxiety over all these forms of degeneration, from venereal disease, pornography, and crime to abortions and the falling birth rate, reached levels of active agitation and publicity in the decade before the war. Observers believed that sexuality and confused sexual roles lay at the basis of the degeneration. As early as 1888, in his exhaustive catalog of contemporary sexual pathologies, Richard Krafft-Ebing had posited that advanced urban cultures generated degenerate sexuality that would undermine the nation unless controlled.³⁶ The locus of this degenerate sexuality was generally seen to be the modern metropolis that accelerated vice and perversions. For many, a fundamental factor in urban degeneracy was the women’s movement, with its heatedly debated effort to overturn traditional sexual roles. It was in the cities—Hamburg, Berlin—that women were organizing and clamoring for rights that had hitherto been the prerogative of men. Both the liberal and the socialist women’s movement, begun in midcentury, came actively to the political scene in the 1880s. Their period of most vocal and radical agitation lasted until women were granted the right of assembly in 1908. This coincided, as I have outlined above, with the period of the most intense agitation and discussion on questions of prostitution, pornography, and sexuality. Karl Kraus, an acerbic observer of his time, complained in a lead article in *Die Fackel* in 1912:

My head is whirring from the women’s movement, the women’s

exhibition, and such things at home and at work. Everywhere people are jewing about problems, sexual problems. . . .³⁷

After 1908 women’s organizations increased substantially in number and size, although some historians argue that they became less militant. After supporting the war effort, in part, by entering the work force in large numbers, women were granted the vote in the November Revolution of 1918.³⁸ Among the women’s continuing demands were the rights to education, to enter the professions, and to gain civil and marital equality.

Most of the avant-garde artists and writers in Germany were not receptive to these demands that would bring women into equality within bourgeois society. There was sympathy among some—for example, *Brücke* or the circle around Otto Gross—for freeing women from the moral strictures of bourgeois marriage, but this was based on a view of woman as essentially a sexual being who should be free to become totally sexual. Women, in this view, should not aspire to education or careers because that might inhibit their sexuality.³⁹ Grosz expressed a Nietzschean rejection of intelligent women in a 1918 letter, even as he was later in his autobiography to exalt their reproductive force and sexuality:

Between us: I shit on profundity in women, generally they combine it with a hateful predominance of masculine characteristics, angularity, and skinny thighs; I agree with Kerr (the critic): “I alone have intelligence—”⁴⁰

All of his drawings, letters, and poems in the years before and during the war indicate that Grosz not only was unsympathetic to the women’s movement, but that, even while he was fascinated by woman, he saw her as a creature of the city who demonstrated various degrees of sexually degenerate behavior. This became focused during the war for Grosz, and many other young artists, into the harshly punitive image of the *Lustmord*.

An acquaintance in the circle of friends around Grosz in Berlin suggested an explanation for this violent turn against woman. Magnus Hirschfeld, a radical sexologist who founded the Institute for Sexual Science in Berlin in 1919 and who strongly supported the women’s movement, claimed in the twenties that the war constituted a major turning point in moral history, marked by the emergence of women in considerable numbers in the work force and by the dissolution of the old bourgeois moral standards.⁴¹ Women were mobilized during the war to take positions of all kinds left by men called to the front. They entered into the heaviest forms of construction work and outnumbered men by 75 percent in light industry. The proportion of women in industrial jobs rose from 22 percent in 1913 to 35 percent in 1918. Not only did women leave domestic work to invade the industrial sector, they were increasingly employed in visible official positions such as mail deliverer, postal clerks, and railroad guards.⁴²

Although women became a decisive economic factor in the war machine, male resistance to women stepping into male jobs began almost immediately. Magda Trott, writing in 1915, described organized action in offices by men against the new "intruders."⁴³ Meta Kraus-Fessel, a colleague of Hirschfeld's, agreed with him about the great changes wrought by the war in women's economic and social position, but she also pointed out that men were threatened by the possibility of women achieving equality with them and made considerable efforts during and after the war to curtail those gains.⁴⁴ Hirschfeld himself cited frequent instances of brutal and violent acts by returning soldiers against wives who were suspected of exhibiting too much freedom. He accused newspapers of deliberately fostering suspicion and violence on the part of the veterans against women. He also, however, charged women—as did other writers, including Freud—with widespread sexual aggressiveness that elicited the violent male response.⁴⁵

✓ Popular medical books about sex-starved women appeared at the time with titles like *The Rape of Men by Women* by Hans Menzel or *The Sexual Infidelity of Woman*.⁴⁶ The latter was written by a much-published physician, Dr. E. Heinrich Kisch, in 1917. Within a year, it had gone through three editions and had been enlarged from 208 pages into two volumes, titled *The Adulteress* and *The Mercenary Woman [Weib]*. These titles and the violent acts against women suggest the heightened anxiety about sexuality that the war engendered. As early as September 1914, at a meeting of the medical Society for Sexual Science, a speaker discussed the problem of antisocial perversity being released by the war, especially the danger of sexual inversion or crossing of sexual lines as women wanted to become soldiers and men refused to bear weapons. The implication of the talk was clear: that the war was a proving ground for masculinity and that failure to meet that test could create disturbances in sexuality and sexual roles.⁴⁷ The disruption of traditional patterns on the home front, the threat that women posed to male jobs, and the sexual anxiety produced by the war experience appeared early in the war in the work of artists.

During the war years, Kokoschka, Kirchner, Klinger, and Barlach—all artists who had already achieved recognition—created graphic cycles and paintings on the theme of the artist's violent struggle against a woman who would stifle his creativity. Ernst Kirchner painted his *Self-Portrait as a Soldier* in 1915, after a brief period of artillery service. In it he expressed his neurotic anxiety about the destruction of his creative ability—through his fear of war, but also through his fear of woman. The castration imagery of the bloody stump and the female nude behind him connect the fear of loss of artistic potency with contact with woman. This fear seemed to have been precipitated for Kirchner, and for other older artists, by the war. In 1905 and 1918, he executed two graphic cycles in which man and woman encounter each other. In the first woodcut cycle, the meeting is untroubled, though

rather odd. The same meeting portrayed after his military service in the 1918 cycle is tense and fraught with hostility. In the whole second cycle, Kirchner made it very clear that the "wide and dreadful" battle could only be resolved through the woman's submission to the artist's need for creative dominance.⁴⁸ Shortly before the second cycle, Kirchner created a series of explicit lithographs of perverse forms of sexuality—a visualization of Krafft-Ebing's catalog of sexual perversions.⁴⁹ In the middle of the war, an older artist, Max Klinger, shifted from allegorical portrayals of women to an eerie series of images in a graphic cycle depicting the demonic power of woman and the necessity of violently subduing that power.⁵⁰ Klinger, whose work was closely based on his reading of Schopenhauer, played with both phallic and castration references.

While the older artists seemed to link their attack on woman to fears of loss of their already established artistic power, the younger generation moved to an artistic assault upon woman that is stylistically much more nasty and vicious. Grosz served for six months in the military before being discharged as unfit for service in May 1916. Until he was recalled to service in January 1917, he experienced a period of intense dread of being called up again that resulted in the poetry and drawings discussed at the beginning of this essay. Three images drawn by Grosz at this time demonstrate the basic iconography of the *Lustmord* that emerged in his work and the work of other artists: the degenerate man wielding fist or knife and the sexually aggressive female. The hostile relationship between them is epitomized in *Married Life*, where the symbolic battle of the sexes of the late nineteenth century has turned into an ugly fistfight in a barren, boxlike tenement room with windows looking out onto the factories of the industrial city. Grosz leaves no doubt in this scene that the man will brutalize the woman.⁵¹ In a 1916 self-portrait, Grosz depicted himself as the artist dandy or voyeur of the violent relationship that takes place in the modern metropolis. Significantly, Grosz here linked himself not only with the bloody body of a woman, but also with the stereotype of the urban criminal degenerate, defined by Cesare Lombroso and recalling his own poetic assertion that cities are inhabited by "böse Menschen, entartete." In a 1915 drawing, Grosz's identification with the degenerate criminal was more explicit (figure 23). The brutal figure, barely recognizable as a human, standing over a bloody distorted woman's body, carries the slender reed cane, Grosz's trademark that he adopted from reading Barbey d'Aurévilly.⁵²

Grosz's second brief tour of duty was spent in a hospital and a mental asylum, from which he sent vivid descriptions of his nightmarish experiences, his overwhelming sense of death, his longing to escape to exotic lands, all conveyed with a heavy dose of sex and obscenity. Writing to Schmalhausen from the sanitarium in April 1917, he exclaimed:



Figure 23. George Grosz. [Untitled], 1915. Ink drawing, 19.8 x 16.7 cm. Reproduced with permission of the George Grosz Estate, Princeton, N.J.

Where have the nights gone, Pierrot? . . . Where are the women? The adventurers??—And my friends hacked up, scattered, duped, bewitched into battle-grey comrades of slaughter!! . . . Oh finale of the inferno, of vile murdering here and murdering there—end of the witches' sabbath, of the most gruesome castration, of slaughter, cadaver upon cadaver, already green rotting corpses glow among the rank and file!—If only it would end soon!!—⁵³



Figure 24. George Grosz, Sex Murder in the Ackerstraße, 1916–17. Offset lithograph in *Ecce Homo*, Malik Verlag, 1923, pl. 32, 18.6 x 19.0 cm. Los Angeles County Museum of Art, The Robert Gore Rifkind Center for German Expressionist Studies, purchased with funds provided by Anna Bing Arnold, Museum Acquisition Fund, and Deaccession Funds.

He was released from the asylum when Magnus Hirschfeld testified that he was not fit to serve.⁵⁴ Back in Berlin, he produced two of his strongest and best-known drawings: *Sex Murder in the Ackerstraße* and *After It Was Over, They Played Cards* (figures 24, 25). The fanciful quality of Grosz's prewar sex murders gave way here to hard, crisp depictions of matter-of-fact brutality. “Jack, the Killer”—another title for the first drawing that recalls Grosz's favorite book, *Jack the Mysterious Maiden Killer*—is washing his hands after his bloody assault on the woman whose head is nowhere to be seen. This room displays all the symbols of a petty bourgeois existence in the metropolis. Located in a working-class district of Berlin that can be glimpsed through the window, it is identified by the reference in the title to



Figure 25. George Grosz. *After It Was Over, They Played Cards*, 1917. Offset lithograph in *Ecce Homo*, Malik Verlag, pl. 58, titled *Apaches*, 20.2 x 27.1 cm. Los Angeles County Museum of Art, The Robert Gore Rifkind Center for German Expressionist Studies, purchased with funds provided by Anna Bing Arnold, Museum Acquisition Fund, and Deaccession Funds.

Ackerstraße, a tough street in Wedding.⁵⁵ In the second drawing, the criminal degeneracy of the murderers is displayed by their casual card play after dismembering, with ax and razor, the female body in the box. Grosz carefully delineated the basement tenement room in which live these Lombrosian figures or urban apaches, one of whom displays his wealth with his cigar and watch chain. Another *Sex Murderer* from 1916 depicted an aggressive, degenerate man, knife in hand, trousers open, standing in a barren room between a bed with two mutilated women's bodies and a table topped with liquor bottle and glass. All of these works were rooted in the themes of the prewar pulp novels or newspaper accounts of murders, but the stylistic shift to brutal clarity must be related to Grosz's own experience of the insanity of the war and grotesque encounters with men in the hospitals.

By 1918, Grosz moved from drawings and watercolors of *Lustmords* in shabby rooms to oil paintings of assaulted women in the streets of the metropolis. Titled variously *The Little Woman Killer*, or *John the Woman Killer* (figure 26), these paintings present desperate males—"böse Menschen, en-



Figure 26. George Grosz. *John the Woman Killer*, 1918. Oil on canvas, 86.5 x 81 cm. Kunsthalle, Hamburger. © the George Grosz Estate.

tartete, großhändig"—who have just slaughtered a woman. The degenerate character of the men is firmly established in all of these drawings and paintings not only by the vicious act, but also by the stigmata of urban degeneration that had been defined by criminologists and anthropologists in the nineteenth century: sloping forehead, large nose, jutting jaw, small eyes, dark visages. In one image, there is the strong suggestion that the murderer is a Jew, a factor that further emphasizes the urban locus of the degenerate act.⁵⁶ Wielding knives, teeth clenched, the men grimly pursue their victim or leave the mutilated and bloody body in the street. Fully clothed in all of these murder scenes, they are dwarfed by the sexually powerful woman, whose hacked off head and arms serve to emphasize her potent and threat-

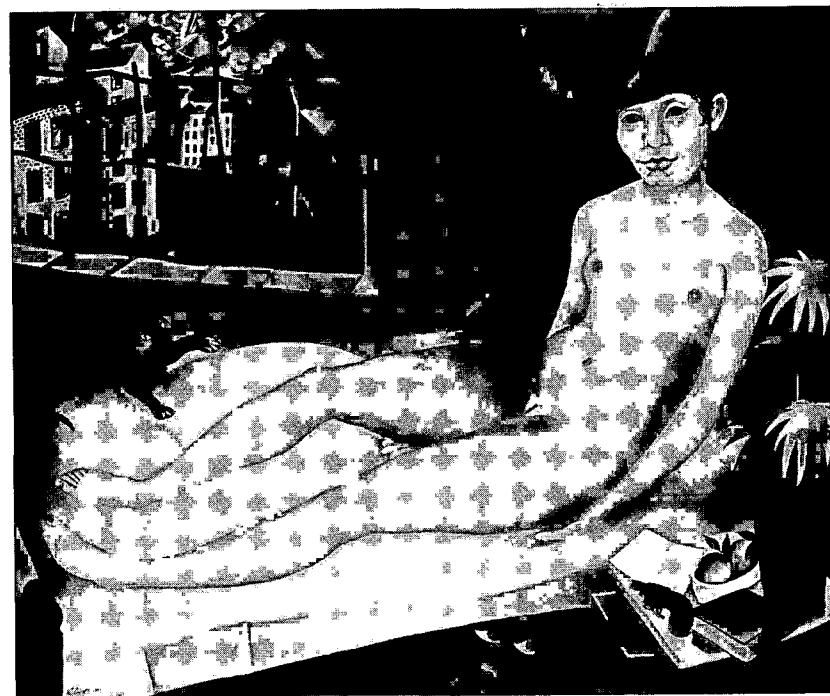


Figure 27. Heinrich Maria Davringhausen. *The Sex Murderer*, 1917. Oil on canvas, 119.5 x 148.5 cm. Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen.

ening sexuality by focusing attention on her breasts and torso.⁵⁷ Ravished and decapitated, the corpse remains palpably and bloomingly sexual. In all of these works Grosz used cubistic displacement and windows that are simultaneously mirrors to create an interpenetration of interior and exterior space in the urban world in which these crimes take place.

Images of despoiled women and degraded men were not confined to the works of Grosz at this time. In 1918 Max Reinhardt, for whom Grosz was later to design sets, was able to mount the first public production in Berlin of Frank Wedekind's *Pandora's Box*, in which Lulu, the precocious, flamboyantly sexual female fatale, became the victim of Jack the Ripper. In the last years of the war, another friend of Grosz's, Heinrich Maria Davringhausen, painted a series of oils in which he picked up the theme of the sex murderer whose actions take place in commonplace rooms within the city. In *The Sex Murderer*, 1917 (figure 27), an Olympia-like woman, modeled on Manet's portrayal of aggressive sexuality, shares the canvas space with a huge window overlooking a cityscape crowded with high apartment buildings. The relaxed domestic scene with a cat on the end of the bed is disturbed by one

other figure in the room: a man under the bed, looking at a pistol on the bedside table.⁵⁸ This oil was displayed at the Goltz Gallery in Munich in 1919, where two of Grosz's "Woman Killer" paintings were exhibited the following spring.

Another artist infamous for his appalling depictions of ravaged women was Otto Dix. Dix, a friend of Grosz from their Dresden days who was as laconic a writer as Grosz was effusive, spent the whole war at the front, where he had firsthand experience of conditions in the trenches and behind the lines. Examining those conditions throughout the war, Hirschfeld insisted that the war produced five years of "unchained atavistic impulses" and, at the same time, a repression of normal sexuality.⁵⁹ Months spent in the trenches, he wrote, produced pathological and perverse forms of sex. Military brothels behind the front lines resulted in the brutalization of sex.⁶⁰ In his *War* portfolio (1924), Dix portrayed soldiers raping nuns and depicted whores, obscenely bloated from their lucrative trade, dwarfing soldiers who have returned from the front. Strongly influenced by his reading of Nietzsche, Dix wrote brief aphorisms in his war diaries in which he suggested an integral relationship between war and sexuality: "Money, religion, and women have been the impetus for war, but not the *fundamental cause*—that is an *eternal law*. And again: "Actually, in the final analysis *all war is waged over and for the vulva.*"⁶¹

Upon his return to civilian life, Dix continued to explore the Nietzschean cycle of life and decay, of sexuality and death.⁶² From 1920 to 1922, this took the form of a series of grotesque sex murders. In 1920, he produced an *Altar for Gentlemen* (figure 28), an oil on wood painting of a woman and man walking past a city residence with large shuttered windows. This innocuous work, however, masked Dix's vision of the disparity between external appearances in postwar Dresden and the inner reality of the metropolis. The shutters open up to show scenes of a brothel, in which the central window becomes an adoration of two prostitutes by wealthy customers. The right shutter of this altar is dominated by a disproportionately large prostitute, stabbed, with her throat cut, and draped off a bed—in what we could call Dix's favorite *Lustmord* pose. To emphasize the sexuality and death found within the respectable facades of the city, Dix also unveiled the smartly dressed, voluptuous young woman to reveal an ancient hag with enlarged genitals whose clothes contained patented false breasts, buttocks, and thighs. The fraternity student's head opened to a steamy racist brain filled with right-wing anti-Semitic slogans.

Dix's penetration behind surfaces and windows applied to himself and his own world. In two self-portraits, Dix presented himself, standing in his own biedermeier room, dismembering a woman with vicious glee. Dix created the image, which he titled *The Sex Murderer: Self-Portrait*, both as an oil painting and as an etching that was included in a major graphic cycle

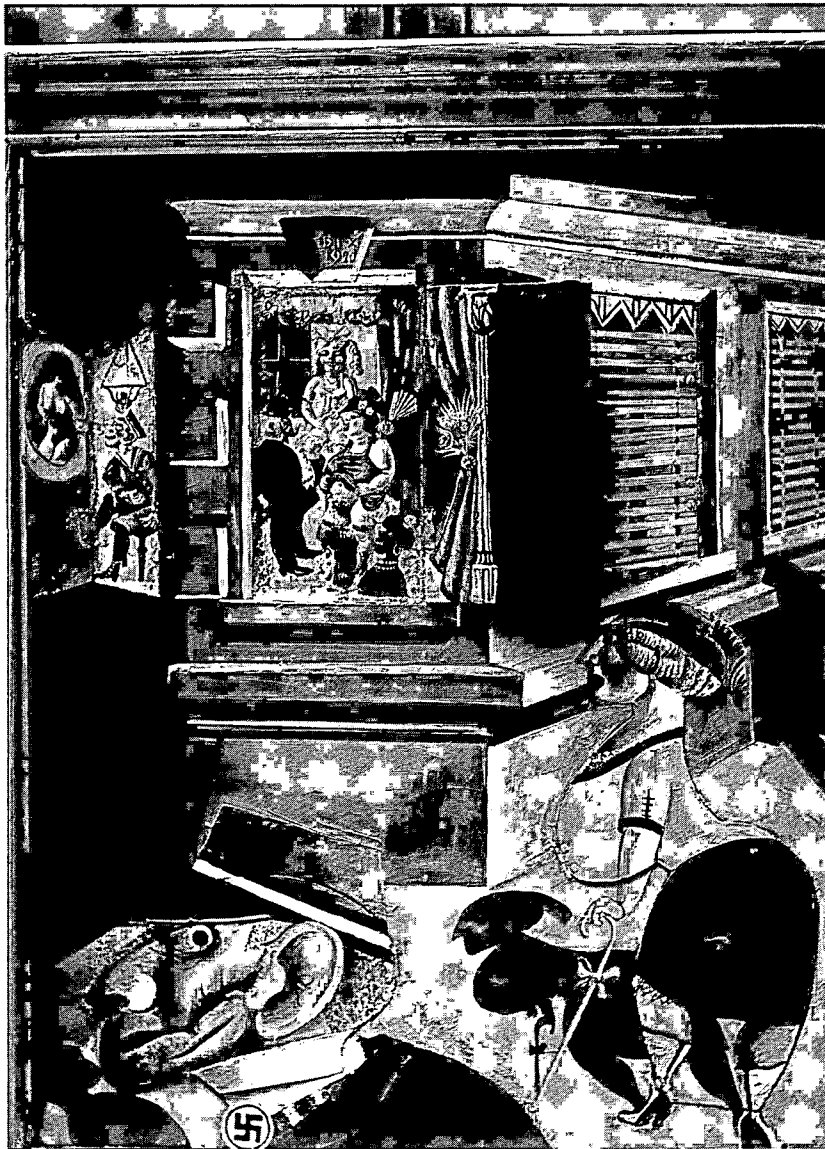


Figure 28. Otto Dix. Altar for Gentlemen, 1920. Oil on wood with montage [measurements unavailable]. Private collection, Berlin. Photograph with windows partially open. Reproduced by permission of Otto Dix Stiftung, Vaduz, Liechtenstein.

(figure 29). Fully clothed like a cosmopolitan dandy, Dix wildly waves a bloody knife and a detached leg; pieces of a gigantic woman litter the room; her decapitated head is still screaming; blood gushes from the limbs and from his mouth. Dix dissected her with a surgical precision that allowed for



Figure 29. Otto Dix. The Sex Murderer: Self-Portrait, 1920. Oil on canvas [measurements unavailable], destroyed. Reproduced by permission of Otto Dix Stiftung, Vaduz, Liechtenstein.

a jarring anatomically correct rendition of the genitals and reproductive system, which is particularly clear in the etching. He then placed his own bloody hand prints all over the pieces of the figure in the oil painting, as if to paw brutally over the body. Dix executed both of these works in 1920, when he was back in Dresden as a student at the Art Academy. A fellow student

years later recalled going to Dix's room—the scene of these murders—and watching Dix show off this self-portrait by standing behind the oil and moving the arm with the bloody knife.⁶³ Another friend recalled Dix saying that if he had not been able to create these artistic sex murders, he could well have committed actual murder.⁶⁴ Whether either of these reminiscences was accurate, Dix definitely chose to cultivate the myth of being a wild man capable of mayhem and murder. In 1921, he portrayed another fantasy vision of himself surrounded by prostitutes, including one marked by the sores of venereal disease. Directly in front of his face, he placed a female corpse, raped, bleeding, and disemboweled. He balanced this with a castrated penis on the other side of the watercolor.

The following year, Dix created five more versions of raped and violated corpses. He gave a watercolor of a woman with her throat slit, sprawled off a pillow on the floor, titled *Murder*, to his wife on her birthday.⁶⁵ Two other watercolors include a man in the scene, one of which presents his attack and rape of a woman and the other his departure from the murdered woman. He included a gruesome disemboweling and slashing of a woman in a cycle of graphic works called *Death and Resurrection*. Copulating dogs in the foreground of this etching underlined the sexual nature of the murder and the bestiality of sexual intercourse (figure 30). Another even more shocking oil painting depicted a meticulously detailed corpse whose throat and torso have been slit (figure 31). She is draped half off a bed, again in Dix's student room in Dresden. In this room, Dix painted with fastidious care his lamp, an overturned cane chair, elaborately embroidered table covers, filmy curtains, a blood-filled wash basin, and a mirror placed strategically to reflect the mutilated body. Outside the large window that dominates the back wall is a view of middle-class apartment buildings.

Dix's fascination with death and dismemberment led him to study corpses in morgues and police photographs of horrendously mutilated corpses. The iconographic source of at least two of Dix's ravaged women was in police photographs published by Erich Wulffen in his 1910 book, *The Sexual Criminal*.⁶⁶ Dix was reported to have owned and carefully studied this book shortly before he did the *Lustmord* oil of 1920.⁶⁷ Paul Westheim, writing in *Das Kunstblatt*, recognized that Dix's sex murders were virtually illustrations to Wulffen's text.⁶⁸ In the late twenties, Wulffen published a study in which he argued that both art and crime were human responses to the explosive drive of sexuality; therefore, he explained, criminal sexual acts were a natural and consistent theme in the history of art. His book was illustrated by visual images of *Lustmord* executed by contemporary German and French artists, including two of these by Dix and others by Willi Geiger, Alfred Kubin, Walter Trier, Frans Masereel, Max Beckmann, Käthe Kollwitz, and Ernst Stern.⁶⁹



Figure 30. Otto Dix. *Sex Murder*, 1922. Etching in Radierwerk V: *Tod und Auferstehung*, Dresden, Selbstverlag, 1922, pl. 2, 27.5 x 34.6 cm. Reproduced by permission of Otto Dix Stiftung, Vaduz, Liechtenstein.

Dix's *Lustmord* images all date from the immediate postwar period, a period perceived at the time, even in government reports, as one marked by a wild disintegration of morals.⁷⁰ Commentators blamed this moral chaos on the war and the inflation, but particularly on the New Woman, who was loath to give up her work and return to her family role. Hans Ostwald, who published a *Moral History of the Inflation*, cited the women's rights movement as a significant factor in the "hellish carnival" of those days.⁷¹ The eroticism of women in the inflationary years formed a leitmotif in his book. He devoted a chapter to the social problems resulting from women's leaving the home to seek work, though he ended with the certainty that good German women would return to home and hearth. Ostwald was not alone. A chorus of voices held the New Woman responsible for the break-up of the family, the epidemic of venereal diseases, illegitimate children, abortions, dancing, and cultural decadence.⁷² Men blamed women for taking their jobs, even though the demobilization laws required women to give up their



Figure 31. Otto Dix. *Sex Murder*, 1922. Oil, 165 x 135 cm. Reproduced by permission of Otto Dix Stiftung, Vaduz, Liechtenstein.

jobs to returning veterans. With demobilization, wrote one observer, "a horrible war broke out between male and female over bread and work."⁷³

The war may have been over bread and work, but the antagonism had its roots in sexual anxieties. Carried out in visual images, the violent and sa-



Figure 32. Rudolf Schlichter. *Sex Murder*, 1924. Watercolor, 69 x 53 cm. Private collection, Munich.

distic attack went beyond Dix and Grosz. In 1920, Georg Scholz, who returned to Karlsruhe from three years at the front, created images of rape and torture, including a sexually perverse crucifixion of a woman that was reminiscent of Felicien Rops.⁷⁴ In 1921, Gert Wolheim, who also had three years

of front-line duty, created a dreadful collage of a servant girl who was tortured to death with rakes and pitchforks. The collage combined the newspaper report of her death with a drawn image.⁷⁵ After two years at the front, Erich Wegner enrolled at the Kunstgewerbeschule in Hannover, where he produced a long series of crude sex murders and dismemberments in attic rooms.⁷⁶ Also in Hannover, Kurt Schwitters placed a model of an "abominably mutilated corpse of an unfortunate young girl, painted tomato-red," into the Sex Crime Cavern in his Cathedral of Erotic Misfortune.⁷⁷ In his drawings and watercolors, Rudolf Schlichter plunged deep into the world of overt sexual perversity popularly associated with postwar Berlin. One of Grosz's closest friends, Schlichter shared Grosz's love of carnival peep-shows, trivial literature, and adventure stories. Schlichter, whom Grosz satirized sharply as a foot fetishist, portrayed in his work the underground world of the twenties in Berlin. Like Dix, Schlichter was deeply influenced by Nietzsche's dionysian negation of traditional values, but Schlichter combined his study of Nietzsche with his fascination over the exotic crimes and massacres of trash novels and films. Sexual murders, suicides, hanging women, and murders in public and private proliferated in Schlichter's drawings. The images that emerged from his compulsive fantasies in the early 1920s are, however, almost like calm reports of urban atrocities, visions of lonely women murdered in the great empty rooms and back streets of the modern Babylon of the great metropolis (figure 32).⁷⁸

I have tried to suggest the range and intensity of images of violence against woman created by this group of avant-garde artists in the industrialized German metropolis during and after the Great War. I have also argued that these works can only make sense if they are viewed in the context of the pervasive cultural and social struggle over sexual roles that took place in German urban industrial society in the first decades of the century. In each of these images, there is an overpowering fear of sexuality and an obsessive dread of woman. In the midst of the profound unsettling of boundaries between the sexes that the war accelerated, these artists' apprehension and anxiety produced vicious images that grew out of complex emotional and social responses to women's changing role. The sentence of death against woman pronounced in these works was a reactionary response that had its roots deep in contemporary cultural and social misogyny. The presence of these *Lustmord* images in the art of the avant-garde at that time is a sharp reminder that artistic works cannot be understood outside of their social and cultural context. Within that context, these particular images force us to go beyond the celebration of the artist as a perceptive interpreter of the period to recognize the extent to which artists shared contemporary fears and anxiety.

NOTES

An early version of this essay grew out of a graduate seminar that I taught at UCLA, and was first presented for criticism at Stanford University in 1985. I received further constructive criticism from presentations at UCLA, Pomona College, SUNY/Stony Brook, Iowa, Harvard, Wisconsin, and New Hampshire. I thank Peter Paret, Arnold Lewis, Susan Figge, Joan Weinstein, and Sanda Agalidi for their uncomfortable, but sustaining criticism. I also thank the Robert Gore Rifkind Center for German Expressionist Studies, Los Angeles County Museum of Art, in whose extensive library and print collection I was able to complete the research for this essay.

1. George Grosz, *Briefe, 1913-1959*, ed. Herbert Knust (Reinbek, bei Hamburg, 1979), 53-54.
2. *Erste George Grosz Mappe* (Berlin, 1917), published in the spring; and *Kleine Grosz Mappe* (Berlin-Halensee, 1917), published in the fall.
3. Max Nordau, *Degeneration* (New York, 1895). For the development of the concept of degeneration, see J. Edward Chamberlin and Sander Gilman, ed., *Degeneration: The Dark Side of Progress* (New York, 1985), and Robert A. Nye, *Crime, Madness and Politics in Modern France: the Medical Concept of National Decline* (Princeton, 1984).
4. Theodor Däubler, "Georg [sic] Grosz," *Die Weissen Blätter* 3 (October-December 1916): 167-70; and "George Grosz," *Das Kunstblatt* 1 (March 1917): 80-82.
5. Theodor Däubler, "George Grosz," *1918: Neue Blätter für Kunst und Dichtung* 1 (November 1918): 153-54.
6. Grosz, *Gedichte und Gesänge. 1916-1917* (Litomyšl/Czech., 1932).
7. Däubler, in *Das Kunstblatt*. See also "George Grosz im Spiegel der Kritik," *Der Ararat* 1 (July 1920): 84-86; "George Grosz," *Der Ararat*, Erstes Sonderheft (Munich, 1920); Alfred Salmony, "George Grosz," *Das Kunstblatt* 4 (April 1920): 97-104.
8. Grosz recorded in his accounting ledger that Goltz had sold thirty-four copies of the lithographic version by the end of February 1922.
9. Robert Wohl, "The Generation of 1914 and Modernism," *Modernism: Challenges & Perspectives*, ed. M. Chedford et al. (Urbana, Ill., 1986), 66-78.
10. Reinhold Heller, *The Earthly Chimera and the Femme Fatale* (Chicago, 1981); Bram Dijkstra, *Idols of Perversity* (New York, 1986).
11. Ronald A. Fullerton, "Toward a Commercial Popular Culture in Germany: The Development of Pamphlet Fiction, 1871-1914," *Journal of Social History* 12 (Summer 1979): 489-511.
12. Rudolf Schenda, *Völk ohne Buch: Studien zur Sozialgeschichte der populären Lesestoff, 1770-1910* (Munich, 1977), 310-14; Ronald A. Fullerton, "Creating a Mass Book Market in Germany: The Story of the 'Colporteur Novel,' 1870-1890," *Journal of Social History* 10 (March 1977): 271.
13. Fullerton, "Toward a Commercial Popular Culture," 496.
14. Gary D. Stark, "Cinema, Society, and the State: Policing the Film Industry in Imperial Germany," in *Essays on Culture and Society in Modern Germany*, ed. Stark et al. (College Station, Tex., 1982), 122-27.
15. Grosz, "Jugenderinnerungen," *Das Kunstblatt* 13 (June 1929): 172-74; and *Ein kleines Ja und ein großes Nein* (Hamburg, 1955), 21-26. The German title was *Jack der Geheimnisvolle Mädchenmörder* (Berlin, 1899). For an analysis of the Ripper murders in London in 1888 and the construction of the Jack the Ripper myth, see Judith R. Walkowitz, "Jack the Ripper and the Myth of Male Violence," *Feminist Studies* 8 (Fall 1982): 542-74.
16. In his typed notes, he listed several names, including James Fenimore Cooper and Adolph von Menzel in one list and then: "UND Arvid von Falk, Verfasser des Romans: Der Rauberhauptmann Zimmermann, der Schrecken der Tyrannen, der Beschützer der Armen,

oder Hass und LIEBE oder Zwei Frauen unter einem Dache." Archives of the History of Art, The Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, Los Angeles, Calif., #850703.

17. Gary D. Stark, "Pornography, Society, and the Law in Imperial Germany," *Central European History* 14 (September 1981): 203. See also R. J. V. Lenman, "Art, Society, and the Law in Wilhelmine Germany: The Lex Heinze," *Oxford German Studies* (1973): 86-113; and Fullerton, "Toward a Commercial Popular Culture," 500-503.
18. The literature on this subject is extensive. See Sander Gilman, *Difference and Pathology* (Ithaca, N. Y., 1985); George L. Mosse, *Nationalism and Sexuality* (New York, 1985); Jeffrey Weeks, *Sex, Politics and Society* (London, 1981).
19. For a persuasive statement of this argument about sexology, see Sheila Jeffreys, *The Spinster and Her Enemies* (London, 1985).
20. Karl Scheffler, *Die Frau und die Kunst* (Berlin, 1908). For an analysis of Scheffler's views, see Silvia Bovenschen, *Die imaginierte Weiblichkeit* (Frankfurt, 1979), 24-43.
21. Otto Weininger, *Sex and Character* (London, 1906; originally published in Vienna, 1903), Pt. 2, chap. 12.
22. See Nadine Sine, "Cases of Mistaken Identity: Salome and Judith at the Turn of the Century," *German Studies Review* 10 (February 1988); Patrick Bade, *Femme Fatale* (New York, 1979); Gerd Stein, ed., *Femme Fatale-Vamp-Blaustrumpf* (Frankfurt, 1984); Virginia M. Allen, *The Femme Fatale* (Troy, N. Y., 1983).
23. "Man verehrte Zola, Strindberg, Weininger, Wedekind—naturalistische Aufklärer, anarchistische Selbstquäler, Todesanbeter und Erotomanen." Grosz, *Ein kleines Ja*, 98.
24. Grosz, *Briefe*, 352.
25. *Ibid.*, 37.
26. "Es war, als hätte mir jemand, den ich nicht kenne, ein Sinnbild gezeigt, etwas Ewiges—denn so lange wir existieren, wird es das Sinnbild der Nacktheit geben: das Weib als die unvergängliche Quelle und Fortsetzung unseres Geschlechts." Grosz, *Ein kleines Ja* (see note 15), 35.
27. *Ibid.*, 91.
28. Richard J. Evans, "Prostitution, State and Society in Imperial Germany," *Past and Present* 70 (1976): 106-9; Lenman, "Art, Society, and the Law" (see note 17), 89.
29. Lenman, "Art, Society, and the Law," 89.
30. Randolph E. Bergstrom and Eric A. Johnson, "The Female Victim: Homicide and Women in Imperial Germany," in *German Women in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. John C. Fout (New York, 1984), 346-57.
31. See Evans, "Prostitution, State and Society," 120-29.
32. Hans Ostwald, *Sittengeschichte der Inflation: Ein Kulturdokument aus den Jahren des Marksturzes* (Berlin, 1931), 159.
33. Anneliese Bergmann, "Frauen, Männer, Sexualität und Geburtenkontrolle. Die Gebärstreikdebatte der SPD im Jahre 1913," in *Frauen suchen ihre Geschichte: Historische Studien zum 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. Karin Hausen (Munich, 1983), 81-92.
34. *Ibid.*, 86; and Atina Grossman, "Abortion and Economic Crisis: The 1931 Campaign against Paragraph 218," in *When Biology Became Destiny: Women in Weimar and Nazi Germany*, ed. Renate Bridenthal et al. (New York, 1984), 80-81. Grossman discusses the unreliability of all of these estimated figures.
35. Bergmann, "Frauen, Männer, Sexualität und Geburtenkontrolle," 92-103.
36. Sander Gilman, "Sexology, Psychoanalysis, and Degeneration: From a Theory of Race to a Race to Theory," in *Degeneration*, ed. Chamberlin and Gilman, 77-79.
37. "Mir schwirrt der Kopf vor Frauenbewegung, Frauenausstellung and so Sachen in Haus und Beruf. Überall jüdeln es von Problemen, Sexual Problem. . . ." Karl Kraus, "Glossen," *Die Fackel* (31 März 1912): 1.

38. See Richard J. Evans, *The Feminist Movement in Germany 1894-1933* (Beverly Hills, Calif., 1976) and Barbara Greven-Aschoff, *Die Bürgerliche Frauenbewegung in Deutschland 1894-1933* (Göttingen, FRG, 1981). For a useful bibliography of the German women's movement, see John C. Fout, *German Women in the Nineteenth Century* (New York, 1984), 385-94.
39. For analyses of expressionist critics and writers, see Marion Adams, "Der Expressionismus und die Krise der deutschen Frauenbewegung," in *Expressionismus und Kulturkrise*, ed. Bernd Hüppauf (Heidelberg, 1983), 105-30; and Barbara D. Wright, "'New Man,' Eternal Woman: Expressionist Responses to German Feminism," *The German Quarterly* 60 (Fall 1987): 582-99.
40. "Unter uns: ich scheiße auf die Tiefe bei Frauen, meistens verbinden sie damit ein häßliches überwiegen männlicher Eigenarten, Eckigkeit und Schenkellosgigkeit; ich denke wie Kerr (der Kritiker) 'Jeist hab ick aleene—'" Grosz, *Briefe* (see note 1), 58. See M. Kay Flavell, "Über alles die Liebe: Food, Sex, and Money in the Work of George Grosz," *Journal of European Studies* 13 (1983): 279.
41. Magnus Hirschfeld, *The Sexual History of the World War* (New York, 1943; German edition, 1930), introduction; and Hirschfeld, *Sittengeschichte der Nachkriegszeit* (Leipzig, 1931), vol. 1, ch. 1.
42. Ursula von Gersdorff, *Frauen im Kriegsdienst* (Stuttgart, 1969), 20-27, 218-19; "Frauendienst," in *Ein Krieg wird ausgestellt* (Frankfurt am Main, 1976), 144-54; Ute Frevert, *Women in German History: From Bourgeois Emancipation to Sexual Liberation* (Oxford, Eng., 1989), 156-59; Renate Bridenthal and Claudia Koonz, "Beyond Kinder, Küche, Kirche: Weimar Women in Politics and Work," in Bridenthal et al., *When Biology Became Destiny*, 48-49.
43. Magda Trott, "Frauenarbeit, ein Ersatz für Männerarbeit?," *Die Frau* 3 (1915), reprinted in *Women, the Family, and Freedom: The Debate in Documents*, ed. Susan Groag Bell and Karen M. Offen (Stanford, Calif., 1983), vol. 2, 277-79.
44. Meta Kraus-Fessel, "Frauenarbeit und Frauenemanzipation in der Nachkriegszeit," in Hirschfeld, *Sittengeschichte*, ch. 6.
45. Hirschfeld, *Sexual History*, ch. 2, 11.
46. E. Heinrich Kisch, *Die Sexuelle Untreue der Frau: Eine soziale-medizinische Studie* (Bonn, 1917). His book, *Das Geschlechtsleben des Weibes in physiologischer und hygienischer Beziehung* (Berlin, 1904), was translated into English by M. Eden Paul in 1910 and went through six editions by 1931.
47. E. Burchard, "Sexuelle Fragen zur Kriegszeit," *Zeitschrift für Sexualwissenschaft* 1 (January 1915): 373-80.
48. *Zwei Menschen*, 1905; *Petrarka, Triumph der Liebe*, 1918. See Guenther Gercken, *Ernst Ludwig Kirchner: Holzschnittzyklen* (Stuttgart, 1980).
49. Annemarie and Wolf-Dieter Dube, *E. L. Kirchner: Das graphische Werk* (Munich, 1980), nos. L 266-74. Titles included, among others, *Der Sadist, Der Masochist, Der Busenfreier, Der Fußfreier*.
50. *Zelt, Opus XIV*, 1915. See Alexander Dückers, *Max Klinger* (Berlin, 1976), ch. 7.
51. For a remarkable playing out of this image of violence against a woman, see the multiple variations on Grosz's drawing created by Concetto Pozzati, *Dal Suicidio di Grosz* (Bologna, 1972).
52. Grosz, *Ein kleines Ja*, 84.
53. "Wo sind die Nächte hin, Pierrot . . . Wo sind die Weiber? Abenteuer??—Und die Freunde zerhackt, zerstoßen, genarrt, verhext in feldgraue Schlachtgesellen! . . . O Finale des Infernos, des wüsten Hin und Hermordens—Ende des Hexensabbat, grausigster Entmannung, Hinabschlachtens, Kadaver über Kadaver, schon glotzt grün verwesende Leiche aus Gemeinen!—Wenn doch bald ein Ende herankäme!—" Grosz, *Briefe* (see note 1), 49-50.
54. Lothar Fischer, *George Grosz* (Reinbek, bei Hamburg, 1976), 42.