



From Photomontage to “Functional Montage” Staging an Intermedial Assembly Line in Kurt Tucholsky’s and John Heartfield’s *Deutschland, Deutschland über Alles*

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ABSTRACT (ENGLISH)

This essay demonstrates that Kurt Tucholsky’s and John Heartfield’s photobook *Deutschland, Deutschland über Alles (DD)*, published in 1929, aimed to unveil the actual condition of the Weimar Republic by addressing and educating the working class. The worker-readers of *DD* are supposed to see themselves differently with the help of the photobook’s combinations of texts and images that imitate an assembly line – a view familiar to the worker. This essay shows that, what I call “functional montages” – an extension of the photomontage that combines industrial and cinematic montage – allow worker-readers to both recognize themselves in *DD*, while at the same time gaining the ability to take a critical stance on their position within the German public sphere. This shows not only how Tucholsky and Heartfield are educating workers by employing the technique of montage; *DD* also exemplifies how the idea of intermediality is not just a procedure of translating images from one medium to another. Instead, it is the images’ potential to create visual narratives that allows for a juxtaposition of photographs and texts in the target medium, following a combination of cinematic and industrial montage principles. This shows that intermediality is less a transfer of media elements than a transfer of their narrative potential.

Keywords: Intermediality, montage, photobook, Kurt Tucholsky, John Heartfield

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Kurt Tucholsky's and John Heartfield's photobook *Deutschland, Deutschland über Alles* (*DD*) was published at the end of the 1920s – a time when other photobooks also addressed the topic of "Germany," trying to come to terms with the fundamental changes and instability of the Weimar Republic. Yet, even among these publications, *DD* remains a unique take on the state of Germany, due to its intriguing text-image combinations, its high volume of photographs and its collaborative nature on the part of its authors, Tucholsky, Heartfield and an array of anonymous photographers whose photos have been published by various media outlets and are reused in *DD*. Scholarship so far has often discussed the reception of this photobook, its satirical techniques in both texts and photos, and its montage method, particularly focusing on Heartfield's photomontages. This analysis of *DD* takes an in-depth look at the montage technique applied in this photobook. I argue that a combination of cinematic and industrial montage creates, what I call "functional montages" that imitate the everyday life of the working class, while also urging *DD*'s worker-readers to reflect on their lives and status within Weimar Germany's public sphere. This argument also considers the intermedial processes at work here. Building on Werner Wolf's and Jens Schröter's typologies of intermediality, this article demonstrates that *DD* is an example of "covert, intracompositional intermediality," to borrow Wolf's term. This kind of intermediality asks its recipients to decode its intermedial references, a task which Tucholsky's and Heartfield's readers have to do when they engage with their montages of texts and photographs. It will become clear that *DD*'s use of cinematic and industrial montage techniques is a demonstration of understanding intermediality less as a transfer of media elements, but as "media narrating literally and cinematically" as Joachim Peach has stated in his analysis of intermediality.

First, this essay evaluates Tucholsky's views on the use of photography. He demanded not only that print media should employ more photos, but also argued for photos to be juxtaposed in order to aim for political agitation. He based his demands on images of grievances within the working class, which were also often at the center of his writings. His poem *Zehn Jahre Deutsche Republik* was paired with photos when it appeared in the *AIZ* in 1928, including photos that would be reused in *DD*. While scholarship has discussed the various interactions of photos and texts in *DD*, attention has often been directed at combinations of individual photos alongside a text or discussions have focused on Heartfield's photomontages. Secondly, this essay shows that while Heartfield's photomontages were certainly persuasive re-assemblies of photographic material, they

could, however, also fall short by leaving their viewers potentially overwhelmed and confused. Yet, one section of *DD*, entitled “The Parliament,” shows how photomontages can be extended by a textual component that, instead of using the photomontage as a prompt or illustration, mirrors and builds on the photomontage’s visual narrative in content and form. This way, the photomontage is extended to a “functional montage.” This montage combines several photos with a text that can stretch over several pages in a photobook, as this essay demonstrates, using the section “Good Times” as an example. Combining the industrial montage of the assembly line with the film montage associated with Soviet cinema of the 1920s, the “functional montage” aims to draw attention to each of its components and their narratives so as to both address and educate *DD*’s worker-readers to reflect on their status in Weimar Germany’s public sphere. Scholarship has so far argued that photobooks aimed to educate their readers to become visually literate while interacting with photos. Tucholsky’s and Heartfield’s photobook shows how these educational measures can be taken one step further. *DD*’s way of repurposing media, based on the intermedial narrative qualities of images and texts, shows that *DD* is an example of Werner Wolf’s concept of “intra-compositional intermediality.”

Kurt Tucholsky’s and John Heartfield’s photobook *Deutschland, Deutschland über Alles (DD)*¹ appeared in 1929, when the media landscape was saturated with illustrated magazines and books that had discovered photography’s presumed authentic qualities. Nonetheless, *DD* prompted a substantial echo in both the leftwing and the conservative press. Already its title and its ironic play on the first verse of the national anthem *The Song of the Germans* indicates that the condition of the Weimar Republic is at stake in this photobook combining 188 photographs and photomontages with 96 texts. Tucholsky and Heartfield particularly criticize the media’s portrayal of the Weimar Republic’s current state. They aim to unveil its actual condition by including, educating and addressing the working class and questioning its visibility and representation within the German public sphere. The worker-readers of *DD* are supposed to see themselves differently with the help of *DD*.

As this essay argues, Tucholsky and Heartfield employed, what I call “functional montages” – an extension of the photomontage that combines industrial and cinematic montage – which allow the worker-readers to recognize themselves in *DD*, while also gaining the ability to take a critical stance on their position within the German public sphere. In using “functional montages,” Tucholsky and Heartfield are not only educating working class readers by transferring the industrial montage onto the book’s page; they also demonstrate how photobooks at the time adapted another montage principle, associated with Soviet cinema of the 1920s, in order to further develop the photobook’s educational purpose. Scholarship today defines this process of transferring cinematic and industrial montage onto the book’s page as intermedial.

Drawing on Werner Wolf’s typologies of intermediality,² *DD* exemplifies a “covert intermediality” (Wolf, 2013, p. 345).³ Due to a switch between media, according to Wolf (2013), one medium disappears within another medium, which conceals the former and thus is not recognizable anymore on the surface of the target medium. To that end, as I argue, *DD* and its combinations of essays, poems or songs alongside photographs and photomontages enact the cinematic montage, aiming to imitate film “by using its signs iconically, not referentially, similar to when certain structures are used to approximate a literary text to music” (Wolf, 2013, p. 345). Yet, while the film medium might not be

1 Hereafter I will use the abbreviation *DD* to refer to *Deutschland, Deutschland über Alles*.

2 Gabriele Rippl’s (2015) introduction to the *Handbook of Intermediality: Literature – Image – Sound* provides a brief and concise overview of definitions and typologies of intermediality, focusing on research by Werner Wolf, Irina O. Rajewsky and Jens Schröter (pp. 1–23). For more detailed discussions of concepts of intermediality see Herzogenrath, B. (2012), Wolf, W. (2011) and Grishakova, M., & Ryan, M. (2010).

3 All translations of primary and secondary sources are my own, unless otherwise indicated.

recognizable anymore in *DD*, especially as there are many textual components, both film and photobook continue to have the photograph as their basis in common, which both media use to build their narratives. Joachim Paech (1997) supports this view of narrative being a *tertium comparationis* when he states that “there is no intermediality between literature and film; there is one only between media narrating literarily and cinematically” (p. 335). Jens Schröter (2011) builds on this notion of transmedial narration in the second of his four types of discourse on intermediality. His second paradigm of “formal (or transmedial) intermediality” (p. 3) manages to highlight the balancing act of the procedure of translating (for instance, film into a photobook) which “has to assume [on the one hand] that the procedure is media-unspecific enough in order to be able to appear in another media context as the same, i.e., as a re-identifiable principle [...]. On the other hand, the procedure has to be media-specific enough in order to still be able to point in its new media context to the medium from which it was ‘borrowed’ [...]” (p. 4). In the case of *DD*, there are several indicators that contribute to such a balancing act. In combining not only images with each other, but also including texts, Tucholsky and Heartfield demonstrate the media-unspecific procedure of translating film into a photobook. At the same time, Heartfield’s photomontages, and, what I call “functional montages” point back to the medium of film. These kinds of montages rely on a visual and textual narrative spanning several pages, building on each other, hence also functioning like an industrial montage process. Moreover, as Patrick Rössler (2012) writes, a “reportage-like view” (p. 285) of authors and audiences at the time, which was influenced by photo reportages in illustrated magazines and montage techniques of film programs, make a “filmic composition of books” (p. 285) possible. Just as Paech emphasized how narrative is the *tertium comparationis* in intermedial transfers, Rössler also points out that photobooks imitate the “dynamic *narrative* style of film stories” (p. 285; my emphasis), claiming that *DD* and its combination of “film montage and photomontage” (p. 285) does so most convincingly. This essay builds on this notion of narrative functioning as an intermedial point of comparison. It allows me to include the translation of the industrial montage, which shapes the narrative of the workers’ daily views and routines, and combining it with film montage in order to identify “functional montages” targeted at working-class readers in *DD*.

Tucholsky and Photography – Theory and Praxis

Already seventeen years before *DD* was published in 1929, Tucholsky’s ideas about the political and fomenting use of photographs were built on observations of the working

class. In one of his first demands to employ more photographs in newspapers and magazines, published in 1912 in the newspaper *Vorwärts*, it is images of woodworkers' mutilated hands that prompt him to call for an agitative use of photos. Yet, he does not just call for *more* photos of workers' accidents that have a shock value to be published. Tucholsky (1912) also articulates a formal principle of the photos' relationships with each other. He suggests contrasting a photo of "a bourgeois wedding party" (Tucholsky, 1912, p. 1) with a photo of a small kitchen that depicts two adults and two children manufacturing firecrackers under unacceptable conditions. While this way of connecting photos is similar to the aesthetic principle of montage, associated with Soviet filmmaking in the 1920s – a connection which this essay explores later – Tucholsky's point here is not just asking for photographs to be juxtaposed. He also describes the purpose of such a montage method, which is to directly address the workers who are depicted in the photographs: "Systematically, it has to be shown: this is how you are beaten, this is how you are educated; this is how you are treated and this is how you are punished" (Tucholsky, 1912, p. 1). Thus, early on, Tucholsky called for photographs and their juxtapositions not only to show grievances of the members of the working class, but also in order to demonstrate these to them.

Yet, many of Tucholsky's articles in publications such as the *Uhu* or the *Freie Welt* did not implement his own demands to compare and contrast photographs meaningfully. For instance, his article *O alte Burschenherrlichkeit* on the negative development of fraternities, published in the *Freie Welt* in 1920, includes photos as visual evidence. However, they do not relate to the text, evident by Tucholsky only referring to them as an after-thought at the end of the article. Only his later contributions to magazines, such as his poem *Zehn Jahre Deutsche Republik* in the *Arbeiter-Illustrierte-Zeitung (AIZ)*⁴ in 1928, would show his own demands realized to some extent. Eleven images are paired with Tucholsky's poem that comments on the ostensible changes for the working class since the November Revolution in 1919. The photographs arranged around the poem show, for instance, that the working class still has to demonstrate for their rights in 1928, just as they had to in 1919. Another photo depicts the President of the Reich Hindenburg celebrating his 80th birthday in a stadium in Berlin, watching veterans' associations marching in his honor, which is reminiscent of celebrations in Imperial Germany. Out of these eleven photographs, a portrait of a worker stands out, due to the camera's focus on his body and his critical facial expression. Positioning this portrait on the lower right-hand

4 The *AIZ* (*The Workers Pictorial Newspaper*) was an illustrated magazine published by Willi Münzenberg between 1921 and 1933 is well known for featuring photomontages by John Heartfield.

side of the double page and right next to the photo of Hindenburg, watching the parade in his honor, creates a juxtaposition between the worker and the President of the Reich. The former appears as if he towers over the latter, because, compared to the worker, Hindenburg is depicted much smaller in the photograph documenting his birthday parade. Moreover, the worker appears as if he is looking at both the poem and all of the photographs on the double page, questioning if indeed anything has changed in the last ten years of the Weimar Republic. This example shows that, yet again, Tucholsky is not only aiming to address his worker-readers both via his poem and the photographs, but also to provide them with an image that they can identify with and that invites them to also critically reflect on their status in Weimar Germany.

While *Zehn Jahre Deutsche Republik* exemplifies a meaningful arrangement of text and images, even including visual juxtapositions, it does not yet fully employ cinematic and industrial montage techniques, as would be the case for *DD*, published several months later in 1929. Yet, as Sarah Hans (2007) argues, this poem is a precursor and even a table of contents for *DD*. Certain persons and groups, which the poem addressed, reappear in *DD*. Even some of the photos, including the one of Hindenburg and the worker, are reused in *DD* (Hans, 2007, p. 38). Not only did Tucholsky's previously published essays influence *DD*'s structure, but also his collaboration with John Heartfield. Scholarship has not been able to fully retrace the exact process of Tucholsky and Heartfield working together on *DD*. However, Hans (2007), relying on letters from Heartfield's brother (p. 28), has been able to establish that Heartfield neither just added images to Tucholsky's text, nor did Tucholsky just combine his poems and essays with images provided by the publishing house *Neue Deutsche Verlag*. Tucholsky and Heartfield seemed to work hand in hand. Tucholsky re-used texts⁵ and chose photographs he found in the archive of the publishing house, which had been used before both in the bourgeois press and in the worker-oriented *AIZ*. Heartfield also worked with photographs he did not take himself but found elsewhere. Not all of the material was footage found elsewhere, though. There are also texts by Tucholsky that appeared for the first time in *DD*⁶ and Heartfield contributed twelve photomontages (including the cover images) specifically to *DD*. While texts and images follow the themes Tucholsky has covered elsewhere, as in the *Weltbühne* or the *AIZ*, including politics, jurisdiction, and the military, Hans (2007) argues in her analysis of

5 According to Hans (2007), 34 writings were first published in the *AIZ*, the *Weltbühne* and the *Vossische Zeitung* (p. 43).

6 According to Hans (2007), there were 56 first prints, though this does not mean Tucholsky wrote them specifically for *DD* (p. 42).

Tucholsky's montage technique that "the differentiation between first prints and reprints of texts in *DD* contributes significantly to an analysis of the various techniques of combining texts and images" (p. 43).⁷ Hans mainly identifies that new texts written for *DD* have a direct relationship with the photograph, which visually extends the text's topic. For reprints, she states "the photo does not have a supporting role anymore when it comes to the montage of images and texts. The photo becomes a mere ornament" (p. 63). In her study, Hans goes into further detail about the text-image-interactions for both categories. While I agree in parts with her analysis and categorizations, my discussion of *DD* will build on and add to her investigations. I am going to take a step back and look at the broader compositions and interactions of *DD*'s text and images that go beyond an individual interaction of a text with a photograph. I argue that there are larger montage sequences at work, which I call "functional montages," that try in form *and* content to reflect on Weimar Germany's working class by mirroring the functionality of an assembly line in a factory.

Extending the Photomontage

It might appear at first that this idea of the industrial montage is also applicable to the photomontage, which after all, particularly in the inter-war period, "imitated modern industrial production in its assembly of pre-fabricated, mass-replicable parts" (Sperling, Barndt, & Kriebel, 2016, photomontage section, para. 2). Yet, while the photomontage needed the technical skills of a photomonteur and was easily reproducible as a very persuasive medium for both publicity and propaganda,⁸ it can also fall short when it leaves readers overwhelmed and confused.⁹ For instance, Heartfield's photomontage on

7 Hans (2007) points out that two other scholars have categorized the relationship of images and texts in *DD*. Burkhard Spinnen (1991) in *Schriftbilder* compares the text-image-combinations to emblems (p. 47), while Dieter Mayer (2002) offers in *Aktiver Pessimismus* mainly two categorizations of the text-image-combinations (p. 41). He argues that the texts are reading aids to prevent misunderstandings and that the photographs are there to intensify the texts' pleas. For Hans, Mayer's application of only two categories to describe the relationship of images and texts is too short-sighted, particularly since Tucholsky himself suggested up to five different combinations and usages of texts and images in *DD* (Hans, 2007, p. 41). There is also a line of scholarship that, opposed to Hans, Spinnen and Mayer, argues that the selection of text and images is made almost at random. Anton Kaes (1985), for instance, calls it "a wild and unwieldy text" (p. 21). Dieter Schiller (2012) also shares this impression in his essay *Ein deutsches Bilderbuch 1929*: "There is no continuous succession of topics or line of thoughts in this book by Tucholsky and Heartfield. The contributions are put together kaleidoscopically, so to speak . . ." (p. 346).

8 See Dawn Ades (1976) for an overview of the photomontage's history and function.

9 Elizabeth Otto (2010) points out in her discussion of the interwar photomontage that its viewers were not automatically engaged: "While such images encouraged viewers to piece together a particular understanding of the scene before them, these viewers could accept or decline this offer" (p. 70).

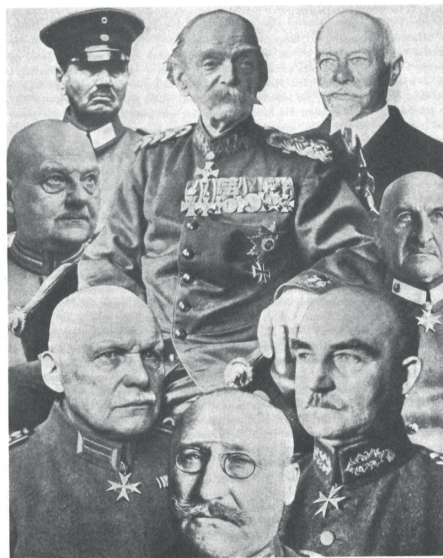
DD's front cover can leave readers puzzled about its meaning. The photomontage contains Wilhelmine, military and bourgeois symbols that come together in an imaginary portrait to comment on Weimar Germany's unstable and unclear leadership (Figure 1).



Figure 1. Cover Image of *DD*. (Tucholsky & Heartfield, 1929)

Heartfield created a portrait of an imaginary figure out of various photographic elements: a bourgeois suit and top hat for one half of the portrait, and a military uniform and spiked helmet for the other half of this hybrid figure. He used the colors of the former German Empire for the upper part of the face and employed the colors of the new flag of the German Republic to replace the figure's right eye. The letters of the photobook's title "Deutschland, Deutschland über alles" continue the color scheme of the Germany Empire, while the title is arranged in the form of a speech bubble appearing as if its words are put into the hybrid figure's mouth. The paradigms of the military, the bourgeoisie and of both the former German Empire and the Weimar Republic come together in this montage, commenting on the "entanglement of the ruling powers" as Böhme-Kuby (2008) has remarked (p. 119). Yet, there is no caption or other text included that would further elaborate on this newly created paradigm for the unstable state of the Weimar Republic. In fact, Böhme-Kuby calls it a "inextricable, aesthetic monstrosity" (p. 118) which underlines the aesthetics at work here, yet also shows how chaotic this photomontage's meaning may be for *DD*'s readers. They have to be well informed and visually literate to

recognize these various symbols in order to understand the criticism it expresses. Moreover, even if they do, the meaning is not conclusive, putting military and bourgeoisie in a chaotic relationship without a clear comment which of these institutions are dominating Weimar Germany's government. Only an earlier statement by Tucholsky clarifies why the hat is placed *on top of* the spiked helmet, because he thought of the "hollow steel helmet as being less dangerous than a silky top hat" (Tucholsky, 1927, p. 776). Also another one of Heartfield's photomontages in *DD* probably left its readers puzzled about its intended meaning, as even Tucholsky himself was not pleased by the addition of this photomontage that Heartfield captioned with "Animals looking at you" (Tucholsky & Heartfield, 1929, p. 63).¹⁰ Heartfield chose eight portraits of generals and admirals that were probably recognizable to readers at the time. His caption removes their identity, rendering their names, which are not given here, their rank and exact function within the military irrelevant (Figure 2).



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**Figure 2. Photomontage "Animals looking at you" in *DD*.
(Tucholsky & Heartfield, 1929, p. 63)**

¹⁰ *Tiere sehen dich an* (*Animals looking at you*) was the title of a picture on animals, published in 1929 by Paul Eipper. Hedda Walther provided the photographs for this photobook.

They become types of military officials in charge that command their soldiers like animals that follow their instincts, without employing further reflection on the deadly impact their commands might have for the soldiers. Tucholsky was not pleased that Heartfield added this photomontage last minute, right before *DD* went into print (Bonitz & Hans, 2004, p. 311). For him, as Bonitz and Hans (2004) write, the label “animals” stands for something “dull, animalistic – for instance, for a brutal hangman” (p. 311) rather than a concept that questions the ethics of these high ranking military personnel. While Tucholsky’s alignment of animals and animalistic instincts with an executioner is questionable – after all animals act upon their instincts, while executioners follow commands – he does not believe that Heartfield completely failed here (Bonitz & Hans, 2004, p. 64). The similarly decorated uniforms, the same age of these generals and even their similar looks, i.e., beards and hairstyles, already create a typology of high-ranking military officials that could easily be the point of this photomontage. However, the caption and particularly the noun “animals” create a second order typology that leaves, in this case, too much room already for Tucholsky’s interpretation of Heartfield’s intentions, not to speak of *DD*’s readers. What are they supposed to take away from this photomontage? Do these members of the military act instinctively? Are they free of any ethics? Are they brutally following orders like a hangman? Tucholsky also underlines that this is not *his* kind of satire since it is simply too boorish (Bonitz & Hans, 2004, p. 311). Readers are left with too many options for interpreting this photomontage. The analogy of military personnel with animals is the main takeaway, which could have been done without the photomontage (i.e., just using a group photo of generals) and without asking for any further considerations by the readers.

The photomontage aims to criticize and to point out a deficiency, yet without any further textual elaboration, which might be necessary for readers to make sense of the photomontage. For that reason, there are, in comparison, very few photomontages in *DD* – only ten (not counting the cover images) compared to 176 photos. Instead, each section of *DD* is a combination of one of Tucholsky’s essays or poems paired with photographs that he and Heartfield selected. This combination of texts and images is less condensed than a photomontage. While the photos and texts are still paradigms in themselves, they relate to each other differently when being put next to each other on a book’s page. They don’t overlap or form one single unit anymore; instead, they relate to each other syntagmatically, like words in a sentence. One section in *DD* even demonstrates this transition from a photomontage to, what I call, a “functional montage.”

The section "The Parliament" (Tucholsky & Heartfield, 1929, pp. 138-139) contains a photomontage, which, by being paired with a poem, is "extended" to become a "functional montage." Heartfield's photomontage and Tucholsky's poem (Figure 3) come together to comment on the political inertia in the Weimar Republic.



Das Parlament

*Ob die Sozialisten in den Reichstag ziehn —
is ja ganz ejal!
Ob der Vater Wirth will nach links entfliehn,
oder ob er kuschelt wegen Disziplin —
is ja ganz ejal!
Ob die Volkspartei mit den Schiele-Augen
einen hinmacht mitten ins Lokal
und den Demokraten auf die Hühneraugen . . .
is ja ganz ejal!
is ja ganz ejal!
is ja ganz ejal!*

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**Figure 3. Page layout of the first half of "The Parliament" in DD.
(Tucholsky & Heartfield, 1929, p. 138)**

Heartfield superimposes the image of a member of parliament over an aerial shot of the Reichstag building in Berlin. The politician appears to be asleep, as his posture suggests. Yet, the man is not shown sitting down on a bench or chair inside of the Reichstag, rather he appears to be sitting right on top of the Reichstag dome. The Reichstag building was – and still continues to be nowadays – a symbol of democracy. In this photomontage, it is, however, rendered powerless by a symbol of inertia, i.e., by one napping member of the parliament literally blanketing democracy by being placed on

top of the Reichstag. It comes across as an extension of *DD's* title, yet, even more ironically, in that not "Germany" is "above all", figuratively speaking, but a sleeping politician is above all – quite literally.¹¹ While Heartfield's work can be interpreted as an expansion of the photobook's title, Tucholsky's poem that follows is, in turn, an extension of the photomontage. The poem builds both formally and thematically on the photomontage, extending its visual symbolism on a textual level. Tucholsky published this poem first in the *Weltbühne*, four days before the Reichstag elections in May 1928 that resulted in a grand coalition. However, internal divisions plagued the coalition and eventually Chancellor Müller asked President of the Reich Hindenburg for emergency powers in March 1930, marking the end of the "last genuinely democratic government of the Weimar Republic" (Evans & Jenkins, 1999, p. 88). Tucholsky's poem comments on the dissociation of the parliament and the voting public. In the photomontage, the sleeping parliament member represents a phlegmatic parliament, while the Reichstag building serves as a metaphor for the German people. Combining these two symbols of democracy and inertia expresses the deficiency of Weimar Germany's government. Yet, exasperating this situation of idleness, the voting public cannot make any changes to this, as Tucholsky denounces in his poem. In the same way, as Heartfield paradigmatically connected two symbols, Tucholsky also brings together two elements in his poem: he connects two voices, not paradigmatically, but syntagmatically, i.e., not merging two concepts, but creating a sequential relationship of these two voices, in the form of a question-and-answer game. In each of the three stanzas an interrogating voice poses both indirect and direct questions to an answering voice, that repeats in the Berlin dialect after each first and fourth verse, as well as at the end of every stanza: "it doesn't matter! / it doesn't matter! / it doesn't matter!" (Tucholsky & Heartfield, 1929, p. 138). While the questioning voice takes on the persona of a journalist or a critical mediator between politics and the public, the answering voice stands in for the German public, particularly the common people and the worker as marked by the use of dialect. The indirect questions aim to expose the irrelevance of the elections. It does not matter whether the "Socialists", "Nationalists" or the "Democrats" (p. 138) win this election, in the end, the industry and the banks decide the real fate of Germany and the "people's voice / doesn't matter!" (p. 139).

11 An Paenhuisen (2009) also refers to this man „taking a nap on top of the Reichstag“ (p. 48). Pairing this photomontage with other photographs of sleeping city dwellers is *DD's* attempt, she argues, to visualize the modern city's lethargy, opposing the illustrated magazine's depiction of Berlin as a buzzing metropolis. Paenhuisen's article focuses in general on *DD's* reflection of „an underlying critique and frustration with photojournalism“ (p. 39). While I agree with *DD's* content and form breaking away from regular photo reportages, I show that its juxtapositions and montages of images and texts, in particular regarding the working class, are not as „confusing“ (p. 42) or a sign of frustration with the photographic medium as it might look at first sight.

The questions and the repetitive, unvarying answers build on the visual paradigm of the photomontage, yet present its components syntagmatically, and, even more so, draw attention to their functions. While the photomontage sets up a juxtaposition of an inactive parliament and the German people, the function of the poem and its two voices is to show that even in a dialogue, the people are only allowed to answer communally as a mass and with a statement of resignation. In this moment, the function of "it doesn't matter" (p. 138) actually mirrors the sleeping parliament member who cares as little about the people, as their voice matters in elections: "Vote, Vote! But the people's voice / it doesn't matter!" (p. 139). In fact, the poem's verses not only thematically reflect the symbolism of the photomontage, also on a formal level, the last four verses of each stanza mirror the position of the politician's legs. This way, the photomontage is extended to a "functional montage." This kind of montage is arranged so as to draw attention to itself, which is a self-reflexive move the photomontage usually wants to avoid. A functional montage aims for all of its parts to be as clearly visible as possible, as is the case in "The Parliament" (pp. 138-139), demonstrating to its reader how the montage comes together to achieve this effect.

The "Functional Montage" as an Intermedial Assembly Line

Bernd Stiegler (2012) explores in his article *Montagen Montieren* two different types of montages.¹² He discusses an artistic montage, as used in film and photography, and its presumed opposition to the technical montage, employed on assembly lines in industrial productions. Stiegler questions this distinction and argues that filmic and industrial montage go hand in hand, using the Stalinist operetta *Tanya* (1940) as an example. The life of the protagonist Tanya changes for the better once she joins the workforce, translating her household skills, which already follow the production logic of an assembly line, to the industrial production line. Both work and everyday life of the working class come together like on an assembly line. In *Tanya*, the industrial montage is met by a filmic montage that aligns dream sequences with the everyday life of industrial production, diluting the assumptions of a worker's life being arduous. The filmic montage turns life determined by the assembly line into a desired life. The principle of montage is not employed in *Tanya* to turn the film into a seamless sequence of actions, but to draw attention to every shot of the film, and even more so, the worker's everyday life at home and at work. In this moment, the montage connects the protagonist with the viewer, aiming to change the latter's mindset. Not only the director of the operetta, Grigori

12 Stiegler (2016) further explores the fusion of aesthetics and technology in the first half of the 20th century in his book *Der Montierte Mensch*, using the concept of montage as a central metaphor.

Aleksandrov, but also many other Russian filmmakers at the time, including Dziga Vertov and Sergej Eisenstein,¹³ aimed to condition their viewers (Stiegler, 2012, p. 143). Yet, this approach is not solely a Soviet or cinematic one. Also, painter and photographer Lázló Moholy-Nagy (1927), author of *Malerei, Fotografie, Film* recognized that photography and experiments with photographs, including employing montages, are a training ground for the modern man to become fit for a new society influenced by technology.¹⁴ This idea that visual media can train, educate and even change viewers so much that they adapt to new living conditions was also the case for print media and their use of relationships of text and images to each other. While Stiegler refers in this regard mainly to “technical photographs” (Stiegler, 2012, p. 149), he also mentions at the end of his article Heartfield and his technique of the photomontage that has a calculating effect on viewers, controlling and restricting their imagination.

In taking this observation one step further, I argue that Tucholsky and Heartfield used “functional montages” particularly to connect their worker-readers to montages of texts and images that focus on the working class. Borrowing both from cinematic and industrial montage methods, the “functional montage” is essentially an intermedial assembly line. When it comes to the portrayal of the working class, Heartfield and Tucholsky (1929) not only employ “functional montages,” but also portraits of members of the working class (pp. 18, 34, 61, 169). In the section “Good Times,” such a portrait is both taking up a full page and is part of a “functional montage” (pp. 33-35). It provides readers not only with an opportunity to identify with a worker, but, at the same time, it allows them to take a critical stance and see what “product”, i.e. idea of the working class, this section provides to its readers. In “Good Times,” three photographs are combined with an essay by Tucholsky. The title refers ironically to the November Revolution, a conflict in 1919 that lasted about one year and resulted in the replacement of the German imperial government with a republic that later became known as the Weimar Republic. The first photograph of this section (Figure 4) shows Philipp Scheidemann standing at the window of the Reichstag, proclaiming the republic in front of a mass of demonstrators that had gathered to demand a total demolition of the monarchy.

13 For a short overview of definitions and applications of montage in film, photographs and literature, see Sperling, J., Barndt, K. & Kriebel, S. (2016). For more in-depth discussions of montage, see Aumont, J. and Hildreth, L. (1987), Möbius, H. (2000) and Teitelbaum (1992).

14 Company (2008) advocates for photography deserving „an analysis every bit as sophisticated as those extended to film” (p. 18). To that end, he also looks at the 1920s as a basis for his analyses referring, among others, to El Lissitzky’s proposition of the “cinematic book” (p. 62) and Lázló Moholy-Nagy’s *Painting, Photography, Film* [which] was a visual primer, half radical manifesto and half training manual for the new visual environment” (p. 63).

Schöne Zeiten

Das waren noch schöne Zeiten... Hier sehen wir denn also unsern lieben Philipp, dessen Namen rechtens mit einem Sch anfängt, auf dem guten Fensterbrett der Reichskanzlei stehen... es ist ein Wunder, daß er kein Papier untergelegt hat! — er redet zum Volke. Hört ihr das Bild sprechen —? „Die deutsche Republik ist eine Volksrepublik! Vorüber das System, wo es nur noch Herren und Knechte gab — jetzt errichten wir die freieste Verfassung der Welt! Wir werden... ihr werdet... sie werden... Ein Hoch der neuen freien deutschen Republik!“ — „Hoooh —!“ schrien die Leute und nahmen die Hüte ab. Das waren noch schöne Zeiten. Nein, es waren keines schönen Zeiten. Heute wissen wir, was damals geschehen ist. Heute kennen wir den Verrat auf der einen Seite — die Sorglosigkeit, die Unklarheit, den Brei auf der andern. Wir haben gelernt. Heute wissen wir, wie Fritz Ebert auf dem Geheimdraht mit Groener telefonierte,



um eine Ordnung zu retten, auf deren Beseitigung es grade ankam; heute wissen wir es. In diesem Menschengewimmel aber wußten es noch nicht zehn Mann. Da standen vor allem einmal *müde* Menschen; solche, die die Nase voll hatten vom Krieg; die das Ganze satt waren; die nicht mehr auf Karten anstehen wollten; müde waren sie, und nach Hause wollten sie, und sie hatten genug. Hättet ihr gefragt, was sie denn nun eigentlich wünschten —: ihr hättet sehr merkwürdige, sehr verblasene Antworten zu hören bekommen. Man kann aber keinen politischen Kampf ohne Klarheit führen, ohne ein dogmatisch starres Programm, das doch wieder biegsam und

3

33

**Figure 4. Page layout of the first half of "Good Times" in DD.
(Tucholsky & Heartfield, 1929, p. 33)**

Referring to Scheidemann's speech, Tucholsky (1929) specifically uses the verbs "look" and "hear," directly addressing his readers about the photo: "Do you hear the picture talking —?" (p. 33). He does so to prevent his readers to just mindlessly witness an event. Instead, they should question what narrative the photo actually creates about the beginning of the Weimar Republic, comparing it to what they know now about Weimar Germany and the November Revolution, ten years after this picture was taken. However, Tucholsky does not accuse the depicted revolutionaries of not being informed enough, because even if one questioned them at the time, their answers would have been diffuse (p. 33). Despite the photograph's authentic depiction of people that stands in for the idea of the German people, readers are supposed to rethink what kind of public and public

event they see here. To that end, on the next page, the functional montage continues with a photo that the text does not refer to as directly as was the case for the first photograph. This portrait of a worker (Figure 5) is the same one that was already paired with Tucholsky's poem *Zehn Jahre Deutsche Republik*, published in the *AIZ* in 1928.



34

elastisch sein muß wie
bester Eisenstahl —
mit Gefühlen allein
kann man keine Re-
volution machen.
Aber ohne sie auch
nicht.
Wer, wie Friß Ebert
vom ersten Tag an,
gefühllos seine Akten
aufarbeitung hat, der
ist heileibe kein „Re-
politiker“, wie sie
das nennen — son-
dern ein Schreiber.
Die Flamme muß in
einem brennen, sonst
schafft mans nicht;
noch nie ist irgend
etwas auf dieser Erde
ohne Heroismus ge-
stürzt, gewandelt und
wieder aufgebaut wor-
den. Das ist ein deut-
scher Aberglaube.
Schöne Zeiten . . .
Immerhin, die es mit-
erlebt haben, die wis-
sen eines, so wie ich
es weiß, wie wir alle
es wissen:
1918 hat einmal —
ein einziges Mal — in
Preußen die Erde ge-
bebt. Einmal ist eine
Luft durch die Strä-
ßen gezogen, die ihnen
sonst fremd gewesen
ist; einmal hat sich
der Boden unter den

Füßen der Gehenden bewegt, einmal ist hier ein Hauch von Freiheit vorübergezogen, eine Ahnung dessen, was das heißt: Volk. Man vergleiche diese unvergleichlichen Stun-
den und Tage ja nicht mit der Gassenbesoffenheit von 1914 — das war deutscher Sekt.
Und so ist er uns auch bekommen. Was uns 1918 bewegte, war anders, ganz anders.
Es war keine schöne Zeit und keine „große“ Zeit — aber Deutschland rührte sich.
Dieses starre, überdisziplinierte, straffe Land fing an zu kreiseln. Es waren die Ar-
beiter, die das vollbracht haben, die zurückkehrenden Soldaten und vorneweg die
Matrosen. Wir wollen diese Melodie aufbewahren in unserm Herzen.
Erstickt in Blut, verraten und niedergeknüppelt, in die Bahnen der „Ordnung“ zurück-
geschleudert, so ging das dahin. Liebknecht, Luxemburg . . . vorbei. Die „schönen
Tage“ leben, verfälscht, ungedichtet, umgelogen, in den Memoiren jener Sozialdém-
okraten, die zwar eine Revolution vermasselt, aber wenigstens aus ihren faden Lebens-
erinnerungen eine beschleierte Rente gezogen haben. Das Blut der im Kriege Ge-
fallenen ist umsonst geflossen — für nichts sind sie gefallen. Das Blut der Revolutio-
näre soll nicht umsonst geflossen sein. Sie sind für eine Sache gefallen. Laßt sie
keinen.



35

35

**Figure 5. Page layout of the second half of “Good Times” in DD.
(Tucholsky & Heartfield, 1929, pp. 34-35)**

Only this time, the photo is mirrored, and it takes up almost the entire page, making it the dominant picture of this montage. Tucholsky also emphasizes this dominance in his essay when he points out that workers were the ones carrying the revolution and that they should be allowed to “thrive” (p. 35) like a seed. Tucholsky uses this analogy to suggest that the worker, regarding his political function and strength, should grow in order to take on public agency as a political force. Hence, the photograph of a road worker holding a hammer (Figure 5) is in stark contrast to the image of Scheidemann speaking to the crowd on the previous page (Figure 4). Scheidemann is not recognizable and the camera's bird's eye perspective turns the reader's focus toward the crowd. In contrast, the straight, slightly low angle shot of the worker frames his body from the hips upward. A big hammer is resting on his right shoulder, suggesting the worker is either taking a break or observing something to his left. This shot and its size portray him as a towering figure, much bigger

than Scheidemann in the photo on the previous page. The worker also towers over the soldiers in the last photograph of this "functional montage" on the right-hand side of the double page, which shows several soldiers in Berlin's Spittelmarkt in 1919 (Figure 5). This photo was also included in *Zehn Jahre Deutsche Republik*, yet the juxtaposition with both the text and the other two photographs in this "functional montage" creates a different and much more effective narrative. The soldiers were sent to the Spittelmarkt to potentially quell any crowds that wanted to demonstrate for the "socialization rights" (Bonitz & Hans, 2004, p. 64) of various economic sectors, such as coal mining. These soldiers are essentially workers in uniform and thus turn against their own class and the Council of People's Deputies, which had passed the resolution for socialization rights. The montage of these two photos on opposite pages creates a contrast between the individual worker and the workers-turned-soldiers that are prepared to go against the working class. Moreover, the frame size and composition of both photographs underlines this juxtaposition. The worker's portrait allows readers to identify with the worker, because his facial expressions are visible to Tucholsky's and Heartfield's readers. This identification is not possible in the case of the soldiers, as most of them are looking to the side or are standing with their backs turned to the photographer. Moreover, while the worker's hammer is resting on his shoulder, a gun, strapped to the back of one of the soldiers, is pointing at the worker, the gun barrel meeting the worker's gaze, thus emphasizing the photos' juxtaposition and the willingness of soldiers to use armed force against workers. In this "functional montage," the focus remains on the second photograph of the worker taking a break. The reader is supposed to identify with this portrait, also taking a reading break, contemplating what actually happened during the November Revolution ten years ago. Like on an assembly line, the worker-reader is tasked to take all parts, the first, the last photo and Tucholsky's essay, into account in order to judge the "product", i.e., the current state of the Weimar Republic. The method of the film montage, which helps create the juxtapositions, is not opposed to the industrial montage; on the contrary, the former supports the latter. Tucholsky's essay supports this visual narrative of the photographs on the textual level. After he asked his readers in the beginning to "look" and "listen" to the first photograph, at the end of the essay, he asks his readers to keep the tune of the November Revolution, which they "heard" from the images, in their hearts, because it was the "workers who accomplished it [the revolution]" (p. 35). Each element of this montage, be it the images or the texts, receive a narrative function. Combined in a "functional montage," it allows for shaping the way this single worker is portrayed and received by worker-readers who, in turn, are asked to contemplate if anything has changed for both the worker in the portrait and for them. In the end, the first and the last photograph date ten years back, while the

portrait of the worker could be from back then or very well be a current image of a worker taking a break, contemplating his (work) life. Thus, both spatially, via its frame size and composition, and temporarily, by being a timeless image, this photograph at the heart of this “functional montage” removes the worker both from the demonstrating crowd (figure 4) and the workers-turned-soldiers on the opposite page, and asks *DD*’s worker-readers to reflect on the status of the working class in the public sphere. This functional montage in “Good Times” manages to bestow the double role of the identifying reader and critical observer on the *DD*’s worker-reader. This kind of montage only occurs in *DD*, I argue, when issues pertaining to the working class are at stake¹⁵ and when worker-readers of *DD* are supposed to be educated about them, being turned from passive into active readers.

Conclusion

By combining the principles of the film montage and the industrial montage, Tucholsky and Heartfield create an intermedial assembly line. They move away from the effect-seeking photomontage and build on the principles of the photo reportage and its use of the page layout, yet without captions that separate the images from the text, as it was the case for the poem *Zehn Jahre Deutsche Republik*. Instead, they rely on the narrative function of both the text and photos to address their readers and prompt them to reflect on the issues portrayed. This way, *DD* extends the educational purpose of the genre of the photobook. Scholarship has argued so far that photobooks aimed to educate their readers to become visually literate when interacting with photos (Stoll, 2018). Tucholsky’s and Heartfield’s photobook shows how these educational measures can be taken one step further. They are able to target a specific group of readers by recombining, with the help of the cinematic and industrial montage, previously published photos and texts, more specifically, their narrative qualities. This way of repurposing media based on their narrative qualities in order to reach and educate its receivers shows that *DD* is an example of a “‘covert’ intracompositional intermediality” (Wolf, 2011, section 5.4). As Wolf (2011) further elaborates, for this kind of intermediality, “the decoding of intermedial references is part of the signification of the work in which such references occur and is therefore a requisite for an understanding of the work” (section 5.4). In the “Foreword”(pp. 10-12),¹⁶

15 The other “functional montages” include the sections “Foreword, or it is impossible to write captions for photographs” (Tucholsky & Heartfield, 1929, pp. 10–12), “The People” (pp. 17–18), “Statistics” (pp. 46–55), “Never Alone” (pp. 124–131) and “Homeland” (pp. 226–231).

16 The section “Foreword, or it is impossible to write captions for photographs” (Tucholsky & Heartfield, 1929, pp. 10–12) functions as a reading and viewing manual for *DD* and performs a functional montage at the same time.

DD's first "functional montage," Tucholsky and Heartfield already instruct their readers to pay close attention to both images and texts, and in particular to their interactions. While using montage, drawing on both film and industry, they are aware that these original contexts of the montage method might not be recognizable to their readers anymore, hence the "Foreword" becoming a reading and viewing manual. At the same time, such a "photographic film book" of and for the working class can only function when understanding intermediality less as a transfer of its elements, but as "media narrating literarily and cinematically" (Paech, 1997, p. 335), referring back to Paech's emphasis on narrative being a *tertium comparationis* when it comes to intermediality. Thus, Kurt Tucholsky's and John Heartfield's photobook *Deutschland, Deutschland über Alles* both exemplifies an "intracompositional intermediality" (Wolf, 2011, section 5.4) and emphasizes the importance of understanding that narrative "like all macro-frames [which are realized in different genres or media] can be realized in more than one medium" (Wolf, 2011, section 6). This, in turn, shows that narrative is one of the core elements in an intermedial analysis of photobooks like *Deutschland, Deutschland über Alles*.

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