

ARTIGO

HUMOR, VIOLENCE AND MEMORY

COMMENTS ON THE USE OF CARTOONS AS A SOURCE IN POLITICAL HISTORY

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RESUMO

Este artigo propõe uma reflexão sobre os lugares da memória e das emoções no campo do político, tecendo considerações mais específicas sobre as charges enquanto fontes históricas, ou seja, sobre sua historicidade e relação com as paixões políticas e a violência. Uma anatomia da charge é efetuada, tomando elementos como o lugar de produção e o público-alvo para meditação. Por fim, o texto se ocupa da análise historiográfica da charge, tomando-a como fonte e propondo uma metodologia própria para sua interpretação. Essa metodologia é baseada fundamentalmente no Método Documentário de Análise de Imagens, proposto pelo sociólogo alemão Ralf Bohnsack e largamente inspirada na Sociologia do Conhecimento de Mannheim e na Sociologia Praxiológica de Bourdieu. A partir de seus pressupostos, empreende-se aqui ainda um exercício de análise de uma charge do semanário nacional-socialista *Der Stürmer*, pretendendo-se, com isso, demonstrar os variados níveis de sentido que operam em uma fonte dessa natureza e as dinâmicas próprias da violência e das paixões políticas que se apresentam em uma charge.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Charges, Paixões Políticas, Violência, Método Documentário, Nazismo.

ABSTRACT

This paper presents a reflection on the places of memory and emotions in the political field, making some specific considerations on the cartoons as historical sources, i.e., about its historicity and its relations to political passions and violence. A detailed examination of political cartoons is made by reflecting on elements such as the 'place of production' and the target audience. Finally, the text deals with the historiographical analysis of cartoons, taking them as historical sources and proposing a methodology for their interpretation. This methodology is fundamentally based on the Documentary Method proposed by German sociologist Ralf Bohnsack and largely inspired by Mannheim's Sociology of Knowledge and Bourdieu's Praxeological Sociology. From its assumptions, it is undertaken an exercise in analysis of a political cartoon from the Nazi weekly *Der Stürmer*, intending to demonstrate the varying levels of meaning which operate on a source of this nature and the very dynamics that violence and political passions can present in a cartoon.

KEYWORDS: Political Cartoons, Political Passion, Violence, Documentary Method, Nazism.

D'où avait pu me venir cette puissante joie? Je sentais qu'elle était liée au goût du thé et du gâteau, mais qu'elle le dépassait infiniment, ne devait pas être de même nature. D'où venait-elle? Que signifiait-elle? Où l'appréhender? Je bois une seconde gorgée où je ne trouve rien de plus que dans la première, une troisième qui m'apporte un peu moins que la seconde. Il est temps que je m'arrête, la vertu du breuvage semble diminuer. Il est clair que la vérité que je cherche n'est pas en lui, mais en moi.

Marcel Proust

Du côté du chez Swann

In one of the greatest reflections on individual memory ever produced by literature, Proust leads us directly to the field of emotions and sensitiveness. In *Swann's Way*, one *madeleine* steeped in a cup of tea takes the character to a happier time, the time of the lost

past of his childhood and youth. The repetition of the gesture brings forth the thought: it is not the *madeleine* that carries the feelings of the past, as it does not contain it. The past and the sensitivities surrounding it are in the individual, and all memory is revived inside him by the repetition of sensations, the smell and the taste of childhood. But in Proust, it is the past that comes back to the present in the form of sensitivity, through an aroma or a flavor. It is not the demand of the present, a search for remembrance that unveils already lived secrets to the observer. Rationality would not be the guiding force behind this search, as it is generally the case in the work of Henri Bergson¹ for example, where memory is understood as a mode of action, *i.e.* there is an effort in its direction. In Proust's work, it is the feelings that trigger the memory, pushing the past back to the present.

It is clear that the author of *In Search of Lost Time* thinks about the individual memory and sees the relation between sensitivity and memory as a characteristic of individuals. However, this situation leads us to ponder the role of sensitivities and feelings also in terms of collective memory. Especially because when we take collective memory as a point of reflection, we perceive the idea of memory and its (re)construction as rational actions more clearly. The sensitivity issue is often lost by this reconstructive action, leaving aside the fact that memory is based on a plan that is also sensitive. Works of historical recovery usually relegate that involuntary memory, the one based on sensitivity, to the background, dismissing it as "a terrain of irrationalism(s) and, therefore, averse to history"². The objects of collective memory, *i.e.* the event, the phenomenon and even the structure, are founded on a plan that includes public passions, influencing different political and social structures, such as ideologies, worldviews (*Weltanschauungen*) and the *habitus* of the studied community³. These structures are privileged sources for the observation of the development of sensitivities and public passions.

Recalling this element of public affection is one of the points to be developed by the new historical studies, especially those regarding Politics. Many studies concerning this theme have been performed since the 1980s⁴, but only recently visual materials have become the source of these analyses, beyond being mere illustrations. The theme of this text, the use of cartoons as sources of historical analysis, involves a range of theoretical, methodological and argumentative elements that cannot be fully addressed here. Some comments and considerations will be made in that sense, but we have no intention of completely covering the theme in the following pages. The main focus will be placed on three issues: 1) the validity of political cartoons as a historical document; 2) the general characteristics of political cartoons, especially regarding their relationship with public

passions, political humor and violence; and 3) the method to analyze a cartoon. The discussion around this last point will be tackled by means of a practical example (a political cartoon from the Nazi weekly *Der Stürmer*).

1. *Political Cartoons and their Historicity*

The understanding of the place of political cartoons in historical research is intrinsically linked to its insertion, in modern times, within the apparatus of mass media, especially the press and the formation of the public opinion. The analysis and interpretation of contemporary issues, in particular those of political nature, often have the press as a primary or secondary source. The use of journalistic texts in historical studies is one of the most frequent expedients used both in academic research and in the classroom. Reports on social issues, political or significant events published by the media are routinely taken as legitimate sources, supporting analyzes and theories about different themes. However, analysis on the media itself tends to be less effusive. There are few historical data on the media in general or even about specific vehicles. Among the difficulties facing the historians, Jean-Noël Jeanneney lists:

The first one is the extreme diversity of the objects of study and their dispersion. In the case of print media, there should be built a whole repertoire of newspapers, which, in France, are counted in the thousands in the course of a century. In audiovisual, for a long time it seemed that attention could focus on a dozen companies, but then the "explosion" of private radios, accompanied by a rapid development of decentralized public radios, the multiplication of television channels, the - even slow - development of the cable, the arrival of satellites, all this increased enormously the extent of research required in this case as well.⁵

The field of study on the topic comprises a production that tends to grow further with the demand for understanding the specificity of the press, its role in society and the changes it has been through. Particularly in the field of political historical studies, the role of the press in different periods of history has been increasingly questioned. In this matter, different structural issues have been studied, such as the use of media by authoritarian governments, the place of the press in democratic regimes, censorship and political action of the press. Newspapers, magazines and audiovisual media are analyzed as active actors in the public arena, pointing out their condition of shapers of the public opinion⁶.

It is in this regard that a Cultural History of the Political comes to take the media not only to the condition of privileged objects of analysis in their capacity as shapers of

public opinion, but especially as characteristic elements of social groups and, as such, shapers and diffusers of representations and worldviews, therefore dealing with values, *habitus* and worldviews that ultimately reflect and help shape the political culture of a social group that is directly anchored to one or a set of communications vehicles. The product of these media becomes thus representative of a political and social segment or group, which relies on a newspaper, a magazine or a broadcasted program to find its place in the composed logic of its own reality. At the same time, this social group is the base of reception (and consumption) of these media, a position that turns it into the ultimate regulator of the discursive and informative line that guides the message to itself.

In these complex products which are the vehicles of communications, particularly the newspapers, several elements are mixed in the final product and must be considered. The job of the journalist, the text producer, meets the job of the photographer, the columnist, the researcher. Texts and images of different shades intermingle so that different interests are contemplated. Politics, in particular, is often highlighted, especially in major newspapers. In this segment, the work of reportage is usually printed side by side with texts of so-called opinion shapers, the columnists, who write about a theme, a particular event or topic in depth. Texts of this nature, even more than the reports, should be considered as products of a particular social group or *milieu* linked to the newspaper. It is on these texts that the nuances of opinion arise, beyond the (presumed) righteousness or the truthfulness of the story, and show the structures of thought and action of which newspapers give evidence. Although the columnists are renowned voices in the newspaper, and their independence is held in high regard by the news professionals, there is no doubt that their writing fits the general editorial line of the vehicle, which refers not only to a hierarchical relationship between employer and employee, but also to a recognition of the environment, the normative *habitus* prevailing in writing, prompting the journalist to a behavior that resembles a constant and spontaneous self-censorship.⁷

Such reflections are also valid for the work of the cartoonist, who presents opinions and judgments in the form of jokes. Thus, the work of a cartoonist eventually resembles that of a columnist, reflecting a worldview about what is portrayed. But when using the device of humor, cartoonists reach a level of freedom that is not always reachable by other professionals in writing. The mood combined with the image opens up possibilities that written texts don't have, enabling an attack, a criticism or an irony in a more subtle level than words can achieve. With this feature, the image of the cartoon turns out to be a more direct mirror of the dominant worldview in the vehicle. The place of production of the

cartoon is thus central in determining its message, and it is from this premise that it becomes a legitimate source for understanding the dynamics of the producer group and the receiver of its message.

When we think on the production of a political cartoon as a political action in its *milieu*, it opens the question of its authorship. As already argued, despite their professional freedom, cartoonists, as well as journalists and columnists, are subject to the *normative habitus* of the newsroom, *i.e.* they are embedded in a very specific framework of action and thought, and this will dictate the overall content of the image. Within this framework, however, it is still possible to distinguish the role of the cartoonist on another level. When we compare this to the case of photographers, this specificity becomes apparent. Taking the reflections of Ralf Bohnsack⁸ about the production of the photographic image, we realize that in the final composition of a photograph occurs the juxtaposition of the *habitus* of two producers. Such differentiation refers to the producer of the image (the photographer) and portrayed producer (the object of the picture) and their *habitus*. Bohnsack considers the two producers as active elements in this action, naming the producer of the image as the representing and the represented picture producers (*abbildende und abgebildende Bildproduzenten*). In fact, the roles of both producers are recognized in the composition of the image, as the *habitus* of the portrayed (or represented) producer is readily perceived (it would be the portrayed or captured composition), while the *habitus* of the photographer (the representing producer) is revealed in the choices made during and after the act of picture production. The camera angle, its position, the decision of the moment to be photographed, all this reveals the photographer's vision and the mental and social structures in which he is inserted. As the German author stresses, the *habitus* of the producers may be in harmony or in conflict, but both are recognizable. If we apply the same logic to the analysis of political cartoons, we will see that this rule is not confirmed.

The role of the represented producer in the case of political cartoons ceases to be "objective", *i.e.* it is not performed by a real model which is present at the time of production, and becomes "subjective". The difference between objectivity and subjectivity in this kind of representation is clear, especially in comparison with the production of a photograph. In the case of the objective model, the interaction between the representing producer and the represented producer occurs as a result of an equation involving the mental structures of both, as well as their ways of acting and interacting, *i.e.* their *habitus*. As Bohnsack points out, such structures need not be shared by them, but the final result is

always a product of the sum. Be it a Renaissance portrait or a contemporary photography, the final product is a reflection of the mental and acting structures of both parties.

When we think of the subjective model, such as the political cartoons, we note that the role of the represented producer changes. His place is no longer physical and it becomes essentially imaginary, although his representation presents elements originally from the world of experiences. That happens because the representing producer does not interact with the represented producer at the time of the production of the image, transforming the image into an interpretation of the represented character about the moment or about the portrayed subject. It is thus an opinion. In the pictorial construction of the political cartoon, creativity and the mental structures of the representing producer, *i.e.* the cartoonist, assume a central position. The represented may, in fact, not even exist in the reality; it can be an imaginary, allegorical or representative of a person or a social group. The important thing here is the fact that the character pictured is a personal creation of cartoonist (as a member of their social and/or professional group), and in the cases that this process is based on real elements, characteristics intrinsic to this creation *i.e.* representation are also based on the perception of the caricaturist on the matter.

In addressing the specific case of political cartoons, this subjective quality of the image reinforces the political and passionate character of its message. The cartoonist takes a public person or a politically relevant fact and presents it in his own perceptions. Through this critical and/or humorous representation, the cartoonist presents his judgment or his praise, which is the ultimate goal of a political cartoon. In the process of creation of political cartoons, the portrayed producer's role can still be considered a mix between subjective and objective, as often the pictured character exists and therefore has a presence also in the plane of reality. Not having an immediate interaction, experiments with the object of representation are no longer guided by the outward senses, namely sight, touch and hearing, and shall be guided by the inner faculties, in this case by imagination. Through the imagination

You judge objects that are no longer present... and no longer affect you directly. Yet while the object is removed from your outward senses, it now becomes an object for your inward senses. When you represent something to you that is absent, you close as it were those senses by which objects in their objectivity are given to you. The sense of taste is a sense in which it is as though you sense yourself, like an inner sense... This operation of imagination prepares the object for "the operation of reflection." And this operation of reflection is the actual activity of judging something.⁹

However, even if a contact between the cartoonist and the object has occurred in the past, the political cartoon remains a personal representation of the representing

producer in which the character portrayed shall present a *habitus* and a worldview that are fruits of interpretations and judgments made by the cartoonist himself. If it were possible to speak of an intention or motivation of cartoonists, this would be to show in a satirical picture what, by other means, cannot be shown. The cartoonist acts in the example of the boy who points to the monarch and denounces: the king is naked! - Even if it is only his opinion.

At this intersection between reality and fiction, between truth and opinion, we find the structure on which the memory will be constructed. The reason for this is that the historicity of a political cartoon balances on these points. A careful examination reveals that its characterization as source for research to historians cannot be complete without these considerations, especially when its playful nature merges with the political judgment that the opinion brings. As an artifact of a very specific and limited social group (although this limit can be traced by the “range” of the journal in which the cartoon was published), the political cartoon points to a position taken face a context *i.e.* a political and social reality. This is how it presents itself as a political action, marking its messages at one point in time and, often, unconditionally linked to this time. In other words, its interpretation requires the understanding of that context to be successful. But in spite of referring to the present time, the publication of a political cartoon is also an attempt to write its message in the sands of time. The juxtaposition of image, joke and opinion seeks to resist and overlap with other similar or concurrent views, *i.e.* to become a dominant or at least a relevant view. For this quest for its own longevity, a political cartoon ends up being the first agent of its own memory.

This concerns not only the political cartoon as a historical artifact *per se*, as a mark in history. In fact, there are rare instances in which the cartoons assume a leading role in the narratives. The greatest example of this in history may be the case of Daumier and his caricature of King Louis-Philippe, which immortalized the nickname King-pear (Fig. 01). The memory that the political cartoon produces and evokes is much more connected to the understanding of everyday life, the everyday reader and producer of cartoons as well as the political context in which they are inserted. It is its quality of registration, of document, that becomes a piece in the puzzle of collective memory. It is what Baudelaire understood when commenting on the same Daumier: *Nobody knew and loved like he did (in the manner of artists) the bourgeois, this last vestige of the Middle Ages, this gothic ruin whose life is so hard, this type both so banal and so eccentric.*¹⁰

It was not the king-pear that caught Baudelaire's attention, but the inclusion of Daumier and his vision about a social group that the cartoonist was not just an observer, but his chronicler. The work of a cartoonist acts, quite particularly, on the (re)construction of impressions and memories, in the construction of collective memory or, as Halbwachs¹¹ described, in the resumption of the same experience for many people. From this principle it is possible to state that the political cartoon and its humorous discourse can act as the link that bounds a circle around a political judgment, a circle that finally demarcates a community's experience.



Fig. 01: DAUMIER, H. Le passé, le présent, l'avenir. **La Caricature**. Paris: 09 Jan. 1834.

2. *Message and Content: Humor and Violence*

In the construction of this community of experiences around the political cartoon, beyond its massive dissemination through newspapers, humor plays a central role. It is true that the vast majority of the cartoons presents some form of humor. This use of comical elements, however, has a dual function. The first is the function of leisure, through which the image of the cartoon seeks to promote laughter and interest on the reader. This interest is developed, at first glance, by the playful characteristic of the drawings, which look nothing like the serious tone of most of the texts in a newspaper, especially in the political section. Despite being somewhat related to the seriousness of news and opinions contained in the newspaper, the political cartoon can be as informative as a journalistic report and as opinionated as a specialized column. However, through his humorous speech, it can count on an additional factor of influence.

The form of humor shown in a political cartoon can also serve as a document of a period or a society, as its use reflects cultural and situational elements, especially at the

political level. Likewise, the political orientation of a group can be defined by the current mood in their culture. The message content and the ways in which humor is expressed are factors that may indicate the *Zeitgeist* of a society and the political line of the producers of the speech or the humorous image. Some examples from history support this idea.

Cicero describes in his *De Oratore* (1978) a Roman society divided by humor. The practice of humor, according to the senator, would show social origin, education and *urbanitatis*¹², *i.e.* the refinement of the citizens. According to the treaty, a Roman orator could use humor, for example, to gain sympathy from his audience. But the humoristic expression delimits the differences between different social groups. For Cicero, decorum and integrity should prevail when using this artifice. That would be one way to differentiate the group of *nobilitas* or a *novus homo* from the plebeians. For the first group, *urbanitas* and *gravitas* should be part of the humor. "The function of senatorial and aristocratic grace was to preserve the rules of this class - and, politely, to warn those who exceed their limits"¹³. Humor here has a political and social function: it regulates, as described by Graf, the communication within a group and demarks it for the outsiders, and, based on it, a social hierarchy is established. Humor can thus be seen as a differentiation factor for the *habitus* of two distinct social groups, as in the given example, between plebeians and *nobiles*.

This function of promotion of a social hierarchy through humor suffered an adaptation, but continued in the Middle Ages. The courts of kings in this period could have very strict rules in this regard, especially when the figure of the king was concerned. In some cases, any mention of actual errors or problems in the kingdom was forbidden, but the figure of the fool-of-court supplied this gap: through humor, the truth that was vetoed from others was showed by the fool. The humor of the fool was explicitly used as a political and social factor, but this form of humor and the ways by which it was expressed are specificities from that historical period. In fact, the figure of the fool-of-court is progressively eliminated from the European courts from the sixteenth century onwards. The absolutist governments no longer had a place for their sharp and scathing truths¹⁴.

The above examples show how humor can play very specific political and social roles in certain societies and periods. They also show that humor is not only a constitutive part of social relations, but can also express social and political provisions and orientations. This is also the case of political cartoons. The drawings and the representations they contain reflect political and social themes and dynamics that are temporally confined. Also the product of humor, laughter, is primarily a social factor. This idea has a double meaning: first, laughter is produced from interactions and in a social setting, *i.e.* it needs two or more

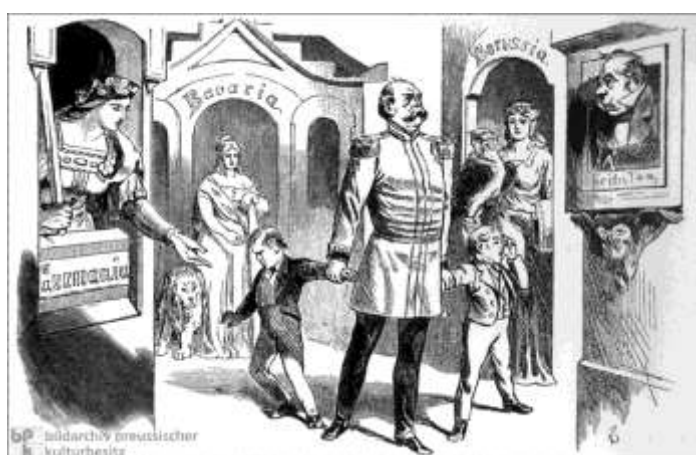
agents to occur. Here political cartoons may assume the role of one of the agents, since we usually respond to comedy in media (like cartoons in newspapers or humoristic TV programs) as social stimulation;¹⁵ that means these elements can replace the necessary presence of a second agent in a social interaction. On the other hand, laughter has its own social effect. It can change the direction of a conversation, the willingness of an individual or the influence over a group. It may also, as Cicero said, win an audience. But its potential is not limited to these momentary effects and short durations. Humor and laughter may have a lasting and profound influence on an individual or a social group.

The influences that laughter can have over men¹⁶ were analyzed methodically for the first time in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century. In this sense, the work of Sigmund Freud became a classic on the subject. In his "The Joke and its Relation to the Unconscious" (2006) Freud introduced the idea of an exchange between the one that laughs and the "comic" one, or the one that tells a joke. According to the author, laughter has a liberating effect of traumas and frustrations that society imposes on the individual. In other words, laughter acts as an emancipator of emotions, freeing the individual from the bonds and the weight that society imposes on him. This liberating and pleasurable feeling exerts an effect directly over the unconscious of the one that laughs - or the object of this text, the observer of the cartoons - and promotes a sense of "gratitude" towards the one who made him laugh. From there, it is possible to speak of sympathy for the ideas of the humorous message that promoted laughter, provoked by a kind of corruption through the pleasure of release.

We can find the production of pleasure in different types of humor, whether in moderate humor of innocent jokes, in the strong humor of hostile jokes (aggressiveness, satire or defense) or in obscene, sexually charged humor. Each of these forms of humor produces a kind of pleasure that makes possible the satisfaction of an instinct, whether lustful or hostile. Referring to hostility, Freud supports the thesis that this natural human condition is so repressed in the modern world as sexuality, thanks to social rules of civility and the civilizing process. Thus, hostile jokes would have the "social function" of making the repressed aggression flow out of the individuals. In the big picture of the forms of humorous expression painted by Freud, considerations about the biased and aggressive jokes are shown particularly useful for the analysis of cartoons: "The jokes of aggressive tendency transform the initially indifferent listener in a sharer of hatred or contempt (presented by the joke), creating an army of opponents against the enemy where there was

only one before"¹⁷. It clarifies the deep bond that a humorous message has with the subjectivities, presenting a conflicted relationship between aggression and pleasure.

Although in Freud's classification there is no room for neutrality in humor (for even the simplest of jokes reach for something, whether support, sympathy or escape of a criticism), it is possible to conceive a naive or neutral joke. However, when it comes to political cartoons and humor, this possibility is not feasible. The reason for this is that even the most basic constituent of political cartoons, the caricatured figure, cannot be represented in a neutral way. The composition of political cartoons is a combination of the caricatured (political) character, an event of the political world, and the worldview of the producer of the picture. This relation is by nature a political one, and the contents of the cartoon ends up being a political judgment. Even when the author tries to avoid any explicit criticism, some judgment is present in the image and, because of that, promotes some form of influence on the world of appearances, that is, the world of politics. Figure 2, for example, does not show any critical position at first glance. There is no representation of an enemy, no explicit judgment. What we see is two children (who represent the states of Alsace and Lorraine), a representation that does not seem to be a malicious complaint against any of the characters. The focus of the image falls on the central character, a representation of the German Chancellor Bismarck, and his actions. But even with a seemingly neutral or naive representation, the political cartoon contains a judgment, and it is a positive one, about the leadership of Bismarck, which appears bringing the kids back home (the German Empire, or Germania, which reaches out to the younger members).



1F

Fig. 2: SCHOLTZ, W. **Guter Rath is theuer**. Kladderadatsch, 1871. Bildarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz.

The criticism through the joke can also directly influence the target of the attack, *i.e.* humor can also influence the element criticized in the image. Using humor as a weapon to

promote an attack is a quite widespread action, not only in the field of political cartoons, but in everyday life. This property, however, is enabled under the condition that the joke is made openly, in public. Therefore, the participation of at least three actors is necessary: the comic or the critic, the target of the humorous attack (or its representation) and at least one observer. This is because the purpose of such action is psychological in nature, directed to the humiliation of the target. Through public (and humorous) statement of errors or flaws in the target, the comic aims at his humiliation and thereby the correctness of the actions or opinions of the target of criticism. Bergson¹⁸ formulated this dynamic as follows: "(the comical) thus expresses an individual or collective imperfection which requires immediate correction. Laughter is this correction. Laughter is a particular social gesture that enhances and represses certain special distraction of men and events."

Such repression is the attempt to fix an individual or collectivity. Through humiliation, the comic tries to impose a new order, the construction of a new (and better) time. Unlike Freud's theory, according to which laughter releases a repressed pleasure and obtains the support of the one who laughs, Bergson's idea of raises the hope that society, through laughter (and the humiliation caused by it), can be brought to order. Again according to Bergson:

A character in a tragedy will not change his conduct because he will know it is judged by us; he may continue therein, even though fully conscious of what he is and feeling keenly the horror he inspires in us. But a flaw that is ridiculous, as soon as it feels itself to be so, endeavors to modify itself or at least appear as though it did. Were Harpagon to see us laugh at his miserliness, I do not say that he would correct it, but he would either show it less or show it differently. Indeed, it is in this sense only that laughter "punishes the customs." It makes us at endeavor to appear what we ought to be, what some day we shall perhaps end in being.¹⁹

The difference between Freud's and Bergson's theories lies on the focus of analysis: while the Austrian analyzes the possible effects of laughter on the observer/listener of a joke, Bergson's focus is on the person/group ridiculed in a given situation. That does not make them opposing theories, but rather complementary. Moreover, with a focus on the humiliation, Bergson opens an important line of reflection that points to the role of violence in humor, particularly in political cartoons.

Violence can be identified as the second main feature of political cartoons, just after humor itself. One can divide the violence linked to cartoons in two categories: indirect violence, which is caused by humor, irony and humiliation (according to the model reported by Bergson), and direct violence, which openly attacks their target and does not necessarily use humor and laughter. Like humor, violence can arise from different forms

and intensity degrees in a political cartoon, and it can point both to the direct object of criticism as to the observer of the drawing. One who supports or is in favor of the object of criticism is the primary recipients of the message of violence (and humiliation) of the cartoons. The target²⁰ of a political cartoon that portrays the U.S. President Barack Obama, for example, is probably not just himself or his actions. The cartoon should not, therefore, have some kind of influence (only) on the president (the *formal target*), but also and mainly on his supporters (*the informal target*). These are the "aimed public" of the attack and the actual recipients of criticism expressed with violence. Thus, it is intended to correct their actions; it suggests reflection and a change of opinion regarding the formal target; in short, it proposes a new order in which the supporters of the formal target cease to be. Criticism and violence can be exercised by cartoonist intentionally or not - especially if we think in the case of indirect criticism. However, even when violence is employed unintentionally, political cartoons can exert the same influence and have the same effect of humiliation on its readers, in this case, the indirect targets. Indirect violence in cartoons also follows Bergson's model, but instead of the humiliation of the object of criticism in the political cartoon, it aims at humiliating the reader, or rather the reader that nourish sympathy towards the object of criticism.

From the establishment of the existence of formal and informal targets of violence, it is possible to reach the *sympathetic target*. This is represented by the reader or viewer of the drawing that already opposes what is portrayed in political cartoon, *i.e.* the formal target. By observing the represented object, the sympathetic target must hold a favorable attitude towards the *message* that the cartoon brings, and its natural reaction is that of support and sympathy towards the criticism. The sympathetic target finds, in the message of the cartoon, the reaffirmation and corroboration of his own opinion. In this sense, it is clear that the sympathetic target, as well as the informal target, already has its mind made up before it gets in touch with the message of the political cartoon, which is fundamentally against the formal target (the depicted situation or character). Besides, it is also possible to identify a fourth target of the cartoons regarding its position in relation to the message. It is the *undefined target*, the group of observers and readers who do not have their opinion about the object of criticism, about the joke and/or about the violence and, therefore, is an open battleground for opinion leaders and propagandists in politics - the natural field of action of political cartoons .

The following table summarizes the classification presented here:

Classification of the Target:	Corresponding position on the topic <i>i.e.</i> on the <i>Formal Target</i>
FORMAL	---
INFORMAL	SUPPORT
SIMPATHEIC	ANTAGONISM
UNDEFINED	NEUTRALITY

The fact that the undefined target is presented here with a position of neutrality in regard to the formal target does not necessarily mean that it has not shown any interest in the subject. Nor does it mean that its position is sustained after the contact with the message of the political cartoon or remains indefinitely neutral. It's more of an opinion not yet formed or in formation, which may still change when exposed to different information and opinions. Here Freud's ideas about humor can find a more objective theoretical application. Through this "humorous violence", or even better, through this indirect violence (as produced by the joke, not by direct attack) and through the laughter produced by humor, occurs the unconscious approach of the undefined target (the laughing actor) and the opinion expressed by the representing producer of political cartoon. As Freud describes:

A joke allows us to explore in the enemy something ridiculous that we could not handle openly or consciously, due to obstacles in the way; once again, the joke will avoid the restrictions and open sources of pleasure. It will moreover bribe the listener with its production of pleasure, causing him to align with us without a more thorough investigation; just like in other frequent occasions we were bribed by an innocent joke that led us to overestimate a jokingly expressed statement. This fact is revealed to perfection in the current expression 'die Lacher auf seine Seite ziehen [to bring to our side the ones that laugh]'.²¹

A social or political change can operate through laughter. The (laughable) situation represented can win the sympathy of the viewer, just as Cicero proposed in the first century. Laughing is a key to the expression of criticism and also for its acceptance. According to Freud's model, a political cartoon can "bring the laughers" to the side of criticism, namely, to the side of the opposition to the formal target. The relief caused by laughing and the relaxation that humor brings are added to a criticism and/or a humorous attack, and the result is the introjection of a discourse through the subjective route of pleasure.

So far we have discussed the so called indirect violence, *i.e.* the attacks made by the discursive mitigation that is humor. But direct violence (the one performed without the subterfuge of humor and, therefore, without the element of humiliation caused by the

laughter) also relates to the above classification. The use of direct violence in the public arena also seeks the humiliation of the formal target, it is clear; however, that this open humiliation has its objective directly linked to sympathetic and undefined targets. This direct violence fosters hatred and opposition to the formal target, encouraging the expression of feelings by the sympathetic target. On the other hand, it seeks to change the vision of the undefined target by spreading this negative view regarding the formal target. In this case, that objective is to undermine any shred of sympathy that the undefined target may have in relation to the represented subject, as well as the spread of contempt or, in extreme cases, hatred. In case of use of direct violence in a political cartoon, it is frequently focused on the character or nature of the portrayed figure or group. Their moral and sometimes their human condition are attacked in this disqualification process.

Direct violence does not seek any support in the dynamics of pleasure afforded by humor, as it is the case for indirect violence. Its intention, rather, is to produce negative feelings and, through them, clearly delimit the formal target and its supporters. The political result of this process is the isolation of these elements in public opinion and, thus, the use of Manichaeism in political discourse. In extreme cases, this process can be followed by its reflection in the social relations as the delimitation of social groups and their dichotomous classification between good and bad, friends and enemies. Thus, the political cartoons can be taken as elements that help to accelerate this process of political and social fragmentation, promoting the environment that will propitiate it.

Due to these characteristics, the cartoons are here presented as an active part of the political game. They include a political statement that can influence political discussions and opinions, consciously or unconsciously. Thus, the political cartoons contribute to the "marketplace of ideas" and to the public debate, being actively involved in the creation and maintenance of mental structures. These circumstances are sufficient to justify their research and analysis, as well as its usage in the construction of collective memory of a particular group.

Besides, political cartoons are also part and expressions of symbolic struggles in the social field. They not only give support to ideas, ideologies and political actors, but also can promote defamation, humiliation through laughter or delimitation of different political and social groups. In political studies, their analysis can be used to design a kind of map of social groups, which are not (only) determined by their economic or social status, but also by their worldviews, beliefs, ideas and prejudices. The changing in these mental elements can be as fluid and varied as are the possibilities of a change of opinion. As indicated

above, such change may even be encouraged, among others, by a drawing. The political cartoon can thus assume an "influential and catechist" role.

This struggle in the political arena is promoted not only by the spread of ideas and worldviews. This is, of course, an essential part of these dynamics. But as the discussion of humor and violence presented above shows, the participation of cartoons in the public arena can be even more profound than their role as mere propaganda. These components of cartoons do not act as legitimating or constructive forces in the political arena. Their functions are destruction and aggression. Cartoons in this context are agents of violence, and their function is to undermine two of the key elements of power, authority and strength and, aiming to undermine the very power itself.²² These dynamics can operate in all directions: political cartoons may attack the authority or the strength of an established power, as well as a political actor who seeks power or only operates in the same *milieu*. In other words, it undermines the authority and power of formal and informal targets. Direct and indirect violence may crumble the legitimacy of their targets, even if the cartoon is not made with that explicit intent. Due to the criticism or the representation of the error and weakness of its target, political cartoons show the way for its downfall. Thus, political cartoons, as an instrument of violence, do not produce power. However, they can undermine the authority or strength of a political actor, and their message can (explicitly or implicitly) show a new power direction.

The efficiency of political cartoons in these dynamics depends on many conditions. These include the strength of their targets, the clarity of their message and the system of power in which they are inserted. Political cartoons, of course, are not an all-powerful tool. They alone are not responsible for political and social changes or the fall of governments. Their effect relates more to momentary or lasting reaction of its readers, who laugh at the political cartoon, get emotional, settle or rebel. That is how political cartoons mark their place in the political arena and in history.

3. The Historian's Craft: Analysis of Political Cartoons

In what has been exposed so far, the role of cartoons in social dynamics, their central features (humor and violence) and their condition of historical artifact and source of memory for a Political History were comprehensively presented and analyzed. However, the use of cartoons in the reconstruction and study of the past cannot renounce the search for its own methodology in order to maximize the results of the analysis. Incipient in the

humanities (with the obvious exception of Art History), image analysis also seeks to develop methods of approach to facilitate the access of researchers to relevant content embedded in images, as well as to structures of actions and thoughts that are reflected in them. Among these methods, we find the documentary method, developed by the German sociologist Ralf Bohnsack.

Founded on the tradition of the Sociology of Knowledge by Karl Mannheim and the praxiological Sociology of Pierre Bourdieu, the documentary method preaches the efforts for the transposition from the immanent (literal) meaning to the documentary meaning of images, *i.e.* the "change of the question on "what" the cultural and social phenomena or realities are for the question on "how" it was produced".²³ In the search for the social structures that underlie this pursuit for the "how", as suggested by Bohnsack, images undergo a process of rebuilding their different levels of meaning (*Sinnschichten*), as described by Mannheim.²⁴ To guide the reflections of researchers in this process, the precepts of the iconological method, by Erwin Panofsky, and the iconic method, by Max Imdahl, are taken as theoretical base. The purpose of the documentary method by combining these methodological traditions is to achieve a broad understanding of the highest number of levels possible comprising the source, as well as its relationship with the context of production, going from the analysis about (*über*) the source to the analysis through (*durch*) the source.

The analysis that follows is an example of use of the method, and will be shown step-by-step²⁵. Published in 1934, the image is from the period post-rise of the National Socialist Party (NSDAP) to power in Germany. The newspaper, however, had been established in 1923, and was one of the publications of first hour in the Nazi movement. Having Julius Streicher, the leader of the Nazi party in Nuremberg and later *Gauleiter* of Franconia, as its owner and chief writer, the *Der Stürmer* is considered one of the most virulent and aggressive publications in history. The image analyzed here refers to the period of organization of the apparatus in the state and the consolidation of Nazi power, extending from 1933 to 1939. This is the period of greatest progress of Streicher's weekly, that ceases to be a regional publication to be sold throughout Germany and even abroad, with selling peaks that hit the million copies (BYTWERK). *Der Stürmer* arises here not only as a reflection of the anti-Semitic Nazi ideology and policies, but as one of its main advocates and broadcasters. The newspaper assumes the condition of semi-official vehicle of the regime and is one of the main pieces in the search for the creation of a totalitarian state, in the manner pointed out by Hannah Arendt.²⁶ It is in this context that the charge

presented here was published, and the reconstruction of its meanings reveals structures and arrangements that permeate the society in which it was produced. It is also from these structures that the memory of this society can be built.

3.1. *Interpreting the Image: The Jewish God of War*



Fig. 3: FIPS. **Der Stürmer**. n° . 27. Nürnberg: Jul, 1934. p. 1.

3.1.1. *The Pre-iconographic Analysis*

In the first phase of interpretation, the pre-iconographic analysis, the researcher's interest is the detailed description of what is depicted in the image. Thus, in the case analyzed here, it can be perceived the presence of three planes in its overall composition. The background is completely black and, at first glance, nothing can be distinguished. The second plane is the central one, where a fire stands out on a globe. The flames seem to threaten to spread across the entire surface. In the foreground, a man can be seen on the globe. His size is quite disproportionate to the size of the globe. He holds a torch, whose flame spots the German words for "hate speech" (*Verhetzung*) and "slander" (*Verleumdung*) in his right hand. In his left hand he has a bomb with the word "anarchy" (*Anarchie*), and a thin cloud of smoke comes out of its wick. The man is dressed in an old military uniform; on his chest, a six-pointed star is shown just below the word "Talmud". He also wears a helmet with a snake on its top and a cape around its neck. On the inner side of the mantle, the word "Freemasonry" (*Freimaurerei*) comes up with a triangle. The man wears glasses and has secured at the waist a syringe containing the word "poison" (*Gift*).

The light plays an important role in the composition of the image. The color image in black and white often makes it difficult to detect the lighting conditions of a cartoon. In the example discussed here, the main source of lighting is the torch. From there, the

shadows of the scene are projected onto the ground, or rather on the globe. Although the flames of the central plan seem stronger, the proximity of the torch with the central character promotes the projection of shadows. The light also proves important in chiaroscuro composition, as with the printed words in the drawing, the light creates a schema that enables the text messages to be emphasized in composition, such as the flame of the torch (the brightest part of the image) and the words under the cape (the darkest place). This scheme produces the optical effect of a large triangle, which points to the face of the central character in the upper corner.

The face of the character has an angry expression; it is especially visible through the open mouth and visible teeth. The wrinkles under the eyes and the tension in the neck, an angry, enhance the aggressive expression. The stance reflects this condition: The right leg is parallel to the right arm (Fig. 3.1), stretched in front of him, giving the impression of an attack position. The performativity of the scene is highlighted by this pose, from which the general movement of the scene is generated. In this sense, three curves are plotted in Figure 3.4, which shows what would be the “appearance” of the movement in the image. This movement intensifies the impression of anger and aggression in the character.



Fig. 3.1

The character’s left arm is brought behind the body of the figure and its wrist is twisted, so that the palm of the hand is facing up. This detail of the image casts a shadow of dissimulation over the actions of the character by showing him hiding something under the hood, in this case, a bomb. From the general composition of all these elements, the overall impression produced by the figure is indicative of anger, aggression and betrayal.

3.1.2. *Iconographic Analysis*

Following the interpretation, the Panofsky's classical methodology points to the iconographic analysis, in which the focus is on the gestures and actions that occur in the general choreography, seeking a general sense for each of them, according to common sense. Also the primary meaning of symbols, archetypes and signs are raised in the iconographic analysis; in short, it is the analysis of the elements present in the imaginary.

The illustration shows a soldier on a globe in a dominant and aggressive pose. His disproportion to the globe indicates his role as a symbol or a supernatural representation. The soldier, who is dressed in military uniform referring to the Ancient Rome, is identified due to its pronounced nose and disproportionate forehead and chin as a Jew. This caricatured characterization of Jews is anchored on various representations throughout history, making the image part of a tradition that merges the grotesque and anti-Semitism. This portrayal of Jews is consistent with the stereotype spread by other people: the cartoonist highlights some physical characteristics and behaviors that would be generally considered normal or typical for the Jewish people (a presumed *habitus*). The cartoonist draws a figure based on those supposedly typical characteristics. Moreover, the word "Talmud" on his chest is there to vanish any doubt about the identification of the central figure. Among other stereotypes promoted by the prejudice that help to rebuild this supposed Jewish *habitus* and that are present in this image, the weakness and dissimulation are highlighted.

The central character is identified as a Jew and wears a military uniform characteristic of ancient Rome, which suggests his antiquity, *i.e.* that the Jew would be referred to a warrior since antiquity. The helmet that the Jew wears, also typically Roman, has a snake in attack position on its top. This detail contains biblical references, referring to a long Western tradition in which the snake is taken as a symbol of treason. The Jewish soldier described here is taken as a traitor and his aggressive pose over the globe demonstrates his intention of world domination. The position of the feet suggests where the fight would occur: through its dynamic motion, it is possible to check that his attack at the moment is directed from Europe to the United States.

The fire in the background seems to have been caused by the torch in the hands of the central character. This means that the world is on fire due to the action of the figure. The whole composition shows that the warrior's weapons are hate speech and slander (the words in the flames of the torch). The word "Freemasonry", which is inside the cape,

alludes to the supposed secret nature of the Jewish actions. The bomb with the word "anarchy", which connects the character to the archetype of the intellectual, revolutionary and conspiratorial Jew, completes the arsenal of the character. Another weapon of the Jewish warrior is the poison that is in the syringe. The syringe can also be understood as a phallic reference due to its position, and the composition has the function of warning about a supposed contagion of "non-Jews" through sexual contact. The glasses may also be pointed as an element that denounces the "intellectual" aspect of the Jewish conspiracy. The stereotypical image of Jews as intellectuals is as widespread as the one that connects them to the capitalists, merchants or bankers. These were some of the most commonly used forms of representation of the Jews, especially in defamatory and humorous drawings as the above political cartoon exemplifies.

3.1.3. *The Formal Composition of the Image*

In this step the researcher starts changing the question on "what" is represented in the image to the question on "how" these representations are built. The guiding principle of this phase is based on the iconic method formulated by Max Imdahl (1988, 1996a, 1996b). For the German art historian, colors, lines, lights and shapes become more important in the analysis of images.

[...] unlike Panofsky's Iconological interpretation, the iconic interpretation begins at the pre-iconographic plan and at the formal composition of the image. The iconic interpretation can - according to Imdahl - remain largely separate from the prior knowledge of iconography, *i.e.* iconographic allocation of meaning.²⁷

It is the overall composition of the image, in graphics and technical terms, that matters to Imdahl's vision. It is through these elements that the method will contribute to the perception of how the image was constructed, assisting in the apprehension of the social and mental structures that sustain it. In the words of Imdahl,

The iconic method is a methodology of description of phenomena, which - it must be pointed out - is based on a concept of form and image different from that of iconographic and iconological methods. It is dedicated to the synthesis of the "look that looks" and the "look that recognizes" as the foundation of a very specific sense of apprehension that would be otherwise unreachable, investigating how semantic and synthesis influence the image.²⁸

Imdahl's iconic proposition refers thus to the study of the image by the image, *i.e.* its formal constitution. Elements such as planimetry and perspective can result in

differentiated data for interpretation and shed light on points to which our attention was not yet dragged, as well as help with the Iconological analysis by providing a critical view based on technicality (or the lack of it) inherent in the image. In the light of this, one must take into consideration that when analyzing formal composition of a cartoon, we may be faced with some difficulties, especially because of the grotesque and chaotic nature of the charge. In these cases, the artist is not guided by formal rules, but draws freely, which can lead to unevenness in the overall composition. Still, the analysis of the formal elements can find important information for the final interpretation, even if that analysis concludes that the composition is completely irregular.

In the example discussed here, the overall composition shows a division into three triangles that have specific characteristics, as can be seen in Figure 3.2.

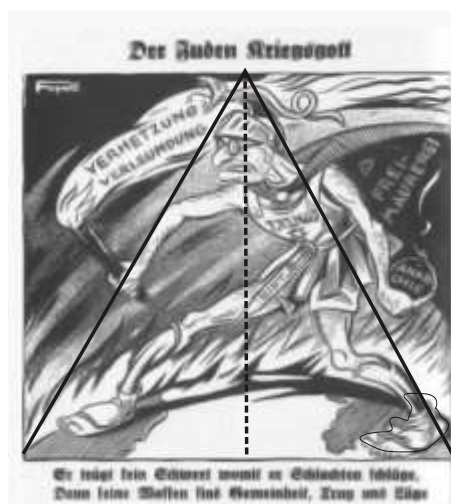


Fig. 3.2



Fig. 3.3

The central triangle is exactly in the center of the whole composition and surrounds the body of the character. It conforms perfectly with the color scheme, which was previously mentioned. The light gray color in the center is mainly in the central triangle, whereas the darker color is outside the central triangle. Just below the top corner is the head of the central character. The body is not as centralized as the head. Rather, it follows the diagonal line of the triangle. The outline of the head follows the two lines of the central triangle, and the contours of the right arm and left leg are tangent to the sides of the triangle. This division between dark/light and peripheral/central conveys the impression of three different compositions: the left composition in which the torch is the main element, the central composition, in which the character is about to set the world on fire, and the right composition wherein the cape and the bomb are. The three compositions correspond to the division between the three levels where the character is. In Figure 3.3, these three

levels are more clearly identified. The two parallel lines indicate the elements that connect the front and rear plan from the perspective of the character, *i.e.* the torch in his right hand (in the front plan) and his left arm (in the rear plan).

The scenic choreography shows the character in a dynamic movement from the right to the left. His right foot is in a place that can be identified as North America in the globe, and the left foot is on Europe, or more precisely, on the south of Europe and Palestine. The meaning is obvious: the attack of the Jews comes from the "Old World" (Europe and Palestine) and continues in the United States. There the torch of hate speech and defamation has been used, since the USA is already in flames. Taking this interpretation, the attack seems to be successful. However, when checking other dynamics of the scene, the attack seems both an expression of aggression and weakness. Because of the posture of the right arm, the direction that the look of the character assumes and the position of his legs, it is possible to have an indication of the direction in which the attack is being made. This analysis, which is supported by the planimetry and the performativity, shows that the attack is directed down, to the floor. The strength of the attack is not directed forward against an opponent, but it goes harmless towards the ground:

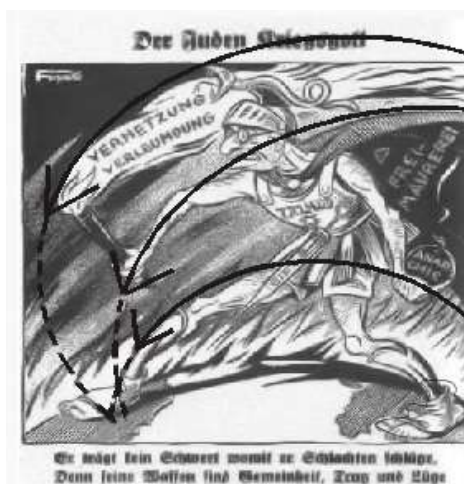


Fig. 3.4

Thus, substantial evidences for a semantic interpretation arise in the sense of a paradox (*Übergegensätzlichkeit*)²⁹ that is presented in the image. These evidences, just as those proposed by the pre-iconographical and the iconographical analysis, may finally be reviewed and used in the perspective of the iconic-iconological analysis.

3.1.4. *Iconic-iconological Analysis*

The image interpretation through the study of its uniqueness as a social and historical source - this is the central part of Iconological interpretation. This step comprises determining the characterization of determinant evidences in recognition of collective elements, such as a country, an epoch or a class, as well as of religions, ideologies and philosophies.³⁰ This points to the analysis of the worldview (*Weltanschauung*) and the *habitus* (in the sense of Bourdieu)³¹ of the society or group in question, *i.e.* the *modus operandi* of both thinking and acting of its producers.

In the analysis of the case presented here, as the analysis of formal composition showed, the movement of the character, in particular with respect to the gesture of the right arm, is directed forward (aggressive) and down (unsuccessfully). The syringe is also turned down. The extremities of his body exhibit a dynamic that drives the character forward in an aggressive attitude of attack. However, his muscles are not particularly developed, which leads to the general impression of physical weakness. The severity of the facial expression, which is constructed analogously to the growl of an aggressive animal, is contrasted by the glasses, which stand out by its reference to the intellectuality and the physical weakness. The signs point to different directions, making it impossible to have a direct and binary relation between representation and message of the image (as menacing and dangerous or weak and harmless). In the overall composition, the signs do not seem to conform to the meanings.

One can conclude, based on formal composition and pre-iconographic description, that the presented paradox (*Übergegensätzlichkeit*) can be reconstructed as a dual *habitus*, *i.e.* a structure of action that points, at the same time, for aggression and weakness. Such construction has substantially two functions: first, the Jew can be shown as aggressive and malicious; and second, despite the aggression, it can be represented at the same time as non-threatening. This is particularly useful, since describing the object as if it was really threatening could be understood as a weakness of the producer of the image and of the group to which he belongs. Furthermore, it allows a double moral degradation. The Jewish people are mocked by the representation of a Jewish ready for the war, but with a weak body. The humorous element, which is also the critical element, expresses a particular message against the Jewish people. Despite the weakness of the Jews, deemed by the shape of the symbolic character, they are still taken as a menace to the German society. This is also expressed by the allegory of the fire over the globe. The cartoon, which was published

in 1934, serves the Nazi propaganda and is directed very specifically against an enemy, in this case, the Jews.

The image, which at first seems to be representative of a *habitus* of confrontation, actually shows the alleged weapons and forms of domination by the Jews. What is learned is that this political cartoon represents an alleged *habitus* of manipulation. The center of the whole composition is the Jew, which makes use of hate speech and defamation to put the whole world on fire. The reference here is to the supposed secret world power of the Jewish people, a political myth that sustained the illusion that the Jews were a conspirator people engaged in the construction of a secret net of influences, which would always lead to their control over the *goyim*. The domination of the Jews over the world was a crucial element of the Jewish conspiracy theory for the Nazis. The massive use of this conspiracy theory by their propaganda machine proved quite effective. Propaganda was a key element of the seizure of power and the policy of terror of the NSDAP.³² For that, the Nazis developed a sophisticated system for the dissemination of his message. The conspiracy theory was a perfect medium since it enabled the attack in various fronts, but always focused on a single central element, although attacks were actually directed against a large number of "enemies". The focus has always been on the Jews, even if the attack was directed against the capitalists, communists and other opponents elected by National Socialism. In the political cartoon analyzed here, this principle is exemplified in references to "Freemasonry" (a symbol of mysterious and obscure actions), and "Anarchy" (symbol not only of political, but also economic and social chaos). Raoul Girardet³³ describes this principle of propaganda (the conspiracy of enemies), alongside the ideas of a "golden age", of a "savior" and the "unity of the people", as one of the classic political myths. It is no surprise that the four "classical political myths" have been heavily used by the Nazis and therefore are also constant subjects in political cartoons of the period in Germany.

Another important part of the image is the syringe labeled "poison". This syringe should be interpreted here as a phallic symbol and it works as a warning to German women of possible infection through sexual intercourse between Aryan women and Jewish men. Fear of contamination of the German blood through sexual contact with Jews was used for propaganda purposes from the beginning of National Socialism. This fear was depicted in political cartoons mainly through the representation of Jews as animals, like a spider or a snake, or, as stressed by our example, with hairy legs and arms and an unshaven face. It was common to use a pseudo-scientific discourse to describe infection of German women through absorption of "Jewish albumin". Even *Der Stürmer* brought some materials which

described in detail how the Aryan blood would be forever tainted by the contact with the Jewish one. The constant evocation of the myth prepared the ground for future racial laws, which would be enacted one year after the publication of this political cartoon, in the city of Nuremberg.

3.1.5. *Interpretation of Textual Elements*

The interpretation of the elements that eventually appear in cartoons does not refer, as seen, to the textual elements that appear within the representation. These were studied together in the previous steps. Here the focus is centered on titles and subtitles that describe or complement the scene of political cartoon. In the example discussed here, the title confirms the above interpretation of the image. "The Jewish God of War" (*Der Juden Kriegsgott*) is an irony that illustrates the weakness of this character which, although supposed to be a god, has no physical strength or any visible power reference. The weakness of the character is evident even without the title to guide to such interpretation. However, the divinity of the character is only fully evident from the title, from which an immediate comparison with the Roman god of war, Mars, is automatic. The parallel with Mars is produced by the uniform, which refers to classical antiquity. This reinforces the message of the cartoon; it brings to mind an image of strength present in the Western imaginary: the Roman god.

The power of the character comes not from his strength, but from wickedness, of deceit and lies, as the caption says. The mention of the sword in the legend "He does not carry a sword with which he would fight his battles, as his weapons are evil, deceit and lies" (*Er trägt kein Schwert womit er Schlachten schlägt. Denn seine Waffen sind Gemeinheit, Trug und Lüge*) points to a new discrepancy between Jews and Aryans. It is a reference to the alleged German strength and fairness on the battle.

4. *Conclusions*

Through the image analyzed here, it was possible to demonstrate the uses of the documentary method in studies of political cartoons, as well as to demonstrate the unique condition of these cartoons as a source for political and historical studies. The allegory of the Jewish god of war, despite not being compared here with other cartoons from that period and/or published in *Der Stürmer*, provided a glance over the process of construction

of representations in the Nazi anti-Semitic media, as well as a glimpse of the social structures that crossed that chronological point, when the political cartoon was printed. The *modus operandi* of this process is found in the construction of metaphors and allegories, as well as the composition of thematic frames (LAKOFF) within the representations. The example shown here produces them through the juxtaposition of elements primarily external to the thematic (such as Anarchy and Freemasonry) with all the anti-Semitic construction, evoking weakness, deception and aggression. By combining these elements, the qualities attributed to the Jews are also transferred to the Masons and the anarchists, resulting in a massive attack on the Nazi enemies.

The theme of the image and the anti-Semitic attacks that it comprises also show the close relation the political cartoons have with political passions and the production of feelings. The dynamics that the image imposes to the imaginary, transposing representations and transforming meanings, contribute to the diffusion and sedimentation of these feelings at different levels of meaning. Thus, modern political myths and humorous images act in the spread of ideologies and worldviews, contributing equally to the formation of their reflection in the praxeological structures of society. Political cartoons, dealing with the subjective in the political arena, offer us a window to the understanding of the political dynamics in societies and social groups. In the same way Proust found in a cup of tea and some *madeleines* the keys to individual memories, the political cartoons and their evocations of subjectivities and elements of the imaginary can give us a privileged key to the collective memories.

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¹ BERGSON, H. **Matéria e Memória** – Ensaio sobre a Relação do Corpo com o Espírito. São Paulo: Martins Fontes, 2010; BERGSON, H. **Memória e Vida**. São Paulo: Martins Fontes, 2011.

² SEIXAS, J. A. de. Os Campos (in)elásticos da Memória. In: BRESCIANI, M. S. (Ed.) **Razão e Paixão na Política**. Brasília: UnB, 2002. p. 74. All the quotes that are not originally in English (according to the bibliography) are free translations by the author.

³ The central concepts in the arguments presented here, in particular *habitus*, worldview (*Weltanschauung*), ideology, politics and the imaginary are anchored in those developed in the works of Hannah Arendt, Pierre Bourdieu, Karl Mannheim, Cornelius Castoriadis and Pierre Ansart.

⁴ In this sense, one of the pioneering studies of greater relevance is the work of Pierre Ansart (ANSART, P. **La Gestion des Passions Politiques**. Paris: L'Age d'Homme, 1983), which placed the political passions on the map of contemporary historiography amid the development of the New Political History.

⁵ JEANNENEY, J. A Mídia. In: RÉMOND, R. (Ed.) **Por uma História Política**. Rio de Janeiro: FGV, 2003. p. 213.

⁶ The subject of shaping public opinion through the media is a complex one and involves a number of elements, such as the relationship of the vehicle with its audience, advertisers and sponsors, as well as the number of actors involved in the company. Walter Lippmann (LIPPMANN, W. **Public Opinion**. Leipzig: BNP, 2003. p. 258) argues that the greater the number of readers, the more independent a newspaper will be

by not depending on external capital for their survival. Also, the greater the number of advertisers in a vehicle, the smaller the influence they may have on their editorial line. In this equation, the political and social role that the publication grants to itself, the chosen editorial line, its niche market (or the social group to which the media is linked), all these elements influence, to a greater or lesser degree, the role of the vehicle in the formation of public opinion.

⁷ ACCARDO, A, et al. **Journalistes au quotidien** – Outils pour une socioanalyse des pratiques journalistes. Bordeaux : Le Mascaret, 1995. p. 42.

⁸ BOHNSACK, R. **Rekonstruktive Sozialforschung**. Einführung in qualitative Methoden. Opladen, 2010. [7^a Ed.]; BOHNSACK, R. **Qualitative Bild- und Videointerpretation**. Die dokumentarische Methode. Opladen, 2011.

⁹ ARENDT, H. **The Life of Mind**. San Diego, New York, London: Harcourt, 1978. p. 266.

¹⁰ BAUDELAIRE, C. **Les Dessins de Daumier**. Paris: G. Cres & Cie., 1924. p. 14.

¹¹ HALBWACHS, M. **A Memória Coletiva**. São Paulo: Centauro, 2003. p. 29.

¹² RAMAGE, E. S.. Early roman urbanity. In: **The American Journal of Philology**. Vol. 81. N. 1, 1960.

¹³ GRAF, F. Cícero, Plauto e o Riso Romano. In: BREMMER, J.; ROODENBURG. H. (Org.) **Uma História Cultural do Humor**. Rio de Janeiro: Record, 2000. p 56.

¹⁴ MINOIS, G. **História do Riso e do Escárnio**. São Paulo: Unesp, 2000. p. 82.

¹⁵ PROVINE, R. **Laughter** – a scientific investigation. New York: Penguin, 2001. p. 44,

¹⁶ It is important to clarify that this text does not intend to be a study on the influence or reception of political cartoons or humor. However, this discussion becomes important to analyze the subject and the nature of its object (the political cartoon), placing it more properly in the theoretical field.

¹⁷ FREUD, S. **Der Witz und seine Beziehung zum Unbewußten / Der Humor**. Frankfurt: Fischer, 2006. p. 147

¹⁸ BERGSON, H. **O Riso**. São Paulo: Martins Fontes, 2001. p. 65.

¹⁹ Id. pp. 12-13.

²⁰ The concept of “target” is not used here as simply the target of attack. “Target” here is the element which is being affected or influenced, or even better, the element that is or feels directly affected by the message, or the primary receptor of the message in the charge.

²¹ FREUD, S. op. cit.. p. 117.

²² ARENDT, H. **On Violence**. San Diego, New York, London: Harvest Book, 1970, pp. 44 *et seq.*

²³ BOHNSACK, R. The Interpretation of Pictures and the Documentary Method. In: **FQS: Forum Qualitative Social Research**, v. 9, n° 3, (2008). [accessed Dec. 2013].) p. 158.

²⁴ MANNHEIM, K. **Wissenssoziologie** – Auswahl aus dem Werk. Berlin / Neuwied: Luchterhand, 1964. p. 103 *et. seq.*

²⁵ This is an extract from a previous study on the role and nature of cartoons published in the Nazi newspaper Der Stürmer, whose German version can be found under the title *Politische Karikaturen und die Grenzen des Humors und der Gewalt* LIEBEL, V. **Politische Karikaturen und die Grenzen des Humors und der Gewalt**. Opladen: Budrich, 2011.

²⁶ ARENDT, H. **The Origins of Totalitarianism**. San Diego, New York, London: Harvest, 1968.

²⁷ BOHNSACK, R. **Qualitative Analysis and documentary method in international and educational research**. Opladen and Farmington Hills: Verlag Barbara Budrich, p. 161.

BOHNSACK, R. The Interpretation of Pictures and the Documentary Method. In: *FQS: Forum Qualitative Social Research*, v. 9, n° 3, (2008). [accessed Dec. 2013].)

²⁸ Imdahl, M. **Giotto – Arenafresken. Ikonographie – Ikonologie – Ikonik**. München, 1988. p. 99.

²⁹ Imdahl's definition to the term *Übergegensätzlichkeit* refers to an apparent paradox within an image that both denotes an opposition of meaning (as in the furious attack/unsuccesful attack) and transcends it.

³⁰ PANOFSKY, E. **Ikonographie & ikonologie**. Köln: 2006. p. 39.

³¹ BOURDIEU, P. **Les Sens Pratique**. Paris: Les editions de Minuit, 1980.

³² ARENDT, H. **The Human Condition**. University of Chicago Press, 1958.

³³ GIRARDET, R. **Mythes et Mythologies Politiques**. Paris: Seuil, 1990.