

Josef Albers. *Midnight and Noon*. 1964. Portfolio of eight lithographs, composition: 15 3/4 x 15 3/4" (40 x 40 cm); sheet: 18 15/16 x 20 1/2" (47.9 x 52 cm). Publisher and printer: Tamarind Lithography Workshop, Inc., Los Angeles. Edition: 20. The Museum of Modern Art, New York. Gift of Kleiner, Bell & Co.

Josef Albers: An Open Mind for the Newer and Nearer
Sarah Hermanson Meister

As both an artist and teacher, Josef Albers is a singularly important figure in the history of twentieth-century art. He is best known for his *Homages to the Square*, an expansive suite of paintings and prints that explores the nuances of color and tonal relationships and the relative nature of perception. Albers made his first *Homage to the Square* in 1950, and during the next quarter-century he produced more than two thousand paintings and 160 distinct prints that adhere to a fixed set of formal parameters—a square with three or four concentric but unequal margins (page 10, for example)—through which the artist explored a seemingly infinite variety of combinations.¹ Yet as much as Albers is identified with this body of work, it is important to remember that by the time he painted his first such square, at age sixty-two, he was already an accomplished artist and, no less, a respected teacher, first at the Bauhaus in Germany, then at Black Mountain College in North Carolina; in 1950, he was just assuming the chairmanship of the Department of Design at Yale. Celebrated for his furniture and typographic designs, glassworks, drawings, and prints, in 1963 he published the first edition of *Interaction of Color*, which revolutionized the discourse surrounding perception and pedagogy. In 1971, he became the first living artist to be honored with a major retrospective at The Metropolitan Museum of Art. One field in which Albers was not known, however, was photography, and his engagement with the medium was only fully discovered after his death.

Since a modest exhibition of his photographs at The Museum of Modern Art in 1988, organized by John Szarkowski, then Director of the Department of Photography, this achievement has developed a small but ardent following, and every serious consideration of Albers as an artist includes at least a few of his extraordinary photocollages.² Beginning at the Bauhaus in 1928, Albers made hundreds, perhaps thousands, of photographs with his handheld Leica camera, and he made thousands more, mostly while traveling, in the decades following his emigration to the United States in 1933. But we concern ourselves here with a group of seventy photocollages mounted to A3 boards, established as a standard size in Germany in 1922 at 29.7 by 42 centimeters (11 3/4 by 16 1/2 inches).³ No record exists of Albers ever having exhibited these collages in his lifetime, nor does he appear to have spoken of them. Yet in their rigorous construction and allusive potential, they represent a singularly creative body of work. The images Albers used to make these collages fall rather neatly into four categories—portraits, mannequins, the natural world, and the built environment—and Albers attends to a remarkably narrow subsection within each of these:



Fig. 1. Unknown photographer. Untitled (Studio exercise by Walter Tralau for Josef Albers's *Vorkurs* class). 1926. Gelatin silver print, 4 5/16 x 3 1/8" (10.9 x 8 cm). Stiftung Bauhaus Dessau



Fig. 2. Lotte (Charlotte) Beese. Untitled (Studio exercise by Paul Kempfer for Josef Albers's *Vorkurs* class). 1926–27. Gelatin silver print, 4 1/8 x 3" (10.5 x 7.6 cm). Stiftung Bauhaus Dessau/Co-owner: Federal Republic of Germany

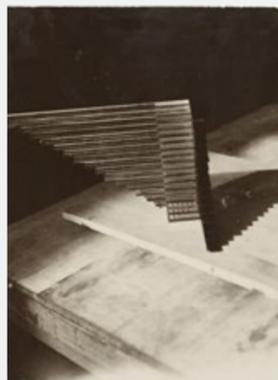


Fig. 3. Edmund Collelin. Untitled (Studio exercise for Josef Albers's *Vorkurs* class). 1927–28. Gelatin silver print, 4 x 2 15/16" (10.1 x 7.5 cm). Stiftung Bauhaus Dessau/Co-owner: Federal Republic of Germany

The portraits feature only people Albers knew well—fellow *Bauhäusler*, family, and friends. The primary urban motif is the mannequin, which was also featured in the photographs of contemporaries such as Eugène Atget, Bill Brandt, Manuel Álvarez Bravo, Horacio Coppola, and scores of others who were attentive to the figures' Surrealist echoes. His images of nature consist of mostly waves, some trees, and a few mountains, and there are only a handful of man-made structures. Albers's limited range of subjects achieves new significance in his collages, where their selection and pairings take on questions of duality, time, and narrative, topics that resist being infused into single images of similar subjects. The creativity and originality of Albers's Bauhaus-era photocollages have been subsumed within other considerations of the artist's work with a camera, although the fixed parameters of the cream-colored boards and the black-and-white gelatin silver prints anticipate in important ways the central concerns of his career. Never before has the entirety of this body of work been gathered or studied as a unique achievement.

The type of camera Albers used to create the source material for his photocollages was itself a landmark in the history of photography: the Leica, which in 1925 debuted as the first handheld camera that could accommodate rolls of 35mm film.⁴ By freeing the camera from its tripod but preserving the quality of the lens, the Leica enabled a whole new way of approaching the world photographically; the act of holding a camera before one's face, looking through its viewfinder, also led naturally to the consideration of the camera lens as an extension of the human eye, and the idiosyncrasies of that vision became fodder for new ways of constructing images. The Leica's portability meant that photographers might carry the camera with them at all times, and this encouraged a language of spontaneity that had previously been the domain of the amateur snapshot.

László Moholy-Nagy may not have been the first to remark how photography constituted a uniquely modern visual language in the wake of World War I, but he did so memorably, coining the phrase *Neues Sehen* ("New Vision") to capture the novelty of seeing the world through the camera lens.⁵ In 1925, while teaching at the Bauhaus, Moholy-Nagy articulated his radical ambition for the medium in the eighth *Bauhaus-bücher* (*Bauhaus Book*), titled *Malerei Fotografie Film* (*Painting Photography Film*), and even more memorably through the example of his own practice. At the time, Albers was encouraging his students at the Bauhaus to use photography to document their work (figs. 1–3), yet it is likely not a coincidence that it was not until Moholy left the Bauhaus in 1928 that Albers began making photographs in earnest. And when

he did, given the sweeping scope of Moholy's photographic interest—incorporating cameraless and scientific imagery, negative prints and film—it is not all that surprising that Albers, an artist of natural restraint, would pursue a photographic path within a much narrower set of parameters. Albers used his camera to capture many dynamic points of view, but there is no record of his ever having made a photogram or an optical distortion of any sort. Even when flirting with that illusion, as he does with some of the last photographs he incorporates into his collages (page 91), we soon realize that what seems like a positive/negative pair are in fact two distinct views from his window in Dessau: one where the fence and flora are silhouetted against the snow, and the other where the frost on these same forms renders them light against the bare ground. The dark tree trunks are a visual constant, a reminder of optical fidelity. There is some variety to Albers's choice of photographic papers and print sizes, but there are no solarizations or attempts to manipulate basic printing processes. Even in the assemblage of his collages—arguably the most innovative aspect of his photographic practice—Albers used square or rectangular prints exclusively, mounted according to a grid with virtually no overlap.⁶ Yet in the same way that Albers's radical reimagining of the potential of painting would unfold within the strict confines of a nested square, so, too, does his series of photocollages open up a universe of possibility within a willfully limited range of variables.

Take, for instance, one of Albers's collages of El Lissitzky (page 29), comprised of just two photographs made when Lissitzky visited the Bauhaus in June 1930. The image on the left shows Lissitzky smiling warmly, almost conspiratorially, at Albers. The background divides neatly into three tones—black, white, and gray—each of which corresponds loosely to Lissitzky's (black) tie, (white) shirt, and the middle shades of the photographic spectrum that echo Lissitzky's tanned complexion and balding pate. The horizontal image on the right is the same width but half the height of the vertical image, and in it we see Lissitzky almost in profile, looking toward his other likeness. This time the asymmetry of his placement within the frame is even more pronounced: his nose is cropped by the left edge, his forehead by the top, but the right half of the image is virtually empty. While we feel confident that these photographs were captured at the same meeting, the darker background in the right-hand image and the differentiation between Lissitzky's shirt and collar (which, on the left, seem identical) remind the viewer of the variability of photographic representation. Albers mounted these prints with their top edges roughly aligned and with nearly equivalent space between their outside edges and the sides of the board: there is no evident rhyme or reason in the interstitial spaces. This irregularity draws the viewer's attention to the geometric forms within each image and to the prints themselves, which might

be construed as Albers's nod to the dynamic geometric vocabulary that Lissitzky employed in his own art and design.

Of the seventy photocollages Albers made at this time, more than half feature but two photographic prints: their placement reveals both formal innovation and a sensitivity to the unique characteristics of the individual photographs. Albers's photographs of the Eiffel Tower, made during a summer break from teaching, suggest his attentiveness to the range of possibilities offered by his Leica, and the close relationship between his work and that of his contemporaries (page 93 and fig. 4). Both images in his collage feature plunging perspectives; the sunlight and shadow in the image on the left draw our attention to the diminutive figures below. Albers was not a particularly fastidious printer, yet he was surely attuned to the fact that every tone in the photograph on the right exists on the continuum of tones between the highlights and shadows on the left.⁷ Lest the viewer suspect that these are purely mechanical byproducts of the process, Albers trims each image with a subtly but noticeably irregular hand, underscoring the artist's creative agency. This marriage of industry and craft was a hallmark of the Bauhaus. To further emphasize the aesthetic, non-documentary function of these photographs, Albers anchors them at the top left of his board, pointedly shifting the viewer's perspective.

One might forgive overlooking this degree of invention and intervention in Albers's collages, particularly if denied the opportunity to make comparisons among them. But with each collage, the intentionality of the selection and placement of the images becomes clearer, and with each added photograph, the complexity of the relationships between images multiplies exponentially.⁸ At first glance, a collage of Erdmannsdorfer mannequins (page 47) appears composed of two photographs, each the same image but with variant cropping and printed in different sizes, but closer inspection reveals that the mannequins at top are actually two separate images placed adjacent by Albers to form a single rectangle: the dialogue between them is an imagined one, and the space they inhabit takes on a different character. That skepticism is rewarded when taking into consideration the bottom photograph, where we realize that these mannequins are, in fact, in the same shop window after all: the space below the mannequin's arm in the top left image suggests that Albers stepped to his left to make that picture, whereas the overlap of the mannequin's hand in the top right image indicates that he shifted to his right. Albers provides just enough clues to confirm that we are looking at the same figures, and just enough discrepancy to confound our initial assumptions.

Nowhere does Albers change the rules of the game more profoundly than in his collages that feature a multitude of photographs. His collage of a bullfight in San Sebastian (page 35) can be read as a short story or experimental film, where we as viewers recognize that we are being transported to a distant time and place, no less enchanting for its impossibility.⁹



Fig. 4. Germaine Krull. Untitled (Eiffel Tower). 1927–28. Gelatin silver print, 9 x 6 1/4" (22.9 x 15.9 cm). The Museum of Modern Art, New York. Thomas Walther Collection. Gift of Thomas Walther

At the center we find the nominal subject: a procession of banderilleros, picadors, and matadors. Surrounding this are three views of the arena filled with crowds, whose choreographed disjunction evokes the rhythm of the event they are gathered to see. The sweep of the arcade is plainly elevated in the central view, with a nearly symmetrical relationship to those architectural forms on the left and right, whereas the cropped edge of the ring awkwardly intersects its corresponding form, an oblique allusion, perhaps, to the impossibility of predicting the outcome of this highly ritualized event. The two images that anchor the bottom of the collage show more dramatic vantage points. A plethora of boater hats, caps, and a scattering of bare heads, each precisely described, is juxtaposed against a mass of automobiles presumably parked outside. These horizonless seas of repeated forms were common motifs for avant-garde photographers of the period. It is the tightly woven—but not flawless—relationships between these individual components, akin to cuts in a film, that reward our reconsideration of these elements with respect to the whole.

The abstract language that Albers adopted for the great majority of his oeuvre precludes temporal specificity, which makes the close study of a number of his photocollages all the more compelling, specifically in Albers's attentiveness to the complexity engendered by incorporating multiple photographs—each captured in a fraction of a second, but inevitably across time—into a single work.¹⁰ One solution employs images made across several years, in his portrait of fellow Bauhaus master Oskar Schlemmer (page 67). The eleven photographs were made on at least four occasions, evidenced by the inscriptions, Schlemmer's clothes, and his choice of what to smoke.¹¹ One image repeats, as a contact print toward the lower left and as an enlargement toward the upper right. The two largest images appear to be from the same encounter: in both, Schlemmer is wearing a bow tie and striped shirt, in bright sunlight and with a cigarette between his lips. Yet one is dated April 1929 and the other, April 1930. To state, "Consistency is the hobgoblin of small minds," seems appropriate here.¹² In this intimate and affectionate portrait, the apparently willful misdating evidences a sustained friendship. As with all of Albers's photocollages, these temporal and spatial leaps, the small gaps and misaligned edges, all serve to remind the viewer of the artist's role in the creative process.

Albers's portrait of Marli Heimann (page 65), a student in the weaving workshop, might be considered a counterpoint to his portrait of Schlemmer. Albers reminds us in his inscription that the twelve photographs were made "all in an hour" in March or April 1931. And he keeps some elements constant: the framing hovers from just below Heimann's shoulders to just above her head, and her distinctive collar is visible in most images. But expressions and shadows flit across her face, in a sequence that reminds us of the passage of time and the instantaneity

of the photographic process. Albers chose four images to enlarge atop eight contact prints with significantly warmer tonality, again drawing subtle attention to the tools he had at hand. These portraits (and those of Amédée Ozenfant, page 73) are among the last Albers made before leaving Germany: the number and consistency of the images he had at his disposal hint at a systematic approach, perhaps with these collages in mind.¹³

By the time Josef Albers arrived at the Bauhaus he was thirty-two years old, older than several of his teachers and the same age as Johannes Itten, who taught the required *Vorkurs* (preliminary course) during his first semester. A native of the mining town of Bottrop in western Germany and son of a skilled craftsman, Albers had spent his twenties teaching elementary school as well as studying art and the teaching of art. His position as a teacher exempted him from military service, and at the conclusion of World War I, he went to Munich to study at the Koeniglich Bayerische Akademie der Bildenden Kunst (Royal Bavarian Academy of Pictorial Art).¹⁴ It was there that he happened upon a leaflet describing the newly founded Bauhaus; the commitment of its founder, Walter Gropius, to art and craft was a siren's call he could not refuse.

The Bauhaus has been profoundly influential not only in the conception of modern art and education but also as a model for modern art museums, like MoMA, that attend to a range of disciplines, from architecture to industrial design, painting to photography.¹⁵ Albers's tenure at the Bauhaus would stretch across a greater swath of the institution's history than that of any other individual. He arrived in April 1920, and after successfully completing the *Vorkurs*, he had wanted to enter the school's glass workshop but was advised to study wall painting instead. As he would wryly recall later:

As I did not agree that, for me, wall painting was the necessary preparation for glass painting, I worked independently of a workshop. With rucksack and hammer, I went to the garbage dumps where all kinds of bottles provided the glass I needed for my studies of glass painting.

During my second semester, Gropius, warmly concerned, warned me dutifully and repeatedly that I could not remain at the Bauhaus if I would not comply with the advice of the masters, namely, to study first wall painting. In the meantime, the glass workshop had been dismantled [...]

At the obligatory exhibition at the semester's end, I hung several of my glass painting studies. They were combinations of bottle shards mounted, because of lack of tools and better materials, in the most unprofessional way on old tin, screen, and lattice. I thought this would be my swan song at the Bauhaus . . .

Then, I got a letter from the conference of the masters informing me first that I was accepted for further studies and then asking me to organize—a new glass workshop.¹⁶

Gropius's approach was to pair teachers who would instruct in tandem, pursuing aesthetic exercises alongside technical training. At first, Albers was the technical instructor (perhaps owing to his experience designing a stained-glass window in his native Bottrop in 1917), paired with painter Paul Klee. As Leah Dickerman has noted, Klee had a keen interest in the organizing structure of the grid, and this played a significant role in both his teaching and his art.¹⁷ One detects Klee's influence in Albers's *Gitterbild* (*Lattice Picture*, also known as *Grid Mounted*; fig. 5), his first foray into the type of regular geometric framework that would become a hallmark of his future achievements but which also presages the artist's photollages: rectangular forms (derived from translucent materials that appear surrounded by black frames) in a lively marriage of handcraft and mechanical production.¹⁸

The tension between expressive/creative forces and industrial ones was a defining polarity in the early years of the Bauhaus. Its most public expression occurred in 1923 with the departure of Itten, who objected to what he felt were Gropius's overly practical concerns and the school's emphasis on production. In August, Gropius declared a new era he called "Art and Technology: A New Unity." Responsibility for teaching the *Vorkurs* was handed over to Albers and the newly appointed Moholy-Nagy, seven years his junior. Moholy also assumed responsibility for leading the metal workshop: at the time, photography was arguably a tangential aspect of his embrace of the new and of mechanical means of expression. His success with photograms as well as the example and collaboration of his talented wife, Lucia Moholy, helped to cement the centrality of photography in his aesthetic worldview. All this was long before photography was explicitly incorporated into the Bauhaus's curriculum.¹⁹

For as long as Moholy-Nagy remained at the school, Albers's engagement with photography was an oblique one at best. In 1925, while teaching the *Vorkurs*, Albers began making an extensive series of works with sandblasted glass. In these, the artist's hand is eliminated, and Albers dramatically reduced his palette to incorporate, typically, only black and white, sometimes joined by a single primary color.²⁰ The arrangements of stacked and staggered rectangles might be seen as purely abstract were it not for the works' titles, such as *Fabrik* (*Factory*; fig. 6), *Hochbauten* (*Skyscrapers*), or *Stadt* (*City*). Almost half of the sandblasted-glass works employ but black and white, the building blocks of photographic description at the time, and most of these were made between 1929 and 1932, when Albers was most deeply engaged with photography.

Even before acquiring his Leica in 1928, Albers was encouraging his *Vorkurs* students to document their work photographically.²¹ This was,

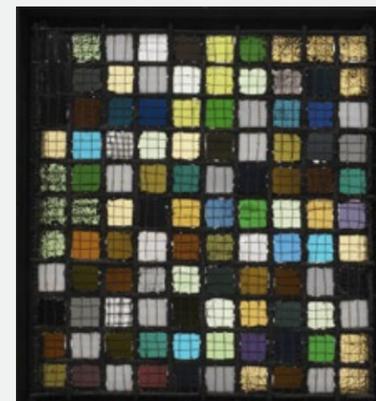


Fig. 5. Josef Albers. *Gitterbild* (*Lattice Picture*, also known as *Grid Mounted*). c. 1921. Glass, wire, and metal, 12 3/4 x 11 3/8" (32.4 x 28.9 cm). The Josef and Anni Albers Foundation



Fig. 6. Josef Albers. *Fabrik* (*Factory*). 1925. Sandblasted flashed glass and glass paint, 11 9/16 x 14 3/16" (27.9 x 35.5 cm). The Josef and Anni Albers Foundation

in part, because the administration had recognized the value of having a visual record of the school's activities, but the quality and variety of images from Albers's students suggest that this was conceived as an integral element of a given exercise.²² Andreas Haus has noted that Erich Consemüller's photographs of works from Albers's *Vorkurs* "probably make a greater effect than the object-character of the photographed objects themselves," and the precise attention to composition, light, and shadow in the images of Consemüller and others transcends a purely documentary function.²³ For Albers, the process of recording an exercise as a two-dimensional photograph had an added benefit of rendering it unfamiliar, or giving it new life in shades of gray, a transformative effect he would explore in his own photographic practice as well. The angular highlights that extend across the two images of hotel staircases in Geneva (page 87), for example, are purposefully discontinuous, yet their similar tonality allows them to function as a single graphic entity. Albers orchestrates images made in noticeably distinct stairwells, and from opposite angles, into a coherent whole by harnessing their photographic transformation just as surely as he wanted his students to see their projects anew within a specific pictorial space.

Even closer to home, for Albers, was the example of a fellow student whom he married in May 1925. Annelise (Anni) Fleischmann had trained as a painter before enrolling at the Bauhaus in 1922, and, like many female students there, she joined the weaving workshop after completing the *Vorkurs*. Within the confines of the strict vertical and horizontal format of the loom, she produced her own enduring visual language, often in monochrome hues that prefigure her husband's photographs (fig. 7).

In February 1928, Gropius announced that he would leave the Bauhaus, recommending architect Hannes Meyer to lead the school. It wasn't long before Moholy-Nagy, Herbert Bayer, and Marcel Breuer followed suit. Albers took full responsibility for the *Vorkurs* upon Moholy's departure, as well as for Breuer's cabinetry workshop. But arguably more significant for his own development as an artist, he and Anni moved into the Gropius-designed Masters' House, complete with a darkroom in the basement, that had been previously occupied by the Moholys. The Alberses' new neighbors were Lyonel and Julia Feininger, who had a darkroom of their own and three sons who were intensely interested in the medium.²⁴

The parallels between Lyonel Feininger's and Josef Albers's early forays into photography are striking, with each responding in his own way to the legacy of Moholy-Nagy.²⁵ Laura Muir posits that Feininger's photograph of "Moholy-Nagy's" studio window (fig. 8) was, in fact, made after the Alberses were living there: "Feininger's elegant meditation on the absence of his former colleague and the medium with which he was so closely associated might also be seen as an innovative kind of portrait and perhaps as an acknowledgement of the fact that it was only after

Moholy-Nagy's departure that Feininger was able to embark on his own experiments with photography."²⁶

It is interesting to note how Feininger explored the parameters established by Moholy-Nagy (negative printing, artificial illumination) and the subject matter that was closely associated with Lucia Moholy (the architectural landscape at the Bauhaus), while Albers assiduously avoided these methods and motifs. But as both Muir and Brenda Danilowitz have noted, Feininger and Albers were similarly quite private about their photographic activity: both gave their photographs to friends as gifts, but neither exhibited them publicly or reproduced them during his lifetime.²⁷

And so, in 1928, the pieces fell into place for Albers to begin making the photographs that would become the building blocks for his extraordinary group of photocollages. In all previous published explorations of Albers's photographs, individual prints are mixed in among the collages, along with images made later, which has often precluded these unique works from receiving the critical attention they deserve.²⁸ And while the photographs are all dated between 1928 and 1932 (by Albers himself, generally accurately), there is strong evidence to suggest they were mounted in a single—perhaps extended—campaign toward the end of this timeframe.²⁹

The practice of mounting photographs to rigid supports was common at the Bauhaus, as Elizabeth Otto discusses subsequently in this volume. Yet only one precedent we know of directly involves Albers: at precisely the moment when Albers's interest in making his own photographs was kindled, the faculty and students at the Bauhaus assembled a magnificent album of twenty-one collages, each featuring one of the school's masters or a specific workshop, to present to Gropius on the occasion of his retirement. Bound together and titled *9 jahre bauhaus. eine chronik (9 years at the bauhaus: a chronicle)*, in the signature lowercase-only font that many *Bauhäusler* were adopting for its modern-day efficiency), these works display a convincing technical virtuosity while simultaneously capturing the spirit of camaraderie that was a hallmark of life at the Bauhaus under Gropius. Most of the masters are represented by a single photograph, but a few portraits, such as those of Herbert Bayer or Albers (page 122), evince considerable thought and effort.³⁰ It is worth noting that Albers's portrait is a collage of his own likeness made from cyanotypes (the same material his students were using in the *Vorkurs*) and diazotypes, neither of which process requires a darkroom. Albers also appears at the front of a lively classroom of students participating in his workshop (fig. 9) and in a collage captioned "new *vorkurs* blooms" (see fig. 6 on page 117).

The Bauhaus participated in a number of photographic exhibitions in Europe at the time, most notably *Film und Foto (Film and Photo)*, organized by the Deutscher Werkbund in Stuttgart in 1929, and *Das Lichtbild (The Photograph)*, an international exhibition organized in Munich the

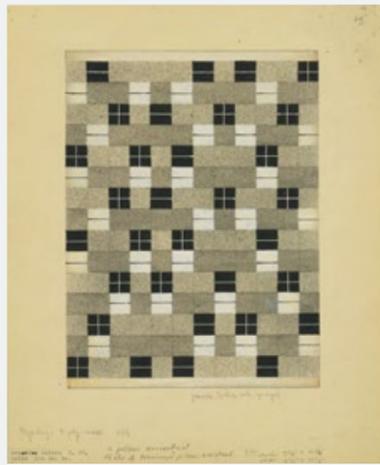


Fig. 7. Anni Albers. Design for wall hanging. 1927. Gouache and india ink on paper, 13 7/8 x 11 1/2" (35.2 x 29.2 cm). The Museum of Modern Art, New York. Gift of the designer



Fig. 8. Lyonel Feininger. Untitled ("Moholy-Nagy's studio window," Bauhaus, Dessau, 10 p.m.), 1928. Inverted from gelatin dry plate glass negative. 2 5/16 x 1 3/4" (5.9 x 4.5 cm). Harvard Art Museums/ Busch-Reisinger Museum. Gift of T. Lux Feininger



Fig. 9. Hermann Trinkaus. "Grundlehrewerkstatt josef albers" ("Josef Albers's workshop for the basic course") from the portfolio *9 jahre bauhaus. eine chronik (9 years at the bauhaus: a chronicle)*, 1928. Gelatin silver prints and newspaper with ink and watercolor mounted on board, 16 7/16 x 23 3/8" (41.7 x 59.3). Bauhaus-Archiv Berlin

following year by the Münchener Bund and the Verein Austellingspark in Munich. Less frequently mentioned is *Fotomontage (Photomontage)*, held in the courtyard of the former Kunstgewerbemuseum (Museum of Decorative Arts) at the Staatliche Museen in Berlin in 1931. Organized by César Domela-Nieuwenhuis, it included historical precedents alongside work by more than fifty contemporary artists.³¹ The exhibition was arranged around the two dominant uses of photomontage at the time—advertising and political propaganda—but there was a small section dedicated to experimental works. We know from Albers's correspondence that he saw this exhibition in Berlin; the dramatic differences between his photocollages and those of Moholy-Nagy and Hannah Höch (whose work was featured there) underscore the confidence with which he pursued his own experiments in the medium.

What it was exactly, however, that prompted Albers to gather his photographs and adhere them in such inventive ways to a group of large mounts remains a tantalizing mystery. While there is some variety in the prints, the collages are too consistent in their assembly to entertain the possibility that they were made over the course of several years. That the boards are a standard European size and the inscriptions in German strongly suggest that they were put together before the Alberses left for the United States in November 1933.³² It seems conceivable that they could have been mounted to protect the prints (either when the Bauhaus moved from Dessau to Berlin in 1932, or in anticipation of the transatlantic voyage), but then how to explain the wide variation in the quality of the prints, the repetition of certain images, or the finely tuned associations between them? It would have been common to mount photographs for instructive purposes, but the expense of such large, high-quality boards and the effort involved, evidenced by the subtle intentionality of the collages' construction, seem misaligned with that function. The most common reason to mount photographs would have been for display, yet no specific evidence exists today to indicate that Albers exhibited these collages or intended to do so.

However, what we do know is that when Ludwig Mies van der Rohe assumed the directorship of the Bauhaus in 1930, he faced constant political pressure to defend the school against the rising Nazi tide and accusations of communism, and one tactic he adopted was to highlight the school's practical and artistic achievements. Abstraction was deemed an apolitical visual language, and in May 1932, in the waning months of the Bauhaus's presence in Dessau, a group of Albers's sandblasted-glass works were arranged for public display. It seems possible that Albers was considering exhibiting his collages, whose photographs appear equally apolitical, either alongside or in lieu of the glassworks, or that he assembled them at this time to give van der Rohe another selection of work that could be installed at a moment's notice. Albers also mounted to identi-

cal boards photographs of him and Anni made by former Bauhaus student Umbo (page 110), which could have accompanied any display.

It is also conceivable that Albers mounted these for friends and intended them as gifts. A significant number of Albers's photographs either depict his friends or were taken during summer recess when he was traveling in Switzerland, France, or elsewhere in Europe, and he was often generous with his loose prints, yet there are no inscriptions on any of the mounts to indicate he intended to give them away.³³ The mounting of a handful of other photographs by Albers seems more functional: all feature a single, centrally placed print on smaller boards with a rougher surface texture. One of these (fig. 10) was almost certainly made on the S.S. *Europa*, the German steamship on which the Alberses crossed the Atlantic, indicating that these smaller collages were more likely assembled in the United States.³⁴ The charge that Albers didn't think much of his photocollages, which is why he never spoke of them, wrote about them, or exhibited them during his lifetime, seems implausible. While we might only guess at the extent of the complexity of Albers's relationship to these works, what is clear is that he devoted much care and creativity to making them. Once mounted, this stack of seventy collages would have been cumbersome. The decision to move them—from Dessau to Berlin in 1932, from Berlin to North Carolina in 1933, and from North Carolina to Connecticut in 1949—reflects a willingness to expend considerable effort, yet Albers only ever rarely alluded to photography and would deliver but one lecture on the subject, in 1943.³⁵ Perhaps the contradictory impulses to protect his Bauhaus photocollages while not mentioning them publicly indicates a reluctance on Albers's part to complicate or distract from his reputation as an artist with these works, while at the same time, in the wake of the political upheavals that convulsed his native Germany, the works themselves, which may have started as more formal experiments, took on a more deeply personal resonance.³⁶

In his work both as an artist and teacher, having “an open mind for the newer and nearer” was paramount for Albers. As he wrote in 1935: “If we review what is being done now, what directions our art studies take in relation to the past, the present, also the future, the answer is clear: we over-accentuate the past, and often are more interested in drawing out a continuous line of historical development than in finding out which of certain art problems are related to our own life, or in getting an open mind for the newer and nearer and forward-looking art results of our period.”³⁷ In his engagement with photography, these alliterative goals were addressed in equal measure. “Newer” alludes to his choice of a Leica as a creative tool, and his decision to explore the aesthetic potential of mounting photo-



Fig. 10. Josef Albers. Untitled (Ship's deck). November 1933. Gelatin silver print mounted on board, 9 x 6 5/16" (22.9 x 16.1 cm). The Josef and Anni Albers Foundation

graphs according to an evolving set of formal guidelines. “Nearer” is a fair description of most photographs of this era—objects placed on a sheet of photosensitive paper (photograms) or within range of a camera’s lens—yet Albers imbued his selection of what to photograph with a less literal, more personal meaning: his back yard, summer vacations, family members, or Bauhaus colleagues. His photographs are not simply physically proximate to their subjects; they are nearer to him than still lifes, abstractions, or portraits of strangers could ever be. Through the exercise of photographing, printing, selecting, and mounting his collages, Albers created works so “forward-looking” that they speak to the photographically based amalgamations of his student Robert Rauschenberg, or to the cut-and-paste practices of contemporary artists as diverse as John Stezaker, John Houck, John O’Reilly, Sara VanDerBeek, or Katharina Gaenssler.

The material and historical evidence strongly supports that Albers’s exceptional series of Bauhaus-era photocollages was complete by the time the school moved to Berlin, where it appears that the artist no longer had access to a darkroom. A small number of loose prints bear Albers’s Berlin stamp in black ink on their verso, and an even smaller number are marked with the red stamp of the German Novofot agency (crossed out in pencil), indicating Albers’s efforts to circulate his prints from Berlin.³⁸ These minor efforts notwithstanding, the most significant, remarkable chapter of Albers’s work with the medium had concluded by the time the Bauhaus officially closed in August 1933.

Photography was an important element of the curriculum at Black Mountain, but it was not until a decade after his arrival that Albers shared his only formal thoughts on the medium. In his slide lecture titled “Photos as Photography and Photos as Art,” he charts a rather uneasy path for the medium between the stuff of amateur dalliance and craft, and photography’s potential for original artistic expression. The only known extant illustration presents photographs Albers made in 1931 to underscore the essential flatness of the medium, and the distinction between human vision and camera vision (page 131). The lecture represents Albers’s clearest conception of the perils and promise of the medium, and his position that it is the responsibility of the viewer to learn how to “read” photographs: “Only a sensitive and trained eye gives us the right to judge . . .”

Albers would continue to take photographs and even mount them, but these subsequent efforts, most featuring images of his and Anni’s travels (fig. 11, for example), often signal “scrapbook” more than a gesture of aesthetic intent comparable to his Bauhaus collages.³⁹ No matter. Albers’s Bauhaus-era photocollages stand not only as remarkable artworks in their own right, they are all the more significant for the ways in which they connect with so many aspects of the artist’s subsequent achievement. Albers’s inclination to work in series extends throughout his career, and his fascination with perception and the interactions between positive and

negative space both precedes and postdates this moment of extraordinary originality in the photographic medium. As a teacher and an artist, Albers used restraint of means to ignite the creative process, always espousing the principle of learning by doing. With the publication of *Interaction of Color*, he cemented his legacy as a color theorist, but his interest in optics as they relate to photography merits attention as well (fig. 12). Albers is a rare artist whose insatiable visual curiosity is matched only by a profound dedication to tactile exploration. That this statement is equally as true of his *Homages to the Square* as his photocollages from the Bauhaus expands our appreciation of both.



Fig. 11. Josef Albers. Untitled (Monte Albán, Oaxaca, Mexico). n.d. Gelatin silver prints and postcards mounted on cardboard, 8 x 12" (20.3 x 30.4 cm). The Josef and Anni Albers Foundation

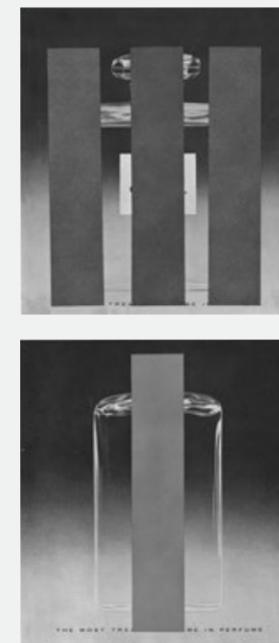


Fig. 12. Josef Albers. “Gradation – intensity – a test.” As published in *Interaction of Color* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1963), plate V-2

Notes

1. In her essay “On Josef Albers’ Painting Materials and Techniques,” Jeannette Redensek notes that these are commonly misunderstood as overlapping squares. In *Josef Albers: Minimal Means, Maximum Effect* (Madrid: Fundación Juan March, 2014), 36. Kelly Feeney describes this as a “simulated effect of gravity” in *Josef Albers: Works on Paper* (Alexandria, VA: Art Services International, 1991), 75.

2. In addition to *The Photographs of Josef Albers* (New York: American Federation of Arts, 1987), the small paperback catalogue that accompanied Szarkowski’s exhibition, only one other publication has exclusively considered Albers’s work with a camera: *Josef Albers: Photographien 1928–1955*, ed. Marianne Stockebrand (Munich: Schirmer/Mosel, 1992).

3. Of the seventy photcollages by Albers reproduced in this volume, five are mounted on boards that have been cut in half (two of these represent halves of a whole [pages 36, 37]; two others may have once been connected [pages 38, 92]). Thus Albers made at least sixty-eight collages with his own photographs, and two more on identical mounts with photographs by Umbo (page 110). We know of one additional collage, reproduced on page 134, whose location is unknown.

4. The serial number on Albers’s Leica I (7643) dates the camera to early or mid-1928. Michael Beggs has observed it could have been a birthday present, as Albers turned forty in March of that year. Albers’s brother-in-law, Hans, who later advised Albers on technical issues, already had a Leica I at the time. Albers would use the camera until 1953, when he purchased a Leica IIIf while visiting Germany. Karis Medina, Josef and Anni Albers Foundation, email correspondence with the author, April 2016.

5. Given the wealth of scholarship on Moholy-Nagy (and Albers’s animosity toward him), his achievements are not explored in depth here. See Carol S. Eiel, Karole Vail, and Matthew S. Witkovsky, ed., *László Moholy-Nagy: Future Present* (Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago, 2016); Hattula Moholy-Nagy, Renate Heyne, and Floris M. Neusüss, ed., *László Moholy-Nagy: The Photograms* (Ostfildern, Germany: Hatje Cantz, 2010); and Achim Borchardt-Hume, ed., *Albers and Moholy-Nagy: From the Bauhaus to the New World* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006).

6. Albers’s photcollages appear even more distinctive when considered in the context of contemporary phot-collages at the Bauhaus, of which Albers was certainly aware. See Elizabeth Otto’s essay in this volume.

7. For more on Albers’s approach to printing, see Lee Ann Daffner’s technical analysis in this volume.

8. For a rewarding close analysis of an Albers two-picture collage, see Brenda Danilowitz, “‘Art Is Looking at You’: Josef Albers and the Space of the Picture,” in *A Window on the World: From Dürer to Mondrian and Beyond*, ed. Francesca Bernasconi, Marco Francioli, and Giovanni Iovane (Milan: Skira, 2012), 316–21.

9. Although Albers inscribed “1930” on the other San Sebastian photcollage (page 103), it now seems certain that the Alberses visited Spain and France in the summer of 1929, and Italy and Switzerland in the summer of 1930, based on the stamps in the couple’s passports. See Maria Toledo, “Josef Albers. A Biography, 1888–1976,” in *Josef Albers: Minimal Means, Maximum Effect*, 363.

10. Albers’s *Homages to the Square* series speaks to its moment (resonating with Minimalism and Op art) even while living outside it. It is as important to note that Albers did not formally associate with either of these movements as it is clear that younger artists, such as Richard Anuszkiewicz, Donald Judd, and Julian Stanczak, were paying close attention to his example.

24.

11. This collage contains the only Albers image inscribed “27/28.” Given that Albers acquired his camera in 1928, and that the end-of-term exhibition for the 1927–28 winter term would have taken place in March 1928, this is more likely a reference to the dates of the term than a reflection of Albers’s uncertain memory. My sincere thanks to Kristen Gaylord for suggesting this interpretation.

12. Or, as Ralph Waldo Emerson wrote in 1841: “A foolish consistency is the hobgoblin of little minds, adored by little statesmen and philosophers and divines.” “Self Reliance,” in *Essays: First Series* (Auckland: The Floating Press, 2009), 50.

13. On Albers’s portraits, see Brenda Danilowitz, “Portraitphotographien,” in *Josef Albers: Photographien 1928–1955*, 20–29. English translation available through the Josef and Anni Albers Foundation, Bethany, Connecticut.

14. Nicholas Fox Weber’s “The Artist as Alchemist,” in *Josef Albers: A Retrospective* (New York: Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum and Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1988), 14–49, is an excellent biographical and artistic sketch of Albers. Details of Albers’s life here are drawn from that account.

15. See Barry Bergdoll and Leah Dickerman, *Bauhaus 1919–1933: Workshops for Modernity* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 2009); and Jeannine Fiedler, ed., *Bauhaus* (Cologne: Könemann, 2006).

16. Josef Albers, “[... Thank You, Pius]” [c. 1950], in *Josef Albers: Minimal Means, Maximum Effect*, 270.

17. Dickerman further argues: “If we can discern the dominant imperatives of other forms of modernism—the way *faktura* belongs to the Russian avant-garde of a certain moment, and fracture to Dada—then it is certainly the thorough working-over of the logic of the grid that gives the overarching shape to the products of the Bauhaus.” “Bauhaus Fundaments,” in *Bauhaus 1919–1933: Workshops for Modernity*, 19.

18. Of *Gitterbild*, Peter Nisbet observes: “With ten columns and eleven rows, the work is not exactly square, and there is an equivalent lively, undogmatic variety in the range of glass deployed. . . . Obviously handmade but executed under the neutralizing restraints of both chance (in the apparently random sequence of colors) and order (in the powerful motif of the grid), *Gitterbild* impressively balances—and maybe even synthesizes—these competing impulses.” “Josef Albers: Lattice Picture. 1921,” in *Bauhaus 1919–1933: Workshops for Modernity*, 92.

19. In 1929, Hannes Meyer, who would succeed Gropius as director of the Bauhaus, hired Walter Peterhans and incorporated photography formally into the curriculum. See Martin Kieren, “The Bauhaus on the Road to Production Cooperative: The Director Hannes Meyer,” in *Bauhaus*, ed. Fiedler, 209–10.

20. See Fred Licht and Nicholas Fox Weber, *Josef Albers: Glass, Color, and Light* (New York: Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, 1994).

21. Albers owned a 9-by-12-centimeter Kamera-Werkstaetten “Patent Etui” camera with folding bellows that would have been well suited to the purpose of documenting his own work and that of his students. This model was in production from 1919 to 1928, and although there are no known Bauhaus-era prints from this camera, there is evidence of Albers lending it to students at Black Mountain College. See Michael Beggs, “Object Report (1976.70.2),” on file at the Josef and Anni Albers Foundation.

22. See Rainer K. Wick, *Teaching at the Bauhaus* (Ostfildern, Germany: Hatje Cantz, 2000), 164–87, for an excellent assessment of Albers’s pedagogy and its relationship to his artistic practice.

23. Andreas Haus, “Photography at the Bauhaus: Discovery of a Medium,” in *Photography at the Bauhaus*, ed. Jeannine Fiedler (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1990), 143.

24. See Lee Ann Daffner, “*Dive*: A Materialist History of the Photographic Industry in Germany and the Soviet

Union Between the Wars,” in *Object:Photo. Modern Photographs: The Thomas Walther Collection, 1909–1949*, ed. Mitra Abbaspour, Lee Ann Daffner, and Maria Morris Hamburg (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 2014), 51–69, esp. 60–61.

25. See Laura Muir, “Lyonel Feininger’s Bauhaus Photographs,” in *Bauhaus Construct: Fashioning Identity, Discourse and Modernism*, ed. Jeffrey Saletnik and Robin Schuldenfrei (London and New York: Routledge, 2009), 126.

26. *Ibid.*, 130.

27. See Brenda Danilowitz, “Josef Albers und Lyonel Feininger: Abstraktion und Kunstwollen,” in *Bauhaus: Dessau-Chicago-New York*, ed. Georg-W. Köttsch and Margarita Tupitsyn (Cologne: Du Mont Verlag, 2000), 58–69.

28. In addition to the sources cited in note 2, see also Karen Haas’s text in a small catalogue that considers Albers’s work across various mediums: “More than Meets the Eye: Josef Albers and Photography,” in *Josef Albers in Black and White*, exh. cat. (Boston: Trustees of Boston University, 2000), 9–28.

29. See note 11 for a defense of 1928 as a beginning date for these collages. There is only one photograph from any of the photcollages dated 1932 (page 91). The frost in the image strongly suggests this was made in the winter months early that year: by October, the Bauhaus had moved to Berlin.

30. Although this collage was made from materials used regularly by Albers’s students—materials with which Albers himself would have been intimately familiar—and the album was compiled at the moment when his interest in photography was growing, it is also true that many of the collages in the album were made by students, a possibility that must be accounted for in this instance.

31. See Andrés Mario Zervigón, “César Domela-Nieuwenhuis and the Art of Photomontage,” in “Object:Photo. Modern Photographs: The Thomas Walther Collection, 1909–1949. An Online Project of The Museum of Modern Art,” ed. Mitra Abbaspour, Lee Ann Daffner, and Maria Morris Hamburg (2014), <https://www.moma.org/interactives/objectphoto/assets/essays/Zervigon.pdf>, 5–6.

32. Angela Tau Bailey provides the most focused consideration to date concerning the mounting of these collages in her master’s thesis submitted to the Institute of Fine Arts at New York University: “Josef Albers as Photographer: Photomontages, 1928–1932” (1984), now on file at the Josef and Anni Albers Foundation.

33. Photographs that Albers gave to friends and colleagues can today be found in collections such as Zentrum Paul Klee, the El Lissitzky family collection, and the Ludwig and Maud Grote family collection. My thanks to Brenda Danilowitz for confirmation of this. Danilowitz, correspondence with Kristen Gaylord, Beaumont & Nancy Newhall Curatorial Fellow, Department of Photography, The Museum of Modern Art, April 2016.

34. Comparisons of Albers’s photograph to other historical photographs of the S.S. *Europa* appear to confirm it is the same ship.

35. That lecture, “Photos as Photography and Photos as Art,” given at Black Mountain College, is reprinted in this volume.

36. That Albers might have come to see these photcollages as somehow at odds with his artistic legacy was the conclusion drawn by Szarkowski in 1987, and widely accepted since then. Sometime before 1961, and perhaps as early as 1949, Albers sent a group of sixteen photcollages to Bernard Karpel, Librarian at MoMA. Albers referred to these as a “folio of original prints of the Bauhaus faculty,” and the museum made copy prints of each one. They remained in a file in the museum’s library until they were returned to Albers, at his request, in 1975. Again, my sincere thanks to Kristen Gaylord for her excellent research on this subject.

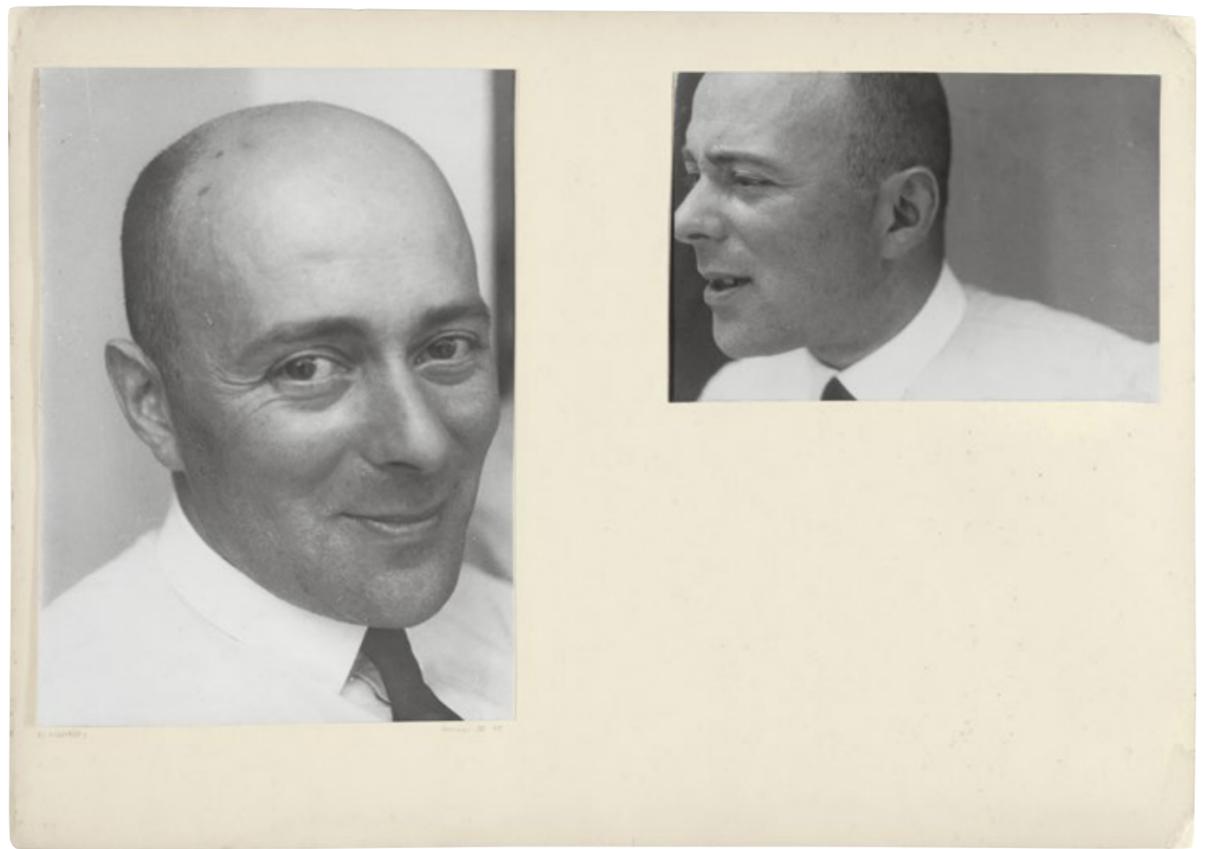
37. Josef Albers, “Art as Experience,” *Progressive Education* 12, no. 6 (1935), 391.

38. Albers’s sole known success in this endeavor came in April 1934, when his photograph of Lilli Sachsenberg (page 61, left) appeared on the cover of *Koralle*, a German illustrated magazine.

39. On Albers’s later photcollages, see Kiki Gilderhus, “Homage to the Pyramid: The Mesoamerican Photocollages of Josef Albers,” in *Anni and Josef Albers: Latin American Journeys*, ed. Brenda Danilowitz and Heinz Liesbrock (Ostfildern, Germany: Hatje Cantz, 2007), 122–40. The Alberses made fourteen trips to Mexico alone, beginning in 1935, and Albers made more than two hundred photcollages from these and other travels, comprised mainly of 35mm contact prints and a handful of photographic postcards of similar subjects accumulated along the way.

25.

Plates







Klee im Atelier / Dessau XI 29
Paul Klee in his studio, Dessau, November 1929



Klee / Dessau XI. 29
Paul Klee, Dessau, November 1929





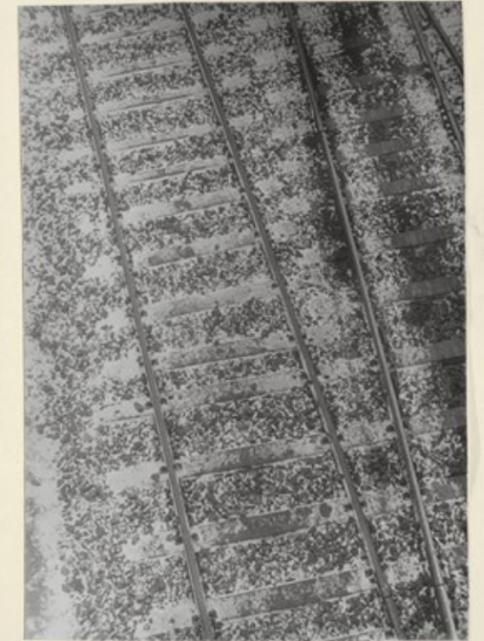
Am Kurfürstendamm / Sommer 29
On Kurfürstendamm, Berlin, summer 1929



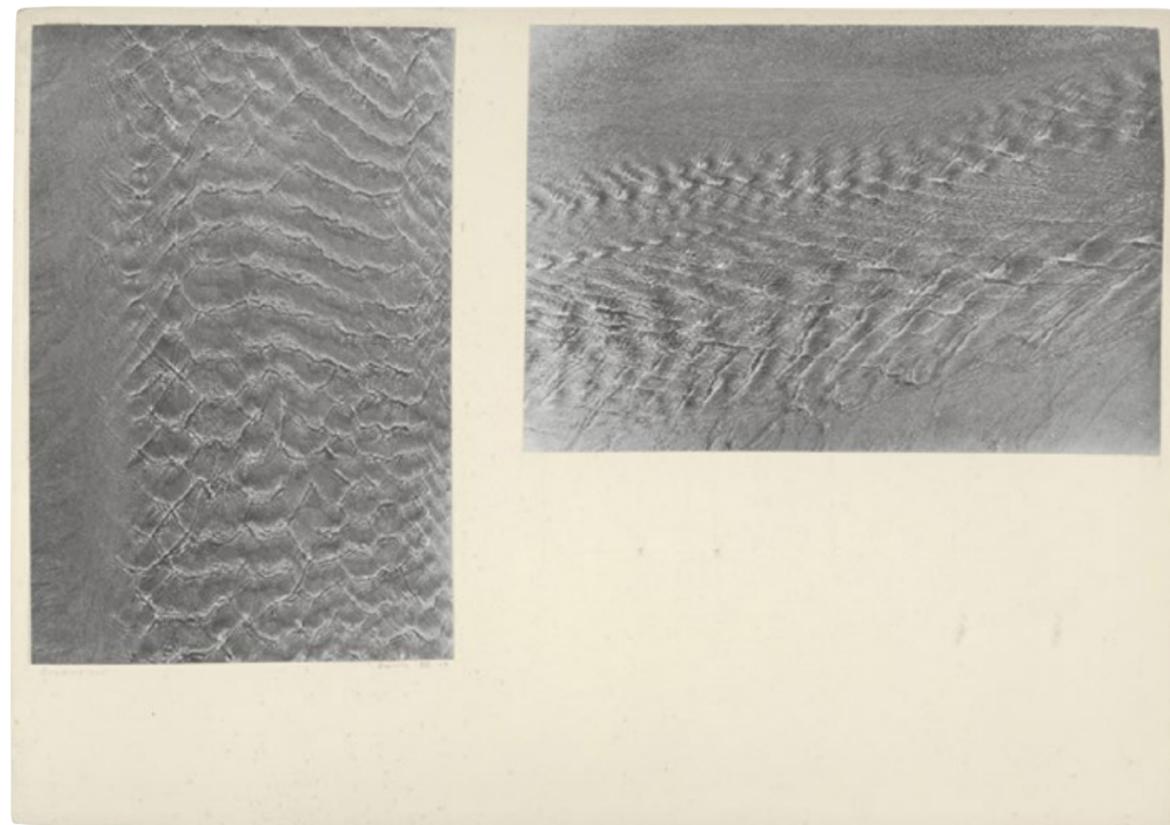
On Kurfürstendamm, Berlin, summer 1929



Bauhaus, Metallisches Fest / III. 29
Bauhaus, Metal Party, [February] 1929



Dessau Winter ende 31
Dessau, end of winter, 1931



Brackwasser / Biarritz VIII 29
Brackish water, Biarritz, August 1929



Biarritz, Miramare + Grande plage / VIII 29
Miramare and Grande Plage, Biarritz, August 1929





Frau Lewandowski München / Ascona. VIII. 30
Mrs. Lewandowski of Munich, Ascona, August 1930



Frau Lewandowski München / Ascona VIII 30
Mrs. Lewandowski of Munich, Ascona, August 1930







Pius + Schifra / Ascona VIII 30
Walter Gropius and Schifra Canavesi, Ascona, August 1930



Anja Schawinsky / Ascona - Lido VIII. 30
Anja Schawinsky, Ascona beach, August 1930



Bruno + Schifra Canavesi / Ascona VIII 30
Bruno and Schifra Canavesi, Ascona, August 1930



Herbert Bayer + Muzi / Ascona Ronco VIII 30
als Mona Lisa
Herbert Bayer and Muzi, Ascona Ronco, August 1930; Bayer as Mona Lisa



Herbert Bayer / Porto Ronco VIII 30
Herbert Bayer, Porto Ronco, August 1930



Irene Bayer + Muzi / Ronco VIII 30
Muzi Bayer + Irene
Irene Bayer and Muzi, Porto Ronco, August 1930



Susanne / Biarritz 29
Susanne, Biarritz, August 1929



Zusane, Biarritz / VIII 29
Susanne, Biarritz, August 1929



Susanne / Biarritz 29
Susanne, Biarritz, August 1929



Susanne / Biarritz 29
Susanne, Biarritz, August 1929



Jan Scheper / Juni 29

Jan Scheper, June 1929



Lilli Sachsenberg

Sommer 30

Annemarie Hennings

Sommer 29

Lilli Sachsenberg / Sommer 30
Annemarie Hennings / Sommer 29

Lilli Sachsenberg, summer 1930; Annemarie Hennings, summer 1929



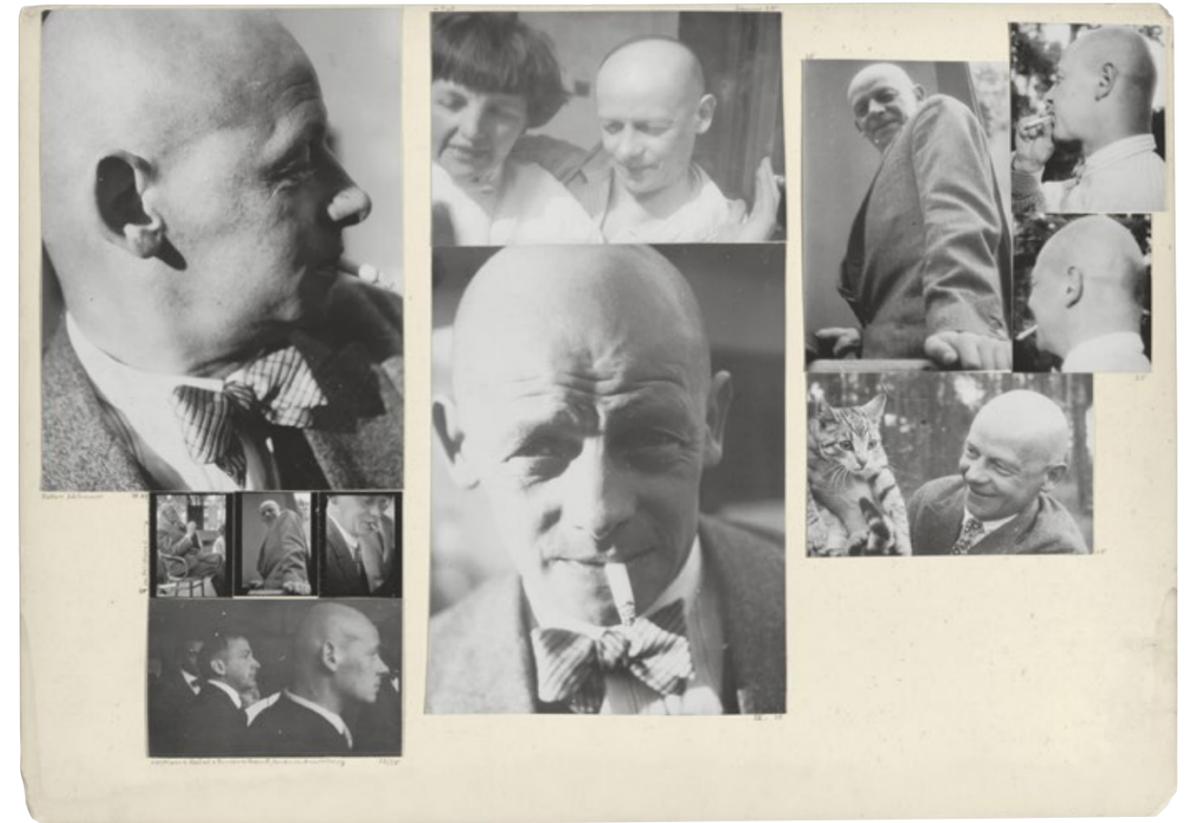
Andreas Grote / Frühjahr 30
+ Mama

Andreas Grote and his mother, spring 1930



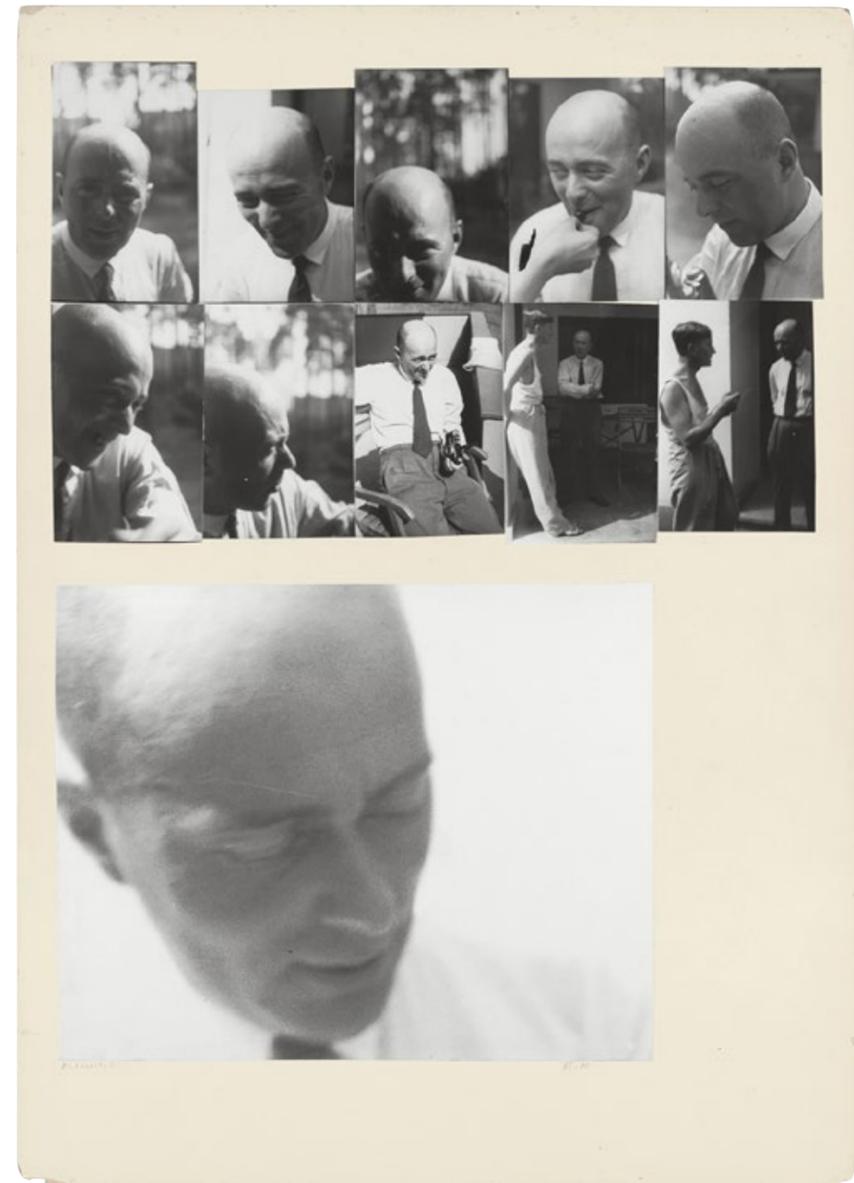
Marli Heimann / III-IV 31
Alle während 1 Stunde

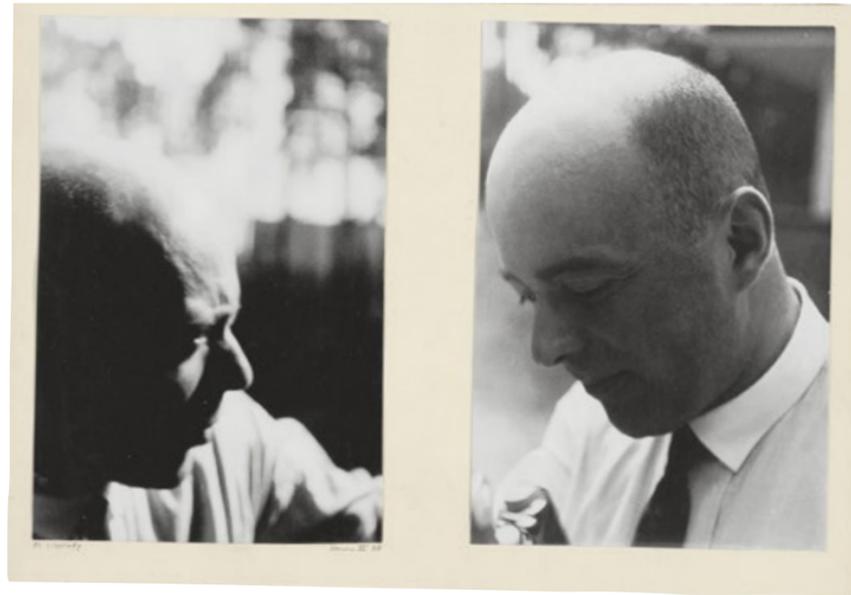
Marli Heimann, March [or] April 1931; all during an hour



Oskar Schlemmer / IV. 29
 im Meisterrat / 28
 + Wittwer + Kállai + Marianne Brandt, Vorkurs-Ausstellung / 27/28
 + Tut/Sommer 28
 IV. 30
 28
 28
 28

Oskar Schlemmer, April 1929; Schlemmer in the Bauhaus Masters' Council, 1928; Schlemmer with Hans Wittwer, Ernst Kállai, and Marianne Brandt, Preliminary Course Exhibition, 1927/28; Schlemmer and Tut, summer 1928; Schlemmer, April 1930; Schlemmer, 1928

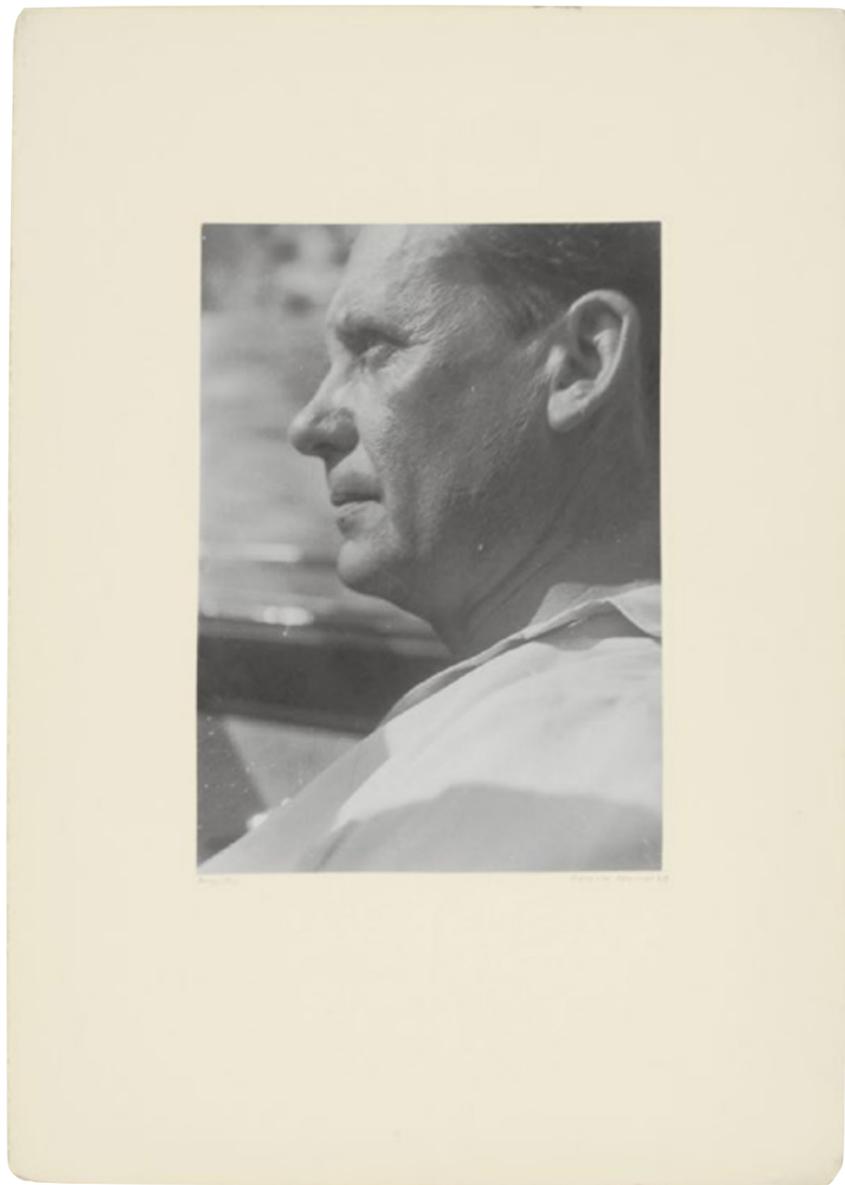




El Lissitzky / Dessau VI. 30
El Lissitzky, Dessau, June 1930



Kandinsky / Frühjahr 1929 Meister auf Terrasse bei HM.
Mai 30.
Vasily Kandinsky, master on the terrace at Hannes Meyer's, spring 1929; May 1930



Gropius / Ascona Sommer 30
Walter Gropius, Ascona, summer 1930



Ozenfant / Sommer 31
Amédée Ozenfant, summer 1931



Hanne: Hah-heiss / Stössensee Sommer 28

[Anni Albers's brother] Hans Farman: "H-hot," Lake Stössen, Berlin, summer 1928



Hanne / V/VI 30
beim Segeln

[Anni Albers's brother] Hans Farman, May/June 1930; Farman sailing

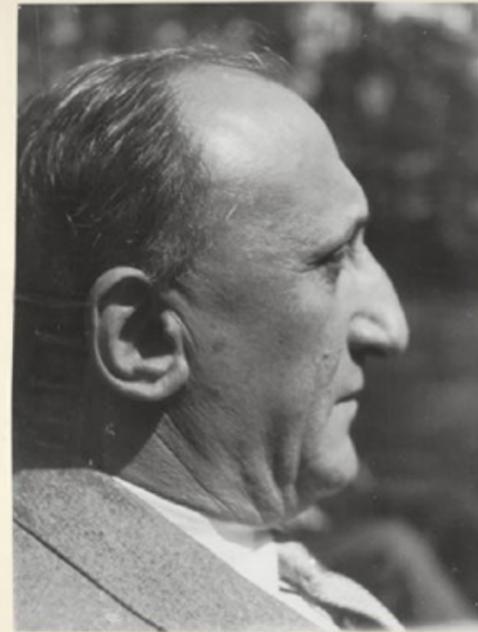


Frau u Herr Heimann / Dessau Sommer 30
Mrs. and Mr. Heimann, Dessau, summer 1930

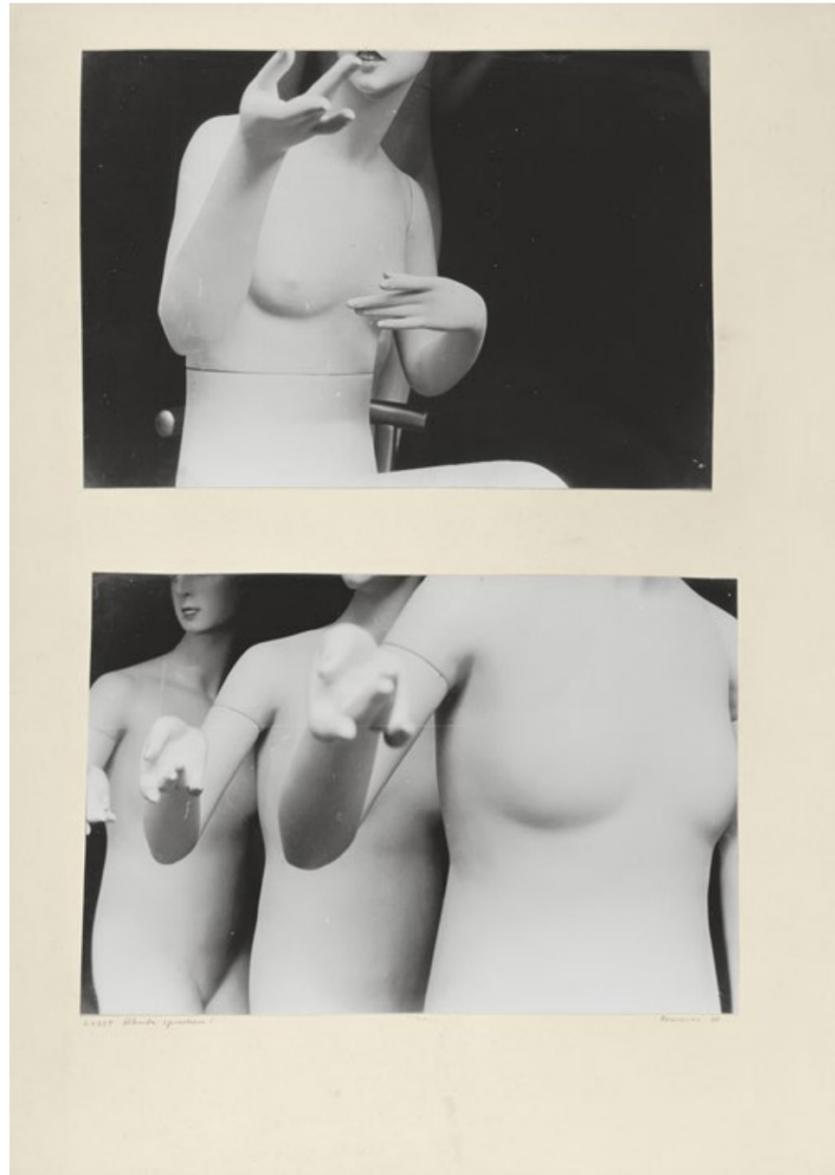


Klee, Guetary (Biarritz) / VIII. 29
+ Frau Klee

Paul Klee and Mrs. Lily Stumpf Klee, Guéthary (Biarritz), August 1929







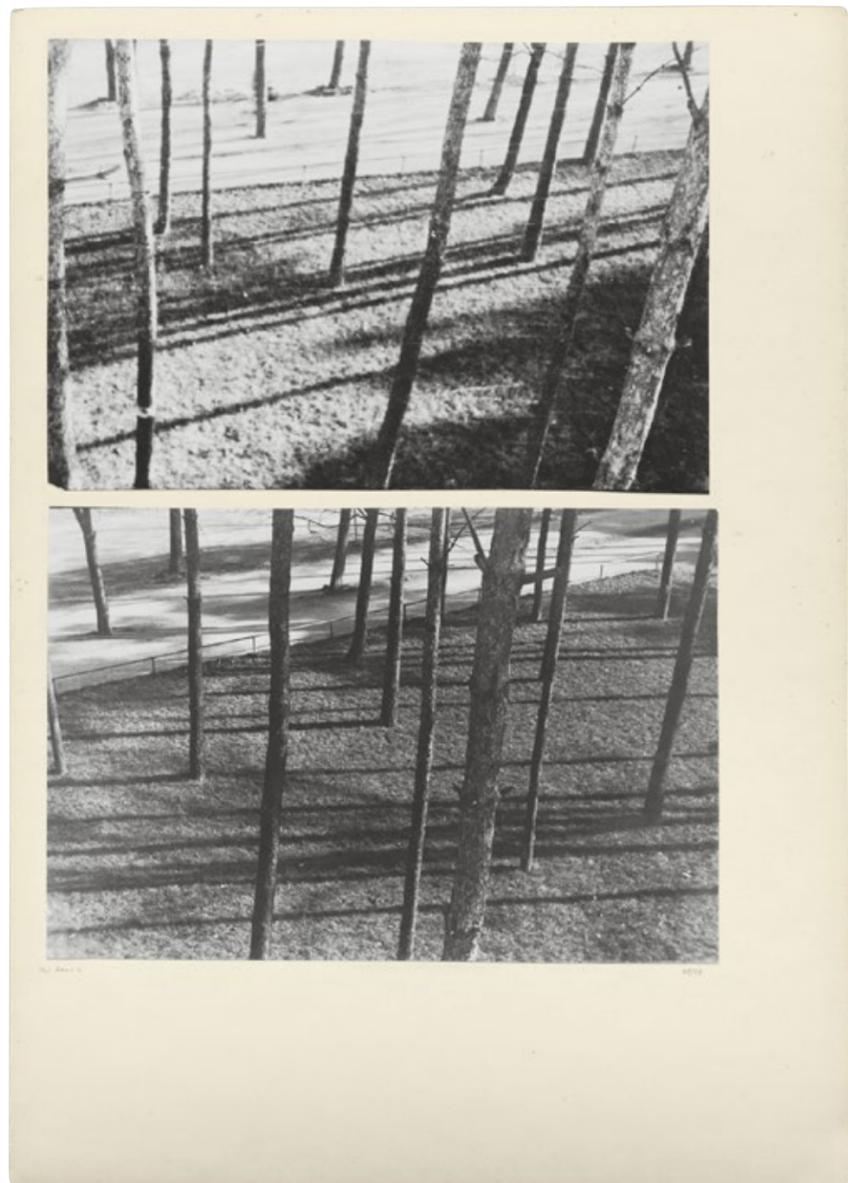
Lasst Hände Sprechen: / Sommer 30
Let hands speak, summer 1930



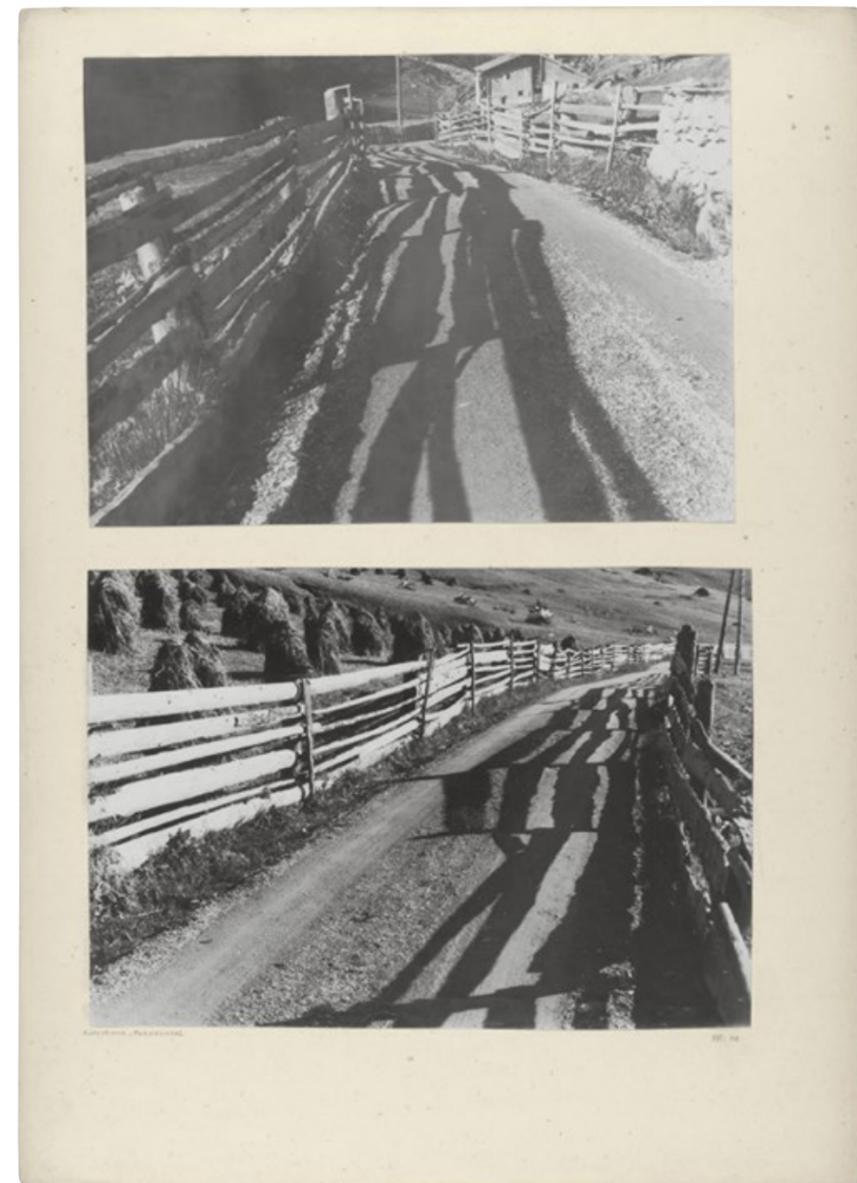
Mannequins, c. 1930







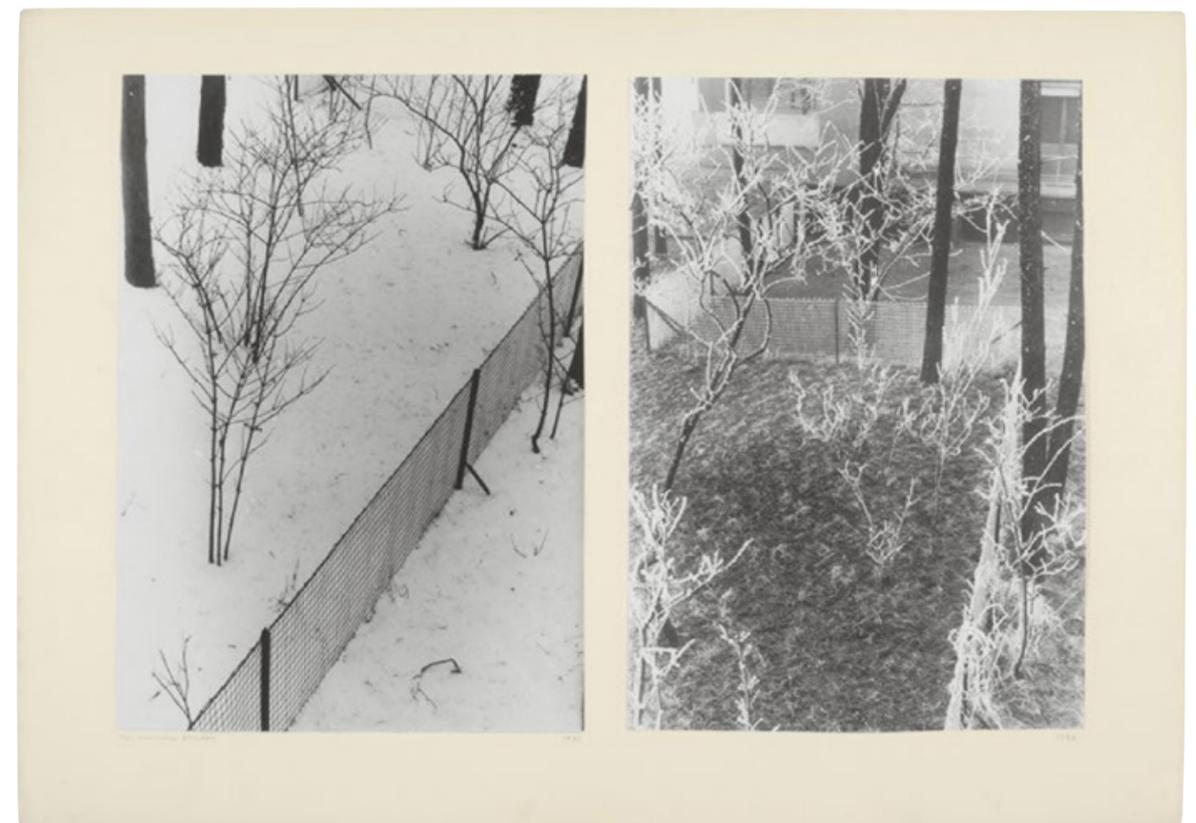
Bei Haus 2 / 28/29
At home 2, 1928/29



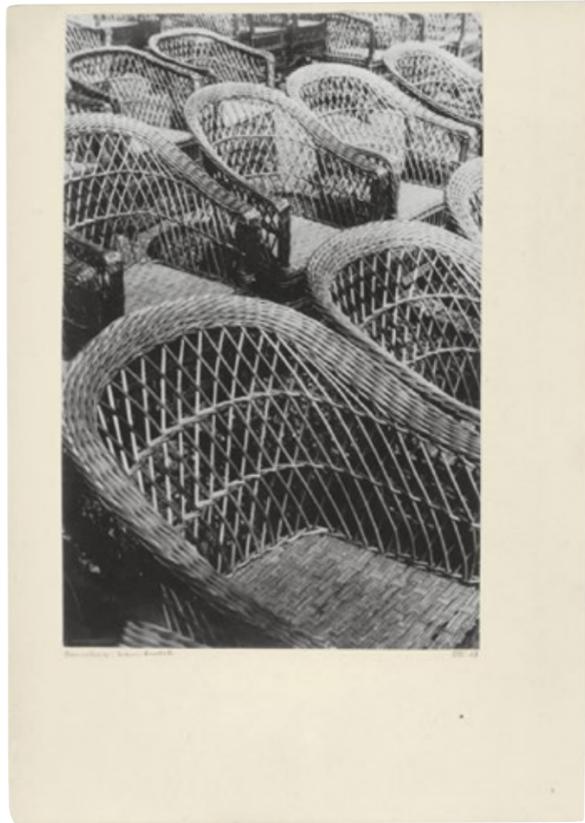
Autostrasse, Paznauntal / VII. 30
Road, Paznauntal, July 1930



Mittelberg / XII 28
Mittelberg, December 1928



Vor meinem Fenster / 1931
1932
From my window, 1931; 1932



Barcelona, Intern. Ausstell. / VIII. 29
Barcelona International Exposition, August 1929



Paris, Tour d'Eiffel / VIII 29
Eiffel Tower, Paris, August 1929



94.

Flooded trees and forest, c. 1931



95.

Dessau. Flurstrasse während Neubauten / Frühjahr 31
Flooded streets during construction, Dessau, spring 1931

