# Photography at MoMA

MoMA



Edited by

Quentin Bajac Lucy Gallun Roxana Marcoci Sarah Hermanson Meister

1920 — 1960



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#### Foreword

I am delighted to present the second installment of a three-volume history of photography told through the exceptional collection of The Museum of Modern Art. This volume covers photography from 1920 to 1960, moving backward in time from the volume published in 2015, which considered work from 1960 through the present day. The final volume will begin with the invention of the medium, in 1839, and cover the years up to 1920. Although the Museum's publications on photography have been—and continue to be—acclaimed and popular, we have never offered an in-depth examination of the photography collection. Only a small percentage of the collection's more than thirty thousand photographs can be on view at any given moment; this series brings into the discussion a wider array of ideas, tendencies, and trajectories.

The Museum's holdings of modernist photography are a trove of wonders, with iconic masterpieces and little-known gems. When the Department of Photography was founded, in 1940—the first of its kind in the United States—it was one of the few public repositories for contemporary work of the era, and many of the prints came into the collection shortly after they were made, often through direct contact with the artists. This volume highlights the curators, collectors, and artists who assiduously built a collection of works that—as Alfred H. Barr, Jr.'s torpedo continues to jet into the future we now consider modernist in spirit and practice. I am grateful to Quentin Bajac, The Joel and Anne Ehrenkranz Chief Curator of Photography, who conceived this important set of publications, and to his colleagues in the Department of Photography: Lucy Gallun, Assistant Curator; Roxana Marcoci, Senior Curator; and Sarah Meister, Curator. They have shaped a publication that brings into focus the breadth of the collection and the multiple histories of photography that can be told through it. Their texts, along with essays by Douglas Coupland, Kevin Moore, Drew Sawyer, and Pepper Stetler, elucidate how various works operate in the complex nexus of photographic history, as well as in relation to the larger scope of artwork beyond it.

The continual evolution and enrichment of the Museum's photography collection would not be possible

without many dedicated individuals and entities. As always, I extend my gratitude to the Museum's Board of Trustees for their unfaltering support. I am deeply thankful to the Committee on Photography for their generous facilitation of numerous acquisitions reproduced in this book, an effort tirelessly led by outstanding Chairs, including Robert B. Menschel, Peter Norton, Richard E. Salomon, and, currently, David Dechman. Works have also entered the collection through the aid of funds and groups affiliated with the Museum, both past and present, in particular the Latin American and Caribbean Fund and The Friends of Education of The Museum of Modern Art. Many individuals have supported acquisitions or have donated important works of art. I especially thank Peter J. Cohen, Thomas and Susan Dunn, Jo Carole and Ronald S. Lauder, Richard E. Salomon, the family of August Sander, Jon L. Stryker, and Thomas Walther for their significant recent contributions.

I am profoundly grateful to Joel and Anne Ehrenkranz, whose ongoing commitment to this series underscores their longstanding contributions to the Department of Photography and its ambitious program. I am also deeply indebted to David Dechman and Michel Mercure, whose unflagging support of recent acquisitions, and of this publication in particular, have made a permanent impression on the collection's shape and scope. Nor would this volume be possible without The Robert Mapplethorpe Foundation. To all of them I extend my heartfelt thanks for your belief in this medium, both in the past and for the future.

Finally, I save my deepest appreciation for Robert B. Menschel, whose keen eye and generous heart have blessed the Museum and the Department of Photography with an embarrassment of riches during his forty years of involvement. Robert has given the Department more than five hundred works; this volume contains eighteen photographs acquired thanks to his support. On behalf of the Museum as a whole and the Department of Photography in particular, I salute Robert for his astute vision, unwavering curiosity, and boundless generosity. The collection would not be the same without his resolute belief that these works should ultimately be placed in the public trust.

#### Glenn D. Lowry

Director, The Museum of Modern Art, New York

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# Modern Photography at MoMA

## **Quentin Bajac**

The past is a foreign country: they do things differently there.1

To delve into the archives of the Department of Photography at The Museum of Modern Art inevitably brings to mind this line by L. P. Hartley. In the past the habits, laws, customs, and manners are not those of today; thus it is a place where one may write to Marcel Duchamp to see if he knows "Man Ray's real name" (which Duchamp did not appear to know, quite reasonably suggesting that the petitioner ask him directly);2 where a young Robert Frank introduced himself in a 1950 letter to the director of the department as someone "making a living as a fashion photographer," far from the image we have of him today;3 where Beaumont Newhall (fig. 1), the department's first curator, and Ansel Adams (fig. 2) came up with the idea, which now seems very strange, of reprinting an image by László Moholy-Nagy for an exhibition, feeling as they did that the original proof in their possession was too blurred (after trying it, they changed their minds, having decided that the print no longer resembled a Moholy-Nagy work at all);4 where, under the catchy exhibition title American Photographs at \$10, the department, like a commercial gallery, printed and sold images by Adams, Berenice Abbott, Walker Evans (fig. 3), Helen Levitt, Moholy-Nagy, Arnold Newman, Charles Sheeler, Brett Weston, and Edward Weston (the exhibition, which opened three days before the attack on Pearl Harbor, did not see much success). It was a time, finally, when, according to legend, a young Evans hung his solo exhibition by himself, in 1938, in a single night, armed with a bottle of whiskey and a screwdriver, in the company of two friends who were members of the Museum but without the curator in charge Another era with other customs and other comportments! These examples are not meant to generate nostalgia for bygone times but simply to remind us that historians must adjust their frames of reference to avoid judging yesterday with the mind of today. As John Szarkowski, the director of the department from 1962 to 1991, pointed out when asked to compare himself with his predecessor, Edward Steichen, "We held the same job at very different times, which means that it was not really the same job" (fig. 4). Which is another way of saying that times change and, with them, the contexts, methods, problems, and the solutions that are brought to them.

The Museum of Modern Art's recognition of photography as an artistic practice was almost a family affair: a meeting

H. Barr, Jr., Newhall, Lincoln Kirstein [fig. 6], Julian Levy), wealthy collectors and Museum trustees (David McAlpin [fig. 7], James Thrall Soby), and a handful of photographers. Among these men it was those who could today be described as "modern"—that is, members of the two generations that came of age in the first half of the twentieth century—who played a major role in the blossoming of the institution's photographic plans and in fact were its motivating force. That they were is explained in part by the dynamics of the photography world in the United States during the birth of the department, in 1940, as Barr, the first director of MoMA, himself emphasized: "Another important factor is the tendency on the part of the public to identify art with painting and sculpture —two fields in which America is not yet, I am afraid, quite the equal of France; but in other fields—the film, architecture and photography, for instance, the United States would seem to be the equal or superior of any other country."6 While what we call "modern" in painting and sculpture was defined by MoMA in its first twenty-five years as an essentially European phenomenon, in the field of photography the modern was closely linked, on the other hand, to the United States. Barr saw the enthusiastic promotion of an American photography as a way of responding to critics who accused the institution of being too European, and the major figures of the particularly fertile American scene-Adams, Evans, Steichen, and Alfred Stieglitz (fig. 5)—represented the cardinal points that guided the institution along its path between 1930 and 1960. The first entry of modern photography into MoMA's program occurs explicitly under the banner of American art: Murals by American Painters and Photographers, organized in the spring of 1932, set out to define American artistic identity starting with the mural, a form of popular art then experiencing a full revival. It was followed in November 1933 by Walker Evans: Photographs of 19th Century Houses; in 1938 by Walker Evans, *American Photographs*; and then in 1939 by *Seven American* Photographers and Charles Sheeler, a retrospective. Only Photography, 1839–1937, a great historical exhibition in 1937, diverged from this strictly American perspective.

of young art historians all educated at Harvard (Alfred

Behind the mural exhibition was Kirstein, who, like Barr, had studied with the art historian Paul Sachs, one of the seven founding Trustees of the Museum. He had already solicited work by Evans for the journal Hound & Horn, which he had founded with Varian Fry in 1927, and had also

L. P. Hartley, The Go-Between (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1953), p. 1.

Letters between Grace M. Mayer and Marcel Duchamp, March 30 and April 1. 1960. MoMA Archives, New York

Robert Frank, letter to Edward Steichen, June 21, 1950. MoMA Archives, New York

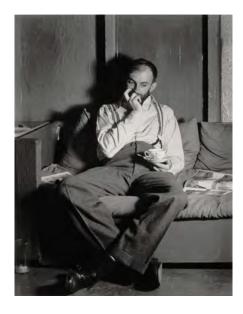
Beaumont Newhall, Focus: Memoirs of a Life in Photography (Boston: Little, Brown, 1993), p. 65.

John Szarkowski, in Mark Durden,

<sup>&</sup>quot;Eyes Wide Open," Art in America 94, no. 5 (May 2006): 83

Alfred H. Barr, Jr., memorandum to Miss [Dorothy C.] Miller, October 10, 1940; reproduced in Defining Modern Art: Selected Writings of Alfred H. Barr, Jr., ed. Irving Sandler and Amy Newman (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1986), p. 16









#### **Edward Weston**

American, 1886-1958 Beaumont and Nancy Newhall on Rocks. 1945 Gelatin silver print 7% × 9% in. (19.4 × 24.3 cm)

Gift of Beaumont and Nancy Newhall, 1974

#### Fig. 2 Willard Van Dyke

American, 1906-1986 Ansel Adams at 683 Brockhurst. c. 1933 95/6 × 71/4 in. (23.6 × 18.4 cm) Gift of the artist, 1977

#### Fig. 3 James Thrall Soby

American, 1906-1979 Walker Evans, 1934 Gelatin silver print 7½ × 5¾ in. (18.5 × 14.7 cm) Gift of Agnes Gund, 1997

#### Fig. 4 Paul Huf

Dutch, 1924-2002 John Szarkowski Succeeds Edward Steichen. 1964 Gelatin silver print 9% × 9% in. (24 × 23.7 cm) Gift of the artist, 1997 (Departmental Collection)

organized Photography 1930, the first American exhibition devoted to modernist photography, for the Harvard Society for Contemporary Art, which he had also cofounded. After he was made director of exhibitions of the Museum, he also assumed, in the early 1930s, an unofficial advisory role for its photographic program; the medium was still so new for museums that it did not warrant its own curator. He was assisted by Levy, a wealthy real estate developer's son who had just opened a midtown gallery and was trying with difficulty to sensitize a new public to photography (sticking closely, moreover, to MoMA's exhibition program), and by Thomas Marbry, Levy's former assistant, who was the Museum's executive director.

Kirstein focused on Evans to champion the generation of American modern photography. Stieglitz, at the time art photography's major representative in the United States, kept his distance from MoMA and its exhibition program, which he considered too European. Evans was resolutely American in his subjects and preoccupations, but he was influenced in his approach by modern European photography; his documentary and ordinary aesthetic appeared to be a perfect meeting point between MoMA's European tropism and the American art that Kirstein wanted to define and promote. In the 1930s Evans was everywhere in MoMA's emerging program: two solo exhibitions, in 1933 and 1938; a catalogue (American Photographs) in 1938; a commission for a portfolio of the Museum's collection of African art, in 1935; and a gift to the Museum from Kirstein himself of one hundred images, in 1933 and 1934. No other photographer received as much attention during this period.

This situation was fundamentally changed by the arrival at MoMA, in 1935, of Newhall. An art historian and another former student of Sachs, Newhall was hired as a librarian and became the Museum's unofficial photographer, with a darkroom set up in a men's bathroom near the administrative offices. With the support of Barr—whose aesthetic tastes had never coincided with those of Kirstein-Newhall soon asserted himself as the Museum's real photography specialist In 1937 he took over the organization of an exhibition to celebrate photography's centenary, and in 1940, when the Department of Photography was created, he became its first curator. He was determined to define photography as an art form, and he was not particularly interested in the ordinariness on display in Evans's documentary style; in fact his relationship with Evans was one of pronounced coolness: Evans had agreed to do the American Photographs

exhibition only on the condition that he could hang the show himself, without Newhall present.8 Newhall, with his wife, Nancy, inaugurated an era marked by Stieglitz's conception of photography as a spiritual and artistic medium. Fascinated by the man and his work, the Newhalls persistently solicited his approval and managed to mitigate, although not completely dissolve, his mistrust of the institution; the same Stieglitz who in 1936 flatly refused Newhall's proposal to join the advisory committee for the centenary exhibition, benevolently declared the department's inaugural exhibition, Sixty Photographs, "sincere and fine." This rapprochement was consecrated, four years after Stieglitz's death, in 1950, by a gift from his wife, Georgia O'Keeffe, in the form of fifty-two prints representing every stage of his career.

The principal actor in this reconciliation was another photographer: Adams. Sociable and ambitious, with friends and acquaintances among the great elder photographers, from Steichen to Weston, and a protégé of Stieglitz who exhibited at An American Place in 1935, Adams speculated about what a future photography department might look like in a practical handbook called *Making a Photograph*:

What is required above all else is a number of centralized institutions which combine competent instruction in theory and practice with library and museum features. Repositories of the most significant photography, past and contemporary, are sorely needed. The understanding of photography as a form of art implies much more than a knowledge of physics and chemistry and a superficial education in the aspects of painting and other media. It is necessary to study photography itself—to interpret the medium in its own terms and within its own limitations.<sup>10</sup>

After meeting the Newhalls in 1938 at the inauguration of the Museum's new building, Adams became a crucial voice in the dialogue concerning the department's creation, thanks to the support of McAlpin. McAlpin—an investment banker, collector of photographs, and habitué of Stieglitz's gallery, as well as a nephew of Nelson Rockefeller, MoMA's president from 1939 to 1941, and a Trustee himself-agreed to preside over the department's advisory committee only if Adams became its vice-president.

During the Newhall-Adams years the department distanced itself from Evans. Adams, too, resisted his work, although he continued to promote American straight photography, beginning with Sixty Photographs, which

Russell Lynes, Good Old Modern: An Intimate Portrait of The Museum of Modern Art (New York: Atheneum 1973), p. 155.

Newhall, Focus, p. 56

Ibid., p. 66.

Ansel Adams, Making a Photograph An Introduction to Photography (London: Studio Limited 1935) p. 14

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was primarily devoted to it. 11 Asked in 1944 by the critic and journalist Elizabeth McCausland about the kind of photography he favored, Newhall, who was a man with multiple interests, nevertheless made no secret of his preferences:

I appreciate all the uses of photography but find the peak of personal satisfaction in the Stieglitz Equivalents, Paul [Strand]'s close up studies of nature, Edward Weston's landscapes, Ansel [Adams]'s Yosemite work as against the FSA, Evans, [Dorothea] Lange. Right now I yearn for the positive, and so much "documentary" is negative and, to me depressing. The fact that so many of our brilliant photographers became cynical of America and recorded the negative side of our culture seems to me as significant as the blight of surrealism.12

This exhibition policy would be reflected in the Museum's acquisitions, especially thanks to a major donation, made between 1939 and 1941 by Alfred Bender, a collector and defender (and patron) of Adams, of more than a hundred prints by the West Coast members of the group f64.

Straight photography was not the only style represented in Newhall's department. In 1939, with the financial support of McAlpin, he bought the entire contents of a Moholy-Nagy exhibition at Delphic Studio in New York; two years later, 120 prints by Man Ray entered the collection as a gift from Soby. Because there were few photography galleries at the time, word of mouth was the primary tool for learning about new photographers; Newhall was especially helped in this regard by Alexey Brodovitch, the art director of *Harper's* Bazaar and a New York art world figure, who recommended and sent him photographers including Alfred Newman and Philippe Halsman. Indeed, the contribution to the development of the new, young department by voices beyond those of Adams and Newhall was quite remarkable. While Newhall was enlisted in the military, from 1942 to 1944, Nancy Newhall took over his curatorial duties, and Willard Morgan (husband of the photographer Barbara Morgan) was briefly appointed director of the department, in 1943; during this period they solicited the opinions of critics, photographers, curators, and exhibition consultants, who also helped to organize exhibitions. Among them were McCausland, who advocated for a politically and socially committed photography (New Workers, in 1944); the photojournalist Thérèse Bonney (War Comes to the People, in 1940, and French Photographs, in 1945); Moholy-Nagy,

Adams letter to David McAlpin Newhall letter to Flizabeth McCausland August 1944. Elizabeth McCausland November 4, 1938; reprinted in papers 1838-1965 bulk 1920-1960 Ansel Adams: Letters and Images (Boston: Little, Brown, 1988), p. 109. [D.384A: 629], Archives of American Art. Smithsonian Institution. Washington, D.C. Quoted in Laetitia Barrere, "Dialogues sur la photographie

documentaire: Elizabeth McCausland

Photographiques 31 (Spring 2014): 124.

et Beaumont Newhall," Études

See Frin O'Toole "Nancy Newhall and the Museum of Modern Art. 1942-1946" in Deborah Klochko, ed Nancy Newhall: A Literacy of Images. (San Diego: Museum of Photographic Arts, 2008).

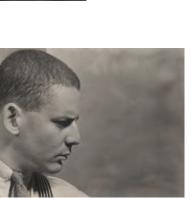
Jonathan Spaulding, Ansel Adams and the American Landscape (Berkeley: University of California Press), p. 178.

György Kepes, and Nathan Lerner (How to Make a Photogram, in 1942); and Andreas Feininger (Creative Photography, in 1945). 13 Despite this variety, however, the department was largely perceived, both inside and outside MoMA, as a temple of straight photography, with a very American bent. Even some members of the photography committee saw the department as promoting an overly narrow conception of photography, and voices were raised in critique. Some of the opposition came from Kirstein and Soby and their supporters, whose tastes were more European or marked by a documentary aesthetic in work such as Evans's, but whose stance was described by Adams as an "anti-art attitude." 14 Some came from a group defending a more popular and accessible photography, which included Tom Maloney, the editor of *U.S. Camera*, a wide-circulation photography magazine launched in 1938 for both professionals and amateurs, as well as Morgan and Steichen.

Steichen, the former pictorial photographer who had led the Naval Aviation Photographic Unit during World War II (and who preferred to be called "Captain Steichen"), was sixty-six years old in 1945. He had been close friends with Stieglitz early in the century and had been the director of photography for the Condé Nast group during the interwar period. His association with MoMA began in 1937, when he advised Newhall on the centenary exhibition. In 1939 he organized the selection of photographs for the traveling exhibition *Documents* of America; he was invited to join the photography committee in 1940; during World War II he organized two exhibitions: Road to Victory, in 1942, and Power in the Pacific, in 1945. These last two exhibitions were pioneering in their design: they were intended to be narrative and popular, taking as their model illustrated wide-circulation magazines such as Life, highlighting subject over, and to the detriment of, style and author. As such they were precisely the opposite of the approach preferred by Adams and the Newhalls. Steichen, supported by Rockefeller, the Museum's president at the time, and certain Trustees, called for a less elitist photography and, with the support of Maloney, dangled the possibility of consequent and potentially significant support from the photography industry; he was invited to be director of the department in 1947, causing Newhall to immediately resign and the advisory committee, which had been kept out of this decision, to disband.











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## Fig. 5 Henri Cartier-Bressor

French, 1908-2004 Alfred Stieglitz, New York. 1946 Gelatin silver print 9% × 131% in. (23.9 × 34.7 cm) Gift of Edward Steichen, 1959

#### Fig. 6 Jay Leyda

American, 1910-1988 Lincoln Kirstein. c. 1930 Gelatin silver print 311/16 × 43/4 in. (9.4 × 12 cm) Departmental Collection, 1986

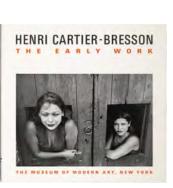
#### Fig. 7 Edward Weston American, 1886-1958

David H. McAlpin, New York, 1941 Gelatin silver print, printed 1952 9% × 7% in. (24.4 × 19.3 cm) Gift of T. J. Maloney, 1952

Figs. 8, 9 Installation views of In and Out of Focus: A Survey of Today's Photography, organized by Edward Steichen, April 7-July 11, 1948

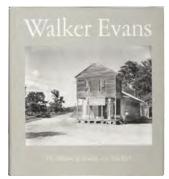
Quentin Baiac Modern Photography at MoMA



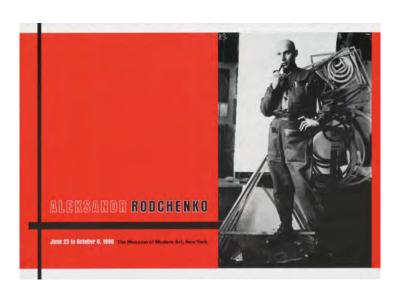




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Modern Photographs from the Thomas Walther Collection, 1909–1949

Dec 13–Apr 26

Over 300 vital works that defined a new era of photography

The Relief Store of Phot

14

Fig. 10 Dorothy Norman

American, 1905–1997

Henri Cartier-Bresson with Camera. 1946
Gelatin silver print
4 × 2% in. (10.1 × 7.3 cm)
Departmental Collection, 1994

Fig. 11 Exhibition catalogue for Henri Cartier-Bresson: The Early Work, by Peter Galass (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1987)

- Fig. 12 Exhibition catalogue for *Henri Cartier-Bresson: The Modern Century,* by Peter Galassi (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 2010)
- Fig. 13 Exhibition catalogue for Walker Evans, by John Szarkowski (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1971)
- Fig. 14 Exhibition poster for *Aleksandr Rodchenko*, organized by Magdalena Dabrowski,
  Leah Dickerman, and Peter Galassi,
  June 25-October 6, 1998
- Fig. 15 Exhibition poster for Modern Photographs from
  The Thomas Walther Collection, 1909–1949,
  organized by Quentin Bajac and Sarah Hermanson
  Meister, December 13, 2014–April 26, 2015

The first goal, broadening the audience for photography, was certainly achieved, largely thanks to *The Family of Man*, in 1955, which was seen at the Museum by a million visitors and whose catalogue has sold the most copies of any publication in the Museum's history. *The Family of Man* expanded on Steichen's exhibitions of the 1940s; it was closer to spectacle than exhibition, entirely at the antipode of his predecessor's intimate presentations, which were concerned with photography as image and object rather than content. With its five identical sets of prints, *The Family of Man* followed a trajectory through more than sixty countries, to be seen by nine million visitors, making it the most visited exhibition in the Museum's history.

The second goal, however—the industry's support never materialized, forcing Steichen to put aside some of his plans, but under his direction the department gained in stability what it lost in plurality. The polyphony of the Newhall era, in which photographers and critics were brought together to organize exhibitions, was over: of the forty-two exhibitions that appeared during the fifteen years of Steichen's tenure, he was the sole curator of thirtynine-including his own retrospective in 1961. Beyond this apparent monolithicism, however, Steichen allowed for a real diversity of tone: he extended and amplified Newhall's contemporary program, granting new status to non-American photographers—European and, to some degree, Japanese-particularly in the four large group exhibitions of his program: In and Out of Focus (figs. 8, 9), in 1948; Abstraction in Photography, in 1951; Post War European Photography, in 1953; and The Family of Man. He was also more open to the variety of photographic styles of the new generation; Frank, Harry Callahan, Todd Webb, Esther Bubley, and W. Eugene Smith all made their way into MoMA under his direction, through exhibition or acquisition. Steichen was more interested in exhibiting than in adding to the collection, which he neglected to some extent. His main legacy is not the some nine hundred images that officially came in during this period but thousands of others, printed under his direction for his exhibitions, very often mounted on Masonite, many of which remain to this day in the Departmental Collection.

Under the direction of Szarkowski, who succeeded him in 1962, the department reexamined the great modern figures of the beginning of the century in a large number of retrospective exhibitions: André Kertész, in 1964; Lange, in 1966; Brassaï, in 1968; August Sander and Bill Brandt, in 1969; Abbott, in

1970; Evans (fig. 13) and Manuel Álvarez Bravo, in 1971; Edward Weston, in 1975; Tina Modotti, in 1977; and Martín Chambi and Adams, in 1979. These photographers were for the most part alive and working at the time, but they were also already becoming historic figures thanks to the accelerated pace at which the history of photography was being written. It was as historical figures that they were addressed in these exhibitions, which largely gave room to prewar work—in Evans's retrospective only ten percent of the two hundred works were made after 1945—and as a result many of them remain best known for their early work to this day.

In the 1990s and 2000s Peter Galassi pursued and inflected this policy: the department closely linked exhibition and acquisition, in particular for work by Aleksandr Rodchenko (fig. 14), Grete Stern and Horacio Coppola, Henri Cartier-Bresson (figs. 10–12), Álvarez Bravo, and Brandt. But as the photography market became increasingly competitive, he more precisely defined some of the rules, more systematically favoring vintage prints over recent ones and methodically analyzing and filling gaps in the collection. The Museum's purchase, in 2000, of 341 images from the Thomas Walther Collection is a fine example of this; the acquisition has strengthened the collection in the area of interwar European photography, with works by German and Bauhaus artists (Karl Blossfeldt, Helmar Lerski, Franz Roh, Umbo), Soviet Constructivists (El Lissitzky), and Parisian photographers (Maurice Tabard, Kertész). The Museum displayed the collection in 2015, with a major exhibition, catalogue, and researchoriented website (fig. 15).

Donations from the New York Times and of collections of anonymous amateur photography have significantly enlarged and enriched the representation of modern photography in MoMA's collection. The Museum's most recent purchases have attempted to fill the remaining gaps in a few traditional areas, such as Surrealism, while seeking out modern works from geographical areas underrepresented in the collection, chief among them Latin America. By researching the Departmental Collection, the department has been able to identify and promote some key pieces—some of them reproduced in this volume—that had previously been neglected, in particular from postwar European and American photography. In so doing, the Department of Photography has been faithful to the concept of a midcentury modernism that is just as mutable in form and definition as the contemporary one.

Quentin Bajac Modern Photography at MoMA

# American Modernism

1920

- 1940

Ansel Adams

Imogen Cunningham

Tina Modotti

Paul Outerbridge

**Eliot Porter** 

Sherril Schell

Charles Sheeler

Frederick Sommer

**Edward Steichen** 

Ralph Steiner

Alfred Stieglitz
Paul Strand

Doris Ulmann

Brett Weston

**Edward Weston** 

# Experiences with Reality

Quentin Bajac

"I was born in Hoboken. I am an American photographer. Photography is my passion. The search for truth my obsession." These are the words Alfred Stieglitz chose to conclude the introductory text for his show of photographs at Anderson Galleries in 1921, when he was fifty-seven years old. A strange profession of faith with an ostentatious simplicity, coming from a man already recognized for almost two decades as a central figure in the American art and photography worlds. But this exhibition, his first in New York since 1913, was a departure. In 145 images, most of them unpublished it presented a complete rereading of his work while also highlighting his very lively character. Seventy-eight of the shots, he pointed out, had been made since July 1918, the date of the last summer of World War I and a time marked by separation from his wife; moving in with Georgia O'Keeffe, a painter twenty years his junior; and the beginning of a series that featured her as a model (plates 1, 2).

The exhibition would be a great success, confirming the figure of the new Stieglitz: American, photographer, seeker of truth. He went on to find this truth in a national art freed of external artistic references: an art that exalted the spiritual and timeless dimension of the land, of American nature. But it was a specific kind of nature: not the immense and unspoiled landscape of New Mexico, dear to O'Keeffe, but the more polished nature of upstate New York around Lake George (plate 3) and his family house, which would become a favored retreat in the later part of his life. At the same time he explored the country's urban side and its constant state of change—the American city of the 1930s, in shots of New York taken through the windows of his gallery, An American Place, or from his apartment on the thirtieth floor of the Shelton (plate 30)—a point of view also adopted by O'Keeffe in many of her paintings of the late 1920s.

Stieglitz had been enjoying a renewed popularity in the early 1920s. The man described by Imogen

Cunningham as "the father of us all" was once again a mentor to a generation of photographers, artists, and critics, this one born in the last two decades of the nineteenth century.1 Stieglitz liked this role, although he admitted in a 1923 letter to a friend, the writer Paul Rosenfeld, that he was unsure "about being as much an artist as one of the leading spiritual forces of this country"; indeed, a few years later the critic Henry McBride would compare him to a religious leader.<sup>2</sup> Stieglitz's circle in the early 1920s was made up of artists and photographers (O'Keeffe, John Marin, Charles Sheeler, Paul Strand) as well as writers (Waldo Frank, William Carlos Williams), all of them striving enthusiastically and optimistically to define a new American identity and a new American art, unencumbered by the weight and traditions of old Europe—which the war had left depleted. An art in search of spirituality and transcendence in the materialistic, technological American society, with its personal dimension as its main feature: an art composed of intuition and experience of the real.

Experience: the term is essential to the American avant-garde of the period, whatever the medium. Stieglitz's photographs of skies from the 1920s (plates 4, 5), he said, were the equivalents "of my most profound life experience." Ten years later, in 1935, Ansel Adams could still write, for the text accompanying his first show at An American Place, "In this exhibit I have tried to present certain personal experiences with reality. I have made no attempt to symbolize, to intellectualize, or to abstract what I have seen or felt."4 As a crucial element of American pragmatism and suggestive of a more attentive relationship to nature, experience proposed a connection with the real by way of observation and feeling rather than reflection and intellect; as Stieglitz would say of his sky photographs, "I do not think any longer, I just feel." Such primacy of feeling would also lead him to title these works using musical terms, as he did with Songs of the Sky or Music—A Sequence of Ten Cloud Photographs, thus marking them as expressions of art that can do without words—an art before language.

This emphasis on experience by American artists was developing at a time when the central notion espoused by the European photographic avant-gardes was

— 1 Imogen Cunningham, in Richard Lorenz, *Imogen Cunningham: Portraiture* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1997), p. 21.

— 2 Alfred Stieglitz, in Kristina Wilson, The Modern Eye: Stieglitz, MoMA, and the Art of the Exhibition, 1925–1934 (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2009), p. 29; and Henry McBride, in Sarah Greenough et al., Modern Art and America: Alfred Stieglitz and His New York Galleries (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art; Boston: Little, Brown, 2000), p. 316.

— 3
Stieglitz, in Greenough, Alfred
Stieglitz: The Key Set (Washington,
D.C.: National Gallery of Art; New York:
Harry N. Abrams, 2002), p. xliv.

Ansel Adams, in Katherine Hoffman, Alfred Stieglitz: A Legacy of Light (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2011), p. 298.

Stieglitz, in Greenough, *The Key Set*, p. xlii.

See Roxana Marcoci, "Propositions for the Future," on page 58 of this volume.

The word "straight" was used by the critic Sadakichi Hartmann in 1904, in an exhibition review in which he called on photographers "to work straight." Hartmann, "A Plea for Straight Photography," American Amateur Photography 16 (March 1904): 101–9. "Pure" first appeared in Stieglitz's Camera Work: "Stieglitz has begun with the elimination of the subject in represented form to search for

experimentation, from the Constructivists to the Dadaist and Surrealist movements; "experience photography" here versus "experimental photography" there. 6 The opposition is no doubt a bit schematic, both because counterexamples exist (the German Neue Sachlichkeit [New Objectivity] would frequently be compared to American photography of the same years) and because the two notions are not so reducibly dissimilar: many American photographers, Stieglitz chief among them, were working experimentally as well. Nevertheless, in the great modern and antipictorial project of searching for and identifying a pure photography, the vanguards in Europe and the United States followed different paths: the former—theoretical, more objective, and messianic but also pedagogical and playful—investigating the medium in all its forms, especially the most composite and artificial (photomontage, photogram, solarization, double exposure, etc.); the latter was emotional, searching for truth via exact representation achieved in the most straightforward way possible, a strategy often expressed as respect for the subject. Modern American photography, called "straight" or "pure," was marked by a certain puritanism: "pure" was understood in all senses of the term, literal (without tricks or manipulation) as well as figurative (true, that which does not lie). Ralph Steiner said as much of Strand: "For him there was something called Right and something called Wrong, and especially in photography they were poles apart. Like Stieglitz, he had no difficulty using that awesome word 'truth." 8

Pure photography was a perfect photography, a photography of technical mastery at every stage of the image's production, beginning with the negative: "The key to a good print is to have the perfect negative." Negatives provide the maximum detail possible, and "would almost print themselves," as Strand wrote to Stieglitz in 1922, also citing Edward Weston, whose journal reveals an obsession with the perfect negative. 10 In order to obtain the greatest detail, most photographers favored the large-format camera, often an 8 by 10. When some of them (such as Stieglitz, Strand, Cunningham, and Weston), desiring more mobility, turned to smaller and more manageable formats, they often chose not the portable cameras used in the late 1920s (Leica, Ermanox Rolleiflex) but medium formats such as the 4 by 5 inch camera, the dimensions of which preserved the quality

of the negative's detail. The perfect negative was one that could be printed without having to be cropped or otherwise reframed; sophisticated printing techniques, especially those favored in the early 1920s, such as palladium and platinum, were able to take into account the negative's nuances with more softness and subtlety than traditional gelatin silver printing. In 1926 the German review Das Kunstblatt published "Photographie in Amerika," which summed up the characteristics of this modern "American eye" as it was perceived across the Atlantic, accompanied by four images by Steiner and Paul Outerbridge: "Precision work. Exact representation of form.... Clear picture architecture. Emphasis on plastic values. Concerned interest in the form world of every day surroundings." The description echoes the search by Steiglitz and others for maximum detail accompanied by maximum simplification, a paradoxical formula, seeming to call at once for seeing more (the greatest detail) and seeing less (the greatest simplification), for an increase in realism but also abstraction.<sup>12</sup> But it is in precisely this near-contradictory tension that a certain American modernist aesthetic resides. All the various approaches to simplification extract the subject from its natural context so as to focus a viewer's attention: close-ups and tight framing; neutral or unified, monochromatic backgrounds, particularly in the work of Weston (plates 15–17); suppression, in exterior shots, of the horizon and therefore of depth of field.

This modern aesthetic of experience, with attention to objects, textures, and shapes, permeated various spheres of American commercial photography, from portraits to advertising, which was booming at the time. Stieglitz was contemptuous of those modern photographers who, in his opinion, were prostituting their art, including Edward Steichen, his old colleague from the 1900s, who brought the straight-photography aesthetic into the studios of Condé Nast and onto the pages of *Vanity Fair* and *Vogue* beginning in 1923. Steichen used his own images as well as calling on photographers with similar sensibilities. These included Cunningham (plates 8, 26) and Sherril Schell, a commercial portraitist who had studied in London and New York (plate 28), as well as the painter and photographer Charles Sheeler, whose most celebrated works were often made on commission, such as images

the pure expression of the object." Marius de Zayas, "Photography and Artistic Photography," *Camera Work* nos. 42–43 (April–July 1913).

—— 8
Ralph Steiner, A Point of View
(Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan
University Press, 1978), p. 10.

Ibid., p. 48.

Paul Strand, in Peter Barberie, Paul Strand: Master of Photography
(Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art; Madrid: Fundación MAPFRE; New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2014), p. 11.

"Photographie in Amerika," Das Kunstblatt 10 (1926): 447; quoted in Beaumont Newhall, "Photo-Eye of the 1920s: The Deutsche Werkbund Exhibition of 1929," in David Mellor, Germany: The New Photography, 1927–1933 (London: Arts Council of Great Britain, 1978).

Das "It is straight. No tricks of any Joted kind—no Humbug. No sentimentalism. to-Eye Not old nor new. It is so sharp that you can see the [pores] in a face—and Mellor, yet it is abstract." Stieglitz, letter to aphy, Hartmann, 1919, in Hoffman, Alfred puncil Stieglitz, pp. 116–17.

American Modernism

of the Ford factory in River Rouge, Michigan, near Detroit (plate 10), made at the request of the advertising agency N. W. Ayer and Son; and shots of industrial subjects (plate 9) that served as the basis for paintings commissioned by Fortune magazine in 1938. Steichen also worked with Steiner (plate 29) and Outerbridge (plates 11-13), both of whom had trained at the Clarence White School of Photography, established in 1914, where the instruction—provided in part by artists who disagreed with Stieglitz, including White himself and the painter Max Weber—allowed for the application of a moderate modernism to commercial photography.

Like any general outline, this one is broadly drawn, and there are exceptions. Stieglitz, at the heart of the straight-photography movement, is paradoxically one of the artists who most frequently moved away from it; his work from the 1920s is shot through with a more experimental, almost European spirit, as in images of skies and hands that are legible in any direction. A similar distancing from the norms of straight photography can be seen in the work of Tina Modotti, although her professional and personal association with Weston has too often relegated her unequivocally to the camp of American modernism. Her work certainly retains some of modernism's features, such as its precision, almost always reinforced by contact printing; its stark, deliberate compositions, which leave no room for accidents; its simplified, monumental forms; and the subtlety of tonal values offered by platinum and palladium printing.<sup>13</sup> But Modotti also drew on a dynamic European modernism inherited from German Neues Sehen (New Vision) photographers. In 1925 she began using a portable Graflex, which allowed her the mobility to make Telephone Wires, Mexico (plate 19), a dynamic, low-angle shot more akin to contemporary Soviet photography than to work by her American colleagues, both in terms of subject matter and treatment. This was chosen in 1927 to appear in a history of the Futurist-inspired Mexican Estridentista (Stridentist) movement and then again in 1929, in the avant-garde review transition alongside photographs by Man Ray and László Moholy-Nagy.<sup>14</sup> Also in 1927 Modotti joined the Communist Party and began to move away from formal, abstract work and toward a more direct approach. A transitional image from between those styles, Mella's Typewriter (1928, plate 22),

an indirect portrait of her companion, the political journalist Julio Antonio Mella, employs the codes of straight photography in order to signal political content: standing in for Mella is a typewriter—the instrument of the Communist intellectual—with a text by Trotsky in its platen. 15 Mella would be assassinated two years later, in the middle of the street, while Modotti watched.

In the late 1920s straight photography was front and center on the American and international stages; no other American movement at the time seemed to have contributed to the modernist photographic vocabulary. At Internationale Austellung des Deutschen Werkbunds Film und Foto, the most comprehensive exhibition of the international photographic avantgarde, held in Stuttgart in 1929, the section devoted to American photographers contained only works of this kind, with the exception of those by Berenice Abbott and Man Ray. A German critic noted that this section, with its "refined technique, which one might describe as cultivated." was a departure from the rougher European works. 16 A year later, for *Photography 1930*, the first exhibition devoted to modernist photography in the United States, Lincoln Kirstein selected images that highlighted this tendency as well.<sup>17</sup> Nevertheless, a number of American photographers, especially on the East Coast, were, like Modotti, already distancing themselves from this aesthetic. Artists in Europe, in reaction to the 1929 crisis and the rise of totalitarian governments, began to decry the experimental work of the 1920s for being politically and socially disengaged, and in the United States the practitioners of straight photography (and others) began to question it as well. Some were eager to demonstrate political commitment and address new audiences; Strand and Steiner did so by exceeding the limitations of photography, abandoning photography altogether in the mid-1930s for film, forming the heart of Nykino, a collective of Marxist photographers and filmmakers in New York. As the political crisis of the 1930s progressed and the engagement of artists increased, in the Federal Art Project and other programs, more and more artists raised their voices against the elitism of straight photography: the lack of political engagement in its images, the lack of social responsibility in its dissemination, and the preciousness that seemed to attend the details

Sarah M. Lowe, Tina Modotti: Photographs (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1998), p. 22.

22

Transition, no. 15 (November 1929):

Lowe, Tina Modotti, p. 40.

Wilhelm Lotz, "Film und Foto," Die

Photography 1930, Harvard Society for Contemporary Art, Cambridge Mass., November 7-29, 1930.

of its making. Such criticisms continued throughout the decade and were taken up by photographers of the following generation; Walker Evans, in particular, identified straight photography, with Stieglitz as its exemplar, as a counterexample of engaged political art.

Perhaps because of this critical attack, the center of the straight-photography movement began to shift away from New York in the 1930s, to Taos, New Mexico, where two generations of East Coast artists (O'Keeffe, Strand, John Marin) and West Coast artists (Adams, Weston) had been meeting since early in the twentieth century. A more significant center emerged in Carmel, California where Weston and his son Brett lived, and in the San Francisco Bay Area. In 1932, at the invitation of Adams and Willard Van Dyke, photographers including Weston, Cunningham, and Dorothea Lange gathered in San Francisco to form the group known as f64—denoting a lens's smallest aperture, which allowed maximal depth of field—a name which is itself a tribute to straight photography. 18 Following Stieglitz, breaking with the Pictorialist tendencies still present in the work of West Coast artists (and from which some f64's members, such as Weston and Cunningham, had emerged), the group advocated a non-Pictorialist photography in its manifesto: "Pure photography is defined as possessing no qualities of technic, composition or idea, derivative of any other art-form." Adams saw the West Coast as particularly fertile ground for the blossoming of this form, an art "perfect for the American West because both the medium and the west were young and unburdened by the traditions of the East coast and older media."20

The sensibilities of Edward Weston, Brett Weston, and Adams exalt a certain excess in American nature, with a lyricism and a sensuality unknown in the photography of the East Coast. In Weston's images of the dunes of White Sands, in New Mexico, or Oceano, between Carmel and Los Angeles (plate 34), their textures and curves evoke certain of his contemporary female nudes, a juxtaposition that he at times made explicit (plate 18). Adams, starting in the late 1920s, put the sublime dimension of the natural sites of the West at the center of his work, following the frontier trail of the painters and photographers of the previous century; for his photograph of Yosemite's Half Dome (1927, plate 31), one of the first works in which he felt he had found his style, he used a red filter to darken the sky and thus better render the emotion he felt before the majestic spectacle of nature. <sup>21</sup> Surf Sequence (1940, plate 33) is an indirect tribute to his two elder mentors: to Weston, in its subject (the image was made near Pacifica, on returning from a visit to Weston's studio in Carmel), and to Stieglitz, in its sequence (which recalls the musical spirit of Stieglitz's suites). The Museum of Modern Art bought the sequence from Adams in 1941, at a time when, as an artistic advisor, he was helping to establish and maintain the program of the Department of Photography headed by Beaumont and Nancy Newhall: all three of them, between 1940 and 1947, the year of Beaumont Newhall's resignation, would make the institution the champion of straight photography, through retrospectives of Strand (1945), Weston (1946), and Stieglitz (1947).<sup>22</sup>

The group was supported by the de Young Museum in San Francisco, which devoted shows to several of its members between 1932 and 1935 and acquired some of their works.

F64 manifesto, 1932, exhibition text for Group f64, de Young Museum, San Francisco, November 15-December 31, 1932; reprinted in Mary Street Alinder, Group f64 (New York: Bloomsbury, 2014), p. 89.

Adams: An Autobiography (Boston: Little, Brown, 1985), p. 76.

Ansel Adams, with Alinder, Ansel See Quentin Bajac, "Modern Photography at MoMA," on page 11 of this volume.

Alinder, Group f64, p. 64.

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Georgia O'Keeffe—Hands and Thimble. 1919
Palladium print
9% × 7% in. (23.6 × 19.4 cm)
Gift of David H. McAlpin, 1980

2 Georgia O'Keeffe. 1918
Palladium print
9% × 7% in. (24.6 × 19.4 cm)
Alfred Stieglitz Collection.
Gift of Georgia O'Keeffe, 1984





# Alfred Stieglitz

American, 1864-1946

Apples and Gable, Lake George. 1922 Gelatin silver print 4½ × 3% in. (11.5 × 9.2 cm) Anonymous gift, 1943







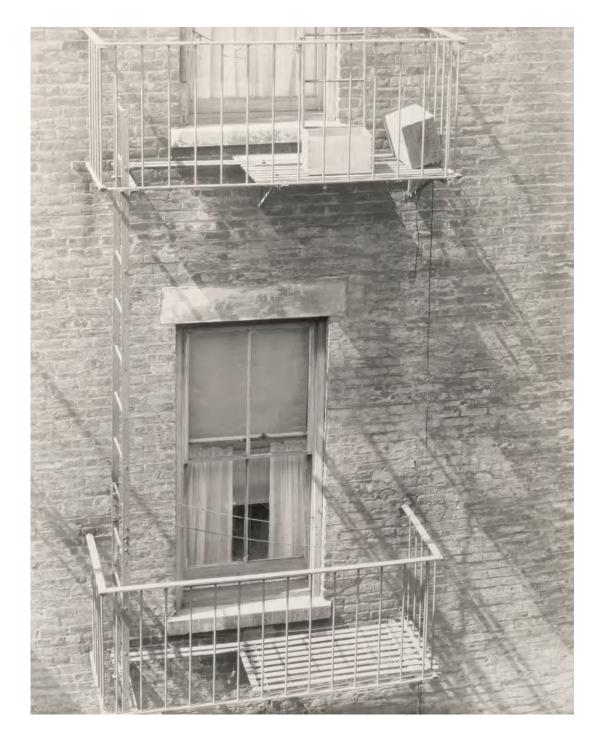
- 4 Equivalent. 1925
  Gelatin silver print
  41% × 3% in. (11.9 × 9.2 cm)
  Alfred Stieglitz Collection.
  Gift of Georgia O'Keeffe, 1950
- Equivalent. 1929
  Gelatin silver print
  41% × 3% in. (11.9 × 9.2 cm)
  Alfred Stieglitz Collection.
  Gift of Georgia O'Keeffe, 1950

#### **Edward Steichen**

American, born Luxembourg, 1879-1973

6 Laughing Boxes. c. 1922
Gelatin silver print
9% × 7% in. (24.4 × 19.4 cm)
Bequest of Grace M. Mayer, 1997

Backbone and Ribs of a Sunflower. 1921 Platinum print 7% × 9½ in. (19.3 × 24.2 cm) Bequest of Grace M. Mayer, 1997



Imogen Cunningham
American, 1883-1976

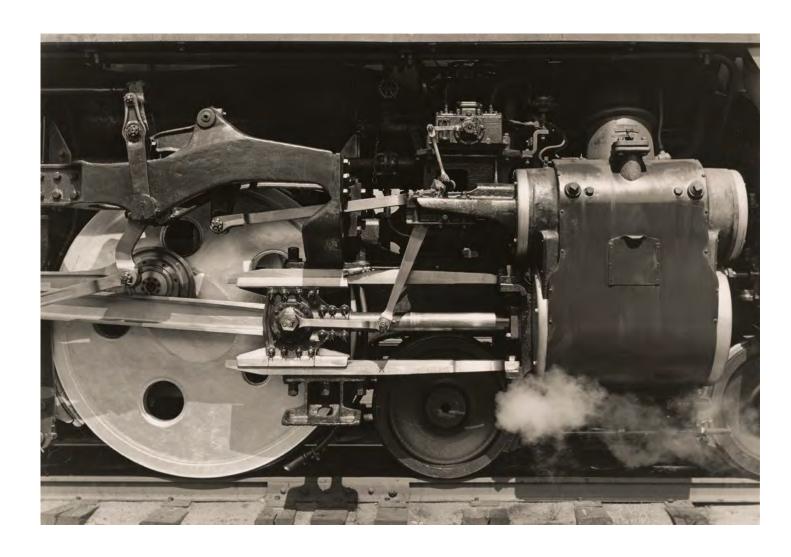
Magnolia Blossom. 1925 Gelatin silver print 6% × 8½ in. (17.1 × 21.6 cm) Gift of Albert M. Bender, 1939





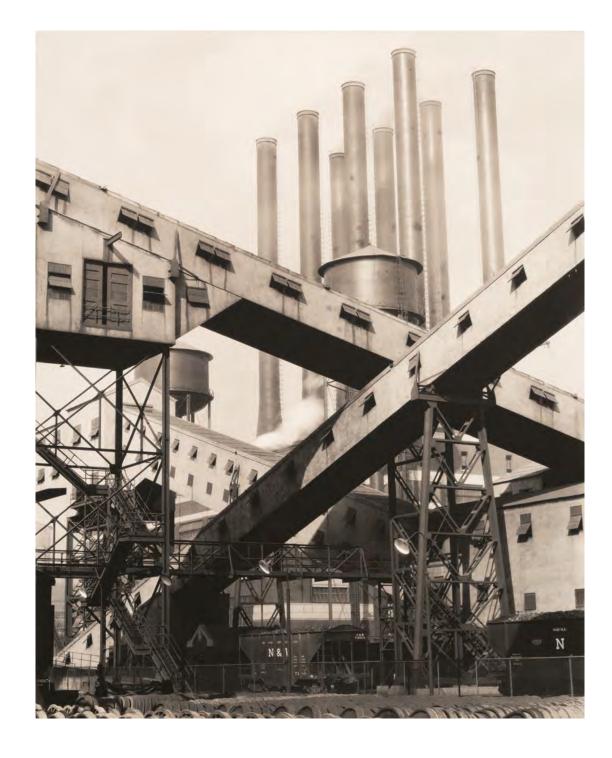
#### **Charles Sheeler**

American, 1883-1965



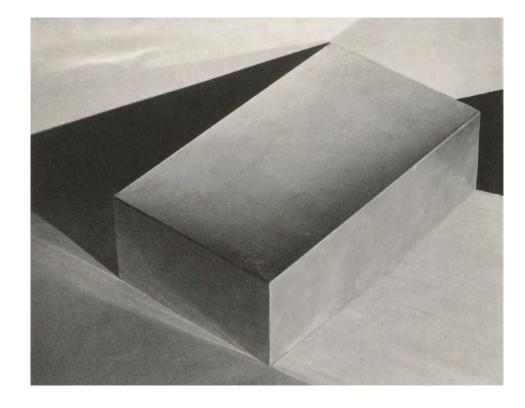
9 Wheels. 1939
Gelatin silver print
6% × 9% in. (16.8 × 24.4 cm)
Anonymous gift, 1943

Criss-Crossed Conveyors, River Rouge Plant, Ford Motor Company. 1927 Gelatin silver print, printed 1941 9% × 7½ in. (23.9 × 19 cm) Gift of Lincoln Kirstein, 1941



# Paul Outerbridge

American, 1896-1958







Saltine Box. 1922

Platinum print

3% × 4½ in. (9 × 11.5 cm)

Gift of David H. McAlpin, 1968

- 12 Ide Collar. 1922

  Platinum print  $4\% \times 3\%$  in. (11.9 × 9.2 cm)
  Gift of the artist, 1957
  (promoted 1972)
- 13 H-O Box. 1923
  Platinum print
  4% × 3% in. (11.3 × 8.4 cm)
  Edward Steichen Fund, 1972

American, 1886-1958

14 Armco Steel, Ohio. October 1922
Palladium print
9 1/16 × 6 1/2 in. (23 × 17.4 cm)
Thomas Walther Collection.
Gift of Thomas Walther, 2001

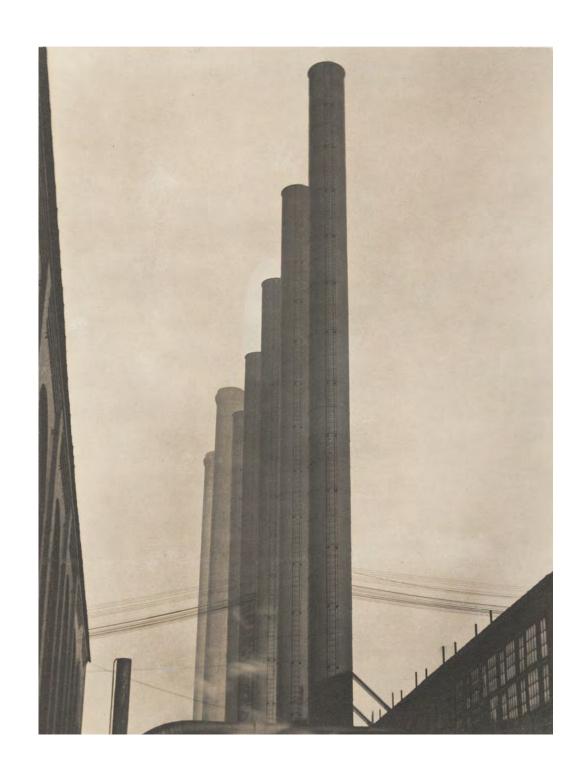
Nude. 1925

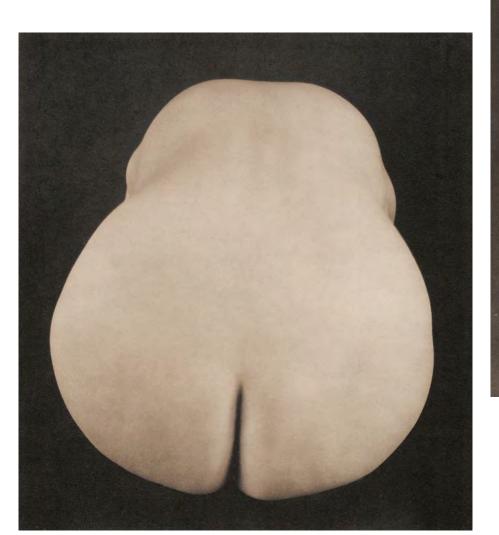
Palladium print

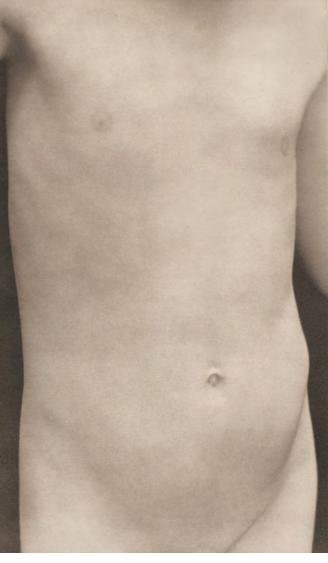
8% × 7% in. (21.2 × 19.3 cm)

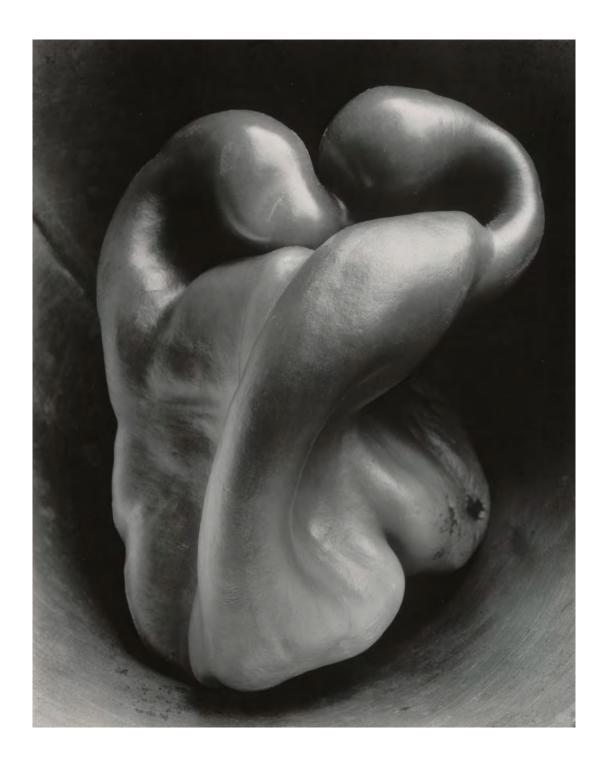
Gift of David H. McAlpin, 1956

Torso of Neil. 1925
Palladium print
9% × 5% in. (23.3 × 14.2 cm)
Purchase, 1966











Nude on Sand. 1936
Gelatin silver print
7% × 9% in. (19.3 × 24.4 cm)
Gift of David H. McAlpin, 1968



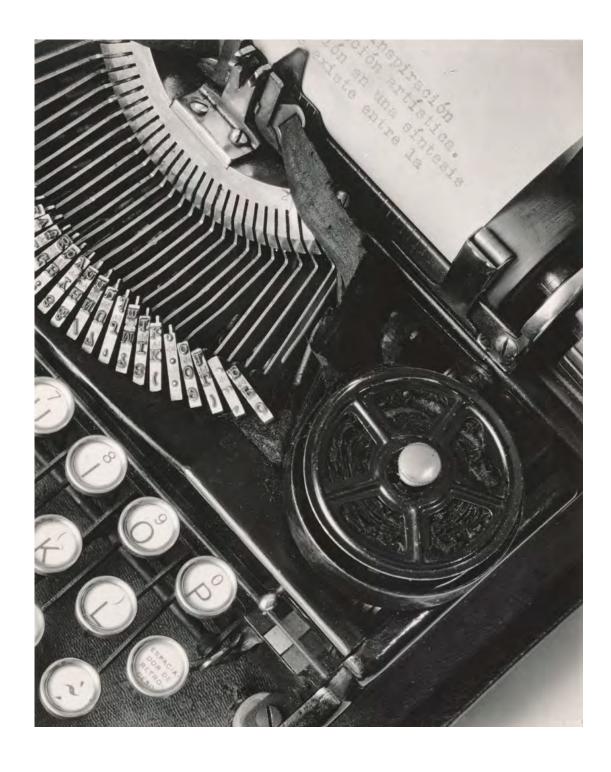
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79 Telephone Wires, Mexico. 1925
Palladium print
81% × 6 % in. (22.8 × 16.1 cm)
Gift of Dorothy M. Hoskins, 1959



- Palladium print 7% × 8½ in. (18.8 × 21.6 cm) Gift of Edward Weston, 1944
- 21 Worker's Hands. 1927 Palladium print 7½ × 8‰ in. (19 × 21.5 cm) Anonymous gift, 1965







Italian, 1896-1942

Mella's Typewriter. 1928 Gelatin silver print  $9\% \times 7\%$  in. (24 × 19.2 cm) Anonymous gift, 1965



# **Charles Sheeler**

American, 1883-1965

Cactus and Photographer's Lamp, New York. 1931
Gelatin silver print
9½ × 6% in. (23.5 × 16.6 cm)
Gift of Samuel M. Kootz, 1942

O American Modernism





American, 1890-1976

Gelatin silver print
9% × 7% in. (24.5 × 19.4 cm)
John Parkinson III Fund, 1976



# **Doris Ulmann**

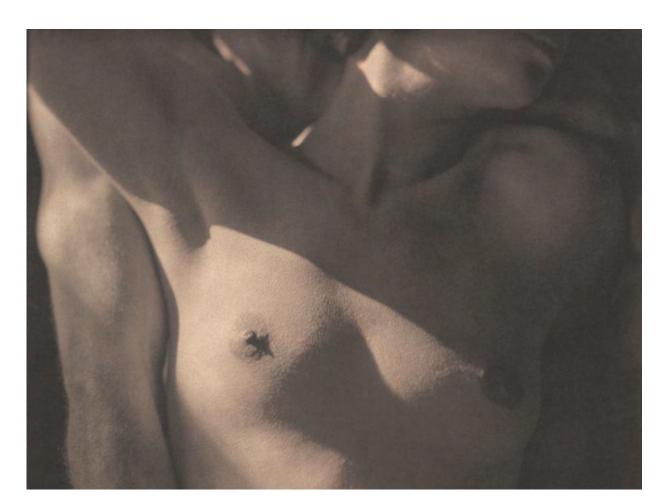
American, 1882-1934

Untitled (1929–31), from the book *Roll, Jordan, Roll,* by Julia Peterkin and Doris Ulmann. 1933

Photogravure 8% × 6% in. (21.8 × 16.4 cm) Gift of Blanchette Hooker Rockefeller, 1974

2 American Modernism







# Imogen Cunningham

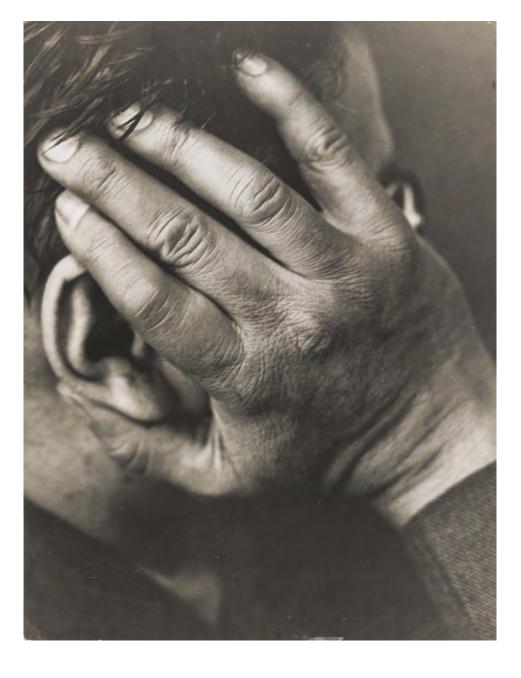
American, 1883-1976

26 Figures No. 1. 1923

Palladium print

7% × 9% in. (18.1 × 24.1 cm)

Gift of Albert M. Bender, 1940



#### <

# Alfred Stieglitz

American, 1864-1946

27 Dorothy True. 1919
Palladium print
7% × 9% in. (19.3 × 24.3 cm)
Alfred Stieglitz Collection.
Gift of Georgia O'Keeffe, 1950

# **Sherril Schell**

American, 1877-1967

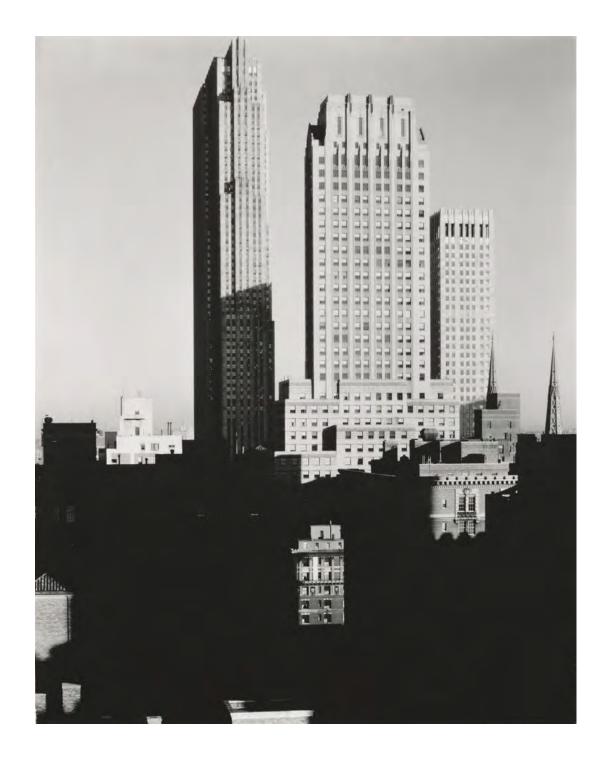
Hand of José Clemente Orozco. 1929–30
Gelatin silver print
9% × 7½ in. (24.9 × 19 cm)
John Parkinson III Fund, 1986

# Ralph Steiner

American, 1899-1986

29 American Rural Baroque. 1930
Gelatin silver print
7½ × 9½ in. (19 × 24.1 cm)
Gift of Lincoln Kirstein, 1938





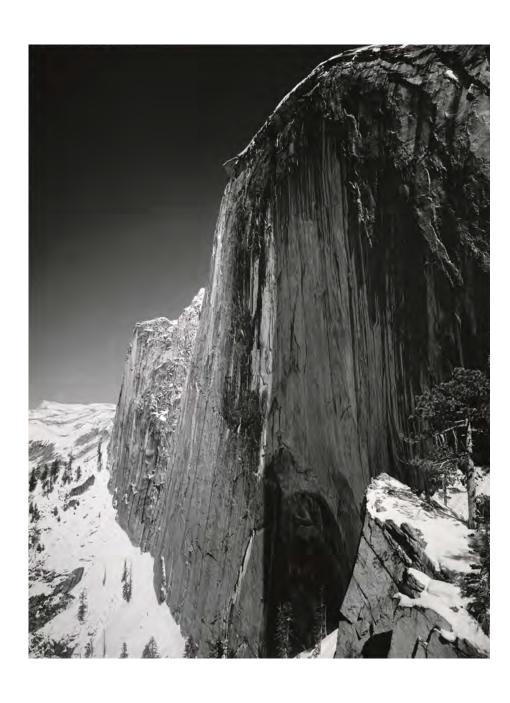
# Alfred Stieglitz

American, 1864-1946

Gelatin silver print
9½ × 7½ in. (24.2 × 19 cm)
Alfred Stieglitz Collection.
Gift of Georgia O'Keeffe, 1950

#### **Ansel Adams**

American, 1902-1984



Monolith, the Face of Half Dome, Yosemite Valley. 1927 Gelatin silver print 7% × 5% in. (19.7 × 14.6 cm) Gift of Albert M. Bender, 1939



Moonrise, Hernandez, New Mexico. 1941 Gelatin silver print 14% × 19 in. (37.8 × 48.3 cm) Gift of the artist, 1943

#### American, 1902-1984











Surf Sequence. 1940

Five gelatin silver prints

Four prints: 8 × 9% in. (20.3 × 24.4 cm);
one print: 8 × 10% in. (20.3 × 25.7 cm)

David H. McAlpin Fund, 1941



# **Edward Weston**

American, 1886-1958

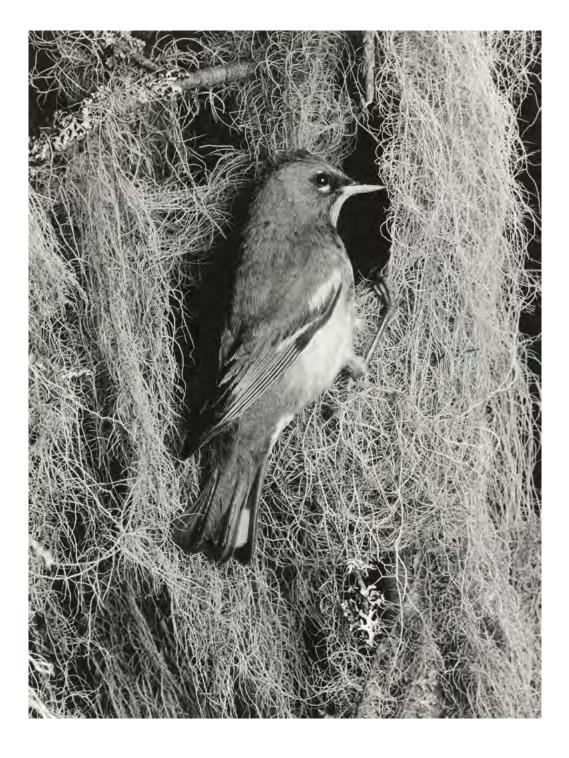
34 Dunes, Oceano. 1934
Gelatin silver print
7% × 9% in. (19.2 × 24.4 cm)
Gift of Merle Armitage, 1935

#### **Eliot Porter**

American, 1901-1990

Northern Parula Warbler.
June 30, 1940
Gelatin silver print

Gelatin silver print 8% × 6½ in. (22.2 × 16.5 cm) Gift of the artist, 1942



#### **Brett Weston**

American, 1911-1993



American, born Italy, 1905-1999





36 Broken Window. 1937
Gelatin silver print
7½ × 9¾ in. (19 × 24.4 cm)
Gift of Albert M. Bender, 1939

Glass. 1943 Gelatin silver print 7½ × 9½ in. (19 × 24.1 cm) Nelson Rockefeller Fund, 1969

# The New Photographer

1920 1940

> Josef Albers El Lissitzky **Gertrud Arndt** Man Ray Lucia Moholy **Herbert Bayer** Aenne Biermann László Moholy-Nagy Ilse Bing Walter A. Peterhans Karl Blossfeldt Albert Renger-Patzsch

Max Burchartz ringl + pit

Aleksandr Rodchenko Paul Citroen

Andreas Feininger Franz Roh T. Lux Feininger Hajo Rose **Werner David Feist** Willi Ruge Jaromír Funke **August Sander Christian Schad Raoul Hausmann** Florence Henri Osamu Shiihara Hilde Hubbuch Jan Tschichold Lotte Jacobi Umbo

Iwao Yamawaki

**Edmund Kesting** 

Germaine Krull

## The New Photographer: **Propositions for the Future**

Roxana Marcoci

In the 1920s the most ambitious currents of avant-garde thought flowed through works in photography and film, away from painting and sculpture, where they had previously been most visible. Many artists began to make the transition from heavy fixed cameras to portable, lightweight 35mm cameras (in particular the Leica), used with perforated film and wide-aperture lenses, and they began to work at higher film speeds and experiment with montage, seriality, and dynamic modes of media production. The ethos of this new machine age was best summarized by the artist El Lissitzky, who in 1922 declared the demise of traditional easel painting: "The [painted] picture fell apart together with the old world which it had created for itself. The new world will not need little pictures. If it needs a mirror, it has the photograph and the cinema."1 The new breed of photographer explored the medium using a profusion of unconventional lens-based and darkroom techniques—multiple exposures, photograms, X-rays, light-space modulators, typophotographs, and photomontages—which the artist and Bauhaus theorist László Moholy-Nagy collected under the name Neue Optik or Neues Sehen (New Vision).

Through both his writing and his own photographybased practice, Moholy-Nagy became an influential figure behind this new critical theory of photography. In his short 1922 manifesto, "Produktion-Reproduktion," written with his wife, Lucia Moholy, he argued that new sensory experiences and expanded consciousness could be achieved by combining the reproducible formats of mass media (photography, film, and sound recording) with artistic intention. In Malerei Photographie Film (Painting Photography Film, 1925), a book produced under the auspices of the Bauhaus, he further asserted that photography and cinema heralded a new culture of light, which had overtaken the most innovative aspects of painting.2 Moholy-Nagy's championing of photography and film as the mediums of the future spurred a remarkable spate of international photography

El Lissitzky, "The Conquest of

Art," 1922; quoted in Peter Nisbet,

"Lissitzky and Photography," in

El Lissitzky, 1890-1941: Architect,

(Eindhoven, the Netherlands:

Paris/ARC, 1990), p. 66.

Painter, Photographer, Typographer

Municipal Van Abbemuseum; Madrid

Fundación Caja de Pensiones; Paris

Musée d'Art moderne de la Ville de

exhibitions in interwar Germany, the most significant of which was the Deutscher Werkbund's multivenue Film und Foto, or Fifo, in 1929–30.3 Accompanied by two books-Franz Roh and Jan Tschichold's Foto-Auge (Photo-eye, plate 44) and Werner Gräff's Es kommt *der neue Fotograf!* (Here comes the new photographer!), both of which would come to define the epoch—*Fifo* established photography as the Kunstwollen, or artistic will, of modernist culture, which would map the entire field of optical, spatial, and social transformations.

Foto-Auge demonstrated the range of New Vision

experiments, with contributions by artists including Lissitzky, Moholy-Nagy, Herbert Bayer, Florence Henri, Man Ray, Albert Renger-Patzsch, Walter Peterhans, and Umbo. Roh and Tschichold selected Lissitzky's Self-Portrait (Constructor) (Avtoportret [Konstruktor], 1924; plate 43) for the cover of *Foto-Auge*. In this picture—a combination of photogram, photomontage, drawing, and collage-Lissitzky superimposed his hand, which holds a compass on a sheet of graph paper, over a shot of his head that explicitly highlights his eye: insight, this image implies, passes through the eye to the hand, and through the hand to the tools of production. Like Max Burchartz's *Lotte (Eye)* (*Lotte [Auge]*, 1928; plate 86), an enlarged, tightly cropped close-up of the artist's daughter (also included in *Foto-Auge*), Lissitzky's photomontage places the act of seeing at center stage. Yet this portrait of the artist as a constructor or an engineer in the service of society was conceived during Lissitzky's short-lived Dada interlude, when he was recovering from tuberculosis in Switzerland and was in steady contact with Kurt Schwitters, Hans Arp, and Raoul Hausmann. The image can be understood as a critique of the Enlightenment project of self-knowledge; in a letter to his partner, Sophie Küppers, from that time, Lissitzky embraced human irrationality, even bestiality, referring to the image of his palm as "my monkey-hand." Lissitzky's self-portrait contests the idea that straight photography can provide a single, unmediated truth: rather, it proposes a bifurcated artistic identity through complex montage procedures and a conceptual shift in the understanding of what a picture can be.

Lissitzky continued to experiment with the montage technique in the years after his return to the Soviet Union. During that time he began to describe his work as fotopis (painting with photographs), a neologism that

László Moholy-Nagy and Lucia Moholy, The late 1920s and early 1930s saw a remarkable series of international "Produktion-Reproduktion," De Stijl 5, no. 7 (July 1922): 98-100: and Moholy exhibitions in Germany devoted to New Nagy, Malerei Photographie Film Vision photography. The most significant of these was Fifo, which included some one thousand works from Europe, the Soviet Union, and the United States, but also Neue Wege der Photographie (Jena, 1928), Pressa (Cologne, 1928), Fotografie der Gegenwart (Essen, 1929), Das Lichtbild (Munich 1930) and Fotomontage (Berlin, 1931).

See Paul Galvez, "Self-Portrait of the Artist as a Monkey-Hand," October 93 (Summer 2000): 109.

first appeared in the title of a maguette for a mural version of Runner in the City (Record) (Begun v gorode [Rekord], 1926; plate 45), itself a work constructed entirely from images by other photographers.<sup>5</sup> Made when Lissitzky was working with members of the Association of New Architects (ASNOVA) on a commission for a sports complex in Moscow, the photomontage combines images to quasicinematic effect: a runner, a track and hurdle, and a prolonged double-exposure of Broadway at night, shot by Lissitzky's architect friend Knut Lönberg-Holm and previously published in Erich Mendelsohn's album Amerika: Bilderbuch eines Architekten (America: An Architect's Picture Book, 1926). In Record, Lissitzky's fascination with simultaneity, kineticism, and Americanism combine in a nod to Paul Citroen's Metropolis (Weltstadt, 1923; plate 46), a kaleidoscopic view woven out of myriad cut-out fragments of skyscrapers, unmoored from both their locations around the world and from the magazines and postcards that depicted them. Citroen's futuristic vision of densely built urban blocks with superstructures looming over them inspired Fritz Lang in his 1927 Expressionist science-fiction film of the same name.

Aleksandr Rodchenko, who along with Lissitzky was a leading figure of the young Soviet nation's vanguard, advocated photomechanical processes and cinematic montage in order to build networks of communication for the transmission and amplification of collective social knowledge. Rodchenko collaborated with the progressive writers Osip Brik, Nikolai Aseev, Sergei Tret'iakov, and Vladimir Mayakovsky on covers and layouts for the journals *LEF* (Left) and *Novyi LEF* (New left). Mayakovsky was also the subject of Rodchenko's first photographic portraits (1924, plate 39) and was featured in the collages he made for the covers of the poet's Razgovor c fininspektorom o poesii (Conversation with the finance inspector about poetry, 1926). Rodchenko and his cohorts popularized the idea of "factography"—an avant-garde practice that involved the wielding of facts as a countermodel for the propaganda of Socialist Realismthrough these journals and other documentary projects that recorded the advanced technical and cultural revolutions of the 1920s. The aim of the factographic group was not to veridically reflect reality but to actively redefine it through their work.<sup>6</sup> Dziga Vertov, a filmmaker and associate of the LEF writers, urged, "We must form a FILM FACTORY OF FACTS" by "filming facts.

Sorting facts. Disseminating facts. Agitating with facts. Propaganda with facts. Fists made of facts." To these ends, Rodchenko was committed to actively transforming reality, in pictures such as Mother (Mat', 1924; plate 38), Pioneer Girl (Pionerka, 1930; plate 41), and Assembling for a Demonstration (Sbor na demonstratsiiu, 1928–30; plate 42). He eschewed the conventional, straightforward belly-button view, instead favoring fragmentary closeups and extreme camera angles to generate new types of images that would energize a mass audience. Rodchenko had some experience with film (he had worked on the titles for Vertov's 1922 Kino Pravda newsreel), and in his first theoretical article on photography, published in 1928 in Novyi LEF, he argued for a cinematic, fractured representation of subjects. Chauffeur (Shofer, 1929; plate 40) is one such work: it captures the reflections of both driver and photographer within the radically compressed space of the car's rearview mirror, with the driver's pipe isolated outside the mirror on its own plane. Rodchenko favored montage and seriality as a way of getting at a kind of truth, such that "with the appearance of photographs, there can be no question of a single immutable portrait. A man is not just one sum total; he is many and sometimes they are quite opposed."8

This reinvention of portraiture as an intersection of film and still photography was contemporary with and methodologically similar to the ideas of Josef Albers, who had integrated photomontage exercises into the Bauhaus's Vorkurs (preliminary course) shortly before the formal inclusion of photography in the curriculum, in 1929. Albers made small-format composite pictures of fellow Bauhauslers (such as Wassily Kandinsky, Paul Klee, Walter Gropius, Oskar Schlemmer, and others), as well as of seascapes, bullfight arenas (plate 57), mannequins, and the Eiffel Tower. He did not exhibit these collages and only rarely showed them to others during his lifetime. They were made between 1928 and 1932, when Albers was teaching at the Bauhaus in Dessau, and assembled as collages before the Nazis shuttered the school in 1933. In the late 1930s and '40s, during his tenure at Black Mountain College, in North Carolina, he continued to make smaller photocollages from travel pictures and postcards. T. Lux Feininger, a student at the Bauhaus, known for his zany pictures of the Bauhaus jazz band (c. 1929, plate 61), taught Albers to operate his new 35mm Leica—a reversal of the roles of master and pupil,

This maquette is in the Khardzhiev collection of the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam, Lissitzky annotated the work to read "Foto-freska (fotopis)/ signature

D[ziga] Vertov, "Fabrika faktov," Pravda, July 24, 1926, p. 6; English translation as "The Factory of Facts," in Kino-Eye: The Writings of Dziga Vertov, ed. Berkeley: University of California Press. Aleksandr Rodchenko, "Protiv summirovannogo portreta za momentalnyi," Novyi LEF, no. 4 (1928): 16. English translation as "Against the Synthetic Portrait, for the Snapshot, in Photography in the Modern Era: European Documents and Critical Writings, 1913-1940, ed. Christophe Phillips (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art and Aperture, 1989), p. 241.

In 1949 the architect and former Bauhaus director Walter Gropius invited Josef Albers to teach summe school at Harvard University, on which of his photographs to the university's Busch-Reisinger Museum

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See "Soviet Factography," ed. Devin Fore, special issue, October 118 (Fall 2006).

which Albers encouraged. 10 By placing contact prints from 35mm negatives side by side with enlargements of those negatives on cardboard mounts, Albers explored the structure of duration and multiple timeframes. Portraits of El Lissitzky (1930, plate 59) and Marli Heimann, which bears the inscription "alle während 1 stunde," or "all during an hour" (1931, plate 58), aggregate sequential views in a montage akin to a filmstrip.

Herbert Bayer, who taught typography and advertising at the Bauhaus from 1925 to 1928, is featured in one such portrait. Bayer's productive relationship with Albers led to Bayer's own experiments in photography and montage. He began taking pictures in 1928 with a Leica, and he quickly moved from unmanipulated photographs to dramatic and bold montages. A series of eleven photomontages titled Man and Dream (Mensch und Traum) includes *Humanly Impossible (Self-Portrait)* (Menschen unmöglich [Selbstporträt], 1932; plate 70), in which the artist observes himself in a mirror that turns his reflected self into marble with a section of his arm sliced away, so that he appears to be an armless classical statue. This portrait visually dispenses with the idea of the unitary self, as does one taken by Peterhans of Andor Weininger (1930, plate 66); both denaturalize the idealized and unvielding image of the Aryan physique that dominated Nazi art and mass culture in Germany in the 1930s.<sup>11</sup>

As an image that both records and alters appearance, Humanly Impossible makes obvious use of Dada and Surrealist tactics and invites comparison with the work of Florence Henri, who often coupled montage and rupture in order to play with spatial extension and fragmentation in confounding self-portraits and still lifes with mirrors (plate 85). In 1927 Henri attended a summer course at the Bauhaus, and in the school's collegiate atmosphere she became close friends with Lucia Moholy, who shared her expertise in photography. (Moholy's portrait of Henri [1927, plate 63] is striking by dint of its asymmetrical composition and tight framing.) Henri moved to Paris in 1929, where she set up a photographic studio that would rival Man Ray's in popularity, as well as a school where Lisette Model and Gisèle Freund, among others, enrolled. Henri's use of mirrors, prisms, and reflective objects to frame, isolate, double, or otherwise interact with her subjects influenced the spatial investigations of other artists, especially Ilse Bing, who began photographing in 1929. Bing contributed pictures to Das illustriete Blatt,

a monthly supplement of the illustrated magazine Frankfurter Illustriete. In 1930 she moved to Paris, where her circle of acquaintances included Henri Cartier-Bresson, Man Ray, and Brassaï and where she came to be known as "Queen of the Leica" for her skill with the handheld camera. To create the staged Self-Portrait with Leica (1931, plate 52), she mounted the camera on a tabletop tripod and looked across the cap of the viewfinder into the mirror, thus joining her frontal and profile views in an intricate interplay of lens and gaze. Although Bing avoided affiliating herself with any movement in particular, her work in photojournalism and interest in geometric formalism loosely aligned her with the Neue Sachlichkeit (New Objectivity) tendencies of New Vision photography. Neue Sachlichkeit, a term coined in 1925 by the art

critic Gustav Hartlaub to distinguish contemporary developments in German painting from their academic predecessors, was quickly adopted to describe the most radical innovations in what was known as "photographic photography": straight, sharply focused images that included experiments with macroscopic close-ups and structural details and was rooted in proficiency with the *Objectiv* (camera lens). <sup>12</sup> In 1929 Peterhans joined the Bauhaus faculty as head of its first specialized photography workshop. Peterhans advocated what he called photographisch Sehen (photographic seeing), a new school of seeing and a new way of ordering that vision in the world. 13 His theory of photography as an empiric and conceptual medium was instrumental to students such as Grete Stern, who noted, "Peterhans taught me how to create a vision of what I wanted to reproduce before using the camera."14 Stern—alongside Henri, Lotte Jacobi, and Germaine Krull, among others—would go on to play a critical role in redefining the cultural agency of women, pushing the boundaries of new cultural freedoms. They were professional artists who experimented creatively with photography, voted, and enjoyed sexual independence. Stern embraced both commercial and avant-garde work, and in 1930 she and Ellen Auerbach established ringl + pit, a feminist commercial studio in Berlin (it was named for their childhood nicknames: "ringl" was Stern, "pit," Auerbach). They coauthored their production, fostering a groundbreaking artistic alliance that subverted the clichéd cult of the master. The studio, in operation for three years before the artists—concerned with pandemic racial and political discrimination—decided to shut

down, specialized in portraiture, advertising, and experimental still lifes (plate 67) that revealed unfamiliar structural details through close-ups and precise lighting.

Krull's life was as multifaceted as her practice, which included pioneering work in avant-garde photomontage, photographic books, and photojournalism. Her early left-wing political activism led to her being expelled from Munich; from there she went to Russia, where in 1921 she was incarcerated for her counterrevolutionary support of the Free France movement against Adolf Hitler. She subsequently moved to the Netherlands and joined Filmliga, the avant-garde film collective cofounded by Joris Ivens, whom she would later marry. In 1926 she settled in Paris, where she met the artists Robert Delaunay and Sonia Delaunay-Terk and the writers André Malraux, Jean Cocteau, Colette, and André Gide, all of whom became subjects in her photographic portraits (plates 134 136). Krull's artistic breakthrough came in 1928, when she was hired as a staff photographer for the nascent magazine VU. Along with André Kertész and Éli Lotar, she took radically modernist pictures that formed a new kind of photojournalism, one rooted in freedom of expression and closeness to her subjects-all facilitated by her small-format Icarette camera. During this period she published Metal (Métal, 1928; plate 79), a series of sixty-four images of modernist industrial architecture and engineering-cranes, machines, suspension bridges in Rotterdam and Marseilles, the Eiffel Tower-shot in muscular close-up and from vertiginous angles. Metal features both multiple exposures and straight images, and it owes its structure to that of film montage, especially to Ivens's experiments with montage in his short documentary Der Brug (The Bridge, 1928), and to the theories of montage and rupture formulated by the Soviet filmmakers Vsevolod Pudovkin and Sergei Eisenstein. The cultural critic Walter Benjamin praised Krull for her political advocacy and radical visual aesthetics, aligning her with New Objectivity photographers such as Karl Blossfeldt (plate 77) and August Sander (plates 80–83). 15

People of the Twentieth Century (Menschen des 20. Jahrhunderts), the monumental collection that Sander worked on over most of his career, is a case study in New Objectivity. Made up of more than six hundred portraits of different professions, social classes, and character types in German society, it divides these images into seven groups according to sociological classifications:

Der Bauer (The farmer); Der Handwerker (The skilled tradesman); Die Frau (The woman); Die Stände (Classes and professions); Die Künstler (The artists); Die Großstadt (The city); and Die letzten Menschen (The last people). Sander published sixty of these portraits in Antlitz der Zeit (Face of Our Time, 1929), with an introduction by the novelist Alfred Döblin, whose Berlin Alexanderplatz was published the same year. Döblin noted that "Sander has succeeded in writing sociology not by writing, but by producing photographs."16 The volume was acclaimed by critics. Benjamin saluted Sander's unearthing of the layers of German social order, declaring the book to be "more than a picture book. It is a training manual."17 Walker Evans, in Hound & Horn in 1931, likened Sander's analytic method to that of a scientist.18 After the censors of the Third Reich banned the book in 1936—its subjects did not adhere to the standards of the ideal Aryan type-Sander quietly continued to make additional portraits. On the eve of World War II he moved from Cologne to the small village of Kuchhausen, and he took along his most prized glass plates; the thirty thousand he left behind were destroyed after the war in a fire. The surviving negatives and vintage prints are the only extant evidence of the most ambitious sociological document of the twentieth century.

Although the photography of New Vision and New Objectivity began with the fertile exchange of Soviet and German artists, it soon branched out into other countries, its fresh ideas and stylistic developments appearing in magazines in France, Czechoslovakia, the Netherlands, and Hungary, and even as far afield as Japan and the United States, although not in uniform ways and sometimes displaying contradictory tactics. The years between 1922 and 1932 produced a progressive new breed of photographer, one actively engaged with avant-garde tendencies that radically revised European modernism by questioning the ways art might be reimagined in an emerging technological landscape. After 1933, with the rise of the Stalinist and Fascist regimes, many of the artists associated with New Vision ideas were forced into silence or political exile. But their legacy remains. By turns visionary and factual, the short period between the two world wars—with its emphasis on proficiency with the camera and modernist visual culture—endures as one of the richest in photographic history.

The New Photographer

<sup>—— 10</sup>T. Lux Feininger, in Karen E. Haas,
Josef Albers in Black and White
(Boston: Boston University Art Gallery,
2000), p. 11.

The premier sculptors of the Third Reich, such as Arno Breker and Josef Thorak, celebrated the muscular masculine body as a symbol of Aryan health and strength.

The wordplay of objectiv, which in German means both "objective" and "camera lens," is noted in T'ai Smith, "Limits of the Tactile and the Optical: Bauhaus Fabric in the Frame of Photography," Grey Room 25 (Fall 2006): 12.

Walter Peterhans, "Zum gegenwärtigen Stand der Fotografie," ReD 3, no. 5 (1930): 138–40.

Grete Stern, in Josep Vincent Monzó, introduction to *Grete Stern*, trans. Karel Clapshaw (Valencia: Institut Valencià d'Art Modern, 1995), p. 182.

Walter Benjamin, "Kleine Geschichte der Photographie," *Litterarische Welt*, September 18 and 25 and October 2, 1931. English translation as "A Small History of Photography," in *One Way Street and Other Writings*, trans. Edmund Jephcott and Kingsley Shorte (London: NLB, 1979), pp. 254–55.

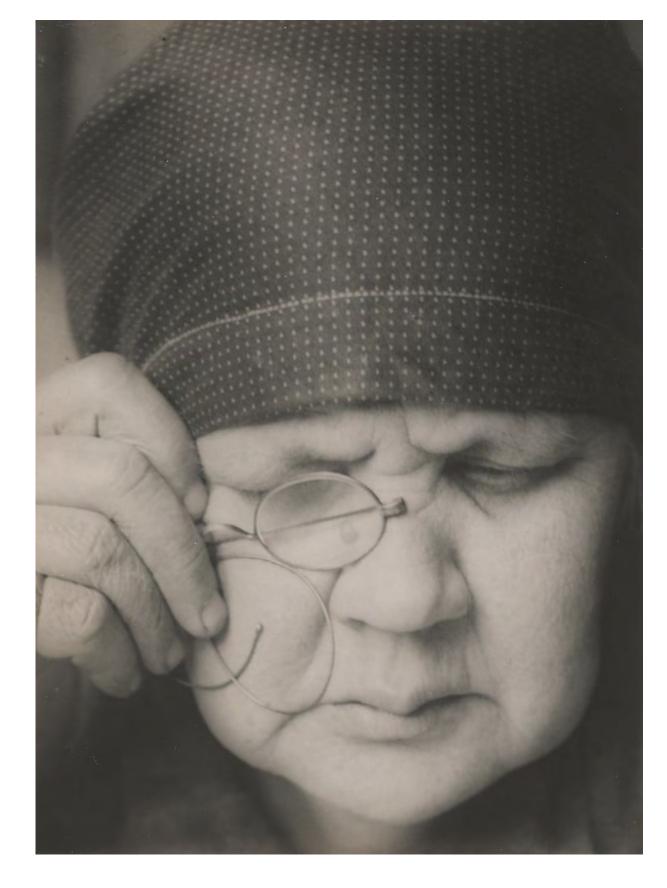
Alfred Döblin, "Von Gesinchtern Bildern und ihrer Wahrheit" in August Sander, Antlitz der Zeit: Sechzig Aufnahmen deutscher Menschen des 20. Jahrhunderts (Munich: Kurt Wolff, 1929). English translation as "Faces, Images, and Their Truth," in Sander, Face of Our Time, trans. Michael Robertson (Munich: Schirmer/Mosel, 1994), p. 13.

<sup>—— 17</sup> Benjamin, "A Small History of Photography," p. 252.

Walker Evans, "The Reappearance of Photography," *Hound & Horn*, October–December 1931, p. 128.

38 Mother (Mat'). 1924
Gelatin silver print
8% × 6½ in. (22.5 × 16.5 cm)
Gift of the Rodchenko family, 1998

39 Vladimir Mayakovsky. 1924
Gelatin silver print
11% × 8% in. (29.5 × 20.8 cm)
Gift of the Rodchenko family, 1998



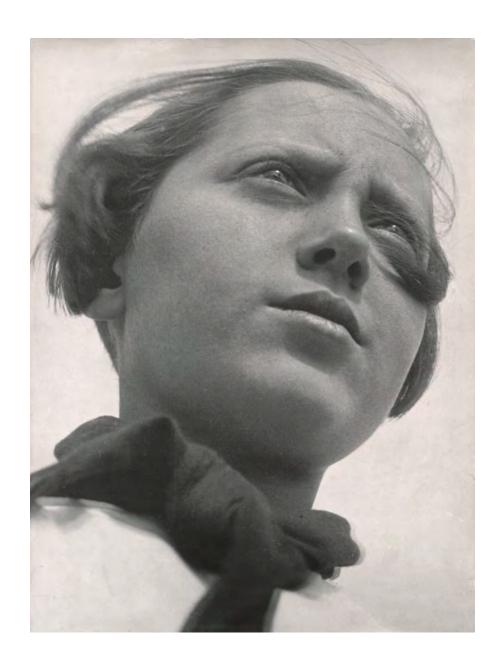


#### **Aleksandr Rodchenko**

Russian, 1891-1956



Gelatin silver print
11% × 16½ in. (29.8 × 41.8 cm)
Mr. and Mrs. John Spencer Fund, 1970



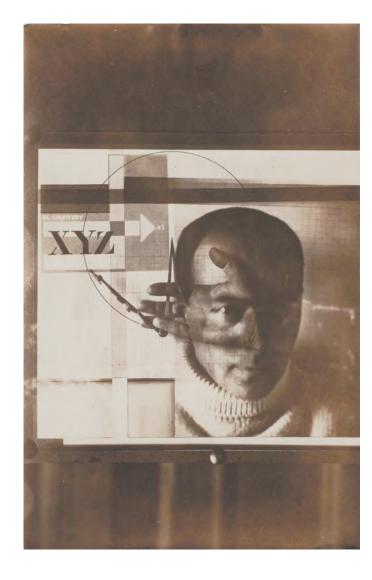
Pioneer Girl (Pionerka). 1930
Gelatin silver print
19½ × 14‰ in. (49.6 × 37 cm)
Gift of Alex Lachmann and friends
of the Rodchenko family, 1994

Assembling for a Demonstration (Sbor na demonstratsiiu). 1928–30 Gelatin silver print 19½ × 13½ in. (49.5 × 35.3 cm) Mr. and Mrs. John Spencer Fund, 1970



#### El Lissitzky

Russian, 1890-1941



Self-Portrait (Constructor)
(Avtoportret [Konstruktor]). 1924
Gelatin silver print
5½ × 3½ in. (13.9 × 8.9 cm)
Thomas Walther Collection. Gift of Shirley C. Burden, by exchange, 2001

>

45 Runner in the City (Record)
(Begun v gorode [Rekord]). 1926
Gelatin silver print

Gelatin silver print 10½ × 8½ in. (26.7 × 22.4 cm) Thomas Walther Collection. Gift of Thomas Walther, 2001

# Franz Roh

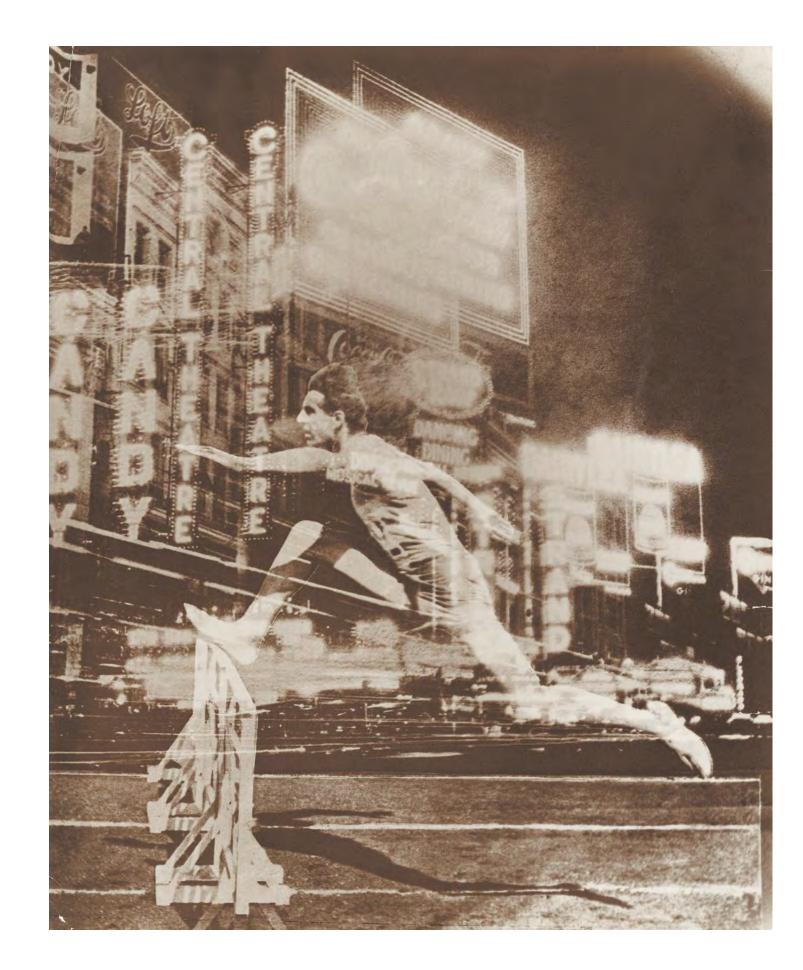
German, 1890-1965

#### Jan Tschichold

Swiss, born Germany, 1902–1974

44 Foto-Auge: 76 Fotos der Zeit (Photo-eye: 76 photos of the time). 1929 Book with letterpress cover by El Lissitzky Page: 11% × 8% in. (29.5 × 20.5 cm) Publisher: F. Wedekind, Stuttgart Gift of The Judith Rothschild Foundation, 2001



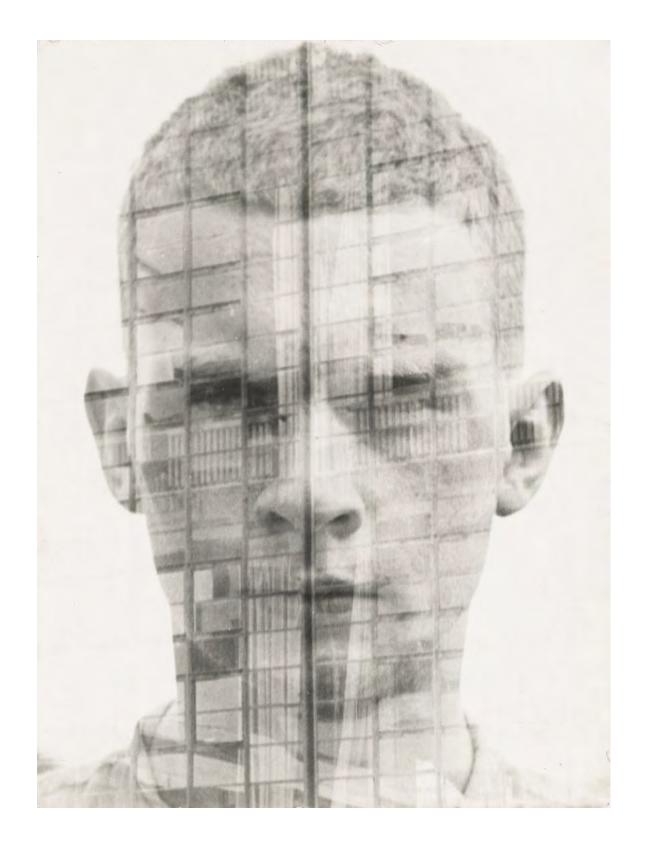






Dutch, born Germany, 1896–1983

46 Metropolis (Weltstadt). 1923
Gelatin silver print
8 × 6 in. (20.3 × 15.3 cm)
Thomas Walther Collection.
Gift of Thomas Walther, 2001



# Hajo Rose

German, 1910-1989

47 Untitled (self-portrait). 1931
Gelatin silver print
9% × 7% in. (23.9 × 17.9 cm)
Thomas Walther Collection.
Gift of Thomas Walther, 2001



# **Christian Schad**

German, 1894-1982

Schadograph. 1919
Gelatin silver printing-out-paper print (photogram)
6% × 5 in. (16.8 × 12.7 cm)
Purchase, 1937

# Man Ray

American, 1890-1976

49 Rayograph. 1922
Gelatin silver print (photogram)
9% × 11% in. (23.9 × 29.9 cm)
Gift of James Thrall Soby, 1941



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title even if not assigned by the artist;

in parentheses to some untitled works.

A subtitle in quotation marks and roman

type indicates a caption that appeared

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