

César Domela-Nieuwenhuis and the Art of Photomontage

ANDRÉS MARIO ZERVIGÓN

Some time around the year 1930, the increasingly famous Dutch artist César Domela-Nieuwenhuis set to work designing a brochure (*prospekt* in German) for the port of Hamburg.¹ The photomontage *Hamburg, Germany's Gateway to the World* (*Hamburg, Deutschlands Tor zur Welt*; fig. 1), now in the Thomas Walther Collection at The Museum of Modern Art, reportedly graced the cover of what was essentially intended to be promotional literature for the large north German city. This fact would already make Domela's work noteworthy, given that it neatly represents the move of many fine artists from the isolation of their bohemian garrets to the popular realm of advertising, where they could disseminate the fruit of their avant-garde experimentation to vast audiences. But even more striking is the montage's size and quality, characteristics suggesting that Domela intended this enlarged version to be placed in an exhibition venue, where the piercing eyes of critics, as well as everyday gallery-goers, could inspect the work carefully. *Hamburg* is, in other words, most likely a showpiece produced by one of the era's leading advocates of photomontage in the realization of a high-end commission. As such, the object demands careful attention.

CÉSAR DOMELA-NEUWENHUIS

Born in 1900 to Holland's first prominent socialist, César Domela-Nieuwenhuis was well groomed for the frequently rough political terrain of avant-garde art in interwar Europe. While still in the country of his birth, he self-taught as an artist and, following World War I, moved to Switzerland, where he developed a modernist style of painting heavily influenced by Cubism and Russian Constructivism. Shortly after moving onward to Berlin in 1923, he came under the spell of the Dutch de Stijl movement, which was also referred to as Neo-Plasticism. By 1925, he was producing rectilinear compositions that betrayed his reportedly close relationships with fellow Dutchmen Piet Mondrian and Theo van Doesburg, both of whom led this aesthetic crusade. Domela's subsequent migration to applied art, and specifically to photomontage, pulled him away from a nearly exclusive engagement with de Stijl's austere pictorial mode. As the artist explained later in life:

I must say that when I began to make the first photomontages, I was rather rigid in my pictorial compositions and, after making some photomontages, I gradually became less rigid. I no longer used only straight lines, as I had before, but began introducing



fig. 1 César Domela-Nieuwenhuis. *Hamburg, Germany's Gateway to the World* (*Hamburg, Deutschlands Tor zur Welt*). 1930. Gelatin silver print, 1930–32, 15 7/8 × 16 1/2" (40.3 × 41.9 cm). The Museum of Modern Art, New York. Thomas Walther Collection. Abbott-Levy Collection funds, by exchange (MoMA 1665.2001)

*curved lines and circles into my work. This freed me, in a certain sense, from that horizontal-vertical orthodoxy of Neo-Plasticism, from which I wanted to find an escape. I would say that photomontage helped me break the rigid scheme of this style.*²

Domela's move into photobased art (particularly photomontage) and his corresponding shift in style typifies the course that many European and Russian avant-garde artists took between the wars. As talents such as László Moholy-Nagy explained, this migration allowed them to disseminate an experimental avant-garde mode, meant to train vision in modern perception, to much larger audiences, which can further help explain why Domela expanded his work into advertising.

Dutch photography historian Flip Bool has suggested, however, that the artist may also have had an underlying economic need that motivated his shift to applied art:

After the Dutch labor movement halted its financial support of the descendants of its leader, Ferdinand Domela-Nieuwenhuis, Domela became fully responsible for earning his bread and butter. For this reason he was compelled to accept assignments that were not entirely consistent with his own beliefs and ideals. Working for large industrial clients in the twenties was, for Domela and his sympathizers, surely problematic.³

Whether or not this sort of work troubled his conscience, the artist nonetheless thrived in his new field. Some time between 1927 and 1929, he partnered with artist Helene von Jecklin and photographer Hans Robertson to open the advertising design studio Domela, von Jecklin, Robertson.⁴ It quickly met with considerable success. The group's corporate clients included electric giant AEG, the lighting firm Osram, steam tank concern Ruthsspeicher, and the train and ship builder Orenstein & Koppel. It was likely under a commission awarded by the city of Hamburg to Domela's advertising studio that the Dutch artist realized the large photomontage in the Walther Collection.

HAMBURG, GERMANY'S GATEWAY TO THE WORLD

Domela's outsized photomontage is not just an extraordinary image but also a unique object. It sports an array of photo fragments that depict buildings, city overviews, steamship segments, port architecture, and maritime

crane components. These picture pieces are arranged against each other in a dynamic and almost spiral fashion, quite typical for the period. What remains utterly unique, however, is the integration of the composition's text into the montage through painted additions; these applied supplements seamlessly extend elements of the photographic fragments as emphatic underlines and thick black borders. The effect is to make the photo fragments and the black letters serve equally — and in an integrated fashion — as design elements. The stencil-like "Hamburg" and the sans-serif text below it function as design components that are no less important than the photographed balcony railings at the left. In fact, this horizontal and vertical matrix of steel seems to sprout and then support the registers of text shooting rightward at the top. The upright crane, in turn, assists with this buttressing, while its similarly constructed matrix of steel reflects the horizontal and vertical lines of its textual and balcony-bound partners. The hoist even breaks the lower of the two black registers underlining the text, thereby becoming quite literally part of the array's structure. Integrated and supported, the amalgam maintains enough strength to support Domela's eye-grabbing flourish: two cables and a hook that droop from the lower black register at the right, making for a transformation of this array into a hearty device for lifting Hamburg's copious cargo into the world of trade.



fig. 2 César Domela-Nieuwenhuis. *Ruthsspeicher*. 1928. Gelatin silver print, 15 1/2 × 11 1/4" (39.5 × 28.5 cm). Private collection. Courtesy Galleria Martini & Ronchetti, Genoa

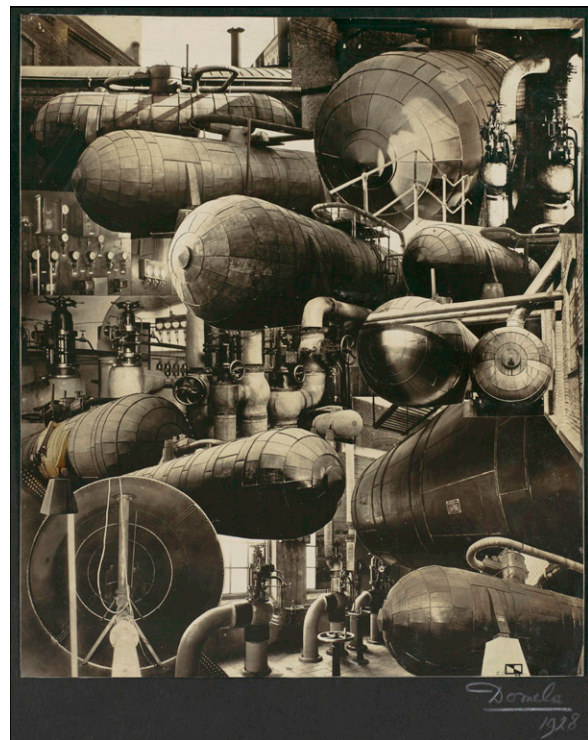


fig. 3 César Domela-Nieuwenhuis. *Photomontage: Industrial Pipes and Boilers*. 1928. Gelatin silver print, 7 5/8 × 6 9/16" (19.3 × 16.6 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Ford Motor Company Collection, Gift of Ford Motor Company and John C. Waddell. Photo: The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Image courtesy Art Resource, NY



Another effect produced by this rectilinear merging of text, line, and photo is the compositional stabilizing of an exceedingly complicated montage. As one begins a perusal at the bottom right of this spiraling work, image chunks show the city's most recognizable buildings of commerce, such as the stock exchange, with its neoclassical facade, and the sharply pointed Chilehaus, an office block built by shipping magnate Henry Sloman between 1922 and 1924. To the left is the balconylike perch that looks out onto the montaged view of Hamburg's large and busy port. Above this hubbub, ships pull forward or slip by, while funnels stack against each other in a pasted assembly that climbs skyward much like the tall buildings below, this time reaching the letter "H" of "Hamburg." Across and below the text, the eye falls onto the city's residential splendor beyond its urban watery stretches. Pulling back, one can see that the rectilinear repetitions of steel, drawn line, and text pull the composition's disparate fragments into a solid order. In this montage, one finds hectic activity and modern efficiency placed in beautiful harmony, demonstrating how this great city served as Germany's historic yet modern gateway to the world.

Around the same time that Domela made this photomontage, he reported to architect siblings Heinz and Bodo Rasch, then composing a book on the new advertising, that he regularly modeled the effect of his compositional style on the experience of film. Referring to two works he made for the Ruthsspeicher company slightly earlier (most likely in 1928; figs. 2 and 3), he noted:

The abundance of interesting details, apparent in the fabrication itself, can be best shown in a film: one wanders around the things, sees them from different angles, and perceives



fig. 4 César Domela-Nieuwenhuis. *Hamburg* (Continental Europe's Biggest Importer) (*Hamburg [Kontinentaleuropas grösster Importplatz]*). 1929. Gelatin silver print, 1981, 11 ¼ × 11 ½" (28.5 × 29.5 cm). Courtesy Galleria Martini & Ronchetti, Genoa

fig. 5 César Domela-Nieuwenhuis. Back and front covers of *Hamburg*, by Albert Renger-Patzsch. Hamburg: Gebrüder Enoch Verlag, 1930. The Manfred Heiting Photo Book Collection, Museum of Fine Arts, Houston

*their construction and effect. Here a whole film is consigned to one photographic composition. Important shots from the "film" are placed in a spatial connection to one another so that the viewer's rapid eye is able to capture an absolute 3-dimensional impression. He or she is set in motion and can find him or herself in the midst of the action.*⁵

This comparison of photomontage to film suggests the vertiginous sensation Domela hoped viewers would experience before—even within—his images. By this time in his career, the artist was likely speaking from direct experience with moving images. Sometime around 1930 he directed an advertising film for Ruthsspeicher and another for an unidentified electric corporation.⁶ The Hamburg montage beautifully deploys this effect to offer a dynamic, but still restrained, experience. Through its many points of view, one wanders the vibrant city, viewing it from above, standing before its soaring buildings, or greeting its arriving ships.

Domela created two other Hamburg photomontages that draw from the same photo fragments, and these, too, bear a dynamic composition that recalls the experience of viewing a film (figs. 4 and 5). True to his goals and those of his cohort, these pictures both advertise the port and promote an exciting "new vision" through which the era's galloping progress can be better viewed and conceived by a broad audience.

In fact, Domela maintained a professional relationship with the man who later coined the phrase New Vision and who advocated the use of photography and montage to realize such perceptual goals: László Moholy-Nagy. It seems that Domela frequently called on the famous Bauhaus professor during the course of developing his design skills for



fig. 6 César Domela-Nieuwenhuis, *Fotomontage*. Berlin: Staatliche Museen, 1931. RKD, Netherlands Institute for Art History, Archive Cesar Domela (0076), box nr. 13

advertising.⁷ But just as importantly, the montage betrays an implicit (if not actual) relationship with someone else, the man most closely associated with *Neue Sachlichkeit* (New Objectivity) in photography, Albert Renger-Patzsch. This image-maker is generally seen as Moholy-Nagy's adversary.

As it happens, a good number of the photographic fragments Domela incorporated into his Hamburg montages come from the prints that Renger-Patzsch published in his 1930 book *Hamburg*, the cover of which bears one of Domela's Hamburg works (see fig. 5). The photographed crane, the aerial view at the composition's left, and the railings rising from wooden balcony planks all come from this volume. The Walther Collection Hamburg composition, which Domela likely made around the same time, features even more appropriations from Renger-Patzsch's book.⁸ This fact suggests that the Dutch artist was plying an aesthetic terrain between Moholy's Dada/Constructivist-inspired jolt to perception and Renger-Patzsch's far more austere "objectivity." Perhaps it is no coincidence, therefore, that another of the photographs from Renger-Patzsch's *Hamburg* book appeared on the cover of the catalogue for Domela's groundbreaking exhibition *Fotomontage*, of 1931 (fig. 6), to which this essay will turn shortly.

MATERIAL FEATURES, COMPOSITION, AND STRUCTURE OF HAMBURG, GERMANY'S GATEWAY TO THE WORLD

This apparent showpiece is large for a montage of its time, measuring 15 7/8 by 16 1/2 inches (40.3 by 41.9 centimeters). Its quality and high detail indicate that it is a print drawn from a negative. Correspondingly, the image's dead-matte surface is clean and bears few traces of the three-dimensionality generally produced in the pasting of photographic fragments next to and over one another. Moreover, this particular print appears to have been the product of numerous photographing and printing cycles: the letters of the text are soft at their edges, and the photographic fragments lack what was likely their original sharpness, a quality that would have been particularly prized by one of their makers, Albert Renger-Patzsch. The overall relative fuzziness could have also been the product of an enlarging process that allowed a relatively standard-sized negative to be realized as a print in large dimensions. The final picture, however, is clear enough to reveal indications of retouching on at least one of the negatives that Domela used as he worked toward the final print. There are also further indications of retouching made directly on this final version of the image.

With the aid of a microscope, it becomes clear that the transformation of the two double-columns and the crossed bars into compositional elements (at the left-hand side of the composition, above the city overview) was likely realized with black paint either on an earlier negative or print. Signs of this painting are visible even in the finished picture. These indications include uneven edges and occasional traces of the paint's surface at the sides and—sometimes—in the middle of these forms. The top portion of the aerial view at the left also seems to have been touched up, an alteration most likely made—as noted above—on one of the negatives used in the production process. On the object itself one can see direct physical traces of graphite work exercised on a number of the photo fragments of the buildings at the bottom and above the horizon line, where the letters float. There is also a curious vertical line running down the right side of the montage, between the two cable loops hanging from the line under the primary text.

The photo fragments themselves show occasional but minimal signs of their three-dimensionality, as would surely be visible in the original collaged maquette. The juxtaposition between these images is otherwise smooth, having been carefully joined with touching-up paint or airbrush, which Domela most likely applied to the original maquette. The artist may have felt a particular pride in this composition because he made numerous versions of it, in addition to the print in the Walther Collection.

A sense of what the original maquette looked like before being photographed and passed through cycles of printing and enlarging can be gathered from a first-generation print of another Domela photomontage, this in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art (see fig. 3). The artist made this composition of Ruthsspeicher steam

tanks and pipes for a brochure that advertised the corporation's primary industrial product, which stored a factory's or electrical generation plant's excess steam for later use. In the Metropolitan Museum image, the many zeppelin-like tanks seem to float and drift in numerous directions, turning from a leftward to a rightward direction as the eye moves from the top left to the bottom right. This version of the montage may be a contact print, given its wealth of material details. One can thus see the process of collaging that is so thoroughly obscured in the Hamburg composition. The edges of the cut fragments are clearly discernible, as is their three-dimensionality in the overlapping and insecure pasting. Generally, where one photo of a tank physically covers another, for example, the viewer can see the first photographic fragment resting atop the second. There is almost no retouching here, which leaves the montage looking raw and objectlike. The print also offers a full tonal range of alternately sharp and muted grays.

The tanks themselves are in such tight focus that their metal scales remain individually legible as they form the staccato surface of these large steam vessels. The maquette for the Hamburg montage must have originally sported this quality of mimetic detail and traces of careful layering before being retouched, photographed, enlarged, and printed—through an indeterminate number of generations—and then finished with graphite work. Domela was clearly a talented photomontage artist by the time he composed the Ruthsspeicher picture in 1928, and even more so when he completed his Hamburg work within the next couple of years. These skills and the range of commissions to which he applied his talents made him an important—indeed, co-founding—member of the famous *ring neue werbegestalter* (Circle of new advertising artists), an organization of avant-garde artists who committed themselves to product advertising. They were largely drawn together by artist Kurt Schwitters in January 1928.⁹ With this professional background, Domela presented himself as a master of advertising who specialized in photomontage.

THE FOTOMONTAGE EXHIBITION, APRIL 25–MAY 31, 1931

It was likely Domela's membership in the *ring neue werbegestalter*, as well as his quick success as a manipulator of photographs, that enabled him to curate Germany's first large-scale exhibition devoted solely to photomontage, the practice with which modernism had become closely associated. Quite significantly, the Hamburg composition represented in the Walther Collection appeared both in the show and its catalogue. What remains unclear is if the print now in the Walther Collection was displayed.¹⁰

The circumstances surrounding the show's planning are exquisitely murky, and it remains difficult to ascertain exactly how Domela found himself curator of such an important event, which he organized under the aegis of Berlin's Kunstbibliothek. Yet the moment was certainly ripe for such an exhibition, and his reputation clearly made

him a suitable chief. As for timing, Domela's avant-garde colleagues had already wielded with great success their well-honed montage advertising techniques to "conquer the commodity world," as historian Heidrun Schröder-Kehler famously describes it.¹¹ Moreover, in these same later years of the Weimar Republic, Germany's strongly radical but aesthetically conservative Communist party surprisingly adopted photomontage as its primary mode of pictorial propaganda. By 1928, endless posters, book covers, and flyers sporting montaged compositions flowed from the party's agitprop department and other allied organizations. One of these was the *Neuer Deutscher Verlag* (New German Press), run by Communist propaganda master Willi Münzenberg and secretly financed by the Communist International (Comintern) in Moscow.¹² This publishing house had long committed itself to photomontage as a propaganda tool, most famously in its flagship periodical *Die Arbeiter-Illustrierte Zeitung* (or *AIZ*), which it began publishing in January 1925.¹³ In May 1930, the famous Communist artist John Heartfield began contributing his particularly potent photomontages to the *AIZ*, thereby raising the technique's public profile in Germany to its highest level yet.

In the tightly bound world of Weimar-era aesthetic production, these developments led directly to Domela's 1931 exhibition. Heartfield's arrival at the *AIZ* was anticipated by the magazine's ecstatic review of his recently exhibited work, including that which appeared in the vast 1929 exhibition in Stuttgart, *Film und Foto* (or *Fifo*).¹⁴ In 1930 this exhibition traveled to the same Kunstbibliothek venue where Domela staged his show one year later. Meanwhile, Russian artist El Lissitzky, with the help of Sergei Senkin and a large design team, created spectacular photomontage exhibition spaces for the Soviet Union at Cologne's International Press Exhibition of 1928 and again in Dresden's International Hygiene Exhibition of 1930. Perhaps the most eyebrow-raising event to influence Domela as he began planning his display was the Russian *October* show, which opened in Berlin in late 1930 and travelled to other German cities the following year. This exhibition featured (among other things) a fantastic assortment of Soviet photography and photomontage produced by the artists who had assembled themselves into the famous October group in 1928. The group had staged roughly this same show in Moscow in March 1930, to an ominously mixed reception. The Soviet grumblings anticipated a stifling of avant-garde experimentation in Russia two years later. In Germany, the *October* exhibition was hailed as stunningly modern and aesthetically advanced, although a number of conservative commentators dismissed the collective's works as shallow Soviet propaganda.¹⁵

Domela effectively borrowed from all these photomontage trends for his exhibition, using them to partition his collected images into distinct bodies of work in separate rooms. The former Berlin Dadaist Raoul Hausmann opened the event with a talk on photomontage that has since

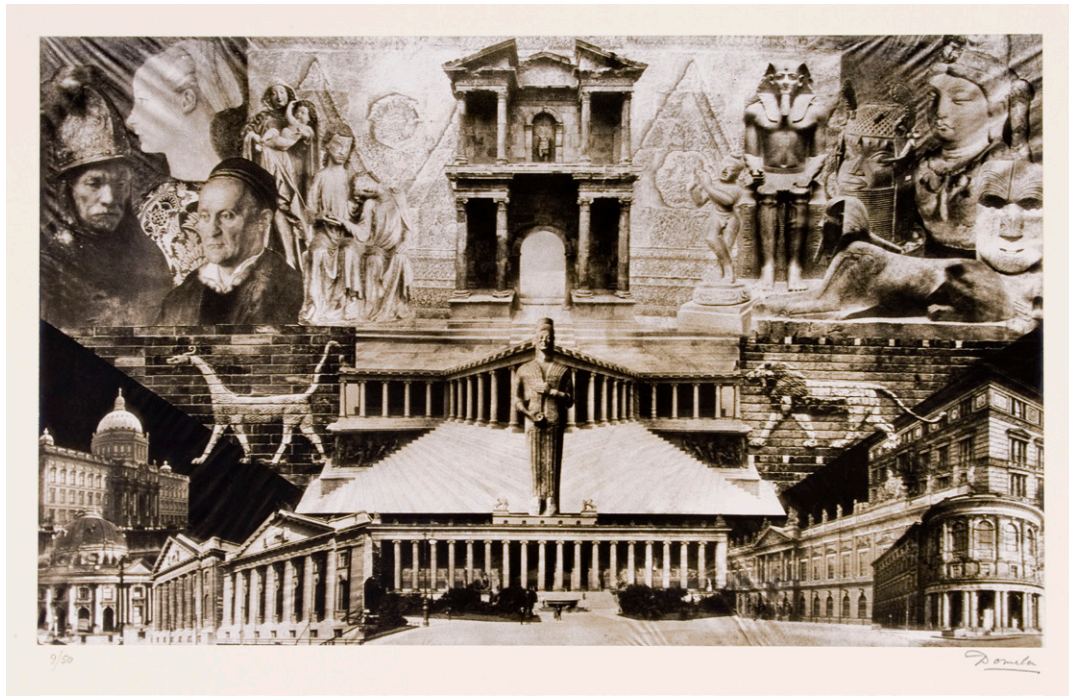


fig. 7 César Domela-Nieuwenhuis. *The Museums of Berlin* (*Les Musées de Berlin*). 1931. Photomontage, 1986, 13' 9 3/4" x 12' 4" (420 x 650 cm). Musée d'Art Moderne de la Ville de Paris/Roger-Viollet

become famous as the most succinct history of the practice, albeit strongly oriented toward an origin in the boisterous avant-garde movement that had made him famous. His account of montage's history *after* Dada was reflected in the exhibition: the growth and deployment of this technique for advertising and its use in political propaganda. These two strands dominated the show's organization. Domela exhibited his Hamburg composition in a section devoted to German advertisers, while he consigned artists like Heartfield to a political section, largely focused on the *Bund revolutionärer bildender Künstler Deutschlands* (The league of revolutionary German pictorial artists), a group officially sponsored by the German Communist Party. The Soviet works were shown in their own room, as was specifically dictated by the Russian government. There seems to have been a small corner devoted to experimental works, which included images by Moholy-Nagy and Hannah Höch, among others.

One of the most groundbreaking features of the *Fotomontage* exhibition was an enormous mural-sized composition designed by Domela himself. Installed at the show's entrance and titled *The Museums of Berlin* (*Les Musées de Berlin*; fig. 7), this work melded vastly enlarged photo fragments of the city's cultural institutions and their treasures into a fantasma-graphic, almost dreamlike, vision. Its dimensions were measured in meters, specifically 4.2 by 6.5.¹⁶

Although Domela's photomontage exhibition marks the highly public apex of the technique's ascendance in Germany,

a great deal of additional research remains to be done concerning the artist's role in initiating and designing the show. Installation photographs, if ever found, would help clarify the event's organization and its corresponding typologies of the technique, as would any archive that the event generated. The exhibition ultimately made Domela one of the most famous practitioners and commentators on montage. For this and many other reasons, the Walther Collection's Hamburg composition is a key work from this moment of modernism.

FURTHER INFORMATION ON DOMELA

After the artist's death in 1992, his daughters Anne Dutter Domela and Lie Tugaye Domela donated their father's large archive of belongings and correspondence and a selection of his work to the Netherlands Institute for Art History. The daughters also donated nine of their father's paintings to the Strasbourg Museum of Modern and Contemporary Art, which has opened a room dedicated to the compositions. Much earlier, apparently around 1980, Domela sold a number of his photomontages, and perhaps negatives of the original maquettes, to the Galleria Martini & Ronchetti in Genoa. The montage works illustrated in the catalogue of the 1987 exhibition *Domela, 65 ans d'abstraction*, mounted at the Musée d'Art Moderne de la Ville de Paris, were printed from these negatives in 1981.¹⁷ These pictures include versions of two of the Hamburg montages: the one in the Walther Collection and *Hamburg* (*Continental Europe's Biggest Importer*) (*Hamburg* [*Kontinentaleuropas grösster Importplatz*]) (see fig. 4).

1. For more on the surviving details of this commission, see Marie-Odile Briot, *Domela, 65 ans d'abstraction*, exh. cat. (Paris: Paris-Musées, 1987), p. 27.
2. César Domela, *Mostra a cura di Marco Franciulli; con Giovanni Battista Martini, Alberto Ronchetti* (Milan: Skira, c. 2000), p. 23 n. 13. Here and throughout this essay, translations from non-English sources are by the author.
3. Flip Bool, *César Domela: Schilderijen, reliëfs, beelden, grafiek, typografie, foto's* (The Hague: Gemeentemuseum Den Haag, 1980), p. 21.
4. The studio is named in *ibid.*, p. 17, and Briot, p. 26. A photographed view of the studio's stand in the famous 1929 *Reklameschau* (Advertising exhibition) is printed in the latter.
5. César Domela-Nieuwenhuis, quoted in Heinz and Bodo Rasch, *Gefesselter Blick. 25 kurze Monografien und Beiträge über neue Werbegestaltung* (Stuttgart: Wissenschaftlicher, 1930), p. 45.
6. The evidence for these films is unclear and documented inconsistently in Domela, *Mostra a cura di Marco Franciulli*, p. 15. A series of frames from the first film is illustrated on page 18 of the same book. It is important to note that Domela's equation of montage to film may have also been influenced by the heavily filmic photomontage of German-born Dutch artist Paul Citroen, who completed his famous composition *Metropolis (City of My Birth)* (*Weltstadt [Meine Geburtsstadt]*) (MoMA 1951.2001) in 1923.
- Because Citroen had studied at the Bauhaus in the earlier years of the Weimar Republic, he and Domela may have actually met each other through Moholy-Nagy, who taught at the school until 1928.
7. Bool, *César Domela*, p. 15.
8. It would have been necessary for Domela to have high-quality photographs to make the Hamburg compositions. He likely availed himself of original prints of the images Renger-Patzsch published in the *Hamburg* book, an appropriation made more probable by the fact that Domela designed the cover for Renger-Patzsch's publication.
9. In addition to Schwitters and Domela, the other founding members were Friedrich Vordemberge-Gildewart, Georg Trump, Max Burchartz, Robert Michel, Willi Baumeister, Walter Dexel, and Jan Tschichold. See Karin Orchard, ed., *César Domela. Retrospektive anlässlich der Schenkung von Lie Tugayé-Domela Nieuwenhuis und Anne Dutter-Domela Nieuwenhuis* (Hannover: Sprengel Museum Hannover, 2007), p. 14. In her essay on Domela, Orchard notes that his first published design composition appeared on the cover of the Dutch avant-garde periodical *ïïo* in 1927 (pp. 14 and 32). For more on this important periodical, see Domela, *Mostra a cura di Marco Franciulli*, pp. 9 and 12.
10. The Walther Collection print bears a label on the back from the Philadelphia Museum of Art. It's possible that Domela drew this particular print for a proposed exhibition at that institution. There are no marks indicating that this object hung in his *Fotomontage* exhibition. For the exhibition catalogue, see fig. 6.
11. Heidrun Schröder-Kehler, "Künstler erobern die Warenwelt: Neue Typographie in der Werbegestaltung," in Hubertus Gaßner, ed., *Wechsel Wirkungen. Ungarische Avantgarde in der Weimarer Republik* (Marburg, Germany: Jonas Verlag, 1986), pp. 388–411.
12. For more on the Comintern's secret financing of Münzenberg's publishing empire, see Sean McMeekin, *The Red Millionaire: A Political Biography of Willi Münzenberg, Moscow's Secret Propaganda Tsar in the West* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2003).
13. Two magazines published by the same umbrella organization, the Internationale Arbeiterhilfe (International worker's relief), preceded the *AIZ* in succession: *Sowjet-Russland im Bild*, which began printing in November 1921, and *Sichel und Hammer*, which took over in November 1922 and was published through December 1924. Both periodicals stressed the use of photographs, but neither was as aesthetically innovative as the *AIZ*. See my "Persuading with the Unseen? *Die Arbeiter-Illustrierte Zeitung*, Photography, and German Communism's Iconophobia," *Visual Resources* 26, no. 2 (June 2010): pp. 147–64.
14. F. C. Weiskopf, "Benütze Foo als Waffe! Zur Ausstellung der Arbeiten von John Heartfield auf der Großen Berliner Kunstausstellung," *AIZ* 8, no. 37 (1929). One of the two pictures illustrating this review is taken from the room given exclusively to Heartfield's work at the Stuttgart installation of *FiFo*. See Olivier Lugon, "Prints from the Thomas Walther Collection and German Exhibitions around 1930," on this website, figs. 2–6, for views of Heartfield's room and other rooms in the exhibition.
15. There is precious little documentation of the Berlin *October* show. The best resource is the following catalogue: *Wem Gehört die Welt: Kunst und Gesellschaft in der Weimarer Republik* (Berlin: Neue Gesellschaft für Bildende Kunst, 1977).
16. The huge mural was re-created for the exhibition *Domela, 65 ans d'abstraction* at the Musée d'Art Moderne de la Ville de Paris, March 4–May 10, 1987.
17. Briot, pp. 78–81.

Citation:

Andrés Mario Zervigón. "César Domela-Nieuwenhuis and the Art of Photomontage." In Mitra Abbaspour, Lee Ann Daffner, and Maria Morris Hambourg, eds. *Object:Photo. Modern Photographs: The Thomas Walther Collection 1909–1949. An Online Project of The Museum of Modern Art*. New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 2014. <http://www.moma.org/interactives/objectphoto/assets/essays/Zervigon.pdf>.