

# Prints from the Thomas Walther Collection and German Exhibitions around 1930

OLIVIER LUGON

For my contribution to the book *Object:Photo. Modern Photographs 1909–1949. The Thomas Walther Collection at The Museum of Modern Art*, I focused on the various and at times conflicting definitions of what constituted an exhibition print—whether ephemeral, interchangeable object or singular work of art—in the major German exhibitions that took place during the late 1920s, primary among them the famous *Film und Foto*—or *Fifo*—in Stuttgart in 1929.<sup>1</sup> In the course of my research, a parallel question immediately arose: could we identify which photographs in the Thomas Walther Collection had been included in these exhibitions? Given the reproducible medium that photography is, the question proved twofold at the outset: had some of the *motifs* of the collection been presented in these exhibitions? And were some of the specific *prints* themselves hung in these exhibitions? The former seemed very probable, the latter more difficult to establish. In addition, there was the broader question of the epistemological worth of such investigations: what would this sort of work of identification tell us about the history of photography and its exhibition, a question considered in my essay in *Object:Photo*?

To clarify this collection's relationships with exhibitions that are nearly a century old and poorly documented involved work in two directions: a close examination of the prints themselves in search of possible traces of public display, and a more general return to these exhibitions to try to specify the way in which the images had actually been treated, mounted, hung, and eventually conserved. These cross investigations took the form of two complementary research trips: a stay at MoMA to examine the pieces in the collection, and the exploration of several German archives and collections to gather the maximum amount of information on these exhibitions and to look at other prints possibly related to them.<sup>2</sup>

To avoid getting lost in the large number of exhibitions and fairs having to do, directly or indirectly, with photography in the last years of the Weimar Republic, we decided to focus on the two main overviews of New Photography organized in 1929: *Fotografie der Gegenwart* (Photography of the present) at the Museum Folkwang in Essen and *Film und Foto* organized by the Deutscher Werkbund in Stuttgart, as well as the various shows directly connected to them. These related shows include the many stages of their traveling versions as well as partial reprises or derivative presentations. For example, *Film und Foto* was partially integrated into *Das Lichtbild* (Photography) in Munich in

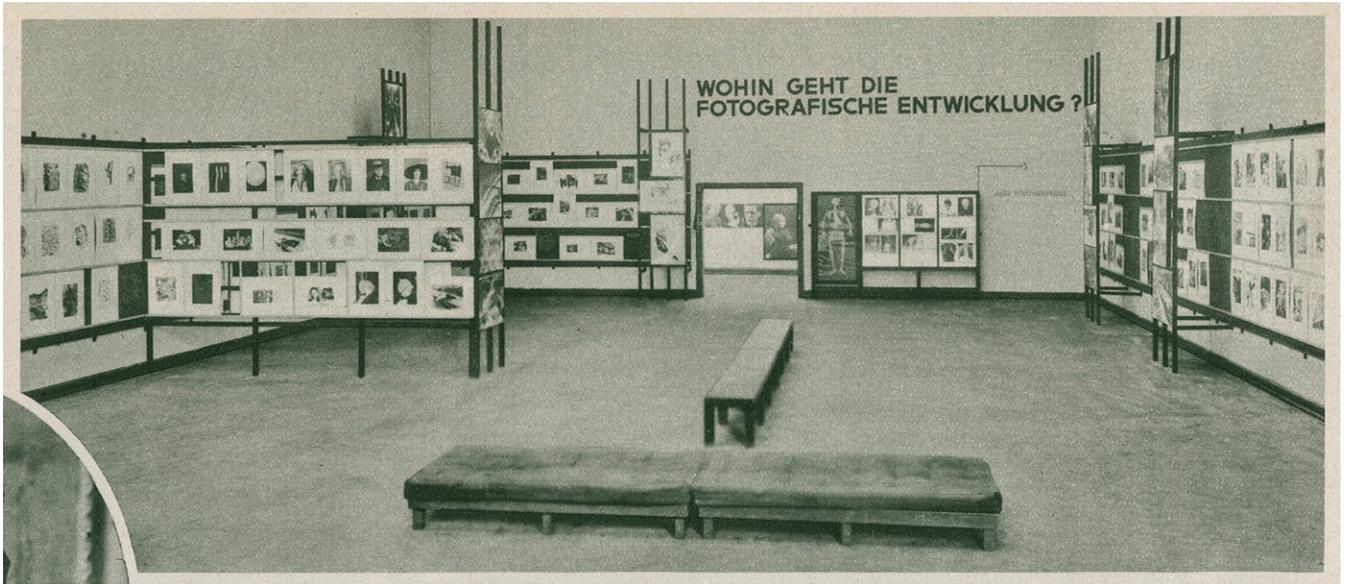
1930, itself reprised in *Die neue Fotografie* (The new photography) in Basel in 1931, and the organizers of *Fotografie der Gegenwart* amplified their first project with *Das Lichtbild Essen* (Photography Essen) in 1931. Ultimately, the two major exhibitions of 1929 had a presence in twenty different venues (see Appendix), with the addition of several stages that were announced but not documented.

## EXHIBITION VIEWS

A persistent fog continues to envelop these exhibitions, which are so famous and so commented upon but whose very celebrity makes us forget how little we know about them. Available sources prove surprisingly scarce considering the publicity they enjoyed at the time and their luster even today. The destruction from World War II explains this in part, especially since Stuttgart and Essen, large industrial centers,



fig. 1 Cover of Gustaf Stotz, et al. *Internationale Ausstellung des Deutschen Werkbunds Film und Foto* (International exhibition of the Deutsche Werkbund Film und Foto). Exhibition catalogue. Stuttgart: Deutscher Werkbund, 1929. The Museum of Modern Art Library, New York



**fig. 2** *Film und Foto* exhibition, Stuttgart, 1929. Installation view of Room 1. Exhibition design by László Moholy-Nagy. Reproduced in *Schwäbisches Bilderblatt: Wochenschrift zum Stuttgarter neuen Tagblatt*, no. 23 (June 7, 1929). Stadtarchiv Stuttgart. © 2014 Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York



**fig. 3** *Film und Foto* exhibition, Stuttgart, 1929. Installation view of Room 1. Exhibition design by László Moholy-Nagy. Reproduced in *Schwäbisches Bilderblatt: Wochenschrift zum Stuttgarter neuen Tagblatt*, no. 22 (May 31, 1929). Stadtarchiv Stuttgart. © 2014 Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York

were particularly affected by Allied bombardment. But the status of the photographic exhibition of the era, an ephemeral and shifting event that assembled prints of little value at the time, only reinforced this volatility.

The extreme scarcity of installation views remains the principal enigma today. Not a single image conserved in an institution shows the hanging of *Fotografie der Gegenwart* in Essen; only the stop in Magdeburg is documented by eight views (found in the Stadtarchiv Magdeburg) and the one in Dresden by three views (in the Deutsche Fotothek, Dresden). Likewise, there is no known exhibition view of *Das Lichtbild* in Munich, and just a single view of the entrance of *Das Lichtbild Essen* (for a reproduction, see, for example, *Film und Foto der Zwanziger Jahre*).<sup>3</sup>

As for *Fifo* in Stuttgart, its documentation could not be more disparate, depending on the section. Nine of the thirteen rooms—indeed, more than two thirds of the show (see the exhibition map in fig. 1)—have no visual trace. Only the first four offer a few views, but in a very uneven way. The most famous room, Room 1, conceived by László Moholy-Nagy, is best known by an overall view that is

often reproduced, in addition to a view of the left wall reproduced in small format in the Italian magazine *Casabella* in 1941.<sup>4</sup> A search at the Stuttgarter Stadtarchiv turned up two new images, both published in *Schwäbisches Bilderblatt*, an illustrated weekly supplement in the *Stuttgarter neuen Tagblatt*. One reproduces the general preexisting point of view but stretches it out, revealing the right wall and a new portion of the left wall, as well as the presence of an electric cable on the back wall that indicates that the large panel on X-rays was lit from behind and therefore quite prominent (fig. 2).<sup>5</sup> The other, taken during the opening reception, reveals part of the section devoted to early photography, along with the presence, unknown until now, of display cases (fig. 3).<sup>6</sup>

Room 4, representing the Soviet Union and assembled by El Lissitzky, was also the subject of a famous installation view: it highlights *Fifo*'s only real attempt to integrate photography and film in the same space, with its automatic Duoskop viewing devices and the use, once again, of rear-projection for strips of enlarged photograms (fig. 4). Here, too, another view, of lesser quality and published less often, provides some information about the left wall (fig. 5).



**fig. 4** *Film und Foto* exhibition, Stuttgart, 1929. Installation view of Room 4, the Soviet room. Exhibition design by El Lissitzky. The Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles. © 2014 Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York



**fig. 5** *Film und Foto* exhibition, Stuttgart, 1929. Installation view of Room 4, the Soviet room. Exhibition design by El Lissitzky. The Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles. © 2014 Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York



**fig. 6** *Film und Foto* exhibition, Stuttgart, 1929. Installation view of Room 3, the John Heartfield room. Exhibition design by John Heartfield. Archiv John Heartfield, no. 619, Akademie der Künste Berlin

In contrast to these very summary traces of the two sections that were most celebrated by contemporaries, is the sudden plethora of views documenting Room 3, belonging to John Heartfield, with no less than twenty-two images conserved in the Heartfield collection at the Akademie der Künste in Berlin, detailing each wall and each vitrine (fig. 6). All of them are credited on the back to the same photographer: "A. Ohler, Stuttgart." This was Arthur Ohler (1883-1973), a professional photographer, himself represented by five works in the show and by an advertising insert in the catalogue, and to whom the views of Room 1 in *Schwäbisches Bilderblatt* are also attributed.<sup>7</sup> It seems unlikely that he was called upon by either Heartfield or the Werkbund to pay particular attention to Room 3 and to remain parsimonious about the other sections, but more likely that he produced as detailed a report on the whole exhibition. Unfortunately, while I was able to find traces of his collection, it has been reduced over the years due to various relocations and no longer include any installation views of *Fifo*.<sup>8</sup> The same was true for the old photo archives of the *Stuttgarter neuen Tagblatt* and its illustrated supplement.<sup>9</sup> Yet, a few additional pieces of information may be drawn from the views that allow a glance at the adjacent spaces, whether the hanging of *Sasha* and *Cami Stone*'s works in Room 2 or Moholy-Nagy's own works in Room 5.

Moreover, some views of the later venues give an idea of the changes that occurred over the course of *Fifo*'s various permutations as it traveled. The Medien und Informationszentrum of the Zürcher Hochschule der Künste holds four views of the Zurich installation and the Kunstbibliothek in Berlin three views of the show in that city. A view of a room in Vienna was also published several times during this period.<sup>10</sup> A comparison of these views allows us to establish that the cardboards and even certain prints were replaced in the course of relocation. Indeed, each new stage specifically reconsidered the core of Stuttgart and requires us to speak of *Film und Foto* as *exhibitions* in the plural.

## PUBLICATIONS AND ARCHIVES

In addition to this visual material, we have original written sources. *Fifo* was the object of significant editorial production, with four specific catalogues for the different installations in Stuttgart, Zurich, Berlin, and Vienna, as well as several complementary volumes—the album *Foto-Auge* by Franz Roh and Jan Tschichold, and the two programmatic books *Es kommt der neue Fotograf!* (Here comes the new photographer!) by Werner Gräff and *Filmgegner von heute — Filmfreunde von morgen* (Enemy of film today — Friend of film tomorrow) by Hans Richter.<sup>11</sup> In the end, no less than seven publications accompanied the event, not including the additional catalogues of *Das Lichtbild* in Munich and *Die neue Fotografie* in Basel. Unfortunately, beyond offering the names of the photographers, the information provided in these volumes is limited

regarding the details of the works presented and even more so regarding the display. *Fotografie der Gegenwart* and *Das Lichtbild Essen* fare even worse, deprived of any catalogues at all. Nevertheless, lists of exhibitors do appear in various brochures produced for each stage of *Fotografie der Gegenwart* (figs. 7 and 8). They confirm the extent to which content could vary over the course of relocation (figs. 9 and 10).

The many reviews in the mainstream and specialized press supplement these descriptions. More than the publications, they inform us about the specifics of the various displays. Indeed, many discuss, even if briefly, hanging options, types of montage, the formats of the prints or the quality of the papers, elements often overlooked in the criticism of photographic exhibitions. In this, they demonstrate how decisions about hangings could elicit surprise, and they confirm the pertinence of examining these elements as discursive choices in and of themselves.<sup>12</sup>

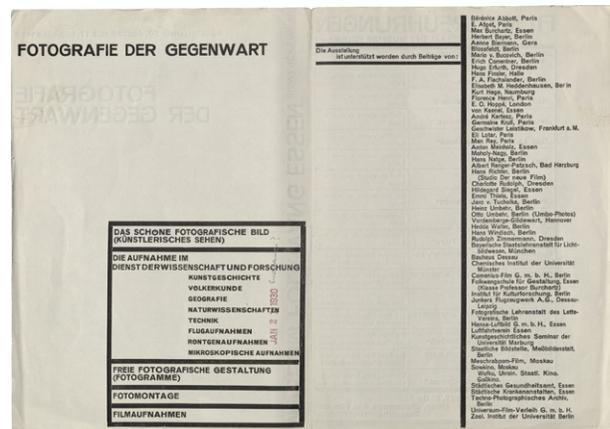


fig. 7 Pamphlet for the exhibition *Fotografie der Gegenwart* (Contemporary photography), Essen, 1929. Graphic design by Max Burchartz. Thomas J. Watson Library, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

fig. 8 Pamphlet for the exhibition *Fotografie der Gegenwart* (Contemporary photography), Magdeburg, 1929. Graphic design by Walter Dexel. The Museum of Modern Art, New York. Jan Tschichold Collection



fig. 9 *Fotografie der Gegenwart* (Contemporary photography) exhibition, Magdeburg, 1929. Installation view. Exhibition design by Xanti Schawinsky. Stadtarchiv Magdeburg

fig. 10 *Fotografie der Gegenwart* (Contemporary photography) exhibition, Dresden, 1929. Installation view. Deutsche Fotothek, Dresden



Correspondence also proves valuable in reconstructing the history of the preparations for these exhibitions. The archives of the Deutscher Werkbund in Berlin unfortunately kept none of the exchanges connected to the set-up of *Fifo*, just as the archives of individuals directly involved in its completion, like Hans Hildbrandt or Bernhard Pankok, members of the selection committee, or Ernst Schneider, in charge of scenography, yield nothing either.<sup>13</sup> It is the collections of art or photography historians a priori more marginally connected to the event that prove the most helpful in better understanding the issues of the photographic exhibitions of the period. The voluminous correspondence of Carl Georg Heise reveals the deep engagement, with and around him, of a network of art historians in these projects, something also confirmed by the archives of Erich Stenger, a collector and historian of photography courted for a number of these exhibitions.<sup>14</sup> The archives of Sigfried Giedion, in particular, allow

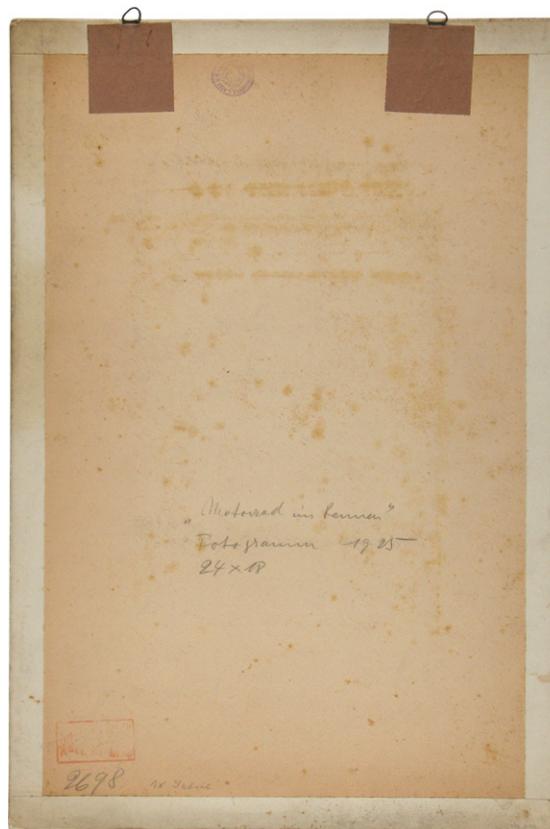
us to measure the important investment of the Swiss historian of art and architecture in the preparatory discussions of *Fifo*, which went well beyond the Zurich venue and even contributed to shaping the program in Stuttgart.<sup>15</sup>

The best primary source for *Das Lichtbild* in Munich is undoubtedly the Stadtarchiv München, and for *Fotografie der Gegenwart* the Museum Folkwang in Essen, the organizer of the exhibition in 1929.<sup>16</sup> The museum's department of photography amassed a wealth of documentation on the event, particularly in recent years, in preparation for a possible re-creation. Undertaken by Ute Eskildsen and Petra Steinhardt, this documentation has come to complete the papers assembled by Eskildsen on *Film und Foto* in 1979, on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the show, in preparation for the exhibition and book *Film und Foto der Zwanziger Jahre*, which remains the definitive study on the subject to this day.<sup>17</sup>

### UBIQUITOUS IMAGES, SINGULAR OBJECTS

Another important source of information about these exhibitions is found in the prints themselves, at once objects of study and tools with which to reconstruct the history of their public life. The many indications on the verso of the photographs primarily give clues about their production (the stamp or signature of the photographer, a handwritten legend or date, the logo of the paper manufacturer) and about their circulation in printed form (stamps from the news agency, newspaper, or publisher, instructions for cropping or the size of the reproduction). Their presentation in an exhibition leaves fewer written specifications, but other signs allow us to assume a hanging. The large size of some paper suggests this, as do marks left by pins or glue. On the other hand, such signs do little to help specify a date or place. Possible evidence on cardboard backing or mat proves essential then. While collectors often get rid of these in favor of a uniform presentation of works in their collections, luckily for several pieces in the Walther Collection these remain intact.

This is notably the case with two works by Oskar Nerlinger, one of which, *Motorcycle in the Race* (*Motorrad im Rennen*) (fig. 11), proves particularly rich in contextual information. This print was sandwiched between two solid pieces of cardboard and equipped with two hooks for easy hanging, clearly indicating that the image was intended for multiple installations. The mount was meant to be seen as a whole, since there was a legend at the very bottom of the cardboard, with a number referring to a guide or a catalogue, suggesting the likely presence of other, similar arrangements. It turns out that the number in question, 555, falls exactly in the Oskar Nerlinger section of the catalogue for *Fifo* in Stuttgart (nos. 546–56), even though *Motorcycle in the Race* is labeled number 546, which would suggest a permutation during the likely itinerancy of the image.<sup>18</sup> Two stamps from customs on the back of the piece confirm its mobility (fig. 12). One comes from Zagreb, the other from Yokohama, the large Japanese port in Tokyo Bay—both locations to which *Fifo* traveled. Everything points then to the fact that the print in question is indeed the one from the



**fig. 11** Oskar Nerlinger. *Motorcycle in the Race* (*Motorrad im Rennen*), front with mount. Gelatin silver print, 1925–28. Image:  $8\frac{1}{16} \times 6\frac{7}{16}$ " (22 × 17.4 cm); mount:  $18\frac{7}{8} \times 12\frac{13}{16}$ " (48 × 32.5 cm). The Museum of Modern Art, New York. Thomas Walther Collection. Abbott-Levy Collection funds, by exchange (MoMA 1798.2001). © Sigrid Nerlinger

**fig. 12** Oskar Nerlinger. *Motorcycle in the Race* (*Motorrad im Rennen*), back of mount with hooks. See fig. 11.



fig. 13 *Film und Foto* exhibition, Zurich, 1929. Installation view of Soviet section. Medien- und Informationszentrum de la Zürcher Hochschule der Künste, Zurich



fig. 14 *Film und Foto* exhibition, Berlin, 1929. Installation view of Soviet section. Fotografische Sammlung, Kunstbibliothek Berlin

famous exhibition of 1929 and that its cardboard backing was used on the tour, or at least for part of it.<sup>19</sup>

No other piece in the Walther Collection offers such clues, allowing one to reliably identify it as a print included in one of these exhibitions. Close to forty percent of the photographers represented in the collection participated in one or another of the major German exhibitions of 1929–31. Some of the same images were assuredly present there, and at times in several exhibitions at once—as was the case, for example, with *Ficus elastica* (*Gummibaum*) by Anne Biermann (MoMA 1617.2001) and *Lotte* (*Eye*) (*Lotte [Auge]*) by Max Burchartz (MoMA 1646.2001), whose prints found themselves in both *Fifo* and *Fotografie der Gegenwart*. But photographic reproducibility was able to give some pictures an almost ubiquitous presence, even though every object shown was nonetheless fundamentally singular. This is noticeable, for example, with *Lotte* (*Eye*): the cropping of the print in the Walther Collection is slightly different from the one in the Kunstbibliothek in Berlin, which was acquired in the wake of *Fifo*, and even more unlike one of the two in the Museum Folkwang, for which Burchartz erased his daughter's freckles. Similarly, the New York copies of *Moscow Illuminations Celebrating the Tenth Anniversary of the Russian Revolution* (*Moskva noch'iu v oktiabr'skie dni*)

by Roman Karmen (MoMA 1712.2001) and *In the Gallery* (*GUM, State Department Store, Moscow*) (*Auf der Galerie [GUM, Staatliches Kaufhaus, Moskau]*) by Semyon Fridlyand (MoMA 1671.2001) differ enough in their size and/or cropping from versions presented at *Fifo* so as to be perceptible in installation views of Zurich and Berlin (figs. 13 and 14).

All the tension specific to photography is situated here and accounts for the complexity of the medium's relationship with exhibition. As an image, a photograph gives the impression of proliferating while always remaining the same, but as an object, a silver print is nonetheless a hand-crafted product, not a mass-produced one. Above all, its very exhibition reinforces the uniqueness of its presence in a particular place at a particular time, sometimes greatly varying the conditions of its visibility and reception. The history of photography exhibitions may therefore be studied as the history of a fundamental tension between image and object, and the major exhibitions of the late 1920s, through the extreme concentration of their succession, on the one hand, and the endless variations of their multiple versions, on the other, constitute a particularly intense moment in this crystallization.

Translated from the French by Jeanine Herman

**APPENDIX**

1929	FOTOGRAFIE DER GEGENWART	FILM UND FOTO	OTHER EXHIBITIONS
January	Essen (January 20–February 17)		
February			
March	Hannover (March 10–April 17)		
April	Berlin (April 21–May 21)		<i>Meisterwerk der Fotografie aus alter und neuer Zeit</i> (Masterpieces of historic and contemporary photography), Lübeck (April 14–May 15)
May		Stuttgart (May 18–July 7)	
June	London (June 6–29)		
July	Frankfurt (July)		
August	Leipzig (August 18–September 8)	Zurich (August 28–September 22)	
September	Dresden (September 14–October 6)		
October	Rostock (October 20–November 10)	Berlin (October 19–November 17)	
November	Magdeburg (November 28–December 19)		
December		Danzig (dates unknown)	
<b>1930</b>			
January			
February	Kaiserslautern (February–March)	Vienna (February 20–March 31)	
March			
April	Weimar (April 6–May 4)	Zagreb (April 5–14)	
May	Göttingen (May 18–June 8)		
June			<i>Das Lichtbild</i> (Photography), Munich (June 5–September 7)
July			
August			
September			
October			
November			
December			
<b>1931</b>			
January			<i>Die neue Fotografie</i> (The new photography), Basel (January 11–February 8)
February			
March			
April		Tokyo (April)	<i>Fotomontage</i> , Berlin (April 25–May 31)
May			
June			
July		Osaka (July 1–7)	<i>Das Lichtbild Essen</i> (Photography Essen) (July 11–August 23)
August			
September			
October			
November			
December			

Some of the most important traveling exhibitions of 1929–31, listed by date and venue. Only documented venues are included. (Numerous others are mentioned in the archives, but they are as yet unconfirmed.)

NOTES

The author wishes to thank the many people who aided in his research. At MoMA: Mitra Abbaspour, Kelly Cannon, Lee Ann Daffner, Maria Morris Hambourg, and Hanako Murata. In Germany: Florian Ebner, Museum Folkwang Essen; Christine Kühn, Kunstbibliothek Berlin; Katharina Kuester-Heise, Landesmuseum Württemberg; Thomas Müller, Tamm; Ulrich Pohlmann, Münchner Stadtmuseum; Wolfgang Röver, Folkwang Universität Essen; Angela Schlegel, Archiv der Hansestadt Lübeck; Sabine Schrag, Stadtarchiv Stuttgart; Petra Steinhardt, Museum Folkwang Essen; and Angela Zieger, Kunstakademie Stuttgart.

1. Olivier Lugon, "Photography and Exhibition in Germany around 1930," in *Object:Photo. Modern Photographs 1909–1949. The Thomas Walther Collection at The Museum of Modern Art* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 2014).

2. German travel in 2013 included Berlin, Essen, Lübeck, Munich, Nuremberg, and Stuttgart. Prior to this, I had studied collections in Basel, Cologne, Los Angeles, Magdeburg, and Zurich.

3. Ute Eskildsen and Jan-Christopher Horak, eds., *Film und Foto der Zwanziger Jahre: Eine Betrachtung der internationalen Werkbundaussstellung "Film und Foto" 1929* (Stuttgart: Hatje, 1979), p. 191.

4. The best reproduction of the overall view can be found in *Württembergischen Arbeitsgemeinschaft des Deutschen Werkbunds, ed., 10 Jahre Werkbundaussstellung in Württemberg* (Stuttgart: Tagblatt-Buchdruckerei, 1930), p. 17. For the left wall, see *Casabella*, nos. 159–60 (1941): 33.

5. *Schwäbisches Bilderblatt: Wochenschrift zum Stuttgarter neuen Tagblatt*, no. 23 (June 7, 1929): [3]. Stadtarchiv Stuttgart. The view of Room 1 reproduced most often appears to be just a tighter cropping of the same negative.

6. *Schwäbisches Bilderblatt: Wochenschrift zum Stuttgarter neuen Tagblatt*, no. 22 (May 31, 1929): [8]. Stadtarchiv Stuttgart.

7. *Internationale Ausstellung des Deutschen Werkbunds Film und Foto Stuttgart 1929* (Stuttgart: 1929). Repr. ed. Karl Steinorth (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1979), p. 48d.

8. In 1958 Arthur Ohler would give his workshop, including his photo archives, to Heinz Müller, whose studio would in turn be taken over by his son, Thomas Müller. Today Thomas Müller is a photographer at Tamm, not far from Stuttgart, and takes care of the remaining parts of the Ohler collection. I thank him for the research he has conducted in the archives trying to locate views of *Fifo*.

9. The photo archives of the *Stuttgarter neuen Tagblatt* were taken over by the *Stuttgarter Zeitung*, today part of Südwestdeutsche Medienholding.

10. See *10 Jahre Werkbundaussstellung in Württemberg*, p. 18; and *Die Form* 5, no. 9 (May 1, 1930): 252. The view primarily gives an idea of the French contribution.

11. The following is a list of the complementary volumes to *Film und Foto: Foto-Auge—Œil et photo—Photo-Eye*, ed. Franz Roh and Jan Tschichold (Stuttgart: Akademischer Verlag Fritz Wedekind, 1929; repr. Tübingen: Verlag Ernst Wasmuth, 1973); Werner Gräff, *Es kommt der neue Fotograf!* (Berlin: Verlag Hermann Reckendorf, 1929; repr. Cologne: Verlag Walther König, 1978); Hans Richter, *Filmgegner von heute—Filmfreunde von morgen* (Berlin: Hermann Reckendorf, 1929; repr. Frankfurt: Fischer, 1981).

12. See Lugon, "Photography and Exhibition in Germany around 1930," in *Object:Photo*. See note 1.

13. The papers of Hans Hildebrandt are at the Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles; Pankok's papers can be found in the Landesmuseum Württemberg, Stuttgart; those of Schneidler are in the Kunstakademie Stuttgart.

14. Heise's correspondence is in the collection of the Museum für Kunst- und Kulturgeschichte in Lübeck, Archiv der Hansestadt Lübeck. Stenger's archives are at the Museum Ludwig de Cologne.

15. Giedion's archives are in gta, Institute for History and Theory of Architecture, ETHZ, Swiss Federal Institute of Technology Zurich. On Giedion's involvement in *Fifo*, see Olivier Lugon, "Neues Sehen, Neue Geschichte: Laszlo Moholy-Nagy, Sigfried Giedion und die Ausstellung

*Film und Foto,"* in Sigfried Giedion *und die Fotografie. Bildinszenierungen der Moderne*, ed. Werner Oechslin and Gregor Harbusch (Zurich: gta Verlag, 2010), pp. 88–105.

16. The papers of Franz Roh, active on the committee of *Das Lichtbild* in Munich (Getty Research Institute and Deutsches Kunstarchiv im Germanischen Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg), remain surprisingly silent on the topic.

17. See note 3. I should also point out the work undertaken at the same time by Karl Steinorth, which resulted in a reprint of the Stuttgart catalogue (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1979), as well as the work by Beaumont Newhall, whose important documentation on the subject can be found today in the Beaumont and Nancy Newhall Papers, Special Collections, Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles.

18. *Internationale Ausstellung des Deutschen Werkbunds Film und Foto Stuttgart 1929*, repr. ed. Karl Steinorth. See note 7.

19. The cardboard in back reveals pinholes, which suggests it might have been in a show without the top cardboard, and that the *Fifo* images may have been shown two different ways during the tour. Installation views in Berlin, in any case, attest to dissimilar modes of hanging, with the piercing of the cardboards themselves rather than external hooks. Given the problems posed by the rapid deterioration of images (see my essay in the book *Object:Photo*, mentioned in note 1), reinforcement measures were probably taken over the course of the tour.

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