

Mechanics and Expression: Franz Roh and the New Vision—A Historical Sketch

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Photo-eye is a nervous and important book. Its editors call the world not only beautiful but exciting, cruel, and weird. In intention social and didactic, this is an anthology of the "new" photography; yet its editors knew where to look for their material.
— Walker Evans, "The Reappearance of Photography," 1931¹

Foto-auge (*Photo-eye*) was one of the most influential publications in the field of the New Photography in the 1920s (fig. 1). Shortly after its appearance it was euphorically celebrated as a "culturally pioneering work," as a "collection of disturbingly beautiful pictures," and as an "art history of modern photography," and it took first place among the fifty most beautiful books of 1929.² This compendium was conceived after a visit by Franz Roh, an academically trained art critic and champion of modern photography living in Munich, and the typographer Jan Tschichold, who was teaching in Munich, to the Stuttgart film and photography exhibition *Film und Foto*, known as *Fi/Fo*,³ from which most of its photographs were taken. Roh contributed the programmatic text "*Mechanismus und Ausdruck*" (*Mechanism and expression*), and Tschichold was responsible for the cover design and typography. Together they made the picture selection, a distillation from the more than one thousand works in the exhibition.

Foto-auge contains seventy-six reproductions reflecting the entire range of the *Neues Sehen* (*New Vision*), and formulates the new photographic aesthetic that had established itself as the way of the future around 1929. Along with photographs and photographic experiments by well-known artists and photographers such as El Lissitzky, Man Ray, László Moholy-Nagy, Albert Renger-Patzsch, Walter Peterhans, Hans Finsler, Umbo (Otto Umbehr), and Sasha Stone, it presented without distinction such young talents as Florence Henri and the seventeen-year-old Brett Weston. The publication also includes anonymous photos from picture agencies, press services, and business archives. Photographs representative of the various uses of the medium—reportage, scientific photography, aerial photographs, X-ray photographs—were included as well as photographic images from advertising and publicity, film posters, and book and magazine covers, and works like the collages and montages of Max Ernst, George Grosz, Hannah Höch, and John Heartfield. With no suggestion of a hierarchy between credited and anonymous photographs or between creative or applied works, the stylistic spectrum runs from the so-called real photograph to photomontages, photograms, collages, double and multiple exposures, film



fig. 1 Franz Roh and Jan Tschichold. *Foto-auge: 76 Fotos der Zeit* (*Photo-eye: 76 photos of the time*). Stuttgart: F. Wedekind, 1929. The Museum of Modern Art Library, New York. © Estate Franz Roh, Munich

strips, and negative prints. Unlike Moholy's style-setting book *Malerei, Fotografie, Film* (*Painting, Photography, Film*), first published in 1925, *foto-auge* dispenses with explanatory captions, relying solely on exciting juxtapositions on each double-page spread; for example, the combination of Sasha Stone's fragmented file box photographed from above and a view of a beach tipped vertically, presumably taken from an advertising brochure from the I. G. Farben firm (fig. 2), or an aerial photo of a crater next to Max Ernst's collage *A Gala*. In its selection and concept, *foto-auge* provides a vivid visual sampling from *Fi/Fo*, which was accompanied by only a small exhibition catalogue with twenty illustrations. Celebrated at the time as "epoch-making," *Fi/Fo* is to this day considered the most important exhibition from the realm of the "new"



fig. 2 Spread from Franz Roh and Jan Tschichold. *Foto-auge: 76 Fotos der Zeit* (Photo-eye: 76 photos of the time). Stuttgart: F. Wedekind, 1929. The Museum of Modern Art Library, New York. Left: Sasha Stone. *Files* (Kartel). Right: I. G. Farbenindustrie. *Strand* (Am Strand). © Estate Franz Roh, Munich

mediums of photography and film in the first half of the twentieth century. The aim of the show, which was organized for the Deutscher Werkbund by Gustav Stotz and preceded by more than a year of preparation, was “to bring together as comprehensively as possible works of all those who were the first to recognize that the camera is the most appropriate composition medium of our time and have worked with it.”⁴ *Fi/Fo*, in its sheer size, with roughly 1,200 works on view, its two-week film program, and its two-year travels in somewhat reduced form through a number of European cities—Zurich, Berlin, Vienna, Danzig, Zagreb, Munich—and even as far as Japan, was certainly a major event, and with it modern photography in Germany had reached its zenith. In artistic and culturally open-minded circles, photography was recognized, published, and exhibited as an independent means of visual expression, and it was being collected by museums, but the show marked the end point in this development as well. The stylistic devices of avant-garde photography were widely imitated in advertising and magazine photography and also adopted in a watered-down form by National Socialist propaganda after 1933—

example in the magazine *Volk und Welt*—at a time when many of its creators were already in exile, persecuted, or prevented from further artistic work.

The graphic artist Jan Tschichold, since 1927 a teacher of typography at Munich’s Meisterschule für Deutschlands Buchdrucker (Master school for Germany’s book printers), was on the selection committee of *Fi/Fo*, along with the art historian Hans Hildebrandt and the director of Stuttgart’s Kunstgewerbeschule (School of applied arts), Bernhard Pankok. They were assisted in this ambitious scheme by a number of prominent artists, including the pioneer of the New Vision, László Moholy-Nagy, the American photographers Edward Steichen and Edward Weston, the Dutch designer Piet Zwart, the Swiss architectural historian and photographer Siegfried Giedion, and El Lissitzky, who was responsible for the Russian selection. Although Franz Roh was not on the committee, he was in close contact with almost all of those who were. Since the mid-1920s he had been in correspondence with Moholy, whom he had met on a visit to the Bauhaus exhibition of 1924, and he had become a friend of Giedion’s while studying under Heinrich Wölfflin.



fig. 3 László Moholy-Nagy. *Gutter (Rinnstein)*. 1925. Gelatin silver print, $11 \frac{3}{8} \times 8 \frac{3}{16}$ " (28.9 × 20.8 cm). George Eastman House. © 2014 Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York/VG Bild-Kunst, Bonn

Tschichold and Roh were not only among the few champions of the newest trends in art, photography, and typography in Munich, which they actively discussed in regular meetings of a small circle of avant-gardists, they were also neighbors in the modern Borstei housing project.

Tschichold wrote, on the making of *foto-auge*: "My aim was to produce an unpretentious, un-pompous book that should be beautiful but inexpensive. Above all without a hard cover. I used only single-sided art print paper (Chromo paper) but with Chinese folds (doubled), for otherwise the book would have been too thin. The unusual binding technique, my own invention, held the book block tight, yet the flexible covers opened clear to the left edge. . . . In accordance with our inclinations at the time, the texts in each copy appeared in German, French, and English."⁵ Also typical of the time were the consistent use of lowercase type and the German spelling "Fotografie" with an "f" instead of "ph." But what made *foto-auge* such a success were not only its

materials (matte paper was used throughout, and because of the double folding the reproductions did not show through) and its graphic design (the title line "foto-auge" appeared on the laminated cover in elegant blind stamping), but also the selection and quality of its reproductions. Because the economic crisis had already begun, sales were sluggish, however, so the authors received no royalties from the Akademischer Verlag Dr. Fritz Wedekind & Co., but were paid in complimentary copies.

In "*Mechanismus und Ausdruck*," Roh outlines the characteristics of the New Photography that support its claim to be recognized as art.⁶ For if one thinks of art as "something produced by man for its own sake and saturated with expression," based on "an organizing, individualizing principle," then good photographs qualify. For Roh, that principle is based in the act of selecting a "most fruitful piece of reality"⁷ in every respect, one for which the photographer has at his disposal a number of compositional possibilities: the position, perspective, detail, lighting, different degrees of focus, light-dark contrasts, and even the photo paper,⁸ but most of all the subject, the motif itself. According to Roh, that choice is the genuinely creative act in photography. Later in this text, discounting conventional reservations about art photography by rhetorical means, Roh describes the various possible forms modern photography can take—the real photo, photogram, negative print, photo-montage (a term that includes photocollage)—as well as photography combined with graphic, painterly, or typographical elements. In addition to the photographer's choice of subject, Roh discusses another decisive feature, the weeding out process: selecting from several possible pictures the most effective one. Whereas the photogram creates altogether new pictorial worlds oscillating "between geometrical abstraction and echoes of subjects,"⁹ the real photo is distinguished by its ability to introduce subjects not previously photographed—Roh mentions László Maholy-Nagy's shot of a storm drain in Paris (fig. 3) as an example—as well as depict old ones in new ways by means of unusual perspectives or double or multiple exposures. Roh assigns the various genres of the New Photography a place in the history of the medium as a second wave after that of photography's early years, especially the daguerreotype era, followed by a long period of decline in which photography chose to deny its nature and tried to imitate graphic or painterly images. One of the underlying themes at *Fi/Fo* was the legitimization of contemporary photography by way of studying its earliest years. The first room, designed by Moholy, included a few historical examples, including some from the collection of the photochemist and historian Erich Stenger.¹⁰ The fact that the medium imposed its own rules was something evident in all the innovative photography trends of the 1920s and in the organization of *Fi/Fo*. But Roh went beyond this, emphasizing the art's features of social relevance: for one, the fact that its renaissance was not brought about by professional photographers but by amateurs; and for another, that

essentially it can be learned by anyone and is easily affordable, thus representing a visual medium for both the upper and lower social classes. As Roh would put it in his essay “*Der Wert der Fotografie*” (The value of photography) a year later, this was its true sociological significance.¹¹

Franz Roh’s text sparkles with unreserved optimism about the medium, with the decided faith in progress that sustained any number of creative innovations beginning in the mid-1920s and their penetration into all realms of life—the New Architecture, for example, and the New Typography. The optimism was also expressed in other important publications of this time—Moholy’s aforementioned *Malerei, Fotografie, Film*, Werner Gräff’s *Es kommt der neue Fotograf!* (Here comes the new photographer!), and the Rasch brothers’ *Gefesselter Blick* (The captivated gaze)—as well as in the many positive reviews of *Fi/Fo*. But Roh saw the future of photography as art in the entire range of its experimental possibilities,¹² unlike Moholy, for whom the further development of photography would find its ultimate identity and fulfillment in film, and Albert Renger-Patzsch, with his dictum that a photograph’s artistic value lies in its realism.¹³ This is suggested even in Roh’s choice of El Lissitzky’s *Self-Portrait (The Constructor)* (fig. 4) for the book’s cover. Roh wrote as an art historian who repeatedly considered his subject in the light of history and scholarship. Typical of his theoretical approach is his reliance on dialectics, his thinking in antitheses that do not necessarily have to be harmonized but can coexist with equal justification—for example, the use of the concepts of “mechanism” and “expression” as opposites, where mechanism refers to the mechanics of the camera and expression the human spirit, or artistic expression.

The instructive coexistence of opposites, a way of life for Roh, also characterizes his own artistic interest in photographic experiments, especially collage. He traces his fascination with collage back to his own childhood experiences: “From my toddler years on I had experienced a fragmented yet cohesive world. . . . My mother was a strict vegetarian, but my father devoured quantities of meat. . . . Although my father maintained that gray was gray, my mother would . . . ask to see twenty different gray samples when she wanted to repaper a room. . . . The family maintained an overly groomed, gigantic garden that abruptly gave way to a wild, desolate wasteland.”¹⁴

Born in 1890 in an upper-middle-class family in Apolda, in the central German state of Thuringia, Roh, encouraged by his “hyperaesthetic” mother, enjoyed an artistic education.¹⁵ At thirteen he left home to attend high school in Weimar. There he met Wilhelm Flitner, the future reformist pedagogue, and Hans Czapski, son of the director of the Carl-Zeiss-Werke, with both of whom he maintained lifelong friendships. In 1909 Roh and his friends began studying humanities in Munich, where he first developed an interest in philosophical issues. In rapid succession he switched to Leipzig and then Jena, where

the three friends (in addition to Rudolf Carnap) became members of the Sera circle around the Jena publisher Eugen Diederichs.¹⁶ One of the central figures of the group—which was devoted to a Romantic, somewhat mystical regimen of health foods, hiking, and celebrations in nature—was the cultural philosopher Hermann Nohl. It was Nohl who encouraged Roh to concentrate exclusively on art history and to study under Ernst Heidrich, pupil of Heinrich Wölfflin, in Basel. At exhibitions in Jena’s progressive Kunstverein (Art association), Roh encountered some of the leading artists of his time, like Franz Marc; it was there that he published his first reviews, on exhibitions of the Expressionists Alexander Kanoldt, Adolf Erbslöh, and Emil Nolde, for example, and of Erich Heckel, whom he had also befriended. He spent the following two semesters in Basel, where he submitted himself wholly to the guidance of Ernst Heidrich (only nine years his senior), not only studying “like a medieval apprentice with his master” but also living in the “confined, supportive circle of the scholar’s family.”¹⁷ In his 1915 obituary of Heidrich, who died in 1914 in the first Battle of Flanders, Roh described him



fig. 4 El Lissitzky (Lazar Markovich Lissitzky). *Self-Portrait (The Constructor)*. 1924. Gelatin silver print, 5 ½ × 3 ½" (13.9 × 8.9 cm). The Museum of Modern Art, New York. Thomas Walther Collection. Gift of Shirley C. Burden, by exchange (MoMA 1764.2001). © 2014 Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York/VG Bild-Kunst, Bonn



fig. 5 Paul Citroen. *Metropolis (City of My Birth) (Weltstadt [Meine Geburtsstadt])*. 1923. Gelatin silver print, 1923–30, 8 × 6" (20.3 × 15.3 cm). The Museum of Modern Art, New York. Thomas Walther Collection. Gift of Thomas Walther (MoMA 1651.2001). © Paul Citroen/Artist Rights Society (ARS), New York/Pictoright, Amsterdam

as a teacher concerned with “defining most precisely an artist’s expression.”¹⁸ Influenced by Heinrich Wölfflin, Wilhelm Dilthey, and Adolph Goldschmidt —Heidrich had studied with all three—Roh sought to determine the “particular rhythm” of an artist and his time as the foundation on which he might contextualize the evolution of a new style.¹⁹

After a semester in Berlin, Roh once again transferred to the University of Munich, where in 1916 he became Wölfflin’s assistant. The influence of Wölfflin’s methodical thinking—concepts developed in his book *Kunstgeschichtliche Grundbegriffe* (Principles of art history)²⁰—is evident in Roh’s later writings, especially his famous book *Nach-Expressionismus: magischer Realismus: Probleme der neuesten Europäischen Malerei* (After Expressionism: Magical realism: Problems of the newest European painting). In a 1916 letter to his friend Arthur Meissner in Leipzig, Roh wrote that he was thinking of pursuing a museum career instead of an academic one: “If I could summon up the ethical self-denial to prove watertight the things that have been clear to me all my life, then I’ll become a teacher. Otherwise a museum man, where one might write, dream, actively organize on the side, that is to say pursue all my interests at the same time.”²¹ But after having earned his doctorate with a dissertation on

Dutch paintings of the seventeenth century, Roh settled on a career as a freelance art critic, at that time an unusual step for a German art historian.²² In his final years as a student he became friendly with Sigfried Giedion and Carola Welcker, who would later marry and who were also studying under Wölfflin, as well as Hans Finsler, later well known as a photographer and teacher. The friends shared an enthusiasm for the revolutionary uprising of 1918–19. Roh also began working more intensively on his own collages, taking his pictorial material, like Max Ernst, out of old almanacs, travel books, and textbooks.²³ He married his first wife, Hildegard, a physiotherapist, in 1917.

As a freelance art critic Roh began writing for the well-respected art journal *Das Kunstblatt*, edited by Paul Westheim, in 1921, for *Cicerone* beginning in 1922 (which was published by Klinkhardt & Biermann—the publisher that would produce his Fotothek series in 1930), and for the Munich monthly *Die Kunst* in the mid-1920s. His reviews mainly dealt with exhibitions of contemporary art, especially in Munich. In addition to collage, Roh, who owned a Leica, began experimenting with the possibilities of photography. In 1925 he published *Nach-Expressionismus*, about the objective, often fantastic-seeming painting of the post-war period that ultimately came to be known as the New Objectivity. The only photographic work reproduced in that well-informed survey was Paul Citroen’s famous photomontage *Metropolis* from 1923 (fig. 5)—an image as iconic for the New Photography as El Lissitzky’s *Self-Portrait (The Constructor)*—which he juxtaposed to a painting of a Paris scene by Robert Delaunay (the former as an example of post-Expressionism, the latter of Expressionism).²⁴ Nothing could “so clearly illustrate the complete interpenetration of the two major features of the newest art: extreme fantasy with extreme matter-of-factness, freest invention with absolute objectivity, Cubist fragmentation and simplest realism,” from which the aesthetic of a new era can be developed.²⁵ Roh’s picture pairing is one of the very few examples from the period of a photographic work being juxtaposed to a painting as an image of equal artistic value. Moreover, the chapter *Eigenausdruck der Natur (Kunst und Fotografie)* (Self-expression of nature [Art and photography]) is Roh’s first known text on photography, one that anticipated the essential arguments of “*Mechanismus und Ausdruck*” and essentially advocated for a pictorial idiom, both in painting and photography, committed more strongly to daily reality.

The years between 1927 and the beginning of 1933 mark a distinct turn to photography for Roh, not only in his writing and lecturing but also in his activity as a curator and artist.²⁶ In his 1927 essay on the collages of Max Ernst, Roh referred to the photographic work of Karl Blossfeldt—he had proofs of the illustrated volume *Urformen der Kunst* (Art forms in nature)²⁷—as well as that of Man Ray. In 1928 he published an article in *Das Kunstblatt* on the photographs of Aenne Biermann, his first on this previously unknown photographer. Biermann, who with her husband



fig. 6 Anne Biermann. *Ficus elastica (Gummibaum)*. 1926. Gelatin silver print, 1926–27, 14 3/4 × 11 1/8" (37.5 × 28.2 cm). The Museum of Modern Art, New York. Thomas Walther Collection. Gift of Thomas Walther (MoMA 1617.2001)

lived an upper-middle-class life in Gera, was self-taught. After making early pictures of her children and family, in 1927 she began creating a visual vocabulary indebted to the New Vision—its variety of motifs and style were similar to photographs by Albert Renger-Patzsch published in *Die Welt ist schön (The world is beautiful)*.²⁸ Roh had presumably been made aware of Biermann through his friend Wilhelm Flitner, for Biermann's husband Herbert and Flitner had become acquainted in the war, in 1915, and remained lifelong friends.²⁹ Or, possibly, Roh became aware of her through the Gera painter Kurt Günther, about whom Roh published an essay in 1928 and who had painted portraits of the Biermann children. Roh's article appeared on the occasion of Biermann's one-woman show in Günther Franke's I. B. Neumann gallery in Munich, which Roh himself had arranged. Following a show of Renger-Patzsch's photographs earlier that year, this exhibition was one of the earliest presentations in Munich of the New Photography.³⁰

Along with Biermann, to whom Roh would devote the second and what would be the final volume of his Fotothek series two years later, Roh adopted an artistic position paradigmatic of the New Photography. Not only was the New Photography shaped in part by women—the *Fi/Fo* exhibition catalogue alone lists more than twenty active women photographers (in addition to Biermann, Berenice Abbott, Florence Henri, Germaine Krull, and Yva)—but Biermann was among the artists Roh particularly admired for being self-taught and thus representative of the art of



fig. 7 Anne Biermann. *Andante Maestoso*. 1927–28. Gelatin silver print, 18 1/2 × 13 3/4" (47 × 35 cm). Pinakothek der Moderne, München. Stiftung Ann und Jürgen Wilde



fig. 8 Anne Biermann. *A View of a Wing (Blick in einen Flügel)*. 1927–28. Gelatin silver print, 18 1/2 × 13 3/4" (47 × 35.5 cm). Pinakothek der Moderne, München. Stiftung Ann und Jürgen Wilde



fig. 9 Anne Biermann. *Finale*. 1927–28. Gelatin silver print, 18 1/2 × 13 3/4" (47.4 × 34.8 cm). Pinakothek der Moderne, München. Stiftung Ann und Jürgen Wilde

laymen, a topic that occupied him for some years since his first encounter with the work of Henri Rousseau, who was also self-taught. In addition to Biermann's pictures of plants—some of her first picture compositions, for example her 1926 *Ficus elastica* (*Gummibaum*) (fig. 6)—Roh particularly admired a series of extraordinary photos of a piano, enlarged in highly fragmented close-ups (figs. 7–9): “But look at the piano photos, which form a self-contained series. They are like three movements in music . . . : first a monumental close-up *maestoso* of blocklike simplicity. Then a polyphonic, delicate movement that appears to lead off into the remotest distance. Finally a third movement that reworks the previous two: the Cubist power of the first superimposed on the thousand-stringed spaciousness of the second.”³¹ Roh underscores the similarity between a piano and a camera in his essay “*Der literarische Foto-Streit*” (The literary photo dispute): “What a simple, clearly defined apparatus is the piano with its repeating octaves, and how much personalized composition is possible on it.”³²

The Fotothek paperbacks—the first one, containing sixty photographs by László Moholy-Nagy, appeared in

1930—was conceived as a series of books that would appeal not only to fans of photography specifically but also to art and book lovers generally. There were to be other monographic volumes on such notable, style-setting artists as El Lissitzky and Alexander Rodchenko;³³ surveys, of Hamburg photographers, for example;³⁴ anthologies of portrait, press, sports, and nude photography;³⁵ and presentations of such themes as photomontage, film and photography, technology and photography, microphotography, and aerial photography. The third volume, *Das Monströse* (The monstrous), was to be devoted to a special theme, using examples from the collection of journalist and collector Raoul Korty—a “grandiose funhouse with demonic undertones”—to explore the phenomenon of kitsch in photography. But like all the other volumes after the second book, it was never published.³⁶

The Moholy book (fig. 10), like the second one, on Aenne Biermann (fig. 11), was designed by Jan Tschichold and printed in Munich by Bruckmann. Each reproduced sixty photographs, presenting a representative cross section of the artist's work, a formula that was to be followed in the planned volumes on Lissitzky and Rodchenko as well.

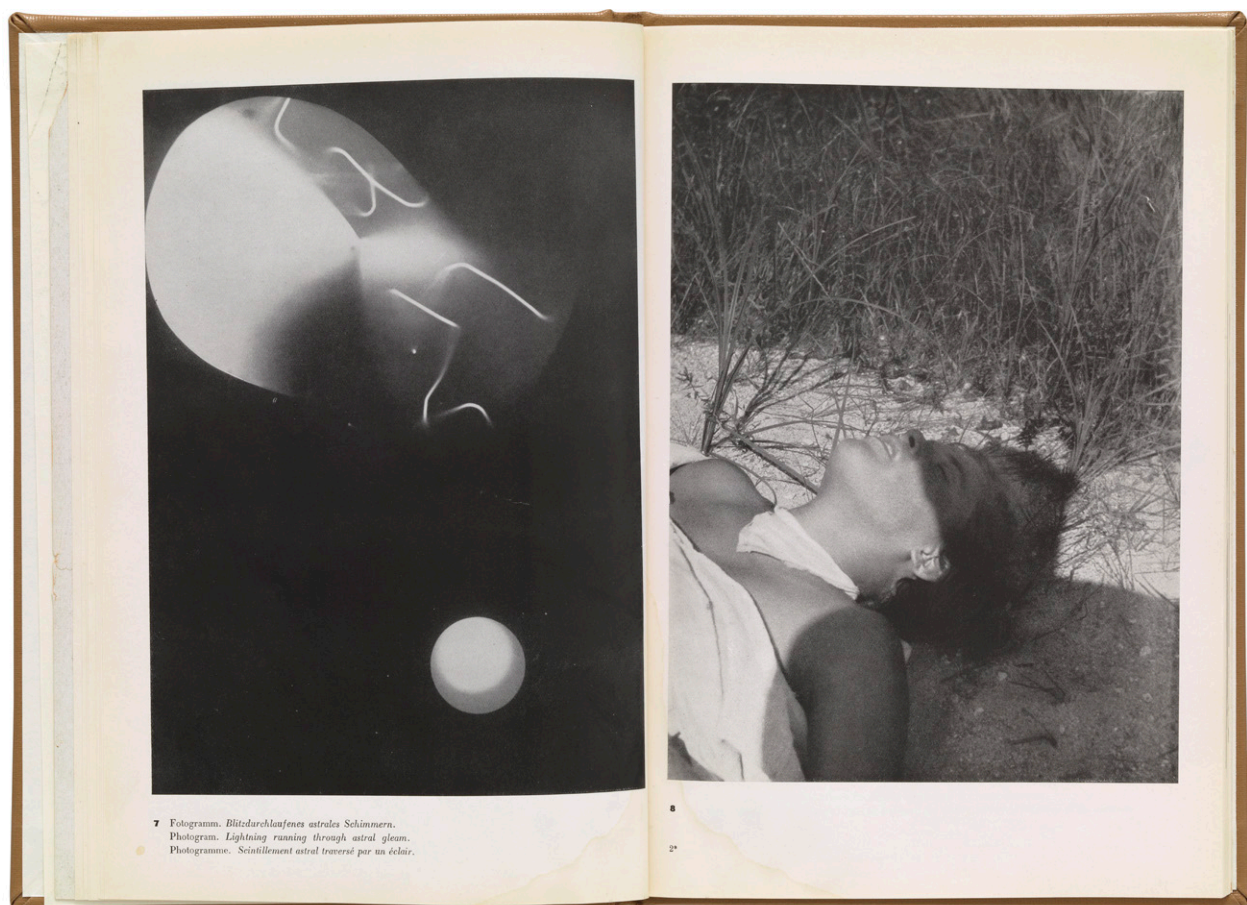


fig. 10 Spread from László Moholy-Nagy and Franz Roh. *László Moholy-Nagy: 60 Fotos*. Berlin: Klinkhardt & Biermann, 1930. The Museum of Modern Art Library, New York. Left: László Moholy-Nagy. *Photogram (Fotogramm)*. Right: László Moholy-Nagy. Untitled. © 2014 Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York/VG Bild-Kunst, Bonn

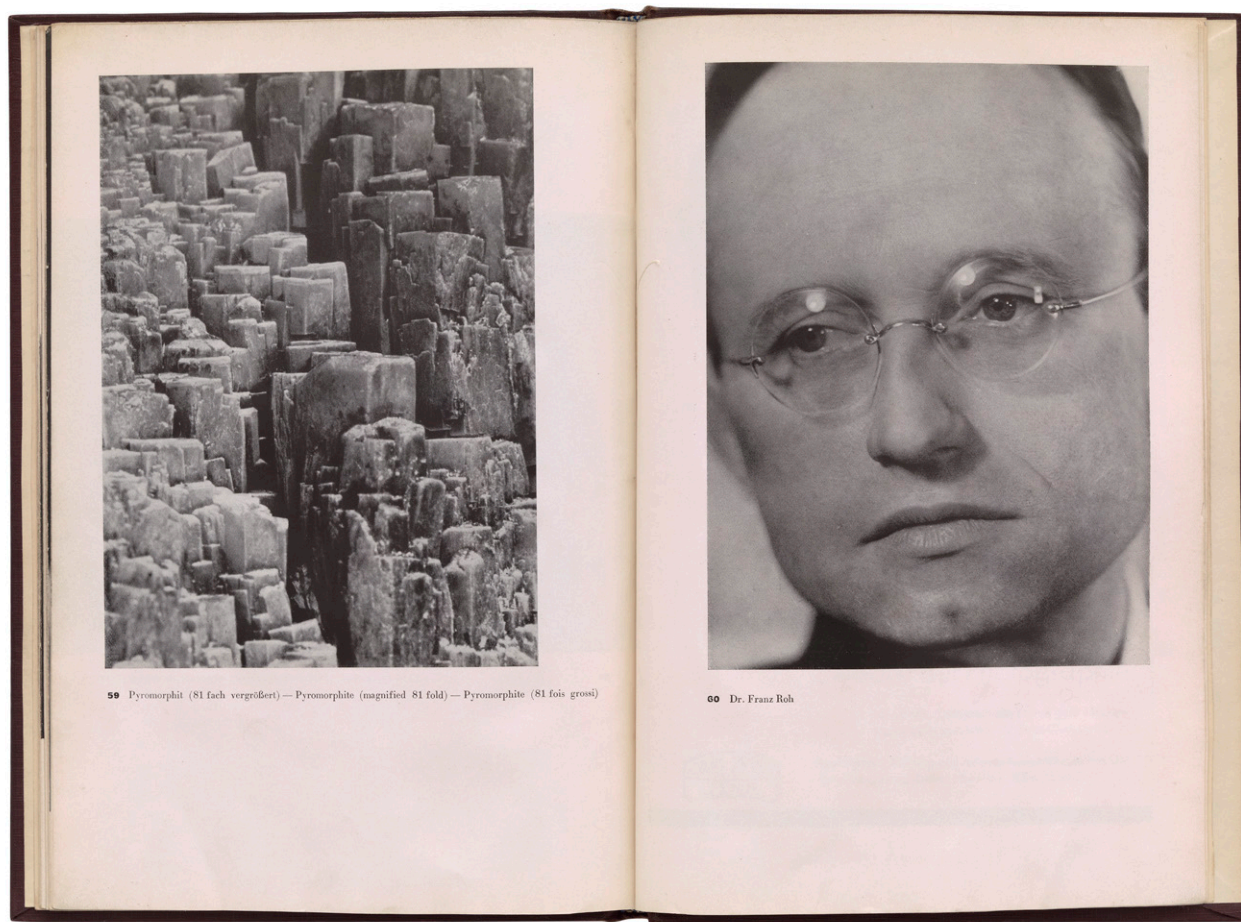


fig. 11 Spread from Aenne Biermann and Franz Roh. *Aenne Biermann: 60 Fotos*. Berlin: Klinkhardt & Biermann, 1930. The Museum of Modern Art Library, New York. Left: Aenne Biermann. *Pyromorphite (magnified 81 fold)* (*Pyromorphit [81 fach vergrößert]*). Right: Aenne Biermann. *Dr. Franz Roh*. © Estate Franz Roh, Munich

In concept, they were based on two highly successful photo books, the aforementioned *Die Welt ist schön* (1928), by Renger-Patzsch, and *August Sander's Antlitz der Zeit* (Face of our time) (1929), which also contain sixty photographs each. However, the main focus of the two Fotothek volumes was the complexity of the œuvre in question. The selection in the first volume³⁷—surely the reason why Roh had chosen Moholy for the series' inauguration—samples the entire range of artistic possibilities explored by the Hungarian Constructivist and style-setting Bauhaus teacher: along with so-called real photos, there were photograms, photomontages, photocollages (Moholy called them “photo sculptures”), negative prints, and film posters. Roh credited Moholy with having opened up the “realistic” photograph to new motifs and modes of composition, but it was above all in his experimental works that he saw the potential of photography as art. As in *foto-auge*, two pictures were juxtaposed on each double-page spread—regardless of their motif and how they had been made—engaged in stimulating dialogue with each other based on their formal aspects,

at times complementary, at times in counterpoint. In his desire to teach a way of seeing, Roh accompanied some of the reproductions with brief explanatory comments, as had Moholy in *Malerei, Fotografie, Film*. The shot of a balcony made in Ascona in 1926 has the caption: “Fantastic effect of space and object through the grid of light and shade.” And next to a photogram we read: “Astral shimmer shot through with lightning.”³⁸

Unlike Roh's introductory text on Moholy, “*Der literarische Foto-Streit*,” with which he opened the Biermann volume, did not attempt to introduce her work and place it in a contemporary context, but rather to confront the classic prejudices against photography as an art form. As he had in “*Mechanismus und Ausdruck*,” he describes the formal features of photography and viewing photos as “aesthetic ends in themselves.”³⁹ A passionate defense of photography and its legitimation as an independent form of artistic expression runs through all of Roh's writing on photography—from his first brief essay in 1925 to the pieces he published in the 1950s on Subjective Photography.



fig. 12 Georg Trump. Poster for the exhibition *Das Lichtbild* (Photography). 1930. Muenchener Stadtmuseum, Sammlung Graphik/Plakat/Gemaelde

His collaboration on the comprehensive exhibition *Das Lichtbild* (Photography) (fig. 12) gave Roh an opportunity to combine his scientific interests with curatorial work and to test, at least in an exhibition setting, his ideas for a stylistics of photography. The show, presented between June and September 1930 in the Munich exhibition grounds next to the Theresienwiese, was basically a reduced takeover of *Fi/Fo*.⁴⁰ The exhibition included more recent works from 1929–30, however, for example those of the Berlin photographer duo Ringl and Pit, and more regionally active artists and schools. But the main additions were works by August Sander, Edmund Kesting, Käte Steinitz, Bill Brandt, and Walker Evans, who had all been missing at the Stuttgart premiere.⁴¹ The director of the New Collection at the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Wolfgang von Wersin, headed the working committee, assisted by the Munich typographer Paul Renner (inventor of the typeface Futura) and the photographer Eduard Wasow. Roh was responsible for the historical section. Like *Fi/Fo*, the exhibition was devoted exclusively to the new compositional forms developed out of the medium-specific possibilities of photography. It included more than 2,000 pictures divided into four large areas: science, reportage, advertising, and photography as an end in itself. Unlike in Stuttgart, the latter-themed works were presented at the beginning of the circuit. In his opening speech, Paul Renner emphasized far more pointedly than had been done at *Fi/Fo* that the New Photography was above all concerned with documentary fidelity: “Truth in photography is by no means an automatic result of this mechanical technique, but is essentially artistic truth, it is a deliberate effort, the product of an intellectual position.”⁴² In the catalogue the artists are listed alphabetically within the four groupings, in

part by nationality and specialty, and usually with addresses; some are annotated with brief statements or references to publications. The historical section alone is five pages; it was more extensive and historically focused than was Moholy’s Room 1 in Stuttgart.⁴³ To Roh, early photography served as the “foil for a specifically modern vision,” so in his brief text, as in “*Mechanismus und Ausdruck*,” he exalts photography’s nascent years (especially the daguerreotype) and modern photography of his own time, as the two high points in the development of the medium. His text also includes a brief historical outline down to the invention of the glass negative as well as a section on specific arguments for and against photography like those he had also presented in “*Der literarische Foto-Streit*.” From what one can deduce from the catalogue, the actual exhibition owed most of its material to five historical collections: those of Erich Stenger, who had loaned works to *Fi/Fo*; the Hamburg Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe; Munich’s Stadtmuseum; Munich’s Residenzmuseum; and the atelier of Munich’s Hanfstaengl photographer dynasty.

The major focus of this historical selection was on the early years of photography and its most important figures, which Roh expanded with works by David Octavius Hill as the founder of artists’ photography “still in the noble sense.” Examples from the collection of Raoul Korty further served to illustrate the decline of photography around the turn of the century, the period of kitsch, as Roh called it, which also appeared to fascinate him (as previously mentioned, he planned to devote the third volume of *Fotothek* to the Korty collection). In *Das Lichtbild*, Roh mainly exhibited portraits of Viennese notables and such curiosia as picture puzzles and photographs of people with anatomical deformities. Roh concluded his catalogue text with references to a few current publications on the history of photography, namely those by Wilhelm Weimar, Erich Stenger, and his Viennese colleague Heinrich Schwarz. It was presumably as part of his preparation for the exhibition that Roh assembled an extensive collection of journal articles on the history of photography and reproductions of pictures that were to be used in his planned book on the stylistics of photography. The assembled texts mainly consisted of articles on the history of photography published between 1928 and 1931, for example on daguerreotypes, early snapshots, and X-ray pictures, as well as reviews of books and exhibits, and a typescript in English on the invention of the photogram; Roh also had an extensive collection of reproductions of photographs from nineteenth-century journals, primarily portraits. He had gathered this heterogeneous material from a wide variety of daily, weekly, and professional journals, and he would continue his research even after the close of the *Lichtbild* show.⁴⁴ The planned book on the stylistics of photography, frequently mentioned in his writings and lectures, was never realized.

Franz Roh’s papers include a large portfolio of photographs directly related to his realized and planned publications. In addition to photographs from the nineteenth century, photo albums, theater photographs, cartes de



fig. 13 Max Burchartz. *Lotte (Eye) (Lotte [Auge])*. 1928. Gelatin silver print, 1928–29, 11 7/8 × 15 3/4" (30.2 × 40 cm). The Museum of Modern Art, New York. Thomas Walther Collection. Acquired through the generosity of Peter Norton (MoMA 1646.2001). © 2014 Max Burchartz/Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York/VG Bild-Kunst, Germany

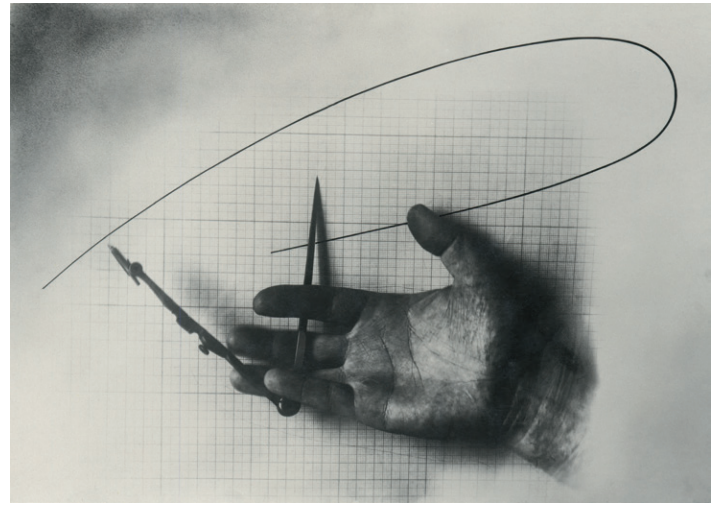


fig. 14 El Lissitzky (Lazar Markovich Lissitzky). *Untitled (Hand with a Compass)*. 1924. Gelatin silver print, 5 3/4 × 8 1/2" (14.6 × 20.5 cm). Collection Ann and Jürgen Wilde, Zülpich. © 2014 Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York/VG Bild-Kunst, Bonn

visite, and photographs of exhibition buildings, the portfolio includes outstanding individual pictures, for example: Max Burchartz's legendary photo *Lotte (Eye) (Lotte [Auge])* (fig. 13), a *Fi/Fo* icon; a picture of El Lissitzky's hand that was used in his montage intended as a symbol of the New Artist (fig. 14) as well as *Self-Portrait (The Constructor)*; rephotographed collages by Max Ernst; Albert Renger-Patzsch's famous close-up of a leaf called *Heterotrichum macrodum*; and works by Hans Finsler, Werner Rohde, Paul Schuitema, Friedrich Vordemberge-Gildewart, and Piet Zwart, all of which had been reproduced in *foto-auge*. More than fifty works by Biermann, most of them related to her book, attest to their intensive exchanges. Other photographers like Ernst Scheel and Hein Gorny had sent Roh pictures in the hope that he might publish them in his articles or books. In late 1931 Moï Ver, who with his book *Moï Ver: Paris* had quickly become one of the metropolis's most sought-after photographers, sent Roh a fully print-ready version of his new book project *Ci-contre*, with 110 original photographs (fig. 15).⁴⁵ From this large amount of photographic material, as well as the few letters included in the portfolio, it is obvious that Roh, though working as a freelancer, was considered one of the most important champions of modern photography at the beginning of the 1930s.⁴⁶

After 1930 Roh published only the odd brief article on contemporary photography. He planned additional exhibitions and was increasingly invited to lecture.⁴⁷ In 1931, for example, he gave his lecture "*Mechanismus und Ausdruck (Stilgeschichte der Fotografie)*" (Mechanism and expression [Stylistic history of photography]) in Breslau in connection with the Internationale Foto-Ausstellung presented by the Schlesisches Monatsheft, and also, according to

his own records, in Leipzig, Dresden, Zurich, Gera, and Essen; he also presented at the lecture series "*Photographie. Wesen—Grenzen—Aufgaben*" in 1933, organized by Berlin's Kunstbibliothek, to which the Dresden photographer Hugo Erfurth, Munich typography teacher Paul Renner, and media scholar Rudolf Arnheim were also invited.⁴⁸ "My personal 7 ways of seeing through the 100 years are illuminating . . . it has never been thought through before . . . most humorous excursus on the intermezzo of kitsch, and in closing important theories about the relationship between man's need to express himself and the available mechanics."⁴⁹ This lecture, in which Roh doubtless presented his already published theories, was mainly aimed at nonspecialists. Beginning with the daguerreotype, he developed a pictorial history of photography, including the portraits by the Scottish team of David Octavius Hill and Robert Adamson; the medium's first symptoms of decline owing to a confusion of its pictorial language with painterly effects in the mid-nineteenth century; an intermezzo on kitsch photography based on examples from studio photography; then the progression from pictorialism to the photography of his own time. He presented the latter in its entire range of experimental possibilities with selected examples, among them Burchartz's *Lotte (Eye)*, Lissitzky's *Self-Portrait (The Constructor)*, Paul Schuitema's *Grammophon*, and works by László Moholy-Nagy, Man Ray, and Max Ernst.⁵⁰ To Roh, according to a comment by Mussia Eisenstadt, the vividness and immediacy of modern photography formed a unique expression of the times, one that "captures our surroundings with such fanatic directness that they appear at one and the same time foreign and inescapably our own."⁵¹ Roh's lecture and his publications, like his interest since 1930 in the stylistics

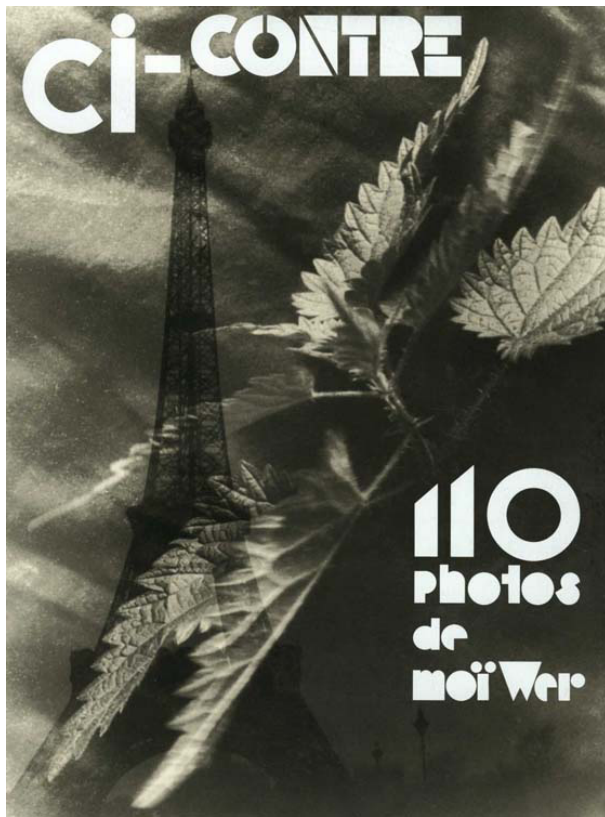


fig. 15 Cover of *Ci-contre: 110 photos de Moï Wer*, Moshé Raviv-Vorobeichic. Zülpich: Ann und Jürgen Wilde, 2004. © Ann und Jürgen Wilde

of photography, clearly mark the moment when writing on the history of photography emerged from a historiography of its technical development and ongoing inventions to a history of images and perception.⁵² “Mechanism” and “Expression” represented a crucial pair of concepts that the photo historian Helmut Gernsheim would also take up in his historical outline *New Photo Vision*, published in London in 1942.

Seven days after Roh’s Berlin lecture, the National Socialists seized power, and a few weeks later Roh and Jan Tschichold were taken into “protective custody.” The Nazis considered Roh a “cultural bolshevist” — in the 1937 Munich *Degenerate Art* exhibition they “honored” him by using a quote from him — but in all probability the reason for his arrest was mostly *foto-auge*, which beginning in 1935 appeared on the list published by the Reichsschrifttumskammer (the official writer’s union of the National Socialists) as “corrupting and undesirable writing” and was withdrawn from circulation.⁵³ Thanks to the efforts of his wife Hilde, Roh was released three months later, and lived during the twelve long years of the Third Reich with unimaginable cruelty, in an internal emigration of sorts, still living in Germany but opposed to its political system. He devoted himself to a work he

had thought about since the 1920s, his magnum opus *Der verkannte Künstler* (The misjudged artist), a study of prominent artistic positions of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in literature, visual art, and music — artists underappreciated in their lifetime but later highly valued. At the same time he wrote a number of essays on aesthetic and philosophical subjects, but published nothing.⁵⁴

After 1945 Roh became a leading champion of abstract art. In the considerable amount of writing he did in the last twenty years of his life, photography played only a minor role. Nevertheless, it was Roh who contributed an essay to the first catalogue of the exhibition *Subjektive Fotografie* (Subjective photography).⁵⁵ Otto Steinert, the most important impresario of postwar photography in Germany — an art photographer, curator, and teacher all in one — was the force behind this Saarbrücken exhibition of the newest trends in contemporary photography.⁵⁶ The selection concentrated on highly formalistic, experimental works in which “aspects of personal creativity” were featured as opposed to commercial, documentary, or journalistic photography. By integrating works by Man Ray, Herbert Bayer, and the deceased László Moholy-Nagy, Steinert deliberately linked it to experimental international positions of avant-garde photography of the 1920s, and in choosing Franz Roh as author he turned to one of its most important proponents.⁵⁷ With titles like “*Mechanismus und Ausdruck*” and “*Der literarische Foto-Streit*” Roh reverted to his texts published before 1933 in the context of the Subjective Photography movement.⁵⁸ Just as Roh reached back to photography’s earliest years in order to situate modern photography in a historical context and set it apart from art photography’s antimodern, inauthentic tendencies, Steinert proclaimed the New Vision as a historical precursor of Subjective Photography, so as to overcome the poor repute into which photography had fallen owing to its exploration for fascist propaganda.⁵⁹

Like Roh, Steinert was mainly committed to the promotion of photography as a independent form of artistic expression. In essays and lectures, Roh returned again and again to the title “*Mechanismus und Ausdruck*,” concerned with the legitimation of photography as a medium equivalent to the other graphic arts⁶⁰ and the range of its experimental possibilities between reality and abstraction. Devoting brief discussions to the work of Peter Keetman, Heinz Hajek-Halke, Eugen Funk, and Floris Neusüss, Roh explored, as he had in his prewar writings, the genuinely artistic possibilities of photography primarily in its various experimental forms, “so long as they remain photographic, that they savor the charms that can be achieved with no other technique.”⁶¹ The development of “straight photography” in the United States was not the focus of his interest, nor did it leave its mark on German photography either of the 1920s and 1930s or the early 1950s.

Translated from the German by Russell Stockman

NOTES

1. Walker Evans, "The Reappearance of Photography," *Hound and Horn* 5, no. 1 (October–December 1931): 127.
2. Franz Roh and Jan Tschichold, *foto-auge: 76 Fotos der Zeit* (Stuttgart: Akademischer Verlag Fritz Wedekind, 1929). Throughout this essay (except where it begins a sentence) the book's title is given without initial capital letters, matching its appearance on the book's cover. Elsewhere on the *Object:Photo* website, the book title is given as *Foto-Auge: 76 Fotos der Zeit*.
3. The abbreviation *Fi/Fo* appears on letters sent by the exhibition's directors and has been adopted for this text. Elsewhere on this website, the abbreviation *Fifo* is used.
4. Gustav Stotz, *International Ausstellung des Deutschen Werkbunds Film und Foto*, exh. cat. (Stuttgart: Deutscher Werkbund, 1929), p. 12. As director of the Werkbund's Württemberg section, Stotz had already achieved prominence in 1927 with the Weissenhof Project, dedicated to the New Architecture, and the exhibition *Die Wohnung*.
5. Jan Tschichold, "Wie das Buch foto-auge (1929) entstand," in *Schriften 1925–1974*, vol. 2 (Berlin: Brinkmann & Bose, 1991), pp. 423f. The 1973 reprint from the Ernst Wasmuth Verlag matches the original in format, length, and picture selection, but not in the materials used for the cover, the paper, and binding or in the quality of the reproductions. In the original volume, as in the *Fi/Fo* catalogue, there was a list of the photographers' addresses.
6. Franz Roh, "Mechanismus und Ausdruck," in Roh and Jan Tschichold, *foto-auge*, pp. 3ff.
7. The concept of the "most fruitful piece of reality" recalls Gotthold Ephraim Lessing's *Laokoön oder Über die Grenzen der Malerey und Poesie*, in which the writer develops genre-immanent distinctions between visual art and literature based on the notion of the "fruitful moment."
8. On this, see also Franz Roh, "Moholy Nagy und die neue Fotografie," in Roh, ed., *Moholy-Nagy. 60 Fotos* (Berlin: Klinkhardt & Biermann 1930), p. 3.
9. Roh, "Mechanismus und Ausdruck," p. 5.
10. For the history of the creation of Room 1, see Oliver Lugon, "Neues Sehen, Neue Geschichte. László Moholy Nagy, Sigfried Giedion und die Ausstellung Film und Foto," in *Sigfried Giedion und die Fotografie* (Zurich: gta-Verlag 2010), pp. 94ff. Surprisingly, Moholy exhibited no originals, only reproductions.
11. Franz Roh, "Der Wert der Fotografie," *Hand und Maschine* 1, no. 11, 1930: 219.
12. See Franz Roh, "Fotografien der Bayerischen Staatsschule für Lichtbildwesen," in *Die Kunst für Alle* 45, 1929/1930: 284.
13. Albert Renger-Patzsch, "Ziele," in *Das deutsche Lichtbild* (Stuttgart: Strache, 1927), XVIII.
14. Franz Roh, *Kommt man so zur Collage*, in *Franz Roh: Metamorphosen* (Wuppertal: Galerie Parnass), 1963.
15. Hans-Dieter Mück, "Lebensweg und Lebenswerk von Franz Roh," in *Magie der Realität, Magie der Form. Eine Hommage für Franz Roh 1890–1965*, exh. cat. (Stuttgart: Kunsthaus Avantgarde Apolda, 2000), pp. 6ff.
16. Meike Werner, *Moderne in der Provinz. Kulturelle Experimente im Fin de Siecle Jena* (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2003), pp. 275ff. Extensive correspondence with Wilhelm Flitner and Rudolf Carnap, also with Heinrich Wölfflin and Herman Nohl, is preserved at the Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles.
17. Letter to Arthur Meissner, August 2, 1916, in Franz Roh, Juliane Roh, Hans Konrad Röthel, *Hommage à Franz Roh* (Munich: München Gesellschaft der Freunde junger Kunst, 1966), n.p.
18. Franz Roh, "Nachruf," in Ernst Heidrich, *Zur Erinnerung an Ernst Heidrich*, limited edition (Basel: Schwabe, 1915), pp. 61ff.
19. *Ibid.*
20. In 1915 Wölfflin had published his *Kunstgeschichtliche Grundbegriffe*, in which he presents comparative seeing based on five pairs of categories as the foundation of art-historical methods.
21. Franz Roh, letter to Arthur Meissner, August 2, 1916, in *Hommage à Franz Roh*.
22. Roh may have made this unusual decision because he saw no possibility of being able to follow his explicit interest in contemporary art in the framework of academic or museum activity. It is also conceivable that, owing to a slight disability since birth, he would have been denied working in public service.
23. For Roh's own artistic work, see Franz Roh, "Anti-Monumentales. Warum ich montiere," in *Das Kunstwerk* 8 (1954–55): 48–50; and Roh, *Kommt man so zu Collage*.
24. The original *Metropolis* collage is now in the Prentenkabinet, Universiteit Leiden. Probably Citroen made reproductions of the frequently published picture when he first created it. The art historian Hans Hildebrandt also published it in his *Geschichte der Kunst des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts*, which came out between 1924 and 1931, as did Moholy in both editions of *Malerei, Fotografie, Film*.
25. Franz Roh, *Nach-Expressionismus. Magischer Realismus. Probleme der neuesten europäischen Malerei* (Leipzig: Klinkhardt & Biermann, 1925), p. 46.
26. For Roh's photographic experiments, see Pepper Stetler, "Franz Roh and the Art History of Photography," on this website. Although Roh considered photography more of a hobby, he occasionally published works. For example, he published a strip of negatives in *foto-auge* and is listed among the exhibitors in *Das Lichtbild*. In addition to experimental works, of which he produced prints, his estate includes an archive of several thousand negatives. It was mostly as an amateur and on his travels that Roh captured impressions inspired by the style of the New Vision; he was interested above all in architectural details, situational snapshots, and nude studies. Some of the pictures, most of them never enlarged, exhibit technical and formal flaws.
27. The book had not yet appeared, but Roh related that he had proofs of it.
28. One assumes that Biermann had visited the exhibition *Neue Wege der Photographie* in Jena, only twenty-five miles away, and also that she knew Renger-Patzsch's book, which had been widely publicized. This does not necessarily mean that Renger-Patzsch's works were a direct influence on her work, but rather, as Ute Eskildsen writes, "that contemporaries not only developed parallel representational styles but also formulated their ideas using similar motifs." See Ute Eskildsen, *Aenne Biermann. Fotografien 1925–1933* (Berlin: Nishen, 1987), p. 14.

29. Wilhelm Flitner, *Erinnerungen. 1889-1945* (Paderborn: Verlag Ferdinand Schöningh, 1986). Photographs by Aenne Biermann were passed down in Flitner's family; some are now in the collection of the Museum Folkwang in Essen, Germany.
30. It was followed by an exhibition in 1929 of photographs and photomontages by László Moholy-Nagy, also suggested by Roh, which Franke presented in collaboration with the German artists' association Die Juryfreien. Thanks to Roh, the association had briefly become a magnet for Munich's avant-garde. See *Ohne Auftrag, Zur Geschichte des Kunsthandels* 1 (1989): 84.
31. Franz Roh, "Photos von Aenne Biermann," *Das Kunstblatt* 12, 1928: 307. The three pictures in large-format prints were in Franz Roh's estate and are now in the Stiftung Ann und Jürgen Wilde Collection at the Pinakothek der Moderne, Munich.
32. Franz Roh, "Der literarische Foto-Streit," in Roh, ed., *Aenne Biermann. 60 Fotos* (Berlin: Klinkhardt & Biermann, 1930), p. 3.
33. The correspondence between El Lissitzky and Jan Tschichold suggests that contact with the Soviet artists was arranged by Tschichold.
34. Letter from Ernst Scheel to Franz Roh, February 9, 1931, Archiv Ann und Jürgen Wilde, Zülpich.
35. With, among others, works by Raoul Hausmann, with whom Roh had corresponded about it beginning in 1932; see Eva Züchner, ed., *Scharfrichter der bürgerlichen Seele. Raoul Hausmann in Berlin 1900-1933* (Stuttgart: Hatje Cantz Verlag, 1998), p. 417.
36. Franz Roh, "Fototehk. Bücher der Neuen Fotografie," in Roh, *Aenne Biermann. 60 Fotos*, n.p. It is assumed that because of the emerging worldwide economic crisis the Fototehk series had to be abandoned after the second volume. It doubtless sold no better than had *foto-auge* the year before, even though it was sold at a relatively modest price.
37. It is not clear whether Moholy or Roh made the selection, but based on his acquaintance with Moholy and his presentation at *Fi/Fo*, Roh was quite familiar with Moholy's work, and one may assume a collaborative selection that is also reflective of Moholy's 1929 Munich exhibition.
38. Roh, *Moholy-Nagy*, ills. 1 and 7.
39. Franz Roh, "Der literarische Foto-Streit," in Roh, *Aenne Biermann. 60 Fotos*, p. 3.
40. For more on *Fi/Fo*, *Das Lichtbild*, and other important photography exhibitions of the period, see Olivier Lugon, "Photography and Exhibition in Germany around 1930," in Mitra Abbaspour, Lee Ann Daffner, and Maria Morris Hambourg, eds., *Object:Photo. Modern Photographs: The Thomas Walther Collection 1909-1949* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 2014); and "Prints from the Thomas Walther Collection and German Exhibitions around 1930," on this website.
41. *Internationale Ausstellung Das Lichtbild, Führer durch die Ausstellung* (Munich, 1930). This exhibition would also travel after it closed, namely to Essen, Düsseldorf, Dessau, and Breslau.
42. Paul Renner, speech at the opening of the *Internationale Ausstellung Das Lichtbild*, in *Die Form* (Berlin: Reckendorf, 1930), pp. 377f.
43. Moholy wanted to systematically illustrate "the various fields of photography from the point of view of documentary registration of the world . . . the capture of movement and the deliberate composition of light and shadow." See Stotz, *Internationale Ausstellung des Deutschen Werkbunds Film und Foto*, p. 49.
44. Roh's collection of materials, surely only fragmentary, is preserved in the archive of the Munich Fotomuseum; however, it is not known when and by whom it was acquired. Photo-chemist Josef Maria Eder had begun a file in a comparable style; see Miriam Halwani, *Geschichte der Fotogeschichte* (Berlin: Reimer, 2012), p. 83.
45. The book was published posthumously in 2004: *Ci-contre: 110 photos de Moi Wer, Moshé Raviv-Vorobeichic* (Zülpich: Ann und Jürgen Wilde, 2004). With texts by Hannes Böhringer and Inka Graeve Ingelmann.
46. The portfolio described came into the possession of Ann and Jürgen Wilde in 1968; see Maria Morris Hambourg, "Lost and Found: The Emergence and Rediscovery of European Avant-Garde Photography," in Mitra Abbaspour, Lee Ann Daffner, and Maria Morris Hambourg, eds., *Object:Photo. Modern Photographs: The Thomas Walther Collection 1909-1949* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 2014). The print of *Lotte (Eye)*, as well as a few pictures by Aenne Biermann from Roh's estate, found their way into the Thomas Walther Collection by way of Galerie Wilde, Cologne.
47. For example, in 1930 Roh invited the Bauhaus teacher Walter Peterhans and Max Burchartz, then teaching in Essen, to collaborate on an exhibition in Saarbrücken, for which Burchartz sent pictures by himself and his pupils.
48. For the activities of the Kunstbibliothek and its director Curt Glaser in the realm of the New Photography, see Hambourg, "Lost and Found."
49. Franz Roh to Wilhelm and Elisabeth Flitner, January 17, 1933, quoted in *Neues Sehen in Berlin: Fotografie der zwanziger Jahre* (Berlin: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preuß. Kulturbesitz, 2005), p. 256. Roh's notion of forms of seeing goes back to his teacher Heinrich Wölfflin.
50. A lively report on the lecture series and Roh's lecture in particular was published in 1933 under the title "Lichtschrift" in the journal *Kunst und Künstler*; see *Neues Sehen in Berlin*, pp. 256-58. It seems likely that Erich Stenger and Roh's longtime friend Lucia Moholy, both of whom were working on a history of photography in Berlin, attended the lecture.
51. *Neues Sehen in Berlin*, p. 257.
52. For the history of photography, see Martin Gasser, "Histories of Photography 1839-1939," in *History of Photography* 16, no. 1: 50ff; Miriam Halwani, *Geschichte der Fotogeschichte*, 2012.
53. Thomas Lersch, "Schreibverbot? Erkundungen zu Franz Roh," in Nikola Doll, Christian Fuhrmeister, and Michael H. Sprenger, eds., *Kunstgeschichte im Nationalsozialismus. Beiträge zur Geschichte einer Wissenschaft zwischen 1930 und 1950* (Weimar: Verlag und Datenbank für Geisteswissenschaften, 2005), pp. 161-81.
54. Extensive materials are now preserved in the Deutsches Kunstarchiv, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg.
55. *Subjektive Fotografie*, exh. cat. (Saarbrücken: Saarland Verlag, 1951). A year later an illustrated book of the same name appeared for which Roh contributed the essay "Über die innere Reichweite der Fotografie."
56. Otto Steinert, "Vorwort," in *Subjektive Fotografie*.

57. On the occasion of the opening, Roh once again gave a lecture on the stylistics of photography. In addition to Roh, the art historian J. A. Schmoll, who later worked in Munich, also contributed an essay. Up until the 1970s Schmoll was the only art-history professor in Germany who dealt with photography.

58. For the reprint of "Der literarische Foto-Streit," Roh made handwritten corrections in one of his copies from 1930. Occasionally he changed terms; for example, he replaced the concept of the "creative" person with the "productive" one. *Subjektive Fotografie*, 11.

59. The so-called "media" Documenta of 1977—which reflected the reawakened interest in photographic forms of expression in the 1970s—invoked historic photography.

60. Franz Roh, "Lichtbildkunst auf neuen Wegen. Zu Fotos von Peter Keetman," *Die Kunst und das schöne Heim* 49, 1951: 135.

61. Franz Roh, "Zu Solarisationsfotos von Eugen Funk," in *Gebrauchsgraphik* 7 (Munich 1958): 22.

Citation:

Inka Graeve Ingelmann. "Mechanics and Expression: Franz Roh and the New Vision—A Historical Sketch." 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/GraeveIngelmann.pdf>.