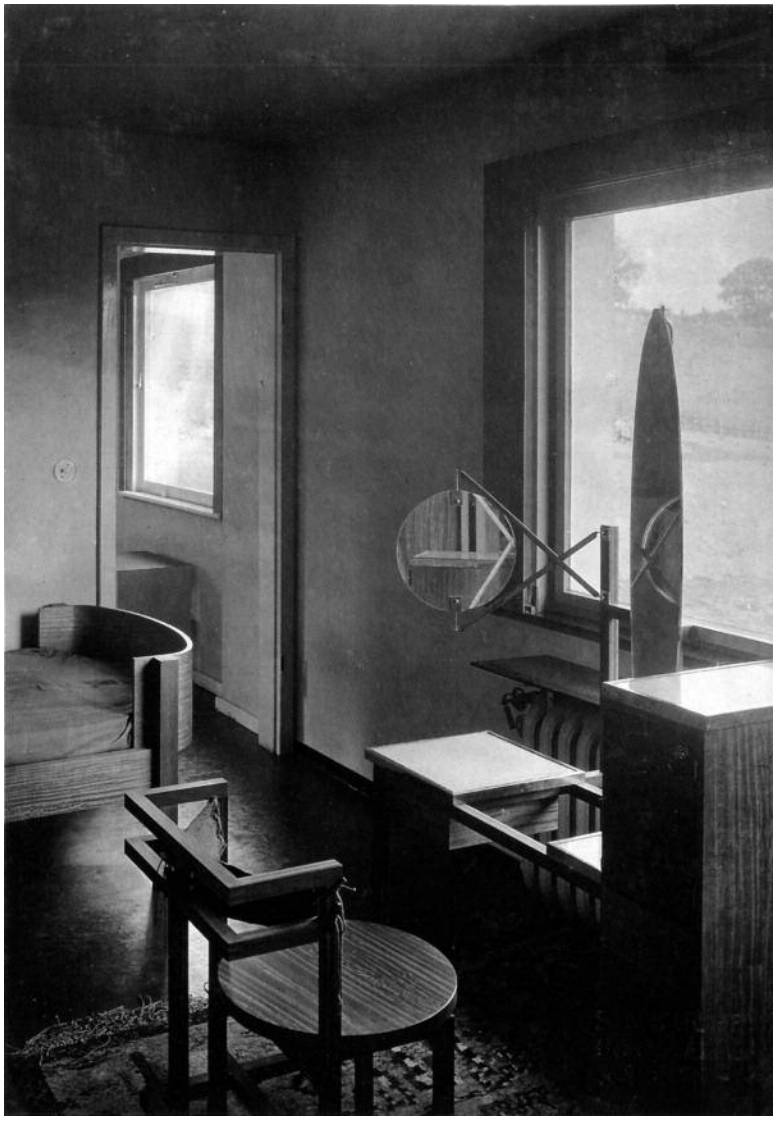


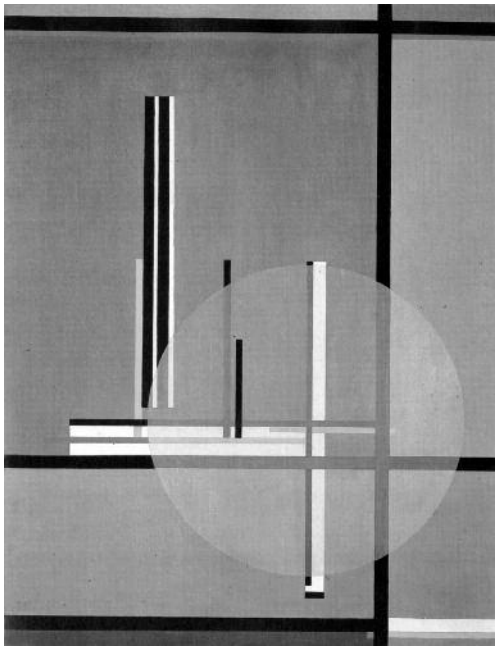
Marcel Breuer.
Woman's room, Haus am Horn,
1923. Bauhaus-Archiv Berlin.

Breuer's Furniture, Moholy-Nagy's Photographic Paradigm, and Complex Gender Expressivity at the Haus am Horn

EDIT TÓTH

László Moholy-Nagy's once controversial statement—by now a truism—that "the illiterates of the future will be ignorant of the use of camera and the pen alike" originally implied a need for a photographic language uniquely qualified to organize the complexity of modern life and our perceptual experiences of it.[1] Moholy-Nagy's photographic paradigm and technologically oriented constructivism most clearly became associated with what we consider today the "Bauhaus image," disseminated through the *Bauhausbücher* series—under his direction—and various Bauhaus publications' eye-catching combinations of photographic imagery and text. Enhancing visibility in design, Moholy-Nagy believed, was necessary in order to diverge from the overwhelming sensation of ads, electric signs, shop windows, and street traffic, each of which solicited spectators' attention without providing well-articulated light effects and the material means to comprehend its composition.[2] His own photographic practice offered design clues for students in his cameraless photograms, New Vision photography, "typo-photo," and "photoplastics" (photomontage) that fused visual components and tactics of Russian constructivism, De Stijl, and dada into a broad constructivist idiom. The present article interprets Moholy-Nagy's initial 1922–1923 experiments with photograms—involving contrasting, modulating, and transparent geometric shapes and textures; light-shadow effects manipulated with lenses and mirrors; and black-and-white photography's unique means of illumination that enhanced the visuality of his images—as inspiration for integrated and highly visible design projects.[3] In this way photography not only recorded the designs to create a unified Bauhaus image, but its properties and experimental processes were also employed to intensify certain aspects of the designed objects' visibility and structure.

Grey Room 50, Winter 2013, pp. 90–111.

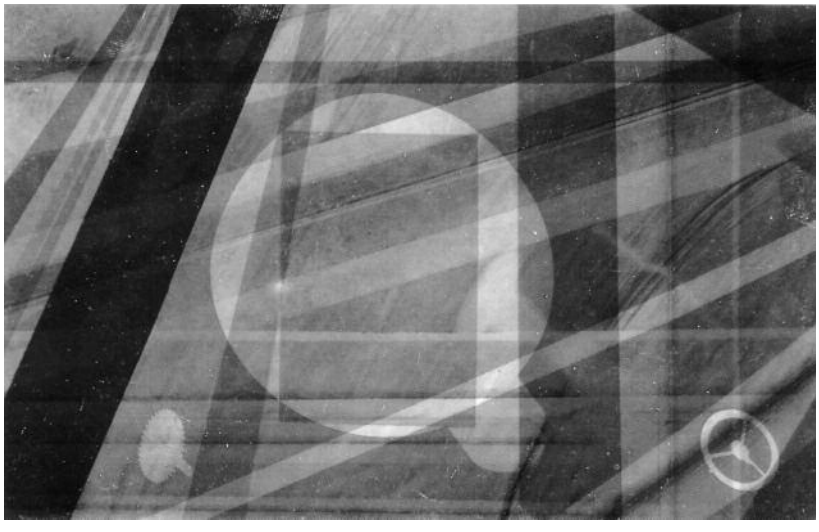


The photographic reproductions featured in the catalogue created for the promotion of the Haus am Horn, a state-of-the-art home at the 1923 landmark Bauhaus exhibition Art and Technology: A New Unity were the first to suggest this experimental design method to the public and thus can be considered as the place where the new "Bauhaus image" began to emerge.[4] The exhibition held in Weimar (from August through September) is most remembered for its model house built for a modern family and furnished by outstanding Bauhaus students, most notably Marcel Breuer. Designed by Georg Muche, the house contained a square central living room surrounded by smaller adjacent bedrooms for the woman, man, and children, and an aligned dining room, kitchen, bathroom, and guest room. The Haus am Horn was a watershed in giving visual form to technologically infused design in architecture and furnishings, even if the way technology in art was supposed to look was still in the making. Although the photographic reproductions used in the catalogue are anonymous, and the originals in the hand-made Bauhaus album for the Haus am Horn they are stamped by Staatliche Bildstelle, Berlin, they are composed in the constructivist style of Moholy-Nagy.[5] They attempt to convey a unified "photographically and technologically informed" approach to design that seeks to maneuver the chaotic elements of modernity into an organized living space. This evolving photographic consciousness is expressed in the photographs' highlighting of the bold contrasts of materials, the shiny surfaces, and the constructive nature of the designs reflected in mirrors or framed by geometry to attract attention.

One of the photographs of Breuer's interior design and furniture for the woman's bedroom forms a connection with Moholy-Nagy's work and hints at the perceptual and photographic focus of the design process.[6] In the center of the photograph the dressing table's round mirror (a metaphor for visibility) has been turned toward the camera as if confiding some message about the room. Because the abstract pattern "made visible" by the mirror is not obvious to the viewer, she or he is prompted to look for associations elsewhere. The round mirror reflection, by a correspondence of chance and design, resembles *LIS* (1922), one of Moholy-Nagy's early transparency paintings, which was possibly featured at the February 1923 Der Sturm gallery show that persuaded Walter Gropius (Bauhaus director and form master of the carpentry workshop at the time) to hire him.[7] *LIS*'s ordered stripes and mirror shape evoke architectural and visual technologies in turn, reminding one of Moholy-Nagy's experiments in photograms, a technique he had recently

Opposite: László Moholy-Nagy. *LIS*, 1922. Oil on canvas.

Right: László Moholy-Nagy. *Untitled*, 1922. Photogram.



appropriated for artistic purposes with the assistance of his wife, Lucia Moholy. With its transparent multilayered space, modulating bands, and mirror shape set in focus, *LIS* may be taken as a refunctioning of photographic capabilities in other media, here painting. The implied interrelationship between the painting, furniture, the carefully composed exhibition photographs, and the photographic medium itself is an example of the Bauhaus preoccupation with the integration of the arts in new technological frameworks. This interrelationship connects Breuer's design with Moholy-Nagy's photographic model and frames our understanding of Breuer's design according to Moholy-Nagy's ideas of visuality, perceptual training, and "creative production," suggesting some kind of cooperation between the two artists.

The photographs of the woman's room nevertheless possess a complicating twist, because the duplications and reflected resemblances suggest an engagement with the "new woman" and her self-formation. Much of the image overflow in cities, including mass-circulating movies and a profusion of photographic images in illustrated magazines and advertising billboards catered to the recently emancipated female consumer and spectator, the would-be inhabitant of the Haus am Horn. Increasingly a participant in the workforce, this new woman was eager to form a new self-image that would accord with her changed lifestyle and allow for greater social cohesion. Breuer's furnishings seem to transform Moholy-Nagy's photographic paradigm into a question of complex gender expressivity, attempting to facilitate the new woman's self-fashioning and embodied perception as part of her social integration. These preoccupations intersected with investigations by philosophers such as Edmund Husserl, as well as with cultural theorists' investigations of bodily behavior and the everyday, routine activities that defined urban practices.

Despite the numerous accounts of the 1923 Bauhaus exhibition, scholars have made little effort to explain the role photography and other new media came to play in the design process.[8] Because Breuer's early work is usually described from the point of view of functionalism and the influence of De Stijl, the reconceptualization of his furniture, especially the dressing table, a work produced as part of his journeyman examination, can in the experimental framework of photography serve as a case study of Bauhaus initiative.[9] The present study, in short, will illuminate how photography could offer insights

for design, in keeping with Moholy-Nagy's conceptual analysis of photography, while also reframing design to strengthen its visual accessibility. In this way, Breuer's furniture and its photographic presentations emerge as a site of competing interpretive strategies and meanings that the constructed furniture and images gathered and attempted to stabilize, countering the passive, disembodying effects of mass cultural imagery, to activate and orient the female user in her social interactions. The result is a blurring of the point at which the Bauhaus image ends and the image of the new woman begins.

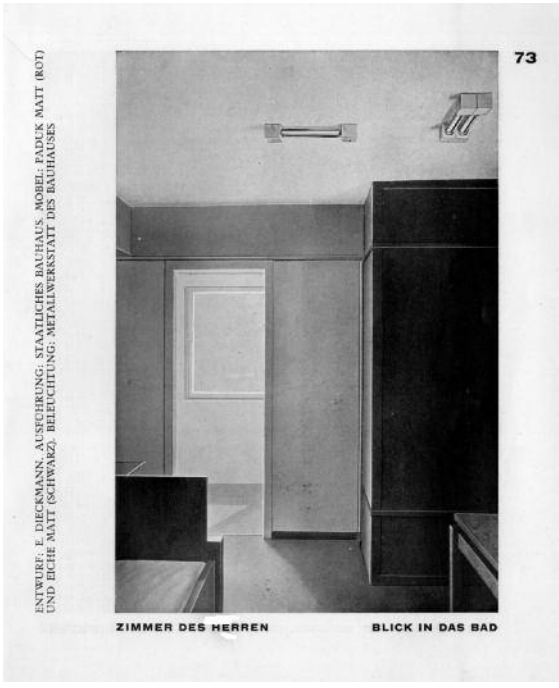
Moholy-Nagy and Photographic Visibility

Moholy-Nagy's 1922 article "Production—Reproduction," written with his wife, Lucia, and published in *De Stijl* shortly before he joined the Bauhaus, advocates the photogram both as an inventive and "productive" practice for testing the possibilities of the photographic medium and as a means of training perception in order to further social cohesion.[10] One might wonder how and why the pursuit of photographic medium-specificity, productive design, and visual education could be presented as interconnected enterprises. In *Painting, Photography, Film* (1925), Moholy-Nagy argues that in modernity optical phenomena exceed our ability to comprehend complicated appearances because one's senses are continuously challenged and disoriented in the modern city and mass media has failed to organize its resources in a way that would benefit people.[11] Modernity "has [also] caused our age to shift almost imperceptibly towards colorlessness and grey: the grey of the big city, of the black-and-white newspapers, of the photographic and film services," he observes.[12] Under these conditions the great variety of light-dark modulations, contrasts, transparencies, and light effects of the "pure," nonrepresentational photogram, which Moholy-Nagy was producing before taking up camera photography around 1924–1925, could be charged with the "social mission" of adjusting and refining perception precisely by the isolation and reframing of photographic properties and the interaction of light with materials. His untitled photogram from 1922 (see previous page) shows the imprints of cogwheels and a bright reflector-like circle framed and separated by modulated constructive gridwork. The bright circle, in a manner similar to the painting *LIS*, draws the eye in; it enhances the visibility of the intricate superimposed layers of variously textured stripes and planes that we gradually begin to distinguish. Simple constructivist geometry, through the principle of *Prägnanz* (the tendency to simplest shape, a basic gestalt law), was to create divergence from the chaotic city experience, producing a structural framework to make the various grey and light phenomena, dispersed in a multitude of applications in the city, more comprehensible.[13] Moholy-Nagy's discovery of

layered abstract designs on the windowpane of Erich Buchholz's constructivist studio in 1922 may have provided the incentive for similar "perceptual exercises" with mirrors, distographs, and photograms assigned at the Bauhaus for generating "photographic vision."[14] These phenomenal elements and processes were to materialize the mechanics of seeing, rendering "visible" structures of vision in aesthetic form while simultaneously serving as inspiration for design work.

Whether Moholy-Nagy's photogram can train the biological eye is questionable; its importance resides in taking hold of, mediating, and transforming disembodied, dehumanized, and commodified aspects of the modern technological world into aesthetic experiences grounded (literally imprinted) in material objects and practices. In this sense photography becomes a kind of creative "filter," an "epistemological mediation of urban conditions," and a tool for reorganizing its visual space by suggesting open-ended possibilities and a unifying basis for design.[15] On the basis of the photogram, Moholy-Nagy's "Production—Reproduction" article called for the experimental reformulation of the material procedures and mechanisms of photography, film, and other "apparatuses," extending their productive potential (the production of "new, so far unknown relations") for the reinvigoration of art (as *Gestaltung* or design) practice.[16] As a new area of "laboratory" constructivism, photogram-making could offer a model for the inventive exploration of a (technological) medium's inherent possibilities. The manipulation of the basic elements of the photogram—that is, light and various materials on light-sensitive paper—made visible the process of building up a work, following the concept of *faktura* (the process of working the surface or material) elaborated by the Russian avant-garde.[17] The serially produced photograms emphasize the great variability of positive-negative geometric shapes, value inversions, textures, and light effects while implying connections with industrial production. In addition, the transparency paintings and metal constructions Moholy-Nagy exhibited at Der Sturm and at the Bauhaus provide examples of his method of *elementarization* of a technological or photo-optical medium, which Moholy-Nagy considered as more progressive, and *refunctioning* aspects of it in different media for "creative production."[18] Bauhaus students could adopt a similar inventive and photogenic approach to design.

This contribution of photography to design helped create a unified Bauhaus image in publications. The photographic reproductions in the 1923 Haus am Horn catalogue promoted a constructivist Bauhaus design style by emphasizing formal and spatial relationships, contrasting materials, and reflective surfaces, reinforced by the inherent characteristics of camera photography and image reproduction techniques. Moholy-Nagy was one of the faculty



members in charge of the promotion of the 1923 exhibition and soon became the editor of the *Bauhausbücher* series that published the catalogue. Thus, he would have been involved with the selection of the photographic illustrations and with the technical aspects of image reproduction. This experimental attitude clearly comes across in the view of the Haus am Horn man's room. Here the structuring drive of constructivism is enhanced by the capabilities of the camera apparatus and the properties of black-and-white photographs; namely, the rectangular frame of the negative and developed photograph, the camera's mechanical precision, and the black-and-white contrasts that help separate and articulate the geometrical planes in facsimile reproductions. These components, together with the overlapping planes suggested by deemphasizing the camera's one-point perspective partake in the organization of the complex yet lucid composition nested in the architectural structure, which at the same time refers back to the geometric forms used in the Bauhaus products. Moholy-Nagy's involvement with interweaving photography and design in the pictures is also apparent in the inclusion, wherever possible, of his own light fixtures into the compositions.[19]

With the photographic application of a dynamic oblique angle shot, a playful staging of the mirror reflection, and the play of light-dark contrasts, the photographs of the woman's room also followed the technical requirements of Moholy-Nagy's photographic vision, imposing them onto Breuer's design. The photographs draw attention to the fact that the mirror's "found" image was discovered by the careful scanning eye of the photographer and the manipulation of the mirrors through an engagement with the surrounding environment, an activity the owner of the dressing table was similarly welcome to practice. The abstract imagery prevents the projection of oneself into preconceived subjectivities and instead directs the viewer toward relational perception and the discovery of hidden space-time relationships. At least that is what the loose evocation of Moholy-Nagy's painting *LIS* and its tribute to Lissitzky's "constructivism" refers to. The second version of the photo appearing in the handmade Haus am Horn album, furnished by another company (Continental Photo) yet taken from exactly the same viewpoint in a horizontal format with slight alterations, emphasizes the play of light and shadow to enliven the interior and engage the geometric forms. The two exhibition photographs of the woman's room thus unwittingly stage a kind of Lacanian "mirror stage"

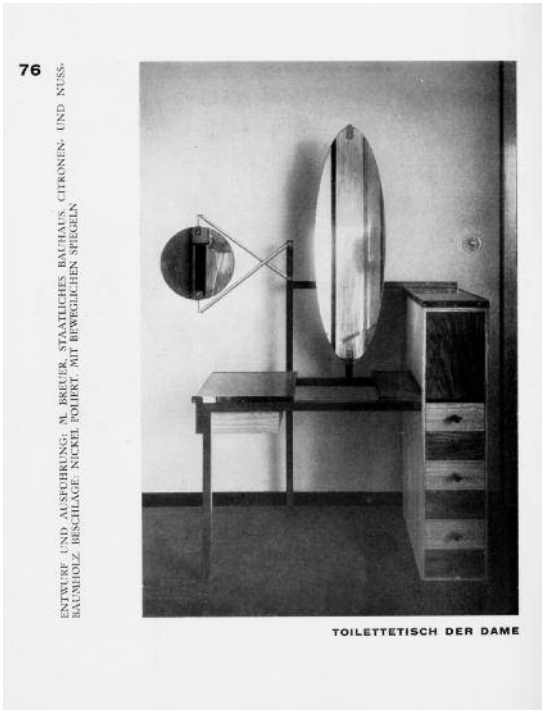
Opposite: Erich Dieckmann. Man's room, Haus am Horn, 1923. As reproduced in Adolf Meyer, ed., *Ein Versuchshaus des Bauhauses in Weimar*, Bauhausbücher 3 (1925).

Right: Marcel Breuer. Woman's room, Haus am Horn, 1923.

by asking the public to identify with, to carry out a creative *méconnaissance* with, the mirror reflection; that is, with the Bauhaus's new constructivist image and engagement with photo-opticality. Hence, photo-opticality was resourcefully (although, from the postmodern perspective, overoptimistically) advanced by Moholy-Nagy as a principal perceptual tool in the modern age; a new model for creative production that would enliven human and spatial relationships; a critical means of reforming the spectacle of mass culture; and a marketing device for a distinct Bauhaus image whose mission was to make sense of and create order out of the disorder of modern life.

Photography, Complex Gendering, and Furniture Design

As Gropius's most ambitious student, Breuer probably read Moholy-Nagy's article connecting photo-opticality, creative production, and perceptual training in *De Stijl*, published in Weimar in 1922. The photographs of the woman's room invite us to read Breuer's furniture design in terms of these concepts as applied to a loosely defined constructivist idiom circulating in Germany. Breuer's work in employing photographic principles not only heightens the design's *photogenie*, however, but also contests the illusory manifestations of the prevalent visual regime by emphasizing embodied presence in the experience of everyday life, a problematic Breuer worked on throughout the 1920s. Like architecture, furniture design correlates the body and everyday experience, enhancing our belonging in the world as embodied subjects more clearly than any other art or design media.[20] In transplanting Moholy-Nagy's photographic principles to extend the potential of his furniture, Breuer would have immediately run into problems with the divergence between the ambiguous spaces and inherently nonfunctional nature of photograms and experimental photography, and the essentially functional, three-dimensional, embodied, and (in the case of the woman's room) sexually gendered (with the man's room emphasizing simplicity) experience of furniture design. To this a further difficulty would have been added; namely, how to apply Moholy-Nagy's gender-neutral perceptual paradigm, which was based on empirical models of biological seeing abstracted from the diverse seeing subjects' visual horizon in society. Moholy-Nagy's notion of photographic perceptual training served, among others, to counteract precisely those kinds of gendered and often commodified subjectivities for the formation of which a dressing table might be used. The modernist approach of the exhibition photograph similarly downplays the gendered functions and sexual symbolism with which the desk is laden, and re-presents its sexually

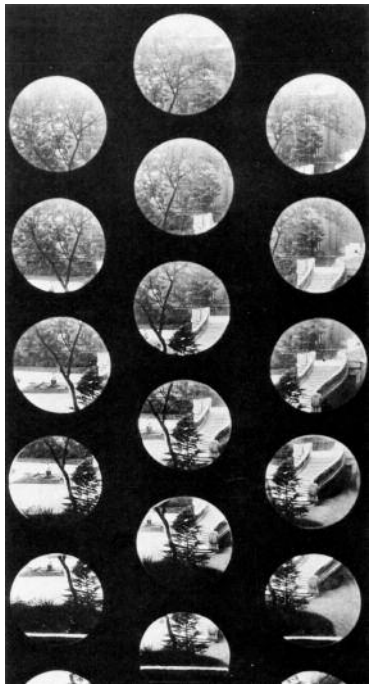


charged features as part of a larger network of geometric rhythms and relationships to prevent subjective associations and to reinforce a unified constructivist image. Breuer's work and its photographic presentation are therefore loaded with tension between his Gropius-inspired architectural construction and Moholy-Nagy's photographic modernist principles and those aspects of Breuer's design that tried to situate the female body as a self in the lived space of gendered intersubjectivity.

The woman's room turns Moholy-Nagy's "Bauhaus image" quest into a problem of how to enhance the new woman's visibility and embodied perceptual awareness to further her social cohesion in a way that would overcome the complex, mobile, and disembodying impulses of modern life. Breuer's design reconfigured photographic features such as transparency, modulation, framing, mirroring, proximity, interval, and contrast in palpable form to create new ways of experiencing the interior and to simultaneously increase the photographic potentials of the furniture. Mobility also became an important element of his furniture design. The rhythmical patterns of the furniture and the staged "intervals" among the individual pieces produce an "active" yet ordered living space waiting to envelop the user, demanding engagement. Bulk drawers made of contrasting light lemonwood and dark walnut materials and fitted to an exposed structure avoid symmetry just as the oblique shot of the photograph does. The tabletop slides back and forth like a camera shutter. Elongated and round mirrors resembling darkroom equipment move on metal and wood frameworks while a constructivist-style swiveling chair accommodates various views of the body. Numerous jointing techniques are explored. Open and closed spaces, round and edged forms, heavier light-absorptive wooden parts and reflective glass and metal surfaces are juxtaposed. Their contrast, shine, and transparencies would have been highlighted by the new neon lamp (designed by Moholy-Nagy) above the desk, which reproduced in the home the light effects of the nighttime street. Unlike a photogram, however, the furniture's modulating patterns situate the perception-awareness dialectic within lived spatial and material relationships, as a framework for the centering of the self. The optical qualities of the "distant" city (glass, metal; in one of the photographs a telephone and a hairdryer further locate the woman in the technological world) are complemented with tactile qualities (wood, textile) in the furniture to integrate the woman with her surroundings by providing her with a

Opposite: Marcel Breuer. Dressing table, Haus am Horn, 1923. As reproduced in Adolf Meyer, ed., *Ein Versuchshaus des Bauhauses in Weimar*, Bauhausbücher 3 (1925). Bauhaus-Archiv Berlin.

Right: Marcel Breuer. Window, Heinersdorff House, Berlin, 1929.



variety of sense experiences. In the small room the rhythmical furniture elements reinforce the impression of immediate reachability, of being within the grasp of the contacting body. Breuer later stressed that his architecture "is received by the whole body, by all our senses. . . . It is not only an eye aesthetic, it is a *physical aesthetic*."[21] Designed by Agnes Roghé, the carpet's dialogical network creates proximity among the furniture pieces, generating an organized feeling of "togetherness" for a New Objectivity–era woman and family. The room thereby brings elements of modern urban visuality into harmony with the reassurance of an intimate home space to create an integrative encounter for its female inhabitant.

According to students' recollections, the vanity was used by *Bauhäusler* as a kind of "laboratory device" for the development of "photographic vision"—in the manner advocated by Moholy-Nagy—by discovering unusual visual effects. Farkas Molnár noted that the round concave mirror, when combined with the tall mirror, created playful distortions.[22] With its mobile mirrors, metallic features, and mobile partial desktop that opened and closed like a shutter, the desk evoked the photographic apparatus of the camera. The emerging interest in optical techniques and perceptual play was also fostered by the trick and educational films that enjoyed great popularity at the Bauhaus.[23] In this regard, the ensemble forecasts Breuer's later chromed tube and glass furniture (which Moholy-Nagy singled out when explaining the productive relationship between photography and furniture design) and the optical play of his rhythmical "cinematic" window at the Heinersdorff House, Berlin (1929).[24] The latter consisted of a series of concave lenses—reminding one of photographic lenses—ground into the windowpane to offer multiple views of the outdoors. Whereas today we might recognize in these efforts a spectacularization of modern art and design, for Bauhaus modernists they served to unsettle vision and channel attention away from aspects of reification, commodity desire, or isolated self-contemplation toward creative optical imagery or what Walter Benjamin later called "unconscious optics."[25] In contrast to passive self-contemplation in a traditional vanity mirror, by physically interacting with this would-be "optical apparatus" the female user, according to modernist reasoning, became part of its mechanism and could complement her daily make-up practice with visual play in order to change her habits of seeing and reinforce her intentional directedness in the complex city environment.

Unlike Moholy-Nagy, Breuer complemented this integrative experience with an intricate gendering of the design, realizing that gender definition had

become a more complex matter in the postwar era. The new woman of the Weimar Republic came to stand for the emancipated, active, publicly visible, mobile, and sexually liberated female who was eager to define herself in a new way, one that separated her from the amply covered, sedentary Victorian woman of the nineteenth century. Breuer's constructivist interior symbolically reflects the new woman's "masculine masquerade" increasingly encountered in everyday social interactions.[26] The room's simple geometric forms, open structures, and mirror image suggest that women had to become (or at least had to appear) more "constructivist" to fit into the new postwar economy of efficiency and rationalization. Lacking the relaxed edges, bulkiness, and carved decoration of traditional female vanities, Breuer's "work desk–like" dressing table, which underlined its functionality by imitating a machine-made look, would have fit the taste of the new-woman type that was starting to appear in fashion magazines wearing simple, androgynous outfits and "economical" page-boy haircuts. The narrow and shallow dimensions of the vanity (66.1 × 49.8 × 18.9 in.), with its slender legs and disposition, indicate that it was specifically designed with the modern female ideal of a casually dressed, slim, possibly girlish (or boyish) female body in mind. For anybody with a stronger constitution or wearing a cumbersome dress, the vanity would have been uncomfortable to sit at. The furniture's geometric shapes also take on symbolic meanings that imply cross-gendering. The circle (of the mirror and chair seat) stands for the female, the square (of angular furniture parts) for the male principle (following Kandinsky's teachings). Moreover, the placement of the vulval/phallic shape of the oval mirror of the dressing table over the "orifice-like" open square frame of the partial desktop enacts a subtle humor, and the operation of the desktop (which slides back and forth) brings to mind sexual activity, thus defining the new woman in terms of an ambiguous and liberated sexuality. This feature also hints at cross-dressing among Bauhaus students. One photo of Breuer shows him dressed as a new woman, implying that he, too, was exploring the increased ontological possibilities offered by the postwar era.[27]

For many critics, opening the cozy intimacy of bourgeois domesticity to urban perceptual and gender practices at the Haus am Horn failed to provide reassurance and engagement and instead appeared as the manifestation of "private life dismantling itself" in the face of social rationalization.[28] Critics of the exhibition compared the furniture and fittings to various technical apparatuses; for instance, Breuer's desk to an operating table and dentist equipment. Both metaphors conjure up high-precision optical technology that objectifies and acts upon the human body instead of liberating it.[29] These reactions offset the naively optimistic Bauhaus mind-set and remind us not

Marcel Breuer (?). *Portrait of Marcel Breuer as Girl with a Magnolia*, 1924. Bauhaus-Archiv Berlin.

only that "visibility"—understood in Foucauldian terms as a conceptual organization (*episteme*) that determines what is seeable in a historical period—resides in the seeing subject or in sense data but that it is the subject who is given in the forms of visibility.[30] (This does not mean, however, that the subject completely lacks agency.) The home, as a space of constructed visibility, reveals a great deal about how it serves to constitute the subject. Yet Breuer's dressing table, a par excellence bourgeois piece of furniture, is more than what its function and place in the technologically advanced home designate. Besides offering complex gender expressivity, the desk creates a rupture in the self-evidence of what such design stands for within the spectacle of postwar culture. Although probably unintentionally, it makes visible for the (retrospective) critical eye "unseen" technologies of the self that remain unintelligible to the superficial observer.

This "rupture," both literal and metaphorical, is located in the desk's most unsettling, interactive element, its top part, which is a refunctioning of the photogram's positive-negative play. The "rupture" points to deeper mechanisms structuring female self-imaging, an important preoccupation for women in the Weimar era who thought their changing social role required a new look and a new worldview. The maneuvering of the two mobile mirrors—one permitting a midrange view of the body, the other providing a magnified, close-up view of the face—as well as the swiveling chair, allowed for self-observation from a variety of angles and ranges. This activity was extended in a startling manner by the open-top frame and the mobile reflective top, which could be slid to the middle to open the left drawer, although this arrangement limited the desk's customary function of keeping cosmetics at hand, in front of the user. In its original position the partially missing desktop made possible a fuller view of the user's body—including her legs—in the long mirror, through the open frame (directly or if she pulled her chair back somewhat). This purpose was further developed in Breuer's later toilette ensembles, especially in his 1936 design for Dorothea Ventris's apartment in London, with the incorporation of a full-body-length mirror at its center, in place of the oval mirror at the Haus am Horn. In the Haus am Horn, Breuer's work playfully draws attention to the user's body by bringing it into focus in

the manner of a "viewfinder." To this end, the young designer resorted to the manipulation of positive-negative space and to the technique of framing, a central step of the photographic process.

Breuer's design calls attention to a familiar topos of the 1920s, when female legs, both in mass-media images of celebrities and in more general terms, came to represent sexual attraction, freedom of mobility, and practicality. Celebrities like Greta Garbo or Brigid Helm promoted not only a cult of appearance and sex appeal but also an exteriorized perception of oneself, a constant "camera awareness" as they showed a distanced view of their body, offering it for spectatorship. As Susan Sontag remarks, an integral component of our modern existence is that "We learn to see ourselves photographically: to regard oneself as attractive is, precisely, to judge that one would look good in a photograph."[31] The drawback is that the sitter of a photograph is unable to control the camera lens and thus her final projected image. While the desk's mirrors and open frame similarly distance the potential user from her own body, setting her in a particular spectatorial position that allows it to be seen as an object seen by others, they also improve her control over the optical modeling of her desired poses and self-image. Thus the desk's open constructivist structure makes visible not only the process of its material construction but that of the female self, tapping into the very mechanism of representation in society and turning it into an embodied experience.

The photograph of Breuer as a new woman stands as testimony to his concern with female self-fashioning in modern photo culture. Offered as an insider joke for the flirtatious Gropius's birthday, the photo shows him playfully posing in front of the camera, evoking magazine models and movie actresses' carefully chosen looks. His posture indicates his awareness of the new self-conscious deportment and technologically structured perception that assimilated the body to the photographic machine with predetermined expectations. At the same time, Breuer's photo is complicated by its composite image, which repeats his female alter ego turned on its side, creating a defamiliarized view promoted by Moholy-Nagy, one that "asks for" the viewer's engagement in rotating the photo. Similar to the exhibition photograph of the dressing table, the Breuer photograph brings into tension modernist and mass media "camera awareness," the one involving a creatively engaged subject of photographic vision, the other the subject as self-conscious "display." Both photographs highlight the problem of the construction and visibility of the female image passively mediated by media spectacle and attempt to defer its objectifying lens.

"New Approaches to Character Research: What Leg Position Can Tell You." ***Berliner Illustrirte Zeitung*** **(1929).**

Technologies of the Visible and Social Gesturing

Thus far my argument about Breuer's design and its photographic presentation has been informed by a discussion of how perception is formed in the public and private domain influenced by photography and cinema and in what way self-determination and self-forming subjectivity can become part of these practices. The "camera mechanism" of the dressing table and the modulating geometric furniture parts can also be correlated with discourses on the body relating to new behavioral and visual codes of bodily gesturing that during the 1920s spread by photographic means, reinforcing an optically predisposed culture. An article published in the illustrated magazine *Berliner Illustrirte Zeitung* provides an example of the social anxieties raised by the question of the proper "visibility" of the new woman. Based on Ernst Kretschmer's influential 1921 physiognomic typologies, the article reported on researches compiled during the 1920s that established so-called scientific types of leg positions seen in public urban spaces.[32] The photographs illustrating the different character types show mostly female legs in various geometrical configurations, including parallel, crossed, and angled positions. Resembling furniture joints, the knees and ankles modulate in a pictogram-like manner, suggesting certain behavioral attitudes and often-prejudicial meanings for the interpreter. The fact that various categories could be applied to leg positions indicates that leg positioning was not an entirely unconscious urban behavior, as the article claimed, but involved issues of decorum and bodily communication through geometricized "language." Reinforced by the mime of silent cinema, the reading of physiognomy and bodily gestures in the urban environment was a continuous preoccupation during the Weimar era. Helmuth Lethen aptly describes this preoccupation as the "culture of appearances and shame" sanctioning undesirable behavior.[33] The public's uneasiness with the new fashion of short skirts, which inspired this kind of typology in the first place, made the women of the 1920s more aware of their bodily gestures, especially if they wanted male observers to draw the "right" conclusion about them. Breuer's constructivist desk can be imagined as a mediating element in an evolving social mechanism of body language, as both "mimicking" and framing, in a wider sense of visual sign production, its new visual signs.

Apparently a resourceful self-performer, Breuer was also interested in using photography to communicate with visual signs and gestures, which soon

became a "relational" practice among Bauhaus students. In one of these photographs Breuer enacts the "photographic" shaping of light and shade as his design principle by shading half of his face.[34] His gesticulation suggests a pantomime at the Bauhaus theater or in a silent film, or the signaling of a traffic controller. Theories of mimic expression (*Ausdruck*), which enjoyed some popularity in expressionist circles and within the early Bauhaus, may also have left their mark on Breuer's work, but were transformed in an exteriorized and technological manner. The performances of the Bauhaus mechanical theater at the 1923 exhibition followed a similar tactic.[35] A comparable geometric "mimicry," as we have seen with the sexual symbolism hinted at in Breuer's dressing table, may be visible in Breuer's early designs. This reworking of "primitivist" symbolism—favored by Bauhaus expressionists such as Lothar Schreyer and used in Breuer's earlier *African Chair* (1921)—takes on a dada-like lightheartedness.[36] Another "mimicry" can be discovered in the wood-slat chairs in the Haus am Horn living room. The chairs' unusual design serves, on the one hand, to unsettle the user's perception because its varied joints and "shifting" positioning of parts at first create puzzlement instead of clarity. Yet, after carefully scanning its relational arrangement (proximity, orientation, position), the observer discovers that the chair's strange modulation mimics the posture of the sitting body. Not unlike the photographs of leg positions, or a schematic pictogram of a traffic sign, the chair seems, paradoxically, to provide visual orientation. The "gesture" of sitting is evoked by the angling of the seat and the deemphasized, forward-jutting back legs that are disconnected from the back frame, an incongruity that one might fear comes close to compromising the chair's structural balance.[37]

Breuer's geometrical "mimicry" and modulation of furniture parts and public bodily communication give a phenomenological indication of intersecting aspects of the more comprehensive economies of perception and conduct in technological society. As machines—and functional objects—were being adapted to the human body (and physiology) for greater efficiency, the human body was seen as conforming to its technological environment and the mechanical language of industrial processes. Trying to resolve the conflict between technology and the human body, cultural theorists of the time explained the perceived mimetic behavior of the body as "environmental

Opposite: Photographer unknown. *Portrait of Marcel Breuer*, ca. 1925. Bauhaus-Archiv Berlin.

Right: Marcel Breuer. Wood-slat chair, Haus am Horn, 1923.

intentionality" (*Umweltintentionalität*) developed through "observed actions of the *relation of the body to its surroundings*" as a kind of active assimilation to the world.[38] Moholy-Nagy, in turn, in *Painting, Photography, Film* (1925) used the concept of *Biotechnik*—coined by the popular scientist and nature philosopher Raoul Francé—to illustrate with photographs how biological and technological forms can parallel or inform each other in a constructive (rather than destructive) manner.[39] For instance, Moholy-Nagy juxtaposed photographs of birds and airplanes flying in similar formations, as a kind of visual mimicry or optical modeling.[40] The juxtaposition suggests how "biocultural" formations provided coherent visual directions for self-formative behavior with group codes as well as for human-made technologies. The camera, itself a field of interconnected cultural, corporeal, and technological relations, provided the framework for Moholy-Nagy's examples. The exhibition photographs of Breuer's "vanity mechanism," which potentially incorporated the female body, metaphorically capture the issue, generating mimetic correlations. This rapprochement of female body, living space, and machine aesthetic sought to create a productive urban identity that was in line with changing cultural practices. The success of this "organic unity," however, was not confirmed by the sale of the furnishings or by industry interest (the furnishings became the property of Adolf Sommerfeld, the main sponsor of the house).

From Motivation to Habituation

As we have come to realize by now, the "functionality" and "efficiency" of Breuer's often complicated furniture in 1923 concerns less the production process or practicality, as the student stressed in his exhibition lecture, than the channeling of the user's perceptual awareness and self-awareness by making manifest new cultural patterns of behavior.[41] In this sense, the dressing table can be seen as confirming the critics' views of being a "preparatory tool" in the service of the new woman's technical "habituation"—not in the sense of technological domination but by the redirection of her routine activities. This facet of the design might be better explained, however, by referring to the problem of focused perception in a more general sense than interested Moholy-Nagy, including one's own gestures and body, a problem which stemmed from the accelerated and increasingly mechanized life of Weimar-era urbanites. Admittedly, the conceptual phenomenological "bracketing" of Edmund Husserl, arguably the most influential German philosopher of the

time, and Breuer's photographically inspired framing construction have little in common. Whereas Breuer was interested in the embodied subject's immediate lived experience, Husserl was concerned with distilling essential structural features of consciousness in terms of an abstract "pure" ego. Yet, in different ways and to different degrees, both engaged the subject of attention by (consciously or not) bringing into focus routine processes, awareness of which normally remains in the background of everyday activities. Husserl argued that the intentional directedness of each experience could be made explicit with the help of phenomenological reduction (*epoché*) or a carefully focused "bracketing." According to the philosopher, this would allow us to turn toward the usually unnoticed, taken-for-granted workings of bodily experiences like seeing or touching, as well as other sensations such as movement, tension, relaxation, or the feeling of liberation. In Husserl's view, through this abstracting activity the subject would gain more *insight* into overlooked meaning after the abstraction was lifted and the situation was reinserted into his or her intersubjective lifeworld.[42]

Instead of occurring by way of thinking, as with Husserl, Breuer's desk brings attention to the female user's intentionality and her body through the reorientation of the physical activity in which the woman is absorbed. The potential user's mechanical gesture of putting down her comb or lipstick would be interrupted, at least temporarily, by the irregular desk to which she was unaccustomed. The partly mobile top surface in this way would become the "motivator" of her acts, because she would have to move the surface back and forth depending on whether she wanted to apply makeup or observe her body. In *Ideas II* (written in 1912–1915), Husserl brings up a somewhat similar example of mechanically moving a table "through" the motion of his body and becoming aware of the act. For him this awareness, what he calls "to-be-able-to" do, can either be a taking notice of a simple "doing" without actively attending to it, or it can involve a more active position-taking. The latter is of practical importance, he explains, because "I have power in the physical world only on account of my power over my Body."[43] Although Husserl did not elaborate on the social dimensions of his phenomenology, in his 1923–1924 writings and lectures on ethics he proposed a theory of social renewal based on continuous critique of accepted and inherited habits and traditions in favor of a more self-responsible and self-aware comportment of oneself within the community.[44] Breuer's project ran on a parallel track in suggesting that the active awareness of the lived body through intercorporeal experiences and a transformation of accepted habits could lead the new woman to a more conscious participation with her environment.

This participatory, irregular aspect of the dressing table nevertheless can

produce acclimatizing results as well. Given the complex and conflicting meanings accumulated in Breuer's desk, its plane structure, file cabinet–type drawers, and factory conveyor belt–type top also remind one of Siegfried Kracauer's descriptions of the "technical habituation" of office clerks to machines and "assembly-line methods."[45] By comparing the desk to technical equipment, critics came close to this view. Instead of being automatically activated, however, the top surface must be manually moved depending on which mirror the user wishes to consult, allowing for more control over her activity. To be able to repeatedly perform this act, she needs to keep her makeup accessories in the drawer and take out only those she is "working with"; that is, she must become organized. While the intended middle-class owner of the desk may not have been part of the workforce, she was encountering the same rationalizing attitudes in all areas of social activity. Seen in a positive light, Breuer's constructivist desk, at least on a symbolic level, would have provided her with a superficial feeling of belonging to the realm of productive working women.

Moholy-Nagy and Breuer, in response to changes in society that centered on a new optical consciousness elicited by photography and cinema, suggested possible design applications of these new media. Although its photographic presentation gives it a unifying Bauhaus outlook, Breuer's interactive design fuses various interpretive approaches related to the new visual media with symbolism inherited from expressionism to appeal to the new woman's self-definition and desire for social cohesion. Trying to stabilize the various perceptual impulses of modern urban experience, the well-choreographed exhibition photograph of the Haus am Horn woman's room leads us to believe that the new woman's embodied perceptual awareness, acquired at the dressing table with the help of photographically inspired "training," would provide a means for effective navigation and visibility in that phenomenal immediacy. The photograph optimistically implies that the deciphering of geometric furniture parts and female leg postures are related activities that can create a heightened awareness of oneself and one's environment. At the same time, the disjointed mirror reflection of the photo also calls attention to the constructedness of any image, be it the self, domestic furniture, or Bauhaus style.

Notes

This article is based on my essay "Das Haus am Horn und die Möbel der Neuen Frau—Ein fotografisches Modell," in *Von Kunst zu Leben: Die Ungarn am Bauhaus*, ed. Éva Bajkay (Berlin: Bauhaus-Archiv; Pécs: Janus Pannonius Museum, 2010), 216–223. I thank Jason Benton for his motivating comments, Nancy Locke for her scholarly example and encouragement, and the work of the editors at *Grey Room* .

1. László Moholy-Nagy, "A New Instrument of Vision," *Telehor* 1–2 (1936): 34–36; and László Moholy-Nagy, *Vision in Motion* (Chicago: Paul Theobald, 1947), 208. On Moholy-Nagy's ideas concerning issues of perception, see Pepper Stetler, "'The New Visual Literature': László Moholy-Nagy's *Painting, Photography, Film*," *Grey Room* 32 (Summer 2008): 88–113.

2. Moholy-Nagy addressed the role of photography and typography in design in his catalogue article accompanying the 1923 exhibition Art and Technology: A New Unity. László Moholy-Nagy, "Die neue Typographie," in *Staatliches Bauhaus Weimar 1919–1923,* exh. cat. (1923; Munich: Kraus Reprint, 1980), 141.

3. On Moholy-Nagy's photograms, see, for instance, Renate Heyne et al. eds., *Moholy-Nagy: The Photograms*, exh. cat. (Ostfildern, Germany: Hatje Cantz, 2009).

4. The promotion catalogue was compiled in 1923–1924, but only published a year later as part of the newly established *Bauhausbücher* series. Adolf Meyer, ed., *Ein Versuchshaus des Bauhauses in Weimar*, Bauhausbücher 3 (Munich: Albert Langen Verlag, 1925). For later marketing issues in photography involving Bauhaus products, see T'ai Smith, "Limits of the Tactile and the Optical: Bauhaus Fabric in the Frame of Photography," *Grey Room* 25 (Fall 2006): 7–31.

5. The Haus am Horn album contains other photographs in addition to those that appear in the exhibition catalogue. See *Bauhaus-Alben 4: Bauhausausstellung 1923 / Haus am Horn / Architektur / Bühnenwerkstatt / Druckerei*, ed. Klaus-Jürgen Winkler (Weimar: Verlag der Bauhaus-Universität, 2009).

6. Only a few of the original furnishings survive; the nonsurviving furnishings have been reconstructed.

7. Because the exhibition catalogue lists only generic titles, identifying which works were shown is difficult. See *Moholy-Nagy, Peri: Gemälde, Aquarelle, Zeichnungen, Plastiken, Gesamtschau* (Berlin: Verlag Der Sturm, 1923); and Ludwig Hilbersheimer's review of the exhibition mentioning "transparency paintings," "Neue Wege," *Sozialistische Monatshefte* 60, year 29 (1923): 257. Moholy-Nagy exhibited some of his transparency paintings at the Bauhaus exhibition as well.

8. For accounts of interactions between Bauhaus masters and student designs, see Smith, "Limits of the Tactile"; and Rose-Carol Washton-Long, "From Metaphysics to Material Culture: Painting and Photography at the Bauhaus," in *Bauhaus Culture: From Weimar to the World War*, ed. Kathleen James-Chakraborty (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006), 43–62.

9. Magdalena Droste, *Bauhaus, 1919–1933*, trans. Karen Williams (Cologne: Taschen, 2002), 85. For De Stijl and functionalist influence, see 56, 82.

10. László Moholy-Nagy, "Produktion—Reproduktion," *De Stijl* 5, no. 7 (1922): 97–101.

11. László Moholy-Nagy, *Malerei Fotographie Film*, Bauhausbücher 8 (Munich: Albert

Langen, 1925, 1927); and László Moholy-Nagy, *Painting, Photography, Film*, trans. Janet Seligman (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1969), 43. Advertisement specialists began using the principles of rhythmical modulation in electric advertisements only later in the 1920s. See Fritz Pauli, *Rhythmus und Resonanz als ökonomisches Prinzip in der Reklame* (Berlin: Verlag des Verbandes, 1926).

12. Moholy-Nagy, *Painting, Photography, Film*, 15.

13. For the connection between the photogram and artificial city lights, see László Moholy-Nagy, "A fotográfia: Napjaink objektiv látási formája," *Korunk* 12 (1933): 911. See also Moholy-Nagy's photogram cover design simulating an electric sign for the American periodical *Broom* (1922).

14. The questions these experiments raised for the artists who gathered at the studio included, among others, issues of optics and architecture, especially "to what extent does the room in its strict arrangement tie in those living in it," which reveals their interest in what they saw as a reform of the living environment. Erich Buchholz, "1922, Room Herkulesrufer 15," in *Erich Buchholz*, ed. Friedrich W. Heckmans (Cologne: Wienand Verlag, 1978), 30–32. Moholy-Nagy distinguished eight varieties of photographic vision, including abstract, simultaneous, and distorted seeing, the latter involving optical illusions and jokes produced by reflecting mirrors and distographs. Moholy-Nagy, "A New Instrument of Vision," 35; and Moholy-Nagy, *Vision in Motion*, 207–208. On his Bauhaus perception exercises, see Moholy-Nagy, *Vision in Motion*, 84.

15. For the concept of "filters," see Ian Borden et al., eds., *The Unknown City: Contesting Architecture and Social Space* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2002), 13.

16. Moholy-Nagy, "Produktion—Reproduktion"; and László Moholy-Nagy, "Light: A Medium of Plastic Expression," *Broom* 4, no. 4 (1923).

17. See Maria Gough, "Faktura: The Making of the Russian Avant-Garde," *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 36 (Autumn 1999): 32–59.

18. For Moholy-Nagy's "elementarism," see László Moholy-Nagy, Raul Hausmann, Hans Arp, and Ivan Puni, "Aufruf zur elementaren Kunst," *De Stijl* 10 (1921).

19. Alternatively, Lucia Moholy's turn to photography in 1923, when she apprenticed with the Weimar photographer Hermann Eckner, has been related to the Bauhaus exhibition and to the fact that the institution lacked the financial means to pay for adequate photographic documentation at a time of raging hyperinflation. Rolf Sachsse, "Notes on Lucia Moholy," in *Photography at the Bauhaus*, ed. Jeannine Fiedler (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1990), 25. A year later she took pictures of many Bauhaus student projects in a style similar to the Haus am Horn catalogue photographs.

20. See Paul Crowther, "The Body of Architecture," in *Phenomenology of the Visual Arts* (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 2009), 173–205.

21. Marcel Breuer, *Sun and Shadow: The Philosophy of an Architect*, ed. Peter Blake (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1955), 64; emphasis in original.

22. See Farkas Molnár, "Élet a Bauhausban," *Periszkop* 1, no. 4 (1925): 35–37. The article is available in translation as Farkas Molnár, "Das Leben im Bauhaus," in *Wechselwirkungen: Ungarische Avantgarde in der Weimarer Republik*, ed. Hubertus Gassner (Marburg: Jonas Verlag, 1986), 273.

23. Trick films and experimental films were featured during the "Bauhaus week" of the

exhibition as well. Postcard sent to Hannah Höch, *Ausstellung des Staatlichen Bauhauses 1923, Programm, Bauhauswoche*, in Berlinische Galerie, BG NKC D 562/79.

24. As Moholy-Nagy explained, scientific research in optics and in the physical properties of light were distilled in artistic techniques such as the manipulation of positive-negative space and transparency in photography and painting. These, in turn, offered new potentialities for industrial design, including transparent and steel tube furniture. Moholy-Nagy, *Vision in Motion*, 58. Moholy-Nagy also praised Breuer's furniture in the October 19, 1924, special supplement of *Thüringer Allgemeine Zeitung*.

25. Walter Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction" (1935), in *Illuminations: Walter Benjamin: Essays and Reflections*, trans. Harry Zohn, ed. Hannah Arendt (New York: Schocken Books, 1968), 237.

26. On the "masculine masquerade," see Patrice Suzanne Petro, *Joyless Streets: Women and Melodramatic Representation in Weimar Germany* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1989), 150–175.

27. On gender issues at the Bauhaus, see Anja Baumhoff, *The Gendered World of the Bauhaus: The Politics of Power at the Weimar Republic's Premiere Art Institution, 1919–1932* (New York: Peter Lang, 2001).

28. Walter Benjamin, "Karl Kraus," trans. Edmund Jephcott in *Reflections* (London: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1978), 247.

29. Meyer (Berlin), "Schön, neu und zweckmäßig: Zur Bauhausaustellung in Weimar im August 1923," *Fachblatt für Holzarbeiten*, November–December 1923, 161–165. "Tall standard lamps of iron and glass tubes, severe, undimmed by silk shade, recall physics instruments," another critic wrote about the house. "[S]eats look like looms, furniture recalls printing presses." Sigfried Giedion, "Bauhaus und Bauhaus-Woche zu Weimar," in *Pressestimmen für das Staatliche Bauhaus Weimar* (Weimar: R. Wagner Sahn, 1924; Munich: Kraus Reprint, 1980), 43.

30. Gilles Deleuze, *Foucault* (Paris: Les Editions Minuit, 1986), 55–75. Foucault develops the concept of the technology of the visible most clearly in Michel Foucault, *The Birth of the Clinic*, trans. Alan Sheridan Smith (New York: Vintage Books, 1994); and Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: Vintage Books, 1995).

31. Susan Sontag, *On Photography* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1977), 85. See also, Kaja Silverman, *The Threshold of the Visible World* (New York: Routledge, 1996).

32. Ernst Kretschmer, *Körperbau und Charakter. Untersuchungen zum Konstitutionsproblem und zur Lehre von den Temperamenten* (Berlin: Julius Springer, 1921); and "Neue Wege der Charakterforschung: Was die Beinhaltung enthüllt," *Berliner Illustrirte Zeitung* 38, no. 13 (1929): 517.

33. Helmuth Lethen, *Cool Conduct: The Culture of Distance in Weimar Germany* (1994), trans. Don Reneau (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2002).

34. On Breuer's design principle, see Breuer, *Sun and Shadow*.

35. The "sign language" of hands expressed through spontaneous dances acquired importance in Gertrud Grunow's "harmonization" classes. Droste, 33. Johannes Itten's students practiced similar "reading" of bodily gestures such as handshakes and walking. Eckhard Neumann, ed., *Bauhaus and Bauhaus People* (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1993), 49. The courses Breuer took in the theater workshop during the 1922–1923 academic year also emphasized

gestural play, especially under Schlemmer in the spring semester. See schedule of courses with list of registered students, in *Bauhaus Alben* 4, 216.

36. For Lothar Schreyer's sexual symbolism, see Luca Di Blasi, "Avant-Garde and Cult: Lothar Schreyer and the Ambiguity of Modernity," in *Bauhaus: A Conceptual Model*, ed. Annemarie Jaeggi et al. (Ostfildern, Germany: Hatje Cantz, 2009), 59–62.

37. Josef Albers, promoting Bauhaus furniture in *Neue Frauenkleidung and Frauenkultur*, felt compelled to assure his female readers that Breuer's chair, contrary to its strange appearance, was thoroughly functional and provided comfortable, healthy sitting. Josef Albers, "Werkstatt-Arbeiten des Staatlichen Bauhauses zu Weimar" (1924), in *Wechselwirkungen*, 323.

38. Helmuth Plessner, "Die Deutung des mimeschen Ausdrucks: Ein Beitrag zur Lehre vom Bewußtsein des anderen Ichs" (1925–1926), in *Zwischen Philosophie und Gesellschaft: Ausgewählte Abhandlungen und Vorträge* (Bern: Fracke, 1953), 138. The article was originally published in *Philosophische Anzeiger I*, 1925/1926, 72–126.

39. On *Biotechnik*, see Raoul Heinrich Francé, *Bios: Die Gesetze der Welt* (Munich: Franz Hanfstaengl, 1921). A summary of Francé's views appeared in the art periodical *Das Kunstblatt* in 1923. See R.H. Francé, "Die sieben technischen Grundformen der Natur," *Das Kunstblatt* 1 (January 1923): 5–8. Other, more mystical, biocentric ideas were already circulating at the Bauhaus through the teachings of Itten, Paul Klee, and Wassily Kandinsky. See Oliver Botar, "Biocentrism and the Bauhaus," *The Structurist* 43/44 (2003/2004): 54–60.

40. Moholy-Nagy, *Painting, Photography, Film*, 50–51.

41. Breuer's 1923 exhibition lecture "Form Funktion," originally published in *Junge Menschen* 5, no. 8 (1924): 191, is available in *Wechselwirkungen*, 332–333. See also, Marcel Breuer, "Die Möbelabteilung des Staatlichen Bauhauses zu Weimar," *Fachblatt für Holzarbeiter* 20 (1925): 17–20.

42. Edmund Husserl, *Ideas II*, vol. 3 of *Edmund Husserl: Collected Works* (Boston: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1989), 203.

43. Husserl, 273. When capitalized, *Body* conforms to the German word *Leib*, or "lived body," instead of to *Körper*, body understood as object.

44. Edmund Husserl, "Wert des Lebens. Wert der Welt. Sittlichkeit (Tugend) und Glückseligkeit (Februar 1923)," *Husserl Studies* 13, no. 3 (1996): 201–235.

45. Siegfried Kracauer, *The Salaried Masses: Duty and Distraction in Weimar Germany* (1930), trans. Quintin Hoare (New York: Verso, 1998), 30.