Photography and Research in Austria

Vienna, the Door to the European East

Symposium 2001 Vienna

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Preface

At the European Society for the History of Photography (ESHP) symposium held in Udine in 1999 (Photography in Italy) it was suggested that a future meeting be held in Vienna. During the symposium the following year in Bradford, England (Censorship of Photography in Europe) this proposal was generally accepted.

Vienna was considered – for historical and practical reasons – to be a good place to gather. The first Photographic Society (PHG) in the German-speaking lands was founded in Vienna in 1861. Also, the first school of photography in Austria was established in Salzburg. In addition, in 1888 in Vienna, Josef Maria Eder founded and directed the first school for photography in Europe. Both institutions are still active. The proceedings of the meeting comprise in part a report about the development of the Photographic Society in Vienna. Last year, the considerable collection of about 60,000 photographs – started by the PHG in the early nineteenth century – passed from the Höhere Graphische Bundes- Lehr- und Versuchanstalt to the Graphische Sammlung Albertina. Here it is being catalogued and will eventually be made accessible on the internet. Further information about the activities of the PHG are reported in this volume.

This book, Photography and Research in Austria - Vienna, the Door to the European East contains twenty-three lectures presented by colleagues from Belgium, the Czech Republic, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Moravia, Poland, Scandinavia, Serbia, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, the United Kingdom, the USA - and lastly from Austria. Across centuries, many of the above mentioned countries have enriched the cultural life of Austria; much of its multicultural environment has its roots in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy.

The ESHP was founded in Antwerp in 1977 with the aim of bringing together outstanding scientists and historians to contribute to the history of photography. Its membership includes curators, sociologists, ethnologists, photographers and collectors. On the twentieth anniversary of the ESHP in Antwerp in 1998, Dr. Laurent Roosens summarized the intentions of the Society, which remain valid today. His talk has already been published in our Newsletter (Winter/Spring 1998). For new and future members, this speech is reported in the appendix to this volume.

The meeting in Vienna was opened at the Austrian National Library in the beautiful baroque atmosphere of the Oratorium. It was introduced by the Director General, Dr. Johanna Rachinger, who referred to the photographic collection at the Austrian National Library. Her welcome to the audience was warm and gratefully accepted by the delegates. On the first day, the Curator of Photography at the Austrian National Library, Mag. Uwe Schögl, led a guided tour through the collection, where Dr. Hans

Petschar, the computer specialist, showed the delegates the operation of the data system.

An additional highlight was the evening reception at the Albertina where Dr. Monika Faber, the Chief Curator of the photographic collection, presented the work in progress of the Austrian Photographic Biographical and Bibliographical Database 1839 - 1918. The management provided a rich and enjoyable buffet to the delegates. After completion of the restructuring of the Albertina building planned for April 2003, the collection will reopen its doors. Furthermore, both images and library will then be accessible for research by computer.

The symposium concluded with an outstanding reception at WestLicht – The Showcase of Photography, a new venue for photography in Vienna. An Italian-style buffet was served. Besides displaying some 800 examples of historically significant photographic technology from the museum collection and from prominent private collectors, WestLicht offers a comprehensive overview of the evolution of photography. It also has an exhibition programme of work by famous photographers.

We are also very pleased to announce that our next meeting will be held in Stockholm in September 2002. Our executive member, Eva Dahlman, from the Nordiska Museet in Stockholm will organise this meeting.

The Symposium and the Proceedings could only be completed thanks to the generous support of our sponsors:

Bundeskanzleramt, Sektion für Kunstangelegenheiten, Wien
Wissenschafts- und Forschungsförderung - Stadt Wien
Bank Austria, Wien

We owe a great debt not only to our hosts, the Austrian National Library, but also to the Photographic Society in Vienna. We would like to thank them all for their substantial financial support and continued encouragement.

January 2002

Anna Auer
(President of the ESHP)

Johanna Rachinger

Inauguration Speech

Ladies and Gentlemen,
as the Managing Director of the Austrian National Library I have great pleasure in welcoming you to our building on the occasion of this year's international symposium of the "European Society for the History of Photography." I welcome with particular warmth the participating scientists from our neighbouring countries and even further afield: from Slovenia, Yugoslavia, Hungary, the Czech Republic, Poland, Italy, Germany, Belgium, Great Britain, Sweden, and the USA.

This year's symposium has as its theme the history of photography in Austria and in particular the importance of Vienna as a place of cultural links to Eastern Europe, the witness of a century of common history. The holdings of our Library, as the successor institution to the Imperial Court Library, document in an impressive manner those close cultural ties to our neighbouring states in the East up to the present day. To mention only one small example: the oldest book printed in Slovenian, the only existant copy, is in our Library. It is a catechism of the Slovenian religious reformer Primoz Trubar that appeared in 1550, and was recently shown in a splendid exposition in Lubljana.

So we are especially pleased that the European Society for the History of Photography accepted the invitation of the Austrian National Library to hold its conference this year in the historic rooms of the Austrian National Library.

Incidentally, you are at the moment in the former Oratorium of the Augustinian monastery, which today still exists in the neighbouring buildings. This room was used by the ruling Habsburg family for the storage of corpses before burial. If you look closely you can see skulls in the stucco of the ceiling.

Please permit me to say a few words about the photo holdings of our Library. The Picture Archives of the Austrian National Library contain, with over two million photo documents, the biggest publicly accessible collection of historical and contemporary photos in Austria. In contrast to the collection of the Albertina, the photo collection of our picture archives is arranged basically on thematic lines. The main contents are dedicated to architecture and topography, documentary photography from the most diverse areas of everyday life, portrait photography, and reporting.

The historical roots of the photo collection goes back to the time of Emperor Franz I and were originally the graphic holdings of the Imperial Fidei-Commis Collection. The collection was greatly enlarged in 1939 through the incorporation of the holdings of the Austrian Photo and the Austrian Photo and Film Service, and

later through the acquisition of the gigantic USIS Archives, the photo archives of the newspaper *Wiener Kurier*, that were published from 1946 to 1955 by the United States Information Service (USIS).

It is beyond dispute the merit of Frau Hofrat Dr. Gerda Mraz, the director since 1994 of the Portrait Collection, Picture Archives and Fidei-Commis Library, that a very conscious campaign of acquisition and especially of presentation of the holdings to the public has greatly increased the importance and reputation of the photo holdings of the Austrian National Library.

I would like to mention just a few of the most important purchases of photographs of recent years:

The Harry Weber Photo Collection, which is currently being shown in a very attractive exposition in the Palais Harrach;

The Kurt Aigner Archives with press photographs from the years 1958-1989;

The Lucca Chmel Archives with architectural photographs from over three decades;

The collection of over 217 autochrome plates by Heinrich Kühn (1866-1944).

Of the photo expositions of recent years I would like to recall, apart from the already mentioned one of Harry Weber, just the following:

The exposition of the marine photographer Alois Beer (2000);

The exposition of the photographer Kurt Aigner (1999);

The exposition on Empress Elisabeth in 1998 in the Austrian National Library, which in the meantime has been shown in many other places in Europe.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I hope you will enjoy yourselves in the next few days in our Library, and I wish your conference every success!

Milanka Todić

Anastas Jovanović: Calotype Poraits and Cityscapes

In his *Autobiography* Anastas Jovanović (1817-1899) described in detail his first encounter with daguerreotypic images which were exhibited at the Viennese Academy of St. Anna in 1839, where he was a student of copperengraving, but he did not mention however, his first experience with the calotype technique.[1] Since Jovanović in 1841 had a Voigtländer camera with Josef Petzval's lens, he tried to make a portrait of Prince Mihail Obrenović. His intention was, in fact, to make a lithographic portrait of the Prince on the basis of that daguerreotype. But it is impossible to ascertain the exact moment when Anastas Jovanović (Fig. 1) started using the technique of calotype in order to make the artificial model for the series of lithographic portrait.

Fig. 1: Anastas Jovanović, Selfportrait, c. 1850

The chronology of his calotypes (about 370) starts in 1848, especially because, according to reports by J.M. Eder, Anastas Jovanović belongs to the group of Anton Georg Martin, the author of the book *Repertorium der Photographie*, published in 1846 in Vienna, which, among other things, deals with various procedures of calotype. Jovanović's interest in calotype, as well as that of many other artists from mid-nineteenth century, was derived primarily from his graphic activities, where photograph could be used as a visual basis, or a starting-point instead of real model.

That is also the period (1846) when he was getting prepared for the project of „Spomenici Serbski" (Serbian Memorials), a series of fifty two lithographs of prominent personalities from Serbian history and contemporary society. As many of his calotypes are dated around 1850, it can be asserted that Anastas Jovanović used the method of calotype and made his great lithographic project. Calotypes can be traced in bases of some of his lithographic portraits, but also in bases of his paintings, painted miniature portraits, in some illustrations and other works of applied arts. But some of the portraits around 1850 were also made as independent photographic pieces, whose structure reveals identical painstaking technical workmanship. In his Viennese period, from 1838 till 1859, Jovanović's sphere of interest also included scenes

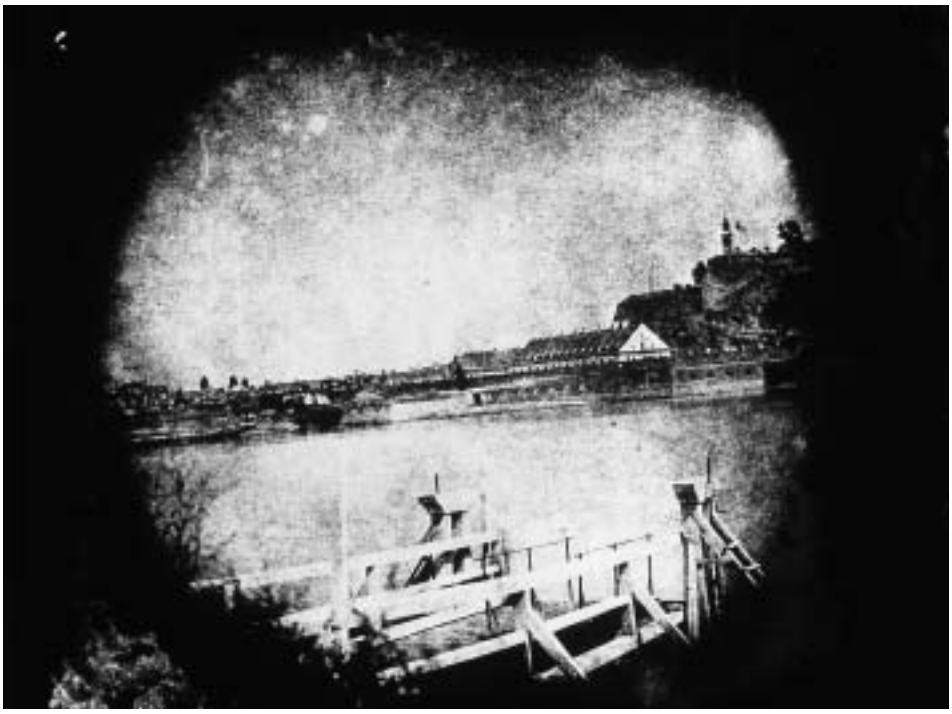

Fig. 2: The Fortress of Petrovaradin on the Danube, 1851

outside of his atelier, in the streets of Vienna, fortress on the Danube, buildings in Belgrade or moments at the Prince's estate in Ivanka, without intention of using those photographs as bases for lithographic sheets (Fig. 2).

The fact that many Jovanović's calotype portraits were created in order to serve as object for other, autonomous works of art, does not diminish their value, but contributes to understanding of certain variations in the method. Differences in technical process are obvious both on paper negatives and in positive prints. Many calotype negatives show signs of subsequent intervention, where Jovanović shaded with India ink everything that was behind the portrayed figure. Sometimes his interventions with India ink or black paper glued to the calotype cover only a part of the background, around the head, leaving the interior of the atelier partly visible on other parts of the photographic picture. Similar interventions with India ink, which cancelled out the blurred part in the background of the cityscape, were used in the mid-nineteenth century by other calotype photographers as well. On Jovanović's calotype portraits all sorts of interventions are recognizable in the final, as a clean, white background on which the figure of the model stands out. This procedure emphasizes the personality. But the structure of the photographic picture is devoid of elements of the real environment. Unreal white surface confronts with three-dimensional form of the model's head.

The effort to capture and preserve a picture of a person on a photograph is in most of Jovanović's calotypes accompanied by a decision to use close-up. Such portraits, where only the head of the model is cropped by the photographic frame, represent a rarity even in the Serbian painting of the mid-nineteenth century, and are connected with the ideological and stylistic outlines of the romanticism which emphasized the individuality. The portraits of contemporary artists, Prince Mihailo Obrenovic, as well as some other ones, all created in 1850s, reveal that Jovanović surpassed, in artistic sense, the mid-nineteenth century conventional concepts of portraits. Highly interesting psychological studies are the portraits of the writers Petar Petrović Njegoš, Ljubomir Nenadović and Vuk Stefanović Kradzić (Fig. 3), painter Dimitrije Avramović, and some portraits of politicians: Toma Vučić Perišić, Ilija Garašanin etc. Anastas Jovanović's decision to use close-up helped him to span the distance between a photographer and his model, succeeding thereby to create an impression of almost direct contact with the portrayed person, and a feeling that a moment of truth had been captured and preserved. He used the method of close-up as the photographic substitute of the old practice of preparatory drawing studies in the context of lithography. On the other hand, with the concept of fragmentation he made outline photographic way of presentation. The use of close-up in order to emphasize reality with an aim to comprehend it as completely as possible would actually become

Fig. 3: Vuk Stefanović Kradzić, c. 1850

atypical for the nineteenth century and only the leading photographic artists dared experiment with this method of creating photographic images.

In the works of Anastas Jovanović the portrait genre stands out not only because the number of preserved pieces surpasses all other motifs of his photographic practice, but above all because of its extraordinarily high creative achievements. The fact that most of his portraits were taken in an Viennese atelier (Taborstrasse 6) is worthy of notion, because it imposes certain narrow concept of portrait. Jovanović, like many photographers of that period, usually poses the model in a sitting position, but with one arm leaning on a table. The very simplicity of this portrait composition, already tested in painting and graphics, is a conventional solution, but the real function of this

Fig. 4: Portrait anonym, around 1850

position is to ensure the immobility of the model during the taking of the picture. It is a well known fact that calotype process was welcomed and widely used in artistic circles first of all, while the professional ateliers applied it only exceptionally. Anastas Jovanović was a student at the Viennese academy and he obviously made use of his skill and knowledge, taken over from graphic and painting. So photographs by Anastas Jovanović themselves are very similar in conception to the pictorial works of that time. But it is beyond doubt that the collection of portraits or groups of persons in Jovanović's legacy is the first and most important as far as the artistic and cultural-historic values are concerned. Among them there are Serbian artists, intellectuals, merchants, rulers and a far vaster number of common citizens, women and children,

unfortunately mostly unknown (Fig. 4). This impressive gallery of calotype portraits was initiated in Vienna during 1840s supplemented in Belgrade. In the Belgrade period, Jovanović changed his technique - instead of calotypes he uses wet collodion. This process lasted until the eighties of the nineteenth century, a ten years before his death.

The calotypes portraits by Anastas Jovanović were started with the idea of romantic project for the publishing of the *Serbian Memorials*. But they deserve special attention because they represent the highest achievement of Balkans photography in the first half of the nineteenth century. Although his calotypes do not have the value and quality achieved in some works of English and French authors, the work of Anastas Jovanović can be treated as a part of European history of photography. His calotypes, not lithographs they were first meant to be, reveal the truth of his artistic capability. They are the real work of art. Not very proficient in his lithographic portraits, Jovanović is a real creative artist in the field of photography. In connection with calotypes, and especially those whose structure involves close-up, it is also possible to talk about the author's innovation, modern and individual creative step aside which led to bold photographic representation of reality.

From one news item published in *Serbske novine,* 1850, we learn that Anastas Jovanović could use the technique of calotype also outside of his studio, in the exterior. It reports that travelling from Vienna to Belgrade he had taken picture of Novi Sad and an other places in Vojvodina, which were the sites of battles during revolutionary revolt in 1848. As it was in 1850 that the first folio of lithographs from the „Spomenici Srbski" (Serbian Memorials) was published, Jovanović's calotypes of landscape were functionally related to them. Since the main purpose of photography was to provide a base for lithographic portraits, the calotypes of landscapes could have had the same aim. Photographs of landscapes could be used for the background of the lithographic portrait, or for a battle scene. However, those sorts of photographs could provide Jovanović's painted historical scenes with additional important references to the real environment. The tendency to place the heroes of contemporary national history in an authentic landscape, led Jovanović to take a model of the romantic style in the representation and to accept documentary value in the work of art.

It would be hard to believe that Anastas Jovanović belonged to the group of those calotypists who around 1850 were in position to take pictures on such distant journeys, but we have proofs. His legacy includes paper negative of fortress of Petrovaradin on the Danube and we can see that he used Petzval portrait lens, so that a part of the paper remained unexposed because of inadequate focal length. The Library of Belgrade was photographed in the same manner, and presumably also in 1850, according to archives (Fig. 5). But his other calotypes made around 1850s are picturing

Fig. 5: The Library of Belgrade, 1851

old Viennese streets and squares – true paper negatives – and one with the scene of an unknown quarter for the night on the road Vienna-Belgrade. Jovanović takes photographs of out-door scenes from great distance and sometimes from heighten viewpoint, but thinks about composition searching for the dynamic light-and-dark relations.

It is true that Anastas Jovanović made use of photographs while making lithographic project and paintings, but it is also certain that he did not use photographic method only as a secondary means. By the exceptionally numerous works which remained behind him (more than nine hundred photographs) it is evidence that he varied both regarding the choice of motifs and techniques. The work of Anastas Jovanović, member of Photographische Gesellschaft in Vienna from 1877, included also stereoscopic photographs produced from 1854 till 1870. It should be emphasized that he independently investigated the possibilities of stereophotography.[2] His

stereopticon pictures of Vienna, Belgrade and Kragujevac do not belong to the mass of commercial production of stereophotographs. Above all because they guard the expression of a curious and creative spirit which, like in the technique of calotype, is testing its own abilities and expanding the boundaries of photographic medium.

Notes

1 Muzej grada Beograda, inv.br. AJ 826; *Anastas Jovanović - prvi srpski fotograf*, Galerija SANU, Beograd 1977; B. Debeljković, *Stara srpska fotografija,* Muzej primenjene umetnosti, Beograd 1977, 10-22; M. Melichar, *Auf den Spuren der vergangenen Zeit*: *Serbe fotografierte Biedermeier,* Kleine Zeitung, Graz, 1977, Sept. 2, 43; *B*. Debeljković, *Early Serbian Photography*, History of Photography, London, 3, 1979, 233-252; B. Debeljković, *Die alte serbische Photographie*, Museum für angewandte Kunst, Beograd 1980, 7-10; R. Mitrović, *Anastas Jovanović (1817-1899)*, Camera, Luzern, 59, 1980, 1/38-39; M. Auer, *Encyclopédie internationale des photographes de 1839 à nos jours. Photographers Encyclopedia International 1839 to the Present, Vol. 1, Edition Camera Obscura, Hermance 1985: Jovanović, Anastas*, s.p; M. Todić, *Istorija srpske fotografije 1839-1940, (The history of serbian photography 1839-1940),* Beograd 1993, 28-40, 101-105, 195-196.

2 C. J. Rospini, *Brille und Fernrohr*, Wien 1855, 148; C. V. Wurzbach, *Biographisches Lexikon des Kaiserthums Österreich*, Vol. 10, Wien 1863, 284.

(Translated by Sofija Todić)

Károly Kincses

A Photographer Without Limits

Veress Ferenc is a Hungarian photographer from Transylvania. The city of his birth, where he lived his life, to which most of his activities are tied, was called, respectively, Napocza during the time of the Roman Empire, Klausenburg, following the Saxon settlement of the middle ages, then for nine hundred years, by the Hungarians, Kolozsvár, and during the last ninety years, by the Rumanians: Cluj, or sometimes Cluj-Napoca. The city stands firmly in its place, while the whirlpools of history circle left and right around it. You can well observe this many-rootedness on the residents of this city, its past contains many elements of common validity.

To this town was born Veress on September 1, 1832. He's studying to be a goldsmith, as so many of the early Daguerreotype photographers, and in 1850 acquires his own camera. From this point his path could lead two ways. He can either pursue photography as a hobby as many of his contemporaries would do, or view it as a money-making profession, open a studio and choose commercial photography. Had he done either, he would not now be the star of a show, would not merit the special attention of his heirs. He simultaneously chose both paths, in 1853 he opened Transylvania's first permanent studio at Kolozsvár but he never for a moment ceased experimenting. There is no photographic process that he himself did not try out, improved and modified. Still, his greatest accomplishments were in the photo porcelain production and before everything else, the first color process, in the area of heliochromy experiments. His first attempt at heliochromy was in 1866, a year later he started producing photo porcelain. Meanwhile he made some enchanting land- and cityscapes, which have been exhibited here in Vienna in 1872. According to his own count he photographed 40.000 people in his studio during his career, he invented and produced a Tapupenot-type half-dry plate, published the first regularly appearing Hungarian journal of photography, the Fényképészeti Lapok (1882-1889), taught photography at the University of Kolozsvár, wrote works of literature, established a model farm where he bred more than 800 types of apples. In other words he lived a rather complete and interesting life until his death in 1916. The First World War was in progress, only three years remained until the peace treaty of Trianon, which reorganized conditions in a fundamental way. This will be the subject of the presentation (Fig. 1).

To show that we are not speaking of just anybody, allow me to present a fragment of a letter that Veress Ferenc wrote to Abraham Lincoln, which was preserved by the family through the storms of a century and a half. "To Mr. Lincoln respectfully. Your

Fig. 1: Ferenc Veress, Selfportrait, Albumen print, c. 1857

letter has caused me no little pleasure, from which I understand that you would like to possess the Transylvania landscapes in the form of negatives. I will not only give you my existing eighty negatives for fifteen Forints each, but I will take the further two-third of Transylvania for the same price, fifteen Forints each. The reason I'm making them so inexpensively is that my procedure is the simplest dry method. The eighty negatives are of Transylvania's county regions – mostly scenes along railroad lines – so they are to be viewed mostly from a tourist perspective, however I have notes for them, interesting folk legends and tales, which I will also provide for a moderate price. So if you, Sir, desire not just these eighty negatives, but would like me to take pictures of the entire Transylvanian region, then these pictures would be made not just from a touristic, but geologic and geographic point of view. I would note for each picture the geologic age – eocene or miocene – of the rock structures, and would include brief extracts of folk legends and tales. I believe such legends illuminating a

faraway land would not be an uninteresting novelty for our American fellow citizens, who have surpassed us in all that is beautiful and good."

Veress Ferenc started making landscapes using the Tapenot dry method at 1859, Lincoln was assassinated in 1865, so this letter must have originated between the two dates. Disregard the person of the legendary American President, let us examine the photographer, although it is interesting to wonder how Lincoln discovered the Veress photos in 1860, before Internet, satellite communication, graphic image telegraph, fax, when they were not yet able to duplicate half tone pictures in print? But while we may leave that question unanswered, we should become interested in the person who was able to think on such a level of complexity at the dawn of the photographic era. He was willing to take on the photographing of historical monuments, natural resources, civil structures of a country-size area, which, irrespective of the outcome of the offer made to Lincoln, he accomplished.

Who was this photographer? He was born, went to school, and grew up like anyone else. He was on his way to become a goldsmith, engraver, like so many others during the birth era of photography. Don't forget we are only at 1849, the European Revolution has just been defeated. He gets his first camera at age 18, doesn't waste time, two years later he has opened his studio in Kolozsvár. It's interesting to know that in 1853 there was no permanent atelier in Transylvania, only itinerant photographers covered the area, so he performed an act without precedent. It probably wouldn't have worked if he hadn't had some aristocratic supporters. Aristocrats whom the Habsburgh regime temporarily deprived of social and political role, carved chair-legs, paged through folios, became acquainted with the currently conquering new visual creation: photography, they gardened and farmed on their estates. Counts Mikó Imre, Kornis Zsigmond, Bethlen János, Baron Apor Károly … only some of whom that in the earliest years of Hungarian photo history helped the young, ambitious photographer with money and contacts, who had by this time learned to daguerreotype and the preparation of Talbotypes. With Count Kornish they developed the albumin glass negative invented scarcely a year before by Abel Niepce Saint-Victor, finding the correct recipe, technique after many failed trials. In 1853 they were carrying out experiments with collodium coated glass negatives invented by Le Gray. In this age there were two ways of learning about a new technique. You either bought the license and the photographer who made the discovery demonstrated, taught the method, sold you the chemical agents appliances, or you read the not very professional literature on the subject and discovered the process on your own after much failure and frustration.

Veress and his people chose the latter, this time and every time. This is why he practiced just about every classical photo process, but always uniquely, transformed

and altered. Count Kornish financed the experiments, the materials that were not cheap even then, occasionally rewarding successful attempts by photographers with three hundred gold Forints. However the Count only lived for thirty years before a presently curable malady exiled him to the underside of a tombstone in the cemetery of Házsongárd. The calendar read 1854 at this time. The desperate photographer met through Apor about this time Count Mikó Imre, sometimes known as the Széchenyi of Transylvania who was the Minister of Transportation of the first independent Hungarian government, and as such, was a political pariah at this time. Mikó learned photography in Vienna, whence he also brought his equipment. Apor, Mikó and Veress attempted to make life-size enlargements from cabinet sized glass negatives using Woodward's technique. Not without success, either. Has anyone tried to make 40 x 50 enlargements by projecting rays into a dark room, with mirrors, sunrays parallelized by condensors, for two to two and a half hour exposure times? If yes, there is no more to be said, if not, you may believe it is a quite complicated process, full or error potential, which was considered peak technology at the time. For anyone who is still unimpressed, I will just mention parenthetically that the sunlight enlarger was only patented three years later.

The aristocratic patrons also made it possible for him to go on a tour of study to Munich and Paris where he visited several famous photo studios. On the way he stopped in Vienna to visit Anton Georg Martin, author of the Handbuch der Photographie (1851) and Andreas Ettingshausen the first producer of Austrian Daguerreotypes. He immediately utilized his experiences, since, scarcely after returning home he opened the first glass studio in Kolozsvár, which filled the role of Transylvania's capital. This institution was in operation from 1853, preceding by scant months the two Transylvanian Saxon masters Samuel Hert of Kronstadt and Herman Büchner of Hermannstadt. The equipping of his studio still left something to be desired, but his aristocratic patrons again helped him out. Count Mikó loaned Veress his up to date equipment, and further, called upon his fellow aristocrats, known personalities, to visit the new studio and have themselves photographed, to be used in publishing festive albums and tableaux.

A photographer barely in his twenties couldn't have asked for a better start. But even this did not spare him the necessity typical of the lifestyle of contemporary photographers, of having to wander from village to village, town to town, since few people had themselves photographed back then and if they already had a photograph, a goodly time would pass before they had another made. During this time the photographer could starve, so he went on to find another settlement. Then he would stay for a few weeks or months, photographed those who desired it and went on. While he was wandering, the clientele of his permanent studio would also want

new photographs taken, so life went on. Better than average for Veress, since he accumulated enough capital in a rather short time to build one of the handsomest multi-storied studios in Kolozsvár. I won't go into detail, but if you go to the area bordered by the sometime Fürdö and Sétatér Streets and the Little Szamos River, you can find the building, which though it has been quite thoroughly rebuilt, still projects its original beauty (Fig. 2 and Fig. 3).

The money he earned from his studio portraits he spent on photographic experiments and his land- and cityscapes. He started his tour of Transylvania in 1859 while he issued a call in the daily called *Ország Tükre* (Mirror of the Country) to all photographers reading it: "Photographers could provide a great service to our Country if they would photograph greater and lesser notable individuals in the sciences, arts, industry and commerce, and donated them to museums bound in albums. I have been thinking about this idea for years and this year I'm going to accomplish it. My intention is to photograph notable individuals without regard to nationality, religion or gender, who have excelled intellectually, whether they are engaged in literature, agriculture or industry. Another service that our Country's photographers could render to history would be to photograph all antiquities, castles, old palaces, churches, caves which still exist but could disappear within the decade, to leave to future

Fig. 2: Ferenc Veress, Saltpaper-Negativ print, c. 1853

Fig. 3: Ferenc Veress, Saltpaper-Positiv print, c. 1853

generations." According to contemporary statistics there were three hundred photographers operating in Hungary at that time. If Veress's call had not fallen on deaf ears then Hungary, and within it, the Hungarian Museum of Photography would today be the Mecca of photography. But it is worth dwelling on the humanistic, forward-looking and very-very modern content of this appeal.

Veress did what he could. For the 1873 Vienna World Exhibition he photographed the valleys of the Korös and Aranyos rivers, as well as some notable places in Torockó and Hunyad County. The exhibition however did not fulfill the photographer's hopes. Some fifteen years later Veress wrote of the scandalous organization. He received his invitation from the Vienna Photographic Society, of which he was a member. During forty-five days he crisscrossed the country taking 136 pictures using the Taupenot dry collodium process. "While they initially welcomed his contribution, subsequently they didn't want to even make room for them, and when he insisted on getting them back, his request was denied. Finally they found room for some of them in the side building where, as you have seen most became wet, many fell down ad broke, and most of the rest became soiled … " Our photographer was very disappointed, but as a concession he sent them an album entitled "Some landscapes of Transylvania done with dry process, donated to the Vienna Photographic Society by photographer Veress Ferenc, Kolozsvár, May 1st 1873." His album is now a part of the Höhere Graphische Lehr- und Versuchsanstalt collection. Take a look at it, it's worth-while. As we've seen from the Lincoln letter, he didn't just take pictures but collected the legends, tales and stories of the people of the regions. Some of these have survived, for example the Körösvölgyi fairy tale, the location of which is the twin peaks called Sátánköve (Satan's Rock) opposite the peak called Tündérvár (Fairy Castle).

I will end my tale now, even though the best is yet to come. I wrote it all down in a monograph called Levétetett Veressnél Kolozsvárt (Magyar Fotográfiai Múzeum, 1993), the Museum has about four hundred and fifty excellent photographs by him, photo porcelains, the best of his heliochrome experiments. Probably the most popular volumes in our library are the bound volumes of the Fényképészeti Lapok edited by Veress, and we still encounter objects, pictures and manuscripts illustrating Veress's genius. I hope I have aroused your interest, and hope to welcome you with all my love in Kecskemét, at the Museum of Hungarian Photography.

Barbara Schaukal

Sebastianutti & Benque – Five Photographers. Four Generations. Three Continents

Dear Ladies and Gentlemen,
I will be talking about a project which was presented to the public by the Bild- und Tonarchiv (Sound and Picture Archive) of the Landesmuseum Joanneum in 1997 as both an exhibition and publication.

Let me first of all say a view words about the Sound and Picture Archive. The archive was founded in 1960 and is part of the Landesmuseum Joanneum, which, with its 16 departments, is the biggest of Austria's provincial museums. The primary task of the Sound and Picture Archive is to collect, record and produce photographic documents on cultural and art history alongside contemporary history in Styria, and also to prepare them for publishing and teaching purposes and make them available to the public. Our own photographic documentation activities make up a significant part of this work; in addition we collect and produce sound and video material. Furthermore, scientific handling of the collection at the same time represents research on the history of photography in Styria. We have a small collection of exhibits on the history of photography and sound recording in Styria, which is open twice a week.

Currently, the collections of the Sound and Picture Archive comprise approx. 1.5 million photographs (negatives and positives), 9.000 sound-carriers and movies, and a small collection of historic devices.

In the context of our activities as collectors we archived in 1980 items from the photographic stock of the Benque family in the form of reproductions, and also showed some original photos in an exhibition about the beginnings of photography in Styria.

Upon the suggestion and with the help of Dr. Wilhelm Benque, who manages the photographic legacy of his grandfather, Franz Benque, the entire collection of photos, covering approximately 1.100 original pictures, was reproduced for the archive. Their content was revised and they were presented in the exhibition "Sebastianutti & Benque – Five Photographers. Four Generations. Three Continents". Photographic material from Trieste, where the photo-house had its headquarters for 56 years, was also included in the work.

The history of the photo-house Sebastianutti & Benque covers four generations of photographers within *one* family, that is exactly 120 years. Twelve decades of photographic history are reflected in it, beginning in the year 1864 with the opening of Franz Benque's and Guglielmo Sebastianutti's first studio in Trieste, and ending in the

Fig. 1: Sebastianutti & Benque, Trieste, Franz (Francesco) Benque, 1883, albumen print, cabinet format, 11,1 x 16,9 cm, Benque collection, Villach

year 1983, when Lilly Benque, the last in the line, retired from her job as a professional portrait photographer in Graz. The five representatives of the photo-dynasty, company founder Franz Benque (1841-1921), his companion and father-in-law Guglielmo Sebastianutti (1825-1881), his brother Wilhelm (1843-1903), his son Albert (1873-1953), and his granddaughter Lilly (1913-1999), have left their marks not only in three European countries, but also in distant continents, in South America and Indonesia. The development of professional studio and commercial photography can be followed in their oevres over decades, with examples reflecting the spectrum of content, style and technique.

Responding to a newspaper advertisement in 1864, Franz Benque moved from North Germany to Trieste to begin working as a photographer in the important trade and harbour town on the edge of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. At that time there were already eight photographic businesses present there. Benque had a solid photographic training under C.C. Hersen in Güstrow behind him, and skipped into the arms of adventure by founding a photo studio in partnership with an unknown and unprosperous watch-maker by the name of Guglielmo Sebastianutti. Their first joint efforts were a remarkable success and highly acclaimed in the local press. After introducing his companion Sebastianutti to the art of photography, Benque headed

back to Germany a year later on an "artistic voyage", acquiring not only a silver medal from the international photo exhibition in Berlin, but also the latest in technical advances, an "enlargement device for portraits as large as life". Although the firm profited above all from the demand for portrait pictures, which boomed in all of Europe's larger cities in the sixties, working together with his business partner was not without its problems as both men were of strong character. In 1868 Benque married Sebastianutti's step-daughter, Isabella, which intensified the ties between the two men. In 1869 Benque backed out of his contract with Sebastianutti and left Trieste with his wife to return to Hamburg, where he founded the studio Benque & Kindermann with his cousin Conrad Kindermann. However, the 10-year partnership that was initially intended did not hold for Benque decided to emigrate to Brazil with his family in 1870.

The first phase of the collaboration between Franz Benque and Guglielmo Sebastianutti, which, as mentioned, lasted five years (from 1864 to 1869), was mainly contract work, typical for photo studios in these years. Portrait photography was predominant. The political and social rise of the middle classes from the middle of the century increasingly saw the wish of people to be captured in pictures and the rapid technical development of the young medium of photography contributed to making the mass production and distribution of photographs possible and also affordable.

The "Nuovo Studio Fotografico Francesco Benque" (with Franz Benque as director) and the studio "Fotografia Benque-Sebastianutti, Trieste" (with both Franz Benque and Guglielmo Sebastianutti as directors), which stood in the old town of Trieste, attracted citizens of the town, actors and singers of the Trieste Theatre and clientele from nearby and more distant surroundings.

In the family archive there are of course mainly portraits of relatives of the Benque and Sebastianutti families in carte-de-visite and cabinet format, most usual for this time, and later in various larger formats. What is striking is the fact that the family pictures in no way differ to their commercial work in style and customization, which can be observed over the centuries to the end of the firm (Fig. 1). In the entire collection there are no pictures with a "family feel" and no private snapshots. The photos were taken in almost exclusively the same conditions as the commercial work staged in the studio.

Besides work in the portrait branch, which developed from fancy full-length figures to the more individual bust-portrait, Franz Benque also seemed to be interested in genre and scenic portrayals, the so-called "tableaux vivants". These drew on models from painting and were very popular at the time. They were composed using family members, company employees and other extras, incorporating various artistic aspects. Benque and Sebastianutti, too, often played roles in them.

Public recognition was not lacking. The studio's achievements were continually praised in the local press and by specialist organs, for instance in *Photographic*

Correspondence and also merited with prizes at exhibitions. Among others a silver medal was received at the world exhibition in Paris in 1867.

Following the departure of Franz Benque, Guglielmo Sebastianutti ran the studio by himself for 9 years, first under the name "Fotografia Sebastianutti" and then, after receiving the accolade of the Austrian Court as "Sebastianutti i. r. Fotografo di Corte Trieste" until Franz Benque's return in 1878.

It can be said that Sebastianutti was an excellent student of his son-in-law. He had clearly succeeded in passing on his highly-demanding approach in matters of picture arrangement and quality of technical processing, and also in his innovative position where significant developments in photography were concerned. Further to continuing his work in portrait photography, Sebastianutti had moved into a new branch of photography, namely producing townscapes and photos of popular sights. The rise of tourism was to thank for this new demand. Sebastianutti was one of the few photographers to receive a licence to photograph the castle of Emporer Maximilian of Mexico, Miramare, located close to the town, and to sell the pictures commercially (Fig. 2). In 1874 he was bestowed the title of photographer of the emperial court and won many medals at exhibitions, for example at the world exhibition in Vienna in 1873.

After the short intermezzo in the partnership with Conrad Kindermann in Hamburg, Franz Benque emigrated in 1870, as already mentioned, with his wife and their baby daughter, Alba, to Brazil. Kindermann was keen to continue using the name "Benque & Kindermann", which can probably be interpreted as an indication of the good reputation associated with the name Benque. The limited number of surviving photos from the Benque & Kindermann studio are, for the most part, from the time after Franz Benque. Notable is the extensive series of attractive sights in Hamburg in cabinet-format and the allegoric portrayal of an homage to Wilhelm I, King of Prussia, from the year 1870.

It can be assumed that Franz Benque met with his future Berlin-born companion, Alberto Henschel, before he left for Brazil. Henschel had gone to Brazil in 1866 and owned the company "Photographia Allema de Alberto Henschel & C." with studios in Pernambucco and Bahia.

In so doing he had followed a trend of the sixties, in which European photographers, both professionals and amateurs, frequently travelled to countries outside Europe, either to work in documentation photography as a member of an expedition or to produce photos of landscapes, cities, cultural monuments and indigenous populations. These were partly sold to local tourists or were exported back to Europe where the demand for pictures of far-flung countries and cultures was quite high. Other European – and American – photographers, like Alberto Henschel, set up their

Fig. 2: Sebastianutti i. r. Fotografo di Corte, Trieste, Chateau Miramare, c. 1875, Albertype, 41,4 x 48,2 cm; Civici Musei di Storia ed Arte, Trieste

own studios in far-away places and thereby exported the technical know-how and photography's expression of form from Europe and America.

The collaboration between Henschel and Benque was extremely successful. "Henschel & Benque Photographia Allema" became one of Brazil's most renowned photo-houses. Franz Benque made an impressive contribution to this joint venture with his skilled handiwork, which always kept him on the leading edge of technology, with his commercial experience, and with his artistic talent in matters of picture composition. It was he too that extended the studio's repertoire to include architectural and landscape photography. 72 large-format albumen photographs from Rio de Janeiro are preserved in the family archive and are of particular value. They are composed pictures whose clarity and objectivity are most striking.

It was upon Benque's initiative that the studio successfully participated in numerous local and international exhibitions. As the highest form of recognition, the studio

was honoured with the title of the Brazilian Court in 1874. Alberto Henschel had already specialised in portrait photography before his partnership with Benque, which most likely remained the studio's main source of income. The style of the portraits is not at all different to that back in the old world, only the backdrops were adapted to the vegetation of South America.

At the end of the year 1878 Franz Benque returned to Europe, probably for private reasons. He took with him his family that had grown by two further children and again began to work at the company in Trieste. Guglielmo Sebastianutti and Francesco Benque were officially business partners once more, but to avoid further problems the two split their premises. Sebastianutti opened a branch in Milan which he ran until his death in 1881.

The eighties and nineties too were a very successful phase for the tradition-based house, which kept its name "Sebastianutti & Benque". Franz Benque was conferred the title of the Austrian Court in 1883. In 1887 the firm relocated to a new and spacious studio on the Piazza della Borsa. It was equipped with the most modern devices. It must have also been in the early eighties that the transition from "wet plate" to the use of "dry plate" occurred; the exact date cannot be established as no negatives remain.

Benque reacted to the strong demand for pictures of land- and cityscapes and tourist sights by considerably expanding this line of business. These years also saw a lot of activity in the documentation of special events: an example being the inauguration of the memorial for the violinist, Guiseppe Tartini, in his birthplace, Pirano, in Istria in 1896 – an impressive large-format picture; or the visit of Princess Stephanie of Austria to the Miramare castle in February 1889, shortly after the death of her husband, crown-prince Rudolf.

In 1888 a change of generation begins to emerge in the House of Benque. In this year Franz Benque's son, Albert or Alberto (named after Alberto Henschel) began an apprenticeship in his father's firm. He completed his training to become a photographer by attending the newly-founded "Graphic Institute for Experimental Photography and Reproduction Techniques" (today Höhere Graphische Lehr- und Versuchsanstalt) in Vienna. Following that, he gained experience in several renowned studios. In 1895 his father sent him to Brazil and to his former companion, Henschel. However, instead of working in Henschel's studio – and without the permission of his father – he chose to journey through South America as a freelance photographer for three years. In 1898 he was ordered back to Europe.

After further jobs in studios in Graz, Vienna and Zurich, he returned to Trieste in 1901 to help his father run the studio. In 1903 Franz Benque pulled out of the business and moved with his wife to Villach where he died in 1921. Albert became second

Fig. 3: Francesco Benque, Trieste (Alberto Benque), silver rhyton from Taranto, c. 1905, mat collodion silver-print, 22,9 x 16,9 cm; Civici Musei di Storia ed Arte, Trieste

director alongside a long-term employee. It was not until 1913 that Albert took on sole responsibility for the running of the business, which he did until 1920 as "Stabilmento Alberto Benque Successore a Sebastianutti & Benque".

At the turn of the century the hey-day of studio photography was over and Albert Benque shifted – alongside portrait photography – to documentational and object photography (Fig. 3). His work also expresses the company tradition, having maintained a high artistic and technical level throughout the years. Both his portraits and documentary photos show evidence of sensitivity and clarity in the portrayal of the

Fig. 4: Lilly Benque, Portrait of Mother with Child, 1955, gelatine printing-out paper, 13,8 x 8,9 cm; private collection, Graz

theme, even of an inner gravity. His preferred method was the so-called mat collodion technique, which allowed the finest grey scale resolution in the finished print. This brought his works closer to artistic photography.

Albert Benque was not a particularly good businessman and the circumstances of the period – the outbreak of the First World War, the political situation and the economic recession proceeding the war – proved not to be good conditions for the company to remain successful. In 1920 he was forced to give up the headquarters in Trieste. He moved to Graz, making a new start with the opening of a studio in partnership, which he managed until 1951. The "Foto-Benque" studio in Graz, which specialised in portrait photography, also enjoyed a growing reputation.

In 1928 and at the wish of her father, Lilly Benque, "the last in the line" born in Trieste in 1913, began her photographic training in her father's firm at the age of 15.

Fig. 5: Wilhelm (Willem) Benque, Road through a Malyan village on Sumatra, 1867-1877, albumen print, 23,7 x 19,1 cm; Benque collection, Villach

She was also sent to the "Graphic Institute for Experimental Photography and Reproduction Techniques" in Vienna. She worked almost exclusively in portraits, frequently and preferentially with children (Fig. 4). Her unconventional and sympathetic pictures that made her famous in Graz, are poignant to the observer. They are also proof of her ability to keep up the role of continuity in the family. Besides this, she taught for over 40 years at the Vocational School for Photographers in Graz and so became mentor to several generations of Graz and Styrian photographers.

Finally we return again to the second half of the nineteenth century, to Franz Benque's younger brother, Wilhelm Benque, who also worked as a photographer. He was, in two senses, removed from the family: for one he was never involved in the family business, and was furthermore an outsider within the family. He led the unsettled life of a globe-trotter, living alternately in Europe, Asia, and Dutch India (Indonesia), and tried his hand at several trades, sometimes successfully. His first profession was that of a mechanical engineer. He presumably turned to photography

through his brother Franz, though it is not known exactly. He was, at any rate, employed by a photographer from Berlin at his studio in Batavia, Java in the late sixties, and from the years 1879 to 1881 co-owned the photo studio "Benque and Klary" in Paris. Portraits from his Parisian years have been identified in public collections in Paris.

In the family archive is a preserved series of over 100 photographs from his hand which originate from his first stay in Indonesia. The large-format albumen prints about whose the origin we know nothing, show landscapes, architecture, cultural monuments and people. They were all taken in Java, Borneo and Sumatra, and are evidence that Wilhelm or Willem Benque – as he liked to call himself in line with his preferred country of residence - was an intuitive ethnologic observer (Fig. 5). They display his great interest for the foreign cultures in which he chose to live, and convey to today's viewer an impression of co-existence of the indigenous population and the European colonists. The individual portraits and group pictures of aborigines, in part coloured by hand, are respectful and realistic, resulting from an unbiased artistic approach to photography without conventional moulds and limitations.

So what is so special, or perhaps so unique about the "photographic dynasty" Benque-Sebastianutti? Is it the fact that within *one* family four generations worked professionally with the medium of photography? Is it the cosmopolitan stance, the courage to take risks, in a time when the world really became a bigger place? Is it the continuity in quality and achievement of these five people? Is it the responsible attitude towards family history that has left for posterity such an extensive and undamaged collection over a long period of time? Is it the variety and completeness of the observed material that brings to our eyes the important stages of development in the medium of photography? I believe it is a combination of all these aspects, which make the collection Benque so interesting and exciting for today's observer.

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Antonín Dufek

By 1918: Paths from and to Vienna

In the year 1978, on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the breakdown of Austrian-Hungarian Empire, the Moravian Gallery in Brno held the exhibition "Charm of Old Photography". 120 km from Vienna, there were about 1.200 prints exhibited, coming from all over the world, however, most of them showing the former aristocracy of the Viennese court. I do not want to stress how exceptional the exhibition was. At that occasion I realized for the first time how difficult it was for me to imagine such a melting pot of nations, when nations were only being invented. I started to think that nations were not important, and therefore I found it strange that after 1918, Austrians started to deal mostly with Austria and the Czech lands with themselves. Could we compare it to a body being cut to parts? Or was it just a divorce of separated bodies? Is our thinking nationalistic or internationalistic?

To define a nationalistic point of view in the 19th century photography is relatively easy. Nationalism was based on language. But most photographers in the Czech lands printed the cardboards of their photographs in two languages, Czech and German. Now, of course, we deal with all the people living in Czech lands, nationalism is for nothing (or just for a special research on nationalism). What was really important for photography were towns, landscapes, travelling photographers, magazines and publications, strong personalities among photographers, etc.

In my lecture, I would like to mention "matters of common interest" between Austria and the Czech Lands, well known and first of all some less-known facts, possible topics for future collaboration between Czech lands and Austria in research.

Andreas von Ettingshausen's mission in Brno and Litomyšl in June 1840 is, I presume, widely known. Friedrich Franz took his snap-shot-daguerreotype in Brno in June 1841, about three months later than the Natterer brothers in Vienna. The Voigtländer lens, which made such daguerreotypes possible, was created by Maximilian Joseph Petzval of Slovak origin. Before Ettingshausen's visit, Franz took his first portrait photograph with the Voigtländer camera in Brno in April 27, 1841; the exposure took less than one minute.

Wilhelm Horn from Prague studied in Vienna. He is known for the first German-speaking journal specialized in photography, *Photographisches Journal* (Prague - Leipzig 1854-1866). As far as I was able to find out, his studio, established in Prague on October 1st, 1841, was among the first ones in Europe. In Germany, the studio of Hermann Biow in Hamburg was established two months earlier. Due to the centralisme of the Monarchy the Austrian photographer Andreas Groll could take the first large series of photographs of Czech monuments.

Adolf Hübner from Brno and Cracow (with his partner Feja), and from Sternberg (Štemberk, Moravia), was one of a few photographers settled in the Czech lands and publishing in *Photographische Notizen*. (Über Erzeugung natürlicher Wolken bei Landschafts-Aufnahmen. *Photographische Notizen* VI, 1870, p. 6-7; Kunstgriffe in der Kunst. *Photographische Notizen* VI, 1870, p. 36-38). Around 1864, Hübner passed his studio on to Rudolf Gaupmann, quite important Viennese painter and photographer (Vienna 1815-Graz 1877). Naturally, there were many less important Austrian photographers active in the Czech lands, especially in South Moravia, such as Josef Haier in Brno and Amand Helm in Prague and Teplice.

We know from Ludwig Schrank that Ludwig Angerer took photographs of the landscape near Brno, but the photographs are unknown. Schrank published an article in *Photographische Correspondenz* on his journey to Prague where he visited all the important photographers except Franz Friedrich. (Antonín Dufek, Časopis Photographische Correspondenz o pražských fotografech. *Bulletin MG* 1987).

Carl Pietzner, owner of an international network of studios, came from the international area Teplice. There were several famous photographers in the period around 1900 who came to Vienna from the Czech lands, mostly from their German-speaking regions. The lawyer Dr. Emil Mayer, who was the president of the Wiener Amateurphotographen-Klub in 1907-1927, was born in Nový Bydžov. In 1938 he committed suicide, together with his wife (*Emil Mayer. Fotografien um 1900*. Wien 1989, catalogue, gallery Faber). Dr. Friedrich Viktor Spitzer, member of the Camera-Club, was born in Brno in 1859. Karel Novák and later Rudolf Koppitz, teachers at Graphische Lehr- und Versuchsanstalt, came from South and North Moravia, (on Koppitz, Monika Faber wrote a book). Josef Anton Trčka, who came from the large Czech minority in Vienna, was also a student at the same school. Hermann Clemens Kosel too was born near Český Krumlov. And Hans Watzek also was born in Bílina, North Bohemia.

In all these cases, it would be reasonable to join powers of Austrian and Czech historians in research. Not because of internationalism but because of practical reasons.

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Julie Jireęková – The First Lady of Art Photography in Bohemia

(Based on: *Julie Jireęková a secesní fotografie ve Vysokém Mýte*. [JJ and Art Nouveau Photography in Vysoké Mýto]. Okresní muzeum Vysoké Mýto 1998, Muzeum Šumperk 1999. Catalogue Antonín Dufek, Milíę Jiráęek, prints from collections in Moravská galerie, Brno, and Okresní muzeum, Vysoké Mýto).

Around a century ago, the history of photography encountered a new phenomenon: art photography by amateur photographers. One of the first Czech amateur clubs came into existence in early 1906, in Vysoké Mýto, with a woman, an aristocrat, among its members. Her name was Julie Jireęková (21.1.1878 Vienna - 11.8.1963 Vysoké Mýto), perhaps the first Czech woman to be an art photographer. In Moravia, her only competition was Jana Fiedlerová (1888-1966) from Prostęjov, sister of Franz Fiedler of Dresden (1885 – 1956). Although photography was to attract women from the very beginning, and many of them were successful in running photographic studios already in time of daguerreotype, but amateur clubs remained essentially a male domain. The number of women taking photographs increased rapidly only in the 1930's, as one of the consequences of developing emancipation as well as of new simplification in the "nuts and bolts" of photography (Leica, Rolleiflex). Nevertheless, the very first technological revolution towards user-friendly photographic equipment occurred only in the late 19th century. Thus in 1902, we could have read in a comment by J. F. Vítský that "even the gentle little hand of a lady need not shrink from photographic work. Practical, convenient, and versatile 'universal' bellows […] hardly differing in appearance from a small, light handbag, and feather-light stands of tubular aluminium that fold up small, do not create obstacles even to longer walks, while chemicals measured in exact quantities and pressed into small tablets for dilution in a prescribed volume of water also make further processing easier."[1]

Before World War I, photography was a pastime for the well-off, members of higher society with time on their hands. Most of them were educated, wealthy citizens of "gentle tastes" and a relatively good cultural outlook. For example, even Stanislav Wirth, a philosopher who was the brother of the art historian Zdeněk Wirth, would take photographs in Vysoké Mýto. Significant members of the Vysoké Mýto Jireęek family are mentioned in all Czech encyclopaedias. Julie's father was Hermenegild Jireęek (Fig. 1), a Knight of Samokov, member of the Česká akademie [the Czech Academy] as well of Královská česká společnost nauk [the Royal Czech Association of Science]. He was also a corresponding member of the academies in Petersburg, Vienna and Zagreb. In photoportraits, his face seems no less distinctive than his first name. In the days of his youth he was quite a successful journalist, a writer of fiction and a dramatist. However, he

Fig. 1: Julie Jireçková: Hermenegild Jireçek, c. 1908, gum print, 215 x 267 mm

went down in history as a law historian. After 1848, he joined the pro-Vienna conservatives and worked in Vienna in the Ministry of Culture and Education until 1894. Apart from that, he taught Czech language and literature (1874-77) to Crown Prince Rudolf. In 1881 he was raised to a knighthood and in 1883 was accepted into the council of ministers. His career was to prove a burden to his daughters in the newly-founded Czechoslovakia, to say nothing of what it was to do later! Hermenegild's brother Josef (1825-1888), two years his senior, worked in the same ministry and in 1871 became a minister, later a member of the imperial parliament. He specialized in Czech language and literature. A measure of their nationalist fervour was that both brothers defended the authenticity of the Zelená hora manuscript, a clever forgery purporting to be an ancient collection of "history" and legends, that could be used to promote a feeling of national continuity and history. The third of the famous Jireçeks, Konstantin (1854-1918), a historian and philologist, was the son of Josef and his wife Božena, daughter of Pavel Josef Šafaøík (one of the main figures of Czech national movement). He was based in Bulgaria and Vienna and wrote, among other books, *A History of the Serbs*.

Hermenegild, the son of a smith, did not get married until 1870. Julie Wokaunová, his wife, was Vysoké Mýto-born and 20 years younger than him. She gave him three daughters: Marie, Noemi, and Julie, the youngest. In 1880 he built a villa at Vinice (part of Vysoké Mýto), said to resemble a Russian dacha, in sight of his native town. None of his daughters ever married. They spent all of their lives in the family's "summer residence". Marie did not reach old age, but both Julie and Noemi – four years her senior – died in 1963, apparently in unimaginable poverty (neither was entitled to any form of pension). Noemi was a famous piano player in her youth. From the age of 12 she performed in public in Austro-Hungary and Germany, individually or, for example, with the violinist František Ondøíęek (1895). Her career was not long, ending as early as 1905, apparently because of nervous strain. At that time, Julie started to work her way into photography. Despite of all the social appreciation of photography as a branch of art, Julie never even approached her sister's renown and lived in her shadow. On the occasions of the 80th and 90th anniversaries of Noemi's birth, memorial volumes were published. The first one (1954) included a poem by Jaroslav Seifert "Na vinicích" [In the Vineyards] inspired by listening to Beethoven's Moonlight Sonata.[2] Beethoven was Noemi Jireęková's favourite composer.

Only a little is known of Julie Jireęková. No testimonies from her contemporaries have survived and reports in the photographic press are scarce. It was probably not by coincidence alone that Jireęková saw display her work for the first time in 1906, when the Vysoké Mýto Klub fotografù amatérù [KFA, Amateur Photographers' Club] was founded. However, her name was not even mentioned in the news of the club's foundation. The club gave Jireęková only an opportunity to participate in photographic activities.

At that time, Èeský KFA [the Czech KFA] in Prague, with the journal *Fotografický obzor* [Photographic Horizon], functioned as a common platform for the few amateur clubs. In 1906, Jirecková participated in the Prague-club-exhibition as well as in an exhibition in Zbraslav (Prague), at which the club was responsible for the photographic contribution. Her works excited admiration, and an unusually high number of them were chosen for exhibitions. Two of them were reproduced in *Fotografický obzor*, in 1906 and 1907 – at the time, an extraordinary honour (issues of the monthly magazine contained only one picture each).

In 1908, Vysoké Mýto made its mark in the history of art photography by holding a joint exhibition of paintings and photographs. Thus photography became part of the artistic context not only in intellectual theory, but also in exhibition practice. The first attempt at such a mixture took place in Strakonice in 1900. Both of these "between-the-disciplines" exhibitions, which were not repeated later, failed to stir up much interest. The well-known and famous from the world of painting avoided them;

in fact, these events were organized *by* amateurs, *for* amateurs. However, their significance should not be underestimated; hardly any exhibition at the time extended beyond the club milieu. The event was held in the Sokolovna [the quarters of a nation-wide social club, found in nearly every town]."The layout, though simple, was in good taste, with woven garlands of miniature ivy complementing it here and there. The left side was dedicated to photography, the right one to paintings."[3] The exhibition was promoted by simple posters and a catalogue was published. JUDr Hermenegild Jireęek was a member of the Honorary Committee, while Julie Jireęková was a member of the Selection Committee for Photography. There was a separate board for the paintings. On the board for the evaluation of photography, Vladimír Fanderlík from Brno was the best-known personality. Jireęková was awarded second prize for her gum print *Mlhavé lesní nitro* ["Misty Heart of the Woods"]. The rest of her works, apart from one silver print, were also gum prints, with four *Motivy z Quarnera* "Motifs from Quarner" and the remainder devoted to capturing the nature of the surroundings of Vysoké Mýto (Fig. 2). The reviewer of the exhibition praised Jireęková "whose gum prints, so nicely and clearly created, we find the best in the exhibition." He also appreciated the work of the local amateurs: "In particular, the photographs from the Vysoké Mýto club demonstrate that its members are dedicated to photography with understanding and love."[4]

Julie Jireęková probably participated in the Czech KFA exhibition in the Lucerna, Prague, in 1911. Works from the Vysoké Mýto KFA (cat. nos. 314-320), as well as those from other clubs, are only featured by picture title rather than photographer. After World War I, Julie Jireęková's work was displayed at the Plzeò KFA exhibition in 1921 and at the First Exhibition of the Czechoslovak KFA Union at the Krasoumná jednota [Fine Arts Society] in Prague, 1923-24. We do not know whether these photographs represented new work, or were drawn from the older œuvre. In 1923, *Fotografický obzor* published Jireęková for the third time, with one of her photographs featuring as the opening picture of the 1923 volume. Julie Jireęková's own published work provides only a little help with the identification of her surviving photographs. It is not even clear when and why she decided to stop taking photographs.

It is intriguing, however, that none of the reviews of Jireęková's photographs place any emphasis on the fact that the photographer was a woman. In the Czech society of the time, women's participation in most socially significant activities was a matter of course. However, male and female dispositions towards artistic endeavour were sometimes differentiated: "The artistic side of woman is far more developed, in natural consequence of her gentle character and agile imagination, supported by the whole of her education and voluminous reading of fiction in the form of rhyme and prose."[5]

Fig. 2: Julie Jireęková: Olives (?), c. 1910-1920, bromoil print (brown), 158 x 205 mm

Julie Jireęková's work certainly conforms with certain ideas of the feminine in art by including, for example, photographs of bouquets of flowers (then highly appreciated) and studies of Noemi Jireęková in a beautiful floral dress. Women were encouraged to photograph what they felt close to: flowers, fashion, children and so on. In this context, the fact that bouquets were also the subjects of work by Josef Králík, a colleague of Jireęková's at the Vysoké Mýto club, appears quite interesting. Furthermore, at a later date, one of the most renowned photographers of children was also a man, František Pekař. Within these limits, it should be fully apparent that Julie Jireęková's work does not belong on the photographic periphery; on the contrary, it falls well within the mainstream of photographic evolution, of the trends that characterised the times. It follows the tradition of intimate landscape painting, and remains among the most cultured expressions of this tradition in photography. The subjects and images employed by Jireęková are simple. Her work acts as a counterpart to the extravagance of art nouveau. She founded a tradition in photography that has proved the most vital, and therefore the most worthy to survive to this day. An

artist's pride lies in the fact that he/she is not bound to that which is superficially attractive. Whitman's *Leaves of Grass* will do; anything will do, and Jireçková was one of the first to demonstrate it. What is important is the vision, the insight, the contemplation of what have been perceived. These features of Jireçková's work become particularly distinctive when compared with the work of her famous contemporaries František Drtikol or Vladimír J. Bufka. In fact, Jireçková anticipates the best of the photographic impressionism of the 1920's. Her *Kvęty u potoka* [Flowers by a Stream] reproduction published in *Fotografický obzor* in 1907 was far from without influence. Julie Jireçková was one of the first artists in her field for whom "how" was more than "what", as is also evident in some of her studies of people, in which she uses unsharp motion in an original way.

Notes

1 J. F. Vítský: Dámy a fotografie [Ladies and Photography]. *Fotografický obzor* X, 1902, p.151.

2 Osmdesát let klavírní umìlkynę Noemi Jireçkové 1874-1954. [Eighty years of the piano artist N. J.] Vysoké Mýto 1954. Vzpomínky pøátel Noemi Jireçkové [Memories of Friends of N. J.] Vysoké Mýto 1964.

3 Anonymous (Vladimír Fanderlík?): Výstava amatérské fotografie a malby ve Vysokém Mýtę (Exhibition of Amateur Photography and Painting in Vysoké Mýto). *Fotografický obzor* XVI, 1908, p. 161.

4 Op. cit, note 3, p. 161.

5 J. F. Vítský, op. cit. note 1, p. 151.

(Translation by Irma Charvátová and Tony Long)

Eva Dahlman

The Swedish Photographer Lewis Larsson and the American Colony Photographers

The Dream of Jerusalem

> *We children could not grasp much of what it was all about. But what the grown ups said or believed they saw, we also seemed to experience. For us, angels were real people, in shining white robes, with joyful, pious expressions and quick hands. We heard the harps playing, we saw the strong arms of God and his billowing beard among the clouds. And Jerusalem was a city of gold and mother-of-pearl.*

This was how Lewis Larsson described his encounter with Jerusalem, and that of the other children from Nås, a Dales parish in Sweden, in the summer of 1896. He was one of a group of fifteen adults and twenty-two children who had left all they owned in order to await the Return of the Lord to Jerusalem – one of the smallest but most remarkable emigrations ever from Sweden. In Jerusalem they joined a sect called the American Colony, just known as "the Colony" among the Swedes. The emigration of the peasants from Dalarna gained world-wide fame through *Jerusalem*, the novel by the Swedish Nobel-prizewinning author, Selma Lagerlöf, written in 1901 and 1902, and more recently through Bille August's film of the novel. But in real life the fate of the Jerusalem emigrants completely surpasses fiction. Some of the emigrants' children became members of the American Colony Photographers, a group nowadays reckoned among the foremost portrayers of the Middle East. It was Hol Lars Larsson, who in Jerusalem changed his first name to Lewis, who built up the photographic group and led the work between 1910 and 1930. Among his assistants were three other boys from Nås, Erik and Lars Lind and Eric Matsson.

Lewis Larsson was fifteen years old when he came to Jerusalem and quickly became involved in the Colony's photographic department. His teacher was Elijah Meyers, a fascinating Jew from Bombay who had converted to Christianity. After eighteen months in Jerusalem Lewis Larsson wrote home in a letter to Nås: "I should now like to tell you about my work here in this country. I work almost every day on fotografy (sic!), now this spring we have done one, two and three hundred photographs every day. We take shots of all the remarkable places here in this country and sell them to a shop down in the town. We have done around fifteen thousand prints this winter …"

The visit of the German Emperor, Wilhelm II, to Palestine in 1898 made the American Colony Photographers known throughout the world. This was also the year in which the group was formally established. Photographs were reproduced en masse and sent to London and Berlin via the Austrian postal service. This created a great demand both for documentary and Biblical coloured photographs of Palestine and Jerusalem, and among those who placed orders were publishers, foreign universities, and travel agents such as Cook's Travels. In Jerusalem the Colony had its own emporium by the Jaffa Gate, where black-and-white and hand-coloured photographs, stereoscopic photographs and glass lantern slides were sold, as well as albums and postcards (Fig. 1). Not more than ten at the most of the Colony's members worked in this successful photographic group, half of whom were Swedes. Their photographic work was soon the foremost source of income for the Colony. Jerusalem was already one of the most photographed places in the world, but on the whole the photographers were visitors who only stayed for a short time.

As Lars Lind relates much later in his book *Jerusalemsfararna* (The Jerusalem Emigrants, 1981): "Some of the work was very trying. It meant being in the dark for hours

Fig. 1: Lewis Larsson, Bedouin with a "Rababeh", photograph, early 20th century

Fig. 2: Lewis Larsson or Furman Baldwin, A Palestinian Farmer spinning Wool, hand-coloured photograph, c. 1900

with one's hands in cold water, rinsing the prints. One's hands and nails became black, since the silver nitrate photographic printing paper had to be made and then hung up on lines like washing, in the dark, until it dried. But it was not difficult to involve the youngsters in this work, since photography was their first opening to a future."

The new tourists who travelled in the steps of the Bible were among the customers of the American Colony Photographers. Palestine, the country and its people, "were Biblified" in order to adapt to the Westerner's image of the Holy Land (Fig. 2). We recognise these "Biblical" scenes so well from our school and Sunday School wall charts. One very popular subject was The Good Shepherd, which occurs in several variations. A series of Lewis Larsson's photographs was used to illustrate the 23rd Psalm in the Book of Psalms, "The Lord is my Shepherd, I shall not want." (Fig. 3). Carin Larsson wrote home to Nås in 1899: "It is amazing to see when the shepherds come with their flocks, how well one can see the picture Jesus used of the Shepherd

and His sheep. Often one sees the Shepherd come bearing a little lamb in his arms. They have a sort of mantle or coat in which they can carry their lambs, several at a time." Eric Matsson provided another and more cynical picture in his diary of 1922: "We went off to Ain Farah to take shots of 'sheep-scenes'. The day before I had made an agreement with the shepherd that he should have his flock ready for us early in the morning and be at our disposal till late in the day. Paid the shepherd 50 piasters, and the same amount to Adnan, the owner of the sheep."

During the golden age of the American Colony, 1903-1913, Lewis Larsson also went on far-reaching expeditions to the Lebanon, Syria, Jordan and Egypt. Many of these were carried out in the company of his colleague, Furman Baldwin. The photographers of those days hauled a tremendous amount of equipment around with them. The luggage for two photographers might well consist of fifteen heavy bags and boxes with cameras and tripods, glass negatives, and chemicals for the darkroom. They often used camels, horses or donkeys as their means of transport.

At the outbreak of the First World War Palestine had been a province of the Ottoman Empire for 400 years. However, when in 1914 England declared war on Turkey, the ally of the Germans, the inhabitants of Palestine also became entangled in a war which was to re-draw the map of the Middle East for ever. Lewis Larsson became a war photographer. Up to the capitulation of Jerusalem in 1917 he documented the fighting for the Red Crescent and the Turks, and thereafter followed the war from the British side. After the war ended Palestine became a British mandate. Lewis Larsson was alone in photographing the historic moment when Jerusalem went over from Ottoman to British rule. His unique photograph was sent all over the world.

Lewis Larsson excelled above all as a landscape and portrait photographer. He was a master of light; after carefully choosing his subject, he might wait for hours for just the right light. He captured the mosaic of faces in Palestine and Jerusalem in a way nobody else has ever managed: Rabbis, Jews, Palestinian women, peasants, shepherds and bedouins, lepers, pilgrims, and the monks and priests of the churches. Many of his photographs were beautifully hand-coloured in oil paint, probably by the youngsters in the Colony.

Lewis Larsson's photography was praised by visiting Swedes in Jerusalem such as author Selma Lagerlöf, explorer Sven Hedin, Prince Wilhelm, film maker Gustaf Boge and Nobel Peace Prize winner Klas Pontus Arnoldson. But after the 1940s few people knew of Lewis Larsson's photographic achievements despite the fact that a large number of his photographs were purchased by Sven Hedin in 1916. These were used in Hedin's travel account *Till Jerusalem* (*To Jerusalem*, 1917), and were not rediscovered until a few years ago in the Sven Hedin Collections at Etnografiska museet (the National Museum of Ethnography) in Stockholm. Through Sven Hedin we find

Fig. 3: Lewis Larsson, "The Lord is my Shephard, I shall not want", hand-coloured photograph, c. 1910

that, "He knew every corner of the city of Jerusalem, and every road, village and ruin in Palestine and Syria … For he had passed through the country dozens of times in all directions, partly in order to take the photographs he sold to tourists and pilgrims, and partly as a guide to tourists. He had friends among the Bedouin far beyond the mountains of Moab. He has been long and often in Petra. He had sailed from shore to shore over the Dead Sea. He had all the coastal towns, and was a friend and confidant of the monks in the monastery on Mount Sinai. It was a joy to wander or travel in his company, for he knew all about everything. He was well versed in the diverse history of the country and knew his Bible by heart, though only in English, which he spoke just as easily as Swedish. He spoke German and French without difficulty and Arabic absolutely fluently. And this Lewis Larsson, whom I could not persuade myself to call 'brother Lewis' was an ordinary man from Nås, in the western dale of Dalarna, and had emigrated at the age of fifteen. During the twenty years which had passed since then, he had himself acquired the whole of his store of knowledge and

trained himself as one of the finest specialists on Palestine. He was also an indescribably loveable and sympathetic man, and he would be able to tell you himself that we were never bored." (*Till Jerusalem / To Jerusalem*, 1917)

In 1930 the Colony split up and Lewis Larsson moved, together with his family, to a house of his own. At the division of the Colony's assets the photographic studio and the photographic archive, with over 20.000 negatives, was allotted to Lewis Larsson's assistant, Eric Matsson. In 1966 the collection was donated by Eric Matsson to the Library of Congress in Washington. Lewis Larsson continued his work as Swedish consul in Jerusalem, a post he held from 1921 to 1948. The consulate, which lay in the family home, was damaged in the fighting during 1948 and many of Lewis Larsson's photographs were destroyed. He died in 1958 and lies buried in the Lutheran churchyard in Bethlehem.

Lewis Larsson's work was not unearthed from oblivion until 1995, when the Swedish journalist and photographer Mia Gröndahl moved to Jerusalem and began her research on the American Colony Photographers. With the ready support of John Larsson, Lewis Larsson's son, and after five years of detective work, and rummaging in archives and desk drawers in Jerusalem, the USA, Dalarna and Stockholm, she succeeded in tracing Lewis Larsson's photographs and life history. In conjunction with Mia Gröndahl the Nordiska Museet put together and produced A Dream of Jerusalem – an exhibition on Lewis Larsson, Swedish photographer in the Holy Land – which was shown from December 2000 up to and including 1st May this year. Through this exhibition the museum, as centre for cultural history photography, aimed to bring to the fore an important Swedish photographer who worked abroad, and give him his rightful place in the Swedish history of photography.

This article is based on Mia Gröndahl's research on Lewis Larsson and the American Colony Photographers. A book on Lewis Larsson by Mia Gröndahl will be published by Journals förlag in Stockholm.

(Translated by Skans Victoria Airey)

Aleksander Bassin

150 Years of Photography in Slovenia

From the inventor Janez Puhar to studio photography, club activities and the social status of photography

An exhibition trilogy which commemorates the 150 years of photography in Slovenia, subsequently realized in cooperation with most important Slovenian critics, theoreticians and experts on photography, was realised by City Art Museum Ljubljana and the Architectural Museum Ljubljana in 1989 and 1990. The first part of this exhibition project together with the first catalogue presented the time from 1839-1919.

Although the place of Janez Puhar, inventor and photographic pioneer in Slovenia, was secured in history despite administrative complications, the prevailing opinion in this part of the then Habsburg monarchy was that photography was in essence an artisan craft, whose early stages were too closely linked to and interspersed with foreign, predominantly German influences.

For the first part of the exhibition trilogy, staged in 1989, we were able to collect from various institutions, private collections and family albums more than 160 top quality photographs – we could almost say artistic specimens – covering the period from 1840 to 1918. One of the main goals of everyone involved in this exhibition project was to keep together and preserve all the exhibition material also after the three-part exhibition was over, which unfortunately proved impossible; although the works are now registered, there is no special center for photography in the new state Slovenia either.

To turn back to the time of daguerreotype, I should initially mention that Ljubljana, the capital of what was then Carniola, learned of this great invention without delay, as Ignac von Kleinmayer's renowned bookstore in Ljubljana sold already in 1839 a thin volume published in Leipzig and unveiling the secrets of daguerreotype or the "art of the illuminated picture made with a camera obscura"; this fact was established by the art historian and most prominent researcher of Slovene photographic heritage, Mirko Kambič MA, who was also the curator of the first part of the trilogy. There were four travelling daguerreotype photographers in our parts: a Bavarian, Lorenz Krach, and a Prussian, Emil Dzimski, who both chose to stay in Ljubljana, then Ljubljana-born Andrej Ločnikar, who opened his studio and there also taught photography, and the above mentioned pioneer Janez Puhar (Fig. 1). Of their efforts there now remain merely some 20 daguerreotypes.

On May 10th 1841, less than two years after the invention of daguerreotype was first publicly announced in Paris, a reporter from a small Slovene borough Metlika

Fig. 1: Janez Puhar: Portrait of Mr. Andrey Vavken and the painter Ivan Franke, c. 1860, Heliotype

wrote about Janez Puhar and his new glass-related invention in the Carniolan newspaper *Carniola*. Also Puhar's biographer, Jurij Jarc, wrote in his time about Puhar's endeavors to make daguerreotypes which led him to the realization that the process would be much cheaper if a glass plate was used. Unfortunately, only the written testimony remains, as none of Puhar's glass daguerreotypes have been preserved. Janez Puhar was born in 1814 in Kranj, where his ancestors had lived since 1640; he was a priest, and he died in 1864. In his first signed report, dated May 24, 1841, Puhar foretold an imminent breakthrough, a device for copying daguerreotypes; he made a public announcement on April 28th 1843 in the above mentioned newspaper

Carniola, where he wrote an article entitled "Neu erfundenes Verfahren, Transparent-Heliotypen auf Glasplatten darzustellen", thus presenting the results of his production of heliotypes onto glass plates to the German speaking public at large. His article was reprinted in Graz as early as May 3rd the same year. Vienna, on the other hand, acknowledged Puhar only in 1851, and Paris in 1854, when he was issued a diploma by the French Academy of Science for his invention of photography on glass. Thus – in the view of the historian Helmut Gernsheim – priority (still) goes to the cousin of the famous photographer Nicéphore Niépce, Abel Niepce, who notified this same French Academy of his practical procedure only in October 1847, publishing the details as late as June 12th 1848.

As a curiosity, let me quote a passage from Puhar's text: "In the case of my invention, which is already a year old, the principle is that the light reflected from the lighted objects infects in the camera obscura molecules of the heated and cleaned glass plate in the same way a contiguous body can, that is to say, during the exposure, which in my judgement lasts approximately 15 seconds, the vapors used by me personally, which bind a lot of heat, are caught in the last moment, for a flicker of an eyelid, on the places which have been reached by light as they condense or electrically attract; while the glass remains clean, partially or completely consistent with the power of light tones, which means that they do not condense here, but rebound. After this interplay of vapors the pictures inside the camera obscura are fixed and thus we can see a motif fixed on the plate at a certain distance from a black plate if we hold the glass plate in front of a lighted window, in a transparent clarity and in the blue color tone and not reversed, but in its natural position, although pictures can come out fine also in such a way that we look at them in the in-coming light as daguerreotype pictures, whose focus and light accuracy they have, although the latter to a lesser degree, because they are not so light-receptive; another circumstance here is that there are certain spots in which a picture seems to appear as in a haze due to inadequate procedure. To preserve such a picture for good, we varnish it and cover it with a glass plate to protect it from the damp and dust."

Puhar is mentioned also by Wilhelm Mutschlechner in the catalogue for the "History of Photography in Austria" exhibition in 1983, where his Slovene nationality is underscored. In addition to the pictures on glass, which have been badly affected by time, there have been preserved to this day only a few relatively small photographs on paper which can be indisputably attributed to Puhar.

Between 1859 and 1991 Slovenia saw, again according to Mirko Kambič, the heyday of studio photography. In 1859, the first permanent photographic studio was opened in Ljubljana. Quite satisfactory portraits, landscapes, vistas and genre works were made there, and also journalistic photographs with the procedure of wet

Fig. 2: Gabrijel Piccoli: Bather at the Seaside, 1911, coloured slide (Lumière Autochrom)

colloid plates; gradually amateur efforts evolved into professionalism. The so-called national photographers naturally stressed the nationals aspects, which is perfectly understandable for that period. The card format was developed for portraits, and also life-size busts with special nuancing of the face. The backs of photographs, in particular of those pasted onto cardboard, were very interesting in their graphic decoration and easily identifiable; due to their solid base, many have been preserved to this day. Gray-blue, black, and gray-brown nuancing began to replace the brownish hues at the beginning of the last century, and printed vegetal art nouveau ornamentation came into fashion. Photographers' work came under the regulations of the Crafts' Act from 1859 and the Press Act from 1862; in accordance with the latter, photographers were obliged to submit one copy of every photograph taken to police headquarters for filing.

The number of studios grew: in 1912, there were already twelve; and while in 1902 there were 22 professional photographers in central Slovenia, this number increased to 67 by 1912. In addition to numerous Slovene photographers, also foreign ones visited these parts, in particular French and Austrian ones. Certain painters, like Kurz von Goldenstein, who is famous for his posthumous portrait of the greatest Slovene poet France Prešeren, and Srečko Magolič were in principle also professional

photographers. The ones who stand out by the quality of their works among the nationally conscious ones are Rovšek, Kotar, August Berthold, Viktor Kunc (his famous studio "Viktor" flourished well into the 1950's), Arnič and Krena, all of them in Ljubljana, and August Blaznik in Škofja Loka, Anton Jerkič in Goriška, and Josip Pelikan in Celje.

On April 14th 1895, Ljubljana suffered a terrible earthquake; one of its side-effects was also the compilation of ample photographic documentation. Numerous photographers were engaged to record the devastating power of the earthquake; Helfer's and Müller's photographs have been preserved, and also the renowned Slovene impressionist painter Rihard Jakopič took some interesting photographs of the documentary genre.

We can speak of the beginnings of amateur photography in Slovenia from 1884 on, with the advent of the use of dry plate. The first Slovene amateur club was established on July 17th 1889, that is to say, simultaneously with similar clubs in Vienna, Prague, Budapest and Paris. Amateur photography also spread by means of various magazines, in particular those dedicated to the mountains. As well as the above mentioned painter Rihard Jakopič, also painters Matija Jama and Milan Klemenčič and lawyer Karol Grosman were actively involved in photography and greatly contributed to its general popularity and surprisingly high quality.

Another thing that deserves mention is stereo and color photography in Slovenia. Stereo photography and stereoscopy, which were widespread above all in Britain, France and America in the second half of the 19th century, was introduced in Slovenia in 1857 by photographer Kirn, who came from Paris. A Klagenfurt-based photographer Johann Renner advertised as early as 1866 the sales of photographic motifs from Carinthia and Carniola; he was later joined by Aloys Beer. Amateur photographers began taking stereoscopic pictures around 1890. As "a tricking of the senses which conjures up the reality of nature" stereoscopy enjoyed more than passing interest also in Slovenia, according to Mirko Kambič.

The first color photographic prints in Slovenia were made as soon as the brothers Lumière's plates became available on the market. Milan Klemenčič took his four (preserved) original slides in 1907, that is to say, 3 years after the patent was issued. From his precise account of the procedure we can learn that he exposed his chrysanthemum motif, for instance, for 12 minutes with shutter 11. The heritage of the Ljubljana pharmacist Piccoli (Fig. 2) consists of 21 original slides (plate formats 10 by 15 and 9 by 12 centimeters).

The First World War more or less put an end to the activities of amateur photographic clubs. The Club of Slovene Amateur Photographers decided on March 30th, 1912, to compile a land register of the Slovene territory, but the conscription of

numerous club members in 1814 made this intention quite unrealizable. Among the war photographers in Slovenia there was also a considerable number of amateurs who took interesting documentary and deeply moving pictures.

With this brief overview of the origins of Slovene photography I hope to have at least partly presented to you its identity and confirm its simultaneousness with the main trends in the international sphere.

András Török

Resurrecting Budapest Photographer Manó Mai and his Studio/Home

Education and Career

Hungarian Photographer Manó Mai (1855-1917) was born possibly in Buda, where his father, Dr. Henrik Mai (1809-?), was a doctor and a grammar school teacher.[1] His father retired in 1879, and was unable to support his son, who had to quit grammar school and became an apprentice at the photographer Péter Kalmár in his Andrássy út studio.[2] Later he improved his skills at the Borsos and Koller firm in Pest, and even later at Leopold Bude in Graz. Meanwhile he completed grammar school studies as a private student. By 1878 he had his studio of his own: he established a joint business with the widow of the photographer Békei, thus the studio Mai és Társa (Mai and His Partner) came into being.[3] By 1885 he had already three or four assistants on the average. In the same year he applied for the title "imperial and royal court photographer", with success. Before erecting his celebrated studio building, Manó Mai operated at 14. Váczi körút (now Bajcsy-Zsilinszky Endre út), Leopold town, Budapest.

To improve his technical skills, he took a number of professional voyages, among others to Germany, Italy and France. He had many awards, the drawings of which gradually covered the *versos* of his pictures. He was awarded by the Wiener Photographische Gesellschaft. He won a gold medal at the Paris Expo in 1900. He presented his work at twelve exhibitions altogether, in Madrid and Brussels as well.

Manó Mai was an active member of the various associations of his field. He was founding member of the Young Photographers' Association for Self Education and for Assistance (Fényképész Ifjak Önképző és Segély Egylete), and he was one of the initiators of the National Association of Hungarian Photographers (Magyar Fényképészek Országos Szövetsége), one that published the professional paper *A fény* (The light), from 1906 onwards, edited by Manó Mai, in his own house.

Research on the life and achievements of Mai Manó is sporadic, since his œuvre, his glass negatives did not survive, as a consequence of the adventurous afterlife of his studio building.

The Studio Building

In 1892 Manó Mai and his wife Etelka Rothauser bought the northward-looking, bad quality block at 20. Nagymező utca, (for most of the predominantly German-speaking population of Pest, still "Großfeld Straße"), a prime location of cabaret neighbourghood, also a stone's throw from the recently completed grandiose Opera House.[4]

They did not move to their new house, but a year later they asked permission from the "Honourable Capital City Council" to destroy the present building and erect a new one, a "three story studio and residential building" on the same site.[5] The building was designed by Rezső Nay and Muki Strausz, architects, the contractor was József Mann. After an exchange of several letters, and the consequent modifications in the design, the new studio building was completed in the early summer of 1894.[6] The permission to use the building was issued on 31st July 1894. At that time there were only three comparable studios in Budapest: that of Simonyi (later: Kozmata), in Zöldfa utca (a street demolished to make way to Elisabeth bridge in 1900/01), that of Strelisky in the Café Gerbeaud building in Vörösmarty (then Gizella) square, and that of Koller in Harmincad utca (Fig. 1).

Fig 1: Manó Mai, photographer, at about the age he built his studio/home, early 1890s, taken in his own studio (Hungarian Museum of Photography)

What made the studio building of Manó Mai even superior to these others was that it was a purpose-built entire block, one that from cellar to loft space served photography. The other thing: the exquisite, Neo-Renaissance façade that was rare even among the public buildings of pomp-happy Hungarian "Gründerzeit". It is a mere 13 meters in width, but is incredibly richly sprinkled with ornaments. It is a summary of the Beaux Arts style of Budapest, moments before Budapest was thunderstruck by "art nouveau". Most part of the façade is covered by ceramics elements produced by

the Zsolnay factory in Pécs, southern Hungary. Both the glazed (majolica) and the unglazed (terracotta) variation was used here in many variations.

The explanation for this façade cannot be anything else but an ideological consciousness on the part of that phenomenally successful photographer-businessman. He must have believed that though photography was a craft and a profession in his own times, it would one day become an art proper. Consequently, it was going to need a past, and due prestige.[7] (As if a web designer of our epoch would think to create some Muses of his/her craft …) Ordering a façade for his studio building like that he did his best to "fabricate a past" to photography. Between the ground floor and the mezzanine there are two small children out of yellow majolica, holding box cameras under their respective arms. Even more spectacular is the series of paintings on terracotta tiles between floor III and the loft space. There are six imagined Muses of photography. Number one is Chemistry, for obvious reasons. Number two is Lithography, number three is "The Muse of Correct Exposition". (She is about to take off the lid of the objective, sitting – strictly speaking incorrectly from the photography point of view – at the side of the camera, with her nude back towards the viewer.) In the middle are some allegoric nude baby boy figures, "putti", who are holding down a third one, reluctant to let himself be photographed. They refer to the fact that the forte of Manó Mai was child photography, devilishly difficult in those days of rudimentary lenses. Muses four to six are that of Light, of Colouring and that of Book-keeping. Though colour photography did not exist (in commercial sense) in those days, Mai and Partner did sell colour prints that were hand-painted, after the exact notes taken during the photo sessions. Bookkeeping must have been one of the strongest skills of the photographer, since by the age of 37 he was able to build such a grand studio, on money solely earned in photography. (There is no clue that any other money was implied, whatsoever.)

When the house was completed, it had no cellar, and the courtyard was empty. Unlike now, there used to be a staircase with twin arms that led to the mezzanine. The giant oval painting was obviously ordered for the house as it is signed the following way: "Albert Raudnitz, 1894". Around the painting there are stucco relieves on the ceiling, floral patterns surround the four beauty idols of the human race: a European, a Negroid, a Red Indian and a Chinese one.

The stairs lead up to the first floor, where originally there were two entrances: one to the studio, to the left, the other to the private home of Manó Mai. The latter included all the first floor, the piano nobile, the "noble level", or the most valuable space, in those pre-elevator and pre-cars era. There was a sitting room, a salon, a bedroom, a bathroom, a large kitchen, a larder and a room for the maidservant. The studio entrance led straight to the oak stairway, the railing of which is interwoven with

wrought brass pieces. The stairs and the railing has been well preserved until this very day. (Signature underneath the stairs: "completed: 18th October 1894, by Gábor Csicsó"). The stairs lead up to Floor II, to the waiting room. There are eight magnificent (partly painted) stained glass windows in this room, manufactured by Miksa Róth (1865 - 1944), the greatest master of the genre. As they face the south it is often ablaze with bright colours. That was the place where clients had some time to compose themselves, that's where the photographer greeted them after having said goodbye to the previous ones.

Clients then were invited to the Daylight Studio, the one that can be visited today. The studio is now empty, unlike in the old days, when it was filled with draperies and props, a supply at the disposal of the persons to be photographed. As it is obvious from the cameras in use in the mid 1890s, the subjects had to be far away from the cameras, at least 7 meters. People had to lean on all kinds of steel gadgets, ones that supported them and made them able to stand stiff for dozens of seconds, if needed (Fig. 2). The glass roof was needed to let in as much natural light as possible, since there was not any other: electricity was not available in this block in 1894. So if there was too much natural light, you could take away from it, by way of the adjustable curtains. Originally there were three of them: black, light yellow and light blue, respectively. (Today there is only one, white curtain in the studio, a hint at the original use.)

As there were flats to rent on Floor III, and the laboratory was on Floor IV, in the loft space, direct access had to be established, by way of a back staircase plus a wrought iron spiral staircase. There was a small lift (a kind of "dumb waiter" used in restaurants and hotels) built between the lab, the studio and the entrance level, to transfer freshly exposed glass negatives upwards, ready prints downwards.

The daylight studio occupied all the street front, but behind it there was a series of rooms, for storage for painted backdrops, for photographic equipment, for a darkroom to fill cassettes. As all the designs on paper have survived, we know that all the space on Floor II was devoted to taking the photographs, the previously planned flat was not built here.

Thanks to some changes in the original designs, we know quite a lot about the actual lab, though nothing survived of it, all the less, as it was cut into two levels, and it served as the home of three families for decades. The laboratory consisted of several separated spaces, for the purposes of developing and printing photos, then of multiplying them. There was also a large "retoucher" gallery, where they tinted and painted positives.

Mai Manó used his studio building for 23 years, as one of the most renowned portraitist of his times. He rarely photographed outdoors. The photo taken at the funeral

Fig. 2: A typical photo by Manó Mai, in his own studio (unknown persons, after 1900, as dated from the verso. From the collection of Mai House)

procession of Lajos Kossuth (1802-1894) is an exception.[8] As all his rivals, he used the entrance space of his studio for advertising his skills. He also paid a lot of attention in designing and printing the "versos" or the backs of his photographs. His studio building appears on all his post-1894 versos. Apparently he was not satisfied with the etchings he used: newer and newer renderings appear on the back of pictures that

are quite difficult to date. First there is the note: "Telephone", without any number, later on a four-digit number appears, in the company of more and more medals (Fig. 3).

Manó Mai lived the life of a much respected professional, and was very successful commercially. When he died, he left a small fortune to his only son, including several pieces of real estate, other than his own house.[9]

Fig. 3: The verso of the same photograph, with the picture of the studio

After the Owner died

After the builder died, a relative, Hugó Weisz, an equally able photographer from Arad (now Oradea, Roumania) rented the place, and his firm operated here until 9th September 1931. Then Arthur Mai, the son and only heir of the photographer put up the house for sale, and an interesting show business couple, Sándor Rozsnyai, composer and conductor and his wife, a celebrated dancer, Mme Rozsnyai, née Mária (Mici) Senger bought the house, to realize their dream, to build a cabaret of their own, to offer an unchallengeable podium for the talent of the wife, whose pseudonym was "Miss Arizona", since they claimed to have earned a lot of money in the state of Arizona.[10]

So the Rozsnyais built the three-story Cabaret Arizona in 1932 in the hitherto empty cellar and courtyard. That was when a fundamental change was made in the entrance hall: the right arm of the twin stairs was pulled down, to enlarge the entrance (and the escape route in case of fire). It was also when the celebrated "xylophone stairs", a kind of hallmark for the Arizona was installed – in the evenings they were switched on, and then each step played a note: walking along added up to a

tune. (The original designer is not known, the changes in 1940 were designed by Pál Gábory, architect, realized by Béla Székely, contractor.)

The Arizona first opened on 16th December 1932. It soon became the most glitzy cabaret in Central Europe, using sophisticated stage and lodge machinery, where one would make the lodge sink in the cellar (for whatever reason). In the coming years a series of modifications were made, to make room for better equipment and better service. Possibly in 1940, the glass roof of the daylight studio was replaced by a reinforced concrete ceiling, which made it bleak and somewhat dark.[11] As this part of the story is of no photographic interest, no more details of the cabaret is related here – but the house is famous in Hungary for the cabaret as well. A film entitled "Arizona" was shot in Hungary in the early 1980s by director Pál Sándor, obviously not shot in the original building, but on a set.[12] The film ended with the tragic death of the couple, still uncertain whether it happened in some Nazi concentration camp or they were victims of random murder in the streets in Budapest or elsewhere.

In State hands

After World War II, as all property of deceased or disappeared persons without an heir, the building came into state ownership. The cabaret never reopened again: it housed a series of cultural institutions: a film school, a literary variety show, then it served as storage space for various purposes, for a time as the headquarters of the National Market Research Institute (in a country where there was no market of whatever kind.) Finally the cabaret space was acquired by the municipally owned Thália Theatre in 1979. In 1990, when democracy returned, and "state property" as such ceased to exist, this space was given to the city of Budapest, while the rest of the block came into the ownership of Theresa Town (District VI) local government. Since 1967 the most valuable part of the latter space had already been used by then by the Budapest office of Hungarian Automobile Club. The rest of the building was inhabited by eight different families.

In 1994 the photo historian and museologist Károly Kincses, secretary of Hungarian Foundation for Photography (the one operating the Museum of Photography in Kecskemét, 80 kms east of Budapest) managed to buy a small lease on the mezzanine, and establish tiny Mai Manó Gallery, and start his crusade for acquiring the rest of the building. By 1996 he managed to get Ministry of Culture funds to buy out the automobile club space, and had ordered plans to rebuild the Daylight Studio. Then a most incredible thing happened.

An electrician was driving a groove on the eastern wall with a chisel, to prepare room for a plastic pipe for an electric wire, when he felt that the battered white wallpaper was in his way. He somewhat aggressively tore it off, and the paper was taking

off several layers of paint, and underneath a large patch of a conspicuous pattern came to light. As National Landmark Authority found out: they were part of the original background frescoes. Both are monochrome (as there was no colour photography, why bother with colours?) An indoors scene in the west was found: a room with a trompe l'oeil corridor, and an outdoors scene came to light in the east: a terrace with tricky stairs leading down to a winding river.

The two frescoes were restored by autumn 1998, by Zsuzsa Herling and Beatrix Bán, restorers. The building was declared as a national landmark, but consequently it had to be redesigned. It was no longer possible to conceive the daylight studio as a gallery. In the final arrangement the large gallery was built on Floor One, in the former home of the photographer, and the library was going to be opened on Floor III. Meanwhile, the original slanting glass roof was rebuilt, with modern technology, nevertheless, offering an authentic view. (Szántó and Mikó Architects, Budapest, Kornél Baliga interior designer 1997-98.)

Hungarian House of Photography in Mai House

Hungarian Foundation of Photography decided to establish an etirely new organization to run the new place, and had Hungarian House of Photography Pbc. ("public benefit company") registered on 19th November 1998. Court accepted the attached arguments and registered the status of "outstandingly public service" for the new company what enables donators to deduct 150% of the donation given to them from the tax base. The original owners are the Foundation itself, as overall owner, Hungarian Association of Journalists (section of photo reporters), and the director (3% all the time.) In July 2000 Ministry of National Cultural Heritage was persuaded to accept 9% of the company. So the 100% private company became partly state owned, in order to boost state willingness to support the new institution.

The institution was opened on 18 March 1999, with the speech of Péter Nádas, the novelist of international fame, a former professional photographer. In a symbolic way it was opened with the exhibition "Photographers Made in Hungary – Those Who Left and Those Who Stayed." It paired Hungarian-born photographers who studied in Hungary roughly at the same time, but only some of whom made a world career – abroad.

It is the mission of Hungarian House of Photography to foster international change and put Hungarian photography on the map again. It has three galleries, with three shows to offer any time. It has no bias towards any style or trend. It offers historical shows as well as contemporary ones, photo journalism and experimental art, autonomous photos and holography, even photo-inspired painting.

The particular exhibitions are picked by a programme director (Mihály Gera in 2001.), who is helped by an 11-strong Advisory Committee. There is also a virtual body of foreign advisors called International Council. The exhibitions that attracted the highest attention in the first three years were the photographs of Émile Zola, of Sylvia Plachy, of Jan Saudek, of August Sander (from abroad); 100 Most Prominent Hungarian Photographs from the 20th century, "A Bit of Light" – photographs of Péter Nádas, Portraits of Tamás Féner (from Hungary); Fotogalerie Wien: An Introduction, Dokumentum Group, Hungary (experimental); Scenes from the Life of Budapest 1947-49, László Almási: Magic of Sports (reportage.)

Providing information is an important mission of the House. The József Pécsi Library of Photography opened on 15 October 1999 on Floor III of Mai Manó House, in two, formerly derelict apartments. The furniture was designed with an eye to authentic effect – to pretend to have operated a library here all along. (Borbála Kamarás, designer, Ferenc Zana, Multicoop Company, contractor.) When it opened, it had about 5000 volumes of books and 5000 copies of periodicals. It was based on the then unused library stock of the Association of Hungarian Photographers, (whose offices are on floor II), the donation of Hungarian Museum of Photography, and that of some great contemporary photographers, the largest among them the trend-setting documentary photographer, and great friend of the House Péter Korniss (born 1937).

The general operating cost for the House was about 140.000 US dollars in the third full year, of which 80% still came from business donations (multinationals from the field of photography, Siemens, Hewlett-Packard, a major Hungarian bank) and from membership revenues. Ticket sales did not add up more than 1/30 of the costs. Its bookshop operates in the mezzanine, in Mai Manó Gallery, it is one of the best photo bookshops of Central Europe. In 2001 the staff consisted of 12 people, including the Director and the three guards.

In this year an additional 140.000 dollars worth of forints was donated by the ministry of culture, for investments, that made it possible to buy out all the tenants upstairs. Plans have been completed to turn Floors IV and V into a permanent collection of photographic equipment, and establish a historic studio and a modern one, to earn revenues.

Space-wise there is only one task ahead for the House: to rent or co-rent the former cabaret space and convert it into a Grand Café with a photo theme (Café Mai Manó or Café Negative.)

Manó Mai's photographic legacy did not survive – his plates may have been destroyed when the Studio building changed hands in 1931. Some 300 prints are taken care of in the Hungarian House of Photography. All in all not more than a thousand

prints are known to be surviving in public collections. In Budapest rare book shops, where old photos are also sold, is not uncommon to find Manó Mai prints, for the price of a dollar or two.

Hungarian House of Photography has no intention to collect anything but Mai prints. A definitive exhibition of his surviving work is on the agenda for 2003 or 2004, to be coupled with publishing an illustrated biography and a comprehensive catalogue of versos.

Notes

1 Most straight biographical facts are based on Károly Kincses: "The House of Hungarian Photographers in the studio-building of Mai Manó Imperial and Royal Court Photographer", in: "Mai Manó Műteremháza", Hungarian Museum of Photography, 1997. Ed. by Magdolna Kolta, English translation by Tamás Szappanos.

2 In 1880 there were 257 registered photographers, 219 assistants and several hundred devoted amateurs in Budapest. (Quoted by Ibolya Cs. Plank and Péter Csengel: "Mai Manó fényképészeti műterem- és bérházának építéstörténete." (How the studio and residential block of Manó mai was built), *Műemlékvédelmi Szemle*, a periodical, 1995 /1-2. (In Hungarian.)

3 From 1875 one had to register a new firm at the Court of Firms (Cégbíróság), that was the year when guild rules lost their relevance. Mai did not have to register, since photography was one of the free industries enumerated in the "Kaiserliches Patent" dated 20th December 1859. So it was enough "to report" their activities. Even the Act on Particular Industries of 1884 concerned merely the copyright issues of photography. Until 1920 one could run a photographic business as long it was profitable. (Cf. Varga, Katalin: Egyszer és azóta sem – önkéntes fényképész szövetkezet a Millenniumi Kiállításon ("Once and Never Ever Since – Voluntary Cooperative of Photographers at the Millennium Exhibition"), Budapesti Negyed, 1997/1, No. 15. p. 128. (In Hungarian.)

4 The price was 35.000 forints. Budapest Municipal Archives Real Estate Register, Site No. 29.076.

5 Most construction details are cited from the scholarly paper of Ibolya Cs. Plank and Péter Csengel: "Mai Manó fényképészeti műterem- és bérházának építéstörténete.", *Műemlékvédelmi Szemle* 1995 /1-2, short English summary in: "Mai Manó Műteremháza", Hungarian Museum of Photography, 1997. pp. 72-73. (In Hungarian.)

6 The builders were a new company, established in 1893, called "Mai és Ta" (one letter difference from the previous company, still with the same meaning: "Mai and Partner." The partner, from 1893 to her death in 1927, was Mrs. Mai, née Etelka Rothauser.) Municipal Archives, Budapest, Cg. 70777/1893.

7 Something it clearly did not have in Manó Mai's time. It is evident that at the Budapest Millennium Exhibition of 1896 photography did not have a pavilion of her own – instead it was shown on the gallery of the Pavilion of Printing Industries, and the loud and constant clattering of the large presses made it difficult to appreciate the pictures exhibited, as

several critics noted. (Cf. Varga, Katalin: Egyszer és azóta sem – önkéntes fényképész szövetkezet a Millenniumi Kiállításon ("Once and Never Ever Since – Voluntary Cooperative of Photographers at the Millennium Exhibition"), *Budapesti Negyed*, 1997/1, No. 15. pp. 119-144. (In Hungarian.)

8 It seems to have been taken from the door of his studio at Váczi körút 14, one that he maintained even after he opened his atelier in his own house. The known print is to be found in the Hungarian Museum of Photography.

9 The overall legacy Manó Mai left to his son was 918.702 crowns, according to the Certificate of Legacy issued to Artur Mai, engineer on 21 January 1918. This was exactly the half of the photographer's estate, since the other half went to the widow. This was six times more than the half of his own house that was estimated to be worth 140.584 crowns. (Budapest Municipal Archives Real Estate Register, Site No. 29.076., Budapest Central Royal District Court, Pk. II. 189829/16/1917.)

10 This fact that has never been substantiated, though a common explanation for the pseudonym of Mrs. Rozsnyai and that of the cabaret. The unbelievably unreliable quasi non-fiction tale entitled "Mulató a Nagymező utcában" (Cabaret in Nagymező utca) by the then retired operetta comedian Róbert Rátonyi (1923-1992) did not mention America, just Italy. (Published by Idegenforgalmi Propaganda Vállalat, 1987., in Hungarian.)

11 Cf. Ferkai, András: Nagymező utca 20. In: "Adalékok a Belső Terézváros történetéhez." (Contributions to the history of Inner Theresa Town), Budapest, 1984. pp. 264-272. (In Hungarian.)

12 The Rozsnyais were played by Marcello Mastroianni and Hanna Schygulla.

Ulla Fischer-Westhauser

Court Photographers – Photographers for the Court?

Photography was invented during the industrial revolution in the 19th century. Advances in technology didn't leave artistic techniques untouched. The new age introduced new media. The industrial revolution also turned the old social order upside down. New social classes emerged, the old establishment had to deal with newcomers, a bourgeois society aiming to imitate the lifestyle of the old aristocracy. It was normal practice not only to have portraits of oneself and of all the family but also collections of the various kinds of pictures, though only very wealthy people could afford to pay painters.

Similar to the industrial development, the new medium – photography – spread throughout Europe from West to East. Austrian inventors learned of the new invention as soon as it was published and played an important role among international photographic pioneers right from the very beginning, especially in the fields of chemical and technical inventions. Photography does however seem to be far more advanced in England and France, even in Italy or Spain. English names dominate early Italian and Spanish photography. On the early international photographic scene Austrian photographers seem to be of less importance. Are their pictures of lesser quality or is it merely a question of perception?

Among the numerous photographers working all over the Austro-Hungarian monarchy there is one group which seems to be outstanding: the Court photographers. What does the title mean with respect to the Austrian Court? Although the title implies someone like a "tradesman supplying the Court", a photographer actually had a different status. Even to the Austrian Court a photographer was more than a "Purveyor to His Majesty" (as he is called in Great Britain) who delivers goods to the Royal or Imperial household. A Court photographer "delivers" an image of the Royal or Imperial family to the public.

From the beginning especially English and also French photographers had supporters in high places. On a smaller scale even the Bavarian photographers were held in higher esteem by their sovereigns than the Austrian ones by their Emperor. Franz Josef kept his distance more than the English Queen Victoria did. Although he used to go to a photographer from time to time to have his picture taken, nearly all the images just show him in uniform in official pose, and as a hunter – one can follow his growing older very easily. Interesting enough, there are few photographs, taken in Paris showing the Emperor in civil dress.

The new invention was not embraced by the Austrian Court with much enthusiasm. The Emperor himself did not seem to be very interested in photography, but

Fig. 1: Elisabeth, Herzogin in Bayern
Photograph by Alois Loecherer, Munich 1854

though he did not promote the new medium, luckily he did nothing to prevent it.

Certainly in the beginning Franz Josef was of the opinion that photography was not in keeping with his social position. Thus he was just the opposite to the English, French or Spanish sovereigns, even to the Bavarian Kings, all of them tremendously interested in photography. Queen Victoria and her husband, Prince Albert, became patrons of the English Photographic Society within four months of its foundation, they had a darkroom constructed at Windsor Castle, and became skilled in the new art. They gave work to a private photographer, a Dr. Ernst Becker, who was primarily engaged as a tutor for the future king, but also took private photographs of the Royal Family.

The first English Court photographer was William Kilburn. He was already appointed as "Photographist to Her Majesty and His Royal Highness Prince Albert" in 1847![1] 10 years later the Frenchman Alphonse Disdéri, was appointed Court photographer by Napoleon III.[2]

The Bavarian Kings employed a Court photographer too. Josef Albert worked for Maximilian II. as well as for Ludwig II. Albert was outstanding among the Bavarian

Fig. 2: Elisabeth as a young bride
Lithograph by Friedrich Hohe, Munich 1854

Court photographers and was very close to Ludwig II. He was appointed Court photographer in 1857. Between then and 1912 the Bavarian Court bestowed the title on 72 photographers, 19 in Munich.

As already mentioned, Franz Josef was not very curious about the new medium, whereas Prince Albert, the later husband of Queen Victoria, or the French King Louis Philippe had already been daguerreotyped in 1841. The Austrian emperor is said to have sat for a daguerreotype in 1854 (!), when the wet collodium technique was already on its way. It seems that the picture taken by the German daguerreotypist Trutbert Schneider, looks exactly like one of the many portraits that Anton Einsle made of Franz Josef. This can only be verified, if the original daguerreotype were to emerge from somewhere – a museum or a private collection. In 1854 the year when Franz Josef and Elisabeth married, Sisi had to sit for the Bavarian photographer Alois Loecherer – and it seems that she did not feel comfortable (Fig. 1). The image was used for lithographs too – watch the difference, Friedrich Hohe puts a smile into her face! (Fig. 2) Until the invention of the "carte-de-visite"-portraits, photographs were easy to handle patterns for the early "picture-press", and thus a useful medium for the Court.

Whereas Queen Victoria and her husband Prince Albert had already had their pictures taken, holding hands, even for official use, Franz Josef and Elisabeth did not pose together for the camera. The imperial couple were photographed by Ludwig Angerer – but separately - in 1859. In 1860 Angerer had the honour to be the only photographer who was ever allowed to take a picture of all the Imperial family (Fig. 3). This was to be the only photograph in which Empress Elisabeth can be seen together with her husband and children! Never again would she have her pictures taken together with members of the Imperial family.

Ludwig Angerer, the man who made the new format popular in Vienna, applied for the title and was duly appointed "Court photographer" in December 1860.

To obtain that title was not different to the procedure of becoming court supplier. The applicant had to put his proposal to the Hofmeisteramt (Controller to the Imperial Household). The files say, Ludwig Angerer presented a portfolio with photographs, which was returned (but the files don't tell what he had shown). The Imperial office made inquiries with the help of the police and the censor's department (Hofzensurbehörde): Ludwig Angerer was born at Malaczka in Hungary, his character was unblemished, he had the reputation of being one of the best photographers, he had a good income and – at that time – was unmarried.

Not every applicant was appointed, even if he had fulfilled all the requirements. It was necessary to gain the emperor's "highest resolution" ("allerhöchste Entschließung") to appoint a purveyor to the Court, whose profession was not yet bestowed with the title. It was the Emperor's expressed wish that the number of appointments should be low, to retain their value. The title was bound to the person.

The only photographer who had the title bestowed upon him by the Court without application was Josef Löwy. He was not appointed Court photographer because of the high artistic quality of his pictures, but for his merit earned in connection with the World Fair in Vienna in 1873.

Between 1860 and 1900 the title "k.k. Hofphotograph" was awarded to 73 photographers, among them three women. Just for comparison: In 1858 38 photographic studios were registered throughout the monarchy. By 1900 the number had risen to about 1650 studios, about 350 of them in Vienna.[3]
Bearing the title of a "Court photographer" had nothing to do with the status of the traditional Court artist, but it was nevertheless attractive because it was helpful in gaining a good position on the market.

Photography boomed as soon as sovereigns showed their interest in the new medium. As we all know, "Cartomania" was international, Ludwig Angerer sold enormous quantities and also larger prints of the Imperial family, so did Emil Rabending. Many European photographers including them Haase & Co in Berlin, Sergej Lewitzky

Fig. 3: "Die Allerhöchste Kaiserfamilie"
Standing left to right: Emperor Franz Josef, Maximilian, his wife Charlotte, Ludwig Viktor, Karl Ludwig; sitting left to right: Elisabeth with her son Rudolf on her lap and her daughter Gisela, Sophie and Franz Karl. Photograph by Ludwig Angerer, Vienna 1859

in St. Petersburg and Georg Hansen in Copenhagen were able to increase sales as soon as they had published *cartes* of their sovereigns.

The fashion of collecting *cartes* in albums, like stamps, spread all over Europe, and remarkably enough, found its way into royal apartments. The Hon. Eleanor Stanley one of Queen Victoria's Ladies in Waiting, wrote in November 1860: "I have been writing to all the fine ladies in London for their and their husbands' photographs, for the Queen. I believe the Queen could be bought and sold for a photograph." (...) "A firm believer in the new art, Queen Victoria presented photographs on every possible occasion, …".[4]

Though Elisabeth was not really enthusiastic about being photographed, she loved collecting the small portraits as eagerly as her royal colleagues in London or Paris. Her collection contains a good cross selection of the achievements of photographic studios all over Europe and the Near East.

Elisabeth and Franz Josef attended Ludwig Angerer's studio several times (always separately), but Angerer was not their private photographer, like Josef Albert was to King Maximilian II. or Ludwig II. of Bavaria. Whereas Albert even accompanied the King to different places, neither Angerer nor any other photographer was engaged to accompany and document the Emperor's or Empress's journeys.

Elisabeth would never have her picture taken in a homely atmosphere. As we already learned she never sat for a photographer together with her husband and children, except on one occasion. Instead she went to Ludwig Angerer's studio together with her beloved brother Count Carl Theodor in Bavaria.

Queen Victoria's attitude towards photography stands in contrast to empress Elisabeth's. Charles Clifford an English resident in Madrid since 1852, was appointed Court photographer to Queen Isabella II. Besides being a portrait photographer, he was an outstanding interpreter of Spanish architecture and scenery. Queen Victoria bought some of his Spanish pictures and Queen Isabella, who used to make presents of his albums, sent Clifford to England in 1861 with the purpose of taking a stately portrait of Queen Victoria. Instead of heaving one of her children on her lap, or being shown knitting or reading, the Queen was portrayed in evening dress wearing a diamond coronet. Not only Queen Isabella but English critics too found this regal portrait, taken at Windsor castle a welcome change from the numerous homely portrayals which Queen Victoria herself preferred. It was considered to be the most imposing portrait which had ever been taken of the sovereign. She even had it copied as an oil painting.[5]

For Elisabeth photography ought to have been the perfect medium, as she hated sitting for painters. Only a few paintings, like the early one by Anton Einsle, were made of the living model. Painters had to copy patterns and the most convenient ones available were photographs.

Franz Josef was not as interested as Albert and Victoria and few photographs show him together with his children or later with his grand children. A series of photographs of him together with his brothers taken by Ludwig Angerer about 1862 can be seen as a rare exception. The great advantage of this method was that sitting for a photographer took less time than sitting for a painter. Many of the official oil paintings were copied from photographs. The funny looking image, Franz Josef sitting astride a trestle covered with a carpet, was probably taken as a pattern for an oil painting "Franz Josef on horseback" for the Hungarian Court at Budapest. Certainly it was not authorized to be published. Photographs were not only used for oil paintings. As there were no family photographs available, single takes of Franz Josef, Elisabeth and their children were put together to grisaille paintings, showing all the family together. Taken in black and white in carte-de-visite size they were sold as photo-

Fig. 4: Elisabeth as Queen of Hungary
Photograph by Emil Rabending, Vienna 1866

graphs. Authorized by the Court, this was a method to spread official family "photographs" amongst the public.

On one particular occasion the Empress made use of the medium in a spectacular way – her coronation as Queen of Hungary. The event took place in Budapest in June 1867, but Elisabeth, already dressed in her coronation robes, designed by the Paris fashion designer Charles Frederic Worth (an Englishman - by the way), had already sat for the photographer Emil Rabending in 1866! (Fig. 4)

Thus she could be sure that the pictures were spread all over the monarchy even before the Austro-Hungarian treaty (Ausgleich) was signed! There was no need to sit as an artist's model for official paintings anymore. By the way, Rabending was appointed Court photographer in December 1870.

Franz Josef did not appoint any photographer to accompany his journeys, and father and son Schumann, who were official photographers to the successor to throne, Franz Ferdinand as well as to the last Emperor Karl, were also not appointed Court photographers. In the last third of the 19th century photographers took pictures of manoeuvres, the Emperor was present. It needs further investigation to determine, if Court photographers were officially invited. For example, Charles Scolic took pictures of the manoeuvre on the Schmelz in 1869 (29. 8.). Later he took several photographs showing Franz Josef in his hunting dress. Scolic was appointed Court photographer in 1892. A quick look at the numerous photographs, taken of events where the emperor was present, reveal that most of them were taken by local photographers, and only some of them happen to be Court photographers, like Josef Ferber (appointed in 1899), who had a photographic studio at Wiener Neustadt.

Austrian Court photographers were well known for their portraits. A lot of research has to be done to establish the criteria for the Court to have pictures published, taken by certain photographers.

Hermann Clemens Kosel, was another well known photographer, who was appointed Court photographer in 1911. His pictures are outstanding from an artistic point of view. He made portraits of members of the Imperial family, for example Elisabeth Windischgrätz, the only child of the late Crown Prince Rudolf, or members of European high nobility, e.g. he took a wonderful portrait of the Princess of Bulgaria, Nadejda.

The huge quantity of portraits taken in the 1860's and 70's seems to have lost its value; this is true regarding both the personal affinity and family touch. Today many of the images once taken have undergone shifts of meaning – portraits, once taken for private or official use, are documents today.

Their private value has given way to an historic value. A portrait is far more important to us, if we know the name of the person shown in the picture, or if the image tells a story. Sometimes the background in an old photography may gain more importance than what the photographer originally intended to show. There is no need to discuss the artistic value. Certainly there are only very few photographers among the Court photographers, who produced outstanding images from an artistic point of view. But nevertheless those pictures are historic sources.

Measured by the enormous photographic output in the 19th century, it seems that a huge number of pictures must have gone missing. Even more than 150 years after the invention of photography there is still ongoing a discussion as to whether photography as a technique is less valuable than painting or drawing, even lithography!

Paintings will always have the touch of artistic superiority, even if they were taken "from nature". Photography tried to do the same, but still remained photography,

although pictures were retouched. It was a most unfortunate circumstance, both for art and for photography, that in the mid and late 19th century the public, artists, and art critics alike were inclined to judge painting by photography (in its capacity for rendering detail) and photography by painting (in the sphere of imaginative composition).

Even if the production of a Court photographer won't be judged to high artistic criteria, the images still have a lot to tell. Photographs of landscapes in the second half of the 19th century are documents of vanishing glaciers, wilderness and rural life. Bernhard Johannes, a Tyrolean photographer made a present to the Emperor, of what is called a "Huldigungsadresse" (addresses), with photographs of Tyrolean mountains, and applied for the title of a Court photographer at the same time. The lavish present was not in vain – he was appointed in 1879.

Alois Beer, who made a portfolio with photographs of an avalanche accident in Carinthia as a present for the Emperor, was appointed Court photographer in 1883. His photographs of Austrian and Spanish landscapes are of high quality, as official marine photographer he had pictures taken not only of the various vessels of the Austro-Hungarian fleet, but also took pictures of life on board the ships, which make those images valuable from an historic point of view.

The pictures taken by Wilhelm Burger are both historically valuable and are pictures of some quality at the same time, from an artistic point of view. As head of the photographic department of the Hon. Count Wilczek, he accompanied several expeditions. In 1871 Burger was appointed Court photographer. His images taken in the Far East between 1868 and 1870 can be seen as documents. People in the 19th century had only rare opportunities to get glimpses of what life was outside Europe. Pictures like that brought the world into the salon. Whereas Burger accompanied expeditions, another Austrian photographer went to the Far East to stay for a while:

Raimund Stillfried von Rathenitz, became one of the leading photographers in Japan in the 1870ies, even becoming director of the "Japan Photographic Association" and some times later of the state owned printery in Tokio. He was appointed Court photographer in 1875, not to the Japanese Court, but to the Austrian Court, although he returned to Austria only in 1883. So it must be interesting to find out, he wanted to be appointed an Austrian Court photographer, even though he did not work in the country.

Another important branch of the business was art photography. The catalogues of many photographers offered photographic images of more or less important paintings, engravings or sculptures of private collections. At the time the pictures were taken this branch of photography promised to become economically significant. The average citizen was keen to be surrounded by pieces of art in his or her salon, to

show visitors how cultivated or tasteful he or she was. In a certain way those photographs served an educational purpose. At the same time it required a lot of skill to take a photograph of a sculpture. Ludwig Angerer also worked for the glass manufacturer Lobmeyer. The firm dedicated an album of photographs of their glass production to the Emperor as a present.

Josef Löwy's studio was specialized in all kinds of photography – he had a large and important publishing house for the various branches of photography. 19th century industrial photography may serve as an historic source. Today photographs of works of art have undergone a shift of importance. Many pieces of art have been lost or destroyed. Many are hidden from the public. This way photographs of paintings or sculptures can provide evidence of their existence.

Names like Angerer, Rabending, Beer, Löwy, Burger, Scolic, Kosel, Pietzner, etc. are symbolic for the numerous Court photographers and the various sections of photography – and last but not least they can be seen as important picture chroniclers of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

Notes

1 Gernsheim, p. 258.
2 Gernsheim, p. 294.
3 Geschichte der Fotografie, p. 13f.
4 24. November. Gernsheim, p. 295.
5 Gernsheim, p. 285.

Literature

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Uwe Schögl

Heinrich Kühn and the Autochromes

"I have no medium that can give me colour of such wonderful luminosity as the Autochrome plate. One must go to stained glass for such colour resonance, as the palette and canvas are a dull and lifeless medium in comparison".[1] Such rapturous statement came from Eduard Steichen, the prominent pictorial photographer from USA and founder member of the "Photo-Secession" when the Lumières demonstrated the autochrome process at the Photo-Club of Paris on June 10th, 1907. A few weeks later, Heinrich Kühn declared: "Only somebody who possesses a delicate sense of colours should work with the autochrome process, the palette is somewhat dangerously colourful."[2]

The autochrome plates represent not just the birth of colour photography: this innovation was taken up with enthusiasm especially because this new process allowed one to obtain correct colour photographs in an ingenious, quick, and direct way. The final result was a colour photograph on glass that could only be looked at as colour transparency. The drawback of the autochrome was that prints always turned out to be of a very bad quality and the colours were never as brilliant as those seen on the transparencies. Nevertheless, Kühn, Stieglitz and the pictorial photographers in colour, through this technical innovation of the three-colour photography, had reached a substantial objective: that of placing photography on the same level as the fine arts, especially painting. Photography finally and henceforth disposed of the same possibilities of representation as painting, as there are: first, the three-dimensional representation of objects through stereoscopic photographs which was already invented in the 1850s; second, the representation of objects in motion through Chronophotography which had been possible since the 1870s, and now, the reproduction of nature in its natural colours.

To "have a sense of colours in the process of autochromes", as worded by Kühn, therefore represents a category of artistic creation to be put on a level with the composition of colours in painting. Through the creative medium of colour, Kühn considers photography to have reached the point where it influences painting, and does not – as before – take its direction from, above all, impressionist painting, a reproach which was often formulated by the critics of the artistic photographers in colour. Heinrich Kühn states hereto in 1907: "The fact, that all the transitory phenomena of high pictorial attraction which are produced as if by magic by sun, clouds and mist, either directly or through reflection, can now, through the autochrome plate, be recorded in colour almost without ease, will become important for naturalistic painting in future."[3]

The stock of autochromes in the Austrian National Library

In 1998, the Austrian National Library acquired 217 autochromes from the bequest of Heinrich Kühn in Birgitz, Tyrol. The 217 autochrome plates by Heinrich Kühn in our collection are mostly of the three sizes as they were produced by the Société Lumière: 91 plates measure 18 by 24 cm (7 by 9.5 inches), 51 plates 13 by 18 cm (5 by 7 inches) and 67 plates 9 by 12 cm (3.5 by 5 inches). Only three plates have been cut and therefore differ from the standard formats.

This Viennese stock is the starting point of my lecture. It is surprising that, although Heinrich Kühn is known as one of the most important pictorial photographers who worked most intensively and for a long time – from 1907-1913 – with the process, within the multitude of publications on Kühn there do not exist any detailed studies on the autochrome-plates and on the importance of colour in his work in general. My lecture today is to be understood as an interim report on this subject which will be treated comprehensively in a planned exhibition and publication during the next few years.

Kühn worked with autochromes between 1907 and 1913, but I assume that they were produced in two periods of intensive activity: the first lasting from 1907 to 1908, the second from 1912 to 1913. This thesis is supported by the fact that 18 plates of the Viennese stock are signed and dated. Kühn wrote with opaque water colour, pencil or coloured pencil on the varnish: the dated plates originate from 1907, 1908 and 1912.

The total amount of autochromes ever made by Kühn can not be established, but I assume that, due to the fact that they remained in the possession of the Kühn family over many years, the major part has been preserved: the Private Collection of John Wood disposes of 8 autochromes, around 10 plates are located in the International Museum of Photography at George Eastman House, Rochester, New York, three plates in the Gilman Paper Company Collection.[5] During the first month of the autochromes' existence, they where frequently shown in exhibitions and were therefore often broken. In 1908, Heinrich Kühn cancelled his honorary membership of the Viennese Photo-Club, when in its 10th exhibition held at the gallery Miethke in Vienna one of his plates that he judged to be his best one was broken. In comparison, the number of autochromes preserved by his pictorial photographer colleagues is tragically small: Eduard Steichen autochromed hundreds of plates in England, Germany and Italy, but his work was almost completely lost in World War I, only 40 plates remained in a private collection. One hundred plates by Alvin Langdon Coburn survived, twenty-five by Alfred Stieglitz, sixteen by Clarence White, seven by Frank Eugene, six by Adolf de Meyer, to just mention some examples.

The commencement of Heinrich Kühn's production of autochromes

In July 1907, Kühn was introduced by Alfred Stieglitz and Eduard Steichen to the new technique of the autochrome plates. Steichen had been present at the Lumières' demonstration at the Paris Photo-Club and subsequently taught the process to Stieglitz who also was in Paris but was ill on the day it was presented. Steichen secured a group of plates for Stieglitz, who took them to Baden-Baden where he made his first autochromes. Stieglitz then travelled to Tutzing, at lake Starnberg near Munich, where he met Frank Eugene to whom he taught the process. Steichen and Kühn also joined them, and together these four early masters of modern photography experimented with the new technique. (Fig. 1) After this meeting and back in Innsbruck, Kühn worked intensively with autochrome plates for eight months. Kühn's favourite themes were portrait, group portrait, landscape and still life; thus classic motives of fine arts. Two third of the pictures show his family, his four children Walter, Trude (Edeltrude), Hans and Lotte (Charlotte) as well as their nurse Mary Warner, either in single portraits or numerous group pictures.

Between autumn 1907 and spring 1909, the autochromes were often shown in Europe and five times by Stieglitz in the galleries of the Photo-Secession in New York.

Fig 1: Frank Eugene, "Frank Eugene, Alfred Stieglitz, Heinrich Kühn and Eduard Steichen (form left to right), during the first autochrome experiments in Tutzing", 1907, Platinum print, The Royal Photographic Society of Great Britain, Bath

After that, Kühn's interest in autochromes fell off. The reason was Stieglitz' criticism of Kühn's presenting autochromes and pictorial printing techniques by various artists when being responsible for the selection of pictures of the section "Kunstfotografie" in the course of the "International Exhibition of Photography Dresden 1909". Stieglitz' and the public's initial enthusiasm for autochromes had turned into distaste: in exhibitions, autochromes could only be looked at when illuminated from behind which required complicated devices. This again was considered to be disturbing in the ambience of the pictorial printing techniques, that were hanging on the walls like paintings. Nevertheless, for so far unknown reasons, from 1912 Kühn once again worked intensively with autochromes but presumably stopped at the end of 1913. The cost of production and his little selling of the glass plates in a time of financial straits were not reasonable any more.

The period of 1906/7 shows a striking change in Kühn's work with regards to the themes as well as to his growing interest in formal experiments. The introduction of the autochrome just pushes this process ahead.

Greater influence on his work was now exerted by American photographers such as Gertrude Käsebier or Edward Steichen, but above all by Alfred Stieglitz, with whom he first met in 1904 in Igels near Innsbruck. From 1906 on, Stieglitz regularly showed Kühn's work in the "Little Galleries" of the "Photo-Secession" in New York, and his photographs were published in 1906 and 1911 in his famous journal "Camera Work". During the meeting in Tutzing in 1907, Kühn also became acquainted with the works of other American pictorial photographers which he started to collect.

The second change in Kühn's life comes with his wife's death in October 1905. He engaged the English nurse Mary Warner to look after his children. In 1906, together with his family, he moves to the newly built house in Innsbruck, in whose art nouveau rooms, of which two studios were specially fit out, Kühn took many studies and portraits of Mary Warner. More and more, he focused on still lives and group pictures of his four children that became the dominating subject of the autochromes.

During this time, Kühn continuously occupied himself with light and tone values. He produced a series of photographs that he simply called, studies of tone values, or, studies of light. As an example I present a rear view of Miss Mary, a gum print of 1910, from the Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg. About seven variants of this motif in different techniques are known, dating from 1907 to 1910.

Kühn was interested in controlling the gradation of tone values. His studies were designed as scientific experiments: they had to be reproducible, able to be corrected under given circumstances and able to be described precisely. An indication for such a way of thinking is the fact that Kühn confined himself to only a few recurring motifs in his photographs. Yet, as an artistic photographer Kühn was never interested in

Fig. 2: Heinrich Kühn: "Interior with Miss Mary seen from behind", not signed and not dated, Autochrome, 24 x 18 cm

objectifying reality. He states: "There is a big difference, whether one intends to make pictures or plain records of documentary value".[6] Kühn defined the experiments as "means of pictorial photography", with the objective to render the technical conditions of photography able to be objectified scientifically and so to be learned in order to improve its quality. It is essential for the understanding of his entire work that Kühn, being a graduated doctor of medicine, understood himself as artist and scientist at the same time. Often, this contradictory situation between art and science has been considered an obstacle for Kühn to define a new concept of art.[7]

At the same time as the studies, Kühn produced a plate of "Interior with Miss Mary seen from behind", probably the only autochrome preserved within this series (Fig. 2). This example is supposed to demonstrate how in the beginning, the autochromes

were designed similarly to the gum- and bromoil-prints although diametrically opposed in their phototechnical possibilities.

In this autochrome, Kühn attaches high importance to the contrasts between light and dark, above all to the placement of areas of high value, and to the use of sharpness and diffusion, as before in the studies of Miss Mary. Colour doesn't play an important part, the picture is almost monochrome, kept in tones of brown and red. The objective to emphasise the central object by means of sharp contours and contrasts and thus set it off against the background has here been solved ingeniously. Miss Mary wears a white dress and stands near the window from which strong sunlight enters the room. Although standing in the background she is better visible due to the brightness of her dress and the window than the dark foreground which is just accentuated by some light reflections. By using extreme back light, Kühn obtains a diffused contour of the woman.

Kühn, in this experiment explores the effect of strong lights and reflections on the autochrome. Since the mechanical process of the autochrome differs from that of the pictorial printing techniques, Kühn invented some specific methods to generate diffusion in the autochromes, too.

The Autochrome technique

To begin with, I will explain concisely the specific technical and mechanical characteristics of the autochrome. Autochrome plates are colour transparencies, therefore unique, produced in a plainly chemical process directly as a glass positive. Autochromes basically differ from the pictorial printing techniques in the fact, that the creative process can only be controlled during the shot. It is not possible to carry out multiple exposures and corrections of tone values later on. Alfred Stieglitz, in "Camera Work" 1907, clearly explained the process of the autochrome: "The transparent support, glass, is covered with an adhesive matter which receives a coating of potato-starch grains dyed blue-violet, green, and red-orange. After isolating this with a waterproof varnish it is coated with a panchromatic collodion emulsion. The exposure is made in the usual way, but with the glass side of the plate facing the lense, so that the light passes through the coloured grains and only then reaches the emulsion. The lens is fitted with a special yellow filter made by the Lumières for the plate. The plate is developed and then, without fixing, is treated in broad daylight with an acid permanganate reducer, rinsed and redeveloped. The result is a positive print in natural colours."[8] The developed positive plate is held against a strong light source and so the effect of additive mixture of colour becomes visible.

The emulsion coat hereby faces the beholder and not the motif. This is only a minor detail but important for the understanding and the study of Kühn's autochromes.

Fig. 3: Heinrich Kühn: "Miss Mary in white, seen from behind, walking up a hillside", not dated and signed, from about 1908, Autochrome, 24 x 18 cm

It is on this side of the glass plate that Kühn signed all 18 autochromes. In the existing literature though some of the autochromes are shown side-invertedly, also the autochrome of "Miss Mary".

Significant facts

I would like to show three significant facts about Kühn and the autochrome: first, that, Kühn's work in the autochrome technique, as we saw before in the studies of Miss Mary, is in context with the pictorial printing technique which was Kühn's favourite medium throughout his photographic activity. Secondly, I would like to demonstrate with the following autochrome "Miss Mary in white, seen from behind, walking up a hillside" (Fig. 3) how Kühn uses colour as a creative medium in his compositions, and thirdly, that the autochrome was not only a short-time technical experiment for Kühn but that he used colour as a visual metaphor and for the

Fig. 4: Heinrich Kühn: "Walter in blue and Lotte in white lying in grass", not dated and signed, from about 1908, Autochrome, 18 x 24 cm

psychological characterisation of people. Whether we can speak of a new conception of the picture in Kühn's autochromes I would like to leave undecided in this stage of my research. In any case, Kühn's conception of the picture is diametrically opposed to that of other pictorial photographers in colour like Adolf de Meyer and Eduard Steichen. The autochrome "Miss Mary in white, seen from behind, walking up a hillside" shows, how Kühn applied the technique of soft transitions, that we have seen before in the gum print of Miss Mary, to the autochrome. As we know, Kühn could generate refined values in the autochrome process only during the shot. Yet, being inventive, he found a method that still allowed him to correct the picture after the shot. He softened the sharp contrast between the meadow and the sky by locally intensifying the plate with an intensifier solution. On the other hand he used the intensifier solution to set off the bright hat against the bright sky.

In the area of the sky we notice yellow spots that I would like to explain. This autochrome is one of about 90 pieces of the Viennese stock that Kühn has varnished like an oil painting. On those areas – here the sky – where the varnish was applied in a thick layer, it has yellowed to a higher degree.

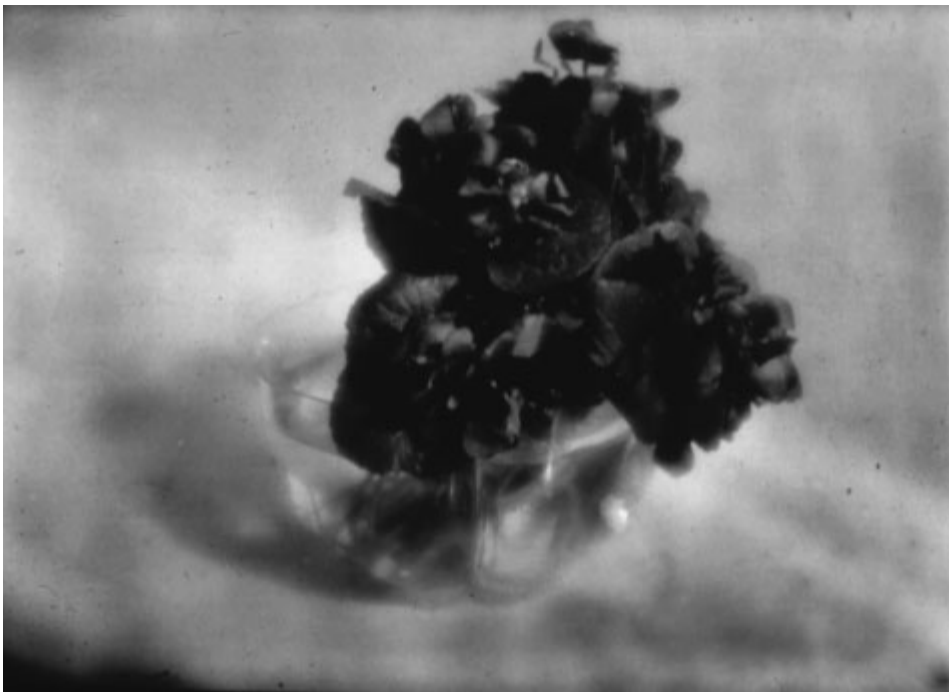

Fig. 5: Heinrich Kühn: "Violets in small glass bowl", not dated and signed, Autochrome, 18 x 24 cm

A third example for the use of the technique of sharpness and diffusion is the autochrome "Walter in blue and Lotte in white lying in grass", from about 1908 (Fig. 4). This plate was shot with a correcting lens. The effect on the composition is hereby independent of the photo-technical process and could also have been used with a gum print. By the use of a correcting lense Kühn is able to differentiate between a sharp centre of the picture, where the substance is presented and the blurred parts in the periphery, thus optically reproducing an equivalent of the human eye. This finding is based on two earlier studies. The "out of lens"-technique as a medium of composition was first introduced in 1889 by Peter Henry Emerson in his book "Naturalistic Photography for Students of Art". Additional research on a physiological-psychological level was carried out by Hermann Helmholz (1821-1894) in his "Theorie des Sehens" published 1884 in Braunschweig.

The still life was a very popular and favourite subject of Kühn and other artistic photographers. Comparing Kühn's autochrome "Violets in small glass bowl" (Fig. 5) with one by Adolf de Meyer, it becomes evident how much the results of autochrome shots can differ. An impetuous discussion had arisen among the artistic photographers

about how the transformation of reality into colour-pictures was to be executed. Kühn himself required of the photographers that they "have to learn to compose and to see towards colour". Kühn gave fundamental importance to the emotive power of light effects, through which the atmosphere, or sentiment is the dominating motif. "One can breathe it", Kühn writes to Stieglitz to New York when he is entranced himself by his results thus formulating his own standard for an impressive photograph: it should not only be an object to be looked at but should also move the beholder, catch his attention and his sensitivity.

Besides the emotional aspect, Kühn's flower pictures had to fulfil another purpose: they were objects of studies where he could explore the different degrees of saturation and luminosity of the colours. Kühn analysed the development of the colours on the autochrome like a scientific experiment: blue turned out to be very dominating when over-exposed, being underexposed, it seemed faded. Yellow flowers, as shown on this slide, showed the autochrome's difficulty to reproduce yellow whose saturation was still very low, a fact that Kühn regretted very much. We note the blue spot on the picture with the yellow flowers, a direct comparison of the colour blue and yellow. Kühn thus knew that the colours of the Lumière autochrome plate did not reproduce reality but just showed an impression of reality.

Different, the conception of Adolf de Meyer for whom Kühn felt the greatest admiration. In his "Flower Study", between 1907-1909, from the Private Collection John Wood, de Meyer intended to reveal the artist's "well-educated colour-sense". Many kinds of flowers in various colours are arranged to a floral design showing a continuous gradation from yellow to orange, red and violet and thus containing all spectral colours. Being more a tonalist than a colourist, de Meyer composes the picture like a black-and-white photograph putting the emphasis on the difference of tone values. De Meyers detached view of the motif might have its reason in the rejection of the aesthetics of "orgies of colours", against which the critics of the autochromes warned in contemporary publications.

For Kühn, the reproduction of colour was the medium to transport the emotions and sensations of the photographer. According to him, a photograph should express "subjective truth and inner perception". Therefore, the perception and sensation of colours are important for Kühn's physiological conception of the picture.

I illustrate this with two of Kühn's family portraits, "Lotte, Walter and Hans in triangular bust grouping" (Fig. 6) and "Lotte, Walter, Hans and Edeltrude in four bust group", both signed and dated 1912.

The group of three, crowded together, could not be distinguished without the different nuances of their clothes, we need the colour to delimitate the figures. The colour composition in this picture is extremely simple: only red, blue, green and

Fig. 6: Heinrich Kühn: "Lotte, Walter and Hans in triangular bust grouping", signed and dated 1912, Autochrome, 18 x 13 cm

brown are used. The other example shows how Kühn develops the subject, reducing the colour to red and blue in the children's clothes. Through these few colours, being spread evenly within the composition, Kühn obtains a clearer presentation which lays the emphasis on the harmony of colours.

How important the harmony of colour perception and colour sensation was to Kühn, I would like to demonstrate in comparison with Steichen's picture "On the Houseboat – The Log Cabin", dated 1908, 13 by 18 cm (5 by 7 inches) , published in a not very brilliant four-colour half-tone reproduction in Camera Work, on the 22nd of April, 1908. It is a very refined picture assimilating the characteristics of style of various art movements. Due to the lack of plastical dimensions, the eye just glances over the picture plane horizontally, in contrast to the circular movement of the eyes needed to make out all figures in their poses on Kühn's portrait. Steichen's colour portraits of women appear chic, elegant and somewhat cool like on stage. For Steichen, colour did not merely mean the full spectrum of hues, but "reticent, refined" colour which was, like that of Japanese wood cuts, an evocation rather than a statement of colour.

Fig. 7: Heinrich Kühn: "Edeltrude and Miss Mary in white standing against a crumbling stone wall", unsigned and not dated, about 1912, Autochrome, 24 x 18 cm

We observe two main lines of conception developed among the pictorial photographers in colour. On the one hand, there where those like Steichen and de Meyer, who believed that its value was in the description of reality, and on the other hand, those like Kühn, for whom the greatest potential layed not in what the lens and the photographic materials could record but in what kinds of emotional states the artist could express by those means.

For Kühn, the harmony of colours is the precondition for a harmonious composition of the picture which Kühn comprehends as phenomenon of perception. His various family portraits can be read as metaphors of domestic happiness or, furthermore, as his interpretation of the world in general.

Kühn's conception of the world according to physiological and psychological aspects was strongly influenced by the modern colour theory of Hermann von Helmholz. Presumably, Helmholz was Kühn's teacher during the time of his scientific formation in Germany. Helmholz' influence was essential for Kühn's photographic action which I would like to define as the "psychologisation of the technical". I even dare to say that Kühn pushed ahead the "psychologisation of colour" in photography.

To conclude my lecture, I would like to show this with a remarkable picture by Kühn, "Edeltrude and Miss Mary in white standing against a crumbling stone wall" (Fig. 7), about 1912. For the first time, the gaze of the people is turned directly to the camera, there is no distinction of colour between the figures and the background. The people portrayed are psychologically characterized in a way that the picture can be put on the same level of expression as paintings by Egon Schiele and Oskar Kokoschka.

Notes

1 Wood, John: *The Art of the Autochrome. The Birth of Color Photography*, Iowa City, 1983, p. 9.

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3 Ibid.

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5 *The Waking Dream. Photography's First Century. Selections from the Gilmann Paper Company Collection*. Exhibition catalogue. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 1993.

6 Kühn, Heinrich: "Grundsätzliches über Weichzeichner", in: Photographische Korrespondenz, 64, 1928, p. 285.

7 *Heinrich Kühn 1866-1944. 110 Bilder aus der Fotografischen Sammlung*. Exhibition catalogue. Museum Folkwang, Essen 1978, p. 11.

8 Stieglitz, Alfred: *Camera Work*, 20, 1907, p. 376 (Reprint, Köln 1997).

Thomas Freiler

The Legacy of Josef Maria Eder in the Weinstadtmuseum Krems

As so many times before at the beginning of such a story, there was a box found, when a building was to be renovated. In this case the building was the one of the Weinstadtmuseum in Krems. The content turned out to be a surprise. A lot of material concerning Josef Maria Eder, one of the most important but almost unknown personages in Austrian photography – at least to nonspecialists in photography.

When I looked through the box for the first time in 1999, I got the impression that all those things were the result of liquidating a home, because there were so many different things: papers, loose leaves, presscuttings, books and magazines, small publications, framed and unframed pictures, photographs and photoalbums. Supported by the Department of Culture and Science of Lower Austria and with the permission of Dr. Schönfellner, the director of the Weinstadtmuseum Krems, I started last year with sorting all this material. I noticed that books were marked with numbers and especially the reverse of photographs were marked with adhesive labels and the text "Sammlung Eder" (Eder collection). Some of the documents and papers were already gathered in folders, folders of the municipality of Krems from the years 1947 to 1953.

The material I found in this legacy tells a story as follows: Eder was born in Krems on March 16th in 1855 and died on October 18th, 1944 in his house in Kitzbühel (Tyrol). The death certificate was sent to the municipal archives of Krems by Mrs. Elsa von Schrott, the daughter of J. M. Eder, together with some photographic portraits, a biography, the genealogical tree of the family and a death announcement. We know that from one of her letters, dated November 22th, 1944 to Prof. Dr. Pöcklinger, then head of the archives.

In a letter dated October 25th, 1954, adressed to Wilhelm Roeder, the mayor of Krems, Elsa von Schrott thanked for the preparations for the exhibition on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of her fathers birthday. In this letter she also wrote about one year lasting negotiations with the city concerning this matter, and about her decision: To give the scientific legacy and a number of personal things to the municipal archives of Krems as "The Archives of J. M. Eder". For the present with reverse but later on testamentary, with the provision, that the things are secured and kept together and that these archives will be accessible to the public within the collection. Letters during the following months tell us about the transport of pictures and different documents to Krems. The vice-mayor of Krems, Karl Füxsel, thanked Elsa von Schrott in two letters from March 9th and 10th 1955, that she made this legacy accessible and available for the exhibition to be held.

The events around the anniversary in March 1955 are documented by Elsa von Schrott in an album consisting of photographs (of the events), presscuttings and a typewritten record: First about the ceremonies at the Grafische Lehr- und Versuchsanstalt on March 15th, and then about the ceremonies in Krems the following days. As Elsa von Schrott reported, she was wellcomed festively in Krems on March 18th and was shown around in town; during a guided tour through the townhall a room was presented to her as the future place of the "Archives of J. M. Eder". This room, as she was told, had already been the workingplace of her grandfather, the father of J. M. Eder. Later that day a commemorativ tablet was unveiled at the house, where Eder was born. Today this tablet cannot be found there anymore.

The next day the exhibition, located in the rooms of the Wachauer Künstlerbund in Krems, was opened. One of the speakers of the day was the director of the archives of Krems, Fritz Dworschak (his speech was published in the *Niederösterreichische Nachrichten* a few days later). Fritz Dworschak was head and later director of the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna from March 15th, 1938 till the end of World War II in 1945. Loosing his job in Vienna, he became head of the archives in Krems from 1947 to 1957, as I read in a biography of Dworschak that I found on the homepage of the former Piaristengymnasium in Krems, were he went to school, as J. M. Eder did some decades before. In the archives of Eder in Krems I found no hints that Dworschak and Eder knew each other personally. The exhibition in Krems ended on April 17th. In the legacy I did not find any document or object which was proovable brought in after the end of the exhibition, except this album about the ceremonies.

Another presscutting in this album, dated two days before the end of the exhibition, reports that the documents will be kept together under the name "Josef Maria Eder Archiv" in Krems (Kulturberichte, April 15th 1955). There are no hints, why the first sorting ended, perhaps the sorting was just attached to the preparation of the anniversary exhibition. This is the impression I got because the sorting was limited to objects, documents and photographs presented at the exhibition and to some biografical documents. It can only be supposed, why a permanent presentation of the legacy was not realized the following years. Perhaps it was just because the anniversary was over or because Fritz Dworschak retired two years later. (A framed tablet exists with the handwritten text: "Sammlung Josef M. Eder" that was also found in the box, mentioned at the beginning.)

Now to the content of the legacy, to give an impression what it is about. Let us start with the personal documents and private photographs I mentioned already earlier: There exists a photoalbum of the family of Eder dating back to the 19th century. Handwritten notes, probably by Elsa von Schrott identify many of the persons shown on the pictures, a large number of loose photographs, pictures showing Eder

Unknown Photographer, Portrait of Josef Maria Eder, c. 1880

at different lifeages. Of special interest is a pannotype of Eder and his sister, from about 1865. This pannotype was also exhibited at the show of 1955 in Krems but is now in a very a bad condition. In general I have to say that especially the photographs suffered a lot from the unsuitable storage on a loft of the museum for so many years.

There are also various group pictures, e.g. from Eder and his family at the World Fair in Paris 1900, as well as pictures of Eder and visitors (mostly around Villa Anna in Kitzbühel). The box also contained documents like a passeport of 1894 with a french visa issued September 1894 (it would be interesting to know the reason of that journey), a lot of official letters concerning various designations and a collection of the documents and medals of his numerous honors and decorations. Furthermore

there is an album of visiting-cards on the occasion of Eders admission to the French League of Honour in 1901, an album of the ceremonies of Eder's and his wife's golden wedding, where we can find photographs, guest lists, ceremonial adresses and congratulations of more than 50 persons. Folders concerning Eders 60th, 70th, 75th, 80th and 85th birthday, with newspaper articles, congratulatory cards, letters and telegrams. A folder with telegrams, letters and cards of persons congratulating Eder receiving the so called "Goethemedaille" by the "Führer" in 1942. Various biographies of J. M. Eder from different authors of different years and different sources, one is written by his daughter in the fourties with the note "Private Biographie".

Generally you can say, that the official life of Eder is well documented in this legacy. For example: beneath some schoolreports of Eder there are also some schoolreports of his important collaborator and brother in law Eduard Valenta.

There are also some handwritten manuscripts a few will be mentioned here: A book of chemical analyses of 1876/77, a book titled: "Beiträge zur Photochemie und Spektralanalyse" 1904 (Contributions to photographic chemistry and spectrumanalysis), a laboratory book of the year 1919 mainly about the making of colorfilters for sensiometric analysis.

Following Photographic documents from his scientific work can be found in the legacy: One issue of "Photographie mittels Röntgenstrahlen" (Photographs using X-rays) by Eder and Valenta in 1896, four issues of "Atlas typischer Spektren" (Atlas of Typical Spetrums) by Eder and Valenta, many sheets of spectrometric photographs.

With regards to his publications on the history of photography there are 324 photographs and photographic reproductions mounted on paperbords, which he used as illustrations for his articles and books; most of these pictures show scientists, photographers and inventors. There are a number of letters and correspondence with publishers, manufacturers of photographic material and with some colleagues about photographic items and correspondence with public authorities.

Concerning the Grafische Lehr- und Versuchsanstalt, the institution whose director he was for so many years, there can be found some writings about its history and some correspondence, mainly from the midtwenties, dealing with the appointment of a new director and the changes caused by that. Then there are many loose press-cuttings, pages of newspapers of the thirties, dealing with photographic or general scientific themes.

Eder was also famous for his great number of publications and his extensive library. In Krems I found a little more than 80 different publications of his scientific and historical works and about 250 books, magazins and separate prints. The separate prints are more than 100. More important than that are lists of his library in Vienna: A list of books he returned to the Grafische Lehr- und Versuchsanstalt, when he

retired, and a list of 643 titles, books which Eder reservered for Mr. Edward Epstean of the Columbia University in New York.

I hope I was able to give you a little impression, what this legacy in Krems is about. The momentary situation is as follows: The sorting is finished and the next step of my work on the legacy is to draw up a precise inventory including a list of all persons mentioned in the legacy and a complete list of the photographic material.

Monika Faber

Inventing the Interdependency of Science and Art – Heinrich Schwarz's early Writings

Heinrich Schwarz (1894-1974), born in Prague, Museum Curator in Vienna in the Graphic Collection of the Albertina and the Österreichische Galerie and, after being forced into exile in 1938, professor of History of Arts in the USA, has been the first art historian to write a monographic book about a photographer. This book about David Octavius Hill (1930) not only applied art historical criteria upon a new field, photography, but also articulated a new approach towards fine art as a whole.

Not by coincidence, at the same time Heinrich Schwarz was dealing with the problem of the perception of landscape by painters in the 19th century and before. With his continually growing study about the "Salzkammergut" as topic of the visual arts, he started his occupation with the Camera obscura as an instrument influencing and changing human vision, thereby laying the foundations of what is now known as "Prehistory" of Photography.

In his photographic preferences, Heinrich Schwarz was influenced by Heinrich Kühn, then "great old man" of Pictorialism in Austria, who also was very interested in D. O. Hill, but less so in the work of his contemporaries Albert Renger-Patzsch or Hugo Erfurth. A fact, that Schwarz did not hinder in dedicating his work also towards these artists.

In the first three decades of the twentieth century, the so called Viennese School of History of Art was a perfect starting point for innovative research and analysis "between" traditional fields of science, as can be easily shown by the better known writings of Hans Tietze, Ernst Kris or Ernst Gombrich.

All of them left Austria, as Heinrich Schwarz was forced to do in 1938. His fundamental studies, started in Vienna in the late twenties were developed while teaching in the USA, where his ideas grow very influential, Peter Galassi and John Szarkowsky with their exhibition "Before Photography" (MoMA 1981) giving witness to the spreading knowledge and expanding context of Schwarz's research.

This lecture is part of a work in progress: Together with Martin Gasser (Schweizerische Stiftung für Fotografie, Zürich) Monika Faber is preparing a book dedicated to the re-publishing of the early writings of Heinrich Schwarz and the analysis of the sources of his ideas.

Lena Johannesson

Women Photographers – European Experiences 1845-2000

Report from a Research Project in Progress

The Philosophical Turn as a Methodological "Trap"

From an academic point of view we can state that the study of photography since the 1980s has become an integrated part of many disciplines as in art history and visual communication, in the study of mass media, in gender study, in pedagogics etc. But at the same time we have realised that it has become much more difficult today to sum up the state-of-the-art within the study of photography than it was just ten years ago. We can see the same process within the study of the history of women and in feminism. How come? Isn´t there a continual empirical accumulation of knowledge within every field of research and a continual progress in every discipline? Of course there is, but the point is that the theoretical and methodological concepts in science shifts continually, too.

These conceptual changes verify a sound development within a scientific field, though superficially the effect may look like a loss of center and contact with the initial motivation. Changes of this kind might sometimes look like "traps" as focus may shift from making basic inventories, writing the history of the field etc. to deconstruct the fundaments for the same praxis. That is what has happened to women studies as well as to the study of photography.

Both these fields had their great academic break-through in the 1970s and both started by out-lining the histories of women, women artists, women writers etc. respectively the history of photography and its technical, theoretical, national or epistemological implications. At the end of the 1980s and in the 1990s the inventory paradigm was – more or less – substituted or influenced by the postmodern deconstructivist approach to research. By help of discourse analysis the inventory paradigms and the hierarchy of historiographies was scrutinized. The positivistic encyclopedic ambitions was questioned, as well as the insistence of objectivity; "the death of the author" became the "death of the subject" and the death of the Western canon of history and its main metaphor, the archive.

To this come the radical shift in the art world arena during post-modernism to "the philosophical turn" and conceptual art and the consequently up-heaval of the notorious conflict between art and photography. In every art school and art academy of today the students use photography – as well as video, digitalised images etc. – as an integrated artistic means. The accepting homogeneity of the art world of today makes it

an atavism in the art schools and in art criticism to focus on photography as something that still needs special attention; it just belongs to the classic artistic repertoire.

Something alike has happened to the feminist movement during the last two decades as the gender study and queer study have become the greater theoretical concepts for the study of sociocultural and sexual roles of women and men. From the initial fighting and founding phase women studies have turned to the status of an established discipline with a highly differentiated theoretical and methodological tradition.

We can sum up that the academic discourse in the last twenty years has helped us to differentiate the theoretical concepts of both the history of photography and the history of women. But in the same time we have also, more or less, lost the grip of the basic inventory praxis within these fields. This problemacy describes the main starting-point for the project called "Women Photographers – European Experiences 1845 - 2000". Based on an idea from director, Dr. Gunilla Knape at Hasselblad Center, this research project was constituted in 1998 in collaboration with The Department of Art History and Visual Studies at Gothenburg University, and by financial support of The Hasselblad Foundation. Dr. Gunilla Knape and Professor Dr. Lena Johannesson are the project managers. The main ambitions with the project has been to create a platform for research collaboration between Hasselblad Center and Gothenburg University, to try to bridge the gap between traditional and conceptual photo research, to go on with the nowadays disregarded inventory of women photographers and to focus on European circumstances in contrast to a too much homogenizised "Western" history of photography.

The European Heritage and the Non-European Interpretation

The Language Trap

Another complex of premises of the project is based on the fact that most Swedish students do not read or speak any other foreign language than English. Fifteen years ago the under-graduate study of humanities at Swedish universities required texts in English, German and French. Even if there are students today who have acquired special competence in German or French or some other language there can be no compulsory course books at our universities in other language than English or Swedish. Add to that that most of our graduate students study the history of photography interpreted by englishspeaking scholars and in an angloamerican epistemology. They are well acquainted to scholars like Beaumont Newhall and Helmut Gernsheim, Rosalind Krauss, Abigail Solomon-Godeau, Alan Trachtenberg, Alan Sekula, Peter Galassi etc. but they know nothing of such an influential work as *Theorie der Photographie I-III* (1980 - 81)

of Wolfgang Kemp and they read Josef Maria Eder in the English translation. As most Northamerican scholars in the field of art have a linguistic speciality just in French they seldom are capable to do comparative analyses of within the rest of the European continent.

An European Heritage?

Is this just a Swedish problem and a problem for a people with a language talked by very fem? (In Sweden there are 8.5 million inhabitants). Apparently not. Though most university students of the European continent surely are trained in more than one foreign language the paradox is, that the learned discourses in German, French, Italian etc. seldom integrate discussions in other languages and seldom are translated into other languages. It is natural that the many millions of people who speak French or Italian or German etc. will constantly meet with such an enormous public response in their own language that they may not even need to reflect on the linguistic isolation they live in. So even the great European nations have a tendency to be isolated in their own languages and academic discourses. The crucial question is therefore: how much do we know about each other and about our different national discourses and how far can we leave it to non-European actors to interprete our traditions? And do there exist anything like an European heritage or consensus? Our hypothesis is that it will be more functional to operationalise this main issue to a question about *individual fates and experiences* than as national discourses. That is the main reason why our project focus on individuals and *case-studies* instead of national inventories and macroperspectives.

Women Photographers in Europe – A Theme in a Male Canon?

To this come that anything like a historiography of female European photography do not exist, which is an astonishing fact in relation to the influential feminist research tradition of Europe and the renewal interest for female photographers caused by the successful postmodern photography of the 1990s. On the international level surveys like Naomi Rosenblum's great work include several female photographers with European roots and national analyses like Val William's *The Other Observers. Women Photographers in Britain 1900 to the Present* (1986) provide in a problemizing way data on many individual women photographers. In the traditional or male canon women, however, still are the expected exceptions. As a typical but not at all extreme example we may notice that the impressive work of Otto Hochreiter and Timm Starl, *Geschichte der Fotografie in Österreich 1 - 2* (1983), mentions 48 female photographers of total 715 photographers registered.

Operational strategies and case-studies

Our project has focused on this problemacy and has defined some hypothetical criteria on uniquely European conditions concerning the role of photography and the role of women photographers within the development of the established photographic discourse. The encyclopedic ambition would be overwhelmingly disastrous for such a little project as this, including just about ten active members. So the criteria chosen concentrate on the effects of the migration and emigration in Europe, the female part of the European cultural avantgarde between and after the wars, of female photographers and their professional roles during the two world wars, the amateur photography as a female praxis etc. The main investigation themes are operationalised as follows:

- Individual experiences vs collective context (Biographical level incl. national differences vs European historical, political, sociocultural development: war - not war, occupying power - defeated, exile - stationary, immigrant - the indigenous population etc.)
- Transitions and transgressions: spatial, mental, ethnical, aesthetic transitions, style periods and stages of transition incl. crossing borders, changing roles, changing media ontologies etc.
- Gender positions: advantages and disadvantages
- Professionalizing standards (amateur interests - professional support; artistic contra craftmanlike professionality)
- Aesthetic codes - functional and social conventions
- "Famous photographers" - unknown photographers: historiographic perspectives on the established photohistorical canon versus new discourses
- European traditions and other continents or different ideological statements
- The European heritage and non-European hegemonies

The themes will function as methodological catalysts and checking-points for discussions within the project group. All case-studies have to handle at least one or a couple of these themes and to contribute to the analyse of the total perspective formulated by them.

The project *per se* will become a pilot study as we are trying to get an analytical grip of several different national discourses within the European historiography of photography. Of course we have to be selective and of course we have no intention whatsoever to be comprehensive in any other respect than our main themes indicate and our linguistic resources afford us. But we hope that our work will provide a model

by our method which is exclusively based on evaluated *case-studies*. If one of our scholars is familiar to Italian language and to Italian archives she will be fully free to choose to comment on the Italian scene by help of some relevant *exempla* which she has found relevant during her studies in Italy. Our Polish member of the group will do the same with stuff from her native country. Some of us will study countries we just know as foreigners and so the antropologist's self-reflection has become an integrated part of our research method, whether it is based on participation observation, interviews or the study of archival source material. Scandinavia, Germany - Austria - Switzerland, Italy, United Kingdom and Poland - Lithuania - Ukraina belong to the areas studied.

As an empirical base for the project we have made historiographical analyses of international and national bibliographies and inventories as Roosens & Salu, Auer & Auer, Hochreiter & Starl, Heidtmann et. al., Rosenblum, Ochsner, Hirn, Söderberg & Rittsel, The Norwegian national registers of photographers and photo-collections etc. In order to register individually significant patterns among women photographers we have sampled data from memoires, diaries, correspondance, biographies etc.

Research documentation

The project will be finished in 2002 and documented in exhibitions at Hasselblad Center, Gothenburg, 2002 - 2003, and in a book. This research anthology, also called "Women Photographers – European Experiences 1845 - 2000" will be published in Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis: Gothenburg Studies in Art and Architecture.

Women Photographers–European Experiences 1845–2000

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HASSELBLAD CENTER

Duncan Forbes

Wolfgang Suschitzky and the British Documentary Tradition in the 1930s

Under the pressures of globalized modernity and the rigours of post-structuralism, a new fiction is becoming dominant in the English-speaking humanities – that of the unprecedented interpenetration of peoples. Apparently escalating flows of migration, currently manifested in western Europe's panic over the question of asylum, have lent renewed authority to migration as metaphor, with writers stressing the critical insights to be derived from the deterritorialized position of the nomad and the migrant's defamiliarizing modes of perception.[1] The experience of exile and emigration is also often said to have had a particularly close kinship with photography. Historically, émigrés and itinerants have often been, or have become, photographers, and by the 1930s – a decade of profound crisis and upheaval – both commercial and artistic practitioners migrated across Europe, their skills valued by the burgeoning advertizing and print media industries. Critics have also suggested more profound, sometimes ontological, links between photography as a medium and exile. These lie variously in the émigré's urge to document (and in the camera's apparently indexical capacities to do so); in photography's close associations with memory and loss; in the provisional nature of photographic meaning; and in the capacity of the camera to intensify perceptions of the world – to simultaneously make real and strange. The fact of exile and the position of alterity are understood to have informed some of the avant-garde's most exacting aesthetic statements.[2]

There is much to unravel here, both empirically and theoretically, not least the possibility that the current mobility of labour is in fact more restrained than it has ever been before. (What, then, are the causes of this privileging of the metaphor of migration?) However, for now I want simply to suggest that the emphasis on estrangement in photographic practice, on its engagement in the questioning of the character and value of representation, inevitably privileges modernist strategies in the history of photography and distracts attention from the work of those many expatriates, often documentary photographers, who did not join the ranks of a disruptive avant-garde. This is not to argue against the importance of hybridity to many forms of cultural production (including documentary practice), only to point out that physical dislocation has not always led to aesthetic strategies framed by distancing or defamiliarization.[3] As I shall suggest in this essay, Wolfgang Suschitzky's assimilation into Britain's documentary movement in the 1930s is not so much a story of cultural dislocation and estrangement as one of substantial continuity with the culture and

commitments of his upbringing. The 'estranged eye' – that staple of exile studies – was in this case complexly, but unambiguously engaged with the culture it surveyed. Its result was a relative aesthetic conservatism and a cultural politics derived from a dedication to powerful, if differently contested, socialist traditions in inter-war Austria and Britain.

Wolfgang Suschitzky was born in Vienna in 1912 into a comparatively prosperous working-class Jewish family. Despite the terrors of the times, he recalls a happy childhood: a progressive education in one of Vienna's new state educational institutes in Breitensee (designed to accelerate the learning of gifted working-class children); a world of books, the cinema, and a deep absorption in the natural world; and, it seems, considerable parental protection from the anti-semitism and right-wing violence that were increasingly part of Viennese life during the 1920s.[4] Suschitzky's family comprised leading figures in the cultural life of Red Vienna, his father and uncle having established in 1901 a socialist bookshop in one of the city's largest working-class districts. Committed to working-class education and emancipation, their work was substantially defined by the Austrian Social Democratic Party's (SDAP) attempt to create an enlightened proletarian counterculture in Vienna, a strategy that leaned heavily on the printed word. Suschitzky remembers little youthful engagement in politics, although the mix of socialist activism and the ethos of emancipated modernity central to continental Jewish secularism must have been potent.[5] Added to this was the powerful example of his brilliant and energetic older sister, Edith. Linked to Vienna's Communist circles, she provided her brother with knowledge of alternative socialist strategies and, with her attendance at the Bauhaus in the late 1920s, introduced him to photography.[6]

By 1930, however, the prospects for the young Suschitzky in Vienna had become increasingly precarious. In the face of mounting economic and political crisis, school leavers especially found it difficult to find employment (contemporary estimates suggest that a quarter of the jobless in Vienna were under the age of twenty five).[7] Effectively barred from a university career as a zoologist, Suschitzky followed his sister into photography, training for three years at the Graphische Lehr- und Versuchanstalt in Vienna. The school's curriculum was a traditional one, grounded in a strong technical and practical understanding of photography and Suschitzky's training was dominated by the Pictorialist aesthetics of his tutor, Rudolf Koppitz. Beyond Koppitz, Suschitzky recalls few photographic influences and little debate about theory or aesthetics, although the rigorous practical training, particularly in printing, proved to be an important grounding. After his final exams, Suschitzky left Austria in 1933 with a fellow Dutch student (soon to be his wife), heading first briefly to England and then to Holland where the couple attempted to establish a studio. In the degenerating

Wolfgang Suschitzky, Charing Cross Road, London, c. 1936

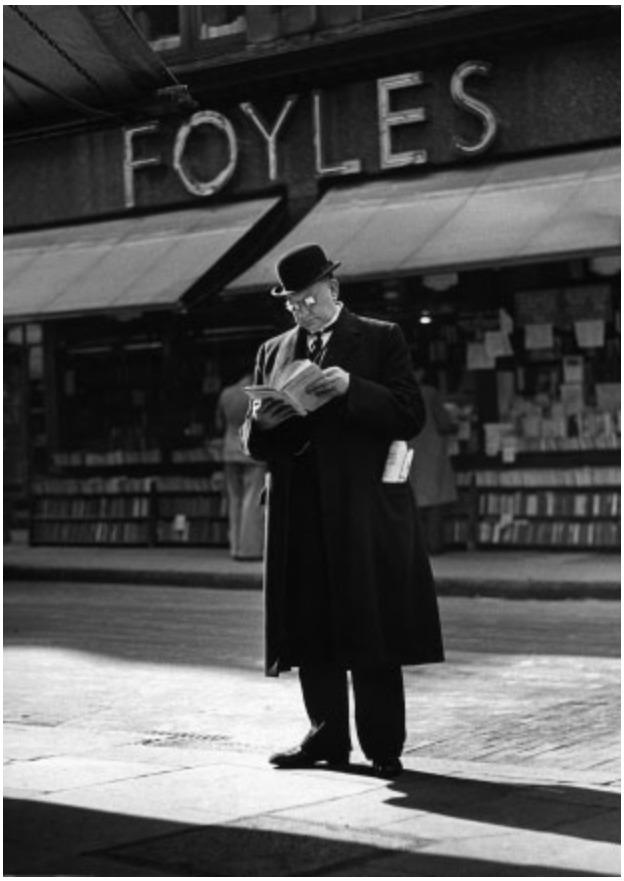
circumstances of Austria in the early 1930s it is scarcely reasonable to describe Suschitzky as a voluntary exile: economic collapse, mounting right-wing violence and pervasive anti-semitism were all compelling reasons for escape.

In 1935, having separated from his wife, Suschitzky returned to England where he circumvented still illiberal immigration laws by calling on the support of his sister and registering as a student.[8] By now married to Alex Tudor Hart, a Communist doctor, Edith remained a central influence on her younger brother, and he began his career as a freelance documentary photographer working alongside her on commercial projects.

Crucially, she provided an introduction to the documentary film and photography movement then gaining ground in England: between 1928 and 1939 there were some 300 documentary films produced in Britain and by the end of the 1930s there were four different documentary film production units in operation – Suschitzky would join Paul Rotha's Strand Films as a volunteer in 1937. Edith Tudor Hart was herself a substantial documentary photographer, working in and around the various journalistic and artistic groupings connected with the Communist Party of Great Britain (CPGB). Technically skilled and in archival terms highly significant, her photography was nonetheless typical of the reportage of the period. By the mid 1930s, Edith had for the most part abandoned the modernist strategies learned at the Bauhaus and had embraced the naturalism of the British documentary tradition. Grounded in a positivist conception of photography, I want to follow John Roberts in describing her documentary work as conforming to a Popular Front aesthetic.[9] Primarily appellative in character, it focused above all on the threatened authenticity of working class life, exposing social deprivation in somewhat paternalistic form, rather than exploring the possibilities inherent in the cognitive dissonance of the Soviet avant-garde tradition. Edith Tudor Hart's photographs are not so much expressions of working-class consciousness as they are an attempt to define and present its condition. In this they have much in common with other forms of reportage in Britain during the 1930s.

It is wrong, perhaps, to be too critical of photographers working in a dangerous political climate in circumstances hostile to self-conscious aesthetic transformation. The constraints the Suschitzkys worked under were substantial, including the CPGB's complicity in the political retrenchment of the Popular Front, the widespread failure to confront aesthetic questions in photography, and perhaps, too, the lingering influence of what Perry Anderson has dismissed rather too casually as the "parish-pump positivism of interbellum Vienna".[10] As in Austria, Wolfgang drew on Edith's example, eking out a living through commercial projects and avoiding any formal commitment to CPGB activities. As his confidence grew, so did his ambitions – his most important series of images was shot close to his place of work on Charing Cross Road in London, then, as now, a street visibly dominated by the book and theatre trades. Drawing on his Viennese experiences, this series also shows a very complete assimilation of the values of the British documentary movement – it is framed by its assumptions and aspires to present its ideals. Evidently, Suschitzky felt very 'at home' in that culture. The photo essay formed the foundation of his long career as a documentary photographer and film-maker.

The subject was a potent one for Suschitzky to choose, a point of contact with his upbringing in Vienna, and perhaps also conceived in homage to his father who had committed suicide in April 1934, overcome by the enormity of the defeat already



Wolfgang Suschitzky, Charing Cross Road, London, c. 1936

imposed by fascism. Raphael Samuel's description of the road in the only published edition of the photographs is useful:

> *Charing Cross Road in the 1930s was very far from being, in any simple sense, a respectable street, nor – despite its world-wide reputation with bibliophiles – was it by any means monopolised by the second-hand booksellers. It was a hub of theatreland, a headquarter of show-business and not least a principal artery of what was for some forty years London's best-known criminal district – Soho. It was also, as it remains to this day, a night-time pleasure strip, with crowds still thronging its pavements when more respectable citizens, or quieter ones, were safely asleep in the suburbs.*[11]

These, then, are Suschitzky's subjects: a patient queue at the pit entrance to Wyndham's theatre; men (less often women) absorbed in the cafés and amusement arcades; street scenes depicting extremes of the English climate and various forms of labour; and of course the bookshops, including the famous Foyle's, respectable second-hand dealers like Poole's and Joseph's, and a window of art nudes belonging to one of their more risqué neighbours. The series constitutes an anthropology of urban life (the parallels with Mass Observation are strong), and as in the work of Bill Brandt and Humphrey Spender, Suschitzky is careful to highlight social grades and distinctions, seen in the anonymous shoe-black at work, the toil of the road menders, or those of more indeterminate class poised in the comparative luxury of Lyon's Corner House. The series is an involved portrait of evolving street life, the product of a widespread contemporary urge – not least in Germanic cultures – to document the cityscape in its complex totality. It is compelling now as an apparently authoritative statement of what Charing Cross Road was like then.

However, it is the books and the browsers that are central to the series – an obvious and potent symbol of freedoms to be defended.[12] The act of reading would have had a powerful political resonance for Suschitzky, not least as the SDAP's overvaluation of the significance of cultural struggle placed great emphasis on the book. In 1930, the Party's chief educational reformer, Otto Glöckel, argued that "the book is the strongest weapon in the class struggle … It raises the question of why … and the why is the means to intellectual development and knowledge … Once people have the courage to gain knowledge, they must become socialists". Glöckel was a friend of Suschitzky's father and, as Hans Gruber has argued, it is likely that the SDAP's confidence in the power of reading had at least something to do with the book's high valuation in the Jewish tradition – a disproportionate number of the Party's leading members and theorists were of secular Jewish upbringing.[13] In 1930 the SDAP, trade unions and co-operatives in Vienna produced 127 newspapers and journals, with a print run of over three million copies. This commitment to the revelatory power of literature was also wielded by the Party as a bastion against a tidal wave of commercial kitsch, primarily in the form of the cinema. In Vienna, literature alone, it seems, would forge the "neue Menschen".

It is not surprising that in 1937 the documentary film-maker, Paul Rotha, should be impressed by the photographs shown to him by the twenty-five year old Suschitzky. Central to the British documentary movement was the Griersonian ideal of documentary practice as a defence of progressive citizenship. It was a movement that believed passionately in the value of learning and community education and in the protection of the freedoms promoted by social democracy. It was also a movement deeply perturbed by the influence of commercial popular culture. Paul Rotha, in

particular, had been an energetic proponent of what he termed a "working-class propaganda", to be mobilized in the face of corporate control of the film industry and capitalist culture more generally. In a lecture delivered to a special Labour Party conference on film propaganda in Edinburgh in 1936, Rotha outlined a plan of attack against commercial cinema, which, he claimed, was acting "consciously or unconsciously, as a sort of deodorant":

> *The documentary or realist film tries to take subjects of national importance and place them on the cinema screen without the use of fiction stories or glamorous actors. Its makers follow a policy which suggests that, by a common sharing out of everyday experience, a desire for a betterment of social conditions will arise. They believe in using cinema as a means of popular education … In the simple job of presenting facts as facts they believe that correct implications will inevitably be drawn. They have found in this everyday material of the streets, the factories, the fields and the foundries a certain freedom which has its true roots in public service. They have brought to the screen the dignity of human labour. They have believed that by dramatising the work of the coal miner and the riveter they are at least showing the complacent city dweller and suburban householder what the working-class does for its living …*[14]

Whatever the contemporary authority of Rotha's critique, it suffered from a number of serious limitations. Most significantly, the establishment of a socialist cinema was not intended to be a democratizing process itself – film production, in part because of the costs involved, was to be left to a coterie of experts. As with the SDAP, culture was to serve the class struggle, but in a manner that failed to engage the working class fully in shaping that culture.

Bearing in mind his background and its political inheritance, it is not surprising that Suschitzky's Charing Cross Road series should reflect the values of the British documentary movement. The worker is there as well as the bourgeois; class difference is emphasized – the photographer obviously has considerable sympathy with the workers he captures – but it is incorporated into a socially-inclusive critical humanism, rather than a defence of proletarian culture and its potential. In aesthetic terms there is also a strong cross-over with Griersonian ideals: John Grierson believed in documentary as a poetic act, raising the aesthetic status of the everyday.[15] Like both Grierson and Rotha, Suschitzky often monumentalizes those he photographs: these are romantic images, consciously beautiful, simply constructed with a strong, almost expressionist element to them – the legacy, perhaps, of the photographer's Pictorialist training. They tend to isolate figures, constraining them within impressive geometries.

Wolfgang Suschitzky, Charing Cross Road, London, c. 1936

There is little here that makes strange; nothing that is reflexive – "facts as facts" to cite Paul Rotha again. Suschitzky's photographs document from a distance, an observation of, rather than full engagement with, the social relations he describes. This is not to suggest that the photographer should have somehow acted differently, only that these images inevitably bear the imprint of the aesthetic and political constraints – in both London and Vienna – that informed them.

The Charing Cross Road series was intended for publication, with a text written by the Munich-born author and journalist, Peter de Mendelssohn, who had settled in London in 1935.[16] High pre-war paper costs prevented this happening, and Mendelssohn's text was never scripted. There is also much more to Suschitzky's photography in the 1930s, especially his innovative, intimate photography of animals and informal portraiture of children. Both were imprinted by his progressive Viennese upbringing, turning the necessity of commercial work into a photographic virtue. Suschitzky managed to avoid the cruelest aspects of war-time internment, working in a reserved occupation for Burroughs Wellcome as a medical and advertizing photographer. Propaganda demands meant that experienced cameramen were then in short supply, and after a chance encounter, Suschitzky rejoined Paul Rotha Productions in 1942 to make films for the Ministry of Information. He was to become one of the leading practitioners of the British documentary film movement, working on over one hundred films for commercial, public sector and government agencies.

Throughout his career Suschitzky continued to photograph with his stills camera, following the political and aesthetic ideals, grounded in a social democratic humanism, that were forged in that lively crucible of crisis and commitment during the 1920s and 1930s. Suschitzky's classic documentary style – distanced, literal, empathetic – survived in any meaningful public sense until the 1970s. His career bears all the scars of a culture in Britain, in its fear of theory and lack of economic support, that has not always been kind to documentary photographers. As a cultural worker exiled during the early stages of fascist mobilization, Suschitzky's involvement with the British documentary movement established strong continuities with the commitments of his Austrian upbringing – this is a story of a cross-cultural meeting of minds, rather than an experience of fundamental dislocation. Suschitzky was one of around forty photographic workers of German-speaking origins who found a home in Britain at some point or other during the 1930s, most of them pursuing documentary strategies.[17] Speaking to the man today, I am confronted still by the legacy of Red Vienna. The history of which Wolfgang Suschitzky is a complex, living component, should continue to be recovered. The violence, actual and symbolic, that makes the exile's experience necessary is always worth understanding.

Notes

1 Recent texts include Nikos Papastergiadis, *The Turbulence of Migration*, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2000) and Amitava Kumar, *Passport Photos*, (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2000). These and other texts draw broadly on the theoretical writings of Stuart Hall, Homi Bhabha, Gayatri Spivak, Edward Said and Deleuze and Guattari. Thomas Faist has recently challenged the idea that migration is an overwhelming feature

of the contemporary world. See his *The Volume and Dynamics of International Migration and Transnational Social Spaces*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000).

2 For discussion of these questions see Peter D. Osborne, 'Neither here nor there: photographers, exiles, the faces of strangers', in his *Travelling Light: Photography, Travel and Visual Culture*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), pp. 122-57.

3 In the study of literature, for example, it has been argued that Austrian émigré writing is generally traditional in form, as authors are distanced from the centres of innovation in their own culture. See Walter Grünzweig, '"The road to America": intercultural dimensions of Austrian-American literature following 1938', in Friedrich Stadler and Peter Weibel (eds.), *Vertreibung der Vernunft: the Cultural Exodus from Austria*, (Wien and New York: Springer-Verlag, 1995), p. 234.

4 Published material on Suschitzky's career is slight, but includes 'Wolf Suschitzky: a life in photography', *Visual Art*, no. 97, Spring 1997 and 'Wolf Suschitzky: "Ich bin immer noch ein Sozialist"', in Anna Auer, *Fotografie im Gespräch*, (Passau: Klinger, 2001), pp. 285-93. In 1990 Suschitzky also recorded eight hours of oral history material in interviews with Val Williams, held in the National Sound Archive at the British Library, London.

5 See Stephen Beller, *Vienna and the Jews 1867 – 1938: a Cultural History*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

6 For Tudor Hart's career see *Edith Tudor Hart: the Eye of Conscience*, (London: Dirk Nishen Publishing, 1987) and *Edith Tudor Hart: A Retrospective (1930 – 1952)*, (Liverpool: Open Eye Gallery, no date).

7 Gerhard Melinz, 'Coping with the social and economic crisis: the Viennese experience, 1929 – 1933', in Malcolm Gee, Tim Kirk and Jill Steward (eds.), *The City in Central Europe*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), p. 202.

8 The literature on German and Austrian exile in the 1930s is already extensive. See in particular James J. Barnes and Patience P. Barnes, 'London's German Community in the early 1930s', *German Life and Letters*, vol. 46, no. 4, August 1993, pp. 331-45; Gerhard Hirschfeld (ed.), *Exile in Great Britain: Refugees from Hitler's Germany*, (Leamington Spa: Berg, 1984); and Steffen Pross, *In London Treffen Wir Uns Wieder*, (Frankfurt: Eichborn, 2000).

9 John Roberts, *The Art of Interruption*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998), p. 64. I am indebted to Roberts' general analysis of the political contingencies of documentary in Britain during this period.

10 Perry Anderson, 'Components of the national culture', *New Left Review*, no. 50, July – August 1968, p. 18.

11 Wolf Suschitzky, *Charing Cross Road in the Thirties*, (London: Dirk Nishen Publishing, c. 1988), p. 2.

12 Books are not the only symbol, however. One photograph in the series shows a shop window with contraceptive goods, emphasizing the importance of sexual freedoms for men and women. From the start of his bookselling business in 1901, sex education had been a key component of Wilhelm Suschitzky's activities, leading to a lengthy court case and attacks from the right-wing press in Vienna.

[13] Helmut Gruber, *Red Vienna. Experiment in Working-Class Culture, 1919 - 1934*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), p. 87. For Glöckel's career see Gruber, pp. 74-80.

[14] Paul Rotha, *Films and the Labour Party*, (Edinburgh: no publisher, 1936), pp. 11-12.

[15] See John Grierson's two-part essay, 'Documentary', *Cinema Quarterly*, Winter 1932, pp. 67-72 and Spring 1933, pp. 135-39. Grierson writes (p. 137): "But realist documentary, with its streets and cities and slums and markets and exchanges and factories, has given itself the job of making poetry where no poet has gone before it, and where no ends, sufficient for the purposes of art, are easily observed. It requires not only taste, but inspiration, which is to say a very laborious, deep-seeing, deep-sympathising creative effort indeed".

[16] On Mendelssohn's life in London, see *In London Treffen Wir Uns Wieder*, ff. 179.

[17] See Irme Schaber, 'Pioniere mit Langzeitwirkung: der Einfluß der fotografischen Emigration der NS-Zeit auf die englische Fotolandschaft und Bildpresse am Beispiel von Kurt Hutton, Felix H. Man, Wolf Suschitzky und weiteren Fotoschaffenden', *Yearbook of the Research Centre for German and Austrian Exile Studies*, vol. 4, forthcoming. I would like to thank Irme Schaber for making this essay available to me prior to publication.

Vladimír Birgus

Jaroslav Rössler (1902-1990)

Works by Jaroslav Rössler have been included in almost every major exhibition of Czech photography from the interwar period and his photographs are part of the collections of leading museums and galleries all over the world. But yet even leading experts on Czech photography mostly know only fragments of Rössler's work, and there are many things we have yet to know about his life, for there is much this extraordinarily introverted artist did not tell even his relations and closest friends. Rössler only sporadically did publish his photographs, photomontages, and drawings in the art journals *Pásmo*, *Disk*, *Stavba*, and *ReD* and in few exhibitions. Consequently, the literature contains far less about him than about, say, František Drtikol, Josef Sudek and Jaromír Funke. Yet it is clear that Rössler is one of the avant-garde Czech artists who not only reacted with varying degrees of inventiveness to French, German, and Russian art, but also made some truly original pieces. Thanks to the first retrospective exhibition, organized in 2001 by the Museum of Decorative Arts, Prague in the Czech capital and in Madrid[1] and thanks to his ever published monograph[2] we know much more about Rössler's work than we did before; nevertheless, further knowledge of his life, his ups and downs, and his work in photography and drawing will help us to discover much more and to correct some of what we previously thought we knew.

Jaroslav Rössler was born on May 25th 1902 in Smilov, not far from Německý Brod (today, Havlíčkův Brod), in east Bohemia. He was sent to train as a photographer to the Drtikol studio in Prague. František Drtikol (1883-1961) was the first Czech photographer of international importance. But when the fifteen-year-old Rössler began his apprenticeship on September 1st 1917 Drtikol was serving in the Austro-Hungarian army and the studio was being run by Škarda's brother-in-law Šourek. Not till August 1918, just a few months before the end of the armistice, did Drtikol manage to get back to Prague and resume work in his studio after four years away. This was the beginning of his complicated relationship with Rössler, the most talented of his apprentices and assistants, which, apart from short breaks, lasted till Rössler left for Paris in 1925.

Rössler was first trained mainly to develop and do retouching and only rarely could he assist Drtikol in making portraits. Even after completing his apprenticeship, in September 1920, he did mostly laboratory work and retouching and was only occasionally allowed to make portraits (usually of the less important customers). More than by any theoretical advice Drtikol might give him, Rössler was influenced by daily contact with Drtikol's photographs, interest in the fine arts, high standards

of craftsmanship, and mastery of the demanding of oil print, bromoil, and other pigment processes. In Drtikol's studio he also acquired his first orientation in the current trends of photography because there he could look through the various photography magazines that Drtikol subscribed to. And he also found a place to live in Prague, because Drtikol allowed him to spend nights in what was known as the 'print room' (where some of the negatives were printed and where there was a small laboratory). Rössler was also able to use paper, chemicals, and other equipment free of charge at Drtikol's studio.

It is certain that Drtikol was a strong influence on Rössler's work. The two men shared an interest in complicated pigment processes and Rössler used some of them, chiefly the bromoil print. There is probably no other avant-garde photographer who exhibits such a contrast between the modernity of his photographs and the archaicism of the technique used to make them. At a time when other forward-looking photographs, under the influence of Alfred Stieglitz, had long abandoned pigment processes and were accenting the special qualities of the medium of photography, Rössler was often making his own minimal and Constructivist compositions as bromoil prints, the medium that had been so popular among the conservative representatives of Impressionistic and Art Nouveau Pictorialism (Fig. 1). He was still using this technique in 1948 to print photographs made in Paris more than two decades before, and seems, together with Polish photographer Jan Bulhak, to be among the last of the leading European photographers continuously to employ the pigment processes which had been so wide spread in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. In the merging of Pictorialism and Modernism, Rössler's photographs have much in common with the work of Alvin Langdon Coburn and Pierre Dubreuil.

Drtikol's influence, however, was not limited to interest in pigment processes. His presence is evident also in some of Rössler's portraits of Gertruda Fischerová (at the time a colleague at Drtikol's studio; later Rössler's wife), which contain the last traces of Art Nouveau Pictorialism, the portrait of his brother Zdeněk (Fig. 2), which is on the borderline between Pictorialism and the avant-garde, and also in the drawings of lone female figures in imaginary landscapes, which he made in 1923. Whereas in Drtikol's Symbolist drawings with the same motifs (made before World War I), women appear in confrontation with the threatening mystic forces of Nature or as the Woman-Mother allegory, Rössler's female figures and mostly natural scenery are highly stylized into geometric shapes which reveal the lessons of Futurism, Cubism and Expressionism. The influence of these trends, combined with the influence of Symbolism, is evident in Rössler's little known work from the same period, where, in a pyramidal composition, he placed the photograph of a naked man (Fischerová's photo with Rössler as the model) as the Thinker or the Creator together with two naked

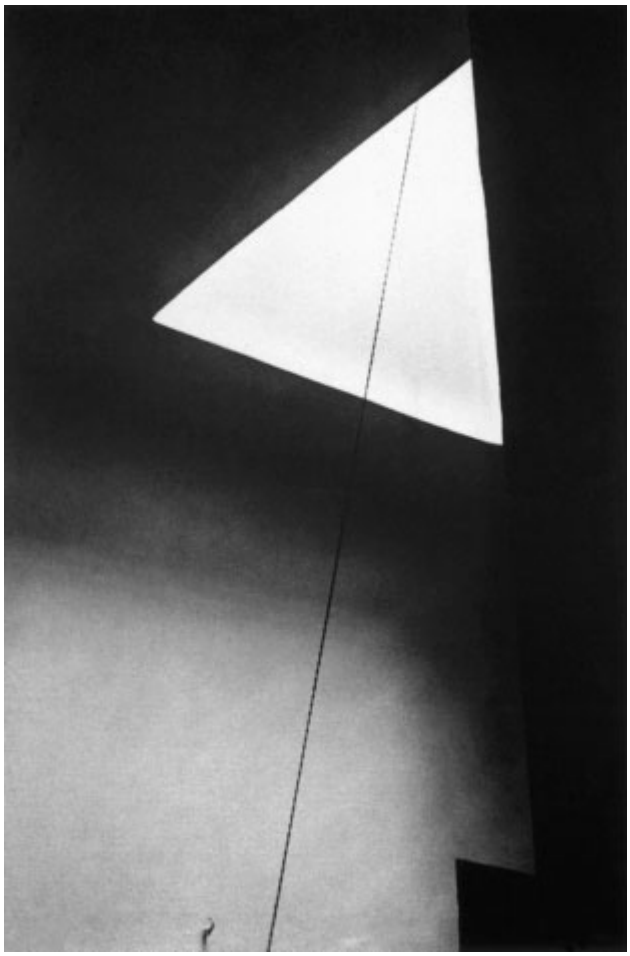


Fig. 1: Jaroslav Rössler, Skylight, 1923

women kneeling with heads bowed and a Cubo-Futuristic drawing of geometric figures, which form an almost theatrical scene. But the same influence is evident also in one of Rössler's best known works, the portrait of Ore Tarraco (the stage-name, exotic in Bohemia, of the Czech dancer Kulhánek).

Complications between Rössler and Drtikol also appeared in their personal relations. Although Drtikol in June 1920 married the dancer Ervina Kupferová, who gave birth to his daughter Ervina a year later, the marriage was unhappy. Long before he and Ervina divorced in 1926, Drtikol had taken an interest in his intelligent young assistant Gertruda Fischerová (1894 - 1976), who before her apprenticeship at his studio had studied at Minerva, the renowned girls school in Prague. But Fischerová, who

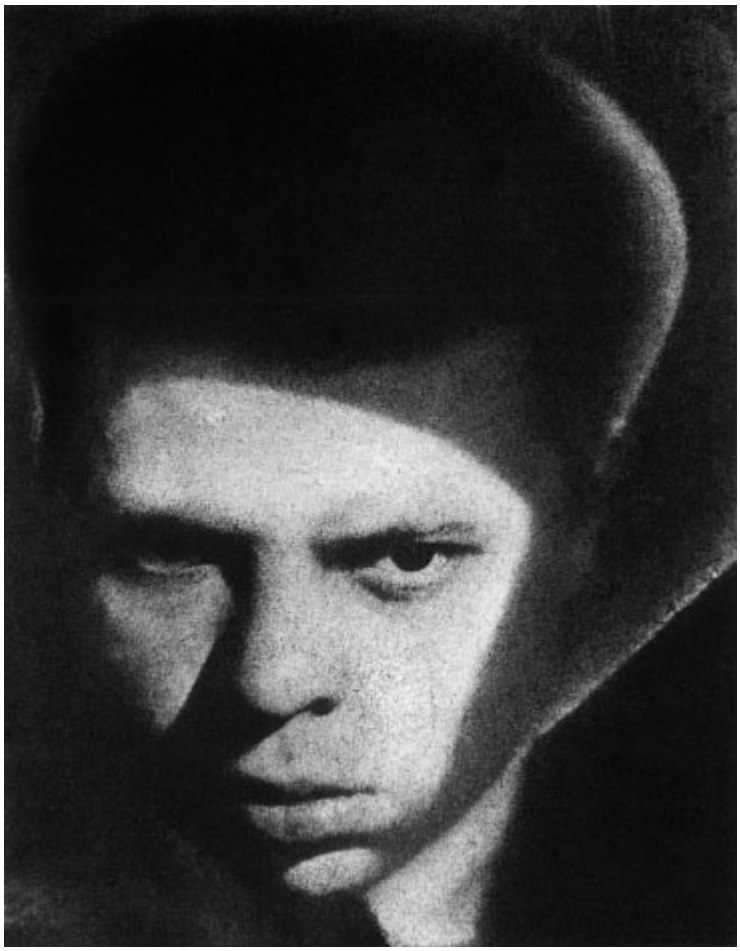


Fig. 2: Jaroslav Rössler, Brother, 1924, bromoil print

had a privileged position among Drtikol's assistants, began to favor Rössler, though he was eight years her junior. In 1922 she even used him as a model when photographing several modest nudes, whose composition and lighting were undoubtedly influenced by the work of Drtikol. They are apparently the first male nudes by a Czech woman photographer.[3] By the next year, there was apparently already a deep emotional relationship between Fischerová and Rössler. It was definitely not an uncomplicated relationship, however, for the rather marked age difference must have caused somewhat of a scandal in society. The dynamic, realistic Fischerová played a dominant role in the relationship with the introverted, shy Rössler, and often helped to resolve various problems that appeared almost impossible to Rössler.

Fig. 3: Jaroslav Rössler, Untitled, 1923

It was during his apprenticeship and period as an assistant to Drtikol, that Rössler made a number of photographs that are among his best. The earliest of Rössler's photographs, which he called *Opus I*, was made probably in 1919, while he was still an apprentice. It is an almost geometric composition with a little polygonal bottle for chemicals and two pieces of diagonally placed paper or cardboard. Rössler, it is said, later destroyed some of his earliest photographs from the period before 1922. Consequently, we can only speculate whether he made other similarly radical photos. Dating some of the photographs is also a problem, because many of Rössler's own originals from the period were not given dates by the artist till much later and it is not unusual for two prints from the same negative to have dates that differ from each other by a year or two. Some indication may be provided by the fact that in 1923 Rössler bought himself (in installments) a Mentor 9 x 9 cm camera, whereas he had previously photographed mostly with a borrowed 9 x 12 cm camera. What is certain, however, is that in the spring of 1923, when he made the acquaintance of Karel Teige (chief theorist and organizer of Czech avant-garde artists) while photographing exhibits from the Alexander Archipenko exhibition in Prague, he had already made photographs that Teige is alleged to have said were better than Man Ray's (Fig. 3). On the basis of that, he invited Rössler to join Devětsil, which was the most

renowned group of Czech avant-garde artists at the time. From its founding in 1920, Devětsil brought together mostly very young poets, painters, architects, dramatists, and other artists, who eventually came up with the new trend in art known as Poetism, the first avant-garde style to be invented in the Czech Lands. Many of these artists, in particular Teige, Jindřich Štyrský, Toyen, Evžen Markalous, and Jiří Voskovec, devoted themselves to a particular kind of collage, called the "picture poem", meeting Teige's requirement for a fusion of poetry and the visual arts, in which fragments of photographs often appeared in surprising contexts. Though most of these artists were fascinated with photography and film and considered both to be forms of modern art, Rössler was the only professional photographer among them.

Largely owing to his introverted nature, Rössler was different from most Devětsil members. He led a modest social life, avoided the daily gatherings in Prague cafés and wine bars (which the poet Jaroslav Seifert so engagingly captured in his memoirs), did not engage in heated debates or write for avant-garde journals, and, apparently, attended only three joint meetings of Devětsil. Nor was he represented in the legendary Modern Art Bazaar in the Rudolfinum, Prague, which was held in the autumn of 1923. Not till the third Devětsil exhibition, held in the Rudolfinum in May 1926, did Teige include the greater part of Rössler's work. The clearest link with Devětsil was therefore the occasional publishing of Rössler's photographs and collages in *Pásmo*, *Disk*, *Fronta*, *Stavba* and *ReD*, together with the work of El Lissitsky, Man Ray, László Moholy-Nagy and other renowned artists.

Rössler's abstract photographs from the first half of the 1920s, however, certainly ranked among the most forward-looking work by Devětsil members and their associates. Apart from photos by Alvin Langdon Coburn ('Vortographs', kaleidoscopic photographs of simple glass and wood objects between three mirrors, from 1916 and 1917) and Paul Strand (details of shadow and light and his almost abstract photographs of the elementary shapes of bowls and furniture from 1916) and the photograms of Christian Schad (first made in 1918) and Man Ray (beginning in 1921), Rössler's are among the first radical examples anywhere of the influence of abstract art on photography, and are finally beginning to be appreciated as such. In some cases, for example the variations of the diagonally composed photograph of the skylight in Drtikol's print room, minimal motifs were presented in the now typical Constructivist manner – a year or two before Alexander Rodchenko had even begun to take photographs.

Syncretism, the fusion of a number of apparently incompatible styles, is typical of Rössler's work in this period. In the same period, while he was still interested in Symbolism, Pictorialism, and Expressionism, Rössler was also making photographs devoid of literary content, whose main motifs he reduced to autonomous basic lines and

forms. Already in these pieces he was demonstrating an extraordinary talent for reducing depicted reality and construing a new reality. The objects depicted here are often indefinable and appear utterly dematerialized. Among the best are the photographs of seemingly three-dimensional luminous figures on dark backgrounds (1923 – 1925), which at first glance are reminiscent of the photograms of Schad or Man Ray or Alfred Cohen's exceptional photograph, *Shadows* (*c*.1920). Here, Rössler has anticipated the work of Jaromír Funke by several years. Funke made his abstract-like compositions in shadow and light in the second half of the 1920s as an alternative to the Rayographs, which he, unlike Teige and so many other Czech avant-garde artists, considered a dead-end for photography. Funke worked his way to these photographs by gradually removing simple objects which had played an important role in his still lifes (objects such as starfishes, stuffed hummingbirds, bottles, panes of glass), and replacing them with shadows cast by objects. But Rössler was well ahead of him in making abstract-oriented photos, even though he had few predecessors to whom he could turn for inspiration; his radical work, unlike that of, say, Czech Cubist painters and sculptors, was made almost independently of foreign models. It is highly unlikely that in the early 1920s he would have known Schad, Coburn, or Dobreuil's work; he undoubtedly knew nothing of the almost abstract purist compositions of Paul Outerbridge, Margaret Watkins, or Bernard Shea Horne; and he probably saw only a few examples of Strand's work. He was therefore most probably reacting directly only to Man Ray's photograms from the album *Champs délicieux* (1922), which were published in the Czech yearbook *Život II* in 1922 (which was probably the first time the photograms were published outside France) and were exhibited at the Modern Art Bazaar organized by Devětsil in the Rudolfinum, Prague, in November of the following year. Rössler, we recall, did not take part in this exhibition, and his photographs were not exhibited till the third Devětsil exhibition, held in 1926, where they were shown near the work of Man Ray.

Rössler tried to make his own photograms in the second half of the 1920s, whereas several years before he had concentrated on abstract-like photographs made with the camera. In some works, which at first appear to be photograms, he used an unfocused Tessar lens and long exposures to capture light from moving spotlights on a black background. The result is emotionally charged photographs of various blurry glowing cones, rings, lentil-shaped bodies, and curves with various shades of black, white, and gray, which at times suggest luminous substances like something seen in a delirium. Rössler was thus among the first photographers to make light itself (which plays the primary role in photography) the center of interest. Light no longer served merely to create a mood, as it had in, say, the work of the Impressionists and the Pictorialism of Art Nouveau, but now itself became the leitmotif. Therein lies

Rössler's pioneering role. His original photographs of simple figures of light, made in 1923 - 1925, deserve a place alongside the photograms of Man Ray and Moholy-Nagy, which were made only a year or two before that.

In the same period Rössler was also taking photographs of simple objects (such as a candle, an ashtray, a wineglass, and a spool) against a background of black and white cardboard, different kinds of paper, and other material cut into expressive geometric figures. The background, which comprised sharp tonal contrasts, was no longer merely scenery as it had once been in the portraits of Gertruda Fischerová; instead, it had now at times become more important than the three-dimensional object in the foreground. Several photographs exist in a number of variations with different compositions; in one, for example, a candle is almost on the edge of the photograph, whereas in another it is in the middle. Rössler ultimately photographed only the background and, similarly to Drtikol in his Symbolist photographs of cut-out figures eight years later, was the sole author both of the photographed objects and of the photographs themselves. He was often happy simply to depict flat figures, but sometimes he tried also to capture the shadows that were cast by vertically placed fragments of cardboard lit from the side. Sometimes he intentionally used a slightly out-of-focus subject to dematerialize the depicted reality and to emphasize the autonomy of the photographic image, which was now almost completely independent of the reality captured in the photo. His almost abstract shots of cardboard cutouts were made well before the better known similarly constructed "light abstractions" of the American photographer Francis Bruguière (which also employ paper cutouts) and Rössler was definitely not influenced by them.

Much of this work, using elements of Cubism, Futurism, Neo-Plasticism, and Constructivism (sometimes even exhibiting certain links with the later Art Deco style), has a good deal in common with the paintings of Malevich, Rodchenko, Kupka, van Doesburg, Delaunay, Moholy-Nagy, and Kassák. In the photography of those days, however, Rössler has few counterparts. Whereas in Czech painting the first important abstract work appeared before World War I and František Kupka is rightly considered one of its international pioneers, in Czech photography the influences of abstract art were first employed with real effect in Rössler's photographs of 1922 - 1924. Some of these photos he used in 1925 in his collages *Fotografie I-IV* (Fig. 4). Here he pasted the photographs onto a large piece of paper and added cut-out black strips and expressive signatures. This resulted in highly effective, very early examples of the inventive linking of avant-garde photography and typography, which was being promoted in the artwork and articles of, for example, Moholy-Nagy (his book *Malerei, Fotografie, Film* was published by the Bauhaus that same year), Herbert Bayer, Rodchenko, El Lissitsky, and Teige.

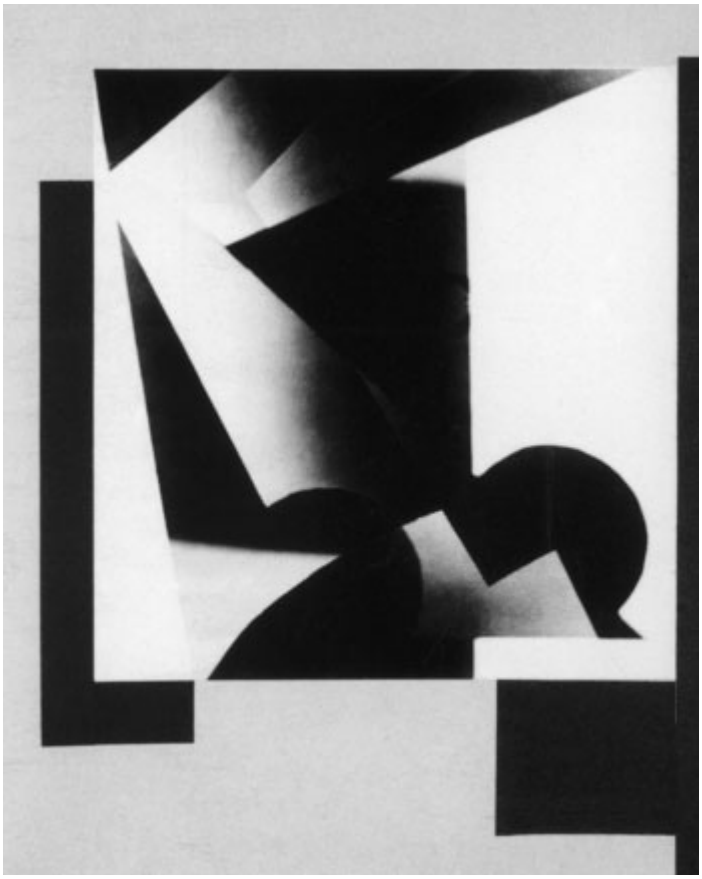


Fig. 4: Jaroslav Rössler, Fotografie I, 1925

Many of Rössler's photographs from the period before 1926 contain details of radios. Rössler was fascinated by the wireless and was himself an amateur radio enthusiast, from youth to old age assembling many radios himself. His fascination with modern technology was shared by other Devětsil members, who in their verse, articles, and collages sang the praises of the airplane, motorcar, cinematography, and the radio. Rössler took photographs of himself and also of Josef Sudek's friend Plaček wearing headphones and with a ham-radio in the background; he made the striking composition of *Radio World* using several negatives in a photomontage, created a still life with close-ups of a radio tube and a number of purely descriptive shots of his radio; in a collage of 1926 he included the view of a radio tower, and used striking typography and fragments of condensers for its title, *Radio Marconi*.

Though most of the photographs and collages with a radio theme were made in the first half of the 1920s, shots of radios and self-portraits with them appear also in his later work. The motifs of technological civilization were not, however, limited to the radio. Rössler's minimal compositions with exteriors, for example, also contain fragments of insulators, telephone wires, or highly stylized details of parts of the observation tower on Petřín Hill, Prague (which is sometimes erroneously included among Rössler's later photos of the Eiffel Tower) and in his collages there appear not only condensers and radio towers, but also aircraft and skyscrapers (*Unlife*, 1926) and gramophone records and neon signs.

In late 1925 or early 1926 Rössler together with Fischerová left for Paris, which was at that time the capital of modern art. Whereas Teige, Štyrský, Toyen, Josef Šíma, Adolf Hoffmeister and many other Czech artists who had in those years left for the French metropolis sought to get in touch with the local avant-garde, Rössler, owing partly to his shy nature, remained outside artistic circles. Apart from his introversion, this also a consequence of his initial lack of knowledge of French. In the beginning he was thus dependent on Gertruda, who could speak French. She found work for him, beginning in February 1926, in the renowned photographic studio of the brothers Gaston and Lucien Manuel. In this large business in the Rue Dumont-d'Urville, which apparently employed as many as sixty persons, Rössler was mainly supposed to do retouching and affix the company signature to photographs. That same year, another Czech photographer, Rudolf Schneider-Rohan (1900 - 1970), began to work there retouching prints. Schneider-Rohan, who later was known for his portraits of a number of celebrities and his male and female nudes, became one of Rössler's friends for a while.[4] In the studio of the Manuel brothers Rössler also befriended the business manager of the company, Lucien Lorelle (1894 - 1968), another photographer with a modern orientation (his Surrealist landscapes are today part of the collection of the Pompidou Center).[5]

Gertruda Fischerová, shortly after arriving in France, discovered she was pregnant. Rössler wanted to marry her in Paris and stay there for good but the two of them ultimately decided to return to Czechoslovakia. On June 16th 1926 he quit the Manuels' studio and shortly afterwards they left for Prague. On July 14th they got married in Prague and on September 7th 1926 their daughter Sylva was born. Without an apartment of their own, they stayed at the home of Rössler's mother in the Prague district of Vokovice. Gertruda gave up photography for ever, after a rather unprolific career and decided that henceforth she would devote herself solely to her family.

Rössler brought back to Prague many photographs from Paris, as well as several photomontages and collages. Like many other photographers he was attracted to the modern beauty of the Eiffel Tower, which he photographed from a wide variety of

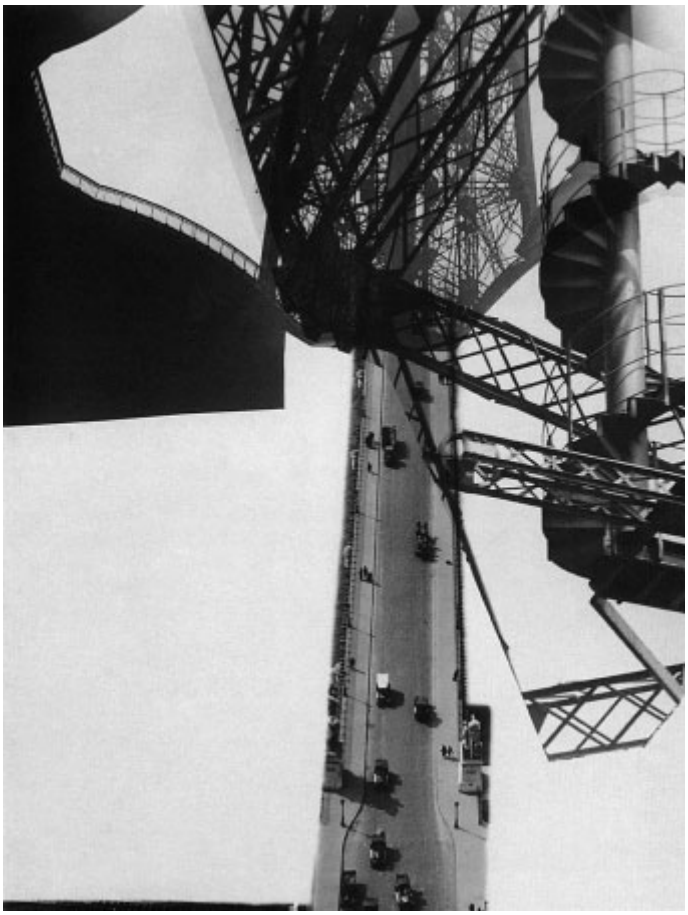


Fig. 5: Jaroslav Rössler, Untitled, 1926, photomontage

low-angle shots, in diagonal compositions and in dynamic details. Some of these shots he also used in photomontages, where, for example, the motif of a spiral staircase appears with a high-angle view of the Seine and the rest of Paris or the shot of a bridge or fragments of signs on Paris boulevards (Fig. 5). The photographs have points in common with Moholy-Nagy's photographic details of the Eiffel Tower and Krull's shots of it as well as Rodchenko's Constructivist photos of the Moscow radio tower; there are also a number of similarities with the details of the iron structures by Charles Scheeler, Paul Strand, Margaret Bourke-White, Erich Comeriner and Karl Hermann Haupt. From Rössler's correspondence, it is clear he knew Moholy-Nagy's photographs of the Eiffel Tower, which were published in the December 1925 issue of *Pásmo*. In other photographs of his, however, such similarities tend to be

coincidences; after all, many of these works were published only after his – Rodchenko's photographs of the radio tower, for example, were not made till 1929; Coburn's photographs from 1917 of iron structures in the Liverpool cathedral, probably the earliest such photographers, were almost certainly unknown to Rössler. It was also in Paris that several of Rössler's large photograms were made, combining the outlines of various objects on photographic paper with contact prints. With them, Rössler, at the instigation of the architect and fellow Devětsil member Jaromír Krejcar, took part in an exhibition of the left-wing "Rote Fahne" association in Berlin in 1926. The unique photograms were not returned to him after the exhibition and have to this day never been found.

In late 1927 Rössler received an offer (through Schneider-Rohan) from Lucien Lorelle to begin work in the new three-story Studio Lorelle on Boulevard Berthier, Paris. On December 12th 1927 Rössler began work in Studio Lorelle, which primarily made portrait photographs, though it was also involved in advertising, postcards, and cinema. Rössler devoted himself mainly to advertising and technical photography as well as difficult work in the laboratory but he was also an expert in airbrushing and sign-making. For various shots he was commissioned to take, Rössler made sketches in his notebook and on slips of paper, and he also recorded – alternating between Czech and French – the technical approaches to be taken. Despite his being an employee of Studio Lorelle and, later, Studio Piaz and Lucien Lorelle directly, and not being a free-lance photographer, he was still able to preserve sufficient space for his own, personal work. It was in his private work that he usually conducted various experiments. They included photomontages of several negatives, repetition of certain fragments of the same negative or using a mirror to multiply motifs (techniques that resulted in what Rössler described as *surimpressions*), high-angle shots, low-angle shots, diagonal compositions, collages, backgrounds made using slides and a projector, intentional over-exposure of negatives, which he intended to use in photomontages, and the use of masks when enlarging. He made inventive, effective photography used in advertisements for many well-known companies, including details of Citroën cars, Michelin tires, Palmolive cosmetics, Shell motor oil, and Lux soap. The photographs were made in a variety of styles, from slick decorative shots of perfume bottles (influenced by Art Deco) to the razor sharpness and tonal richness of the New Objectivity (for instance, in the detail of files or in the shot of Monsavo soap), Constructivist composition of the photographs for Publicité, Bakelite and Shell, or details of wineglasses, and also photographs which have points in common with Surrealism (for example, in the photomontage with Lux soap).

Most of Rössler's advertising photographs contain static motifs; only sporadically were live models used in them (for example, in the advertisement for toothpowder

or perfume). The face of a strikingly made-up model with a toothpaste-ad smile appeared not only in the advertisement for Acaciosa perfume, but also in one of Rössler's best known photographs, from 1931, where, in a diagonally composed square portrait, he used the photomontage of two negatives to join a photograph of several slips of paper with a painted circle. Rössler was very much taken with the portrait of the model with the striking smile and big eyes and used it for a number of photomontages: in the collections of the Getty Museum in Los Angeles and of Alex Novak in Chalfont there are two different variants of the montage of the whole face and multiplied detail of the eyes, whereas the collection of the Ubu Gallery, New York, contains the photo with the repeated pair of eyes, similar to a piece by the Austrian photographer Rudolf Koppitz from 1928.

Towards the end of his eight-year Paris sojourn, in 1934 - 1935, Rössler began to use the carbro process of color photography in some advertising photographs and still lifes. The process, which had been invented in 1919, entailed relatively complicated technology, whereby the photograph was made with the assembly of color prints from three separation negatives. The process was also used, for example, by the American photographer Paul Outerbridge and also the German Willy Zielke. Some of Rössler's color still lifes at first seem to be different from the simple black-and-white compositions in the sense that they have a great number of motifs: the detail of a table with a cup of coffee, a box of matches, a bottle of wine, a cigarette, and a newspaper or, in another photograph, a little china bowl, a torn-off necklace and a handkerchief, and, in another, a fish on a plate and several kinds of vegetable. It appears that Rössler was so taken with color he somewhat forgot about the composition, sometimes heading towards chaos, and usually extremely remote from the modernity of the composition of his black-and-white photographs. Here, too, it is unclear what Rössler was making strictly for himself and what was a photograph for an advertisement. The latter certainly includes the photographs of Maggi butter and cheese (in the collection of the Pompidou Center, Paris), the photo of biscuits, and the photograph for Chlorodont (the property of Rössler's daughter). On the whole, what makes Rössler's photographs made with the carbro system interesting is the cultivated use of color rather than inventiveness of composition.

True, not all Rössler's photographs for advertisements are equally inventive. Some are purely informative shots of bottles of wine, table lamps, samovars, tea services, clocks, or pastry forms, which were made without any special compositional or lighting effects. They were obviously intended for the catalogues of various shops, though some were also evidently used as raw material for photomontages or airbrushing. Much of Rössler's work, however, was undoubtedly among the best in advertising.

Of Rössler's private work made during the 1927 - 1935 Paris sojourn, far fewer

Constructivist photos or photomontages have been preserved than those made during the first visit to France. It seems that his fascination with the Eiffel Tower had somewhat waned, though this second period saw, for instance, the making of a diagonally composed view of a fragment of the steel construction of the Eiffel Tower and a confrontation between the Eiffel Tower and traffic lights. In his private work Rössler returned to minimalist details of various technical objects including the wheel of a locomotive, abstract compositions with light, photograms (the Robert Koch Gallery in San Francisco owns several prints from negatives of Rössler's photograms from the late 1920s and early 1930s with the motifs of hands, matches, paperclips, and bits of film and paper; the Museum of Decorative Arts, Prague, owns a photogram with the outline of matches and cigarettes with smoke), and portraits of himself, his wife, and daughter. It is likely, however, he had also made other photographs purely for himself but that they were lost together with the negatives during Rössler's hurried departure from France in the summer of 1935.

Rössler during these years was not corresponding even with Teige, so that when Teige put together the Czech collection for the now legendary *Film und Foto* exhibition in Stuttgart, in 1929, Rössler's photographs were not included. Consequently, the work of two major Czech avant-garde photographs of the 1920s was missing from the most important survey of modern photography at the time, because Teige had lost touch with Rössler and had not yet established contact with Funke. It is highly probable that the inclusion of Rössler and Funke in the Stuttgart exhibition, which was reviewed in detail and commented on in many countries, would surely have contributed to these two artists having achieved international recognition earlier.

The Rösslers wanted to settle down permanently in Paris, but in 1935 something happened which radically changed their plans. After escorting his wife, her two sisters (who had been in Paris on a visit), and their daughter Sylva to the station to catch the train for Prague on July 18th, Rössler, on the way home, came across a demonstration of civil servants on Les Grands Boulevards, and began to photograph them. He was arrested by the police and taken to the police station. It is not clear what happened next. The claim that he spent six months in jail,[6] seems improbable; most likely he was detained only for a night, but that alone was a great psychological shock for him. What is particularly unclear is why he was arrested and deported. Rössler himself wrote in a letter to Antonín Dufek in 1968, that he was deported for having been a member of the association "Les Amis de Spartacus". Rössler himself many years later recalled that one of the policeman accused him of being a German who was sending photos of the Paris demonstration home to the Reich. In any case it is surprising that that should have been sufficient reason for democratic France to deport a citizen of a state with which France had good relations – especially as it was

just before Rössler was to be granted French citizenship. Sylva Vítová recalls that this was a forbidden topic at home. Only later did she learn from her aunts that her father had attempted suicide after his arrest. For a long time afterwards he sent no news about himself even to his wife, who, upon her return to Paris, found an empty flat and began to search for Rössler by placing ads in the newspapers. She finally tracked him down seven weeks later in a hospital in Strasburg and, with the help of his mother, took him back to Prague.

The years after Rössler's return to Prague in 1935 signalled a lull in his own work. At this time he occupied a small studio and produced only a few photographs and a collection of drawings from 1949. It was not until the end of the 1950s that Rössler became active once more. With imaginative experimental photographs incorporating photo-montage, the multiplication of motifs using optic prism, the Sabattier effect, negative enlargements, combinations of photographs with letters and numbers and other special procedures, he thus again became involved in the current trends in Czech fine art and photography. His partial recognition was not to come until the 1970s and 1980s when Anna Fárová,[7] Petr Tausk,[8] Antonín Dufek,[9] Rudolf Kicken,[10] Martin Stein[11] and others shared in the gradual discovery of his work, one of the true merits of Czech avant-garde photography.

Notes

1 Jaroslav Rössler: Photographs, Collages, Drawings. Curators Vladimír Birgus, Jan Mlčoch and Karel Srp. Prague, Museum of Decorative Arts, March 15th - May 20th, 2001 – Madrid, Photo España, Salla Millares, June 15th - July 15th, 2001.

2 Birgus, Vladimír: Jaroslav Rössler. TORST, Prague 2001.

3 Tausk, Petr: Gertruda Rösslerová-Fischerová. Revue Fotografie, 1979, no. 2, pp. 74 - 75.

4 Birgus, Vladimír & Mlčoch, Jan: Akt v české fotografii / The Nude in Czech Photography. KANT, Prague 2001, pp. 54 - 57.

5 Lucien Lorelle. Catalogue, Galerie Bouquerer & Lebon, Paris 1992. – Lionel-Marie, Annick: Collection de photographie du Musée National d'Art Moderne. Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris 1996, pp. 274 - 277.

6 Mrázková, Daniela & Remeš, Vladimír: Cesty československé fotografie. Mladá fronta, Prague 1989, p. 69.

7 Fárová, Anna: Jaroslav Rössler. Catalogue, House of Art, Brno 1975.

8 Tausk, Petr: Nad fotografickým dílem Jaroslava Rösslera. Revue Fotografie, 1979, no. 2, pp. 49 - 73.

9 Dufek, Antonín: Czechoslovakian Photography. Catalog, The Photographers' Gallery, London 1985.

10 Jaroslav Rössler: 10 Photographien 1923 - 1930. Galerie Rudolf Kicken, Cologne 1982.

11 Stein, Martin: Jaroslav Rössler. Revue Fotografie, 1987, no. 3, pp. 26 - 33.

Krystyna Bartnik

Mieczysław Berman – A Master of Photomontage

Mieczysław Berman was a Polish artist for whom the art of photomontage was ruling passion and who devoted his talent to it throughout his life. He was born in Warsaw in 1903 and died there in 1975. Trained at the Warsaw School of Decorative Art, then he worked as a commercial artist. Perhaps the most crucial impulse that prompted him towards photomontage was a meeting with Zygfryd Kamiński, who in 1927 came back to Warsaw after graduating in Vienna and was preparing his exhibition of book covers and illustrations. (This is the first trace of Vienna in this topic.) One of those Constructivist works, a photomontage, made on Berman a deep impression. He knew already reproductions of Schwitters works, achievements of Dadaism, Moholy-Nagy (who worked in Vienna in 1920) and of Polish photomonteurs, Szczuka and Żarnowerówna, which also inspired him.

In Berman's photomontages of the years 1927-1930 influences of agitating Soviet Constructivism (mainly El Lissitzky) and German Bauhaus may be seen, for instance in the series "Plumb Line" (1928) and "Energy" (1929).[1] Important here are geometrically ordered structures, building the composition. The fascination with dynamism and speed of changes of the contemporary world as well as optimism regarding men potentiality is observable. Especially America was considered in Constructivist utopias as a paragon of efficiency and rationalisation. But there were also works joining positive values with ideas of socialism. Berman's political involvement is evident in these themes, but tempered by formal severity of the Constructivist language. He was influenced by film as well, and collages like "Chaplin" (1928) contain pictures from American comedy and newsreels. As a formal structuring device he used the Constructivist-like motifs of film-frame and sprocket holes.

It is important to stress that, as Berman informed, all his early works were destroyed during World War II and we have only their reconstructions and replicas made by the author.

From 1930 Berman published his photomontages in left-wing newspapers. He was working at the same time on the editorial staff of a literary magazine *1930*. Under the influence of Russian Socialist Realism he conveyed his attention from Constructivist to realistic photomontage. His works dealt with social themes like "Unemployment" (1930) or "Prosperity" (1930). Compact and clear compositions with autonomous formal value were replaced then by harshly compiled elements of explicit symbolism. Simultaneous photographs of crowds, single figures, fragments of buildings on various scales, cut out from papers, were juxtaposed on white background

in biased arrangements illustrating specific articles. His teacher was from that time onwards John Heartfield, master of social criticism, a fact that Berman always made a point of admitting. Their works displayed at that time the misery of exploited American proletariat and expressed the affirmation of Russian contemporary projects. Berman developed this art still further towards great human themes.

His first exhibition took place in 1936 in Warsaw with the Group of Warsaw Plastic Artists, which he himself had organised. Its name "The Phrygian Cap" was to proclaim their revolutionary sympathies. This was a group influenced by the Soviet art of Socialist Realism and propagated the postulate of art engaged in political struggle on the left, subordinating the visual method to the subject. The ideals and objectives of workers were to be expressed. Berman prepared then portraits of political leaders "Tchang-Kai-Chek" (Fig. 1) and "Goebbels" (both 1935), imbued with

Fig. 1: Mieczysław Berman, Tchang-Kai-Chek, 1935

stinging satire. At a time when photography was placed among applied arts and generally regarded as completely alien to painting, Berman and other Polish Constructivists attempted at adopting the aesthetics of photomontage to high-brow art, as Moholy-Nagy did. Berman, for instance, often added drawn and colour elements as well as some brushwork, combining his photomontage with painting. As he emphasized, they were more 'photocollages' than 'photomontages'.

He worked also on poster art and book covers, and what's more, he wrote on the subject. An integral part of his design were lettering elements, typo-photo constructions linking strongly accentuated black letters (often placed on separated, rectangular strips) with photographic close-up of a face or human figure, like in Rolland's "Mahatma Gandhi" (1930) and Sinclaire's "100 %" (1934). Sometimes we have a few negatives exposed on one photographic paper – i.e. a negative photomontage: Silone's "Fontamara" (1934), "The Outlook of Soviet Asia" (1934) by Kisch, or the photomontage "Without title" (1938). There are also covers entirely based on lettering linked with a sign-symbol: Herbert R. Knickerbocker's "Germany on the Crossroads" (1932), economical and strongly expressed. The colour scheme repeats black and white with the application of strong accents of pure red, less frequently green, blue and yellow. In this field Berman longest based on rules of Constructivist aesthetics. His achievements in producing posters and typography were appreciated. The poster "Missile" won the Gold Medal at the Paris Exhibition "Arts et Techniques dans la vie moderne" in 1937. The poster "Visitez L'USSR" (1928) reveals the affirmation of monumental Russian projects of the 1920s.

The rise of Fascism resulted in sharp, straightforward works, usually monochromatic, crude in expression. The best contain surrealistic elements, operate with contrasts between the title and the artistic form ("War rejuvenates man's body" 1936, "Arriba España I!" 1939) (Fig. 2). Berman's leftist political commitment became apparent in satirical photomontages which comprised quotations from speeches by Himmler and Goebbels. He employed commentaries on current happenings, conscious of the menace of a war catastrophe. These commentaries, long titles, common subjects and a grotesque convention are regarded as an influence of John Heartfield on Berman. Satirical verve was for both of them something innate. When Hitler attacked Poland Berman's name already had been on the Nazi black-list. He had to flee. Until the fall of the Hitlerism he lived in the Soviet Union and worked for the Polish émigré press, carrying on with his propaganda war against the Hitler regime in anti-fascist photomontages. Berman method involved ridiculing the Nazis' boasts of victory by confronting them with photos of war cripples, puppets and ruins: "In Peace Time Man Withers, during the War He Blossoms" (1944), "I Do Not Think, My Fuehrer Thinks For Me" (1944), "The Commander's Award" (1943-1945).

Fig. 2: Mieczysław Berman, Arriba España I!, 1939

After the war Berman's work reflected his response to the recent past and a great anxiety for a new war. Years of Socialist Realism, accepted by Berman without reservation and 'voluntarily' supported (he was still a communist), yielded only few works of value. Photomontages published in satirical periodicals reacted directly to actual political events, they were a vehicle of current propaganda and presented press heroes of one week. Contrary to socialist-realistic principles a distortion was permitted there – it rendered caricatures of political enemies – and naturalism, because it depicted a fearfully bourgeois world. The anti-war, anti-Nazi photomontages produced in the middle of the 1960s indicate how deep the consciousness and subconscious absorbed the emotional shock caused by the war and racism and how severe trauma strengthened by new external events was ("Fire!" 1955, "Our Faith are the Rifles" 1955).

In series of 'monuments' and 'portraits' from the second half of the 1950s and from 1960s the artist applied the old, rooted in ancient times thought of showing

Fig. 3: Mieczysław Berman, Without title, c. 1968

human vices and mutual relations in animal figures. We can even see here a self-criticism: "For One's and For Oneself" (1956), "Change of a Government" (1947). The old principle is confirmed, that the struggle for improving the world should best be begun with oneself. From behind the portrait of Marx we can see peeping out a picture of Hitler, partly covered by red wall-paper – "Without title" (c. 1968) (Fig. 3).

The process of inner maturing of the artist, a deepening of vision and corresponding artistic means is observable. Berman's idea was "to be with men and to fight all those who oppose man: fascism, militarism, egoism. But one of the enemies of man is man himself: his stupidity, his bestiality, indifference and lack of compassion."[2] The accusation in Berman's works is more of a poet, a sensitive artist. Also a tendency towards maximum of emotional impact with a minimum of visual means is seen. He created a number of photomontages reminding of a threat to the world and to life of atomic weapons; they are impressive cautions against total atomic destruction, a pungent protest against the war in Vietnam ("Apotheosis" 1947, "Heaven" 1962,

"Life and death" 1971). Some are also devoted to problems of neo-colonialism ("Congo" 1964, "Supporters of the Throne" 1965) or class struggle ("The Division" 1966).

In Berman's late work deep disappointment with ideology and tendency towards bitter irony is observable. Thoughts about time, death and human fate, initiated with such photomontages as "The Window" (1965) were continued in the cycle "The Phrygian Cap" (1968-1970) and a whole series of works with a common name "Time" (1968-1972). The artist's imagination aims but one purpose: awakening thoughts and stimulating emotions of the observer. Content of these works was becoming successively more complex, versatile, at the same time they are very concise, more poetic now and more suggestive. They are rich in double meaning, ambiguous and auto-ironic, like in the example of "The Phrygian Cap XII" (1968), the Phrygian Cap once being the active symbol of freedom, now 'violated accessory'. The series of photomontages "Time" from the end of the sixties and the beginning of the seventies belongs to the best of his work. It comprises 24 parts and is devoted to the subject of persecution of the Jews in recent years, the immemorial terror of racism and psychosis of hate, condemnation and despair. To reflections on contemporary world and inflation of the freedom idea he found an expressive form of graphic quotations from mediaeval chronicles combined with realities of the surroundings. Colour and gesture strengthens the expression. I refer to works such as "Time XIII" (1972) and "Time XXI" (1969). Both "Time" and "Paris" (1973) series are saturated with melancholy, contain warnings against inflation of freedom idea and protest about anti-Semitism. Often colour harmony and quietness of form contrasts with a tragic semantic layer.

An acquaintance Berman made a Polish writer's and satirist's Stanisław Jerzy Lec as early as in Lwow during World War II turned out to be later one of the most decisive points for the development of his artistic work. The best known cycle of Berman's photomontages, which was inspired by pungent aphorisms of the "Unkempt Thoughts" by St. J. Lec, originated chiefly in the 1960s. Lec came back then to Warsaw after a few years spent in Vienna as an attache of Polish Embassy (1946-1950, it's the next thread to Vienna). Curious enough, he quit Vienna and his work arbitrarily to go to Israel, but after not a long time felt homesick and returned to Poland, where immediately was put under censorship and can't publish his works for a few years.

Berman's collages are pictorial equivalent, independent artistic interpretations of Lec's thoughts. Many of them were created by common effort during their meetings. The gorgeous, bitter, absurd wit of Lec's indocile thoughts and a philosophical distance to the world were enriched by Berman with condensed, accurate and attractive

Fig 4.: Mieczysław Berman, Some people look through their own eyes as if peeping through Judas-holes, 1964

aesthetic form. They depict the ominous, absurd world in which a lonely man has to exist among rascally or mediocre creatures: "Even the Four-footed Stand up on Their Hind Legs. What One Won't Do out of Hunger or Fear!" (1960). One may also feel certain obsession, a sort of persecution mania of a man beset, watched, overhead: "Speak Wisely, the Enemy Eavesdrops" (1965), "Some people look through their own eyes as if peeping through Judas-holes" (1964) (Fig. 4). This fear is conceivable if we consider the world both artists lived in. We can assume that this was a country under Soviet occupation, where both artists had to live because of their fate or maybe of their choice. Sometimes we have the philosophy of a Shakespearian jester: "In the jungle they wear storm-helmets tarnished with nets interwined with camouflage foliage. I wear a Phrygian cap fringed with jester's bells" (1965). This is a disguise of both artists' themselves, since a Phrygian cap was considered to be a symbol of the

revolution, and a jester's belt the symbol of satirical art indicating inanity and injustice. Profound content and equivocal message are united here with apposite visual vocabulary.

Berman made then illustrations to books of other writers, too, for example to "Brave Soldier Schveik" (1960) by Jaroslav Haschek (a connection to the Austrian-Hungarian Monarchy).

Apart from a few displays in Poland (Warsaw 1948, Warsaw 1961, Warsaw and Poznań 1966) Berman more exhibited abroad (Prague 1947, Berlin and Dresden 1966, Zurich 1967, Innsbruck and Klagenfurt 1968, Milano and Geneve 1973) than in his own country, especially after he critically answered to actions of the communist party and of the government against events of the year 1968 in Poland.

As Hellmut Rademacher noticed, Berman's works "display an intimate, deeply felt relationship with European culture. This is the work of an artist who was firmly rooted in his cultural tradition, thought and created in accordance with it, but who, at the same time, had something new to offer, a new view, a new, progressive, broad-minded perspective."[3] He became aware of the character of demands of 20th century men, hypersensitive to the language of association and metaphor, looking for stimulants of imagination.

He said: "My art is directed against anything that threatens or destroys mankind, his existence, or his liberty. [...] I am quite certain that people cannot fundamentally be changed by means of art, but one can arouse doubts in their minds and make them think." The photomontage to Lec's aphorism "The Earth – This Dot under the Question Mark!" (1965) expresses this attitude in the best way.

Notes

1 All Berman's works mentioned in this article are in the collection of the National Museum in Wrocław

2 All quotations come from the catalogue: Mieczysław Berman. Cinquanti anni de storia nei fotomontaggi di Berman, Galleria Schwarz, Milano 1973

3 H. Rademacher, Mieczysław Berman, op. cit., s. 98

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Margit Zuckriegl

Václav Zykmund – A Czech Photographer anticipating Fluxus and Austrian Actionism?

A question – and simultanously a query on the role of photography and actionism

Photography and Authorship

The role of Photography in any Fluxus- and Performing art in the field of visual arts is always complicated and complex. Apart from the controversial argument of copyright (that had caused a series of long law cases and tribunal judgements, especially concerning the work of Joseph Beuys) it is still an undefined waste land to establish clear theories on authorship and authenticity. Just to add another theses to the numerous statements on the situation of the photographer in the context of Happening, Fluxus and Actionism I would like to quote Roland Barthes with a text on the problem of authorship in the field of literature: Investigating the role of the "Story-Teller" in ancient or archaic times he defines the parts in the play as follows: The audience is perceiving a story through the skills of a Story-Teller and the audience is perceiving this person as the one who is "performing", the one who knows about the codes and effects of using various means to communicate something. The audience is not perceiving and not judging the author, the genius, the creative spirit. The author is not present in these autochthone cultures – the author is an invention of modern time (let's add: presumedly from Renaissance and Humanistic times on). And Roland Barthes diagnoses "The Death of the Author" (as the title of his essay) in our times, because: not the socalled unique individuum of an author has to be traced back, not – as it is usually done – the author's work is taken 1:1 for his life, his experiences, but: his *art* is the performing media, not he as a person. In the field of literature Barthes states, that the "language" is "performing", not the "Ego" of the author, in visual art we could say: the body-language, the codes of articulation are "performing", not the artist as a subject. Not quite unlike to surrealism (and here we can find another initial connection to the photographic and performing work of Václav Zykmund) the author "hides" behind his results: the "écriture automatique" and the "unvoluntary sculptures" appear in the œuvre of the surrealists, mainly not only writers or painters, but artists who adopted a wide range of artistic ways of expression (like Henri Michaux, like Brassai), the "écriture automatique" becomes something completely autonomous, something that gaines existence without any author, or – even more – despite the presence of an author.

Václav Zykmund was – in a "surrealistic" way – painter and poet, graphic artist and art historian, critic and performer (Fig. 1). His career started in the field of writing,

poetry and theory: he felt very close to the surrealistic ideas and ideologies brought from France to Czechoslovakia by important Czech avantgarde artists and transformed into an internationally highly appreciated specific phenomenology of the arts in the early 20s and 30s in Prague and other cities in the Czech Republic. Václav Zykmund was not among the first generation of surrealists in Czech Surrealism, but he was the first one to create a hyper-surrealistic combination of imaginative photography, performance and film-like sequences.

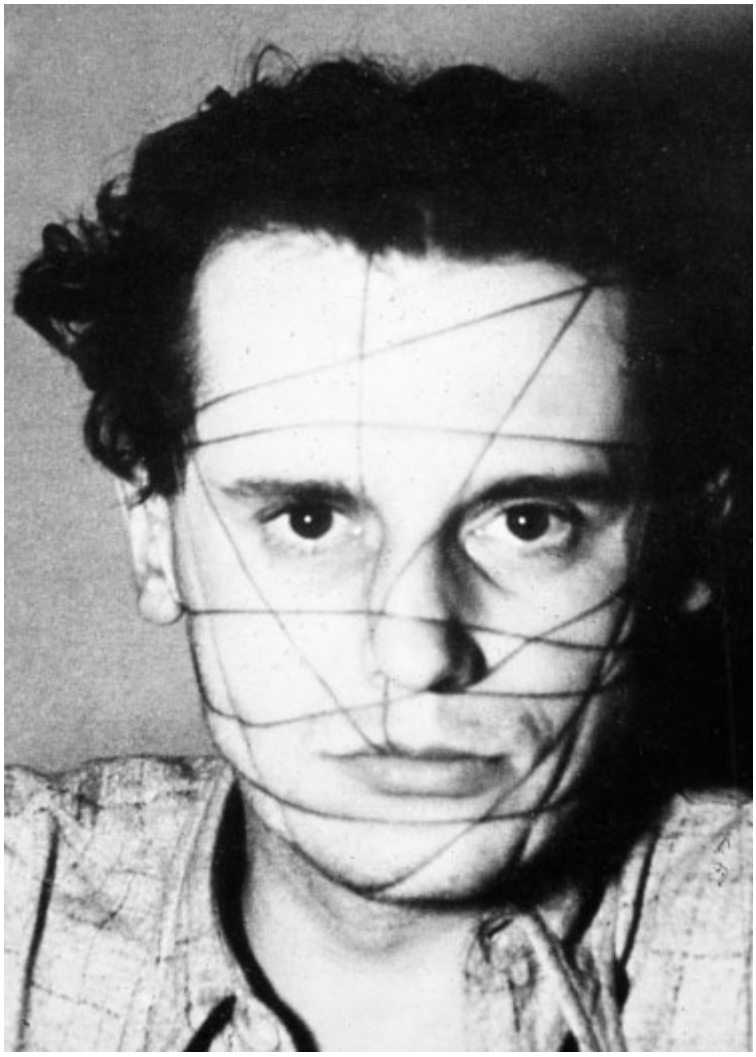

Fig. 1: Václav Zykmund, Selfportrait, 1936

To outline the role of Václav Zykmund in the panorama of Czech photography of the 30s I quote a statement of Antonin Dufek from the Moravian Gallery in Brno, who has the most profound knowledge of Zykmund's work: "Together with photographs by Jaromír Funke, Jindřích Stýřsky and Vilém Reichmann, who sought suprareality in the everyday world around them, and experiments with cameraless photography, the work by Václav Zykmund rank among the most significant examples of Surrealist staged photography". And yet we would like to extend Dufek's argument to a broader, or maybe more innovative view on the position of Zykmund's work: There is no doubt that Zykmund's intentions and ideologic roots come from a surrealistic vision of the world, but it should be allowed to go further and to examine his role in where and how he leaves the surrealistic imagery.

What means time in performing art?

The question, what time means in performing art, is a fundamental question for all media. It has its virulent impact for video as well as for film, for photography as well as for any kind of documentation. A performance, a happening, or any event of Fluxus is an ephemeral episode and exists only in the presence and through the perception of the audience, the artist assisting the very event directly or in the past merely through documentation. Artists, whose intention in art is linked to performances or actions have always been aware of the gap between "specific time" (the now and here) and "general time" (the later and elsewhere). Documentation by film, video, photography serves the second, the rememberance in the dimension of "general time", it helps the artist to preserve his ideas and his phenomenological fundus for the future, maybe for eternity, even when the factor of time passing is an immanent factor of the structure of the performances.

Václav Zykmund as a performing artists denies at first sight the dimension of time in his work. His photographic work and his photos from his "actions" from the years between 1937 and 1944 seem to be "stills". What Dufek called "staged photography" are the frozen images of performances, that have been prepared to generate a certain imagery. Like his photogramms, his cut-outs and his photos of nudes and female torsos he views his selfportraits as a certain image at a certain moment of time to catch a status of manipulation, of alteration, of mutability. Completly different is his input in the socalled "rampages", highly energetic actions of Zykmund and his friends in a friend's atelier-appartment together with his later wife, who appears frequently in his photographs. Zykmund never "acted" in public and never had consequent documentation material made. He considered his "actions" (Fig. 2) as the primary materia, the initial and fundamental work, that has taken place under certain

conditions, in certain places, with certain persons at a certain moment of time. These "actions" have been staged to create the possibility of a selected exploitation for a future photographic body of work. Maybe the most consequent and true way of documentation was in his sence the "original book", as he produced for example the "Threatening Compass" in 1944 in 20 copies only. His media was not film, but a film-like strip of images and texts.

Fig. 2: Václav Zykmund, Untitled, 1937

Innovation

The way Václav Zykmund came to create his photographic œuvre has been something completely unknown at that time. He considered himself not as an ingenious artist who transfers his own attitudes, his own life into art, but – like the surrealists – as someone, who seeks new ways of experiencing body, form, language, a new vocabulary for articulation and presentation. He himself is not present as the all-creating author, but as performing artist. He lends his body, his physical presence, to the intentions of somebody behind him, maybe somebody in the deeper inner of himself. He leaves the traces of Surrealism exactly in that moment: he creates a staged imagery with and through his actions, but he goes beyond the surrealistic ideas by using his body as the direct and unique media of his art. He is not any more commenting on body, distortions, mutilitations and alterations, but he is performing them here and now. If this was new, revolutionary at the time around 1940, it was still shocking in the 60s and 70s of the last century. And this happened not only in the Czech Republic like Suzanne Pastor mentioned in her text on Zykmund from 1993 when she wrote, that this has been the "early era of 'action', a form of which seems to have successfully reblossomed in Prague in the 1980s".

Actionism came up in so many different countries in about the same period of time – always keeping in mind, that Zykmund's actions (Fig. 3) have been realised two decades before – that it is hardly impossible to gather all the different intentions and formal solutions (Fig. 4). Just to give a little overview I would like to cite a couple of positions from the late 1950s until the emergence of Austrian Actionism in the 1960s.

Austrian Actionism – its protagonists and characteristics

Austrian Actionism has more or less four protagonists: Otto Mühl, Günter Brus, Hermann Nitsch, Rudolf Schwarzkogler and spans a period from the early 60s to the early 70s of the past century (Fig. 5). The role of documentation, of photography and film has been examined widly and extensivly and the general accordance in the perception of this type of performance goes in that direction as to acknowledge the idea and the creative potential of the artist, as the performer, and to judge the role of the photographer as a secondary artistic position. So, quite similar to the position of the artist who is veiling himself and his personal biography behind the direct language of his body-art, the more or less anonymous photographer hides behind his media. Only Kurt Krenn as an ingenious film-maker has created a completely independent film-language around a handful of Mühl's actions.

Time and the dialogue between present time and ephemeral action take a very important part in Austrian Actionism. In this sence, the "Actionists", especially Hermann

Fig. 3: Václav Zykmund, Untitled, c. 1939

Nitsch with his legendary "Orgien-Mysterien-Theater", have been attemptivly attributed to the phenomenology of theater and performing arts more than to the parameters of visual arts. Under the auspieces of the former argumentation Austrian Actionism has to be considered as a highly prestigous contribution to newer art history in Europe.

The Viennese version of "Body Art" (like executed in Fluxus, Happening and Performance) has on the one hand its roots in the artist's concern about the own history and the particular tradition of Austrian expressionist art and revoltes on the other hand vehemently against all conventions and academic rules in contemporary art-practice. Here are the points, where we can sense a slight relationship to Václav Zykmund's position in the Czech Republic of the 40s, whose roots lie in the surrealistic tradition of his country but who breaks radically with the traditional forms in art-practice and adoptes a solipsistic way of performing. Hermann Nitsch started the series of his action with the Action, called "Tearing apart a lamb" ; this is the prologue of his continous work on the role of victim and sanctuarity, of ritual sacrifices and the meaning of the integer body and its vulnerability. Rudolf Schwarzkogler presented with his first action the theme of human coherence. How interact bodies with each other? Schwarzkogler creates a respectivly specific ambiente for his actions and acts

Fig. 4: Kirsten Justesen (Denmark), Suture, C-Print, 1988-1991

through the representation of friends and colleagues, priestlike in his scenographic dramaturgy. In his numerous actions Otto Mühl is querying the position of man and woman in their sexual, physical, spiritual relationship, in their exposure to the demands of the body and the fundamental utterings of the physical presence like birth and death, torture and pleasure, pain and lust. He involves himself in his actions and leeds the plot with intuitive and sometimes archaic participation. One of the Actions by Günter Brus is called "Vienna Walk" and illustrates, how controversial and revolutionary the events of the Austrian Actionists have been: Brus (Fig. 6) painted his body all over white, over his suit, his shoes, his head, his hair, and divided the integrity of his body by painting over the white a black crack to illustrate the torn-apart-position of a human being. By wandering around in the city he has been unvoluntarily accompanied by a police man, who – at the end – arrested him for "Public provocation".

Austrian Actionism always deals with the fundamental research on the human body. The physical presence of the artist, the performer, means the authentic and original art work. The Actionists don't operate with representative depiction or illustration of the specific topic; they don't describe what they want to express in art, they don't comment their concerns and ideas, but they present it: by using the body, the physical existence and the language of the bodily created experiences. Man is shown

Fig. 5: Otto Mühl, Press Conference, Vienna 1966

as the proper self, in his labile existence, his vulnerability, he as the pure being and the sheer action. The images of Brus's and Mühl's "Portraits" recall Václav Zykmund's Selfportraits from 20 year before and might pose again the question of a possible anticipation regarding similar intentions, similar solutions and similar focuses in art and their respective implications.

Photography has always been the indispensable means of documentation and rememberance of Actionism in its various appearances. The dimension of interaction between event and image is a variable entity; the quality of how photography interferes in the action, the value of the photographic result and the final meaning of the time-bound primary actions are subjected to the diversified intentions and expressions

Fig. 6: Günter Brus, Action within a circle, 1966

of the artistic language. Asked why he is a writer, Jean Paul Sartre answered – and we can again transfer this to our query in visual arts: "To write (to act) means to reveal the world."

Nikolaus Schad

Schadographs: The three photogram - phases of Christian Schad

Christian Schad was born in Miesbach, a small town in the Bavarian Alpes, in 1894. As a teenager, he already had started experimenting with photography. Firmly determined to become an artist, he left highschool to enter the Academy of Fine Arts in Munich. Soon, however, his disenchantement with academia in arts let him quit these studies and set up his own studio in Munich-Schwabing. Then, he went to Holland and wanted to emigrate to England, but World War I broke out. Being opposed to the senseless, inhuman and cynical killing of human beings, he protested the war and left Munich and Germany for Switzerland.

In 1915, in Zurich he met a group of emigrant accomplished artists, among others Hugo Ball, Emmy Hennings, Hans Arp and Walter Serner, an Austrian writer and early dadaist. The encounter between Schad and Serner was a meeting of the minds. Schad helped Serner with the publication of the "Sirius", a small magazine with expressionistic and metaphysical tendencies, also presenting some of Schad's early woodcuts. In 1916, drawn by the French, Schad moved to Geneva, soon followed by his friend Serner. In Geneva both started various dadaistic activities.

Initially, in his paintings and woodcuts, Schad was conforming to the cubistic and expressionistic arts of his times, being predominantly interested in the variety of expressions of human beings and trying to witness their way of life. In 1913, he had made his first woodcut "Steps" symbolizing gradual personal formation and maturation. At the end of the steps, a wise man stands with the lotus on the highest center of his head. It was this early, at age 19, that he already had set a spiritual dimension in the very midst of his artistic work (Fig. 1).

The high contrast of the chiaro-scuro fascinated my father from the very beginning, since it could provide the full clarity of expression he wanted without any restrictions. This explains his early preference for making woodcuts and experimenting with photography. In Geneva, moving beyond all conformistic rules, he arranged relatively flat opaque or translucent, inanimate objects on a sheet of photographic paper, held in position inside a small copying cassette, and exposed it to sunlight.

About the selection of the right objects he wrote in his short autobiographical notes: "It is possible to orient oneself on whatever one finds in the streets, the bars, and the wastepaper baskets. As far as I am concerned, one should only use objects that in themselves contain something magical. And that' s not as simple as it sounds."[1]

Dadaism tried to make a clean brake or "tabula rasa" with the past, with any dogmatism or longlasting preconceptions. In fact, the shadow-producing objects in

Fig. 1: Christian Schad, "Steps", woodcut, 1913

Schad's early dadaistic photograms – torn paper, newsprint and fabric – lie in a disorderly, almost chaotic and provocative manner on the photographic sheet. To break with the conventional square symmetry of images, the border of the photogram is frequently, irregularly cut, also minimizing the surrounding left space. All Schad's photograms show an interplay of tensions set up by their interacting elements. These are united by their spatial balance. Therefore, the position of objects and their shadows in space is becoming of paramount importance (Fig. 2).

In 1934, twenty years later, Carl Gustav Jung wrote: "… Because in all chaos is cosmos and in all disorder a secret order …"[2] In the 70ies and 80ies, natural scientists and

Fig. 2: Christian Schad, "Schadographie No. 3", 1919

mathematicians explored the emerging order from chaotic situations and the spontaneous development of new forms of organization from unstable chaotic structures.

If one views from this perspective at Schad's early photograms with all their abstraction and complexity, they already transcend fragmentation revealing a clear, compository, creative order. In addition, from the onset of his photographic work, Schad also had a deep desire to overcome the inherent limitations of the photographic record to two dimensions. Very early, he succeeded in making us perceive a pattern of energies in three dimensions, simply by adding to the composition translucent objects that resulted in gray tones.

Till 1920, when Schad had to leave Geneva for Munich, he had made a total of 31 photograms. They were all given for publication to Tristan Tzara in Paris, who never returned it and later named it Schadographs. Today, most are in possession of museums or private collections in the USA. Lastly, reflecting his photograms, Schad had composed a fiew wooden reliefs.

Certainly, dadaism was only one of the early formative events in my father's life, but he never remained "stuck" in the realms of a development stage. Thus, he left dadaism behind him, interrupting his work on photograms. In the early twenties, a new phase of creativity opened up for him in Italy, where in art galleries and museums, he saw the portraits of the great masters of the Renaissance, accurately

studying and absorbing their techniques. In Neaples, and then here in Vienna his personal style of portrait painting evolved, later termed "Neue Sachlichkeit", or, as he prefered to say, "Magic Realism".

The strength of all his forthcoming art-work springs from a rather symbolic language characterized by a remarkable clarity of forms, sharpness of contours and intense compository vision. Was it that inspiration emerged like his "photographic eye" saw the work and that made his later paintings and graphical work so impressive?

From 1931 on, dates Schad's intense engagement with the spirituality of China, India and Japan, primarily with Taoism and Zen Buddhism. He thorougly immersed himself in the study of Chinese calligraphy and language at the University of Berlin.The writing of Chinese or Japanese characters with brushes and Chinese ink requires a special sensibility for precision of design, for proportions and balanced composition. This sensibility manifested itself in all his forthcoming works. Clearly, his philosophy become more and more the Golden Mean; calmness had priority releasing new spiritual qualities.

After Schad's encounter with ZEN-Buddhism, he concluded regarding the dadaism: "The experiment of the sudden shock succeeded formally only, since a spiritual-dynamic center was missing ... Even the senseless to be effective had to point in some way to a full sense, not being able to exist as a single pole, in the empty space without dissolving in it …"[3]

At this point, one may well ask, what was it that made Schad resume his photographic work, after 40 years? In 1960, L. Fritz Gruber, honorary president of the German Photographic Society, asked Schad about his photograms and helped him to make contact with the Museum of Modern Art in New York, which since 1937 possessed some early Schadographs.

The same year, Helmut Gernsheim, the great photo-historian, visited Schad and urged him to prepare two photograms for his collection. My father was reluctant to do so, because he never liked to repeat what he had left behind him. He prefered to experiment the "New". Gernsheim insisted and Schad, after some hesitations, gave in first creating some photograms that followed the dadaistic design.

Now, the much faster darkroom technique with short exposure times facilitated many experimental attempts. My father was held fascinated by the repeated discoveries, that slight changes in the placement of the used, worthless objects and in the interrelations of their shadows may produce unpredictable differences and surprising effects. In fact, in the three following years, he became very productive and created more than 80 new photograms.

Initially, these present geometric forms, then, one sees shapes of plants, texture and fabric, reminding us the origins of photography. Later on, he wrote about this short intermediate phase: "The first Schadographs made from 1960 on resume my

Fig. 3: Christian Schad, "Schadographie 76", 1963

experiments from 1918, but soon playing with surfaces and forms only did not satisfy me any more …"[4] He perceived the need to explore new dimensions. Indeed, from 1962 on, he introduces into the design shadows of human beings, animals or gnomes (Fig. 3). This reinforces the impression of a three-dimensional arrangement. Varying gray levels and some degrees of unsharpness have a concurrent effect. Moreover, shadows of human beings may create a sensuous, sometimes erotic atmosphere, even if the body remains as a gray appearance within the background.

To strengthen the impression of depth, imaging effects from photography and painting are borrowed, such as perspective or a lack of sharpness in the background

or in transparent zones. Now, the entire object may produce the shadow or its contours only. Dadaism let Schad embarke on the breakthrough to abstraction that liberates the objects from their material gravity elevating them into an absolute world, independent on space and time. Schad's abstraction results never desorganized but is blending in one harmonic whole. It is intended to function as a bridge to the spiritual essence of the image.

After 1962, Christian Schad gave up making photograms for another eleven years. What was it, then, that let him continue his photographic explorations for a third period from 1973 to 75, even though he was already over 80 old? In the interim, something under the surface must have been substantially changed in himself, altering his innermost thougths, feelings, sensations and intuitions. Certainly, he was looking at things beyond himself and at the world with different eyes, seing all in a more inclusive and integral context, also experiencing a sense of "flowing along" in a much larger space. All of that inspired him to express it again, and he knew, he could entrust the whole span of his inner life to photograms.

Previously, he had used composition mainly to create a dominant field of interactions and tensions beween the shadows of real, mostly worthless objects. With the last photograms, however, he primarily built up tensions between the presented and the "non-presented forms", i.e., the surrounding emptiness or dark space. Now, the latter is wide open, more than in former Schadographs.

In 1951, in an essay about chinese ink brush drawings, my father had already formulated his ideas about the "leaving out" and the background: "Excluding parts of a process from the design has always been one of the most vigorous and fascinating artistic elements, perhaps one of the strongest as well as the noblest and most arduous. One only has to know which parts to leave out and in what occurence." And he continued: "The 'Invisible' is hidden in the emptiness of the background. The space widens, becomes unconceivable, and, at the same time, arises the feeling of peace and inner silence."[5]

Correspondingly, in Christian Schad's late photograms one encounters the Buddhist's tendency to reduce art and design to their purest form, placed in an open space. Like in Japanese ZEN-painting, the empty background is conceived as an integral part of expression. The darkness in between and around forms seems to extend beyond the boundaries of the frame, becoming part of the universe and expanding to infinity. It may remind us, what LAO TZU should have said about 300 years before Christ: "Out of the void come thousand things."

Schad, intuitively, also wanted to enter a dynamic element into the photogram by charging perception with the idea of movement, creating a sense of live within the observer. To release shadows from their static constraints, motion can be symbolized

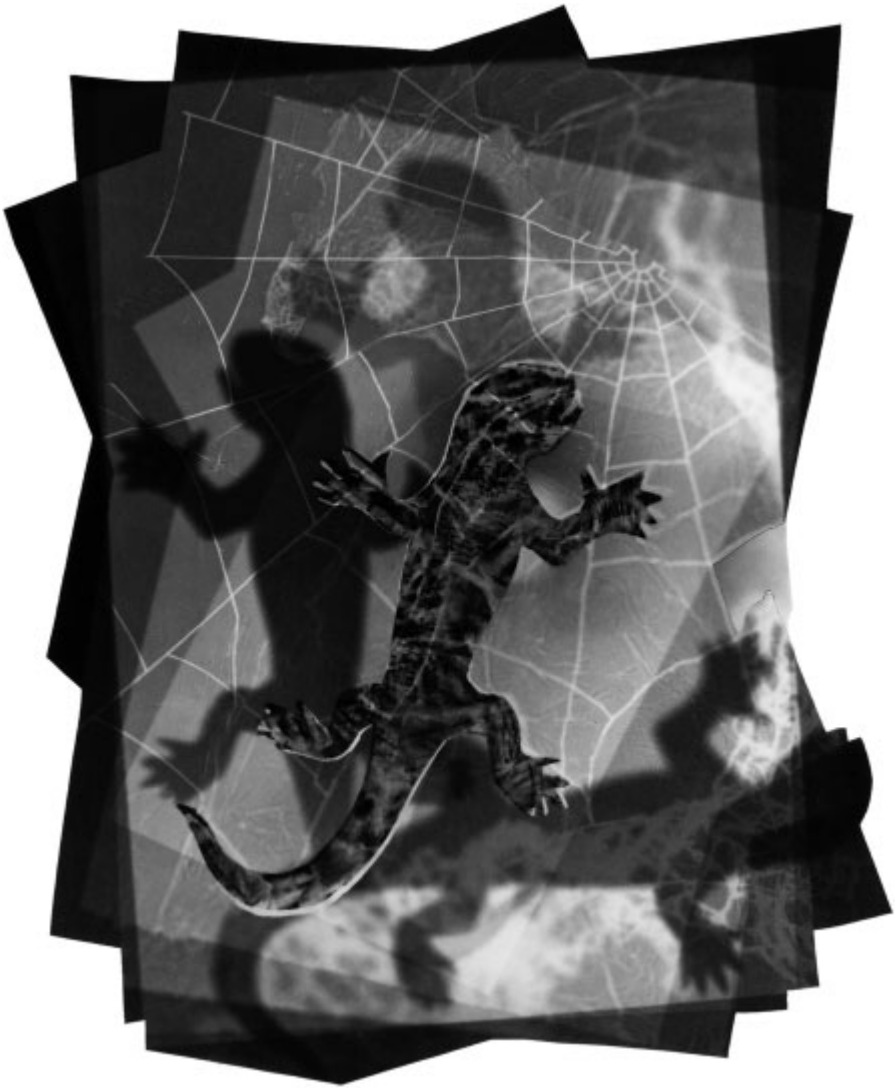

Fig. 4: Christian Schad, "Schadographie 159", 1977

by a minimal shift and new, short exposure of animated bodies – for example the fluttering wings of a butterfly, or the moving hand, or by dancing contours of figures. Variations in intensity and angles of the light source and the projected shadows may produce similar effects (Fig. 4). Unsharpness of the borders and distortion may also be sensed as motion. Each suggestion of movement, in addition, creates an imaginary three-dimensional growing space without limits.

Floating forms, like the waves ot the sea, make the observer experience their rhythmic transformations, precisely as Taoism and Zen Buddhism see the life and essence of true nature. Indeed, what our naked eye sees as static, in reality, may be an unceasing vibratory phenomenon. One discovers continuous motion and recurrent events, and one senses the magic tensions between what seems to lie and to float, between transient shades and static solids.

In 1981, Schad wrote about the development of his photograms: "In 1962, I encountered the work of the poet Aloysius Bertrand and remained fascinated by the spiritual affinity of his 'poèmes en prose' with the new dimension of Schadographs: in both a fantastic, timeless, present world for a moment only illuminated from the dark by an instant flash of light leaving the past and the future for ever hidden. In the following 15 years, the absolute presence of Bertrands prose poems without any past, without any future engaged me again and again. Most Schadographs of this period directly or indirectly carry the mark of the 'Gaspard de la Nuit'."[6]

Indeed, it seems to me, that a touch of poetic feelings now pervades most of the scene. Schad made each photogram tell a different poem. In this last phase, Schad tended to ease or dissolve the everlasting tensions and mutually exclusive "dualities" between light and darkness, object-shadows and empty space, as well as static and dynamic forms. Endorsing the Asian way to a synoptical world view he did not reject dissonance, but was seeking the consonance of the counterpoints. He was searching for the points of transition between static and dynamic and between the rational and the magical expression. With the reduction to the symbolic, original content, to the magical and mystical, he succeeded to temporarily resolve contrasting tensions.

Other, most successful means of mitigating or dissolving tensions involve refreshing hints of humour in joyful and playful forms. My father had a wonderful sense of humour ligthening up conversations. Reflections by mirror-images may also serve to loosen tensions and to open the doorway to another world. As in nature, the depicted symmetry never results complete.

Various gray levels originate from different degrees of object-transparency to light, deepening the impression of three-dimensionality. Concurrently, the more fully transparent the objects are, the less their shadows appear weighted down by the gravity of their solid substance. Single shadows are acquiring a dynamic quality and may appear to be suspended in space and to float.

Finally, by showing only the outlines of single bodies, light seems to shine completely through them. To these fully transparent forms an accelerating momentum is given we experience as liveliness. Contours of the figures appear to "dance". Time seems to be suspended and bodies are like floating in an infinite space.

Fig. 5: Christian Schad, "Schadographie 151", 1977

Lastly, by opening the edges of forms in a space without barriers, boundaries become transparent to light and our imagination. A halo may surround the blurred or dissolving contours of the bodies making them in our vision appear as vibrating and being alive (Fig. 5). The light of the shadows is fading away in the darkness of the background. Light and darkness seem to blend into each other, loosing their contrasting polarity and duality, no more combatting. The "seing through things", moreover, makes us apprehend that boundaries of space and time are arbitrary. We may experience the immanence of totality as well as its transcendence, both being concurrently present in the reflections of the image.

Schad's continuous, strong desire for liberation from a rigid, static or dogmatic state of mind, that is, for change and rebirth, symbolically appeared in a photogram. A phoenix is flying over the shadow of a prostrated human being captured by a piece of net. The shadow represents the rather darker, repressed side to our personality. In contrast, the phoenix in the air, a mitological and legendary bird, stands for death and

rebirth from the purifying flames and ashes, that is, for everlasting change and immortality. Cosmic symbolism, is now pronounced, adding a further dimension and a new profound value to the entire work.

Let us conclude, Schad's photograms of each phase are a confession of his inner life and its unfolding transformations. Due to their simplicity and tendency to penetrate beneath the surface into the weigthless essence of things, become transparent mirrors of reality. A broad range of artistic, photographic and spiritual references resonate through all periods of his stylistic evolution. Being highly autobiographical, Schadographs manifests a successive unfolding of deeper and deeper layers of the artists conscious and unconscious world.

On his inner journey, he initially perceived everyday chaotic reality in terms of fragmented, disorganized "objects trouvés". Very soon he moved through a deepening of space by adopting various gray-levels. In the early sixties, his design characteristically presented, for the first time, shadows of human or animal bodies. In the last Schadographs, he advanced and let us perceive an animation and rhythmic motion of their contours. With the progressive enlargement of the empty space due to the reduction of projected shadows, their transparency and opening of contours, parallels a slow down and fading away of time.

Finally, by transcending the limitations of space and time, a shift to an entire spectrum of transpersonal experiences occures. Through the language of light and shadows, Schad tried to approach a metaphysical and mystical view of reality, sometimes using symbolic and even mythological themes. A profound death-rebirth experience evoked further spiritual opening and the feeling that life means constant change. Thus, his perception and expression shifted from solid objects, to a deep connectivity between all things, to wave-like changes and flowing energy patterns, an astonishing analogy to holographic views and the evolution of modern quantum physics.

Characteristically, in Schad's photograms there is no concern with the past or the future, and in the present there is presence only, and the presence sizes the magic of the moment, that becomes merely an intermediate state of everlasting change. For an instant only the photograms try to blend the finite present with infinity. By breaking out from time into a timeless stream of tensions and resolutions, they invite the observer to listen to the voice of eternal change and to resonate with it.

Schadographs can open our eyes to a whole new exciting vision of reality and our hearts to a deeper inner world. Experiencing the photogram should initially occur, without imposing a preconceived grid, filter or focus on it, simply by letting it broaden out into a felt sense of the whole composition. With the following steps only, one may begin to focus and pinpoint at specifics of the design, making creative discov-

eries and certain aspects explicit, but always recognizing the limitations of any analytic, dissecting approach to account for the intuitive and transpersonal dimensions of the photograms.

Schadographs pass the line, where the visible photography ends and the mystery and magic of the photogram begins. In the atmospheric beauty of these light projections, their mastery of the moment, their timeless stream of tensions between light and darkness, there always is the miracolous power of light. Carl Gustav Jung in talking about the most ancient strong desire of the soul to come out from the primordial darkness and to reach the light concluded: "The longing for the light is the longing for the consciousness."[7]

Hence, experiencing a photogram may become a very personal act. The sensitive observer who is seeing into rather than looking at, may feel at one with the eternity of space and motion and their continuous rebirth. He can well sense the strength of the spirit that permeates and vivifies everything, and he may even touch infinity. The circle between the artwork and the human being will then close.

Notes

1 Christian Schad: Autobiographical notes, Catalogue Galleria Schwarz, Milan 1970.
2 Carl Gustav Jung: Über die Archetypen des kollektiven Unbewussten, Eranos Jb, 1935, p. 43.
3 Christian Schad: Relative Realitäten, in: Walter Serner: Die Tigerin, Rogner u. Remhard, 1971.
4 Christian Schad: Notes on the development of photograms, in: George Walch, Colin Nayos, Michael Held: Contemporary Photography, London: Mac Millan, 1982, p. 664.
5 Christian Schad: Essentials of the Spirit and Thougths of East Asia, Eastern Calligraphy and Ink Drawings, unpublished manuscript, Spring 1951.
6 Cf. Note 4.
7 Carl Gustav Jung: Erinnerungen, Träume, Gedanken, Aniela Jaffe, Ex libris, Zürich, 1975.

Gino Viviani

Generated Images – The Evolution of Images

Being primarily a painter but also a radiologist I feel very honoured and encouraged to talk to you about certain aspects of the general evolution of images. One of the modes that human beings can take to widen their consciousness is the visual mode. On images this implies the representation of space, which throughout the centuries underwent transformations, because its understanding changed. At the onset of the twenties century, one encounters the concept of space as "Gestalt", i. e. as varying and moving form. From this concept of space as "Gestalt" derives the idea of the wholeness of perception with the implication that every perceived form can only exist if inserted in an optical environment.

Generally speaking, the concept of space emerges from the objects that surround us and from their reciprocal interrelations and interactions. On the other hand, it is also influenced by our psychic reactions to the structure we visually perceive.[1] That's to say, that to visually received images we attribute different meanings, not only in agreement with the diversity of observed things and their differing interactions, but also according the various psychological states that make us perceive it. Therefore, the final significance of identified images depends on how we assimilate and order the stimuli they are sending us. One can conclude, that the images acquire a given meaning, because they exist in that particular spatial area, but also due to their temporal, environmental and psychological relationships. Single images that do not assume any importance, can be made acquire one, if they are completed or interact with other images, even if these are without any meaning.[2] Images that may have lost any realistic resemblance, seen in their totality can get a particular significance and be recognized.

According to the "Gestalt"-theory images carry only a certain meaning when our psychic activity values them in their wholeness. Their perceived totality should not be disintegrated, since it cannot be reconstructed simply by summing up single isolated images. Referring to this fact, Christian von Ehrenfeld stated: "If 12 persons separately listen to one tone only of the 12 tones of a melody, the sum of their experiences never equals to that one single person makes listening to the whole of the melody."[3]

These principles of psychology should be kept in mind by the people cultivating images. They should realize that the visual act becomes complete in two moments, the moment of perception and that of cognition. During the first stage, besides the semantic signs acting as primary actors, one also perceives other signs that, for the special needs of the particular discussion at that moment, do not carry relevant messages and consequently are supernumerary staff only.

Visual psychology stresses that the signs of primary and supernumerary actors should not be confused. At the moment of cognition it becomes indispensable to mentally distinguish the signs that are significant from those without any relevance. These facts are extremely important for radiologists, because misreadings and misperception could lead to serious false interpreations and consequences.

During the 20ies century, the concept of space became adapted to new scientific findings[4] and has been continously and dynamically evolving.[5] Energy or material pattern more and more governed it. This also rapidly changed the adopted language of the images, which sometimes even seems incomprensible. Have these images lost their meaning or do we still have to apprehend their new language? I had the opportunity to discuss this question with August Wackenheim, a passionate researcher of images and Professor of Radiology at the University of Strassbourg, in occasion of the XXXII National Congrerss of the Italian Society of Medical Radiology, in 1986 Wackenheim reminded me, that at all times, to ensure cultural progress, images predominated over the written or spoken word, first, because most people could not read and, now, because who can read do not take the time to do it.

A fresco of crucifixion impressed faithful people more and had a higher relevance for them than a sermon of a preacher. And he concluded, that the human being of the twentieth century is more oriented toward advertising and television images than toward frescos and canvas.

Once we had established that the images, as basis of illusions, had substituted the words, we were asking us, what could impede the new images to continue to govern our cultural life.[6] Wackenheim told me, that he had found what could impede the images to teach us a cultural life, it was the abandoning any research.

Radiology, if it would have remained bound to X-Rays only, rejecting the use of other energies or techniques for the formation of new images, it would not have been able to maintain his leading position as a discipline of imaging, it was from the beginning. The same applies to the arts, if they would have remainded bound to figurative pictures without embarking on abstraction.

In 1894, Wilhelm Conrad Roentgen had discovered the X-Rays that can penetrate matter. Due to their diversities in attenuation by different tissues they produce on the photographic sheet shadows with varying grey tones. We had acquired the capacity to see shadows of the invisible internal structures and to record it on twodimensional photographic film.

In 1906, Cubism, based on the principle of multiplication of points of view, proposed to analyze the object by dissecting it and looking at it from different planes.[7] By fragmentating the images Cubism is breaking contours. But, by separating the fragments from each other, Cubism does not disintegrate the image, because, as

György Kepés stresses, images are not only formed by the existing lines of contour of a figure, but also by the latent or dynamic contours that exist in the interruptions or gaps between the fragments. These contours that lie inside the optical intervals are an integral part of the visual organization and act with the same power as the intentionally created lines do.

Moreover, also dynamic contours are real, even if they are frequently not seen by the human, but by the photographic eye. They are captured by photography mainly when a figure or object moves. In this circumstance the image may even not need any definite lines of contours. And, it was precisely the exploration of photographic images of moving bodies that induced some researcher to conclude that the so concrete lines of contours may only represent an intellectual abstraction.

To stress the important role the gaps of empty space play in the composition of an image Georges Kepes reports the following intuition of Lao Tze: "A bowl is only useful because of its empty space. The open space within a wall is used as a window. Thus, the non-existing in things, makes them usable." By analogy, it is well known, how significant silent moments are in musical compositions.

In 1907, emerges Futurism, and from both, Cubism and Futurism derive the metaphysical movement, the Surrealism, the Abstraction, followed by the Informal and the Nuclear Art. Through the new images Art wanted to express the emotions and sensations stimulated within the artist by the contemporary scientism. Art also engaged to manifest the energies and to disclose the invisible. How did the radiographic image evolve in these so revolutionary times?

At the onset, the radiographic images presented a somewhat mysterious if not magical appearance, similar to some first photographic images, or to some ancestral drawings of mankind. But, the refinement of photographic techniques soon produced radiographic images that unequivocally showed their meaning. They were in prevalence anatomical, schelettrical images taken from one single point of view given by the divergent beam of the X-ray tube.

But, the desire to show the invisible continued. Assisted by the chemical pharmaceutical industry, Radiology was enabled, by means of administration of contrast material, to visualize certain internal normally invisible spaces, such as the cavaties of organs, the flow in vessels and the heart. Besides of transmitting morphological messages, these techniques also could provide astonishing functional information.

Then, the tomographic technique has been introduced, another significant step forward, because the point of view was shifted from plane to plane troughout the volume of an organ. By multiplying the points of view a new concept of the visible space emerged. Initially, by blurring the parts "out of plane" and reducing them to an environmental space, the eye could rapidly focus on the interesting parts "in

focus". the "primary actor" on every shown plane. If one wants, one can compare this multiplication of views to the fundamental advancement in arts, as perspective entered the field.

The reading of tomographic images takes place in an analogous way as does the reading of a cubist or futurist image. The multiple percepted images have to be mentally grouped to construct an image of the original organic structure before it was subdivided in single planes. The multiple messages sent by every recorded image have to enter perception and be simultaneously coordinated and synthetized to a virtual concept following an optical-menmonic process. In other words, the tomographic technique by dissecting and canceling the real space produced an integer all including mental space ready for interpretation.

Within the large field of "Diagnosis by Imaging" the ecographic image has to be read following the same method. The rapid sequence of ecographic images due to their multiple orientations and interpenetrations of planes, unite space and time reproducing it not only aroud the object but also within and throughout it. One may even undertake a comparison with cubism that realized in its images an absolute unity of space and time , visualizing the object in diffeent points of the space and the space not only around the object but also through it.

But, if these are the principal images Radiology offered to doctors, which will be the ones of tomorrow? From the simply projected and mentally summarized image one is passing to integrated multiplanar, volumetric acquisitions. An overwhelming abandunce of messages is perceived and requires an initial filtering process to sort out the relevant signs from those that are irrelevant.

The thinking in images, on one end, and the computerized electronic elaboration of data, will open up to now unthinkable possibilities of interventions. But, one should not forget the other side of the coin, i.e. that any intervention on images carries the danger of blurring or even destroying detailed information.

As always, new abstractions require the development of a new language Radiology is adopting it concerning particular deformations, certain ergonomic or "Gestalt-aspects" and abstraction of the human organism.

Who has to make a diagnosis by the use of images should always be aware, how peculiar his images might be, that they cannot be considered indipendent on what the general and extensive world of imaging has up to now taught us. The psychophysiology of the total perception process plays an indispensable by far underestimated role for an accurate image-analysis. It also needs to be continously reexamined.[8] In times, where the diagnostic image acquires a dyanmic or functional meaning, as also some artistic an photographic images may do, why should the human being cultivating images not draw from it in the largest sense useful elements?

I would like to conclude with what Paul Klee once stressed: "I am painting not to make visible what can be seen, but to make visible what otherwiese cannot be seen." Our struggle to discover and create new images that capture the invisible will continue expanding our conceptual framework and consciousness.

Notes

1 Dorfles, G.: Ultime tendenze dell'arte d'oggi, Feltrinelli, 1961.
2 Kepés, G.: Il linguaggio della visione, Dedalo Libri, 1971.
3 Ehrenfels, C.: Citato da Kepés in Linguaggio della visione.
4 Argan, G. C.:Guida alla storia dell'arte, Sansoni, 1977.
5 Calvesi, M.: Arte e Scienza, Spazio e colore, La Biennale, Electa, 1986.
6 Wackenheim, A.: Les Radiologists, imagiers de la Medicine, Axone Montpellier, 1986.
7 Caroli, F.: Primitivismo e Cubismo, Fratelli Fabbri, 1977.
8 Jaffe, C. C.: Iconografia medica: percezione e psicofisiologia della percezione. Radiografia e fotografia medica, Kodak, 1986.

A. D. Coleman

After Critical Mass, What? A State-of-the-Craft Report on Photography Criticism

Before I begin, I want to thank Anna Auer, who first brought me to Vienna in 1980 and 1981, and who has now done so again. And I also want to thank the European Society for the History of Photography, for inviting me to address its membership once more; the last time I did so was at the invitation of Rune Hassner, who asked me to give the keynote address at the session celebrating photography's sesquicentennial in 1989.

I thought it might amuse you, as specialists in works on paper, to learn that a scientist in Belize has just discovered a fungus that eats CD-ROMs. Food for thought, eh?

As some of you know, I've spoken here in Vienna on several occasions on issues relating to criticism and other forms of writing about photography. You can find the texts of several of those talks in my various books of essays. For this occasion, I decided to revisit parts of a parallel talk I gave almost exactly twenty-one years go. I titled it "Photography Criticism: A State-of-the-Craft Report," and presented it at a forum sponsored by the Staatliches Landesbank.[1] My remarks today will look at some of what I had to say then in the light of the subsequent twenty years' worth of activities – mine, and everyone else's – and reconsider some of what I proposed two decades back.

At the outset, let me reassure (or disappoint) you by announcing that it's not my purpose here today to either praise or castigate any of my other colleagues, either individually or clustered in their various tendencies – at least not for any positions they've taken on any critical issues concerning photography, photographers, and photographs. As I've said before, many times, better bad writing about photography than no writing at all. Thirty-three years ago, when I began my column for the *Village Voice*, hardly anyone in my country or abroad wrote regularly about photography with a truly critical eye, apart from Minor White and two famous husband-and-wife teams of historians, the Newhalls and the Gernsheims, all of them now dead. A few of you here may recall the woeful paucity of that discourse (though its level was consistently high).

That problem lies well behind us; indeed, that situation no doubt seems unimaginable to those who've come more recently to the discourse and find themselves swamped with more writing – even with more thoughtful and substantial writing – than they can possibly absorb. We now have a rich, diverse, and polyvocal dialogue going that seems unlikely ever to taper off. And this dialogue has now widened into

the art magazines, as well as specialized journals in media studies, communication theory, sociology, anthropology, and cultural studies, plus other venues. I think that's a change for the better, and encourage anyone and everyone to find the gaps in the literature, the holes in the line, and the unoccupied positions – both intellectual and professional – and fill them. Come one, come all, I say; the more the merrier.

By the way, the historianship of the medium, criticism's counterpart and sibling, has also vastly and comparably expanded and improved, to everyone's benefit. Much of what I have to say today pertains as well to my colleagues on that side of the fence; many of us alternate between those two hats, in fact. I think that area of inquiry has improved itself hugely during these recent years, both here and elsewhere. However, I want to note my concern that continuing evidence of our pernicious inferiority complex in this field remains rampant; we still have a tendency to seek validation of photography by sucking up to any artist in any other medium who ever picked up a camera. The drooling of historians over the minimal, inept and trivial heaps of unredacted imagery left behind by Edgar Degas, René Magritte, and Josef Albers exemplifies this tendency, and the impulse behind such gross exaggeration of truly minor accomplishment – at the cost of resources that would be far better spent on examining substantial bodies of work by the medium's many under-scrutinized major contributors – belongs on the analyst's couch, not in lavishly funded traveling exhibitions on the walls of museums or in the pages of overinflated, oversized and overpriced monographs.

I guess I lied about castigating people, didn't I?

Let me add that much of today's criticism of all media fundamentally misunderstands the relation of theory to praxis. Theory informs praxis; praxis tests theory. If theory is not continually subject to question and testing, because it holds itself above challenge and cannot possibly be wrong, then it has ceased to be theory – if it ever really was such in the first place – and has become dogma. This is not yet the heyday of true critical theorizing about photography, for all the endless dense writing and apparent theory-driven art. It's the heyday of dogmas masquerading as theories. If we hope to ever get to that sunrise of theorizing, we need first to remember and maintain these distinctions.

I also want to urge those of my colleagues who write occasionally but not steadily to write more, to write more frequently, and to learn to listen more closely to their voices on the page. Two or three essays a year don't constitute sufficient exercise to keep those muscles in fit condition. One reason so much critical and historical writing – especially that produced by academics – is so stilted and impenetrable is that its authors simply haven't been writing often enough, and therefore haven't learned to hear and modulate the sound of their own written expression.

As a side effect of this, students come to believe that such strained language is expected of them, and mimic it dutifully, aggravating the already considerable problems I and others face in teaching them to express their ideas clearly. So please set the example by working more regularly at the craft of prose. One benefit of this – aside from the increased pleasure we'll have in reading you – is that you'll produce more of the essays on topics important to you than you do now, essays that only you would take the time to write, and these will amplify further the literature of this medium and expand its field of ideas.

I do not even want to open the can of worms of ethical issues, but I have to say that conflicts of interest now pervade the field. If the lines between critic and historian remain murky and represent no true ethical dilemma, the distinctions between critic and/or historian and curator, collector, consultant to collectors, artists' representative, gallerist, private dealer, and press agent have come much closer to disappearing altogether. This tendency, once much more commonplace in Europe than in the U.S., has now crossed the Atlantic. I propose it as a theme for a future ESHP meeting, before the differences between critical and historical writing on the one hand and publicity and advertising copy on the other vanish from our collective memory.

I began that 1979 discussion by announcing that a stage of critical mass in photography criticism had been reached. That's still the case, indeed even more so today than then. So, if we've achieved critical mass, what might we do with it? I want to address my comments to a variety of related issues in those regards.

To begin with, though we're of various gender persuasions and sexual proclivities, live white folks of European descent still constitute the preponderance of those presently writing criticism of this medium. Though I don't think this results from any bias in the field, or any closing of doors to people of other cultural origins, it remains a fact. So we need to recognize that aspect of our condition, and accept its implication that critical mass for some does not automatically mean critical mass for all. I don't know what to do about that situation, except to put on the coffee pot and put out the welcome mat, but I'm certainly open to suggestion and more than willing to help change the complexion of this craft in any way I can.

I think that would be a vitalizing way to enlarge our number. At the same time, I think we still need – today no less than in 1979, and indeed even more so – to also swell the ranks of writers capable of articulating the crucial issues in photography in an accessible, non-jargonized, engaging and unpedantic language, in order to bring them before an intelligent general audience. I'm concerned with the shortage of people both capable of discoursing knowledgeably in regard to photographic issues and positioned to do so in the mass media. (I'm speaking here of such efforts as our

Norwegian colleague Roger Erlandsen's deconstruction of a famous news photo in the pages of a national newspaper.) Most of us are stuck preaching to the choir in small-circulation art and photography magazines and scholarly journals.

Changing this situation will require the active seeking out of skilled young writers with an interest in photography, and the educating of them as articulate public spokespersons prepared to argue, in the larger agora, the complex issues of lens imagery and its relation to culture. That's never been attempted anywhere, so far as I know – not even in the few doctoral-level programs in photography studies in my country or abroad. As a result, truth be told, if I were asked to name someone thoroughly grounded in photography and capable of sustaining a regular column in an influential newspaper, I couldn't think of anyone, aside from the few of us you all know who've already done or are presently doing that. On this score, things are better than they were in 1979, certainly better than they were in '68 – but not by much.

And the sad fact is that neither the schools that offer advanced programs in photography nor the schools with art history or media studies or cultural studies departments devote any attention at all to encouraging such critical writing about photography. If not them, who? If not now, when? Perhaps doing that will require us to rethink the very ways in which we write. Since I continue to cast most of my professional work therein, I certainly don't assume we've exhausted the usefulness of the form of the traditional ratiocinative essay. But I do think it's time for at least some of us to make things hot for ourselves, and for our readers, by pushing the envelope of form.

I see evidence of that inclination in myself, particularly in the poetry and creative nonfiction I've come back to writing over the past decade, and also in some of my introductions, afterwords, and other accompaniments to monographs and artists' books by others – Connie Imboden, Tiziana di Silvestro, Boaz Tal, Robert Stivers, for example. Certainly one can find a prime example of it in one of the best novels ever written about photography, art critic David Galloway's *A Family Album* from 1978,[2] which is at once a brilliant fiction and a model of close critical attention to specific photographs. One can see it also in Michael Lesy's various experiments with collage form; in John Berger's collaborations with Jean Mohr, *A Fortunate Man: The Story of a Country Doctor* from 1967[3] and *A Seventh Man* from 1975,[4] plus other subsequent projects of his; in Max Kozloff's inventive 1984 imaginary dialogue over the work of Joel-Peter Witkin, "Contention Between Two Critics About a Disagreeable Beauty";[5] in Bill Jay's recent, delicious parody *Pimlico 61*;[6] and in Eugenia Parry's fascinating suite of texts, "A Hundred Different Stories: The Art of Photography," used as wall labels for the 1998 exhibition "Photography's Multiple Roles: Art, Document, Market, Science" and also included in that show's excellent catalogue.[7]

Looks like I also lied about praising people, eh? Well, as long as I'm at it, let me say a few words about James Hugunin, someone I know only in passing, and with whom I have no professional affiliation whatsoever. He and I haven't seen each other or made contact in years. But I think about Jim a lot lately.

As I look back over the past few decades, Jim Hugunin has been the one who most consistently proposed alternative stylistic strategies as a way of enlivening and renovating the discourse. He's been the most structurally and stylistically experimental of us all. I think here of those weird scripts he wrote in which Jesus, Marx, and Freud contemplated someone's work, or that odd desktop-published book he did with Robert Fichter, or what he's done in print form with *U-Turn* magazine, which I believe he still publishes irregularly, and with the version thereof that he now produces on the World Wide Web.[8] He hasn't always been successful, in my opinion, but he's never been less than provocative, and innovative. For me, what Jim's experiments represent in toto is the proposition that the ratiocinative argument in traditional essay form may be a cage for criticism, that rethinking the very form and style we take for granted might be a prime strategy for reshaping our critical activity in a productive way. So I want to invoke his work's spirit as a useful goad to us all.

This necessarily raises the question of whether criticism can be an art form. Despite what I've just said, I tend to think it's not an art but a craft, and that the works I've just cited function in some curious, exciting middle ground, unabashedly neither fish nor fowl. As a working critic, I believe that the work about which I write is primary and my writing secondary; I'm the symbiotic suckerfish on the shark, keeping it healthy by cleaning off the parasitic algae. We can – and for millenia did – have art without art criticism; but there's no art criticism without art, though much of the current generation of critics seems to prefer art that's utterly dispensable and uninteresting to look at, which may not be substantively different from no art at all. At a regional Society for Photographic Education conference in San Francisco back in 1981, Fred Lonidier called me "a nineteenth-century critic" for espousing these views. If that's true, so be it. But Fred could be wrong, of course, as I'm sure he'd be the first to admit.

In any case, because I now write about photographs, photographers, and photography wearing two different hats, I can tell you that when I'm in my critical gear I am absolutely duty-bound to address the specifics of the photograph under consideration faithfully and accurately, whatever I may think of it. And when I'm wearing my poetic cap and carrying my poetic license, writing a poem or a piece of creative nonfiction (or possibly fiction, though I haven't tried that yet) inspired by or otherwise linked to a photograph, such fidelity to the facts of the work is merely an option, not an obligation. If I want to change something in the photograph's description

to better suit my story, I do so with no sense of guilt, not even a twinge. And though some autobiography creeps into my critical writing, and though my old friend Michael Martone calls autobiography "the highest form of fiction," I have a clear sense – perhaps too clear, for some purposes – of the boundaries between these forms, and am rigorous about not violating them in my critiques.

Appreciations are another story, incidentally; they're more collaborative with the photographers involved, and – always with their permission, as their monographs are really their solo performances – I sometimes act on the urge to move into right-lobe mode. So, while I readily permit the entry of chance elements into my poetry, I'm not quite ready to apply, say, William Burroughs's cut-up technique to my critical writing; even if the artists under discussion, and the readers, and my editors, would accept that, I'm not sure it would be right, in the deepest sense.

Which may well just mean *not right for me*; and which certainly doesn't gainsay my ability, or anyone else's, to find both ways and occasions on which to experiment as we see fit, so long as we don't breach some fundamental matters of our contract with our readers (to use a phrase from a poet of my acquaintance, the late Armand Schwerner). So I encourage both myself and my colleagues to try new forms and styles. Anthologies of photo-related fiction, such as Jane Rabb's,[9] have appeared in recent years. Trudy Wilner Stack, I understand, is currently assembling a major survey of photo-related poetry. Poets, fictioneers and playwrights feel free to write about this medium, its images and its makers. Why shouldn't we be at liberty to poeticize, fictionalize, dramatize our percepts on appropriate occasions?

If I speak about new strategies for criticism, I must speak not only of new approaches to writing but also about the investigation of new media. Most of us still do most of our work, and in many cases all of our work, in print – while (to name a few) the possibilities of radio, audiocassette, broadcast television, videocassette, CD-ROM and the Internet go begging for our attention. John Berger's "Ways of Seeing" program series for the BBC in 1972 – which preceded the more familiar book version – was the first significant effort by an art critic to use television as a critical vehicle, and to both utilize its unique capacities as a medium and at the same time deconstruct it. I know of nothing near comparable to that achievement since, though the book version of Chris Townsend's *Vile Bodies: Photography and the Crisis of Looking*,[10] a new TV series from the U.K., gives me hope that Berger's project may have found a worthy successor at last. Still, that's a long time between serious explorations.

A few of my own essays have been included in CD-ROM projects, but I know of no use of CD-ROM for photo-critical purposes, certainly nothing that even uses that technology's capacities in as intelligently analytical a way as Lewis Baltz's *The Deaths*

in Newport.[11] Hugunin and I run complex websites, and Bill Jay has taught "distance learning" courses by email, but I know of no other of my colleagues who's actively involved in cyberspatial projects. These are media used daily and treated as commonplace by a vast and diversified international audience, at least some sizeable segments of which are exactly the people we should be reaching with our ideas. We're in the first year of the 21st century. Do we intend to maintain our print-only tendencies into the next millenium? Do we really mean to define ourselves as irrelevant that way, and to manifest our technophobia to boot?

Memorably, I once was roundly attacked by the inimitable Catherine Lord in the pages of *Afterimage* for trying to "professionalize the Society for Photographic Education" in the U.S. Well, you'll be relieved to hear that I've long since given up that hopeless effort; though members continue to list it on their vitae as if it were a professional credential, the S.P.E. hasn't been a professional society for close to thirty years. Rather, it's photography's equivalent of the Audubon Society: twenty-five bucks and an interest in birds and they'll make you a member (and they'll waive the interest in birds). Consequently, membership in the S.P.E. carries about as much weight as a credential in photography as membership in the Audubon Society does among ornithologists.

At the risk of finding myself chastised once again for my professionalism, I feel compelled to say that there's such a thing as the business life of the mind, and on that score most of my colleagues – especially the academics, but unfortunately even many of my fellow working critics – have lights on and nobody home. Concerning the state of literary criticism, Saul Bellow back in 1966 wrote, "the salaried professor will supply literary articles cheaply and has all but wiped out his professional competitors."[12] This is now notoriously the case in media other than literature, including the fine arts, and certainly including photography. Which is to say that academics – and any others who disregard contractual issues involving payment, surrender of copyright, transfer of electronic rights, and other bedrock matters – function as scab labor, and are either too ignorant or too dumb to realize it. (Ignorance is a condition, I remind you, whereas dumbness is a commitment.)

Four years ago I resigned a column in a New York weekly that I'd built for more than nine years, a platform that gave me a substantial New York readership and brought in about $ 6,000 USD annually, because the real-estate magnate who publishes that paper demanded that I donate to him all electronic rights to my column. And during the same four-year period I've turned down well over $ 15,000 USD worth of one-shot assignments because the publishers wanted my copyright or other rights in perpetuity. Did you know that more and more publishers these days, including

some museums and university presses, are making demands on authors (and on photographers) that treat them like field hands, demands that are inappropriate, unscrupulous, and abusive – hostile to the very survival of those of us who put ideas into embodied forms? I've told the editors at such publications and publishing houses never to call me again. I will name some of them: the *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* from the American Indian Studies Center of UCLA; Bulfinch Press/ Little, Brown; Abbeville Press; the National Geographic Society; the *New York Observer*; and *Artforum*. They deserve your censure, and your boycott, as well as mine.

Well, there I go again, castigating. But I find it both shocking and disheartening to watch my colleagues – many of them with leftist pretensions – cave in to management and capital without a fight, even to kowtow to them. For example, one of our U.K. colleagues, a member of this organization who will go unnamed here, agreed not long ago to a publishing contract that involved writing 500 short essays for about $ 30 USD each, for publication in a book that did not acknowledge him as its picture editor and author on either its cover or title page, but only conceded his authorship of the texts in a small-type note on the credits page at the very end of the volume. And he signed away his copyright and all subsidiary rights, without even receiving any regular royalties in return. This is desperate and pathetic. It's also profoundly unprofessional.

Watching them snapping up the assignments I have turned down (or would turn down) on principle, I find my sympathy for such colleages as these, my sense of kinship with them, my normal allegiance to them, and my respect for them, gravely diminished over the past few years. It behooves my colleagues to make themselves aware of the ramifications of these matters, and to see themselves as labor, professional independent workers, in the inevitable contest between labor and management. It behooves them to stop blindly feeding the appetites of management for freelance fee slaves, thereby undercutting the efforts of those of us who pursue this profession full-time to assure ourselves a decent living. And it behooves you to inform yourselves on these matters – for your own sakes, for the sakes of your fellow toilers in the vineyards, and for the sakes of your students.

Moving to a quite different subject: As I noted earlier, this now polyvocal critical dialogue has turned international. Yet that has not resulted in much intercultural exchange of critical opinion, and here those of us stateside strike me as more at fault in some ways than our counterparts north and south of our borders or across the great waters.

Most educated Europeans and people from other foreign cultures speak and read at least two languages, often more, with English among the more common of their

second languages. They can usually read us, therefore, at least when they can find our work. And those I've met who are involved in photography do read critics and historians from the U.S. regularly; they're familiar with our version of the discourse.

Embarrassingly, the reverse is not the case. Few of my colleagues in the States speak or read a second language fluently; and, of those who do, few take the trouble to read the work of their foreign colleagues who write in that language, or correspond or otherwise make collegial contact with them. Indeed, few of them regularly read the steadily growing number of journals from elsewhere that publish either in English only or bilingually in English – *Imago*, *Katalog*, *European Photography*, *Luna Cornea*, and *Portfolio*, to name a few.

At lunch in New York several years ago, the French critic, historian, and curator Gilles Mora asked me to explain this. "It's not xenophobia," I told him, "it's just laziness." I hope I was being accurate rather than charitable. Whatever the case, it's mortifying, and I've urged my colleagues back home to take this hint and shape themselves up.

Long ago – back around 1980 – I decided to recover my own childhood fluency in French, brush up my halting college German, try my hand at Spanish and Italian, and begin to familiarize myself with as much writing from elsewhere as I could. I also started actively contacting my colleagues from abroad by mail, meeting with them when they came to the States, and getting myself to their countries whenever such opportunity presented itself. As a result, my writing and thinking – and, I believe, my usefulness to my readers – have been deeply nourished and enriched.

Even so, of course, I have a problem – and it's not restricted to me, or even to my U.S. colleagues; it's endemic to the field. The literature of our medium is now created in dozens of languages. None of us speak or read more than a handful of those. And very little of that literature gets translated. This is problematic for scholars, and also for teachers and students. You cannot go to a bookstore and find an anthology in English of even the most important French and German criticism of photography, for example; and the French and Germans can't buy a parallel anthology of writings from the U.S. rendered into their native tongues.

To rectify this, we need some far more extensive and systematic program of translation and publication of key writings on photography and related matters than we presently have in operation. The piecemeal way through which this now happens, when it happens at all, cannot suffice. It's the prime obstacle in the path toward a truly international dialogue on this medium. This problem can't be solved unilaterally by any single country, though one country can establish an experimental model and lead the way. I've no vested interest in that country being the United States, but that's where I live and work, so that's where I've tried to start the ball rolling.

What we need is a genuinely international translation and publication program that involves every nation in which photography criticism, historianship, and theory are being generated. This will call for some umbrella organization (of which I do not want to be the director). I believe we can best get this going by calling an open convention of writers on photography, from every discipline, of every persuasion and of all nationalities – and of their counterparts, those who edit and publish photo-related periodicals and books and CD-ROMS and videotapes and other media.

Such a gathering has never happened in the history of the medium. The only precedent for it I know of is the 1949 founding convention of the International Association of Critics of Art (A.I.C.A.), shortly after the end of World War II. I could talk to you at length about how such an event could be constructed and what it might accomplish. I prefer to just plant the seed now, and announce that I'm willing to work on this with anyone who's interested.

What would I myself hope to see eventuate from such a convocation? Beyond the fruitfulness of the resulting contact, and the sense of the actual size of the field that we'd all gain, I think such a group could profitably contemplate putting into place, country by country, an interlocking cluster of variant versions of the following project, whose crude outline I've just begun to propose to various potential sponsors. What interests me here is furthering this project, not necessarily leading it.

Photography's "little" magazines – of which there have been quite a few since 1968 – have served all of us well. Certainly they've served me well as vehicles for some of my work, and during one difficult phase of my professional life served as my primary outlets. I've tried to serve them well in turn, by founding one of them, by working on their boards, and by providing them with essays for little or no compensation. But this project goes well beyond that. Let me simply read to you the working draft of the idea that I've now floated informally past one highly-placed executive at a photo-industry giant that will remain nameless, and that I plan to refine, elaborate, and keep floating – past corporations and foundations – until I get a bite.

A proposal for a support project for the "little" magazines of photography

As in literature and the visual arts, photography has long had its "little" magazines; Stieglitz's *Camera Work* and Minor White's *aperture* are the best-known examples. Many of these have come and gone since Stieglitz founded his in the early years of the last century. Only one of those founded between then and the late 1960s, *aperture*, still survives. Yet a number of such publications born circa 1970 and thereafter continue to publish; half a dozen have celebrated their 20th anniversaries in recent years.

These publications serve as the heart of the literature of this medium, steadily pumping its lifeblood, our writings. Few researchers ever look back at past issues of the photo-specific newsstand glossies – *Popular Photography*, *Petersen's PhotoGraphic*, et al. The quality of their editorial content was always negligible, excepting a few aimed at the high end of the market (*Camera Arts*, *Camera 35*, *Camera & Darkroom*). And most of those, in any case, can be accessed readily through the library system, as they received wide distribution and were subscribed to by many libraries.

The "little" magazines were more ephemeral; smaller in circulation base, shorter-lived for the most part. Yet it's to these that researchers, scholars, students turn to learn about photography's history, to read serious commentary about photographs and photography. It's these that track the medium's creative developments, the work of emerging artists, the field of ideas around photography. They're essential contributors to the literature of photography.

Those of them now defunct are hard to find. There's no central repository for material relevant to them.[13] (Canada, by contrast, has already archived the materials pertinent to one of its most important such journals, *Ovo Photo*.[14]) The existing ones receive erratic distribution; it's rare that one can find a complete run of any of them in a library. And they scrape by financially, always on the brink of collapse. *Creative Camera* is the latest of these to die, after over three decades of functioning as a significant vehicle for critical discourse in the U.K. An attempt to redefine itself under the new name *DPict* did not succeed, according to an open letter from editor David Brittain, and the Arts Council withdrew its support grant after funding it for twenty years. What will now happen to that thirty-year archive of typescripts, correspondence, maquettes, and other primary research material?

This project I'm proposing for the U.S. is a transportable idea that could just as easily be actualized in Europe. It aims at making a substantial contribution to the field by subsidizing several coordinated projects in support of these "little" magazines, past and present. Among the efforts it would undertake:

1. Fund the creation of an archive devoted to this material at the Center for Creative Photography in Tucson, Arizona, or elsewhere.
2. Fund the seeking out and acquisition for that archive of relevant material from now-defunct periodicals 1955-present: *Creative Camera*, *Contemporary Photographer*, *Fox*, *Images*, *Ink*, *Boston Review of Photography*, *Photograph*, *New York Photographer*, *Camera Lucida*, *Views: A New England Journal of Photography*, *Picture*, *Camera & Darkroom*, *Lens' On Campus*, etc.
3. Fund a research and oral-history project to gather as much information about these publications as possible from those still living who were involved in their production.

4. Subsidize the following projects in relation to the existing U.S. "little" magazines: the *Center Quarterly*, *The Photo Review*, *San Francisco CameraWork*, *Photo Metro*, *Nueva Luz*, *Frame/Work*, *Fotophile*, *Spot*, possibly *Afterimage* (the last-named may already be taken care of in most of these regards), and several others:

A Fund the purchase, collation, binding, and shipping to select libraries and art/photo institutions of complete sets of back issues, to be donated thereto in your corporation's or foundation's name.

B Fund the donation of 250-500 one-year trial subscriptions to each of these journals to select libraries and art/photo institutions, to be donated thereto in your corporation's or foundation's name.

C Fund the editing, design, and production of paperback collections of the "Best of" the writing that appeared in these journals (e. g., *The Best of the Photo Review, 1978-1998*) for bookstore sale, classroom use, subscription bonuses and other purposes.

D Advance-purchase, at cost, copies of those books in bulk as corporate or foundation giveaways and for donation in your name to various institutions.

E Fund the translation of those books into some key languages: Spanish, French, German, Japanese. And fund their publication in those languages, in print and on the Internet, with a particular eye on the educational and research markets.[15]

I have no idea where this will go, if indeed it goes anywhere. But I think it's another idea whose time has come, and I plan to pursue it, and I can use all the help I can get in actualizing it. Any volunteers?

Thank you.

This is the complete text of an address prepared for "Photography and Research in Austria – the Door to the European East," the 2001 symposium of the European Society for the History of Photography in Vienna, Austria, on June 22, 2001. Due to time constraints, it was delivered in slightly shortened form on that occasion.

Notes

1 Those remarks drew on a talk by the same title that I'd delivered the year before in New York City, which can be found in my book *Tarnished Silver: After the Photo Boom, Essays and Lectures 1979-1989* (Midmarch Arts Press, 1996), pp. 69-73.

2 (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1978.)

3 (New York: Pantheon Books, 1967.)

4 (New York: The Viking Press, 1975.)

5 First published in *Artforum*, February 1984; reprinted in his book *The Privileged Eye: Essays on Photography* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1987), pp. 69-90.

6 (Tucson, AZ: Nazraeli Press, 1998).

7 (Chicago: Museum of Contemporary Photography, 1998.)

8 http://www.uturn.org/

9 See Rabb's *Literature & Photography: Interactions 1840-1990* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995), and her *The Short Story & Photography, 1880's-1980's* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998).

10 (Munich: Prestel-Verlag, 1998).

11 (Amsterdam: Paradox, 1995).

12 Quoted in McGrath, Charles, ed., *Books of the Century: A Hundred Years of Authors, Ideas, and Literature* (New York: Times Books, 1998), p. 49.

13 There are, of course, libraries whose holdings include complete or extended runs of issues of these journals; the CCP in Tucson, the Visual Studies Workshop in Rochester, the George Eastman House in the same city, and the International Center of Photography in New York, to name a few. My concern is preserving the material beyond what made it into print.

14 See my report, "The OVO Archives: A 'little' magazine in a larger context," in *Camera & Darkroom Photography*, Vol. 15, no.12 (December 1993), page 67.

15 At the suggestion of Nathan Lyons, I plan to add the comprehensive indexing of these publications to this proposal.

Johan Swinnen

Word, Image and Meaning – The Challenge to the History of Photography in Times of Censoring

> *Once upon a time, a fair-haired woman from France drove by this oasis. She shot a photograph of me. She told me: 'I will send you the picture.' I never received it. And I am in Paris now, for work. I am seeing photographs everywhere. Photographs of Africa, of the Sahara desert and its oases. I do not recognise anything. They tell me: 'This is your country, this is you.' I? This? I do not recognise anything.*
>
> Michel Tournier

The Paradox of Photography

In the first place, contemporary photography is characterised by an approach to photography that actually does depart from reality, yet renders this reality from a very specific angle/perspective as a result of the photographic technique and design it employs. More in particular, the processes typical of the medium of photography such as, for instance, repetition, paradox and the gap between actual reality and its representation, are often recurred to. This contemporary, emphatically visually oriented photography is characterised by a certain degree of alienation from reality as the latter can be perceived and often stands out by its markedly illusory character. Photography is able to create a duplicate world/reality that is of a more dramatic nature than the natural world. By imaging this reality in a fragmented manner, the photographer suggests that there is a need for another, a second reality which ought to be conquered by the photographer.

In the second place, one needs to point out that contemporary photography is quite ambiguous. It consists of showing a parcel of reality, framed by the camera or in the dark room, and – considering the objective nature of this procedure – is entitled to lay serious claims to thorough epistemological validity or genuine knowledge of reality. In addition to this, it is at the same time a calling into question of the reality value of a given image and of the manner in which the objective is being "dis-objectified" by the subjectivity of both the creator and of the spectator, which, in turn, is enhanced by contextual influences on and conditioning of both of these. This very ambiguity has been called the paradox of photography. The art of photography presents this paradox in its most acute and incisive manner. Each and every photograph constitutes a doxa: it is reality as it is, quite often with conclusive argumentative evidence. But now in times of virtual photography? Paroxysm? The end of the paradox? Photographers with rich bodies of work? How long will the challenging, motivating and inspiriting be with their diverse approaches and different work practices?

Word, Image and Meaning

The purpose of the aesthetics of photography is to teach how to judge and to appreciate photographs and to provide a context for expressing this judgment verbally on the basis of a sound argumentation. It is important to value and to preserve photographs. Appreciation presupposes nuances, it requires judgment and implies rejection and acknowledgment. Appreciation cannot be without a critical attitude which one ought to develop.

In order to appreciate and to judge, one needs to be able to compare. Consequently, it should be possible to look at photographs: to remember the images, to retain and to process them.

Appreciation and judgment are not the same as considering something to be pretty. Appreciation equally implies understanding and learning to sense things that do not immediately attempt to impress by their prettiness or charm, from which ensues that appreciation is totally different from a sentimental association and acquaintance with photography that only serves to confirm what we already knew, felt and thought from before. Feeling plays an essential part in this process, but there are many types of feeling. Feeling can be educated, trained, expanded and extended. There are a great many means for this purpose, aesthetics for instance, but also the science of semiotics or the science of signs.

A photographic image has an appearance of simplicity. It is a representation of the visible reality and it provides us with information in an uncircumstantial, direct manner. A photograph differs from language in that it seems to be intelligible to everybody. For one can see what it shows. Yet, this appearance is deceitful, since, in reality, things prove to be much more complicated. Semiotics is the science, which attempts to analyse photography in a methodologically serious manner. For, in order to get a clearer insight in the manner in which photography generates meaning, it is indeed necessary to elucidate the divergent photographic approaches to the photographic data. Semiotics approaches photography as a system of signs. We can define semiotics as: the science that studies all languages insofar as these make use of signs for the purpose of communicating content (i.e. of signifying).

A communicative situation can be conceived as a threefold relationship: a direct relationship between publicum and medium as well as between medium and reality on the one hand, and an indirect relationship between publicum and reality on the other hand, the latter being brought about by the mediated and modified by the role of the medium. By means of photography, a message is being transmitted which, once understood, acquires a certain meaning. The problematic part of the above model consists of the part played by the medium in this process. The question we

raise in this context regards the influence, which the medium might or does have on the content of the message. Stuart Hall has clarified this by emphasising the activity between the sender and the receiver of the message. The message is just as much the result/product of the way in which the sender is using of the medium as of the way in which the receiver interprets this message. A certain degree of shared knowledge, both of the codes which were used and of the reality to which the message refers, ought to exist between both parties if the message is to be communicated as it was intended to be.

Paroxysm, a case story

I was the curator of the show "Attack! Photography on the edge" that took place in the Holland Festival in Amsterdam, June 1999. Following is the statement I used as a manifest in the contacts with the participating photographers from Japan, Europe and the States: Abdu'Allah, Nobuyioshi Araki, Amy Arbus, Pia Arke, Shimon Attie, Jean Baudrillard, Charif Benhelima, Jo Brunenberg, Theo Derksen, Joan Fontcuberta, Ben Hansen, Steve Hart, Duane Michals, Bart Michielsen, Ryuji Miyamoto, Andreas Müller-Pohle, Hans Neleman, Sakiko Nomura, Pentti Sammallahti, Toshio Shibata, Sterk & Rozo and Masao Yamamoto

Besides the contemporary photographers there was also an overview of a collection photographs of male nudes (private collection from anonymous) as illustration of the idea "paroxysm".

The statement written by my hand:

A photographer halts and suspends reality in an image. Because of this arrest/suspension, the process of interpretation can commence. The right moment has been, has past by ('ça a été') and space is framed in two dimensions, incidentally with the illusion of the third dimension: depth. This act of framing implies that the classification of an image constitutes the beginning of its interpretation. There is a search for the right frame. Knowledge of its context is a necessary prerequisite for an understanding of a given image. This knowledge is not always transmitted along in verbal manner, for the photograph is first and foremost an autonomous image. Consequently, the spectator attempts to localise the adequate category in which to inventory/store the image. This is relatively easy for most images, otherwise the deluge of images would end up by continuously driving us insane. We deal with images in the same fashion as we deal with reality itself. But some images are confusing us. For instance those realised by outstanding photographers. Within the realm of photography, there is a particular kind of images which are

truly surprising; not so much because they stand out by their conspicuousness, but much rather as a result of their disquieting strangeness. Up until now, we sketched a rather abstract description of the theme, but we could also be more concrete. The images, which are easy to classify, are the so-called 'normal' images. The photographs we deal with in the present context do not show an abnormal world – for this is another category with which we are also acquainted –, but can be located in the no man's land between the two above-mentioned categories. For instance: where does intimacy end? 'Intimacy' is etymologically derived from 'intimus', the 'innermost', a superlative of 'interior', which already is a double comparative of 'in'. But for how long can this progression towards the interior remain intimate? To the very acts of ritually slaughtering and eating the beloved one? Or does this constitute murder? In how far does a feast remain a feast? Where and when does eroticism turn into pornography? Where do extremities meet. And touch, in between insanity and genius, for example? Several Photographers have done some research into this domain by imaging – in the sense of presenting in images – these borderline situations. These images are questioning the very category to which they belong and bring this about by going to the utmost extreme. By doing so, they come slightly, just a fraction closer to the other category, without however ending up in the latter. 'But where ought the borderline be drawn?' Is the hackneyed cliché question that is raised with regard to comparable circumstances. For the borderline is not neatly fixated or delineated within reality itself, it is a construct of our habits of looking/gazing. Just how little can this fraction of a difference become, or, conversely, how large? In this context, the word 'fraction' seems particularly well-chosen, namely in the sense of a 'quantity smaller than the whole/totality'; but, then again, this quantity can be vast. Additionally, the word 'fraction' is etymologically derived from the Latin verb 'frangere', meaning 'to break'. The limit or borderline in this context evidently is a faultline, a line connecting breaking points. One could equally recur to the word 'paroxysm' to describe this phenomenon. According to the Oxford Dictionary of the English Language, the term 'paroxysm' refers in current language to the following connotations:

1. a sudden attack (as of a disease) or sharp recurrence or increase of symptoms; the stadium in which (the disease) reaches it's highest intensity

2. a sudden violent emotion or action

3. (rare) an intense or spectacular explosion of a volcano

At first sight, this does not seem to be all that applicable or accurate a term. Yet, French theoreticians (philosophers, sociologists) at times recur to using this word in the manner of a metaphor, in which it always refers to the intensity of the liminal, of the borderline. Disease is incommensurable before and with regard to the

exact establishment of death. The most intense anger or suffering are not limited in their expressions. An eruption of lava can be a tourist attraction or the very explosion of the globe. This exhibition deals with such extremities, these attempts at escaping and transcending the categories imposed upon oneself. 'Paroxysm' thus points at the questioning of the borderline between concepts such as case and accident, animals and varmint, human and inhuman, weather and storm, herbs and bad weeds, act and crime; but equally to love and hate, desire and pain, peace and war, science and myth, medicine and witchcraft, in short, it refers to all kinds of concepts which can be classified in antipoles opposing the normal versus the abnormal. The photographs in question explore the no man's land between both extremities.
(End of my statement!)

Words are important. In some power systems (discourses) more so than in others. Coming from a vice squad, for instance, the choice of one word rather than another can have far-reaching consequences. In these times of a general shift to the right – which is especially noticeable in the changing ideas and opinions of the so-called left – censorship is no longer a word to be censored. Not even in the Mecca of freedom, the city of Amsterdam.

Sure enough, in Amsterdam, even before the photo show "Attack!" opened to the general public (on 6 June 1999), the exhibit was seized, and distribution of the catalogue, which contained a stamp-sized reproduction of the photograph, was banned. The word was "child porn".

The exhibition was precisely about the borderline at which things threaten to turn into something else, but stop short of actually doing so: the borderline. A part of the exhibition consisted of a private collection of male nudes, in which indeed many a well-formed male member was to be seen, besides the tiniest little willies.

The photograph objected to is one with a classical theme in art: "Father and Son", by the well-known American professional photographer, Walter Chappell. In this variation on the theme of Mother and Child, biological paternity is symbolised by its origin, an erect penis. Cultural paternity is symbolised by the fatherly tenderness with which the man embraces the child. As a matter of fact, the picture was taken by his wife. The allegation of child porn is quite absurd. But times and contexts change. This photograph from 1962 should be seen as an expression of the new views on the human body and nudity that emerged in the sixties. This was an era when the taboo of parental asexuality was being broken: the whole family would take a bath together, and it was perfectly all right for the children to witness mum and dad practise making babies. All those things were quite acceptable at the time, at least in progressive circles.

In the forbidden picture, the photographer's wife, who was travelling as a naturist with the six children, simply enjoyed the sight of her husband expressing two forms of tenderness: his embrace of the child and the erection that referred to her. Or, to use the words of the Dutch cultural philosopher, Ton Lemaire: *"The erect penis is tenderness incarnate."* (De tederheid, Ambo, Bilthoven, 1968, p. 66).

It is very hard to see why photographs of children in completely innocent nudity, their infantile genitalia hardly showing, would have to be censored. Many were meant as studies for artists. Some were made in the last century.

But that there was also a ban on showing the work of one of the major photographers of our age, Duane Michals, is simply inadmissible. Completely in keeping with Surrealism (which published its first manifesto in 1924), he shows a world of the imagination and of related subconscious aspects, based on a theory of human desire that is more than a hundred years old (Freud, Die Traumdeutung, 1900).

The person who condemns is simultaneously a voyeur, who enjoys, but forbids enjoyment. The censor must know that there is nothing to be seen, and that, when he considers something inadmissible, his judgement is the result of the accidental and arbitrary criteria of his culture and age. In the connection between 'sexual' and 'violence', the sexual is constantly condemned and confused with the violence. But the only thing that is ethically reprehensible is to do to others what they do not want to be done to them. The rest must be allowed, for the sake of freedom. Paroxysm lies in the intermediate area, at the level of cultural criteria that give answers to questions of this kind.

Conclusion

It is obvious that there is a vacancy for semiotics in the field of philosophy, as a complement to aesthetics. In this respect, Umberto Eco provides us with a relevant illustration, borrowed from his own experience:

> *I had written four books on aesthetics before I got interested in semiotics, but also after that, I always continued my research in the field of art. Aesthetics is not a nearly confined discipline, which could only be approached via a psychological, or a metaphysical methodology: it is a much broader, more inclusive domain. Because of the fact that I am attracted by what cannot immediately be expressed by means of words, yet cannot stand that certain things remain undebatable – cannot be spoken about – I use semiotics as a way of approaching certain problems and to elucidate some aspects thereof. Of course, but the latter can be instrumental in explaining some of its characteristics. When I deal with the problem of colour, as was the case on the occasion of the lecture on Mondrian, I start out by*

means of a categorisation in a first instance. But still, the fact remains that, beyond a certain point, our aesthetic experience of colour blows away all these categorisations. And yet, it is language that provides us with the possibility of conveying new, unknown colours as Joyce did.

In the above quotation, my colleague Willem Elias from the Free University in Brussels – who wrote an erudite essay on paroxysm in the catalogue of "Attack!" finds a formulation of the importance of the relationship between semiotics and aesthetics. *"On the one hand, it is a conflicting or contradictory one, since the former is usually approached in a quantitative manner, whereas the latter deals with impressions of a qualitative nature; on the other hand, a combination of both is experienced as an enrichment, in the sense that they both complement each other and fill the gaps between them. And that is a truly engaging experience indeed."*

Finally, we hope that "Attack!" continues to be given every chance – helped by this lecture here on the Symposium Photography & Research in Austria – Vienna, the Door to the European East of the ESHP – to be viewed from the ethics of anti-voyeuristic looking to obtain, through collaborative effort, a view of the potential future of the History and Aesthetics/Philosophy of Photography. And anyway, we still have the excellent catalogue![1]

Note

[1] Swinnen, Johan (ed.): Attack! Photography on the edge, Publ. Houtekiet, Antwerp & Holland Festival Amsterdam, 1999 (with English supplement), p. 305.

Anna Auer

"Fotografie im Gespräch" – Conversations about Photography

The men and women I had the great pleasure to interview in the past twenty years are well recognized in the field of photography. The book unites eighteen fascinating interviews conducted with personalities intensively engaged with photography during their life time. Great photographers, art historians, photographs collectors and critics, as well as artists all helped shape in one or the other way the art of photography. The various interviews shed light on the multiple interconnections between the European and American Culture. Primarly, however, they convey a profound understanding of the evaluation of photography as a well-accepted expression of art.

Starting with *Van Deren Coke*: As a young man he had encountered Edward Weston and Ansel Adams who made a strong and longlasting impression on him. Questioned about his art work in the seventies, Van Deren Coke confessed that the pictures of the two Dadaists, the Rayographs of Man Ray and the Schadographs of Christian Schad had him profoundly inspired. Van Deren Coke has been known outside the US as an art historian who tried to pursue new paths. In 1964, he assembled a small travelling exhibition entitled "The Painter and the Photograph", which in the US opened the discussion of the interrelations between art and photography. In 1974, followed the extensive publication "The Painter and the Photograph: From Delacroix to Warhol", which had also a great importance for the European reception of this theme.

In June 1998, after almost twenty years, I again met *A. D. Coleman* in New York. I mentioned to him that my exhibition in Vienna "Exodus from Austria. Emigration of Austrian Photographers 1920 - 1940" was well received. I only regretted the small number of published interviews in the exhibition catalogue. Coleman encouraged me at that time to review the recorded tapes; I did it two years later and this book is the result. Coleman in the interview extensively discusses many burning issues and open questions of our times. For example, he think that in the digital photography there is an enormous creative potential; but, the chemical-analogue photography will always keep its plane possibilities and probably parallel a long time digital photography.

Walter Curtin (Walter Spiegel) emigrated 1939, together with his brother from Vienna to London and later on to Canada. As an "Enemy Foreigner" he was sent to Australia. During a 56 days shipboard journey, the internees enthusiastically founded a photo club. By the time they arrived in Australia, Winston Churchill had issued a new category for ethnic minorities "Amicable Foreigner". With the stroke of Churchill´s pen, Curtin was able to return to Great Britian. On the voyage back he met

Helmut Gernsheim. In 1952 he and his family moved to Toronto in Canada, where he got his first big contract to document the Shakespeare Festival in Stratford, Ontario. In 1972 he began a large project dedicated to the classical music scene in Canada. This project, completed in 1982, included a series of portraits (around 30.000 negatives) of Canadian conductors, composers, musicians, singers and artists.

At the beginning, *Richard Erdoes*, relates the delightful anecdote of how Gustav Mahler took on his father to be trained as an opera singer at the Viennese Court Opera House. Erdoes goes to describe his own career as draughtsman and illustrator in Vienna and Berlin. He also remembers the underground movement against National Socialisme to which he belonged as a student in Berlin in the thirties. He talks about his art training at the University of Applied Arts in Vienna and about his later flight from Vienna over Paris to New York. Here, he became increasingly committed to the cause of the Indians and actively participated in the Civil Rights Movement of the sixties. He dedicated himself both as photographer and writer to the Indian culture.

Trude Fleischmann relates her first encounter as a young woman with the Viennese poet Peter Altenberg. She nostalgically remembers the death of Alban Berg whom she last photographed on his death bed on 24th December 1935. She speaks of her great respect for the sisters Wiesenthal and particularly emphasises the extraordinary grace of the dancer, Grete Wiesenthal. Still amused years later, she recalls the misunderstanding she had with Arturo Toscanini, when she discovered that Arturo Toscanini´s English intonation was that of an Italian.

Tim Gidal (Ignaz Nachum Gidalewitsch) went 1930 to Palestine and returned with a series of photographs detailing the visual aspects of the continuing jewish-arab conflict. This photo series "Arabs against Jews - the Palestine Problem", was published worldwide and was for Gidal the beginning of his dedication to Zionist ideals and to thoroughly studying Jewish history. In 1933, Gidal left Germany and emigrated to Palestine. There he worked as a freelance photographer and camera-man. Stefan Lorant, the editor in chief of the "Picture Post" in London, invited him in 1938 to contribute to that famous British newspaper as a reportage photographer. Later on, he became a photographic consultant for *Life* Magazine and lectured at the "New School for Social Research" in New York. In 1971, Gidal went to Israel to become a Senior Lecturer at the Hebrew University, and once again he continued passionately to study Jewish history.

I am also referring to Tim Gidal´s book, "Die Freudianer. Auf dem 13. Internationalen Psychoanalytischen Kongreß 1934 in Luzern", edited in 1990. Just prior to the beginning of World War II, Gidal compiled an outstanding photo-documentary containing about 400 photographs for this Congress. The extraordinary significance of Gidal´s series cannot be minimized. This was the first time a photographer

participated in a prestigious psychological congress. Some of the participants were: Siegfried Bernfeld, Princess Maria Bonaparte, Paul Federn, Anna Freud, Melanie Klein, Karl Landauer, Heinrich Meng und Wilhelm Reich. In this book, Gidal reflects on Sigmund Freud´s jewish roots as well as discussing Freud´s ambigous and difficult relationship with his father. Gidal also spoke about the strong relationship he had with his identical twin brother Georg, who was also a talented photographer but unfurtunately died early.

L. Fritz Gruber, the Honorary President of the German Society of Photography (Deutsche Gesellschaft für Photographie) in Cologne and a life-long private collector, was touched by the elegance of photographic art early in his life. As a young man, he lived in August Sander´s neighborhood and was a school mate of Sander´s son Gunther. Initially, he studied languages, history of art, sciences of the theatre and periodicals. In 1930 he became editor of two anti-nationalistic magazines that forced Gruber to emigrate in 1933 to Great Britain, where he stayed until the end of the War. Beginning in 1950, Gruber lead the cultural division "Bilderschauen of photokina" in Cologne. In 1951, at the suggestion of Gruber, the "German Society of Photography" (DGPh) was founded in Cologne, and in 1958, Gruber proposed to the DGPh to create a Cultural Prize. His suggestion was accepted and the first "Kulturpreis" was awarded to Helmut Gernsheim. L. Fritz Grube recalls the many encounters he had with world-renowned photographers and personalities of the twentieth century. Interestingly, near the end of the interview, Gruber commented about how difficult is to befriend economics and culture to a common denominator.

After World War I, *Robert Haas* studied typeface, typography and Heraldry under Professor Rudolf Larisch. In 1925, Haas set up a graphic studio in Vienna with Professor Carry Hauser und Dr. Fritz Siegel. These collaborative efforts produced hand-pressed prints and other publications. Additionally, in this studio, the famous magazine "Die Fackel", edited by Karl Kraus, was printed. In 1930, Robert Haas studied the art of photography with Trude Fleischmann. For the World Fair in Paris, in 1937, the Viennese architect Oswald Haerdtl charged him with the task of creating a large photomontage for the Austrian pavilion. This work became the largest photomontage ever made (32 m large, 8 m high). In 1938 Haas emigrated to New York, where he founded a hand-press-printing compagny called "Ram Press" on 25th Street.

The former Christian Socialist Viennese police commissioner *Hans Walter Hannau* recalls the difficult years for Austrian internal politics between 1929 and 1934 and his unproblematic escape to the USA. He also remembers, however, his arrest in 1941 in Miami on the grounds of suspected Nazi espionage. He found an excellent advocate in Mrs. Anna Eleonor Roosevelt who intervened for his immediate release. He came to photography through the Duke of York, the later King of Great Britain,

Georg V. Together they got to know the surroundings of Vienna in taking photographs. When in 1929 the Rolleiflex 4 x 4 cm was still in the process of being constructed, Hannau suggested that the 6 x 6 cm format was the far more practical solution. This was immediately taken on board by the two manufacturers Franke & Heidecke. The Rolleiflex came into the market in both formats but the 6 x 6 cm camera was the one which finally won the day.

Heinz Kurt Henisch completed his studies in physics in England. In 1963 he became a Professor of Physics in the Unites States at Penn State University in Pennsylvania, USA, and in 1978 Henisch was also appointed Professor of the History of Photography there. Henisch foundly recalls in the interview a number of very talented students and continues to tell us the fascinating story of founding the wellknown journal "History of Photography an international quarterly". It was also in Penn State that Bridget and Heinz K. Henisch first acquired some Daguerreotypes and a number of photographic prints. These potographic items gradually grew to a considerable collection. In 1996 the entire collection was presented to Penn State University. Access to "The B. &. H.Henisch Photo History Collection" is free to both PSU students and the general public.

Fritz Henle, often called "Mr.Rollei", came from a German family of scientists, where music was an important part of family life. In 1936, Henle emigrated to the United States under the sponsorship of Rollei management. Initially his primary responsability in his assignment for Rollei, was photographing activities on 42nd Street in New York. His series were published in *Life* Magazine with great success. An encounter with a Russian emigrant, Alexei Brodovitsch, Art Director at Harpers Bazaar, began a long-lasting, productive professional relationship. Henle additionally spoke of his pleasant collaboration with Alfred Eisenstaedt and recalls also his meeting and friendship with Pablo Casals, which led to a series of portraits.

In January 1976, *Marco Misani* started to publish the monthly newsletter *print letter* (in three languages) in Zurich. This newsletter´s intended audience was primarily photographers, galleries, museums and art dealers. Misani was inspired by Bill Jay´s English language publication "Album". In the interview, taken in the early eighties, he spoke of the necessary balance between his responsabilities as both editor and publisher and compared photography in the United States with that of Europe. His conclusion was that the appreciation of photography in Europe lags behind that of the US. Misani is convinced this is primarily because the educational system in Europe is regimented and lacks inventiveness related to photographic arts.

Nikolaus Schad is the son of the painter Christian Schad. In an all-encompassing essay he proposes a comprehensive and profound understanding of his father's photographic work. Schad studied Medicine at the Universities in Rome and Munich. In

the fifties he became also fascinated with the shadows and contours of the heart seen on normal chest film. Later on, he became an Associate Professor of Radiology at the Washington-University and Chief of the Cardiac Section at that Institution in St. Louis, USA. Also he was appointed Chairman of the Radiological Institute at the University in Siena (Italy). In addition to teaching students the fundamental aspects of cardiac radiology, he taught them the necessity of visualizing both static and dynamic images using computerized digital imaging. As a teenager, Schad was encouraged by his father, Christian Schad, to explore the exciting elements of photography. All his cardiac research had also sharpened his eyes to carefully observe shadows and had drawn him closer to an understanding of his father´s use of shapes and shadows in Schadographs. Nikolaus Schad tries to thoroughly analyse the three distinct periods of the time when his father created photograms. The rather large temperal separation of these photographic periods with their significant changes in expression required an exhaustive analysis, which far too long was missing.

The eminent German art-historian *Schmoll gen. Eisenwerth* tell us in this interview about the complex issues associated with his artistic family. Initially, his multifarious artistic talent presented him with the difficult professional dilemma of whether to become an artist or to study History of Art. Inspired by the many exhibitions he saw in the thirties in Berlin he chose to become an art-historian. While still a student, he became enamoured with the work of Auguste Rodin, and his most recent exploration of this artist was directed at developing an analysis of the "Burgher of Calais" in 1998. A personal meeting with Dr. Otto Steinert in 1948 led to a long and enduring friendship that lasted until Steinert's death in 1978. From 1948 - 1963, Otto Steinert und Schmoll gen. Eisenwerth wrote numerous programmatic texts specifically to promote an enlightened understanding of human perception in the art of photography. These insights reaffirm that any creative technique implies also a compository vision. Beginning in 1951, Schmoll gen. Eisenwerth began to explore the relationship between photography and painting. In 1962 Otto Steinert and Schmoll gen. Eisenwerth were invited by Beaumont Newhall to visit together the George Eastman House in Rochester, N.Y. It was here that Schmoll gen. Eisenwerth became acquainted with Van Deren Coke, who at that time was studing the connection of the French painter Delacroix with photography. In 1970 Schmoll gen. Eisenwerth prepared a pioneering exhibition for the Municipal Museum of the City of Munich, called "Malerei nach Fotografie. Von der Camera obscura bis zur Pop Art". This exhibition became an essential contribution to understanding the interrelationship between painting and art, and to its acceptance as an art form in Europe.

After the death of his father, the Viennese born *S. Franklin Spira* took over the photographic shop and subsequently built "Spiratone, Inc., Queens, New York" into a

large company with 60 employees. Within thirty years "Spiratone" became the foremost supplier of photographic accessories, many of which were designed and developed within the firm. His innovative products include an interchangeable adapter system for lenses and accessories which became the world standard. Spira owns the world´s largest private collection on the history of photography (camera, books, autographs, letters and other rare documents). Spira cites also the example of the treasure of Josef Maria Eder´s private collection from Vienna, which was given to the University of Technology in Rochester ages ago (J.M.Eder sold his collection in 1920 to the Eastman Kodak Company in Rochester, which was incorporated in 1947 at the Photomuseum at George Eastman House).

Wolf Suschitzky´s original desire to become a zoologist was not to happen. Instead, he was encouraged by his sister, the photographer Edith Tudor Hart, to learn the art of photography. His father was a socialist and free thinker and owned the first socialist bookshop in Vienna. He did his first big reportage on the "Charing Cross Road" in London, in 1935. Although he had found a good author in the person of Peter de Mendelssohn (to whom the Austrian writer Hilde Spiel was married), his book project on the subject could not be realized until 1988 when it was brought out by the Berlin publisher Dirk Nishen. Suschitzky as a camera-man worked on over 100 documentary films. At the end of the sixties he was the camera-man of "Ulysses", a film based on the novel of James Joyce of the same name. His son Peter was soon to follow in his father´s footsteps and became a much sought-after camera-man. He worked on films such as "The Rocky Horror Picture Show", "Naked Lunch" and "Dead Ringers".

Despite *Otmar Thormann* being convinced that he wanted to immediately become a photographer, his father insisted that Thormann first became a pastry confectioner. In 1965 Thormann left Austria and moved to Sweden. Stockholm continues to be his permanent residence. Inspired by Weegee´s (Arthur Fellig) book "Naked City", he began to take pictures of people observing the changing of guards at the Royal Palace in Stockholm. And it was Arbus´s work that inspired his creation of a series of photographs featuring dogs. A significant step in Thormann´s becoming aware of his artistic self was his encounter with photographs created by Josef Sudek. His work helped make him aware that through photography one could create images that allowed one to transmit emotions and ideas to the viewer. His further premise is that Sudek´s work did not require one to travel emotionally from the mind to the heart. Sudek, through his photographs, immediately touched the viewers heart.

Appendix

Anna Auer

The Photographic Society founded 1861 in Vienna

The Photographic Society (PHG) was founded 1861 in Vienna, and is the oldest photographic association in the German speaking region. Its constitutions reads: "The purpose of the Photographic Society is to promote the art, culture and science of photography, the essence of communication in the broadest sense of the word, and all the related disciplines and techniques, especially the producation and printing process." The PHG unites personalities from the fields of the Arts and Science. The varied activities of the Society are represented by the sections: Photography, Stereo, History and Aesthetics, Reproduction and Printing. Exhibitions, professional lectures and conferences are also held.

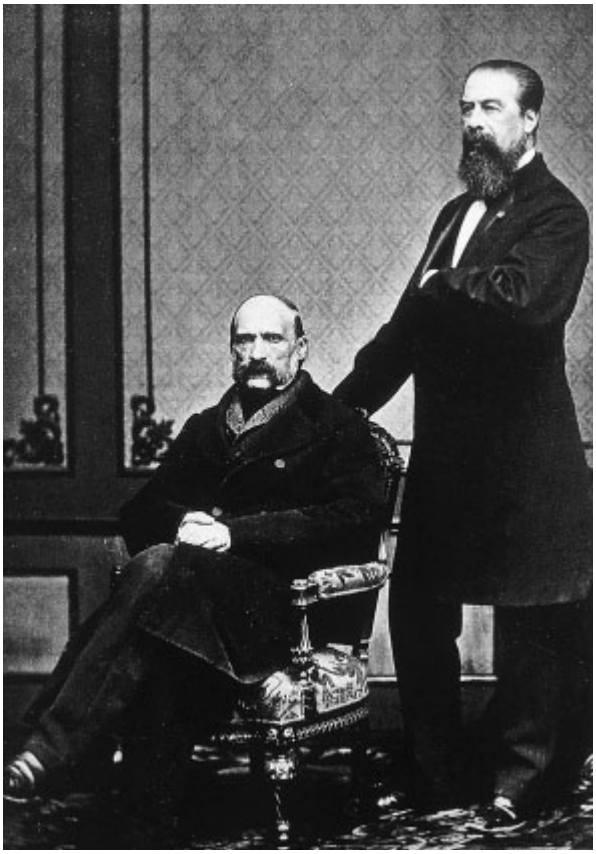

Fig. 1: Anton Georg Martin (sitting) and Peter Wilhelm Friedrich von Voigtländer, Vienna c. 1865

Already in 1840 a group of scientists and artists met in Vienna's suburb at the time "Landstrasse" in the studio belonging to the Viennese painter and daguerreotypist Carl Schuh. To this so called "Fürstenhofrunde" that met regularly on a "jour fixe" belonged among others, the physicist and mathematician, Sir Andreas of Ettingshausen (1796-1878), the professor of mathematics Max Joseph Petzval (1807-1891), the optician Peter Wilhelm Friedrich Voigtländer (1812-1878) as well as the librarian Anton Georg Martin (1812-1882) of the Polytechnical Institute (today's Technical University) (Fig. 1).

The PHG emerged from this informel group of friends of photography. The activity of two other large associations was also of primary importance for the founding of the Photographic Society in Vienna: The Photographic Society in London (founded in 1853), known today as "The Royal Photographic Society" (RPS) and the "Société de Photographie" (SF) founded 1854 in Paris. The inaugural meeting of the "Photographic Society" in Vienna took place on March 22nd, 1861 at the old University (today's Austrian Academy of Science in Vienna). Later, until 1928, the monthly gatherings were held in the hall of the new building (opening on March 1st, 1888) at the "K. K. Lehr- und Versuchsanstalt für Photographie und Reproductionsverfahren", due to the intense efforts of the photochemical scientist of Josef Maria Eder (1855-1944), who became its first director. It is Europe's oldest professional school for photography and serves as the Photographic Society's headquarter, even today.

The first president of the PHG was the librarian of the today's Technical University in Vienna, Anton Georg Martin, who, in 1846, wrote the first book in German on photography: "Repertorium der Photographie. Vollständige Anleitung zur Photographie auf Papier" (Fig. 2). During his presidency, in 1863, the PHG already lodged an application with the Austrian Ministery of Justice to clarify the question of Copyright in photography. Later, in 1867, the PHG submitted a petition to the House of Representatives to introduce considerations about photography into the revision of the press laws. Until 1895, these efforts were only partially successful, and it was only through the unremitting endeavours of the Society that the Austrian Ministry of Education created in 1932 a working group on the subject of photographic Copyright in Austria.

Since the very beginning, the PHG has tried to built a broad and international membership. Statistics from 1875 show that almost one third of the members were from the Vienna area, a further third came from the kingdoms and regions of the Hungarian Crown (all represented in the Federal Council), the remaining members were photographers and scientists from Eastern and Western European countries as well from the United States.

Shortly after its establishment, the PHG set up an exhibition committee, in April 1861, that met in the studio of the photographer Ludwig Angerer (1827-1879). The

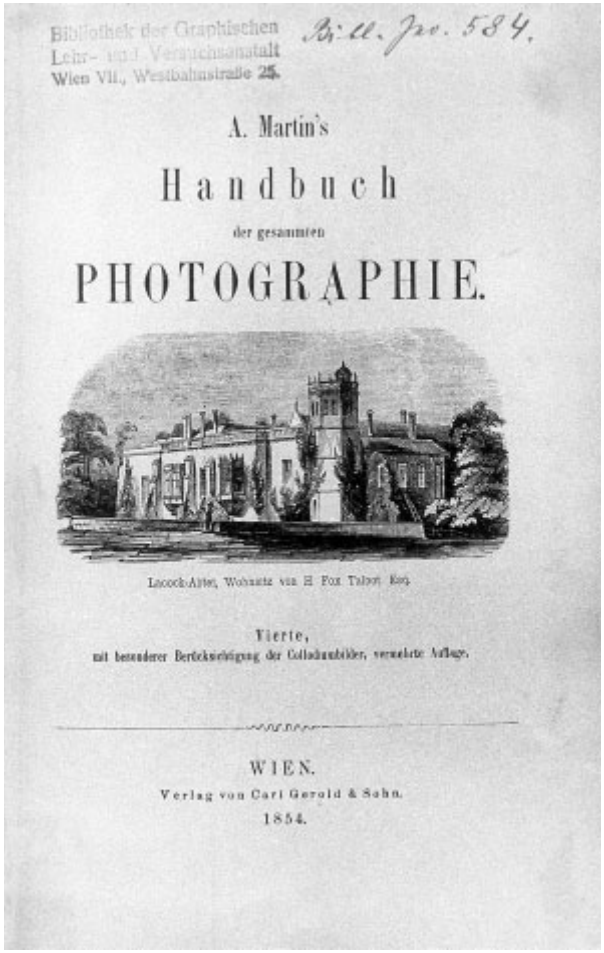

Fig. 2: Anton Georg Martin: Repertorium der Photographie. Vollständige Anleitung zur Photographie auf Papier,Wien 1854 . Vignette on the Cover: Residence of Talbot in Lacock Abbey

premises of the exhibition were the former "Dreherhof", across from the newly built Opera House. The first extensive photo exhibition in Austria was thus opened on May 17, 1864 in Vienna by the PHG – there were 1204 photographs exhibited. Ludwig Schrank (1828-1905), editor-in-chief of the association's official publication *Photographische Correspondenz*, reports: "For us, the significance of this exhibition lies in reaching out to the public and awakening their interest for photographic production."

In the years that followed, the PHG participated in a great number of exhibitions, a few examples are cited here: the World Exhibition in Paris (1867); the opening of

the Austrian Museum of Applied Arts in Vienna (1873), and again in Paris (1878). It was however, primarly the anniversary exhibitions of 1901 and 1961, which boosted the reputation of the Photographic Society in Vienna. The last named exhibition took place at the Technical Museum in Vienna and deserves to be given a special mention: not only was the hundred years old existence of the Society documented, but also the presence of Edward Steichen in Vienna – who received the "Golden Medal" award from the Society – this left a special mark on that event.

Even smaller displays were often set up during the association's assemblies, leading to a growing interest for photography. In this way, Paul Pretsch (1808-1873) demonstrated his invention of "Photo-Galvanographie" to the PHG; Karl Klič (1841-1926) presented his newly developed technique of photogravure for the first time at a Society's meetings (on October 7th, 1879). Both processes were later commercialized. In association with Samuel Fawcett and his "Rembrandt Intaglio Printing Co-operation" in Lancester, the photogravure process of Karl Klič was distributed from England world-wide. Also the Lumière Brothers displayed their Autochrome plates in 1896 to this circle, another technique which was totally unknown at that time to the public at large.

In 1860, the *Zeitschrift für Photographie und Stereoskopie* initiated by Karl Kreutzer, the curator of the University library became the official publication of the Society. Then, in 1864, Ludwig Schrank founded the Society's own organ, the legendary *Photographische Correspondenz*. Only seven years later, Emil Hornig (1828-1890) obtained publishing rights, which he gave to the PHG as a present. Then, Ludwig Schrank was the editor until his death in 1905. After the First World War and the inflation years, all publishing rights were handed over, in 1926, to the Julius Springer publishing house, only to be transfered back to the PHG in 1941. The publication finally ended up in the hands of Othmar Helwich (1907-1971), who edited that photo-scientific publication until his death. The publication was then discontinued – after 107 years of uninterrupted service. It has been the last purely scientifc oriented publication of photography in German language. Finally, in 1968, the official publication *Der Photograph* of the "Bundesinnung der Fotografen" (National Guild of Photographers in Austria), the "Verlag für photographische Literatur" in Vienna became the new official publication organ of the Society.[1]

Already, at the beginning of its existence, the PHG committed itself to the "occasional announcement of prizes". In 1868, for example, Friedrich von Voigtländer donated a sum of 4.500 Guilders, whose "... yearly interest should be used to promote and recognise exceptional achievements in theoretical and practical photography." The Voigtländer "Silver Medal" was handed out in 1870 for the first time to Charles Emanuél Désiré Van Monckhoven and Julius Leth. Additionally, the PHG awards the

"Society Medal" – which can also be received by non-members as well as the "Anniversary Medal" in recognation of a twentyfive or fifty-year affiliation.

The historical significance of the Photographic Society, founded 1861 in Vienna, played an important role in the establishment of the "K. K. Lehr- und Versuchsanstalt und Reproductionsverfahren". The statutes of the Society at that time specify also the collection activities, as well "photographic literature, photographs and specimens of the photomechanical printing process and photographic devices and machines of all kinds". After a board decision in 1932, the collections were given to the "Graphische" as a donation, propably in view of the anticipated forthcoming unstable political situation.

In 2000, the entire material of the collection – images, photographic appliances and books (with the exception of the school library) was handed over to the "Fotosammlung" (Collection of Photographs) of the "Graphische Sammlung Albertina", to keep it in archives. After completation of the restructuring of the Albertina building, planned for April, 2003, these rich sources of Austrian and international photographic history should be made available to the general public. Furthermore, images and library will be then accessible for research via computer connections.

The successful symbiosis between the "Graphische" and the Photographic Society, which has lasted until today, had its origins in the long-lasting precidency of Josef Maria Eder (from 1901 until 1924), as well as in the fact that the director of the "Graphische" was also the president of the Photographic Society (until 1983). Even today, the board of the association consists mostly of the teaching staff of the school. The close relationship between the two institutions is also reflected in the joint events, such as displays and lecture evenings, that take place on the premises of the "Höhere Graphische Bundes-, Lehr- und Versuchsanstalt Wien XIV".

At the beginning, scientifically engaged physicists and chemists members had contributed their important findings and experiences to the photographic research. Today, the great variety of modern applicated technologies constitues a new challenge for photographers. This includes the computerised elaboration of images and the revolutionary storage of pictures on the magnetic medium. Besides the rather complex group of professional photographers, the number of independent photographers increases constantly. Their stimulating impulses coming from the arts and the world of modern media can by no means be undervaluated. Within the field of theoretical concerns of photography, a considerable group of mediators, curators and publicists make an exceptional work of promulgation.

Note

[1] At the onset of 1997, I discovered important original letters and manuscripts at the archive of the library of the "Graphische". A selection of fourteen letters and eight manuscripts has been published by Verlag für photographische Literatur under the title: "Die vergessenen Briefe und Schriften. Niépce, Daguerre, Talbot". (The Forgotten Letters and Manuscripts. Niépce, Daguerre, Talbot). At the symposion of the ESHP "Shamanism and Beliefs in European Photography" in Helsinki (October 9-12, 1997) I presented a releated contribution.

Laurent Roosens

The History of a Society for History

At the meeting in Antwerp held on January 9 to 11, 1998, to celebrate ESHP's 20th Anniversary, Dr. Roosens gave an informed and concise speech explaining how this Society came into being. This speech has been first published in *Newsletter*, Winter/Spring 1998, p. 4-7.

Our Society was founded in 1977. My personal interest in the history of photography dates from 1963, now well over 30 years ago. My first contacts with photo history were established when a colleague of mine, Mr. Karel Sano, asked me to assist him in organising an exhibition at the Sterckshof museum – which at that time was the Antwerp Provincial Museum of Decorative Arts and Crafts – to set up an exhibition on the occasion of the 125th anniversary of the invention of photography.

During the construction of the exhibition I contacted the then existing photo-musea and viewed collections of photographic cameras and prints. Only few institutions then corresponded to the term "photo-museum" as we conceive it today. They were the George Eastman House in Rochester, the Kodak Museum in Harrrow, the Musée Français de la Photographie in Bièvres and the American Museum of Photography.

Most of the photographic collections were sections of technical Musea such as the Deutsches Museum in Munich, the Science Museum in London, the Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers in Paris, the Graphische Lehr- und Versuchsanstalt in Vienna and the Smithsonian Institution in Washington. Prints were part of iconographic collections such as are found in the Kupferstich-Kabinett in Dresden, the Departement des Estampes et de la Photographie de la Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, the Prentenkabinet in Leyden, the Library of Congress in Washington – or in one of the many Landesbildstellen in Hamburg, Leipzig, Darmstadt and other German cities.

Several collections belonged to photographic societies such as The Royal Photographic Society (then in London), or the Société Française de Photographie in Paris. Art musea had equally integrated photography departments. Examples are the Museum of Modern Art and the Metropolitan Museum of Art, both in New York.

Known private collections were those of Erich Stenger, Leverkusen; Hans Frank, Salzburg; Michel Auer, Geneva; the Koilski collection in Brussels and the Gernsheim collection in London. The private collections of Alden Scott Boyer, Kenneth Mees, Josef Maria Eder and Gabriel Cromer had been incorporated in the George Eastman House collection.

Well, what does this catalogue of collections lead up to? It actually shows that 30 years ago there were only a few monolithic European musea devoted to the history of photography. The thought of bringing them more closely together had not

emerged. However, the landscape changed. The auction of photographica held in Geneva in 1961 by Rauch had revealed the appeal of collecting old photographic instruments and prints. It also showed that hiding them for a while in a cabinet might prove lucrative.

In 1965 the University of Texas acquired the Gernsheim collection, in 1967 the Asahi-Pentx Gallery opened in Tokyo; the Antwerp Provincial Photomuseum was inaugurated in 1968, as was, in 1971, both the Tekniska Museet in Stockholm and the Maison de la Photographie in Chalon-sur-Saône. (I quote from memory). In 1973 I suggested the Antwerp provincial authorities should buy one of the finest private collections from the Swiss photohistorian Michel Auer. The acquisition contributed much to the authority of the photo-historical department of the Sterckshof museum.

Thus, by the end of the 1960s to the beginning of the 1970s, new photographic musea helped to catch the attention to the medium. Some remarkable itinerant exhibitions produced the same effect. Foremost among them were the famous "Family of Men", curated by Edward Steichen and "Was ist der Mensch?", organised by Karl Pawek.

With the increasing interest in the history of photography the demand was growing, at least in Europe, to create an institution which would encourage its members to exchange information and to acquaint themselves with the problems and the progress of their colleagues elsewhere.

In 1969 Rudolf Skopec, the Czech photohistorian, whose *Photographie im Wandel der Zeiten* is still an unsurpassed iconographical source, was the first, during the Intercamera Symposium in Prague, to invite photohistorians to set up a European photo historical society. Unfortunately at that time the political situation in Czechoslovakia was not of a nature to promote international contacts.

At about the same time, the Vienna based publishing house Bors & Müller tried to launch a photo historical review; *Historia Photographiae*, they called it. The experiment remained confined to a specimen copy. The interest shown by photo historical circles was insufficient to cover the cost of printing and distribution. Much later, in 1977, Professor Heinz K. Henisch of the Pennsylvania State University started the successful *History of Photography*, an international quarterly; by then photohistory had come of age. But this is another story. It was in 1974 that Europhot developed the idea of organising the first Europhot Symposium for Photographic Historians and – symptomatically – Photographic Galleries.

After World War II a number of European associations had been established because there was a real need for contacts across national borders. Europhot, founded in 1953, believed that it was in the interest of professional photography to create a European base where exchange of experiance would be possible.

The Antwerp Province Authorities received an invitation and asked Mr. Jan Walgrave, attached to the Sterckshof, and myself to follow the discussions. By the way, Mr. Walgrave presented a paper showing the plans of a splendid new museum of photography to be constructed next to the Sterckshof. Unfortunately it has never been set up. Environmental obstacles prevented the construction.

Knowing my interest in an international collaboration between photo historical institutions, the congress – it took place in Chalon-sur-Saône – asked me to inquire if the creation of an European association of photohistorians would be welcomed. Of course, the ship should sail under the Europhot flag. I must confess that it took me some time to start and even more time to collect the answers.

It was hardly surprising that the institutions and individuals contacted were in favour of an international collaboration. However, I had not expected that the greater part of those questioned did not want to become members of Europhot. Nobody contested the usefulness of Europhot. The refusal was based on a principled point of view: Europhot was controlled by a body of professional photographers and this made membership of most of the institutions impossible, in view of their statutes.

In retrospect the refusal was a wise decision since Europhot ceased to exist some years ago. I informed Europhot of the results. As far as I know it made no further efforts to organise a second symposium on the topic. So I started the whole procedure over again. I took up my pilgrim's staff and visited England, France, German, Italy and the Netherlands. Everywhere I presented a detailed and well elaborated plan to the boards of the associations which at that time were considered to be authoritative in the field of photohistory.

I had no difficulty whatsoever in convincing my interlocutors. I assume that there were three reasons why the proposal met with approval: Firstly, the idea made sense. The society to be created was neutral in all respects and had no connections with existing professional or otherwise engaged groupings. Secondly, I came from a small country, internationally open and resolutely turned towards the European Community. Thirdly, I spoke their languages. These three facts contributed much to dissipate the existing distrust against nationals belonging to a different clan, stronger then than today.

In the course of 1977 the authorities of the Antwerp Province sent out invitations to the institutions I had visited, requesting the presence of a representative in Antwerp in order to proceed to the creation of a European Society for the History of Photography.

There exists a photograph showing the founding mothers and the founding fathers on the steps of one of the many stairways leading into Sterckshof castle. One can recognise Professor Margaret Harker, then representing The Royal Photographic

Society of Great Britain; Ingeborg Leijerzapf of the Prentenkabinett, Leiden; Monsieur André Jammes of the Société Française de Photographie; Dr. Rolf H. Kraus, delegate of the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Photographie, Sektion Geschichte; Hans Frank, an Austrian private collector shortly before he became conservator of the really marvellous Photomuseum im Marmorschlössl in Bad Ischl. Rune Hassner of Stockholm was present, as was Colin Ford, then of the National Portrait Gallery, London, and Monsieur Bernard Marbot, representing the Département des Estampes et de la Photographie of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. Presenting apologies for absence were Mrs. Rosellina Burri-Bischof of the Schweizerische Stiftung für Photographie and Klaus op ten Höfel of the Agfa-Gevaert Foto-Historama. Of course the Province of Antwerp was represented, also the Sterckshof museum, as well as members of the working party of its photography department.

In December 1977 the well-prepared meeting at the Sterckshof passed off quietly and the discussions proceeded smoothly. The statutes were of an exemplary simplicity, running over scarcely two pages. They proved to be effective until 1991, when, at the Toulouse Symposium, some minor amendments were proposed for approval and incorporation. Neither the election of eleven members of the Executive Committee nor the designation of the officers created problems. Professor Harker became Vice-President, Mrs. Leijerzapf Honorary Treasurer, Roger Coenen, collaborator of the Sterkshof museum, was elected General Secretary, and myself was appointed President.

Now, why "European"? We wanted to be European mainly for reasons of a practical and functional nature. Regular contacts and possibilities of meeting were – and still are – no problem in Europe. The language differences were no major difficulty, the three official languages being – in alphabetical order – English, French, German. The objects of the Society can be enumerated briefly:

- to further interest in the history of photography;
- to establish and maintain a system for the exchange of information;
- to organise international meetings and symposia
- to set up international working groups with the purpose of dealing with specific topics.

Looking back to our 20 years of activities, we might ask two questions: The first one is: did the Society take steps to promote the interest in the history of photography? There is, I am sure, not the slightest doubt that this question must get a positive response.

The Society has published a *Newsletter*, acting as a medium for exchange of news and information for members. *Photohistorica*, the literature abstract bulletin, has

published yearly some 500 abstracts in the field of the history of photography. It was an appreciated tool in the hands of researchers, and many libraries, archives, musea and other institutions subscribed to it.

Next, the *SB* or *Selective Bibliographies* offered regularly bibliographic compilations on specific topics. Finally, the symposia acted as a focal point and a forum for the presentation of the results of new research. They became a meeting place where photohistorians could forge personal contacts which often were the starting point for a lasting friendship.

The second question then: did our Society realise all the aims and goals it had put on its list? Frankly, it would have been a small miracle if we could have answered this question in the affirmative. No, in spite of all efforts and time spent by many members and the officers, we have to admit that in some aspects we have aimed too high.

Thus, the publication of *Photohistorica* the valuable literature index, did, in 1996, after 57 issues and 7884 abstracts, suspend publication. The working parties, meant to elaborate a series of guides or recommandations, never got off the ground. The formula of an international collaboration did not work. It proved impossible for their members to come to conclusions by epistolary contacts only. I regret it. The working parties we had in mind should have dealt with the following topics:

- The Classification of cameras: no logical uniform concepts for the classification of cameras exist. There are nearly as many classifications as there are authors.
- The Vocabulary of photohistory: the terminology of photo-history borrowed – and still borrows – terms from other fields. In other words, photohistory is still dominated by a vocabulary used by art historians. It is hampered by the lack of an acceptable specific vocabulary for photography.
- The education: to be accepted as an adequate branch of science, the history of photography must become an academic discipline in Europe and should be taught at the universities by a full time teaching staff.
- Collecting: in 1978, no suitable terminology for photographic collecting existed. Terms such as "Vintage", "primary", "limited edition", "original", "reprint", "copy-print", "life time", "press-print", "artist's print", "contemporary print" were used without precise defination. While a limited common jargon had evolved, mainly between commercial galleries, it was often vague and meaningless because no criteria existed, accepted by an authoritative body.
- Photographic collections: a proposal to publish a directory of the most important European photographic collections was also agreed. Existing inventories should be made available, it would be urged.
- The compilation of a bibliography of books in the field of photography. This is the only project that has been realised. First in the form of our *Selective Bibliographies*,

later through the publication of the now four-volume series of *History of Photography: a Bibliography of books.* The four volumes list some 25.000 references. It is edited by Luc Salu, head Librarian of the Antwerp Provincial museum libraries. Mr. Bernard Marbot and I myself contribute to the compilation.

Why unearth these old projects? Because, after 20 years, with the exception of one, they have not been resolved. This means that our Society was right formulating them but failed by not bringing them to a good end. The proverb "Where there is a will, there is a way" is sometimes misleading.

In 1988 the Presidency and the administration crossed the Channel. For the continuation of what we started in 1978, we are indebted to our present president, who, with her inspiration, her dedication and her contagious enthusiasm, always found the means and the ways to keep the ship and its small but brave crew in the right direction, assisted by our hard working administrator, Roy Green.

I would like to take the advantage of this opportunity to thank again the authorities of the Privince of Antwerp for the moral, material and logistic support they have given our Society when it learned to walk. Its contribution during those pioneering years has been decisive. Without its support our Society would not exist today. In the same line lies the sponsering by the photographic industry. It merits our appreciation.

In closing I should like to quote a passage I wrote 20 years ago: "As to the further standing of the European Society for the History of Photography, it will be entirely what the members are going to make of it. Collaboration therefore becomes a major objective and a momentum of its growth, as the well-being of a voluntary organisation like ours is dependent on a constant goodwill to maintain and increase its vitality".

Undoubtedly this spirit was present at the moment of the creation of our Society. It has never vanished.

Contributors

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born 1937 in Klagenfurt, Carinthia. Founder of the first Austrian photo gallery "Die Brücke" (1970-1978) in Vienna. Initiated the photographic collection "Fotografis". Its Curator from 1976-1986. Organized in Vienna the first international Symposia on photography in the German speaking countries (1976-1981). In 1992 she got a grant from The J. Paul Getty Museum in Los Angeles which led to the exhibition "Exodus from Austria. Emigration of Austrian photographers 1920-1940" at the Kunsthalle, Vienna 1998. Important publications (selection): *Die vergessenen Briefe. Niépce, Daguerre, Talbot*, Vienna 1997; together with Nikolaus Schad she edited the book *Schadographien – Die Kraft des Lichts* (in German lanugage), Passau 1999; *Fotografie im Gespräch* (with an English summary), Passau 2001; *Ferdinand Schmutzer (1870-1928) – The unknown photographic work*, Vienna 2001. Anna Auer lives in Vienna. Since 2001 president of the ESHP.

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Prof. Dr. Nikolaus Schad

born 1924 in Neaples. The son of the painter Christian Schad studied medicine at the University in Rome and Munich, specializing in Pediatrics. He worked at the University of Zurich, initially in the Pediatrics and the Heart-Surgery Department, subsequently in that of Diagnostic Radiology. As an Associate Professor of Radiology he became the Chief of the Cardiac Section at the Washington University in St. Louis, USA. He has published various books. Later on he was called to the University of Siena in Italy where he appointed Chairman of the Radiological Institute. In 1999, he and Anna Auer presented the book (in German) *Schadographien – Die Kraft des Lichts* (Schadographs - The Power of Light).

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He studied English, History and Modern Greek at Eötvös University, Budapest. A former dissident and the editor of a literary monthly, he served for a time as Deputy Minister for Culture, and President of the National Cultural Fund (1994-98). He is the author of three books (with the recurrently rewritten cult book *Budapest: A Critical Guide* as one of them, also in German and French) and is a regular urban and cultural scene columnist of the Budapest Review of Books, a quarterly publication.

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Photographic Credits

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The European Society for the History of Photography (ESHP) was founded in Antwerp in 1977 with the aim of exploring the development of photography in all aspects from its beginnings to the present day.

The ESHP recruits as members
photographers,
photohistorians,
sociologists,
philosophers,
curators and collectors
as well as important institutions in Europe and elsewhere.

The ESHP encourages research, personel contacts, contributions and exchanges amongst members from Europe and elsewhere. The ESHP also promotes photography as an academic discipline and the introduction of chairs for the History of Photography at European universities.

The ESHP organizes yearly a symposium held in different places in Europe.

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From left to right: Johan Swinnen, Anna Auer, A. D. Coleman and Roger Erlandsen

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