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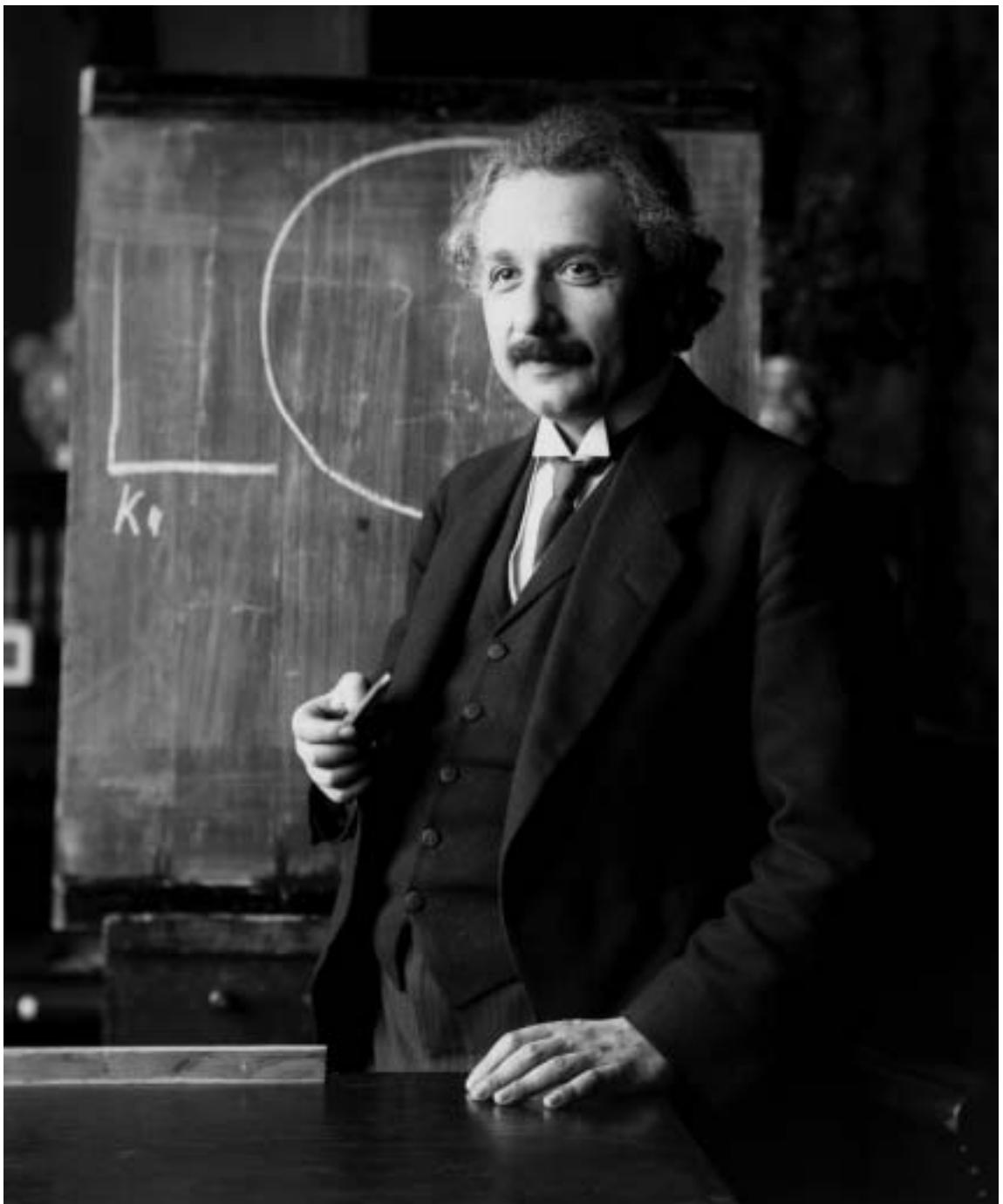
Photoresearcher

European Society for the History of Photography
Association Européenne pour l'Histoire de la Photographie
Europäische Gesellschaft für die Geschichte der Photographie

Editorial

After having read the seven collected manuscripts we were extremely surprised that four out of the seven dealt, in one way or another, with the interrelationship between painting and photography.

In his tribute to the recent death of Henri Cartier-Bresson, Alistair Crawford investigates in *That Decisive Moment: Henri Cartier-Bresson 1908–2004,* the significance of the so called theory of the 'decisive moment', a term that originally applied in 1952 only to the translation of a book title into English yet became, ever after, a working method sought by many a photographer. He concludes that Cartier-Bresson's decisive moment had just as much to do with the same absolute control of composition that painters and film makers use, as any interruption of time; that, by interrupting time with a masterly use and control of two dimensional space, designed to the picture's edge, Cartier-Bresson could impose his own meaning on what was there in front of his lens, as if it had always been there waiting to be revealed. The real mystery, Crawford concludes, is why his paintings and drawings do not display the same artistry.

The author Monika Schwärzler presents in *August Sander – A Psychoanalytic Reading* an in depth analysis of Sander's work.

She approaches the question of how to account for the strange attraction of his photography by refraining from the traditional schemes of explanation and, instead, introduces a different angle by implementing Jacques Lacan's theory, in particular his "The four fundamental concepts of psycho-analysis". In so doing she draws some new and intriguing conclusions.

Until 2001 the photographic work of the Viennese copperplate engraver Ferdinand Schmutzer remained unknown. He primarily made portraits of personalities involved in the arts, science, politics and business. These were not intended to be published being only studio guides for his other art works.

An exceptionally fascinating picture is the portrait of the later Nobel Prize winner Albert Einstein, who was in Vienna in 1921 for only a few hours. This year we are celebrating the 100th anniversary of the publication of his famous formula $E=mc^2$. Einstein had found that space and time are not constant, and that light is composed of particles. In her essay *The unknown photographic work of Ferdinand Schmutzer (1870–1927). A Viennese Graphic Designer,* Anna Auer indicates how Schmutzer, in his photographs, tried to make balanced compositions just as he had done in his etchings.

In his article *Two Jacks and a Jill: Diane Arbus, Lee Friedlander and Garry Winogrand at Century's End,* A D Coleman discusses the importance of the exhibition *New Documents* that took place in the Museum of Modern Art, New York in 1967. He refers to a text by John Szarkowski, the Director of the Department of Photography at MoMA, and interprets it as stressing a photography concerned only with the personal. Coleman criticizes, in his view, this non-political, anti-theoretical photography where the only considerations allowed would appear to be neutral and personal. Coleman indicates that *New Documents* had an important influence on the formation of the influential 'New York School of Photography' which lasted until the early 1980s.

In his essay *Dodging History: Marcel Duchamp's Photographic Manipulations,* Mark B. Pohlad deals with the various techniques of manipulation used by Duchamp, which still delight collectors as well as art historians. He traces Duchamp's systematic reworking of photographs where he frequently manipulated the results in order to more accurately represent his art work, to the extent that the distinction between photography and painting was to disappear. He also manipulated in order to heighten their subjects' historical nature, and, more broadly, to control the way his works would be seen and understood. In so doing, Pohlad argues, he was seeking to control his own historical record.

Ben Baruch Blich analyses how the reception of the photographic image changed the perception of art, of painting; from Walter Benjamin's philosophical approach through to Guy Debord's transparency of vision, to Jean Baudrillard's *The Precession of Simulacra*. He argues, in his article *The Epistemology of the Photographic Image,* that, from the moment photography appeared, the role of painting could be clearly separated from that of photography since the semiotics of both mediums can be seen to be essentially different. Vladimir Birgus in his informative exposé *Czech and German Avant-Garde Photography* describes the cultural and artistic axis of German and Czechoslovakian avant-garde during the period between the two wars. These exchanges abruptly terminated when Hitler's army occupied the country. Whereas Dadaism in Czechoslovakia had only a minor influence, limited mostly to poetry, the Bauhaus, generated a large number of talented artists and designers. Many Czechoslovakian artists studied there while some German artists taught at Czechoslovakian art schools. Birgus indicates that the Czechoslovakian avant-garde co-operated closely with John Heartfield before he emigrated to Prague in 1933 where he was the only artist to use photomontage for his fight against fascism. He also points to the influence of the Soviet Constructivists who gave new directions to Czechoslovakian photography, typography and graphic design.

Anna Auer and *Alistair Crawford*
Co-editors, Photoresearcher

Contents

Alistair Crawford

That Decisive Moment: Henri Cartier-Bresson (1908–2004)

Henri died on 22 August 2004 aged 95. His obituaries made it to the front pages of newspapers across the world as editors, journalists and fellow photographers recognised his lasting achievement. For many he was the inspiration that drove young men and women into photojournalism, indeed also into journalism. He was also equally inspirational to those who saw photography as an art form, equal to any other. He was always out there, in the front. The first version of the following article, *That Decisive Moment*, was written for *Inscape* magazine and was published in issue 53, Winter 2003/04. I kept a secret hope that someday soon after that someone might give him a copy and then let me know whether I had got it right, or nearly right. I did not send him a copy as I wanted to respect his decision to 'retire' and give up photography, and who was I anyway. It was not to be. I did read several of the obituaries and huffed and puffed at some of the tardy comments, such as the leader line: 'Photographer who turned a hobby into an art form' (*The Guardian*) or 'Legendary French photographer who evolved the concept of 'the decisive moment' … the phrase coined by Cartier-Bresson in 1952' (*The Times*). Just as all photographs are desired realities so too is journalism! So here is my modest homage to the great man – at least it is an honest attempt to cut through the rhetoric.

No doubt others, as well as me, and certainly in all those books and articles I read, said that Henri Cartier-Bresson invented the photographic theory of the *decisive moment*; that the camera could, in a split second of interruption, capture the essence of a scene; that the meaning could be released by the precision of an interruption; that meaning was waiting to be quantified. The secret was to know exactly when to interrupt. It was much *more* than a 'significant moment', more than being in the right place at the right time. In the age of the theory of relativity it fitted like a glove; in the age of zen and the art of motor cycle maintenance it adapted

readily. Those who searched, the theory went, could find whatever needed to be found in front of their eyes, out in the street, any day. Even a foreign country could be distilled to its relevances by the tiniest of interruptions, by whoever. You did not even need to know why you were there. We photographers told ourselves that this had something to do with photography. Often the results threw up intriguing ambiguities, mysterious images made out of tiny time-particles, and often they seemed not to be what was in front of the lens. Later, I think it was Robert Frank's *The Americans (Paris: 1958)* who convinced me, I began to suspect that all was not well with the theory, not that Cartier-Bresson did not come up with amazing photographs, but his work kept revealing a different construction. I then noted that he had been 'trained in art' and, sure enough, several of his images had an uncanny resemblance to paintings, such as *Sunday on the banks of the Marne, France* 1938 and its familiarity with Seurat's picnickers in *Bathers at Asnières* 1884 (National Gallery, London). I don't remember where I read that he said you could tell a good photograph by looking at it upside down, but I knew then that I was right. By making all the elements relate to the edges of the image, just as in the painted picture, he put composition to the fore. This discipline eliminated any need for cropping, (back at base it stopped interfering picture editors). Thus he was free to take the many and *select* the few, selected later only if they 'worked' as pictures.

The interruption of time by the camera gives a surrealist twist to that which life is, and it does it so often because the human eye cannot see that fast. This is not to say we can't sense what is there, but think of all those horses painted wrongly before the photograph; what makes us think we can see differently with a theory of a decisive moment? *If* he was able to produce such eloquence from a decisive moment, given its speed, it must have often been arbitrary, but his construction, how he saw the world, was *never* arbitrary

and was always remarkably consistent. It was all part of a long self-education in the art of picture design.

I found myself, over the years, having the temerity to be critical of the theory and writing accordingly; that Cartier-Bresson's photos owed more to art, especially to the cinema, than to any magic realism let loose by the interruption of time in split seconds; that his mastery had more to do with the ability to recognise that meaning could be *imposed,* not *released*, by accepting a particular juxtaposition of totally *unrelated* events which could became *unified* in the photograph, that is when they fell into a unifying *composition.* It was a mastery derived from a knowledge of how paintings are *assembled*. His decisive moment owed more to the construction of marks within a flat two dimensional space, than it did to any magic interruption of time.

You can image my recent surprise, delight, I suppose, when I read in A. A. Gill's interview 'Get Cartier' in the *Sunday Times Magazine* (29.04.2003) that the term 'decisive moment' did not come from Cartier-Bresson but was the innocent idea of Dick Swann, his American publisher, when translating from the French for the book *Images à la Sauvette* (Paris: Éditions Verve 1952). That became, instead of 'Hurried Images,' a more accurate translation, quite simply, *The Decisive Moment* (New York: Simon & Shuster 1952). The concept found a waiting audience. Did Cartier-Bresson know the effect of those two words on the world, now translated back into different French words? Did he decide to leave it at that?

History is wonderful, even when it comes too late for some – better I always say to students to learn to believe your own eyes than what you read or what those teachers tell you as gospel. Think of all those unfortunate photographers who believed in the gospel according to Steiglitz, of Straight photography, all those who religiously adhered to his pronouncements to never manipulate a photograph! Had they no eyes to see what Weston *et al* were about? I remember giving a lecture in

Henri Cartier-Bresson, Place de l'Europe, Gare Saint-Lazare, Paris 1932 (Credit to Magnum Photos Agency and Henri Cartier-Bresson Estate)

Chicago to a mesmerised group of student photographers who found Mario Giacomelli and Bill Brandt unacceptable, unrecognisable even, because they 'manipulated' their images, "Is this not wrong?" they said, quietly, looking at their feet. "Crude" they mumbled. I felt the cold shoulder of the staff who heard me say that all those Straight photographers manipulated in the darkroom. All those poor students told to drop their films into the automatic developer machine and accept the machine prints the monster returned. I could see that Straight photography was a wonderful invention for coping with large student numbers.

There has been a few welcome blockbuster photo books recently concerned with Magnum photo agency. *Robert Capa. The Definitive Collection* (London: Phaidon 2001) appeared on its founder. When I was working on the blockbuster on fellow Magnum photographer *Erich Lessing* (Vienna: Brandstätter 2002, Paris: Hazan 2003) I came across the following comment by Capa in Russell Miller *Magnum* (London: Secker & Warburg 1999 edition, p. 60) – in response to Cartier-Bresson wanting to maintain his allegiance to

art, wise man that he was, Capa advised, "Watch out for labels. They're reassuring but somebody's going to stick one on you that you'll never get rid of – 'the little surrealist photographer'. You'll be lost, you'll get precious and mannered. Take instead the label of 'photojournalist' and keep the other thing for yourself, in your heart of hearts." Thus he was to call himself a photojournalist but quietly he maintained his allegiance *elsewhere*. Cartier-Bresson said: "The photographer's task is not to prove anything about a human event. We're not advertisers; we're witnesses of the transitory." (Millar: p. 198). He had been pretending to be one of them photojournalists all those years.

The book that *should* have been able to answer these questions but alas does not, has arrived: *Henri Cartier-Bresson: The Man, the Image and the World. A Retrospective.* Produced to commemorate the opening in 2003 of the Henri Cartier-Bresson Foundation in Montparnasse, it is a great book of photographs, often overwhelmingly good. It is all there to be seen: the early and constant homage to Eugène Atget (1857–1927), often more Atget than Andre Kertész (1894–1985) who passed through Paris from 1925–1936 and has been cited elsewhere as an important influence. The decisive moment for Cartier-Bresson is when he recognises *a particular kind of construction* when it appears in front of him, one rooted in his seeking the unusual in the ordinary; one where that juxtaposition I mentioned demonstrates proof that reality is bizarre, unreal. He loves to make a connection in his mind from the unrelated, and he seeks the experience constantly. This is the driving motor, not travel, not news. The reality that dogs him always appears to be bizarre, ironic, *surreal*. 'Meaning' is not so much revealed as *made to fit.* With equal discipline, he restricts reality to his construct, least that is the effect when he is at his best. His vast global world is not made out of the differences of the human condition but reduced to its similarities.

You will be struck by the familiarity of so many images, of his influence on so many photographers. Not that the book does not also contain some surprisingly mundane images, and it is infuriating that so many are printed too small to be experienced, yet surrounded by acres of white page to no purpose. You can see how well he subverted the demands of picture editors. The pages are filled with *resonance*, not of explanations, let loose by a philosophy of decisive moments, but filled with the resonance of this man's individuality, of his belief in an idea of humanity, seen in a non judgemental (and surprisingly non sexual) way, except for when he gets to America. There you can feel his distaste, as he indicated to Gill, "Americans are so violent. They're sour." There is only one photograph that makes me angry, that of a monkey in the experimental laboratory in Berkley, California 1967 with his little arm trying to get out of the torture machine. A terrible image. The following page depicts the arm and leg of an equally angry prisoner thrusting through the bars of his cage (would that the book have been edited like this throughout). But overall his is a declaration of faith, a charitable, ironic, gentle, humanist faith, and you have to admire his poise, his French elegance. As Charles de Gaulle said to him, "You have seen because you have believed". He travels so far and so wide and for so long that you need to keep your wits about you, keep reminding yourself that this is the history of one man, not of an age. Remember, he is a magician, especially with meaning, a profound *voyeur*, a solitary, probably an internally private man, an outsider. It is his camera that does the living, not him. His is a recognition that the camera liberates subject matter *and* liberates the telling of it. It must have given him some regret, as he witnessed many photographers these days, especially those who claim the form to themselves as 'art,' try their hardest to limit the camera's inquisitiveness, make it conform to the limited dictates of an identifiable style coupled with a repetitive, identifiable motif, the hall mark of the current art market

Henri Cartier-Bresson, Montreal 1965, (Credit to Magnum Photos Agency and Henri Cartier-Bresson Estate)

place – and now that is even within Magnum itself, think of Martin Parr. No wonder Cartier-Bresson tried to distance himself from talk of photography.

From very early Cartier-Bresson recognised that by dislocating his images from that about-to-be-forgotten magazine story (over 500 of them) and placing them in a different sequence on an art gallery wall, publishing them, *sans* story, as art books, he succeeded in removing his images from 'mere' journalism and placed them into the arms of the art lover who knows all about posterity. Thus he made them into 'paintings', unlike many of his fellow photojournalists who remained wedded to an erroneous belief that the photograph could deliver truth, who thought that the value in time was still going to be the story, not the image. Therein lies the difference. Cartier-Bresson's knew that what mattered was *how he saw*. The 'art' books were followed by world-wide exhibitions designed and edited by Robert Delpire and the prints became collectables, in spite of the fact that he never entered a darkroom. It may come as a great surprise to discover that his prints were *interpretations*

of his negatives made by Pierre Gassmann, and later Gassmann's family, as printers to Magnum. He had it all worked out, like many an artist before him; after all, does anyone *now* think that Giotto was a publicist for the Roman Catholic church, or Velazquez for Philip IV of Spain?

Cartier-Bresson loves to play the enigmatic, perhaps reinforced by his travels in China and the far east, summed up in this book with an exquisite quote from Buddha, "Remember that the only constant in life is change". The book claims in its title and introduction to be specifically about who 'The Man' is but sadly it fails to deliver much insight on this stiff, wealthy, left wing, inscrutable, not-to-be-photographed personality. Instead there is within a multitude of unedifying and often pretentious words, peppered, as you can imagine, with 'genius' and 'great,' (how he must have hated it all), and one article of substance, by Claude Cookman of Indiana University, who makes a stab at the contradiction of 'photojournalist' and 'artist'. Bravely, in this context, Cookman does not allow him to rewrite

his own history without apt comment. Overall it lamentably fails to serve or rise to the interests of his audience. The rest of the essays are mostly snippets, good information on film, especially his early involvement with Jean Renoir, by Serge Toubiana, and on exhibitions by Philippe Arbaïzar. The chronology, bibliography, exhibitions by Cookman and Tamara Corm are gold dust. If you want a better feel for the man read Gill's interview in the *Sunday Times Magazine.* In spite of Gill's gushing gaucheness: 'original photo-journalist', 'images of pure genius', 'he defined the purpose and the power of photography,' – comments I suspect Cartier-Bresson would describe as bullshit, in a short space, he does bring the man more to life than the texts of this book. But in response to all this adulation, Cartier-Bresson aptly replies, "I have never been interested in photography". It is the same as Bob Dylan telling us that he never was a protest song writer. Of course he is right, photography was the *vehicle* for his thought, how he explained the world to himself, it was never his subject.

You have to admire Gill who, unlike the rest with all their sycophantic musings on the great man's drawings and paintings, grasps the nettle. Cartier-Bresson abandoned photography in 1973 or 1975 (the book contradicts itself a third time and states 1978, aged 70) to concentrate on drawing. Gill: "His work is competent but unexceptional; what strikes you most is the composition. It's terrible". I was surprised to discover that he did not have a long training in art, only 1927–28 in the studio of the André Lhote, and it shows. It is such a pity that his best friend never plucked up the courage to whisper that if you want to draw you first have to learn how to, like playing the piano. It becomes a rather sad end to a marvellous collection of photographs. It reminds of that painful lesson that we have to let go what we have no talent for, for the talents we have are not of our choosing. For me it is this contradiction that is the real mystery of Henri Cartier-Bresson: how can

such an expert *picture-maker* not see how awful his drawings are? Or is it me? Was his original formula of photography acquired in such a decisive moment that, wrapped up and embedded in his personality, he never really understood how it worked? There are, of course, worse tragedies than Cartier-Bresson deservedly deciding to retire from photography, think of Robert Frank and when he parted company. Decisive moments are not really what it is all about, are they?

Notes

Philippe Arbaïzar, Jean Clair, Claude Cookman, Robert Delpire, Peter Galassi, Jean-Noël Jeanneney, Jean Leymarie and Serge Toubiana *Henri Cartier-Bresson: The Man, the Image and the World. A Retrospective*. London: Thames & Hudson, 2003, with over 600 illustrations. £ 45 hardback

Monika Schwärzler

August Sander – A Psychoanalytic Reading

By looking at the mass of portraits in August Sander's *Menschen des 20. Jahrhunderts* a need for even more images is generated. You feel you want to see more; more people from different time periods, from other places, of other races, who would be exposed in the same manner, in front of the grey curtains and partitions of Sander's studio. It seems to be their performance in Sander's studio that guarantees them visibility. While one is overcharged by this mass of faces and all the individual differences they impose, one simultaneously feels the threat that the lights in this photo studio might be turned off and might put an end to this spectacle.

Sander's project was endless in itself. From his portrait gallery he moved to a classification of landscapes, then extended his investigations into the field of architecture (*Rheinische Architekturen aus dem Zeitalter Goethes bis zu unseren Tagen* and *Die Stadt Köln, wie sie war, nach dem alten römischen Plan*) then to Botany (*Die Flora eines rheinischen Berges*) or to the organic and inorganic tools of man, comparing for instance human body parts. The mass of phenomena awaiting sanctification from Sander, the *Lichtbildner*, were countless. As a viewer of Sander's work one finds oneself inscribed in a structure of *lack*[1] and the resulting urge to extend the archives of the visible.

Even at first sight Sander's work has a strong component of desire, namely the desire to establish parameters of order, to capture the typical and to grasp the essential. There is monumentalism involved and a disproportionate and insatiable demand for some ominous whole. Speaking of the 'hole', in the sense of a gap, Jacques Lacan would remark that Sander's feverish and excessive mode of introducing all these differences and differentiations can be taken as a method of covering up the inconsistency at the heart of all symbolic order. Although one senses the obsessive aspect of his work very strongly, Sander's artistic or even scientific concept of *Menschen des 20. Jahrhunderts* merely encourages a rational approach to his work. My leading

question will therefore be: How can we account for the strange attraction of this work by refraining from the common rational schemes of explaining these photos?

Es darf keine ungeklärten Schatten im Bild geben (In an image there should be no explicable shadows) is one of the powerful statements attributed to Sander. But even straight and frontal photographic views can blur something, namely the specific distortions of reality generated by the photographer's coordinates of desire. So let me assume an anamorphotic view and implement Lacan's theory, in particular his *The Four Fundamental Concepts of Psycho-Analysis*[2] to try a different angle of reception. In this regard Lacan's differentiation of the look from the gaze proves most fruitful. In Lacan's view, the look can be located in the human eye, it issues from one point. People look at each other and their look is always tinted by desire, aversion, libidinal expectations of all sorts. The desiring look always misses its object because with Lacan all subjectivity is based on *lack*. The gaze in comparison is indifferent and remains outside desire. It is no carrier of libido. Lacan compares it to the impartial eye of the camera. It is like an omnipresent observation camera, which is independent of human vision. The subject is 'photographed'[3] through the gaze, which precedes and antedates the look and the subject owes its status as specular being to it. As the ultimate point of light it is impossible to seize and to apprehend it. To perceive it would amount to the impossibility of being present at one's own procreation.[4]

During the years of 1901–10, when Sander ran a commercial photo-studio in Linz, he practiced a certain empathy towards his models. Working in the pictorialist style he courted his photographic protagonists as attractive, sensitive, and special beings. Sander's photographic eye turns them into potential objects of desire. They are presented as strong individuals holding the centre of their particular world. Their private surroundings express the personality and the aesthetic taste of their inhabitants. They are soulful, pensive people

whose poses indicate richness of inner life towards which the curiosity and longing of the viewer is being directed. They are all promising beings and, in accordance with the aesthetic preferences of that time, representatives of a beautified world. The mothers in the photos for instance do not yet demonstrate what being a mother is like, but they are all one with their role. At that time Sander's camera emulates the desiring and empathetic 'look' and he performs as the attentive intruder into the private world of exquisite beings.

After his emigration to Cologne and contact with the artists' group around Seiwert and Hoerle, who tried to combine an avant-garde art program with political engagement, Sander adopted a completely different manner of viewing his photographic subject. One could characterize this move from pictorialism to straight photography as a change in style. To adhere to Lacan's structures and terminology would mean to point out that it was no longer the 'look' which directed his photographic production but the structure of the 'gaze', which became prevalent from then on. In the 1920s, which Sander himself characterized as the most fruitful years of his career, he drastically revised his concept as a photographer. In 1925–27 Sander, for the first time, sketched the outlines of his *Menschen des 20. Jahrhunderts*, put his work in a different, namely scientific, context and, by increasing his determination or you could say his photographic obsession he embarked on a major project. Paradoxically enough this increase in obsession went hand in hand with a newly achieved artistic distance. In his studio in Cologne Sander created a standard setting for his models, namely his famous uniform backgrounds. He was no longer willing to place his protagonists in an environment of cosy intimacy. From then on equal treatment of everyone was indicated. No more special prints for special beings, but the same photopaper for everyone. No more sentimentality or quest for some inner space, but surface only. No more attempt to bring out into the open

what is deeply stored in the individual, but fascination with the facade exclusively. Even if he pictured his models in their genuine surrounding they had to fit into a prefigured framework.

In Lacan's conception there is a tremendous amount of authority on the part of the gaze. It has the power to subordinate the subject. In its status as 'the presence of others as such'[5] it is a castrating agent. Haunted by the gaze the subject finds him/herself subordinated to a visual agency that insistently remains external to it. With his newly formed concept Sander seems to partake of such power. As Ulrich Keller has pointed out he succumbed to the illusion of holding some Archimedean standpoint outside of history and society from where he could survey the world, in this case the Weimar Republic.[6] In one of his lectures for the Cologne broadcast corporation (1931) Sander pictured himself as someone in command of an almost universal perspective by comparing his photographic endeavour to the benefits of an observatory which may provide people with an overall impression of the universe.[7] Taking into consideration that his actual field of photographic research was rather limited and focused on a relatively small part of Germany (between Bergischem Land, Koblenz, Niederrhein and Westerwald) this is a clear distortion of reality based on strong imaginary components.

Speaking of the authority he assumed in his new role as impartial chronicler, it is certainly no coincidence that Sander decided to join forces with sociology, with botany or with the newly introduced discipline of *Landschaftskunde*, a type of scientific geography. Science and the authority attributed to it, in the culture of the time, served as a backdrop to his photographic project. In this respect one can also view the frontal way of portraying his models as highly reminiscent of a particular type of ethnographic photography which was always associated with a scientific approach to picture making. In those photographs the one behind the lens of

the camera definitely adopts the function of the gaze of the Other.[8]

The gaze will 'photograph' anything that appears within its radius. Lacan speaks about the 'pulsatile, dazzling and spread out function of the gaze',[9] a function that is implicit in its status as light and the dispersibility of light. In many of Sander's landscape photographs, on which he mainly concentrated during the 1930s and which to a certain extent served as a refuge from the repressions of the Nazi regime, he adopted a panoramic view. According to Olivier Lugon, one third of his landscape pictures are created in this manner.[10] Robert Barker, the creator of the panorama, at first wanted to call his newly invented media-machine *'la nature à coup d´oeil'*, nature seen all at once. What also comes to mind is the way Johann Christian Friedrich Hölderlin described his experience of the panorama, namely that the latter gave him the impression that his eyelashes had been cut. Sander's panorama pictures are 'all seeing'. They are about the 'lit up' quality of the world's spectacle.

The gaze is the visual agency through which light is projected onto the subject, but it is not responsible for the form this identity assumes. Concerning the form of its specularity the subject is dependent on what Lacan calls the screen. The screen is a locus of mediation. It is opaque and intraversible; Sander's grey curtains and partitions, in front of which he placed his models, come to mind. The imaginary mapping which happens via the screen is reminiscent of the mirror stage. 'Just as Lacan's child can see him or herself only through the intervention of an external image, the gaze can photograph the object only through the grid of the screen'.[11] For the subject who is able to split between its 'being' and its specular image, it is possible to denaturalize the image/screen and to achieve some sort of relative freedom towards this repertory of culturally generated and intelligible images the screen has scanned in. 'Some limited power is available to the

August Sander, Sekretärin beim Westdeutschen Rundfunk in Köln, 1931 (Copyright: Die Photographische Sammlung / SK Stiftung Kultur – August Sander Archiv, Köln; VBK, Wien, 2005)

subject who recognizes his/her necessary subordination to the gaze but finds potentially transgressive ways of 'performing' before it.'[12]

Indeed Sander's protagonists perform before the gaze. They do not sow, but demonstrate what sowing looks like; they are no couple, but act at being one; they are no simple beggars, but are aware of the gaze that turns them into beggars. Under his artistic guidance Sander and his protagonists meticulously dissect the *'moi'* from the *'je'*, the *'je'* being the symbolic, publicly defined part of the self and achieve that elbow room within which distance from the determining structure of the gaze can be achieved. All of them see themselves as being seen. Sander's project of opening up a critical distance also includes the viewer. As Ulrich Keller has

pointed out, Sander tries to keep the dialogue of photographer, model and viewer as transparent as possible. Their relationship is regulated by awareness of the other and the effect of his/her presence on the others' performance.[13] As in Brecht's plays, a critical reader is required – a role the Nazis for instance were not willing to assume in connection with Sander's photographs.

To come to a conclusion my thesis would be: from a certain point Sander embarked on a project which became an all consuming passion. His struggle to investigate the principles of specularity took on various forms. He appropriated the mechanisms of the gaze and its modes of monitoring the world, he assumed its authority and the power that can be derived from it. He introduced distance into his models' relationship with the screen and by doing so opened up a chance to reflect on cultural representations of the gaze. Last but not least he took upon himself the gigantic and ongoing effort of feeding the screen with images and thereby rendering present that part of the gaze which can never be seized but which is always part of the picture. His megalomaniacal endeavour was all about getting hold of a homeopathic dose of the agency which in Lacan's understanding ensures the specularity of the world.

Notes

1   Lack is a psychoanalytical term, mostly used by Jacques Lacan. According to him our whole existence pivots on 'lack'.

2   Jacques Lacan, *The Four Fundamental Concepts of Psycho-Analysis*, Alan Sheridan, (trans.) New York, 1977. Quoted in: Kaja Silverman, 'Fassbinder and Lacan: A Reconsideration of Gaze, Look, and Image' in Norman Bryson, Michael Ann Holly, Keith Moxey (eds.), *Visual Culture. Images and Interpretations*. Hannover, London, 1994.

3   Lacan (1977), p. 106.

4   Concerning the look – gaze differentiation, see Silverman (1994) p. 272

5   Lacan (1977), p. 84.

6   Ulrich Keller, 'August Sander. Menschen des 20. Jahrhunderts. Portraitphotographien 1892–1952' in Gunther Sander (ed.) *August Sander. Menschen des 20. Jahrhunderts. Portraitphotographien 1892–1952*, Schirmer/Mosel, Munich, 1994, p. 26.

7   See Keller (1994), p. 28.

8   The symbolic *Other* is capitalised by Lacan to distinguish it from the imaginary *other* with a lower case 'o'.

9   Lacan, (1977), p. 89.

10 Olivier Lugon, 'August Sander. Landschaften' in Photographische Sammlung / S K Stiftung Kultur, Cologne (ed.), *August Sander. Landschaften*. Schirmer / Mosel, Munich, 1999, p. 40.

11 Silverman (1994), p. 291.

12 Silverman (1994), p. 275.

13 See Keller (1994), p. 39.ll

Anna Auer

The unknown photographic work of Ferdinand Schmutzer (1870–1928)

Like Franz von Lenbach and Franz von Stuck, Ferdinand Schmutzer used photographs as preliminary studies for his etchings for which the naturalistic and documentary character of photography was very appropriate. Schmutzer was not only a noted engraver but also a highly talented photographer who demonstrated a remarkably refined technique of using light and shade. In his early landscape photographs, nature was documented in a strictly factual and objective manner and his compositions were rich in detail with fine nuances. Both his landscape pictures of Holland, as well as the idyllic impressions of southern French meadows and flocks of sheep, remind us of the great photographic protagonist of naturalism, Peter Henry Emerson (1856–1936). In 1890 the latter made similar images of stillness, which he left to posterity in the form of platinum prints and photogravures. The main body of Ferdinand Schmutzer's photographic work, however, was to be dedicated to portraiture.

Vienna was a rapidly changing city during Ferdinand Schmutzer's childhood. The *Ringstrasse,* a boulevard lined with trees, had just been built. Large palaces and official buildings with styles from different eras, architectural reminders of the past, flanked the boulevard. Even before these buildings were completed, they earned Vienna the reputation of being a 'Museum of historical architecture.' A new class of entrepreneurs had evolved after the great stock market crash of 1873 which brought new vitality to banking and business by means of the rapidly growing textile and electrical industries. It was a time of economic expansion that manifested itself with an excessive regard for past styles called historicism and in the growth of the upper middle class. The era produced a large potential of creative personalities whom Schmutzer photographed. He made his very first portrait in 1899 which featured the Viennese landscape painter Rudolf von Alt who at that time had already reached an advanced age. It was a masterwork of photographic composition which suggests that the artist already had considerable experience in operating a large wooden plate camera. His practice in portraiture was primarily devoted to artists, actors and musicians.

In 1908 Ferdinand Schmutzer became a professor at the Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna where he also became the Chairman of the 'Special School of Graphic Arts'. There he introduced graphic art and developed etching as an independent form of art. That year Schmutzer married Alice Schnabel, daughter of the Jewish industrialist, Theodor Schnabel.

At that time Austria's media world was dominated by two important newspapers. One was the upper-class liberal *Neue Freie Presse* with Moritz Benedikt at its helm, and supported by Theodor Herzl as head of the features section, with writers such as Hugo von Hofmannsthal and Felix Salten. Alice Schnabel was also active in a journalistic capacity. The second, also a liberal daily, was *Neues Wiener Tagblatt* with Moritz Szeps as publisher. Well known beyond Austria's border was the researcher of economics, Carl Menger, whose 'Theory of Boundary Values' had a great influence on Austria's economy. Schmutzer made a portrait of Menger in 1910. The latter had earlier introduced Crown Prince Rudolf von Habsburg (Menger had been his tutor) to Moritz Szeps. As a result, Rudolf published under pseudonym his own progressive ideas about the political future of Austria in the *Tagblatt*.

In 1872, at the initiative of the architect Heinrich Ferstl, an area of villas was created around the Türkenschanzpark in Vienna-Waehring. Ferdinand Schmutzer commissioned the painter and architect Robert Oerly to build a house and the Schmutzer couple moved into it in 1909. In 1910 Arthur Schnitzler also took a home nearby. In time a lively social life, characterized by reciprocal visits, developed in this area which also became a gathering place for Vienna's intellectual circles. Regular guests at the Schmutzer's home inclu-
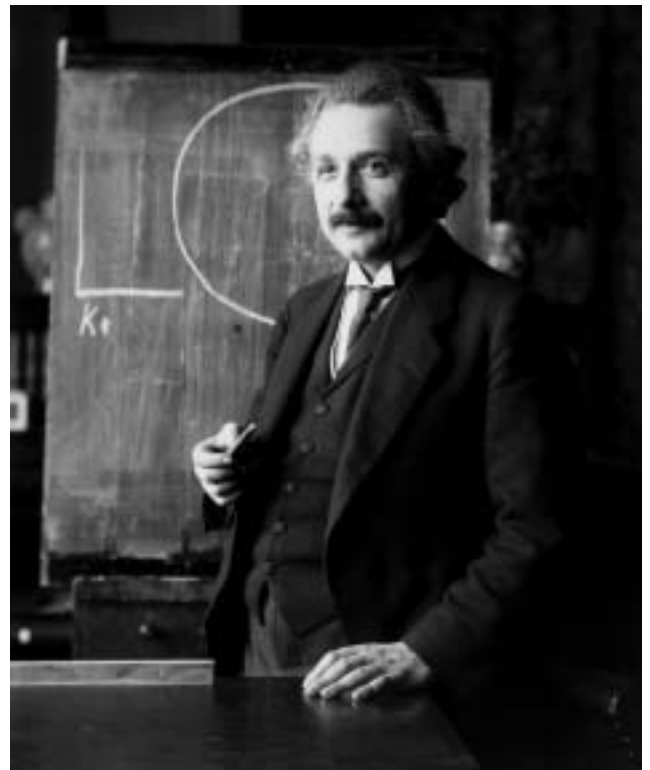
Ferdinand Schmutzer, Albert Einstein, Vienna 1921 (Courtesy of the Austrian National Library)

ded Arthur Schnitzler, newspaper publishers Moritz and Ernst Benedikt, the Berlin theatre director Otto Brahm, who discovered Max Reinhardt, authors such as Jakob Wassermann, Felix Salten, Hermann Broch (who was a cousin of Alice Schmutzer), and the cellist Pablo Casals.

In order to accommodate the many portrait commissions, it is possible that Schmutzer soon replaced the sketch pad with the faster working camera. It might be possible that every portrait he etched was preceded by individual photographic studies. But since the artist never commented on photography and on his way of working, this must remain an assumption. Nevertheless, the glass plate coated with a photographic emulsion must have been a great technical challenge to him, as must have been engraving, in spite of the fact that he possessed technical expertise and great dexterity.

The following examples are intended to demonstrate how closely the artist was able to convey the personality of the sitter in a photographic image. One of the first, and perhaps one of the most successful portraits he made, was the picture of the Viennese landscape painter Rudolf von Alt. The aged artist is looking straight into the camera, his face signalling interest as well as relaxation. The lighting is directed at the head of the sitter, making it a radiant centre of attention. His right arm rests on the back of the chair, his right hand holds a cigar. Seen in relation to the full extent of his body, that hand seems rather small. The look of the viewer thus wanders back and forth between the hand and the face. In the final product, however, the 1899 etching, the painter is shown in profile. He is now gazing into the distance and is, so to speak, shielded from the searching eyes of the observer. In the etching, the immediacy that is characteristic of photographic images has now been replaced by the pensive remoteness of age.

Another example of Schmutzer's extraordinary skill in photographic portraiture is the picture of the poet and Nobel laureate in literature, Paul Heyse. There is a semi-dark shadow on the face of the sitter, creating the impression that not everything pertaining to this person should be revealed to the camera; the light source is strangely directed at the intertwined hands. Translated into the 1901 etching, Schmutzer again shows the poet's face in profile, as he did with Rudolf von Alt. Lenbach commented on this etching: 'that it is the best that has ever been made of the famous German poet'. Although a personal encounter between Schmutzer and Lenbach has never been confirmed, there still seems to have been some sort of artistic concordance between the two artists because they both were devoted to naturalism and they both made study photographs before they transferred their portraits to another artistic medium. In relation to Ferdinand Schmutzer's photographic images, the following statement by August Sander appears to be apt: 'To me, nothing seems more appropriate than to project an absolutely faithful image of our times by means of photography'.

An impressive image is presented by the full portrait of the great patron of the arts, Karl Wittgenstein. The father of the philosopher Ludwig Wittgenstein owned the monopoly for the manufacture of railway lines in

Ferdinand Schmutzer, Sigmund Freud, Vienna 1926 (Courtesy of the Austrian National Library)

Bohemia. The engineer retired from the company as early as 1898 and became a supporting member of the then recently founded Vienna Secession. He was considered to be a liberal, pleasant, astute man. Schmutzer photographed Wittgenstein in the pose of a prominent personality. In that depiction, he effectively projects dignity, intelligence and diplomatic skills, more than just pathos. Wittgenstein is shown standing in front of a bare canvas, with his legs slightly apart, the left one at a small angle, his right hand resting on his hip. This posture creates elegant folds in his frock coat, giving the entire figure an impressive dominance. The light is directed discreetly at his head and upper body and his striped vest forms a harmonious alliance with the striped upholstering of the chair. This picture is also reminiscent of another parallel, namely the famous 1902 self-portrait of Franz von Stuck. The structure of the composition in this painting is strikingly similar to that of the portrait of Wittgenstein. The painter von Stuck, also wearing a dark overcoat, is shown in a virtually identical pose, except that his back is turned towards the observer. A coincidence ? Or was this painting the real source of inspiration for Schmutzer to create a similar picture?

As previously mentioned, Arthur Schnitzler was many times a guest in Schmutzer's home and he had a high regard for his paintings and etchings. Schnitzler commissioned him to create illustrations for his two novels, *The Shepherd's Flute* and *The Blind Geronimo and his Brother*. Each picture of the many photographic studies shows Schnitzler mostly as a very serious and glum-looking man. (Schnitzler was already suffering from a growing hearing difficulty at that time). By contrast the portrait that Schmutzer made of Felix Salten (Siegmund Salzmann) has a very modern appearance. This prolific writer and contributor to feature supplements also authored numerous novels, plays and works of fiction. One of his most famous books, titled: *Wurstelparter* (Sausage Amusement
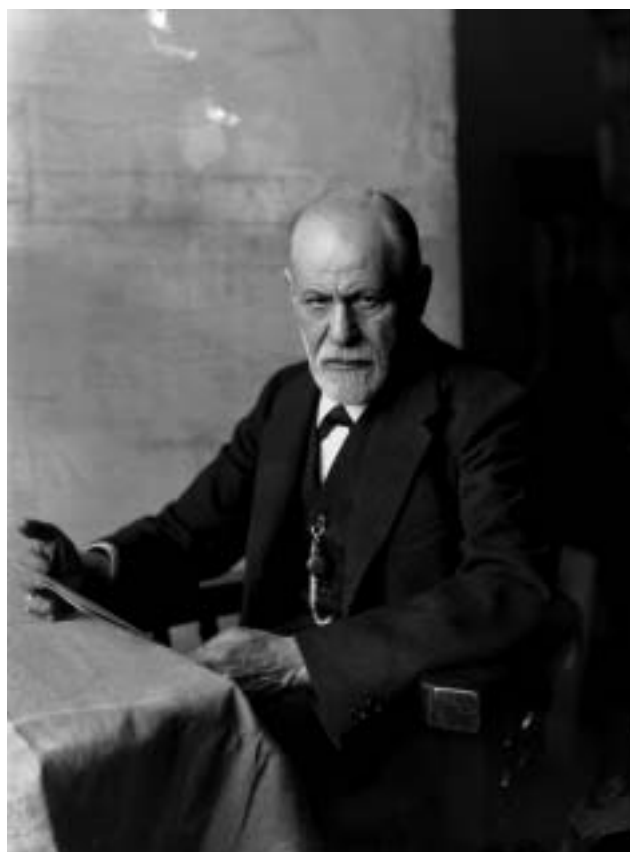
Park) published in 1911, is a co-operative effort for which he wrote the text to accompany pictures taken by Dr. Emil Mayer, the Viennese lawyer and amateur photographer. Salten became known mostly for his many animal stories, such as *Bambi*, and that work of erotic world literature, *Josephine Mutzenbacher,* which is attributed to him but published anonymously.

Schmutzer's portrayal of Moritz Benedikt is particularly fitting. The powerful publisher of the liberal *Neue Freie Presse*, also referred to as the *Weltblatt der Donaumonarchie* (World Paper of the Danube Monarchy), is shown in a half portrait, with a copy of his newspaper in his hands. Benedikt stands in the background, slightly turned away from the photographer. His expression is distant and severe. The portrait of his son, however, confronts us with a friendly looking man. His appealing pose is reminiscent of the kind of portraits that actors normally use for job interviews. In the 1920s, Ernst Benedikt appointed David Ben Gurion as correspondent of the *Neue Freie Presse* in Palestine. Benedikt emigrated to Sweden and after World War II returned to Vienna. He was described as a particularly kind man.

In the course of his artistic activities, Ferdinand Schmutzer developed a very sensitive talent for portraiture. He rarely took group photographs (not counting portraits of musicians). There is one exception, however, that of a group picture of 'IG Farben Management'. Schmutzer functions like a theatre architect who has to stage a play and who has also to do the casting. He had an extraordinary sense of humour as can be seen in a snapshot-like photograph that is apparently supposed to be a section of a group picture in which a man is sitting with a flower on his lapel - he appears in the same pose in the final group picture – he bends over towards another man sitting on his right. But the latter does not appear in the final group picture. When we take a closer look at the final picture, we then notice that the man with the flower is now wearing a different suit and a different tie. Even the flower in his lapel has been replaced by a different flower in the final group. A part of another image? Not at all! But who is the unknown person? A magnifying glass then solves the mystery: it is a self-portrait of Ferdinand Schmutzer holding two small drawings in his hand. The artist probably reconstituted the photograph at a later date in that group portrait and then included himself in the picture. While it is not the only self-portrait of Schmutzer, it is certainly one of the most original.

There have always been self-portraits of artists who have immortalized themselves in paintings, drawings and prints. Think of Edward Steichen who presented himself as a painter holding a palette with colours when he took his self-portrait in 1902. Edvard Munch also repeatedly created self-portraits throughout his lifetime, even shortly before he passed away. There is also the beautiful self-portrait of the aging Edgar Degas, photographed in a Rembrandt manner. We must not forget the delightful 1896 double portrait of Toulouse-Lautrec which the artist had commissioned of himself based on the title, *Me in conversation with myself*. Or the well-known oil painting of Franz

Lenbach, entitled, *Self-portrait with Wife and Daughters* which he painted entirely from photographs even incorporating the snapshot nature of the camera into his painting.

Some of Schmutzer's portrait assignments do not reveal the subjective personality but more the status of the sitter in society. His portrait of the German Emperor Wilhelm II is an example. According to the artist's own comments, making the portrait presented no problems. Schmutzer depicted the Emperor in keeping with the heroic-style that was typical at that time and probably depicted just as the Emperor wanted it to be, namely with solemnity yet with a stiff dignity. But, in order to determine just the right pose for the Kaiser before he was faced with taking the photograph, he promptly donned the imperial costume himself in order to study various poses. The Emperor then made himself available in Berlin in the recommended pose. Later, Schmutzer just as precisely transferred that 1912/1913 photographic image of the Emperor to his etching.

By comparison, the portrait of Austria's Emperor Karl I, which was probably photographed a few months after the passing of Kaiser Franz Joseph I in November 1916, is much less ostentatious. The posture of the last Emperor of the Habsburg dynasty is unpretentious and natural. His facial expression is taciturn and serious, the black mourning band on his left sleeve suggests the reason for the photograph. What immediately catches one's attention, however, is the surprisingly modern impression created by the Emperor's sporty wristwatch. History tells us that the late reforms sought by the progressive-minded Emperor could no longer be implemented, so that the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy became inevitable.

One of the most unconventional portraits created by Schmutzer is his photograph of Albert Einstein. The physicist is shown standing in front of a wooden board on which there is a drawing of a rectangle and a circle. Einstein's face projects spontaneity and a kind of

Ferdinand Schmutzer, Pablo Casals, Vienna 1914 (Courtesy of the Austrian National Library)

youthful cheerfulness. His left hand rests lightly on the top of the table and his spatula-shaped fingers are indicative of a practicing violinist. The fact that his head became part of the circle imparts a special symbolism. According to the French philosopher Roland Barthes, 'the impact of a photograph is often created by an incidental detail that captivates, wounds and makes the point'. This kind of attention-grabbing is what makes a photograph interesting. Let us look at the 1921 etching: Einstein's figure is positioned relatively far from the drawing and the distance of Einstein's person from the viewer has become greater. The picture's symbolism is clearly diminished, because Einstein's head is now positioned outside the circle. In the photographic portrait, however, this symbiosis is fully effective.

The etching also shows Albert Einstein as being more corpulent that he appears in the photograph. This makes the physicist look much older. Apparently it was the artist's intent to portray the latter Nobel laureate primarily as a docent and lecturer. In 1911 Einstein was appointed to Prague University and at that time he even became a temporary Austrian citizen. During his lecture tour in 1921, he came to Vienna and enthralled an audience of 3000 people. A witness described the event as: 'The public was in a strangely excited state, in which it no longer mattered whether one understood what was being presented, but that one was in close proximity to a place where miracles occur…'

Late works of Ferdinand Schmutzer also include several studies of Sigmund Freud. In one of these photographs, the psychoanalyst is seated at a desk, his hand holding an open document. With eyes that are severe yet strangely sad, Freud looks directly at the camera. The two lines that descend to the right and left from the nose further intensify the pained facial expression. His demeanour, while natural, appears slightly too contrived.

A 1911 portrait, as impressive as it is frightening, shows his father, the sculptor Ferdinand Schmutzer who died in 1915. The artist is seen in a rumpled painter's smock which takes on the resemblance of a shroud. He is wearing round spectacles, where light is reflected on the left half, making the eye sockets appear peculiarly hollow. Shadows extend along both sides of the picture, making the whole figure appear extremely threatening. But his unconventional staging of a photograph is reminiscent of the Austrian activism of the 1950s, it also reminds one of ghost photography that was widely practiced well into the 1920s. After Konrad Roentgen's discovery of invisible rays in 1895, this topic fascinated spiritualists, occultists and artists again and again. One of its protagonists was the Italian futurist Anton Giulio Bragaglia who, in 1911, created so-called 'photodynamic' photographs. He sought to record with his camera, 'What was outwardly invisible, the transcendental aspect of reality.' In this sense, photographer Ferdinand Schmutzer succeeded in creating a portrait of his father that was quite possibly unrepeatable.

A significant rank in Schmutzer's work is dedicated to portraits of musicians. There are in existence only a

few good photographs of the aging Josef Joachim. The close-up photograph by Schmutzer, however, is an exception. It served him as the original for his 1904 etching, *Joachim-Quartett*. Joachim, born as Austrian (Kittsee near Pressburg) during the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, was one of the most famous violinists of the nineteenth century. Johannes Brahms wrote the *Violin-Concerto in D-Major* for his friend Joachim. Julia Margaret Cameron photographed the then young violinist in 1868 when he had just been appointed Director of the newly founded College of Music in Berlin. It is interesting to note that Schmutzer and Cameron both photographed the violinist in profile.

The photograph of the Austrian violinist Fritz Kreisler is a very classical portrait. Powerful studio lights shine mercilessly on his scar-covered, yet handsome and interesting face. The diagonal com-position and the Rembrandtesque effect imparts the picture with a captivating tension. The photograph of Arnold Rosé, the famous violinist of the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra, has a mostly documentary character and Schmutzer translated it just as accurately into his 1922 etching. A portrait that turned out particularly well is that of the portrait of Richard Strauss. Seldom is the composer to be seen as relaxed and as friendly as he appears in this picture. The eloquence of his personality is enhanced even further by the elegant bearing of his hands. Another outstanding portrait is that of the cellist Pablo Casals, which shows the famous interpreter of Bach playing his instrument. The sparse use of lighting further emphasizes the intense concentration of the artist who plays with his eyes half closed. The pale background accentuates the right arm that controls the bow that is so important in forming the tone. Among other portraits there is an image of Leo Slezak from 1926 that shows the high spirits of this great singer.

Ferdinand Schmutzer also used photogravure. It is a sad irony of history that the great inventor of the

Ferdinand Schmutzer, The sculptor Ferdinand Schmutzer (father of the artist) Vienna 1911 (Courtesy of the Austrian National Library)

photogravure, Karl Klietsch, passed away in that very same year, 1926, in Vienna. Klietsch emigrated in 1883 to Britain, from where photogravure spread across the world. For decades, Ferdinand Schmutzer used photographic images as memory aids and for correcting his etchings. The skilful way he used perspective, lighting and contrast proves that he was an outstanding portrait photographer. As President of the Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna from 1922–24, he also transferred his skills to the art students with enthusiasm.

Notes

This text was based on a lecture given by the author on 12 November 2002 in Maastricht at the ESHPh Symposium. The exhibition *Ferdinand Schmutzer 1870–1928. The unknown photographic work* was shown in Vienna at the Gallery WestLicht from 29 November 2001 to 24 February 2002.

More recently, at the photo festival in Naarden in the Netherlands, the exhibition *Ferdinand Schmutzer. A photographic discovery.* The Hollands photographs were presented (May 14 to June 12, 2005). Curators: Regina Maria Anzenberger, Uwe Schoegl, both members of the ESHPh.

A. D. Coleman

Two Jacks and a Jill: Diane Arbus, Lee Friedlander and Garry Winogrand at Century's End

The now-legendary *New Documents* exhibition opened at New York's Museum of Modern Art on 28 February 1967, more than a third of a century ago. Organized by John Szarkowski for the Museum's Department of Photography, this show featured almost 100 prints by three relatively unrecognized younger photographers from the east coast of the U.S.A: Diane Arbus, Lee Friedlander and Garry Winogrand. It came as a watershed moment in the evolution of contemporary photography. What exactly did this exhibition signify?

MoMA's Department of Photography was at that point one of the few departments devoted to that medium in any art museum in the world, and inarguably the most powerful of all. Its Director, John Szarkowski, installed in 1963, had by then fulfilled all the curatorial commitments of his predecessor, Edward Steichen, and had begun to mount shows that he had conceived and organized himself. Shortly after he had assumed what Christopher Phillips has called 'the judgment seat of photography,'[1] he had offered what numerous people in the field took as a full-blown theory of photography, enunciated in the 1964 exhibition *The Photographer's Eye* (and the subsequent book).[2] This exhibition included not just prints by recognized photographers, such as Edward Weston, Aaron Siskind, Harry Callahan, but also imagery by lesser-known and even anonymous picture makers, vernacular studio and press photography, and even examples of what we might now call naïf photography.

The theoretical underpinning of this selection of pictures represented in large part a photographic version of high modernist formalism as it had evolved in the critical writings of Clement Greenberg, Harold Rosenberg, and others who had been coming to terms for some years with the Abstract Expressionist painters and sculptors. But no one had offered a photography-specific menu thereof as lucidly and engagingly written as Szarkowski's. Unlike those two theorists, however, Szarkowski leavened the high art assump-

tions that served as his ground note with an egalitarianism suggesting that anyone, anywhere, at any moment, could (even accidentally!) make a great photograph worthy of preservation and study and placement alongside masterworks by those who had devoted lifetimes to the medium. This located Szarkowski somewhere between Pop Art's embrace of funky everyday culture and the rigours of the Abstract Expressionists' address to the blank canvas in search of the white whale.

Photography had not until then enjoyed a steady supply of what the philosopher of science Thomas S. Kuhn would shortly identify as *paradigms*: magnetically charged new models of thought.[3] *The Photographer's Eye* provided not just a thought experiment about how to analyse lens-derived still images but a paradigm; a persuasive hypothesis about the bases and functions of photography and photographs; a foundation on which to explore systematically the making of them. In short, a theory that suggested provocative possibilities for practice, including a set of experiments to test its hypotheses, an instrumentation, and even a methodology.[4]

What would an extensive *oeuvre* look like that its maker built, either consciously or intuitively, on those carefully articulated grounds? To answer that question, Szarkowski shortly thereafter turned to the work of three younger members of what historians would later identify as the *New York School* of photography,[5] bringing them together under the *New Documents* rubric: Diane Arbus, Lee Friedlander and Garry Winogrand. All were under the age of 40 and, although they had each received at least one Guggenheim Foundation Fellowship, none had yet come to any public prominence. MoMA's 1967 sponsorship of their work in this show made the careers of all three individually.[6] Simultaneously, it associated them with each other indelibly and in perpetuity. Meanwhile, the collective statement that emerged from their work in

aggregate fell like a bombshell on the world of photography.[7] Szarkowski ambitiously sought with it to reconfigure the very way in which photographs were understood, and to suggest thereby something about how the actual making of them could be redirected.

What did these three photographers, buttressed by Szarkowski's theorizing, have in common as practitioners – what *paradigm* did they constitute? And what drew other practitioners to these ideas?

Arbus, Friedlander and Winogrand all worked exclusively in black & white and used small-to-medium-format cameras: 35-mm. for Friedlander and Winogrand, twin-lens reflex for Arbus. These are comparatively small, quiet instruments, ideal for unobtrusive sketching in the relatively dense social situations they all favoured, and light enough to be hand-held, thus permitting them quicker responsiveness to facial expressions, body language, and configurations of people and other objects in motion.

So these camera systems facilitated impulsive, rapid reactivity to nuances and details, along with a fluid methodology akin to gestural drawing. The consequent strategies of camera handling, and the gritty, off-kilter imagery that often resulted, built on the example of older members of the *New York School*, especially Robert Frank. They required an unprecedented acceptance of chance elements on every level of the photographic process; often, working in this fashion, one did not know what one had netted with the lens until scrutinizing the developed film. Increasingly asymmetrical, unbalanced, fragmented, even messy, especially in contrast to the photography that had preceded it, this kind of work demanded of both photographer and viewer an openness to radically unconventional formal structures.

For their raw subject matter this trio, and their counterparts in their cohort,[8] favoured the urban/suburban milieu of U.S.A. car culture in the Vietnam War era. They sometimes photographed in private spaces, and occasionally in rural areas, but most often in interior and exterior public spaces: offices, lobbies, airports, restaurants, buses and subways, but especially the streets of towns and cities across the country – what had just been named the 'social landscape' by Lee Friedlander.[9]

The resulting imagery emanated an aura of authenticity reminiscent of *cinema verité*, augmented with a tone of hip cynicism and *épater le bourgeois*, combined with a fascination with public behaviour in general, and an acceptance of the bizarre, grotesque and marginalized, along with a distinct hint of cultural criticism – although nothing approximating a social critique emerges from the work of any one of them, nor from their collective output. Indeed, the theory itself, as outlined by Szarkowski, like formalist theory in general, insists that serious contemporary creative photographic image-making has no compatibility whatsoever with such a political, polemical motive. Here is how Szarkowski, in his wall label for *New Documents*, described the tendency he chose Arbus, Friedlander and Winogrand to represent:

'Most of those who were called documentary photographers a generation ago, when the label was new, made their pictures in the service of a social cause. It was their aim to show what was wrong with the world, and to persuade their fellows to take action and make it right.

In the past decade a new generation of photographers has directed the documentary approach toward more personal ends. Their aim has been not to reform life, but to know it. Their work betrays a sympathy – almost an affection – for the imperfections and frailties of society. They like the real world, in spite of its terrors, as the source of all wonder and fascination and value – no less precious for being irrational…'[10]

In his subsequent writings, and in those of his fol-

lowers and acolytes, and in cryptic commentary by a number of practitioners, this non-political, anti-theoretical posture would go even further, denying categorically and consistently that such photographs are in any way about their literal subject matter, insisting instead that photographs are entirely about themselves and in no way concerned with either the photographer's inner life or whatever took place in front of the lens at the moment of exposure. As a stance, it became not just widespread but almost mandatory among practitioners of this genre of photography.

That is a particularly problematic position to defend in regard to photographers whose work primarily involves not just the human presence but intricate social interactions in the complex environment of the modern city – the polity at work and at play in the polis. Not to put too fine a point on it, formalists have generally (and, in my opinion, wisely) eschewed, for example, portraits of recognizably interracial couples carrying chimpanzees fully dressed in children's clothing in their arms in a crowded zoo, on the reasonable grounds that such subject matter carries so much cultural baggage as to overwhelm whatever formalist inquiry any resulting image might encode.[11]

Yet one could also argue, as Szarkowski did in many of his writings, and, albeit gnomically, Winogrand himself,[12] that this constituted a deliberate walking of the razor's edge. In that formulation, one constantly confronted formalist purpose as content with the risk of falling into the trap of the denotations and connotations of the imagery's contents, its literal subject matter. The work was to be understood as a mix of formal play with neutral (if ironic), apolitical observation of human social behaviour, something like Stendhal's 'mirror held up along a highway' with attitude.

Many, myself included, have profound disagreements with this posture and the theory on which it relies.[13] Be that as it may, as Gerry Badger points out, 'It says much for both the perception of Szarkowski, and the awesome extent of his influence at MoMA, that this trio represents the three figures accepted as the most dominant of the sixties.'[14] In effect, to paraphrase the name of a hip 1950s vocal group, when *New Documents* opened in early 1967 Arbus, Friedlander and Winogrand became the 'Two Jacks and a Jill' of photography, their distinctive voices playing counterpoint to each other, together forever.

What is even more important is that this first public association of the work of Arbus, Friedlander and Winogrand proved so germinal that from the paradigm it embodied there sprang a school of photography that proved vital and energized at least through the early 1980s. That paradigm still has countless serious practitioners; moreover, it has influenced many workers in other forms of photography, and, even in our current phase of post-paradigm confusion, it refuses to roll over and play dead.

Notes

1   Christopher Phillips, *The Judgement Seat of Photography*, October 22, Fall 1982, pp. 27–63.

2   John Szarkowski, *The Photographer's Eye*. Museum of Modern Art, New York, 1966. The exhibition version ran at MoMA from 27 May – 23 August 1964. Subsequently it travelled.

3   Thomas S. Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1970.

4   The book version of *The Photographer's Eye* quickly became one of the fundamental teaching texts in the rapidly expanding pedagogy of photography at college level.

5   See: Jane Livingston, *The New York School: Photographs 1936–1963*. Stewart, Tabori & Chang, New York, 1972.

6   It also effectively turned them into house brands at the

Alistair Crawford, It is in the Nature of my Gaze, Cologne 1992

museum. All three remained deeply identified with MoMA throughout their careers and, in the cases of Arbus and Winogrand, after their deaths.

7   Two concurrent travelling shows, both with catalogues, explored the same territory in different ways: *Toward a Social Landscape*, curated by Nathan Lyons at George Eastman House, which opened on 16 December 1966 and ran to 20 February 1967; and curator Thomas H. Garver's *12 Photographers of the American Social Landscape*, the debut of which took place from 9 January to 12 February 1967 at the Rose Art Museum, Brandeis University, Waltham, Mass. Most historians of the period tend to discuss all three exhibitions in tandem, for example, Gerry Badger 'From Humanism to Formalism: Thoughts on Post-war American Photography', in Peter Turner (ed.), *American Images: Photography 1945–1980*. Viking Penguin, New York, 1985, pp. 17–18, and Jonathan Green, *American Photography: A Critical History 1945 to the Present*. Harry N. Abrams, New York, 1984, p. 106. A full discussion of the *New Documents* show and its impact requires further consideration of the interaction between these three surveys.

8   For example, those included in the two other concurrent survey shows mentioned in note 7 above.

9   Thomas H. Garver credits the term to Lee Friedlander; his source for the phrase is a quote in a brief biographical note about Friedlander accompanying a portfolio of reproductions in *Contemporary Photographer*, vol. IV, no. 4, Fall 1963, p. 15. See: Garver, 'Acknowledgments', in the catalogue *12 Photographers of the American Social Landscape*. Rose Art Museum, Brandeis University, Waltham, Mass., 1967, unpaginated.

10 Undated, unnumbered one-page typescript on MoMA letterhead, from the archives of MoMA.

11 The reference here is to a famous Winogrand image, *Central Park Zoo, New York City, 1967*.

12 For Winogrand's version of this pronouncement, see: Dennis Longwell, 'Monkeys Make the Problem More Difficult: A Collective Interview with Garry Winogrand', in Peninah Petruck (ed.), *The Camera Viewed: Writings on Twentieth-Century Photography*, vol. II, E. P. Dutton, New York, 1979, pp. 118–128.

13 See, for example, A. D. Coleman, 'At Modern, Winogrand 'Unedited'', in the *New York Observer*, vol. 2, no. 28, 1 Aug 1988, p. 10.

14 Turner (1985), p. 18.

Mark B. Pohlad

Dodging History: Marcel Duchamp's Photographic Manipulations

The art and the reputation of Marcel Duchamp (1887–1968), perhaps the most influential artist of the twentieth century, depend on photography to a startling degree. Photographs not only documented his gestures (for example, the star pattern he cut into his hair, c. 1920) and the 'readymades', but were also seminal to his many reproductions and multiples projects. Indeed, many of the latter were photographic in origin. *The Green Box* (self-published, 1934), for instance, was a boxed collection of loose reproductions of his notes. Even more reliant on photography was the *Boîte en valise* (1941 and after), a collection of three-dimensional miniatures and photographic reproductions – a veritable portable museum – of many of Duchamp's most well known artworks. Examining his *oeuvre* it appears that in his every application of photography he dramatically manipulated the medium for his own ends.

This essay traces Duchamp's extensive and systematic reworking of photographs. Although he did not avidly *take* photographs of his artworks, that was left to others, most often Man Ray (1890–1976), he frequently dodged the results. We shall see that Duchamp did this for a number of reasons: in order that they accurately represented his art, to heighten their subjects' historical nature, and, more broadly, to control the way his works would be seen and understood.[1] In so doing he was, in a very real sense, controlling the historical record. Theoretically, these disruptions are entirely in line with his interest in juggling contexts and confounding expectations. But more prosaically they also demonstrate just how complicit Duchamp was in the historicization of his art.[2]

To make nearly all of the *Boîte* reproductions, Duchamp first had made black and white photographs of all the works to be included. He then recorded the colours of the original works and applied colour by hand to the photographic reproductions using stencils (called *pochoir*).[3] In the course of the *Boîte*'s production Duchamp retouched, or had retouched, virtually all of the photographs that appear.[4] He altered some more extensively than others according to what was required of them. For example, the *Boîte* photograph of the *Bottle Dryer* was retouched to add a shadow; one can be seen curling realistically from underneath the object (Fig. 1).

This alteration, he probably felt, lent the bottle dryer a literal quality. Adding the shadow was meant to suggest that the bottle dryer in the picture was an actual bottle dryer rather than merely a *painting* of one.[5] In addition, Duchamp scholar Ecke Bonk points out that the lighting of the photograph has been manipulated to suggest a patina on the bottle dryer. This, he implies, is so that viewers will think that what they see in the photograph is the original (lost) readymade bottle dryer (1914) and not, in fact, a bottle dryer Duchamp purchased in 1936 in order to make this photograph for the *Boîte*.[6]

Duchamp ingeniously subverted the documentary aspect of photography in an early readymade, we would call it now an early process piece, the *Unhappy Readymade* (1919). As a long-distance wedding present, Duchamp asked his sister Suzanne (1889–1963) to hang a geometry textbook outside her Paris apartment. Exposed to the elements, it was gradually destroyed. Most art historians believe that Duchamp meant this to show how irrelevant are geometry principles in the real world. The following year Suzanne made a painting of the ruined, hanging book derived from a photograph she had taken of it.[7] Later reproductions, including the one Duchamp made for his *Boîte en valise*, are based on a photograph of Suzanne's painting. To this photograph he added a great deal by hand: the crude lines of 'text' and the geometric diagrams to the book's pages, as well as the book's covers. All these help to make it clear that what is seen in the image is a hanging codex. The result is a retouched photograph of a painting based on a

photograph. Such dizzying transcriptions subvert the notion of documentation and in so doing question the notion of the primacy of the hand-made over that of a reproduction. Perhaps the readymade is 'unhappy' not only because it is being destroyed by the weather, but also because its paternity is so tortured.

In instances such as these, the photograph was only a starting point in a much more elaborate strategy of representation. Although he relied on the camera to record his works and gestures, he had no qualms about any perceived 'purity' of the photograph-as-document. Here he is not consciously critiquing the medium. Instead, his retouching seems to correct or extend the documentary quality of photography. In turn, these images were to represent his contribution to a wider (future) audience.

The *Boîte* photograph of Duchamp's studio (33 West 67th Street, 1917), showing the readymades *Bicycle Wheel* (1913) and *Trébuchet* (1917) *in situ*, also reveals heavy reworking (Fig. 2).

In fact, the retouching is so extensive on the latter that it is more accurately described as a complete reconstruction. *Trébuchet* is a spiky, wall-mount-style coat rack placed on the floor. Implicitly meant to trip people, the title refers to a chess move which sacrifices a pawn. Duchamp completely erased it from the photograph and drew it back in pencil; the retouched photograph then required multiple printings to make it legible.[8] But the readymade had to be clear in all its aspects since this was to be its only reference in the *Boîte*; there is no separate reproduction of it. Upon examination, however, the pencilled *Trébuchet*, while vivid, looks overly emphatic, awkward and ultimately unphotographic. Pictorially it is at war with its surroundings and looks bogus as documentary evidence (especially to contemporary viewers). It is worth mentioning that Duchamp also went to great lengths to have the word '*Atelier*' removed from the original caption of the photograph.[9] In doing so he presents the
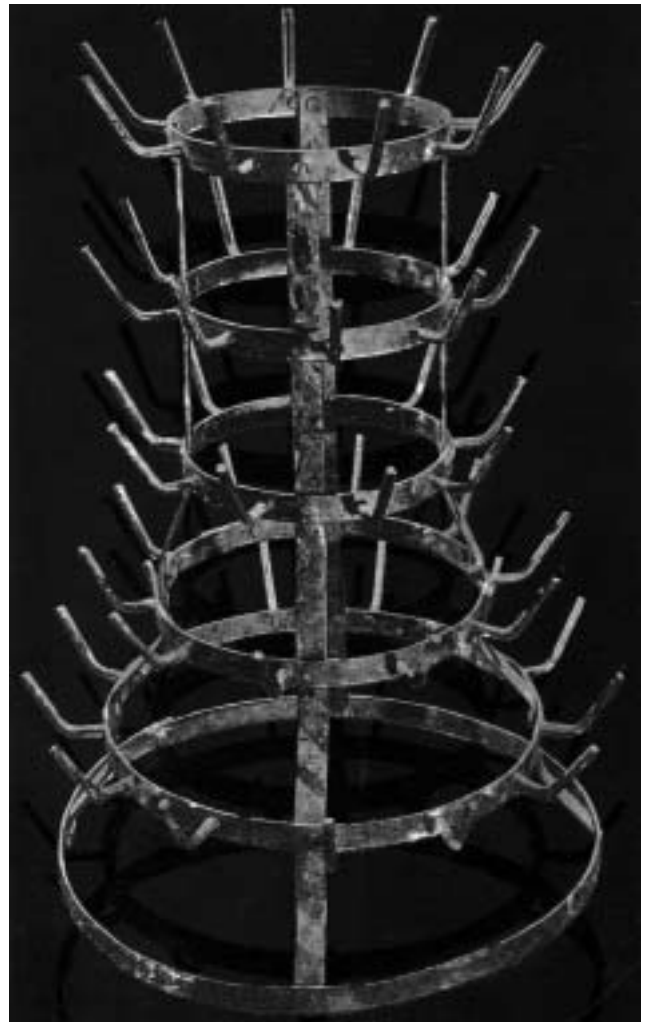

Fig. 1, Marcel Duchamp, The Bottle Dryer, 1936

readymades as finished works and not simply as sundry objects defined by their casual or accidental presence in the studio. The same kind of heavy retouching was performed on the studio photograph of *In Advance of the Broken Arm* (1915) taken around 1920.[10] Like the operation performed on *Trébuchet*, this retouching makes the object look falsely removed from its surroundings. (One might say that its resulting 'aura', its vivid outline against the background, is a reflection of its 'production,' that is, being removed from the *Lebenswelt*, and also its status as a Duchamp object. In any case, the retouching of these photographs reveals the extent to which he was willing to manipulate a photograph to enhance its 'documentary' value. This, in turn, is a reflection of his avid promotion of his early artworks and his intention to emphasize their historicity.

Retouching was even involved in the creation of Rrose Sélavy who was actually Duchamp himself dressed in women's clothes, hat and make-up. The very

Fig. 2, Marcel Duchamp, photograph of interior of studio (reproduction from Duchamp's Boîte en valise), 1917–18 (Detail)

existence of this photographic alter ego was predicated on careful directorial decisions and retouching. In order to make the illusion of gender transformation more convincing, Duchamp employed the hands and arms of his friend Germaine Everling in the photograph as well as her hat and wrap. In a less frequently seen photo of Rrose there is much greater evidence of retouching (Fig. 3).[11] The left hand has been made thinner, the wrist has been covered by a sleeve that has been drawn in, and the hair over the sitter's left ear has been lengthened by hand sketching. It is amazing how much trouble Duchamp has taken to make Rrose appear only very slightly more feminine. As in the photograph of *Trébuchet* just discussed, Duchamp has risked the veracity of the photograph completely by retouching it. In other works, the line between painting and photography vanishes altogether.

At those times when Walter Arensberg (1878–1954), Duchamp's most committed patron, could not obtain the Duchamp original he wanted, he sometimes contented himself with a photograph of it. This was the case with the *Nude Descending a Staircase, No. 2* (1912), the most notorious and highly publicized work in the famous Armory Show (1913). Arensberg began to covet it after it had already been sold. That being the case, Duchamp made him the *Nude Descending a Staircase, No. 3* (1916), a hand-painted photograph in the exact same scale as the original. To make it Duchamp carefully applied watercolour, ink, pencil and pastel over an exact-scale photograph of the Armory Show sensation. Needless to say, the notion of applying paint on top of a photograph has intriguing aesthetic implications, for example, how a superior mimetic process can be used as a template on top of which a handmade facture is applied thereby turning it into a 'painting.' In addition to *Nude No. 3,* Arensberg owned two other photographs of Duchamp's works, images that also filled gaps in his collection. One was of the painting *Two Nudes: One Strong, One Swift*
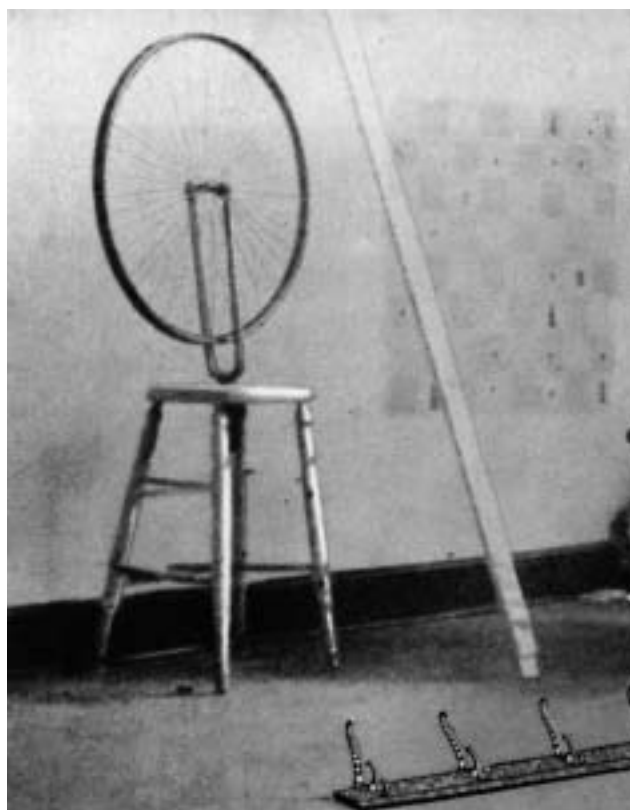
(1912), reproduced in actual size, and another of the *Large Glass.*[12]

Shortly after Duchamp's death in 1968, it was revealed that the artist had not been idle in his later years but had been hard at work (1946–1966) on a large-scale installation entitled *Étant Donnés: 1° La Chute D'eau 2° Le Gaz D'éclairage*… (Given: the waterfall, the illuminating gas…) Permanently installed in the Philadelphia Museum, viewers peep through eyeholes in an antique door at a graphically erotic diorama beyond. One sees the splayed legs and sex of a nude woman who holds a lamp aloft with one arm; the background is a vast coloured landscape. There is much about the experience of *Étant Donnés* that is photographic; the work depends on photography and the conventions of photographic vision. As has often been pointed out, the manner of viewing the piece – individual viewers must put their face up to an antique door and look through two eye holes – recalls a host of photographic viewing apparatuses: peep shows, stereographic viewers, nickelodeons, and the like. Indeed, the startling three-dimensionality of the reclining nude recalls in a literal way the false roundedness that one sees through a stereographic viewer. More generally, the bright, washed out colours of the entire tableau brings to mind the appearance of

Fig. 3, Marcel Duchamp as Rrose Sélavy (Photography by Man Ray, Retouching by Marcel Duchamp)

cheap postcards. In this it recalls the earlier *L.H.O.O.Q* (1919), the notorious picture of the famous Leonardo painting to which Duchamp added a moustache and goatee. This is not surprising since the background of the piece is actually an enlargement of a photograph he took in 1946, in Switzerland, of a small ravine dividing two Swiss towns.[13] By now a masterful retoucher, Duchamp then hand-coloured the wooded hillside on the right half, and collaged in more trees and foliage on the left.[14] All this was meant to heighten the naturalism of the background. Ironically, however, the more Duchamp retouched the work to make it realistic, the more surreal it became. The background's colouring and manipulation makes the viewer feel like they are *inside* an old photograph rather than being outdoors in a believable landscape.

Overall, Duchamp treated photographs of his works as a field of play, one within which he could perform all manner of manipulations. As such, his motives were pragmatically curatorial. In addition, far from regarding photography as possessing an inviolate integrity, one that might have made him balk at retouching, he

felt justified in such violations for what was at stake was something central to the medium: its inherent documentary capacity. Where one's reputation was concerned, this was something best not left to chance.

Notes

1   In Rhonda Roland Shearer's article, 'Why the Hatrack is and/or is not Readymade…' the manipulation of the photographs are explained as part of an elaborate and sophisticated geometry that Duchamp applied to his readymades, their reproductions and their depictions. www.toutfait.com/issues/issue_3

2   This is the subject of a book-length treatment, *Preparing his Pedestal: Marcel Duchamp as Self-Curator*, on which the author is currently working.

3   Dawn Ades (et al), *Marcel Duchamp*. Thames and Hudson, New York, 1999, p. 178

4   Although many of them were taken by Man Ray, they are not credited as such. Duchamp devoted so much handiwork to them that they can no longer be 'by' Man Ray. See: Ecke Bonk, *Marcel Duchamp, the box in a valise*: *De ou par Marcel Duchamp ou Rrose Selavy: inventory of an edition*. (trans. David Britt), Rissoli, New York, 1989, p. 149.

5   For a comparison of the two photographs, before and after retouching, see the reproductions in Herbert Molderings, 'Objects of Modern Skepticism,' in Thierry De Duve (ed.) *The Definitively Unfinished Marcel Duchamp*. MIT Press, Cambridge, Mass., p. 256, figs. 6.5, 6.6.

6   Bonk, 1989, p. 232.

7   The painting is entitled *Le Ready-made malheureux de Marcel* 1920; reproduced in Arturo Schwarz, *The Complete Works of Marcel Duchamp*. Harry Abrams, New York, 1970, p. 475.

8   Bonk, 1989, pp. 238–39.

9   Bonk, 1989, p. 239.

10 Reproduced in Frances Naumann, *Marcel Duchamp: the Art of Making Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction*. Ludion Press, Ghent; Harry N. Abrams, New York, 1999, fig. 3.2, p. 62.

11 Reproduced in Jean Clair's important *Duchamp et la photographie…* Chêne, Paris, 1977, pp. 76–77.

12 Bonk, 1989, pp. 228–29.

13 Jacques Caumont and Jennifer Gough-Cooper, 'Ephemerides: On and About Marcel Duchamp and Rrose Sélavy, (1887–1968)' in Pontus Hulten (ed.), *Marcel Duchamp: Work and Life*. MIT Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1993. See entry for 5 August 1946.

14 Caumont, 1993. See entry for 31 March 1968.

Ben Baruch Blich

The Epistemology of the Photographic Image

Among the possible means of communication, pictorial representation has accumulated a momentum that none of its counterparts, including language, can credit itself with. Today, more than ever in the history of mankind, pictures have become the main means of transferring information: in education, in moulding public opinion, in advertising, not to mention their traditional role in the visual arts. With the penetration of photography into the arena of representation in the middle of the 19th century, the rules of rendering were changed, and with that change, the scope of images which had been for ages exclusively in the hands of artists. Though it seems odd at the beginning of the third millennium to be still justifying the act of photography, it is nevertheless true to say that the history of modern times is *ipso facto* the history of the camera. Modern life has flirted with the camera, has worshiped it, and, to a certain extent, modern times would not have been possible without it.

It is true that in contrast to the hand-made, one-off, traditional craft of representation by painting, photography is an easy, straight forward, technological, mass medium, that each and everyone can handle. Photography does not need much learning or skill to produce, especially today in the digital era, in which the camera is part of our cellular telephones. Photography is no longer a myth, it has freed itself from the obscure darkroom, from Plato's cave, to become a medium that not only represents, preserves and artistically exhibits reality, but also dramatically has violated, traditional epistemology by constituting new and unfamiliar attitudes towards the act of representation. Though a photograph is easy to manage and produce, still to this day we are amazed and fascinated by being able to hold in our hands images representing ourselves. On the one hand a photograph is a pictorial representation, and it enhances visual information as paintings do, and yet, on the other hand, a photograph is a real depiction, and as such, deliberately brings to our attention, scenes which

traditional vehicles could not portray. Being the most realistic vehicle of representation, photography projects new and sometimes unexpected points of view onto the scenes depicted, and as such, it brings into the open questions concerning perception as well as ethical dilemmas.

It was Walter Benjamin who taught us 'that everybody who witnesses its accomplishments is somewhat of an expert',[1] that is: the aura of being a one-off rendering customarily attributed to the traditional means of representation, does not play a role in photography. According to this view, advocated later by Slavoj Zizek and others, the camera is indeed an intricate agent; it serves as a vehicle of documentation, of memory, of preservation[2] and, by the same token, it is a *voyeuristic* vehicle which *invades* the private and transfers the scenes depicted into the spectator's possession. The gaze, the seeing, the information retrieved from the photograph, is the essence of the camera's attributes and the bottom line of the photographic *epistemology.* One does not simply look and register a photographic scene; one sees and perceives a photographic scene in the same way a child, according to Jacques Lacan,[3] recognises for the first time its own image in the mirror – a stage which marks the child's ability to reflect on his own body and construct his own self.

The reflection of the self in a photograph, a mirror, or in the water, as in case of Narcissus, who fell in love with his own image, is indeed one of the major problems Western civilization is preoccupied with. Painting, sculpting, engraving, carving were for centuries in the service of *mimesis,* the only pictorial vehicles denoting the real and the imaginary alike. With the penetration of photography the rules of *mimesis* were changed and, with it, the status of the observer: from a passive stance to an active, involved, critical observer.

The same is true of the *object* represented by a photograph. From an aesthetic experience, as in the

Francisco de Goya, The shootings of May 3rd 1808 (1814)*, Oil on Canvas, Madrid, Museo del Prado*

Eddie Adams, A street execution of a Vietcong Prisoner, 1968

case of a painting, we are faced with a reification of the object depicted by the camera, or, to use Laury Mulvey's[4] terminology, the photograph is an agent of fetishistic scopophilia, since what is seen by the photograph is not only an aesthetic experience, something pleasing to look at; a photograph is also an object through which we experience a frame, a window onto reality, and that very photograph, the frame, may become an object in itself, a fetish, replacing the so called 'real scene'. To look at a photograph is in many ways to become a voyeur, to unveil the forbidden, the private, and be exposed to real scenes as if they had happened to ones self.

To substantiate that statement we can compare a painting with a photograph: let us take as an example Goya's *The Third of May, 1808,* and place it next to a photograph of a similar scene: Eddie Adams's *A street execution of a Vietcong prisoner* (1968). This comparison will point out that being exposed to a painting is in many respects a different experience from being exposed to a photograph. It is true that both pictures depict horrible and horrifying scenes. And yet, if you disregard for a moment aesthetic values and artistic excellence, and concentrate on the information retrieved from the two depictions, and reflect on the epistemological point of view each one of them demands, you may agree with me that a photograph is a spectacle, a hyper-reality representation because it complies not only with truth and objectivity, but also with what is so eloquently defined by Guy Debord[5] as the transparency of vision, and to what is labelled by Jean Baudrillard[6] as the precession of simulacra.

Being a transparent vehicle, a photograph is an icon, a simulacrum, which precedes and in many ways also facilitates the scenes it exemplifies. Not that we would not have knowledge about horrible executions without a photograph, but a photograph has the power of articulation, and it turns vague knowledge into a concrete testimony, giving it an ontological credibility. Practically speaking, a photograph is in the position of *replacing* reality, and as such it represents a state of affairs we would not have been exposed to unless by the act of photography. Moreover, in contrast to a painting which may successfully (or occasionally may fail) to symbolize a certain idea or value, a photograph has always a reference, and is expected to be relevant even when it depicts aesthetic scenes (landscapes, sunsets, impeccable bodies), or when it alludes in a roundabout way at political atrocities (as in the case Adams's photograph). This in turn has an impact on the viewer's position towards the scenes he sees in a painting and in a photograph. Since a painting is an opaque medium, that is, it *denotes* a certain scene, let us say – two human bodies at a certain posture, but *represents* an idea, for example the idea of Creation, as in the case of *The Creation of Adam* by Michelangelo, a photograph, on the other hand, always *denotes* the scenes it *represents,* and will hardly refer at an idea without depicting the real scene. That is why a photograph goes beyond the represented and functions as a simulacrum, whereas a painting is a visual *story* recruiting narrative devices, such as metaphor, oxymoron, in order to be able to convey its ideas.

Goya's painting is an illustration of a real execution which took place during the French occupation of Spain; it is a painting which denotes an execution, but its intention is to convey the idea of rebellion and liberty. But since the scene is aesthetically depicted, that

is, the painter used narrative devices to convey his message (combination of colours, contrasts, etc.), the painting may aesthetically please the viewer and fail to convey its horrible message, which is not the case in Adams's photograph. Whereas a painting, though horrible and repelling, as in the case of Nicolas Poussin's *The rape of the Sabine Women,* or Theodore Gericault's *Medusa*, as well as, for example scenes in the theatre, such as Othello's strangulation scene, not to mention scenes in the cinema – all are directed towards the aesthetic, and hardly call for the viewer's involvement or put him, by the very act of looking at the painting, in the same epistemological position as a photograph (of the same scene) would do. It is, therefore, inconceivable to think nowadays of a painting as a vehicle of information, or to take it as a means of moulding our points of view. Look at Adams's execution photograph, would it not elicit questions as to the position taken by Adams? Why did he photograph the scene? Why did he not intervene to stop the execution? And perhaps the most annoying assumption is that probably the execution took place only because of Adams's presence, and that his camera urged it. Poussin, Goya and Gericault are all excused of raising these question, not only because a painting is a narrative interpretation of the scenes depicted; the same goes also with photography, which is an interpreting vehicle as well, but unlike painting, photography has changed the rules of denotation and with it the conventions of perception. A painting would never impose on the viewer the burden of justifying the act of perception: am I looking at a picture, as in the case of a painting, or, by looking at the picture, am I witnessing scenes beyond it, as in the case of photography? Am I examining the picture from its aesthetic and narrative points of view (painting) or, by being exposed to the picture, am I *ipso facto* involved, an accomplice, invading the subject's private space, as in the case of photography?

These are not simple minded questions, and the fact that I raise them *vis-à-vis* photography, means that in my view the camera is a medium that puts us, the viewers, in a reflective state of mind. This is indeed the crux of the difference between a painting and a photograph; the one is a narrative aesthetic display, whereas the other brings to the open ontological questions, and with it the unresolved 'distinction between what we really see and what we infer through the intellect.'[7]

To conclude: we all live in reality, and we all have a certain amount of knowledge as to how reality manifests itself, and yet, when we talk about scenes we witness, paint them and photograph them, and try meaningfully to interpret their various manifestations, we consciously or unconsciously turn to use different levels of language games – the language we commonly use (if there is such a thing), and languages of representation, used by painting and photography. Reality, so it seems, is a theory laden concept, exemplified by various sign systems, and my purpose was to point at two options: the one advocated by painting, and the other by photography.

Notes

1   W. Benjamin 'The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction' in *Illuminations*. H. Zohn, (trans.) Schocken Books, New York, 1968, p. 231. (First published 1936).
2   S. Sontag *On Photography*. Dell Pub.Co., New York, 1979.
3   J. Lacan, 'Le stade du miror come formateur de la function du Je' in *Revue francaise de psychoanalyse*, no. 4, 1949, pp. 449–455.
4   L. Mulvey 'Visual Pleasures and Narrative Cinema' in *Visual and other Pleasures*, Indiana U. Press, Bloomington and Indianapolis, 1989, pp. 14–26.
5   G. Debord, *La Société du Spectacle*. Edition Gallimard, nrf., Paris, 1992.
6   J. Baudrillard, 'The Precession of Simulacra' in *Simulacra and Simulation*, S. F. Glaser, (trans.), Michigan U. Press, Michigan, 1995 pp. 1–42. (Originally published in 1981).
7   E. H. Gombrich *Art and Illusion: A study in the Psychology of Pictorial Representation*. Princeton U. Press, Princeton, N. J., 1972, p. 15.

Vladimír Birgus

Czech and German Avant-Garde Photography

The relationship of Czech avant-garde artists to the German avant-garde, complicated by the unequal position of the sizeable German minority in the new state of Czechoslovakia created in October 1918, and the clear orientation of Czech artists toward France, went through many changes.[1] In some cases fruitful relationships were welcomed on both sides: the group *Osma* had Czech and German members, the group *Tvrdošíjní* (The Stubborn) who exhibited in Dresden, Berlin and Hanover, invited not only local German artists but also Paul Klee and Otto Dix to its 1921 Prague exhibition. A number of important German groups were present in Bohemia. In 1919 the group *Pilgergruppe* was created on the initiative of Maxim Kopf; in the same year the group *Metznerbund* was founded in Liberec, where, three years later, the group *Oktobergruppe* began. In 1927 the group *Junge Kunst* was created on the initiative by Max Kopf. In 1929 modern-oriented German artists founded the group *Prager Sezession*, whose exhibitions later included Paul Klee, Alfred Kubin and Oskar Kokoschka, and the German gallery owner Hugo Feigl prepared dozens of exhibitions of modern artists in Prague. However, when Raoul Hausmann and Richard Huelsenbeck organized two Dadaist evenings in Prague in March 1920, these events met with a wider public but only among the German minority. Nevertheless Czech newspapers also reported on their scandalous proceedings.[2] Kurt Schwitters' and Raoul Hausmann's dance recital evening in the Prague Urania Theatre in June 1921 took place without great interest from the Czech public or the Czech media. But, although Dadaism on its own did not particularly take hold in Czechoslovakia it influenced *Poetism* which was a unique artistic direction and an important Czech contribution to the international avant-garde. The Prague Modern Art Bazaar, organized by the *Devětsil* group in 1923, was undoubtedly inspired by the Berlin exhibition *Dada-Messe* three years earlier, which presented art-

istic works and non-artistic objects next to each other. In some of the *Devětsil* picture poems, we see certain parallels in motif and style with the collages of Hannah Höch, Raoul Hausmann and Kurt Schwitters.

The Bauhaus especially contributed to deepening contacts with the German avant-garde; a number of Czechs and Slovaks studied there, including Jindřich (Heinrich) Koch,[3] who later succeeded Hans Finsler as head of the photography department at the School of Applied Arts at the castle Giebichenstein at Halle. Before his tragic death in 1934, he was briefly a photographer at the National Museum in Prague. Also Zdeněk Rossmann, the architect, graphic artist, set designer, photographer and teacher at the School of Applied Arts in Bratislava (1932–38) and, in Brno (1939–43), his wife Marie Rossmannová, also a photographer, and the Slovak, Irena Blühová,[4] who later was the organizer of the social photography movement in Bratislava. A relatively large group of Czech architects participated in the Bauhaus architecture exhibition in Weimar in 1923. In 1929 the then Director of the Bauhaus, Hannes Meyer, invited Karel Teige,[5] who shared many of his radical functionalist opinions, to give a series of lectures about the sociology of architecture, typography and aesthetics. Jaromír Funke[6] also considered studying at the Bauhaus but eventually chose to teach at the School of Applied Arts in Bratislava. The famous Bauhaus architect, Mies van der Rohe, built one of his best works in Czechoslovakia in 1929–30, the Tugendhat villa in Brno, and he also lectured on architecture in Czechoslovakia, as did Walter Gropius, Hannes Meyer and Marcel Breuer. In 1930 the German Bauhaus graduate Werner David Feist,[7] photographer and designer, settled in Prague for almost nine years.

The Bauhaus influence on Czech and Slovak art was multifaceted, and it appeared particularly in functionalist architecture, in many fields of the applied arts, in typography, (where photography also played a significant role, as it did in Bauhaus *typophoto* and, not

least, in photography itself. The inspirational example of the Bauhaus educational concept was strongest in the School of Applied Arts in Bratislava[8] and in Brno[9]. László Moholy-Nagy especially had rich contacts with the Czech avant-garde. As early as 1925 he lectured in Brno on painting, photography and film at the invitation of *Devětsil* and, after leaving the Bauhaus, he had several personal exhibitions in Czechoslovakia which included Bratislava, Brno and Ceské Budějovice. In 1936 František Kalivoda, leader of the Brno branch of the *film-foto* group of *Levá fronta*, even devoted the entire first (and last) double issue of the new exclusive magazine *Telehor* to Moholy-Nagy's work. Photographs, photomontages and theoretical articles by Bauhaus teachers and students, including Kurt Schwitters, László Moholy-Nagy, Paul Citroen and Umbo, were often reproduced in many other Czech avant-garde magazines, together with the works of Albert Renger-Patzsch, Aenne Biermann and other German photographers.

The exhibition *Film und Foto* in Stuttgart in 1929, the most extensive international exhibition of modern photography and cinematography of the time, was important for Czech photography. Unfortunately, Czechoslovakia was not represented in the exhibition by the most original works which Czech photography could offer, that is, the works of Jaroslav Rössler and Jaromír Funke. The collection of photographs, photomontages and book covers, which the organizer, Karel Teige, sent to Stuttgart, which included his own work, was not particularly representative.[10] The following year, the young Czech photographer, Alexander Hackenschmied, influenced by his own visit to the *Film und Foto* exhibition, organized the exhibition *New Czech Photography*, which was the first group exhibition of Czech avant-garde photography in Prague and which, as in Stuttgart, also included scientific photographs (which were also shown at the International Photography Exhibition in the Mánes building,

Jaromír Funke, After the Carnival, 1924 (Collection of M. Rupesová)

Prague in 1936). The Stuttgart exhibition and the connected publication *foto-auge* (photo-eye) were undoubtedly a great inspiration and sometimes even a model imitated by many Czech photographers, as shown, for instance, by some works by Ladislav Emil Berka[11], Alexandr Hackenschmied[12], or Jiří Lehovec[13]. However, the *Film und Foto* exhibition was certainly not the only one in which Czech artists presented their photographs and photomontages in Germany, for example, František Drtikol often published in German magazines or annuals of *Das deutsche Lichtbild*, and Teige, Sudek, Hackenschmied and Berka exhibited at the Munich photography exhibition *Das Lichtbild* in 1930. Teige also participated in a number of important exhibitions with his typography designs, posters and photomontages. In addition, Hausmann, Höch, Grosz and Schwitters exhibited independently in Czechoslovakia and Werner Rohde, Edmund Kesting, Hans Bellmer and John Heartfield (with twenty political photomontages) took part in the International Photography Exhibition in the Mánes building, Prague in 1936.

A certain connection to Germany can also be found in experiments using projection of photographs and films in the theatre. The Director E. F. Burian took the lead in this area, and used projections of the

photographs by Jaromír Funke's, Miroslav Hák's and Karel Plicka's, and the films of Lehovec's and Zahradníček in a number of productions in his *divadlo D* (Theatre D) in Prague. Although he could draw on the older and similar experiments by the Russian Vsevolod Meyerkhold or the German director Erwin Piscator, his principle of including projection onto a transparent curtain in the action on stage was far more developed and imaginative.[14]

Bohemia, Moravia, and the Czech part of Silesia were the birthplaces of the famous architects Adolf Loos, Josef Hofmann and Josef Maria Olbrich; the writers Franz Kafka, Max Brod, Franz Werfel, Rainer Maria Rilke, Egon Erwin Kisch and Franz Carl Weiskopf; the painters Alfred Kubin and Emil Orlik; the composer Gustav Mahler and the founder of psychoanalysis, Sigmund Freud, as well as many German and Austrian photographers. Lucia Moholy was born and studied in Prague, Erich Auerbach was born in Sokolov and studied in Karlovy Vary and Prague and worked as a music critic for *Prager Tageblatt.* He left for Britain and became known for his pictures of musicians. He also worked as the photographer of President Ervard Beneš's government in exile. Rudolf Koppitz came from a small village in the Bruntál region and worked at one time in Brno and Opava. The renowned German portrait photographer Franz Fiedler, born in Prostějov, conducted portrait photography courses in various Czech cities in the first half of the 1930s. Hans Watzek came from Bílina and also worked in Chomutov. The long-time chairman of the Vienna Amateur Photographers Club, Emil Mayer, was born in Nový Bydžov; Maria Austria was born in Karlovy Vary; the colour photography pioneer, Karl Schinzel, was born in Edrovice u Rýmařova and worked in Opava. The Czech photographic avant-garde did not have frequent contact with photographers from the German minority in Czechoslovakia who had their own professional and amateur associations and

published several photography magazines.[15] Mostly they did not show much interest in experimental work, except for photographs influenced by *New Objectivity*, nonetheless, there was some contact, for instance: the regular participation by members of the German Amateur Photographers Club in Ceské Budějovice (*Klub der Amateurfotografen in B. Budweis*), Resl Chalupa, Heinrich Wicpalek, Ferry Klein, Richard Nissl took part in the exhibitions of the Ceské Budějovice avant-garde group *Fotolinie*, (Photo Line), or the participation of eleven members of the club in the joint exhibition in Znojmo with *Fotolinie*, the Brno group *Fotoskupina pìti* (Photo Group Five), and the Amateur Photographers Club in Znojmo in 1934[16].

The Czech avant-garde worked more closely with John Heartfield, the creator of anti-fascist and anti-war photomontages who, after Hitler's rise to power in Germany in 1933, emigrated to Prague where he had personal and professional contact with Adolf Hoffmeister, Tibor and Irena Honty, Lubomír Linhart, Vladimír Hnízdo and Julius Fučík (for a time Heartfield even lived in the same building in Dejvice as Fučík). In Czechoslovakia Heartfield created a number of his best works which he regularly published in the weekly *Arbeiter Illustrierte Zeitung* (Worker's Illustrated Newspaper), renamed in 1936 *Volks Illustrierte* (People's Illustrated), which also moved its editorial office to Prague where it continued to publish until October 1938. In 1934 Heartfield's anti-Nazi photomontages at the International Exhibition of Caricatures and Humour in the Mánes building in Prague (participants included George Grosz, Otto Dix, Jean Cocteau, František Kupka and Josef Capek) provoked official protests from the German ambassador and a vicious campaign in the German press. When five of Heartfield's works were officially removed from the exhibition after the ambassador's second protest, the Prague public reacted by visiting the exhibition in large numbers on the first Sunday after the censorship. On

Jaroslav Rössler, OMTO collage, 1926–1927

3 May 1934, Heartfield published in the *Arbeiter Illustrierte Zeitung* a photomontage which caricatured the efforts of Nazi Germany to deny lack of political freedom in its own country. Among those who defended Heartfield was the French *Association des Ecrivains et Artistes Révolutionnaires* (Association of Revolutionary Writers and Artists) which organized an exhibition of 150 of Heartfield's photomontages the following year in the Maison de la Culture, Paris, opened by Louis Aragon[17]. Twenty of Heartfield's photomontages were included in the International Exhibition of Photography in the Mánes gallery in March and April 1936, where they again drew protests from the German Embassy. In 1937 Heartfield was accepted, together with Oskar Kokoschka, who then lived as an émigré in Prague, as a correspondent member of the Mánes Artists Association. His participation in the 50th anniversary exhibition of the Mánes Artists Association drew further attacks from German officials and the German press. In Prague, Heartfield created many works for Czech magazines, for example, he published his photomontages in the weekly *Svět práce* (The World of Work) and for other publishers, including photomontages for the cover of the new edition of Hašek's Švejk in the Synek's publishing house in 1936, and several covers for the publishing houses Odeon and Družstevní práce. Although a number of Czech artists worked with photomontage, none of them used it for anti-war and anti-fascist campaigning as did Heartfield, and as attempted in Poland by Mieszyslaw Berman, in Spain by Josef Renau, Manuel Monleón and Mauricio Amster, or in the Soviet Union by Alexandr Zhitomirsky. Nonetheless, Heartfield influenced Czech avant-garde art, as is clear from some of Teige's surrealist collages with motifs of women with fish heads or hands with a revolver. The multifaceted artist Raoul Hausmann, who moved to Czechoslovakia in 1937 and stayed there until 1938 after he had emigrated to the Spanish island of Ibiza, he also formed contacts with the Czech avant-garde, primarily with František Kalivoda, architect and head of the Brno *film-foto* group of *Levá fronta*. Hausmann, who knew Czechoslovakia well from several previous visits, had a solo exhibition in the spring of 1937, in the Museum of Decorative Arts, Prague, which included his newest photographs from Ibiza. During his stay in Czechoslovakia he often experimented with infra-red photography and even published a technical article, 'The Possibilities of Infra-red Photography' in the first issue of *Fotografický obzor* (The Photographic Horizon) in 1938. Other German photographers who emigrated after 1933 to Czechoslovakia included Franz Pfemfert, Hans Chaim Pinn, Richard Levy Errell.

German photography's influence in Czechoslovakia between the wars was thus felt primarily from work in the style of *New Objectivity* which was popular among avant-garde artists (Jaromír Funke and Eugen Wiškovský especially created a number of original works) and among the students of the photography schools in Prague, Bratislava and Brno and with more modern-thinking amateur photographers. The Bauhaus influence was also strong in various experimental photographs by a range of Czech avant-garde artists where we can find the use of daring cut-outs, diagonal composition, views from below or above, and negative en-

largements typical of the school. Here, of course, we cannot overlook the influence of the work of Rodchenko and other Soviet Constructivists who, along with the Bauhaus, also influenced Czech photo-typography and modern advertising photography. The works of Aenne Biermann also provided considerable inspiration for some Czech photographers, as demonstrated by, for example, Lehovec's details of piano keyboards which are, in motif and style, virtually identical with her slightly older works. We can even find certain parallels between the movement of German worker photographers and Czech social photography, though, unlike in Germany, avant-garde photographers also took part in the most important exhibitions of social photography in Czechoslovakia. Democratic Czechoslovakia, where avant-garde art could develop freely until the end of the 1930s, unlike in Germany or the Soviet Union, provided asylum for several years to many German and Jewish artists before their subsequent emigration to Britain and the USA. Of course, the German occupation of Bohemia and Moravia in March 1939 meant the end of closer contacts between Czech and German artistic avant-garde.

Notes

1   Hana Rousová (ed.), *Mezery v historii 1890–1938 – Polemický duch Střední Evropy – Němci*, Židé, Ceši. Galerie hlavního města Prahy (Prague City Gallery), Prague, 1994, (catalogue). Lenka Bydžovská, 'Prague' in Timothy O Benson (ed.), *Central European Avant-Gardes: Exchange and Transformation, 1910–1930*. Los Angeles County Museum of Art & The MIT Press, Cambridge Mass. & London, 2002, pp. 82–86. Vladimír Birgus, 'Czech Avant-Garde Art and the World' in Vladimír Birgus (ed), *Czech Photographic Avant-Garde 1918–1948*. The MIT Press, Cambridge Mass. & London, 2002, pp. 13–31.

2   Ludvík Kundera, 'Dada v Čechách a na Moravě', 52. *Bulletin Moravské galerie*. Brno. 1996, p. 16.

3   Karel Herain, *Práce Jindřicha Kocha*. Státní grafická škola (State Graphic School), Prague, 1935.

4   Dušan Škvarna, Václav Macek, Iva Mojžíšová, *Irena Blühová.* Martin, Osveta, 1991.

5   Manuela Castagnara Codeluppi (ed.), *Karel Teige. Architettura, Poesia: Praga 1900–1951*. Electa, Milan, 1956. Karel Srp (ed.), *Karel Teige 1900–1951*. Galerie hlavního města Prahy (City Prague Gallery), Prague, 1994, (catalogue). Eric Dluhosch, Rostislav Švácha (ed.), *Karel Teige 1900–1951: L'Enfant Terrible of the Czech Modernist Avant-Garde*. The MIT Press, Cambridge Mass. & London, 1999.

6   Antonín Dufek, *Jaromír Funke – průkopník fotografické avantgardy. / Jaromír Funke – Pioneering Avant-Garde Photography*. Moravská galerie, Brno, 1996, (catalogue). Antonín Dufek, *Jaromír Funke*, TORST, Prague, 2004.

7   Franz Xaver Schlegel, *Werner David Feist. Fotografen am Bauhaus 1928–1930*. Augsburg, 1995, (catalogue).

8   Susanne Anna (ed.), *Bauhaus im Osten. Slowakische und Tschechische Avantgarde 1928–1939*. Verlag Gerd Hatje, Ostfildern bei Stuttgart, 1997.

9   Antonín Dufek, *Avantgardní fotografie 30. let na Moravě*. Galerie výtvarného umění, Olomouc, 1981, (catalogue).

10 Vladimír Birgus, 'Šedesát let od výstavy Film a foto ve Stuttgartu', *Revue Fotografie*, 1989, No. 3, pp. 70–73.

11 Antonín Dufek, *Ladislav E. Berka*. Portfolio, Galerie Faber, Vienna, 1991.

12 Jaroslav Anděl, *Alexandr Hackenschmied*. TORST, Prague, 2000.

13 Karel Cudlín, 'Jiří Lehovec', *Revue Fotografie*, 1989, no. 1, pp. 24–31.

14 Vladimír Birgus, 'Photography in the Czech Avant-Garde Theater.' in Vladimír Birgus (ed), *Czech Photographic Avant-Garde 1918–1948*. The MIT Press, Cambridge Mass. & London. 2002, pp. 273–280.

15 Sigrid Canz, 'Die sudetendeutsche Fotoszene 1918–1938 im Zeitschriftenspiegel.' in *Stifter Jahrbuch, Neue Folge, 11*. Adalbert Stifter Verein, Munich 1997, pp. 81–100. Petra Trnková, 'Klub deutscher Amateurphotographen in Prag und German Amateur photography in Czechoslovakia in the 1930's.' in Antonín Dufek, *'Grete Popper. Fotografie mezi dvema světovými válkami/Photographs from the Inter-War Period'*. Moravská galerie, Brno, 2005, pp. 106–109.

16 Milan Kníže, *Němečtí fotografové v předválečném Československu*. Institute of Creative Photography, Silesian University, Opava, 1998, pp. 37–43, (unpublished diploma thesis). Zdeněk Stolbenko, *Od Linie po Fotos – 30.–60. léta v českobudějovické fotografii*. Department of Photography, FAMU, Prague, 1998, pp. 19–75, (unpublished diploma thesis).

17 David Evans: *John Heartfield AIZ / VI 1930–38*. Kent, New York, 1992, pp. 36–37.

Contributors

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A. D. Coleman's most recent project is the Photography Criticism CyberArchive (at www.photocriticism.com), to which he invites all ESHPh members to contribute and/or subscribe. Currently, in addition to supervising that project, he is co-curating the retrospective of *Arno Rafael Minkkinen* (details at www.fep-paris.org/ minkkinen.html), and editing for Aperture, Inc., a series of anthologies of notable essays on photography 1970–2000 in English translation, which will begin with collections of French and German texts. He was awarded the Kulturpreis of the German Photographic Society (DGPh) in 2002. Member of ESHPh since 2001.

Alistair Crawford, born 1945, Scotland, studied at Glasgow School of Art. Currently Research Professor of Art, University of Wales, Aberystwyth, he is also a practising artist, photographer, printmaker, writer, performer and independent curator. He has held thirty

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Photoresearcher is produced for the European Society for the History of Photography by Dietmar Klinger, Passau, Germany. Articles are requested on all aspects of the History of Photography, especially European (in its widest sense) from members and non-members throughout the world. *Photoresearcher* will also include book, catalogue and exhibition reviews. All publishers and exhibition organisers should send items for possible inclusion to the Editors. All publications received will be cited. Articles for consideration should be sent to the addresses below at any time and should accord with the following instructions:

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Cover: Ferdinand Schmutzer, *Albert Einstein, Vienna 1921* (Courtesy of the Austrian National Library)

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The ESHPh was formed in 1977 in Antwerp in response to a growing enthusiasm for photography with the aim of exploring the development of photography in all aspects from its beginning to the present day. From 1989 to 2001 the office moved to Croydon, UK, and in 2002 it relocated to Vienna, Austria.

The Society promotes interest in both historic and modern photography. Europe is interpreted in its widest sense. The ESHPh recruits as members photographers, historians, photohistorians, teachers, sociologists, philosophers, curators and collectors as well as important institutions in Europe and world wide.

The Society is open to *all* who are interested in photography whatever their nationality. The ESHPh encourages research, personal contacts, contributions and exchanges amongst members world wide. The Society also promotes photography as an academic discipline and the introduction of chairs for the *History of Photography* at European universities. For that purpose the ESHPh organizes yearly a Symposium which is held in different places in Europe. The last Symposium, *From Nordic Landscapes to North American Indians,* took place in September 2004 in Stockholm.

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