

Photoresearcher

ESHPh



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



As with our last edition, we are delighted to report that we received many contributions and, again, we were really surprised at the broad variety of topics offered. Once again we are pleased to record that the majority of our articles are published here for the first time.

Alistair Crawford's title of *Suschitzky, photographer: Fled Hitler, Loved Lenin, Shot Michael Caine* refers to a headline of an article in a Scottish newspaper. He outlines the flight of this Viennese photographer, via the Netherlands, to London, where Suschitzky for many years took pictures of children and animals in the zoo, besides working later as a cameraman. Crawford analyses these pictures and tries to get to the bottom of the validity of documentary photography in general, which has changed a great deal in recent times. He draws the conclusion that today nothing can be seen as 'true', although photographs still try to make us believe they are depicting facts; but also values too have changed, perhaps too much in our society in recent years. Crawford gives some examples of how even words are banished and then vanish from our vocabulary. Finally, he deals with a movie where Suschitzky worked as the director of photography: the film version of the famous novel *Ulysses* by James Joyce. He finds its realisation successful only because of Suschitzky's brilliant picture language; a true equivalent to the literary model – contrary to the poor dialogue and acting. Crawford's wish is to animate a resourceful editor to publish Suschitzky's film stills together with James Joyce's text for he maintains that those stills from the film along with the text would be the perfect visual realisation of this literary masterpiece.

In her article *Emanuel von Friedrichsthal. The First Daguerreotypist in Yucatán*, Ulla Fischer-Westhauser describes the adventurous story of this Austrian explorer and daguerreotypist, and how two of his lost daguerreotypes have found their way into the Austrian National Library. Financially supported by Metternich,

and bestowed with the title of an attaché of the Austrian Imperial Embassy in the United States of North America, Friedrichsthal travelled to Mexico in 1839 and 1840. On his tour through Europe and North America he met a lot of influential people who gave him valuable advice for his journey to Mexico, among them Alexander von Humboldt in Paris, the author and historian William Hickling Prescott in Boston, the author and traveller John Lloyd Stephens and the chemist John William Draper, both in New York. Friedrichsthal was the first European to describe the ancient Maya ruins of Chichén-Itzá. On his way back to Vienna he showed his daguerreotypes in New York, London and Paris. But soon after his return he died in 1842 before he could publish his findings. All the daguerreotypes then got lost, until the naturalist Carl Bartholomäus Heller brought two back to Austria in 1847 from his expedition in Yucatán.

In Carmen Pérez González's study *Defining a model of representation for 19th century Iranian Portrait Photography*, she examines how many western oriented elements are contained in Abdullah Mirza Qajar's photographs and what was influenced by Persian miniature painting. In Persian miniature painting calligraphy is an essential part of the artistic ornament and characteristic of Persian art and culture which is definitely different from western culture. The fact that Persian script is written from the right to the left, in contrast to the west who write from left to right, the author maintains that Iranian photography must be like a mirror to western photography.

Katherine Hoffman's essay *Sarah Choate Sears and the Road to Modernism* gives a detailed insight into the artistic development of the Boston art collector and pathfinder of modern art, Sarah Sears, who has been much neglected as a photographer. Already in 1893 this skilled photographer had attracted the attention of Alfred Stieglitz and F. Holland Day. Hoffman refers to Sears's numerous flower motifs, which found

much approval with the Pictorialists, as well as the Symbolists; according to them the use of the lily as a motif was always seen as the ‘flower of love’. The use of the lily can also be found more recently, for example, in the photographs of Immogen Cunningham and Robert Mapplethorpe. Hoffman also describes the ‘tableaux vivants’, much favoured by Sears, where the use of costumes and the play with identities take on an important role which she then compares with the contemporary work of Cindy Sherman.

Petra Trnková, in *Purified Czech history of photography*, refers to a catalogue on Czech Pictorialism, published in 1999, in which the close relationship that existed between Czech and German photographers is simply not mentioned, except for two examples. The article traces back to the break down of the Danube Monarchy in 1918, when the Czechs developed an ideology which considered that everything connected to the Habsburg Empire must therefore be wrong – an attitude which seems to be still in existence, at least right up to 1999! Petra Trnková now tries to fill in the photo-historical gap and illustrates how closely interdependent German, Czech and Austrian photography was, until Hitler’s invasion.

Anna Auer and Alistair Crawford
Co-editors, Photoresearcher

Contents

Editorial	2
<i>Alistair Crawford</i>	
Wolf Suschitzky, photographer: Fled Hitler, Loved Lenin, Shot Michael Caine	4
<i>Ulla Fischer-Westhauser</i>	
Emanuel von Friedrichsthal. The First Daguerreotypist in Yucatán	9
<i>Carmen Pérez González</i>	
Defining a model of representation for 19th century Iranian Portrait Photography	17
<i>Katherine Hoffman</i>	
Sarah Choate Sears and the Road to Modernism	23
<i>Petra Trnková</i>	
Purified Czech history of photography	32
Contributors	38
Imprint	39
How to become a member of the European Society for the History of Photography	
	42

Wolf Suschitzky, photographer: Fled Hitler, Loved Lenin, Shot Michael Caine

‘Fled Hitler, Loved Lenin, Shot Michael Caine’¹ ran a headline in the *Glasgow Herald* in 2002 when covering a story on the photographer and cinematographer Wolf Suschitzky. It could have added: ‘famous photographer of children and zoos’. I would have added: ‘photographer of work’, ‘animal portraitist’, or ‘portrait of the working class’. Suschitzky has no doubt already crossed your path but probably you did not register the name of this self-effacing documentary photographer who thinks of himself, still, as a ‘craftsman rather than an artist’ (and yes, it is better to be a good craftsman than a poor artist). His photographs portray a kindly, considerate, social morality; of a private thinker not given to loud polemics.

Wolf Suschitzky was born in Vienna in 1912, son of a free-thinking, socialist Jew who ran a rare left-wing bookshop in the city. He studied photography there, at the *Graphische*, in the 1930’s where he acknowledges that he learned ‘how to turn out a good print,’ a rarer achievement than he might think. He took up photography under the influence of his more demonstrative and politically vocal sister, Edith, who had been taught at the Bauhaus in Dessau and went on to become the famous photojournalist in London, Edith Tudor-Hart.

Wolf Suschitzky fled Vienna in 1934, arrived London 1935, via Holland, and, helped by his sister, he soon established himself as a photographer. He was to find an economical furrow to plough in the photography of children and animals (he had originally wanted to study zoology) on which, later, he produced how-to-do-it books. He was to comment favourably on his chosen subject matter: that ‘children and animals ... do not complain about the results.’ But freelance photography, often published in *Picture Post*, *Illustrated*, *Geographical Magazine*, became an adjunct to his other career in the cinema where he worked on around 100 documentary, feature and TV films. With his portfolio of photographs, made in the vicinity of that street

of bookshops, Charing Cross Road, London, he met with Paul Rotha in 1937 and joined his *Strand Films* which operated in the tradition of Robert Flaherty and John Grierson, the inventors of the medium of documentary. This was to take him to many foreign lands and allow him to operate within his socialist principles.

He has had to wait, however, a very long time for the first retrospective book of his photographs to finally appear in a handsome, well-printed volume with several texts in both German and English (would that more enlightened publishers would take the trouble to do likewise in this EU of ours). *Wolf Suschitzky, photos* contains 170 black & white prints selected from thousands taken between 1934–2000². Suschitzky is well used to waiting for it was not until 1988 that those same photographs of *Charing Cross Road in the Thirties*, that he showed to Rotha that day, were finally published by Dirk Nishen, Berlin, to considerable acclaim. Those photographs had always been important to him, and, no doubt, in their publication in 1988, Suschitzky had recalled his father’s socialist bookshop in Vienna where, in 1934, he had committed suicide as the world fell apart around him; no doubt he also thought of his uncle who had continued to run the bookshop until 1938 when, finally, it was closed by the Nazi’s. His uncle and aunt were then shipped off to die at Auschwitz; books are always dangerous materials to deal in.

While we could never advocate such suffering, Suschitzky, in many ways, epitomises that great release of talent and energy that so often takes place when the dispossessed emigrant – allowed the chance – is forced to fight for survival in an alien land. If ever there was a need to justify the abhorrence of National Socialism and Fascism in Europe all the deluded need to do is cast their eye down the lists of names upon names of those who gave, to the detriment of their own country, their cultural and inventive talents to benefit the societies they fled to, especially that of Britain and the United States. But perhaps that article in the *Glasgow Herald*



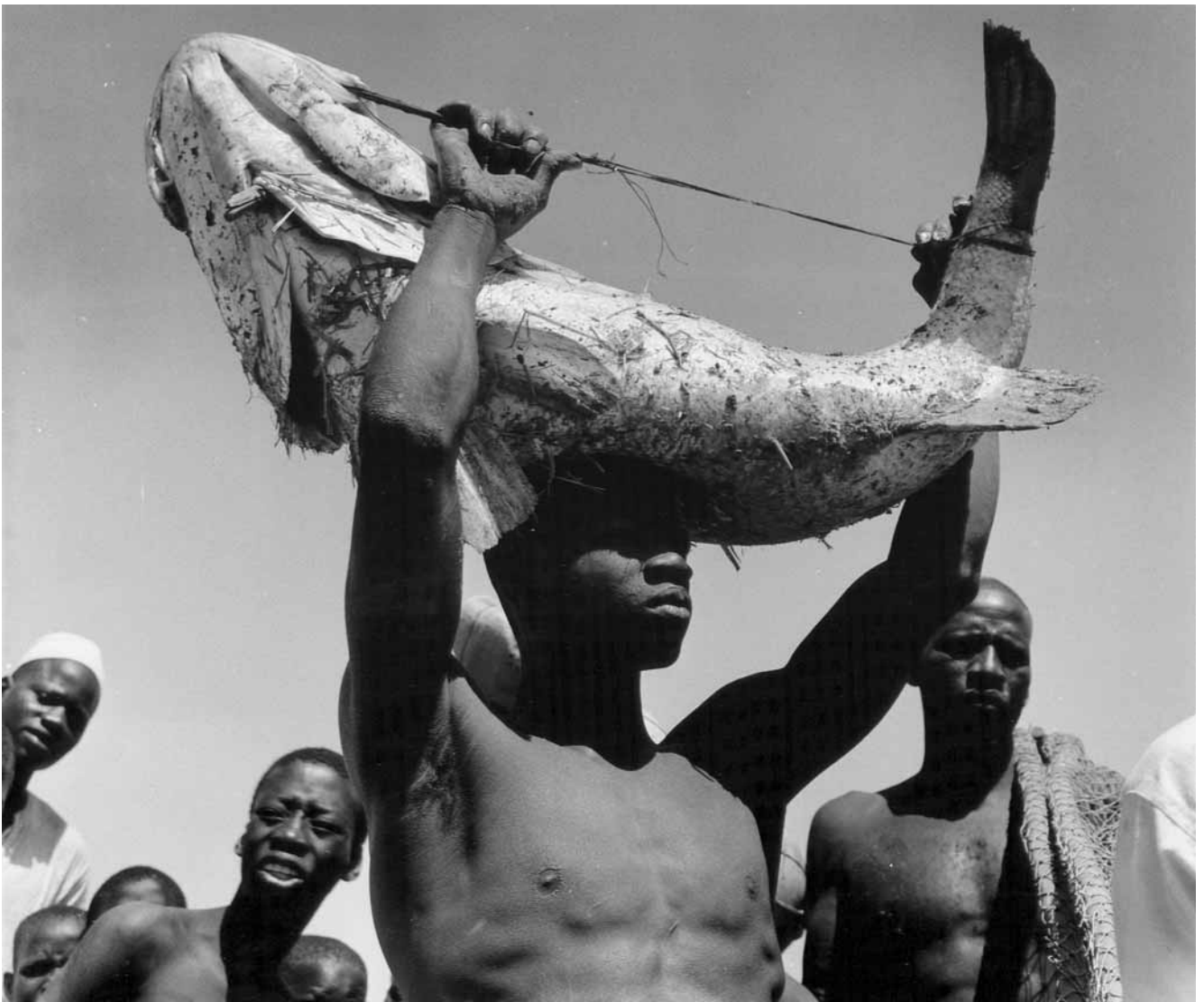
*Dundee, Scotland 1944.
Credit: Wolf Suschitzky*

could have added that, if he had changed his name, he might have found it all a great deal easier.

The importance of photography, it can be argued, is, paradoxically, long after the time of its interruption. Only then can society observe what really took place at the time of the taking for the present is mostly incomprehensible as we blindly stumble towards an unknown future. It is a knowledge of the past that distinguishes our species, yet we do not pay enough attention to what it can teach us. Looking at these photographs today we can see the loss, for while a gentle, romantic nostalgia pervades this book, it also dramatically demonstrates in what fundamental ways our contemporary society, in spite of its material wealth and our provision of education for all, is much the poorer. In all

his travels, it was Dundee in 1944 where he found the ‘worst slums I had ever seen,’ yet life in the grubby back streets could be preferable to some of our contemporary, yobo barbarianism that has replaced it.

I heard a story the other day from the 1960’s when a five year old boy, clutching in his little hand a ‘half-a-crown’ coin came running back from the harbour calling on his older sister and brother as the proceeds of such wealth needed to be spent immediately. ‘Where did you get the money from?’ ‘From a man.’ ‘What man? And what did you have to do to get it?’ ‘I was just playing and he asked me to sit still on the grass bank and not make a move and afterwards he gave me the money’. ‘He gave you half-a-crown? Just for that! Lets go and see if he is still there!’ The man turned out to be

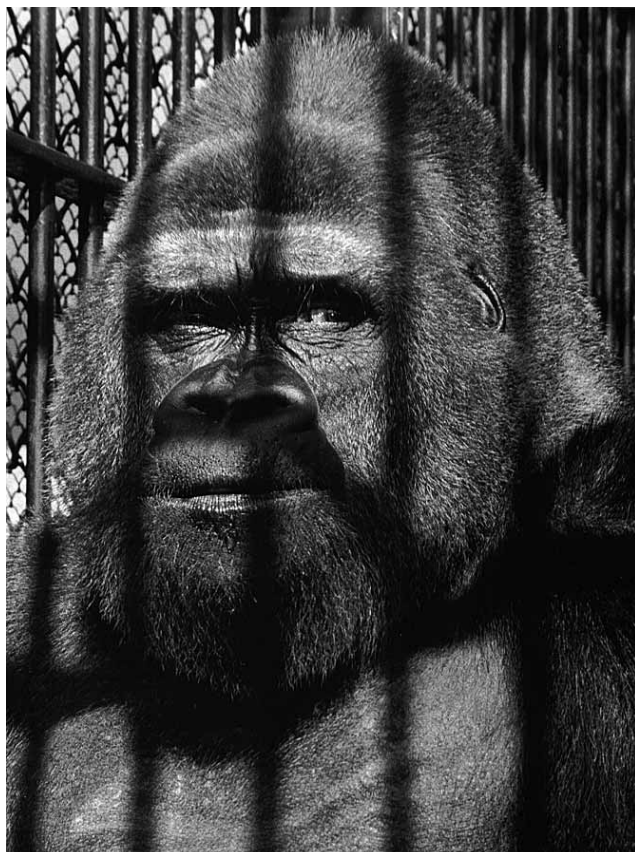


Fishing Festival, Northern Nigeria 1957. Credit: Wolf Suschitzky

an artist, now well known for his drawings of street scenes, who had arrived in the little seaside town that day and drew the boy. Today that man would be arrested. He could even be arrested if he had just photographed the boy playing. I read in the newspaper yesterday of a referee at a children's football match who kept stopping the game and badgering the parents standing on the sidelines, telling them they were not allowed to photograph the children playing. He threatened to seize their cameras and stop the match (*The Times* 17.10.06 p. 27). In Britain you can now be arrested for a 'thought crime'. Yet, conversely, ironically, our society is becoming chronically disturbed, made violent, especially by teenagers, from kids even, many with guns and knives, up and down the land turning their own communities into no-go ghettos at night (in the government's '24 hour economy') –and not just in deprived areas, while impotent, terrorised adults turn their heads away, as alcohol and drugs seep into the

very fabric of *all* our lives. The other day I read that Scotland Yard had banned the use of the word 'yob' because it might 'alienate teenagers and injure their feelings.' (*Sunday Times* 8.10.06)

Wolf Suschitzky is a socialist, still labels himself a free-thinker, but with our educated, sophisticated, much superior knowledge of such things as 'deconstruction', of 'semiotics', those photojournalists and documentary film makers who genuinely believed that if they photographed 'facts,' the 'truth' of society's inequalities and injustices would become visible; *responsibility* would thus be made manifest, but we know better. In our post-modern culture 'facts' are no longer permitted; perhaps we have just about left the remnant of an individual's truth. As the Magnum photojournalist Erich Lessing points out in his text for this book, we now live 'in a time when ideologies no longer matter'. But they believed, back then, as Anna Auer indicates in her text, that the 'camera could be



Guy the Gorilla, London Zoo 1958. Credit: Wolf Suschitzky

used as a weapon against social injustice.’ This belief is at odds when placed against our re-invented, computer manipulated ‘documents’; today you really cannot believe anything you see in a photograph. Our age is therefore surely the more dangerous. As I looked at the book I pondered what Suschitzky makes of the new post-modern, New Labour party of Tony Blair where the word ‘socialist’ is all but forbidden. Did he notice, I wonder, when the Berlin Wall finally came down in 1989 how, with glee, *all* our newspapers, and then the BBC, interchanged the words ‘socialism’ with ‘communism’? Suddenly there was no longer any distinctions left. ‘Communism’ fell with the Wall and in the rhetoric of our press and television news so too did socialism, on both sides of the Wall.

No doubt, and I would expect it, someone of his generation would argue against my view of ‘documentary truth’ but *my* evidence is actually here in this book for his many animal photographs never show the animal in captivity or the conditions of captivity (one exception: *Guy the Gorilla, London Zoo 1958* shows him hemmed in by the bars of a cage). Instead the camera has been purposely placed *between* the bars of the cages of their imprisonment; they are always depicted as happy, contented creatures, just like *all* his children.



Southern Sea Lion, Munich Zoo 1955. Credit: Wolf Suschitzky

(Again, only one exception in 170 images: the poignant photograph of a *Woman with Leprosy, India 1965*). So what values can we put on such documentary ‘facts’? These photographs, rather, enrich our lives because they transmit the values of their maker. Yet we certainly should acknowledge the weight of responsibility documentary photographers place on *our* shoulders: to keep on trying to find what the truth *might be*, for surely we can see that ‘social injustice’ is still all around us, and flourishing.

Wolf Suschitzky did break out of his self imposed mould a few times, once when he was asked by director Joseph Strick to be the ‘lighting cameraman’ for his film of James Joyce’s *Ulysses* (1967)³, because Strick wanted a documentary approach to that day in Dublin in the life of a certain Mr Leopold Bloom. In addition to his photography Suschitzky had already made two movies that had impressed Strick: *No Resting Place* and *Tinkers in Ireland*. Filmed in cinemascope with a rich black & white, very like the distinctive sparkle of his photographs, *Ulysses* was much applauded at the time. It was, however, to take until 2000 to pass the Irish censors. Today, it is difficult to understand why such praise, as it seems determined to butcher the power of Joyce’s language even though its screen play



From Ulysses 1966: Barbara Jefford and Milo O'Shea. Silver bromide print 23.2 x 29.6 cm. Credit: Wolf Suschitzky

was nominated for an Academy Award; for the most part it is hard on the ears and at odds with the imagery. While cinema is essentially dialogue (as distinct from the current fad of cinema as action), 'dialogue' is not 'literature'. Today, overwhelmingly, it survives as a film about the mores of the late 1960s, somewhat removed from Joyce's Dublin, from Joyce's imagination. There is also some dreadful performances, certainly at odds with a 'documentary approach', especially from T P McKenna of the Ha-Ha-Ha school of acting. But one aspect does survive well and that is the brilliant photography of Wolf Suschitzky (nominated for a BAFTA Award) who makes it visually sing as a counterpoint to Joyce's verbal song; it mirrors the memory of the sensations of reading the text. Here Suschitzky goes well beyond documentary conventions.

It would be nice to think that some enlightened publisher would bring out a book of stills based on his documentary films, now no doubt consigned to some vault somewhere labelled 'socialist' or even

'propaganda'. Indeed you could do a whole book dedicated to Strick/Suschitzky's *Ulysses*, turned into still images, they could accompany Joyce's text in a poetic way and present a visual interpretation of his masterpiece, one where Wolf Suschitzky's photography was much, much more than just good craftsmanship.

Notes

First version published in the Journal, INSCAPE 65/Winter, London, 2006/07. ISSN 0967-1935. See also www.inscapephotography.co.uk

- 1 The reference to Michael Caine was the now famous cult movie *Get Carter* (1971) directed by Mike Hodges, Wolf Suschitzky was the Director of Photography. Among several films, he also photographed *Entertaining Mr Sloane* (1970), directed by Douglas Hickox.
- 2 Michael Omasta, Brigitte Mayr, Ursula Seeber (eds.) with texts by Wolf Suschitzky, Anna Auer, Duncan Forbes, Erich Lessing and the editors, *Wolf Suschitzky photos*, Synema, Vienna 2006, 208 pp., 170 duotone illustrations. ISBN 3-901644-18-0.
- 3 Joseph Strick *James Joyce. Ulysses* (1967) DVD Arrow Films, FCD 148.

Emanuel von Friedrichsthal. The First Daguerreotypist in Yucatán

In 1847 the young Austrian naturalist Carl Bartholomäus Heller (1824–1880) returned home to Vienna after a two year research tour in the Mexican peninsula of Yucatán. In his luggage he carried with him not only the gains of his scientific research, but also two daguerreotypes. One of them shows a facade in a street in a Mexican town and the other one is of the image of a Maya idol. The two plates are small, but they attract interest immediately, especially the image of the idol. The figure fills the whole picture, leaving no space around it, just like giving a detail, which makes it look very modern. There is no daguerreotype that I know of that is comparable to this image. But who was the artist?

Carl Heller, who had no camera with him, was not the first Austrian explorer on a research tour seeking the lost cities in the Central American jungle. In fact he had a predecessor, the Austrian explorer Emanuel von Friedrichsthal. Since the end of the 18th century the American continent, and especially the ancient ruins buried in the Central American jungle, had become the focus of European explorers and travellers, due to the improvement of traffic and communication. At the beginning of the 19th century wealthy citizens were interested in exotic plants and animals for their gardens and menageries. They financed collecting travels and thus made possible new discoveries for the natural sciences. In addition, those activities were supported by the state authorities as well, either financially or through diplomatic support on journeys by making the traveller an attaché. Emanuel Ritter von Friedrichsthal derived benefit from both becoming an attaché, and from financial support.

He was born on 12 January 1809 in the Urschitz estate near Bruenn (today Brno in the Czech Republic), the son of Ignatz Friedrich (granted a knighthood in the name of Friedrichsthal) and his wife Christine, née Goldberg, and was educated at the Theresianische Militäarakademie (Military Academy).¹ After his

graduation he became a civil servant, but left service already in 1834, the same year he started a research and collecting trip to Greece, Turkey and Asia Minor, returning with rich pickings which he donated partially to the Imperial Natural History Objects Collection (Kaiserliches Naturalienkabinett).² After that trip he visited Serbia and Macedonia and published the scientific discoveries he had gained in an additional book.³

Animated by reports of Alexander von Humboldt and Frederic de Waldeck,⁴ Friedrichsthal planned an expedition to America. In order to realise his great project, he approached States Chancellor Clemens Lothar Metternich, known to be very interested in arts and science, asking him for subsidy. Through his intervention Emperor Ferdinand bestowed Friedrichsthal with the title of an attaché of the Austrian Imperial Embassy in the United States of North America and granted him 3000 guilders travel expenses. In return Friedrichsthal was committed to report regularly to the government in Vienna about defined topics containing the political, commercial, social and technical aspects of every day life in North America.

Friedrichsthal travelled via France, where he visited Alexander von Humboldt in Paris⁵, to England, Scotland and Ireland. After having crossed the Atlantic Ocean at the beginning of October 1838 he reached the Antilles and on 12 January 1839 he landed at San Juan de Nicaragua. First he roamed the, as yet, largely unknown regions in Central America, collecting and carrying out scientific research. At the end of 1839 he travelled to New Orleans and went on to Washington. During his stay in the United States he mainly devoted the time to the topics assigned to him by Metternich. Nevertheless Friedrichsthal took time to meet several people, who were able to provide valuable information for his future expedition projects. In Boston he called on the author and historian William Hickling Prescott (1796–1859) with whom he had previously exchanged letters before he made this trip.⁶ Prescott was already



Ancient Monuments in Central America, Chiapas and Yucatán, London 1844. Chromolithograph by Owen Jones. Credit: Department of Pictures, Austrian National Library Collection (Pb 19710 Plate1)

well known in Europe through his work *The History of the Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella the Catholic* (Boston 1838), even before it was published⁷. Influenced by Lord Kingsborough's *Antiquities of Mexico*⁸ he dealt with the conquest of Mexico and collected any information he could find.⁹

Shortly after Friedrichsthal's first stay in Central America, the North American lawyer, author and traveller John Lloyd Stephens (1805–1852) also had visited the territory. They started their journey on 3 October 1839, only two days before the daguerreotype process was introduced in a lecture by D. W. Seager in New York, although Stephens was one of the co-sponsors. Despite Stephens's early interest in the new invention, there is no evidence that he and Catherwood took a camera on their first Central American expedition. He and his companion, the English architect and draughtsman Frederick Catherwood (1799–1854), penetrated yet unknown areas and made history as the discoverer of Copán and the accurate explorer of the ancient Maya culture.¹⁰ During their stay in Yucatán,

Catherwood became seriously ill, so they had to break off their journey and returned home by the end of July 1840. Stephens's travelogues and Catherwood's excellent drawings, produced with the help of a camera lucida, were quickly disseminated as manuscripts, even before they were officially published,¹¹ thanks to Mr. Prescott, who got all the details from Stephens immediately after his return.¹²

When still in Paris Friedrichsthal had already been informed by 'the Greis le Noir' (Alexander von Humboldt) that Waldeck had found ruins in the jungle of Yucatán.¹³ Now Prescott told the 'elegant young Viennese with scented side-whiskers'¹⁴ of Stephens's discoveries and encouraged him to visit Yucatán. Furthermore he supplied him with a letter of recommendation for Don Angel Calderón de la Barca, the Spanish Ambassador in Mexico.

Undertaking an expedition to the Maya ruins hidden in the jungle was very much a hazard at this time. Documenting such an adventure with the help of a daguerreotype camera must therefore be described as outstanding. Professional portrait daguerreotypists, who had opened their businesses also in Mexico soon after the new invention had been disseminated, did not leave the towns.¹⁵ Only very few people took the strains and dangers to visit the ancient ruined towns of Central America. No travelogue was published without descriptions of the fights against the powers of nature, climate and tropical diseases and also attacks from the natives. In addition Yucatán was struck by heavy political conflicts for at that time the country was independent but loosely connected to Mexico. Even more than 30 years later, in 1875 Bancroft wrote that with the exception of the central north with the capital and the most important towns, the surroundings of Meridà, the route to the coast and the harbours 'Yucatán is still essentially a terra incognita'. Thanks to his meticulous research we are informed about every explorer who visited this region at that time.¹⁶



Fig. 1: Emanuel von Friedrichsthal (attributed), Campeche, Yucatán 1840/41, daguerreotype in original case, plate 5.5 x 6.8. Credit: Department of Pictures, Austrian National Library Collection (Pk 3338. 10).

Friedrichsthal travelled from Boston to New York, where he met Stephens, who supported his plans and even recommended him to buy a daguerreotype camera.¹⁷ It was a French achromatic which, before he left New York, he tried out together with John William Draper, Professor of Chemistry at New York University, who used daguerreotypes for his experiments.¹⁸

In July 1840 he boarded a ship for Belize, from where he travelled via Bacalar on the south coast of Yucatán, across the provinces of Quintana Roo and Campeche on the Mexican Yucatán peninsula.¹⁹ He visited Izamal, Uxmal, and Chichén-Itzá in an extremely strenuous tour, not caring for his health, being the first European to view the lost city of Chichén-Itzá. On his second tour Stephens even found the space that had been uncovered, with much effort, by Friedrichsthal and his helpers.²⁰ He suffered fever and, even after an attack from robbers when a large part of his collections and equipment was stolen, he still did not stop his research.

In the early spring of 1841 he finally reached Campeche where he took residence for some time. An anonymous article, published in the Campeche literary journal, *El Museo Yucateco*, gives a short overview of

Friedrichsthal's expedition, praising his interest in the old culture, writing about the daguerreotypes that 'el Baron Fridrichsshal' had produced of the ancient ruins, and about the difficulties he had to manage. It seems that Friedrichsthal was in need of money, because, in the second part of the article, he announced 'to the respectable public of this city' that, by means of the invention of the daguerreotype, he would take portraits at the moderate price of six pesos for half-length and eight pesos for full-length per picture; hours of operation where from seven to nine in the morning and from four to six in the afternoon. In addition the artist warned prospective sitters to wear white and yellow, but would allow flowers as they 'would not harm the image'. The photographer was willing to visit persons confined to bed at home as well as ladies (at least a group of three) who did not want to visit his rooms. The advertisement ends with the announcement of an exhibition of his pictures in his home with an admission fee of two reales.²¹ Only a few people could afford to have a daguerreotype portrait. The famous Madame Francis Calderon de la Barca (née Erskine 1804–1884), called Fanny, wife of the well known Spanish Ambassador in Mexico, informed her mother

in a letter that a French cook received some 30 pesos per month, a housekeeper 12 to 15, a butler around 20 or more, a footman 6 or 7, servants and chambermaids 5 to 6 and a gardener 12 to 15 pesos.²²

John Lloyd Stephens and Frederick Catherwood, accompanied by the medical doctor from Boston, Dr. Samuel Cabot, started their second journey to the ruins of Yucatán not before October 1841. This time, in their luggage, they took a daguerreotype camera. So Friedrichsthal's apparatus was the first one to amaze the people of Yucatán. It is noteworthy that the 'competitor' Stephens himself pointed out this fact, when he wrote, without giving the name, 'We had taken with us a Daguerreotype apparatus, of which but one specimen had ever before appeared in Yucatán'.²³

No one had ever seen Catherwood's daguerreotypes, because, in the end, he found it easier and less time-consuming to make perfect drawings, as Stephens later explained in his book.²⁴ It was said, that on the 1 July 1842, less than six weeks after their return to New York, the plates, sketches and collected objects were lost in a fire.²⁵

Like Stephens, Friedrichsthal, was unsatisfied with the surrounding conditions necessary for making successful daguerreotypes. He complained about the strong winds and especially about the difficult light conditions in the tropics which prevented him from making even more daguerreotypes.²⁶ Nevertheless Friedrichsthal succeeded in achieving convincing results which he then presented to the public in New York before he left for Europe. The *New York Journal of Commerce* commented in an article on Friedrichsthal's amazing work and the difficulties he had to overcome:

'He had with him a complete Daguerreotype apparatus, and with it has taken a great number of excellent impressions. This often required two Indians to hold his table against the force of the wind, two also to keep steady the apparatus, others to protect it from the sun, &c. We had yesterday the

pleasure of seeing these impressions at his hotel, and they surpass any thing of the kind which we have seen, in distinctness and excellence ... The work of Messrs. Stephens and Catherwood was on the table, and its sketches were compared with the Daguerreotype, when the sketches in every case were found defective, imperfect and different from the impressions ...'

The article ends with the idea that,

'... in some future year it is expected that this invaluable collection, with the results of these labours, will be given to the public. And when it is recollected that Austria has in her possession the original manuscripts and the drawing of Cortez who invaded Mexico, with which these may be compared, it may be hoped that some light will be thrown on the character of that wonderful people who preceded us on this continent.'²⁷

Also John W. Draper found the images extremely amazing and later specially pointed out that 'more recently, in the same country, other competent travellers have experienced like difficulties, and as I am informed failed to get any impressions whatever.'²⁸ Draper indicated that Stephens's and Catherwood's experiments with the daguerreotype camera had failed.

Emanuel von Friedrichsthal had returned to New York in April 1841,²⁹ half a year before Stephens started his second journey, but nevertheless they did not meet. In fact Stephens was jealous of Friedrichsthal after his success and saw him as a rival. Certainly Stephens had little enough liking for the Austrian, complaining petulantly to Prescott, 'I gave Friederichsthal a carte du pays for Yucatán and letters and the result is a publication in the newspapers impeaching the correctness of Mr. Catherwood's drawings. I did not see him when he passed through this city ...' It is possible, perhaps, that Stephens was so stung by his failure, and Friedrichsthal's photographic coup, that he did not wish to suffer the public embarrassment that his

bungled attempts at photography might provoke.³⁰

Before Emanuel von Friedrichsthal travelled to Paris to meet Alexander von Humboldt, he presented his images in London. On Saturday 9 October 1841 a meeting of the British Museum's senior staff was held at the residence of John Edward Gray. Twenty-five or thirty daguerreotypes of the ruins of Yucatán were exhibited by Friedrichsthal. It was the earliest professional encounter within the British Museum with photography. Those attending the meeting included William Richard Hamilton, the antiquarian, civil servant and diplomat who became a Trustee of the British Museum in 1838, Baron Karl von Hügel, the founder and first president of the Horticultural Society, Vienna, Sir Henry Ellis, the Principal Librarian, Sir C. Chambers, Mr. Yates, Charles Fellows and Mr. Scharff. Apart from the daguerreotypes of the ruins, plans of three towns which he had particularly examined, and a portfolio of drawings of details of the buildings, statues, and columns, were presented by Friedrichsthal.³¹

In Paris Alexander von Humboldt introduced the young explorer to the members of the Académie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, where he presented the daguerreotypes on the first of October and where he held a lecture about his expedition, published in *Nouvelles Annales des Voyages et des Sciences Géographiques* in 1841. Friedrichsthal was the first European describing Chichén-Itzá. Humboldt acknowledged especially his archaeological research in Yucatán and urged him to publish his results as quickly as possible.³²

Back in Vienna, Friedrichsthal was caught up with the after effects of his strenuous journey, where he had not looked after himself in spite of armed robberies and malaria. Already very ill, he wrote a temporary report of his journey for Chancellor Metternich. Among other things he gave some impressions of the ruins but wanted to avoid a detailed description of everything, instead he planned to show him 'his sketches taken

with Daguerre's method', which would better illustrate the rare character of the buildings. Friedrichsthal requested an audience in order to show his daguerreotypes to Metternich.³³ But just before he was able to publish his notes he died as a result of pneumonia on the 13 March 1842 in Vienna.³⁴

His mother sold all the objects collected in Central America which had arrived after the death of her son and that explains why all traces were lost.³⁵ The search for the daguerreotypes is still going on. His unpublished works were said to be so fragmentarily and incomprehensible that nobody seemed to be able to publish them.³⁶ That is why Stephens and Catherwood did not need to share their fame as explorers and descriptors of the Maya ruins in Yucatán. Catherwood's perfect drawings were appraised by everybody and even today withstand critical judgement.

Who else could have been travelling on a research tour with a daguerreotype camera in his luggage in Yucatán at that time? The young book seller and author Benjamin Moore Norman (1809–1860) from New Orleans wanted to profit from Stephens's first success and travelled between November 1841 and March 1842 through Yucatán.³⁷ It was Stephens himself who had recommended this journey.³⁸ Extremely self-assured he described his trip in a book where, already in the introduction, he let his readers know that 'with very inadequate scientific qualifications – without instruments, except a knife and compass, ... [he] was enabled to explore many objects of interest and curiosity'.³⁹

So he had no daguerreotype camera with him. It was only Lady Francis Calderon de la Barca who wrote in her letters about an afternoon when the gentlemen occupied themselves with an apparatus Prescott had sent to them – but obviously without any success.⁴⁰

Friedrichsthal's, and later Stephens's research also, had already been severely disturbed by violent clashes in Mexico and Yucatán. During the following three years, until 1845, touring around the peninsula was too



Fig. 2: Emanuel von Friedrichsthal (attributed), Idol from Mayapan, Yucatán 1840/41, daguerreotype in original case, plate 6.7 x 5.5. Credit: Department of Pictures, Austrian National Library Collection (Pk 3338.9).

dangerous and nearly impossible. But in April 1845 Carl Bartholomäus Heller took the chance to visit the archaeological sites of the territory. Animated by reports of the European and North American explorers, Alexander von Humboldt, Frederic de Waldeck, John Lloyd Stephens and Benjamin Moore Norman Heller made an expedition to Mexico between 1845 and 1847.⁴¹

When Heller was forced to stay in Campeche for a period of time because of a riot, he made the acquaintance of the Padres Camachos, two priests he often visited. They had a little private collection of antiquities and archaeological findings and liked to inform him about their origin. Heller regretted that this ‘treasure’ would stay scientifically unrecorded and probably would get lost. He tried to buy one or two objects from the collection but without success.⁴² In the end he must have been on very friendly terms with the padres because, when he left, they gave him as a present the two daguerreotypes mentioned at the beginning of this article. One of them shows a facade in a street in a Mexican town (Fig. 1), and the other is an image of an idol from Mayapan⁴³ in Yucatán, the old Maya capital (Fig. 2). The ruins are situated on Friedrichsthal’s

route, between Meridá and Chichén-Itzá. Both of them were taken by a visibly unskilled hand, but not by Heller.⁴⁴ Heller had them enclosed in small leather cases and added dedications which identify them as mementos from Mexico: ‘*In remembrance of the Padres Comaches, Campeche August 1847*’.⁴⁵

In 1970 the Austrian National Library acquired by way of exchange eight daguerreotypes from Heller’s estate. Six of them are portraits, but the remaining two are of those subjects from Mexico, the importance of which has been in the dark for many years. Although the 25 or 30 daguerreotypes, mentioned in reports on Friedrichsthal’s lectures and exhibitions in New York, London and Paris, are lost, two of his images from Yucatán have survived – in the collection of the Padres Camachos and later in Heller’s estate. All the facts indicated above point to those two daguerreotypes being those made by Emanuel von Friedrichsthal. They could have been purchased by the Padres Camachos during his stay in Campeche in the spring of 1841 for Stephens and Catherwood did not come as far as Campeche during their second expedition. Only later in 1857 another French explorer with a camera, Désiré Charnay (1828–1915) visited the ancient ruins of Central America. He had already used the wet collodion process and he was also to describe the same difficulties experienced as Friedrichsthal and Stephens before him.⁴⁶ It looks as if Friedrichsthal’s image of an idol of Mayapan is the only daguerreotype of an ancient Maya artefact that has survived.

Notes

Substantial parts of this essay first appeared as ‘work in progress’ in, Uwe Schoegl (ed.), *Im Blickpunkt. Die Fotosammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek / In Focus. The Photographic Collection of the Austrian National Library*, Innsbruck 2002.

1. If not stated differently all biographical notes were taken from: Jan Mokre, 'Reisen nach Amerika: Naturwissenschaft-Technologietransfer-Kunst-Tourismus' in, Franz Wawrik (ed.) *Die Neue Welt, Österreich und die Erforschung Amerikas*, exhibition catalogue Austrian National Library (ANL), Vienna 1992, p. 101–117, p. 108. Konstant von Wurzbach, *Biographisches Lexikon des Kaiserthums Österreich*, vol. 4, Vienna 1858, p. 359. Unpublished notes provided to the author by Jan Mokre. In preparation: Arturo Taracena Ariola and Adam Sellen, 'Emanuel von Friedrichsthal: su encuentro con las ruinas yucatecas y el debate sobre el origen de la civilización maya', *Península*, vol. 1, no. 2, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Coordinación de Humanidades, UACSHUM, Mexico 2007.
2. This expedition was published in, *Reise in den südlichen Theilen von Neugriechenland. Briefe*, L.P. (letters ed.), Leipzig, 1838.
3. Published under his pen name: E. Thal, *Serbiens Neuzeit in geschichtlicher, politischer, topographischer, statistischer und naturhistorischer Hinsicht*, Vienna 1840.
4. Alexander von Humboldt, *Vues des Cordillères et monuments des peuples indigènes de l'Amérique*, Paris 1816. Waldeck, *Malerische und archäologische Reise in die Provinz Yucatan und zu den Ruinen der Itzá*, Paris 1838.
5. Humboldt gave him valuable advice for his journey. See: Travelogue reported to Metternich, 20 pp., HHStA: Kabinettsarchiv, Konferenzakten, C.A.a. 1840/871, (1841, p. 2). Also: Hanno Beck, Alexander von Humboldt (1769–1859), 'Förderer der frühen Photographie' in, Bodo von Dewitz, Reinhard Matz (ed.), *Silber und Salz. Zur Frühzeit der Photographie im deutschen Sprachraum 1839–1860*, exhibition catalogue, Cologne, Heidelberg 1989, pp. 40–59, p. 48.
6. Hanno Beck, Alexander von Humboldt (1769–1859), 'Förderer der frühen Photographie' in, Bodo von Dewitz, Reinhard Matz (ed.), *Silber und Salz. Zur Frühzeit der Photographie im deutschen Sprachraum 1839–1860*, exhibition catalogue, Cologne, Heidelberg 1989, pp. 40–59, p. 48.
7. Dumas Malone (ed.), *Dictionary of American Biography*, vol. 15, London, New York 1935, p. 196.
8. Edward King, Viscount of Kingsborough, *Antiquities of Mexico, comprising facsimiles of Ancient Mexican Paintings and Hieroglyphics preserved in the Libraries of Paris, Berlin, Dresden, Vienna, Rome, Bologna and Oxford*, London 1831.
9. He published his findings in, *History of the Conquest of Mexico with a preliminary View of the ancient Mexican Civilization and the Life of the Conqueror Hernando Cortez*, New York 1844.
10. *American Biography*, vol. 14, p. 579. A detailed portrait is given by Victor Wolfgang von Hagen, *Maya Explorer. John Lloyd Stephens and the lost Cities of Central America and Yucatán*, Norman (1948) 1967. Wolfgang von Hagen, *Search for the Maya. The Story of Stephens and Catherwood*, Farnborough 1974.
11. John L. Stephens, *Incidents of Travel in Central America, Chiapas and Yucatán*, illus. Frederick Catherwood, 2 vols., London 1841.
12. Victor Wolfgang von Hagen, *Maya Explorer. John Lloyd Stephens and the lost Cities of Central America and Yucatán*, Norman (1948) 1967, 192 pp.
13. Travelogue reported to Metternich, 20 pp., HHStA: Kabinettsarchiv, Konferenzakten, C.A.a. 1840/871, (1841, p. 16).
14. Victor Wolfgang von Hagen, *Maya Explorer. John Lloyd Stephens and the lost Cities of Central America and Yucatán*, Norman (1948) 1967, p. 193, and Travelogue reported to Metternich, 20 pp., HHStA: Kabinettsarchiv, Konferenzakten, C.A.a. 1840/871, (1841, p. 16).
15. The process was introduced to Mexico City by the French born engraver Louis Prèlier in December 1839: Olivier Debroye, *Mexican Suite. A History of Photography in Mexico*, Austin, Texas 1994/2001, p. 20 (remark on Friedrichsthal p. 88).
16. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *The Native Races of the Pacific States of North America*, (5 vols.), vol IV, Antiquities, London 1875. p. 142. Bancroft wrote about three persons who visited the region up to 1845 but gave very little information in short reports: At the beginning of 1845 a Padre Carillo, D. Vincente García Rejon and D. José María Fajado visited the country, p. 150.
17. Victor Wolfgang von Hagen, *Maya Explorer. John Lloyd Stephens and the lost Cities of Central America and Yucatán*, Norman (1948) 1967, p. 193. Wolfgang Baier's hypothesis: that Friedrichsthal must have purchased the camera in Paris on Humboldt's advice, is here rejected. See: Wolfgang Baier, *Quellendarstellung zur Geschichte der Fotografie*, Leipzig 1977, p. 450. The same hypothesis is also given in, Hanno Beck, Alexander von Humboldt (1769–1859), 'Förderer der frühen Photographie' in, Bodo von Dewitz, Reinhard Matz (ed.), *Silber und Salz. Zur Frühzeit der Photographie im deutschen Sprachraum 1839–1860*, exhibition catalogue, Cologne, Heidelberg 1989, pp. 40–59, p. 48.
18. John William Draper, 'On certain spectral Appearances, and on the Discovery of latent Light' in, *The London, Edinburgh, and Dublin Philosophical Magazine and Journal of Science*, vol. XXI, London 1842, pp. 448–450, p. 450. Compare also: Hubert Howe Bancroft, *The Native Races of the Pacific States of North America*, (5 vols.), vol IV, Antiquities, London 1875, p. 146.
19. Travelogue reported to Metternich, 20 pp., HHStA: Kabinettsarchiv, Konferenzakten, C.A.a. 1840/871, (1841, p. 17).
20. John L. Stephens, *Incidents of Travel in Yucatán*, 2 vols., New York 1843, vol. 1, p. 100.
21. 'El Daguerrotipo' in, *Museo Yucateco*. Periódico científico y literario, vol. 1, Campeche 1941, p. 160. Friedrichsthal published another article in the same edition: 'Sobre los que construyeron los edificios yucatecos y sus antigüedades', pp. 178–182, which was reprinted in *El Registro Yucateco*. Periódico literario, redactado por una sociedad de amigos, vol. 2, Merida 1845, pp. 437–443.
22. William H. Prescott (ed.), *Madame Francis Calderon de la Barca, Life in Mexico during a residence of two Years in that Country*, London 1843, p. 88.
23. John L. Stephens, *Incidents of Travel in Yucatán*, illus. Frederick Catherwood, 2 vols., New York 1843, vol.1 p. 100.
24. John L. Stephens, *Incidents of Travel in Yucatán*, illus. Frederick Catherwood, 2 vols., New York 1843, vol. 1, p. 175.

- About their experimenting with the camera, see: William Welling, *Photography in America: The Formative Years 1839–1900*, New York 1978, pp. 31–33. Nigel Russel, ‘Processes and Pictures. The beginnings of Photography and of Photographing American Indians’ in, Tim Johnson (ed.), *Spirit Capture. Photographs from the Museum of the American Indian*, Washington 1998, pp. 113–134.
25. Victor Wolfgang von Hagen, *Maya Explorer. John Lloyd Stephens and the lost Cities of Central America and Yucatán*, Norman (1948) 1967, pp. 255–257.
 26. Emmanuel de Friedrichsthal, ‘Les Monuments de L’Yucatán’ in, *Nouvelles Annales des Voyages et des Sciences Géographiques*, 1841, vol. 92, Paris 1841, pp. 291–314, pp. 312.
 27. *New York Journal of Commerce*, 24 August 1841, p. 2, col. 2 (also quoted in the *Salem Register*, 30 August 1841, Salem, Mass., USA).
 28. John William Draper, ‘On certain spectral Appearances, and on the Discovery of latent Light’ in, *The London, Edinburgh, and Dublin Philosophical Magazine and Journal of Science*, vol. XXI, London 1842, pp. 448–450, p. 450.
 29. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *The Native Races of the Pacific States of North America*, (5 vols.), vol. IV, Antiquities, London 1875, p. 147.
 30. Quoted from Peter Harris ‘Co-incidents of Travel’ <http://photoarts.com/harris/0050.html> (03/07). See also Victor Wolfgang von Hagen, *Maya Explorer. John Lloyd Stephens and the lost Cities of Central America and Yucatán*, Norman (1948) 1967, p. 194.
 31. *The Athenæum*, No.729, 16 October, London 1841 pp.794–795, see: Anthony Hamber, *A Higher Branch of the Art. Photographing the Fine Arts in England 1839–1880*, Amsterdam 1996. See also Victor Wolfgang von Hagen, *Maya Explorer. John Lloyd Stephens and the lost Cities of Central America and Yucatán*, Norman (1948) 1967, p.194, and Hanno Beck, Alexander von Humboldt (1769 –1859), ‘Förderer der frühen Photographie’ in, Bodo von Dewitz, Reinhard Matz (ed.), *Silber und Salz. Zur Frühzeit der Photographie im deutschen Sprachraum 1839–1860*, exhibition catalogue, Cologne, Heidelberg 1989, pp. 40–59, p. 49. Friedrichsthal published an article: ‘Notes on the Lake of Nicaragua and the Province of Chontales, in Guatemala’ in, *Journal of the Royal Geographic Society of London*, vol. 11, London 1841, pp. 97–100.
 32. Emanuel von Friedrichsthal, ‘Les Monuments de L’Yucatán’ in, *Nouvelles Annales des Voyages et des Sciences Géographiques*, 1841, vol. 92, Paris 1841, pp. 291–314, p.313, and Hubert Howe Bancroft, *The Native Races of the Pacific States of North America*, (5 vols.), vol. IV, Antiquities, London 1875, p. 147 and p. 222. Jan Mokre, ‘Reisen nach Amerika: Naturwissenschaft-Technologietransfer-Kunst-Tourismus’ in, Franz Wawrik (ed.), *Die Neue Welt, Österreich und die Erforschung Amerikas*, exhibition catalogue Austrian National Library (ANL), Vienna 1992, p.109.
 33. Travelogue reported to Metternich, 20 pp., HHStA: Kabinetsarchiv, Konferenzakten, C.A.a. 1840/871, (1841, p. 18).
 34. Vienna City Archives, Totenbeschauprotokolle, from the corpse inspection records, no 190/1842.
 35. Christa Riedl-Dorn, Emanuel von Friedrichsthal, in *Die Entdeckung der Welt. Die Welt der Entdeckungen. Österreichische Forscher, Sammler, Abenteurer*, exhibition catalogue, Kunsthistorisches Museum im Künstlerhaus, Vienna 2001, pp. 343. Those objects from Central America which had already arrived before his return are in the Museum for Natural History and the Museum for Ethnology, Vienna.
 36. Konstant von Wurzbach, *Biographisches Lexikon des Kaiserthums Österreich*, vol. 4, Vienna 1858, p. 360.
 37. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *The Native Races of the Pacific States of North America*, (5 vols.), vol. IV, Antiquities, London 1875. p. 145.
 38. Victor Wolfgang von Hagen, *Maya Explorer. John Lloyd Stephens and the lost Cities of Central America and Yucatán*, Norman (1948) 1967, p. 194.
 39. Benjamin Moore Norman, *Rambles in Yucatán; or Notes of Travel through the Peninsula, including a Visit to the Remarkable Ruins of Chi-Chen, Kabah, Zayi, and Uxmal*, New York (1843) 1844, preface. Compare also: Hubert Howe Bancroft, *The Native Races of the Pacific States of North America*, (5 vols.), vol. IV, Antiquities, London 1875. p. 145.
 40. William H. Prescott (ed.), *Madame Francis Calderon de la Barca, Life in Mexico during a residence of two Years in that Country*, London 1843, p. 233.
 41. Carl Bartholomäus Heller, *Reisen in Mexiko in den Jahren 1845–1848*, Leipzig 1853.
 42. Carl Bartholomäus Heller, *Reisen in Mexiko in den Jahren 1845–1848*, Leipzig 1853. p. 222. For the collection of the Padres, see: Justo Sierra O’Reilly, El Museo de los Padres Camachos, *El Registro Yucateco*, 20, vol. 1, pp. 371–375.
 43. The idol was identified as a Maya object by Gerard Van Busse from the Museum for Ethnology, Vienna.
 44. His itineraries give no evidence of a camera.
 45. Dedication written on the inside of the case: ‘Von den Padres Comaches zur Erinnerung, Campeche Aug. 1847’.
 46. Christine Barthe (ed.), *‘le Yucatán est ailleurs’ Expéditions photographiques (1857–1886) de Désiré Charnay*, exhibition catalogue, Musée du Quai Branly, Paris 2007. About Friedrichsthal, see: p.

Defining a model of representation for 19th century Iranian Portrait Photography.

Muhammad Shah who reigned from 1834–1848 had experimented with photography and his court was the recipient of the first daguerreotype camera. But it was under Nasir al-din Shah that photography was really promoted and different techniques learned and mastered. Nasir al-din Shah's reign was from 1848–1896, during the Qajar Dynasty 1785–1925, and his interest in photography began when he was very young when he learned quite quickly the photographic technique and produced his own prints. He started taking pictures in 1869 and learned the technique mainly with Jules Richard (1816–1891) and Francois Carlihiè.¹ He also bought photographs from other photographers, Iranian and Western. His main subject was the women and children of his family, taken mostly indoors and his favourite models can be recognized by the number of times they were depicted. Since his photography was only meant to be seen by himself it is of great interest, from both historical and aesthetic points of view. His albums eventually comprised more than twenty thousand photographs. In them we can see the very clear influence of Nadar (1820–1910) and also that of French orientalist paintings, such as those by Delacroix (1798–1863) or Ingres (1780–1867).

It took a lot of effort for the Shah to bring this new invention close to his servants at court where several rooms were reserved for photography, as well as at the Dar al-Funun (Academy), Iran's first institution of higher learning based on Western models. A special department for photography was opened there as early as 1851. This academy was envisioned by Nasir al-din Shah's prime minister, Amir Kabir, as a training ground for future civil servants and military men. Instruction was conducted in a similar pattern to the European academies of fine arts, where art was regarded as a scientific and scholarly discipline. Although the Dar al-Funun ultimately altered art education, the age-old master-apprentice system continued to exist and was also important in the field of photography.² The

Shah's encouragement of photography in Iran inspired his courtiers, as well as Dar al-Funun students, to take up the art; some, such as Abdullah Mirza Qajar (1849–1908), were even given the opportunity to refine their skills in government-sponsored training in Europe, in workshops or on courses. European professionals were brought to the court and to the Dar al-Funun to work as teachers.

In the West, most of the publications on 19th century photography in Iran deal with the work of Western photographers. Of course there was much more domestic photography made by Iranian photographers than we imagine and definitely more than the photography by Westerners. Such indigenous work is indeed extremely interesting and has a very particular and unique aesthetic. There were more than 105 Iranian photographers active during the second part of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th, but less than 30 Western photographers,³ and not all of them were professionals, some were amateurs, or just took pictures to illustrate their travels. Most of the Iranian photographers were active in the big cities: 47 Tehran, 13 Isfahan, 11 Tabriz, 9 Shiraz.⁴

Reza Akkasbashi (1843–1889) is regarded as the most important Iranian photographer of that period. In 1864 he was granted the title *Akkasbashi* (Chief Photographer) in recognition of his mastery of photography. He studied with the French photographer Carlihiè who came in 1857 as a photographer of the French Mission to Persia.⁵ Another important photographer was Abdullah Mirza Qajar who had attended the Dar al-Funun and, in 1869, travelled to Europe to study photography. He lived for one and a half years in Paris and three years in Salzburg. In 1884 he started his career as a professional photographer immediately on his return from Europe.⁶

The model of representation for 19th century Iranian portrait photography can be defined, and it is a hybrid one: Persian elements inherited mostly from

Persian miniature painting and Qajar portrait painting, together with Western elements borrowed mostly from Victorian portraits and from the French model of representation in 19th century photography.

A hybrid model, understanding the term *hybridity*, and following Frederik Bohrer's theory, as it has been defined by Homi K. Bhabha, stresses the analysis of the relations between the coloniser/colonised and their interdependence, and the mutual construction of their subjectivities. Bhabha contends that all cultural statements and systems are constructed in a space that he calls the *Third Space of Enunciation*.⁷ Cultural identity always emerges in this contradictory and ambivalent space. For Bhabha, the claim to a hierarchical *purity* of cultures is unattainable. The examination of this ambivalent space of cultural identity may help us to overcome the exoticism of cultural diversity in favour of the recognition of an empowering hybridity within which each cultural difference may operate.

In the 19th century, Iran was seen by Britain and Russia as a potential market that could be made attractive to investors. Their interest in Iran was mainly in bringing the country under their influence economically as well as culturally. At the same time, interest in the West grew within Iran, Nasir od-din Shah carried out many reforms that were very costly (mostly financial and military reorganisations) and he had to sell concessions to foreign companies in order to cope with these high expenses: The Reuter (1872) and Tobacco (1890) Concessions were enough to sell the country to foreign powers. The Reuter Concession stated that for a period of 70 years, Baron Julius de Reuter was granted the exclusive right to construct railways, irrigation systems, gas pipelines and to exploit mines. The Tobacco Concession granted an English firm the monopoly on all tobacco sales in Iran.

During this period, increasing numbers of foreigners travelled to Iran and among them were photographers: Jules Richard came in 1844 and was the first

western photographer to work in the Persian Court; Luigi Pesce (active 1848–1861), an Italian colonel and master of the calotype process, arrived in 1848; Focchetti in 1851, a master in the wet collodion process; August Kart Kriz (1814–1886) arrived 1851 and experimented with photography on paper; Carlhiè and Henri de Coulboeuf de Blocqueville came in 1857 with the French Mission and Luigi Montabone (d.1877) came with the Italian Mission in 1862. The influence of these photographers can often be traced in the work of some of the Iranian photographers active at that time.

As Reza Sheikh points out in *The Rise of the King Citizen. Iranian Portrait Photography, 1850–1950*,⁸ physically and conceptually, photography in Iran took root within *walls*; those of the palaces, residences of the wealthy and eventually of the studios. The photographs were idealised settings. Interestingly, this made photography true to the essence of Iranian visual arts, which had always 'opted for the ideal rather than the real.'⁹ This can be seen clearly in the tradition of Persian miniature painting and its influence in photography.

It is difficult to define the origins of the art of the Persian miniature but the most important period was during the Mogol and the Timurid Periods (13th–16th century). Through the Mongolian rulers, the cult of Chinese painting was introduced into Iran and its influence was therefore very strong. At that time the most important function of the miniature was illustration. It gave a visual image to the long tradition of Persian literature with an artistic and poetic language. Poetry was its inspiration.¹⁰

Some of the characteristic elements of miniature painting are clearly seen in 19th century Iranian photography. *Seated figure holding a cup*, (Fig.1), mid 17th century, is a miniature that is specially interesting and typical in the way that the calligraphy is used to compose the final image. The inscription in *nasta'liq* script

is a beautiful piece of poetry by Hafez (ca.1320–1389), one of the great masters of Persian poetry. If we compare this miniature with an untitled photograph by *Abdul Ghassem Mohammad Nuri*, 1889 the resemblance is remarkable as far as pose and use of calligraphy is concerned. The inscriptions in the photograph at both sides of the person depicted, in *naskhi* script, reveal his name, Hojjatoleslam Fazel Sharbiani Edamel-boje, and in the lower cartouche the name of the photographer can be read, Abdull Ghassem Nuri. This kind of inscription revealing both the identity of the person depicted and that of the artist are widely found in miniature and Qajar portraiture and it is, for us today, the most remarkable influence of the Persian painting tradition on 19th century Iranian photography. The inscription in the upper centre is a philosophical poem; a reflection about the importance of the meaning of the image beyond its mere form, its mere outer appearance.

There is considerable evidence that images, in myriad forms, sizes, and media, played an integral role in the 19th century exercise of power, both at home and abroad. In addition, numerous intriguing references document the widespread use of figurative imagery in popular and court milieus throughout Qajar society for both religious and secular purposes.¹¹ The Qajar royal paintings are life-size figurative imagery and are, by far, less known and less studied by Western scholars than miniatures. The study of Persian painting became, for instance, synonymous with the study of ‘miniatures’, as illustrations of handwritten manuscripts came to be known. B.W. Robinson’s statement that, ‘Persia in the nineteenth century was a land of paintings, as never before or since,’¹² may be taken literally. Images in the form of mural paintings were embedded in the fabric of structures located throughout the country. They included portraits; historical, literary and mythological themes; genre, hunting, and battle scenes; and religious subjects. In fact, the entire Persian domain



Fig. 1: Artist unknown, *Seated figure holding a cup*. Colour wash and ink on paper; mid 17th century. Credit: Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., Bequest of Adrienne Minassian, SI998.17.

functioned as a lavish stage for images designed to convey the pageantry and splendour of Qajar rule.¹³ Members of the Qajar ruling elite soon realised that lithograph portraits and photographs of royal personages and the nobility were capable of serving the same purpose that life-size paintings had fulfilled earlier and began to regard lithographic portraits as a more efficient and economical vehicle for disseminating the royal image. Thus Royal Qajar painting came to influence the photographic portrait.

The art historian Heinrich Wölfflin (1864–1945) called attention to the phenomenon that, in his view, pictures change appearance and lose meaning when turned into their mirror image. He thought that this happens because pictures are ‘read’ from the left to the right, and he maintained that the sequence changes when the picture is inverted.¹⁴ Wölfflin noted that, in his view, the direction of the diagonal that runs from bottom left to top right is seen as ascending, its opposite as descending. Any pictorial object looks heavier at the right hand side of the picture.¹⁵ I define *Visual laterality* as the conditioning of the direction of writing



Fig. 2: Reza Akasbashi, *The Daughters of Nasset-al-Doulet*, 1866. Credit: Golestan Palace Library, Tehran. Album Nr. 133, photo Nr. 91

over composition, and, specifically, over composition in photography. Since Farsi is written from right to left (the opposite of Western languages), it produces a mirror image of those produced by Western photographers.

Therefore, my hypothesis is that, if the only conditioning for that rule of composition is that the pictures are 'read' from the left to the right (like the direction of writing of Western languages), then the opposite applies for those written from the right to the left (such as Farsi). In other words: Iranian photographers produce mirror-like images of those made by European photographers.

Mercedes Gaffron carried Wölfflin's investigations further. According to her, the observer experiences a picture as if he was facing its left side. The observer is subjectively identified with the left, and whatever ap-

pears in that part of the picture assumes greatest importance.¹⁶ This concurs with Alexander Dean's observation on the so-called stage areas of the theatre. He maintains that, as a curtain rises at the beginning of an act, the audience can be seen to look to its left first. The left side of the stage is considered the strong one. In a group of two or three actors, the ones on the left dominate the scene.¹⁷ We can extrapolate this and try to apply it to photography.

Concluding his observations on the right-left phenomenon, Wölfflin reminds his readers that while he has described it he has not explained it. He adds: 'Apparently it has deep roots, roots that reach down to the nethermost foundations of our sensuous nature'. At present the most common explanation runs along empiricist lines. The reading of pictures from left to right is a habit taken over from reading books.¹⁸



Fig. 3: Ignac Schächtl, *Untitled*, before 1901, silver-bromide glass negative, 18 x 24 cm. Credit: Photo-Museum of Tábor, Czech Republic.

We should note that none of these authors say anything about the fact that there are quite a lot of languages in the world (Farsi, Arabic, Hebrew, Urdu) that are written in the opposite direction and, therefore, everything that they have said about one direction applies exactly in the mirror version to the other direction. A group of pictures where this can be seen are those studio portraits of groups organised by their height and, if we compare some by Western photographers with Iranian, we can clearly see the ‘mirror image’ effect (see Fig. 2 and 3). This also can be found in the photographs of couples. Even when we contrast photographs of *chairs* we find clear examples of Wölfflin’s hypothesis (see Fig. 4). But, of course, there are also exceptions to be found. Yet my analysis would suggest that in the Western part there is only a small percentage of exceptions but, in the Iranian one, there is a much larger number. These have a logical explanation: the Persian mirror-like images are decreasing with time due to the influence of Western photographers. That means that visual laterality *changes* throughout the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century.

Notes

In the Golestan Palace Library, Tehran, there are more than 43,000 photographs from the period of time of this article, 1842–1915. Other important photography archives are the Institute for Iranian Contemporary Historical Studies, Tehran; Majlis Library, Tehran; Tehran University Documentation Centre; National Documentation Centre, Tehran; National Library, Tehran; Documentation Centre of the Cultural Heritage Organization, Tehran; Archives of Mashad, Isfahan and Tabriz.

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Fig. 4: Unknown Iranian photographer, Mirza Houssein Khan Ektecham. Credit: Dr. Iraj Afshar's archive. (Taken from his book *A Treasury of Early Iranian Photography*, Tehran, Na Shre Farang-e Iran Publishers, 1992).

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Sarah Choate Sears and the Road to Modernism

In 1897 the critic, Sadakichi Hartmann, referring to artistic innovations in photography, wrote that ‘Boston seems to be a kind of preparatory school for New York and other cities.’¹ Contributing to those photographic innovations, as well as working in painting, pastels, and metal work in Boston, was Sarah Choate Sears (1858–1935) whose life and work as an artist, collector, and champion of the arts, was important in its influence and impact on the development of modern artistic expression in the Boston area, and in fostering the recognition of photography as a fine art. However, as a woman, and as the wife of the affluent Joshua Montgomery Sears, one of Boston’s wealthiest real estate investors, Sarah Sears’ work is not often highlighted in discussions of early 20th century art and photography. Indeed, the *New York Times* obituary did not even mention her photographic work. Its headline read, ‘Mrs. J. M. Sears Dead; Bay State Painter, Widow of Boston Real Estate Man and Winner of Number of Awards.’² Her teachers: Ross Turner, Joseph De Camp, Dennis M. Bunker, Edmund Tarbell and George de Forest Brush, are mentioned, but no reference is made to the photographic masters, such as Alfred Stieglitz, F. Holland Day or Frances Benjamin Johnston with whom she was associated.

Sarah Sears’ direct and straightforward use of her photographic lens and development of prints, free from manipulation or use of materials, such as gum bichromate, brought her attention in a variety of places. Not only did she draw the attention of Holland Day and Stieglitz, but she was also a member of the Boston Camera Club, beginning in 1893; a key founding member of the Boston Society of Arts and Crafts in 1897; elected to the prestigious British Linked Ring in 1904, and to the Photo Secession in 1903. Sears’ photographic exhibitions included: the Boston Camera Club 1892, 1898, 1900 (group shows), 1899 (one woman show); *Austellung für Kunstlerische Photographie*, Berlin 1899; *The New School of American Painting*,

organised by F. Holland Day in London 1900; the *American Woman Photographers* exhibit, organised by Frances Johnston in Paris in 1900; the *Glasgow International* exhibit 1901; *Linked Ring* exhibits 1902, 1903, 1904; *Second Chicago Photographic Salon* 1901; *City of Bradford Exhibition* 1904; *Collection of American Pictorial Photographers* at the Carnegie and Corcoran Art Galleries 1904; *Wiener Photo Club*, Vienna 1904, 1905; *Photo-Secession* exhibits at the 291 Gallery 1905; *Philadelphia Academy of Fine Arts* 1906; *Lewis and Clark Exposition*, and the *Canadian Pictorialist Exhibition*, Montreal 1907.

Sarah Sears’ flower photographs, made from approximately 1892–1905, illustrate her keen eye for rich tonalities, as she explored the subtleties of soft, dark background areas, often contrasting with the clarity of forms of light areas. Frequently using no specific background details, and thus calling attention to the artistry of the flower itself, as well as the linear and textural composition, Sears asks the viewer to contemplate the aesthetics of the flower in space. In these works, she deals with both Pictorialist and Symbolist concerns. Her *Lilies* (c.1890–1900), as an example, is ‘Pictorial’ in its evocation of the lily, as the photograph becomes a work of art not simply a documentation of the flower, and also moves beyond traditional still life compositions. There is a mysterious aura in this image and in other flower images, suggesting a dream-like, ‘other reality’ that was part of the turn of the century Symbolist aesthetic (Fig.1) As with Sear’s other lily images, it is also perhaps to be considered in more traditional concrete, symbolic terms. The lily is frequently associated with whiteness, purity, virginity, with ‘becoming,’ but there are also other interpretations:

‘In his plant mythology, Angelo de Gubernatis considers that lilies are undoubtedly attributes of Venus and the satyrs, because of their phallic pistils and that, in consequence, lilies are symbols of procreation. This the author feels, is why they were

chosen by the kings of France as symbols of the prosperity of their line ... To the poet Mallarmé, lily symbols had lunar, female, and even aquatic overtones. The lily thus became the flower of love ... [an] equivalency ... can be established between the lily and the lotus, which springs up from the muddy unformed waters. It then becomes a symbol of the potential of the individual to realize the antitheses of his or her being.’³

Her flower images are most likely not meant to be read in a totally psychoanalytic or Freudian fashion (although interesting to note that Freud’s *Interpretation of Dreams* was written in 1900). But nonetheless it is perhaps possible to see elements of the feminine, as well as the masculine, in the images, perhaps pointing to a side of Sears that embraced the more assertive or more public aspect of her world, that would have been more stereotypical characteristics of the male at the beginning of the 20th century.

The attraction to the sacred or spiritual connotation of the lily was perhaps grounded in Sears’ own personal involvement and interest in mystical-religious experiences. Sears and her friend and social contemporary, Isabella Stewart Gardner, were both attracted to Buddhism for a short time and she actually kept a portable altar at home.⁴ Later she was involved in Spiritualism which was also probably part of the basis for her friendship with Mary Cassatt. The Spiritualists believed in the beauty and harmony of nature, believing that God could be approached through nature, which, in turn, confirmed an essential goodness in human beings. Spiritualists highly valued children who were seen as pure; also reflecting the image of God. Death was viewed, not as a definitive ending, but as a transformation from a physical state to an infinite psychological state. The Spiritualists believed in the equality of the sexes and were praised by early American feminists, such as Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony. The Spiritualist mediums who held séances were usually women

who were seen to be more capable than men in bridging the earthly and spiritual worlds. When Sears visited Mary Cassatt later in Paris they both attended séances. She was most likely familiar with the work of William James and the Society for Psychical Research, founded in 1882, and probably also knew of the spiritualist Nathaniel Ingersoll Bowditch, the youngest son of the renowned American navigator, on whom she collected newspaper clippings.⁵

The flower photographs may be seen as a stepping stone to Sears’ later flower paintings and pastels, from her *Poppies* (1896) to her *Flower Pots* (1903), the *White Flocks* and *Auratum Lilies* (1915). The *Poppies*, as with some of her other flower photographs, flow organically from a soft, muted ground. In the case of the *Poppies*, colour has provided the viewer with the subtle tonalities of the strong complementary reds and greens that are beautifully juxtaposed. In the 1903 *Flower Pots* painting, she moved to an emphasis on clear lines and shapes with a piercing light. In *White Flocks* she turned to the flower itself, in a bold and vibrant watercolour, as she cuts out with her modern eye superfluous, details and background atmosphere. There is an explosion of white light which, in some ways, has similarities to the flash or sound of a camera, capturing its subject, frozen in time. In the *Auratum Lilies* pastel she leaves, in part, the natural world, with its blue leaves and emphasis on design, on a striated, rosy pink background. The delicately edged lilies with their strong orange stamens and pistils appear almost like dancers; well choreographed, reaching out to centre stage.

The later flower images, in contrast to some other flower images of the time, may be viewed as particularly innovative. For example, one can see the influence of her teacher, Edmund Tarbell and John Singer Sargent in some pieces, such as Sargent’s *Magnolias* (1910) or Tarbell’s *Peonies and Iris* (1926), but Sears’ has moved beyond each in her steps toward an expressive abstraction. One may also compare later works,



Fig. 1: Sarah Choate Sears, *Lilies*, c. 1890–1900, Platinum Print, c. 23.5 cm x 17.5 cm. Credit: Sarah C. Sears Archive

such as Hermann Dudley Murphy's *Zinnias and Marigolds* (1933) or Laura Coombs Hill's *Larkspur, Peonies and Canterbury Bells* (1926) which seems to retain Impressionist and Realist principles of an earlier era.

Flowers, both in her paintings and photographs, would seem to have opened the doors to later experiments by artists such as Charles Demuth, and Georgia O'Keeffe, whose large blown-up flowers evoked passionate criticism, both for and against, as critics attached sexual, surreal, and Symbolist theories to O'Keeffe's work. Sears purchased two of Demuth's images, *Tulips* and the 1925 watercolour, *Youth and Old Age* (*Zinnias and Black Eyed Susans*). As a result of her connection with Alfred Stieglitz, related to her own photographic work, she was undoubtedly exposed to, and drawn to, the artists in the inner Stieglitz circle.

As a collector, and often a champion of the new, as well as the beautiful, she bought a number of modern images, including those by John Marin, another of Stieglitz's circle, as well as works by Matisse, whose work Stieglitz exhibited along with Braque, Cézanne and Whistler.

The lily photographs may also be seen to provide roots for other photographs of lilies, as later photographers experimented further with issues of reflection, light, line and shadow, such as Baron Adolf de Meyer's *Water Lilies* (c.1907), Imogen Cunningham's *Single Calla* (c.1929) or, the more recent, Robert Mapplethorpe's *Calla Lily with Shadow* (1986).

Sarah Sears also carried out landscape photography, such as *Untitled* (c.1900). Here, as in some of the flower images, one can see some of the principles of composition espoused by the noted and influential



Fig. 2: Sarah Choate Sears, *Untitled (Landscape)*, c. 1890–1900, Platinum Print, c.13.3 cm x 23.5 cm. Credit: Sarah C. Sears Archive

teacher and artist, Arthur Wesley Dow, whose well known, art manual *Composition* was published in 1899. Sears most likely knew of his work since he had studied in Boston in 1881 with James Stone and maintained a studio at the Grandmann Studios, Boston, in the 1890's. He had been introduced to Japanese prints in Boston by Ernest Fenollosa, curator of Japanese art at the Boston Fine Arts Museum (1890–96). Later, he became Fenollosa's assistant. Dow was also a teacher of Georgia O'Keeffe in 1914, and in 1916 at Columbia University where he taught from 1904–1922. Dow emphasized the teaching of art through structure rather than imitation, writing that, 'Composition, the building up of harmony through the use of line, and colour, fundamental structural elements of the Japanese, is the fundamental process in all the fine arts.'⁶ Of Fenollosa's influence, Dow wrote, 'he vigorously advocated a radically different idea, based as in music upon synthetic principles. He believed music to be, in a sense, the key to the other fine arts ... that space art may be called 'visual music' and may be studied and criticised from this point of view.'⁷

The landscape image, *Untitled*, (Fig. 2) with its emphasis on the flow of form, its use of interrelated

diagonals, and dramatic contrast between the stark tree forms, and the ebb and flow of the meandering water, is indeed a carefully arranged, harmonious composition. The use of diagonals seems to reflect a similar emphasis in Japanese prints that were popular at the time. This interplay of forms is also evident in her late watercolour, a 1932–35 landscape, but gone are the bold diagonal lines.

Sears' landscape and flower images also seem to reflect the philosophy of the Arts and Crafts movement that advocated a renewed interest in nature and the commonplace, as both aesthetic and philosophical inspiration, and that beauty and utility could be combined. As noted in a 1910 issue of *The Craftsman*, commenting on the educational power of the camera, '... its real value lies in the opportunity it gives for the individual growth of the photographer, in bringing him into closer relation with every phase of life ... And when the sense of beauty is aroused, it means spiritual growth as surely as the sunshine means life to plants.'⁸

A number of Sears' pieces do evoke a sense of 'visual music' and it is perhaps important to note that both her and her husband were involved with music themselves. Montgomery Sears was particularly passionate

about music. He was a violinist and organist and belonged to the exclusive Boston music clubs: The Tavern Club, the Manuscript Club, and the Boston Singers' Society. He was said to have had the finest collection of violins in Boston.⁹

At their impressive brownstone home at 12 Arlington Street, the Sears hosted Sunday evening musicales throughout much of the winter social season. An invitation to their elegant soirées was a coveted item. Among the frequent guests was Joseph Lindon Smith, whose Egyptian hieroglyph paintings were to bring him much acclaim, along with his teaching skills at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts School, and his frequent pageants or tableaux vivants held at his summer home, Loon Point, in Dublin, New Hampshire. Responding to an invitation to a cello concert on 26 March 1898, Smith included a humorous sketch of himself languishing over a table following a '12 A' cello concert and party. Among the notable performers, some of whom Sears photographed, were Ignace Padereski, during his first world wide tour in 1891–92; the opera singers Dame Nellie Melba and Lillian Nordica; the violinists, Tim Adamowski, Charles Loeffler and Fritz Kreisler; the conductors Serge Koussevitsky and Walter Damrosch. Their musical evenings were in many ways like European artistic salons, honouring the arts and creativity. In some instances the genteel setting and company of these parties were seen as rivals to the more flamboyant gatherings and to the personality of Isabella Stewart Gardner.

The photographic portraits Sears' made of Charles Loeffler (1861–1935) are exemplary in demonstrating her abilities 'to draw forth' her subjects' unique characteristics: *protrahere*, as the Latin root of the word 'portrait' implies. In one image (Fig. 3), where the French born composer and violinist looks intently at his hands and beloved instrument, Sears' attention to the outstretched bow and instrument's strings provides a significant linear and abstract quality to the poignant



Fig. 3: Sarah Choate Sears, Charles Loeffler, c. 1903, Platinum Print, c. 23.5 x 17.5 cm. Credit: Sarah C. Sears Archive

portrait. The subject of a number of her portraits of that time are a cast of notables in their respected fields. One is of her Uncle Joseph Hodges Choate, a prominent lawyer and future ambassador to Great Britain. Choate holds a book; a symbol of his public life and service. He sits aristocratically, aloof, but focused, his strong presence emphasized by Sears' use of contrasting darks and lights. This image appeared in a Boston Camera Club exhibit and was praised in a *Photo Era* review as 'excellent.' The image also appeared in the 1900 New School of American Photography in London that F. Holland Day had organised. Edward Steichen reported that this portrait 'has received great praise on this side of the Atlantic.'¹¹ In this, and other portraits, one sees some of Holland Day's influence on his protégée and friend. Sears' dramatic use of lights and darks, often evoking a dreamlike or mystical sensibility, may also be found in some of Day's photography.

Sarah Sears' famous portrait of Julia Ward Howe (1819–1910), the prominent abolitionist, social activist, poet and author of the lyrics for the *Battle Hymn of the Republic*, was exhibited in London along with her portrait of Joseph Choate. Of this strong graphic portrait of Howe, Steichen wrote, 'the portrait of Mrs. J. W. H. is one of the most dignified pieces of composition exhibited, and carries with it a conviction

regarding its qualities of portraiture seldom surpassed.¹² The critic Sadakichi Hartmann also strongly praised this work. He wrote (under the name of Sidney Allen),

‘... Only a well balanced composition without conspicuous shortcomings can make us think of the sitter rather than the photographer.

The portrait in question shows wonderful interpretative skill, and is the most characteristic work Sarah C. Sears has yet accomplished. There are many pictorialists who show stronger personality in their work, who are more enthusiastic, brilliant and poetic, and whose aims are more ambitious, less simple and modest, but they do not realize them so perfectly as Mrs. Sears realizes hers. I do not mean a mastery of technical resources, so much as a mastery in eye and thought. She knew in this print precisely what she wanted to do and precisely what to do and what to leave undone in order to succeed. And the leaving of things undone is no small part of the artist’s task with such a craft as photography. In the art of *omitting* Mrs. Sears is quite accomplished, and this is what gives to her prints their simplicity, their harmony, their breadth and unity of effect.

The repose and breadth of her Howe portrait are delightful. Nothing simpler in composition could be imaged. The head is well placed and the massing of black and white is handled in a masterly manner. The exaggeration of detail in the lace collar and the peculiar ‘flat tone’ treatment of the face (realizing tonality without sacrificing any of the minor characteristic traits) give to the picture a certain Holbeinish effect, remarkable for its naïve expressiveness.¹³

With her sharp focused image, Julia Ward Howe is portrayed not only as an individual but also as the prototype of the universal strong woman, confronting the viewer head on. Alfred Stieglitz owned this image and

also reproduced it in the April 1907 issue of *Camera Work*, along with another portrait, *Mary*, which, with its softer focus, seems to belong in part to Sears’ earlier pictorial images. Yet, with its intensity of expression, it too steps beyond the world of Pictorialism. It is interesting to compare several other images of Julia Ward Howe to the better known one. In one she wears the same white shawl but holds a symbolic lily, and does not confront the viewer directly. In another, she wears a black lace shawl and looks down at the lily. The details of texture seem almost as important as the sitter. As Sadakichi Hartmann (a.k.a. Allen) noted, it is the ‘art of omitting’ that is important.

Later images depict Charles Sprague Sargent (1841–1927), an American botanist and well-known director of the Arnold Arboretum, intently reading a book with foliage and floral motifs in the background; or Bernard Berenson (1865–1959), the well known art historian whose eye for Renaissance art, as well as French moderns such as Renoir or Cézanne, was to service art collectors in Boston such as Isabella Stewart Gardner. Berenson was photographed simply in a ³/₄ well-lit facial profile, depicted emerging from the darkness, and, in another, he is seen carefully examining a print. Of significance is a portrait of Beatrice Jones Farrand (1872–1959) (c.1903), an American landscape architect who studied with Charles Sprague Sargent. Farrand spent much time in Bar Harbor, Maine, at her family’s Reef Point home which was near Sears’ family property at Mt. Desert. There she explored her interest in garden design. Farrand was well known for her work at Dunbarton Oaks in Washington and for the Rockefeller estate, the Eyre in Seal Harbor, Maine. She was the only woman of the eleven founders of the American Society of Landscape Architects. The elegant portrait of Farrand depicts a strong young woman in a dark fur-collared cloak, standing against a classical column, gazing wistfully at a small leaf-filled tree. She is both the elegant society woman and the young

educated woman, drawn to the world of nature. With a man-made edifice as background, she was deftly depicted as a bridge between the man-made world and the world of nature. Such portrait photographs not only illustrate Sears' ability to sensitively portray her subjects, but also suggest that a heightened sense of trust developed between the photographer and her subjects.

Perhaps the most significant of the portraits are those of Sears' daughter, Helen, which, when viewed as a group, are a remarkable series on a young girl, (Fig.4) opening the door to similar series made later, such as Alfred Stieglitz's depictions of his own daughter, Kitty, born in 1898 and his series on his second wife, Georgia O'Keeffe, begun in 1917. The young angelic looking Helen, her second and last child, born 1890, was to become the subject of paintings by Abbott Thayer, one of Sears' teachers, in 1892; by John Singer Sargent in 1895; and in a pastel by Mary Cassatt in 1907. In 1900 Gertrude Käsebier photographed both mother and daughter. Sears greatly admired Sargent and commissioned him to paint Helen when he came to Boston to unveil the first of his mural series at the Boston Public Library. Sargent, in his grand painterly style, also painted Sarah Sears in 1899. She appears regal, in a pristine white dress, holding soft pink roses in her left hand, adorned only by a slender gold wedding band. As in her own photographs, she appears elegant, but understated. Sears photographed Sargent in 1903, caught up in his drawing, focused on a model or object, not looking out towards the viewer.

Sargent's endearing portrait of the young Helen, embracing large hydrangeas, with the glistening whites of the multiple flower petals and Helen's dress, depicts her as part of a world of flowers; pure, innocent, and this image is reflected in the shiny brass planter. But Sears' series of photographs of her beloved daughter illuminates Helen and, indirectly, the photographer – her mother, on a variety of levels. Indeed Sargent, upon seeing some of the photographs Sears sent him,



Fig. 4: Sarah Choate Sears, Helen Sears with Japanese Lantern, c. 1890–1900, c. 23.5 cm x 13.3 cm. Credit: Sarah C. Sears Archive

wrote to her on 7 August 1895, 'The new one of Helen has a wonderful, fine expression and makes me feel like returning to Boston and putting my umbrella through my portrait. But how can an unfortunate painter hope to rival a photograph by a mother? Absolute truth, combined with absolute feeling.'¹⁴

We can look at the young Helen nude through her mother's artistic and maternal eyes; as Flora, Spring goddess, bedecked with flowers; in elegant bonnets and dresses as aristocratic, or like a Spanish infanta. We see her connected to other cultures, as she stands at two years old, her sturdy little hand nesting on the leaves of an open book. She is accompanied by her mother's symbolic lilies placed in a Persian vase (Sears collected Persian pottery.) Helen is also made to connect to Japan and Japonisme, as she stands before a screen and contemplates the world of the Japanese

lantern, or is transformed by a simple Greek frock. She is also portrayed with her brother, Montgomery who was tragically killed in an accident, aged 25 in 1908. Then there is a pensive Helen, with her nanny, and a well-lit, rather larger than life, toy rabbit. Sears' use of a strong diagonal unites Helen with her nanny and with her rabbit. Despite her pensive look, Helen's world seems very safe.

The series on her daughter Helen may be viewed, and perhaps better understood, by considering several contexts. The most obvious context is that of a young mother wanting to record her child's early years. But perhaps of more significance is that a number of major photographers, such as F. Holland Day, Clarence White, Gertrude Käsebier, Edward Steichen, Alfred Stieglitz, frequently chose children as subjects, and quite often their own or their friends' children. Stieglitz chose to publish a number of images of children, including his own daughter, Kitty, in various issues of *Camera Work*. Charles Caffin chose a number of illustrations of children to illustrate his book *Photography as a Fine Art* (1900). As the art historian George Dimock noted, these children, for the most part:

'... were portrayed as beautiful, well dressed, secure, happy and beloved. They also embodied a romantic ideal of childhood in keeping with Pictorialism's ambitions to achieve the spiritual in art ... The Pictorialist child embodied the defining characteristics of the 'priceless child' in whose name the Progressive reform movement fought to abolish child labor. In Pictorialist iconography, children remained, for the most part, safely ensconced within the sumptuous, if often darkened interior of the bourgeois home. When they ventured outdoors, it was invariably to bucolic nature or to a carefully tended garden. Their principal activities consisted of posing with their mothers, reading or just holding a book, and playing children's games. They came before the camera as deeply treasured,

carefully nurtured members of an intact nuclear family ... The adults who attended them were invariably benevolent and attractive.'¹⁵

The interest in Spiritualism and its emphasis on the role of children would certainly have influenced Sarah Sears' choice of her daughter as frequent subject. It is also likely that she would have been aware of Friedrich Froebel's theories¹⁶ concerning the creativity and dynamism of young children, as he developed his ideas and games related to the 'kindergarten'. Song and dramatic play, as well as trying out different identities, were to become important. Perhaps both Helen and her mother were dealing with issues of identity, as she photographed her daughter in a variety of settings and costumes.

Joseph Lindon Smith and Gertrude Käsebier's friendship would have exposed her to the popular tableaux vivants of the day which were not necessarily narratives but often symbolic or whimsical, sometimes related to a theme, such as the elements of nature.¹⁷ Some of the images of Helen, such as her nude young body adorned with leaves, or her head crowned with flowers, would seem quite close to the tableau vivant concept. Helen as a *Flora* is also interesting to compare to the detail of Botticelli's *Primavera*, published in *Camera Work* in October 1905. In a 1899 photograph there is a young girl, cloaked in a virgin white, diaphanous cloth, holding lilies. This also recalls the tableau sensibility and has some similarity with Käsebier's staged *Manger* (1899). Both could be deemed to have religious references, as well as reference to the purity of women. (Today we could compare this with Cindy Sherman's concern with identity; with Sherman's tableaux vivants as fictitious 'film stills'.)

Besides her artistic abilities, Sarah Sears found herself caught up in the politics of exhibitions in her attempts to help foster the role of photography as an art form. As already noted, she was encouraged and mentored by F. Holland Day and her letters to Day

(Norwood Historical Society) show a great trust in him. In turn she wanted to help Day. In 1899 she helped to negotiate a gallery space for what was intended to become a regular salon at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. The then director of the museum, Charles Greeley Loring, indicated that his trustees wanted such a salon to be part of an organised association and Day thus appealed to Stieglitz and the Photo-Secession in New York to join forces for 'An American Association of Artistic Photography'. But Stieglitz did not want to share power, nor move his gallery to Boston. Sears, for her efforts, ended up receiving a scathing review from Joseph Keiley in *Camera Notes*, in the review of the 1899 Second Philadelphia Salon, which denounced her work as inferior and that of 'a \$1,000,000 woman'.¹⁸ The review seemed to signal a definitive break between Boston and New York. Sears did, however, seem to resolve some of these differences with Stieglitz and, as some of her letters to him suggest, she contributed with much generosity financially to the cause of the Photo-Secession.

In March 1905 Alfred Stieglitz asked Sears for some negatives to send to a Photo-Secession exhibition in Portland, Oregon but, in reply, she apologised for her delay, due to an illness in the family¹⁹ as her husband was suffering from diabetes. Montgomery Sears died 2 June 1905. With his death, her passionate involvement in photography also seemed to die. Thereafter she did not produce any new work for public display although she did take some photographs of her daughter, Helen, and her grandchildren, Cameron and Montgomery Sears Bradley, but, while quietly beautiful, these are not as compelling as her early work.

Sarah Sears did not cease all her artistic endeavours as she continued to paint, collect, and serve as a patron until her death in 1935. Her work in photography, although not always viewed in the forefront of the history of photography, surely must be viewed as significant; as an important thread in the rich tapestry that

was her life; a life and work that contributed much to turn of the century Boston, to its cultural and artistic milieu, to the rise of Modernism, and to the recognition of photography as a fine art.

Notes

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12. *Photo Era* VI (1901: 212–213).
13. Sidney Allen, Pictorial Criticism; Constructive, not Destructive – Portrait of Julia Ward How', *The Photographer*, 11 June 1904, pp. 104–105.
14. Private collection, quoted in Erica E. Hirshler, 'The Fine Art of Sarah Choate Sears', *The Magazine Antiques*, September 2001, p. 323.
15. George Dimock, *Priceless Children-American Photography, 1890–1925*, Greensboro, N.C.: Weatherspoon Art Museum 2001, pp. 10–12.
16. See Judith Fryer Davidov's discussion of Froebel and Käsebier in 'The Geometry of Bodies: Gender and Gene in Pictorialist Photography', *Women's Camera Work*, Durham & London: Duke University Press 1998, pp. 45–102.
17. Conversation with Elizabeth Pool, 1 December 2005, performer as a young child in many of Smith's plays and tableaux vivants in Dublin, New Hampshire, USA.
18. Joseph Keiley, 'The Salon: Its Purpose, Character, and Lesson', *Camera Notes*, vol. 3, January 1900, p. 169.
19. Six Letters from Sears to Stieglitz are at the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

Purified Czech history of photography

The year 1999 saw a publication of an exhibition catalogue *Czech Pictorialism 1895–1928* which opened the forgotten chapter of artistically oriented photography in the Czech countries at the turn of the 19th century. The term *Czech*, used not only in the title, was not really specified. A note in the introduction suggests the curators' awareness of leaving out some important photographers, especially those from the Czech-German circle. However, the existence of Czech-German art photography (*Kunstphotographie*), although significant in this region, was not discussed further and the exhibition in fact presented almost exclusively Czech-speaking authors. Thus a reader could quite easily infer that the linking idea was of a rather national character, emerging from the affiliation of selected photographers to the Czech language, and that there could possibly exist only a few other Czech-German art photographers. To prove the existence of Czech-German authors, only two names were mentioned: Franz Fiedler, a professional, and Gustav Mautner, a member of the Czech-German Club in Prague (*Club deutscher Amateurphotographien in Prag*).

If we take a closer look at this 'hidden' part of the history of photography we soon discover, undoubtedly of great significance, a very large, complex and diverse field of visual culture, interconnecting principally two areas: Czech-German amateur photography and local exponents of the art photography movement. The image of Czech Pictorialism then acquires radically different contours. In accordance with the source material it is not only possible to make a list of clubs and names of dozens of their members but we can also, quite easily, reconstruct their activities, their relations with other clubs at home and abroad and, to a lesser extent, also discover original works. Then the imaginary map of Czech-German photography includes, apart from Fiedler, Mautner and the Prague Club, also the club in Teplice and its prominent members, Max Horny and Richard Pech, and, for example, the club in České

Budějovice which was also joined by Ludwig David, and the other clubs in Brno, Jihlava, Litoměřice, Ostrava. (Apart from other memberships, Gustav Mautner, Max Horny and Ludwig David were also members of the celebrated Wiener Camera-Klub.)

Considering all this, it is astounding that such an extensive field of visual culture could have been completely forgotten. In my view this is a good example that proves a recent tendency of giving importance to searching for what has been excluded from the arts, from history, and the reasons for such exclusion.² Therefore the crucial question of this article has been framed along the same lines: why has the Czech-German amateur photographers and the local art photography movement at the turn of the century been excluded from history? Why have they become a taboo? We can say that it was not only the widely discussed change in visual fashion after 1918 that caused the elimination of the Czech-German art photography from the Czech history of photography and from the discourse in general, but also of great importance were specific links to the social structure and to the political situation at that time.

As a good example we can take the above mentioned Czech-German Club in Prague which only differed from other clubs in its success abroad and in the strong, long-term representation of Jewish members. The club was founded in 1898 with the aim to care for, perfect and diffuse photography, in both artistic and scientific respect. Reports on its activities were published mostly in *Photographische Rundschau* and Lechner's *Photographische Mitteilungen*. Certainly, the most important events in the history of the club were its own exhibitions. The first important presentation occurred in 1901. It gained some acceptance also on the Czech side of the amateur photography circle, which was otherwise separated. One of the highlights of the whole club history was the *Art Photography Exhibition* organised two years later. Another six clubs



Fig. 1: Gustav Mautner, *View of Prague*. Credit: Reproduced in *Photographische Rundschau* 1907, nr. 13.

from the monarchy participated in this event, among them the Wiener Camera-Klub, and its members Hans Watzek and Hugo Henneberg. During this crucial period, around 1900, the club was most strikingly represented, not only by Gustav Mautner (Fig.1), but also, for example, by Heinrich Kempf, Elsa Hellmich and Max Wenisch. The last attempt to assert themselves in the field of photography was an exhibition in 1911, organised together with a non-photographic Prague club *Lese- und Redehalle der deutschen Studenten*. However, this project was neither large nor stunning and extended to various kinds of photography. After the First World War the club continued its activities, but their achievements were only rarely above-average. The history of the Czech-German Club in Prague was officially terminated in March 1939, but it finished, de facto, in November 1938 due to the considerable loss of its members who had to resign. Due to the increasing

danger from the Nazis quarter after the Munich Agreement, some members gradually decided to leave the country. Later on, in March 1939 when Bohemia and Moravia were overrun by Hitler's army, clubs like the Prague one were dissolved and all Jews in the country were forbidden from attending any club activities or other forms of public life.

Clearly, the history of the Czech-German Club in Prague did not differ from others and in many ways it can serve as a characteristic example of the situation of Czech-German photographers and art photography in the Czech countries in general. Elementary information, facts and names, suggest a lot, but they are insufficient in answering the question of censorship and displacement. (It is necessary to research this field in more detail). Two aspects, in particular, seem to be significant in this context: the organisational structure of a club and the consequences of its artistic programme.

Looking at the average professional make up of a photo-club, such as the Prague one, we usually encounter *professions*, such as lawyers, physicians, bank clerks, commissioned officers, manufacturers, at least until 1914: professions held by men characterised not only by their adequate economic background, education and potential to organise their own time, but also distinguished by attributes, such as power, rationality and discipline, frequently emphasised by a uniform: it matters not whether it be stripes or a white hospital coat. Moreover, all these professional ranks, backed up by a fair amount of determining authority, in connection with photography, were all associated with the renowned distinguishing mark: *I am a technical person*. In this context, it is worth noting the strong re-emergence of the proverbial metaphor of a camera as a gun. The very same tendency, which has not lost its relevance even today, was observed and proved by research a few decades later in the field of amateur film: those who held a high position in their professions and who had received higher education, tended to participate in leisure activities embracing technical means more actively than people deemed to have inferior status and education.³ Besides, this kind of representation, related to the amateur sphere, corresponded also to the art-educational movement of the period. According to its leading exponent, Alfred Lichtwark, it was desirable for an educated amateur, not affected by academic education, and thus able and obligated to spread new ideas, to affect people, and so be able to raise the tone of society. The ideal, according to Lichtwark, was a uniformed, educated amateur.⁴

The idea of public education was not marginal. In fact, it was considered a principal feature of any organisation such as a photographic society. It is obvious that a club was not only a place to share knowledge, but also a place to gain prestige and exert influence, especially in the local context. Thus a membership became a social testimonial. If we look at membership listings

of leading members of local photo-clubs, especially of those who were particularly socially successful, we find that they were also members of a large number of various clubs and institutions. Clearly, such an amount of different positions and multiple memberships had to be rather a formal matter and a way of keeping influence and holding a privileged social status.⁵ Those relationships were certainly advantageous for both sides. If officially organised, the club became public and thus publicly influential. The exceeding communication network developed into a sort of a cultural centre and their members became an influencing elite, not only from the cultural point of view, but also influencing the general public.⁶ In the context of Central Europe, we have to take into account the complex linguistic reality which became another powerful and distinguishing trait, as well as, many times, a reason for social suppression.

Another significant aspect, and not only within the local region, emerges from the inclination of amateur photographers to become an artistically ambitious movement, not necessarily only through photographic works, but also through the secondary tools of the artistic programme, such as symbolic appellation, and its impact on daily practice.

A few years after its establishment, the Prague Club joined the spreading art photography movement. Although the formerly dominant field, that of scientific photography, was not entirely dismissed, a tendency towards art photography quite clearly prevailed. This was also due to a shift of the clubs' professional make-up. Similarly to its allied clubs, the Prague one sought to assert photography, as well as itself, in the field of the fine arts. The idea that photography belonged to the artistic sphere, and that it was inferior neither to graphic art nor painting, was promoted in theory as well as in practice. The club organised lectures on art photography, projections, exhibitions and its members contributed to art photography magazines. In this context,

the most respectable Prague sympathiser and advocate was Emil Orlik who took part, among others, in the jury of the most important exhibition in the history of the club in 1903.

Certainly, more important than favourable circumstances, such as support from respected painters or printmakers, was the artistic effort of the photographers themselves. In the attempt to equal other visual arts, the crucial devices of their work were found in the subject and in composition, since both turned out to be the most suitable tools in this respect. Thematic and compositional similarities between art photography and other visual arts of the period have been emphasised many times and it remains unquestionable in the case of local clubs as well. We could only add more examples to enlarge the list and they would positively correspond to familiar types of composition, subjects, destinations.

Landscape became an extremely popular genre of art photography in general (Fig. 2), especially using motifs from places such as the Dutch coast with fishermen, the Adriatic, Italian cities, Hamburg with its harbour and canals. However, these kinds of preferences cannot be seen simply from the *tourist* point of view, for example, the specific location was only seldom highlighted in their titles. Many amateur art photographers from Austria, Germany or the Czech countries visited the same favourite places and chose similar subjects, not because they wanted to mark off another item on the list of fashionable tourist destinations, but that such subject matter had been derived from familiar types published in books, magazines and seen in exhibitions. They knew where to find appropriate subjects: fishermen mending nets, anchored sailing boats and reflections on water surface. In other words, they were not chosen as specific locations, but because of the opportunities of using particular compositions. Usually composition was the most important part of a picture in this respect, inspired often by



Fig. 2: Max Horny, *Landscape*. Credit: Reproduced in *Photographische Rundschau* 1904, nr. 3.

classical compositional patterns, obtained from the history of art and contemporary artwork production. Many handbooks on art photography instructed readers in a very specific way: from how to choose a motif, how to compose a picture, how to frame it. It seems therefore that the common professional makeup and the social authority mentioned above eventually determined, not only the structure of clubs and their social significance, but also their artistic programme. The self-control and discipline of members naturally sustained their belief in the suitability of the rules of art photography. No wonder then that very soon the works of most photographers turned into a line of copies and variations of the same motifs.

In this regard the Czech-German amateur photographers mostly followed the mainstream. However, there was one more large thematic area, no less cherished than those previously mentioned: the *homeland*. Among the most popular places within the home region were Krušné hory (Erzgebirge), old Prague streets (Fig.3), the valley of the Elbe, together with otherwise common art photography motifs, such as back roads after the rain, a town by a river, forest paths; that is motifs that at first sight appear to be quite neutral. But unlike pictures taken abroad, some of these were often titled quite specifically, emphasising factual location. Equally conceived were also two other towns, although



Fig. 3: Schlosser & Wenisch, Prague Street. Credit: Reproduced in *Photographische Rundschau* 1912, nr. 14.

they were behind the German borderline: Nuremberg and Rothenburg ob der Tauber. Both were quaint towns, famous for old, half-timbered architecture, a style, at that time, labelled as purely Teutonic, and, to a lesser extent, yet characteristic, would be the architecture of North Western Bohemia, at that time a mostly German-speaking area. In all these cases the first concern was the historical and traditional context, although artistic rules were respected as well. If we consider the current rising national disagreement within the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, and its consequences, then it becomes clear that in a sense all those places were regarded as *home*, and that this kind of picture was firstly a manifestation of patriotism, and thus belonged much more to *Heimatphotographie* (a field of photography understood at that time as being ‘patriotic’ but not necessarily ‘nationalistic’) than to the sphere of art photography. Naturally, not every member of the Czech-German clubs became an exponent of this trend, nor can such a picture with similar looking motifs be always connected with it.

Czech amateur photographers regarded *Heimatphotographie* entirely as ‘German’, unlike art photog-

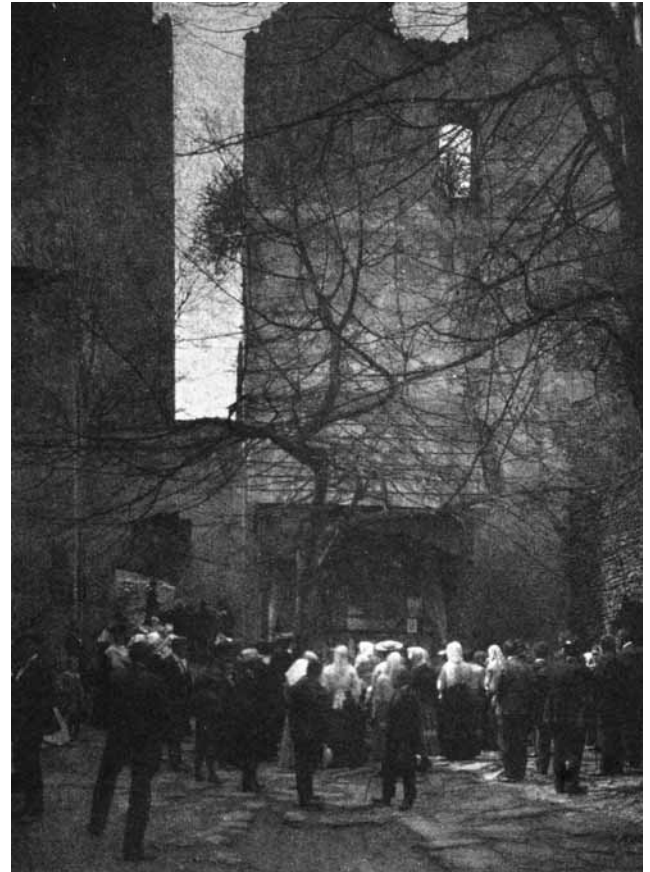


Fig. 4: Rudolf Ginzel, Worship at the remains of Bezděz cloister. Credit: Reproduced in *Photographische Kunst* 1911.

raphy which found some advocates among them too. On the Czech side, a kind of analogical stream emerged, but unlike the German one which was defined above all geographically, the latter was based on a notion of ‘nation’. This difference of perspective contributed later to displacement of *Heimatphotographie* as well as of other branches of photography associating ‘German’ affiliation (Fig. 4).

Nevertheless, photographic pictures and individual social relations were not the only means of communication. In the books and magazines of the period we find a whole emblematic world supporting, or in other ways referring to, the main ideas of art photography. Pictorialists adopted not only these specific devices of both composition and subject matter, but also its terminology and symbols which were used as a kind of indirect means. In this respect we can reconstruct a whole, although unconscious, communication system. As an example: we can take the most common and understandable of those pictographs: a combination of the sun disc, as a conventional symbol of photography, and the three empty shields as a traditional sign of painters. Naturally, the sun and its personification –

Apollo / Helios – were commonly used in the realm of the photographic medium from its beginning. They inspired the names of companies, products, clubs and periodicals. However, it seems that the Apollo figure regained its symbolic representation precisely in connection with art photography, as a sun, seeing and being aware of everything. Apollo traditionally represented the rational part of human nature, but at the same time, he was always associated with the world of arts and beauty. In photography, especially its artistically ambitious movement, Apollo became a perfect representation of a connection between reason, nature and the arts. (Such emblematic language was later even more elaborated in the context of cinematography.)

It is evident that amateur and art photography around 1900 was a field of cultural and of social ambitions, and that activities in these fields became, more or less, an attribute of an elite. Later, especially after 1918 when the *German majority* became a *Czech-German minority*, the new Czech elite sought to establish itself, naturally, by denial of the social values of the previous one. Anything related to the *K. und k.* monarchy and the Habsburg court was seen as erroneousness and a mistake that must now be corrected. This new ideology corresponded directly to government policy which praised and connected democracy and the avant-garde against the aristocracy and the belle-époque. But of course, photography was not the only field that fell into this situation. There is a whole range of parallels in other spheres of cultural activity, for example, particularly in architecture which is an especially effective means of representation.⁷ In addition, a number of means of displacement and censorship were used systematically for many decades thereafter. The most distinct was a change of authors' identity, *Czechisation*, along with a long-term deprecation of art photography as a third-rate field within art history, and in the history of photography due to the use of pigment processes that were not really considered of photographic origin.

In any case, it is quite clear that the subsequent local hostility to the given photographic period was not only a result of taste or ethical inopportuneness, but rather also as a consequence of *political incorrectness*.

Notes

- 1 Jan Mlčoch, Pavel Scheufler, *Český piktorialismus 1895–1928*. Praha: Paideia 1999.
- 2 See Linda Nochlin, 'Psát historii 'jinak''. In Martina Pachmanová (ed.), *Věrnost v pohybu*. Praha: OWP 2001, pp. 26–27.
- 3 See David Riesman, 'Leisure and Work in Post-Industrial Society.' In Eric Larrabee, Rolf Meyersohn (eds.), *Mass Leisure*. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press 1958, pp. 368–379.
- 4 Alfred Lichtwark, 'Der Deutsche der Zukunft.' In *Alfred Lichtwark: Eine Auswahl seiner Schriften*, Berlin: Wolf Mannhardt (Hrsg.), Berlin, 1917, vol. 1, pp. 3–18.
- 5 One of the most striking examples in the local context is definitely Julius Leisching, an architect and a director of the Mährisches Gewerbe Museum in Brno, his associated activities included the positions of: Chairman Brünnner Camera-Club, the Brünnner Gesellschaft der Kunstfreunde, Vice Chairman Brünnner Mozart-Denkmalverein, the Deutschmährischer Kunstgewerbebund, the Deutscher Verein für die Geschichte Mährens und Schlesiens, member Verband österreichischer Kunstgewerbemuseen, Internationaler Museenverband, Deutscher Verein für Kunstwissenschaft, Deutscher Werkbund; (his brother, Eduard Leisching was Director of Kunsthistorisches Museum Vienna). See 'Jahresbericht 1910.' In *Mitteilungen des Erzherzog Rainer-Museum*, Brünn, 1911, nr. 1, p. 8.
- 6 Bedřich Loewenstein, *My a ti druzí: Dějiny, psychologie, antropologie*. Brno, 1997. To compare the role of a salon in a process of forming self-awareness of the bourgeoisie as a rank, see Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*. USA: MIT Press, 1991.
- 7 See Rostislav Koryčánek, *Česká architektura v německém Brně: Město jako ideální krajina nacionalismu*. Šlapanice: ERA, 2003.

Contributors

Alistair Crawford, born 1945, Scotland, studied at Glasgow School of Art, practises as an artist, photographer, printmaker, writer, performer and independent curator, has held over 45 solo exhibitions in Europe and USA, and is represented in public, corporate and private collections world-wide. Recent touring exhibitions include, *Erich Lessing. Reportage Photography 1948–1973* for Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (2002), recent publications: *Mario Giacomelli* (London 2001, 2006, Paris 2002, 2005), *Erich Lessing Reportage-Photography 1948–1973* (Vienna 2002, Paris 2003, New York 2005). For many years he worked to successfully restore the forgotten collections of photography of the British School at Rome which led to a series of publications on his discoveries. From 1999 he has contributed a regular column, 'Brief Exposure', to the photography journal *Inscape*. He is co-editor of *Photoresearcher*, *The Proceedings* of ESHPh Symposia, and *The International Letter*. See www.alistair-crawford.co.uk.

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2007 Dietmar Klinger Publishers, Passau

ISSN 0958 2606

Printed in Germany

Cover: *Emanuel von Friedrichsthal (attributed), Idol from Mayapan, Yucatán 1840/41, daguerreotype in original case, plate 6.7 x 5.5. Credit: Department of Pictures, Austrian National Library Collection (Pk 3338.9).*

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No 1: October 1990

No 2: June 1991

No 3: December 1991

No 4: September 1992

No 5: December 1993

No 6: March 1997 (1994/95/96)

No 7: September 2004

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The Society's journal is dedicated to the research of the history of photography. The contributing authors are internationally recognised experts and their wide-ranging knowledge forms the main basis of the Society. Many papers represent the first related publication as a result of a longstanding research activity. It appears once per annum. Contributions are also especially welcome from all who feel they can contribute to our understanding of our subject, including photographers, private collectors, curators, teachers, students, etc. Contributors need not to be members of the Society.

Internet

The Internet site of the ESHPh was established in 2004 (www.donau-uni.ac.at/eshph). It provides information about the Society: its statutes, minutes, meetings, as well as other ESHPh activities, such as symposia and publications. It is intended that the internet will become a meeting place for members world wide.

Annual membership fee

Personal member from 2005 onwards Euro 65 (\$ 80)

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We welcome active membership from all who are interested in the history of photography throughout the world. Please contact: Anna Auer, President of ESHPh. Fleischmarkt 16/2/2/31 · A-1010 Wien · Austria.

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WestLicht PHOTOGRAPHICA AUCTION

A very recently discovered daguerreotype apparatus by the Paris manufacturers Susse Frères throws new light on the history of photography. The attic find that was sold at the 11th Photographica Auction on 26 May 2007 in Vienna proves to be an example of a camera made in September 1839 which, until now, was regarded as a myth. Numerous experts now think that this new find is very likely to be the oldest commercially-produced camera in the world. With its original lens by Charles Chevalier, the camera is in wonderful original condition and has never been restored or modified.

Till now the daguerreotype camera produced by Daguerre's brother-in-law, Giroux, also in 1839, had been regarded as the origins of commercial photography. There are around ten of these in existence in various museums. On 5th September 1839 a small Susse Frères advertisement appeared in the French newspaper *La Quotidienne* inviting the public to buy the complete equipment including a printed manual by Daguerre, explaining the process. This world sensation is currently on exhibition at the WestLicht Gallery, Vienna. The next WestLicht Photographica Auction will be hold on November 17th 2007.

WestLicht Photographica Auction

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