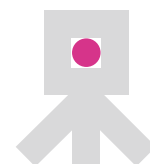
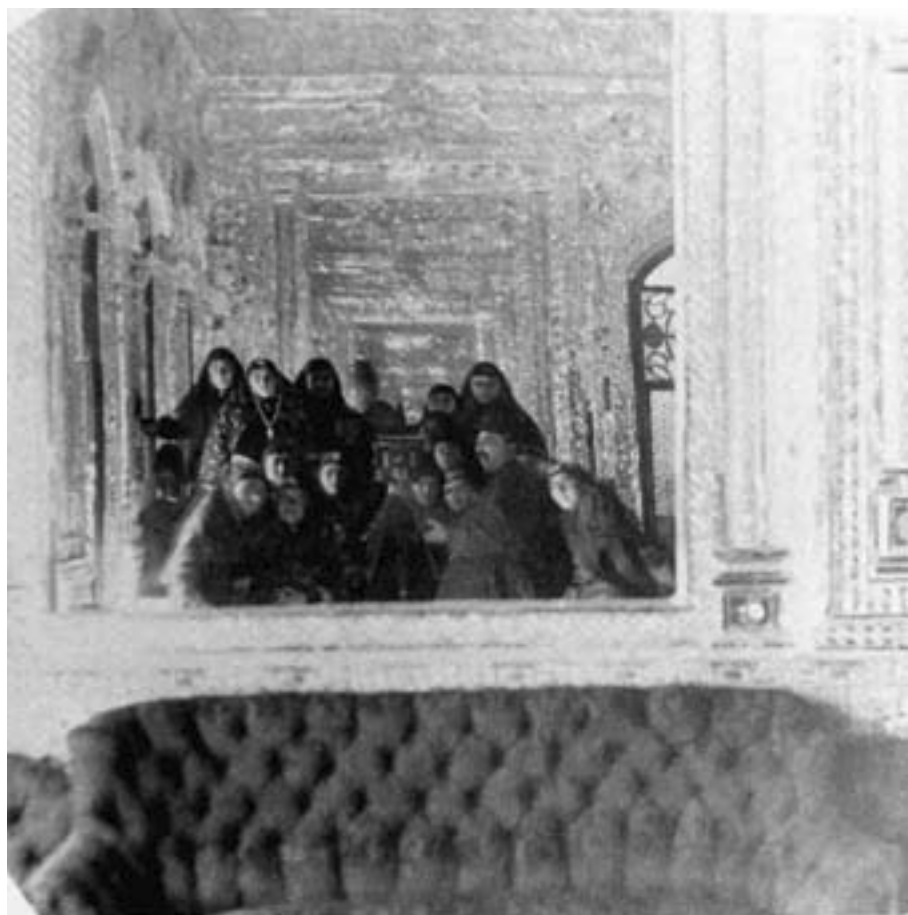


PhotoResearcher



ESHPh European Society for the History of Photography

- 4 Stéphanie Roy Bharath
The Sachés: a family of photographers working in India during the 19th century
- 15 Corien J.M. Achour-Vuurman
Arranging early photographs of Persepolis in Dutch photo-collections by the ideas of David Hockney
- 26 Bahattin Öztuncay
CARANZA: From Constantinople to the Société Française de Photographie
- 36 Mohammad Reza Tahmasbpour
Creative Photography in the Early Years of Photography in Iran
- 42 Stéphanie Roy Bharath
The Alkazi Collection of Photography: Visual Heritage from South Asia
- 54 Herta Wolf
**“Collections of all Kinds will be Formed”
The Photograph as an Image and Medium for Taking Inventory**



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Editorial

Dear Reader,

We are pleased to present our special issue: **Photography in the Orient in the 19th Century**. After the relaunch of PhotoResearcher with the previous number, concentrating on this topic will provide an even more detailed analysis of specific aspects of photography. In addition to dealing with current trends in photo-historical and scientific research, our future issues will aim at emphasising other subjects with the goal of stimulating an even more intense discourse on photography. The second major innovation is that PhotoResearcher will now be published twice a year. The next number has **Photography in Eastern Europe in the 20th and 21st Centuries** as its motto and will appear at the time of this year's *European Month of Photography* in October 2010.

In her essay *The Sachés: A Family of Photographers Working in India during the 19th Century*, Stéphanie Roy Bharath (UK) introduces us to the photographic studio that John Edward Saché founded in Calcutta in 1864 and which rapidly led to the establishment of an impressive network of branches in India – a unique example of imaginative entrepreneurship. The contribution by Corien J.M. Achour-Vuurman (NL) *Arranging Early Photographs of Persepolis in Dutch Photo Collections by the Ideas of David Hockney*, make a comparison with the artistic programme of David Hockney who always takes pictures from various angles before reuniting them in a single collage. The essay by Bahattin Öztuncay (Turkey) *Caranza. From Constantinople to the Société Française de Photographie* is a fascinating report of Ernest Edouard de Caranza, who opened his studio in Istanbul in 1852. *Creative Photography in the Early Years of Photography in Iran* by Mohammad Reza Tahmasbpour (Iran) investigates the differences between the concept of the image in the Orient and West. Precisely the lack of a central perspective in Iranian art invests the works of Iranian photographers with an originality that often surprises the viewer with their modern-realistic conception. In her article *The Alkazi Collection of Photography: Visual Heritage from South Asia*, Stéphanie Roy Bharath provides us with an insight into this unusual private collection and its founder Ebrahim Alkazi. In addition to those well-known photographers from the history of international photography who travelled through India in the 19th century, the reader will also learn a great deal about India's economic, political and cultural situation in the 19th and 20th centuries.

We are beginning a cycle dealing with specific methodological questions on the history of photography with the essay *Collections of all Kinds will be Formed - The Photography as an Image and Medium for taking Inventory* by Herta Wolf (G). The author makes an in-depth analysis of the many reproductive methods that have accompanied the medium of photography from its beginnings. While “virtuosi” was an established term for Talbot's photographs in the 19th century, the concepts of “truthfulness” and “reality” – and how these were understood in the field of photography – later became dominant.

Anna Auer Ulla Fischer-Westhauser Uwe Schoegl

Vienna, March 2010

The Sachés: a family of photographers working in India during the 19th century

Stéphanie Roy Bharath While researching the life and photographic career of John Edward Saché (hereafter Saché) for my doctoral thesis, I came across many photographers with this name. Not only did Saché enter into various partnerships during his time in India, but his children also practised the medium. The name ‘Saché’ appeared in records with a variety of initials and associations from 1860 till 1904. Although many in the field of photography are familiar with Saché’s picturesque images, his career and the places where he worked in India have remained partly unknown. A master in the art of the picturesque, Saché followed in the steps of the well-known English photographer Samuel Bourne (1834-1912)¹ and, unless signed, his photographs were often attributed to Bourne. The Alkazi Collection of Photography holds a substantial, if not the largest, collection of prints by Saché, which have shed some light on the man himself. This article presents the photographic career of the Saché family, focusing on the work of J.E. Saché, whose legacy is the most important.

John Edward Saché (1824-1882)

Saché’s origins remained unclear for many years, with claims that he was Belgian or possibly American. Recent research indicated that he was born in Prussia as Johann Edvart Zachert on 29 December 1824.² Like many of his compatriots, Saché first emigrated to the United States – his name appeared in the *Craig’s Daguerreian Registry* for 1860 – where he worked in a photographic studio in Philadelphia under the name ‘Sache and Walker’.

There are circumstantial links between this practitioner and ‘our’ Saché. It is known that the latter certainly spent some time in America, for at his first appearance at a meeting organised by the Bengal Photographic Society in August 1865, some of his American photographs were presented. The group, which met once a month in Calcutta, was shown “a series of views taken by Mr. Saché in the United States of America. Among the series were photographs of the Petroleum Works at Bull’s Run, views of New York, and of Washington, all of which were much admired.”³

Saché reached Calcutta in late 1864 and began a partnership with W. F. Westfield as ‘Saché & Westfield’. Calcutta, the capital of British India, was an ideal place for photographers to establish businesses. It was common practice among photographers to enter into partnerships, particularly at the beginning of their careers, as it enabled them to share the work required for making and printing a stock of images, selling the images, and the development of services in the studio. The firm of Saché & Westfield was quickly rewarded for the quality of its images, receiving the silver and bronze medals at the annual exhibitions organised by the Bengal Photographic Society, in 1865 and 1866 respectively.⁴ In 1869, Saché and Westfield substantially increased their catalogue of prints by acquiring the stock of negatives of the contemporary firm of F. W. Baker & Co.⁵ Despite a flourishing business, the two partners

1 For information on Samuel Bourne, see Gary Sampson, ‘The Success of Samuel Bourne in India’, *History of Photography*, 16: 4 (Winter 1992), 336-347; Gary Sampson, ‘Photographer of the Picturesque: Samuel Bourne’ in

India through the Lens: Photography 1840-1911, Ahmedabad: Mapin Publishing Pvt and Munich, London & New York: Prestel Verlag 2000, 163-197.

2 This information was kindly provided by Peter Grimshaw, one of Saché’s great-great-grand-sons.

3 *Journal of the Bengal Photographic Society*, September 1865.



Figure 1
John Edward Saché, Elephanta Caves (Island of
Elephanta near Bombay), neg. 426,
albumen print, 1869. The Alkazi Collection of
Photography (96.20.0221).

ended their association the following year and established separate studios as Westfield & Co and J. E. Saché respectively, in Calcutta and the hill station of Nainital.

While still in partnership with Westfield, Saché opened his own studio at Nainital in 1867, which he formally announced in a local newspaper, *The Pioneer*. Giving rather precise information about Saché's work, whether it be the list of sites he recorded or services offered in the studio, these advertisements are also of great help in dating his prints and in framing his movements, since he established an important network of seasonal studios throughout the year. From now on, Saché divided his activity between summer studios in the hills, where a large part of the population took residence to flee the heat of the plains, and winter studios opened in the plains when the weather was clement. Based in both Calcutta and Nainital, Saché was able to record a large part of North India, and his advertisement for 1868 confirmed that he had already compiled "a new and large selection of over 500 10 x 12 plates of Nynee Tal, Bheem Tal, Almorah [...], Delhi, Lucknow, Cawnpore, Calcutta and Bengal Views,"⁶ covering all kinds of subject matter.

In early 1869, Saché worked alongside a certain J. Murray, under the name of 'Saché & Murray'. Based in Bombay, the partnership lasted for a brief period but enabled Saché to record "A New Series of Views of Bombay, Bassein, the Caves of Elephanta, Ellora and Adjunta; [...] the Marble Rocks at Jubbulpore."⁷ Some photographs from this series are signed 'Saché &

⁴ *Journal of the Bengal Photographic Society*, March 1867.

⁵ *Journal of the Bengal Photographic Society*, June 1870: 'Westfield & Co, (Late Saché & Westfield), photographers. By appointment to H.E. the Viceroy & H.R.H. the Duke of Edinburgh, 3 Waterloo Street.'

⁶ *The Pioneer*, 11 March 1868.

⁷ *The Pioneer*, 16 April 1869.

Murray’ – particularly the views of Jabalpur and portraits of Indian ‘types’ – opposed to the work produced with Westfield that only bore the signature of Saché. The views taken at Elephantia among others, present a highly confident and accomplished photographer at work, one who selected unusual, if not modern, compositions that moved beyond the traditional frame of commercial views. In a view of a flooded cave, Saché chose a close frame that emphasises zones of light and shade: a deep zone of dark divides the view into two halves and is surrounded by rough rocks; only a carved pillar (top left) suggests the work of men in an overall untouched landscape (figure 1).

Working on a seasonal basis, Saché established an important network of studios that enabled him to work all year round. He ran some of his premises till his death in 1882: Nainital (from 1867) and Mussoorie (from 1876) during the hot months; Lucknow (from 1871) during the cooler months. Between 1874 and 1876, he established further branches in Meerut, Cawnpore and Benares, which he occupied for a few seasons only. Saché chose the locations of his studios carefully. From the 1860s, all cities and hill stations could potentially offer a prosperous business to photographers. With an increase in the European population – whether they resided in India or visited the country – the demand for photographic prints also grew. Some sites were, of course, more profitable than others. Nainital played an official role as the summer seat of the North-West Provinces Government and attracted a large number of British residents and visitors. Officiating from the hill station for half a year, the Government was accompanied by a large part of the population, including clerks, servants and merchants, transforming Nainital into a vibrant station. Mussoorie was only a social and recreational place but, unlike the majority of hill stations, benefited from a permanent population. As a civilian station, it attracted military officers who wanted to limit the risk of meeting other soldiers. The choice of Lucknow was also judicious; a prime site during the Indian Revolt of 1857, Lucknow attracted numerous tourists in addition to having an important population. For the photographer, the city offered a large choice of subjects to record: images depicting monuments affected during the conflicts, memorials erected after the Revolt, and sites that witnessed massacres, were particularly sought by the British; Nawabi architecture, a landmark of Lucknow, was also a favourite (figure 2). This general view of Lucknow records the Husainabad Imambara Complex, with its successive gateways, Imambara (a building used by Shias for mourning rituals during Muharram and sometimes a burial place for Shia rulers) and other buildings, all seen in the middleground. The foreground presents a large tank with its pavilion and the background shows the Jama Masjid, the main mosque in Lucknow, with its minarets standing against the sky.

In winter 1869, Saché followed the example of Philip Egerton and Samuel Bourne who had both photographed the Himalayas in the 1860s, and undertook a trek up to the Pindur



Figure 2
John Edward Saché, *Husainabad Imambara Complex, Tank and Satkhande, with Jama Masjid beyond*, neg. 191, albumen print, ca.1866-67. The Alkazi Collection of Photography (94.87.0003).

had already employed when recording the site of Elephanta. The close frame Saché chose takes the glacier out of its environment, and emphasises the geometrical forms of the mountains. This composition differs greatly from Bourne's Himalayan views, in which he focused on the immensity of the mountains. In another view (figure 3), Saché composed his photograph by contrasting the texture of the river and the mountain, as well as the light with the side of the mountain covered with trees in the shade and the snowy peak in the background. Four years later, Saché returned to the Himalayas, visiting Kashmir and primarily Srinagar, a hill station much appreciated by the British for its charming and idyllic scenery. With its canal, picturesque boats and water reflections, Srinagar recalled England and became a sort of exotic counterpart to the English countryside, revealing very little of the social and economical difficulties of the site (figure 4). It preserved the viewer's illusion of a peaceful retreat, and distanced him from the land and its people. This series was to be the last group of topographical views Saché produced. By 1873, he had photographed the whole of North India, depicting the topography or architecture encountered on the way. After this date, it appears that Saché relied on his existing stock of images, reprinting negatives rather than photographing further. By 1880, he had produced two thousand views of India, as stipulated in one of his advertisements.⁸ Back in 1868, Saché had informed his clientele that he was able to offer over five hundred prints for sale; in twelve years his stock had increased fourfold; today, this gives us a sense of the size and success of his photographic enterprise.

Saché also recorded several series of Indian 'types and professions', popular subjects throughout the 19th century. Traditionally the portraits were staged at the photographer's studio. The sitters were presented as representative examples of their profession, photographed against a plain backdrop with requisites to easily identify their occupation. The dhobie (washer-man) is shown ironing, the carpenter is surrounded with cut pieces of wood and a saw, the postman holds

Mountain Range, north of Nainital. Working in arduous conditions when the climate must have been particularly difficult, Saché managed to produce some dramatic studies of the glacier and surrounding scenery. In one example, the Pindur Glacier is presented as zones of light and shade, a technique he

8 *The Pioneer*, 16 April 1880.



Figure 3
John Edward Saché, *Last Bridge over
the Pindur River*, neg. 521, albumen print,
December 1869.
The Alkazi Collection of Photography
(96.20.0619b).

letters in his hand, coolies (carriers) are photographed bearing wheat on their heads and the household servant is presented cleaning a desk. These portraits can be linked to the artistic tradition of the so-called “Company Style”, which included the work of local artists who produced albums of ‘Indian types’ commissioned by European patrons. This tradition already demonstrated a taste for classifying the subcontinent into categories of caste and profession and continued in the 19th century when important colonial projects flourished. Such investigations resulted in a number of publications the most famous of which is *The People of India* (8 volumes, 1868-75) illustrated with original photographs taken by several practitioners. While Saché’s portraits of Indians followed this trend towards classification, he also recorded Indian people in their daily occupations rather than in a studio. This created a feeling of proximity with the subject he photographed and rendered the scene more natural (figure 5). As shown here, the rope seller is photographed kneeling in his stall and stares at the camera, as do other people within the composition. It reminds us of the snapshots we take nowadays while travelling.

The greater part of Saché’s work that has survived until now was produced between 1864 and 1873. During this period, he visited the sites any commercial practitioner searching for success would cover. The great Mughal buildings, like the Taj Mahal in Agra, the Red

Fort and Tomb of Humayun in Delhi, were photographed for their grandeur and historical associations. Important religious pilgrimage sites attracted both the visitor and the photographer, where the exotic extravaganza of sacred rites conducted on the Ghats at Benares provided the practitioner with an ideal exotic subject to record. This example (figure 6) presents an accumulation of Hindu temples, busy embankments with large umbrellas and the agitation of human beings. The development of a metropolis like Bombay and newly constructed British buildings were recorded to testify to the changes brought about by the British. Cities such as Lucknow and Cawnpore were documented because of the recent events of 1857, which left scars among the British community. From 1858, photographers regularly visited Lucknow, where the conflict had been fierce, to pay tribute to the loss of hundreds of men, women and children. Buildings that had witnessed fighting were seen as memorials to the events and photographed repeatedly, often from the same angle. This contributed to



Figure 4
John Edward Saché, *Srinagar, Jhelum River*,
neg. 732, albumen print, ca.1873-74.
The Alkazi Collection of Photography
(96.20.0602).

the creation of iconographic images, which would later be reproduced as postcards. Saché also depicted hill stations as peaceful retreats and employed the picturesque aesthetics in which he excelled. He produced astonishing images that were a direct response to Bourne's influence on his contemporaries (figure 7). Working as commercial photographer, Saché followed the aesthetic codes of the 19th century in order to appeal to a wide clientele but, in cer-



Figure 6
John Edward Saché, *Ghats at Benares*, neg. 334,
albumen print, ca. 1868-69.
The Alkazi Collection of Photography
(94.86.0042).

tain instances, he produced some original and unusual views. He often chose a close frame, taking the subject out of its context. Interestingly, this technique was employed with both topographical and architectural views. When recording architectural subjects, he focused his composition on details of the photographed monuments rather than the whole structure as commonly chosen.



Figure 5
John Edward Saché, *Rope Seller*, neg. 86,
albumen print, 1865.
The Alkazi Collection of Photography
(94.89.0049).

Towards the end of his career, Saché entered into a third partnership; this time with G. W. Lawrie under the name of 'Saché & Lawrie'. Saché's sudden death in 1882 put an unexpected end to the firm.⁹ Little is known about the two men's association and no photographs have been discovered so far. Lawrie pursued his photographic career as G. W. Lawrie & Co, operating in both Nainital and Lucknow. He became one of the most eminent practitioners in Lucknow, operating till 1920. He expanded his business further with branches in Mussoorie (1890-94), Allahabad (1892-94), Bareilly (1895-1908) and Ranikhet (1895-1915).

During almost twenty years, Saché managed a productive business that placed him among the leading photographers of his era. He followed in the footsteps of Samuel Bourne but, working only a couple of years later, remained overshadowed by the legacy of his forerunner. Most importantly, the remarkable quality of his images and originality of some views testify to Saché's skills both as technician and artist and establish him as a master of the picturesque.

Alfred Saché (1853/56-1885)

Alfred, Saché's eldest son by his first marriage, joined his father's photographic studio at Nainital in 1872, where he worked as an assistant for two years. Working alongside his father, he acquired sufficient photographic skills and opened his own seasonal studio at Benares before 1874, which he ran till March 1875.¹⁰ Like his father, Alfred worked on the plains and in the hills, following the seasons. To be precise, the studios in the hills were used from April to October/November, while his premises on the plains were open from November/December to March. By April 1875, Alfred had established a studio at Kasauli, a military cantonment in the surroundings of Simla, where he also sold photographs taken by his father. The choice of Kasauli was strategic as it was a satellite station in the Simla area and acted as a sort of guardian of the road leading from the plains to Simla that was traversed by visitors en route to the 'Queen of the Hills'. While Simla acquired a certain sophistication by becoming the summer headquarters of the British Government each year and being frequented by the rich and the renowned, the small resorts seen in the vicinity of Simla, like Kasauli, offered a more relaxed atmosphere, serving only as army cantonments and sanatoria. Alfred's advertisement, which he published in *The Pioneer*, reads:

Alfred SACHE, Photographer, begs to announce that his Studio will open April 15th at Kasauli. [...]

A select Stock of C.-D.-V. & Cabinet albums, frames and a Variety of Photographic Novelties.

Agent for the sale of J. SACHE's Views of India.¹¹

For a new photographer, selling the views of another recognised practitioner was a means of having a stock of images ready for sale. For the photographer whose prints were sold in someone else's studio, it promoted his work in parts of the country where he was not estab-

⁹ *The Pioneer*, 3 May 1880, 'J. SACHE & G.W. Lawrie – Photographers – Nainital and Lucknow.' *The Pioneer*, 20 March 1882, 'Mr. G.W. Lawrie (Late Partner with the Late Mr. J. SACHE).'

¹⁰ *The Pioneer*, 11 November 1874: "Alfred SACHE, Photographer, 45 Cantonments, Benares. Studio now open for the ensuing cold weather."

¹¹ *The Pioneer*, 2 March 1875.

lished and contributed to widening his popularity. In 1869, Saché had already advertised the selling of his images through an agent, J. H. Clarke & Co, who was based in the city of Cawnpore.¹² Alfred's professional activity between 1876 and 1881 remains uncertain; the birth of his first child in March 1876 in Amballa and his second child in 1880 in Lahore suggests he may have worked as a photographer in both cities. In 1881, he opened a studio in Dalhousie, which he ran for a few years before travelling to Lahore again. Initially a cantonment, Dalhousie also attracted a significant civilian population. In the later part of the 19th century, the hill station gained such a reputation across northern India that visitors arrived from all over the country, transforming the quiet hill station into a cosmopolitan place. Back in Lahore, it seems he established the firm of A. Saché & Co before he died in 1885.¹³ The firm continued operating till 1895, possibly managed by his half-brother Alfred John.

Edward Hickmott Saché (1866-ca. 1934)

Edward, son of Saché by his second wife Annie Hickmott (c.1844-1871), followed in the footsteps of his father and worked in the studio of Fritz Kapp in Calcutta from 1896. Annie died at a young age in 1871 and a photograph of her grave in the Alkazi Collection of Photography bears the following inscription: "To the memory of Annie, the beloved wife of John Edward SACHE, whom died of cholera at Lucknow Nov. 28 1871, aged 27 years, leaving a sorrowing husband and two little sons to lament her irreparable loss."¹⁴ Edward and his younger brother Alfred/Herbert John lived with their father and his third wife, Amelia Elizabeth Holmes (1850-1882), whom he had married around 1874. A few years later, the 1881 British Census recorded the two boys living in London with Amelia's parents.¹⁵ Between 1900 and 1903, Edward was the manager of F. Kapp & Co, running the studio at Humayun Place, Calcutta. The firm is particularly known for its coverage of the aftermath of the 1897 earthquake that affected Calcutta and the district of Cooch Behar in West Bengal.

Alfred/Herbert John Saché (1869-?)

Little is known about Saché and Annie's second son, and his name remains problematic until today, known sometimes as Alfred John or Herbert John. It seems Alfred/Herbert John took over the business of A. Saché & Co, being listed as photographer in Lahore between 1886 and 1895. In 1895, he worked briefly in the studio of F. Kapp & Co in Calcutta, which may have contributed to his elder brother Edward being employed the following year. In 1896, the firm of A. Saché & Co was renamed Saché & Co and operated from Dalhousie until 1900. At the turn of the century, Alfred/Herbert John vanished from the records.

This brief study has presented the career of John Edward Saché, a leading photographer of his era and a master of the picturesque movement, and of his children. Interestingly, Saché's

12 *The Pioneer*, 4 January 1869: "Open for the Season. J. H. Clarke & Co. [...] Agents for the sale of J. Saché's views of Calcutta, Benares, Mirzapore, Cawnpore, Lucknow, Agra, Futtehpore Sikri, Nynee Tal, Bheem Tal & c. Size 12 x 10. Price Rs. 2-8 each."

13 The date of Alfred's death was kindly brought to my attention by Peter Grimshaw, his great grand-son.

14 ACP: 96.20.0016.

15 Ann Chidley, one of John Edward Saché's great-great-grand-daughters, kindly shared this information.



legacy has gone beyond the circulation of his images and if/when photographs taken by his sons are found, one could confirm the influence Saché had on his children's work. The case of two generations of photographers was certainly not a rarity but Saché's family also had connections to another important family of photographers, the Holmes. Indeed, William D. Holmes (1853-1923), Saché's brother-in-law by his third wife Amelia, joined the business as an assistant at the Nainital studio around 1876, when the firm was at its peak. By 1881, Holmes had set up a studio in Peshawar, the key city of the North-West Frontier Province and guardian of the Khyber Pass, where he soon became a well-established photographer. He ran his business till his death in 1923, when it was taken over by his son Randolph Bezzant Holmes (1888-1973), a sensitive and artistic photographer who was to receive several awards for his work.

Arranging early photographs of Persepolis in Dutch photo-collections by the ideas of David Hockney¹

Corien J.M. Achour-Vuurman Introduction

During my research on early photographs of the Achaemenid monuments of Persepolis in European photo collections (1858-1928), I developed a way of approaching and arranging these photographs with the help of the ideas of the Italian historian Carlo Ginzburg (*1939) and the English artist and photographer David Hockney (*1937). In this article, I would like to discuss this matter by focusing on the early photographs of Persepolis in Dutch photo collections.

Visualizing Persepolis

Herzfeld's findings on the conditions of the Achaemenid monuments had been published some years before the excavations in Persepolis actually started in 1931. His account 'Rapport sur l'Etat des Ruines de Persepolis' (1928) was the outcome of extensive six weeks of research on the terrace of Persepolis in the years 1923-24. Herzfeld made a detailed study of the architecture of the monuments, carried out measurements, and made sketches and several descriptions of the different palaces on the terrace. He also captured the image of Persepolis by taking about 500 photographs on glass-plates, of which he published fifty-five in his report, to visualize the state of the monuments and, by doing so, to make his plea and writings more forceful.² Herzfeld's report is, through the thoroughness of his research and the large number of photographs that are included, a good measure to compare with other scientific books in which photographs of Persepolis are published. With 'photo-grammetric' records, the German researcher Franz Stolze (1882) was the first who endeavoured to capture the 'scientific' image of Persepolis. Other researchers after him, including the Frenchman Marcel Dieulafoy (1884) and the German Friedrich Sarre (1910) also made attempts.

All these scientific books, in which a considerable number of photographs of Persepolis were published, are well-known and respected by insiders. There is much less knowledge about the photographs of Persepolis taken by professional or amateur photographers who were not researchers and whose names are barely known – and these are also less accessible. Their 'impressions' can mostly be found in travelogues and photo-albums in different archives. These photographers had their own motives for visualizing the Achaemenid monuments in Persepolis. Among the most interesting photographs are those by the Italian Colonel Luigi Pesce (active in Persia from 1858) who was the first European to take photos in Persepolis, and the Armenian professional photographer Antoin Sevruguin (active in Tehran from 1870).³

European travelogues offer standard information on Persepolis

From European travelogues, it appears that most travellers who went to Persia in the second half of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century, prepared themselves

1 Parts of this article were published in Dutch in C.J.M. Achour-Vuurman, 'Vroege foto's van Persepolis in Nederlandse collecties. Over een benaderingswijze en een collage à la Hockney' in: J. Schaeps e.a., *Oostersche weelde. De Oriënt in westerse kunst en cultuur. Met een keuze uit de verzamelingen van de Leidse Universiteitsbibliotheek, Primavera Pers, Leiden, 2005*, pp. 113-131.

2 Ernst Herzfeld, *Rapport sur l'Etat des Ruines de Persépolis et propositions pour leur conservation*, Dietrich Reimer (Ernst Vohsen), Berlin 1928.
3 For further information on early photography in Iran see C. Adle and Y. Zoka, 'Notes et documents sur la photographie Iranienne et son histoire', in: *Studia Iranica* 12 (1983), pp. 249-281. I. Afshar, "Some remarks on the Early History of Photography in Iran", in: E. Bosworth and C. Hillenbrand,

thoroughly for their journey. Most of them precisely cite the literature they read before their departure to Persia. They all had their own individual reasons for travelling to this so-called 'land of the lion and the sun'. Politics and trade were important motives in the second half of the nineteenth century, but later historical interest, curiosity, or simply pleasure also became attractive reasons for leaving one's own country.

It is remarkable that a similar story and information pattern can be detected in nearly all the reports on Persepolis. Most travelogues start with an introduction on the history of the Achaemenid Empire (558-331 BC): the rise of this empire under Cyrus the Great, the prosperous period during the reigns of Darius and Xerxes and then the decade in the age of Darius III, followed by a commentary on several monuments of the palace-complex.

The narratives on Persepolis continue with a description of the view of the palace platform with its entrance staircase, and the enormous historical sensation travellers received when mounting its steps. After the description of the entrance stairs, they continue with a description of the Porch of All Nations and the many chiselled names of travellers on its walls and on those of other monuments. Although travellers dislike the graffiti, most of them find it very intriguing to look at the names of those who were there before them.

After the Porch of All Nations, most travellers focus on the Apadana and the bas-reliefs on its stair gables, on describing the other palaces in chronological order, and conclude with a description of the grave of Artaxerxes II in the rock of the mountains on the eastside behind the terrace. Aware or unaware – most travellers follow the chronology of the architectural ground-plan of the monuments in Persepolis.

The photographs that were published in these travelogues were usually bought from professional photographers, taken from other publications, received as presents or taken by the travellers themselves. It seems as if the photographs – just like the text – reproduce a kind of standard information. The reader of the travelogue is given an overall view of Persepolis, the entrance staircase, the Porch of All Nations, the Apadana, the palace of Darius, and this order is the same in almost all cases. Photographs published in former travelogues were neither compared nor discussed and only occasionally did the traveller remark that the monuments appeared to be in a worse state than before or that some elements of the bas-reliefs had vanished in the meantime.

European scientific books show facts and are 'true to nature'

Photographs of Persepolis published in European scientific books are mostly printed in the sequence in which the monuments are situated on the architectural ground plan. Preceding books on Persepolis in which engravings are published, such as the one by Flandin and

Qajar Iran. Political, social and cultural change 1800-1925, Edinburgh 1983, pp. 261-291. For a biography on Sevruguin see Corien Vuurman and Theo Martens, 'Early photography in Iran and the career of Antoin Sevruguin' in: Frederick N. Bohrer (ed.), *Sevruguin and the Persian image: photographs of Iran, 1870-1930*, Smithsonian Institution, Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Washington 1999, pp. 15-33.

4 Eugène Flandin and Pascal Coste, *Voyage en Perse pendant les années 1840 et 1841*, Paris: Gide & J. Baudry, 1851. F. Stolze and F.C. Andreas, *Persepolis. Die Achaemenidischen und Sasanidischen Denkmäler und Inschriften von Persepolis, Istakhr, Pasargadae, Shâhpûr*, Berlin: Verlag van A. Asher & Co. 1882.



Figure 1
Persépolis, vue de portique No. 1
(View of Portico No. 1) in:
E. Flandin & P. Coste,
Voyage en Perse, 1851, vol. II, pl. 78.



Figure 2
Grosse Treppe zur Terrasse (Main Staircase to
the Terrace) in:
F. Stolze & F.C. Andreas,
*Die Achaemenidischen und Sasanidischen
Denkmäler*, 1882, vol. II, pl. 94.

Coste, (1852) obviously served as examples. It is remarkable that the photographs of Persepolis are often taken from the same point of view as the former drawings. A comparison of the ‘true-to-nature’ drawings by Flandin and Coste and the first ‘scientific’ photographs by Stolze (1882), as seen in the figures 1-4, shows this very clearly.⁴ It seems as if Stolze and other researchers after him wished to surpass Flandin’s and Coste’s drawings with the help of photography. In Stolze’s book, one can find a photographic counterpart of almost all the drawings by Flandin and Coste. A comparison of these drawings with

the first photographs illustrates the limitations of early photography. Besides the usual shadow, over-exposure, spots and cracks in the glass plates, the size of these glass plates made it difficult for a photographer to show a panorama of the platform. Marcel Dieulafoy (1884) solved this problem by pasting a series of photographs in a row to create panoramic-like views.⁵ These first photographic panoramas by Dieulafoy are still limited in view in comparison to drawings that give a much wider perspective and also create a motif for a certain kind of atmosphere, the so-called ‘couleur locale’.

Research into the different European travellers and researchers who travelled to Persia at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries, provides interesting information on how the Achaemenid monuments were perceived at the time and the way researchers, travellers and photographers gave their own perspective on these monuments.

Approaching and arranging early photographs of Persepolis

Photographs are intricate puzzles. The ideas of Carlo Ginzburg helped me to describe and analyse the content of a photograph or a photo-collection in a proper fashion.⁶ It was Ginzburg who, in line with the ideas of the Annales school, positioned the indices paradigm. This paradigm is an example of a research method in which small details can deliver the key to deciphering non-transparent reality, a technique that can also be found in the work of detectives, doctors and connoisseurs. Researching the immaterial culture, material traces, witnesses and objects, are important and legitimate indications, indices. Photographs also form traces that offer the possibility to penetrate into the unconscious attitudes of persons or masses. They can bear witness to the very private personality of a photographer or can be atypical, non-classifiable expressions; and perhaps even reveal collective attitudes. In addition to these activities, my research into early photography of Persepolis confronted me with the

5 Marcel Dieulafoy, *L’Art Antique de la Perse*, Paris: Librairie Centrale d’Architecture 1884-1885.

6 Carlo Ginzburg, *Omweg als methode: essays over verborgen geschiedenis, kunst en maatschappelijke herinnering*, Nijmegen: SUN 1988. G., Willems, ‘Verklaren en ordenen: Over stijlanalytische benaderingen’ in: M. Halbertsma and K. Zijlmans, *Gezichtspunten. Een inleiding in de*

methoden van de kunstgeschiedenis, Nijmegen: SUN 1993, pp. 103-136, for an overview of the way art-historians approach and describe art objects. Willems distinguishes between those art-historians who explain (theorists) and those who arrange (practicians) art-objects. The two approaches lead to different analyses of style. Practicians are interested in identifying the artist and in dating the art. The theorists focus on the interpretation of the connection between art and culture.



Figure 3 Hockney tries to avoid the lack of time and the monotonously static single perspective, by taking different photographs of a subject from various viewpoints. Consequently, the spectator has to move, to take in several different points of view. He also has to look more often because there is more than one photograph in the collage. Through this, the collage also shows different kinds of time, and the spectator will eventually come to the conclusion that he cannot observe a collage (space) without investing time.

Persépolis, Palais No. 7: in:
E. Flandin & P. Coste, *Voyage en Perse*, 1851,
vol. II, pl. 147.

factors of 'time' and 'space'. Time, inherent in the technical photographic possibilities of that era, but also in the size of the palace complex. This led to a confrontation with the second factor, that of space. David Hockney discussed both factors – 'time' and 'space' – when he explained his ideas on his photo-collages.⁷

The thoughts of David Hockney

According to Hockney, a single photograph, in comparison to a painting, is static as the observed time in the photograph is always the same time. All that is visible in the photograph is taken at one and the same time. Time is more visible in a painting; the hand of a painter, which has frequently touched the canvas, something that took time, is traceable. Compared to a painting, a photograph mostly offers a single perspective, which was also the case with painting for a long time after the discovery of perspective during the Renaissance. What is visible in the photograph is taken from one viewpoint, with the result that the spectator is forced to adopt the same position and look at the image through a kind of window (the panel).

In his collages or joiners, as he calls his photographic photo-work

Through collages, Hockney tries to get close to the natural viewing and observing processes of human beings. Taking the photographs necessary to compose a collage requires time and this time can be perceived by the spectator. In addition, changes in atmosphere or attitude can be included during the photographic process, so that one part of the collage can be different from others. Hockney approaches the art of painting by taking photographs in this manner.

Hockney realises that the human manner of looking at things is not static; we observe from several viewpoints, not just a single one. The artist owes his inspiration and ideas to creating a collage to Cubism, in which objects are shown in paintings from different viewpoints. A second source of inspiration is Chinese roll-paintings, in which a reverse perspective can be traced. Hockney tries to approach the natural visual perception of the spectator through his collages.⁸

⁷ David Hockney, *On Photography*, National Museum of Photography, Bradford, West Yorkshire, 1985.

⁸ David Hockney, *On Photography*, National Museum of Photography, Bradford, West Yorkshire, 1985, p. 7.

⁹ David Hockney, *On Photography*, National Museum of Photography, Bradford, West Yorkshire, 1985, 28. See his narrative on his photographs

of a walk through a Zen-garden and a street in Kyoto, in which he wanted to express the experience of walking. During this creative process, Hockney discovered that memory forms a part of observing: 'We are always looking with our memory, as memory is always present. Memory is a part of vision – it is inescapable'.



Figure 4
Persepolis, Central-Gebäude. Relief,
König mit Begleitern (Central Building,
King with Escorts) in: F. Stolze & F.C. Andreas,
*Die Achaemenidischen und Sasanidischen
Denkmäler*, 1882, vol. I. pl. 52.

Without falling into a kind of anachronism, Hockney's collages and his ideas on visual perception are interesting for gaining a visual presentation of the early architectural photographs of Persepolis. Hockney tries to create reality in the way the spectator observes it: from different viewpoints and conscious of time. Looking at the photographs of Persepolis we too are confronted with the factors of 'time' and 'space'. There are different images of Persepolis; ranging from early photographs in which time is perceivable, to snapshots in which there is only one time traceable. The photographs were taken by different photographers between 1858 and 1928 and confront us with different viewpoints, perspectives and thoughts on how to capture reality. While the first photographers used a tripod, a researcher like Stolze used a photographic theodolite to capture the image of Persepolis in a more systematic way. Dieulafoy tried to

achieve this by pasting different photographs next to each other to create panoramas. Over time, different photographic techniques were implemented. It would be interesting to create a photo-historical collage à la Hockney to comply with the spectator's way of observing. In this collage, attention would not only be paid to the factors of 'time' and 'space' but the historical and cultural context would also be expressed through texts and research. For a photo historian, it would therefore be interesting to amplify Hockney's second figure. We human beings not only observe with our eyes and from several perspectives, but also from our own perception faculties. We always look at reality through coloured glasses, formed by a historical context and cultural values and standards. Our collective conscience controls our visual perception. Perhaps this is the memory that Hockney refers to in his article.⁹

In addition to the approach mentioned above, I will try to portray the photographs of Persepolis from Dutch collections, which I have studied and collected, in a historical photo-collage à la Hockney, to present all perspectives properly and approach the natural way the spectators view photos and, by doing so, present a different way of arranging early architectural photographs.

Photographs of Persepolis from Dutch collections

Some remarkable photo collections on Persia, with a total number of 2665 photographs, can be found in seven Dutch institutions. Apart from the collections of the Royal House Archives in *The Hague* and the *Study and Documentation Centre for Photography of Leiden University*, photographs of Persepolis can be found in the collections of the Leiden University Library (Eastern Collections), National Museum of Ethnology, Leiden, the Rijksmuseum and the Royal Tropical Institute in Amsterdam and the World Museum in Rotterdam.¹⁰ I have traced

¹⁰ I am very grateful to the curators of these institutions who gave me the possibility to study these remarkable photo collections. For further information on these collections, see L.A.F. Barjesteh van Waalwijk van Doorn, *Sevruguin's Iran, late nineteenth century photographs of Iran from the National Museum of Ethnology in Leiden, the Netherlands*, Barjesteh van Waalwijk van Doorn, Rotterdam/Tehran, 1999 and L.A.F. Barjesteh van Waalwijk van Doorn, *Qajar era photography* (Journal of the International Qajar Studies

Association, Barjesteh van Waalwijk van Doorn, Rotterdam, 2001. For information on the photo collections of the Leiden University Library see Corien J.M. Achour-Vuurman, Carmen Pérez González and Reza Sheikh, 'Eyes on Persia: Late Nineteenth-Century Persia in the Hotz Photographic Collection, Leiden University Library', *Qajar Studies, Journal of the International Qajar Studies Association*, Volume VIII, 2008, pp. 43-79.



A18



A1



A14



A7



A2



A3



A8



A4



A5



A9



A6



A19



A16



A15



A17



A11



A12



A10



A13

forty-five photographs of Persepolis in these Dutch photo collections. After removing the duplicates, nineteen photographs of Persepolis were left and I used these to create the photo collage seen in figure 5.

As stated earlier, scientific books and travelogues use the ground plan of Persepolis to portray the image of Persepolis in a systematic way. The reader can visualise how one enters the palace complex and which monuments will be described after the Porch of All Nations. Most visitors and photographers follow this architecturally designed route in a natural and sometimes unconscious way. In my collage of early photographs of Persepolis, I retain this ground plan for the experience and image making. Photographs of different monuments in the collage are placed where they are situated on the ground plan (see figure 6).

The photo collage reveals at a glance the collections in which photographs of Persepolis are stored and through which all the preceding research involving describing and analyzing is synchronized. The photo collage shows which photographs are preserved, which monuments were photographed more or less frequently; this also provides information on the manner of perception of certain monuments. It shows us the different viewpoints taken by the photographers and the ways they chose to create an image. It makes the various photographic techniques visible and informs us about the time in which these photographs were taken. The collage facilitates a comparison of different photographs, styles and image creation.

The earliest photographs of Persepolis in Dutch collections were taken by the Dutch entrepreneur Albert H.P. Hotz (1855-1930) who was aware of being the first Dutchman to take photographs in Persepolis. The albums he compiled after his journey through Persia in 1890/1 focus on the history and culture of Persia, and on the opportunities for doing business in the country. Although Hotz was an amateur, his excellent photographs, printed in platino-type by the famous English photographer John Tompson, look a bit dark and breathe a business-like atmosphere.¹¹ Hotz donated several of these albums to institutions and private persons and used them as a form of public relations material. The photographs by Hotz are followed by those of Hendrik Dunlop (1867-1944), who collected several photographs of Persepolis from 1890-1915, including the snapshot in my collage. In his book *Perzië voorheen en thans* (Persia formerly and at present), he describes the situation in Persia during the time he lived and worked there. Dunlop bought photographs from the professional photographer Antoin Sevruguin, who worked and lived in Tehran. It is not clear whether he took photographs himself. As a partner in the Groeneweg, Dunlop & Co. textile firm, he was interested in trade with Persia and also worked for the firm of Albert Hotz.¹²

Most of the photographs in the collage were taken by Antoin Sevruguin around 1899, but probably also earlier. His albumen photographs were bought by Willem Lodewijk Bosschart (1859-1929) who sold them to the Museum of Ethnology in Leiden. Sevruguin's style is that of a

11 See Corien Vuurman and Theo Martens, *Perzië en Hotz: beelden uit de fotocollectie-Hotz in de Leidse, Universiteitsbibliotheek*, Legatum Warnerianum, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, Leiden, 1995; J.J. Witkam, 'Albert Hotz and his Photographs of Iran: an Introduction to the Leiden Collection', Kambiz Eslami, *Iran and Iranian Studies. Essays in Honor of Iraj Afshar*, Zagros, Princeton, New Jersey, 1998, 276-288; and T.H.E. Engelberts, A

Persian from a distant land: Albertus Paulus Hermanus Hotz: a memoir, Enroprint, Rijswijk, 2000, for a short biography and an overview of the photo collection Hotz at the Leiden University Library.

12 T.H.E. Engelberts, *A Persian from a distant land: Albertus Paulus Hermanus Hotz: a memoir*, Enroprint, Rijswijk, 2000, 44, 70, 72, 87 and 102. Dunlop was more than just a business partner for Hotz. In 1926, Dunlop ac-

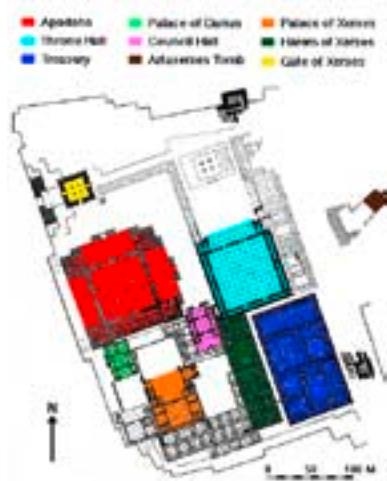


Figure 6
Plan of Persepolis by E.F. Schmidt from
<http://oi.uchicago.edu>. (last visited 23
February 2010).

professional. His view on Persepolis, the attention to lighting, the composition and his image creation differs from that of Hotz's pictures. Sevruguin took photographs for the interested researcher, traveller and amateur. He had to distinguish his own photographs from other images for his clientele. Bosschart was consul general in Tehran in 1895 and had good contacts with the managing director of the Museum of Ethnology in Leiden. He was prepared to mediate to obtain those objects the museum needed.

The other photographs in the collage were collected by Rudolph Said-Ruete (1869-1946) and probably taken by Sevruguin. Said-Ruete was the son of Emily, Seyyida Salme, Princess of Oman and Zanzibar, and worked on the instructions of the German Bank for a special trade mission in Tehran in 1910.¹³

Most of the photographs in the collage are from the nineteenth century – the snapshots from Dunlop's album form the exception. The most important photographer is Antoin Sevruguin. Hotz, with his interest in Persia, contributed good amateur photographs.

Due to the fact that the large-scale excavations did not start until 1931, we only have a narrow view of Persepolis. Only the Porch of All Nations, the bas-reliefs of the Apadana, the Palace of Darius, the doorposts with bas-reliefs of the Tripylon (Council Hall) and the Grave of Xerxes II, together with nomads, are visible in the collage. The photographs show just one side (the left or northern side) of the ground-plan. A line can be drawn behind the Palace of Darius and the Tripylon. From this line on our view is limited; we stare into the dark where photographs of the monuments in this section of the ground plan are concerned.

Only a few photographs of Persepolis can be found in Dutch collections. It is difficult to state if this is an indication of the interest – or non-interest – in the Achaemenid monuments at that time. The museums concerned were probably more interested in photographs with an ethnological theme. Hotz, Dunlop, Bosschart and Said-Ruete were more concerned with the political and economic situation in Persia, although Hotz and Dunlop also had a keen eye for the history of the business relations between Persia and the Netherlands. As a lot of photographs of the Porch of All Nations have been preserved, it seems that the Porch was found to be very impressive. There are no images of the entrance stairs or of the Apadana. However, the question of whether the small number is due to the fact that these remains were considered less intriguing or simply that the photographs have not been conserved, still remains unanswered.

Conclusion

When studying early photographs of Persepolis properly, it is important to use the insights of various related disciplines together with an approach based on the history of mentalities (*histoire des mentalités*). A visual interpretation à la Hockney gives an overview of different

cepted the task of compiling *'Bronnen tot de Geschiedenis der Oostindische compagnie in Perzië, deel I' (1611-1638) – 'Sources to the History of the East Indian Company in Persia, part I' (1611-1638)*, with help of the information and sources Hotz had gathered, as Hotz saw no opportunity to carry out this task himself. Cambridge University Library, E.G. Browne Collection, Letters of Dunlop to Browne (9 October 1896 and 2 January 1897).

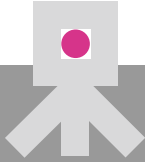
¹³ For more information on his life, see: Rudolph Said-Ruete, *Eine autobiographische Teilskizze*, Luzern, 1932.

perspectives on Persepolis formed over time. A photo collage, as formed in the researched period, can lead to the creation of an integral image. The collage can make research material visible to spectators, who are used to taking in different perspectives, in a more obvious way; by incorporating time and by showing different viewpoints, the different perspectives on Persepolis will then merge into a whole.

In addition to a photo collage, I can imagine a collage consisting of words. A similar composition could serve to provide an overview of the different findings on the ancient monuments, which can be found in scientific books and travelogues. A collage of words, in which the ground plan is also used, could be laid over that of the photo collage to form an integral whole. The way of approaching early photographs described above, and the visual presentation through a photo collage, can lead to an interesting journey of knowledge on the history of nineteenth and early twentieth-century Persia and the photography of its ancient monuments.

Collage à la Hockney of early photographs of Persepolis
in Dutch collections (p. 20, 21):

- A1. Hotz, Left bull of the porch of Xerxes (Leiden University Library, album 9-97/259).
- A2. Sevruguin (?), Persepolis (Leiden University Library, album Said-Ruete SR-56/108).
- A3. Sevruguin, Persepolis. Pillars of Xerxes I (5th century BC), (National Museum of Ethnology, Leiden, Bb14/3353/S782)
- A4. Hotz, General view taken from the north side of the northern platform (Leiden University Library, album 9-95/260).
- A5. Hotz, Inscription of travellers, names on the porch of Xerxes: A Backer 1704, C. de Bruyn, 1704. (Leiden University Library, album 9-98/258).
- A6. Hotz, Inscription by H.M. Stanley of 'Dark Continent' fame, 1870, (Leiden University Library, album 9, 99/279).
- A7. Photographer unknown. No title (View on the Throne Hall), snapshot. (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, album Dunlop-30/F01048-AD).
- A8. Sevruguin, Wall with cuneiform characters. Staircase of the Apadana (6th century B.C.), (National Museum of Ethnology, Leiden, Bb12/3349/S.)
- A9. Sevruguin, Persepolis, Staircase of the Apadana (Eastern staircase?), (National Museum of Ethnology, Leiden, Bb13/3348/S349).
- A10. Sevruguin, Persepolis, The great procession (6th or 5th century BC), (National Museum of Ethnology, Leiden, Bb10/3350 S781).
- A11. Sevruguin, The Palace of Darius, Persepolis. (Leiden University Library, Said-Ruete album, SR-56/109).
- A12. Sevruguin, Darius I (512-480 B.C.) King combating winged monster. (National Museum of Ethnology, Leiden, Bb9/3363/S783).
- A13. Hotz, Palace of Darius. Combat of King and Monster, (Leiden University Library, album 9, 30/261).
- A14. Hotz, General view taken from the East, (Leiden University Library, album 2-26/268).
- A15. Photographer unknown, Persia, Persepolis, Relief of King Darius on throne, carried by people of all nations. (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, album Dunlop, 57/F1048-BE).
- A16. Sevruguin, Persepolis, Tripylon. (National Museum of Ethnology, Leiden, Bb11/3360/S358).
- A17. Sevruguin, Persepolis: Eastern entrance of the Tripylon, (National Museum of Ethnology, Leiden, Bb16/3328/S350).
- A18. Sevruguin, Grave of King Artaxerxes II, (405-361), (National Museum of Ethnology, Leiden, Bb5/3361/S320).
- A19. Hotz, Group of Kashkaï shats (nomad tribe) in front of the North Kings Tomb behind Persepolis, (Leiden University Library, album 9, 101/264).



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CARANZA: From Constantinople to the Société Française de Photographie

Bahattin Öztuncay Ernest Edouard de Caranza must be counted among those photographers for whom the profession was actually a sideline at the beginning; something very common in the early history of the art. Like the well-known Constantinople and Crimean War photographer James Robertson (1813-1888), the chemical and mechanical engineer de Caranza, one of the great masters of early-period photography, was another expert among the foreign technical personnel recruited from abroad into the empire's service during the reign of the Ottoman Sultan Abdülmecid (1839-1861). While James Robertson was sent from Britain to serve as chief engraver at the Imperial Ottoman Mint, Edouard de Caranza was employed as an engineer at the Imperial Foundry and the Imperial Gunpowder Mill for about sixteen years from the summer of 1839 to December 1854.

As in the case of Caranza, what started as an amateur interest often blossomed into a preoccupation that frequently led to the opening of a professional studio. According to information provided in the exhibition catalogues of the Société Française de Photographie, of which he was a member, Ernest Edouard de Caranza came from Thiaïs (Choisy-le-Roi), a town twelve kilometres from Paris. However, we do not know where or when he was born. His surname, Caranza (also Carranza and Carança), indicates a Sephardic Jewish origin. Caranza is known to be the name of a Jewish family originally from Seville. In the 16th century, some of the members of this family are known to have emigrated from the Iberian Peninsula as a reaction to Spanish efforts to either convert non-Christians to Catholicism or expel them from Spain. Some of the Caranzas who chose to remain Jewish settled in Holland in 1617 having arrived there by way of France and their descendants still live there today. Another group of Caranzas converted to Christianity.

A self-portrait of Edouard de Caranza taken in 1852 using the calotype method provides us with precious clues about his professional activities in Istanbul (figure 1). The image is invested with a symbolism revealing the expressive and communicative power of photography even during this early period. Symbols of Caranza's callings are strewn around the scene: a scale and flask symbolizing chemistry, an open book symbolizing engineering, a bayonet stuck into the table and a typical 19th-century gun, whose barrel and flintlock firing mechanism are visible underneath the book, symbolizing his work at the foundry and armoury.



Figure 1
Ernest Edouard de Caranza, Self Portrait
1852, calotype from a wax paper negative
17 x 21 cm. Collection Ömer M. Koc.

Edouard de Caranza's arrival in Istanbul in 1839 occurred during the tenure of Ohannes Dadyan an Ottoman Armenian who was in charge of the Imperial Gunpowder Mill. Dadyan made trips to London and Paris during the reign of Mahmud II to investigate ways to modernize the army's gun foundry and gunpowder mill and he entered into initial agreements for the



All pictures are calotypes from 17 x 21 cm wax paper negatives from a private collection.

Figure 2
House in Kustendje (Constantza) , 1854.

purchase of the requisite equipment. Edicts issued by Mahmud in 1839 ordered the renovation of the gunpowder mill under Dadyan's administration and also the establishment of an iron-casting foundry. The earliest-known mention of Edouard de Caranza's activities at the foundry and gunpowder mill in the written press appears in 1848. An article published in the June 6th issue of the *Journal de Constantinople* mentions both him and his work. According to the article, Caranza had discovered a new method of manufacturing gunpowder for military purposes and intended to present it to the French government. The only example of Caranza's work as an engineer that is known to have survived in Istanbul until today is a fountain decorated with dolphins and swans in a pool at Dolmabahçe Palace.¹

Edouard de Caranza appears to have first become involved in photography in February-March 1852.² We have no information about who he learned it from. The series of Istanbul pictures that he began taking during 1852 however stand out among the earliest and most comprehensive photographic work undertaken in the Ottoman capital. The majority of these photographs bear the artist's signature and date "1852" in the negative. Caranza employed the calotype (talbotype) process, taking waxed paper negatives in a 17 x 21 cm format. Caranza's 1852 photographs include views from both sides of the Bosphorus along with images of some of the city's most famous monuments: the Fountain of Ahmed III, Galata Tower, the Hippodrome, Hagia Sophia, Dolmabahçe Seraglio, Yedikule, Cerrahpasa, and the Küçüksu Fountain.

Intriguing information about Caranza's photographic work in Istanbul is to be found in a long article entitled "Variétés: De la Photographie à Constantinople" by George Nogues that appeared in the 19 April 1853 issue of the *Journal de Constantinople*.² This article is of the utmost importance from the standpoint of the history of photography in Istanbul. After a brief introduction describing the invention and development of photography, the author devotes himself entirely to a discussion of Edouard de Caranza and his work:

"Photography, which is to say, the reproduction of objects with the aid of light, has become an art whose origins and progress it is no longer permissible for anyone to ignore. This activity is not unknown in Constantinople and for several months now this city has been possessed of

1 Charles MacFarlane, *Turkey and Its Destiny*, Philadelphia 1850 II, 611.

2 *Journal de Constantinople*, 19 April 1853.

several photographers of merit among whom we shall include, in the front ranks, M. Caranza who, before dedicating himself to photography, for a long time occupied himself with chemistry and physics; and the knowledge imparted to him by these two sciences is what distinguishes the superiority of his work in photography.

For close to a year M. Caranza has been dedicating himself to photography and he opened, a few months ago, in partnership with M. Maggi, an establishment located opposite Le Palais de France on La Grande Rue de Pera.³ M. Caranza has dedicated himself body and soul to this art and, without any other information save that which he has received from Europe through newspapers, he has, in a sense, on his own recreated the successive discoveries and the improvements that have been made in photography.

He possesses more than two hundred photographs from which he can put together admirable albums in which the innate richness and brilliance of the Orient are reproduced with all the magnificence of their lines and luxurious light. These albums are masterpieces containing the beautiful monuments of Constantinople, Byzantine architecture or Turkish mosques, the amphitheater in Constantinople, Eyoub and its walls, the Sweet Waters of Europe and the Arsenal, the entrance to the port of Scutari, ... the shores thick with their hills, their ruins, their palaces, and their picturesque villages etc. The result is a series of photographs which travellers will be happy to take home with them rather than those guidebooks that say nothing and which will at last make it possible for them to come into perfect knowledge about this marvellous Orient about which so little is known and so little is said.”

Caranza's 1854 Istanbul photographs correspond to the period of the artist's technical and aesthetic maturity. The technical perfection and the aesthetic superiority of these photographs, which bear the year and photographer's signature in the negative, become immediately obvious when compared with his work from 1852. The majority of the images with which Caranza earned an international reputation for himself as a photographic artist are these 1854 photographs that were also exhibited at the Paris and Brussels International Expositions. Official abstention in the arts notwithstanding, the Istanbul pictures exhibited by Edouard de Caranza and James Robertson at the 1855 Paris Exposition created quite a stir and aroused much interest in the Ottoman Empire. Although we have rather detailed information about the works contributed by Robertson, we do not even have a list of the Caranza photographs that were exhibited. In *Esquisses Photographiques, A Propos de l'Exposition Universelle*, the only thing that the author Ernest Lacan tells us is that Caranza submitted photographs of the city for exhibition.

³ Although a Giovanni Battista Maggi has been identified as having been active in photography in Rome and Turin in the late 1850s, it has not been established that he had any connection with Caranza's partner.

For this engineer in the employment of the Ottoman government who photographed as a sideline, December 1854 proved to be a turning-point in his career. Under an imperial pre-script dated 6 December 1854, Caranza was assigned to a key position as a member of the delegation that would represent the Ottoman Empire at the Paris International Exposition that was to be held in 1855.⁴ By order of Sultan Abdülmecid, Edouard de Caranza was charged with maintaining the records of all the goods that were to be sent to the fair and was to be paid an honorarium of eight thousand piasters (80 gold pounds) for his services. The choice of Caranza for this job is unusual and should be taken as evidence of the respect that he was now able to command in the echelons of state. One outcome of this assignment requiring him to go to Paris was the decision, in early 1855, to wind up the Pera studio that he and Maggi were partners in.

Although it was intended that Edouard de Caranza should return to Istanbul in early 1856, he apparently decided not to do so. Quite possibly after a decade and a half in the east, he was seduced by Paris and by the much greater opportunities that the city could offer him both as an engineer and as a photographer. At the request of the French government, the samples of the Ottoman agricultural commodities and the plant specimens that had been exhibited in 1855 were turned over free of charge to the botanical museum and to the Agricultural Association in Paris. According to the evidence of the Ottoman archives, it was Engineer Edouard de Caranza who took care of this business in Paris in 1856.⁵

Edouard de Caranza became a member of the “Société Française de Photographie” on 31 December 1855 and remained in the Society until 1863. According to their records, Caranza lived at 21 Rue de Verneuil in Paris. His occupation is given as “an engineer who occupies himself with manufacturing”. The second occasion on which Caranza exhibited his photographic work was the Brussels International Exposition of 1856. For this show, he sent 32 photographs that appear to have attracted great attention. A viewing public that had perhaps grown somewhat jaded by the glut of images of archaeological remains in Egypt and Palestine was enchanted by Caranza’s aesthetically conceived views of Istanbul. Ernest Lacan wrote a review of Caranza’s Brussels show that was published in *La Lumière*.⁶ As one of the most influential art critics of the day, Lacan’s assessments of Caranza’s work in 1852-54 are as insightful as they are fervent and deserve to be quoted at length here:

“I should now like to pass in review the photographs of Caranza. But see if you will a bit of the embarrassment that I find myself in: for they number thirty-two in all and each one

⁴ Turkish Prime Ministry Archives: TCBA: HR.MKT. 98/20 I, II.

⁵ Turkish Prime Ministry Archives: TCBA: A.DVN. 118/29.

⁶ *La Lumière* was the first photography magazine published in continental Europe, its premier issue appearing in February 1851. Ernest Lacan remained the publication’s editor-in-chief until December 1860.



Figure 3
Turkish house in the area of Beykoz /
Bosporus – Asian bank.

is more beautiful than all the others. Such locales! What monuments! Some of them transport us into the mysterious retreats of Mt Athos, into a community of monks whose customs require them to live apart from other human beings: just as Nature has isolated from the mainland the peninsula that they inhabit so too have they constructed their convents – or their fortresses as you might call them – among such heights as only an eagle might attain and in a style that is inimitably their own. Others of them convey us to the enchanted shores of the Bosphorus or before the mosques and palaces of Constantinople.....

So we shall say only, for the time being, that Caranza's collection (whose medium-sized photographs are printed on waxed paper like those of Clifford) rank among the most beautiful ever produced from the standpoint of the art of photography. We sense in these photographs a profound artistic sentiment and a mastery and skill that cannot be thwarted by even the most serious of obstacles. Moreover, they present us with an ensemble of documents of inestimable value about a country and its people that we still know very little about. Caranza's collection will remain as one of the most beautiful monuments of the art of photography".⁷

In the great majority of Caranza's work we can identify features that distinguish them immediately from the old photographs of Istanbul that we are all familiar with. In the early years of Istanbul photography of the 1850s, there are no other examples of pictures taken with an entirely artistic approach such as Caranza's views of decrepit wooden houses in Beykoz, fishing weirs at Kireçburnu, or close-ups of trees.

Other places in the Ottoman Empire where Caranza is known to have taken photographs are Gallipoli, Varna, and Constantza – scenes of the Russian-Turkish War, also known as Crimean War (1853 - 1856), where the British, French and Turkish Armies fought against the Russian Empire's intention to enlarge its territory at the expense of the collapsing Ottoman Empire. These photographs show typical examples of the architecture of these cities as well as the encampments and quarters of French expeditionary forces that were dispatched by sea to Gallipoli in June 1854 and thence to Varna and Constantza before reaching their ultimate

⁷ *La Lumière*, 25 October 1856, 27.

destination, Crimea. (fig. 2) From these images, we can infer that Caranza accompanied the French units as far as Constantsa and from there returned to Istanbul without proceeding on to Crimea.

The artistry of his photographic vision notwithstanding, one of the biggest reasons why Edouard de Caranza made a name for himself in the history of photography was his discovery of a method of fixing prints in a bath of platinum chloride, a process that also improved the tonal values of the pictures. Fixing prints to prevent the images from fading into nothingness was a problem that all photographers had to contend with. The method of using gold chloride as a fixing agent was long known and produced very good results in the form of warm intermediate tones rather than simply black and white. Caranza's process was not only cheaper but also made it possible to achieve strong contrasts and depth of shadow in his prints. Caranza came up with, and improved upon, this method solely on the basis of his own knowledge of – and experience with – chemistry. He first reported it in the 23 February 1856 issue of *La Lumière*, a second time in the 5 March 1856 issue of the *Revue Photographique*, and a third time in



Figure 4
Turkish Cemetery, 1854.

April in the *Bulletin de la Société Française de Photographie*.⁸ Eugène Durieu, president of the society and a photographer himself, who had experimented for a time with platinum as a fixing agent without any success, was greatly impressed by the examples of Caranza's work shown after the presentation of his formula. The following excerpts are taken from Caranza's papers:

"M. de Caranza has put before the society a rather large number of prints taken by him in the Orient and fixed by means of a chloride salt of platinum, which he prefers to the method of gold chloride. He says that prints fixed with platinum chloride show no changes even after the passage of two years' time.

Our president says that platinum chloride has already been experimented with by several persons, he being one of them, but that until now no one has ever achieved results similar to those presented by M. de Caranza."



Figure 5
Büyükdere – Bosphorus, 1854.

When the Société Française de Photographie organized an exhibition in the premises located at 35 Boulevard de Capucines in Paris in late 1856, Edouard de Caranza was one of the "hottest" names on the list of contributors. According to the catalogue for this exhibition, which opened on November 15th and closed on January 16th, Caranza submitted eighteen photographs: six from Mt Athos, one from Gallipoli, and eleven from Istanbul. The Mt Athos photographs showed the Dochiarios, Kostamonitis, Filotheos, Esfigmenos, Koutloumoussion, and Gregorios monasteries.⁹ His only image from Gallipoli was of an ancient funeral monument. His Istanbul photographs were scenes of the Cerrahpasa Mosque, the Muslim cemetery and Turkish houses in Pera, the entrance to the Büyükdere Cove, fishing weirs at Kireçburnu, Büyükdere Mosque, the Godefroy de Bouillon plane tree in Büyükdere,

8 *La Lumière*, 23 February 1856, 29. *Revue Photographique*, 5 March 1856, 66. *Bulletin de la Société Française de Photographie*, April 1856, 82-83.

9 *Catalogue de la Deuxième Exposition Annuelle des Oeuvres des Artistes et Amateurs Français et Etrangers*, Paris: Société Française de Photographie 1856-57, 7.

two scenes of fishermen's shelters at Sultaniye (Beykoz), a view of Beykoz itself, and finally the Mansion of Mehmed Ali Pasha also at Beykoz (fig. 3-8).



Figure 6
Plane tree of Godefroy de Bouillon in
Büyükdere / Bosporus - European shore.

After returning to France in early 1855, Edouard de Caranza continued to work as a manufacturing process engineer. In 1857 we find him employed in the management of a factory that produced an enriched coal gas that was used for heating and lighting in Paris. From two surviving letters written by the artist himself, we know that his photographs continued to be sold at the Société Française de Photographie exhibitions. Caranza appears to have abandoned photography entirely as of 1858. One of the most important reasons for this perhaps was the fact that the calotype paper negative method that he favoured was on the way out, having been replaced by the wet collodion on glass negative method, which was spreading quickly all over the world and which made it possible to capture images showing much greater detail. The exhibition catalogues of the period reveal the inevitable decline of the one method and triumphant rise of the other. In an exhibition held by the Photographic Society in London in



Figure 7
Fountain in the garden of the Sultan,
"Ihlamur Kiosk", 1854.

1857, only 107 of the entries were calotypes whereas 825 of them were the products of the wet collodion process. But, although the day of the calotype was over, Caranza's name continued to be remembered for years afterwards thanks to the artist's invention - the process of fixing prints with platinum chloride. An article that appeared in the *Photographic News* in 1859 was full of praise for Caranza and his process.¹⁰ In 1892, more than three decades later, Caranza and his invention were both mentioned in Mercier's magisterial work on photography, *Virages et Fixages*.¹¹ We know nothing about the remainder of Caranza's life in Paris or even when he died. The absence of his name from the Société Française de Photographie's registry when it was renewed in 1863 suggests that he had given up his interest in photography by that time.

10 *The Photographic News*, 28 January 1859, 251.

11 P. Mercier, *Virages et Fixages: Traite Historique, Théorique et Pratique*, Paris 1892, 15.



Figure 8
Turkish House in Beykoz, 1854.

Creative Photography in the Early Years of Photography in Iran

Mohammad Reza Tahmasbpour

Translated into English by
Carmen Pérez González and
Mina Zandi Siegel (from Persian)

Photography entered the realm of visual arts as a new method of presenting the world as an identical mirror of reality. Only after the first few years of the technically oriented period, photography took its basic steps towards becoming an artistic medium. The artistic development of this medium in the primary years had more or less followed the footsteps of painting and sculpture, while occasionally benefiting from the other fine arts too. So in this way, photography freed itself from being an absolute technical craft and redefined itself as an art. The first emergence of this transformation took place in forms of photographs very similar to paintings, in both form and content. In this stage, photographers, in order to be accepted and receive the approval of the other artists and artistic community, created a painting effect in their photography either through technical manipulation, such as the removal of lenses to diminish the exact visibility (out-of-focus) of the details, or by printing and developing techniques over various materials with a variety of textures. The artists also employed the techniques of montage and collage to create scenery.

The number of photographs taken during the forty-year period of pictorialism¹ and naturalism is a reminder of the remarkable efforts of photographers to express their artistic potential.

After a gradual period in which photography developed its distinct characteristics, photographers began to create the special photographic language that could translate their artistic impressions into this form of art. They made efforts to go beyond the conventional aesthetic norms of the time and discovered new techniques for visual expressions that soon followed. Seeking to look at the world through lenses, many photographers all over the world experimented and tried a variety of methods. Many, inspired by philosophical and psychological ideas, even expanded their viewpoints beyond the surface of the visible world. Thus, photography was no more than a limited reflection of visible reality and the events therein.

The early appearance of photography in many countries, especially in non-industrial countries, was accompanied by a sense of amazement at the magic effect of producing a mirror-like (realistic) image of a person or an object. In the nineteenth century in Iran, during the last few decades of the Qajar era (1785-1925), the arts in general had only a decorative function in life; but photography with its magical characteristic of producing a realistic image found a very different function among them.

Accuracy in registering details, speed of production, lack of requirement for any particular skill such as drawing, etc., all contributed to add attraction in comparison to other forms of

¹ Pictorialism is the name given to a photographic movement in vogue from around 1885 following the widespread introduction of the dry-plate process. It reached its height in the early years of the 20th century, and declined rapidly after 1914 due to the widespread emergence of Modernism. Pictorialism largely subscribed to the idea that art photography needed to emulate the painting and etching of the period.

visual arts. In Europe and America, the painters immediately showed interest for the new medium photography. In Iran, the painter's interest for photography came much later on, when the photographic studios became popular. This is connected with the change of teaching from a traditional system to a more Westernized system. But this topic escapes the scope of this article and should be discussed somewhere else.

In Iran, as in many parts of the world, the early years of photography were years of wonder, enthusiasm, and admiration for this new phenomenon. It was the period of reflecting and capturing the visible world as it was on photo paper. The early European photographers used the Western paintings to establish their aesthetic standards. But the Iranian photographers did not have such a realistic visual tradition to benefit from. Thus, the absence of a prior tradition in realistic visual painting, as it existed in Europe, the absence of the proper use of perspective, as well as the lack of interest of Iranian master painters in photography in the early years of its development caused the pioneer photographers to create their own photographs with a fresh approach free from any established standards and framework, as well as any visual models for their works.

The early photographs in Iran, of landscapes, as well as of portraits, do not exhibit the use of painting format as it appears in early European photographs. The strong originality, evident in these Iranian photographs, is due to the fact that the Iranian photographer did not use any additional paraphernalia, such as curtains or fences, either in studio photographs or in portraits, as was done in Europe, to eliminate the unwanted background. They did not make any attempt to set an artificial border either. Therefore their approach is one of an observer looking for something new, as opposed to the one predisposed to some sets of aesthetic standards taken from paintings

These images produced in the very early years of photography in Iran, unfortunately not abundant, indicate the originality and personal view of the artists: If this originality had not been influenced by Western aesthetics and had continued to develop more its own way of seeing, it could have had a special stronger effect in the photographic studios of Iran. In my opinion, if this process had continued, it would have probably become a unique visual perspective to the realm of photography. But the importation of varieties of prints and publications, and later of some photographs from Europe, as travels of the Iranian photographers to Europe and vice versa the Western photographers to Iran and other exchanges had quite an influence on Iranian photography that uprooted that early originality.



Fig. 1
Unknown artist, *Mosque in Ghom*, not dated,
Albumen print, ca. 15 x 20 cm.
Palace Golestan Library (Tehran).

Beyond the originality and simplicity of early Iranian photographers, the efforts made by artists to break the boundary of the conventional composition, especially in the 2nd and 3rd decades after the start of photography in Iran, should not be underestimated. Some of these photographs are remarkable for their creativity and innovation, in view of the technical limitations of the period.

Today, for example, by considering how these pioneer Iranian photographers have wisely taken photographs from a high vantage point just to show the full view of the landscape or an architectural view, we are led to appreciate their effective understanding and usage of photographic equipments, just by applying their own eyesight mechanism approach.

Today, modern art and technical and scientific progress have helped us to view a surface from

many angles. Aviation and mountain climbing equipment have enabled us to discover new perspectives that once were only a dream for human beings. Considering these new facilities we can fully appreciate the achievements of the 19th-century photographers in Iran for finding a new way to look at the world. A good example of this new approach is clearly seen in the first photograph, taken by an unknown artist of the Mosque in Ghom (fig. 1).

For the pioneer Iranian photographers, deprived as they were of refined technology (available to us today with digital technique, newspapers, film, etc), their eyes unconsciously directed the camera in a simple process, without any of the preconceptions contemporary photographers have in mind today: Photography was no more than simply the rendition of reality as the equipments define, but could become an image in the photographer's mind which is developed into a photograph. However, it seems that the early Iranian photographer, though well advanced in understanding the images which resulted from photography, were also at ease to understand the subjective mechanism.



Fig. 2
Agha Reza Akasbashi, *Sons of engineer Al-Mahmalek*, not dated, Albumen print, 20 x 15cm. Album Nr. 191, Palace Golestan Library (Tehran).

In early Iranian photographs, the improper and incorrect use of screens or curtains in the background of studio portraits was taken lightly as only a sign of incorrect usage of such devices. It is true that in many cases photographers were totally unaware of the correct and proper usage of curtains and screens.

To explain this more clearly, I have selected two examples among the early photographs. One is a group portrait depicting the sons of Mohandes al-Mamalek, arranged by height and standing over a Persian carpet, posing in military salutation (fig. 2). This photograph is a good example of the thoughtful, intentional elimination of the background. In the next photograph, of an old man with construction tools standing against a simple background, probably at the end of his working day, is staring at the photographer (fig. 3). The elimination of the background and the introduction of the sitter's vocation within the photographic space are masterfully used. This approach to depict sitters in photo studios is a reminder of the work of much more recent photographers such as August Sander (1896-1964) and Richard Avedon (1923-2004).

Other photographs, with their different perspectives or their points of views distinguish them particularly from the typical Victorian photographs, which were frontal and hierarchic, for instance, the photograph of Naser-od-Din Shah (reigned 1848-1896) with some of his wives reflected by a mirror (fig. 4). Naser-od-Din Shah, king at that time, took the photograph himself. He was, indeed, one of the pioneer Iranian photographers and responsible for the introduction of photography in Iran. Above the image, we can read a text written in Persian by Naser-od-Din Shah himself: "In the Hall of Mirrors,



Fig. 3
Agha Reza Akasbashi, *Old men with construction tools*, 1865, Albumen print, ca. 20 x 15cm. Album Nr. 133, Palace Golestan Library (Tehran).



Fig. 4
Naser-od-Din Shah, *Naser od-Din Shah with
some of his wives in front of a mirror*, 1889,
Albumen print. Album Nr. 210,
Palace Golestan Library (Tehran).

free-standing particles; and history, past and present, a set of anecdotes and faits divers. The camera makes reality atomic, manageable, and opaque. It is a view of the world which denies interconnectedness, continuity, but which confers on each moment the character of a mystery.”²

it is photographed from the reflections in the mirror; I’m in the picture too”. “Facing the mirror” is another good example of the pioneers’ creativity in early Iranian photography. In the last photograph (fig. 5), Amin Hozur is photographed in the Golestan Palace from the back. He was an important person related to the court and normally, in photographs taken of nobility, a long line of titles and descriptions were written to introduce the “grand ancestry” of the sitter. In this case and, totally contrary to the norm, the title has been omitted (by order of His Most Sacred Majesty, the King of Kings (May the souls of all the worlds be his sacrifice!) in the blissful Golestan Palace. The picture is taken from the back. This photograph is indeed very innovative and should be added to the avant-garde in the history of photography, considering the time when it was taken. The nobleman, Amin Hozur, endowed with all sorts of titles, loses all his grandeur, when being photographed from the back.

The photographs considered here have become mummified through the time, though still, they mesmerize us by their surprising message. They remind us of the words of Susan Sontag: “Through photographs, the world becomes a series of unrelated,

² Quote from Susan Sontag from the book: John Berger, *About Looking*, London, Berlin, New York: Bloomsbury 2009, 53.



Fig. 5
Agha Yusef, *Portrait of Amin Hozur from the back*, 1865, Albumen print, ca. 20 x 15 cm.
Album Nr. 135,
Palace Golestan Library (Tehran).

The Alkazi Collection of Photography: Visual Heritage from South Asia

Stéphanie Roy Bharath The Alkazi Collection of Photography (ACP) is a privately owned collection of 19th and early 20th century photographs from South Asia founded by Ebrahim Alkazi, former director of the National School of Drama and of the Asian Theatre Institute in New Delhi, India from 1962-77, and a keen collector of photographs since the 1980s. Initially focusing on Samuel Bourne and his contemporaries of the 1860s, Alkazi has since built up a collection holding approximately 90,000 prints that includes work ranging from the early days of the medium to the 1950s. While the core of the collection resides in photographs from the Indian subcontinent, the collection also possesses images from other parts of Asia, including Ceylon, Burma, Nepal, Afghanistan and Tibet; a limited holding from South-east Asia (Thailand, Vietnam), East Asia (Japan, China) and the Near and Middle East. Photographs are largely albumen prints, but the ACP also has a wide selection of photographic processes – paper negatives, glass negatives, daguerreotypes, painted photographs, carbon prints and gelatine silver prints among others – presented either as loose prints or in albums or illustrated books.



Ebrahim Alkazi, 2003
Credit: Hans Christian Adam

Earliest images within the ACP

Photography appeared in India in 1840 and in other Asian countries during the 1840s, but very few images of this decade have survived. The earliest image in the collection is a daguerreotype of a Hindu temple taken by Jules Itier (1802-1877), an officer of the French Customs. In 1845, Itier visited India, Ceylon and Egypt on his way back to France from China. The earliest paper prints in the collection – a view of a temple at Udaipur and Quwwat-ul-Islam Mosque in Delhi – were taken by another Frenchman, Baron Alexis de La Grange (1825-1917), who travelled to India in 1849-50, as well as Ceylon, Java, Malaysia and Singapore. During his time in India, La Grange visited several important cities (Benares, Agra, Delhi and Lucknow), Rajasthan and the caves at Ellora and Ajanta, and produced, upon his return to France, two albums with stunning architectural views. Five of these works were reproduced in Blanquart-Evrard's *L'Album photographique de l'artiste et de l'amateur*, published in 1851.

British India through the Lens

The Indian Rebellion of 1857-58

Between the arrival of the photographic camera in India in 1840 and the independence of the country in 1947, a century elapsed, with numerous conflicts and historical events. The Indian Rebellion of 1857 was perhaps the most violent conflict British India experienced, leading to the abolition of the East India Company and the control of India by the British Crown. In 1857, certain regiments of the Bengal Army mutinied against their British officers, followed by a popular rebellion spreading throughout North India. After 10 months of fierce fighting and reprisals, particularly in Lucknow, Cawnpore (mod. Kanpur) and Delhi, the British regained



Figure 1
Felice Beato, *Baillie Guard Gate at Lucknow*, 1858,
neg. L34, albumen print, 244 x 306 mm.
The Alkazi Collection of Photography.

control by the end of 1858, but the scars of the revolt remained deep on both sides. Some photographers like John Murray, Patrick G. Fitzgerald, Felice Beato, Robert & Harriet Tytler, recorded the aftermath of the battles, witnessing the damages occurred (figure 1) and creating an iconography of the Rebellion that was to be followed for the next century. The name of Felice Beato (1834-c.1907) is strongly connected to the events. Often seen as a pioneering war photographer, Beato worked first in the Middle East with his brother-in-law James Robertson, before travelling to Russia in 1855 and in 1856 to record the Crimean conflict. On hearing of the Indian Rebellion, Beato sailed to Calcutta, reaching the city on 13 February 1858. By this time, the fighting was largely over and he was able to tour the centres of action and create a collection of views that would narrate the military campaign. While in Lucknow, he produced three panoramas of the city, including an eight-part panorama taken from a minaret of the Asafi Mosque within the Bara Imambara Complex – a highlight of the collection. Some amateur practitioners produced an invaluable record of the events, often more personal than



Figure 2
Charles Ludolf Griesbach, *Buddhas of Bamiyan*,
1884-86, albumen print, 187 x 140 mm.
The Alkazi Collection of Photography.

the body of work Beato realised. Patrick G. Fitzgerald (1820-1910), military surgeon, reached Lucknow with his regiment in December 1857 while the city was still under siege and photographed his fellow officers at the Alambagh, a British post, and the surrounding architecture. Several of his photographs are kept together in an album at the ACP, and are of great documentary importance, being up to this date the earliest known prints of the Rebellion. Robert Tytler (1818-1872) and his wife Harriet (1828-1907) were in Delhi during the siege of the city. During six months they travelled through northern India, visiting sites associated with the revolt and took over 500 paper negatives. Having received advice from Beato and John Murray (1809-1898), some of their compositions remind us of the work of these two photographers. Tytler also worked briefly with Charles Shepherd, who set up with Samuel Bourne the most prolific photographic firm in India. He took a series of portraits of the ex-King of Delhi, Bahadur Shah II in May 1858, while he was imprisoned in the Fort before being exiled in Burma. One portrait, now at the ACP, presents the king as a frail and old man, reclining on his couch. The collection also possesses a unique and crucial album compiled by the military surgeon John N. Tresidder (1819-1889), known as Tresidder Album, which provides a visual picture of Cawnpore between 1856 and 61, and of Agra in 1861. Containing a large selection of architectural views, portraits of leading members of the British community together with portraits of local Indians, the photographs were taken by either Tresidder himself or other practitioners, including Donald MacFarlane and John Murray. Of particular interest are the views Tresidder made following the aftermath of the fighting at Cawnpore, which depict the scenes of massacres and damages inflicted on buildings, focusing also on less important structures, like his and his neighbours' bungalows.

Photography and Military Campaigns

During the 19th and early 20th century, Britain took part in several military campaigns in an attempt to expend its supremacy in South India, as well as in China, the Middle East and in Africa. The camera became the favoured tool for recording the different conflicts; although it was still impossible to photograph military actions, the images depicted the battlefields and



Figure 3
Bourne & Shepherd, 1877 *Imperial Assemblage*,
Delhi, part 2 of 3-part panorama, 1877,
albumen print, 230 x 272 mm.
The Alkazi Collection of Photography.

portrayed the main participants. Several photographers recorded the various Anglo-Burmese wars between 1852 and 1885. Colonel Willoughby Wallace Hooper (1837-1912) pictured the different sequences of the Third Anglo-Burmese War, which he published in an album with over 100 prints in 1887. Until 1920, major military campaigns occurred along the Indian border with Afghanistan, particularly well represented within the collection. Indian and European practitioners photographed the different conflicts, whether they were professionals like John Burke (1843-1900), Frederick Bremner (1863-1941), Randolph Bezzant Holmes (1888-1973), Mela Ram & Sons, or amateurs like Benjamin Simpson (1831-1923) and Charles Ludolf Griesbach (1847-1907). This latter, employed by the Geological Survey of India illustrated the archaeological sites he visited, including the Buddhas of Bâmiyân, which he recorded in the 1880s (figure 2).

The Darbars of 1877, 1903 and 1911

Following the Indian Rebellion of 1857, the East India Company was abolished and the country came under direct control by the British Crown. In 1877, Queen Victoria was proclaimed Empress of India and a *Durbar* (ceremony) was organised, largely inspired by the Mughal traditions, which presented the Crown as the new authority in India. Over 400 Indian rulers and princes, who remained loyal to the British during the 1857 Rebellion, took part in the festivities (figure 3). The death of Queen Victoria and the ascension of Edward VII to the throne in 1903, who also became Emperor of India, provided a new opportunity for a *Durbar*, organised by the Viceroy, Lord Curzon. When the king died in 1911, his son George V was crowned and a third *Durbar* took place. He was the first British monarch to travel to India for the occasion. Each of these spectacular events was largely photographed by professional photographic firms, such as Bourne & Shepherd, Vernon & Co, Herzog & Higgins and Raja Deen Dayal & Sons, and the images circulated in Britain as well as in the world, published in newspapers or sold in photographic studios either as individual prints or as commemorative albums. Well

represented in the ACP, the collection holds, for example, panoramas of each *Durbar*, showing general views of the ceremonies and the military parades.

The 1930s - towards Independence

After the turn of the century, as the photographic process improved, the medium became more accessible and cheaper allowing a larger number of people to practise the medium but also an increase of Indian photographers working for their own ends rather than for European patrons. In parallel, the growing nationalist movement provided opportunities to new practitioners. An album in the ACP dated 1930s was compiled by an unknown Indian journalist and documents the civil disobedience movement in Bombay from an Indian point of view, a novelty at the time. The album begins with portraits of prime figures in the Congress Party, including Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru; follows views of the non-violent protest of the Indians (marches, strikes, breaking of the salt laws) and the violent and often bloody response of the British.

Figure 4
Linnaeus Tripe, *Golden Lotus Tank and Gopuras at the Minakshi Temple Complex at Madurai*, 1858, albumen print, 269 x 371 mm, published in *Photographic Views in Madura. Part III*. The Alkazi Collection of Photography.



Archaeology and architecture in India

The study of Indian architecture

Since the end of the 18th century, British men like Warren Hastings and Sir William Jones studied the Indian culture, with the desire to discover and understand better the country where they lived. The arrival of the camera facilitated such studies, providing visual documents of architecture, archaeological sites and people in a limited time. From 1855, regional governments recognised the importance of the medium for providing visual documentation and sponsored the photographic surveys of sites and monuments, employing military officers who proved to be also gifted photographers. Captain Linnaeus

Tripe (1822-1902) was employed by the Madras Presidency between 1856 and 1860 and recorded the main monuments within that presidency, publishing 9 albums containing over 200 prints (figure 4). One of them *Photographs of the Elliot Marbles*, which is present in the ACP, illustrates the Buddhist sculptures of the Amaravati stupa. The Bombay Presidency followed the same trend and between 1855 and 1857 Captain Thomas Biggs (1822-1905) and Dr. William Pigou (1818-1858) surveyed with a camera the cities of Bijapur, Mysore and Ahmedabad, while Dr. Andrew Neill (1814-1891) visited Halebid and Belur. The photographs were published in 1866 in three important volumes titled *Architecture in Dhawar and Mysore*, *Architecture in Beejapoor and Architecture of Ahmedabad*, which are all present within the collection. During the 1860s, the Indian government pursued the sponsoring of such projects and Colonel Henry Dixon (1824-1883) was asked to publish in 1865 *Views of Mysore*, while Captain Edmund David Lyon (1825-1891), well represented in the collection, was employed for recording South and West India between 1867-68. The Archaeological Survey of India (ASI), founded in 1870 by Alexander Cunningham, brought to an end the official employment of photographers, since the medium became an integral part of the archaeologist's work.

Commercial photography

The commercial photographers of the second half of the 19th century, well represented in the collection, contributed an imposing body of images for the study of Indian architecture. Samuel Bourne (1834-1912), the best-known British practitioner operating in India, arrived in Calcutta in 1863 and soon after left the capital to settle his studio in the hill-station of Simla, which had been adopted by the British to escape the unbearable heat of the Indian summer. Bourne travelled extensively throughout the subcontinent, photographing Hindu temples in South India, colonial architecture in Calcutta, Mughal forts and palaces, and sites associated with the 1857 Rebellion, to name a few. Mastering the use of the Picturesque, a Victorian aesthetics in vogue, and the photographic process, Bourne invented a style much appreciated by the public and copied by generations of practitioners. This is the case of John Edward Saché (1824-1882), who worked in North India between 1864 and 1882 and excelled in reproducing Bourne's example, becoming a direct competitor to the firm Bourne & Shepherd. Saché's photographic career and body of images are presented and discussed in this volume, see *The Sachés: a family of photographers working in India during the 19th century*. The ACP holds one of the largest, if not the main, collection of prints by Saché. Further photographic firms like Nicholas & Co in Madras, Thomas A. Rust and G. W. Lawrie in north India, and Frith's Series reproduced the visual model Bourne set up and created images that pleased the tourist for their beauty and the researcher for their precision and high quality.

The Himalayas and the Nilgiris recorded

With the expansion of the British Empire, the borders changed particularly in the Himalayan regions and some adventurous photographers braved the extremely difficult working conditions and dangers encountered on the way for recording those isolated regions. Samuel Bourne organised three expeditions between 1863 and 1866, travelled through Kashmir and the Himalayas. In 1866, during his last trek, Bourne successfully took photographs at an altitude of over 6000 metres (figure 5). Saché followed his example and undertook an expedition in the Pindur mountain range in 1869. In the early 1870s, he also visited the picturesque city of Srinagar, in Kashmir. Philip Egerton (1824-?), commissioner based in Kangra, took part in a Himalayan expedition with the intention to create and facilitate trade roads between India and China. It resulted in the publication of the *Journal of a tour through Spiti to the frontier of Chinese Tibet* (London 1864), which retraces the different places Egerton visited and people he encountered, such as Kangra Fort, Dharamsala, Spiti Glacier photographed for the first time, and Gurkha soldiers. Other missions were organised in the Sikkim region, near the Tibet border. John Claude White (1853-1918), diplomat posted in Sikkim in 1887, conducted several expeditions in the Himalayas and Bhutan and participated in the invasion of Tibet by the British in 1904. During his second trek in 1891, White, accompanied by the practitioner Theodore Julius Hoffmann (c.1855-1921) from the firm Johnston & Hoffmann, photographed peaks at over 5800 metres high.

To escape the summer heat, a yearly migration occurred when governments, residents but also businesses shifted their base from the plains to the hills, like Simla, Nainital, Mussoorie, Darjeeling in the Himalayas, but also Ootacamund and Coonoor in the Nilgiris (South India). Numerous photographers, including Bourne, Saché, Albert T. W. Penn (1849-1924) and Nicholas & Co operated studios on a seasonal basis, to satisfy a growing clientele. Based in both the plains and the hills, they were able to expand their stock of images, recording surrounding landscapes and architecture as well as local tribes.

India and its inhabitants

Throughout the 19th century, the diversity of Indian people stimulated the interest of scientists and numerous studies appeared that contributed in understanding the complexities of India's population. *The People of India* (8 volumes, 1868-75), the first study conducted by the government, presented the people of the subcontinent by region, giving information about the race and tribe they belonged to, as well as about their physical appearance. It was believed such information would reveal someone's personality and his political loyalty. Other studies appeared in the 1860s but without political connotations, such as *The Oriental Races*



Figure 5
Samuel Bourne, *From the Top of the Manirang Pass*,
18,600 feet, 3 July – 25 December 1866 (third trek),
neg. 1469, albumen print, 190 x 316 mm.
The Alkazi Collection of Photography.



Figure 6
William Johnson, *Banians of Porebunder*, 1863,
albumen print, 226 x 177 mm, published
in *The Oriental Races and Tribes*,
Residents and Visitors of Bombay, volume 1.
The Alkazi Collection of Photography.

and Tribes, Residents and Visitors of Bombay (2 volumes, 1863-66), which presents the inhabitants and different professions of Bombay, using portraits made by the commercial photographer William Johnson in the 1850s (figure 6). Other practitioners, like Shepherd & Robertson, Gobindram & Oodeyram, Willoughby Wallace Hooper (1837-1912), Saché, largely recorded the different people and trades of the Subcontinent, whether they were photographed staged in the studio or taken in their environment.

The ACP holds also a large number of portraits of Indian princes and maharajas, taken either on their own or during ceremonies. Lala Deen Dayal (1844-1905), the most prosperous Indian practitioner of the 19th century, was nominated in 1884 official photographer to the Nizam of Hyderabad, the most influential Indian ruler during the British Raj. Deen Dayal immortalised the countless visitors, ceremonies and officials that filled the Nizam's reign. Major-General James Waterhouse (1842-1922), employed by the government to record the people of Central India in 1861-62 – several of his portraits are included in *The People of India* – also had the opportunity to photograph the Begums of Bhopal, ruling princesses of the state of Bhopal. Other albums seen at the collection relate weddings and investiture ceremonies of princes and maharajas, illustrating the different episodes of the events and their location.

Indian practitioners developed a photographic genre, commonly known as painted photography, which was used exclusively by Indians for an Indian clientele (figure 7). It consisted of largely paint over photographs, primarily portraits, giving the impression of a painted portrait. This technique differs completely from the tinted prints found in Europe at the same time, where paint was used to give colour to a monochrome image. The collection holds a unique and imposing selection of painted photographs, ranging from the 1850s to the 1950s.



Figure 7
G. W. Lawrie & Co; Unknown Artist, *Maharaja Govind Singh Ju Dev of Datia (1886-1951)*, c. 1920, gelatin silver print and watercolour, 300 x 248 mm. The Alkazi Collection of Photography.

Figure 8
Scowen & Co, *Flower*, 1880s, neg. 1137, albumen print, 255 x 222 mm. The Alkazi Collection of Photography.

Photography in Ceylon, Burma and Nepal

Ceylon

Although the British governed Ceylon from 1815, photography did not flourish on the island as much as India experienced. Amateur photographers appeared mainly from the 1890s, when the photographic process was easier to use. As for the visual surveying of monuments and sites, the first commissions started in the 1860s. Commercial practitioners like Skeen & Co and Scowen & Co led the photographic scene during the 19th century. William Louis Henry Skeen (1847-1903) managed the prime photographic studio in the capital, Colombo, between 1860 and 1920. During these years, Skeen compiled a diverse stock of images, including images of tea plantations, railways, landscapes, the people and architecture of Ceylon. It seems that the firm Skeen & Co was purchased in 1920 by a competitor's firm, A. W. A. Plâté & Co, which became the prime photographic firm of the 20th century and is still in business. From the early 1870s, another important studio, Charles Scowen & Co, operated from Kandy and appeared as a direct rival to Skeen, producing similar views of remarkable

quality. He also made original series of plants and flowers (figure 8), as well as highly artistic portraits. Joseph Lawton (?-1872), who ran a studio in Kandy from 1866, is better known for his work with the Archaeological Committee. Employed in 1870-71, Lawton recorded sometimes for the first time several archaeological sites, such as Anuradhapura and Polonnaruwa. Some of his images were published in 1894 in *Architectural Remains, Anuradhapura, Ceylon: the Dagas and Certain Other Ancient Ruined Structures* (text by James Smither, photographs by Joseph Lawton), which can be viewed at the ACP.

Burma

Between 1826 and 1886, Burma witnessed several important military conflicts with the British, which ended in its annexation by the British. After the Second Anglo-Burmese War (1852-54), some pioneering photographers started to record the country. John McCosh (1805-1885), military surgeon who took part in the conflict, seemed to have been the first to photograph Burma. His prints, taken in 1852, present mainly the architecture of Rangoon and Prome. In 1855, Linnaeus Tripe took part in an official mission organised by the government of Bengal to Ava and photographed monuments and sites he encountered during the three months of his stay. Upon his return, Tripe produced for the government a portfolio composed of 120 prints, show-





Figure 9
Alexander Greenlaw, *Burmese Pagodas*,
waxed paper negative, 1855, 195 x 250 mm.
The Alkazi Collection of Photography.

ing either full-sized buildings or architectural details. Alexander Greenlaw (1818-1870), amateur photographer who improved the calotype process, lived in Burma towards the end of the 1850s and recorded its architecture and landscape. The collection holds 13 of his paper negatives (figure 9) and over 100 paper negatives Greenlaw took of the archaeological site of Vijaynagara (India) in 1855-56. The earliest commercial practitioners arrived in Burma in the 1860s and during this decade, Philip A. Klier founded one of the most prolific studios found in the country, which remained open till the beginning of the 20th century. Other commercial studios based in India, like Bourne & Shepherd, Johnston & Hoffmann, sent photographers to Burma to add material to their ever-expanding stock of images. It is from 1855, when Burma became part of the British Empire following the Third Anglo-Burmese War that

numerous photographers set up studios, like Felice Beato who operated in Mandalay from 1885 till his death. The collection holds an interesting panorama Beato took of the city in late 1880s, and a striking portrait of the Burmese commander-in-chief wearing his ceremonial attire. A large number of prints within the ACP were taken by unknown practitioners but contribute to discover and study better the people and architecture of Burma.

Nepal

The collection holds a limited amount of images from Nepal, depicting primarily the royal family. The portraits, some of which seem to have belonged to the French Embassy in Kathmandu, present the Nepalese prime ministers, as well as their wives and children. The majority of the portraits, dated 1880-1920, follow the tradition of painted photography from India and are heavily painted over, depicting the ruler often standing with his ceremonial robe and Star of India. One album, composed by Mrs C. B. Bayley, wife of the British Resident posted in Kathmandu, includes views she made of the capital in the early 20th century. Finally, the Indo-Nepalese border was always much appreciated by the British elite for hunting. The Prince of Wales in 1876 and King George V in 1922 spent a great part of their stay in India tiger-hunting in the Nepalese Tenai, accompanied by photographers to immortalise these official trips.

The ACP: researching, cataloguing, publishing, exhibiting

Since its set-up, the ACP has always given an important place to research, allowing scholars to access its material in three locations: New York, London, and New Delhi. In 1999, Alkazi opened the first publicly accessible research centre for the ACP in New York, which also housed the commercial gallery, *Sepia International Inc.* (1999-2009), focusing on the work of contemporary Asian artists and artists photographing Asia. In recent years, Alkazi founded a charitable trust in New Delhi, *The Alkazi Foundation for the Arts*, dedicated to furthering research on 19th-century photography and modern Indian art. Between 2007 and 2009, the ACP was relocated from London and New York to Delhi, and this is where it is now housed. For the last decade, staff at the ACP has endeavoured an important effort in cataloguing and documenting the collection and in acquiring material significant for their historical value, but also for their aesthetic appeal. In recent years, the collection has also been made available to the academic community and the general public through a series of publications. Each volume, under the editorship of a specialist in the field, examines a particular region, photographer or topic represented in the collection, encouraging a cross-disciplinary approach. The first volume Lucknow – *City of Illusion* (ed. Rosie Llewellyn-Jones; Prestel & The ACP, 2006) traces the life and death of many of Lucknow's impressive architectural complexes. *Vijayanagara – Splendour in Ruins* (ed. George Michell; Mapin & The ACP, 2008) presents the photographic work of Alexander Greenlaw and successive practitioners at Vijayanagara in the 19th and early 20th century. *The Waterhouse Albums* (ed. John Falconer; Mapin & The ACP, 2009) shows for the first time the career of photographic pioneer James Waterhouse. Forthcoming titles will study the work of archaeologist Sir John Marshall, the 1857 Rebellion and the career of photographer Lala Deen Dayal. Finally, the ACP has always been keen in displaying and lending photographs. In New York, *Sepia International Inc.* exhibited four shows from the collection; in London, the ACP curated an important exhibition on painted photographs in July-September 2008 (SOAS – Brunei Gallery); In France, the collection was on display at the photo festival, Les Rencontres d'Arles, in summer 2007. In India, the ACP has exhibited yearly in Delhi, often timed with the launch of a publication or a seminar organised by the ACP. Images have also been on loan in several exhibitions in North America and Europe (e.g. *India: Pioneering Photographers* – 2001, London; *Traces of India* – 2003, Montreal, New Haven and Los Angeles) and a selection of images is currently on display at the Whitechapel Gallery, London (*Where Three Dreams Cross* – 2010). The Alkazi Collection of Photography remains dedicated to explore further the history and meaning of photography and to generate cross-disciplinary study of the medium.



Figure 1

Louis Jacques Mandé Daguerre, "Intérieur d'un cabinet de curiosités (Interior of a Cabinet of Curiosity)", 1837, daguerreotype, Paris, Société française de photographie (SFP). In: Quentin Bajac and Dominique Planchon-de Font-Réaulx (eds.), *Le daguerréotype français. Un objet photographique*, exh. cat. Musée d'Orsay, Paris: Ed. de la Réunion des musées nationaux 2003, fig. 2, 58.

"Collections of all Kinds will be Formed" – The Photograph as an Image and Medium for Taking Inventory

Herta Wolf The replication of art as one of the functions of photography was postulated by those – including François Arago, William Henry Fox Talbot and Jules Janin – who propagated the new medium around 1839. However, the belief that the reproduction of works of art was not only a field of activity but also had the potential to qualify photographic illustrations can also be gathered from the beginnings of photography. Whereas Joseph Nicéphore Niépce developed photography with the aim of introducing a less expensive lithographic process, the photographers active around 1839 – no matter whether named Louis Jacques Mandé Daguerre, William Henry Fox Talbot, John Herschel or even Hippolyte Bayard – were creating graphic reproductions of panel paintings, prints and plaster casts in their tests and sample pictures using the new graphic imaging process they were experimenting with.¹ They show cabinets of curiosities as seen in a photograph taken by Daguerre in 1837 (fig. 1)² or plaster casts arranged in, or as, an artist's studio as shown in the two salted-paper prints that Hippolyte Bayard pasted into his two photo albums entitled *Dessins photographiques* (figs. 2a + b).³

Although the fact that photography was conceived as a medium of reproduction has never been questioned in any of the relevant histories, it was precisely this replicative potential – particularly in Daguerreotypes – but also in Talbot's photogenic drawings and Bayard's photographic drawings – that was admired with such amazement in the years around 1839, if not denied, it was subsequently at least regarded as a problem and ultimately neglected in the course

1 Cf., Herta Wolf, "Pröbeln und Musterbild – die Anfänge der Fotografie", in: Thorsten Hoffmann and Gabriele Rippl, *Bildwissenschaft*, Göttingen: Wallstein 2006, 111-127.

2 "Épreuve ayant servi à constater la découverte du Daguerréotype [...]." (Quentin Bajac and Dominique Planchon-de Font-Réaulx (eds.), *Le daguerréotype français. Un objet photographique*, exh. cat. Musée d'Orsay, Paris: Ed. de la Réunion des musées nationaux 2003, ill. 2, 58. Daguerre presented

this picture to Alphonse de Cailleux who was named *Assistant Director* of the Louvre in 1836. Geoffrey Batchen interpreted the inscription as having been written by Daguerre (cf., Geoffrey Batchen, "Light and dark: the daguerreotype and art history", in: *The Art Bulletin*, vol. 86, no. 4 (Dec. 2004), 764-776: 766) whereas Dominique Planchon-de Font Réaulx assumes that Cailleux wrote it on the reverse of the daguerreotype (Dominique Planchon-de Font-Réaulx, "Splendeurs et mystères de la chambre noire.



Figure 2a
Hippolyte Bayard, untitled [Studio of Bayard],
c. 1845, salted paper print from a paper negative,
23.5 x 17.4 cm. Dessins Photographiques,
Getty Museum.



Figure 2b
Hippolyte Bayard, untitled [Studio of Bayard],
undated, SFP, salted paper print from a
paper negative, 23.3 x 16.7 cm,
in: Jean-Claude Gautrand and Michel Frizot,
Hippolyte Bayard. Naissance de l'image photographique,
Amiens: Trois Cailloux 1986, ill. 14.

Figure 3a
Louis Jacques Mandé Daguerre,
"Coquillages (Shells)", c. 1839, daguerreotype,
16.3 x 21.2 cm (plate), Paris, Musée des Arts et
Métiers, from: Quentin Bajac and Dominique
Planchon-de Font-Réaulx (eds.),
Le daguerréotype français. Un objet photographique,
exh. cat. Musée d'Orsay, Paris:
Ed. de la Réunion des musées nationaux 2003,
cat. 32, 153.



Figure 3b
William Henry Fox Talbot, "Figurines on
three shelves, in the courtyard of
Lacock Abbey", c. 1841, 15.0 x 14.6 cm,
salted paper print from a calotype negative,
The National Museum of Photography Film
and Television. In: Larry Schaaf, *Out of the
Shadows. Herschel, Talbot and the Invention of
Photography*, New Haven and London:
Yale University Press 1992, 118.

on a shelf seen from the front. The order or organization of the picture is not unique and that not only because the view is focused on an arranged collection – in this case a natural-history collection.⁷ Many of the photographs created by various authors around 1839 show similar collections or arrangements. They are frequently an assortment of casts specifically set up for the camera with the object of illustrating the imaging process potential. (Fig. 3b): Light and shadow, the plasticity and seemingly haptic qualities of the photographic medium, were

of the struggle for recognition of photography as an art form that started to take place in the 1850s.⁴

Not only the unpublished flyer that Daguerre produced in 1838 to advertise the planned subscription to his discovery, points out that neither knowledge of physics or chemistry nor any specific notion of drawing were necessary⁵ to practice the reproduction process developed by, and named after, him: the Daguerreotype. Prophetically – in his case, this means nothing more than intending to sell his subscription as lucratively as possible – Daguerre wrote: "Everyone, with the help of the Daguerreotype, will make a view of his chateau or his country house [.] The user-friendliness and availability of the new medium of image generation he was postulating led to his conclusion that "collections of all kinds will be formed of great value for art can imitate neither the exactness of pictures nor their perfect detail [...]"⁶

However, it was not only Daguerre's assumption that the medium would generate prospective collections; many of the earliest pictures produced by the photographic recording process actually do show collections as well as accumulations of objects. In a photograph created in 1839 (fig. 3a), Daguerre shows a collection of molluscs, some of them fossilized, arranged neatly

Le daguerreotype sous l'œil des critiques", in: Bajac and Planchon-de Font Réaulx, *Le daguerréotype français. Un objet photographique*, 56-71: 58f).
3 *Dessins photographiques sur Papier, Recueil nos. 1 and 2* are albums or sample books in which Bayard pasted his own photographic efforts as well as those of other photographers he was in contact with and who had sent him specimens of their work. On the one hand, this confirms the circulation of pictures in the early stages of photography (The calotype reproduced

here as ill. 5 originates from Bayard's *Recueil 2* and was also replicated as plate V in *the Pencil of Nature*). On the other hand, this way of dealing with photographs makes it clear that pictures taken by Bayard – as well as those published by Talbot in the *Pencil of Nature* – were intended to be used as *specimen images* – to illustrate the new process's potential to reproduce.
4 Cf. Dominique de Font-Réaulx, "The Work of Art and Its Reproduction", in: Font-Réaulx and Joëlle Bolloch, *The Work of Art and Its Reproduction*,

especially well demonstrated through the photographic reproduction of casts and replicas of sculptures. For example, when Talbot describes that “Statues, busts, and other specimens of sculpture, are generally well represented by the Photographic art; and also very rapidly, in consequence of their whiteness [,]”⁸ in his commentary on plate V (fig. 4a) of his *Pencil of Nature*, he is concerned with the media-specific aspects of the photographic reproduction process. His annotation on plate XVII (fig. 4b) not only draws attention to the version of the so-called bust of Patroclus⁹ published in the first instalment of the book but also to the historico-cultural horizon that both the ancient statue, which had been excavated in the 18th century, and its reproduction using the photographic process of recording belonged to: To the practice of drawing. And that, not only because, here, Talbot described the successor to his photogenic drawings – the calotype – as “a royal road to Drawing”. Talbot’s continuation of the text with: “[a]lready sundry amateurs have laid down the pencil and armed themselves with chemical solutions and with camerae obscurae”, [T]hose amateurs especially [...] who find the rules of perspective difficult to learn and to apply”, must not merely be interpreted biographically.¹⁰ And that is not only because Talbot refers to the technique of depicting through drawing, whose tasks and fields of application were to be taken over by photography: Both, the context

Figure 4a
William Henry Fox Talbot, “Bust of Patroclus”, c. 1844, salted paper print from a calotype negative, 17.7 x 17.7 cm (image) [= Plate V from William Henry Fox Talbot, *The Pencil of Nature*], from: Dessins Photographiques, Getty Museum.



Figure 4b
William Henry Fox Talbot, “Bust of Patroclus”, August 9, 1843, salted paper print from a paper negative, 14.9 x 14.5 cm, in: William Henry Fox Talbot, *The Pencil of Nature*, New Introduction by Beaumont Newhall, New York: Da Capo Press 1969 [Reprint], plate XVII.



of the bust of Patroclus he showed in his picture – it had been excavated by Galvin Hamilton in 1769 and subsequently sold to Charles Townley, a wealthy collector of antiquities (fig. 5)¹¹ – and his notes on calotypes indicate a circle of people who can be considered as being the predecessors of the amateurs called by him: the virtuosos.

It was Wolfgang Kemp who declared photography to be “one of the greatest of all inventions we have dilettantes to thank for [...]”¹² and determined that Talbot could be classified as

exh. cat. Musée d’Orsay Paris 2006, 6-15; cf.: Herta Wolf, “Fotografische Reproduktion und Reproduzierbarkeit von Kunstwerken. L’œuvre d’art et sa reproduction photographique”, in: *Camera Austria*, no. 97, 2007, 83-84.

5 “By this process, without any notion of drawing, without any knowledge of chemistry or physics, it will be possible to take in a few minutes the most detailed views, and the most picturesque sites, for the technical means are simple, and require no special knowledge to be used.”

6 Louis Jacques Mandé Daguerre, “Daguerréotype”, in: *Image*, vol. 8, no. 1, March 1959, 32-36: 36 [emphasis H.W.].

7 Cf. the commentary on the picture by the curator of the *Musée des Arts et Métiers*, Marie-Sophie Corcy, in: *Le daguerréotype français. Un objet photographique*, exh. cat. Musée d’Orsay, Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux 2003, 152.

8 The *Pencil of Nature* was published in London by Longman, Brown, Green & Longmans in six very expensive instalments issued between 29 June 1844

being “the epitome of the virtuoso” although – as he qualified – the circle of people that could be designated in this manner were actually part of seventeenth-century English culture. In the 1634 edition of “The Complete Gentleman”, Henry Peacham borrowed the Italian term of virtuoso for the first time to laud “princely minds”; i.e. – wealthy – collectors of antiquities. Drawing was one of the many talents a virtuoso was expected to have a command of; although – because it would have been at variance with the dilettantism of his activities or amateur status – he could never have attempted to master them all.¹³ This means that the field of concepts characterizing the virtuoso was not limited to the activities of collecting and acquiring knowledge. The term has wider implications and applies to a group of persons who collect and have also learned the techniques necessary to create images or – as was Daguerre’s intention – subscribed to them.

Therefore, not only the medial characteristics of photography determined the new reproductive process as being a suitable medium for collecting. With – and thanks to – the evocation or explicit depiction of collecting or of collections in many early photographic images, these became embedded in an iconographic and medial tradition. There, however – in Daguerre’s words – “[t]he Daguerreotype is not an instrument to be used to draw nature but a chemical and physical process, which gives her the ability to reproduce herself”¹⁴, the recording and reproductive media of optics and chemistry, along with the forerunner and comparative medium drawing that was relevant for early photography’s conceptualization, intervened. They are responsible for the simulacrous potential of photography. Only the medial transparency resulting from the optical deployment made it possible to invest photography with the function of not only recording and presenting collections, but also establishing them.

When Daguerre writes that collections will be formed, his prediction is principally aimed at the addressees of his subscription, rich collectors and property owners. He made no statements on what could be the object of a collection based on daguerreotypes, nor did he reflect on the potential of photography in regard to the various media that could be reproduced photographically and, in

a second step, be brought together to create photographic collections. On the one hand, this could be due to the fact that – as Jules Janin described when dealing with Daguerre’s photographs in 1839 – in the early days of photography, this was regarded as a kind of poor imitation of the objects themselves, regardless of what was reproduced.¹⁵ Completely in keeping with the conceptualization of camera obscura images,¹⁶ once it had been photographically recorded,



Figure 5
W. Chambers, “The Townley Collection in the Dining Room at Park Street, Westminster”, c. 1794-95, 39 x 53 cm, pen and ink with watercolour and touches of bodycolour, with gum arabic, The British Museum, London.

and 23 April 1846. There were 285 copies of the first instalment but the demand was so limited that it can be assumed that only 130 complete editions were published. [Cf. Carol Armstrong, *Scenes in a Library. Reading the Photograph in the Book, 1843-1875*, Cambridge, MA and London: MIT Press 1998]. Cited after William Henry Fox Talbot, “The Pencil of Nature”, in: *Image*, Vol. 8, no. 2, June 1959, 77-105: 88, and other relevant publications. 9 Talbot made 47 pictures of the bust – 22 of them dated – from various angles between November 1839 and 9 August 1843.

10 Fox Talbot, *The Pencil of Nature*, 98: In this publication, Talbot mentioned his inability to draw as the reason for his photographic experiments. [Cf. “Brief Historical Sketch of the Invention of the Art”, in: Talbot, *The Pencil of Nature*, 80-85: 80].

11 The so-called Patroclus Bust is the cast of a marble bust that Gavin Hamilton had excavated in Hadrian’s Villa. He described it as the head of a hero and sold it to Charles Townley for £ 200; it was not until 1857 that

everything became a painted picture as well as a nature printing.¹⁷ This undermined the difference between the picture and the depicted. It was only after 1850 that nature printing was considered to be of an insufficient quality for the reproduction of artworks.

In the foreword to *The Work of Art in the Age of its Reproducibility*, Walter Benjamin differentiates between the reproducibility and technical reproducibility of art and, in this way, makes it clear that only the latter is capable of the “mass production” and wide-scale distribution of artworks. While in antiquity, this was only possible through the casting and minting for three-dimensional works of art, woodcuts, copperplate engraving and etching made it possible to reproduce graphic works.¹⁸ It follows that technical reproducibility is primarily anchored as a property of the reproducing media in their respective mediality. Therefore, if photography – understood as a nature printing – reproduces artworks and the negatives of these images are subsequently replicated and disseminated, some qualifications concerning the representation and reproduction of nature interact. Photographic replicas of casts and minted objects – i.e. three-dimensional objets d’art, sculpture and architecture – were (and still are) regarded differently and, here, more positively, than photographically copied paint-

Figure 6a
Henriquel-Dupont, “Louis-Pierre Strafford”,
1840, copperplate engraving, in:
Stephen Bann, *Parallel Lines. Printmakers,
Painters and Photographers in Nineteenth-Century
France*, New Haven:
Yale University Press 2001, 198.

Figure 6b
Robert Jefferson Bingham, “Lord Strafford
allant au supplice
(Lord Strafford going to the Scaffold)”, 1858,
painting by Paul Delaroche (1835), engraved
by Louis-Pierre Henriquel-Dupont (1840),
17.4 x 21 cm, Albumin print from a collodium
negative, Musée d’Orsay Paris, in: Dominique
de Font-Réaulx, Joëlle Bolloch (eds.), *L’Œuvre
d’art et sa reproduction*, exh. cat. Musée d’Orsay
Paris: Musée d’Orsay and Milan 2006, ill. 23.



ings or graphic works. This differentiation was shared by photographic criticism around 1855. In 1856, the curator of the engraving section of the Imperial Library in Paris, Henri Delaborde, determined that – in contrast to art – photography “is [only] capable of creating a rough im-

workers found the sculpture belonging to the head in Tiberius’ Grotto. (Larry J. Schaaf, *The Photographic Art of William Henry Fox Talbot*, Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press 2000, 148 [note to plate 58]; cf. “Gavin Hamilton’s Letters to Charles Townley”, in: *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. 21, 1901, 306-321: 311).

12 Wolfgang Kemp, “... einen wahrhaft bildenden Zeichenunterricht überall einzuführen”. *Zeichnen und Zeichenunterricht der Laien 1500 bis 1870*,

Frankfurt: Syndikat Verlag 1979, 101; and Ann Bermingham, *Learning to draw. Studies in the Cultural History of a Polite and Useful Art*, New Haven a. London: Yale University Press 2000, 58: “The virtuoso was one who loved learning and who collected either because the collection reflected a flattering glow back on him or because, like Peacham, it situated him as a gentleman in the social order and identified him as a particular type of gentleman – a gentleman amateur of all the arts and sciences.”

age of reality and not the picture of the true.”¹⁹ His criticism was founded on the postulate of an intrinsic difference to nature and, therefore, the different character of the photographic and artistic image processes. While photography replicates, only copperplate engravings are able to give artistic expression to the raw material through the decisions undertaken in their production. However, if photography replicated nature as formed and organized in the artefact of a panel painting, it no longer functioned as the “reflection of raw facts but of a purified nature chosen by the artist’s hand.”²⁰ When Delaborde points out that photographs of paintings propagate the illustrated works and the artists who had created them through their circulation, he reveals the politico-cultural scope of photographic art reproductions: “And, if it is concerned with the work of any of the great masters, it can be of some benefit for art and good taste. Duplicated through photography, the masters of painting become more popular, and this will possibly bring about progress in the development of the public opinion.”²¹ If we apply these sentences to Benjamin’s findings, they need to be redefined: The myth of genius and creativity would not necessarily be undermined by the technical reproducibility of art but – as Henri Delaborde’s text makes clear – this would actually bring them into the open. Because, it is only through – and thanks to – the dissemination of their works that their creators become well-known and assume the status of being geniuses.

One example of this can be found in the work of a painter who – more than all the others – was affected by the early history of photography: Paul Delaroche, Professor at the Académie des Beaux Arts, who – as falsely reported in Gaston Tissandier’s *Les merveilles de la photographie* – supposedly tore one of Daguerre’s plates out of his hands in August 1839 and exclaimed that from now on, painting is dead.²² When making an artistic evaluation of the Daguerreotype for Arago, he stressed that photography’s medial qualities made it an instructive object of study.²³ In addition, his panel paintings belong to those works that were disseminated through photographs at an early stage. As early as in 1846, Baron Louis-Adolphe Humbert de Molard had Daguerreotypes made of an etching after Delaroche’s 1840 painting “Lord Stafford, 1835” (figs. 6a + 6b).²⁴

After the death of the history painter in 1856, the publisher Goupil issued a catalogue of his oeuvre in 1858. This included comments on the artist’s life and works by Henri Delaborde, as well as photographs taken by Robert Jefferson Bingham, who specialized in art reproduction, on the occasion of Delaroche’s memorial exhibition at the Académie des Beaux Arts in 1857.²⁵ The photographically illustrated artist’s monograph was an enormous success as shown in Théophile Gautier’s article in *L’Artiste* of 7 March 1858 where we read that Bingham served Delaroche’s art by strengthening its narrative elements. When Gautier continues that, in spite of all the reservations, when it reproduces paintings the photograph – “se fait artiste et inter-

13 Cf. Kim Sloan, *‘A noble Art’: Amateur Artists and Drawing Masters. c. 1600–1800*, London: British Museum Press 2000, 12; Here, Sloan takes up the argumentation of the first study devoted to the virtuoso by Walter Houghton (“The English Virtuoso in the Seventeenth Century”, in: *Journal of the History of Ideas*, vol. 3, no. 1, Jan. 1942, 51-73 and especially vol. 3. no. 2, April 1942, 190-219).

14 Daguerre, 1959 (reference 6), 36 (emphasis H.W.).

15 Jules Janin, “Le Daguerrotype”, in: *Le Daguerrotype par Daguerre, Chevalier, Melloni, Hubert*, Paris: Jean Michel Place 1987, n.

16 Constantijn Huygens, *De briefwisseling van Constantijn Huygens 1608-1687*, Deel 1, J.A. Worp (ed.). Den Haag: Martinus Nijhoff. 1911-1918. vol. 1, 94; cf. Svetlana Alpers, *Kunst als Beschreibung. Holländische Malerei des 17. Jahrhunderts. Mit einem Vorwort von Wolfgang Kemp*, 1st English ed., 1983, Cologne: DuMont 1985, 58.



Figure 8
 "Farbentafel (colour plate)", plate VIII in:
 Hermann Wilhelm Vogel, *Photochemie und
 Beschreibung der photographischen Chemicalien*
 (Photo-Chemistry and a Description of Photo-
 graphic Chemicals), fourth, completely
 revised, edition, Berlin:
 Verlag von Robert Oppenheim 1890.

prète" – becomes the artist and interpreter of the canvas placed in front of its lens and that even though it does not reproduce all the details of the depiction and leaves much in darkness,²⁶ he describes a peculiar effect that is particularly suitable to photographic reproductions of salon pieces.

The difference between the picture and image was intended to disappear in the photograph of the panel painting "Herodias with the Head of John the Baptist". However, as a comparison shows (figs. 7a + 7b), Robert Jefferson Bingham's black-and-white photograph makes a profound interpretation of Delaroché's painting. Going even further, these examples make it clear that the reproduction technology of photography, i.e. the photographic optics and the photo-sensitive chemical layer, considerably informs the depicted art work: not only the colour values, but also the texture of the picture, disappear in Bingham's reproduction – not least, through the chosen detail of the painting – whereby the depiction is invested with a linear perfection,²⁷ In spite of the "false" reproduction of the colours (figs. 8a + 8b), a paradox effect manifests itself in this case: The photograph makes the texture of the painting disappear, it kills it, whereas, on the other hand – as long as no second comparative photo is available – the painting kills the photograph in that, in the reproduction of the painting, the "mediality" of the photograph takes second place to the iconicity of the painted picture.

Even around 1876, at a time when the properties of a characteristic or pictorial style – as shown in the investigations undertaken by Giovanni Morelli – were intended to be visualized through photography,²⁸ it was conceived as a transparent medium (precisely when and because it appeared to be capable of achieving this state). By the way, this has applied up to the present day: The photographs placed on internet platforms confirm this dematerializing potential of photographic or photo-realistic media. Here as well, the iconicity of the photo-realistic depiction overlays – i.e. kills – the photographic mediality.

Let us return to Daguerre's observation that the Daguerreotype provided an instrument that did not make it possible to draw nature but through which, and with the help of a chemical and physical process, nature would be able to reproduce itself.²⁹ In this conceptualization, the photographic process itself becomes invisible while making the objective world appear and capturing it through its replication. This means that the actual process of generating pictures – in contrast to other artistic and reproductive media – seems to disappear behind the depicted objects. And, it therefore is no surprise that the photograph is understood as being transparent, even when – it not only becomes apparent in Bingham's works but also in all reproductions of paintings – this transparency can only be described as a phantasm or ideologue seeing that the modalities of the recording also inscribe themselves in the photographs. However, these inscriptions are different from those recognized in other pictorial artefacts as they are described as being insertions of nature itself – through the system that visualizes

17 Cf. not only Janin, "Le Daguerreotype", but also Fox Talbot's concept of nature as a drawing mistress: "No human hand has hitherto traced such lines as these drawings displayed; and what man may hereafter do, *now that dame Nature has become his drawing mistress*, it is impossible to predict." (In: "The New Art. 3. Report of the Royal Institution", in: *The Literary Gazette and Journal of The Belles Lettres*, London, 2 February 1839, 74-75: 75).

18 Walter Benjamin, "Das Kunstwerk im Zeitalter seiner technischen

Reproduzierbarkeit", in: Benjamin, *Das Kunstwerk im Zeitalter seiner technischen Reproduzierbarkeit. Drei Studien zur Kunstsoziologie*, Frankfurt a. Main: Suhrkamp, 9f.

19 Henri Delaborde, "Die Fotografie und der Kupferstich (1856)", in: Wolfgang Kemp (ed.), *Theorie der Fotografie I. 1829-1912*, Munich: Schirmer & Mosel 1980, 129-133: 129.

20 Kemp 1980 (reference 19), 129.



Figure 7a
Robert Jefferson Bingham,
"Hérodiade avec la tête de saint Jean-Baptiste
(Herodias with the Head of John the
Baptist)", 1858, reproduction of a painting by
Paul Delaroche (1843), in: Dominique de
Font-Réaulx, Joëlle Bolloch (eds.), *L'Œuvre d'art
et sa reproduction*, exh. cat. Musée d'Orsay
Paris: Musée d'Orsay and Milan 2006, ill. 24.

Figure 7b
Paul Delaroche, "Herodias mit dem Haupt
Johannes des Täufers (Herodias with the Head
of John the Baptist)", 1843, Cologne,
Wallraf-Richartz-Museum –
Fondation Corboud, Rheinisches Bildarchiv
Cologne, photographed: 1982.



and, in this way, reproduces them. As Martin Kemp points out in his book *The Science of Art*, this is a form of transparency created by optical media that had already been described in drawing manuals in the pre-photographic period.³⁰

Unlike Talbot, Henri de Valenciennes – who wanted to only use optical aids to a limited extent for the creation of pictures with the correct perspective – made a critical investigation into the camera obscura and Claude's mirrors (Claude Glass) in his *Elements de perspective* in 1800 (figs. 9a + 9b). Although these provided an agreeable way to observe nature, the reduction in size of the nature reflected using convex glasses or mirrors was easier to comprehend (*concevoir*) than that directly observed. However, the shortcomings of the instruments used resulted in the optically mediated or conveyed images becoming "miniature paintings."³¹ Because it relies on the laws of nature, optical deployment realizes the laws of precisely this nature as an image, and in an image of this nature. Seeing that photographic images are not solely the result of the optical apparatus but, in addition, need knowledge of chemistry for their production, a decipherment or understanding of nature in the double sense of the word is required for their creation.

The fact that these pictures are not neutral but, as previously mentioned, that the qualities of their respective means – as the lens systems are called – are self-registering was already discussed by Henri de Valenciennes in the years around 1800. In his interpretation, and in the diction of the first third of the nineteenth century, all pictures generated through the use of optical systems could be described as paintings; and that, independent of whether fleet-

21 Kemp 1980 [reference 19], 129.

22 Gaston Tissandier, *Les merveilles de la photographie. Ouvrage illustré de 65 vignettes par Jahandier, etc. et d'une planche tirée à la presse photographique*, Paris: Librairie Hachette etc 1874, 64.

23 Cf. Stephen Bann, "Photographie et reproduction gravée. L'économie visuelle au XIXe siècle", in: *Études photographiques*, no. 9, May 2001, 22-43: 41, in footnotes 21 and 32.

24 Cf. Stephen Bann, *Parallel Lines: Printmakers, Painters, and Photographers in Nineteenth-Century France*, New Haven & London, Yale University Press, 2001, 189.

25 Cf. Stephen Bann and Laure Boyer, "Robert Bingham, photographe du monde de l'art sous le Second Empire", in: *Études photographiques*, no. 12, November 2002, 126-147.

26 Théophile Gautier, in: *L'Artiste*, 7 March 1858.



Figure 9a

Paul Sandby, "Lady Frances Scott and Lady Elliot", c.1780, Watercolour over pencil, Yale Center for British Art, in: Ann Bermingham, *Learning to Draw. Studies in the Cultural History of a Polite and Useful Art*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press 2000, fig. 49, 81.

Figure 9b

Thomas Gainsborough, "Study of a man sketching using a Claude glass", c. 1750-55, pencil, British Museum, London, in: Michael Clarke, *The Tempting Prospect. A Social History of English Watercolours*, London: British Museum 1981, ill. 19, 34.

ing, transitory images realized using the camera obscura or permanent, fixed, chemo-physical pictures – photographs – were the subject of discussion. However, because they were created using a lens system, they bear the insignias of this system. And that means nothing else than that these "miniature paintings" were marred by aberrations (image defects). Or, as Henri de Valenciennes stated: "J'ai dit précédemment que la convexité des verres de la Chambre noire déformait les lignes et les rendait courbes; ce qui est un grand défaut dans cette machine."³²

As I have briefly outlined in this essay, at the time of its invention and publication, contemporaries did not consider photography a categorically new kind of process for producing images. However, an epistemically new aspect – and this was described as being a sensation around 1839 – was that it now became possible to save the ephemeral pictures of the camera obscura. It became possible to take the miniature paintings that had been created using optical machines home, as Janin described pictures of the towers of Notre Dame, and the new recording process had the potential of forming collections. And, although the terms take and record were used equally to designate drawings created with the help of optical instruments as well as those produced using an optical-chemical process in the period around 1839, only the latter was invested with the concept of extemporality of recording during the nineteenth century.

While studies on the history of photography, as well as on the history of art, assume a fundamentally new iconographic quality of photographic images,³³ this is only postulated to

27 In his salon critique, Charles Baudelaire differentiated between the linear style and painterly style when comparing the works of Ingres and his followers with those by Delacroix [cf. Carter Ratcliff, "Painterly vs. Painted," *Art News Annual*, Nr. XXXVII 1971, pp. 131-140]. However, Ingres himself describes drawing as being superior to colouration when he writes: "Drawing is not just reproducing contours, it is not just the line; drawing is also the expression, the inner form, the composition, the modelling. See what is

left after that. Drawing is seven eighths of what makes up painting" [cited after Pierre Barousse "The drawings of Ingres or the poetry in his work," in: *Ingres. Drawings from the Musée Ingres at Montauban and other collections* (exhibition catalogue), Arts Council of Great Britain, 1979, p. 5.]
28 Elizabeth Anne McCauley, "Art Reproduction for the Masses", in: McCauley, *Industrial Madness. Commercial Photography in Paris 1848-1871*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press 1994, 265-300: 276f.

a limited extent in the texts accompanying its introduction. Until the 1850s, use was made of the metaphors and diction employed to describe the pictures of the outside world projected or mirrored onto a screen through the camera obscura in connection with optical systems to describe photographs – such as *Œils artificiels* or *Rétines*.³⁴ In spite of this, the fact still applies that pictures produced using optical media – and, therefore, real pictures – are the ideal media for creating an inventory. In that respect, nothing has changed since 1800, the time in which photography was being developed and that Michel Serres refers to as the age of taking inventory.³⁵

For example, Talbot had already described his calotypes as optical media for indexing, recalling, and stocktaking in his commentary on plate III “Articles of China”: “The whole cabinet of a Virtuoso and collector of old China might be depicted on paper in little more than it would take him to make a written inventory describing it in the usual way.” “[H]owever numerous the objects – however complicated the arrangement – the Camera depicts them all at once” with “the object glass”. It is interesting to note that, precisely in this section where Talbot draws attention to photography’s potential for depicting an inventory, he underlines that only the camera’s glass lens, along with a light-sensitive chemical layer, makes it possible for it to create a record. He naturalizes the chemo-physical foundations of photography when he describes the lens as “the eye of the instrument” and compares “the sensitive paper” with the retina. If we bear in mind that the term pencil designates both the drawing instrument and the ray of light, this passage, in which Talbot gives a detailed description of the visual effect of the “contracted aperture”, can be interpreted as the entry of collecting into recording on the one hand and recording into the laws of nature on the other. In addition, it once again illustrates the concept of “Nature as a Drawing Mistress” already ventilated by Talbot in 1839.

Since its beginnings, the conceptualization of photography as a self-registering process executed by nature has misled the viewers of photographic images to the conclusion that these are truthful whereas – because they are subject to the laws of nature – they are only real. However, it is precisely this misjudgement of reality as being truth that has led to the misunderstanding on the character of photographic and photo-realistic images.

In contrast to the discourses on reality, those on truth express conflicting interests. While the criticism of fleeting camera obscura pictures and their photographic successors founded on the reproduction modalities of their lens systems is based on exactly this optical intermediary, discussions on the qualification and quality of photography as a medium for artistic reproduction are ideological.

In the case of the reproductions for collectors or of collections I have discussed, this means that, whenever new interest groups appear on the scene, aesthetic judgements were – and will continue to be – re-evaluated. In 1839, art reproductions were regarded as miracles thanks to

29 Cf. Daguerre 1859 (reference 6).

30 Cf. Martin Kemp, *The Science of Art. Optical Themes in Western Art from Brunelleschi to Seurat*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press 1990, 188ff.

31 Pierre Henri Valenciennes [1800], *Éléments de perspective pratique, à l'usage des artistes. Suivis de Réflexions et conseils à un Élève sur la peinture et sculpture; chevalier de la Légion-D'Honneur; de la Société*

Philotechnique etc., 2nd edition, revised, corrected and augmented by the author, Paris: Aimé Payen, Librairie, Rue Serpente, no. 13 1820, 240-241.

32 Valenciennes 1820 (reference 30), 240 [emphasis H.W.]: “I stated previously that the convexity of the glasses of a camera obscura deform lines and render them curves and that is a major flaw of this machine.”

33 Cf., among other publications, Wiebke Ratzeburg’s “Mediendiskussion im 19. Jahrhundert. Wie die Kunstgeschichte ihre wissenschaftliche Grundlage

the self-registering nature that made its way into them but – in the 1850s, this was evaluated and conceived much more conflictingly -- because the demands on the pictures changed, because other interests became important (who was photographing which pictures, who held the rights to these pictures, what happened to the graphic reproduction enterprises as in the case of the Louvre, and so on). The fact that these estimations were undertaken on the parameters of a concept of art based on artistic and technical skill, only means that they subsumed criteria that modernity had established to distinguish those aesthetically valuable artefacts that would henceforth be qualified as being high art. This led to the notion that it was really nature that registered itself – the *sine manu factum* of the early period – becoming obsolete once and for all. From that time on, pictures produced, generated without the participation of the hand were assimilated into discourses that – necessarily – required a transparent, i.e. objective, medium created through an objective lens – not least to hide its own situation and areas of its interests. Consequently, in “Le public moderne et la photographie” Charles Baudelaire was able to name Louis Jacques Mandé a “Messiah” of industrial, mimetic methods of depiction and view the medium he had discovered as an “extremely lowly servant” of science and the arts that, at best, was capable of assimilating everything of value to us that is threatened with vanishing.³⁶

in der Fotografie fand,” (in: Kritische Berichte, Nr. 1, 2002, 22–39); here, the artistic status of photography as ventilated in German-speaking countries, e.g. as included in Gerhard Plumpe’s *Der tote Blick. Zum Diskurs der Fotografie in der Zeit des Realismus* (Munich: Fink 1990), is the subject of discussion.

34 As the investigations made by Martin Kemp (Kemp 1990, reference 29) and Erna Fiorentini (*Camera Obscura vs. Camera Lucida – Distinguishing*

Early Nineteenth Century Modes of Seeing, Berlin: Max Planck Institut für Wissenschaftsgeschichte 2006, Preprint no. 307) show.

35 Michel Serres, *Hermes III. Die Übersetzung*, German by Michael Bischoff, Berlin: Merve, 222.

36 Charles Baudelaire, “The Salon of 1859: The Modern Public and Photography (1859), in Beaumont Newhall (ed.), *Photography: Essays and Images*, New York: Museum of Modern Art.

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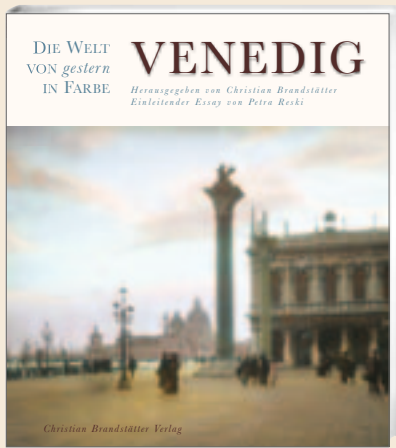
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