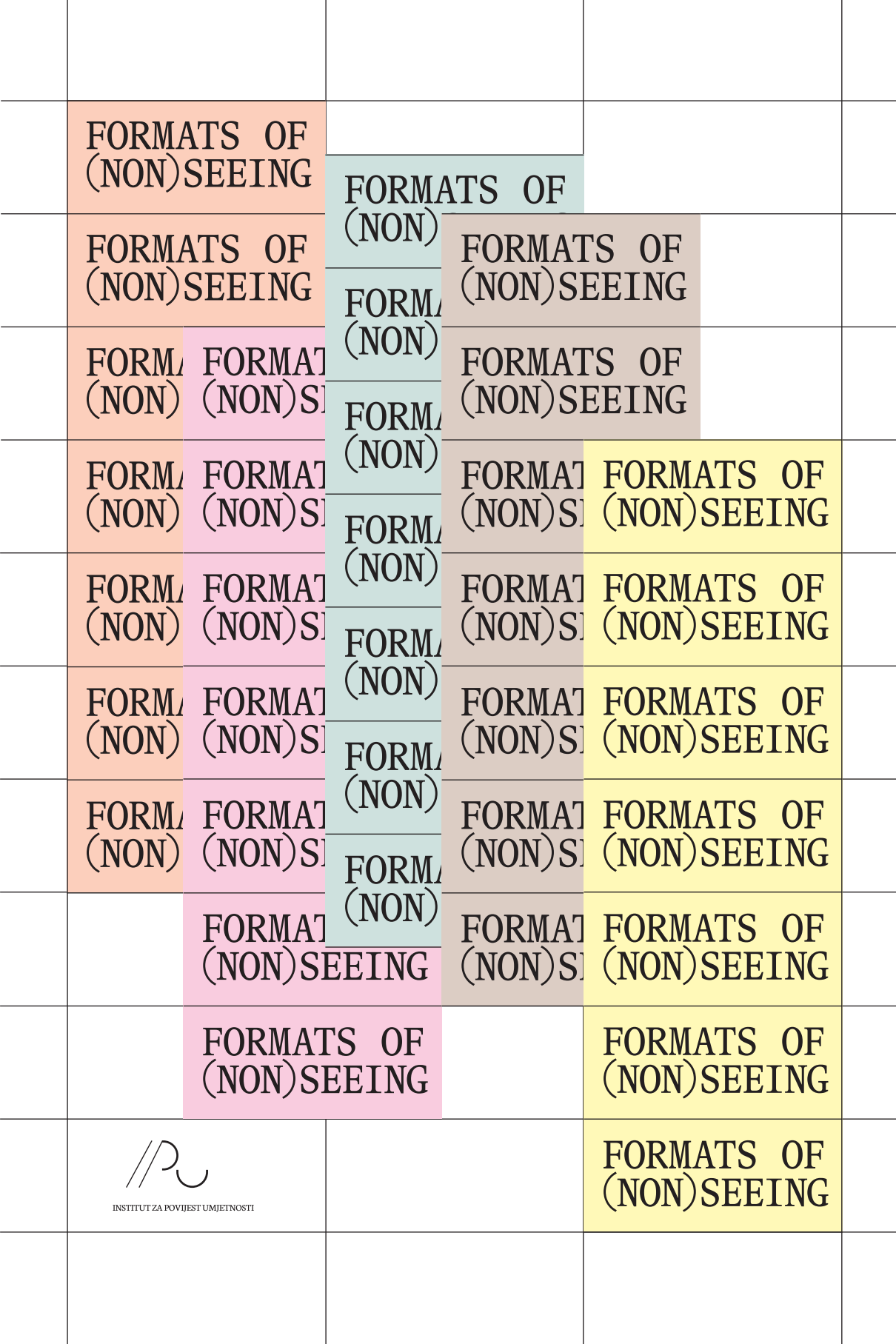

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Taking specific historical, ethnographic, sociological, museological and ethical questions as its starting point, the book weaves together all the transdisciplinary aspects of research into a valuable document of the history of international and Croatian photography in a theoretical context, demonstrating that the relevant legacy of visual memory is a historical, social and poetic issue. The work is exceedingly pertinent considering the contemporary approach to the medium it tackles […] Even in the European context, the research innovatively analyses individual media phenomena of photography or significant authors, bringing them together in a transdisciplinary framework of media theory.

Nataša Lah (from a review)

The inclusion of scientific, disciplinary discourses that have to date rarely been employed in the discussion of photography is the key innovation of this publication [which] approaches the topic in a highly interdisciplinary manner, in line with the general development of interdisciplinary and qualitative methods and the creation of new research protocols connecting different areas and fields of knowledge. The contributions in the volume share several fundamental methodological approaches – historiographical, epistemological and critical-theoretical (discourse analysis, cultural materialism, psychoanalysis, feminist criticism, etc.) – within which, depending on individual interest, they approach specific topics, often related to their own national space and cultural heritage.

Ivana Mance Cipek (from a review)

[…] it is so important to generate new intellectual impulses in the discourse on photography and its nature, to ask questions about its morphology, to build a new methodology dedicated to photography. All of these factors are related to the chapters presented in this edited volume. […] The common aspect of all of these essays is that they address a type of photography that has not been seen before and has not been treated as much, or at all, as material for research analysis. Meanwhile, it is precisely these kinds of photographs, sometimes referred to as vernacular, that can contribute to very important threads of the study of photography.

Marika Kuźmicz (from a review)

FORMATS OF (NON)SEEING

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INSTITUT ZA POVIJEST UMJETNOSTI

FORMATS OF (NON)SEEING

PUBLISHER
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Nataša Lah

The book contains contributions by the theoreticians, architects, curators and independent researchers who have been participated at the conference Formats of (Non)Seeing (Split, October 27 – 29, 2022), carried out as part of the research project *Ekspozicija – Themes and Aspects of Croatian Photography from the 19th Century until Today*, funded by the Croatian Science Foundation and managed under the No. IP-2019-04-1772.

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SANDRA KRIŽIĆ ROBAN

The Turbulent Photographic Field

DOI: 10.31664/9789533730530.01

> [Photographic] "Images are significant surfaces. Images signify—mainly—something 'out there' in space and time that they have to make comprehensible to us as abstractions (as reductions of the four dimensions of space and time to the two surface dimensions)."
>
> Vilém Flusser, *Towards a Philosophy of Photography*

Even though in everyday life we download and consume photographs without hesitation, rarely pondering their complex nature, the advent of photography as a medium profoundly transformed people's relationship towards the phenomenon of images and visuality. This turbulent field of happenings, coursing with meaning and knowledge (Lyotard), in addition to visual content, is directly connected to the development of modern society and its culture, art, science and media, whereas photography earned its artistic status on a par with painting and sculpture only after the Second World War. It is embedded in the foundations of what we perceive as popular culture, but it seems that the consequences of photography are still not sufficiently recognised.

Thanks to the development of theory and criticism, photography has become a discursive field on an international level and an important driving force in the all-encompassing development of culture and society (Sekula), which has encouraged critics and theorists to consider it outside of standard frameworks. Over the years, it was observed that an interdisciplinary approach, that would allow a comprehensive and multi-layered—scientific, artistic and professional—valorisation and interpretation of the medium, was still lacking. Although photography is often considered a vital "tool" in a gamut of scientific fields, among other things thanks to its ability to "witness" the truth of the moment and the fact that, through visual content, it has the ability to shed light on certain phenomena, civilisational discoveries and various aspects of life, photography as a social practice, and the role of photographer as a social participant, have affected the perception of the photo-taking position, which is, according to Sekula, neither passive nor innocent. It is precisely for this reason that the historical material, until now considered primarily through the prism of historiography, or frequently as the development of specific techniques, has unavoidably been subjected to new readings.

And while, on a basic level, photographic images satisfy the desire for a clear sense of identity and belonging to a certain culture, interest group and/or community, contemporary critical approaches reexamine how photographic perception affects the ways of seeing and acquiring knowledge (Wells). In recent years, critics and theoreticians have approached photography not by interpreting it exclusively as a dispositive of the pictorial or a visible form (Rancière, Didi-Huberman), but by insisting on the realisation that these images might contain records about history and communication, about traditions, texts, testimonies and labels, all of which have the power to influence the construction of global knowledge. Certain theorists, including Liz Wells, are of the opinion that the critical interpretation of photography affected the political and social empowerment that began in the 1960s, while a series of images from the 1970s, would, for instance, attest to the importance and role of social groups that significantly influenced public opinion, the media and institutions, and indirectly also the audience, which was becoming increasingly better informed precisely thanks to photography.

Owing to these features, contemporary interpretation of photography requires networking and an amalgamation of analytical and interpretive approaches that broach it from different angles. And while the debate over the nature and manifold influences of photography is contemporaneous with the emergence of the field, and has developed since the 1830s, the current stance towards photographic images is becoming increasingly complex and requires careful consideration in order to comprehend the reality negotiated by the medium. This is precisely why we enter into dialogue with the "existing, found and visited" that photography records (Lübbke-Tidow), and which enables new readings and interpretations, simultaneously requiring a different methodological disposition. Consequently, the scientific research project *Ekspozicija. Themes and Aspects of Croatian Photography from the 19th Century until Today* (HRZZ-IP-2019-04-1772) was from the start organised through a synergy of researchers and experts in the humanities, social, technical and natural sciences, as well as artists ready to explore and interpret the ambiguity and multi-layeredness of the medium of photography and the changes in its performative iterations with regard to the transition from the analogue into the digital age. A series of individual and group research initiatives conducted as part of the project do not focus on what photography shows (and what is visible at first glance), but through a combination of explorative, analytical, interpretive and performative approaches, pose manifold questions *what photography is*, *what it does*, *what it did yesterday*, *and what it can do tomorrow*. Given the wide range of manifestations and heterogeneity of photographic images, special attention was directed towards the contexts within which they were created, and the realities they themselves generate, in accordance with the "ways in which the discourse of photography has been produced and elaborated in different historical and cultural contexts" (Emerling), which is key to understanding both photography and our reflections on the medium and the roles assigned to it.

This publication, compiled on the basis of presentations at the eponymous conference organised by the Institute of Art History (Split, 27–29 October 2022), was formed around several theses which attempted to stimulate new critical interpretations of the medium through the inclusion of scientific, disciplinary discourses, interdisciplinary research endeavours, as well as from the perspective of artistic fields. We considered secondary knowledge, mediated by means of vernacular images, whose banality and "insignificance" institute a discussion on the unpredictability, but also the emancipation of the medium, as well as photography as a "pedagogical tool" aiding the construction and transfer of knowledge. Next, we considered photography through curatorial and museological practices, which, thanks to the changes in the perception of the old hierarchies of artistic mediums, have "embraced" the one that simultaneously exists in countless contexts. Finally, we observed photographic (de)territorialisation responsible for discursive shifts, accompanied by new ways of understanding the photographic phenomenon, and we observed photography as a strategy and practice of anticipatory contemplation about society, community, and the world, which are considered through a deconstruction and re-semanticization of the medium, alongside discussion of the documentational aspect of photography as means of reaching new discoveries.

These approaches were chosen without the necessity of being constrained by rules, chronology or any other kind of hierarchy. Inasmuch, the research process, guided (too) by personal interests, was considered from a subjective vantage point allowing the selected phenomena to be accessed freely, with time jumps across almost two hundred years since photography was first patented. Such an approach requires open-minded readers, willing to make intuitive connections between the texts and the topics they tackle. Divided into five chapters, the volume becomes a medium for slowing down and encouraging reflection that, regardless of editorial wishes, may be subjective and open to new views. The chapters are not a reflection of a need for inventorisation, but function as a loose guide allowing us to delineate the topics and interests engaging the authors. This is already visible from looking at the visual content that points to meanings and statements about photographic images. The images have, however, been placed in challenging relationships, forming a kind of (photographic) archipelago the parts of which are not necessarily interconnected.

In addressing photography, we do so by attending to the historical aspects of the medium. In Stella Fatović-Ferenčić and Martin Kuhar's article "Photographs of Medical Casuistry in the Croatian Journal *Liječnički vjesnik* from 1877 to 1949", the relationship between image and text is discussed on a representative sample of pioneering works of medical doctors and their contributions to clinical photography, which the authors connect to the humanistic field and critical considerations of documentarist and ethical implications. In the article "Skinny and Exhausted: Photographs of Underaged Labor Force in Interwar Yugoslavia", Ana Rajković Pejić

discusses the complex topic of social and economic relations in the interwar period, whereby the camera portrays not only the workers' bodies at work, but also functions as a weapon in the social struggle for labour rights. Ante Orlović also tackles a specific political environment in his article "Photo Documentation of Alumina Factory in Obrovac—Rise and Fall of the 'Obrovac Giant'", presenting the little-known body of work of the renowned Zadar photographer, Ante Brkan. These are politically motivated documentarist scenes of one of the major "cases" of misdirected investment, while the scenes resemble a dystopian architectural model of a factory that over time became a symbol of party-political decisions. Ana Šeparović and Sandra Križić Roban's chapter titled "Photography in the Focus of Cultural-Critical Discourse: Critical Reflections on Photography in Croatia between 1941 and the 1970s", critically analyses the written materials on photography during the war and postwar period, offering information on diverse professional material, often lacking in critical discourse. Essentially historiographical, the review encompasses specialised non-fiction and reflects the socio-political changes that (also) influenced photographic content, mediated by images and texts.

Contemporary curatorial and museological practices are the focus of Ivana Gržina's contribution "'Both Sides Now': Images of a Museum's Life from Up and Down", dedicated to photographic eco-systems created outside of standard archival canons. She addresses vernacular photography, which in the local context rarely captures the attention of researchers, overly "relying" on its banality and ignoring the exceptional knowledge of social dynamics and contexts that such snapshots make possible. In the chapter "The Example of Photography in Print and Circulation—On the Historiography of Photography, Artistic Research and the Multidisciplinary and Practice-based Perspective.", Niclas Östlind emphasises the importance of a multidimensional perspective vital for the re-examination of research theses and dissemination. Through a series of historical examples, he introduces the issue of specialised non-fiction writing, promoting a practice-based orientation of artistic-photographic research. On the other hand, using the example of the schematic proposal for the establishment of a museum of photography, advocated in 1986 by Petar Dabac, Lana Lovrenčić, in the article "A Midterm Plan: Petar Dabac and His Initiative to Establish a National Museum of Photography", presents the specifics of one of the most important private photographic archives in the region of former Yugoslavia, highlighting the relationships between cultural workers, as well as the ways in which they championed photography.

The territories that photography "inventories" sometimes consist of perfectly ordinary, constructed landscapes, which are the focus of the exhibition considered by Alice Haddad in her contribution "The Landscape as Inventory Versus Impression: Exhibiting the Photography Commission of the Flemish Government Architect", focusing on a contemporary perspective that interprets the earlier pioneering, and equally ephemeral actions, of the Flemish government in a new way. At the same time, the objectifying gaze of the photographer is realised as vernacular photography which, from today's perspective, helps to "reconstruct" the historical exhibition. In the article "Croatia in Color: Autochromes with Croatian Motifs in Albert Kahn's *Archives of the Planet*", Hrvoje Gržina analyses a specific archive created in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, thanks to the collaboration between geographer Jean Brunhes, photographer Auguste Léon and philanthropist Albert Kahn, who sought to shape a photographic image of the world, bequeathing it to the future. A portion of this unique photographic travelogue—whose scenes were shown at intellectual gatherings where photography served as a medium for transitioning into other, newly discovered worlds—was also created in Croatia. In the chapter titled "...ce phénomène photographique, la vie", through a parallel reading of Marguerite Duras' film *L'homme atlantique* and the works of Croatian artist Katarina Ivanišin Kardum, Leonida Kovač presents a study on the specific cinematic syntax she encountered in the film, "instructions" not to attempt to understand *this phenomenon of photography, or life,* through the prism of which she considers the still frames of Ivanišin Kardum's drawings and photographs, thus structuring a registered syntax in relation to diary entries, as well as the film.

The portion of the volume dedicated to the resistance and emancipation of the medium of photography comprises the contributions of four authors: Katarzyna Ruchel-Stockmans in "Commoning Photography. Grassroots and Community-based Photographic Archives in Eastern Europe and the (Non)Visibility of Everyday Resistances" addresses the collectives dedicated to collating vernacular photographs which they make available (online), in line with the intent of changing official historical narratives. These procedures contributed to new knowledge about small resistances and oppositional friendliness, allowing insight into the visual reality of the "uneventful" world and its anonymous actors. George Themistokleous' viewing apparatus, elucidated in the chapter "Automated Images, and 'Eye'-dentities along Nicosia's Green Line Border", focuses on the green line that encircles and divides Nicosia. This so-called protection zone, where conflict and division into two closed systems have long hibernated, exists thanks to the author's writings and photography in line with Foucault's *panopticon*, based on Bentham's concept of prison architecture subject to surveillance and control. In "Photography as an Emancipatory Tool", Višnja Pentić goes beyond not only the dominance of aesthetics, but also the dominance that conditions class and other differences, advocating the establishment of emancipatory practices which make it possible to appreciate and understand photography. In "Tracing the Threads of a Relationship through Archival Artefacts: Perspectives on Otti Berger and Ludwig Hilberseimer", Alexandra Matz devotes herself to researching the archives of the two Bauhaus students and partners, in order to illuminate their relationship through multiple readings of a series of documents, letters, and photographs and the fate she reconstructs, building it as a kind of textual interpretative weaving.

The volume concludes with a chapter devoted to the construction and transfer of knowledge. The article by Tihana Petrović Leš, Tihana Rubić and Ivan Grkeš "Milovan Gavazzi's Ethnographic Photography and Ethnological Research in Dalmatia in the First Half of the 20th Century" is based on extensive research into the photographic work of Croatian ethnologist Milovan Gavazzi. Photos from his photographic archive may be considered vernacular photography, while in this case, their "ordinariness" refers to a particular understanding of the customs, appearance and everyday life of the region of Adriatic Croatia. At the same time, photography itself becomes a research "tool" and a museum object that bears witness to social changes and their protagonists, while also participating in the preservation of national heritage. Heritage is also considered by Meri Kunčić in the chapter "A Distant City—Photos from the Past of the Island of Rab", focusing on the importance of the relationship between image and text, which jointly participate in the transmission of the island's oral, unwritten history. She focuses on the perspective of women's and children's daily life, shown in "long duration" photographs, particularly the scenes of human labour. Dominik Lengyel and Catherine Toulouse in "The Construction of Knowledge Through Virtual Photography of Abstract Geometry" translate verbal knowledge into its pictorial equivalent, using their transdisciplinary method—which they term virtual photography—based on the knowledge and "tools" borrowed from archaeology, art history and architecture. The resulting "snapshots" have the properties of perspective, frame and other fixed parameters, while constructing a virtual space aided by photography, which the authors treat as physical reality.

A significant portion of the contributions in the volume are related to the understanding of history and attempts of finding a new path, beyond the grand (and partly spent) narratives, which we have adopted over time and according to which we have tailored our understanding of the world. This path is envisioned as a response to the tendency of unreasonable acceleration of all aspects of our life and the ephemerality of photography, which, according to Stuart Hall, does not even exist as an original creation under this name. Guided by the ambition of realising this volume as the result of several years of systematic research into the relationships and ways of photographic representation of the world, as well as the knowledge produced by photographic images and their implications in power politics, the project *Ekspozicija* and this final publication aimed to outline the directions we had taken—the pathways of specific practices and situations in which photographs, seemingly, denote, signify, and perceive something. To that extent, this is a heterogeneous area in which opinions, knowledge and images "collide", while textual discourse to which we necessarily resort demonstrates that this area is neither exclusively pictorial nor visual. Because it is with the assistance of text that the knowledge we mediate is produced and circulated.

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ADDRESSING PHOTOGRAPHS

STELLA FATOVIĆ-FERENČIĆ
MARTIN KUHAR

Photographs of Medical Casuistry in the Croatian Journal *Liječnički vjesnik* from 1877 to 1949[1]

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After the discovery of photography, scientists almost immediately recognized its potential in different fields of research including medicine. From very early days, doctors were involved in applying photography as a tool for documenting clinical cases, helping them make a correct diagnosis and reaching valid conclusions in clinical research.[2] In Parisian hospital Charité in 1840, Alfred François Donné photographed bones and teeth and made daguerreotypes from microscopic images.[3] In 1852, the founder of Berlin's orthopedic clinic Hermann Wolff Berend started to photograph patients before and after operations.[4] Hugh Welch Diamond, the founder of the Photographic Society, used photography to identify visual signs of mental illness and thus study its physiognomy.[5] Guillaume-Benjamin Duchenne recorded photographically the effect of facial muscle faradization and the most typical pathological cases, which resulted in the *Album de photographies pathologiques* published in 1862, the first attempt to illustrate a medical book with photographs of living patients.[6] His student at the Salpêtrière hospital Jean-Martin Charcot believed that photographs could help the doctors diagnose and understand mental illnesses, particularly hysteria.[7] In 1882, Charcot employed Albert Londe who, as a result of his involvement, published *La photographie médicale* in 1893.[8] Photography also became an instrumental element in the development of medical disciplines such as dermatology. At the same time, it spurred the establishment of journals entirely devoted to medical photography, with the first being the *Revue photographique des hôpitaux de Paris. Bulletin Médical* founded in 1869.[9]

1 This paper is an expanded version of a paper currently in print in *Liječnički vjesnik*.
2 Rosen, "Medicine and Early Photography".
3 Diamantis, Magiorkinis, Androutsos, "Alfred François Donné".
4 Summerly, "Medical Photography", 916.
5 Wetzler, "Hugh Diamond".
6 Parent, "Duchenne De Boulogne", 373.
7 Didi-Huberman, *Invention of Hysteria*; Hustvedt, *Medical Muses*.
8 Brauer, "Capturing Unconsciousness".
9 Pasquali, "History of Medical Photography".

In the nineteenth century, professional journals became widely available and increasingly influential, particularly for the dissemination of new knowledge and clinical experiences, thus gathering members of various medical specialties in a community of shared interests. Medical journals developed into influential forums that stimulated the development of medical professions, modified the scientific landscape and even effected societal changes. It is believed that the number of scientific journals increased from 900 in 1800 to 60.000 in 1901.[10]

Among the first medical journals in Croatia was *Liječnički vjesnik*, the official bulletin of the Croatian Medical Association established in 1877. In time, this journal developed into a recognizable platform fostering local development of clinical medicine and scientific research, and is now among only a hundred oldest European journals that are published in continuity to this day. This continuity counting 146 years enables multiple insights, including the changes in editorial policies and the shifting healthcare interests, as well as the reconstruction of how broader political, social and cultural contexts influenced medical landscape in the country.[11] At the same time, its pages allow us to trace the advent and development of medical photography, their quality, content and functionality.

LIJEČNIČKI VJESNIK AND MEDICAL PHOTOGRAPHY IN CROATIA

There is almost no medical specialty that remained apathetic towards the use of photography.[12] However, works that analyze and interpret the role of medical photography in shaping ideas on health, medical innovations and scientific breakthroughs in Croatia are rather rare. There is an analysis on the pioneering work of traumatologist Vatroslav Florschütz which extensively utilized a collection of photographs on glass that documented his operating practices.[13] Recently, an analysis was published on Božidar Špišić, the pioneer of clinical photography in Croatia, who used photography to assert the social importance of orthopedics in treating injured soldiers during the First World War.[14] Photographs preserved at the Croatian Museum of Medicine and Pharmacy were used in two studies: first, on the connection between tuberculosis and housing misery in Zagreb in the early interwar period,[15] and second on the visual memory of the otorhinolaryngology clinic.[16] Furthermore, photographs kept at the Division for the History of Medical Sciences of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts were used to discover the ways in which the Department of Ophthalmology in Zagreb was visually memorialized.[17] Matko and Ana Marušić outlined the specificities and the role of war photography in the areas of public health, surgery, medical diagnostics, microscopy, psychiatry and forensic medicine,[18] while Dražen Grgić, Ante Pentz and Zdravko Mandić published a paper on digital photographs in ophthalmology.[19] Finally, Marko Velimir Grgić and Marija Pastorčić Grgić wrote a more general analysis on the role of visual documentation in medicine.[20]

When studying medical photography in professional journals in Croatia it is warranted to start from *Liječnički vjesnik*. At the time of its establishment, there was no medical school in Croatia and medical publications such as textbooks were scarce. The journal attempted to compensate for these deficiencies by encompassing a broad range of topics, many of which were accompanied by visual material such as drawings, X-rays and photographs. After the establishment of the School of Medicine in Zagreb in 1917, this journal transformed into an influential publication for the sharing of knowledge and clinical experiences within larger medical community.

Aside from changing its content through time, *Liječnički vjesnik* altered its appearance as well. Its visual presentation points not only to the ways the journal was graphically edited in the past, but also reflects the aesthetic sensibilities of different eras. In its beginnings, limited financial means pushed its visual appearance further down the priority list.[21] The first medical photograph printed in *Liječnički vjesnik* appeared in 1887 in an article entitled *Molluscum pedis cum nuce ossea* (Soft outgrowth with bony nucleus) by Josip Antolković, a secondary physician based at the Brothers of Mercy Hospital in Zagreb. It represents a soft tumor on a 24-year-old male's foot.[22] The photograph was printed at the center of the article, pushing into both textual columns. It does not contain a caption because the article is essentially a detailed description of the photograph.

After this photograph, the practice of including visual material in the articles became more prevalent. Photographs of interesting medical cases, apparatuses, medical institutions, departments, micro- and macro-preparations and portraits became a regular part of the journal's content, while

10 Brodman, *The Development of Medical Bibliography.*

11 Fatović-Ferenčić, *Liječnički vjesnik.*

12 See, for example, Hannavy, *Encyclopedia*; Neuse *et al.*, "The History of Photography in Dermatology"; Milam, Ramachandran, "Dermatologic Atlases"; Rogers, "The First Pre- and Post-Operative Photographs"; Parent, "Duchenne de Boulogne".

13 Fatović-Ferenčić, Pećina, *Iz Florschützova okvira.*

14 Fatović-Ferenčić, Kuhar, "Photography in the Rehabilitation".

15 Fatović-Ferenčić, Brkić Midžić, "Fotografije zagrebačke stambene bijede"; Fatović-Ferenčić, Kuhar, "The Representations of Housing Conditions and Tuberculosis".

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17 Fatović-Ferenčić, "The Eye Clinic's Visual History".

18 Marušić, Marušić, "Ratna fotografija u medicini".

19 Grgić, Pentz, Mandić, "Digital Imaging in Ophthalmology".

20 Grgić, Pastorčić Grgić, "Slikovna dokumentacija u medicini".

21 Brkić Midžić, Fatović-Ferenčić, "Vizualni identitet Liječničkog vjesnika".

22 Antolković, "Molluscum pedis".

after the discovery of Röntgen radiation X-ray images were also printed in abundance.

Visual identity of *Liječnički vjesnik* varied widely until 1950, which is also reflected in the ways photographs were included in its articles. At first, the photographs were part of the article as a supplementary material to the text. Their dimensions also varied so they could be found either in the center of the page or by the left or right text margins. From 1924 to 1934 photographs were published in a special supplement to every issue on a glossy white paper. Even when after 1934 the photographs were again printed within the text, sometimes the issues were supplemented with glossy paper at the end, especially in cases of a large number of photographs or when they were particularly striking.

Given the extensive photographic material found in *Liječnički vjesnik*, this analysis is focused on a specific sample concerning only the photographs depicting various types of medical casuistry from 1877 to 1949 (diseases and other pathologies, congenital malformations etc.), excluding X-ray images, therapeutic procedures (such as operations, reductions etc.) and medical institutions (such as hospitals, departments and physicians). Our sample includes a total of 251 cases accompanied by one or more photographs. For the purpose of this paper, we have categorized them as follows: patient portraits, photographs that visualize patients' emotions, photographs of extreme pathologies, photographic sequences and photographs used to assert the importance of particular medical specialties. We will also reflect on the temporality of photographs, their documentary value and the ethical implications that can be extracted from them.

PORTRAIT PHOTOGRAPHS

Several hundreds of identified photographs confirmed our suspicion that a substantial number of them would be portrait photographs. This is understandable given the fact that this was still a time of a holistic view on human health and disease, while the observation of individual variations within generalized parameters was a standard feature of clinical practice. Diagnostic capabilities were only being developed, so taking history and performing detailed physical examination were indispensable in the process of clinical evaluation of the patient. The photographs open the possibility to visualize data and distribute it to the reader. According to Kendall Walton, the authenticity of a photograph brings us closer to the person it represents by providing a sense of closeness—as if we were in contact with that person.[23]

At the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries, doctors mainly attempted to identify and explore the national pathology, its features and prevalence. Portrait photographs thus revealed patients

23 Walton, "Photographic realism".

with their local specificities and features, such as rural (women with scarves, girls with pigtails), urban (suit and tie, haircut) or military. Their clothes also tell us whether they were treated at the hospital (if they are in pajamas) or in the outpatient department (if they are dressed in a suit).

One of the more striking photographs of this kind is a photograph of a mother with a four-month-old male infant diagnosed as *meningocele occipitalis inferior* (Fig. 1).[24] The mother is dressed in black with a black scarf tied on her head. She is calm and composed with lowered eyelids, focusing on the child she holds during the examination. The composition of the photograph is diagonal, while the character of a mother dressed in all black is contrasted with an infant wrapped in white cloth. At the center of the photograph is the child's head in profile with two round protuberances visible in the occipital region. The child's face is illuminated and it calmly looks away from camera. This photograph was taken on November 13, 1902, when the patient was admitted to the hospital. Both mother's and child's calmness is somewhat unexpected and points to the pose created by the photographer to suggest the involvement of the mother in the process of physical examination. Trusting the physicians and hoping for a successful treatment, she willingly surrenders the child to the medical procedure. Her presence gives certain warmth and protection to the child, thus alluding to the humanness present in medicine despite overwhelming paternalism characterizing the first half of the twentieth century. Given its content and composition, this photograph stands out from other depictions of small children and infants which are mostly devoid of parental contact.

Sometimes portrait photography was used to emphasize specific symptoms in diagnosing a disease, thus acquiring a didactic role. An example is a photograph of three naked, skinny boys with protruding bellies on which the doctors drew lines in order to mark the significant enlargement of their livers and spleens. Such photographs were frequently taken during public health campaigns to suppress malaria in Dalmatia at the time and these have become almost paradigmatic for this disease.[25] This photograph is subversive, because although it alludes to typical depictions of patients suffering from malaria, it actually shows patients with endemic kala-azar. (Fig. 2).[26] By visualizing the same symptoms, the photograph warns about the possibility of mixing those two diseases and the dangers such a mistake brings. Namely, the wrong diagnosis resulted in the application of inadequate therapy, since quinine—a drug used to treat malaria—is ineffective in treating kala-azar, while exposing the children to its many side-effects.[27]

24 Maixner, "Meningocele occipitalis inferior".
25 Senta Marić, "Arhivska građa", 130.
26 Krmpotić, "Endemija kala-azara".
27 Mayerhofer, Dragišić, "Raširenost Kala-azara".

The tension between objectification of the body and its individuality makes photography a powerful tool when discussing a phenomenon Michel Foucault named the medical gaze.[28] The medical system subordinates the patients' emotional reactions to its own need for an objective, analytic assessment, with a focus on the realistic depiction which minimizes the role of photographer as an artist. This is due to the fact that a doctor expects a realistic representation in order to be able to clinically interpret the data. The scenery present in our sample of photographs is thus strictly related to the patients' pathology, while the only décor are white hospital walls and functional pieces of furniture, such as chairs on which the patients lean or sit, metal medical tripods and bandaging tables. Emotions on these photographs are frozen due to the focus—both on the part of a photographer and a patient—on the faithful reproduction of certain pathological changes. Patients' faces either show only glimpses of tension, fear, confusion and worry or they are expressionless and flat. Rarely, however, the photographs captured elements of subjective experience, as in the case of a photographic sequence showing the results of the operation performed on a 27-year-old woman with cleft lip. After the successful operation, the woman gained the functional ability to smile, which is portrayed through her joyous expression of delight at this fact. Her smile thus not only represents a functional ability that she previously did not possess, but also expresses the triumph of medicine (Fig. 3).

In the same way that the décor on these photographs was improvised and secondary to the medical information communicated through them, the photographers also paid little attention to the capturing of what Roland Barthes termed the "essence" of a person.[29] Still, in the case of a 24-year-old farmer with ptosis, epicanthus and trachoma, the doctors invoked the readers to try to unearth an essential and invisible part of the personality beyond the physical level, the so-called *animula*. The author of this case report thus invited his readers to observe the "patient's unintelligent gaze", seemingly established with the presence of epicanthus, a sign accompanying certain hereditary disorders such as the Down syndrome (Fig. 4).[30] The photograph, which functions as a tool not only in establishing bodily symptoms but also mental issues, in this case the patient's underdeveloped cognitive dimension, is thus completely in line with popular contemporary theories on the organic basis of mental disorders.

28 Zittlau, "Medical Portrait Photography".
29 Barthes, *Camera Lucida*, 6.
30 Toth, "Kongenitalna ptoza".

A significant segment of knowledge in the analyzed period was gained through comparing the pathological and the normal. The clinicians attempted to recognize general patterns and exceptions to the rules, and thus had a tendency to publish cases with rarely seen pathologies, frequently accompanying them with photographs. One such example, which allows for the reconstruction of lay conceptualizations of disease and the widespread custom of avoiding doctors, is a case from Ogulin hospital. There, in 1934, a 21-year-old girl was admitted with a massive vulvar tumor. The girl stated that she first noticed a lump on her right labia major when she was 15, but only went to the doctor six years later when the tumor started to "bother her during walking" and because "as a grown-up woman and a future wife [she] felt ashamed and wanted to get rid of it."[31] It is precisely this functional aspect of the tumor, i.e., how it impeded the girl's ability to walk, that the photographer wanted to depict with two photographs. In particular, the second photograph shows the girl with legs brought together in front of which hangs a huge fibromatous tumor that we can easily visualize how it strikes the girl's legs during walking (Fig. 5). Luckily, the hospital surgeon made a simple excision of the tumor that weighed 1700 grams, as well as the aesthetic genital plastic surgery, and the girl was released fully recovered.

The highest number of photographs of rare cases depicted advanced tumors with extreme dimensions. Some of them represented facial defects due to cancers in elderly but also children,[32] which additionally emphasized the rarity of such pathological changes. The photographs of rare cases contributed to the definition of *pathological*, constructing at the same time the concept of *normal*. Not only is this visible in cases of tumors, but also in the first cases of female[33] and male hermaphroditism.[34] Extremely rare combinations of diseases are also photographed, such as the testicular tuberculosis in a patient with testicular feminization, whose unfortunate diagnosis was reached by observing a mysterious lump in her inguinal canal.[35] Such cases confronted Croatian doctors with different, sometimes incompatible classification systems proposed by other, foreign authors. Photographs were used as a tool in convincing the readership as to why a particular system of classification was accepted and others rejected. At the same time, new names for various nosological entities were inaugurated and thus entered clinical practice in Croatia.

Doctors also considered how pathological phenomena corresponded with normal dependent on their quantitative variations.[36] A good example of

31 Vodehnal, "Dva rijetka ginekološka slučaja".
32 Car, "Sarkom der Orbita".
33 Culek, "Pseudohermafrodismus".
34 Zanela, "Hermaphroditismus".
35 Ibid.
36 Zittlau, "Medical Portrait Photography".

this is a diagnosis of *obesitas universalis*, the proof of which was a photograph of a naked woman (Fig. 6). For the author of the article, who worked in a rural, less developed part of Croatia where sustenance was scarcer, the case was "worthy of special mention" with almost a trivial explanation that "the crucial moment is supposedly chemical, i.e., the production of fat was larger than the expenditure."[37] When we contrast this case with today's world in which every fifth person in Croatia is obese and that obesity is now strongly correlated with poverty, it is readily apparent that the definition of normal depends in large part on the socioeconomic context, societal norms and the prevalence of certain pathologies.

THE TEMPORALITY OF PHOTOGRAPHS

Writing on the temporality of photographs, Barthes claims that a photograph exposes past in the present, underscoring the inevitable transience.[38] The photograph reflects a segment in time marked with a certain experience and insight, but also a temporal extensibility given the possibility of reevaluating its content.

At the start of the twentieth century, Croatian doctors were predominantly interested in less known or new diseases. New developments in the area of endocrinology, for example, turned the attention of medical community to the diseases for which the cause was previously unknown, and such cases were frequently accompanied with photographs. A good example is the first case of a patient with acromegaly (Fig. 7).[39] Both photographs show the same patient hospitalized in Osijek in 1894 due to severe rheumatic pain in both knees and a tumor on the right side of his skull and face. The first photograph shows the head and upper torso of a patient dressed in striped pajamas with arms crossed at his chest. On the patient's face there are tumorous growths with those on the left side deforming his ear and face, pulling the left corner of the mouth and moustaches downward. The patient is expressionless and focused on the photographer, while the fists are big and altered. The second photograph shows the lower part of the patient's body who is now sitting on the chair in order to provide a better view of his legs that show enlarged joints, particularly knees.

If this case had been published without photographs it would have entered Croatian medical history as the first documented case of acromegaly. However, it is precisely the inclusion of photographs that allows for an alternative explanation from today's vantage point informed by contemporary notions on this disease. While for the author the photographs are a clear proof of acromegaly, doctors today would note how the patient's face is deformed by tumorous growth and does not convey a typical expression

37 Partsch, "Obesitas".

38 Barthes, *Camera Lucida*.

39 Ćulumović, "Akromegalia".

of a patient with acromegaly, which involves the development of rougher facial features due to the enlargement of bones and sinuses.[40] One of the tools available to the doctor in cases of suspected acromegaly are past photographs through which a change in appearance could be ascertained. The author did not mention this diagnostic tool and given the fact that photography at the time was not widely available, it was probably technically unfeasible to follow the patient's disease by photographing him for several years. All these factors retrospectively throw doubt on the original diagnosis, for in this case, and in accordance with Barthes' notion of photography as a temporal hallucination,[41] it is precisely the photograph itself which enables us to reevaluate this case as the first description of acromegaly in Croatia.

Unlike the previous photographs, which attempted to highlight the changes that supposedly point to acromegaly, the next two photographs of patients with pellagra—a disease caused by inadequate uptake of niacin (vitamin B3)—are much worse in revealing its typical symptoms (Fig. 8). Proper visualization of skin changes characterizing pellagra would require a focused view of such spots, so it is evident that the author was not concerned with proving his diagnosis in these cases, but rather with establishing the time span of the disease. The caption under the photographs thus states: *pellagra lasts for 5 years* and *pellagra lasts for 3 years*.[42] In any case, the complex relationship between photography and time is revealed, with time being an important framework through which to observe and follow the development of the disease.

Unlike the case of acromegaly, where doctors unfortunately did not possess a patient's photograph prior to the advent of his disease, in the case involving a patient suffering from myasthenia they used a series of photographs to establish a timeline of the disease and its remission.[43] The photograph, which dominates the article with its central position on the first page, depicts a man in an urban suit from the beginning of the twentieth century (Fig. 9). The photograph from 1906 reveals the bilateral ptosis, myopathic forehead and extensive weakness of the extraocular muscles.[44] Apart from this photograph, several others were printed in the article. One, reprinted from foreign literature, shows a patient with ptosis with a

40 The enlargements of supraorbital arches and the nasal base are typical signs of acromegaly. Nasolabial fold and lips thicken. Acromegaly also leads to mandibular prognathism and malocclusion. Distance between teeth becomes more visible. All these features are lacking on the photograph.

41 Barthes, *Camera Lucida*, 115.

42 Ćulumović, "Pellagra", 420.

43 Myasthenia gravis is an autoimmune disease characterized with muscle weakness due to the destruction of acetylcholine receptors mediated by antibodies and cellular immunity.

44 Gutschy, "Slučaj".

picture of microscopic preparation of the affected muscles, and the other represents the same photograph from the front page, now reduced in size and accompanied with a photograph of a patient during previous remission. When observing those two photographs, a reader gains insight into the patient's normal appearance and that affected by the disease, as noted by the author of the case report: "This can best be observed by comparing the myasthenic facial expression of our patient now with that during remission after the year 1902 (photographed from the medallion)".[45] This case thus represents the first use of photography in comparing the patient's condition during remission and with active disease.

PHOTOGRAPHY AS A TOOL FOR AFFIRMING MEDICAL SPECIALTIES

During the first half of the twentieth century many medical specialties used photography as a tool for one's own affirmation. Unsurprisingly, many case reports containing photographs were published by the representatives of rather young specialties. Out of 251 cases accompanied by photographs in the analyzed period, 64 were orthopedic cases. The person most responsible for the introduction of photography to orthopedics was Božidar Špišić, one of the pioneers of medical photography in Croatia. Already during the First World War, Špišić extensively photodocumented the rehabilitation and resocialization of injured war veterans.[46] By doing so, he inspired a whole generation of younger orthopedists such as Mato Šarčević and Vladimir Ćepulić, who followed his lead and took photographs of their more interesting cases and thus underscored the importance of their own profession. Given that orthopedics originally arose out of the need to correct various deformities in children, Špišić frequently published pediatric cases. His argument was that by publishing clinical reports, medical community would be able to better understand the causal nature of various disorders:

> Because of this reason, it is important and useful to publish even the simplest cases to the medical public, because by multiplying casuistry we would become better at understanding the nature and causes of such congenital malformations. This is valid even more so in those cases which, after detailed research, enable us to determine not only the factors which caused such deformities, but also to establish the precise time when these factors started to exert their influence or became ineffective.[47]

With this kind of thinking, Špišić regularly published photographs with articles on a wide range of topics, such as the developmental dislocation

45 Ibid., 131.
46 Špišić, *Kako pomažemo našim invalidima.*
47 Špišić, "Prirodjene mane".

of the hip,[48] tuberculosis of the knee,[49] scoliosis,[50] knee contractures,[51] rickets,[52] and others (Fig. 10). It was of utmost importance to him to stimulate a moral and professional evolution in regards to the disabled body and to redefine its value according to the capability to perform physical work. According to Špišić, medicine was there to help achieve this goal and thus help in building a healthy and prosperous nation.[53]

Such an understanding of orthopedics as a specialty rooted in social medicine as much as in clinical, curative practice, was present throughout Špišić's career. It is through this lens that one should approach his description of *hallux varus*, a congenital malformation that he presented in *Liječnički vjesnik* using three examples from his clinical practice.[54] According to Špišić, the causes of this abnormality are both endogenous (hereditary factors, syphilis, alcoholism) and exogenous (abnormal fetal position, inflammation, amniotic band syndrome). Although his everyday work mostly involved individualized clinical practice far away from public health issues, Špišić presented this anomaly as a direct proof of the importance of a state fight against widespread alcoholism. Namely, Špišić claimed that in all three cases of children with *hallux varus*, their fathers were "in true sense dipsomaniacs".[55] In interwar period, when syphilis, tuberculosis and alcoholism were considered to be the most troubling public health issues capable of weakening the nation's biological capacities, Špišić's social-medical orthopedics demonstrated the correlation between social diseases and their clinical manifestations and affirmed the power of his profession to correct abnormalities. It thus positioned orthopedics as an indispensable element within more general healthcare reforms of his time.[56]

A similarly broad view characterized ophthalmology as well, a profession which profusely used photography to demonstrate interesting clinical cases and educated readers about the potential causes of ocular diseases. The first color photograph published on the pages of *Liječnički vjesnik* in 1906 arose from the ophthalmological practice (Fig. 11). It was a reproduction made in collotype by the Mosinger company in Zagreb,[57] for

48 Špišić, "Liječenje kongenitalne luksacije kuka".
49 Špišić, "Naše liječenje".
50 Špišić, "O skoliozi".
51 Špišić, "Ortopedsko-kirurško liječenje".
52 Špišić, "Prilog operativnom liječenju".
53 Osten, "Photographing Disabled Children".
54 Špišić, "Hallux varus".
55 Ibid., 92.
56 Fatović-Ferenčić, Kuhar, "Photography in the Rehabilitation".
57 Mosinger company was founded by the Collotype department (Svjetlotiskarski zavod) in 1899, and in 1904 a lithography section was also established.

which ophthalmologist Vladimir Katičić stated: "I should thank professor Haab in Zürich and Lehman publishing house in München for their kindliness with which they allowed me to reproduce these pictures, and also the government for their generosity in paying for the expenses."[58] As an oldest medical specialty, ophthalmology was well-established already at the beginning of the twentieth century. Its strong position within the medical system and its broad view on the questions of population health was evident through its treatment of trachoma, a prevalent eye infection caused by the bacterium *Chlamydia trachomatis*.[59] Ophthalmology approached the topic of trachoma through a social medicine lens, trying to emphasize the importance of changing unhygienic customs prevalent in the population, especially in the rural areas:

> Given that the major part of our population, including the substantial part of our intelligentsia, unfortunately does not comprehend the importance of trachoma and its severe consequences, and given that as physicians we are still not in a position to gain experience about trachoma and similar diseases at special medical courses, I will try with these words and additional pictures to contribute with my modest abilities to reduce the aforementioned shortcomings.[60]

Given the scarcity of ophthalmology atlases, Katičić included the photographs in his articles, arguing that "even the most schematic picture contributes greatly to better understanding and memory".[61] As a specialty dealing with sight and vision, it is only natural that the ophthalmologists would seek to document visual aspects of their profession. Interestingly, after his specialization in Vienna, Kurt Hühn, the son of a prominent Zagreb lithographer and photographer Julije Hühn, worked at the Sisters of Mercy Hospital in Zagreb as the head of the Department of Ophthalmology (1903–1940). Sadly, we could not find any photograph of his patients on the pages of *Liječnički vjesnik* in the analyzed period.[62]

As with many other medical specialties, ophthalmology gained traction with the establishment of the School of Medicine in Zagreb in 1917. On the fifth anniversary of the opening, a monograph was published celebrating the work done in this short period, with several clinics opting to include

58 Katičić, "Prilog".

59 Trachoma is an infection of the eye caused by the bacterium *Chlamydia trachomatis* and represents the leading cause of blindness due to infectious diseases in the world.

60 Katičić, "Prilog", 1.

61 Ibid.

62 Hühn was mostly interested in the Röntgen radiation, given that the Sisters of Mercy Hospital was the first in Zagreb to procure the X-ray machine (1901). Already in 1902, Hühn treated ulcerated breast cancer with X-rays, and published first X-ray images ever printed in *Liječnički vjesnik*.

a wealth of photographs.[63] Unlike other clinics, whose photographs were mainly taken by amateurs, the visual representation of the Department of Ophthalmology was left to the famous Zagreb photo atelier Foto Tonka run by Antonija Kulčar. Albert Botteri, the head of the Department at that time, undoubtedly wanted to represent his clinic, the first of its kind in the region, as an institution dedicated to functional organization, specialization and recognition, and as a mirror of his own competence in equipping it in the mold of distinguished European centers.[64]

When exploring the role of photography in the context of affirming the position of young medical specialties within broader medical system, a particularly interesting place belongs to neuropsychiatry, for it was at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries that the brain was understood as the seat of many mental disorders. Doctors tried to establish the correlations between organic changes in the brain on the one hand and mental disorders and neurologic symptoms on the other, while photography was used to objectivize the spotted changes.

Despite this general trajectory of the development of neuropsychiatry, articles published in *Liječnički vjesnik* were rarely accompanied with photographs. One exception was a case of one insane pastor, which featured a photograph of his brain (Fig. 12). It was confirmed during autopsy that the patient suffered from a brain tumor and the doctors concluded that it was the cause of this patient's psychiatric symptoms.[65] By reducing psychiatric symptoms to the changes in brain anatomy, neuropsychiatry utilized photography to position itself among other empirically grounded medical specialties.[66]

A photograph of the brain was also included in an article by psychiatrist Aleksandar Kuljženko, who described cases of frontotemporal dementia, i.e., the limited atrophy of cerebral cortex.[67] Photographs of brains rather than patients made it clear that the cognitive apparatus was biologically determined, thus placing psychiatry in a system far removed from the abstract (the soul) and into the concrete (the brain).

One of the most widely used photographic strategies that we have identified in *Liječnički vjesnik* and which were used to demonstrate contemporary therapeutic possibilities, were photographic sequences. Photographic documentation and medical narratives which follow it travel through time, allowing us a view into the past. Although a snapshot is instant, photography is sometimes temporalized through a process which points to

63 Anonymous, "Sveučilišne ustanove".

64 Fatović-Ferenčić, "The Eye Clinic's Visual History".

65 Stanojević, "Katamnestički pregled".

66 Kuhar, Fatović-Ferenčić, "Začetci i razvoj hrvatske psihijatrije".

67 Kuljženko, "O ograničenim atrofijama".

the different phases of a disease or its therapeutic management. Among the photographic sequences, one which stands out involves a case of an 18-year-old primipara from Opatija who gave birth to a child without the help of either a doctor or a midwife. Due to very strong labor pains her posterior vaginal wall and perineum ruptured and the child was delivered through this newly-formed passage which later got infected. The article is accompanied with one schematized drawing in order to elucidate the anatomical relationships, and three photographs taken from close range. The first shows the patient's condition upon the arrival to the clinic, the second after the perineal bridge fell off, and the third after plastic surgery. The temporal sequence established through photography allows for a complete reconstruction of the course of the disease and the therapeutic management.[68] This case, which included a photograph of a patient during recovery, differs from the usual before and after pictures used in the overwhelming majority of cases of photographic sequences. With the inclusion of a third photograph, the readers were given an even more plastic visualization of what they could expect during the management of similar cases.

Many other medical specialties published photographic sequences. A particularly rich material was published by Juraj Körbler from the Department for Treatment with Radium in 1934, who published 12 photographs depicting six patients before and after treatment with radium in various techniques (Fig. 13). His goal was to demonstrate the power of modern radiotherapy to spare healthy tissue and target the diseased.[69] Generally speaking, photographic sequences were focused much more on the competence of a physician and his therapeutic capabilities than on the disease itself. Thus, photography revealed the complex relationship between disease and time, through which it was increasingly visualized.

CONCLUSION

Our screening of photographs published in *Liječnički vjesnik* from 1877 to 1950 yielded 251 instances of medical casuistry. The photographs accompanied, among others, the first descriptions of new diseases, tumors, congenital anomalies and epidemic diseases. When looking at these photographs from today's vantage point, it has increasingly become clear to us that by showing the changed, deformed or misshapen bodies, subjected to specific clinical gaze, therapy and rehabilitation, the doctors were concerned with mapping and establishing the national pathology. The main incentive was to document these cases for posterity, or, in the words of one physician from the beginning of the twentieth century, "to photograph the child with this congenital malformation, so that the case would be

68 Zanela, "Ruptura".

69 Körbler, "Liječenje raka kože".

preserved on the pages of *Liječnički vjesnik*".[70] By publishing the photographs, the doctors wanted to foster the discussion on certain topics and to visually compare local cases with foreign literature. The photographs opened up the possibility of a more detailed questioning of proposed classifications of diseases and establishing new nosologic entities. In an era of poor availability of adequate visual teaching aids, photography became a popular medium due to its visual representation of clinical signs and therapeutic procedures. It recorded the process of treatment in all its stages and impressively displayed doctors' valiant efforts to successfully rehabilitate their patients.

Most of the photographs published in *Liječnički vjesnik* at the end of the nineteenth and in the first half of the twentieth centuries display a lack of technical quality and sometimes even a poor focus on the features of a disease represented on them. This can be attributed to the fact that medical institutions only exceptionally hired professional photographs. Unlike in other countries, these photographs were almost exclusively made in a hospital setting and taken by amateurs, so they cannot be used to evaluate the possible role the commercial photography played in the development of medical photography.[71] Poor quality of these photographs can also be ascribed to the lack of specific instructions for authors regarding the necessary quality of photographs intended for publication, their number, dimensions or captions.[72] In financially difficult times, such as those immediately after the Second World War, the editorial board of *Liječnički vjesnik* even suggested to the authors to keep the number of photographs to a minimum, otherwise they would have to participate in covering the expenses for their printing.[73] Therefore, it can safely be assumed that most of the photographs were taken from medical archives, while only a lesser number was made exclusively for the articles intended to be published in the journal.[74]

Not only were the photographs not authored in most cases, but also the techniques used in making them were mentioned only in extremely rare instances. Such exceptions are the first color photographs of trachoma published by Vladimir Katičić, and an article penned by the neuropsychiatrist Franjo Gutchy from 1897, in which there is a caption stating that the photograph is "an autotypy made by V. I. Margetić in Zagreb".[75] As the

70 Culek, "Prirodjeni rascjep".

71 Freeland, "Portraits".

72 The first Instructions for Authors were published in *Liječnički vjesnik* in 1922.

73 See, for example, Anonymous, "Upute", 58.

74 The founder of clinical photography in Croatia, the orthopedist Božidar Špišić, mentions a photographer in his Department of Orthopedics, by does not mention his name. The photographs made for Špišić are unsigned.

75 Gutschy, "Slučaj porencephalije".

author himself states, it is a "photogram" of a patient with cerebral palsy, made by Vaso Margetić in relief printing.[76]

Photographs accompanying the cases published in *Liječnički vjesnik* were either printed alone or in combination with photographs of other patients or the same patient after therapy (as comparative material and/or to evaluate the treatment), X-rays (to better visualize the internal changes), photographs of micro- and macropreparations (most often with pathological or microbiological expertise) and schematic or artistic drawings (for better understanding of topography and anatomical relationships). The position of photographs also changed: at first, they were published together with text, but from 1924 to 1934 all the photographs were printed at the end of each issue on a glossy white paper.

Despite the fact that almost all medical specialties in the first half of the twentieth century used photography to document therapeutic methods at their disposal or to record otherwise interesting cases, certain specialties such as orthopedics, otorhinolaryngology, ophthalmology, gynecology and infectious diseases dominated (Table 1). It is interesting to note that among infectious diseases presented with photographic material, rare manifestations of certain diseases such as endemic syphilis were favored instead of those most commonly found.[77] For example, we were unable to detect a single photograph showing diphtheria, cholera, scarlet fever, smallpox, chickenpox, malaria and typhus, which were some of the most prevalent and deadly acute infectious diseases at the time. We suspect that this is due to the fact that their clinical manifestations were known among medical personnel, so doctors rather opted to address them with graphs and other methods used in epidemiological research. There is also a relative lack of cases dealing with internal diseases, which can be explained with the fact that they only sometimes express themselves in a way accessible to the camera. On the other hand, it was somewhat puzzling to note that in the whole analyzed period only one forensic case was accompanied with a photograph. The case deals with violent suffocation and the photograph shows petechiae on the palate.[78] In any case, the frequency of photographs does not seem to correlate with real incidence of certain diseases, but with other factors such as their rarity and success in treatment.

The photographs analyzed in this paper confirmed their role and influence in terms of their documentary and academic value. Certain photographs also confronted us with a question whether a photograph of an ill person that is a hundred years old can still convey a moral message or elicit moral

76 During that time, Margetić operated his collotype and heliographic business at 16 Franz Joseph Square in Zagreb (today 18 King Tomislav Square). See, Gržina, *Sunčani kip*, 253.

77 Grin, "Primarni afekt".

78 Premeru, "Pokušaj umorstva".

response. Susan Sontag, for example, claims that old photographs betray the fact that "the ethical content of photographs is fragile."[79] Writing from a more philosophical perspective, Roger Scruton totally rejects the possibility that photographs represent reality.[80] On the other hand, with a much more compatible view to our own, Stephanie Ross stated that photographs can communicate ethical values through emotions stimulated by viewing them.[81] We would also add that the photograph can also accomplish this through the understanding of its ethos, which in our case stems from the relationship between their content and our knowledge on the history of human rights. Thus, these photographs do not only play a role as documents of a past medical reality, but also point to the ways patients were exposed, gazed upon and represented by the doctors. Although already at the beginning of the nineteenth century, a letter to the editor of *The New York Medical Journal* spurred a discussion on the protection of patients' privacy, our set of photographs demonstrates a lack of care in this respect.[82] They suggest a thoughtless, even needless exposure of various body parts to a photographer, regularly without any measures to protect the patients' identities.[83] Sometimes the patients, mostly children, were totally naked, while at other times female patients covered only their heads with their clothes. One exception are the photographs of a female patient who was treated with new chemotherapeutic agent Rubrophen in *Čakovec* for extrapulmonary tuberculosis.[84] Photographs show a patient with skin changes on hands and on a stump. On all the photographs the patient uses her arms to hide her face. Even if based on the first two photographs one could claim that this position was taken to better visualize skin changes, the third photograph, which shows the patient after successful treatment, wholly invalidates this argument (Fig. 14).

Unlike classic portraits made for civil purposes, portraits in medical photography are not symbolic acts emphasizing its own importance,[85] but are rather concerned with documentation. Patient suppresses his or her personality, subjective preferences and a tendency to pose, and becomes an object of observation and manipulation not only in the process of medical diagnosis and treatment, but also during photographing. According to Susan Steward, "the real itself is offered to the viewer, rather than a version of the real being given by a subject with his or her own desires, prejudices, and so on."[86] The relationship between the patient and the doctor was

79 Sontag, *On Photography*, 16.

80 Scruton, "Photography and Representation".

81 Ross, "What Photographs Can't Do".

82 Anonymous, "Indecency".

83 In the articles, patients are mostly addressed with initials or even full names, location and sometimes their vocation.

84 Brodnjak, "Slučaj tbc. luposa cutis".

85 Freund, *Fotografija i društvo*.

86 Stewart, *On Longing*, 138.

paternalistic and the patients were treated as objects of medical manipulation. The doctor was superior with his knowledge and social standing, while the patient occupied a submissive position in the hope of being cured. As Margaret Lock states, "any connection between knowledge and practice remains essentially obscure, as does the problem of individual meanings attributed to cultural symbols and their manipulation, related in turn to relationships of power".[87] Photographs analyzed here reflect the era in which power was mostly in the hands of doctors, signalizing practices which we clearly recognize as unacceptable today.

Decade	1880–89	1890–99	1900–09	1910–19	1920–29	1930–39	1940–49	**Total by specialties**
Orthopedics	1		1	17	13	21	11	**64**
Internal medicine		2	2	5		4	4	**17**
Gynecology		2	2	1	2	9	5	**21**
Neuropsychiatry		1	1	1	1	4	3	**11**
Pathology		1		1				**2**
Surgery		1	7	5	12	8	14	**47**
Pediatrics			2			2	8	**12**
Infectious diseases				5	2	7	6	**20**
Ophthalmology					8	1	19	**28**
Dermatology					1	13	10	**24**
Balneology					1			**1**
Oncology						2	1	**3**
Forensic medicine						1		**1**
Total by decades	**1**	**7**	**15**	**35**	**40**	**72**	**81**	**251**

87 Lock, "Cultivating the Body", 136.

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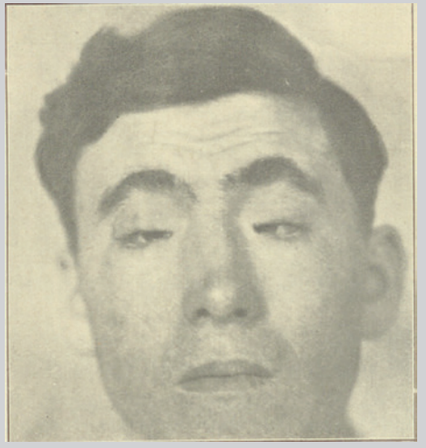

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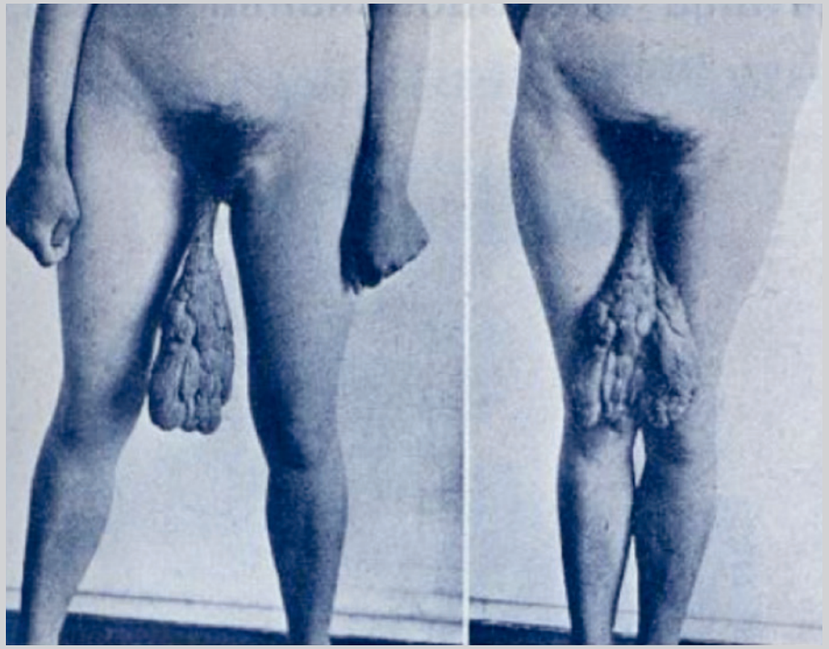

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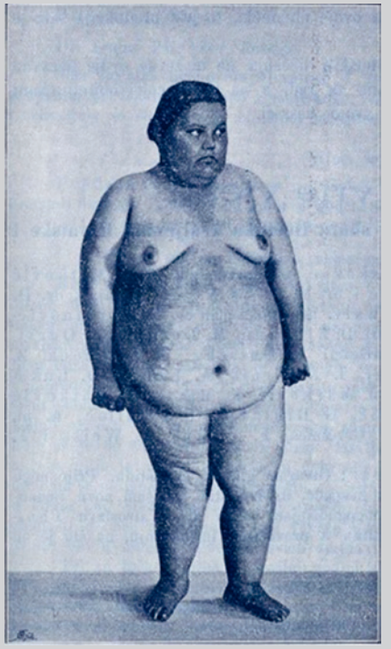

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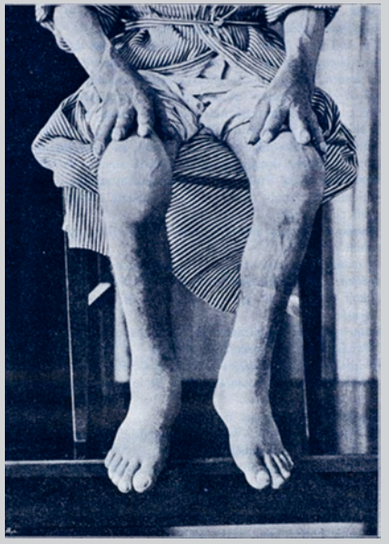

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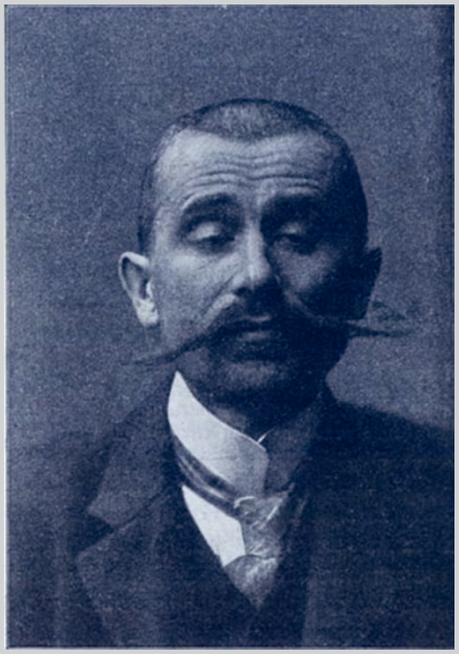

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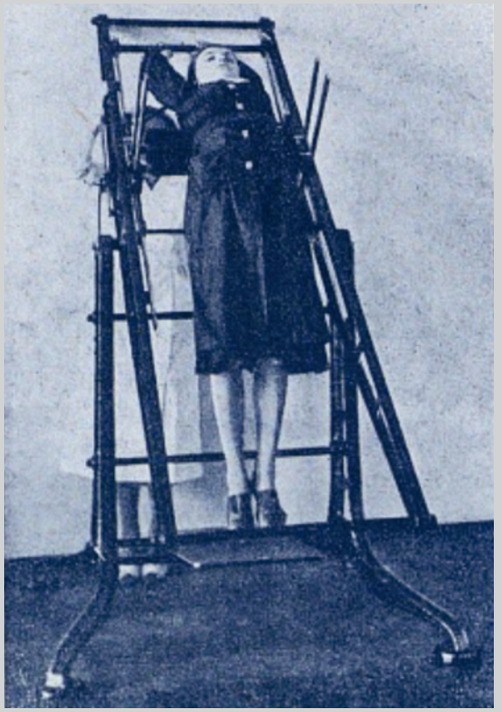

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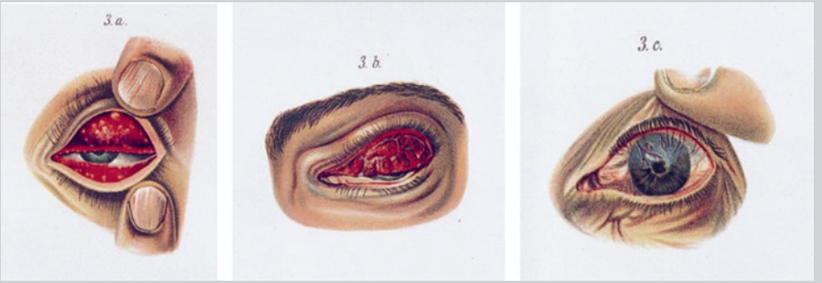

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1. Ivan Maixner, Occipital meningocele, 1903.
2. Mario Krmpotić, Three cases of kala-azar, 1934.
3. Ivan Maixner, Plastic surgeries of unilateral and bilateral cleft lips, 1920.
4. Jelica Toth, Congenital ptosis and epicanthus, 1928.
5. Josip Vodehnal, Two rare gynecology cases, 1935.
6. Franjo Partsch, Obesity, 1900.
7. Pavao Ćulumović, Acromegaly, 1896.
8. Pavao Ćulumović, Pellagra, 1899.
9. Franjo Gutschy, A case of myasthenic pseudoparalysis, 1907.
10. Božidar Špišić, Treatment of scoliosis, 1938.
11. Vladimir Katičić, Trachoma, 1906.
12. Laza Stanojević, Autopsy in the case of insane pastor Jerčić, 1923.
13. Juraj Körbler, Treatment of skin cancer with radium, 1934.
14. Mirko Brodnjak, Skin tuberculosis cured with Rubrophen, 1939.

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Photography in the Focus of Cultural-Critical Discourse: Critical Reflections on Photography in Croatia Between 1941 and the 1970s

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INTRODUCTION

Historical discourse on photography was not a research interest until recently, either in Croatian, barring a few exceptions, or in European and American historiography.[1] Owing precisely to the decisive influence of the cultural-critical discourse on the establishment of photography as an art form, the creation of an audience, the formation of the methodology of the history of photography, as well as on the canonisation of individual oeuvres and works, one of the research goals of the project *Ekspozicija* was to explore (critical) writing about photography from its beginnings.[2] Therefore, this text will present the results obtained through the analysis of a large number of relevant writings about photography (prefaces to catalogues, reviews, criticism, discussions, essays), published in Yugoslav, mostly Croatian, periodicals between 1941 and the 1970s.[3]

An analysis of the early development of the understanding of photography and its nature and the formation of the discourse, reveals that, despite an initial delay explicable by the peripheral political and cultural context in relation to the European centres of photography, it fully corresponds to general trends. It is a fact that early texts about photography in Croatian periodicals appear immediately after its invention in 1839 and primarily focus on the

1 The important texts that deal with writing about European and American photography are: (*Marien, Photography and Its Critics*, Eisinger, *Trace and Transformation*, Foa, "Textual Inhibitions").

2 Other results of researching writing about Croatian photography within the project *Ekspozicija* are: (Šeparović, "Early Writings on Photography in Croatia", Križić Roban, "Who's Looking at Me?").

3 This research did not include the reception of partisan photography that accompanied partisan exhibitions held during the Second World War in the liberated area (in Bosanski Petrovac and Slunj in 1942, in Livno and Otočac in 1943, etc.). More about partisan photography in: (Konjikušić, *Crveno svjetlo*).

discovery and development of the medium or provide information about the early studios and their services, mostly in the form of short notices and advertisements. The development of critical and theoretical thought may be traced only from the beginning of the 20th century, when the first exhibitions were organised, societies were founded, and magazines specialised in photography began to be published. On the territory of today's Croatia, nine journals dedicated to photography were published in the period from 1921 to 1941, some aimed at professional and others at amateur photographers, which reflects a strong division within the field of photography.

At the beginning of the 20th century, the majority of texts deal with the question of whether photography is or is not art, initially following the nineteenth-century Baudelairean understanding of photography as a mechanical transcription of the visible. During the 1920s, photography was recognised as an art medium through the pictorialist demand to imitate painting or graphics and only after 1930, under the influence of the Film und Foto exhibition, among other things, a consensus was reached about the artistic status of photography.[4] This was followed by the first attempts to historicise photography, along with the recognition of the phenomenon of the Zagreb School of Photography and the canonisation of individual oeuvres and works. Most of the articles correspond to the genre of photography criticism, which is characterised by a rather rudimentary discursive level and arbitrary and flawed argumentation, mostly without critical potential, while the doctrine of modernist formalism, combined with the aestheticist understanding of art through beauty, taste and harmony, dominates. Among the critics, there are two clearly pronounced currents—the national and the social, whereby the national, whose most prominent representative is August Frajtić,[5] in the spirit of the idea of "our expression", insists on shooting "our motifs" (national landscapes, costumes, customs and people), while the social one, represented by Otokar Hrazdira,[6] echoing Marxist ideas, advocates depicting the everyday life and work of the poor strata of society.

4 More in: (Šeparović, "Early Writings on Photography in Croatia").

5 August Frajtić (1902–1977) was a photographer and promoter of amateur photography. He was the secretary of the Zagreb Photo Club for many years (president from 1943) and the initiator and organiser of courses, annual international exhibitions, the founding of the Croatian Photo-Amateur Association in 1939, and in 1938, he was elected vice-president of the then-founded International Union of Photographers. He was the founder and editor-in-chief of the magazine *Savremena fotografija* (1940–1941). He collaborated in Independent State of Croatia publications and after the Second World War left Yugoslavia and emigrated to Argentina, where he remained for the remainder of his life.

6 Otokar Hrazdira (1898–1944) was a passionate photographer of Czech origin who gained a reputation as a master of artistic photography by participating in numerous international exhibitions in which he often received awards. In the early 1930s in Ivanec, he founded the photo section of the Croatian Mountaineering Society Ivančica, and was also the publisher of the photo magazine *Galerija*, the only international magazine dedicated to art photography in Croatia, whose goal was to affirm photography as an artistic medium, and which, due to its small number of subscribers, achieved only six-monthly issues.

WRITING ABOUT PHOTOGRAPHY IN THE SERVICE OF STATE PROPAGANDA (1941–1945)

After the establishment of the Independent State of Croatia as a satellite of the Third Reich in the spring of 1941, conforming to the artistic policy of Nazi Germany,[7] art gained an important place thanks to its strong propaganda and ideological potential.[8] The main goal of merging art with propaganda was the acquisition of cultural legitimacy and the creation of the modern identity of the new state with modified borders (extending to the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina but without Istria and most of the Dalmatian coast) and characterised by totalitarianism, nationalism, anti-Semitism and genocidal terror.[9] Among the collective exhibitions of photography, two organised in Zagreb should be mentioned: *Lijepa naša domovino* [Our Beautiful Homeland], which featured works by Croatian photographers (held in October and November 1941), and *Umjetnički svjetlopis naroda Nove Evrope* [Artistic Photography of the Nations of New Europe], which showcased photographers from the Axis member states (held in December 1942 and January 1943, respectively). According to available sources, only one solo exhibition was held during this period—that of Mladen Grčević in May 1944 in Zagreb.

Official Discourse: Photography in the Service of the State

The catalogue of the exhibition *Lijepa naša domovino* organised by the Zagreb Photo Club, represents the purest example of official narrative. The reproductions and the list of works reveal that the selection was guided by ideological and national principles: only the photographs that advocate conservative and implicitly racist values, glorify the leader, idealise the beauty of the homeland, folklore and the traditional way of life, as well as people (only Croats and Bosnians) were selected. At the same time, there are no Serbs, Jews or Romani people in the photos, which implicitly suggests the idea of purity of the nation. The preface consists exclusively of nationalist slogans in the imperative form, addressed to the photographers ("Take photos of your place and its surroundings!"), encouraging them to photograph Croatian regions and people, which is interpreted as "serving the Croatian people", whereby the importance of organised photo activity through amateur societies is particularly emphasised ("It is your duty to join the Photo Club!").[10]

7 More about the organisation of the cultural and artistic field in Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy in: (Brenner, *Kulturna politika nacionalsocijalizma*, Steinweis, *Art, Ideology & Economics in Nazi Germany*; Falasca-Zamponi, *Fascist Spectacle*).

8 More about the organisation of the art scene in the era of Independent State of Croatia and Socialist Realism in: (Šeparović, "U znaku totalitarizama").

9 Prančević, "Propaganda i primjeri uporabe kiparske produkcije", 163, 170, 181.

10 *Lijepa naša domovino.*

The publication *Naša domovina* [Our Homeland], a collection of texts on the cultural history of Croats, included an article on photography by August Frajtić,[11] in which he explains and justifies the use of photography for state propaganda purposes. He endorses the promotional role of photography, which can, according to him, "completely objectively and truthfully show various events", and not only show, but also convince and prove the claim: "It is understandable that our country, in its struggle for the truth, in its desire for a correct representation of the overall life in our homeland, also reached for photography, and that it is used abundantly. For this purpose, various state offices were established, whose purpose is to use photography in the service of the state [...] State photography institutions, then some professional photographers, and then the amateurs [...] supply various newspapers and magazines at home and abroad with their work, in order to spread the word about the Independent State of Croatia [...] and the real truth about our life and events in our homeland."[12] The state apparatus undoubtedly recognised the political and propaganda potential of photography, as the state-ideological narrative based on radical nationalism, racial laws and the idea of "pure" ethnicity start spreading through images and the discourse that leans on the interwar national (*Heimatkunst*) photographic representation.

Photo-criticism

It can be said that exhibition selection, official communication and critical discourse work in harmony, speak the same language and tell an identical story.[13] Actual photographic artistic production is carefully selected, framed with certain political intentions and used as material for adapting art in accordance with a particular political viewpoint and ideology.[14] Discourse serves to explain political ideology; it does not tolerate dissonant tones, it is devoid of polemical and critical potential, but also of a coherent interpretive apparatus, and reduced to national (nationalist) stereotypes. In most cases, it is not photography criticism at all, but cultural and political ideology disguised as art criticism. Elementary concepts of profession, criticism and aesthetics are abandoned, form is given almost no importance, while the focus is on the content, imbued with political connotations—it is idealised, romanticised and mystified in a national key.

In a review of the exhibition *Umjetnički svjetlopis naroda Nove Evrope*, journalist and cultural critic Milan Katić,[15] despite appropriating the format of art criticism, offers up an official state-ideological narrative, based on radical nationalism and "pure" ethnicity. The article is dedicated exclusively to confirming and praising the selection of awards, in accordance with the national ideology, not given to individual authors, but to national selections. Katić makes general assumptions and exclusively considers the content from an ideological and national perspective, using clichéd platitudes, without any critical merit and avoiding even the most rudimentary interpretation: "Finland won first prize. It fully deserves this award, because it responded to the task in the best way. We were shown wonderful Finnish landscapes and given a broad view of the life and work of the Finnish country [...] Italy showed us its ancient culture and new life in wonderful picturesqueness [...] Germany shows us the efforts of today's country in the great world struggle in an extraordinary way."[16]

Although most of the texts are typical examples of the ideological-propaganda discourse, a certain number of authors still mention elements of artistic expression, writing from the position of moderate modernist formalism but lacking critical keenness. In his review of Mladen Grčević's solo exhibition, journalist Stjepan Tomičić[17] discusses the nature of photography, emphasising that photography may be considered as fine art if it contains aesthetic and emotional elements, whereby it "enriches art at large with new, specifically photographic expressive means". In accordance with the modernist rhetoric, the main emphasis in the text is on the author's personal experience and individuality, which is reflected in the photographs: "He undoubtedly has his own view of objects [...] with a versatile knowledge of technique, in which there are no leftovers or gaps." In his photographs, Tomičić primarily considers the atmosphere ("discreet and lyrical sensibility", "muted drama"), notices an interest in psychology and physiognomy of the depicted characters ("the ability to reveal characteristic features and capture personal life") and particularly praises Grčević's contribution in the field of reportage, emphasising his sharpness and insight in depicting events, especially sports motifs, "from which emerges an artistic view of physical efforts and the beauty of the human and animal body and movements".[18]

11 For more about August Frajtić, see note no. 6.

12 Frajtić, "Snimačtvo", 1077.

13 More about art criticism during the Independent State of Croatia in: (Galjer, "Prilog istraživanju likovne kritike u Hrvatskoj – peto desetljeće").

14 Prančević, "Propaganda i primjeri uporabe kiparske produkcije", 164.

15 Milan Katić (1900–1969) studied conducting in Zagreb, working as a journalist and music, art, theatre and literary critic from 1927 to 1945. He worked in filmmaking since 1942 and is the screenwriter of the film *Lisinski* (1944) by Oktavijan Miletić. After the war, he directed numerous documentary films.

16 Katić, "Propaganda i primjeri uporabe kiparske produkcije".

17 Stjepan Tomičić (1919–1999) published several short stories and wrote about cultural issues in Croatian conservative magazines before WWII (*Mladost, Obitelj* etc.), and about politics and art during the war for the official Independent State of Croatia newspapers *Spremnost* and *Hrvatski narod.* After the war, changing his name to Alfons Dalma, he worked as a prominent journalist in Austria. He died in Vienna on 28 July 1999.

18 Tomičić, "Izložba Mladena Grčevića".

The nationalist cultural doctrine of the Independent State of Croatia encouraged the research of national history, thus, one of the first overview of the Croatian history of photography was created at that time. In the above-mentioned article published in the anthology *Naša domovina*, August Frajtić highlights photographers who were Croats by nationality, while also separately listing and evaluating photographers of non-Croatian origin who worked in Croatia, and likewise mentioning the first Croatian photo societies, exhibitions and journals. He also laments that during the "old" Yugoslavia (meaning Kingdom of Yugoslavia), the Zagreb Photo Club was discriminated, unlike clubs in other parts of the country, pointing out the journal *Foto revija* [Photo Journal] as "an opponent of the development of Croatian photography": "Furthermore, another non-national consortium published through 8 years, the magazine 'Foto Revija' [...], which initially enjoyed the moral and cooperative support of certain Croatian photo amateurs, very quickly [...] became more and more an opponent of the development of Croatian photography."[19] The possible cause of such an unfair judgment of the undoubtedly most influential and longest-running interwar Croatian journal dedicated to photography lies in the fact that it was an official newsletter of numerous photo clubs, not only Croatian, but also Serbian (from Vršac, Beograd and Kragujevac), Macedonian and Slovenian, as well as in the Jewish origin of its editor-in-chief, Franjo Ernst.

SPREADING THE SOCIALIST REALIST DOCTRINE THROUGH PHOTOGRAPHY CRITICISM

After the Second World War, Yugoslavia makes an ideological turn towards the socialist-communist system, the Soviet Union becomes the role model for the organisation and strong centralisation of the field of art and culture,[20] and the photography scene slowly becomes established. A photography exhibition was held in Zagreb in July 1948, in which Tošo Dabac, Mladen Grčević and Marijan Szabo, the only photographers that were members of the main art association (Croatian Association of Fine Artists, ULUH), participated. Since 1949, national and international photography exhibitions were held regularly in Zagreb, Rijeka, Split and Osijek, as well as in Belgrade and Ljubljana. Solo exhibitions of prominent photographers—Milan Pavić (1950), Zlatko Zrnec and Ivan Medar (1951) and Tošo Dabac (1953)—held in Zagreb, should also be mentioned.

19 Frajtić, "Snimačtvo", 1079.

20 More about the relationship between politics and art in the USSR in: (Groys, *The Total Art of Stalinism*).

Art criticism becomes the main medium for spreading the official Socialist Realist doctrine (the Party line) to all segments of culture and art, which is why prescriptiveness becomes a dominant feature of both art and photography criticism discourse. Criticism represents a corrective to "faulty" approaches, and provides instructions on what and how to shoot in order to guide artists in visualising the key ideas of ideological discourse, which should be translated into the language of art.[21] In an article by one of the main ideologues, Ervin Šinko, the role of criticism in a socialist society is described in detail: "The task of criticism is to help build a socialist social consciousness in art and in the artist", whereby it is necessary to fight against Western and "bourgeois" ideas: "This task imposes on critics the duty to fight, together with the artist, against the destructive influences of the bourgeoisie, which, though economically and politically defeated in our country, has not stopped and will not stop acting with its ideology for a long time". Since "the artist does not always have to be aware of the ideology he represents", special importance is given to the critic, who "must be aware of the special laws of the artistic creative process and must [...] reveal the ideological elements, ideological content, and direction of the work of art, so that not only the reader, but also the artist sees more clearly, understands more deeply what he has achieved. Thus, the critic will actively participate in the shaping of social consciousness and the consciousness of the artist himself."[22]

At the same time, critics, oscillating between dogmatic and humanistic versions of Socialist Realist doctrine, demand heroic themes that glorify the new socialist reality, especially themes from the rebuilding of the country. Also, the required realism of form actually implies an idealised and typical approach to the depiction of people, as well as respect for the three-dimensionality of form, faithfulness of colours and clarity in the portrayal of faces. Through criticism, it is also made clear what is not acceptable—intimate psychological portraits, 'fragmentary' landscapes, still lives and themes from literature, history and fantasy with regard to motifs, as well as obscurity, incompleteness, deformations with regard to form—while artworks with these features were dismissed as 'capitalist', 'bourgeois', 'formalist' or 'decadent'. In addition to the desired subject-matter and form of the artworks, the criticism also evaluates the content—which implies 'idejnost' [ideological commitment] and 'partijnost' [party-mindedness]—which actually refers to characteristics of the artist, evaluating whether an author is truly dedicated to socialist values. The focus is on 'contemporary reality' and on the artist's awareness of belonging to time

21 More about Croatian art criticism in the period of Socialist Realism in: (Kolešnik, *Između Istoka i Zapada*, 27-54, Šeparović, "Desirable and Stigmatized").

22 Šinko, "Buržoaski objektivizam i partijnost".

and space: "It is precisely this move towards the idyllic and idealising that leads to such extreme results, that in a whole series of photographs—especially those that were rejected by the selectors—it cannot be determined in which country and in which time they were taken. It is no longer a question of technique or style, but of the consciousness of the person who took the photograph [...]. Guided by the eye of a socialist reporter, the camera should and must create an artistic and combat diary of our time".[23]

The History of Photography through a Socialist Realist Lens

The new organisation of society affected the establishment of a new relationship with the past, thus the history of Croatian art, including photography, begins to be viewed through a Socialist Realist lens. In most articles, interwar photography is disqualified as "decadent bourgeois formalism" that falsifies social reality and produces unrealistic depictions. It was pointed out that interwar photography was "exclusively influenced by Western photography" emphasising "formalistic solutions to the problems of composition, lines, the play of light and shadow", whereby the "social reality was idealised, and the image of the world was distorted and broken into the smallest parts".[24]

In addition, a new class view on the understanding of artistic creation prevails: while in the past only wealthy individuals could engage in photography, which was unreachable to the wider population, "today's photography is mainly made by young people and working class, through the photo sections of associations of the People's Technique".[25] It is pointed out that the interwar photo clubs were "a typical expression of the capitalist social order" and that "with their narrow-minded understandings, they prevented any self-initiative of individuals", which is why the opportunity for photography to play a role in the "struggle for a fairer social order" was missed. Special importance is given to photography created during the Partisan fight and resistance, as well as to the organisations of the Narodna tehnika [People's Technique], which organises photography courses and strives for "technical education, along with cultural and physical education, to become an integral part of building every human being". The main goals of photo amateur organisations are education and the 'massification' of photography, i.e., the expansion of photography education to the broadest social masses. Photography was supposed to stop being a privilege and become the right of every individual, whereby "current photography should be an expression of the gigantic efforts of our peoples in building a new and happier life".[26]

23 Bihalji Merin, "Pohvala fotografiji", 4.

24 Vučelić, "Povodom izložbe umjetničke fotografije".

25 Ibid.

26 Bosnar, "O zadacima fotoamaterstva u našoj zemlji". The fact that such tasks were carefully planned and carried out by the photo clubs is confirmed by documentation from the Archive of the Split Photo Club. Aside from monitoring the Club's activities, documents provide the guidelines for the club activities, such as establishing as many clubs as possible, increasing the number of active members and involving as many people as possible, which is called 'massification' of the photography field. Members of the clubs are encouraged to participate in photographic 'competitions', to go to construction sites of the railway and to record work and life on the construction sites, to subscribe to the *Fotografija* journal, etc. Zemaljskom odboru Saveza foto i kinoamatera Hrvatske [To the National Board of the Association of Photo and Cinematographers of Croatia], 11 October 1950, Raspored odlazaka na omladinsku prugu Banja Luka-Doboj [Schedule of trips to the youth railway line Banja Luka-Doboj], 20. II. 1951, Svima klubovima foto i kino amatera / Zadaci [To all amateur photo and cinema clubs / Tasks], 23 V. 1951, all in folder. *Dopisi 1953,* Split Photo Club Archive.

The New Photo Journals

In postwar Yugoslavia two journals specialised in photography were launched: *Naša fotografija* [Our Photography], published by the professional photographers' association in Osijek in 1947, and the Belgrade based *Fotografija* [Photography] as an amateur magazine that started coming out in 1948. While the official doctrine of Socialist Realism is represented by the amateur *Fotografija*, *Naša fotografija* remains perhaps the only enclave in the cultural field of that time whose discourse remains almost untouched by the ideology of Socialist Realism.

Fotografija begins to be published after the Resolution of the Informbiro, when strong ideological pressure occurs in the artistic field, ideological commissions in charge of implementing the doctrine are established, and Socialist Realism is officially canonised.[27] Accordingly, this magazine is founded in order to provide the field of photography with an appropriate critical discourse and the necessary theoretical basis for photographic practice. *Fotografija* only published photos with a socialist-realist content, while criticism was supplied with a socialist-realist apparatus: 'ideological commitment' and 'party-mindedness' are presented as a postulate for the truthfulness of photography, whereas photographers are required to document the construction of the railway and to adopt the teachings of Marxism and Leninism. (Fig. 1, 2, 3)

On the other hand, the magazine *Naša fotografija,* as the official newsletter of the professional photographers association, began to be published before Informbiro and the canonisation of Socialist Realism, as well as before the first post-war photography exhibitions were organised. The articles are almost completely devoid of the discourse of Socialist Realism, and in terms of the published photographs, although there were some photographs with Socialist Realist iconography, it cannot be said to prevail. A series of arti-

27 More about ideological pressures after the Informbiro period in the Croatian art field in: (Šeparović, "ULUH oko Informbiroa").

cles by photographer and teacher Milan Fizi,[28] published between 1947 and 1949, represent a completely formalist discussion on certain aspects of photography in the spirit of classical aesthetics and moderate-modernist formalism—photographic techniques, composition, originality, style, ideas, content, etc.[29] In exhibition reviews, Fizi pays no attention to the photographs with a Socialist Realist subject-matter, referring to them as 'documents', while at the same time being enraptured by 'bourgeois-decadent' motifs and forms, especially by the effects of light and shadow.

It can be said that the journal *Naša fotografija* is a unique case within early post-war Yugoslav culture, where the Socialist Realist doctrine was not implemented. Although the magazine received a sharp rebuke in the form of an article entitled "Anti-scholarly quasi-wisdom of the journal Naša fotografija",[30] in which it was accused of "propagating bourgeois ideology" and "denying the social character of art", it did not change its discursive policy. In answering the question of how this was possible in the totalitarian structure of the art world, we will again be aided by the discourse in which the division between amateur and professional photography was often highlighted. Since amateur photography was customarily regarded as art, while professional photography was considered craft, Socialist Realism as an art doctrine was strongly implemented in the field of amateur photography, while professional photography, we might say, passed "under the radar". (Fig. 4, 5, 6)

Deconstruction of Socialist Realism

The resolution of the long-standing conflict between amateurs and professionals, inherited from the interwar period, began in 1950 with the establishment of the photography department at the School of Applied Arts in Zagreb. Then, in the wider socio-political field, the deconstruction of Socialist Realism and the reconstruction of modernism followed, all accompanied by the credit-monetary turning of Yugoslavia towards the West. The final break with Socialist Realism in the field of photography criticism was marked by the words of Stojan Desnica in the review of the Sarajevo exhibition held in 1953: "Wasn't there enough prescription and 'topics' that were recognised as 'real' and 'ours', only hard, eight-hour and overtime working hours, the ultimate spasm of muscles, the roar of machines and the heat of foundries? [...] Is there anything else in life apart from those eight hours in one day? Doesn't man have children, rest, fun, trips, nature [...] Can he see anything beautiful, bright, smiling, pleasant around him, besides the hard work?"[31]

28 Milan Fizi (1904–1976) was a member of the Zagreb Photo Club since 1934. From 1948 until his retirement in 1972, he taught photography and film at the School of Applied Arts in Zagreb, where he raised many generations of artists and photographers. From 1933 to 1952, he participated in numerous national and international photography exhibitions and wrote many articles about photography in journals *Foto revija* and *Naša fotografija*. He is the author of the comprehensive textbook *Fotografija* (1960).

29 Fizi, "Estetika i fotografija" etc. (1947–1949).

30 Milojković, "Antinaučna mudrovanja časopisa Naša fotografija".

RARE CRITICAL THOUGHTS ON ART PHOTOGRAPHY AFTER 1950

Compared to earlier periods, in which critical and theoretical texts are rare, at first glance, we could assume that the mid-1950s ushered in a more favourable time for writing about photography. However, upon examination of professional journals, relevant critically intoned articles will remain rare. Another problem is a lack of continuous publication of texts, necessary in order to achieve a significant shift in critical writing and interpretation of photography.

An important source of writing about photography is the already mentioned magazine *Naša fotografija*. Although, for the most part, their articles are addressed to amateurs, primarily given the numerous technical tips continuously published throughout the years, occasionally we encounter a certain number of articles that come nearer a critical approach to photography.

At that time, there was no general statement regarding art photography, whereby photography was very rarely addressed in the context of art; it was still considered as belonging more to a technical skill than art. The interpretation of the term in the mid-1950s may be found in the critique of the exhibition of Slovenian photographer Peter Kocjančić by Franc Bajd from Ljubljana. He begins ambitiously, pointing to the so-called "Frankfurt conversations" run by Georg Basner, that took place a year prior, on the occasion of the "big photo exhibition".[32] Although the article does not mention the exhibition in question, the author states that it was groundbreaking, so very likely he is referring to *The Family of Man*. And, while the event in Frankfurt may not be crucial for the Croatian nor for the Yugoslav scene, it is still mentioned here, primarily because of the type of discourse encouraged in the article. Members of various cultural fields participated in the Frankfurt conversations (official, sculptor, dramatist, art critic, television expert and "ordinary amateur, photography lover"); first they discussed photography as a reflection of time; the second conversation focussed on photography opening its way to art, stressing that "photography is best when it soberly documents what is significant"; the third conversation tackled the role of photography in the contemporary world; while the fourth addressed the extent of possibilities of expression—words, description and pictorial representation. Judging by the stated views, photography

31 Desnica, "Antinaučna mudrovanja časopisa Naša fotografija".

32 Bajd, "Misli o savremenoj fotografiji", 30.

was interpreted in terms of "independent even as art, although this is not its main goal".[33] Insistence on an artistic approach was considered a sign of an inferiority complex that photography does not need. The article ends with a critique of the exhibition of the Slovenian photographer, where the vocabulary narrows and the opinion is formed around the mood, about the content that does not hide itself, and about the artist's sober and thoughtful way of looking. From today's point of view, the comments seem quite basic, however, they still introduce the discrete language of photography into the discussion, which is a significant shift compared to the earlier period.

In the mid-1950s, photography was often emphasised as a "means of getting to know and bringing people together",[34] an attitude that to some extent anticipates the exhibition *The Family of Man*, presented for the first time in 1955 in New York, then in 1957 in Belgrade and a year later in Zagreb.[35] Namely, the criticism of the 10th international art photography exhibition in Zagreb, along with the mentioned statement, suggested that photography is the most powerful propaganda tool used all over the world.[36] These statements also echo the previous period of the late 1940s and early 1950s and the fundamental influence of socialist modernism and rigid politics, which would soon become abandoned. The information in the articles is often motivated by an effort to discern the national characteristics of photography. Apart from statistical data regarding the number of pictures sent to be exhibited, technical details prevail, especially about the quality of light, while, from today's perspective, the very small number of illustrations included in the catalogues and/or magazines presents a particular problem. Namely, without enough visual data, it is not possible to draw conclusions about the quality of the works or their motifs, and we are often left only to imagine what the exhibitions looked like without knowing many details. The question of artistic in photography is raised even in the case of Tošo Dabac, one of the most famous Croatian photographers of indisputable quality, so it remains unclear how the authors of the texts understood art photography. The influence of politics is noticeable in awards decisions, in which both the federal committee and the republican committees for photography participate, while comparisons in terms of quality of production between American and British authors who participated in that exhibition, in relation to domestic ones open up a number of problems that have affected the creativity of Yugoslav authors, in addition to others related to quality of paper, films, the possibility of developing and printing photographs, etc.

The representational meanings of photography in the 1950s were largely limited to credibility and the documentary approach, as Bajd pointed out in

33 Ibid., 30.

34 Frelih, "Ob X. mednarodnoj razstavi umetniške fotografije v Zagrebu", 10.

35 More on the exhibition in: (Orlović, "Izložba The Family of Man").

36 Frelih, "Ob X. mednarodnoj razstavi umetniške fotografije v Zagrebu", 10.

his critique. The writings of Milan Fizi, whose book *Fotografija* [Photography; first edition in 1960] (Fig. 7) is considered an almanac encompassing all possible areas, align with such an understanding, while an examination of its content demonstrates the breadth of its scope. This professor, who educated many generations at the School of Applied Arts in Zagreb and exerted a great influence on the scene, took issue with the meaning of representation, especially when he undertook criticism of works that leaned towards abstraction, surrealism, combined techniques such as collage and the like. Given his great influence, it is important to mention his "struggle" with the understanding of photography and his insistence on logical forms intended for the "broad masses". Fizi advocates photography the presentation of which people understand, while anything that deviates from such an approach almost automatically receives a negative attribute of "exclusiveness", something new and modern that is often incomprehensible to him. He wrote editorials in a number of issues of *Naša fotografija*, in which it is evident that he considers photography as "concrete creativity" that serves to show "objects that exist in reality, unlike abstract representations, where something of the concrete reality can only be glimpsed".[37] His texts assist us in becoming acquainted with the prevailing attitude about the photography scene, where "objects are the starting point of image formation",[38] which is what he taught young generations of photographers. In his own words, "An old discarded shoe alone in a picture will not represent much. But if we place that old shoe next to the column showing kilometres and record it, its meaning in the picture changes immediately. A new value emerges from their relationship."[39] This kind of formal narrative is what was expected of photography; it was often a carefully arranged meaning that was banal, and which had a strong impact on the national scene. Only a few photographers will manage to escape this way of thinking, while a meaningful discussion about the role and importance of photography will have to wait until the end of the 1960s.

The dominance of the attitude about the objectivity of photography, which is therefore unlike any other pictorial art, the question of truthfulness and the faithful reproduction of reality are qualities that stand out in a series of writings from the mid-1950s onwards. The period is interesting because it provides an insight into the details on the amateur scene, whereby the magazines served as an educational platform, relatively easily accessible to those interested. However, while we encounter encouragement of contemporary tendencies in other environments, the local photo clubs and magazines fiercely advocate "beautiful and eye-pleasing photos", while "the direction of photography that is today called contemporary" is described as "pointless failed experiments, pictures without head or tail, the meaning of which no one understands and which look like a mental

37 Fizi, "Predmeti u slici pričaju", 85.

38 Ibid.

39 Ibid.

patient".[40] The problem will escalate with the attitude that, in photography, "art serves only as a reverse, an external sign for internal worthlessness", while the basic criterion was the satisfaction of people not ready for something new and uncertain. The pictures had to be popular and accessible, portray people and scenes with which viewers could identify.[41]

Even when certain specific terms are used, the writers often do not understand their origin, nor do they delve into the depth of their meaning. Thus, the unknown author of the text "My World" will comment on subjective photography, a term that has a specific meaning in the history of post-war photography—the so-called *non-functionalised* photography, a phenomenon defined by Otto Steinert, specific to Germany, whereby Steinert did not only refer to the aesthetic, but also employed it to encompass the economic and ideological needs of post-war West Germany.[42] Unlike him, the unknown author understands the adjective *subjective* literally, considering that, in fact, everything in photography falls under this term, which he identifies as "my world". Although the text was published when subjective photography was already defined and in decline (1951–1958), at no point does it refer to Steinert, nor does it describe the position of the subjective, which is formed from the phenomenological position "of the mutual implication of subject and object, from the phenomenological method that involves intending, intuiting, reflecting upon, and describing phenomena", as Hugunin points out.[43] Such taking over of key words in the context of national photography and criticism does not bring much-needed progress, which may have something to do with ideology. In contrast to this contribution, Miodrag Đorđević, a candidate for Master of Art Photography in the Belgrade *Fotorevija*, reports on the exhibition of subjective photography in Saarbrücken, attempting to explain it to the readership at least to some extent, although he also considers subjectivity to be one of the fundamental characteristics of any photo.[44] Given that, on the national level, truthfulness, documentarity and other representational characteristics of photography were insisted upon, the position of subjectivity in the formally assigned area remains questionable. However, unlike the aforementioned unknown author, Đorđević is still more open to experiments and a new way of seeing, to a small extent beginning to be applied in photographic practice in Croatia and Yugoslavia.

THE "ZAGREB SCHOOL" OF PHOTO-CRITICISM

To expand the knowledge of art photography criticism, we should mention Mladen Grčević, a photographer who was close to Steichen and advocated

40 Hunert, "Dobra slika", 113.
41 Karas, "Fotografija i umjetnici", 150.
42 An., "Moj svijet", 59.
43 Hugunin, "Subjective Photography and the Existentialist Ethic".
44 Đorđević, "Subjektivna fotografija", 8.

the principles of the exhibition *Family of Man* in his own work, while a small section of his oeuvre is dedicated to experiments with light and camera-less photography. In his comprehensive study *Art Photography in Croatia 1891–1940. The Phenomenon of the Zagreb School*,[45] (Fig. 8) he devotes himself to a topic which continuously caused problems when writing about and understanding photography. Grčević observes that the pre-war era magazine *Savremena fotografija* [Contemporary Photography] was one of the foundations of art photography, while Zagreb was a city where the progress of art photography was advocated. Grčević is looking for a collective expression and style that would unite photographers of various generations; however, enumerating the reasons why someone is considered an art photographer remains in the realm of statistics—the number of top-quality works (exhibited and/or rewarded in juried exhibitions, possibly international ones), the number of participations in juried exhibitions, and the like. His study is an important historiographical contribution to the knowledge of the fundamental events in this area, while from the position of critical consideration of the scene written in the mid-1960s—without the need to comment on anything recorded after 1940—it offers basic information about the economic, political and social circumstances that influenced the development of photography. For the sake of curiosity, let us mention that his Master's degree is one of the first three of such Master's theses in the world dedicated to photography. Nevertheless, his luminograms and experiments with the medium caught the eye of some critics—Belgrade's *Fotorevija* publishes the two-part article "Abstract Photography", which also mentioned Grčević. Although abstraction and experiment are not the only artistic approaches relevant to photography, it is interesting to follow the differences in their treatment and the understanding of creative freedom, without the author getting "lost" between the description of reality, truth and comprehension.[46]

An important shift occurred in 1968, when the editors of the magazine *Život umjetnosti* devoted its 6th issue to photography.[47] (Fig. 9) Grčević wrote the editorial, expressing the view that the medium is "at the same time technique and art, a means of information and an element of expression", asserting that "in the meantime, photography has taught people to look".[48] This essential shift speaks to the evolution of the reception of the photographic image, supported by translations of key texts (e.g.,

45 Grčević, "Subjektivna fotografija", 153.
46 Pantić, "Apstraktna fotografija", 17.
47 *Život umjetnosti* is a journal first published by Matica hrvatska, and from 1973 by the Institute of Art History, Zagreb, which nurtures the tradition of continuous publication since 1966. Dedicated to the fields of modern and contemporary art, urbanism, architecture and design, the journal covers a wide range of topics from addressing specific phenomena to deliberating on relevant issues at a theoretical level.
48 Grčević, "Za jednu univerzalnu povijest fotografije", 4.

Benjamin's *The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction* was published in the same issue, and semiotician Umberto Eco's text in 1970). A kind of "translation" of the specific visual language of photography into text and vice versa began to appear in critiques at that time, which prompted a change in the overall mode of writing about photography. In the same issue of that journal, Stojan Dimitrijević ambitiously undertakes to define the "physiognomy of contemporary photography".[49] (Fig. 10, 11) He is particularly critical in relation to photographic events in Yugoslavia—he calls it an "outsider in the world of exhibition photo"—which has, in his opinion, completely lost touch with the happenings in the world at large. In addition, he describes the local situation as a "'voluntary' isolation that is the result of self-satisfaction and belief in one's own genius", adding that "we do not have a single person who would stand for something in the world of today's photography and unfortunately no one even bothers to try to find out why this is so".[50] This archaeologist and university professor, a fan of photography and himself a photographer, will also critically comment on certain exhibitions in the coming period, whereby he views any steps towards conceptual strategies or distance from reality as questionable, even incomprehensible. In his case, too, one can see his adherence to sociology as one of the theoretical starting points of that time, as well as an emphasis on the significance of social circumstances that only a few photographers consider.

THE MAGAZINE *15 DANA*—AN EXAMPLE OF EXCELLENT IMAGE CULTURE IN THE 1960S

Subsequently, at the end of the 1960s, two series about photography were published in the magazine *15 dana*. The magazine was published as part of the activities of the Centre for Culture of the Workers' University "Moša Pijade" in Zagreb, contributing to the education of numerous workers who received additional training there from the end of the 1950s onwards. Apart from professional knowledge, they were provided with numerous lectures in various fields of culture. This way, the workers' education was enriched with the content from the magazine, published by that institution, which still constitutes an exceptional compendium of different information.

By researching the *15 dana* archive, (Fig. 12, 13, 14) we become aware of the level of image culture that was fostered in it. Numerous covers featured works by eminent photographers; from Karlo Drašković, who took a striking portrait of an old man at the end of 19th century, through the positive-negative experiments of Nikola Vranić in the 1960s and 1970s, the always excellent Tošo Dabac, all the way to experiments with the medium and borrowing frames from film—when it comes to photography, we encounter an elaborate visual language that, on the thematic level, might

49 Dimitrijević, "Pristup definiranju fizionomije suvremene fotografije", 37.

50 Ibid., 40.

function as an announcement of content of a given issue, and on the level of meaning continuously promotes contemporary photography. Photographs on the covers often function as independent messages, while the image culture advocated by *15 dana* speaks in favour of understanding the specificity of the photographic language, "translated" into the printed medium of the magazine in which it (also) functions as part of the graphic design.

Two series dedicated to photography are important (and still rare) contributions to the development of photography criticism and theory, and were written by Ranko Smokvina and Slobodan Tadić in the late 1960s. (Fig. 15) Thanks to them, we are able to document which photographers were in the focus of their critical observations, which often occur under the influence of sociology, a sort of predecessor of cultural anthropology, and new theoretical knowledge that it will soon start to represent. In a certain way, Slobodan Tadić succeeds Grčević—both studied art history, but their understanding of photography is fundamentally different. The series Tadić published in 1968–1969 is characterised by an engaged mode of writing, precise assessments of individual works, and an understanding of the subject infused with sociological attitudes. His views are the result of accepting the new liberal, left-wing thought originating from the West, relying on the democratisation of culture, while retaining Marxist-oriented criticism. (Fig. 16) Complemented by the artists' statements, detailed descriptions of the shooting circumstances, and pronouncements about the social and political context, Tadić's texts reveal not only his excellent knowledge of media issues—because he himself took photographs—but also his ability to convey the complex meanings that photography mediates. His political attitude, formed in relation to the events in the former Republic of Biafra, Vietnam, the Hungarian revolution, the aggression against Czechoslovakia and the like, is evidenced by the articles and topics he selects. Particularly impressive is the contribution on the 100th East Street in New York, a socio-critical photographic reportage by Bruce Davidson,[51] in which Tadić compares the critical approach of this photographer to the general human state of the soul, describing even the photographs that were not suitable for publication due to details.

In addition to him, from 1968 until 1971, Ratko Smokvina from Rijeka, a photographer, curator and leader of the photo-cinema group of Rijeka students, published a series on photography. This interesting and excessively self-effacing photographer and sailor favoured experimentation with the medium, neo-avant-garde methods, but also life-photography. The selection of topics for *15 dana* demonstrates a broad knowledge of contemporary trends, as well as the history of photography, from which he knew how to select examples of photography of the so-called new era, especially from environments that were at the time very closed off from the West such as the USSR, as well as Yugoslavia. Very early on, he noticed

51 Tadić, "Njujorška 100-ta ulica".

the fundamental problems troubling the domestic scene, from a lack of criteria to not publishing photo books, but also, an avoidance of social and engaged photography, which will remain one of the characteristics of the local scene for a long time.

THE 1970S AND THE MAGAZINE *SPOT*—AN UNCOMPROMISING CONCEPT OF MEDIATING CONTEMPORARY PHOTOGRAPHY

A considerable shift in writing about photography occurs with the appearance of the magazine *SPOT* (1972–1978), launched during a period of major changes in contemporary art, especially concerning its activities and the widening of the field of interest and ways of manifesting and mediating artistic content, influenced by political and social circumstances of the late 1960s. The initiative for launching the only magazine dedicated to photography in the second half of the 20th century in Croatia was provided by Radoslav Putar, the curator and, at the time, director of the Gallery of Contemporary Art (today, the Museum of Contemporary Art). He was motivated by the need to develop the general and specific culture of visual communication, whereby photography was interpreted as a specific mode of expression, of documenting and reporting through images. (Fig. 17, 18, 19)

The international selection of authors of various generations and modes of artistic expression, an early interest in theoretical considerations of multimedia art practices, as well as in experiments such as generative photography, Xerox and other aspects and tendencies of the so-called "new photography", were manifested in a thought-out and uncompromising concept of mediating contemporary photography. Its visual and textual content aimed at critically examining the environment and circumstances, ensuring the survival of progressive art photography. Overall, eleven issues were published, which were—along with the exhibition "New Photography" launched at that time—crucial for the visibility of visual considerations that marked the 1970s. The editorial board consisted of curators and photographers (Petar Dabac, Enes Midžić, Dimitrije Bašičević, Marijan Susovski, Jozo Četković, Nenad Gattin), who also collaborated with professionals from other Yugoslav republics; i.e., with Slovenian photographers and theoreticians (Zmago Jeraj, Mitja Koman) and theoretician Ješa Denegri from Belgrade.

The editorial board promoted photography as a medium that can, to a certain extent, stimulate the process of determining the culture of the social environment, selecting examples of advanced ideas, new understandings and research. Among other things, an effort was made to consider critically the environment and circumstances of the survival of the progressive artistic context of photography, by understanding photography as a medium of research and proposing new ways of communication according to the principles of semiotics. The culture of using the technology inherent in the medium made it possible for the magazine to publish works that

at the time significantly contributed to the expansion of the discourse within which photography was usually considered. This was followed by the writing of Albert Goldstein, an art historian and literary scholar, who at the end of the 1970s presented a thesis on the posteriority of photography, based on the opinion that "Photography as a tool is a system that employs the photographic process, which deliberately excludes the performance and invention of photography as a language";[52] photographs are not "memory" or direct evidence recorded almost at the same time as the event, but represent "the use of material or a template to create one's past". His writings on *blurred* concepts in photography are based on semiotics, on photography as an autonomous and autochthonous system of signs, an organism that creates its own performance. This innovative comparatist thinking marks a completely new direction that contemporary criticism of photography would take, which reconsidered how photographic perception affects the way of viewing and gaining knowledge.

CONCLUSION

Photography is a dynamic field of happenings encompassing flows not only of visual content, but also of meaning and knowledge about the world, about the development of modern society, culture, art, science and other aspects of human life. According to recent research projects on the national level, photography remained on the margins of artistic occurrences for a long time, yet today sovereignly occupies one of the central places within contemporary cultural-critical discourse, as a result of which a need arises for a critical reading of both its historical development and the various roles it plays in society. Its marginalised position led to an utter neglect of theory and criticism, which speaks to a great disproportion in relation to events on the world stage. As early as the late 1960s, it was noted in domestic press that photography held the position of a "complete outsider", however, this problem would remain unexplored for a long time.

Texts published in the period from the start of World War II to the end of the 1970s offer new insights into the relationship between photography and the socio-political environment, while also providing a better understanding of the scene dominated by amateur photography and a general misunderstanding of the position of this medium in a broader artistic context. At an intersection of thinking about photography as truth and/or document, coupled with a pursuit of the national photographic expression, or else one that should convey the post-war enthusiasm related to the reconstruction and a changed political agenda, this article considers the specificities of writing about photography, which only sometimes involves a critical consideration of the medium. The extent to which this is important is demonstrated by the fact that, on the international level,

52 Goldstein, "Some Comments on a Number of Blurred Concepts in Photography", 34.

precisely thanks to the development of criticism and theory, photography has become a discursive field and a significant driving force behind the comprehensive development of culture and society, which has encouraged critics and theorists to address it outside of standard paradigms.

As is visible from the relatively modest compendium of domestic publications, it is impossible to consider photography outside the context of social practice, whereby photographers play an important role as social participants who have affected the understanding of the role of photographers, which is neither passive nor innocent, to paraphrase Allan Sekula. In addition, writing about photography is equally not neutral, as evidenced by a number of examples highlighted in the text, especially in the context of the use of art for the purpose of political propaganda and advocacy of a certain ideology.

The paradigm shift that occurred at the end of the 1960s reveals a growing interest and need for understanding the specific language of photography, but which is only occasionally accompanied by an adequate critical apparatus. It starts to appear only in the 1970s, primarily within the circle of the Gallery of Contemporary Art in Zagreb, as well as related institutions in Belgrade, Ljubljana and Maribor, ready to accept novel ways of operating that paved the way for a new understanding of photography, whereby its place within art was no longer in question.

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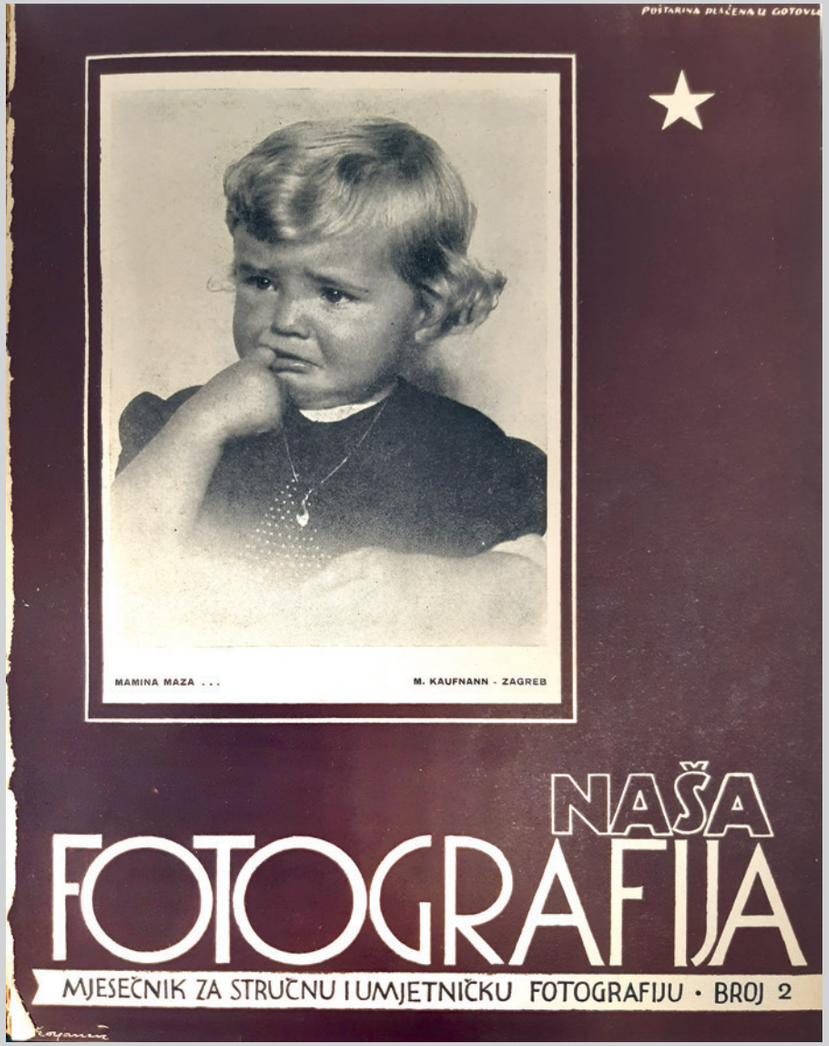
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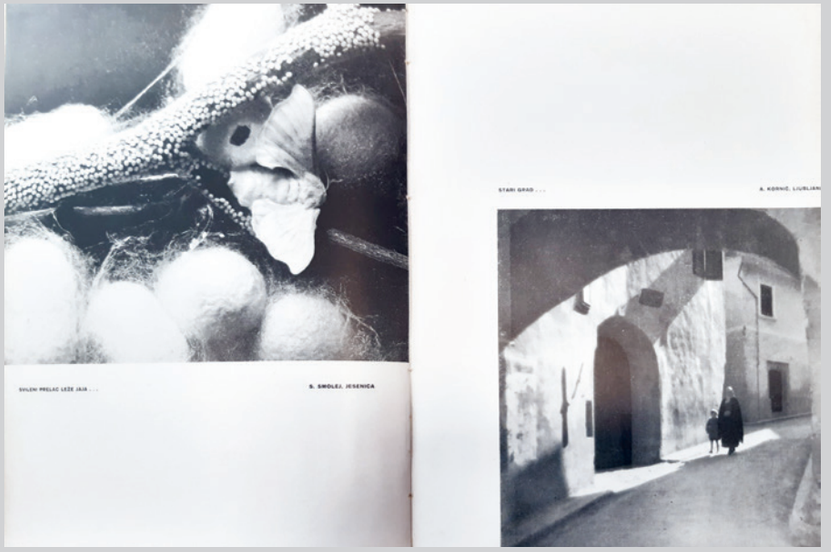
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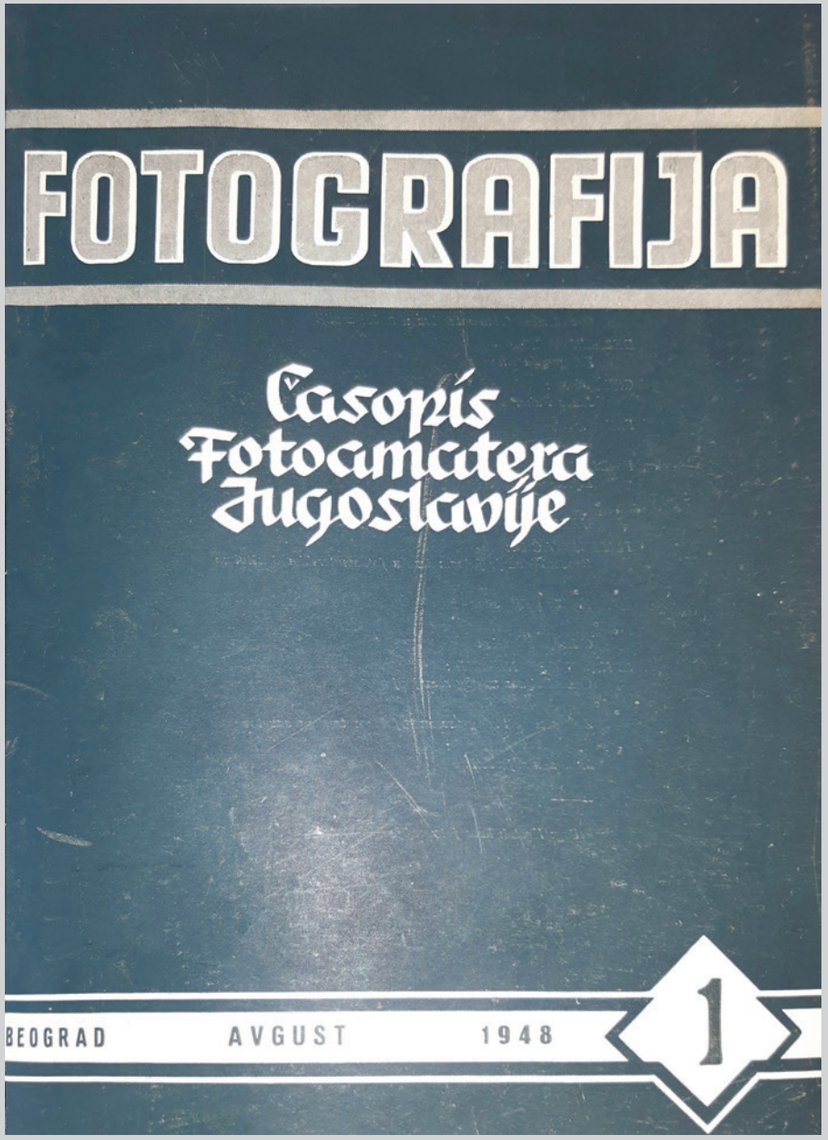
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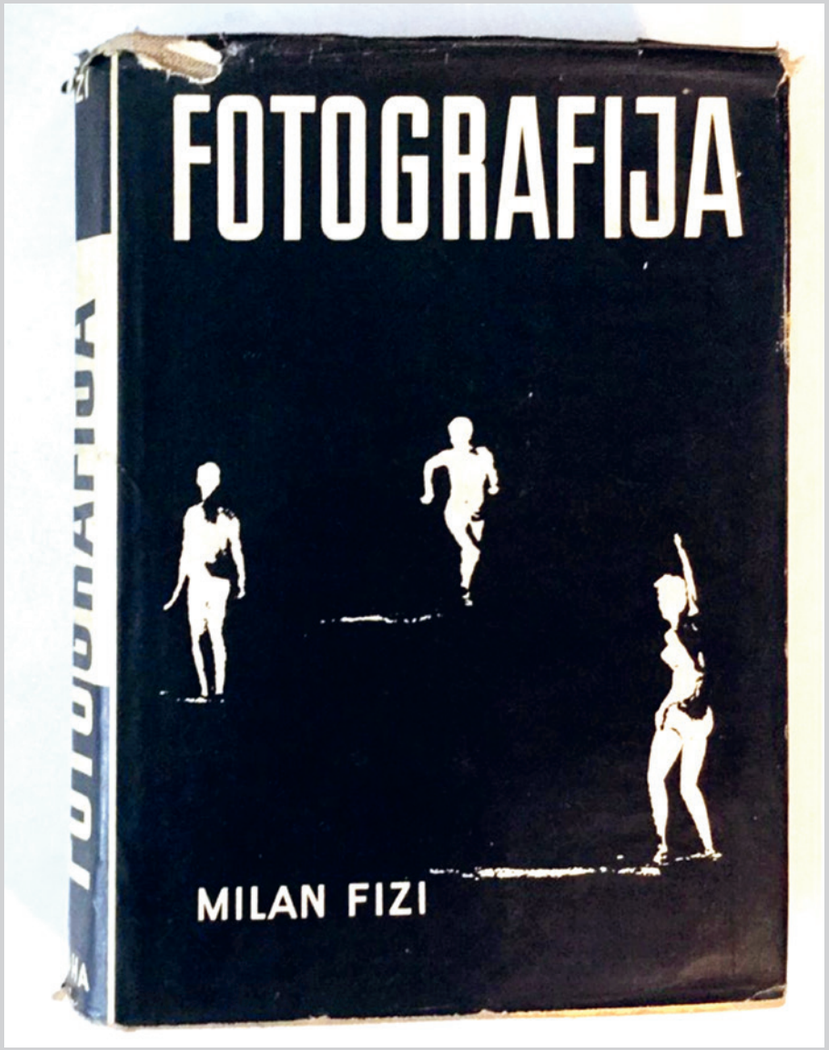

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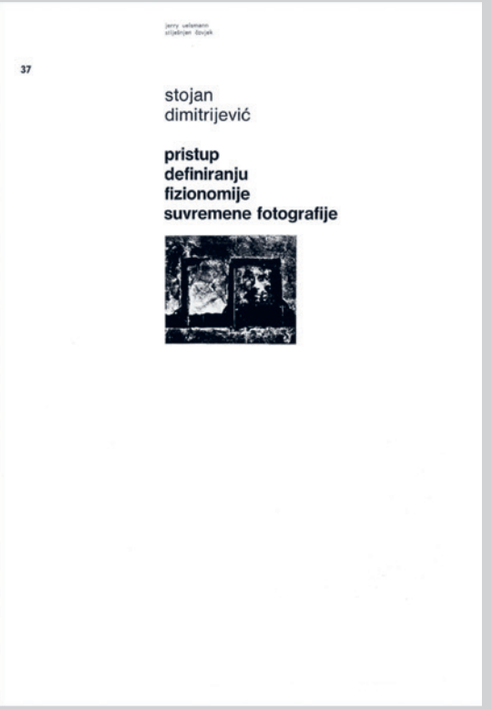
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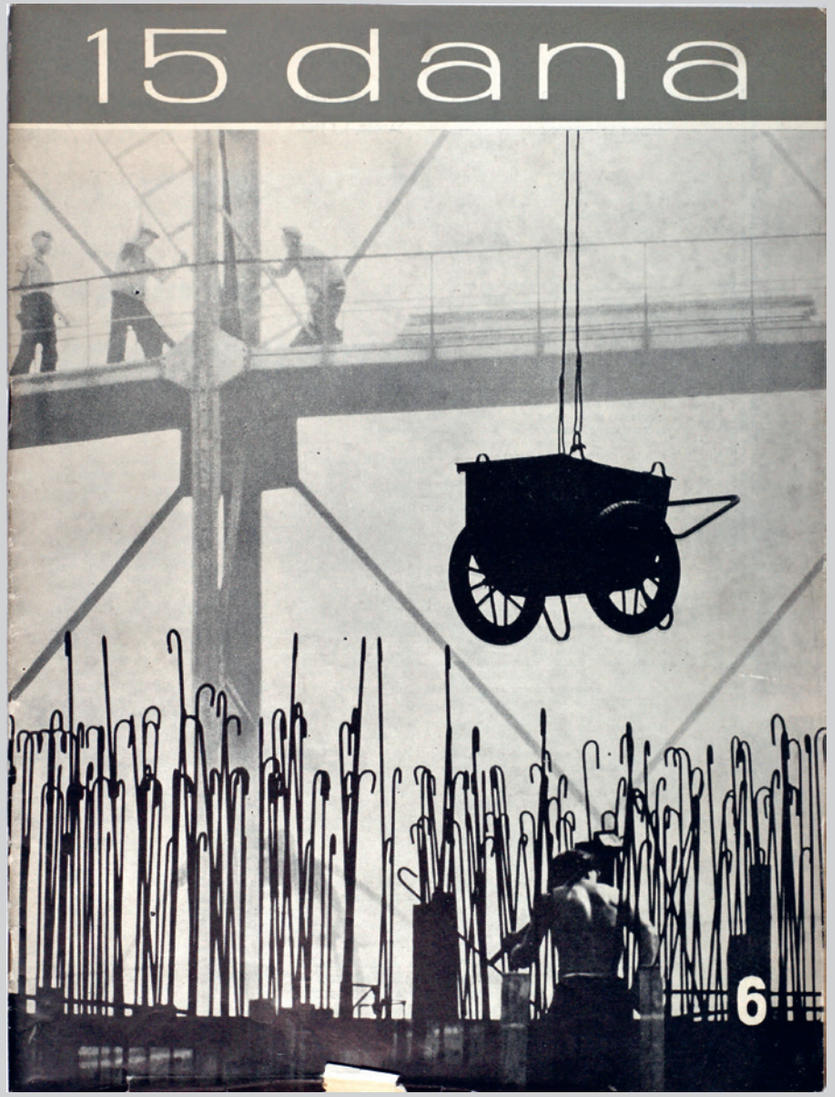


[14]

finiran izraz. U gornjem pojasu slike uočljive su teške, crne konstrukcije ratnih sprava isto tako uronjene u sivo, »zrnato« more. Capa je ovdje izvanredno uočio i iskoristio difuzno osvjetljenje; ono je rezultiralo »osiviješću« cijelog kadra (potenciranom naknadnim tehničkim postupkom) u kojem kontrapunktiraju »mrlje« crnila. Na taj način Capa je sve plastičke elemente podredio realiziranoj ideji određenog postojovečenja čovjeka i mašine u situaciji rata koji krši osnovne principe ponašanja čovjeka prema čovjeku. Krutost i tjeskoba vladaju ovom fotografijom.

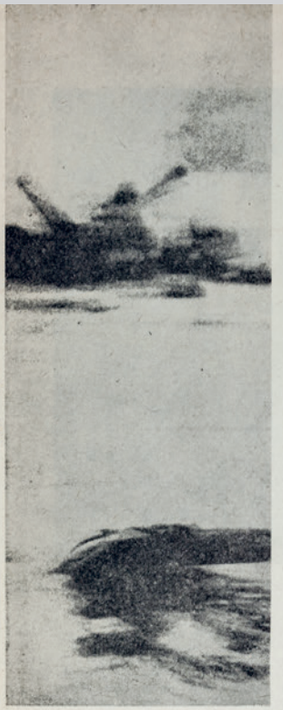
Capa je izvanredno poznavao tehniku ratovanja (to mu priznaju mnogi visoki oficiri savezničke armije iz prošlog rata); bio je neustrašiv, ili, kako je on to znao reći: »Volim se kockati.«; bio je svjestan mnogostrukosti svih međuljudskih odnosa u ratu i poštovao je svaki trenutak ratnog vrtloga žigošući ga svojim iskrenim i humanim stavom, ne služeći se virtuoznim tehničkim zahvatima, nego tehniku podređujući zahtjevu ideje koju želi iskazati.

Od 1955. godine dodjeljuje se vrsnim fotoreporterima visoko priznanje s likom Roberta Cape za fotografije koje su, igrom slučaja, uglavnom snimljene u ratnim sukobima u onom dijelu Azije u kojem je Capa poginuo.

Neka mi bude oprošteno što sam ovoliko redaka posvetio samo jednom čovjeku koji pripada

Slika desno: Robert CAPA: Normandija, dan D, 1944.

Slika dolje: Alexander GARDNER: Gettysburg, 1863

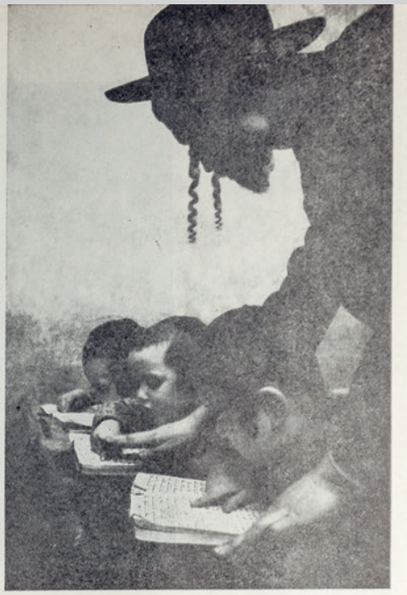


ratnoj reportažnoj fotografiji, koja predstavlja svojevrstan fenomen unutar reportažne fotografije. Međutim, Capina fotografija prelazi granice uskog područja ratne fotografije po svojoj sadržajno-formalnoj dimenziji, koja sadrži čovjeka sa velikim bogatstvom svog unutrašnjeg života. Osim toga, prvi počeci reportažne fotografije vezani su za ratnog fotoreportera Mathewa Bradya (Metjua Bredija) u drugoj polovini prošlog stoljeća. Na žalost, u to vrijeme nije postojala mogućnost reproduciranja fotografije na štampanoj stranici i ta je fotografija imala samo lokalni značaj. Tek je zadnje desetljeće XIX st. donijelo izum polutonskog procesa i prve fotografije pojavile su se u novinama. Fotografija je postala sredstvo masovne komunikacije.

Reportažna fotografija i tada, i danas znači, ne samo fotografsku bilješku značajnog događaja, nego fotografiju koja je »nerežirana«, koja nije snimljena u ateljerskom prostoru, nego slobodno slika ljude, »hvata« ih u njihovim različitim aktivnostima, s mnogo spontanosti i neposrednosti. Ona ne podliježe akademskim konvencijama. Razvija se, mijenja svoju fizionomiju, oscilira u kvaliteti, no, uvijek ponovo dokazuje svoju vitalnost produkcijom novih, vrijednih djela.

Slobodan TADIĆ

Slika dolje u sredini: CARTIER BRESSON: Na trkama, Honkong, 1949.



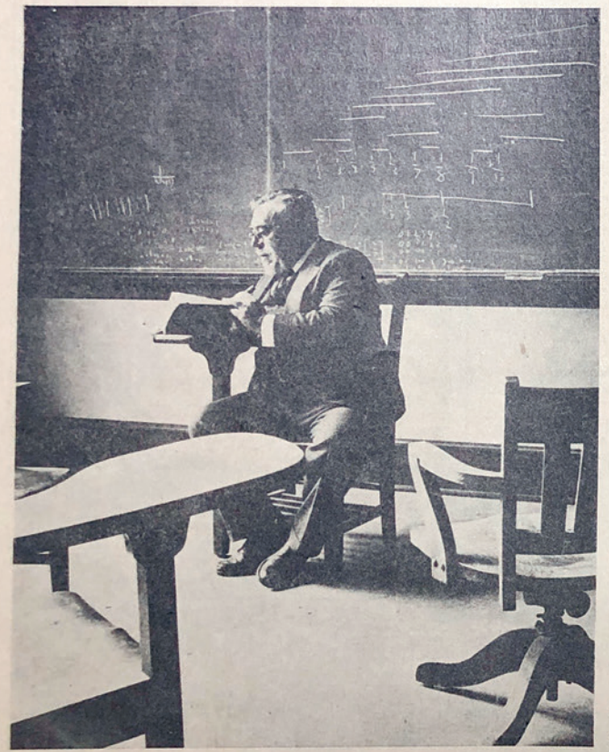
Slika gore: Cornell CAPA: Učenje Talmuda, Izrael, 1955.

Slika dolje: Alfred EISENSTAEDT: Gondolijer, Venecija, 1947.

[15]

foto-reporter

alfred eisenstaedt



»Norbert Wiener«, Cambridge 1950. — Jedna kutija cigara pomogla je da se uspostavi bolji kontakt između fotografa i slavnog kibernetičara. Snimak je nastao u predavaonici nakon predavanja, dok je Norbert Wiener nešto upisivao u Eisenstaedtovu knjigu autograma.

Kamera je sredstvo pomoću kojeg pokušavam dati smisao svemu.
André Kertesz

Foto-reporterom ili foto-žurnalistom nazivamo svakog tko se bavi fotografijom za novine. Međutim, foto-reporter nije svatko tko se bavi novinskom fotografijom. Čime se bavi foto-žurnalizam? Na ovo pitanje trebali bi odgovoriti oni koji stoje na mjestima urednika fotografije u novinama i časopisima. Ali, odgovori će se razlikovati, a na to upozoravaju i objavljene fotografije u raznim časopisima, gdje je očito da su izabrane po različitim kriterijima.

Treba najprije istaći osnovnu funkciju foto-reportaže. Tu je riječ o povezivanju dva vremenski i prostorno udaljena događaja: snimanja i gledanja (konzumiranja). Fotograf reporter ima dužnost pokazati ono što ljudi nisu mogli sami vidjeti na licu mjesta. Suvremeni čovjek će odmah dodati da je ovdje televizija brža, informativnija, korisnija.

Iako je televizija srodna fotografiji, među njima postoji, barem na sadašnjem stupnju razvoja tehnike, značajna razlika. Za korisnika (konzumenta) televizijska slika je neponovljiva, dok je fotografija trajna i u svakom trenutku po želji, upotrebljiva. Prema tome, foto-žurnalizam može i dalje ostati korisno sredstvo ljudskog informiranja.

Drugi je problem kako pojedini časopisi, odnosno njihovi urednici prezentiraju ili uopće shvaćaju fotografiju. Baš na osnovi tog njihovog shvaćanja pojedini fotografi se i opredjeljuju za rad u nekom časopisu, tako da se većinom fotografi istomišljenici nalaze u istim časopisima.

Kad jedan časopis stvori svoj vlastiti stil rada, onda je on postigao novu dimenziju u informiranju čitalaca, tada časopis postaje rasadnik novih ideja i sa sobom vuče svoje pristaše i pobornike takvog načina rada.

Foto-reportera Alfreda Eisenstaedta nalazimo u jednoj vrlo kvalitetno formiranoj cjelini. On je vodeći reporter američkog časopisa »LIFE«. Pored toga on je i jedan od osnivača tog časopisa. Značajne su Eisenstaedtove riječi kad govori o ljudima, psihologiji, uspostavljanju kontakata. O ljudima zato jer su oni njegov najčešći objekt snimanja, o psihologiji zato jer on smatra da fotograf mora biti u svakom trenutku gospodar situacije, da mora imati »sve konce u svojim rukama«, i na kraju, općenito o uspostavljanju kontakata, zbog toga što se samo pomoću njih može prodrijeti među ljude. Zanimljivo je da taj veliki fotograf ne stavlja na prvo mjesto nikakve čisto fotografske značajke, već prije svega opće nite — stvaralačke.

film je najjeftinija stvar u fotografiji

»Etiopski vojnik«, 1935. — Fotografija je nastala u nastojanju da se prikaže bijedno stanje Etiopske armije. Iako mnogi misle da je poginuli mrtav vojnik, to nije istina, slika je nastala na jednoj vježbi godinu.

Eisenstaedt je do sada snimio 90 naslovnih strana za »LIFE« i bio na 1300 fotografskih »zadataka« (assignment). Razlog tako velikog zadužívanja samo jednog fotografa od strane redakcije ne leži samo u onom prije spomenutom stvaralačkom interesu za ljude već i u virtuoznom poznavanju fotografske tehnike. Ali, i ovdje nalazimo na poseban pristup »tehničkim« problemima. On ih općenito svrstava u dva osjećaja: osjećaj za vrijeme i osjećaj za svjetlo.

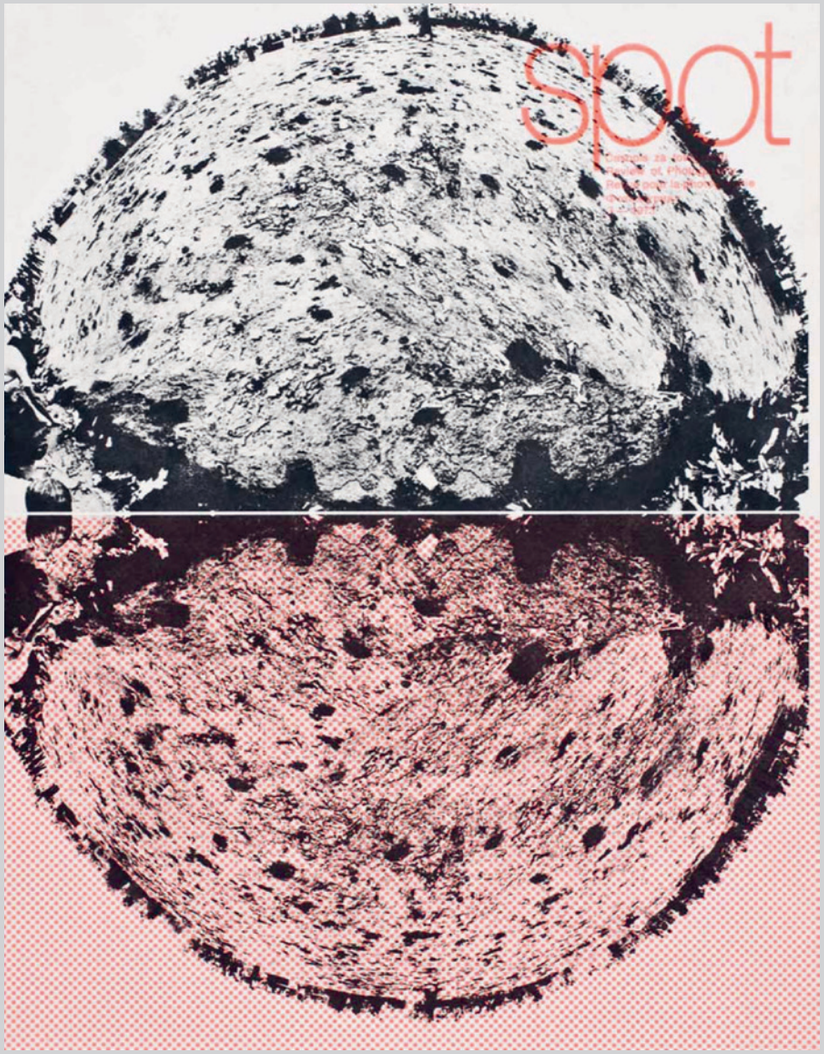
Vremensko trajanje slike koja okružuje fotografa stalan je izvor promjena, koje on mora primijetiti, i izvršiti najvažniju i skoro jedinu odluku kod snimanja reportažnih fotografija, odlučiti se za trenutak, i pritisnuti okidač. Manje je važan, ali ipak značajan faktor svjetla koji Eisenstaedt tumači sasvim proizvoljno terminom »osjećaj«. Svjetlo na fotografiji nije ono što privlači pažnju, sadržaj je to, ali zato svjetlo sliku stvara, ono daje ugođaj koji se kod vrlo dobrih fotografija najčešće vrlo teško i može pripisati svjetlu jer je ono tako vješto ukomponirano u fotografiju da zajedno s objektom i odabranim trenutkom čini nerazdvojnu cjelinu.

Fotografije Alfreda Eisenstaedta iz mlađih dana se mnogo ne razlikuju od novijih. U svim tim fotografijama je prisutna težnja fotografa da jednostavnim izrazom prikaže neko zbivanje, čovjeka ili dio prirode. Iako se tehnika značajno razlikuje od one prije četrdeset godina, on gotovo stalno radi na isti način: snima slike u živo i bez namještanja (candid pictures). Od svojih fotografskih početaka uvijek je upotrebljavao samo raspoloživo svjetlo (available light), još tada kad su fotografske emulzije prema današnjim bile vrlo niske osjetljivosti. Možemo zamisliti kako su izgledala snimanja u »živo« a da ljudi nisu bili svjesni da ih se snima, s fotoaparatom na stativu, s nesavršenim uređajem za izoštravanje i s dugim vremenima ekspozicije. Rezultati su ipak bili vrlo dobri. Jedna od tako nastalih je fotografija Thomasa Manna iz 1929. godine, snimljena za vrijeme primanja Nobelove nagrade. Ta je fotografija u to vrijeme bila jedna od rijetkih koja je u sebi nosila snagu dokumenta, ona je kod gledalaca pobuđivala osjećaj prisustvovanja podjeli nagrade. Eisenstaedt s ponosom ističe da mu je neposrednu inspiraciju za takav tip fotografije dao tada čuveni »available light«-fotograf dr Erich Salomon. S dolaskom poznatog »Leica« foto-aparata takav tip fotografije je za Eisenstaedta postao životnom preokupacijom.

Eisenstaedt na svojim fotografijama ne želi pronalaziti neobične situacije niti neuobičajene uglove snimanja, pa sam kaže da teži samo autentičnosti, realnosti i poštenju. Takvo gledanje na fotografiju uvjetuje i način njegova rada. Svoju kameru skriva pod kaputom sve dok nije spreman za snimanje i dok nije svjestan da će tim snimkom moći pokazati nešto više.

Sam fotografski postupak za reportažnog fotografa i nije toliko važan. Za Eisenstaedta kažu da ima jedan od najvažnijih foto-reporterskih rekvizita — nalazi se na licu mjesta kada se nešto događa.

Ali, iako postupak nije toliko važan, on je u ovom slučaju značajan zato jer je baš Eisenstaedt svojim stilom rada bio uzor mnogim fotografima.



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1. *Fotografija*, 1948, no. 1, cover
2. *Fotografija*, 1948, no. 1.
3. *Fotografija*, 1949, no. 2.
4. *Naša fotografija*, 1947, no. 2, cover
5. *Naša fotografija*, 1947, no. 2.
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7. Milan Fizi, *Fotografija*, Epoha: 1960, cover
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10. Mladen Grčević, "For a universal history of photography", *Život umjetnosti*, 1968, no. 6, chaper illustration
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12. *15 dana*, 1968, no. 11–12, cover photo by Nikola Vranić ("Ploughmen", 1967)
13. *15 dana*, 1963, no. 6, cover photo by unknown photographer
14. *15 dana*, 1969, no. 2, cover photo – Maria Falconetti as Joan of Arc in the eponymous film by Carl T. Dreyer
15. *15 dana*, 1968, no. 5–6, Slobodan Tadić "Reportage Photograhy", spread
16. *15 dana*, 1970, no. 6, Ranko Smokvina, "Photo Reporter Alfred Eisenstaedt", spread
17. *Spot,* 1973, no. 3, cover by Takashi Kumagai
18. *Spot*, 1973, no. 2, cover by Klaus Staeck
19. *Spot*, 1974, no. 4, cover by Roman Cieslewicz

ANTE ORLOVIĆ

Photo Documentation of Alumina Factory in Obrovac — Rise and Fall of the "Obrovac giant"

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INSTEAD OF GOATS—THE ALUMINUM INDUSTRY

In the period following World War II, the Yugoslav industry made remarkable progress. At the same time, similar processes were taking place in Europe and the demand for materials such as aluminum, produced by the processing of bauxite ore, was rapidly increasing.

In the 1970s, Yugoslavia had significant quantities of high-quality bauxite, which gave it the opportunity to impose on the international market of this increasingly sought-after raw material. For example, in 1974 the Yugoslav industry was projected to produce 123 thousand tonnes of aluminum, of which 72 thousand tones went to foreign investors, while 51 thousand tonnes remained for domestic purposes, which was insufficient to meet domestic needs.[1] In the mid-1970s, aluminum production gained one of the priority positions in the foundations of the common policy for the long-term development of SFR Yugoslavia until 1985.

In response to the growing need for aluminum, in 1964 it was agreed to finance the construction of an alumina factory—a raw material obtained from the processing of bauxite. Obrovac, a city in Zadar County which at the time had one of the largest bauxite deposits in Yugoslavia, was chosen as a place of construction.

Before the factory was built, quarries near Obrovac were mostly hand-operated, without mechanization, and the material, bauxite, was exported to other parts of Europe for further processing. In 1967, the processing of bauxite ore began and production was taken over by the company "Jadral" (Jadranski aluminij), based in Obrovac. Modern equipment for cutting blocks of bauxite was purchased and already in 1968 it was manufactured and placed over 800 cubic meters of stone abroad.[2]

1 N. N., "Stvaranje snažnijih cjelina—šansa za aluminij," 4.
2 N. N., "Crveno plavi kamen pod Alanom," 3.

In the late 1960s and early 1970s, the raw material was mostly exported from these parts to the USSR, and it was transported by freighters docking near Obrovac. This was the time when the construction of the alumina factory was expected to begin, with the aim of exploiting this wealth for the benefit of the inhabitants of Bukovica.[3]

However, the Yugoslav Investment Bank refused to finance the project, so Dalmatian and Herzegovina producers founded the "Jugal Group" in 1966, based in Split, with the aim of multiplying the overall production and construction of the factory. Connecting three Dalmatian and one Herzegovinian working organization: TLM "Boris Kidrić" in Šibenik, "Jadral" in Obrovac, "Aluminijski kombinat" in Mostar and "Elektroprivreda Dalmacija" in the "Jugal" business association was the beginning of a major venture.[4] It was recognized that part of the plan for the development of the aluminum industry could be realized without the need for state loans, primarily by investing own funds, direct borrowing abroad and through long-term cooperation with interested domestic and foreign partners. Partners were found in the Democratic Republic of Germany, who was supposed to provide a significant part of the financing for the project, while the bauxite processing technology would be imported from Hungary.[5]

In 1970, Jadral entered into its initial agreement with companies from DDR to secure a $28 million loan. Two years later, the company established cooperation with Hungarian partners, encompassing equipment, engineering, and financial credit arrangements.[6]

From the very beginning, the factory aroused great public interest, and the project was presented in local press releases, primarily in *Slobodna Dalmacija* and *Narodni list*, as a generator for the development of the area and local community. For example, the article "Instead of goats—Aluminium industry,"[7] published in *Slobodna Dalmacija* in July 1970,[8] tells of a great celebration with fireworks, staged on the occasion of the announcement of the factory's construction, which turned into general gatherings. The locals emphasized that a new chapter was opened in the development of their community. Bukovica was still an industrial underdeveloped area at the time, and over three quarters of the population engaged in livestock farming or agriculture. In this context, the same article states that in this area "the poor are sitting on the hills of red gold,"[9] alluding to bauxite ore.

3 Karst area in the central part of Adriatic Croatia.
4 Marasović, "Jugal ruši granice," 2.
5 Matić, "Iščezla Hrvatska," 52.
6 Bošković, "Na zgarištu promašenih investicija," 59.
7 Seferović, "Umjesto koza – aluminijska industrija," 2.
8 Daily in Split since 1943
9 Seferović, op. cit.

In addition to the press releases, the history of constructing the Obrovac factory can be reconstructed through photographs by Zadar photographer Ante Brkan, many of whom have been published in local daily newspapers. The collection of negatives by Ante Brkan, stored at the Gallery of Fine Arts in Zadar, contains about a hundred photographs that accompany the construction of the factory, from the announcements of construction, the very beginnings of construction to the final realization. In addition to photographs of the "Jadral" factory in Obrovac, Brkan, during its reporting work, photographed several factories in Zadar—"Bagat", "Tekstil Kombint", "Otočanka", "Maraska", "Boris Kidrić" etc. This is an insufficiently explored work of Brkan's industrial photography, which belongs to the corpus of industrial photography in Croatia. In this context, the opus of Toše Dabac in the 1960s is well-known, and is dealt with in Iva Prosoli's text "The industrial photography of Tošo Dabac in the 1960s" in Život umjetnosti: časopis o modernoj i suvremenoj umjetnosti i arhitekturi from 2007. Also, the exhibition *Tošo Dabac: Industrial photography* was organized in 2018 at the Museum of Contemporary Art in Zagreb. Dabac, like Brkan, filmed parts of factory plants, some in the style of *new objectivity* such as a 1964 photography *From a steel plant in Zenica*, and similarities can be found in portraits, such as *Female worker*, which Dabac took in 1964.

Industrial photographs of Ante Brkan are often precise, detailed, and highly informative. He emphasizes showcasing industrial processes and workers and often focusing on the technical aspects of industry, machinery, work processes, and workers. His photographs are technically more precise, using lighting and composition to highlight industrial elements.

Tošo Dabac, on the other hand, often employed an artistic approach in his photography. His industrial images may have more aesthetic and emotional elements, with less documentary precision. Dabac often centered on the human aspect of industry, portraying workers and their everyday lives within the industrial environment. Dabac was more prone to experimenting with composition and lighting to create an artistic impression.

More recently, the project *Common photographic narratives* partly dealt with the topic of industrial photography, within which a *pop-up* exhibition *Faces of the City* was held in 2021.[10] Part of the exhibition, organized by Alma Trauber, shows photographs of Sisak "Željezara" photographed by Mladen Popović, who takes photographs at the same time as Brkan, but which have a predominantly artistic tendency, unlike Brkan's documentary-reporter photographs.

Photos of Ante Brkan were taken by order, and Brkan, who then worked as a photojournalist in Zadar's daily newspaper *Narodni list*, recorded in very detail almost every step of the construction of the "Obrovac giant".

10 https://croatian-photography.com/text/lica-grada-alma-trauber/

Back in the 1960s, Brkan took a series of photographs showing the site of the future factory, the excavation of bauxite and workers at the "Jadral" quarry. Photographs show quarry workers, large blocks of bauxite, and the transport of stone for further processing. Among the images of transportation are photographs of Soviet ships in Maslenica, a place near Obrovac, and the loading of stone transported to Soviet countries.

By laying the foundation stone on 12 May 1974, work on the construction of the alumina factory officially began. Among other things, the ceremony was attended by Croatian Parliament Speaker Ivo Perišin, Vice-President of the German Democratic Republic's Ministerial Council Manfred Flegel and Hungarian Finance Minister Lajos Faluvegi.[11] Ante Brkan recorded the opening ceremony with his camera, following the ceremony and the current state of works on the factory.

On the day of the opening of the works, on Bravar, the elevation above Obrovac, the employees of the Zagreb companies "Industrogradnja" and "Hidroelektra" have already started construction works, and at the very opening several thousand people gathered. On that occasion, it was announced that in June 1976, two years after laying the foundation stone, the factory would start operating within the prescribed deadlines.

According to plans at the time, annual alumina production at the plant was expected to reach about 300,000 tonnes,[12] while estimated construction costs according to the pre-invoice amounted to about 14 billion dinars.[13] The intention was for production to steadily increase and reach 840,000 tons by the year 1980.[14] Also, the factory was supposed to employ just over 1,000 workers, and during the construction, education of new personnel from the local area was planned. Two new vocational schools were planned to be established in Obrovac as early as 1971. One of these schools would be a high school for alumina production, and a total of 105 students would enroll.[15] After completing the education, "Jadral" would provide the students with employment in the future factory and in its mines in the vicinity of Obrovac. The plant was planned to generate an annual income of approximately 290 million dollars, which would allow for a relatively simple repayment of the loans raised for the construction of the plant.[16]

The expected high annual income, given the above-average high wages of workers, was to allow enough funds to be accumulated to build another factory of approximate size and price.[17]

11 Z. A., N. K., "Niče nova tvornica," 1.
12 Matić, op. cit.
13 Z. A., N. K., op. cit., 8.
14 Bošković, op. cit., 40.
15 D. G., "Jadral osigurava kadrove," 3.
16 Bošković, op. cit., 25–26.
17 Z. A., N. K., op. cit.

The factory started operating on 16 October 1977, becoming the second largest investment in Dalmatia by then.[18]

The scenes from the opening of the factory, taken by Ante Brkan, bear witness to a large number of visitors, as well as to the continuation of a significant public interest in the project. With its photographs, Brkan also pays great attention to the power, i.e. mass of machines, detailed representations of the large factory complex, while also photographing certain machine details, which brings it closer to photography of *new objectivity* that shows sharpened parts of machines using deep sharpness and clear light.

Although the "Jadral" company claimed in 1976 that there would be so much alumina produced in Obrovac that it would not be possible to turn it all into aluminum, it almost immediately became apparent that the factory's capacity greatly exceeded the actual production potential. Of the huge business projects, which included aluminum exports to East Germany, almost nothing was realized.[19]

THE CURTAIN FELL—THE SHOW IS STILL GOING ON

Before construction began, it was estimated that the factory would be able to supply local bauxite for about 10 years. However, the quality ore was exhausted much faster, and production continued with the treatment of lower quality bauxite, with more waste. Already in the first two years of operation, the factory suffered a massive loss of 2.5 billion dinars, and it became evident that its further work would be a general disaster.[20]

In the early 1980s, the decay process of Yugoslav industry began, which was caused by increasing economic problems and massive borrowing from foreign banks.

Loans were key to a large wave of investments and maintaining a high standard of living in the past decade, leading to thousands of investment projects by the end of the 1970s, when the standard of living in Yugoslavia was much higher compared to other socialist countries. Between the mid 1970s and the early 1980s, Yugoslavia's foreign debt surged significantly, increasing from 6 billion dollars to 21 billion dollars.[21] Starting from 1980, Yugoslavia had to allocate an annual budget of approximately 3 to 6 billion dollars for servicing its loans.

The executive Council of the Parliament of the Socialist Republic of Croatia allegedly made a decision already in 1968 on the construction of the

18 N. N., "Velik korak Bukovice," 1.
19 Matić, op. cit.
20 Ibid.
21 Bošković, op. cit., 12.

alumina factory in Obrovac.[22] Prior to the commencement of construction, studies on profitability were carried out by the Faculty of Mining, which concluded that there were not enough bauxite in the area, and this was later confirmed by Commercial Bank Zagreb with its research in 1976. Nevertheless, the Executive Council decided to build the factory.

After the factory started operating with significant losses, a cost-effectiveness study was re-conducted, which concluded that "Jadral" will be successful.

However, after only a few years of work and with unforeseen losses, the factory closed in 1981, making it the biggest failed investment in the former Yugoslavia.

One year later in Obrovac, what is likely the most renowned auction for the sale of a factory and its associated real estate in the history of Yugoslav industrialization took place. Remarkably, the auction lasted only five minutes, with not a single potential buyer showing up—only numerous journalists were present.[23] The ambitions of the Yugoslav aluminum industry to rival the USA and Japan proved unsuccessful.[24] As time passed, the equipment and materials from the factory were removed from its remains, leaving behind only waste and enduring ecological repercussions.

CAPTURING THE INDUSTRIAL LANDSCAPE

Brkan's photographs serve as highly valuable archival resources that record the industrial heritage of the Obrovac region. These images depict the technical intricacies, machinery, apparatus, and production methods employed in alumina manufacturing.

These photographs, among other things, include portraits of laborers, which contribute to humanizing the industrial proceedings. They also portray the plant's structural layout and its harmonious incorporation into the surroundings, encompassing flora, storage facilities, smokestacks, and other various elements. Moreover, by capturing the plant at various points in time, they chronicle the alterations and advancements in the plant's evolution over the years. They possess historical and archival significance, offering a richer understanding of the industrial past of Obrovac and its area, shedding light on the transformations that have taken place in alumina production throughout the years.

Local newspapers made use of these photographs to offer supplementary information or context. Frequently, utilizing them to elucidate particular facets of the factory's activities or to offer a visual portrayal of the factory's significance within the region. Additionally, photographs highlight the significance of the alumina factory and its contribution to Obrovac's industrial history and also functioning as educational instruments, informing the public about the factory's importance and its influence on the local community.

22 "Izgradnju Obrovca nismo mogli zaustaviti."
23 Bošković, op. cit., 210.
24 Matić, op. cit.

CONCLUSION

A series of press articles and photographs from that period testify to the incredible rise and fall of the large factory complex in Obrovac, which was encouraged by local businessmen and politicians. Built in rural areas, based on what will later prove to be an underdeveloped project, the factory became one of the major infrastructure failures, not only of the aluminum industry in Croatia, but in the entire former Yugoslavia.

The archival research of the photography archive of Zadar photographer Ante Brkan and newspaper releases gave an insight into the construction plan of the factory, the construction process, important advances in the realization of the project, and ultimately the liquidation of the Obrovac factory. The materials that followed the growth and collapse of the factory testify to the dedication to the development of the project and the (false) triumphalism of political structures. Photographs of Ante Brkan show the terrain of the future "Jadral" factory, bauxite sites, quarry, transport and loading of bauxite, formal opening of the factory, factory plant and, finally, abandoned plant buildings. Based on Brkan's photographs, it is possible to make a complete reconstruction of the construction of the "Obrovac giant". The preserved negatives show in great detail almost all stages of the factory's construction, focusing on details from the construction site and factory plants, and in addition to parts of the factory, the photographer took portraits of the workers, mostly those who worked on the excavation of the bauxite, photographing them in close proximity and within their working environment.

Ante Brkan photographs testify to one of the largest modernization momentums in the coastal region, at a time when it was thought that, through the development of infrastructure, the area would finally fulfill its economic potential. With a long and detailed photographic monitoring of the factory's construction, the photographer seeks to capture as much as possible—from the extensive plans of the terrain, the initial structures and the factory halls themselves, to details such as the machines in operation, in order to present as accurately as possible the beginnings of the new (unrealised) history of the Bukovica area.

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1. Bauxite mining, 1968, Gallery of Fine Arts Zadar, Inventory number 23906. Photo Ante Brkan
2. Maslenica, loading of bauxite, 1970, Gallery of Fine Arts Zadar, Inventory number 21402. Photo Ante Brkan
3. Laying of the foundation stone, 1974, Gallery of Fine Arts Zadar, Inventory number 20578. Photo Ante Brkan
4. Construction of the alumina factory, 1974, Gallery of Fine Arts Zadar, Inventory number 20544. Photo Ante Brkan
5. Opening ceremony, 1977, Gallery of Fine Arts Zadar, Inventory number 23970. Photo Ante Brkan
6. “Jadral” alumina factory, 1977, Gallery of Fine Arts Zadar, Inventory number 20533. Photo Ante Brkan
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ANA RAJKOVIĆ PEJIĆ

Skinny and Exhausted: Photographs of Underaged Labour Force in Interwar Yugoslavia

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INTRODUCTION

The relationship between photography and class was established in the 19th century thanks to the work of photographers such as Jacob A. Riis. This resulted in the emergence of the worker-photography movement. This type of photography developed significantly in the interwar period, when Dorothea Lange and Edith Tudor-Hart photographed the harsh living conditions and social divisions of the Great Depression. By professionally photographing social life or 'the life lived by the other half',[1] as Riis stated in the title of his book, they became social documentarians. Riis was referring to the well-known saying that 'one half of the world does not know how the other half lives'. It was precisely owing to the 'other half' that the focus shifted to a whole range of marginal social groups, from workers, homeless people and immigrants, to all those removed from the centre of political power. Some of these photographs, such as *Migrant Mother* (1936) by Dorothea Lange, became iconic images of an era.

Although there is no single definition of this type of pictures, documentary photography is an umbrella term that encompasses the diversity of the photo-taking process, and many theoreticians, such as Michelle Bogre, agree that it is a type of photograph characterised by sharp focus, depicting a real moment in order to convey a meaningful message about what is happening in the world.[2] Others, such as Christopher Carter, see photographs as "rhetorical devices, which through their depiction of social class and spaces, can expose contradictions in the capitalist system".[3] In other words, according to Riis, documentary photography is an attempt to create class consciousness by shaping human perception, i.e., by making people aware of 'the other half'. It can be said that photographic representations of living conditions, work in factories, free time and political struggles, turned pho-

1 Reference to the Jacob A. Riis book named *How the Other Half Lives. Studies Among the Tenements of New York,* first published in 1957.

2 Bogre, *Documentary Photography Reconsidered.*

3 Hodson, "The Politics of Documentary Photography".

tography into an "instrument of social changes".[4] Lauren Jensen claims that, by showing the slums of New York in the 1870s in his photographs, Riis managed to make the middle and upper classes aware of the existence of the poorest parts of the city, which led to a better understanding of living conditions of migrants, workers and other people from the margins of society. In this way, photography became a kind of mediator between the classes, making them aware of the mutual differences.

This phenomenon became increasingly evident in the interwar Weimar Republic when photographers began to focus on the working class. The most popular magazine dealing with working class topics during this period was *Der Arbeiter*, whose covers depicted female workers operating machinery, peasants working in the fields, and the working class spending their leisure time. The magazine published pictures belonging to the concept known as worker-photography. Referring to Christian Joschke, Polish historian Maciej Duklewski believes that this concept implies primarily a historical phenomenon of "an attempt to create class consciousness by shaping [people's] perception and seizing the means of visual production".[5] In this sense, it is worth highlighting a significant series of photographs of American mines from the second half of the 20th century, titled *Mining Photographs and Other Pictures 1949–1968*. The series depicts miners, their homes, and working conditions, all of which point to the social position of the working class. Theoretician Bernard Edelman referred to the photographers who created such images as "proletarians of creation".[6] *The Russian Association of Proletarian Photo Reporters* (ROPE)[7] should also be mentioned here, an organisation, along with the *Arbeiter—Illustrierte Zeitung* (AIZ), that was essential for the development of worker-photography. An interesting fact is that employers, however rarely, also used photography to depict the lives of their workers. Among them was the Pullman Company, an American automobile company, which regularly photographed its workers in the period between 1880 and 1890.[8]

As can be seen, there is a long tradition of collaboration between photography and representation of marginal social groups, from immigrants in New York to American miners in the second half of the 20th century. Susan Sontag stressed this kind of synergy by saying that people are made

4 Jensen, "The Photographs of Jacob Riis".

5 Duklewski, "Worker's Photography Movement of the 1920's and 1930's".

6 Frank, "A View of the World".

7 The most famous project of this organisation is the publication *24 Hours in the Life of Moscow Worker Family* (1931).

8 Photographs show workers during their work at the factory, the activities performed in their free time, and the strike that took place in 1984. The majority of these photos were taken in factories, using a 45-degree angle, to show both the architecture and the machines. More can be found in: Peterson, "Producing Visual Traditions among Workers".

real by photographs.[9] In other words, photographers who portrayed the working class tried to bring it closer to the public, make people aware of class differences, and show that the working class is part of our reality.

Research of worker-photography enables a different perspective that includes not only art history, but also visual sociology and historiography. These disciplines approach photography as a visual fact, as well as a historical source. Accordingly, in the theoretical framework of documentary and worker-photography, the goal of this paper is to explain the connection between photography and social aspects as a result of the relationship between labour and capital. The research includes the analysis of the photographs published in magazine *Organizovani radnik*, which was published in Zagreb between 1924 and 1929. The primary goal of these documentary photographs was to expose social injustice through meticulously planned narrative structure and picture composition. Also, these photos will be compared to the works of Danish-American photographer Jacob Riss, considered "a pioneer in the use of photography as an agent of social reform".[10] It is important to emphasise that Riis was the author of the series of exposés about conditions in the slums on Manhattan's Lower East Side, which led him to regard photography as an appeal for slum reform. The latter was, to a certain extent, the goal of the photographs published in the Yugoslav labour press as well.

PHOTOGRAPHY AS TOOL OF TESTIMONY AND MEMORY

In the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, documentary photography began to develop after the First World War. A significant figure was Franjo Fuis, a photographer who shot pictures representing social issues, such as street vendors and shoe shiners in the streets of Zagreb, for the newspaper *Novosti* (*News*).

While German and British working-class press was illustrated with a large number of photographs, this was not the case with Yugoslav press associated with the labour movement. Still, just as in other European labour movements, most of the press was related to the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (CPY).[11] The magazine *Organizovani radnik* had the longest-running tradition and often published pictures of workers. Since most newspapers were not equipped with pictures and were limited to textual content, the photographs published in *Organizovani radnik* are valuable sources in the analysis of the position of the working class in Yugoslavia

9 Sontag, *On Photography*, 126.

10 "Jacob Riis. Biography".

11 In late 1921, the CPY was banned, thus in the interwar period it was active under various names, in order to be able to act legally, at least temporarily.

in the interwar period. According to the features of these photographs, we can assume that the authors were nonprofessional photographers. It should also be noted that in most European labour movements, such as the German one, the core of worker-photography was taken by amateurs such as Eugen Heiling or Erich Rinka. However, as Guy Lane points out, it is very difficult to determine exactly to what extent the workers photographs published in the interwar period are truly amateur or professional. In this context, a similar conclusion emerges in the case of photographs published in Yugoslav workers' newspapers.

Most of the characters in the Croatian interwar worker-photographs have a restrained expression and lack any props. They are placed within a simple composition and in front of a black background. In this context, these photos coincide with the words of Marxist theoretician Edwin Hoernle: "We will have no veils, no retouching, no aestheticism; we must present things as they are, in a hard, merciless light."[12] This kind of realism helps to keep the observer's attention exclusively on the subject, whose role is to evoke empathy, similar to the postulates of documentary photography. It is also in line with the beliefs of Eamonn Carrabine, who stated that "human misery should not be reduced to a set of aesthetic concerns but is fundamentally bound up with politics of testimony and memory".[13]

This type of photographs shows young workers and apprentices, mainly males, highlighting their physical exhaustion. The pictures are mostly portraits, and most of the subjects are looking directly into the camera. In the newspapers, the photographs were regularly accompanied by articles, so they form a segment of a broader portrayal of the social position of the working class. For this purpose, the photos were taken from an angle that allows emphasis on their faces and bodies. One photo shows the extremely thin body of a young male worker with visible wounds on his legs. These images illustrate Carrebine's "testimony policy"; they bear witness to the social position of the working class, but also to their exploitation and physical and psychological abuse.

The subjects of these photographs are not anonymous workers or 'production factors', as was the case with the majority of photos published in the newspapers. Their names are listed in the published data, and employment data reveal that most of them moved to Zagreb from smaller towns and villages, in search of work. They were most often employed as apprentices, which implied various forms of abuse and underpayment, as the pictures clearly show. Revealing their identities strengthened the achievement of one of the goals—to arouse empathy and contribute to the change of the social and political paradigm.

12 Seward, "Camera as Weapon".

13 Ray, "Social Theory, Photography and the Visual Aesthetic of Cultural Modernity", 9.

In accordance with the aforementioned, the published photographs were intended to serve as proof of subjugation and marginalisation of the working class, especially young and underaged workers, as its most vulnerable segment. That is why some of the workers are shown in their underwear, revealing the endured exploitation, which served as additional support for the ideas proclaimed by the working-class leaders. Their working conditions were inhumane, and they were obliged to work overtime. Furthermore, laws on the social protection of workers, such as the eight-hour shift recommendation, were often ignored. Most of the workers were cruelly exploited and experienced verbal and physical forms of abuse. Various mistreatments sometimes resulted in illness, as in the case of a cook, employed by D. Mikić in Otočac, who contracted typhoid fever, due to unfavourable working conditions, and was forced to walk 11 km to the nearest doctor.[14] Such stories were actually the basis of the Yugoslav labour movement narrative, which, with the help of trade unions, attempted to draw attention to the difficult position of workers.

Looking up to their comrades who started the publication *Der Arbeiter*, the leaders of the national labour movement were very attentive of the importance of photography in creating the desired policies. However, due to a number of technical and material limitations, the use of photography as a visual component of political struggle could not serve as a significant political instrument. We should not forget the fact that the CPY operated illegally throughout the entire interwar period, which had a negative impact on the practice of using photographs as a propaganda tool. Nevertheless, some photographs published in the magazine *Organizovani radnik* suggest that the workers were well aware of its potential to raise awareness of their social position.

REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLE FROM BELOW

In accordance with Maciej Duklewski claim that communist parties played a very important role in organising what is known as the "proletarian photography movement",[15] Yugoslav communists used photographs with the aim of creating class-conscious workers and mobilising them. Therefore, it is not surprising that the CPY was close to the magazine *Organizovani radnik*, a newspaper that, as already highlighted, was one of the few newspapers that used photography as a political tool, especially in the mid-1920s. Bearing in mind the role of communist parties and organisations in the creation of the "proletarian photography movement", primarily in Germany, Great Britain and France, communists in Yugoslavia had to be

14 Šoljan, *Žene Hrvatske u radničkom pokretu*, 327.

15 As an example, he mentions the German Communist Party, which started using visual arts as an instrument to convey messages and create mass agitation in the region. Duklewski, "Worker's Photography Movement of the 1920's and 1930's".

influenced by them, which resulted in the recognition of the potential of photography within the class conflict. Accordingly, Larry Ray noted that photography gained "the power of informing and mobilizing social justice campaigns",[16] due to Riis, Lewis W. Hine[17] and others who portrayed the slums of New York and the horrors of war.

Most of the published photographs depict injured and exhausted workers, with the aim of drawing attention to the exploitation and brutality of their employers. Therefore, emphasis was placed on the poor physical health of the workers, resulting in their thin, sick and exhausted bodies being shown in the photos. In order to portray their malnutrition, i.e. employers' lack of interest in the workers' nutrition, the camera is positioned vertically, showing the whole body. In this way, the photographers put in the foreground the legs of the workers, which appear almost deformed due to constant standing and non-compliance with the law stating the right to rest during the working day. This is also evident in an article published in the magazine *Organizovani radnik* in 1928, in which a picture of the workers is accompanied by a note stating that this reveals 'the crimes committed by employers'.[18] Undoubtedly, by publishing such pictures these photographers helped redefine the social position of the working class, further supporting Riis' theory of photography as an instrument of social change.

According to contemporary research based on the methodology known as *Eigen-Sinn* (self-will), as Wolfgang Hesse points out, the subjects shown in the photographs represent a conscious self-presentation, and it is evident that the person is aware of being photographed.[19] These photographs have some other features in common, such as an attempt to evoke empathy in the viewer, with a more distant goal of redefining the social position of the working class, creating social welfare, etc. It should be noted that all workers were photographed outside their workplace, in front of the simple flat canvas background. This is in line with what August Sander stated: "I hate nothing more than sugary photographs with tricks, poses and effects. So allow me to be honest and tell the truth about our age and its people."[20]

These photographs are very powerful, as they create a multilayered narrative, shaped through articles that give insight into the social circumstances and working conditions of the portrayed subjects. The workers were photographed in different poses, depending on the desired emphasis. For example, the 13-year-old baker's apprentice Mirko Vrebac is shown in

16 Ray, "Sociology and Visual Aesthetics".

17 His photographs of children labour force led to the reinforcement of some social measures the goal of which was to protect children in the United States.

18 "Još jedna žrtva noćnog rada i zvjerskog postupka".

19 Duklewski, "Worker's Photography Movement of the 1920's and 1930's".

20 "August Sander on Photography (1927)".

two ways: with his face and his back facing the camera. In this way, it was possible to show his hunched back, as well as his deformed, swollen and lumpy feet, which were the result of carrying heavy sacks of flour.

The thesis that the worker-photography was intended to point out the difficult working conditions and arouse empathy is supported by the issue dated 2 August 1928, which featured a photograph of two carpenter apprentices. These two apprentices, Anton Karabić and Vjekoslav Marinec, worked in the Zagreb workshop of carpenter Vjekoslav Pavunac (Fig. 1) Unlike most photographs where the frame is vertical, in this example the frame is horizontal, which achieves the focus on their broken arms (both apprentices have their hands in plaster), which clearly shows that the photograph was meant to highlight the exploitation of the working class and the injustice of the political system of the time. In other words, the photo was not used for visual effect, but was "used by socialists as a weapon in order to transform the reality".[21] The picture is accompanied by an article stating that the employer "picked up Karabić, an apprentice, and threw him over his shoulder, causing a bone in his left arm to be broken".[22] The aim of the photograph, which depicts two exploited apprentices, was to arouse a sense of solidarity, overcoming class divisions in Yugoslav society, to discourage similar treatment of assistants by other employers, and to introduce a system of punishment for those who treat their apprentices in a similar way. Such pictures of workers were meant to redefine certain social patterns, primarily the relationship between workers and employers, and served the purpose of creating a narrative about capitalist exploitation and the brutality of employers.

A month earlier the same newspaper featured a photo portraying the already mentioned 13-year-old Mirko Vrebac, whose working day lasted 12 hours (Fig. 2). The only food he received from his employer was bread and white coffee. In addition to working at the bakery, Vrebac also had to perform cleaning tasks, sweep the floor, fetch water, etc. Also, he was not allowed to sleep, and if his employer caught him sleeping, he would immediately wake him up. With such practice, he had hardly slept in three days. In the article, Vrebac said that one day his employer caught him sleeping and "punched him in the face, breaking his left jaw and causing blood to flow from his nose".[23] The photo of young Mirko and his testimony supported the thesis about the gross exploitation of workers and showed that labour and capital are in opposition to each other. This is supported by the article accompanying the picture, which states that the young workers were exposed to "terrible treatment and that their employers killed them emotionally and physically".[24] In this sense, Mirko Vrebac is defined as a

21 Kouwenhoven, "Worker's Photography Movement of the 1920's and 1930's".

22 "Slika divljaštva jednog poslodavca".

23 "Još jedna žrtva noćnog rada i zvjerskog postupka".

24 Ibid.

victim of "inhuman brutality", which is further emphasised by the depiction of a "pale boy" and his clothes, as pointed out in the text.[25]

Two very similar photographs were published in 1927 and 1928. The first features Vinko Kranja, a 16-year-old apprentice in a bakery (Fig. 3), and the second features Ivan Stajić, a carpenter (Fig. 4). Both are shown facing the camera. They are wearing underwear, and the upper part of their body is bare. The pictures show exhausted boys with, as the newspaper wrote, "bent feet",[26] while their arms are crossed. Their gaze, turned towards the camera, seems 'dark', and their emotional state revealed by the photographs is best described by the author of the article by stating that their "consciousness is humiliated".[27]

These were the results of a 20-hour workday, which included cleaning the stables and washing clothes, while their only meals were rotten tomatoes and bread.[28] Both of them were sleep-deprived, just like Vrebac. They were only allowed to sleep if there was no work. Due to such working conditions, Stajić looks thin, pale, sick and "stunted". These were also the consequences of physical abuse.[29] The workers were beaten, thrown into laundry tubs, deprived of sleep, forced to work long hours (which was illegal), etc. Because of all this, as already pointed out, their faces were "dark" and their consciousness "subdued", while they became "physically disabled" and contracted tuberculosis.

The photographs of Vinko Kranja, Mirko Vrebac or Ivan Stajić gave a realistic depiction of society, devoid of aesthetic manipulations. Depicting individuals and emphasizing personal tragedies, the photographs were a mediator between the subjects and the recipients—newspaper readers. According to Susan Sontag, photographs have a moral mission.[30]

PHOTOGRAPHY AS A MEDIATOR BETWEEN LABOUR AND CAPITAL

The pictures published in magazine *Organizovani radnik* are in line with the goals of worker-photography, which showed two opposing social positions—worker and employer, i.e. the oppressed and the oppressor. This type of social relations can be interpreted following the ideas of German sociologist Georg Simmel, which include subordination, supremacy, etc.[31]

25 Ibid.
26 "Još jedna od mnogobrojnih žrtava ubitačnog noćnog rada u pekarnama".
27 Ibid.
28 Ibid.
29 Ibid.
30 Sontag, *On Photography*, 89.
31 Korllos, "Uncovering Simmels Forms and Social Types in Social Settings", 18.

In this context, we can observe the photographs of underage workers from Zagreb, whose narrative is based on the struggle between labour and capital. In the accompanying articles, it was stated that employers slowly kill children without letting them see a doctor when necessary, and that "they carry out their criminal activity all over the country, having only one goal —to amass wealth, while the younger generation perishes, healthy children turn into idiots and physically disabled".[32]

Moreover, the photographs published in the magazine *Organizovani radnik* depict, to employ Simmel's term, the social relationship between the inferior and the superior. Therefore, it can be argued that photographs can be taken as historical sources that can help us reach historical truth, by showing two opposing sides, they reveal the negative consequences of social inequality—starving and sick workers, their deformities, etc. The picture becomes a mediator between the subject (workers) and the rest of the world (readers, employers), and at the same time has the power to inform and mobilise "the campaign for social justice".[33] Sociologist Larry Ray points out that the image does not speak to us in a magical way, but is always presented in context and through multiple 'lenses' of social differences.[34]

As the aim of a photograph is to convey a message and show reality, the level of aestheticization is kept to a minimum, the subjects are photographed in front of a simple background, letting the environment speak as much as the representation of the workers themselves. On the one hand, the simplicity of the environment coincides with their way of life, and, at the same time, it allows focus on the deformations caused by years of hard work. Because of this, the observer can experience compassion, identification and, possibly, an aspiration to redefine the social position of the working class, which is what photographers and newspaper editors hoped for. We can agree with James T. Siegel who, writing about the work of George Simmel, asserted that aesthetics can have a humanising effect.[35] Therefore, it is not surprising that one of the appeals accompanying the picture implies "the emancipation of mankind".

While these photographs showed empathy with the workers, at the same time they dehumanised their employers. This is further emphasised by the accompanying texts, in which their attitude towards the workers is described as "savage" and "barbaric", etc. In this way, these pictures created class symbols of the capitalist system—the exploited worker and the brutal tyrant (employer)—thus becoming instruments of class struggle.

32 "Još jedna od mnogobrojnih žrtava ubitačnog noćnog rada u pekarnama".
33 Ray, "Sociology and Visual Aesthetics".
34 Ibid.
35 Siegel, "Georg Simmel Reappears", 112.

In worker-photography, aesthetics and the pursuit of social justice come together, and their interrelationship is the subject of a series of analyses and opposing views. According to Larry Ray, a picture has the right to represent an object, and in this sense "has a right to truthfulness",[36] while Georg Simmel asserted that society is a work of art.[37] Moreover, with regard to the relationship to reality, photography was often accused of insufficient authenticity, of voyeurism and commodification, and of the aesthetic representation of suffering.[38] Accordingly, a dynamic relationship develops between photography and what is shown, especially in terms of its aspiration to show the 'complete truth', which is especially expressed in worker-photography. However, this aspiration is not one-dimensional and is subject to different interpretations.

Susan Sontag is the author of one of the most famous discussions on this topic. In her collection of essays *On Photography,* she stresses that photography connects two ideals—one that is an "assault on reality" and one that is a "submission to reality".[39] Referring to the pictures of young workers mentioned in this paper, we can say that these pictures are "submission to reality", and according to Robert Frank, the photographer is a "friendly observer". In this sense, the artistic component of these photographs is not an imperative, they are documents in which the representation of reality has an undisguised social message and the role of raising social awareness.

Sontag pointed out that the camera has a dual purpose in capitalism. On the one hand, it is intended to produce spectacles (for the masses), while, on the other hand, serving as an 'tool of surveillance and control (for state governments)'.[40] Based on the analysis of the photographs presented in this paper, a third purpose might be added—the role in raising awareness of the position of marginal social groups (in this case, the working class). Therefore, this kind of photographs may be interpreted within the framework of historiography and visual sociology, which open up a relatively unexplored area of historiography, at least in the Croatian context.

36 Ray, "Sociology and Visual Aesthetics".
37 Davis, "Georg Simmel and the Aesthetics of Social Reality", 320.
38 Ray, "Sociology and Visual Aesthetics".
39 Sontag, *On Photography*, 96.
40 Ibid., 140.

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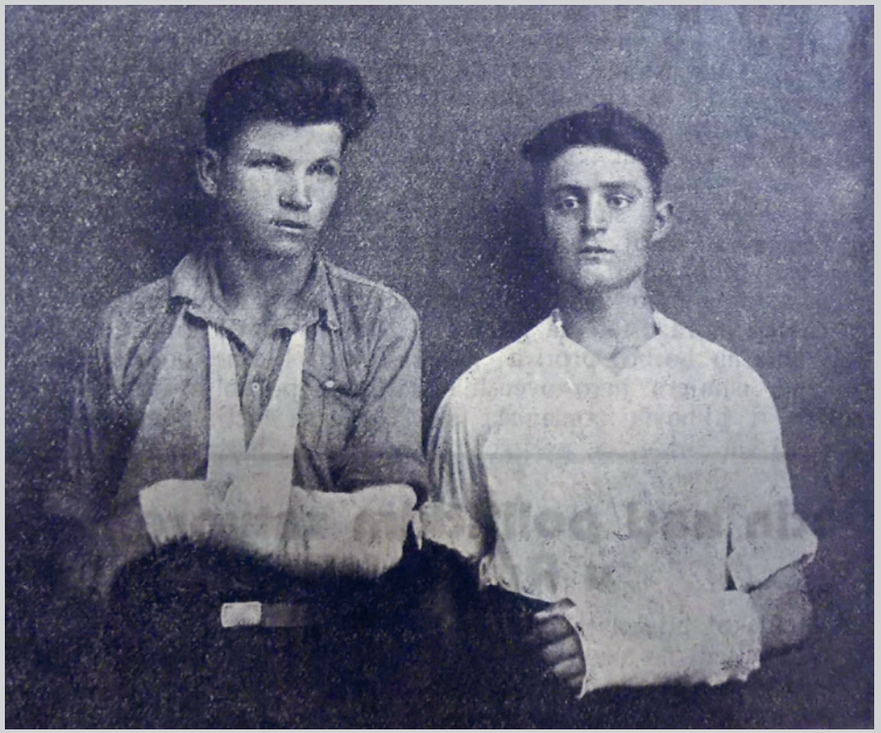

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1. Photography of Anton Karabaić and Vjekoslav Martinec who were beaten by their employer (Source: „Slika divljaštva jednog drvodjeljskog poslodavca“, *Organizovani radnik*, Zagreb, August 2, 1928, VIII)
2. Mirko Vrebac under age worker in a bakery shop (Source: „Još jedna žrtva noćnog rada…“, *Organizovani radnik*, Zagreb, June 12, 1928, VIII)
3. 16-old Vinko Kranja after few months of working in a bakery shop in Zagreb (Source: „Vinko Kranja“, *Organizovani radnik*, Zagreb, July 21, 1928, VIII)
4. Ivan Stajic after working in a bakery shop (Source: „Još jedna od mnogobrojnih žrtava“, *Organizovani radnik*, Zagreb, August 2, 1928, VIII)

2 →

MUSEUM AS THE PRACTICE--BASED VENUE OF CURATORIAL NARRATIVES

IVANA GRŽINA

“Both Sides Now”: Images of a Museum’s Life From Up and Down

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In recent times, both among scholars and museum professionals, an increasing amount of attention has been paid to the long-neglected, but truly vast corpus of photographs existing in museums outside formal museum collections. These are usually understood and used in museums as mere tools with different functions within the institutional ‘ecosystem’,[1] as items which are ‘just there’.[2] In the environment of Croatian institutions, the tendencies that cast light on the ‘non-collection photographs’[3] have manifested in two fields of academic and professional interest. More specifically, it has turned out that, in addition to lesser-known private collections, it is precisely this mass of orphaned photographs in museums that is often a bountiful supplement for the national photographic canon.[4] On the other hand, these photographs are increasingly becoming a subject of interest in the context of perceiving the ‘epistemological potential’[5] of photographic collections/non-collections/archives within the framework of scholarly disciplines relied on by individual museums.[6] Via the same mechanism, they contribute to the reconstruction of the history of museums and prevailing institutional discourses and practices.[7] I will reflect on a specific segment of museum photography, which is, so to speak, lowlier than ‘lowly’ in a museum.[8] The examples used match the definition of a snapshot by all their characteristics:[9] subject matter banality, conventionality of expression, technical shortcomings, usage of

1 Edwards, “Photographs: Material Form and the Dynamic Archive,” 49.

2 Edwards and Lien, “Museums and the Work of Photographs,” 4.

3 Edwards and Ravilious, “Museum cultures of photography,” 10. On the term, see also Edwards, “Location, Location.”; Edwards, “Thoughts on the ‘Non-Collections’.”

4 Gržina, “Fotografija kao muzejski predmet ili dokumentacijski izvor,” 82. See Gržina, *Obiteljske fotografije iz ostavštine Bele Csikosa Sesije*; Gržina, “Gradine, umotvori i prirodne ljepote.”

5 Caraffa, “From ‘photo libraries’ to ‘photo archives’.”

6 See Kolonić, *Renesansa i barok na staklenim pločama*; Gržina and Šamec Flaschar, *Tragom baštine*.

7 See Gržina, “Angažman minhenske tvrtke Franz Hanfstaengl.”

8 Crane, “Photographs at/of/and Museums,” 493.

9 Cf. Batchen, “Snapshots”; Pollen, “Objects of Denigration and Desire.”

simple equipment, and the anonymity of the author, probably a member of staff. Predominantly taken in a casual atmosphere, they eloquently point to social, gender and emotional relations. At times in contradiction not only with the tone but also with the narrative of official recordings from the life of the museum, and preserved in the museum for sentimental reasons or by inertia of the heritage institution's logic, they complete the picture of everyday museum life and institutional history (Fig. 1).

Geoffrey Batchen wrote:

> Today, looking back from our digital age, it has to be conceded that snapshots are themselves historical objects, remnants of an earlier, industrial phase in modernity's development. [...] As I have suggested previously, the advent of digital technologies means that this kind of photography has now taken on an extra memorial role, 'not of the subjects it depicts, but of its own operation as a system of representation'. This suffuses snapshots with the aesthetic appeal of a seductive melancholy, whatever their actual age or the particularities of their subject matter. Certainly, it's hard now to see these rectangles of gelatin silver or vivid color, with their white edges and glossy sheen, except through a distorting haze of modernist nostalgia.[10]

In this paper however, it is not my intention to be guided by the logic of aestheticizing this type of photography, which in the words of Annebella Pollen "in popular publishing and museum exhibitions operates on one of the three levels": "an 'accidental masterpiece' model of celebration; one that cherishes the 'good eye' of the collector rather than the work collected; and finally, the alignment of amateur photographs with art-world tastes for a so-called snapshot aesthetic or surrealist *objet trouvé*."[11] My review of two dozen amateur photographs taken during every-day museum life, on the contrary, is guided by another Batchen's reflection from the same seminal text: "[...] what makes a snapshot a snapshot is its function, not its pictorial qualities, and this function is determined by the network of social relationships of which it is a part."[12] These are, on all counts, photographs characterized by stereotyping and conformity in content and expression; many of them are in a technical sense failed to the extent that the image is blurred (Fig. 2), but they were nevertheless preserved within the museum as, to quote Batchen again, "indexical trace of the presence of its subject, a trace that both confirms the reality of existence and remembers it, potentially surviving as a fragile talisman of that existence."[13]

10 Batchen, "Snapshots," 130.
11 Pollen, "Objects of Denigration and Desire," 296.
12 Batchen, "Snapshots," 135.
13 Ibid.

In this paper, I refer to the Strossmayer Gallery of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, an art museum, which is relatively small, although by virtue of a part of its core collection, the collection of Old Masters, not insignificant even from a global perspective. It operates within a larger institution with a broader mission and field of activity, which is, in addition, quite conservative and inert in its habitus, therefore often hindering the development of this museum in terms of strengthening the personnel and infrastructural capacities. The museum operates continuously for a century and a half within the same space, with a virtually unchanged volume of exhibition and office rooms, while over time the storage rooms have somewhat increased. Another constant is the relatively small staff, which in the first decades consisted of only one or two professional employees, with the help of an equally small number of technical staff playing the role of the guards, watchman, janitor and cleaner. The curators, many of whom were also active university lecturers, performed basic administrative tasks in addition to their regular work connected to the collection. Only from the middle of the 20th century did the personnel increase to some extent, and at that time the first women obtained the positions which required the highest qualifications. The fact remains, however, that a more balanced gender ratio of employees has only been achieved in the past twenty years. From the 1980s onwards, the museum has also had a librarian, who, however, simultaneously worked as a typist and clerk; a fact which was reflected on that employee's professional status in the eyes of the rest of the highly educated personnel. Even more unenviable was the position of an employee of the museum's technical service, an occupation that has been professionalized in Croatia for decades. As a rule, we are talking about skilled craftsmen of various narrow specializations, on whom the daily functioning of the institution and the actualization of exhibition projects were contingent upon, but who are practically invisible in the public perception of the museum. Two university-educated women, who have in the meantime established themselves as experts in the field of museum studies and art conservation respectively, performed in their day this work at the Gallery, as a kind of initiation into the heritage protection sector. It is superfluous to talk about the invisibility of the lowest-ranking staff members, cleaners and janitors, who are actually employees of the Academy's shared services.

Ana Baeza Ruiz writes that the museum archive, being "an intrinsic part of the museum's governmental apparatus through its record-keeping practices and the institutionalization of its history", is a key source for researching museum histories.[14] It is, however, just like any other institutional archive, even the ones in well-organized and large systems, in reality merely a fragmentary simulacrum of the history of an individual museum. This applies in particular to the history of museum everyday life, that is, to everything that is assessed as excess from a bureaucratic perspective or

14 Baeza Ruiz, "Museums, archives and gender," 1.

as a result of political conformism. In the case of the museum which is the focus of this paper owing to unsystematically and incoherently managed documentation about personnel, infrastructure, work, exhibition and storage rooms, but also about the exhibitions that had been organized, such "knowledge gaps", as Baeza Ruiz calls them,[15] also include information that would typically be considered a part of a museum's official history. Considering that Gallery never had its own photographer, but was condemned to rely on the shared photographic service of the umbrella organization or on occasional services by outsourced professional practitioners, the corpus of what Susan A. Crane in the broadest sense encompasses with the term *museum photography*[16] is very deficient with regard to the photo-documentation of various activities involved in the functioning of the museum, including "the construction of displays, renovation, storage, transport, and routine clerical and maintenance jobs"[17]. In a documentary sense, the most diverse photographs produced for mundane purposes by members of museum staff, which are both in form and content different from photographs recording the collections by skilled professionals or official photographs of ceremonious events created under the auspices of an umbrella organization, are, for this very reason, precious. In addition, unlike the grand narrative of institutional history, which emits an image of the museum as a confluence of knowledge, power and representation, they provide—to paraphrase the words of Eva-Maria Troelenberg—a behind-the-scenes insight into the internal mechanics and social dynamics of the museum,[18] drawing bona fide micro-histories contributing to the weaving of a less porous view of a museum's past life. The majority of such photographs preserved in the museum had been created in the period from the mid-1980s to the end of the first decade of the new century, when the first digitally recorded photographs appeared in the museum; those, however, are not the subject of this paper. They are respectively silver gelatin prints and chromogenic color prints, with two exceptions of a Polaroid instant print and a chromogenic color slide, which may or may not have been taken by one of the employees. As it is known that one of the long-serving curators, employed in the mid-1980s, used to take photographs regularly, it is likely that quite a few of these shots are his. I learned orally from the museum librarian, who has been working in the Gallery since the mid-1990s, that she had taken some of the color photos with her camera, but is today no longer able to recognize her work. Only part of the prints has handwritten inscriptions on the back, which somewhat facilitate the identification of people and situations. For this occasion, I chose photos whose content could be confirmed by employees who remember the details passed down to them by word of mouth by the older generations of staff.

15 Ibid.

16 Crane, "Photographs at/of/and Museums," 494.

17 Born, "Public Museums," 226.

18 Cf. Troelenberg, "Images of the Art Museum," 14.

Although the more recent documentation in the museum attests to the rebuilding and remodelling of the Strossmayer Gallery in a more detailed way than the archival documents and the Academy's *Annals*, visual sources on these interventions are very scarce; therefore, the shots recorded by the museum staff on such occasions are quite interesting. One such example is a photograph taken in one of the exhibition halls at the end of the 1990s, when the gallery space was thoroughly remodelled, and the lighting system was changed. Even more interesting is a shot from the beginning of the 2000s, where we see an improvised inter-repository established in order to facilitate the transfer of artworks from the storage rooms to the exhibition space while changing the layout. In the same picture, we can see that at that time outdated devices were still being used to ensure the microclimate stability of the exhibition halls; a fact which would have been difficult to ascertain from the data preserved in the museum archive. The corpus of museum snapshots also contains a series of very bizarre gelatin silver prints and a Polaroid instant print from the mid-1990s, which I later realized record the restitution of the permanent display, which took place after the war when the artworks that had been evacuated to safety four years earlier were returned. In these photos one can see the only member of the museum's technical staff, whose identity is known to us only from dry administrative records and from photos taken by other employees, because official photos of ceremonial events in the museum never show workers from the lower echelon of personnel. The shots demonstrate that alongside him, the curators also perform physical tasks—and we will notice this practice, understandable when it comes to such a small museum, also in some later examples—and that this collaboration takes place in intimate spirit, solidarity and a good mood (Fig. 3). From those same photographs, one can infer to what extent the dedication to heritage protection requires so much more from museum professionals than the mere installation of exhibitions and the publication of representative museum catalogues, by means of which, ironically, they are primarily recognized by the public (precisely due to the mediation of the grand narrative).

In small museums with limited budgets, even routine work often takes place in difficult conditions and is sometimes maintained solely by the dedication of its employees, who in so doing have no choice but to resort to improvisation. A shot taken in the late 1990s, showing two men in informal summer clothes who are outside in very unusual conditions taking photos of paintings lined up on a stone wall, provides us with an account of this (Fig. 4). Those men are the then director and the curator who at that time, having insisted for many years on regulating the status of a dislocated museum collection, fragmented between several keepers due to various legal, managing and political reasons, finally gathered the artworks into an indivisible assemblage, conducted their thorough revision and initiated the renovation of the run-down building where the collection had originally been housed. The same duo can be seen in a shot from the 2000s relocating an artwork from one building to another, and the action was

obviously done in a hurry because neither of them has the gloves usually used when handling museum objects. We are provided with fascinating insight into the poorly documented practice of preparing exhibitions in the Gallery from a series of photographs taken in mid-1980s on one such occasion. This cycle is the only such example within the entire section of museum photography in the Gallery. These shots document the work on installing the exhibits, but also moments of respite during which all the actors are in a relaxed mood (Fig. 5). Curators are on ladders hanging objects, we see them sitting on the floor together with members of the technical staff, in one shot one of them is even sitting on the then director's lap. In one of the photos, we even see a cleaning lady, who is actually an employee of the Academy's shared services and who seems rather distant in relation to the museum collective. What is interesting is that everyone is drinking coffee, even smoking in the exhibition area, which is unthinkable by today's standards! Such casual shots are very interesting if we compare them, for example, to a photo taken at the end of the 1990s on the occasion of the opening of an exhibition, where the employees of the Gallery were photographed together with their colleagues from the administration of the umbrella organization, in a completely banal representation with a clichéd impostation of the actors and the obligatory forced smile.

Of a completely different character are the shots of office holiday and birthday celebrations, which, judging by the preserved photographs, were often attended by friends from artistic and cultural circles. Some of them we continuously encounter on shots taken on such occasions and over several decades! Although the then director seems a bit wooden in some photos, the closeness between the various staff members is clearly visible, which is not evident during ceremonious public events and about which nothing can be learned from the official history of the museum (Fig. 6). The Gallery also retains preserved photographs of their socializing outside of working hours, even during family gatherings in weekend homes. Such a friendly relationship is also fostered with students employed as part-time co-workers in the role of ticket seller, museum guard and guide. In one picture, the doyen of Croatian art history and a distinguished member of the Academy, known for his cordiality, is shown explaining something to a group of female student-guides in a relaxed atmosphere in the Gallery office. These part-time employees, apart from being present in some administrative documents and these photographs, have de facto been erased from the permanent memory of the institution. A similar scenario happened with the librarian working at the museum until the mid-1980s. Her appearance is known to us only from one shot preserved in the Gallery, and her work is known to today's employees only by word of mouth. She is presented in an office she shared with the curators, behind a typewriter, which sheds light on her additional administrative duties and general working conditions (Fig. 7). Later photos of the same office, in which in the meantime computers also appeared, show how, in effect, that space has not changed in decades. At the end of the last century, the first qualified librarian was employed, although the scope of her tasks, just like the location of the library's reference collection, remained the same as at the time of her predecessor, of whom we only know from the aforementioned photo. One photograph evidently taken in an attempt to document an educational event in the Gallery also dates from that time, and it, despite its technical shortcomings, is important for gaining insight into the development of that segment of museum activities, which, due to its unrepresentativeness and apparent lack of ambition, is essentially irrelevant in the context of the grandiose conception of institutional history.

In conclusion, let it be said that the photographs included in this review are a touching tribute to the day-to-day silent work that eludes a gaze focused on big themes, decorum and the related rigorous narrative. A considerable number of the selected examples are not in congruence with the traditionally understood ideal of self-representation due to their various characteristics analysed earlier. In fact, they are unintentionally building a slightly different identity of the museum, thus offering us a more nuanced image of its past.

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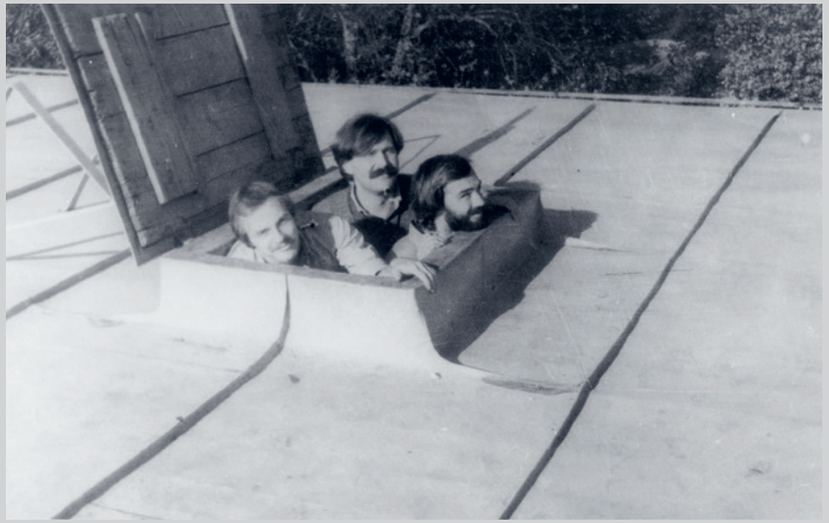

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1. Unknown, untitled (The curator with artist friends on the roof of the museum), 1980s, gelatin silver print, 8 x 13 cm. The Photo Archive of the Strossmayer Gallery of Old Masters, Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts.
2. Unknown, untitled (A curator with two female students – part-time guides), 1998, chromogenic color print, 12,7 x 8,8, cm. The Photo Archive of the Strossmayer Gallery of Old Masters, Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts.
3. Unknown, untitled (Two curators and a member of the museum technical staff unpacking artwork during the preparation of the new permanent display after the war in the 1990s), 1990s, Polaroid instant print, 7,8 x 10,5 cm. The Photo Archive of the Strossmayer Gallery of Old Masters, Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts.
4. Unknown, untitled (Curators revising a dislocated museum collection), 1998, chromogenic color print, 9 x 12,7 cm. The Photo Archive of the Strossmayer Gallery of Old Masters, Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts.
5. Unknown, untitled (A break during the preparation for one of the exhibitions at the Strossmayer Gallery), 1980s, gelatin silver print, 9 x 13 cm. The Photo Archive of the Strossmayer Gallery of Old Masters, Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts.
6. Unknown, untitled (The Christmas party in the Strossmayer Gallery), 1998, chromogenic color print, 8,7 x 12,8 cm. The Photo Archive of the Strossmayer Gallery of Old Masters, Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts.
7. Unknown, untitled (The librarian-administrator working in her office), 1980s, chromogenic color print, 9 x 11,2 cm. The Photo Archive of the Strossmayer Gallery of Old Masters, Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts.

NICLAS ÖSTLIND

The Example of Photography in Print and Circulation—On the Historiography of Photography, Artistic Research and the Multidisciplinary and Practice-based Perspective.

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Photography has rarely had a particularly prominent position in the discipline of art history. There are several reasons for this, including hierarchies between established forms of expression such as painting and sculpture and newer media, as well as the difficulties of dealing with the breadth and heterogeneity of photography—photography exists in an almost incalculable number of contexts, most of which are far from the domain of art history. Knowledge of photography and its history has therefore often been formulated in completely different areas. Many of the contributions come from the fields of literature, philosophy and sociology, but also from media and communication studies. Several of the classic texts were written in the interwar period, such as Walter Benjamin's essay "Kleine Geschichte der Photographie", originally published in the literary journal *Die Literarische Welt* No. 38, 1931, or Lucia Moholy's *A Hundred Years of Photography 1839–1939,* published by Penguin Books in London in 1939. Like many others interested in the history of photography, she was herself a practising photographer, as was her husband Lazlo Moholy-Nagy, who published *Malerei, Fotografie, Film as* early as 1925. The book was number 8 in the Bauhaus series and, in line with the school's educational and aesthetic ideals, it had an interdisciplinary and practical perspective. Lazlo Moholy-Nagy emphasises the relationships between the artistic forms of expression and looks more at the contemporary and future use of photography than at history. The historical, but also the social perspective, is however strongly present in the photographer Gisele Freund's doctoral thesis in sociology from 1936: *La photographie en France au dix-neuvième siècle*. It was later published in a revised edition entitled *Photographie et Société* (1974), which was translated into a number of languages. Freund was strongly influenced by Benjamin's thoughts on the role and place of photography in the age of mechanical reproduction, as was the artist and writer John Berger and

his work *Ways of Seeing*. First presented as a BBC television programme in 1973, it was published in book form the following year. Moving between painting, photography and society, Berger is particularly interested in the male gaze and the function of the image in the capitalist economy. Among the most influential texts on photography are, of course, Susan Sontag's *On Photography* (1977), Roland Barthes' *Camera Lucida* (1980) and Vilèm Flusser's *Für eine Philosophie der Fotografie* (1983)—all written by people rooted primarily in literature and philosophy. In Sontag's case, the book is a collection of essays originally published in the *New York Review of Books* between 1973 and 1977. It was also in the 1970s and 1980s that a more critical reflection on photography took shape, and several of the most important contributions were produced by photographers and artists, including Martha Rosler and Allan Sekula, whose artistic works and texts—such as "in around and afterthoughts (on documentary photography)" and "The Body and the Archive"—have been crucial in problematising the history and contemporary application of documentary photography in particular.[1]

In addition to the multi-disciplinary perspective, the history of photography is also characterised by its strong links to institutions that collect and exhibit photography. The Museum of Modern Art in New York has a special position among the institutions that contributed early on to the knowledge of the history of photography. Two years before the centenary of photography, Beaumont Newhall, the museum's librarian, was commissioned by the museum's director Alfred Barr to compile the exhibition *Photography 1839–1937*. The following year, a revised version of the catalogue was published: *Photography: A Short Critical History*. Newhall, who had been appointed Curator of the then established Department of Photography in 1940, further developed the second version and in 1949 *The History of Photography from 1839 to the Present Day was* published. The book has since been published in numerous editions—most recently in 2010. After more than fifteen years, Beaumont Newhall left MoMA and from 1947 the Department of Photography was headed first by the photographer Edward Steichen, and between 1962 and 1991 by John Szarkowski, who was also a photographer. It was mainly under Szarkowski's leadership that the institution's modernist approach to photography and its history was formulated in exhibitions such as *The Photographer's Eye* (1964), *Looking at Photographs* (1973) and *Photography Until Now* (1990). The dominant position and influence of the museum on photography has been analysed by the critic Christopher Phillips in the essay "The Judgment Seat of Photography", first published in the journal *October* 1982 (Vol. 22), and has since been central to the awareness of the power of institutions over the writing of photographic history.[2]

1 Martha Rossler's and Allan Sekula's texts are published in Bolton, Richard, ed., *The Contest of Meaning. Critical Histories of Photography*.

2 Christopher Phillips text is published in Bolton, Richard, ed., *The Contest of Meaning. Critical Histories of Photography.*

Even private collectors without the backing of major institutions have made significant contributions to knowledge of the history of photography. This is particularly true of the German-born photographer Helmut Gernsheim and his wife Alison, who together published *The History of Photography in* 1955 by Oxford University Press. The couple had acquired their knowledge by actively collecting large amounts of historical photography, but also cameras, photo books and documents in the form of letters and notes related to individual photographers. The extensive collection, including the world's oldest surviving photograph, was sold in 1963 to the University of Texas, Austin, where it became the basis for the photography collection at the Harry Ransom Centre.[3] But Gernsheim's story also has links to Sweden, demonstrating the connections between tendencies at the centre of the photography world and a national context on its periphery. Gernsheim negotiated with several institutions when the collection was to be sold, including in Sweden. However, no agreement was reached, but in 1964 the Swedish state acquired Gernsheim's duplicate collection instead. It became one of the cornerstones of a department at Moderna Museet in Stockholm which—inspired by MoMA in New York—was established in 1971 and called the Photographic Museum. The other cornerstone is Professor Helmer Bäckström's collection of historical photography and literature. From the 1920s until his death in 1964, Mr Bäckström was a key figure in photographic culture in Sweden. He became the first professor of photography at the Royal Institute of Technology in 1948 and—in addition to the collection and Bäckström's international network—his many articles on the history of photography in Sweden and the other Nordic countries were pioneering work.[4] In the subsequent generation of Swedish photographic historians, Rune Hassner stands out. He belonged to the group of young photographers who, after the war, travelled to Europe—particularly Paris—and embraced the new pictorial styles of the time. In addition to his work as a photographer reporting on his travels in Africa, Central America, India and China, among other places, which were published in books and international journals, he also had an institutional and academic career—although, like many photographers, he had no formal training. Like John Berger, Rune Hassner used television to popularise the subject of photo history and in the 1970s created a series of programmes on socially engaged photojournalism for Swedish Television. He specialised in reproduced photography and his greatest work, *Images for Millions* (1977), deals with the history of mass-produced photography and the emergence of photo magazines. Hassner was one of the founders of the European Society for the History of Photography in 1978, and in 1983 became the first head of the newly established School of Photography at the University of Gothenburg. He

3 Flukinger, *The Gernsheim Collection*.

4 Tellgren, "Fotografi och konst. Om Moderna Museets samling av fotografi ur ett institutionshistoriskt perspektiv", 121-152.

remained there until 1988 when he was appointed founding director of the Hasselblad Centre—two institutions of particular importance to the research environment soon to be presented.[5]

The purpose of the introductory presentation of previous contributions to the history of photography—from Walter Benjamin to Rune Hassner—is to show that the practice-based and multidisciplinary perspective is not something new or unusual, but rather constitutes a foundation and an engine of reflection on photography and its history, or rather histories in the plural. The aim is also to highlight how this tradition connects to the practice-based research field that has emerged in higher art education in Europe over the last two decades or so. Compared to many other disciplines, artistic research is relatively young and still controversial. The debates include the view of knowledge and what counts as research, but also the risks of art being forced into academic and bureaucratic structures that critics say are alien to art.[6] Much has happened, however, and there are now several reasons to emphasise artistic research as an increasingly established field with both specific postgraduate programmes in a number of artistic subjects and a growing senior research environment with international networks and journals, such as the Society for Artistic Research, *Journal of Artistic Research*, *Pars Journal*, *VIS—Nordic Journal of Artistic Research* and *L'Internationale Online*. For photography research, which already had a strong practice-based orientation, artistic research has given the subject a stronger institutional anchorage and completely different opportunities in terms of funding, publication and collaboration with other disciplines. One example is the photographic and lens media research environment that has emerged with the Hasselblad Foundation and the School of Photography (now part of HDK-Valand). Over the past ten years, the collaboration has resulted in three major research projects: *Watched! Surveillance, Art and Photography*; *Photography in Print and Circulation* and *Thresholds. Interwar Lens Media Cultures 1919–1939*. In addition to the latter involving both photography and film, the project was also a collaboration with GPS 400, a centre for collaborative visual research at the University of Gothenburg.

The shared resources of the research environment have made it possible to involve qualified people from different disciplines, and to conduct and present the research through seminars, exhibitions and publications. The projects relate to and build on previous research in their respective fields, and the aim has been both to contribute new knowledge about the subject and to develop curatorial research methods. In the project highlighted here, *Photography in Print and Circulation*, the starting point was the

5 Knape, "Allt blev inte riktigt som vi tänk oss", 133-170; Gunnarsson, "The Hasselblad Center at Wernerska villan", 127-161.

6 For the discussion about artistic research see for example: Nyberg & Östlind, *Konstens kunskap/Knowledge of Art.*

change in both the photographic field and the writing of photographic history that took place in the early 2000s. The underlying reason for the shift was that the book had become an increasingly important medium for many photographers, which also inspired increased reflection on the significance of the photobook in both contemporary and historical terms. An early and important contribution was Andrew Roth's *The Book on 101 Books. Seminal Photographic Books of the Twentieth Century* (2001), which, as its title suggests, presents a canon of the most ground-breaking photographic books published in the twentieth century. The focus was clearly shifted from the individual photographers' images to the interaction between image, design, typography, print quality, paper and binding that characterises the photographic book. What was judged above all was the overall impact of the book and its quality as an aesthetic, material and communicative object. Andrew Roth, like many of those who took an early interest in photobooks, is a collector and dealer. It was in this group, and among the photographers themselves, that the interest in and knowledge of the photobook existed. Roth was also involved in one of the first exhibitions on the history of the photobook: *The Open Book: A History of Photographic Books from 1878 to the present*. It took place at the Hasselblad Centre in 2004 and was based on Roth's book, but also included examples from the 19th century. The selection team included several key figures in print media and photography: Ingrid Sischy, Christoph Schifferli, Gerhard Steidl, Ute Eskilsen and the fashion designer Karl Lagerfeld, who at the time had one of the world's foremost collections of photography books. The exhibition was initiated and the work was led by the curator at the Hasselblad Centre, the photographer Hasse Persson, who also edited the exhibition catalogue. The idea of the project is formulated in the catalogue's afterword and the focus is on collecting: "It is my hope and ambition that our joint efforts in this work will create a lifelong interest in the connoisseurship of collecting photographic books."[7]

In the same year that *The Open Book* was exhibited, the first volume of *The Photobook: A History* (2004) by photographers and collectors Martin Parr and Gerry Badger, was published. It was soon followed by two more equally comprehensive volumes in 2006 and 2014. Compared to both *The Book of 101 Books* and *The Open Book*, Parr and Badger broaden and deepen the scope in terms of time, theme and geography. Not only is the number of books significantly higher, but the authors highlight publications and genres that are not the most obvious examples of photo books, but in which photographic images play a prominent role. These include, for example, political propaganda, cook books and advertising. Both the overview, the selection and how the books are placed in a broader photo-historical context required knowledge that few others had at the time. In the preface to the first volume, Parr and Badger also speak of their work as an activist act, where photographers take control of the writing of history and contribute

7 Persson, *The Open Book. A History of the Photographic Book from 1873 to the Present*, 422.

empirical data, perspectives and knowledge that has neither interested nor existed in academic research in particular.[8]

Whilst *The Photobook: A History* covers a range of geographical areas, in many countries there was much more to highlight than could be accommodated in the three volumes. In the years that followed, a number of photobook histories were published that are clearly inspired by Parr and Badger, but where the selection has a national or regional delimitation: *The Latin American Photobook* (2011), *The Dutch Photobook* (2012), *Photobooks Spain 1905–1977 (*2014) *Swiss Photobooks from 1927 to the Present (*2012), *The Chinese Photobook from the 1900s to the Present (*2016) and *Una Revisión al Fotolibro Chileno* (2018)—to name a few. Swedish photobook publishing is represented in the surveys by a few well-known titles: *Byn med det blå huset* (1959) by Sune Jonsson, *Poste Restante (*1967) by Christer Strömholm, *Café Lehmitz (*1978) by Anders Petersen and *Landet utom sig* (1993) by Lars Tunbjörk, which meant that here too there was a need for a broader analysis. The initial idea of the research project was to examine the national context but at the same time to consider the Swedish photobook scene in a broader international perspective. In addition to *The Open Book,* the research project was able to build on an earlier joint work on the photobook that in 2013 resulted in the publication *Imprint. Visual Narratives in Books and Beyond*—with contributions from Garry Badger, photographer Bettina Lockemann and publisher and designer Michael Mack.

In order to get a better overview of the current state of research and to establish new contacts, Photography in Print and Circulation was launched with two international symposia featuring Lars Willumeit, Charlotte Cotton and Frits Gierstberg, among others. Of the many surveys and exhibitions on photobooks produced after *The Photobook: A History,* one project in particular stood out: *Photobook Phenomenon,* which was shown at the CCCB and Foto Colectania in Barcelona in 2017. Rather than establishing a canon, or inventorying and highlighting the publication of photobooks in a specific country, the project highlighted the role and importance of the photobook within contemporary visual culture. The curatorial team consisted of key figures in the photobook world, including Irene Mendoza, Moritz Neumüller and Horacio Fernández. Their approach encouraged us to formulate questions that increase knowledge about what could be called the internal culture of the photobook. Starting from the practice-based and curatorial perspective, we focused on the competences, people and networks that make the photobook possible, but also on phenomena that arise or are strengthened by the publication of photobooks. The study's emphasis on the social dimension of the photobook meant that the project was theoretically linked to and inspired by Bruno Latour's Actor Network Theory (ANT). For Latour, the actual and multifaceted interplay between

8 Badger & Parr, "Introduction. The Photobook: Between the Novel and Film", 6-11.

different actors is crucial to the interpretation of a specific field or professional culture. What also made ANT relevant in this context is that the theory also radically includes non-human actors in the social field, which usefully encapsulates and highlights the agency of the photo book and the fact that the book as an object is more than the sum of its parts. [9]

The second part of the project was an exhibition. The choice to work with curatorial methods meant that the exhibition medium was not only used to present the final result, but primarily functioned as a research tool to collect, process and interpret the empirical material.[10] The exhibition thus became a spatial montage that both created and visualised connections, overlays and displacements, which in this case highlighted the photo book as a complex material and social phenomenon. The aim of the exhibition was to explore how the photobook is the result of a series of converging competences, different aesthetic and conceptual ideas and expressions, and—not least—how it is part of and shaped by different types of contexts and circulations. With the exhibition as a research tool, the physical books were also given a completely different presence than what is possible with other, more traditional methods. Placed next to each other, the materiality and agency of the books established relationships between the objects that would not otherwise occur. A decision made early in the process was that visitors would be able to look at all the books included in the exhibition themselves, which meant that they would neither be displayed in glass cases nor fixed to the table. The tactile and intimate dimension is central to the book as an object, but in many exhibitions on the history of the photobook, visitors are limited to looking at the covers of the physical books. The content is usually conveyed in films where someone's hands flip through page after page, but even though it works surprisingly well and is informative, this form of mediation does not do justice to the multisensory qualities of the book.

The selection of books was a collective process involving many people, and of the nearly 400 books displayed in the exhibition *Published: Photography in Print and Circulation, the* majority were purchased from second-hand bookshops or directly by the photographers. The books were placed on specially designed tables with markings for each individual book. Visitors could stand at the table or take the book with them and sit at one of the exhibition's reading areas, and then return it to its place on the table. There were no guards in the room or alarms on the books and it was an experiment, but fortunately only one book disappeared during the entire exhibition period. It was a simple paperback from 1970: *China: The Revolution Goes On* by photographer Gun Kessle and author Jan Myrdal, and it was quickly supplemented by a copy purchased online for 20 kronor (about €2). It was rare for any of the books to cost more than a couple of

9 Latour, *Reassembling the Social.*

10 See for example: Bjerregaard, *Exhibitions as Research. Experimental Methods in Museums.*

hundred kronor (about €20). One consequence of the increased interest in photobooks, however, is that the value of individual titles—both historical and contemporary—has risen sharply, and for this reason we had to find another solution for those books that were too expensive or too fragile to be exposed freely. More than ten books were protected by plexiglass and displayed in a special section, including *Monographie illustrée du baleinoptère trouvée le 29 octobre 1865 sur la côte occidentale de Suède*. It is a zoological study of a blue whale stranded outside of Gothenburg and dissected by Professor August Wilhelm Malm. Published in 1867 in French, the book is one of the first with pasted photographs to be published in Sweden, and in terms of antiquarianism it attracts an international clientele and costs around 300 000 SEK (about €30 000). Behind the plexiglass were also a couple of thin books from around 2010. Published by young photographers in small editions, they exemplified the DIY spirit that is an important part of photo book culture. As well as solving a practical problem, we used the unusual presentation to highlight and problematise the economic side of photobook culture. Although the books were displayed behind glass, visitors were able to browse these titles as well, as we had ensured that two copies of the books were available. The second copy was kept at the Hasselblad Foundation's specialised library for photo books, which is located in the same building as the exhibition space. Anyone who wanted to could visit the library and look at the precious or fragile books with the help of librarian Elsa Modin. The library itself is one of the actors shaping the culture of photobooks and Elsa Modin played a central role in the curatorial team.

The third and final part of the project was the book: *Published: Photobooks in Sweden* (2019). The reason why it was published after the exhibition was to capture and utilise the experiences and knowledge generated by the curatorial work. As in the exhibition, the material is divided into three categories: Society, Self and Image. The categories did not exist from the beginning but emerged in the selection for the exhibition. The strength of the thematic division is that the individual books are placed in a broader context, and the tendencies and interests that characterise photo book culture become clearer. In the first category, Society, the books often have a documentary focus and depict social and political issues and challenges—not least in relation to work and housing. This was also the most common type of book. The second grouping, The Self, brings together books where the photographer is at the centre and where the work depicts the author's life and view of the world. There are links between the first and second categories, especially when the books deal with and explore identities of different kinds—national, sexual, class related—and where the idea of the personal being political plays an important role. The third category shifts the focus from society and the subject to the image, meaning that the books demonstrate a particular interest in photography as a medium and in the aesthetic expression of images, but also in the book as a material and expressive object. A notable difference between the different categories is the extent and nature of the texts in the books. In the case of society, the text constitutes a large part of the content and deals with the subject of the book and usually has an explanatory and contextualising function. The texts in the "I" category are written by an author or curator and focus on the photographer's ability to imbue the images with personal expression, but may also be written by the photographer himself, often in the form of notes or diaries. The books in the Image category tend to have the shortest texts and their style and content are both more poetic and theoretical than the texts in the other categories. Moreover, it is only in this category that in many cases the books have no text at all, which is based on the idea that the images speak for themselves.

The method used to investigate the social dimension was primarily the qualitative and semi-structured interview, and *Published: Photobooks in Sweden* contains interviews with ten selected individuals. They represent different professional competences involved in the production and distribution of photobooks: in addition to photographers, designers, authors, publishers, booksellers, librarians, curators, critics and collectors. The interviews revolve around questions about their professional relationship with and views on photobooks, and the conversations reveal the actors' specific motivations, knowledge and experiences. It is striking that the interviewees often move between different professional roles. Most of them have some form of photographic practice and it is not uncommon for them to run a publishing house—alone or together with others. Several testify that the practical difficulties do not lie primarily in making the books but in distribution and sales. In various ways, the interviews reveal the web of relationships, collaborations and dependencies that largely characterise photobook culture, where, among other things, the exchange of books and services plays a central role in what can be described in terms of an informal economy. The places and platforms where photobooks are displayed, sold and discussed have generally emerged in a DIY spirit and in networks that are locally, nationally and globally rooted. It is characterised by actors helping each other to disseminate the books in different contexts and distribution channels, although there have also been changes in the culture of photobooks. In interviews, people who were already involved in the mid-2000s describe how the increasing influence of large commercial fairs and publishers has made it more difficult to maintain the informal and collegial spirit. Despite these challenges, self-organised and social forces have shown an ability to find new forms, as highlighted in the recently published anthology *Photography Bound: Reimagine Photobooks and Self-Publishing* (2023). Viewed from a historical perspective, contemporary photobook culture has created networks, contexts and publishing channels that have expanded and changed the photographic scene. What the study also reveals is how the circulation of photobooks both overlaps and exists alongside the institutions and galleries that have long dominated the photographic field. The shift from exhibiting to publishing books has made many photographers less dependent on other actors to

show their work. In addition, the combination of the photobook scene's own network of contacts and the use of global distributors, such as DHL, FedEx and others, allows books to reach a wider and more geographically dispersed audience than exhibitions traditionally can. Added to this is the potential of online publications and platforms—although the emphasis of photobook culture on the materiality of the book means that the web is used more as a channel for showcasing physical books than as a forum in its own right.

From the interviews—and the content of *Photography Bound: Reimagine Photobooks and Self-Publishing*—it is clear that in practice there is no contradiction between working with prints, exhibitions or books. However, one consequence of the developments of recent decades is that a change in the way photographic works are collected, preserved and displayed is required. If this does not happen, key elements of contemporary photographic culture will be missed by institutions. These issues become even more acute if you include the online photographic scene. For the art world, which is the context in which many photographic institutions operate, the idea of unique and valuable objects is crucial, but for a medium like photography, where multiplicity is a key characteristic, the emphasis on uniqueness is limiting. Despite the fact that signed and numbered prints are becoming a smaller and smaller part of photographic practice, photographic prints still play a crucial role for many photographic institutions, meaning that their exhibitions and purchases for their collections are becoming less and less representative of what is happening in photography today. The issue becomes even more pressing if one considers the—as already mentioned—importance of institutions in the history of photography. What institutions choose to display and collect affects not only perceptions of photographic culture today, but also how photographic history will be understood and described in the future. The challenges for institutions are twofold: redefining their selection criteria and priorities, and establishing a balance between emphasising the importance of published photography on the one hand, and avoiding making photobooks another fetish in the symbolic economy of the art field on the other.

What the example of *Photography in Print and Circulation* hopefully demonstrates—in addition to uncovering and analysing the social dimensions of photobook culture—are the points of contact between artistic research and photo history writing. Both are characterised by disciplinary heterogeneity and the use of practice-based knowledge and methods. This common ground means that the research environment that has been established within higher art education can offer a stronger institutional anchorage and more resources than the photography subject has previously had. What artistic research also enables is that the investigations are not only about photography, but that different photographic practices are also used and play a crucial role in the study of other subjects or issues. For example, within our research environment there is a strong link between photography and environmental and climate research, but also between photography and what is called the political imaginary, i.e. conceptions and visualisations of possible presents and futures. The fact that this type of research project also provides a deeper understanding of photographic practice and its history makes it even more important.

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[1]

[2]

[3]

[4]

1. Documentation of the exhibition *Published. Photobooks in Sweden*, Hasselblad Center, Gothenburg, 2018
2. Documentation of the exhibition *Published. Photobooks in Sweden*, Hasselblad Center, Gothenburg, 2018
3. Documentation of the exhibition *Published. Photobooks in Sweden*, Hasselblad Center, Gothenburg, 2018
4. Documentation of the exhibition Published. *Photobooks in Sweden*, Hasselblad Center, Gothenburg, 2018

Photo: Cissi Sandblom/Hasselblad Center

LANA LOVRENČIĆ

A Midterm Plan: Petar Dabac and His Initiative to Establish a National Museum of Photography

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"We will be able to contemplate the future of photography only when we have saved its most significant achievements from destruction."[1]

In 1986, Petar Dabac, a photographer, cultural worker, and promoter of photography based in Zagreb, published a paper titled "Establishing a National Museum of Photography: Proposal for a Medium-Term Work Plan of the Photography Section of ULUPUH" in the journal *Informatica museologica*. His aim was to emphasize the need for establishing a national museum, as he believed that we, as a society, would be able to contemplate the future of photography "only when we have saved its most significant achievements from destruction."[2] His text represents the culmination of sixteen years of experience managing a photography studio at Ilica 17 and the archive of his uncle, Tošo Dabac, who, thanks in no small part to Petar's efforts, is considered one of the most important Croatian photographers. This paper aims to present Petar Dabac's proposal, contextualize it in relation to its time, discuss the problems and difficulties he encountered when taking over his uncle's legacy, and explore his understanding of the museum's function. Ultimately, we will consider the relevance of this proposal in today's context.

I

Following his uncle's unexpected death in 1970, Petar Dabac found himself at a crossroads. At that time, he was an amateur involved in artistic photography while studying at the Faculty of Mechanical Engineering and Shipbuilding. However, in the face of his uncle's passing, he made the decision to take care of Tošo's studio and legacy, and to dedicate himself professionally to photography. The task at hand was immense, as he had to figure out how to preserve over 150,000 items, including Tošo's photographic production and equipment, books and catalogues, correspond-

1 Dabac, "Osnivanje nacionalnog muzeja za fotografiju," 54.
2 Ibid.

ence, administrative papers, and other documentation. While Photo-Club Zagreb seemed like an option,[3] it became apparent that it wouldn't suffice to adequately protect and value both the artistic production and the other photographic material, such as photographs made for clients. The legacy needed a specialized institution to ensure its complete preservation. Consequently, the heirs, led by Petar Dabac, concluded that the best course of action was to continue running the studio, thereby safeguarding Tošo's legacy.

Recognizing the cultural and artistic value of the legacy, it was granted preventive protection as a cultural asset in 1970. The recommendation was for the collection to remain in situ, with the studio protected as a place of cultural significance.[4] Despite these efforts, taking over the studio presented challenges. The steady flow of commissions, which had previously been the studio's main source of income, relied heavily on Tošo's reputation and the proven quality of his photographs. Although the studio resumed its operations (until 1973, Enes Midžić worked there alongside Petar Dabac), Petar needed time to establish his own client network, leading to financial strains for a period of time.[5]

In addition to high-quality photographs, the studio was known as a gathering place for artists, cultural workers, and intellectuals, who continued to visit after Tošo's death. In their countless conversations, the preservation of the photographic legacy was a frequent topic of discussions. These included, among others, Ivan Picelj and Radoslav Putar, and it was through the exchange of opinions with them that Petar Dabac shaped and formulated the course of his further action. By assuming responsibility for the studio, he not only physically preserved Tošo's legacy, but also transformed it into an archive. Today, these two terms are often used interchangeably and there is a tendency to call every legacy an archive. However, establishing the Tošo Dabac Archive was a deliberate and conscious process, shaped by Petar's knowledge and possibilities. Through

3 The information comes from Petar Dabac himself, who said it in one of the many interviews on the Tošo Dabac Archive.

4 "Rješenje o preventivnoj zaštiti br. 02-620/1-1970.; Predmet: Atelje umjetničke fotografije Toše Dabca - rješenje o preventivnoj zaštiti." [Decision on preventive protection no. 02-620/1-1970; Subject: Artistic photography studio of Tošo Dabac - decision on preventive protection]. The proposal on the basis of which the Decision was adopted was submitted by the Association of Fine Artists of Applied Arts (ULUPUH) shortly after Tošo's death on May 9. Quoting the text of the Proposal, the Decision states, among other things, that "the archive and the studio are a unique document of Tošo Dabac's work and production, and as such an outstanding document of our culture. /// Therefore, we suggest to the Regional Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments of the City of Zagreb that the studio and the archive be declared a cultural monument and placed under protection."

5 Petar Dabac and Enes Midžić mentioned power cuts, pressure to leave the premises, and a decline in the number of commissions.

this endeavour, he developed as a promoter of his uncle's photography and became an expert in the field of preservation and restoration of old photographs. His efforts have left a lasting impact that is still felt today.

Preserving a photographic legacy and structurally transforming it into an archive[6] is a process demanding continuous work that is neither simple nor quick. It requires knowledge in the field of photographic material protection and archival science, along with specific spatial conditions for storage. Regardless of the scope and value, this can be achieved either by prompt institutional intervention (at the state and/or city level) or, in case of private property, by investing years of hard work and finances on the part of an individual or an interested group (family, etc.). In either case, it is necessary to keep the legacy "alive", that is, to invest efforts in promoting the work of the late artist in order to keep their work visible and present it in the environment to which it is important. As for the indisputable artistic and cultural significance of the person and work of Tošo Dabac, this process took place over years of Petar's work accompanied by continuous learning. Based on the knowledge gained while assisting Tošo, he attended a series of workshops on photographic techniques in the 1970s, and he kept collecting scholarly literature on the protection and conservation as well as restoration of photographs until the end of his professional career.[7]

In addition to the physical protection of the photographs, Petar also worked on organizing the materials and on creating and collecting the documentation. He actively promoted Tošo's oeuvre, realizing that the presence of the old master in public was extremely important for ensuring the overall protection of his legacy. The earliest preserved trace of this effort is a document from 1976, a letter in which Petar applied for some funds needed to repurpose the studio hallway into an exhibition area for Tošo's photographs and to arrange the collection of negatives.[8] Although the addressees of the letter are not known, the first sentence tells us that they included "business contacts and friends," while as a motive behind writing the letter Petar cited the fact that Tošo's photographs, which he had been showing in the hallway of the studio since 1970 in the form of a memorial exhibition, continued to attract attention and that the studio was visited even by people he did not know, who "simply rang at the door" with the desire to see the exhibition. This clearly shows that at that time, Dabac's intention was for the legacy to remain in private ownership, but it is difficult to assess whether this was a conscious decision or resulted from his realization that he could not expect assistance from the state. It is also important to note that at the end of the decade, on his initiative,

6 This primarily refers to the organization and searchability of the materials.

7 In the 1990s and 2000s, he held workshops on these topics himself.

8 Dabac, "Plan".

preparation of the first and still only monograph on Tošo Dabac began. It was the book *Tošo Dabac as a Photographer*, published in 1980 with a foreword by Radoslav Putar.

We can only speculate about the importance of Picelj and Putar, but conversations with Dabac and the correspondence preserved in his archive have revealed some details. For instance, Picelj suggested the name for the studio, the TD Archive, under which Dabac managed it until he left the premises at Ilica 17 in 2006.[9] However, it remains unclear to what extent the choice of the word "archive" in the name reflected the understanding of the difference between legacy and archive at the time, and whether the term "archive" was chosen with an awareness of the formal-legal definitions.[10]

Putar's contribution to the understanding of photography and the development of the medium is a segment that deserves a more comprehensive study. From his professional activity, it is evident that he was equally interested in both older and contemporary photography and visual studies. Putar spent his working life at the Museum of Arts and Crafts (as a curator 1962–1972 and its director 1979–1983), an institution that owns an impressive photographic collection and hosted a large retrospective exhibition of Tošo Dabac in 1968, and at the Galleries of the City of Zagreb (as director 1972–1978), where a Centre for Photography, Film, and Television (CEFFT) was established in 1973. He was also the editor-in-chief of *Spot*, a magazine for photography (1972–1978)[11] published by the Galleries of the City of Zagreb, which was designed in Dabac's studio and whose editorial board included Petar Dabac. Putar was also an art critic, writing about photographic exhibitions.[12] From the preserved correspondence in the Private Archive of Petar Dabac, it is evident that Putar and Dabac exchanged letters discussing Tošo's legacy and the promotion of both his

9 This is known from Dabac's description of the work of the Archive TD Gallery from 1998. Cf. Dabac, "Arhiv TD".

10 The Croatian Language Portal defines the term *arhiva* as denoting: "1) written documents, charters, texts, clippings, etc. that someone collects and preserves; archival material; 2) *administrative use*: a department and service in a company or institution that manages documents"; while the term *arhiv* is defined as "1) a collection of written records related to the activity of a specific person or institution; 2) a: an institution for housing, keeping, and studying documents and files that are defined by regulations as archival materials [state archive; city archive; chapter archive]; b: a room in an institution or company where archival materials are kept." Although Dabac chose the latter term, *arhiv*, we are of the opinion that *arhiva* would have been more appropriate. The definition of *ostavština* ("legacy") reads: "1) material and spiritual goods that remain after someone's death; 2) *metaphorically*: something left to the future as inheritance."

11 More on the *Spot* magazine in: Križić Roban, *Na drugi pogled*.

12 This is evident from his rich bibliography listed in: Putar, *Likovne kritike, studije i zapisi, 1950-1960*; Putar, *Kritike, studije i zapisi*.

work and Petar's. They also discussed the financial requirements of maintaining such a collection: "In your letter you are again mentioning the difficulties and the heavy financial burden that you have to bear while maintaining Tošo's atelier. I am convinced that the 'TD Archive' is a very important 'institution' primarily because of its great capacity to encourage creative work in photography, particularly in an environment with a relatively low standard of photo-culture, which poses a significant burden on the system of visual communications in society.—We need to talk more about it, Pero. We need to find a clever journalist who will agree to trumpet two or three times in public that the 'TD Archive' is in danger."[13] Dabac himself acknowledged Putar's contribution in the cited text, stating that, in addition to his concern for the legacy, it was these conversations that encouraged him to think more seriously about the "problem of preserving photographic documents."[14]

II

In 1980, Dabac and his friends established the photo gallery of the TD Archive in the hallway of the studio,[15] marking the direction of their further activities and formalizing their efforts from the previous decade. With this initiative, the studio at Ilica 17 grew into an organization that acted as a distinct (legal) entity. Its activities encompassed an exhibition programme at the gallery (with the clearly defined concept of featuring only photographic exhibitions of domestic and foreign authors) and a photography studio (Petar's own artistic and commercial work, managing Tošo's legacy, developing and distributing Tošo's photographs, and promoting his work). The TD Archive also acquired its own visual identity, work of the graphic designer and Dabac's friend Ranko Novak, who designed the logo, posters, flyers, letterheads for memos, and envelopes. Initially, in addition to Dabac, his friends and colleagues, including writer and editor Albert Goldstein, artist Ivan Picelj, editor and publisher Nenad Popović, and photographers Slobodan Tadić and Mladen Tudor, were involved in the work of the gallery.[16] While the studio operated on commercial principles, the gallery relied on volunteer work and invested its resources primarily in production.[17] This model of running the gallery functioned well for the

13 Putar, "Pismo".

14 Dabac, "Osnivanje nacionalnog muzeja za fotografiju," 54.

15 The name of the gallery was written in lower case, which was often the preference of designers at that time.

16 Dabac, "Arhiv TD".

17 Dabac refurbished the hallway by himself to make it suitable for exhibiting photographs. They arrived by mail or the authors brought them personally. For the part that was developed in Zagreb, Dabac's own equipment and materials were used. Part of the exhibition was financially supported by the Austrian Cultural Forum in Zagreb. Posters and flyers were mostly printed with the help of collaborators and/or from Dabac's own resources.

first six years, during which most of the exhibitions were realized, as many as 42 out of 48. However, it soon became apparent that this approach was not sustainable in the long term, especially as the preservation of Tošo's legacy was financially extremely demanding and its protection required a series of urgent procedures. The ongoing activity of the photographic emulsion caused partial or permanent fading of images on the negatives, highlighting the inadequate storage conditions of photographic material. Moreover, the rapid advancement of photographic technology rendered the original films and other equipment used by Tošo (needed for restoration and conservation) increasingly scarce. These challenges prompted Dabac to think about a new and more efficient model for preserving Tošo's legacy and that of other photographers. His paper titled "Establishing a National Museum of Photography: Proposal for a Medium-Term Work Plan of the Photography Section of ULUPUH," published in the scholarly journal *Informatica museologica*, was a result of this process. His intention was to encourage the creation of an institutional framework for the preservation, study, and advancement of photography while resolving the formal-legal and physical protection of Tošo's legacy. One of the conclusions he reached was that future photographic production should not be isolated from the past, and that the treatment of one was linked to the treatment of the other. Both mirrored the general awareness of the significance of photography, distinguishing artistic from commercial and propaganda photography, and depended on the level of education of the photographers themselves, museum experts, and art historians.

Dabac's text is clearly structured and comprises two main segments: one in which he explains the context, need, and motivation for encouraging the establishment of an umbrella institution to care for photography, and the other in which he describes the tasks of the museum, its structure in terms of spatial capacities, and the stages of its establishment and construction. His choice of terminology is intriguing: he uses the term "photographic documents" to encompass the entirety of photographic production, perhaps to avoid narrowing it down only to photographs categorized as artistic.

He identifies the main problems as the lack of social awareness and education, as well as inadequate financial and technological investment. Some collections have "completely vanished" due to the negligence of their owners or a lack of funds for acquisition. Others were lost during World War II or destroyed because of inadequate storage conditions—which was often the fault of the photographers themselves, since they "paid insufficient attention to proper film and image processing."[18] Perhaps the most striking and sharply intoned part of his analysis concerns the retrospective exhibition of Tošo Dabac held in 1968 at the Museum of Arts and Crafts. Dabac here criticizes the inadequate technological processes, which resulted in the loss of negatives during the development of large-format photographs ("dozens of the most valuable negatives from the archive, partially destroyed as victims of large enlargements") and the production of photo-panels that were unsuitable for preservation ("Large enlargements could not be sufficiently fixated or washed, and they have no archival durability") and transportation. He attributes these and other shortcomings—and one should note that he himself participated in the realization of the exhibition as Tošo's assistant—to the ignorance of museum experts. Furthermore, he expresses disappointment that the exhibition primarily catered to "art historians and designers," showing "how big mistakes can be made with a lot of amateur enthusiasm and money."[19] He substantiates this conclusion by highlighting the inadequate and incomplete selection of photographs ("some valuable archival shots were not shown or used at all") and with the decision to reframe photographs in a way that sometimes deviated from the intentions of their original author.[20]

Dabac's own work experience, as well as the experience of other institutions and his conversations with fellow photographers, led him to indicate economic reasons as the main problem in addition to the lack of education,[21] concluding that this problem could only be solved by establishing a specialized institution managed by the state: a National Museum of Photography in Zagreb. He thereby listed the following tasks for the Museum: 1) (primarily) the collection, preservation, and copying of photographic documents; 2) collection of literature on photography and photographic equipment; 3) organization of exhibitions, maintenance of a library, and establishment of a permanent exhibition; 4) distribution of archival material to interested parties; 5) stimulating the production of top-quality photographic works by purchasing such photographs and carrying out photo-projects; 6) setting criteria for the inclusion of photographs in the museum collection. This clearly shows that in addition to the conventional responsibilities of a museum, Dabac emphasized the need to conduct educational and promotional activities and maintain openness in dissem-

18 Dabac, "Osnivanje nacionalnog muzeja za fotografiju," 54.

19 Ibid.

20 This problem proved to be a permanent "legacy" in the posthumous treatment of Tošo's oeuvre. Even Petar Dabac exhibited some of Tošo's photos that the old master never developed or exhibited, and which Petar framed at his own discretion during development. When the Tošo Dabac Archive was institutionalized in 2006 (which will be discussed later in the text), a series of exhibitions were held that showed his previously unknown or lesser-known photographs in full frame, i.e. as direct scans of negatives developed in the negative format.

21 Dabac mentioned the fact that, in addition to the ignorance of curators, even photographers did not always have the needed awareness and education, since there was no higher education institution for photography, so that most photographers were "recruited from various other professions, both related and unrelated." He also addressed the lack of good "practical and theoretical literature," as there was only a minor number of monographs on individual photographers and no comprehensive history of "our" photography. Dabac, "Osnivanje nacionalnog muzeja za fotografiju," 54.

inating materials. He also advocated active participation in stimulating the creation of high-quality works of art. Notably, the issue of criteria is particularly intriguing. Dabac here references Jean-Claude Lemagny's essay "Photography and Criticism."[22] Lemagny, who died in early 2023, was a renowned French curator and historian of photography who spent his career at the Bibliothèque nationale de France, curating the collection of contemporary photography from 1968 to 1996. He founded La Galerie des photographies at the same institution in 1971, where he, in addition to exhibiting contemporary artists, regularly organized exhibitions of works from the Library's holdings, which reflected his vision of the development of the photographic medium. Lemagny was also known as a theoretician of photography, sharing his ideas at conferences and other gatherings, writing articles, and publishing books. He is perhaps best known for his classification of photography in four categories, known as the "horloge esthétique." It is therefore not surprising that Dabac was inspired by his work in his own search for a formulation of (strict) criteria that would be suitable in the local context. At the beginning of his text, he stated: "I do not believe that there can be photographic naivety (as in painting); I can tolerate kitsch in photography, but I cannot allow us to be surrounded by photographic trash."[23] He shared Lemagny's view that in our times, one should be "militant" in photographic criticism, that photography as art is in the photograph "as such," and that a work of art is "something contemporary that reveals the truth about ourselves and the world."[24] Dabac believed that, "As long as photography explores itself, as long as it is in search for its identity, it should be distinctly separated from the kind of photography that serves solely to manipulate the masses and be an instrument of economic and political interests."[25]

Dabac divided the establishment and development of the Museum into stages, emphasized the proactive work and commitment of individuals and professional associations, along with the personal engagement of ULUPUH members as prerequisites. He proposed linking the Museum's initial operations to an established institution, such as the Museum of Arts and Crafts or the National and University Library. For the first phase, he envisioned creating a project for the Museum's work and content, conducting research on the current state of photographic collections and archives in the country, developing plans for a permanent display, searching for suitable premises, and engaging external experts to address the issues of

22 Unfortunately, no text with this title could be found in Lemagny's bibliography, so presumably it is either an unfortunate translation of the original or this particular essay has not been filed.

23 Dabac, "Osnivanje nacionalnog muzeja za fotografiju," 54.

24 Ibid., 55.

25 Ibid. It would be interesting to investigate the consequences of this attitude in terms of Dabac's exhibition programme at the TD Archive Gallery, as well as in terms of his possible evaluation of older and recent photography.

protecting and storing photographic materials. The second phase involved employing a curator to manage the temporary storage facility and work on collecting materials that would form the foundation of the Museum. Additionally, work on the plans for organizing the venue and finding suitable personnel would continue. The third and final phase involved achieving independence for the Museum and further employments, including two curators in addition to the administrative and management staff, as well as a photo lab technician. One curator would be responsible for the collection, the permanent display, and old photography, while the other would oversee temporary exhibitions, the projection and lecture hall, and the collection of contemporary photography. Dabac even drafted an organizational plan for the Museum rooms, including their required size.

Analysing the main tasks of the Museum and the staff needed for their realization, it becomes evident that Dabac applied a programme similar to the one he used in the TD Archive, albeit on a larger scale. The difference for him between an archive and a museum lay mainly in the possibilities and conditions for acquiring and working with the collection. Private enterprises like the TD Archive had limitations, whereas Dabac had the conviction that the state (still) possessed the necessary power and finances to address all the identified problems.

III

As mentioned earlier, Dabac's initiative stemmed from his 16-year involvement with Tošo's legacy. The late 1970s and early 1980s were generally a crucial period for the development and promotion of photography as a medium, both technologically and in terms of theoretical considerations.[26]International organizations and institutions emerged during this time, significantly influencing European photography in the following decades. Dabac's efforts can be understood in a broader European context due to his early establishment of an international network of contacts and connections with photographers and theoreticians of photography. This network was built through his exhibition work[27] and his monitoring of foreign productions, publications, and specialized periodicals (as evidenced by the rich library he has left behind). His linguistic abilities in German and French, along with his participation in various educational formats and specialized courses, further facilitated his European interactions. Regarding the process of affirmation and institutionalization of photography through specialized galleries and magazines, it is worth noting that already in the early 1970s, Dabac established a connection with the collector and gallerist Lanfranco Colombo in Italy.[28] Colombo

26 More details in: Dubois, "Trace-Image to Fiction-Image."

27 In those years, he exhibited in Milan, Bologna, Leibniz, Graz, Vienna and other places.

28 Dabac shared this information during our numerous conversations.

had started the magazine *Il Diaframma* and opened an eponymous gallery in the late 1960s, making it the world's first specialized photography gallery.[29] During the same period, Dabac also established contacts with Fotoclub in Graz, led by Erich Kees, where he attended lectures in philosophy and art theory. There he met Manfred Willmann and then Christine Frisinghelli.[30] In 1975, Willmann and Frisinghelli launched the exhibition programme of the Forum Stadtpark photography gallery, and in 1979 an annual international symposium on photography featuring prominent photographers and theorists. In 1980, together with Seiichi Furuya, they founded the association Camera Austria and launched a journal of the same name, entirely dedicated to photography.[31] Dabac also had close ties with Živa Kraus, a painter, curator, and gallerist who ran her own Ikona Photo Gallery in Venice from 1979.[32] And he met the Belgian photographer Georges Vercheval, who, along with his wife Jeanne, founded the organization Photographie Ouverte in Charleroi in 1978. After a series of successful exhibitions, they obtained a city-owned venue in 1980 and opened a photography gallery.[33]

Our focus here is on the founding of the TD Archive Gallery, but it is interesting to mention the efforts made in Austria and Belgium towards further institutionalization of photography in the form of museums. As a member of Forum Stadtpark and a close friend of Willmann and Frisinghelli, Dabac participated in many of their activities, including professional and private gatherings of photographers and photography theorists. Therefore, it is important to note that Frisinghelli and Willmann were part of the team that participated in an initiative to establish a national photography museum in Austria in 1984. Their proposal emerged from a project concerning the history of photography in Austria, which began in 1979 and culminated in 1983 with the major exhibition "Geschichte der Fotografie in Österreich" at the Museum des 20. Jahrhunderts in Vienna. The concept and preparation of the exhibition and the catalogue involved photographers, art historians, curators, and journalists.[34] It is not known to what extent their proposal for establishing a museum differed from Dabac's, but it certainly indicates that establishing new institutions of this type was conceivable at the time. Realization of such a colossal project did succeed for Verchaval. The Musée de la Photographie, which houses a rich collection of photographs and negatives, was opened in Charleroi in 1987.[35]

Unfortunately, Dabac's initiative did not succeed and the National Museum of Photography in Zagreb was never established. The economic crisis in the country during the 1980s, the collapse of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and the subsequent war in the first half of the 1990s certainly influenced this outcome. Despite these challenges, Dabac continued his efforts in the second half of the 1990s, when, in accordance with the new political order and legal regulations, he founded the non-profit association Tošo Dabac Archive together with art historian Branka Slijepčević. The programme of this association included caring for Tošo's legacy as well as organizing exhibitions and educational formats to advance and promote contemporary photography. But even this association had limited success as it lacked financial resources. Despite this setback, Dabac managed to preserve and institutionalize Tošo's legacy. The Tošo Dabac Archive was registered in 2002 as movable cultural property, and the preserved material was purchased by the City of Zagreb in 2005, remaining in its original location and entrusted to the professional management of the Museum of Contemporary Art in Zagreb. Four years later, Petar Dabac left the premises at Ilica 17. After 49 years of work and 36 years of managing the photography studio, he separated and took with him his own archive, which had grown over the years alongside Tošo's.[36]

IV

Eventually, one should ask the question whether Dabac's initiative remains relevant today and, if so, why. During the time I worked with Dabac, from 2017 until his passing in 2022, we extensively discussed his work with Tošo's legacy and the future of his own archive, which he had been building since 1967. He organized it into logical units and arranged it in his apartment to facilitate access and search across individual parts. The result was an extraordinary private archive encompassing artistic,

Also, in his archive there is abundant material connected to Colombo including a portrait of him that Dabac took in the late 70s. After Colombo's death, his estate become a part of the Fondazione Museo di fotografia contemporanea in Milan. As part of it, there are several Dabac's photograms in the collection, as was revealed by museum's curator Matteo Balduzzi.

29 http://www.mufocosearch.org/fondi/FON-10110-0000001, accessed November 30, 2023.

30 This was confirmed several times by Dabac as well as Willmann and Frisinghelli during an interview in October 2021.

31 Interview with Willman and Frisinghelli, October 2021. https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Camera_Austria, accessed November 30, 2023.

32 Conversations with Dabac. Also, there is abundant material in his archive confirming this connection including photographs and letters.

33 Conversations with Dabac. https://www.museephoto.be/en/LeMusee-en.html, accessed November 30, 2023.

34 In addition to the aforementioned Frisinghelli and Willmann, participants included Anna Auer, Peter Dressler, Monika Faber, Hans Frank, Otto Hochreiter, Leo Kandl, Margarethe Kuntner, Michael Mauracher, Timm Starl, and Peter Weiermaier. The exhibition was opened in December 1983, and after Vienna it was shown in Graz, Linz, Klagenfurt, Salzburg, and Innsbruck. https://www.peter-weibel.at/wp-content/uploads/pdf/1984/0211_DER_DISKURS_DER_FOTOA.pdf https://www.photolit.de/book/608, accessed November 30, 2023.

35 https://www.museephoto.be/en/LeMusee-en.html, accessed November 30, 2023.

36 For four years he was consulting the newly appointed curators and helping them to get acquainted with this vast collection.

documentary, and reportage photographic material with accompanying documentation. Additionally, it included a collection of photographs by other authors, a library of catalogues, monographs, scholarly literature, and magazines, as well as a considerable number of paintings, graphics, and sculptures.[37] Dabac's growth as a photographer and collector in Tošo's studio, along with his self-awareness, analytical approach, and attention to detail, were likely vital in shaping this comprehensive archive. Even a cursory examination of its contents reveals that it goes beyond his own artistic journey and provides a remarkable overview of an entire epoch, making it highly valuable.

Dabac belonged to a generation of European photographers who, unlike their predecessors,[38] had relatively easy access to photographic material both within their countries and abroad. They also had the opportunity to travel, resulting in an explosion of photographic production and the generation of legacies and archives of unprecedented magnitude. Today, in Croatia and other European countries, we face the challenge of valuing and preserving the work of this generation of photographers who worked with the analogue techniques of their time, techniques largely abandoned due to the digital revolution at the turn of the century, which resulted not only in the loss of the techniques themselves, but also of knowledge associated with them. Encouraged by my work with Dabac's archive, I have engaged in a series of conversations with other artists and experts in the field of photography, both in Croatia and in Austria, Poland, and France, who share the same concern: how to preserve this precious heritage and to what extent.

More generally, can our society envision the establishment of a photography museum today, and what would be its role? Should it aim to preserve and archive everything, including negatives, proofs, and final photographs, or should it focus solely on what we consider to be artistic achievements deserving of attention of the history of art and photography? What are the advantages and disadvantages of digitizing analogue photographic material, and what is the overall significance of digitizing and creating digital equivalents of physical archives? Each society must find its own answers to these and similar questions, tailored to its needs and possibilities, while always considering the broader European perspective. In any case, a crucial aspect is the need for social awareness and consensus among all stakeholders, with a particular emphasis on the perspectives of photographers whose legacies we seek to preserve. In this context, Germany offers a good example with its extensive national debate about the necessity and role of establishing a national photography museum today. The ongoing dialogue has led to several noteworthy projects and discussions, such as the "Lighting the Archive" initiative launched in 2020. The project states in its description: "Das analoge/digitale Bild ist in eigener Un/Ordnung. Es gibt nicht die eine Fotografie—kann es für sie dann das eine Institut oder Archiv geben, eines, das die unterschiedlichen technischen, aber auch sozialen Gebrauchsweisen des Mediums und seine diversen Erscheinungsweisen zusammenführt?"[39] It further includes a series of interviews with photographers and curators about their views of this problem and their thoughts about whether the museum is an adequate institution today considering the multiple meanings of photography.

Of course, Germany is not the only country that addresses these issues in the present context. In Austria and Poland, the work of museums is complemented by that of smaller (and swifter) organizations and associations that are primarily focused on organizing legacies, digitizing and promoting the work of artists. Thereby they create digital repositories of images, giving new visibility to artists who might otherwise be known only in the local circles. Work strategies and funding differ based on the goals and coordination with state institutions, with most initiatives relying on individual enthusiasm.

In Croatia, Dabac's text from 37 years ago remains painfully relevant today. While some progress has been made, such as the existence of a study programme in photography at the Academy of Dramatic Arts and improved standards for storing and preserving photographic material in museums and archives, due to a number of experts, curators, and photographers continuously working to promote photography and raise knowledge and awareness about its importance, challenges persist. Private collections and archives continue to vanish, and there is no comprehensive overview of their existence or coordinated guidelines to protect and preserve photographic material. Monographs on photographers are still scarce, and a comprehensive history of the medium is still unwritten. The fate of photographic archives and legacies transferred to museums and archives varies widely, depending on the available space, human resources, institutional policies and priorities, and the dedication of curators and archivists, often more than on financial resources. Accessibility to external researchers and public visibility depend on the same set of circumstances. Meanwhile, private initiatives and non-governmental organizations lack a reliable and regular source of funding from the state budget, leading to additional problems.

37 On the archive's structure, see: Lovrenčić, "The Petar Dabac Archive".

38 In Yugoslavia after World War II, acquiring photographic equipment and materials was not easy since the domestic industry was still in its infancy, while travel was expensive and logistically demanding. Therefore, photographers often relied on the state, which procured materials in a planned manner and distributed them in accordance with the requirements of the time and its priorities. Cf. Lovrenčić, "Tošo Dabac unutar okvira".

39 "The analogue/digital image is in its own disorder. There is no one photography – can there then be one institute or archive for photography, one that brings together the different technical but also social uses of the medium and its diverse manifestations?" (Translation by the author.) https://lightingthearchive.org/

The idea of establishing a national photography museum only occasionally arises as a topic of individual projects or photographic events. There is currently no strong initiative that can create awareness and drive systematic measures and actions at the level of state institutions.

Petar Dabac died in September 2023 and left behind an archive that requires at least a fraction of the attention he gave to the legacy of Tošo Dabac. It is a far more complex legacy in terms of the variety of objects it contains and the knowledge and information about the time in which it was created. It holds potential as a core element for considering what we as a society want and need today in order to protect our most significant photographic achievements from destruction.

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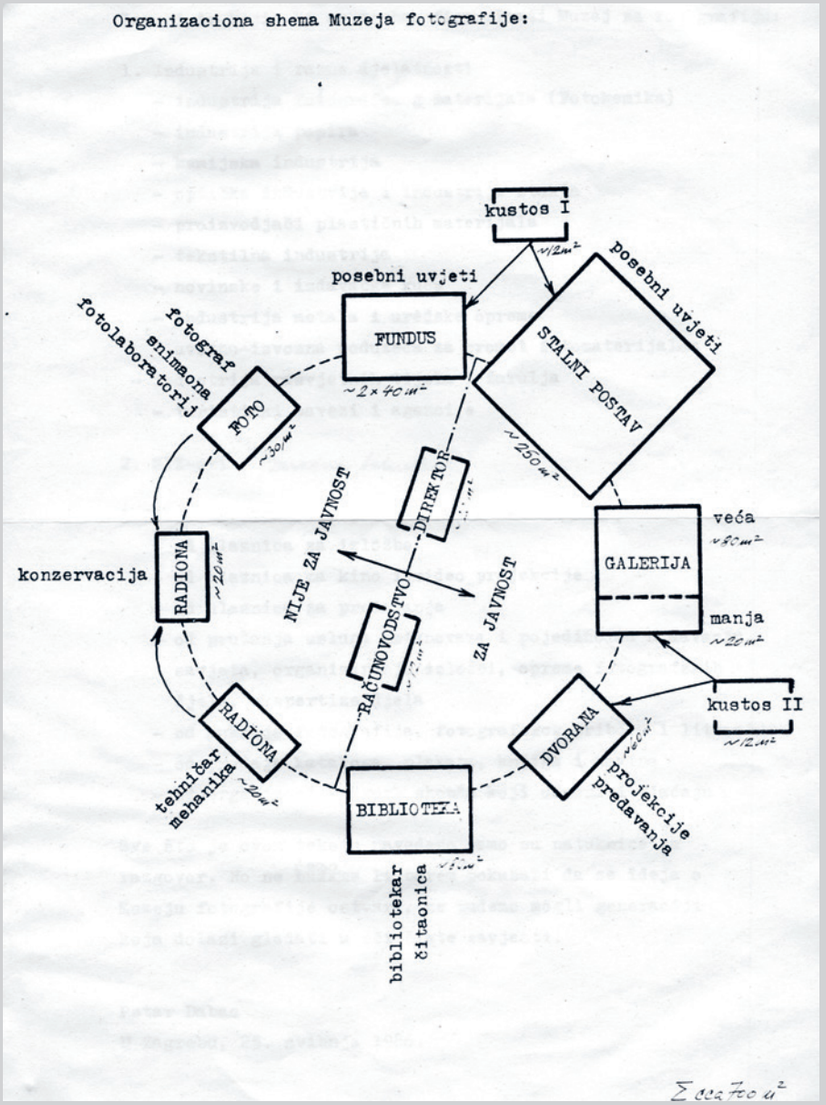

1. Petar Dabac, Organizational structure of the Museum of Photography, 1986

3 →

PHOTOGRAPHIC TERRITORIALI-ZATIONS AND DE-TERRITORI-ALIZATIONS

HRVOJE GRŽINA

Croatia in Color: Autochromes with Croatian Motifs in Albert Kahn's *Archives of the Planet*

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> "The ideal of true photographic art is photography in natural colors. To achieve this ideal, many scholars in the field of photography have tried, and today we have several methods that give us photographs in natural colors. The problem is not yet entirely solved, for we have no good and simple methods of making positive copies, while by means of the recently invented autochrome plates perfectly beautiful color negatives and slides can be obtained."
>
> —Juraj Božičević, Uputa u fotografiju (Photography instruction), 1909.

I

On the eighth day of October 1912, the First Balkan War began, in which Serbia, Montenegro, Bulgaria and Greece uprose together against the Ottoman Empire. Just a few days later (October 13), a duo of slightly unusual interests arrived from already warring Greece in nearby Bosnia and Herzegovina, then part of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. The geographer Jean Brunhes and the photographer Auguste Léon traveled through the Balkans, photographing different motifs on small glass plates filled with colorful grains of potato starch. Part of their travel equipment was also a suitcase from the workshop of the now globally popular Louis Vuitton company, in which they carried everything needed for the chemical processing of the material taken in the field. Both Brunhes and Léon were employees of the *Archives of the Planet* (French: Les Archives de la Planète), a grandiose project of creating "a kind of photographic inventory of the surface of the globe, as inhabited and worked by man, as it was at the beginning of the century",[1] and the glass plates were autochromes—positive color photographs similar to today's slides, based on the Lumière brothers' patent from 1904.

1 National archives (Archives nationales), Personal fonds Jean Brunhes, 615 AP 102. Letter from Emmanuel de Margerie to Jean Brunhes dated January 26, 1912. Cited according to Castro, "Les 'Archives de la Planète'," 879.

In the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the French duo stayed much longer than in Greece, working wholeheartedly on the campaign to document its "natural environment" in order to highlight the "characteristics of human activity on landscape" with photographs.[2] Between October 13 and 22 Léon took 228 photographs, among them "Little Shepherd (Croatian Catholic) by the road" in Buna near Mostar (inv. no. A 1625). Although the aforementioned photograph does not belong to the whole that we will consider in the following chapters, we mention it for the reason that Brunhes, in the inventory of the Archive, unambiguously identified the boy as a "Croatian Catholic" (French: Croate Catholique).

The first stage of the "Bosnian campaign" ended on October 22 with the autochrome of Popovo polje (inv. no. A 1641), after which the French duo from Zavala in Herzegovina arrived in Dubrovnik.

II

Famous French geographer Jean Brunhes was born in 1869 in Toulouse. A student of the famous French geographer Paul Vidal de La Blache (1845–1918), he began his career in 1896 at the newly founded college in the Swiss city of Fribourg. He obtained his PhD on the subject of irrigation in 1902 (*L'Irrigation. Ses conditions géographiques, ses modes et son organization dans la péninsule Ibérique et dans l'Afrique du Nord*), and eight years later his capital work *La Géographie humaine* (Human Geography) was published. At the beginning of 1912, through the mediation of the geologist Emmanuel de Margerie (1862–1953), he came into contact with the rich Parisian banker and philanthropist Albert Kahn, who soon appointed him the head of his *Archives of the Planet*, and at the end of the year, the head of the newly founded chair of Human geography at the Collège du France.[3] It was with photographs taken in Bosnia and Herzegovina that Brunhes illustrated the inaugural lecture at the Collège du France, trying to approach the topic "from an anthropogeographic point of view" (French: au point de vue de la géographie Humaine).[4] From then until his death in 1930, he remained—along with Kahn himself—the backbone of the *Archives of the Planet*, for which he carefully organized photographic and filming missions around the world.[5]

Brunhes' companion in the Balkans, photographer Auguste Léon, had met Kahn a little earlier. He was the first photographer hired by the banker in 1909 for the realization of the *Archives of the Planet*, and from 1919 he was also in charge of its photo laboratory in Boulogne-Billancourt near Paris. Léon was born in 1857 in Bordeaux, where he began his photographic career. In 1906, he moved to Paris, and his first photographs inside the Kahn's archive date back to September 1909. In addition to the Balkans, he photographed all over Europe and the world, taking over 12,500 autochromes and hundreds of black-and-white stereographs for the *Archives*. In addition to his travel photographs, he took many portraits of numerous Kahn's collaborators in the photographic studio in Boulogne, as well as visitors to the *Archives*. He is the only photographer who worked continuously for the *Archives of the Planet* for more than two decades. His last photographs were taken on September 9, 1930, and he retired shortly thereafter. Léon died in 1942.[6]

Albert Kahn was born Abraham Kahn in 1860 to a Jewish merchant family in the commune of Marmoutier in northeastern France. As a sixteen-year-old, he went to Paris, where he first worked in a clothing store, and a little later, as a bank clerk in the bank of the Goudchaux brothers, he began a successful career in the banking sector. Between 1889 and 1893 he became rich by speculating in gold and diamond mines in South Africa, and in 1892 he became a partner of the Goudchauxes. In 1898, he founded his own bank and began to realize his grandiose philanthropic project.[7]

The Archives of the Planet, founded in 1909, was part of a wider project launched in 1898 with the *Travel grants Around the World* (French: Les bourses de voyage Autour du Monde) and continued in 1906 with the founding of the *Around the World Society* (French: La société Autour du Monde). After the *Archives of the Planet*, in 1914 Kahn initiated the establishment of the *National Committee for Aid* (French: Le comité du secours national) to civilian victims of war, as well as the *National Committee for Social and Political Studies* (French: Le comité national d'études sociales et politiques) in 1916. All these foundations had a common goal, which briefly summarizes Kahn's overall mission—"to provide information, to acquaint all reasonable people who care about the future of our planet with reality", because it is precisely "[a] diversity of facts that teaches us [...] to be suspicious of formulas".[8]

In the early 1930s, the consequences of the collapse of Wall Street led to Kahn's financial collapse and stopped all his activities. In 1932, his entire property was confiscated, and four years later the estate in Boulogne with the *Archives of the Planet*—put up for auction—came into the possession of the department of Seine (now Hauts-de-Seine). Albert Kahn died in 1940, shortly after the entry of German troops into Paris.

2 Pousse, "Jean Brunhes," 223. Cited according to Lazarević and Petrić, *Naši ljudi i krajevi*, 11.

3 Cf. "Les 'Archives de la Planète'," 879.

4 Lazarević and Petrić, *Naši ljudi i krajevi*, 10–12.

5 For more on Brunhes' life and work see the exhibition catalogue *Jean Brunhes: Autour du monde, regards d'un géographe / regards de la géographie*, 1993.

6 Clet-Bonnet, "Archives of the Planet," 42; Castro, "Les 'Archives de la Planète'," 883.

7 Cf. Baud-Berthier, "Albert Kahn," 105.

8 Lazarević and Petrić, *Naši ljudi i krajevi*, 11.

III

The Archives of the Planet, that "concretization of [Kahn's] pacifist ideal"[9] began life after the creator's trip around the world in 1908/1909. To create it, Kahn used the then most modern techniques of recording scenes from human life—black and white film (so-called moving pictures) and color photographs (autochromes). It is interesting that both systems were developed by the Lumière brothers, the former in 1895, and the latter ten years later.

The brothers Auguste (1862–1954) and Louis Lumière (1864–1948) are best known to the cultural public for their pioneering role in the history of cinematography and film, while much less is known and spoken about their activity in the field of spreading and popularizing color photography. During the first two decades of the 20th century, with a series of patents related to color photography they played an extremely important role in its development, expansion and popularization. The culmination of efforts in this direction was the commercial placement of the autochrome—a process from the group of additive color screen processes, similar to modern slides—which in 1907 made color photography available to the widest circle of enthusiasts for the first time.

The basis of the autochrome process is a glass plate with tiny colored grains of potato starch placed between two layers of varnish, the lower one—applied to the plate itself—made of damar and natural rubber dissolved in toluene, and the upper one of nitrocellulose, damar and castor oil. A third of the starch grains are colored blue-violet, a third green and a third orange-red and dispersed on the surface of the lower layer of varnish, and then inserted into a press that would flatten the grains, thus increasing the transparency of the colored screen. A new layer of lacquer was applied to the obtained screen, and then a panchromatic gelatin emulsion was added, after which the plate was ready for exposure in the camera. The plates are inserted into the camera oriented with the glass support towards the lens, so that when exposing the emulsion, the light passes through the colored screen of potato starch grains. After exposure, the exposed plate was developed and rinsed, and then a positive was obtained from the negative-image using the reverse processing. The image is then fixed and protected with a layer of varnish, sometimes with additional glass. Autochromes could be projected or viewed using a specially designed device (chromodiascope).[10]

With this kind of visual documentation Albert Kahn—with the help of Brunhes and about fifteen photo and cinematographers—created his "Great Book of Man", trying "to fathom the unique human character beyond cultural differences", convinced that his contemporaries, especially the elite, watching the accumulated visual material "can only gain the spirit of tolerance, the guarantee of general peace".[11] Over the course of twenty-two years, Kahn's operators took more than 72,000 autochromes, about 4,000 black-and-white stereographs and approximately 183,000 meters of silent film (about a hundred hours of continuous projection) in the territory of about fifty countries at the time (the number of today's is slightly higher).[12] All continents except Oceania are covered, and the photographs include numerous scenes from everyday life, landscapes, monuments, habitats, religious customs and celebrations, as well as certain political events (League of Nations, consequences of the First World War, etc.).[13]

IV

Dubrovnik and its surroundings as a photogenic area have been desirable motifs for photographers since the early days of the media. Numerous Europeans thus traveled through that part of today's Croatia, taking many photographs of prominent city motifs. Franz Thiard de Laforest (1838–1911) was among the first arrivals in whose catalog we can find several motifs from the Dubrovnik area. While traveling through Dalmatia, this native of Vienna visited Dubrovnik several times, and during the second half of the 1880s he lived and worked there for some time.[14] In his bequest, about thirty motifs taken in Dubrovnik and its surroundings have been preserved.[15]

A similar approach to motifs can be seen in the photographs of the French industrialist Hubert Vaffier (1834–1897). This world traveler and passionate alpinist, a member of the prestigious Geographical Society of Paris (Société de Géographie de Paris),[16] stopped in Dubrovnik in 1892 on his journey through the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and Greece, where he took 24 photographs.[17]

9 Baud-Berthier, "Albert Kahn," 106.

10 For more on production and use of autochromes see Lavédrine and Gandolfo, *The Lumière autochrome*, 114–179. The first description of the process in Croatian language can be found in Božičević, *Uputa u fotografiju*, 170–177.

11 Baud-Berthier, "Albert Kahn," 106.

12 Cf. Castro, "Les 'Archives de la Planète'," 877.

13 Cf. Baud-Berthier, "Albert Kahn," 107; Lavaud, "Archiver le monde," 1; Castro, "Les 'Archives de la Planète'," 877.

14 Flego, "Laforest, Franz," 521.

15 Gržina, "Nineteenth century Dalmatia," 256, 276.

16 "Hubert Vaffier."

17 Vaffier's prints with motifs of Dubrovnik and its surroundings are preserved, together with photographs of other places, in the Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF), Département Société de Geographie, inv. br. WC-381/154-WC-381/177. Digital versions are available on Vaffier, "218 phot." For more details on the selected photographs of Dubrovnik see the exhibition catalog *Du Bosphore à l'Adriatique: des photographes français découvrent les monuments des Balkans, 1878–1914.*, 88–89, where Léon's autochromes from the Kahn's *Archives of the Planet* were, along with Vaffier and some other French photographers, also presented to the public. That exhibition was presented to the Croatian public two years later, under the title *Od Bospora do Jadrana, francuski fotografi otkrivaju spomenike Balkana, 1878–1914* (cf. Babić, "Od Bospora do Jadrana," 55–58).

Photographs of the Dubrovnik area were often included in large sales catalogs through which they were distributed throughout Europe and the world. In the early 1890s, Dubrovnik was visited by Viennese photographer Josef Wlha (1845–1918), corresponding member of the Central Commission for Artistic and Historical Monuments in Vienna (k. k. Central-Commission für Kunst- und historische Denkmale in Wien).[18] His 39 photographs of Dubrovnik's monumental heritage were published in a large sales catalog from 1893,[19] and then in a smaller catalog, dedicated exclusively to the area of Dalmatia and Istria, printed in 1900.[20]

At the beginning of the 20th century, Dubrovnik was also photographed by the famous imperial and royal court and navy photographer Alois Beer (1840–1916).[21] In his large photo catalog of cities and landscapes, the Dubrovnik area is presented in a separate chapter ("Ragusa.") and has 72 motifs (cat. nr. 3266–3313a).[22] His photographs of Dubrovnik and its surroundings were available in different sizes: the so-called Quart-format (19 x 27 cm), cabinet-format (9 x 14 cm) and stereographs (7.5 x 14.5 cm).[23]

Twenty-one motifs from the Dubrovnik area, printed in colors, are represented in the catalog of the Swiss company Photoglob Zurich.[24] Its photomechanical prints, marketed commercially under the name Photochrom, enjoyed great popularity among collectors at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. Unlike the autochromes of the Lumière brothers, photochroms were not recorded in natural colors, but the color was achieved by successive printing from matrices in different colors, one on top of the other.[25] However, regardless of the fact that they are not "real" photographs, the fact that they were printed in a large number and distributed all over the world makes the photochroms of the Photoglob Zurich company a particularly valuable image resource with which, by all accounts, the Brunhes/Léon duo was also familiar.

V

Through the inventory numbers of the taken autochromes we can trace the movements of Brunhes and Léon after their arrival in Dubrovnik on October 22, 1912. Judging by the preserved plates, the duo entered the city from the western side at the "Gate of Pile" (inv. no. A 1642), and then

18 Starl, "Josef Wlha."

19 Wlha, "Illustrirter Katalog," tab. 77–78 and 117 with corresponding captions.

20 Wlha, "Verzeichniss," s. p. [4–5, 9].

21 Starl, "Alois Beer."

22 Beer, "Katalog," 72.

23 Ibid.

24 "Ragusa."

25 Cf. Gržina and Katušić, "Fotokromi," 114–116.

they first photographed, looking from the southwestern side, the church of Holy Savior (inv. no. A 1643). Shortly afterwards Léon took the photo of the Large Onofrio's Fountain from the southeastern side (inv. no. A 1645). Judging by the gap in the numbering, the first shot of the fountain (originally inv. no. A 1644; the autochrome has not been preserved) was most likely unsuccessful, so it was not included in the final catalog. Of the motifs located inside the city walls, only the porch of the Rector's Palace was taken (inv. no. A 1646), which was also the last shot of that day. This autochrome was taken from the almost identical point of view as the photograph used as a basis for the Photoglob Zürich's photochrom no. 9936 ("Ragusa. Portico del palazzo dei rettori").[26]

The next day, October 23, the western side of the walls of Dubrovnik was photographed, first looking from south to north and the tower of Minčeta (inv. no. A 1647), and then from north to south—from the foot of Minčeta—towards the sea and fort Lovrjenac (inv. no. A 1648). The next three shots (originally inv. no. A 1649, A 1650 and A 1651; the autochromes have not been preserved) are missing from the list, so unfortunately, we can't even guess what motifs they might have contained, and from the next preserved one we see that Brunhes and Léon are already on the Ombla river taking photographs of Rožat (inv. no. A 1652). The road from the city to the Ombla river was photographed three times. In the first shot we can see the Church of the Holy Spirit in Komolac (inv. no. 1653), in the second one of the numerous local chapels (inv. no. A 1654),[27] while the third is a view of the right bank of the river with the church of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary in Rožat in the background (inv. no. 1655). Subsequently, from the opposite bank of Ombla river Léon also took photo with a view of both churches of Rožat: the Church of the Visitation of the Virgin Mary and the Church of the Assumption (inv. no. A 1656).

The two images that follow are again missing from the catalog (original inv. no. A 1657 and A 1658), and shortly afterwards Léon photographed "natural vegetation: stone with lichens in two colors" in the same area (inv. no. A 1659) and "olive grove with overturned soil" in which cypress, carob and fig trees are visible (inv. no. A 1660). Upon reaching the Ombla spring, the following three shots were taken: the chapel of the Annunciation near the mill (inv. no. A 1661), "view of Rožat leaving the mill at Ombla" (inv. no.

26 Cf. "Ragusa," no. 7 (Ragusa, the Rettori Palace portico, Dalmatia, Austro-Hungary).

27 The first of three motifs from the area of today's Republic of Croatia that were exhibited in 1981 in the Ethnographic Museum at the exhibition *Naši ljudi i krajevi* (cf. Lazarević and Petrić, *Naši ljudi i krajevi*, 33, cat. no. 62). This photograph is also reproduced in the catalog, and it should be noted that the reproductions of all motifs in the catalog are printed in mirror image. (cf. Lazarević and Petrić, *Naši ljudi i krajevi*, 35).

A 1662) and, from an ethnographic point of view, a particularly valuable photograph of two girls in folk costumes deseeding and eating pomegranates (inv. no. A 1663).[28]

On the way back to Dubrovnik, the geographer and photographer visited the villa of Antun Sorkočević (Skala), from the end of the 16th century, in Rijeka Dubrovačka. They took four photos in it. In the vertically oriented frame of the first shot from the southeast, the "four-cornered tower" (La tour quadrangulaire) and the eastern loggia are captured, and in the background the bell tower of the Franciscan Church of the Visitation of Mary in Rožat is visible (inv. no. A 1665). Brunhes and Léon were particularly interested in the garden area with paths and pergolas, which, presumably, they wanted to record for comparison with the gardens of the Kahn's estate in Boulogne (inv. no. A 1666 and A 1667). The last shot from Sorkočević's villa shows wall paintings of mythological-arcadian content from the end of the 17th or beginning of the 18th century in the western loggia (inv. no. A 1668). It is not at all surprising that the most luxurious example of wall painting in the Dubrovnik area attracted the attention of the French duo, and thanks to the ability of autochrome to reproduce the scene in natural colors, today we have a very valuable document about the appearance and condition of the paintings at the beginning of the last century. *The Allegory of Autumn* and *The Judgment of Paris* painted on the eastern wall are clearly visible in the Léon's autochrome, as well as the paintings on the southern (longitudinal) wall of the loggia, which are very damaged today, but still fully preserved in 1912: *The death of Adonis*, *Hercules at the Crossroads*, and *Venus and Mars*.[29]

The last photo of that day, titled "View of indentations, general Mediterranean type", was taken on the way back to Dubrovnik (inv. no. A 1669). Just like the autochrome taken in the Rector's palace (inv. no. A 1646), this view is very similar to the Photoglob Zürich's photochrom. Léon's image was taken from almost identical point of view as the photograph used as a basis for the Photoglob Zürich's photomechanical print no. 9931 ("Ragusa. Bellavista").[30]

The next day, October 24, the French duo headed back to Bosnia. However, on the way to Konjic, they took another portrait photo of the "Dubrovnik cycle"—two women from around the city in traditional folk costumes (inv. no. A 1689). It was this photograph—unfortunately horizontally flipped like all other reproductions—that was used on the cover of the catalog of the *Naši ljudi i krajevi* (*Our people and regions*) exhibition, where it was displayed as the last of the three motifs from the area of today's Republic of Croatia presented to the public on that occasion.[31]

Regardless of the fact that Brunhes and Léon never returned to the territory of today's Croatia, there is another autochrome in the *Archives* that mentions a Croatian name. Just like the photo of the "Little Shepherd (Croatian Catholic) by the road" taken in Buna near Mostar, this one also shows Croats from Bosnia and Herzegovina, and it was taken at the very end of the "Bosnian campaign", on October 27, 1912, in Bosanski Brod. On that damaged and broken autochrome, "two Croats in furry hats (Catholics) in front of the fence" were taken (inv. no. A 1750).

VI

It is known that Kahn's estate in Boulogne-Billancourt was visited by numerous visitors during his lifetime, who were shown autochromes and films as part of lectures on various topics. Among the intellectuals and politicians of the time, the Indian Nobel laureate poet Rabīndranāth Tagore (1861–1941), the English writer Rudyard Kipling (1865–1936) and the future French president Vincent Auriol (1884–1966) were present, and, according to the meeting minutes, 833 screenings were held from 1913 to 1930.[32] Among the numerous portraits of diplomats, scholars, soldiers and spiritual leaders, on preserved autochromes we were able to recognize two prominent Croatian politicians: Ante Trumbić (1864–1938) and Lujo Vojnović (1864–1951). Both of them were photographed by Auguste Léon in the photographic studio on Kahn's estate, first Vojnović, and nine months later Trumbić.

Croatian writer and publicist Lujo Vojnović visited Boulogne on May 26, 1918 as part of a delegation from the Embassy of the Kingdom of Serbia in Paris (inv. no. A 14104), together with ambassador Milenko Vesnić (inv. no. A 14113). Trumbić, on the other hand, came to visit Kahn's estate as the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of SHS on January 25, 1919, during the Paris Peace Conference, and two of his photographic portraits have been preserved in the *Archives of the Planet* (inv. no. A 15152 and A 74809).

VII

Although the military photographer Josip Otokar Fleischlinger (1876–1957) photographed Zagreb and its inhabitants on autochrome plates a little before Brunhes and Léon came to Croatia (around 1910),[33] only a few

28 This is the second of three motifs presented to the Croatian public at the exhibition *Naši ljudi i krajevi* (cf. Lazarević and Petrić, *Naši ljudi i krajevi*, 34, cat. no. 63).

29 The present state of the wall paintings as a comparison with Léon's autochromes can be seen in Šulić, "Tri faze zidnih slika," 31–40.

30 Cf. "Ragusa," no. 14 (Ragusa, Bella Vista, Dalmatia, Austro-Hungary).

31 Cf. Lazarević and Petrić, *Naši ljudi i krajevi*, 34, cat. no. 64.

32 Castro, "Les 'Archives de la Planète'," 890–891.

33 Preserved in the Zagreb city museum (inv. no. MGZ-fot-2793, 2794, 2795 and 2796).

Croatian amateur photographers such as Rudolf Zikmundowski (1874–?) or Vladimir Guteša (1888–1960) used this photographic process in their work (around 1913).[34] Therefore, in the corpus of Croatian photography from the time before 1912, not a single unit similar to the "Dubrovnik campaign" from the *Archives of the Planet* has been preserved, just as no portraits like the one of Vojnović or Trumbić have been found. For this reason, we can rightly consider the three mentioned portrait photographs as the first photographic portraits of prominent Croatian personalities in color, while a series of 22 autochromes taken in the Dubrovnik area is the only so far known "cycle" of Croatian motifs in natural colors.

At last, it should be pointed out that until recently these motifs, integrated into wholes according to the nowadays non-existent states (first Austria-Hungary, and then Yugoslavia), were not separately described or mentioned in publications about the *Archives of the Planet*,[35] and at the exhibition held in in Zagreb in 1981 only three photographs were shown.[36] Thanks to the systematically conducted digitization process—which began in 2006 and was mostly completed in 2016—all the autochromes were processed, indexed and made available in open access, so the motifs taken in the territory of today's Republic of Croatia became visible and today we have the opportunity to see them here in the context of the time of their creation and all the splendor of the natural color that the autochrome process faithfully transmitted to our days.

34 Preserved in the Museum of Arts and Crafts in Zagreb (inv. no. MUO-7332/1-6; MUO-7817).

35 Cf. Beausoleil, *Panorama des Collection*, 22. In the brochure, among the photographed cities of the former Yugoslavia, are listed "Banja Luka, Bitola, Cetinje, Jajce, Krusevac, Mostar, Ohrid, Prizren, Sarajevo i Skopje".

36 Lazarević and Petrić, *Naši ljudi i krajevi*, 33-35.

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1. Auguste Léon, *Raguse, Porte*, 22 October 1912.
   Autochrome, 12 x 9 cm
   Département des Hauts-de-Seine, Musée Albert-Kahn (A 1642)

2. Auguste Léon, *Raguse, Colonnade*, 22 October 1912.
   Autochrome, 12 x 9 cm
   Département des Hauts-de-Seine, Musée Albert-Kahn (A 1646)

3. Auguste Léon, *Raguse, Anciennes fortifications*, 23 October 1912.
   Autochrome, 9 x 12 cm
   Département des Hauts-de-Seine, Musée Albert-Kahn (A 1648)

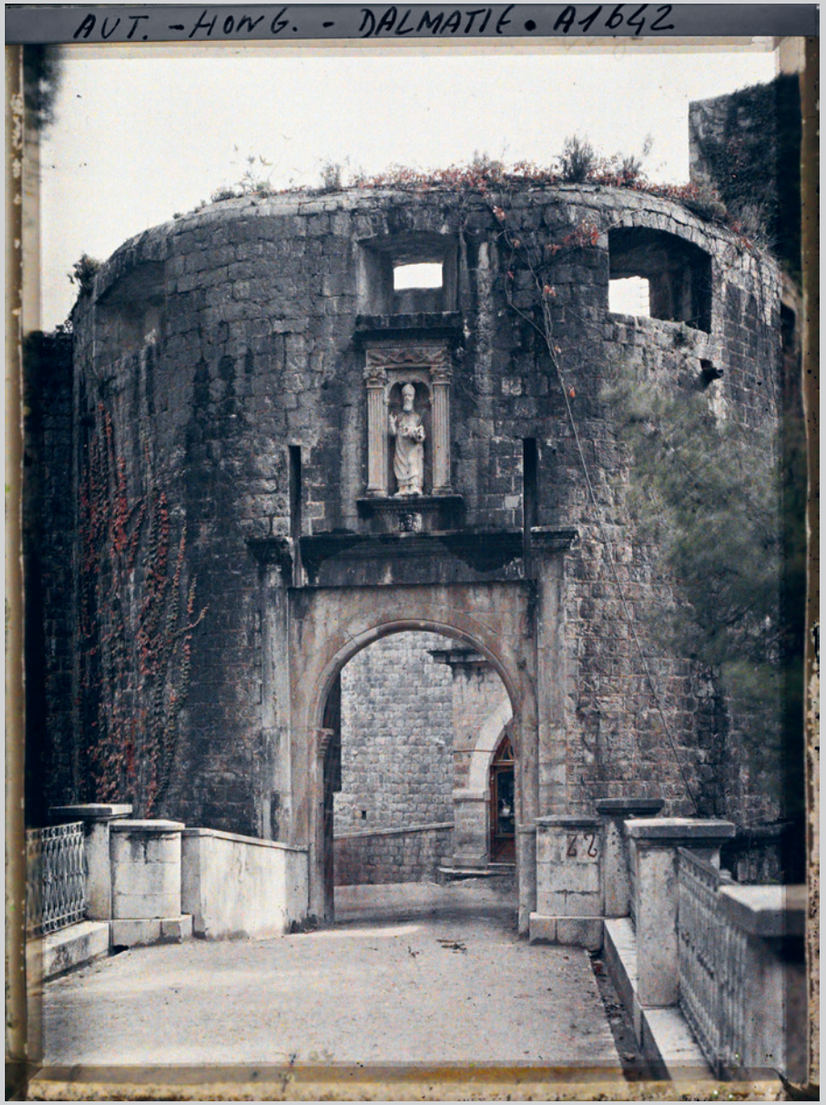
4. Auguste Léon, *Raguse, Femmes mangeant des grenades*, 23 October 1912.
   Autochrome, 9 x 12 cm
   Département des Hauts-de-Seine, Musée Albert-Kahn (A 1663)

5. Auguste Léon, *Raguse, L'atrium*, 23 October 1912.
   Autochrome, 9 x 12 cm
   Département des Hauts-de-Seine, Musée Albert-Kahn (A 1668)

6. Auguste Léon, *Raguse, En rentrant à Raguse: vue des identations, type général méditerranéen*, 23 October 1912.
   Autochrome, 9 x 12 cm
   Département des Hauts-de-Seine, Musée Albert-Kahn (A 1669)

7. Auguste Léon, *Raguse, Femmes de Raguse en costume local*, 23 October 1912.
   Autochrome, 12 x 9 cm
   Département des Hauts-de-Seine, Musée Albert-Kahn (A 1689)

8. Auguste Léon, *France, Boulogne, Portraits, Mr Ante Trumbitch, Ministre des Affaires Etrangères du Royaume des Serbes*, 25 January 1919.
   Autochrome, 12 x 9 cm
   Département des Hauts-de-Seine, Musée Albert-Kahn (A 15152)



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AUT.-HONG.-DALMATIE • A1663

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AUT.-HONG-DALMATIE • A1669

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ALICE HADDAD

The Landscape as Inventory Versus Impression: Exhibiting the Photography Commission of the Flemish Government Architect

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The function of Flemish Government Architect was implemented in 1998 by the Flemish Government's then competent minister Wivina Demeester and assigned to the architect and urban designer bOb Van Reeth the following year. His position comprised an advisory role, whose task was to improve the management and quality of the Flemish Government's built estate across Flanders, Belgium's Dutch-speaking region. The region counts as one of the most urbanized regions of Europe. Its spatial environment is characterised by low-density urban sprawl, which has come to blur the distinction between city and countryside across the entire territory. It formed along a network of industrial corridors and infrastructure, following the unhierarchical distribution of historical small-scale towns and the spread of free-standing family homes promoted after World War II.[1] It was less the result of an explicit spatial planning than an implicit planning vision by a national government that during the prosperous after-war period supported individual private entrepreneurship, rather than took responsibility for the development of adequate collective infrastructure, public services, and the distribution of economic wealth.[2] Convergent to the critical economic climate of the 1970s and profound unrest shaking the country's governance and public institutions, Belgium's frenetic building sector eventually came to a halt. The deplorable state of the built and public spaces spurred public outcry among architects, urban planners and citizens alike. Failed planning schemes and unregulated private developments were blamed for the congestion and disfiguration of city centres, as well as the fragmentation of the country's remaining open space. Following Belgium's successive state reforms and the establishment of the Flemish Government at the turn of the 1990s[3], it is only after about

1 De Meulder, Schreurs, Cock, Notteboom, "Patching up the Belgian Landscape", 78-113.

2 Loeckx, Vervloesem, "Stadsvernieuwingsprojecten in Vlaanderen (2002-2012). In trialoog met een weerbarstige werkelijkheid", 10.

3 At the turn of the 1990s, Belgium, through a couple of successive

several decades, that Flanders eventually saw major advancement in terms of spatial governance and policy to more consistently organise the region's built estate and environment.[4]

It is within this context, that the Flemish Government Architect was given the challenging task of supervising, developing, and promoting procedures and policy instruments to accompany the commission and completion of qualitative public buildings, infrastructure, and spatial plans in Flanders.[5] To better grasp his field of intervention, Van Reeth kicked off his mandate with the commission of a photographic inventory of the Flemish territory, with particular attention to the areas destined for the construction of public works. The photographer Niels Donckers was hired for the task, and he quickly accumulated hundreds of photographs documenting Flanders's most ordinary landscapes.

At the end of 2002, about mid-term in Van Reeth's six-years mandate and on his initiative, this inventory was put on display for the first time in the exhibition *Portrait of Flemish Biotopes. The Photography Commission of the Flemish Government Architect* at the performing arts centre and campus deSingel in Antwerp. The exhibition was curated by the arts historian Moritz Küng in collaboration with architecture historian Katrien Vandermarliere as part of the arts centre's architecture programme, which they subsequently directed.[6] It was produced in close partnership with

state reforms, became a federal state and parts of its competences were distributed upon its three subnational regions: Flanders, Wallonia and Brussels-Capital, as well as its three linguistic communities: Dutch, French and German-speaking.

4 After decades of preparations, the Flemish Government implemented the Flanders Environmental Structural Plan (*Ruimtelijk Structuurplan Vlaanderen*) in 1997. This key instrument for spatial policy sought to organize the region's fragmented territory across all scales. Other important initiatives were the appointment of the Flemish Government Architect (*Vlaams Bouwmesster*) in 1999, and the foundation of the Flemish Architecture Institute (*Vlaams Architectuurinstituut*) in 2001.

5 Santens and De Zutter, *Een Rijksbouwmeester Bouwt Niet 1999-2005*.

6 Founded in 1980 in Antwerp following the expansion of the Flemish music conservatorium, deSingel's cultural programme initially only focused on music, dance, and theatre. Its architecture programme (including exhibitions, talks and publications) was launched in 1985 by Carolina De Backer (1980-1990), followed by Katrien Vandermarliere (1990-2002) and Moritz Küng (2002-2010), who succeeded each other as programme directors. In 2002, Vandermarliere was appointed director of the newly founded Flemish Architecture Institute (VAi) also housed within deSingel. Both institutions collaborated on the production of several exhibitions until the architecture programme was eventually fully taken over by the VAi as it is the case today.
The making of the exhibition *Portrait of Flemish Biotopes* occurred at a moment of important shift in Flanders cultural landscape pertaining the domain of architecture, which also affected its curatorship. Vandermarliere started the exhibition project and Küng took over when he was appointed new programme director.

the Flemish Government Architect and with the support of the Ministry of the Flemish Community.

The exhibition project, which started with the desire to show images from the photographic inventory commissioned to Niels Donckers, evolved to include an overview of the Flemish Government Architect's activities, as well as other artefacts assembled or especially crafted for this occasion.[7] The exhibition thematised two of the Flemish Government Architect's instruments: the 'Open Call' and the 'Master's Thesis'—the first is a procedure addressed to architects and policy makers, the second to newly graduated architecture and arts students. They were confronted with a collection of photographs depicting Flanders's built environment by seven contemporary photographers: Peter Downsbrough, Lucas Jodogne, Jan Kempenaers, Aglaia Konrad, Reiner Lautwein, Marie-Françoise Plissart, and Niels Donckers appearing here too, whose works had recently been acquired by the Ministry of the Flemish Community. The inventory, tools and photographs were also presented in resonance with a lexicon commissioned to the academic research group OSA+[8] which had been invited to revise all sorts of words and expressions pertaining to the vocabulary typically used in local debates about Flanders's urbanization process. Eventually, 5 existing publications, almost 300 photographs from Donckers's survey, and 18 photographs from the Government collection were selected, and 388 lexicon entries were created.

In this paper, I focus on the curatorial narrative and display strategies, that determined how the presentation of the photographs from the inventory, displayed along with other material, were received. My aim is to better grasp how content and form converged to convey the exhibition's curatorial narrative, how this process stretched the exhibits' original purpose and mobilised the visitors in the formation of meaning.

The exhibition sought to introduce the important new role of the Flemish Government Architect to a local audience, but it refrained from imposing or promoting his instruments as solution to Flanders's past spatial mismanagement. By bringing the inventory of commissioned photographs to the public eye through an unconventional approach, the exhibition exceeded the photographs' original operational function to record the built estate of the Flemish Government and identify the ground onto which a

7 One can trace how the curatorial narrative and thematic selection developed from a first meeting in February to meetings in May 2002 through available meeting notes, reports, and correspondence kept in deSingel's archives.

8 The exhibition leaflet indicates that the lexicon was elaborated in collaboration with the Flemish Architecture Institute and commissioned to OSA+ (Onderzoeksgroep Stedenbouw en Architectuur, ASRO, K.U. Leuven) and edited by the philosopher Lieven De Cauter (De Cauter, 2002).

better building practice shall develop. Within the gallery space, the photographs' unresolved hybrid status was exposed as an instrument capturing shifting spatial, artistic, and political positions, which ultimately called for a collective engagement with the territory as matter of public concern.

Despite the merely 20 years that separate us from the exhibition, the event's full recollection remains a challenge. I could retrieve key documentation of the exhibition's production process from deSingel's administrative archives,[9] completed by information stemming from the archives of the Flemish Government Architect's office, conversations with stakeholders, and secondary literature.[10] However, notably, I could not find a single exhibition view. My observations hence very much rely on the material traces that such an ephemeral event may typically leave behind, which I here tentatively extend with my own critical interpretations.

THE PHOTOGRAPHY COMMISSION AND THE GOVERNMENT COLLECTION

Upon entering the exhibition, a small leaflet was handed out to the visitors. It contained explanatory texts printed along an annotated gallery map. The content of the exhibition's six sections was summarised in brief descriptions, including a list of exhibits. The introduction printed upfront stated what the photographic inventory commissioned by the Flemish Government Architect entailed:

> [...] The photography commission is of great importance for establishing the identity of an area and for the registration of changes, the sharpening of perception, and the depiction of subjective experience. The commission is, on the one hand, part of an archive under construction that documents the patrimony of the Flemish Community, on the other hand, it is part of an investigation for qualitative architecture.[11]

9 The exhibition is listed in deSingel's administrative archives under the registration number TENT-113, which links it to documents scattered across several storage boxes. Among these I could find meeting notes and reports, various correspondence and administrative forms, reproductions linked to the exhibits, spatial layouts and technical drawings from different design stages of the scenography, communication and promotional material, photocopies of exhibition reviews…

10 In addition, I could conduct preliminary research on several architecture exhibition cases together with master students during an 'advanced topic' seminar in 2021, which I led with Prof. Maarten Liefooghe at the Department of Architecture and Urban Planning of Ghent University. I would like to especially thank our students Laura De Jonge, Emma Heyneman, and Taebin Han who studied this exhibition among their cases.

11 Excerpt from the exhibition leaflet, translation by the author. Source: deSingel archives. The line "The photography commission is of great importance for establishing the identity of an area and for the registration of changes, the sharpening of perception, and the depiction of subjective experience" was copied from Friets Gierstberg's contribution to the catalogue of the exhibition *SubUrban Options. Photography Commissions and the Urbanization of the Landscape* produced by the Nederlands Foto Instituut and programmed at deSingel in 1998. See: Gierstberg, "SubUrban Options. Photography commissions and the Urbanization of the Landscape", 12.

12 Ibid., 7.

13 "Niels Donckers was commissioned to make a photographic inventory of the ['Open Call'] initiative, using the photographs as an artistic tool in the work process of building commissions. They should sharpen the perception, stimulate the mind, and contribute to shaping opinions and discussions. The various sites are captured before and after the realisation of a building or intervention. The site, the existing situation, the surroundings, the perspectives, the existing forms, all atmospheres or characters, all of the landscape's highlights are captured by the photographer and form part of the project definition of the building assignment." Excerpt from the exhibition leaflet, translation by the author. Source: deSingel archives.

Particularly striking were the many functions assigned to the photography commission. How exactly could "the depiction of subjective experience" converge with the perhaps at first more evident operational goals of the inventory in the context of the Flemish Government Architect's mission?

Photography commissions that cover the scope of a territory have traditionally been associated with documentary assignments issued either by government authorities or construction companies to record changing landscapes with the aim to preserve the memory of remarkable buildings or celebrate the excellence of engineering achievements such as bridges and railways. Such conception was however ultimately revised from around the 1970s onwards with practices in landscape photography by photographers developing an interest in the landscape as a mirror of culture. It became clear that a photograph of a landscape not only captured the manifestation of an environment as it existed at a certain point in time, but it also depicted a way of looking as much as a collectively constructed image.[12] In the exhibition, the different understandings of photography commissions were not comprehensively explained but taken as foundation for a curatorial approach engaging with playful associations and interpretations.

Crossing usually separated realms, Donckers's photographs were described as 'artistic', yet, also as 'tools' used in the work process of the new procedure launched by the Flemish Government Architect called the 'Open Call'.[13] This procedure formalised the framework supporting the organisation of architecture competitions for the construction of public buildings and infrastructure. All the elements characterising a site and its spatial context were seen as integral part of the project definition of these building assignments. The idea was to record each site before and after realization. But, at the time of the exhibition, no works had been constructed yet. Instead, the photographs translated the "conscious atten-

tion to the immediate environment"[14] dear to the Flemish Government Architect (as one of the most important conditions for the conception of an architecture of quality) by revealing aspects of familiarity and triviality embedded in these ordinary landscapes. Capturing these traits was what made these images distinctive, and also what may have sparked a potential attraction in their viewers.

The untitled photograph of an abandoned shop of a gas station accommodated in a typical detached Belgian house taken in 2001 and used in all communication material (flyer, poster, website, etc.)[15] that promoted the exhibition crystallizes the photographer's *modus operandi*: A centred and even framing of the building in its surroundings, which accentuates the image's symmetry. A layered composition and frontal take at human height and at street-level without people nor bright sunlight, which tends to flatten the image and cancel strong chromatic contrasts. Neutralizing grey tones take over here, except for a washed-out ESSO-sign and painted construction barrier, both bright red, that stand out in opposition to the complementary green bushes.

Following in the steps of the New Topographics and the Becher Schule, Donckers's images at first sight tend to endorse a similar objectifying gaze directed towards the built in the environment, in which emptiness serves as an iconic motif to reveal the site's abstract structure. However, the seeming absurdity of highlighting trivial elements rather points to what escapes the ordering or mastering of the territory. They add a certain lightness to these otherwise mostly grim landscapes. They also propose a touch of humour (or irony) that loosens the ambient austerity and increases the image's 'likability'.

When art critic Jeroen Laureyns reflected about Donckers's photographs as oeuvre (thus outside the context of the photography commission and this exhibition), he described how these images of typical Flemish suburbs immediately appealed to him for the sense of familiarity and belonging that they evoke. He wrote: "This has not only to do with a familiarity of the topic and the instantly identifiable perspective of a *flâneur*, but more importantly with a strong sense of empathy, which makes recognition so much easier to achieve."[16]

The peculiar expressivity of Donckers's photographs comes to the fore even more so when compared with the photographs acquired by the Flemish Community and displayed as autonomous artforms in the exhibition's

14 Excerpt from the exhibition leaflet, translation by the author. Source: deSingel archives.

15 Source: deSingel archives and website.

16 Laureyns, *Weg van Vlaanderen. Hedendaagse Vlaamse landscappen in de beeldende kunst 1968-2003*, 128. (Translation by the author.)

dedicated section. The exhibition leaflet's description of the 'Collection' concisely pointed at a particularly expressive feature found in each artistic approach: "[…] The residential block with sculptural qualities by Niels Donckers, the geometry within the city by Peter Downsbrough, the fleeting gaze by Aglaia Konrad, the social context in the interior by Reiner Lautwein, the desolation of the periphery by Lucas Jodogne, the wide perspective by Jan Kempenaers, and the movement in the city by Marie-Françoise Plissart are just a few impressions of the Flemish patrimony. […]".[17] The originality and difference in their approach towards a spatial reality in Flanders contributed to shape their artistic value. The landscapes appearing in the photographs of Jan Kempenaers, for instance, were very similar in tone and subject matter to those of Donckers, but the use of a wide angle and elevated viewpoint rather attempts to capture the green or undefined residual spaces as negative space emerging in-between vast urban infrastructures through an external gaze to these scenes.[18] By depicting their inaccessibility, it is also the image that is made inaccessible to its viewer. Such alienation was even more pronounced in Aglaia Konrad's clichés.[19] Her hyper-contrasted images in black and white, included in the show, of a Brussels residential street block tend to reduce the urban motif to abstract formal compositions, stressing a feeling of tension and anxiety.

Donckers's inclusion in both the 'Collection' and 'Open Call' section made the questionable status of his photographs visible. Despite the major difference of their origin and value, Donkers's photographs made for the Flemish Government Architect's inventory do not appear as neutral and objective as the nature of their commission foregrounded. In fact, they recorded the subjective impression of the photographer very similarly to the artistic photographs included in the 'Collection'. Bridging the gap between an objective and subjective gaze, they were particularly suited to convey an impression of the Flemish landscape with success, not only thanks to their hybrid (artistic and operational) status but especially through their empathic expressivity. Because it is this quality that supports their potential to reach out to their viewers, to enhance identification with familiar situations, and to subtly arouse, more or less consciously, a shift in their perception of their surroundings.

Yet, the exhibition *Portrait of Flemish Biotopes* was not only about the subject matter and representation encountered in the single photographs and the experience each photograph may convey to its viewers. Their display in the exhibition raises the question whether the quality found in Donckers's photographs was further exploited through the material and spatial

17 Excerpt from the exhibition leaflet. Source: deSingel archives. (Translation by the author.)

18 Jacobs, *Sites & Sights. A Critical History of Urban Photography 1968-2000*, 147.

19 Ibid., 195.

arrangement of the photographs in the exhibition. What relationship did these assemblages establish with the public and how is this significant?

STAGING CONTRADICTIONS

The exhibition took place in deSingel's then dedicated exhibition space, which was in fact a large hallway giving access to its two main concert and theatre halls. The hallway's elongated shape led the audience attending a spectacle from entrance foyer to the halls and to a small bar open on spectacle nights, which was situated at its end. It also invited the visitors for a stroll along large bay windows opening onto an outdoor terrasse and framing a panoramic view on Antwerp's 19th century green belt meanwhile converted into the city's main ring road. *Portrait of Flemish Biotopes*'s exhibition apparatus was deployed across the hallways' length, but no strict exhibition route was imposed on the visitors. The 'Collection' was housed in two rooms built as temporary 'white cubes' inside the hallway to accommodate the 18 photographs gathered in this section. Their status as autonomous artform was sustained by a conventional mounting of the individual images behind glass in large frames and by their placement at eye-height on the walls. Since access to deSingel's hallway could not be restraint, the entrances leading inside the cubes could be closed off to secure the artworks from the crowds attending the spectacles scheduled in the adjacent halls outside of the exhibition's opening hours. In the section dedicated to the 'Open Call', 261 photographs from the photography inventory were distributed across five socles inside which neon light tubes were lodged. Each of them was fitted with glass boxes in which small reproductions of the images, printed on translucent paper, were placed in a grid and retro-illuminated. This serial and horizontal display recalled the contact tables generally used by professionals to visualize film negatives before selection and print. Identifications of the photographs' time and location were left out, nonetheless at least in appearance, this display strategy underlined the images' use value as documents and tools. When such a vast quantity could be overwhelming to distracted visitors, it also invited them to look at the ensemble of images with attention, thereby stepping into the shoes of the investigator and reflect upon the built environment encapsulated in these landscapes. It thus encouraged them to think along with the Flemish Government Architect.

Moreover, the serialisation and great number of images matched with the 'fragmentation' and the sense of 'ungraspability' associated with the Flemish territory and current discussions on the diffuse or generic city. In such nebulous urban landscapes, individual components are places without identity, interchangeable and of equal importance. It is no longer a public realm, but urban infrastructure that is holding together private and residual spaces.[20] The arrangement of the photographs in these light boxes thus also hinted at a challenge falling upon the Flemish Government

20 Ibid., 180-196.

Architect, though surpassing his mission and responsibility alone. Could his survey, thus his attempt at comprehending the various components of the Flemish territory, contribute to establish a public realm capable of knitting Flanders's pieces together?

If an objective look and an objectifying gaze were stressed through the display of Donckers's photographs in the section dedicated to the 'Open Call', their arrangement in different sizes and formats and association with various artefacts in other sections conveyed a plurality of meanings. At the end of the hallway, a 15 metres-long 'fresco' confronted the visitors. It was composed of enlarged reproductions of a selection of photographs by Donckers displayed in relation to 26 keywords from the lexicon. Among these appeared for instance the words 'rear kitchen', 'do-it-yourself', 'exodus', 'fermette aesthetic', 'intelligent ruin', 'residual space', 'allotment thinking', and 'xenophobia'. Next to this juxtaposition, the visitors could consult a selection of publications edited by the Flemish Government Architect office, which presented the projects resulting from the 'Master's Thesis', an initiative which offered the opportunity to young graduates to develop a design assignment from conception to realisation, with the supervision of a professional mentor. The initiative's ambition was also summarized in the form of a poster manifesto. The visitors could also listen to a soundscape as well as browse a digital monitor listing all the 388 lexicon entries. Finally, they could stop at the section 'Antwerpse Leien', where they could manipulate a photocopy machine to print out and take home for free 12 pictures by Donckers of Antwerp's main south-north transit streets taken as part of the inventory. And lastly, they could purchase the *Small Lexicon of the Flemish (Architecture) Landscape,* which compiled all lexicon entries along with Donckers's photographs and was published in a twin format as a notebook and an agenda for the year 2003.

Could all these declinations suggest that in a generic urban landscape framing may become an act of defining and creating a place's identity after all? This was also implied by the word 'Portrait' employed in the exhibition title. However, the title was somewhat misleading. It resulted after various declinations had been in use in the exhibition making process and seems to derive from socio-political concerns to avoid connotated words like 'Flanders'—too nationalist—and 'Landscape'—too lyrical. The use of 'Flemish Biotopes' in association with the 'Photography Commission of the Flemish Government Architect' suggests an objective and pragmatic approach towards the environment endorsed by this figure of authority. But such a sense of realism was undermined by the photographs.[21] The

21 The critical approach to realism also matched with a singular attitude not elaborated upon in this article, which one could associate with the particular figure of the Flemish Government Architect bOb Van Reeth and his adjunct Marc Santens. Such a reading could for instance follow up on Sebastiaan Loosen's investigation developed in his Doctoral thesis and referenced article. See: Loosen, "The Challenge of the Poetic: Criticism in Search of the Real. With a

use of the term 'biotope' is suggestive of a scientific realm, however, the extraction of the human species in Donckers's landscapes makes them untruthful depiction of their habitat. Yet, it also differs from the classic depiction of picturesque sceneries seizing people in their daily activities common in Flemish landscape paintings. The built environment in his images is nevertheless filled with human creation. In these portraits of cultural landscapes, trivial objects substitute the protagonists, yet they still suggest the scenes of an active life.

In the end, the exhibition was conceived for a wide audience and the latter's attention needed to be directed towards the built environment, which was after all the object the Flemish Government Architect had been assigned to supervise, not the population which lived in it. Avoiding such a misunderstanding seemed essential, especially if the visitors themselves were invited to "sharpen their perception"[22] and endorse his advisory role, albeit temporarily and performatively. With this in mind, the absence of human bodies in the photographs does not appear insignificant, on the contrary, it enhanced the *act* performed by the visitors that ensured the exhibition's cognitive operation throughout the spatial assemblage of words, objects, and images. By exposing the Flemish Government Architect's tools and field of intervention, as well as staging contradictions through various levels of subjectivity, the exhibition less intended to make a claim about the region's identity, than to encourage its visitors' awareness and agency in the matter of spatial governance. In other words, what the exhibition wished for, I would suggest, is the constitution of an emancipated public.[23]

LOOSE ENDS

Through the confrontation of documentary, literary and artistic means, a polyphonic and humorous language for the representation of urban matters was introduced that split open the narrative. This could be sensed in the divergent reception that the exhibition received in the local press.[24]

Debt to b0b Van Reeth, 1975-1985", 106-121.

22 Excerpt from the exhibition leaflet. Source: deSingel archives. (Translation by the author.)

23 This mechanism may be understood in terms theorised by Jacques Rancière in his account about *The Emancipated Spectator* (2007), in which he offers an interesting reading of self-suppressing mediations in theatre settings aiming to counter the passive effect of a play on its spectators: "according to the Brechtian paradigm, theatrical mediation makes the audience aware of the social situation on which theatre itself rests, prompting the audience to act in consequence. Or, according to the Artaudian scheme, it makes them abandon the position of spectator: No longer seated in front of the spectacle, they are instead surrounded by the performance, dragged into the circle of the action, which gives them back their collective energy." See: Rancière, "The Emancipated Spectator", 274.

24 A set of exhibition reviews has been collected in deSingel's archives, which also shows how the arts centre cared for the reception of its productions.

Spanning from enthusiastic responses describing the exhibition content as "an exciting diversity" and "an adventurous tale" to more sceptical accounts seeing in the images "a mere compilation of impressions" or an "awfully recognisable" appeal, several critical reviews translated the exhibition's thematic ambiguity. Most opinions pointed at the quality of the spatial environment and the role of the Flemish Government Architect, they acknowledged the tensions that appeared between the exhibition's subject matter and displayed material, especially between the inventory of photographs as a systematic or objective survey of the Flemish landscape versus the collection of photographs as artistic and unique impressions, yet they generally failed to mention the curated nature of the exhibition content and arrangement.[25]

What the exhibition *Portrait of Flemish Biotopes. The Photography Commission of the Flemish Government Architect* intended to register and to effect was a shift in the conceptions by then taken for granted about the urbanization processes of the Flemish landscape. Through its layered interplay, the exhibition wished to lift the inertia associated with a political body, which until then had let the fragmentation and deterioration of the territory happen and which had accepted its 'disfunction' and 'ugliness' as a matter of fact. Instead, the exhibition drew attention to Flanders's most ordinary landscapes and stressed that its transformation and improvement is a matter of a public and shared concern.[26]

The material traces of the exhibition are insufficient to understand how exactly this specific display of the photography inventory served the Flemish Government Architect or the Flemish Community. In fact, barely any documentation of the exhibition's production process has been kept in the Flemish Government Architect's archives. Its mention has been omitted in publications listing retroactively the cultural activities conducted during the Flemish Government's first mandate. [27] This is however not the case of two exhibitions realized about a year later. A selection of photographs from the survey and the collection were exhibited in Brussels as part of an outdoor route on the theme of Bruegel.[28] Around the same time, images

25 Only the account of photography and visual arts critic Ludo Bekkers, a voice more acquainted with arts exhibitions, addressed the exhibition as an experience and the role of the curators, coming to the following conclusion: "An exhibition that was doomed to be dull from the outset has, under the hands of the curator, developed into a fascinating multimedia event in which photography is shown in a surprising context and has therefore gained added value." (Translation by the author.) See: Bekkers, "Landschappen, gebouwen, huizen en koterijen", 24. Source: deSingel Archives.

26 Cf. Latour, 19.

27 Santens, De Zutter. See both references.

28 The images were displayed on minimal construction fences under the

from the photography inventory and other instruments more strictly related to the Flemish Government Architect were also displayed in a traveling exhibition conceived in the framework of a diplomatic and cultural exchange with Poland.[29]

More than 20 years after its introduction, the inventory photographs can be visualized online on the Flemish Government Architect's website. They are contextualized according to their original use value. The inventory has grown along the (by now) about 700 projects launched through the Open Call competition procedure for public buildings and master plans.[30] The initial goal to photograph the project sites before and after construction has endured, throughout the mandates of the Flemish Government Architects appointed after bOb Van Reeth. Other photographers succeeded Niels Donckers to complete the task. They are most often also involved in promotional and commercial commissions related to contemporary architecture and altogether tend to shape a distinctive style worth further examination.

Ultimately, perhaps the most important lesson to take away from the exhibition *Portrait of Flemish Biotopes* is one that transcended political, professional, or disciplinary concerns at a pivotal moment for spatial governance: Enhancing the quality of a shared environment starts with the recognition and capturing of ordinary experiences, albeit trivial and erratic in appearance, as legitimate approaches to learn from, talk about, and *know* the environment, therefore, also start acting upon it—with a touch of Belgian humour and empathy.

monumental arcades of Brussels's Palace of Justice in 2004 as part of an outdoor exhibition route titled *Weg van Breugel '04, Vlaamse Biotopen*, organised by the visual artist Bert De Keyzer in collaboration with the Flemish Government Architect.

29 The team of the Flemish Government Architect produced the travelling exhibition *Vlaanderen anders & herkenbaar*, which was first shown in Warsaw in 2004, then in a former administrative office building of the Flemish Government, known as 'Baudewijngebouw', in Brussels in 2005.

30 Liefooghe, Van Den Driessche, 2022.

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ARCHIVAL SOURCES

The archives of deSingel International Arts Centre

The archives of the Team Vlaams Bouwmeester

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[2a]

de Singel
Internationaal Kunstcentrum

Portret van Vlaamse biotopen

De fotografie-opdracht van de Vlaamse Bouwmeester

{Tentoonstelling 21.11.02 -12.01.03}

Bewuste aandacht voor de directe omgeving is misschien een van de belangrijkste voorwaarden voor het creëren van goede architectuur. Tegen deze achtergrond heeft de Vlaamse Bouwmeester in 1999 een fotografieproject in het leven geroepen. Inmiddels is dit initiatief uitgegroeid tot een indrukwekkende inventaris van het Vlaamse patrimonium, een portret van het Vlaamse landschap. De tentoonstelling presenteert voor het eerst een bestandsopname van dit belangwekkend initiatief dat uit verschillende onderdelen bestaat:
'De Collectie', een verzameling foto's als eerste aanzet tot het fotografieproject, met werken van Niels Donckers, Peter Downsbrough, Lucas Jodogne, Jan Kempenaers, Aglaia Konrad, Reiner Lautwein en Marie-Françoise Plissart;
'De Open Oproep', een procedure om de bouwopdrachten van de Vlaamse Gemeenschap kwalitatief te stimuleren;
'De Meesterproef', een stimulans voor aankomende architecten die onder internationale professionele begeleiding hun eerste projecten kunnen realiseren;
'Het kleine Lexicon van het Vlaamse (Architectuur-) Landschap' met 388 trefwoorden, een gezamenlijke publicatie van deSingel, de Vlaamse Bouwmeester en het Vlaams Architectuurinstituut. 'Het Lexicon' krijgt de vorm van een agenda/werkboek 2003 en wordt samengesteld door OSA+ K.U. Leuven (Onderzoeksgroep Stedelijkheid en Architectuur + Stedenbouw) met tekstbijdragen van de professoren Lieven De Cauter, Bruno De Meulder, Hilde Heynen, André Loeckx, Jan Schreurs en Marcel Smets, en van Tom Avermaete, Dieter De Clercq, Michiel Dehaene, Maureen Heyns, Nancy Meijsmans, Michael Ryckewaert en Karina Van Herck. De illustraties zijn van Niels Donckers.

opening woensdag 20.11.2002 vanaf 19 uur
introductie Moritz Küng, Lieven De Cauter & OSA+ K.U. Leuven . Blauwe Zaal . 20 uur

open van dinsdag tot zondag van 14 tot 18 uur . gesloten 24, 25, 31.12.02 en 01.01.03 . toegang gratis
publicatie Het kleine Lexicon van het Vlaamse (Architectuur-) Landschap, agenda/werkboek 2003 . € 10
rondleidingen op zaterdag 30 november 2002 en op zaterdag 4 januari 2003 . telkens om 15 uur . € 4
rondleiding voor groepen maximum 20 personen op een datum naar keuze . € 60

informatie en tickets www.desingel.be
Desguinlei 25 . 2018 Antwerpen . 03 248 28 28

in samenwerking met de Vlaamse Bouwmeester, Ministerie van de Vlaamse Gemeenschap. De architectuurwerking van deSingel geniet de bijzondere aandacht van de provincie Antwerpen en van Bouwonderneming Vooruitzicht. deSingel wordt betoelaagd door de Vlaamse Gemeenschap en de stad Antwerpen. Het seizoen 2002-2003 wordt mogelijk gemaakt door Agfa-Gevaert, Knack, Radio 1, De Standaard en de Nationale Loterij.

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[2b]


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de Singel
Internationaal Kunstcentrum
Portret van Vlaamse biotopen
De fotografie-opdracht van de Vlaamse Bouwmeester
tentoonstelling van 21.11.02 tot 12.01.03
open van dinsdag tot zondag van 14 tot 18 uur . gesloten 24, 25, 31.12.02 en 01.01.03
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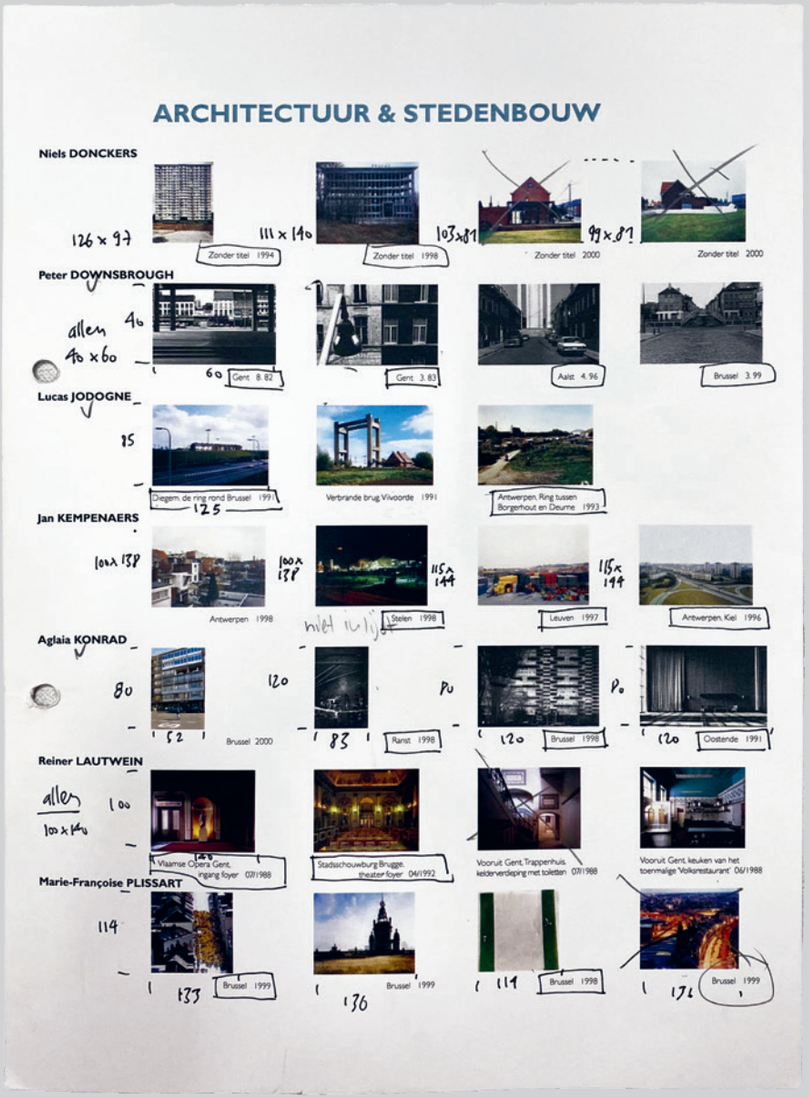
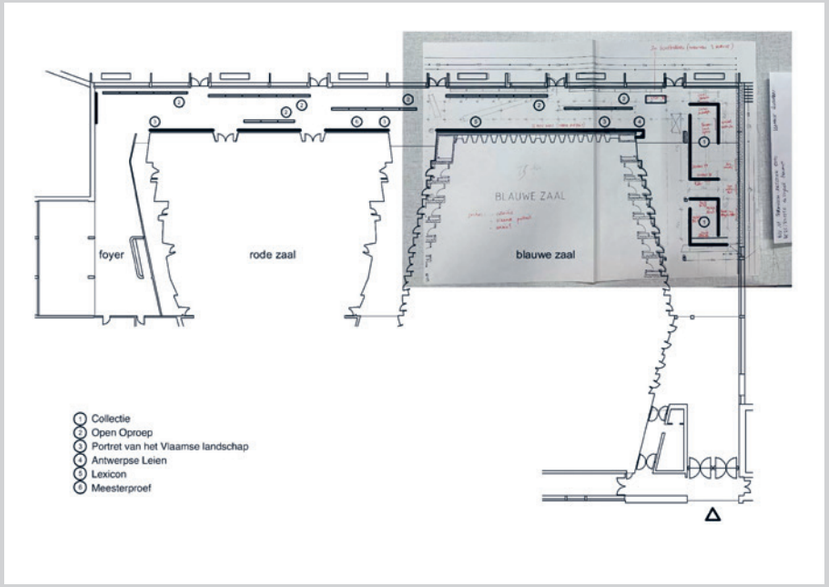

ARCHITECTUUR & STEDENBOUW
Niels DONCKERS
126 x 97
Zonder titel 1994
111 x 140
Zonder titel 1998
103x81
Zonder titel 2000
99x81
Zonder titel 2000
Peter DOWNSBROUGH
allen
40 x 60
Gent 8.82
Gent 3.83
Aalst 4.96
Brussel 3.99
Lucas JODOGNE
25
Diegem, de ring rond Brussel 1991
125
Verbrande brug Vilvoorde 1991
Antwerpen, Ring tussen Borgerhout en Deurne 1993
Jan KEMPENAERS
100x138
Antwerpen 1998
100x138
Stelen 1998
115x144
Leuven 1997
115x144
Antwerpen, Kiel 1996
Aglaia KONRAD
80
52
Brussel 2000
120
83
Ranst 1998
120
Brussel 1998
120
Oostende 1991
Reiner LAUTWEIN
allen
100x140
100
Vlaamse Opera Gent, ingang foyer 07/1988
Stadsschouwburg Brugge, theaterfoyer 04/1992
Vooruit Gent, Trappenhuis, kelderverdieping met toiletten 07/1988
Vooruit Gent, keuken van het toenmalige 'Volksrestaurant' 06/1988
Marie-Françoise PLISSART
119
133
Brussel 1999
136
Brussel 1999
119
Brussel 1998
171
Brussel 1999

[4]



[5]

1. Sample images by Niels Donckers from the photographic inventory commissioned by the Flemish Government Architect. Courtesy of deSingel International Arts Centre.

2a + 2b. Flyer of the exhibition *Portret van Vlaamse biotopen. De fotografie-opdracht van de Vlaamse Bouwmeester* [*Portrait of Flemish Biotopes. The Photography Commission of the Flemish Government Architect*] organised at the international arts centre deSingel, Antwerp, 21/11/2002 – 12/01/2003 with a photograph by Niels Donckers. Courtesy of deSingel International Arts Centre.

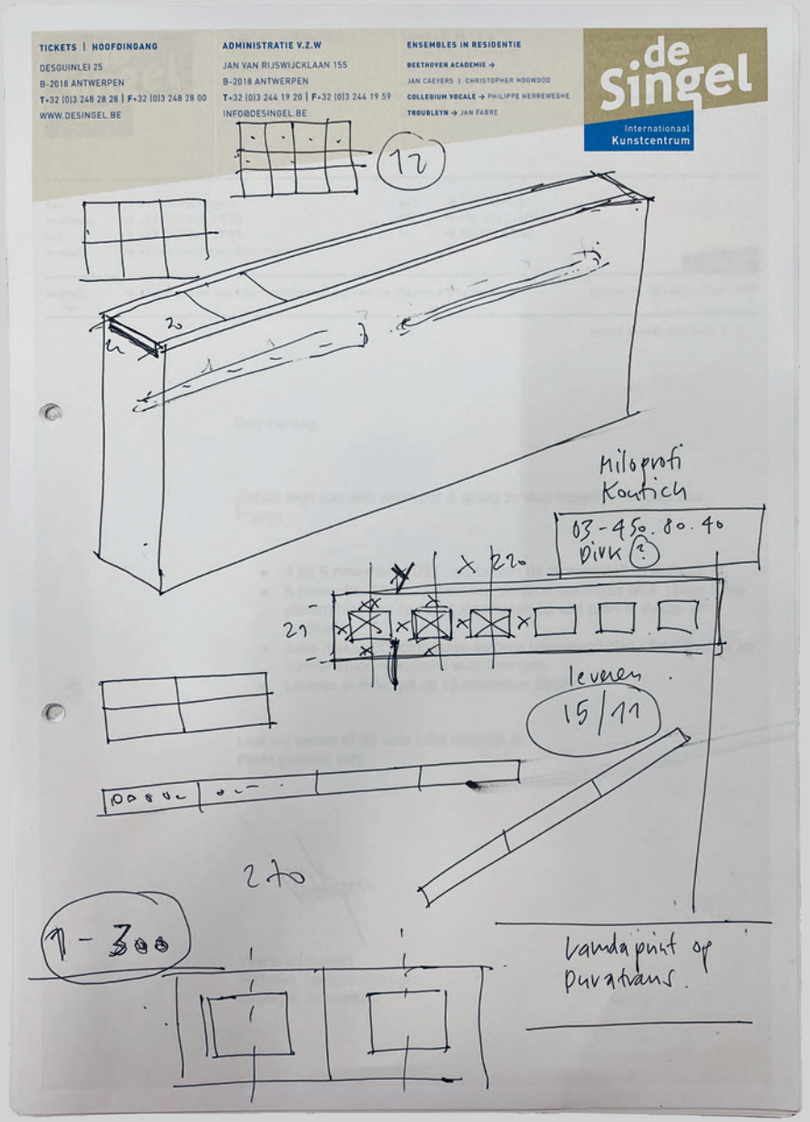
3. Poster of the exhibition *Portret van Vlaamse biotopen. De fotografie-opdracht van de Vlaamse Bouwmeester* [*Portrait of Flemish Biotopes. The Photography Commission of the Flemish Government Architect*] including a photograph of an abandoned gas station taken by Niels Donckers. Courtesy of deSingel International Arts Centre.

4. Annotated document showing the curatorial selection made together with the Flemish Government Architect bOb Van Reeth of the photographs from the Flemish Government's art collection related to architecture and urban planning. Courtesy of deSingel International Arts Centre.

5. Juxtaposition of the final exhibition floorplan from the visitor brochure and a preliminary plan from the curatorial process with the annotation of image placements in section '1. Collectie [Collection]'. The other sections were titled: 2. Open Oproep [Open Call], 3. Portret van het Vlaamse landschap [Portrait of the Flemish Landscape], 4. Antwerpse Leien [Antwerp Boulevards], 5. Lexicon, and 6. Masterproef [Master Project]. Montage by the author. Courtesy of deSingel International Arts Centre.

6. Sketch of a retro-lit display box with indications for the layout of translucent prints of the inventory photographs. Courtesy of deSingel International Arts Centre.

7. Interior pages, including an inserted photograph by Niels Donckers, from the notebook *Het kleine Lexicon van het Vlaamse (Architectuur-) Landschap [Small Lexicon of the Flemish (Architecture) Landscape]* edited by Lieven De Cauter (Antwerp: deSingel, 2002).



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B

~Baksteen: Uit klei of leem gevormde en gebakken stof die - volgens het gekende spreekwoord - elke modale Belg of Vlaming van bij de geboorte in zijn maag heeft zitten. Wie aan deze 'goedaardige' aandoening lijdt, vindt het de normaalste zaak van de wereld om een degelijke eigen en uiteraard liefst bakstenen woning te bouwen of te verwerven. Vanuit die instelling valt ook zijn natuurlijke belangstelling te verklaren voor een van de stabielste en zekerste beleggingen: een belegging in → *vastgoed*. De spreekwoordelijke baksteen lijkt echter niet zozeer aangeboren, dan wel aangekweekt. Al van vóór 1900 berust het huisvestingsbeleid in België immers op de aanmoediging van woningeigendom - ook voor de minder gegoeden - door een financiële ondersteuning ervan door de staat. Een paternalistisch en christen-democratisch geïnspireerd beleid dat tot op de dag van vandaag door SP.A minister Steve Stevaert wordt verdedigd in de discussie over sociale huurwoningen. "Als 99 procent van de mensen een eigen woning heeft, is het socialisme dichterbij."[1] Dat de liefde voor de baksteen moeilijk te verzoenen is met het streven naar een duurzaam leefmilieu en op de koop toe een van de voornaamste oorzaken is van de versnippering van de ruimte en de steeds toenemende mobiliteitsproblemen, schijnt onze Vlaamse minister van - nota bene - Mobiliteit echter niet zwaar - als een baksteen - óp de maag te liggen. (→ *bouwvoede*, → *armoede*) / DDC

~Banaliteit: → *gemeenplaats*

~Bebouwd perifeer landschap: term uit het → *Ruimtelijk Structuurplan Vlaanderen* waarmee die nederzettingscategorie wordt aangeduid "waar de onbebouwde ruimte nog in belangrijke mate aanwezig is, maar die een versnipperd voorkomen heeft als gevolg van een uitwaaiering van allerhande functies en activiteiten (wonen, verzorging, commerciële activiteiten, industrie, ...)."[2] Met het invoeren van deze categorie, die wellicht grote delen van Vlaanderen omvat, erkent het Ruimtelijk Structuurplan Vlaanderen een nieuwe dynamiek en nieuwe vormen van → *stedelijkheid* die voorkomen in de Vlaamse → *nevelstad*. Echter, in één en dezelfde beweging worden deze gebieden geschaard onder het buitengebiedbeleid. Daarvoor gelden de volgende prioriteiten: het bundelen van beperkte, nieuwe bebouwing in de bestaande kernen; het vrijwaren van de open ruimte en het tegengaan van verdere versnippering. Daarmee wordt onmiddellijk een duidelijke keuze aangegeven ten aanzien van de gewenste toekomstige ruimtelijke ontwikkelingen van deze gebieden. "De periferie wordt blijkbaar gezien als te recupereren open ruimte, niet als proefterrein van nieuwe stedelijkheid."[3] (→ *gedeconcentreerde bundeling*, → *open en stedelijk*) / NM

~Bebouwde kom: volgens het Koninklijk Besluit van 1 december 1975 (Houdende het algemeen reglement op de politie van het wegverkeer) gedefinieerd als een gebied met bebouwing waarvan de invalswegen aangeduid zijn met de gekende witte plaatsnaamborden en de uitvalswegen met dezelfde borden met een schuine rode streep erdoor. De gangbare → *lintbebouwing* in Vlaanderen en onze gedesorganiseerde ruimtelijke ordening zijn niet vreemd aan het feit dat inderdaad meestal slechts deze borden doen vermoeden dat er daadwerkelijk iets aan de bebouwing verandert. Dat onze provinciale wegen vaak dwars door bebouwde kommen lopen is niet alleen hinderlijk en gevaarlijk. Het leidt ook tot een slechte doorstroming van het verkeer. De Bebouwde kom is gekoppeld aan een snelheidsbeperking voor automobilisten en als zodanig vaak ter discussie gesteld. (→ *doortocht*) / DDC

~Bedrijventerrein: eufemisme voor industriezone (of -park, of -terrein). De benaming industriezone die samen met het fenomeen vanaf het begin van de jaren 1970 snel om zich heen greep, begon een zodanige kwalijke geur te verspreiden dat projectontwikkelaars en andere betrokkenen het ongetwijfeld nuttig hebben geacht deze realiteiten te 'upgraden' door een chiquere, 'cleanere' term. 'Industriezone' doet denken aan uitbuiting en vervuiling, 'bedrijventerrein' aan een vallei van melk en honing (riante glazen gevels met draaideuren en atria, met aktetassen en gebruinde gezichten in maatpakken). In het postindustriële tijdperk, met zijn nadruk op communicatie, promotie, marketing en 'restyling', zijn benamingen deel van het productieproces en dus in dit geval van het urbanisme zelf. / LDC

~Beekvalleien: → *herbebossing*

~Belbus: Bus die voorziet in lokale verplaatsingsbehoeften in landelijke gebieden, bedoeld om heel Vlaanderen - ook de meest verspreide woonkernen, → *gehuchten* en de meest afgelegen verkavelingen - een basismobiliteit te garanderen. Dit systeem op maat is bijzonder klantvriendelijk: op eenvoudig telefonisch verzoek kan elke inwoner afgehaald worden op maximaal 500 meter loopafstand van zijn woning. Vraag is of dit 'busje komt zo'-beleid te rijmen valt met andere beleidsopties van de Vlaamse Regering inzake ruimtelijke ordening: versterking van de → *kern*, → *duurzame ontwikkeling*, → *verdichting*, enzovoort. (→ *verkaveling*) / DDC

~België: "Ik bemin België omdat je er ruimer, comfortabeler, goedkoper, makkelijker kunt wonen dan in enig ander land dat ik ken. Ik haat België omdat de huizen er zo bloedlelijk en pretentieus zijn en hun alomtegenwoordigheid het zachte landschap besmeuren."[4] (→ *levensruimte*, → *architectuurlandschap*, → *fermette*, → *fermette- esthetiek*)

~Belgische logica: {1.} wirwar van redelijke en minder redelijke compromissen en regelingen waar 'een kat haar jongen niet in thuis vindt' omdat België over negen overheden beschikt: de federale overheid, het Vlaamse Gewest, het Waalse Gewest, het Brussels Hoofdstedelijk Gewest, de Vlaamse Gemeenschap, de Franse Gemeenschap en de Duitstalige Gemeenschap. Dit alles is ook bekend als 'het Belgisch labyrint', naar het gelijknamige boek van Geert Van Istendael. {2.} Onder deze noemer worden ook de absurditeiten als gevolg van {1.} verstaan. Hét voorbeeld daarvan is wellicht dat Brussel tegelijk hoofdstad van Vlaanderen

Aarschot

LEONIDA KOVAČ

…ce phénomène photographique, la vie

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More than thirty years ago, I had the opportunity to attend a retrospective of films directed by Marguerite Duras. I must admit that those films, which I watched with amazement and admiration at the time, were among those few moments that decisively influenced my future research work. So many questions arose from her transgressive cinematic discourse. I came to comprehend the problem of lacking a language and, consequently, the impossibility of utterance, as pointed out in numerous feminist theoretical elaborations, and it was through Duras' unique procedure of dissociating the cinematic image from the actors' voices and the film music. Many years later, I came across her statement concerning the necessity of utilizing voice-over. In her 1979 conversation with Jean-Luc Godard, which revolved around his need for images and her need for the text, for the written, as she called it, Marguerite Duras said: "On the screen, I need both things, neither of which gets in the way of what I would call 'the amplitude of speech.' In general, I find that almost all images get in the way of the text. They prevent the text from being heard. And what I want is something that lets the text come through. That is why I made *India Song* in voice-over."[1]

Six years after *India Song*, in 1981, Duras made another film, titled *L'homme atlantique*, also in voice-over. Moreover, in this film, what sounds from the voice-over is her own voice giving instructions to the actor on how to stand, where to move, and what to look at in front of the camera. Her voice directs him on what and how he should see, thus equating his gaze with that of the camera, behind which she remains invisible while narrating. Among the spoken scenes that the actor was supposed to see was one specified as "this bird beneath the Atlantic wind." In *L'homme atlantique*, Duras radically applied a distinct element of her cinematic syntax—her emblematic black frame, a total eclipse of the image in which "the amplitudes of words" versify the letter in which "a lover's discourse" resounds with a death drive. It is in one of these black frames, which lasts for fourteen minutes, that the off-screen voice declares: "Ne cherchez pas à comprendre ce phénomène photographique, la vie"—"Don't try to understand this photographic phenomenon, life."

1 *Cinema Hardly Exists: Duras and Godard in Conversation.*

This imperative pronounced by Marguerite Duras resurfaced in my memory while reading the diary of painter Katarina Ivanišin Kardum, published in her artist's book *De materia avium*[2] from 2017, whose purple canvas cover was hand-bleached by herself. The diary is related to her series of charcoal drawings and watercolours depicting dioramas with taxidermy birds from the collection of the Natural History Museum in Dubrovnik, where the artist worked as a museum educator from 2011 to 2014. The series is titled *Still Landscapes*. This title, which hybridizes two standard art genres with their historical specifications, was not chosen by chance: still life and landscape both appeared as independent genres at the dawn of the baroque period. While reading the diary, I learned that while studying the history of the museum, founded in 1872, she discovered "her hero" Baldo Kosić, a professor of drawing and calligraphy, naturalist, curator, and taxidermist who managed the museum from 1882 until his death in 1918. He left behind valuable natural history collections, objects he had personally collected, and numerous scientific works.

The first part of the book *De materia avium* is structured so that the left-hand pages contain the diary text, while the right-hand ones feature one or two photographs each, reproduced in the following order: a photographic portrait of Baldo Kosić; a photographic portrait of Katarina Ivanišin Kardum,[3] disguised as Baldo Kosić and standing in front of his framed photographic portrait in an identical pose; a photograph of the natural history collection from the Dubrovnik museum taken in 1950; two photographs of the same collection from 1956; two photographs of dioramas with birds, taken around 1960 by Andrija Lesinger. The last three pages of the diary are accompanied by photographs taken by the artist herself in 2011, in the storage of the Natural History Museum. In Katarina Ivanišin Kardum's photographs, taxidermy birds can be discerned through transparent nylon foil. The physical interaction with these musealized objects—stuffed birds presented so as to look alive, with an industrially produced, synthetic cover intended to protect them from dust—creates a three-dimensional, model-like configuration: a stylized depiction of an indefinite mountain range with its peaks, ridges, plateaus, gorges, and passes.

I have learned from the diary that the Natural History Museum, which Katarina Ivanišin Kardum remembers from her childhood, was initially situated in the former Benedictine monastery on the island of Lokrum, but was later relocated several times, "losing some of the flair of a small yet refined world museum." In search of that spirit, she writes, she came across old museum documentation: photographs of numerous dioramas, only a few of which are on display in the museum today: "The remaining dioramas from the photographs I soon discovered in the museum's storeroom. They were in a melancholic state, covered with nylon foil to protect them from dust and slow down the natural decomposition process. When I first entered those rooms, the atmosphere tightened my chest: it was damp and emitted a peculiar odour. There they lay abandoned, frozen in time, undead, as if they they were still breathing, these captive birds. Everything was quiet, yet disturbing, as if something was about to happen at any moment. Every thought of them in that place evoked the same sensations. […] One windy day, I opened a window with its shutters and blinds, and for a brief moment, I let the light fall on those dead landscapes. I took a quick photo—documenting that they were momentarily alive, that they breathed in light, if only for a short while. It all felt like a single prolonged breath: long, yet never deep enough."[4]

In the second and third parts of her book, Katarina Ivanišin Kardum reveals the background of her "re-enactment" of the photographic images of dioramas from the Natural History Museum in drawings and watercolours: "By translating the objective, old black-and-white photographs of dioramas into charcoal drawings, I explore the unnatural nature of landscape. Neither dioramas nor diorama photographs are simple copies of the situations. Thus, charcoal drawing is just another generation of seemingly natural motifs."[5] In other words, "I continued to explore the unnatural nature of landscape by translating my own photographs of dioramas kept in the storage into watercolours of proportions that are rather unusual in this technique. It seemed to me that the watercolour's inability to conceal changes and errors best suited the character of the unique moment I had captured with my camera."[6]

Katarina Ivanišin Kardum's depiction of the moment when she opened the museum storeroom's window shutters to let "undead" stuffed birds breathe in light brings to my mind the enigmatic imperative formulated by Marguerite Duras: "Don't try to understand this photographic phenomenon, life." Can this sentence be interpreted as Duras defining life as a photographic phenomenon? And do I have the right to take her sentence out of its original context in order to relate it to Katarina Ivanišin Kardum's translation of old black and white photographs into charcoal drawings and her own photographs into watercolours, as part of her exploration of the unnatural nature of landscape? Marguerite Duras also engages in translation; and she has adapted her own novel into a film with the same title—*L'homme atlantique*. She needs both text and image, an eclipsed image manifesting itself as a black frame, a dense darkness of long duration perceivable on the screen.

For a photograph to come into existence, it literally must breathe in light. A camera shutter must briefly open to allow light to pass through, much

2 Ivanišin Kardum, *De materia avium*.

3 The photographic portrait was made by artist Ivana Dražić Selmani during the Night of Museums 2011.

4 Ivanišin, *De materia avium*, 16–20.

5 Ibid., 24.

6 Ibid., 38.

like the window shutters of the Natural History Museum needed to be opened while Katarina Ivanišin Kardum was taking a photograph to record that the stuffed birds within a dead landscape were alive. In the case of Marguerite Duras, I am inclined to identify that breathing in light in the amplitudes of words uttered by her voice. I am also convinced that Katarina Ivanišin Kardum needed to give voice to her *Still Landscapes*, which are re-enactments of old black and white photographs of dioramas representing the very idea of a landscape, that is, a living nature, by exhibiting dead bodies of birds as if they were still alive. What preceded such lovely staging? Who had captured the birds and put them to death? And why? And for what purpose—scientific research or spectacle? Could all these questions be encapsulated in the sentence "Don't try to understand this photographic phenomenon, life"?

In his essay *The Four Boundaries of Seeing*, dedicated to the blind photographer Evgen Bavčar, Dietmar Kamper argued that, "it is impossible to identify objects visually without bringing them to a standstill" and concluded that "the acquisition of the world in the searching grid of visual perception means mortification. Images are the corpses of things."[7]

These corpses are not apparent in the English term used to signify this specific genre—*still life*—but its French equivalent, *nature morte*, reveals them. This linguistic, which I perceive as analogous to the gap between different visual media—photography and drawing, or painting—brings me back to the issue of translation, specifically the resemantization that takes place during translation.

A century ago, Walter Benjamin wrote an essay titled *The Translator's Task*, which was published as an introduction to his own translation of Baudelaire's *Tableaux Parisiens*. Considering that the word *tableau* also stands for a painted image, I would say that Baudelaire painted Paris with his "amplitudes of words," much like Marguerite Duras, many years later, made cinematic images pulsate with her voice pronouncing elliptic sentences. Benjamin argues that translation is a mode, and points out that "certain relational concepts gain their proper, indeed their best sense when they are not from the outset connected exclusively with human beings. Thus we could still speak of an unforgettable life or moment, even if all human beings have forgotten it. If an essence of such lives or moments required that they not be forgotten, this predicate would not be false, it would merely be a demand to which human beings fail to respond, and at the same time, no doubt, a reference to a place where this demand would find a response, that is a reference to a thought in the mind of God."[8] When Benjamin asserts that translation is properly essential to certain works, he makes it clear that it doesn't mean that their translation is essential for the works themselves. Instead, it suggests that, "a specific significance inherent in the original texts expresses itself in their translatability". For him, "translation stands in the closest connection with the original by virtue of the latter's translatability. Indeed, this connection is all the more intimate because it no longer has any significance for the original itself. It can be called a natural connection, and more precisely, a vital connection. Just as expressions of life are connected in the most intimate manner with a living being without having any significance for the latter, a translation proceeds from the original. Not indeed so much from its life as from its "afterlife" or "survival" [*Überleben*]."[9]

Katarina Ivanišin Kardum's exploration of the unnatural nature of landscape, articulated through her translation of photographs into charcoal drawings and watercolours, stems from such a natural or vital connection, as Benjamin terms it. And when she speaks of undead birds whom she allowed to breathe in light, she precisely highlights the significance that arises from the afterlife of these once-living beings that have become musealized objects.

The fact that the artist has found content that calls for translation within the Natural History Museum holds significant meaning. Natural History was one of the recurring themes in Benjamin's thought. Erich Santner has argued that Benjamin's use of the term *Naturgeschichte* refers not to the fact that nature also has a history, but rather that artefacts of human history tend to acquire a quality of mute, natural being at the point when they begin to lose their place in a viable form of life. For Benjamin, natural history ultimately names the ceaseless repetition of such cycles of emergence and decay of human orders of meaning, cycles that are, for him, always connected to violence.[10]

In a 1985 documentary film titled *Marguerite Duras: Worn Out with Desire to Write*, Duras mentioned that all her writings originated from photographs taken during her childhood and adolescence, when she lived with her widowed mother and brothers in the French colony of Indochina. Among other things, she alluded to the injustice done to her mother. In doing so, she indirectly pointed to the muteness of trauma that requires various modes of translation. That raises a question: Is it possible to translate violence? Is it possible to understand this photographic phenomenon, life?

The charcoal drawings and watercolours from the *Still Landscapes* series are not Katarina Ivanišin Kardum's first translations of photographs. At the very beginning of the catalogue for her solo exhibition held in 2014 at the Museum of Modern Art in Dubrovnik, she reproduced a series of drawings in pencil and latex on paper made during 1999 and 2000, titled

7 Kamper, "The Four Boundaries of Seeing", 56.
8 Rendall, "The Translator's Task, Walter Benjamin (Translation)".
9 Ibid.
10 Santner, *On Creaturely Life: Rilke, Benjamin, Sebald*, 16–17.

the *Atomic Bomb Series*. In this series, conceived as a frieze of six drawings of equal size, she sequentially decomposed the media image of a hydrogen bomb explosion. The sequence of images suggests that the process of drawing mimics a process of photographic blow-up in which the primary object of representation becomes unrecognizable. Instead of the atomic mushroom recognizable in the initial pictorial fields, the final images are saturated with floating spots that appear beneath the membrane separating the viewer's gaze from the observed scene. Are these spots signifiers of microscopic living organisms, or particles of lethal contamination by which humankind marks its presence in nature? In the exhibition catalogue, the reproduction of the *Atomic Bomb* series is accompanied by a citation of an excerpt from a report on bomb testing in the Pacific, published in 1962 in a magazine with a telling name—*Life*. It reads as follows: "[…] The blue-black tropical night suddenly became like a lime fruit, bright green. It was brighter than noon. Green was replaced by the colour of pink lemonade, and finally turned into an uncanny blood-red. It was as if someone had thrown a bucket of blood at the sky […]"

Wanting to compare the "translation" with the "original", I turned to Google and stumbled upon a photograph of an explosion featured on the cover page of *Life* magazine dated July 20, 1962. That cover page is an oxymoronic semantic assembly where, next to the well-known logo of one of the world's most influential magazines, named LIFE, there is a text that reads: "Space bomb in color; Eerie spectacle in Pacific sky." I also found two earlier cover pages of *Life* magazine, both featuring photographs of thermonuclear bomb explosions. One was from February 27, 1950, and the other from April 19, 1954. When I consider together the printed name *Life* and the images that span its cover pages, I discover another possible interpretation of Marguerite Duras's enigmatic sentence—*Don't try to understand this photographic phenomenon, life*.

In 1958, Marguerite Duras completed the screenplay for Alain Resnais's film *Hiroshima mon amour*, which was released the following year. The film commences with the sentence: "You have seen nothing in Hiroshima, nothing."

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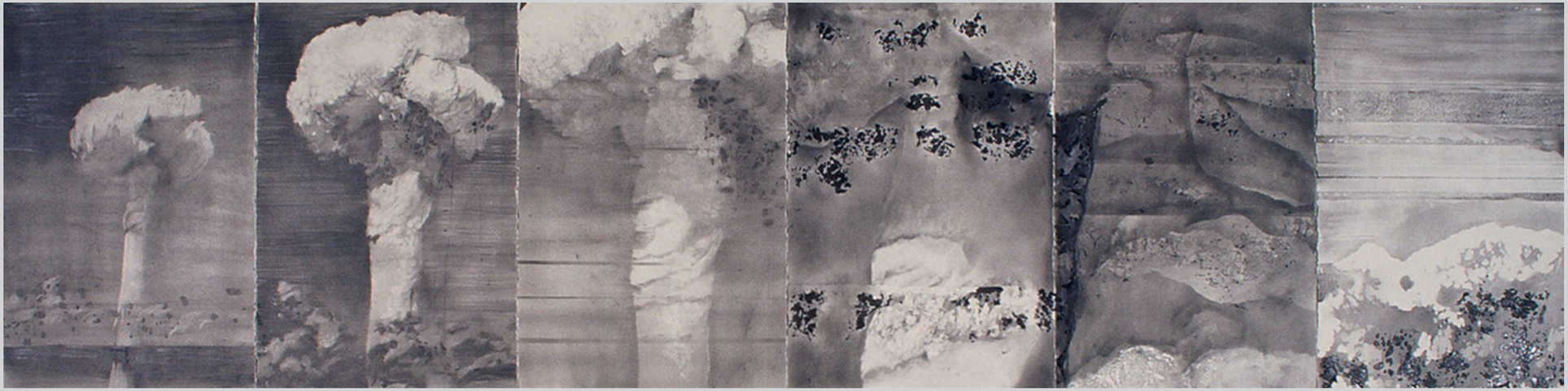
L'homme atlantique (Marguerite Duras, 1981)
Don't try to understand the
photographic phenomenon,
Pokreni (k)
25:42 / 38:20

[1]


L'homme atlantique (Marguerite Duras, 1981)
life.
Pauziraj (k)
25:46 / 38:20

[2]

[3]



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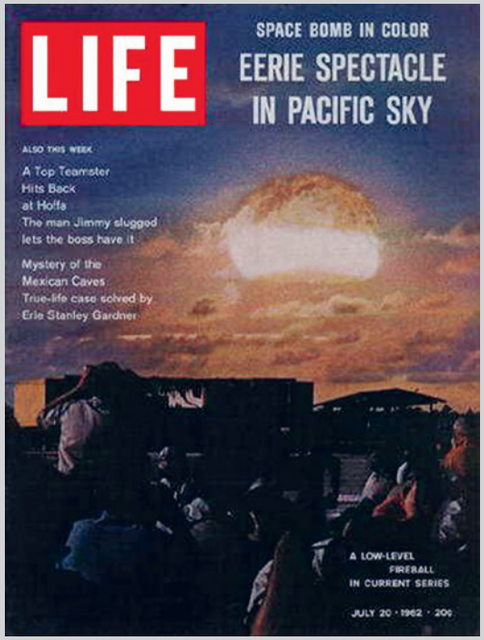

[5]

1. Marguerite Duras
   L'homme atlantique, 1981, film still
2. Marguerite Duras
   L'homme atlantique, 1981, film still
3. Katarina Ivanišin Kardum
   De Materia Avium, 2017
   Photograph from the storeroom, 2011
4. Katarina Ivanišin Kardum
   Atomic Bomb Series, 1999 – 2000
   Little Boy, 1999
5. *Life*, July 20, 1962, cover

4

→

RESISTANCE AND EMANCIPATION

VIŠNJA PENTIĆ

Photography as an Emancipatory Tool

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The question of equality is inscribed in all knowledge transfers and one of the key ambitions of modern education has been to come up with strategies to tackle both obvious and latent inequalities. The great sociological debate of the second half of the 20th century was partly based on exploring how, why and to what extent inequalities are being reproduced inside the educational system. In his most influential book, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (*La Distinction: Critique sociale du jugement*, 1979), French sociologists Pierre Bourdieu argued:

> "It must never be forgotten that the working-class 'aesthetic' is a dominated 'aesthetic' which is constantly obliged to define itself in terms of the dominant aesthetics. The members of the working class, who can neither ignore the high-art aesthetic, which denounces their own 'aesthetic', nor abandon their socially conditioned inclinations, but still less proclaim them and legitimate them, often experience their relationship to the aesthetic norms in a twofold and contradictory way. This is seen when some manual workers grant 'pure' photographs a purely verbal recognition (this is also the case with many petit bourgeois and even some bourgeois who, as regards paintings, for example, differ from the working class mainly by what they know is the right thing to say or do or, still better, not to say): 'It's beautiful, but it would never occur to me to take a picture of a thing like that', 'Yes, it's beautiful, but you have to like it, it's not my cup of tea.'"[1]

On top of this, in Bourdieu's view, inequality in understanding and appreciating art is inscribed not only in our class, but also in how we get treated in the educational system because it constantly mirrors and reproduces class differences. This means that we can only surpass the class we were born into materially, but our tastes and views stay inherently tied to it. Here we will try to explore how reproduction of class differences can be subverted in institutional and non-institutional knowledge transfers and how photography can be used to enable the spectator to explore emancipatory positions of looking and avoid adhering to the aesthetics that keep the social status quo. The aim is surpassing the notion of the dominant aesthetic in general, as well as dominant social narratives, by circumventing the distinctions Bourdieu describes. Instead, we will try to

1 Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, 41.

offer possible emancipatory practices in appreciating and understanding photography as an art form that can be used in nurturing positions of equality no matter what the social background of the spectator is.

THE PEDAGOGICAL MYTH

In his 1986 book *The Ignorant Schoolmaster: Five Lessons in Intellectual Emancipation* (*Le Maître ignorant:Cinq leçons sur l'emanicipation intellectuelle*), French philosopher Jacques Rancière offered an implicit critique of Bourdieu's ideas by focusing on the real-life story of Joseph Jacotot, a 18th century Frenchman who was driven into exile during the Restoration. This experience led him to develop a method for teaching illiterate parents how to teach their children to read without having the skill themselves. Jacotot became a sensation for a brief period because he was teaching people things he could not do himself, like horseback riding, painting, or playing an instrument. Rancière uses his story to critique Bourdieu's views and enter the debate on education that was very much in focus in France in the 1980s. His position is that we are not preordained by our class for life, meaning that a working-class child can become an excellent classical pianist or a painter as well as a person who deeply understands and appreciates art in a way that a child from the upper classes does. For Bourdieu this is possible, but represents an exception to the rule,[2] while Rancière wants us to open to true possibilities of what equality can give us if we acknowledge it and use it without prejudice as Joseph Jacotot did:

> "For if you think about it a little, the 'method' he was proposing is the oldest in the world, and it never stops being verified every day, in all the circumstances where an individual must learn something without any means of having it explained to him. There is no one on earth who hasn't learned something by himself and without a master explicator. Let's call this way of learning 'universal teaching' and say of it: 'In reality, universal teaching has existed since the beginning of the world, alongside all the explicative methods. This teaching, by oneself, has, in reality, been what has formed all great men.' But this is the strange part: 'Everyone has done this experiment a thousand times in his life, and yet it has never occurred to someone to say to someone else: I've learned many things without explanations, I think that you can too… Neither I nor anyone in the world has ventured to draw on this fact to teach others.' To the intelligence sleeping in each of us, it would suffice to say: age quod agis, continue to do what you are doing, 'learn the fact, imitate it, know yourself, this is how nature works.' Methodically repeat the method of chance that gave you the measure of your power. The same intelligence is at work in all the acts of the human mind."[3]

2 Bourdieu himself was from lower class, his father was a postal worker.

3 Rancière, *The Ignorant Schoolmaster*, 16.

In *The Ignorant Schoolmaster,* Rancière tries to avoid the trap of beginning and ending his argument with inequality by using equality as a starting point instead, and he wants to advocate the equality of intelligence present in all acts of the human mind. The teaching method of Joseph Jacotot was based on the idea that all men have equal intelligence, no matter their social and economic standing or, as Rancière writes: "This was not a method for instructing the people: it was a benefit to be announced to the poor: they could do everything any man could. It sufficed only to *announce* it. Jacotot decided to devote himself to this. He proclaimed that one could teach what one didn't know, and that a poor and ignorant father could, if he was emancipated, conduct the education of his children, without the aid of any master explicator. And he indicated the way of that 'universal teaching'—*to learn something and to relate to it all rest by this principle: all men have equal intelligence*."[4]

INTELLECTUAL EMANCIPATION VIA PHOTOGRAPHY

Rancière posits emancipation as a prerequisite of this practice, and here I will try to suggest possible tools for using photography as a means for bypassing the pedagogical myth that divides the world into two and intelligence itself into two by saying that "there is an inferior intelligence and a superior one".[5] The other possibility at hand is that of surpassing the division that states there should be those who explain and those who need explanations. We can teach ourselves anything if we perceive ourselves as emancipated and this entails giving our will and our imagination free rein.

If a teacher is not explaining, what is his or her role in the pedagogical process? Rancière explains that there are two wills and two intelligences in the act of teaching and learning and calls their coincidence *stultification* as opposed to *emancipation,* which he defines as "the act of an intelligence obeying only itself even while the will obeys another will".[6] He goes on to explain it in detail as follows:

> "This pedagogical experiment created a rupture with the logic of all pedagogies. The pedagogues' practice is based on the opposition between science and ignorance. The methods chosen to render the ignorant person learned may differ: strict or gentle methods, traditional or modern, active or passive; the efficiency of these methods can be compared. From this point of view, we could, at first glance, compare the speed of Jacotot's students with the slowness of traditional methods. But in reality there was nothing to compare. The confrontation of methods presupposes a minimal agreement on the goals of the pedagogical act: the transmission of the master's

4 Ibid., 18.

5 Ibid., 7.

6 Ibid., 13.

knowledge to the students. But Jacotot had transmitted nothing. He had not used any method. The method was purely the student's."[7]

Intellectual emancipation is thus seen as a process of exploring one's own intelligence, and here I will suggest how photography can facilitate the process of coming to terms with one's capacity of understanding the world without being taught by someone else how to do it. The observer of the photograph who is experiencing an act of emancipation will be referred to as an emancipated spectator as a nod to another book by Rancière. In 2004 he was invited to open the fifth International Sommer Akademie of Frankfurt-on-Main by introducing reflections on the spectator based on ideas developed in *The Ignorant Schoolmaster*[8] and the result was the influential essay *The Emancipated Spectator*, published in 2009 in a book of the same title. In the essay he states that emancipation begins when we challenge the opposition between viewing and acting, thus expanding on a position he established in his 1987 book by seeing the spectator as "separated from both the capacity to know and the power to act".[9] In *The Emancipated Spectator* Rancière's previous concern with the equality of intelligence becomes a call for equality amongst onlookers. He thus advocates the democracy of looking, which is defined by creating a unique number of specific versions of engagement with a particular image. Possible strategies for developing these unique models of engagement will be explored in the second half of this text. Photography as an art defined by its dependence on representation of the real world represents a good ground for exploring how the onlooker can be turned into an emancipated spectator, one who no longer passively observes and intakes the information, but also actively participates in the production of meaning on his or her own terms. As Rancière explains it, referring primarily here to the spectator in performance arts, "This is a crucial point: spectators see, feel and understand something in as much as they compose their own poem, as, in their way, do actors or playwrights, directors, dancers or performers."[10] Here we will explore how photography as a medium can empower students who take part in any kind of educational process to create and think on their own terms, thus attesting the prevalence of their own intelligence and creativity. The key element is to allow them to take their own subjectivity as a valid starting point in appreciating art and to give permission to their own intelligence to interpret it while taking into consideration various specific elements of pictorial representation.

7 Rancière, *The Ignorant Schoolmaster*, 14.
8 Rancière, *The Emancipated Spectator*, 1.
9 Ibid., 8
10 Ibid., 13.

PHOTOGRAPHY AS A WOUND

In his famous book on photography, *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography* (*La chambre claire*: *Note sur la photographie*, 1980), Roland Barthes writes the following: "As Spectator I was only interested in Photography only for 'sentimental' reasons; I wanted to explore it not as a question (a theme) but as a wound: I see, I feel, hence I notice, I observe and I think."[11] Barthes proposes that we read photographic images in connection to two distinct themes that he believes can be found in any photograph. The first one he defines as the one of information, the part we take in because we belong to a certain culture and recognize certain common narratives in the photograph. Barthes names this layer 'studium,' using a Latin word which means "application to a thing, taste for someone, a kind of general, enthusiastic commitment, of course, but without special acuity."[12] It is the studium we see when we recognize a certain historical event or a person in the photograph, we participate in it culturally, by recognizing and affirming we belong to a certain social narrative. Thus, we can say that studium teaches us what things looked like. This is why Barthes rightly notices that studium is a kind of education that allows us to read the Photographer's myths and thus society's myths in the photograph,[13] which leads him to the conclusion that photography is a kind of primitive theatre, a kind of Tableau Vivant.[14] This connects Barthes' and Rancière's thoughts on the spectator because they both seek out ways to transform him or her from a passive onlooker and consumer of the studium, i.e., the existing social order, myths and narratives, into an active spectator not obeying the existing politics inside the image. It is this active onlooker that we call here an emancipated spectator, an onlooker that can produce new positions, values, and perspectives. By looking at images primarily in terms of his or her own subjectivity, which is also able to transform into creativity, the emancipated spectator explores the possibility of finding new imaginary places, layers, thoughts, and ideas inside any given image at hand.

This brings us to Barthes's second theme in photography, which he calls 'punctum,' explaining that it is the element in the photograph that disturbs the studium, it is "that accident which pricks me."[15] In other words, punctum is an instance that mobilizes our subjectivity, an element in the photograph that speaks to our own private history, especially to our wounds, as Barthes calls them. Here we will suggest how detecting and describing the punctum can help empower students to become actively engaged in the production of new meanings and new possibilities of looking at images.

11 Barthes, *Camera Lucida*, 21.
12 Ibid., 26.
13 Ibid., 28.
14 Ibid., 32
15 Ibid., 27.

Defining what moves me in a photograph helps to set in motion a whole new production of ontological and phenomenological understanding of what a particular image could represent. As Barthes writes: "What characterizes the so-called advanced societies is that they today consume images and no longer, like those of the past, beliefs; they are therefore more liberal, less fanatical, but also more 'false' (less 'authentic'), something we translate, in ordinary consciousness, by the avowal of an impression of nauseated boredom, as if the universalized image were producing a world that is without difference (indifferent), from which can rise, here and there, only the cry of anarchisms, marginalisms, and individualisms: let us abolish the images, let us save immediate Desire (desire without mediation)."[16]

Desire is always inside the image and there are different ways of seeking it out, in voicing it and in making it the very point of our encounter with a certain photograph. And desire is the most subversive, the most enticing when it seems to be hidden, when it is not performed but invoked. The mediation Barthes mentions is the same as the stultification that Rancière opposes to emancipation because the effect produced by a work of art is being filtered and packaged for us within the situation in which the work, no matter whether it is a photograph or a painting or an image from a film, has to be explained and thus mediated to us, and, as Barthes writes: "The choice is mine: to subject its spectacle to the civilized code of perfect illusions, or to confront in it the wakening of intractable reality."[17]

MEANINGLESS SCENES

How can this be explored in a particular instance of using photography in an educational context? We will use one specific photographic series as a starting point for practicing emancipated looking in classrooms. In his ongoing series *Meaningless Scenes* (*Prizori bez značaja*, 1981.-) Croatian photographer Boris Cvjetanović focuses on seemingly unimportant, unspectacular details from everyday life. There seems to be no studium in these photographs in a sense that we cannot talk about the social importance of the motif that was documented in the photo and we have to use our creativity to come up with an answer as to why it is of importance for the photographer. This series calls to mind the comment that Bourdieu mentions, attributing this comment to working-class spectators who approach certain photographs: "It's beautiful, but it would never occur to me to take a picture of a thing like that".[18] The very title of the series wants to abolish the idea of producing meaning from the act of taking a photograph (Cvjetanović also calls this series *Photographed*). The negation of studium leaves the spectator only with the punctum, which can be described as finding an answer to a question of what the photograph and the photographed *means* to me. As Barthes puts it, photography is subversive not when it frightens, repels, or even stigmatizes, but when it is pensive, when it thinks.[19] Cvjetanović's series is a good starting point for exploring the possibility of using photographs in classrooms to nurture emancipatory looking, the kind that is based on active interpretation and creation.

Let us look at two specific examples from the series. In one of the photographs, called *Nerežišće 1991* (the name of a village in the hinterland of the Croatian island of Brač), we see an inflated kid toy boat on the floor under the open window. It is a deeply intimate scene that really seems to represent nothing of common interest; the photograph just embodies a pure act of pointing at something seemingly insignificant as if saying: "Look at this boat." Rather than noticing that there is an inflated boat in the room, the photograph proposes that we reflect on it by capturing it as a usual detail in the room. It is a sort of invitation to think about things we take for granted, things we see all the time, but never reflect on. And maybe a more accurate word, rather than think, would be to daydream. As French philosopher Gaston Bachelard writes in his book *Poetics of Reverie* (*La Poetique de la Reverie*, 1960) there are two types of reverie or daydreaming, the one that is passive and the one that is active and that he calls poetic reverie.[20] The poetic reverie is the one that calls for action: "All the senses awaken and fall into harmony in poetic reverie. Poetic reverie listens to this polyphony of the senses, and the poetic consciousness must record it."[21] If we apply this idea to Cvjetanović's work we can say that his Meaningless Scenes induce in the spectator the active states of reverie that can result in production of his or her own words and images. Specifically, if his photographs from this series be used in a situation of knowledge transactions, students can be asked to produce their own texts, poems or any other kind of prose inspired by his work and to react to it by producing their own photographs or finding images that remind them of the image in question.

Another example we will use is a photograph also entitled *Nerežišće 1991,* which shows a big crystal bowl on a traditional white tablecloth. The bowl is a very decorative object, the kind that is used for sweets or something alike, but Cvjetanović photographs it while it is empty, while it just stands there like an empty object, thus inviting us to reflect on the very purposelessness of this spectacular decorative object. It is a kind of thing that does not serve any use, it is just there, or, as Bachelard would put it: "There is no doubt that consciousness is destined for greater exploits. It manifests itself more strongly as it turns to ever more highly coordinated works. In particular, the 'consciousness of rationality' has a quality of permanence which poses a difficult problem for the phenomenologist: he is obliged to

16 Ibid., 118-119.
17 Ibid., 119.
18 Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, 41.
19 Barthes, *Camera Lucida*, 38.
20 Bachelard, *Poetics of Rêverie*, 6.
21 Ibid., 6.

explain how various moments of consciousness are connected in a chain of truths. But, at least at first glance, the imagining consciousness, in opening out on an isolated image, has more limited responsibilities. The imagining consciousness, then, when it is considered in relation to separate or isolated images, might contribute themes to an elementary pedagogical system for phenomenological doctrines."[22]

Here is a list of possible exercises that can be used with any of Cvjetanović's photographs from the series *Meaningless Scenes* to encourage active participation of the spectator and to practice emancipated looking as a part of a pedagogical system based on phenomenological doctrines:

1 Looking at the photograph for a long time and describing and writing down the range of free associations that come to mind and then arranging them in a kind of surrealist poem.

2 Imagining that the photograph is a part of a film and then writing down the story of this film and describing its atmosphere, characters and so on.

3 Describing the imaginary space outside the frame of the photograph and thinking about different sensory aspects of this space like smells, sounds, lighting.

4 Identifying the punctum and relating this punctum to other images that produce a similar kind of 'wound' or feeling for the spectator.

5 Thinking of possible names for the photograph and explaining why and how this name corresponds to what is presented in the photograph.

6 Imagining a photograph that could form a diptych with the existing one and describing both the existing and the imaginary photograph as a part of one whole.

FILM AND PHOTOGRAPHY: STORY AND HISTORY

The concept of the emancipated spectator can also be enacted in looking at photographs taken from films because they also present images that can be used in classrooms in a way that aims to be devoid of both socially and culturally prescribed positions of looking and understanding. They are particularly interesting for acknowledging and exploring the presence of other images inside them, be these images of paintings, photographs, or references to scenes and images from other films. Specifically, Barthes' studium, when applied to photographs from films, becomes a reference to an imaginary history, a history that consists of the works of art and fictional worlds they have created. To understand the studium of a photograph from a film we must enter its diegetic world, as well as the diegetic worlds created by other films. This fact was probably most famously explored by the French director Jean-Luc Godard in his *Histoire(s) du cinema*, an 8-part video project begun in 1988 and completed in 1998 in which he reflects both on the history of the 20th century and on the history of film and the relation between the two. The form of this video is that of an assemblage of images from various films, paintings and photographs by which he explores different kinds of emancipation from the stories they were meant to tell. In his book *Film Fables* (*Film fables*, 1998) Jacques Rancière writes: "The style of montage Godard developed for *Histoire(s) du cinema* is designed to show the history announced by the century of films, but whose power slipped through the fingers of their filmmakers, who subjected life of images to the immanent death of the text. Godard takes the films these filmmakers made and makes with them film they didn't make. This calls for a two-step process: the first recaptures the images from their subjection to the stories they were used to tell, and the second rearranges them into other stories."[23]

The same two-step process that Godard uses in his project and Rancière describes could be used in classrooms when working with film images to achieve emancipatory ways of thinking about the stories and narratives we are being served through the photographs that surround us. Deconstructing these narratives is an important first step in developing emancipatory positions when approaching photography. It should be made possible for students to not only detect the studium of a certain photograph, but also to understand how it is constructed. This process can help tackle the latent inequality that is inscribed in both the relation of teachers and students and in how students from different social and economic backgrounds get treated by the educational system. The act of deconstruction is best explored by comparing how studium is created in a photograph that is presented as a document (say of an important social ritual, such as a wedding or a funeral) and in a photograph that comes from a fictional reality that simulates these rituals.

The process used in the classroom could be that of taking a set of photographs of historical events or some other events that are socially or culturally significant and then using this two-step activity:

1 Identifying and describing the studium by answering the question of what story is being told by the photograph, what values are being perpetuated and what ideas are put to the fore.

2 Finding photographs that offer a different version of the story, which can serve as a kind of counterargument to the values, ideas and stories enacted in the first photograph.

22 Ibid., 2.

23 Rancière, *Film Fables*, 171.

To make this process more tangible, the stories constructed by the studium can also be described as society's mythologies, as Roland Barthes did in his famous book of the same name, originally published in 1957, in which he explores the tendency of social value systems to create what he called modern myths. In the essays collected in the book he explores a selection of cultural phenomena that he claims have added meaning that has been culturally conferred upon them. For example, he writes about electoral photography as the acknowledgment of something deep and irrationally co-extensive within politics:

> "What is transmitted through the photograph of the candidate are not his plans, but his deep motives, all his family, mental, even erotic circumstances, all this style of life of which he is at once the product, the example and the bait. It is obvious that what most of our candidates offer us through their likeness is a type of social setting, the spectacular comfort of family, legal and religious norms, the suggestion of innately owning such items of bourgeois property as Sunday Mass, xenophobia, steak and chips, cuckold jokes, in short, what we call an ideology. Needless to say, the use of electoral photography presupposes a kind of complicity: a photograph is a mirror, what we are asked to read is the familiar, the known; it offers to the voter his own likeness, but clarified, exalted, superbly elevated into a type."[24]

This kind of reading of photographs could be used as a model in classrooms in order to deconstruct myths and narratives and contest them by creating emancipatory gestures, which we explore next.

EMANCIPATORY GESTURES

Film images, photographs and paintings are all part of the republic of images, part of a greater scheme, and in genre films the story is told in a way that plays with our emotions and our senses. Thus, the first step in using, say an image from the famous Hitchcock film *Birds* (1963), would be to name which affects are being manipulated by it, which ideas and stories are perpetuated by it. The second step would be the emancipation of the image from the given narratives, stories and histories by the act of giving it a new story, one that does not necessarily comply with the official values of society and its film industry. This is what Rancière, talking of Godard's method, describes as using images from the films that have been made and turning them into films that haven't been made and telling stories that haven't been told. What is there in an image that is present but cannot be seen is a good question to start with when we want to initiate an emancipatory looking that can bring students closer to the hidden truth of their own ability to harness, recreate and rethink the images that surround them.

24 Barthes, *Mythologies*, 91.

Godard himself uses an example from George Stevens's film *A Place in the Sun* (1951) with Elizabeth Taylor and Montgomery Clift to tackle the fact that Nazi concentration camps were not documented enough by film cameras. Director George Stevens was one of the cameramen sent by the American troops to shoot the camps after the end of the Second World War and Godard finds the connection between his photographs of the camps and that which we did not get to see in the images from his films, especially this one, that serve as a kind of resurrection of images from the camps. As Godard himself explained in the voice over of his *Histoire(s) du cinema*: "If George Stevens had not used the first sixteen-millimetre colour film at Auschwitz and Ravensbrück, undoubtably Elizabeth Taylor's happiness would never have found a place in the sun."[25] The stories that have to be told outside the already given social narratives are the key prerequisite of any emancipation and of the freedom to live and be the subject of social change and new possibilities of understanding our place in the community we are a part of. The goal is not to stay subjected to the ideas of what certain class and culture entail since we want to affirm that we were all born equal and have equal intelligence as well as authentic creative potential for transforming the reality around us.

The theme of the gesture is very easily recognized and seems to be crucial for the topic of emancipation and can be used when working with the images already mentioned, no matter whether they come from photography or film. Italian philosopher Giorgio Agamben, in the text "Notes on Gesture" from his book *Means Without End: Notes on Politics,* writes the following: "In the cinema, a society that has lost its gestures tries at once to reclaim what it has lost and to record its loss. An age that has lost its gestures is, for this reason, obsessed by them. For human beings who have lost every sense of naturalness, each single gesture becomes a destiny. And the more gestures lose their ease under the action of invisible powers, the more life becomes indecipherable. In this phase the bourgeoisie, which just a few decades earlier was still firmly in possession of its symbols, succumbs to interiority and gives itself up to psychology."[26] The question of how the gestures captured in images themselves can be emancipated is one that haunts both Agamben and Rancière, who recognizes Godard's way of transforming the images from films such as *Nosferatu*, *Faust*, *Metropolis* or *The Son of Frankenstein* into a kind of encyclopedia of essential gestures and archetypal poses of humankind.[27] What is crucial here is the fact that Godard tries to transform these gestures into ones that emulate the banal and the everyday, thus presenting a kind of turn in the paradigm of cinema. He wants to take history out of the gestures and leave only the story, or the punctum, the individual, subjective gesture of a particular person who does not necessarily correspond to all of humankind.

25 Rancière, *Film Fables,* 183.
26 Agamben, *Means Without End,* 53.
27 Rancière, *Film Fables,* 175.

In the history of painting this can be compared to the turn that some art historians detect in Rembrandt's work who has, in their opinion, made ordinary people and their lives the subject of his art. In the voice over Godard paraphrases the text from Élie Faure's book *History of Art* (*Histoire de l'Art*, 1919–21) in which he praises Rembrandt's method of capturing those elementary gestures of life or, as Rancière explains, "Godard relies on this history and the poetics of history to transform Hitchcock's affect bearing images into icons of pure presence or to use Élie Faure's text on Rembrandt to transform shots from *Fântomas* or *Son of Frankenstein* into images of the elementary gestures of human life."[28]

The same exercise could also be used with promotional photographs as John Berger famously did in his BBC television series *Ways of Seeing* (1972), which was later turned into a book of the same name. For example, he analyzes and compares the expressions on the faces of two women, one the model for the famous painting by Ingres and the other a model for a photograph in a girlie magazine: "Is not the expression remarkably similar in each case? It is an expression of a woman responding with a calculated charm to the man she imagines looking at her—although she does not know him. She is offering up her femininity as the surveyed." Through this analysis an awareness is raised about whose stories are being told and who is left mute in history as such and in the history of art specifically. Analyzing different poses people take when photographed, as well as how the gaze is constructed by the very act of posing, is also an important factor in developing emancipatory looking.

Acknowledging the fact that images communicate through gestures is of vital importance because, as Gorgio Agamben rightly notices in his *Notes on a Gesture*: "Even the Mona Lisa, even Las Meninas could be seen not as immovable and eternal forms, but as fragments of a gesture or as stills of a lost film wherein only they would regain their true meaning. And that is so because a certain kind of *litigatio*, a paralyzing power whose spell we need to break, is continuously at work in every image; it is as if a silent invocation calling for the liberation of the image into gesture arose from the entire history of art."[29]

The method of mentally liberating gestures in images can be used in a three-step process and can be practiced with both photography and painting and be used by comparing the two:

1 Identifying, describing, and naming the gesture present in a certain photograph or painting.

2 Finding other photographs or paintings that use the same kind of gesture.

28 Ibid., 178.

29 Agamben, *Means Without End*, 55-56.

3 Creating a kind of emancipatory gesture that could be used as a counterpoint to the existing one. The definition of this new emancipatory gesture is that it is active, it sets things in motion by not keeping the status quo.

PHOTOGRAPHY AS A TOOL OF EQUALITY

To conclude, we can say that photography can be used in institutional and non-institutional transfers of knowledge as an emancipatory tool in working both with studium (official History) and punctum (individual Story), the first presenting the social and the second the private domain. In transfers of knowledge, as suggested here, the key moment is letting spectators identify the layers of the photograph themselves and then react to these layers through a set of emancipatory actions that affirm the equality of their own intelligence to that which is being communicated in the photograph. By looking at photographs in a way that starts with the presumption that we can express our opinions, ideas and thoughts and thus affirm that we are part of a universal chain of human ideas is a way to a deep confirmation of our equality. If educators conform to this rule, they will do the same thing the ignorant schoolmaster Joseph Jacotot once did: "Show how, by translating themselves to each other, they were translating a thousand other poems, a thousand other adventures of the humankind of classical works from the story of Bluebeard to the retorts of the proletarians on the Place Maubert. The search for art was not a learned person's pleasure. It was a philosophy, the only one the people could practice."[30] Thus photography and visual arts in general, when used as emancipatory tools in classrooms, represent the key element in overturning not only the pedagogical myth of supreme masters and their ignorant students, but also the deconstruction of the dangerous myth that we are born to be prisoners of our class, culture and taste. An emancipatory gesture of actively expressing our feelings, thoughts, and ideas outside the boxes we were previously given is a good starting point for gestures of true emancipation, those that lead to a lived experience of equality and empathy. Images speak and gestures speak and if we give ourselves permission to voice them and perform them, we become part of the chain of ideas that runs through the history of humankind reborn in our right to practice emancipatory looking by constantly insisting that we have both the right and the intelligence to find our own ways of seeing.

30 Rancière, *The Ignorant Schoolmaster*, 136-137.

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1. Nerežišća, 1991
2. Nerežišća, 1990
3. Nerežišća, 1991
4. Nerežišća, 2002
5. Nerežišća, 1999
6. Nerežišća, 1991
7. Žuljana, 1995
8. Nerežišća, 1990
9. Nerežišća, 1990

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Commoning Photography. Grassroots and Community-based Photographic Archives in Eastern Europe and the (Non)Visibility of Everyday Resistances

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The recent proliferation of grassroots and community-based photographic archives in Eastern Europe poses a challenge to scholarly research. A vast and steadily growing number of photography collections are made available, which hitherto rarely featured in the histories of photography and if they did, it was only under particular conditions. The archives such as Fortepan in Hungary, Karta/Centre of Community Archives in Poland, Azopan in Romania, and Urban Media Archive in Ukraine collect and make available significant assemblages of historical and, to a lesser extent, contemporary photographs from the region. Most of these archives are based on the principles of the digital commons, which means that their collections are broadly accessible not only within their respective countries but also worldwide.[1] This availability of extensive, hitherto unknown photographic material opens up new avenues for historical and social knowledge production, but also, more pertinently here, it allows us to revisit photographic histories of the twentieth century.

The photographs found in these online, community-based archives are very diverse. They are generally regarded as amateur, private, and domestic photographs, although the repositories equally feature collections by professional and semi-professional photographers as well as those previously owned by various institutions.[2] These photographs are either do-

1 This chapter builds on my previous article in which the differences between these archives were analysed more closely. See Ruchel-Stockmans, "Community-Based Photographic Archives and "Potential" Histories of the Cold War in Eastern Europe."

2 A semi-professional photographer is understood here as an amateur who became a salaried or unsalaried photographer at their workplace, producing series of photographs on commission and for public display.

nated by private owners, found on flea markets or contributed by various, usually local, organizations, and as such, they would be discarded by most museums due to their seemingly limited historical, artistic or documentary value. They simply fall outside of the acquisition policies of most of these established institutions. With the emergence of the grassroots and community-based archives, they gradually reveal the full scale of their presence and their potential impact on knowledge production. The contention of this chapter is that these photographic archives can bring important new insights in the understanding of the Eastern European photographic cultures.[3] These archives give a glimpse of the little-known aspects of photography production in the region, especially in the period of the Cold War and the communist regimes installed in Eastern Europe. It will be shown here that in these archives, the line dividing the public and the private in photography is being redrawn. What is operative in the grassroots archives is the *commoning* of photography. Drawing attention to the private and the everyday as it is enmeshed in the public and the state-controlled, the photographic commoning also redresses the imbalance in photography history. The chapter focuses on a set of photographs representing groups of women in public manifestations. The goal is to investigate how the reassembling of grassroots archives yields a new image of a public in which the unruly character of the photographic image allows for small pockets of unpredictability. The photographs of public gatherings are always embedded in the communist ideology, yet they also are sites for small everyday resistances.

EXPANDING THE VERNACULAR

The scholarship on photography history and theory is still limited when it comes to non-artistic and non-professional photography. A few notable exceptions notwithstanding, scholars mostly focused on clearly delineated categories or genres such as family photography and snapshot photography[4] or they zoomed in on larger entities such as family albums allowing them to inscribe individual photographs in a broader context of their making and use.[5] Some resorted to a focus on a singular amateur photographer, especially in cases where a large 'oeuvre' is available.[6] It has been noted repeatedly that this kind of photography does not lend itself easily to scholarly investigation due to its repetitive form and content, seemingly unchangeable conventions and not the least, its abundance.[7] To put it bluntly, until relatively recently it was not clear *how* to deal with such images and, perhaps more perniciously, it was not evident *why* they should be studied at all. The ubiquity and perceived inferiority of these photographs appeared as a barrier to any attempts at ordering or classifying them. The advantage of the focus on the family album, or on one amateur photographer, is that the otherwise unruly mass of images is already divided in manageable entities with the figure of the album 'compiler,' or 'the amateur,' taking the place of the 'artist.' This approach proves less relevant when it comes to the grassroots photographic archives examined here because these archives do not fall neatly into the category of family or snapshot photography. Even if many of their collections stem from the domestic or the private sphere, in the archives they are orphaned, they no longer belong to their original context—for example, a family album—and are no longer subject to what Gillian Rose called the domestic 'doings' of photography.[8] For a large part, the online archives act as what Allan Sekula called a "'clearing house' of meaning."[9] In other words, the photographs they hold are severed from their original contexts and uses. Yet at the same time, it does not mean that "their meanings are up for grabs" as Sekula had it.[10] Rather, they enter new assemblages of photographs stemming from private albums or shoe boxes as well as from small or large institutions, communal archives or chronicles; or from flea markets and garbage bins. Rather than seeing the severing of the original ties as a loss, it can be approached as generative of new meanings. The process in which the new set of meanings is formed will be called here the commoning of photography.[11]

3 The term 'Eastern Europe' is used here in its historical context and refers to the countries which, post-1945, found themselves East from the Iron Curtain. See Schenk, "Eastern Europe."

4 Kuhn, Family Secrets: Acts of Memory and Imagination; Rose, *Doing Family Photography. The Domestic, the Public and the Politics of Sentiment*; Batchen, "Snapshots. Art History and the Ethnographic Turn"; Chalfen, *Snapshot Versions of Life*; Hirsch, *Family Frames: Photography, Narrative, and Postmemory*.

5 Sandbye, "Looking at the Family Photo Album: A Resumed Theoretical Discussion of why and how"; Sandbye, "In 1973: Family Photography as Material, Affective History"; Langford, *Suspended Conversations: The Afterlife of Memory in Photographic Albums*; Chambers, "Family as Place: Family Photograph Albums and the Domestication of Public and Private Space."

6 Berendt and Barbaruk, *Augustyn Czyżowicz. Taka Była Rzeczywistość...*; Bogumił, "Chłopska Pamięć Wojny Na Przykładzie Fotografii Feliksa Łukowskiego"; Zborowska, "Fotoamator: Piotr Śpiewla (1905-1978)."

7 As Batchen poignantly noted, snapshot photography does not fit into the categories of historical style and development which structure the scholarship in art history Batchen, "Snapshots. Art History and the Ethnographic Turn," 133. On the repetitive and conventional character of snapshot photography see also Bourdieu, Boltanski, and Chamboredon, *Un Art Moyen. Essai Sur Les Usages Sociaux De La Photographie*; Chalfen, *Snapshot Versions of Life*.

8 Rose, *Doing Family Photography. The Domestic, the Public and the Politics of Sentiment*, 18-23.

9 Sekula, "Reading an Archive: Photography between Labour and Capital," 445.

10 Ibid., 444.

11 When using the term 'commons' and 'commoning' I build on the scholarship by the economists Elinor Ostrom and Johannes Euler as well as the theorists of visual culture Niclas Mirzoeff, Julian Stallabrass and Ariella Azoulay. The commons refers to shared goods, resources and practices "beyond the enclosed spaces of private and public property." (Quilligan, James B., "Why Distinguish Common

The diverse contexts and genealogies of photography housed in the grassroots archives require a distinct approach. The notion of 'vernacular' photography, although recently criticized as self-contradictory and outdated, might help clarify important aspects of these photographic archives. The vernacular is a term used in different domains, such as linguistics, architecture, literature, or culture in general and if there is anything that connects all those contexts it is the relationality of the concept. Phenomena or forms of cultural production are vernacular in relation to the mainstream or the dominant forms of culture.[12]

The term was introduced in photography scholarship in 2000 by Geoffrey Batchen, who defined it as that which art history rejected from its field of study.[13] Batchen recently argued that the term vernacular should be abandoned since it was not meant to become a "new collecting category."[14] Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett concurred that if vernacular photography designated that which was excluded from art historical discourse, it has achieved its goal.[15] There have been numerous exhibitions of domestic and snapshot photography since 2000, and some of its collections entered major art institutions while collectors such as Thomas Walther gave it unprecedented visibility.[16] However, both Batchen and Kirshenblatt-Gimblett implicitly follow an understanding of vernacular photography which is narrowly tied to their own field of operations. Firstly, they see the vernacular as more or less synonymous with family or domestic photography; and secondly, they base their conclusions on the premise that it has been the authority of curators and art historians to bring the private, family and

Goods from Public Goods?," 80.) See Ostrom, *Governing the Commons. The Evolution of Institutions for Collective Action;* Euler, "Conceptualizing the Commons: Moving Beyond the Goods-Based Definition by Introducing the Social Practices of Commoning as Vital Determinant;" Mirzoeff, "The Visual Commons: Counter-Power in Photography from Slavery to Occupy Wall Street;" Stallabrass, "Digital Commons;" Azoulay, *Potential History: Unlearning Imperialism.*

12 Ballesta and de Larminat, "Manières De Faire Vernaculaires. Une Introduction"; Chéroux, *Vernaculaires. Essais d'histoire de la photographie,* 13-14; Napiórkowski, Szarecki, Dobrosielski, Filipkowski, and Kaczmarek, "Vernacular Culture: An Anthropology of Failed Endeavours," 14-16.

13 Batchen, "Vernacular Photographies," 262-263. The field of non-professional, amateur and domestic photography has been explored earlier by Bourdieu, Boltanski, and Chamboredon, *Un Art Moyen. Essai Sur Les Usages Sociaux De La Photographie*; Chalfen, *Snapshot Versions of Life,* Mary, *La Photo Sur La Cheminée. Naissance D'un Culte Moderne.*

14 Batchen, "Whither the Vernacular?," 39.

15 Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, "The Extraordinary Ordinary: Reflections on Vernacular Photography," 304-305.

16 The contributions of Batchen and Kirschenblatt originated from an event organized at the occasion of the exhibition of Thomas Walther's collection of vernacular photographs and were published in the book edited by Campt, Hirsch, Hochberg, and Wallis, *Imagining Everyday Life: Engagements with Vernacular Photography.*

domestic photography into the mainstream and that this process has already taken place. However, this conflation of vernacular photography with family and snapshot photography, as well as the emphasis on the authority of the expert, precludes a broader and expanded notion of the vernacular.

Various other conceptualizations of the vernacular, formulated within photography theory as well as outside of it, might be useful here. In his book *Vernacularies* Clément Chéroux proposed that vernacular photography encompasses all sorts of non-artistic photography, such as industrial, commercial, scientific, military, or police photography.[17] The domestic or family photography is just one articulation of the vernacular, other being diverse utilitarian, functional or instrumental applications of the medium. Obviously, this heterogeneous amalgam of photographic uses makes it challenging for scholars to write any coherent history or theory of vernacular photography. Some characteristics of the vernacular as such, however, can help bring together this diverse assembly of genres and applications. Recent scholarship on the vernacular in other areas of culture such as architecture or popular knowledge production points to the local and peripheral aspects of these phenomena. Vernacular is non-professional out of necessity or choice and relies on what is available and indigenous. It is a culture of make-do in the face of insufficient resources, knowledge, or power.[18] While there are many articulations of that concept which might differ substantially from each other due precisely to the relationality of the term—it depends on what mainstream or dominant form the vernacular is opposed to—in most of these there is a constant trait of bottom-up, emergent and everyday 'solutions.'

The impact of the digital cultures is significant here. In the online grassroots archives, the vernacular no longer designates the collections of photographs which were allowed into the mainstream by the grace of curators and art historians who hand-picked the 'better' and accidentally artistic examples of family photography. Rather, in these archives, photographs are chosen or selected by their users—the non-professional owners or collectors of photographs. The acquisition policies of most of these archives have very few restrictions and it is no longer the verdict of the specialist which endows certain items with the quality of the vernacular.[19] This

17 Chéroux, *Vernaculaires. Essais D'histoire De La Photographie,* 10-14. See also Chéroux, "Introducing Werner Kühler."

18 Ballesta and de Larminat, "Manières De Faire Vernaculaires. Une Introduction"; Napiórkowski, Szarecki, Dobrosielski, Filipkowski, and Kaczmarek, "Vernacular Culture: An Anthropology of Failed Endeavours,"16.

19 Each of the archives under discussion in this chapter has specific policies of acquisition, but in general they are more inclusive and open to the non-artistic, non-professional and anonymous photography. For example, Fortepan has a small group of editors while KARTA/CAS organizes trainings for local archivists who can then upload photographs to the online repositories independently.

emergent character of the online grassroots archives brings them closer to the cultural phenomena such as those described by Marcin Napiórkowski et al. in that they circumvent—to some extent—the controlling operations of the expert and offset the remoteness of the traditional archive as a place and a building. Napiórkowski et al. describe make-shift and amateurish news channels run by private persons in the virtual space—a phenomenon they interpret as an attempt to deal with the complexity and opacity of contemporary world by means of simple, often simplistic, set of explanations (conspiracy theories, alternative open-source news). In such practices, there is a conscious attempt to circumvent and counter the mainstream television and news media, eschewing the scientific rigor or even the basic rules of common sense. Lumping these practices with the grassroots archives under one category of the vernacular is not always adequate.[20] Yet it has the advantage of emphasizing the bottom-up and relational character of the vernacular. In the grassroots archives, the selection procedures and the rules of access are revised. To a certain extent it can be claimed that the users become archivists—especially when 'ordinary' people can add items to the archive, tag or describe them. All (or almost all) entries in the archives are available to be viewed online and large parts are also free to reuse under a Creative Commons license. In this sense these archives can be aligned with what Ariella Azoulay described as archives that are a "modality of access to the common," which escape what she termed two imperial principles of the archive.[21] First, the archive seems to always already have been established—this is the temporal principle—and, second, it is housed in a separate and secluded place—this is the spatial principle.[22] In the online and grassroots archives, these principles are sidestepped. There are still rules for acquisition and expert knowledge that is utilized, and as a result, the archives inevitably are a site of—newly constituted—power.[23] But the vectors of these knowledge and power relationships are redrawn and as a result, are vigorously more open-ended.

20 For example, Napiorkowski et al. insist on the amateurism of the vernacular practices and stress that the makers are in denial of their amateurism, often superficially imitating the format and appearance of the expert or mainstream news media. The authors are interested in popular practices of alternative knowledge systems which often are obviously wrong, but which have the advantage of simplicity—they purport to explain everything, even incommensurable things, with one theory. Napiórkowski, Szarecki, Dobrosielski, Filipkowski, and Kaczmarek, "Vernacular Culture: An Anthropology of Failed Endeavours," 18–19. The online grass-roots archives have as their goal not so much to counter the operations of the established archives as to salvage privately owned, orphaned, and discarded photographs. The archives are also based on not so much the old and make-shift forms of knowledge, but on the contrary, on the practices and knowledge of digital humanities and digital commons.

21 Azoulay, *Potential History: Unlearning Imperialism,* 229–231.

22 Ibid., 230.

23 As Jusi Parikka noted, "the power still resides" in the digital archives." Parikka, *What Is Media Archeology?*, 115.

The contention of this chapter is that the online grassroots archives are not only "free and common"[24] but also, as a result of their bottom-up character, reveal a panorama of photography that is more unruly and that escapes the categories such as family or public photography. While the domestic and the familial is abundantly present in the archives, it is reassembled within a larger panorama of vernacular visual culture. This larger assemblage of photography from the period allows to note the shift in the line dividing the private and the public in photography. Focusing on a selection of photographs pertaining to the May Day celebrations, which was a public and hyper-visible event, will allow to investigate the ways some of the photographs blurred the boundaries between the private and the public. The selected examples are from the 1950s—a decade which, in terms of visual culture, falls somewhat in between the more distinct periods of the post-war and the turbulent 1960s. In the communist era, The First of May or Labour Day was a prominent feast and an emblematic moment of the socialist coercion. Participation in the marches and parades was obligatory, with school children, workers, farmers, and representatives of professions manifestly displaying their support for the party members and the communist system. The event was propagated as an opportunity to demonstrate one's adherence to the communist ideology. It was also a rehearsal in the endless disciplining of the body politic as a perfectly monolithic unity in which individual traits of its members are levelled or made insignificant.

The communist iconosphere[25]—the official repertoire of images from this period—contains countless examples of photographs showing large masses of people forming highly organized parades, featuring numerous symbols on flags, banners and various props. The cover photographs of illustrated magazines from the beginning of May in any year throughout the communist period showed inalterably similar scenes of large and enthusiastic masses marching through the cities or villages of the Eastern Bloc. Some of such photographs are also present in the grassroots archives, although their makers largely remain anonymous, and their particular aim can only be presumed. An example of this is an image from Fortepan stemming from the Jesuit Archives (*Jezsuita Levéltár*) and dating from 1951 showing a parade led by identically dressed young pioneers holding a flag, followed by a row of drum players in dark uniforms and bigger formations of pioneers with large-scale portraits of Stalin, Lenin and the

24 Virágvölgyi, *Every Past Is My Past*, 12.

25 The term 'communist iconosphere' is paraphrased here from Jerzy Turowski who coined the phrase "socrealist iconosphere" to refer to the visual realm of the period. In his view, it is not so much an illusion of reality as an omnipresent element of that reality. Also relevant here are the theory of iconosphere by Mieczysław Porębski as well as the photographic exhibitions under that title organized by Zbigniew Dłubak in the late 1960s in Poland. See Turowski, "Nielinearna mapa uczuć logicznych;" Porębski, *Ikonosfera*.

Hungarian Communist party chief Mátyás Rákosi (Fig. 1). Yet another photograph, donated by Miklós Horváth and dated from 1954, shows a parade consisting of orderly youth formations followed by adults with flags and placards, as seen from a balcony on the Kossuth Lajos Street in Budapest (Fig. 2). These photographs achieve the desired effect of an orchestrated collective body politic known from the top-down iconography and circulated intensively in all official media. Granted, to qualify for a magazine cover, the photographs would need to be cleared of accidental details 'spoiling' the spotless arrangement of the marching crowds. The photograph from 1954 (F. 2), for example, shows a woman standing on the pavement in the lower part of the image and pointing towards the group of school children holding flags in the middle of the street. Clearly, she is talking to one of the children at the moment of a temporary halt. At the bottom of the image, a group of two people are seen standing even closer to the children, apparently uninvolved in the parade. These intrusions in the highly choreographed collective body of the marchers, would probably make these particular photographs less suitable for a magazine cover. Yet their deficiencies are still minor. The overall impression of the photographs remains that of a well-organized arrangement, which was in line with the intended goal of the mass parades.

However, the archives reveal other kinds of photographs from the same celebrations, some of them veering away from the officially propagated visual codes. A number of photographs from 1954 and 1955 show women employees of a soap and oil factory carrying the sign of Noveny Olaj, which in Hungarian means "vegetable oil" (Fig. 3). Conforming to the conventions of the 1st of May parade, they wear uniformly white aprons and form an orderly row. Each woman carries a large cut-out letter, which, when shown from appropriate distance, form the name "Noveny Olaj." Not much is known about the context of this image or the identity of the photographer, but considering the standpoint from the distance and the moment photographed during the festive parade, it can be assumed he or she took on the role of a chronicler rather than a family member photographing a relative.[26] There are more similar photographs, of which it is known they were made by the factory photographer János Keveházi.[27] Fitting into the prescribed practice of factory chronicles, this soap and oil factory documented its own history by means of photographs from significant moments and collective achievements and festivities. Most of the photographs taken during the 1st of May parades conformed to the prescribed and accepted visual conventions, that is, they showed well-orchestrated collective body of the factory employees. On a smaller scale of the factory, they repeat the desired, top-down image of one, uniform body collective.[28] Yet there is one photograph which complicates that typology: the image from 1955 (Fig. 4) shows a portrait-like close up of two women, made probably after the official part of the parade. One of the women is still carrying the letter O, yet she holds it somewhat higher than she would normally do during the parade. As a result, the oval shape of the letter forms a frame for her face, her gaze directed intently at the camera. When the women are shown all together, each holding one letter, they collectively form the sign of the factory. A single letter becomes meaningless. Instead, it transforms in a frame and the photograph becomes a more personal portrait. In the collective photographs, the forcibly installed unity of the body politic requires an erasure of the individual. Through the gesture of holding the "O" letter as a frame for her face, the woman in the double portrait steps out of the collective and prescribed image and claims a space and a visibility for her individual being.

The photographs from the Fortepan archive find their counterparts in the other grassroots archives from the region. The Urban Media Archive, housed in the Lviv Urban History Center in Ukraine, preserves a number of photographs from the 1950s showing groups of people during the May 1st parade, although the context of these celebrations is not always apparent in the image itself. The photograph from 1954 entitled "1st May Festival" (Fig. 5) shows a group of five young people posing arm in arm on a busy square. The man in the middle stands on one leg and holds his hands in front of him, perhaps in a gesture of clapping. The two pairs of women on his sides smile towards the camera. Notably, two women on the left wear quasi-identical dark coats and berets, which might indicate that they are sisters or close friends. The booth on the right in the back with the signboard "Fruits" (фрукти) seems closed and it is likely that the photograph is taken during a holiday. Little is known about the people shown here, the photographer or the context of the image, and it would be difficult to recognize this image as made during the 1st of May without the title. However, some clues can be found in other photographs belonging to the same collection by Volodymyr Rumyantsev, a collector who found them in flea markets.[29] Another photograph from 1954 entitled "1st May Demonstration" (Fig. 6) shows a larger crowd on the main square of Lviv. In the background, the typical décor of the May 1st celebrations is visible, such as banners and large portraits of leaders. But the main focus of the photograph is again a group of people in the forefront. These are the same five people as on the previous photograph, with two more men joining the group. They again stand in a row, their arms interlocked and

26 In the Fortepan archival record, this photograph has no donor—it means it has been found or salvaged by Fortepan editors and the prior owners are unknown.

27 Kolozsi, "Soap Factory Compositions. Amateur Photography Relating the Life of an Industrial Plant in the Fifties."

28 Unlike the "living photographs" of the collective body made in America (as analyzed by Kaplan, *American Exposures. Photography and Community in the Twentieth Century*, 1-26) these choreographed images meant not so much a willing participation in a political idea, but rather, were based on coercion and indoctrination.

29 Anastasiya Kholyavka, archivist of the Urban Media Archive, personal communication, 07/10/2022.

cheerfully gazing towards the camera. The figure in the center—who is the same man as in the previous photograph—claps his hands even more vigorously than in the first photograph and two women on his both sides, the ones who are identically dressed, extend their right foot forward in a synchronized manner. The exact knowledge of people and the relationships between them is lost, but it can be presumed they knew each other well. The inscription on the back of the first photograph states: "III course LPC" (III курс лпц). It could be speculated that they were students and/or instructors in a course who attended the celebrations of May 1st together. It is possible that also these photographs were initially made for a chronicle, like in the case of the Fortepan photographs, but this time not so much for a factory as for a school or a course, even if the naturalness and intimacy felt between the people shown here would rather indicate that the purpose was more private. They were probably taken after the official celebrations ended and people lingered around the central city square. There is a sense of conviviality and gaiety in these snapshots which belies the rigid conventions of the official May 1st photography. While the participation in the celebrations was compulsory and usually entailed being submitted to pre-designed and ideologically laden mass choreographies, it transpires from these photographs that people found their way to adapt that occasion for their own, small-scale moments of sociability and amusement. Another photograph from the archive entitled "Group of Women on a Street" and located in Kyiv in 1956, shows five women posing in front of a building (Fig. 7). The woman on the left holds a balloon. They all similarly smile and gaze into the camera, apart from the second woman on the left, who directs her gaze somewhere outside of the frame. This photograph was contributed by Konstiantyn Doroshenko, who also provided a commentary and identified most of the women by name. According to his account, Maiia Smirnova, who is second on the left, was a clothes designer who designed the outfits of her sister and her mother (in the center and second on the right). In the period marked by dull uniforms and mass-produced clothes, these women in tailored clothes were considered the most elegantly dressed in Kyiv. The photograph is also tagged with three terms: woman, fashion and dress. Distinctly, the context of the May 1st celebrations, mentioned in the description by Konstiantyn Doroshenko, did not surface in the tags. It might have created the opportunity to make this group photograph, but the only trace of it is the balloon held by Maiia Smirnova and the festive clothes worn by the women. The official celebration became an occasion to meet and show off one's best, tailor-made clothes. This minor interference in the intended goal of the May 1st manifestations opened a small space of resistance to the imposed and ideologically determined codes and conventions.

The Karta Centre in Poland, recently extended with the establishment of the Centre of Community Archives (CAS, Centrum Archiwistyki Spolecznej) assembles many local archiving projects including village and town libraries. One such local initiative which features in the online archive is located in Lower Silesia, southwest of Poland, in the town called Szczytna. The photograph from this locality shows a group of women, again during the celebrations of the May 1st in the 1950s (Fig. 8). There is a snapshot quality to this photograph, with the woman on the right having her head severed by the picture frame. Yet the five women in the middle are clearly posing for the photograph, four of them gazing into the camera. They stand on what seems to be an open field while a parade of marchers with flags and banners is seen marching down a street in the distance. The women, however, turn away from the crowd visible behind them in order to have the photograph taken, although soon after they will probably join the rest of the people gathered in the field to assist the parade. This group of women use this opportunity to pose for one of the sporadic photographs they could have. As the owner of the photograph and contributor to the grassroots archive Janina Artemiak explains, the photograph could have been taken by the local photographer Mr. Glebiec.[30] Hardly anybody owned a camera at that time and photographs were usually taken during a larger event, when people gathered in public spaces. The celebration of the May 1st clearly was one of such occasions, next to religious celebrations such as the 1st Communion or the procession of Corpus Christi. Other photographs contributed by Janina Artemiak show just such events. These photographs were kept in a family album, but they also belong to the history of the larger community. The local photographer could have sold prints of this photograph to several of the women, which would result in their family albums partly containing identical photographs.[31] At this stage, only the woman on the right could have been identified. She is Wanda Artemiak, the mother-in-low of the photograph's current owner Janina Artemiak. Wanda Artemiak was a schoolteacher and a prominent figure in the town.

Although the names of the other women remain unknown, one could imagine some of them were members of the Women's League, recorded on another photograph from Szczytna (Fig. 9). This photograph is not related to the May Day celebration, but it allows to build a broader context for the group portrait. The photograph is taken indoors and shows a group of women seated at a long table. They look in the direction of the camera and raise a glass in a gesture of celebration. The table is filled with bottles and glasses of varied sizes. Unlike another image from the Szczytna town chronicle documenting an indoor Women's Day celebrations, which shows mostly men and only a few women,[32] this photograph displays an

30 Interview with Janina Artemiak.

31 A similar phenomenon has been observed by Tamara West with respect to photography made in the camps for displaced people in the period after the Second World War up to the 1950s in Germany. Photography was produced by designated photographers who would sell prints to the inhabitants. As a result, their family albums partly contained identical photographs. West, "Remembering Displacement: Photography and the Interactive Spaces of Memory,"179.

32 This photograph does not feature in the online archives of CAS.

apparently women-only event. The Women's League was established at the glass factory, which was the most important employer in the region. It was a socially oriented organization aimed at mutual support and convivial gatherings. Women constituted a significant part of the factory' employees, even if the profession of the glassworker might seem an unlikely choice for them.[33] Another photograph from the city chronicle shows a classroom in the glasswork school in Szczytna which is populated by women only,[34] The large presence of women in the factory must have been the reason for the establishment of the Women's League. In the account of the former factory workers Janina Artemiak and Feliks Tobiasz it functioned as a sounding board and a solidarity platform for its members.[35] Manifestly, the organization was part of the concerted effort on the side of the communist authorities to organize and control the complete lives of its country's citizens, including their free time.[36] It was part of the policy aimed at the wide-ranging formation of people, which would assure their acceptance of the imposed communist system and the internalization of its rules.[37] The factory or work-place organizations such as a Women's League, theatre workshops, a choir, an orchestra—all of which existed in Szczytna's glass factory and in many other workplaces—were primarily aimed at achieving this ideological and formative goal. The employees also saw these initiatives as such and comprehended the ideological effects and implications of their operations.[38] The interviewee and former glassworker Feliks Tobiasz jokingly recalled that a prominent factory official—who was a man—was also made member of the Women's League, rendering the organization's rationale somewhat less consistent. Yet both Tobiasz and Janina Artemiak agreed that these organizations were experienced as relevant for the workers, allowing them to get together, provide mutual support and build social bonds beyond the family. The photograph of the Women's League gathering not only attests to the moment of conviviality in a public space, but is also formative in the creation of that conviviality. Seen together with the group portrait of women during the May 1st parade, it enacts the sociability of women on the margins of the official, orchestrated events in the public sphere.

Kronika miasta i gminy Szczytna (handwritten chronicle of the city and county of Szczytna), unpaginated.

33 According to my interviewees Janina Artemiak and Feliks Tobiasz the work in the glass factory was physically demanding and required processing harmful materials. Interview with Janina Artemiak and Feliks Tobiasz.

34 *Kronika miasta i gminy Szczytna* (handwritten chronicle of the city and county of Szczytna), unpaginated.

35 Interview with Janina Artemiak and Feliks Tobiasz.

36 Leszczyński, *Ludowa Historia Polski,* 517; Salwiński, *Mój Drugi Dom? Huta Im. Lenina,* 12–13.

37 Leszczyński, *Ludowa Historia Polski,* 517.

38 Interview with Feliks Tobiasz.

As this small sample of photographs from the grassroots archives demonstrates, comparable snapshots taken during the May 1st celebrations could belong to a family album, a factory chronicle, a school or other state-managed institution. Many of the photographs collected in these archives are severed from their original context and their genealogy leads only to a flea market or a garbage bin, yet they too 'find' another context by entering the larger assemblage of photographs from the same period and place. This is the first aspect of what has been called here the commoning of photography. The second aspect pertains to what the assembling of the vernacular photographs brings about. The photographs discussed here emerged from the spaces of the workplace and the state-organized public manifestation, yet they also easily cross the boundaries between the public and the private sphere. A photograph which was taken by a local or a factory photographer at the occasion of the official May 1st parade could have been included in the family albums of people featuring in the pictures. At some instances, private people could salvage photography collections which belonged to a factory but were destined for the garbage after its closing and dismantling. This was the case with a photograph of the local orchestra in Szczytna, which was found by Janina Artemiak. After recognizing a family member in the photograph, she kept it and included it in her family album. She also offered it to be entered in the online grassroots archive. As a result, photography made in what Chéroux called the utilitarian context,[39]—which in this case is the chronicling of the factory life and documenting the state-orchestrated public manifestations of ideological commitment—traveled to the domestic sphere and from there to the public forum of the grassroots archives.

It has been noted that domestic photography, although seemingly incontrollable because remaining in the hands of amateurs or local studio photographers, generally keeps to rigid conventions and inalterable codes. Showing only happy moments, it expresses the collective idea of a home and a family. While there was no space in this chapter to investigate family photography from the period of the 1950s extensively, some of the examples mentioned here belong to that category. The conventionality of family photography ties in with the idea that the home reproduces the power structures from the outside, notably those imposed by the state.[40] The state-sanctioned photography of public events, on the other hand—whether it be professional magazine illustration or its imitation by local factory photographers—was highly codified as it aimed at enacting the sanctioned ideological commitments and repeating the existing power structures. In its localized version—such as a factory or a town chronicle—it repeated

39 Chéroux, *Vernaculaires. Essais D'histoire De La Photographie,* 13.

40 West, "The 3rd May, a Photograph: Identities of and Beyond Displacement," 365; Blunt and Dowling, *Home,* 142.

the imposed visual discourse, in keeping with the idea of a factory as a transmitter of the ideological positions propagated by the state.

As the photographs in the grassroots archives roam free in the space of the archive, they no longer directly speak of their original contexts—whether the public representation, factory history or family memory. Instead, they form new assemblages in which group portraits or occasional gatherings fall outside of the rigid rules governing photographic practices tied to the home, the factory and the state. Instead, they generate minor spaces of resistance to these rules. The archives thus open a new and unexplored arena of photographic histories which cannot be enclosed in the categories of the domestic or the public—but which instead forge a new photographic commons.

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1. Budapest, Andrássy (Stalin) Avenue from Heroes' Square, May 1 parade. 1951. Fortepan / Jezsuita Levéltár.
2. Budapest, Kossuth Lajos street looking towards Ferenciek Square (Liberation Square). 1954, Fortepan/Horváth Miklós dr.
3. Budapest, today's Fifty-six Square (Stalin Square), parade on 1 May, with the row of houses on Dózsa György Road in the background. 1954, Fortepan/Fortepan.
4. Budapest, Thököly street, participants in the parade of 1 May in front of house number 104, 1955, Fortepan / Keveházi János.
5. 1st May festival, Lviv, 1954. Collection of Volodymyr Rumiantsev // Urban Media Archive // Center for Urban History of East Central Europe.
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8. 1st May, Szczytna. 1950s. Collection of the Library of the City and County of Szczytna / Center for Community Archives.
9. Women's League, Glass factory in Szczytna. 1950s. Collection of the Library of the City and County of Szczytna / Center for Community Archives.

ALEXANDRA MATZ

Tracing the Threads of a Relationship Through Archival Artefacts: Perspectives on Otti Berger and Ludwig Hilberseimer

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INTRODUCTION

Picture a woman in her mid-30's in today's Europe. She speaks several languages, has a degree from a respected, innovative design school, international work experience with renowned designers, and even holding patents on her work. Such a woman could anticipate a successful and sustained career. Indeed, Otti Berger (Fig. 1)—Bauhaus graduate and teacher, innovative textile designer, researcher, and author—had achieved all this by the age of 35, yet pivotal circumstances meant she was unable to maintain career momentum. She was obliged to emigrate from National Socialist Germany due to the fact that she was Jewish, a "foreign non-Aryan"[1] and her life was forcefully cut short by the National Socialists when she was about 46 years old. Unlike other Bauhaus students or teachers, she was not able to create a full body of work, accomplish publications, or achieve renown. In attempting to shed light on different facets of her life, researchers are limited by the amount of historical data and documentation available.

An important archival source, including original photography, letters, printed articles, and images or drawings, has been saved and made available to scholars by Ludwig Hilberseimer (Fig. 2). Hilberseimer started lecturing at the Bauhaus Dessau in 1929, first on the theory of building and later on urban planning and human settlement as well.[2] He and Berger became acquainted at the Bauhaus and, as this research will propose, from c. 1932 onwards, started forming a closer relationship. This relationship will last until Otti Berger's deportation and subsequent death in 1944, even though the couple were separated from the beginning of WWII.

1 Weltge-Wortmann and Gockel, *Bauhaus-Textilien*, 122.
2 Strob, "Introduction".

The fact that Hilberseimer and Berger were a couple is well documented, while several scholars and authors highlight that he was Berger's "fiancé".[3] For the years between 1938 and her deportation and murder by the Nazis in 1944, little to no documentation or research is available to lend insight into Hilberseimer's perspective of their relationship. The body of available archival artefacts concerning Otti Berger, therefore, predominately documents Berger's own perspective. This is because it is mainly her letters to Hilberseimer and photographs of her that have been uncovered and made available for research in archives and collections, by Hilberseimer donating those to the institutions. To date, only one written correspondence from the period is available, written by Hilberseimer and addressed to Berger, while his letters (and those of others, such as other Bauhaus members) to Berger in Zmajevac, which could have helped reconstruct a detailed and holistic portrait of this special relationship, are still considered lost.

WEAVING PERSPECTIVES, PRINCIPLES, AND GOALS

This research uses existing fragments of written correspondence, combining these with archival imagery and artefacts, in order to broaden the dialogue about this relationship. The objective is to determine the extent to which archival artefacts and imagery can help clarify Otti Berger and Ludwig Hilberseimer's relationship in literature, the latter being referred to alternately as "partner", "boyfriend" and "fiancé". Among other archival artefacts, the visual analysis of photographs has been applied as a key research tool. Employing visual imagery to acquire and generate knowledge, this research aims to provide "communication bridges [...] for discussions of the familiar or the unknown".[4]

This analysis also goes on to explore how archival imagery (especially photographs / photographical handprints) and artefacts can extend our understanding of Otti Berger and Ludwig Hilberseimer's joint travel in South-Eastern Europe in 1936. The goal is to approach meaning and coherence through context, by using, for instance, photographic images that "can show us how people and things relate to each other".[5]

Lastly, the paper aims to discuss what the impact of combining seemingly unrelated artefacts might be, even when discovered serendipitously. To go beyond vision and the visible, this paper explores the research material utilising multiple senses, just as Germaine Krull has been attributed to having an eye for the non-visible in her photography, capturing "everything that can be smelled, tasted or touched".[6] In this respect, this work also follows the guidance of Bauhaus master László Moholy-Nagy, on how to weave together

3 Mlikota, "Otti Berger", 279; Halén, "The Bauhaus Weaver and Textile Designer Otti Berger", 136.

4 J. Collier and M. Collier, *Visual Anthropology*, 99.

5 Cleland and MacLeod, "The Visual Vernacular" , 231.

6 Jeffrey, *Photographie: Sehen, betrachten, deuten*, 146.

different perspectives to reach a holistic understanding, in this case of the analysed archival objects using a "simultaneous grasp": "[...] seeing, feeling and thinking in relationship and not as a series of isolated phenomena. It instantaneously integrates and transmutes single elements into a coherent whole".[7]

In relation to those sensory aspects when analysing archival artefacts, this research will also highlight Otti Berger's work and her approach to creating textiles and designs, in order to contextualise the importance of her work within a historical narrative. By doing so, it will, therefore, draw attention to one of her main themes: the importance of the human sensory experience in textile craftsmanship, and the ways these textiles can be applied to objects of use (e.g., furniture, such as chairs and sofas) or architectural objects (private or public rooms, houses or buildings). Berger linked elements from various disciplines, such as architecture, textile design and craft, by highlighting the purpose of a fabric in the interplay with (interior) architecture: "to meet the demands of [*a new,*] vivid construction, we must be clear about what fabric is, and, what is more: what fabric is in a space".[8]

In the art and the craft of weaving, one of the most essential principles is also that of, "seeing and non-seeing". In simple terms, this means that without the interplay of the visibility and invisibility of the warp thread (horizontal running), and thus the visibility or invisibility of the weft thread (vertical running) and vice versa, the weave—and ultimately the fabric—cannot develop. In addition to the binding system and the more technical aspects of weaving, Berger went on to emphasise and manifest—beyond the primary visual sense—the importance of the other human senses when designing, creating, and using textiles, for wear and for use in objects, rooms and structures.

This sentiment was also shared by Anni Albers, who worked closely with Berger at the Bauhaus. She stated in 1965 that "we are apt today to overcharge our gray [*grey*] matter with words and pictures".[9] This statement is even more true in today's world of streaming services and the ubiquitous smartphone and demonstrates the relevance of Berger's work and approach even today, with a highly pronounced emphasis on the visual sense.[10] Nevertheless, from the time Berger was at the Bauhaus, photography might be regarded as one of the key media-techniques that supported the staging of textiles by closely and intimately capturing the qualities of fabrics. In advertisements and magazines, for example, we see how photography captures its "swellings, recesses, and shadows".[11]

7 Moholy-Nagy, *Vision in Motion*, 12.

8 Otti Berger, "Stoffe Im Raum", 143. This quotation, as all quotations translated from German into English, by the author, unless stated otherwise.

9 Albers, *On Weaving*, 62.

10 Lupton and Lipps, *The Senses*.

11 T. L. Smith, *Bauhaus Weaving Theory*, 79-81.

WEAVING TWO BIOGRAPHICAL AND PROFESSIONAL THREADS

Otti (Ottilia) Berger was born on 4 October 1898, near the Danube River in Zmajevac (present-day Republic of Croatia; at the time of her birth known as Vörösmart, Austro-Hungarian Monarchy). Berger first attended the local elementary school, then a school for girls in Vienna, Austria. Between 1921 and 1926, she studied at the Royal Academy of Arts and Crafts in Zagreb, Croatia, an institution she will later refer to as a "a mindless sanctuary of passed-down traditions".[12]

Her studies at the Bauhaus in Dessau, Germany, began with the preliminary course in January 1927, followed by full enrolment in the weaving class for the 1927 winter semester).[13] The preliminary course was of eminent importance for her development as a textile designer and materials researcher.

It was artist/designer László Moholy-Nagy (1895–1946) who taught this class and showed her the importance of fully experiencing the material and its sensorial aspects. The tasks he gave the students were "[...] aimed toward self-discovery [...] the awakening of [*the student's*] own abilities [...] built upon sensory experience". Berger's lecture notes show that artist Paul Klee was another teacher who made an impact on her. Klee observed that "human senses, both sensible and sensitive, are usually accustomed to focus solely on [...] finished forms",[14] a view Berger will later reiterate in her article "Stoffe im Raum" ("Fabrics in Space" as per T'ai Smith's translation, 2014). That "[...] a fabric needs to be grasped [...], for one must listen to the fabric's secrets, track down the sounds of materials",[15] is advice Berger gives to textile designers when considering the choice of material, its colour, or its function (in a space such as a room). She embraces the multisensory aspects of seeing, feeling, and listening. She even references Wassily Kandinsky's synesthetic abilities when she argues that when "you grasp the ruggedness of the hemp or the wool. The colour begins to sound in the material."[16]

Berger continues to emphasise and manifest sentiments like this throughout her career, such as in her article "webtechnik und lehrmethoden" ('weaving techniques and teaching methods'). This article was requested by Walter Gropius (but did not get published) and was sent to him by Ludwig Hilberseimer in September 1938. Here she writes, "a true weaver does not think in terms of materials, nor in weave, but feels the textile in his hands, inspects it as a soft, colourful figment, even before it comes into being and, in this way, he applies the respective material and weave".[17] In the letter accompanying the article she indicates how unhappy she is with the article itself, deeming its importance as "nonsense that I put together in this small essay"[18]—an indication of diminishing self-esteem and confidence that will be discussed further on.

Berger's focus on the sensory experience likely has several origins. Otti Berger had a hearing impairment since she childhood. This is documented in her 1922 Royal Academy of Arts and Crafts enrolment document, in which she requests to be allowed to take exams in German, as she has little command of Croatian and cannot hear well.[19] The hearing impairment was caused by an "operation with an unfortunate outcome", as reported by Serbian writer Stanislav Vinaver who interviewed Berger in Dessau in 1930.[20] He conducted the interview with Berger writing notes, using pen and paper.[21] Vinaver's article captures several important aspects that characterise Berger's focus on the sensorial. He writes that she possessed an almost spiritual sense for the materiality of the fabric and was able to "experience a sense of delight when searching for graspable comprehension through the fabric, and thus to gain a more subtle, tactile understanding of life".[22] This is reminiscent of elements of Johannes Itten's soma-aesthetic philosophies which he taught at the Bauhaus Weimar (though not to Otti Berger). Itten, for example, emphasised the connection between "the stirring of emotion and bodily movement",[23] which one can only comprehend when a person has the urge to "make the body capable of perceiving [...]".[24] This is what Otti Berger aimed to achieve despite, or even because of, her hearing impairment.

In 1929, motivated by Hannes Meyer, the then director of the Bauhaus, Berger did an internship semester at the 'Praktiska Vävnadsskolen', a Stockholm-based weaving school founded in 1876 by Johanna Brunsson. There, Berger also worked as a teacher and organised an exhibition of Bauhaus textiles, which opened in Stockholm in January 1930.[25]

Before Berger set off for Sweden, Meyer hired Ludwig Hilberseimer to work at the Bauhaus in 1929. His engagement was seen as a vital nomination for the architectural faculty[26] and he quickly became a highly

12 Varga, *Ég És Föld Között*; Meyer, *Bauhaus*, 24.
13 Varga *Ég És Föld Között*.
14 Ricca, "Klee's Cognitive Legacy and Human Rights as Intercultural Transducers", 1.
15 Berger, "Stoffe Im Raum", 145.
16 Ibid.
17 Berger (1938b).
18 Berger (1938b).
19 Varga, *Ég És Föld Között*; Mlikota, "Otti Berger".
20 Vinaver, "Dom gradnje u Desau".
21 Koščević, "Jugoslawische Bauhausschüler", 329.
22 Ibid.
23 Hirsch and Wagner, *Johannes Itten und Thun*, 63.
24 Ibid., quoting Itten 1990.
25 Halén, "The Bauhaus Weaver and Textile Designer Otti Berger", 2019.
26 Galison, "Aufbau/Bauhaus", 734.

respected and supported lecturer[27]. Hilberseimer was already a renowned architect before starting at the Bauhaus, mainly thanks to his prolific publications. In the 1920s, he was also "among Germany's most penetrating art critics" as Howard Dearstyne writes in the introduction to his translation of a text by Hilberseimer from the period.[28]

In autumn 1930, Otti Berger received her Bauhaus Diploma and continued to teach at the Bauhaus Dessau and produce innovative textiles (Fig. 3). Although Gunta Stölzl and Wassiliy Kandinsky had highly praised Berger's work in 1929, it was Lilly Reich who was appointed to lead the weaving workshop after Stölzl's resignation in 1931.[29] Berger, already working freelance on industry assignments, was offered a part-time teaching position instead, to help "create a smooth transition" for Lilly Reich as the workshop head [30] (Droste 1988, 296, quoting from (Beirat Bauhaus Dessau 1931)).

Upon the closure of the Bauhaus Dessau in 1932, Berger founded her own studio in Berlin, the "otti berger atelier for textiles" (in German: "otti berger atelier für textilien (stoffe für kleidung und wohnung möbel- vorhang- wandstoffe bodenbelag",[31] and continued to meet with members of her Bauhaus network, such as Ise Gropius (Fig. 4). She exhibited some of her work at the "Gestaltende Arbeiten der Frau in Jena", which was remarked on by a newspaper critic: "In this sense, remarkable [is] [...] a delicate, very brightly coloured grand piano cover by O. Berger."[32]

Berger did not continue to teach at the Bauhaus in Berlin, which opened in autumn 1932, while Ludwig Hilberseimer followed the Bauhaus director Mies van der Rohe to teach urban planning and human settlement.[33]

It is in 1932 when postcards between Berger and Hilberseimer seem to indicate that their acquaintance is becoming closer. On a postcard, stamped 28 July 1932, which Otti Berger sent from Prague to Ludwig who was in Berlin at the time, she writes:

> "dear hilb, my brother is in karlsbad, had a telephone call with him [*and I*] will now travel there today. warm regards. o. berger"[34]

27 Hoffmann ,"Erinnerungen Eines Architekturstudenten"; Strob, "Introduction".
28 Hilberseimer and Dearstyne, "Observations on the New Art", 349.
29 Halén, "The Bauhaus Weaver and Textile Designer Otti Berger".
30 Droste, Das Bauhaus Webt, 296. Quoting from Beirat Bauhaus Dessau 1931
31 Berger 1933b.
32 Jenaer Volksblatt.
33 Hahn and Wolsdorff, *Bauhaus Berlin*.
34 Berger 1932a. "hilb" is a nickname used for Hilberseimer Berger; other Bauhaus members used "Hilbs".

In the following postcard from Carlsbad (Karlovy Vary), she reports on how beautiful the city is. The rather formal signature "o. berger" is now replaced with "otti". Further, her brother, Otto Berger, who worked in Prague, also signs with "many warm greetings and regards".[35]

We can then assume that from the early 1930s onwards, Ludwig Hilberseimer was Otti Berger's only documented partner, although their relationship might be regarded as not overtly public, one reason being that Hilberseimer was officially still married. The divorce from his wife was settled only on 3 October 1938.[36] Nonetheless, and perhaps because he was Berger's only known companion during her residence in Germany, this narrative must also account for Ludwig Hilberseimer.

In Berlin, Otti Berger continued on her innovation journey: she researched, prototyped samples, and patented new yarns and weaves, such as her 'Möbelstoff—Doppelgewebe'[37] (upholstering fabric double weave, as discussed, e.g., by T'ai Smith[38] or Regina Lösel[39]). Her work assignments led her to work with high-profile companies such as Wohnbedarf AG in Zurich, Switzerland, during which time she collaborated with designers such as Marcel Breuer and Alvar Aalto, and with the Dutch company Weverij De Ploeg.[40]

Claiming the same rights as architects and product designers, Otti Berger fought for equal recognition of her work. From the start of her studies at the Bauhaus, she made her stubbornness and drive to succeed known. In an interview for the Bauhaus journal made during her study years, she stated she felt "unable to cope with disappointments".[41] She insisted on companies referencing the textiles designed by her, either with her full name or her initials "o.b."—a form of branding, hitherto unprecedented for textile designers. However, she was not always successful in obtaining adequate recognition (especially economically), as can be seen, for example, in her communication with the company Wohnbedarf AG. In it, she complains about the contractual offer resulting in a "5% net revenue"[42] for her. To her, this hardly seemed worth the amount of her effort and cost. This must have been particularly disheartening knowing that Gunta Sharon (formerly Stölzl) was taking an alleged 15% net revenue for her work for Wohnbedarf AG.[43]

35 Berger 1932b.
36 Civil Registry Office Berlin-Charlottenburg 1938.
37 Reichspatenamt 1932.
38 Smith, "The Identity of Design as Intellectual Property".
39 Lösel, "Textile Elastizität"
40 Varga, *Ég És Föld Között*.
41 Meyer, *Bauhaus*, 24.
42 Berger 1933c.
43 Berger 1933a.

Continued pressure by the National Socialists and restrictions imposed on the Bauhaus in 1933 led not only to the closure of the Berlin Bauhaus, but also to Hilberseimer losing his permission to teach and publish writings.[44] His work ban stems from the Secret State Police's ('Gestapo') assessment that Hilberseimer did not "have both feet planted firmly on the ground of the national-socialist mindscape",[45] as written by the Gestapo to director Mies van der Rohe in July 1933. While Jewish citizens were already targeted by the Gestapo's actions, this shows that non-Jewish citizens like Hilberseimer, born Catholic with Protestant and Catholic parents, were also subject to persecution. He therefore experienced pressure from the new German government and their executive forces before Otti Berger did.

Banned from teaching, Hilberseimer focussed on theoretical writing and worked on architectural commissions for private homes.[46] Otti Berger continued to expand her professional client base. Berger's collaboration with the Dutch company De Ploeg lasted longer, from 1933 until 1936, and may be considered successful since it strengthened Berger's reputation as a high-quality textile designer, a reputation that endures to this day. While the fabrics did not sell well, they were essential for the presentation of De Ploeg's collection and brand.[47] In 1965, in a letter to Hilberseimer, P. Blijenburg of the Weverij De Ploeg offered that Berger had done work for them for the exhibition 'Arbeiten aus der Weberei des Bauhaus'[48] which was located in Darmstadt, Germany, at the time. He also requested information about the work Berger did for Helios Ltd., where "she should have been making very fine things".[49] In 1972/73, Berger's 'Carré' design for De Ploeg was posthumously reissued by the company Storck—Van Boussow in Krefeld, Germany.[50] They supplied the Italian furniture brand Cassina with the Carré textiles, whose large-scale industrial production, at the time of Berger's creation, had been deemed impossible. Unfortunately, this edition only ran for one series until the Storck—Van Boussow company shut down.[51]

On Ludwig Hilberseimer's fiftieth birthday in September 1935, Otti Berger gave him a present that clearly indicates what Berger felt for him and how she envisioned a possible joint future. The present was a 151-cm-long woven wall hanging onto which Berger collaged photographs of her and Hilberseimer, along with hearts. She arranged a timeline of their relationship from top to bottom, with photographs of either of them further apart at first, and then getting progressively closer. It ends with a collage

44 Strob, "Introduction".
45 Hahn and Wolsdorff, *Bauhaus Berlin*, 143.
46 Strob, "Introduction".
47 Boterenbrood, *Weverij De Ploeg*, 29.
48 Blijenburg, P. weverij de ploeg nv 1965.
49 Ibid.
50 Olgers and Boot, *Bauhaus*, 24.
51 Ibid.

in which they are arranged together as a couple, very close to each other, with a possible hint of Otti Berger's wish for a family represented by the number "5" along with a series of stickers showing children's faces.[52]

The continued pressure put on foreigners by the Nazi regime, especially on Jewish citizens, did not spare Berger. In spring 1936 she received an occupational ban from work.[53] This, paired with Walter Gropius' plea for her to leave Germany, finally led her to emigrate to England in September 1937.[54] In order to evaluate the changes that come with migrating to a new country and following a carefully devised emigration plan, Otti Berger visited England on two occasions, in February and June 1937, before actually emigrating, while also exploring work opportunities with various textile companies.[55]

JOINT PRE-WAR TRAVELS IN CENTRAL-SOUTHERN AND SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE

One year before this, in August and September 1936, the passport stamps in Ludwig Hilberseimer's passport (Table 1) reveal an—until now undocumented—month-long trip to Berger's home region of Baranja in the border region between present-day Croatia, Hungary and Serbia, then on to Belgrade in the Kingdom of Serbia, as well as to the city of Zagreb. Based on the available archival artefacts, the exact purpose of the travel, apart from visiting Berger's relatives, is unclear and would require further research, but we may assume that Hilberseimer undertook the travel together with Otti Berger, since he entered (the Kingdom of) Yugoslavia via Beli Manastir, 20 km away from Berger's hometown of Zmajevac. The passport shows that Hilberseimer visited Belgrade, followed by Zagreb, with almost a month in between. The visit to Zagreb is documented by a stamp of the German embassy which allowed travelling back to Germany via Austria, which Hilberseimer did a fortnight later, as evidenced by the customs stamp at the Slovenian-Austrian border in Jesenice.

Images of the couple as well as other archival artefacts indicate their joint travel of that year. During their journey they visited relatives (see figure 6, bottom left and bottom middle), but also visited Zagreb to meet Berger's former fellow Bauhaus student and friend, the photographer Ivana Tomljenović and Croatian painter Kamilo Tompa, before heading down to the Adriatic[56] and visiting Dubrovnik or Split. This is documented by archi-

52 Berger 1935. Also presented in Mlikota "Otti Berger", 279; Bajkay et al., *Von Kunst zu Leben*, 308.
53 Präsident der Reichskammer der bildenen Künste 1936. Also presented in Rader "Provenance Research, Case 4.", p. 4.
54 Varga, *Ég És Föld Között*.
55 Nungesser, "Künstlerbiografien", 113.
56 Koščević, "Jugoslawische Bauhausschüler", 329.

val artefacts such as a general tourist information leaflet for travellers in Yugoslavia, with Otti Berger's handwritten notes about embassy opening hours, as well as Dubrovnik tourist guide leaflets[57] and a flyer for guided tours in and around Split.[58] The documents also reveal that the couple must have stayed in Sarajevo as well as Mostar (today Bosnia and Herzegovina). A leaflet for tourists visiting Sarajevo with a city map, which also includes the location of a carpet weaving workshop near the Austrian Square [*Trg Austrije*], contains a handwritten note, most likely by Ludwig Hilberseimer. The note indicates the places for overnight stay, "Hotel De Europa" (the French name of the hotel; at the time it was called Hotel Evropa) in Sarajevo, and "Hotel Narenta" (later called Hotel Neretva) in Mostar.[59] While these artefacts are undated, based on the handwriting and the fact that Hilberseimer's passport only bears stamps from Southeastern European countries for the years 1936 or 1938 (for 1938 in the months in which Otti Berger resided in England), it can be assumed that they belong to the couple's joint travel in 1936.

The photographic images presented here are a key indicator that—despite the clearly changing political situation—the couple enjoyed their travel in the region and the Mediterranean. Particularly, the photographs of Berger and Hilberseimer reveal a closeness to each other that goes far beyond acquaintances. Usually rarely pictured in photographs, Ludwig Hilberseimer is depicted flashing a smile and sitting on a beach, certainly in Dalmatia (today Southwestern Croatia, as indicated by the karst landscape), possibly in Orebić, with a view towards the island of Korčula (Fig. 6, top left and top right).

The archival records also reveal a larger selection of blank, unsent postcards from Southeastern Europe, including Korčula, Split, the serpentines from/to Lovčen (today Montenegro) or the city of Belgrade (Serbia)[60] which would have acted as substitutes for taking their own photographs.

EMIGRATION: BERLIN—LONDON—MANCHESTER

In emigrating to England in 1937, Otti Berger followed several other students and teachers from the Bauhaus, such as the Gropius family and Moholy-Nagy. By the time Berger arrived in England, however, most of them were about to—or had already moved—to the United States. Berger, bereft without her Bauhaus colleagues, reported feeling "terribly sad"[61] and alone. Marcel Breuer was the only Bauhaus member who Berger felt close to and who still lived in London when she arrived. She described him as her "patron saint".[62] Not being able to speak English at first, Berger started learning the language, despite her hearing impairment. Even though she enjoyed the support of Breuer and his network, Berger found it impossible to get work assignments, despite trying with textile companies located in Bristol and Edinburgh: "bristol has completely fallen through [….] and there is also no way ahead with the edinburgers, they came up with one bad suggestion after another."[63] It would have been a welcome highlight for Berger, that Hilberseimer travelled to United Kingdom in July 1937, most probably to visit her and test the ground for work opportunities, as suggested by another stamp in his passport, having passed customs in Harwich on 5 July 1937 (Table 1). Looking for new opportunities in the country to which one migrates reflects an attempt to integrate both socially and professionally, here also paired with uncertainty about the possible future on Berger's and Hilberseimer's emigration journey.

The only professional collaboration that worked out for Berger was with Helios Ltd. in Bolton near Manchester in the summer of 1938. This commission had been arranged by Marianne Straub, the Swiss-born textile lead for Helios. At the time, Helios was a rather newly established company, founded as "Helios, Ltd., textile merchants" by "Directors: Sir Thomas D. Barlow and F. [*Felix*] Loewenstein" in October 1937.[64] Although the assignment lasted only five weeks, Berger created an impressive number of editions for upholstery fabrics with several variations of colour in the weave (of those, 'Ascot', 'Reigate', 'Burdale' and 'Eldrig' (Fig. 5) went into production, but most likely Berger designed several more sample patterns). Later on, she repeatedly regretted this liberal approach, as companies "[….] could work for years with the many patterns I provided them! a real shame!"[65]. In hindsight, and overall, Otti Berger did not consider her time in England particularly fruitful or positive. In September 1938, she writes to Ludwig Hilberseimer, who had by then already emigrated to Chicago, that she will cease any activities in England "[….] now that I know the people thoroughly and I am full of hatred and contempt".[66]

LUDWIG HILBERSEIMER'S PREPARATIONS FOR EMIGRATION

Archival artefacts reveal insights into the couple's relationship in reflecting that they both—in parallel to each other—prepared to move on to the United States together. It can be stated with certainty that the couple prepared for their emigration together, paying final visits to relatives and friends, and—especially in the case of Hilberseimer—possibly visiting

57 Putnik 5 n.d.
58 Behördlich Konzessioniertes Büro für Fremdenführungen Split–Peristyl Josef Frank n.d.
59 Putnik Sarajevo n.d.
60 Unknown publishers of postcards n.d.
61 Berger 1937b.
62 Berger 1937a.
63 Ibid.
64 Manchster City News, "Local Companies Registered this Week: Textile Company Helios, Ltd.", 2.
65 Berger 1938b.
66 Berger 1938d.

business partners and preparing legal matters, such as his divorce proceedings and arranging alimony payments to his wife. Hilberseimer managed to set up an agreement [*"Abtretungsurkunde", deed of assignation*] to channel license revenues from Otti Berger's contracts with the company Schriever & Co in Dresden to him, for a loan that he allegedly granted her.[67] Berger was not allowed to earn or receive money anymore, especially not since she had emigrated to England. So, the setup secured a flow of money, first to his wife, as Hilberseimer would also not have been able to receive any money, since he would soon emigrate to the United States.

In late June and early July 1938, Ludwig Hilberseimer undertook a final trip to Southeastern Europe. His passport (Table 2) indicates that he travelled to Bulgaria and the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. While further research is required to analyse the reasons for his journey, a letter dated 2 November 1938, sent to Hilberseimer, by then already in Chicago, indicates business related reasons, since it discusses drawing up a draft for a personal residence in Sofia.[68]

Hilberseimer was set to leave for Chicago via England but his travels and preparations for emigration obviously delayed his planned arrival in England in July "for a short visit".[69] Certainly, he and Otti Berger planned to meet up before his departure, but Otti Berger also arranged a meeting for him with Leonard Knight Elmhirst at the Dartington Hall Trust Arts Department in Devon,[70] before sending him off to the United States at Southampton.

Ludwig Hilberseimer sailed as a cabin passenger on the *RMS Britannic*, a Cunard White Star ship leaving from Southampton, U.K., on 20 August 1938,[71] and arriving in the United States on Ellis Island, New York City, on 28 August 1938, indicated by the "LIST OF [...] ALIEN PASSENGERS" issued for the U.S. Department of Labor.[72] The list also recorded his marital status, still as "M" for married, as the divorce from his wife only became legally valid on 25 September 1938, and certified on 4 November 1938.[73] Soon after this arrival, on 13 October 1938, Ludwig Hilberseimer filed a "Declaration of Intention" to become a U.S. Citizen[74] and was awarded US citizenship (through naturalisation) on 18 April 1944.[75]

67 Hilberseimer 1938.
68 Mengin 1986, 88.
69 Berger 1938a.
70 Berger n.d., most probably July 1938.
71 Cunnard White Star Shipping Company 1938.
72 U.S. Department of Labor 1938.
73 Civil Registry Office Berlin-Charlottenburg 1938.
74 Clerk of the U.S. District Court and Hilberseimer 1938.
75 U.S. District Court at Chicago, Illinois and Hilberseimer 1944.

WRITTEN CORRESPONDENCE PRIOR TO AND DURING WORLD WAR II

Following Hilberseimer's departure to the United States, in August 1938 Otti Berger returned from England to her former home in Zmajevac, Croatia, to care for her sick mother, travelling from England to Prague by airplane and further on via train.

In her first letter to Hilberseimer in Chicago, she writes about the pre-war situation becoming more and more tense and shares an emotion that might have been a warning signal for her: "it was a strange feeling, flying high up over the IIIrd reich".[76] At this point Otti Berger was still hopeful that she would be able to join Hilberseimer in the USA. In autumn 1938, Berger travels with her mother to Prague to visit relatives, with a stop in Vienna, and writes to Hilberseimer about their experience in dramatic words. She greets him with very intimate words, "my dear dear hilb" and signs "in love always yours, o." but writes that they have seen and heard unbelievable things during their trip: that Prague was full of refugees and that Vienna seemed deserted, with furniture and other personal belongings lined up in front of houses,[77] indicating that (Jewish) residents had been evicted from their homes. She also writes that she cannot wait for her to leave the country, in view of joining Hilberseimer in the USA, and later bring her family over as well: "my only thought is to get out of here and on to you, the sooner, the better [...]."[78]

From this letter onwards, Berger's tone changes. In her first letters from Zmajevac, her writing still reflects a confident attitude about her situation, partially even distancing herself from the dangers of war and Nazi regime persecution, and offering very close and supportive statements towards Ludwig Hilberseimer. Towards 1941, Berger's tone changes, reflecting her gloomy and despondent mood, then being very realistic about her situation, but trying to preserve some hope of emigration.

In September 1939, the invasion of Poland by the German army marked the official begin of the Second World War in Europe. Many citizens in a growing number of countries, especially Jews, were persecuted by the Nazis. Regimes collaborating with the Nazis changed the political landscape in Europe, and this impact also reached the remote Baranya region of Berger's hometown.

Over the next four years, Otti Berger repeatedly tries to obtain an emigration visa, but to no avail, at least not for the time she would have been allowed to leave the country. Several former members of the Bauhaus try

76 Berger 1938c.
77 Berger 1938e.
78 Berger 1938e.

to help her to emigrate. Walter Gropius attempts to support her by writing to the American Embassy in Belgrade and László Moholy-Nagy, who had offered Berger the weaving workshop's lead at the 'New Bauhaus' in Chicago before, urges the Department of Labor in Washington to at least issue a short-term visa for her. In his letter he praises Berger's work, writing: "We hope, through her excellent knowledge of the trade, thru [*through*] her practice in great workshops, factories and through her experience in teaching, we shall have the best direction available for our purposes."[79] Moholy-Nagy even claimed that Berger was "the head of the Weaving Workshop"[80] at Bauhaus in Dessau, even though this was not fully true (Lilly Reich was the official head). It is a short, yet highly appreciative recognition of Berger's practice, work and achievements.

Hilberseimer and Berger continue to write to each other. The couple also discuss whether, as recommended by a relative, a marriage would be "of advantage", and Berger writes to Hilberseimer, "if he is willing to do so" and whether he would sort out his divorce, since he was officially still married to his wife in Berlin.[81]

Only one handwritten letter by Hilberseimer from this time is available, obviously a prescript of a letter that was sent later. Hilberseimer wrote it in English, most likely due to the war and intelligence interferences—letters written in German and letters from/to Germany or the countries occupied by or collaborating with Germany were censored or at least read. Hilberseimer starts the letter offering a very personal greeting, with "My dear Otti", yet the rest of the letter remains rather shallow, mentioning the weather and politics in Britain.[82] In contrast to Berger's writing, the tone of this letter is friendly and kind, and there are still a few emotions reflecting their close relationship. Generally, at this time, the couple seemed to still be hopeful about a future together. Berger's writing is still filled with hope and positive aspects, despite the reality of war clearly drawing closer. Initially, she even dismisses the first reports of imprisonment of Jews in the Baranya region as speculation.[83] Over the course of the war years, Berger's tone of voice becomes more and more pessimistic and dejected.

All attempts to arrange for emigration fail and the noose of war slowly tightens on the Berger family and many other families in Southeastern and Eastern Europe. The last known written communication from or to Otti Berger dates from 1941. After this date, it must be assumed that letters and postal items from and to the Baranya region were delayed, stopped due to war activities, or redacted. In her last known letter to Ludwig Hilberseimer, dated 4 September 1941,[84] handwritten from Budapest and no longer in her usual style of using lower case only, Berger remarks that she has not heard from Hilberseimer in a long time (Fig. 7). Writing how much she and her family care about him, she adds a forlorn "when will we be together once again?",[85] stating the stark situation in the occupied regions, especially for Jewish people. She also entices him to preserve her belongings and her work stored in England, because it is worth it: "my things in L [*London*,] please further preserve them. It is worth it [*the effort*]".[86] Her last obtained letter to Hilberseimer is dated 29 September 1941.[87] Berger writes in a dejected tone, missing the direction-setting of her father who passed away earlier in the year. She again writes that she has not heard from Hilberseimer, that she will visit the consulate one more time, and that she, and her family, send him the very best wishes.

DEPORTATION OF THE BERGER FAMILY

In March and April 1944, the German Wehrmacht and the collaborating Hungarian government under Miklós Horthy installed ghettos and concentration camps across Hungary, including the Baranya region.[88] In the Yad Vashem archives, a witness confirmed that the Berger family was "arrested [*on*] 27 April 1944" and further noted "Auschwitz" in the section for the place and circumstances of death[89], indicating that Otti Berger was killed in Auschwitz. Most probably, the family was brought to the city of Mohács, to which Zmajevac belonged administratively, following their arrest.

Otti Berger's brother, Otto Berger, was the only member of the Berger family to survive the Holocaust. Otto returned to Zmajevac from Auschwitz, and in August 1945 wrote to Ludwig Hilberseimer about his own fate and that of the family (Fig. 8). He writes about the fate of his sister: "I am very afraid that my sister Oti [*Otti*] was killed by the Germans with gas because she was deff [*deaf*]".[90] Earlier in the letter, he recalls that they "were taken away [..] in a concentration logor in Hungary where we were 5 weeks when they took us to Aushits-Birkenau [*Auschwitz-Birkenau*] in 29 May 1944, when we were separated from each other [...]".[91] Otto Berger had a friend translate the letters, they contain some errors, and some statements leave open questions, such as the kind of camp the family was deported to first. "Logor" is the Croatian word for 'camp' which could be a concentration or a labour camp. It can be assumed that the family was first

79 Moholy-Nagy 1939.
80 Ibid.
81 Berger 1939.
82 Hilberseimer 1939.
83 Berger 1938f.
84 Berger 1941a.
85 Ibid. See also Varga, *Ég És Föld Között*, 122.
86 Berger 1941a.
87 Berger 1941b.
88 White and Hecker, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos*.
89 Vanuša, "Page of Testimony".
90 Berger 1945.
91 Ibid.

deported from Mohács to Pécs, the regional capital of the Baranya region and a railway hub for deportation.[92] To date, the author of this research has not uncovered proof of a deportation train from Pécs to Auschwitz at the date mentioned by Otto Berger, however, there was one 5 weeks after 29 May 1944. Further research is required to investigate the Berger family's fate and exact deportation dates and route. The letter is also a testament to the cruelty people experienced in the concentration camps. Otto Berger testifies what he had to go through and that he "worked very heavy for only 9 weeks, but I will never forget those weeks and that job was not for human beings [...] I lost 42 kilograms from my weight and I look like a 75-year-old man".[93]

Otto Berger erected a 'mazwa', a gravestone at the Jewish cemetery above Zmajevac, for Otti Berger, their sibling brothers and their mother, all killed in Auschwitz. In 2018, the mazwa was moved to the site of the honourable citizens of Zmajevac.

A BAUHAUS NETWORK REACTIVATED: SECURING OTTI BERGER'S ESTATE

In the 1950s and supported by Otti Berger's friends and acquaintances in London, as well as Bauhaus members such as Walter Gropius and his wife Ise ("Pia"), Ludwig Hilberseimer arranged for Berger's legacy to be sent to the United States, in order to be distributed between the Busch-Reisinger Museum in Harvard and the Art Institute of Chicago. This was initiated by Hilberseimer following a letter from Ellen Otten in London. Otti had stored her belongings in trunks at a carrier / shipping agent's (Otten writes, in German, about a "Spediteur", including an "extensive amount" of work samples, legal documents and private items.[94] They were most probably prepared and ready for shipment to the United States as soon as Berger returned from her family visit to emigrate to the United States, as well and pending a valid immigration visa for the United States.

Walter Gropius and his wife Ise were also involved, and Gropius got his former assistant Hanna Lindemann on board who was still living in the UK. The Bauhaus network around Hilberseimer and Otti Berger was thus instrumental in securing Berger's remaining correspondence as well as her estate. Her work that was sent to the Busch-Reisinger Museum in Harvard has been documented in a two-page list, categorising the work from her "D U T C H period", including fabrics such as "Curvo", "Gardenia" or "Heliotrop" as well as other work, such as for the German company Schriever.[95] The list was put together most probably by Hanna Lindemann and/or Ellen Otten, as they were "sorting out the samples and, insofar as possible, putting it into a correct order".[96]

It is in this communication that the term "fiancé" is mentioned. Hilberseimer writes to Hanna Lindemann in October 1951 and shares that Berger transferred her patent rights to him. Further, he asks to receive Otti Berger's jewellery, explaining the reason "because I gave it to Otti", [97] which reconfirms the close relationship between the two. In a typewritten letter sent to Lindemann on 23 November 1951, he writes: "I felt entitled to do so, as during her life time Miss Berger entrusted me as her closest friend (fiancé) to look after her own interests."[98] But it is not Hilberseimer as Berger's fiancé, who initiated the introduction to Hanna Lindemann (and thus, the British authorities with whom Lindemann dealt), but Lindemann herself, who pre-writes a letter for Hilberseimer to send to the authorities, to be sure that he may receive Berger's estate. It is a recommendation by Lindemann, a "Suggestion for statement to be sent to me by Prof. Hilberseimer", in which she explains to Hilberseimer that "The word "fiancé" means a lot here in England, nearly as much as a husband, by law."[99] Hanna Lindemann undertook a similar process of preformulating a letter for Hilberseimer that he was supposed to send to the Busch-Reisinger Museum in Harvard. It was an attempt—a successful one—to secure Otti Berger's belongings because Hilberseimer could not certify his relationship with her since he lacked official, legal documentation to prove it.

CONCLUSION

Archival artefacts play a significant role in generating new knowledge, even though a challenge often lies in creating meaningful connections across various artefacts and pieces of literature. In this research a breakthrough moment in understanding the contextual nuances was facilitated by the integration of diverse forms of visual evidence during in-depth archival research. Evidence included travel images, brochures, or passport photographs, which were enhanced by the exchanged letters between Otti Berger and Ludwig Hilberseimer and other sources. The necessity to engage with a variety of forms and modalities of visual evidence and to integrate them into research thus becomes evident. The approach not only helped to draw more robust conclusions but also provoked new lines of inquiry, highlighted gaps and underscored the need for further research, such as the absence of most of Ludwig Hilberseimer's responses to Otti Berger or her passport.

92 Gilbert 2009; White and Hecker 2018.
93 Berger 1945.
94 Otten 1951.
95 No author 1951/1952 n.d.
96 Otten 1951.
97 Hilberseimer 1951a.
98 Hilberseimer 1951b.
99 Lindemann ca. 1951 n.d.

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ADDENDUM: RECENT RESEARCH FINDINGS (ADDED DECEMBER, 2024)

Since the preparation of this article, notable new findings have been uncovered, related to the discussed deportation routes of the Berger family (pp. 291–292).

Following the kind and valuable research exchange with Dr. Widar Halén and Boris Hajdinjak, the author was directed to the city of Barcs as a possible location of the assembly camp to which the Berger family was taken to after their arrest in their hometown, before being deported to Auschwitz.

Further research revealed that the southern Baranja districts, including Vörösmart (Zmajevac), were declared a special "Operational Area" in early April 1944 (Braham, 2013; Braham, 2000). Braham (2013, p. 98) states that the Jewish citizens of Vörösmart (Zmajevac) were first arrested and brought to the town of Darda during a police raid in the special area between April 26–28, 1944.

They were then taken to the Union Mill in Barcs (Braham, 2013, pp. 66–67), a roller mill for grains that served as an assembly camp for about 1580 people. Vanuša (2005), in her Yad Vashem testimony, stated that the Berger family was arrested on April 27, 1944, which aligns with Braham's research. Braham further documents that the Jews in the Barcs camp were subsequently transported to Auschwitz via Sopron on May 27, 1944. In his letter to Hilberseimer (Berger, 1945), Otto Berger noted that they were taken to Auschwitz on May 29, 1944. If the deportation train took two days, these dates would match. It is possible that the Bergers were not routed through the deportation train hub of Kassa (Košice, present-day Slovakia), but instead via Sopron and Vienna (Strasshof) and through Czechia to Poland and Auschwitz. Further research is still required to fully understand the route.

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[1]

[2]

[3]

[4]

[5]

[6]

Budapest 1941
4. sept.

Lieber Hilb, heute bekam ich
endlich einen Brief von Dir
nach langer Zeit. Den vom
15. sept. schrieb eigentlich.
wir sind mit arme Mutter
da, deren krankheit sich
wieder erneut hatte. Sie
bekommt wieder radium
u. röntgen. Hoffen wir
dass es dies mal nicht
so schwer sein wird
wie vor 2 jahren. Es
ist aber doch furcht-
bar, dass zu allem

auch noch dies kommen musste.
mein älterer Bruder ist noch
nicht zuhause. alles ist ziem-
lich triste und man muss
sich schon zusammenneh-
men alles auszuhalten.
meine Sachen in L bitte
sollt ihr weiter aufbewah-
ren lassen. Bitte unbe-
dingt. Es lohnt sich.
und bitte schreibe mir
nur bald wieder. Vielleicht
sehen wir uns noch ein-
mal. ich werde aufs
consulat gehen + Dir bald
schreiben. Herzlichst ...

[7]

Berger Otto Zmajevac
Baranja,Jugoslavia.

Zmajevac 10 th of aug.1945.

D e a r H i l b !

At last I can write to you and I am sure you are going to be surrised because if you expected a letter you didnt expected from me.But after all I can only write about myself because of my family I nothin know to this time.First of all I want to write to you that we were taken away with my sister Otti my brother Oskar and with Elsa in a consentration logor in Hungary where we were 5 weeks when they took us to Aushits-Birkenan in 1944 29 th of may when we were separated from each other and from that time I didnt received anything from them and to this date I dont know where they are.I was freed by the Russians in 1945 27 th of january in Aushits were I was at that time.In march I arrived at home in the town of Zmajevac-fortunatly.At home I am wating to here something from them and in one time that they will probably unsuspectedly arrive at home,but I am very afraid that they will knot. Many of us came home we who were consentrated in all kinds of logors,but those whoom I suspect yet did not arrived.Many of them are wating in Germany to be transported home,but things are quite sloly going on.I am very afraid that my sister Oti was killed by the Germans with gas because she was deff.Brother Oscar was sugar sick and he ate very little and Elsa was also sick and she was the older between us and for this reason I am very afraid for them that they will never return.It is a very big question where were they taken to if they had luck to be in Austria I think that they will probably come home,but if they were taken to Germany I think they will never return.

Dear Hilb it would be a quit a long story to write down what we sufferd in those places it is true that I only 9 weeks worked xx very heavy,but I will never forget those weeks and that job was knot for human beins.What we received to eat it is better that I dont write anything about it you can think when I lost 42 kilograms from my weight and I look like a man 75 years

[8]

1. Otti Berger, ca. 1932–1933. Photographer unknown, possibly Ludwig Hilberseimer, who's pipe Berger might be smoking. Bauhaus Archiv Berlin, Inv.nr.: 2017/708.2
2. Portrait of Ludwig Hilberseimer, 1933, most probably on May 8, 1933, during the farewell excursion of the Bauhaus Berlin on the river Havel, one day after the closure of the school. Photographer unknown. Bauhaus Archiv Berlin, Inv.nr.: F6542
3. Otti Berger's work from the Bauhaus weaving workshop, a shiny, light-reflecting fabric of cellophane and cotton. weave: double woven plain weave. Installation view of the 2019 exhibition "Weaving beyond the Bauhaus" at The Art Institute of Chicago. Photo: Alexandra Matz
4. Otti Berger and Ise Gropius in Berlin. Date and original photographer unknown. Otti Berger was well connected with other members of the Bauhaus – both fellow students such as Anni Albers and Gertrud Arndt (who shot many portrait photos of Otti Berger) and the Gropius family. Ludwig Karl Hilberseimer Papers, Ryerson and Burnham Art and Architecture Archives, the Art Institute of Chicago. Photo: Alexandra Matz
5. Sample Book of Helios Ltd., with designs by Otti Berger 1938. The Whitworth Art Gallery, The University of Manchester. Photos: Alexandra Matz, 2019. Top left: sample overview of ASCOT fadeless fabrics, designed by Otti Berger 1938, weave: shaft twill. E.g., version G: warp in green, weft in yellow/gold colour creating a three-dimensional effect. Top right: BURDALE fabric (close-up), weave: jacquard. Lower left: ELDRIG fabric (close-up), weave: bouclé with two different natural tones. Lower right: REIGATE, weave: shaft twill.
6. Artefacts from the Ludwig Karl Hilberseimer Papers, Ryerson and Burnham Art and Architecture Archives, The Art Institute of Chicago. (a) Top left: Ludwig Hilberseimer in Dalmatia, today Croatia (1936, original photographer unknown, probably Otti Berger. Photo: Alexandra Matz); (b) Top right: Otti Berger in Dalmatia (1936, photographer unknown, probably Ludwig Hilberseimer. Photo: Alexandra Matz); (c) Bottom left: Otti Berger and Ludwig Hilberseimer in the Baranja region, (1936, photographer unknown. Photo: Alexandra Matz); (d) Bottom middle: Backside of aforementioned photography, addressed to Oskar Berger, brother of Otti Berger (1936. Photo: Alexandra Matz); (e) Bottom right: one page of Ludwig Hilberseimer's passport indicating border crossings in 1938 (photograph of passport: Dr. Anke Blümm).
7. Letter of Otti Berger (in Zmajevac / Vörösmart, written from a visit in Budapest) to Ludwig Hilberseimer (Chicago), 1941. Photo: Alexandra Matz. Karl Ludwig Hilberseimer Papers, The Ryerson and Burnham Art and Architecture Archives, The Art Institute of Chicago
8. Letter of Otto Berger to Ludwig Hilberseimer, August 8, 1945, who highlighted the probable death of his sister, Otti Berger, and deportation dates. Karl Ludwig Hilberseimer Papers, Ryerson and Burnham Archives, The Art Institute of Chicago. Photo: Alexandra Matz

Ludwig Hilberseimer's Travel in 1936
(Reconstruction of dates based on passport stamps)

05.08.36	Magyarboly (Hungary)
05.08.36	Beli Manastir (Kingdom of Yugoslavia)
06.08.36	Batina (Kingdom of Yugoslavia, Serbia)
15.08.36	Belgrade
12.09.36	Zagreb. Permission to travel through Austria in-between 21st and 28th September 1936. Issued by the German Embassy, Zagreb
26.09.36	Jesenice (Border crossing to Austria)
26.09.36	Salzburg (Border crossing to Germany)
05.07.37	Haarwich (UK). Most probably visiting Otti Berger in London

Table 1: Reconstruction of travel destinations and border crossings by Ludwig Hilberseimer in the years 1936 and 1937 based on customs stamps and other entries in his personal passport (Stellvertretender Vorsteher des 152. Polizeireviers, Berlin 1934).

Ludwig Hilberseimer's Travel in 1938
(Reconstruction of dates based on passport stamps)

25.06.38	Passport control at Szob (Czechoslovakia)
25.06.38 28.06.38	Dragoman (Bulgaria, entering the Kingdom of Yugoslavia (Serbia)
02.07.38	Komárno (Czechoslovakia, border crossing to Hungary)
02.07.38 02.07.38	Magyarboly (Hungary) Beli Manastir (Kingdom of Yugoslavia)
12.07.38	Berlin, the US Embassy issues a Quota Immigration Visa for Hilberseimer
30.07.38	Oldenzaar (The Netherlands)
05.07.37	Haarwich (UK).
20.08.38	Southampton (UK)
28.08.38	Ellis Island, New York City (USA)

Table 2: Reconstruction of travel destinations and border crossings by Ludwig Hilberseimer in the year 1938, based on customs stamps and other entries in his personal passport (Stellvertretender Vorsteher des 152. Polizeireviers, Berlin 1934).

GEORGE THEMISTOKLEOUS

Automatized Images, and "Eye"-dentities along Nicosia's Green Line Border

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The 'operating table' is a design installation that is currently being developing to explore the spatiality of Nicosia's border.[1] Responding to the border division in Cyprus, the 'operating table' uses a photographic apparatus to re-construct the imagery along Nicosia's Green Line.

The apparatus, by automatically capturing and re-producing imagery of participants, creates hybrid combinations between human and nonhuman agents. As such the postcolonial dominant identities of Greek-Cypriots and Turkish-Cypriots that are predominant today are questioned, what are produced instead are hybrids. The photographic apparatus of the *operating table*, and its automation responds to the border surveillance condition, therefore its "process remains concealed: black box"[2] as it needs to be camouflaged from the surveillance apparatus. Following Vilem Flusser, the "criticism of technical images" developed in this article "must be aimed at an elucidation of its inner workings."[3]

This article will start by explaining how the *operating table*, a custom-made installation, operates along Nicosia's Green Line border. In the section 'The *Operating Table*—Mirroring Surveillance', the surveillance apparatus will be referred to by looking at Foucault's Panopticon and defensive architecture more broadly. The question of identity within this contested territory is outlined from the start. The *operating table* camouflages and mirrors the surveillance apparatus. The second section 'Nonhuman Visualities' articulates the theoretical approach towards the *operating table*. By superimposing the hybridisation of nonhuman and human actants from Bruno Latour with criticism of photographic automation in the work of Vilem Flusser, the *operating table* tries to impose a new way to think of visuality. Hence, the technical operations will be observed in more detail. The third section 'Visual Mediations' focuses on the visuality of the stereoscope that is part of the *operating table* and aims to further explore the

1 The installation can be defined as a 'critical spatial practice'. See: Rendell, *Art and Architecture: A Place Between*, 6.

2 Flusser, *Towards a Philosophy of Photography*, 60.

3 Ibid.

hybridisation of human vision and its relation to the nonhuman technical apparatus. Focusing on the interconnectedness of human and nonhumans the final section aims to unravel how the technical hybrid assemblage questions the very identity that is assumed in the context of the border. The conclusion aims to re-pose the question of identity in Cyprus, and how notions of pre-defined identities are problematized by the *operating table*.

THE OPERATING TABLE — MIRRORING SURVEILLANCE

The *operating table* is a device/installation that takes the form of a transportable and assembled table that attaches onto Nicosia's buffer zone barrels (Figure. 1). At first sight the *operating table* is perceived as a series of curious objects. The table is divided into four parts with each part containing a quarter of an inverse mould of a head. Once the four pieces are assembled, the cavity of a human head enables visitors to place their head inside this receptacle. There are two peepholes in the position of the eyes, that emit light once the parts are lined up. What one sees when they position their head inside this cavity, are stereoscopic projections of themselves, and others, that were captured whilst they were trying to align the parts. One unexpectedly sees oneself seeing oneself in three-dimensional depth, where the background and foreground are strangely composited. Figure and the contextual background produce new unexpected relations with the immediate context. Something that is located inside the physically inaccessible Green Line is brought to the foreground through the camera lens. Manipulated through the software composition, objects change scale, and proximity, informing indeterminate relations between background and foreground. The visitor's body becomes an object in a shifting field of vegetations, dilapidated buildings, cats, clouds and so on. For a few seconds, one loses their orientation, as the image uproots oneself from their surroundings, and from any prescribed identities. By producing an 'out of body' experience, one's identity is, at least momentarily, contested. Through this device one's identity is no longer clearly subjectified within a regime of power. Before expanding on this operation and how it entangles human and nonhuman agents, it is important to consider the border surveillance apparatus.

Various signs remind us that the Green Line border is a site where photographs are mostly prohibited. Along Nicosia's Green Line on the south side, one will observe various observation watchtowers. The same occurs on the north side, whereas the Green Line is patrolled by the UN nations. The space of the border in this case acts as a Panopticon. Michel Foucault's paper entitled 'Panopticism' (1974) examines Bentham's prison model. The panopticon, a centrally planned prison with an inspection tower in the centre and prison cells arranged along the circumference of the circular plan, produced a very simple and effective means of spatially controlling the prisoners. The radial prison cell arrangement was visually accessible from the watchtower.[4] From the central point the guard was able to view any of the prison cells. The prisoner, aware that they might be seen at any time without ever knowing when, could never see the inspecting guard (due to the blind arrangement). The one-way viewing system makes it possible for the guard to observe any prisoner at any time, whilst prisoners are aware that they are objects of a systematic gaze. The prisoner is psychologically made to internalize the gaze of the singular surveillance guard, introjecting the all-seeing Eye. The prisoner is constantly being watched without knowing when by the guard that remains invisible in the one-way viewing mechanism. The spatial mechanism therefore assumes that the prisoner "is seen, but he does not see; he is the object of information never a subject in communication."[5] The power of the disciplinary body as a *pan-optic* [all seeing] eye subverts the subject 'in communication' into a disciplined object of observation. As Giorgio Agamben reveals subjectification in Foucault's disciplinary society proceeds through 'the process' of desubjectification. He writes, "Foucault has demonstrated how, in a disciplinary society, apparatuses aim to create—through a series of practices, discourses, and bodies of knowledge—docile, yet free, bodies that assume their identity and their 'freedom' as subjects in the very process of their desubjectification."[6]

Subjectification in the space of the city happens through the control of physical control of territory. The defensive architecture[7] of Nicosia, is comprised of not only watchtowers, it also includes walls, barricades, cameras, as well as various national symbols such as flags and slogans. Hence regimes of power deploy a defensive architecture that "seeks to discipline 'undesirables' by designing against alternative uses of the city with the explicit purpose of excluding from public space those who engage in unsanctioned or undesired behaviours."[8] From the point of view of the State, one must abide to the territorial rules of the Green Line border.

The *operating table* travels, and attaches onto Nicosia's barrels along the Green Line. Its form appears unsuspectingly alien to the guards. The concealed photographic camera apparatuses are positioned inside the *operating table*. The urban surveillance space that monitors and maintains the behaviour of subjects is, in this case, infiltrated by this device. The

4 For the full description of the Panopticon layout including the relationship of each cell to the inspector's house through particular screens (blinds) and lighting conditions see: Bentham, "Panopticon; or, The Inspection House", in *The Works of Jeremy Bentham*, 39-66.

5 Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, 200.

6 Agamben, "What Is an Apparatus?" in *What Is an Apparatus? and Other Essays*, 19-20.

7 The term defensive architecture is explained by Smith and Walters. See: Smith and Walters. "Desire Lines and defensive architecture in modern urban environments", 3.

8 Ibid.

operating table thus mirrors the visuality of the border, and by doing so mirrors the surveillance gaze itself. It literally records what it sees and this includes watchtowers, guards, signage, and any defensive architecture that is in its way. It doesn't acknowledge what is prohibited.

THE OPERATING TABLE — NONHUMAN VISUALITIES

The table as surface "where texts had been written by men or inspired by God—never inspired or written by nonhumans"[9] is here subverted. Nonhuman agents undercut the traditional role of the table. The *operating table* includes an assemblage of hardware, software and assembled components. How does it work from the technical point of view? An ultrasonic sensor triggered by a moving body (car, cat, human, etc.) is attached to an Arduino microcontroller. This sends a signal to the DSLR camera, through the Raspberry PI microcomputer, the shutter release captures a doubled image, of a stereoscopic pair. The pair is made possible because of a mounted customized mirror device that is attached to the front of the camera lens. Within seconds, the doubled image is split into two parts and sent to two LCD screens, via a router connection. Each screen has a mounted raspberry PI and projects one of the two stereoscopic images onto a mirrored surface. The mirrored surfaces slanted 45 degrees from each eye, projects each of the two images from the stereoscopic pair. When one positions their head inside the head mold, made out of clear resin, their eyes are framed by mild steel sheets that block any peripheral vision. What one sees are the stereoscopic projection of themselves, and the immediate environment.

The views captured by the device are composited views, where background and foreground are swapped through the software. In other words, images of backgrounds of the site are stitched together with the figure outline in the foreground. This produces unpredictable relations in the image, but also highlights details and elements that are captured by the sensing recording of the images. For example, one will observe everyday activities by migrant workers who live in flats opposite one part of the site juxtaposed with the space that has been frozen in time since 1974. The stereoscopic view brings into the fore unexpected relations that are heightened by the illusory cardboard like depth of the mirrored images. Vegetations, barbed wire, and clouds are thus strangely perceived in-depth. One's perception of these images is further perplexed as they are produced and projected in the same space.

Flusser states that the "lack of criticism of technical images is potentially dangerous at a time when technical images are in the process of displacing texts—dangerous for the reason that the 'objectivity' of technical images is

9 Latour, *We Have Never Been Modern*, 23.

an illusion."[10] Flusser is warning against the algorithmic abstract signification of symbols, through technical images. And this is why he claims that "as artists, architects place themselves between the images and their significance."[11] The *operating table* problematizes the automated technologies of technical images. Flusser explains how electronic images become "simpler by means of more and more perfect automation, eternal recurrence of the same. They form a camera memory, a databank of automatic functions."[12] For Flusser this gives rise to the domination of images, to a programming of society by computation. Bernard Stiegler mentions in *Technics and Time 1*, how through the act of automation certain possibilities are actualized within a variable system, therefore automation is made possible by eliminating many other possibilities. A better understanding of the technical object for Stiegler provides a grasp of the indeterminate virtual possibilities that the technical object could offer. According to Bernard Stiegler "the technical object is no longer merely inert, but neither is it living matter … [it] transforms itself in time as living matter transforms itself in its interaction with the milieu." [13] Stiegler's non-anthropocentric position stresses that the technical object increasingly evolves in and of itself, i.e. beyond human intentionality or mastery. Yet, as Stiegler suggests, the human while no longer being the "intentional actor" is now the "*operator*" of the technical object, and of the broader technical system.[14] Stiegler reveals the misunderstanding of the technical object and the "possible alienation of humanity (or of culture) by technics."[15] He observes that "[t]o know the essence of the machine, and thereby understanding the sense of technics in general, is also to know the place of the *human* in technical ensembles."[16]

Blaise Agüera y Arcas, the leader of Google's Seattle AI group[17], and founder of the Artists and Machine Intelligence program (AMI)[18], attempts "to rethink art as something generated by (and consumed by) hybrid beings."[19] Agüera y Arcas refers to Flusser's description of the camera as having both

10 Flusser, *Towards a Philosophy of Photography*, 15.

11 Ibid.

12 Ibid, 58.

13 Stiegler, *Technics and Time, 1: The Fault of Epimetheus*, 49.

14 Ibid, 66.

15 Ibid.

16 Ibid.

17 The official website of Google AI states: 'At Google AI, we're conducting research that advances the state-of-the-art in the field, applying AI to products and to new domains, and developing tools to ensure that everyone can access AI'. See: https://ai.google/about/. Accessed 31 March 2019. No longer available.

18 AMI is "a program at Google that brings artists and engineers together to realize projects using Machine Intelligence". See: https://ami.withgoogle.com. Accessed 31 March 2019.

19 Aguera y Arcas, "Art in the Age of Machine Intelligence", Medium, 23 February 2016. https://medium.com/artists-and-machine-intelligence. Accessed 25 March 2019.

'software' and 'program'.[20] Flusser anticipated the cultural impact that the photographic 'technical' image will have on media. By doing so he traced the possibilities of the photographic image well before the first digital camera was made (1988). Agüera y Arcas writes on Flusser:

> maybe it took a philosopher's squint to note the "programming" inherent in the grinding and configuration of lenses, the creation of a frame and field of view, the timing of the shutters, the details of chemical emulsions and film processing.[21]

Agüera y Arcas then goes on to parallel the operation of the analog camera not only to digital operations but also to the filtering operation of the eye:

> ... code does things like removing noise in near constant areas, sharpening edges, and filling in for defective pixels with plausible surrounding color not unlike the way our retina hallucinate away the blood vessels at the back of the eye that would otherwise mar our visual field.[22]

The notion of the hybrid can thus be used here to understand the relations between human and nonhuman. It is important to analyze these in order to construct an understanding of the *operating table*.

HYBRIDISATION

The hybrid in Latour's work assumes that it is not differentiated into the natural and social, as happens with 'modern' societies. Latour shows how 'premoderns' do not make this dual distinction. As Latour writes:

> As soon as we direct our attention simultaneously to the work of purification and the work of hybridisation, we immediately stop being wholly modern, and our future begins to change. At the same time we stop having been modern, because we become retrospectively aware that the two sets of practices have always already been at work in the historical period that is ending. Our past begins to change.[23]

20 On the 'program' of the photograph Flusser observes that: "[t]here are therefore two interweaving programs in the camera. One of them motivates the camera into taking pictures; the other one permits the photographer to play. Beyond these are further programs—that of the photographic industry that programmed the camera; that of the industrial complex that programmed the photographic industry; that of the socio-economic system that programmed the industrial complex; and so on. Of course, there can be no "final" program of a "final" apparatus since every program requires a metaprogram by which it is programmed. The hierarchy of programs is open at the top". See: Flusser, *Towards a Philosophy of Photography*, 29.

21 Aguera y Arcas, "Art in the Age of Machine Intelligence".

22 Ibid.

23 Latour, *We Have Never Been Modern*, 11.

Albena Yaneva writes: this notion of hybridization "implies taking a position in the middle of events from where one can pay attention to both humans and nonhumans simultaneously, allowing for the proliferation of hybrids."[24] And so, it is from this lens, that the *operating table* is approached. The Latourian hybridization assumes the constant formation of expanding networks. The operating table thus aims to galvanize the assemblage of relations and to problematize how identities are constructed by regimes of power. To emphasize this point I will now return to the political implications of the photograph on the site.

Photographing in certain parts of the Green Line is prohibited. Whilst photographing and documenting a specific area, I was stopped by a soldier that was patrolling. The soldier told me that I was not allowed to take photographs and so I received a warning. Upon returning to the site with the device no suspicion was raised because the device itself doesn't appear to transgress the prohibition of the camera. This is because does not suspect that there is a camera inside the device, and that it is remotely capturing images along this territory. By parasiting a space that is inhospitable for photographic apparatuses it forms new modes of hybridization.

As Latour claims in his lecture 'A Cautious Prometheus: A Few Steps Towards a Philosophy of Design', "[w]hat I am pressing for is a means for drawing *things* together—gods, non humans and mortals included."[25] And in the case of the *operating table*, we assume that the nonhumans and humans assume relations that challenge the very imposition of ethno-nationalist identities along the border, a matter of concern for Cypriot identities. Let us re-trace the impact of the *operating table.* Latour poses a question which is applicable to this particular case. He asks, "where are the visualization tools that allow the contradictory and controversial nature of matters of concern to be represented?"[26] The device makes hybrids visible. Firstly, it produces an image of oneself that is impossible without technical mediation. One can never see oneself, i.e. one's face in depth, without such a technical mediation. This produces an out of body experience, a shock. Following this image, one is further unsettled, as their 'selves' are dis-placed. They are represented in familiar views but ones where the background would have been impossible without image compositing. The views are interspersed with a digitized self-image and anything else that comes into the background. The odd juxtaposition with animals, buildings, vegetation and objects produces an image that is incompossible in terms of identification. Hence identity is unsettled.

24 Yaneva, *Latour for Architects*, 11.

25 Latour, "A Cautious Prometheus? A Few Steps Toward a Philosophy of Design (with Special Attention to Peter Sloterdijk)," *Networks of Design* keynote lecture, Design History Society Falmouth, 03 Sep, 2008.

26 Ibid.

VISUAL MEDIATION

We have explained how the visual apparatus works, without getting in too much technical detail, and without every possibly giving a full view of the nonhuman parts that interact within the system. What about the extension of the technical apparatus in the operation of the human eyes? In this case Henri Bergson's writing on the eyes in *Creative Evolution* is useful.

Bergson's reference "to the eye calls attention to the complexity of the organ, which is usually overlooked in relation to the unity of its function (the act of seeing)."[27] According to Bergson:

the mechanism [machine] of the eye is, in short, composed of an infinity of mechanisms, all of extreme complexity. Yet vision is one simple fact. As soon as the eye opens, the visual act is effected. Just because the act is simple, the slightest negligence on the part of nature in the building of the infinitely complex machine would have made vision impossible.[28]

The complex machinic operation of vision is evident in the stereoscope as it "transitions from monocular receptions to their binocular fusion that occurs in the mind."[29] The stereoscope itself and its relation to vision made possible this type of visuality. The technical mediation of the image in the *operating table* is thus reliant on certain technologies and the ensuing visualities that they reproduce. In the early nineteenth century the stereoscopic experiments of Sir Charles Wheatstone offer an example of hybridisation between humans and nonhumans.

The scientific discoveries in optics of the early nineteenth century, which then led to discoveries of the binocular physiology of the eyes, were distinct from the medium of photography. Jonathan Crary observes that discoveries that enabled precise measurements of optical axes, produced new knowledge of the body and made it a contested area of both control and experimentation.[30] The stereoscope was an outcome of these optical experiments. The photograph contributed to the developments of the stereoscope and had a crucial role within its setup. The initial stereograms used by Wheatstone in his stereoscope were drawings.[31] Photographic pairs taken by Antoine Claude (1951–52) of Wheatstone and his family[32] were taken after the invention of the stereoscope. The first photographic stereoscope image to have been produced was at the request of Wheatstone himself, who would then also be stereoscopically photographed.[33] In the early trials, and because it was "difficult at the time to find two cameras that were optically equivalent", the photographic camera had to be moved to mimic the eyes' binocular angles. The photographic pair would then be reproduced within Wheatstone's stereoscopic framework.

The entanglements between human bodies and nonhuman technologies in the production of the analogue stereoscope cannot be understated. One can infer that the very distinction between one and the other is unproductive. In the process of the experimentation of the stereoscope, devices had to measure the optical axes, and the photographic camera had to mimic the eyes' binocularity. What ensued from such hybrids was a new visuality.

Similarly, today, we need to seek productive hybrids within contemporary visual networks. According to Flusser, the photographic universe "programs the observer to act magically and functionally and thus automatically."[34] However the technical universe of images is with us, and we must find ways to make it operative towards our own ends. As Joanna Zylinska explains the photographic discourse needs to extend beyond the humanistic confinements in order to embrace new categories of 'visual enhancement, algorithmic logic, and mediated perception'.[35]

CONCLUSION

This article looked at the *operating table*, a custom-made installation that operates alongside Nicosia's Green Line border. The *operating table*, positioned within a contested territory that is highly controlled, aims to—camouflage and mirror the surveillance apparatus of the site. It begins by posing the question of identity within this contested territory, and the

27 Themistokleous, "Keratoconic and (De)formed Vision: Re-thinking the Limits of Perspectival Drawing," in *Drawing: Research, Theory, Practice*, 144.

28 Bergson, 58.

29 Themistokleous, "Keratoconic and (De)formed Vision," 148.

30 Crary, *Techniques of the Observer: On Vision and Modernity in the Nineteenth Century*, 122.

31 The drawings by Wheatstone that were used in the initial stereoscopic experiments are published in: Wheatstone, 'Contributions to the Physiology of Vision. Part the First. On some remarkable, and hitherto unobserved, phenomena of binocular vision,' Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London 128 (1838), 371-394. "Part the Second … (continued)". *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal* Society of London 142 (1852), 1-17. The date of Wheatstone's publication on the stereoscope was 1838, the date of the invention of the stereoscope itself was 1832.

32 The stereoscopic daguerreotype of Charles Wheatstone, his wife Emma, and their children Charles Pablo, Arthur William Frederick and Florence Caroline was taken by Antoine Claudet (1851-2). The daguerreotype (dimensions: 73 mm x 57 mm) is part of the National Portrait Gallery collection, London, UK. See: https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw08491/Sir-Charles-Wheatstone-and-his-family. Accessed 2 April 2019.

33 See: J. Wade, "Charles Wheatstone (1802-1875)", in *Perception*, 269-270; Claudet, "The stereoscope and its photographic applications", 97-99; Collen, "Earliest stereoscopic portraits", *Journal of the Photographic Society* 1, 200; H. J. P. Arnold, *William Henry Fox Talbot: Pioneer of Photography and Man of Science*.

34 Flusser, *Towards a Philosophy of Photography*, 74.

35 Zylinska, *Nonhuman Photography*, 5.

imposition of controls such as the prohibition of photographs on the site. The site is thus identified through the prism of the Panopticon gaze and notions of defensive architecture within urban space. Nonhuman visualities that inform the *operating table*, were then explored by looking at the technical operations and the nuances of these operations. This led to a description of the unexpected visualities that ensue from the *operating table*. It was important to identify how the operating table responds not only to the contested site but also to the automated programming of a photographic apparatus more broadly as identified by Flusser. Latour's hybridisation of humans and nonhumans offered a way to unravel visual entanglements that defy the notion of automation critiqued by Flusser. The next section then focused on the visuality of the stereoscope that is part of the *operating table* and aimed to further explore the hybridisation of human vision and its relation to the nonhuman technical apparatus.

By re-articulating Latour's question, we might ask how can contemporary visualities, such as the ones developed in the *operating table*, "allow the contradictory and controversial nature of matters of concern to be represented?" The aim of this article was to reveal how visual networks simulated through the art installation can pose important questions that deal with identity politics. The question of postcolonial identity in Cyprus is ascribed very clear ethno-nationalist markers. The *operating table* doesn't follow rules, it simulates images that are meant to dismantle prescribed identities, by inducing unexpected juxtapositions of self and environment and creating out of body experiences between self and self-image. The nonhuman thus contributes to the construction of emergent identities. To address the nonhuman, it is useful to turn to the technical object.

For Stiegler, the progress of technological evolution "is accelerated on a scale incommensurable with the former technical systems."[36] Consequently, technological evolution, in Stiegler's *Technics and Time 1,* also accelerates faster than cultural-anthropological evolution. The accelerated transformation of the technical system as matter thus assumes new relations with the human that are differentiated from prior technical systems. The current technological forms of "organized inorganic matter"[37] must now be reconsidered in their coupling with the organism. The organs of sight—the eyes—in the *operating table* are no longer only organisms, they are also *technical organa* [τεχνικά όργανα]. As technical organa they are exteriorized from the body. The organon's capacity for exteriorization assumes expanding connections between organic and inorganic matter. The eyes are thus re-scripted. The technical organa of the eyes thus integrate within their construct the external technical object. In this sense, the eye collapses an i-dentity that is not already hybridized in this system.

36 Stiegler, *Technics and Time, 1*, 42.
37 Stiegler, *Technics and Time, 1*, 70.

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1, 2. *Operation Table*, photograph of one of the four assembled components that comprise the *Operation Table*. Nicosia, 2023. Height 87cm, dimensions variable. Stainless steel rods, water clear cast resin mould with steel components, LCD screens with plexiglass case, DLSR camera with customised plexiglass stereoscopic mirrored lens cap, glass mirrors, steel rings, nuts and bolts.

3. *Operation Table*, photograph of the *Operation Table* near the border wall barricade on Lidinis street (West). Nicosia, 2023. Height 87cm, dimensions variable. Stainless steel rods, water clear cast resin mould with steel components, LCD screens with plexiglass case, glass mirrors, steel rings, wheels, raspberry Pi, wires, nuts and bolts.

4. *Operation Table*, photograph of the *Operation Table* attached to the border wall barricade on Lidinis street (East). Nicosia, 2023. Height 87cm, dimensions variable. Stainless steel rods, water clear cast resin mould with steel components, LCD screens with plexiglass case, glass mirrors, steel rings, wheels, raspberry Pi, wires, nuts and bolts.

5 →

CONSTRUCTION AND TRANSFER OF KNOWLEDGE

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The Construction of Knowledge Through Virtual Photography of Abstract Geometry

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INTRODUCTION

Photography is a position. It is the conscious composition of images in interaction with the scene in front of the camera and the technical options of its projection. The underlying relationship to photography in this paper is precisely this ideal one, since it is the same attitude, though under technically quite different conditions, namely the application of the methods of classical photography in virtual space. This method, called "virtual photography" by the authors, treats virtual space just as if it were physical reality. The aim of this self-restriction is the referentiality of the images thus created, trusting that their reception will thereby follow in the tradition of the reception of classical photography and that the images will thus be received as naturally as possible. This, in turn, is intended to ensure that the content of the images is the focus of perception. For the pictures are about complex spatial facts, not about imitating physical reality. This will be explained in the following.

The method presented here, the visualisation of uncertainty, was developed by the authors to address the need in archaeology and building research to adequately reflect the uncertainty inherent in the sciences. Although there have already been attempts to depict this uncertainty with the help of diagrams or explicit markings, for example, of the degree of uncertainty through the use of colour encoding, this increase in information inevitably leads to a dilemma, namely the loss of the original intention of the architecture. The aim is not to reproduce the original appearance, as the computer games and film industries do, for here the share of the purely speculative, the complete freedom of the imagination, is unlimited, but to make the uncertainty visible. This uncertainty is not to be confused with the unknown, for often there are fragmentary indications of, for example, the rough cubature. Depending on the reference that cannot be chosen unambiguously or due to an ambiguity, scientifically equivalent but mutually contradictory alternatives can also characterise the uncertain knowledge. Almost constant is the indeterminacy of the details, such as that of the surface of each single, lost stone.

The central dilemma in the visualisation of uncertainty lies in the need to make a fundamental decision. For while the diagram or explicit representation of the degree of uncertainty provides more objective information, just as a marker would in physical reality, it is often a particularly prominent element in its visibility. There are many examples of the integration of metadata in a representation of a so-called reconstruction, a well-known and very common one being the marking of the finds, i.e. those fragments of components that have been found and are preserved, versus those pieces that can be reliably complemented, fragments of column shafts, for example. The reliable completion leads to practically no differentiation in the geometry, so that a graphic differentiation is often applied, for example in the form of different shading, in order to represent the boundaries of the finds. Now, however, the objective information of the fragment boundaries is unquestionably part of research communication and should therefore be both recorded and communicated, but the visualisation of the hypothesis of architectural appearance is not suitable for this. This is because the form of the find fragments, their spatial delimitation, was in no case part of the original appearance or even the planning intention. Their visual presence with its irregularity almost completely contradicts the architecture and sometimes seems like a layer of camouflage. For an architectural interpretation, this information is not at all helpful, but rather obstructive; the intention of a colonnade, for example, can no longer be considered together with its core characteristic of being regular.

In this context, it is an important basic requirement for the interpretation of architecture not to provide any distorting content. The challenge, then, is to provide an image as an architectural vision, in addition to the objective information of all available content. And this is where the direct relationship with photography begins. Because here, too, there is a clear influence on perception depending on the composition. While classical photography essentially directs the recipient's gaze by means of location, viewing direction and framing, and can thus limit and partially direct their perception, the visualisation of uncertainty is more like studio photography, which can also redefine the object itself. But apart from this option of manipulating the depicted, the possibilities and the modes of action are quite similar. The essential factor in architectural perception is the interpretation of what is perceived primarily as an architectural vision. While, for example, the aforementioned find markings refer, if not primarily, then at least essentially to the historically coincidental fragmenting, a representation that wants to refer to the architectural structure should not be overshadowed by other aspects. The focus on architectural structure, however, has a clearly defined origin and at least one clear purpose. The origin lies in the articulation of hypotheses about the original appearance, which usually refer to the spatial structure, though often also to the material, but here rather to the materiality per se, not to the materials in detail. The purpose, in turn, lies in the clear communication of these very hypotheses on the one hand and in the transferability of the architectural idea on the other. The importance of the reception of the photo of architecture for the reception of the photographed architecture is expressed by Julius Shulman in an overview of his entire oeuvre as follows: "As I myself know from decades of experience, photographs become part of history, and therefore the documentation of a building must be done in such a way that the viewer is first attracted by the visual expression of the image. Only then does the quality of the architecture become visible and capable of appealing to the viewer."[1] Transferring this into virtual space is the content of the method of the visualisation of uncertainty presented in the following.

VISUALISATION OF UNCERTAINTY — DESIGN IN MODELLING AND PHOTOGRAPHY

The method of the visualisation of uncertainty essentially consists of the two traditional architectural sub-disciplines of model making and photography, specifically model making of the early design phase, in which all possible degrees of detail can be combined, from rough cubature to set pieces, and photography, which is consciously composed but primarily documentary in the sense of an imaginary user of architecture.

Model making is the element that has the greatest affinity with competence as an architect, since it is about giving complex spatial matters an appropriate, new form. Even though it is conceptually about abstraction, the literal translation of the Latin word is misleading. For the abstraction that can be used to represent facts is not achieved by pulling away what is already there. On the contrary, the same basic idea is contained in the components that have been preserved, but not their generalisation, that which is common to all members of a type.

This commonality is described in the orders of ancient architecture. Thus, the orders do not allow any alternative to a certain type of capital in the corresponding context. If the base and shaft of a column and the other existing fragments of a building clearly suggest the Corinthian column order, there is no way around having a Corinthian capital. Its perceived visual volume, however, consists largely of its acanthus leaves. If the leaves were removed, the volume would be considerably smaller and the recognisability as a Corinthian capital would be lost. So, nothing is achieved by pulling away. It is therefore necessary to develop a new form that expresses both that it is a Corinthian capital and that it is not an individual find. This new form is therefore an originally designed, new object for which there is no image in physical reality. There is only its verbal counterpart. A description of Corinthian capitals could begin with precisely those characteristics that are common to all Corinthian capitals. But what is daily practice in verbal form is not familiar as a plastic form in everyday life; but very much so in architectural design.

1 Shulman, "Architektur und Fotografie", 16.

As in the scale of ornamentation, abstraction also applies to the scale of urban planning. Here, too, the verbal hypotheses do not speak of individual buildings, but rather of building structures or –

as in the case of classical antiquity—even of entire blocks of buildings, insulae, whose outer boundaries can be derived solely from fragmentarily preserved sewage pipes. And yet a verbally largely secure description of these buildings can be made, usually on the basis of better-preserved sites. It is the principle according to which they were built that can be described. And here, too, the discipline of architecture is in a position to give precisely this description a suitable visible form that follows the structural principle, but at the same time conveys just as clearly that the buildings are a type and that their concrete appearance is not known.

Both forms of abstraction are therefore by no means images of physical reality, yet they are representations. They focus the viewer's attention on the geometry of the structure, i.e., the elements that define the space. Through their form, they indirectly suggest familiar buildings without pretending to actually depict them, as if they were part of physical reality. With this explicit as well as intuitive distance, they again operate in two directions. They convey the knowledge of science and at the same time, through the uncertainty, scientificity in itself, with all its ambiguity and, of course, uncertainty. This second feature is not to be neglected, as it strengthens the perception of science and the reflection on science in society. It becomes clear to the viewer, who confronts an abstract suggestion, that in the end it is the viewer's own imagination that translates the seen into architecture. And even then, if the viewer is not immediately aware of this process, a certain irritation causes reflection. Thus, scientific visualisation pursues a certain educational mission at the same time.

Beyond this fundamental engagement with science, however, this form of representation of architectural structure also makes an influential contribution to architecture. The abstraction of the common visual characteristics of the representation of historical architecture, first and foremost the texture of the surfaces, furnishings or even out of use of the acting persons and their clothing as well as other attributes such as insignia or weapons, shifts the perception away from the specifically historical characteristics towards the concept of space here as well. The aim of this is not to deny the historicity of what is depicted, but to direct the visual focus to characteristics that are otherwise superimposed. Focusing on the structure, then, allows it to appear in a way that might not only have affected the user of its time. The structure can furthermore operate as an intellectual spatial composition and thus, liberated from its historicity, become part of the experiential vocabulary of current design activity. Not the building with its use at the time, but its spatial structure can thus be an additional reference for today's planners.

Here again it is photography that connects the different manifestations of architecture. If the hypothetical ancient, abstract architecture is photographed virtually as if it were part of physical reality, as if it were actually built in this abstract form, then it requires all the less imagination to picture this architecture as part of physical reality. Virtual photography thus helps the imagination as much as possible, it compensates for the abstraction of geometry, to a certain extent, and establishes a reference to photographs of physical reality. It creates an idea of a potential physical reality in the viewer. The intended impression of the photograph of an almost casual view is to have the photographer's role move into the background so that the spatial impression of the imaginary architecture can be the centre of attention, as Gilles Mora describes the photographer's role in a review of Walker Evans: "Le photographe n'est plus là pour travailler la composition, mais cadrer le pré-composé, l'ordre et la configuration préexistante des surfaces visuelles s'offrant au regard".[2]

Photography is not a limitation here, but acts as a familiar mediator of architecture. Of course, architecture can only be perceived authentically on site in space and in person, at best still as a user fulfilling the original purpose, an authentic experience therefore, like entering a place of worship as a participant in a religious service or a railway station as a train traveller. This is not possible in the case of ancient architecture, if only because the cultural background as visitor and user is completely different. The intention of the visit alone finally distorts the impression. Both, however, are irrelevant in photographic reproductions. The static photographic image already bears the distance within itself. This circumstance gives photography a special role in the mediation of architecture, as does the fact that a large part of architectural reference is limited to images. The most significant examples of architecture, even when they are still standing, are typically communicated through the image, especially in view of the global scene of architectural production. The photograph is thus one of the most vital carriers of architectural messages. The image of hypothetical ancient architecture is placed in this context, making it feasible to compare virtually photographed abstract geometry with photographs of architecture in physical reality.

The method of limiting the liberties of the projection of virtual models in such a way that an impression of space is created that is as relevant as possible in terms of the interpretation of architecture is based on a number of conventions taken from traditional architectural photography. Both arise from the need to convey the abstract geometry as unambiguously as possible. The first aspect is always the point of view, but of this especially the natural eye level. Reliability is important here, because unlike physical

2 "The photographer is no longer there to work on the composition, but to frame the pre-composed, the order and the pre-existing configuration of the visual surfaces offered to the gaze". See in: Mora, "Introduction", 12.

reality, abstraction lacks visual indicators that allow a conclusion to be drawn about the height of the viewer, such as handrails, furniture, street furniture or also vegetation. This absence makes it much more difficult to estimate the dimension. A constant and reliable eye level over a series of images, on the other hand, restores the ability to make this assessment. Elevated viewpoints, on the other hand, distort the spatial impression, and bird's-eye views can be mistaken for views from actual elevated viewpoints such as mountains or towers. This misunderstanding is most easily countered by parallel projections, which do not have a viewpoint because the projection is only of a direction, not of an imaginary viewer who would be in a specific location. The second aspect is the orientation of the architecture. This is related to the sense of balance in physical reality and allows a clear idea of where is up and where is down. From this, in turn, it can be determined, among other things, which surfaces are horizontal and which are vertical. In a static perspective, this is much more difficult. Due to this reason, perception and interpretation depend on whether or not the orientation of the depicted objects is distorted. This is because visual perception conditions spatial perception as a whole, i.e., including the mental processing of what is seen into the spatial model that is constructed from spatial perception.

It is therefore necessary to compensate for the lack of movement in space. Because spatial perception in physical reality is not static, but dynamic in several ways. Not only the body moves through space, but also the head and, additionally, the gaze. Furthermore, the visual perception is dual, stereoscopic. The innumerable impressions perceived through the movements construct a spatial model in the imagination that contains, among other things, unambiguous orientation; ambiguities arise—if at all—through optical illusions. A static perspective representation corresponds most closely to this mental model when it takes over the orientation. As in the case of eye level, in physical reality it is often minor details that facilitate orientation. But in abstract geometry, the lack of unambiguity can lead to considerable misunderstandings. Yet here it is not the value that is at issue, but the deviation itself. It is a critical, digital distinction of an either-or. Very subtle inclinations are not accidentally found on certain components. It is the deliberate deviation from the perpendicular that underlines the defensibility of fortress walls, it is in a sense the main geometric characteristic of a fortress wall to be defensible, and this is precisely what a slight inclination expresses. But if geometry makes a central statement about architecture, its proper interpretation is determined particularly by its orientation in space. Traditional architectural photography, which usually works with vertical image planes, has set the standard at this point.

No less important are the other aspects of photographic composition, such as angle of view or lighting. But here, too, the reference to traditional photography is helpful. Focal lengths in virtual space that correspond exactly to those of traditional photography again create a comparability with classical photographs. Lighting, on the other hand, is an inexhaustible subject, but one that is shaped by two main variables. The first is the plausibility of natural light, i.e., the correct geographical position in sunlight; the second is the quality of the light, i.e., the portion of indirect light as well as the colour temperature. In virtual space, the liberties are comparable to those of studio photography. The aim of the lighting, however, is not brightness, but how the different brightness influence the perception and hierarchisation of space. But this, too, belongs to the realm of complex design and usually only succeeds in a convincing way after long experience. For it is not the technique that decides a photograph, but the experienced eye, the trained observation, the experience in photographic image composition. When asked by Joseph Rosa what aperture to set for a particular shot, Julius Shulman replied, "That's not important. You can learn that anywhere. Learning to see is the important thing."[3] Learning to see is the prerequisite for designing photographs, for constructing a composition, in summary, for the "constructed view."[4] Shulman gladly adopts this term created by Rosa for himself: "The title he chose opened up a whole new view of my life's work."[5]

CASE STUDIES

For the Cologne Cathedral Administration, the construction phases of Cologne Cathedral and its predecessor buildings were partly updated and partly reinterpreted. From then on, all construction phases have been visualised in their urban context. Through the process of visualisation from an architectural point of view, some weightings could be shifted in the case of ambivalences. The project was exhibited in the 2010 NRW State Exhibition in the Roman-Germanic Museum of the City of Cologne. In addition, it has been exhibited since 2010 as a permanent installation in the access area to the Archaeological Zone of the Cologne Cathedral and the tower ascent. (Fig. 1, 2)

For the Istanbul department and the excavation project in Bergama of the German Archaeological Institute, the entire ancient metropolis of Pergamon has been visualised as a permanent cooperation since 2009. The visualisation is constantly changing along with the research. The first milestone was the first monographic exhibition on Pergamon at the Pergamon Museum Berlin in 2011, in the context of the Excellence Cluster TOPOI of the Berlin Universities, Freie University and Humboldt University. Since then, the latest research on the city has resulted in numerous updates, especially on the western slope. Numerous requests for visualisations of specific sections by a wide variety of researchers continuously enrich the image repertoire. Currently, several sanctuaries in the surrounding area as well as the Roman city in the lower part of the complex are being completed. (Fig. 3, 4)

3 McCoy, "Persistence of Vision", 10.
4 Rosa, *A Constructed View*.
5 Shulman, op.cit., 299.

For the architecture department in Berlin of the German Archaeological Institute, numerous palaces on the Palatine in Rome during the imperial period were visualised between 2010 and 2020. Exhibited in the first version in the final exhibition of the Excellence Cluster TOPOI in 2011, the representations include the Circus Maximus and the Septizonium Fountain in addition to the actual palaces. Of the palaces, only the representative terraces and courtyards were visualised in detail, including, in the later course of the cooperation, the impressive series of successive representative courtyards with water basins. (Fig. 5)

For the Madrid Department of the German Archaeological Institute, the orchards in the Caliphate city of Medina Azahara from the 9th century CE were visualised, in which the focus was on the representation of the landscape and the agriculture, the cultivated vegetation. The visualisations show the tension between architecture and the regular establishment of plantations for the purpose of fruit cultivation, which also gives the vegetation an architectural expression. (Fig. 6)

Funded by the Gerda Henkel Foundation for Historical Humanities, and together with the former head of the Rome Department of the German Archaeological Institute as well as the Archaeological Institute in Tirana, Albania, the unique principle of the construction and accessibility of the ancient Roman amphitheatre of Dyrrachium, today Durrës, was analysed through visualisations and for the first time completely worked through as a coherent three-dimensional model. The result, as well as the construction phases of the Cologne Cathedral and the ancient metropolis of Pergamon, can be viewed as a film on the knowledge portal L.I.S.A. of the Gerda Henkel Foundation. (Fig. 7, 8)

CONCLUSION

Photographic composition as part of the creative disciplines can neither be comprehended in simple recipes nor judged objectively. It is a complex process that often only manifests itself in the producing itself through the reflection of the author. Nevertheless, there are some principles in composition that can be at least clearly helpful for an intuitive spatial interpretation of what is depicted. Following these is the basis especially for the depiction of abstract geometry if it is to represent architectural content. Similarly, the design of abstraction is a creative process. In addition, the two are mutually dependent, which means that the creation of a scientific visualisation can probably best be compared to studio photography. Architecture as a site-specific subject is geographically bound to certain lighting conditions, but at the latest in the case of diffuse lighting or indoors, the lighting is also subject to the liberties of design and is thus part of the complex, interactive and reciprocal process of creativity. In the visualisation of uncertainty in the knowledge of the humanities, it is less the technique than the competence to design that decides whether the content is adequately represented, just as it is not the camera but the photographer who decides on the essential quality of a photograph. For then, when architecture appears self-evident despite abstraction, an architectural interpretation is a direct reflection of the hypothesis. And quite similar to the creative design process in architecture, the scientist is thus able to make the visible the basis of further reflection. New, transdisciplinary research questions emerge simply from looking at what was previously only verbally formulated, what was only theoretically conceived. The translation of the verbal into the visual form is thus a form of re-articulation that serves the evaluation and further development of the hypothesis. The discipline of architecture is the translator. The visualisation is the catalyst.

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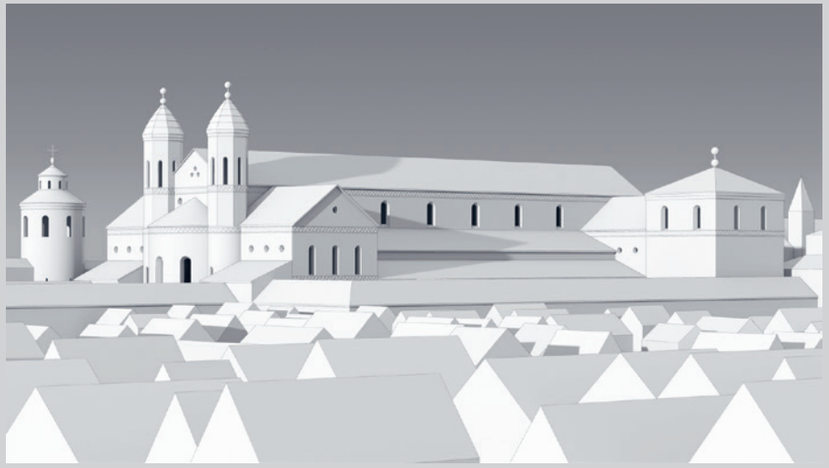

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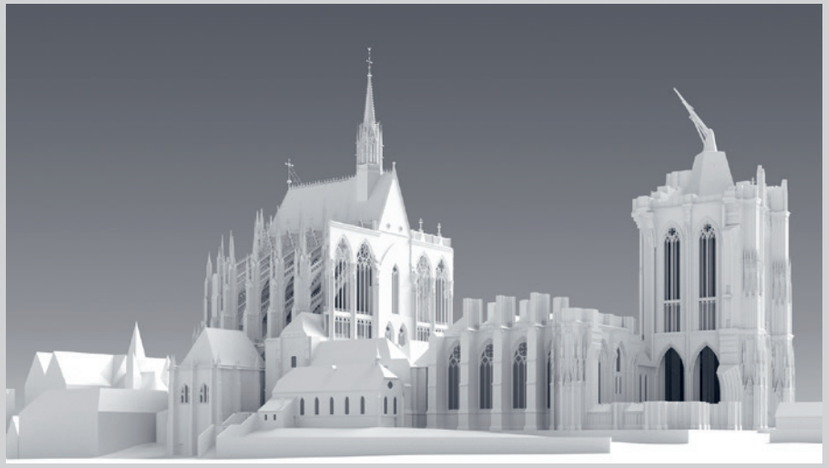

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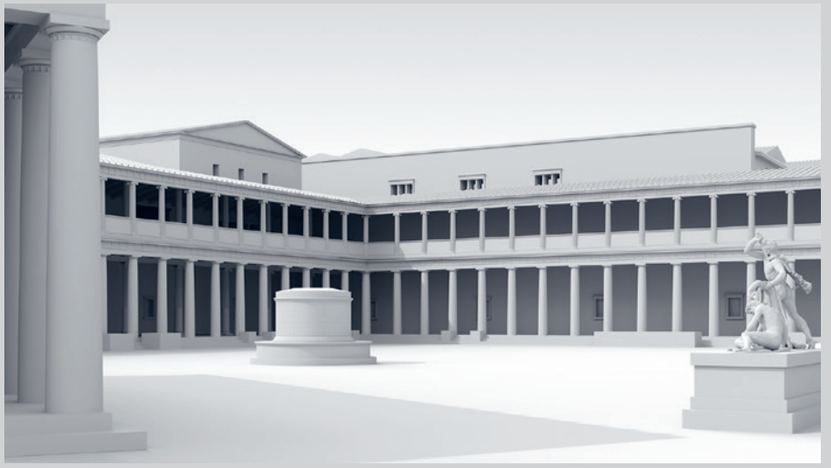

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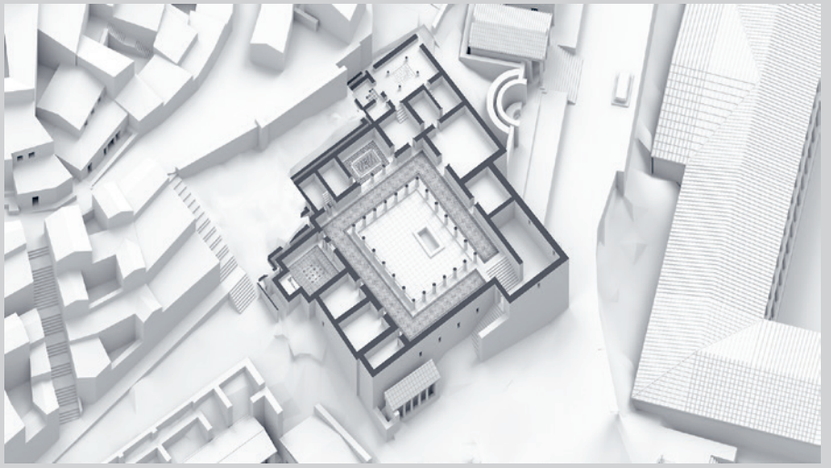

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1 Hildebold Cathedral, the last predecessor of Cologne Cathedral, around 1025 CE, for the Cathedral administration © Lengyel Toulouse Architects Berlin

2 Cologne Cathedral between in the 16th to 19th century CE, for the Cathedral administration © Lengyel Toulouse Architects Berlin

3 Sanctuary of Athena in ancient Pergamon around 300 CE with Gruppo Ludovisi and Dying Gaul sculptures, the library and the palaces at the back, in cooperation with the German Archaeological Institute DAI © Lengyel Toulouse BTU

4 Building Z in 3 in ancient Pergamon around 300 CE in a skewed axonometric projection showing both the undistorted plan and the elevation of the building, in cooperation with the German Archaeological Institute DAI © Lengyel Toulouse BTU

5 Imperial palaces on the Palatine hill in ancient Rome, in cooperation with the German Archaeological Institute DAI © Lengyel Toulouse Architects Berlin

6 Agricultural orchard in the Ummayad fortified palace-city Medina Azahara near today's Córdoba in the 9th century CE, in cooperation with the German Archaeological Institute DAI © Lengyel Toulouse Architects Berlin

7 The Roman amphitheater of Dyrrachium, today Durrës in Albania, as a visible landmark for the sea route and bridge head between the Via Appia and Via Egnatia from Rome to Byzantium @ Lengyel Toulouse

8 The interior of the Roman amphitheatre of Dyrrachium with the drawn Vela, an important factor in attracting spectators in antiquity @ Lengyel Toulouse

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Milovan Gavazzi's Ethnographic Photography and Ethnological Research in Dalmatia in the First Half of the 20th Century

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INTRODUCTION

The subject of this paper is the photographic oeuvre of the Croatian ethnologist and university professor Milovan Gavazzi, which arose in the period from 1928 to 1939 and was related to the region of Dalmatia.[1] Some of the photographs were taken as a result of organized fieldwork within the then Chair of Ethnology and Ethnography.[2] Others were the result of Gavazzi's private travels that, as it turns out, were inseparable from his scientific research interests and vocation.[3] Since Gavazzi's photo-

1 Milovan Gavazzi (1895-1992), Croatian ethnologist, university professor, intellectual, and scientist of worldwide reputation. He is the central figure of older Croatian ethnology. In 1927, he filled the vacant position of associate professor at the Department of Ethnology and Ethnography, which he thoroughly reorganized. In terms of research, he dealt with: a) South Slavic linguistic heritage, b) ethnomusicological features of Southeastern Europe, and c) family structure, especially of the cooperative type. For more information on Gavazzi and his activities in the context of the history of Croatian ethnology, see: Belaj, "Zreli plodovi", 353-357; Belaj, Die Kunde vom kroatischen Volk, 1-304; Petrović Leš, "The intellectual circle of Milovan Gavazzi", 69-94; Grkeš, Petrović Leš, "Care mi amice nec non fratre in Christo", 354-375; Rubić, "Milovan Gavazzi and ethnographic photography".

2 The photographic material that is the subject of this paper is the result of fieldwork conducted by the members of the Chair and their collaborators from the interwar period to the late 1970s. See: Rubić 2023, "Milovan Gavazzi and ethnographic photography"; Grkeš, Petrović Leš, "Care mi amice nec non fratre in Christo", 354-375.

3 In previous research, Milovan Gavazzi's contribution to visual anthropology was insufficiently explored. Most works dealing with his contribution to the visual aspects of ethnology and cultural anthropology focus on his important and pioneering role in the development of ethnographic film (See: Majcen, "Etnološki filmovi Milovana Gavazzija", 121-133; Antoš, "Etnografski film Milovana Gavazzija",73-75; Urem, "Specifičnost disciplinarnih i institucio-

graphic oeuvre is the subject of our current research, which also includes a long-term arrangement and description of all archival material of the Department of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology[4] as a prerequisite and prearrangement for its future digitization, in this article we present, in an informative way, a selected body of material thematically related to Dalmatia.[5] We consider the photographic material as a historical source and at the same time as a cultural anthropological document that has documentary value and is subject to interpretation and critical questioning.[6]

Gavazzi photographically documented various aspects of culture and the everyday life of the rural and suburban population in interwar Croatia and the Kingdom of Yugoslavia.[7] From the point of view of ethnology and cultural anthropology, this material represents a valuable source for the study of social and cultural changes in the 20th century and for the study of historical anthropology, cultural history, and the history of Croatian ethnology. In this paper, we focus on two research questions: 1) how the photographic work of M. Gavazzi can be used as a source for the study of topics from the history of ethnology and cultural anthropology, and 2) how this visual material contributes to the (re)evaluation of previous views on Gavazzi's research work and early Croatian ethnology. The work is methodologically based on archival research—written and photographic material—and on literature related to (the history of) ethnology and cultural anthropology.

nalnih pristupa etnografskom filmu", 247-273.), while his photographic engagement, which preceded his filming efforts but also ran parallel to them, has remained in the background.

4 The work on organizing archival materials is carried out within the framework of the institutional project The Visual Identity of the Croatian Nation and Homeland in the First Half of the 20th Century (leader: Professor Tihana Petrović Leš, PhD), whose members are Professor Tihana Petrović Leš, PhD, Professor Suzana Leček, PhD, Associate Professor Tihana Rubić, PhD, Sanja Grković, MA, and research assistant Ivan Grkeš. Tihana Rubić is also a member of the project Exposition [Ekspozicija]: Themes and Aspects of Croatian Photography from the 19th Century until Today of the Croatian Science Foundation (IP-2019-04-1772), and this paper has been written as part of the mentioned project.

5 The Department archives hold written and visual materials intended for research and university teaching. About the Archives of the Department of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology see: Kelemen, Rubić, "Arhiv Odsjeka za etnologiju i kulturnu antropologiju", 99-114.

6 Gidley, "North American Indian Photographs", 33.

7 Although the focus of this paper is not the political history of interwar Yugoslavia, it should be noted that we are aware of the complexity of this concept, which we have necessarily simplified due to the subject of our paper. Interwar Yugoslavia changed its name several times: first it was called *Kraljevstvo Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca*. (Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes) (1918), then, *Kraljevina Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca* (Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes) (1921), and finally, *Kraljevina Jugoslavija* (Kingdom of Yugoslavia) (1929).

MILOVAN GAVAZZI AND ETHNOGRAPHIC PHOTOGRAPHY

From the institutionalization of ethnology as a science in Croatia in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, research was conducted by documenting elements of *traditional culture* as "research of the way of life and culture of the peasantry".[8] The aim of this research was 1) to preserve and reconstruct traditional customs, techniques, and skills and save from oblivion the cultural treasures of the peasantry as a part of society that has a strong national feeling;[9] and 2) to study the origin of elements of traditional culture with an awareness of their scientific importance and multi layeredness.[10] At the same time, within the framework of newly established museum and scientific institutions, photographs also began to be collected and preserved 1) as documentation of a museum (ethnographic) object, and 2) as a museum object that provided insight into everyday life and testified to culture/cultural and social changes, people, and events.[11]

Milovan Gavazzi was primarily interested in (South) Slavic cultural heritage and its traces in the linguistic or cultural inventory within the Croatian historical space.[12] In his scientific and teaching work, he very quickly turned to ethnographic photography and then to ethnographic film as a visual means of documenting the material, spiritual, and social elements of traditional peasant culture. For Gavazzi, ethnographic photography was an important tool for understanding and documenting the spatial spread of cultural elements, whose purpose was to interpret the origin, age, and distribution of the phenomenon under study.[13] His reasons for visual documentation were: a) fixing reality, "preserving" what would soon cease to exist in the rush of modernization and subsequent social and cultural changes, b) the idea that visual content is[14] an invaluable scientific arbiter in ethnological problematization and action, and c) the idea that such material is extremely important as a medium of knowledge transfer, which is why it could be used in university teaching.[15] At the time when Milovan Gavazzi made his first ethnographic photographs in the interwar period, this kind of photography was thought to enable additional—visual—mediation, experience, and "evidence" (visual record)

8 Muraj, "Teorijsko-metodološke zamisli Antuna Radića", 32.

9 Muraj, "Teorijsko-metodološke zamisli Antuna Radića", 34.

10 Gavazzi, "Kulturna analiza etnografije Hrvata", 115-144.

11 Maroević, "Fotografija kao muzejski predmet", 14-15; Dejanović, "Doprinos Vladimira Tkalčića razvoju sustava muzejske dokumentacije", 83.

12 Gavazzi, *Sudbina stare slavenske baštine*, 1-41.

13 Belaj, "Milovan Gavazzi, sein Leben und Werk", 7-18.

14 In the interview, Križnar and Vinšćak focus on ethnological film, but the same characteristics can be associated with ethnographic photography.

15 Križnar, "Razgovor z Milovanom Gavazzijem", 187-200.

of what was thus far recorded in text; therefore, in the positivist climate of the time, which was deterministic and excluded the author's interpretation and reflective moments, photography was understood as a research tool and as a document of "reality".

Milovan Gavazzi's scientific and research work in the interwar period shows that, from the very beginnings of ethnology as an established science in the 1920s, photography was its indispensable part, and Gavazzi's first original photographic material was also created around that time.[16] Gavazzi most likely encountered ethnographic photography while working as a curator at the Ethnographic Museum in Zagreb (1923–1927), and his photographic sensibility was influenced by the museum's manager at the time, Vladimir Tkalčić, a champion of museum and conservation photo-documentation.[17]

After his arrival at the Chair of Ethnology and Ethnography at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences in Zagreb in 1927, Gavazzi established the study of ethnology: he shaped the teaching process and initiated scientific research, publication, and collecting activities within the Ethnology Seminar.[18] From the very beginning the photographic documentation of phenomena, was systematically included in all this, and visual material served as 1) illustrative material for scientific purposes, 2) a scientific document in ethnological knowledge, and 3) a pedagogical tool for training ethnology students. When Gavazzi arrived at the Department, he already had basic photographic knowledge and skills, even though he was not a professional photographer. He had excellent knowledge of the photographic technology of the time and of photographic processes and all their stages: preparation, shooting, and development. Photographic technology in the interwar period was still in its infancy and technically limited, so a good knowledge of exposure, composition, and the process of developing photographs was necessary. His interest in photography probably led him to ethnographic film.[19]

The photographs at issue here were taken during fieldwork conducted by the Chair of Ethnology and Ethnography and during Gavazzi's own travels, which were private in nature and inseparable from his scientific research interests and vocation.[20] This is not surprising considering that the interwar period saw a democratization of travel and vacations.[21] Thus, in August and September 1929 and 1930 he used his time off from teaching to combine leisure and work and conducted field research in the surroundings of Trogir, in the towns of Seget, Labin (Prgomet), Okruk, Marina, and others.[22] His research in Dalmatia and his interest in Dalmatia stemmed from his general interest in Mediterranean subjects. He was one of the first researchers in Croatian ethnology to contribute to the development of Mediterranean studies[23] by identifying the Mediterranean region in the context of traditional Croatian culture as a distinctive cultural region to which he attributed certain characteristics like fishing, olive and wine cultivation, stone construction, traditional clothing, and so on.[24] In the eastern Adriatic area, he discovered different cultural strata that influenced the emergence of traditional culture, such as the Paleo-Balkan and Old Mediterranean cultural strata.[25]

Gavazzi came to the ethnological field with his own research agenda and interests, looking for cultural elements that interested him as a researcher but sometimes spontaneously recording what caught his eye on the field

16 The archives currently contain around 700 units of Gavazzi's photographs from various locations throughout Croatia and the countries of the former Yugoslavia, and it is expected that this number will increase as new photographs are discovered during sorting.

17 Grković, "Vladimir Tkalčić i fotografsko dokumentiranje baštine", 110-119; Vlatković, "The Role of Vladimir Tkalčić", 272-288; Vujić, Development of Museological Thought, 217-234. In the letters that Gavazzi, as curator of the Ethnographic Museum, exchanged with Tkalčić, we find information about their collaboration in the field of ethnographic photography. During his scholarship stay in Czechoslovakia in 1925-26, Gavazzi arranged with Tkalčić the purchase of various equipment for the museum, including a 6x9 "pocket camera" (negative size) and a suitable lens (Zeiss, Tessar 4.5) (Grkeš, Petrović Leš, "Care mi amice nec non fratre in Christo", 139). It was a camera with roll film for low light shooting, with the largest possible aperture, which could be stored in a leather case. In that period, Dresden was the centre of Germany and Europe in the production of cameras and camcorders (https://zeissikonveb.de/start/objektive/normalobjektive/tessar.html; accessed: 14 June 2023).

18 Belaj, *Die Kunde vom kroatischen Volk*, 1-304; Petrović Leš, "The intellectual circle of Milovan Gavazzi", 69-94.

19 We were first led to this interpretation by the photographs themselves—Gavazzi often photographed the process of handicraft production in the form of series (sequences)—for example, the making of a vessel on a manual potter's wheel from Kaluđerovac in Lika. Today, when we look at the pictures on the computer, we have the impression of connected sequences that show the entire production process.

20 Gavazzi stated in a 1970 interview that he had stayed for longer or shorter periods of time in more than 220 villages (all over Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Gradišće, and southern Italy). See: Šestan, *Milovan Gavazzi*, 4.

21 Duda, *U potrazi za blagostanjem*, 35.

22 Grkeš, Petrović Leš, "Povjesničar Miho Barada u svjetlu korespondencije". He was assisted by Miho Barada (1889-1957), a historian and medievalist who worked closely with Gavazzi as his local guide and collaborator on these field travels. On this occasion, Gavazzi stayed the night in Seget in the house of Barada's brother Ante, about which an extensive correspondence has been preserved. The correspondence also testifies to the contacts and connections of older Croatian ethnology with other disciplines, for example historical science, precisely because of its interdisciplinary orientation.

23 Čapo, "Ethnology, Mediterranean Studies", 37.

24 Gavazzi, *Vrela i sudbine narodnih tradicija*, 193-194.

25 Gavazzi, "Kulturna analiza etnografije Hrvata", 119.

regardless of his original predetermined research interests. Thanks to information provided by his collaborators on the field, often museum associates, he knew exactly where and when something was taking place (for example, roof-laying ceremonies, burials, customs, etc.). After returning from the field, he made photographs,[26] which he systematically processed (catalogued) according to the rules of museum and archive documentation at the time: by entering them in the inventory book and creating data cards with the corresponding content and technical data.[27]

CHARACTERISTICS OF GAVAZZI'S PHOTOGRAPHS THEMATIZING THE REGION OF DALMATIA

Gavazzi's photographs fall typologically under *ethnographic photography*—a visual source whose purpose is to document and reflect on the culture of the subject or the culture of the photographer himself.[28] It is a subtype of documentary photography that detects a certain condition or changes in the ethnological field, which is characteristic of ethnological and cultural anthropological research.[29] Ethnographic photography is used as scientific and educational material and by is by no means employed for commercial purposes. For the study of ethnographic photography, it is important to comprehend the technical, cultural, and socio-historical context in which it was created, as well as the need out of which it was created.[30]

The context in which the photographs were taken can be determined in several ways. First and foremost, this can be done by a literal analysis of the information written on the data cards. In the case of the photographs we studied, the systematization is very clear, legible, and detailed, and the written content that accompanies the photographs is particularly valuable. Gavazzi not only describes what is in the photograph but also provides additional information about the first and last names of the people pictured, their occupation and importance in the local community, and other valuable biographical facts. He also describes the manner, method, or process of making an object and the function of the object, details about customs, and so on. The data card consists of a front and a back side (Fig. 1 and Fig. 2). The front side contains the following elements: a) positive showing the subject/object in a certain situation, b) inventory number and link to the negative, c) information about the location where the photograph was taken, d) short notes about the photographed subject/object, which clarify why the author chose to record a certain scene and what interested him at that moment.[31] The back side contains a) information about the year (and sometimes, the date) when the photograph was taken, b) information about the author of the photograph, and c) additional information, such as information about the place where the photograph was reproduced, the type of camera used, and occasionally also the type of film used.[32] Thus,

26 How much attention he paid to photography and film can be seen from the fact that in the new building of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, built in 1961 in the Zagreb neighbourhood of Trnje, a space for a photo laboratory was planned. From 1961 to 1980, the Ethnology Division of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences employed an expert collaborator, Andrija Stojanović, who, in addition to drawing ethnological maps and contributing to ethnological publications, managed photographic documentation, conducted field research, and made photographs and films. See: Belaj, "Andrija Stojanović", 147-148. After Stojanović retired, his position was filled by Krešimir Tadić, MA, (1934-1997), art historian and photographer at the Faculty's Department of Art History and at the Institute of Art History of the University of Zagreb (Tadić, Krešimir. *Croatian encyclopedia, online edition.* Miroslav Krleža Lexicographic Institute, 2021. Accessed on 14 June 2023 http://www.enciklopedija.hr/Natuknica.aspx?ID=60153). In the early 1990s, the photo laboratory of the Department of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology, the photo laboratory of the Department of Archeology, and several additional rooms were merged to form a large, modernly equipped laboratory, which fell into disuse after Tadić's death in 1997 and was soon after converted into teachers' rooms.

27 A comparison of the data cards from the Archives of the Department of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology with those from the Photo Library of the Ethnographic Museum in Zagreb shows a different approach to cataloguing visual material in the same period. Data cards from the Department's archives thus contain a photograph with basic information about the visual material on the face and back of the card, while those from the Ethnographic Museum contain textual data separated from the photograph.

28 Schrerer, "Historical photographs as anthropological documents", 131-155; Pinney, *Photography and Anthropology*, 7-154.

29 Belaj, *Obiteljske fotografije*, 1-175; Rubić, "Milovan Gavazzi and ethnographic photography".

30 Pinney, Photography and Anthropology, 7-154; Belaj, Obiteljske fotografije, 1-175.

31 The notes often contain descriptions of individual objects, customs, or skills as well as descriptions of how the objects were made and interesting facts about the subject of the photograph.

32 Gavazzi published the photographs in scientific articles and in books he wrote himself. In this sense, it is significant that in the literature the photographs were credited only to the institution, as their owner, while the authorship was mentioned very rarely and can be determined only by examining the data cards. In his 1928 article "The Cultural Analysis of the Ethnography of Croats" in the journal *Narodna starina*, he published photos of an old man from central Dalmatia wearing a cap with a slightly conical top, a weaver and the process of weaving an apron and a bag on an upright loom from Donji Seget near Trogir, as well as a photo of an older male folk attire from Dalmatian Zagora (Gavazzi, "Kulturna analiza etnografije Hrvata", 115-144). The second time he published the same photos was in a paper in German entitled "Der Aufbau der kroatischen Volkskultur" in the Berlin journal *Baessler Archiv für Völkerkunde* (Gavazzi, "Der Aufbau der kroatischen Volkskultur", 138-167).
In 1939 he also supplemented the book *Godina dana hrvatskih narodnih običaja* (A Year of Croatian Folk Customs) with his own photos of *zvončari* (bell ringers), Easter bonfires, *jurjaši* (St. George's Day village processionists), *ladarice* (female singing processionists), the Christmas custom of covering fruits with straw on St John's Day (27 December) in Podravina, and a crown for the custom

the above content testifies to the role of photography in the scientific research and educational activities of the time and to the development of documentation in the ethnological profession. The photographs from the oeuvre of Milovan Gavazzi provide an insight into the scientific research and educational activities within the Chair of Ethnology and Ethnography. The locations listed on the data cards also help reconstruct Gavazzi's first fieldwork research after his arrival at the Faculty. (Fig. 1a., Fig. 1b.)

An insight into the context in which the photographs were taken can also be gained from other archival material: more specifically, from M. Gavazzi's correspondence—letters in which he often talks about his own field research and scientific work. The letters offer a *view from below* of the context in which the photographs were made; they refer to circumstances that preceded going to the field and testify to events on the field itself or to events that followed shortly after the fieldwork was completed. Their micro dimension allows us to detect social connections and contacts that were often a prerequisite for the fieldwork research and photography to take place at all. In conclusion, they allow us to trace the relationships between collaborators, local officials, the community, and the local elite with the central figures of ethnological science (in this case, Milovan Gavazzi). The study of social nexuses, contacts, and transfer and reception of ideas within ethnological science is particularly relevant from the perspective of actor-network theory.[33] Newer research trends in the sub-discipline of the history of ethnology/cultural anthropology attempt to study issues such as transfer and reception of ideas, centre-periphery relations—particularly by exploring the relations between the central figures of ethnological science and other stakeholders, by analysing the intellectual circles in which individual ethnologists/anthropologists move. An attempt is made to surpass the classical approach, which focuses on the events and biography of the central figures of cultural anthropology. Therefore, the studied photographic material and letters reveal a multi-layered, dynamic, and lively relationship between Gavazzi, local populations, and collaborators. Gavazzi maintained a particularly strong relationship with the local population. He often stayed in contact with community members long after his fieldwork had ended: he continued to correspond with colleagues, exchanging copies of photos, greetings, and various information.[34] On some

of electing village kings on the islands of Silba and Olib. The book *Pregled etnografije Hrvata* (A Review of the Ethnography of Croats) (Gavazzi, 1-80) is equipped with photographs of streets and architectural buildings (houses and outbuildings, interiors of peasant homes–hearth), various aids and tools (children's walkers, ploughing tools and ploughing), and peasants in their traditional clothes.

33 Darnell, Gleach, *Centering the Margins of Anthropology's History*, 1-270; Delgado Rosa, Vermeulen, *Ethnographers before Malinowski*, 1-522; Darnell, *History of theory and method in anthropology*, 1-315; D'Agostino, Metera, *Histories of Anthropology*, 1-676.

34 In 1930, he had 9 copies of photographs made for his collaborators and tellers from Dalmatia, which he sent to the following places:

of the photographs he recorded the names of the people in the picture. The above examples show that maintenance of connections with informants was a very important determinant of his research approach, which was far from depersonalized, decontextualized, or typological.

In terms of content, Gavazzi's photographs taken in Dalmatia in the interwar period can be roughly divided into four groups: a) photographs of the local population in everyday or festive dress, b) panoramic photographs and views of different places, c) sacral and vernacular architecture, and d) objects of material culture. We have made this classification according to the predominant motifs, but the division is only conditionally valid because in some cases the motifs overlap or complement each other, as can be seen in the photographs we have included in the paper.

In the photograph (Fig. 2) Gavazzi noted the name and surname of the old man, who was photographed in worn out everyday clothes. The photograph was taken at a moment when the man was immersed in reading a prayer book, to which he directed his gaze and attention. He is pictured frontally, in a portrait-like manner, in a seated position with a walking stick resting on his body. The background is blurred, but the exterior is recognizable (it is probably trees, compositionally placed vertically in the central part of the background, thus visually emphasizing the posture of the person in the photograph).

Photograph (Fig. 3) is a full-figure shot of five women wearing "old Olib clothing". The women are standing side by side, half-posed and looking toward the photographer. They were photographed outside, in front of the rectory stairwell.

In terms of ethnographic film, Gavazzi emphasized the importance of relations with the local population and members of the local elite, such as priests, teachers, and prominent peasants. As mentioned earlier, collaborators/associates often informed him of village events that they deemed worthy of recording on film and of the professor's attention.[35] In addition to his relationships with collaborators, Gavazzi obviously had prior agreement, acquaintance, and close relationship with the local population in regard to photography—for example, for the realization of individual portraits or group photographs in different situations and places, at a time when photography was a technically demanding and slow process unknown in broader layers of society. The small distance between the

Seget (4 photos), Bitelić (3 photos), Potravlje (1 photo), and Marina (1 photo) (HR-HDA-1029-7, box 69: 8 October 1930). He sent special thanks and photos to his collaborators from the Barada family, the historian Miho and his brother Ante. To Ante's younger sons he sent a small toy as a gift (a wooden motorboat) (Grkeš, Petrović Leš, Povjesničar *Miho Barada u svjetlu korespondencije*).

35 Križnar, Razgovor z Milovanom Gavazzijem, 188.

camera and the subject indicates the researcher's familiarity and closeness with the people he photographs. In some places, the private space of the informant's family home was recorded. An extremely large number of photographs are portrait in nature and indicate a social interaction that must have preceded the fact that the researcher could photograph someone (up close) or inside their home.[36] This does not mean that the negotiation process was without problems. The local population often reacted to photography with resistance and fear of the unknown.[37]

A photograph can be a source for "reading" and interpreting the context in which it was recorded. Our photographs contain valuable visual information about the historical period and the geographic and cultural space in which they were taken. They also serve as confirmation of the author's presence on the field, reflect the researcher's interests, and refer to the research agenda and to the choices and ways of presentation (selection) of cultural elements. Certain photographs point to the technical limitations that Gavazzi encountered as a researcher in this period, for example, problems with exposure, which could not be achieved artificially as it can be today.[38]

The photograph (Fig. 4) shows four men of different ages in a boat by the rocks on a slightly rough sea. They are dressed differently according to their age and role, with the oldest man standing out in light-coloured clothing, sitting at the oars in the back of the boat. Two young men sit in the front, focused on the fishing net, and the youngest boy peeks out from behind the oarsman, intently watching the action in the front of the boat. Gavazzi instantly captured this marine scene with his camera. The boat was shot from the shore, from above, positioned diagonally in a horizontal photo, with the bow and the rocks in the foreground.

The photograph (Fig. 5) shows an "old fisherman", whose last name (Mavrić) was recorded by Gavazzi, sitting and weaving a net. The shot is vertical, showing the upper half of the fisherman's body. The moment of threading the needle through the mesh is captured and the fisherman's gaze is focused on his work. Compositionally, the fisherman's figure fills

36 This possible feature of ethnographic photography is mentioned by Christopher Pinney, who points out that "photographs became a crucial pivot of interaction" (...) and "means of eroding barriers between anthropologist and locals (...) a research tool" (Pinney, *Photography and Anthropology*, 48).

37 Dragutin Boranić, editor of the *Zbornik za narodni život i običaje* (Proceedings of Folk Life and Customs) (1902–1954), on one of his inspection trips through Dalmatia in 1902 made contact with older village women who refused to pose for him, which he later interpreted, based on foreign literature, as a result of their belief that "having your picture taken strips away your soul" (Čulinović-Konstantinović, "Etnografska istraživanja u Dalmaciji", 36).

38 Some of the photographs are of lower quality due to the developing process, which depended on chemical procedures that were not always successful.

the entire left half of the photo, while in the lower right corner of the photo there is a taut and stretched fishing net, which the fisherman gently holds with his left hand while weaving. Architecture, shafts, and open wooden sheds are visible in the close background.

The photograph (Fig. 6) shows a wide horizontal shot of the local port of Veli Iž, where pit fired pottery products are being loaded on a ship. The shot is in landscape format and captures several people moving around and working in the foreground and centre, while in the background there is architecture, several single-story or stone houses, and partially visible dry-stone walls.

The vertical photograph (Fig. 7) shows a full view of a wind-driven flour mill. The windmill was filmed in its natural environment showing the preserved part of its stone masonry tower. The upper part of the windmill and its covering have fallen into decay, exposing the wooden cornice that supported the former construction of the structure's upper part. Three people in civilian clothes pose in front of the entrance to the windmill.

The photograph (Fig. 8) shows a single-nave stone Gothic church of St. Peter in Nerežišća on the island of Brač. The church is shot from the rear, showing the apse and a tree growing on the roof of the apse.[39] The chapel is covered with stone slabs. In the background, on the church's front façade, there is a horse-pulled bell tower. Compositionally, the church is placed in the upper half of the vertical photo, while in the foreground there is an unpaved clearing.

The photograph (Fig. 9) shows stacked pottery products and potters in the local port of Veli Iž. The foreground of this horizontal photograph shows pottery items to be pit fired, mostly arranged in a circle, with branches for kindling the fire. Next to the various vessels (*lopiže*, *čripnje*, *teće*) for preparing food on an open hearth stand male figures and a boy in front on the far left. Interestingly, at the same time Gavazzi also documented the pottery modelling of Veli Iž on film, noting this fact on the back of the photographs and inviting comparison with the film. Gavazzi independently shot his first ethnographic film recordings precisely in the 1930s, with a 16 mm amateur film camera, AGFA movex with cassette, container for 12 m of film tape. These are black and white films without sound made on reversal film (Majcen 1997:128).[40]

39 The church is a protected immovable cultural property (Z-4453). Today it is a well-known tourist attraction because of the black pine tree that grows on the apse's roof and is one of the most photographed wedding motifs and postcard pictures. Due to its rarity, this pine was declared a protected natural monument in 1969. https://hr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Crkva_sv._Petra_u_Nere%C5%BEi%C5%A1%C4%87ima (accessed: 18 June 2023).

40 Vessel modeling—Veli Iž. b/w, silent film, 1930, author and camera Milovan Gavazzi (Majcen, "Etnološki filmovi Milovana Gavazzija", 130).

In this vertical photo (Fig. 10), a long, large net (*migavica*) is seen spread out on the sand (*pržina*) on the shore. The net is positioned diagonally across the photo, with the baggy part of the net (*sak*) seen in the foreground. *Migavica* is a "special kind of movable net found in the Adriatic", named for the movement that occurs when the meshes of the net are tightened and loosened causing the fish to gather in the centre, which bulges out like a bag.[41] In the photograph, the net follows the line of the shoals and the coastal zone, compositionally extending from the lower left edge in a semicircle towards the upper edge and background of the photograph. Gavazzi used the photograph to illustrate a text about fishing, published in *Pregled etnografije Hrvata* (A Review of the Ethnography of Croats) (1940). In 1955, Gavazzi recorded film footage of fishing with the *migavica* and *šabak* nets, but this was in Tkon on the island of Pašman.[42]

Gavazzi's work on visual documentation and visual research as seen on this small sample proves to be much comprehensive. Material culture did interest him, but not outside the social, interactional, environmental, and functional context. Most of the photographs show people rather than material objects, and people are the dominant feature in Gavazzi's photographs. Furthermore, the photographs present individual or group portraits of women and men in everyday informal clothes usually captured while working, as well as informal events the photographer witnessed "on the fly", as they unfolded (e.g. pit firing and loading pottery products on the coast in Veli Iž, reading prayer books, weaving nets, fishing), noting the changeability and dynamism of culture and even the decay of architecture (windmills without a roof structure). The variety of motifs is also pronounced Gavazzi's photography is not distant, not voyeuristic, not separated from the immediate event and the protagonists. We cannot yet speak here of the photographer's direct presence in the photographs themselves, in the sense of a tangible self-reflexive consideration of the ethnological terrain as a construct, Gavazzi's photography is characterised by the fact that the people in the photographs are shown in a specific context and occasionally in a posing position. They are mostly in a larger group of people or in a particular ecological setting. They are not decontextualized or typological, as can be seen in many foreign anthropological photographs of the period.

CONCLUSION

In this paper, we have presented Gavazzi's ethnographic documentary photographs from the region of Dalmatia in the interwar period. If we read Gavazzi's written works more closely, it is certain that he treated film and photography as scientific documents in the service of ethnological knowledge, analysis, and comparison. For Gavazzi, photographs were a document of culture as valuable as any other cultural historical source. We can now see that Gavazzi documented pottery, one of his most important research topics in the field of material culture in the interwar period, precisely in Dalmatia. In 1930, in Veli Iž on the island of Iž he recorded the making of vessels on a manual potter's wheel both photographically and on film, and the film recording of the pottery from Iž is one of his first films. Thematically, we have singled out examples of sacred and vernacular architecture here. It is particularly interesting that the church of St. Peter in Nerežišća on Brač caught Gavazzi's eye and that he took a picture of it from the apsidal side to capture the then small black pine tree, which is today not only a very popular but also a protected natural phenomenon. Gavazzi will return to windmills as an example of buildings that were already disappearing in some of his field research after the Second World War. Photographs with depictions of women in ceremonial dress taken in front of the lavish staircase of the rectory on the island of Olib contrast with the old man from Seget near Trogir immersed in reading the prayer book and dressed in worn out everyday clothes. In addition to the distinctive fishing net, *migavica*, also indicative is the depiction of a fisherman in work clothes occupied with weaving a net. Perhaps Gavazzi went from the documentary to the aesthetic in his photograph of fishing from a boat.

Here, we have only scratched the surface of Gavazzi's photographs of the Adriatic region, for which he laid the foundations in the framework of Croatian ethnology and cultural anthropology, highlighting its predominant cultural features and then photographically documenting them, for example, in his photographs of stone constructions, clothing, and fishing, as shown in the paper.

Working on Gavazzi's photographs opens up the issues of (re)valorizing his research work and using this type of material in university teaching.[43] Photography as a source offers many possibilities, including that of a better understanding of cultural historical topics that Milovan Gavazzi researched.

41 Gavazzi, *Baština hrvatskog sela*, 49.

42 Fishing with the *migavica* and the *šabak* – Tkon, author and camera Milovan Gavazzi, 16 mm, b/w, silent film, 16 mm (Majcen, "Etnološki filmovi Milovana Gavazzija", 131).

43 In discussion with our colleagues at the Department and with the students we teach, both the potential and the challenges of using this type of source in the university teaching of ethnology were recognized. Practical work in the classroom to date has shown that it is possible to present the history of the profession through literature and photographs, to create an awareness of the dynamism and changeability of culture, but also to better understand the role of photography as a technique in ethnological research.

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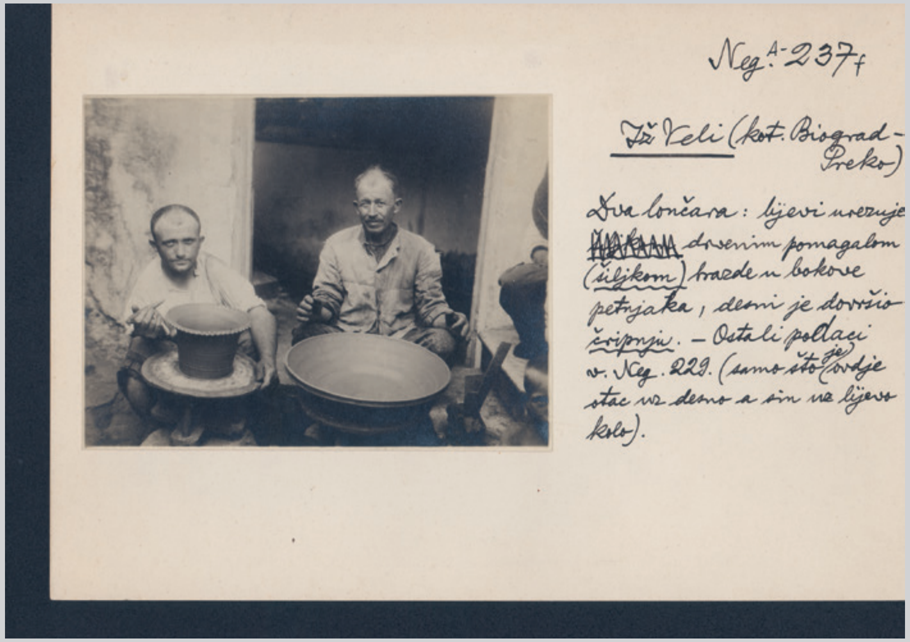
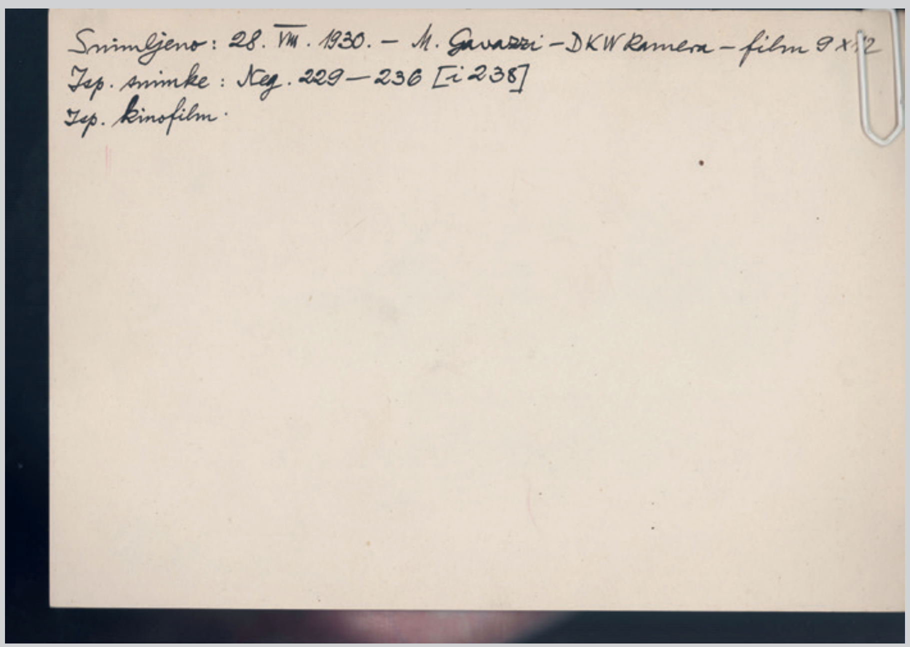
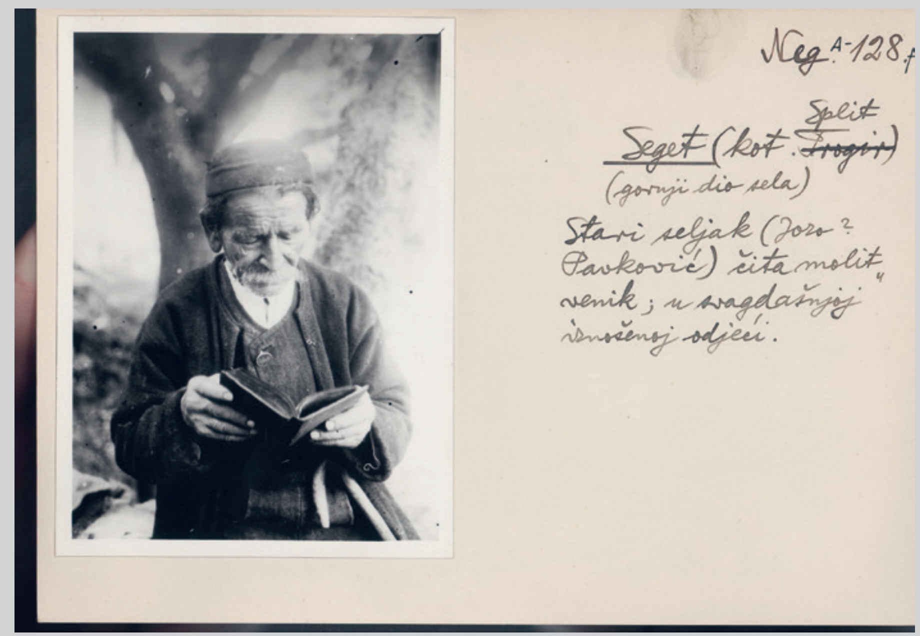

Neg. A-237 f
Iž Veli (kot. Biograd-Preko)
Dva lončara: lijevi urezuje drvenim pomagalom (šiljkom) brazde u bokove petrnjaka; desni je dovršio čripnju. – Ostali podaci v. Neg. 229. (samo što je ovdje otac na desno a sin na lijevo kolo).

[1a]


Snimljeno: 28. VIII. 1930. – M. Gavazzi – DKW Kamera – film 9 x 12
Isp. snimke: Neg. 229—236 [i 238]
Isp. kinofilm.

[1b]


Neg. A-128 f
Seget (kot. Split)
(gornji dio sela)
Stari seljak (Joro? Pavković) čita molitvenik; u svagdašnjoj iznošenoj odjeći.

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[10]

1a. Front side, photograph of two potters from Veli Iž. Source: AOEKA: 237. Author: M. Gavazzi, 1930.

1b. Back side with technical data. Source: AOEKA: 237. Author: M. Gavazzi, 1930.

2. An old peasant (Jozo Pavković?) from Seget near Trogir reading a prayer book. AOEKA: 128. Author: M. Gavazzi, 1928.

3. Five women in traditional Olib clothing standing in front of the rectory. AOEKA: 212. Author: M. Gavazzi, 1930.

4. Lowering the net from the boat in Podgora near Makarska. AOEKA: 428. Author: M. Gavazzi, 1937.

5. Old fisherman Mavrić from Silba weaving a net. AOEKA: 224. Author: M. Gavazzi, 1930.

6. Loading of pottery products on a ship anchored in the port. AOEKA: 242. Author: M. Gavazzi, 1930.

7. Windmill from Silba. AOEKA: 223. Author: M. Gavazzi, 1930.

8. Stone church of St. Peter with apse and bell tower, Nerežišća on the island of Brač. AOEKA: 103. Author: M. Gavazzi, 1929.

9. Pottery products stacked for pit firing in Veli Iž. AOEKA: 239. Author: M. Gavazzi, 1930.

10. Drying of a large fishing net (migavica) in Podgora near Makarska. AOEKA: 427. Author: M. Gavazzi, 1937.

MERI KUNČIĆ

A Distant City – Photos from the Past of the Island of Rab

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Miroslav Maroević (Miro Marojević) was born in Zadar on the February 25th, 1900. According to data from the birth book of the Zadar parish of St. Stošija his father was Marin (born in 1863), and his mother was Marija Demicheli (born in 1871).[1] Little is known about his schooling, the first his photographs date from the end of World War I, which points to the fact that he spent his formative years in Zadar, where several prominent photographers and their studios were active up to that time. Famous Zadar photographers of the second half of the 19th century and the first decades of the 20th century left numerous examples of skillfully made portraits, views of the city and cultural and historical landmarks, reports of certain events and scenes of everyday life.[2] Almost the entire range of motifs that can be found in Maroević's oeuvre. His earliest known 33 photographs, a photo reportage taken from October 31st to December 1st, 1918, with scenes of the entry of the Italian army into Zadar, are part of the collection of the State Archives in Zadar, and were presented in 2014 at an exhibition of photos about World War I.[3] He left Zadar after the signing of the peace of Rapallo in 1920 [4] and spent most of his life on Rab, where in February 1934 he married Emilija Marija Sokolić.[5] He worked there as a postal official and amateur photographer.[6] A catalogue record has been preserved of his participation in the photo exhibition in Split in 1926, where 12 of his photographs with Rab motifs were exhibited.[7] He died on the March 22nd, 1975, on Rab.[8]

1 State Archives in Zadar (henceafter: HR-DAZD), Inv. no. 2186 - ZADAR - Sv. Stošija, Register of births 1899-1903, p. 13, no. 43.

2 On the development of photography in Zadar at the end of the 19th and the first decades of the 20th century see: (Grčević, *Fotografija devetnaestog stoljeća u Hrvatskoj*, 162-173; Seferović, "Fotografija u Zadru 1848-1950", 174-205).

3 Collection of photographs 1855-2011, HR-DAZD-385 (analytical inventory prepared by Denis Martinović, Zadar 2015); about the exhibition, held in June 2014 at the State Archives in Zadar, see: (Gverić, *Veliki rat)*

4 Bradanović, "O nekima od nepovratno izgubljenih i jednom pronađenom rapskom spomeniku", 72.

5 HR-DAZD, Inv. no. 2186 - ZADAR - St. Stošija, Register of births 1899-1903, p. 13, no. 43.

6 HR-DAZD-385, Collection of photographs 1855-2011

7 Katalog izložbe fotografija Split 1926, 24-25.

8 HR-DAZD, Inv. no. 2186 - ZADAR - St. Stošija, Register of births 1899-1903, p. 13, no. 43. The date and place of death are recorded

Most of his photographic oeuvre, with scenes from everyday life on the island spanning half a century, is part of the private collection of Josip Andrić in Rab, part of which has been published in various publications to this day.[9] Most of the photographs are attached to various historical and art historical texts, starting from the 1920s, when they were first published in V. Brusić's book dedicated to the island.[10] Part of the photographs from the private collection were printed in *Rapski zbornik I* (Zagreb—Rab 1987)[11] mainly as illustrations accompanying certain scholarly texts, then in Ivan Pederin's book *Svakidašnjica u Rabu. Od mistike do renesanse i baroka* (Rab 2011)[12], in *Rapski zbornik II* (Rab 2012)[13] and in the monograph on the Franciscan monastery of St. Bernardin (St. Euphemia) in Kampor on Rab.[14] They were also printed in certain scholarly articles, for example in M. Bradanović's article about the lost monuments of the island of Rab and the found tombstone of Rab bishop Zudeniko de Zudenigo.[15] A documentary about Maroević's photographic opus was filmed in the HTV series *Kulturna baština* (*Cultural heritage*) entitled *Slike s otoka* (*Pictures From the Island*; director: Luka Marotti, screenwriter: Edda Dubravec).

along with the birth information, originally recorded in the book of deaths of the place Palit on the island of Rab.

9 In the private collection of Josip Andrić in Rab, there is a large number of Maroević's photographs taken on the island of Rab from the 1920s to the 1960s. His rich oeuvre includes a series of portraits, photographs of everyday life of the city and island population, depictions of old crafts, children, religious ceremonies, processions, city views, buildings, works of art, natural diversity of the island, old vessels, steamers and military ships, soldiers, airplanes, divers, tourist destinations, etc. Some of the photos are presented on the Internet: https://rabdanas.com/index.php/kolumne/bastina-koja-obvezuje/item/5468-bijeli-rab-iz-fotografske-ostavstine-miroslava-maroevica-1900-1975 (accessed 5/26/2023). I thank the owner of the collection for the opportunity to see the photographic material, the photos used here are taken from the literature indicated in the notes of the paper.

10 Brusić, *Otok Rab*.

11 Mohorovičić, *Rapski zbornik I*, 272 (fisherman, 1935), 435 (woman plowing).

12 Pederin, *Svakidašnjica u Rabu*, 142–143, 145–148, 150, 152.

13 For example, in: (Andrić, "Rapska lađa", 383–403, photos on: 425–426, 657–660).

14 Braut, Majer Jurišić, Šurina, *Franjevački samostanski kompleks sv. Bernardina Sijenskog*: photo 23 (p. 31): View of the monastery of St. Bernard from the southeast, between 1918 and 1929; photo 24 (p. 31): Refectory of the monastery in 1920s; photo 27. a–b (p. 34): The plateau in front of the church of St. Bernard and the chapel of St. Catherine, 1930s; photo 35 (p. 45): View of the monastery from the promenade; photo 112 (p. 102): Polyptych in the church of St. Bernard, Antonio and Bartolomeo Vivarini, 1458.

15 Bradanović, "0 nekima od nepovratno izgubljenih i jednom pronađenom rapskom spomeniku": photo 5 (p. 72): Revelin, the remains of the Renaissance port tower with shackles for tying ships in front of the count's palace, before its demolition between the two world wars.

The intention of the text that follows is to look at the author's relationship to the photographic tradition of the environment in which he worked, at the same time his relationship to photographs with motifs of the island of Rab and the literature that dealt with the island's cultural and historical landmarks, in which some of his photographs have been printed to this day. Undoubtedly, as will be tried to show in the analysis, he was well acquainted with touristic and historical literature which dealt with Rab, and with the photography of Zadar photographers of the second half of the 19th century and the first decades of the 20th century. Here we will primarily talk about the part of his oeuvre that was created after 1920.

Until the time when Maroević's earliest photographs with island motifs were printed (1926), the natural and cultural and artistic sights of Rab were recorded in several picture series created for the needs of various research and publications. The earliest known illustrated edition with scenes of Rab cultural and historical motifs was prepared by Rudolf Eitelberger von Edelberg in a book created as result of documenting monuments in Dalmatia in 1859, entitled *Die Mittelalterlichen Kunstdenkmale Dalmatiens in Arbe, Zara, Nona, Sebenico, Traù, Spalato und Ragusa* (Vienna 1860; second amended edition from 1884).[16] The two earliest editions of that book, however, do not contain photographs, but drawings of individual works of art, for example the tiles from the cross of King Koloman and the mighty St. Kristofor,[17] as well as buildings, including the bell tower of the Rab Cathedral (drawing of architect Winfried Zimmermann).[18]

A little later, Thomas Graham Jackson's book *Dalmatia, the Quarnero and Istria with Cettigne in Montenegro and the Island of Grado* (Oxford 1887)[19] was also published, which deals also with Rab's history and monuments. However, even that edition was still not equipped with photographs, but with drawings, for example, that of a view of the city with bell towers,[20] the bell tower of the cathedral,[21] the Gothic entrance door of the Nimira palace, in front of which two Rab's women in traditional clothes are talking.[22] In 1884, the same author also painted several watercolors with Rab motifs, some of which are kept in the Split City Museum.[23] Among the

16 Eitelberger von Edelberg, *Die Mittelalterlichen Kunstdenkmale Dalmatiens in Arbe*.

17 Ibid., 18–20, 22.

18 Ibid., attachment (panel) no. III.

19 Jackson, *Dalmatia, the Quarnero and Istria*, 195–238.

20 Ibid., 237.

21 Ibid., attachment (panel) 57 (between pp. 210 and 211).

22 Ibid., 208.

23 Škarić, Gjini, "Nove spoznaje o korskim sjedalima", 48 (ciborium in Rab's cathedral, watercolor); one of Jackson's watercolors, depicting a view of Rab from 1884, is reproduced by M. Bradanović in: (Bradanović, "0 nekima od nepovratno izgubljenih i jednom pronađenom rapskom spomeniku", 71).

early tourist guides that described the island of Rab is that of Czech writer and folklorist Adolf Černý *Dalmátský ostrov Ráb* (Prague 1910) with a geographical map of the island and seven illustrations.[24]

In the first two decades of the 20th century, the first publications equipped with photographs about the island of Rab appeared, and among the first were articles by the Austrian art historian Dagobert Frey. In an article from 1911, he described some of the historical buildings on Rab, bringing photos of the view of Rab as well as individual buildings and their details.[25] In 1912, he also published an article about the Rab cathedral, also equipped with photographs within the text and in the appendices at the end of the magazine.[26]

Soon after German architect and professor at the University of Hannover, Friedrich Wilhelm Schleyer,[27] several times 1910–1913 visited the island, he published a historical overview of Rab's cultural and historical landmarks in monograph *Stadt und Insel, ein Schatzkästlein der Natur und Kunst in Dalmatien* (Wiesbaden 1914).[28] In it, as many as 145 illustrations were published on 180 pages, including many photographs. Among them are many views of the city of Rab, as well as details of the city core, with depictions of religious and secular buildings, as well as artistic landmarks. As he explains in the book's introduction, most of the photographs were taken by the author himself, experienced in the restoration of historical buildings and urban areas, and then developed in two Viennese studios. Along with several photos, the name of the photographer Bruno Reiffenstein from Vienna is indicated.[29] It is noticeable that a little later Maroević's photographs, especially those of the veduta and the city center, are very reminiscent of those in Schleyer's book in terms of the choice of motifs and framing.

In the interwar period, several authors from the Italian-speaking area paid more attention to the history of Rab, about which they published several scientific articles and documents, either exclusively dedicated to Rab, or within broader thematic entities. This especially applies to Giuseppe Praga,[30] who wrote about the cultural and historical sights of the island, as well as Ugo Inchiostri and Giovanni Galzigna, who wrote about the organization of the Rab commune and its statute in the 14th century.[31] But their texts were supplemented with only a few graphics and photographs, the author of only one of which is known – Bruno Galzigna.

In 1926 was published the book by Vladislav Brusić, Rab's Franciscan from the monastery of St. Bernard (St. Euphemia), entitled *Otok Rab, geografski, historijski i umjetnički pregled sa ilustracijama i geografskom kartom Kvarnera i gornjeg Primorja*,[32] which includes some of Maroević's earliest published photographs, to whom the author thanks in the conclusion at the very end of the book, as to one of the two photographers whose works were printed there; Z. Purač is mentioned as the second photographer.[33] As the author's name is not found in the book along with the photographs themselves, Maroević's authorship of some of them can be determined by comparison with the private collection of J. Andrić. These photographs were undoubtedly created in collaboration with V. Brusić, who begins the book with a nostalgic introduction, with a description of the island of Rab and its inhabitants:

24 Černý, *Dalmátský ostrov Ráb*.

25 Frey, "S. Giovanni Battista in Arbe".

26 Frey, "Der Dom von Arbe".

27 Friedrich Wilhelm Schleyer (von Schleyer), German architect (Angermünde, 1853 - Hannover, 1936). In 1880 he obtained a degree in civil engineering, 1884-85 participated in the restoration of the medieval Cistercian monastery Chorin in Brandenburg. After passing the state exam in 1885, he worked on the restoration of the Liebfrauenkirche (Dammkirche) in Jüterbog in Brandenburg, originally from the 12th century, and on alterations and new buildings in Bad Nenndorf in Lower Saxony. He designed the new prison building in Wohlau 1892. Since 1895 he has been a professor at the Technical College in Hannover. In 1903 he was awarded by the Sultan of Turkey for his services in the photogrammetric recording of the Hagia Sophia in Istanbul, and in 1920 received an honorary doctorate from the University of Berlin. In 1929 he spent several months in Paraguay, where he investigated the Jesuit reductions of the indigenous Guaraní people (*Deutsche Biographische Enzyklopädie* 2007, 673; Legac, "Turistički razvoj otoka Raba", 461).

28 Schleyer, *Arbe. Stadt und Insel*; the first version of the manuscript was published in *Zeitschrift für Architektur und Ingenieurwesen* 1913 and 1914. (Škarić, "Nove spoznaje o korskim sjedalima", 59, note 7).

29 Bruno Reiffenstein, photographer (Vienna, 1868 - Vienna, 1951). He attended the Graphic Institute in Vienna, where he founded a photography studio and publishing house at the turn of the century. He left a rich photographic archive, especially of the architectural heritage of Vienna, thanks to which the reconstruction of the city was carried out after the Second World War. On his biography see: https://www.geschichtewiki.wien.gv.at/ ; on his oeuvre see: https://sammlung.wienmuseum.at/ (accessed May 19, 2023)

30 Praga, "Scuole e maestri in Arbe nel Medioevo e nel Rinascimento"; Praga, "Arbe nella storia dell'arte, delle lettere e del pensiero italiano"; Praga, "Documenti intorno ad Andrea Alessi"; Praga, "La mariegola della Confraternita di Sant'Eufemia di Arbe".

31 The earliest articles on this topic the authors published in the newspaper Archeografo Triestino from 1899 to 1902, later consolidated in: (Inchiostri, "Gli statuti di Arbe"; Inchiostri, "Il comune e gli Statuti di Arbe fino al secolo XIV."; as a book printed in Rome 1931).

32 Brusić, *Otok Rab*.

33 In an attempt to identify that photographer, I came across the name of Jerolim Purač (Gračanica, Bosnia and Herzegovina, 1897 - Rakičan, Slovenia, 1978), a photographer who spent most of his life in Beltinci and Murska Sobota in Slovenia, but in the interwar period he was active in the entire Kingdom of Yugoslavia, publishing photos in various publications. See more about his biography in: (Papp, "Purač, Jerolim /1897-1978/").

> "Back then, the city of Rab was a real 'Dead city', where people lived equally in summer and winter, and which even then barely felt the change of seasons. Everything in it was cold, everything was dry, everything was dead, lifeless. Only my soul was young and full of enthusiasm, and that's why Rab 'Dead city', even then forgotten and unknown, awakened something in me, which made it appealing to me. Slender, dilapidated bell towers; old, darkened churches; irregular, cobbled, and arched streets; ornate portals with coats of arms and inscriptions; you can see the balconies with arched windows, the magnificent slopes of the rough and ancient city ramparts; as well as the slopes of many houses and patrician palaces overgrown with dark green ivy and overgrown with thorny blackberries, they told me about something that was, something that had passed. They told me: about the free city; about the free municipality, about patricians and commoners; about life and work; about wealth and prosperity: in one about the people, who lived better than their happy and longing descendants lived. And out there on the island, scattered in apartments and settlements, there lived a man neglected and without schools. As a shepherd and farmer of a primitive type, and without his own consciousness and feelings, he worked hard, and fed and clothed himself poorly. He was poor and crippled but born into wealth!" [34]

It is noticeable that the photographers in the book bring a number of motifs mentioned in the introduction, which Brusić himself explains in more detail in the elaboration of individual chapters. Dealing with the past of Rab, and especially the Middle Ages, the author certainly noticed a lack of visual sources with which he could supplement and clarify the text itself. One gets the impression that the photographers were trying to fill that void, probably preparing more photos with motifs of the island landscape, old city streets, cultural and historical landmarks, and city and village life for the purposes of the publication.[35]

Within the book, Maroević's authorship, based on a comparison with the fund of a private collection, can be assumed with great probability for the photographs with motives of panoramic and landscape views,[36] everyday life,[37] Rab's churches interiors and exteriors[38] and some medieval art pieces.[39] Although some of these photos are not identical to the photos in the private collection, there is a high probability that they represent different variants of the same motif and were taken at the same location, but not at the same time. Namely, for the purposes of that edition, far more photographs were created than were published in Brusić's book, and some of them were presented at the exhibition in Split.

The photos are directly attached to Brusić's text to which they refer and document the state of architectural, urban, and artistic heritage on Rab in the 1920s. In the way of presenting architectural and artistic monuments, Maroević had immediate role models, above all in the aforementioned Schleyr's book, so some of his photos strongly resemble photos from the German edition from 1914, such as, for example, the detail with the figure St. Christopher on the antependium of the main altar in the cathedral,[40] a shot of the interior of the Rab's cathedral[41] or the courtyard of the monastery of St. Bernardina (St. Euphemia) in Kampor.[42] Since Schleyer, however, does not pay too much attention to the social history of the island in his book, there we do not find scenes from the daily life of Rab residents, as is the case with Brusić, who devotes individual chapters to considering the relationship between patricians and commoners in the town of Rab which for centuries was the cultural and administrative center of the island, and the relationship between the city's population and the residents of the district, especially for the long-term Venetian administrations from 1409–1797. It is interesting that when describing the Rab's population of his contemporary era, the 1920s, he still emphasizes the division into citizens and outsiders, i. e. residents in the Rab villages, noting their differences in clothing and lifestyle. In Maroević's photographs, certain scenes of the life of the peasants were brought, such as, for example, the scenes of

34 Brusić, *Otok Rab*, 3-4.

35 The exhibition catalogue lists the titles of the photographs: 1. Spinning; 2. Rab: old vessel »copul«; 3. Monastery of St. Andrew and the main bell tower; 4. Rab: four belfries; 5. Rab: tower of the brave; 6. Rab: Franciscan monastery of St. Euphemia; 7. Rab: Franciscan monastery of St. Euphemia; 8. Rab: Monastery of St. Andrew; 9. Rab: on the western side; 10. Tuna fishing in the bay of Dražica; 11. Rab: coming from the harvest; 12. By the hearth in a peasant's house.

36 Brusić, *Otok Rab*: View of Rab and its surroundings from the hill of Kamenjak or Tinjaroša (p. 7); Centuries-old agaves under the western city walls (p. 15); Poplar trees and a view of Rab (p. 17); Tuna fishing in the bay of Dražica (p. 35); Town of Jablanac (p. 79).

37 Ibid.: Spinning (p. 29); Plowing (p. 37).

38 Ibid.: The interior of the church of St. Mary the Great (former Rab's cathedral), choir and ciborium (p. 69); Duke's palace (p. 84); The city lodge with the church of St. Nicholas (p. 107); The old nave under the city walls (p. 111); The courtyard of the monastery of St. Euphemia (p. 161); Ruins of the church of St. Damjan in Barbat (p. 179).

39 Ibid.: The mighty St. Christopher (p. 38); The mighty St. Christopher (on the other side; p. 39); Enameled plate from the cross of king Koloman (p. 75); Another enamelled plate from the cross of king Koloman (p. 77); The third enamelled plate from the cross of king Koloman (p. 83); Antependium of the great altar of St. Christopher in the church of St. Mary (p. 98); Antependium of the altar of St. Anton (p. 131); Crucifix in the church of St. Bernardin from the 15th century (p. 170); Polyptych of the Vivarini brothers in the church of St. Bernardin from 1458 (p. 181).

40 Ibid., 98; Schleyer, *Arbe. Stadt und Insel*, 80 (photo 52).

41 Brusić, *Otok Rab*, 69; Schleyer, *Arbe. Stadt und Insel*, 74-75 (photo 46-47).

42 Brusić, *Otok Rab*, 161; Schleyer 1914, 124 (photo 80).

a woman holding a dill in the company of children, and a woman plowing with a wooden plow.[43] At the same time, he showed them the activities performed by women on Rab for centuries, touching on an unwritten part of history, which still existed on the island during Maroević's lifetime, but today is almost completely lost.[44]

Various sources from Rab provide scant information about the daily life of women in the past. Sometimes in wills from the Middle Ages, they are mentioned as recipients of testamentary legacies or as testators who leave their goods to family members and for making altars, artistic paintings and items for furnishing churches. In this case, it is always a question of members of the wealthier strata of the population, members of the local nobility and citizens. The written sources from that era are silent about the life of women from the lower strata of society. Something about their obligations can be deduced from the medieval Rab statute, from which it can be inferred that they were in charge of processing wool and textiles, one of the key usable and exportable raw materials of the Rab commune.[45] In a series of his photographs, Maroević presents scenes from the life of women in the Rab's village from the first half of the 20th century, in which he reveals a few details of their everyday life that can only be partially read from written sources: a woman plowing the land with a wooden plough, women in different stages of processing wool, with grazing cattle.

Historian Ivan Pederin (2011) paid more attention to the history of women and their economic role in the development of the island. In his writing about the most prosperous part of Rab's history in the 15th and 16th centuries, before the period of its long-term economic stagnation, he touched upon various aspects of social and economic history and the history of everyday life. The position of women is in detail elaborated in the chapters *The position of women*[46] and *Family and the position of women*.[47] In Pederin's book some of Maroević's photographs with scenes from the life of rural families in their daily activities, were printed as an attachment. Those include scenes of peasants making a wooden lime kiln, scenes of fishing and working with an olive press.[48] The photos are accompanied by brief explanations, without an indication of the time of their creation. Among them, there are two photos already published in earlier Brusić's

43 Brusić, *Otok Rab*, 29, 31.

44 In the sense of "long term history" which was used by the French historiographical school associated with the journal *Annales d'histoire économique et sociale* (Braudel, "Historija i društvene nauke. Dugo trajanje").

45 Margetić, *Statut rapske komune iz 14. stoljeća*.

46 Pederin, *Svakidašnjica u Rabu*, 18-21.

47 Ibid., 119-124.

48 Ibid., 142-143, 145-148, 150, 152.

book, one with the motif of a spinning woman,[49] with her children behind, and the one with the scene of a woman plowing with a wooden plow.[50]

With two photos showing the traditional way of making limestone, Pederin provides an interesting explanation: Making limestone in the Middle Ages.[51] In the upper picture, peasants are building a lime factory on a hill, while an old sailing ship is visible in the background. At first glance, the scene seems devoid of elements typical of the early 20th century. Below, the lime kiln is shown in its completed state, with a group of people, probably tourists in interwar clothing, along with two Franciscan monks. For the historian, these two photos serve as illustrations of the text, especially the chapter *Structure and organization of the feudal estate*,[52] which deals with the importance of lime production on the island of Rab in the Middle Ages. Even though the historian uses both photographs to clarify the same historical fact (or long-term process), the photographer's approach within the two photographs is fundamentally different. In the first representation, historical context is deliberately removed, and in the second, the time of the event has been undeniably captured. Nevertheless, both scenes bear witness to the long duration of a production process accepted on the island of Rab long before the emergence of the medium of photography. Pederin's book elaborated the same theme that Maroević had documented with his photographs over half a century earlier. The text itself explains the content of the photographs more explicitly than it is the case in Brusić's book. It tells in detail about the economy of the island and about the life of women in Rab society in the 15th and 16th centuries, both patricians and commoners. The photo directly testifies to the slowness of changes on the island and the presence of working procedures that began in the Middle Ages, as well as the hard physical work of women, especially those in the countryside, until the 20th century.

Maroević's photographs with motifs of children, of which there are a large number in his private collection, are not represented in the editions mentioned here. But they document children's everyday life, which, like the everyday life of women, is poorly represented in historical sources. In late medieval sources, children are usually mentioned only in the statutory law of the communes and in wills, and only if they reached the age of majority, which, depending on the communal laws, was between 14 and 16 for male children, and between 12 and 14 for female children. The legal provisions on coming of age changed only after the 19th century, but the reality of childhood on Rab did not change significantly until modern times. It is likely that commoners' children were involved in the work process very early on, and the children of wealthier citizens and patricians went to

49 Pederin, *Svakidašnjica u Rabu*, 147; Brusić, *Otok Rab*, 29.

50 Pederin, *Svakidašnjica u Rabu*, 152; Brusić, *Otok Rab*, 61.

51 Pederin, *Svakidašnjica u Rabu*, 145.

52 Ibid., 54-57.

school outside the island, most often to Italian universities. Involvement in the work process is evidenced by the contracts that masters of various professions concluded with the parents of the children they apprentice, which determine the duration of the apprenticeship and the conditions under which they perform certain tasks. The Rab sources are silent about every other aspect of childhood. The life of the inhabitants of rural areas in certain Croatian regions is documented in many photographs from the 19th century, but photographs with similar motifs from the island of Rab, up to those of Maroević, are very rare. The photos from the private collection show village children at work, on a country road where they follow domestic animals, in the field where they work together with adults, in fishing, a girl knitting in the company of a dog. They are testimony to the long history of child labor, which mostly died out on Rab, as well as in the rest of European civilization, only after World War II.

And many of his later photographs, taken in the interwar period, retain similar motifs and the author's intention to record a moment of time that is running out, traces of which are still present on the island. Therefore, certain scenes of village life and details of architecture in the city of Rab and on the island seem to be purified from the context of the time in which they were created, and certain scenes seem to be staged. For example, the scene of two young Rab's women on a country road, one of whom is upright and well-dressed and has shoes, and the other is more poorly dressed, with her head bowed and bare feet, leaning on a donkey with her hand, with a pronounced contrast between the richer city dweller and the poorer inhabitant of the Rab village, it seems refined.

For centuries, the Rab area based its life on several economic branches, of which agriculture, animal husbandry, and trades based on wool and wood processing dominated. Wool production has largely developed thanks to traditional sheep farming, and wood processing thanks to the rich forests on the island as well as the import of timber from the neighboring Croatian mainland, from Lika, via the port in Karlobag. In a series of photographs, Maroević captures traditional crafts, masters of various trades, shipbuilders, fishermen, millers. Since the written sources of Rab provide a lot of information about the masters of these professions in earlier centuries, the photographs themselves do not reveal anything that would be unknown to historians of those periods, but they are convincing and direct evidence of the way of life on the island that was present for centuries and existed still during Maroević's lifetime. Some of these photos were published in *Rapski zbornik II* (2012), for example photos of fishermen.[53]

Among the photographs in *Rapski zbornik II* (2012) is a panoramic shot of the island,[54] probably taken in the interwar period, which shows its

53 *Rapski zbornik II*, pp. 658, 670.

54 Ibid., 657.

image before the significant construction that began with the development of the island as a tourist destination. The image of that landscape is not much different from the one shown in Maroević's earlier photograph from Brusić's book, entitled *View of Rab and its surroundings from Kamenjak or Tinjaroša hill*,[55] and it gives the image of the Rab landscape as it was centuries before. The city's population was once concentrated in a smaller area of the urban agglomeration, the expanse of the island spread out all around, dotted with a series of roads and smaller churches. A historical source from 1471 with a list of chapels on the island of Rab, compiled by the Venetian Bartol Parutta, mentions as many as 35 chapels with their titles scattered all over the island.[56] Panoramic shots kept in a private collection show just such a picture of the island, a cultivated landscape dotted with limited estates and criss-crossed by roads, with a multitude of small churches in the landscape.

CONCLUSION

Miroslav Maroević's photographic oeuvre is far richer than what is shown here and is mostly connected with various book publications that talk about the history and heritage of the island of Rab. In this text, an attempt was made to realize the relationship between the written text and the author's photographs, which were published in certain editions. In the earliest known edition with Maroević's photographs, V. Brusić's book about the island of Rab, the photographs are contemporary with the text itself. For the purposes of that book, together with another photographer, Z. Purač, he provided pictorial material that, on the one hand, illustrated the text, and, on the other hand, filled in the gaps in the historical sources. In the first case, we are talking about a series of photographs with motifs of Rab's historical buildings and works of art, which document the situation in the 1920s, and which were modeled on somewhat earlier editions by Austrian and German scientists. They show skillful handling of the photographic medium certainly acquired in Zadar, where the author spent the first twenty years of his life and made his first known photographs at the end of World War I (1918). In the case of replacing gaps from historical sources, Maroević freely chose motifs from the environment, although refining certain scenes in order to achieve historical authenticity, he documented the details of the social and economic history of Rab at the beginning of the 20th century, in which the local inhabitants of the island—men, women and children—played an important role. These photos bear witness to the immutability of the island's economy over several centuries, the division of labor within the family and the position of women and children in the work process. Photographs with similar

55 Brusić, *Otok Rab*, 7.

56 Badurina, *Velika kamporska kronika. Liber II* [The Great Kampor Chronicle. Book II], Archives of the Franciscan Monastery of St. Bernardin of Siena (St. Euphemia) in Kampor on Rab, p. 16.

motifs created in the interwar period and attached to I. Pederin's book from 2011 are confronted with a text that is rich in data based on original archival materials, and which, thanks to a more modern historiographical approach, processed the motifs of Rab's everyday life that Maroević himself documented with a photographic lens half a century earlier. In this case, the text about the social history of the island is more explicit and sheds light on the content of the earlier photographs. Some of Maroević's photographs, published alongside recent scientific texts and more recent photographs by other authors, indicate changes in historical buildings on Rab in the 20th century. At the same time, they document the state of the Rab landscape, before the beginning of the strong construction that followed the development of Rab as a tourist destination, as well as the state of Rab's urban development over several decades. They represent a valuable source for Rab's urban and environmental history.

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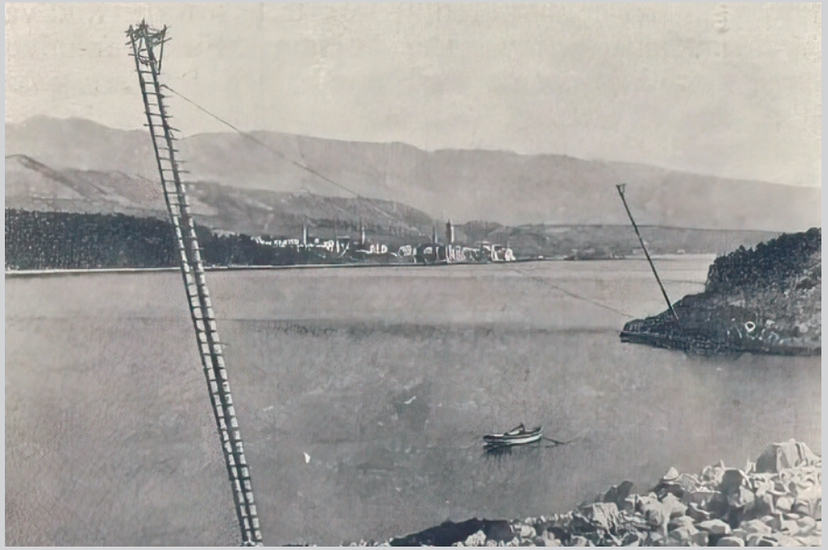

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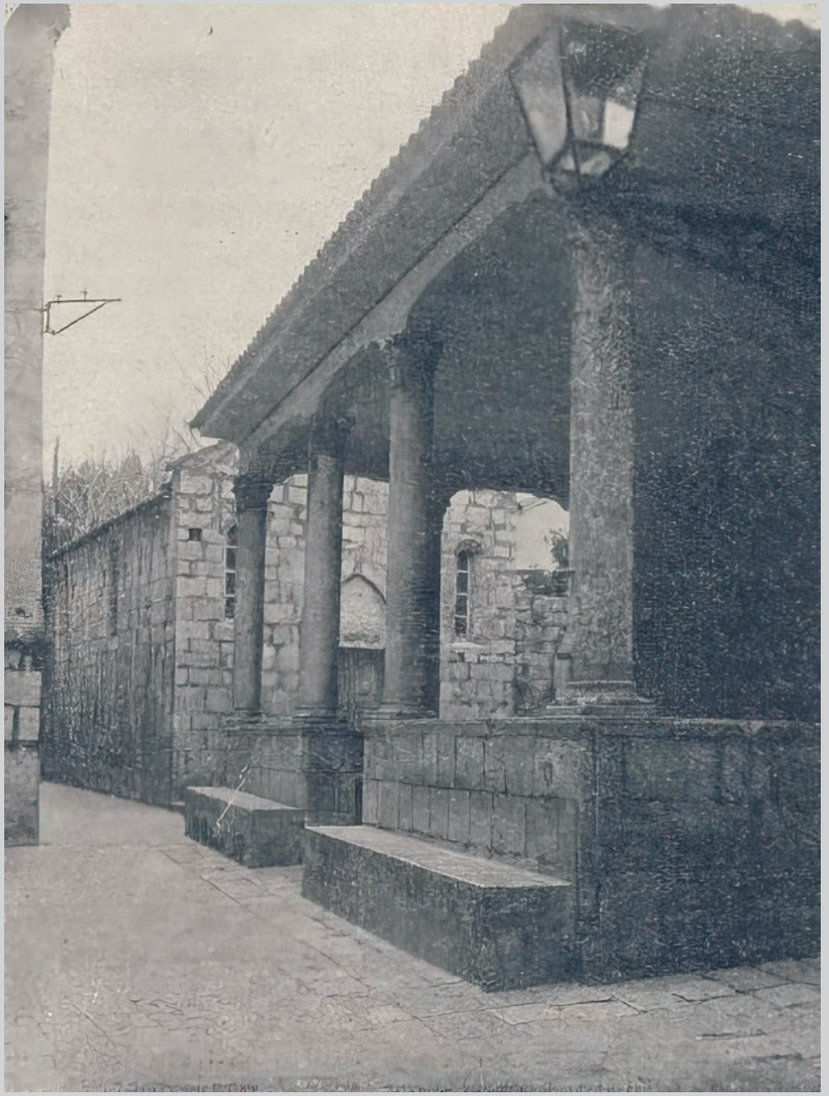

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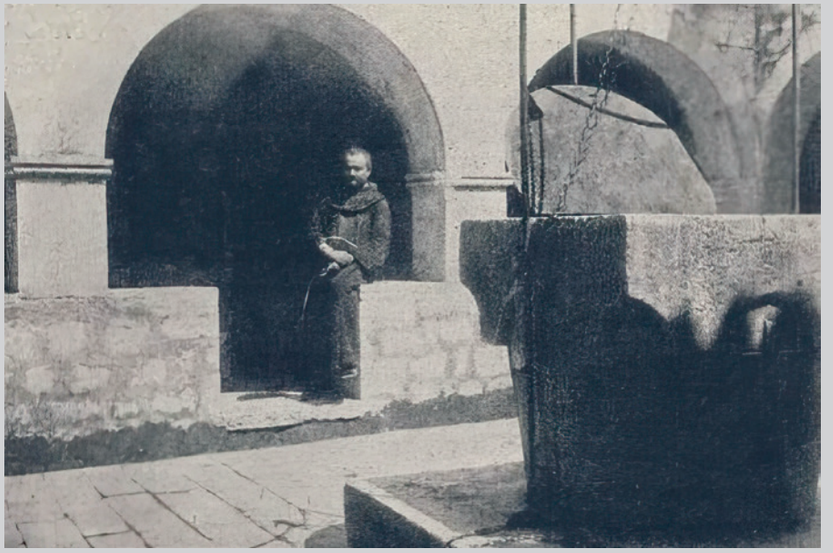

[7]

1. View of Rab and its surroundings from the hill called Kamenjak or Tinjaroša, around 1925
2. Spinning, around 1925
3. Plowing, around 1925
4. Tuna fishing in the bay of Dražica on the island of Rab, around 1925
5. Count's palace in the city of Rab, around 1925
6. The city lodge with the church of St. Nicholas in the city of Rab, around 1925
7. The courtyard of the monastery of St. Bernard (St. Euphemia) in Kampor on the island of Rab, around 1925

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