#04 THE CLASSIC

AUTUMN 2020

A free magazine about classic photography

In this issue

WILLEM PHOTOGRAPHIC

Mainbocher Corset, Paris, Horst P. Horst, 1939
9”x12” signed gelatin silver photograph

Carmen, American Vogue, Norman Parkinson, 1948
15”x18” signed gelatin silver photograph

Kay Thompson and the Williams Brothers, Irving Penn, 1948
8”x10” signed gelatin silver photograph

Christy in Museum, Harper's Bazaar US, Patrick Demarchelier, 1992
11”x14” signed gelatin silver photograph

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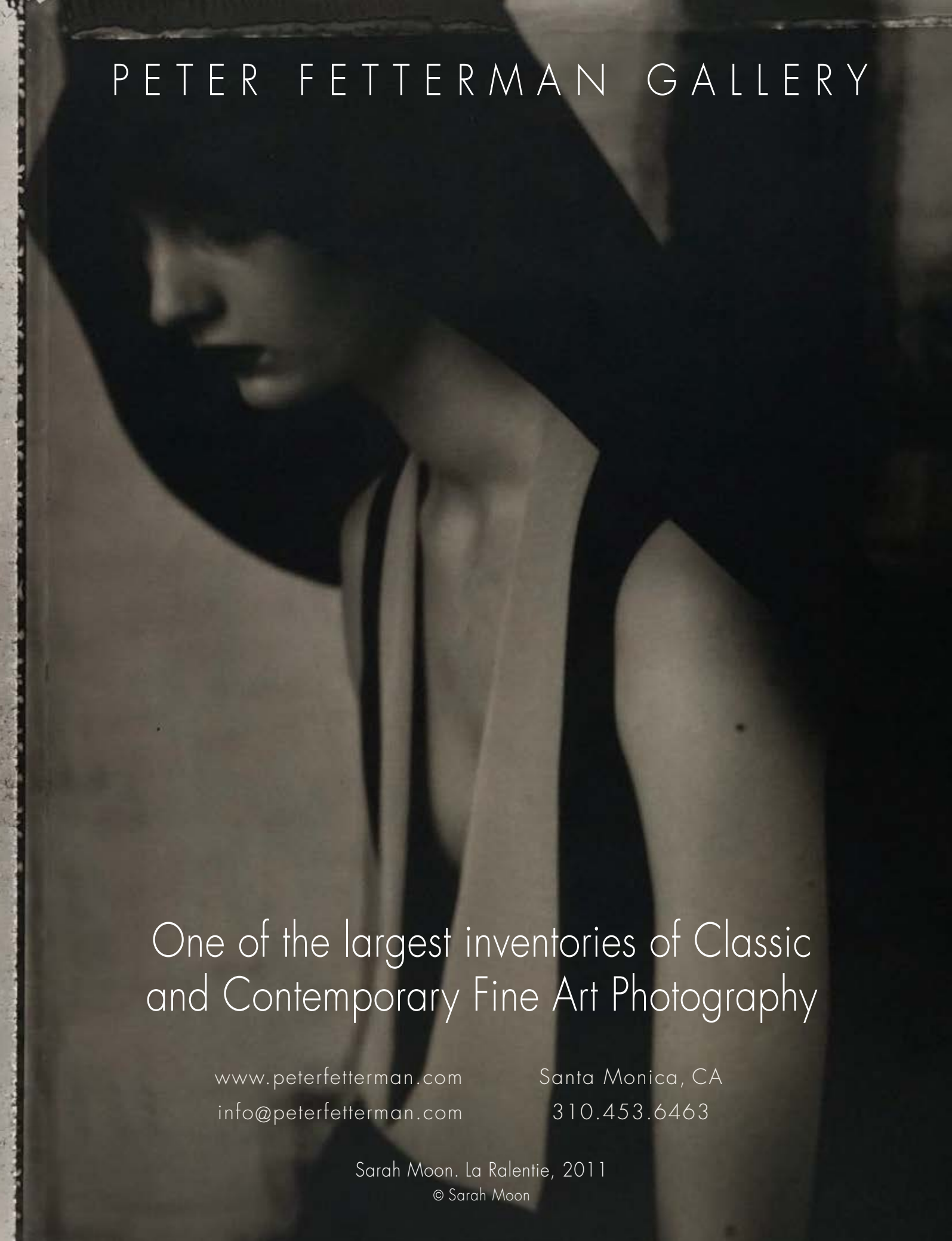

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Sarah Moon. La Ralentie, 2011

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WILLIAM EGGLESTON. Untitled. 1980s. Chromogenic print.

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From the editor

"Alex blabbered at some length that to become a *LIFE* editor one had to be a chronic alcoholic." The quote is from Yorick Blumenfeld's article, *How to Become the Greatest Living Photographer!* He tells the story of his father Erwin's arrival in New York in 1939 and his encounter with *LIFE* magazine's arts editor Alexander King, who then "took out a hypodermic filled with a milky fluid and quite unselfconsciously struck the needle into his arm whispering: *Vitamin E!*

You won't find the article in these pages. It's one of a growing number of articles on *The Classic Platform*, an online resource that we have just launched on our website. There are several reasons for its existence. When I developed the concept for *The Classic*, I was determined that it should be a magazine, not an academic journal, which is why the long articles are interviews or interview-based. But this meant leaving out some fascinating essays and some lengthy scientific papers that I felt would be of great interest. And on occasion, I felt that more could be written on a subject, and that an online resource would be useful. The final reason being that there are just too many interesting things to feature to fit into two issues a year.

A few of the articles on *The Classic Platform* have been published before, the earliest being László Moholy-Nagy's *From Pigment to Light*, first published in 1936, but most were written especially for the platform. The team and I are extremely grateful to the authors who gave their time and energy and shared their passions for their respective subjects.

There's news on another front as well, concerning publishing. An important factor behind our magazine's success is that it's a print magazine. When we published issue 2, we made issue 1 available as a pdf. We were going to follow the same pattern with issue 3. And then the virus struck. By the time issue 3 was printed, most of the world had shut down. As a free magazine, we rely on our distributors; museums, galleries, auction houses and fairs, all closed or cancelled, so we decided to make issue 3 available as a pdf immediately. This proved to be highly successful and because of it, we have acquired a new and much larger readership, including readers in territories where we haven't been able to arrange distribution. Virus or not, we will continue like this, publishing the digital version at the same time as the print magazine. This has also appealed to our advertisers, as it means that *The Classic* has, as they say, "gone global".

Michael Diemar
Editor-in-chief

THE CLASSIC Platform

An online resource

Woman with Large Plate,
Roma 1978. (Francesca Woodman)

PHOTOGRAPHERS

MUSEUMS, COLLECTIONS, CURATORS AND DEALERS

The Life of a Troubled Dandy - John J. McKendry,
Curator of Prints and Photographs at the Met 1967 - 1975
by Isabella Seniuta

When a Family Album turns out to be a Piece of Photographic History
by Denis Pellerin

Collecting Photographs before the Modern Photography Market
by Richard Meara

Collecting as a Mirror of Changing Times - Photography at the Städel Museum, Frankfurt
by Kristina Lemke

Chronic Nostalgic
by Amanda Hedden

COUNTRY, REGION AND CITY

Jakarta (Batavia) in Nineteenth Century Photographs
by Scott Merrillees

Early Photography in Ladakhm, Baltistan and Lahoul 1860 - 1930
by Hugh Rayner

Early Photography in Vietnam
by Terry Benett

CONSERVATION AND TECHNICAL

Image isn't Everything: Revealing Affinities across Collections
through the Language of the Photographic Print
by Paul Messier

Photographic Papers in the 20th Century: Methodologies for Authentication,
Understanding, and Dating
by Paul Messier

BOOKS AND PUBLICATIONS

Looking at Lucian Freud
by Robin Muir

Women in the Dark
by Mary Pelletier

IN MEMORIAM

Dennis Waters
by Robert Flynn Johnson

Sue Davies OBE
by Helena Kovac

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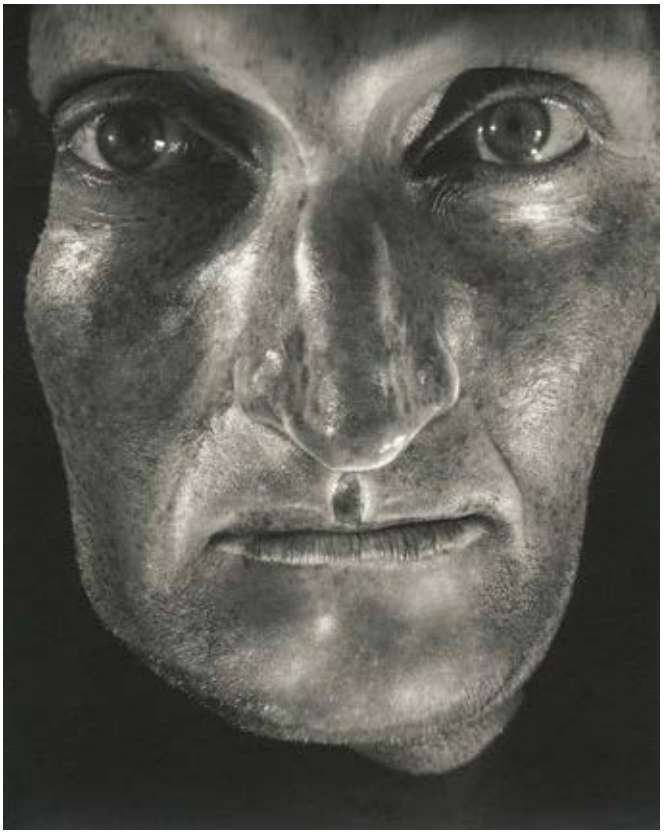


FACES AT THE ALBERTINA MUSEUM

Starting with Helmar Lerski's outstanding photo series *Metamorphose – Verwandlungen durch Licht* (Metamorphosis through Light), executed 1935-36, the exhibition *Faces* presents portraits from the period of the Weimar Republic. The 1920s and '30s saw photographers radically renew the conventional understanding of the classic portrait: their aim was no longer to represent an individual's personality; instead, they conceived of the face as material to be staged according to their own ideas. In this, the photographed face became a locus for dealing with avant-garde aesthetic ideas as well as interwar-period social developments. And it was thus that modernist experiments, the relationship between individual and general types, feminist role-playing, and political ideologies collided – and thereby expanded – the general understanding of portrait photography. Other photographers in the exhibition include August Sander, Germaine Krull, Oskar Nerlingar, Max Burchartz and Gertrud Arndt.

Faces - The Power of the Human Visage
Albertina Museum / Vienna
12 February - 24 May 2021

Helmar Lerski. *Metamorphosis, 885*, Gelatin silver print, 1935–1936.
The Albertina Museum, Vienna © Museum Folkwang, Essen

100 YEARS OF REFUGEE EXPERIENCES

From the First World War to the present day, countless lives have been affected by conflict, resulting in ordinary people having to make extraordinary decisions – should they stay or go? That's the focus of *Refugees: Forced to Flee*, a major new exhibition at IWM London. Challenging perceptions by putting people's experiences at the centre of the exhibition, it explores why people flee their homes and take certain items with them; how they make their journeys and find safety; and the challenges that can be experienced when re-settling. Stories from the First World War, Second World War and its aftermath, 1990s Bosnia and present-day Afghanistan will be compared to expose the similarities encountered by those who leave, move and re-settle. Whether making physical journeys or facing bureaucratic barriers, the exhibition demonstrates that regardless of time or place, the impact of conflict is the same – the catastrophic upheaval of ordinary lives.

Unknown photographer. German civilians, fleeing the Soviet advance, pick their way across the River Elbe on a partially destroyed railway bridge at Tangermünde, May 1945. © IWM.

Refugees: Forced to Flee
Imperial War Museum London
Through 24 May 2021

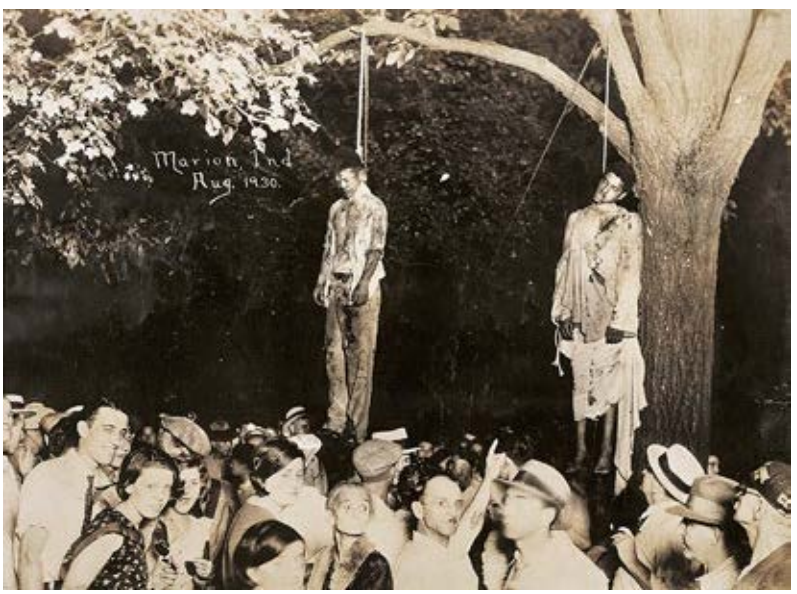
THE DISAPPEARING MATHEMATICIAN

Shigeru Onishi (1928-1994) was a Japanese mathematician who in 1955 attracted the attention of the photography scene in Japan and started playing a role in the subjectivist photography movement. His images are enormously expressive thanks to the creative use of multiple exposures in the darkroom, atypical development methods, use of photographic paper, brush and hot chemical baths, and intentional discolouration with acetic acid. The result is a collection of dreamy – and sometimes sinister – photomontages, in which nudes, cityscapes, trees, portraits and interiors seem to merge into his painterly applications of the photographic emulsion. The performative power of his work, which lies in the use of photography as an 'action' and expression of feeling instead of as a document, seems to be an early predecessor to the raw, poetic imagery of the Provoke generation. But Shigeru Onishi never really found a place for himself in the photography scene, and within a couple of years he disappeared from it and began creating abstract ink paintings. In collaboration with MEM and Bombas Gens Centre d'Art, Foam will be the first museum in Europe to stage a solo exhibition of his work, aiming to assign his short-lived, but brilliant, photographic oeuvre its place in history.

Shigeru Onishi. *Untitled*, gelatin silver print, circa 1955.

Shigeru Onishi - The Possibility of Existence
Foam / Amsterdam
19 March - 16 May 2021

SOUVENIRS OF HORROR



Lawrence Henry Beitler. *The Lynching of Thomas Shipp and Abram Smith, 7 August 1930, Marion, Indiana*, gelatin silver print. Courtesy Twin Palm Publishers

J. Thomas Shipp and Abram S. Smith were two young African-American men who were murdered in a spectacle lynching by a mob of thousands on 7 August 1930 in Marion, Indiana. They were taken from jail cells, beaten, and hanged from a tree in the county courthouse square. It is one of nearly 100 harrowing images in James Allen's book *Without Sanctuary*. First published in 1999, and long out of print, it has now been reprinted by Twin Palms Publishers.

The Tuskegee Institute records the lynching of 3,436 Black people between 1882 and 1950. This is probably just a small percentage of these murders, which were seldom reported, and led to the creation of the NAACP in 1909, an organisation dedicated to passing federal anti-lynching laws. Through all this terror and carnage someone – many times a professional photographer – carried a camera and took pictures of the events. These lynching photographs were often made into postcards and sold as souvenirs to the crowds in attendance. The photograph of the lynching of Shipp and Smith was taken by Lawrence Henry Beitler. He stayed up for 10 days and nights making prints and went on to sell thousands of copies. The image inspired Abel Meeropol's poem *Bitter Fruit*. He later set it to music, renaming it *Strange Fruit*, recorded by Billie Holliday in 1939.

Without Sanctuary
published by Twin Palms Publishers

Lillian Bassman. *Anne-Saint Marie, New York, 1958.* Gelatin silver print. Courtesy of Peter Fetterman Gallery.

For all the instalments of *The Power of Photography,*
visit www.peterfetterman.com

A FEW OF HIS FAVOURITE THINGS

It has been a strange year for galleries. As the lockdown eased, many were open by appointment only. This included Peter Fetterman Gallery in Santa Monica. But Fetterman was still keeping busy. Not least with his on-going online series *The Power of Photography*, with selections from the gallery inventory and his personal collection, with his reflections on each image. For the seventh instalment he chose images by Josef Ehm, Ethan Russell, Herman Leonard, Robert Demachy and others. Fetterman also decided to do a partial rehang in the gallery, bringing out some of his favourites, such as works by Lillian Bassman. Fetterman says, "She had a unique way of using experimental techniques to achieve an exquisite elegance that has never been surpassed. I never get tired of looking at the work, she was a true innovator."

THE BLITZ AND BEYOND

The exhibition *Bill Brandt | Henry Moore*, with an accompanying book edited by Martina Droth and Paul Messier, offers fresh insight into two masterful 20th century artists, tracing parallels in their work over three decades. The two first met during the Second World War, when each produced images of civilians sheltering in the London Underground during the Blitz. Brandt's photographs and Moore's shelter drawings today rank among the iconic works in their oeuvres. Brandt is revealed as a photographer attuned to the vitality of sculpture and the plastic potential of nature, landscape, and the body. Moore is shown to be a sculptor, draughtsman, and collage artist who made a serious commitment to the art of the camera, not only to document his work, but as a creative medium. Both artists were deeply engaged with the materiality of their media, seeking depth and dimensionality even in the seemingly flat surfaces of paper.

Henry Moore. *Study for Tube Shelter Perspective: The Liverpool Street Extension*, 1940-41. Pencil, wax crayon, colored crayon, watercolor, wash, pen and ink. © The Henry Moore Foundation, UK.

Bill Brandt. *Liverpool Street Extension*, 1940. Gelatin silver print. Edwynn Houk Gallery, New York. © Bill Brandt/Bill Brandt Archive Ltd.

The Sainsbury Centre,
University of East Anglia / Norwich, UK
21 November – 28 February 2021

Yale Center for British Art
New Haven, USA
15 April – 18 July 2021

Bill Brandt | Henry Moore
published by Yale Center for British Art

CRIME IN COLOUR

When *LIFE* magazine asked Gordon Parks to illustrate a recurring series of articles on crime in the United States in 1957, he had already been a staff photographer for nearly a decade – the first African American to hold this position. Parks embarked on a six-week journey that took him and a reporter to the streets of New York, Chicago, San Francisco and Los Angeles. Unlike much of his prior work, the images made were in colour. The resulting eight-page photo-essay *The Atmosphere of Crime* was noteworthy not only for its bold aesthetic sophistication, but also for how it challenged stereotypes about criminality then pervasive in the mainstream media. Parks rejected clichés of delinquency, drug use and corruption, opting for a more nuanced view that reflected the social and economic factors tied to criminal behaviour, and a rare window into the working lives of those charged with preventing and prosecuting it. The book *The Atmosphere of Crime, 1957* includes an expansive selection of never-before-published photographs from Parks' original reportage.

Gordon Parks. *New York*, 1957.

Gordon Parks: *The Atmosphere of Crime, 1957*
published by Steidl

Lewis Baltz. *Ideal,* from *The Protoype Works*. Gelatin silver print, 1976.

An Interview with Lewis Baltz by Duncan Forbes, published by MACK

A BLAST FROM THE PAST

In 1972, as his career was beginning to take off, Lewis Baltz (1945-2014), conducted a highly revealing interview with Duncan Forbes, now Director of Photography at the V&A. It was in effect Baltz's first considered statement about photography. Never published, the interview only recently resurfaced, and is now available for the first time in a newly published book, as part of MACK's series "Discourse". In an increasingly sardonic exchange, Baltz describes the character of his practice, articulates his position within and against the world of photography, and comments on his intellectual heritage and professional ambition. A penetrating exploration of his medium, Baltz's artistry and mercurial presence are strikingly laid bare.

CHANGING OF THE GUARD AT SWANN AUCTION GALLERIES, NEW YORK

By Mary Pelletier

DEBORAH ROGAL

This past June, as New York City began to emerge from coronavirus lockdown, Swann Auction Galleries announced Deborah Rogal as the new Director of Photographs & Photobooks, after Daile Kaplan, long-time head of Swann's innovative and diverse photography sales, stepped down. *The Classic* caught up with Rogal (virtually, of course) to discuss her new role, the department's commitment to exploring all aspects of the medium, and her plans to balance Swann's history with our new technological normal.

You will be taking over from Daile Kaplan, who has been at Swann for 30 years. How does it feel to transition into this new role?

– It's sort of surreal for me, to be honest! I've worked with Daile for 15 years, years that really flew by. She's been a huge inspiration and mentor to me, and it's hard for me to imagine my professional and even my personal life without her presence. Swann, too, has provided me with a lot of opportunities. I feel honoured and humbled to be holding a role that's been held by

Ansel Adams. *Georgia O'Keeffe and Orville Cox*, silver print, 1937, printed late 1960s. Sale 2466, February 15, 2018. Result $48,000 (Estimate: $18,000 - $22,000).

not just Daile, but other people who I really admire in the field. I'm trying to take this time to listen and talk to a lot of my colleagues and reflect before we plunge into the season that's coming.

Swann held the first auction dedicated solely to photographs in the United States on 14 February 1952. How did Swann help lay the groundwork for photography collecting in the United States?
– The sale was held long before there was any thought of there being a dedicated market for the material. It's the beginning of this idea that Swann has continued to champion, which is that the field of photography is vast. There's a lot of complexity to the medium – it's far more than a fine art, just a picture in a frame on a wall. As a venue that sells photographs, we really want to tell that complete story of the medium and not restrict it to the fine art component, even though that is an important area of collecting. Swann was initially a rare book house, and expanded from that core, so the sale certainly reflected that – there were a lot of albums, a lot of books, some amazing photographs and the prices were shocking! The high lot in the sale was $250, and that was for a group of Muybridge plates, almost a complete set, plus duplicates. The second highest lot was $200, for a set of *The Pencil of Nature*. It reflects the kind of sale I still want to hold, which is 19th century material, 20th century, books, albums, vernacular, things that tell the whole story of photography and draw in all these different formats that we can use to see pictures.

In any given Swann photographs sale, there may be anonymous tintypes, editioned contemporary works, and rare photobooks. There's always a feeling of discovery at the previews, an excitement that you may not recognise all of the images you're about to see. Does this wide range of material reflect the collecting habits of your clients?
– I don't know whether this is a chicken and an egg question – we offer a wide range of material and our clients are diverse and collecting a wide range of works as well. It's a beautiful relationship. There are all these different sections of our sales: early material, cased imagery, books, classical fine art pieces, and contemporary works. There are collectors for each of these areas, and every sale I'm surprised and so happy to see new people find those pieces as well, and sometimes they're really just responding to a specific image. We're looking for accessible entry points, offering things that are available to a new and young collector, and starting from a point of: "this is an object, an image I'm looking at, what speaks to me, what do I love, what I want to live with" – and that's all a part of our philosophy around selling. It has led to a little more selling of quirky items, or unusual things, but we're also intentionally pushing the boundaries of what can and should be sold at an auction house and what it means to talk about photography.

Lewis W. Hine, *Powerhouse Mechanic*, silver print, circa 1921. Sale 2466, February 15, 2018. Result $81,250 (Estimate: $70,000 - $100,000).

Swann has been actively developing the vernacular photography market – an area which some of the larger auction houses don't necessarily focus on.
– The vernacular market is one of Daile's legacies. She did so much to build that market and we will continue to do that. This material is really crucial to understanding the medium and the vernacular really showcases all of those really complex and interesting aspects of the medium: as a documentary object, indexing, studying, playing, as a tool for memory. It's also just an exciting way to discover amazing images. We've sold college albums from the early part of the 20th century, and those appeal to people who attended those schools and the archives of those schools. We've sold early company albums that have beautiful modernist images inside that are shocking in how complex and interesting they are, but they were also purely utilitarian. They weren't made as a beautiful object, and now we bring all these other ideas to them.

After a daguerreotype by William A. Pratt. Sixth-plate tintype of Edgar Allen Poe, taken a few weeks before Poe's death, 1849-late1850s. Sale 2436, February 14, 2017. Result $ 37,500 (Estimate: $10,000 - $15,000).

How do you source and value the vernacular objects?
– Setting estimates and values is not a science, and definitely not when it comes to vernacular material. We've handled so much of this work that we have a strong instinct for where the market might settle, which allows us to set estimates that really are a good guide for buyers. It's an exciting and different experience than reviewing an editioned print that we've sold a few times. Sourcing them is also exciting, because they could come from anywhere. People are making their own discoveries when they first find them and bring them to Swann.
Building relationships and meeting new collectors and consignors is really the most rewarding part of this job. I've had so many rich and rewarding moments connecting with people all over the world. Hand-offs in train stations, visits to homes, walking through our previews – at the center of this business is personal relationships.

From your perspective, how has the market developed over the past 15 years?
– When I first began working at Swann in 2005, we were selling on the internet, but it was not a big part of our sales. Now, the internet platforms are exploding. We are seeing more and more activity there, and that's where the new clients are coming to us. That changes how we put together the sales on our website, how we market the sales, and how we communicate with our clients. It also changes what we offer because it allows us to consider a global menu. It changes our relationship with our buyers as well. How can we recreate that sense of intimacy, in looking at material with a client who lives around the world? It's still very much in flux and in process, and the pandemic has allowed us to deepen those and consider abilities in a really focused way. I saw one of my colleagues using FaceTime to examine all the lines of a map with a client the other day – this is our future.

Daile was an avid collector of pop photographica. Do you collect as well? In what areas?
– I've always loved collecting as a habit, and working in the auction business, collecting is definitely a little bit of a professional hazard. I love snapshots, I love books, and I have active collections of both. I also love postcards, and I've been collecting them since I was a kid. I like how objects can hold memories and experiences, and be a physical reminder of the life that you've lived. But I'm not a fine art collector – my job is to take care of those objects as they move through Swann, and to me that's enough – it's a big responsibility.

Edward S. Curtis. A Complete Set of *The North American Indian. Being a Series of Volumes Picturing and Describing the Indians of the United States and Alaska,* 1907-1930. Sale 2288, October 4, 2012. Result $ 1,440,000, the first million-dollar lot at Swann. (Estimate: $1,250,000 - $1,750,000).

A collection of 42 rare photographs of

SAMURAI

by Nadar, Shimooka, Disdéri, Suzuki, Beato and others, taken 1860-1877

UENO Hikoma (1838-1904) : Group of Samurai Scholars, Nagasaki, c.1864

For pdf catalogue and price list, please contact Daniella Dangoor:
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BY MICHAEL DIEMAR

AGHA, BRODOVITCH AND LIBERMAN

"Chess was his favourite pastime". Dr M F Agha as Napoleon. From the August-September 1939 issue of *PM.* Private collection.

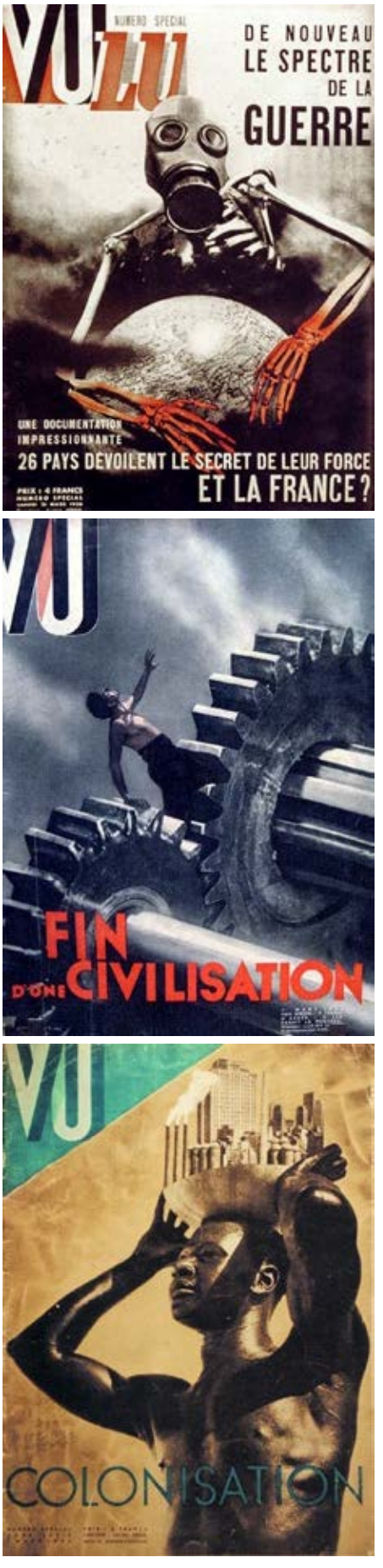
PIONEERING ART DIRECTORS

Walking around Paris Photo a couple of years ago, I couldn't help but reflect that while most of the contemporary work was personal work, a vast portion of the images from 1920 to 1970 had been taken for commercial purposes, for picture magazines, fashion magazines, advertising. What is forgotten over time is not only the context that all those now famous images first appeared in, the specific issues of the magazines, but also the publishers, the editors and the art directors who enabled the photographers to fulfil their visions, sometimes had to push them and sometimes reigned them in. We might never have heard, at least in the same way, of Richard Avedon without Alexey Brodovitch, art director at *Harper's Bazaar*, of Irving Penn without Alexander Liberman, art director at *Vogue*. And before them there was Dr M F Agha, art director at *Vogue* 1929 - 1943, often described as "the one who defined the role of the art director at a modern style magazine." Agha, Brodovitch and Liberman all took up their posts when the profession "art director" was new. But then, so was fashion photography.

It is often said that most of the genres of photography were invented within 15 years of Fox Talbot and Daguerre launching their processes: portraiture, landscape, documentary, staged and manipulated photography, street photography, pornography, advertising, propaganda. But fashion photography wasn't one of them. In the 1890s, the French photographer Henri Manuel took what is regarded as the first fashion photographs. Monochrome, and somewhat drab, they weren't deemed a success and for decades – fashion houses, and therefore the magazines, preferred fashion illustration, regarding it as better for conveying not only the cuts of the clothes, and of course their colours, but also the dream of fashion. A turning point came in 1911, when Lucien Vogel, publisher of the French magazines *Jardin des Modes* and *La Gazette du Bon Ton*, challenged Edward Steichen to promote fashion as a fine art through photography. In his 1963 autobiography, Steichen would assert that the four images, of gowns by Paul Poiret, "were probably the first serious fashion photographs ever made". Steichen would, however, not take fashion photographs again until 1923, when he began working for *Vogue*. He replaced Baron Adolph de Meyer, *Vogue*'s first fashion photographer, who had published his pictorialist images in Alfred Stieglitz's *Camera Work* and then shot fashion images and portraits in the same style for *Vogue* and *Vanity Fair*, from 1913 until 1922, when he joined *Harper's Bazaar*.

There would be countless defections from one camp to the other over the years. Competition between *Vogue* and *Harper's Bazaar* was stiff, often downright hostile. In September 1923, William Randolph Hearst, publisher of *Harper's Bazaar*, published a fake news article in his daily newspapers, "Condé Nast, editor and owner of *Vogue*, has abandoned his attempt to publish *Vogue* in London and has sold the English edition of *Vogue* to the publishing house of Hutchingson & Company." Nast responded in a full-page announcement in the trade journal *Printer's Ink*, refuting the claim. From then on, Nast would take no chances. He ran his empire by sending long, detailed telegrams and just to fool possible spies, each issue was given a unique code word. Other code words included "Jupiter" for *Harper's Bazaar*, "Cherub" for cable reply, "Blackite" for black-and-white page, "Solomon" for "use your own judgment". Nast and Hearst entered an uneasy truce but it was broken in 1933, when Carmel Snow, who had joined *Vogue* in 1921, feeling slighted at not having been given the job of editor-in-chief at *Vogue*, jumped ship to become fashion editor of *Harper's Bazaar*. The news sent shockwaves through *Vogue*. In his last missive to Snow, Nast wrote, "Your treacherous act will cling to you and your conscience and your reputation today, tomorrow and in the years to come."

When Snow took over at *Harper's Bazaar*, the graphic design of the magazine was, just like *Vogue* had been prior to Agha's arrival in 1929, stuck in the past, untouched by two decades of developments in the visual arts and graphic design; Cubism, Abstraction, Futurism, Dadaism, Constructivism, De Stijl, Bauhaus, Surrealism. For Agha, Brodovitch and Liberman, all of this was



"Making covers with a small projector". Lucien Vogel's *Vu* magazine. Covers of the March issues of 1936, 1933 and 1934. Private collection.

"Logical, legible, luxurious." Double-page spread, *Vogue* 1 November, 1935. Photography by Edward Steichen, art direction by Dr M F Agha. Courtesy of Condé Nast.

up for grabs but Constructivism would prove the most important. As Agha once put it, "The Temple of Constructivism is full of treasures and is therefore recommended to the commercial designer for new inspirations." It is somewhat ironic that Constructivism, the art movement so closely associated with the early years of the Russian revolution, would also, though modified, inspire the look of *Vogue* and *Harper's Bazaar*, the two bibles of Western capitalist, luxury consumption. But as Kerry William Purcell points out, "The way they used Constructivism was pure aestheticization, taking aesthetic means, formal innovations, and using it for other ends. But one should remember that those artists weren't just working for the Bolsheviks. They were doing commercial work as well, book covers, magazines, food packaging, etc. So it wasn't totally out of the ordinary for some of those style forms to be used for commercial means but it's true that the ideologies that drove them aren't as palpable and sometimes even contradict their origination."

Agha, Liberman and Brodovitch, originally from Ukraine and Russia respectively, all passed through Paris before making their reputations in New York. They would not only take inspiration from the aforementioned art movements. V*ogue* and *Harper's Bazaar* set themselves apart from mainstream fashion magazines by demonstrating a strong commitment to art and culture. Both magazines would over the years enlist numerous artists, Salvador Dali, Raoul Dufy, Christian Bérard, Pavel Tchelitchew and many others, to create covers, provide illustrations or style sets for photo shoots. This was completely in line with how the Paris arts scene had developed during the 1910s and '20s, where the borders between the arts, new and old, had become ever more porous. The arrival of Serge Diaghilev's ballet company in 1909 had been the main trigger. *Les Ballets Russes* effectively saved ballet in the west, where ballet was barely regarded as an art form any more. Initially, the ballets were based on Russian and exotic themes.

By 1912, Diaghilev sought to renew the company and looked to the city's avant-garde. When Jean Cocteau, who at that stage had done little of any merit, asked the impresario what he required, Diaghilev replied, "Astonish me". Cocteau wasn't the only one to take the challenge on board. "Astonish me" would more than anything become the guiding principle for Alexey Brodovitch.

While *Vogue* and *Harper's Bazaar* retained their antiquated look as the 1920s progressed, elsewhere, magazines were developing fast. In 1928, the aforementioned Lucien Vogel launched the French picture magazine *Vu*, a forerunner of *LIFE* magazine. It was where Alexander Liberman first cut his teeth as an art director, replacing Irène Lidova in 1932. *Vu* was conceived as a "beautiful film" that would bring "all of life within the range of the human eye" and could do so thanks to portable cameras, including the first Leica, launched in 1925. The photographs were not as in other magazines, "illustrations". Vogel created a new concept for layouts, where text and images were cleverly brought together to engage the reader's imagination. Though inspired by the German *Berliner Illustrirte Zeitung*, *Vu* went much further, mixing high and low, featuring everything from car races to the rise of fascism. It was Vogel who sent Robert Capa and Greta Taro to Spain to cover the Civil War, resulting in the most famous and certainly the most disputed war photograph of all time, *The Falling Soldier*. Vogel was sacked by his right-wing backers over the reportage from Spain. Taro would pay the ultimate price. She was wounded 25 July 1937 while the covering the Republican Army's retreat from the Battle of Brunete and died the following day. Liberman took over as managing editor at *Vu* after Vogels' departure but left the magazine soon after.

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Carmel Snow once described Agha as being "as inscrutable as a cup of black coffee". What do we know about his early years?

– We know that he was born in 1898 in Ukraine of Turkish and Russian parentage, but as he stated once, considered himself "as nearly French as it's possible for a foreigner to be". According to the August-September 1939 issue of *PM* we know that he had a volume of his drawings published at 17 and sold illustrations and cartoons to magazines as well as studying at Kiev's Academy of Fine Arts. His doctorate was in political science. He made his way to Paris after the outbreak of WWI. There is evidence that he had worked alongside Le Corbusier in his studio and had been studio chief at Dorland Advertising in Paris, the agency charged with setting up German *Vogue*.

"Acerbic wit, monocled". **Lusha Nelson**. *Portrait of Dr M F Agha*, gelatin silver print, 1930s. Private collection.

Mehemmed Fehmy Agha (1896-1978) was art director at Condé Nast from 1929 to 1943, art directing *Vogue*, *Vanity Fair* and *House & Garden*, as well as overseeing the international editions. Known for his acerbic wit, his staff called him "The Terrible Turk". He was also fond of telling tall tales, which partly explains why he is still shrouded in mystery. After leaving Condé Nast in 1943, Agha worked as a designer and consultant.

Condé Nast came across Agha at German *Vogue* in Berlin. What was it about him that made Nast hire him?

– German *Vogue*, established in 1928, was a financial disaster and folded barely a year later. Edna Woolman Chase, American *Vogue*'s editor-in-chief, memorably described the staff as "actors cast in the role of office workers." Agha was the sole survivor and Nast brought him to New York to oversee the design of *Vogue* and its sister publications, *Vanity Fair* and *House & Garden* and from 1939 *Glamour*. Nast's observation of Agha – "There were so many evidences in his work of order, taste and imagination that I began thinking of a possible art editor for our American periodicals" – would have been reinforced by other factors: Agha was determinedly internationalist in outlook, fluent in German, French, Russian, English and, naturally enough, Turkish and he espoused European Constructivist values and the disciplines of the Bauhaus. Nast was aware of the originality and creativity of interwar continental magazines. It's interesting to note that in *A Life in Photography*, Steichen singles

"He used photographs asymmetrically, a conceit most often identified with Alexey Brodovitch." An example of Dr M F Agha's "Fanning Technique". Dancers Grace and Paul Hartman, captured by Edward Steichen.
Courtesy of Condé Nast.

out Agha, which he does for few others in the fashion world, "Not long after I started working for the CN Publications, Nast brought over from Europe a new art director DR M.F. Agha, who swiftly transformed the layout and picture presentation and gave both magazines a fresh, live appearance."

Agha is credited as the one who defined the role of an art director at a modern style magazine?

– Nast gave Agha much more creative latitude than he gave his predecessor Heyworth Campbell. Taking so much off Nast's shoulders, Agha quickly became his right hand man with an ambit that far exceeded merely putting photographs on a page. He is much nearer to our modern notion of a "creative director" rather than an art editor. He had a view on content and he was not shy of putting his own thoughts onto paper and seeing them published. Not only could Agha foster the careers of favourite photographers, he could – and would – halt those who displeased him or were no longer of any creative value. He was careful to couch any partialities in broader terms that reflected on his proprietor first.

Nast realised that *Vogue* needed modernising but before Agha, there was "the art director that never was", Eduardo Benito.

– Previously, *Vogue* looked as one commentator put it, "like a photograph album sprinkled with text, thick black decorative frames around photographs, margin space was identical and when editors then referred to the magazine in production, they called it "the book". Each page was all but identical, containing maybe three to six pictures. Nast had asked Benito to produce a template for the redesign of the magazine, Benito being the foremost proponent of the prevailing cubist ethic, the new modern style. His philosophy is expounded in a memorandum to Nast, "Let us realise that, for the first time, thanks to machinery, we are living in an effective collaboration with pure geometric forms. Modern aesthetics can be explained in one word: Machinery. Machinery is geometry in action", adding "the setting up of a magazine page is a form of architecture; it must be simple, pure, clear, legible like an architect's plan." Benito produced the dummy but turned down the offer of becoming an art director, no doubt believing that an office job would not be conducive to making good art.

Agha implemented several of Benito's ideas and many more of his own. He also ditched fashion illustration in favour of photography?

– Photography became much more important to Nast's notion of promoting his magazines as the leading proponents of the new and innovative, but fashion illustration still had a place, and was still being used right up until the 1960s, albeit increasingly sparingly. Inevitably there were complaints, not just from readers. Harry Yoxall, British *Vogue*'s managing director wrote of the golden age of fashion illustration which he now considered over: "While the camera maintains its conquering but boring supremacy, we won't see their peers again." Agha brushed aside such criticisms: "It is a good thing to try to show everybody that we are still alive and leaders in the field of typographic mode. We have been the first on the market to produce this kind of Germanic type for the machine setting and all the others are following us." He added in justification that the sans-serif typefaces resembled those typefaces of as he put it "advertisers of class publications", which pleased his publisher.

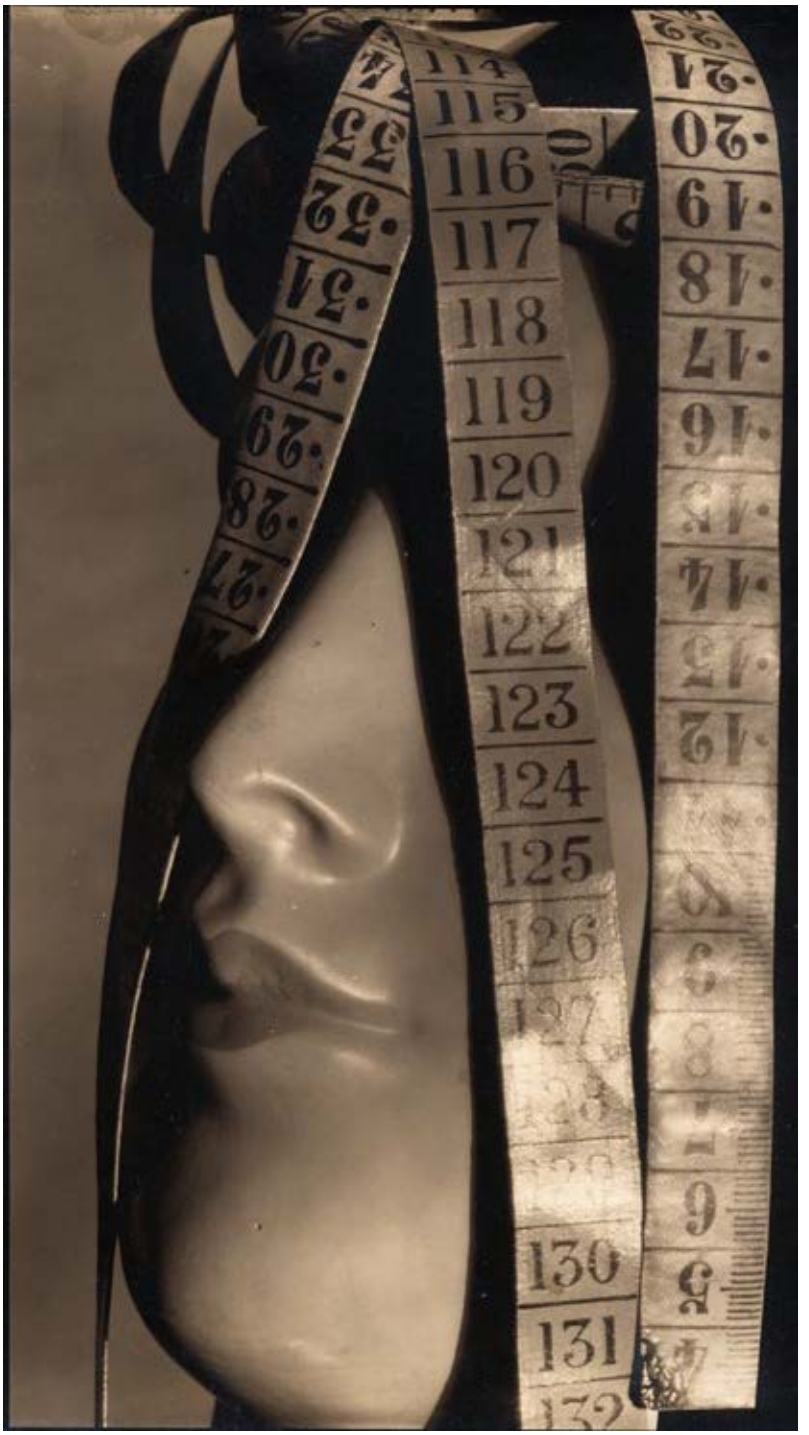
What other innovations did Agha introduce?

– Essentially, Agha brought wide-ranging and modern design to conservative magazine readers. *Vogue* and *Vanity Fair* began to look avant-garde and modern and the content matched it. He banished italic typeface, introduced the sans-serif typeface and changed the shape of headlines and often the direction they travelled. He made bold use of white space and pushed the limit of the double-page using two pictures to tell one pictorial story. He also created the first double page spread of a single photograph. He used photographs asymmetrically, a conceit most often identified with Alexey Brodovitch. He also removed the frames and margins to fully "bleed" pictures, a novelty at the time. The first, it is believed, in American publishing history, ran in *Vogue* in September 1932 and *Harper's Bazaar* followed two months later. And then in 1932, he encouraged experimentation with Kodak infrared film stock, which gave landscape, for example, a striking appearance. Titles were enlarged in bolder

more impactful type to tie pages and sets of photographs together. He conceived of fashion sittings as "stories". The sequencing of each portfolio was such as to give it meaning and purpose other than a collection of beautiful pictures. Content followed layout in priority so that the magazine appeared as a unified whole. He conceived of *Vanity Fair*'s headlines and captions without capital letters and managed to finesse a complete issue of the magazine without the use of a single upper case letter.

Steichen worked for Condé Nast from 1923 to 1937. What other photographers worked for *Vogue* when Agha arrived in 1929?

– Agha presided over the dying days of Pictorialism's influence over the depiction of fashion in photography and speeded it towards the sharper, geometric lines of modernism. He was not unaware of how important his patronage of photographers had been. Published in 1941, two years before Agha left the company, *Vogue Pioneer in Modern Photography*, a survey of the photographers who had best represented its pages in the last 20 years, recounted the *Vogue* and *Vanity Fair* careers of Steichen, De Meyer and Charles Sheeler. Other photographers working for the magazines on the cusp of the '20s and '30s included Cecil Beaton, George Hoyningen-Huene, Nickolas Muray and occasionally, Man Ray, the latter three pre-dating Agha's arrival. The thirties brought the colour experimenter Anton Bruehl, André Durst, chief photographer at Paris *Vogue* from 1934, briefly Erwin Blumenfeld, John Rawlings from 1936 and the *en plein air* specialist Toni Frissell, who published her first *Vogue* picture in 1932 and most prominently, Horst with whom Agha replaced George Hoyningen-Huene and who had, like him, briefly studied under Le Corbusier. Incidentally, Agha appears to have been quite puritanical, even prudish about photographs that held any sexual connotation. The example most cited is a photograph Horst took of a model dressed in white chiffon stretched out on a silk quilt, which Agha refused to publish, deeming it too racy. He was entirely loyal to Nast and his magazines: "To be in *Vogue* means to be on the crest of the wave of the times; to be always at the summit of everything that is elegant, modern, beautiful and cultured."



Agha abhorred Surrealism in graphic design but his own photographs often had a surrealist tinge. **Dr M F Agha**. *Untitled*, gelatin silver print, circa 1935. Private collection.

Agha got on well with Steichen but his relationships with other photographers were more difficult, with Cecil Beaton for instance?

– In 1929, Agha insisted that Cecil, whom he didn't much like, switch to a 10 x 8 camera from his handheld Kodak. He critiqued his pictures mercilessly and suggested a night class in the technique of photography. He was against Cecil photographing for *Vanity Fair*, which also came under Agha's remit, with the words to Condé: "*Vanity Fair* should publish only the work of people who are excellent art-photographers." Beaton's ideas were often rejected, Agha accusing him of trying to "deny everything *Vogue* has worshipped for so many years – to substitute ugliness for beauty, dowdiness for elegance, bad technique for good technique which we spent so many years trying to develop." Fortunately for Beaton, in Nast he had, until 1938, a staunch ally and Agha would fall into line. And then of course, there was the incident when Agha met the volatile and self-regarding photographer Hoyningen-Huene in a restaurant, angered him, whereby Hoyningen-Huene upended

the table they were sitting at and then dissolved his contract with *Vogue*. I suspect that Agha may have engineered the situation to produce a desired result.

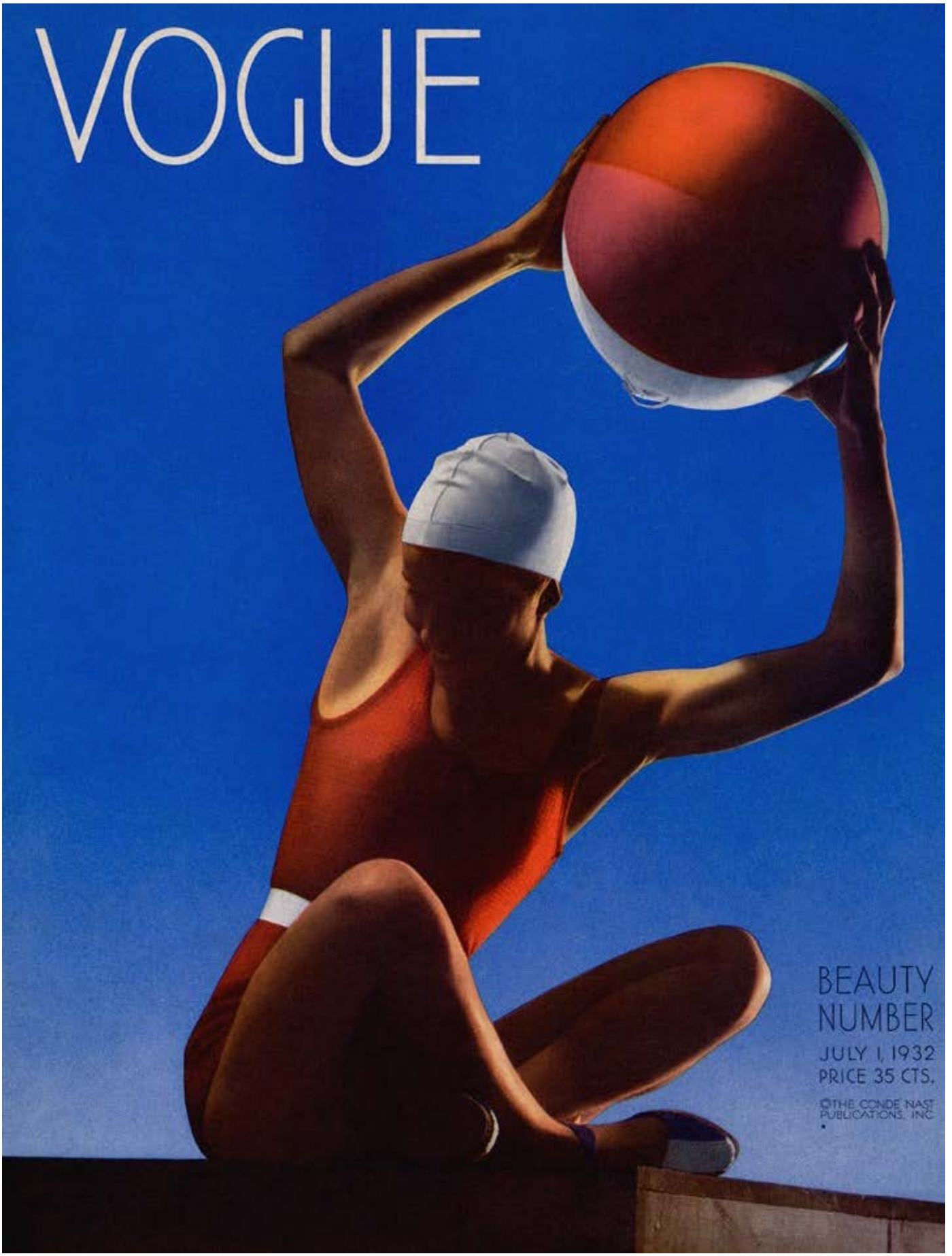
While Agha's design work was influenced by Constructivism and the Bauhaus, the fashion photography in *Vogue* wasn't. The models are elegantly posed, remote, and this seems to change only gradually towards naturalism, as fashion photography starts to move outside. How would you characterise fashion photography during Agha's reign? Classicism? With a dash of Hollywood? A dash of Surrealism?
– Nast hoped Vogue would be progressive and modern but *Vogue* was there to sell copies, not solely or even chiefly intended as a crucible for experimentation in art design. Those that could sell dreams included last gasp pictorialist De Meyer and romantic modernist Beaton. When Beaton embraces Surrealism, it's the neo-romantic quirkiness of the movement that appeals to him, not the more complicated psychological aspects of, say Man Ray, André Durst or Peter Rose Pulham, though he admires them greatly. There is certainly a giant nod to the Age of Speed and modernism, not least in employing Steichen in 1923, who was able to forget his past and reinvent himself and there is at least some linear structure to the classicists Hoyningen-Heune and Horst that can be traced to the Bauhaus.

Agha also revitalised the covers of *Vogue*?
– Indeed, previously the covers had always been held within a margin, but he bled them out to the edge of the page and he instituted bold modernist cover illustrations from, chiefly, Eduardo Benito, Georges Lepape and Guillermo Bolin. Inventive liberties were taken with the VOGUE logo, made out of, say, rope as if stranded on a sandy beach or the O and U might be the lenses of the cover model's sunglasses, and most famously the flexible Lisa Fonssagrieves, who contorted herself to mimic the individual letters of *VOGUE*.

The July 1 1932 cover of *Vogue*, with a Steichen photograph of a model in a bathing suit, was the first ever photographic full colour cover.
–*Vogue*'s colour work was mostly shot, created and printed by Anton Bruehl in partnership with the engraver Fernand Bourges, the latter overseeing Nast's state-of-the-art photo-engraving operation and he was a pioneer in the four-colour engraving process, which produced for Nast's magazines extraordinary colour images. Likely only superseded when Kodak introduced Kodachrome film. That and the introduction of the high-speed portable camera acted as a catalyst for the subsequent development of colour film, introduced in 1935. Colour covers themselves were nothing new. Nast's covers were almost exclusively colour illustrations from his acquisition of *Vogue* in 1909 on. Steichen's linear, modernist beach scene, taken in the studio, heralded a new era for *Vogue* design and for Agha's reputation. It interrupted a long tradition of illustrated covers but did not kill them off completely, though by the end of the 1940s they were something of a novelty. Steichen's photograph, conceived simply as a cover design, allowed for the briefest of cover lines. No fashion credits were offered inside. Instead his model acts as a cipher for a new breed of woman: active, healthy and with the freedom to enjoy travel, sports and leisure pursuits. Steichen's colour work was lauded for focusing not just on the fashion to be advertised, but "on the emotional and cultural nuances inherent in a carefully chose rhythm of palette and light."

How would you describe Agha's design philosophy?
– Probably in his own words: "Mere novelty, or art value or surprising modernism of any new style of fashion illustration will never, in my opinion, make it acceptable to our readers if it lacks in any of the fundamental qualities required by the mission, the service, which is the foundation-stone upon which the *Vogue* formula is built." William Golden, a former assistant to Agha, described his approach as "essentially that of an anthropologist". He was curious "as to how things were done, by what kind of people, reacting under what kind of pressure, but remained himself an entirely objective observer."

Agha produced a dummy for a book on graphic design. Sadly, it was never published. The last I heard of it, some 20 years ago, it was with a scrap dealer in Pennsylvania. Today, Agha is far less known than Liberman and Brodovitch. Has he been treated unfairly by history?
– Yes, and for all the reasons I have mentioned. He, along with Brodovitch, created the role of the art director, as no longer an appendage of the editorial team putting into practice the editor's wishes. While they could not deny the forces for change that impelled him, his unpopularity among his co-workers is the stuff of legend. As Bettina Ballard writes in her memoir *In My Fashion*, "He could and would turn what the editors meant into exactly what they did not mean." However cynical and tough he might appear, his "eye" was almost universally respected and his curiosity for the formalities of art direction. And he turned his cynical gaze on his own kind: "Personally, I might be inclined to the view that a fashion magazine's conception of beauty, elegance and taste might be insipid and nauseating, but I firmly believe that a fashion magazine is not the place to display our dislike for these things." Which view is curiously echoed by William Golden in his *PM* essay, "Agha's is the ordinary unhappiness of every man who earns his living at a job he mildly loathes."



"The first ever photographic full colour cover". *Vogue* July 1 1932, photography by Edward Steichen, art direction by Dr M F Agha. Courtesy of Condé Nast.

"A strange man in lots of ways." Unknown photographer. *Alexey Brodovitch*, portrait included in the press kit for the exhibition *New Lamps* at the Museum of Modern Art, New York, 1951.

Alexey Brodovitch (1898-1971) was born in a hunting lodge between St. Petersburg and the Finnish border to a wealthy, aristocratic family. Clearly visually gifted, his parents had planned to enrol him in the Imperial Art Academy but when WWI broke out he joined the army. When the Russian civil war broke out in 1917, he joined the Czarist White Army, was wounded and temporarily paralysed. In 1920, he and his family were forced to flee for their lives, heading first to Egypt, then Greece, and finally Paris. To support his family, he first took a job as a house painter but within four months, was working for Serge Diaghilev, painting and designing sets for Les Ballets Russes. He soon branched out, designing glass, porcelain, jewellery and textiles, as well as providing layouts for magazines. In 1924, he won first prize in a competition to design a poster for Le Bal, a benefit dance for artists. Picasso incidentally, came second. And then in 1930, he left for the US. In addition to his own work in graphic design, he also ran the highly influential Design Laboratory. He left *Harper's Bazaar* in 1958. Facing increasing financial problems, he left for France to re-join his family.

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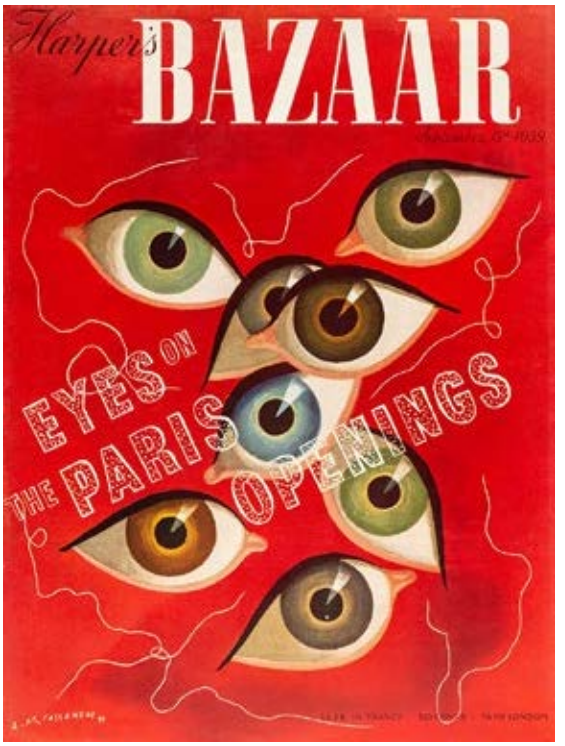
Did you discover anything new about Brodovitch during the process of putting the exhibition together?

– We went to the archives at the RIT in Rochester and came across some 10-12 hours of tape recordings of him running the Design Lab, with Brodovitch talking to Irving Penn, Richard Avedon and a lot of other people. It often got very heated, really intense. There were arguments, people falling out with each other. RIT have the tapes but Avedon's archive has some transcripts and they read like a play, the back and forth between these well-known figures. There were also recordings of Brodovitch, made when he was in hospital. Towards the end of his time at *Harper's Bazaar* he was hospitalised a few times and it was an open secret that he was an alcoholic. One of the students who went to visit him secretly recorded him. It was quite moving to listen to those recordings. But we didn't come across anything earth shattering that challenged our view of him.

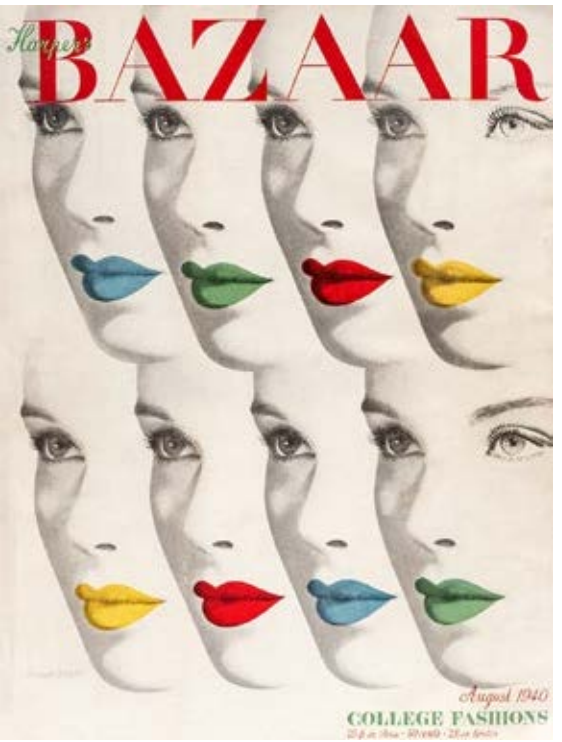


Adolphe Mouron Cassandre.
Eyes on the Paris Openings. Cover for *Harper's Bazaar* 1939.
Museum für Gestaltung Zürich, Grafiksammlung, © Roland Mouron.

He had a highly successful career in Paris. Why did he move to the US in 1930?
– Paris was a moveable feast for him. He was working in so many different realms. He was doing set designs, jewellery, ceramics, posters, advertising, menus for restaurants. What we now know as graphic designers working in particular areas just didn't exist as strongly then. But by 1930, Paris had begun to lose the spirit of adventure and experimentation that had initially made it so attractive to young artists and immigrants around the world. The international reverberations of the Wall Street crash and the beginnings of political upheaval throughout Europe resulted in a widespread reversion to the safety of traditional values, both artistically and socially. Diaghilev's death in 1929 just seemed to punctuate this sense of the end of an era. So he began to look across the Atlantic. His work had come to the attention of The Pennsylvania School of Art in Philadelphia and they were looking for new staff to provide new ideas. He wasn't the only one. From the 1920s onwards, there was a gradual movement of graphic designers emigrating to the US, taking their ideas with them, to new markets, to new audiences.

What brought him to the attention of Carmel Snow at *Harper's Bazaar*?
– In 1934, almost as a calling card, he organised an exhibition of posters for the Art Directors Club of New York. It included work by a lot of people he had encountered in Paris, A. M. Cassandre and others. The photographer Ralph Steiner took Carmel Snow to see it. She was very impressed and quickly arranged a meeting to talk about him working at *Harper's Bazaar*. But she had to convince the notoriously conservative William Randolph Hearst. With the help of his students, Brodovitch produced two dummy magazines with double-page spreads. Hearst probably found them brash, unruly and foreign but he trusted Snow and simply said, "Well, if you want this man, go ahead and get him."

Carmel Snow had left *Vogue* for *Harper's Bazaar*. At *Vogue*, she had had the attitude of "give the photographers what they want and no questions asked". How did that manifest itself in her work with Brodovitch? Were there conflicts?
– I think Snow was quite a formidable character to deal with. She was the archetypal magazine editor and inevitably there were a lot of conflicts because she was caught in the middle. She was trying to meet the demands of advertisers and fashion houses, who all had demands on how they wanted their designs and products to be shown. At the same time, Brodovitch, with his revolutionary vision brought from Europe, was trying to do innovative, exciting designs on the page, and she was trying to put the brakes on that, by not being too experimental in order not to ostracise the industry so there was always a tense relationship. There's the famous photograph of Brodovitch kneeling down on the floor with some spreads. Snow is sitting behind him and he does look quite subservient. But he was always pushing.



Herbert Bayer, *College Fashions*, cover for *Harper's Bazaar,* 1939.
Museum für Gestaltung Zürich, Grafiksammlung. © Hearst Communications Inc. & Pro Litteris, Zürich.

Alexey Brodovitch, photography by Richard Avedon, *Summer Travel Summer Fashions*, 1951, cover for *Harper's Bazaar*.
Museum für Gestaltung Zürich, Grafiksammlung. © Hearst Communications Inc. & The Richard Avedon Foundation.

Alexey Brodovitch, photography by Richard Avedon. *The beautiful individualist*, *Harper's Bazaar*, 1950.
Museum für Gestaltung Zürich, Grafiksammlung. © Hearst Communications Inc. & The Richard Avedon Foundation.

Alexey Brodovitch, Photography by Herbert Matter. *Tips on your fingers, Harper's Bazaar*, 1941.
Museum für Gestaltung Zürich, Grafiksammlung.
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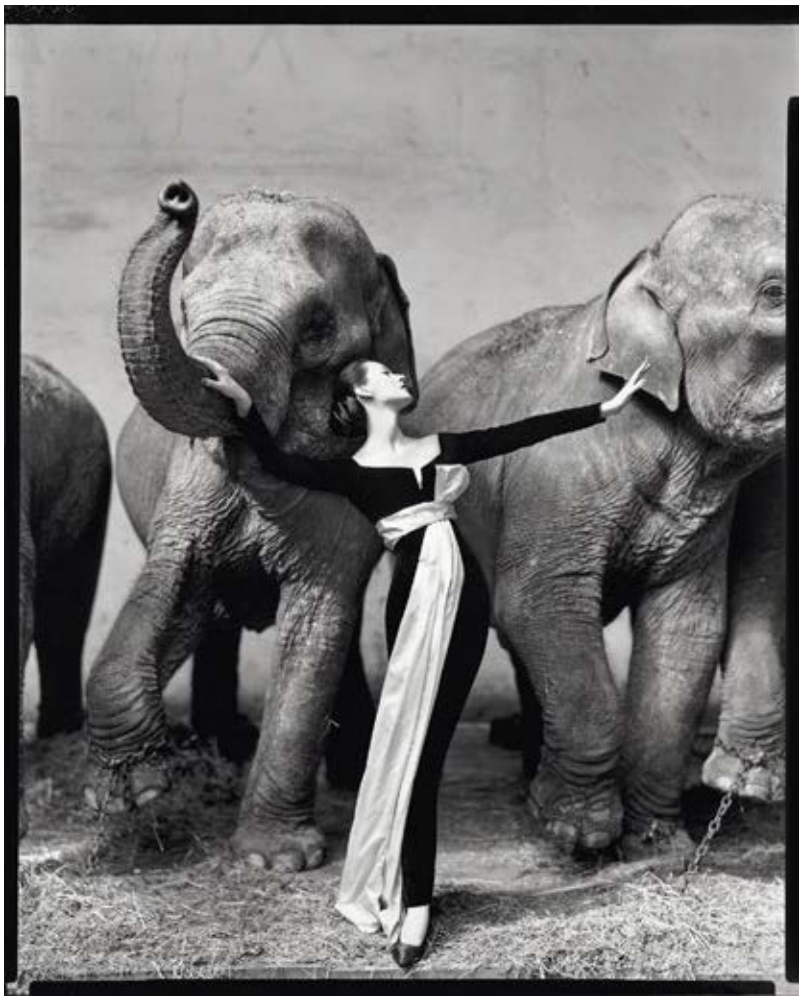
Alexey Brodovitch, Photography by Man Ray,
If you don't like skirts, turn your eyes to the left, Harper's Bazaar, 1936.
Museum für Gestaltung Zürich, Grafiksammlung.

Alexey Brodovitch, photography by Richard Avedon, *Dervish, Junior's Bazaar*, 1946.
Museum für Gestaltung Zürich, Grafiksammlung,



Richard Avedon. *Dovima with elephants at Cirque d'Hiver*, Paris, 1955.

Was he a frustrated artist?
– Brodovitch was a strange man in lots of ways. He came from a completely different world, Imperial Russia. He was a cadet in the Tsarist army and after the revolution, joined the White Russian forces against the Bolsheviks. In New York, he was dropped into the world of fashion and I think it was always a slightly odd fit for him. He was working within commercial art and the demands of that is that you are there to serve the client and communicate the client's message. Sure, you can influence the client, educate them, but Brodovitch was separate from the clients. He was working with the layouts, with the photographers, creating the flow within the magazine, and the corny ads simply frustrated him. Later on, he would refer to the magazine as "the catalogue" and saw the adverts as something that broke up his beautiful white pages. He did have opportunities in his life when he was able to create "the total design work". One was the book *Ballet*, one was Avedon's book *Observations* and one was his magazine *Portfolio* which folded after three issues due to lack of money, as he and Frank Zachery decided early on that it would not carry advertising.

He worked with Man Ray. How did that come about?
– Brodovitch had had dealings with him in Paris but he wasn't somebody who had friends. He had working relationships and I got this from listening to the tapes as well. There was always a distance with him. But early on at *Harper's*, he travelled to Paris once a year to enlist artists to work for the magazine and among those he convinced were Jean Cocteau, Marc Chagall, Leonor Fini, as well as A. M. Cassandre to do covers, that is, before the magazine switched to photographs for the covers. He was always looking for people to help him bring his vision to the magazine. Fashion moves in cycles, so the question is, how do you keep a magazine looking new and fresh? So he was looking outside the world of fashion, to the fine arts, to bring those aesthetics into the world of fashion. And we shouldn't ignore, the magazines then went out into homes in the US and the rest of world, to be seen by people who perhaps would never set foot in a gallery or buy an arts magazine.

During his first years at *Harper's Bazaar*, he was essentially working with the photographs that he was given but then gradually, he began to take more control?
– Definitely, and that runs parallel with the emergence of the Design Lab classes. His confidence and his involvement with photography grew. Increasingly, he was commissioning and developing photographers who studied or worked with him and got them to take photographs that he knew would work on the page. And a lot of students came to see the Design Lab as a sort of doorway to working for *Harper's Bazaar*.

In 1946, he began using a Xerox machine. How did it impact his work?
– It was a key tool for him. All the elements that constituted his graphic language came through more clearly thanks to Xerography. It was about pacing the designs and his idea of flow and contrast, bleeding images off the page, mirroring and scale. And just the speed of it, to be able to mock something up quickly, look at it, change ratios. Like you see in the wonderful photograph taken by Hiro, of him in Avedon's studio walking around the layouts for the book *Observations* on the floor. Where he initially was perhaps faced with a simple portrait, he quickly enlarged it and cropped it to create more energy. Cropping was another important tool for him. He was the only one that Henri Cartier-Bresson ever allowed to crop his photographs.

Was it after he started using the Xerox machine that his layouts became more cinematic?
– Yes, but it was also because of the Design Lab. Like he told a photographer, "When you look through the lens of a camera, don't just see an image, see 2-4

pages in the magazine". It's an idea that we now take for granted. It came from the European photo magazines, such as the annual magazine *Photographie*. It was a catalogue of what photography could do for your business. It's exquisite, with work by Bill Brandt, Man Ray, and others but it was for commercial purposes. He took many of those ideas on board and encouraged photographers to think before they picked up the camera.

He established the Design Lab in Pennsylvania and later moved it to New York where it ran at different locations until 1966. It was a very long list of photographers and graphic designers that passed through, including Hiro, William Klein, Robert Frank, Bert Stern, Louis Faurer, Saul Leiter, Art Kane, Irving Penn and Richard Avedon. But it didn't work for everybody?

– While doing the research, I found some letters sent to the New York Education Authority, from disgruntled students, complaining about his Design Lab classes. Explaining that they had spent time and money on producing work, paid for the lessons and that Brodovitch had walked into the classes, looked at the work and without saying a word, simply walked out! It worked for some, not for others. Not for Robert Frank who had a natural antipathy towards the fashion world and realised fashion was how Brodovitch saw photography. Diane Arbus went along but didn't come back. Maybe it was a personality thing. He was brusque and could be very cutting. But for Lillian Bassman, Hiro, and Ted Croner, something clicked for them. He saw something in their work, maybe something accidental that they hadn't seen themselves and it opened up things for them. They either hated it or perceived it as the moment when their unique photographic vision was born.

With Brodovitch, there was a relentless chase for something different?

– Yes, and for some it was almost constipating, "Don't press the shutter unless you see something new." What way is that to work for a photographer? You could end up never doing anything at all! He was

Not everyone was impressed. In his autobiography *Eye to I*, Erwin Blumenfeld recounted his miraculous escape from war-torn Europe and internment in a concentration camp, arriving penniless in New York. "The next morning I borrowed some money, bought a tropical suit for nineteen dollars and seventy-five cents, and went to *Harper's Bazaar*. Shoes off, feet up on her photo-strewn desk, surrounded by her arse-licking editors and her arsehole of an art director Brodovitch, Carmel Snow dominated the tiny, boiling hot private office. Without getting up, without looking up, she delightedly gave me orders as if we had never been separated by two years of world war". Blumenfeld soon defected to *Vogue*. He would routinely refer to art directors as "arse directors".

Walter Sanders. *Harper's Bazaar Layout Meeting*, 1952, with Carmel Snow and Alexey Brodovitch.

always looking for a visual shock, a jolt. At the Design Lab, they all sat in a circle. They had been given the brief the previous week, such as "Jazz" or "New York" and they would have to go off and produce images and bring them back. The images would be passed around the circle. They were waiting, hanging on his word. When I interviewed the photographers they told me that if he commented on their work, it would keep them going for a week.

Richard Avedon would later refer to Brodovitch as "my only teacher." When he first encountered Brodovitch in 1944, he showed him some snapshots of seamen, portraits and some pedestrian fashion images. Others would have shown him the door but Brodovitch saw something in him. What was it?
– It was probably something to do with the white space in the images and the naturalistic element in the portraits. If you're working in the fashion world where the images are traditionally very stilted, it is very refreshing to see something different and I think it was the liveliness in the portraits. But as Avedon explained it once, Brodovitch planted a seed in him that kept growing throughout his life and it stayed with him.

How did their working relationship evolve over the years?
– Brodovitch was older so there was a paternalistic relationship there. When Avedon became more successful, Brodovitch was pushed to the side by Carmel Snow. Brodovitch had problems with alcoholism. His son, who had learning difficulties, burnt down the family home twice. He was struggling. But Avedon cared deeply for him. Then in 1964, Avedon did the book *Nothing Personal* with James Baldwin, breaking away from the fashion world, wishing to be taken more seriously. Brodovitch felt betrayed by Avedon. It was like a student critiquing the master. There was a Design Lab session about the book. Penn was there. You can hear just how much Brodovitch hated it.

Lillian Bassman. *Blowing Kiss*, Gelatin silver print, 1958. Collection of Eric and Lizzie Himmel, New York © Estate of Lillian Bassman.

Alexey Brodovitch. *Choreartium (Three Men Jumping, Les Ballets Russes de Monte Carlo)* Gelatin silver print, circa 1930s. Collection of Eric and Lizzie Himmel, New York.

Brodovitch didn't regard himself as a photographer but in 1945, he published a classic photo book, *Ballet*. You were involved in its republication. How were those images were made?

– Because of his involvement with Diaghilev's ballet he was given access to watch *Les Ballets Russes de Monte Carlo* and other companies and to photograph them. He attempted to do all the things he would encourage his students to do, pushing new techniques, create new ways of seeing. He would break all the rules, shoot into the light, set the camera so he would get lots of blur and dissolve, put cellophane around the lens. And thinking about the magazine page, he would photograph the stage with the backdrop right mid-centre, almost like a double-page spread, performers on one side, ready to go out, dancers performing for the audience on the other.

It was completely different from what else was going on at the time, the f/64 Group and social documentary photography. Apart from the Italian futurist Anton Giulio Bragaglia, it's difficult to find parallels?

– I don't know if Brodovitch was aware of Bragaglia. The book had a limited print run, only 400 copies, most of which were given away. Despite that, you can see subsequent influence, on Ted Croner but especially on Lillian Bassman, who took it even further, through chemical processes, dissolving the human figure to almost gossamer, making it ethereal.

Brodovitch would quote Diaghilev's "Astonish me" but he never stated a coherent design philosophy. There's a fluidity about him.

– No, he wasn't manifesto-like in his proclamations. It was often his students or articles in magazines that solidified some of his thinking. He had an openness and maybe that is in the nature of someone who is always open to being surprised.

The above images and *Nan Martin, Street Scene, First Avenue*, by Frances McLaughlin-Gill on the next page are included in the exhibition *Modern Look: Photography and the American Magazine*, at the Jewish Museum, New York, on show 19 February - 11 July 2021.

ALEXANDER LIBERMAN

Charles Churchward with Alexander Liberman at a party for the book *Then*, 1995.

Alexander Liberman (1912-1999) was born in Kiev to Russian parents. His father, a lumber expert and economist, worked for the Romanovs and after the revolution, for Lenin. He sent his son to a British boarding school and then in 1925, unsure if Lenin could protect him from opponents within the government, took his family to Paris. His mother had a wide circle of friends that included Jean Cocteau, Fernand Legér and Marc Chagall. He briefly studied painting under André Lhote, then switched to architecture. His father, short of funds, was unable to support him. To make a living, he worked for the famous poster designer A.M. Cassandre, then took up painting studies at École des Beaux-Art, simultaneously doing commercial work. In 1932, he became art director at *Vu*. In 1940, after the German invasion, Liberman and his family escaped to the Vichy zone, then to Portugal, arriving in New York in 1941. In need of a job, he sought out Brodovitch at *Harper's Bazaar*. He failed to impress him but was soon hired by *Vogue*.

Charles Churchward is an art director, designer and author. He first started working at Condé Nast in 1975 for two years, then returned in 1982, working for another 27 years for the same company, much of that time with Liberman. He is the author of *Alexander Liberman - It's Modern* and designed and selected images for *Then - Alexander Liberman Photographs 1925-1995*.

Liberman's background was different from Agha's and Brodovitch's. Before *Vogue*, he had worked at the picture magazine *Vu*?

– That was where Alex got his editorial direction as an art director, editor and film critic. Each day photo agencies would send news photos to *Vu*'s offices and he would go through them all, selecting and editing. News photos are the best way to learn how to look at photographs. In addition, at *Vu* he worked with Man Ray, André Kertész, Brassaï, Cartier-Bresson and many others, who all saw the world in new ways. It was at *Vu* that he began doing collages. A lot of his concepts came from the fact that they didn't have photo stats then. They would project images and texts with a little projector so images overlapped and he saw how he could tell a story by overlapping them. That's how many *Vu* covers came about. I would guess another influence was Germany's *AIZ* newsmagazine, similar to *Vu*, with covers by Dadaist John Heartfield. At *Vu*, Alex learnt to look for the essence of a photograph, the "heart" of a photograph. He always talked about the "essence", cropping to get the most out of an image, trying to reach the point where a layout would strike the reader. *Vu* was an extraordinary mix of content and that would stay with him. At *Vogue*, he was mixing high and low decades before other publications.

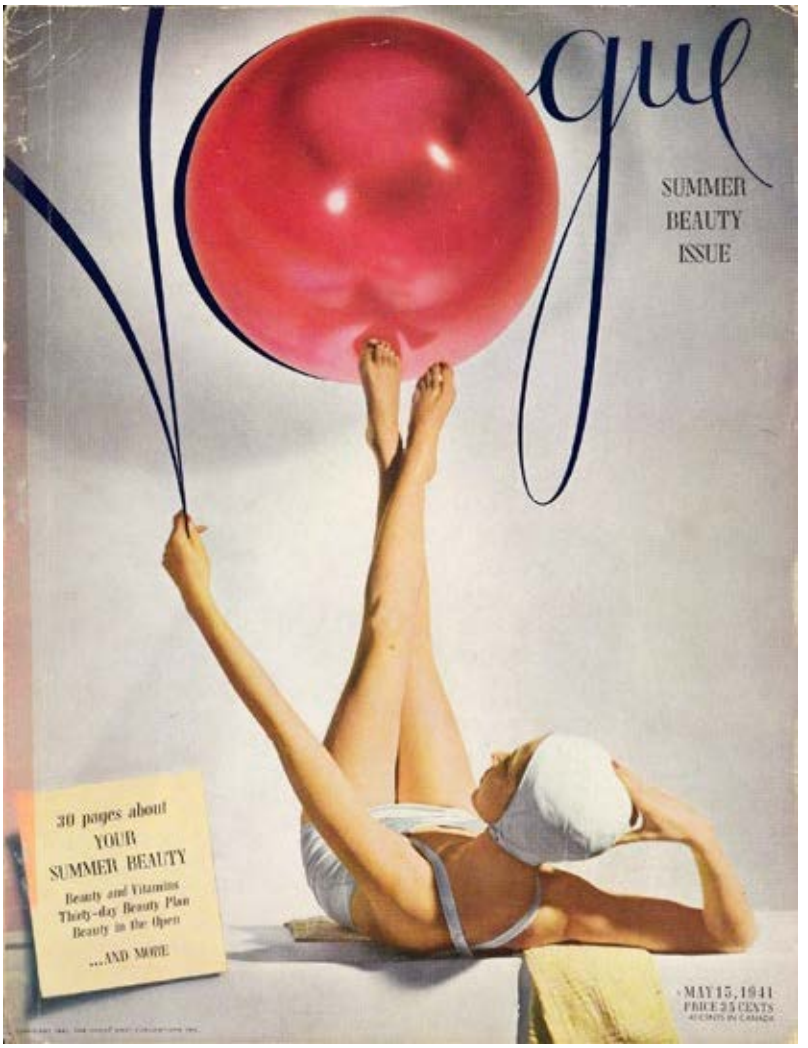
Frances McLaughlin-Gill was introduced to Alexander Liberman by Toni Frissell in 1943. He signed her and she became *Vogue*'s first contracted female fashion photographer.
Frances McLaughlin-Gill. *Nan Martin, Street Scene, First Avenue*, gelatin silver print, 1949.
Private collection. © Estate of Frances McLaughlin-Gill.

Did Liberman do the layout for Robert Capa's reportage in *Vu*, 23 September 1936, with the famous *The Falling Soldier*?
– Probably, but apart from the collages he put his name on, it's difficult to know exactly what layouts he was responsible for at *Vu*, though he would certainly have overseen it.

Liberman created the famous 1941 Horst *Vogue* cover that made Frank Crowninshield exclaim "there's a genius in the art department". There was the strange situation when Agha, evidently jealous, fired Liberman, who was then unfired by Condé Nast. Nast died in 1942 and Agha's position was weakened. A year later, Agha gave the board an ultimatum, him or Liberman. It backfired and Liberman took over his position.
– Agha had become quite temperamental. He had been there quite a while and was a little tired. Alex turned up at the right moment. With Agha gone, Alex had to learn on his own and quickly. He understood that a magazine was a package and that he had come up with a way to engage the readers. He was going to experiment, do different things. Variety was key, as the fashion world gets bored very quickly and wants changes.

What photographers were at *Vogue* when he started?
– During the war, there were a lot of photographers and artists coming to New York, escaping from war-torn Europe. Alex had worked with so many of them at *Vu*, that they all came to him. He helped them establish themselves and survive. *Vogue* let them use their studios and the photographers spent all day hanging out there. It was only when people like Penn came along that Alex was really making photographers. There's the famous 1946 picture of the *Vogue* photographers in the woods, taken by Irving Penn, with Cecil Beaton, John Rawlings, George Platt Lynes, Kostia Joffe and Erwin Blumenfeld.

Liberman later said, "Elegance was Brodovitch's strong point, the page looked very attractive. But in a way, it seemed to me that Brodovitch was serving the same purpose that Agha had served, which was to make the page attractive to women – not interesting to women. I thought there was more merit in being able to put twenty pictures on two pages than in making two elegant pages."
– Brodovitch's layouts were very poetic, almost precious, with too much white. The pages looked pretty but ironically, you didn't look at the clothes and a fashion magazine has to sell the goods, the garments. And a lot of them, because you want the adverts.



"There's a genius in the art department". Alexander Liberman transformed the beach ball in Horst P Horst's shot into an O for the cover of *Vogue*, December 15, 1938. Courtesy of Condé Nast.

Brodovitch's approach worked in the '50s because at that point they were still not doing portfolios in fashion magazines. When Alex was doing fashion stories, they might be 20 pages long. Brodovitch had done four, six pages at the most. A lot people talk about Brodovitch and his importance as a teacher, but there is a point where teaching becomes insulated. Alex wasn't trying to teach with his magazine theories. His idea of teaching was, well, people watching him work.

It's important to note that we might not have heard of *Irving Penn, the photographer* had it not been for Liberman?
– Penn was a frustrated artist. He painted and had done some art work with Brodovitch, then began working in the art department at *Vogue*. He had some ideas, mostly still-life type ideas. His vision was always a graphic still-life, even when they were photographs of people. An art director has to fight for the photographs that he or she wants, so when Penn had an idea that other photographers couldn't

FLYING DOWN TO

LIMA

"Flying Down To Lima". In *Alex*, the biography on Liberman, Dodie Kazanjian and Calvin Tomkin describe the difficulties the art director had early on in persuading Irving Penn to take a photograph, and that he was even less keen on taking fashion photographs. "In 1948, though, Alex managed to send him off with a model on a fashion assignment to Peru. The model, a very pretty model named Jean Patchett, soon found out that working with Penn was not like working with anyone else. Each morning she would appear on time, carefully made up and dressed, and Penn would spend the next eight or nine hours deciding that whatever setting they elected to try was not possible. After several days during which he did not take a single photograph, Patchett was feeling frustrated and depressed. They went into a café. "I sat down and said to hell with it and picked up my pearls", she recalled. "My feet were hurting so I kicked off my shoes". He said "Stop!". It was different from any other fashion photograph taken up to that time. As Liberman later said, "Instead of an artificial pose, here was a woman caught in an everyday moment." Double-page spreads, *Vogue* February 1949. Photography by Irving Penn, art direction by Alexander Liberman. Courtesy of Condé Nast.

accomplish, Alex told him to take a camera and shoot it himself. He pushed Penn to become a photographer. After that, they were friends and compatriots, working on photographs forever.

How did they work together?

– I remember one instance, in the early days of the re-launched *Vanity Fair*. We were all standing around in the art department. An article urgently needed a picture of pasta. Penn had a personal Condé Nast phone line at his studio, like a hotline. Alex called him and Penn agreed to do it right away. Alex put the phone down, took a pad and a pencil, casually, without the pencil ever leaving the paper, drew a fork with a squiggle of pasta on it. He tore it off the pad saying, "Here, send it over two Penn". The next day, when we received the film, the blow-up was an almost exact tracing of the drawing. That's how closely they worked. It was like one mind when they started working.

Did their working relationship change over the years?

– Alex got increasingly busy, his job changed and the company grew. Penn still wanted to be quite independent about everything. As with every fashion photographer, fashions change, times change. Penn's idea of fashion did not move forward at the same speed as the fashion business. So increasingly, he was left out of the fashion side. It became more about beauty, health or still life. It was very difficult later on to give him fashion portfolios.

Was Penn annoyed about that?

– I'm sure he was! But it happened to a lot of people. Fashion magazines changed, from women in gowns

with a cocktail in their hand, to women jogging in the park. It was a problem for Richard Avedon too, but as an art director you have to move forward, finding new talent.

Liberman's role at Condé Nast changed in 1960. How did it come about?
– In 1960, there had to be an editorial change at *Vogue*. They let the editor-in-chief go and they offered Alex the job. He didn't want it, to be stuck talking fashion to editors all day. He was smart enough to talk the owners into letting him take this new role, as an overall creative director of the whole company. It was just at the right moment. He couldn't have done it at any other time. It was the ultimate job. Even though they didn't get on at all, in 1963, he hired Diana Vreeland, previously an editor at *Harper's Bazaar*, as editor-in-chief of *Vogue*. He needed an inspirational editor, rather than a brass-tacks editor at this point.

Earlier on, *Vogue* and *Harper's Bazaar*, were aimed at a select readership. In the '60s and '70s, they increasingly reached for the mass market. How did this change Liberman's approach?
– It was a shock in the '70s, when the magazines starting selling more than a million copies. *Vogue* was no longer just for society people but for people all over. The modern ad cycle had begun. It was whole different world and Alex understood it completely. People wanted to be real. After Diana Vreeland stepped down as editor in 1971, he directed *Vogue* towards featuring healthy women, athletic and happy, like Arthur Elgort's images. He saw everything changing. It was perfect timing because there were all these new fashion designers appearing. It was possible for Alex see this because he was above the fray, guiding the magazines.

The May 1975 issue of *Vogue* became legendary, with Deborah Turbeville's bathing-suit shoot. It was something brand new but the images reminded some readers of an asylum or a brothel. There were angry letters and cancelled subscriptions.
– It was a revolutionary issue. The Turbeville shoot is what most people talk about but there was so much else in it, including Helmut Newton's *Story of O*. Suddenly, sex was freedom in fashion. It was Alex who got Helmut in. Vreeland hated Helmut. Didn't get it at all. It wasn't fantasy the way she saw fantasy. But the world had changed. Even some of the younger fashion editors were shocked at how far Alex would go and many of them didn't last. He was ahead of the game, having his finger on the pulse.

"Angry letters and cancelled subscriptions". Deborah Turbeville's bathing-suit shoot for the May issue 1975 of *Vogue*.
Art direction by Alexander Liberman. Courtesy of Condé Nast.

And let's not forget, Alex was a major figure in New York society. Penn told me at parties, Alex sat in the corner, watching, constantly absorbing everything around him.

Liberman started out as a modernist. As time went on, his layout became splashier and more and more expressive.

– In the mid-seventies, he talked a lot about television of the future, as having a lot of ticker tape going across the screen, multiple talking heads popping up, lots of information. He was describing what we see today on the news. He was into giving a lot of information in layouts. He told us, "throw the type, make it stream across the page, use different type, be brave". I remember we pulled out old typewriters, with broken letters and typed out headlines. Not just to take the usual type from the type house. And he always said, "Don't worry about the picture, worry about communicating." But even though his layouts were very collage like, everything had to read well. "Never turn the type on its side, never make it too small."

***It's Modern*, the title of your book about him, was not plucked out of thin air I gather?**

– He said it constantly. Any time anyone questioned something, "Do you really want to put type over the picture like that?" Alex would say, "It's modern." A very casual throw-off but they would all go along quietly because they had no answer to that. They figured he knew more than they would ever know about it all.

Liberman oversaw 10 magazines. How did he cope with the workload?

– Alex was an art assembly line. Unlike Agha and Brodovitch, Alex did all design work on his feet. He never sat. The magazines were situated on different floors in the building. Alex would walk the backstairs, rarely waiting for the elevator. Everything had to be ready for him. He had a basic format for all the art departments. We prepared the work, making photo stats of everything, up to 10 sizes of each photograph, often between 50 and 60 photographs for a fashion story. They all had to be trimmed, spread out on layout boards, with samples of type, all set up

for him, with tape, scissors, glass, papers, coloured papers that he would tear. Basically, he would do collages with every layout, with stats and dummy type. After it was done, we would make copies to see if it worked. He always had an audience, to provide whatever he needed and it was like watching an artist at work. He put things together in a very fluid way. And every layout had to work within the context of the whole issue.

Liberman was also a fine artist, a painter and a sculptor. He once said "I think the term 'art director' is the greatest misnomer. There's no art in magazines unless you are reproducing works of art." But was there a relationship between his fine art and his magazine work?

– His definition of art was what was produced in his book *The Artist in his Studio*, with Picasso, Braque and others. A reaction to something you saw or something in your head, that travelled down your arm, down your hand, to the brush and the canvas, clay or steel. Nothing in between, no camera, no computer. Alex painted, he sculpted, took photographs, some are amazing but the fact is that his real art, his real creation, was the layouts and the magazines. He did not think photography was an art. It was to a degree, but not a true art. The critics hated him. "If he's doing magazines, he can't be a good painter, a good sculptor" but it was all one. Which is what I dealt with in the book. And that was his genius.

What is his legacy do you think?

– It's hard to point to one thing. Apart from his art and all his design work, he made Condé Nast, making brands before there were brands. He ran the company, he was the company. Condé Nast was nothing without Alex. He was very sophisticated. So it's many things. And that was why he was modern.

"Lots of information". Double-page spread, *Vogue*, May 1976, photography by Arthur Elgort, art direction by Alexander Liberman. Courtesy of Condé Nast.

BY MICHAEL DIEMAR

HELMUT NEWTON
CENTENARY

Helmut Newton. *Elle, Paris, 1969.* Copyright Helmut Newton Estate, courtesy Helmut Newton Foundation.

MATTHIAS HARDER

The Helmut Newton Foundation in Berlin was scheduled to open the retrospective *100 Years of Helmut Newton* on 31 October, the centenary of his birthday. Due to the virus, an outdoor exhibition called "HELMUT NEWTON ONE HUNDRED" will be shown instead along the 85-meter wall at the Kraftwerk in Berlin-Kreuzberg. On view until 8 November 2020.

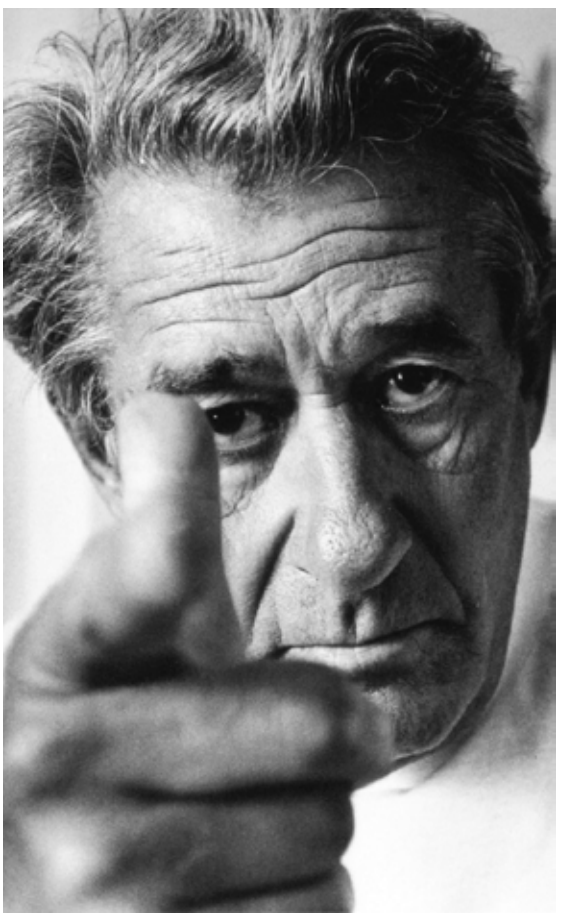
In July, a new documentary, *Helmut Newton : The Bad and the Beautiful*, directed by Gero Von Boehm, had its premiere online. Judging by the reviews, Helmut Newton, who passed away in 2004, has lost none of his ability to provoke, some even questioning if he would have been able carry out his vision in high-end fashion magazines in today's cultural climate. In the film, "The 35mm Marquis de Sade" as he was once called, tells his wife June, "the more enemies, the more honour." One of them was Susan Sontag, seen in a clip from a debate originally aired on French TV, telling him to his face that he's a misogynist.

As for his prints, the market is as strong as ever. They are staples in the auctions at the three big houses, as are works by the other leading fashion photographers. I spoke to Matthias Harder, curator and director at the Helmut Newton Foundation, about the beginnings of the foundation, exhibitions and the on-going problems with fakes and forgeries. I started out by asking him about the centenary exhibition.

– Over the years, we have addressed nearly every aspect of his oeuvre in a wide variety of exhibitions. In addition to his classic and iconic fashion, nude, and portrait photography, we have also presented his landscape photography in *Sex & Landscapes*, his paparazzi-inspired fashion images in *Pigozzi and The Paparazzi*, and more recently, his largely unknown series on the *Ballet of Monte Carlo* in *Body Performance*. In recent months, I have spent a lot of time in the foundation's archives, studying Newton's early work in publications such as *Vogue*, *Queen*, and *Nova* and have discovered magnificent images hidden in them, some of which I have included in the retrospective. Thus the exhibition is a mix of familiar and unfamiliar images, arranged more or less chronologically to show how his visual language developed and changed, and how it was often a step ahead of the times. For example, Newton's visionary editorials presage the changes in the image and role of women in the Western world. Altogether, the retrospective comprises about 300 photographs, including many Polaroids and contact sheets never before shown, but also many of his iconic images that would simply be missed if they weren't included.

You have been curator since the foundation was founded in 2004. You were also made director in 2019. Has this changed your working life?

– Actually, not much has changed. I will continue to be the foundation's curator, and responsible for the exhibition contents and concepts and texts on Newton's work. However, since 2019, I have taken on additional tasks such as fundraising, and now have greater responsibility in negotiations with potential partners. June Newton has been president of the foundation since the death of her husband, but she currently lives a very secluded life in Monte Carlo



"Gun for hire". **Helmut Newton**. *Self-Portrait, Monte Carlo 1993.*

and has given me the responsibility for the foundation and its programme. Last year, at her request, I transferred the rest of the Newton archives from her home to the foundation. Here in Berlin we are still a small team with just a few employees, but housed in a rather large museum.

How did the Foundation come about? I seem to recall that the building was sold for 1 euro.
– In 2000, on the occasion of his 80th birthday, Helmut Newton was given a major retrospective at the Neue Nationalgalerie in Berlin, an honour that no other photographer had ever received there.

Helmut Newton. *French Vogue, Rue Aubriot, Paris, 1975.*

At the time, there were plans to establish the German Centre of Photography (DCP) in Berlin. Manfred Heiting was commissioned to search the existing collections of the National Museums in Berlin for important photographs and I was part of his team at the time. Manfred organised Newton's retrospective a short time later. Ultimately the plans for the DCP didn't go through. However, three years later, a scaled-down version of the original DCP idea was implemented as the Museum of Photography, when the President of the Prussian Cultural Heritage Foundation, Klaus-Dieter Lehmann and Berlin's Governing Mayor Klaus Wowereit, together with Newton, selected an imposing property for his archives, a former officer's casino for the Prussian military. This historic building at Bahnhof Zoo, the train station that Newton departed from when he fled the Nazis in 1938, was given by the city of Berlin to the Prussian Cultural Heritage Foundation for a symbolic fee, a not uncommon practice for the creation of a new museum. Meanwhile, Newton brought part of his archives to his native city, the place he had been forced to leave in such a hurry and virtually penniless. It was an impressive gesture of reconciliation. The collector Heinz Berggruen, a friend of Newton's, who like Newton fled Nazi Germany as a Jew, had returned to Berlin a few years earlier and founded a museum with his art collection, also located in the Charlottenburg district of Berlin. This was in a sense the blueprint for Newton and his return. Shortly thereafter, Newton appointed a team of architects to transform the military casino into a museum-like foundation, and appointed me as its curator.

What was Newton's vision for the foundation?
– I met Helmut Newton in December 2003 in the lobby of a chic hotel on Kurfürstendamm. A mutual acquaintance had recommended me for the position of curator and it hadn't been advertised in any newspapers. It was a very pleasant meeting lasting several hours. We switched back and forth between German and English, and June joined us at some point. He told me about his ideas for the foundation, that it should primarily be a living institution, not a "dead museum". Newton had already decided on the first exhibitions following the building's renovation, namely the two existing shows, *Sex & Landscapes* and *Us & Them*. His foundation was to open on June's birthday at the beginning of June 2004. He also wanted to provide a forum for other photographers there as well.

Newton died tragically a few weeks later. How was the work carried out after that? To what extent was June Newton involved?
– Newton's death was a shock to us all. He had set everything in motion, and then, in January 2004, he passed away in Los Angeles. June has always been a very strong and intelligent person, and took on the role of foundation president. She steered its

Helmut Newton. *Human and Dummy III, Paris, 1978.*

Helmut Newton. *Amica, Milan, 1982.* Copyright Helmut Newton Estate, courtesy Helmut Newton Foundation.

course for quite some time, following the goals that Helmut had laid out. Initially we were able to draw on complete, existing exhibitions of Newton's work, which were gradually transferred to Berlin and the foundation's archives. We also invited other photographers to show their work in temporary exhibitions at the foundation, as Newton had wished. It began with self-portraits by Veruschka, who had worked with Newton as one of his many models. Some of his friends followed – photographers Ralph Gibson and Larry Clark. To this day we have welcomed many of Helmut Newton's wonderful colleagues as guests here, and presented large, self-contained groups of works. Various artists are sometimes brought together under a specific motto or theme, in which case the presentation consists of a juxtaposition of a several individual series throughout our spacious rooms.

The Foundation's initial holdings were based on his own archive. Had he kept everything? Was it well organised and well documented?

– The work began in 2003 with the establishment of the foundation, when it received several hundred original photographs, mostly vintage prints, as well as exhibition posters and other archival material. A few months after our first show opened we took over the ground floor of the museum to install a permanent exhibition on Newton's life and work. But first the space had to be completely transformed for our purposes. June Newton covered the renovation costs. Over time, more and more of Newton's photographs came to the foundation as endowments or acquisitions from galleries that he had worked with in the past. Together, these now amount to many thousands of originals, i.e. vintage and late prints, work prints, and Polaroids, as well as complete

exhibitions that we produced posthumously in collaboration with his estate and which were first presented at the foundation. Additionally, there are original negatives and contact prints as well as slides by both Helmut and June Newton aka Alice Springs. We are in the process of compiling all the images in a large database, including information on where the images were published or exhibited. Our archive is a rich treasury of images, but it is also a great responsibility we bear in upholding Newton's legacy.

Are there prints of everything? From what I understand, the foundation has made prints from his negatives after his death.

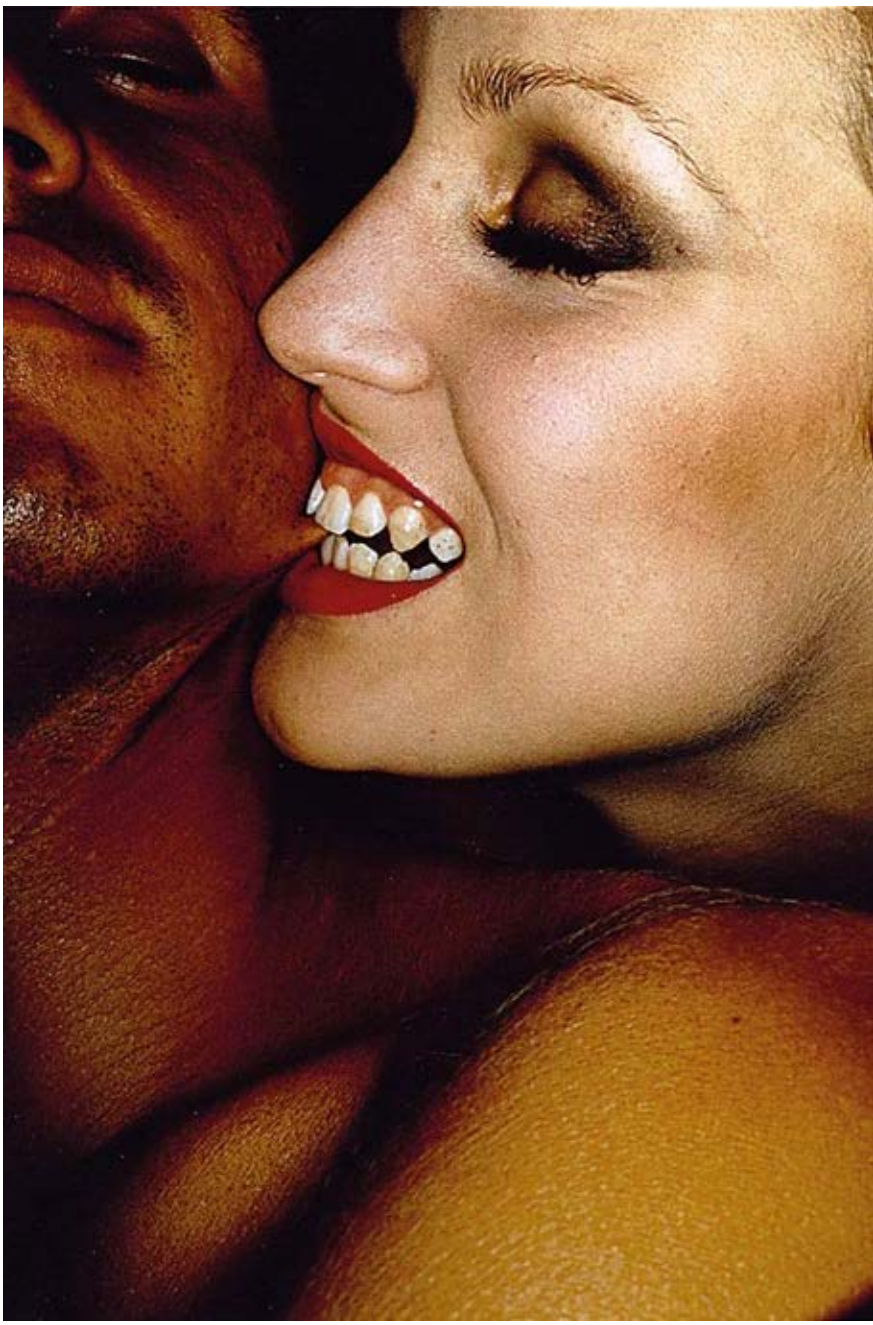
– The very early pictures, for example from the 1940s and '50s from Australia, are fairly absent from our in-house archives. But apart from that we have numerous prints covering every decade and genre of his oeuvre, some as doubles or triplets. When we produce new posthumous exhibitions, we follow the photographer's guidelines directly or indirectly. For instance, when we transformed his first three publications, *White Women, Sleepless Nights,* and *Big Nudes,* picture by picture, for a three-part exhibition. Later we did the same for his fourth publication, *World without Men,* and then *Pages from the Glossies* – one of my favourite projects. For those shows, we made a single inkjet print of each of the images. They were shown once, at our museum, and in some cases again at other museums. Afterwards, the print goes into our archives – and, of course, not onto the art market. Newton's books, calendars, and special publications, as well as the countless magazines that include his images, are also part of his photographic legacy. His stunning, nearly perfect silver gelatine prints are naturally a feast for the eyes of photo collectors, but for a photo historian like me, the other sources are just as valuable.

His early work remains relatively unknown. Are there sides to his work that you have decided not to show?

– Indeed, his very early work is relatively unknown. But I'm trying to shed light on this aspect by doing some research for the upcoming retrospective and for future exhibitions. I have some exciting ideas up my sleeve. One criteria is whether Newton legitimized the various images or series, by publishing them in magazines or elsewhere, by marking them on his contact sheets, or whether prints made during the photographer's lifetime are in our archives.

During his lifetime, Newton's work was sold at numerous galleries but after his death, the foundation has had them returned to the estate.

– June decided a few years ago that his images belong in the foundation's archives, not on the art market, including the editions that Newton himself printed for the art market. And so that was honoured. The Foundation does not sell any prints by Helmut Newton, neither vintage prints nor later editions that we hold in safekeeping, nor posthumous prints. But we do lend complete exhibitions to renowned institutions worldwide, and sometimes collaborate in special group exhibitions, such as the *Eros* exhibition at Fondation Beyeler in Basel and recently, the Thierry Mugler retrospective that was shown in Montreal, Rotterdam, Munich, and in 2021 in Paris. This is how we keep Newton and his work alive. We have also donated Newton prints to other important museums, such as the MEP in Paris and the Getty Museum in Los Angeles.



Helmut Newton. *Jerry Hall, American Vogue, Paris, 1974.*

Helmut Newton. *Monica Bellucci, Monte Carlo 2001*.

What galleries does the estate deal with to sell his work today?
– We continue to have a very good and amicable relationship with the two galleries that most recently represented Newton, namely Hamiltons in London and Andrea Caratsch in St Moritz, who still have some outstanding works from their previous collaborations with Newton on offer. There are also numerous Newton photos on the secondary market, but unfortunately many of them are clumsy fakes or of dubious origin.

Does the foundation ever buy at the auctions?
– No, we do not buy Newton prints at auctions or from private collectors, despite the fact that we often receive offers.

Outright forgeries have been a problem over the years. There are also many unauthorised prints on the market. How do you deal with this?
– There are indeed quite a few Newton photographs on the art market that do not belong there. These include pictures coming from the editorial offices of magazines that may have published the images, but where the prints were never returned. No serious collector touches such material from sources like that, only novices. The prices for such work prints, which are usually acquired through online auctions, are naturally lower. But there are plenty of people wanting to own a "real" Newton who are deceived by such "bargain" prices and are not deterred by the fact that they miss an authentic stamp, handwritten notation, or signature by the photographer. In some of the cases we have encountered, we have written an email or letter to the auction house or gallery, but we cannot possibly chase down all the scams and forgeries. More than ten years ago, we sent a forgery alert to all the relevant auction houses, which I still have to use from time to time. Curiously, we receive inquiries from "young collectors" on a nearly weekly basis, asking us to issue a certificate of authenticity – for an alleged "real" Newton photo that was bought on eBay for 40 euros. Then I have to inform them of the real market prices for an original Newton photo. Some of these "collectors" simply can't be helped. Newton's work is counterfeited in many countries, sometimes it is the prints, sometimes the signature. But this doesn't only apply to this photographer in particular. Unfortunately, nearly everything that is good and expensive in art and photography is also imitated or forged.

Is it difficult to come up with new concepts for exhibitions about him?
– Although I know the work of Helmut Newton quite well, I always encounter new aspects that I could make the subject of an exhibition. This comes about through working with his archives but also in considering his individual work complexes and genres

Helmut Newton. *Mario Valentino, Monte Carlo, 1998*.

in general. In the upcoming exhibition *America 1970s/80s,* I address the subtle shifts in Newton's visual language that we can observe when we compare his images of the American cities of Las Vegas, Miami, and New York with those he made around the same time in Paris in the 1970s. During this time Newton not only started photographing nudes, but also portraits, and his frequent visits to America, especially Los Angeles, played a major role in this context. It was there, especially around Hollywood, that Newton took pictures of the famous and infamous, which were published in numerous magazines, including *Egoïste, Vanity Fair,* and *Interview.* He later included some of these in a book of portraits and then again in the late-1990s in his and June's magnificent book, *Us & Them.* Alongside Newton, the *America* show presents three other photographers, each with a large series of works: Joel Meyerowitz with his

Lobby at the Helmut Newton Foundation Berlin. Photo: Stefan Müller.

direct, intimate colour portraits from the 1970s and '80s, which he shot with a large-format camera, mostly outdoors in Provincetown, Massachusetts; Sheila Metzner, who was a close friend of Helmut and June Newton, with her subtle fashion and nude photographs from the same period; and Evelyn Hofer with her black-and-white and colour images of the streets of New York City, which were taken somewhat earlier.

What other exhibitions are in the pipeline?

– I already have plans for the next few years, but I always try to react spontaneously when a special opportunity arises. Besides the new, big Newton retrospective to be opened in June 2021, two exhibitions are more or less fixed. With the presentation in 2005 of *A Gun for Hire* – a term Newton liked to use for himself – we looked at his commercial work, but left out quite a few of his collaborations with fashion labels, car companies, and coffee brands. The exhibition *Helmut Newton's Brands* will probably take place in 2022 and shine a light on his work for clients such as Wolford, Lavazza, and Swarovski, who were missing from the first project but are just as important for his work. After that, I'll be working on a new extensive retrospective of Alice Springs, which will open on her 100th birthday in June 2023.

OSTLICHT PHOTO AUCTION

WANDA WULZ, »Io + Gatto« (Self-portrait), 1932.

Our Photo Auctions, which have taken place twice a year since 2009, have quickly assumed a central role on the photography auction market. Our hammer has come down on vintage prints from the 19th century, iconic images from the 20th century, and contemporary photographs alike. Big personalities in front of and behind the camera as well as significant moments in recent history have made their impression on our auction block.

Results of our Past Auctions*

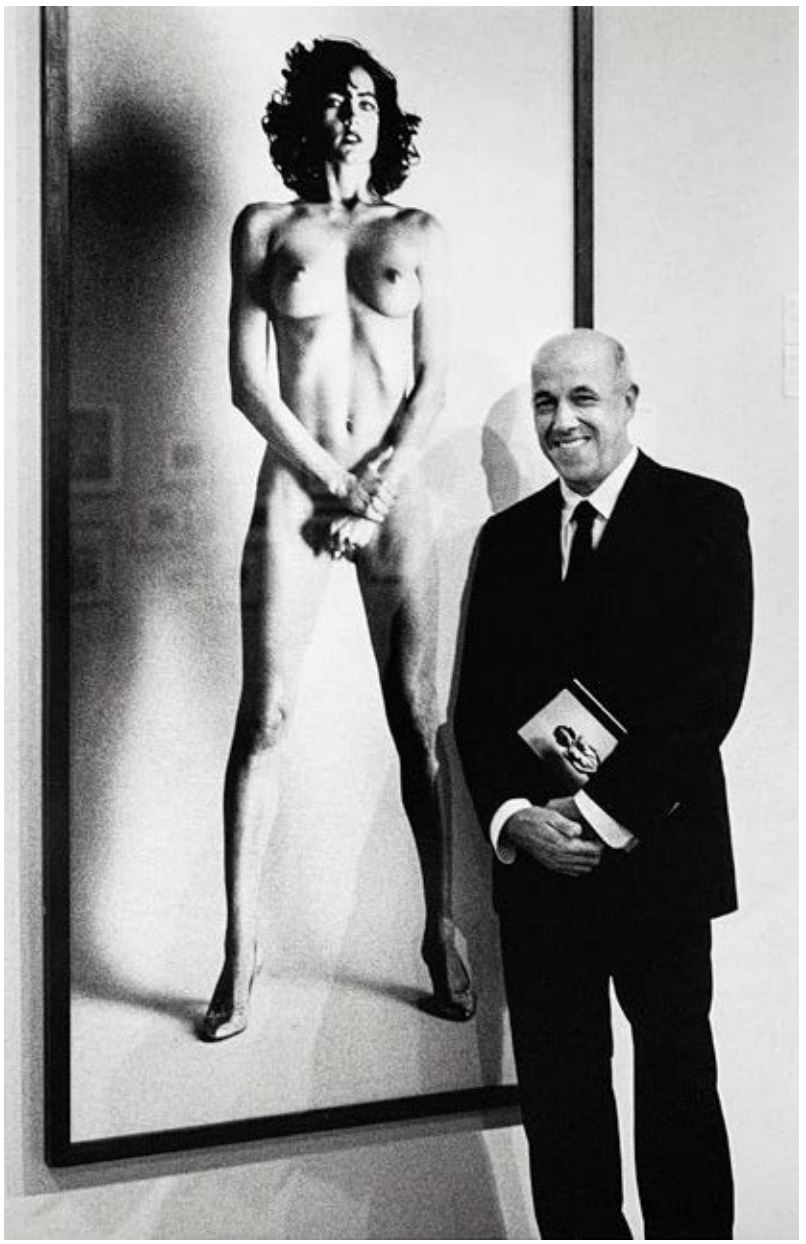
ROBERT CAPA, »The Falling Soldier«, 1936.	Starting price: 60,000 €	Price realised: 144,000 €
WANDA WULZ, »Io + Gatto« (Self-portrait), 1932.	Starting price: 50,000 €	Price realised: 102,000 €
RUDOLF KOPPITZ, Movement Study, 1925.	Starting price: 25,000 €	Price realised: 90,000 €
JAROSLAV RÖSSLER, Vladislav Vančura, Abstraction, 1927.	Starting price: 9,000 €	Price realised: 36,000 €
MARC RIBOUD, Anti-Vietnam Demo, Washington D.C., 1967.	Starting price: 2,600 €	Price realised: 24,000 €
ALFRED EISENSTAEDT, »Drum Major, University of Michigan«, 1951.	Starting price: 3,000 €	Price realised: 21,600 €

*all the prices include the Buyer's Premium

Our Photo Auctions take place in Spring and Autumn each year.
To consign to one of our upcoming Auctions please contact our expert:
Anna Zimm | +43 1 996 20 66 17 | zimm@ostlicht-auction.com

FASHION PHOTOGRAPHY IN FROM THE COLD

Interview with Philippe Garner
By Michael Diemar



Philippe Garner with 'Big Nude III' by Helmut Newton, at Christie's on the afternoon of October 31st 2005, Newton's birthday, before its sale the following day for £176,000, setting a then world record for the artist. Courtesy of Philippe Garner

The very first Helmut Newton print to appear at auction was sold at Sotheby's Belgravia, London, on 19 March 1975, at a benefit sale for The Photographers' Gallery. Philippe Garner was the specialist in charge and auctioneer and he would be instrumental in introducing fashion photography to the auctions.

It was an uphill struggle. The genre was seen as "superficial" and "lacking gravitas" and it took a long time for it to gain acceptance, Garner explains.

– It's a subject that's very close to my heart. But first it is a question of terminology. I do hate that term "fashion photography". Partly because I think it's just so limiting. What's a fashion photograph? Is it simply a picture to sell a garment? That reduces it to such a banal level and – before we go any further – I prefer to think around the language of what we are actually encompassing. If we think of how great photography has reached its audience through the 20th century, we know how important the printed page has been. Magazines, newsprint, books of course, but magazines especially have been hugely important. And it seems, with the distance that we now have, that their role takes on an even greater importance, especially when we realise how much imagery today is consumed electronically and therefore so fleetingly. The role of the magazine, which has an initial exposure of a week, a fortnight or month, and a potentially longer lifespan, was colossal in disseminating great photography. When the story of photography is told, there has been an emphasis on the heroic role of the photojournalist, on the documentary and the reportage modes, as against the directorial mode. By directorial I mean the picture or picture-story conceived, planned, constructed, and made to happen, rather than caught happening. The champions of the reportage and documentary traditions have tended to look rather disparagingly on the commercial aspect, perhaps even the implicit lack of integrity of what Helmut Newton called the "guns for hire". But I think the best "guns for hire" developed their skills in a context that has proved a unique breeding ground for phenomenal talent.

Where does the story begin?

– It goes back a long way, beginning with Baron de Meyer, then Edward Steichen, then in the '30s, with Beaton, Hoyningen-Huene, Horst, and Man Ray, an artist who saw a commission as a creative opportunity, not a compromise. There emerged unprecedented possibilities to create photographs in a certain commercial context, and this grew and, I would say, after World War II, kind of exploded. The field became so inventive, so exciting. There was such a fabulous series of creative relationships between magazine editors, art directors, photographers,

and then the teams that helped build the picture – the stylists, hairdressers, and technicians – creating images of real excellence. That imagery, by its transient character tended to be viewed rather disparagingly by the purists, the more conservative curators, critics, and the photographers who prized their supposed independence. It doesn't take long to dig a little under the surface and see the extent to which the supposed independents also needed to earn a living and the reality that so many of them did in fact work on commission. But it was the conventionally received wisdom that editorial photography relating to fashion, beauty, style, was a seen as a poor cousin, though it tended to be quite a rich cousin, let's perhaps say, rather, a marginalised cousin of photography true and pure. That story has slowly and steadily been dismantled and rewritten, giving credit where credit is due to those great practitioners who were, by any standards, precisely that, great talents, with something to say, who used the constraints, the limitations of the commercial brief as a challenge. The commercial context was a great support system for photographers. It gave them resources whilst imposing certain limitations. But the smartest of them knew how to use the context to create something that was theirs. To take ownership of the commission and to impose their sensibility, unmistakably, on the result. And it's no different, if one jumps back through many centuries of history, from some of the greatest art being created in the context of patronage, be it royal, ecclesiastical, aristocratic. That is the story of art.

What were the stepping stones towards acceptance?
– In terms of publications, Nancy Hall Duncan's *The History of Fashion Photography* (1979) was a landmark survey that told the story from de Meyer and Steichen right up until the avant-garde of the day – Helmut Newton, Guy Bourdin, Chris von Wangenheim, and others. I believe that was the first substantial telling of the story. The next big steps forward were Martin Harrison's two books, *Shots of Style* (1986) and *Appearances* (1991), both in parallel with exhibitions at the Victoria and Albert Museum. Nancy set down the key elements of this history. She drew the map. Martin filled in more detail and brought forward the editors, the art directors, the bit-players. He was also instrumental in reminding us of the extent to which certain supposedly independent photographers were also criss-crossing in and out of the world of fashion and style magazines. I'm thinking of William Klein, Robert Frank, Diane Arbus. The wild cards who presented themselves as independent but in fact were happy to take up the challenge of magazine commissions. A defining moment was Alexander Liberman sending Frank and Klein to cover Elsa Maxwell's *Toy Ball* in 1955 for *Vogue*. He ended up printing just one picture, by Klein. Frank's best image ended up in *The Americans*. So thank you Liberman for making the kind of leap of faith and imagination that served the photographers and the medium.

What were the milestone exhibitions?
– So, late '70s, '80s, early '90s, things were happening. There was a critical momentum emerging. The Richard Avedon fashion photography exhibition at The Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1978 was a hugely important event. That a major museum should celebrate his achievements in fashion was a huge step forward, a significant *Lettre de Noblesse* for the subject. Irving Penn provides an exceptional case study. Supported by Condé Nast, he was given the freedom to try his hand at various genres, extending his range, making his work known beyond the magazine page through numerous museum exhibitions. And more recently there was MoMA's 2004 exhibition, *Fashioning Fiction in Photography since 1990*. This was a powerful reminder that many contemporary independent photographers making constructed images were really walking in the footsteps of the giants of constructed editorial imagery, hitherto largely excluded from MoMA. The recent exhibition at the Getty, *Icons of Style* (2018), brought

Une Amie Secrète, The very first Helmut Newton print to appear at auction. Sotheby's Belgravia, London, on 19 March 1975.
Courtesy of Philippe Garner.

that range of editorial photography into the bigger history. An important recent publication, *Issues* (2019) by Vince Aletti, emphasises the importance of the full picture feature and its place within the editorial cocktail that makes a successful magazine.

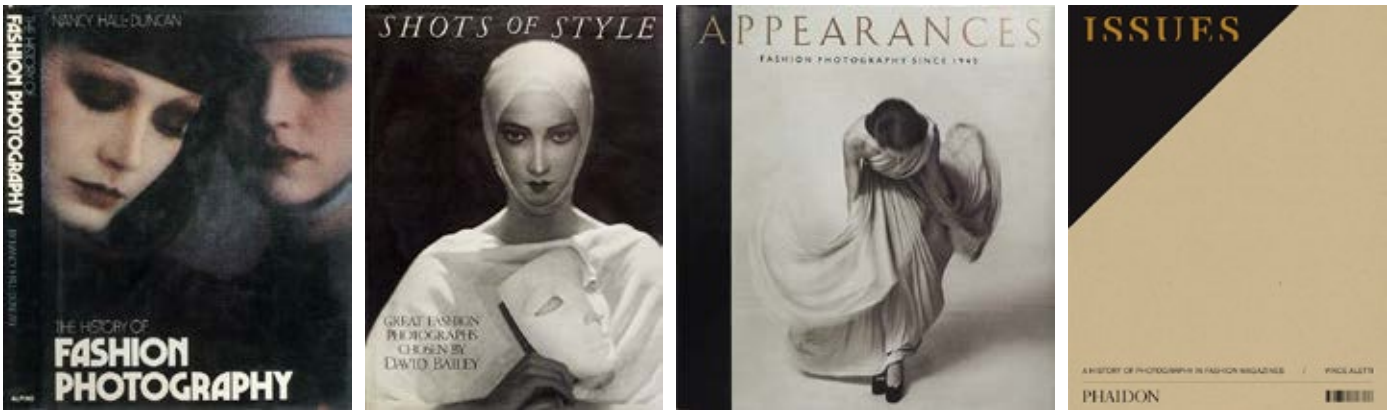
And we mustn't forget the 1968 Cecil Beaton exhibition at the National Portrait Gallery, London, the museum's very first photography exhibition, celebrating a great photographer of fashion and style. So, little by little, there have been steps taken. Not in a crusading way but in the building of real critical traction for a subject that deserved serious attention.

On show at Hamiltons. **Helmut Newton**. *Winne on Deck, Off the Coast of Cannes, 1975.*

As a specialist and auctioneer, you played a key role in bringing fashion photography to the auctions.
– It's been a fact of life for me as an auctioneer that you don't create the perfect menu and expect to sell the same menu year in, year out. You have to keep refreshing it. Tastes change, patterns of availability change. You have to be adaptable. It has always been a guiding principle for me that I won't sell things that I don't personally believe in. It doesn't mean that I only offer works that correspond to my own tastes; rather, that I endeavour to present works that have merit and integrity in whatever genre. That said, fashion and style have always been areas of personal predilection, going back to the '60s, when I was cutting pictures out of magazines, building my cultural awareness. It was very gratifying for me to eventually take tentative steps into presenting that area of material at auction and to see that it could find an audience. I put a toe in the water and gradually raised my game in terms of the volume and range of material, just as I had probed my way forward from the 19th century into the 20th. I'm trying to think of the big step-changes. The biggest one for me was the first sale of works from the collection of Gert Elfering in 2005. This presented a substantial selection from a collection put together by someone for whom fashion and style had been the core theme. Gert collected at a high level and that sale had an enormous impact. It raised the bar significantly, gave emphatic market endorsement to the field. That wasn't so long ago. And yet it was a full fifteen years ago, a decade and a half that seems to have gone by in a blink, but we achieved a lot during that period.

Skin and beauty shoots are among the lowliest assignments at a fashion magazine but the masters could do wonders with them, Horst for instance, and his *Hands, Hands*, which we published in issue 3.
– Yes, but they were challenging pictures to make. You have to grab the eye, with very few props. You are effectively making a kind of human still-life. Conveying an idea with the greatest economy of means. It's not easy. It's easier getting away with a banal picture if at least you can foreground a fabulous dress.

In issue 2, we published an interview with Jane England about conceptual photography and performance art. Later, you commented that fashion photography is also a kind of performance art.
–It is, and one can quite easily find certain more extreme examples to make this very clear. One that leaps to mind is the collaboration between Veruschka and Franco Rubartelli on extraordinarily inventive fashion shoots where she might be body-painted and wearing improvised accoutrements. Not necessarily fashion shoots in the conventional sense, just wonderful moments from a choreography of style and fantasy. A kind of frozen ballet. And the whole language of gesture one can discover is fascinating. Quite apart from the clothes, shoes, props, and whatever they have to illustrate, it's also the question of how is the photographer going to choreograph the figure and what is the symbolism of that choreography? The subliminal messaging. If one looks at the history of fashion photography, the most obvious transition was from the performance of a generic



Milestone publications, *The History of Fashion Photography* (1979), *Shots of Style* (1986), *Appearances* (1991), and *Issues* (2019).

hierarchical story of aristocratic hauteur and elegance to the new dynamic of fashion as a statement of youthfulness, energy, subversion, and sensuality. It is fascinating, and I would say to anyone who dismisses the field too easily, just pay attention to what great photographers will do with the position of a hand, the flow of the body. What do models do with their legs? Are they just standing there straight? Or are they in motion? What's implicit in all this? Are they relaxed? Is there a tension? And what does that hint at? Helmut Newton's images are endlessly intriguing and invite analysis around these questions. I love the fact that Helmut's nudes are often posed as if they're wearing the most elegant dresses and his fashion images can be posed with a provocative sexiness as if they were naked. Different languages playing off one another. Avedon was, throughout his life, such a devotee of the performing arts. So many of his pictures are about catching that sense of a body in movement. Already in his street fashion pictures taken in Paris in the late '40s, there's that expression of dynamic energy. Martin Munkácsi, whom Avedon acknowledged as an influence, was a pioneer sports photographer. You see a liberation of the body in the late '60s, the very British youth revolution, images with arms, legs akimbo. The figure in space, free, no longer tied to the ground, is so much a part of the spirit of that era. The more you look, the more there is to discover about the zeitgeist.

That reminds me of Clifford Coffin, shooting fashion amongst the ruins in London after World War II, signalling, "It was hell but we came through."

– Yes, those Coffin pictures are very poignant. Unfortunately, too many people approach such images with a sack-full of prejudices that makes it hard for them to appreciate their fuller cultural resonance. Because it's a complex, coded language. I know these pictures are created for a big audience and that audience takes them in, spontaneously, subliminally. But there is also a critical audience that doesn't know how to deconstruct the subject matter, and is reluctant to accept there may be truths within the artifice.

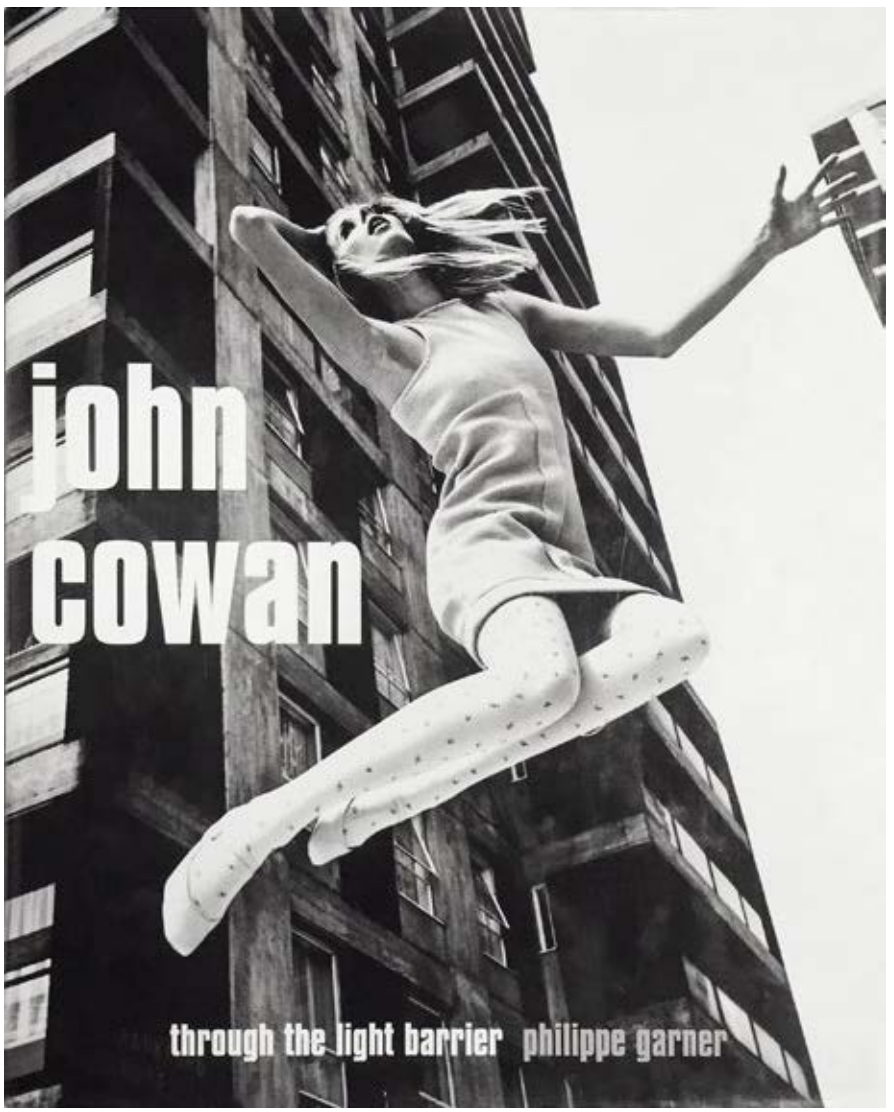
How should the history of fashion photography be preserved?

– From a collecting point of view, one has to ask oneself, what should one be prizing? An absolutely crucial start point is the magazine. Of course, we also need to collect the prints, but what kind of prints? The vintage working tools? Or the beautiful artefacts, all-too-often printed later, made for the collectors' market? There's no simple answer. There's also the question of availability. A great deal of photography that was made for the printed page now doesn't exist in any other form, is not collectable in any other form. There are too many instances of great magazine archives having been lost. If the negatives survive, and the prints are later editions, there is a case for them, but there are no rules, it's really photographer by photographer. Irving Penn put such a focus on making the definitive prints by the most beautiful methods – be it black and white rendered in platinum or colour as dye transfer – that he effectively created a print legacy in a form that he saw as greatly superior, quality-wise, to the ink of the magazine. There are others who have jumped on a commercial bandwagon, who just sign their names on fairly run-of-the-mill prints that completely lack the character and quality of those they might have produced originally. So it's not simple and it raises the kind of ethical issues that occur in other areas of photography. There are quite a number of photographers who have gone back to their negatives. Think of Cartier-Bresson, who wanted collectors to buy the prints he commissioned much later in life, larger, signed, and so forth but in the eyes of many, lacking the ring of authenticity, the character, the object quality of earlier prints made as engravers' prints. The important thing is to understand the distinctions and you make your own choices, whatever suits you. One of the great bodies of work from Richard Avedon, who has been the most exacting in terms of getting fabulous prints made of his great images, was the set of engravers' prints images that he made in Paris, the annotated work-prints of his trail-blazing images for *Harper's Bazaar*. In some ways, it contradicted his own principle that there should be a distinction between the fine print made for the museum wall and the working tool, but in that particular instance, I think the working tool had an aura and desirability quite distinct from that of even the finest prints that he made later.

At the extremes, there are two kinds of collectors. Those who focus on the working print, annotated, often in less than perfect condition, and those who opt for the sublime gallery print.

– There are those who want something stunning for the wall, the image in its most perfect and impactful form. Like the record we set the other week at Christie's, New York, with the very

rare large-format print of Avedon's *Dovima with Elephants* that achieved 1.8 million dollars, a world record for him. A spectacular piece, an iconic image from the '50s. How does that compare with the original engraver's print? If it even exists? I'm not sure. It's an entirely different object. And yes, it's for an entirely different sensibility. It achieves a different effect. A certain kind of specialist connoisseur would probably be more excited by the



Through The Light Barrier. Philippe Garner's 1999 exhibition and book on John Cowan saved him from oblivion.

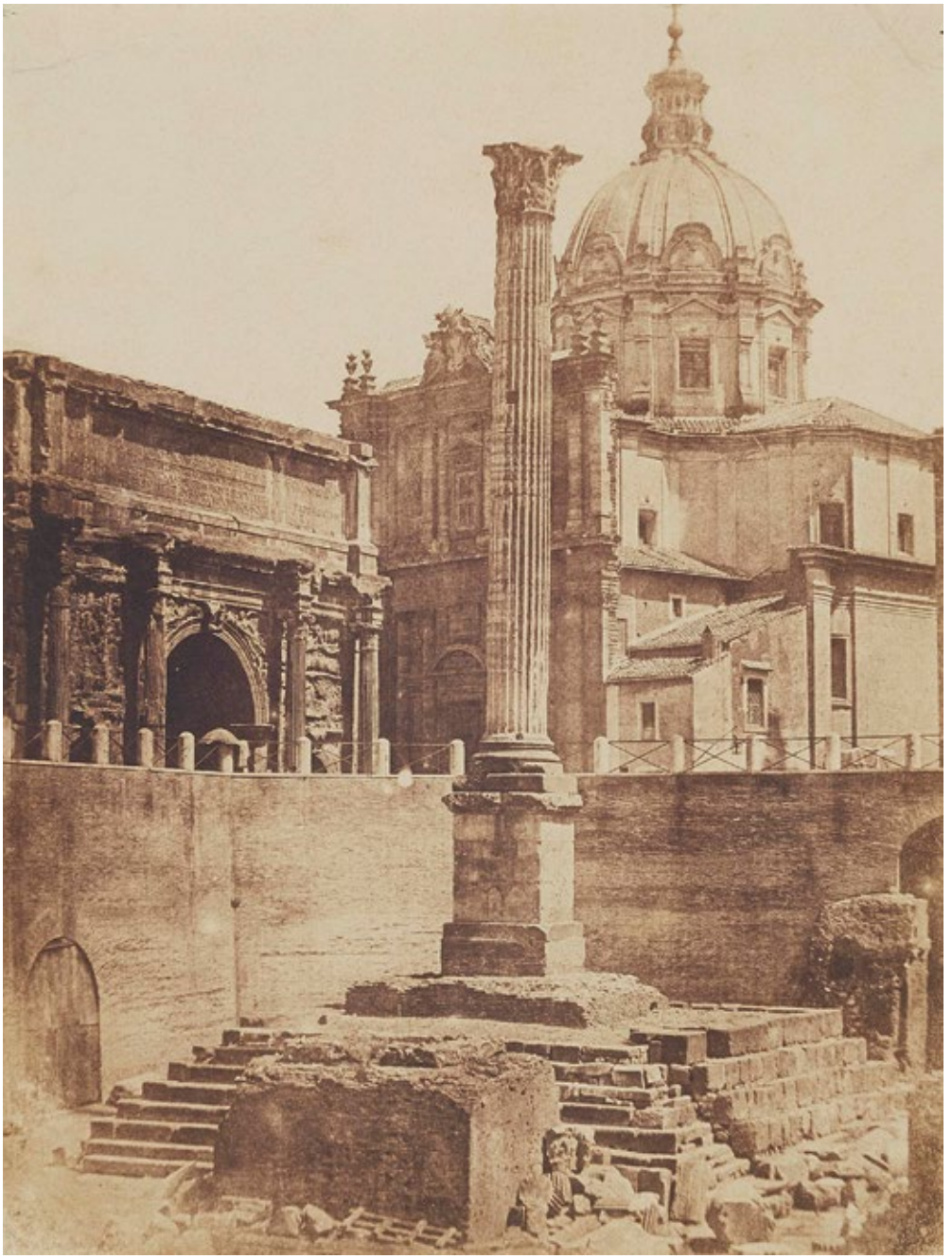
historical associations of the print from which the magazine's printing plate had been made, rather than the magnificent print made for the wall. Is one better than the other? They're two essential facets of the same story.

Then there are situations where there are no prints. Your 1999 John Cowan exhibition at The V&A, *Through the Light Barrier*, and the book that accompanied it, saved him from oblivion. The estate had negatives but no prints, so prints were made especially for the exhibition.
– I think we have to tread very carefully. I'm very cautious about posthumous prints. And yet there are instances where not only are posthumous prints the only prints available but they're absolutely stunning. I think, for instance, of the Guy Bourdin Estate colour prints. He was a brilliant monochrome photographer, but his success, his reputation was built principally on his sumptuous colour work. There are virtually no lifetime colour prints. Were it not for the prints made under his son's auspices, the work would be a lot less widely appreciated. Clarity however is essential. I am reminded of a discussion with Martin Barnes at the V&A about posthumous prints. He's a believer in the principle that if an image has a place in the history of photography and if the museum has the negative but no vintage prints are available, then there is legitimacy to showing a modern print, provide it is clearly labelled as such.

The focus in the current history of fashion photography is very much on what was shot for *Vogue* and *Harper's Bazaar*. It leaves out the mainstream magazines, the fashion that most people actually wore?
– A good point, because it's too easy to think almost exclusively of the big two. The story is much broader. There are different kinds of magazines, pitched at different groups, defined by their age, aspirations, purchasing power. And, very quickly, the story gets so much more complex. So you're right. And going back to the idea of the magazine page as an arena for experiment. There are certain codes that apply in the high-end fashion magazines, and quite different codes in titles pitched at other audiences. Think of *Elle* in its heyday, under art director Peter Knapp. It had such an energy about it, a vitality and youthfulness that marked it out from the grander titles. And there are real treasures to be found in less well-known publications. In the UK, for a younger demographic, there was *Honey*, *19*, and later came *The Face* and *i-D*, and there were some really interesting photographers who worked for these and other magazines. And all this has yet to be fully assimilated into the history. And look at those magazines that are as much lifestyle as fashion, or even news magazines. *Stern* and *Paris Match* have published great fashion features. As did *Twen* in Germany. The list goes on and let's not overlook the impact in the UK in the '60s of *Queen*, *Town*, and then *Nova*. Those magazines weren't driven by fashion advertising, so they could be more experimental. Yes, the story is rich and rewarding, with much still to be discovered.

Hamiltons in London celebrates Helmut Newton with an exhibition of rare ferrotyped prints from the 1970s, *Helmut Newton: High Gloss*, accompanied by a limited-edition book with illustrations of each photograph and essays by Philippe Garner and Vasilios Zatse of The Irving Penn Foundation. The exhibition runs until 8 January.

PHOTOGRAPHY IN COLOGNE



Giacomo Caneva Column of Phocas, Roman Forum, c. 1852–1853. Salt print, 27.5 x 20.8 cm

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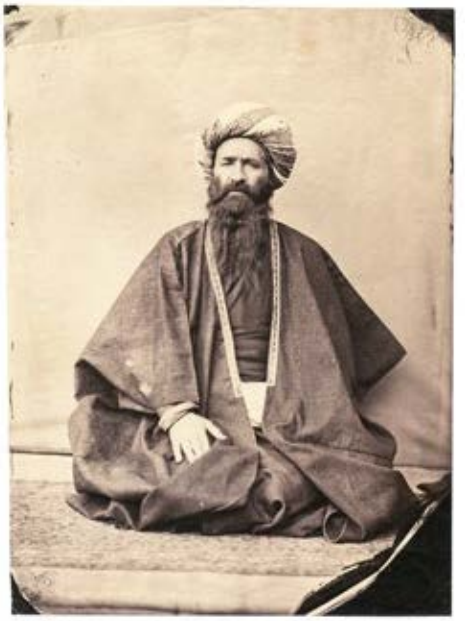
PHOTOGRAPHS OF QAJAR PERSIA IN THE THOMAS WALTHER COLLECTION

By Maria Francesca Bonetti

Henri de Couliboeuf de Blocqueville. *Gate to the Citadel, Tehran*, salt print, 1858-1860.

Frances Carlhian. *possibly Kadji-Mirza-Aghazzi, grand vizier*, albumen print, 1858-1860.

Henri de Couliboeuf de Blocqueville. *Portrait of Naser-ed Din Shah*, salt print, 1858-1860.



Frances Carlhian. *A Mullah,* albumen print, 1858-1860.

Alexis Raymond left few biographical details behind. What we do know is that he was Swiss, a watchmaker, that he lived in Tehran in the second half of the 19th century and during that time assembled an important collection of photographs of Persia. The photographs, now in the Thomas Walther Collection, offer new and fascinating insight into early photography of Persia, not least because of the extraordinary images by Henri de Couliboef de Blocqueville, whose work up until now was only partly known and mostly unpublished.

Photographic equipment arrived in Persia before anyone there was capable of using it. When the Russian diplomat Nicolai Pavlov arrived in Tehran in 1842, he brought a number of Daguerreotype cameras as gifts to Mohammad Shah. The practical expertise didn't arrive until two years later, when the Frenchman Jules Richard (1816-1891) travelled to Tehran and set about making portraits of the Shah and his immediate family, including the hereditary prince, the 13-year old Naser-ed Din Mirza.

The experience evidently planted a seed with the young prince. In 1858, when he had reigned as Shah for 10 years, his interest in photography turned into a passion. He started practicing the medium and together with his servant and assistant Aqa Reza took lessons from the French photographer Frances Carlhian (1818-1870).

Carlhian, who was probably of Armenian origin, had come from France in 1858 to place himself at the service of the Shah and like various other Western instructors, to teach at Dar al-Fanoun, the military Polytechnic. It had been founded in 1851 by Naser-ed-Din Shah to create a modern class of technicians and soldiers, able to use various Western technologies in order to guarantee greater unity, autonomy and self-sufficiency in his kingdom in the face of the expansionist forces of European countries. Within the Polytechnic, photography soon found a place, first as a scientific experiment, and from 1862 onwards, it was used in court portraiture, to document official events and to support the new strategies of knowledge and study of the territory by the Qajar ruling class. In this way, an indigenous photographic production developed early and much more rapidly than in other countries in the Near and Middle East. Naser-ed-Din Shah was himself a driving force, and in 1862 he established a Royal Photography Studio within the Golestan Palace. In 1863 he awarded his assistant Aqa Reza the title of "Court Photographer" (akkas-bashi), analogous to that of naqqash-bashi, a title already reserved for court artists.

Until the birth of the first professional independent Iranian studio outside the Court, run by Aqa Reza from 1867, photography in Persia had been in the hands of a few foreign operators, mostly French and Italians, who anyway were integrated into the life of the Court, and whose activities, though independent, were essentially determined by the requests and commissions of the Shah. Their work was generally linked to his life and his movements, his interests in the arts and relics of the ancient Persian Empire, his relations with the diplomatic world, and to major political and military events which marked the long years of his reign, 1848-1896.

Luigi Pesce. *Persepolis, Gate of Xerxes*, salt print, 1857-1858.

Frances Carlhian served the Shah as photography teacher, official portraitist and court photographer, as this collection of photographs makes clear. The foreign contingent also included the two Italians Luigi Pesce (1827-1864) and Antonio Giannuzzi (1818-1876). Both had come from the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies and arrived in Persia around 1850-1851 as political exiles, having participated in the failed Risorgimento uprisings of 1848-1849. While engaged as military officers and instructors in the service of the Shah, they practised photography on the side. During the period 1851-1862, they would be the first to create photographic series depicting the places and monuments of historical and artistic interest in Persia, contributing to the dissemination of knowledge of the country, both by Western scholars and diplomats as well as ministers and dignitaries of the Qajar court, at a time when it was rediscovering its origins and the glories of the ancient Persian empire, founding on its ancient symbols, myths and artistic and cultural values, the legitimacy of its authority and sovereignty.

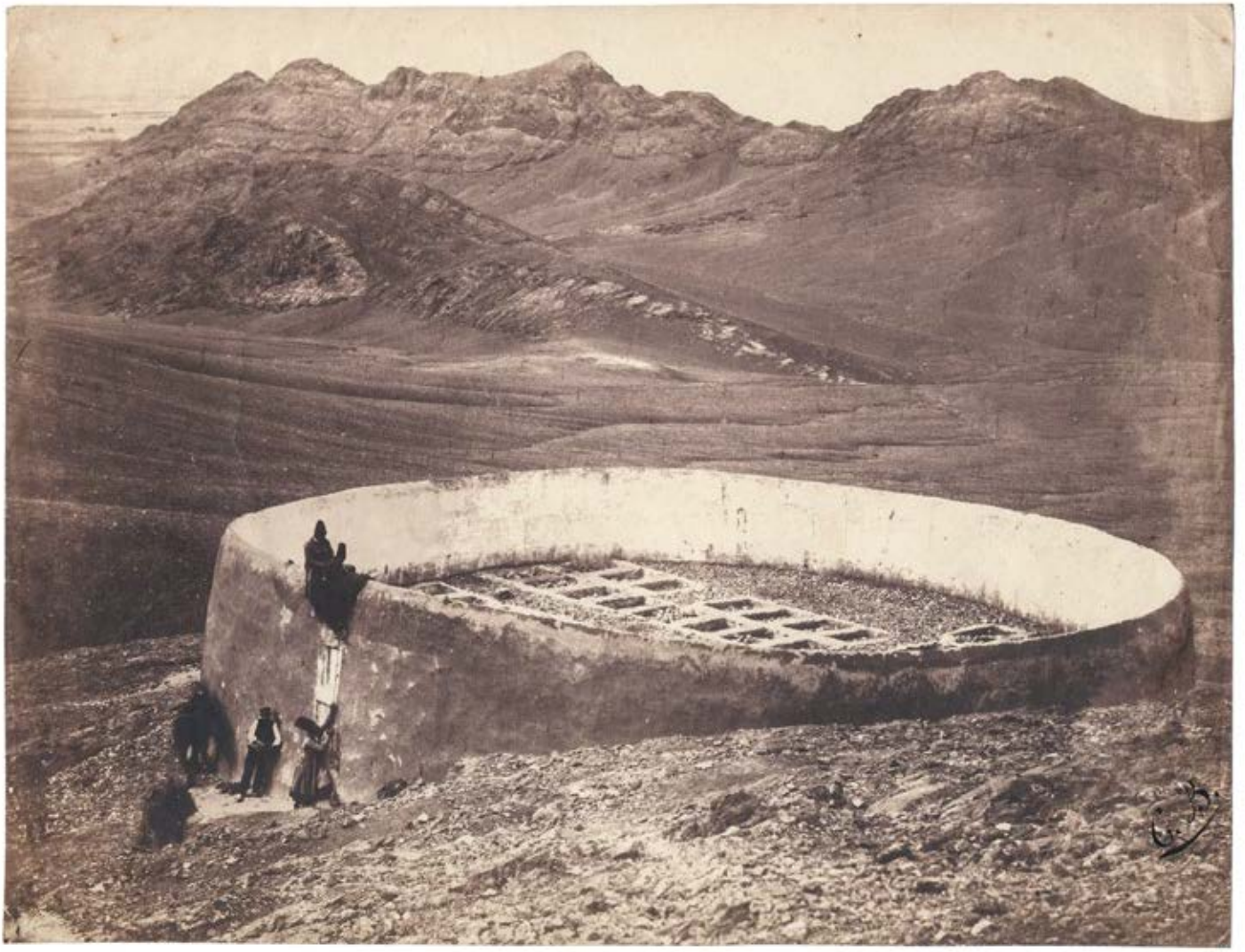
Henri de Couliboeuf de Blocqueville. *The Persian Military Band on the training field*, salt print, 1858-1859.

Attributed to Henri de Couliboeuf de Blocqueville. *Golestan Palace*, salt print, 1859-1860

Luigi Pesce's fame has above all been founded on his famous series of the antiquities of Persepolis, created in 1857-1858 and dedicated to the Shah in an album that is now kept in the photographic collection of Golestan. The collection that Alexis Raymond assembled includes a number of images from the series but also much rarer images, dating back to the first phase of his production, corresponding to the period of his military service in Kermanshah (1853-1855). The core of Pesce's photographs in this collection consists of views of the fantastic palaces, bridges and Islamic architecture of Isfahan. Despite a certain technical imperfection due to his practice still being in its infancy, the photographs already show the inclinations, the peculiarity of the gaze and the compositional qualities of a photographer who contextualises his subjects and represents them realistically.

Pesce's photographs, as well as those of his colleague Antonio Giannuzzi were mainly collected and used by scholars and individuals in cultural and diplomatic circles, as is increasingly evident from the sets that are gradually found and identified in public and private collections, the collection of Alexis Raymond being one example. Among Raymond's friends was General Enrico Andreini (1828-1894), also a teacher at the Polytechnic and later chief instructor of the King's infantry. Andreini was one of the central figures in the small Italian community in Tehran, its guarantor and representative to the various legations. Among the photographs by Pesce in this collection, are images of figures standing near Raymond's residence of Raymond as well as that of Andreini, which tells us of the familiarity and the relationships that were established between the military and the Italian photographers and other Westerners residing in Tehran, who had immigrated for professional reasons or as diplomats and scholars engaged in scientific and archaeological campaigns.

However, what makes this collection of photographs truly extraordinary is the presence of a substantial number of prints signed by Henri de Couliboeuf de Blocqueville. His dates are unknown but he was a French explorer and adventurer who probably arrived in Persia in 1858, together with Carlhian and the French military mission that had been



Henri de Couliboeuf de Blocqueville. *Zoroastrian Cemetery near the City of Rey*, salt print, 1860.

negotiated in Paris by the Persian ambassador Faruk Khan. His photographs, often confused with those of his compatriot, bear the monogram "CB" and have mistakenly been interpreted by some as a joint signature, "Carlhian et Bloccqueville". In the collection there are various photographs of the royal buildings, as well as some of the first portraits of the Shah, which were circulated and also used for official paintings. It was probably as a result of these that he was commissioned by the Shah in 1860 to bring back a series of photographs, maps, drawings and information collected during the military campaign conducted in Merv against the Turkoman. He was soon taken prisoner and remained in captivity for 14 months, and was only released thanks to a ransom paid directly by the Shah, as he himself recalls in his lengthy article *Quatorze mois de captivité chez les Turcomans (frontiers du Turkesta et de la Perse). Textes et dessins inédites*, in *Le Tour du monde*, 1866. Up until now, the images to document his experiences were known only as engravings to accompany the article, the captions stating, *"d'après croquis de M. de Blocqueville"*, or *"d'après une photographie"*, but with the latter, without the name of the creator. We now recognize the work not only by Couliboeuf but also that of Antonio Giannuzzzi and in this collection the names of the creators have finally re-emerged. The photographs fully reveal the character and originality of a unique contribution to the history of photography, with remarkable images such as the corpses and the dead laid out in the Persian cemetery near the ruins of Rey near Tehran and the very vivid scenes of remnants of Zoroastrianism. They are of indisputable historical, documentary and ethnographic interest and belong to a culture, with distinct customs and habits that have now almost completely disappeared.

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Left to right: Ezure Akinori (Foreign Office), General Robert Bruce Van Valkenburgh (1821-1888, US Minister Resident to Japan), Ishikawa Jukei, Inaba Masami (1815-1879, daimyō of Tateyama Domain), Katsu Kaishū (1823-1899, Minister of the Army), Matsudaira Tarō (1839-1909, Commander-in-Chief of the Army), Ōzeki Masuhiro (died 1867, daimyō of Kurobane Domain)

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BY MARY PELLETIER

ARMENIAN STUDIO PHOTOGRAPHERS

IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

Dildilian Bros. Studio, Interior of Dildilian Brothers photo studio in Samsun, c.1920. The Dildilian Family Photo Archive.

DR. ARMEN MARSOOBIAN

***The Classic* takes a look at three unique collections dedicated to Armenian photography: the Dildilian Family Photo Archive, The Malikian Collection and Project SAVE.**

On January 6, 1916, members of the Dildilian and Der Haroutiounian families gathered in the Anatolian city of Marsovan, and posed for a photograph. Ten faces gaze intently at the camera, some assertive, some quietly thoughtful, and one noticeably shrouded in the hood of a priest. A banner hanging in the background reads, in Armenian, "Jesus is born, 1916".

To spend time with this photograph is to share a secret with its subjects – the secret of a clandestine Christmas celebration.

Months earlier, during the spring of 1915, deportations of Armenian citizens in Marsovan began by order of the Islamic Ottoman government, as part of a wider expulsion of Armenian citizens across the crumbling Ottoman Empire. It was the early stages of the Armenian Genocide, as communities of Armenians, a Christian minority population within the Empire, were killed and deported en masse. Today, the International Association of Genocide Scholars (IAGS) concludes that over one million Armenians were killed during the systematic extermination of their population, and countless other families forced into exile.

Marsovan, by some accounts, was home to around 15 000 Armenians in 1915; it was also home to Anatolia College, a thriving theological seminary and liberal arts college in the years before World War I, helmed by Armenian, Greek and American faculty. Marsovan's Armenian community was not spared in the massacres and deportations carried out by the Turks. When he returned to America in 1917, President of the College George E. White would give an account of the killings to the *New York Times*, printed with the headline: *ARMENIANS KILLED WITH AXES BY TURKS, Members of Faculty of Anatolia College Among More Than 1,200 Slain at Marsovan. ONE OF MANY MASSACRES, Story of Ferocity Told by President of College, an Eyewitness of the Marsovan Horrors.*

How then, did the Dildilian and Der Haroutiounian families come to celebrate Armenian Apostolic Christmas in Marsovan in January of 1916? The answer is wrapped up in the Dildilians' role as the city's most successful studio photographers, explains Dildilian descendant Dr. Armen Marsoobian:

– My mother would say, "We survived because of the photography." She didn't have the details, but she would say: "Your grandfather was an important photographer, the government needed him, that was why we were not deported."

Marsoobian, a Professor of Philosophy at Southern Connecticut State University, is the grandson of Tsolag Dildilian, who was a fixture on the Anatolia College campus in the early years of the 20th century. There, he served as the college's official photographer. For years, Marsoobian had been aware of his grandfather's profession, and was familiar with the albums that were brought out during family reunions. In the late 1980s, a century after Tsolag Dildilian took his first photograph, Marsoobian's uncle Humayag Dildilian (the last professional photographer in the family) entrusted him with the family archive: albums, glass negatives, cabinet cards, cartes-de-visite and prints, along with invaluable memoirs from Tsolag and his brother Aram.

Mikael G Natourian (left) and Tsolag K. 2. Dildilian (right), Photographers, Sivas. Cabinet Portrait, c.1890.
The Dildilian Family Photo Archive.

Reverse of Cabinet Portrait, c.1890.
The Dildilian Family Photo Archive.

Apostolic Christmas celebration in the midst of the on-going genocide, 6 January 1916. Members of the Dildilian and Der Haroutiounian families secretly celebrate with four young Armenian men rescued and hidden in the Der Haroutiounian home for almost two years. The Dildilian Family Photo Archive.

When I spoke to Marsoobian via video call, at his home office in Connecticut, he had much of the collection close to hand. Early on in the conversation, he held up a striking portrait of his great-grandfather Krikor, taken by Tsolag in 1888. Krikor's hair peeks out from beneath his fez, and his head is cocked to one side, looking off to the left of the frame. His top lip is hidden by an impressive mustache; I commented on the portrait's beauty. "My great-grandfather didn't like this portrait – he preferred this one," Marsoobian said smiling, retrieving a more formal sitting from his folders.

Krikor Dildilian was a successful shoemaker in Sivas, a provincial capital of the Ottoman Empire in Anatolia. Though he expected his son Tsolag to take over the family business, he sent him to the local American missionary school, where he learned English, Marsoobian says.

– It was the expectation that he would then travel to Europe and get involved in the export trade of the goods. But he loved to work with images, he liked to draw. He talks in his memoir about tracing images through sunlight and glass, and he became fascinated with hearing and reading about photography, which had already entered the Ottoman Empire in the 1850s.

In the late 1880s, Tsolag secured family approval and began an apprenticeship with a travelling photographer who was spending time in Sivas. He honed his skills taking photographs of family members, and within the archive, Marsoobian has the first photograph Tsolag ever took: a portrait of his younger brother Aram, in 1888.

– Within about a year, my great-grandfather said he would bankroll the first studio. Through some sort of connection, they brought Mikael Natourian from Istanbul, who was a more experienced photographer, to partner with my grandfather. Then the question is: how do you get customers in a relative backwater in central Anatolia? His father had a very sharp business sense and decided they would open the studio next door to the retail part of the shoe business. Customers were coming to have their shoes made all the time, and my great-grandfather happened to

have had the great fortune of making the shoes of the governor of the province. He becomes the shoemaker to all the notables in Sivas, and he steers the business next door to the photo studio. The studio then has an important photograph of the governor himself, and this becomes a big draw for the business.

In discussing photography within the Ottoman Empire, history books tend to focus on the big-name studios located in Constantinople: Abdullah Frères, Pascal Sébah, Bogos Tarkulyan (Photo Phébus) – all photographers of Armenian descent. In fact, Tsolag travelled to Constantinople and had his photograph taken in 1900 by Phébus himself, a portrait that Marsoobian reproduces in his book *Reimagining a Lost Armenian Homeland: The Dildilian Photography Collection* (I.B. Tauris, 2017). Surviving photographs and narratives from Armenian photographers outside of the capital are scarce, much of their work destroyed or left behind during the Genocide. As Marsoobian explains, the survival of the Dildilian Studio photographs sheds light on the photographic networks that played a role throughout the Empire, beyond Constantinople.

– It's clear to me that there were provincial photographers like my grandfather, who were working for the Constantinople-based photographers that were working for Abdul Hamid in his documentation of the Empire. A colleague of mine in Istanbul has discovered a few receipts in the Ottoman archives with the Dildilian name on them for photographs. These [Abdul Hamid photographs of the Empire] are not attributed to the provincial photographer – they're attributed to Sébah or one of the famous studios in Constantinople. In the memoir it discusses the fact that he gets these very lucrative commissions to travel to different cities and he mentions a few of them along the Black Sea, to take photographs of official buildings or monuments.

As the Dildilian and Natourian studio gained a reputation in the region, Anatolia College in Marsovan took notice. The college began commissioning the studio to photograph college events and graduations; the business from the American missionary-founded college was so lucrative that they established a studio in Marsovan in 1892, and within three years, Tsolag was appointed the official college photographer. The Dildilian studio business survived the Hamidian Massacres of 1894-6, which targeted the Armenian populations of Anatolia, and went from strength to strength in the following years. Tsolag's brother Aram joined in the studio business, and in the early years of the twentieth century, the Dildilian Brothers set up studio outposts in Samsun, Amasya, Konya and Adana.

In the Spring of 2009, Marsoobian was invited to the American College of Thessaloniki in Greece, the institution where Anatolia College relocated after the Greco-Turkish War, in 1924. It was there, on a fellowship, that he first began sharing photographs from the Dildilian family collection. He also began researching their archives, which still hold a number of Dildilian Studio photographs. But while Marsoobian was in Greece, a cousin from Paris sent him an important and revelatory piece of family history: Tsolag's niece's memoir, translated from the Armenian. In it, she describes the day in 1915 that the Dildilian family decided to convert to Islam and take on Turkish identities, to avoid the deportations of Armenians that had begun in Anatolia.

– When I read it, I stayed up all night, trying to make sense of this event. The journal was almost like a day-by-day account of what was happening, and it chronicles the conversation between my grandfather, my grandmother, and his sister, who was the

Dildilian Bros. Studio, Three orphan boys placed under the protection of the Anatolia College in Marsovan, wearing woolen clothes provided by Near East Relief, c.1919.
The Dildilian Family Photo Archive, courtesy of the Trustees of Anatolia College.

Armenian and Greek orphans along with the Dildilians on the *S. S. Belgravia* departing, Samsun, 1922. The Dildilian Family Photo Archive.

mother of the woman who wrote the memoir. They're arguing about whether they should convert or not, and it's a question of life and death.

Marsoobian and his relatives were unaware of the family's conversion to Islam – a key reason the Dildilians had been allowed to remain in Marsovan.

– It's August 15, 1915 – the memoir is that precise. They go through the conversion ceremony the next morning, and watch the Armenians leave. That was very, very moving and it raised questions. At that point, my mother was 4 years old. She didn't seem to know this part of the story. But her brothers were all older, and I think they, in a sense, suppressed it, didn't want to acknowledge it. There are a few slips – in Aram's memoir, he mentions something about only apostates remained in Marsovan. When he says apostates, he's referring to people who converted, and if he's there and alive, he's referring to himself.

Aram is in the photograph taken on January 6, 1916, celebrating Armenian Apostolic Christmas after his conversion to Islam. Through his research, Marsoobian would discover that the other four men in the photograph were in hiding at the Der Haroutiounian home – three former students and one professor, friends of Aram's from Anatolia College. The banner, the holy water and the small flag, (which Marsoobian found resembles the flag used by the Society of Armenian Students of Geneva) take on an added weight with the knowledge of the conversion: an Armenian identity privately asserted, and documented, which the family was forced to publicly suppress. It also spurred on Marsoobian's research.

– That started my journey of studying the photographs and the memoirs – trying to connect those photos to the memoirs and make sense of the context of the photographs. There's a photo of the family celebrating Christmas in 1916, even though they are all supposedly converts to Islam at this point in time. Some of the young men in the photograph should have already been exiled, deported, and dead. That's when I started very systematically to study the collection."

Part of the reason the Dildilian family was a unique witness to the atrocities of 1915 was tied into Tsolag Dildilian's service to the Ottoman government. Though the family's conversion was hidden from the narrative for all those years, Marsoobian remembers mentions of the family's military status after the start of WWI. Tsolag's reputation as a photographer of note, and his connections to the local government through his work, helped secure his family's safety through the end of the war, Marsoobian explains. His extended family members outside of Marsovan, however, did not survive the deportations.

– My grandfather was in the Ottoman Army, and in a sense, one of the only Armenians allowed to travel. Unlike some of the other Armenians who were allowed to convert, he was able to travel and provide information. In one of the missionary memoirs by Bertha Morley, she mentions my grandfather bringing back word about what happened to the Armenian professors who had been deported or were hanged. It's as if he became a greater witness than he would have wanted to be. I used to always ask my mother: did he say all that much? And she said he often just came back so disheartened and shaken, and obviously he didn't want to burden his younger children with what he was experiencing.

Dildilian Bros. Studio, Anatolia College Orchestra, c.1906 (Arshak T. Daghlian, Professor of Music and Rev. George White, Dean of the College, seated centre).
The Dildilian Family Photo Archive.

The family was able to remain in Anatolia through 1922, witnessing the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, the Greco-Turkish War, and rising Turkish nationalism, which would eventually lead to the founding of the Turkish Republic. In this time, in Marsovan and then in Samsun, the Dildilians would aid in relief efforts, specifically with the area's thousands of orphaned children, and continue the photography business. Many of the photographs taken by the Dildilians of orphaned children played a role in Near East Relief's fundraising efforts abroad. In the absence of photographs of the deportations and massacres themselves, the photographs of the children take on a documentary function – visual proof to accompany first-person narratives of the massacres and deportations. This connection to the organisation would eventually allow for the family to join in an evacuation of the orphans to Greece, in late 1922, on the *S.S. Belgravia*.

Marsoobian's most recent exhibition of material from his family's archive, in February of this year, was held in a municipal gallery in Nikaia, an area of greater Athens where many refugees settled. Tsolag managed to re-establish his successful photography business there, which was continued by his children after his death in 1935. At the exhibition, which included other Armenian photographers who worked in the area, Marsoobian was met with new discoveries – ten or so photographs his grandfather had taken in the neighbourhood, which he had never seen before. A decade after beginning his research, after publishing two books and exhibiting the Dildilian photographs in Turkey, Greece and the United States, his motivations for sharing his family's story continue to grow.

– Most families have just a few pre-Genocide images, and many of the images that survive were sent overseas to Armenians who had emigrated before the Genocide. Very few people in the areas where the worst killings took place were able to save anything. We were unique in that sense – having so much more of the visual evidence of what Armenian life was like. The family had saved all this material, and was, in a way, trying to chronicle what was happening to them. I felt an obligation on my part to continue sharing what they were trying to save. What's the point of saving it if no one sees it?

Some 1 500 kilometres south of Marsovan, around the same time Tsolag Dildilian was taking his first carte-de-visite portraits, Armenians were cornering the photography market in another part of the Ottoman Empire: Jerusalem. Born out of a photographic workshop started by Yessai Garabedian

Garabed Krikorian Studio, Dome of the Rock. Western tourists on the steps, c.1900. The Malikian Collection.

in the Holy City's Armenian patriarchate around 1859, Armenian photographers came to dominate the studio landscape of Palestine in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

Photography historian Badr el-Hage traces the reasons for the Armenian's regional dominance in the relatively new field of photography in his 2007 article *The Armenian Pioneers of Middle Eastern Photography:* "Because photographers were labeled 'unbelievers' by some religious puritans put off by the creation of human images, only specific groups of 'Ottoman citizens' – Armenians, Syrian Christians and other minorities – pursued the craft." Across the Ottoman Empire, the Armenians' non-Islamic religious affiliations, combined with skills in the areas of chemistry and metalworking, helped to establish a photographic tradition that continued throughout the Middle East into the mid-20th century.

The Malikian Collection is a growing, private collection of Armenian studio photography that centres around, and celebrates, this tradition. Established by New York-based psychologist Joseph Malikian some seven years ago, he points to two phases by which we can gauge the influence of Armenian photographers: before and after the Genocide.

– 1915 is such a break in the history. It's a break in how the Armenians functioned, and their society. Basically, everything ended in 1915 for many of the Armenians in Turkey. We have this major, very disruptive historic event, and those who survive then have to figure out *how* to survive. Photography seemed to be a profession that was predictable, with a stable income – it offered something that the people could bank on. Some had brought that skill with them because they had dominated and they were pioneers in the industry in the Ottoman Empire. Those who survived brought it with them, and you start to see the proliferation of studios in the Middle East.

Over a decade ago, before he began collecting photographs, Malikian began to assemble information about his family's history from members all over the

world: Australia, South America, the Middle East, France, England. "On the heels of that, I started to think about *who are the Armenians?*" Malikian explained. He began researching Ottoman history at the Zohrab Center, a research institution that focuses on Armenian studies in New York City, which eventually took him across the country to California, home to one of the largest public collections of Ottoman-era photography in the world.

– I came across these incredible narratives and descriptions of Armenians in the 1895 massacres, the 1909 massacres, and all the trauma that the Armenians faced. Then I came across an article, written by a man who visited the Getty Research Institute and the Pierre de Gigord Collection. I was fascinated. I went to the Getty and parked myself there for a good many days. I'd already gathered information at the Zohrab, about all these Armenian photographers, but then to *see* their work in the Gigord collection – I was totally blown away.

Photography from Palestine, and in particular Jerusalem, is a driving force in the Malikian Collection – with a focus on the ways photographic skills were passed on to students and family members.

– I was fascinated by photography in Palestine, and the work of the patriarch [Yessai Garabedian, Armenian Patriarch of Jerusalem, 1864-1885] who introduced the first photographic workshop – his motivations, his interests that led to the formation of a studio and workshop within the confines of the convent and monastery. He had been traveling to Europe, and was taught the skill and the trade by people in Europe and in Constantinople. He befriends Abdullah Frères, and acquires this knowledge. Then he starts the workshop, and you see this transfer of photographic skill to the next generation.

Like Armen Marsoobian, Malikian had been aware of his family's own photographs growing up – images taken in studios in Jerusalem and Haifa in the early 20th century. His mother's family was from Haifa, and at the time of the Genocide, his father's family escaped deportation from Urfa, just north of today's Syrian border. After reaching Aleppo, they made the decision to move to Palestine, where the British Mandate had established a colonial administration. Years later, after he began combining research of his family history with the broader history of the Armenians in the Ottoman Empire, he would realise his own family had a connection to the first, and one of the most successful, professional photography studios in Jerusalem – the studio of Garabed Krikorian, a student of Garabedian.

– Garabed Krikorian's story unfolds as a result of the patriarch. He was a priest, a deacon, and he ends up leaving the convent because he met a novice and fell in love. He was an extremely ambitious man, and had a lot of courage. But it was also a period of the Arab renaissance, and perhaps he capitalised on that, which led to his success as well. Then he transfers his skills to other people – Khalil Ra'ad, Abraham Guiragossian, who was an apprentice who eventually goes off to Beirut and takes over the Bonfils studio.

The Krikorian family studio was established in the mid-1870s on Jaffa Road, a main thoroughfare for the Jerusalem's "new city", outside the fortifications of the Old City. By the turn of the century, business was booming for photographers on Jaffa Road, who catered to locals as well as increasing numbers of tourists eager for souvenir photos, postcards, and scenic views. A stereoview in Malikian's collection, produced by Underwood & Underwood, shows a crowd of suited men milling around outside the Krikorian studio. Its title? "Bargaining for a photograph – Jeruslaem."

Daoud Abdo Studio, Studio portrait, Jerusalem, 1929. Pictured: Joseph Malikian's maternal grandparents, Khatchig and Yeranouhi (Zarzavadjian) Tashdjian (center), with her sisters and Malikian's mother, Adrine Tashdjian Malikian. The Malikian Collection.

Underwood & Underwood, Garabed Krikorian & Mitry Studio. 'Bargaining for a photograph', Stereoview, c.1900. The Malikian Collection.

By the time Malikian's family members were sitting for photographs made by the Krikorians, Garabed's son Johannes had taken over the family business. "These two men first met around 1920 – Johannes Krikorian started to take photographs of my family," he explained. "There were a number of Krikorian images of my grandparent's wedding, and thereafter my mother. My grandfather kept going back to the studio."

Why does Malikian think that his family members kept returning to have the photographs taken?

– I think there's only one surviving family photograph from before the Genocide. And I think my grandfather's motivation was probably to document, for posterity, what was lost. In part, I'm looking at all of the images in the family collection that way – it's documenting and recording to make sure that what was done previously will not be extinguished. It will be there for the future.

Now, almost a century later, Malikian is rekindling his family's connection with the surviving members of the Krikorian family and writing a book about the work of the studio. The parallels between his own family's story are evident: two Armenian families in Palestine, who were uprooted during the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948, and the Arab-Israeli War of 1967. "It's also a story about a Palestinian family," he said. "It's a story about their lives in Palestine and the demise of the studio, and how they were dispersed after '48 and '67."

Malikian's own personal story began in Lebanon, where he was born. As the British colonial authorities began to pull out of Palestine at the end of 1947, and war broke out between the Arab and Jewish populations, his family fled to Lebanon, expecting,

Krikorian and Saboungi Studio, [Dragoman], Cabinet Card, c. 1895. The Malikian Collection.

as many Palestinian Arabs did, to return within a matter of weeks. Though they were able to return within the year, the hotel and restaurant business they had run were completely disrupted. The Malikian family returned to Lebanon, but would eventually settle in America as political crises of the late 1950s later gave way to the Lebanese Civil War. Malikian, a clinical psychologist, felt the need to understand what had happened to his family, and others like them.

– With the early generations, the theme was survival. There's no time to really lick your wounds and to analyse. When I think about that older generation, I'm impressed by how they conducted their lives, how they were resilient. That became the focus, but I think for me, I started to wonder about a lot of things – how do you get through all these traumatic events, and not be scarred? I had to understand that, because I could see the scars there right in front of me, and their impact on me. Then I make this discovery about Armenian photography, and about seven years ago, I began to collect images.

Armenian photographers make up the bulk of the work within the collection, from well-known, early practitioners in Constantinople, through to multi-generational studios that succeeded in 20th century Damascus and Cairo. In the curated exhibitions he has made available online, Malikian also illuminates broader photography history that was happening alongside, and sometimes in conjunction with, Armenian studios around the Middle East.

– The collection has several thousand images. There are different components to it – it's devoted to the history of Armenian studios, the works of the Armenian studios and Armenian photographers. That spans the Middle East, the Ottoman period, and then because of the migrations, there are some studios that I looked at in France. But at the same time, I was fascinated with western photographers, in some ways, to make comparative statements and studies. I have vast collection of Bonfils, and Arnoux, but these are very orientalist images. That's a nice contrast, to say the Sébah and the Abdullah Frères. Maybe it blurs the research on Armenian history, but as a collector, you sometimes go towards what is important and what matters to you.

When I spoke to Malikian over the phone this summer, our conversation revolved around the idea of shared experience – the sharing of family stories, the sharing of research, and the sharing of photographic skills that sparked his interest in collecting wider imagery.

– As a psychologist, I'm fascinated by: who were these people? What motivated them? What's important to me is the person behind the lens – who drove

Haroutiun Derhagopian Studio, Self-portrait of Haroutiun Derhagopian, c.1925.
Courtesy of the Derhagopian Family / The Malikian Collection.

the studio and why, the connections that were made, their place in the community. Badr el-Hage talks about Armenians being bees in the beehive, expanding and expanding. When you start to trace the transfer of photographic skills, it's amazing what it leads to.

This spring, as much of the northeast of America began to go into lockdown, Tsoleen Sarian shared a group portrait of an Armenian family in São Paulo, Brazil to social media. Taken in 1937, two seated, older women anchor the image, surrounded by their family: four young women in embellished dresses, a distinguished gentleman, and a young man, hair impeccably parted, sitting on the floor, his hands clasped on a knee.

Sarian, the Executive Director of Project SAVE, an Armenian photography archive based in Watertown, Massachusetts, has been actively working to share more of their collection on social media. Portraits

and images of family gatherings fill their feeds, depicting Armenian communities from all around the world. Sometimes, the subjects and photographer are known, and other times, the image is more anonymous. But this particular family photograph had an inscription on the verso, written by Garabed A. Kerikian (the man in the centre): "A gift of our family photo to my dear brother's daughter Sievart Alexanian in honor of everlasting love, from São Paulo."

Not long after she shared the image, Sarian received a response.

– I put this [photograph] on Instagram at the beginning of quarantine, and someone commented, "That's my name, and the young guy in the picture is my grandfather!" He's still in Brazil, and the photo donor is the grandson of the niece from New York. I connected them – still today, this family is able to reconnect thanks to this photograph.

Unknown photographer. *Garabed A. Kerikian and Family,* São Paulo, Brazil, 1937.
Project SAVE Armenian Photograph Archives, Courtesy of George Alexanian, Siervart's son.

The idea of global relationships is central to the mission of Project SAVE. Ruth Thomassian founded the archive in 1975 – 60 years after the Armenian Genocide – in an effort to preserve and celebrate the heritage of Armenian people and communities, dispersed throughout the world. Today, estimates put the number of Armenians in the diaspora at 10-11 million – by comparison, Armenia's own population numbers around 3 million.

In the 45 years since Thomassian founded Project SAVE (which stands for Salute Armenian's Valiant Existence), the archive has amassed 45 000 images. The idea was born when Thomassian, working as a costume designer in New York City, was tasked with costuming an Armenian play. She realised the lack of resources available, and has remained dedicated to preserving Armenian heritage through images ever since. For Sarian, who has been with Project SAVE for five years, the archive provides an active space for the sharing and celebration of this heritage.

– For me, these photographs provide testimony for who we are as Armenians. They help with the question of identity, and what it means to be Armenian. We're people that live in almost every country in the world, and we try to think about what is similar, how we connect to our history and our culture through time and place.

Vernacular imagery dominates the Project SAVE archives – images of families on the beach in New England, group photographs of the Armenian Red Cross in Beirut, portraits of young soldiers in Van, Historic Armenia during the final years of the Ottoman Empire.

– A lot of these photographs come from families or private homes, and they are locked in their drawers, attics, or shoeboxes. And when those shoeboxes are tucked away, they are only accessible to maybe one or two people. We ask people for those photographs so that we can make them available. There are other cultural organisations that exist and collect photographs, and they do wonderful work – they are not our competition. Truly our competition is someone opening up that shoebox and saying, 'Oh, this grandma's old friends and family, I don't know who anyone is,' and just tossing it. That's a treasure trove truly just discarded. We need to let people know that we exist, and how we use these photographs, and that's how we will be able to add to this fabric.

The earliest photograph held in the collection is an image from 1860, of the Etchmiadzin Church, the seat of the Armenian Apostolic Church. Project SAVE has countless 'formal' 19th century images in its archive – studio portraits and group photographs. One beautiful example featured in Project SAVE's 2015 calendar: a 1908 graduation portrait of the Seamstress Class Graduation at the National Aramian Trade School, founded in 1903 in Sivas – the same city where the Dildilian family began their studio business. Beneath a sign in Armenian, reading 'Art is the embodiment of beauty', each student wears a tape measure around their neck as they pose waiting for their diplomas. As Sarian explains, any photograph can act as a valuable documentary addition.

– I want to see real people and real life. That is what's tricky with the older portraits – people had the money for very few portraits in their lives, and so they photographed what was most dear to them, in the best possible presentation. There are clues, but it doesn't really show us the work they did, or how many family members lived under one roof, or what they did for recreation. That's what the newer photographs, from the fifties and on, show us – they are more candid, and also show more of an availability of cameras and film.

Harry Gaylord Dorman, M.D., *Refugees at Yeni Mahalle camp,* Adana, 1909. Project SAVE Armenian Photograph Archives.
Courtesy of the family of Harry G. Dorman, M.D., 1876-1943.

When Sarian spoke to *The Classic*, Project SAVE had just launched their first online database: a repository of images acquired by the archive in the 1980s and '90s, from descendants of missionaries, as well as descendants of students in missionary schools and orphans in Near East Relief orphanages. Part of their motivation for sharing this particular selection is grounded in what researchers are interested in: images of Armenian communities before the Genocide.

– What drives us to do more research, honestly, is when people ask us about specific photographs. "Do you have pictures of Van? Do you have pictures of people working as jewellers? Do you have pictures of this village?" And so that prompts us to do the research, to digitise images, and drives our priorities. We are trying to track that – what decades people are asking for, the subjects, the themes they are looking for. That's what drove us to make the missionary collection the first collection that we make public, because people are asking for communities of the Ottoman Empire before the genocide. These images are rare, and I think there is an effort to learn who we are and try and excavate who our family members were who lived in the Ottoman Empire.

This year, in spite of the coronavirus pandemic, Project SAVE has acquired a couple of large collections of photographs, and are working to increase their profile. Sarian is focused on expanding the archive's influence, building on their lecture programmes and working with genealogy groups to broaden their reach.

– The real future of this archive and the meaning of our work is not only to preserve and protect that history, but to share it, celebrate it and amplify it. We tend to do that internally, in commemorations and events, for ourselves. I'm trying to make our stories and images go beyond just our own community.

Further information on works held in The Malikian Collection can be found at: www.malikianphotography.com
Project SAVE's new online collections database, featuring their Missionary Collections, can be explored at: www.projectsave.org/gallery

BY MICHAEL DIEMAR

GOING DUTCH

CLASSIC PHOTOGRAPHY IN THE NETHERLANDS

Ed van der Elsken. *Beethovenstraat, Amsterdam,* 1967. Nederlands Fotomuseum. © Ed van der Elsken.

HANS ROOSEBOOM

© Michael Diemar

MARTIJN VAN DEN BROEK

© Susanne Middelberg

Most European museums and institutions were late in embracing photography. To foreign observers, the Netherlands was it seemed, no exception. Then suddenly, things began to change. In 1993, the Rijksmuseum hired its first photography curators, Mattie Boom and Hans Rooseboom. In 1999, the privately owned Huis Marseille opened its doors in Amsterdam as the country's very first photography museum. In 2001, Foam, (Fotografiemuseum Amsterdam), was established, with an exhibition programme of contemporary and classic photography. In 2002, Fotomuseum Den Haag opened in The Hague. In Rotterdam, Nederlands Fotoarchief, founded in 1982, and Nederlands Fotoinstituut, which opened in 1994, were incorporated into a new museum, Nederlands Fotomuseum, which opened in 2003. 2012 saw the inaugural edition of Unseen, a fair dedicated to contemporary photography, and last year, Dialogue Vintage Photography Amsterdam, a table-top fair devoted classic photography, held its first edition, with altogether 46 dealers from Europe and the US. It has all given photography a very high profile in the Netherlands and done much to promote Dutch photography internationally.
I started out by talking to Hans Rooseboom about photography at the Rijksmuseum.

You and Mattie Boom took up your posts in 1993. A year later, the national collections of photography were gathered at the Rijksmuseum. What were those collections?
– In the mid-1980s, the Dutch State had bought two private collections, those of Bert Hartkamp, an Amsterdam lawyer who started collecting in the 1950s, and Willem Diepraam, a photographer who became interested in the history of his medium in the 1970s. Other collections were added. One was a group of photos made by Eduard Isaac Asser (1809-94), an Amsterdam lawyer who created the very first substantial Dutch body of work, some 200 photographs made between 1842 and 1860, donated by his heirs to the Dutch State in 1993. Another important group were photographs by Willem Witsen (1860-1923), a painter-etcher who took up photography as an amateur around 1890. In 1994, all these collections were transferred to the Rijksmuseum as a permanent loan. The natural starting point for us was to complement these new holdings.

In those early years, what exhibitions did you present?
– The first major exhibition we put on was *A New Art. Photography in the 19th Century* in 1996, with a catalogue edited by the two of us. It was the first time we really presented ourselves to the world. It included some of the first acquisitions we had made since 1994 but it relied heavily on the Hartkamp and Diepraam collections. Then Mattie did a show and book on Asser in 1998. In 2001, we showed a selection from Manfred Heiting's collection before it was sold to Houston, *Portraits & Still Lifes*, 2001, with a catalogue. We also did a show on colonial photography in 2002, *Verre landen*, no catalogue. *Verre Landen* included quite a few loans from other Dutch institutions. It stressed both the rich imagery itself and the presence of this kind of material in Dutch collections. Beyond that, it showed our interest in how photographs have been used for particular goals and has served particular agendas, in this case, a colonial one.

How does your remit differ from that of the Nederlands Fotomuseum?
– The main difference is that the Nederlands Fotomuseum focuses on postwar Dutch documentary photography. The Rijksmuseum tries to collect the whole history of photography, from the beginnings to the present, Dutch and non-Dutch. It is an impossible task but challenging and fun. We are often offered Dutch photography and it's relatively well represented in our collections; Asser, Witsen, George Hendrik Breitner, Ed van der Elsken,

Theo and Nelly van Doesburg. *Double Self-Portrait, Weimar.* Gelatin silver print, 1921. Page from an album compiled by Nelly van Doesburg. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.

Theo van Doesburg was the instigator of the highly influential art, architecture and design movement De Stijl and also published a magazine by the same name. The movement was founded in 1917 in Leiden and counted Piet Mondrian, Bart van der Leck, Gerrit Rietveld and Jacobus Oud among its members. While visiting the Bauhaus School in Weimar, Theo van Doesburg organised *The Constructivist and Dadaist Congress,* where Nelly played a composition of her own, *The March of The Ants and The Elephants.*

Gerard Fieret, Sanne Sannes, Willem Diepraam, Erwin Olaf, Vincent Mentzel. There have never been any real borders in photography. Exchange of information and personal contacts have never been limited by national borders so we don't limit our collection aims. So we collect internationally. We are interested in good photographs and in the ways photography "worked", influenced knowledge, found its way, was used and abused.

How do the Dutch institutions avoid getting in each other's way?

– There is always the chance of overlap with what might interest the Nederlands Fotomuseum or the Stedelijk Museum, which has an international collection as well. So we keep in touch. Nederlands Fotogenootschap, NFg, the Dutch Photo Society, was founded in 1991 to unite all Dutch institutions that have photography collections, to stimulate cooperation and exchange of information. The NFg was instrumental in having the Dutch State pay more attention to photography as part of our cultural heritage. This also helped create funds to restore important groups of photographs.

It seemed that the Dutch photography scene just suddenly exploded?

– Indeed, we have now four museums exclusively devoted to photography: the Nederlands Fotomuseum, the Fotomuseum Den Haag, Foam, and Huis Marseille. It is no coincidence they were all founded around 2000. When Hein Wertheimer died in 1997, he left a fortune, around 10 million euros, to be spent on creating and maintaining a

photo museum. No one in the photography world knew him or about his plans. As his will was a bit vague on certain points and very strict on others, it was unclear at first how to deal with his intentions. A struggle between Amsterdam and Rotterdam followed to "win" the money. In the end, the Prins Bernhard Cultuurfonds, Prince Bernhard Culture Fund, who inherited Wertheimer's fortune, decided to support the Nederlands Fotomuseum. Before all this happened, photography had already been embraced by Dutch museums and other institutions. In 1953, Leiden University's Print Room acquired the private collection of Auguste Grégoire (1888-1971), consisting of some 6,000 historical photographs. Professor Henri van de Waal (1910-72), although specialising in old prints, realised the importance of photography as a medium worthy of being collected next to prints and drawings. In 1958, the Stedelijk Museum started collecting photography, even if that really took off only in the 1970s. Other museums and institutions followed. In the 1970s, photographers themselves started pushing as well, by trying to create facilities to accomodate archives left by important photographers after they had died or retired. Around 1980, this endeavor led to the creation of two institutions that aimed at managing photographic legacies: the Maria Austria Instituut (1979, Amsterdam, named after a photographer who died in 1975) and the Nederlands Fotoarchief in 1982, NFa, Dutch Photo Archive, Rotterdam, now part of the Nederlands Fotomuseum.

With the national collections in place, what did you set out to collect?

– At first we only collected 19th-century photographs, as there was an unwritten and unofficial agreement with the Stedelijk Museum, which had a fine collection of 20th-century photography. In the early 2000s we decided to go a bit further, as the Stedelijk's collection actually started with the 1920s and they had been concentrating on modern and contemporary photography for a long time. For instance, we bought some Charles Jones photographs from Sean Sexton just before the book *The Plant Kingdoms* came out, as well a fine copy of Germaine Krull's *Métal*. Then in 2003 the museum closed for a 5-year renovation. In the end, the renovation took ten years, so the museum only re-opened

Eduard Isaac Asser. *Portrait of a Girl*. Salted paper print, c. 1854-55. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.

Asser was one of the earliest practitioners of photography in the Netherlands. Two hundred of his photographs have been preserved, among them the earliest images of Amsterdam. His first album bore the title, *Fastes & Nesastes de la Photographie. Vie Historique & Philosophique d'un Photographe par lui-même*. (Success and Failures of Photography. The Historical and Philiosophical Life of a Photographer by Himself.)

George Hendrik Breitner. *Marie Jordan, Nude, Bathing.* Gelatin printing-out paper, circa 1889. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.

George Hendrik Breitner was a painter who took up photography as a pastime around 1890. He took a series of studio portraits of his fiancée Marie Jordan, posed naked bathing and on a bed. Taking his cue from Rembrandt and Vermeer, he was as Mattie Boom has noted, interested in the lighting effects and did not attempt to psychologise the image.

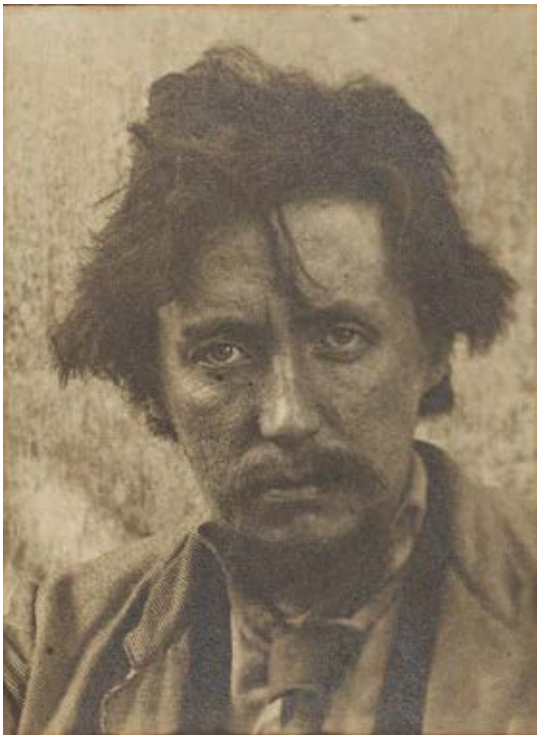
in 2013. Having to build a collection of 20th-century photography, Mattie and I were probably the only ones who benefitted from that delay. It frustrated everyone else, as can be seen in Oeke Hoogendijk's documentary *The New Rijksmuseum*. It was made clear that the museum would pay more attention to the 20th century after the re-opening. We assumed that photography would inevitably play a prominent part so we knew we had to start building a collection of 20th-century photographs quickly, especially as photographs can only be shown for three months and then have to be replaced on the walls by others.

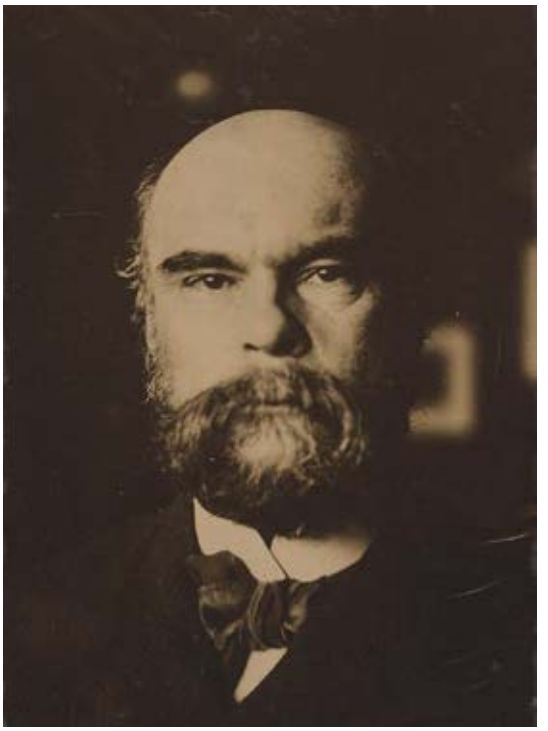
Was that what led to the museum buying the remaining part of Willem Diepraam and Shamanee Kempadoo's collection of 20th-century photography in 2005?
– Yes, Diepraam's first collection had been split after the Dutch State had bought it in the mid-1980s. The 19th-century part was transferred to us, the 20th-century part to the Stedelijk Museum. When you have to gather a large "stock" to draw upon, it's best to buy an existing collection instead of starting from scratch and buy pieces individually and thus slowly. Diepraam has a good eye, so his collection contained a lot of important photographs, by Moholy-Nagy, Kertész, Edward Weston, and others. In 2008 we bought his extensive library as well. I joked with him that next time we would probably buy his furniture! Diepraam and Kempadoo's collection of some 600 photographs are the cornerstone of our current collection of 20th-century photography.

Have there been other purchases like it?
– A very important acquisition was Steven F. Joseph's collection of 19th-century photographically illustrated books, which must be one of the biggest in the world. It contains all kinds of books, from poetry and biographies to scientific treatises and travel accounts. Many of them were completely unknown to the photography world and they contain stunning photographs. We drew from it extensively in our 2017 exhibition and book *New Realities. Photography in the 19th Century*. Comparing that book to *A New Art*, which features photographs from the same age, you will see how our focus has changed since 1996. We now pay much more attention to unknown and unusual images and applications: archeology, how-to manuals, skin diseases, advertising, identification portraits, science. As long as these pictures are visually strong and show how photography was being used and applied, we are very much interested. Of course we continued collecting masterpieces by well-known photographers, by Baldus, Le Gray, Marville, Tripe, Fenton, and so on but we like to mix them with lesser-known images that are really good. And it works well. We did the same in *Modern Times*, our 2014 show and book on 20th-century photography. Having started relatively late and having pockets that are not as deep as those of some other museums, you have to be different and dare to follow a different path. Without neglecting the acknowledged and canonized photographers, there is still a lot to be discovered. In the end, it is only the image itself that counts, not the maker's reputation. Leaving the beaten tracks means more adventure, new insights, and surprising imagery.

Have you received many donations of prints from private collectors, even photographers' archives?
– Yes, we have. In 2000, we founded the Paul Huf Fund, named after the Dutch photographer (1924-2002), in honour of all he did to promote the interest in Dutch photography. Some people put money in this acquisition fund. Manfred Heiting was one of the members. By then, he had already donated some fine photographs to the museum and then created the Manfred and Hanna Heiting Fund that enabled us to invite young scholars to do research on a certain topic. The results of these scholarly projects were published in the series *Rijksmuseum Studies in Photography*, 21 volumes 2007-2019. After selling us his collection of books in 2001, Steven Joseph has continued to donate items. When we were preparing the *New Realities* exhibition, I remembered seeing a fascinating advertising photograph at his place, from 1897 featuring an X-ray photograph. But we could only include it if it were in our collection, so I took a gamble. Knowing how sensitive some private collectors can be when asked if they are willing to sell an item from their collection – some take it as a suggestion that you think they were almost dead and buried – I very carefully phrased an email, asking if he might be willing to consider selling it to us. I waited a bit nervously for his answer. It came an hour later and ominously said 'no'. He added, however, 'I won't *sell* it to you, I will *donate* it'. That was both a relief and a joy, it's such a great picture. I had only once spotted another copy, at Swann Galleries in New York. Many other donors could be named, including a collector who wishes to remain anonymous and donated both his collection of modern seascapes , exhibited in the photography gallery in 2017, and the money to buy a fine print of one of Gustave Le Gray's seascapes.

You also have an important collection of Ed van der Elsken prints.
– We ran into Jan and Trish de Bont at Paris Photo a few years ago and they asked if we had seen a beautiful self-portrait by Ed van der Elsken of his then-wife Ata Kando in Paris? We had. On the spot they offered to pay half the cost. They also donated their own van der Elsken prints and they support our photography conservation department. BakerMcKenzie has enabled us to build a collection of 20th century, especially American photography. This will result in a large show in 2025. One of many great pictures we bought with their help is *Light Drawing* by Herbert Matter from 1943. A private couple, Adriaan and Glenda Nühn, created a fund that enables us to buy modern photographs featuring important humanist themes, by Henk Wildschut and others. The Cordia family has also made it possible for us to buy a series of photographs by Viviane Sassen and partly





Willem Witsen. *Portrait of Lise Jordan*.
Gelatin printing-out paper, circa 1890-1895.

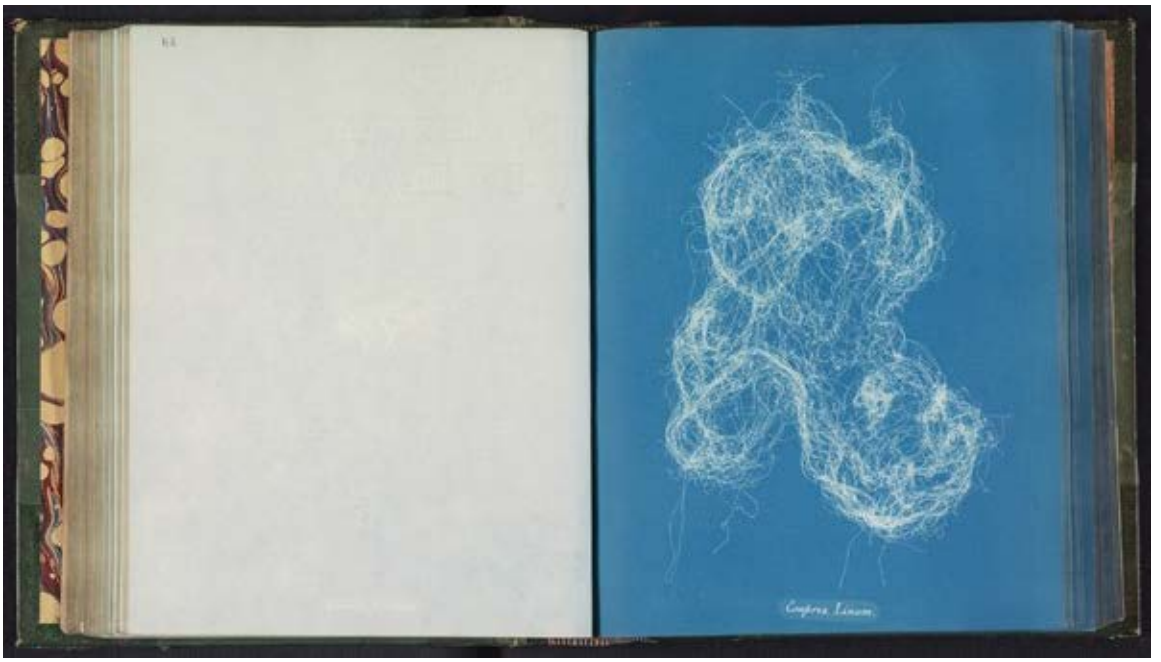
Willem Witsen. *Self-Portrait*.
Collodion printing-out paper, circa 1892.

Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.

Willem Witsen. *Portrait of the Poet Willem Koos.*
Gelatin silver print, 1894.

Willem Witsen. *Portrait of the Poet Paul Verlaine*,
Amsterdam. Gelatin printing-out paper, 1892.

Willem Witsen, a painter-etcher, took up photography as an amateur around 1890. He used the camera almost exclusively to portray himself and his friends and unusually for the time, photographing at close range. As Mattie Boom has noted, "Witsen was not interested in two-dimensional likeness, but in a characterisation of a person in a given moment in time."



Anna Atkins. *Conferva Linum*, from *Photographs of British Algae*. Cyanotype impressions, circa 1843-1853.
Purchased with the support of the BankGiro Lottery, the Familie W. Cordia/Rijksmuseum Fonds and the Paul Huf Fonds/Rijksmuseum Fonds. Amsterdam Rijksmuseum.

funding the acquisition of a copy of Anna Atkins's book on British algae. Upon turning 60, Erwin Olaf gave us the core collection of his oeuvre, realising that in the Rijksmuseum he will be part of the long visual tradition of Dutch art.

Is that one of the advantages the Rijksmuseum has?
– Yes, because the photography collection is part of a bigger whole. Entering the field late, in some cases you are simply too late to buy at reasonable prices; you can then only hope someone else, who bought early, will donate it to you because they like it to be part of your collection and institute and because they like what you yourself have bought. That was why ballet choreographer Hans van Manen and his partner Henk van Dijk gave us the Robert Mapplethorpe photographs they had bought around 1980 from Rob Jurka in Amsterdam, who was the first gallerist in Europe to show Mapplethorpe. We already had a portrait of Patti Smith and now we have a much bigger group of his photographs, including some portraits Mapplethorpe made of Amsterdam people when he was in town himself. Following their example, another early collector of Mapplethorpe prints, Arendt Brinks, decided to sell two of his prints and donate some 30 others to us.

John Hall-Edwards. *Advert for the Non-Collapsible Tyre. Co. Ltd, Birmingham, with X-ray*. 1897. Gift of Steven F. Joseph, Brussels. Amsterdam, Rijksmusem.

Rijkmuseum entered the game when prices had risen considerably for the big international names. How have you dealt with this?
– If we had started earlier and witnessed that prices rose quicker than our budgets, it might have been frustrating to see our buying possibilities disappear. We entered the market when prices were already steep. But we quickly realized that not every good photograph was necessarily very costly. Even now you can still buy photographs for reasonable and modest prices. It all depends on your taste and preferences. Of course, if you only want the best pictures by Gustave Le Gray, Man Ray, and other expensive artists, you will need a lot of money. If you are willing to look elsewhere for different things and if you dare to rely on your own eyes instead of following the list of names that are mentioned in every book, you will come up with spectacular and fresh images that you would otherwise miss.

What are the museum's most important holdings of Dutch photography?
– Apart from Asser, who was the first Dutchman to leave more than a handful of photographs, the most interesting Dutch photographer is George Hendrik Breitner (1857-1923), a painter who took up photography as a pastime around 1890 and endlessly walked the Amsterdam streets. Technically his pictures are far from perfect, but his snapshots catch the mood much better, more directly, more lively, than any Pictorialist photograph. They only surfaced some 35 years after he died and I think that was a good thing as his faulty technique and snapshot aesthetic wouldn't have been appreciated around the time he died. They might easily have been thrown away! Some of his photographs were in the *Snapshot. Painters and Photography 1888-1915* show and book that Elizabeth Easton made and that toured the Indianapolis Museum of Art, the Phillips Collection in Washington, DC, and the Van Gogh Museum in Amsterdam in 2011-12. It was clear that he held his ground among Pierre Bonnard, Maurice Denis, Edouard Vuillard and other more famous painters who used a camera around the same time.

Early Dutch photography is far less known than French and British. Are there early names that are particularly close to your heart?
– Eduard Isaac Asser made some very moving and intimate portraits, but to be honest, 19th-century Dutch photography is not that spectacular if you compare it with Fenton, Marville, Le Gray, Tripe and so on. It really took off only in the 1920s, I think, with Piet Zwart and Paul Schuitema.

Dutch dealers and collectors have told me that Dutch photography is undervalued in the international market. Is there still material to buy?
– Luckily, most really important oeuvres are already well represented in public Dutch collections. Almost every George Hendrik Breitner photograph is in public collections. The Asser family donated everything they had and most of Willem Witsen's photographs are secured. Witsen's grandson, Jenno Witsen, now in his nineties, had a large collection of his photographs and just last week, agreed to donate all of them to the Rijksmuseum. Even if Sanne Sannes and Gerard Fieret are getting popular abroad, the bigger part is safe in the Nederlands Fotomuseum, Rijksmuseum and Kunstmuseum, formerly known as the Gemeentemuseum Den Haag. Piet Zwart and Paul Schuitema, designers from the 1920s and 1930s who included photographs in their work and who introduced straight photography in the Netherlands, have been in the Kunstmuseum's collections since the 1970s, thanks to Kees Broos and Flip Bool. Even if the Dutch are not well-known abroad, they have produced as many great photographs as their foreign colleagues and there is a lot to be discovered. And let's not forget modern and contemporary photography. Besides Viviane Sassen, Rineke Dijkstra, Erwin Olaf and Anton Corbijn, there is a lively photography community that can easily stand the comparison with every other one. And they produce great photo books as well.

Has much important Dutch photography slipped out of the country?
– Most photographers will produce such a large body of work that I have no problem if part of it is sold abroad. After all, we buy a lot of non-Dutch photographs. But of course you would not like to see the best pieces leave the country. In 2007, we were offered to take a look at a large group of photographs made by Sanne Sannes, who died in a car crash in 1967, aged 30. His brother, who was not in the photography world, kept the archive at his house. Having reached a certain age he naturally wondered what he should do in order to keep his brother's work safe and 'alive'. He was willing to sell and there was interest from abroad, but luckily he gave us first refusal. With the support of the Rembrandt Society we were able to buy an important dummy and other items, plus some loose prints. We had made an inventory of what

Sanne Sannes, From the dummy for *Dagboek van een Erotomaan* (*Diary of an Erotomaniac*). Gelatin silver print, circa 1964-1967. Purchased with the support of the Vereniging Rembrandt and the Titus Cirkel. © Sanne Sannes, Courtesy Kahmann Gallery. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.

Sanne Sannes was one of the angry young men of Dutch photography in the 1960s. With his experimental style and audacious sensual choice of subject matter, he broke with the photographic establishment of the time. Blurring, double printing, scratching and using playful combinations of various images were all part of his repertoire.

Ed van der Elsken. *Self-portrait with Ata Kandó before the Mirror, Paris*. Gelatin silver print, 1952. Purchased with the support of Jan & Trish de Bont and the Paul Huf Fonds/Rijksmuseum Fonds. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.

Ed van der Elsken met fellow photographer Ata Kandó in Paris in 1950. She was 12 years his senior, with three children. They were married in 1954. Sometimes referred to as "The Enfant Terrible of Dutch photography", he is also regarded as one the Netherlands' most important photographers.

was in public Dutch collections, but it turned out not to be too impressive. So we had to act. Sannes is as good as his foreign counterparts and simply too few of his best photos were in public collections. Unfortunately there are not too many Dutch museums that can afford to 'strike' in a situation like this.

You mentioned the Rijksmuseum's acquisition of Anna Atkins's *Photographs of British Algae*.

– Our most expensive acquisition to date, bought from a private New York collector in 2016. I had avidly been collecting cyanotypes since the late 1990s and we dreamt of acquiring a good copy of the very first photo book, made by the very first woman photographer. Atkins's book contains photographs that simply blow your mind. A good copy surfaces maybe once every ten years, so we would need patience, luck and money if the opportunity occurred. I remember sitting in the Paris Tuileries during lunchtime, when a well-known New York dealer specialising in old British and French photographs gave me a call. After seeing this copy and doing some proper homework, the museum was able and willing to pay the final price. A private family, Cordia, the Paul Huf Fund and the BankGiro Loterij made this possible. It may be our most popular and best-loved photography item.

Do you now have permanent spaces for photography exhibitions?

– Yes, we do. After the main building was renovated, the Philips Wing was turned into the exhibition wing. Our acquisitions have to a large part been made possible by our sponsor BakerMcKenzie and various private donors so we knew we simply *had* to have the possibility of always showing photographs. Otherwise that source would inevitably dry up. That is why the BakerMcKenzie Photo Gallery was opened in 2014 and enlarged a couple of years later. The upper floor of that exhibition wing is for all temporary exhibitions. As the Rijksmuseum covers many fields – from

silverware to paintings, from sculpture to photography, from Dutch history to Asian art – the competition is fierce. We were the first to use those renovated space with *Modern Times* in 2014, then did *New Realities* in 2017. We are now preparing a large show on American photography, scheduled for 2025.

Later on, I spoke to Martijn van den Broek, Head of Collections at Nederlands Fotomuseum.

As I understand it, Nederlands Fotomuseum partly grew out grew out of Nederlands Fotoarchief?
– Yes, Nederlands Fotomuseum was founded in 2003. Ten years earlier, three institutions, Nederlands Foto Instituut, Nederlands Fotoarchief and Nederlands Fotorestauratie Atelier had settled in the Witte de Withstraat in the center of Rotterdam. They were effectively an institute, making exhibitions and publications, with a large library, a commercial photography conservation studio and managed a collection of photographers' archives. So it was decided that they should merge into a museum, with multiple exhibitions per year, an educational program, a large collection, conservation studio, library and an acquisition scheme. Nederlands Fotoarchief had been founded in 1989 and was mainly focused on keeping a collection of separate photographers' estates. The idea was actually thought up by the photographers themselves, together with some very dedicated photography specialists. Although photographers usually had ideas about their most valuable prints, the large negative and slide-archives were more problematic to keep for posterity. The negatives and slides are very fragile, especially those where acetate is used as a flexible base layer – which is the case in most commercial film from the second half of the 20th century. Only storage in a special cold storage, in our case 3 degrees Celsius and 33% relative humidity, makes this material survive more than a few decades.

Gerard Fieret. *Nude,* gelatin silver print, circa 1970.
Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum. © Estate of G. P. FIERET c/o Kunstmuseum Den Haag.

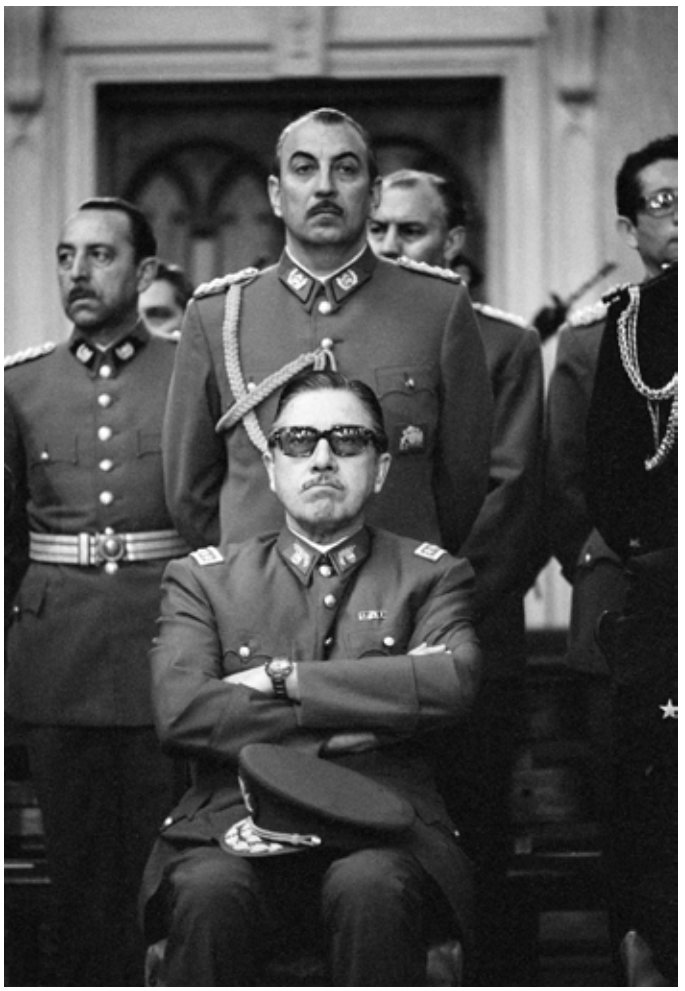
Gerard Fieret. *Self-portrait,* gelatin silver print, circa 1965.
Purchased with the support of the BankGiro Lottery, the Paul Huf Fonds/Rijksmuseum Fonds and the Johan Huizinga Fonds/Rijksmuseum Fonds. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.
© Estate of G. P. Fieret c/o Kunstmuseum Den Haag.

How was the archive funded?
– It was funded by the national government and the city of Rotterdam to take care of the national photographic heritage, which was just getting some attention at that time. It was clear from the start, that only a non-profit foundation would be able to survive for a longer period of time. As a commercial entity or a collective, it would be far more complicated to get government funding. So, contracts were drawn up, whereby the photographers would bring their archives into the collection without payment and at the same time, transfer their copyrights to be kept by the same institute. The institute guarantees preservation in the best possible way. Investments in the collection, concerning conservation, registration and digitisation, will be of benefit to Dutch heritage as well to the individual photographers or their heirs. Whenever income is generated by the use of the archives, the photographers or their heirs get 50% of it. From 2003 onwards, the archive has made new

Gerard Fieret was an eccentric poet, painter and photographer who lived in The Hague. Between 1965 and 1975 he took hundreds of photographs, mainly studies of women. Later, Fieret wandered the streets, fed the pigeons every day and kept his work in the freeezer. His prints are creased and the edges frayed, with the occasional trace of pigeon droppings. He would sign every print and stamp them in the image.

scans for publications and other commercial or cultural use and is in most cases also allowed to make new fiber-based or inkjet prints for exhibitions and sales. These are of course marked as new prints, made by the institute.

How did you and your colleagues set about creating the museum?
– The museum was created at the time when Hein Wertheimer's inheritance was made available. He willed his fortune to be used to fund a museum solely dedicated to photography, with an emphasis on amateur photography, which was a novelty at that time. The three institutions were already close to being a national photography museum following ICOM standards. The city of Rotterdam then generously stepped in and helped us find a fitting location in Wilhelminakade. Before I took up my post at Nederlands Fotomuseum, I used to work at Nederlands



Chas Gerretsen. General Augusto Pinochet and officers after a mass for commemoration of Independence National Day, Santiago, 19 September, 1973.

Fotoarchief. I became Head of Collections in 2008, just as the Dutch government began to make severe budget cuts in the cultural sector. So, reluctantly, I immediately had to make cuts in personnel and I had to work with no acquisition budget. Fortunately, the situation has gotten better since then and we are acquiring work by Dutch photographers again.

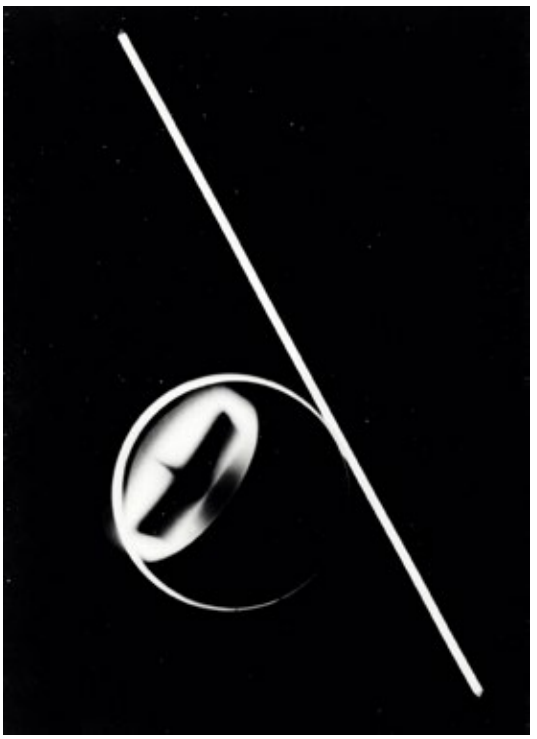
What collections does Nederlands Fotomuseum have?
– The collections mostly consist of photographers' archives. We now have about 170 of them, with a total of around 5.6 million objects. For some years now, we have increasingly focused more and more on prints as well and we now have half a million prints in our collection. Some of them, like the prints by Werner Mantz, Sanne Sannes, Ed van der Elsken and Peter Martens are amongst the best photographs made in the Netherlands. Our main focus is Dutch photography, although we also have a large collection of "world photography" which was part of the collection of the Rotterdam Wereldmuseum. This collection of more than 100 000 objects has some beautiful classic photographs by Edward Curtis, Carleton Watkins, as well as more recent prints by Sebastião Salgado, Graciela Iturbide, Santu Mofokeng, Abbas and Lamia Naji.

How do you collect? Is it mainly through purchases or donations?
– The archives we have are all on permanent loan with a contract. Luckily, we have started an acquisition scheme again. We also started a Collectors Council which is a small group of collectors who support us with their knowledge and funding to acquire work of Dutch photographers. We are also supported by the Mondrian Fund. I should point out that we focus on photographs in their context. We don't collect single images but acquire series on specific subjects or a project of an artist. Quite often photographs are meant to be shown as a series or a book, with one photograph preceding the other and another following the next. It's the story that a photographer wants to tell that interests us most, not only the beauty of the single image. And luckily, we get more and more donations precisely because we focus on the story and have the perfect circumstances to conserve and present photography for a very long time. During the last years, we have also worked hard to get the national government to support us in order to continue our work in cataloguing and digitizing the collections. And we make more and more exhibitions and books with photography from the collection. These can be monographical but also thematic.

You collect archives. Most museums find them problematic as they take up a considerable amount of space and require a lot of work.
– Well, in the last 10 years our acquisition policy has become much stricter. With our small staff, we simply cannot catalogue and digitize all the photographs in our collection. At this point, only about 12% of the collection has been properly catalogued and only about 4% has been digitized. That is clearly not good for the photographers either so we can't keep collecting complete archives as we have done in the past. So with regards to complete archives, we now focus on the most important photographers

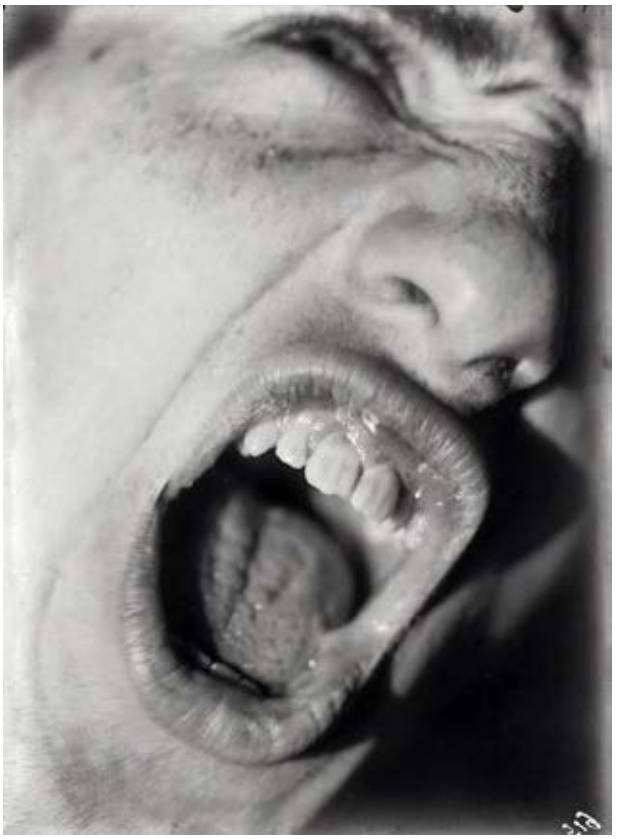
Are there gaps in the collections?
– Yes, inevitably we have some gaps. We are increasingly focusing on inclusiveness in our collections and we miss photography made by the new inhabitants of the Netherlands themselves, coming from Surinam, Indonesia, Morocco, Turkey, China etc. We also have some archives where we lack a small selection of vintage prints. I am happy to say that these gaps are sometimes filled with valuable donations.

Piet Zwart (1885-1977) was a pioneering graphic designer, typographer, photographer and industrial designer, credited with introducing a modernist aesthetic to Dutch photography. In 1930, he was asked to produce a book to teach school children how to use the Dutch postal service. In addition to graphics and photographs by himself, he also asked his friend Dick Elffers to provide illustrations.



Piet Zwart. *Portrait of Piet Zwart in Convex Mirror*, gelatin silver print, 1928-1940.

Piet Zwart. *Photogram*, gelatin silver print, circa 1926-1927.



Piet Zwart. *Dick Elffers*, gelatin silver print, 1930.

Piet Zwart. *Shoes on Painted Wood,* gelatin silver print, 1930.

Unknown photographer. *European manager or plantation owner and Indonesian man among seed trees of the Boelu Tjina tobacco plantation in Sumatra*. Gelatin silver print, circa 1900-1920. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.

Can you tell me about the thinking behind exhibitions you show?

– Making exhibitions isn't our primary goal, but we try to combine the work of all departments of the museum and work together on a specific part of the collection. A good example was the work on we did on the Ed van der Elsken's archive of colour slides, which had been affected by mould. It was a huge project, cleaning around 42 000 separate colour slides. It was made possible by external funding, in part by crowd funding, at a cost of € 5 per slide. It took us two years but not only were all the slides cleaned, they were also better catalogued, plus digitized. So we decided to do an exhibition, with an accompanying book, called *Lust for Life*, where we showed both famous and not so well-known color photographs by Ed van der Elsken. Another project we did was the cataloguing of the complete archive of Cas Oorthuys, again through crowdfunding. Altogether, more than 34 000 contact sheets, with in most cases 12 photographs on each sheet, were catalogued and described in detail. Partly built upon this work, an exhibition with his vintage prints was made, accompanied by a beautiful book designed by the late Xavier Barral.

What's next for the museum?

– We are working on a large retrospective of the work of Johan van der Keuken, photographer, writer and filmmaker, whose photo archive we acquired in 2019. The Dutch photographer Chas Gerretsen, famous for his portrait of General Pinochet in 1973, will get a retrospective exhibition in 2021. In the same year, we will also show an exhibition of photographs of China, made in the 1920s by Ellen Thorbecke, with Ruben Lundgren as our guest curator. And finally, we will also create a *Gallery of Honours*, to show our most important photographs, combined with work from Rijksmuseum and other Dutch institutions.

The process of re-examining the past is being conducted with increased urgency at many museums and institutions on both sides of the Atlantic. The Netherlands is not only a former colonial power. It was also involved in the slave trade. A grassroots movement for cultural change has grown increasingly stronger in the last few years and it has now found an institutional foothold. In March this year, a network of Dutch museums, Musea Bekennen Kleur, (Museums See Colour) was launched, with the aim of advancing diversity and inclusion. Among the 12 museums are Rijksmuseum, Stedelijk Museum and Centraal Museum in Utrecht, which first proposed the initiative.

Next year, Rijksmuseum will present an exhibition called "Slavery" about the Dutch involvement in the trade. Later on, photography would have an important role in the portrayal of the colonies. Early photographs of Indonesia are found in large numbers in Dutch archives and museums. The collections previously held at KITLV in Leiden and Tropenmuseum in Amsterdam have now largely been gathered under the umbrella of the University of Leiden.

Rijksmuseum has a large collection of photographs of Indonesia and also next year, will present a major exhibition called *Revolusi* (Revolution). Hans Rooseboom explains how the idea came about.

– The exhibition covers the 1945-50 period of struggle between the Netherlands and the newly formed Republic of Indonesia. It started with an idea that I pitched to do a large overview of photography from the Dutch East Indies and Indonesia from 1839 till the present. The idea occurred to me when I realized that such a show had never been organized, although there was no lack of photographs or a lack of interest in Indonesia or the colonial past. The only show that came close to it, *Toekang potret*, was held in Rotterdam in 1989, but it only included the collection of the Rotterdam museum of ethnology, and only professional photographers, mainly white ones. It went no further than 1939, that is, until the start of the Second World War, as if nothing important had happened after that, whereas The Netherlands was occupied in 1940, saw the Japanese invasion of the East Indian colonies in 1942, and lost the colony after the war. It was as if there was no Indonesian photography from after the independence. This idea was then changed into a show that is both narrower and broader, focusing just on 1945-50, which was the tipping point, and the show includes not only photography but all kinds of media and objects.

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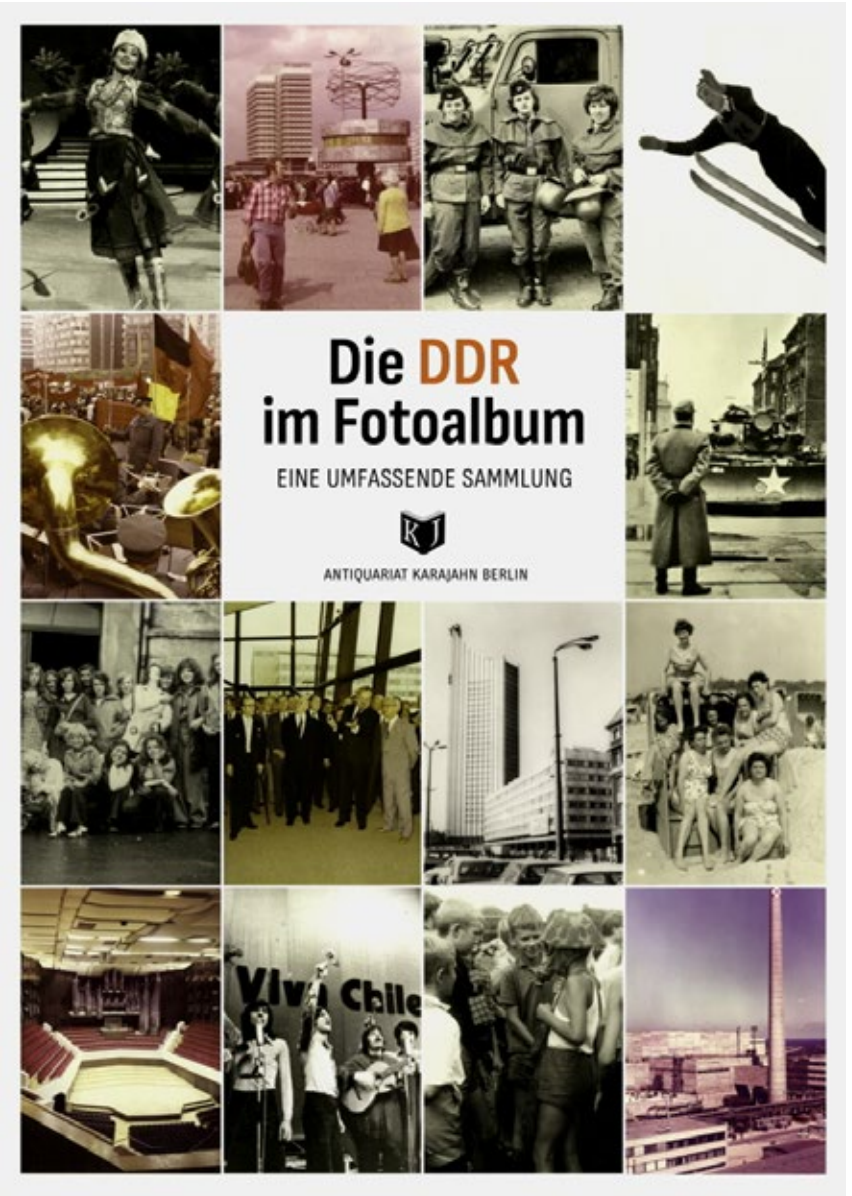

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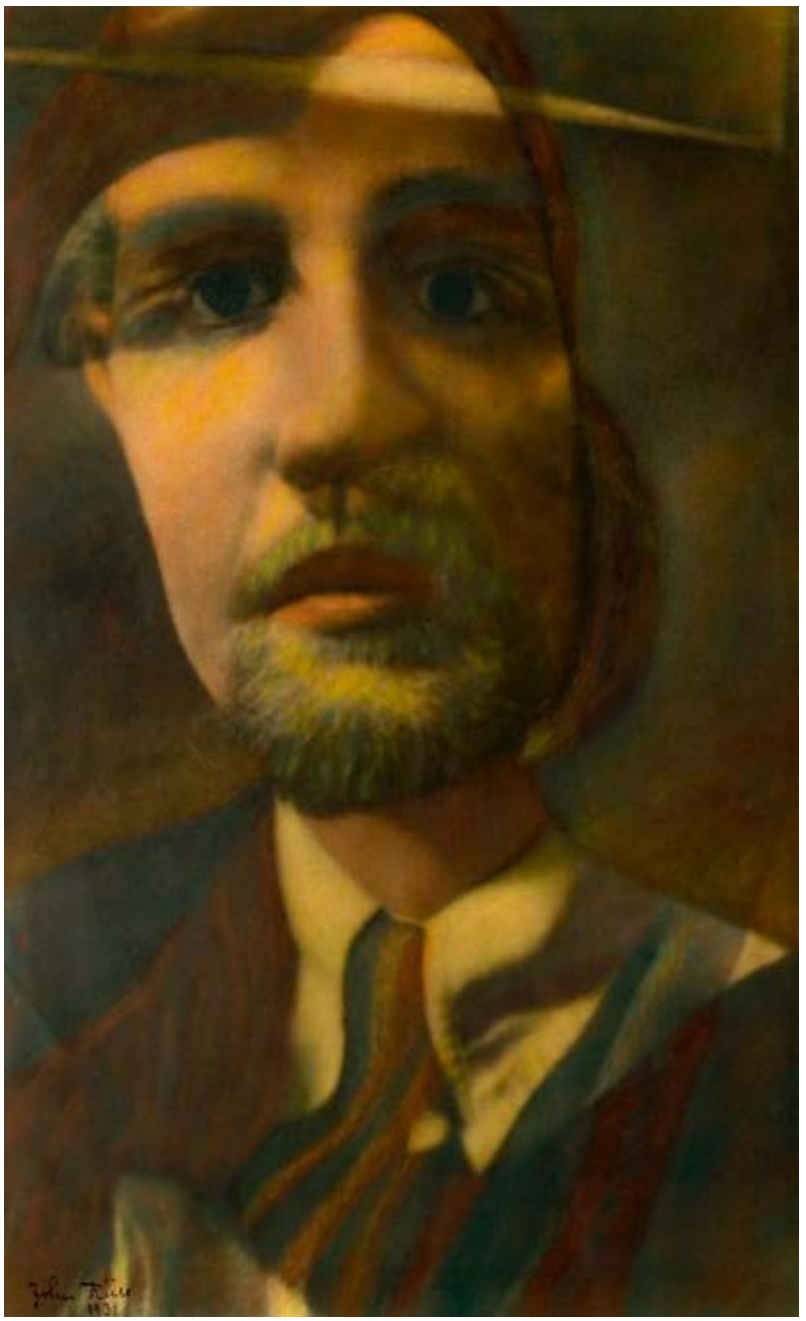
JOHN OLAV RIISE
THE UNKNOWN MASTER

By Michael Diemar



John Olav Riise. *Untitled,* hand-coloured gelatin silver print, 1931.
Courtesy Henie Onstad Art Center.

He referred to it as "my special style". In the mid-1920s, when many photographers were abandoning Pictorialism in favour of Modernism and straight photography, John Olav Riise was just getting started. But while the Norwegian photographer would employ the techniques of Pictorialism, such as combination printing, extensive brushwork and hand-colouring, he would take in a much wider range of influences, including Cubism, Modernism, Neo-classicism and Surrealism, defying all attempts at easy categorisation.

He was out on a limb of his own, which partly explains why he has been almost completely overlooked in surveys of the history of photography. The other reason is I suspect, the lack of material on the international market. Riise is known to have created around 800 images, plus portraits for The Norwegian Theatre and The New Theatre. 200 prints, the largest holding of his photographs, is kept at Henie Onstad Art Center, situated some 10 kilometres southwest of Oslo. The collection came there in a roundabout way says Susanne Østby Sæther, Curator of Photography.

– In 1967, The Norwegian National Academy of Craft and Art Industry in Oslo presented a joint exhibition with Riise and the Swedish documentary photographer K.W. Gullers. There were plans to open a photography gallery within the academy and Riise donated 200 photographs. The plans were later abandoned. In 1980, two years after Riise's death, the prints were transferred to Henie Onstad Art Center. We show small selections of the prints occasionally. The last big exhibition, with 94 prints, was shown here in 2006-07 and the same year, 59 of the prints were shown at Scandinavian House in New York.

Both exhibitions were curated by Eva Klerck Gange, now curator at The National Museum in Oslo. She also wrote the texts for the catalogue but her interest in Riise was sparked way earlier, she explains.

– I first became aware of John Olav Riise in the mid-1980s, through Robert Meyer, professor of photography. He kindly passed on his research on Riise to me and did my Master's Degree on him in 1992. At that time, very few had heard of him in Norway, even fewer internationally. And yet, in the interwar years, he had exhibited extensively in France, the UK, Spain, Hungary, Italy and other countries and received much praise for his work.

John Olav Riise was born in 1885, in Hareid, a small Island outside Ålesund on the Norwegian coast.

– The family were always regarded as being a little different but they were popular and always at the centre of community life. There were 11 children.

The mother died in childbirth in 1896. The father worked as a teacher, with a small farm on the side. The family was very cultured. Everybody played an instrument and or made art and 10 of the 11 children would go through some kind of artistic education, in drawing, painting or music.

Riise studied music before embarking on a career as a photographer.

– He became aware of photography through a series of articles he came across in a catalogue of photographic equipment and acquired his first camera in 1914. He abandoned his music studies in 1915, and as there weren't any photography schools in Norway, he did apprenticeships at two photography studios in Ålesund. The year after, he moved to Kristiania as Oslo was called then, to work for two leading Norwegian photographers, Selmer Marvin Nordland and Ernest Rude.

In 1917 he was on the move again, heading for Copenhagen, initially working for Peter Lars Elfelt, official photographer to the Danish court, and then in 1919 for Petter Fredrik Juncker-Jensen. While in Copenhagen, he also took a course at a professional photographic college. Eva explains.

– It was there that he got to grips with the techniques and processes associated with Pictorialism, including Carbon, Bromoil and Gum Bichromate printing.

In 1922, Riise returned to Kristiana. The photographic community in the city was very active, Eva says.

– In 1921, Kristiania Camera Club was established with the aim of promoting photography as art. Its members included both professionals and amateurs. It was extremely well organised, not least with regards to communicating with camera clubs and associations abroad and informing its members as to where they could send their work for it be included in exhibitions and salons. Riise exhibited extensively abroad but apart from one trip to Paris, he didn't travel to the exhibitions, mainly due to lack of funds. The club also staged several exhibitions in Kristiania, and they included leading international names such as the Czech photographers František Drtikol and Jaromír Funke.

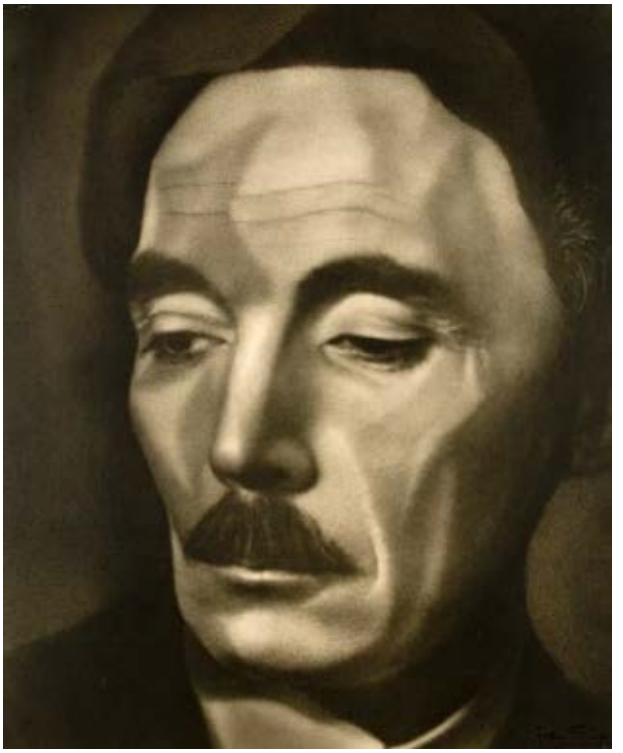
But Riise didn't just take the new tendencies in photography on board.

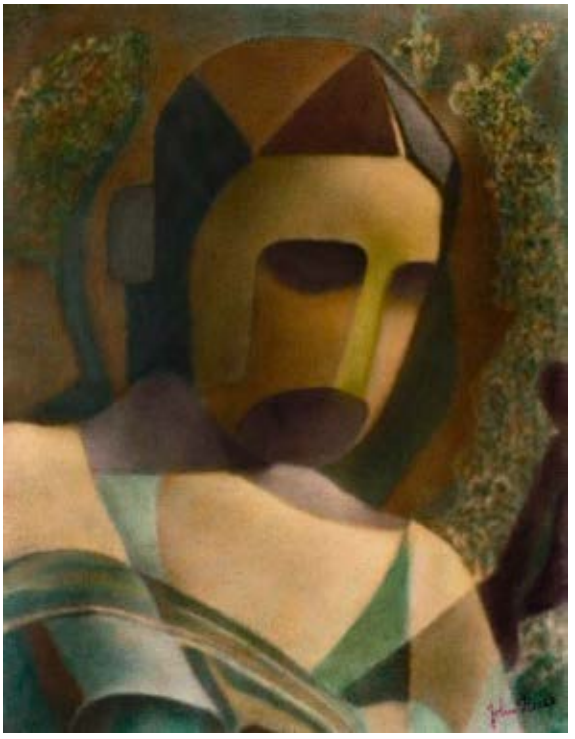
– Kristiania had a rich cultural life, art, music, literature, cabaret and theatre. He met several of his models at the café at Bondeheimen Hotel, including Birgit Prestøe, who also modelled for Edvard Munch. He also made important connections in the theatre world, which led to him setting up a studio at The New Theatre in 1929. It was an experimental theatre, anti-naturalistic, focusing on expressionist and modernist productions.

Among his siblings, Riise was especially close to Hermod, a painter who had studied painting in Copenhagen and later in Paris, under André Lhote, whose Cubist paintings would take on a Neo-Classical tinge during the 1920s.

– André Lhote was very important for a whole generation of Norwegian painters, as many went to study under him. It should be noted that while Norwegian photographers looked to Germany and the UK, the painters all looked to France. And while Riise exhibited at the London Salon, he was very sceptical towards what he regarded as sentimentality in English Pictorialism. So like the painters, he looked to France. Stylistically he was always at odds with the other art photographers in Norway. And it should be noted that when he decided to supplement his education in 1930, he studied, not under a photographer but studied drawing under the painter Leon Aurdal.

John Olav Riise. *Untitled,* gelatin silver print. The image is based on a profile study of Sonja Mjøen made in 1927. According to a newspaper article, this image was executed in 1950.
Courtesy Henie Onstad Art Center.





John Olav Riise. *Untitled (Portrait of a Woman),* gelatin silver print, 1924-1933. Courtesy Henie Onstad Art Center.

John Olav Riise. *Negrisme Femme*, hand-coloured gelatin silver print, 1925. Private collection.

John Olav Riise. *Untitled (Portrait of editor Lyshol),* gelatin silver print, circa 1930. Courtesy Henie Onstad Art Center.

John Olav Riise. *Fru Magne Flem*, hand-coloured gelatin silver print, 1927/1957. Private collection.

Riise's "special style" was complex. While many photographers during the interwar years would adopt different styles, some with the ease of changing a shirt, Riise was very, very different. I put it to Eva that he wove influences from Modernism, Cubism, Neo-Classicism, Surrealism and perhaps from Edvard Munch, such as the rounded shapes, into something that was already there, his being and his way of experiencing the world and existence.

– I think that's true. Riise was profoundly religious. The Madonna figure appears in several of his early images. In 1931, he disassociated himself from the Norwegian State Church and became an Adventist. He stated that the main thing he wanted to avoid was Naturalism, the reason being that it couldn't provide an image of God, and for him, this extended into expressing the human psyche and emotions. He needed a freer way to express these. He said of one of his portraits, that he wanted to create new forms to find the "the inner person".

So how did he create his images?

– Riise worked with glass negatives and a large format camera. He retouched directly on the glass. He would then place negatives on top of each other, creating a master negative. And that's why there are sometimes several versions of an image, as he would print the stages in the process. After printing, he would add colour. Initially, it was mainly pastel and gradually he introduced oil paint. He would often mix both, first applying pastel, then oil. The colours are very close to those painters used in the interwar years.

Riise received praise and accolades abroad but this was rarely reported in his home country. If it was reported, he drew criticism for exactly the same stylistic traits that he had been praised for abroad. As the 1930s progressed, Riise would exhibit less and less internationally, says Eva.

– In 1933, he moved back to the island. He became ill, he had very little money and then the war came.

In the 1950s, he started making abstracted landscapes.

– The images can best be described as "lyrical abstraction", in how they relate to nature and psychology. The images bear some semblance to what was going on in Norwegian painting at the time but they're also different from it. For instance, he used typical photographic effects when he animated an image with his own shadow. The work was also inspired by psychology and music. The main technical difference from his earlier work is that there are more layers in the images, and a higher level of abstraction.

Riise's photography practice ended abruptly in 1968.

– His house burnt down and with it all the negatives, his cameras and all the documentation he had kept over the years. Luckily, most of the prints were rescued. He bought no more photographic equipment. Instead, he focused on painting and was active right up until he died in 1978, at the age of 93.

John Olav Riise. *Untitled (Landscape),* hand-coloured gelatin silver print, 1957. Courtesy Henie Onstad Art Center.

In the last few years, there has emerged a market of sorts for Riise's photographs. The descendants of one of Riise's two main heirs have made a selection of works available through Blomqvist, an art gallery and auction house in Oslo. In 2018, Blomqvist presented an exhibition of Riise's photographs, curated by in-house art specialist Birgitte Christin Schiøth.

– Half the works were for sale, the other half on loan. Prices ranged from 20 000 NOK and upwards, towards 100 000 NOK. We do have a number of works by him in our inventory. We also get consignments to our auctions from time to time but not that often. John Olav Riise's work is rare which makes it that much more special for collectors.

TRUDE FLEISCHMANN
THE WORLD OF YESTERDAY

By Anna Zimm

Trude Fleischmann's photographs from the 1920s and '30s almost form a catalogue, a "Who's who" of Viennese culture during the period. There are portraits of Adolf Loos, Oskar Kokoschka, Max Reinhardt and Stefan Zweig, as well as figure studies of the city's famous dancers, Tilly Losch, Else Wiesenthal, Mila Cirul, Ruth Maria Saliger and the gymnastics teacher Hanne Wassermann.

Trude Fleischmann. *Sibylle Binder, Vienna*, gelatin silver print, circa 1925.

The photographs carry the nostalgia of a bygone era, of what Zweig called "The World of Yesterday". And like Zweig, who left Austria 1934 with the onset of Nazism, she too would leave her home country, after the *Anschluss*, the German annexation of Austria in 1938.

Trude Fleischmann (1895-1990) was undoubtedly one of the most innovative studio photographers between the world wars. Outside Austria, however, her name remains unknown outside a small circle of collectors. Her reputation is founded on the masterful elegance of her nude portraits, movement and dance studies, which, together with her commissioned portrait photography, constitute the biggest body of her work. Their reduced aesthetic and their focus on essential humanity make her photographs timeless.

Fleischmann was among the young, Jewish female photographers in Vienna who opened up their own studios after the First World War, at a time when the profession was male dominated. Prior, between 1913 and 1916, she had completed her studies at the *Graphischen Lehr- und Versuchsanstalt*, a college for visual communications in Vienna. After a short apprenticeship at Madame d'Ora's studio, she continued her education at the studio of Herrmann Schieberth. In the early 1920s Fleischmann opened her own studio in Ebendorferstraße 33, just behind Vienna's city hall on the Ringstraße, Vienna's most beautiful boulevard.

Her expressive and confident studio portraits soon established her studio as a meeting point for Vienna's cultural life. Fleischmann took photographs of well-known theatre actors and actresses, dancers and intellectuals. Her compositions and the overall aesthetic of her work were inspired by the paintings of the Vienna Secession, and more broadly by the artistic photography of the fin de siècle, as well as her former teachers.

Fleischmann's work shows a somewhat diverging aesthetic as well as her versatility as an artist. When looking at her numerous portraits, one cannot help but notice a certain conventionality, an expression of her responsiveness to the taste of her clients. But with her nude portraits, movement and dance studies, Fleischmann gave full reign to the impulses of modernism and *The New Vision*.

Trude Fleischmann. *Ruth Maria Saliger, Vienna*, gelatin silver print, circa 1925.

Trude Fleischmann. *Hanne Wassermann, Vienna*, gelatin silver print, circa 1929.

Trude Fleischmann. *Tilly Losch, Vienna*, gelatin silver print, circa 1925.

She had a unique sense of arranging her models in a way that was sober, sensitive and caring. She never made her female models look like objects but represented them as graceful, self-confident and with a strong awareness of their own bodies. She used light backdrops in the studio in order to achieve strong effects. The reduced silhouettes of the bodies, with their clear contours and the dark framing lines, created a well-rounded and modern composition.

Fleischmann's creativity and artistic process continued in the darkroom and post-production. The formats of the photographs were not bound to the size of the negatives, but were decided on later, by cutting the prints or covering parts of the negatives. For images with a light background, Fleischmann added a dark framing line to the negatives in order to reflect the darkness of the bodies. As opposed to the slightly aloof dance studies, Fleischmann also made close-up portraits. She used different angles, which gave her portraits a softer and more intimate feel and they rank amongst her most beautiful and powerful photographs.

After the *Anschluss*, Fleischmann was forced to leave Austria. She moved to Paris, then to London and finally to New York, where she managed to re-establish herself as a photographer.

For reasons unknown, Fleischmann destroyed most of her negatives before leaving Vienna. The remainder were entrusted to a neighbour but were lost in the turmoil of the war. The solo exhibitions at Galerie Johannes Faber in 1988 and Wien Museum in 2011 brought her name to a wider public and the on-going discovery of unknown prints is gradually shedding new light on her work.

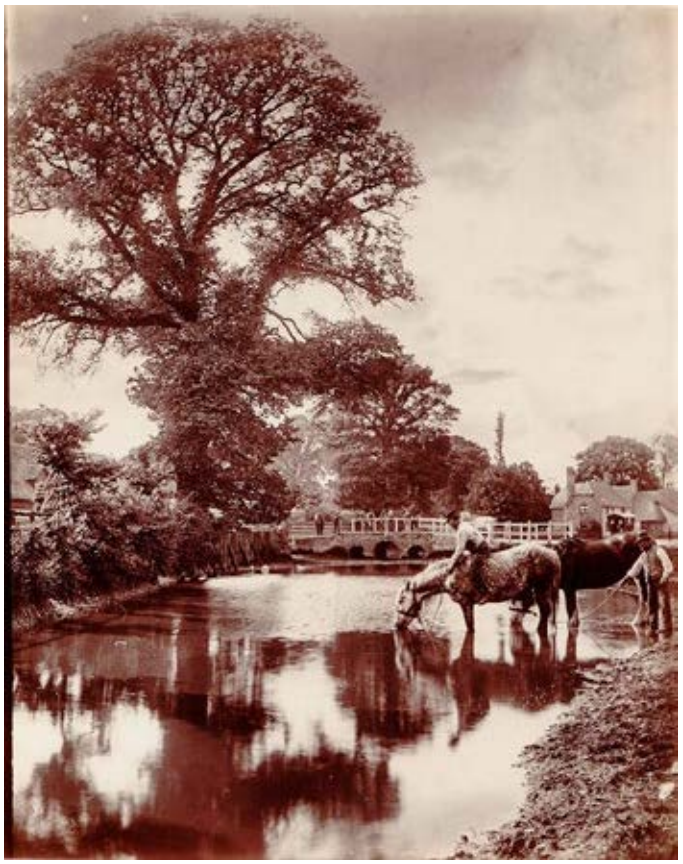
AN AUCTION FIND DOWN UNDER

By Richard Meara

All images courtesy of Richard Meara

Is it not curious how much luck or happenstance plays in the discovery of a gem? Twenty years ago I was in Australia visiting family, and happened to pick up a magazine in a newsagents on the outskirts of Brisbane. It featured a small advertisement for an auction in the State of Victoria which included photographs. On the basis of this slim lead I telephoned and asked to be sent a catalogue, which duly arrived a day or two later. The theme of the auction was "Cameras and Movie Memorabilia", but it also included about twenty lots of photographs. One lot caught my attention, titled "Great Britain; An album of photographs attributed to members of the Linked Ring (1890s)." Distance meant it was impossible to view so I took a risk and left what I thought was a reasonably substantial bid.

My bid was successful, and a parcel duly arrived shortly before we left to return home. A quick glance told me I had not wasted my money. The "album" turned out to be a battered lever arch file containing over 200 prints in shabby plastic sleeves. The prints were mostly in very good condition and ranged in size from 10 by 8 inches to small snapshot sizes. The quality of the work was self-evident and I immediately recognised the hand of George Davison and Joseph Gale among others, two members of the "Linked Ring".



Colonel Joseph Gale. *Untitled*, printing-out paper, circa 1890s.

Edward Steichen. *Pastoral-Moonlight 1907*, gelatin silver print.

The Linked Ring, a precursor to Alfred Steiglitz's Secessionist Movement in New York, was a curiously British club, with a Masonic edge to its customs. Established in 1892 it lasted until 1909, and the prints in my archive fitted that timescale. Membership was by invitation and for its time its procedures were democratic and women were included. International in character from the start, its exhibitions became dominated by overseas, particularly American, exhibitors in its last years, and this in part led to its break up. Both Steiglitz and Steichen were members.

George Davison was a founder member, and Colonel Joseph Gale an early joiner. Every "Link", as they were called, had a pseudonym and Gale was "Rambler"– appropriate as his favourite pastime was to roam the country lanes of Surrey, Sussex and Berkshire with his cameras. His style was naturalistic rather than impressionistic and thus aligns itself with other Ring members such as Frederick Evans and Frank Meadow Sutcliffe. This was in contrast to the impressionists in the Ring such as Robert Demachy and Frank Eugene.

From research in the former RPS Collection (now at the V&A), Brian Coe's book on Gale, and online, I believe that nearly one hundred of the prints in my archive are by Gale, possibly some of them by Davison. About twenty-five of the total are from his *Cottage Door* series, where he made picturesque portraits of country folk. Gale contact printed almost all his work, from his 10 by 8 plates and latterly 7.5 by 5 inch plates. There are prints in the archive from both these sizes, but most are on a rich brown printing out paper. During his lifetime Gale used mostly platinum paper, so this may indicate that these prints were made posthumously by Kodak Ltd, or that they came from the collection of his descendants. In addition to his rural studies, the archive also contains a significant group of his London series.

But the archive includes much more than the work of Gale. The author of the photographs is not identified on any of the prints, save for a small number by Charles Reid (who was not a Link).

Unknown photographer, possibly Alfred Stieglitz. *New York Yards*, gelatin silver print, circa 1903.

The only annotation on the back of many of the prints is the name of the type of paper used, written in pencil. However some of the prints ring bells; a few are stylistically similar to the work of Alfred Horsley Hinton, one of the founders of the Ring; another could be by William Crooke as it has a wetstamp "WGC 1908" on the back. There are 24 small snapshot size photographs of London street scenes, some of them reminiscent of the work of Paul Martin, and which correspond to the photographic plate size that he used in the 1890s. More significantly, one silver print shows a steam train belching white smoke on train tracks covered in snow. Close examination reveals that the front of the engine and the form of the carriages is remarkably similar to the Steiglitz image "Snapshot-In the New York Central Yards 1903" that was probably taken from the 48th Street foot bridge. The archive also contains three brown-toned silver prints of Dutch people that bear some resemblance to the series that Steiglitz took at Katwyk in Holland in 1894.

I continue to look hard at the photographs in the archive. My most recent discovery relates to a small brown-toned print that I had long thought had exceptional quality. It is of sheep in a moonlit lane and measures 3.5 by 4.5 inches. Working through the Taschen volume of the Complete Illustrations of Camera Work I stopped short – there it was. It is an original vintage print of "Pastoral-Moonlight 1907" by Edward Steichen, which appeared as a photogravure in Camera Work 19.

My study of the prints continues, but in the absence of catalogues raisonnés for many photographers it is difficult to reach definite attributions on unmarked prints. As the poet William Butler Yeats said, "Tread softly because you tread on my dreams."

Unknown photographer, possibly Paul Martin. *London Street Scene*, gelatin silver print, circa 1890s.

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Maharajah Duleep Singh,
Albumen carte de visite, c.1870,
with autograph signature below

Edwin Smith (1912-1971), *Amongst The Daisies*, c. 1930's, Portrait of the Artist's Wife. Gelatine Silver Print, mounted on stiff card. Stamped verso, titled in ink by the photographer, 50.5cm x 33.2cm.

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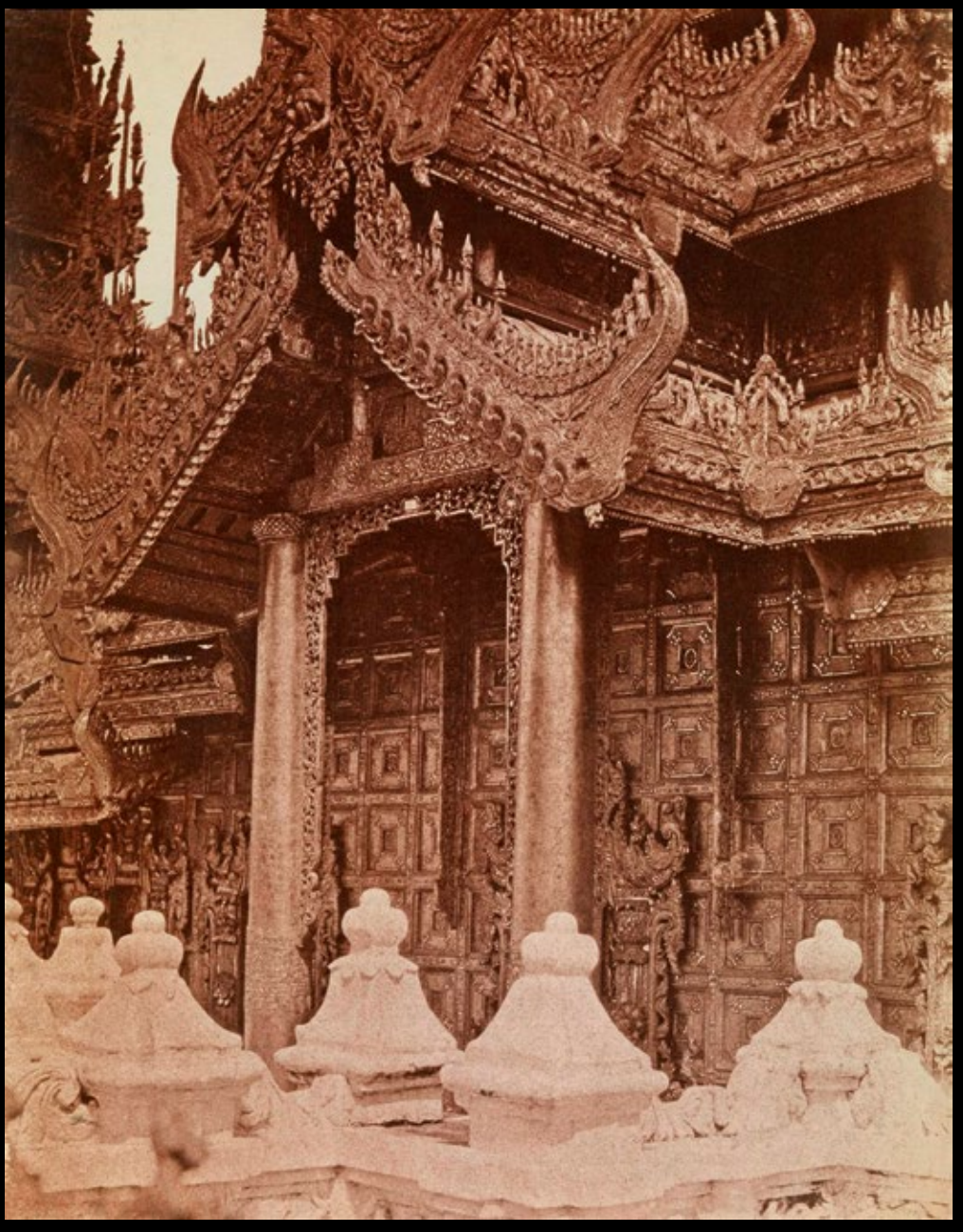

Linnaeus Tripe, Doorway of Pyathat, Amerapoora, Burma, 1865.
Albumen print from a waxed paper negative

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