exposure

2004 The Society for Photographic Education Volume 37·1

exposure

2004 Volume 37·1

Editor's Note

Joel Eisinger

We live in an era in which, for good or ill, many of the boundaries by which our culture had customarily oriented itself have become smeared or irrelevant. A concern for this instability of cultural boundaries serves to unite loosely the three essays in this issue. Steven Jacobs addresses the matter through a discussion of Andreas Gursky's photographs of the urban (or post-urban) landscape. Jacobs explains that the shift toward globalization and post-industrial service economies in the dominant world cultures has brought about dramatic changes in cities that are, in turn, reflected in new photographic visions. The street photography of the 1950s and 1960s that treated the city as "a stage for spontaneous human interactions" is no longer salient in urban areas that have been gentrified, mallified, and Disneyfied, and where the distinctions between center and periphery, between city and countryside, have all but disappeared.

Jacobs regards Gursky as a prime photographic commentator on these shifts in the urban environment. In his enormous color prints—which sometimes represent direct records of the urban scene and, at other times, constructed or digitally manipulated ones—Gursky shows us such subjects as shop windows, stock exchanges, transportation infrastructures, and ambiguous peripheral spaces. His work variously speaks of the simulated urbanism of contemporary downtowns, the crushing scale of urban structures, the consumption of the natural landscape, and the absorption of individuals into huge networks that both connect and isolate us through the abstraction of social relationships.

Perhaps Jacobs's most subtle and incisive point about Gursky is that the artist deliberately blurs the distinction between representation and reality in his photography as a way of mirroring that blurred distinction in the design and presentation of the urban landscape itself.

Carl Chiarenza and Alisa Luxenberg are also interested in the crossing of boundaries. In their case it is the boundary between painting and photography. With a point of view similar to that of A. D. Colemann and David Hockney, these authors contend that the interaction of painting and photography is an integral part of a long evolution, beginning in the Renaissance, of artistic vision mediated by optical devices. They describe this vision as "camera vision," which may be understood as the assimilation by artists of the visual discoveries made possible by optical devices, and eventually by photography, such that artists learned to see and record the world in terms of these discoveries independently of photographs or any optical device. In their essay, Chiarenza and Luxenberg trace camera vision from Jan Van Eyck through Albrecht Dürer, Jan Vermeer, Andrea Mantegna, and others to focus finally on a discussion of the impact of photography on Manet and Degas.

Ultimately, Chiarenza's and Luxenberg's topic is the concept of influence. Their foil is Kirk Varnedoe who, in two widely read articles of the 1980s, rejected the claims for photography's influence on Degas's modernist inventions. Varnedoe operated with an idea of influence that demanded one-to-one correspondences between a work of art and its influencing source, and he found no photographs that fit the bill for Degas's paintings. Chiarenza and Luxenberg reject this notion of influence in favor of a much broader one that allows for a process of "indirect seeping and gleaning from [the] cultural environment," an environment which, for Manet and Degas, most certainly included the long heritage of camera vision and photography itself.

Cynthia Rubin writes of the photo postcards of O. S. Leeland, a Norwegian immigrant who set up shop in South Dakota and photographed the frontier (another boundary) and its daily life and notable scenes: grazing buffalo, sod houses, the Mitchell Corn Palace.

With consideration of such issues as postal regulations, the vicissitudes of small-town commercial photography, and conventions for postcard collectors, Rubin outlines the rise of the nineteenth-century "postcard craze," which made this photographic format as important for its time as the stereograph.

In her analysis of Leeland, Rubin looks particularly at his postcards of frontier women

and the attendant concepts of home, romance, and labor. These images are of special interest for their gentle humor. And with regard to yet another form of boundary, that which circumscribed the lives of women, the images are noteworthy for their unusually liberal, although often conflicted, point of view.

The articles in this issue attest to the significance of shifting and dissolving boundaries for scholars writing in the postmodern environment. Together the essays remind us that while we may wish some boundaries to become irrelevant or disappear, the loss of boundaries is complex and problematic, leading as often to destruction or alienation as to freedom or connection.

Photography and Painting: The Evolution of Modern Picture Making in France c. 1860–1880

Carl Chiarenza and Alisa Luxenberg

Everyone has seen daguerreotype portraits that are very lifelike and others that are not. .. For this reason, ... daguerreotypy, despite being a scientific instrument of precision, requires its operator to have skills of interpretation [and] an understanding of effects, lighting, [and] physiognomy, qualities [that are] inherent to art.

That daguerreotypy is capable of rendering the beautiful or the ugly is an incontestable point; .. the choice is in the hands of the artist; now, a theory of daguerreotype aesthetics is needed.

Francis Wey (1851)

This article aims to offer a perspective on the ongoing debate over the relationships between French painting and photography from the 1860s to the 1880s. It seems especially timely to reconsider this long-standing issue in light of the recent splash made by the ideas of the artist David Hockney and physicist Charles Falco.[1] The issues raised by Hockney's *Secret Knowledge. Rediscovering the Lost Techniques of the Old Masters* (2001) made clear that the many publications of the last half century that focused on the visual relationships between painting and photography are being overlooked, perhaps because of increasing theoretical investigations into the cultural and institutional structures of photography, and, therefore, its relationship to

Figure 1 Edgar Degas, *Place de la Concorde, (Viscount Lepic and his Daughters Crossing the Place de la Concorde)*, 1875, oil on canvas, 46 1/4 x 30 4/5 inches. The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg.

Figure 2 H. Jouvin, *Gare de Strasbourg*, c. 1860, stereo photograph, approx. 6 x 3 inches. The George Eastman House, International Museum of Photography, Rochester, N.Y.

systems of power.[2] It is our intent to seize the opportunity that Hockney's book has created to continue the discussion of the photography-painting relationship, and to bring back visual sensibility and working practice into a balanced, less value-charged understanding of pictures. By doing so, we hope to offer an alternative to the "modernist" and "not modernist" camps that have generally lined up whenever a fresh examination of the painting-photography relationship has appeared, as with Peter Galassi's exhibition and catalogue, *Before Photography* (1981).[3]

Our point of departure is the analysis made by Kirk Varnedoe in two articles published in *Art in America* in 1980.[4] There, Varnedoe criticizes previous scholars for giving undue credit to photography for the modernist innovations of painters such as Degas (Figure 1), whom Varnedoe sees as having developed his innovations independently of photography, indeed, *before* they appeared in photography. Varnedoe's rejection of photography's influence on Degas is based on a notion of influence as either a one-to-one correspondence between a photograph and a painting, or a traceable transfer of a uniquely photographic formal quality from identifiable photographs to particular paintings.

This paper takes a different point of view on the matter of photography's influence, arguing that its images—which were highly diverse, from daguerreotypes to salt prints to stereographs—became thoroughly absorbed into nineteenth-century Western vision. We see the influence of photography on painting as part of a longer tradition of something we will call "camera vision," a way of seeing that began to emerge as early as the fifteenth century through the use of optical devices and, later, through observation of photographs. Camera vision consists of artists' incorporation of the visual discoveries made through optical devices and from photographs, such that these discoveries may be manifested in their pictorial work even without using those devices or referring to specific photographs.[5] In other words, as artists assimilated camera vision, they began to see the world in terms of it. French artists of the second half of the nineteenth century inherited camera vision, but further shaped it as they responded to their environment, which produced new and ubiquitous optical devices and experiences.

In his discussion of Degas's *Place de la Concorde*, Varnedoe is clearly looking for the smoking gun, a photograph that offered large, cropped, disjointed figures against a telescoped or flattened background, just as Degas's painting offered such features.[6] He seems to have been looking for these features in a single image, such as a French commercial stereo photograph made around 1860 (Figure 2).

There are three problems with this method. One is that such commercial images were not likely to reveal what Varnedoe was looking for. No commercial photographer who produced such stereo views would have tried to treat space with the same inventiveness as Degas. These photographers did not consider themselves artists, as photography

was generally considered to occupy a position between mechanically made evidence and industrial printing. And no highly inventive artist of this era, who might have conceived of such a daring spatial rendition, and who valued official rewards or a significant critical reputation, would have chosen photography as his or her primary medium of public expression, knowing the impossible status that photography was assigned in their art world.[7] In short, the photographic innovation that Varnedoe is seeking would not have come from commercial photography, but possibly from more private and experimental uses of the camera. A second problem is that nineteenth-century viewers would not be looking at and studying such stereo views with the naked eye, as a single, two-dimensional paper print, but through a stereoscope that provided an encompassing illusion of three-dimensional space.[8] Third, and just as important, Varnedoe does not seem convinced by the abundant evidence that nineteenth-century artists were not necessarily inspired in the manner he describes, by finding the complete visual equivalent of what they were trying to express.[9] On the contrary, artists could choose their sources of inspiration and ideas from the wealth of imagery available to them, especially in the post-1820 media explosion in France. These sources could comprise paintings, sculptures, and prints (including photographs) spanning the entire history of art known to them.[10] It is in this broad visual culture dating back as far as the fifteenth century that one finds evidence of camera vision. And it is this camera vision that made possible Degas's *Place de la Concorde*, Manet's *The Folkestone Boat, Boulogne* and other modernist paintings, made distinct by each artist's particular interpretation and application of that vision.

Figure 3 Jan van Eyck, *The Arnolfini Wedding*, 1434, oil on panel, 22 1/2 x 33 inches. The National Gallery, London.

We begin our exploration of camera vision by considering the tools that made it possible. *The Arnolfini Wedding* (1434) by Jan van Eyck (Figure 3) is a particularly relevant painting to consider in this regard. On the back wall of the room in this painting, Van Eyck depicted a convex mirror that reflects an image of the room from a viewing position opposite the painter and the viewer. The artist took special interest in the "distortions" and framing available in the mirror surface as well as in exploiting the luminosity and concentrated detail of its reflection. It is useful to note that he used oil paint to capture that luminosity and detail, and that this painting is one of the first known to have used oils, which made possible newly subtle modeling of masses in light and shade, exquisite rendering of detail, and depiction of reflected light that we associate with optical imagery. The rendering of such things had been exceedingly difficult if not impossible with fresco or tempera, the media to which artists were limited before the fifteenth-

century adoption of oils for easel painting. But the presence of the mirror is most important for our purposes because it is evidence that van Eyck was aware of how an optical device could mediate the visual world. And his interest in the mirror was apparently not confined to recording its image but went so far as to prompt him to use it as a device with which to envision the entire space of the painting.

Van Eyck's picture has a marked sense of perspective, or evocation of three-dimensional space. We say "sense of perspective" here because this work precedes the codification of what we have come to know as geometrical or linear perspective. In comparison to later conventions of perspective, van Eyck's space would be considered inaccurate or awkward due to its curious wide-angle effect (note the photographic terminology) in which the space appears to splay out.[11] This is particularly apparent in the relationship of the floor to the wall and to the figures. This sense of perspective anticipates extreme wide-angle lenses that cause effects we refer to as distortions. But here, the sense of perspective appears to emulate the peculiar effects of a convex mirror.

In sum, van Eyck's recording of the convex mirror on the wall and his apparent use of the mirror to anticipate systems of perspective show us that already in the mid-fifteenth century, perception of the world was being transformed by optical devices. This was the beginning of seeing the physical world framed, limited, highly selected, and carefully structured with regard to space and light, the beginning of the notion of a picture as a window onto the world, the beginning of camera vision.

Albrecht Dürer was interested in mechanical and optical aids for producing more "accurate" perspective. In one of the four woodcuts he made around 1525 for a series called *The Art of Measurement*, he illustrated a device that is, fundamentally, a crude system of camera vision.[12] A framed window-like grid placed in front of the subject to be depicted replicates the squared-off picture surface on the table in front of a seated artist. The artist replicates what he sees in each square, fixing his viewing point with the aid of a centrally placed, eye-level perpendicular post. Pictures made this way conform to the visual code of linear perspective that represents three-dimensional reality on a two-dimensional surface.

Figure 4 Johannes Vermeer, *Lady with the Red Hat*, c. 1665-66, oil on panel, 7 1/16 x 9 inches. The National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Andrew W. Mellon Collection. Photo Credit: Board of Trustees, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

By the mid-seventeenth century, painters were familiar with the camera obscura, which they could read about in art manuals as a mechanical method for creating geometrical perspective. The camera obscura was initially a dark chamber and later a portable box with a hole or lens set in one side (or wall) through which a perspectivally correct representation of some aspect of the world is projected onto the opposite side (or wall), upside down, and reversed from left to right. The artist could

Figure 5 Andrea Mantegna, *The Dead Christ*, after 1466, tempera on canvas, 31 7/8 x 26 3/4 inches. The Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan. Photo Credit: Ministero per i Beni e le Attivita Culturali.

then trace the projection onto his or her material of choice.

There is little question that the painter Jan Vermeer used a portable reflex camera obscura, the interior of which included an angled mirror that reflected the light-formed image up onto a piece of ground glass. Vermeer's use of such a device was confirmed in the 1960s, when the art historian Charles Seymour conducted a series of experiments at the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C., with a camera obscura, lens, and props that would have been available to Vermeer.[13] What Seymour found was that some of Vermeer's paintings, such as *Lady with the Red Hat* (Figure 4), present a vision that records optical effects that were characteristic of the lens-formed image on the ground glass of a reflex camera obscura. These effects could not have been seen in previous art or by direct observation with the naked eye until one had witnessed the peculiar qualities of that ground glass image. What Vermeer rendered in *Lady with the Red Hat* is a shallow depth of field (a consequence of the limitations of lenses made at that time) such that a near object in the painting appears as if it were slightly out of focus, with blurred contours and shimmering highlights made of globules of light, all of which replicate the look on the ground glass.

It is untenable to think that Vermeer achieved these painted light effects through *tracing* the image in the camera obscura.[14] Vermeer was a highly talented artist who did not need the camera obscura to create credible pictures. Rather, the camera device must have shown Vermeer something he was prepared to see and understand as part of his world. In other words, Vermeer had already assimilated enough camera vision, enough optical mediation of the visible world, to be ready to incorporate its effects of a shallow depth of field and soft focus into his painting.

Vermeer was interacting with the optical devices he used and absorbing the lessons of these devices into his artistic vision on his own terms.

This was a process that had been going on since the beginning of camera vision. Skilled artists did not slavishly use mirrors, or lenses, or the system of perspective. Instead, they worked with these devices in a give-and-take process to produce their aesthetic expression, accepting or modifying the rules of perspective or the lens view of the world in ways that made camera vision complex, dynamic, and ultimately an integral part of artistic vision.

We can see this process of give-and-take in the fifteenth-century painting by Mantegna, *The Dead Christ* (Figure 5). In this picture, secondary parts (feet) appear closer to the viewer than does the principal form (Christ's head and bust). The feet threaten to subvert the norms of significance. Had Mantegna adhered strictly to the proportions calculated through linear perspective, he would have painted Christ's feet much larger, so large in fact that they would have blocked the view of the more important parts of the figure. The nineteenth-century stereograph published by Underwood and Underwood (Figure 6) shows what the unmodified perspective system would have done to Mantegna's Christ.[15] But Mantegna ignored the rules of perspective and painted the feet small. We see from this example that the "accuracy" of the perspective formula was open to interpretation, even in an early period. Confronted with an awkward composition, an artist had to choose between changing his composition or modifying the perspectival system to make the finished work conform to his needs and to cultural conventions. The freedom to reject or modify perspective even as they used it was an indication that artists were assimilating it into their world view.

The sixteenth-century Italian painter Parmigianino offers a different example of this freedom. He viewed himself in a convex mirror, found meaning in what he saw, and then painted that so-called distortion as representative of his reality.[16] Parmigianino offered a depiction of a reality important to him, one that conveyed *more* than a mere transcription of his appearance in that it transformed the outer shell and stretched the norm. Some art historians describe this as emotional, or psychological, expression. While Mantegna adopted an unusual point of view in his *Dead Christ* but rejected the proportions stipulated by linear perspective because they would have contradicted his artistic intentions (to glorify the Son of God), Parmigianino, by contrast, accepted a "distorted" optical rendition of himself because that rendition suited his needs. He exploited optical distortion and made it a central device in a new pictorial "look." So did Vermeer. He wedded the new optical qualities he observed in the ground glass to a candid pose (seated, turning back toward the viewer), intense color, and the striking effects of backlighting, to convey an intimate, arresting moment between sitter and viewer, that has no counterpart in earlier art. Vermeer's painting shapes camera vision to respond to the personal reality of his time and place. All three artists used camera vision actively in the process of assimilating it.

Figure 6 Underwood and Underwood, untitled stereo photograph, c. 1900, approx. 6 x 3 inches. The George Eastman House, International Museum of Photography, Rochester, N.Y.

Other Dutch artists of the seventeenth century were also drawn to optical peculiarities and explored new perceptual experiences.[17] Carel Fabritius created peep show cabinets, which were closed boxes painted on all four interior walls so that an optically formulated illusion of three-dimensional space would be seen from a single viewpoint, a peep hole cut into one side of the box. When the panels were taken apart and viewed head-on, they often presented strangely wide-angle views, as seen in his panel painting *View of Delft with Musical Instruments*, 1652.[18] The peep show box can be seen as a precursor to stereo viewing and the movie theater in the way that it fictionalizes reality in a contained space and eliminates extraneous vision. In this respect, it functioned more as visual entertainment than as objective representation. Once again, we see the synthesis of camera vision and artistic vision.

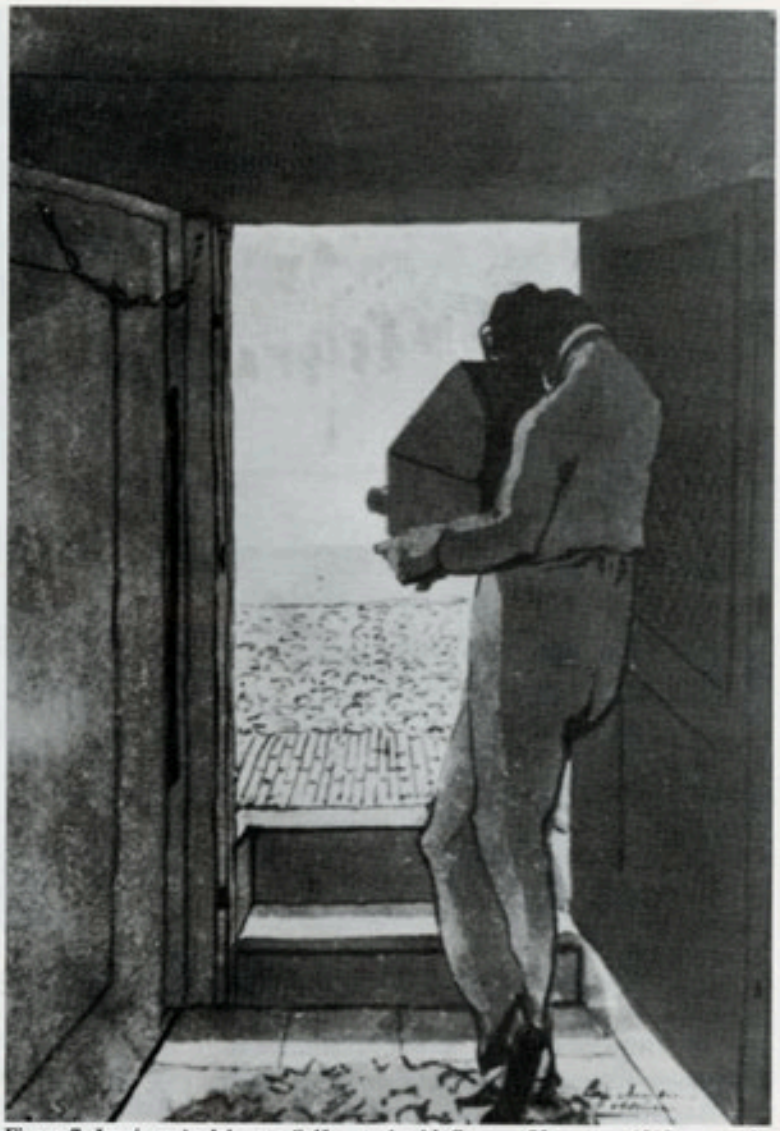

Figure 7 Jurriaan Andriessen, *Self-portrait with Camera Obscura*, c. 1810, pen and wash drawing, 7 x 10 inches. The Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

Jonathan Crary has argued that the camera obscura served as the Enlightenment's Cartesian model for human, and therefore objective, vision, and not as a flexible tool with which artists could express distinct artistic visions.[19] However, artists are known to have employed this device and circumvented its objectivity. For example, the eighteenth-century Italian view painter Canaletto used the camera obscura to make illusionistic renderings of specific sites, but he integrated them into fantasy views that combined actual buildings from different parts of Venice within a single picture.[20] Moreover, from Algarotti, writing in 1764 of the aesthetic delights of the image on the ground glass, to the Dutch artist Jurriaan Andriessen's self-portrait looking into a camera obscura, a drawing dating around 1810 (Figure 7), personal responses to viewing the world through the little dark box often overpowered any objective function.[21]

Up to this point, we have been discussing some of the ways in which artists handled the system of perspective and optical devices that formed the basis of camera vision, and sometimes assimilated or modified what the perspectival system and these devices offered to their artistic visions. Eventually, this process of assimilation reached a point at which artists and their public could see the world in terms of a mediating optical system or device without actually having to have applied either one. In his self-portrait Andriessen did not depict himself *tracing* the image on the ground glass, but *training* his vision to see the world through the camera. Daumier provides another good example of this process.

Daumier's lithograph *Rue Transnonain, April 15, 1834* (1834) is a powerfully naturalistic rendering of a contemporary event, as the title

Figure 8 Édouard Manet, *The Folkestone Boat, Boulogne*, 1869, oil on canvas, 28 15/16 x 23 5/8 inches. The Philadelphia Museum of Art; Mr. and Mrs. Carroll S. Tyson, Jr. Collection, 1963.

tells us.[22] The picture is, in fact, a critique of government action. Daumier composed his picture with fragmented or foreshortened forms, dramatic lighting, and oblique perspectives that create the impression of a mobile, temporary view, the view of an eyewitness. Whether or not Daumier actually saw this event is not important, and he certainly did not use a camera device. What is important is that he composed the picture in a way that suggests he did see it and record it without personal interpretation. This urgency to respond to the moment—here, political—is combined with bold modeling in light and shade and more continuous tonal gradations that the relatively new print medium of lithography allowed.[23] In Daumier, we see evidence that the world itself, as perceived by human beings, is changing, as what can be seen through optical devices—lenses and ground glass—is being projected onto the world.

With the invention of photography in the 1820s and 1830s, it became possible literally to record camera vision. But the earliest photographs were not definitive of the medium's visual and optical possibilities; various "improvements" and inventions led to new formats in photography in the 1850s and 1860s, most notably the *carte-de-visite* and stereographic photographs.[24] These images not only recorded camera vision as it had developed but also extended that vision, particularly with regard to the possibilities of recording the flux of urban life. For example, photographs could represent action as frozen or as blurred forms, things that were not possible to "see" with the camera obscura before the invention of photography and the modifications to its material and chemical components. It was in this environment of ubiquitous, expanding, and revelatory photographs that Degas and Manet matured, and they responded to this environment because their generation had assimilated the legacy of camera vision.

Manet in fact was affected by photography in a multitude of ways.[25] His friend and biographer Théodore Duret attests to the painter's use of photography, as do letters in the artist's own

Figure 9 Charles Nègre, *Paris, Market Scene at the Port of the Hôtel de Ville*, c. 1851, salt print. Paris, Musée d'Orsay. Photo Credit: Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, New York.

hand. Other biographers and documents mention photographs by Manet himself. We also know that Manet employed at least two photographers on a fairly regular basis.[26] That Manet would have borrowed from photographs seems particularly likely in light of his general habit of borrowing from eclectic sources. As Manet and several of his contemporaries gained a critical understanding of representation as an artificial construction of many parts, their creative processes increasingly combined, modified, or replaced traditions and conventions, augmented by indirect seeping and gleaning from their cultural environment. In Manet's eclecticism, photography would have been no less significant than any other source.

Manet's *Dejeuner sur l'herbe* (1863) is replete with traces of "borrowing," but in a more unconventional manner than the established practice. The central grouping of three figures repeats that of three river gods in Marcantonio Raimondi's engraving, which in turn reproduces a lost painting of *The Judgment of Paris* by Raphael.[27] What is most relevant about this borrowing is that Manet looked to the margin, to a secondary motif (not the main composition of Paris and three goddesses), to create his principal figural arrangement. In effect, he noticed and enhanced minor elements that were appropriate to his own expression, an approach that he could easily apply to other sources like photographs.[28]

Beatrice Farwell points out that no specific photograph necessarily impacted Manet's art, but rather, characteristic effects of predominant photographic modes seem to have informed his painting.[29] In 1863, Manet was a studio painter, posing figures indoors with props, much as studio photographers did, and it seems likely that he responded to characteristics of contemporary studio photographs of nudes. Manet certainly had access to such images, and he consorted with people like Baudelaire who frequented the demi-monde and collected this kind of imagery. The visual aspects that Manet emulated from nude photographs in his rendering of Victorine's body in *Dejeuner sur l'herbe* include the direct, conscious gaze back at the viewer/photographer and the harsh lighting that creates smudgy shadows and flattens out any modeling in the skin. Furthermore, Manet was

Figure 10 Édouard Manet, *La rue Mosnier*, 1878, pencil, brush, and ink drawing, 17 3/8 x 10 15/16 inches. The Art Institute of Chicago, Gift of Mrs. Alice H. Patterson in memory of Tiffany Blake.

making a point in his painting of the fact that one sees a contemporary woman, with a contemporary, unidealized body, in a contemporary confrontation. In sum, the visual realism and disjunctions that Manet brought to his *Dejeuner*, including the tilted, telescoped landscape background, could all have been derived from the qualities of studio photographs of real people.

A comparison between Manet's *The Folkestone Boat, Boulogne* of 1869 (Figure 8) and photographer Charles Nègre's *Paris, Market Scene at the Port of the Hôtel de Ville* of 1851 (Figure 9) suggests how the appearance of movement, in particular as seen in crowd scenes in photographs, began to infiltrate the thinking and seeing of painters who were searching for a way to picture the Baudelairean concept of modern life and flux. The blurs in Nègre's photograph were caused by the subjects' movements, even though Nègre was using a lens that was specially constructed to record modern street life with shorter exposure times. Nègre's blurred image resembles the sketchy painted forms in *The Folkestone Boat, Boulogne* because his figures, despite the blur, still appear solidly modeled and illuminated by light, unlike the ghostly shadows in other photographs created when forms moved much farther during longer exposure times. In both pictures, the blur aids in uniting disparate and overlapping forms to create an effect of movement; in these examples, mass movement. There is little in pre-nineteenth-century art that could have informed such an unfocused, informal image as Manet's.[30] It is of interest to note that Nègre was seeking this effect more than ten years before Manet, that Nègre was himself a painter, and that he made a painting directly after a similar photograph, which suggests his willingness to accept photographic flux as a painterly sign of movement, and possibly, of modern life.[31]

Turning to another Baudelairean motif in 1878, Manet made three paintings and several drawings of an ordinary street, the rue Mosnier in Paris, "as if wishing," in Theodore Reff's words, "to preserve an image of the street he had seen almost daily."[32] According to Reff, Manet made the images from the window of the studio he was about to vacate after six years. While Manet's paintings of the rue Mosnier echo the hundreds of photographs, especially stereographs, made of Parisian streets from such elevated vantage points, they are also much more carefully orchestrated pictures.

Some of Manet's rue Mosnier sketches look very much like the paintings, but two drawings, now housed in collections in Budapest and Chicago (Figure 10), are a very different kind of picture. Reff states that Manet made the Budapest drawing from

Figure 11 Ferrier and Soulier, *Rue Royale, Paris*, c. 1860, half stereo photograph, approx. 3 x 3 inches. The George Eastman House, International Museum of Photography, Rochester, N.Y.

the same window as the paintings, as it includes both sidewalks,[33] but the Chicago drawing presents a distinct angle and, thus, implies a different window or viewpoint. Whatever Manet's vantage point was, both these drawings eliminate the sky and other portions of the street that are visible in the paintings, thereby flattening the space. This flattening or compressing of pictorial space is often present to a lesser degree in commercial photographs whose authors sought to avoid large areas of blank, dull sky through their choice of viewpoint and lens angle. Nineteenth-century photographic materials were particularly sensitive to blue light, so the blue of the sky was often overexposed, resulting in a very light or mottled area in the print, rarely recording clouds.

Both drawings also include several partial figures and forms cropped by the edges of the paper, an effect that often appears in urban photographic views. Manet rendered figures fragmented in odd ways by the overlapping of other forms, due to the overhead point of view. Manet could have seen such cropping and overlapping in stereographs, and such effects were enhanced by magnifying glasses that were commonly built into parlor stereo viewers for the purpose of studying details.[34] His drawings, which bring their subject close to the viewer, as if seen through a telescopic lens, strongly suggest the magnified, cropped image of a stereoscope.

Even more striking, in both drawings the foreground figures crossing the street are more sketchily drawn than are those walking along the sidewalk back into space. This changing focus parallels the relative blur or lack thereof that one would see in a sterograph if figures near the camera had traversed the field of view of the lens while other figures had walked away from the camera along the axis of the lens (Figure 11). Manet could not have come to this visual representation if he had not seen the optical phenomenon in stereo views. And having lived through twenty years of stereo production, Manet would have seen a goodly number of them. This is not to claim that Manet sat down and copied stereographs, but rather, that he may have projected

onto what he saw out of his window those aspects of stereo views that had long since become part of his intuitive visual perception.

It is important to recognize that such blurred figures were never the main subject or emphasis of the stereo photographer, who would, no doubt, have liked to eliminate such "imperfections." And this is exactly the point. A commercial photographer out to earn his daily bread was not willing to flout pictorial conventions, whereas an artist like Manet, who had already transformed traditional borrowings from Old Masters, had no qualms about bringing the marginal or the "mistakes" of photography to the front and center of his art. Manet did not do so because he thought stereographs were art, but because they were a paradigm of modernity.

The photographic effects in Manet's painting and, before that, the shallow depth of field in Vermeer's art are both examples of evidence of significant shifts in the perception of the world, which could only have been conceived through optical discoveries. Such optical revelations probably happened more often than we will ever know, because unless artists found that new optical "look" meaningful in understanding their world, they would not seek to recreate it in their work, especially if it overturned existing conventions. For example, Manet understood the blurred figures in stereography not just as "mistakes," figures that had moved during exposure, but rather as a new visual sign for movement that he could transpose into drawings. Projected onto the world in stereo photographs and Manet's drawings is a kind of reality that suggests the flux, fragmentation, and randomness of city life, a reality that was not visible to the human eye, but could be made "visual" through new formal devices. Manet found meaning in what had previously been overlooked as meaningless.

Let us return to Degas. Much of the same things may be said about him that we have said about Manet. Degas acquired photographs, including *carte-de-visite* portraits that he pasted into his sketchbooks and caricatured, and, as early as the mid-1860s, he represented and enhanced qualities of flux and flattening that could be found in certain kinds of photographs.[35] Much later in his career, Degas made his own photographs, some of which served as direct models for paintings. Considering once again his *Place de la Concorde*, one can easily recognize its relationship to the urban stereo photographic view in terms of its cropping, point of view, collapsing of space, and slightly blurred forms. There may be no single photograph that corresponds to *Place de la Concorde*. In addition, what Degas saw in photographs he may also have seen in paintings and prints, such as the spatial telescoping and flattening of Japanese prints. But this does not mean that photography had no influence on the painting. Degas, like Manet, inherited the pre-photographic tradition of camera vision from the tradition of Western painting, and that tradition rendered him responsive to photographs of his own time in broad and indirect, yet significant, ways.

After this period of late nineteenth-century realism, with the continued changes in photographic technology and vision and with the rise of modernism, the influence of camera vision on painting changed radically but nevertheless continued. The cubists, futurists, constructivists, dadaists, and surrealists all responded to photography in complex and interesting ways. But that story is beyond the scope of the present essay.

Acknowledgments:
The authors would like to thank *exposure*'s editor Joel Eisinger for all of his helpful and insightful suggestions on the manuscript, and Quentin Bajac, Mary Bergman, James Borcoman, and Christian Kempf for their help in locating images.

Endnotes

1 David Hockney, *Secret Knowledge: Rediscovering the Lost Techniques of the Old Masters* (New York: Viking Studio, 2001). Responses to Hockney's book have been numerous, including a two-day symposium of scholars and artists organized by New York University in December 2001.

2 Several of the comparisons of painting and photography and relevant images can be found in such sources as Van Deren Coke, *The Painter and the Photograph*, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1964); Aaron Scharf, *Art and Photography* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1974); and Heinrich Schwarz, *Art and Photography: Forerunners and Influences* (Rochester: Visual Studies Workshop, 1985).

3 Peter Galassi, *Before Photography: Painting and the Invention of Photography*, exhibition catalogue (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1981).

4 Kirk Varnedoe, "The Artifice of Candor: Impressionism and Photography Reconsidered," *Art in America* 68, no. 1 (January 1980): 66–78, and "The Ideology of Time: Degas and Photography," *Art in America* 68, no. 6 (summer 1980): 96–110.

5 For a different term ("lens-image consciousness") and perspective, see A.D. Coleman, "Lentil Soup: A Meditation on Lens Culture," *Depth of Field: Essays on Photography, Mass Media, and Lens Culture* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998), 113–131.

6 Varnedoe, "Artifice," 70–71 "The Impressionists' pictures .. do not look like the photographs of their day.

No amount of searching has yet produced a photograph from the 1870s or before that looks anything like Degas's *Place de la Concorde* of 1875.... If a photographer of the time had seen the Degas .. composition through his lens, he would not have recorded it; and if he had inadvertently caught something like it, he would have discarded the plate as a useless accident."

7 We make exception here for the numerous amateur photographers who were precluded by their social status from professional life, in any field, e.g. middle- and upper-class women, such as Julia Margaret Cameron and Lady Hawarden. For instances of amateurs exhibiting and selling, see the biographies in Grace Seiberling with Carolyn Bloore, *Amateurs, Photography, and the Mid-Victorian Imagination* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1986). For Cameron's activities, see Pam Roberts, "Julia Margaret Cameron: A Triumph Over Criticism," in Graham Clarke, ed., *The Portrait in Photography* (London: Reaktion Books, 1992), 47–70.

8 For a discussion of stereography with regard to Timothy O'Sullivan's photography, see Rosalind Krauss, "Photography's Discursive Spaces: Landscape/View," *Art Journal* (winter 1982): 311–319.

9 In later reconsiderations of his *Art in America* articles, Varnedoe does agree that Degas's spatial devices and disjunction were wholly within the Western system of linear perspective, but remains convinced that photography (and Japanese prints) did not inspire any of the artist's formal inventions. His characterization of Hokusai's and Hiroshige's peculiar spatial constructions as Western perspective "coming home" to the post-1850 Paris art world allows him to claim that Degas's artistic innovation remained purely French, unaffected by foreign influence. Kirk Varnedoe, *A Fine Disregard: What Makes Modern Art Modern* (New York: Abrams, 1989), 25–181.

10 Beatrice Farwell, *The Cult of Images: Baudelaire and the 19th-Century Media Explosion*, exhibition catalogue (Santa Barbara: University of California, 1977). Michael Fried explores such eclectic sources in "Manet's Sources: Aspects of His Art, 1859–1865," *Artforum* 7 (March 1969): 21–82.

1 Hockney and Falco propose that Renaissance artists may have used a concave mirror, which collects light differently than the convex type. This idea is considered promising even by skeptical reviewers like Bernard Sharratt, "Darkroom of the Gods," *The New York Times Book Review* 23 (December 2001): 11–12.

12 For discussions of perspective devices, see Martin Kemp, *The Science of Art: Optical Themes in Western Art from Brunelleschi to Seurat* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), 167–257

13 Charles Seymour, Jr., "Dark Chamber and Light-Filled Room: Vermeer and the Camera Obscura," *Art Bulletin* 46, no. 3 (September 1964): 323–331. More recently, Philip Steadman reconstructed an entire room according to Vermeer's paintings. Philip Steadman, *Vermeer's Camera: Uncovering the Truth behind the Masterpieces* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001). Steadman provides a review of the literature on Vermeer's use of the camera obscura and observations of such light effects, pp. 25–43.

14 As argued by Steadman, especially pp. 101–134.

15 In 1859, Courbet painted a portrait of his friend Marc Trapadoux that was parodied by Nadar for its similar effect of proportionally large feet in the near foreground plane. See the illustration of "Perspective nouvelle ouverte par le talent de M. Courbet" in Klaus Herding, *Courbet: To Venture Independence* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991), 173, fig. 89.

16 Parmigianino's painting, *Self-Portrait in a Convex Mirror* (Vienna, Gemaldegalerie) is illustrated in the exhibition catalogue Parma, Galleria Nazionale and Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, *Parmigianino e il manierismo europeo* (Milan: Silvana, 2003), 176, no. 2.1.7

17 Some other examples are given in Carl Chiarenza, "Notes on Aesthetic Relationships between Seventeenth-Century Dutch Painting and Nineteenth-Century Photography," in Van Deren Coke, ed., *100 Years of Photographic History: Essays in Honor of Beaumont Newhall* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1975), 19–34. See also Erik Barnouw, "Torrentius and His Camera," *Studies in Visual Communication* 10, no. 3 (summer 1984): 22–29.

18 The painting is illustrated in Kemp, p. 212, no. 424.

19 Jonathan Crary, *Techniques of the Observer· On Vision and Modernity in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1991), esp. 43–47 where he discusses Vermeer's *The Astronomer* and *The Geographer* Crary describes the Cartesian model of vision as based on the camera obscura and providing a purely objective view of the world, separated from the senses. We cannot agree that Vermeer subscribed only to a Cartesian view of the world, as Crary claims, due to the tactility of his painted surfaces, which evoke the sense of touch, thereby implicating the senses in representation, and therefore, knowledge.

20 See William L. Barcham, *Imaginary View Scenes of Antonio Canaletto* (New York: Garland, 1977); J.G. Links, *Canaletto* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1982); and, David Bomford and Gabriele Finaldi, *Venice through Canaletto's Eyes* (London: National Gallery of Art, 1998).

21 Francesco Algarotti, "Of the Camera Obscura," *An Essay on Painting* (London: L. Davis and C. Reymers, 1764), 60–66, reprinted in Charles Harrison, Paul Wood and Jason Gaiger, eds., *Art in Theory, 1648–1815* (London: Blackwell, 2000), 475–477 We recommend Geoffrey Batchen's tracing of a general desire to photograph in his perceptive study of the "invention" of photography. Geoffrey Batchen, *Burning with Desire: The Conception of Photography* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1997), especially pp. 24–53.

22 Daumier's lithograph is widely published; see Theodore Reff, *Manet and Modern Paris*, exhibition catalogue (Washington, D.C.. National Gallery of Art, 1982), 229, no. 84.

23 Alois Senefelder invented lithography between 1795 and 1798 in Munich, but it was only the publication of his manual in 1818 that opened the process to widespread commercial use. For its early history, see Pat Gilmour, "Lithography," in Jane Turner, ed., *The Grove Dictionary of Art*, vol. 19 (London: Macmillan, 1996), 479–488. Lithography's development overlaps with the numerous attempts to fix light-formed images by such men as Davy and Wedgwood, a point made by William M. Ivins, Jr., *Prints and Visual Communication* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1980), 88.

24 On *carte-de-visite* photography, see E. Anne McCauley, *A.A.E Disdéri and the Carte-de-Visite Portrait Photograph* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985) and William Culp Darrah, *Cartes-de-Visite in Nineteenth-Century Photography* (Gettysburg: Darrah, 1981). On stereography, see Edward W. Earle, ed., *Points of View: The Stereograph in America: A Cultural History* (Rochester: Visual Studies Workshop, 1979); and William

Culp Darrah, *Stereo Views. A History of Stereographs in America and Their Collection* (Gettysburg: Darrah, 1964).

25 Some of the principal twentieth-century authors who have examined the relationship of Manet's art to photography include Nils Sandblad, *Manet: Three Studies in Artistic Conception* (Lund: C.W.K. Gleerup, 1954); Scharf, pp. 62–75; Carl Chiarenza, "Manet's Use of Photography in the Creation of Drawing," *Master Drawings VII* (spring 1969): 38–45; Gerald Needham, "Manet, Olympia, and Pornographic Photography," in Thomas Hess and Linda Nochlin, eds., *Woman as Sex-Object* (New York: Newsweek Books, 1972), 81–89; Anne Coffin Hanson, *Manet and the Modern Tradition* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977), 192–196; Beatrice Farwell, *Manet and the Nude. A Study in Iconography in the Second Empire* (New York: Garland, 1981); McCauley; and Larry L. Ligo, "Manet's Frontispiece Etchings: His Symbolic Self-Portrait Acknowledging the Influences of Baudelaire and Photography upon His Work," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (September 1986): 66–74, and "The Luncheon in the Studio: Manet's Reaffirmation of the Influences of Baudelaire and Photography upon his work," *Arts* 61 (January 1987): 46–51.

26 Reported as early as 1902 by Théodore Duret, *Histoire d'Édouard Manet* (Paris: H. Floury, 1902), 71, see also Manet, letter to Isabelle Lemonnier, 11 or 18 July 1880, translated in Juliet Wilson-Bareau, ed., *Manet by Himself* (London: Macdonald, 1991), 251. Hanson documents Manet's photographs, pp. 192–196. Several sources discuss Manet's employment of photographers: Alain de Leiris, *The Drawings of Édouard Manet* (Berkeley: University of California, 1969), 10–12; *Manet*, exhibition catalogue (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 1983), 60, 81, 114, 150, 174; and Charles F. Stuckey, "Manet Revised: Whodunit?" *Art in America* (November 1983): 158–77 239, 241.

27 In 1864, the critic Ernest Chesneau recognized the source in his review of the Salon des Refusés, in *L Art et les artistes modernes en France et en Angleterre* (Paris, 1864), 190, cited in George Heard Hamilton, *Manet and His Critics* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1954), 44 n. 6. Manet's painting and Raimondi's engraving are widely published; see *Manet 1832–1883*, exhibition catalogue (Galeries nationals du Grand Palais and Metropolitan Museum of Art: Paris and New York, 1983), 167 no. 62, and 168, fig. c, which the catalogue does not indicate is a detail of the engraving.

28 As has been noted, the original title *Le Bain* (*Bathing*), suggests that Manet's borrowing of Raphael's river gods is linked directly to his artistic conception for this painting.

29 Farwell, *Manet and the Nude*, pp. 199 ff.

30 Similar mass blurring appears in Adolph Braun's stereo photograph *Marseille, le vieux port* c. 1862–63 (collection Christian Kempf); a half negative plate of this view exists in the Musée d'Unterlinden, Colmar.

31 The painted sketch after the photograph is quite different from the larger finished religious paintings that Nègre exhibited at the Paris Salons. See Scharf, 112, for illustrations of the photograph and painting. Nègre trained as a painter in the atelier of the well-known Academician Paul Delaroche, and was drawn to photography along with several others in that studio, including Henri Le Secq, Gustave Le Gray, and the Englishman Roger Fenton. Delaroche gave a positive report on the new medium of photography when asked to comment after the invention was announced in Paris in 1839, but the statement "From this day forward, painting is dead" is also attributed to him. On Nègre, see Scharf, 112–113; Diane Lesko, "Charles Nègre as Painter-Photographer," *Arts* 56, no. 1 (September 1971): 731–35; and James Borcoman, *Charles Nègre* (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1976).

32 Reff, 238.

33 Ibid. The Budapest drawing is illustrated in *Manet 1832–1883*, 400, no. 159, as are the Chicago drawing (401, no. 160) and the painting *La rue Mosnier aux paveurs*, 1878 (397 no. 158), now in a private collection in Switzerland.

34 Various stereoviewers were fitted with such magnifiers. See Paul Wing, *Stereoscopes: the First One Hundred Years* (Nashua, N.H.: Transition Publishing, c. 1996), 46, 105, 131, and 133, for examples. We are grateful to Todd Gustavson, Curator of Technology Collections, George Eastman House, for the reference. Moreover, nineteenth-century stereo consumers had the impression that they were seeing places and forms in full scale, as reported by Oliver Wendell Holmes, "The Stereoscope and the Stereograph," *Atlantic Monthly* (June 1859), reprinted in Vicki Goldberg, ed., *Photography in Print: Writings from 1816 to the Present* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1981), 107–108.

35 See McCauley, 151–172, for an insightful discussion of Degas's intersection with photography. Several photographs and drawings after them are reproduced in Theodore Reff, *The Notebooks of Edgar Degas*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976). For other scholars on Degas's photography, see Malcolm Daniel, ed., *Edgar Degas, Photographer* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1998); and Dorothy Kosinski, *The Artist and the Camera. Degas to Picasso* (Dallas: Dallas Museum of Art, 1999).

The Postcards of O.S. Leeland: South Dakota Photographer

Cynthia Elyce Rubin

Long before instant electronic mail guaranteed inexpensive global discourse, the postcard reigned as America's most democratic and inexpensive form of mass communication.[1] The real photo postcard—a true, one-of-a-kind photograph printed on postcard stock from a negative—was photography's contribution to the genre. Photo postcards were often a product of the independent, small-town photographer whose works have long gone unrecognized. Norwegian immigrant Ole Sigbjørnsen Leeland is one such photographer. His work deserves our attention for the way it articulates, through a populist vision, some of the most significant historical trends in the West at the turn of the twentieth century.

"The frontier," declared historian Frederick Jackson Turner in his seminal work about the impact of frontier life on a transplanted civilization, "is the line of most rapid and effective Americanization."[2] Leeland can be said to have demonstrated Turner's theory as he transformed himself from a Norwegian into a Norwegian American on the South Dakota frontier, doing so with the unbridled optimism of a newly arrived immigrant. At the same time that he underwent such metamorphosis, Leeland recorded that process in others with both humor and pathos.

His postcards were disseminated throughout America, carrying themes of national identity and gender. In this respect they are more than simple documents; they suggest issues of broad social significance as well as attitudes regarding "many less concrete aspects of our past."[3] Of particular interest are the few but sensitive images in which Leeland considered the subject of women's place on the frontier, capturing the adventure and hardship of women's vital, albeit underacknowledged, role in the homestead experience.

According to Norwegian parish records, Leeland was born on April 26, 1870, on the Norwegian farm of Liland in Sirdal, Vest-Agder, a little-populated mountainous region of southern Norway. Emigrating to America in 1887, he lived at first with his married sister in Frankfort, Michigan.[4] In 1891, having moved to Hillsboro, North Dakota, to live with his brother, Oscar, he filed a Declaration of Intent to become an American citizen.

Named to honor James Jerome Hill, founder of the Great Northern Railroad, Hillsboro at that time was a thriving, Wild-Western town originally settled by Norwegian pioneers.[5] Saloons and hotels did a brisk business in this environment, so when brother Oscar opened the Leeland Hotel, Ole went to help run the establishment. Nothing is known of the hotel's history except that it was short-lived. Records at the Hillsboro Registry of Deeds indicate that a few years after its opening, Oscar sold the building and land for a mere fifty dollars profit. Shortly afterwards, according to census records, Leeland turned up living with his sister and brother-in-law, Nels Sandstel, in rural Blaine Township, Jerauld County, South Dakota.[6]

Historian Odd S. Lovell writes that although North Dakota was the most Norwegian of all states, "by 1900, there were fifty-one thousand Norwegians in South Dakota, 12.8 percent of the state's population."[7] Most of these immigrants were tied to farming and a rural lifestyle. As did his fellow South Dakotans, Leeland, too, had a rural background, so how and where he learned the up-and-coming art of photography is a mystery. Most probably he was self-taught.

Although there is no direct evidence, he may have been introduced to the modern invention while living in Hillsboro. In 1882, established Norwegian photographer Jakob L. Skrivseth opened a portrait studio a few blocks from the Leeland Hotel.[8] Skrivseth—himself such a popular, high-profile personality that he became Hillsboro's mayor as well as the region's most noted portrait photographer—spoke Norwegian, as did Leeland. So there is a possibility that the two men knew each other or even worked together.

What is clear is that by 1902, Leeland had turned to photography to make a living. An early reference to Leeland as a photographer appeared in the *Mitchell Gazette* in 1903: "Photographer Leeland, of Mt. Vernon, took a picture of the Elliott Church last Thursday." According to the South

Dakota census, by 1905 Leeland had moved from Mt. Vernon to Mitchell, the largest town in the vicinity where with some fanfares he opened a portrait studio, the Leeland Art and Manufacturing Company.

Since portrait work was sporadic at best, early twentieth-century rural studio photographers needed more than one job to make ends meet—as do many of today's rural citizens. As one photographer explained in *Abel's Photographic Weekly*, "If I sat down in my gallery and waited for trade, I should grow slim."[9] Consequently, Leeland turned to the postcard business to supplement his income.

Figure 1 O. S. Leeland, *Watertown, South Dakota, street scene*, c. 1907, photo postcard, 5 3/8 x 3 7/16 inches. Published by Curt Teich & Co., Chicago, Ill. Courtesy of the author. Curt Otto Teich founded Curt Teich & Co. in 1898 after emigrating from Lobenstein, Germany where he had worked in the printing business.

The phenomenon of the postcard was charging onto the American scene at that time. Postcards, as we recognize them, first appeared in Europe in the 1890s. Portraits, stately homes, serene landscapes, beautiful women—there was no end to postcards' colorful and diverse subjects. By 1893, American government-printed postal cards were widely available, and the first, privately published colored view postcards appeared as a special souvenir of the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago.[10] During the next eight years, Congress passed laws allowing privately printed postcards of standardized size and weight with the same message privileges and postage rates as government-issued cards.

When the postcard first appeared, postal regulations permitted nothing but an address and stamp on the postcard's back. Any message had to be written around the margins of the illustration on the front side of the postcard. The easing of this restriction in 1907 allowed senders to write messages on the divided backs of postcards and led to substantial growth in the postcard's popularity. Just as important for the increase of postcard use were developments in the postal system that assured timely and reliable delivery even as the postal system spread West, following the footsteps of eager homesteaders. Mail delivery progressed from foot, horseback, stagecoach, and bicycle to the railroad's "horseless carriage" as the volume of mail and the numbers of communities grew. Prior to the inception of the Rural Free Delivery system in 1898, home mail delivery had only been available in towns of ten thousand or more inhabitants. For rural residents, who often had to travel great distances to reach a post office, receipt of mail was irregular at best. By 1906, however, established mail routes provided reliable home delivery to most rural addresses on a daily basis, often more than once a day. This enabled a person to send a postcard in the morning to announce an evening arrival, thus promoting an atmosphere of close social interaction among rural neighbors and friends.

The fever for sending postcards was quickly followed by a new epidemic—collecting them. During 1899 crowds jammed international exhibitions of picture postcards in Venice and several other European cities. Soon after, enthusiasts gathered in Nice, Ostend, Berlin, and Paris, where one million postcards were mailed from the exhibition hall. There was also a popular Cartophilic Congress in Prague.[11] The continental collecting mania, in full acceleration, soon spread to England and then to America. By the early 1900s viewing postcards combined the educational and travel experience that the popular stereograph had earlier demonstrated, and made the postcard into a common household fixture. Americans were collecting postcards for parlor entertainment in elaborate Victorian albums and scrapbooks, which were as ubiquitous as the family Bible.

To be sure, the majority of the millions of postcards in circulation during the heyday of "The Postcard Craze," from about 1905 to 1918, were mass-produced view cards published by American companies but printed mostly in Germany, which until World War I was the leader in black-and-white as well as four-color lithography. Large national publishers, with the aid of a network of sales

agents, distributed the majority of postcards that filled racks in tourist destinations throughout the country (Figure 1).[12] But there was also a sizable trade in real photo postcards.

Commercial real photo postcards were the domain of professional photographers who were actively encouraged to produce them by manuals and trade literature, boosting postcards as an up-to-date novelty item that would increase revenue.[13] According to John A. Tennant, editor of *Photo-Miniature*, the postcard "offers possibilities of profit even to the individual worker with limited facilities, for there is always a market for cards of special or local interest. "[14] Since the postcard, "one of the most useful creations of all times,"[15] increased the burgeoning market for photographic services, especially within rural markets, their production and distribution complemented the activity of indoor portraiture and became a logical extension of the small-town photographer's business.

As entrepreneurial Leeland took advantage of this offshoot market, he produced hundreds of postcards that recorded ordinary people, places, and events. His images constitute a remarkable chronicle of homesteading life, and further, they raise issues of identity, gender, and popular culture.

It is clear that in making such postcards Leeland was responding to the economic and social influences around him. He had initially moved to a booming Mt. Vernon sometime around 1900, but by 1902, the boom had turned to bust when "drought, grass-hoppers and poor farm prices" caused growth to cease.[16] About this time, Leeland left for the more prosperous nearby town of Mitchell, which was thriving as a result of successful railroad development. The most outward symbol of Mitchell's prosperity was its annual fall agricultural festival that had begun as the Corn Belt Exposition in 1892. Originally developed as a vehicle to encourage immigration to the state by promoting its land's bounty, the event's name was changed in 1905 to the Corn Palace Festival. Highlights, including live entertainment and heaping displays of South Dakota's farm produce, attracted throngs of admirers. The exterior of the Corn Palace building was decorated with various colored grains and native grasses—depicting geometric designs in the early years, and later, pictorial murals—making it an outstanding agricultural showcase. Leeland must have hoped to exploit the city's success and its visitors' desires for photographic goods, and he formed a corporation, a venture with local businessmen that the *Mitchell Capital* of March 18, 1904, announced in bold headlines: "Leeland Art Company Takes Possession of Photograph Gallery as its Future Place of Business in Mitchell."

While owner of this establishment, Leeland recorded the region's transformation from territory to state. In more than 400 known postcard views, he depicted and commented on the intimate realities of town and frontier homestead existence. In his images, we view bustling main streets, annual Corn Palace displays, jam-packed shop interiors, solid architectural facades, events and disasters, Native Americans, grazing buffalo, and cowboys working the range—ordinary people doing ordinary things.

Leeland's prolific output can be divided into the two main categories of the documentary and the narrative. Examples of the documentary form include such images as "U.S. Gov. Irregation [sic] Dam—Belle Fourche, S.D." (Figure 2), "Farmers & Merchants State Bank" in Draper, and "Catholic Church" in Ethan. In addition, Leeland published a view of the Corn Palace (Figure 3) annually from 1907 to the late 1920s, giving us a substantial record of the creativity applied each year to the problem of rendering interesting compositions in colored corn varieties, oats, rye, barley, and grasses. Leeland's narrative images are compositions in which subjects conspired with the photographer to act out humorous situations or make insightful comments on everyday life. Often Leeland enhanced these images with ambiguous captions.

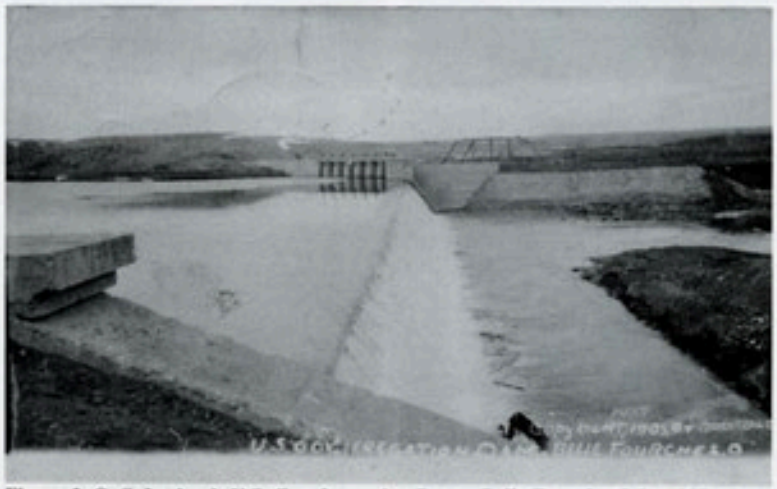

Figure 2 O. S. Leeland, *U.S. Gov. Irregation Dam – Belle Fourche, S.D.*, 1907, photo postcard 5 1/2 x 3 1/2 inches. Courtesy of the author.

These pithy captions, sometimes whimsical, but always insightful, differentiate Leeland's postcards from those of his peers.

Some of the more interesting of the narrative postcards deal with women and their roles on the frontier, specifically with regard to concepts of home, romance, and labor. Leeland clearly perceived the changing and even contradictory expectations for women that were brought about by life on the prairie, and he responded to them with some ambivalence. He expected women to be domestic, prim, warm, and motherly and at the same time, he lauded women who did hard work. He even went so far as to suggest that labor equality was justification for women's suffrage, an unusual position for a man at that time. But he also expressed anxiety about women's growing equality and the perceived threat that posed to male dignity.

Figure 3 O. S. Leeland, *Mitchell Corn Palace*, 1909, photo postcard, 5 7/16 x 3 1/2 inches. Courtesy of the author.

One of Leeland's images of women depicts two well-dressed homesteaders sitting on the ground near their tarpaper home with sod banked against the walls for insulation and protection against the buffeting winds The requisite outhouse in the background is also surrounded by piled sod (Figure 4).

The sod house, affectionately called a "soddy" or "soddie," was the product of the plains and the pattern of their settlement. The Homestead Act of 1862 promised every man and woman 160 acres of public land for no more than the price of a filing fee ($18.00 in parts of Dakota Territory) and the expense and effort of building a home no smaller than 10 by 12 feet. One was also required to demonstrate "actual cultivation" by breaking a few acres of ground and residing on the land, referred to as the claim, for five years, the "proving up" period. In response to the lure of cheap land, homesteaders of two principal types flooded the South Dakota Plains: those who were committed to making a life in South Dakota and those who were speculating, breaking a few acres of ground to demonstrate "actual cultivation" before securing a profit and departing. With little wood for construction, homestead housing consisted of either tarpaper or sod. Tarpaper construction, easy and inexpensive, was also somewhat flimsy. "A settler purchased a cheap grade of lumber, a few rolls of tar paper, and some nails, hauled these materials to the claim, and erected a frontier home in a few days. The crudest shanty would satisfy government standards."[17] The sod house was cheap to construct as well, but it was more solid, built from the very earth, with its interior temperature well-regulated by thick walls. Although seemingly more primitive than tarpaper construction, it was often cooler in summer and warmer in winter than tarpaper-covered homes.

Figure 4 O. S. Leeland, *Two Wise Virgins*, no date, photo postcard, 5 1/2 x 3 1/2 inches. Courtesy of the author.

Leeland's postcard, for all the apparent contrast of the women's fashionable clothing

with the crude house, actually speaks of an effort at stability and of the concept of home, a concept that played an important, often subliminal, role in many of Leeland's female-related postcard images. Not only does the partially sodded house represent the permanence of home, but also the women represent the warmth, culture, and tenderness associated with it. In addition, as the presence of the women helps to make the house a home, the house gives the women their "place" in what was often a threatening or challenging environment. Leeland is asserting in this image that the traditional concept of home is alive in this rugged, largely impermanent landscape with its speculative and often transient culture.

The caption on the postcard, "Two Wise Virgins," can be read as further emphasizing traditional values in that it suggests the simplicity and virtue of domestic Western womanhood. The caption also suggests a subtle relationship between the women and the land because, in the eyes of the settlers, the land was also virginal. It mattered little that America's Native inhabitants had lived there for thousands of years. The government took South Dakota Indian lands from their original occupants, transferring communal property by lottery to settlers who showed the individual enterprise to secure it. To the homesteaders' eyes, the state was rich virgin territory, an attitude reaffirmed by accounts of promotional booklets, such as *Corn Is King in South Dakota* (1910) distributed by the Kimball Land Company. In commenting on the production of recent wealth, the author described South Dakota's bounty: "Four big tons of farm products, exclusive of hay, marketed for every human being, big, little, old, young, white, black, chinese [sic], or Indian, residing in the good Sunshine State. This is not boom talk, but the cold hard figures."[18]

Another function of Leeland's caption is to introduce a measure of ambiguity into the image. The use of "virgin" seems unusual to us in the twenty-first century, but the term probably refers to an unmarried state rather than a sexual status. Church-going Leeland undoubtedly was aware of the parable of the wise and foolish virgins (Matt. 25:1–13) and may have been referring to that here to suggest that these women were prepared for life on the prairie (as the wise virgins were prepared with their oil) and that they were therefore potentially desirable mates. But in the end we cannot be sure what Leeland had in mind. There is further ambiguity in the visual details of the image. What are the women doing? Their seemingly natural movements suggest that they may have been talking. Perhaps they have been reading, since papers and a book are strewn about at their feet. A man, hardly recognizable, is mysteriously lurking behind the house with his arm upheld. He may be holding an object. There is a mysterious quality about the narrative, the entire meaning of which is never fully revealed. This playful ambiguity is one

Figure 5 O. S. Leeland, *No. 1 A homestead claimant, a western boy, made a call on his neighbor, who his heart did annoy.* **1909, photo postcard, 3 1/2 x 5 7/16 inches. Courtesy of the author.**

Figure 6 O. S. Leeland, *No. 2 She got so busy at chopping wood. He took the ax and did "make good."* **1909, photo postcard, 3 1/2 x 5 1/2 inches. Courtesy of the author.**

Figure 7 O. S. Leeland, *No. 3 If you will chop I will start the tea, and make it to suit both you and me.* **1909, photo postcard, 3 1/2 x 5 1/2 inches. Courtesy of the author.**

Figure 8 O. S. Leeland, *No. 4 She watched delightfull, this manly lord. It won't take you long to split a cord.* **1909, photo postcard, 3 1/2 x 5 1/2 inches. Courtesy of the author.**

Figure 9 O. S. Leeland, *No. 5 Let me show you the trick, and he took her hand. For the one I love, I could split my land.* **1909, photo postcard, 3 7/16 x 5 7/16 inches. Courtesy of the author.**

Figure 10 O. S. Leeland, *No. 6 (The Happy End) A bright idea struck this handsome Miss. Tear down the fence, and he said, Oh Bliss.* **1909, photo postcard, 3 1/2 x 5 1/2 inches. Courtesy of Robert Kolbe.**

of the more engaging aspects of Leeland's work.

Leeland's tour-de-force is a dramatic six-postcard narrative series, a tale of frontier love rooted in the American dream (Figures 5–10). Leeland narrates the story with his own doggerel.

"No. 1 A homestead claimant, a western boy, made a call on his neighbor, who his heart did annoy." In the doorway to her tarpaper-covered home, a well-dressed woman is shaking hands with a well-dressed man wearing a hat and displaying a pair of fringed gloves hanging from his jacket pocket.

"No. 2 She got so busy at chopping wood. He took the ax and did 'make good.'" Being single, she often had to perform "men's work." We see her chopping wood while the male visitor has taken off his hat and offers help with a chivalrous outstretched hand.

"No. 3 If you will chop I will start the tea, and make it to suit both you and me." Holding firewood, she watches as he chops logs with the ax. His hat is back on his head although he has removed his jacket and put on the leather gloves. Since the way to a man's heart is through his stomach, she offers nourishment, promising it will be ample for both heart and stomach.

"No. 4 She watched delightfull, this manly lord. It won't take you long to split a cord." The traditional roles of male and female are apparent as the suitor energetically applies his strength to the growing pile of cut logs. She meanwhile uses subtle body language—hand on hip—to flirtatiously express her own romantic interest in his advances.

"No. 5 Let me show you the trick, and he took her hand. For the one I love, I could split my land." The couple holds hands in the background as the stilled ax sits forlornly in the foreground. He has made his intentions clear—equal share of land and life. All is quiet before the flood of emotion.

"No. 6 (The Happy End) A bright idea struck this handsome Miss. Tear down the fence, and he said, Oh Bliss." A light-bulb moment of joy erupts as the couple warmly embraces. The female object of pursuit acquiesces to the hero's charms while he succinctly expresses pleasure. For the first time, we note the house's interior, which is nicely decorated with fashionable wallpaper and displays a crocheted spread in the lower right corner—indicative of a relative prosperity.

Leeland makes another, very different statement about women in the postcard captioned "'The American Woman.' At home in any field of labor. But—she can't vote" (Figure 11). Here, he takes on women's involvement in "men's work" and women's suffrage, subjects that few, except suffrage organizers and the Women's Christian Temperance Union, found of interest in 1910.[19] In Leeland's world view, women played an integral role in South

Dakota's agricultural economy by engaging in what was conceived of as heavy field work, normally the male's sphere. To be sure, women were still expected to be emotional providers and prime movers in home affairs, as noted earlier. But when hired help was unavailable, a single woman was often left as the only adult on the farm, and a married woman was often obliged to take the place of a hired hand.

Figure 11 O. S. Leeland, *"The American Woman." At home in any field of labor. But—she can't vote.* 1910, photo postcard, 5 7/16 x 3 7/8 inches. Courtesy of the author.

In this image, a woman works a level, treeless field by operating a device called a drag or harrow, an apparatus containing six-inch bars of teeth, whose function was to slide into the ground to prepare a bed for seeding. The arrangement depicted here is unusual in that there is no cart behind the horses; it is doubly unusual in that a woman is riding a horse. This appears to be a casual or impromptu photograph, but we can be sure that Leeland either orchestrated the scene or somehow adjusted it to suit his purpose. A foal follows the mare, suggesting maternal aspects of life, whether human or animal. In addition, the woman wears a protective head covering, a practical fashion that suggests traditional female values. The concept of traditional womanhood is heightened by the play on words, "any field of labor," suggesting both childbirth as well as the endeavor of breaking sod, a field task traditionally requiring male physical strength and stamina.

Women's life in South Dakota moved in two directions. Certainly there was more independence but there was also less comfort and security than the life left behind provided. Similarly, the image itself moves in two directions. On one hand, Leeland presents this woman in terms of the male role of field worker, and on the other, he associates her with maternity. That he does the former, however, is significant because he is undermining the widely held prejudice that women could not responsibly work such an apparatus in the fields. Leeland asserts here that women are crucial to economic frontier life. And he suggests that in light of this critical role they deserve to vote.

Given Leeland's acknowledgment of women's centrality to economic life on the prairie and his advocacy of women's suffrage, he still was not completely comfortable with gender equality. In "The Modern Woman on the Claim," he pictures a woman riding away on her horse to attend to an errand as she gestures commandingly to her husband who is left at home scrubbing clothes in a tin wash tub (Figure 12). Here Leeland takes a humorous jab at what he perceives to be a threat to the male's status quo in the role reversals of prairie life. In sum, Leeland wanted women both to play the traditional roles of domesticity and to work like men when necessary.

Figure 12 O. S. Leeland, *The Modern Woman on the Claim*, no date, photo postcard, 5 3/8 x 3 7/8 inches. Courtesy of the author.

Women themselves felt the pressure to master both these roles, to respond to the societal norms that required them to

provide domestic order and warmth, and to prove their capacity for endurance and survival in South Dakota's inhospitable, harsh environment. As one Dakota woman summed it up: "While a woman had more independence here than in any other part of the world, she was expected to contribute as much as a man—not in the same way, it is true, but to the same degree."[20] Although the heyday of Leeland's real photo postcards was from 1908 to 1910, he continued to publish postcards on a limited basis into the late 1920s. Decline in production probably reflected the vogue for color postcards more than anything else. As demand for black-and-white examples waned, so did Leeland's standard of living until, by the end of his life in 1939, he had experienced total disintegration of both health and finances. No longer able to fend for himself, the court appointed an executor to oversee Leeland's affairs, and upon his death, he was buried in potter's field. Today, this immigrant photographer no doubt would be amused to discover his mundane postcards are worthy to be studied as the stuff of history. Combining word and image to interpret a complex time and place in American history, these commonplace photographic expressions have become cultural documents reflecting Leeland's own persona and power of observation. As such, they are a conduit, leading us to an appreciation of photography's contribution to the structure and values of the American West in a refreshing way.

Endnotes

1 On the role of the view postcard, or street scene, in which "issues of aesthetics and accuracy are then subsumed by larger questions about communication," see Jay Ruby, "Images of Rural America: View Photographs and Picture Postcards," *History of Photography* 12, (October–December 1988): 327–342.

2 Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Frontier in American History* (1920; reprint, New York: Dover: 1996), 3–4.

3 Martha A. Sandweiss, *Photography in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York: Abrams, 1991), xv.

4 So far no evidence illuminates Leeland's early years. The information on his stay in Frankfort, Michigan, is taken from *History of the Sandstel (Sanstol)-Leeland Family Since 1832* compiled by Jurene Gjesdal and Oscar Thompson, November 1999.

5 *Hillsboro, North Dakota. The First Hundred Years* (Hillsboro: Hillsboro Centennial, 1981), 35. Before the railroad, Traill County was a wilderness area, with only a number of small settlements along the Goose River. But when Hill's railroad arrived in 1880, he ordered a new town platted by the surveying firm of Comstock and White of Moorhead, Minnesota. Albert Potterud donated twenty acres of land for use as the original townsite. The town was initially known as "Comstock," but it was platted as "Hill City" and soon changed to "Hillsboro" in honor of James Hill.

6 Federal Census 1900, South Dakota State Archives.

7 Odd S. Lovell, *The Promise of America* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984), 123.

8 Skrivseth owned studios earlier in Fargo, North Dakota, and Moorhead, Minnesota. Information derived from the North Dakota State University Archives Web site, www.lib.ndsu.nodak.edu/ndirs/exhibitions/photographers/biography (January 21, 2004).

9 "A Small-Town Photographer," *Abel's Photographic Weekly* (October 2, 1909): 92–93.

10 For the history of the postcard, see Frank Staff, *The Picture Postcard & Its Origins* (New York: Praeger, 1966); and Susan Brown Nicholson, *The Encyclopedia of Antique Postcards* (Radnor, Pa.. Wallace-Homestead Book Co., 1994); and for the history of the real photo postcard, see Andreas Brown and Hal Morgan, *Prairie Fires and Paper Moons: The American Photographic Postcard 1900–1920* (Boston: Godine, 1981).

11 Cartophilia was the popular name coined for the new hobby of picture postcard collecting. Today the word in vogue is deltiology, from the Greek *logos* meaning study of, and *deltion*, meaning small pictures. Staff, 59.

12 Some of the most influential companies were the American Souvenir Card Company (1896–1898), Detroit Publishing Company (1896–1917), and the Curt Teich Company (1898–1978) of Chicago, which eventually became the largest volume producer of postcards in the world. For more information, visit the Curt Teich Postcard Archives at the Lake County Discovery Museum, Lakewood Forest Preserve, Wauconda, Illinois.

13 E. J. Wall and H. Snowden Ward, *The Photographic Picture Post-Card for Personal Use and for Profit*, 1906, is one of the earliest manuals on the making and marketing of real photo postcards. It contains chapters on "photographic equipment, darkroom techniques and publishing strategies," as quoted in Jody Black and Jeannette Lasansky, *Rural Delivery: Real Photo Postcards from Central Pennsylvania 1905–1935* (Lewisburg, Pa: Union County Historical Society, 1996), 14.

14 John A. Tennant, ed., "Photographic Post-Cards," *Photo-Miniature* 8 (October 1908): 424.

15 Staff, 81.

16 Bob Karolevitz, *An Historic Sampler of Davison County* (Virginia Beach, Va: Donning Publishers, 1993), 36.

17 Paula M. Nelson, *After the West Was Won. Homesteaders and Town-Builders in Western South Dakota, 1900–1917* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1989), 28.

18 *Corn Is King in South Dakota. A Publicity Booklet for 1910* (Pierre, S.D.. The South Dakota Business Men's Association, 1910), 19.

19 When South Dakota achieved statehood in 1889, the framers of the South Dakota constitution included a provision that allowed male voters to remove the word "male" from the document, thereby extending the right to vote to women. Although suffragists lobbied hard, male voters continually rejected women's suffrage bills. (Teddy Roosevelt's Progressive Party was the first national political party to adopt a women's suffrage plank in 1912.) Finally, in 1918, women received the right to vote in South Dakota, but women were not granted the vote nationally until the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution in 1920. Paraphrased from Glenda Riley, *A Place to Grow: Women in the American West* (Arlington Heights, IL.. Harlan Davidson, Inc., 1992), 158.

20 Ibid., 149.

Andreas Gursky: Photographer of the Generic City

Steven Jacobs

Whatever Happened to Street Photography?

In seminal theoretical studies from the early twentieth century (by Georg Simmel, Max Weber, Walter Benjamin, Louis Wirth, and Lewis Mumford in particular), the metropolis has been presented as a spatial, social, and cultural realm where modern phenomena such as rationalization, density, flux, hyperstimulation, phantasmagoria, and alienation are clearly visible. This notion of the city has been an important subject in photography right from its start around 1840. Since then, the modern medium of photography has been able to present the metropolis as the locus of modernity. This, of course, has been achieved by means of many different motifs, themes, and photographic styles, ranging from nineteenth-century panoramic views to avant-garde photo-montages. The idea of the city as a kaleidoscopic spectacle and as a stage for spontaneous human interactions found its ultimate photographic expression, in the 1950s and early 1960s, in the tradition of street photography, which was above all tailored to New York City. In the wake of Henri Cartier-Bresson in the 1930s and 1940s, photographers such as Robert Frank, William Klein, and Garry Winogrand took to the streets snap-shooting incidents with a 35mm camera.[1] The photographer became a *flaneur*, presenting each picture as the product of a unique encounter.[2]

This photographic approach to the urban experience, however, disappeared almost completely in the late 1960s. When, in more recent times, the motif of urban street life cropped up again, as in the work of Jeff Wall, Philip-Lorca DiCorcia, Beat Streuli, Nikki S. Lee, or Valérie Jouve, photographers questioned the basic assumptions of street photography as it had been previously practiced. By means of digital manipulation, cinematic techniques, and various kinds of staging, these artists have been undermining the aesthetics of street photography from within. For them, street photography can only be a simulacrum in which the spontaneity of the street is staged and in which the city itself is turned into an image.

Urban Images and Simulations

The recent changes in urban photography are largely a response to fundamental changes in the nature of the city itself. During the last decades, the differences between center and periphery and between city and countryside have become increasingly indistinct. In an age of urban sprawl, the city is no longer a place, but rather a condition.[3] This process of disurbanization is, of course, not entirely a new phenomenon. Urbanites have been living outside the city since the rise of suburbia in the eighteenth century. But in contrast with the traditional strictly residential suburbs, contemporary post-suburbia is much more fragmented and hybrid.[4] Since the restructuring of industry after World War II, many people not only live outside the city but also work there. And since the 1970s and 1980s, the services of the post-industrial economy have taken part in the disurbanization as well. Things we used to do in the city—such as shopping, going to a bank, watching a movie, visiting a doctor or dentist, or consulting a lawyer—many of us now do outside historically urban centers.

Within the horizontal and dispersed zones of varying density, however, traditional urban centers do still exist. But they have changed radically as well. The flight of people and activities from the center created ghettoes and urban voids, exposing the segregation, fragmentation, and monoculturalization of the contemporary city. These phenomena were addressed by strategies of urban renewal, which did not neutralize urban fragmentation but rather intensified it. One of the most salient characteristics of these renewal strategies is that they emphasize the image quality of the city. In other words, it has become the goal, through architecture and the design of urban spaces, to create desired socio-economic and cultural images in urban centers, images that are not necessarily grounded in reality or have not necessarily grown organically from the community on which they are projected. One example of these image-creating strategies is the gentrification of inner-city neighborhoods by upper and middle classes, in many cases accompanied by the pre-industrial architectural language of the so-called New Urbanism. In addition, there has been privatization of public space by means of Business Improvement Districts, gated communities, and

shopping malls. Strangely enough, the shopping mall, originally imitating urban space with its layout of streets and little squares, itself became a model for cities in that many downtowns are remodeled as if they were shopping malls. Urban theorists call this the mallification of the contemporary city. A third image-making strategy involves the construction of new urban centers, such as City Walk in Los Angeles, in the form of theme parks and the transformation of existing urban centers, such as Times Square in New York, into quasi–theme parks. Urban theorists speak about the Disneyfication of the contemporary city. And finally, one sees the transformation of European historical centers into open-air museums. Such transformations stress the historical identity of a city which, on the one hand, is proof of the fact that the European city is not degenerating into a generic space and is maintaining its unique quality. On the other hand, stressing historical identity indicates that the city is losing its original economic functions and is restructuring itself according to the logic of mass tourism. It is striking that all these strategies—gentrification, mallification, Disneyfication, musealization use images of the urban rather than urban structures themselves. Furthermore, these urban simulations are sanitizing cities, gutting them of their dangers, tensions, conflicts, subversions, perversions, and contrasts. In sum, these strategies are distinctly anti-urban.

New Landscapes

In the visual arts this rise of the city as image coincided with critical questioning of the Greenbergian modernist idea of art as a completely self-reflexive activity. Artists such as Edward Ruscha, Dan Graham, John Baldessari, and Robert Smithson rejected Greenbergian doctrine and started looking at the urban environment again. Nevertheless, in their rejection of self-reflexive formalism these artists did not embrace a nostalgic reversion to figuration and evocation of the traditional modern city with its kaleidoscopic spectacle and its colorful excitement. Nor did they photograph the proffered images of a gentrified and mallified city. Instead, they showed us the generic and monotonous landscape of the periphery. It is as if they discovered a kind of washed-out minimalist aesthetics in an everyday world of parking lots, tract houses, gasoline stations, and abandoned industrial sites. They succeeded in making fascinating art by taking amateurish deadpan pictures of boring architecture in boring posturban environments. The best examples of this strategy are Ruscha's booklets, such as *Twenty-Six Gasoline Stations* (1962), *Some Los Angeles Apartments* (1965), *Every Building on the Sunset Strip* (1966), *Thirtyfour Parking Lots in Los Angeles* (1967), and *Real Estate Oppurtunities* (1970). Also important are Baldessari's half-painted and half-photographic *National City* pictures (1966–69); Graham's article *Homes for America* (1966), showing pictures of tract houses; and Robert Smithson's influential illustrated essay, *A Tour of the Monuments of Passaic, New Jersey* (1967).[5] In addition, the so-called New Topographers, such as Robert Adams, Stephen Shore, and Lewis Baltz, picked up large-format cameras again and began to look at the new posturban developments noted by artists Ruscha, Smithson, and Graham.[6]

In general, the history of urban photography has coincided with the history of urbanism, which abandoned the model of the centralized metropolis of New York in favor of the horizontal urban paradigm of Los Angeles, Las Vegas, Atlanta, and Houston or the anonymous vastness of the generic city. Strangely enough, the attention paid to the new cityscape was developed by artists and photographers prior to the fascination for it by the community of architects and urbanists. With the exception of Robert Venturi, in the late 1960s and early 1970s periphery and urban sprawl were not sexy topics at all in contrast with the central position these themes claim in architectural and urban theory today.[7] Perhaps these artists and photographers taught architects and urbanists how to look at this new urban environment. To a certain extent, their pictures operated as instruments in a necessary cognitive mapping of the contemporary urban landscape.

Gursky's Beauty Parlor

The shift from street photography to the New Topography not only took place in the United States but in Germany as well. Important there is the work of Bernd and Hilla Becher who participated in the New Topographics exhibition in 1975 and who, at the Düsseldorf Academy, were the teachers of a whole new generation of photographers, including Thomas Struth, Thomas Ruff, Axel Hütte, Candida Höfer, and Andreas Gursky.[8]

Of all these photographers, Gursky is the most relevant to the discussion of the new city. His photographs of the 1980s and 1990s represent both peripheral post-urban space and the simulated urbanity of contemporary downtowns. At the same time, Gursky has used digital manipulation since the early 1990s to illustrate that photographic representation of urban reality has become problematic.

Gursky grasps the complex reality of the contemporary city by means of abstracted images. This abstract quality in his work is the result not only of an artistic stylization but also of the attempt to present a reality that is in itself staged. We do not need a Jean Baudrillard to make clear that reality itself has taken on the qualities of a picture. The aestheticization of the photograph is only a tiny part of the huge beauty parlor of late capitalism. Sociologist Gerhard Schulze has defined present-day society as *Erlebnisgesellschaft* (life-style society), one in which aestheticization has become so important that the illusion is created that exchange value has elbowed out use value almost completely.[9] Gursky illustrates this by taking stylized pictures of a stylized world. This is especially the case in the big prints of showcases—with shoes, or carefully folded clothes, or nothing at all. Gursky himself describes these pictures as a *Phantasiegebilde*, because after being disappointed with the pictures of the "real staging" of shoes, he decided to photograph the shoes in a specially constructed artificial space and to arrange them in rows by means of digital techniques "in order to accentuate the symbolic dimension of this phenomenon—the fetishism of commodities."[10] Hence, Gursky rebuilt shop displays—which are a form of staging in themselves—to look better as pictures.

Gursky transforms these display windows into shrines or theaters in which the shining neon light literally embodies the aura of commodities. By doing so, Gursky illustrates that we have come to a point where photography no longer has the ambition or the ability to destroy the aura of unique objects by reproducing them, as Walter Benjamin once claimed.[11] On the contrary, photographs have come to embody the aura themselves by aestheticizing and maximizing the value of an original which can be nonexistent, constructed solely to be photographed or created by digital means. With this homage to the phantasmagoria of the shopwindow, Gursky closes a circle of aestheticization that involves commodities and the museum. Whereas the avant-garde—from the dadaist ready-made to the minimalist *Specific Objects*—brought trivial commodities into the museum and raised them to the status of artworks, "stylish" shops have appropriated the minimalist emptiness of the modern museum. Gursky closes the circle by bringing the aesthetics of commercial displays into the exhibition rooms again.

In addition, the abstract quality of Gursky's photographs not only illustrates that reality is staged, but also stresses the problematic autonomy of the picture in regard to reality. Undeniably, this autonomy refers to the tradition of modernist formalism. Gursky himself compares the image of the empty shop displays with the minimalist sculptures of Dan Flavin, and he refers to Barnett Newman's canvasses while talking about digitally flattened pictures such as *Rhein*.[12] However, Gursky does not join a Greenbergian formalism, in which the artist emphasizes the essential principles of his medium. Gursky, in a way, turns modernist formalism and its concern for the purity of the medium into a paradox: The autonomy (vis à vis reality) of the medium of photography is achieved by referring to the qualities of another medium, in this case modernist painting; his photographic registrations acquire the qualities of painting.[13] In so doing, abstraction plays a similar role to that of digitization. Just as a digitized image blurs the distinction between a representation of a staged reality and a representation of a reality that does not exist outside the image, abstraction (in a less obvious way) suggests that one cannot make a clear distinction between the representation of a staged reality and an image that is independent of reality.

Empty Factories and Populated Stock Markets

In addition to presenting commodities, Gursky takes pictures of places where products are made. Especially during the early 1990s, Gursky photographed interiors of big industrial plants, showing the same geometrical simplicity, frontality, serial structures, frozen silence, and alienating color as in the images of the shop displays. He has replaced the machines one sees in the 1920s photographs of the *Neue Sachlichkeit*, or New Vision, with the high technology of the post-industrial economy. The organic bond between man and machine, which was celebrated by the historical avant-garde, has vanished completely. In Gursky's pictures one cannot find laborers. In contrast to the chimneys, steel bridges, and gears of the New Vision—symbols of technological and social progress—Gursky's factories present themselves as mere abstract signs. Walter Benjamin had denounced the photography of the *Neue Sachlichkeit* because its pictures of Krupp or AEG factories did not give us information about these institutions. Benjamin states in his *Kleine Geschichte der Photografie* that the reification of human relations renders these relations indiscernible.[14] The pictures of the New Vision do not show or explain the human relationships that are basic to the functioning of the factories they depict. Gursky's Gründig, Mercedes, Opel, Schiesser, and other factory spaces belong to a world in which labor relations have become even more invisible, in which the opposition between capitalists and proletarians has been blurred, and in which delocalization and

globalization have made social and economic structures less transparent. To the outsider, these spaces seem to belong to another planet.

Both the physical and social isolation of the laborer and the emptiness of these factories, which are reminiscent of the detached approach of Edward Ruscha and the New Topographers, contrast clearly with the swarming crowds in Gursky's images of financial markets and mass events, such as rave parties. These crowds, however, have little in common with the swarms of pedestrians that have been celebrated in the tradition of street photography. As he does in his factory images, Gursky exposes in his crowd scenes the logic of contemporary economic reality in which services and the culture industry have become paramount. Made from a panoramic viewpoint, his images of both stock markets and gigantic discothèques show masses performing acts that seem completely incomprehensible to outsiders. They are inscrutable, like the shining boxes, conveyor belts, and impressive amounts of cables and cords in the factories. Gursky's pictures make up an inventory of the strange choreographic rituals of the behavior of stockbrokers. He shows us stockholders in black suits randomly grouped around counters in Tokyo (1990); an explosion of colors on computer screens and vivid uniforms in Singapore (1997); a kaleidoscopic, Jackson Pollock–like, all-over structure of a swarming mass in Chicago (1997); and Kafkaesque geometric rows of computer clerks with market players' numbers in Hong Kong (1994). With his geometrical compositions of stockholders, Gursky evokes Siegfried Kracauer's notion of the mass ornament.[15] The way in which Gursky reduces human beings to compositional elements, however, differs from Nazi rallies, Busby Berkeley musicals, or the mob scenes of Fritz Lang. In Gursky's world, our world, the individual does not seem aware of the grander totality that absorbs him.

Gursky's oeuvre illustrates that the abstraction of social relations and the aestheticization of the world go hand in hand with a monetary system increasingly based on symbolical values, a condition

Figure 1 Andreas Gursky, *Neujahrsschwimmer*, 1988, wood framed chromogenic color print, 52 x 62 inches. Andreas Gursky through SABAM Belgium 2003. Courtesy: Monika Sprüth/ Pilomene Magers, Cologne.

we see in the virtualized global financial flows represented by flickering numbers on a computer screen. Only from this viewpoint can we call Gursky a kind of *peintre de la vie postmoderne*, an artist who understands how recent global economic transformations determine our environment.

Space of Flows

If a publisher were to have the idea—I admit, a rather silly idea—to publish a luxury edition of authors such as Manuel Castells and Saskia Sassen, who studied postmodern economic and political processes, he easily could find the proper illustrations by rummaging in Gursky's archive.[16] Gursky photographs exactly the nodal points of Manuel Castells' "space of flows," a space which is no longer connected to a certain place but consists of an endless flux of goods, persons, services, and information. The pictures both of stockmarkets and cityscapes perfectly illustrate Saskia Sassen's opinion that economic restructuring involves a new strategic role for certain cities. The old national borders have been replaced by an interurban global network of financial nodes and business centers connected with zones of production in Third World countries. This concentration of financial and economic power goes hand in hand with the dilution of the traditional city. It is telling that Gursky's mass scenes are completely disconnected from the idea of an urban public space. He demonstrates that traditional public space has vanished. Historic centers are being transformed into open air museums.

At the same time, shopping malls, factories, shops, clusters of houses, office parks, and cinema complexes are snuggling along peripheral roads. Gursky represents this centrifugal aspect of the contemporary urban landscape as well. Next to the hyperspace of international business (such as stockmarkets or airport lobbies), Gursky has a striking interest in what has traditionally been called the backside of the city but which is now a symbol of the contemporary diluted urban landscape: a soccer field between buildings scattered about in an area of urban sprawl in Zurich (1985); people on a Sunday watching a runway for airplanes (1984); a stroller or an angler next to a concrete bridge on the banks of the Ruhr (1989); his *Neujahrsschwimmer* (1988) gathering disconsolately on an empty riverside facing Düsseldorf (Figure 1). Instead of displaying dazzling city centers, Gursky demonstrates that all kinds of social rituals can occur in the most ordinary places. While looking at many of these photographs, the learned viewer is inevitably reminded of pictorial precedents—*Neujahrsschwimmer* for instance, with its silver water surface and urban skyline, can be considered a contemporary Canaletto. In several other works, Gursky refers to the eighteenth-century tradition of the picturesque—in itself a practice in which the relation between reality and representation is inverted. On the one hand, a garden was designed as if it were a painting by Claude or Poussin or because it had to look like one. On the other hand, one was invited to look at natural scenery as if it were a painting.[17]

Furthermore, Gursky's landscapes never show us virgin nature. On the contrary, a close look reveals that a snowscape contains a swarm of cross-country skiers (*Engadine*, 1995) or a view of mountain scenery is full of backpackers (*Klausenpass*, 1984). Gursky demonstrates that nature has become fully part of an urbanized world, and he is especially interested in peripheral zones in which nature and the built environment merge. Together with the interplay between reality and image, this preference for the irregular border between nature and culture conforms perfectly to the aesthetics of the picturesque. Not coincidentally, the concept of the picturesque has recently been dusted off by the Italian urbanist Mirko Zardini to describe and analyze the elusive post-urban landscape.[18]

Quite often in Gursky's photographs, nature has been domesticated by means of roads, highways, and all kinds of transportation infrastructures, which constitute an important vein in Gursky's iconography. Here, the artist is not really interested in the screaming effects of billboards and garlands of commercial architecture. On the contrary, Gursky stresses the emptiness of his abstracted compositions in which a solitary character, in a manner reminding one of Caspar David Friedrich, reinforces the vastness of the landscape and the human interventions in it: road workers on the *Breitscheider Kreuz* (1990); a stroller under a bridge in the *Ruhrtahl* (1989) or under the *Zoobrücke* in Cologne (1988).

The sublime emptiness of Gursky's traffic infrastructures is not only perfectly consistent with the aseptic space of his factory interiors but also with his desolate cityscapes. In most of them, such as the silent, mysterious grid of a huge apartment block in Montparnasse (1993) and the shining minimalist office blocks of La Défense (1987–1993), there is no human presence. In other pictures, small insignificant human figures are confronted by the vast openness of modern urban planning, such as in the monumental axis of Brasilia (1994) (the ultimate paradigm of

modern city planning), the illuminated aquarium of the Shanghai Bank in Hong Kong (1994), and the large race tracks and serial skyscrapers facing the masses in Sha Tin (1994). Gursky's cityscapes are as empty and mysterious as his photograph of the columbarium of Ayamonte (1997), which evokes both the metaphysical paintings of Giorgio De Chirico and the photographic stagings of Thomas Demand. In *Hong Kong Island* (1994), a demolition site leaves a scar in the urban fabric. But here, too, in the middle of the unbridled building boom in one of the most dense cities of the world, the individual is crushed. The claustrophobic congestion of swirling masses, usually associated with the Asian metropolis, is completely absent.

In Gursky's world, so it seems, only stockmarkets are richly populated. Elsewhere in the city there is only rarely human congestion; usually there is only traffic congestion, such as in his overhead shots of a roundabout in Cairo (1992) and in his picture of crammed cars in the harbor of Genoa (1991).

Non-places

Gursky's remarkable attention to transport infrastructures, such as highways, bridges, and airports, illustrates the collapse of public place, which now seems only to serve circulation (Figure 2). He selects those public and semi-public spaces that are less and less experienced as social spaces and fast becoming territories occupied only occasionally and on a strictly individual basis. His pictures evoke what the French philosopher Marc Augé called *non-lieux*: places that have no specific meaning to anybody and that no longer act as meeting places.[19] In contrast with the agora, the forum, or the village or city square, these non-places are no longer capable of expressing collective identities. However, according to Augé, these spaces occur everywhere, and they look everywhere the same. Gursky demonstrates that the world consists increasingly of these non-places, which are especially located in the domains of mobility and consumption: hotels, shopping malls, stopping-places along highways, and airports.

Figure 2 Andreas Gursky, *Salerno*, 1990, wood framed chromogenic color print, 75 3/16 x 90 3/8 inches. Andreas Gursky through SABAM Belgium 2003. Courtesy: Monika Sprüth/ Philomene Magers, Cologne.

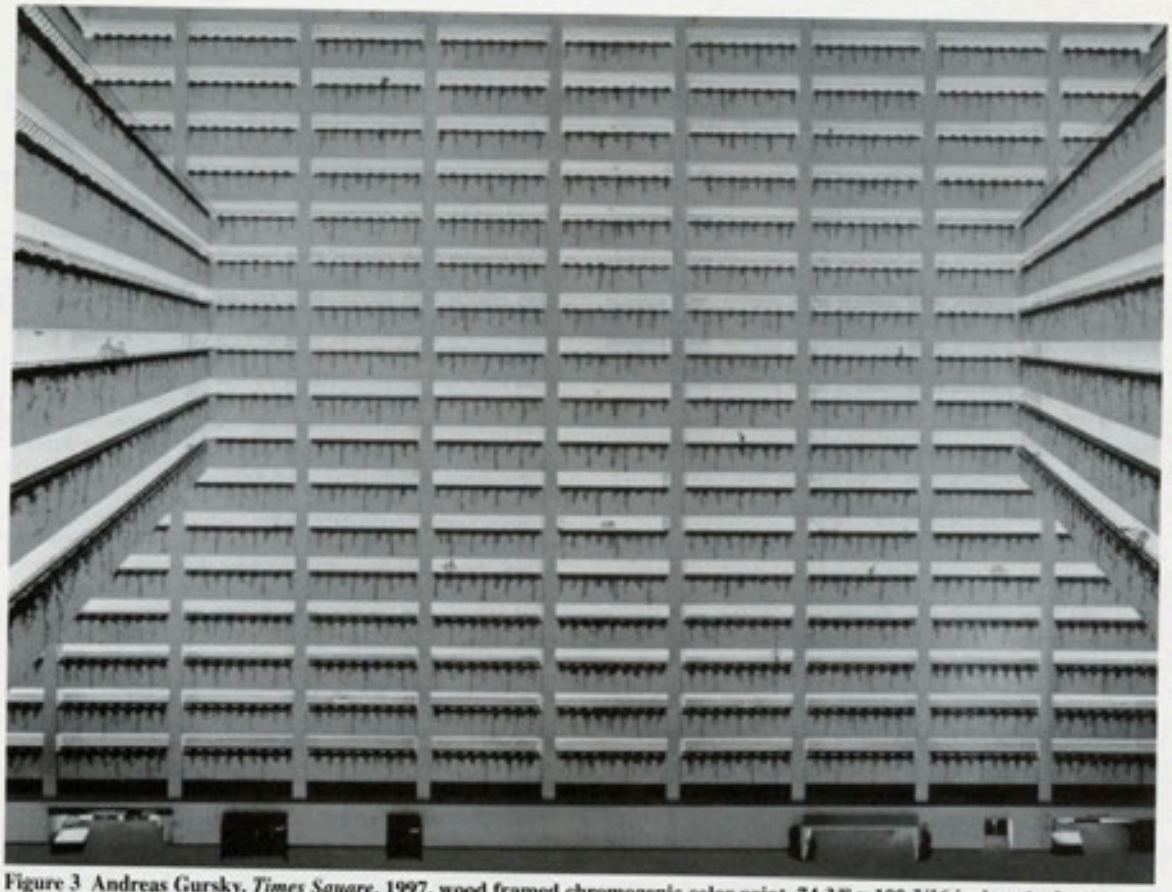

Figure 3 Andreas Gursky, *Times Square*, 1997, wood framed chromogenic color print, 74 3/8 x 100 3/16 inches. Andreas Gursky through SABAM Belgium 2003. Courtesy: Monika Sprüth/ Pilomene Magers, Cologne.

Gursky's impressive series of pictures of the airport lobbies and runways of Düsseldorf, Schiphol, Paris, and Hong Kong, among other places, illustrates the thesis of the Dutch architectural historian Hans Ibelings that "airports are for the '90s what museums were for the postmodern '80s" [20] Mobility and infrastructure are central issues in these paradigm buildings, embodying the logic of globalization and becoming more and more economic centers in themselves. The architect and urbanist Rem Koolhaas, one of the most acute observers of the contemporary metropolitan condition, noted in his influential essay *The Generic City* that cities and airports have started looking very much alike. "Becoming bigger and bigger, equipped with more and more facilities unconnected to travel, [airports] are on the way to replacing the city," Koolhaas wrote.[21] In turn, cities show characteristics of international airports in that they all look like each other. With the disappearance of traditional concentric urban patterns, cities are losing their identities and becoming generic. Gursky's airports, harbors, highways, office towers, stockmarkets, aseptic factory spaces, and atriums illustrate this post-urban space perfectly. Gursky does not show us historical monuments conferring an identity on a place, but shows us interchangeable structures in interchangeable places with interchangeable skies. His locations are, in Koolhaas's words, "equally exciting—or unexciting—everywhere." They are "superficial—like a Hollywood studio lot"; they can produce "a new identity every Monday morning."

Gursky's atriums are logical components of this generic city as well. In his study on Atlanta and the atriums designed by John Portman, Koolhaas states that buildings with atriums as their private mini-centers no longer depend on specific locations. Atriums are catalysts of the decentralization of the contemporary city. Because they can be placed everywhere, they no longer have to be built in downtowns.[22] Furthermore, atriums contribute to the dismantling not only of the city center, but of public space in general. After all, in the atrium, public space is privatized and restrained. The atrium is a significant part of the ersatz downtown in which all disturbing urban elements, such as beggars or political demonstrations, are banished.

Gursky presents the atrium as a scrupulously controlled space. His atriums are as empty and aseptic as his factory interiors. In his pictures of the hotels built by John Portman, such as *Atlanta* (1996) and *Times Square* (1997), the panoptic qualities of these institutions are emphasized (Figure 3). The lobbies look like an accumulation of an endless series of boxes and are flattened into a geometrical grid, shown in the same indirect light as are his shop displays. Just as in the typical photographs in architecture magazines, no attention is paid to the context or the users of the building. However, Gursky's images differ clearly from the usual architectural photography, in which the building is presented as very clean but also ready for use. Gursky, in a way, keeps the architecture at a distance. He stresses its superficial quality. He abstracts it and renders it almost illegible. The accumulation of identical units becomes overpowering. The frantic sharpness creates a strange obscurity. The space, controlled by a panoptic institution, becomes inscrutable for the individual. Perspectives collapse. By integrating several viewpoints into one single image, by means of digital techniques, Gursky disturbs spatial perception. Some of Gursky's airport lobbies and atriums have been compared with the endless baroque spaces of Piranesi.[23] And they can also be considered examples of what Fredric Jameson once called postmodern hyperspace. In his famous analysis of John Portman's Westin Bonaventure Hotel in Los Angeles, Jameson argued that such a space "has finally succeeded in transcending the capacities of the individual human body to locate itself, to organize its immediate surroundings perceptually, and cognitively to map its position in a mappable external world."[24]

In sum, Gursky's pictures make clear not only that the control of physical space is becoming much more difficult, but also that in a world of global electronic networks, the relation between the individual and his environment must be reconceptualized. In addition, by making simulated images of simulated spaces, Gursky demonstrates that the relation between image and reality must also be reconceived.

Endnotes

1 See Colin Westerbeck and Joel Meyerowitz, *Bystander: A History of Street Photography* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co. 2001), and Russell Ferguson, "Open City: The Possibilities of the Street," in Kerry Brougher and Russell Ferguson, *Open City: Street Photography Since 1950* (Oxford: Museum of Modern Art, 2001): 8–21.

2 The gaze of the *flaneur* has been called photographic or cinematic by several authors. See, for example, Anke Gleber, *The Art of Taking a Walk: Flanerie, Literature, and Film in Weimar Culture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999).

3 For a general survey of contemporary urban transformations see GUST (Ghent Urban Studies Team), *The Urban Condition. Space, Community, and Self in the Contemporary Metropolis* (Rotterdam: 010 Publishers, 1999).

4 The term "postsuburbia" is used by Rob Kling, Spencer Olin, and Mark Poster, eds., *Postsuburban California. The Transformation of Orange County since World War II* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995) and by Jon C. Teaford, *Post-Suburbia. Government and Politics in the Edge Cities* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997). Other authors have conceptualized the contemporary urban landscape using other names, such as edge city (Joel Garreau), generic city (Rem Koolhaas), exopolis (Edward Soja), city à la carte (Robert Fishman), middle landscape (Peter Rowe), città diffusa (Stefano Boeri), and carpet metropolis (Willem-Jan Neutelings). Other concepts are slurb, the burbs, technoburb, exurbia, disurbia, superburbia, suburban downtown, nonplace, urban field, technocity, polynucleated city, galactic city, spread city, perimeter city, città autostradale, Nowheresville, and autopia. The abundance of these neologisms indicates that it is difficult to describe the contemporary urban landscape by means of traditional spatial, social, and cultural concepts.

5 Dan Graham's article "Homes for America: Early 20th Century Possessable House to the Quasi-Discrete Cell of 66" was originally published in *Arts Magazine* 41, no. 3 (December 1966/January 1967): 21–22. Robert Smithson's text was originally published in *Art Forum* (December 1967) and is reprinted in Nancy Holt, ed., *The Writings of Robert Smithson* (New York: New York University Press, 1979), 67–78.

6 The exhibition *New Topographics: Photographs of a Man-altered Landscape* was organized in 1975 by the International Museum of Photography at George Eastman House in Rochester, New York, and included works by Robert Adams, Lewis Baltz, Bernd and Hilla Becher, Joe Deal, Nicholas Nixon, John Scott, Stephen Shore, and Henry Wessl, Jr.

7 See Robert Venturi, Denise Scott Brown, and Steven Izenour, *Learning from Las Vegas: The Forgotten Symbolism of Architectural Form* (1972; reprint Cambridge: MIT Press, 1991). The layout of this book and the style of its photographs is undeniably indebted to Ruscha's booklets. Ruscha was quoted in *Learning from Levittown or Remedial Housing for Architects, Studio Handouts* (New Haven: Yale University, Department of Architecture, Studio RHA, spring 1970). It must be stated that Venturi was more interested in the lures of vernacular architecture than in new urban or spatial developments.

8 For the importance of the Bechers for Gursky see Peter Galassi, *Andreas Gursky* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 2001), 10–19.

9 Gerhard Schulze, *Erlebnisgesellschaft: Kultursoziologie der Gegenwart* (Frankfurt: Campus Verlag, 1992).

10 Andreas Gursky, correspondence with Veit Görner, quoted in *Andreas Gursky: Fotografien 1994–1998* (Wolfsburg: Kunstmuseum, 1998), iv.

11 For Benjamin, however, the revolutionary capacity of mechanical reproduction was not intrinsic to the medium of photography. Photography was not by itself capable of throwing the complexity of the banal and the real into the domain of art. Without an avant-garde self-reflexivity,

photography could not capture that small authentic scrap of everyday life which states more than painting. That is why Benjamin disapproved of the photography of the *Neue Sachlichkeit*, such as the work of Albert Renger-Patzch, for instance, because it even succeeded in making poverty the object of delight. See Walter Benjamin, "Das Kunstwerk im Zeitalter seiner technischen Reproduzierbarkeit," in *Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. 1, bk. 2 (Frankfurt a.M.. Suhrkamp, 1974), 431–469; "Kleine Geschichte der Fotografie," ibid., vol. 2, bk. 1, 368–385; and "Der Author als Produzent," ibid., vol. 2, bk. 2, 683–701. The idea that photography, instead of destroying the aura of the original, became the aura itself was developed by MacCannel in his brilliant book on tourism, a modern phenomenon connected to photography right from the start; see Dean MacCannel, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), 47–48.

12 Andreas Gursky, correspondence with Veit Görner, quoted in *Andreas Gursky: Fotografien 1994–1998* (Wolfsburg: Kunstmuseum, 1998), vi.

13 See Barbara Hess, "Photographen des modernen Lebens: Anmerkungen zu den Bildern von Lucinda Devlin, Andreas Gursky und Candida Höfer," in *Räume: Lucinda Devlin, Andreas Gursky, Candida Höfer* (Bregenz: Kunsthaus, 1998), 23.

14 Walter Benjamin, "Kleine Geschichte der Photografie," in *Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. 2, bk. 1, 368–385.

15 The photographs of Gursky have been linked to Kracauer's notion of the mass ornament by Annelie Lütgens, "Der Blick in die Vitrine oder Schrein und Ornament," in *Andreas Gursky: Fotografien 1994–1998* (Wolfsburg: Kunstmuseum, 1998), xiii.

16 See Manuel Castells, *The Informational City: Information Technology, Economic Restructuring, and the Urban-regional Process* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1989) and Saskia Sassen, *The Global City: New York, London, Tokyo* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999).

17 For the relation between landscape and image in the tradition of the picturesque, see George B. Tobey, *A History of Landscape Architecture: The Relationship of People to Environment* (New York: American Elsevier Publishing Co., 1973), 128–135; Clemens Steenbergen and Wouter Reh, *Architecture and Landscape: The Design Experiment of Great European Gardens and Landscapes* (München: Prestel, 1996), 253; and John Dixon Hunt, "Ut Pictura Poesis: The Garden and the Picturesque in England 1710–1750," in Monique Mosser and George Teyssot, eds., *The History of Garden Design: The Western Tradition from the Renaissance to the Present Day* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1991), 231–241.

18 Mirko Zardini, "Green is the Color," in *Mutations* (Barcelona: Actar, 2000), 434–439.

19 Marc Augé, *Non-places: Introduction to an Anthropology of Supermodernity* (London: Verso, 1995).

20 Hans Ibelings, *Supermodernisme: Architectuur in het tijdperk van de globalisering* (Rotterdam: Nai Uitgevers, 1998), 79. On the cultural importance of air travel and airports, see David Pascoe, *Airspaces* (London: Reaktion Books, 2001).

21 Rem Koolhaas, "The Generic City," in Rem Koolhaas and Bruce Mau, *S,M,L,XL* (Rotterdam: 010 Publishers, 1995), 1238–1264.

22 Rem Koolhaas, "Atlanta," in Koolhaas and Mau, 833–859.

23 See Annelie Lütgens, "Der Blick in die Vitrine oder Schrein und Ornament," in *Andreas Gursky: Fotografien 1994–1998* (Wolfsburg: Kunstmuseum, 1998), xii.

24 Fredric Jameson, *Postmodernism or the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* (London: Verso, 1991), 44.

Contributors

Carl Chiarenza, artist, art historian, and critic, is Fanny Knapp Allen Professor Emeritus of Art History and Artist-in-Residence at the University of Rochester. He taught art history at Boston University from 1963 to 1986 and taught his first history of photography course there in 1964. Chiarenza has lectured and taught workshops at over ninety institutions in thirty states since 1973. His photographs have been seen in 78 one-person and over 240 group exhibitions since 1957 Chiarenza is the author of *Aaron Siskind: Pleasures and Terrors* (1982), *Chiarenza: Landscapes of the Mind* (1988), and *Chiarenza: Evocations* (2002).

Steven Jacobs is an art historian working for the Ghent Urban Studies Team (GUST), an interdisciplinary research team at Ghent University, Belgium. Jacobs studies the spatial and cultural aspects of the modern city and its artistic representations. GUST has written and edited *The Urban Condition. Space, Community, and Self in the Contemporary Metropolis* (1998) and *Post Ex Sub Dis. Urban Fragmentations and Constructions* (2002). [steven.jacobs@ugent.be]

Alisa Luxenberg is associate professor of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century European art at the University of Georgia, Athens. She received her master's degree in art history from Boston University in 1984—thesis, "Speculations on Goya and Photography"—and her doctorate from the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University in 1991—thesis, "Leon Bonnat (1833–1922)." Her publications have focused on Franco-Spanish artistic exchange between 1700 and 1900, artistic formation and training, and the photography of Duchenne de Boulogne and of the ruins of the Paris Commune. She is currently working on a book that re-examines the Galerie Espagnole (1838–1848). [allux@uga.edu]

Cynthia Elyce Rubin is a visual culture specialist and devoted deltiologist. She holds an A.B. from Vassar College, an Ed.M. from Boston University, and a Ph.D. from New York University in folk art studies. She has curated traveling exhibitions, including *Southern Folk Art* and *Swiss Folk Art*, and has published numerous books and exhibition catalogues, including *Southern Folk Art* (Oxmoor House), *Siegmund Forst: A Lifetime in Arts and Letters* (Yeshiva University Museum), *Going West: Schweizer Volkskunst in America* (American Consultant, Swiss National Museum), and *ABC Americana from the National Gallery of Art* (Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich). She guest-edited *Swiss Folk Art* (a special issue of the *Clarion*, American Folk Art Museum), and with E. Morgan Williams she co-authored *Larger than Life: the American Tall-Tale Postcard, 1905–1915* (Abbeville Press). She is currently working on a manuscript about O. S. Leeland and his postcards. She has been a recipient of two South Dakota Humanities Research Grants and a Minnesota Historical Society Research Grant. She is currently on the New York Council for the Humanities, Speakers in the Humanities Program. [cynthiaelyce@earthlink.net]

Society for Photographic Education: 42nd National Conference

March 17-20, 2005 in Portland, Oregon in Hilton Portland & Executive Tower

Passage

With the opening of the 2004 Conference in Newport, it is time to set our sights on the future, and in this case westward – to Portland, Oregon. In 2005, 200 years after Lewis and Clark's historic negotiation of the Northwest Passage, Oregon will provide the venue for our national gathering. Referencing that journey, the 2005 SPE National Conference *Passage* will invite reflection on our active and complicated relationships with issues of exploration and transition.

Panels, papers, and imagemakers are invited to respond to an expansive interpretation of the idea of "passage"; as movement from one place or condition to another, as liminal space, as intervals in-between, as rites or rights of passage, as personal, cultural, anthropological or scientific transformations through time. Proposals are encouraged which utilize or consider time-based media and / or serial structures.

Portland, the *City of Roses*, combines urban sophistication with small town charm against a backdrop of lush gardens, waterways and mountain vistas. An historic old town, infamous bookstores, Saturday Market, Water-front Park, numerous museums, galleries and theater companies also contribute to Portland's reputation as one of the country's most desirable metropolitan areas. Nearby recreational opportunities include a visit to the spectacular Columbia River Gorge and Multnomah Falls, hiking Mt. Hood and windsurfing in the Columbia Gorge at Hood River.

Phil Harris, 2005 conference chair
Terri Warpinski, 2005 conference committee chair

We welcome proposals from all photographers, writers, educators, curators, historians and professionals from other fields. Topics may include, but are not limited to, educational issues, funding, imagemaking, history, contemporary theory and criticism, multidisciplinary approaches, new technologies, effects of media and culture, and presentations of work in photography, film, video, performance and installation. Download our proposal form online. Deadline: June 16, 2004.

SPE National Office
110 Art Building
Miami University
Oxford, OH 45056-2486
Phone: 513/529-8328
Fax: 513/529-1532
(attention spe)
speoffice@spenational.org
www.spenational.org

SOCIETY FOR PHOTOGRAPHIC EDUCATION MEMBERSHIP FORM

MEMBER INFORMATION

name _____
address _____
city/state/zip _____
_____
phone (hm/wk) _____
email address _____
website address _____
affiliation/university _____

METHOD OF PAYMENT ☐ Mastercard ☐ Visa ☐ check (made out to SPE)

card no. _____ exp. date _____
signature _____ total amount _____ today's date _____

MEMBERSHIP (circle all that apply)	1 YEAR	2 YRS
Corporate Member	$600	$1100
Collector's Member*	$365	$430
Sustaining Member	$100	$190
Regular Member	$75	$140
Senior Member	$50	$95
Student Member (Please include a copy of student ID)	$40	$75
Postage Contribution** (Required outside the U.S.)	$20	$30
Donation to Student Scholarship Fund	$_____	
TOTAL AMOUNT	$_____	

PREFERENCES:

___ Please do not share this address with other companies.
___ Please do not publish my name or address in SPE's membership directory.
___ Please do not email me occasional SPE updates.
___ I would like to be part of the Multicultural Caucus.
___ I would like to be part of the Women's Caucus.

Please send this form and your payment to:
SPE Membership Registration, Attn.: Hannah Frieser,
P.O. Box 425484, Denton, TX 76204-5484.

Questions about membership status? Please contact Hannah Frieser at 940/383-1441 (phone/fax) or email to hannah@spenational.org. General information about membership levels, as well as application forms, are available at our website at **www.spenational.org.**

* Collector's Members may choose a print from the Fine Print Collectors Program. See our website for available prints. Purchase of three prints for $900 entitles the buyer to a complimentary one-year membership.

** Postage contribution is required for all international members, including those in Canada.

Membership dues are for the calendar year, January through December.

mfa 02.2004