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I, Emily Bauman, hereby submit this original work as part of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Art History.

It is entitled: Die Kunst in der Photographie: Nostalgia and Modernity in the German Art Photography Journal, 1897–1908

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Die Kunst in der Photographie: 
Nostalgia and Modernity in the German Art Photography Journal, 1897–1908

A thesis submitted to the faculty 
of the University of Cincinnati 
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Master of Arts in Art History

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Abstract

*Die Kunst in der Photographie* was an early art photography journal published in Berlin from 1897 to 1908. The photographs in its pages are predominantly nostalgic, with landscape and genre scenes that offer sentimentalized or ruralized depictions of contemporary life. This tendency to turn away from industrialization and to embrace a certain rusticity resonates with the Romantic ideals that saw their peak in the early half of the nineteenth century, seeming to imply that *Die Kunst in der Photographie* fixed a stubborn eye on the past. Yet portrait photographs in the journal reveal a focus on intersubjectivity—an attempt to put the viewer into contact with the distinct personality of the subject—which demonstrates a break from what had become the traditional conventions of photographic portraiture. Rather than emphasizing what the sitter looked like, these portraits display an inwardness of composition, depicting the sitter in shadows and with down-turned eyes. This inwardness cuts against the theatricality, and perhaps pompousness, of contemporaneous photographs that depicted the sitter surrounded by lavish objects, staring back at the viewer. These portraits provide a modern counterpart to the journal’s nostalgic landscape and genre scenes.

It is this tension between nostalgia and modernity that directs my examination of *Die Kunst in der Photographie*. While on one hand the journal shows modern characteristics, with stylistic connections to the contemporary Jugendstil movement and a clear interest in the development of photographic portraiture, it shows on the other hand a penchant for nostalgic motifs, with landscape and genre scenes that echo the visual languages of nineteenth century German Romanticism and French Realism. This body of photographs came not from an academic setting, but from the hands of participating camera club members who, ironically, showed a desire for a less mechanized society. Contributors to *Die Kunst in der Photographie* embraced Romantic ideals and Jugendstil ethics of artisanal culture as they asserted themselves as artists, and the photographs they made reveal how they conceived their identities. This thesis sheds new light on their art and practice.
I offer my sincere thanks to my committee members, Morgan Thomas, Mikiko Hirayama, and Valerie Weinstein. Their time and expertise have been invaluable to this project, and I am grateful for their insightful criticism and their encouragement. My thanks go also to my husband Matthew, for his cheerful support generally, his graceful translation suggestions when I got stuck, and his generous close readings of my drafts. I would like finally to thank my mom, who took me to the art museum when I was young, and who has supported my goals in many ways.
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Introduction

_Die Kunst in der Photographie_ (The Art in Photography) is a journal of early art photography, published in Berlin between 1897 and 1908. The journal was a subscription-based, unbound publication issued in cardstock individual art folios, created and edited by German banker and hobby-photographer Franz Goerke (1856–1931). Up to now the journal has remained largely in the shadow of _Camera Work_ as a topic of scholarship, with many studies focused on Alfred Stieglitz (1864–1946) and his role in the evolution of modern photography. Rather than as a footnote along the way to “straight photography” and the glory days of modern art, _Die Kunst in der Photographie_ warrants sustained attention not only as an artifact of the history of photography, but as an expression of the time in which it was created. The publication is composed of pictorial photographs made by amateur and hobby photographers—a social network of men and women who took their engagement with the medium quite seriously, and for whom the establishment of photography among the fine arts was a concrete goal. The pictures they made reveal a shared sense of longing in the face of fin-de-siècle modernity. This study sheds light on this overlooked body of works. The photographs of _Die Kunst in der Photographie_ do not simply illustrate the predominant stylistic attributes of pictorialism, but rather reveal the socio-cultural outlook shared by the journal’s contributors. My thesis shows that their photographs are not stepping stones along the path to avant-gardes images, but rather assertions of identity marked by German Romantic sentiment.

My first chapter discusses _Die Kunst in der Photographie_ in its time. I discuss early art photography as a social practice and how the journal compares with its more well-known counterpart, _Camera Work_. I also show how examples of one of the journal’s most popular motifs express the pictorial aesthetic ideals _Die Kunst in der Photographie_ upheld. In chapter two, I argue that the nostalgic tendency in the journal’s pages does not simply reflect the stylistic conventions of pictorial photography, but rather reveals the social attitude of its contributors. I demonstrate further that the photographs published in the journal make clear connections to both the art and philosophy of German Romanticism, with landscape
compositions that mimic Romantic painting’s fixation on connection to the natural world, and genre scenes that indicate a longing for preindustrial times. Chapter three examines portraiture. I demonstrate that the portraits in this journal depart from typical photographic likenesses of the time. They take inspiration from the Jugendstil ideal of the unity of art and life, with portraits that show a concern for capturing the sitter’s innate character. I contend that the landscape, genre pictures, and portraits in Die Kunst in der Photographie embody the hallmark characteristics of pictorial photography, but at the same time are a distinct body of works that should not disappear from historical attention.

Camera Work is commonly celebrated as the seminal work in the promotion of photography as fine art. The quarterly photographic journal was published under the guidance of photographer and modern art promoter Alfred Stieglitz. Numerous studies place Camera Work (and Stieglitz) at the center of the story of the development of fine art photography, with notable monographs including Robert Doty’s Photo-Secess: Stieglitz and the Fine-Art Movement in Photography and Nancy Newhall’s From Adams to Stieglitz: Pioneers of Modern Photography, and essays including Sarah Greenough’s “Alfred Stieglitz and the ‘Idea of Photography’,” and Allan Sekula’s “On the Invention of Photographic Meaning.” Sekula argues, “Through Camera Work Stieglitz established a genre where there had been none; the magazine outlined the terms under which photography could be considered art, and stands as an implicit text, as scripture, behind every photograph that aspires to the status of high art.” Yet Sekula’s assertion ignores the framework for art photography and photographic journals that existed before Camera Work. Die Kunst in der Photographie in fact predates Camera Work by six years. In a monograph that traces how photographs came to appear in books, Frank Heidtmann asserts, “[Die Kunst in der Photographie] was the first photographic journal in the world that concerned itself only with the photographic image and its aesthetics, which ignored all other themes, and treated art photography as an international movement.”

2 Frank Heidtmann, Wie das Photo ins Buch kam, der Weg zum photographisch illustrierten Buch (Berlin: Verlag Arno Spitz, 1984), 223.
Mine is not the first study to examine early art photography with an arm’s length regard for Stieglitz’s place in the unfolding of its history. Ulrich Keller’s essays “The Art Photography Movement around 1900: Painting as a Model,” “The Myth of Art Photography: A Sociological Analysis,” and “The Myth of Art Photography: An Iconographic Analysis” have been essential to my approach. Keller proclaims,

[…]

the time has come to take a fresh look at Art Photography itself, and since the validity of the photographic medium does not stand and fall any more with the work of Stieglitz and Steichen, it has become possible to attempt such an inquiry from a critical point of view, with the intention of recovering neglected aspects of, and re-examining traditional assumptions about, Art Photography. The emergence of the movement from the sphere of popular snapshotting, its institutional infrastructure, its aesthetic principles, the range and roots of its iconography, and more generally, the contradictions of an amateur pastime trying to establish itself as a ‘high art’ proposition – these and other topics promise interesting results, especially if an attempt is made to utilize the whole range of available sources, rather than a very few accepted and overused contemporary publications such as Camera Notes and Camera Work.  

Keller takes issue with Camera Work’s elitism, arguing that its small circle of contributors was interested more in social prestige than in critical discourse. Keller’s criticism led me to notice an interesting point of difference between Camera Work and Die Kunst in der Photographie: while Camera Work contains advertisements and endorsements by and for camera manufacturers and other relevant businesses, Die Kunst in der Photographie published no such compromising commercial content.

To date, one scholarly project has taken Die Kunst in der Photographie as its subject. In two articles dedicated to Die Kunst in der Photographie, Rolf Krauss offers brief summaries of the journal’s contents, as well as details regarding the printing of the journal itself. He explains that the journal had the character of a yearbook, published in installments. Subscribers would receive issues throughout the year, with the final issue accompanied by the volume’s title page, list of contents, and preface. The idea was that subscribers would bind the journal themselves. This has the unfortunate side effect that few complete volumes exist today. Krauss devotes a section of his first article on the journal to an examination of the printing establishments used in its production. Goerke was adamant about high quality

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printing, and listed the heliographer and printer (typically the same firm) with each photogravure in the journal, with only a few exceptions in the journal’s twelve years.

Krauss’s study also includes a section comparing the journal to Camera Work, which appeared over fifteen years (1903–1917) in fifty issues, compared to Die Kunst in der Photographie’s twelve years (1897–1908) and sixty-six issues. Die Kunst in der Photographie had a larger format; its 35 x 26 cm pages allowed for larger prints. Krauss argues,

The decisive difference between the two publications was in their objectives. Goerke aimed at the widest possible public. It was his ambition, over the years, to document the international development of art photography in detail. [. . .] In contrast, the objectives nurtured by Stieglitz were elitist. He was interested only in the best, and since the best, in his opinion, could be produced only by a few, he confined his attention to those.⁴

Twenty-three photographers are included in both publications, including Alvin Langdon Coburn, Robert Demachy, Hugo Henneberg, A. Horsely Hinton, Gertrude Käsebier, Heinrich Kühn, Puyo, Eduard J. Steichen, Alfred Stieglitz, and Hans Watzek.⁵

The journal’s editor, Franz Goerke, according to Krauss, “had the stature and convictions to approach just about any photographer in the world for his or her pictures, if they were of interest to him.”⁶

In 1889 Goerke founded the Free Photographic Association in Berlin. He would serve as its president from 1912 to 1919. He was also the director of Urania, a society for the popular education (Volksbildung) in the sciences. Goerke fostered a community of learning through observation, hosting numerous photographic滑shows and encouraging photographers in his club as well as other photographic clubs to create images of their own neighborhoods. He directed the 1896 International Exhibition of Amateur Photography (held in the Reichstag building) and those in the Royal Academy of Arts in Berlin in 1902 and 1905. In his foreword to Die Kunst in der Photographie’s first issue, Goerke avows, “We will strive to look continuously and with watchful eyes in- and outside of Germany, and to concern ourselves with

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⁵ Ibid.
laying out the newest advances in these works, so that it remains a true reflection of art photography.” He states that the goal of the journal is to fight for art photography’s rightful place among the other fine arts.

Part One of Krauss’s study includes tables outlining the contents of each issue (most issues focus on the works of a particular camera club); complete lists of the included photographers, the years in which their works were published, and on which pages; the numbers of photogravures and autotypes in each volume; and the number of times each printing establishment (mainly Meisenbach, Riffarth & Co. and Georg Büxenstein & Comp.) was used each year. Part Two of Krauss’s study contains a list of the essays published in the journal, followed by abstracts for each. The essays typically either describe the recent photographs exhibited by particular photo clubs or artists (such essays typically broadly define the clubs as reflections of their nation) or offer reflections on the nature of photography, generally in broad and undefined terms like “the subjective image,” as in Max Allihn’s 1898 essay, “the motif and its treatment in art photography” (which stresses the artist’s “mental sensitivity,”) in Hildegard Lehnert’s essay of 1900, or “pictorial vision in photography,” Hans Merian, 1900. Though Krauss offers a wealth of detail regarding the content of Die Kunst in der Photographie, his study chiefly summarizes, and does not offer critical analysis of the essay contents or formal analyses of individual photographs. My study builds on the strong historical foundation Krauss sets forth.

I offer analyses of select photographs in the journal to illustrate its key themes and motifs, and I bring forward contemporary criticism that appeared in its pages, concentrating on essay contributions by Alfred Lichtwark (1852–1914), Hildegard Lehnert (1857–1943), and Richard Stettiner (1865–1927). However, the scope of this project makes it impossible to comment on every photograph or essay. I have endeavored to select representative images from the complete collection. Because the journal was based in Berlin, and because it is published in the German language, I have most frequently selected photographs by German photographers.8

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8 Roughly half the included photographs were made within the German-speaking world.
Catherine Soussloff argues, “There is no reason that a pictorialist photography, any more than a painterly technique, should necessarily be thought of as unsocial or apolitical. Yet, later critics and photographers, who actively promoted ‘realism’ and social photography, could only consider as unrealistic the subjective practices and effects acknowledged by art photography itself.”9 Soussloff’s assertion is a key underlying principle for this thesis. The social outlook conveyed by Die Kunst in der Photographie’s contributions is a central concern.

This thesis examines the sociocultural environment in which Die Kunst in der Photographie emerged, considering the camera club as social- and institutional framework and reflecting on the cultural relevance of the motifs that recur in its pictures. The journal’s stylistic connections to the Jugendstil movement, landscape and genre scenes that echo the visual language of German Romanticism, and portraits that exhibit concern for understanding and creating a connection with the inner nature of the subject, articulate values held by its contributors. This body of artwork came not from an academic setting, but from the hands of participating camera club members who showed a desire for a less mechanized society. They embraced Romantic ideals and Jugendstil ethics of artisanal culture as they asserted themselves as artists, and the photographs they made reveal how they conceived their identities. This thesis sheds new light on their art and practice.

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Chaper One
The Journal in its Time

This chapter situates *Die Kunst in der Photographie* in its context. The journal was the product of an amateur, club-based movement, and as such reveals the social and aesthetic ideals of its contributors. I discuss early art photography as a social practice, focusing in particular on the German sociocultural landscape from which it emerged. I then compare the journal with its more well-known American counterpart, *Camera Work*, to show that *Die Kunst in der Photographie* was a more egalitarian, international journal. At the same time it showed more interest in national than cosmopolitan identity. I show how examples of one of the journal’s most popular motifs, which draws from Stieglitz’s *Winter – Fifth Avenue*, express the pictorial movement ideals that *Die Kunst in der Photographie* upheld. I conclude the chapter with examples that demonstrate how pictorial and Jugendstil aesthetics convey identity in the journal’s pages.

In his forward to the premiere issue of *Die Kunst in der Photographie*, Goerke writes:

> The development of amateur photography has reached a critical point. Out of the wide circle of amateurs has emerged a small community which sees more in photography than a playful hobby. A new era in amateur photography has thereby begun, the era of artistic and highly personal photography … the publisher has in this work set himself the task of presenting an overview of this kind of photography, its problems and achievements, through the medium of reproduction prints.\(^\text{10}\)

Goerke pursued the development of amateur photography with great enthusiasm, organizing the publication of the journal as well as exhibitions on an international scale. The “community” of which Goerke speaks was key to that development. Art photography was a social practice. Locally, club members exchanged ideas and viewed each other’s photographs.

*Die Kunst der Photographie* celebrated art photography as an international movement. Issues of the first volume were dedicated to camera clubs in Vienna, Berlin, Paris, Brussels, and London. These

clubs functioned independently of traditional art academies, on one hand allowing for a far more progressive, democratic and typically middle-class exploration of an artistic medium, but on the other hand indicating a relative lack of institutional acceptance of photography as art. In his introduction to the 1899 volume of Die Kunst in der Photographie, art historian Richard Stettiner (1865–1927) returns often to the idea of an organized and official school for photography in Berlin. He posits that if a school of photography were to be established in Berlin, it could be done without the preconceived parameters (massgebende pädagogische Ziele) of Hamburg or Munich. Stettiner contrasts the climate in Hamburg to that of Munich, pointing out that while in Hamburg, “art photography is for Lichtwark an art of enthusiasts, an excellent side of dilettantism,” in Munich, “the Secession wants nothing to do with dilettanti.” At the time, none of these cities had a school for art photography in the sense of their royal academies. Stettiner pondered the what-ifs of the development of a school in either Hamburg, where amateur photographers enjoyed the encouragement of Kunsthalle Hamburg’s director Alfred Lichtwark, or in the dogmatic secessionist circles of Munich. Stettiner also comments on the would-be schools of the United States, England, and Holland. Beyond a clear desire for established schools for art photography, these musings demonstrate a tendency to ascribe national characteristics to photography groups and their output.

Stettiner discusses the developments in art photography in Vienna and Hamburg in an essay also published in Kunst in der Photographie in 1899. He contextualizes the two cases with brief examinations of photography in other world cities, and speaks hopefully about a day soon to come when a German photographer’s name will join the “greats” Alexandre (a.k.a. Leonard Misonne, Brussels, 1870–1943), Craig Annan (Glasgow, 1864–1946), or Hollyer (London, 1838–1933). The essay has a decided nationalist slant, with discussion centered on the production of art photography in various countries and how the works of German photographers compare. While Goerke claims that Die Kunst in der

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12 Ibid, 6.
Photographie embraces photography as an international movement—and his inclusion of works from around the western world more or less supports this claim—photographers are typically discussed in terms of their nationality, as representatives of the art photography in their home lands.

Considerations of the social role of art played into the continued development of national identity in Berlin. Joschke maintains that “photography assumed a place within larger reflections upon the role of the image within educational reform movements. Around 1900, aesthetic education became central to the argument for the reconsideration of teaching in the humanities, which was judged to be obsolete, and for a redefinition of the cultural identity of the infant German state.”

The legacies of brothers Wilhelm (1767–1835) and Alexander von Humboldt (1769–1859) had fostered a sense of German identity linked to a popular appreciation for education, art, and a drive to understand people and the natural world. The contemporary rise of artists who challenged the traditional boundaries of fine art, combined with this moment of relative peace and prosperity in Germany, created an apt setting for Goerke’s promotion of art photography.

Some level of institutional acceptance of art photography in Berlin is apparent, with exhibitions hosted by institutions of the state, such as the 1896 International Exhibition of Amateur Photography held in the Reichstag building, and those in the Royal Academy of Arts in 1902 and 1905. It is important to note that these were nonetheless regarded as exhibitions of amateur photography. There was no school in Germany at this time that taught photography as a pictorial art. This underscores the point that the photography published in Die Kunst in der Photographie came from clubs of amateurs, which, for all their commitment to the lofty goal of establishing photography as fine art, were social, not professional groups. Art historian Christian Joschke notes two phases in the growth of clubs. The first began around 1890, when societies were composed of a relatively elite (and perhaps idle) bourgeoisie. He gives the examples Ernst Juhl (1850-1915) in Hamburg, a businessman who became the secretary of the city’s first

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society of amateur photographers, Carl Srna in Vienna, who founded the Club der Amateur-
Photographen, and Richard Neuhass, Gustave Fritsch, and Franz Goerke of the Freie photographische
Vereinigung in Berlin. In the second phase, from roughly 1896 to 1906, these photographic leisure clubs
opened to the middle class.\(^{16}\) Joschke admits that the social diversity of the clubs was limited, even when
less wealthy members were permitted to join, but argues “all these amateurs, whether they were simple
enthusiasts, scientists, or established artists, read the same magazines, purchased the same manuals, and
attended the same exhibitions; they all occupied the same social space.”\(^{17}\)

Keller points out an intriguing difference between the framework of the art photography
movement and that of established fine arts at the time: “While painters’ associations such as the
Impressionists or the Secessionists can best be described as professional interest groups with significant
business agendas (opposing academic discrimination, obtaining government funds, creating market
opportunities), the photo amateurs had exactly contrary goals: they wanted to get away from their daily
professional worries. Camera clubs were recreational undertakings, they provided an outlet for the
gregarious instincts of their members, i.e., they were socially rather than business-oriented.”\(^{18}\) While it is
true that amateur photographers did not carry the financial need to market their work, I argue that
deeming them a frivolous outlet is oversimplification. Their interest in participating in the clubs shows
their interest in making art—an interest that can be framed either as a Romantic desire to embody the
“genius artist” or a Jugendstil movement desire to surround oneself with beautiful things.

With regard to the social framework behind its creation, it seems that Die Kunst in der
Photographie differed from Stieglitz’s Camera Work. Keller almost exclusively refers to Stieglitz’s circle
and its output as “elitist” photography. He declares, “contrary to what it set out to do, [Camera Work] did
not become the ultimate synthesis of international Art Photography; it simply was the mouthpiece of one

Keller points out that Stieglitz’s social network served not only as producers of photographs but as the promoters and critics, often clearly reciprocating promotion of one another. He argues further, “since the ‘high art’ establishment (academies, museums, critics) rejected photography as a legitimate art form, the elitist photo clubs had only one possibility of satisfying their hunger for artistic prestige: to fill the authority vacuum with institutions of their own making.”

Statistical examination of the two journals demonstrates that Goerke promoted the works of a much broader base of photographers. While Camera Work (1903–1917) included 559 illustrations by 79 photographers, Die Kunst in der Photographie included a total of 674 photographs by 278 photographers from around the world. This meant that on average, most photographers contributed only one or two photographs, and that the publication functioned as a true—and relatively democratic, though Goerke was the sole selector of artworks for each issue—celebration of amateur photography.

Although he is by no means the central figure in Goerke’s journal, Stieglitz’s influence is readily apparent. Caffin identifies Alfred Stieglitz as the leader of American “advanced photographers” at the time. He expounds,

[Stieglitz’s] influence on the progress of the art has been so widely diffused that it is difficult to estimate it accurately. We have to consider him as an artist, following his own ideal, and reaching certain definite results of personal expression—but as much more than an individual factor; by his training and affiliations a connecting link between the photographers of Europe and of the United States—as a man of international influences [. . .] he has been the incarnation of the movement—artist, prophet, pathfinder.

In the 1898 volume of Die Kunst in der Photographie, Goerke and Stettiner declare, “Stieglitz belongs unconditionally to the modern movement. Today he is probably at the top of everything that has to do

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19 Ibid., 267.
20 Ibid., 253.
21 Ibid., 284.
23 Caffin, Photography as Fine Art, 23-24. Stieglitz, born in the U.S. in 1864, went to Germany in 1881 to study at the Polytechnic Schools at Berlin; took a photography class in the course of his engineering studies. He was elected to London’s Linked Ring; was unpaid editor of The American Amateur Photographer; helped to organize the Camera Club and assumed editorship of Camera Notes; and took leading part in the establishment of the Philadelphia Photographic Salon.
with photography in America.\textsuperscript{24} Photographs by Stieglitz appear in the 1898, 1899, 1900, and 1901 volumes. (American photography is featured in issue one of 1898, and the Photographic Society of Philadelphia, with whom Stieglitz was not a member but frequently exhibited, is the focus of issues six and three in 1901 and 1908, respectively.) With eight total photographs published in \textit{Die Kunst in der Photographie}, Stieglitz is by no means a prominent figure in the journal; Otto Scharf (1858-1947), Léonard Misonne (1870–1943), and Puyo (Émile Joachim Constant Puyo, 1857–1933), for example, each had at least twice that number.

Nonetheless, it is clear that Stieglitz’s work was influential for photographers contributing to \textit{Kunst in der Photographie}. Keller notes, “elitist photographers were prone to borrow picturesque motifs from each other,” citing the examples of Stieglitz’s \textit{The Netmender} (1894) and Heinrich Kühn’s \textit{Dutch Fisherwoman} (n.d.) as motifs that were borrowed and repeated by other pictorialists.\textsuperscript{25} In \textit{Die Kunst in der Photographie}, the influence of Stieglitz’s 1893 street photograph \textit{Winter—Fifth Avenue} (fig. 1) is most readily apparent. While the photograph was not published in Goerke’s journal, readers would likely have seen it reproduced in the magazines \textit{Wiener Photographische Blätter} in 1897; \textit{Photographische Rundschau: Zeitschrift für Freunde der Photographie} in 1900; or \textit{Das Atelier des Photographen: Zeitschrift für Photographie und Reproduktionstechnik} in 1901.\textsuperscript{26} If not in a magazine or journal, photographers may have seen \textit{Winter—Fifth Avenue} when it was exhibited in the first Internationale Elite-Ausstellung künstlerischer Photographien, München, Verein Bildender Künstler München, 1898, the seventh Internationale Ausstellung von Kunst-Photographien der Gesellschaft zur Förderung der

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Amateur-Photographie, Hamburg, 1899, or the Internationale Photographische Ausstellung, Dresden, 1909.27

Likely best known today for its photogravure appearance in Camera Work, Winter—Fifth Avenue was made on February 22, at the corner of Fifth Avenue and 35th Street, near the Society of Amateur Photographers of New York.28 A carriage drawn by two horses, shown nearly in silhouette against the snow-covered street and seemingly flurry-filled sky, approaches the viewer. Few details are discernible in the scene, placing the focus on the journey of this carriage against a, somewhat literally, whitewashed city backdrop. Léonard Misonne’s Staubiger Weg (Dusty Way, fig. 2) appeared in Die Kunst der Photographie in 1897. In the depicted scene, a horse-drawn carriage and a man on foot walk toward the viewer along a dirt road. The composition’s similarity to that of Stieglitz’s 1893 photograph is striking; the diagonal angle of the roads across the respective compositions and the position of the horizon lines of the two photographs are nearly identical, and the streets in each are framed vertically by either buildings in Winter—Fifth Avenue or trees in Staubiger Weg, in both cases in soft focus. In Staubiger Weg, the impression of dust clouding the air attains the hallmark atmospheric quality of pictorial photography, echoing the same quality achieved with snow in Winter—Fifth Avenue. Though one might not argue that Misonne quotes Stieglitz’s photograph directly, as his is a rural scene and Stieglitz’s a city street, the similarity between the photographs certainly warrants the comment that this sort of depiction, or “type,” was a suitable subject for pictorial photographers.

Hugo Henneberg’s Auf der Landstrasse (On the Country Road, fig. 3), also published 1897 in Kunst in der Photographie, reflects the same type. As with Misonne’s picture, a single carriage on a tree-flanked road appears in the frame. But in Henneberg’s variation, the carriage travels away from the viewer, and the road curves, suggesting a more meandering path. Bare trees extend to the top of the picture, dwarfing the carriage. Hills rise in the background, and hints of swirling clouds are visible in the

sky. Like Misonne, Henneberg has turned away from the dirty, crowded turn-of-the-century city and chosen a seemingly isolated dirt path for his subject. At first glance, these rural depictions seem fundamentally different from Stieglitz’s urban scene, despite their compositional similarity. However, these pictures share the same quiet nostalgia, the same preference for framing a landscape, whether urban or rural, in a way that suggests isolation, and perhaps a sense that a sort of wholeness or community with the land has been ruptured.

This type of landscape would reappear in the journal’s 1907 and 1908 volumes. A contribution from Linked Ring photographer J. Dudley Johnston (1868–1955) titled Liverpool – An Impression (fig. 4) again echoes Stieglitz. Though the title clearly pays homage to the impressionist painters of the preceding decades, Johnston is selective in what he borrows from the style. The depiction of “a moment,” the play of light, and a stylistic similarity between the hazy pictorial style and the loose brushstrokes of impressionist painting are clear. However, this scene within the city does not throw light on a growing urban culture, and signs of industrialization are left out of the scene, either cut out of the frame or masked by the blurriness of the midground. Published 1908, Viennese photographer Feri Angerer’s (dates unknown) Auf der Landstrasse (fig. 5) again depicts the road and single carriage. Ruts in the dirt road echo those worn into the snow of Stieglitz’s scene, and again, the dark carriage travels a street flanked vertically by a romantically obscured background—this time, by what looks like mist or morning haze. These variations on a theme demonstrate not just a tendency to celebrate favored motifs, but also express the ideals of the pictorial movement: softened lines, tonality, and the capture or creation of an atmospheric quality used to underscore the photograph’s art status (and by extension the photographer’s role as artist), and subject matter that echoes the art of the past.

The lack of a school that taught pictorial photography as an artistic medium in Germany meant that there were no “professional” art photographers. In fact, pictorial photographers and their supporters were passionate in their insistence that they differed from professional photographers. In a 1901 monograph on photography as fine art, Anglo-American critic Charles Caffin laments a dark period in photography, starting in the 1850s when portrait studios began to flourish. He writes, “Photography as an
art fell upon evil times; it was seized and exploited for moneyed ends, and its artistic possibilities became obscured by commercialism. With the usual interacting of cause and effect, the photographers aimed to please the public, and the latter accepted their work as representative of the art at its best.”

Alfred Lichtwark expresses similar frustration in his 1900 *Kunst in der Photographie* essay, “Wohin” (“Where to”). He complains,

> In the first decade, from roughly 1840–50, professional photographers were artists. Miniaturists, portrait painters, lithographers, who felt their livelihoods were threatened, turned to photography. […] From 1850 there was a turnaround. The artist-photographer was superseded by the newly-emerging professional photographers, who, nearly always with no artistic education, sought only a tool for profit in the new technology.

Lichtwark complains that the public chooses to support the cheaper professional photographers rather than academically trained portrait artists, charging further that the fall of the portrait painting profession in Germany (Lichtwark claims that only a half dozen or so remain in the country in 1900), is the fault of the “albernste Antikunst” (most ridiculous anti-art) of professional photography studios. He goes so far as to call professional photography the “Toilette der Photographie.”

Stettiner expresses the same frustration in an 1897 *Kunst in der Photographie* essay. He begins with the complaint that professional portrait photography seems like an assemblage of template works, and charges his readership, “that it lies precisely in the task of the amateur photographer” to convince the public that it must turn from the characterless output of professional portrait studios. The exhibition of amateur photographers’ works, and the publication of their output in journals like *Die Kunst in der Photographie*, were meant to instruct the public of the aesthetic ideals of pictorial photography.

In the 1890s, pictorialism was still the broadly accepted style of art photography. English photographer Henry Peach Robinson (1830–1901) had set the standard by the pictorial style with his first book, *The Pictorial Effect in Photography: Being Hints on Composition and Chiaroscuro for*.

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Photographers (1869).\textsuperscript{34} Robinson recommended that photographers adhere to the aesthetic of the contemporary salon painting. The book appeared in German language in 1886.\textsuperscript{35} Later, French pictorial photographer Robert Demachy (1859–1936) would famously quip, “a straight print may be beautiful…but it cannot be a work of art.\textsuperscript{36} This statement is mildly amusing in light of Demachy’s own very softly focused, even blurry images, which take the “rules” of pictorial photography quite seriously. Pictorialism became associated with portraits in soft focus and landscapes with hazy, misty, or foggy atmospheres; essentially, unsharpness became a marker of art photography at the end of the nineteenth century. In the quest to bring photography to the level of respect held by painting, “painterly” qualities, and often scenes that mimicked salon- or museum-approved painted portraits, landscapes, or genre scenes, were chosen devices of the pictorial photographer.

Though the majority of photographs in Der Kunst in der Photographie bear these markers, the journal also shows a strong connection to the contemporary development of Jugenstil art. As Krauss explains, Goerke’s “faith in the beneficial fruits of the science, his love of the art and his conviction that art is capable of developing a person’s artistic sensibility, together with his missionary zeal and determination to pass his insights on to others, made Goerke an exponent of the Jugendstil.”\textsuperscript{37} The journal’s title plate, which served as the front cover of the dust jacket of individual issues of the first seven volumes (1897–1903), exemplifies this art nouveau attitude.

Swiss painter Hermann Hirzel (1864–1939) designed the journal’s title plate (fig. 6), which would remain unchanged over its twelve years of publication. The title plate incorporates Jugendstil typeface, creating an immediate visual link to publications and exhibition posters of the secessionist movements of Berlin, Munich, and Vienna. Hirzel’s woodblock-print cover illustration depicts a nude


\textsuperscript{37} Krauss, “Die Kunst in der Photographie part 1,” 268.
male figure playing a woodwind instrument beneath three birch trees. He wears a laurel crown, evoking classical mythology. The trees, which rise from the foreground of the lower left of the composition, seem to extend beyond the frame of the picture, with branches extending over the strong horizontal line that tops the picture and into the title section of the page. This metaphor for the natural overcoming artificial confinement is echoed in the cover design of the Vienna Secession’s premiere issue of its journal *Ver Sacrum* (fig. 7). In Alfred Roller’s 1898 illustration, the tree, whose roots are bursting from the confinement of the human-made pot, stands as a metaphor for the artists’ break from traditional academies. Rather than the rules of tradition, the subjectivity of the artist would dictate art. Hirzel’s illustration suggests the value and power of the individual artist, as the central figure turns his back to the viewer, engaged with his natural surroundings and with the song he plays.

The parallels between these frontispieces visually suggest connections between Goerke’s promotion of photography as fine art and the ideals of, in this case the Vienna Secessionists, but arguably of secessionist groups of the time. In this moment at the turn of the twentieth century, secessionist artists proposed radical new ways of looking at the role of art, and at the presentation of art. Particularly in the context of the Munich and Vienna Secessions, the domain of the artist was expanded beyond painting and sculpture to include architecture, furniture design, clothing, and the graphic arts. Secessionist groups did not adhere to any single style, and as such numerous artistic approaches, including abstraction, expressive painting styles, politically and socially aware realism, Symbolism, and early Art Nouveau (Jugendstil), were included in their exhibitions and publications. This embrace of different artistic styles and media without hierarchy suited the values of the growing middle class.

The first four volumes of *Die Kunst in der Photographie* contain essay texts that are primarily concerned with pictorial or painterly expression. Krauss insists, “no matter how the notions are expressed, the purpose is always to prove that the photographer is in a position to overcome the technical nature of his apparatus and to penetrate into artistic realms.”38 Indeed essays in the journal included arguments to

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38 Ibid, 284.
this effect, such as Stettiner’s proclamation that photographers Mrs. Montgomery Sears (Sarah Choate Sears, 1858–1935), Hugo Henneberg (1863–1918), and Georg Einbeck (1871–1951) “strive to give expression to a world of ideas,” or painter Hildegard Lehnert’s reverie that if Aura Hertwig (dates unknown) should dedicate herself to perfecting the gum printing technique, “we can without doubt expect more artistic genius.” This reference to artistic genius recalls the Romantic notion of the artist’s connection to something beyond concrete, rational experience. At the same time, the idea that this genius is used to overcome the camera as machine suggests a resentment toward the increasing mechanization of society at the turn of the twentieth century. In my next chapter, I discuss how nostalgia for pre-Industrial times and echoes of the past are played out in the landscape and genre scenes in *Die Kunst in der Photographie*.

Chapter Two
Landscape and Genre Scenes: Nostalgia and the Romantic

“Cameras began duplicating the world at that moment when the human landscape started to undergo a vertiginous rate of change: while an untold number of forms of biological and social life are being destroyed in a brief span of time, a device is available to record what is disappearing.”

Susan Sontag

Pictorialists used the relatively new technological medium of photography to capture pastoral pictures in a rapidly urbanizing and industrializing society; their nostalgic deployment of the photographic medium is ironic. Yet, in camera clubs in Berlin, Hamburg, Vienna, London, and Brussels—to name a handful of the most frequent contributors to the pages of Die Kunst in der Photographie—amateur photographers rarely seemed to turn their lenses to the changes around them. Instead, the clubs favored rural landscapes and genre scenes. The few urban street photographs that appear in the journal, much like Stieglitz’s Winter – Fifth Avenue, soften and obscure the face of the city, creating idealized pictures that portray the city as a place filled with soft light, a dreamy atmosphere, and picturesque architecture. Turning a blind eye to the symbols of modernity, the journal includes only one picture of a train in its twelve year span. Given their tendency to borrow from successful high art motifs, it is curious that camera club members would by and large turn away from the thrilling impression of J.M.W. Turner’s Rain, Steam, and Speed - The Great Western Railway (1844). Yet Rangierbahnhof (Marshalling Yard, fig. 8), by Viennese photographer Theodor Mayer (dates unknown), is unique across the journal’s entire output, in its inclusion of three locomotives, a chimney stack covered shed, and jagged posts along a line of tracks.

In this chapter, I examine the landscape and genre scenes across the volumes of Die Kunst in der Photographie. I argue that the nostalgic tendency in the journal’s pages does not simply reflect the

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42 Examples include Robert Prössdorf’s Nach dem Regen and Alfred Stieglitz’s Wet Day on the Boulevard (1894), both published in Die Kusnt in der Photographie in 1900.
stylistic conventions of pictorial photography, but rather reveals the social attitudes of its contributors. Photographs sentimentalizing work done by hand reflect the ongoing Arts and Crafts and Jugendstil movements. Idyllic rural scenes further underscore the photographers’ turn away from industrialization toward a sense of wholeness offered by nature, while ominous landscapes show reverence for nature’s sublime power. These chosen subjects do not simply reflect pictorial stylistic convention, but rather indicate a communal sense of nostalgia and a Romantic sense of self.

Keller observes a specific cultural constellation at the time art photography emerged, noting in particular the new availability of mass-manufactured goods for the Victorian bourgeoisie. He writes, “Inevitably, this economic progress entailed a rise of materialistic attitudes and a decline of aesthetic standards which alarmed ‘enlightened’ members of the upper middle class. Thus, it was only a matter of time until the tide of industrialization triggered a reform movement aimed at the aesthetic improvement of commodity manufacture.” The Art Nouveau and Arts and Crafts movements answered this call, and their connection to amateur photography is closer than one might think. British architect J.S. Gibson (1861–1951) wrote in an 1893 essay in the art magazine The Studio, “It should be our endeavor to do what we can to raise the tone of our surroundings, even at some cost to ourselves; for I think our most necessary lesson is the cultivation of our artistic nature as an integral part of our daily life” (my emphasis). Keller points to this sort of statement as a hallmark of the time of the pictorial photographers. He asserts, “Apart from the mere acquisition of exquisite artifacts this postulate also called for aesthetic self-improvement by the dilettantish [sic] pursuit of poetry, music and picture-making. This explains the great importance attached to artistic amateur activities by the promoters of the Aesthetic Movement.”

In the case of Goerke’s endeavors, the legacies of Prussian Bildung ideals may have further underscored the desire to engage in art, as well as the potential to see art as connected to the improvement of the art viewer’s character. The German concept of “Bildung,” directly translated to English as

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44 J.S. Gibson, “Artistic Houses,” The Studio 1, no. 6 (1893), 220.
“education,” has strong connections with education reform of the Enlightenment and has spiritual, philosophical, and political connotations. Promoted by Karl Friedrich Schinkel (1881–1941) and Wilhelm von Humboldt (1867–1935), among others, Bildung for the growing middle class was part of a utopian project and aesthetic ideology outlined according to the writings of Friedrich Schiller (1759–1805) and Immanuel Kant (1724–1804). As practiced in Berlin, this ideology harnessed the museum as a vehicle for national acculturation, embracing the cultivation of art in order to bestow both aesthetic pleasure and moral restraint upon the middle class. The connection between amateur photography and the Aesthetic Movement resonates with the morality of Bildung aesthetics: if one can see and appreciate beauty, one becomes a better person.

With these philosophical underpinnings in mind, the choice of photographic subject becomes relevant not simply in terms of aesthetic quality, but rather reveals the values shared by contributors to Die Kunst in der Photographie. At the turn of the twentieth century, agricultural landscapes were changing. Yet the pictorialists turned their cameras away from rapid mechanization and commercialization. The pages of Die Kunst in der Photographie depict an Arcadian world, in which the light of sunrise perfectly reflects on the water of a brook, and peasants go about work in the same way their grandparents had done. Keller comments, “Even grazing sheep, the oldest commonplace in Western painting, flourished through three decades of Art Photography. And it was not only naïve beginners, but also self-styled ‘giants’ like Stieglitz, Coburn, Steichen, White, Annan, Davison, Kühn and Watzek who applied themselves quite seriously to this subject, which could only have drawn sarcastic comments from Cézanne or the Fauves.”

Otto Scharf’s Frühlingsabend (Spring Evening, fig. 9), published in Kunst in der Photographie in 1897, is one of several such pictures that appear in the journal. A flock of sheep stands in a broad

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46 Schiller’s “On the Aesthetic Education of Man in a Series of Letters,” published 1794, argues that moral character can be improved through exposure to beauty. Schiller also builds on ideas set forth by Kant in his 1790 “Critique of Aesthetic Judgment,” which maintains that aesthetic judgment, though a subjective reflection, is an assertion of universal truth.

clearing. A wall of shrubs lines the clearing, cutting from the lower left corner of the picture to the horizon line just below the center of the picture plane. The textures of the eaten-down grass, the tangled branches, and the sheeps’ wool in the scene are visible, but softened by the photogravure print. The trunks of tall, bare trees rise in jagged silhouette toward a cloudy sky. A strip of brightly reflected clouds stretches nearly parallel to the line of brush, and a dark patch of clouds hovers at the top right corner of the composition. A shepherd stands with the flock amidst the brooding surroundings. The scene is quiet, idyllic. Yet the looming clouds are a reminder of the power nature holds over the shepherd. The soft, sentimentalized scene combined with a threatening sky suggests the Romantic landscape paintings of English artists John Constable (1776–1837) and Henry Milbourne (1781–c. 1826).

Stettiner describes the photographs of Otto Scharf (Krefeld), Carl Winkel (1857–1908, Göttingen), Otto Rau (1856–unknown, Berlin), Adolf Miethe (1862–1927, Berlin), and the students who followed them, in terms of their connection with the German landscape:

The segment is tastefully selected from nature, but rarely one encounters a bold autonomy in the arrangement of objects in the space. The lighting is a fine and atmospheric one, sometimes even to joyful effect, but a more bold impression is intentionally avoided. A few isolated trees, often defoliated, with fondness for spruce, pines or poplars, perhaps also an oak, a slightly hilly terrain, ridges in the sand, a cloudy sky, some water surrounded by rushes; as an accessory a few peasants or a flock of sheep, these are the elements from which their motifs are composed. An elegiac feature, a sentimentality of true German nature runs through nearly all the works of these men. 48

Stettiner mentions a “true German nature.” This phrase reveals a distinctly nationalistic understanding of identity. In Stettiner’s view, the peaceful, atmospheric landscape photographs that he describes illustrate the Germanness of their creators. This implies a connection to nature that is distinctly German.

If these men showed connection to nature, it was in spirit, not by profession, as they were by no means members of an agrarian class. Winkel continued the business begun by his father Rudolf, an optical systems manufacture company that would eventually be part of Carl Zeiss AG. Rau was a co-owner of Meisenach, Riffarth & Co. printing firm (which printed 180 of the 356 photogravures that appeared in Die Kunst in der Photographie). 49 Miethe was a photo-physicist; he co-invented (with

Johannes Gaedicke) the first practical photographic flash and designed several new microscope and camera lenses, including a telephoto lens. Scharf is unique among the photographers Stettiner privileges; while the others are members of the upper-middle class, each involved professionally in either printing or lens- and optical technology, Scharf worked as a gym teacher in a college preparatory school in Krefeld. In any case, the similarities in the landscapes they chose to photograph caught Stettiner’s attention. These German members of the bourgeoisie, actively engaged in the production of and discourse surrounding art photography, were fixing their gaze on pastoral scenes.

In her essay “In Plato’s Cave,” Sontag writes,

It is a nostalgic time right now, and photographs actively promote nostalgia. Photography is an elegiac art, a twilight art. Most subjects are, just by virtue of being photographed, touched with pathos. [. . . ] All photographs are *memento mori.* To take a photograph is to participate in another person’s (or thing’s) mortality, vulnerability, mutability. Precisely by slicing out this moment and freezing it, all photographs testify to time’s relentless melt.\(^5\)

Sontag’s thoughts on photography at the close of the twentieth century seem equally well suited to reflection on photography at the century’s onset. The German working class—not the workers in factories but in shipyards, blacksmith shops, and farms—were a favored landscape accessory and genre scene subject for the contributors to *Die Kunst in der Photographie.* These were not family members nor likely friends of the photographers, but rather were symbols of an age seen as slipping away.

Work done by hand, as in the man sealing a barrel with pitch in Albin Fichte’s *Beim Faspichen* (Barrel Pitching, fig. 10), the group of fishermen wading into the water holding long fishing lines in Otto Rau’s *Fischzug* (Catch of Fish, fig. 11), or the lone man harvesting wheat in Getrud Saupe’s *Der Schnitter* (The Reaper, fig. 12), is part of an idealized set of preferred motifs in the journal, a chosen depiction of the time in which its contributors lived. The theme would last throughout the journal’s output. In 1908, the journal’s final year, *Kartoffelernte* (Potato Harvest, fig. 13) by Otto Scharf shows an enduring penchant for hand-done labor. Men and women bend

\(^{50}\) Sontag, *On Photography*, 15.
over large baskets of potatoes, forming a row that stretches diagonally toward the horizon line.

One man carries a basket toward a horse and cart. The cart’s wheels stand as high as the horse, giving the impression of a great load. In the foreground, the bright white of one man’s shirt sleeves and of the kerchiefs worn by two of the women, give the scene a gay mood, despite the clear physical demands of the work. Soft white clouds hover above the orderly row of harvesters.

The scene recalls Jean-Francois Millet’s (1814–1875) peasant scenes.

Such sentimentalization of handwork permeated amateur photography at the time.

Stieglitz’s *Netzflackerin* (Net Mender, fig. 14), published 1898 in *Die Kunst in der Photographie*, conveys the same reverence for handicraft. Taken in 1894 at the dunes at Katwyk in North Holland, it depicts a Dutch woman seated on the ground, absorbed in the task of mending a fishing net. She appears quite isolated in her surroundings; no trees or houses appear in the background, only the single woman on a grassy coastline against a hazy sky. Her isolation makes her very much the object of the photographer’s and by extension the viewer’s gaze. In 1899, Stieglitz wrote of the picture:

> It is a most difficult and unsatisfactory task to single out one of my pictures as a favorite. But you insist, and so it must be done. Possibly, if I have any preference, it may be for Mending Nets, as it appeals to me more and more, and time is the true test of merit. Then, too, the picture brings before my mind’s eye the endless poetry of a most picturesque and fascinating lot of people, the Dutch fischer [sic] folk. What artistic temperament does not delight in studying them and portraying them either in art or literature! Mending Nets was the result of much study. It expresses the life of a young Dutch woman: every stitch in the mending of the fishing net, the very rudiment of her existence, brings forth a torrent of poetic thoughts in those who watch her sit there on the vast and seemingly endless dunes, toiling with that seriousness and peacefulness which is so characteristic of these sturdy people. All her hopes are concentrated in this occupation—it is her life.51

Stieglitz’s fascination with the “seriousness and peacefulness which is so characteristic of these sturdy people” mirrors the contemporary rise of ethnographic study; with continued “Western” colonial expansion, the perceived disappearance of indigenous cultures at the hands of their colonizers led to a drive to collect as much information as possible, to archive objects and photographic portraits, before

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their “pure” cultures were assimilated into or destroyed by modernity. In Germany, there was a rise in interest in its own “folk” culture, which led to the heroic depiction of people who worked the land and were seen heroic examples of Germanness.\footnote{The connection to the rise of National Socialism is clear, but is however not the subject of this thesis.}

As Stieglitz describes it here, this woman’s handwork is picturesque and poetic, and ultimately, worthy of his (distanced) observation. Alan Trachtenburg remarks on Stieglitz’s own journal, \textit{Camera Work} left no stains of sweat; it was not industrial labor, the dirty making of something, but exactly the obverse (and deliberately so), a clean, white, tasteful space in a filthy, dark, sprawling age. [...] By its design (itself an icon of an idea of work as \textit{hand}-work, craft), the journal identified work with taste, and thus identified its viewers as connoisseurs: as if aware of a destiny already implicit in its archaic idea of work, of becoming a collector’s item.\footnote{Alan Trachtenberg, “Camera Work: Notes toward an Investigation” \textit{The Massachusetts Review} 19, no. 4 (Winter 1978), 836.}

Much like the artists and artisans who embraced the Arts and Crafts movement—and the members of the bourgeoisie who could purchase their works—amateur photographers were concerned with the process of \textit{making}, and, somewhat ironically, with the celebration of making without mechanical assistance.

German Romanticism had seen its height at the turn of the previous century, spanning the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. But the tenets of Romantic thinking—the connection of nature to human feeling and emotion, the look to the past (in the case of English and German Romantic painting and literature, often to the Middle Ages) for inspiration, and the reverence for the Sublime—can be seen in the works of amateur art photographers published in \textit{Die Kunst in der Photographie}. The reaction of the, generally speaking, well-to-do, educated elite photographers to their changing environs mirrors that of high Romanticism. While Romanticism is typically understood as a reaction to the Enlightenment’s rationalization and rigidity, it was arguably also a reaction to the Industrial Revolution. Pictorial photography echoes this paradigm, as nearly one hundred years later, industrial, economic, and social changes sparked the desire once more to capture images of a more agrarian time.

One exemplary photograph is Hamburg photographer Otto Rau’s \textit{Auf der Heide} (On the Heath, fig. 15), which appeared in \textit{Der Kunst in der Photographie} in 1899. The photograph takes the single
figure in nature as its subject. The broad heath creates a stark horizon line, which divides the composition evenly into two parts: the earth and the sky. The human figure, turned with his back to the viewer, breaks the horizon line and forms a strong presence in the scene. Nonetheless the expanse of the barren landscape appears boundariless, and the power of the human being within it small. The photograph’s subject and composition are reminiscent of the works of German Romantic painter, Caspar David Friedrich (1774–1840). Friedrich included the Rückenfigur (rear-view figure) in his paintings from the time he began as an oil painter. In the context of this discussion, I examine Friedrich’s Der Mönch am Meer (The Monk by the Sea, fig. 16), painted between 1808 and 1810.

Der Mönch am Meer was shockingly modern in 1810, when it was shown at the Berliner Akademieausstellung (Berlin Academy of Arts Exhibition). The composition’s limit to four simplified elements—monk, beach, sea, and sky—was a radical break from the conventions of traditional landscape painting. Friedrich believed that art exists as a metaphor connecting nature and humanity. He subscribed to the contemporary Romantic idea that humans are incapable of comprehending the full greatness and sublimeness of the natural world. Der Mönch am Meer expresses Friedrich’s religious reverence for nature. The monk appears tiny under the expansive heavens, which fill five-sixths of the picture plane. But the moody, ominous tone of the atmosphere can also be interpreted in political terms, as a metaphor for his feelings about the situation facing Germany. At the time Friedrich made the painting, Napoleon’s army had occupied his homeland. The mood in Friedrich’s paintings often embodies a metaphorical reflection of the present status of German unity—a major wish of the nationally oriented German Romantics. This representation of the landscape speaks to a spiritual connection with the land as well as the nationalist attitude of the artist.

A similar composition reappears in Die Kunst in der Photographie with Edward Arning’s Hamburger Winter (fig. 17). However in this example, in place of the human Rückenfigur, we see a single boat on the icy Elbe River. The image composition resembles that of Friedrich’s Der Mönch am Meer and

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54 Examples include Der Wanderer über dem Nebelmeer (Wanderer above the Sea Fog, 1818) and Frau vor der untergehenden Sonne (Woman before the Setting Sun, also Woman before the Rising Sun, 1818–20).
Rau’s *Auf der Heide*, in that the picture is composed of simple elements: here, the ice-covered surface of the water, the hints of a city silhouette against the hazy sky, the boat, and the path it cuts through the icy water. Although this path seems to point toward the city, the boat seems isolated in its surroundings. The smoke that rises from the boat indicates that it is in motion – that someone is driving it and that there is a human presence in the scene. It is unclear whether the isolation of this presence—which is also concealed from the viewer—is a desired isolation. The lonely boat and the faint cityscape seem to underscore an interrupted connection with nature. This sense of loneliness resonates with Esther da Costa Meyer’s argument that late-nineteenth century art sought to fill a void, to give a sense of completeness. She cites the British Arts and Crafts movement’s effort to transform the domestic environment into a meaningful whole, and the Viennese Secessionists’ vision to unify architecture, sculpture, and text. Da Costa declares, “thoughout the nineteenth century, a time of nationalist aspirations and wars of independence, the search for a seamless plentitude to heal social, political and cultural fissures, assumed various forms, particularly in art.”

Arning’s isolated boat, not quite at one with nature and yet isolated from the city, hints at such a longing for a sense of wholeness.

Goerke occasionally included his own photographs in the journal. Composed of ominous landscapes and idealized rural scenes, his output fits well within the collective body of photographs. The scene he presents to us in *Das Schloss am Meer* (The Castle by the Sea, fig. 18), published 1899, epitomizes the Romantic aesthetic. Jagged rocks bisect the scene diagonally, with angled cliffs making up the foreground at the lower left and the sea stretching to the horizon line at the midpoint of the composition. Great waves swell below, creating white arcs that visually contrast the dark, shadowy cliffs. In the backdrop, a castle stands on the cliffs above the sea, perhaps a symbol to the imagined strength of medieval culture associated with Romanticism. It stands securely above the powerful crashing of the waves, and the sky above it seems peaceful. A comparison of this photograph with another by Goerke, *Unter dem Zeichen des Sturmballs (Warnemünde)* (Under the Sign of the Storm Signal, fig. 19) gives a

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different look at seaside architecture. In this scene, the surface above the crashing waves is manmade; a
group of people stands, perhaps precariously, on a narrow path at the top of the wood and stone wall that
protects the harbor of the Baltic town, Warnemünde. Much like the edge of the rocky cliffs in Das Schloss
am Meer, the path cuts a diagonal line through the composition to meet the horizon line, which here is
dotted with the Warnemünde skyline. Rather than a peaceful, majestic scene, this picture reveals the
awesome power of the sea, suggesting the insecurity of humans at its hands. Here, Goerke has captured
the sublime in nature, and has subordinated Warnemünde to its power.

Rosalind Krauss notes a tension between modernism and the photographic medium. She remarks,

> We might feel a certain amusement at the private joke that history had up its sleeve, in the sense
> that in those very same hundred and forty years during which modernism was steadily draining the
> world out of the frame of the image—emptying art of certain of its contents—there was something
> else working all the while progressively to fill it back up. For modernism and photography share
> almost precisely the same time span—a fact that seems to have a certain satisfying symmetry.56

This struggle between photography and modernism, between representation and concept, plays itself out
here in the pictorial photographs of Die Kunst in der Photographie. In their genre scenes, the Pictorialists
froze images of a vanishing lifestyle, one in which they themselves did not participate. With their
landscapes, they stressed the connection, both serene and sublime, not between humans and the thriving
urban environment, but between human and nature. Yet the contents of the journal are not fully
antimodern. In the following chapter, I show that the portrait photographs of Die Kunst in der
Photographie assert what was a new and distinctly modern sense of subjectivity.

56 Rosalind Krauss, “‘Stieglitz/Equivalents,’” October 11 (Winter 1979), 129.
Chapter Three
Portraiture: The Inner Nature of the Modern Subject

Portraiture was considered a challenging realm of art photography, one that, if mastered, could solidify the medium’s art status. Caffin, in his 1901 monograph on photography as fine art, and Lichtwark and Stettiner, among other places in their essay contributions to *Die Kunst in der Photographie*, complained that professional portrait studios, manned by technicians rather than artists, had made portrait photographs into non-art, uninspiring and created for the masses. Lichtwark and Stettiner challenged amateur art photographers to reeducate the public, to favor portraits that did not simply show what the subject looked like and hint at the subject’s social status through dress, furniture, and decor, but rather revealed the subject’s individual character. This chapter examines portraiture in *Die Kunst in der Photographie*. Through close readings of select portraits, I demonstrate that they show an interest in conveying a subject’s inner nature. I also contrast depictions of men with portraits of women to show that while idealized men were pensive, even bookish, women were idealized as either innocent or sensual. Finally, I demonstrate that in spite of its largely Romantic aesthetic, *Die Kunst in der Photographie* presents an identity that was very much of its time, connecting in particular with Art Nouveau aesthetics.

Lichtwark’s essay “Wohin” opened the 1900 volume of *Die Kunst in der Photographie* with projections about the medium’s future path. In it he declares, “Up to now, it is with hesitation and apprehension that the German enthusiast-photographer has taken up the most important task that lies in its path, the portrait. Only a limited set of leaders have turned to it with devotion.”57 He outlines the transition from oil painting portraiture to lithography by the 1830s, and observes that as ever more people could afford to have a portrait made, photography entered the scene, able to provide even more affordable portraits than lithography. Lichtwark argues that the artistic quality of portrait photography actually sank

from the 1850s to 1890, lamenting that the miniaturists, painters, and lithographers (in Lichtwark’s assessment, the real artists) who began to make photographs were replaced by cheaper studio photographers, who were trained in the technology but not in art. He complains further that the problem was perpetuated as the public supported the cheaper “Berufsphotographen” (professional photographers) over the artists. He asserts that German enthusiast photographers may count the reclaiming of portrait photography as art among their tasks. Lichtwark lauds the 1893 exhibition of amateur photography at the Hamburg Kunsthalle for expressing the hope that with that exhibition “the way to the transformation of portrait photography would exist.”

Three years previously, an essay by Richard Stettiner titled “Gedanken eines Theoretikers über Bildnissphotographie” (A Theorist’s Thoughts on Portrait Photography) appeared in the journal. In it, Stettiner discusses the “charakteristisches” image as the goal of portraiture. He articulates a clear distinction between how a painter and a photographer may capture and convey such an image:

A distinguishing [charakteristisches] image is of course the goal of the amateur gifted with artistic sensibility. But how to achieve a distinguishing image? The painter achieves it through combination. After he believes he has psychologically penetrated his model, he proceeds in his painting from the real, from that which he sees before him. But the product of the art of the great portraitists is almost always not the representation of a specific moment, but rather gained through an abstraction of the contraction of a series of various moments. The photographer is bound by the moment. Here lies a sharply separating boundary—of course not the only one—between the functions of the two [my emphasis].

Stettiner is concerned with the ability of the artist to convey something essential about the sitter, and in the case of the photographer, the ability to show such a quintessence through the visual transmission of one moment. This proclaimed aspiration reveals a shift from the portraiture of the preceding decades; emphasis changed from capturing what the subject looks like to illustrating who the subject is, endeavoring to reveal something about the sitter’s character through the photographic representation.

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59 Richard Stettiner, “Gedanken,” 49. The simple translation of the modern German “charakteristisch” is “typical,” but “representative” and “distinctive” are also possibilities. Duden defines “charakteristisch” as “die spezifische Eigenart erkennen lassend;” indicating or bespeaking the specific individual character. I have therefore translated Stettiner’s “charakteristisches Bild” as a “distinguishing image.”
Stettiner goes further to say “the portrait should not just present to us a distinct personality, it should also put us in contact with it. We want to, so to speak, converse with the portrayed.”⁶⁰ This striving for what she calls intersubjectivity is, according to Catherine Soussloff, a defining aspect of a new, modern subjectivity seen in the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century portrait. Soussloff argues that the modern subject did not emerge from psychoanalysis or existential philosophy, but rather in the theory and practice of portraiture. Focusing on the development of painting and photography in Vienna, Soussloff traces an ethics of representation that emphasized subjects as socially and historically constructed selves, who understood themselves in relation to others. She lists the following as typical attributes of intersubjectivity in pictorial photography of the period:

1) the faces of the figures are obscured, lost in shadow, with lowered gazes; 2) the outlines of the figures merge with the background or into the other figures; 3) the delineation of superficial effects of skin and features remain subsidiary to the overall effect of luminosity, reflections of the hair of the figures, and softness of flesh; 4) the figures are enclosed by light and color in a shared space or world; 5) the scale of the print is large, and often, the format is tableau. These effects define a subjectivity that depends on the whole composition for articulation.⁶¹

Hamburg amateur photographer Adalbert Athen’s (dates unknown) Bildniss (Portrait, fig. 20), published in Die Kunst in der Photographie in 1899, serves as an excellent example for how the journal’s portraits play out this new, modern subjectivity.

In the photograph, a gentleman sits in front of a wall lined with books, reading. His dark coat is only faintly delineated from the similarly dark chair in which he sits, and details about his surroundings beyond the books on the shelves disappear into black. The man is seated turned slightly from the viewer, and he looks downward toward the book he holds in his hands. Light from a source outside the picture falls on the right side of his face. As he sits, face relaxed, eyes intently focused on his reading, we feel a closeness to him, and intimacy within this quiet moment. The darkness of his surroundings highlights his presence in the room; the luminosity of his face both draws our attention within the composition and suggests an idealization of his character. The faded background serves further to indicate a departure from

⁶⁰ Ibid., 51.
⁶¹ Soussloff, The Subject in Modern Art, 101.
the conventions of middle- and upper-class portraiture, which typically surrounded the sitter with decorative objects—elaborate furnishings, expensive or exotic artifacts—that would convey her or his status and good taste. Rather than emphasizing what the sitter looked like, Athen’s Bildniss displays an inwardness of composition, depicting the sitter in shadows and with down-turned eyes. This inwardness cuts against the theatricality, and perhaps pompousness, of contemporaneous photographs that depicted the sitter surrounded by lavish objects, staring back at the viewer. We are drawn into the scene, curious to know what lies behinds the eyes that don’t meet our gaze.

*Im Atelier* (fig. 21) shows similar allegiance to Soussloff’s aesthetic formula for intersubjectivity. Taken by Berlin amateur photographer Grete Dorrenbach (dates unknown), the photograph depicts a sculptor in his studio. The sculptor and his work in progress—a mother seated, clutching her infant—emerge in light from a shadowy, scarcely defined background. The depicted artist stands in profile with his face tilted downward in a pensive gaze, and the angles formed by his elbows mirror those of the mother in his sculpture, suggesting a profound connection between himself and his subject. In both Athen’s and Dorrenbach’s photographs, the depicted subject’s pose suggests a thoughtful manner. In his reflection on portraits published roughly the same time as these in *Camera Work*, Keller points to idealization in portraiture that in photographs of men—women were often treated differently as subjects—tended toward “refined lighting arrangements, exquisite furniture, immaculate suits and gentlemanly poses” lending to the “stereotyped appearance of soft-spoken, pensive aesthetes.”

62 While the photographic portraits of men in *Die Kunst in der Photographie* exhibit a penchant for emphasizing a cerebral quality, it is noteworthy that these men are not characterized by elaborate, exotic, or otherwise fashionable furniture and décor, as had been (and in some places, continued to be) the standard.

In his “Remarks on the History of Photography in Germany and Austria,” Janos Frecos also notes the emergence of a “modern” portrait in the late nineteenth century. Rather than traditional portraits meant for albums and table tops, some photographers began to make portraits inspired by *Jugendstil*

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aspirations toward the unity of art and life. This meant that the person portrayed could be depicted not only in terms of her position in society, but rather in a more individual way. Aura Hertwig (dates unknown) achieves this in her portrait of German dramatist and novelist Gerhart Hauptmann (fig. 22), which appeared in Die Kunst der Photographie in 1900. Hauptmann is known for his sharp critique of industrialism’s impact on the urban poor. He was a literary naturalist, and the psychology of his protagonists plays a central role in his narratives. Though Hertwig depicts Hauptmann holding a book, a symbol of his profession, she does not surround him in a professional setting. Rather than seated in an office or library, Hauptmann is standing alone on a rocky shore. He stands at the center of the composition in left profile, with his face tilted down toward the open book he holds. He seems introspective, engaged with his book and disregarding the gaze of the photographer and by extension the viewer. The choice to create Hauptmann’s portrait in a natural setting rather than within the city might reflect Hauptmann’s disapproval of the contemporary state of urban life. At the same time, the sandy coastline would have resonated with his contemporaries as Hauptmann’s Silesian homeland. In this sense, the composition recalls Édouard Manet’s (1832–1833) 1868 portrait painting of the naturalist Émile Zola (1840–1902), which similarly surrounds the sitter with objects that clearly connect to his contemporary life, and which the subject’s gaze does not meet that of the viewer.

Portraits of women in Die Kunst in der Photographie were typically treated somewhat differently. While men were idealized as gentlemanly intellectuals, Keller notes that “women and children were portrayed by the art photographers in a manifestly sentimental style. [. . .] Most of these pictures are symphonies in white, the colour of innocence, transforming real people into ethereal, angelic creatures.”63 Hertwig contributed Lotte (fig. 23) the same year as Gerhart Hauptmann. The photograph shows a bust-length view of a girl turned diagonally to the camera. She looks down, and her wavy hair surrounds her face like a halo. The soft, burnished tones and fuzzy quality of Lotte recall Julia Margaret Cameron’s (1815–1879) romantic depictions of women thirty to forty years earlier. Unlike the seaside that surrounds

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Hertwig’s *Gerhart Hauptmann* or the library of Athen’s *Bildniss*, there is no hint of a background to contextualize the figure, and as Keller suggests, the photograph seems to emphasize her innocence.

Women in *Die Kunst in der Photographie* were however not always depicted as ethereal creatures without agency. Munich photographer Stephanie Ludwig (dates unknown) offers a strong counterpoint with *Kätzchen* (fig. 24), published in *Die Kunst der Photographie* in 1901. *Kätzchen* is the German diminutive form of cat, here suggesting the pet name “kitten.” In this photograph, a woman’s head is shown frontally. She rests her chin on her interlocked hands, and her head tilts downward so that she must look up to meet the viewer’s gaze with her eyes. The woman’s clothing and the background of the scene seem to disintegrate into a velvety black void, lending her an eerie quality. Her dark hair and confronting gaze are evocative of that of the allegorical figure of sin in the 1893 painting *Die Sünde* (The Sin, fig. 25), painted by Ludwig’s fellow Munich resident, the Symbolist painter Franz von Stuck (1863–1928). In *Die Sünde*, the woman portrayed is Eve. She has embraced the snake of the Garden of Eden and allows it to surround her naked torso, symbolically choosing sin over innocence. Her bare breasts are at the center of the painting, and her gaze conveys sensuality and sexual desire. The Neue Pinakothek museum purchased the painting immediately after Stuck exhibited it at the 1893 Secessionist Exhibition in Munich, and Ludwig could certainly have seen it at either venue. Though Ludwig’s *Kätzchen* does not directly confront Stuck’s ambivalent mixture of Christian iconography with sensual content, the portrait does present a confident, sensual woman. The rings *Kätzchen* wears wrap her fingers much like the snake wraps the body of Stuck’s *Sin*.

Though the fierce connection with the viewer’s eyes in *Kätzchen* quite contrasts the quiet, diverted gaze of *Lotte*, the two portraits are similar in their portrayal of the figure against an empty background. *Symmetria* (fig. 26), published in *Die Kunst in der Photographie* in 1901, offers an alternative sort of depiction. Taken by Vienna photographer Carl Siess, the photograph may depict the artist’s daughter, Mitzi. The young woman, seated on a bench, faces the camera squarely. The plant and flower motif on her long dress and the Asian-inspired design of the bench on which she sits connect her to Vienna’s thriving Jugendstil movement. Her arms stretch outward so that her hands rest on the arches at
either side of the bench, such that the vertical line of her body and the shapes created by the lines of her arms and those of the bench combine to mimic the floral motif on her dress. This sculptural pose connects the portrait to its title. The Greek “symmetria” refers to commensurability of line-segments. Adopted by the sculptor Polykleitos (ca. 450 BCE–ca. 415 BCE) and later used by Plato (ca. 427 BCE–ca. 347 BCE) and Aristotle (384 BCE–322 BCE), symmetria conveys commensurability in geometry and good proportion in the visual arts. The figure of the young woman depicted echoes the flowing curves based on natural forms that dominated Jugendstil art and design. She is idealized as the embodiment of that movement, squarely situating her identity in its context.

In chapter two, I illustrated that the landscape and genre pictures in *Die Kunst in der Photographie* assert an identity based in a latent Romantic attitude. However, as I have demonstrated, the journal’s portraits convey a modern subjectivity. As a work of print matter, the journal very much reflected the stylistic tenets of Jugendstil. Text illuminations with swirling vines wrapped around rectangular frames, such as in the illumination preceding Lichtwark’s “Wohin” (fig. 26) accompany the volumes’ introductions and essays. In this example, leaves and flowers foreground a landscape in silhouette. The sun, either setting or rising over the hillside with radiating lines indicating rays of light, evokes the journal’s cover design. The plant in the foreground creeps out from a pot at the left hand side of the frame. The shape of the pot resembles that of a light bulb. Scribbly lines on its surface further hint at the presence of a lit up bulb, metaphorically underscoring the journal’s purpose: the proud dissemination of “light drawings,” photographs.
Conclusion

A contemporary to *Die Kunst in der Photographie*, German sociologist Georg Simmel (1858–1915) saw modern, urban conditions as detrimental to human nature. In *The Metropolis and Mental Life* (1903), Simmel expresses concern that the relentless daily pace and close specialization of labor that accompany industrialization impair the ability to find and maintain a sense of individuality. Da Costa argues that art was the answer to this challenge. She asserts, “the obliteration of boundaries between subject and object, and the location of the self in a seamless continuum that incorporated the environment helped create a cult of the self that underlay the creations of Art Nouveau in its various incarnations in different countries.”

As I have shown, the pictures in *Die Kunst in der Photographie* share the ideals of Art Nouveau (Jugendstil) da Costa suggests, and also call back to Romanticism, proclaiming an identity based in pre-Industrial times. The journal’s pages are filled with photographs that communicate a desire for communion between human and landscape, as in Rau’s *Auf der Heide* and Arning’s *Hamburger Winter*, and pictures that romanticize work done by the human hand, as in Scharf’s *Kartoffelernte* and Stieglitz’s *Net Mender*. At the same time, portraiture in the journal reveals a concern for the presentation of the sitter not as a member of his or her class, but as an individual. Amateur art photographers in *Die Kunst in der Photographie* sought to make portraits that reveal the essence of a sitter’s character, as with Hertwig’s seaside depiction of the author Gerhart Hauptmann, or tender idealization of *Lotte*. The portraits, landscapes, and genre scenes in the journal repeat the refrain of an identity presentation rooted in a communal sense of nostalgia and a Romantic conception of the self.

I would like to close my thesis with an examination of a final picture by the Japanese photographer, Kurokawa Suizan (1882–1944). This picture shows clear parallels to those in *Die Kunst in der Photographie*.

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der Photographie. His untitled photograph of 1906 (fig. 28) depicts a modestly dressed man walking alone on a wooded path. The tree trunks that line the path extend vertically beyond the frame of the image. Kurokawa’s photograph recalls the Romantic Rückenfigur motif: the single figure amidst the great natural world. As seen in the works of Friedrich and Rau, this motif indicates a sense of connection with nature, but at the same time can convey loneliness, and in this case, perhaps nostalgia for the tranquility that had existed before Japan’s industrialization. The interpretation remains open, but in any of these, the awesomeness of nature is central. Future study of Die Kunst in der Photographie might look at its articulation of national identity, drawing connections between the romanticized presentations of the indigenous landscape in Germany and Japan. At the turn of the twentieth century, the two latecomers to modern nationhood both grappled internally with the search for a sense of national identity. While it may be difficult to prove that their shared Romantic aesthetic was symptomatic of the impending rise of aggressively nationalist ideologies in the two nations, an examination of their shared use of pictorial photography to convey nostalgia could shed further light on the ways photography conveys identity.

I have argued that the photographs in Die Kunst in der Photographie may not be seen “merely” as artifacts of the pictorial style. Its pictures came from a social network of amateurs, from the hands of participating camera club members who showed a desire for a less mechanized society. The pictures they made reveal their social attitudes, asserting the identities of these photographers as artists in search of a sense of wholeness, through a Romantic communion with nature or through the expression of Jugendstil ethics of artisanal culture. The turn-of-the-twentieth century cultural moment from which these pictures arose is not so removed from that of today. The longing for an organic community in the digital age echoes the Romanticism of the pictorial photographers I have discussed. Their yearning for the pre-Industrial parallels that of contemporary desires for analog experiences in the digital world.
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Fig. 1. Alfred Stieglitz, *Winter—Fifth Avenue*, 1893. Photogravure, 6 3/4 x 5 13/16 in. (17.2 x 14.7 cm).
Fig. 2. Léonard Misonne, *Staubiger Weg*, published 1897. Photogravure, Chine-collé, 6 x 8 11/16 in. (15.2 x 22.1 cm). *Die Kunst in der Photographie* 1, no. 4, plate 6.
Fig. 3. Hugo Henneberg, *Auf der Landstrasse*, published 1897. Photogravure, Chine-collé, 4 15/16 x 6 3/4 in. (12.5 x 17.2 cm). *Die Kunst in der Photographie* 1, no. 1, plate 1.
Fig. 4. J. Dudley Johnston, Liverpool – An Impression, published 1907. Photogravure, 7 1/16 x 4 1/4 in. (18 x 10.8 cm). Die Kunst in der Photographie 11, no. 2, plate 5.
Fig. 5. Feri Angerer, *Auf der Landstrasse*, published 1908. Photogravure, 16.8 x 12.1 cm. *Die Kunst in der Photographie* 12, no. 6, plate 1.
Fig. 6. Cover design for *Die Kunst in der Photographie*, Hermann Hirzel, 1896. Woodcut, applied color, 14 3/16 x 10 1/4 in. (36 x 26 cm).
Fig. 7. Cover design for the first issue of *Ver Sacrum*, Alfred Roller, 1898. Woodcut, 12 3/16 x 11 7/16 in. (31 x 29 cm).
Fig. 9. Otto Sharf, Frühlingsabend, published 1897. Photogravure, 12.1 x 17.3 cm. Die Kunst in der Photographie 1, no. 2, plate 5.
Fig. 10. Albin Fichte, *Beim Faspichen*, published 1900. Photogravure, 16.1 x 18.9 cm. *Die Kunst in der Photographie* 4, no. 2, plate 2.
Fig. 11. Otto Rau, *Fischzug*, published 1897. Photogravure, 10.6 x 20.7 cm. *Die Kunst in der Photographie* 1, no. 2, plate 4.
Fig. 12. Gertrud Saupe, *Der Schnitter*, published 1907. Autotype (half tone), 12.2 x 17.2 cm. *Die Kunst in der Photographie* 11, no. 4, plate 12.
Fig. 13. Otto Scharf, Kartoffelernte, published 1908. Photogravure, 14.4 x 19.4 cm. Die Kunst in der Photographie 12, no. 2, plate 3.
Fig. 14. Alfred Stieglitz, Netzflickerin, 1894. Photogravure, 16.0 x 20.6 cm. Die Kunst in der Photographie 2, no. 1, plate 5.
Fig. 16. Caspar David Friedrich, *Der Mönch am Meer*, 1809–10. Oil on canvas, 110 cm × 171.5 cm. Alte Nationalgalerie, Berlin.
Fig. 17. Edward Arning, *Hamburger Winter*, published 1899. Photogravure, 13.6 x 19.0 cm. Die Kunst in der Photographie 3, no. 6, plate 1.
Fig. 18. Franz Goerke, *Das Schloss am Meer*, published 1899. Photogravure, 16.2 x 21.5 cm. *Die Kunst in der Photographie* 3, no. 3, plate 6.
Fig. 20 Adalbert Athen, *Bildniss*, published 1899. Photogravure, 13.2 x 17.8 cm. *Die Kunst in der Photographie* 3, no. 2, plate 1.
Fig. 21. Grete Dorrenbach, *Im Atelier*, published 1907. Autotype (halftone), 18.2 x 14.5 cm. *Die Kunst in der Photographie* 11, no. 4, plate 3.
Fig. 22 Aura Hertwig, *Gerhart Hauptmann*, published 1900. Photogravure, 19.5 x 14.0 cm. *Die Kunst in der Photographie* 4, no. 4, plate 5.
Fig. 23 Aura Hertwig, Lotte, published 1900. Photogravure, 19.7 x 15.7 cm. *Die Kunst in der Photographie* 4, no. 4, plate 2.
Fig. 24 Stephanie Ludwig, *Kätzchen*, published 1901. Photogravure, Chine-collé, 14.4 x 10.9 cm. *Die Kunst in der Photographie* 5, no. 2, plate 2.
Fig. 25. Franz von Stuck, *Die Sünde*, 1893. Oil on canvas, 94.5 × 59.5 cm. Neue Pinakothek, Munich.
Fig. 26 Carl Siess, *Symmetria*, published 1901. Photogravure, Chine-collé, 21.8 x 15.9 cm. *Die Kunst in der Photographie* 5, no. 4, plate 4.
WOHIN?

In den letzten fünf Jahren des vergangenen Jahrhunderts — womit ja nun schon das neunzehnte gemeint ist — hat die Entwicklung der künstlerischen Photographie in Deutschland die Hoffnungen ihrer älteren Formen überstrichen und die Zwölfin ihrer Gegenwart abgelöst. Eine neue, andere...
Fig. 28. Kurokawa Suizan, *untitled*, ca. 1906. Gelatin-silver photograph, 55 x 40 cm. Tokyo Metropolitan Museum of Photography.