The Photographic Portraits of Carl Durheim.
Wunschbilder between Projection and Identification

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CITATION STYLE AND ABBREVIATIONS

I will follow throughout the present dissertation the Cambridge citation style. On the first occurrence I provide the full reference to the quoted source in a footnote. Whenever multiple quotes from the same source occur in a row, I use the customary abbreviation "*Ibid.*" for quotes from the same source and the same page, and "*Ibid.,* page number" for quotes from the same source and a different page. For subsequent quotes from the same source, I will abbreviate using the following form "author, title (possibly shortened), page number". The following example illustrates the citation style adopted.

FIRST OCCURRENCE: H. Wolf, "Pröbeln und Musterbild: Die Anfänge der Fotografie", in T. Hoffmann and G. Rippl (eds.), *Bilder: ein (neues) Leitmedium?* (Göttingen: Wallstein 2016), 111-127.

IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING OCCURRENCES ON THE SAME PAGE: *Ibid.*

IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING OCCURRENCES ON A DIFFERENT PAGE: *Ibid.*, page number

SUBSEQUENT OCCURRENCES: Wolf, "Pröbeln und Musterbild", page number.

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Introduction

The aim of this dissertation is to renew the study of Carl Durheim's photographic portraits. A very eventful historical moment and a unique geographical position frame Durheim's personal story and his work as Swiss lithographer and photographer. His images reveal a stratification of meanings, whose exploration calls for a multidisciplinary approach, in order to unravel the complex tangle that they embody. The title of the present dissertation provides a first indication of the line in inquiry that I have pursued: *The photographic portraits of Carl Durheim: Wunschbild between projection and identification*. The primary subject of study is the photographic portraits produced by Carl Durheim between 1845 and 1860 in Bern, Switzerland.

The German word *Wunschbild* fits particularly well the central theme of this study, because it epitomizes the character of the visual representations under scrutiny, which regard to both the collection of identification pictures, and the bourgeois portraits. No single word in English captures the precise meaning of the German compound word *Wunschbild.* In the *Duden Wörterbuch* the first meaning of *Wunschbild* refers to a representation of something or someone determined by one's own wishes or ideals. Following such definition, Carl Durheim's photographic portraits give shape to the self-image of the Swiss bourgeoisie, while simultaneously projecting its ideals onto the itinerants without citizenship of mid-nineteenth century Switzerland, the so-called *Heimatlose*. The present inquiry broadens the scope of the existing research by considering Durheim's business activity as lithographer and photographer.

The German expression *Wunschbild* associated with Carl Durheim's photographic portraits appears first in the essay written by two historians, Thomas Dominik Meier and Rolf Wolfensberger in *Carl Durheims Fahndungsfotografien von*

Schweizerischen Heimatlosen und Nicht-Sesshaften.[1] The mug shots to which the historians refer to are a collection of about 200 photographic portraits produced between 1852 and 1853 in Bern for police purposes: "Die Fahndung der Generalanwalts drohte so zur Fahndung nach einem Wunschbild zu werden, denn die produzierten Aufnahmen entsprachen in vielen Fällen eher einem in die Zukunft projizierten Bild der gesuchten Personen als bereits integrierte Sesshafte".[2] The Swiss attorney general Jakob Amiet commissioned Carl Durheim to take the photographs. Although photography was apparently considered a reliable means to outline the identity of the wanted individuals, the staging (i.e. pose and clothing) betrays its claim of faithful rendering reality. Durheim's portraits of the itinerants reflect in fact the self-perception and the ideals of the Swiss liberal bourgeoisie.[3] As Daniel Di Falco points out in an article on this episode of Swiss history: "Ironie: der Anspruch der Fahndungsfotografie, Individuen unverwechselbar festzuhalten, wurde durch die Inszenierung vor der Kamera unterlaufen. Auf Durheims Fotos sind weniger die Fahrenden in ihrer Eigenart Mitte des vorigen Jahrhunderts zu sehen, sondern das Selbstverständnis und die *Wunschbilder* der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft, die ihre neue Ordnung durchzusetzen suchte"[4]. To use an interpretive schema dear to Michel Foucault, the introduction of photography reflects the attempt to control the stability of the social order, although the historian Jens Jäger remarks how little attention has been paid thus far to the role played by the attorney general Jakob Amiet, [5] who belonged to the Swiss elite for whom national identity was

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[1] T. D. Meier and R. Wolfensberger, "Carl Durheims Fahndungsfotografien von Schweizerischen Heimatlosen und Nicht-Sesshaften" in M. Gasser, T. D. Meier and R. Wolfensberger (eds.), *Wider das Leugnen und Verstellen. Carl Durheims Fahndungsfotografien von Heimatlosen 1852/53* (Zurich/Winterthur: Offizin Zürich Verlag/Fotomuseum Winterthur, 1998), 9-23.
[2] *Ibid.*, 18.
[3] T.D. Meier and R. Wolfensberger, "Die bürgerliche Gesellschaft und die Nichtsesshaften. Das Bild der fahrenden Bevölkerungsgruppen seit Beginn des 19.Jahrhunderts", *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 10./11. Februar 1996, Nr.34, 17.
[4] D. Di Falco, "Verfolgt, Verhaftet, Verhört und Abgelichtet", *Der Bund*, J. 149, Nr.39 (1998), 7.
[5] J. Jäger, review of S. Phillips/M. Haworth-Booth/C. Squiers, *Police Pictures. The Photograph as Evidence*, San Francisco Museum of Modern Art (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1997), *Archiv für*

to be renewed in the years following the proclamation of the modern state (1848). Jäger highlights also that the introduction of photography for police purposes in the decade 1840s-1850s was part of the experimental nature of the overall operation –which failed shortly afterwards (1856).[6] Furthermore, with respect to the writing of photography in the context of social and cultural praxis, Jäger questions the effectiveness of the term 'police photography': too often the category is used in historiographical research as a common denominator to describe multifarious images that deal in most cases with the establishment of normal and deviant behavior by the state apparatus of power.[7] As Carl Durheim's pictures of the itinerants demonstrate, the term 'police photography' must be interpreted on a case-by-case basis, carefully considering the multifarious historical context of usage and functions, not least the commissioners' intents.[8] The present research aims to start filling the gaps highlighted by Jäger, thereby engaging with the study of Carl Durheim's image production as lithographer and photographer.

State of the Art

It is not until the early 19th century that photography makes its appearance, but the quest for faithful depiction of oneself and the staging of one's ideals had been long pursued by portraiture in the plastic arts.[9] Portrait photography partially fulfills these already existing needs borrowing the vocabulary and the overall features from the

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Sozialgeschichte (2000), accessed online on 20.02.2021: https://library.fes.de/fulltext/afs/htmrez/80038.htm

[6] T. Meier and R. Wolfensberger, *Eine Heimat und doch keine. Heimatlose und nicht-sesshaften in der Schweiz (16.-19. Jahrhundert)* (Zurich: Chronos Verlag, 1998), 476.

[7] Jäger, Review of S. Phillips/M. Haworth-Booth/C. Squiers, *Police Pictures.*

[8] See also J. Jäger, "Photography: a means of surveillance? Judicial photography, 1850 to 1900", *Crime, Histoire & Sociétés / Crime, History & Societies*, Vol. 5, n°1 (2001), 27-51.

[9] V. I. Stoichita, *A Short History of the Shadow* (London: Reaktion Books, 1997), 12; H. Belting, *Faces: Eine Geschichte des Gesichts* (München: Beck 2013); N. Rosenblum, *A World History of Photography* (New York/London/Paris: Abbeville Press, 1989), 39.

pictorial tradition.[10] Traditionally, art-historical narrative highlights the dual character of photography: the technique ideally offers an objective reproduction of appearances based on the mechanical nature of the technology; at the same time, its acheiropoietic nature is influenced by the scientific, social, and aesthetic models that govern the person behind the camera, by affecting his/her attitude toward the object portrayed.[11] Major studies on portraiture include the advent of photography framing it in an interdisciplinary context, taking into consideration the iconography as well as its introduction as a social practice.[12]

Commenting on Carl Durheim's collection of photographs for police purposes, the quotes above suggest that the claim of identification picture to produce visual evidence of the individuals is undermined by the staging. This apparent discrepancy seems to result in the failure of photography's original aspiration to faithfully record reality.[13] On the contrary, it is due to this fracture that recent studies have illuminated how the coexistence of two such divergent claims- the ability to capture reality and the fictitious construction of the portrayed subject- necessitates a different theoretical frame of reference, to which the present research is indebted: in light of the history of media, photography is both a process (a technique) and the product of such process.[14] In mid-nineteenth century photography appears among the applied sciences reflecting the

[10] B. von Dewitz, "Die Inszenierung der Persönlichkeit in der Geschichte der Fotografie", in: Landesmuseum Koblenz (ed.): *Bilder machen Leute. Die Inszenierung des Menschen in der Fotografie* (Ostfildern: Hatje Kantz, 2008), 16-29, here 18; G. Batchen, *Apparitions: Photography and Dissemination* (Sydney: Power Publications 2019), 54; on the historiography of photography see also the work of Heinrich Schwarz in A. Wagner (ed.), *Heinrich Schwarz: Techniken des Sehens: vor und nach der Fotografie. Ausgewählte Schriften 1929 – 1966* (Salzburg: Fotohofedition, 2006), 31-76.

[11] U. Peters, *Stilgeschichte der Fotografie in Deutschland 1839-1900* (Köln: DuMont, 1979), 13.

[12] J. Jäger:, *Gesellschaft und Photographie. Formen und Funktionen der Photographie in Deutschland und England 1839-1860* (Opladen: Leske + Budrich, 1996); E.B. Krems and S. Ruby (eds.), *Das Porträt als kulturelle Praxis* (Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2016). See also S. Holschbach, *Vom Ausdruck zur Pose. Theatralität und Weiblichkeit in der Fotografie des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 2006), 21-53.

[13] In regard to the legitimation of the accuracy of photography see H. Wolf: "Die Augenmetapher der Fotografie", in: C. Pias (ed.), *Neue Vorträge zur Medienkultur* (Weimar: VDG, 2000), 201-231, here 205.

[14] H. Wolf, "Pröbeln und Musterbild: Die Anfänge der Fotografie", in T. Hoffmann and G. Rippl (eds.), *Bilder: ein (neues) Leitmedium?* (Göttingen: Wallstein 2016), 111-127, here 112.

Zeitgeist of the time.[15] Within a set of polytechnic knowledge, the photographic portrait participates in the interweaving of technical aesthetic and industrial discourses.[16] It is on the backdrop of concepts such as standardization, individualization and commercialization that the present research contributes to filling existing gaps in the early history of photography.

The present research is ideally divided in two sections, which reflect the standpoint from which the visual material is analyzed. The first part (Chapter I- II) is dedicated to the reconstruction of Carl Durheim's biography as lithographer and photographer. The second part (Chapter III- IV) provides an historical interpretation of Durheim's police photographs.

More specifically, in Chapter I the existing literature on Carl Durheim is organized in order to offer readers a complete overview of the (rather sparse) scholarly debate surrounding Durheim's pictures. In so doing, a close study of Durheim's portraits cannot overlook his image production as lithographer: as a matter of fact, he produced cityscapes of Bern and its surroundings, landscape views, architecture photography, which he often reproduced in lithographic prints. The existing literature on Durheim falls short of a full appreciation of his photographs parallel to his lithographic activity, with the exception of the freshly printed volume *Nach der Natur. Schweizer Fotografie im 19. Jahrhundert*,[17] to which we will return.

Durheim's education and his continuous use of lithography along with the introduction of photographic products shed light on at least two crucial considerations,

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[15] H. Wolf, "Louis Désiré Blanquart-Évrards Strategien des Beweisens", in H. Wolf (ed.), *Zeigen und/oder Beweisen. Die Fotografie als Kulturtechnik und Medium des Wissens* (Berlin/Boston: DeGruyter, 2016), 179-217, here 197.

[16] C. Dauven, "Porträtieren als angewandte Wissenschaft. Die Porträtfotografie in der Handbuchliteratur von 1839 bis 1869", *Fotogeschichte* 150/28 (2018), 17-26, here 25; D. Keultjes, "Freiraum Dunkelkammer? Von Retusche im Handbuch zum Handbuch der Retusche", *Fotogeschichte* 150/28 (2018), 37-46, here 38. This special issue of the journal *Fotogeschichte* is edited by Herta Wolf and Clara Bolin.

[17] M. Gasser and S. Henguely, *Nach der Natur. Schweizer Fotografie im 19. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen: Steidl, 2021), 10; 385.

which are too often overlooked: first, the importance of drawing as a fundamental skill for the reproduction and the dissemination of scientific knowledge in the pre- and early industrial age;[18] second, how historical writings have affected our perception of pioneer photographers -like Durheim -, too often misunderstanding their working practices, the building and organization of their commercial studios.[19] In light of these two premises, Chapter II points the attention to the industrial mindset that characterized Durheim's photographic atelier and his way of working as it emerges from a careful comparison among his various images. Parallel to the analysis of the iconography of Durheim's photographic portraits on paper, the recurrence in the same years of standard landscape views reproduced as lithographs highlights the intertwining of lithography and photography on paper not only in terms of their representational potentials. Durheim's pictures show that photography on paper inherited from lithography its visual paradigm and its dissemination practice.[20] Thanks to Franziska Möllinger's *Daguerreotypierten Ansichten der Hauptstädten und der schönsten Gegenden der Schweiz* (1844) and Samuel Rudolf Walthard *Description topographiques de la ville de Berne* (1827), the first section concludes with a reflection on the ways ideology, power, intellectual debates, and visual representation intersected not only in Durheim's photographs, but in the work of his peers, too.

While the first section of the research situates Carl Durheim's activity as lithographer and photographer, the second part of the present study focuses on the reading of Carl Durheim's portraits of the Swiss itinerants without citizenship (1852-1853), by introducing a reflection on the visualization of Swiss national identity. From

[18] H. Wolf, "Nature as Drawing Mistress", in: M. Brusius, K. Dean and C. Ramalingam (eds.), *William Henry Fox Talbot. Beyond Photography* (New Haven/London: YC British Art, 2013), 119-142, here 122-123.
[19] E. A. McCauley, *Industrial Madness. Commercial Photography in Paris*, 1848-1871 (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1994), 12-13.
[20] H. Wolf, "The Photographic and the Picturesque: The Aesthetic and Chemical Foundations of Louis Désiré Blanquart-Évrard's Activities", in: J. Hacking and J. Lukitsh (eds.), *Photography and the Arts: Essays on Nineteenth-Century Practices and Debates* (London: Bloomsbury, 2020), 63–84, here 69-71.

this standpoint Swiss landscape representations reproduced in lithographic prints evoke the geographical space where to locate the collective memory and where Swiss identity takes shape.[21] The scholarship of the past couple of decades has focused on the formation of the Swiss Federal State against the backdrop of two macro-historical perspectives: nationalism and post-colonialism.[22] Drawing on this theoretical framework I re-read Durheim's collection of identification pictures: I focus on the understanding of the lithographic albums and their nature as objects,[23] thanks to the comparison between the archival material stored in Bern (1853) and two volumes (1853-1858) archived at the George Eastman House in Rochester (NY) that are presented and discussed here for the first time. The arrangement of the pictures into albums is a form of organization of knowledge, which requires a reflection on the concept of archive and its development within the introduction of photographic technology.[24] In addition, I contextualize the early use of police photography in Switzerland by examining two case studies, where images were used to identify criminals and victims, catering to the needs of different observers. Carl Durheim's mug shots escape the categorization as identification pictures: they show and conceal the subject's identity, thus forming a didactic collection of images used as a memory aid.[25] The visual material under scrutiny consists of photographic objects and lithographic albums: despite the apparent coincidence of content, the material form and its use requires distinguishing their utilization and meaning. In Chapter IV photographic portraits are discussed pointing the attention to the importance of clothing: the use of

[21] See D. Gugerli (ed.) *Vermessene Landschaften. Kulturgeschichte und technische Praxis im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (Zürich: Chronos Verlag, 1999).
[22] O. Zimmer, "Coping with deviance: Swiss Nationhood in the long Nineteenth Century", *Nation and Nationalism*, 17/4 (2011), 756-774; P. Purtschert and H. Fischer-Tiné (eds.), *Colonial Switzerland: Rethinking Colonialism from the Margins* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan 2015).
[23] J. Ruchatz, "Kontexte der Präsentation. Zur Materiät und Medialität des fotografischen Bildes", *Fotogeschichte* 124/32 (2012), 19-28.
[24] H. Wolf, "Das Denkmälerarchiv Fotografie", in: H. Wolf (ed.), *Paradigma Fotografie. Fotokritik am Ende des fotografischen Zeitalters* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp 2002), 349-376.
[25] Jäger, "Photography: a means of surveillance? ", 27.

the word "characteristic" by Jonas Furrer, then in his presidential year, referring to the first copies of Durheim's photographs point to the importance given to the local character embedded in such representation, which build on new pictorial sensitivity and eloquence.[26] A post-colonial theoretical framework offers further explanation for the definition of Durheim's photographic as *Wunschbilder*: projection and identification unpack their meaning, paving the way to understand the commissioner's expectations (Jakob Amiet) and those of the intellectual elite he belonged to.[27] At the same time, considering the identification and projection of the bourgeoisie ideals interlocked in Durheim's portraits also provides a conceptual structure within which the representation of landscape complements their meaning. Swiss landscape, in fact, was not just represented and disseminated by lithographic panoramas and cityscapes as those produced by Carl Durheim during his entire business activity answering to the growing touristic needs.[28] In 1845 the first sheets of the Topographic Map of Switzerland (the so-called *Dufourkarte*) were published.[29] Such cartographic map provides to a wider public the visualization of the borders of the Swiss modern State. Both the cartographic maps of the Swiss Confederation and the collection of portraits of the itinerants without citizenship build on similar aspirations: in the eye of the liberal party the topographic map aspires to create a national space that emphasizes the unity of the Swiss confederation, previously identified with independent Cantons. In the 1830s and 1840s in fact the state structure had only relation to each Canton: there were no bonds between

[26] See T. Pfeifer-Helke, "Die Linie und das Charakteristische der Natur", in: Stiftung Graphica Helvetika (ed.), *Die Koloristen. Schweizer Landschaftsgraphik von 1766 bis 1848* (Berlin/München: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2011), 89-99; Wolf, "The Photographic and the Picturesque", 63–84.
[27] P. Purtschert, B. Lüthi and F. Falk (eds.), *Postkoloniale Schweiz: Formen und Folgen eines Kolonialismus ohne Kolonien* (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2012).
[28] D. Speich, "Wissenschaftlicher und Touristischer Blick. Zur Geschichte der Aussucht im 19. Jahrhundert", *Traverse* 3/6 (1999), 83-99.
[29] Gugerli (ed.), *Vermessene Landschaften*; D. Gugerli and D. Speich, *Topografien der Nation: Politik, kartografische Ordnung und Landschaft im 19. Jahrhundert* (Zurich: Chronos, 2002).

citizens and the confederation.[30] Durheim's portraits of the itinerants without citizenship, thus also aspire to produce visible evidence of the traits that characterize the Swiss national collective imagination based on the local experience of the social community. Within this ideological framework, lithography and photography interweave answering to a variety of scientific, aesthetic and pragmatic needs. Carl Durheim's image production offers an example of how his business activity in Bern responded and adapted in different ways to the challenges of his time.

[30] Bundesamt f. Landestopografie (ed.), *Die Schweiz auf dem Messtisch. 175 Jahre Dufourkarte* (Basel: Schwabe 2020), 15.

Chapter I.

This chapter offers an overview of Carl Durheim's biography. The narrative standpoint focuses on Durheim's lifetime and sets out to chronologically reconstruct his personal vicissitudes and to synthesize information collected from different historical sources. It is designed with three intentions that are of particular interest for the research into Durheim's images, which will be discussed in the following chapters. The first is the attempt to outline a complete account of Durheim's profession as a mid-nineteenth century lithographer and commercial photographer. Second, I intend to provide a reading of Durheim's life-story located within the broader historical context of the Swiss socio-political development. In light of the historiographical debate surrounding the early history of photography in the German-speaking world, the third aspect is an attempt at shedding new light on Durheim's collection of prints and pictures as a whole, coherent body of images despite the various modes of production and subjects depicted. In other words, it is a first attempt to renew the narrative on Carl Durheim's photographic portraiture by placing it in a productive dialogue with recent debates about photography and early historiography.

Carl Durheim is known as the pioneer from Bern, who was the first who established a sedentary commercial activity.[31] On one hand, his photographic portraits of the Bernese bourgeoisie document the early use of photography as a surrogate for painting; the nineteenth-century fascination with portrait photography runs parallel to

[31] See U. Tillmans, *Geschichte der Fotografie* (Mannheim: Huber, 1981), 61; M. Gasser, "Bodenständig und Heimatlos- Carl Durheim: Erich Stenger und die Photographierten Schweizer Vaganten", in: M. Gasser, T. D. Meier and R.Wolfensberger (eds.), *Wider das Leugnen und Verstellen, Carl Durheims Fahndungsfotografien von Heimatlosen 1852/53* [Winterthur, Fotomuseum, 31. Januar - 22. März 1998] (Zürich: Winterthur, 1998), 125-141, here 129.

the characteristically bourgeois craving for family images.[32] On the other hand, in a time obsessed with taxonomy and social order,[33] Durheim's portraits of Swiss itinerants without citizenship, to which the bulk of the present work is devoted, form a collection of images that greatly contributes to the early history of police photography. Photographic portraits are a complex system of representation that is "capable of functioning both honorifically and repressively."[34] The distinction between these functions reflects the use of photographs and the type of commission and customers. The analysis that develops as the *fil rouge* of the present research aims precisely to reconcile the two worlds (i.e. 'respectable' portraiture and identification pictures) to which Durheim's images belong against the backdrop of two debates that have developed in the last twenty years. The first concerns the Swiss historical narrative concerning transnational relationships[35]. The second concerns the parallel study of the early history of both photography and anthropology.[36] More specifically, the research aims to answer the following question: to what extent does the production of portraits by Durheim, considered as a whole (both bourgeois portraits and identification pictures), perpetuate both the honorific and repressive functions of photography in the historical context of its use? From the broader perspective of the historical and social scene in Switzerland at the time, overlooked details in Durheim's portraits must be

[32] Jäger, *Gesellschaft und Photographie*, 146-161.
[33] E. Edwards, "Ordering Others: Photography, Anthropologies and Taxonomies", in: Museum of Modern Art Oxford (ed.), *In Visible Light: Photography and Classification in Art, Science and the Everyday*. (Oxford: Museum of Modern Art, 1997), 54-68, here 54.
[34] A. Sekula, "Der Körper und das Archiv", in: H. Wolf (ed.), *Diskurse der Fotografie, Fotokritik am Ende des fotografischen Zeitalters*, Band II (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2003), 269-333, here 273.
[35] See O. Zimmer, *A Contested Nation: History, Memory, and Nationalism in Switzerland 1761-1891* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2007).
[36] See C, Pinney, *Camera Indica. The social life of Indian Photographs* (Eastbourne: Gardners Book, 1997); C. Caraffa (ed.), *Photo Archives and the Photographic Memory of Art History* (Berlin: Deutsche Kunstverlag, 2011); E. Edwards and C. Morton, *Photographs, Museums, Collections: between Art and Information* (London: Bloomsbury, 2015); J. Carville, "A Geographic Fact: Photography, Ethnography and History in Ireland", in: T. Sheehan (ed.), *Photography, History, Difference* (Hanover: Dartmouth College Press/University Press of New England, 2015), 11-32.

reconsidered in light of his multifarious production of images: a parallel reading of his prints and pictures is key to appreciating the significance of Durheim's portraits.

On closer inspection, Durheim's body of work spans neither just portraits, nor just photographs: in fact, he ranged from lithographic prints of landscapes, colored panoramas, topographic maps, and late 1840s daguerreotypes to tinted ambrotypes, painted photographs on salted paper, and 1860s *carte-de-visite*. Since Carl Durheim was a lithographer and commercial photographer with a variety of subjects and clients over thirty years, the diversity of images he produced is unsurprising. The iconographic conventions established in one area, i.e., painting/portraiture, influenced the mode of representation in other areas, i.e., photography/identification picture, so that the fascination for the body, its attitude, pose and clothing shapes the style of the early identification pictures of criminals, as well as the contemporaneous anthropological inquiries. Alongside images in the common sense, that is, visual representations on material media such as lithographs, drawings and photographic prints, the present research focuses on the imagery that accompanies and gives rise to visual representations: the ideal images, which make thoughts and trends visible and communicable. These imaginary scenarios often emerge and take shape from words: for this reason, correspondences, specialized magazines, literature, and scientific reports, to name a few, will be used as documents accompanying the re-reading of Durheim's photographs and prints.

The following biography draws primarily on Durheim's own memories, found in a collection of autobiographies written at various times between 1874 and 1885.[37] In so

[37] Unless otherwise noted, all translations from foreign-language sources are my own. Mss.H.H.LII 98, Burgerbibliothek, Bern. The folder includes eight envelopes: 1. Selbstbiographie, 1 Redaktion (French) geschrieben 1874 (v.s. 87); 2. Selbstbiographie 2 Redaktion (French) geschrieben 1880 mit einer Ergänzung aus dem Jahr 1885; 3. Tagebuchartige Aufzeichnungen (Deutsch); 4. Erinnerungen aus der Vergangenheit (Deutsch); 5. Entdeckungsreise (Deutsch) (1875); 6. Bagnethal, Mont Avril und Monte

doing, I am aware that an autobiography is a text that intrinsically involves fictionalized undertones. While it has to be read with a critical eye and taking into consideration the nuances of the author's character, it nonetheless offers a rich understanding of Durheim's personality, as well as his utilization of and fascination with the photographic process.[38] The following text gives particular importance to the versions of Durheim's autobiography written in French, because they provide extraordinary clues about his personality and a vivid depiction of the political and religious vicissitudes of his homeland while he was actively engaged in his lithographic activity and photographic atelier. The later versions of his autobiography are written in German and consist mostly of scattered notes, which focus primarily on his cherished hiking expeditions to the Alps. They are written from the perspective of an aging man, who looks back at his career as a photographer with pride and sometimes with overestimation. Moreover, the comparison of the two versions –French and German, the former written between 1874 and 1887- gives the impression that Durheim was seriously invested in the political and religious ferment of his time: he often alluded to the notion of 'morality' in vogue at the time, frequently misused to justify violent actions, but reclaimed by those who wanted to govern society and allegedly fight against social inequalities; he also touched on religious controversies, questioning whether they were actually of any help in the education of honest people, as they were often exploited ideologically by politicians and intellectuals of opposite sides. Possibly, the choice to write two autobiographies in two different languages may even reflect a metaphorical division of the subjects under consideration. The French autobiography often puts political and historical issues at center stage, while the German text, by contrast, seems to revert to a more intimate narrative and reads like a personal diary.

Rosa Täler (1882); 7. Notizen über Gottlieb Sammel Studer (1804-1890); 8. Verschiedene Notizen. I am much indebted to Philipp Stämpfli for his support in reading the archival material.

[38] Burgerbibliothek Bern, Signatur Mss.h.h.LII.98 (Manuskript), 10.

Carl Durheim described a cross-section of Swiss society, particularly Bern, in words and prints: his photographic portraits are invaluable, both for the study of early photographic techniques, and its intersection with the field of graphic prints as manual systems of reproducibility. Moreover, both prints and pictures reflect the historical self-depiction of Swiss society in its physical appearances and moral ambitions. They are impressions of the social milieu where the photographer worked, offering insight into both those in front of and those behind the camera, whether they were the commissioners or the photographer himself. The variety of Durheim's images brings forth once more the development of the discourse on the cumbersome representation of the self within the portraiture tradition that delineates the celebrative and social function of picturing identity, serving as points of intersection where discourse and media interweave.

1.1. Carl Durheim (Bern, 1810-1890): the education and career of an eclectic draftsman

"CARL DURHEIM verfertigt fortwährend Portraits und Ansichten zu billigen Preisen: Junkerngasse N.° 164, neben der Platteform. Fait Portraits et Paysages à des prix très modérés; s'adresser rue des Gentilshommes près la Platteforme. BERN."[39]

The metal plate portrays a sitting woman with a white handkerchief in her left hand, which rests on her lap (Fig.1). On the back of the frame the visiting card advertises the business activity of the lithographer as portraitist and landscapist. The

[39] 'CARL DURHEIM verfertigt fortwährend Portraits und Ansichten zu billigen Preisen: Junkerngasse N.° 164, neben der Platteform. Fait Portraits et Paysages à des prix très modérés; s'adresser Rue des Gentilshommes près la Platteforme. BERN. Und handschriftlich: Jaeggi' Burgerbibliothek Bern, Online Archive Catalogue: http://katalog.burgerbib.ch/detail.aspx?ID=320095.

visual document establishes Durheim's inclusion within the early history of photography among those interested primarily in the economic benefits and value of a technology designed for the production and reproduction of magnificent 'mirror-like' images. It is thanks to Durheim's activity as a craftsman in his cutting-edge atelier that photography takes root in Bern.

Carl Durheim[40] was born in Bern in 1810, as the illegitimate son of a local well-known businessman, Karl Jakob Durheim (Bern, 1780-1866), with whom he entertained a working relationship more than an emotional attachment. As was common for members of the Swiss bourgeoisie, Carl Durheim was educated in Paris, where he received his training as a lithographer at the printing company Bernard & Delarue for almost two years (1827-1828).[41] Concurrently, he attended drawing classes given by the painter Lafont and English lessons with a professor called Mr. Robertson. He quickly stood out for his skills in drawing and printing techniques, enough to leave Paris before the end of his apprenticeship and to take commissions as an itinerant self-employed lithographer in the ensuing years, in the service of other printing houses, travelling all over France (Bourges, Besançon). In spring 1834 he took part in the mandatory military service as a member of the artillery corps in his homeland. While he was in Besançon he became interested in mathematics and taught himself calculus, geometry and trigonometry.[42]

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[40] The first name often appears both as 'Charles' and 'Carl'; probably 'Charles' is used to distinguish the lithographer 'Carl' from his father: Karl Jakob Durheim (1780-1866), famous lexicographer and author of historical and topographical studies of the history of Bern and its canton; Karl Jakob Durheim was a well-known personality in the city of Bern, both for his institutional office and for his publications as historian.

[41] By the same time that Durheim was attending his apprenticeship, the printing house in Rue Notre des Saint Victoires was engaged in the publication of a set of illustrations by the prominent caricaturist Henry Bonaventure Monnier.

[42] Mais déjà a printemps 1834 je reçue l'ordre de faire le service militaire que j'aurais déjà du faire en 1831. Cette fois-ci étant en Suisse, je ne pouvais plus refuser. Je fis le cours de cadet à l'école 'artillerie sous le commandement du colonel de Sinner, et en automne de la même année je fis mon examen à la satisfaction de nos examinateur, le colonel Hüpfer, et du major Schlatter. J'avais déjà à dans mes heures de loisir acheté des ouvrages de mathématiques et souvent étude très bon pendant la nuit le calcul, la géométrie e la trigonométrie, tout maitres ; je suis même parvenue à construire moi même les logarithmes, on trouvant exactement les termes intermédiaires des progressions géométriques entre le

In 1835 Durheim returned to Bern. In an open letter to his hometown, the twenty-five year old Carl proudly stated: "I have the honor to announce that I am opening a lithographic studio in this town. The knowledge acquired in the past seven years in the most important lithographic atelier in Paris and other cities in France, as well as Switzerland, allow me to produce pen and ink drawings."[43] (Fig.2) Other than announcing his competence, the design of the advertisement as a whole brightly displays the products on offer, illuminating the many fields of application of lithography. In fact, the letterhead displays 'lithographie-autographie'; the latter is a process derived from lithography, which allows the transposition of drawings and text onto a special paper in order to avoid inversion when the final version is printed; it was thought to be for limited editions and commercial use only. The design of the advertisement shows a pile of sheets on a table, which is positioned in the center and surrounded by different kinds of prints: hidden on the right is a music sheet, maybe in homage to Alois Senefelder (1771-1834);[44] cards with landscapes, topographic maps and postcards with reproductions of paintings are scattered all over the space; the advertisement clearly exhibits the many utilities of prints and possible combinations of words and images.[45]

Already known for his drawing skills, and taking advantage of his father's business acquaintances and personal connections among officers and public

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nombre 1 et 3. En outre j'avais pris des leçons à Fribourg apres mes heures de travail chez un professeur de mathématique nommé Thomas. Apre mon examen je fut nommé souhaitât d'artillerie. Au printemps 1835 je me suis établi lithographe a Berne dans la maison de mon père rue d'Hôpital 128, en peu de temps j'ais nombreuse clientèle et tout allé bien j'avais 4 ouvrier et je travailler toujours moi-même. p. 22-23.

[43] "… J'ai l'honneur de vous faire part que je viens de former un Etablissement lithographiques en cette ville. Les connaissances acquises pendant 7 années dans les premières Lithographies de Paris et dans d'autres villes de France et de la Suisse, me mettent dans le cas de pouvoir livrer des ouvrages signes a' la plume et en crayon." Berne, le 1er Novembre 1835. Burgerbibliothek Bern, Online Archive Catalogue, Werbung Gr.B.874, http://katalog.burgerbib.ch/detail.aspx?ID=112062.

[44] Alois Senefelder (1771-1834) is considered the father of the lithographic process, who in 1796 was looking for homemade and cheap processes of printing and publishing sheet music and theatrical works.

[45] See T. Starl, ""Die Rückseite". Fotokarten als Werbemittel der Atelierfotografen im 19. Jahrhundert", *Fotogeschichte* 2/1 (1982), 13-32.

administrators, Carl worked as a self-employed lithographer engaged in important assignments such as the production of topographic maps for the new edition of a Swiss atlas commissioned by the editor Christian von Sommerlat. Unfortunately, in 1837 his employer accused Carl Durheim of repeatedly submitting drawings late and complained that those submitted were of poor quality. It is likely that Durheim's impudent character triggered a fierce dispute with the editor, causing great financial loss for the lithographer and casting a negative shadow on his family name.[46] In light of the difficult personal relationship with his father, the young craftsman opted to depart Bern.[47] *Mater artium necessitas*: the young lithographer undertook his own 'Italian journey' turning his natural talent into a livelihood.[48] He spent 1839 in Turin, where he had one of his first close encounters with what he described as "une idée imparfait de la photographie", as he saw "un papier négative qui il s'effaçait petit a petit", and regretted –as many others admitted- not having had the intuition of obtaining a positive by positioning a prepared paper under the exposed negative.[49] In 1840, Durheim was in Naples[50] when the *Intelligenzblatt der Stadt Bern* acclaimed the public demonstration of daguerreotypes by the French traveling daguerreotypist *Monsieur Compas*. [51] Subsequently Carl moved to Bari, Rome and then England, where he worked for Queen Victoria and her spouse Albert: while the Royal Highnesses were busy with the

[46] Christian Vollrath von Sommerlatt, Beleuchtungsschrift von C. v. Sommerlatt in Bern: seine gegründeten Beschwerden gegen, und gerechten bedeutenden Forderungen an die Herren: Carl Durheim Vater, Zollverwalter in Bern, und Carl Durheim Sohn, Lithograph, abwesend(?), Universitätsbibliothek Bern, MUE Laut 316 : 17.

[47] " (…) ma détermination fut bien vite prise, avant de partir de Berne, j'avais bien réfléchi à ce que je faisais ce n'est pas aussi que je voulais laisser jouer avec mon existence, il fallait cependant vivre et en homme qui sait prendre son parti je me suis décidé à reste en Italie, et faute de moyens pour pouvoir m'établir de travailler plutôt chez les autres que de retourné a Berne. " 1. Selbstbiographie .1 Redachtion (French) geschrieben 1874 (v.s. 87), Durheim Mss.H.H.LII 98, Burgerbibliothek, Bern, 27-28.

[48] " Il ne me reste que mon talent pour vivre.", 7.

[49] 1. Selbstbiographie .1 Redachtion (French) geschrieben 1874 (v.s. 87), 28 ; Durheim Mss.H.H.LII 98, Burgerbibliothek Bern, 47-48.

[50] " Je suis reste a Naples une année, c'était le séjour le plus beau et le plus intéressant de ma vie, le napolitains on bien raison de dire " vedi Napoli e poi mori ", 1. Selbstbiographie .1 Redachtion (French) geschrieben 1874 (v.s. 87), 28 ; Durheim Mss.H.H.LII 98, Burgerbibliothek, Bern, 37.

[51] 27th May 1840, Intelligenzblatt der Stadt Bern, (https://www.digibern.ch/katalog/intelligenzblatt-von-und-fuer-die-stadt-bern#gsc.tab=0).

completion of two albums of etchings, Durheim was commissioned to take care of the caption typography; a kind of commission that the lithographer did not consider particularly compelling, but certainly profitable.[52]

In the same years, during one of his many stays in Paris, he commented as follows on the first daguerreotype he saw: "Arriver a Paris dans le Mois de Mars 1841 j'y ai vu les premiers Daguerréotypies, mais il me paraissait être si mauvais que je renonçais pour le moment à apprendre cette nouvelle découverte."[53] From the perspective of a practitioner of drawing and printing techniques, what could have been visually disturbing was the dark mirror-like appearance of the surface of the copperplate, and the fact that in order to see the details of the image the viewer needed to find the tilt angles through which different objects could alternately appear, not to mention the necessity of a magnifying glass in order to be able to see the finest details. In addition, from the perspective of a lithographer, it is not surprising that the gleaming metal plate was visually demanding in comparison to the immediacy of white matte paper, with fine and definite lines. The impossibility of reproducing the original was also a considerable disadvantage in the eye of a lithographer, whose invention originated precisely because of the necessity of a cheaper and faster way of reproducing image and text than traditional engraving techniques.

After several years of itinerancy as a lithographer and typographer, during which he attempted to establish his own business while working for various printing houses, Durheim settled in Bern again in 1841, setting up a lithographic atelier with a business partner, J. Chr. Selhofer, until 1844, when the two broke up and Durheim opened his own enterprise.

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[52] Durheim Mss.H.H.LII 98, Burgerbibliothek Bern, 50.
[53] P. Stämpfli, "Carl Durheim-Lithograph, Photograph, Unternehmer", in BB Bern (Eds.): *Carl Durheim, Wie die Fotografie nach Bern kam* (Bern: Stämpfli 2016), 9-16, here 10.

Although Durheim did not comment on the reason why he waited for some years before learning the daguerreotype process, some hypotheses can be advanced: first of all, as already mentioned, the silvery appearance of the image that added to the costs of the equipment could have discouraged the young craftsman, who was interested primarily in conducting a remunerative activity for which he was not only trained, but also talented. Then, he might have foreseen a gap between how the process was described -theoretically simple and effortless- and its actual applicability, which required more than a little knowledge of chemistry. Many traveling daguerreotypists had visited Bern since 1840: probably only with time, beyond his natural inclination for drawing and the graphic techniques, did Durheim develop an insight for entrepreneurial activity balancing haste and caution. In fact, after the establishment of his lithographic atelier, when he again approached the daguerreotype process, he envisioned a business opportunity if mastered by capable hands.[54] When the Polish traveling photographer Jean de Humnicki visited Bern in 1845 with his French colleague La Mouche, Durheim was finally satisfied with the aesthetic results of the French photographic process. He learned the technical procedures and bought the necessary supplies.[55] Starting in 1845 he began to work as a daguerreotypist alongside his activity as a lithographer. Between 1844 and 1853 his studio was on *Junkerngasse*, the historical and central street of the city. In 1847 Durheim took part in the *Sonderbund* war, and after his return, thanks to the flourishing of his photographic studio he slowly abandoned lithography. In 1853 Durheim moved first to *Metzgergasse* Nr. 101, and later to *Kramgasse* Nr. 183[56],

[54] "Humnicki machte dann Rundreisen und verdiente viel Geld, und mir gelangen es auch mir eine Kundsame zu verschaffen und beschäftigte mich von nun an eifrig mit der Daguerreotypie und hielt Angestellte für die Lithographie." (Gasser, "Bodenständig und Heimatlos", 129).
[55] "Dann kaufte ich Objektive und Apparate dazu. Humnicki machte dann Rundreisen und verdiente viel Geld, und mir gelang es auch mir eine Kundsame zu verschaffen." (Stämpfli, "Carl Durheim-Lithograph, Photograph, Unternehmer", 11).
[56] "eine verglaste Galerie mit sehr vorteilhafter Beleuchtung stand für die Aufnahmen bereit." E. Stenger: *Die beginnende Photographie im Spiegel von Tageszeitungen und Tagebüchern. Ein Beitrag zum 100-*

providing his modern atelier with a heating system, natural light for photographic exposures and a view of the Alps.[57] Among the last demanding commissions undertaken as a lithographer two are worth mentioning: in 1844 he illustrated the 'Cartes des Cantons Bern', and between 1848 and 1850 he was appointed to print the first stamps of the Federal State -the so called *Rayonmarken*.[58] "If a photographer wanted to live from his income, he had to be flexible and look for his clientele.'[59] Durheim also occasionally worked in Burgdorf. He published an advertisement on July, 30th 1848 in the Emmenthaler Bote which read: "C. Durheim from Bern will return to Burgdorf on the 30th of this month to spend a few days there; he is recommended to an honored audience to make daguerreotype portraits according to the latest perfected techniques. His apartment is at Mrs. Strohmeyer's house, where the garden and the location is very suitable for taking such portraits."[60] Unfortunately, none of these exposures survived. Although at that time Durheim had just started taking photographs in Bern, his name was known around the Canton. Durheim continued to visit the small city on various occasions while also advertising for his studio in Bern in the following years.

In 1852 Durheim signed a contract with Jakob Amiet, general prosecutor for the Police and Justice Department of Bern in order to photograph the vagabonds imprisoned in Bern's house of correction and to reproduce these photographs in lithographic

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jährigen Bestehen der Lichtbildnerei 1839–1939 (Würzburg-Aumühle: Verlag Konrad Triltsch, 1943), 65.

[57] "Sein Glaspavillon mit schöner Alpenaussicht macht es ihm möglich, bei jeder Witterung zu arbeiten, indem man nach Belieben die Lichtwirkung regulieren kann und womit jede Blendung vermieden wird." (Stenger, *Die beginnende Photographie*, 66).

[58] Sammlung Briefmarken Rayon II, Bern, 1850-1854, Papier, Mehrfarbendruck im Steindruck-Verfahren, Inv. 1988.37. Historisches Museum Basel.

[59] M. Schürpf (ed.), *Frühe Fotografie in Burgdorf 1840-1875, Carl Daut, Carl Durheim, Hugo Kopp, Arnold Meyer, Franz Xaver Rühl u.a.*, Ausstellung im Rathaus Burgdorf, 11. Mai bis 22. Juni 2001 Dokumentation, 5. Accessed online on 23.04.2016: https://fotobuerobern.ch/wp-content/uploads/2015/06/Fr%C3%BChe-Fotografie-in-Burgdorf.pdf

[60] Schürpf (ed.), *Frühe Fotografie in Burgdorf*, 13.

prints.[61] The albums containing the lithographic portraits exist in many copies with different titles and layouts (See Chapter III). Durheim took the majority of the pictures using the negative-positive process on paper (calotype), while the lithographic drawings were commissioned to the Bernese lithographer Wüst.[62] Unfortunately there is no documentation left that speaks directly of Durheim's personal opinion in regard to the commission undertaken in 1852.

The historian Markus Schürpf mentions this collection of landscapes as the first views of Burgdorf ever done with photography.[63] In 1859 he produced another set of lithographic views, drawn both from daguerreotypes and photographs on paper, for his father's publication *Historisch-topographische Beschreibung der Stadt Bern und ihrer Umgebungen, mit Rückblicken auf ihre frühern Zustände*.[64]

Carl Durheim married Anna Barbara Wüthrich in 1850, and he fathered two sons and four daughters: Karl (1846), Marie (1847), Louise (1849), Anne (who died soon after her birth in 1852), Albert (1854), and Anna (1855). Paradoxically, he describes that time as follow: "*Pendant ce long laps de temps entre 1849-1863 (mille huit sent quarante-neuf, soixante-trois) il ne se rien passé d'important dans ma famille, c'était*

[61] Vertrag, 5. November 1852, BAR E21, 20533, Korrespondenzen mit dem Kantonen betr. Einbürgerung von Heimatlosen; Heimatlosenverzzeichnisse der Kantone (1850-1860).
[62] T.D. Meier und R. Wolfensberger, "Carl Durheims Fahndungsfotografien von schweizerischen Heimatlosen und Nicht- Sesshaften", in: Gasser, Meier, Wolfensberger (eds.), *Wider das Leugnen und Verstellen*, 12.
[63] "Im Verlage und Eigenthum des Unterzeichneten ist so eben erschienen Ansicht der Stadt Burgdorf vom Flühli aufgenommen. Mit 7 Randansichten: 1) Ansicht von Burgdorf, vom Taubenflühli. 2) Burgdorf, vom Schönbühl. 3) Ansicht der Fabrike der Herren Miescher u. Comp. 4) Schloss Burgdorf. 5) Die Staldenbrücke. 6) Das Sommerhaus. 7) Die Hohengasse. 25 Zoll breit und 18 Zoll hoch. Nach Photographien von Herrn C. Durheim in Bern, auf Stein gezeichnet von Herrn A. Kümmerli von Olten.
Der Preis eines Exemplars in Tondruck ist Fr. 5.- Fein koloriert (nur auf Bestellung) Fr. 16.- Fein koloriert mit Goldrahmen Fr. 28.- Durch Aufwendung aller möglichen Sorgfalt, Mühe und Unkosten, etwas Naturgetreues und Gediegenes zu Stande zu bringen, glaube ich durch Herausgabe dieses Tableau's einem seit Jahren gefühlten Bedürfnis abzuhelfen, da keine Ansicht von hiesigem Orte mehr existiert. - Ob und wie mir dies gelungen, mag sich Jedermann durch Besichtigung in meiner Buchhandlung selbst überzeugen, wozu ich höflichst einlade. E. Langlois in Burgdorf." Schürpf (ed.), *Frühe Fotografie in Burgdorf*, 15.
[64] Karl Jakob Durheim: Historisch- topographische Beschreibung der Stadt Bern, Bern: Haller, 1859. Mss.h.h.IX.134, Durheim Karl Jakob (1780-1866), Burgerbibliothek Bern; see also Hans Rudolf Gabathuler, „Fotografie im Druck, vom Lieferungswerk zur illustrierten Zeitschrift", in: Martin Gasser and Sylvie Henguely, *Nach der Natur. Schweizer Fotografie im 19.Jahrhundert*, Steidl, 379-409, here 383.

comme un fleuve qui avait passé les cataractes et qui coulait tranquillement en attendant que la mer de l'éternité vint le recevoir."[65] I underline 'paradoxically' because from the point of view of his commercial activity, the twenty years described as "uninteresting" from a familial point of view coincides with Durheim's period of the highest production of images and the highest number of commissions accepted.

From the variety of media and techniques used, it seems that Durheim was fascinated by the technological novelty circulating at the moment, which could easily meet the aesthetic taste of his customers in various way and could also easily be combined with his skills in drawing and color. The aesthetic quality of early photographic images was frequently met with resistance from critics at industrial exhibitions, mostly in the case of perspective distortions, as well as the methods of editing and hand-coloring. Although the public announcement made in Paris on August 19, 1839 by François Arago was welcomed with enthusiasm and was rapidly released by the Swiss press; more than once Durheim took out advertisements in local newspapers defending the photographic novelty, despite its technical and aesthetic imperfections, against those who harshly criticized the unconventional silvery appearance of the pictures. Among the many open objections leveled at daguerreotypes were to the blurry effect of movements and the disfigurements caused by lens aberrations in the case of portraiture.[66] The rendering of skin color in the daguerreotypes, often identified as "deathly pallor" (*totenfarbig*) or the "deathlike resemblance" of the body depicted (*toten Ähnlichkeit*), also often caused negative remarks. Although it was harshly criticized by purist art connoisseurs -"gegen die Totenähnlichkeit der Daguerreotypen zu erwidern, dass es ein Leichtes ist, diese

[65] Durheim Mss.H.H.LII 98, Burgerbibliothek, Bern, Erste Redaktion, 63.
[66] "Durch die kleinen Durchmesser der anzuwendenden Linsen erscheinen die im Bilde zurückgespiegelten, hervorragenden Theile immer größer und die zurückstehenden kleiner als sie in Natur sind, daher die geschwollenen Nasen, die dicken Lippen, die kleinen Augen, die enormen Finger bei vorgehaltenen Händen usw." Stenger, *Die beginnende Photographie*, 61.

Porträts zu kolorieren, wenn es verlangt wird, dass aber das Coloriren derselben von Kunstkennern verworfen wird"[67]- Durheim circumvented this problem by learning hand-coloring techniques and by offering this option to customers by employing specialized painters.[68]

Undaunted by harsh criticism, Durheim travelled in 1849-50 to Frankfurt am Main in order to learn the paper process[69] and three years later in 1853, in Aachen, he learned the collodion process from Jacob Wothly.[70] In 1855 Durheim advertised his production of stereoscopic portraits.

Durheim was not the only daguerreotypist in Bern[71] -though among many traveling French daguerreotypists he was indeed the first photographer to establish himself with a proper photographic atelier which created difficulties for travelers and later for stationary competitors in the field- and in a few years he mastered almost all the photographic techniques known at that time (daguerreotype, talbotype, collodion process, ambrotype, pannotype, stereoscopy). Apparently the demand for portraits was so high in the 1850s and 1860s that in order to keep up with the commissions Durheim needed to employ skillful painters. In the 1860s the format of the *carte de visite* was

[67] Stenger, *Die beginnende Photographie,* 60.
[68] On the intersection between aesthetic discourses and instructional texts see: C. Dauven, "Porträtieren als angewandte Wissenschaft. Die Auseinandersetzung mit den Bedingungen des fotografischen Porträts in der Handbuchliteratur von 1839 bis 1869", *Fotogeschichte* 150/38 (2018), 17-26. On the topic of retouching see: D. Keultjes, "Freiraum Dunkelkammer? Von der Retusche im Handbuch zum Handbuch der Retusche", *Fotogeschichte*, 150/38 (2018), 37-46.
[69] In the 1840s the calotype process dominated Frankfurt's photographic scene, which became an international landmark due to the characteristic utilization of color that was met with favor by clients. E. Mayer-Wegelin, "Die Kalotypie in Frankfurt am Main", *Fotogeschichte* 2/1 (1982), 3-12.
[70] "En 1853 J'ai fait un second cours de photographie chez Mr. Wothly à Aix-la-Chapelle qui avait apporté des perfectionnements notable dans cet art." Quoted in Stämpfli, "Carl Durheim-Lithograph, Photograph, Unternehmer", 11; see also: "Von dem Maler und Photographen J. Wothly in Aachen", *Neue Münchner Zeitung,* 4. Juni 1855, 1484. Jacob Wothly was a Swiss photographer (actually: Woodtly, 1823-1873), who invented a copying paper around 1860, named after him Wothlytype. The process was probably also used for life-size full-length portraits, which Wothly made using a solar camera he had constructed. It is unclear from the documentation available what kind of knowledge Carl Durheim acquired by visiting him.
[71] See also M. Schürpf, "Wie Wird Fotografie zu Geld? Geschäftsmodelle von Fotografinnen und Fotografen, Zwischen 1840 und 1883", in: M. Gasser and S. Henguely (eds.), *Nach der Natur*, 146-183, here 147. For a complete list of photographers active in Bern between 1830s and 1870s see Burgerbibliothek Bern (eds.): *Carl Durheim, Wie die Fotografie nach Bern kam*, 33.

imported to Bern along with the practice of enlarging pictures through to the use of the 'Solarkamera' which allowed the reproduction of life-size portraits.[72]

The mid-1860s represent the zenith of Durheim's commercial career. Thanks to his successful business, in 1863 he was able to buy the large property Sommerleist on Laupenstraße 5, and the well-known local architect Friedrich Studer undertook the commission to renovate the building. During this time his clients included prominent public figures: the First President of the Confederation of Switzerland, Jonas Furrer (1848-1858) (Fig.3)[73]; Emil Welti (1850-1865), member of the Federal Council; and even the Bavarian King Maximilian II (1811-1864)[74] apparently visited his studio.

It is difficult to say what Durheim thought about his image production. He was a gifted artisan, and the photographic process allowed him to produce images of a very high aesthetic quality, while also quickly becoming commercially significant for his business. Rather than seeing photographic images as having artistic value in economic terms, he probably saw in them the possibility of personal expression outside of the standards of art connoisseurs and the art market. Durheim belongs to those craftsmen who did not aspire to produce "Art," but his photographs, although "merchandise," display nonetheless an exceptional aesthetic quality.

Moreover, he combined photography with his other personal interests, such as hiking and producing landscapes of his journeys. His participation in industrial

[72] Two examples are collected at the Fotosammlung Ruth und Peter Herzog: one is a portrait of Carl Durheim, the other depicts probably his daughter. They are both studio portraits: Durheim's self-portrait measures 61 x 48.5 cm; the young lady's portrait measures 56.5 x 43.6 cm. They are albumen prints, monochrome, with visible retouches. Available at https://www.fotosammlung.com/collection.html?item=232604

[73] Burgerbibliothek Bern, Online Archive Catalogue, F.Dag.112, http://katalog.burgerbib.ch/detail.aspx?ID=93484; see also A. Arnold, B. Spalinger Zumbühl, V. van den Heiligenberg und S. Zumbühl, "Die Pannotypie – Ein Transferverfahren Auf Schwarzes Wachstuch. Zur Geschichte, Technik, Materialität Und Schadensphänomenen", *Rundbrief Fotografie* 23/4 (2016), 29-41: "Pannotypen [Sind] Unstreitig Unter Allen Collodiumpositivs Die Empfehlenswerthesten".

[74] "Als König Maximilian II von Bayern Ende der 50er Jahre nach Bern kam, hat er meine Wohnung an der Kramgasse 183 besucht und mir die Photographie des Bundesrathaus in großen Format bestellt." Gasser, "Bodenständig und Heimatlos", 130.

exhibitions[75] is of interest due to the unusual subjects he submitted, such as the pictures of clouds that he presented in 1857,[76] which are unfortunately lost.

After the 1860s he scheduled regular business trips to Paris to purchase photographic supplies, and he was actively engaged in experimenting with new technologies with the aim of importing them into his homeland.[77] Over time he popularized new photographic 'products' with varying success, as was the case for dissolving views (1860-61), which did not find favor with the Bernese public. The series of travels to Paris is interesting not only from the point of view of Durheim's personal story. The direct thread between Bern and Paris marks Durheim's career since his formative years, and the link between the Swiss and French capitals acquires a symbolic meaning which serves to introduce a wider historical discourse on the relationships among modern states, among centers and peripheries, which will be the subject of a subsequent chapter.

Although he made a living mainly as a portraitist after his commitment to photography, Durheim's eclectic production of pictures and prints reflects the attitude of a craftsman fully engaged with the latest innovations in image reproduction, and he was a most resourceful character. His boldness allowed him to make a living out of his ability to exploit the photographic novelty in its wide adaptability, without any worry of producing results unpleasant to the eye of the public and the art connoisseur, but focusing instead on convention and the taste of his clients. His shows in Bern and Fribourg theaters failed to entertain the public: the brochure is titled "Catalogue with explanation of the mechanical-physical pictures of Karl Durheim, photographer of Bern,

[75] Durheim participated in the Industrial Exposition in Bern in 1846, 1848, 1854 and 1857, and in the Exposition Universelle in Paris in 1850, 1855, 1867, 1878.
[76] M. Schürpf, "Menschen, Häuser, Berge, Wolken, Die Karriere des Berner Fotografen Carl Durheim (1810-1890)", *Der kleine Bund*, 152/263 (2001), available online: https://fotobuerobern.ch/wp-content/uploads/2015/06/Durheim_KleinerBund20021110.pdf
[77] Stenger, *Die beginnende Photographie*, 65-66.

shown with the ten-pointed hagioscope and gas lighting with enlargement of the pictures up to 400 square feet, depending on the available space."[78] (1860) As explained in the prospectus, the so-called dissolving views were drawings or photographs projected and painted in such a way that a play of lights and overlays could simulate both basic movements and the passing of time over a day. '*Mountain and glacier tours in the Bernese Alps, (summer 1876)"* in 1877[79] is a short brochure dedicated to the mountains of his region. As a testimony to his interest in and love for hikes in the Alps, a painted piece of cardboard displays the peaks of the Aletschhorn and the Jungfrau. On the back Durheim's handwriting states: "Aletschhorn and Jungfrau drawn and colored after the photographs taken by Jules Beck, in memory of the successful summiting of the Jungfrau by C. Durheim and Rudolf and Kern in 1871, in splendid weather with the guides Alexander Munig/Meiniz and Anton Immhasli from (?). There was just enough space for the four of us. The ascent started from Faulberg, departure was at 3:25 in the morning. Arrival on the summit at exactly 11 o'clock, with a stay until 12:15. At 5 o'clock in the evening we reached (?) the Faulberg hut".[80] The two brochures, one concerning the technical procedure used to obtain optical effects through light on painted landscapes and the other expressing his fascination for the beauty of the natural world, manifest once again the multifaceted personality of the craftsman.

[78] "Verzeichnis mit Erklärung der mechanish-physikalischen Nebelbilder von Karl Durheim, Photograph von Bern, dargestellt mit dem zehnzossigen Agioskope und Gassbeleuchtung mit Vergrosserung der Bilder bis auf 400 quadratfuss, je nach dem vorhandenen Raum. Gedruckt in der Hallerschen Buchdruckerei (B. F. Haller)." Private collection Isabelle Durheim, Basel.

[79] "Berg und Gletscherfahrten in dem Berner Alpen, (Sommer 1876) vom C. Durheim, Vater, Separat Ausdruck aus dem XII band des Jahresbuches des Schweizerische Alpen Club stämpflische Buchdruckerei (1877)." Private Collection Isabelle Durheim, Basel.

[80] ,Aletschhorn, und jung frau (…) vom Monch? aus nach den Fotografien v. J. Beck zusammengestellt und koloriert in Erinnerung der v. C. Durheim und Rudolf und Kern 1871 bei prachtvollem Wetter mit den Führen Alexander Munig/Meiniz und Anton Immhasli von (?) glücklich ausgeführter Besteigung des Jungfrau Bendestricht Gipfel. Es war oben gerade platz genug für uns vier. Die Besteigung geschah von Faulberg aus der Abmarch von da geschah morgens drei. Uhr 25. Min. Ankunft auf dem Gipfel exakt 11. Uhr Aufenthalt plus 12 a 15 min. Abends fünf ein halb Uhr erreichten wertvoll? Wertvoll behalten die Faulberg Hütte.' Private Collection Isabelle Durheim, Basel.

Durheim devoted himself to photography until the very end of his life: he officially 'retired' from lithographic activity in 1864. First, he handed down the business to his older son Karl and his business partner C. Gilli in 1868, then Karl jr. gave up the business after a while and moved to Paxton, Illinois. The sixty-year old Durheim ran his business again until 1873, when he sold his studio to Gustav Bär, but out of financial need he went on the market again for several months before withdrawing definitively.[81] He concluded his notes with the following remark: "Il faut se former un jugement basé sur une saine morale, appuyé par la religion dans la quelle on est élevé." [82] Although the aforementioned thoughts remain unclear and testify only to Durheim's personal experience it is noteworthy to consider them as an indicator for the sensitivity they suggest. An element that recurs constantly in his memoir, whether he speaks of politics, religion or historical facts, is the concern for morality, and how morality appears to be intertwined with both wielding of power and statement of belief.

1.2. Analysis of the sources and primary literature

An exhaustive study on Carl Durheim's portraiture production brings to light a melting pot of discourses, which intersect on various levels and with different implications for the historiography of the early history of photography in German-speaking countries. Certainly there is no lack of written documentation, but the reconstruction and narration of fragmented stories of photography continues to challenge the conception of a coherent history of photography and respectively its theory of historiography. This complexity increases with study of the early history of photography, mainly because of the actual loss of key documents. Even those historical objects that have survived are scattered in archives or collections, often not yet

[81] Schürpf, "Wie Wird Fotografie zu Geld?", 148.
[82] Mss.H.H.LII 98, Burgerbibliothek Bern, 102.

catalogued, and this is the case for a considerable number of the pictures (presumably) attributed to Carl Durheim. In 2003 the Swiss photo historian Markus Schürpf brilliantly laid out the state of photography as an art in the Canton Bern and its difficulties in attaining recognition as part of the cultural heritage of Switzerland. Schürpf speaks directly about Carl Durheim's case and states that:

> 'Carl Durheim (1810-1890), one of the first photographers in Switzerland, is known as the creator of the first mug shots. *All the rest of his work, which deserves respect outside of Switzerland, is still completely in the dark.* It seems that photographers and their works suffer from an ambiguous reputation in the canton even more than elsewhere and live a shadowy existence embedded in international and national contexts of production and reception. There are only vague ideas about the full extent of photographic treasures and their authors'. [83]

With the exhibition titled *Nach der Natur* at the Fotostiftung Schweiz, in Winterthur, at the Museo d'arte della Svizzera Italiana, in Lugano and at the Photo Elysée, in Lausanne, and its related publication, the situation denounced by the historian is a matter of the past. The study is the first attempt of discussing photography in Switzerland in mid-nineteenth century in various contexts, by showing for example the different uses of photography (i.e. *Die Schweiz Als Neuer Sehnsuchtsort. Tourismus und Fotografie*, by Ricabeth Steiger) and its interaction among the printing techniques that existed at the same time (i.e. *Fotografie im Druck, vom Lieferungswerk zur Illustrierten*

[83] "Carl Durheim (1810-1890), einer der ersten Fotografen der Schweiz, kennt man als Urheber früher Fahndungsbilder. Sein ganzes restliches Werk, das über die Schweiz hinaus Achtung verdienen würde, liegt noch vollständig im Dunkeln. Es scheint, als ob die Fotografen und ihre Werke im Kanton noch mehr als anderswo unter einem zwiespältigen Ruf zu leiden haben und ein gebettet in internationale und nationale Produktions- und Rezeptions zusammenhänge ein Schattendasein fristen. Über das gesamte Ausmaß der fotografischen Bildschätze und ihre Autoren bestehen erst vage Vorstellungen." M. Schürpf, "Ein Kulturgut im Dilemma: über die Situation historischer Fotografien im Kanton Bern", *Berner Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Heimatkunde*, 65/ 4 (2003), 151-201, here 155.

Zeitschrift by Hans Rudolf Gabathuler). In this book, the collected archival material concerning Swiss photography is investigated in every direction: from the fields of application of the photographic image (i.e. *Aufbruch in die Moderne Zeit, Dokumentation von Fortschrift in Wissenschaft, Technik und Gesellschaft*, by Nora Mathys und Markus Schürpf) to the different ways in which it has been received locally and outside national borders (i.e. *Vom Architekturerbe zum Naturerbe. Wie die Schweiz von Ausländischen Fotografen entdeckt wurde 1840-1860* by Agathe Frochot).

Within the extensive study, Carl Durheim is mentioned in several essays: this shows that his image production and his story necessitate to be discussed on the backdrop of a variety of frames of reference to be fully unpacked. The art historian Patrizia Munforte presents Carl Durheim's pictures of the Heimatlose under new light: in her essay titled *Schweizer Heimat(losen) Politik: Porträtfotografie zwischen Identität und Kontrolle* highlights the role played by the standardization and repetition of visual patterns used to depict a minority group (Jenish). Parallel to Durheim's portraits, Munforte sets the *Trachtenfotografie* (traditional costume photography) as an example of a different genre, which nonetheless created and disseminated stereotypes through visual repetition as an apparatus of power to consolidate the identity of the observer in given values. The Foucaultian' control is also evoked in 'einer intakten und wohlgeordneten Welt'[84], expressed through idyllic portraits of women in *Tracht*. While I agree with Munforte that both Durheim's portraits and the *Trachtenfotografie* are based on stereotype and the repetition of visual patters, I partially disagree with the following statement:

"Die Aufnahmen wurden zwar nach damaligen klassischen Studioporträts angefertigt, doch *beruhen sie auch auf den Physiognomiestudien des Zürcher Pfarrers*

[84] P. Munforte, "Schweizer Heimat(lose). Zwischen Identität und Kontrolle", in: Gasser and Henguely (eds.), *Nach der Natur*, 278-319, here 285.

Johann Caspar Lavater (1741–1801) aus den 1770er-Jahren, welche eine wichtige Grundlage für die anthropologischen und rassistischen Theorien im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert bildeten und auch den Kolonialismus sowie die Ideologie des National-Sozialismus stützten."[85]

Durheim's portraits cannot be based on a physiognomic theory that will be developed later. In fact, in the archival documentation regarding Durheim's commission undertaken for the Police and Justice Department of Bern there is no mention or direct reference to Lavater's physiognomic theories. Despite this macroscopic fact, a conceptual element of the theory expressed by Lavater emerges from the words used to judge Durheim's portraits.

Lavater's voice reverberates in the expression *Charakteristisch*[86] used by federal board officials to judge one of the first samples provided by Durheim. The discussion on the definition of characteristic as intended by the federal board, I argue, must be framed on the backdrop of late 1700s Swiss art theory and its application to landscape drawing.[87]

In order to begin to address Munforte's call for the necessity of a study on costume photography, the present research examines first the onset of clothing and traditional costume in Carl Durheim's portraits production and its implications in a circumscribed case study.

Before this last publication, only a small section of his image production has actually been studied as noted above by the Swiss historian. A small collection of pictures had constituted the basis on which the standard literature was built. For these reasons, and because of the actual amount of images that have been recently rediscovered, my inquiry aims to further the study of Durheim's portraiture production

[85] *Ibid.* 280.
[86] BAR E 21, 20528, Verschiedene Korrespondenzen zu den Photographischen Bildern der Heimatlosen (1852–1853).
[87] Pfeifer-Helke, "Die Linie und das Charakteristische der Natur", 92.

following two paths. First, I intend to bring to the attention of the readership a new set of *images*. In line with Schürpf, I want to stress the fact that I will focus on photographic objects as well as lithographic prints related to the photographer's activity. Second, thanks to the discovery of unedited visual material, my intention is to rebuild the interpretative framework in which to locate Durheim's activity, filling a gap in the literature and offering a new perspective in light of recent debates on the early history of photography. As I already briefly mentioned, one could summarize the state of the art by noting that Carl Durheim's name and his photographic portraits appear in two strands of literature and in two frames of theoretical discourses: 1) the literature interested in the strictly documentary reconstruction of the early history of photography in Switzerland; 2) the literature -that I call 'discursive'- on the use of the photographic image and its sociological implications, where his mug shots are mentioned.

Proceeding in chronological order, I first explicate the literature that gathered information about Carl Durheim and recounted his story on the wave of euphoria for the 'pioneers' of photography. For this reason, I call this body of literature the 'first reception'. In a second step I will examine the merits and faults of such an approach by showing which passages in the subsequent historiography have criticized and enriched this first body of literature. Third, I will examine what I call the 'second reception' of Carl Durheim. This second body of writings has given rise to a narrative of the photographer's story parallel to the first one and it has focused exclusively on circumstantial archival material.

1.3. Carl Durheim's *first* reception in light of the *first* writings of the early history of photography in Switzerland

The following paragraph discusses key writings on Carl Durheim's photography. A look into the relatively recent publications and scattered debates about the author reveals multiple standpoints from which scholars have approached Durheim's set of pictures. The principal aim is to pinpoint the existing literature on the photography of Carl Durheim and to put it back in relation to broader theoretical discussions and current considerations regarding the history and theory of photography. A renewed discussion on Durheim's portrait production, as the present study aims to propose, requires first of all an outline of the interpretative framework in which the author's work has been studied and therefore an exposition of the questions from which the present research takes its departure.

The reception of Carl Durheim as a photographer drives from the nature of the early archival material collected by scholars interested in writing about the origin and dissemination of photography in German-speaking countries. The question I am going to answer in this first section is therefore the following: 1) what archival materials have been considered regarding Durheim's activity as a photographer thus far? 2) How did different photo-historians narrate Durheim's engagement with the photographic medium in the framework of early photo-historical accounts? 3) And then, within which discourses was the portrait production of Carl Durheim thematized in recent time?

As we saw, Carl Durheim was active in Bern from the 1830s to the last decades of the nineteenth century: a wide and dense timeframe if considered both from the perspective of the history of the developments of photographic techniques and for the stirring socio-political changes occurring locally in Switzerland as well as the rest of Europe. Having said that, and starting from a comprehensive review of the archival material concerning the Swiss photographer (from his autobiographies to his advertisements, correspondences, labels, graphic prints and pictures), a first glaring

consideration regarding Durheim's images emerges: despite the amount of images of various types produced by Carl Durheim (from prints to photographs, from panoramas to portraits, from topographies to stamps and reproductions of paintings), which are collected privately as well as by public institutions, the existing literature on the author discusses just one section –and I argue, a small one- of the images produced by Carl Durheim: his photographic portraits. A pragmatic and understandable reason explains this fact: the majority of the surviving images by the Swiss photographer are actually photographic portraits on metal plates, on colorful salted papers and on tiny *cartes-de-visite*. Few landscapes on salted paper survived, and none of his 'experimental' shots of clouds endured.[88] It is indeed historically evident that Durheim introduced himself to the 'wider' public of Bern by advertising his lithographic activity only alongside his photographic portraiture production: this aspect is largely documented by the content of the many announcements he published on local newspapers, such as the *Intelligenzstadt Bern*, in *Berner Volksfreund* and *Emmenthaler Boten*[89], and by his participation with photographic portraits in industrial and art exhibitions in his homeland and in Paris.

Furthermore, Durheim's story, as well as the early literature on his portraiture production, is embedded in the local history of the city of Bern. More specifically, the reception of Durheim's pictures is entwined with the formation of the archive- considered in its literal meaning as the gathering of documents- on two different levels: first, the constitution of the physical private (photographic) collection, where Durheim's early pictures were gathered; and second, the formation and establishment of institutional archives that hosted the aforementioned private collection. The early literature on Durheim's portrait production partially reflects the story of two entangled private archives, which shape in similar ways the early literature on the photographic

[88] Schürpf, "Menschen, Häuser, Berge und Wolken".
[89] Schürpf, *Frühe Fotografie in Burgdorf*, 13-15.

production of the Swiss photographer: the *Sammlung Adolf Fluri* housed at the Burgerbibliothek Bern and the *Sammlung Erich Stenger* housed at the Museum Ludwig in Cologne.[90] They represent the primary archival sources on which the early literature on Carl Durheim's portrait production draws. The primary and most commonly used writings on the Swiss photographer are based on the archival material gathered in the aforementioned photographic collections between the twenties and thirties of the twentieth-century.

As the first two collectors' interest focused on the reconstruction of the history of the early photographic techniques, the early literature on Carl Durheim's picture production stems from a well-defined photo-historical perspective, which privileges the chronicling of the development of processes, thus focusing closely on the photographic object as the result of the application of technical knowledge, at the expense of both the content of the picture and the epistemological reflection on the photographic medium in an interdisciplinary field of application. Certainly Carl Durheim devoted himself to photography thanks to the increasing popularization of the medium and the wealthy customers he was able to attract in the expanding capital of the Federal State. On the other hand, I will demonstrate that this photo-centered perspective used by early photo-historians (i.e. Fluri, Stenger) ignores Durheim's education as a lithographer and overlooks the relevance of his graphic prints in the framework of the working practices of artisans of his time. Early accounts of Carl Durheim that situate his activity exclusively as portraitist must first be read with a critical eye to the historiography of the early history of photography in German-speaking countries. Before moving to the following section, where I will outline the origins of Adolf Fluri's and Erich Stenger's

[90] See M. Halwani, *Geschichte der Fotogeschichte: 1839-1939* (Berlin: Reimer, 2012); M. Halwani and C. Kemp (eds.), *Photographien führen wir nicht: Erinnerungen des Sammlers Erich Stenger (1878-1957)* (Heidelberg: Kehrer, 2014). Erich Stenger's private collection was acquired in 1955 by the Photo-Historama Collection and is housed since 1986 at the Museum Ludwig in Cologne.

photographic collections, I will briefly examine what I call the second reception of Carl Durheim's photographic portraits, though calling it 'second reception' may seem misleading. I identify with 'second reception' the discourse within which the literature presents and analyzes a very precise section of the portraits produced by Carl Durheim. This second reception also appears much later than the first studies, so the differentiation is also intended to emphasize the chronological order of the literature devoted to the author. Carl Durheim is known in recent time by scholars interested in the early history of police photography, because he was commissioned to portray a group of Swiss itinerants without citizenship (*Heimatlose*) in 1852 by the Justice and Police Department of Bern. *Against Denial and Dissembling – Carl Durheim's Police Photography of Homeless 1852/53*[91] was the title of the exhibition and of the catalogue curated by Martin Gasser in 1998 at the Fotomuseum Winterthur in collaboration with the Museum for Communication in Bern, which presents a different dimension of Durheim's photographic engagement for the first time.

For the moment I will analyze the nature of the early writings on Carl Durheim: I will first discuss the literature that looks at Durheim as a Swiss pioneer, and I will show the strengths and limits of such an approach. I will concentrate in depth on the 'second' reception later on, with the aim of reconciling the two discourses that over time have developed around the respective products (studio portraits and identification photographs) of the Swiss photographer.

1.4. Entangled stories of early photo collectors[92]

[91] Gasser, Meier, Wolfensberger, (eds.), *Wider das Leugnen und Verstellen*.
[92] See also Gasser, "Fotografie nach der Natur", in: Gasser and Henguely, *Nach der Natur*, 10-17, here 13-14.

A commemorative intention characterizes the approach of the first two scholars, who engaged with the writing of Durheim's photographic activity in parallel with the narrative on the early history of photography in German-speaking countries. A celebrative fascination permeates the unpublished notes left by Adolf Fluri (1865-1930),[93] in which the locally collected photographic material functions as historical evidence of a local scene. Erich Stenger's (1878-1957) ambitious project of writing a history of photography reveals in some respect some similar celebratory aspiration: from both Fluri's and Stenger's perspective, Durheim's story finds its place among the narrative of those 'pioneers' who enthusiastically welcomed the French invention of the daguerrotype at the Parisian sphere (Stenger's sources on Carl Durheim result in part from Fluri's research). Although at two different levels of complexity and with very different results, the private photographic collections from which the writing of *their* history of photography stems show that the photographic object has offered these scholars the possibility of illustrating not only a general history of the technique, but a specific cross-section of the history of the medium as it developed within precise geographical borders.

Recent debates have explored how photographs and the formation of photographic collections and institutional archives unveil close connections with the idea of nation and the narration of its history, thus also nourishing the representation of national identity through images.[94] The same discourse highlights the fact that a renewed reflection on the nature of archives and collections as venues of *metaphorical meaning-making*[95] in turn sheds new light on photographic *mediality*, often omitted in favor of its *reproductive character*. In reconsidering the *mediality* of photography and

[93] Burgerbibliothek Bern, Signatur Mss.h.h.XXX.69.
[94] C. Caraffa and C. Serena (eds.), *Photo Archives and the Idea of Nation* (Berlin: DeGruyter, 2014).
[95] J. M. Schwartz, "Photographic Archives and the Idea of Nation: Images, Imaginings, and Imagined Community", in: Caraffa and Serena (eds.), *Photo Archives and the idea of nation*, 17-40, here 21.

its embedded history as an archival piece, the photographic object is not only considered as an *instrument of research* but also first and foremost as a *research object*, through which historians invite the readership to reflect on the idea of nation suggested by a specific re-utilization of such images in the archival context.

In light of this premise, which I will also cover in the following chapters, I argue that the reception of Durheim's portrait production has been filtered through the more or less explicit intent of two early photo-collectors (Adolf Fluri and Erich Stenger) to represent their national acquisition of new photographic technologies and therefore of implicitly narrating a cross-section of the history of national identity, taking as a paradigm the dissemination and multifarious utilization of the photographic object. The discourse on the narration of the early history of photography, refracted through the formation of nation and the development of national identity, parallels a reflection on the logic of technological progress within the formation of modern state and capitalist societies.[96] Such narration focuses closely on the developments of the photographic processes, dismissing those elements that did not imply -or were not closely correlated to- the photo-mechanical procedure, such as the multifarious images produced through a variety of photo-graphic processes combined with graphic-processes. Before moving to a critical reading of this approach, however –the logic of progress and its implications in the historiography of photography-, I will explicate the structure and content of the literature that first focused on some of the photographic materials related to Durheim's activity. In order to fully understand the nature of the literature that privileges Durheim's photographic production- in particular portraiture- and that disregards his graphic work, it is necessary to consider who were the scholars implicated and the

[96] See J. Rosen, "The Printed Photograph and the logic of Progress in Nineteenth- century France", *Art Journal*, 46/4 (1987), 305-311; W. Benjamin, *A short history of Photography* [1931], *Artforum* (1977), 46-51. Accessible online: https://www.artforum.com/print/197702/walter-benjamin-s-short-history-of-photography-36010.

timeframe in which the first photo-historical accounts on Durheim appeared. I will demonstrate that the 'discovery' of visual material pertaining to Carl Durheim's activity forces us to re-think the narrative about him and offers insight for a revised understanding of the early history of the medium.

1.5. The *Sammlung Adolf Fluri* at the Burgerbibliothek Bern

Interestingly, one of the very first popular associations of the photographer's name with the origin of photography in Swiss territory specifically mentions Durheim's daguerreotype portraits. A short article for non-specialists, signed by Professor Adolf Fluri (1865-1930),[97] appeared in 1920 on the *Blättern für bernische Geschichte, Kunst und Altertumskunde*. It was not written as an academic contribution to the subject: the eclectic historian publicly declares that the time was right- almost one hundred years after Daguerre's announcement- to attempt to shed light on the 'mysterious' origin of photography in Bern.[98] The short text spends very few words on Durheim's activity, describing him as a 'lithographer' devoted to the art of the daguerrotype, but it offers precious clues about the writer's attitude toward the topic of his inquiry, and therefore how it affected a certain initial reading of Durheim's story. Fluri in fact aimed to direct the attention of a non-specialist readership toward the acknowledgement of the too-often underestimated value of the photographic object and its related history: considered not as an individual piece, but as an element in relation to a much wider collections of objects, the meaning of the photographic sample must be judged according to the role it plays within a network of relations. Fluri affirms: "This is the attempt to collect material

[97] M. Schürpf, "Ein bekannter Unbekannter, Adolf Fluri (1865-1930): ein Pionier der Fotografiegeschichte in der Schweiz", *Fotogeschichte* 28/110 (2008), 35-44.
[98] A. Fluri, "Die ersten Daguerreotypisten und Photographen Berns", *Blätter für bernische Geschichte, Kunst und Altertumskunde* 16/3-4 (1920), 402-404.

which is often judged as meaningless or futile, but if considered in the right perspective, can produce an interesting cultural historical mosaic."[99] Fluri's "right perspective" probably meant looking at the photographic object as a document that brings to light visual documentation of the local past. As stated in the article, the interest of the historian is to outline the origin of photography and trace its social history, starting with the collection of materials at the local level in Bern as evidence of a recent yet secret past. Fluri's personal interests as a researcher vary from subject to subject, but intertwine cyclically in many ways with the local history of his hometown, from the history of letterpress, to the history of Baptisms or to the history of education and teaching methods; subjects that Fluri explored during his entire career.

The literature on Durheim is founded on the acknowledgement of the historical value of the photographic object in serving a local community. In this framework and with the perspective of finding and relating several pictures as tesserae of the same puzzle, the necessity of tracing the origin and the historical development at the local level makes Carl Durheim's photography one of the milestones of this narrative. His long lasting career as a commercial photographer was developed almost exclusively in his atelier in Bern or in the close surrounding area from the 1830s to 1870s (i.e. Burgdorf and Bern Oberland). His sedentary activity helps to explain the reason why the works that were first collected and considered meaningful were his portraits. In fact, Fluri's started his research by gathering pieces from private family archives and collections, memorabilia... There is no trace left in Fluri's notes of any attempt to interpret what the picture represents in iconographical terms or how to do so; rather, he attempts to trace the photographic object back to its primeval function, which builds on collective memory. Fluri's intention was presumably to collect visual materials that

[99] "Es ist ein Versuch, Material zu sammeln, das vielfach als unbedeutend oder nichtssagend betrachtet wird, das aber, richtig zusammengestellt, ein interessantes Mosaik auf kulturgeschichtlichem Boden abgeben kann." A. Fluri, "Die ersten Daguerreotypisten und Photographen Berns", 404.

were hidden and most probably forgotten, and to give the local community access to it. Incidentally, the *Sammlung Adolf Fluri* is hosted by the institution (Burgerbiliothek Bern) founded on very similar aspirations only a few decades after his premature death. Around the 1940s, Bernese citizens asked that the appointed institutions give the non-academic public access to the historical manuscripts collected at that time at the University Library, with the aim of widening readership and fostering interest in the history of the city and the *bernisches Wesen* (the Bernese essence).[100] To this end the Burgerbibliothek Bern was established in 1951, where manuscripts, historical collections of graphic works and private collections of historical families have been available to the public ever since.[101]

1.6. Adolf Fluri: *Charles Durheim und die Anfänge der Daguerreotypie und Photographie in Bern*.[102]

As an archival source gathered at the Burgerbibliothek Bern, the *Sammlung Adolf Fluri* must be looked with a critical eye for at least three reasons: 1) Fluri seemingly gathered only nine photographs attributed unequivocally to Durheim; 2) he died prematurely, leaving just one unpublished manuscript and many notes; 3) when the Burgerbibliothek Bern was founded in 1951,[103] boxes of uncatalogued material were merged with documents pertaining to the historian. The result is that it is now difficult to precisely reconstruct what documents belonged to Fluri's research and what had been added once Fluri died and the material was transferred from one institution to the other

[100] M. Bäbler et al. (eds.), *Die Burgerbibliothek Bern. Archiv, Bibliothek, Dokumentationsstelle* (Festschrift zum 50-jährigen Jubiläum) (Bern: Stämpfli, 2002), 10.
[101] The Burgerbibliothek of Bern was founded as a separate cultural institution from the City Library in 1951: the center of is a collection of private archives, which serves as the community archives documenting the history of the *Burgergemeinde* of Bern. https://www.burgerbib.ch/en/burgerbibliothek
[102] Mss.h.h.XXX.69, Burgerbibliothek Bern.
[103] M. Bäbler et al. (eds.), *Die Burgerbibliothek Bern*.

(one can still see the marks of old system of categorization, Fluri's notes in pencil, not to mention the copies of prints made from the missing original…).

In addition, the majority of the images attributed to Carl Durheim- both graphic prints and pictures of various techniques- that are available for research at the Burgerbibliothek Bern come from private donations and dos not constitute a cohesive collection under the name of the author: surprisingly, there is no official *Sammlung Carl Durheim*, and his images are scattered among three different sections: the Private Archives –i.e. the *Sammlung Adolf Fluri*; the Graphics Collection and the Photographic Archives. I argue that this absence, although it could be seen simply as a matter of organization within institutions such as public libraries and archives, metaphorically reflects the the narrow narrative standpoint from which Durheim's involvement with the history of Bern and the early history of portraiture photography is presented: the introduction of the daguerrotype and paper photography to the city of Bern.

The photographic material gathered by Fluri, as well as the manuscript and notes, are to be considered only initial attempts of a work in progress. The many notes on the back of some of the documents –mostly salted prints- are annotations by the historian indicating the provenance and the attribution of the pictures he collected, but the question of whether or not Fluri himself represents a reliable authority as archivist and photo-historian still remains open. Moreover, the Sammlung *Adolf Fluri* as it is today does not present a consistent internal organizational structure, but rather as the result of a *stratification* of archives. As previously mentioned, the Burgerbibliothek Bern encompasses archival material from the old City Library and the historical manuscripts that were once gathered at the University Library. Although it is very difficult to discern with certainty the provenance of the photographic material and thus to identify Fluri's own voice, what is extremely valuable from the standpoint of the

early history of photography in Bern are two manuscripts: *Charles Durheim und die Anfänge der Daguerreotypie und Photographie in Bern* (Mss.h.h.XXX.69, Burgerbibliothek Bern) and *Notizen über die Anfänge der Photographie in Bern* (Mss.h.h.XXX.29): the list of about 110 photographs made using different techniques makes evident the earnestness of Fluri's commitment[104].

Adolf Fluri, teacher of French and religion, and only later the holder of an honorary doctorate at the University of Bern, started to privately collect photographic materials and establish contact with photographers' descendants, with the intention of serving a local readership. His unpublished documents are notes, lists of names and dates; he did not elaborate on his files in a cohesive text or research report, but he did painstakingly map all daguerreotypists and traveling photographers- twenty names appeared in all- who worked in the city of Bern and close surroundings, with dates of activity and addresses. The strength of Fluri's material lays in the exhaustive and orderly list of announcements and advertisements. The sources were disparate, from art and industrial exhibition catalogues to newspapers (*Intelligenzblatt der Stadt Bern*); moreover, the historian met with descendants of the photographers, who gave him access to many handwritten autobiographies. The collector also gathered materials on Andreas Friedrich Gerber (1797-1872) and Johann Jakob Gwinner (1897-1875), painter and daguerreotypist from Bern. Gerber, is mentioned among the many men of science who conducted the first experiments with silver salts to fix the camera obscura image. His story is known because articles appeared in local newspapers in Bern in which he claimed to have conducted successful experiments long before Daguerre's

[104] See Schürpf, "Ein Kulturgut im Dilemma".

announcement. Unfortunately, no evidence has been found to actually confirm his statements.[105]

An interesting source of documentation is the 'album' with chronicles from Bern by Samuel Rudolf Walthard (1772-1855): a personal diary in which interesting details emerge about the day-to-day life of early photographers, their working practices and the economic difficulties they often experienced due to events of misfortune or to the fact that the photographers were sometimes not approached by enough commissioners to make a living.

Overall, the material put together by the Swiss historian indicates that Fluri's primary interest in collecting the objects was to serve in the writing of a detailed chronicle, although it is unlikely that he meant to develop a reflection on the content of the pictures, and it is more plausible that his point of entry was a local historical curiosity which linked the widespread diffusion of photography, and in particular the photographic portrait, with its immediate utilization within a changing society. Interestingly, Fluri's notes concentrate on two elements, the introduction of the daguerrotype and the figure of Durheim, and in fact he titles his manuscript *Charles Durheim und die Anfänge der Daguerreotypie und Photographie in Bern*.[106] It is evident that from Fluri's standpoint Durheim's presence and activity was tightly entwined with the early history of photography in Bern. Durheim's story is the linchpin of his narrative. A close look into a standard chronology of the spread of photographic techniques makes evident that Durheim's continuous acquisition of new processes fits perfectly in the narrative that privileges the development of the technique at the expense of a reflection on the systems of representation and on Durheim's own working

[105] Gasser, "Fotografie nach der Natur", 11. See also H. Gernsheim, "Aus der Frühzeit der Schweizer Photographie", in: *Photographie in der Schweiz von 1840 bis heute* (Teufen: Niggli, 1974), 40-57; Tillmanns, *Geschichte der Photographie*, 46-48.
[106] Mss.h.h.XXX.69, Burgerbibliothek Bern.

practice. This aspect makes it difficult to estimate Durheim's actual prominence in the perception of his contemporaries. Both the photographer's autobiography and the rhetoric used by Fluri tend to emphasize his popularity and the importance of his photographic work: it is important to remember that in Bern Durheim was the first photographer with a remunerative business and a proper photographic atelier which allowed him to decently sustain a family of five children. Nonetheless, I argue that a revised reading of Carl Durheim's activity as a photographer requires an understanding of the relationship between his photographic activity and his lithographic workshop, and how the two businesses intersected and mutually nourished each other in terms of technical aspects, working practices, and intentions, as well as if and how these elements manifested themselves in the representations. The strength of Fluri's manuscript lies precisely in the attention he paid to collecting dates and crucial information conveyed through advertisements, the exhibition catalogues and address books: in other words, Fluri focused on how Durheim presented himself to the public. On the other hand, Fluri's attention was so focused on the introduction of the daguerrotype and on photography on paper that his research overlooks Durheim's activity as a lithographer. In other words, Fluri's narrative standpoint is to consider Durheim's education as a lithographer as just a step before he dedicated his business to photography. Durheim's name became known to the public because of his association first with the novelty of the daguerrotype and then with photography on paper. A close look into the *Fluri Collection* and the discovery of further visual materials produced by the photographer makes evident that the reception of Durheim's photographic portraits corresponds with the way Adolf Fluri started to build up his photographic collection. Furthermore, and in light of the history of the institutional archive that hosted the *Fluri Collection*, Fluri's narrative of the early history of photography has aligned

'prophetically' with the original intentions that also constituted the foundation of the institutional archive of the Burgebibliothek Bern.

This aspect complicates the research and opens further questions on the reliability of such a collection as well as the way in which the formation of institutional archives molds and shapes the reception of collected objects. "The photographic archive is never a neutral container of images- rather it is an organic but never definitive accretion of sedimentation processes."[107] Until today, the reception of Carl Durheim's photographic portraits has been filtered through a photo-based perspective, fully embedded within the constitution of early photographic collections, as homogeneous contexts that circumscribe the meaning of the pictures gathered.

In regard to Durheim's pictures, while the substance of Fluri's collection consists of his manuscript and only nine photographs of the lithographer, the Burgerbibliothek Bern has preserved seven daguerrotypes and five ambrotypes that are certainly attributed to the photographer. Unlike most of the salted prints, which lay unframed, the metal plates on the back show the printed company labels (*Firmenschild*), which state, for example, 'Lithographie, Ch. Durheim, atelier photographique'; 'Photographien und Daguerrotypien von Carl Durehim' or 'Ch. Durheim, Atelier für Photographie und Stereoskopen'. While Adolf Fluri left only *raw* archival material, however, Erich Stenger built on his colleague's efforts and thereby published the very first early history of Swiss photography.[108]

1.7. The Erich Stenger inheritance, and the expansion and publication of Adolf Fluri's manuscript

[107] C. Caraffa and T. Serena, "Introduction", in: C. Caraffa and T. Serena (eds.), *Photo archives and the idea of nation*, 9.
[108] U. Tillmanns, *Geschichte der Photographie*; R. Perret, *Frappante Ähnlichkeit. Pioniere der Schweizer Photographie. Bilder der Anfänge* (Brugg: BEA + Poly, 1991); M. Schürpf, *Fotografie im Emmental. Idyll und Realität* (Bern: Kunstmuseum Bern 2000).

The German photo-collector Erich Stenger (1878-1957), Professor of chemistry at the *Technische Hochschule* in Berlin, established contact with Fluri in 1927 during a visit to Switzerland. In a similar way to Fluri, which is to say starting by collecting various photographic materials, Erich Stenger had begun publishing accounts on photography and its history in German-speaking countries in the same years as Fluri.[109] Coming from a different background and a different education, in his autobiography Stenger remembers that the first pictures he saw were ordinary proofs (*Bildproben*) of photographs stored without care in a box at the Collection for Physics at the Technische Hochschule in Hannover.[110] As a chemist, the catalysts for Stenger's interest in the history of photography were the technical aspects and the scientific knowledge required to produce the photographic images.[111] Stenger's research focused on the technical history of photography, the understanding of photographic processes and the applications of it.

When his Swiss colleague died in 1930, Stenger received Fluri's manuscripts, and after expanding the contents he published *Die Beginnende Photographie im Spiegel von Tageszeitungen und Tagebüchern. Ein Beitrag zum hundertjährigen Bestehen der Lichtbildnerei 1839-1939*[112] in 1940. Understandably, he was extremely interested in photographic material coming from Switzerland. While working on the reconstruction of the photographic scene in Munich,[113] he had already been collecting materials on the activity of Johann Baptist Isenring from Sankt Gallen, one of the early painters who was very active as a traveling daguerrotypist, thanks to his transportable darkroom and

[109] Erich Stenger Collection encompasses photographs, but also historical materials such as cameras and books. The collection was purchased by Agfa Foto-Historama in 1955, and publicly presented in 1968. The Museum Ludwig in Köln acquired it in 2005.
[110] Halwani and Kemp (ed.), *Photographien führen wir nicht,* 109.
[111] *Ibid.* 87.
[112] There is a second edition published in 1843. Two chapters have been added, titled respectively: „Die Technik der beginnende Landschaftsphotographie. Reisende Landschafter 1839-1875"; „Die photographische Eroberung des Hochgebirges. Lichtbildner als Bergsteiger 1854-1886".
[113] See E. Stenger, *Die Photographie in München 1838-1860* (Berlin: Union Deutsche Verlagsgesellschaft, 1939).

known for his technique of coloring portraits.[114] As the title declares, the book aims to narrate the early history of photography from the standpoint of what emerges from newspaper articles and diaries. The book's introduction illuminates the intentions and the standpoint of Stenger's work: "Was die Erfindung der Buchdruckerkunst für den Gedanken und das gesprochene Wort war das wurde in glücklicher Ergänzung die Erfindung der Photographie für die Erscheinung und deren bildliche Darstellung."[115] Interestingly, the statement appears in the introduction of two of Stenger's books,[116] as if to epitomize the scholar's engagement with the history of photography as the history of a technique devoted to image reproduction, its dissemination and functions within a modernizing society, in the same way that the Gutenberg printing process served for the dissemination of thoughts and words. The scholar goes on to state that the press plays an essential role in the reconstruction of the history of photographic technique, as the vernacular and local nuances of the reports' words reflect the conception of and attitude toward the technical instruments that made visible the life of people from the past. Again, like putting together different pieces of a mosaic,[117] and aware that the material selected is representative of a small and local scene, the author suggests considering the reconstructed scene that emerges as emblematic and representative of the general circumstances in which the profession of the photographer took its shape. For this reason the importance of the invention of the

[114] U. Tillmanns, *Geschichte der Photographie*, 57.
[115] "Der Satz könnte als Stengers ‚Credo' bezeichnet werden- so oft findet er sich in seinen Texten. Er zitiert sich hier also selbst. M.H." (U. Tillmanns, *Geschichte der Photographie*, 126); E. Stenger, *Die Photographie in Kultur und Technik; ihre Geschichte während hundert Jahren* (Leipzig: E. A. Seemann 1938), 11-14; E. Stenger, *Die Beginnende Photographie im Spiegel von Tageszeitungen und Tagebüchern. Ein Beitrag zum hundertjährigen Bestehen der Lichtbildnerei 1839-1939* (Würzburg: Konrad Triltsch, 1940).
[116] E. Stenger, *Die Photographie in Kultur und Technik.*
[117] "Wenn wir den Wert und die Bedeutung einer Sache richtig beurteilen und würdigen wollen, so dürfen wir sie nicht als Einzelerscheinung betrachten und behandeln, sondern wir müssen sie im Zusammenhang mit dem Gesamtgeschehen erfassen und abwägen; wir müssen sie im Kreislauf der Dinge, im Rahmen ihrer Ursache und in ihrer Wirkung beobachten, in ihrer Abhängigkeit von der Zeit und der Möglichkeiten erforschen, wie sie Wissenschaft und Technik bieten; erst dann werden wir die zur Beurteilung notwendig Einstellung finden und eine sachlich richtige Bewertung treffen können." (Halwani, *Geschichte der Fotogeschichte,* 103).

printing press for thought and word can be compared in terms of benefit and value to the discovery of photography for the reproduction of images: what the development of photographic techniques have in common with the invention of the printing press are the notion of reproducibility and the ability for mass distribution of copies, with all the implications these two aspects carry for the economy of words and images, such as the circulation of knowledge.[118]

Both the press and the personal diaries offered insight into the utilization of photography in technical, industrial and social fields. If the introduction emphasizes the history of photography parallel to the history of technique, the first chapter is dedicated to summarizing the crucial events and personalities involved in the development and improvement of the photographic processes. In this section the author openly declares the role played by Swiss personalities, for example referring to the improvements to the positive-negative process and its transportability, such as in the case of the harsh conditions faced by early photographers and alpinists involved in creating images of the Alps: 'Es war in die [sich!] Schweiz, in welcher photographische Großtaten dieser Art durchgeführt wurden'.[119]

After an introduction and a brief sketch of the general history of photography, the following chapters are then dedicated to single Swiss personalities such as Andreas-Friedrich Gerber (1797-1872), Johann Baptist Isenring (1796-1860), Rudolph Ernst, Carl Durheim (1810-1890), Franziska Möllinger (1817-1880) and Johann Baptist Taeschler (1805-1886). Each of them embodies different approaches to the medium and consequently different functions and applications of photographic technology. The section on Carl Durheim, with chapters entitled *Der Beruf wird bodenständig 1845-*

[118] See S. Bann, *Distinguished Images, Prints in the visual economy of nineteenth-century France* (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 2013).
[119] Stenger, *Die Beginnende Photographie im Spiegel von Tageszeitungen und Tagebüchern*, 4.

1862 and *Carl Durheim in Bern 1845-1874*, is faithfully based on the material gathered by Adolf Fluri, to whom the book is actually dedicated.

Along the lines of Fluri's perspective, Stenger contrasts Durheim's interest in the 'professionalization' of the photographer as a stationary activity with the many traveling daguerreotypists. The separation into two different timeframes is not explicitly justified in the text, but it can be interpreted as follows: the first window '1845-1862' may refer to Durheim's involvement with the learning and practicing of photographic technologies as they became available to the public, as stated in his autobiography: 'Im Jahr 1845 begann ich Daguerrotypien herzustellen.'[120] 1845 is the year when Durheim learned the daguerrotype process from the two traveling photographers Humnicky and Lamouche, who arrived in Bern to demonstrate and to give private lessons. Alternatively, the timeframe may refer more generally to the sequence of techniques that emerged and spread, which Durheim effectively acquired and used in his business. 1862 could, in fact, be significant as the year when Durheim started to use the *carte-de-visite* format and the albumen print, and from a narrative standpoint focused on the development of the photographic studio, it could be considered the last technical 'attainment' of the commercial photographer. Or, with the advent of the *carte-de-visite* and the widespread use of it, the author could have considered this year the conclusion of the time when Durheim's photographic studio and business activity made him a *unicum* in Bern. This last hypothesis is based on what Durheim himself wrote: "Das Geschäft war brillant, denn hatte ich keine Concurrenten,"[121] which only partially reflects the actual state of the art, as it is documented that if it is true that he was the first photographer to have a proper photographic atelier in Bern, the capital was nevertheless an attractive destination for Swiss and foreign photographers. For example, Friedrich

[120] Mss.H.H.LII 98, Burgerbibliothek, Bern, p.49; Stenger, *Die Beginnende Photographie im Spiegel von Tageszeitungen und Tagebüchern,* 60.
[121] Mss.H.H.LII 98, Burgerbibliothek Bern.

Martens was active in Bern between 1840-1845, Gwinner Johann Jakob between 1849-1860, and Adrian Kümmerli between 1855-1862 in Burgdorf and between 1862-1883 in Bern[122].

The second timespan may refer to the period when Durheim's photographic atelier was active, but during which Durheim did not necessarily run it personally.

Taking the perspective of the history of the technique partially explains the lack of interest in a critical reflection of what the pictures display in favor of an exclusive focus on how the images were made and what were their practical functions. From Stenger's perspective, photographic techniques of image production were welcomed as innovations for the production, reproduction and circulation of different kinds of images that served very different fields of application. As a chronological approach that gives absolute priority to the development of the technical aspects, the book is recognized as the first detailed early history of Swiss photography.

The German scholar sets Durheim's story in a dense historical framework that looks at the early photographic processes with an eye to the many and lesser known scientists, amateurs, painters, engravers: from people attempting to find methods of fixing the latent image (i.e. Gerber), men interested in developing improvements as well as the first art exhibitions (i.e. Isenring), to those who took advantage of disparate applications and potential uses (i.e. Durheim and Möllinger). In Stenger's writing Carl Durheim's story is presented as emblematic of the successful utilization of photographic technology from the standpoint of a commercial activity, and only secondarily considered from the standpoint of portraiture. In hindsight, the conversion from a lithographic printshop to a photographic atelier follows a conventional art historical narrative of technological progress that reads the early history of photography as the

[122] P. Stämpfli, "Carl Durheim – Lithograf, Fotograf, Unternehmer", 29-33.

logical development of removing human intervention from the printing process, which started with lithography in 1796.[123] Erich Stenger gathered together information on six Swiss practitioners who were probably unaware of the significance of such multifarious material for a theoretical reflection on photography's epistemic status at its dawning, and on their working practices.

Lamentably, Stenger's writing omits a critical reading of the pictures[124] and the references to sources are scattered and imprecise. The publication centered on the Swiss scene must be read in parallel with the more ambitious project titled *Die Photographie in Kultur und Technik. Ihre Geschichte während 100 Jahren* (1938) which celebrated the centennial of photography. As the historian Martin Gasser suggests, the book must be framed with an eye on "the height of the prewar National Socialist time,"[125] when one of the primary purposes of the scholar was to highlight the German contribution to the "invention," if not to claim "Germanic origins for photography."[126] The photo-historian Helmut Gernsheim expressed harsh criticism of the work, stating that "Statt einer fortlaufenden Geschichte präsentiert der Autor eine Faktensammlung oder ein Sammelsurium unter allen erdenklichen Stichwörtern, jedoch ohne jegliche Quellenangaben. Das Werk ist für den Historiker wertlos."[127] In less damning terms, art-historian Bodo von Dewitz clearly states that Stenger's history of photography stems from his own photographic collection,[128] which means that *his* history of photography -

[123] See W. Ivins, *Prints and Visual Communication* (Cambridge MA: MIT Press 1969). For a different approach see S. Bann, *Parallel lines, Printmakers, Painters and photographers in Nineteenth-century France* (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 2001).
[124] "Der Kampf um die technische Gestaltung des photographischen Bildnisses ist der Inhalt dieses Buches." Stenger, *Die beginnende Fotografie*, 1.
[125] See M. Gasser, "Photographie nach der Natur",10-17; M. Gasser, "Histories of Photographies 1839-1939", *History of Photography* 16/1 (1992), 50-60.
[126] M. Gasser, "Guest editorial", *History of Photography* 22/3 (1998), 215. Available online: https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/03087298.1998.10443880
[127] H. Gernsheim, "Einleitung", in: U. Tillmanns, *Geschichte der Fotografie, Ein Jahrhundert prägt ein Medium*, (Frauenfeld/Stuttgart: Huber, 1981), 12.
[128] B. von Dewitz, "…sich von einer Arbeit durch eine andere erholen…, Erich Stenger und seine Geschichte der Fotografie", *Fotogeschichte* 64 (1997), 3-18.

to use Miriam Szwast's expression[129] - follows the organization of his collection, which is ordered by chronology, technique and field of application of the photographic medium, omitting any aesthetic, political and iconographic discussion.[130]

What is interesting for the present discussion is that Fluri's manuscript and (more explicitly) Stenger's ambitious project both prompt reflection on how Durheim's story and thus Durheim's reception is framed within an attempt to build a photographic collection or archive as an expression of the self-identification of the local community's history (Fluri), or even to preserve and narrate national achievements as Stenger's endeavor demonstrates.

As prominent historians have pointed out, the publication is limited in many ways, one of which is the absence of critical reflection on the material gathered and its implications as a collection of representations. This is the reason why part of the present research on Durheim's portrait production could not avoid the need to verify the sources collected by first Fluri and then by Stenger, and to offer critical parameters for recontextualizing such literature.

Thus far I have shown that Durheim's portraiture has been primarily narrated from the perspective of two photo-collectors, Adolf Fluri and Erich Stenger, who for the first time attempted to reconstruct the origin and the early history of photography, either at the local level in Bern or within the German-speaking horizon, without venturing to approach specific theoretical questions on the status of the photographic image in relation to a broader history of media. We do not know how Fluri planned to elaborate

[129] Halwani, *Geschichte der Fotogeschichte*, 100-129.
[130] *Ibid.* 103: "Wenn wir den Wert und die Bedeutung einer Sache richtig beurteilen und würdigen wollen, so dürfen wir sie nicht als Einzelerscheinung betrachten und behandeln, sondern wir müssen sie im Zusammenhang mit dem Gesamtgeschehen erfassen und abwägen; wir müssen sie im Kreislauf der Dinge, im Rahmen ihrer Ursache und in ihrer Wirkung beobachten, in ihrer Abhängigkeit von der Zeit und der Möglichkeiten erforschen, wie sie Wissenschaft und Technik bieten; erst dann werden wir die zur Beurteilung notwendig Einstellung finden und eine sachlich richtige Bewertung treffen können".

on the information he was gathering: it is possible to speculate that the records assembled in the form of a census –lists of names, addresses and occupation- could have contributed to a sort of social survey in which photographs were used to both investigate and document the everyday life of a changing society. Conversely, an early history of photography could have contributed in his eyes to an investigation of the social and cultural usages of the photographic image.

At the other end of the spectrum, Erich Stenger was a chemistry professor, and thus it is unsurprising that his interest lay primarily in those photo-mechanical and chemical aspects that showcase photography as the result of a scientific procedure and the application of scientific knowledge rather than exclusively as a representational medium. In this sense Durheim's photographic output has been located within a photo-historical survey: the early literature on Carl Durheim embodied in Stenger's publication follows the common tendency to combine the stories of photographers with an inventory of their works, with the aim of presenting a narrative of the changing techniques and photography's function within a well-defined framework. Namely, it is a technical history of photography which focuses on understanding all of the steps involved from the preparation of the instruments, to the chemicals, the procedures, and the optics of the apparatus; in other words the knowledge necessary to fix the latent image and produce the picture. From this standpoint the efforts of scholars (such as Stenger, but also his Austrian colleague Josef Maria Eder, whose achievements still remain a major point of reference for scholars) offer a detailed reconstruction of what happens before the appearance of the stable photographic image or the utilization of it, but such literature lacks a theoretical reflection both on the power of images and their context of utilization as material objects[131].

[131] E. Edwards, "Photographs: Material Forms and the dynamic archive", in: C. Caraffa (ed.), *Photo Archives and the Photographic Memory of Art History* (Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag 2011), 47-56.

To return to the initial question, the archival material considered to definitively represent Durheim's activity as a photographer is his portraiture, produced for private citizens in Durheim's lithographic workshop in Bern and collected almost contemporaneously by the two photo-collectors, Adolf Fluri and Erich Stenger. In this way, Durheim's engagement with the photographic medium is depicted from a perspective that privileges two aspects: 1) the chronological development of the techniques imported into Switzerland (mainly from France and Germany) and 2) the practical utilization of the photographic medium in the context of a commercial activity of image production. Within this interpretative framework, and following Stenger's publication, Carl Durheim embodies the lithographer for whom photography represented a remunerative way to expand his business, thanks to the flourishing of lithographic activity and reassured by a wealthy circle of clientele fostered by his father's business contacts. Bern was already a popular destination for many traveling daguerreotypists (also mainly coming from France); with the successful spread of first the daguerreotype and then of paper processes, Durheim made his fortune as a portraitist. Along the lines of this narrative, the most recent publication that dedicates full attention to Durheim's activity as a commercial photographer is *Carl Durheim, Wie die Fotografie nach Bern kam* (Ed. Burgerbibliothek Bern, 2016). As the title suggests, the standpoint is clearly centered on an historical reconstruction of the advent of photography in Bern. It offers an introduction to the manuscripts and archival documents about the person of Carl Durheim as a representative of the bourgeois community and the role he played in the introduction of nascent photographic technology at the local level. The publication's ambitions are more popular than scholarly, and it does not break from the narrative used in Stenger's publication, which

follows a chronological order that gives the impression that the multifarious photographic techniques came into use in sequence, where the newest process superseded the former.

Lamentably, the aforementioned literature lacks a theoretical reflection on the status of Durheim's photographic images in relation to his working practice as a lithographer, as well as omitting both a reflection on the photographer's graphic production of topographies, landscape and other kinds of documents –ironically, often preserved by the same institutions - and a reflection on Durheim's image production in light of his collaborative network.

Chapter II.

2.1. Details are clues.[132]

As explained in the first chapter, the existing scholarship on Durheim's studio portraits has devoted far less attention to his working practice and his collaborative network as a draftsman than to his ability as a businessman. This can certainly be attributed to the fact that no document has yet been found in which Durheim himself expresses his personal conception of his work aside from his autobiographies, where photography is described as a lucrative commercial activity suitable for the sustainment of his family. Historians have yet to find contracts or correspondence that document Durheim's working relations with other photographers, or with painters and amateurs who helped him produce his photographic work; nonetheless Durheim was very skilled at advertising his activity in newspapers and he never failed to leave his trademark on his photographs.

The following chapter sets out to start filling this gap: as I will show in what follows, unnoticed details of Durheim's pictures reveal modes of production and working practices that document the earliest confrontations with photography's varied reception and the intertwining working practices among amateurs, painters, draftsmen and photographers of mid-nineteenth century Switzerland. I suggest that attending to these overlooked details illuminates the narrative used thus far to describe Durheim's pictures and, in a simultaneous exercise, I propose that juxtaposing some of Durheim's images with those of his contemporaries enables a shift in the discourse from the historiographical aspects to the entanglement of meanings. The aim is to introduce an

[132] An earlier presentation of the materials in this chapter can be found in S. Romani, "From cuts to clues. Hidden narratives within Carl Durheim's Photographic Portraits." *Engramma*. 179 (2021) 85-104.

analysis of the contextual study of Durheim's photographs to chart the circulation of these images over time and to lay down an interpretive hypothesis. The historian Carlo Ginzburg has recently drawn attention to the possible confusion generated by conflating the available documentation (the historical source) with the documentation that was produced (primary literature), and the latter with the social reality that produced it[133].

By presenting a case study focused on two reproductions of Durheim's pictures, his activity as pioneer of portrait photography is found in the literature on the early history of photography in Switzerland as example of a flourishing commercial business. Starting by indicating where Durheim's pictures have been physically or metaphorically cut, I will investigate the kind of information that has been omitted in order to lay bare hidden narratives that shed light on photography and its early use. "Thinking of the photographic archive as an ecosystem enables us to overcome the hierarchies of value (often linked to authorship), which traditionally determine the status of photographs within museums and institutions."[134] The present chapter shifts the focus from an analysis of the visual content of photographic portraiture to the reception of the processes and to the photographers' professional network, where parallel practices of printmaking, painting and photography intertwine. In this sense Durheim's work is considered within a network of professionals and amateurs who collaborated in the early industrial age.[135]

I start by identifying that which has hitherto been cut out of the discourse, which provides clues to embedded or hidden narratives that must be explored. In this context,

[133] C. Ginzburg, "Reflexionen über eine Hypothese, Fünfundzwanzig Jahre danach", in: Wolf (ed.) *Zeigen und/oder Beweisen,* 1-11, here 5-6; see also C. Ginzburg, *Spurensicherung. Über verborgene Geschichte*, *Kunst und soziales Gedächtnis* (Berlin: dtv, 1983).
[134] The issue concerning the hierarchies of value pertains not only to the problem of cataloguing images by genre from the standpoint of the Arts. Hierarchies of value are also related to the concept of archive and its usage. See C. Caraffa, "Photographs as documents/photographs as objects: photo archives, art history and the material approach", *Collection and Curation* 37/4 (2018), 146-150.
[135] See McCauley, *Industrial Madness*.

the first meaning of 'cut' is the physical edge of an image, which surrounds and defines the framing. The second meaning regards the metaphorical cut that is the selection of those details that have been more or less deliberately omitted from the narrative. In this way I investigate how such physical cuts are subject to or depend on the text that flanks the image, i.e., I ask how far these physical cuts reflect the narrative's intellectual framing.

2.2. " **…Probably she had been photographed here for the first time**"

> "The unknown woman on the Daguerrotype by Carl Durheim probably had been photographed here for the first time. The picture was taken between 1845 and 1850. "[136] (Fig.4)

This caption labels a reproduction of a metal plate by Carl Durheim housed at the Burgerbibliothek in Bern, which appears in the publication *Carl Durheim, Wie die Fotografie nach Bern kam*. Durheim's image takes up a full page: a red armchair frames the thin figure of an elegant old lady dressed in black with a white bonnet, sitting quietly, her hands on her lap. The lady looks toward the viewer in a traditional three-quarter pose, as if she was asked to pause for a moment from her occupation (probably knitting) and to hold still. From the information provided by both the image and the caption at the bottom of the page, one can imagine what happened in Durheim's atelier: the lady arrived in the photographer's studio, where she was asked to sit down in the red armchair. One sees the photographer adjusting the camera in his glass atelier,

[136] "Ein Spezieller Moment. Die unbekannte Frau auf der Daguerrotypie von Carl Durheim hat sich hier wahrscheinlich zum ersten Mal fotografieren lassen. Das Bild entstand zwischen 1845 und 1850." Burgerbibliothek Bern (ed.), *Carl Durheim, Wie die Fotografie nach Bern kam*, 19.

carefully handling the *chassis* with the prepared plate; then, after reminding the lady to hold still, in a few seconds of exposure the picture is finally taken. The photographer would then have developed the positive and worked on the fine coloring following the taste of the client.

At the Burgerbibliothek in Bern there are two daguerreotypes depicting the aforementioned lady. The two daguerreotypes are identical in terms of subject and coloring, and one of the only substantial differences is the shape of the frame, which in one case is rectangular (Fig.5-a) and in the other is oval (Fig.5-b). Another difference lies in the state of conservation. Considering the small dimension and the play of reflections that characterize each daguerreotype, the difficulty of seeing the actual portrait is another aspect, which immediately surprised me. Certainly the illustration in the library publication allows an immediate reading of the image (it is reproduced as a 12x16,4 cm image *vis a vis* a 10,5x 7cm metal plate), which the archival object at first sight does not.[137]

But the real surprise came when, with the help of a magnifying glass, I noticed a detail within the plate that I had missed while looking at its reproduction. The detail consists of a signature and a date on the left side that I could barely read. The signature and date, mirrored, read: "Dietler, 1849". The details that I encountered while looking at the archival objects (i.e. the signature and the date, two metal plates, the size…) stood out as anomalies in comparison to the clarity and accessibility of the reproduction; such anomalies challenged my initial reading of the photographic object as I saw it reproduced in the book. Most of all, the information acquired at the archive clashed with the information provided in the caption, which claims that the lady's identity was unknown and that she was probably sitting in front of the camera for the first time.

[137] Online Archive Catalogue, Burgerbibliothek Bern: http://katalog.burgerbib.ch/detail.aspx?ID=256960

After recognizing the signature I started to formulate a different narrative about the circumstances of the picture's production: the photographic portrait was actually a reproduction of a painting made by a famous local painter, Johann Friedrich Dietler (1804-1874). This, of course, also means that the photographer was not the first to portray the lady, but rather the painter (Dietler) painted her portrait and the photographer then reproduced the painting on a metal plate. (Fig.6-a, Fig.6-b) Johann Friedrich Dietler was a leading portraitist in Bern and worked assiduously for the Bernese patrician families, even when photography was very popular and accessible for most: indeed, in a biography on the painter it is even pointed out that after a short time during which photography seemed to have replaced painting, the local aristocracy returned to demand painted portraits to the point that prices rose, and owning such a costly portrait had once again become synonymous with the wealth of the elite.[138] The painter was at his best in watercolor portraits, and literature on Dietler estimates that he created over 5000 portraits during his almost 40 years of activity in Bern.[139] (Fig.7) In the online archive catalogue of the Burgerbibliothek Bern, 376 records have so far been linked with the personal descriptor "Dietler, Johann Friedrich Dietler".

In order to be sure that the original subject that once sat in front of the camera was not a lady but a painting, I looked for the original painting in the online catalogue of the Burgerbibliothek, and I found – unfortunately- not the original, but rather two black and white reproductions of two different paintings depicting the aforementioned lady. Only one of them, however, is the painting that Durheim reproduced: the two daguerreotypes are obviously mirrored with respect to the painting, so that the signature and the date appear on the right side, and in only one of the two in one and on the left side in the

[138] K. Glutz von Blotzheim (ed.), *Ausstellung Friedrich Dietler* (Solothurn: Museum Schloss Solothurn, 1954), 11.
[139] S. Gropp, "Von Angesicht zu Angesicht", *NIKE- Bulletin* 2/33 (2018), 44-47.

other. The painting reproduced by Durheim portrays Constance Helene Katharina von Sinner (1805-1849), and is a watercolor on paper measuring 21x16 cm.[140]

The signature and date on the daguerreotype makes it possible to gather more information on the archival object per se. In fact, though Durheim's daguerreotypes do not list a date of production, one can now reasonably conjecture that Durheim took the picture either in the same year that the painter finished the portrait (1849), or later. The lady is not unknown, rather she is Constance Helene Katharina von Sinner, who died in 1849, the year when the painting was commissioned, and probably also when the Daguerrotypes were taken. Generally speaking, photographically reproducing a portrait of a loved one after his or her death was a common practice. Interestingly, according to the Burgdorf art historian Dr. Alfred Guido Roth (1913-2007), Durheim was probably commissioned to reproduce another portrait painted by Dietler around 1852: the Museum Schloss Burgdorf possesses a daguerrotype by Carl Durheim depicting Victoire Schnell (1833-1852).[141] The daguerrotype plate is unfortunately in very bad condition. Unfortunately documentation has yet to be found to prove that the photographer Durheim and the painter Dietler collaborated. "Das Tandem, das Carl Durheim und Johann Friedrich Dietler (1804–1874) bildeten, zeichnete sich vor allem auf dem Gebiet des Porträts aus, dem bevorzugten Genre der Aquarellisten."[142] Unfortunately, such a strong statement has not been documented. Only comparing Dietler's watercolors with some hand-colored photographs on paper by Durheim, it is

[140] Online Archive Catalogue, Burgerbibliothek Bern: http://katalog.burgerbib.ch/detail.aspx?ID=96870

[141] Schloss Burgdorf, Inv. RS-11.830.b. I must thank Trudi Aeschlimann for her knowledge. On the back of the Daguerrotype with Durheim's label, the handwriting by the Burgdorfer Historian Roth states: "Original, eine kol. Zeichnung im Dreesenhof in Bentheim (Hannover). Gezeichnet 1851(?) *möglicherweise* von Dietler".

[142] Regarding the analysis of the relationship between the Swiss Kleinmeister and the early photographers, See S. Henguely, "Über das Verhältnis zwischen Bildender Kunst und Fotografie, Eine Bestandsaufnahme", in: Gasser and Henguely (eds.), *Nach der Natur*, 242-252, here 246.

evident the strong resemblance in the use of color, in the composition as well as the rendering of light and shadows.

The scant documentation only allows for the formulation of hypotheses, but there is room for further reflection on the nature of the archival object and the methodological approach to writing about its history. The fact that the painting was reproduced on the metal plate influences the reading of the portrait as an image which serves evidently different social needs. The daguerrotype, exquisite and precise yet difficult to read, turns the woman's portrait from an accessible visual representation into a three-dimensional object; while the painting traditionally answers the quest for resemblance and respectability first, the daguerrotype adds to this meaning the quality proper to a precious object, through its being delicate and at the same time transportable. One can conjecture that, if the daguerrotype was commissioned after the lady's death- as it seems reasonable to believe- the photographic plate performed a commemorative function in addition to the celebratory function already performed by the painted portrait.
The detail of the signature and date was -metaphorically speaking- cut out of the initial illustration in the book and, as a consequence, the brief explanation of the caption failed to show the nature of the archival object and its implications in serving different social uses. I demonstrated how the acknowledgment of the detail could, on the other hand, serve as a clue pointing to a different narrative: details disclose the possibility of new narratives, in that they reveal previously unnoticed layers of reading.

On the level of a revised study of Carl Durheim's portrait production from the standpoint of the reception of photography and its relation to the practice of reproduction, the discovery of the painting behind the daguerreotype transforms the object of research: similarly to what happened with the introduction of documentary

photography, the objects of research –the painting and the daguerrotype- "were detached from their original surrounding, converted into standardized and transportable formats, newly contextualized and made comparable"[143] thanks to both the illustration in the book and the digital database of the archive. In Durheim's case, the transformation takes place on two levels: the first transformation regards the use and function of the photographic object at the time of its creation. The painting, intended for its representational quality as portrait, as image, was first transformed into a different kind of object: thanks to the daguerrotype, the painting was converted into a transportable object. The viewability of the image has also changed: the case containing the plate was intended for a private gaze, and in order to look at the portrait reproduced on the metal plate one must turn it back and forth until a light gray image appeared. The painting, although probably displayed in a private space, was nevertheless available to every gaze entering the room. The second transformation regards the current use of the photographic object and its epistemological potential as research object. From the standpoint of the historical research on Carl Durheim's portraiture production, the recognition of the nature of the depicted object, i.e., the recognition of the painting as the object photographed on the daguerrotype plate, redirects the investigation into Durheim's work. Such a turn- toward an interest in the use of photography and the practice of reproduction- introduces a further and wider topic of inquiry, which is the nineteenth century practice of reproduction in Switzerland in the context of the working relationship among famous painters, minor draftsmen (such as lithographers, miniaturists…) and commercial photographers. Thanks to the information gathered

[143] "Photographs are not only images, but also historically shaped three-dimensional objects. They have a physical presence, bear traces of handling and use, and circulate in social, political and institutional networks." C. Caraffa, "Objects of Value: Challenging Conventional Hierarchies in the Photo Archive", in: J. Bärnighausen, C. Caraffa, S. Klamm, F. Schneider, P. Wodtke (eds.), *Photo-Objects, On the Materiality of Photographs and Photo Archive in the Humanities and Sciences*, Open Access Publication of the Max Planck Institute in Florence, 16-17. Accessible online: https://www.mprl-series.mpg.de/media/studies/12/studies12.pdf

from the analysis of the metal plate, I inevitably began to wonder if Durheim and Dietler had any business relations. My question is further justified by a series of ads published by Durheim, to which I will refer shortly.

2.3. "The average dimension of a historical phenomenon"[144]

"It is necessary to start from seemingly marginal details in order to grasp the general reality darkened by the fog of ideology"[145] states the historian Carlo Ginzburg in an essay on the Conjectural Paradigm and his reflections on it twenty-five years later. It is possible to consider a series of clues as one piece of evidence: the historian challenged what he identified as the evidential paradigm, a cross- disciplinary method of inquiry that grants knowledge through the directly linking observations of specific data used to draw a general (universal) conclusion. The historian suggests that we consider anomalies within a series as clues that 'indicate or signal' embedded narratives, instead of demonstrating a general trend or standard parameters of a historical phenomenon through major pieces of evidence. A renewed look at the relation among painters, printmakers and photographers requires a reflection on the historiographical approach adopted in the investigation of early Swiss photography and its implications in the formation of photography's identity in the art-historical texts.

The photo historian Martin Gasser has already showed how, in nearby France, "photography's path originated in the context of *industrie*" and how the contemporaneous debate "shifted from the making to the maker of photographs giving rise to the emergence of the photographer as artist."[146] In a different article Martin

[144] Carlo Ginzburg, Reflexionen Über eine Hypothese, Fünfundzwanzig Jahre danach, in: *Zeigen und/oder Beweisen, die Fotografie als Kulturtechnik und Medium des Wissens* (Ed. H. Wolf), Berlin/Boston 2016, pp1-11, here p.6.
[145] Carlo Ginzburg, Reflexionen Über eine Hypothese, p.5.
[146] Martin Gasser, Between From Today Painting is dead and how the sun becomes a painter, in: *Image*, vol.33 p. 8-29.

Gasser also showed how in the German-speaking countries and in the early writings on photography's origin, the intense illumination of the nationalistic undertones have directed the priority towards the claim for local inventors and contributors"[147]. These two positions described by Martin Gasser can be found in the first text written about Carl Durheim's photographic activity.

In 1940, Erich Stenger dedicated a chapter to the Bernese pioneer Carl Durheim, titled *Der Beruf wird Bodenstaendig 1845-1862*. As discussed in the previous paragraphs, this contribution belongs to the first historical survey on the early history of photography in Switzerland, namely *Die Beginnende Fotografie im Spiegel von Tageszeitungen und Tagebuecher*, which became the foundational literature for those historians interested in the historical survey on Durheim's work as a commercial photographer. Erich Stenger in fact states: "Still in 1852 Durheim identified himself in his advertisements as Lithographer, in the following years it is possible to observe how photography stood out in his activity; after little time he still identified himself as both lithographer and photographer, by the end of the years (1850s) he introduced himself to the public only as photographer. It is remarkable that Durheim, too, like the majority at the beginning and the majority of the best (practitioners), arrived to photography from the arts."[148] As the title suggests, the German historian carefully analyzed local newspapers in order to reconstruct Durheim's career and locate the reception of photography in the linguistic register of art history. Stephen Bann defines such an approach as "an historiographical form of a pattern of progress and fulfillment"[149]: the logic of progress considers the history of the technique in terms of an inevitable development of processes whereby the

[147] Martin Gasser, Histories of photography 1839-1939, *History of Photography*, 16.1, 1992, p. 50-60
[148] Stenger, *Die Beginnende der Fotografie im Spiegel von Tageszeitungen und Tagebücher*, 6.
[149] Bann, *Parallel lines*, 16.

new technologies superseded the former.[150] With such interpretative framework in mind, Durheim's impact on the early history of photography has been described according to the "average dimension of the historical phenomenon"[151]: Carl Durheim belongs to those groups of artisans who became portrait photographers because of the promise of commercial profit from the use of photographic technology. This approach shows several critical aspects, which Durheim's story clearly displays: 1) the first problematic aspect concerns the relationship between lithography and paper photography: to consider lithography simply replaced by photography is to trivialize a relationship between the two that is much profounder than it appears. Considering lithography surpassed by photography overlooks the cultural, technical and scientific context necessary for the gathering of knowledge in varied fields and available for multiple scientists to conduct successful experiments.[152] In addition, it does not take into account the epistemological significance of drawing, which was the basis of scientific research by so many scholars in different fields in the 18th and 19th centuries.[153] 2) The second problematic -which is a direct consequence of the aforementioned point- concerns the understanding of the concept of progress entwined with the one of obsolescence in the history of media. As the photo historian Herta Wolf has demonstrated with her extensive research on Blanquart-Évrard's achievements, "the obsolescence [*is*] necessarily inscribed in progress, in the further development of technical media. And is thus bound to a much more complex network of knowledge

[150] See Ivins, *Prints and Visual Communication*, 1969; Benjamin, *Short History of Photography*.
[151] Ginzburg, "Reflexionen über eine Hypothese", 5-6.
[152] Wolf, "Nature as Drawing Mistress", 120-121; H. Wolf, "Es werden Sammlungen jeder Art entstehen': Zeichen und Aufzeichnen als Konzeptualisierungen der fotografischen Medialität", *Zeitschrift für Medienwissenschaft* 2/3 (2010), 27-41, here 32-33.
[153] See G. Batchen, *Burning with desire: the conception of photography* (Cambridge MA: MIT Press, 1997)

than its cultural-historical (if not cultural-pessimistic) theorizations would suggest".[154]

Could a selection of Durheim's images offer insight into the cracks and fissures of the narrative based on a competitive relationship between art and photography? To begin with, let us consider the aforementioned reproduction of Durheim's daguerreotype. It calls attention to the necessity of a reflection on the methodology used to approach photography as a medium, photographs as archival objects and not only as visual representations. In addition to a reflection on the physical aspect of photographs, it is furthermore necessary to look at how images by Durheim have been used in the early literature. For this reason I take as an example the photograph chosen by Stenger, reproduced in the chapter devoted to Carl Durheim: a three-quarter portrait of the photographer, which mirrors the historian's point of entry by highlighting the trajectory of Durheim's career as a slow departure from lithography and toward photography. The image chosen by Stenger and placed in the opening section of the chapter on Durheim is a portrait of the photographer. (Fig.8) The man is sitting next to a table with a camera and a lens on it. The caption unfortunately does not mention either the archive where the image is located, or the technique used to produce it. Two copies of this same picture exist: one at the Burgerbibliothek in Bern (Fig.9) and the other at the Photographic Collection of the Museum Ludwig in Cologne. Carl Durheim did increasingly dedicate his efforts to learning and using different photographic techniques in the course of his business activity, even as it is widely accepted that despite the invention of photography we witness the persistence of elements of drawing. This persistence must not be overlooked. Recalling Ginzburg's words, I want to shed light on those aspects which are considered anomalies from the average perspective, and which for this reason are often omitted from the chronicle, but which, I argue, instead prove to

[154] H. Wolf, "Louis Désiré Blanquart-Evrards Strategien des Beweisens", in: Wolf (ed.), *Zeigen und/oder Beweisen*, 179-217, here 205-206.

be crucial parts of the narrative.

The historian Martin Gasser has recently pointed to the fact that: 'Wie es kein eigentliches kulturelles Zentrum der Schweiz gab, so gab es auch kein Zentrum der Fotografie. Während diese sich in der französischen Schweiz im direkten Austausch mit den Fotopionieren der ersten Stunde in Paris fast explosionsartig entwickelte, wurde sie in der Deutschschweiz von weitgehend unbekannt gebliebenen Wanderfotografen eingeführt und verbreitete sich eher langsam".[155] I propose the juxtaposition of the image discussed above with the following one, where the iconographic elements of the landscape in the background introduce the themes discussed in the following paragraphs.[156] The portrait depicts Carl Durheim sitting on a chair next to a table, with his right arm resting on a floral-patterned tablecloth. The background shows a Swiss landscape. The photograph is a calotype printed on salt paper and heavily hand painted (Fig.10). In comparison to other salt prints by the photographer, the photograph was originally taken in the studio, where the blank background was then decorated with the landscape after the fact (Fig.11). The Eiger- Mönch- Jungfrau mountain chain stands out on the left side; in the center Bern Cathedral and the Bluttürm signify the city of Bern. On the right two women and a girl in traditional costumes denote the local character of the image.

In this regard, it is necessary to remember that engraving was originally designed as a means of translating visual knowledge, in an era (the sixteenth century) particularly interested in promoting the works of great artists and spreading scientific knowledge. Engraving already had a documentary purpose, and photography inherited the most widespread genres, such as genre scenes, portraits, topographical views and the

[155] Gasser, "Fotografie nach der Natur", 10.
[156] I am thankful to Isabelle Durheim for allowing multiple visits to her private collection in Basel.

documentation of great works. Most of these themes were a response to the continuous and ever-increasing demand of tourists, a social phenomenon typical of the early nineteenth century, both in Switzerland and abroad. For this reason, as Durheim's portrait with the painted landscape shows, attention to the figurative qualities (portrait) and the creative tension (imaginary standpoint) go along with attention to narrative (presentation of the subject) and informative elements (topographic knowledge of the landscape).

The staged self-portrait of Carl Durheim builds on a well-known visual pattern: the photograph captures the subject in a natural pose, taken in the everyday life.[157] A well-known reproduction of the view of Bern from the Enge promenade is painted behind the subject: the landscape is used as a perspectival artifice that depicts a portion of the reality outside the photographer's studio; this element is reminiscent of the '*voyages pittoresques* (views of buildings and sights (*sites*) that illustrate a region's specific characteristics, its *couleur locale*)'.[158] This apparently insignificance detail opens the way to the understanding of the dissemination strategies adopted by photographers inherited from their lithographic education and activity. Referring to the analysis of Blaquart-Évrard's albums, Herta Wolf specifies that treatises on the picturesque from late eighteenth to early nineteenth century mention picturesque landscapes populated by figures, and that 'by the mid-nineteenth century, the imagery in the lithographic travel albums [*reflect*] an increasingly modern pictorial conception'[159] as a consequence of the development of tourism. These kinds of images –panoramas and landscapes populated by small figures of wayfarers - were particularly popular among nobles and specifically used in illustrated travel publishing. During

[157] Wolf, "The Photographic and the Picturesque", 69.
[158] *Ibid*. 71
[159] *Ibid*. 72-73

Romanticism background figures symbolized distance: the pilgrim moving into the landscape and the wanderer in general served as metaphor for the old means of marking distances in the picture and the choice of illustrating them was fundamentally connected with the experience of moving from one point to another.[160] Measuring the experience does not seem to have been underestimated: instruments for measuring the distance traveled while walking or riding were popular. It is not by chance though that, instead of an anonymous traveler, these figures dressed in local costumes appear. While in the previous century the main interest was in precision and the accurate reproduction of details, and the perspectival structure of the image harkening back to fifteenth-century scenography, the landscape depicted behind the photographer is used with a different intention. The aim is, in fact, to enlarge the space and enhance its symbolic meaning, thanks to the choice of an extremely interesting point of view: the viewer recognizes the landscape despite the observer's unrealistic standpoint. It thus turns out that the photograph condenses as much information as possible, blending stylistic conventions and pictorial traditions of different media. Furthermore, a short digression must be added at this point in regard to the figures depicted in the background. The three small women in *Tracht* (traditional national costumes) must not be overlooked. For the present research, this detail brings to the foreground an important symbolic layer of meaning. I argue that this attention to clothing, which has gone unnoticed in the literature until now, works as a *trait d'union* to understand two very different collections of portraits and to understand them in the context of the simultaneous production of landscape views and maps.

Durheim published the three advertisements between 1853 and 1857, in the *Intelligenzblatt der Stadt Bern*.

[160] Y. Boerlin-Brodbeck, "Vermessene Landschaft? Zur Landschaft in Zeichnung und Malerei um 1800", in: Gugerli (ed.) *Vermessene Landscahften*, 113-124, here 116; 119.

(11. March 1853) To satisfy the more frequent requests of the honorable public Ch. Durheim has teamed up with a skillful painter, so that portrait orders etc. can be delivered at short notice on plate, paper or ivory, at the choice of the clients.

(25. October 1856) The undersigned, who was awarded the 2nd place medal for photographs at the 1855 Paris World Exhibition, has contacted a painter who is very well versed in this field in order to provide portraits that can compete with the best in this genre, and is therefore recommended for portraits of nature as well as for copies of oil paintings, watercolors, etc.

(16. Juli 1857) C. Durheim warns enthusiasts of beautiful portraits in photography that he is able to deliver them promptly with the help of two painters who are very skilled for this genre of commission.

As his advertisement suggests, he employed assistants and colleagues in order to keep up with deliveries. This means that starting from the 1850s, Durheim might have directed his atelier less as a small-scale and artisanal business, and more and more as a an industrial company.[161]

In the previous paragraphs I have tried to unpack the narrative used so far to demonstrate how the use of photographic techniques intertwines with the use of pictorial or graphic techniques without necessarily acquiring a hierarchical meaning of value. Furthermore, using as an example Durheim's portrait on paper with the landscape painted in the background, in the following paragraphs I will shift the focus from the

[161] See E. A. McCauley, *Industrial Madness* and S. Pinson, *Speculating Daguerre: Art and Enterprise in the work of L. J. M. Daguerre* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012).

discourse on techniques to the iconographic layer of meaning. As I said at the beginning, in order to describe Durheim's photographic portraits in a new light it is necessary to also look at other images produced by him and his contemporaries; for example, photographs and prints of landscapes and panoramas. As I showed in the analysis of the primary literature on Carl Durheim in the first chapter, one of the aims of the present research is to collect material on the photographer's activity and discuss it within a theoretical framework that broadens the perspective on the early history of Swiss photography. For this reason, I digress here from a strict focus on photographic portraits to talk about photography and its relation to the dissemination of lithographic landscape prints. In fact, Carl Durheim himself states in his advertisement: "Fait Portraits et Paysages à des prix très modérés"[162] adding reasons in favor of an analysis of portraiture parallel to the study of landscape. The self-portrait with the landscape of Bern epitomizes his commercials.

The description of Durheim's portrait with the view of Bern from the Enge promenade discussed in the previous paragraphs shows that the representation of space and the depiction of specific views is saturated with symbolic meaning which requires further explanation. In regard to the depiction of panoramas, one of the protagonists of the early history of Swiss photography is undoubtedly Franziska Möllinger (1817-1880) from Solothurn, known for her publication in 1844 titled *Daguerreotypirten Ansichten der Hauptstädte und der schönsten Gegenden der Schweiz* (Daguerreotyped views of the capitals and the most beautiful areas of Switzerland). [163] As the title suggests, the collection consists of a portfolio of lithographic panoramas drawn after daguerreotype plates. Of the originally planned 30 deliveries of four views each, only four were

[162] See footnote 39.
[163] H. R. Stampfli, "Otto Möllinger: 1814-1886, Lehrer und Wissenschafter. Aspekte der Schule und der Wirtschaft in Solothurn von 1830-1870", *Jahrbuch für solothurnische Geschichte* 65 (1992), 54-58.

published, of which 15 sheets are known today. The first delivery was published by J. Gassmann, Solothurn, the other three by Johann Friedrich Wagner, Bern. Only one daguerreotype by Franziska Möllinger has survived, a view of Thun Castle (of which we do not have a lithographic copy) and it is archived at the Thun Historical Museum.[164] Also Carl Durheim illustrated through photography and lithography a book titled *Historisch-topographische Beschreibung der Stadt Bern* (1859). Within 28 lithographs 13 of them are based on photographs.

2.4. The view of Bern, "von der Enge aus": an example of symbolism in the representation of landscape

Franziska Möllinger was born in 1817 in Speyer in Rhineland Palatinate and spent her entire life at the side of her brother Otto Möllinger (1814-1886), who was elected professor of mathematics at the Kantonsschule Solotuhrn in 1836 and who most likely introduced Franziska (directly or indirectly thanks to his friendship with his colleague Pompeius Bolley, professor of Chemistry) to the use of the daguerreotype process. Franziska Möllinger appears in the literature as one of the first female traveling photographers of the time: she was very active as a daguerreotypist between 1843 and 1845, as she advertised several times in the Solothurn newspapers. According to her passport entries she travelled to Neuchâtel, to Bözingen and repeatedly to her old hometown of Speyer, where she also advertised her daguerreotype activity.

In the next section I will offer a reflection on the words the photographer used to introduce her collection of landscapes. I draw on her words to take a further step in

[164] The archival material I consider here is gathered in a private library in Switzerland, Photobibliothek Schaffhausen. I thank Hans Rudolph Gabathuler for his help and the important knowledge he shared with me. See his contribution: H.R. Gabathuler, "Fotografie im Druck, Vom Lieferungswerk zur Illustrierten Zeitschrift", in: Gasser and Henguely (eds.), *Nach der Natur*, 378-410.

understanding the relationship between prints and photographs parallel to the relationships between portraiture and landscape.

Franziska Möllinger presents her collection with the following introduction:

> "For the first time, a series of views of the capitals and of the most beautiful regions in which not only all the houses, mountains, trees and shrubs, but also the smallest, barely visible detail of all the objects situated within the limits of the frame are represented, so to speak, by the rays of light they emanate (thanks to Daguerre's marvelous invention). It is the most faithful and perfect image of the beautiful country that in these views appears before the eyes and soul of every Swiss and will certainly recall and evoke in him/her some of the most beautiful memories. Each view appearing in this collection is 10" 6" long and 8" 2" high, and is very carefully edited, both in form and design and as to light and shade made after several original silver plates, depicting one and the same region, and have been preserved by means of Voigtlander's large and excellent apparatus, drawn doubled size and executed in the finest manner of chalk so that all these views, when placed in glass and frame, may be hung as tableaus even in beautifully decorated rooms as ornaments. From the above it can probably be deduced by itself that such a collection is unique, and none of the collections of Swiss regions hitherto published can stand comparison with it; for such perfect perspective and illumination as is obtained from the Daguerreotype plates is, as is easily understood, not obtainable by even the most excellent artist. At the same time we have

fixed the price so that anyone who has a sense of beauty and can spare just a little for his pleasure may purchase this fine national work."[165]

Photo-historians often mention Franziska Möllinger's publication -which did not have the desired success among her contemporaries- to stress its importance as an archeological find for the early history of photography, perpetuating the reading of it as one of the early examples of the crossing paths of daguerreotype and lithography.

The twofold reason I mention her collection of landscape views is contained in the words she herself used to describe her publication. We shall take up the words of the photographer and dwell on two points that are important to our discourse begun with Carl Durheim's portrait with the view of Bern from the Enge Promenade.

"It is the most faithful and perfect image of the beautiful fatherland [Vaterland] that in these views appears before the eyes and soul of every Swiss and will certainly recall and evoke in him/her some of the most beautiful memories."[166]

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[165] "Zum ersten Male erscheint hier eine Reihe von Ansichten der Hauptstädte und der schönsten Gegenden der Schweiz, in welchen sich nicht nur alle Häuser, Berge, Bäume und Gesträuche, sondern auch die kleinsten, kaum sichtbaren Theile aller in der Grenzen des Rahmens befindlichen Gegenstände durch die von ihnen ausgegangenen Lichtstrahlen (Dank sei der herrlichen Erfindung Daguerre's) gleichsam selbst abgebildet haben. Es ist das treueste und das vollkommenste Abbild des schönen teuren Vaterlandes, das in diesen Ansichten jedem Schweizer vor die Augen und vor die Seele tritt und gewiß eine Reihe der schönsten Erinnerungen in ihm zurückrufen und neu beleben wird. Jede Ansicht, welche in dieser Sammlung erscheint ist 10"6" lang und 8"2" hoch und auf das sorgfältigste, sowohl nach Form und Umriß als in Bezug auf Licht und Schatten nach mehreren Originalsilberplatten, welche eine und dieselbe Gegend darstellen und mittelst eines großen und ausgezeichneten Voigtländer'schen Apparetes erhalten worden sind, in doppeltem Maßstabe zeichnet und auf das sehr fein in Kreidemanier ausgeführt, so daß alle diese Ansichten in Glas und Rahmen gefaßt, als Tableau selbst in schön geschmückten Zimmern zur Zierde aufgehängt werden können. Aus dem Obigen ergibt sich wohl von selbst, daß eine solche Sammlung einzig in ihrer Art ist und keine der bis jetzt erschienenen Sammlungen von Schweizergegenden den Vergleich mit ihr aushalten kann; denn jene vollkommene Perspektive und Beleuchtung wie sie nach Daguerreotyplatten erhalten wird, ist wie leicht zu begreifen, selbst dem ausgezeichnetsten Künstler nicht erreichbar. Dabei haben wir den Preis so äußerst billig gestellt, daß wer immer Sinn für das Schöne hat und nur etwas weniges zu seinem Vergnügen erübrigen kann, im Stande ist, sich dieses schöne Nationalwerk anzuschaffen." (quoted in Tillmanns, *Geschichte der Fotografie,*63)

[166] *Ibid*.

After announcing, with good reason, that the collection is the first of its kind to portray capitals and landscapes in great detail through Daguerre's technique, Franziska Möllinger defines the images 1) as "faithful and perfect" and 2) specifies that they are intended for the Swiss, i.e. a local audience. I argue that these lines are imbued with as much patriotism as the landscape painting behind Durheim's portrait. Let us dwell on the first half of the statement, by asking what Franziska Möllinger means by describing her images with the words 'faithful' and 'perfect'? I dwell on those words that introduce the symbolic and the political implications of the images' reading. The two qualities identified by Möllinger (faithful and perfect) refer to the subject matter of the images (Swiss landscapes) parallel to the technical precision achieved by the photographic mechanism used to create them. Möllinger calls into question the memories that such images are capable of awakening in the viewer: memories which refer both to the personal experience of the viewer travelling around and to the illustrations produced of such views from standard vantage points and distributed since the end of the eighteenth century. The representation of Bern depicted in the background of Durheim's portrait is a very well known perspective. It is in fact known as the view of "Bern von der Enge aus", which echoes the travel literature of the so-called *voyage pittoresque*.[167] An example of such continuity is the fact that such a view is the first lithograph presented in Möllinger's collection, which refers to the one painted by Johann Ludwig Aberli.[168] Advertisements indicated that prints, small paintings and their graphic reproductions were displayed at windows of bookstores and shops in the central streets of major cities, like Zurich, Bern, Geneva and Lausanne (and often abroad). Panoramas gained the greatest importance in Switzerland as small, reproducible souvenirs at the beginning of

[167] See H. Wolf, "Keepsake Photographique, Louis Désiré Blanquart-Évrards Reisebilder aus dem Norden Frankreichs", *Fotogeschichte* 160/41 (2021), 13-22; M. Schubert, "Sun Pictures in Scotland (1845). William Henry Fox Talbots Hommage an Sir Walter Scott, die Kalotypie und das Reisen", *Fotogeschichte* 160/41 (2021), 5-12.
[168] Pfeifer-Helke, "Die Koloristen", 276.

the nineteenth century.[169] Möllinger characterizes her collection of landscape views as faithful and perfect, evoking ideal images of Switzerland. Such images reproduce views of well-known vantage points, and reproductions of landscapes influenced both the expectations of those who traveled to real viewpoints and, as a consequence, their perception of the visible. The local observer is familiar with the subject portrayed, and for this reason the function of the image is not to describe an exotic and unfamiliar landscape, as one would do for a foreigner spectator, but rather it serves to remind the viewer of places he or she already knows firsthand. What need, then, does such an image of Switzerland fill? Möllinger's intention runs counter to the series of landscapes and views that were produced for foreign tourism.[170] The fact that the collection was designed for an audience 'within' the state borders causes several questions to arise: 1) the question of whether Möllinger's attitude towards the image function is an isolated case (i.e.: are there other collections of images produced explicitly for the Swiss?) and 2) the question of what kind of gaze is cast on representations of the Swiss landscape beyond the one known from the literature on the imagery of the Alps intended for tourism and its commercial appeal? Interestingly, in Möllinger's collection the view of Bern taken from the Enge promenade (the vantage point) appears as the opening scene. A close-up analysis of this specific view answers the two aforementioned questions.

I propose a fanciful exercise which forces a reversal of perspective: let us imagine Franziska Möllinger with her camera, on the Enge promenade, looking at Bern. (Fig.12) What if the view in front of her evokes a visual correspondence between the photographer's perception of that stretch of landscape as she had seen it in paintings and illustrations and the shot she was about to take? If this were the case, then faithful and perfect would not be the image that was about to come out at the end of the process;

[169] Speich, "Wissenschaftlicher und Touristischer Blick", 86.
[170] J.-F. Bergier and S. Guzzi (eds.), *La découverte des Alpes* (Basel: Schwabe, 1992).

rather, faithful and perfect was the very view in front of her, which reactivated through an exercise of memory the small reproductions seen in the past.

Both Möllinger's view of Bern and Durheim's self-portrait with landscape are projections of the intricate relationship between the ideal and the state of affairs. Both photographers project symbols on landscape.[171] The profile of the Alps is represented as a concrete form bearing topographic meaning, where the immaterial part (idealization) of meaning takes shape. In both cases, the profile of the Alps is drawn with topographic precision: the Swiss would easily be able to recognize and name the peaks. The symbolic meaning of the Alpine landscape needs the physical material of the print in order to be perceived (visualized). In addition, the landscape view of Bern taken from the Enge promenade functions as a visual tópos. Painted by Franz Niklaus König (Fig.13) around 1825 and described by Rudolf Samuel Walthard in 1827 in the book *Description topographique et historique de la ville e des environs de Berne*, this viewpoint captures the north side of the city of Bern and the alpine chain. Walthard states: " […] par sa position l'un des points de vue les plus attrayants qui se trouvent autour de Berne. […] Suivant de l'œil [sic !] l'onde azurée de la rivière, qui sillonne dans le fond, er arrêtant ses regards sur la paroi du rocher abrupte, qui l'encadre en face, son oreille est frappée par le son argentin de clochettes du troupeau paissant à ses pieds ou se rapprochant du chalet rustique qui montre sin humble toir [sic !] à travers un bouquet de peupliers; cette scène est une petite image de la vie pastorale des Alpes. […] Rien de plus charmant que cette promenade, qui offre constamment la perspective des

[171] Ernst Cassirer defines the symbolic form as consisting of two elements, i.e. the immaterial part of meaning and the tangible or concrete form. The symbolic meaning needs a physical body (sensory sign) to be perceived. See T. Bayer, *Cassirer's Metaphysics of Symbolic Forms, A philosophical Commentary* (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 2001), 15.

hautes Alpes et qui, agréablement diversifiée par des dispositions locales, réunit aux charmes de la vie champêtre les délices d'un jardin".[172]

Walthard's description of the view of Bern shows two elements: 1) the collective imagery of the Alps and its 2) topographic value. The author directs the reader's attention to the silvery sounds of the bells: it elicits an ethereal and intangible description of the inhabitants that live within the landscape ("humble shelter"), which- interestingly- are not visible, but are part of the collective imagery of every Swiss person. The reader –like the observers of Möllinger's prints- visualizes a familiar landscape's profile through evocative language that elicits idealized imagery.

The cartographic orientation in its most general meaning is the one based on the graphic representation of a geographical area reproduced on a flat surface. The topographic accuracy with which the mountain chain is depicted allows the self-localization of the observer: "In the process of cartographic orientation, there is a blurring of the boundary between here and there, between the actual place of residence and an imagined elsewhere."[173] Similarly, Franziska Möllinger suggests that the viewer plays an active role when she declares that looking at the represented landscape would awaken personal memories. The self-localization of the (Swiss) viewer, as well as the involvement of memories and the evocation of idealized imagery (Walthard's description) are key recurring elements in Carl Durheim's portrait production.

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[172] "Following with the eye the azure wave of the river, which furrows in the background, or stopping his glances at the wall of the abrupt rock, which frames it in front, his ear is struck by the silvery sound of the bells of the herd grazing at his feet or approaching the rustic cottage which shows its humble shelter through a bunch of poplars; […] Nothing is more charming than this walk, which constantly offers the perspective of the high Alps and which, pleasantly diversified by local dispositions, unites to the charms of country life the delights of a garden." (R. S. Walthard, *Description topographique et historique de la ville e des environs des Bern* (Bern: Bourgdorfer, 1827), 204- 206).

[173] "Im Prozess der kartografischen Orientierung kommt es zu einer Verwischung der Grenze zwischen hier und dort, zwischen dem effektiven Aufenthaltsort und einem vorgestellten Anderswo." Gugerli and Speich, *Topografien der Nation,* 12-13; see also J. M. Schwarzt and James R. Ryan (eds.), *Picturing Place: Photography and the geographical imagination* (London/New York: Routledge, 2003); K. Addleman-Frankel, "The experience of elsewhere, Photography in the Travelogues of Pierre Trémaux", *Photographies* 11/1 (2018), 31-56.

Möllinger's images serve to awaken ideal images of the Swiss nation through the reproduction of well-known landscape views. Such an attitude is bound to a historical context that is discussed in history and theory to describe the relationship between nature and culture. The gaze that emerges in the representation of the Swiss landscape, as the three examples demonstrate (Durheim- Möllinger- Walthard) is characterized by the tension between the idealization of models of representation and the projection of ideals.

In 1995, Christopher Pinson presented a Master thesis titled *Photography, Lithography and Ideology: Reproducing the Daguerreotype or Figuring Reality in the July Monarchy*.[174] The research focuses on a close analysis of *Paris et ses environs reproduits par le daguerreotype*, edited by Charles Philipon, (Paris: Chez Aubert et Cie, 1840) and Excursions Daguerriennes: vues et monuments les plus remarquables du globe, edited by N. P. Lerebours (Paris: Author, 1841-42). The author carries out a careful analysis of the aesthetic modes and techniques by which daguerreotypes were reproduced, with particular attention to the aspects intrinsic to lithography, as well as to the presentation of the illustrations included in the books (e.g. captions). Pinson discusses the use of lithography as a suitable medium for the rapid and inexpensive distribution of images to a wide audience (often illiterate) used in Paris during the period of the July Monarchy. The way in which Pinson's study is relevant to the present research is summarized in the following statement: "What was at stake after 1839, then, was not simply the control of popular imagery, but the control of the 'real' itself-reproduced in the camera [and earlier in the Diorama], made permanent on the metal

[174] S. C. Pinson, *Photography, Lithography and ideology: reproducing the Daguerreotype or figuring reality in the July Monarchy*, Doctoral Dissertation: Austin, 1995. Accessible online: http://dx.doi.org/10.26153/tsw/1264

plate of the daguerreotype, graphically multiplied, and publicly disseminated."[175] Pinson further develops his thoughts on Daguerre's enterprise demonstrating that it was not the demand of perspective accuracy or 'realistic' images that leads to the invention of photography; Daguerre's long career as painter, inventor and business man answers the needs of producing images that imitate *natural effects* expressed by the visual, commercial and political culture of his time.[176]

On a similar note, the Swiss historian Beatrix Mesmer wrote: "Our view of our grandparents' Switzerland is not freely chosen: We only get to see what they wanted to show us, what seemed worth depicting to them themselves. This is not only due to the fact that photography was quite costly in its early days. The decision to capture something in a picture, regardless of the process, is always a commitment to certain values." [177] These lines appear in the introduction to a book chapter dedicated to Swiss culture and its history as it was depicted in early photographs. Although these words can apply to a wide range of photographic contexts, they fit very well when referring to the photographs made in Switzerland between 1840 and 1870s.

I argue that Möllinger's lithographic print of the view of Bern in light of her own introductory words and Durheim's portrait with painted landscape are examples that, in different ways, show the constant intertwining of and complex relationships between politic ideals, symbols and their visual representations. It is the depiction of a predefined landscape from a known vantage point intended for the Swiss that must be read with an eye to the context of the formation of a nation-state. In regard to the

[175] *Ibid.* 52.
[176] C. Pinson, *Speculating Daguerre*, 80-83.
[177] "Unsere Sicht auf die Schweiz unserer Großeltern ist nicht frei gewählt: Wir bekommen nur zu sehen, was sie uns zeigen wollten, was ihnen selbst Abbildenswert erschien. Das ist nicht nur darauf zurückzuführen, daß die Photographie in ihren Anfangszeiten recht aufwendig war. Der Entschluß, etwas im Bilde festzuhalten ist, unabhängig vom Verfahren, Stets ein Bekenntnis zu bestimmten Werten." B. Mesmer, "Die Gesellschaft im späten 19.Jahrhundert. Porträt und Familienbild", in: F. Bruno and P. Keckeis (eds.), *Damals in der Schweiz: Kultur, Geschichte, Volksleben der Schweiz im Spiegel der frühen Photographie* (Frauenfeld: Peter Keckeis, 1980), 57-68, here 57.

relation between nature and culture, historians agree that the Alpine landscape is the national symbol of Switzerland,[178] and that generally speaking, geography influences the formation of national character and vice versa.

Before moving forward, it is necessary to clarify one aspect which I have mentioned only briefly. Möllinger's ideal addressee is a Swiss observer; I argue that such specificity should be taken as an alarm bell. "Since the beginning of tourism in Switzerland in the 1760s, the theme of the Alps in pictures had reached the European public, sensitized by the reading of Jean-Jacques Rousseau and Albrecht von Haller, above all in the form of easily transportable art on paper - prints and watercolor drawings - with landscapes from the numerous Swiss small master studios, in Paris, London and elsewhere." [179] How has the same landscape been valued only a few decades later with the rise of nationalism and in the political context of the construction of Swiss national identity? Möllinger's case is paradigmatic: her turn to an internal observer (instead of a foreign one) reflects what historians recently identify with the much wider and complex phenomenon of "internal colonization".[180] Historians are rethinking the formation of Swiss national identity at the time of the emergence of the modern federal state as a "colonial state without colonies" and for which "internal colonization" was a defining phenomenon: Jürgen Osterhammel defines 'internal colonialism' those 'situations in which dependencies of the 'colonialist' type appear, not between a 'mother country' and a geographically remote colony, but between

[178] G. P. Marchal and A. Mattioli (eds.), *Erfundene Schweiz – Konstruktion nationaler Identität – La Suisse imaginée – Construction d'une identité nationale* (Zurich: Chronos, 1992); A. Tanner, U. Altermatt and C. Bosshart-Pfluger (eds.), *Die Konstruktion einer Nation. Nation und Nationalisierung in der Schweiz, 18.–20. Jahrhundert* (Zurich: Chronos, 1998).

[179] "Das Alpenthema im Bild hatte seit dem 1760er Jahren beginnenden Tourismus in der Schweiz vor allem in Form der leicht transportierbaren Kunst auf Papier- der Druckgrafik und der aquarellierten Zeichnungen-mit Landschaften aus den zahlreichen Schweizer Kleinmeisterateliers, in Paris, in London und anderswo das durch die Lektüre Jean-Jacques Rousseaus und Albrecht von Hallers sensibilisierte europäische Publikum erreicht." Y. Boerlin-Brodbeck, "Das Bild der Alpen", in: B. Welter (ed.), *Die Erfindung der Schweiz 1848-1948* (Zürich: Schweizerisches Landesmuseum, 1998), 76-87, here 79.

[180] J. Osterhammel, *Colonialism: A theoretical overview* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2010), 17.

dominant ‘centers’ and dependent ‘peripheries’ within national states or regionally integrated land empires.’ [181]

With this in mind, Möllinger’s words must not be overlooked: they subtly introduce a framework for the analysis of Durheim’s portraits of the Swiss itinerants without citizenship, which will be discussed extensively in the next chapter.

[181] P. Purtschert, F. Falk and B. Lüthi, “Switzerland and ‘Colonialism without Colonies’”, *Interventions* 18/2 (2016), 286-302; B. Schär, *Tropenliebe. Schweizer Naturforscher und niederländischer Imperialismus in Südostasien um 1900* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 2015).

Chapter III.

Carl Durheim's second reception: the commission undertaken for the Justice and Police Department of Bern (1852-?)[182]

In the previous chapter I introduced the necessity of reconsidering the symbolic meaning of landscape representation against the backdrop of the recent narrative on the formation of Swiss national identity. In particular, three of Durheim's photographs demonstrate to the viewer the meaningful connections that exist between representations of landscapes and portraits, and thus shed light on this question of identity. These pictures portray three people from different social classes, who are photographed against the backdrop of what looks like the same mountain skyline. Let us order them in our minds: since my argumentation began with the narrative of Durheim's activity as commercial photographer, I continue with the description of a colored daguerreotype reproduced in Rene Perret's publication titled *Frappante Ähnlichkeit, Pioneer der Schweizer Photographie, Bilder der Anfänger* (Brug, 1991) (Fig.14). The caption states: "Grosseltern Krebs-Stauffer, Engelberg, Carl Durheim, Bern oder Berner Oberland, um 1850"[183]. The picture shows a couple in a three- quarter pose: the woman on the right wears an elegant black dress with a small bouquet in her hands lying on her lap. Her frozen look stares over the camera toward the left, while the man is looking

[182] Some of the materials presented in this chapter have been previously discussed in: S. Romani, "Koloniales Denken und Identitätsdarstellung. Die lithografischen Alben nach Carl Durheims fotografischen Porträts von Schweizer Heimatlosen (1853–1858)." *Fotogeschichte*, 160/41 (2021) 41-48; S. Romani, "The Utilisation of Lithography and Photography in Carl Durheim's Recueils des portraits photographiques d'heimatloses ou d'eutres vagabonds (1853)" in: Bartsch, Tatjana / Bockmann, Ralf / Pasieka, Paul / Röll, Johannes (eds.) *Faktizität und Gebrauch früher Fotografie – Factuality and Utilization of Early Photography* (Tagung der Fototheken des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Rom und der Bibliotheca Hertziana – Max-Planck-Institut für Kunstgeschichte, 22.–24. März 2017) (2022) 243-260.

[183] R. Perret, *Frappante Ähnlichkeit*: *Pioniere der Schweizer Photographie. Bilder der Anfänge* (Brugg: BEA + Poly, 1991), 22.

directly toward us, with his left arm embracing her. The pose is too stiff to convey any emotion. Out of focus and faded, snowy peaks stand out in the background and what looks like a grove appears on the right. The same background is shown in the second picture, which is located at the Burgerbibliothek in Bern and portrays an unknown officer in uniform standing next to a table. Although one can conjecture that the background is the same, in this picture the observer can recognize another detail which is probably covered by the couple in the other shot: on the left the wooden logs of an alpine cabin (*Alpenhütte*) appear (Fig.15). The third picture is a salt print taken from a different collection of portraits. At the Swiss Federal Archive in Bern, around 200 photographic portraits on paper show different subjects. Among them, only one picture displays a young man depicted with snowy mountains on the background (Fig.16). From the dossier, we know that the boy is fifteen years old and his name is Gottfried Fayble. He is one of the many Swiss itinerants without citizenship that Carl Durheim portrayed between the end of 1852 and 1853. What is surprising about these three portraits is not only the fact that they visually document the stratification of Swiss society at the time through their diverse subjects. To accept this conclusion would be to omit the significance of the landscape from the discourse, or to imply that the landscape is there only as a decorative element before which different individuals posed.[184] In fact, a comparative look at these images creates the conditions for a new interpretive perspective on Durheim's portraiture. In light of the discourse on the construction of national identity, the landscape as an element of the portraits indeed functions as a pivot around which two processes primarily revolve, that is, 1) the projection of an ideal and 2) the identification of the self.

[184] "In einem Fall setzt Durheim sogar einen gemalten Berghintergrund ein, der auch in der Daguerrreotypie eines jungen Paares erscheint. Es ist, als ob in diesen beiden Bildern seine geliebte Bergwelt, der er in dieser geschäftigen Zeit entsagen musste, aufscheinen würde", Gasser, "Bodenständig und Heimatlos", 138.

When speaking of portraiture as a genre, from the standpoint of the observer who looks at the representation of the likenesses of his/her own face, two processes are involved: "projection" (or "envisioning") and "identification." The first involves externalizing an image of the self, which does not necessarily have to be a realistic one. Hans Belting, in his study on portraiture, states: "Every portrait placed its subject in society, be it in an actual or perhaps a desired position."[185] The subject portrayed in a picture is placed outside: the subject that looks at the picture of her/himself recognizes her/himself in the representation, which is projected and placed outside her/his body. Generally speaking, in the eye of the person depicted, every portrait embodies a projection of the subject. The second term, identification, means that the subject depicted identifies her/himself with a picture: it means that she/he internalizes what she/he sees represented outside her/himself in the portrait. Identification thus involves recognizing an inner correspondence of part or all of one's identity with what is represented in a picture.

Now, how does the element of landscape function as a pivot in the processes of projection and identification in all three portraits? Landscape is a pivotal element due to its symbolic value within the anthropological debate among the cultural and political elites of the time on the Swiss territory in dialogue with their European peers.[186] In the present discourse, these three portraits document how the different Swiss social conditions that the subjects embody were each confronted with the problem of recognizing their belonging to a geographical place. Belonging not only has to do with social status (i.e. wealth and power) but it is also measured by the borders and the geography of the place, i.e. rootedness in a territory. The landscape, therefore, does not only play a decorative role, but fulfills a didactic role, that is, it provides a commentary. The subject of this commentary is the definition of what it means to be a Swiss citizen

[185] H. Belting, *Face and Mask: A Double History* (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press), 126.
[186] Purtschert, Lüthi and Falk (eds.), *Postkoloniale Schweiz.*

and it is made visible or evident. What has never been addressed by the literature on Carl Durheim is a reflection on the observer of his photographic portraits. So, who are these portraits meant for?

3.1. The observers

Carl Durheim's images are addressed to a number of different observers, who are both the subjects portrayed and the commissioners. But portrayed subjects and commissioners do not always coincide, as I shall shortly demonstrate. Taking as point of reference Jonathan Crary's seminal study, it is important to revisit the problem of the nineteenth-century observer[187]. Following Foucault's archeology of knowledge, Crary demonstrates how the nineteenth-century observer is characterized by an epistemological change regarding his/her relationship to knowledge. Crary does so by tracing the trajectory of vision and its representation on the backdrop of the historical development of the camera obscura and other optical devices before the circulation of photographic images: he describes the reorganization of vision by analyzing the theoretical implications that affected the observer of the camera obscura and the related technologies that preceded photography (i.e. phenakisticope, diorama, stereoscope, to mention just a few examples). Crary aims to shed light on the limit of the theory of progress applied to the early history of photography while at the same time highlighting how the introduction of photography follows a wider reorganization of the observing subject.

In chapter three, Crary indicates the body and its location in space as the core elements where such epistemological reorganization takes place.

[187] J. Crary, *Techniques of the Observer: On Vision and Modernity in Nineteenth-century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 69.

> *"The corporeal subjectivity of the observer, which was a priori excluded from the concept of the camera obscura, suddenly becomes the site on which an observer is possible. The human body, in all its contingency and specificity, generates "the spectrum of another colour", and thus becomes the active producer of optical experience."*[188]

This statement has two implications: 1) the experience of vision is subjective; as a consequence 2) the foundation of knowledge acquired through vision is filtered through the (physiological) structure of the body[189].

For the present discussion on Carl Durheim's photographic portraits of the itinerants without citizenship, Crary's contribution illuminates most of all the status of the commissioner/observer: the Attorney General Jakob Amiet. He was in charge of the naturalization of the *Heimatlose*, to which the aforementioned boy (Gottfried Fayble) depicted with the mountain landscape belonged. Using Crary's expression, I argue that the way Jakob Amiet intended such photographic campaign (the photographing of the itinerants interned in the Bernese prison) challenges our understanding of both early identification pictures and the bourgeois photographs.

Now, in order to understand the relationship between commissioner and observer, let us dwell on the historical contextualization of what I call Carl Durheim's second reception.

3.2. Carl Durheim's identification pictures of the itinerants without citizenship: historical contextualization

[188] *Ibid., 72.*
[189] *Ibid*., 75.

In the existing literature, Carl Durheim is known as the creator of some of the first mug shots in Europe, also known as identification pictures: the portrait of Gottfried Fayble comes from a large collection of early police photographs. In nineteenth-century photography, mechanical reproduction appeared with its promise of providing visual *evidence* of the subject's identity. If we take a look at the portrait of Gottfried Fayble, instinctively we feel that it takes some effort to consider such a picture to be a mug shot. It is precisely because such portraits are not immediately recognizable as identification pictures that I start by explaining what I call the second reception of Carl Durheim's portraits. After laying this foundation I will propose that Durheim's identification pictures be understood in light of the anthropological discourse on the construction of Swiss national identity.

Recalling Ginzburg's words, I consider the presence of the landscape background in the aforementioned portrait as an anomaly, and as such a clue to investigate further meanings, which exceed the discourse on visual representation and which allow to take a look on the reorganization of knowledge.

First, one should in fact ask what kind of anthropological discourses circulated around the construction of national identity in mid-nineteenth century Switzerland; secondly, if and how Durheim's identification pictures constitute one among many different attempts of visualization of the Swiss national identity.

In 1852 Carl Durheim signed a contract to portray more than 200 so-called *Heimatlose*, i.e. transient people, who moved around Switzerland and had no documented identity. The Police and Justice Department of Bern had interned them in the Bernese Prison withthe aim of changing their lifestyle (*Einbürgerung*), while at the same time gathering information about them and the network of relationships of similar people scattered throughout Switzerland.

The Swiss vagabond phenomenon came to the attention of common people only after 1980s, when the *Beratungsstelle für die Landgeschichte* commissioned a historiographical study with the aim of shedding light on the program designed for children at risk of abandonment and vagrancy in the 1920s, called *Oeuvre d'entraide pour les enfants de la grand-route.* "A tragic example of discrimination and persecution of a minority that does not share the way of life of the majority"[190] was the judgment pronounced by the President of the Swiss Confederation, Ruth Dreyfuss, after reading the historiographical report. Thanks to the documentation that was declassified during the 1980s, Durheim's photographic portraits of the itinerants also came to light. The hostile attitude toward nomads has deep roots, however, as beautifully documented in the study entitled *Eine Heimat und doch keine* by two historians, Thomas Meier and Rolf Wolfensberger.[191] In their study, the legal paradigm of mobility and migration in Switzerland goes back to the sixteenth century to culminate in the nineteenth century with Carl Durheim's involvement in the Bernese case. Despite the stunning photographic material that has survived, images only partially reveal the actors and the environment in which these events took place. In 1998, the photo-historian Martin Gasser curated an exhibition at the Fotomuseum Winterthur in collaboration with the Museum für Kommunikation Bern entitled *Wider das Leugnen und Verstellen, Carl Durheims Fahndungsfotografie von Heimatlosen 1852/53*. The exhibition prospectus states that "Carl Durheim's portrait photographs of homeless and non-settled people - all taken on behalf of the then Swiss Attorney General in 1852/53, subsequently lithographed, bound in books and passed on to the police stations, [...] represent the first police photographs for identification purposes in Switzerland, if not worldwide. [...] These standardized identification photographs were intended to support the forced

[190] L. Jourdan, "Eugénisme en Europe dans l'entre-deux-guerres: Chasse aux Tziganes en Suisse", *Le Monde Diplomatiques*, October 1999, 8.
[191] Meier and Wolfensberger, *Eine Heimat und doch keine.*

naturalization, forced assimilation or forced deportation of the affected population groups, for example the Travellers [...]. This unique stock of salt paper photographs, which is highly interesting ethnologically, politically and photographically, is stored in the Federal Archives of the Swiss Confederation".

The title of the exhibition, *Wider das Leugnen und Verstellen* (Against Denial and Dissimulation), already points to the dual function that Jakob Amiet, the leading commissioner, attributed to photography. The image would fix the true identity of the homeless, independent of the false information that was often provided during their interrogations ("against denial"). On the other hand, from the perspective of the itinerants of the itinerant, the experience of being photographed aroused a certain respect among the prisoners, who felt revealed in their actual identity. Photography was acclaimed as a moral dissuader against false information (and against dissimulation).

As discussed in the previous chapter, thus far the scholarship on Durheim's photographic work tends to highlight his activity as a commercial photographer in light of two key aspects 1) the advent of photographic portraiture as a permanent practice in his atelier in Bern,[192] and 2) the uniqueness of the commission undertaken for the Police and Justice Department as one of the first examples of the utilization of the photographic image as a 'surveillance' instrument.[193] Despite their pertinence to the material under investigation, these perspectives tend to separate the portrait production of the itinerants from Durheim's other 'celebrative portraiture'. Within the early history of police photography, the same narratives inscribe the collection of salted paper prints that depict the vagabonds, often highlighting the analytic potential of the mechanical reproduction, noting the evolution that follows in the service of eugenics and

[192] Bern hosted in fact many local early traveller Daguerreotypists, but Carl Durheim was the first one who settled down, engaging with photography as long-term business activity (from 1840s to 1870s). See *Carl Durheim, Wie die Photographie nach Bern kam*, ed. Burgerbibliothek Bern, Bern, 2016

[193] Gasser, Meier and Wolfensberger, *Wider das Leugnen und Verstellen.*

phrenology, or as a forerunner of surveillance strategies, rarely delving into what the images actually display and why.[194] "Nevertheless, the image staging, for which the photographer and the Federal Council were jointly responsible, followed the rules of bourgeois portrait photography, at least in its approach, which was characterized by the need for representation that was lacking here."[195] Do Durheim's portraits of the itinerants actually lack of the need for representation?

This quote forces to go back to the issue of the observer: historians assume that bourgeois portrait photography was characterized by the need for representation because the commissioners in most of the case coincided with the subject depicted. To be portrayed meant, generally speaking, to accept a series of mimetic codes and representational practices to have a "document of enduring presence […], asserting a privilege".[196] The need for representation meant in some way affirming the individual right (of the subject depicted) over society (who was thought as the ideal observer of the visual representation). Durheim's portraits of the itinerants do not actually lack of the need for representation: on the contrary they express the need of representation of the commissioner, who is different from the portrayed subject.

The need for representation (*Repräsentationsbedürfnisse*) is one of the many layers of meaning that has been overlooked and that must be re-evaluated against the backdrop of the historiography of Swiss and European nationalism. Without forgetting the specifics of the historical context -as it is certainly the case that the Police Department was involved in an extended hunt for criminals and recidivists- the discourse on the use of

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[194] S. Regener, *Fotografische Erfassung: Geschichte medialer Konstruktionen des Kriminellen* (München: Wilhelm Fink, 1999).

[195] "Trotzdem folgte die Bildinszenierung, für die der Photograph und der Bundesrat gemeinsam verantwortlich zeichneten, zumindest vom Ansatz her den Regeln der bürgerlichen Porträtphotographie, die von den hier fehlenden Repräsentationsbedürfnissen geprägt war." T. D. Meier and R.Wolfensberger, ""Furchen Und Runzeln Wegschaffen" Die Fahndungsphotographie Einer Nicht-Sesshaften Frau Als Historische Quelle", *Traverse : Zeitschrift für Geschichte = Revue d'histoire* 3/1 (1996), 147-155, here 153.

[196] Belting, *Face and Mask*, 126.

photographs as evidence and legal truth in the specific social and political circumstances of mid-nineteenth century Switzerland locates Durheim's image production on an evasive terrain, obscuring many main issues: for example, the distinction of functions existing between the photographic image and the lithographic reproductions, their modes of being displayed, the distinct ways they display the subject depicted; not least, the viewer for whom they were intended; the visual culture on which they build, and how Durheim's images dialogue productively with a set of images taken from a different context (outside police photography and the visualization of the criminal), to mention a few. As a matter of fact, I will propose an analysis that looks at Durheim's portraits while momentarily suspending the discourses concerning judicial photography by showing the limit of the Foucauldian paradigm.[197]

I argue that framing this visual material in a judicial framework limits our understanding of it for two main reasons. One reason has to do with the historical category itself: judicial photography has developed in time, as I will show in more detail shortly, and it pertains to well-defined forms of institutional power, which developed later on, notably in the 1870s. Durheim's pictures represent an experiment conducted without a theorization. The Foucauldian paradigm presents one limit when applied in this Swiss case-study: it does not contemplate the plurality of the observers and as a consequence the different meanings and functions the images acquired. Such theoretical framework does not help to understand the experimental nature of it, which is to say the elaboration the images went through, in terms of layout, material support and utilization. The Foucaldian paradigm does not consider the material form and the social biography of the photograph and the lithographic albums[198].

[197] J. Tagg, *The Burden of Representation: Essays on Photographies and Histories* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1988).

[198] E. Edwards, "Material beings: Objecthood and ethnographic photographs", *Visual Studies* 17/1 (2002), 69–75; C. Pinney, "Things happen: or, from which moment does that object come?", in: D. Miller (ed.),

As an alternative, I suggest locating Durheim's story in the context of the shaping of popular imagery used to decipher the past and the present of the modern Swiss State, in order to detect the ties that bind together the impulse to gather knowledge and its processes (photography and lithography) within the framework of the formation of the visual illustration of national identity. As indicated by Peter Burke, when it comes to analysing processes, "countervailing trends should not be forgotten."[199] I distinguish two kinds of processes and their respective countervailing trends: the process of picturing individual identities goes along with its conformity to shared social practices, and the process of gathering knowledge about existing realities goes along with the envisioning of idealized communities. Recent studies on the particularities of the Swiss national movement in the years that precede the formation of the national state (1848) extensively discuss what has been called "the Swiss colonial culture."[200] Before providing a different framework for the analysis of the portrait production, let us first delve into the historical context and political actions undertaken by the institutions interested in the operation called *Heimatlosfrage*. Secondly, I will show the limits of the discourse in recent debates on the early use of photography as a means of surveillance. To conclude, I will draw attention to archival material that is useful as a point of comparison to better contextualize Durheim's pictures and to demonstrate the limit of the paradigm used thus far.

Influenced by the winds of change sweeping in from France, Switzerland, too, was marked by political controversy, in particular centered around divisions of power.

Materialty (Durham NC: Duke University Press), 256–72.

[199] P. Burke, *A social history of knowledge II, from Encyclopedia to Wikipedia* (Hoboken NJ: Wiley 2012), 2.
[200] See P. Purtschert and H. Fischer-Tiné (eds.), *Colonial Switzerland: Rethinking Colonialism from the Margins* (Palgrave Macmillan: London, 2015).

Individual cantons attempted to claim autonomy while reformers called for a unified and centralized government.[201] Tensions exploded into the *Sonderbund* War, which ushered in the declaration of the Swiss Federal Constitution in 1848, the birth of the Swiss Federal State, and the election of Bern as the Federal capital. While the first political battle was against those who claimed an innate faculty of governing, the second was concerned with peacefully securing a new economic order, not only through political debate about equal rights, but also through the institutional guarantee of equality among the lower social strata. Social tensions had ignited an ever-growing interest from the appointed institutions and the leading parties in the definition -and subsequent depiction- of the community's identity:[202] although not explicitly declared by the institutions, Durheim's portraiture of the itinerants belongs to a wider political agenda and a wider intellectual discourse, which took shape first in the definition of national borders of the modern State, and on an ideal level- as the collection of portraits makes evident- in the definition of a Swiss social community. While the noble aspiration of egalitarian laws and rights helped to finally abolish aristocracy and its privileges, the new economy and the interests of the liberal middle-class deeply affected society overall. In order to strengthen the economy and support the unity of the state, nascient institutions realized that the nature of society itself required modernization through a series of reforms, whose aim was to encourage civil responsibility through education centered on a renewed morality.[203]

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[201] B. Junker, *Geschichte des Kantons Bern Seit 1798*, *Band II: Entstehung des Demokratischen Volkstaates* (Bern: Historischer Verein des Kantons Bern, 1990), 40. Accessible online: https://biblio.unibe.ch/digibern/gesch_kant_bern_seit_1798_bd_02_enstehung_des_demokratischen_volkstaates.pdf

[202] The increase of poverty in the 1830s and 1840s was due principally to two factors: famine and the demographic increase among the population of the countryside.

[203] *"*Das Wohl und Wehe eines Jeden Staates beruhet auf dem sittlichen Werthe seiner Bürger; ohne Bildung des Herzens und des Geistes ist keine Freiheit denkbar und die Liebe zum Vaterland ist ohne sie ein leerer Schall*"* (quoted in Junker, *Geschichte des Kantons Bern Seit 1798,* 41). Reading between the lines, the aforementioned petition of December 1830 had already exemplified the standpoint of the institutions toward the introduction of moral value as one of the main ingredients for the successful

One of the measures taken by institutions, which interweaved directly with Durheim's activity as lithographer and photographer, regards precisely the redefinition of the legal status of those social groups that were identified as homeless or stateless vagrants, and who were marginalized from the Swiss economic and civil life.

Vagrants, the homeless and other offenders were the scapegoats of the bourgeoisie's fears, and not only in the newborn Confederation of Switzerland. Nonetheless, it is necessary to clarify two terms which appear in the title of Durheim's collection of photographic portraits, as they indicate a specific character of the local Swiss history: 1) *Heimatlose* (homeless or stateless) and 2) *Vagabonds* (vagrants or itinerants). The two terms reflect two different legal statuses. In nineteenth-century Switzerland, the term 'homeless' referred to non-citizens or the so-called paperless people, who, generally speaking, lived a nomadic lifestyle. This nomadic life was due to a wide range of factors: some of the homeless were foreigners who had moved from neighboring states during wartime, others were former forced laborers. Within the same category of people identified as homeless also fall those groups for whom nomadic life was an expression of culture, such as it was in the case of the Roma, Sinti and Jenish population, and against which an attitude of intolerance and physical violence had long been perpetuated.[204] So, while the term 'homeless' refers principally to foreign people traveling illegally through the Swiss territory, the term 'vagabond' was applied to the unemployed, street artists and beggars, who shared a condition of extreme poverty but who were Swiss nationals. Such groups moved continuously from farm to farm or village to village, even reaching major towns, in search of seasonal or temporary occupations. They were often identified with the terms 'Vaganten, Vagabunden' or

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education of its citizens. In this context, nomadic lifestyle was positioned at the antithesis of bourgeoisie moral norms. See also: D. Di Falco, Verfolgt, verhaftet, verhört und abgelichtet, 7; T. D. Meier, R. Wolfensberger, *"*Die Bürgerliche Gesellschaft und die Nichtsesshaften*"*, *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* 34 (1996), 17.

[204] Meier and Wolfensberger, *Eine Heimat und doch keine*. 110.

'Landstreicher', and though they had Swiss nationality, they were neither permanent residents nor assigned to a municipality.[205] They could move freely within the nation's borders, but they were excluded from civil rights and from social assistance. In 1848, on the occasion of the proclamation of civil rights for the inhabitants of the country, marginalized social groups finally succeeded in acquiring Swiss citizenship, which was fixed to a municipal citizenship (e.g., the city of Bern).

A large-scale action called *Vagabundenfahndung* applied to the categories of both the homeless and the vagabonds. Newly appointed institutions increased their attention to the regulation of nomadic life. Since long before the nineteenth century, such lifestyles that were antithetical to that of the bourgeoisie had been perceived as a major problem of public order: since marginalization could fuel rebellion and violent riots, they were seen as a threat to peaceful civilian life. Nomadic life was also associated with poor health and hygiene, and a lack of morality (e.g. concubinage).[206]

Moreover, in the eyes of the institutions a sense of suspicion mounted against such marginalized groups during wartime (1820s-1840s), because spies could easily find shelter and hide among those who illegally resided in the forests or moved through the mountains. It is necessary to remember that the wooded and mountainous parts of the Swiss territory, existing on the margins of urban-centered economic and social activities, were perceived by civil institutions as distant and uncontrolled. Only in 1845 did the first two tables of the Dafour topographic maps become available for common citizens.[207] Not only thanks to the spread of tourism, but also with the birth of the Federal State, the Swiss territory underwent a rigorous campaign of exploration whose

[205] T. Huonker, "Fremd- und Selbstbilder von "Zigeunern", Jenischen und Heimatlosen in der Schweiz des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts aus literarischen und anderen Texten", in: H. Uerlings, I.-K. Patrut (eds.), *Zigeuner und Nation, Repräsentation - Inklusion – Exklusion* (Pieterlen/Bern: Peter Lang, 2008), 311-364; see also: P. Hugger (ed.), *Handbuch der schweizerischen Volkskultur* (Zurich: Offizin OZV, 1992); T. Huonker, *Fahrendes Volk-verfolgt und verfemt, Jenische Lebensläufe* (Zurich: Limmat, 1987).
[206] Meier and Wolfensberger, *Eine Heimat und doch keine,* 400.
[207] P. Frey, "Einleitung", in Bundesamt für Landestopografie (ed.), *Die Schweiz auf dem Messtisch,* 11-20.

aim was to make visible and measurable places that were until then little known. In this sense, the collection of portraits of the homeless and vagabonds runs parallel to the exploration and cataloging of the geographical space of the nation, where topographic maps and identification pictures had mainly served a political purpose.[208] "Social practices are at the same time spatial practices, they cannot take place in nothingness."[209] The unverifiable identity of individuals often complicated searches for wanted criminals, as the line between poverty and criminality grew increasingly thin because of the phenomenon of pauperism.[210] Before 1848, nomadic groups coming from abroad (i.e. Sinti, European gypsies and Jeni) were already victims of persecution and were expelled from the Swiss territory. Then, the Swiss Federal Council established the Office of the Public Prosecutor (*Staatsanwaltschaft*), which was responsible for crimes against state structure and national interests. The Federal Homeless Law promulgated on December, 3rd 1850 addressed the legal problem of citizenship by aiming to *naturalize* both homeless and vagabonds, or more accurately, by depriving them of the freedom of movement.

On February 1, 1851, Paul Migy, chief justice of Bern and member of the Council of States, was appointed Switzerland's first permanent Attorney General; one year later he resigned and Jakob Amiet (1817-1883, Solothurn) was appointed. The Attorney General had to initiate and supervise the naturalization (*Einbürgerung*) of Swiss itinerants. By giving the itinerants the rights of citizenship, the institution meant to naturalize them to a non-transient lifestyle, integrating them into the work economy of the farming

[208] F. Frey, "Un effort d'uniformisation, La carte topographique de la Suisse et ses origins eterogenes", in: Bundesamt für Landestopografie (ed.), *Die Schweiz auf dem Messtisch,* 39-54.
[209] "Gesellschaftliche Praktiken sind zugleich räumliche Praktiken, sie können sich nicht im Nichts abspielen." Meier and Wolfensberger, *Eine Heimat und doch keine,* 245.
[210] On pauperism in Canton Bern see Junker, *Geschichte des Kantons Bern Seit 1798*, 159. The Zurich case known as 'Murder Meidel Fall' offers insight into the social setting of a part of the transient population named 'Landstreichern'. See M. Gasser and M. Suter, *Frühe Polizeifotografien im Mordfall Meidel, Zürich 1853: das Milieu "fahrender" Dienstboten und Arbeiterinnen* (Zurich: Sihldruck AG, 2006).

community. The Justice Department, the Swiss government and the Federal Prosecutor Jakob Amiet planned to gather the vagabonds in the prison of Bern (the freshly elected capital and institutional centre of Switzerland) where they would remain on remand. The intended purpose was to compile what at first sight appeared to be a sort of census: the itinerants under interrogation were forced to declare their true identity once and for all, along with their movements, their place of origin, and information about family members. The direct involvement of the Federal Prosecutor Jakob Amiet casts both light and shadow on the overall operation: although several vagabonds were attracted by a shelter and the promise of a meal, not all of the prisoners cooperated, and often coercive methods were used such as the prolonged denial of food and confinement to a cell. The itinerants were considered to be an uncivilized population because of their nomadism and their poverty, and their very status as human beings was compromised without committing any crime besides living a nomadic life. Vagabond behaviour was equivalent to immorality: in the majority of cases they were considered permanent evildoers and sinners, rather than occasional or professional criminals. In the past, their bodies would be marked for easy recognition and further marginalization. Through an apparent veneer of compassion and sense of altruism, these men and women were forcibly collected from the streets and forest edges to be endowed with a new social identity.

Durheim's portfolio of portraits is considered among the first of its genre due to its systematic and standardized form, which fits it into the field of police photography.[211]

[211] Beside early similar uses are documented in France and Belgium. See W. Beese, "Zur Geschichte der Polizeifotografie", *Kriminalistik* 18/11 (1964), 539-550; S. Regener, „Ausgegrenzt. Die optische Inventalisierung des Menschen in Polizeiwesen und in der Psychiatrie", *Fotogeschichte* 38 (1991), 23-38; C. Phéline, *L'image accusatrice* (Laplume: Association de critique contemporaine en photographie, 1985); J. Jäger, "Police and Forensic Photographic", in: R. Lenman and A. Nicholson (ed.), *The Oxford Companion to the Photograph* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2005), 507-510; S. Pearl, *About Faces:*

In addition, it represents a unique ethnographic compendium, since it includes some of the first documentation of the Jenisch population travelling across the Swiss borders.[212] The uniqueness of these pictures allows them to be considered as some of the first examples of the utilization of the photographic image as a surveillance instrument.[213] In spite of the beauty and uniqueness of Durheim's photographs, however, it is necessary to underline that they are not ultimately an isolated case: the use of photography as a surveillance instrument runs parallel to the demand for the visualization of the social norm and its counterpart (that is, deviation from it), which must be placed in a historical and social context that is not confined to the Swiss borders and which is concerned with methods of observing and visualizing natural phenomena. The social world appeared as one of the many fields to which statistical measures and mathematics could be applied: as one among many examples, French statisticians, such as M.A. Quetelet and A.A. Cournot exploited the mathematical *norm* to describe society in 1830s and 1840s.[214] From such research, measurements and classifications entered preponderantly into the study of human beings, with particular consequences when it came to conceptualizing and describing the individual and social behavior. Such interest (i.e. in depicting both appearance and inner character or inclination) was widespread in Europe and beyond.[215] In regard to the representational power of photography in the service of social sciences,

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physiognomy in Nineteenth-Century Britain (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2010); A. Maxwell, *Picture Imperfect: Photography and Eugenics, 1870-1940* (Eastbourne: Sussex Academic, 2008).

[212] The term Jenisch generally refers to a European population, whose principal characteristics are the itinerant lifestyle and a specific language. Hardly tolerated already in 16th and 17th century, they have been persecuted during the 18th, 19th century, and well into the 20th century. See Hugger (ed.), *Handbuch der schweizerischen Volkskultur*; Huonker, *Fahrendes Volk, verfolgt und verfemt*.

[213] Gasser, Meier, and Wolfensberger, *Wider das Leugnen und Verstellen.*

[214] See the phenomenon of the Irish Travellers: J. L. Helleiner, *Irish Travellers. Racism and the Politics of Culture* (Toronto/Buffalo/London: University of Toronto Press, 2000).

[215] Sekula, "Der Körper und das Archiv"; H. K. Henish and B. A. Henish, *The Photographic experience 1839-1914: Images and attitude* (University Park PA: PennState University Press, 1994); J. Ellenbogen, *Reasoned and Unreasoned Images: The Photography of Bertillon, Galton and Marey* (University Park PA: PennState University Press, 2012); G. Moser, *Projecting Citizenship: Photography and belonging in the British Empire* (University Park PA: PennState University Press, 2019); J. R. Ryan, *Picturing Empire: Photography and the Visualization of British Empire* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998).

anthropology and photography might be seen as two related practices performing in the same timeframe, sharing claims and critical concerns.[216]

3.3. The archival material

Alongside the visual material, which I will describe shortly, written documentation held in the Swiss Federal Archive in Bern dated between October 1852 and March 1853 provides interesting behind-the-scene details about the reasoning and expectations of the institutions for the photographic commission taken on by Carl Durheim. The folder, titled *Various Correspondence On the Photographic Images of the Homeless*,[217] contains ten letters that circulated among the deputy Jonas Furrer (representative of the Justice and Police Department of the Swiss Confederation), the Prosecutor-General Jakob Amiet, and the draftsman Carl Durheim. After a negotiation on technical specifications and prices, the contract stipulates that Carl Durheim is responsible for photographing the vagabonds under investigation, drawing them on stone, and delivering copies of as many prints as are requested to the police of each canton.[218] The intention originally was to produce three portraits on each metal plate, thus using the daguerreotype process known for its high-quality rendering of details. This process, however, would have been too expansive in view the high numbers of prisoners expected, so the commissioner opted for photography on paper. Durheim produced the majority of the pictures using the calotype process instead; only a few shots, presumably made at the end of 1853, were taken on glass negatives. In addition, it is probable that while the majority of the portraits were taken in *plein air* in the

[216] A digression on the parallel historical development of anthropology and photography would far exceed the scope of the present chapter. In this regard see Christopher Pinney's and Justine Carville's recent research: C. Pinney, *Photography and Anthropology* (London: Reaktion, 2012); J. Carville, "Photography, Ethnography and Cultural Nationalism in Northern Ireland", in: Caraffa and Serena (eds.), *Photo Archives and the idea of nation*, 59-76; J. Carville, "A Geographic Fact: Photography, Ethnography and History in Ireland", in: Sheehan (ed.), *Photography, History, Difference*, 11-32.
[217] BAR E21, 20528. *Verschiedene Korrespondenzen zu den Photographischen Bilder der Heimatlosen.*
[218] BAR E21, 20528.

courtyard of the prison as some details clearly demonstrate (Fig.17), some of the itinerants might have even posed in the photographer's studio (Fig.18). A lithographer named Wüst reproduced the lithographic copies bound in albums.[219]

In regard to the reasons why the institutions opted for the use of images, and specifically photographs and lithographic reproductions, one must carefully read the report published on the Schweizerisches Bundesblatt, which states: "The Police Department as well as the Council found that the best way to achieve the stated goal (the identification of vagrants) is to photograph the vagabonds and to replicate the pictures through lithography."[220] The document indicates that the Council adopted the practice of photographing the homeless "to remediate the difficulties concerning the identification of vagrants", but also explains that: "the inconveniences regard the verification of the identity they declare, which is often unlikely to be true, since they contradict the documentation through the changing of names and the frequent denial of family relation; police officers spend great effort to determine the actual identity of the individual [...]. These difficulties are not solved by the use of personal description."[221] The 'ineffective instrument' used by police officers thus far was the personal written description: handwritten registers consisting of lists of names with scant notes. Although there were cases of criminal offences committed by some renowned recidivists, rather than using the signaletic notes common in criminal records, the institution recognized the necessity of registering the vagabonds with the aim of

[219] Meier and Wolfensberger, *Eine Heimat und doch keine,* 279.
[220] "Das Department sowohl als der Bundesrat fanden als das beste Mittel hierzu die Photographierung der erwachsenen Vaganten und die Vervielfältigung dieser Bilder durch die Lithographie." E 21, 13002 Jahresberichte des Generalanwaltes, Bd. 1-5 (1852-1856). *Bundesblatt Nr.31 von Juli 1853, Bericht des schweizerischen Bundesrates an die hohe Bundesversammlung über seine Geschäftsführung im Jahr 1852*. BB I 1853 II 665, 716.
[221] "Dieser Übelstand wurde durch die bisherigen Signalemente keineswegs gehoben." E 21, 13002 Jahresberichte des Generalanwaltes, p. 716.

controlling their movements and gathering knowledge of their family and personal relationships. While in the case of criminals, the signaletic note provided a brief physical description (pointing out prominent physical peculiarities), in the case of vagabonds, officers recorded not only personal particulars (such as name, age and job), but also the canton of origin and family relationship. "The photographing of the homeless in the courtyard of the prison of Bern occurs while they are being searched, a measure which creates a moral deterrent against providing false information. The majority of the homeless already felt themselves to be revealed when they sat with their heads held still in front of the camera, which, to their great admiration, produced a picture in only a few moments. This moral impulse was so significant that the majority of homeless were cooperative. Not only did they not interfere with the process of picture-taking, but on the contrary, many even considered it an honor to have their picture taken."[222] Despite its vagueness, this statement underlines that the image works as moral persuader as well as evidence in the eye of the beholder. So what was the function of the image? Does the image only provide visual evidence in the eye of the police officer? Who was the beholder? Or who were the beholders? Was the beholder of the photographic image different from the intended beholder of the lithographic reproduction? The answers might take the reader by surprise. As a matter of fact, there are actually two kinds of beholders for whom the images are meant: 1) a general Police

[222] "Da die Photographien in dem Hofe der äußern Gefangenschaft zu Bern gleichzeitig mit der Untersuchung aufgenommen wurden, so bildete diese Maßregel zugleich ein moralisches Schreckmittel gegen Vorbringung unrichtiger Angaben. Die meisten der Heimatlosen hielten sich schon verraten. Wenn sie mit festgeschraubtem Kopfe vor der Maschine saßen, die in einigen Minuten ihr Bild erzeugte und die ihre höchste Bewunderung erregte. Dieser moralische Eindruck war so bedeutend, daß die meisten Heimatlosen, weit entfernt, sich gegen die Photographierung [sic!] zu sträuben, im Gegenteil einen Stolz darauf setzen und es sich zur Ehre anrechneten, photographiert zu werden." E 21, 13002 Jahresberichte des Generalanwaltes, Bd. 1-5 (1852-1856). *Bundesblatt Nr.31 von Juli 1853, Bericht des schweizerischen Bundesrates an die hohe Bundesversammlung über seine Geschäftsführung im Jahr 1852*. BB I 1853 II 665, p. 717.

Officer embodied by Jakob Amiet and 2) the vagabond him/herself. In order to understand why, as well as who the two observers are, and to understand also the implications of such seeming oddity, one must consider the photographs and the lithographic albums separately. I will return soon to an analysis of the iconography of photographs, their reproduction in lithographs and the design of albums, but I am first interested in understanding what has been written about the projects directly by the actors involved in the process or shortly afterward. Interestingly, on the back of one picture collected at the Swiss Federal Archive in Bern appears an illuminating exchange between (presumably) the general attorney Jakob Amiet and the craftsman Carl Durheim (Fig.19). The notes, although concise, exemplify the commissioner's involvement as well as give insight into the practical aspects that Durheim would face once he was dealing with the photographic process. The conversation states:

> A. "Who is this? Is it Magdalena Ostertag, the one who is around 20 years old and with pretty facial features and splendid teeth? This picture doesn't resemble her."
>
> B. "She's an older woman who came with Joseph Anton Scheinder, and gave the name Magdalena Ostertag."
>
> A. "This is absolutely not an older woman; it should be the real Magdalena Ostertag, the 23-year- old companion to Joseph Anton Schneider. The picture is overexposed. Couldn't you make another copy from the negative? And in order to preserve the main features, couldn't the lithographer draw it in such a way as to remove the furrows and wrinkles?"
>
> B. "He was evidently dissatisfied with the first version, rubbed it

out, and drew a new one over it. The traces of this process are still faintly detectable on the original."[223]

As suggested by Meier and Wolfensberger, one can reasonably conjecture that the two interlocutors are respectively A: Jakob Amiet and B: the photographer (or someone speaking on his behalf). From Amiet's irritable tone, it is certainly possible to attribute the unsatisfactory result to the inexperience of the photographer. Historians agree that Carl Durheim took advantage of the commission to experiment with a variety of photographic techniques as a self-taught pioneer, so technical deficiency may indeed affect the aesthetic of the picture, as Amiet complains when he points out that the print is overexposed (*verbrannt*). It is nevertheless true that the most interesting comment regards the description of the facial features (*Gesichtszüge*), specifically when the attorney mentions his disappointment in regard to the wrinkles (*Furchen u. Runzeln*), and asks if it would be possible to remove them. Historians propose that the aforementioned notes be read as an example of how controversial the use of photographs in the service of historical inquiries might be, by concluding that: "His request to the photographer was not to photograph the woman again, but to take another positive from the negative, on which the truth must have been captured, and to make corrections in the process of lithography. For Amiet, the truth must have evaporated somewhere between the negative and the positive."[224] With these words the historians

[223] "A. " Wie heißt diese? Ist es die Magdalena Ostertag, die etwa 20 Jahre alt ist, u. sich durch hübsche Gesichtszüge u. prachtvolle Zähne auszeichnet, so gleicht dies Bild nicht." B. " Diese ist mit Joseph Anton Schneider gekommen u. ist eine ältere Frau, sie hat den Namen Magdalena Ostertag angegeben. " A. " Dies ist durchaus keine ältere Frau, sondern sie soll richtig die Magdalena Ostertag, die 23 jährige Beihälterin des Jos. Anton Schneider seyn. Das Bild ist verbrannt. Könnten sie nicht einen zweiten Abzug vom negativen Bilde machen? u. Könnte der Maler, unter Beibehaltung der Hauptzüge, auf der Lithographie nicht die Furchen u. Runzeln wegschaffen? " B. war mit der ersten Fassung seiner Antwort offenbar nicht zufrieden, radierte sie aus und schreib die neue Version darüber. Spuren dieses Vorgang sind auf dem Original noch schwach erkennbar". Meier and Wolfensberger, "Furchen Und Runzeln Wegschaffen", 150.

[224] *Ibid.* 153-154: "Seine Bitte an den Photographen war nicht etwa, die Frau nochmals zu photographieren, sondern vom Negativ, auf dem die Wahrheit ja festgehalten sein mußte, ein weiteres

draw attention to a historiographical discourse: photographs cannot be considered sources of absolute historical truth, but historical truth must be sought within the processes of image making, as for Amiet the true representation of the woman was in some way lost in the process of turning the negative into the positive. Moreover, historians suggest that the early use of police photography was far from reaching the analytical potential that was then developed after the 1890s with the work of the French researcher Alphonse Bertillon (1853-1914) and the development of eugenics. I agree only partially: the lack of analytical potential cannot simply be explained with the logic of progress, and the early use of photography for police purposes does not only show an experimental attitude on the part of officers and inexperience on the part of photographers. As explained by Meier and Wolfensberger, Amiet's own memory was set against a technology that should authenticate reality. The photographic optics highlighted some of the woman's features that were not accessible to the officer's eye. In short, the photographic image did not correspond to his memory: he doubted the authenticity of the image, in fact he demanded that the lithographic drawing be adapted to the image he himself had from his memory of the woman. Such reflections on the role of remembered images versus the photographic record require some further clarification, as they open up layers of meaning which cannot be hastily dismissed. Two issues are at stake: what was the function of images at that time (1850s) in the eye of police officers, attorneys and judges? What was then the function of photographs if pictures failed the first test of authenticity in the eyes of Amiet? If the ability of photography to adhere to reality is questioned, can we still talk about the evidentiary function of identification photography in Durheim's case?

The historian Jens Jäger has already answered the first question by pointing to

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Positiv zu ziehen und im Vorgang der Lithographierung Korrekturen anzubringen. Für Amiet mußte sich die Wahrheit irgendwo zwischen Negativ und Positiv verflüchtigt haben".

the fact that "photographs in most of the case were a memory aid in the broadest sense; it was a means of recording a visual experience."[225] In other words, memory was preeminent over pictorial representation. Tracing the trajectory of photography as a means of surveillance, early pictures were not evidential documents yet, because between the 1840s and 1860s attorneys, judges and public prosecutors aimed at gathering as much knowledge as possible about criminal behaviors, activities and lifestyle as a social phenomenon, first of all by using written description. Their first aim was to collect knowledge of what they saw as a problematic social phenomenon and its repercussion on the functioning of the social order, with a curiosity similar to that of an anthropologist rather than that of a detective. Moreover, as I will show in the next chapter, an anthropological debate was spreading among European intellectuals: the relationship between nature and culture had long been one of the main topics discussed by scientists and scholars, but the debate was reactivated and became particularly lively at the end of the eighteenth century with the emergence of human sciences such as archeology, paleontology, anthropology and their need of visual data. On the other hand, particular attention and suspicion toward social outcasts was a shared phenomenon in European countries, as is testified by the Belgian and British experiments in the field just one decade before (1840s). If we pose the problem of photography and its potential as a piece of evidence, other important contributions must be taken into consideration which help to answer the second question: do Durheim's identification pictures play an evidentiary function or do they "point out" to something else?

Jäger has taken Durheim's portraits of the itinerants without citizenship as an

[225] J. Jäger, "Photography: a means of surveillance? Judicial photography, 1850 to 1900", *Crime, Histoire & Sociétés / Crime, History & Societies* 5/1 (2001), 27-51, here 27. Accessible online: https://journals.openedition.org/chs/1056.

opportunity to discuss the introduction of photography into the history of the visualization of the criminal face.[226] It is not sufficient to describe the use of photographic portraits for identification purposes in the second half of the nineteenth century to express the novelty of the photographic records in the police practice: Jäger argues in fact that the construction of the criminal type has been the result of a slow historical development, which over time has become entwined with many sociological factors. The essay reminds us that representations of criminals have always existed: graphic media had already portrayed criminals since the early modern period. Such representations did not have an analytical quality either, which means that whoever looked at and used such images did not scrutinize them to look for any element that could validate theories; but the depiction of individuals aimed at *narrating* an outrageous story of a deviant behavior and then the restoration of the pre-existing order with the reintegration of the repentant into the social order. In this sense the portraits of the *Heimatlos* do not constitute a novelty: first of all, as the aforementioned notes on the back of the pictures clearly show, one of the functions of the image was for individual and archival purposes- to follow Jäger's point. Amiet was so personally involved in this development that the notes show how familiar he was with the wanted subjects, to the point that a first version of the portrait does not coincide with the image from his memory. Secondly, as I will discuss extensively in the following chapter, the iconography used to depict the individual suggests social reintegration, rather than highlighting the deviancy of the subject. The term 'identification pictures' must also be further contextualized, since an uncritical use of this term can lead to misunderstanding the case-study.

[226] J. Jäger, "Vom Gesicht des Verbrechens Und Vom Verschwinden der Verbrecher", in: Wolf (ed.), *Zeigen und/oder Beweisen*, 109-131.

In order to begin unraveling the many issues at stake, I will now give a detailed description of lithographic albums. The following explanation will show how the changing layout and handling of the lithographic copies shed light on the experimental nature of the project,[227] and its dependency on the subjective experience and personal involvement of the Attorney General.

3.4. The lithographic albums in Bern[228]

The Swiss Federal Archives in Bern hold 223 salted paper prints and a lithographic album by Carl Durheim, titled *Recueil des portraits photographiques d'Heimatlosen et d'autres vagabonds* and dated 1853. The album contains 38 lithographic plates, each with six portraits, making a total of 228 images (Fig.20). This indicates that at least five of the original salted paper prints have been lost.

The organizing criterion in the album is the family relationships between the homeless people depicted. The six people per sheet are all either related in some way or have other verifiable personal relationships. The migration of the original photographic images into the lithographic medium is accompanied by a broadening of the original perspective focused on individual people. From the identification of individual people achieved through photography, the lithographic translation and the subsequent design of the album develops into a cartographic exploration of the social relationships in which the originally depicted individual people were involved. The view of the individual as a subject of surveillance is replaced by a quasi 'scientific' view of groups of people that evokes the perspective of ethnological manuals and reports of research missions rather

[227] Jäger, "Photography: a means of surveillance?".
[228] I take as an exemplar one album in Bern, although it must be said that several copies are scattered among various Swiss archives. They do not significantly differ in regard to the design and the information contained.

than prison yards and police operations. The albums reflect a network of relationships whose complexity could not be revealed by looking at the photographic images.

The following is particularly noteworthy: in the Bern Album, the personal data are indicated under each image, but nowhere is this information systematically arranged in such a way that the album users can quickly consult and then refer back to the corresponding image. A separates register is available in the Federal Archives, but there is no correlation between the protocol number of the names in the register and the respective page in the lithographic album where the picture of the corresponding person can be found. One cannot help but ask how the makers of the album envisioned its practical application. Could it be that they had, so to speak, relied fully on the "visual memory" of the policemen? How else could they have found the right picture in the album if they had no acquaintance with the person they were looking for? Should a policeman, in a future attempt at identification, simply leaf through the album until he happened to come across the right face? That the pagination of the albums was a controversial issue and that the clients were aware of the problems involved is shown by a letter from March 21, in which the head of the Justice and Police Department, Jonas Furrer, wrote to Jakob Amiet: "Returning the lithographic images, I agree that the numbering should be omitted; if possible, the numbers already present on the stone should be deleted. But it seems to me that at least the leaves should be numbered, so that when an individual is signaled, the leaf can be cited and the authorities are not forced to go through all the leaves."[229] Since we cannot infer from any existing document why Amiet or perhaps Durheim spoke out against continuous numbering, it is also difficult to explain why Furrer approved such a counterintuitive decision. It is

[229] BAR E 21, 20528. Abgabe der Bilder an die kantonalen Polizeibehörden (1852-1853).

therefore not surprising that in later editions of the *Heimatlosen* albums this decision was reversed, as we will see in the following section.

3.5. Albums from the George Eastman House in Rochester.

The difficulties associated with capturing intrinsically fleeting and moving targets, such as the homeless were, through a static means such as a lithographic album form an important premise for the exposition of two other albums that emerged from Durheim's photographs. These are two previously unknown lithographic albums preserved at the George Eastman House in Rochester, NY. Both bear the same title, *Portraits: Photographies des Heimathloses*, and both together contain the same material arranged in the same order as the Bern album: 228 lithographic images. The first album from Rochester contains lithographs of the first 180 images of the Bern album and the second contains the remaining 48.

Beyond these similarities, however, there are also significant differences between the Bern album and those from Rochester:

1) The size: the format of the Bern album is 39.5 × 50 cm. This means that the pages have to be read horizontally. The Rochester albums are much smaller: 20.3 × 17.4 × 3.8 cm and 20.3 × 18.4 × 2.5 cm respectively, half the size of the Bern album. They are intended for vertical reading (Fig.21).

2) The dating: while the first of the Rochester albums bears the same date as the Bern Album (1853), the second Rochester album is (curiously) dated 1858.

3) The page layout: the sheets in the Bern album, originally containing six illustrations, were cut apart and re-bound when the Rochester albums were produced. Thus, while the Bern album shows an entire lithographic panel of six images per page, the Rochester albums are limited to only one portrait per page.

4) The pagination: while in the Bern album only the plate number is indicated in the upper left corner of each page (and thus no individual number is assigned to the individual images), the pages in the Rochester albums do not only show the original plate number; the images are numbered consecutively here, so that each image corresponds to a unique page number.

5) The added register: unlike the Bern album, both Rochester albums have an alphabetical register of 48 and 44 pages at the end. Two pages are provided for each letter in the register, which is thus significantly emptier in the second, smaller album. It is also noteworthy that in the second album from Rochester, a series of blank pages is bound in between the pictures and the register.

6) The handwritten annotations: while the Bern album bears no signs of having been read, both Rochester albums have several handwritten annotations. Such annotations concern dates of forced deportations and arrests, as well as references to other classification systems, such as the *Signalement*. (Fig.22).

These six differences require an explanation that should precede further consideration of the development of Jakob Amiet's original project. The differences show that his project had an experimental character and that the original vision of its creator had to be adjusted in several respects during the actual implementation.

Let us first turn to the differences noted under points 1), 3), 4) and 5). The dating and the handwritten annotations will be considered in a second step. The size, page layout, pagination and the added alphabetical index indicate the need for a new organization of the visual material, which should facilitate its use by the police officers. The smaller and more easily referenced volumes, the depiction of a single person per page, and the single numerical references to the name index undoubtedly made the actual handling of these objects - in contrast to the Bern Album - less cumbersome. While the Bern album,

with its large six-image plates and its rather loose classification system based on family relationships, provides only an initial, static overview of a hitherto almost unknown population, the Rochester albums are primarily tailored to the needs of police officers. Once the ethnographic 'data' had been collected, the task here was to make it legible and applicable, while doing justice to the mobility and volatility of the homeless.

But can we plausibly assume that the Rochester albums were compiled after the Bern album? This leads us to the dating question and especially to the 'strange' dating of the second album from Rochester (1858). Since there is no documentation available to answer the dating question directly, we have test the plausibility of our hypothesis indirectly. The fact that the Rochester albums have the same plate numbers as the Bern album suggests that the six-part plates already existed before they were cut apart as sample or matrix. Since the Bern Album consists of whole plates of six, it is reasonable to assume that it already existed before the Rochester albums were assembled from the cut six plates. In addition, the question of numbering mentioned at the end of the previous section should be recalled. From Furrer's letter quoted above, it is clear that the first edition of the album was not numbered throughout. As Furrer explicitly requested, only the plate numbers were given. This corresponds exactly to the Bern album. The continuously numbered albums from Rochester must therefore be regarded as a second, revised edition. It is therefore not unreasonable to conclude that the date 1853, which both the Bernese and the first Rochester albums bear, refers mainly to the pictorial material; the Bernese album was produced immediately after the recording and the Rochester albums somewhat later.

But how can the date 1858 on the second album from Rochester be explained? Could it be that it was compiled five years later than the first? This does not seem very plausible. Why would the series of images have been abruptly broken off with image

180, concluding the first album, only to continue five years later with image 181? Since they are all included in the Bern Album of 1853, we know that all 228 pictures were available from the beginning; and we can certainly assume that the 48 homeless people were in the first album. The 48 homeless people in the second album from Rochester were just as lacking in identification as the first 180. The fact that the first album from Rochester ended with image 180 can be explained by the fact that the new page layout and smaller format already made it a rather thick volume. The presence of a second album can therefore be explained purely pragmatically, without necessarily having to conclude that there was a time gap between the two albums. The fact that in the new, smaller format of the Rochester albums, the images were divided into two volumes is consistent with the more user-friendly concept mentioned above. So why the date 1858? If we assume that both Rochester albums were made at the same time (an assumption confirmed by the continuity of the image sequence), then we can assume that the dates 1853-1858 refer rather to the 'validity' of the material contained in the albums. The blank sheets at the end of the second album were certainly intended to accommodate new images in the future, as confirmed by the contract with Durheim, which provided for a kind of monthly subscription to images that would update the police registers and supplement them with newly recorded images of homeless people. However, as we know, this never came to pass: Jakob Amiet's project to solve the 'Homeless Question' had already been finally abandoned in 1856, after his resignation from the post of Attorney General, after it had already stagnated for three years insofar as no new images of the homeless had been taken. The handwritten annotations are revealing in this context. They are found in both albums and most of them are annotated with dates that fall within the period of 1854-1858. Thus, the expected 'updating' of the pictorial materials was accomplished through the handwritten work of the policemen, who

recorded relevant movements of the people depicted and references to other identification systems. If this is so, then the date 1858 on the second Rochester album is not the year of its production: rather, it refers to the last time the policemen updated the information it contained (Fig.23). In an almost ironic way, a project motivated by a distrust of the written word and in favor of the more realistic photograph ended with an extensive recourse to written annotations, and the images were not used by the police at the time of the actual operation.

In order to understand how to locate Durheim's portraits of the non-citizen Swiss itinerants in the Swiss context, it is worth mentioning two cases contemporaneous to Durheim's commission in which police used photographic images. Points of similarity and divergence will shed light on controversial details; specifically on the date 1858.

3.6. Two Examples of Police photography in the nearby Canton Zürich

At the State Archive Canton Zurich we find a judicial procedure titled *Mordfall-Meidel*, dated 1853 and conducted after a criminal investigation into the murder of two women, Verena Meier and Josepha Bühler.[230] It includes 305 documents, including interrogations, reports and four salted paper prints. In the 1850s the expanding city of Zurich was a point of attraction for rural working-class people. Industrialization and the increase of population left behind the lower classes, which lived in desperate poverty. People from the countryside moved to the city in order to find at times occasional jobs as servants or workers in factories: the uncertainty of the economic system caused the continuous relocation of individuals who moved from one center to the other to find better fortune. As a consequence and cause of increasing malaise, social unrest led to

[230] Gasser and Suter, *Frühe Polizeifotografie im Mordfall Meidel,* 253-282.

the intensification of violence and criminality among the rural population. From the interrogation and the judicial procedure we can derive illuminating elements of the social organization and practices of a section of population, which help us to read the iconography of the photographic portraits as conceived by the police officers. Although the four photographs collected within the reports served a different function from Durheim's, they nonetheless offer interesting elements that enrich one's understanding of the early utilization of portraiture in the realm of police practice.

The case regards two women, who were moving from the countryside to Zurich in search of a job. They travelled alone, with a few belongings such as clothes and some coins. They spent the night in one of the many hostels that gave shelter to seasonal workers. They met the murderer on the periphery of the city and became the victims of sexual assault, strangulation, and robbery. The murderer of the two women was the locksmith's apprentice, Johannes Meidel, who was known to the authorities for his corrupt behavior as a shiftless, degenerate drinker and gambler. A few months later the police arrested him, and he took his life in prison, using the red scarf stolen from his last victim.

From the report it emerges not only that the man had a negative reputation; the women were also known by officers as prostitutes and concubines, and both had spent some time in houses of correction. The prosecutor who compiled the report recognized that the three individuals involved belonged to the same *milieu* of the itinerant workers, which was sadly known to the authorities for moral decay, violence and criminality, and insufficient hygene conditions.

Although it is not specifically mentioned whether the three were Swiss citizens, the itinerancy and consequently its associated decay and poverty are the common traits that the people depicted by Zurich police shared with the subjects portrayed by Carl

Durheim. The case was solved in a few weeks thanks to useful information gathered during the investigation: the judicial procedure includes the photographs, the report with interrogations and reconstruction of the days before the murder with crucial details on the development of the investigation. The photographic images enabled the investigators to gather information from common people who had been in contact with the victims and recognized them through the visualization of two details, the facial expression and the clothes.

The salted paper prints represent the victims, in two different ways. The exposures focus on the bodies with particular attention directed toward the clothes, as in both cases the retouches concentrate on their features and colors. In one case the body leans over a horizontal surface, which could iconographically be reminiscent of the traditional post-mortem picture, but instead of laying in bed, the body appears on the dissecting table (Fig.24).[231] In the other image the woman is depicted as if she were standing in front of the camera in a three-quarter pose, in a sort of in-between state (Fig.25). Despite the differences, the two versions show that retouches occurred to increase the contrast of light and shadows, to improve detail and to outline the silhouette of the subject, emphasized by the fact that the original background has been removed from the exposure, so that the setting is neutral and the observer can better focus on the crucial elements: the face and the clothes.

The attention paid to enhancing the facial features and adding color to the clothes, or the addition or elimination of details (the poke bonnet and scarf) were intended to coincide with the written description that circulated together with the images, whose aim was to help the identification. The same attention paid to coloring the dress of the laying woman could also explain the two versions of the woman

[231] See P. Munforte, "The body of ambivalence: The 'Alive, yet Dead' Portrait in the Nineteenth Century", *Re.bus* 7 (2015), 75-104.

standing with poke bonnet and scarf. The reason for the two versions and the attention paid to such details could be related to the specific habits common among the itinerant workers. In fact, from the reading of the judicial act it emerges that the itinerants generally owned two or three pieces of clothing at best, which were strongly recognizable in term of place of origin, job type or task, as they functioned as uniforms. Thus, the clothes were not a sign of social respectability as they might be in the case of bourgeoisie self-representation (generally speaking the choice of dressing up for the time in the photographer's studio implies self-representation according to a system of values where elements such as clothing project onto the picture a symbolic reading). The investigative acts of the murder case just presented show that in the specific context of judicial photography and particularly in regard to the itinerants the description of clothing was treated with the same attention as the physiognomic features of the gaze. The portraits attempted to show details with verisimilitude to catch the attention of the observer and to awaken his/her visual memory.

The report states that the written description of the women's appearances has been published on the Bremgarten *Tagblatt*. The police published further announcements in the Zurich *Tageszeitungen* in order to attract the attention of common people in the hope of finding someone who could recognize the women, while the photographs of the bodies were displayed in the police offices, for example in Brugg. The first aim was to identify the bodies, and then to reconstruct what happened through the collection of details that emerged from the interrogation of witnesses and acquaintances. The report follows that officers conducted further search in hostels, where itinerants often found a place to spend the night and a warm meal returning from daily domestic services.

As was the case in Canton Bern, the developing judicial institutions pragmatically recognized the necessity of images in order to overcome the ineffectiveness of the verbal transcriptions, for two reasons that the two case studies of Bern and Zurich make explicit in two different ways.[232]

If the Police Department of Bern and the Federal Council agreed that the practice of photographing the non-citizen itinerants aimed at remediating the difficulties with ascertaining their identities, the major inconveniences regard the verification of the identities they (the itinerants) had to declare in the context of controls conducted by the cantonal police.[233] The itinerants felt revealed by the act of being photographed, so the photographic ritual performs two functions: symbolically speaking, to stay still in front of the camera, seated in a bourgeois pose, was antithetical to their way of life; the camera would not only reveal but also fix their features permanently. "The pictures were recognized by the vagabonds themselves."[234] As the report of the Swiss Federal Council to the High Federal Assembly on its management in 1852 states, the *Heimatlose* look at the photographs and they recognize themselves in the pictures.

The murder case in Zurich shows that the police needed to overcome a further difficulty, which was related to the disparity of means of communication between institutions and the lower strata of society, who was too often involved in such violent circumstances. Officers needed to reach the lower classes in order to gather information: the police had to deal with people with low or absent degrees of literacy in order to find

[232] Parallel to the positive attitude toward the use of images, official documents often show also hesitation as the subject was accused to make grimaces in order to alter the evidence of individual features in front of the camera.

[233] *Landjäger*: see the historical development of Zurich police corps in M. Suter, *Kantonspolizei Zürich 1804-2004* (Zürich: Kantonspolizei Zürich und Staatsarchiv des Kantons Zürich, 2004). Available online: https://www.zh.ch/content/dam/zhweb/bilder-dokumente/themen/politik-staat/recherche-im-staatsarchiv/z%C3%BCrcher-geschichte/kantonspolizei_zh.pdf

[234] "Die Bilder werden von den Heimatlosen selbst erkannt." E 21, 13002 Jahresberichte des Generalanwaltes, Bd. 1-5 (1852-1856). *Bundesblatt Nr.31 von Juli 1853, Bericht des schweizerischen Bundesrates an die hohe Bundesversammlung über seine Geschäftsführung im Jahr 1852*. BB I 1853 II 665, 718.

important clues.[235] Police relied often on informers, who belonged to the same section of the population as the wanted person. If itinerants could not understand written information, they could nevertheless respond to the immediacy of the visual communication: they responded to the similitude between the picture and their own experience, thus making the picture a "method of identification based on everyday experience." [236] The visual experience of common people resonated with the photographic exposure for the immediate similitude; the presence of color characterizes the subject and helps to situate it geographically, as a sign of local belonging and place of origin.[237]

The issue of color and the awareness of the lack of it in the early publicly known photographic attempts, were immediately recognized as significant limitations by experts in the field as well as by the general public and the first photographers' clients[238] (often described with the expression 'dead-pallor' as to underline the grey appearance of the human face on the daguerrotype plate). The literature on the early history of photography, too, often overlooked that in the eye of the nineteenth-century observers the absence of color was perceived as a failure of verisimilitude of the visual representation. In the context of the Swiss visual culture of the first half of the

[235] "Ich kann doch nur oberflächlich angeben, daß alles in den letzten acht bis zehn Jahren geschähe. Wenn man nicht schreiben und lesen kann, so kümmert sich nicht um die Zeitrechnung; unsereins hält am meisten darauf sicher zu sein." Quoted in Meier and Wolfensberger, *Eine Heimat und doch keine,* 9-10.
[236] Jäger, "Photography: a means of surveillance?", 27; See also J. Jäger, "Fotografie als historisches Dokument", *Fotogeschichte* 32/124 (2012), 13-18; M. Knauer and J. Jäger (eds.), *Bilder als historische Quellen? Dimension der Debatten um historische Bildforschung* (München: Wilhelm Fink, 2009).
[237] "Die Kleidung war orts-, berufs-, und standesspezifisch stark differenziert (und somit ein wichtigstes polizeiliches Fahndungsmittel). Diese Gesellen erkannte man seinem Äußern nach einen Schlosser oder Mechanisten, jene Magd stammte aus der Stadt und nicht vom Land. Die Kleider der getöteten Verena Meier ließen auf das Luzernische oder Aarganische schließen. Die als Sachverständige befragte Schneiderin Susanna Schlatter meinte, der Rock verrate eine Herkunft aus dem reformierten Aargau, der *Tschopen* aber gehörte nicht dazu (sei eher aus dem Badischen oder Zürcher Gegend), die übrigen Kleider der Verena Meier seien ein "zusammengelesenes Geschäft "". Gasser and Suter, *Frühe Polizeifotografie im Mordfall Meidel,* 266.
[238] "Such a picture does not say much, you ought to have yourself painted, so the color of your eyes can be seen and your coiffure with its colored ribbons … then you can make a fine impression." Quoted in R. Perret, "Early Daguerreotypists in Zurich: From fun-fairs to trade shows", *History of Photography* 22/3 (1998), 273-277, here 275.

nineteenth century, and more specifically in the field of graphic production in the Canton Bern, color was intended as an element that belongs to the technique as well as to the 'aesthetics' of the image, and it was a subject of dispute in very different fields of the production and utilizing of images.[239]

Another calotype then depicts the murderer lying dead on the dissecting table. This shot is interesting because of its function within the judicial act. As previously said, the investigation led successfully to the identification of Johannes Meidel as the offender in both murders thanks to information obtained through the circulation of announcements in newspapers and the utilization of the photographic prints. The function of the present picture though, differs from the one previously discussed. While the photographing of the victims aimed to *show* the physical appearances of two individuals, whose identity was originally unknown, the murder's portrait *proves* that the case was definitively 'solved', pending the final verdict on the prisoner's punishment.

The importance of the 'Meidel murder case' is that it was the first judicial procedure in Canton Zürich which included a court and a jury. This aspect marks a historical development of the institution and makes the presence of the photographic material further interesting if we consider a double perspective: the overlapping of two functions of the photographic material (to show and to demonstrate) belongs to the developing process of professionalization and specialization underway in the nineteenth century and which touched very different aspects of society, such as judicial institutions and the penal system, as well as professions like draftsmen or photographers (and more generally speaking the category of 'image-maker') .[240]

[239] As an example of the ongoing debate on the relation between technique and aesthetic in the reproduction of topographic maps that involved directly Durheim's father, see Gugerli and Speich, *Topografien der Nation.*

[240] Burke, *A social history of knowledge II.*

Following the studies on social history conducted by Peter Burke, the constitution of bodies of knowledge is a process of acquiring information considered to be 'raw' material, which goes hand in hands with "the coexistence and interaction of trends in opposite directions."[241] The analysis of the information implies elaboration and organization in order to construct a body of knowledge. The victims' pictures provided details important to the collection of 'raw' information, while the albums previously described show the endeavor to reshape the particulars providing different criteria for reading the facts. The albums of criminal galleries were an attempt at elaborating on information in order to constitute a body of knowledge, where, to quote Jeger Jäger "ideally the photographic portraits served as a part of the offender's biography and as a mechanism to extract as much information about them as possible after apprehension. […] In a way the portraits (of the criminals) represent the criminal 'elite' as the authorities perceived them according to the threat they were believe to pose to society".[242] An example of the juxtaposition of written biography and picture is the *Zürcherische Sammlung photographischer Bilder von Gewohnheitsverbrechern und Landstreichern*. It is a crystal-clear example of the gathering of information about "professional and renowned" criminals, where image and text renders the aforementioned quote visually clear. The volumes published between 1855 and 1892 and collected at the National Museum in Zürich and at the State Archive Canton Zürich present some similarities and differences vis-à-vis Carl Durheim's albums preserved in Rochester.

The similarities are:

1) the iconography: individuals are portrayed in a three-quarter pose;

[241] P. Burke, "Loss and Gain: The Social History of Knowledge, 1750-2000", lecture held at Birkbeck College, University of London, on 9th November 2010. Available online: https://backdoorbroadcasting.net/2010/11/peter-burke-loss-and-gain-the-social-history-of-knowledge-1750-2000/

[242] Jäger, "Photography: a means of surveillance?", 27.

2) some of the portrayed men wear a *Bauernkütte* over their regular clothes;
3) No children are portrayed;
4) Every portrait is numbered;
5) There is one portrait per page;

The differences are:

1) The drawing's lines are more sharply defined and overall the images are more painterly;
2) Next to every portrait there is a detailed biography of the depicted individual;
3) At the end of the volume there is an index with portrait numbers and names.

The first volume of the "*Zürcherische Sammlung photographischer Bilder von Gewohnheitsverbrechern und Landstreichern*" was published in 1855. As the preface states, the purpose of the collection was: "*to acquaint police personnel gradually with our dangerous criminals and the characteristics of their traits as well as their actions.*"[243] The pictures, then, meant to be *memory aids* for police officers, in order to help them identify criminals and tell them apart from decent citizens. Notably, the title of this publication speaks explicitly of photographic images, even though the pictures found in the book are lithographs. Unfortunately, documentation has yet to be found on the photographer who undertook this commission and if he/she was in contact with or had any knowledge of Carl Durheim's work.

Both the "*Zürcherische Sammlung photographischer Bilder von Gewohnheitsverbrechern und Landstreichern*" and the judicial process of the *Mordfall Meidel* offer details on the *milieu* where the crimes happened, which resonates with the social context that Durheim's images fragmentally display. The visual material, which is to say the calotypes and their retouches as well as the lithographic reproductions

[243] Suter, *Kantonspolizei Zürich 1804-2004*, 82.

gathered in albums, makes evident that the Swiss institution embraced photography as a means of visualization, rather than of evidence. The process of visualization encompasses the gathering of information, the ordering of it and the displaying of a 'rudimentary' body of knowledge in light of specific utilization but detached from systematic sciences. Durheim's depiction of the non-citizen itinerants shares this intention of visualizing and collecting a basic form of knowledge.[244] The Zurich collection represents important archival material that not only highlight that images were an aid to memory, as Jäger claims and I have amply supported; the Zurich material is also relevant to the question of dating the Rochester album that I had tried to explain earlier. The formation of the Zurich volumes covers a time window which overlaps with the dating of the Rocherster album: the first volume is published in 1855 and the last one in 1861. This time span allows us to continue our speculation; police organization may have subjected the Rochester album, dated 1853-1858, to a change of purpose in light of general developments and in particular in the neighboring Canton Zurich. Although no evidence has yet been found, the similarities in design may indicate that the visual material produced by Durheim may have been considered valid for reuse, although it completely lacks the narration of the biography. Even if the naturalization project had itself imploded and Amiet had withdrawn from the scene, the material and information gathered should not have been ignored by those who remained interested in supervising a particular group of socially marginal people. The importance of the Zurich albums and the judicial procedure of the Meidel case is twofold: it represents an important source to study the early use of paper photography in the service of police officers and investigative actions devoted to the picturing of individual identity

[244] As Herta Wolf writes, "...ist die Entdeckung der Fotografie der Neuorganisation der Archiv zeitgleich. Datiert man aber wie Sekula den Einsatz der Fotografie als Vermessungs- und Aufzeichnungsinstrumentar um fünfzig Jahre später, unterschätzt man die durch die Erfindung des Mediums 'Fotografie' veränderten Diskursformen und somit Organisationsformen von Wissen." Wolf, "Das Denkmälerarchiv Fotografie", 372.

belonging to the same *milieu*.[245] The many details that emerge in regard to the customs and living conditions of a cross-section of Swiss society are invaluable for a reflection that goes beyond portraiture and the use of photography. From the point of view of the process of gathering information and the constitution of a body of knowledge, such visual material prompts reflection on the role played by the growing 'ubiquity' of the photographic image as a developing media intended for the 'masses', characterized in this context by general 'illiteracy'.

"Images are always concrete and imprint themselves on memory as patterns"[246]: the constitution and repetition of specific patterns will be discussed at length in the next chapter.

[245] "Bilder sind in dem Diskurs über Verbrechen, Verbrecher und Sichtbarkeiten außerordentlich wichtige Elemente. Anders als Texte und Berichte über das Aussehen und den Habitus von Delinquenten sind Bilder stets konkret und prägen sich dem Gedächtnis als Muster ein. […] Visuelle Darstellungen aktualisieren das Gemeinte und suggerieren intersubjektive Überprüfbarkeit." Jäger, "Vom Gesicht des Verbrechens und vom Verschwinden der Verbrecher", 111.
[246] *Ibid*. 110-111.

Chapter IV.

"The collection promises to be thoroughly characteristic and interesting"[247]

In the previous chapter I have demonstrated that in the 1840s and 1850s photographic portraits were used in Switzerland as a memory aid to help police officers to find wanted people or to identify both offenders and victims. In so doing I have also discussed how to consider early police photography as evidence. In the following paragraph I will demonstrate how far the Foucaultian narrative can be used to understand Durheim's portraits of the itinerants. The theme of observation-domination fits only partially. I would say that parallel to such attempt (of controlling) Durheim's pictures point to a more general attitude of the Swiss elite. Such attitude regards the search for the visualization of an anthropological narrative centred on the question of the origin and the past of Swiss identity. As said, juridical institutions developed after 1870s[248] and in Durheim's case the group of people under investigation included a section of itinerant population (the Jenisch) with its own habits and customs (certainly stigmatized and judged illegitimate) and not just criminals. This last consideration means also that the object of study lends itself to an ethnographical approach. For this reason, when it comes to describing the iconography of the portraits, Durheim's photographs offer a unique socio-cultural perspective on their ideological significance to the mid-nineteenth century attempt to visualize a Swiss national identity. The portrait of Gottfried Fayble with the mountain landscape on the background indicates a break, or an anomaly to use Ginzburg's expression: instead of the body isolated and a narrow space in a repetitive pattern -as the Foucaultian narrative would present it-, we glimpse a topographical space. After commenting on the iconography of several example

[247] BAR E 21, 205281. Verschiedene Korrespondenzen zu den Photographischen Bildern der Heimatlosen (1852–1853).
[248] Tagg, *The Burden of Representation*, 60.

images, I will highlight the limit beyond which the Foucaultian paradigm does not account for the complexity of the visual material, and I will present the symbolic meaning of the topographical space with an eye on the anthropological discourse of the time.

In what follows I concentrate on the photographic prints collected at the Swiss Federal Archive in Bern. As I discussed at length in the previous chapter, I assigned two different functions to photographs and lithographic reproductions. In fact, lithographic reproductions are not just copies, but rather they are true re-elaborations of data that exceed and sometimes modify the information provided by the photographic matrix. The organization of the pages, the attention to details, the captions under each portrait, and the different dating all contribute to the construction of a body of knowledge quite different from what emerges when looking at each individual photographic print.

In order to understand the different functions of the album and the single salted print devoted to the depiction of one individual per exposure, I borrow the metaphor of 'raw' and 'cooked' to recall the distinction between gathering pieces of information and the systematic organization of knowledge introduced in anthropology by Levi-Strauss and evoked by the historian Peter Burke.[249] This distinction illuminates the two diverse utilizations and modes of display of the photographic print and the lithographic album from the standpoint of the commissioner Jakob Amiet, bearing in mind his institutional role.[250] It is also important to remark that the collection of portraits of the itinerants reveal different functions depending on the viewer, and whether the viewer looks at the photographs or at the lithographic albums.

[249] Burke, *A social History of knowledge,* 2.
[250] Jakob Amiet was in fact the first Federal Prosecutor to be appointed by the newly formed Federal Council, and his office remained vacant after his resignation in 1856 until 1889. Meier and Wolfensberger, 1998, 476-477.

In this specific context, the photographic shot functions as 'raw material', i.e., a piece of information, which provides a depiction of the visage and the main features of the individual; with the aid of the frame and the haptic nature of the photographic impression the viewer enters into a realistic world. On the other hand, the album shows an attempt to create a cohesive system, where information has been ordered and redundant elements, such as the physical space and the frame, have been eliminated in order to display a 'processed' and 'streamlined' body of knowledge. During the interrogation protocols officers outlined the internal family relations and the individual's past. In the eye of the Federal Prosecutor, who personally followed every step of the entire campaign,[251] the album functions both as a report of the investigative operation and a promising expression of a potential community. Although the album was thought to serve as a memory aid for police officers at the canton's border, it shows in-between elements that resonate both with the attempt to collect a body of processed knowledge and with the aspiration of nourishing national ideals. The elements are: 1) the clothing the itinerants wear at the moment of the photographic session and 2) the judgement expressed by the federal commission who supervised the operation.

4.1 Clothing

The national costume (that is, the characteristic clothes of people living in a specific territory) distinguish themselves from historical clothing as the former are subject to modes and trends. Traditional costumes developed during the 18th century as a manifestation of a self-aware definition of the peasant's identity. At the end of the French Revolution equal rights were promulgated for rural populations, and social and political changes pushed the farming community to reflect on their social position,

[251] Meier and Wolfensberger, *"*Furchen und Runzeln wegschaffen*",* 147-155.

which should have taken distance from the other social classes. This attitude, which can be seen as an awakening of social consciousness, is reflected in the search for recognizable outer "marks" or "signs" of social identity, and clothing fulfilled this need. The traditional Swiss costume did not adhere to a particular style, but was influenced (with some delay and not always unconditionally) by the fashion trends of the city dwellers whose style reference was the nobility and aristocracy. Before the 18th century the peasants' costumes were not characterized so much by style or form, but rather the utilization of particular textiles, so that they were distinguished through raw material quality. Whereas during the 16th and 17th century the Spanish golden age influenced European fashion, in the 18th century fashion was predominantly French-influenced. The popular costumes of the Swiss peasants derive from the stiffening of the city fashions as well as from original and independent elements. Two different tendencies are recognizable in the development of the costume: 1) toward change in order to avoid becoming outdated, and 2) toward valuing the familiar and intimate, in order to preserve characteristic elements. The prevalence of a specific costume does not have to do solely with political borders, but with geographical region and circumstances. The development and flourishing of the Swiss costume reached its peak between 1780 and 1830, when a standardized basic form came to express belonging to a social community. [252] It is not by chance that this time span coincides with deep intellectual reflections on the making of Switzerland into a modern State.

I argue that the iconography is the formal element, which points our attention to the ideological significance of the operation, and specifically the attention paid to

[252] B. Dieterich, "Die Trachtendarstellung in der Druckgrafik des 19.Jahrhundert", in: A. B. Chadour-Sampson, B. Dieterich, Y. Jolidon and H. Bücher-Mattmann (eds.), *Wie us em Truckli Trachtenbilder & Deli in der Sammlung Dr. Edmund Müller* (Beromünster: Helyas-Verlag, 2002), 6-29; A. Dannacher, "Phantasie und Realität in Trachtendarstellung", in: M. Fischer and M. Meyer (eds.), *Tour de Swiss: Schweizer Kleinmeister aus der Sammlung Berhard Neher* (München: Hirmer, 2017), 199-218.

clothing. This attention does not manifest obviously but rather subtly, and I think this is the reason why it has been overlooked. As noted, the portrait composition follows the visual economy of the mid-nineteenth century: the subject is depicted sitting in a three-quarter pose, often next to a humble table, on which his or her arm leans, or a hat is loosely abandoned. People often have with them objects that function as attributes and which sometimes refer to an occupation: the subjects hold objects that vary from walking sticks to wicker baskets, handkerchiefs, a bird cage, and even a pipe. Such variety also indicates the multifarious backgrounds of poverty that caused the homelessness of the subjects. The mother holds her baby on her lap, and a young man keeps his white dog next to his knees (Fig.26).

The clothes are of humble make, but still proper, and the images- although sober- are rich in details. Women wear smocked dresses, and on the skirts floral patterns can be seen when they are not covered by aprons; white shirts are often completed by a shawl, sometimes a bonnet or headdress appears on neatly combed hair. Men often wear white overalls over everyday dress (Fig.27).

The picture is thought to make the body of the subject stand out from a generic background. The body depicted stands out like a silhouette: painstaking post-production work has been carried out to erase any trace of the environment. Only two prints out of 220 show the brick wall of the prison courtyard. In some pictures, probably those taken at the end of 1853, one can conjecture that the photographer placed a white backdrop (Fig.28), or even took the picture in his atelier. It is interesting to compare a portrait of one of the *Heimatlose* with one taken in Durheim's studio and note the similarities. (Fig.29-30)

Unfortunately the negatives are lost, but one can rightly conjecture that the post-production regards the treatment of the space of the negative: as it with early landscape

photography, masking with color and paper stencils was the easiest technique used on the negatives from the very first years of photography to compensate for the imperfections of the background and most commonly of the sky. The most widespread practice was to mask off the background by covering the area (in this case the body of the subject) that the photographer wanted to 'clean', with black paint or with paper. If one looks close at the contour of the figure, one can clearly see an outline (Fig. 31). The masking technique resulted in the background being printed as a homogeneous surface in the positive print.[253]

If we think about the operation from a sociological standpoint, the photographing of the prisoners in the courtyard of the house of correction unexpectedly mimics a ritual of initiation, which accompanies the penitent in the process of abandoning past conditions of wrong behaviour and in clothing oneself in a new morality, which was ensured through the association of one's identity with labour and geographical location.[254] The peasant costume is designed to become the *de facto* reality. The whole process of taking pictures dressed as peasants and not as homeless people highlights one of the many paradoxes regarding the attempt to gather information and display a body of knowledge. The visual representation of the individual's true identity conflicts, in fact, with a prearranged appearance set forth in front of the camera: from the standpoint of the aesthetic choices, these portraits envision a social status of the subjects that do not pertain yet to their reality. As already pointed out: "The vagabonds themselves recognize the pictures."[255] This means that the itinerant

[253] H. Gernsheim, *Geschichte der Photographie, die ersten hundert Jahre* (Berlin: Propyläen, 1983), 318; B. Lavédrine, *Photographs of the past. Process and Preservation* (Los Angeles: Getty Conservation Institute 2009), 156-164; D. Keultjes (2018), *Praktiken und Diskursivierung der fotografischen Retusche von 1839-1900*. PhD Dissertation, (Universität zu Köln 2018), 117-121.

[254] The objects chosen for the exposure are important attributes as they refer to the person's working activity.

[255] "Die Bilder werden von den Heimatlosen selbst erkannt." Swiss Federal Archive, Bundesblatt Nr31 von E 21, 13002 Jahresberichte des Generalanwaltes, Bd. 1-5 (1852-1856). *Bundesblatt Nr.31 von Juli*

is not only the subject depicted, but she/he is also the first intended beholder of their own image. The photographic image is used for its power to seduce the subject-beholder, both for its process (staying still in front of the camera) and for its result, which "caused the highest admiration".[256]

The photographic image becomes a conveyor of ideological significance, a source of aesthetic and egoistic pleasure, as it stirs the desire to belong to an imagined community through a process of self-identification.[257] The beholder, who first benefits from the recording function of the photographic picture, is the subject portrayed, who takes part in the official establishment of her/his projected identity. In this sense, Durheim's portraits of the non-citizen itinerants are identification pictures insofar as the image establishes the identity of the individual by projecting her/his belonging to a desirable social body; the subject identifies himself in an outward identity objectified by the photographic image.

Interestingly, in the eye of the institutions the mechanical procedure did not guarantee, per se, a successful reproduction of reality when translated into an image. The authorities did not trust the photographic medium alone as a guarantee for the true appearance of the subject, as the contract specified: Durheim himself would "guarantee the resemblance such that Mr Amiet… finds [them] sufficiently recognizable."[258]

(Fig.32a-b)

«Vertrag
zwischen
Herrn J. Amiet, Eidgen. Generalanwalt, Namens der schweizerischen Bundesbehörde,

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1853, Bericht des schweizerischen Bundesrates an die hohe Bundesversammlung über seine Geschäftsführung im Jahr 1852. BB I 1853 II 665, 718.

[256] Meier and Wolfensberger, "Carl Durheims Fahndungsfotografien", in: Gasser, Meier, and Wolfensberger (eds.), *Wider das Leugnen und Verstellen*, 16.

[257] B, Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso Books, 1983).

[258] BAR E21, 20528. Verschiedene Korrespondenzen zu den Photographischen Bilder der Heimatlosen (1852-1853).

einerseits, und
Herrn Durheim, Lithograph und Photograph in Bern
anderseits.
§1.
Herr Durheim übernimmt es, die in Untersuchung stehenden Heimathlosen in ganzer sitzender
Figur zu photographiren, die Bilder auf Stein ziehen zu laßen, und die verlangte Zahl von Abdrücken zu liefern.
§2.
Herr Amiet garantiert den Auftrag zu wenigstens 100 (Hundert) Bildern.
§3.
Die Preise werden folgendermaßen festgesetzt:
Fr. 3 – für die Photographie eines Bildes.
Fr. 2,50 für deßen Zeichnung auf Stein
Fr. 1 – für die Unterschrift sammt Zusätzen, und 70 ct. für die bloßen Namen.
[6,50 nachtr. mit Bleistift ergänzt] (wenn zu denselben allfällig keine Zusätze gesetzt würden)
Fr. 4 – für Hundert Abdrücke eines Blattes von 6 Köpfen mit Inbegriff des Papiers.
§4.
Herr Durheim garantiert die Ähnlichkeit in der Weise, daß Herr Amiet berechtigt ist, Bilder, die er
nicht für hinreichend erkennbar hält, zurückzuweisen und neu zu verlangen.
§5.
Die photographierten Originalien sind dem Herrn Amiet abzugeben; ~~und das ausschließliche Verlagsrecht der Lithographierten Exemplare gehört dem Hohen Bundesrathe der schweizerischen Eidgenossenschaft, welcher die Auflage bestimmen wird~~.
Bern den 5ten November 1852.

der Generalanwalt
der schweizerischen Eidgenossenschaft
gez. J. Amiet.

Obige Bestimmung wurde durchgestrichen
Justiz. u. Poldep. gez. [Dr. Furrer]

Der Photograph:
gez. C. Durheim»[259]

[259] "Contract between Mr. J. Amiet, Confeder. Advocate General, in the name of the Swiss Federal Agency on the one hand, and Mr. Durheim, lithographer and photographer in Bern on the other hand.
§1. Mr. Durheim will take full-length, seated photographs of the *Heimathlosen* under investigation, draw them on stone, and deliver the required number of prints.§2. Mr. Amiet guarantees the order of at least 100 (one hundred) pictures.
§3. The prices are regulated as follows:
Fr. 3 - for the exposure of one picture
Fr. 2,50 for its drawing on stone
Fr. 1 - for the caption including supplements, and 70 ct. for only the names
[6,50 added in pencil] (if no additions were made to the same)
Fr. 4 - for one hundred impressions of a sheet of 6 heads on highest-quality paper.
§4. Mr. Durheim guarantees the resemblance such that Mr. Amiet is entitled to reject images that he [Amiet] does not find sufficiently recognizable and to require new ones.
§5. The originals shall be delivered to Mr. Amiet; and the exclusive publishing rights of the lithographic copies belongs to the High Federal Council of the Swiss Confederation, which will determine the edition.

If on one hand the photographic image accounts for the inadequacy of words in regard to the depiction of individual characteristics such as the facial features, on the other hand the photographic record abets the concealment of the actual body. The artificiality of the subjects' attire seemingly contradicts the stated purpose of the images, i.e., identification. If we understand identification as the act of associating a certain body with a certain name, and assume that the portraiture should aid in the identification process, especially in the case of recidivism, it is striking that the representation in these images is far from precise and authentic. The depiction of the individuals is not a neutral description. Rather, these images possess a twofold character: (1) they aim to portray a physical body, but (2) the clothed body under scrutiny disguises the individual by simulating a social status that she/he does not actually possess (at least, not yet). This apparent discrepancy between *de facto* social status and projected social status requires further inquiry, since it is a reflection of the discrepancy between different techniques of image production (photography and drawing) and the different expectations for each. It is in fact the captioned lithographic copy that captures these aspects (generalities, social composure and respectability). Does the coexistence of opposite intentions (identification and re-socialization) within the single image simply represent a conflict?

Bern, November 5, 1852.
the Advocate General
of the Swiss Confederation
Signed J. Amiet.
The above provision was crossed out
Justiz. u. Police Dep. Signed [Dr. Furrer]
The photographer:
Signed C. Durheim"
BAR E 21, 20528. Vertrag. Verschiedene Korrespondenzen zu den Photographischen Bilder der Heimatlosen.

Does the triad body-power-surveillance[260] fully explain Durheim's portraits of the itinerants?

In order to respond to this question, I will examine the portraits within the theoretical frame extensively presented by Michel Foucault in in a series of interviews centered on the relationship between power and knowledge. I select and summarize two main features which the author uses to characterize power and its effects on society, and after commenting on them, I will show the limits of the Foucauldian paradigm as a way of understanding Durheim's portraits.

The following definitions of power prove to be beneficial to a partial reading of the iconography of Durheim's portraits:

1. "Power is productive, it produces reality; it produces domains of objects and rituals of truth."[261]
2. "Power is a productive network, which runs through the whole social body, thus producing effects at the level of desire. […] Power itself creates and causes to emerge new objects of knowledge and accumulates new bodies of information."[262]

With the expression 'micro-physics of power' Foucault wants to explain the nature and the effect of power within society: taking as a starting point for his analysis the historical and political contingencies of 18th-century France, when the monarchy leaves the field of government and is replaced by the modern form of nation states based on equal rights, he examines power at the micro-level of the body of society as it reveals itself within social relation. Power operates in society within a system of relations, or as

[260] With the expression 'triad' I refer to the narrative that consider the technology of photography as one of the manifestations of the instrumental power of the state, which dominates society as a mean of surveillance thanks to the control of the bodies.
[261] M. Foucault, *Power/Knowledge: selected interviews and other writings 1972/1977* (New York: Vintage 1972), 174.
[262] *Ibid.,* 54.

a mechanism at the level of the body of individuals, as is extensively analyzed in 'Discipline and Punish' (1975). Moreover, power is described as an active form of production; Foucault argues that the body of the individual as well as the body of society represents the means through which power actively produces 'knowledge' or 'discourses of truth'.

What is thus evident with Durheim's portraits is that the body is placed at the center of the discourse, because it is through the body that power reaches what is beyond it, which is the sphere of desire, the aspiration of belonging to a wealthier social community. The fact that Durheim's portraits do not concentrate only on the face, its expression and its features, is what differentiates them from the use of photographic portraiture in medical photography. The itinerants' representations show that the prime interest lies in the whole body and in its corporeity; in the photographic documentation of (supposed) mental patients and criminals the attention is focused on the physiognomy of the face and the visual manifestation of "internal derangement." [263] Durheim's pictures do not show insanity; on the contrary, the clothing and the formal composition aims to hide what is judged to be immoral. Foucault describes the body of the convicted, observing that with the end of the monarch's absolute power, bodies are no longer touched:[264] in this passage the philosopher refers to the French sovereign's power of life and death over his subjects. Since the sixteenth century the Swiss authorities resorted to torture and used to mark the bodies of nomads, vagabonds and criminals to emphasize their marginalization from the rest of society, and to help identify them once captured. Conversely, Durheim's images testify how the attention of the Swiss

[263] J. Tagg, *The Burden of Representation,* 78. In regard to the topic of physiognomy see S. Frey, "Lavater, Lichtenberg and the suggestive power of the human face", in: E. Shookman (ed.), *The face of physiognomy: interdisciplinary approaches to Johann Caspar Lavater* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), 64-103, here 70.

[264] "One no longer touched the body, or at least as little as possible, and then only to reach something other than the body itself." M. Foucault, *Discipline and punish: the Birth of the Prison* (New York: Vintage, 1975), 11.

institutions focuses not on the detection of crime, but on the projection on them of a normative statement: in fact, the itinerants pose in front of the camera as non-migratory citizens, and a series of norms and shared values are projected onto the itinerants' bodies. In this sense, Amiet – and the institution of power he embodies- does not scrutinize the itinerants' bodies (through their portraits) in order to issue a moral judgment on an insane condition. Amiet does not even use the images as proof of scientific conclusions, unlike photographic documentation of scientific studies that aimed at producing the visualization of data and worked as proof of scientific statements.[265]

The body works as a threshold: the body as depicted in Durheim's photographs works as the threshold between the individual and her/his consciousness of belonging to a particular social milieu. The photograph as object can also be considered a body, with a similar function as a threshold. The single photographic portrait has a similar destiny to that of the single body of the itinerant: the single photographic portrait acquires its full meaning the moment it is juxtaposed with other portraits, that is, when it is included in a collection, in an archive. Furthermore, the body -or the photographic object- does not consist only of the external appearance, but must be considered as the intermediary between two realities: through the surface of the body the interaction between the individual and the environment, in which the body moves, takes place. The peasant constitutes the antitype of the traveler. The peasant is a sedentary man/woman, who has a strong connection to the land, because of the mix of labor and tradition handed down from father to son.[266] Many of the itinerants appear in the photographs in peasant guise (*Bauernkutten*) with their normal clothing discernible beneath their peasant vests. The

[265] See H. Diamond, "On the Application of Photography to the Physiognomic and Mental Phenomena of Insanity", Proceedings of the Royal Society of London 8 (1857), 117; G. Didi-Huberman, *Invention of Hysteria: Charcot and the Photographic Iconography of the Salpêtrière* (Cambridge MA: MIT Press, 2003).
[266] See O. Zimmer, *A Contested Nation.*

Advocate General bought information from a number of vagrants through recurring gifts of clothing and food, and paid witness fees for useful testimony. Amiet wrote to the attorney's office that it was necessary to procure clothing for the homeless in detention, because "most of whom arrived here wrapped in miserable rags and whose children were usually half-naked."[267]

The artificiality of the clothes and the poses mimics the ritual of an initiation ceremony which accompanies the repentant in the process of abandoning past conditions of wrong behavior and clothing oneself in a new morality, which is ensured through labor and the belonging to an established community. Objects such as baskets, in the case of women, are attributes that remind one of the identification of the individual with their occupation, which is to say their position in society.

For the moment the depiction of the vagabond works as evidence in a very general sense: evidence, in its literal meaning, 'brings to the attention something obvious to the eyes and minds of the beholder' (from the Oxford English Dictionary). I have already pointed out the tension between the idealization of models of representation and the projection of ideals presented by the portrayal of the Bern landscape view in Möllinger's album (Chapter II). I then introduced two functions of portraiture: identification and projection (Chapter III). Both processes apply to two different viewers: in the specific case of the collection of portraits of non-citizen itinerants, I argued that both Amiet (who embodies the federal institution) and the depicted subject are intended viewers of the pictures. In the eyes of Amiet the photographic portraits work as identification pictures in the more general sense, although it must be remembered that Amiet knew most of the vagabonds by name and

[267] Meier and Wolfensberger, *Eine Heimat und doch keine,* 478.

reputation, since he was involved in the search for recidivists. In the eyes of the itinerant, these identification pictures mean that he/she was asked to affirm the correctness of the representation. In the eyes of Amiet projection means to invest the people portrayed with his ideals, and this was physically done by dressing them up as peasants. In the eyes of the itinerant, projection means to be subjected to a geographical and social relocation.

The image works as moral persuader as well as evidence in the eyes of the vagabond. In this context, the report reveals that 'the technology of power' that Foucault called 'discipline' produces images that have 'effects at the level of desire' on the subject portrayed. Some of the vagabonds in fact desired to have their pictures taken, although as a consequence they can no longer lie about their identity. This means that the desire instilled through the use of images activates the "soul" and works as a type of discipline to change their morality. At this point we can take a double perspective on the use of the calotype prints, as either an example of the "positive" product of power within its "technological take-off";[268] or consider the images themselves as a product that show a prearranged reality, which allows the circulation of a body of knowledge. The Foucaultian paradigm lends itself to explaining the use of the photographic portrait as a means of control and the reasons why the appearances of the identification portrait are very similar to those of the studio portrait. The nineteenth-century is characterized by a continuous arrangement of bodies, which "codified and normalized the observer within rigidly defined systems of visual consumption."[269] The photographic portrait functions as a means of control in the hands of the police, who were involved in the search for wanted *Heimatlose*. By contrast, most of the itinerants in Swiss territory resisted a change in their lifestyle and refused to adapt to bourgeois norms. In this context,

[268] M. Foucault, *Power/Knowledge*, 119.
[269] J. Crary, *Techniques of the Observer*, 18.

photographic technology and the printed photograph can be read as a sort of panopticon, where the portrayed subject is scrutinized through the camera. The person portrayed (the prisoner) has no access to the spaces where her/his portrait is stored (the police station), and unknown people (the institution/the police officer) that she/he cannot see scrutinize her/his portrait. The itinerants felt revealed by the act of being photographed: symbolically speaking, to sit in front of the camera, posing like a member of the bourgeoisie, was antithetical to their way of living, yet the camera would fix and reveal their features permanently. As explained in the previous chapter, the *Heimatlose* had access to their photographs once they were asked to recognize themselves in the pictures. In this sense this group of photographs performs the function of a document, because it records the very voice of the subjects, who admit to identifying themselves in the image. At the same time, the institution, embodied by Jacob Amiet, had projected on them a model of representation, a pattern expressed by the iconography of the studio portrait, which reflects the ideals they ought to strive for. If we return to the content of the contract, we can rightly conjecture that the pictures were stored in Amiet's personal archive, and we can also conjecture that the appointed institution (i.e. local police officers or cantonal police) used instead the lithographic copies as needed.

Going back to the iconographic analysis, I identify in the anthropological discourse of the nineteenth century a theoretical framework that does justice to the symbolic function I assign to clothing.

For whom do Durheim's portraits perform the function of identification? To answer the question, it is necessary to move to a different theoretical framework than the one based on the power-body-surveillance triad.[270] In the collective imagination, identification pictures – the common mug shot – play the role of documenting the identity of the

[270] J. Tagg, *The burden of representation,* 60-65.

portrayed subject; in other words, they prove the authenticity of an identity. By contrast, Durheim's identification photographs prove an imagined identity, which does not affect the generalities (first name, last name, place and date of birth, possibly paternity) that determine the factual identity of the individual. Imagined identities of peasants and workers play out at the level of the individual's dislocation in society. Durheim's identification pictures not only prove the authenticity of the identity of the portrayed subject; they also reveal that political institutions and their representatives had a very specific ideal of society within which to place a certain segment of the population. As Martin Gasser explains:

> "By dressing them up as peasants, the outward appearance of the photographed people was manipulated, too. The homogenous clothing, the choice of objects, the *mise-en-scène* and partly the editing work, whose sometimes sloppy execution shows the serial character of the task, which had to be carried out as cheaply as possible, neither mirror the praxis of life, nor do they convey a faithful picture of the photographed people."[271]

While Foucauldian analysis is concerned with the semiotic and iconographic level of the image, I suggest a reflection on the material form of these images and their physical nature as objects, as extensively discussed by Elisabeth Edwards in regard to the analysis of ethnographic photographs.[272] As already mentioned, the *Heimatlose* looked at the photographs, and this handling of the picture shifts our analysis to another interconnected field of inquiry, which regards the material form of images.[273] The authorities judged the first specimens of the images with these words: "the collection

[271] M. Gasser, Meier, and Wolfensberger, *Wider das Leugnen und Verstellen*, 18.
[272] E. Edwards, "Material beings", Objecthood and ethnographic photographs, Visual Studies, 17:1, (2002) 67-75, here 69.
[273] "The archive becomes a material manifestation of social relations in which images are active." E. Edwards, "Photographs: Material Form and the Dynamic Archive", in: C. Caraffa (ed.) *Photo Archive,* 47-56, here 49.

promises to be thoroughly characteristic and interesting."[274] Why do federal board officials judge the portraits to be "characteristic and interesting"? From what perspective does the board look at the portrait collection? In other words, the attention of the authorities was not only focused on what was represented in one single picture, but they judged the collection as a whole, as a group of images, as an *archive*.

This statement provides a particularly eloquent point of reference to recapitulate the main themes of the present analysis. The word 'characteristic' obviously did not lend itself to the description of a classic criminal album. 'Characteristic' in the vocabulary of the nineteenth century is a word that refers to the semantic context of ethnology, as evidenced, for example, by studies on the topic of 'national character' and psychological studies on 'personal character'.[275] Indeed, as indicated in Chapter III, the Bern Album in particular can be interpreted as an ethnological survey. It expresses a special, quasi-scientific perspective that aims primarily at collecting information about an unknown population group. It is primarily a matter of visualizing personal and family histories. In the Rochester albums, there is a change of perspective: now the individual people are the subject again; the annotations are about tracing their movements and fixing them in writing. This procedure can be read in the context of the simultaneous efforts to methodically map the geography of Switzerland through expeditions and the creation of maps.[276] The homeless, just like the narrow side valleys, the forests, and the wildernesses they inhabited, were in need of exploration. They had to be traced in detail and systematically classified after an initial survey-like presentation. "[...] the Federal Constitution and the Homeless Law defined the description of what was to be foreign in the future, even from the governing center of Switzerland. Foreign was who did not

[274] "Die Sammlung verspricht durch und durch charakteristisch und interessant zu werden". BAR E21, 20528. Verschiedene Korrespondenzen zu den Photographischen Bilder der Heimatlosen (1852–1853).
[275] D. Hooson (ed.), *Geography and national identity* (Hoboken NJ: Wiley 1994).
[276] Gugerli and Speich (eds.): *Topographien der Nation*; Bundesamt f. Landestopografie (ed.), *Die Schweiz auf dem Messtisch.* 39-40.

possess Swiss citizenship. The attempt to identify the radical other of the bourgeois values in the homeless and at the same time to assimilate this other was to be received by the Swiss population as the first concrete and comprehensible action to realize the founding values of the nation-state. If one had succeeded in re-educating the homeless into peasants simply by dressing and photographing them as such, the last foreign body in the newborn Swiss society would have been eliminated by annexation. However, this did not happen: as the handwritten annotations in the Rochester albums clearly show, shortly after the photographic action in the Bernese prison yard, the Heimatlose had again fled or returned undisturbed to their non-settled lifestyle. What remains of this social experiment are visual trace of the projective and rhetorical potential of photography in shaping the bourgeois self-conception. They testify to an attempt at colonization carried out with the help of photographically manipulated identity.

The identification photographs of the *Heimatlose* were not only used by the police; their function as images goes beyond the prerogatives of the judicial system, since the discourse that surrounds them is about the reorganization of mid-nineteenth-century Swiss society. The photograph is judged "interesting" in the context of a collection of photographic portraits: the single image acquires its meaning within the group of pictures, as the single identity of the itinerant gains full recognition within the community (*Gemeinde*).[277] The reorganization of society is also accomplished through its visualization in images. Thus, Carl Durheim's photographic portraits of the itinerants are, in this sense, symbolic representations. To be visually perceived, the ideal of settled life needs the physical bodies of the itinerants clothed as peasants, just as the ideal of the Swiss nation as modern state needs the physical borders traced on a map in order to be visualized by its citizens. In the introduction to their study of the topography of

[277] O. Zimmer, "Coping with deviance: Swiss Nationhood in the Long Nineteenth Century", *Nations and Nationalism* 17/4 (2011), 756-774.

Switzerland, historians Daniel Speich and David Gugerli state that "nationalism as an engine of political processes only works when the individual members of the evoked community feel part of this whole and orient their actions to the interests of the collective."[278]

The bodies clothed in peasant guise portrayed in the pictures are the sensory signs through which the spiritual meaning, which is to say the ideal of non-migratory life, take a concrete shape: the individual member becomes part of the community evoked through self-identification in the portrait, onto which the interests of the collective (bourgeois values) have been projected.

4.2. The Alps and alpine population in the context of post-colonial studies

In the collective imagination, Swiss national identity consists of a nation of farmers and shepherds who love freedom and live in the pristine mountain landscape of the Alps. In the last twenty years historians have discussed the transnational reframing of national narrative: they speak of this image using two expressions: "*Erfundene Schweiz*" (invented Switzerland) and "*imagologische Basteleien*"[279] (imagological arts and crafts), agreeing that it was created at a time in Swiss history – coinciding with the birth of the federal state – when there was a need to spread to ever wider layers of the population an ideal of national identity with which to identify. Postcolonial studies contextualize the anthropological debate (i.e. the debate on human nature and its multiple realizations at different times and in different places) of the European colonial

[278] "[…] funktioniert der Nationalismus als Motor politischer Prozesse erst dann, wenn sich die einzelnen Mitglieder der beschworenen Gemeinschaft als Teil dieses Ganzen fühlen und ihr Handeln an den Interessen des Kollektivs orientieren". Gugerli and Speich (eds.), *Topographien der Nation,* 11.
[279] Marchal and Mattioli (eds.), *Erfundene Schweiz*; B. C. Schär, "Bauern und Hirten Reconsidered. Umrisse der 'erfundenen' Schweiz im imperialen Raum", in: Purtschert, Lüthi and Falk (eds.), *Postkoloniale Schweiz*, 315-332.

period in a landscape of exchanges and influences between colonial and non-colonial powers. A lively field of postcolonial studies considers history from a dual perspective, i.e. based on a relationship of exchange that doesn't involve just a colonial power and a colony. Switzerland had no colonies, but this does not mean that its history was not influenced by confrontations with colonial powers. This theoretical framework offers a twofold possibility. Historians are rethinking the formation of Swiss national identity at the time of the emergence of the modern federal state as a colonial state without colonies and as having internal colonization as a defining phenomenon.[280] The anthropological debate within a postcolonial theoretical framework also offers an explanation for why Durheim's photographic portraits are symbolic manifestations that activate in the observer-subject the processes of projection and identification. Are the *Heimatlose* portrayed as "the other"? They are not depicted as "other'" in the sense of "foreigner" (*Fremde*), otherwise they would have been portrayed as they were found before being interned, i.e. half-naked and probably standing in the middle of the road or at the edge of the woods, or begging, or hiding.

In the eyes of Swiss elite, the *Heimatlose* were portrayed as a group of people (peasants and farmers) whose customs they knew, and with whom (visual) was accompanied by a sense of familiarity, but with whom, at the same time, they do not directly identify.

From this perspective, however, both of the processes described at the beginning of this project (projection and identification) are present. In the figure of the peasant, the urban elite projects the ideals of a form of life with which it identifies itself on a theoretical level. These ideals, although shared by the bourgeoisie, are projected outside the urban circle onto the Alpine population, but are always traceable and represented, whether in literature as in the example of Albrecht von Haller's poem "The Alps" or in visual

[280] Purtschert and H. Fischer-Tiné (eds.), *Colonial Switzerland*; J. Osterhammel, *Die Verwandlung der Welt. Eine Geschichte des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2009); P. Purtschert, F. Falk and B. Lüthi, "Switzerland and 'Colonialism without Colonies'".

representation, as in the case of Durheim's portraits of the *Heimatlose*. In the eyes of the urban elite, where does this familiarity with the figure of the peasant and farmer come from? What characteristics do peasants embody that interest the urban bourgeoisie?

The constitution of the figure of the peasant, which embodies the ideal of the Swiss national character, has its roots in the disputes within the radical movement of the Swiss intellectual elites of the previous century. Two dialectics were at stake: "the future-oriented vocabulary of social and political improvement and the restoration of the myths of origins."[281] In this context the Alps were an essential element of patriotic discourse and thought to be "a force capable of shaping national character."[282] The Alps were not just a background before which Swiss characters pose, and the interest in geography and landscape is not only concerned with the drawing of national borders. Drawing national borders and describing the geography of a nation (i.e. maps) implicitly meant outlining the national character of its inhabitants.

The Swiss historian Bernhard C. Schär brings an example from Swiss literature, showing how peasants and shepherds are described in Albrecht von Haller's poem "the Alps" (1732). Schär points out that Haller uses the Alpine population for a discussion in which they are not included, but rather that those in cultured cities have about them. Haller provided a representation of alpine life that is imaginative and distant from reality; peasants are portrayed only as ideal figures without individual personalities, whose purpose is to illustrate what is "different" about them from the cultured circles Haller addresses. Peasants are not characterized as single individuals, but as a group of people with common characteristics. Peasants are at a certain distance since they are geographically outside the urban space. Such distance and their status as "other" (i.e.

[281] Zimmer, *A Contested Nation*, 41.
[282] *Ibid*., 75.

different) does not have a negative connotation, since it is the reason that justifies the bourgeoisie's position of control.[283]

Durheim's photographs can thus be read as an attempt by liberal and radical parties, represented by Jakob Amiet, to re-conceptualize Swiss citizenship in the years following the proclamation of the Swiss Federal State. These efforts took place simultaneously in several areas: the newly formed Swiss Confederation was characterized by regionalism and was united neither by culture, language, nor faith; the definition of a Swiss national identity ran parallel to the definition of national borders through the drawing of maps and topographies.[284] The ideals on which the Confederation was based still lacked vibrancy and lived reality. Thus, the Swiss population welcomed the attempt to assimilate the homeless population and to identify in it the radically different bourgeois values as one of the concrete and understandable actions taken to realize the founding values of the nation state. However, this attempt to *naturalize* itinerants failed, and Amiet resigned from his position at the end of 1856. He judged the legislation at the individual branches of federal justice to be inadequate, partly because of the lack of regulation and the anti-centralist and cantonal tendencies, which were becoming more and more apparent in the federal councils on judicial matters and with which he could not come to a compromise.[285]

In regard to the attempt of providing a unified image of Switzerland, a further illuminating parallel can be drawn between the aesthetics of the topographic map of Switzerland published in 1845 (the Dufour map) and Durheim's portraits.

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[283] See Marie Louise Pratt, quoted in Schär, "Bauern und Hirten Reconsidered", 321: "The systematizing of nature represents not only a European discourse about non-European worlds, but an urban discourse about non-urban worlds, and a lettered, bourgeois discourse about non-lettered, peasant worlds".
[284] Gugerli and Speich (eds.), *Topographien der Nation,* 199- 201.
[285] Meier and Wolfensberger, *Eine Heimat und doch keine,* 476.

The Topographical Map of Switzerland was produced between 1832 and 1865 under the direction of the General Guillaume-Henri Dufour. Historians emphasize that in 1845 when the first sheets were published, the topographic map had been perceived mainly as a political statement.[286] The aesthetics of the map in fact shows interesting elements to reflect on. The drawing offers only a simple outline of the foreign territories outside the borders, and they are faint in the presence of the rich information and the finely detailed drawings of the Swiss landscape.

The first sheets in 1845 were presented and interpreted by the public as authoritative: they took on the character of a decree as the official title suggested "by order of the federal authorities."[287] It is telling that the maps showed their object as it was to be seen by the authorities, and most interesting that they showed a central state that did not yet exist in this form, but rather was anticipated by almost a decade. Thus. the geographical representation of Switzerland underwent the same process of projection of an ideal that I have tried to show thus far through the analysis of Durheim's portraits. Insofar as the maps lack any information outside the national borders, the portraits of the itinerants are cut off from the space in which they actually dwelt. On the other hand, the maps are rich in details within the frontiers, so the itinerants are portrayed with clothes that call to mind their ideal social belonging within the national borders. The absence of details outside the borders and the wealth of information included inside indicate an attitude and point of view similar to that of Franziska Möllinger. The landscapes in her collection had the power to evoke the memories of the Swiss: the images were aimed at an internal viewer from within the borders. Similarly, the collection of Carl Durheim's photographic portraits are evidence of an attempt at colonization that was to be carried

[286] Bundesamt f. Landestopografie (ed.), *Die Schweiz auf dem Messtisch,* 39-40.
[287] Gugerli and Speich, *Topografien der Nation, Politik,* 77-78.

out with the help of the moral dissuasion[288] of photographically manipulated identity, which works at once – as Allan Sekula explained – as both "honorific and repressive."[289] What remains of this social experiment, then, are visual reminders of the symbolic power of photography in shaping self-understanding.

Oliver Zimmer defines the historical phase from the late eighteenth century to the 1870s with the expression "the nationalization of nature."[290] The historian suggests looking at this time span as a metaphorical phase when the Alpine landscape reflected what is authentically Swiss. The natural geography of a specific area and the national character are two interlocutors in the relationship between nature and culture. "The Alps appear as the physical dimension of the national past: it came into use in the second half of the eighteenth century, as a way of incorporating landscape imagery into the fabric of national identity."[291] Moreover it is in the nineteenth century that Swiss scientists and intellectual started to develop theories on the natural history of the Alps based on evolution, rather than on the divine creation, by furthering the idea of the Alps as moderate nature.[292] It was Alexander von Humboldt, who first shaped the vision of the Alps as the 'moderate district of the world'. [293] In tracing the importance of understanding the network of relations among Swiss naturalists and European men of science, Bernard C. Schär points to the fact that colonial knowledge means considering the exchanges of body of knowledge produced within national borders and outside of

[288] Schweizerisches Bundesarchiv Bern, *Bericht des schweizerischen Bundesrates an die hohe Bundesversammlung über seine Geschäftsführung im Jahr 1852,* Bundesblatt Nr. 31 von E 21, 13002 Jahresberichte des Generalanwaltes, Bd. 1-5 (1852-1856). *Bundesblatt Nr.31 von Juli 1853, Bericht des schweizerischen Bundesrates an die hohe Bundesversammlung über seine Geschäftsführung im Jahr 1852*. BB I 1853 II 665, p. 717.
[289] A. Sekula, "The Body and the Archive", *October* 39 (1986), 3-64, here 6.
[290] O. Zimmer, "In Search of Natural Identity: Alpine Landscape and the Reconstruction of the Swiss Nation", *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 40/4 (1999), 637-665, here 638.
[291] Ibid., 644.
[292] B. Schär, "On the Tropical Origin of the Alps", in: Purtschert and H. Fischer-Tiné (eds.), *Colonial Switzerland,* 29-49.
[293] A. von Humboldt, *Ideen zu einer Geographie der Pflanzen nebst einem Naturgemälde der Tropenländer* (Tübingen: Cotta, 1807), 39.

them, sometimes to meet specific needs, even if that knowledge had no direct impact on imperial relations.

As an eloquent example of colonial consciousness, that is, based on an exchange of trans-national knowledge among the European intellectuals, the historian shows that in 1896 the Swiss naturalists Paul and Fritz Sarasin traced the character of the primitive peoples of the Dutch Asian Empire back to the character of the prehistoric inhabitants of the Swiss lake. They go so far as to affirm that these non-civilized populations will have a bright future because they resemble the Swiss prehistoric inhabitants: in their eyes, the evolution of Swiss history has led to the flourishing of a contemporary civilization of *Homini Alpini*, who have the best virtues. They have "the best of the European 'temperate', 'modest' and 'civilized' character"[294]. The knowledge gathered in the colonies is useful to explain not only the exotic nature of the distant island, which is a trait of the so-called colonial imagination. Furthermore, Schär employs this example to highlight a veiled message: the Sarasin naturalists express the self-perception of the Swiss.

In the Swiss context, the social practice of dressing up in front of the camera magnifies a sense of belonging to a social community that firmly rejected the old elite and celebrated the establishment of a new one through pronounced local characteristics and their reference to Swiss history and tradition.[295] Such vernacular characteristics are visually manifested in both examples by the clothing: the picture of the wealthy lady show the subject wearing a traditional costume (Tracht) used during festivals and holidays. On a similar note, the mimicking of the farming community relates to a certain "human type" that harkens back to the "pure native" of the Swiss alpine

[294] Schär, "On the Tropical Origin of the Alps", 45.
[295] Dieterich, "Die Trachtendarstellung", 10.

population, already an object of specific interest in the previous century[296]. I have only mentioned this particular portrait, but among Durheim's images collected at the Burgerbibliothek in Bern there are several of this genre, which makes the observation far more significant: it is not, in fact, a novelty that the bourgeoisie dressed itself up for the time of the exposure. What is peculiar within the study of photography as a social and cultural practice in the context of Swiss mid-nineteenth century history is the attempt to render the national character visually perceivable. In Durheim's images the local features appear under two different guises: 1) the luxurious textiles of black velvet, silver filigree and the silky apron of the *Berner Sonntagstracht* worn on special occasions (such as the photo session)[297] and 2) the farmer as a human type, living in small family-based community, deeply rooted in the territory and close to nature.[298] Whereas for the bourgeois sitting in the photographer's studio was a voluntary act, the utilization of portraiture as conceived by Amiet shows the ties that bind together a political agenda and the instruments used for its visualization.

It is exactly at this "thin threshold" that Jäger delineates between "the criminal and the respectable citizen," and that the portraits conceived ideologically by the Federal Prosecutor Jakob Amiet and produced by Durheim[299] acquire full meaning as the attempt of popularizing national imageries in a logic of "internal colonization."[300]

Hitherto I have examined the function of the photographic portrait from the perspective of the subject as the "first" beholder, dwelling on the ritual process of picture-taking and

[296] C. Reichler, *La découverte des Alpes et la question du paysage* (Chêne-Bourg: Georg, 2002).
[297] J. Huber, "Von der Kunst und der Interpretation des Porträtierens", in: H. Loetscher: *Photographie in der Schweiz von 1840 bis heute* (Bern: Benteli Verlag, 1992), 47-70.
[298] The circulation of the *Schweizer Kleinmeister*'s illustrations during the eighteenth century nourished the common imagery of farmers and alpine inhabitants. At the same time traditional costumes developed as a manifestation of a self-aware identity of the rural population due to social and political changes. See M. Fischer, M. Meyer, (eds.), *Tour de Suisse, Schweizer Kleinmeister aus der Sammlung Bernhard Neher* (Hirmer: Museum zu Allerheiligen Schaffhausen, 2017).
[299] The lithographic drawings were initially assigned to the lithographer von Arx, and then actually reproduced by the Bern lithographer Wüst.
[300] Schär, "Bauern und Hirten reconsidered", 315; M. Brühlmeier, "Die Nation im Dorf", in: A. Tanner, U. Altermatt and C. Bosshart-Pfluger (eds.), *Die Konstruktion einer Nation*, 61-74, here 61.

the persuasive power of self-representation in two different contexts: the atelier and the prison. In addition, I illustrated that the "celebrative portraits" produced in Durheim's atelier share with the photographic portraits of the non-citizen itinerants not only the general iconography, but also the unequivocal utilization of clothing to denote social belonging to a local community, geographically identified in the Swiss cultural context. Thus far I intentionally refrained from addressing the discourses on the visualization of criminal features and the physiognomic reading of pictures, since I chose to focus on the iconography of portraiture as a system of representation that functions as a mean of communication. The portraits as conceived by Amiet were not used to scrutinize the latent criminal type. On the contrary, an opposite intention emerges from the present analysis: the system of representation used to depict both the wealthy lady in the traditional costume and the itinerant without citizenship illuminates the imaginary ideal of Swiss society embedded in visual representation as conceived by Jakob Amiet, a representative of the radical movement that would ultimately triumph.

4.3. Who was Jakob Amiet?

The historian Oliver Zimmer characterizes the period that preceded the founding of the modern Swiss state with the expression "intra-nationalist divisions" to explain the "struggle between the liberal and radical champions of the nation-state and their opponents." At the same time, "allied to internal political struggles was the competition between nations."[301] Jakob Amiet, historian, lawyer and numismatic, was among the radicals who 'won' the *Sonderbund* war in 1847. In 1848 Amiet published a book titled *Der Siegreiche Kampf der Eidgenossen gegen Jesuitismus und Sonderbund*. (The Victorious Struggle of the Confederates against Jesuitism and Sonderbund),

[301] O, Zimmer, *A Contested Nation,* 15-16.

pragmatically undertaken and specifically intended for a popular public. Welcoming the founding of the modern Swiss Federal State based on the Constitution proclaimed in 1848, under anonymity, Amiet's pamphlet introduces the book firstly by referring to the series of portraits of the generals and officers who participated in the *Sonderbund* war. The portraits -signed by Jakob Ziegler- augmented the well-known satirical woodcuts drawn by Disteli and shed further light on Amiet's sensitivity. The book provides an interpretation of recent events in light of strong patriotic feelings, judging the victory of the Swiss confederate aligned with the radicals over anti-national forces, and defining them not only in term of opposite political positions but also highlighting the foreign character of the *Sonderbund* alliance and of the Roman Catholic Church. The enemy is implicitly associated with a non-native entity, which conflicts with the Swiss f"ounding tradition identified with the beloved expression 'fatherland.' The idiom emphasizes the connection to the past as well as a tight bond to a geographical place and holding dreamlike expectations for the future. This idiom is also present in Franziska Möllinger's introduction to "Daguerreotyped Views of the Capitals and the Most Beautiful Areas of Switzerland". The photographer is addressing a specific audience (i.e. the Swiss), to whom she presents "the most faithful and perfect image of the beautiful fatherland [*Vaterland*] that in these views appears before the eyes and soul of *every Swiss* and will certainly recall and evoke in him/her some of the most beautiful memories." (Chapter II) It is the place where Swiss 'fathers' took root, it shows the yearning for local traditions and the recalling of the myth of the past. In light of the strong geographical connotation given to the Swiss character in its historical perspective as opposed to foreign elements that invade the territory from abroad, the institutional action organized by Amiet to naturalize the itinerants within the farming community resonates with a project of internal colonization. The Swiss population was in fact

scattered and divided into different languages, cultures and faiths within the national borders. It is plausible to assume that from Amiet's perspective, the visualization of identity (paraphrasing Oliver Zimmer) "serve[s] to address, and potentially resolve, specific political problems"[302]. The Swiss patriotism of the late eighteenth century, which fuelled the radicals' discourse around nationalism of the radicals until the middle of the following century, rejected cosmopolitan cultural influences, which were considered dangerous to the formation of the "national character."[303]

In his publications Amiet does use images as a rhetorical device, probably having in mind those who could neither read nor write, but who nonetheless could be fascinated by such drawings, if by any chance they would hold the book in their hand. Radicals emphasised the need for patriotic education. Generally speaking, portraits, whether displayed in pictures or in graphic prints, were used to popularize national symbols in a similar way that photographs of landscapes and monuments have been used by national movements in Britain and Germany respectively.[304] The problem of national identity was connected to the individual's necessary belonging to the social body for the constitution of the modern state. Photography and the graphic prints were instruments embraced in different ways and at different levels by draftsmen and commissioners. In the case of the depiction of the self, the encompassing of individuality within a community could be based, respectively, on family relations in the case of the itinerants, on shared national ideals in the case of the book's illustrations, or on social status in the case of the wealthy lady in the luxurious *Tracht*. Different

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[302] *Ibid.,* 10-11.
[303] *Ibid.,* 76.
[304] J. Jäger, "Picturing Nations: Landscape Photography and National Identity in Britain and Germany in the Mid-Nineteenth Century", in J. Schwarz/J. Ryan (eds.), *Picturing Place: Photography and Geographical Imagination* (London/New York: Routledge, 2003), 117-141.

media such as photographs and graphic prints could pursue the aim of representing reality as well as ideals.

Jakob Amiet resigned in 1856 after admitting his "personal" defeat against those political forces that at the cantonal level opposed a centralized government out of interest in maintaining local powers.[305] Amiet's accusatory statement opens the way to further speculation on his involvement in the commission and his political engagement among the radicals. It is evident that internal political conflict begins soon after the settlement between radicals and liberals, whose different positions diverge principally in regard to the regulation of individual freedom. Although the radicals won the *Sonderbund* war, the government established in 1848 was under the guidance of Jonas Furrer, leader of the liberal opposition who remained in office from 1848 to 1861. Furrer was President of the Federal Council -and a client of Carl Durheim. In 1852 he became head of the Police and Justice Department. Furrer judged the sample of images sent to the Federal Council by Amiet before signing the contract with Durheim, and in a letter addressed to the Council and dated 3rd November 1852 states: "The collection promises to be thoroughly characteristic and interesting."[306] Although the statement sounds apparently positive, it sheds light on another aspect of the story. Amiet's close involvement in every step is evidenced by the contract with Durheim. In fact, it clearly indicates that the draftsman "guarantees the resemblance" in the way that Amiet requires, and "the photographic original must be delivered to Mr Amiet." As I have previously pointed out, any discourse on "objectivity" disregards the mechanical recording of photography; on the contrary, it is evident that the ultimate personal responsibility of the appearance belongs to Amiet's aesthetic judgement. Consciously or

[305] Meier and Wolfensberger, *Eine Heimat und doch keine.*
[306] BAR E 21, 20528. Korrespondenz zwischen dem Vorsteher des JPD, dem Generalanwalt und Carl Durheim; Abgabe der Bilder an die kantonalen Polizeibehörden (1852-1853).

not, the federal Prosecutor might have taken the whole operation (from the recording of images of the vagabonds through photography to the reproduction of lithographic copies) as a means of persuasion on a double front: on one hand the picture-taking was used as a moralizing influence on the itinerants, and on the other, Amiet might have carried out a strategy that, through the use of the same images, should convince opposition members of the political way forward. The sample sent to the Federal Council should have provided positive evidence for the usefulness of Amiet's task, such that the naturalized community of vagabonds could come across as "promising and characteristic" despite the blatant limitation of individual freedom involved in the action.

The definition of national borders of the modern State and the definition of a Swiss national identity are two slow processes, characterized by a long duration and inseparable from each other. The role and definition of the borders of the dwelling place in its primitive sense (the relationship to the territory, its delimitation, the knowledge and ability needed to represent it visually) could not be detached from the formation of the identity understood as that set of characteristics (more or less physical) and values with which one identifies oneself. The definition of spatio-temporal coordinates (i.e.: the measurement of spaces) and their representation is intertwined with the process of identification: the act of drawing national borders and describing the geography of the country (i.e., the production of maps) was also meant to outline and represent the local character of its inhabitants. In other words, it meant drawing the boundaries within which to shape the identity of individuals.

Within the early history of the Swiss modern state the portraits of the non-citizen itinerants gains ideological and discursive power: the process of visualizing the local character of the Swiss identity nourishes the nationalistic imagination of the Swiss

country at a different social level, much in the same way as a wealthy women dressed up in a precious traditional costume sitting in Durheim's atelier. Photography and lithography contribute to the circulation of vernacular elements among different strata of society, and Durheim's multifarious images bring together people from very different social ranks, unified by the yearning (genuine or induced) for social acknowledgement and a sense of belonging.

Conclusion

The present research started from the analysis of the primary literature and archival sources on Carl Durheim as a pioneer photographer in the city of Bern. A close analysis of the existing literature has made it clear that historians described Durheim's image production following the traditional hierarchies of values set out by historiography, namely the idea of the inevitable technological progress and the issue of reproducibility of work of arts. In the second chapter I proposed a case-study, that shows how an overlooked detail on one of Durheim's Daguerrotypes reveals hidden narratives on the photographer's working practices, which were extremely versatile and intertwined. Shedding light on Durheim's working practices enables a reflection on the paradigms that have hitherto characterized to approach to his images. The core of my work has been to introduce a different framework from the one used so far in order to read those apparently contrasting aspects that - in my opinion - deserve further contextualization and that the existing scholarship has so far neglected. From the standpoint of the iconography of portraiture, one can recognize two kinds of subjects portrayed by Carl Durheim: 1) the bourgeoisie in and around his hometown (Bern and Burgdorf) and 2) a segment of the population known as the Swiss itinerants without

citizenship (*Heimatlose*). The Swiss photographer's most popular portraits are those depicting vagrants and non-stationary people; this collection is known because these portraits are viewed as one of the earliest examples of the use of paper photography for police purposes in Europe. They were taken between 1852 and 1853 in Bern. As explicated in the title of the present study, I individuate two processes at work within the production and the usage of the pictures: projection and identification. My approach paves the way to a reflection on the observers and their expectations about the power of such images. The bourgeois expected the portrait to project an image of the self in society (projection): this is what Allan Sekula called the honorific function of portraiture[307]; based on the documents I found in the Bernese state archive, it turns out that that the Heimatlose, too, looked at their portraits and, as per the documented reports, they identified themselves with the picture, i.e., they recognized what they saw. But another kind of observer must be added to the list. As it has been acknowledged, the images of the *Heimatlose* are representation of how the Swiss elite viewed themselves. To unpack such statement I proposed in chapter three and four a twofold reflection: 1) how to interpret Durheim's pictures as early example of police photography; how far concepts such as evidence and the Foucaultian term of surveillance can be applied to this case-study; 2) a reflection on the experimental nature of the project conducted by the Attorney General Jakob Amiet led to draw on an anthropological framework. In fact, if the Foucaultian paradigm lends itself to explain the use of the photographic portrait as a means of control, and thus explains why the appearances of the identification portraits are very similar to those of the studio portraits, out of the arrangement of bodies comes the attempt of a physical accumulation of knowledge about them: the printed photograph and its reproduction in lithographic albums. The

[307] Sekula, "Der Körper und das Archiv", 272-274.

experimental nature embedded in the handling of the visual material (i.e. the layout and the presence/absence of annotations) run parallel to a certain attention paid to clothing. By way of pointing to three examples among Durheim's photographic portraits, I argued that to ask the prisoners to dress up as peasants and daily workers for the shot forced the viewer to dwell on the meaning of clothing and the need of such representation. Asking the prisoners to dress up as day laborers (farmers, shepherds) for the photo shoot arguably amounts to manipulating their identity. For the bourgeois to pose in front of the camera had a meaning in line with the primary function of the portrait, that is, to show his or her physical and ideal identity. The action of dressing up prisoners distances these portraits from the function of being exclusively images for police identification. Durheim's identification photos prove an imagined identity, which does not affect the generalities (first name, last name, place and date of birth, possibly paternity) that determine the identity of the individual. Imagined identity -being peasants and workers- plays out at the level of the individual's dislocation in society. Durheim's identification pictures do not exclusively prove the authenticity of the identity of the portrayed subject, but they reveal that: 1) Swiss political institutions had a very specific ideal of society within which to place a certain segment of the population; 2) the portraits of the *Heimatlose* perform different functions depending on the observer who uses them.

The authorities in fact judged the first specimens of images with these words: "The collection promises to be thoroughly characteristic and interesting".[308] Why do federal board officials judge the portraits to be 'characteristic and interesting'? From what perspective does the board look at the portrait collection?

[308] Schweizerisches Bundesarchiv Bern, CH-BAR E 211000-131205281, *Verschiedene Korrespondenzen zu den Photographischen Bilder der Heimatlosen (1852–1853)*.

The identification photographs of the *Heimatlose* surpass the prerogatives of the judicial system, since the discourse that surrounds them is about the reorganization of mid-nineteenth-century Swiss society. The reorganization of society is also accomplished through its visualization (to make it visible, to show it) through images. But to which ideal imageries do the representatives of the institutions refer? The fourth chapter of my thesis attempts to answer these kinds of questions: What role does the figure of the peasant (shepherds and farmers) play in the construction of the anthropological ideal that underlies the national identity formulated in the mid-nineteenth century? In this way, that is, considering the elites' need to propagate national identity through images, Durheim's photographic portraits show different levels of interpretation when put in relation to each other and when juxtaposed to other images the litographer Durheim produced in the same time frame (i.e. lithographic prints of landscape views, views of city architecture and panoramas).

What historical precedent does the choice of imagining a community of individuals dedicated to agriculture and livestock breeding refer to? How can the ideal of the peasant living in the countryside be reconciled with the flourishing of industrialization and the subsequent expansion of the urban factory? What kind of power do these pictures wield? To answer these questions recent postcolonial studies help to understand the many forms that the ideological representation of the Swiss identity took on; a postcolonial perspective sheds light on key elements of Swiss national history in the nineteenth-century relevant to read Durheim’s photographic portraits and to shed light on the meaning of standard Swiss landscape views.

Historians speak of the collective imagination of the Swiss farmers and shepherds, who live in the pristine mountain landscape of the Alps, agreeing that it was

created at a time in Swiss history - coinciding with the birth of the Federal State - when there was a need to spread an ideal of national identity, with which to identify, to ever wider layers of the population. Postcolonial studies contextualize such view in the anthropological debate (i.e. the debate on human nature and its multiple realizations at different times and in different places) of the European colonial period in a landscape of exchanges and influences between colonial and non-colonial powers. Switzerland had no colonies, but this does not mean that its history was not influenced by the confrontation with colonial powers, or that the Swiss elite was not affected by the exchange of information coming from the colonies to decipher its local past and present. Such theoretical framework offers a twofold possibility. 1) Historians are rethinking the formation of Swiss national identity at the time of the emergence of the modern federal state as a colonial state without colonies and having internal colonization as a defining phenomenon. 2) With regard to the present research, the study of the anthropological debate within a postcolonial theoretical framework allows us to examine the set of images produced by Carl Durheim, be they portraits or landscapes, photographs or lithographs. The anthropological debate within a postcolonial theoretical framework also allows to explain why Durheim's photographic portraits are characterized by the two processes mentioned at the outset, namely, projection and identification.

Why is it important to be able to examine photographs of the *Heimatlose* alongside landscape views of the city of Bern? Because if one isolates the portraits of the *Heimatlose* from the other images and considers them identification photographs for the police in the strict sense, their particularity (i.e. the staging of social identity alongside generalities) can only be explained in sociological terms (in the eyes of the bourgeois, the stationary peasant represents the logical opposite of the rootless vagrant). A combination of economic and political structures only partially explains the aesthetic

representation of the itinerants as well as the choices made for the binding of lithographic copies into albums. Durheim's portraits of the *Heimatlose* exemplify the anthropological debate of mid-nineteenth-century Switzerland between cultural elites and their European counterparts. Is the choice to place vagrants in the social context of peasants just a matter of socio-economic relocation, of labor distribution? My thesis is that it pertains to an anthropological debate on the representation of the self (i.e. Swiss identity) in relation to the "other" (i.e. the other nation-states bordering Switzerland). Such debate has its roots in the scientific research as well as the literature of the previous century as demonstrated by recent historical research on Swiss nationalism. Are the *Heimatlose* portrayed as "the other"? They are not depicted as 'other' in the sense of 'foreigner' (*Fremde*), otherwise they would have been portrayed as they were found before being interned, i.e. half-naked and probably standing in the middle of the road or at the edge of the woods, begging, or hiding. In the eyes of Swiss elite, the *Heimatlose* were portrayed as a group of people (peasants and farmers) whose customs they knew, coming into (visual) contact with whom they were pervaded by a sense of familiarity, but at the same time they do not identify directly with them. In this perspective, however, both of the processes described at the beginning (projection and identification) are present. Since in the figure of the peasant, the urban elite projects ideals of a form of life with which it identifies itself on a theoretical level. These ideals, although shared by the bourgeoisie, are projected outside the urban circle onto the Alpine population, but are always traceable and identifiable in representation, whether literary as in the example of Albrecht von Haller's poem “The Alps” or in visual representation, as in the case of Durheim's portraits of the *Heimatlose*. I would argue that these examples show that the gaze that shaped such images (in literature and in pictures) is characterized by an inward-looking focus: it is a look at itself. Such attitude

is the same that I have highlighted in Chapter two when I presented Franziska Möllinger's introduction to her collection of landscape and views of Switzerland. Her ideal observer is the Swiss with her/his knowledge of the panoramas: Möllinger's images should evoke the memories of the beautiful *fatherland*.

The theoretical framework I propose to use is the ongoing debate in postcolonial studies that offers a new perspective on the historical context of Switzerland and its struggle to define and represent its national identity. In this context, Durheim's images acquire a broader meaning than the one provided by the literature so far.

This study is limited and does not of course aspire to exhaust all aspects of the story, it is an attempt to open up new avenues to explore in the future. In fact, to begin with, I point to one aspect of Durheim's images that needs further consideration. In my argument, I point to the unusual presence of the mountain landscape in the background of one of the identification images (Chapter III). I also mentioned that generally the backgrounds were removed on the negative before printing the positive. An analysis of background retouching and a reflection on this practice seems to me to be essential. In the use of photography for anthropological and medical documentation, removing the backgrounds meant erasing the cultural context and focusing attention on the scrutinized body. In the specific context of Durheim's *Heimatlose* images, there are four kinds of material: 1) the majority of the images are positive prints with masked backgrounds (they correspond to the earliest calotype prints in chronological order); 2) a second, smaller group -probably produced since 1853- consists of prints made with the collodion process: in these, a different treatment of the setting appears. In all likelihood, the itinerants were sent to Durheim's atelier for the shooting, since the background is flat thanks to the use of a white backdrop that eliminates the retouching process of the negative. 3) A third group is composed of two prints, where no retouching has been

done and we can recognize the brick wall in the background, which means that no post-production has been done and we can see the original place where the shot took place. 4) Only one portrait, the one I discussed in chapter three, shows a young man with painted mountain peaks on the background. this contribution only briefly hints at the late 1700s debate over the definition of characteristic within Swiss art theory. This topic would require further study in order to understand even better the implications of lithographic drawing in the portrait collection of the *Heimatlose*. I hypothesize a connection between the expression 'characteristic' and its determination in the specificity of the representation of local landscape views. For now it remains a fascination and thus would require extensive research to be taken seriously.

In addition, I ask if the concept of *liminality* could illuminate the way. It is an anthropological concept used principally by Arnold Van Gennep and further developed by Victor Turner to identify an intermediary phase in the rites of passage of pre-industrial societies.[309] Such intermediary phase is necessary to transform the social order: it is a ritual, a moment of suspension of past rules in order to establish new one. I ask if the concept of *liminality* could be useful to describe the photographic practice of depicting the *Heimatlose* and how the retouching of the background could be read as a symbol of the development of the ritual process.

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Appendix

Fig. 1 Carl Durheim, *Jäggi, ?,* Portrait, (19.Jh.), approx.1840-approx.1865, 10,2x8,0 cm, Daguerreotype, F.Dag.146 BB Bern (http://katalog.burgerbib.ch/detail.aspx?ID=320095).



Fig. 2 Carl Durheim, *Werbung*, Lithograph, 1835, Gr.B874 BB Bern (http://katalog.burgerbib.ch/detail.aspx?ID=112062).



Fig. 3 Carl Durheim, *Furrer, Jonas,* (1805-1861), approx.1858, 14,5x11,7 cm, Pannotype, F.Dag.112, BB Bern (http://katalog.burgerbib.ch/detail.aspx?ID=93484)



Fig. 4 Reproduction of one of Carl Durheim's Daguerrotype, in: Burgerbibliothek Bern (ed.) *Carl Durheim, Wie die Fotografie nach Bern kam*, Bern (2016), 19.



Fig. 5-a Carl Durheim, *Anonym,* Portrait, (19.Jh.), approx.1840- approx.1860, 10,5 x 7,9 cm, Daguerreotype, painted, FA von Fischer A 89 F.Dag.127, BB Bern, Photo: Jürg Bernhardt.



Fig.5-b Carl Durheim, *Anonym*, Portrait, (19.Jh.), approx.1840- approx.1860, 9x7,4 cm, Daguerreotype, painted, FA von Fischer A 89 F.Dag.133, BB Bern, Photo: Jürg Bernhardt.



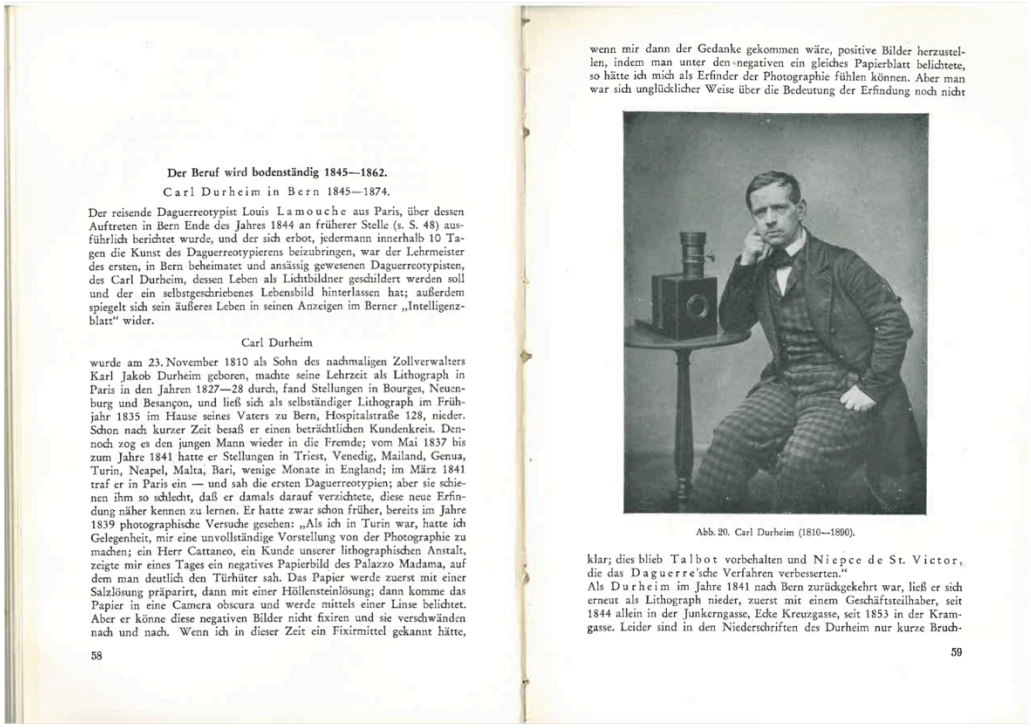
Fig. 6-a Johann Friedrich Dietler, *Constance Helene Katharina von* Sinner, (1805-1849), Porträt, Aquarell, 1849, Porträtdok. 5056, BB Bern
http://katalog.burgerbib.ch/detail.aspx?ID=96870



Fig.6-b Johann Friedrich Dietler, *Constance Helene Katharina von Sinner* (1805-1849), Porträt, Aquarell, 1850, Porträtdok. 5055, BB Bern
http://katalog.burgerbib.ch/detail.aspx?ID=96869



Fig. 7 Johann Friedrich Dietler, *Constance Helene Katharina von Sinner* (1805-1849), Porträt, Aquarell, 1850, Porträtdok. 5055, BB Bern.
http://katalog.burgerbib.ch/detail.aspx?ID=96869



Der Beruf wird bodenständig 1845—1862.

Carl Durheim in Bern 1845—1874.

Der reisende Daguerreotypist Louis Lamouche aus Paris, über dessen Auftreten in Bern Ende des Jahres 1844 an früherer Stelle (s. S. 48) ausführlich berichtet wurde, und der sich erbot, jedermann innerhalb 10 Tagen die Kunst des Daguerreotypierens beizubringen, war der Lehrmeister des ersten, in Bern beheimatet und ansässig gewesenen Daguerreotypisten, des Carl Durheim, dessen Leben als Lichtbildner geschildert werden soll und der ein selbstgeschriebenes Lebensbild hinterlassen hat; außerdem spiegelt sich sein äußeres Leben in seinen Anzeigen im Berner „Intelligenzblatt" wider.

Carl Durheim

wurde am 23. November 1810 als Sohn des nachmaligen Zollverwalters Karl Jakob Durheim geboren, machte seine Lehrzeit als Lithograph in Paris in den Jahren 1827—28 durch, fand Stellungen in Bourges, Neuenburg und Besançon, und ließ sich als selbständiger Lithograph im Frühjahr 1835 im Hause seines Vaters zu Bern, Hospitalstraße 128, nieder. Schon nach kurzer Zeit besaß er einen beträchtlichen Kundenkreis. Dennoch zog es den jungen Mann wieder in die Fremde; vom Mai 1837 bis zum Jahre 1841 hatte er Stellungen in Triest, Venedig, Mailand, Genua, Turin, Neapel, Malta, Bari, wenige Monate in England; im März 1841 traf er in Paris ein — und sah die ersten Daguerreotypien; aber sie schienen ihm so schlecht, daß er damals darauf verzichtete, diese neue Erfindung näher kennen zu lernen. Er hatte zwar schon früher, bereits im Jahre 1839 photographische Versuche gesehen: „Als ich in Turin war, hatte ich Gelegenheit, mir eine unvollständige Vorstellung von der Photographie zu machen; ein Herr Cattaneo, ein Kunde unserer lithographischen Anstalt, zeigte mir eines Tages ein negatives Papierbild des Palazzo Madama, auf dem man deutlich den Türhüter sah. Das Papier werde zuerst mit einer Salzlösung präparirt, dann mit einer Höllensteinlösung; dann komme das Papier in eine Camera obscura und werde mittels einer Linse belichtet. Aber er könne diese negativen Bilder nicht fixiren und sie verschwänden nach und nach. Wenn ich in dieser Zeit ein Fixirmittel gekannt hätte,

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wenn mir dann der Gedanke gekommen wäre, positive Bilder herzustellen, indem man unter den negativen ein gleiches Papierblatt belichtete, so hätte ich mich als Erfinder der Photographie fühlen können. Aber man war sich unglücklicher Weise über die Bedeutung der Erfindung noch nicht

Abb. 20. Carl Durheim (1810—1890).

klar; dies blieb Talbot vorbehalten und Niepce de St. Victor, die das Daguerre'sche Verfahren verbesserten."

Als Durheim im Jahre 1841 nach Bern zurückgekehrt war, ließ er sich erneut als Lithograph nieder, zuerst mit einem Geschäftsteilhaber, seit 1844 allein in der Junkerngasse, Ecke Kreuzgasse, seit 1853 in der Kramgasse. Leider sind in den Niederschriften des Durheim nur kurze Bruch-

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Fig. 8 Reproduction of Carl Durheim's self-portrait in: Erich Stenger, *Die beginnende Photographie im Spiegel von Tageszeitungen und Tagebüchern. Ein Beitrag zum 100-jährigen Bestehen der Lichtbildnerei 1839–1939*, Würzburg-Aumühle: Verlag Konrad Triltsch, 1943, 61.



Fig. 9 Carl Durheim, *Selbstporträt: Durheim, Charles* (1810-1890), 23,8 x 17,5 cm, FP.E.714, BB Bern http://katalog.burgerbib.ch/detail.aspx?ID=91960



Fig. 10 Carl Durheim, tinted Calotype, after 1849, Isabelle Durheim Private Collection, Basel.



Fig. 11 Carl Durheim, *Sinner Karl Rudolf Friedrich* (1799-1881), Porträt, from 1849, 17,2 x 13,5 cm, salt print, coloured, FP.E.721, BB Bern
http://katalog.burgerbib.ch/detail.aspx?ID=211499



Fig. 12 Carl Durheim, *Bern: Gesamtansicht* (S), 25,3 x 90,8 cm, Gr.D.31, BB Bern, http://katalog.burgerbib.ch/detail.aspx?ID=115922.

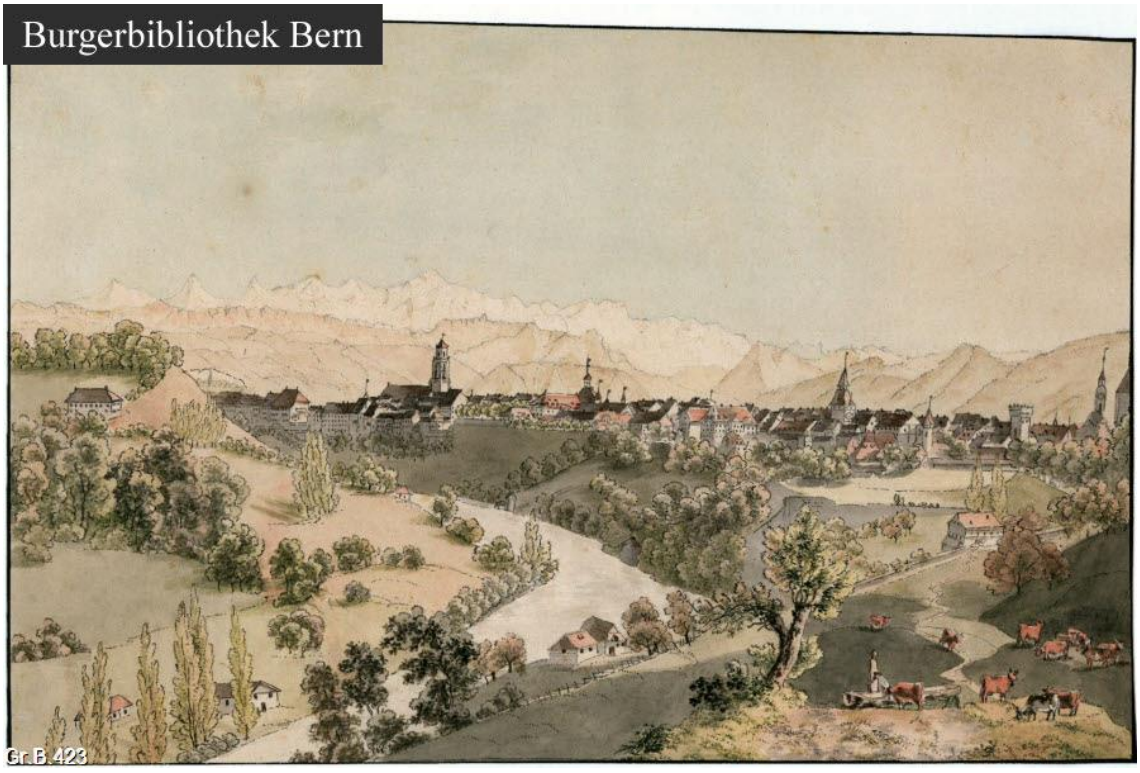


Fig. 13 Franz Niklaus König, *Bern: Gesamtansicht* (Enge), 1825, 21,3 x 32 cm, Aquarel, Gr.B.423, BB Bern http://katalog.burgerbib.ch/detail.aspx?ID=106138



Fig. 14 "Grosseltern Krebs-Stauffer, Engelberg, Carl Durheim, Bern oder Berner Oberland, um 1850", in: *Frappante Ähnlichkeit, Pioneer der Schweizer Photographie, Bilder der Anfänger* (Brug, 1991), p.22



Fig. 15 Carl Durheim, *Anonym*, Porträt: unknown gentleman; in uniform; in front of painted background with alpine landscape, approx.1845-1855, 9,4 x 7,2 cm, Daguerreotypie, F. Dag. 88, BB Bern
http://katalog.burgerbib.ch/detail.aspx?ID=175309



Fig. 16 Carl Durheim, *Gottfried Fayble*, Salzpapier, 14.5 x 18.5 cm, between 1852 and 1853, BAR E21 HA Z-F0056*



Fig. 17 Carl Durheim, *Portmann, Joseph* Personalien: 17 Jahre alt Original: Salzpapier, 13.5 x 18.5 cm, BAR E21 HA Z-F0158*



Fig. 18 Carl Durheim, *Erhard, Leonz,* Personalien: angeblich ca. 47 Jahre alt, Original: Salzpapier, 16.5 x 20.5 cm, BAR E21 HA Z-F0052*



Fig. 19 Carl Durheim, *Ostertag, Magdalena* Personalien: 24 Jahre alt, Tochter des Cajetan Ostertag und der Maria Keller aus Blumegg, Beihälterin des Joseph Anton Schneider Original: Salzpapier, 14 x 18 cm, BAR E21 HA Z-F0153*

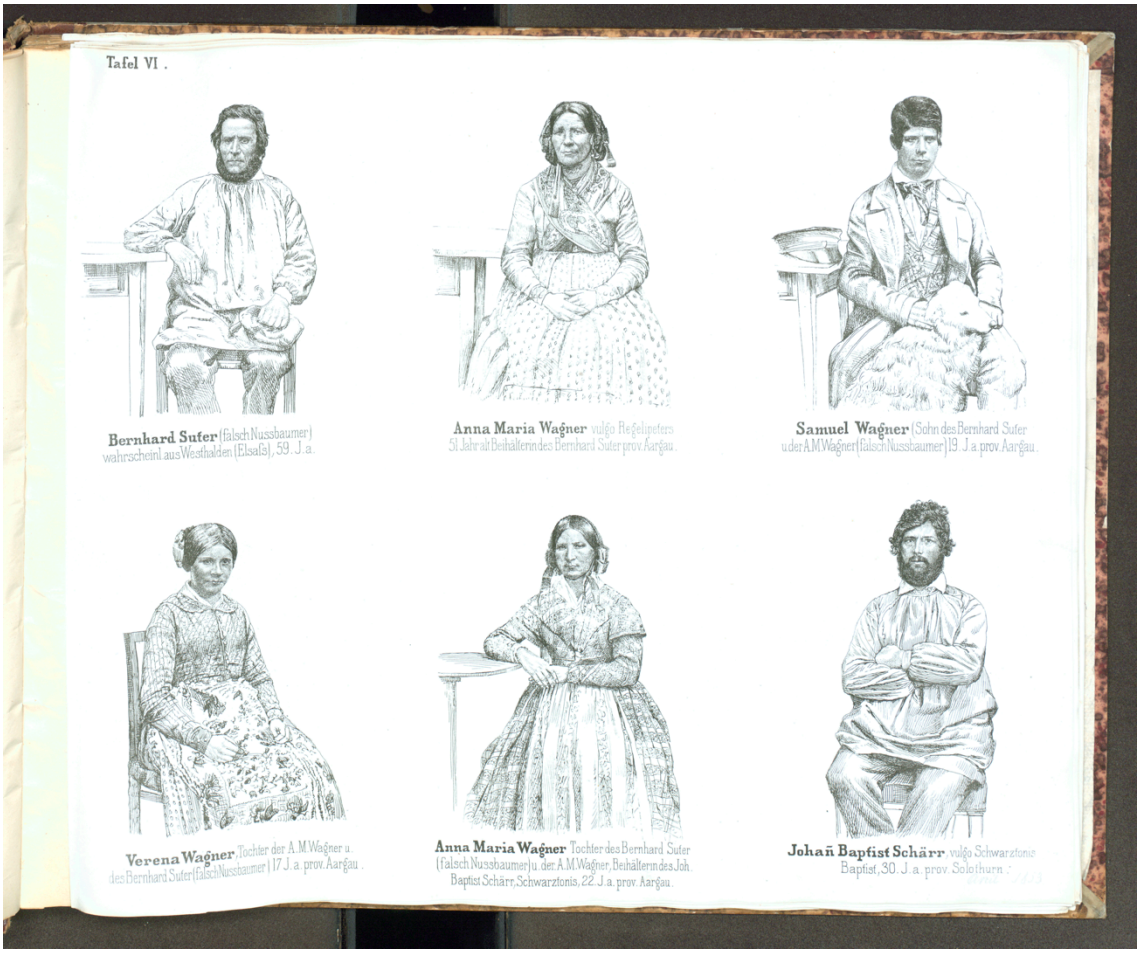


Fig. 20 Carl Durheim: „Recueil des portraits photographiques d'heimatlosen et d'autres vagabonds 1853“, Lithografisches Album, 39,5 × 50 cm BAR E21, 20529



Fig. 21 Carl Durheim: „Portraits, Photographies d'Heimatloses 1853", Lithografie, 20,3 × 17,4 × 3,8 cm [Courtesy of the George Eastman House, Rochester, NY, 197600910001.0002].

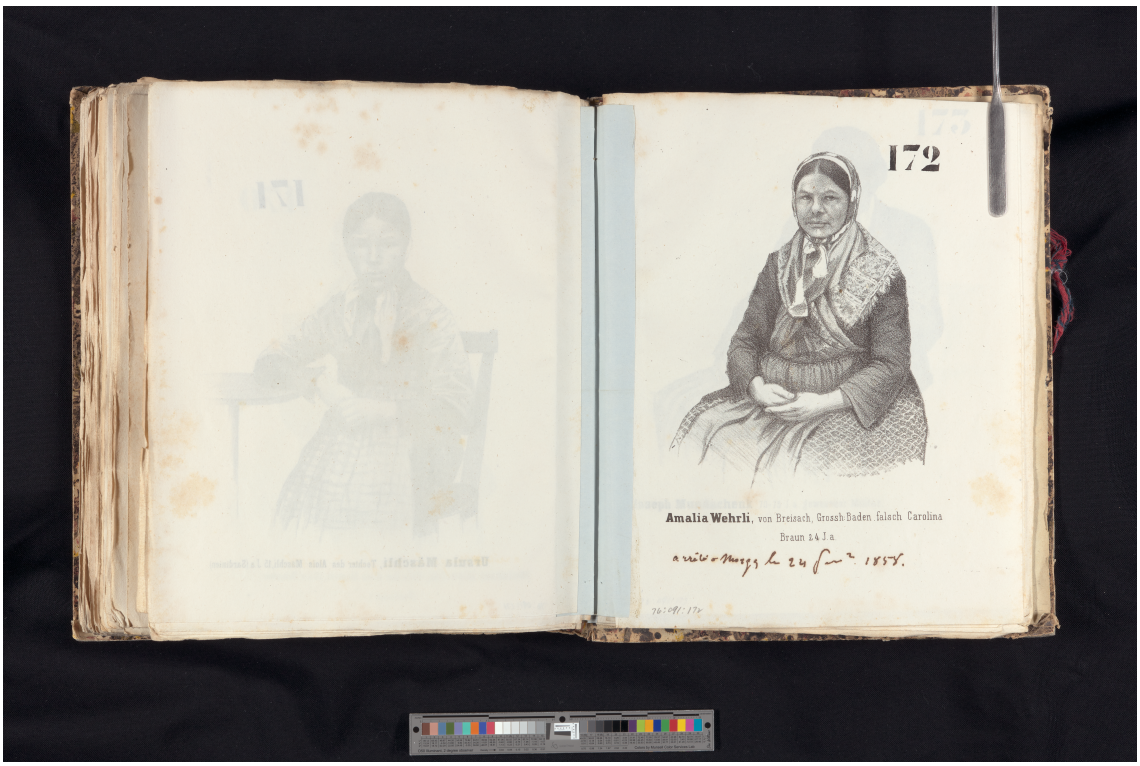


Fig. 22 Carl Durheim: „Portraits, Photographies d'Heimatloses 1853", Lithografie, 20,3 × 17,4 × 3,8 cm [Courtesy of the George Eastman House, Rochester, NY, 197600910172.0002].

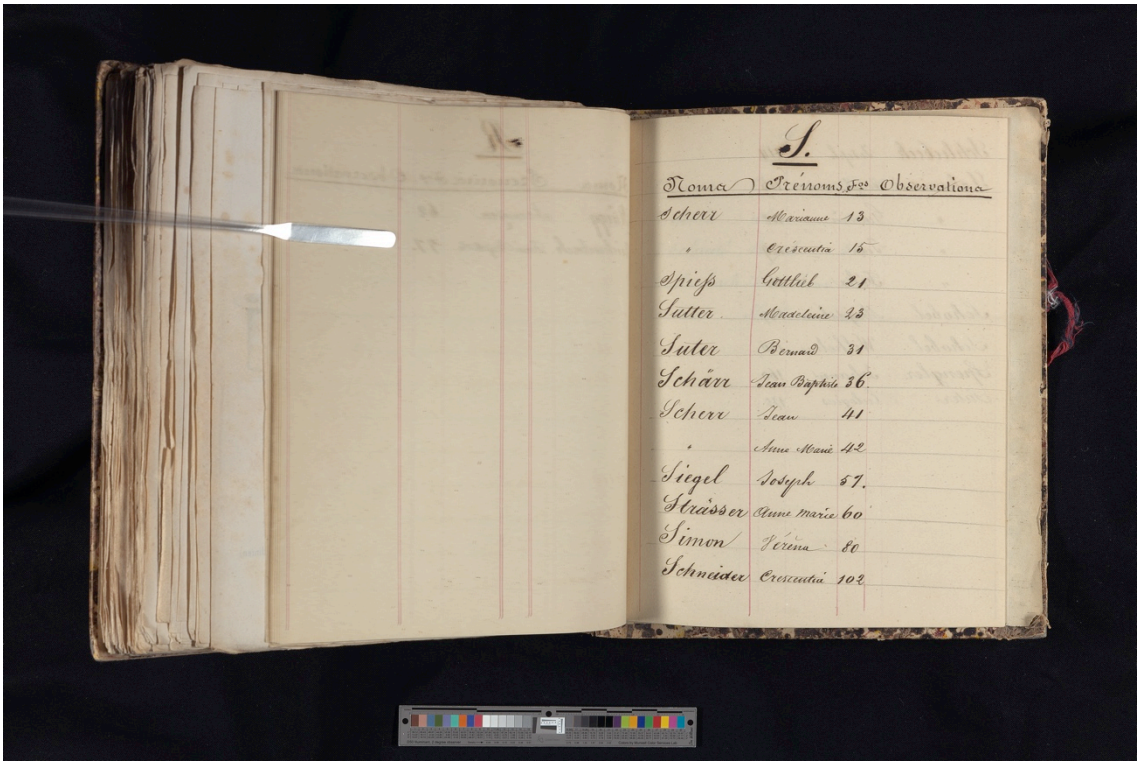


Fig. 23 Carl Durheim: „Portraits, Photographies d'Heimatloses 1853“, Lithografie, 20,3 × 17,4 × 3,8 cm [Courtesy of the George Eastman House, Rochester, NY, 197600910001- 0180].



Fig. 24 Prozess Joh. Meidel, Y 60.268 (Act. 12), Staatsarchiv Zurich.



Fig. 25 Prozess Joh. Meidel, Y 60.268 (Act. 206, Bild 1), Staatsarchiv Zurich.



Fig. 26 Carl Durheim, *Lauber, Theresia*, alias Elisabeth Trommeter Personalien: 44 Jahre alt, Beihälterin des Anton Vollmann Ort: von Reischach, Oberamt Klosterwald, Fürstentum Sigmaringen Original: Salzpapier, 15.5 x 19 cm, BAR E21 HA Z-F0000*



Fig. 27 Carl Durheim, *Scherr, Johann Baptist*, alias Johann Baptist Schärr, vulgo Schwarztonis Baptist Personalien: 30 Jahre alt Ort: provisorisch Solothurn Original: Salzpapier, 15 x 19.5 cm, BAR E21 HA Z-F0171*



Fig. 28 Carl Durheim, *Müller, Sebastian,* Personalien: 18 Jahre alt, Sohn des Scheerschleifer Sebastian Müller und der Josephine König Original: Salzpapier, 14.5 x 18.5 cm, BAR E21 HA Z-F015*



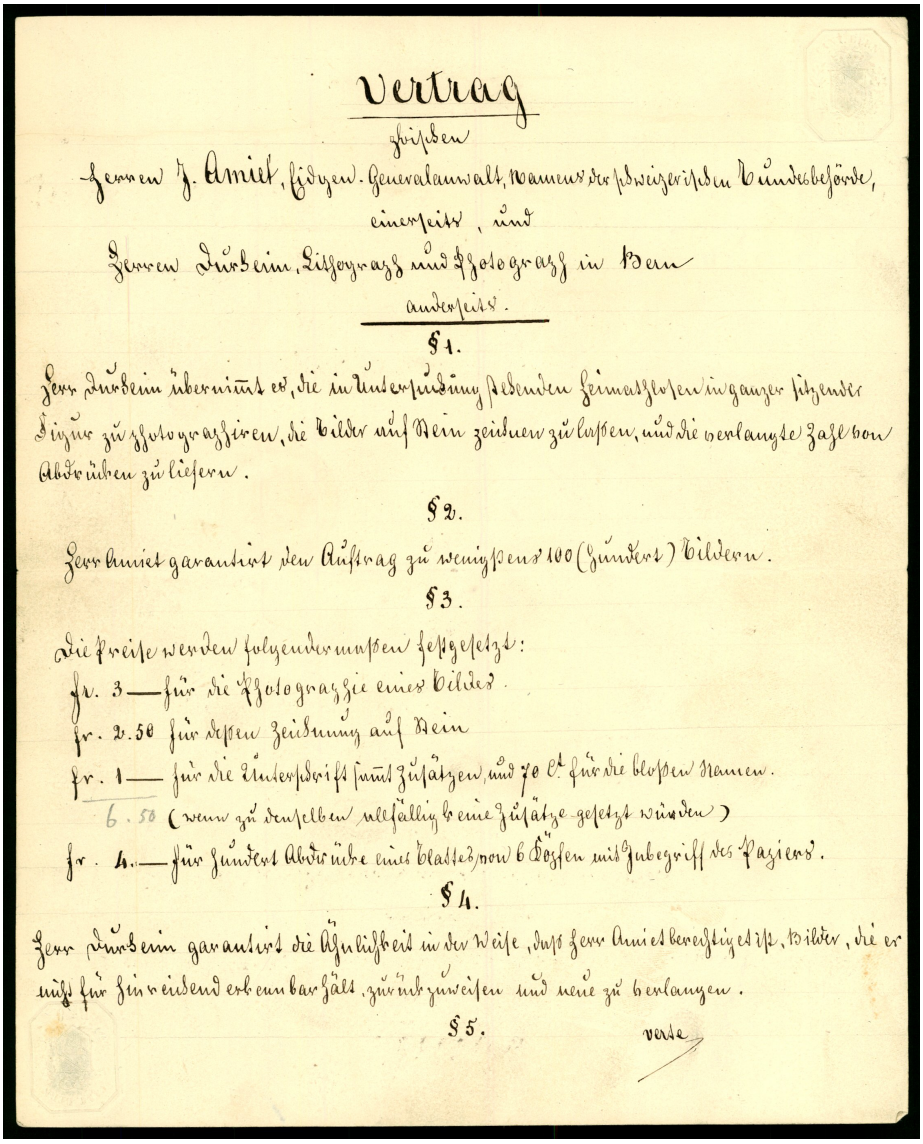
Fig. 29 Carl Durheim, *Klinger, Maria,* Personalien: 26 Jahre alt, gewesene Beihälterin des Johann Schneider (alias Johann Müller) Beruf: Korberin Ort: Geduldete des Kanton Bern Original: Salzpapier, 14 x 19 cm, BAR E21 HA Z-F089*



Fig. 30 Carl Durheim, *Anonym*, Porträt, approx. 1852 - approx. 1890, 9,1 x 7,3 cm, Ambrotypie, koloriert, F.Dag.75, BB Bern, http://katalog.burgerbib.ch/detail.aspx?ID=199820. Photo: Jürg Bernhardt



Fig. 31 Carl Durheim, *Studer, ?* Porträt: (19. Jh.), 21,5 x 17,2 cm, FP.F.105, BB Bern, http://katalog.burgerbib.ch/detail.aspx?ID=211670



Vertrag

zwischen

Herrn J. Amiet, eidgen. Generalanwalt, namens der schweizerischen Bundesbehörde, einerseits, und

Herrn Dürrbein, Lithograph und Photograph in Bern anderseits.

§ 1.

Herr Dürrbein übernimmt es, die in Untersuchung befindenden Heimatlosen in ganzer sitzender Figur zu photographieren, die Bilder auf Stein zeichnen zu lassen, und die verlangte Zahl von Abdrücken zu liefern.

§ 2.

Herr Amiet garantirt den Auftrag zu wenigstens 100 (Hundert) Bildern.

§ 3.

Die Preise werden folgendermassen festgesetzt:

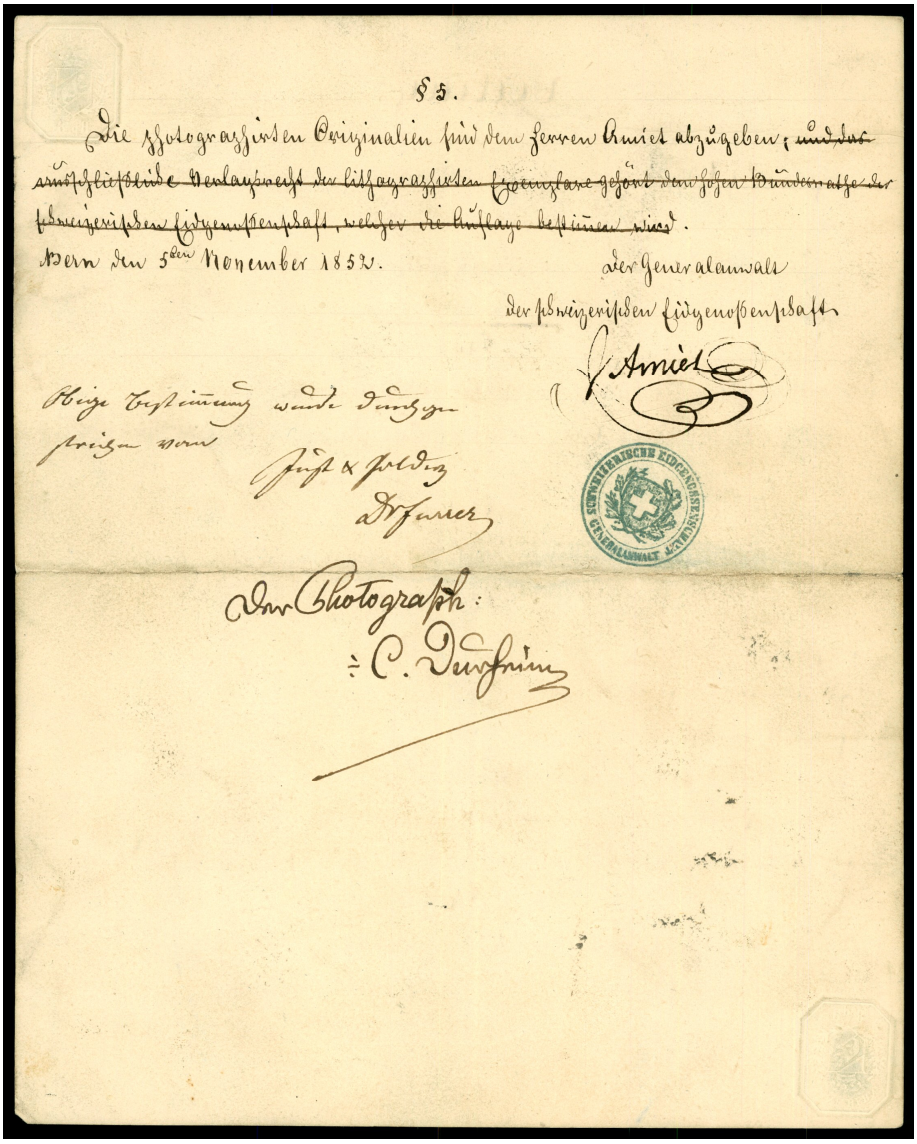
Fr. 3.— für die Photographie eines Bildes.
Fr. 2.50 für dessen Zeichnung auf Stein
Fr. 1.— für die Unterschrift samt Zusätzen, und 70 Ct. für die blossen Namen.
6.50 (wenn zu denselben allfällig keine Zusätze gesetzt würden)
Fr. 4.— für Hundert Abdrücke eines Blattes, von 6 Bogen mit Inbegriff des Papiers.

§ 4.

Herr Dürrbein garantirt die Ähnlichkeit in der Weise, dass Herr Amiet berechtigt ist, Bilder, die er muss für hinreichend erkennbar hält, zurückzuweisen und neue zu verlangen.

§ 5. verte

Fig.32-a BAR E21, 20528. Vertrag. Verschiedene Korrespondenzen zu den Photographischen Bilder der Heimatlosen:1.



§ 5.

Die photographirten Originalien sind dem Herren Amiet abzugeben; ~~und der ausschliessliche Verlagsrecht der lithographirten Exemplare gehört dem hohen Bundesrathe der schweizerischen Eidgenossenschaft, welcher die Auflage bestimmen wird~~.

Bern den 5ten November 1852.

Der Generalanwalt
der schweizerischen Eidgenossenschaft
J. Amiet

Obige Bestimmung wurde durchgestrichen von
Just & Soldez
Dr Furrer

Der Photograph:
C. Durheim

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