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Introduction

Today, the photographic activity of Dutch late nineteenth century painter George Hendrik Breitner (1857-1923) has become a well-known fact. Yet during his life and for nearly forty years after, it has been largely unknown that Breitner also produced a significant amount of photographs between the estimated period of 1889-1913. Photographing both indoors and outside, Breitner explored genres including portraits, interiors, nudes and architectural sites. The majority of his photographs, however, have been made on the street: mainly of people walking around in their daily lives, in other cases of horses, trams, canals and construction sites. The city of Amsterdam, where Breitner lived for most of his life, is by far represented most frequently. More than any other photographer in his time, Breitner fully embedded himself with his camera in between the people on the streets .

Today the existence of around 2850 photographic negatives and prints by the artist are known. They are preserved across the Dutch collections of the Netherlands Institute for Art History (RKD), Leiden University Libraries (UBL), Amsterdam City Archives and the Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, while ten prints are known to be bought by a private collector in the early 2000s. By the time the negatives and prints of Breitner first entered the institutional art collections, conceptions on the use of photography by a painter had changed significantly since Breitner's working days. This moment occurred almost as late as 40 years after Breitner's death, with the RKD receiving in 1961 the majority of Breitner's known photographic oeuvre. The acquisition consisted of nearly 2000 negatives and 300 prints, from the ownership of Hein Siedenburg shortly after the death of his father, J.H.H. Siedenburg, who had owned the art dealership Buffa that represented Breitner in his last years.[1]

The majority of literature on Breitner's photographic practices have reflected on the similarities in subjects found in his photography and painting, his photographs often being considered as previous studies for his paintings. At the same time, many scholars point to the fact that Breitner himself seldomly mentioned his photographic practices and agree on the view that in his own time it was not highly regarded for an artist to make use of photography in the process of painting.[2] What furthermore becomes clear is that by today, there is a clear overview available of all the Breitner negatives, prints, albums and camera's within the institutional collections. More easily than ever they are accessible to a large public, as all four

[1] Rooseboom 2011, 1.
[2] De Ruiter 1994, 196.

institutions have digitalized their collections of Breitner's photographic oeuvre. But above all, as Hans Rooseboom stated in 2011, even today, sixty years after the first of Breitner's photographs became known through their entrance in the RKD collection, they are the subject of much debate as well as appreciation. Consisting of a large collection that is as well very diverse in its subjects, they still invite for additional insights and speculations today, both regarding the reason why he took them, the way he used them and the way he experimented with the medium of photography.[3]

It is the looking at the photographic images themselves that has inspired my research into Breitner's photography. They immediately appear far from "perfect" images in a multitude of ways, ranging from their often physically battered appearance to the way the subjects are shown in a far from static manner that was common in late nineteenth century photography. The imperfections that dominate the images when closely observed, invite for an approach from current theory of photography focussing on insights "mistakes" can provide into the medium. Moving away from a modernistic approach dominating in the twentieth century with debates on medium specificity in relation to the very best qualities of a medium, in current theory of photography an alternative approach can be identified that instead looks at "failures" as meaningful disruptions that give insights into the medium of photography. Applying this approach from current theory of photography to Breitner's photographs provides a new perspective that moves beyond a translation of photographs as just study material for his paintings. The photographs themselves are positioned as the central subjects in this thesis, their "mistakes" as the key focus. Departing from there, the discussion of the meaningful "mistakes" in the photographs will subsequently provide insights into a process of remediation of photography, drawing and painting in Breitner's work.

Specifically, my aim will be to answer the question what meaningful insights debates on contemporary theories of "mistakes" in photographic images give into the photography of Breitner. First, I will focus on the question how to determine photographic "mistakes" in Breitner's photographs. Secondly, the following chapter addresses the question what insights current interests in photography theory in "mistakes" give into the present-day viewing of the photographs by Breitner. Finally, the third chapter explores how Breitner's photographic

[3] Rooseboom 2011, 1.

"mistakes" may be positioned, by using a theory of remediation, in relation to his drawings and paintings.

The first chapter explores "mistakes" in Breitner's photography from a late nineteenth and early twentieth century perspective. Various issues of the photographic magazine *Lux* between the period 1889 and 1913 have been consulted in order to grasp conceptions of "good" photography within the photographic "amateur" scene at that time. A more recent key publication here is Mattie Boom's dissertation "Kodak in Amsterdam. De opkomst van de amateurfotografie in Nederland 1880-1910" from 2017, which is a crucial work in not only illustrating the photographic scene of amateurs in the late nineteenth century, during Breitners active years as amateur photographer, but more importantly in describing certain image qualities that come with a third, in literature mostly ignored, group of do-it-yourself amateur photographers, to which Breitner could be confined. I will use these image qualities that Boom defines, in relation to other "unusual" visual aspects of Breitner's photographs as discussed by authors such as Hans Rooseboom, in determining different types of "mistakes" in Breitner's photographs.

Boom's dissertation is furthermore significant for the second chapter, because her interest in alternative qualities of photography that come with the "do-it-yourself amateur" manner of photographing confirms the rising current appreciation in contemporary theory of photography for disruptive characteristics of the medium. Within this chapter, with now a clear focus on a present-day theoretic viewing of Breitner's photographs, the recent theories of disruptions and mistakes by authors such as Peter Geimer and Ernst van Alphen will form a central theoretical framework, in line with a phenomenon of aesthetic disruption that Lars Koch, Tobias Nanz and Johannes Pause more generally introduce in *Disruption in the Arts* (2018) for different artforms in contemporary culture. German art historian Peter Geimer discusses in his 2018 book *Inadvertent Images: a history of photographic apparations* photography as being uniquely subject to accidents, or disruptions, that can occur in the making of the photograph. This alternative viewpoint, tracing significance from aspects rarely considered, will form a point of departure for this research into the meaningfulness of "image noise" in the photography of Breitner. Whereas Geimer's two main case studies focus on the very same time in which Breitner photographed, the fleeting street- and portrait photographs by Breitner explored in this research differ significantly from Geimer's focus on scientific photography. Nevertheless, his approach remains most relevant as a meta-perspective for considering the meaningful insights of Breitner's "mistakes." In a similar manner, Dutch

literary scholar Ernst van Alphen's 2018 book *Failed Images: Photography and Its Counter-Practices* offers an important frame of reference. While I diverge from Van Alphen's aversion to "snapshot theory", considering the fact that Breitner's "mistakes" are inevitable linked to the characteristics of the "snapshot", his approach does allow me to consider the meaningful disruption of "photographic mistakes."

In positioning Breitner's "mistakes" in relation to his drawings and paintings by using a theory of remediation in the third chapter, specifically Jay David Bolter and Richard Grusin's 1999 book *Remediation* provides a crucial theoretical framework. Even though their focus on the process of remediation in their current (digital) media within the United States differs entirely from the context of Breitner's late nineteenth / early twentieth century photography, the way their exploration of remediation is embedded in reflections on the history of processes of remediation proves relevant to my case study. Furthermore, it is especially their discussion of remediation as a process of a medium refashioning another medium that can work in two directions that forms a relevant perspective for positioning Breitner's photographic "mistakes" in relation to his remediation of photography, drawing and painting. I will apply theories from Jonathan Friday's "Photography and the Representation of Vision" (2001) and Joel Snyder and Neil Walsh Allen's "Photography, Vision, and Representation" (1975) on problematics of perspective and blurriness to investigate more in-depth the workings of specific "mistakes" within the process of remediation in Breitner's work. Bolter and Grusin's remarks on remediation and the more specific theories on perspective and blurredness are used for my in-depth analysis in two case studies of the same subject captured by Breitner in his photographs, drawings and paintings, to provide insights into the useful way remediation operates in the three different mediums.

The abovementioned theoretical framework is used in a method of literature analysis of some current debates in photographic theories combined with visual analysis of the key images. Archival research in the four collections housing Breitner's photographs, as well as the photographs of his contemporaries and the editions of *Lux* between 1889-1913, has formed the basis to which this method is applied.

Among the authors who have published on Breitner's photography is Anneke van Veen, with the 1997 book and exhibition *G. H. Breitner: fotograaf en schilder van het Amsterdamse stadsgezicht* and more recently the book *Amsterdam 1900: foto's van Olie, Breitner, Eilers en tijdgenoten* (2016), offering an impressive overview and significant historical context of the artist's photographs. Most of the recent publications discuss the

photographs of Breitner within a larger framework of his artistic practices or the photographic or artistic practices of his time in the Netherlands, including *George Hendrik Breitner in Amsterdam* (2014) by Erik Schmitz and J. F. Heijbroek, and *Rumoer in de stad* (2017) and *Israels, Breitner: vrienden en rivalen* (2020) both edited by Frouke van Dijke. Rooseboom has published several essays about the artist, his 2011 RKD Studies "George Hendrik Breitner: the Photographer" giving a clear overview of Breitner's photographic practices while also exploring the visual style of his photographs. His account of the visual relations between Breitner's photograph and the later established "snapshot" photography proves especially useful for my research, while I will take a further step than the visual comparison and specifically investigate the meaningfulness that is found in the disruptive qualities through contemporary theories on "mistakes." My thesis adds to all these previous studies of Breitner's photography this new angle of approach from a current debate within photographic theory, placing the photographs in its central focus and from there also exploring the meaningfulness of Breitner's "mistakes" within a process of remediation of his photographs, drawings and paintings.

1. Determining "mistakes" in Breitner's photographs from a late nineteenth and early twentieth century perspective

The majority of recent literature on Breitner takes the year 1889 as starting point of the artist's photographic practices. The earliest photograph that has been dated with certainty, a portrait of writer Lodewijk van Deyssel (1864-1952), was made in this year. Breitner's last two photographs that can be dated with certainty are two Amsterdam city views made in 1913.[4] I will follow in this research the recent consensus that situates Breitner's photographic oeuvre between these years of 1889 and 1913, which results in the observation that the artist has spent a little over 25 years of his life photographing. In 1880, Breitner had finished his studies in painting at the Royal Academy of Arts and he scarcely produced any more paintings after 1914.[5] This means Breitner's photographic activities coincide for a large part with his painting activities, the last eight years of his life not dedicated to these artistic practices anymore. Within the years 1889-1913, it has been proven hard to precisely date the photographs, often having to rely on topographical details like the demolishing and construction of buildings captured within the photographs.[6]

In terms of genres it is easier, and for this research more relevant, to make statements concerning the majority of Breitner's known work. While we know he photographed in different kinds of genres, from portraits to cavalry scenes, and even explored different sorts of images in his street photography, Breitner's type of street photography picturing people walking on the streets remains the most represented in his work. Importantly, he would do so in a manner that did not care for a "static" composition confirm classical perspectival rules. In technical respect these photographs made by Breitner with a small, "simple" camera stayed far behind the pictures more commonly made in this time with larger, more complex camera's.[7] Breitner's unusual method of photographing in between the people on the streets already in the 1890s and the resulting "wrong" image qualities when regarding this from common photographic practices in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, are part of what I would like to call "mistakes" in his photographs. In this chapter, I am exploring the question how to determine different kinds of photographic "mistakes" in Breitner's photographs from a late nineteenth and early twentieth century perspective. Starting from a

[4] Veen 1997, 179.
[5] Rooseboom 2011, 2-3.
[6] Ibid., 3.
[7] Ibid., 4.

focus on the photographic environment in the Netherlands in the period 1889-1913, I will turn to conceptions of "good" photography within the time he photographed, in comparison with a discussion of various types of mistakes in his photographs that belong to different stages within the making of a photograph.

In addressing the question what "good" photography is within conceptions on photography in the period 1889-1913, it is important to realize that by 1890, photography was, as a fast-changing technology and an industry with rivalry and great marketing, accessible to a larger public than it had ever been. Mattie Boom's dissertation "Kodak in Amsterdam. De opkomst van de amateurfotografie in Nederland 1880-1910" has been crucial in addressing this group of newcomers in the photographic scene. Boom refers to them as "do-it-themselvers", people for whom the newly introduced medium would become part of daily life, documenting their families, parties, trips, holidays and so on.[8] The arrival of the hand camera in 1888 had specifically been an important technical improvement in this retrospect. As Boom states, not only did the amount of people photographing grow exponentially, this also came with a change in old habits and established image traditions. Quickness, spontaneity and directness appeared in the images, but also more of a "sloppiness."[9] All qualities that can immediately be noticed when looking at Breitner's photographs.

Within this context, Boom furthermore describes how there was a rising concern around 1900 about the unpractised and unbound group of newcomers and their photographic production. "Never before", she states, "had there been so much discussion on the question what a photographic image should or should not be."[10] Concerns had come mostly from a small group of "serious" amateur photographers that had organized themselves in associations. They wanted to raise the status of the photographic medium by giving a constructive counteroffensive, which they found in "picturalism" or "art photography." They formed a close group with much exchange, also internationally, and organised across Europe and in America exhibitions that contained their best photographic works, often strongly resembling examples from pictorial art.[11] The contributions for the organized competitions and exhibitions would fit into categories like landscapes, genre pieces and portraits. In

[8] Boom 2017, 11.
[9] Ibid. 9-10.
[10] Ibid., 10. Translation by author.
[11] Ibid.

preference, Boom argues, done in a painting-like and earnest manner.[12] This group of photographers called themselves proudly "amateur photographers", using the term as a honorary title rather than a reference to non-professional skills that we associate the term with today. The way these "serious" photographers used the term "amateur" refers more to the earliest sense of the term connected to its roots in the French language, referring to "one that has a marked fondness, liking, or taste."[13] These photography-loving amateurs of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century had the general aim to raise taste and quality in photography during a time the practice of the medium became accessible to an ever-growing group of unorganized newcomers without artists ambitions.

Writings on how to make use of photography have appeared as early as the invention of the medium in 1839. At first, technical guides were published in the 1840s and 1850s to explain every step in the by then still complicated procedure, aiming at a group of "pioneers" consisting of inventors and the first amateur photographers. This group would soon be followed by gentlemen photographers that had the time and money to get to know the medium. From 1850, with the invention of the cheaper wet collodion glass negative, more and more professional photographers working in studios and making their living with photography started to arise. [14] Between 1855 and 1890 photography as a profession developed its shape and content, often finding common ground with the pictorial arts, many professional photographers being painters or graphic artists from origin.[15] To this group belonged a first professional organisation, the "Amsterdamse Photographen Vereeniging" (APV), founded in the year 1872. In the same year the renewed version of the Dutch photography magazine *Tijdschrift voor Photographie* appeared, having had earlier editions between 1864-1866, and became the official organ of the APV. Yet, the magazine was made by and for both the professional photographer *and* the amateur.[16]

In 1887, when there was an increasing amount of Dutch amateur photographers, the Amsterdamse Photographen Vereeniging was dissolved. Instead, a group of amateurs from the APV members formed the Amsterdam amateur photographers association "Helios" and their official organ became a renewed *Tijdschrift voor Photographie* between 1888-1897. Another association for amateur photography had been organised in Amsterdam within the

[12] Ibid.
[13] Merriam Webster 2022.
[14] Boom 2017, 21.
[15] Rooseboom 2008.
[16] Boom 2017, 26.

same year, the "Amateur-Fotografen Vereeniging te Amsterdam" (AFV). The magazine *Lux* (1889-1927) became the official organ of this association and interestingly contained not just news about the association and upcoming exhibitions, but was very much aimed at a broader public as well, with both technological or practical instructions and texts on the directions and future of the medium. During the running period of *Lux*, the magazine furthermore illustrates an interesting development: the expanding discussion into the nineteenth century of photography as an artform. It therefore proves interesting to consider the magazine as handbook for what would be seen as "good" photography within this time, according to the "serious" group of amateur photographers, as opposed to the unorganized "do-it-yourselvers." Consulting *Lux* is furthermore relevant because of its regular monthly publications between the years 1889 and 1927 in Amsterdam, as this coincides with the exact year Breitner is first known to start photographing and covers all the years until his last dated photograph in 1913.

An article written under the pseudonym Sardanapalus in the 1891 edition of *Lux* illustrates how the "ideal" serious amateur photographer formed a stark contrast with the unorganised "do-it-your-self" photographer. The latter group is described in the article, entitled "Different types of Amateur-Photographers", as "brainless beginners who are photographing like a bad automatic device" and as a "press-the-button mensch", quoting here with a negative connotation Kodak's 1888 slogan during the arrival of the first hand camera.[17] Yet the opportunity of improved photography was possible, the essay states, should the press-the-button photographer become a member of a good amateur association.[18] That was after all the goal of the association and its magazine: to train the amateur photographer and raise the quality of the photographic images.

Historically there has been most attention in literature on picturalism as a tendency in photography that was strongly tied with the associations of amateur photographers, but it is this second group of the do-it-yourself amateurs, that Boom has for the first time given in-depth attention to, that Breitner is rather associated with.[19] Although Breitner was living and actively photographing in Amsterdam during the rise and height of the Amateur-Fotografen Vereeniging in Amsterdam and the publications of *Lux*, he was not a member of the association and never attached himself to them, while actually being a known member of the Amsterdam painter's association "Arti et Amicitae" since 1886.[20] His method of

[17] Sardanapalus 1891, 34-38.
[18] Ibid.
[19] Boom 2011, 10.
[20] Hegeman 1987.

photographing resembles that of the unorganized and untrained amateurs, capturing daily life without much control over his subjects. The question that remains, however, is to what extend the photographs could really be viewed as taken without the control of the artist. The fact is that Breitner was already an educated artist, a painter with a trained eye for composition and motives to capture. In contrast to the do-it-yourself photographer capturing their family and friends during the moments in daily life, Breitner must have had a clear and artistic goal in mind when photographing as well. As more than an "unorganised" and "unskilled" amateur, yet walking around capturing daily life in a manner resembling the "do-it-yourself-amateur", Breitner created his own dynamic way of photographing.

Following the working method, or rather apparent lack of an organized method, of the "do-it-yourself" photographer, Breitner's way of photographing often seems to stand into stark contrast with the conceptions of the right direction for photography as has been sketched out by the association photographers. His "wrong" way of photographing, according to the standard that wanted to improve photography in its time, involves multiple aspects of the medium of photography. When considering "mistakes" within photography, it is important to realise that the medium consists of different stages that all bring their own risks, or specific choices, that might be regarded as "wrong." I would like to propose in relation to the photography of Breitner within his time a distinction of "mistakes" within photography: one category concerning the moment of taking the picture on site and the other concerning the process of developing the photograph in the darkroom.

Breitner's pioneering way of photographing took place almost unnoticed in between the people on the streets. Capturing their spontaneous movements through the city is connected to this first type of "mistake" that happens at the moment of photographing on site. The first direct way this quick capturing of the moving object before the camera expresses itself is through motion blur. In opposition to a soft-focus and overall use of blurriness for the sake of creating a harmonious "pictoralist" photograph, in Breitner's photographs we often see subjects in the centre in complete blur, creating a dynamic composition that gives the impression the subjects are walking directly out of the frame. As seen in an undated photograph of Breitner with passengers walking by on the streets of Amsterdam, the blurriness covers large parts of the figures walking in the front of the image, in contrast to the background that is presented in sharp focus (fig. 1). In another photograph, also undated, a

women is seen in full motion blur on the front right of the image. The blurred figure forms a stark contrast to the background portraying buildings in full focus (fig. 2).

The photographs that are praised in the 1890s and early 00's editions of *Lux* often confirm Boom's statement that a form of picturalism was a counteroffensive of good photography raised by the serious amateurs. This was always closely tied with a debate on the possibility of "art photography." The picturalists are today considered to be the first to embrace the medium as an art. At the same time, the picturalist movement was always considered very much in relation to the medium of painting. In one of the 1899 issues of *Lux* discusses how the "modern" art photography began to free their images of "hard details" and rather conveyed a mood, of for example the atmosphere in landscape pictures.[21] Creating a personal image that conveys a mood similar as a painting would do, sometimes even with the help of retouching the photographic image, is what characterized the photographs that were praised as the right direction for photography around the turn of the century (figs. 3-11).[22] Similarly, a soft blurriness is described as an artistic means of the photographer similar to the effect of brushstrokes by the painter.[23] Yet the amateur is warned for the use of blurriness: a soft, limited use of blurriness in the depth of the image can increase the artistic impression of the image, but a photograph is said to be unable to bear blurriness in the front and middle of the composition, as it would shift the attention away from the central subject.[24] Reproduced examples included in the pages in the different editions of *Lux* illustrate this use of soft blur in the background, while the prime subject in the front is pictured in full-focus (figs. 12-13). At the same time, in the Leiden University Libraries, maintaining the most extensive collection of Dutch picturalist photography, we find many examples of photographs using blurriness either in this same manner or as an artistic effect throughout the whole image in a similar way a painting's brushstrokes could provide a softness throughout the image (figs. 14-15). Comparing the previous two photographs by Breitner with the guidelines in *Lux* and the photo reproductions in the magazine as well as the prints in the collection of Leiden University illustrates how Breitner's use of motion blur in the front of his photographs against a focussed background had been unaccustomed in his own time.

Within the same photograph by Breitner with passengers walking by on the streets of Amsterdam, a second "mistake" from the moment on sight can be signalled: the accidental

[21] Juhl 1899, 45.
[22] Ibid., 78.
[23] Ibid., 94.
[24] Ibid.

cropping of the image (fig. 1). The frame often cuts right through the subjects in Breitner's photographs, again enhancing a feeling of liveliness, as well as the impression of the world of the image continuing outside the frame. Furthermore striking in the second photograph of the women in full motion blur by Breitner is the close position of the camera in relation the photographed subject (fig. 2). Breitner often chose such unusual camera viewpoints and positions for his compositions. In many cases of buildings seen in his street photographs, the unexpected viewpoints are also the result of technical restrictions of the camera. For example, when Breitner photographed with his Guy's Edison Camera for 9 x 12 centimetres glass negatives that is currently in the Leiden collection, the box character of the camera device obstructed the possibility to fix perspective distortion (fig. 16). This meant that Breitner had to tilt his camera significantly in order to capture certain buildings on the street in its entirety (fig. 17).[25] The perspectives in his photographs also change at times from extremely low or high angles. In a photograph from a lady walking in the snow Breitner has made use of such an unusual high angle, most of her body having walked outside the frame already, while a similar type of photograph shows another lady walking on the street from an extremely low angle (figs. 20-21). Occasionally Breitner would also take spontaneous photographs of people walking on the streets not by walking close to them himself, but by taking their picture unexpectedly through the frame of a window (figs. 18-19).[26]

A multitude of texts in the various issues of *Lux* have commented on the use of hand camera's for amateurs, while one text specifically discusses what they call "momentopnamen" and focuses on the amateur going out to photograph discretely on the streets. This text by C. van Andel in the 1907 edition of *Lux* illustrates that by that time, it was becoming a bit more of a common practice to photograph on the street, so it required the artist to walk around as discreetly as possible in order not to get noticed.[27] Such practice would later receive the name "candid camera." In the meantime, Breitner had likely been exploring the opportunities of candid camera street photography already for over fifteen years before Andel's text appeared in *Lux*. It is, however, stressed in the article that the mistake by most amateurs with a hand camera lies in the fact that they do not handle the camera with enough precision and just walk around "snapping" pictures, whether they are aiming straight or not. [28] Photographs included in the editions of Lux seem to illustrate what such a straight, proper

[25] De Ruiter "Het fotografisch ambacht" 1997, 111.
[26] Rooseboom 2011, 5.
[27] Van Andel 1907, 64.
[28] Ibid., 65.

point of perspective and way of framing the image looked like (figs. 22-23). Also in photographs by Barend Arendsen, who also appears in the editions of *Lux*, or Adriaan Boer, who later came to establish another photography magazine called *Focus* in 1914, perspectives are adopted that appear much like a tradition of landscape and household glimpses in Dutch seventeenth-century paintings (figs. 24-25). Breitner's photographs, in contrast, seem to illustrate creative ways of using the camera from all kinds of positions. In part, Breitner has deliberately chosen unusual angles and perspectives to photograph from, as illustrated by the image of a woman seen through a window or the images of a woman from an extremely high and low perspective. At the same time, technical incapabilities that came with the decision to use a hand camera also played its part in the often spontaneous and abruptly framed angles and perspectives.

The two photographs of women walking on the streets from either an extremely high or low perspective were furthermore notably taken with direct sunlight against the camera, capturing their subjects as black silhouettes against the sunlight (figs. 20-21). Breitner often photographed with light in an unusual manner. As Rooseboom points out, this might sometimes have been what he was aiming for, a view that might well be supported by the discovery of the text "horses against the light" written on an envelope containing some of his negatives.[29] In many other cases can be seen how the artist is using light coming towards the camera to contrast the figures in the image as silhouettes (figs. 26-30). Apart from light illuminating the scene from a direction towards the camera, rather than from the front or side, often the unusual lightening in Breitner's photographs is also the result of under- or overexposure, both caused during the moment on site and during the developing in the darkroom. In two of Breitner's album sheets containing original prints, two similar photographs in a darker and lighter version by Breitner have been pasted next to each other (figs. 31-32).[30] The handwritten annotation "The same, one a bit too light. This one too dark" underneath one pair is intriguing (fig. 33). It not only suggests the photographs were developed in a manner that was often done not too carefully, but it also suggests Breitner considered it relevant to keep both versions of the photographs, despite their "wrong" lighting. Whether he kept them as documentation perhaps in the process of learning to develop his photographs or purely for their use as study material for artistic purposes will

[29] Rooseboom 2011, 5.
[30] De Ruiter "Het fotografisch ambacht" 1997, 115.

remain unknown, but it gives a good indication of the occurrence of this kind of "mistake" in the use of light also in many of the saved original prints.

As a text on "working with a hand camera" in the 1896 edition of Lux describes, photographing against the light is often too hard for the amateur and asks for precision, especially when developing the photographs. The 1896 text instructs the amateur to photograph as much as possible with the source of light coming from the side, giving the photographed subject the most round edges.[31] Many such examples are found in Lux over the editions (figs. 34-36). Light from directly behind the photographer would create flat images, the text argues, while light coming from the opposite direction is often too hard to work with for the amateur and usually gives no satisfactory result.[32] The 1907 "momentopnamen" text in Lux furthermore points to underexposure as often a negative result from the fact that the amateur supposes the quickness of lighting should be as big as possible, while a slightly longer shutter time is often better, the negatives often turning out too thin because of underexposure.[33] In a 1904 edition of Lux, author Schellenberg also warns the amateur photographer regarding the use of light. While the use of over-exposure is advised against for the unexperienced amateur because it makes the images harder to develop, for the experienced amateur, the text states, it could be a useful way of creating softer contrasts and flowing shadows to resemble picturesque landscapes.[34] Examples of the use of overexposure to achieve such an effect, as well as the careful and patient use of light coming from opposite the camera, are present in Lux, among them for example a reproduction of the soft yet contrasting photograph by Bernard Eilers from circa 1907-1908 (figs. 37-40). Comparing them with Breitner's photographs illustrates the often more extreme ways Breitner contrasts his subjects against the light or on the other hand makes them dissolve in under- and overexposed images.

While the case of under- and overexposure illustrates there is not always a clear distinction immediately visible between mistakes of the moment on site and mistakes in the process of developing in the darkroom, I will arrive now at a discussion of mistakes that are associated mostly with the latter category. It is important to note that large part of the photographs by Breitner show some sort of technical flaw. The question arises whether this was technical incapability, sloppiness or indifference of the artist, or he actively chose this

[31] H.v.d.M.S 1896, 328.
[32] Ibid.
[33] Van Andel 1907, 67.
[34] Schellenberg 1904, 93.

manner of photographing for stylistic reasons. Breitner's rather "simple" box-camera for glass negatives in a 9 x 12 format had a lower quality compared to the standard of the association amateur.[35] A flawless technological development of his photographs was not something Breitner seemed to have his priorities on. As Tineke de Ruiter has investigated in her article "Het fotografisch ambacht" in *G.H. Breitner. Fotograaf en schilder van het Amsterdamse stadsgezicht* (1997), it may be concluded that Breitner did develop his own negatives. The author substantiates her argument among others with a letter Breitner wrote in 1893 to fellow painter and photographer Herman van der Weele alongside a photograph he explained to have developed the night before.[36] Furthermore, De Ruiter mentions the existence of a pocket guide within the possessions of Breitner containing a hand-written note on the developing of photographs from Joseph Jessurun de Mesquita's guidebook *Gids voor den Amateur-Fotograaf* from 1889, as well as an added inscription of the same recipe for developing chemicals as photography dealer Loman had published in 1889.[37] In the same letter to Van der Weele becomes apparent that Breitner also made prints of the negatives himself. Breitner used transmission prints of his negatives on daylight silver chloride paper, which required him to place the negative with the emulsion side on the sensitive side of a piece of paper within a frame, that in itself had to be placed in the daylight for exposure.[38] After the exposure, the print had to be fixated. De Ruiter emphasizes that Breitner often provided very sloppy work in the developing and printing of his photographs. She furthermore notes an interesting fact: many of the damages in the negatives, caused for example by holes in the emulsion, scrapings, fingerprints and stains, have been there already since Breitner's own time, as we find these irregularities also on the original prints of his negatives.[39] Additionally, the mistakes made during the process of developing vary from very small disturbances like a hair or tiny spots on the negatives and cracks in the glass plates, to entire parts of the photographic negatives being covered by a grey blur or dark holes (figs. 41-48). In another letter from 1894 it becomes clear that Breitner also made enlargements of his photographs himself. De Ruiter suggests the use of a simple form of a *Laterna Magica* for the magnifications, causing irregularities such as the printed traces of drawing-pins that are visible on the enlarged prints.[40] The author makes one more crucial observation in this regard, when stating that it

[35] Rooseboom 2011, 5.
[36] De Ruiter "Het fotografisch ambacht" 1997, 113.
[37] Ibid., 114.
[38] Ibid., 115.
[39] Ibid.
[40] Ibid., 116.

could not have been Breitner's intention to use his enlargements for exhibiting. "In a time in which the technical quality formed such an important criterion of assessment of photography", the author states, "his sloppy prints would have never been accepted at a photography exhibition."[41] Just how important the quality of technical development of photography was regarded in Breitner's time becomes apparent in the editions of *Lux* since 1889.

The previously mentioned 1907 text in *Lux* argues that the photographer making "quick" pictures on the street should, apart from aiming with precision and not leaving the shutter open too short as to create underexposure, above all develop their photographs with great care.[42] The 1896 text "Working with a hand camera" in *Lux* already previously stressed the importance of the proper development of photographs. The author concludes the text by warning the reader that the developing should be handled with precision and not be thought about more lightly then with more complex cameras.[43] In fact, all the editions of *Lux* since 1889 until 1913 that I have consulted are generally focussed on the technical improvement of the photography of the amateur. While contributing to a rising status of photography as "art" and providing guidelines on the "right" artistic directions photography should develop towards, the magazine perhaps above all continuously provides the reader with instructions how to technically improve their photographs. During a time of rapid change in photographic processes, the amateur consistently confronted with learning and discovering new improvements in photography, it becomes clear that during Breitner's working period, the high technical development of one's photograph was regarded as pivotal for the amateur.

One article in the 1904 edition of Lux under the title "Photographic mistakes and failures. Their cause and improvement" seems to illustrate this importance well. The article makes a distinction of all kinds of mistakes in the different stages of "A. before the exposure", "B. while the glass plate is in the camera", "C. after exposure, before developing" and finally, "D. during developing."[44] The article warns in the first stage against mistakes such as the touching of the plate with fingertips or dust stains and pinholes, while the second stage for example addresses the mistake of underexposure and gives advice to prevent exposing double on one plate. In the third stage the article stresses the importance of cleaning the film surface after exposure with a dry and clean brush made from badger hair, in order to prevent particles

[41] Ibid.
[42] Van Andel 1907, 67.
[43] H.v.d.M.S 1896, 328-329.
[44] Lambert 1904, 80-84, 121-125.

of dust or sand to create wholes or even cracks in the glass plates.[45] Finally, the mistakes mentioned in the article during the stage of developing vary from air bubbles attaching to the glass plate in the form of small circles to uneven developed images due to for example an unbalanced underground or a shortage of developing liquid. The extensive amount of different mistakes found in Breitner's negatives and prints caused throughout the different stages of a photograph the *Lux* article mentions, ranging from disturbances such as hairs, fingerprints, air bubbles, cracked glass to also technical mistakes of the moment before the camera such as double exposure and under- and overexposure, illustrate Breitner's contrarian sloppiness regarding the technological aspects of his photographs within his own time.

The technical sloppiness of Breitner's photographs is also briefly noted in the book *Snapshot: Painters and Photography* (2011), edited by Elizabeth W. Easton and accompanying an international exhibition. Two of the short essays in the edited volume discuss the photographic practices of Breitner. The first is devoted to Breitner's nude photography and less relevant to consider in this context, but the second short essay on Breitner's street photography by Hans Rooseboom is relevant for my case. In the brief essay entitled "Movement studies in an urban setting: the photographs of George Hendrik Breitner", Rooseboom hints at the critique Breitner would have likely received from his contemporaries had his photographs been known. He explains: "The way Breitner exposed and printed his negatives indicates that he played with technical possibilities in ways unknown to his contemporaries, who might have mocked him had they been aware of his approach."[46] Rooseboom continues to conclude that "The technical imperfections of many shots cannot be attributed solely to carelessness or incompetence. It is apparent, rather, that he sought to capture the pictorial or atmospheric effect, not a technically exact image. In doing so, Breitner demonstrated that he was the painter – turned photographer par excellence."[47] On the one hand, I divert from the use of the terms "pictorial" or "atmospheric" effect as something Breitner was seeking with his photography, on the basis of the comparison with Breitner's contemporary "picturalist" photographers and the association-amateur guidelines that have emphasized exactly the difference with these photographs often rooted in a comparison to painting. On the other hand, Rooseboom strikingly points here not only to the fact that Breitner diverted significantly from what his contemporary photographers would have

[45] Ibid., 121-122.
[46] Ibid, 85.
[47] Ibid, 88.

considered “good” photography, but even more so, that his diverting technical imperfections cannot be attributed to carelessness or unwitting sloppiness alone.

I would support this view by referring to a smaller, yet recognizable amount of images within Breitner’s collection of street photographs that are more organized and static. In some cases these photographs appear throughout his smaller glass negatives and the large amount of nitrate film negatives, but are apparent by far the most in the larger 13x18 glass negatives preserved in the collection of the Amsterdam City Archive. These photographs were made with a larger camera on a tripod and give a very different, more peaceful and empty, but also demure impression of the city of Amsterdam (figs. 49-50).[48] While De Ruiter explains it cannot be ruled out with absolute certainty that these larger format images found in the midst of Breitner’s photographic collection in the City Archive are in fact from the hand of another photographer, it is known Breitner did own multiple sorts of camera’s and often also photographed a similar scene with multiple devices.[49] The lighting is much more in line with the pictural images the association praised. In terms of technical development these images seem to be developed with more preciseness; generally they show less flaws that could be ascribed to the process in the darkroom. This would be logic with regard to the fact that the hand camera mostly allowed Breitner to explore the more spontaneous and brute way of photographing, while these effects would not have been reached with a tripod camera. The most static cityscapes of Amsterdam in the collection of the City Archives could only have been reached with the log equipment and heavy 13 x 18 centimetres glass plates. Breitner’s interest in making these different kinds of photographic images of Amsterdam, especially towards the end of his career, would be the area of speculation. But they do provide us with the knowledge that Breitner had been able to choose the type of photographs he wanted to make, in addition to, as I have argued, having to some extend an artistic goal in mind when he was photographing.

In answering the question how to determine different kinds of “mistakes” in Breitner’s photographs from a late nineteenth and twentieth century perspective, I must come to the conclusion that a different definition withstands of the term “mistake” than one might traditionally associate the term with. Consulting Boom’s dissertation and the editions of *Lux*

[48] Ibid.
[49] Ibid. 122-124.

between the years 1889 and 1927 proves the “mistakes” in Breitner’s photography as deviations of the “good” photography of the dominant association amateur views at the turn to the twentieth century. But rather than an action or decision that is wrong or produces a result that is not correct or wished for, they become “apparent mistakes” that are deliberate disruptions that Breitner, as we know from his smaller “association-amateur-style” group of static examples on larger format, very often chose to pursue. The “apparent mistakes” in this chapter are all connected to processes related to the photographs as objects on themselves. They are manifested in the process of taking the photograph in the “misplacement” of blurriness, accidental cropping, extremely high and low camera angles, unusual perspectives, extreme cases of lighting and in the process in the darkroom through an overall sloppiness, yet one that cannot be designated as solely carelessness or incompetence. It seems only fitting then, to have referred to these “apparent mistakes”, not failing in achieving a goal that was chosen for, as “mistakes” in quotation marks.

2. Breitner's street photographs from the perspective of a current interest in photography theories of "mistakes"

The previous chapter has already pointed at the lack of contemporary reception of Breitner's photographs due to the private safekeeping of his photographs. Instead, I would propose the term of "apparent mistakes" that I have applied to the visual and technical characteristics of Breitner's photography as unusual for the serious amateur and professional photographer in the time and place Breitner worked, is also significantly linked to our current way of looking at Breitner's photographs. This chapter explores a current interest of theory of photography in "disruptive" aspects and the meaning that can be derived from them. From the 1960s, coinciding with the discovery of the photographs by Breitner and its introduction to the larger public, photographic theory on the 'snapshot' started to rise and give meaning to characteristics similarly found in Breitner's photographs. Most writings on photography have from early on been closely tight to the question of what is intrinsic to the medium as such, and focused on what it is good at. In recent photographic theories this question of the inherent essence of photography often becomes less relevant. Instead they offer a focus on the diversity, multiplicity and flexibility of characteristics of the medium.

By investigating disruptive qualities in photographs, that can be both technical and related to a photograph's visual style, these theories offer insights into diverse characteristics of photography. In what way can such a contemporary focus be applied to Breitner's photographs? More specifically, what insights does a current interest in 'mistakes' as meaningful disruptions give into the present-day viewing of the photographs by Breitner? Within this chapter I will continue to focus on the genre of his street photographs. This largest category within his known photographic oeuvre illustrates most evidently the "do-it-yourself-amateurs" method and resulting image qualities, closely tied to later snapshot theory. First, I will position 'mistakes' in relation to the notion of the "snapshot", starting the discussion more than a century back with the rise of the Kodak handheld camera, toward the later rise of the term "snapshot aesthetic" in the 1960s. This will be followed by a discussion of recent photography theories of "mistakes", investigating meaningful disruptions with the help of theories of "blurriness" and "image noise."

While a theory and practice of "snapshot aesthetics" started to rise in the 1960s across America and Europe, the term "snapshot" traces back as early as the mid-nineteenth century. In 1860 English mathematician John Herschel coined the term to describe a method of taking photographs quickly and easily while using simple equipment.[50] The term had been derived from the hunter's phrase "snapshot" to describe the act of shooting from the hip without taking careful aim.[51] The quick and less accurate act of capturing from the hip is what characterized the arrival of the first Kodak box camera in 1888. The advent of the Kodak camera was crucial in the rise of snapshot practice. The camera could easily be held in two hands and was much more compact than the tripod cameras it replaced, while having an unprecedented speed and ease of processing and printing.[52] The Kodak camera's inventor, George Eastman, would refer in "The Kodak Manual" to the box camera as a "photographic notebook."[53] The comparison with a "notebook" emphasizes not only the speed of the new method, but also a visually "quick" appearing resulting images.

The arrival of more handheld cameras after 1888 would allow the general public to create "instant" images that could record the events of everyday family life. In *Snapshot: painters and photography* (2011) Elizabeth Easton describes this drive among the public from the 1890's onwards for instant images of everyday life. Yet, she argues, the essence of this new form of representation resided more in the emotions it caused than in the formal qualities of its composition.[54] As Boom has pointed out in *Kodak in Amsterdam* (2017), these quick and spontaneous photographs made with box cameras were the terrain of the do-it-yourself amateur photographers, rather than the professional photographers or serious amateurs photographing with a motivation beyond the capturing of their everyday lives. Easton continues her argument by referring to Roland Barthes' observation in *Camera Lucida* (1981) that the snapshot is by its nature a sentimental object.[55] "It is not the making of the snapshot that distinguishes it but the intentionality" Easton states, before continuing, "these photographs are made to be private records of a particular moment, without artistic pretence or commercial aspirations."[56] Breitner's unique and pioneering position within his place and time is evident here: the artist walked around the urban streets with a method similar to a do-

[50] Van Gelder and Westgeest 2011, 232.
[51] Ibid., 75.
[52] Easton 2011, 1. Van Gelder and Westgeest 2011, 75
[53] Van Gelder and Westgeest 2011, 75.
[54] Easton 2011, 2.
[55] Ibid 2011, 3.
[56] Ibid.

it-yourself amateur making private photographs, yet with the trained eye of an artist whose ambitions with the camera cannot be designated as completely without artistic will.

While Easton provides some examples of nineteenth century painters of whom we only later learned that they have experimented in their paintings with personal and informal "snapshot" photographs, it was in the first half of the twentieth century when the "snapshot" way of photographing would at more times be picked up by avantgarde artists. As Boom explains, modernist artists like Bill Brandt (1904-1983) and Theo van Doesburg (1883-1931) often used the qualities of the snapshot as inspiration, yet from that starting point creating more carefully composed photographic images.[57] The author argues that the path from amateur photography to photography as a form to early modern art itself might be far shorter than is often assumed.[58] She recounts a letter from Van Doesburg when he made a double profile portrait of himself and his future wife Nelly during his arrival in Weimar in 1921 to teach at Bauhaus. Van Doesburg explained how he had wanted to make a snapshot in the sun with harsh shadows and almost sculpted forms in black and white.[59] However, as Boom argued, the final version of the photograph had been skilfully composed as an "artwork", the snapshot for long not even been recognized as source of inspiration for avantgarde artists like Van Doesburg (fig. 51).[60] Similarly, in the simultaneous portrait of Theo and Nelly van Doesburg in the Leiden photography collection, it is easy to ignore the snapshot as basis of the image, as the final "artistic" photograph appears more carefully composed than the fleeting do-it-yourself amateur snapshots (fig. 52). By contrast, Breitner himself did not make the step towards "artistic photography" in the manner Van Doesburg did in the context of the early twentieth century avant-garde a few decades after Breitner. The context Van Doesburg worked in allowed him to explore professionally a whole range of disciplines at the same time, among them architecture, painting, poetry, photography and writing, while Breitner in the context of the late nineteenth century would professionally remain a painter, who privately photographed, rather than professionally producing "art" photography.

Rooseboom also recognizes a similarity between Breitner's characteristic way of photographing on the street and the art photography of the avant-gardists from the 1920s onwards, while warning that the snapshot-style was not largely practiced yet as aesthetics

[57] Boom 2017, 130.
[58] Ibid., 132.
[59] Ibid.
[60] Ibid., 130.

during this time.[61] Recounting Ian Jeffrey's observation in *Photography. A concise history* (1981) that Breitner's way of photographing was "met with more and more after the war of 1914-1918", Rooseboom agrees that the characteristics such as the unusual point of views and abrupt cropping seen in Breitner's photographs started to become more commonplace in the 1920s official' photography.[62] In many examples of avant-gardists from the 1920s we can indeed encounter the unusual viewpoints and cropping already seen with Breitner. Take for example the self-portrait by Paul Schuitema (1897-1973) captured from an extremely low angle (fig. 53). A comparison with Breitner's previously discussed photograph of the silhouette of the woman against the light illustrates the similarity in the unusual perspective, while the apparent fleetingness of Breitner's photograph contrasts with the well-composed photograph by Schuitema (fig. 54). Wht Rooseboom does not mention, but furthermore becomes apparent specifically from the perspective of Breitner's technical "mistakes", is the parallel in double exposure and solarization in Breitner's photographs and the avant-garde modernist photography. While double exposure and tone reversal, known as 'solarization', are the result of the photographic 'mistakes' of film recording two different moments in one image when being shifted in the camera in the first case and extreme overexposure of the film in the camera in the latter, they in fact become techniques used by the avant-garde modernist photographer to acquire experimental visual effects in their photography (figs. 55-56). In the case of Breitner we encounter these exact visual characteristics, but rather than a certain aesthetic the photographer aimed to achieve, they are the result of his sloppy, do-it-yourself-amateur way of handling the camera and developing his photographs (figs. 57-58).

While the modern artists used characteristics similar to Breitner's photographic visual style, they could not have been known with Breitner's photographs in their own time. In 1961 Breitner's photographic practice became first known to the public, precisely during a time when the "snapshot-aesthetic" started to rise in both practice and literature. Typical for the rising trend was a deliberate attempt to disrupt common practice and investigate the characteristics of photography, reflected for example in the deliberate partial loss of control over camera, technique and thus the resulting image.[63] The method resulted in snapshots of everyday life, often blurred and with unexpected, off-centred framing. The trend of "snapshot

[61] Rooseboom 2011, 3.
[62] Ibid.
[63] Ibid.

aesthetic" within art photography started in the United States, American photographer Robert Frank pioneering the aesthetics with his photography book "The Americans" in 1958. His ordinary subjects of people leading their everyday lives and the quick, unsteady technique in capturing them with the camera coincides with the do-it-yourself-amateur's method. Of big influence were furthermore the writings and exhibitions on photography, specifically by conservator of photography John Szwarkowski at the Museum of Modern Art (1962-1991). In 1963 Szarkowski was the first to dedicate an exhibition to the photographs by French photographer Jacques-Henri Latrique (1894-1986), labelling him as a direct percussor of the modern art photography of the 1960s.[64] The works of Szwarkowski's contemporaries such as Lee Friedlander, Garry Winogrand and Diane Arbus were furthermore given a platform by the conservator, identifying a new trend in photography of pictures that portrayed the strikingly ordinary in a casual, snapshot-like manner. In many ways the "snapshot aesthetics" of the 1960s were disruptive in the same characteristic way of losing control of conventions of well-composed photographs as Breitner his 'mistakes' within his own time, even though their intentions would have been different. While Winogrand for example commented on his way of photography as letting the "picture take care of itself", not forming a picture in his head when taking the photograph, in Breitner's case it seems more likely he did have some picture in mind when photographing, considering the use of his photographs for his paintings.

A comparison with the photographs of for example Friedlander and Winogrand illustrates how the spontaneous and fleeting images of both Breitner and the 1960's photographers portray a strong diagonal direction as opposed to a classical ideal of linear perspective. Take for example one of many of Breitner's photographs where we find a lop-sided view on building facades, in this case two figures on the Prinsengracht in Amsterdam seen in a chaotic scenery where they are directly contrasted to a row of canal buildings portrayed from an extreme case of slanting perspective (fig. 59). The same slanting direction determines the spontaneity in Winogrand's photograph of the woman seen against the tilted buildings in the background, or Friedlander's woman directly contrasted against the tilted elevator doors (figs. 60-61). While Rooseboom has been one of the first to link Breitner to the visual language of the snapshot aesthetics in the United States in his RKD studies, photographers from many different countries since the 1960s would in fact come to follow working in a similar manner. Examples from photographers that would work in a similar aesthetic within the Netherlands furthermore illustrate how also blurriness in the front of the

[64] Ibid.

image contrasting a blurred background, off-centred perspectives, unexpected cropping, under-and overexposure, as well as unusually high and low viewpoints would become regularly employed characteristics that visually agree with Breitner's way of photographing (figs. 62-68).

Even though Breitner's photographs were discovered in the midst of the rising interest in the snapshot and were received positively by the public, the photographs were initially only regarded in the context of Breitner's study material for his painting activities. Their most important function seemed to be the insights they could give in Breitner's paintings and working method.[65] Rooseboom recalls the first book dedicated to Breitner's photographs, Paul Hefting's *Breitner als Fotograaf* (1966), which describes how Breitner belonged to many of the painters who regarded photography as sketch-method, a helping hand for the visual memory.[66] In his later publications on the reception of Breitner's photographs in the 1970s and 1980s, the main focus of the author remains on the relation to Breitner's painting.[67] Rooseboom further mentions how the first author to elaborate in-depth on Breitner's photographs themselves, instead of mainly discussing them within the context of his paintings, was German art historian Klaus Honnef in his article "Der Fotograf Breitner" in 1977. Honnef recognized and analysed characteristic photographic image qualities in Beitner's photographs, while praising his photographic work as being of equal status as his paintings.[68] However, as Rooseboom concludes, Honnef's work remained largely unknown in the Netherlands and is still barely cited, which might explain why the perspective of Breitner's photographs as "study material" remained the most prominent for a long time after Honnef's publication. [69]

In more recent literature on Breitner, the characteristics of his photographs on their own started to gain prominence, their original and pioneering visual style making them receive a prominent place within the history of photography in the Netherlands, but also occasionally in an international context.[70] The increasing appreciation for the snapshot qualities as found in Breitner's photography is something that Boom has reflected on also in the more general context of amateur photography. She spots the increasing tendency today

[65] Ibid.
[66] Hefting 1966, 8.
[67] Rooseboom 2011, 3. They regard respectively publications by P.H. Hefting on Breitner's photography in the years 1971, 1977, 1983, 1988, 1989.
[68] Rooseboom 2011, 3.
[69] Ibid.
[70] Ibid.

among art scholars and museums to study snapshots, selfies and vernacular photography.[71] In fact, her own 2017 study on amateur photography in the Netherlands between 1880-1910, with a main focus on the before neglected "do-it-yourself amateur" and the resulting new image qualities, is illustrative for the current appreciation of these disruptive characteristics of the medium.

On a larger frame, I would argue that the interest in the snapshot aligns with a current interest in the disruptive characteristics of art in general among contemporary scholars. This relation between the snapshot and its disruptive characteristics can be signified already in some direct statements made in Easton's 2011 edited volume. Discussing different international painters in the late nineteenth century who turned to photography with a similar manner to Breitner, she explains how the artists discussed in the book adapt the medium of photography to their own aesthetic ambitions: "The way they composed their canvases, with figures looming large in the foreground, radically foreshortened in the background, and cropped unexpectedly with skilled manipulation of light and dark, naturally disposed them, in their photographs, to play with, exploit, and master the accident that was fundamental to the use of this new tool."[72] Significant is the direct link the author makes with the "accident", the deliberate use of this disruptive element by the photographers within their own period of time. In addition, the author later on quotes an article published in 1887 entitled "The Amateur Photographer." The early article states that "working only for pleasure and attainment, the amateur thinks nothing of a risk. He indulges in most unorthodox measures, violating recognized rules of procedure, and with bewildering impunity."[73] Easton thus furthermore makes a link with the "sloppy" practices of the "do-it-yourself-amateurs" Boom would devote an entire study to a few years later. The possibilities provided by the "wrong" visual and technical characteristics of Breitner's photography that Rooseboom's indirectly has touched upon in the same edited volume by Easton similarly provides an indication for the steps I wish to take further in this thesis, searching for the role and value of the use of these "mistakes" for contemporary perception of Breitner's photographs.

Issues of "medium" in current theories of photography often move away from establishing one specific identity. The word "medium" itself can be considered in this retrospect as

[71] Boom 2017, 130.
[72] Easton red. 2011, 2.
[73] Ibid, 6.

mediating a fragment of the visual word by means of specific techniques and abilities.[74] As Hilde van Gelder and Helen Westgeest discuss in *Photography Theory in Historical Perspective,* apart from physical components of tools and materials, like a camera, film and photopaper, a medium mainly implies processes of representation and ways of dealing with time and place.[75] Photography has often been described as a transparent medium, meaning that the viewer forgets they are looking at a transparent medium instead of reality itself, which implies that the medium reflects on both what it depicts and itself.[76] The authors continue to explain the search in the age of modernism in the first six decades of the twentieth century by photographers, as well as other artists and art critics, for the medium-specific characteristics of their field. In the modernist approach in the manner of American art critic Clement Greenberg, looking for an 'essence' of a medium, their search was bound with establishing an ontology of photography. Van Gelder and Westgeest note how this changed significantly since the late 1960s, with artists and theorists arriving at the conclusion that a medium's identity changes over time and is thus not fixed.[77] "The same tendency is found in studies by sociologists and psychologists who claim that human identity is variable and even multiple, rather than unchanging; it can differ depending on time and place or the functions we perform", the authors argue. "In a similar way", they continue, "it is not possible to formulate a medium-specific definition of photography, applicable to the entire tradition of photographic techniques and the different forms of its manifestation."[78] The book thus contributes to the understanding of the multifaceted character of the photographic medium, signifying a current tendency in photographic theory away from the modernist approach.

This alternative approach to the medium, focussing instead on the diversity of photographic images, is what also characterizes the perspectives of two recent publications on photographic "mistakes." In essence, Ernst van Alphen's *Failed images* (2018) and Peter Geimer's *Inadvertent images* (2018) both turn to disruptions in photography to give insights in the multiplicity of characteristics of the medium. Their approach is tied with a recent interest in theory of disruptions, not only in photography, but also in the arts in general. Another 2018 book, *Disruption in the Arts: Textual, Visual, and Performative Strategies for Analyzing Societal Self-Descriptions*, edited by cultural and media scientists Lars Koch, Tobias Nanz and Johannes Pause, gives a clear structure to this phenomenon within the

[74] Van Gelder and Westgeest 2011, 5.
[75] Ibid.
[76] Ibid.
[77] Ibid.
[78] Ibid., 5-6.

aesthetic domain. Applying the concept of disruption from media and communication studies to the arts, they illustrate on the basis of concrete examples how among more visual strategies, for example in photography, may "intervene in automated processes of reception."[79] The authors also emphasize the interest in "disruptions" as characteristic of present theories, distinguishing disruptions as a meta-category for the critical analysis of our times. While the contributions in the book explore contemporary case studies, their perspective proves interesting when regarding late nineteenth century photography such as Breitner's work as well. "Disruptions designate interruptions" according to the authors, and thus not the "definite collapse or the destruction of habitual practices."[80] Breitner's method functions in a similar way: looking back at his working method within his own period of time, he interrupts the conventions of art photography within his time and place. Most relevant from *Disruption in the Arts* is the perspective it offers of "disruptions" as theoretical starting point that allows "the most diverse aspects of the aesthetics to be comprehended."[81] It is most importantly the productive character of disruptions that becomes evident here.

In a similar way, Van Alphen describes specifically in the case of photography how a focus on "failed images" in his book offers insights into the diversity of photographic images and practices outside the dominant approach. When discussing medium specificity and photography, it becomes clear that the author moves away from a "prevalent notion of what this medium inherently is considered to be."[82] There is, however, one big difference between Van Alphen's approach and the way I would propose to interpret a focus on "failed images" in relation to Breitner's photography. For Van Alphen, "failed images" mean photographs that are the result of photographic practices outside the "photographic approach."[83] Within the larger goal of analysing the different ways the photograph transforms what it sees before the camera, Van Alphen considers the "snapshot" practice as common photographic practice. The disruptive photographic "failures" Van Alphen analyses are chosen in a fashion to reject this approach in photography theory of the practice of snapshot photography as the most specific to photography.

In the act of looking back at Breitner's photographs and his practices from a current perspective, I would argue that snapshot theory should be the opposite of discarded: in the

[79] Koch et al. 2018, IX.
[80] Ibid.
[81] Ibid., X.
[82] Van Alphen 2008, 29.
[83] Ibid. 56.

characteristics of Breitner's photographs that would later come to be appreciated as "snapshot aesthetics" are exactly the disruptive elements within his own time. This does not mean that the snapshot approach should be regarded as "the essence" of the photographic medium, rather, in the case of Breitner's photographs it is a way of investigating some of the many aspects that the medium characterizes. Even though Van Alphen's theory derives from the author's need to move away from snapshot practices, his perspective of looking at "failures" is certainly relevant for my case study. By investigating the "mistakes" in Breitner's photography, we come to study the characteristics that made his position unique within his own time. With Van Alphen's term "failed images" in mind, another definition can be assigned to it in relation to Breitner's photographs: one of defining "mistakes" as specific and unconventional uses of qualities of the medium photography. The approach gives insights in photography's characteristics of motion blur, of unique accidental cropping and framing, as well as extremely high or low contrasts in lighting. On the basis of this approach of mistakes as disruptive qualities in his photography, the present-day viewer fully comes to regard the photographs as objects on themselves and make considerations about the characteristics as photographs within the context of the photographic environment of the Dutch late nineteenth century.

With regard to the motion blur in Breitner's photography, it is relevant to consider part of Van Alphen's discussions on blurred photography, being one of the chapters in his book dealing with "alternative images." Van Alphen argues that the blur indicates a condition of the image and not of the referent. "Even if the blur is the result of motion, either the movement of the camera or the movement of the photographed subject," the author explains, "the blur still implies the failure of the image to capture that movement."[84] Van Alphen continues to explain: "This implies that the blur offers possibilities to better understand the condition of the photographic image, even if, or precisely because it visualizes its limits or failures." One of the "limits" or "failures" that can be derived from the blur in this sense has to do with a question of temporality in photography. Van Alphen argues that the instantaneous photographs called snapshots or "event-like" images as a frozen moment in time have sharpness as their ideal, while the representation of "time exposure" works best when slightly out of focus.[85] This theory, based on earlier writings of Art critic Thierry de Duve, assumes quick camera's with a sharp focus for snapshots, related to examples of scientific

[84] Ibid, 120.
[85] Ibid., 121.

photography. Seen in historical context, they are speaking of the kind of photography the picturalists would contradict with their specific blurriness in aim of creating pictorial effects of "art photography."

De Duve explains the contradiction Van Alphen refers to by means of a theory of the "paradox of photography" in his article "Time Exposure and Snapshot" (1978). The paradox of photography forms an opposition between the snapshot, being "event-like", and time exposure, being "picture-like", according to the author.[86] De Duve explains the snapshot, or instantaneous photograph as a "theft that steals life."[87] "Intended to signify natural movement," the author argues, "it only produces a petrified analogue of it."[88] The paradox is found in the fact that in reality the movement has indeed been performed, the author explains, while in the image the posture is frozen.[89] In Breitner's snapshots taken on the streets the image indeed seems to steal life: the image often freezes the movements of the people walking around town. But the pictures do not always appear frozen. Rather, they often have a dynamic visual character to them, as they do not portray a "sharpness" that De Duve describes as ideal for the "event-like", but are created with a blur that would rather be used for the "time-exposed" image (fig. 66). In this retrospect these photographs by Breitner indicate a paradox in the movement of the subjects frozen in one moment by the camera, yet being portrayed in a visual style of a dynamic blur instead of a sharp image.

Specifically regarding our current view on the blurred photographs by Breitner, contemporary issues of perception of blurred photographs come up. Caroline von Courten argues in her MA thesis *Prikkelende Afwezigheid – Focusonscherpte in de hedendaagse fotografie* (2008) that blurred photographs increase active perception, or even participation, of the spectator in the visual communication between spectator and photographer. The blurred image asks for more time to fill in the details and identify the subject.[90] Furthermore, the blurredness stimulates associations and moods rather than a rational reaction as in the case of focused photographs, she argues.[91] Van Courten's argument proves especially relevant in a comparison of two of Breitner's photographs of the Rokin in Amsterdam. Both photographs have been taken from the window of the *Arti et Amicitae* building in Amsterdam, showing the Langebrug, people and horses with carts along the canal, as well as the rails of the tram (figs.

[86] De Duve 1978, 113.
[87] Ibid, 114.
[88] Ibid.
[89] Ibid.
[90] Ibid., 60.
[91] Courten 2008, 10.

69-70). Both photographs have furthermore been undated, but due to the almost exact same angle and by containing only changes in the moving figures on the street, it would not be unlikely they have been taken within a short period of time after each other. The first photograph shows a detailed view of the Rokin. The blurred traces of the windowsill in the left bottom corner not only indicate that the photograph has been made from within the window of the building Breitner was standing in, but also provides an unusually angled glimpse on the Amsterdam street. While the second photographs portrays the street from a nearly identical angle, it provides the viewer with much less detail due to an overall blur covering the entire photograph. Traces of the windowsill in the left corner become invisible in a messy blur, while figures on the street only remain seen as dark silhouettes against the street with some details of paved stones and tramlines. The visible damages of the photograph have occurred on the photographic negative during the process of either exposure or developing of the negative image, resulting in the overall blur as well as tiny light and dark spots covering the modern print of the original negative. In the case of the second, blurred, photograph, Von Courten her argument applies: the viewer spends considerably more time to fill in the details ranging from figures passing-by to the railings and lampposts along the bridge. At the same time, I would argue it becomes especially apparent in the comparison of the two photographs how the blurredness is able to provide the viewer with certain associations or a specific mood, while the details in the focused photograph cause a more rational reaction. The blurred photograph transform the Amsterdam street into a misty ensemble, the dark silhouettes of the figures reminding of passer-byes on a cold day in the city, such a possibility of association with coldness or winter for the viewer perhaps emphasized by all the tiny white spots covering the image like snow.

As Von Courten argues, in some cases, when the blurred photograph becomes too abstract to stimulate the imagination of the observer, the process of active perception is broken off, as the referent has disappeared too much at that stage for the spectator.[92] There is a significant amount of photographs in Breitner's oeuvre of street photography where mistakes in the process of exposing or developing have covered almost the entirety of the photographic image. In almost all of these cases, however, it still proves worth the time of viewing from the viewer, as gradually details of for example figures, trees or building facades in the image do still become apparent upon closer inspection (figs. 71-73). From the large collection that remains we know Breitner has saved all kinds of damaged negatives, ranging

[92] Van Gelder and Westgeest 2011, 60.

from cracked glass plates to pierced film negatives, but perhaps the fact that all negatives are still seen to portray something despite their damaged conditions, suggests any form of visibility on his negatives was considered useful and thus worth preserving for the artist.

Next to the "mistakes" that have appeared already in Breitner's own time, that I have previously discussed in a loose distinction of mistakes concerning the moment on site and concerning the process of developing the photograph, it is important to note, in the context of our current perspective of looking at the photographs, that a range of such physical damages in the photographic negatives or original prints have also appeared over the course of time. Think for example of the appearances of spots and irregularities caused by moist in the photographic paper, or traces of glue, used to paste the photographs in Breitner's albums, rising up towards the surface of the images over a long period of time. In some cases it is not clear when exactly the damages have occurred: the shattering of a glass plate might have been caused by Breitner himself, but could also have happened decades later. It is known from the numbers on some of Bereiter's negatives referring to boxes, as well as the two original albums with numbered prints in the Leiden collection, that Breitner did have some sort of organisational system of preserving his photographs.[93] But his overall "sloppy" manner in both photographing and developing his images would not make it odd to assume Breitner did not save his photographs under the best possible conditions one should save vulnerable photographic material. The story that Breitner's only student, Kees Maks, told a journalist in 1947 that a laundry basked full with photographic negatives had been carried out of their studio after Breitner's death in 1923 would indicate his attitude towards preserving his photographs had indeed been rather indifferent.[94] Where the basket had been carried to and how the negatives had consequently been preserved until the first 2000 negatives of Breitner had re-emerged and been gifted to the RKD in 1961 the story does not tell, but we must take into account the possibility for further degradation of the material also over these nearly 40 years after Breitner's death.

Moving on from the discussion of the "mistakes" of blurriness in Breitner's photographs embedded in the theories of Van Alphen, De Duve and Von Courten, I like to address a larger range of "image noises" in Breitner's photographs on the basis of Peter Geimer's approach in *Inadvertent Images* (2018). Geimer explains that photography is subject to unique accidents or disruptions which are rarely considered, but, according to the author,

[93] De Ruiter "Het fotografisch ambacht" 1997, 109.
[94] De Ruiter "Tussen dynamiek en verstilling" 1997, 11.

can offer fascinating insights about the nature of the medium. The author departs from a Greek interpretation of the word 'symptoms' as a fortuitous encounter, a coincidence, or an event that disturbs the order of things. The author explains his larger aim to "complement the widely explored history of photographic images with the corresponding history of their symptoms, their precarious visibility and the disruptions threatened by image noise."[95] While Geimer uses examples of scientific photography to investigate the history of photographic images according to their "symptoms" in his book, rather than the type of photography Breitner and both do-it-yourself amateurs and the serious amateurs or photography-artists produced, his approach does provide a relevant meta-perspective for investigating the meaningfulness of disruptions in Breitner's photographs. Geimer's alternative approach on the history of photography as a history of failures and errors provides us with the insight that photography itself is in fact a disrupted way of viewing. While photography can for example, in Geimer's context of scientific research, make visible aspects that cannot be seen with our own eyes, it will fail to show certain other aspects at the very same time. The author helps us consider that alternate way of viewing that a photograph provides as part of what constitutes a photographic image. Especially interesting for considering the insights into Breitner's street photographs in an approach such as Geimer's, is the observation that two aspects of a photograph, the visual reality of the image and apparitions of the medium itself, may become intertwined for the viewer. While the two aspects are usually considered as two different parts of a photograph, one viewed as the "subject" and the other as the "medium", Geimer confronts us with photography's ability to blur a distinction between the two.

Discussing a photograph from 1929 by Hungarian photographer André Kertész of the streets of Paris (fig. 74), whose glass negative had been shattered and was consequently labelled as "broken plate" by the artist, Geimer explains how the transparency of photography is disrupted:

> "The beholder then no longer sees (merely) the motif for whose sake the picture was taken, its style or its form, but (also) the material in which it manifests itself. Even then, the photograph does not cease to 'transcend' itself toward the thing it depicts, but the material conditions in which this transcendence becomes visible as well. That is why the conspicuity and obstructiveness of the disruption entails a second and no less fundamental insight: image noise is not a deficit, not a negative mode of the pictorial

[95] Geimer 2018, 4.

> register – on the contrary, it is a specific potential of photography. There is a visibility engendered by destruction or disruption. The shattering of the photographic plate has revealed what was hitherto invisible: its vitreous existence. What is lost in terms of the motif's visibility is gained as the pictorial medium emerges into view."[96]

Similar to the approach in Koch, Nanz and Pause's *Disruption in the Arts*, it is specifically the productive character of disruptions, in this case disruptions in the form of "image noise", that becomes evident. Not only is the transparency of the photograph disrupted by the visibility of the crack in the glass plate, the "mistake" of the plate cracking in fact adds something to the image that was not visible in the subject in front of the camera. In the disrupted way of viewing the photograph by Kertész, one could believe to be looking at a photograph taken through a broken window. Thus the medium interferes with the image as it appeared before the camera, blurring a distinction between medium and subject in the image that is currently visible. The cracking of a glass plate in one of Breitner's undated photographs can also prominently be seen to disrupt a "transparent" image of building facades along the Herengracht in Amsterdam in the modern print of the original broken negative (fig. 75). The visible horizontal crack in the photographic plate can be seen to cut the building facades in half. While the effect differs from Kertész's *Broken Plate* in a way the viewer is not inclined to believe to be looking through a broken window, the disruption does similarly provide a new way of looking at the photographic image that makes it unclear for the viewer what the boundaries are between the medium and the image before the camera. Rather than giving the impression of looking through a broken window, the curled up corners at the lower half of the horizontal crack visible in this modern print of the negative by Breitner might give the viewer the impression they can in fact rip off half of the image, much like for example ripping parts of a poster off a wall. The photograph might appear to be an image of the Amsterdam street pasted against a black wall, the carrier of the image curling up and ready to peel parts of the image away. Thus the value of the disruption caused by the cracked glass negative manifests itself in this new way of viewing the photograph in which the boundaries between subject and medium are no longer distinct.

A second photograph by Breitner illustrates a more complex case of photographic "disruptions" and the question of where and how "noise" interferes with the photographed subject. In the background of this modern print of an undated photograph portraying two

[96] Ibid., 7.

passer-byes waking over a bridge at the Prinsengracht in Amsterdam, a slanting church tower is rising over the heads of the two figures (fig. 76). It is one of the many examples of slanting buildings in Breitner's photographs, a "mistake" in the manner of capturing the subject that occurred while taking the photograph at the moment on site, that I have discussed enhances a feeling of sloppiness, fleetingness and movement in the image. But at the same time, it is also an error that has been caused due to technical restrictions of the medium: Breitner's "simple" hand camera prevented the artist from taking photographs of tall buildings in its entirety in a static and straight manner.[97] Geimer's theory of "subject" and "medium" interfering invite me to also consider in this context how the actual limitations of what the camera could do for Breitner interfered with the way he has portrayed his subject, resulting in the sloppy and chaotic slanting facades in the photographic image.

Furthermore, the photograph provides another example of the "mistake" of motion blur in the two central figures in the front of the image, while the background, in this case the handrail of the bridge behind them, is seen in full focus. Where the motion blur causes the left figure to be portrayed almost as a silhouette of black and grey patches against the city scape, an actual hole in the photographic negative covers part of the same spot where the figure's dress is visible as a blur. The interference of the hole as "noise" in the subject is not as immediate as it would have been had the hole partly covered central figures in the image captured in full focus. Rather, because the most strong motion blur in the photograph is found overlapping with exactly this left figure, the realisation of looking at an actual hole in the photographic negative in this modern printed image requires some time to comprehend for the viewer. Another small hole in the photographic paper on the left, contrasting against the light background of the sky, illustrates for example how the noise is more immediate when it does not interfere with the figure in motion blur. Just like the viewer would need time to determine the large dark shape covering part of the church tower as the head of a passer-by, it would require more effort to determine the large white and dark spot in the dress of the same figure as being in fact lighter marks of damages of the image and darkness of the photographic negative the image has disappeared from.

Finally, a case of a modern print of one of Breitner's undated original negatives, might best illustrate an extreme way in which the interference of medium in the subject also occurs in his photography. In this case, the view on a crowded Vijzelstraat in Amsterdam becomes

[97] De Ruiter "Het fotografisch ambacht" 1997, 111. See chapter 1, 15.

obscured by vertically accentuated white scratches appearing sporadically all over the image (fig. 77). The error is once again predominant in determining how we look at the photograph. Instead of looking directly at the crowded street that lies ahead, the viewer's sight on details is blocked. The "new" image inclines to watch the scene as through a curtain of heavy rain. In such extreme cases it becomes perhaps the most clear the interference of the medium in the subject causes a different way of viewing, in which we incorporate the errors precisely in how we view, and are made aware of it in the process.

Whereas the previous chapter focussed on "mistakes" in the object and was closely tied with different stages in making a photograph, in this chapter the discussion of "mistakes" has more and more shifted to the perception of the final result of the image viewed by the spectator today. In consulting Van Alphen's theory, I am able to identify "mistakes" as "positive qualities" that provide insight in the spectatorship of "failed photographs." Von Courten's approach provides the insight how perception can be slowed down and activated. It is Geimer's approach that leads me to conclude that the viewing of "mistakes" can shift from mistakes in the photographs to a consciousness of "mistakes" in perception. Interference of a medium leaves traces that are often ignored. This makes it possible to view "subject" and "medium" separately or precisely to have the distinctions blurred, making the "mistake" of the medium erroneously part of the subject and becoming a representation of the world in front of the camera rather than a representation of "failed" intermediation. Meaningfulness, then, is not only found with Breitner's photography in "mistakes" in the objects once they have become valued aspects in avant-garde photography and even more clearly so in the snapshot aesthetics since the 1960s. A meaningfulness is manifested in precisely these aspects of obstruction in perception, the building up of a delay in perception, the puzzle what is "subject" and what is "medium" that has an investigative effect on the viewer and makes them aware of this process. Tracing it to our present-day viewing of images, this awareness also provides us with the opportunity to look more consciously to our current media images.

3. Breitner's "mistakes" and remediation: photography, drawing and painting

In the previous chapter, I have discussed the way meaning can be derived from the "mistakes" in Breitner's photographs, through providing insights into the interplay of the "transparent" image and the visibility of the "medium" itself. The "mistakes" in Geimer's approach, functioning as "noise" between the viewer and the photograph, make the viewer aware of the physicality of the photographic medium. This seems to function in a similar manner as Jay Bolter and Richard Grusin's concept of "hypermediacy" (1999). Hypermediacy is one of two parts they argue their concept of "remediation" to consist of, with "immediacy" designated as the other half. The concepts of immediacy and hypermediacy, as well as the process of remediation, provide an interesting problematic concerning Breitner's overlapping activities as both a photographer, painter and drawer. As has been mentioned, the quite extensive photographic activity of Breitner has left us today with approximately 2850 known photographic negatives and prints. Yet during his time and for centuries after, his best known artistic activity had been painting. Today an amount of 435 paintings by the artist are known to exist, the database of the RKD records.[98] Additionally, the artist is known to have sketched vigorously. The multitude of his sketches is housed in the collection of the Rijksprentenkabinet, containing 118 sketchbooks with almost 4500 illustrated pages and additionally 230 drawings on flyleaves, as well as a little over 700 loose drawings.

The overlap between the subjects in his paintings, sketches and photographs is intriguing. Many studies over the years since the 1960s have focussed on Breitner's photographs as studies for his paintings in the same manner his sketches have been used as materials to investigate the insights they give in the subjects of Breitner's paintings. By taking on an angle of approach that takes the photographs themselves as the starting point in this research, I have come to arrive in this last chapter not at a manner of investigating the insights the photographs and sketches provide in service of the subjects in Breitner's paintings, but rather a way of researching how to position the 'mistakes' in his photographs in a meaningful relationship with the other two mediums. The overarching question I will seek to answer in this chapter asks how Breitner's photographic "mistakes" may be positioned, by using a theory of remediation, in relation to his drawings and paintings. The question will be

[98] RKDimages "George Hendrik Breitner", 2022.

answered on the basis of a case study consisting of the same subject in all three of the mediums as seen in a multitude of examples in Breitner's oeuvre. In addition to painting, photography and drawing, Breitner also has a relatively small oeuvre of prints, consisting mostly of etchings. However, within a discussion of remediation in this chapter, I will focus on the first three mediums mentioned. Due to their amount, but also due to the ease of drawing and photographing with a hand camera at a given location, the translations of exact similar moments are largely found between these three mediums. I will first explore Bolter and Grusin's approach of remediation and discuss the usefulness of their theory for exploring a meaningful relation between Breitner's photography, drawing and painting, as well as discuss certain aspects of their theories in relation to views of theorists such as Jonathan Friday and Marshal McLuhan. The next part will provide a closer analysis of two cases of the same subject captured by Breitner in the three different mediums, providing insights into the useful way remediation operates in Breitner's photography, drawings and paintings.

Bolter and Grusin's 1999 book *Remediation* provides three interesting concepts to consider when dealing with the translation of a subject in different mediums. The question the authors investigate by using the term "remediation" focusses on the way a medium refashions its predecessors and other contemporary media. While they concern themselves with remediation in current (mainly digital) media, they use the help of historical resonances, from renaissance painting to nineteenth century photography, to not only explain the contemporary situation, but also help reflecting on the history of remediation. What they wish to highlight from the past, they argue, resonates with what they designate as the twin preoccupations of their contemporary media: "the transparent presentation of the real and the enjoyment of the opacity of media themselves."[99] New digital media, like other media since the Renaissance, the authors explain, oscillate between immediacy and hypermediacy and thus between transparency and opacity.[100] This oscillation is key to understanding remediation. "Although each medium promises to reform its predecessors by offering a more immediate or authentic experience", they argue, "the promise of reform inevitably leads us to become aware of the new medium as a medium."[101] Thus, the authors argue, immediacy leads to hypermediacy.

[99] Bolter and Grusin 1999, 21.
[100] Ibid. 19.
[101] Ibid.

Using the example of virtual reality to introduce the concept of immediacy, Bolter and Grusin explain digital technology's search for transparency. A transparent interface, for example, would be one that 'erases' itself, placing the user in an immediate relationship with the content of the medium, rather than making them aware of confronting a medium as such.[102] However, as they explain, the desire for immediacy itself has a much longer history in Western visual representation, at least since the Renaissance. Painting, photography, film and television, for example, are all part of a history seeking for immediacy "through the interplay of the aesthetic value of transparency."[103] The authors refer to the use of the techniques of linear perspective, erasure and automaticity as means to achieve this immediacy through transparency. Regarding linear perspective, they give the example of Alberti's 'open window' in his 1435 treaty *On Painting.* For the Renaissance humanist, the canvas functioned as such a transparent space through which the subject to be painted is seen.[104] Apart from achieving transparency through linear perspective, Bolter and Grusin designate the efforts of working the surface of a painting in order to erase brushstrokes. They refer here to art historian Norman Bryson's argument in *Vision and Painting: The Logic of the Gaze* (1983) that "through much of the Western tradition, oil paint is treated primarily as an erasive medium. What it must first erase is the surface of the picture-plane."[105] In doing so, the process of painting itself is denied in favour of the 'transparent' product. As Bolter and Grusin remark, erasing the surface is, however, not a universal given in the history of Western painting, especially not once we arrive in the nineteenth century. But even before, effacement was not an universally applied technique. One more observation by Bolter and Grusin with regard to the erasive technique is worth mentioning. As they argue, there is a paradox at play in the fact that it was hard work for the painter to make the spectator ignore the surface of the final painting, making the artist appreciated by trained viewers for his skills in effacing his working process, but with that very appreciation in fact acknowledging the presence of the artist himself.[106] Such irony already indicates the paradox that is found in the duality of immediacy and hypermediacy in the process of remediation.

It is both the artist and the process that seemed to be concealed in the third strategy for achieving transparency that Bolter and Grusin describe. They refer here to the automatization of the technique of linear perspective. This is specifically interesting with regard to Breitner,

[102] Ibid., 23-24.
[103] Ibid., 24.
[104] Alberti 1972 [1435], 55. Bolter and Grusin 1999, 24-25.
[105] Bryson 1983, 92. Bolter and Grusin 1999, 24-25.
[106] Bolter and Grusin 1999, 24-25.

as it is photography that becomes prominent in this context, the photographic medium often having been considered as the perfected Albertian window since its arrival.[107] The arrival of debates on the question whether or not photography should receive the status of an 'art' or worries of photography alluding the end of painting since the second half of the nineteenth century give an indication alone of the length to which the medium was viewed to be a new level of transparency. Bolter and Grusin refer for example to the influential writings of theorists such as André Bazin in 1945 and Stanley Cavell in 1979, emphasizing photography's own route to immediacy in their argumentation of the photograph removing the artist as an agent between the viewer and the reality of the image.[108] In a similar manner, Bolter and Grusin explain, many in the nineteenth century regarded light or nature itself as the painter in photography.[109] Think only of the title of Henry Fox Talbot's *The pencil of nature* (1869) and Niepce's writing on the daguerreotype as "a chemical and physical process which gives nature the power to reproduce herself."[110] However, concluding their introduction to immediacy, Bolter and Grusin disclaim that probably at "no time or place the logic of immediacy has required that the viewer be completely fooled by the painter or photograph"; it is one necessary half of the "double logic of remediation."[111]

Whereas immediacy leads one to erase the act of representation, and suggests a unified visual space, the authors argue, hypermediacy offers a heterogeneous space which acknowledges multiple acts of representation and makes them visible.[112] Returning to the Albertian window in relation to hypermediacy, the authors argue that "… representation is conceived not as a window on to the world, but rather as 'windowed' itself – with windows that open on to other representations or other media."[113] But hypermediacy also operates in a single, apparently unified medium, Bolter and Grusin explain, "particularly when the illusion of realistic representation is somehow stretched or altogether ruptured."[114] This is especially the case for Breitner's photographic "mistakes" that function as image noise, making the viewer aware of the presence of the medium. Photography theorist Jonathan Friday further explores the "Albertian" mode of picturing and contrasts it to a "Keplerian" mode in his article "Photography and the Representation of Vision" (2001), in order to set out exactly

[107] Ibid., 25.
[108] Ibid., 26.
[109] Ibid., 27.
[110] Bolter and Grusin 1999, 27. Trachtenberg 1980, 13. Jussim 1983, 50.
[111] Bolter and Grusin 1999, 30.
[112] Ibid., 33-34.
[113] Ibid., 34.
[114] Ibid.

photography's possibility for alternative ways of viewing to the "transparent window." Friday comes to a definition of an "Albertian picture" as a surface that is composed in relation to a supposed viewing point set some distance from the surface, that, indeed, stands to the viewer as a sort of "window" through which a (fictional or rhetorical) world is represented by the artist in accordance with an universal meaning.[115] The author arrives at a definition of a Keplerian picture, referring to Johannes Kepler's (1571-1630) study of the eye conceived of as an optical mechanism, a surface representing the visual experience of a non-depicted, yet implicitly present, perceiver looking upon a part of the real world.[116] An intriguing difference between the Albertian and the Keplerian picture is set out by Friday as the frame of the Albertian picture that encloses a fictional or imaginatively transformed world, in contrast to the frame of the Keplerian picture that represents the frame of the visual field, thus enclosing a representation of vision itself.[117] "Just as the Albertian painter represents a world analogous to, but different from, the real world," Friday explains, "optical mechanisms such as eyes and *camera obscura* represent the one and only world, but do so in a manner necessarily (but measurably) distorting of, or divergent from, the way things really are."[118]

Now, it is photography that Friday renders as particularly a powerful medium for representing vision in the manner of Keplerian pictures. It is, furthermore, an interesting and arresting representation of visual experience and visual understanding of the world that the best photography in the Keplerian mode achieves, according to the author.[119] Friday proposes here photography's power to do so in a manner that is both "subtle" and "potent" and not obviously available to the painter. An explanation of this power might be found in a similarity in the formation of photographic images and retinal images, the author proposes. However, as Friday states, the fact that we take photography to be such a powerful means of representing "expressively charged vision" might also be far more a matter of convention.[120] While Friday's article has little space to explore this further, Snyder and Walsh-Allen's earlier discussion on conventions in viewing photography in relation to specifically the photographic portrayal of movements provides a more in-depth exploration of this argument, to which it is useful for me to return in the close analysis of two cases of Breitner's photographs, sketches and paintings. But, whatever the explanation, Friday concludes, photographic artists have

[115] Friday 2001, 353.
[116] Ibid., 355.
[117] Ibid., 353.
[118] Ibid., 355.
[119] Ibid., 359-360.
[120] Ibid., 360.

used the powerful means of representing vision to create images that capture and sustain aesthetic interest by means of, among more, the expressive perspectives they display.[121] In Friday's approach of photography in a "Keplerian" mode of picturing we find a relevant addition to Bolter and Grusin's discussion of "hypermediate" aspects of photography rupturing an illusion of realistic presentation. It is something Geimer's "image noise" and Von Courtens "blurredness", obscuring the boundaries between "medium" and "subject" and requiring the viewer more time to complement the photographic image themselves, also remind us. What photography provides, these approaches illustrate, is in itself a representation of a "distorted" way of viewing reality.

Friday furthermore mentions in his article the long history of aesthetic deprecation of pictures made in the Keplerian mode, both artists and critics regarding the sorts of Keplerian conceptions of a picture with a dismissive attitude.[122] In a similar manner, Bolter and Grusin explain that at the end of the twentieth century, we have arrived at a position to understand hypermediacy as immediacy's opposite equal, an "alter ego" that has never been supressed fully, but has at least received the less dominant status in Western representation from the Renaissance until the arrival of modernism.[123] This brings us back to a relation between modernist theory and the notion of "medium." According to Clement Greenberg's formulation, to which Bolter and Grusin also refer, modernism significantly challenged the cultural dominance of the paradigm of transparency.[124] "In modernist art", Bolter and Grusin note, "the logic of hypermediacy could express itself both as a fracturing of the space of the picture and as a hyperconscious recognition or acknowledgement of the medium."[125] While modernism has shifted a focus to hypermediacy with the acknowledgement of the medium itself in the viewing of an artwork, I must stress what was still missing then – compared to recent contributions to the debate – is the study of the diverse forms of a medium on itself, rather than one inherent quality of a medium (its ontology) that specifies it as such as seen with Greenberg. Current debates show us "mistakes" that contribute to the creation of "new" images and surprising new ways of looking (think of Kertesz's *Broken Plate* in Geimer's theory). With Breitner we have seen that it are exactly such errors that provide us with the later so appreciated qualities in photography. They are furthermore mistakes that bring together image and medium in a new unity, not unlike the way Bolter and Grusin describe

[121] Ibid.
[122] Ibid., 356.
[123] Bolter and Grusin 1999, 34.
[124] Greenberg 1973[1959], 68-69. Bolter and Grusin 1999, 38.
[125] Bolter and Grusin 1999, 38.

hypermediacy and immediacy to come together: “In all its various forms”, they state, “the logic of hypermediacy expresses the tension between regarding a visual space as mediated and as a ‘real’ space that lies beyond mediation.”[126]

In arriving at a definition of “remediation”, Bolter and Grusin explore a difference with the term “repurposing.” Giving the example of the filming of Jane Austin novels in the 1990s, they explain in such a case the content has been borrowed, but the medium has not been appropriated. According to the authors, the entertainment industry calls such borrowing “repurposing”, defining it as taking a property from one medium and reusing it in another, without conscious interplay between media. “The interplay happens”, they add, “if at all only for the reader or viewer who happens to know both versions and can compare them.”[127] They refer to media theorist Marshall McLuhan’s argument in *Understanding Media* (1964), that “the content” of any medium is always another medium, to turn to their own definition of “remediation.”[128] With McLuhan’s chronological process of speech as the content of writing, the written word as the content of printing, and so on, Bolter and Grusin argue the author was not thinking of simply repurposing, but rather a more complex kind of borrowing, where one medium is incorporated or represented in another medium.[129] The representation of one medium in another can for example be done through emphasizing the difference between the two or by trying to refashion the older medium while still marking the presence of this older medium (and as a result maintaining a sense of hypermediacy). In other cases, Bolter and Grusin explain, the new medium can remediate by trying to absorb the older medium in its entirety, aiming to minimalize discontinuities between the two. However, the very act of remediation, they claim, prevents the older medium from being effaced entirely, because the new medium remains dependent on the older. Significantly, they note that for example users of older media such as film and television can “[...] seek to appropriate and refashion digital graphics, just as digital graphics artists can refashion film and television.”[130] With this example they illustrate an important part of their argumentation: remediation operates in both directions.

This point is crucially also where Bolter and Grusin differ from McLuhan with their concept of “remediation.” Where McLuhan proposes that a new medium gradually renews an

[126] Ibid., 41.
[127] Ibid., 45.
[128] McLuhan 1964, 23-24.
[129] Bolter and Grusin 1999, 45.
[130] Ibid., 48

older medium, while traces of the older medium will remain in the new medium, Bolter and Grusin also state the possibility of an older medium to change, in the way of being remediated by a newer medium. In this contrasting view to McLuhan's theory, it would be for example possible for photography to not only remediate the older medium of painting, but painting would also be able to change through photography. Breitner takes up an interesting position within this context. As I have explored through the concept of "immediacy", photography has traditionally been frequently linked to transparency and it has been photography's mechanical transparency that was often the basis for further remediation in the digital era. However, it is the "hypermediate" in Breitner's photographs that bring us to the relevant "mistakes" in his photography and their significance in the process of viewing the photographic images. From Breitner's working method, we know he repurposed the medium of photography in his drawing and painting. Bolter and Grusin's definition of "remediation" as a two-way process leaves us with the question, then, if and how we can speak of remediation rather than repurposing in his use of photography, drawing and painting. Questions that arise in this problematic concern also how to view his drawings and paintings in relation to the immediate and the hypermedial. Could it for example be argued that his paintings, more than his photographs, confront us with the immediate? And how to position his drawing, for Breitner a stage between his photographing and painting, in relation to the immediacy and hypermediacy of the other two mediums? In the next part, I will examine "remediation" specifically in relation to Breitner's photographic "mistakes" in his drawing and painting, with the help of two close readings of examples of the translation of the same subject in all three mediums, in aim of answering precisely such questions.

The first case study for close analysis includes a photograph of three schoolchildren walking on a bridge at the Westermarkt in Amsterdam (fig. 78). This version is a modern print of Breitner's undated negative in the collection of the RKD. In Breitner's sketchbooks at the Rijksprentenkabinet, various sketches of these schoolchildren have been drawn, one version from 1893 similar to the photograph showing three children walking side-to-side, seen from the back (fig. 79). Breitner's sketch leaves out many of the details found in the photograph. Only the three figures seen from their backs have been adopted in the sketch, along with the chosen angle, looking directly at the children at eyelevel. The sketch thus functions as a kind of reduction mechanism that rids the image of its details. In this case, however, a complexity resides in the fact that the photograph itself also does not show much detail at all. What we

see is an altered image from reality, where double exposure has made the film in the camera shift and record two different moments in time in one image. Both lower and upper part of the vertical image of the negative show the figures walking side-by-side, a blur from the movement of photographic film washing over the figures in a ghost-like manner. On the sides of the figures the blur continues, leaving out any detail of the city on the left and right. At the top, some details of trees and silhouettes of buildings are visible. They themselves are also portrayed in a blurriness, that may well have come from a lack in focus on the background when taking the photograph. The resulting image of the double exposure and the blurriness is one that is much more effective in confronting the viewer with the medium, rather than hide it as an "immediate" window onto reality.

Additionally interesting in this case is the annotation that is visible on Breitner's sketch: with an arrow to each of the three figures dresses, the artist has written down a color for each of them. This annotation, hinting at the sketch as in-between-state before the act of painting, illustrates furthermore how in Breitner's time the medium of painting would almost always be using color and the medium of photography would, without hand colored alteration, always be black and white. Drawing does not restrict itself to one of the two; it often takes both monochrome forms with pencil or black chalk, as well as color in pastel or watercolor paints. When we speak of a traditionally more ubiquitous view of a photograph as "immediate" since the arrival of photography, we are also speaking of a long period of time of solely the use of black and white photography. This in itself is a very reminder of the interference of the medium of photography in viewing when compared to the immediacy of color in painting and the possibility of either more reduction of details by employing black and white or still leaving some detail in the form of color in the medium drawing.

In the translation of the three figures in a relatively small painting by Breitner from 1895, the appliance of at least the color "rose" for the left figure of the three schoolchildren is now visible in the painting (fig. 80). It seem to be only these three figures as they have been reduced in both photograph and sketch, seen from the back at eye-level, that have been translated into the painting. They have been positioned in a new composition, thoughtfully showing details of people on the street and houses along the canal that the photograph and drawing lack. As Freek Heijbroek in his detailed description of the portrayed location in Amsterdam in *George Hendrik Breitner in Amsterdam* observes, Breitner has based these buildings on other photographs he has made of the building facades at this location, similar to

the example of the Lauriergracht (fig. 81).[131] This example provides the opposite of the photograph of the three schoolgirls; the photograph of the facades capturing the details for Breitner to directly use in his painting.

Even though the composition the figures have been placed in differs in the painting, the figures, also seen from their backs, are in a similar manner to the photograph prominently placed in the very front of the image in the painting. Perhaps this sudden placement of the anonymous figures in the very front is an element adopted from the rather common "mistake" in Breitner's photography of unusual close-by views on passer-byes on the street. The point of view on the figures in the painting, however, is changed to a higher angle, the viewer rather looking down at the figures than watching them at eyelevel. But the most obvious difference between the photograph and the painting is found in the multiplicity of the figures due to the double exposure in the photograph, while the painting portrays only a single version of the three girls. With this observation, combined with the detailed background of the painting, it appears the painting might be rendered as the more "immediate" in relation to the photograph. In such a comparison, the drawing would find itself somewhat in the middle, like the photograph functioning as a form of reduction mechanism that leaves out details, but also does not provide the "hypermediate" double exposure found in the photograph. However, once we return to the second kind of photograph, similar to the one of the Lauriergracht, that Breitner likely used for the background of his painting, suddenly the photograph, with all its detail and sharpness, seems to be more immediate in comparison to the drawing, with its reductive characteristics. In a comparison with these detailed kinds of photographs by Breitner, it is now also the painting that would appear to employ lesser immediate qualities, which results from an aspect I have come across in my discussion of Bolter and Grusin's approach of remediation. This problematic concerns the presence of the brushstrokes of the painter.

While Bolter and Grusin correctly point out that there have always been exceptions to the method of effacing brushstrokes as a way of creating immediacy, it had for a long time remained a most dominant one, specifically until the nineteenth century. We will find that in Breitner's time, this manner had become less of a given practice, painters associated with for example impressionism or pointillism making deliberate use of thickly applied brushstrokes in their paintings. They would do so in a manner where the thickly applied paint would be

[131] Heijbroek 2014, 99.

visible all over the painting, in contrast to the functional manner older paintings would have thickly applied paint in details in the front of the image to make them appear more near-bye, while the background in this method would contain less thickly applied paint and would appear less detailed or sharp. Strikingly, closer inspection of Breitner's painting of the three schoolchildren at the Westermarkt provides us with a case of neither all-over thickly applied brushstrokes, nor functional thickly painted details in the front against a more thinly painted background. In an unconventional manner, it is the background of Breitner's painting that contains thickly applied strokes of paint and provides, in contrast to more thinly and vaguely painted foreground, the most detail in the painting (fig. 82). In a way, the resulting picture becomes a combination of a photograph like Breitner's *Lauriergacht* for the details in the background and the more blurred photograph of the three figures and their foggy surroundings for the less detailed foreground.

Returning to the question whether Breitner's paintings could be rendered more immediate than his photographs, the answer would include both the observation that the newer medium of photography is used by Breitner to make the older medium more transparent through the use of the photographs that portray useful details, but that the same medium of photography is also used by the artist to make other parts of his paintings less immediate precisely through a loss of detail. The fact that it is a loss of detail specifically in the front part of the image is especially relevant as it is Breitner's photographic "mistake" of an undetailed foreground contrasting against a detailed background that is used here in his painting.[132] In this case, it have been two different photographs that have provided Breitner to use in his painting this unusual picturing of a detailed background in contrast to a less detailed foreground. From the close reading we have seen an example of Breitner remediating the newer medium of photography in the older medium of painting. But what about cases of photographs from Breitner that use this contradiction in foreground and background within one photograph? How may we relate them to his drawings and paintings? The question also remains if, and how, Breitner's process of remediation can be argued to operate in both directions. It is worth expanding for these matters on the contrast in foreground and background in relation to Breitner's photography, drawing and painting also more specifically on the terms "blurred" versus "sharp."

[132] A "mistake" viewed in the context of late nineteenth and early twentieth century guidelines of a sharp scene in the front of the photograph and a blurred background for pictural effect. See chapter 1, 14.

Photography theorists Joel Snyder and Neil Walsh Allen point to this contradiction when they discuss the representation of motion in photography in their influential essay "Photography, Vision, and Representation" (1975). They consider the case of photographing horses running a race. One method of representing motion would be to keep the camera stationary and use a slow shutter speed, resulting in an image of the horses appearing as blurs against a stationary background.[133] However, as they point out, it is not "motion" itself that is visible in such a way, but it is "a thing moving" that becomes visible, a representation of motion. Like other media, the authors argue, photography must make use of conventions to represent motion. The representation of a blurred aspect against a sharp background is precisely one of those conventions photographers have developed to represent motion in their images. Although we would have not seen the horse as a blur as we watched the horserace, the convention of representing the motion in the photograph through a blur against a sharp background allows us to determine such a "fuzzy patch" in the image as moving.[134] As has become apparent from a discussion of the theories on blurredness from Thierry de Duve and Ernst van Alphen in the previous chapter, there is a paradoxical working in this certain convention, the representation of motion including the "freezing" of motion as well as the representation of "time duration." Within this discussion, I have argued Breitner often used the representation of a frozen moment of passengers on the street paradoxically through the use of blurred figures on the front contrasted against a sharp background. Returning to Friday's comments on the alternative perspective to the "Albertian window" that photography is especially able to provide, it is also this convention of representing motion with an unsharp foreground and sharp background that enables such a different way of viewing that is specific to photography. What makes it so relevant in relation to the concept of "remediation", is Breitner's use of this photographic convention as well in the representation of movement in another medium.

A second case study of Breitner's work proves relevant to consider this further. In one of Breitner's albums with his own photographs in the collection of the Leiden University Libraries, a series of small, 9 x 9 centimetres, undated photographs taken with a hand camera in the Kalverstraat in Amsterdam has been preserved (figs. 83-85). Spread over three different sheets in the album, in total nine photographs portray a view into the Kalverstraat with flags

[133] Snyder and Walsh Allen 1975, 156.
[134] Ibid. 156-157.

hanging from the facades of the buildings on both sides. In the close-up figure of the bottom left image on the second album sheet, it becomes apparent how the visual space of the photograph portrays a chaotic scene due to the many overlapping flags at eyelevel and the figures placed in the very front of the scene (fig. 86). The two figures in the front of the photograph seem to walk towards the viewer, crossing two figures walking in the other direction. More to the back, in the middle between these figures, a group of men is standing together, while further back more people are seen walking away from the viewer. Importantly, the photograph shows more details in the background of the image than it does in the figures at the very front. From their silhouettes it becomes clear the two figures walking towards the viewer are women dressed in longs skirts and hats, while the two figures in the front right are men with long coats and at least one of them with a bowler hat. The group of figures in the middle, the building facades and the many flags, creating much depth in the image by overlapping each other in this photograph, show much more detail than the prime figures in the front. One of the men in the front right is furthermore striking: he is turning his upper body towards the viewer, portrayed in a motion blur.

There are a couple of known sketches from this scene in the Kalverstraat with flags. One of these sketches, dated around 1894, seems to coincide most with the last photograph I have discussed, the angle of the image making the viewer encounter from a straight position passer-byes and the draped flags in the street (fig. 87). Unlike the previous example of the three schoolchildren in Breitner's photography and drawing, this scene shows more detail in the photograph, while the shapes of the figures and flags in the sketch are even more crudely suggested than the silhouettes of the schoolchildren in the previous drawing. The sketch here functions even more strongly than the photograph as a reduction mechanism that leaves out most details from the photograph. The photograph and the drawing of the Kalverstraat with flags do share a representation of the ongoing movement on the street. In the photograph, the capturing of movement is found for example in the striking figure of the man turning around in motion blur against the more detailed background, while the sketch translates such a representation of moving figures by crudely drawing more thick lines together as a suggestion of a figure's silhouette in an already chaotic composition of lines. While the sketch might be less immediate in its loss of detail, both sketch and photograph capture the chaos of the movement in the street in their own characteristic manner. Considering a process of remediation, the photograph does also function as a first "reduction mechanism", for example the unexpectedly close or cropped view of figures as found in the photograph used by the

artist to further reduce in his drawing. In addition, a different kind of use of lines is encountered in this drawing, one that comes closer to the effect in the photograph, in comparison to the use of lines in the drawing of the first case study. Whereas the lines in the first case study have been used as contours, the lines in the second case study are rather shaded tonal fields that remind more of the tonal characteristic of photography. It seems, however, that I must turn to Breitner's painting activities of the Kalverstraat with flags to investigate how specifically the photographic convention of sharp versus blurred might be used to represent movement outside the medium of photography.

Today, two paintings of Breitner that portray the scene of the Kalverstraat with flags draping from the top of the buildings are known (figs. 88-89). The earliest exhibition of the first painting has been dated in 1896, so it can be traced back that Breitner sketched the decorated street in Amsterdam around 1894 and finished painting the scene no later than the year 1896.[135] The second painting of the scene has similarly been made before this year, currently dated in the collection of Singer Laren museum in the year 1985. What first should be pointed out is the fact that both paintings, in contrast to the sketches and photographs, show the flagged street from an extremely high point of perspective. From the side perspective of the first painting, it seems quite likely Breitner must have looked out a window on one of the upper floors of a building in the street in order to frame his image. Whereas no photograph, or sketch for that matter, by Breitner is known today from this similar high perspective on the Kalverstraat, it would not be unlikely that Breitner would have made a photograph from this high a perspective of the street. The unusual point of view in the painting does in fact appear similar to one that could most easily be made with a camera, similar to the perspective in photographs that are known by Breitner of for example a view on the station square in Leuven or the photograph of an Amsterdam market taken through the window of the upper floor of one of the canal buildings (figs. 90-91). Despite the difference in the height of perspective in the photographs and drawings on the one hand and the paintings on the other, I will now turn to the second painting of the Kalverstraat in the collection of Singer Laren to investigate the aspect of movement in relation to a blurred front and sharp background of the image, not coincidentally because this painting is an example of Breitner's most loosely applied strokes of paint.

[135] RKDimages "Kalverstraat with flags", 2022.

As we go further to the back of the painting, more details start to appear. When comparing for example the suggestion of a figure in the very front of the image with figures seen in the back, it becomes clear how the first figure is portrayed only through a single black stroke, while the first of three figures in the back contains a more clear shape and consists of three different colors to distinguish clothes, face and hat (figs. 92-93). Also the frames of windows in the building facades start to gain a more clear shape through a distinction of more colors towards the back of the image. What exactly constitutes the nearest point to the observer in the foreground of the painting is a more complex part. On the hand, the largest part of the foreground only shows a suggestion of a reflection of the flags in puddles of rain on the street through extremely loose strokes of paint. On the other hand, the viewer could also consider the upper flags, showing some detail in a more clear distinction of three national colors, as hanging closer to the front in more of a Keplerian view of draping in front of us from the window the viewer is looking through. Nevertheless, the busy movement of the Amsterdam street, with the motion of figures walking along the moving reflections of flags in the puddles on the street, has been represented here in such a manner where the background overall appears rather more detailed than the foreground. Thus, Breitner has not only likely painted from an angle that would have been easy to capture with a camera, he has represented the movement in the street according to a manner of viewing motion that is specific to photography. One can imagine looking out on the street and watching the movement of the figures and reflections and ask themselves the question how to visualise this movement, before realising this is harder than one might think. It is a question we have seen in Snyder and Walsh Allen's argument that rests on specific conventions for different mediums. It is the camera in Breitner's case that has helped him visualise this sense of seeing "blurred" in his painting. Thus, photography remediates painting in this case.

The photographic view of movement of a blurred front and a more detailed background is subsequently applied by Breitner in his painting in a manner that makes use of expressive brushstrokes, as possible in the medium of painting. With this observation I will arrive at a last, but nevertheless crucial, part of my argumentation. Without claiming that either photography or painting has been the one that has inspired Breitner's working method in the other, the fact that Breitner had an interest in creating paintings in the rather loose and expressive manner he used in painting, must have had some degree of influence on the way he photographed. Had Breitner lived in a time in which for example hyper-realistic painting dominated the artworld and should he have had an interest in creating images in such a

manner, than he would have been able to choose to make solely detailed photographs like his *Lauriergracht* (fig. 81). But Breitner lived in a time in which he became acquainted with the aesthetics of the Hague School and impressionistic tendences and he developed a favour for this manner of painting that adopts a much looser brushstroke and would be ridded of strict details. The many instructions in the magazines for amateurs like *Lux* as I have discussed in the first chapter proved he had the opportunity to photograph in aim of achieving different, more detailed kinds of images with rather traditional perspectives. He even owned the proper camera to do so, as we know from part of his photographic negatives, specifically those on glass, that show more static and detailed images made with a larger format camera. The indifference that can be attributed to Breitner's "do-it-yourself" working method in photographing cannot be viewed separately from the fact that he was interested in making the undetailed and "loose" paintings we know from him. The remediation, it seems, thus not only operates in a process of photography remediating painting in Breitner's case, but the painting remediates his photography in a manner of influencing the way Breitner chooses to use the photographic medium.

It should furthermore be observed that, by keeping the aim for his paintings in mind, Breitner in a way already used photography as a reduction-mechanism that rids details in the image, as we see for example in the more blurred parts of his photographs. In such a way, both photograph and drawing use a reduction technique, which in turn is used by the painting for example in the use of a foreground with the reduced subject of the photograph and drawing, against a more detailed background. In many of Breitner's cases of the same subject in the three mediums such a reducing method is found, with a photograph portraying mostly just moving figures being transformed into a sketch consisting of basis lines in a rather simple composition where figure and background are shoved together, before in the paintings being placed against a detailed background (figs. 94-99). As an addition to the earlier discussed detailed photograph of the Kalverstraat and the expressive drawing of the same subject by Breitner, these examples also give insight in the way remediation with regard to the medium of drawing shifts in both directions. Breitner would photograph not only with the goal of his paintings in mind, but he would also be aware of the use of his photographs as first reducing mechanism before turning them into drawings. This would similarly have influenced the way Breitner chose to photograph, while at the same time, the outcome of this first reduction would be able to be used by Breitner to give shape to his reduced drawing, for example in the

use of lines as tonal fields seen in the second case compared to lines used as contours in the first.

Analysing two cases of the same subject in Breitner's work in three different mediums by use of Bolter and Grusin's theory of remediation leads me to conclude Breitner's photographs both remediate and are being remediated by his paintings and drawing. The photographic "mistake" of a blurred foreground against a sharper background has been represented in Breitner's paintings in the (for the medium of painting) unusual method of less details in the front in contrast to more details in the back. It are the two completely different kinds of photographic images by Breitner in the first case, one "hypermediate" double exposed image and one "immediate" photograph with much detail, that together allow the painting to employ this "photographic mistake." Snyder and Walsh Allen's theoretical framework on the "blurred" versus "sharp" problematic provides insight in photography's way of representing "motion" in this manner, while Friday's approach of photography being particularly able to diverge from a traditional "Albertian perspective" conforms this alternate way of experiencing movement that is specific to photography. This photographic representation of movement is also usefully applied in Breitner's representation of movement in his (alternately extremely loose brushstroked) paintings. The observation provides insight, contrasting to McLuhan's approach of chronological mediation, in the newer medium of photography remediating the older medium of painting. At the same time, Breitner's favoured manner of painting in relation to his decision to photograph in the "do-it-yourself" manner provides insight in the way remediation operates in the other direction. Additionally, the first case already illustrated the workings of both the double exposed photograph and the drawing of the same three girls as "reducing mechanism" that cause a loss of details. This first reduction in photographing enabled Breitner to remediate the photographic medium in his drawing. In the other direction, Breitner would also photograph with the step of drawing, after photographing and before painting, in mind.

Conclusion

My general aim has been investigating Breitner's photography from an angle of approach that departs from photography theory, rather than the often applied approach departing from Breitner's activities as a painter towards the way he also photographed. Turning the conventional approach around, part of my aim also included analysing how such an approach departing from photographic theory could be used to say more about Breitner's drawings and paintings. The theoretical framework in this approach is the result of an increasing tendency in contemporary theory of photography that moves away from investigating one inherent quality that specifies a medium as such (i.e. its ontology), rather aiming to consider the characteristics of specific failures inherent to the medium. The problematic that I have specifically aimed to explore within this context questioned what meaningful insights debates on contemporary theories of "mistakes" in photographic images give into the photography of Breitner.

A method of literature review of Mattie Boom's concept of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century "do-it-yourself amateur" and of conceptions of "good" photography formulated by the opposing "serious" association amateur in this same time, embedded in a visual analysis of both Breitner's and the association amateur's photographs, has provided insights in the unique position of Breitner who, as an artist, chose to photograph in the "sloppy" manner of a "do-it-yourself amateur." The comparison with *Lux* has furthermore showed how both categories of "mistakes" before the camera and during developing in the darkroom are exemplary of Breitner's disregard to a preciseness that was predominant at that time. That is, as I can now conclude, a predominance that concerns an ideal of "immediacy."

In a first, more commonly known, manner it has become clear from placing in the first chapter defined "mistakes" in relation to Rooseboom's study, that from our current perspective we are in a position to see how such "mistakes" become valued characteristics in avant-garde photography of the 1920s-30s and even more apparently in the "snapshot aesthetics" since the 1960s. In this sense, precisely these "mistakes" have gained meaning for their historically pioneering value. Where Rooseboom has provided a first exploratory research of these aspects I call "mistakes" closely related to the objects and production process, I have on the other hand continued to find meaning in "mistakes" that are related to a question of perception. As Rooseboom observed and has becomes clear from my first chapter, there is a lack of contemporary reception and perception of Breitner's photographs, which has

provided for me the challenge to study them from more recent theories of perception of photography today. Embedded in theories by De Duve and Van Alphen, I have found this meaningful disruption in our present-day viewing in the way Breitner shows us paradoxically both the representation of movement "frozen" in time as the representation of "exposed time" in movement. Geimer's approach combined with a visual analysis of some photographs by Breitner containing specific "image noises" has furthermore provided insight how in Breitner's photographs "subject" and "medium" can be viewed separately, or the distinction between the two may become blurred. Together with the insight of Von Courten's approach of perception being able to be slowed down and activated, that not only occurs in the blurred photography the author investigates but in all kinds of "noises" as seen with Breitner, the value is found in precisely the obstruction of perception, or the puzzle how the "mistake" has become one with the subject, and the effect of investigation and awareness of this process in perception it has on the viewer.

Bolter and Grusin's theory of remediation provided me with the literary framework to investigate the relation of Breitner's "photographic mistakes" outside the domain of photography. The newer medium of photography is not necessarily more transparent than the older mediums of drawing and painting. Breitner used the details in the medium of photography to make the older medium of painting more transparent. The photographic "mistake" of a blurred foreground against a more detailed background is making the medium of painting more "hypermediate" through employing this unusual perspective that is specific to photography. In a reversed view of this remediation, the "sloppiness" that I have attributed to Breitner's "do-it-yourself" working method in photographing cannot be viewed separately from his interest in painting in the expressive manner he did, the painting thus remediating his photography in a way of influencing the way Breitner chose to photograph. Similarily, Breitner's photographs are found to provide a manner of "reducing" the image that is remediated in his drawing, but the medium of drawing remediates his photography when we realise the very act of reducing in his photographs would be done with the next step of drawing often already in mind. Friday's approach away from the traditional "Albertian perspective" has allowed me to see a meaningful aspect of photography as being particularly able for experiencing alternative perspectives specific to the medium, manifesting itself in Breitner's remediation in the use of a blurred foreground against a sharp background. In a similar manner, Snyder and Walsh Allen's account on the convention of representing motion has provided me to signify the value manifested in photography's ability to represent motion

in such a manner, specifically once we experience this photographic way of viewing motion in the medium of painting through the case of Breitner.

The approach departing from “mistakes” has proven productive in not only designating how the dominating views on photography in the time contemporary to Breitner contrasted strikingly to his manner of photographing, but specifically the perspective from contemporary theory of photography has also given insight in the way the viewing of Breitner’s photography accompanies a matter of alternative perspectives that photography is able to provide, the meaningfulness manifesting in a way of viewing in which the “mistakes” are incorporated by the viewer. In doing so, I have shifted from “mistakes in photographs as objects” to “mistakes in perception of these failed images.” But just as the “mistakes” in the photographs as objects are “apparent mistakes”, the “mistakes” in perception are not really mistakes, as they rather provide valuable delayed, obstructed, unsolved, away from the “transparent window” ways of viewing rather than a “wrong” one.

Having restricted my argumentation to Breitner’s street photography, the approach departing from “failures” and “errors” in photography offers promising future possibilities for investigating how his “mistakes” might be related to other genres of for example portraiture or nude studies in Breitner’s photographic oeuvre. Additionally, the many different cases of similar subjects in both his drawing and painting alone would provide much more to consider within the approach on “mistakes”, with no doubt a whole range of more aspects of the ways of viewing photographically rising to the surface. Even more so, the process of remediation might offer possibilities to view Breitner’s photographs as if they are paintings and his paintings as if they are photographs, investigating what consequences that would have in viewing, in line with contemporary categories of photographs as paintings like Jeff Wall’s and paintings as photographs like Gerhard Richter’s.

Images

Fig 1. George Hendrik Breitner, *View on the Spui in Amsterdam*, ca. 1889-1913, modern print of negative (The Hague, RKD, BR 1166).

Fig 2. George Hendrik Breitner, *View on the Prinseneilandsgracht in Amsterdam*, ca. 1889-1913, modern print of negative (The Hague, RKD, BR 218).

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Figs 3-11. Photographic reproductions in the editions of *Lux* from 1896-1908. Respectively: 3. W. Toussaint, *Near Amsterdam*. 4. W.J. van Zanen, *Coffee Hour*. 5. R.H. van S., *Near the Gein*. 6. Neue Fotografische Gesellschaft, *Untitled.* 7. W.J. Voett, *Dutch Landscape*, 8. Josef Ostermaier, *Untitled*. 9.W. J. van Zanen, *Untitled.* 10. Helena Goude, *Untitled.* 11. Ignatius Bispinck, *Young Transvaal*.

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Figs 12-15. Photographic reproductions in the editions of *Lux* from 1896-1908. Respectively: 12. Neuhauser phot. *At the window*. 13. H. Meerwarth, *Rabbits*. Original prints in the Leiden University Libraries (UBL) collection: 14. Berend Zweers, *Untitled*, ca. 1901-1911, 58 x 36,8 cm (Leiden, UBL, PK-F-76.671), 15. Adriaan Boer, *In Bispincks garden*, ca. 1915, gelatin silver print, 16,3 x 22,5 cm (Leiden, UBL, PK-F-2006-0766).

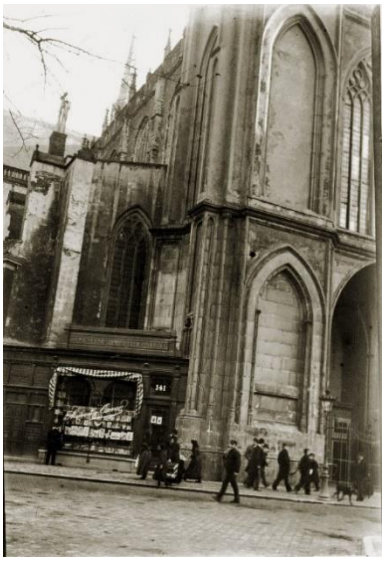

Fig 16. Heinrich Ernemann, *Breitner's Magazin box / Guy's Edison Camera*, ca. 1898-1902, 23 x 18,7 x 11,2 cm (Leiden, UBL, PK-F-GHB.098).

Fig 17. George Hendrik Breitner, *Nieuwezijds Voorburgwal 141-143*, 1897, moderne print of glass negative , 9 x 12 cm (Amsterdam, Stadsarchief , 10104000193).

Fig 18. George Hendrik Breitner, *Man and women photographed from a window*, ca. 1889-1913, daylight collodion silver print in album, 9 x 8,5 cm (Leiden, UBL, PK-F-GHB.085/163).

Fig 19. George Hendrik Breitner, *Face portrait of a pedestrian at the Lauriergracht in Amsterdam*, ca. 1893-1899, daylight collodion silver print, 8,7 x 9,7 cm (The Hague, RKD, 0000269969).

Fig 20. George Hendrik Breitner, *Two women in the snow*, ca. 1889-1913, modern print of negative (The Hague, RKD, 0000267985).

Fig 21. George Hendrik Breitner, *Untitled*, ca. 1889-1913, daylight collodion silver print, 9,5 x 8,5 cm (Leiden, UBL, PK-F-GHB.064).

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Figs. 22-25. Photographic reproductions in the editions of *Lux* from 1896-1908. Respectively: 22. B.W. Arendsen, *Dutch landscape*. 23. Jac. Schippers Jr., *Untitled*. Original prints in the collection of the UBL: Adriaan Boer, *Untitled*, photogravure, 13,9 x 9,2 cm (Leiden, UBL, PK-F-06.733). 25. Barend Arendsen, *Winter landscape*, 1910, daylight collodion silver print, gold and platinum toned, 12,2 x 16,6 cm (Leiden, UBL, PK-F-86.281)

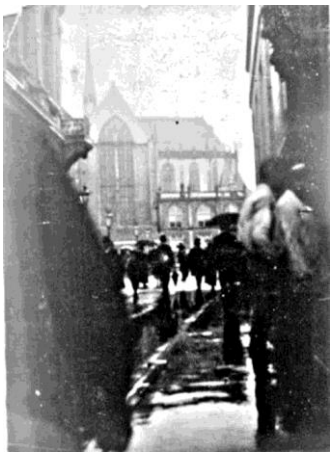

Fig 26. George Hendrik Breitner, *Untitled*, ca. 1889-1913, daylight collodion silver print in album 8,8 x 6,6 cm (Leiden, UBL, PK-F-GHB.085.096).

Fig 27. George Hendrik Breitner, *View on the Dam in Amsterdam*, ca. 1889-1913, modern print of negative (The Hague, RKD, 0000268583).

Fig 28. George Hendrik Breitner, *View on the Rokin in Amsterdam*, ca. 1900-1908, modern print of negative (The Hague, RKD, 0000268990).

Fig 29. GHB, *Portrait of two girls in the snow*, ca. 1889-1913, daylight gelatin silver print, 9,7 x 9 cm (The Hague, RKD, 0000269909).

Fig 30. George Hendrik Breitner, *Man and horses in the snow*, ca. 1900-1905, daylight gelatin silver print (The Hague, RKD, 0000270259).

Fig 31. George Hendrik Breitner, *Album sheet*, ca. 1889-1913, 32.5 x 24.7 (Leiden, UBL, PK-F-GHB.085)

Fig 32. George Hendrik Breitner, *Album shee*t, ca. 1889-1913, 32.5 x 24.7 (Leiden, UBL, PK-F-GHB.085)

Fig 33. Detail of album sheet in fig. 31.

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Figs. 34-40. Photographic reproductions in the editions of *Lux* from 1896-1908. Respectively: 34. J.F.J. Huysser, *Genre study*. 35. E.A. Loeb, *Old Delft*. 36. F. Weisbord & Co, *Untitled*. 37. B.W. Arendsen, *Untitled.* Original prints in the collection of the UBL: 39. Berend Zweers, *Untitled*, 1910, 18,1 x 23,8 cm, (PK-F-G.488) 40. Bernard Eilers, *Sun after mist*, ca. 1907-1908, 26,7 x 37,2 cm (Leiden, UBL, PK-F-06.042).

Fig. 41. George Hendrik Breitner, *Pedestrian at the Prinsengracht in Amsterdam*, ca. 1889-1913, modern print of negative (The Hague, RKD, 0000268052).

Fig. 42. George Hendrik Breitner, *Untitled*, ca. 1889-1913, daylight collodion silver print in album, 8 x 11 cm (Leiden, UBL, PK-F-GHB.0.85.026).

Fig. 43. George Hendrik Breitner, *View on the Lindengracht in Amsterdam*, ca. 1895-191, modern print of negative (The Hague, RKD, 0000268086).

Fig. 44. George Hendrik Breitner, *Portrait of two girls*, ca. 1895-191, modern print of negative (The Hague, RKD, 0000267979).

Fig 45. George Hendrik Breitner, *Woman in the street*, ca. 1889-1913, daylight collodion silver print in album (Leiden, UBL, PK-F-GHB-086.044).

Fig 46. George Hendrik Breitner, *View on the Singel in Amsterdam*, ca. 1895-191, modern print of negative (The Hague, RKD, 0000268049).

Fig 47. George Hendrik Breitner, *View on the Haarlemmerstraat in Amsterdam*, ca. 1889-191, modern print of negative (The Hague, RKD, 0000268680).

Fig 48. George Hendrik Breitner, *View on the Spui in Amsterdam*, ca. 1889-191, modern print (The Hague, RKD, 0000269020).

Fig. 49. George Hendrik Breitner, *Haarlemmerstraat 155, seen from the Eenhoornsluis over the Korte Prinsengracht*, ca. 1906, modern print of glass negative (Amsterdam, City Archives, 010104000092).

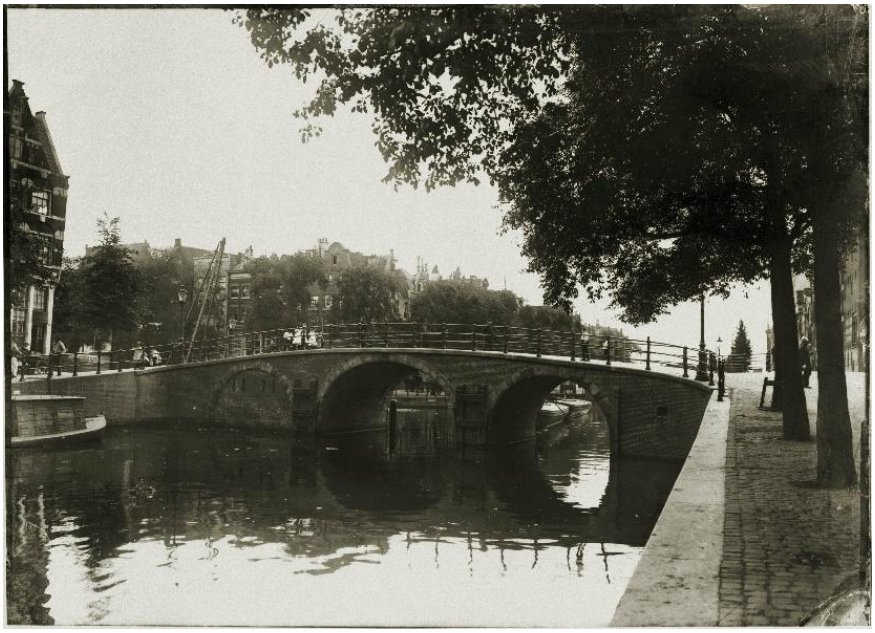

Fig. 50. George Hendrik Breitner, *Prinsengracht in Amsterdam*, ca. 1906-1907, modern print of glass negative (Amsterdam, City Archives, 010104000010).

Fig. 51. Theo van Doesburg, *Double Self-Portrait*, 1921, gelatin silver print, 12,6 × 12,7 cm (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, RP-F-2003-101).

Fig. 52. Theo van Doesburg, Simultaneous portrait of Nelly van Doesburg, 1926, daylight gelatin silver print, 50,2 x 39,9 cm (Leiden, UBL, PK-F-61.1071).

Fig. 53. Paul Schuitema, *Self Portrait*, ca. 1920-1930, daglichtgelatinezilver druk, 23,8 x 17,8 cm (Leiden, UBL, PK-F-

Fig. 54. George Hendrik Breitner, ca. 1889-1913, gelatin silver print in album (Leiden, UBL, PK-F-GHB.064).

Fig. 55. Erwin Blumenfeld, *Solarized portrait of a woman*, ca. 1925-1935 (Leiden, UBL, PK-F-54.555).

Fig. 56. Steef Zoetmulder, *HBU-Rotterdam I*, 1939 (Leiden, UBL).

Fig. 57. George Hendrik Breitner, *View on the Overtoon in Amsterdam*, ca. 1889-1902, modern print of negative (The Hague, RKD, 0000269012).

Fig. 58. George Hendrik Breitner, *View of the quarrying of N. Cortlever at the Prinseneiland in Amsterdam*, ca. 1898-1912, modern print of negative (The Hague, RKD, 0000268177).

Fig. 59. George Hendrik Breitner, *View of the Prinsengracht in Amsterdam*, ca. 1889-1913, modern print of negative (The Hague, RKD, 0000267945).

Fig. 60. Garry Winogrand, *New York City*, 1961, gelatin silver print, 56,5 × 37,7 cm (New York: MoMA, 745.2007).

Fig. 61. Robert Frank, *Elevator - Miami Beach,* 1955, printed ca. 1977, gelatin silver print, 23,2 x 33,6 cm (New York: Metropolitan Museum, 1986.1198.2).

Fig. 62. Gerard Fieret, *Woman walking on the streets*, gelatin silver print,14 x 12,5 cm (Leiden, UBL, PK-F-GPF.388).

Fig. 63. Gerard Fieret, *People in a bus*, gelatin silver print, 21 x 30 cm (Leiden, UBL, PK-F-GPF.1880).

Fig. 64. Ed van der Elsken, *Interior of the Guggenheim Museum with visitors*, gelatin silver print, 30 x 40 cm (Leiden, UBL, PK-F-85.527).

Fig. 65. Sanne Sannes, *Untitled,* ca. 1959-1967 (Rotterdam, Nederlands Fotomuseum, SAS-20708).

Fig. 66. George Hendrik Breitner, *View of the Prinseneilandsgracht in Amsterdam,* ca. 1898-1913, modern print of negative (The Hague, RKD, 0000268120).

Fig. 67. George Hendrik Breitner, *Untitled*, ca. 1889-1913, daylight collodion silver print, 9 x 13 cm (Leiden, UBL, PK-F-GHB.085 147).

Fig. 68. George Hendrik Breitner, *Two women in the snow*, ca. 1889-1913, modern print of negative (The Hague, RKD, 0000267982).

Fig. 69. George Hendrik Breitner, *The Rokin with a view on the Langebrug from the Arti et Amicitiae building in Amsterdam*, ca. 1889-1913, modern print of negative (The Hague, RKD, 0000269282).

Fig. 70. George Hendrik Breitner, *The Rokin with a view on the Langebrug from the Arti et Amicitiae building in Amsterdam*, ca. 1889-1913, modern print of negative (The Hague, RKD, 0000269285).

Fig. 71. George Hendrik Breitner, *Two girls*, ca. 1889-1913, modern print of negative (The Hague, RKD, 0000267979).

Fig. 72. George Hendrik Breitner, *Three young girls on a bridge*, ca. 1889-1913, modern print of negative (The Hague, RKD, 0000269831).

Fig. 73. George Hendrik Breitner, *View of the Keizersgracht in Amsterdam*, ca. 1889-1913, modern print (The Hague, RKD, 0000267989).

Fig. 74. André Kertész, *Broken Plate*, negative 1929 / print ca. 1970, gelatin silver print, 19,4 × 24,8 cm (Estate of André Kertész).

Fig. 75. George Hendrik Breitner, *View of the Herengracht in Amsterdam*, ca. 1889-1913, modern print of negative (The Hague, RKD, 0000267990).

Fig. 76. George Hendrik Breitner, *Pedestrians on the Prinsengracht in Amsterdam*, ca. 1889-1913, modern print of negative (The Hague, RKD, 0000268024).

Fig. 77. George Hendrik Breitner, *View on the Vijzelstraat in Amsterdam*, ca. 1889-1913, modern print of negative (The Hague, RKD, 0000268202).

Fig. 78. George Hendrik Breitner, *Three schoolchildren*, ca. 1889-1913, modern print of negative (The Hague: RKD, BR 1908).

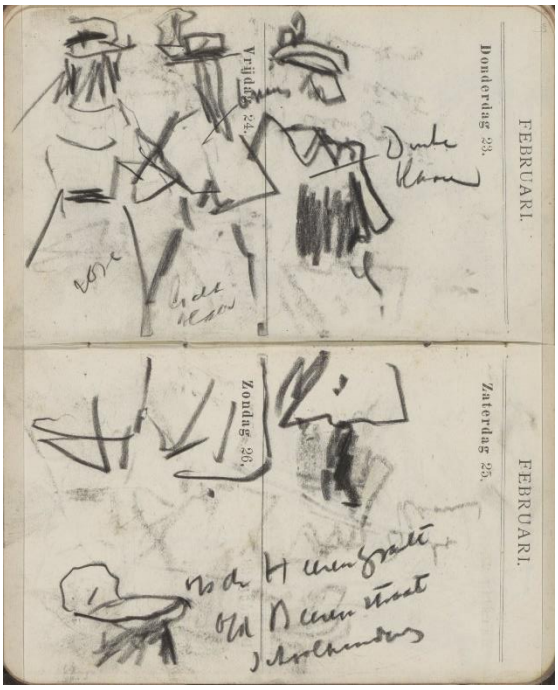

Fig. 79. George Hendrik Breitner, *Schoolchildren*, 1893, black chalk on paper in diary (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, RP-T-1924-90-49).

Fig. 80. George Hendrik Breitner, *Three schoolchildren on the bridge at the Westermakrk*, 1895, oil on canvas, 24,5 x 32,5 cm (private collection).

Fig. 81. George Hendrik Breitner, *Lauriergracht 7-19 (from left to right)*, ca. 1890-1900, modern scan from glass negative (Amstedam: City Archive, 010104000201).

Fig. 82. Detail of fig. 80: George Hendrik Breitner, *Three schoolchildren on the bridge at the Westermarkt*, 1895, oil on canvas, 24,5 x 32,5 cm (private collection).

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Figs. 83-85. George Hendrik Breitner, *Album sheets with photographs in Amsterdam*, ca. 1889-1913, daylight collodion silver prints on paper (Leiden, UBL, PK-F-GHB.085).

Fig. 86. George Hendrik Breitner, *Kalverstraat with flags in Amsterdam*, ca. 1889-1913, daylight collodion silver print, 11 x 8 cm (Leiden, UBL, PK-F-GHB.085).

Fig. 87. George Hendrik Breitner, *View on the Kalverstraat in Amsterdam*, ca. 1894, black chalk on lined paper (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, RP-T-1924-57-37).

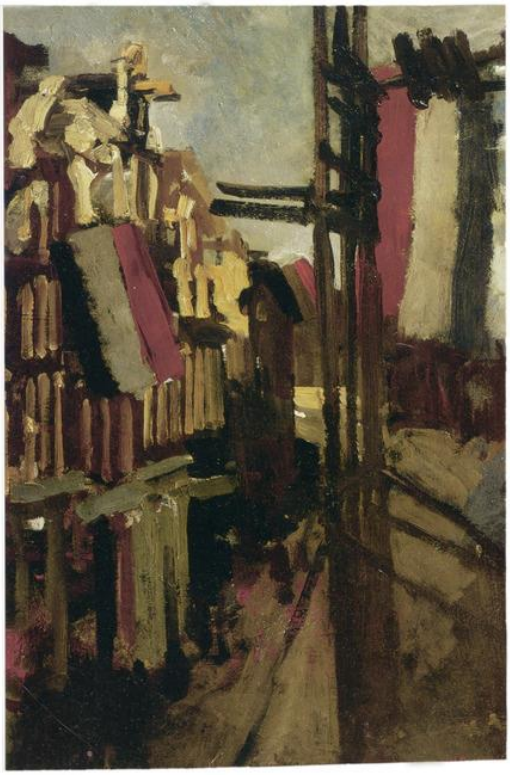

Fig. 88. George Hendrik Breitner, *Flags in the Kalverstraat*, before 1896, oil on canvas, 75,5 x 50,5 cm (Cambridge (MA), Fogg museum).

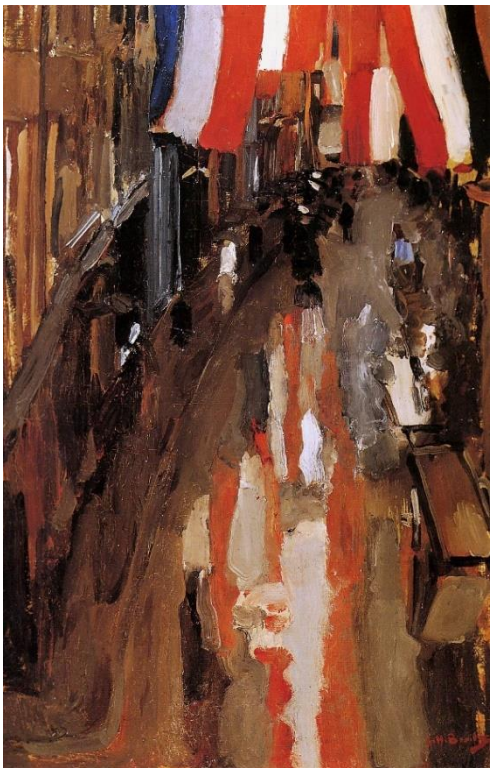

Fig. 89. George Hendrik Breitner, *Kalverstraat with flags on a rainy night*, ca. 1895, oil on canvas, 73 x 48 cm (Laren, Singer Laren, on permanent loan).

Fig. 90. George Hendrik Breitner, *Station square in Leuven*, 1907, modern print of negative (The Hague: RKD, BR261).

Fig. 91. George Hendrik Breitner, *View on a market in Amsterdam*, ca. 1889-1913, daylight collodion silver print (Leiden, UBL, PK-F-GHB.086/057).

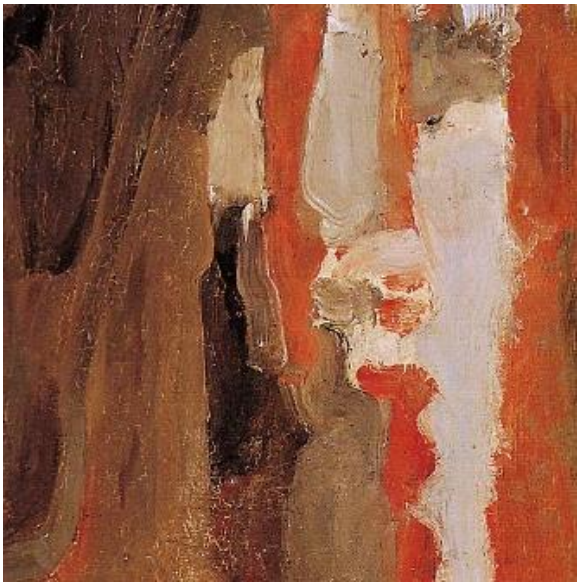

Fig. 92. Detail of fig. 89.

Fig. 93. Detail of fig. 89.

Fig. 94. George Hendrik Breitner, *Women on the Lauriergracht*, ca. 1893-1899, daylight gelatin silver print, 8,7 x 9,7 cm (The Hague: RKD, 0000269969).

95. George Hendrik Breitner, '*Waspit', possibly the Lauriergracht in Amsterdam*, ca. 1893-1898, black chalk on paper in sketchbook (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, RP-T-1924-68-13).

Fig. 96. George Hendrik Breitner *Two women on the Lauriergracht*,, oil on canvas, 119 x 190 cm (private collection).

Fig. 97. George Hendrik Breitner, *Dam square in Amsterdam*, ca. 1889-1913, daylight collodion silver print (Leiden, UBL, PK-F-GHB-053).

Fig. 98. George Hendrik Breitner, *Figures and horsetrams on the Dam square in Amsterdam*, ca. 1886-1903, black paint on paper envelop, 15,4 x 23,4 cm (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, RP-T-1949-381).

Fig. 99. George Hendrik Breitner, *The Dam (The Nieuwe Kerk in Amsterdam)*, 1891, oil on canvas, 102 x 152,5 cm (Laren, Singer Laren, 61-7-1).

Origins of images

Image 1: Retrieved July 6 2021, https://rkd.nl/nl/explore/images/107336.

Image 2: Retrieved July 6 2021, https://rkd.nl/explore/images/63617.

Images 3-13: Photographic reproductions in the editions of *Lux* from 1896-1908. Photo by author.

Image 14: Retrieved April 25 2022, http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:2005048.

Image 15: Retrieved April 25 2022, http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:1659519.

Image 16: Retrieved April 25 2022, http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:1653573

Image 17: Retrieved April 25 2022, https://archief.amsterdam/beeldbank/detail/064cc84e-f4ee-e05e-4558-e9bde0c0ceeb.

Image 18: Retrieved April 25 2022, http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:1903438

Image 19: Retrieved April 25 2022, https://rkd.nl/nl/explore/images/211079

Image 20: Retrieved July 6 2021, https://rkd.nl/nl/explore/images/208472.

Image 21: Retrieved July 6 2021, http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:1897352.

Images 22-23: Photographic reproductions in the editions of *Lux* from 1896-1908. Photo by author.

Image 24: Retrieved April 25 2022, http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:1659431.

Image 25: Retrieved April 25 2022, http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:1664193.

Image 26: Retrieved April 25 2022, http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:1898505.

Image 27: Retrieved August 6 2022, https://rkd.nl/explore/images/206183.

Image 28: Retrieved August 6 2022, https://rkd.nl/explore/images/207676.

Image 29: Retrieved August 6 2022, https://rkd.nl/explore/images/210936.

Image 30: Retrieved August 6 2022, https://rkd.nl/explore/images/213108.

Images 31-33: Retrieved August 6 2022, http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:358556.

Images 34-38: Photographic reproductions in the editions of *Lux* from 1896-1908. Photo by author.

Image 39: Retrieved April 25 2022, http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:1894498.

Image 40: Retrieved April 25 2022, http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:1665399.

Image 41: Retrieved August 6 2022, https://rkd.nl/explore/images/208547.

Image 42: Retrieved July 6 2021, http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:1904758.

Image 43: Retrieved August 7 2022, https://rkd.nl/explore/images/208639.

Image 44: Retrieved August 7 2022, https://rkd.nl/explore/images/208475.

Image 45: Retrieved August 7 2022, http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:1897690.

Image 46: Retrieved August 7 2022, https://rkd.nl/explore/images/208494

Image 47: Retrieved July 6 2021, https://rkd.nl/explore/images/205965.

Image 48: Retrieved August 7 2022, https://rkd.nl/explore/images/208203.

Image 49: Retrieved August 27 2022, https://archief.amsterdam/beeldbank/detail/7afeec33-f819-8dac-8a72-5175b7d7a976

Image 50: Retrieved August 27 2022, https://archief.amsterdam/beeldbank/detail/86a9abc0-4cda-8766-1caa-76f04dc5f35f.

Image 51: Retrieved August 27 2022, https://vandoesburghuis.com/theo-en-nelly-van-doesburg/.

Image 52: Retrieved April 25 2022, http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:1659995.

Image 53: Retrieved April 25 2022, http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:2005438.

Image 54: Retrieved April 25 2022, http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:1897352.

Image 55: Retrieved April 25 2022, http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:1660541.

Image 56: Retrieved August 27 2022, https://steefphotography.com/book/.

Image 57: Retrieved July 6 2022, https://rkd.nl/explore/images/208134.

Image 58: Retrieved July 6 2022, https://rkd.nl/explore/images/208872.

Image 59: Retrieved July 6 2022, https://rkd.nl/explore/images/208455.

Image 60: Retrieved August 20 2021, https://www.moma.org/collection/works/111135?artist_id=6399&page=1&sov_referrer=artist

Image 61: Retrieved August 20 2021, https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2015/dec/15/robert-frank-the-americans-auction

Image 62: Retrieved April 25 2022, http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:1663580.

Image 63: Retrieved April 25 2022, http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:1993172.

Image 64: Retrieved April 25 2022, http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:1951111.

Image 65: Retrieved April 25 2022, https://collectie.nederlandsfotomuseum.nl/collectie/detail/640fe314-9d24-1f55-0e3b-9570992fc6ca/media/d5eb42fb-87c7-5963-7309-2faba3682c84.

Image 66: Retrieved August 27 2022, https://rkd.nl/explore/images/63617.

Image 67: Retrieved August 27 2022, http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:2005898.

Image 68: Retrieved August 27 2022, https://rkd.nl/explore/images/208473.

Image 69: Retrieved August 7 2022, https://rkd.nl/explore/images/204067.

Image 70: Retrieved August 7 2022, https://rkd.nl/explore/images/204074.

Image 71: Retrieved August 7 2022, https://rkd.nl/explore/images/208475.

Image 72: Retrieved August 7 2022, https://rkd.nl/explore/images/210537.

Image 73: Retrieved August 7 2022, https://rkd.nl/explore/images/208247.

Image 74: Retrieved August 20 2021, http://www.getty.edu/art/collection/objects/55772/andre-kertesz-broken-plate-paris-american-negative-1929-print-1970s/?dz=0.5000,0.3900,0.72

Image 75: Retrieved August 7 2022, https://rkd.nl/explore/images/208436.

Image 76: Retrieved August 20 2021, https://rkd.nl/explore/images/208531.

Image 77: Retrieved August 11 2022, https://rkd.nl/explore/images/209280.

Image 78: Retrieved July 21 2022, https://rkd.nl/nl/explore/images/record?query=george+hendrik+breitner+drie&start=7

Image 79: Retrieved July 21 2022, https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/nl/zoeken/objecten?q=schoolkinderen&p=1&ps=12&st=Objects&ii=2#/RP-T-1924-90-49,2

Image 80: Retrieved July 21 2022, https://www.budgetschilderij.nl/a-29704383/breitner/breitner-drie-schoolmeisjes/#description

Image 81: Retrieved July 21 2022, https://archief.amsterdam/beeldbank/detail/8b7c4a11-90e1-367e-405c-350536e59941

Image 82: Retrieved July 21 2022, https://rkd.nl/nl/explore/images/record?query=george+hendrik+breitner+schoolmeisjes&start=0

Images 83-86: Retrieved July 21 2022, http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:358556.

Image 87: Retrieved July 21 2022, http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.526167.

Image 88: Retrieved July 21 2022, https://rkd.nl/nl/explore/images/record?query=breitner+kalverstraat&start=29.

Image 89: Retrieved July 21 2022, https://hart.amsterdam/nl/page/49787/george-hendrik-breitner-twee-versies-van-kalverstraat-met-vlaggen-ca-1894-si.

Image 90: Retrieved July 21 2022, https://rkd.nl/nl/explore/images/record?query=0000268163&start=0.

Image 91: Retrieved July 21 2022, http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:2006483.

Images 92-93: Retrieved July 21 2022, https://hart.amsterdam/nl/page/49787/george-hendrik-breitner-twee-versies-van-kalverstraat-met-vlaggen-ca-1894-si.

Image 94: Retrieved July 21 2022, https://rkd.nl/explore/images/211079.

Image 95: Retrieved July 22 2022, http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.525030.

Image 96: Retrieved July 22 2022, https://www.ivobouwman.nl/zoek-schilderijen/wppaspec/oc1/cv0/ab16/ptGeorge-Hendrik-Breitner-Twee-vrouwen-langs-een-gracht

Image 97: Retrieved July 21 2022, http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:1895654.

Image 98: Retrieved July 21 2022, https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/nl/collectie/RP-T-1949-381(R).

Image 99: Retrieved July 21 2022, https://rkd.nl/nl/explore/images/24970.

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