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pretpovijest reportažne fotografije u hrvatskoj

the prehistory of feature photography in croatia

▼ Fotoreportaža je po definiciji dokumentarna fotografija: ona slikovno prenosi neki događaj djelujući kao vizualna esencija poruke. U fotoreportaži snimci sami po sebi, zahvaljujući snazi svoga sadržaja, najizravnije posreduju strasti svijeta u kojem živimo.

Nedugo po svom izumu 1839. godine područje fotografije proširilo se i na bilježenje važnih događanja. Prva novinska reportaža koja je koristila fotografiju zabilježila je strašni požar koji je 1842. godine poharao Hamburg. Dagerotipski su ga snimali Carl F. Stelzner i Hermann Biow. Poznat je podatak da su dagerotipije i fotografije objavljivane od te iste godine u *London Illustrated News*, dok je prva fotografija - gravirana dagerotipija - objavljena u francuskom časopisu *L'Illustration* 1. srpnja 1848. godine bila *Barikada u ulici Saint-Maur*.¹ Praktički do samog kraja stoljeća graviranje, tj. prenošenje putem grafike, bilo je jedina mogućnost reproduciranja fotografskog zapisa u drugom mediju.

Rodonačelnikom fotožurnalizma smatra se engleski fotograf Roger Fenton koji prati Krimski rat (1853.-1856.). Zahvaljujući kolodijском procesu i mogućnosti izrade većeg broja fotografija na albuminskom papiru koje su se prodavale u više država, taj rat predstavlja prvo medijsko internacionaliziranje jednog događaja. Građanski rat u Americi 1861.-1866. već je dokumentiran s više tisuća snimaka. U tom je razdoblju fotografija još uvijek skupa, a u smislu vremenskog angažmana i kompleksnosti postupka i zahtjevna disciplina u kojoj još nije postojala danas uobičajena podjela na profesionalnu i amatersku fotografiju. Stoga primjeri o kojima će biti riječ predstavljaju protofazu u razvoju žanra kod kojeg se još dugo neće profilirati različite vrste.

Dva su izuma stvorila preduvjete za brz i jeftin način reprodukcije fotografije u tisku: polutonski postupak tiskanja kojim se fotografija prebacivala na metalnu ploču i Eastmanova mala kamera koja je umjesto dotadašnjih teških i lomljivih staklenih ploča imala smotani film. Sve je to umnogome olakšalo posao i pokretljivost i omogućilo sustavan razvoj i procvat fotoreportaže.

Poznata je kritika da je fotoreportaža rođena u ratu. Prvi svjetski rat njezino je zlatno doba, dok se Španjolski građanski rat smatra početkom razdoblja moderne fotoreportaže. Nažalost, i nedavno iskustvo

● Feature photography is documentary photography by definition: it chronicles events using images as the visual essence of a message. Owing to the power of their content, photographs in a report are able to transmit directly the passions of the world we live in.

Soon after the invention of photography in 1839, its field expanded to include the recording of important events. The first newspaper report using photography chronicled the terrible fire that devastated Hamburg in 1842. It was made by Carl F. Stelzner and Hermann Biow by using the daguerotype technique. It is known that, from that year onwards, daguerotypes and photographs were regularly used by the *London Illustrated News*, whereas the first photograph - a daguerotype engraving - was published in the French journal *L'Illustration* on July 1, 1848: the *Barricades in Rue Saint-Maur*.¹ Until the very end of the century, engraving, i.e. graphic transfer, was practically the only way to reproduce a photographic recording in another medium.

Roger Fenton, English photographer who did the coverage of the Crimean War (1853-1856), is considered the pioneer of photojournalism. Owing to the colloidal process and the possibility of producing a larger number of photographs on albumin paper, his photographs were sold in a number of countries. It was the first time that an event became known internationally through to the media. The American Civil War (1861-1866) was documented on as many as several thousand photographs. In that period, photographs were still expensive, as well as demanding in terms of time and the complexity of procedure. The classification of photography into professional and amateur, which is common today, was still unknown. Therefore, the examples I will use indicate a proto-phase in the development of the genre, within which distinct types would become discernible only much later.

Two inventions created the preconditions for developing a fast and cheap way of reproducing photographs in print: the halftone printing procedure, in which the photograph was transferred onto a metal plate, and the small Eastman camera, in which the heavy and fragile glass plates were substituted by film rolls. All this greatly improved reporters' work and mobility, leading to the systematic evolution and flourishing of photojournalism.

1 Godine 1898. počinju se javljati ilustrirani časopisi. U Hrvatskoj će fotografije među prvima reproducirati *Prosvjeta* i *Vesti društva inžinira i arhitekta u Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji*. Prve novine s fotoreportažom kao redovitom rubrikom su *Illustrovani list*, koji je počeo izlaziti 1914. godine.

1 The year 1898 marked the appearance of illustrated magazines. In Croatia, the first newspapers to reproduce photographs were *Prosvjeta* and *Vesti društva inžinira i arhitekta u Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji*. The first newspaper regularly featuring photoreports was *Illustrovani list*, first published in 1914.

1. J. O. Fleischlinger, *Uzljetanje balona Turul*, 2.4.1905 / The Turul Balloon Taking Off, 2 April 1905, Muzej grada Zagreba



Domovinskog rata u Hrvatskoj potvrdilo je aktualnost toga žanra koji se tada ponovno dramatično nametnuo.

No, vratimo se u pretpovijesni kontekst fotožurnalizma. U korpusu hrvatske fotografije mnogi su primjerici koji po svojoj dokumentarnoj bazi imaju sve karakteristike reportažnog žanra. Njihova vrijednost leži i u činjenici da nisu mogli biti manipulirani naknadnim kadriranjem ili izrezivanjem detalja. Polja pozitivnih kopija i negativa identična su. Iz tehničkih razloga, odnosno zbog nepostojanja aparata za povećavanje, sve su te fotografije kontakt-kopije, što omogućuje direktni uvid u fotografsko mišljenje pojedinog autora. Prošlost se kroz te pojedinačne fotografije ne predstavlja kao cjelovit i kontinuiran proces, već kao zbroj fragmagenta koji dozvoljavaju rekonstrukciju samo tragova događaja.

Nažalost, u toj marginalnoj povijesti mnoge podatke nalazimo tek u pisanim dokumentima, a ne u sačuvanim artefaktima. Projekt Ljudevita Gaja za knjigu *Dogodovštinu Ilirije Velike* sadrži sve buduće programatske osnove za prosvojiteljsku ulogu fotografije u našoj sredini. Za pripremu tiskanja te knjige Gaj je, uz ostale stručnjake, pozvao i zagrebačkog daka, slikara-dagerotipista Leopolda Pexu iz Budima da snimi Krapinu i Zagreb. Podatak je zanimljiv zato što se cijela priča odvijala 1844. godine, u vrijeme kada, kako je već navedeno, nije bila moguća direktna reprodukcija. Sasvim je sigurno da su Gaju bile poznate publikacije pariškog izdavača Lerebouersa objavljivane pod nazivom *Excursion Daguerriennes*. Zbog finansijskih i političkih razloga nije došlo do tiskanja knjige. Ostala je tek ljetnja Leopolda Pexe, zabilježena u pismu, na sramotno nizak honorar isplaćen za crtanje grbova, a "usto je konstruirao fotografsku kameru s kojom je trebao snimiti vidike" te stoga podnosi račun za još 19 forinti i 33 ksantima. Pismo poslano iz Zagreba nosi datum 31. X. 1844. Da je kojim slučajem projekt realiziran, bio bi među prvima u svijetu.²

Važno ime u povijesti rane fotografije je Josip Betondić, dubrovački ilirac, veleposjednik, filozof i izumitelj. Povijest književnosti tom *homo universalis* bilježi zasluge za objavljivanje Gundulićeva *Osmanu*, a kako doznajemo iz onovremenog tiska, sagradio je i ogromnu cameru obscuru. Iznimnu vrijednost fotografija Dubrovnika koje je snimio prepoznali su već njegovi suvremenici. Unatoč tomu Luko Diego

There is a famous saying that photojournalism was born on the battlefield. World War I was its golden era, while the Spanish Civil War is considered the dawn of the age of modern feature photography. In the unfortunate recent experience of the Croatian Liberation War, the genre could reassert its relevance dramatically.

But let us turn back to the "pre-historical" context of photojournalism. Speaking of Croatian photographs, there are many examples of their documentary foundation, since they bear all the characteristics of the genre of feature photography. Their value lies, among other things, in the fact that they could not be manipulated through subsequent framing or by cutting out unwanted details. Their positives and negatives are identical. Due to technical reasons, that is, because of the fact that magnifiers did not exist in those times, all photographs were contact copies, which today enables a direct insight into the photographic thinking of individual authors. They do not present the past as a unified and continuous process, but as a set of fragments, which permit no more than a mere reconstruction of traces of events.

Unfortunately, this marginal history is preserved largely in written documents, whereas the artefacts themselves have been lost. The project of Ljudevit Gaj for the book entitled *Dogodovštine Ilirije Velike* (Events of Great Illyria) shows the programmatic foundations for the edifying role of photography in Croatian culture. While preparing the book for print, Gaj invited, among other experts, Leopold Pexa from Buda, painter and daguerotypist trained in Zagreb, in order to take photographs of Krapina and Zagreb. This fact is interesting because the story was taking place in 1844, at the time when, as we have indicated before, no direct reproduction was possible. It is certain that Gaj knew the publications of Lerebouers, a publisher from Paris, entitled *Excursions Daguerriennes*. For financial and political reasons, Gaj's project never appeared in print. What remained is the angry reaction of Leopold Pexa, recorded in a letter, because of the shamefully small sum of money that he received for drawing the coats of arms. His indignation was intensified by the fact that he had "even constructed a camera in order to make photographs of the scenery," because of which he was adding 19 *forints* and 33 *ksantims* to the bill. The letter was

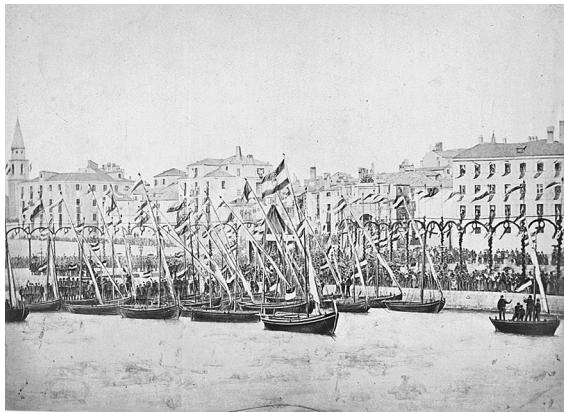
Sorkočević našao je za shodno da o njegovim sklonostima "fizici" 1948. godine napiše tri pjesme rugalice.³ O njima saznamo više iz nekrologa objavljenog u zadarskom *// Nazionale*, 1865: "... Otkriće fotografije, netom po objavi, privuklo je njegovo pažnju, i on je pomno slijedio napredak i poboljšanja, iskušavajući i prakticirajući ovu iznenadujuću umjetnost. Konstruirao je sebi zbog toga veliku cameru obscuru, snabdjevenu različitim vješto smisljenim pridodacima, da bi je prilagodio svojim potrebama i snabdio je prekrasnim akromatskim objektivom Aucklander. Ostali su nam od njega dragocjeni fotografski radovi, između ostalog različite vedute Dubrovnika i okolice. Kada bi u Dubrovniku postojala nastavna ustanova koja bi zasluzivala naslov domovinske, željeli bismo u njoj vidjeti sačuvane instrumente koje je konstruirao Betondić, da bi pod pomnom paskom bili sačuvani na vječnu slavu njegove znanstvene djelatnosti. No, dok nam vremena takvu ustanovu ne udijele, čvrsto se nadamo s pouzdanjem da će njegovi nasljednici o njima voditi zasluzenu brigu."⁴ Na sreću, u Povijesnom arhivu u Dubrovniku čuva se oveći tematski album o povijesti i običajima te nošnjama dubrovačkog kraja, koji je sastavio domaći knjižar Martechini. Među ostalim smo pronašli i dvadesetak veduta koje s punim pouzdanjem pripisujemo Betondiću, zato što posve odgovaraju poznatim podacima, a štoviše, u to doba u Dubrovniku još nema stalnog fotografa profesionalca. Već letimičan pogled otkriva majstora koji je posve ovlađao metijerom. Dapače, vjerojatno je i sam doprinosio njegovu usavršavanju, zato što kalotipijski pozitivi nose na sebi neku fiksativnu emulziju nepoznatog podrijetla. U ovoj bi prilici trebalo skrenuti pažnju na njegovo zasigurno najranije poznato djelo - *Procesiju sv. Vlaha 1848.*, koja je prekrasan primjer prijelaznog oblika između fotografije i minijature. Njezina izuzetnost leži u činjenici da fiksira stvarni događaj s mnoštvom sudionika snimljen iz ptice perspektive. Fotografija je tretirana na način starijeg medija, a iz perspektive kasnijeg razvoja. Suvremenim bismo je jezikom mogli nazvati i manipuliranom fotografijom, pa čak i fotokolažem. Ona, međutim, po svojem tematskom sadržaju predstavlja prvu reportažnu fotografiju nastalu na tlu Hrvatske te širinom i dubinom kadra još dugo neće biti nadidena.

U isto vrijeme kad i Betondić, čije djelo predstavlja rijetkost i u svjetskim razmjeri-

sent from Zagreb on October 31, 1844. Had the project been realized, it would have been among the first of this sort in the world.²

An important name in the early history of photography is that of Josip Betondić, an "Illyrian" from Dubrovnik, landowner, philosopher, and inventor. In the history of literature, this *homo universalis* is merited with publishing Gundulić's epic *Osman*, but newspapers from the period inform us that he had also constructed a huge *camera obscura*. The exceptional value of his photographs of Dubrovnik was recognised by his contemporaries. Nevertheless, Luko Diego Sorkočević found it appropriate to write three mocking songs about Betondić's affinities for "physics" in 1948.³ It is also mentioned in a necrology published in the Zadar newspaper *// Nazionale* in 1865: "... The discovery of photography attracted his attention soon after it was made public, and he kept an interested eye on its progress and improvement, exercising and practising this amazing art. For this reason, he construed for himself a large camera obscura, equipped with various skilfully designed attachments in order to adjust it to his own needs, and he supplied it with a beautiful achromatic Aucklander lens. He left behind him precious photographs, among others various vistas of Dubrovnik and its surrounding. If Dubrovnik had an educational institution that could be called national, we might wish it possessed the instruments construed by Betondić, in order to preserve them carefully and thus commemorate in glory his scientific activity. But until such an institution is established, we can only hope that his heirs will take proper care of them."⁴ Fortunately, there is an extensive thematic album preserved in the Historical Archives of Dubrovnik, which is dedicated to the history, customs, and costumes of Dubrovnik and its surroundings. It was compiled by Martechini, a local bookmaker, and contains, among other things, some twenty vistas that can be attributed to Betondić with confidence, since they completely correspond to other available data and since there was no permanent professional photographer in Dubrovnik at that time. A quick glance suffices to identify a master who handled his craft with sovereignty and probably even contributed to its development, since the kalotype positives show traces of some sort of fixative emulsion of unidentifiable origin. We should use

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- ² Gajeva ostavština (NSB, 4701 A V Političko-historički sastavci)
JOSIP HORVAT - JAKŠA RAVLIĆ, Pisma Ljudevitu Gaju, u: *Grada za povijest književnosti Hrvatske*, knj. 26, Zagreb, 1956., 389.
- ³ G. Betondiću, koji učiše nauke fizike, Znanstvena knjižnica Dubrovnik, rkp. 725. (s latinskog preveo Stojanović dum Ivan) u: *Rukopisi Naučne biblioteke u Dubrovniku*, knj. 1, Zagreb, 1954., 326.
- ⁴ Cenno necrologico, u: *Il Nazionale*, Zadar, 1 (1865.), 4 (nekrolog Josipu Betondiću na talijanskom jeziku, izbor citata u slobodnom prijevodu M.T.)
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- ² Gaj's legacy (NSB, 4701 A V Političko-historički sastavci)
JOSIP HORVAT - JAKŠA RAVLIĆ, Pisma Ljudevitu Gaju [Letters to Ljudevit Gaj], in: *Grada za povijest književnosti Hrvatske* [Sources for the history of literature in Croatia], book 26, Zagreb, 1956, 389.
- ³ G. Betondiću, koji učiše nauke fizike [To Mr. Betondić, who pursued the science of physics], Znanstvena knjižnica Dubrovnik, MS 725 (transl. from Latin by Stojanović dum Ivan); *Rukopisi Naučne biblioteke u Dubrovniku* [Manuscripts of the Library of Sciences in Dubrovnik], book 1, Zagreb, 1954, 326.
- ⁴ Cenno necrologico, in: *Il Nazionale*, Zadar, 1 (1865), 4 (a necrology for Josip Betondić)



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ma, na drugom kraju Hrvatske, u Trakošćunu, grof Juraj Drašković, isto tako veliko ime rane fotografije, snima i slaže svoj kalotipiski album. Iako je najčešće snimao pojedinačne portrete, prihvatio se i zahtjevnijih zadataka kao što su skupni portreti članova obitelji i prijatelja. Među njima se izdvaja fotografija obitelji Török, Csaky i Dezseffy koja je po broju od dvadeset likova, s jasno određenom ikonografskom hijerarhijom u postavi svakog pojedinog lika izuzetna ne samo u Draškovićevu opusu ili u onodobnoj hrvatskoj fotografiji, nego ima izuzetno mjesto i u evropskoj fotografiji devetnaestog stoljeća uopće. Kako su ti skupni portreti ujedno i prve žanrovske scene, ne samo u fotografiji, nego i u cijelokupnoj novoj hrvatskoj likovnoj umjetnosti, ne treba posebno isticati njihovu višestruku polihistorijsku vrijednost u rekonstrukciji vremena.⁵

Franjo Pommer, doseljenik iz Danske, u Zagrebu je 1856. godine otvorio prvi stalni atelijer. Dugom i bogatom aktivnošću postao je jednim od najznačajnijih fotografa koji je svoje vrhunske rezultate postigao upravo u izradi portreta. Srođio se s idejama Hrvatskog narodnog preporoda pa su njegov prvi veliki projekt portreti petnaest hrvatskih književnika.⁶ S obzirom na to kako je bio popraćen u tisku, taj je projekt očito nastao na osnovi političkog domoljubnog koncepta. U kulturnoškom je smislu značajan, jer punih četrnaest godina pretodi Nadarovojoj *Galerie contemporaine*. No bliži je uzor ipak imao u djelu *Album der Zeitgenossen* njemačkog fotografa Franza Hanfstaengela, albuminskoj seriji portreta suvremenika objavljenoj u Münchenu istovremeno s Pommerovim projektom. Drugi značajan Pommerov poduhvat nađen je nedavno u knjižnici HAZU. Iz arhivskog zaborava i pod starom signaturom izronila je programska knjižica izdana u Zagrebu 1865. godine u *Narodnoj tiskari dra. Ljudevitom Gaja*, koja sadržava *Prolog, sliku u jednom činu* koju kao redatelj, a u ovom slučaju i urednik, potpisuje Josip Freudenreich. Ta scenska igra, posvećena gospodi sabornicima, predstavljena je prigodom svečanosti u čast otvorenja Sabora trojedne Kraljevine Dalmacije, Hrvatske i Slavonije dana 11. studenoga 1865. godine.

Osobit kuriozitet predstavlja oprema knjižice koja sadržava, kako na naslovnicu navodi Freudenreich, *krasnu fotografiju žive zaključne slike*, a izdana je za uspomenu svoj gospodi sabornikom. Fotografija završne žive slike svakako predstavlja, ako ne

this opportunity to draw special attention to one of his pieces, which is certainly the earliest we know - *The Procession of St Blasius in 1848*, a magnificent example of the transition between photography and miniature. Its exceptional value lies in the fact that it chronicles an actual event with a multitude of participants, which was shot from the bird's eye view. The medium was treated traditionally, but with respect to the later development, and using the language of today, we might call it a manipulated photograph, even a photo-collage. With respect to its topic, however, it was the first feature photography ever made on the territory of Croatia, which would not be surpassed in the width and depth of its frame for some time to come.

Contemporary to Betondić, whose work can be considered exceptional even in global terms, an equally great name of early photography could be found on the other side of Croatia, in the castle of Trakošćan. It was Count Juraj Drašković, who was at that time compiling his kalotype album. Although he preferred portraits of individuals, occasionally he took upon himself more difficult tasks, such as group portraits of family members and friends. Among these, a particularly accomplished example is the photograph of the Török, Csáky, and Dezseffy families. The fact that it shows twenty figures, with a clearly defined iconographic hierarchy represented by their respective postures, makes it exceptional not only within Drašković's opus, or within contemporary Croatian photography, but also within the nineteenth-century European photography as a whole. Since such group portraits were the earliest genre scenes in photography, which also marked the new period of Croatian visual arts in general, their manifold historical value in the reconstruction of time is more than evident.⁵

Franjo Pommer, a Danish immigrant, opened the first permanent photographer's atelier in Zagreb in 1856. In the course of his long and fruitful activity, he became one of the most distinguished photographers of Croatia, his greatest achievements being precisely those in the field of portraiture. Since he sympathised with the Croatian National Revival, his first great project consisted in portraying fifteen Croatian writers.⁶ The coverage of this project in the media reveals the fact that its concept was obviously political and patriotic. In terms of cul-

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5 MARIJA TONKOVIĆ, Juraj i Karlo Drašković kao fotografi (katalog izložbe u Muzeju za umjetnost i obrt), Zagreb, 1985.

- 6 Portreti su bili zamišljeni kao prilog listu *Danica*.

- 5 MARIJA TONKOVIĆ, Juraj i Karlo Drašković kao fotografi [Juraj and Karlo Drašković as photographers] (exhibition catalogue), Zagreb, 1985.
6 The portraits were planned as an attachment to the *Danica* journal.

2. Andrović & Goldstein, Dolazak cara Franje Josipa I. u Zadar, 10. 4. 1875. / Arrival of Emperor Francis Joseph I in Zadar, 10 April 1875, Državni arhiv u Zadru
3. J. Betondić, Procesija sv. Vlahu u Dubrovniku, oko 1848. / St Blasius Procession in Dubrovnik, around 1848, Državni arhiv u Dubrovniku
4. O. Rechnitzer, Gradnja katedrale u Osijeku, oko 1896. / Building Osijek Cathedral, around 1896, Muzej Slavonije, Osijek
5. O. Rechnitzer, Proslava 40. godišnjice pjevačkog društva kolo, 1902. / Celebration of the 40th Anniversary of the Kolo Choir, 1902, Muzej grada Zagreba

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- ⁷ Čuva se u Muzeju grada Zagreba Inv.br.MGZ 8660-II-6012 a.
 - ⁸ Sabor je, naime, za sve vrijeme svojega rada zasjedao u *redutnoj dvorani* na prvom katu zgrade starog kazališta na Markovu trgu. Vidi: MARIJA TONKOVIĆ, Prva kazališna fotografija, u: *Cicero*, 6 (1999.).

vrijedno otkriće, onda barem važnu zanimljivost u slikopisu povijesti hrvatskog glumišta. Naime, prva dosad evidentirana fotografija glumačkog ansambla datira tek iz 1894. godine kada je Marko Antonini u Zagrebu snimio živu sliku s naslovom *Kralj Andrija II u Spljetu* koju se dugo smatralo jedinom sačuvanom fotografijom iz Starog kazališta na Markovu trgu. Snimka Marka Antoninija do sada se također vodila i kao posljednja snimka predstave pod plinskom rasvjetom prikazivane 16. i 17. ožujka 1894. Istražujući hrvatsku fotografsku baštinu pronašla sam prije nekoliko godina i drugu fotografiju iste žive slike. Snimio ju je grof Stjepan Erdödy, koji je pri tom pedantno zabilježio: *Agram, 16. März 1894, Lebendebilder in Theater bei elektrischem Lichte*, što opovrgava dotadašnje navode da je *Kralj Andrija II u Spljetu* bila posljednja predstava pod plinskom rasvjetom. Fotografija žive zaključne slike Freudenreichova *Prologa* značajna je po datumu nastanka. Naime, ta fotografija iz *Prologa* snimljena je čitavih 29 godina prije Antoninijeve i Erdödyjeve, smatranih dosad prvim snimkama hrvatskog glumišta.

Mimo običaja vremena, fotografija (kao uostalom ni tekst), nema potpisa autora. Vjerojatno je važnost namjene i trenutka pridonijela tomu da anonimno i u smiernosti posvete svoj rad visokom cilju. No gotovo s potpunom sigurnošću tu fotografiju pripisujem Franji Pommeru, jer tehnički i estetski pokazatelji, kao i veličina otiska, odgovaraju njegovim ranijim djelima. Godinu dana nakon *Prologa*, Pommer je snimio reportažnu fotografiju s otkrića spomenika banu Jelačiću iz 1866. godine, koju se dugo smatralo prvom predstavnicom reportažnog žanra u Hrvatskoj.⁷ Logično je zaključiti da su za takvu zahtjevnu zadaću angažirali dobitnika *Kolajne za pervu nagradu* na Gospodarskoj izložbi održanoj u godini koja je prethodila zasjedanju Sabora. Pommer je, štoviše, u Zagrebu počeo raditi kao kazališni slikar, ili kako se sam običavao potpisivati, *decorateur*, te je u godinama prije nego što se počeo baviti fotografijom nužno morao blisko surađivati s umjetničkim direktorom Narodnog zemaljskog kazališta Dimitrijem Demetrom i redateljem Josipom Freudenreichom. Uzimajući u obzir težinu i nezgrapnost ondašnje fotografске opreme⁸, nije nevažna ni činjenica da mu se atelijer nalazio na Gornjem gradu u Viećničkoj ulici, dakle nedaleko od zajedničke zgrade kazališta i sabornice.

ture, it is of foremost significance, since it preceded Nadar's *Galerie contemporaine* for as much as fourteen years. Its closest model is the *Album der Zeitgenossen* (*Album of Contemporaries*), made by German photographer Franz Hanfstaengel, an albumin series of portraits of his contemporaries, published in Munich at the same time as Pommer's project. Another important achievement of Pommer's was discovered recently in the library of HAZU (Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts). Rescued from archival oblivion, marked by the old call number, there appeared a programme booklet that had been published in Zagreb in 1865, in the *People's Printing House of dr. Ljudevit Gaj*. It contains a theatre piece entitled *Prologue, a play in one act*, signed by Josip Freudenreich, who was its director and in this case also its publisher. This play was dedicated to the members of Croatian Parliament and presented at the solemn opening of the Parliament of the Tripartite Kingdom of Dalmatia, Croatia, and Slavonia on November 11, 1865.

A special curiosity is the decoration of the booklet, which includes, in Freudenreich's words written on the cover, *a beautiful photograph of the live final scene*, published as a souvenir to the gentlemen, Members of Parliament. The photograph of the final live scene is certainly a rarity in the visual documentation of Croatian theatre and a valuable discovery. Namely, another early photograph of a troupe of actors dates from 1894: it is a documentary photograph by Marko Antonini, which was made in Zagreb and entitled *Kralj Andrija II u Spljetu* (*King Andrew II in Split*). For a long time, it was considered the only preserved photograph of the Old Theatre on St Marcus Square, as well as the last shot of a performance taking place under gaslight, made on March 16 and 17, 1894. Some years ago, while exploring the Croatian photographic heritage, I discovered another photograph of the same live scene. It was shot by Count Stjepan Erdödy, who also took care to note down the following: *Agram, 16. März 1894, Lebendebilder in Theater bei elektrischem Lichte* - which discards the former claims that *Kralj Andrija II u Spljetu* was the last performance under gaslight. The photograph of the live final scene of Freudenreich's *Prologue* is significant because of its date, since it was shot no less than 29 years before the ones by

6. L. Morpurgo, *U čamcu pred Supetrom, oko 1910. / In a boat in front of St. Peter, around 1910, Muzej grada Splita*
7. V. Becić, *Bojište s palim ratnicima, 1916., fotografija objavljena u pariškom mjesecačniku L'Illustration. / Dead Soldiers on the Battlefield, 1916, published in the Parisian monthly L'Illustration*
8. V. Becić, *Kolona u odstupanju, 1916., fotografija objavljena u pariškom mjesecačniku L'Illustration / Retreat, 1916, published in the Parisian monthly L'Illustration*



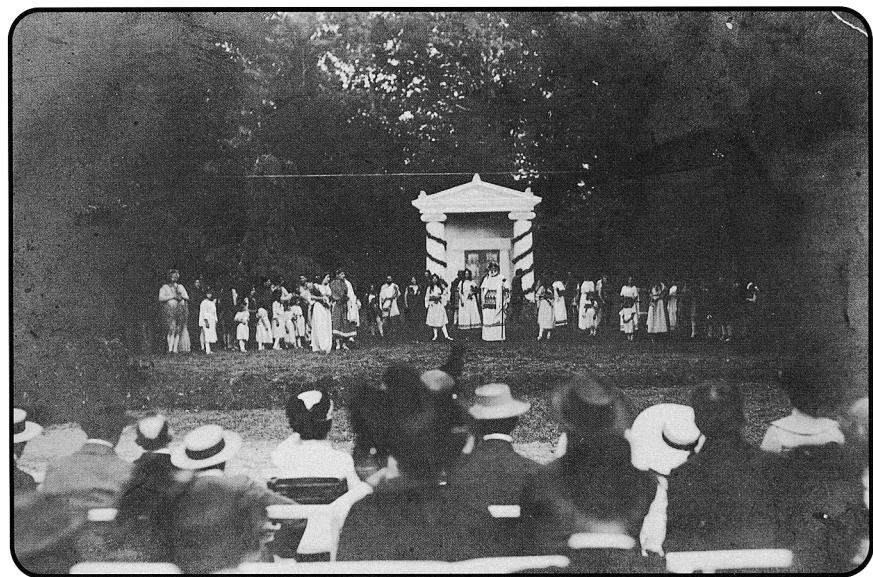
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11



PATRICK FARAGAN

KAŠINA.

STANDL.

Posjet cara Franje Josipa I. Hrvatskoj 1875. godine potaknuo je cijeli niz fotografских projekata. Najznačajniji među njima, a vezan uz ovu temu, svakako je onaj koji su zajednički izveli zadarski ljekarnik, kemičar i fotograf Nikola Andrović i Marko Giuseppe Goldstein. Potonji je rođen u Poljskoj, a zanat je izuzeo u atelijeru strica Leopolda u Trstu. Goldstein će kasnije postati najznačajniji splitski fotograf. U Zadru počinje raditi s Nikolom Androvićem. Njih dvojica rodonačelnici su reportažne fotografije u Hrvatskoj, jer su 1875. godine, za navedenog carskog posjeta izveli pravi poduhvat. Pratili su cara od Rijeke do Bokе Kotorske, bilježeći svaku od etapa njegova putovanja. Na kraju puta predali su mu luksuzno uvezanu mapu fotografija pod nazivom *Album svjetlospisni s opisovanjem putovanja Nj. Vel. cesara Franje Josipa I kroz Dalmaciju godine 1875.* Dva primjerka toga albuma sačuvana su i u Hrvatskoj.⁹

Nažalost, uvijek vizualno atraktivni prizori nesreća i katastrofa oduvijek su privlačili i fotografike. Tako su razrušene kuće u Zagrebu nakon potresa 1880. godine snimala dvojica značajnih hrvatskih fotografa: Herman Fickert i Ivan Standl te ih složili u fotoalbume.

U Karlovcu je Hinko Krapek 1886. godine snimio seriju portreta članova Stranke prava te ih za potrebe izbora izradio i u minijaturnoj varijanti, u veličini poštanske marke, što se smatra prvom pojmom reklamne fotografije u Hrvatskoj. Krapek je i autor fotomonografije *Grad Karlovac i njegova okolica*, kao i službenog albuma Jubilarne gospodarske izložbe 1891. koji svakako treba uvrstiti u prototip hrvatske reporažne fotografije.

Profesionalni fotografi sve češće izlaze iz atelijera, reportažno bilježeći važne događaje i društveni život, uglavnom na netom uvedenom formatu dopisnice. Pojedini komercijalni fotografi sve češće snimaju reporaže o značajnim dogadjajima u više kadrova iz raznih rakursa koji se, složeni, konceptualno, doimljivo poput filmskih sekvenci. Vlasnik uglednog zagrebačkog fotoatelijera Ivan Rechnitzer zabilježio je slijetanje balona *Turul i Excelsior*, ustoličenje bana Pavla Raucha, otvorenje Dječjeg doma, Zagrebačkog zbora i otvorenje Umjetničkog paviljona. Njemu dugujemo i spoznaju o prvim "hrvatskim ljetnim igrama", odnosno predstavama *Dubravke i Sna ljetne noći* 1913. godine u zagrebačkom Maksimiru. Ilustrirani tisk koji se upravo pojavio u

Antonini and Erdödy, which used to be considered the earliest photographs of Croatian theatre.

Contrary to the customs of the age, the photograph and the text do not bear any signature. Perhaps it was the importance of the moment that led the author to dedicate his work to the sublime cause anonymously and *with humbleness*. However, I believe that I can attribute this photograph to Franjo Pommer with almost absolute certainty, since all technical and aesthetical indications, as well as the size of the offprint, correspond to his earlier work. A year after the *Prologue*, Pommer chronicled the inauguration of the statue of Ban Jelačić in 1866, on a photograph which was for a long time considered the first example of feature photography in Croatia.⁷ It is only logical to conclude that such a demanding task was assigned to the winner of the *First Prize Orden at the Trade and Industry Exhibition*, held in the year prior to the Parliament meeting. Moreover, Pommer began his career in Zagreb as a theatre painter or *decorateur*, as he used to sign his work, years before he became involved with photography, which means that he had to cooperate closely with the art manager of the *National People's Theatre*, Dimitrije Demetar, and director Josip Freudenreich. One should also mention the fact that Pommer's atelier was located in the Upper Town, in Viećnička Street, not far from the building shared by the theatre and the Parliament, which is important if we keep in mind that the photographic equipment was extremely heavy and clumsy in those times.⁸

The visit of Emperor Franz Joseph I to Croatia in 1875 inspired a number of photographic projects. The most significant among them, as well as related to our topic, was certainly the joint enterprise of Nikola Andrović, apothecary, chemist, and photographer from Zadar, and Marko Giuseppe Goldstein. The latter was born in Poland and trained at the atelier of his uncle Leopold in Trieste. Later on, he would become the most prominent photographer of Split. He began to work with Nikola Andrović in Zadar. The two of them can be considered the pioneers of feature photography in Croatia, since their action during the mentioned visit of the emperor in 1875 was an outright achievement. They followed the emperor from Rijeka to Boka Kotorska, recording all stages of his jour-

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9 MARIJA TONKOVIC, Židovi fotografi, Zagreb, 2004. Spomenuti albumi čuvaju se u Državnom arhivu u Zadru i Znanstvenoj knjižnici u Rijeci, dok se prvi luksuzni primjerak, poklonjen caru, čuva u Muzeju Franje Josipa I. u Badenu.

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7 It is preserved at the Zagreb Municipal Museum, Inv. nr. MGZ 8660-II-6012 a.

8 The Parliament held its sessions in the so-called *Ballroom*, located on the first floor of the Old Theatre building on St Marcus Square. See: MARIJA TONKOVIC, Prva kazališna fotografija [The first theatre photograph], in: *Cicero*, 6 (1999).

9. I. Rechnitzer, Gundulićeva Dubravka u Maksimiru, 20. 8. 1913. / Performance of Gundulić's Dubravka in Maksimir Park, 20 August 1913, Muzej za umjetnost i obrt, Zagreb

10. H. Fickert, Priesterova kuća (iz albuma Uspomena na zagrebački potres od 9. studenog 1880.) / Priester's House (from the album Memories of the Zagreb Earthquake of 9 November 1880), Muzej za umjetnost i obrt, Zagreb

11. I. Standl, Kašina, slika zagrebačkog potresa 1881., / an Image of the Zagreb Earthquake 1881, Muzej za umjetnost i obrt, Zagreb

Hrvatskoj objavljivat će najčešće njegove fotografije. Njegov brat Ottokar u Osijeku pak dokumentira izgradnju Crkve sv. Pavla.

Fotografi amateri koji krajem 19. stoljeća ponovno preuzimaju sve važniju ulogu u povijesti fotografije vizualno opremaju razna izdanja. Za monografiju Zagreba posvećenu gradonačelniku Mošinskom *Slobodni i Kr. zem. grad Zagreb od godine 1892. do godine 1902.* slike je, uz profesionalca Rudolfa Mosingera, prialo Leo Vetter, inače član *Wiener Camera Cluba*. Iz te edicije posebno je vrijedna serija koja dokumentira nadsvodivanje potoka Medveščak i regulaciju istoimene ulice.

Luciano Morpurgo, potomak ugledne splitske obitelji, jednostavnim polovnim aparatom snima Split svoje mladosti, u koji se vraća diplomiravši ekonomiju u Veneciji 1907. godine. Uzme li se u obzir da je tek postao punoljetan, serija fotografija koju je tada snimio fascinira svježinom pristupa, neformalnošću, ali istovremeno i zrelošću. U njima se već slute bitne karakteristike njegova stila: neposredna simpatija i uživljavanje u fotografirani subjekt te sposobnost sažimanja atmosfere ili karaktera značivotom preciznošću opservacije. Za dokumentarne snimke obnove splitske Katedrale sv. Duge dobio je 1908. godine počasnu diplomu lista *Il Piccolo* iz Trsta. Njegov prelazak s amaterske na profesionalnu fotografiju odvijao se postupno. Godine 1912. nabavlja profesionalnu kameru kojom snima planinarsku fotografiju, što je strast koja će ga pratiti do kraja života. Godine 1914. surađuje s bečkom tvrtkom *Kilophot* za koju po narudžbi snima prizore iz Južnog Tirola. Naukovanje u Beču i rad s *Kilophotovim* golemlim negativnim pločama presudni su za njegovo formativno razdoblje. Nakon objave rata kao izbjeglica napušta Dalmaciju i nastanjuje se u Rimu, što je ujedno značilo i definitivno opredjeljenje za fotografiju, i to u profesionalnom smislu. Nas zanimaju njegovi radovi nastali u tom najranijem razdoblju, zato što ostatak pripada korpusu talijanske fotografije. U Muzeju grada Splita čuva se stotinjak njegovih originala, a nedavno su iz arhiva u Rimu otkupljene presnimke vezane uz Split. Imao je jednu rijetku priliku snimiti grad pod snježnim pokrivačem. Zadivljujuće su situacije iz stare luke s danas iščezlim jedrenjacima, trabakulima i bracerama. Anticipira i neke buduće senzibilitete snimkama iz ptičje perspektive kada prati svečanosti za *Sudamiju*. Veliku humornost postiže bilješkama posve-

ney. At the end, they presented him with a luxuriously bound album with photographs, entitled *Album svjetlosni s opisovanjem putovanja Nj. Vel. cesara Franje Josipa I kroz Dalmaciju godine 1875* (The Photographic Album Describing the Journey of His Majesty, Franz Joseph I, through Dalmatia in the Year of 1875). Two copies of this album are preserved in Croatia.⁹

Visually attractive scenes of accidents and disasters have always attracted photographers. Thus, the houses demolished in the Zagreb earthquake in 1880 were commemorated by two distinguished Croatian photographers, Herman Fickert and Ivan Standl, who collected the photographs in a special photo-album.

In Karlovac, Hinko Krapek made a series of portraits representing the members of the Croatian Party of Rights in 1886. For the purpose of the elections, he also made a miniature version, size of a postage stamp, which is considered the first example of advertising photography in Croatia. Krapek is also the author of a photo-monograph entitled *Grad Karlovac i njegova okolica* (The Town of Karlovac and its Surroundings), as well as the official album of the *Jubilee Trade and Industry Exhibition* in 1891, which is certainly to be included in the proto-phase of the Croatian feature photography.

Professional photographers were now more often working outside of their ateliers, reporting important events of public life, mostly in the recently introduced postcard format. Certain commercial photographers used to make reports on important events in several frames from various angles, which, if put together, conceptually acted like film sequences. The owner of a prominent Zagreb atelier, Ivan Rechnitzer, chronicled the landing of the *Turul* and *Excelsior* balloons, the coronation of Ban Pavao Rauch, and the openings of an orphanage, the Zagreb Fair, and the Pavilion of Art. Owing to him, we can imagine today what the first *Croatian Summer Games* looked like, as well as the performances of *Dubravka* and *Midsummer Night's Dream* in 1913, staged in the Maksimir Park in Zagreb. Illustrated journals, which had just appeared in Croatia, mostly published his photographs. His brother Ottokar documented the construction of St Paul's Church in Osijek.

In the late nineteenth century, amateur photographs again began to play an important role in the history of photography,

reportažnog karaktera i situacijama s kupališta na Baćvicama, onda još podijeljenog na posebne dijelove za dame i gospodu.¹⁰

Prototip razvoja reportažne fotografije u Hrvatskoj zaključuje slikar Vladimir Becić, svakako najmarkantnije ime njene ratne inačice. Iz kasnije perspektive moglo bi se reći da mu je fotografija bila suđena. Nakon završene Akademije u Münchenu i godine dana provedene u Parizu, Becić se krajem 1910. vratio u domovinu i nastanio se u Osijeku. Atelijer je imao u Kolodvorskoj ulici, u fotografskoj radnji Schrecker. Stjecajem okolnosti 1916.-1918. bio je suradnikom (dopisnikom, ratnim slikarom i fotografom) prestižnog pariškog polumjesečnika *L'illustration* s balkanskog ratišta. To su godine Becićeve profesionalne reporterske aktivnosti: razdoblje njegove "primijenjene" umjetnosti, umjetničkog prilagođavanja novim okolnostima i potrebama. U okviru suradnje s *L'illustrationom* zadržat će se samo na njezinim fotografskim aspektima. Objavljeno mu je preko dvadeset i pet fotografija, a opravdano je za prepostaviti da ih je poslao bitno više. Trideset i pet negativa na staklu čuva se u beogradskom Ratnom muzeju, a nešto ih se još nalazi u obitelji.

Vladimir Becić izvještavao je s prvi linija bojišnice, povlačenje i povratak s travgovima bitaka koje se još dime, bojna polja prekrivena poginulima, cahure i rovove. Snimao je pokrete vojski, kolone, predah, dnevne aktivnosti; portretirao je vojnike, časnike, vojskovode. Becićeva fotografija odaje školovano oko: njezin su izraz i ugoadjaj primjereni navedenim temama. Kreću se od narativnosti *ad hoc* registriranja, od dokumentarnih portreta snimljenih svom vještinom profesionalnog fotografa, do kompozicija masovnih pokreta gotovo eisensteinovske ekspresivnosti: s traženim rakusom i formatiranjem izreza (naročito impresivnih horizontalnih kverova), sa savršenim osjećajem za sekvencu: za količinu prostornosti u prizoru, za vektore kretanja ili za statičnu geometričnost zbornih postrojbi, za ritam motivskog sadržaja i za pejzažnu ambijentaciju. Becićeva suradnja sa *L'illustrationom* jedan je od vrhunaca hrvatske reportažne fotografije. S prestankom rata Becić se vraća svojoj primarnoj vokaciji i fotografija se potpuno gubi s njegova obzora.¹¹

Tek krajem dvadesetih godina u Hrvatskoj, kao uostalom i u ostaku svijeta, započinje prava povijest fotožurnalizma. Brojni časopisi, jednakako kao i dnevni tisk,

mostly in designing book editions. The photographs for a monograph of Zagreb, dedicated to Mayor Mošinski and entitled *Slobodni i Kr. zem. grad Zagreb od godine 1892. do godine 1902* (The Free Royal Town of Zagreb, 1892-1902), were made by professional photographer Rudolf Mosinger and by Leo Vetter, member of the *Wiener Camera Club*. In this edition, one should especially note the series documenting the vaulting of the Medveščak rivulet and the regulation of the street with the same name.

Luciano Morpurgo, from a prominent family of Split, used a simple second-hand camera to photograph the town of his youth in 1907, after he returned from Venice, where he had studied economy. If we take into account that he had just come of age, his series of photographs appears fascinating in its freshness of approach and unConventionality, combined with maturity. It reveals the main features of his future style: his frank sympathy and empathy with the photographed subject, as well as his ability to condense the atmosphere or the character with an evocative precision of observation. His photographs documenting the restoration of St Doimo Cathedral in Split won him an honorary certificate of the journal *Il Piccolo* from Trieste in 1908. His passage from amateur to professional photography was gradual. In 1912, he bought a professional camera and started with alpinist photography, which would remain his passion for the rest of his life. In 1914, he cooperated with the company *Kilophot* from Vienna, which commissioned him to shoot the scenery of South Tirol. His training period in Vienna and working with *Kilophot's* huge negative plates were the decisive moments in his formative period. After the proclamation of war, he left Dalmatia as a refugee and settled in Rome, which marked his final dedication to professional photography. For Croatia, his earliest works are of major interest, since the rest belongs to the corpus of Italian photography. About a hundred of his original photographs are preserved at the Split Municipal Museum and a number of copies related to that town were recently bought from the Roman archives. Morpurgo even had a rare chance to photograph Split covered by snow, while his images from the old harbour, with the long-vanished sailing ships, *trabakuls*, and *braceras*, are indeed fascinating. He also anticipated future sensibilities by making

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¹⁰ M. LANZILLOTTI, I Morpurgo di Spalato u: *Palestina 1927 nelle fotografie di Luciano Morpurgo* (katalog), Rim, 2001.; DANIELA DI CASTRO, Luciano Morpurgo. Fotografo, scrittore ed editore 1886-1971. u: *Palestina 1927 nelle fotografie di Luciano Morpurgo* (katalog), Rim, 2001.

¹¹ MARIJA TONKOVIC, Slikari fotograf, u: *Fotografija u Hrvatskoj 1848 - 1951*, Zagreb, 1995.

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⁹ MARIJA TONKOVIC, Židovi fotograf [Jewish Photographers], Zagreb, 2004. The mentioned albums are preserved at the State Archive in Zadar and the Library of Sciences in Rijeka, whereas the luxurious original that was presented to the emperor is kept at the Franz Joseph I Museum in Baden.

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- ¹² JOSIP HORVAT, Povijest novinstva Hrvatske 1771.-1939., Zagreb, 1962., 409. Na račun svih ostalih rubrika, reportaža proširuju svoje područje služeći se svim suvremenim tehničkim sredstvima, čak i avionom, da što prije dade svoj izvještaj. Tako su npr. zagrebački listovi dobili prvi izvještaj o skupštinskom atentatu 1928. avionom, jer su bile prekinute sve telefonske i brzopisne veze. 30-tih godina se počinje razvijati fotoreportaža, kod koje je slika glavni dio izvještaja, a tekst sporedan tumač. Franjo Fujs je u *Novostima* uspio stvoriti svoj stilove vrsti izvješćivanja, sa svojom reportažom npr. o Kornatskim ostrvima upoznao je javnost s dotad posve nepoznatim dijelom naše zemlje i njegovim ljudima. Pogotovo se između dva rata razvilo sportsko izvješćivanje za sve ogranke masovnog sporta. Prve oblike toga sportskog izvješćivanja je kod štampe u Hrvatskoj izradio Pavao Kauders, a razvio Hrvoje Macanović.

počinju donositi reportaže u kojima ulogu teksta kao glavnog nosioca vijesti zamjenjuje slika. U početku su atelijerski fotografi oni koji prvi prihvaćaju suradnju s tiskom, a proći će još puno desetljeće dok se zanimanje fotoreportera ne počne etablirati kao posebna profesija.

Čuveni publicist Josip Horvat, autor jedinog sustavnog pregleda razvoja novinstva u Hrvatskoj, početke fotoreportaže smješta tek u tridesete godine. Horvat navodi nekoliko imena, a on je prvi koji počinje shvaćati vrijednost onoga koji stoji iza kamere, i prepoznavati važnost njegove, ne samo fotografске, kulture.¹² ▼

photographs from the bird's eye view, documenting the festivities of *Sudamija*. His photographies of incidents on the city beach of Baćvice, in those times still divided into two sections for ladies and gentlemen respectively, reveal his natural sense of humour.¹⁰

The proto-phase in the development of feature photography in Croatia ended with painter Vladimir Becić, certainly the most significant name of war photography. Retrospectively, one could say that photography was his destiny. After he graduated from the Academy in Munich and another year spent in Paris, Becić returned to Croatia late in 1910 and settled down in Osijek. His atelier was located in the Kolodvorska Street, in the Schrecker's photographic shop. In the period 1916-1918, he was active as reporter, war painter, and photographer of the prestigious Parisian biweekly *L'Illustration*, for which he reported from the Balkan front. Those were the main years of his professional reporter's activity: the period of his "applied" art and of artistic adaptation to the new circumstances and needs. Speaking about Mopurgo's collaboration with *L'Illustration*, we will focus on its photographic aspects only. Around twenty-five of his photographs were published, but we have reasons to believe that he had sent in much more. Thirty-five negatives on glass are preserved at the War Museum in Belgrade and some are still kept within the family.

Vladimir Becić reported from the first line of the front and photographed the retreats and advances of troops, the smoky traces of battles, battlefields covered with dead bodies, empty cartridges and trenches. He took pictures of armies on the move, long lines of soldiers, breaks and daily activities; he portrayed soldiers, officers, and commanders. His photography reveals a trained eye: its expression and atmosphere are appropriate for the topic. It ranges from narration to *ad hoc* documentation, from portraits made with the skill of a professional photographer to compositions of mass movements. It is marked by expressiveness reminiscent of Eisenstein: by carefully chosen angles, the formatting of cuts (especially the impressive horizontal cross-cuts), and a perfect feeling for the sequence: for the amount of space caught in a single scene, for the vectors of movement or the static geometry of the troops, for the rhythm of motifs and landscape

ambience. Becić's cooperation with *L'Illustration* is one of the pinnacles of the Croatian feature photography. After the war, Becić returned to his primary vocation and photography disappeared from his horizon completely.¹¹

It is only in the 1920s that the real history of photo-journalism began, in Croatia as well as in the rest of the world. Numerous magazines and dailies began to publish reports in which the text was substituted by photographs as the main carrier of news. Photographic ateliers co-operated with the printed media from the outset, but another decade would pass before feature photography was established as a separate profession.

Famous publicist Josip Horvat, author of the only systematic survey of the development of journalism in Croatia, has placed the beginnings of feature photography as late as the 30s. Mentioning several important names, he was the first to realize the value of the person behind the camera by acknowledging the importance of his general, not only photographic culture.¹² •

prijevod / translation: Marina Miladinov

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- ¹⁰ M. LANZILLOTTI, I Morpurgo di Spalato, in: *Palestina 1927 nelle fotografie di Luciano Morpurgo*, (catalogue exhibition), Rome, 2001; DANIELA DI CASTRO, Luciano Morpurgo. Fotografo, scrittore ed editore 1886-1971, *ibidem*.
- ¹¹ MARIJA TONKOVIĆ, Slikari fotografi [Painters-photographers], in: *Fotografija u Hrvatskoj 1848 - 1951* [Photography in Croatia, 1848-1951], Zagreb, 1995.
- ¹² JOSIP HORVAT, Povijest novinstva Hrvatske 1771 - 1939 [History of Journalism in Croatia], Zagreb, 1962, 409. Reporters expanded their field at the cost of all other columns, availing themselves of all modern technology, even airplanes, in order to hand in their reports as quickly as possible. Thus, the newspapers of Zagreb were the first to receive the news of the Parliament assault of 1928, since all telephone and telegraph lines were interrupted. In the 1930s, photojournalism begins to evolve, with images serving as the main part and the text as side interpretation. Franjo Fuis from the *Novosti* journal managed to create his own style within this type of report. For example, in his report on the Kornati islands, he introduced a largely unknown part of the country and its people to the public. Particularly between the wars, sports' coverage evolved for all branches of popular sport. In Croatia, it was first introduced in print by Pavao Kauders and elaborated by Hrvoje Macanović.

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