

PHOTOGRAPHING SCULPTURE, SCULPTING PHOTOGRAPHY

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One of the founding theorists of the discipline of art history, Heinrich Wölfflin, was also one of the first scholars to write about the photography of sculpture in a series of articles published from 1896 onward.¹ It was only a century later in the 1990s, however, that the subject began to attract more than passing interest from art historians. In my own case, my initial interest in the topic developed in response to a very practical problem: trying to illustrate my doctoral thesis on the Renaissance beholders of Renaissance sculpture, but finding that almost all available photographs were taken from vantage points completely unrelated to the sculptures' original viewing circumstances. I thus started taking dozens of my own photographs, trying literally to recreate Michael Baxandall's famous "period eye" through the camera's lens.²

Of course, trying to reconstruct a pre-modern period eye photographically raises a number of thorny methodological issues, not least the conundrum of disentangling physical and physiological viewing circumstances from cultural and historical ones when trying to "see" a sculpture through the eyes of the past. What began to dawn on me at the time, however, was that there were other eyes to consider altogether, namely, those of the photographers who had taken the images I found so problematic. It soon became obvious that these eyes were as much situated in their own cultural and historical circumstances as were those of the original beholders of Donatello's and Michelangelo's sculpture. As I started to look at photographs of not just Renaissance sculpture but also objects made in many other times and places, I found that the images themselves could often be as visually compelling, conceptually complex, even beautiful as the sculptures depicted within them. Thus while I have continued to study sculpture-*qua*-sculpture over the past two decades, I have also explored the equally fascinating photographic depictions of sculpture and the ways these depictions—and our writings about them—have their own histories, their own theories, their own aesthetics.³

Growing interest by other scholars in the photography of sculpture is evident from the great variety of approaches, images, and objects considered by the contributors to the present volume. Indeed, the essays hint at many intriguing avenues for future research, as well as highlight the urgent need to look beyond Europe and North America for our subjects of study. Rather than trying to address this galaxy of possibilities, in the present essay I will instead focus on a single iconic image from the dawn of photography—an image that is perhaps the earliest depiction of a sculpture posed before a camera and thus the first moment in which the *process* of photographing sculpture is itself laid bare for scrutiny—in order to reflect on some of the possible directions in which the sculpture and photography rubric may lead us in the years to come, directions that can broadly be defined in terms of historical, theoretical and historiographical projects.

The touchstone image is a staged panoramic view taken in 1846 in Reading, England, of the first commercial enterprise for printing photographs from negatives. (fig. 1) The figure standing in the center and preparing a camera to take a portrait of a seated man is probably William Henry Fox Talbot. On the right, dressed in black and standing in profile, is Nicolaas Henneman, Talbot's former valet-turned-professional photographer and the founder of what became known as the Reading Establishment.⁴ Given the commercial ambitions of Talbot and especially professional photographers like Henneman, it is not surprising to find the lucrative practice of portrait photography positioned in the middle of the scene. Perhaps less expected are the photographic activities taking place to either side: on the left, an engraving after a Baroque portrait is being photographed on an easel, while on the right Henneman sets up a camera to photograph a reduced-size plaster cast of Canova's *Three Graces*. On top of his camera, Henneman balances a clock to time the exposure needed to photograph the sculpture. Farther to the right, a kneeling man tinkers with a focusing instrument, while between Henneman and Talbot a young apprentice places a photographic print or negative on a rack to dry the chemical solution covering its surface. The emphasis on the mechanics, one could even say the science, of early photography is made evident through such details.

The technical aspects of photographing sculptural subjects were also highlighted by Talbot in his seminal publication *The Pencil of Nature*, which appeared in six parts beginning in 1844. It included two photographic illustrations showing full-face and profile views of a plaster bust identified as the ancient Greek hero Patroclus that was owned by Talbot and that he photographed at least thirty times.⁵ In this publication, Talbot explained that the bust and similarly light-colored sculptures were ideal subjects for the camera because they did not move, could be photographed from a variety of angles



and distances, and required shorter exposure times than darker, less luminous objects.⁶ Highlighting these aspects of the photography of sculpture in *The Pencil of Nature* and including the technical apparatus of early photography in the Reading Establishment scene encouraged contemporaries to think of photography as a technical and scientific endeavor, rather than focusing on the content of individual images.

At the same time, the decision to photograph particular types of objects was clearly not irrelevant. Significantly, in both the Reading Establishment panorama and *The Pencil of Nature*, art works and their reproductions were key subjects. The latter's twenty-four illustrations included not only the two views of the Patroclus bust, but also photographs of a contemporary lithograph, a facsimile of a Baroque drawing, decorative art objects, and architectural scenes. This hinted at photography's potential to develop into a useful tool for artists and scholars as Talbot also suggested elsewhere in his text,⁷ perhaps even turning it into an artistic medium in its own right, rather than serving merely as an interesting demonstration of scientific principles. Already in 1841, Talbot had emphasized that his photographs were not the products of "mere mechanical labour," but rather allowed "ample room for the exercise of skill and judgment," which he maintained "fall within the artist's province to combine and regulate."⁸ Such claims in no way deny the scientific ambitions and laborious demands of early photography. Rather, they suggest an inherent tension in Talbot's understanding of photography as both a science practiced by scientists and technicians and, at least potentially, as an art form practiced by artists and used by humanist scholars. I am certainly not the first to suggest that this tension existed, but I would like to propose that it is particularly evident in Talbot's early images of and writings about sculpture. Indeed, it was precisely because a photograph of a three-dimensional sculpture like the Patroclus bust

Fig. 1. Attributed to Nicolaas Henneman (Dutch, 1813–1893/98) (left), and William Henry Fox Talbot (English, 1800–1877) (right). *The Reading Establishment*, 1846, two salted paper prints from paper negatives joined together, [dimensions TK](#). New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gilman Collection.

placed particular technical demands on early photographers, but at the same time reproduced what was clearly a work of “Art” (with a capital “A”), that these tensions came to the surface in Talbot’s texts about and illustrations of sculpted objects.

It is also significant that the Patroclus bust and the plaster cast in the Reading Establishment panorama are not just any art works, but ones with clear connections to antiquity, the most prestigious historical period for a man of Talbot’s class and gender in the mid-nineteenth century. By photographing ancient sculpture, as well as its plaster reproductions and neoclassical derivatives, early practitioners like Talbot could link photography to the classical tradition. While any light-colored, immobile object could serve as an ideal photographic subject from a technical point of view, the fact that a statuette on the classical theme of the Graces was one of three iconic subjects depicted in the Reading Establishment panorama and a replica bust of an ancient hero was illustrated twice in *The Pencil of Nature* suggests that the cultural associations of such sculptures—especially white sculptures that evoked the marble statuary of Greco-Roman antiquity⁹—must have had particular significance for Talbot and other early photographers. The leveling effects of photography, which could blur the distinctions between large and small, marble and plaster, original and copy, also allowed photographs of classical sculpture and its reproductions to define photography not just as a scientific and technical pursuit, but as an artistic and humanistic one as well.¹⁰

The question of whether photography was an art form in its own right would haunt writers and practitioners for many decades, with images of sculptural subjects continuing to be used to make the case for photography as a serious artistic pursuit. Edward Steichen, for instance, photographed Rodin’s statue of Balzac in 1908 under changing light conditions to produce a series of highly atmospheric images.¹¹ Once again, the technical advantages of photographing a sculpture were evident given that its immobility and light-colored surfaces could accommodate the extended exposure times needed for the moonlit scenes. At the same time, the bulky mass of the sculpted figure, rendered thrillingly immaterial through Steichen’s handling of the photographic medium, confirmed the photographer’s artistic ambitions. While nineteenth-century photographs of classical sculpture reflected that period’s anxieties about legitimizing the new medium by turning to the distant past, in subsequent decades works by self-consciously avant-garde sculptors could be deployed to support Pictorialist photographers’ claims for the medium’s equally avant-garde visual aesthetic.

While some photographers used images of sculpture as part of an explicitly artistic agenda, others continued to exploit the medium’s documentary

capabilities. We see this in the rise in the second half of the nineteenth century of ambitious photographic enterprises like that of the Alinari in Florence, which focused on systematically recording the art and architecture of the Italian peninsula. A typical example is an Alinari photograph of the Renaissance sculptor Verrocchio's equestrian statue in the center of a Venetian piazza, ostensibly documenting objectively the sculptural and architectural scene in about 1880.¹² It is worth noting, however, that the Venetian state had been one of the last regions of Italy to become part of the new kingdom only a dozen or so years before this photograph was taken. Incorporating the print into the Alinari's vast photographic archive therefore documented and, at the same time, duplicated Venice's own integration into a newly united Italy. Although many photographers claimed that such images were, in Walker Evans's words, "pure record, not propaganda,"¹³ even the most apparently neutral photograph of a sculptural subject inevitably reflected the cultural and socio-political preoccupations of the photographers who produced them and, in many cases, the private enterprises and public institutions that funded and then archived them.

In the more rarefied world of art historical scholarship, the assumption that photographs were "pure" and objective records of sculpted objects could be just as much of a fiction. This is seen particularly clearly in the work of photographers who specialized in sculptural subjects such as the art historian Clarence Kennedy beginning in the 1920s and the public relations-man-turned-photographer David Finn from the late 1960s onwards.¹⁴ Although supposedly providing images for "scientific" connoisseurship and systematic formal analysis, their sometimes hallucinatory close-ups of sculpture actually reflected contemporary aesthetic preoccupations, whether the secrets and shadows of Surrealism hinted at in Kennedy's images or the late flowering of high modernist abstraction found in Finn's work. In both cases, the photographers' primary focus on Renaissance and classical sculpture once again allowed the prestige of the past to rub off on the present, as had also been the case in the choice of sculptural subjects by early practitioners such as Talbot and in the photographic archives developed by the likes of the Alinari.

More recently, photographs of classical sculpture have been used in postmodern explorations of gender and sexuality as seen in Robert Mapplethorpe's exquisitely sensuous encounters with ancient statues of Apollo and Antinous or Nan Goldin's intimate glimpse of a bi-gendered marble hermaphrodite entangled in bedding from her "Scopophilia" series.¹⁵ As much as a Talbot calotype of a classically inspired sculpture, these more recent photographs once again respond to historically specific personal and cultural circumstances. Now, however, ancient statues are no longer objects onto

which the social, scientific and artistic hopes and anxieties of a new medium's practitioners are projected, but rather works that capture a photographer's dreams and desires when using a camera, Pygmalion-like, to awaken a long-dormant Galatea with an ambiguous sexual allure. All these examples confirm the intrinsic interest of pursuing an ongoing historical project in which different kinds of sculptural objects and their photographic (and now digital) representations become a way of mapping changing perceptions about photography itself and its relation to the evolving preoccupations of individual practitioners and the wider culture.

Photographs of sculpture not only help to map photography's changing ambitions and obsessions at different moments in its history; they can also help to define and theorize sculpture itself. If we consider the kinds of photographs of sculpture that were produced at the Reading Establishment and elsewhere from the mid-1840s onward, we see that visual conventions were already being formulated to signify that a particular object was worthy of concentrated visual contemplation. Most significantly, sculptures were isolated against neutral dark or light backgrounds as seen in Talbot's illustrations of the Patroclus bust and his own photographs of the cast of Canova's *Three Graces* from the panorama.¹⁶ Other photographers doctored negatives of sculptural subjects with ink or bleach in order to block out the surroundings completely.¹⁷ In the later nineteenth and early twentieth century, these visual conventions proliferated in the thousands of photographs of sculpture produced by the likes of Braun, Anderson and Alinari, so much so that eventually *any* three-dimensional object set against a neutral background could begin to be read sculpturally.

The ubiquity of these visual conventions meant that artists could produce entirely new sculpted objects by photographic means alone. This phenomenon can be seen at work in Karl Blossfeldt's extreme close-up views of botanical specimens set against neutral backgrounds, which are presented not as scientific evidence, but as *Art Forms in Nature*, to quote the title of the volumes in which they appeared.¹⁸ Walker Evans similarly used the visual conventions associated with the photography of traditional sculpture to transform both handcrafted ethnographic objects (such as a carved wooden figure from West Africa) and mass-produced industrial specimens (such as scissors and crate-openers) into sculptural artifacts that seem to float weightlessly on the surface of the photographic print outside any identifiable place or time, each object presented as being as worthy of aesthetic contemplation as a classically inspired sculpture captured in a Talbot negative or an Alinari print.¹⁹

Explanatory text or captions could help to reinforce the transformation of any object, at least potentially, into a sculptural artifact. The best-known examples are the crumpled bus tickets, scraps of soap, and squirts of toothpaste

photographed by Brassai and then published in 1933 in the Surrealist journal *Minotaure* with captions by Salvador Dalí. The title at the bottom of the page boldly declares in capital letters that these found objects are “Involuntary Sculptures,” a claim reinforced visually by the leveling effects of black-and-white photography, which elides differences in color, scale, and texture among the objects, and by silhouetting each item against a neutral background, intentionally recalling the visual conventions associated with photographs of “voluntary” sculptures.²⁰

Perhaps the most intriguing transformation of things into sculpture through the medium of photography involves not found objects, whether natural or man-made, but the human body itself. This is already hinted at in the Reading Establishment panorama. Here the central photographer adjusts his camera while his undisciplined sitter fails to hold his head perfectly still—unlike all the other figures in the scene, who clearly had a better understanding of the technical demands of the early photographic apparatus with its extended exposure times that required living bodies to be changed temporarily into immobile statues in a kind of reverse Pygmalion effect. The transformation of the body into sculpture could also occur directly on the surface of a photographic negative, as seen in the English photographer Paul Martin’s so-called “living statues.”²¹ These images were produced in the 1890s from candid photographs taken of street life, which Martin retouched and then presented in life-size lantern slide shows. The silhouetted bodies set against black backgrounds and standing on fictive plinths visually transformed shoppers and street traders into a series of statue-like tableaux, the figures frozen first as photographic subjects and then as sculptural ones.

Rather than relying on such darkroom manipulations, advocates of the later nineteenth- and early twentieth-century physical culture movement simply remade their bodybuilder pin-ups into classicising statues before any photographs were taken.²² Photographers deployed poses, plinths, and props—including paper fig leaves and a dusting of talcum powder—to change living sitters into convincing approximations of ancient sculptural prototypes. The plausibility of such images was once again reliant on the ability of monochromatic photographs to gloss over the very real differences in color and surface texture that existed between living bodies and sculpted ones. At the same time, deliberately evoking photographs of classical statuary provided a kind of legitimacy to the potentially homoerotic gazes of the men who bought these images individually or in illustrated physical culture magazines.

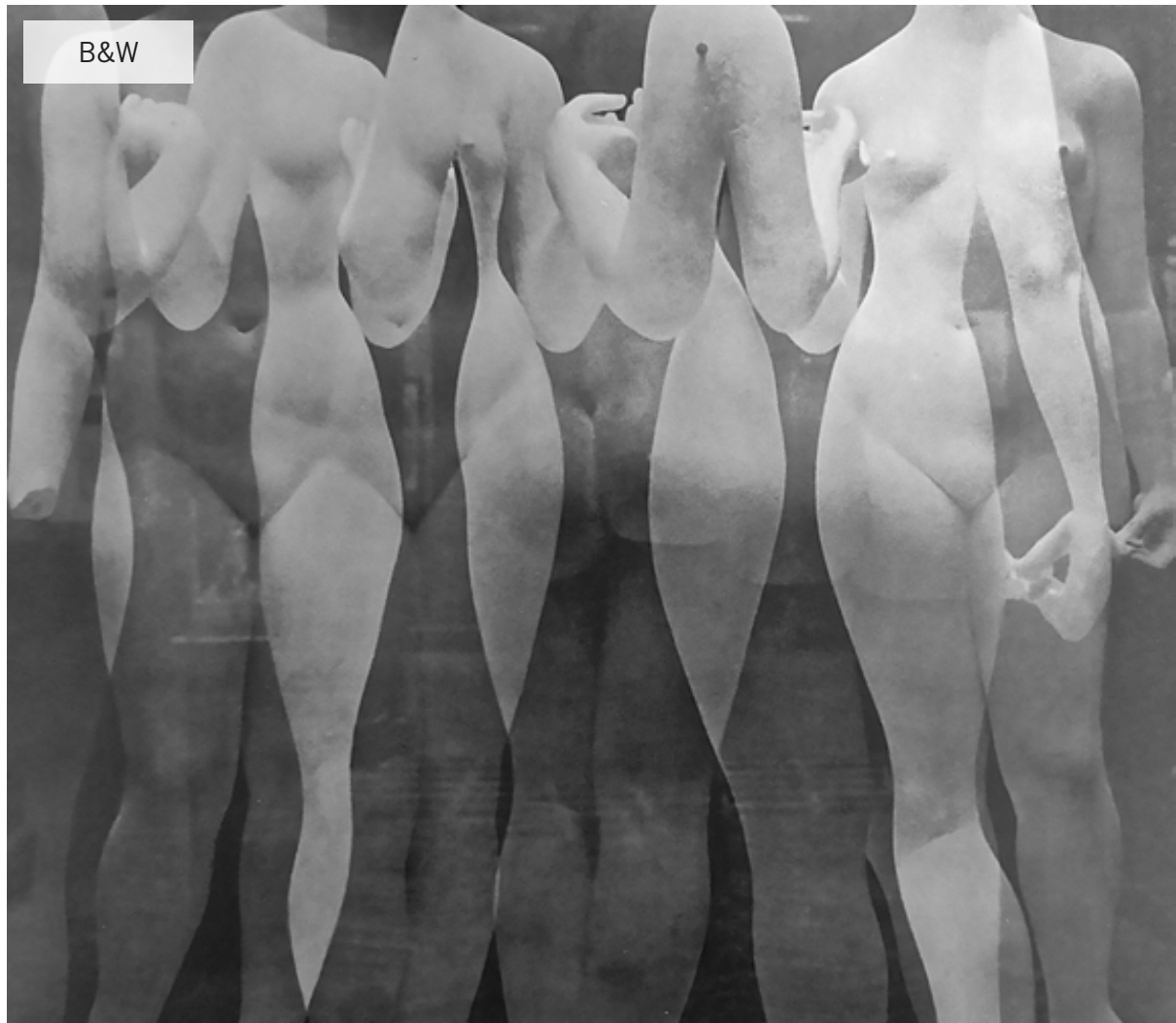
The links between sculpture, photography and the sometimes guilty pleasures of a desiring eye are anything but hidden in the highly sculptural photographic portraits taken by Mapplethorpe a century later. In these images,

nude models with taut bodies chiseled as if from stone are posed statue-like on plinths using the by-now familiar visual convention of isolating the subject against a neutral background.²³ By deploying such art-world conventions, the photographs once again provided a viewing context that legitimized the beholder's leisurely visual perusal of the living sitters' very sculptural physiques.

Like Mapplethorpe, other modernist and postmodernist photographers also reveled in producing images that willfully disorientated viewers by presenting bodies that exist somewhere between petrified flesh and living sculpture. For example, in an intriguing photograph by Erwin Blumenfeld taken in the mid-1930s of Maillol's *Three Graces*, the overlapping exposures make it difficult at first glance to be sure whether we are looking at a group of naked women or a trio of sculpted female figures.²⁴ (fig. 2) Only the presence of a pointing pin stuck into the central figure's shoulder confirms that what we are seeing is, in fact, a sculpture being prepared for casting. But this pin casts a shadow that also punctures our certainties about dimensionality and the materiality of the sculpted object. We initially assume that the pin is stuck into the statue, its shadow falling on the object's surface. Soon, however, one realizes that the pin could equally well be embedded in a photograph of the sculpture tacked onto a wall and then re-photographed, with the shadow in this case falling not on hard stone or smooth plaster but on the surface of a photographic print. The ambiguity is not just between living flesh and dead sculpture, but between that which is sculptural and that which is photographic.

Photographs do not only create new forms of sculpture, whether through found objects or petrified bodies; they are also themselves objects with sculptural qualities.²⁵ Turning once again to the Reading Establishment panorama, the physical labor involved in early photographic processes and the materiality of photographic prints are suggested in the detail of the young apprentice handling a calotype print or negative while placing it on a rack to dry in the Summer sun. Yet until fairly recently, the materiality of photographs was often ignored, as suggested by the fact that the Reading Establishment panorama was itself usually reproduced with its ragged edges cropped, thereby transforming the material object into an uninterrupted transparent window with implicitly direct, unmediated access to the past. The panorama, however, is actually made up of two separate prints, each with its own material qualities and handling history that attest to a solid and opaque objecthood. Even today, most photographs still tend to be illustrated in books and online without their mounts and with any rough edges carefully cropped to create an illusion of images floating free from time and space, from history and materiality—conventions that echo photographs taken from Talbot's time onward of

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sculpture set against neutral backgrounds that likewise detach sculptural objects from their spatial and temporal circumstances.

The physical handling, one could even say sculpting, of photographs is seen in the practices of a number of sculptors. Rodin, for instance, drew on photographs of some of his statues, his pencil wielded like a virtual chisel in order to rethink individual compositions.²⁶ The materiality of photographic prints has also long been exploited in artifacts of popular culture, from Victorian mourning jewelry, which could incorporate photographs of the deceased, to twentieth-century Mexican-American *fotoesculturas*, which sandwich family portraits between two sheets of glass mounted in a highly tactile frame.²⁷ The questions of medium specificity raised by such objects—the difficulties of differentiating the sculptural from the photographic—were dealt with very self-consciously by artists who produced entirely new objects from

Fig. 2. Erwin Blumenfeld (American, 1897–1969). *The Three Graces in the Studio of Aristide Maillol, Marly-le-Roi*, heliogravure. From *Verve* 1, no. 1 (1937): page/pl. TK.

photographs, such as László Moholy-Nagy's *Fotoplastiks* made by cutting and recombining found photographic images, or the playfully-provocative photo-sculptural works of 1960s conceptual artists like Robert Heinecken's wooden cube covered with photographic prints of a fragmented female nude.²⁸

Questions of medium specificity and the camera's ability to transform living bodies into sculptural objects—issues already alluded to in the Reading Establishment panorama—come together in another highly self-conscious twentieth-century artistic practice, namely, performance art. Here, the visual conventions of sculpture photography once again allowed living bodies to metamorphose into sculptural ones in still photographs of these happenings. The photographs themselves then often became permanent material substitutes for both the ephemeral event and the absent artist. For instance, in still shots of a 1972 performance of Joseph Beuys's *Arena* taken by the photographer Katharina Sieverding, the artist is frozen statuelike in mid-action while surrounded by dozens of photographs mounted into bulky metal frames propped theatrically—one could even say sculpturally—against the walls (fig. 3).²⁹ The framed photographs had been previously reworked in very sculptural ways by Beuys who had bleached, scuffed, and added layers of fat and wax to them. In a kind of *mise-en-abyme*, photographs of *Arena* were then themselves transformed into new photographic objects to be displayed alongside surviving props from the performance and the earlier framed images. What distinguishes the sculptural from the photographic, the image from the object, and the performance from its documentation is destabilized through such practices. Photographic documentation and a variety of other three-dimensional props could thus co-exist as semisculptural embodiments of evanescent events, in the process contributing to what Amelia Jones describes as an endless loop of signification in which a performance “needs the photograph to confirm its having happened; [and] the photograph needs the . . . event as an ontological ‘anchor’ of its indexicality.”³⁰

Photographs that transform found objects and human subjects into sculpture; the interplay between living statues and petrified bodies; and photographs that are themselves handled in sculptural ways—all these issues, which were already hinted at in the Reading Establishment panorama, raise important questions about dimensionality and medium specificity, about how we actually define a photograph or a sculpture. They also undermine a reliance on medium alone to delineate what is photographic and what is sculptural. Exploring such issues constitutes the second project of the sculpture-photography rubric, one that is theoretical as opposed to historical.

There is one final project to discuss, which is neither primarily theoretical nor historical, but rather *historiographical*—a project in which the photography



of sculpture is considered within the context of art history as a discipline. If we turn yet again to the Reading Establishment scene, we realize that the panorama hints at a number of absences and omissions at the very heart of the stories we tell as art historians. At the center of the scene, hidden in plain sight, yet obvious once we notice it, Talbot is present behind the camera in one half of the panorama, but absent in the other. This is because it was most likely Henneman who photographed the left-hand scene while Talbot took the image

Fig. 3. Katharina Sieverding (Czech, b. 1944). *Beuys Arena*, digital image from 2014 slideshow of ninety-eight photographs taken in 1972.

on the right, in which Henneman appears about to photograph the cast of *The Three Graces*.³¹ Like Henneman, the art historian is also always present, either in person or by proxy, in the making and selection of photographic images, but like the vanishing Talbot, usually absent from considerations of the discipline's imaging practices. At the same time, it is possible that Henneman may not even be actually photographing the cast at all since the sculpture is not placed against a monochromatic backdrop, as was standard practice for Talbot and his associates, nor is the camera set at a plausible focusing distance from the object.³²

The technical challenges of photographing a sculpture and the unavoidable impact of individual art historians' cultural contexts and personal circumstances on the resulting images are essential issues to consider when attempting to write what I call the "visual historiography" of art history.³³ The Reading Establishment panorama suggests that right from the start, art history has been a "History of *That Which Can Be Photographed*," as André Malraux famously put it.³⁴ At the same time, it reminds us that this history has until fairly recently been overlooked by most art historians, who often have been seduced by the easy assumptions of photographic transparency and objectivity in their disciplinary practices. In the panorama, the mechanics—and fictions—of this history are laid bare, if only we chose to see them. The Reading Establishment panorama thus evokes all three projects I have proposed for the sculpture-photography rubric, with the historical, theoretical, and historiographical questions raised by the photography of sculpture already evident at the very start of both the history of photography and the history of art history as we know it today.

Notes

1. Geraldine A. Johnson (trans.), "Heinrich Wölfflin: 'How One Should Photograph Sculpture,'" *Art History* 36 (2013): 52–71.
2. On Baxandall's "period eye," see Allan Langdale, "Aspects of the Critical Reception and Intellectual History of Baxandall's Concept of the Period Eye," in *About Michael Baxandall*, ed. Adrian Rifkin (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999), 479–97.
3. Among other publications, see: Geraldine A. Johnson, "*The Very Impress of the Object*": *Photographing Sculpture from Fox Talbot to the Present Day* (London and Leeds: Strang Print Room, University College London, and Leeds City Art Gallery, 1995); Geraldine A. Johnson ed. *Sculpture and Photography: Envisioning the Third Dimension* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Geraldine A. Johnson, "'All Concrete Shapes Dissolve in Light': Photographing Sculpture from Rodin to Brancusi," *Sculpture Journal* 15 (2006), 199–222; Geraldine A. Johnson, "Using the Photographic Archive: On the Life (and Death) of Images," in *Photo Archives and the Photographic Memory of Art History*, ed. Costanza

- Caraffa (Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2011), 145–56; Geraldine A. Johnson, “(Un)richtige Aufnahme: Sculpture, Photography and the Visual Historiography of Art History,” *Art History* 36 (2013), 12–51.
4. For two differing views about whether the central standing figure actually is Talbot and on the attribution of the two halves of the panorama, see Larry J. Schaaf, *Introductory Volume: Facsimile of William Henry Fox Talbot, The Pencil of Nature* (New York: Hans P. Kraus, 1989), 20; Geoffrey Batchen, “The Labor of Photography,” *Victorian Literature and Culture* 37 (2009), 294.
 5. William Henry Fox Talbot, *The Pencil of Nature*, facsim. of 1844–46 ed. (New York: Hans P. Kraus, 1989), plates V, XVII; Susan L. Taylor, “Fox Talbot as an Artist: The ‘Patroclus’ Series,” *Bulletin: The University of Michigan Museums of Art and Archaeology* 8 (1986), 38–55; Schaaf, *Introductory Volume: The Pencil of Nature*, 48–49.
 6. Talbot, *Pencil of Nature*, plate V.
 7. Talbot, *Pencil of Nature*, plate VII.
 8. Cited in Taylor, “Patroclus,” 50.
 9. On the color of sculptural subjects, see Geraldine A. Johnson, “‘In Consequence of Their Whiteness’: Photographing Marble Sculpture from Talbot to Today,” in *Radical Marble*, ed. J. Nicholas Napoli and William Tronzo (Abingdon: Taylor & Francis, forthcoming).
 10. On photographing ancient sculpture and its reproductions, see esp.: Julia Ballerini, “Recasting Ancestry: Statuettes as Imaged by Three Inventors of Photography,” in *The Object as Subject: Studies in the Interpretation of Still Life*, ed. Anne W. Lowenthal (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), 41–58; Geoffrey Batchen, “Light and Dark: The Daguerreotype and Art History,” *Art Bulletin* 86 (2004): 764–76; Elizabeth Anne McCauley, “Fawning over Marbles: Robert and Gerardine Macpherson’s *Vatican Sculptures* and the Role of Photographs in the Reception of the Antique,” in *Art and the Early Photographic Album*, ed. Stephen Bann (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), 91–122.
 11. Johnson, “Rodin to Brancusi,” 200–4.
 12. Alinari, “Venezia, Campo dei SS Giovanni e Paolo (ca. 1880),” <http://photoinventory.fr/photos/MH8158.png>. On the Alinari in general, see Filippo Zevi, *Alinari, Photographers of Florence, 1852–1920* (Florence and London: Alinari and Idea, 1978).
 13. Cited in Gilles Mora and John T. Hill, *Walker Evans: The Hungry Eye* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1993), 134.
 14. Images by Kennedy are reproduced in Sarah Hamill’s essay in the present volume. Kennedy’s photographs have been the subject of several small exhibitions, including at Smith College (1967), the Clark Art Institute (1980), the Detroit Institute of Arts (1987), Wellesley College (2010) and Oberlin College (2012). Finn has photographed sculpture for over sixty books, often receiving equal billing with the author, e.g., David Finn (photographs) and Frederick Hartt (text), *Donatello, Prophet of Modern Vision* (New York: Abrams, 1972).
 15. Germano Celant, Arkady Ippolitov, and Karole Vail, *Robert Mapplethorpe and the Classical Tradition: Photographs and Mannerist Prints* (New York: Solomon R. Guggenheim Foundation, 2004–5), plates 112, 115; Nan Goldin, “Young

- Hermaphrodite Sleeping, le Louvre (2010),” Mathew Marks Gallery, New York, http://www.matthewmarks.com/new-york/exhibitions/2011-10-29_nan-goldin/works-in-exhibition/.
16. Talbot, *Pencil of Nature*, plates V, XVII; Talbot, “Three Graces (1840s)” Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, <http://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/306345>.
 17. Joel Snyder, “Nineteenth-century Photography of Sculpture and the Rhetoric of Substitution,” in *Sculpture and Photography: Envisioning the Third Dimension*, ed. Geraldine A. Johnson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 29–30.
 18. Karl Blossfeldt, *Art Forms in Nature: Examples from the Plant World*, 2 vols. (London: A. Zwemmer, 1929–32).
 19. See, for instance, Walker Evans, “Figure, French Guinea (1935),” Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, <http://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/265774>; Walker Evans, “Beauties of the Common Tool,” *Fortune* July (1955), 103–7.
 20. For an illustration of Brassai and Dalí’s collaboration, see Rosalind Krauss, “The Photographic Conditions of Surrealism,” *October* 19 (Winter, 1981): 30. On photographing found objects in general, see Anna Dezeuze and Julia Kelly, eds., *Found Sculpture and Photography from Surrealism to Contemporary Art* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013).
 21. Roy Flukinger, Larry J. Schaaf, and Standish Meacham, *Paul Martin: Victorian Photographer* (London: G. Fraser, 1978), 43–47.
 22. Tamar Garb, “Photography, Physical Culture, and the Classical Ideal,” 86–100, and Michael Hatt, “Eakins’s Arcadia: Sculpture, Photography, and the Redefinition of the Classical Body,” 62–65, in *Sculpture and Photography: Envisioning the Third Dimension*, ed. Geraldine A. Johnson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).
 23. See, for example, Celant, Ippolitov, and Vail, *Mapplethorpe*, plates 15–18.
 24. The photograph was published in the first issue of the influential avant-garde French magazine *Verve* in 1937. On Blumenfeld, see Ute Eskildsen, ed. *Erwin Blumenfeld: Photographs, Drawings and Photomontages* (Paris: Jeu de Paume/Hazan, 2013).
 25. On the materiality of photographs, see esp.: Geoffrey Batchen, “Vernacular Photographies,” in *Each Wild Idea: Writing, Photography, History* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2001), 56–81; Elizabeth Edwards, *Raw Histories: Photographs, Anthropology and Museums* (Oxford: Berg, 2001). It is worth noting here the short-lived mid-nineteenth-century phenomenon of the photosculpture machine, which could literally turn a series of photographs of a sitter taken in the round into a portrait sculpture. See Robert A. Sobieszek, “Sculpture as the Sum of Its Profiles: François Willème and Photosculpture in France, 1859–1868,” *Art Bulletin* 62 (1980): 617–30.
 26. Hélène Pinet, “‘Montrer est la question vitale’: Rodin and Photography,” in *Sculpture and Photography: Envisioning the Third Dimension*, ed. Geraldine A. Johnson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 73–74.
 27. For examples of such objects, see Geoffrey Batchen, *Forget Me Not: Photography & Remembrance* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2004), 61–73.

28. Heinecken's piece was included in the ground-breaking exhibition *Photography into Sculpture, New York, Museum of Modern Art, 1970*, https://www.moma.org/momaorg/shared/pdfs/docs/press_archives/4438/releases/MOMA_1970_Jan-June_0035_36.pdf?2010. On *Fotoplastiks*, see Julie Saul, ed. *Moholy-Nagy Fotoplastiks: The Bauhaus Years* (Bronx: Bronx Museum of the Arts, 1983).
29. On the complicated history of *Arena*, see Lynne Cooke and Karen Kelly, eds., *Joseph Beuys: Arena: Wo wäre ich hingekommen, wenn ich intelligent gewesen wäre!* (New York: Dia Center for the Arts, 1994). Sieverding's photographs of a 1972 performance of this piece in Rome were shown as a digital slideshow in 2014 at the Centre of Contemporary Art "Znaki Czasu" in Torun, Poland.
30. Amelia Jones, "'Presence' in Absentia: Experiencing Performance as Documentation," *Art Journal* 56, no. 4 (1997): 16.
31. See note 4, above, on the identity of the figures in the panorama and debates about its attribution.
32. I am grateful to Anne McCauley for pointing out the problem of the camera's focusing distance in the panorama (personal communication, 27 September 2014).
33. For an example of such a history, see Johnson, "Visual Historiography," 12–51.
34. André Malraux, *Psychologie de l'art: Le musée imaginaire*, 3 vols. (Paris: Skira, 1947), 32.