

SZATHMARI'S PHOTO ALBUM ON THE DANUBIAN PRINCIPALITIES IN 1853

*At the origins of war photoreportage in the nineteenth
century*

Ph. D. Hernán Rodríguez VARGAS
Italian Institute for Historical Studies

Introduction

Many years before Tsar Nicholas I ordered his troops in Bessarabia in June 1853 to cross the Prut to occupy Moldavia and Wallachia, feelings of phobia towards Russia had been fuelled throughout Europe, mainly in France and England. Since the territorial expansion of the Russian Empire in the eighteenth century and, subsequently, by its demonstration of military strength against Napoleon, an image between fear, rejection and hatred had been created in oral, written and iconographic culture, which would be amplified with time, under the epithet of "Russian threat". In the mid-nineteenth century, to increase the feelings of Russophobia on the part of the British there was support for the Polish cause; while, to fuel these feelings on the part of the French and the rest of Europe, it was the violent Russian reaction to the revolutionary waves of 1848.^{1/2}

Even more important for the impact on public opinion was the fact that this military invasion by the Tsar represented the end of a long cycle of conflicts between two empires (the Sublime Porta and the Russian one) and became a European conflict capable of definitively splitting the

¹The documented foundation of the "Russian threat" was the so-called "Testament of Peter the Great," widely cited by Russophobic writers, politicians, diplomats, and military as incontrovertible evidence of Russia's ambitions for world domination. The "Testament", in reality, was a fake, created in the early eighteenth century by various Polish, Hungarian and Ukrainian figures connected to France and the Ottomans and passed through various editorial offices before arriving at the final version, which arrived in the archives of the Foreign Ministry French in the sixties of the eighteenth century. O. Figes, *Crimea, l'ultima crociata*, Torino, Einaudi, 2011, pp. 75-76.

² Ibid.

structure established in Vienna in 1815.³ Immediately after the invasion, the British and French mobilized their armies in the event of a possible war and since before these armies arrived in support of the Turkish ally, the first to land in the Danubian principalities, in Constantinople and on the Russian-Turkish front in the Caucasus, were the reporters of important newspapers such as *The Times*, *Le Moniteur Universel*, *The Illustrated London News* and *L'illustration Journal Universel*, as well as satirical-informative newspapers, among the most relevant *Le Charivari* French, and the *Punch* or *The London Charivari*.

From the beginning, Russian hostilities and the stance of the French and British empires, were the focus of attention of these newspapers, attracting more and more the interest of the public. From this point of view, the publications of July 1853 by *The Illustrated London News* and *the L'illustration Journal Universel* are particularly relevant. *The Illustrated London News*, on July 2, published on its front page an article entitled "The English and French camps", in which it highlighted, in addition to the cooperation between the Allies against the common enemy, the cultural-national differences between the two armies. The illustrations, in addition to Queen Victoria's visit to Chobham's field staff, depict the military types and equipment of both armies preparing to go to war.^{4/5}

Subsequently, on July 16, a detailed report on "les fortifications de Constantinople" appeared in *the Illustration Journal Universel*, which presented readers with an important historical excursus on Constantinople from the fifteenth century. On July 23, this same newspaper reported on the most important event of the week⁶, namely "la réponse de M. le ministre des affaires étrangères à la deuxième circulaire de M. de Nesselrode, publiée dans le *Moniteur* du 17 juillet". *Réponse* which the newspaper considers to be worthy, since 'le ministre français réfute victorieusement la partie de la circulaire de la chancellerie russe tendant à reporter sur la France et l'Angleterre l'occupation des principautés du Danube comme représailles de l'envoi des flottes dans les eaux libres de Bésika'.⁷

³ W. Baumgart, *The Crimean War, 1853-1856*, London-New York, Oxford University Press, 1999; T. Royle, *Crimea. The Great Crimean War 1854-1856*, London, Brown & C., 1999; H. Small, *The Crimean War. Queen Victoria's War with the Russian Tsar*, Stroud, 2007.

⁴ *The Illustrated London News*, 2 July 1853, p.537.

⁵ *The Illustrated London News*, 2 July 1853, p. 541.

⁶ *L'illustration Journal Universel*, July 16, 1853, p. 33.

⁷ *L'illustration Journal Universel*, July 23, 1853, p. 55.

At the same time, satirical-informative newspapers were preparing their audiences for war against the Russians. On June 11⁸, *Punch* features a caricature of the Russian ultimatum imposed by Alexander Menshikov, in which the hostility and disposition to combat by the Turks with the support of the other powers is appreciated. For the month of August, this time on the⁹ *Charivari* French, Honoré Daumier depicted the Parisians who studied through the different newspapers and in a very careful way "the Turkish question". Only two months later, Taxile Delord, politician¹⁰ and *rédacteur en chef* de *Le Charivari*, spoke ironically of the need to have two types of reporters for the Eastern question, namely, the pro-Turkish and pro-Russian reporters, since there was no talk of anything but the so-called "question of the East".»:

Si lit dans le Journal des Débats : il faut des correspondants pour tous les goûts, avons donc un correspondant philottoman et correspondant russophile. Ajour nous laissons parler le correspondant filottoman, le lendemain nous donnons la parole correspondant russophile. Et nous faisons l'éloge de l'armée turque par rétiaire du correspondant philottoman. Aujourd'hui nous publions une réclame rédigée en fa de l'armée russe par le correspondant russo¹¹.

In this first moment of the conflict there was a common attitude on the part of the newspapers: in the first place, that of informing and updating the public by increasing interest in the upcoming war. Secondly, to entertain through more engaging narratives and through the use of images, in the case of illustrated newspapers, creating a great sense of the plausible

⁸The presence of these satirical newspapers and their ability to engage the public in the interest of the conflict was fundamental, since *Le Charivari*, born in 1832 and the *Punch*, born in 1841, respect for *The Illustrated London News* and *Illustration*, anticipated the use of images to inform through their humorous content; and both in Paris and London, in the relationship between text and images, these newspapers had consolidated themselves as true instruments of politicization and iconographic consumption throughout Europe. J.P. Bacot «Trois générations de presse illustrée au XIXe siècle», in *Réseaux*, 111, 2001, pp. 216-234. To observe some of the most interesting caricatures produced throughout the conflict, see: <https://www.brandeis.edu/library/archives/spotlights/special-collections/2017/crimean-war.html>

⁹ *Punch or the london charivari*, 11 July 1853, p. 235.

¹⁰ Honoré Daumier, *Le Charivari*, 4 August 1853.

¹¹ Taxile Delord, *Le Charivari*, 28 October 1853, p. 3.

through the relationship between text and image. The ¹²*war artists* depicted all kinds of activities that might be of interest: from political, diplomatic and military events, to the recreation of scenes from that unknown and exotic East in which the conflict took place, recalling the narratives and illustrations of travel literature, also illustrated. ¹³ Some examples can be found in the book by Anatole de Démidoff, *Voyage dans la Russie Méridionale & la Crimée par La Hongrie, La Valachie et La Moldavie en 1837*, illustrated by Denis Auguste Marie Raffet, or in the numerous lithographs made by Théodore Valerio called «collection ethnographique». Finally, the last common element was the spread of a narrative characterized by a heated patriotism, which will be maintained throughout the conflict beyond the different ways of presenting the news by the newspapers. As for the representations of military events, it is important to underline the interest of the illustrated reportages for genre scenes, in which the fighters were depicted in their daily lives. In addition to the great heroes and the martial notability, the public's gaze was thus directed towards the individual soldiers-fellow citizens, called by the newspapers as "our soldiers" or "nos soldats".¹⁴».

In this way, one of the results of this great promotion campaign developed between information, entertainment and patriotism, was the publication in a few months, by the English newspapers, of the "petitions to the queen asking for a position", while the French newspapers continued ¹⁵to feed the desire to fight the historical Russian enemy. In the summer of 1854, in fact, the caricaturist Honoré Daumier depicted Tsar Nicholas I as a Goliath who unjustly challenges the little Turkish David, in need of the support of the allies. ¹⁶ From the point of view of illustrated reportage, between 1853 and 1854, the main *war artists* of the French and English

¹² W.H. Russell, *The British Expedition to the Crimea*, London, G. Routledge & Co., 1858; A.D. Lambert, S. Badsey (eds.), *The War Correspondents: The Crimean War*, Gloucester, Sutton, 1994.

¹³ E. Parinet, *Une histoire de l'édition à l'époque contemporaine, XIXe - XXe siècle*, Paris, Histoire, 2004.

¹⁴ C. Peltre, «Les "Géographies" De L'art: Physionomies, Races Et Mythes Dans La Peinture», *Romantisme*, No. 4, 130, 2005, pp. 67-79.

¹⁵ *Morning Post* 16 December 1853, *The times* 13 and 18 December 1853, *Sheffiel and Rotherdam Independent* 17 December 1853, *Chronicle* 23 DecandMbre 1853. In O. Figes, *Crimea...*, op. cit., p. 100.

¹⁶ *Le Charivari*, 11 July 1853, p. 34.

newspapers were painters and draftsmen; these sent their drawings to the *staff* of London and Paris where the engravers took care of printing them through the technique of woodcut on head wood. At that time, before the arrival of Roger Fenton in the Crimea, in 1855, and before the arrival of the subsequent English and French photographers, it was Carol Pop de Szathmari, a photographer originally from the city of Kolozsvár (Transylvania), who recorded the Russian invasion and the Ottoman resistance, opening the doors to what would have been the work of Fenton and the other war photo-reporter artists.¹⁷ It was therefore in the first place the eye of Szathmari's camera to propose a new look at the conflict, which would serve as a point of reference and comparison for subsequent war artists-photographers.

1. Carol Pop de Szathmari, *pioneer of war photoreportage*

The career of Carol Pop de Szathmari can be defined as that of a very successful artist. Belonging to a noble family, he abandoned his career in law to devote himself to painting, attending the Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna. After a trip through Europe, he settled permanently in Bucharest in 1843, where he worked for high society circles, including the reigning princes of Wallachia. Being a well-known painter, in 1848 he began his career as a photographer and in those years he opened his photographic studio, showing great skills to adapt to the potential of the new medium of image reproductions and to the new needs of the public¹⁸. During the invasion of the Danubian principalities, high-ranking officers who had attended his studio, asked him to accompany them and record some scenes of the conflict. In this way, Szathmari prepared for one of the most important imprints of his career. In April 1854, he filled a "photographic van"

¹⁷A.S. Lonescu, «Szathmári, a great documentary artist», *Riha Journal*, 2014/79, <https://journals.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/index.php/rihajournal/article/view/69846/67362>. In this article, readers will also be able to delve into further aspects of Szathmari's life and work that go beyond his reportage on the invasion of the Danubian principalities.

¹⁸A.S. Lonescu, «Szathmari: from a War Photographer to a Ruling Prince's Court Painter and Photographer», in Anna Auer and Uwe Schögl (a cura di) *Jubilee – 30 Years Eshph, Congress of Photography in Vienna*, European Society for the History of Photography, p. 80.

with his cameras, glass plates and went to the Danube border with the purpose of documenting the conflict and creating a collection. The result was an album that contained about two hundred images and that became famous thanks to its presentation at the Universal Exhibition in Paris in 1855, in which he received the second class medal. It was in effect the first war report whose results, unlike what happened in other previous conflicts (the United States War with Mexico, the barricades of Paris in 1848, and the defense of the Roman Republic in 1849), were disseminated when the war was then underway.

The effort to physically move all the tools required to make photographic shots, and to test his photographic skills in a hostile environment – such as battle scenarios – convert Szathmari into a pioneer of the modern practice of photographing and documenting war. After him, subsequent war photographers could add to their artistic and scientific recognition, even the status of heroes, since they themselves, in the commitment to make their own reportages, had to face the adversities of the conflict. So true is this condition of *war artist* who, risking being mistaken for a Russian spy, became a military target of the Turkish cannons, but he, courageously as Ernest Lacan recalls, remained there to make a spectacular photographic shot (¹⁹fig. 1).²⁰

The album was seen from the first moment as an important historical document that presented to the eyes of its viewers what was the beginning of the conflict. Many of the photographs in this album help to consolidate some codes of representation already present in other iconographic devices, as well as to configure new ones. The latter, subsequently, will be fully developed in conflicts such as the War for the South in Italy (1860-1870), the American Civil War (1861-1865), the War of the Triple Alliance in South America (1864-1870), the Austro-Prussian (1866) and Franco-Prussian Wars (1870-1871), as well as in the Second Carlist War in Spanga (1872-1876).

The codes of representation already present in other iconographic devices and which maintained a line of continuity with Szathmari's

¹⁹ Ernest Lacan was an important journalist and French critic, a specialist in photographic art. He followed very carefully the photographic works admitted to the Universal Exhibition of 1855 and wrote his texts for the important magazine *La Lumière, revue de la photographie*.

²⁰ E. Lacan, *Esquisses Photographiques a propos de l'Exposition Universel et de la guerre d'Orient*, Paris, Grassart, 1856, p. 167.

photography were mainly two: the landscape views and the portrait. The landscape views were one of the most important artistic objects of the great pictorial schools since the seventeenth century and now, through photography they were inserted in wider ways of diffusion thanks to the alliance between the new tool and the experience of travel and photographic excursions. As for the portrait, the depiction of the subjects through paintings, lithographs, miniatures and sculptures, which was a privilege belonging to the most important nineteenth-century celebrities at the governmental, social and military level, extended to other members of society. So, if on the one hand photography was only another iconographic tool destined to the affirmation of the ²¹*celebrity system* of the nineteenth century, the novelty, of which Szathmari participated, was then that of being able to depict also fighters and groups of fighters of lesser rank, who before the photographic invention, could never have been depicted or celebrated memorialistically. ²²

In this direction, one way of carefully examining some of the new codes of representation used in Szathmari's photographs is through the writing of the album, which consists of three large elements. The first element, in fact, is represented by the photographs of the most important protagonists of the Russian and Turkish armies:

Prince General Mikhail Dimitrievitsch Gortschakoff (fig. 2), Baron General Dimitri Erofeevitsch Osten-Sacken, Field Marshal Prince Ivan Feodorovitsch Paskevitsch, Commissioner Alexander Ivanovitsch Budberg, General Pavel Eustatievitsch Kotzebue Nicolaevitsch Lüders and two commanders who fell on the battlefield: Generals Selvan, killed at Silistra, and Soimonoff, killed at Inkerman. Following these portraits, there is one of Omer Pasha, the Turkish commander-in-chief, Iskender Bey (the Muslim name of the Polish Count Ilinski who volunteered in the Turkish army and distinguished himself in battle), the young Tefvik Pasha killed in Balaklava, Dervish Pasha and two officers of the British and French allied armies, Colonels Simmons and Dieu²³.

²¹ M. Warner Marien, *Photography A Cultural History*, London, Laurence King, 2002, p. 44.

²² A. Lilti, *The invention of Celebrity*, Cambridge, Polity press, 2017; E. Berenson, E. Giloi (eds.), *Costrutting Charisma. Celebrity, Fame and Power in Nineteenth Century Europe*, New York, Berghahn Books, 2010.

²³ A.S. Ionescu, «Szathmari: from a War Photographer...», op. cit., p. 83.

The case of the picture of General Michail Dimitrievitsch Gortschakoff (fig. 2), is exemplary because it highlights some fundamental aspects of the shots made by Szathmari to these prominent figures. The first concerns the composition of the scene, which is made in an intimate environment and enhances the dignity of the character in military uniform, flaunts his medals and poses as a real gentleman. The second, however, concerns the fact that the photograph, a few years later, would be used in a report by *The Illustrated London News*, in which the general is described as "a very able command, throughout the protracted, from time to time, in our Journal²⁴"; this element is fundamental because it represents a clear example of the spread of the work of photographers in other media and of the continuous interest of the public for every detail concerning the war, including prominent figures of the enemy army. Finally, the fact that, with regard to the photographic compositions of the two warring factions, Szathmari was the only photographer to make portraits of both the most important figures of the Russian and Turkish armies, as in the case of the Ottoman general Omar Pasha, also the protagonist of numerous reports within the illustrated newspapers²⁵. This element makes Szathamri's album a precious and unique material among the reportages made over the duration of the conflict, especially considering that once the conflict moved to Crimea, no other photographer managed – due to the heavy conditions of the conflict – to make further photographs of members of the enemy army. In fact, this was one of the features that most attracted the attention of Napoleon III on Szathmari's album during the Universal Exhibition of 1855:

M. de Szathmari, l'habile amateur photographe de Bucharest, dont nous avons annoncé dernièrement l'arrivée, a eu l'honneur d'être reçu mercredi soir par l'Empereur. LL. MAI. Ont voulu voir toutes les épreuves que renferme son magnifique album; les portraits des généraux russes et turcs les ont surtout vivement intéressés. Témoin oculaire de bien des scènes qui se rattachent à l'histoire de la guerre d'Orient, ayant connu la plupart des hommes qui se sont distingués dans cette grande lutte, M. de Szathmari a pu donner des détails curieux et qui ont fixé l'attention de LL. MM. L'Empereur a félicité l'auteur de cette intéressante collection, dont il a accepté l'hommage. Nous sommes heureux d'annoncer ce succès, qui honore la photographie, et qui montre avec quelle bienveillance LL. MM. accueillent et encouragent les progrès de notre art²⁶.

²⁴ *The Illustrated London News*, 3 novembre 1855, p. 528.

²⁵ Examples include *The Illustrated London News*, 22 October 1853; October 20, 1855; December 16, 1856.

²⁶ *La Lumière*, 9 June 1855, p. 89.

Another important aspect is that many of the photographs of the album were taken outdoors and were built with great care, taking care of every detail of the composition. If it is true that from the beginning "the Photo is like a primitive theater", it is also true that in that itinerant studio of Szathmari – continuously conditioned to the dynamics of the war – the photographic compositions became a theater in all respects. An example of this is Szathmari's photograph of ²⁷*the Turkish Cavalrymen* from 1854 (fig. 2), in which four Turkish fighters pose together with their horses. Inside the image, the two central figures look at each other, while the soldier on the left turns his gaze towards the first on the right, who is the only one looking at the camera while resting his right arm on his horse. It is a photograph in which both the courage of the fighters and their readiness for battle are represented.

The second element concerns Szathmari's commitment to compose "scenes of battles". Through these images "nous sommes dans le camp russe, sur le sommet d'un mamelon, au bord du Danube". In this description, Lacan also reflects on the ability of photography to portray large war scenes and the technical difficulties of capturing movement. In his analysis he believes that the artist's work responds positively to this difficult need, such as when it captures, beyond the unsatisfactory quality of the image, the moment of a retreat²⁸:

Des chevaux sans cavaliers, des fourgons remplis d'objets de toute nature, défilent pêle-mêle avec les soldats. Cette colonne se déroule, comme un immense serpent, sur le chemin qui monte vers les hauteurs, pendant que des retardataires, arrêtés au bord du fleuve, y laissent boire leur monture et s'y désaltèrent eux-mêmes. On ne saurait composer un tableau plus animé ni plus vrai²⁹.

This limitation of depicting moving scenes was a widely discussed topic in nineteenth-century scientific journals specializing in photography, from *the Daguerrean Journal* to *The Practical Mechanic's Journal*³⁰. It was

²⁷ R. Barthes, *La Camera Chiara, nota sulla fotografia*, Torino, Einaudi, 1980, p. 13.

²⁸E. Lacan, *Esquisses Photographiques...*, op. cit., p. 160.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ *The Practical Mechanic's Journal*, Vol II, April 1854-March 1855, London, published for the proprietors by George Herbert 88 Chapside.

this limitation that made the work of photographers, draftsmen and engravers within the illustrated newspapers a complementary work. The artists were in charge of realizing what photography was not yet able to do and that belonged to the long tradition of paintings and battle scenes. Not surprisingly, to pay homage to the participation of the French, Napoleon III ordered the construction of the ³¹*Salle de Crimée* inside the Château de Versailles. The great novelty in the elaboration of this room was that many of the paintings were realized thanks to the photographs that the *war artists* sent by the emperor himself had made of the battlefields: the photographers Jean Charles Langlois and Léon Méhédin.

Beyond the potential and technical limitations of photography it is possible to understand the ability of these photographic compositions to involve the viewer, which also highlight the way in which the courage of the Turks earned " la sympathie des grandes nations »³². In this sense the album proved to be not only an artistic device, but also a political one, since it contributed, at the dawn of the war, to confirm to public opinion the affinity of the Allied powers for the Turkish cause.

Finally, the third element of great importance of Szathmari's album concerns the photographic approach of an ethnographic character and the interest in portraying *the types* of other cultures. "[In the album] there are also various types of local soldiers and people, infantrymen and Cossacks of the Russian forces, Turkish bashibouzouks (irregular knights) and nizamyie (regular infantrymen), Austrian lancers, dragoons and infantrymen, some gypsies and Romanian merchants and craftsmen»³³. As well as the Ukrainian Cossacks, the Turkish, Arab, Greek bashi-bazouks and even the gypsies, who in Bucharest served as "violinists for peasants and slaves of the boyars»³⁴. In short, it is a complex intercultural look through war photography, complementary to what already existed in other iconographic devices³⁵, in travel painting and genre scenes related to the

³¹L. Da Vinci, *Trattato della Pittura*, Rome, Carabba, 1947. Text in which he defined the rules of their composition, and which have as their purpose the universal representation, higher and nobler of what was lived (just as the portraits leaned towards the true representation of the incarnate subject. A. Blunt, *Le teorie artistiche in Italia dal Rinascimento al Manierismo*, Einaudi, 2001, p. 47.

³² E. Lacan, *Esquisses Photographiques...*, op. cit., p. 161.

³³ Ivi, p. 162.

³⁴ Ivi, p. 164.

³⁵ C. Peltre, «Les "Géographies" De L'art: Physionomies, Races Et Mythes Dans La Peinture», *Romantisme*, No. 4, 130, 2005, pp. 67-79.

iconographic activities of colonial enterprises³⁶, and which are continually found in Szathmari's later photographic works. Such is the case of the multiple genre photographs dedicated to the typical subjects and traditional costumes of Romanian culture. Examples are the photographs presented with great success at the Universal Exhibition of 1867 in Paris and in 1873 in Vienna. The photograph dedicated to a group of women in regional costume of 1866 (fig. 4) was one of the many representations that Szathmari dedicated to enhance his culture, showcasing clothes, customs and cultural practices.

Returning to the album dedicated to documenting the beginning of the conflict, this can then be defined as "une oeuvre artistique dans laquelle le peintre, le poète et l'historien trouveront un égal intérêt; c'est, déplus, une des productions les plus remarquables que la photographie ait enfantées, si l'on tient compte des difficultés de l'exécution»³⁷. Examining all three aspects named, one can see how they are also the result of Szathmari's various aesthetic interests as a painter: portraiture, battle paintings and genre scenes, as well as his great skills in social practices associated with photography and his fascination with nineteenth-century society. In this sense, his ability to re-propose these motifs as new subjects of the photographic gaze, in a context of war, can also be interpreted as a reference point for photographers who after him would dedicate an important part of their work to war photography. Considering the proximity of an artist like Roger Fenton, the most important and remembered photographer of the war, to the British crown, it is not difficult to imagine that this came to know about Szathmari's work, even if at the time of the delivery of the Romanian artist's album to Queen Victoria and the participation of it in the Universal Exhibition, Fenton had already left for the Crimea. In fact, in the Victorian court's enthusiasm for photography, the British government felt the need to send its own photographers to the Crimea as well, in order to derive the results before the Universal Exhibition ended in November 1855. Since this is also the exhibition that started the industrial development of photography, further expanding its relationship with the public, it is clear the desire on the part of the British to be the first, if not to document the conflict, to leave artistic registers of great quality and destined for posterity.

³⁶ M. Warner Marien, *Photography A Cultural History...* op. cit., p. 127

³⁷ E. Lacan, *Esquisses Photographiques...*, op. cit., p. 165.

While Roger Fenton worked in the Crimea between March and June 1855, Szathmari became a great celebrity during the Universal Exposition and became, first, a guest of Napoleon III in private audience in June of the same year and, in the following month, of Queen Victoria. On both occasions, the artist offered the two sovereigns his album as a gift, and on the second occasion he was awarded by the queen with a gold medal³⁸. The visits were followed and documented by the newspaper *La Lumière, revue de la photographie*³⁹, and on Fenton's return to England, both photographic works were the great protagonists of the exhibition, becoming models to follow for the most important international photographers who had been part of the exhibition and who would play a leading role as *war artists* in subsequent conflicts⁴⁰.

2. From the reportage of C.P. Szathmari to that of R. Fenton

Although it is difficult to investigate the extent to which Szathmari's album and the codes of representations he employed during the invasion of the Danubian Principalities directly influenced the work of English photographers such as Roger Fenton, James Robertson and Felice Beato, and French photographers such as Charles Langlois and Léon Méhédin, who went to the site in order to make their own photographic reportages⁴¹, it is essential to consider some points in common with these important artists, especially with Roger Fenton, whose task, in the service of Queen Victoria's government, consists, in addition to improving the hostile attitude of the English public towards the conflict, in confronting and in many ways overcoming the work carried out by his Romanian colleague.

Before Fenton's arrival, the British crown had already sent some photographers to crimea. One of the first to hold this position was a photographer named Gilbert Elliott, who in early 1854, made callotypes of

³⁸ E. Lacan, *La Lumière, revue de la photographie*, Samedi 29 juillet 1853, année 23, p. 118.

³⁹ E. Lacan, *La Lumière, revue de la photographie*, Samedi 9 juin 1853, année 23, p. 89.

⁴⁰ Szathmari's photographic work can be consulted online on the website of the Romanian Academy Library:
<https://biblacad.ro/catonline.html?fbclid=IwAR3SvUx65JZEZ4sDKYa2TMHY4esnqmvW5ZrmKNmRMJyKmr6XmI3DG1gnNOE>

⁴¹ B. A. Hensch & H. K. Hensch, «James Robertson and his Crimean War Campaign», *History of Photography*, 26/4, 2002, pp. 258–268.

Russian fortresses, in order to measure the defensive strategies and weapons of which the tsar's military forces were provided, in order to organize the plans of attack. Along with Elliott, two British soldiers named Brandon and Dawson were appointed photojournalists, who, prepared in a hasty manner by the expert photographer Jonh Jabez Edwin Mayall, were not able to create good quality images. Finally there was the unfortunate Richard Nicklin, who, unlike Brandon and Dawson, was a photographer by profession, but his equipment and callotypes drowned with him in the port of Balaclava, during the storm of November 14, 1854.

The Nicklin incident gave the final impetus for Fenton to sail for the Crimea aboard the *Hecla* in February 1855, travelling under royal patronage and with the assistance of the British government. Roger Fenton's choice for the post was well deserved. In addition to his knowledge of photographic art, he was a fellow of the *Royal Academy* and first secretary of the *Royal Photographic Society*, founded in 1853. In 1852, he had also stayed in Russia to document the construction of a suspension bridge over the Dnieper River in Kiev, Ukraine. So both from a technical and political point of view, he was the most suitable artist to document with the camera the events in Crimea.

From the point of view of the unfolding of the conflict within public opinion, the arrival of Roger Fenton in Sevastopol coincided with one of the most critical moments. To the carnage that turned out to be the battle of the Alma, beyond the eventual victory of the allies, were added the testimonies of the terrible sufferings of the sick at the front. More men died in hospitals from infectious diseases and cholera than from wounds in battle. To this were added the poor conditions and the lack of preparation of the British to face the winter of 1854-55⁴².

In this way towards the end of winter and the beginning of spring 1855, Fenton was faced with a great political-iconographic challenge. Proof of this is that since his arrival he had numerous opportunities to photograph the dead and wounded. In fact, among the victims of the fighting was his brother-in-law, Edmund Maynard, but the Crimean photojournalist decided not to make overly realistic representations from the point of view of the horrors of war. In this sense, one can think of three reasons why Fenton decided not to make this type of images. The first of all was political: with the support of the royal family and the British government, he had to help

⁴² S. Cavicchioli, *Crimean War: National Memories and Democratization Processes*, «Contemporanea», XXIV/2 (2021), pp. 177-209.

counter, through his photographic compositions, the discrediting campaign that some media such as *The Times* or the satirical newspaper *Punch* had carried out. The second, concerned a commercial motivation, since Fenton also counted on the financial support of a publisher, Thomas Agnew, who hoped to publish the set of photos and put it up for sale, and for this reason there was a need to make a series of images that depicted a more romanticized version of the conflict; among other things, because in this task he had to surpass in terms of quality and composition of the images the work done by Szathmari. As a result, in addition to the five photographs of the cemeteries in Sevastopol and the elaborate scene in which a foodie and a Turkish soldier recreate the moment of assistance to the wounded, Fenton avoided any form of re-enactment of suffering and death, such and as Szathmari himself had done at the beginning of the conflict.

On the basis of these premises, Fenton's aesthetic choices are even more important, which helped to consolidate a real aesthetic of war photographs, already begun by Szathmari and which focused on four types of subjects and scenes: portraits of the leading figures of the Allies, landscapes and views, group photographs, and finally, compositions on the daily activities of soldiers or some individuals that may be of interest to the public. All four elements in common with the registers made by Szathmari and similar to the sensitivity of nineteenth-century spectators. The first three were part of the existing iconographic genres; the last category, on the other hand, adapted to the new sensitivity towards individual soldiers, seen as compatriots and, in some cases, to the ethnographic interest in fighters belonging to other types of cultures, such as the Zouaves, Croats, Turks, Montenegrins or Tatars.

In establishing some points of comparison between Fenton's work and that of Szathmari, a series of similar compositions emerge between the two photographers. A clear example is the similarities between the scene of Szathmari *Turkish Cavalrymen* (fig.3) and photographs *The Pipe of Peace*⁴³, or *Reverend Mr Butler and officers of the 47th Regiment*⁴⁴ (fig. 5) by Fenton. As for the ethnographic interest in fighters not belonging to the

⁴³ R. Fenton, *The Pipe of Peace* or 'Costume of the Camp', print on salt paper, 13.9x13.2cm, *Fenton Exhibiton Catalogue*, no. 2., 1856.

<https://www.rct.uk/collection/search#/8/collection/2500423/the-pipe-of-peace>

⁴⁴R. Fenton, *Reverend Mr. Butler and Officers of the 47 Regiment* 1855, paper on albumin, 14.4x18.9cm, *Fenton Exhibiton Catalogue*, no.9 1856. <https://www.rct.uk/collection/search#/8/collection/2500443/reverend-mr-butler-and-officers-of-the-47th-regiment>

British or French armies, there is the photograph *Group of Croat Chiefs*, also published on December 29, 1855 in *The Illustrated London News* (fig. 6). In the newspaper's commentary on the image one can appreciate both the ethnographic interest and the continuous promotion and exaltation of Fenton's work:

CROATS AT THE SEAT OF WAR

The characteristic group engraved upon preceding page is from one of Mr. Roger Fenton's beautiful photographs in the Crimean Exhibition. One of the most striking attractions of this collection is the great variety of national character which it presents, arising from the multiplicity of people engaged in the great war. Had the contest lain between two individual nations, the impersonations or portraitures would neither have been so varied not numerous as in the Crimean Collection, from wihc we have taken several Illustration. Croats, it will be remembered, have been variously employed at the Balaclava, were vividly sketched by our Artist and Special Correspondent, in his letter at page 310 of the present volume. In the photograph her engraved is a family in the trenches; where the superior Croat has "the badge of authority – a stick", which is mentioned in our Correspondent's letter⁴⁵.

As for the numerous portraits of political and military personalities, the works of both photographers are complementary: Szathmari created the register of the most important leading figures of the Russian and Turkish armies, Fenton instead, of the English and French ones, and as in the case of the photography of Gortschakoff (fig. 2) and the *Group of Croat Chiefs* many of Fenton's photographs were used by *The Illustarted London News* , in order to produce the illustrated chronicles of the conflict. Among the many examples is one of the photographs of General French Pierre François Joseph Bosquet (fig. 7) published later in a reportage of October 6, 1855, in which the photographer exalts, as in the entire series of shots taken of this general, his leadership. It is no coincidence that there are two famous photographs in which General Bosquet himself strives to remain still while the photographer captures the exact moment in which he gives an order (fig. 8). In the staging we appreciate the great commitment of the general and his men in maintaining the position during the realization of the photographic process⁴⁶.

⁴⁵ *The Illustrated London News*, 29 December, 1855, p.754.

⁴⁶ *The Illustrated London News*, October 6, 1855, p. 405th

It is from this effort to produce moving images that an important difference emerges between Szathmari's photographs and Fenton's. While the former in some moments strove to reproduce very lively scenes (fig. 1), preferring the documentary character on the final result, Fenton proved to be much more careful in preferring the quality of the images and to elaborate even more calculated scenes for the purpose of winning consensus. In following Fenton's example, in subsequent conflicts photographers will avoid any effort to try to process moving images, thus leaving the task of creating the scenes full of movement: explosions, charges, hand-to-hand clashes, etc., to designers and painters.

It was then Fenton's aesthetic choices, in his effort to configure scenes suitable to earn the favor of the public and to give the greatest protagonism to the two Western allies, to bring him a step forward compared to the work of Szathmari, who had made his album taking as a starting point the origins of the conflict, then the Turkish and Russian armies. In this dynamic, Fenton had also left a large heroic register of future victors, exalting even more the collaboration between the Allied powers, as in the famous photograph depicting the council of war – *the morning of the successful attack on the Mamelon* – between the three great allies Lord Raglan, Marshal Pélissier and Omar Pacha, made on June 7, 1855. The aim of the photograph was to depict, in addition to the symbolic and effective union of the three great allies, the precise moment in which the decision to attack Mamelon Vert was made. The shot was actually made later, but was celebrated by Queen Victoria herself as one of Fenton's most successful photographs in which "Lord Raglan, Pélissier and Omar Pacha, sitting together on the day of the capture of Mamelon" appear (fig. 9). In addition, in his album, Fenton had celebrated the collaboration between the soldiers and the cohesion of the group, leaving some scenes of daily life in the camp, he had also exalted the nursing work and, finally, he had left a register of ruins, desolate landscapes and cemeteries, capable of evoking death and sacrifice, while avoiding the real horrors of war.

In summary, if Szathmari had left the register of the first enthusiasm for the war, Fenton had contributed through an important corpus of images to counter the great environment of pessimism and anger towards the multiple losses and sufferings experienced by the British, while he managed to bring the images produced closer to the perception of immediacy and documentary quality of information with respect to

conflicts.⁴⁷ Hence the continuous and greater exaltation of many of his contemporaries, including Ernest Lacan:

Elles ont un intérêt historique qui suffirait pour les désigner à l'attention du public d'artiste; il voulait se rendre en Orient et reproduire, par la photographie, les grandes scènes que les premières phases de la guerre faisaient prévoir. Ce projet, il l'a exécuté ; sans s'inquiéter des fatigues, des privations et des dangers que ses amis lui prédisaient, il partit au commencement de cette année pour la Crimée, et, pendant cinq mois, il est resté devant Sébastopol, partageant la ration et la couche du soldat. Aussi, lorsqu'il revint, il y a eu quelques semaines, à Londres, il rapportait environ trois cents vues et portraits composant une des plus intéressantes collections que l'on puisse citer⁴⁸.

In this dynamic, a final difference between Szathmari and Fenton, concerns an aspect that goes beyond their artistic work of both photographers. Although interest in Szathmari's work remained in the years following the conflict, and further copies of the album came into the hands of Emperor Franz Joseph, Tsar Alexander II and Grand Duke Charles Alexander of Saxony, the international publicity that supported Fenton's work was much more robust and systematic. Beginning with ⁴⁹*The Illustrated London News* itself, which during the years of the conflict and in the following ones, published more photographs of Fenton than of any other English photographer of the time and claimed on several occasions his presence in Crimea as that of the greatest artist photographer who had participated in the conflict. Effort in which Fenton himself took part. One of his most famous self-congratulatory photographs, the one concerning the *Photographic Van* (fig. 8), later published on November 10 in *The Illustrated London News* and in other illustrated newspapers of the time, such as the Italian newspaper *Il Fotografo*⁵⁰, it is a clear example of the way in which it was the artist himself who drew the way he wanted to be remembered.

⁴⁷ In any case, it is essential to point out that beyond this enthusiasm shared by a part of the public, within the broader war of opinion experienced by the great allies of the Turks in the West, a mostly pessimistic and negative opinion prevailed, as well as a high general contempt for the conflict, especially in England where, unlike the control that the Second Empire maintained over the media, disheartening and unpleasant information circulated more freely..

⁴⁸ E. Lacan, *Esquisses Photographiques...*, op. cit., pp. 98-99.

⁴⁹ A.S. Ionescu, «Szathmari: from a War Photographer...», op. cit. cit., p. 83.

⁵⁰ *Il Fotografo, Giornale Illustrato*, Milano 1855 (Year 1). The newspaper was also distributed in Tuscany, Modena, Parma and the Papal States.

Similarly, while Szathmari's album circulated between the narrower circles of the aristocracy and the courts of powerful Europeans, the photographs of Fenton's album circulated beyond these spheres and in a broader and somewhat more popular way became part of the bourgeoisie of the most important European capitals, starting from London and Paris. As a result, although it was Szathmari who was the true pioneer of war photography in the context of the conflict between the Russian and Turkish Empires, it was Fenton's photographs and his artistic work that eclipsed this early participation and made Crimean photoreportage the first photoreportage in history.⁵¹

3. Szathmari was the first war photojournalist in history?

Of the early use of daguerreotype and calotype in relation to war events, and of the renewed interest of artists in the use of these techniques during conflicts, conceived as great historical events, are an example: the aforementioned cases of the daguerreotypes of the war between the United States and Mexico, between 1846 and 1848, the daguerreotypes of the barricades during the revolution of 1848 in France, those made by the hobbyist doctor and photographer John McCosh during the Second Anglo-Sikh War (1848-1849), the callotypes after the defense of the Roman Republic of 1849 by the photographer Stefano Lecchi and, subsequently, those of the Burmese war, even closer to the conflict in Crimea, between 1852 and 1853, always made by McCosh himself⁵². In fact, these conflicts dispute each other for the place among the first *photoreportages* in history, just as their artists dispute each other for the place of the first photojournalists in history.

But before establishing one of these photographic registers as the first war photo reportage, one must take into account the elements that during the Crimean War make the work of their *war artists*, starting from that of Szathmari, if not the first examples of photo reportage, certainly a very modern version of the relationship between photography, dissemination of

⁵¹ G. Cojocariu, *Carol Popp De Szathmary, The First War Photo Reporter, A Pioneer Of Photojournalism*, «Economics, Management and Financial Markets»; Woodside 6, N.º 2, (Jun 2011): pp. 907-915.

⁵² Some of these photographs are kept in the online collection of the National Army Museum in London: <https://collection.nam.ac.uk/detail.php?acc=1962-04-3-294>

news and the growing interest of the public in obtaining the news and images directly from the battlefields.

Diffusion. Regarding the relationship between the production of photographs and the diffusion of them in other visual media, such as lithographs and albums⁵³, but above all in the illustrated newspapers able to involve a very large audience, it must be remembered that it was the conflict in Crimea «the first war in which journalists and photographers had attempted to capture events in ways that had not been possible before and which set a new pattern for reporting war»⁵⁴. In volume 27 of *The Illustrated London News*, which includes the issues from July to December 1855, there are numerous shots taken by Roger Fenton, adapted in the *London Staff* through the technique of woodcut on head wood. Along with each of these images is the text that explains Fenton's work and the importance of the character depicted. After that, some of these photographs were part of the exhibition dedicated to *the Wars of the Orient* of the Universal Exhibition in Paris in 1855.⁵⁵, and in the following year an exhibition was again held in London dedicated exclusively to Fenton's work, "under the royal patronage of Her Majesty and with the approval of the commanders-in-chief", and the illustrated album of the war went on sale.⁵⁶ This phenomenon is intertwined with another contemporary, namely the relationship between the illustrated means and the telegraph, a communication tool that from the beginning of the war, after a few months, significantly improved the speed in circulating the news, giving that sense of immediacy of information, which until now had never existed.

During the Crimean War the news traveled even faster, thanks to the telegraph lines built from time to time to connect the zones of the fighting to the European capitals. At the beginning of the Crimean

⁵³ M. Bianchi (curated by), *Arte e arti. Pittura, engraving and photography in the nineteenth century*, Milano, Skira, 2020.

⁵⁴ Janina Struk, *Private Pictures Soldiers' Inside View of War*, London, Routledge, 2011, p. 41.

⁵⁵ Ernest Lacan, *Esquisses Photographiques a propos de l'Exposition Universel et de la guerre d'Orient*, Paris, Grassart, 1856.

⁵⁶ *Exhibition of the Photographic Pictures taken in The Crimea, by Roger Fenton-Under the especial patronage of her MOST GRACIOUS MAJESTY and with the sanction of the Commanders-in-Chief, The Gallery, 53, Pall Mall, printed for Thomas Agnew and Sons, 1856. Royal Collection Trust.*

campaign the quickest news could reach London in five days: two for the crossing on steamboats in Balaklava in Varna, three to arrive with messengers on horseback to Bucharest, the nearest telegraph station. From the winter of 1854, after the French built a telegraph in Varna, a news could reach its destination in two days; at the end of April 1855, when the British laid a submarine cable between Balaklava and Varna, the information arrived in London in a few hours⁵⁷.

The relationship between photographs and the public. The numerous formats and public spaces in which the photographs circulated, not only of Fenton, but also of the various English and French photographers, contributed, on the one hand, to the increase in public interest, and on the other, to configure their memories. In addition, he conditioned the attitude of viewers towards clichés, directing their gaze towards the understanding of every single photograph as a faithful copy of reality and what happened. This helped to affirm photography as an "autonomous visual support with extraordinary power in evoking vague and powerful expectations of progress and in dynamizing the processes of industrialization, commercialization and massification of visual consumption.»⁵⁸.

In this context it is important to underline that the Universal Exhibition of 1855 was an opportunity for the most important American and European photographers to present their works and to confront the singularity and novelty of the photographs of Szathmari and Fenton, including Jean Batiste Louis Gros, Gustave Le Gray and André Adolphe Eugène Disdéri⁵⁹. Among them, also the French, rooted at that time in Italy, Alphonse Bernoud⁶⁰; the

⁵⁷ Although, as Figes himself observes, "the telegraphs were intended for military use; journalists were not allowed to clog the lines with long reports, so a time interval was created between the receipt of the titles of a report, which arrived in the editorial office by cable, and the complete reportage, which would arrive by steamship. This often caused fake news». O. Figes, *Crimea...*, op. cit., pp. 316-317.

⁵⁸ G.L. Fruci, A. Petrizzo, *Visuality and great media transformation in the long nineteenth century*, in V. Fiorino, G.L. Fruci, A. Petrizzo (eds.), *Il lungo Ottocento e le sue immagini, Politica, media, spettacolo*, Pisa, Edizioni ETS, 2013, p. 12.

⁵⁹ Ernest Lacan, *Esquisses Photographiques...*, op. cit., p. 43.

⁶⁰ Ivi, p. 146

Italians Pietro Dovizielli and the Alinari brothers⁶¹; finally, the American photographer Levi Hill⁶².

In this way, the English and French illustrated newspapers, spread throughout much of Europe, and the first exhibitions, soon revealed themselves as fundamental spaces in which photographs circulated and artists exchanged forms of observing reality through the lens. A set of elements articulated in this way is not traceable in previous conflicts. As for the war between the United States and Mexico, some sources report an anonymous photographer who managed to shoot a series of fifty daguerreotypes covering a wide range of subjects, from portraits of generals and infantrymen to landscapes and scenes of places intended for the burial of the dead after the fighting. Some of these images are available in the *Amon Carter Museum of American Art*, such as that of *the General Wool and staff in the Calle Real* in Saltillo, Mexico, where you can see the effort by the photographer to capture moving images⁶³. But in any case, it is difficult to know the degree of circulation of these daguerreotypes, since there are no records of additional lithographs or lithographic albums, in which they may have been disseminated. In addition, the first American illustrated newspapers such as the *Frank Leslie's Illustrated News Paper* and *Harper's Weekly Journal of Civilization*, date back to 1855 and 1857 respectively, thus restricting the possibilities of circulation of these photographs. A similar case was that of the callotypes concerning the Second Anglo-Sikh War (1848-1849) and the Burmese War (1852-53), whose images once made by McCosh, did not have a great circulation either in other formats, or in illustrated newspapers, remaining as silent iconographic vestiges and subsequently as important visual registers of a documentary nature.

On the other hand, there are the photographs in Rome in 1849 made by Stefano Lecchi, a pupil of Daguerre, and which circulated in some lithographic albums. Among these, the one composed of the "forty-one salted cards bound in an album and originally belonging to Edward

⁶¹ Ivi, p. 108.

⁶² Ivi, p. 52.

⁶³ S. Oliver Debroise, *Mexican Suite: A History of Photography in Mexico*, Texas, University of Texas Press, 2001, p. 164.

Cheney»⁶⁴. In general terms, however, "there are no precise data on the number of photographs that made up the reportage nor on their diffusion and their economic evaluation: only a few but significant indications on the circulation of these images in a precise Garibaldian context thanks to the memory of Jessie White Mario and thanks to the discovery of the photographs that belonged to two men of '49: Agostino Bertani and Alessandro Calandrelli»⁶⁵.

Indeed, Lecchi's photographs were taken in the aftermath of the fall of Rome, on July 3, in such a way that rather than making a widespread reportage during the conflict, he notes the intention to keep the consequences in light through the ruins and to leave a testimony of what was the defense of the republic⁶⁶, unlike the daguerreotypes in the aftermath of the barricades perceived, by the many people who had in their hands the July 1, 1848 edition of *L'Illustration Journal Universel*, as a more immediate account of what happened⁶⁷. So, more than in the genre of reportage, and beyond the documentary ambitions, these images are then part of those first efforts that would have shaped the ways of recording the war and interacting with the public only after the events that involved first Szathmari and then Fenton to take the role of the first war photojournalists in history. Szathmari was the first to elaborate an accurate collection of photographs, the circulation of his album during the following years and his participation in the Universal Exposition had that impact on the public of immediacy and storytelling *in real time*. Fenton, completed that work in the

⁶⁴ M.P. Critelli, «Roma 1849: Stefano Lecchi The first war reportage", Ministry for Cultural Heritage and Tourism Activities, Library of Modern and Contemporary History, The Getty Research Institute, in: <https://www.movio.beniculturali.it/bsmc/stefanolecchi/it/22/il-reportage>.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ C. Bertolotti, «The ruins of the Republic. Reportage, view and religion of the tombs", *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome - Italie et Méditerranée modernes et contemporaines*, 130-1, 2018, pp. 97-104. In this article readers will also find the numerous iconographic documents made with the occasion of the defense of Rome, the motif of the "ruins of Rome" made in the aftermath of the end of the republican experience, and the subsequent multiplicity of iconographic devices made after 1870 that connected that past with the present of the new pan-Italian political reality.

⁶⁷ M. Pizzo, «Risorgimento ruins: images of the Rome of the 1849», in https://stage.modaliamedia.it/gds/wp-content/uploads/2020/04/05_PIZZO-Rovine-risorgimentali-immagini-della-Roma-del-1849.pdf

Crimea and through the dissemination of his photographs on the pages of European illustrated newspapers, as well as on the various photographic exhibitions that contributed, moreover, in the following years, to configure the memory of the conflict, especially among the English public and French of the second half of the nineteenth century.

Hernán Rodríguez Vargas - PhD in Literary, Linguistic and Historical Studies of the University of Salerno. Colombian lecturer trained at the Pontifical Universidad Javeriana in Bogotá, where he completed two degree courses and a master's degree course. He graduated in Philosophy (2013) and literature (2014). He then obtained a master's degree degree in History (2016) and the thesis was published in April 2018. The book *Siete Mitos de la Independencia de la Nueva Granada* (Editorial Javeriana) is being published. He is currently a post-doctoral fellow at the Italian Institute for Historical Studies Benedetto Croce.



Figure 1. Carol Pop Szathmari, *The Oltenitza Quarantine*, 1854, carta su albumina, 13.3x22cm, Private collection of Dr. Adrian-Silvan Ionescu http://www.luminous-lint.com/app/vexhibit/_THEME_War_Earliest_01/6/25/12150342389871279906/



Figure 2. *The Illustrated London News*, «Prince Gortschakoff commander in chief of the Russian army in Crimea—from a photograph by M. Szathmari» novembre 3, 1855, p. 528.

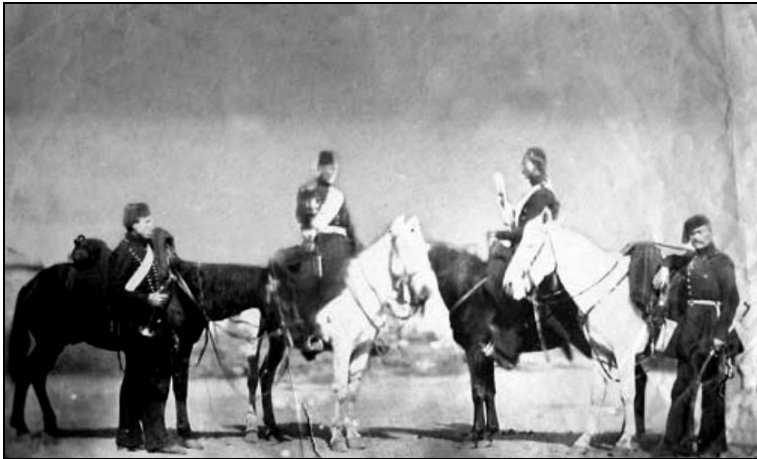


Figure 3. Carol Pop Szathmari, Turkish cavalymen, 1854, carta su albumina, 13.3x22cm, Private collection of Dr. Adrian-Silvan Ionescu http://www.luminous-lint.com/app/vexhibit/_THEME_War_Earliest_01/6/25/12150342389871279906/



Figure 4. Carol Pop Szathmari, Tranchtengruppe in Campulung, 1866, carta su albumina, 29.7x36.4cm, Colonia, Agfa Photo Historama, <http://www.zeno.org/Fotografien/A/Szathmari,+Carol>



Figure 5. Royer Fenton, *Reverend Mr Butler and officers of the 47th Regiment*, carta su albumina, 14.4x18.9cm. Fenton exhibition catalogue, no. 38, 1855. London, Royal Collection Trust.

<https://www.rct.uk/collection/search#/8/collection/2500443/reverend-mr-butler-and-officers-of-the-47th-regiment>

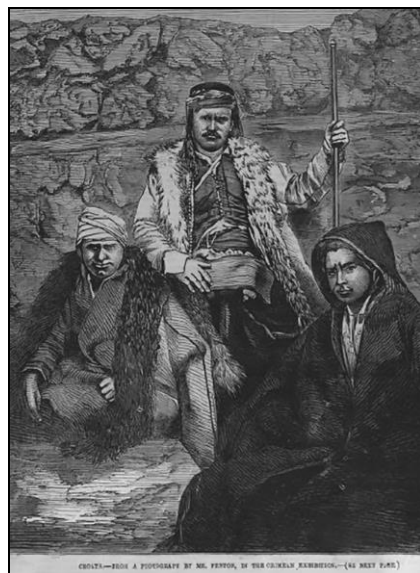
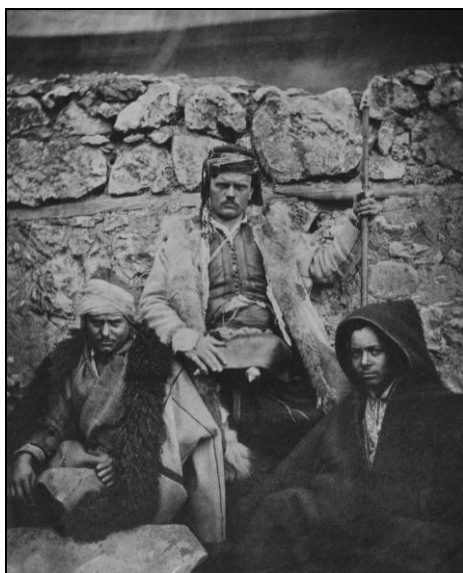


Figure 6. A sinistra: Royer Fenton, *Group of Croat Chiefs*, carta su albumina, 19.3x15.6cm. Fenton exhibition catalogue, 1855. London, Royal Collection Trust. A destra: The Illustrated London News, «Croats» 29 dicembre 1855, p. 754.

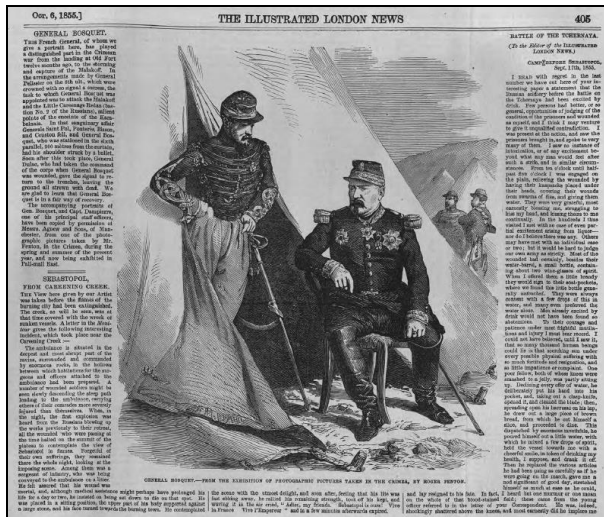


Figure 7. *The Illustrated London News*, «General Bosquet-From the Exhibition of Photographic Pictures Taken in Crimea, By Roger Fenton» 6 ottobre1855, p. 528.



Figura e. *Roger Fenton*, General Bosquet giving orders to his staff, 1855, carta su albumina, 15.8x15.5cm, London, Royal Collection Trust. <https://www.rct.uk/group/421/content/collections/photographs-collection/record-of-historical-events/general-bosquet-1>



Figure 9. *Royer Feton*, Council of War held at Lord Raglan's Headquarters the morning of the successful attack on the Mamelon, *carta su albumina*, 14.4x18.9cm. *Fenton exhibition catalogue*, 6 giugno 1855. London, Royal Collection Trust. <https://www.rct.uk/collection/themes/exhibitions/roger-fentons-photographs-of-the-crimea/the-queens-gallery-buckingham-palace/council-of-war-held-at-lord-raglans-headquarters-the-morning-of-the->



Figure 10. *Royer Feton*, Photographic Van, *carta su albumina*, 17.4x15.9cm. *Fenton exhibition catalogue*, 1855. London, Royal Collection Trust. <https://www.rct.uk/collection/2500439/photographic-van>