The Life of Mario von Bucovich: Perils, pleasures, and pitfalls in the history of photography

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Mario von Bucovich was a successful and prolific early to mid-twentieth century photographer whose existence was, like many in his cohort, peripatetic. Remnants of his oeuvre are readily found on the internet, as scores of his prints and postcards are reproduced and offered for sale, especially his portrait of Marlene Dietrich. Bucovich himself was apparently camera-shy.   Highly unusual for someone in his field, there are few if any self-portraits. He was captured at least once as part of an informal group, but no photograph of him alone has yet emerged. Despite the persistence and wide circulation of his photographs and writings, there has been limited interest in Bucovich, which may reflect a somewhat ungenerous assessment. Until now there has been little effort to detail and interpret his career. Although many of his portraits, landscapes, and urban photos are not notable, he was a creative and talented photographer. He also took the initiative, as few photographers did, to produce books of his photographs dedicated to New York and various European cities. In a privately published volume of 1935, intended to simultaneously de-mystify and elevate photography, Bucovich was unusually reflective about his views on photography and his own practice of the craft. But he reveals almost nothing of a personal nature beyond his life in the studio behind the lens.

  Both authors of this article, before learning of each other's work--coming from German Studies and Jewish Studies, respectively--were struck by the disparity between

the quantity and quality of the material legacy of Mario von Bucovich, and the lack of a substantial biography. Even more intriguing, to both, were the contradictions and inconsistencies in the few biographical statements about his life. There was little agreement about where he was from, and where and when he practiced. His personal life was a jumble. He was married to at least four women, possibly without having been legally divorced from one before moving on to the other. The wives of Bucovich are themselves enigmatic.

Todd Heidt, upon discovering a file about Bucovich in the Berlin State Archive, was struck by how difficult it was to pin down the biography of this prominent, reasonably public person--whose attempt to gain naturalization in Germany left a substantial body of documents. It was paradoxical that such a record did not yield a coherent biography. Michael Berkowitz was likewise frustrated, upon reading the articulate, formidable professional creed of Bucovich, that there seemed to be no solid body of information about so substantial a figure in the world of photography.

Berkowitz believed it likely that Bucovich was Jewish, or of Jewish origins, because his career as a photographer seemed to follow a pattern established and followed by other Jewish photographers. He operated in a network that was, if not explicitly Jewish, very Jewish-friendly. Chief among the factors that indicated Bucovich's possible Jewishness is the fact that he apparently left Germany almost immediately upon the Nazi takeover of power in 1933 and never returned. His last residence was an area of Mexico City known for being an enclave of refugees, the most famous of whom was Leon Trotsky.

It may be argued that the photographer H. W. Barnett, who was born in Australia as a child of a Jewish couple originally from London, and who later emigrated to London, established a pattern for scores, if not hundred of Jews who worked as studio

photographers in Britain in the early twentieth century. The only aspect of Barnett's life

that departed from most of his successors is that he did not pass his business on to a

younger generation of his own family.   He had no known offspring. (Bucovich, too,

had no known children.) Taking the long run of Barnett's career as a template,

nevertheless, there are several aspects of it that would distinguish Jewish

photographer/entrepreneurs in Britain---which was followed by Mario von Bucovich.

    The first is the sexualized dynamic of the profession—as mainly it was Jewish men

taking pictures of non-Jewish women. But there was more of an allowance for women

in the profession than many others, as Barnett himself, at least briefly, had a female

collaborator. Second: it always helped to have connections to official circles. Barnett

surely used his foothold from Downeys, a leading London firm, to ingratiate himself

with aristocrats. He charmed his way into the court of St. James itself, and became an

intimate among the royals and their set. The intimacy of the photographer/sitter

relationship, especially one that persisted over time, was a factor that contributed, as

well, to the rise and effectiveness of Jews as press photographers. Third: Given the

rapid advance of technologies, which usually meant that costs were lowered for an

increasingly improved product, it was sensible for a photography studio to be

aggressive in expanding its offerings and clientele, as did Barnett. He served an elite

but did business with the broad middle classes. He took pictures of the rich and

famous--politicians, artists, writers, and entertainers, while he also sold their pictures to

those who were neither rich nor famous.   He offered other types of photographic

services too, such as reproductions and enlarging, to all levels of society. Fourth:

Typical of others in this group, conceived diachronically, Barnett expressed sympathy

for free expression in almost every respect, and favored a broad, rather than narrow

concept of art and aesthetics. He followed convention to a great extent but he also saw

himself as progressive, but even more so, modern. He pushed the boundaries—while

still making a good living. Fifth: The image he promoted of himself was that of a good

local and national citizen, and subject of the monarchy and empire, but also an upholder

of universal values. He was aggressively cosmopolitan, in the sense that he would learn

from, and take the best from the quickly evolving photographic realm. Last, and perhaps

most important: Barnett did not see any contradiction between being a businessman, an

artist, and a promoter of a specific artistic vision.   His studio was the font of his

livelihood, and he deserved to make a good living. He was practicing a skilled craft,

which some would call art yet it also, unequivocally, had a constructive social and

economic function. Like Stieglitz, he strove for photography to be respected as both

dignified labor and art.[i]

   Bucovich's career in many respects followed the model established by Barnett.

Bucovich, the son of an Austrian naval officer, was born in the port town of Pula

(contemporary Croatia) on 16 February 1884.[ii] The evidence of Bucovich's Jewish

origins is circumstantial. The title *Freiherr* or "Baron" as well as the nobiliary particle

"von" was bestowed upon his father, August von Bucovich, in 1891. Being raised into

the nobility was common practice in the late decades of the Hapsburg Empire. August

von Bucovich may have received the title upon receiving an adequate rank within the

navy. His highest rank appears to have been *Korvetten-Kapitän*, or lieutenant-captain.

In addition to this service, the title may have derived from August receiving a

commission for construction for the Austrian royal family (1890-92),[iii] or possibly when

a family livery business was incorporated into a system of public transport in Vienna.[iv]

Following his death in 1913 at age sixty-one, August Freiherr von Bucovich was buried

in the immense Döblinger Friedhof (cemetery),[v] which at that time held a significant

minority of Jews.[vi] One of its famous occupants was Theodor Herzl (1860-1904), until

his remains were reinterred at Mt. Herzl, Jerusalem in 1949.

Mario von Bucovich experienced a life marked by the many ruptures of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Bucovich started out life enjoying the comfort and luxury of the late Hapsburg nobility and military class. Even as a young man, Bucovich traveled extensively throughout Europe and even to North America.[vii] And yet the new possibilities of modernity, the mobility it offered (both geographic and socio-economic) and the technologization of modern life are inextricably bound up with the violence of both World Wars, fascist and communist revolutions across Europe, and the shifting geographic boundaries as well as ethnic and political identities in this new age.

What is most impressive is the ability with which Mario von Bucovich learns to capitalize on this shifting terrain of identity politics in modernity. From one station to the next in his travels, Bucovich performs public and artistic identities which garner him access to patronage, entry to socio-economic echelons of social influence and economic power, and introductions to artistic communities capable of lending him cultural capital. The indeterminacy of Bucovich's identity (Austrian or German? Jewish or Gentile? Italian or Austrian? Member of nobility or not?) thus forces Bucovich the historical figure to all but disappear. Indeed, hardly any images of him exist, reinforcing his spectral presence in photographic history. His brief time in London is marked, however, by a number of departures from his normal patterns of insinuating himself into the artistic, social and publishing realms he moved in with such ease, and therefore underscores his flexibility and facility in performative self-presentation.

Given his extensive travels, fluency in several languages and birth in an Empire shattered into several countries following World War I, it is no wonder that so much disagreement over his nationality exists.[viii] A gallery handling one of his most famous photos identifies him as "actually an American"[ix]—perhaps explained by his early

travels to New York City (1909-1910), his reportedly impeccable English, and his ease of movement in the English-speaking world.[x] He also is referred to as Croatian[xi] – likely a reference to his birth in Pula, which belonged to the Austro-Hungarian Empire at the time of his birth in 1884, not Croatia. In an official British record he is referred to as an "Italian national"[xii] – which he became following World War I and the remapping of Austro-Hungary in the Treaty of Trianon in 1920.[xiii] But the omissions and contradictions themselves are telling. The strongest evidence of Jewishness is his career path and geography.

Pula, Bucovich's birthplace, was the main port of the Austro-Hungarian Navy where his father was stationed. Tracing the path of so many influential visual artists of the period, his travels led him to the beacons of European modernity. He lived in New York, St. Petersburg, Paris, Vienna and London. He settled in Berlin in 1922, and took over the Atelier [Karl] Schenker in 1925, establishing himself as a professional photographer seemingly for the first time.[xiv] In Berlin he took photographs of a number of celebrities and film stars which appeared in publicity and postcards,[xv] but much of his work seems to be unattributed. Among his sitters were Leni Riefenstahl, at age twenty-five, posing as a dancer,[xvi] the Jewish screen siren, Eilsabeth Bergner,[xvii] and Marlene Dietrich. Not surprisingly, the actors he shot included some like Harry Liedtke (1882-1945), whose career in German film flourished prior to and during the Third Reich, and Kurt Gerron (1897-1944), who was gassed at Auschwitz.

Bucovich left Berlin abruptly around the time of the Nazis' rise to power. Having settled in the city while it was fairly stable, Bucovich apparently intended to stay put. In January 1929 he initiated the process of applying for German citizenship. The requirement to pay back taxes and other issues prolonged the application process, as did several trips to Spain. In letters to the authorities, Bucovich's tone sounds sometimes

desperate to accelerate the process. Progress on the application stalled on something of

a technicality in mid-1929: the question of whether or not Bucovich's noble title would

be preserved if he were awarded German citizenship. In a series of bureaucratic notes

reminiscent of the works of Franz Kafka, Italy is unable to confirm if Bucovich's

Austro-Hungarian title of Baron is legal in Austria or Germany, but reports that it

appears acceptable in Italy. Reflecting an underlying uncertainty, however, Italian

officials requested a genealogical report and confirmation of the title to document the

legitimacy of Bucovich's noble status. Bucovich apparently never sent this information

to the authorities. At this point, the clear decision by the German government is to

invalidate his title, and further correspondence addresses him only as "Mario

Bucovich."

   After over one year of silence, Bucovich writes in July 1931 withdrawing his

application. Moreover, this letter appears on personalized letterhead with what appears

to be a new permanent address in Paris.[xviii] The historical context of this application

and Bucovich's eventual capitulation provides a clear reasoning as to why a left-wing,

potentially Jewish artist would vacate Berlin and Germany. During this period from

1929 to 1931, the world economic crisis sets in and the NSDAP make significant gains

in German parliament. Nazi brownshirts also initiated a culture war by means of

'censorship of the street' in protests against pacifist and left-wing films, most notably

the Hollywood production of *All Quiet on the Western Front*. Perhaps it was the

increasing economic instability, coupled with the rise of fascism in Germany, which

motivated Bucovich to move on. What's more, soon after Paris, Bucovich relocates to

Spain on the eve of the Spanish Civil War. [xix]

   After brief stops in London and New York, he lived the last few years of his life in

Mexico City, apparently close to Trotsky's final home. The fact that Bucovich's wife

(the last of at least four) worked for the British Intelligence service during the Second World War may help explain why the paper trail for both Mario von Bucovich, and Fiona (nee Macbeth) Bucovich, is so limited.   Bucovich's third wife, Renee, also might have had something to do with espionage.[xx] His second wife, Anna von Bucovich (who kept the name after their divorce) went on to work for the US State Department's Office of War Information in the International Broadcasting Division. She wrote and broadcast propaganda to the women of conquered Germany in their own language.[xxi]

   The name "Fiona Macbeth," that of Mario's widow, could be a partial or total concoction. Perhaps Mario, too, was a spy or counter-spy. He certainly travelled a great deal and knew people in-the-know. Fiona was a "cipher officer" in Mexico City, beginning in 1942. It is not known if she was acquainted with Bucovich earlier. They married in 1946, at which point she "lost her British nationality," and resigned her intelligence post. But some months after Bucovich was killed in 1947, she wished to resume her career as a coder/code-breaker. She was allowed to regain her status as a British national, but the documents reveal little about her or her late husband. [xxii]

   One of Bucovich's shorter stays was in London in 1934-1935. Despite the brevity of this period, he quickly became part of the establishment, and even much beloved. Hence he can be rightly seen as a London photographer. The chief way that his career reflected that of Barnett is that he served a large number of artists, writers, actors and actresses, aristocrats, royals, and hangers-on. His career also included periods in Ibiza, New York, Washington, D.C., and Mexico City. But there were two notable wrinkles in Bucovich's repertoire.   As opposed to mainly discussing his craft in photography journals and news articles, he self-published a profusely illustrated book about his own photographic practice.

Hence Bucovich's time in London marks a transition period for him in a number of ways. Bucovich had previously published in a variety of formats. Like many photographers of his day, he participated both in high-brow photographic circles, attempting to legitimize the new medium as an art in its own right, as well as publishing in clearly commercial venues in order to make ends meet. His work was widely broadcast in illustrated magazines of the day such as *Uhu*, *Der Querschnitt* and other popular publications.[xxiii] Meanwhile, he had taken over the Atelier Schenker, and was likely producing portraits for a middle- and upper-class clientele there. He also produced two photobooks for the short-lived Albertus-Verlag in the *Gesicht der Städte* series.[xxiv] Geared toward tourists (both domestic and international) to the buzzing metropolises of Berlin and Paris, these books appear to be Bucovich's first forays into urban photography. Simultaneous with these commercial projects, Bucovich published photographs in and juried photographic contests for *Das deutsche Lichtbild*, an annual publication trying to promote photography as art. Others active in this publication include luminaries such as Laszlo Maholy-Nagy as well as *Reichskunstwart* (Imperial Art Supervisor) Dr. Edwin Redslob. Hans Windisch, editor of both *Das deutsche Lichtbild* and the *Gesicht der Städte* series, could perhaps have served as the connection bringing Bucovich into both circles. Bucovich's wide-ranging connections and participation in circles such as fine art and popular press makes him rather typical for the era. Photography in 1920s Berlin was "open to new talent, even from among the lower classes or ethnic outsiders like Jews…." Publishing houses hired freelance photographers, remunerating them on a per-image basis. The result was that "many photographers easily moved in and around journalism, advertising, and art, personifying the blurred lines that the medium itself signified."[xxv] Regardless of Bucovich's background, he participated in professional and social milieus in which Jews featured

prominently. Photography offered upward mobility to many into a social elite as the medium gained cultural capital in the early 20th century.

During his last years in Berlin, Bucovich started regularly visiting Spain. After a brief period in Paris, he settled in Spain in 1932, where publication strategies seemed to stay consistent with those in Berlin.   He published in the illustrated press and sold images for use by the budding tourism industry in need of visuals for brochures and other advertisements.[xxvi] Here too he held exhibitions of his work and seemed to quickly gain a foothold in the local arts community. The modernist paper *Mirador* published reviews of his works in 1933 and 1934, and Bucovich started writing his own reflections on photography during this period as well.[xxvii]

Thus, after Bucovich arrives in London, it is remarkable that he seems to focus so clearly on portrait photography and self-publishing. His *100 Photographs* is the first of a series of self-published works. The later *Manhattan Magic* and *Washington, D.C., City Beautiful* would continue Bucovich's preference for self-publishing. During his time in New York, Bucovich also had a studio on Lexington Avenue and advertised his portrait services in *The New Yorker*, perhaps looking to duplicate the strategies developed in London to New York, attracting a wealthier clientele.[xxviii] After settling in Mexico during his last years, he published a series of folios of color lithographs. Collectively titled *México lindo,* these images concern mainly landscape photography as well as an almost ethnographic perspective on the Mexican people and mark a decided turn away from his fascination with the modern metropolis in *Berlin*, *Paris*, *Manhattan Magic*, *Washington D.C., City Beautiful*, and even his introductory remarks in *Photographs*.

During his time in London, perhaps he found portrait photography and self-publishing more lucrative, perhaps Bucovich simply appreciated the freedom associated

with such independence.[xxix] In either case, he effectively networked with British

society, perhaps even trading on the currency of his own "nobility" (which was,

apparently, only questionably valid) in order to gain access to these upper echelons of

society. Presenting himself as a gentleman photographer, he could at once serve this

population while legitimizing his own presence in their company. Straddling both

worlds – providing a service, yet also "one of them" – Bucovich's greatest achievement

in London may have been to successfully leverage his nobility and social graces to gain

access to the private, even intimate, sphere associated with portrait photography. Such

stratification was, of course, rather foreign to the other cultures in which he had worked.

Both Germany and Spain in the 1920s and early 1930s saw the chaotic reshuffling of

social boundaries, shifting gender roles, upward mobility and the reduction in

importance of the noble classes following World War I. London, however, presented a

very different cultural context. What better way to further establish himself in Britain's

cultural and artistic landscape than by seeking out the patronage of the nobility?

   It should come then as no surprise that Bucovich's *Photographs. 100 Selected Prints*

published in London should respond to that context. The epigraph of the book was

supplied by "Violet Duchess of Rutland," Marion Margaret Violet Manners [nee

Lindsay] (1856-1937), arguably one of the most artistically talented aristocrats of her

time. Mario Bucovich, she wrote,

>   in finding expression for his artistic sense in the camera, has employed a broader
>
>   canvas for his genius than is possible for his fellow-artists in paint and pencil. For
>
>   he has taken the world as his background and all the men and women in it as his
>
>   models. Here he catches the strength of the wind, at play in the full-blown sails of a
>
>   yacht--there the secret of a soul in the droop of a woman's hand. *A wanderer across*

continents, with a tripod for an easel, with a plate for a palette, Mario Bucovich has

brought craftsmanship to photography and technique to the photograph. (emphasis

added)[xxx]

Violet Duchess of Rutland had sat for Hayman Selig Mendelssohn in 1892,[xxxi] as she

did for Bucovich decades later on numerous occasions. Her description of Bucovich as

"a wanderer across continents" alludes to a Jewish background, as in polite society one

would not directly identify someone as a Jew. There are more substantial Jewish

connections in Bucovich's set. He was close to the actress Constance Cummings (nee

Halverstadt), who was long married to the playwright and screenwriter Benn Levy.[xxxii]

At least one of his wives, Anna von Bucovich (nee Kirstein) was Jewish, and fled

Germany to join Mario in Spain when her father's publishing house was "Aryanised" by

the Nazi regime in 1933.[xxxiii]

And yet, the Duchess's description fits Bucovich regardless of his background. He

had, indeed, by 1935 wandered several continents, having lived in North America,

Europe and Asia (as a prisoner of war in Siberia during World War I). Of course, the

phrasing echoes the "wandering Jew" stereotype, even if in a manner which is not as

derogatory. Bucovich worked in a thoroughly "Jewish profession," photography, and

came into his own in a time and place (Berlin in the 1920s) known for a preponderance

of Jewish practitioners. Aside from marrying at least one Jewish woman, he was well

connected in Jewish social and cultural circles in several of the cities in which he lived.

Yet there is no hard evidence that he was, in fact, Jewish. His family history only

muddies the waters. His Eastern European name and roots would not be out of place in

a Jewish family history. Moreover, conversions to Catholicism were commonplace for

Jewish families seeking upward mobility. A Captain Bucovich is listed as piloting a

ship for the Austrian Lloyd company in 1838, long before the liberalization of laws

concerning Jews in the Austrian Empire following the failed revolutions of 1848.[xxxiv] It

is not hard to imagine that this is a grandfather, and that August von Bucovich followed

in his father's footsteps and entered a career in the Navy and later at Austrian Lloyd's.

This nearly guarantees that the family was not Jewish, or at the least had converted to

Roman Catholicism generations before Mario's birth.[xxxv] The more significant question

at hand may not have to do with Bucovich's Jewishness (or lack thereof), but with

Bucovich's self-presentation. Is it possible that Bucovich exploited the cultural

purchase on Jewish artists and photographers at this time to his advantage? Did

Bucovich present himself as a member of the nobility, a cosmopolitan, a modernist and

a Jew in the social and cultural circles he penetrated in each country? Or, more likely,

did Bucovich manipulate this mixture of attributes to his advantage in each context?

This would, of course, turn many of our notions of Jewishness in modernity on its head,

from the trend toward assimilation in Central Europe to the coming persecution and

Holocaust. Was it actually possible that Bucovich sought to identify as Jewish because

it contributed to (not decreased) his measure of cultural and social capital?

  That Bucovich would have impressed a woman such as the Duchess is

understandable, given that he was, in fact, dignified and intelligent (regardless of how

Bucovich may have presented his socio-economic and ethnic background). His

integration of photography in the world of art was a continuation of the approach of

Barnett, yet his theoretical, long-term historical perspective bears some resemblance to

Walter Benjamin's thoughts about relationships between traditional art works and

photography. His conclusions, though, are not nearly as pessimistic as those of

Benjamin.

  In Bucovich's early photographic practice his subjects were overwhelmingly women,

and many of his pieces currently seen on the internet are nudes. In his "expression on

beliefs and opinion," Bucovich writes that "I consider portrait photography to be the

highest level of photographic achievement, and I believe a priori that a good portrait

photographer should also be a good landscape artist." Both had their challenges, but his

preference was clear: "Nothing is more extraordinary, nothing can be more interesting,

even exciting, than the infinitely varying charm of the human face. Therefore nothing

presents more problems for the portraitist. . . ." Writing in 1935, similar to Barnett,

Bucovich argued against an idealized view of feminine beauty:

> The "beauty" of to-day seems to me to the multiple expression of the infinity of our
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> emotional life, and with all due respect to the old Greek canon implanted in the
>
> human brain some 2,500 years ago, I must confess to preferring to the regular shape
>
> of a Greek Venus the fascinating face of a modern woman whose pretty, large,
>
> unevenly shaped eyes are curiously looking into the latest sporting news, whose
>
> small retrousse nose smells the latest perfume from a Paris creator, and whose mouth
>
> may be a trifle larger than the austere Greek canon would have allowed.[xxxvi]

    While *Photographs* features only a few nudes, he often eroticizes his female

subjects. Bucovich has clearly delineated aesthetic practices for photographing women

versus men which fall in the mold of Barnett and others, recapitulating the sexualized

dynamic between male, Jewish photographers and female sitters of this era. Many of

Bucovich's portraits of women frame the subjects in a bust, revealing the head and

shoulders. The background is plain, and Bucovich creates a soft line at the bottom,

which allows the image to slowly transition from clearly focused portrait to a field

which matches the background. He explains his approach in saying that "the spirit of

photography is suited to simplification, anything superfluous being harmful on technical grounds alone."[xxxvii] The subject of the portrait should be unfettered by unnecessary distractions in the studio, in regards to clothing and in the portrait itself. In his portraits of women, the framing suggests nudity, with bare shoulders and a seemingly suggestive transition to inspire the imagination of the (presumably male) viewer.[xxxviii] Some portraits of women clearly include clothing, but this often comes in the form of a costume, suggesting an exoticised image of a foreign woman, or a masquerade. For example, actress Anna May Wong is photographed in traditional Chinese silks and "Young Woman of Ibiza (Balearic Islands)" is photographed in a traditional black gown and black headscarf. Bucovich features three images of Mrs. Mary Booker, one suggesting nudity, and two in which Booker dons costumes. Booker appears alternately in Ibizan costume and in a seemingly sheer shawl wrapped around her head and shoulders, carefully placed to reveal her shoulders and back but which obscures the skin on her breasts. The most erotically charged image, "Study of two Heads" may represent a lesbian encounter and is composed in Bucovich's nude style. One woman is reposed, her head slightly raised as if on a pillow; the second faces her from above as though to lie down upon her. Some portraits are more mundane, such as "Mrs. Pamela Nairn, London," an older woman who appears haughtily reserved in her hat and coat. The majority of Bucovich's portraits of women vaccilate between the suggestive nudity Bucovich praises as removing distractions, and the cultural appropriation or exoticisation by means of ethnic costumes.

Portraits of men, however, operate according to a different set of aesthetic guidelines. Again, exoticised foreign men are eroticised. A Javanese dancer, for instance, appears posed, nearly naked save a loin cloth in a full frontal shot (67). The dancer stares intensely into the eyes of the photo's viewer, and his supine, S-shapen

body extending from his hand held above his head to his feet strikes the viewer as a seductive pose. An image of a "Manchu" is framed as Bucovich's images of women are framed, with only the bare skin of the head and shoulders showing (95). The only Western man to appear in Bucovich's typically eroticized style is the "Honorable David Herbert" (76). His portrait is a head shot which frames out even the shoulders, most closely approximating Bucovich's portraits of women. All the other portraits of men (22 images) feature men wrapped in sartorial power. Politicians, writers, artists, nobles and more appear in crisply pressed suits, most often looking directly out at the viewer of the photograph. Alternately, men are presented in the raiments of their professions. Chef Francis (Francois) Latry is photographed in his chef's coat and toque (84), and Commander Michael Wentworth is photographed in his naval uniform (80). The images of Mr. Bruce Winston (90, 91) are more playful and posed, clearly falling into Bucovich's third class of photographic subjects, who "will sit down and subconsciously take on an expression which they can assume at will" (n.p.). Winston sits in one image with a curled upper lip, looking the very epitome of a curmudgeon, and in the next as a respectably haughty gentleman.

Seeing himself as an artist, Bucovich placed himself along a continuum with the ancients but soundly rejected the racial notions of absolute symmetry and idealized proportions as consistent with "beauty," perhaps reflecting or mimicking Jewish attempts at assimilation in the early 20th century. Instead of beauty, truthfulness was the photographer's ideal. In pursuing this aim, the photographer gives artistic expression to the characteristics of the subject, the soul of the subject. He also noted David Octavius Hill (1802-1870), the Scottish photographer, as one of his forebears: "I believe in photography as an art. Hill, the first great pioneer, who was a painter, made the first artistic portraits in photography."[xxxix]

Along with an introduction that revealed his erudition and intellectual bent, Bucovich expounded on his professional experience in a "Concise Treatise on Practical Photography with Special Reference to Portraiture."   The main point was to guide an amateur photographer to take better pictures, to assist someone trying to turn their hobby into a profession, and generally, to demystify photography.   Bucovich's underlying aesthetic – if not political – bent comes to the fore as well in this treatise. After discussing "the studio," in which he advocates modesty and comfort, and "cameras and lenses," Bucovich elaborates on "Posing," which offers insight into how he deals with different types of clients.

Bucovich organizes his clients into three groups, active, passive and indifferent. The active sitters will "subconsciously taken on an expression which can be assumed at will, and which may not in any way resemble their normal expressions." Passive sitters do not really wish for their photo to be taken, and is "very liable to assume an expression of almost boredom." Yet indifferent sitters are ideal as they are "not sufficiently vain to assume any expression which is not natural to him".[xl] The background to all of these, the shades of difference between good sitters and bad sitters to Bucovich, seems to rest primarily on a sense of authenticity of expression, and therefore authenticity of self-presentation to the camera. The indifferent sitter is ideal not because he or she is most cooperative. In fact, Bucovich notes that the indifferent sitter "is interested in getting the proceedings over as soon as possible." This sitter is ideal in that she or he bears a "natural and unaffected" expression.[xli] In attempting a more dispassionate, clinical overview of "Posing," the way he dealt with the "beautiful" subject is omitted by Bucovich.   He does not explicitly talk about "posing" women. If Bucovich argues against an idealized view of feminine beauty, this manner of natural and unaffected self-presentation takes its place.

Where he takes the greatest pains to separate himself from convention is in remarks on "Retouching and Material." The point of retouching for Bucovich is to correct "defects in material, impurities, unevenness of tone and similar faults."[xlii] Here, again, he takes up the cudgels of Barnett against the standard practices of British photographers, especially those who specialize in "society." For Bucovich, "it is contrary to the very nature of photography to modify its true records by artificial means...." for "once it is begun there is no knowing where it might end."[xliii] The highest ideal is the authenticity of the image, not the retouched beauty one can massage out of a sitter and the technological processes of photographic reproduction. Bucovich indulges in an almost moralistic argument against retouching, for the temptation to push it too far will be unavoidable once one begins to use these tools. To manipulate images in such a manner is to "spoil the work of the camera, which is in itself the means of getting the most correct representation."[xliv] The power of the camera stems from its ability to capture the world mechanically, accurately and honestly. The truthfulness of the image is the source of its beauty. The "unevenly shaped eyes" and "small retrousse nose" amount to something of a Barthesian punctum.[xlv] For Barthes, the punctum is "that accident which pricks me (but also bruises me, is poignant to me)."[xlvi] Notably, Bucovich's punctum lies precisely in the physical imperfections of his sitters, honestly captured in both the enframed image of the natural and unaffected self-presentation of the sitter as well as in the subsequent lack of retouching of the photograph.

The honesty of the image and the accurate representation of the sitter is the goal, "whether [the characteristics of the sitter] are to his advantage or not...."[xlvii] Bucovich positions himself in essence as a sort of anti-Galtonian, hailing imperfection to the denigration of Greek ideals of beauty, at a time when an anti-modern aesthetic of racial purity expressed in art is sweeping Europe in the form of fascist cultural policy. The

timing of this book and this treatise becomes thoroughly politicized with reference to Germany. Just six years prior, Bucovich had been applying for citizenship in Berlin. Having now fled (and aided his Jewish ex-wife, Anna von Bucovich, nee Kirstein, to flee), Bucovich seems to be indicating he cannot return.

Two events infamously frame the publication of this treatise in 1935 in Germany. Bucovich's focus on a manner of "warts and all" truthfulness stands in direct contradiction to the visually striking images of German bodies gracing the silver screen in 1935 by one of Bucovich's former sitters: Leni Riefenstahl. Her film of the 1934 Nazi party rally, *Triumph of the Will,* was released in March of 1935. Toward the end of the year, at the 1935 Nazi Party Rally in September, the Nuremberg Laws were ratified. Against this backdrop, one must ask: Is Bucovich's clear stance on truthfulness in visual representation of his sitters in his treatise meant to take on political and aesthetic contours of progressive resistance against fascist politics and aesthetics? Given the dearth of information on Bucovich, it is challenging to make clear judgments of his political leanings, or on the bearing of politics on his art. But the coincidence of these events in 1935 is striking, as is the fact that Bucovich soon fled Europe altogether to the safety of North America, where he would live out the rest of his days.

Bucovich took the path of many fleeing artists and intellectuals at the time, relocating to France by July 1931 and continuing westward to Spain, England and North America.[xlviii] Bucovich did set out on this path somewhat earlier than many compatriots; perhaps he was simply more observant or pessimistic (and rightly so, as history would demonstrate) than his contemporaries who waited until 1933 to flee. Peter Jelavich has convincingly argued for a realignment of the narrative of the Nazi rise to power, particularly with reference to the effects upon the cultural spheres in which Bucovich was active. Jelavich places emphasis on the election of 14 September

1930, which saw the NSDAP emerge as the second most powerful party in the

Reichstag. "Many sectors of German society had reason to fear these results, not least

the purveyors of Weimar culture."[xlix] Jelavich details the Nazi assault on artists and

artworks in every conceivable medium from film to radio to painting and architecture.

Nazi leadership in individual states had already begun this process. Now, "Emboldened

by their electoral victory of 14 September [the Nazis] became even more aggressive."[l]

That Bucovich would flee early precisely because of the Nazi rise to power in 1930 is

not inconceivable, and certainly not for a man who lived in several countries, married a

Jewish woman, and moved in Jewish, left-wing intellectual and artistic circles.

Moreover, such an understanding of Bucovich as both a photographer and a person

meaningfully contextualizes his newfound interest in publishing this treatise on

photographic praxis based on a celebration of human imperfection, honesty in

representation (as opposed to Nazi manipulation of media) and so forth.

   Perhaps most significantly, Bucovich turned his diasporic existence to his advantage

by published photographic books about the places he lived and visited, including Ibiza,

Paris, Berlin, Washington, and New York.[li] He published a few of his books more-or-

less himself. He was, then, at the forefront of what may be termed 'photography

publishing.' This would emerge as a coherent segment in publishing only in the late

1930s, and then, mainly under the auspices of émigrés and Jews. His photographic

survey of Manhattan was historical as well as personal. Bucovich had lived in the city

for a time as a young man with his first wife in 1909-1910.[lii] Bucovich returned in 1935

to a new city. The intervening years had seen the erection of the Woolworth Building

(1913), 40 Wall Street, the Chrysler Building (both 1930) and the Empire State

Building (1931). Bucovich's awe is palpable in his *Manhattan Magic* (1937).

Every New Yorker, from the president of a huge concern down to the sidewalk street

hawker, from the artist to the motorman driving a subway train through a dark tunnel

at tremendous speed, will express his feeling toward the city vehemently, although

with far different views. There will be little of the tenderness of the Austrian who

speaks of Vienna as "my Vienna," yet you will find in the feelings of New Yorkers

the passionate devoted love and attachment of men who have fought hard for their

property. And *all* the millions of little human beings have some share and part in the

realization of this dream built in granite.[liii]

The emphasis is Bucovich's, on *all*. In 1937 it is clear that his point of reference

remains the divisiveness of Europe, especially Central Europe under the Nazis. He saw

New York City as an entity completely distinct from the old world and casts this unity

in an unexpected manner.

Our few records of Babylon give only an obscure vision of that city. Even

if it were as our imagination conceives it to have been, there is the striking fact

that for 3000 years nothing has been created approximating the daring venture

realized in Manhattan.

The achievement of Manhattan lies in the two-fold success which eluded Babylon. The

well known legend is normally a sign of the weakness of civilizations, the tendency to

find difference and then burst asunder at these fault lines of difference. The

introduction of various languages by God was intended to curb mankind's hubris, thus

undermining the technical achievement of a tower reaching to heaven. In Bucovich's

retelling, New York's technical achievement is encapsulated within a discussion

predicated on his focus on *all* New Yorkers, as "The collective will, in the short span of three centuries, has erected the most fabulous city known to man." Bucovich's focus on the collective will echoes left-wing political discourse, and his polemic seems to be aimed squarely at the Europe of 1937. Bucovich, as an immigrant himself, must certainly have had the ethnic, national and perhaps even racial diversity of New York City in mind when composing this essay, yet it is the "collective spirit which had erected buildings of over 50 stories in height, towers ranging over 1000 feet...." In today's terms, Bucovich's essays in his London and New York books would be in praise of diversity. It is the inclusive nature of New York City, and it is the common vision of all New Yorkers which together have succeeded in turning the curse of Babel into an overpowering strength of will and innovation, into the "dream built in granite" that is New York City.

He idealized New York but did not make that great an impression there. Despite attempts to insinuate himself into the arts scene, including advertisements for his portrait services in *The New Yorker*, Bucovich never attained the quick and easy mobility within the highest echelons of American society as he did in London.[liv] Bucovich seemed most at home in England—indeed, during his few years in New York city, he went back to England several times.[lv] It is not clear what came first: his relationships with people as sitters or friendships. For instance, he was a guest at the country home of Henry Tiarks in Chislehurst, Kent, "the day after the polo tournament."[lvi] Bucovich was in the company of another guest recalled as "Prince Metternich," most likely Paul Wolff Metternich (1853-1934), a German ambassador in London. Metternich is now recognized for his outspoken protest against the Turkish 'destruction' of the Armenians in the Great War.[lvii] Tiarks also was photographed by Bucovich, with his picture appearing in his volume, *Photographs*.[lviii]

Through his life and geographic wanderings, Mario von Bucovich carved a circuitous path which presents something of a mise-en-abyme of modernity. The forces of geo-political change wrought by World War I reoriented Bucovich's national ethnic (and perhaps, religious) identity, underscoring the problematic nature of European Nationalism.[lix] Throughout his life, he lists conflicting information on ship manifests. In 1909, he lists his nationality as Austrian, yet his ethnicity as German, an indication of the growing nationalist movements on all sides of the empire that would erupt in World War I. After World War I, he was an Italian national and only then lists his ethnicity as Austrian. Inexplicably, he even self-identifies as "Magyar" on a 1937 ship manifest. His self-stylization as a noble allowed him to present the patina of Old World European distinction, one that is used right up to his death notice in a Mexican newspaper in 1947.[lx] Yet this is a title issued by a no longer extant empire. After 1930, it is quite clear to Bucovich that the title is not officially recognized by any country. Apparently born Roman Catholic, he moves in Jewish circles, takes up a "Jewish" profession – photography – and marries at least one Jewish woman. And yet his own ethnic identity is not definitiely revealed.

The coordinates of his travels and the dossiers of various governments, however, tell only part of the story. His writings on photography and photographic praxis reveal a deeper engagement with the issues at hand. Perhaps Bucovich's obfuscation was a purposeful exercise in undermining nationalistic and racialized discourses. The essays in *Photographs. 100 Selected Prints* and *Manhattan Magic* can be destilled down to three interlocking themes. Bucovich focuses on both authentic self-presentation by the sitter which eschews classical notions of beauty by highlighting human imperfection. As to the responsibility of the photographer and developer, Bucovich seeks honest

representation by refusing to retouch images. Lastly, Bucovich praises the collective

diversity of New York as a victory of Babylonian cooperation, inverting the traditional

legend's moral. In light of these foci, his slippery identity opens up to more than one

possibility. Was Bucovich something of a conman, looking to perform those identities

which would gain him the greatest currency in a particular socio-economic and cultural

sphere? Or was Bucovich's self-presentation a playful, purposeful and informed

embodiment of modern liberal politics which sought to undermine European

Nationalism run amok during a period of rising fascism?

It is Bucovich's very indeterminacy along each of these identificatory axes

(nationality, nobility, religion) which characterizes him. Provided such raw material,

Bucovich morphs in each place to match the context. Embodying the new identity

politics of modernity, Bucovich at once participates in these spheres, and yet adheres to

none of them. Leaving behind a rich visual legacy of so many countries, Bucovich has

managed to disappear behind the camera. Perhaps that was his intention—and

pedagogical mission—all along.

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[i] See Michael Berkowitz, *Jews and Photography in Britain* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2015), pp. 51-2.

[ii] *Gothaisches genealogisches Taschenbuch der freiherrlichen Häuser*. 34. Jg. Gotha: Justus Perthes, 1893. This is also corroborated by the application for German citizenship Bucovich submitted in Berlin in January 1929. This application is currently housed in the Landesarchiv Berlin. APr. Br. Rep. 030 - 06 Nr. 9865.

[iii] An interesting description of a rare late 19th century Neapolitan, bronzed and decorated side cabinet, by A. Caponetti, for the Achilleion Palace, Corfu, dated 1891, indicates a role of an 'August Frieherr von Bucovich' who coordinated a project in Corfu, at the Achilleion Palace, for Her Majesty the Empress Elizabeth (Sisi) of Austria (1837-1898); see www.bonhams.com/eur/auction/12066/lot/228/ [accessed August 2011].

[iv] *Wiener Zeitung*, Number 220, 25 September 1912—FirmprotoKollierungern, at http://onb-ccs.dlconsulting.com/cgi-bin [accessed February 2011].

[v] "Kleine Chronik," Wien, 21. Jan., *Wiener Zeitung*, Number 17, 22 January 1913, previously available from FirmprotoKollierungern, at http://onb-ccs.dlconsulting.com/cgi-bin [accessed February 2011].

Now available via ANNO: http://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno?aid=wrz&datum=19130122&seite=3&zoom=33

vi Because no record remains of his grave, it is possible that his headstone was among those destroyed or removed, as there was extensive vandalism during Nazi times and afterwards.

vii Ironically, Bucovich himself reports his timeline incorrectly in his application for German citizenship of 1929 as compared to his academic records from the Technikum Mittweide, today known as the Technische Hochschule Mittweida. Whether he was truly confused – and given his tremendous travels this is not hard to believe – or whether he was attempting to hide something remains to be determined.

viii Bucovich claimed fluency in German, English, French, Russian, Italian and Spanish. See Eckardt Köhn, " 'Ich bin teuer.' Wer war Baron Mario von Bucovich?" *Foto Falle,* num. 1, 2014. pp. 45-6.

ix Website of Charles Schwartz Ltd, New York: www.iphotocentral.net/search/detail.php/1/0/1920/1939/770/9221/3 [accessed Feburary 2011].

x Upon arrival in the United States in 1909 (aboard the "Alice"), from Trieste, Bucovich's immigration form states that his nationality is "Austria, German"; see www.ellisisland.org/search [accessed February 2011].

xi Josep Clara, "La Girona de Marius de Bucovich," in *Revista de Girona*, num. 191, novembre-desembre 1998, p. 48, identifies his birthplace as Pola, or Pula, in Croatia, available at: www.revistadegirona.cat/recursos/1998/0191_047.pdf [accessed Feburary 2011].

xii Fiona Bucovich, application for naturalisation, FO 204/665, *NA*.

xiii See his application for German citizenship, APr. Br. Rep. 030 - 06 Nr. 9865 Landesarchiv Berlin.

xiv Bucovich's circuitous path can be read in his file for citizenship in the Belriner Landesarchiv, and is recounted in Köhn, "'Ich bin teuer,'" pp. 12-15.

xv There is an increasing number of his postcards available on internet sales sites; see, for example: cinemaplayerspostalantiquities.com/RossVerlag4821-1.html, filmstarpostcards.blogspot.com/2011/02/werner-fuetterer.html, www.rarepostcard.com/index.php?main_page=product_info&products_id=7551 [accessed February 2011].

xvi Website of Charles Schwartz Ltd, New York: www.iphotocentral.net/search/detail.php/1/0/1920/1939/770/9221/3 [accessed February 2011].

xvii This is one of the more informative sites: rosscards.com/Photographers.html [accessed August 2011].

xviii See Bucovich's application for citizenship in the Berliner Landesarchiv for these letters.

xix Rolf Sachsse, "'Dieses Atelier ist sofort zu vermieten', Von der 'Entjudung' eines Berufsstandes," in *'Arisierung' im Nationalsozialismus: Volksgemeinschaft, Raub und Gedächtnis: Jahrbuch 2000 zur Geschichte und Wirkung des Holocaust, Fritz Bauer Institut*, eds. Irmtrud Wojak and Peter Hayes (Frankfurt and New York: Campus, 2000), p. 281.

xx "Subject: Frederick Duquesne. Section: 5," Federal Bureau of Investigation, Freedom of Information/Privacy Acts Section, available at:

http://www.scribd.com/doc/91244367/FBI-File-Duquesne-Frederick-Section-5 [accessed August 2013]; many thanks to Todd Heidt for sharing this information.
[xxi] See *Register of the US State Department*, Washington, D.C.: US Government Printing Office, 1947, pg. 62, available at https://archive.org/details/registercontaini1946unit [accessed June 2014]. See also "'Voice of America' Tells German Frauleins of Life in Democracy," *The Herald Statesman*, Yonkers, NY, 17 August 1945, pg. 11, available at http://fultonhistory.com/newspaper%2010/Yonkers%20NY%20Herald%20Statesman/Yonkers%20NY%20Herald%20Statesman%201945%20Grayscale/Yonkers%20NY%20Herald%20Statesman%201945%20Grayscale%20-%202645.pdf [accessed June 2014]. This AP Wire story was picked up and run by numerous papers around this time.
[xxii] Unsigned letter from British Embassy, Mexico City, to H. Jones, Esp. M.B.E., Personnel Department, Foreign Office, London, 2 April1947; Fiona Bucovich, application for naturalisation, FO 204/665, *NA*. The situation was precipitated because one of the current operators for the embassy/intelligence outfit wished to return to England for personal reasons, and Mrs. Bucovich would be able to take her place immediately. The letter specifies that copies of Mrs. Bucovich forms are enclosed— which would have provided essential information—but these are not in the file.
[xxiii] For an excellent and easily accessible overview of Bucovich's work for the illustrated press during his Berlin years, see http://www.illustrierte-presse.de/. This fully searchable website is dedicated to digitalising the illustrated press of Germany during the interwar period.
[xxiv] For a history of the *Gesicht der Städte* series and the Albertus-Verlag, see: Roland Jaeger, "Ein Bilderkompendium aller Weltstädte," *Autopsie. Deutschsprachige Fotobücher 1918-1945*, ed. Manfred Heiting and Roland Jaeger, vol. 1 (Göttingen, Steidl, 2012), pp. 202-217.
[xxv] Eric Weitz, *Weimar Germany. Promise and Tragedy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton UP, 2007), pg. 214.
[xxvi] Köhn, "Ich bin teuer" 31.
[xxvii] Many thanks to Humberto Huergo for information regarding Bucovich's time in Spain. Bucovich's writings from this period include: "Reflexions d'un fotògraf". *D'ací i d'allà*, 172 (primavera 1932), n.p.; "Reflexiones de un fotógrafo". *Las Cuatro Estaciones*, 2 (junio 1935): n.p. (a translation into Spanish of the preceding article); "Sobre fotografía". *Mirador*, 16 de febrero 1933: pg. 7; "Viatge a Eivissa', *Esplai*, 141 (12 de agosto de 1934), pp. 383-384; "Elogio de Barcelona. Impresiones de un extranjero", Barcelona Atracción, 262 (abril de 1933), pp. 106-107.
[xxviii] See "Goings on about Town," *The New Yorker* on dates 23 November – 28 December 1935, appearing on page 6 in each issue.
[xxix] The economic questions loom large in Bucovich's life. As early as 1910 he started leaving a trail of unpaid bills in his wake. As a student at the Technicum Mittweida he purchased clothing and camera equipment on credit, but left the university (and the country) without settling those debts. Collectors started contacting the university looking to settle his account, but to no avail. See his student records housed archive of the Hochschule Mittweida, Studentenakte T-08722, Zeugnisbuch 4X, 31. Bucovich struggled to pay his taxes in the late 1920s in Berlin. See his application for citizenship housed in the Berliner Landesarchiv, especially the pages hand-numbered 14-15 and 26-29.
[xxx] Bucovich, *Photographs*, epigraph.

xxxi K. D. Reynolds, "Manners , (Marion Margaret) Violet, duchess of Rutland (1856–1937)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Oct 2005; at http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/49527 [accessed July 2011].

xxxii K. D. Reynolds, 'Manners, (Marion Margaret) Violet.

xxxiii Köhn, 35.

xxxiv *Handels- und Seeberichte des Österreichischen Lloyd*, vol. III, num. 42, 26 May 1838, n.p., available from the Austrian Naitonal Library digital collections, http://anno.onb.ac.at/anno-suche/.

xxxv Bucovich indicates his religion as Roman Catholic on his citizenship application housed in the Berliner Landesarchiv.

xxxvi Bucovich, *Photographs*.

xxxvii "Concise Treatise", n.p.

xxxviii Indeed, throughout the introductory essay and the "Concise Treatise" Bucovich only uses masculine pronouns; it is rather clear he envisions artists as men, not women.

xxxix Ibid.

xl Ibid.

xli Ibid.

xlii Ibid.

xliii Ibid.

xliv Ibid.

xlv Ibid.

xlvi Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida. Reflections on Photography*, trans. Richard Howard (New York: Hill and Wang, 1981), p. 27.

xlvii "Concise Treatise", n.p.

xlviii Bucovich withdraws his application for German citizenship in July 1931 with a letter on personalized letterhead listing an address in France. See the dossier in the Berliner Landesarchiv for this document.

xlix Peter Jelavich, *Berlin Alexanderplatz. Radio, Film, and the Death of Weimar Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), p. 116.

l Jelavich, p. 117. Jelavich goes on to argue that in 1931, Weimar culture—in the sense of works which were "formally innovative and socially critical"—would be on its last legs, and and that "by 1932, 'Weimar culture' had died." See pp. 240, 241

li Mario Bucovich, introduction by Paul Morand, *Paris* (Berlin: Albertus-Verlag, 1928); Mario von Bucovich, preface by Alfred Döblin, *Berlin* (Albertus-Verlag, 1928); Mario von Bucovich, *Manhattan Magic: A Collection of Eighty-Five Photographs* (self-published, printed in Philadelphia by the Beck Engraving Company, 1937); *Washington, D.C.: city beautiful* (self-published, printed in Philadelphia by the Beck Engraving Company, 1936); Mario von Bucovich, *Berlin 1928: Das Gesicht der Stadt*, preface by A. Döblin, afterword by H. W. Klunner (Berlin: Nicolaische Verlag, 1992). Sabine Hake appears to rely on Klunner's misinformation in the partial reproduction of *Berlin 1928*, stating "The reprint contains only 107 of the original 254 photographs included in the 1928 edition published by Albertus-Verlag"; Sabine Hake, "Visualising the urban masses: modern architecture and architectural photography in Weimar Berlin," in *The Journal of Architecture*, volume 11, number 5 (2008): 523-30. The original contained 256 photographs.

lii Ship manifests indicate that Bucovich arrived in New York City on 17 November 1909 aboard the *Alice*. Documents available at http://www.libertyellisfoundation.org/. [accessed 19 December 2014]. He is also listed on the 1910 census as "Mariusde

Bucovich." The Latinized version of his name "Marius" is used occasionally on documents throughout his life, and the nobiliary particle "de" is seen on documents as well. Records available at https://familysearch.org [accessed 19 December 2014].

liii Bucovich, *Manhattan Magic*, "Foreword."

liv Bucovich rented space at 687 Lexington Ave. and advertised "Portrait art-prints by Baron Mario Bucovich" throughout November and December, 1935. See "Goings on about Town," *The New Yorker* on dates 23 November – 28 December 1935, appearing on page 6 in each issue. There are also mentions of Bucovich attending society parties in Bar Harbor in *The New York Times*, but this hardly matches the roll call of nobles, magnates and others Bucovich accessed in London.

lv Bucovich traveled back and forth annually it seems. Ship manifests indicate Bucovich arrived from England in 1935, 1936 and 1937. It is unclear how much of the year he was spending in England and how much in the US. Manifests available at http://www.libertyellisfoundation.org/ [accessed 19 December 2014].

lvi Personal communication with Tony Allen, on behalf of the Duchess of Bedford, the daughter of Henry Tiarks, 30 October 2009.

lvii Der Botschafter in außerordentlicher Mission in Konstantinopel (Wolff-Metternich) an den Reichskanzler (Bethmann Hollweg), letter of 17 Februar 1916, available at: www.armenocide.de/armenocide/armgende.nsf/0/9FFF537AB97410BDC1256AD700358C5D?OpenDocument [accessed August 2013].

lviii Bucovich, *Photographs*, no. 86.

lix Throughout his life, he lists conflicting information on ship manifests. While he was an Italian national, he alternately lists "ethnicity or people" as German or Austrian, even at one point as "Magyar" in 1937. www.familysearch.org.

lx See Köhn, "Ich bin teuer" 47.