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# Photography and the Imperial Austrian Expedition in Nagasaki (1869-70)

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Throughout the latter decades of the nineteenth century, European photographers of various nationalities visited Nagasaki. Apart from the occasional intrepid commercial photographer, several talented practitioners arrived in the historic port as part of the well-organised expeditions that regularly passed through the region. Ever since the American daguerreotypist Eliphalet Brown found his place aboard the 'black ships' of Commodore Perry, few expeditions failed to make provisions for photographers and their requisite provisions. This article examines the role of photographers of the Austrian *Mission to East Asia and South America* (k. k. *Mission nach Ostasien und Südamerika*) on their brief visit to Nagasaki in late 1869. The Austrian Empire was slow to join the rush of nations lining up to demand preferential treatment from the *bakufu* authorities. Long after the diplomatic expeditions of the other treaty power nations had completed their negotiations, the Austrian naval vessels *Donau* and *Erzherzog Friedrich* embarked from Trieste on October 18<sup>th</sup>, 1868.<sup>1</sup> The mission was well stocked with the latest photographic equipment and included several officers with experience in the medium.

The high position granted photography on the mission was due to the efforts of the explorer and scholar Count Karl von Scherzer (1821-1903).<sup>2</sup> A member of the Photographic Society of Vienna, Scherzer had contributed a collection of eighty photographs to the inaugural Photographic Exhibition in Vienna of 1864. This portfolio consisted of ethnographic studies and views of Asia, Australia and South America compiled on his first voyage around the world in 1857-59.<sup>3</sup> It was primarily due to his efforts that the mission secured the talents of the professional photographer Wilhelm Burger (1844-1920).<sup>4</sup> Although still a young man of twenty-three years, Burger had already proven himself an adept outdoor photographer. In the summer of 1866, he took numerous scenic views near the alpine town of Salzkammergut, which later gained him honourable mention at the Paris Universal Exhibition of 1867. Of the five thousand guilders allocated in the expedition budget to photography, Burger spent eight hundred on the requisite chemicals and equipment and received two hundred per month for his services.<sup>5</sup> The photographer's fifteen-year old assistant from Altaussee, Michael Moser (1853-1912), also joined

him on the expedition.<sup>6</sup> Moser had proven his worth as a photographic assistant during his master's earlier photographic tour at Salzkammergut. In addition to these official photographers, the expedition also included the talented artist Baron Eugen von Ransonnet (1838-1926).<sup>7</sup> He sketched almost one third of his two hundred landscape and ethnographic studies completed during the voyage in Japan. Despite his preference for the traditional media of the sketch artist, he also had a strong practical and experimental interest in photography. Before the voyage, Ransonnet had been involved in the research of colour photography and photolithography.<sup>8</sup> As with the earlier foreign expeditions to Japan, the association of traditional and modern reprographic techniques was all-important to the expedition's visual imagery.

After a twelve-month voyage, the Austrian frigate *Donau* finally sailed into Nagasaki harbour in early September 1869. During a ten-day sojourn, what activities did the expedition members undertake in the historic port? What did the photographers of the mission accomplish during their visit? As their first port-of-call in Japan, Nagasaki offered the visitors numerous attractions and advantages. Due to its historical significance as a trading port, the township was well stocked with traditional artefacts for sale in the merchant stores. Apart from establishing diplomatic and trade relations with East Asia, the Austro-Hungarian mission collected a vast array of scientific and cultural materials during their three-year voyage. According to a letter from Karl von Scherzer addressed to the *Museum für Kunst und Industrie* (the present day *Museum für angewandte Kunst*), the expedition received several traditional art objects from the Nagasaki-based Austrian merchant Max Militzer.<sup>9</sup> In addition to these gifts, Scherzer also made clear his intention to forward other items to the museum:

In addition, I have the honour to forward with the next post a number of photographs of Chinese art objects, which constitute the beginning of an album of industrial arts. So far the photographer has succeeded in photographing some fifty objects in Shanghai and I hope that an opportunity will present itself to photograph still numerous more art objects with the wealthy *daimyos* in Japan.

[Ebenso werde ich eine Anzahl von Photographien chinesischer Kunstgegenstände, welche den Anfang eines Kunst-Industrie-Albums bilden, mit nächster Post zu übersenden die Ehre haben. Dem Photographen ist es bis jetzt gelungen, in Schanghai einige 50 Objekte zu photographieren u[nd] ich hoffe, daß sich in Japan bei den reichen Daimios Gelegenheit bieten wird, noch zahlreiche Kunstgegenstände photographisch aufnehmen zu können.]<sup>10</sup>

Despite the flotilla's embarkation for Japan, Burger appears to have remained behind in Shanghai and completed his assignment for the portfolio of applied arts. He travelled thereafter directly to Yokohama to rejoin the expedition, but soon after his arrival entered the International Hospital in order to recuperate from illness.<sup>11</sup> At the suggestion of Scherzer, Burger remained in Yokohama on the expedition's departure for South America, entrusted with a commission to photograph various Japanese art objects beyond the financial means of the expedition. As a journal column reported of these activities:

The most industrious and indefatigable photographer of the expedition, Herr W. Burger, is currently busy in Edo and Yokohama—two extremely profitable regions yet little exploited for the arts and crafts—taking similar photographs, and has obtained sole permission for this purpose to remain an additional several months in Japan. Since Herr Burger is not accompanying the mission to South America, but rather returning directly home from Yokohama, he will stay with the consent of the head of the expedition a few weeks in Hongkong and Canton in order to take many more interesting arts and crafts photographs.

Der sehr tüchtige und unermüdliche Photograph der Expedition, Herr W. Burger, ist soeben beschäftigt, in Jedo und Jokohama — zwei kunstgewerblich noch so wenig ausgebeuteten, äusserst lohnenden Gebieten — ähnliche Aufnahmen zu machen, und hat ausschliesslich zu diesem Behufe die Erlaubniss erhalten, noch mehrere Monate in Japan zurückbleiben zu dürfen. Da Herr Burger die k. und k. Mission nicht nach Südamerika begleitet, sondern von Jokohama aus direct heimkehrt, wird er mit Zustimmung des Herrn Chefs der k. und k. Expedition auf der Durchreise noch einige Wochen in Hongkong und Canton verweilen, um namentlich in letzterem Orte noch eine Anzahl kunstgewerblich interessanter Aufnahmen machen zu können.<sup>12</sup>

Although these passages overlook the ill health that prompted the photographer's extended stay in Japan, these letters suggest a sequence of events that reveal two important points. Firstly, Burger and Moser do not appear to have had sufficient opportunity to conduct photographic activities on the expedition's initial arrival in Nagasaki.



Figure 1. Wilhelm Burger, *Ansichten von Nagasaki*, 1870, wet collodion albumen photograph. Maps 8.d.24. By permission of the British Library.

They did not arrive aboard the flagship *Donau* in Nagasaki, but were detained in Shanghai with the crew of the *Friedrich*. Eager to rejoin the flagship, the vessel did not loiter en route to their rendez vous in Yokohama. Secondly, the contractual duties assigned to the photographer to document art objects appear to have monopolised much of his time. Left to his devices, Burger had ample opportunity once recovered from illness to build a portfolio of local views and genre photographs in various formats during his unexpectedly prolonged stay in Japan. Whereas his work in Shanghai had prevented him from travelling onwards with the expedition to Nagasaki, he had the opportunity to linger in the scenic port on the homeward leg of his journey.

Yet if Burger took few photographs on his outward voyage to Nagasaki, he certainly found an opportunity to return with his camera. As his surviving negatives and prints indicate, preserved in the picture archive of the Austrian National Library, he took numerous photographs in the historic port. Given the suggested itinerary, these photographs were most likely taken on his homeward journey and thus date from a few months later than previously thought. Only two large-format outdoor views of the harbour survive in the entire portfolio, however the erratic captioning of the images often complicates identification of the sites.<sup>13</sup> In a portfolio of seventy-two prints preserved in the British Library, one view survives bearing the cursive title “*Ansicht von Nagasaki*” (figure 1).<sup>14</sup> This rarity of outdoor views may correspond to the diminished status afforded the port with the eastward shift in political power resulting from the Meiji Restoration, however other more prosaic explanations are also possible. At the end of his visit to Japan, Burger may well have been short of the larger glass negatives used for his outdoor landscape photography (16.0 x 21.4 cm). Perhaps such a shortage is indicated by the photographer's use of a tannin dry plate in Nagasaki “which was prepared in Vienna and not exposed until nine months later in Japan.”<sup>15</sup>



Figure 2. Wilhelm Burger, *Ansichten von Nagasaki*, 1870, wet collodion albumen stereograph. Nagasaki University Library Collection.



Figure 3. Wilhelm Burger, *Ansichten von Nagasaki*, 1870, wet collodion albumen stereograph. Nagasaki University Library Collection.

Although there is some discrepancy as to the elapsed period of time, Burger was well known for his advocacy of this experimental dry plate technique.<sup>16</sup> Working with a Voigtländer-Petzval portrait lens, the required exposure time of seven minutes underscores the disadvantage of such early dry plate methods. In most cases, Burger made use of the conventional and generally more reliable wet-collodion process. His shift to the dry plate may suggest an experimental impetus but was more likely prompted by a shortage of materials.

In addition to these large format landscapes, two rare views of Nagasaki survive among a group of twelve stereographs in the archives of the Nagasaki University Library (figures 2, 3). Each of these stereographs identifies the photographer and the series with bilingual captions printed either side of the prints on the orange mounts. Below each print hand written captions identify the subject as “*Ansichten von Nagasaki*.” These two stereographs appear to be taken from opposite vantage points of the European quarter of the township, with the distinctive architecture of Oura Catholic Church in the foreground of one view apparent in the background of the other stereograph. In the first stereograph taken from Minamiyamate, the prominent foreground placement of the church spire and crucifix, rising above the settlement and bisecting the harbour beyond, serves as a dramatic

reminder of the port’s religious significance for early foreign missionaries. The theme of religious sacrifice and heritage rarely failed to receive mention in the travelogues of foreign visitors of the period. The stereograph from the opposite ridge of Higashiyamate presents a more conventional view along a major road of the European district of Nagasaki.<sup>17</sup> These views depict the church at an early stage in its construction, with the two minor flanking spires apparent in numerous later photographs not yet added to the façade.<sup>18</sup>

Given Burger’s stereographs of Japan are exceptionally rare, these two scenic views enhance the small oeuvre of works completed by the photographer in Nagasaki. However, these stereographs are not genuine prints taken with a stereo camera but reprints based on his standard views fabricated to mimic stereographs.<sup>19</sup> When viewed through a stereoscope, they fail to produce the three-dimensional effect that results from the use of a stereo camera. Burger’s kit therefore did not extend to the possession of this item of equipment. Nonetheless, these stereographs supplement the photographer’s few known outdoor works of Nagasaki, indicating that he produced more large-format topographical scenes than are currently documented. Whether large format or stereograph in format, however, these views represent only a small fraction of his entire output in the port.

On his homeward visit to Nagasaki, Burger not only arrived without his delegation but minus his long time assistant. Moser had decided to remain in Yokohama, finding work initially in a tavern before eventually securing a permanent post as staff photographer for the illustrated journal *The Far East*.<sup>20</sup> Although travelling in a private capacity, Burger nonetheless had certain advantages gained from his former expedition post. In Yokohama, Burger had secured the use of the studio of Shimooka Renjō 下岡蓮枝 (1823-1914) in order to assemble a portfolio of genre photographs. Similarly, Burger worked in the studio of the leading professional photographer active in Nagasaki, the renowned Ueno Hikoma 上野彦馬 (1838-1904). In both cases, the studios are identifiable through the props and settings familiar to their respective enterprises. The studio flooring, white classical column, and backdrop balustrade common to many works in the portfolio are well known to scholars of Ueno Hikoma. The surviving glass negatives of these studio-based subjects differ in size from the larger outdoor works (10.5 x 7.9 cm). Unlike the outdoor scenes, however, the studio-based works completed in the borrowed studio constitute a sizeable proportion of the photographer’s entire output in Japan. Many of these studies also formed part of the photographer’s published series of *cartes de visite*, cabinet cards and stereographs marketed on his return to Vienna.

Burger’s group portrait of seven young men bears the printed caption *Nagasaki. Doctoren aus dem Hospital* (figure 4). The relaxed, informal nature of the group belies the efforts of most nineteenth-century foreign photographers in Japan, suggesting that the studio’s



Figure 4. Wilhelm Burger, *Nagasaki. Doctoren aus dem Hospital*, 1870, wet collodion cabinet card. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Bildarchiv, Pk 4487, 74.

indigenous owner may well have assisted in the preparation of the portfolio. Burger may well have struggled to attract such a range of social groups before his camera without the efforts of the renowned local photographer. In my opinion, Ueno Hikoma's influence is apparent in the cordial, almost jovial manner in which the sitters interact before the camera lens. For instance, the manner in which the central seated figure clasps the lapel of his adjacent colleague represents a gesture of camaraderie rarely permitted in the carefully controlled studio portraits of foreign photographers. Each sitter adopts a pose that exhibits a self-confident assuredness reminiscent of the studio's finest group portraiture. Behind the scenes, Ueno Hikoma's influence permeates these group studies. The extent of his input is open to debate, but there are grounds—in the range of sitters, their apparent ease and comfort, and the lack of pretence—to assign him at least partial credit for the series. In Yokohama, Burger's studio work betrayed a general tendency to stage-manage each scene before elaborate theatrical props. By comparison, the Nagasaki portfolio retains a few familiar props that complement rather than entrap the sitters, enabling the display of their own personal quirks and poses before the camera. In general, photographic historians have been reluctant to grant authorship as a collaborative enterprise, especially in cases that obfuscate accepted cultural boundaries, however there are strong grounds to claim that the interaction between foreign and indigenous photographers was a major component in the flourishing of nineteenth-century photography in Japan. Nor were such professional contacts beneficial to the Japanese alone. As I have suggested, Burger's portfolio of studio portraits benefited not only from the loan of his indigenous counterpart's studio, but also from the latter's behind-the-scenes participation in the production of the series. Without Ueno's experience and prestige among his fellow residents of Nagasaki, the portfolio would have been greatly impoverished.

Ueno's association with the Austrian mission was

not limited to the foreign photographer's use of his studio. However brief the interaction between the two photographers, Burger and Ueno's professional association reflected a broader cultural dialogue fostered through the exchange of photographs. Through the use of Ueno's studio, materials, and not least subjects, Burger was able to return home with a sizeable portfolio that emphasised the foundations of Nagasaki society. Whereas one of his studio photographs in Yokohama depicted the legal process of the country in less than positive terms, with a detainee bound in rope before a judge, several works from Nagasaki, such as *Doctoren aus dem Hospital* and *Akademiker aus Nagasaki* (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Bildarchiv, Pk 4487, 39), refer to the intellectual traditions of the port city.

On his return to Vienna, Burger exhibited his portfolio of Japanese photographs on several occasions before an appreciative public. In the summer of 1870, a large exhibition of objects collected by members of the expedition opened at the *niederösterreichischer Gewerbe-Verein*. Among the hundreds of ethnographic items exhibited by the returned members, Josef Schmucker submitted "170 Stück Photographien von kunstgewerblichem Interesse aus Siam, China und Japan. Nach der Natur aufgenommen vom Photographen der Expedition Hrn. W. Burger."<sup>21</sup> For several years, Burger continued to benefit from the renown of his portfolio. He prepared a special deluxe album of ethnographic and topographical studies of Siam, China, and Japan, dedicated to Emperor Franz Josef. This important photographic album of the expedition, exhibited to the public at the *Museum für Kunst und Industrie*, remains in the possession of its institutional successor the *Museum für angewandte Kunst*.<sup>22</sup> On December 6, 1872, Burger also presented an album of one hundred and fifty photographs of art objects from China and Japan at a meeting of the Photographic Society of Vienna.<sup>23</sup> His photographs of East Asia also attracted considerable attention the following year at the Vienna World Exhibition.<sup>24</sup> Through such professional and public events, Burger promoted his series and its artistic merits to his compatriot audience eager for materials from the returned expedition.

Yet Burger did not have a monopoly on photographs of Nagasaki. At the same time, Ueno Hikoma became the first professional Japanese photographer to have his photographs exhibited overseas. Scholars have known for some time that the Japanese government included the photographs of Ueno Hikoma and Yokoyama Matsusaburō 横山松三郎 (1838-1884) in their official display at the Vienna World Exhibition in 1873.<sup>25</sup> However, Ueno's photographs were almost certainly exhibited three years earlier at the *niederösterreichischer Gewerbe-Verein*. Among those to display their possessions, Herr Ottokar Pfisterer donated an album described in the catalogue as "Ein Album mit Photographien (Ansichten von Nagasaki und Umgebung), aufgenommen von einem japanischen Photographen" (An album with photographs (Views of Nagasaki and Environs), taken by a Japanese photographer).<sup>26</sup> Not only

did the expedition's official photographer benefit from his indigenous counterpart's studio but prominent members of the crew also patronised his business and exhibited his work on their return home. Apart from those crewmembers with practical interests in photography, the donors to the exhibition indicate the broad appeal of photography among other members of the expedition as a mode of private visual commemoration. As an official of the Austrian Ministry for Trade, Pfisterer's ownership of the album may suggest a commercial impetus behind the acquisition of the item. Ueno's penchant for scenic views of Nagasaki often emphasise the port's thriving trade with numerous foreign vessels anchored in the harbour. The album therefore most likely highlighted the expanding opportunities for increased trade between the two countries. The traffic in photographs, however, was not solely in one direction. During their imperial audience in Tokyo, the expedition party presented the emperor with "...ein prachtvoll verziertes Album mit Photographien interessanter Personen, Städte und Gegenden in Österreich..." (...a magnificent decorated album with photographs of interesting people, cities and places in Austria...) <sup>27</sup> Photography therefore served several purposes at the official level of diplomatic exchange, as private mementoes of expedition members, as visual records of artistic objects destined for state collections, and as items of display for a curious public at home.

Wilhelm Burger has long been considered the key photographer of the Austrian Expedition to Japan in 1869-1870. His extensive collection of negatives and photographs held in the archives of the Austrian National Library provide ample testimony of his skills and deserved reputation as a major nineteenth-century travel photographer. However, the successful compilation of an extensive portfolio of photographs was rarely the product of a single diligent practitioner. In addition to Michael Moser's valuable assistance, other prominent members of the expedition such as Karl von Scherzer and Eugen von Ransonnet either actively supported or assisted his activities during the expedition. Assistance also could be sought onshore from local photographers and suppliers as the expedition travelled from port to port. In Nagasaki, Hikoma Ueno enticed some members of the party to his studio on the expedition's outward leg and provided vital support for its recently recovered travel photographer on his homeward journey. If Nagasaki had been the historic site of numerous foreign importations to Japan, including photography, the tradition of cultural exchange continued to characterise the port well after the Austrian mission's departure for South America.

## Notes

This paper is newly written after the International Conference on Research of Old Japanese Photographs at Nagasaki University.

All translations are mine unless otherwise indicated.

- 1 For the official account of the expedition, see Karl von Scherzer, ed., *Die k. u. k. österreichisch-ungarische Expedition nach Indien, China, Siam und Japan*,

- 1868-1871, 2nd ed. (Stuttgart: Julius Maier, 1873).
- 2 On Scherzer, see Gert Rosenberg, "Reise in eine ferne Vergangenheit," *Parnass: Die österreichische Kunst- und Kulturzeitschrift* (November-December 1983): 32-33, and *Österreichisches Biographisches Lexikon, 1815-1950*, vol. 10 (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1994), 93-94.
- 3 *Katalog. Erste photographische Ausstellung in Wien* (Vienna: Photographische Gesellschaft, 1864).
- 4 On Wilhelm Burger, see Gert Rosenberg, *Wilhelm Burger: Ein Welt- und Forschungsreisender mit der Kamera 1844-1920* (Vienna-Munich: Christian Brandstätter, 1984). Although this publication remains a key study, two subsequent unpublished works available in the Austrian National Library have furnished important additional materials: Peter Pantzer, *Das Japan-Tagebuch von Karl Ritter von Scherzer (1869)* (Vienna, 1985), esp. 35-41, and Astrid Pausz, *Die k. u. k. Expedition nach Ostasien zum Abschluss von Freundschafts-, Handels- und Schiffsverträgen*, Diplomarbeit (Universität Wien, 2001), esp. 90-99.
- 5 Wilhelm Burger, *Photograph und Maler bietet seine Dienste für die ostasiatische Expedition an*. Konzept Scherzers, Vienna (30 August 1868), 5. Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv, Handelsministerium, Präsidium 136, no. 514/1868, cited in Pausz, *Die k. u. k. Expedition nach Ostasien*, 91.
- 6 On Michael Moser, see Gert Rosenberg "Die steirische Heimat war doch stärker. Der Fotograf Michael Moser, 1853-1912." *Camera Austria*, no. 17 (1985): 33-42; and Timm Starl, *Lexikon zur Fotografie in Österreich 1839 bis 1945* (Vienna: Albumverlag, 2005), 334.
- 7 Ludwig Eisenberg, *Künstler- und Schriftsteller-Lexikon „Das geistige Wien: Mittheilungen über Wiener Architekten, Bildhauer, Bühnenkünstler, Graphiker, Journalisten, Maler, Musiker und Schriftsteller* (Vienna: Heinrich Brockhausen, 1891), 281-282; and *Österreichisches Biographisches Lexikon 1815-1930*, vol. 8 (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1979), 417.
- 8 Josef Maria Eder, *History of Photography*, trans. Edward Epstean (New York: Columbia University, 1945), 642.
- 9 Karl von Scherzer to the k. k. Museum für Kunst und Industrie, StraBe von Simonoseki (Japan), 23 September 1869, transcribed in Pantzer, *Das Japan-Tagebuch*, 128.
- 10 *Ibid.*, 128.
- 11 *Ibid.*, 37-38.
- 12 "Von der Ostasiatischen Expedition," *Mittheilungen des k. k. Österreichischen Museums für Kunst und Industrie* 5, no. 52 (15 Jan. 1870): 82.
- 13 In his analysis of Gert Rosenberg's monograph on Burger, Peter Pantzer criticised the titles ascribed to the reproductions as "schlampig und dilettantisch." According to Pantzer, "es gibt fast keine Photographie, die nicht falsch oder unvollständig in dem Buch beschrieben wird..." (There are hardly any photographs, which are not falsely or incompletely described in the book...) Pantzer, *Das Japan-Tagebuch*, 40. While Pantzer's criticism has foundation, the titles derive from the original captions assigned to the photographs. Even if inaccurate, such captions are worthy of historical note.
- 14 Directed to the British Library by a nineteenth-century bibliographical source, the seventy-one photographs were located in the map department wrapped and tied together in dusty brown paper. Fr. von Wenckstern, *A Bibliography of the Japanese Empire: Being a Classified List of all Books, Essays and Maps in European languages relating to Dai Nippon* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1895), 2. The portfolio consists of fifty-seven Japanese views, depicting scenes principally in and around Yokohama and Tokyo, and a further fourteen prints of Hong Kong, Siam, and Cochinchina. W. Burger, *A Series of 56 [sic] views of towns, villages, etc. in Japan, China and Siam* [Bilder aus Japan, M. Munk: Wien] British Library, Maps department, Maps 8.d.24.
- 15 Eder, *History of Photography*, 374. The German-language fourth edition *Geschichte der Photographie* (Halle: Knapp, 1932) contains a reproduction of the photograph of Nagasaki.
- 16 Wilhelm Burger, "Zu Russell's Tannin-Verfahren," *Photographische Korrespondenz* IV (1867): 34-36; V (1868): 17-18.
- 17 Another print of this stereograph exists on a variant mount with the hand-written title 'Japan. Ansicht von Nagasaki.' For a reproduction, see Izakura Naomi and Torin Boyd, *Portraits in Sepia: From the Japanese carte de visite Collection of Torin Boyd and Naomi Izakura* (Tokyo: Asahi Sonorama, 2000), 24. 井桜直美, トーリン・ボイド 『セピア色の肖像 幕末明治名刺判写真コレクション』朝日ソノラマ 2000.
- 18 For later photographs of Oura Catholic Church, see Baba Akira, ed., *Ueno Hikoma rekishi shashin shōzō* (Tokyo: Watanabe shuppan, 2006), 89. 馬場章『上野彦馬歴史写真集成』渡辺出版 2006.
- 19 Rob Oechsle, "Stereoviews-Index of Japan-Related Stereoview Photographers and Publishers, 1859-1912," in Terry Bennett, *Old Japanese Photographs: Collectors' Data Guide* (London: Quaritch, 2006), 169.
- 20 Rosenberg "Die steirische Heimat war doch stärker," *Camera Austria*, no. 17 (1985): 33-42.
- 21 *Catalog verschiedener Gegenstände, gesammelt von Mitgliedern der k. k. ostasiatischen Expedition. I. Reihe, ausgestellt in den Räumlichkeiten des n. ö. Gewerbe-Vereines* (Vienna: nieder-österreich. Gewerbe-Vereines, 1870), 16.

- 22 Rosenberg, *Wilhelm Burger*, 28.
- 23 *Photographische Mittheilungen: Zeitschrift des Vereins zur Förderung der Photographie* IX (Berlin, 1873): 237.
- 24 J. L. Wallner, "Die Photographie auf der Weltausstellung 1873," *Neues Wiener Tagblatt* 7, no. 267 (28 September 1873): 9-10.
- 25 Ueno Hikoma's contribution to the official display sent to Vienna consisted of "photographs of the town of Nagasaki and the villages adjacent." *Nagasaki Express* III, no. 154 (21 December 1872): 615. On Yokoyama Matsusaburō, see Tōkyō-to shashin bijutsukan, ed. *Bakumatsu Meiji no Tokyo: Yokoyama Matsusaburō o chūshin ni* (Bakumatsu and Meiji Era Tokyo, focusing on Yokoyama Matsusaburō) Tokyo: Tokyo Metropolitan Museum of Photography, 1991. 東京都写真美術館『幕末明治の東京 横山松三郎を中心に』東京都写真美術館 1991.
- 26 *Catalog verschiedener Gegenstände*, 12.
- 27 E. von Ransonnet, *Reisebilder aus Ostasien, Siam, China und Japan* (Graz: k. k. Universitäts-Buchdruckerei „Styria“, 1912), 119. An earlier source stated that the Austrian Ministry of Education sent "two complete collections of all the photographs, which have been published by the Museum of Art and Industry." Anon. "The Austrian Expedition," *Overland China Mail* XXV, no. 423 (23 February 1869): 27.