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Logics of Re-Using Photographs: Negotiating the Mediality of the Magazine

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ABSTRACT

This paper explores the logics of magazine re-uses through three case studies, by focusing on pictures produced and reproduced by way of photography. The first case study focuses on half-tone reproductions in the early phase of the development of news photography, using the example of *Collier's Weekly* during the Russo-Japanese War. It offers a historical case of transfers between book and magazine. In our second case, examining the American and French editions of *Vogue*, internal re-uses of content demonstrate both collaborative networks as well as a certain amount of latitude for divergence, and therefore further distinction within the Condé Nast brand. Our last example analyses the re-use of film stills in popular illustrated film magazines. These magazines manage their dependency on existing visual material provided by distribution companies for free, while striving, simultaneously, to highlight their 'profile' through visual design. The specific ways in which each magazine re-used images shed light on how respective editorial identities are carved, as well as more generally on magazines' mediality: the latter, we argue, is showcased, in highly competitive print markets, partly through distinct(ive) re-using practices.

KEYWORDS

photography, re-uses, mediality, topicality, miscellaneity, twentieth century, news magazines, fashion magazines, film magazines, *Collier's Weekly*, *Vogue*, *Cinema*

For magazines, re-uses are an ambivalent practice. As their medium format commands their contents' timeliness, they typically produce new material for each issue. News or fiction, text or pictures inevitably turn old as a subsequent issue is released. Yet, re-using 'content' is a well-established practice in periodical culture.¹ This paper explores the logics underlying such magazine re-uses through three case studies, by focusing on a particular element: pictures produced and reproduced by way of photography.

Historically, pictures were particularly costly to produce and thus were prone to re-uses: when illustrations had to be manually crafted into graphic pictures, their production was hardly affordable if a chargeable re-use could not be expected. During the heyday of the *Penny Magazine* (1832–45) and its international derivatives, *Le Magasin pittoresque* (1833–1938) and *Das Pfennig-Magazin* (1833–55), clichés or stereotypes were made from printing blocks, to be sold for re-use, usually abroad, so that some sort of exclusivity still was ensured on the domestic print market.

The trade in clichés did not only benefit periodicals financially. Re-using illustrations fitted adequately with core parameters of periodicals' mediality. Firstly, it helped manage the temporal pressures of periodical publishing, particularly in the early days of wood-engraved magazine illustration when the demand exceeded production capacities. Re-using pictures was inevitable for magazines to have enough engravings ready in time for printing. In other words, making ready-made clichés a re-usable resource allowed for the increased inclusion of pictures on a regular basis.² Secondly, the transfer of pictures from magazines to magazines, from countries to countries, helped sustain the sought-after miscellaneity in content, increasing the variety of pictures in terms of subjects as well as style.³

The slow but steady spread of innovative photomechanical reproduction technology in the 1890s imparted major shifts in production practices, but did not fundamentally change the impetus behind reutilizations. Since producing pictures and turning them into printing plates became cheaper, the economic pressure to re-use them was reduced. However, the growing expectation to publish more and more new pictures and to cover expanding geographical zones, increased the demand for illustrations to the degree that a single publishing house could hardly afford alone. The first news photo-agencies were founded in the 1890s, to supply international markets.⁴ By the 1920s, an international network of such commercial agencies had developed, serving the daily rhythm of newspaper publishing, the slower rhythm of illustrated magazines production, as well as stocking pictures for future re-uses.

With the advent of photomechanical reproduction, using pictures multiple times remained appealing for their producers, who could increase their income by multiplying their uses, as well as for magazines' picture editors, who, in turn, lowered their costs and had a larger choice of diverse imagery. Moreover, half-tone processes facilitated re-uses of pictures by making their size adaptable to each magazine's layout, adding flexibility

1 The notion of content is misleading if understood as material filling a somewhat neutral container. Taken as a category of production, content is always dependent on the medium and material in which it is formed.

2 For further exploration of the early cliché trade, see Thomas Smits, *The European Illustrated Press and the Emergence of a Transnational Visual Culture of the News, 1842–1870* (London: Routledge, 2020), p. 93.

3 James Mussell, 'Repetition: Or, "In Our Last"', *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 48.3 (2015), 343–58 (p. 347).

4 See Bernd Weise, 'Strukturen des Bildertransports: Fotoagenturen im Deutschen Kaiserreich und in der Weimarer Republik', *Fotogeschichte*, 142 (2016), 5–20.

to the (re-)use of pictures: they can be considered a ‘design tool’.⁵ Photography was therefore not just an object of re-uses, but, as a means of reproduction, also part of the infrastructure making them possible.

Re-using practices also point to the magazines’ complex relation to ‘periodic time’⁶: when producing each issue, the available pictorial material is appraised to assess whether it is, or can be made, topical. When a picture is chosen to be republished, it is reactivated to some extent. Re-uses renew pictures since every new materialization entails developing a new constellation of letterpress and images, and sometimes modifications by means of resizing, cropping, recolouring, or retouching. At the very least, each magazine publication affirms that what it presents is up to date, or, of topical relevance — solely by virtue of it being published (regardless of whether it has been used before).

Here, we set on the term ‘re-use’ as a broad, encompassing concept, indicating only the selection, for republication, of material that had already been published elsewhere. Such a basic definition allows for a comparison of diverse instances and registers of image ‘transfer’, which we will observe from one site of publication to another. ‘Recycling’, by contrast, is limited to specific cases when previously discarded items are imbued with new value — magazines often resort to recycling when ulterior happenings or anniversaries mobilize picture memories. Recently, ‘circulation’ has been widely used, but we contend that it would be best reserved for specific instances of ongoing and decentralized movements of content redistributed over and over again, as in the case of photographic icons.⁷

While all these concepts can, and should inspire different sorts of explorations, we find that, within the scope of this paper, ‘re-using’ operates as the most general and comprehensive term, encompassing a variety of sub-practices. We therefore set to explore three cases exemplifying systematically different areas, levels, and logics of re-uses: our first example deals with news photographs from the Russo-Japanese War transitioning from magazine to book; our second one traces picture re-uses within the *Vogue* magazine ‘brand’; our final example examines promotional pictures provided by the movie industry and inserted into dedicated special-interest magazines.

The identification of the magazine with topicality and timeliness has worked to conceal how widespread and central re-uses are to periodical culture. Our diverse case studies demonstrate how re-uses were not limited to one segment of the press market, or one mode of production, but encompassed several intertwined networks of distribution and republication — including news agencies, but also in-house productions, or circuits of circulating advertising images. We furthermore mean to establish which common traits emerge, and which specificities pertain to each magazine genre, where re-uses of pictures are concerned. Variety, and adaptability, appear to be instrumental in making re-using so widespread: our three examples represent major areas of periodical publishing, and exemplary publication contexts (from news pictures and war events to fashion and cinema trend magazines). Through our analyses of how each implements re-uses, their respective media identity is brought to the fore: such image transfers make them sites of a transition, which reflect, negotiate, and showcase magazines’ medial

5 See Thierry Gervais, ‘Photography: A Design Tool for the Nineteenth-Century Illustrated Press?’, in *Visuelles Design: Die Journalseite als gestaltete Fläche / Visual Design: The Periodical Page as a Designed Surface*, ed. by Andreas Beck et al. (Hannover: Wehrhahn, 2019), 137–54. It is to be noted that before the advent of the half-tone, photomechanically-produced ‘line blocks’ were used to reproduce and adapt line drawings and engravings.

6 Mussell, pp. 350–51.

7 See for example Stefanie Gänger, ‘Circulation: Reflections on Circularity, Entity, and Liquidity in the Language of Global History’, *Journal of Global History*, 12.3 (2017), 308–31. With regard to photographic icons see for example Robert Hariman and John Lucaites, *No Caption Needed: Iconic Photographs, Public Culture, and Liberal Democracy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007).

logics. To recent works on pictorial re-uses' infrastructure, we want to add a focus on the media aesthetics of the magazine, on the magazine page.⁸

Finally, this article calls for a systematization and theoretical elaboration on re-uses, on a much broader scale, a project of particular importance when digital methods and digitized corpuses increasingly allow to track multiple materializations of texts, but also pictures. As re-uses, emerging as a crucial trait of magazine culture, could become one of the core areas of periodical research, their theorization is all the more needed. The three case studies presented below aim at making a contribution to this complex endeavour.

From Magazine to Book: Turning Pictorial News into Historical Documents

The first kind of transfer we set out to address is that of news pictures from magazine to book, exemplified by a case from the turn of the twentieth century. In a period when half-tone reproduction had just become firmly implanted in illustrated magazines, and wars had turned prime news events, the Russo-Japanese War (Manchuria, 1904–05) proved a significant step in the early development of news photography. The American magazine *Collier's Weekly* was an important player in the field. It addressed a middle-class audience and featured general interest content: high-class contemporary fiction as well as political commentary, and a section dedicated to news, the latter apparently chosen according to their photographic appeal. The way in which *Collier's* had covered the Spanish American War in 1898 had already significantly increased its popularity: the photographs, taken by staff photographer James Hare stood out by offering an insider's view of the events on the battlefields.⁹ Using a small hand-held camera, Hare strove to catch events in close-up as they unfolded, aligning with the magazine's reporting of wars, from a human interest angle.¹⁰

Collier's sent their star photographer to Manchuria, as both warring parties allowed selected reporters on the battlefields so as to influence international public opinion. As pictures from the war remained a scarce and sought-after commodity, Hare's shots not only appeared in *Collier's*, but were licensed to major illustrated magazines in Britain, France, and Germany, advertising either the photographer or, more often, his magazine in the pictures' credits.¹¹ In the summer of 1905, when the armed conflict had largely subsided, *Collier's* publishing house issued two picture-based books about the war. Whereas previous transfers of photographs from magazine to magazine were about distributing pictorial information geographically (to foreign markets), the books proceeded from a different rationale, giving the re-used pictorial content a new structure and a more durable form.

Transferring material from periodicals to books is a well-established form of re-usage, as the latter produces additional revenue over an extended period of time. For news material, however, transfer into a book is uncommon, as it rapidly loses its news

8 Current research on these infrastructures extends, notably, to (commercial) archives and copyright restrictions; see respectively Paul Frosh, *The Image Factory: Stock Photography, Cultural Production and the Image-Repertoire* (Oxford: Berg, 2003), and Marie-Stéphanie Delmare and Will Slauter, eds, *Circulation and Control: Artistic Culture and Intellectual Property in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Open Book Publishers, 2021).

9 Jean Lee Cole, 'The Hideous Obscure of Henry James', *American Periodicals*, 20.2 (2010), 190–215.

10 Frederick Palmer, 'About "Jimmy" Hare: A Personal Sketch of Collier's War Photographer with the Japanese Army', *Collier's: The National Weekly*, 34.21 (25 February 1905), 18.

11 For the formal adaptations operated in these transfers, see Thierry Gervais, 'Shifting Images: American News Photographs, 1861–1945', in *Circulation*, ed. by François Brunet (Chicago: Terra Foundation for American Art, 2017), 78–113 (pp. 90–99).

value. Yet, photographs are more prone to be re-published because they offer material easy to weave into new constellations, to embed in textual environments, annotate by modified captions, and combine with other, different pictures.¹² Still, the transfer of already-published photographs into book formats requires justification, an added value that is capable of motivating the public to purchase the same content again, now in book form — as the target audience for such re-publications often overlaps with the initial readership.

It is instructive to follow such trajectories between magazine and book, because the transfer of content from one medium to another sheds light on how their distinction is conceived and practically enacted. Re-uses of material across media borders contribute to the media's respective cultural construction, interpreting as well as displaying what differentiates them and what they have in common. This is particularly pertinent for books and magazines, since they are adjacent print media that share the same material basis — a series of typographic and pictorial signs on paper. Here, analysing the book version entails looking back at what was distinctive for a magazine.

Clearly, both *Collier's* books are centred on photographic content, sidelining the text. The magazine, however, already emphasized its photographic documentation of the war, with some double pages devoted exclusively to displaying photographs. One of the books, *The Russo-Japanese War: A Photographic and Descriptive Review of the Great Conflict in the Far East*, even goes as far as replicating layouts (Figs 1–2).¹³ In addition, the impression of recurrence is increased by the similar size of book and magazine.¹⁴ The second volume, *A Photographic Record of the Russo-Japanese War*, on which this section will now focus, is also large in size, akin to the magazine's pages, but the pages are oriented horizontally, shifting to landscape format common for ambitious photography-based book and part-issue publications of the time. This change implied a different layout aesthetic, ruling out repetition (Fig. 3). Furthermore, the calendared paper enhances the definition of the half-tone reproductions and adds durability. The book's price signals this ambition as it amounted to \$4, only slightly less than a \$5.20 full annual subscription to the magazine.

Let us now track the most pertinent transformations operated from *Collier's Weekly* to the *Photographic Record*. The book's title page states that its pictures were 'edited and arranged' by photographer Hare.¹⁵ Contrary to the magazine's approach, crediting individual contributors, photographers are listed only on the title page, presenting the photographic representation of the war as a collective enterprise. To provide a selling point, Hare announces: 'a large number of these photographs have never been printed in *Collier's*, and they are published in this book for the first time'; they make use of the book's extended space 'to convey [...] an adequate realization of the unique value and the comprehensive extent of *Collier's* Russo-Japanese War service'.¹⁶ But the book adds more surplus than just shots that had previously found no place on the magazine's pages. It promotes its preference for the pictorial, not only through the number of pictures, but also through the layout. Despite its width, the book presents two columns of larger-typeface text, contrasting to the magazine's three columns in a densely-set

12 Jens Ruchatz, 'Arbeit am Fragment: Fototheoretische Systematisierungen und die Zeitschriftenseite als Fragmentkonstellation', *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft*, 46 (2019), 213–49 (p. 232).

13 Richard Harding Davis et al., *The Russo-Japanese War: A Photographic and Descriptive Review of the Great Conflict in the Far East, Gathered from the Reports, Records, Cable Despatches, Photographs, etc., etc., of Collier's War Correspondents* (New York: P. F. Collier & Son o.J., 1904). The book is copyrighted in 1904, despite including photos taken in 1905.

14 A page in *Collier's* measures 27 × 38 cm, virtually equalling the book's pages at 28 cm × 39.5 cm.

15 Hare, p. 3.

16 *Ibid.*, p. 8. The introduction silenced the fact that, at the same time, some of the previously published pictures were omitted.



Fig. 1 a b
 Collier's Weekly, 34.6 (5 November 1904), 18–19. 54 x 38 cm. British Library.

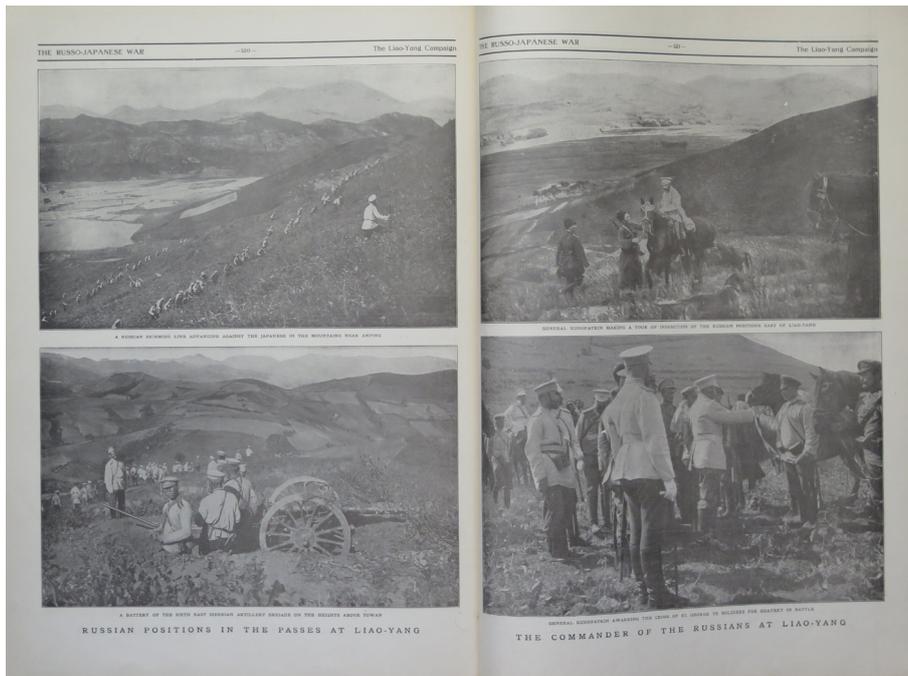


Fig. 2 Richard Harding Davis et al., *The Russo-Japanese War: A Photographic and Descriptive Review of the Great Conflict in the Far East, Gathered from the Reports, Records, Cable Despatches, Photographs, etc., etc., of Collier's War Correspondents* (New York: P. F. Collier & Son o.J, 1904 or 1905), 120–21. 56 x 39.5 cm. Private collection.

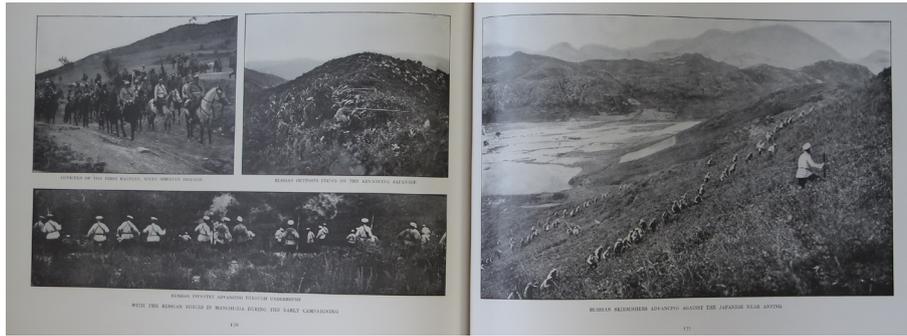


Fig. 3 James Hare [edited and arranged by], *A Photographic Record of the Russo-Japanese War. With Photographs by Victor K. Bulla, Robert L. Dunn, James F. J. Archibald, Richard Barry, Ashmead Bartlett, James Ricalton. Together with an Account of the Battle of the Sea of Japan By Captain A. T. Mahan, U.S.N., Retired* (New York: F. P. Collier & Son, 1905), 170–71. 78 x 27.3 cm. Private collection.

smaller font. Apart from captions and a few brief annotations, the text is only used to introduce the chapters; after all, the book wants to offer a ‘pictorial history’.¹⁷ The text remains instrumental as a contextualizing device, defining the sequence of chapters which arranges the photographs into a historicized rendition of the war. Consequently, what differentiates the book from the magazine is not the predominance of the pictures itself, but the consistency with which the book uses words to service the more than 500 reproductions of photographic pictures displayed on its 256 pages.

It is this structured coherence which the book plays out against the magazine’s miscellaneity. For example, *Collier’s Weekly’s* 5 November 1904 issue used photography incoherently. The cover displays a photograph of a Russian reconnaissance balloon. The headline announces ‘Frederick Palmer’s Description and Forty Photographs of the Battle of Liao-Yang’ to appear ‘in this number’, hence ascribing the same importance to photographic and to written reporting. The inner title shows one of Hare’s pictures depicting advancing Japanese troops. On the opposite page, a photo of Hare himself riding on a horse and accompanied by a Japanese soldier, headlined ‘The Greatest War Photographs Ever Taken’, turns out to be an advert for a Kodak developing machine that is lauded to be responsible for the ‘splendid results shown by the reproductions in this issue’ (Fig. 4).¹⁸ On the whole, the thirty-two pages of the issue are largely devoted to war reporting, including full-page photographs, double pages combining several photographs, as well as texts by *Collier’s* correspondents Palmer and Harding (that are only accompanied by few photographs), and even an advertisement for *Ridpath’s History of the World* — key to ‘appreciate the importance of the present conflict’ — using a credited *Collier’s* photo as an eyecatcher (Fig. 5). Photographic war reporting is prominent in this issue, but in diverse layouts and functions. By contrast, the preceding number had devoted merely two pages to war photographs, supplemented by a half-page announcing Palmer’s ‘description’ of ‘The Greatest Battle Since Gettysburg’ in the following number, ‘illustrated with photographs, such as have never before been obtained’.¹⁹ What changes from magazine to book is not just the focus on a single topic, but the coherence of the form, made up mainly of a tentatively structured sequence of pictures.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

¹⁸ The picture was later re-used by the magazine for a story about Hare; Palmer, p. 18. In the book, a small box on the verso of the title page also heralds the merits of Kodak photographic equipment for war reporting (Hare, p. 4).

¹⁹ ‘The Greatest Battle Since Gettysburg’, *Collier’s Weekly* (29 October 1904), 10.

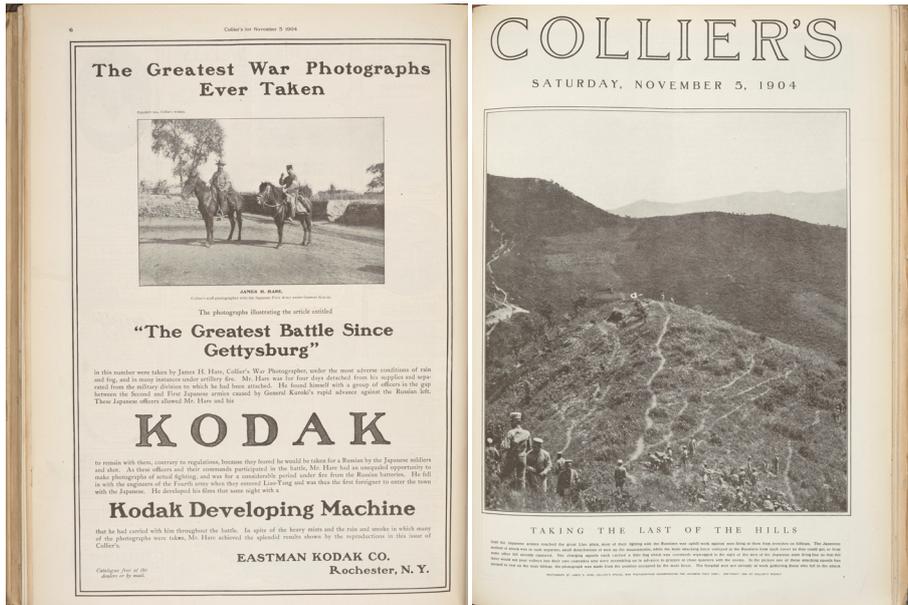


Fig. 4 *Collier's Weekly*, 34.6 (5 November 1904), 6-7. 54 x 38 cm. British Library.



Fig. 5 *Collier's Weekly*, 34.6 (5 November 1904), 23. 27 x 38 cm. British Library.

The *Photographic Record's* introduction began by stating that, 'The materials for this pictorial history of the Russo-Japanese War were gathered by *Collier's* own special correspondents and photographers'.²⁰ In August 1905 (before the signing of the peace treaty), *Collier's* had already re-arranged its pictorial material to form a history, as one advertisement boasted, by presenting 'in consecutive form and comprehensively the story of the greatest military duel of modern times'.²¹ The book positioned *Collier's Weekly*, represented by its famous staff photographer, as the narrator, by refraining from crediting each photo, whereas the magazine revelled in the polyphony of picture producers and authorial voices. The intended transformation from news to historical document was also reflected in the style of the chapters' introductions, in which the personal and colourful eyewitness accounts of the literarily ambitious reporters, made way for what a review in the *New York Times* deemed 'a brief, dispassionate running narrative of the war'.²²

The magazine run follows a consecutive and open structure, a mechanical sequence of issues each containing varied items. The impression of synchronicity between publication and current events derives from the sequential time of the periodical publication. In fact, the weekly news delivery consisted not of what happened in the course of a week, but what news — and news pictures — had come in during this time span. Significantly, *Collier's* dated neither its reports nor its captions, blurring the important lag between war events and their reporting.²³ Nonetheless, it pursued a temporal logic dictated by external events. The book proposes a structure of chapters — i.e., interpretative units — presupposing a retrospective vision of the events. Rather than in formal temporal units — based on a week's pictorial supply — the book was organized to follow 'the victorious progress of the Japanese army', as a map tying together time and space indicates.²⁴ Periodical fragmentation is smoothened into structured continuity.

The *New York Times's* book review mentioned above, as expected for a newspaper devoid of pictures, relegated the photographs to 'addenda and elaborations', thereby lauding the publication and at the same time diminishing its claim to offer a supplementary 'chronicle': 'When the authoritative history, or histories of this struggle, come to be written this folio of pictures will prove an incalculable aid to the reader.'²⁵ What is striking, however, is that this review did not at all consider the potential of the consecutive magazine issues, taken together, to also serve as such a 'photographic record'. It seems that, from this point of view, transfers to another print medium are required to make news photographs function as historical documents.

Conversely, if the lasting worth of *Collier's* news photographs must first be critically assessed, before they can be turned into a book, the re-use affirms the magazine's tie to timeliness. In singling out a certain event, and the pictures apt to represent it, such a media transfer not only forms a picture history but also reevaluates, reframes, and finally canonizes certain news photographs as sites of commemoration.²⁶ In the age of versatile photomechanical reproduction, this media transfer motivates a complete re-design, to

20 Hare, p. 7.

21 'Advertisement', *New York Times* (1 September 1905), 4.

22 'War in Pictures', *New York Times* (19 August 1905), 4.

23 The battle of Liao-Yang took place from 24 August to 4 September 1904.

24 Hare, p. 256.

25 'War in Pictures', p. 4.

26 See Alice Morin and Jens Ruchatz, 'Photography In/Between Media Formats: The Work of the Format from Magazine to Book', *Interfaces*, 45 (2021), for a study of magazine-book-photography re-uses operating on an aesthetic level.

comply with the book format and its commemorative function.²⁷ Repurposing news photographs for retrospective book publications has since become a common and well-established practice, in the event of wars, but also extended to more mundane affairs such as the Olympics or Football World Cups. In all these cases, the distinction between magazines' miscellaneous and topical news format and books' commemorative format is, even if only implicitly, negotiated.

From Magazine to Magazine: Producing Re-Usable (Transatlantic) Pictures

Less than two decades later, the publishing company Condé Nast engaged in another instance of content transfer, this time intra- and not intermedial, between *Vogue's* American (1897–) and French (1920–) editions.²⁸ Both published the same photographs, co-produced by their respective national teams collaborating within an international nexus — a process well-documented on the American side.²⁹ To some extent, such re-uses proceeded from a logic of geographical redistribution, similar to *Collier's* selling its pictures to (competing) magazines abroad. However, instead of dissemination, these re-used pictures worked towards establishing exclusivity, through branding. As a high-end, special-interest magazine, *Vogue* had to distinguish itself by reporting on fashion in an original aesthetic, rather than by being the first or only title to access trade information. *Vogue* was thus, and remains, a key site for editorial illustration, and for photographic development in particular, investing heavily in the production of pictures that made it stand out on the market.

A production studies approach of the first phase of these magazines' transfers between the 1920s and the 1930s, coupled with close observation of both periodicals as contextual environments for shared visual content, sheds light on several aspects underlying them: the infrastructural conditions of re-usable images production within a closed organization; the power relations and negotiations between local teams and an overarching brand; as well as a chronological evolution, since the marked shift between the beginning and the end of the period indicates, at a crucial time of transition for the illustrated magazine landscape at large, that conceptions of a magazine's 'special format' and format possibilities evolved.³⁰

Both the transatlantic production of lavish illustrations and the launch of several national editions manifested branding efforts on the part of Condé Nast. As early twentieth-century Paris and New York were key sites in the press and fashion industries, the American company strove to setup, in the 1910s, a solid infrastructure in the French capital, where most photographers and illustrators resided, reporting biannually on *haute couture* collections under the supervision of local editors. It subsequently proceeded to publish a French edition, which was at first little more than a translation

27 When *Harper's Weekly* re-used their wood-engravings from the Civil War to produce Alfred H. Guernsey and Henry M. Alden, *Harper's Pictorial History of the Great Rebellion*, 2 vols (Chicago: Star Publishing Co., 1866–68), initially distributed in installments, texts and layout were new, but the size of the illustrations could not be altered.

28 *Vogue* also has a British edition (1916–), which took an active part in the transfers described here, yet held a different place in the organization, as London was not a fashion capital as important as Paris.

29 Through the personal papers of *Vogue* publisher Condé Montrose Nast, and of *Vogue* longtime editor-in-chief for all international editions, Edna Woolman Chase (1914–52). Both are privately held at Condé Nast in New York.

30 On the concept of 'special formats', specific to each magazine title, see Nicola Kaminski and Jens Ruchatz, 'Journalliteratur – ein Avertissement', *Pfennig-Magazin zur Journalliteratur*, 1 (2017), 6–43 (pp. 31–32).

of its US counterpart, and thus cheap to produce.³¹ Condé M. Nast himself stated about French *Vogue* (which, by 1939, printed about 40,000 copies, compared to US *Vogue*'s sales of over 200,000 copies): 'it is not looked to for large earnings, but it enjoys wide prestige, and its French staff is of great importance to the American *Vogue*.'³² Publishing a French edition was meant to entice American advertisers. Furthermore, the Paris bureau of aristocrats and socialites entertained privileged relationships with international advertisers, couturiers who set the trends, and the elite who wore them (all abundantly featured in the pages of both *Vogues*). A photographic studio in Paris produced editorials, ads, or portraits for private clients, while also scouting for new talents. Artists, editors, and administrators based in France collectively produced images to be used primarily in American *Vogue*: the material travelled to New York, *via* ship, to be published there, generally first.

Well into the 1920s, French *Vogue* re-used most pages of the American edition, the layout kept intact and texts simply translated (Figs 6–7). Photographic images were thus republished in very similar contexts. Condé Nast set up a business-savvy model of internationally franchising content produced on both sides of the Atlantic, re-usable 'as such' in local editions. Such a corporate structure of geographic expansion through national editions was later widely adopted by other large media groups, and Condé Nast was among the first to do so.³³ Original and distinctive content was produced for exclusive distribution in several titles within one brand; such an organization did set a standard in the way the field of fashion magazines and more generally of lifestyle magazines became structured. Furthermore, in the process, Condé Nast and his partners, such as French art director and publisher Lucien Vogel, contributed to establishing French/American networks that yielded much more than *Vogue* pictures but also many other forms of collaborations and exchanges, at a time when the fashion industry started to massify and turn to new markets such as the US; and at a turning point for illustrated magazines, the form and conception of which were then deeply recast.³⁴

Indeed, in the late 1920s, the larger magazine landscape changed: new conceptions of layout and, thus, of reading practices, circulated internationally, were debated and ultimately adopted after a period of intense experimentation by a new generation of producers, who starkly redesigned existing titles, while new ones emerged.³⁵ Among them, Dr. Agha (art director) and Michel de Brunhoff (editor-in-chief), were both appointed in 1929, respectively to the NY and Paris *Vogues*. It is against this backdrop that the French team grew increasingly independent and proceeded to publish its own distinctive layouts and content arrangements. This goes to show that mere translation was no longer effective in a dynamic and increasingly segmented (illustrated-)magazine market.

Rising divergences between French and American issues in the 1930s also illuminate the negotiations unfolding between both *Vogue* offices to (visually) define their respective identities — exemplifying the processes through which a 'special format' is established, i.e. how distinctive elements of layout and structure setting one title apart

31 See Marlène Van de Castele, 'Frog, A Transatlantic Magazine', in *Vogue Paris, 100 Years*, ed. by Sylvie Lécailier (London: Thames & Hudson, 2021), pp. 15–20.

32 'Financial Record, 1933', *Condé Nast Papers*, series III, box 22, folder 11 (New York: Condé Nast).

33 Rosalind Ballaster et al., *Women's Worlds: Ideology, Femininity and the Woman's Magazine* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1991), pp. 113–15.

34 See Sophie Kurkdjan, *Lucien Vogel et Michel de Brunhoff, parcours croisés de deux éditeurs de presse illustrée au XXe siècle* (Paris: Institut Universitaire Varenne, 2014); on fashion, see Nancy Troy, *Couture Culture: A Study in Modern Art and Fashion* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2003); on illustrated magazines, see Gervais, 'Shifting Images', pp. 99–107.

35 Laura Truxa, 'Le rôle du graphisme et de la typographie dans l'essor de la presse magazine de l'entre-deux-guerres français', *Congrès international Médias 19 – Numapresse*, Paris, 30 May 2022.

are taken up in two different (national) contexts as each edition appropriated shared, re-usable sets of images. Both *Vogues* strove to cohere miscellaneous elements into an ensemble, to present a *Vogue*-stamped, branded vision of trends and the fashion industry, yet they did so with distinct national conceptions of reader-viewership, art and applied arts, and the status a magazine such as *Vogue* should achieve. On a few occasions, these editorial differences manifested explicitly in the correspondence between *Vogue* teams. For example, in a memo addressed to Nast, Vogel stated that artists in varied styles should work for *Vogue*, rather than ‘in the *Vogue* style’. Magazine-typical miscellaneity could thus be sustained, and as such sustain the reader-viewer’s interest. Vogel indeed warned against too much homogeneity and continuity within one issue, and claimed to be looking to give the magazine ‘originality and character’.³⁶ These views undoubtedly affected image production in Paris, where emphasis was to be put on artistic, high-class, and stimulating content. Editor-in-chief Edna Woolman Chase, by contrast, was explicitly looking in French material for a feeling of ‘authentic’ Parisian elegance. Her conception of magazine editing was centred on the timeliness of a feature and the editors’ flair.³⁷ The New York office evidently held authority over the Paris one, as shown by the fact that it published features first. Besides, the NY edition appeared fortnightly and needed more pictures to publish — French *Vogue*, as a monthly, did not even publish all of the images it produced. In this (imbalanced) power relation, the Paris office had to strive to produce US-appropriate material, yet American *Vogue* editors often complained that they had to publish content they found subpar just to fill their predetermined number of pages; subsequently, Chase and Agha sent instructions to Brunhoff and his team on how to provide them with appropriate material, frequently commenting on ‘clever’ or unsuccessful pages.³⁸ But these instructions were not always followed, especially since French editors were closer to the couture world they were reporting on (an issue concerning Chase and raising suspicion about loyalty to the *Vogue* brand in Paris).³⁹ Negotiating what these pictures should represent required compromise between different conceptions of fashion and its pictures — a balancing act embedded in the photographs themselves. Expected uses in various publication contexts thus weighed over the very production of editorial content, and the tensions underlying these special cases of re-uses unfolded first at the level of image production.

Yet, it is at the publication level that editorial differences manifested most starkly, in respective issues, rearranging photographs and occasionally reworking them altogether. A photograph by Hoyningen-Huené demonstrates this in the extreme (Figs 8–9). It was published in American *Vogue* on 1 December 1934, in the first, more miscellaneous pages and framed with adverts, in a series about Christmas gifts; and inverted in the Paris *Vogue* in March 1935, in a central section about fashion accessories (a rare occurrence). Surrounded by different images and texts, the picture is completely recontextualized from a promotional jewellery shot to an epitome of Parisian luxury through the resizing, new layout, and positioning in the issue; its topicality flipped to comply with respective editorial calendars. Diverging layouts, often incorporating ‘shared’ photographs in different ensembles, demonstrate how differing editorial visions materialized in alternative aesthetics and thematic arrangements, that reinvented their associated meanings. Such re-uses, in which pictures were reappropriated, and topicality, miscellaneity, and page design were increasingly managed differently by two national

36 Letter, 30 September 1940, CMN Papers, S.I, b.11, f.25.

37 Letter, 4 January 1933, EWC Papers, S.I, b.2, f.16.

38 Letters, 26 July 1934 & 13 April 1938, EWC Papers, S.I, b.2, f.16 & f.22.

39 Ibid.



a b
 Fig. 8 'Christmas Extravaganza', photographs by Hoyningen-Huene', *Vogue US*, 84.11 (1 December 1934), 118–19. 45 x 29 cm. © Condé Nast.



a b
 Fig. 9 'Clips et colliers', *Vogue Paris* (March 1935), 36–37. 45 x 29 cm. © Vogue France.

teams, signal changing times and cultural as well as economic and even political shifts, as manifested in an international magazine.

Studying *Vogue's* re-uses of internal content uncovers collaborative networks as well as a certain amount of latitude for divergence, and therefore further distinction, within this organization. In the years following the period discussed here, and as markets continued to open and grow, the idea of a strong brand acting as an umbrella shifted and lost its primacy. Instead, national conceptions tailored for national audiences prevailed; upon the magazine's relaunch in 1944, creative differences were allowed to take precedence instead of attempting to bring French *Vogue* 'into line' with the corporate formula⁴⁰ — even though it operated under the same editorial team as before the war. Interestingly, today, as the printed press faces uncertain future with the rise of digital culture, and with the globalization of fashion, Condé Nast has again opted to mutualize content, in contrast with the syndication model developed between the 1940s and the 2010s. As of November 2021, each of the *Vogue* editions re-uses shared editorial content — confirming that calibrations in the production of large re-usable image corpuses, which is central to illustrated-magazines, are highly instructive regarding the evolution of this special-interest genre, and perhaps of the medium in general.

This case is further instructive in that the *Vogue* brand hinged specifically on *not* re-using content produced outside of the organization (occasional exceptions included the publication of movie star studio portraits, as the magazine picture archive shows): instead, Condé Nast made a point of producing its own content.⁴¹ Interestingly, however, the said content, it turns out, still had to prove re-usable — albeit within strict parameters — for financial as well as cultural reasons. Consequently, it crafted a model in which content remained exclusive and distinctive despite these re-uses, one that proved successful through time and spread to other (lifestyle) magazines. One of its key parameters concerned re-usability across space rather than time: on the one hand, the slower rhythm of publication of high-end illustrated magazines allowed to re-using a given picture for several weeks or even months; on the other hand, the fleeting rhythm of the (fashion) trade limited photographs' timeliness and made it hard to re-use them beyond one season. Yet from the post-war period onwards, *Vogue*, too, proceeded to re-use, across time, certain of its pictures in books, writing in turn pictorial histories.⁴²

From Film Posters and Film Stills to Popular Illustrated Film Magazines

Our last case study turns to photographs moving both across media and time, and again within a special-interest genre: illustrated popular film magazines. We are not referring here to magazines focusing on film reviews, or to the famous discourse drivers in film-theoretical contexts like the *Cahiers du cinéma*. Instead, we are concerned with magazines that treat film as a popular medium, in a popular way, targeting the widest possible audience and doing so in a specific complex interplay of type, pictures, issue structure, layout, and materiality.⁴³

40 Ibid.

41 The fact that the company retained copyright for its pictorial production, and even has a picture archive, demonstrates as much.

42 See Morin and Ruchatz.

43 For research on the visibility and materiality of film magazines see also Michael Cowan, 'Learning to Love the Movies: Puzzles, Participation, and Cinephilia in Interwar European Film Magazines', *Film History*, 27.4 (2015), 1–45; for research on rotogravure as an important reproduction technology for early film magazines see Gerry Beegan, 'The Picturegoer: Cinema, Rotogravure, and the Reshaping of the Female Face', in *Women's Periodicals and Print Culture in Britain, 1918–1939: The Interwar Period*, ed. by Catherine Clay et al. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2018), pp. 185–203.

Let us start, however, with some notes on the special type of photographs that are (re)used in film magazines: the film stills that depict film scenes, created by unit stillmen.⁴⁴ It is worth noting that film stills differ from film frames (image frame enlargements) in that they often feature movie scenes re-enacted by actors for the still camera that is positioned differently from the film camera, also in scenes without re-enactments. Enlargements of classic 35mm film could simply not be used as promotional photographs, because these single frames would show motion blur, coarse grain, and wiping effects.⁴⁵ Film stills emphasize a photographic single-frame aesthetic as they intend to provide the most effective promotional image. That said, the single photographic image possesses its own medial characteristics, its own temporality.

In order to present films in print visually, film magazines depend on existing material provided exclusively and for free by distribution companies. But this cost-saving process entails that these film stills are shared within a variety of media presentations of a particular film. The motifs circulate in a (more or less) similar way, at the same time; or they have already been distributed before, but in different contexts: as templates for posters, silver gelatin printed film stills in cinema showcases, cardboard lobby cards, in-program booklets, and so on. We propose to define this as the visual ecosystem of film. Although one should still differentiate between the presentation forms and the source material, many of these re-uses still have the same aim as the film still: to promote a specific film.⁴⁶

However, popular illustrated film magazines, in contrast to promotional visual material, are sold. Subscribers, individual buyers, and advertisers need to be given the impression that a magazine is worth its price — even if it does not use exclusive photographs and did not pay for them in the first place. On the one hand, film magazines must thus have their very own visual profile to distance themselves from other products of the visual ecosystem of film that use the same source material. On the other hand, of course, film magazines also benefit from the visual ecosystem of film, the aforementioned effectiveness of promotional images, and from the emphasis on a photographic single-frame aesthetic. As a hypothesis, we suggest that it is precisely in the specific re-use of images that popular illustrated film magazines can set themselves apart from promotional material and other print-media publications, thereby highlighting their own added value. It would be a mistake to simply transfer the purpose of the original material, the film still, to specific instances of re-uses in film magazines and thus narrow the genre of the popular illustrated film magazine down to an advertising vehicle. These magazines must manage the dependency mentioned above and the simultaneous goal of creating one's profile through visual design to secure a position on the magazine market. It is exactly this balancing act in re-using film stills that is the focus of our analysis.

Popular illustrated film magazines are part of the circulation of pictorial motifs because they depend on film stills and their distributors. Thus, academic reflections should analyse illustrated popular film magazines in the context of their respective times and existing visual ecosystem influencing the ways film stills are re-used. We illustrate this point by turning to examples of German magazines from different periods: *Neue Filmwelt* (1948–53), *Film Revue* (1948–67), and *Cinema* (1975–). In addition, we are

44 The distinction is not always upheld, of course, and the term 'film still' is also sometimes used for actor portraits, images of film sets, and frame enlargements. See Steven Jacobs, 'The History and Aesthetics of the Classical Film Still', *History of Photography*, 34.4 (2010), 373–386 (p. 373).

45 In addition, individual frames of a film, shot at a speed of 1/50 seconds, are usually exposed for a shorter time compared to film stills. Daniel Meadows, *Set Pieces: Being About Film Stills Mostly* (London: British Film Institute, 1993), p. 14.

46 Vincent Fröhlich, 'Die vielen fotografischen Papierbilder des Films: Über Präsentationsformen von Filmstills', *Rundbrief Fotografie*, 27 (2020), 8–21.

interested in the relations of the film poster — as a central element of the film’s visual ecosystem, and a symbol for each film — to the film still and the popular illustrated film magazine. And indeed, film posters and film magazines have the same picture supplier: ‘Usually the graphic designers [of the poster] have never seen the films themselves; they work according to the distributor’s specifications, according to the photos they receive [...]. One works quickly, with experience, and always under enormous time pressure.’⁴⁷ Besides shared source material, the working conditions are similar in both media.

The poster of *Das singende Haus* (Austria, 1947) (Fig. 10) and the double-page spread in *Neue Filmwelt* (Fig. 11) show clearly how poster designers and layouters of film magazines often re-use the same material but in very different ways. For the poster design, most film still elements have been copied but redrawn in the process, thereby distorting the proportions. In addition, drawn details as well as lettering are added to the image motif. In the film magazine, the image, printed in half-tone, corresponds more closely to the original film still printed on silver gelatin, though with a typeface resembling the poster’s. Also, the picture is divided in two by the gutter, located in an ensemble of other pictures.

In film magazines, poster designs are found, relatively unaltered, as direct advertisements for movies. *Neue Filmwelt*, for example, frequently reproduces a film poster design on its back cover, hence it is often the last image a reader-viewer of the journal will see. However, these posters are clearly marked as advertising, precisely because of their completeness, and because they usually include the release date of the film. It is when film posters and film stills are marked as distinctive parts of the magazine or its supplements that different layout and material strategies become apparent.

In the case of contemporary films, apart from advertising, an explicit (im)print of the poster often constitutes supplementary materials: *Cinema*, for example, sometimes offers folded film posters as additional material. The poster is often advertised as a bonus feature on the cover: ‘Now with a free movie poster in the issue.’⁴⁸ This wording emphasizes the magazine as the supplier of the poster. Since the 1990s, *Cinema* also features a monthly double-page spread of four miniature poster cards, each 14 × 10 cm; these two pages are inserted into the magazine as epitextual material (Fig. 12). The back of each poster card offers additional information about the film, the date of its first German screening, cast, synopsis, ‘cinema-tographic’ notes (special remarks by *Cinema*’s editorial staff), as well as the director’s and main performer’s bios. There, too, the magazine promotes itself as a medium that provides the poster, contextualizes films, offers additional information, thus adding value. And it is precisely with this strategy of multifaceted contextualization that the poster is no longer presented as purely an advertising device. Direct re-uses of film posters as advertising material or as inserts imply specific strategies of how to underline the popular illustrated film magazine’s mediality. Other strategies reference the poster in more or less explicit ways, but without reproducing the poster design in full (see Figs 10–11 for example).

How much popular illustrated film magazines re-use poster designs as parts of the visual ecosystem is particularly evident in some examples that represent old films. In *Neue Filmwelt*’s heavily illustrated essays about older film posters, materiality is emphasized, and with it, the magazine’s page that carries the poster reproduction. The layout (or at least idiosyncrasy) of the illustrated film magazine evokes its superiority

47 ‘Meist haben die Grafiker die Filme selbst nie gesehen; sie arbeiten nach Vorgaben des Verleihs, nach Fotos, die sie geliefert bekommen [...]. Sie arbeiten schnell, routiniert, und stets unter enormen Zeitdruck.’ Hans Marte and Hans Helmut Prinzler, ‘Vorwort’, in *Das Ufa-Plakat: Filmpremieren 1918 bis 1943*, ed. by Peter Mänz and Christian Maryška (Heidelberg: Edition Braus, 1998), pp. 6–7 (p. 6). The translation is ours.

48 Cover, *Cinema* (August 2021).

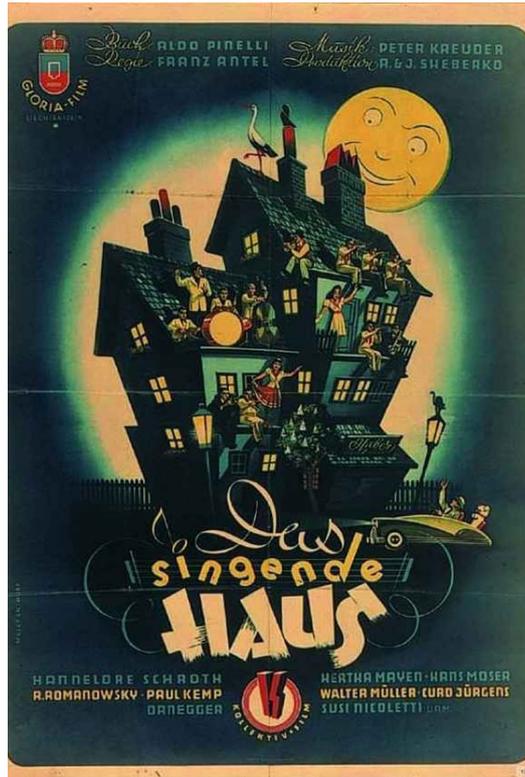
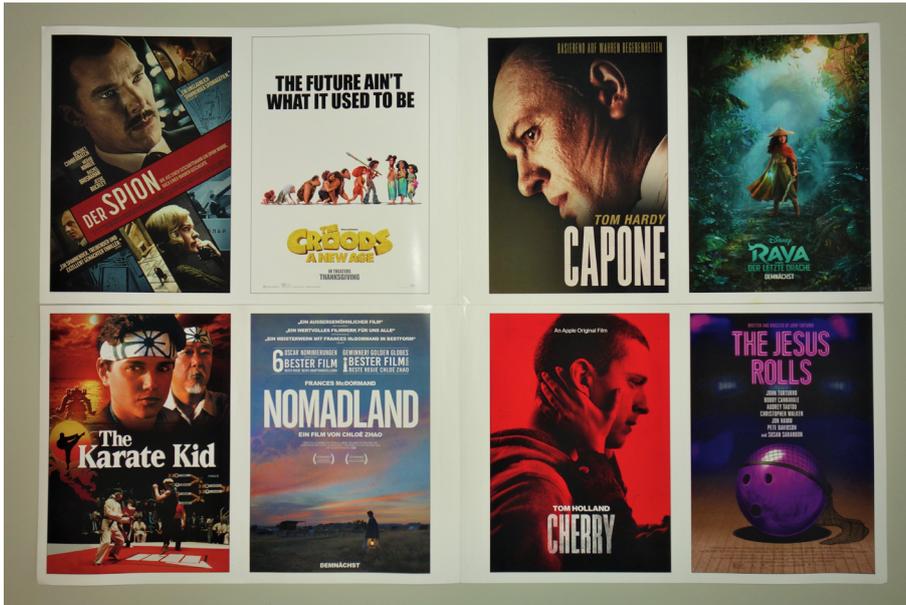


Fig. 10 Poster of the film *Das singende Haus* (Austria, 1947). Chromolithography, 91.5 x 61 cm. Private collection.



Fig. 11 *Neue Filmwelt*, 3 (1949), 18-19. Half-tone on stapled pulp paper, 41.2 x 28.6 cm. Private collection.



a



a

Fig. 12 Poster cards inserted in Cinema, 4/21, No. 515 (April 2021). Front and back, unfolded coated paper, digital colour print, 42 x 8 cm. Private collection.



Fig. 13 *Neue Filmwelt*, 10 (1949), 16–19. Rotogravure on stapled pulp paper, 91.5 x 61 cm. Private collection.

by suggesting that posters lie on top of each other or are pinned to the surface of the film magazine: the printing space is staged as a kind of mega-meta-poster on which numerous posters can be placed. The message is clear: only in the magazine’s pages can these posters be combined, framed, and contextualized in such a way (Fig. 13). In 1999, *Cinema* also used a striking background for their feature on old poster designs: on some pages of this issue the reproduced posters are arranged as if they were lying on a crinkled white paper surface — which again emphasizes the magazine’s materiality (Fig. 14).

In its section ‘The Birth of a Film Classic’, introduced by *Cinema* in the November 2019 issue, the magazine reports on how the movie in question came into being. Here, *Cinema* embraces a trend interested in the production of classic films, demonstrated by numerous podcasts such as *Movies That Changed My Life* (2020–) and film series like Netflix’s *The Movies That Made Us* (2019–). *Cinema* uses predominantly an iconic movie poster — without including text or showcasing its materiality — to introduce its own feature and remind the reader-viewer also visually of the specific film classic. For this purpose, the film poster is incorporated into the design of the magazine, but without showing the letterpress of the original poster. However, the example selected here shows that the affiliation between poster and film classic is not always done in the same way: *Cinema* chooses the poster for the third movie of the *Karate Kid* film series (Fig. 15), although the editorial text is about the first film in the series. At the same time, it uses a poster from this very first movie in the poster cards enclosed in the same issue (Fig. 12). Interviews conducted with the layout artists of the magazine in April 2022 revealed that they considered the poster motif for the third film to be more iconic for the feature but wanted the reader-viewer-collector of the poster cards to also have the original poster. The re-used poster from the third film is associated with a circular cut-out that alludes to the materiality of DVDs and Blu-rays, on which classic films are usually archived by fans (Fig. 16). The cut-out is a reproduction of an iconic film still in which the protagonist practices the famous karate kid move; this visual motive was used for further poster designs of the first part of the film series (Fig. 17). So, the main concern for the layout artists was to choose those image motifs that

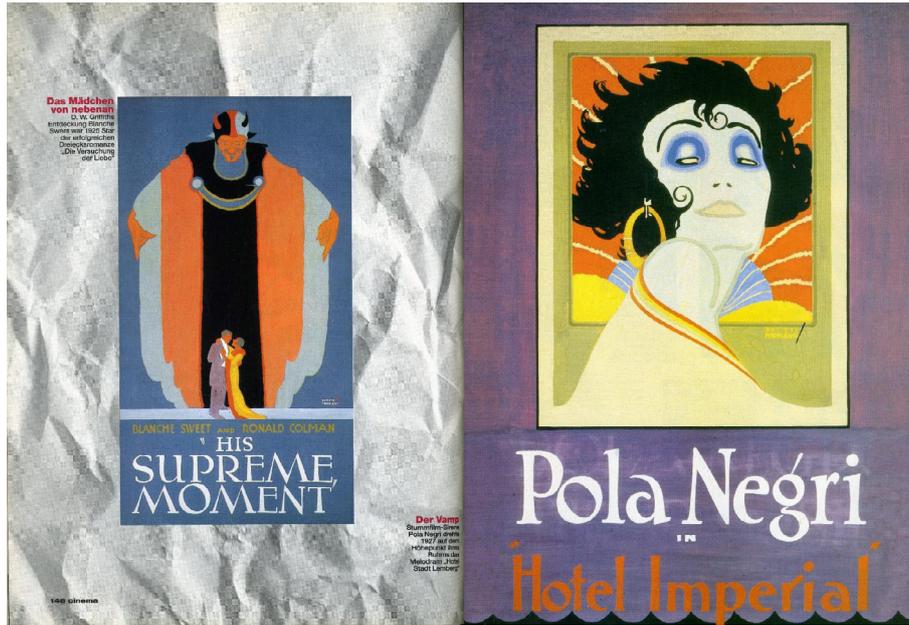


Fig. 14 *Cinema 4/99*, No. 251 (April 1999), 146–47. Digital colour print, 45 x 29,5 cm. Private collection.



Fig. 15 Poster of the movie *The Karate Kid Part III* (John G. Avildsen, USA, 1989). © Columbia Pictures.



Fig. 16 *Cinema 4/21*, No. 515 (April 2021), 114–19. Digital colour print, 45 x 29,5 cm. Private collection.



Fig. 17 Poster of the movie *The Karate Kid* (John G. Avildsen, USA, 1984). © Columbia Pictures.

are nowadays considered to be particularly emblematic of the first film even if not all of them are from this one.

Our earlier contention that ‘each magazine publication affirms that what it presents is up to date’ is thus valid for the popular illustrated film magazine, albeit with restrictions. With retrospectives on film classics, it is the poster, the re-showing of iconic photographs, that stands for and marks film magazines as part of a historical as well as contemporary film culture. As a medium that can map and refer to film history due to its periodicity, as well as incorporate different materials from the film’s visual ecosystem, the illustrated film magazine turns out to present itself as a medium of (re) collection, providing recognizability and at the same time expansion. By embedding and re-using elements from the film’s visual ecosystem, the popular illustrated film magazine thus marks itself as belonging to the visual culture of film. Therefore, re-uses of posters and film stills serve predominantly a double logic: film magazines benefit from the popularity of the films they cover. This means the pictures should often be familiar. Re-uses are not (necessarily) about novelty, but about recognizability, albeit in a magazine-like form, in its own kind of presentation, aesthetics, and its own framing. The popular illustrated film magazine must make the images its own; despite but also because of their familiarity, it must always emphasize its own (visual) profile.

Conclusions

Our examples materialize different forms of relations that re-uses in (and around) magazines establish: from one magazine or issue to another, from another visual medium into the magazine, from the magazine into another print medium. While all cases studied proved to be largely context-specific, recurring features emerged that shed some light on typical magazine-photographic logics.

Re-uses are usually driven by economic incentives. Be it earning additional income from the ‘second sale’ of editorial imagery (to make illustrated books), recouping costs (by republishing content in several titles), or reducing those in image production (by using material already supplied), the practice of reprinting already-published photographs offers various financial benefits.⁴⁹ Today, re-using pictures often remains inevitable for magazines to be viable; yet, the practice can be at odds with topicality, and the particular identity of each magazine.

In this context, photography takes on two interrelated but distinct roles: firstly, photographic images have become increasingly used, and thus re-used, in magazines. Cheaply and rapidly produced, editorial photographs are deemed particularly apt for periodical use on account of their perceived timely relevance, and invite multiple uses. Secondly, photography makes re-uses easily performed: photomechanical reproduction has allowed for continued adaptation to ever-new contexts, and therefore potentially infinite iterations within print-medial ecosystems. But neither economics nor technology determine the *forms* of re-use in magazines; rather, they create the possibility for these magazines to showcase their mediality in highly competitive as well as heterogeneous print markets. Through their re-using practices, magazines emphasize their distinction and their added value through their visuality, as well as miscellaneity.

Re-using logics work in (at least) two seemingly opposite, nevertheless complementary directions: weaving magazines into their surrounding visual culture(s); and enacting distinction and shaping each magazine’s ‘special’ identity. On the one hand, magazines consistently build pictorial as well as intertextual connections to their

49 On ‘second sales’, see Nadya Bair, *The Decisive Network: Magnum Photos and the Postwar Image Market* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2020), p. 17.

respective contexts — be it to stabilize histories around events such as wars, in service of a brand, or to produce narratives about a medium such as film. On the other hand, each publication also strives to distinguish itself, often through displacement: from the periodized temporal sequence of the magazine issues to the customary chapter structure of the book; from the American to the French edition of *Vogue*; from the poster to the issue of the magazine and its supplements — repetition being a key process for both coherence and distinction, as identity-structuring strategies.

These de-fragmentation processes are another common trait across magazines genres and titles. All examples analysed demonstrate serial practices of re-using photographic *parts*, rather than stable photographic ensembles. Embedded in the constellations of the magazines, selected re-used elements are made relevant, topical, and moved into the temporal logic of mass media. Re-using photographs in magazines implies that these pictures are not only visually und structurally re-constellated, but that they develop new relations to time as well. Even when nostalgia drives recycling, as shown here with posters in film magazines, inclusion in a magazine imbues re-used content with current, topical nostalgia. In this respect, re-using is a practice through which magazines can, and have advertised their ability to define what is current.

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