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MALLORCA (BALEARIC ISLANDS) IN THE VISUAL CULTURE AND STEREOSCOPIC PHOTOGRAPHY OF THE FIRST DECADES OF THE 20TH CENTURY.

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Introduction

This text reflects on stereoscopic photography in Mallorca, focusing on its origin, conception, dissemination and the references of professional authors, amateurs and commercial firms. The desire to capture the territory and the cultural heritage associates the stereoscopic modality with the tradition of the travel book and its drift into an iconography connected to elite tourism.

As an expression that combines these aspects from the perspective of the issuer-producer, we must mention the work of the amateur photographer Jaume Escalas Real (Mallorca, 1893-1979), a doctor and psychiatrist by profession. (Fig.1) His stereoscopic work, of great quality and quantity, has been preserved in the hands of his family, although without inventory or cataloguing. For the photographic heritage of Mallorca, its safeguarding is a very relevant event in view of the scarce complete or partially complete collections and archives that have been kept until the present day.

Abstract

Stereoscopy occupied a prominent place in amateur photography in the first third of the 20th century. Amateur photographers used it to record their excursions and trips, often in the landscape and monumental tradition of nineteenth-century tourist photography. Other themes were also added: leisure, family scenes, cultural concerns, etc. One example is the work of the Mallorcan doctor Jaume Escalas Real (1893-1979), who used stereoscopic and other techniques (1915-1975) to record landscapes, events, everyday life and travel. He was also a leading promoter of Mallorca's tourist projection thanks to his graphic guides (begun in the 1930s). His photographic collection has been preserved with hundreds of positives and stereoscopic negatives, as well as his cameras and accessories.



Fig. 1 Photo Studio Royal. "Group with my father at the Royal".
Portrait of Jaume Escalas Adrover and Jaume Escalas Real, Palma (Mallorca). 25th September 1921.

The purpose of the text is to highlight, on the one hand, the stereoscopic photography that can be found on the island, whether by local authors or not, especially that of Jaume Escalas, and on the other, to place these works in a new and global perceptive and interpretative conception of the territory, of heritage typologies, of fictional and domestic visual narration, of travel and initial tourism, among others.

Numerous studies have reflected the incidence of the stereoscopic practice of the amateur photographer in Spain, highlighting those thematic, technical and formal conditions that differentiate it from a professionalised work (Rius, 2016; Bada, 2019; Hernández-Latas, 2009; Lara, 2007). The profile of the amateur photographer of the first three decades of the twentieth century appears, with its particularities, to the point of falling into a kind of stereotype that requires specific studies to delve deeper into its differences and features.

Stereoscopic photography in Mallorca. References in the press and reflection of nineteenth-century stereoscopy.

Although Mallorca is very present in the romantic tradition of 19th and 20th century travel literature (Alzaga, 2005), exemplified by authors such as George Sand (1841), the Archduke of Austria Ludwig Salvator (1868-1891) and Charles Wood (1888), it is unquestionable that the stereoscopic work of the second half of the 19th century does not reach in number, themes or genres the abundance of other photographic modalities and engravings produced by numerous travellers and authors who dealt with the monument and the Mallorcan landscape in their works, from the first

lithographs by J. B. Laurent (1840), the albumen prints of Charles Clifford (1860) or the engravings of Gaston Vuillier (1893), where a romantic itinerary similar to that of the famous French stereoscopic marks of the second half of the 19th century is articulated. We have to wait until the end of the 19th century and, above all, the first decades of the 20th century, to see that this iconic architectural, monumental and landscape corpus is translated into a commercial repertoire linked to the crucial driving forces of stereoscopy: tourist development, domestic spectacle and projection, and amateur photography.

Thus, we can distinguish an initial period, from the end of the 1850s until the 1870s, when the sale of stereoscopes emerged and among them the first views of the Balearic Islands appeared, linked to the figure of the itinerant photographer, especially of French origin, and a second period, between 1895 and 1930, when the Islands were consolidated in the tourist and photographic repertoire of the traveller, multiplying their creation and mass consumption, as in the rest of the world, through the work of the amateur photographer, on the one hand, and the commercial practice of the professional photographer, on the other.

The presence of stereoscopic photographs in Mallorca in these periods maintains a certain documentary style that combines romantic and post-romantic approaches until the early decades of the 20th century, and which is expressed both in commercial publishing circles associated with professional photographers and collections of companies and industries, and in the private interests of amateur photographers. In both cases, the iconographies will be close, as the

thematic capture of architectural heritage and town planning (monuments, urban views, rural constructions, historical sites, etc.) will predominate.

Prior to the work of the famous firm J. Lévy & Cie. in Mallorca (c. 1880), (Hernández-Latas, 2013), the island did not always form part of the photographic itineraries of the peninsula, and stereoscopic views were taken by itinerant or local professional photographers not linked to an international market. As Fernández Rivero (2018) explains, many inland and coastal provinces, such as the Balearic Islands, were left out of the catalogue of houses such as Lamy or Andrieu, and therefore fewer prints were made and fewer copies survived from these locations.

Among the first news of the stereoscope that appeared in the Mallorcan press was the polyestereoscope of the optician Francisco Dalmau in Barcelona, the subject of recent studies (Cuenca-Córcoles, 2019), briefly explaining its technique and its early dissemination among the general European public (*El Balear*, 5 October 1853, p. 1). The print shops, optical shops and bazaars of merchants linked to the sale of engravings played an essential role in the dissemination and popularisation of these views. Such is the case of the establishment of José Marignac, who arrived from Paris, it is said, in 1849 (*El genio de la libertad*, 25 April 1849, p. 4). This author, related to another Barcelona-born of the Marignac brothers, began to sell "modern stereoscopes" around 1857 and continued to incorporate new stereoscopic cards, at least until 1861, coming and going from France and importing stereoscopes based on "American models" (*El correo de Mallorca*, 1859-1861). The firm of Taylor and Lowe, the so-called Bavarian opticians based in Barcelona, stayed for about a month on the slope of

Santo Domingo, in Palma, selling stereoscopes, among other optical machines (*Diario de Palma*, 2 November 1857). *El Correo de Mallorca* (9 January 1860) announced the sale of stereoscopic views of the Balearic Islands, along with other European cities, for 12 quarters and one peseta each at the bazaar of *Las Ninfas* in Palma.

The figure of the photographer and the optical merchant of French origin, or part of his company, is the most relevant in this scenario of the formation of a stereoscopic market. We can mention Léon Pierre Jouvin, who took some stereoscopic views of the Balearic Islands circa 1858, Mr. Lassalle, of whom there are reports in the Menorcan and Mallorcan press from 1860 (*Diario de Menorca*, 22 November 1860, p. 4), Mr. Dubois and company, who taught portrait photography and sold stereoscopic machinery (*El Isleño*, 30 November 1860), and many other authors who included stereoscopes in their sales repertoire, such as the photographers Mr. Doux, Mr. Casterét and Mr. Lassalle (*Diario de Palma*, 13 April 1861), Mr. Brouzet and company (*La opinión*, 29 May 1880, p. 4) or Charles Mercier and company (*La opinión*, 29 May 1880, p. 4), advertised as "disciples of Nadar", who for 2400 reals undertook to teach "everything concerning the art of photography, as well as to supply a good, complete and guaranteed machine for taking stereoscopic views" (*El Isleño*, 10 June 1859, p. 4; *El Mallorquín*, 16 July 1859, p. 4).

Among them is the work of the Frenchman Pierre Lafargue. From the way this artist-photographer advertises himself, it seems that he intended to take stereoscopic views of the Balearic Islands for a possible commission. We only know a few details of his work in Mallorca and Menorca, both in 1865:

The French photographer Mr. Pierre Lafargue, established in Calle de la Concepción, on the corner of Calle de Zágranada, put together a good collection of views of our capital, the new farmhouse built at the foot of Bellver Castle (Terreno) and picturesque spots on the island, suitable for the stereoscope. These included reproductions of the steamships Mallorca and Jaime II and another general view of the ships in the port. (Llabrés, 1958, p. 286).

Among the local authors or those who had settled permanently on the island, we know that the glass gallery of the miniaturist painter Octaviano Carlotta y Romey, temporarily associated with the photographer Gaudin, included the production of stereoscopic and relief views (*El Correo de Mallorca*, 29 November 1859, p. 4.). If we look at the press reports, the period between 1857 and 1865 is the richest in references to the production and sale of stereoscopic views, although there are still frequent advertisements in the 1870s and 1880s.

Nevertheless, we must remember the international presence of stereoscopic daguerreotype portraits, although in Mallorca it seems that it is not common or no documentary evidence has been found; perhaps the first local daguerreotypists and those in transit made them without specifying this modality in their advertisements, although it is strange. Some have been found on the island, but it is not certain that they were made here.

Alongside the coloured views of J. Lévy & Cie., in the late 19th and early 20th centuries there are references to the

stereoscopic work of the photographer Pedro Sansó, which appears in the catalogue of the *National Stereographic Association* (Treadwell and Darrah, 1994), and which serves as a link to the second period of the resurgence of stereoscopic photography. This is a professional photographer, based in the Mallorcan town of Manacor, whose stereoscopic views of the islands were sold to subscribers of the conservative newspaper *El Áncora* in 1900. As is often the case, there is nothing better than the censorship to confirm some of the themes that must have been commonplace at the time:

These views will have nothing to do with embraced dances or with dancers, nor with portraits of artists dressed in costumes that are not of their sex, nor with advertisements of any kind, in order to avoid the dangers of advertising things that should not be advertised, and to adhere in everything to the morality that *El Áncora* so constantly defends (*El Áncora*, 6 October 1900, p. 2).

Stereoscopic photography between the rise of amateur practices and the tourist image.

Stereoscopy was of some importance among the island's leading professional photographers during the first three decades of the 20th century, being used by authors such as Guillem Bestard, who presumably collaborated with the famous stereoscopic collection "El Turismo práctico" by Editorial Martín. It was also used by the Catalan Adolf Mas in what was the first issue of that collection (c. 1910), which included views of Palma, Deià and Sóller (Fernández-Rivero and García, 2018, p. 8). Ernest Guardia, owner of the Fotografía Amer workshops,



Fig. 2. Josep Pons Frau. Carnival in Palma (Mallorca). c. 1935.

used it in his excursions and Josep Truyol made two stereoscopic albums, one of views of Mallorca and the other of the 1929 Barcelona Universal Exhibition.

As is well known, it was amateur photography that gave new impetus to stereoscopy. The Mallorcan context was not excessively different from the rest of Spain in terms of subject matter and dissemination (in the family environment, travel, etc.), giving priority to the natural landscape, genre scenes and the incorporation of playful social reportage (such as, for example, popular festive atmospheres). Material and ethnographic culture, agricultural activities, historical fiction, events, architectural heritage and still lifes were the most common themes, while others, such as portraits, were rarely worked on (Mulet, 2001).

The amateur collective had an extraordinary expansion on the island from 1914 onwards, with outstanding examples from the beginning of the century. Such is the case of the priest Emilio Sagristá, of whom some stereoscopic photographs of astronomical themes and others dating from 1904 documenting Antoni Gaudí's renovation of Mallorca Cathedral are preserved, or the couple formed by the engineer Adolfo Vignetti and Fanny Obrador, possibly both amateurs, who between 1910 and 1940 produced the so-called *Vignetti-Obrador Album*, with 1,200 plates of verascope format (Obrador, 2018). Other Mallorcan photographers of later generations made regular use of stereoscopy on their numerous trips, as shown by Joan Medina Bordoy's nearly 800 images from the 1920s, or to reflect personal interests in folklore and personal collecting, as Antoni Mulet Gomila did, also in the 1920s and 1930s. Along the same lines is Josep Pons Frau (Fig. 2),



Fig. 3 Santiago Ramón y Cajal. Portopí Cove, Palma (Mallorca). 1910.
(provided by Antoni Gamundi, with the permission of Instituto Cajal-CSIC, Madrid).

a teacher at the School of Arts and Crafts in Palma, painter, ceramist and amateur photographer, mainly interested in

recording agricultural activities and popular architecture in his town (Sineu, Mallorca) in stereoscopic mode (and various

others) around the 1930s and 1940s (Llompart, Mulet and Ramis, 1991).

A common feature of many local amateurs interested in stereoscopy is that they have identical professional profiles, usually doctors or pharmacists. This is the case of Jaume Escalas, Jaume Sancho and Francesc Sancho, Josep Rovira Sellarès and the Menorcan Joaquim Gómez Santovà.

Among other characteristics, this photographer is interested in the technical novelties of the medium and is informed of the news of the photographic world through the specialised press; he combines his work practice with photographic documentation, maintains a heterogeneous thematic view, which alternates the urban vision with the testimony of agrarian or rural ways of life and family leisure scenes, usually takes part in competitions and contests and disseminates his photographs in a familiar or reduced sphere. As Fernández Rivero (2007) comments, he gives special importance to his private collection and combines his photographs on paper on cardboard plates with the new glass positives of Jules Richard's Verascope.

Escalas Real's profile fits these characteristics and shares the aforementioned combination of an enlightened doctor and a scientist fond of photography. The work of Santiago Ramón y Cajal is well known in this field. He also made stereoscopic views during his brief stay in Mallorca in January 1910 (Fig. 3), coinciding with the young Escalas at a session of the Royal Academy of Medicine and Surgery of Palma, when the latter was a member of that institution.

Without moving away from the discursive approaches of amateur photography, stereoscopy had a special impact on Catalan travellers who visited Mallorca for personal or scientific reasons or as members of the Centre Excursionista de Catalunya. Such is the case of Josep Salvany, also a doctor and a fan of archaeology and geology, who toured Mallorca and Menorca with his stereoscopic camera in 1915. In the 1920s and 1930s, the number of travellers with these characteristics and with very similar thematic and stylistic interests multiplied. Among them were Esteve Puig, Frederic Flos, Carles Fargas, Francesc Blasi, Josep Maria Co i de Triola, Leandre Cervera, Josep Torent, Albert Oliveras, Oscar Torras, Eduard Royo, Josep Puntas, Ernest Mullor, Frederic Mompou, Ignasi Canals, Jaume Biosca, Agustí Duran, Josep Marimon and Juli Vintró.

The photographer Jaume Escalas Real. City, medicine and tourism.

Jaume Escalas Real was a great amateur photographer with a career that, as has been said, exemplifies the historical relationship between stereoscopy and amateur photography, being the prototype of the intellectual interested in the knowledge of the medium in any modality, typology, genre and purpose, including work. In his case, its use was of a private nature and not as an economic resource, since he does not produce stereoscopic images for commercialisation, but for his own pleasure. He understands the image - single or double - as a good that he works with passion, because he needs photography to know, capture and interpret his closest territory, his favourite place, Mallorca, using port scenes (Fig. 4), hospitality, marine, leisure, urban and popular architecture,



Fig. 4 Jaume Escalas Real. Group in front of the Kanguro boat, Palma (Mallorca). 21st September 1921.

hiking, cultural heritage, etc. He photographed them between 1915 and 1975.

His family has preserved the photographic archive (this information is available until 2015), which contains hundreds of images and abundant tools, and part of the production of his father (Fig. 5), Jaume Escalas Adrover (Mallorca 1847-1929), also a doctor and amateur photographer. Both shared common interests, such as curiosity for the local historical heritage and concern for healthcare management. Father and son are two of the most important figures in the history of medicine in Spain. They played a fundamental role in the modernisation of medical care, in the new antiseptic methods

in surgery and in the promotion of hygienist measures of an institutional nature (Tomás, 1976, p. 58).

Escalas Real was an active member of the Royal Academy of Medicine and Surgery (like his father) (Rodríguez, 1978), of the Royal Society of Natural History and president of the Official College of Physicians of the Balearic Islands (1936). As a psychiatrist he held the position of director of the Mental Clinic of Mallorca from 1921 until his retirement in 1963 (Escalas Real, 1978, p. 31). Another area of his interest was tourism, and from 1932 he published numerous graphic guides of Mallorca, promoting it as a Mediterranean icon and pole of attraction. He made a constant and methodical



Fig. 5 Jaume Escalas Adrover. Panoramic view of the quay of Palma (Mallorca) with the fishermen's market and the cathedral. c. 1908.

photographic record of his city, Palma, and of his island, Mallorca, which he combined with the documentation in images of his work, and which he was able to disseminate in publications and exhibitions. In the 1950s he was also characterised by his concern for the urban transformation of Palma, which he captured in *Aquella ciudad de Palma. Evocación gráfica de la ciudad de últimos del siglo XIX y primeros del XX y su comparación con la actual* (That city of Palma. Graphic evocation of the city in the late 19th and early 20th centuries and its comparison with the present (Escalas Real, 1954), where he shows the changes in the city and compares his photographs from the 1950s with other earlier ones from his father's archive and other sources.

It is true that there are not (or have not been preserved) many stereoscopic photographs he took of his profession, Palma's urban planning and tourism. However, it is essential to pay attention to these themes, even if they are not recurrent, because they are present, and very much so, in other of his diverse photographic modalities (glass negatives 9x12cm, 13x18cm; flexible negatives, etc.).

In this (non-stereoscopic) sense, Palma was one of his great interests, becoming a visual notary of certain urban changes and heritage destruction (as his father also did), especially from the 1950s onwards. However, his vision is not so much aimed at exposing urban transformation as at capturing



Fig. 6 Jaume Escalas Real. The neighbourhood of El Terreno, Palma (Mallorca). c. 1935. Detail.

modern avenues, singular constructions, some neighbourhoods outside the city walls (Fig. 6) and other cosmopolitan ones. The camera omitted, except in several cases, the misery of the city and, if it is present, it seems more a picturesque note than a symptom of social concern (Mulet and Seguí, 2010, p. 129). Typical plaques the city, the historic centre, the urban expansion and the periphery are not recorded as bustling, with cars and passers-by, but often as solitary places. The exception is when he focuses on the port, his friends or the rural and popular place. The repetition of images of certain urban roads will be common and, not by chance, coincide with his daily walks from his home to his work and vice versa.

Escalas's other major field of photography was his work with subjects concerning medicine and especially psychiatric care. He was involved in the process of modernisation of

psychiatric care in Spain, defending the re-qualification of the discredited figure of the insane or alienated, the rejection of "madhouse custodialism" (Huertas, 1995) and support for the creation of reformist associations (Lázaro, 2000).

In the psychiatric hospital where he works -Clínica Mental de Jesús- he makes sure that the patients have therapeutic labour therapy programmes (agricultural, mechanical, carpentry, painting, electrical, gardening, sports, etc.), and he records these activities, work groups, patients and general views of the place with his cameras. His reports offer an apparently model institution, located in a natural setting, more reminiscent of a hotel than a health centre (Mulet, 2010).

A different field of activity was tourism. Escalas was an instigator of the promotion of tourism in Mallorca and the attraction

of tourists thanks to the publication of postcards, leaflets and guides, always illustrated. Only the postcards and books represented an economic complement. The guides, which were re-edited and translated into numerous languages, were published from the beginning of the 1930s until the 1970s. In them, he always emphasised Mallorca's historical and heritage references and praised its excellent hotel infrastructure. The selection of photographs he includes and those preserved in his archive make little allusion to the urban development disasters on the coast, nor do they project the impact of tourism on the territory, not even in those of the 1960s and 1970s.

The stereoscopic facet of Jaume Escalas Real. Technical infrastructure and image modalities.

For stereoscopes - glass negatives and slides - the technical infrastructure used is based on suitable cameras, such as the ICA "Ideal Stereo" stereoscope, made in Dresden, for 9 x 13 cm glass. It is double-bellows, portable and light compared to other stereoscopes of the time. The bellows could swing vertically for perspective corrections and it carried Carl Zeiss Tessar lenses, F=90 and 1:6.3, with a double Compur shutter of 1/150. It was a common camera between 1910 and 1915, and less frequent in the 1920s. Escalas worked the double glass image between the 1910s and 1930s, a safe information because it records the day, month, year and location of the shot.

There are also some stereoscope viewers and projectors, together with a remarkable storage infrastructure, such as a wooden cabinet that carefully houses the plates (Fig. 7).



Fig. 7 ICA stereoscopic camera, viewfinder, enlarger and storage cabinet from the Jaume Escalas Real stereoscopic collection.

Escalas made regular use of stereoscopy, as can be seen in his background and furniture. These images show that his preferred genres do not differ much from those made with single cameras: popular architecture (Figs. 8 and 9), landscapes, seascapes, some humorous narration and historical heritage, among others. There are, therefore, no thematic disparities between single and double images, except that in the former there are a very considerable number of views of the clinic and health tasks, as well as his taste for hiking, while the doubles provide more scenes of active everyday urban life (festive, commercial, events) and some compositions in the form of still lifes.

The doubles allow us to distinguish Escalas as an author who was an observer and attentive to his surroundings, because - by way of example - our gaze is captivated by the way he materialises childhood, with those imagined laughs and guffaws of children from humble social groups. (Fig. 10)



Fig. 8 Jaume Escalas Real. Coll d'en Rabassa, Palma (Mallorca). 31st May 1922.



Fig. 9 Jaume Escalas Real. Son Alegre, Marratxí (Mallorca). 20th June 1922.

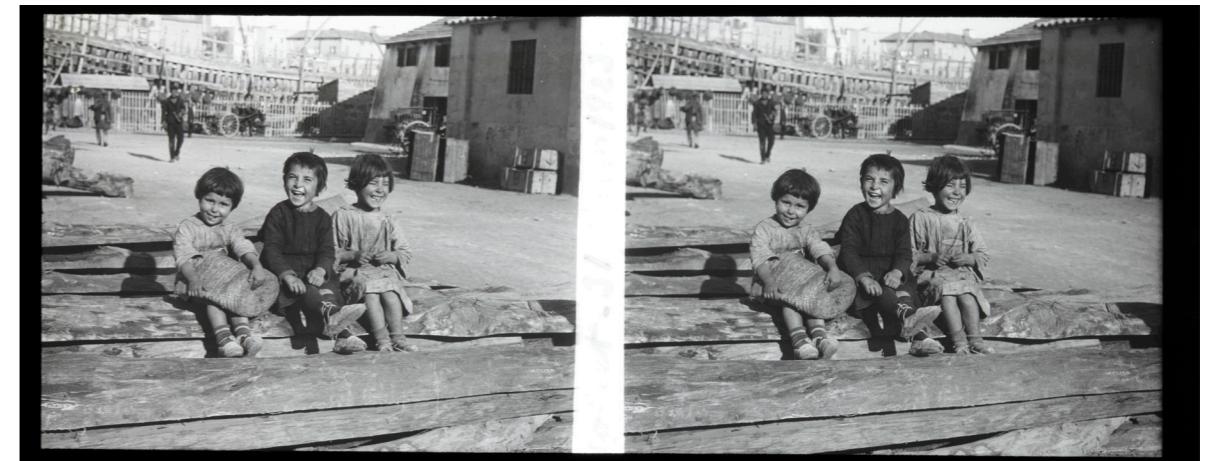


Fig. 10 Jaume Escalas Real. Mollet, Palma (Mallorca). 31st January 1923.

The fact that he hardly used stereoscopic images of his occupation may be due to the fact, and this is a simple hypothesis, that three-dimensional vision would not contribute to a greater documentation of the hospital subject and, on the other hand, it could offer to the untrained eye a certain trivialisation of a controversial social sphere that was difficult to deal with in his time. It is also very likely that the channel of dissemination of the images linked to his profession was very different from the circle of family or friends where he projected or showed his stereoscopic images.

The fact that the stereoscopes predominantly show actions, such as port bustle (unloading of animals), military events (Fig.11) (submarines docked in the port of Palma, arrival of the English squadron, etc.), royal visits (Alfonso XII), open-air markets, instant urban scenes, narrative fictions, motifs of the

countryside and the active peasantry (Fig. 12) (almond picking, sowing, carting animals), fishermen, waves caressing the shore, etc., manifest - for some reason difficult to grasp - the conceptual (and no longer only technical) distinction between three-dimensionality and two-dimensionality, between sudden vs. meditated, narrative vs. descriptive images.

The journey to enclaves in the Balearic Islands, Spanish and European cities and the Middle East, among other places, is recorded again with stereoscopic images: Ibiza women in their characteristic dress (which was the marvel of many artists of the European avant-garde of the 1930s); the urban "types" of Madrid (the seller at the street market, the tooth-puller); Barcelona (market scenes, events such as the 1929 International Exhibition); the emblematic buildings of Munich, Cairo, the Bosphorus, among others. (Fig. 13)



Fig. 11 Jaume Escalas Real. Arrival of the British squadron at Pollença (Mallorca). 1924.



Fig. 12 Jaume Escalas Real. Pollença (Mallorca). 5th April 1922.



Fig. 13 Jaume Escalas Real. Constantinople. Turkish woman. c. 1920.

The stereoscopic images (and many simple ones) are formally worked with certain pictorialist echoes, although he is not a photographer of noble procedures, allegorical or dreamlike references. He dominates the register of twilight in the bay of Palma, that of black clouds, bright sea and outlined historical constructions (Bellver castle, cathedral); he controls the depth of field in rural roads or urban streams; he resorts to horizontal framing that cuts out motifs, so that a third or fourth part disappears because it is omitted; he selects general, panoramic-type shots, full of contrasts that compose two zones, up and down, light and dark, absence and presence, some empty ingredients (the horizon) and others full (a ship in pieces, the sea); he likes diagonal framing, from one of the corners of the image, to direct the focus of attention; he tends to use

the zenithal view if he needs wide panoramic views; and he does not hesitate to highlight exquisite or common pieces of glass with engravings and translucent motifs to compose his still lifes (Fig. 14).

Final considerations. Looking, recording and projecting.

Stereoscopy had a public presence of a commercial and domestic nature that led to a different way of conceiving the verisimilitude of the photographic. That is to say, it modified the viewer's vision - the spectator's psycho-optical knowledge - making him or her a participant in the scene or landscape by becoming immersed in its three-dimensionality.



Fig. 14 Jaume Escalas Real. "Watermarks". c. 1921.

It is contemporary visual culture; it is the arrival of different ways of "looking" and "apprehending" because of its striking link with volume and also with spectacle, being heir to the playful sessions of magic lanterns, optical views and pre-photographic instruments.

Escalas Real's stereoscopic gaze shows the dynamic vision, shared in the same social sector, of the transition towards urban modernity in the Mallorcan sphere, by way of constant certification and visual testimony of the imaginary of social pretensions that take shape through sport, transport and urban infrastructures, hiking, humour and fun, tourism or new forms of leisure, with less interest in some themes related to the so-called "naïve portraiture" of amateur photography (López Mondéjar, 1997). At the same time, the author seems

to rediscover and reinterpret the hackneyed historical, natural and artistic heritage nearby from two poles that are not always differentiated, the personal, lived or emotional, and the commercial, public or editorial. We could even say that in his work one senses a perception that is already distant from the rural and agrarian tradition with which the island was identified, in the light of an emerging cosmopolitan awareness that understands and registers the magnitude of the socio-cultural change of its surroundings and observes certain agricultural jobs and archaic ways of life as attitudes on the verge of disappearing.

Certainly, this would be a trait that the author maintains in his photographic works and techniques, not strictly specific to stereoscopy, although it is true that he relies on it to offer

the most playful, subjective and close to an instantaneous record of stories and memories shared shortly after they have happened, but collected as biographical episodes, unlike the more "postcard-like" shots that he incorporated in his guides or editorial works.

The journey begun in the 19th century towards the consolidation of a new way of understanding the role of the observer, of his way of concentrating and isolating the vision of the world (Crary, 2001), took a further step towards the densification, dissemination and, above all, mass creation of the stereoscopic image at the beginning of the 20th century, with obvious repercussions on local photographic practices and with examples of specific authors (such as Escalas) who, although they were influenced by the prototype of the amateur photographer, showed an inclination towards professionalised practice. In them, stereoscopy and the desire to generate immersive images seem to be linked to the visual renewal of an iconography already known and explored, but hitherto alien to the gaze of the local illustrated photographer. The author gathers and confirms his presence and admiration for the old scenes, through the stereoscopic gaze and, in doing so, opens a first step towards a democratised, popularised and pre-media conception of the attractive place or place of interest for the traveller, which maintains notable differences with the visual language of the tourist guides. While stereoscopy implies a certain personal and emotional appropriation of this place, a space where the spectator can become impregnated with the aesthetic, cultural and artistic tastes of the photographer himself, the images in the guidebooks continue to objectify the monument and perpetuate its attachment to nineteenth-century views. The conception of

stereoscopy as a precedent for a cultural and artistic product consumed and distributed massively acquires, through the figure of the local amateur photographer, a multidirectional conceptual and iconographic dimension, integrating itself into the vast scenario of the new customs and ways of life of the liberal and urban bourgeoisie.

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