KU LEUVEN
FACULTY OF ARTS
BLIJDE INKOMSTSTRAAT 21 BOX 3301
3000 LEUVEN, BELGIË

“We, the Rom…”

A study of Jan Yoors’s photography of Gypsies, from ca. 1934 to the 1970s.

Part I: Dissertation

Michel D’hoe

Presented in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts in Cultural Studies

Supervisor: prof. dr. Mieke Bleyen (promoter)

Academic year 2017-2018

161.858 characters

KU LEUVEN
FACULTY OF ARTS
BLIJDE INKOMSTSTRAAT 21 BOX 3301
3000 LEUVEN, BELGIË

I hereby declare that, in line with the Faculty of Arts' code of conduct for research integrity, the work submitted here is my own original work and that any additional sources of information have been duly cited.

“One day I caught myself saying “We, the Rom…” and realized how deep my involvement with them had become.” (Yoors 1987 [1967]:8)

Abstract

In this thesis, Jan Yoors's photographs of Gypsies are interpreted, considering his motives, ideals and influences within the contemporary cultural historical context. The meanings of the photographs throughout their social biographies were considered as well.

Yoors made his prewar photographs as personal photographs, or family photographs. It is assumable that Yoors had anthropological motives as well. Within the context of contemporary anthropology, it is likely that Yoors adhered to the ideas of cultural relativism. As an adopted member of a Gypsy family, he was the ideal participant observer for ethnographic research. Moreover, the assumption that Yoors had humanist motives, while making the photographs in the advent of World War II, is a plausible one. Yoors aimed to preserve the culture of the Gypsies, which was threatened with extermination (by the Nazis). These aspects are also reflected within the social biographies of his photographs. An analysis of the biographies of Jan Yoors's original prints reveals that Yoors assembled them into an album. This "family album" can be regarded as a biographical object, through which Yoors affirms his membership of the Gypsy family. The social biographies of the photographs—through remediation and reproduction—reveal their use within anthropological publications, as well as in exhibitions centered around the theme of the Holocaust.

Jan Yoors made his postwar photography with anthropological motives. He studied the Gypsy culture in a holistic manner, fitting the Boasian cultural relativism, central to contemporary cultural and social anthropology. Yoors and his collaborators were innovative regarding the use of visual media in their research of the Gypsies during a period of time, in which the camera was still enduring difficulties in its acceptance into the discipline of anthropology. Yoors's photography is also studied within the documentary photography tradition. Yoors photographed the diversity and the cultural identity of his subjects, and didn't wish to convey a message of universalism, which characterized a number of contemporary photographic projects. Corresponding to existentialist thought, Yoors photographed the Gypsies as an alternative to the highly commercialized society. His photographs also express a reflexivity, which was typical to existentialism. Yoors's photographs can also be seen as an "extended family album"—of Gypsies around the world. A consideration of the photographs' social biographies through remediation reveal that they were "put to work" within an anthropological context. In several publications, the photographs are used to illustrate Yoors's identity as a Gypsy. Moreover, the photographs were exhibited in monographic exhibitions about Yoors, as well as in exhibitions centered around the theme of migration. Lastly, exhibited in the context of "white cube" art gallery spaces, the photographs receive the role of fine art, rather than being documents of Yoors's life and anthropological documents.

Word count: 443

Abstract (Nederlands)

In deze masterproef wordt Jan Yoors' fotografie van zigeuners geïnterpreteerd met oog op zijn opvattingen en invloeden binnen de culturele context. De betekenissen, die de foto's doorheen hun "sociale biografieën" krijgen, worden ook toegelicht.

Yoors maakte zijn vooroorlogse foto's als persoonlijke familiefotografie. Het is aan te nemen dat Yoors eveneens antropologische motieven had. In de toenmalige antropologische context sloot Yoors zich wellicht aan bij de ideeën van het cultureel relativisme. Als een geadopteerd lid van een zigeunerfamilie was hij de ideale participerende observator voor etnologisch onderzoek. Overigens is het aannemelijk dat Yoors humanistische motieven had in de context van de Tweede Wereldoorlog. Yoors wilde de cultuur van de zigeuners bewaren, aangezien deze bedreigd was met uitroeiing (door de nazi's). Deze aspecten zijn ook aanwezig in de sociale biografieën van zijn foto's. Een analyse van de biografieën van Jan Yoors' originele afdrukken onthult dat hij ze in een album samenbracht. Dit "familiealbum" kan gezien worden als een biografisch object, waarmee Yoors uitdrukt dat hij deel uitmaakt van de zigeunerfamilie. De sociale biografieën van de foto's – doorheen remediëring en reproductie – onthullen hun gebruik in antropologische publicaties en in tentoonstellingen rond het thema van de Holocaust.

Jan Yoors maakte zijn naoorlogse fotografie met antropologische motieven. Hij bestudeerde de zigeunercultuur op een holistische wijze, wat overeenstemde met het Boasiaanse cultureel relativisme, dat centraal stond in de culturele en sociale antropologie. Yoors en zijn medewerkers waren innovatief aangaande het gebruik van visuele media in hun onderzoek naar zigeuners, in een periode waarin de camera moeilijk aanvaard werd in antropologisch onderzoek. Yoors fotografeerde de diversiteit en de culturele identiteit van zijn onderwerpen, en wilde geen boodschap van universalisme uiten, zoals vele gelijktijdige fotografische projecten dit wel deden. Yoors fotografeerde de zigeuners als alternatieven voor de gecommercialiseerde samenleving, wat overeenkwam met toenmalige ideeën binnen het existentialisme. De foto's kunnen ook gezien worden als een "album van zijn uitgebreide familie" van zigeuners die hij ontmoette over heel de wereld. De sociale biografieën van de foto's onthullen dat ze werden gebruikt in de antropologische context. In enkele publicaties worden de foto's gebruikt om Yoors' identiteit als zigeuner te illustreren. Overigens werden ze getoond in monografische tentoonstellingen over Yoors en in tentoonstellingen rond het thema van migratie. In de context van de "white cube" kunstgalerijruimtes vervullen de foto's de rol van beeldende kunst, meer dan louter documenten uit Yoors' leven, of antropologische documenten te zijn.

Aantal woorden: 395

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I would like to especially thank my promoter, Professor Dr. Mieke Bleyen. Thanks to her generous advice, constructive feedback, and encouragements, the process of writing this thesis under her guidance was truly a pleasant and inspiring experience.

I would also like to thank the professors of the Master of Cultural Studies for their interesting courses, and for the enthusiasm they bring to the program.

A special thanks goes out to Kore Yoors. Not only did he grant me access to the archive of the Yoors Family Partnership, but his advice and insights have also helped me greatly in my research of his father's oeuvre. Moreover, I would like to thank Bram Beelaert, curator at the Red Star Line Museum in Antwerp, as he allowed me access to the documents of the Jan Yoors archive that the museum has in its possession. I also want to thank Jo Govaerts for her kind recommendations and advice.

And finally, I wish to thank my parents for their support, and for giving me the opportunity to fulfill this second master's degree. Thanks to them, I've had wonderful years as a student in Leuven and in Paris.

Table of Contents

Introduction

Jan Yoors was a Belgian artist who was influenced, marked and inspired by the times he lived in. From his birth in Antwerp in 1922 to Magda Peeters (1892-1989), a poet and a human rights activist, and Eugène Yoors (1879-1975), a stained-glass artist, to his death in New York City on Thanksgiving Day of 1977, his life spanned some of the most important and problematic decades of the 20th century (Falino et al. 2012:10, 14). Yoors experienced the events that marked these periods closely, from the advent of the trauma and destruction of World War II, to the developments of the postwar world, with its ever-accelerating mass-consumption culture and the threat of another destructive nuclear war. These cultural and political contexts were reflected in the general *Zeitgeist* of the eras and, more specifically, in the contemporary artistic production. Throughout this tumultuous period, Yoors's own life was extraordinary. From his first encounter with a tribe of Gypsies in the early 1930s, his engagements in the resistance during World War II, to his emigration to New York City in 1950, and the many travels and adventures that followed this move to the United States, Yoors's life was truly eventful.

The artistic oeuvre Yoors left behind is an enormous one, that reflects his multiple interests and talents. The first medium he practiced was photography. Before World War II, Yoors photographed the Gypsies he lived and traveled with throughout his youth, documenting his experiences by means of a portable Kodak Brownie camera. After his move to New York, Yoors recorded the Gypsies, living within this cosmopolitan metropolis, which he described as a microcosm or a patchwork of all the world's cultures. He also undertook travels around the world, recording Gypsy tribes from India to Spain. This thesis focuses specifically on Yoors's Gypsy photography, as it is a part of his oeuvre of which the works span his entire life, from his youth to his final years, and depict a subject matter that was essential to his life; the Gypsies were very dear to him and influenced him deeply. Next to Gypsies, Yoors's subject matter varied from torn posters and graffiti, of which he made abstract photographs (Fig. 108), to street scenes of New York and other cities, to the local populations, landscapes and architecture of the countries he visited during his many travels. A more detailed overview of Yoors's photography will be provided throughout this thesis (Yoors and Samuels 1965:8; Van Schoor 1975; Servellón 2012:41; "Photography").

However, photography wasn't the only medium in which Yoors was active. In fact, Yoors can be regarded as a sort of all-round "Renaissance" man, regarding his artistic practice. The medium that received most of his dedication was tapestry, which he designed and weaved in collaboration with his two partners, Annebert van Wettum (1926-2010) and Marianne Citroen (°1926). In the beginning of his career, he designed figurative biblical or mythological scenes for his tapestries, inspired to learn the craft of this heroic artistic medium, thanks to an exhibition of French Renaissance tapestries he saw in London in 1947 (Servellón 2012:37). His move to New York marked an increasing abstraction of his tapestries (Fig. 178). Yoors also made watercolor paintings, in which this same evolution from figurative to abstract design took place (Fig. 177). His drawings, primarily charcoal on paper, remained constant throughout

his career: thick back lines delineating the silhouettes of female nudes, principally in profile and from the neck down. He also made oil paintings, generally depicting women of color against a brightly colored background. A constant throughout his media is the use of vibrant colors. Moreover, he made sculptures; during the 1940s primarily manufacturing geometrical high reliefs with Biblical themes, later, from the 1950s onward, sculpting his signature stylized female nudes as life-size bronzes. And finally, Yoors also published several publications on his experiences with the Gypsies before, during, and after World War II (Falino 2012:49; Cleland 2015:20; Servellón 2015:25; "Books"; "Drawings"; "Gouache"; "Painting"; "Sculpture"; "Tapestry").

In the early 2000s, Kore Yoors, Jan Yoors's youngest son, took the responsibility upon himself to collect, organize, and disclose the enormous number of documents left behind from the lives of his father, Annebert van Wettum, Marianne Citroen and others ("Archive"). Thanks to these relatively recent undertakings, this wealth of archival documents has opened the possibility for new research and has inspired the realization of several exhibitions and publications. Most notable are the publication that the Yoors family partnership published in 2004, entitled *The Heroic Present: Life Among the Gypsies*; the monographic exhibition *Jan Yoors* at the FelixArt Museum in Drogenbos in 2012; an elaborate biography by anthropologist Jo Govaerts in 2016, named *Jan Yoors. Een kunstenaar met een zigeunerhart* [*Jan Yoors. An artist with a Gypsy heart*]; and, very recently, another biography by Debra Dean, entitled *Hidden Tapestry: Jan Yoors, His Two Wives, and the War That Made Them One* (2018) ("Catalogues & Books").

In recent years, Jan Yoors's photographs of Gypsies have received regular attention in exhibitions. In 2015, the Red Star Line Museum in Antwerp organized an exhibition on Yoors, entitled *Ik, Zigeuner* [*I, Gypsy*], in which a portion of the circuit was centered around his photography of Gypsies. As of May 2018, Jan Yoors's Gypsy photographs have been included in an exhibition that is currently running at the Musée de l'histoire de l'immigration in Paris, entitled *Mondes Tsiganes. Une histoire photographique, 1860-1980* [*Gypsy Worlds. A photographic history, 1860-1980*]. A more elaborate description of the exhibitions that have included Jan Yoors's photographs of Gypsies will be presented further in this thesis.

This research offers an approach to Jan Yoors's photography of Gypsies in a cultural studies perspective, more specifically within a perspective of visual studies. W.J.T. Mitchell defined visual studies as the "hybrid interdiscipline that links art history with literature, philosophy, studies in film and mass culture, sociology and anthropology" (Mitchell 1995:541).[1] As such, visual culture encompasses a continuation of Aby Warburg and Erwin Panofsky's iconological method, which sought to analyze art works within contemporary literature, philosophy, and the general cultural, social, and historical context (Castañeda 2009:41). According to Ralph Deconinck, the two core dimensions of visual studies are to be recognized within the double helix of W.J.T. Mitchell's definition of iconology (1986): the "study of the *logos* (the words, ideas, discourse, or "science") of the *icons* (images, pictures or likenesses)" (Mitchell 1986 in

[1] Visual studies are the study of visual culture (Mitchell 2002:87).

Dekoninck 2011:18). In a first instance, visual studies are the study of "what we say about images", or the description and interpretation of images, and in a second instance "what images say", the study of the ways in which images speak for themselves and persuade, tell stories, or describe (Dekoninck 2011:18). The latter can be regarded as the "performativity" of the images, or the space and time that bear meaning in their consumption, which has become an important focal point in research of visual culture, since the anthropological turn in the past decades (Baert et al. 2011:9). Mitchell claims that vision is a culturally defined given and that visual culture must be grounded in not only the interpretation of images, but also in the description of the "social field of the gaze, the construction of subjectivity, identity, desire, memory, and imagination" (Mitchell 1995:544). In this thesis, Jan Yoors's photography will be interpreted, following the twofold perspective of visual studies. Throughout an interdisciplinary research, invoking anthropology, history, photography theory, and art history, the photographs will be interpreted in terms of Jan Yoors's motives, ideologies, and influences. For this interpretation, his oeuvre will be contextualized within his biography. The meanings the photographs receive throughout their social biographies, will also be interpreted.

In this thesis, Yoors's photographs will be considered as visual anthropology, regarding both his motives and the photographs' social biographies. Given Yoors's anthropological interests, starting at a very young age and continuing throughout his life, it seems important to explore this aspect of his photography. Within this perspective of visual anthropology, Yoors's work will be regarded within the contemporary developments in the discipline. Axiomatic within 20th-Century anthropology was cultural relativism, which countered ideals from Darwinian cultural evolutionary thought, to Western ethnocentrism and universalism. The slow and reluctant acceptance of the camera in the field of anthropology will also be regarded. Next to the element of visual anthropology, the photographs will be considered as personal photographs, within the realm of vernacular photography, and as documentary photographs. Regarding the latter, cultural circumstances influenced photographic activity as well, which will be considered in the approach of Yoors's works.

In chapter 1, Yoors's prewar photographs will be observed. Next to Yoors's will to take personal photographs of his loved ones, other possible motives, such as the production of anthropological fieldwork, the creation of anti-fascist documents, and of photographs with a "human interest", will be studied within the contemporary cultural context. Furthermore, the social biographies of the photographs will be interpreted. In the first instance, the social biographies of Jan Yoors's prints throughout their repurposing, and in the second instance, the social biographies of the images throughout their remediation and reproduction will be regarded.

In chapter 2, the photographs Jan Yoors made after his relocation to New York City will be discussed. The photographs will be regarded within postwar visual anthropology and documentary photography in the cultural-historical context. The multiple roles and meanings of Yoors's photographs throughout their remediation will also be considered in an interpretation of their social biographies. In this second chapter, some of the social biographies

correspond to those of the prewar photographs in chapter 1. Therefore, some trains of thought and sources will be repeated.

This research is based greatly on Yoors's own publications, as well as those published since Kore Yoors's undertaking to render the family archive available for research. The documents in the archive form another invaluable source of information for this research, as well as e-mail conversation with Kore Yoors himself. The importance and relevance of this thesis lies in the fact that it partakes in the rediscovery and the reappreciation of a truly interesting Belgian artist and offers new perspectives that complement the art historical interpretations of his oeuvre.

Chapter I: Jan Yoors's prewar photography (1934-1944)

1. An adopted Gypsy: biographical and historical context

In *The Gypsies*, Jan Yoors describes how, in the late spring of 1934, when he was twelve years old, a tribe of Gypsies passed through his hometown and set up an overnight camp near the Yoors family home in Berchem (Belgium). He had gained great a curiosity about the "wonderful people" that his father had told him countless stories about from his own childhood (Yoors 1987 [1967]:14). Yoors's father, Eugène, had spent his youth in the Spanish region of Andalusia. Eugène always remembered the time spent in the residence of the Belgian consul as a paradise, telling his son stories about the Andalusian culture, nature, and the fascinating and ever-present Gypsies (Govaerts 2016:10-11).

So, curious and enchanted by his father's stories, Yoors approached the camp of the Gyspy *kumpania*.[2] Having quickly befriended some of the Gypsy boys, amongst whom Nanosh, Laetshi and Putzina, he slept under the stars with his newly-made *Rom* friends the following night, keeping his worrying parents in the back of his mind. The Gypsy boys taught Yoors the difference between the *Rom*, meaning "Man", as the Gypsies called themselves, and the *Gaje*, meaning "peasants", a term used by the Gypsies to refer to all outsiders. Because of the hostility of the older Gypsies, notably of Lyuba, the grandmother figure of the *kumpania*, Yoors immediately experienced that non-Gypsies were not at all welcome in the secretive tribe. According to his books, *The Gypsies* (1967) and *Crossing* (1971), Yoors stayed with the Gypsies from that day on, for as long as the summer weather lasted, traveling with them for a period of six months. During this period, Yoors was adopted by Putzina's father, Pulika, and was eventually fully integrated into the *kumpania*, learning their language, culture and customs.

Upon returning to his parents, Yoors went back to school during the winter months, before resuming his travels with the Gypsies during summer. This time, however, he departed with his parents' knowledge and consent, as they allowed him to leave under the condition that, if any problems were to occur, he would return to them for help immediately (Yoors 1972 [1971]:9). Giving this warning, Yoors's parents might have had the changing and evermore dangerous political climate in Europe in mind (cf. infra).

Jan Yoors's experience was undoubtedly a very unique one, as the Gypsies were not in the least welcoming towards *Gaje*, as mentioned above. Throughout the centuries of the Gypsies' nomadic presence all over the world, since they were first noticed in Europe in de Late Middle Ages, they continuously had to armor themselves against the great amount of hostility they received during their travels for the following centuries. This, of course, resulted in a complete mistrust of the *Gaje* (Hancock 2004:13). Getting to know the *Rom*, Yoors quicky realized that "they might have just as many prejudices against us, the *Gaje*, as we had against them". For a

[2] *Kumpania*: a larger group of family units, highly mobile and constantly changing as relationships and alliances between the family units shift, as new patterns of interest develop. The social organization of the Gypsy community lies in the strong family ties (Yoors 1987 [1967]:5).

young boy "possessing blue eyes, fair hair and a light skin", which distinctly set him apart as a *Gajo*, eventually being completely trusted into the world of the *Rom* and taken along their travels in their wagons, is a unique situation (Yoors 1987 [1967]:16). The photographs he made during these years offer a rare insight into this, to mainstream eyes, mysterious folk, through the eyes of a teenager. However, the paradise-like youth he spent with the Gypsies wasn't to be ever-lasting, as another horrible act of hostility, against which the Gypsies were forced to armor themselves, became increasingly menacing.

2. "A teenager among his friends"[3]: family photography and visual anthropology

2.1. Jan Yoors's prewar photography as family photographs

The camera that Yoors documented the experiences of his youth with, a Kodak Brownie, was a highly popular camera that provided the masses with the possibility to take photographs. American entrepreneur George Eastman (1854-1932) founded the Eastman Kodak Company in 1888 and popularized the use of roll film. Having the ambition to simplify photography, he created a camera with a wide-angle lens with which no viewfinder was needed. This lead to the greater public spontaneously recording their everyday life, without regard to, or even knowledge of, the established conventions of the photographic medium. An even greater popularization came when Eastman managed to reduce the price thanks to mass-production and launched the Kodak "Brownie" in 1900. In the United States, the Brownie was for sale for only $1, making it widely affordable and soon an ultimate symbol of popular photography (Pollack 1963:74; Waggoner 2007:14; Hacking and Campany 2012:157). The correct frame of interpretation of Jan Yoors's early photography is to be found within this popularization of the photograph. The photographs from his youth are not to be interpreted as an artistic photographic series but are to be placed within the realm of amateur photography, being snapshots of everyday life (Hacking and Campany 2012:157; Servellón 2012:41). This considering that in Yoors's case the "everyday" was extraordinary.

Regarding the decontextualization of amateur snapshots within publications and exhibitions, Geoffrey Batchen states that the separation of any snapshot from its original contextual narrative makes the viewer "concentrate on incidental details and on the contingent pictorial effects of framing and cropping (…)". He argues that this process is a convenient way for authors and curators to avoid having to address the specific character of the snapshot as a genre of photography (Batchen 2008:133).

A closer look at the entire collection of photographs from the period in question allows an approach to the "original contextual narrative" of Yoors's photographs. Many of them show a great spontaneity and amateurism, as many of the photographs are blurry, seem taken accidentally, are overly lit, or show other characteristics that would deny the artistic motives

[3] Kore, Jan Yoors' youngest son, writes about his father's early photographs: "Jan was a teenager among his friends, and the photographs show it" (Yoors 2004:8).

of the photographs (e.g., Fig. 3 & Fig. 6). Clément Chéroux, among others, differentiates a new type of amateur photographer that came into existence at the beginning of the 20th century, during the great democratization of photography. Different from the "expert amateurs", or "gentleman amateurs", who were passionate about photography technology, experimented with extravagant subjects, and often worked in a somewhat artistic collective context, the "dilettante amateurs'" subject matter consisted almost solely out of family life (Chéroux 2011:17). John Berger states that, with the invention of the lightweight camera, taking a photograph ceased to be a ritual and became a "reflex" (Berger 2009 [1980]:53). This new type of amateurs, emerging at the beginning of the 20th century, was not interested in technology and opted for the ready-to-use cameras launched by Kodak. Whereas the experts' photographs testified their expertise and technical ability, the dilettante amateurs' snapshots were often blurry snapshots and less tidily framed, showing more interest in the subject matter than in photographic technique (Chéroux 2007:270). Yoors can be contextualized within this generation of "dilettante amateurs", laying the essence of his photographs in his subject matter, his Gypsy family, without prioritizing artistry or professionalism. The photographs are family snapshots, belonging to the vast sphere of vernacular photography, the "other" photography than art photography (Chéroux 2013:14).

In *On Photography*, Susan Sontag states that photography is mainly a "social rite, a defense against anxiety, and a tool of power". She goes on to mention that memorializing members of families, as well as other groups, in photography was the earliest popular use of the medium. She states that, through photographs, families construct "portrait-chronicles" of themselves, bearing witness of their interconnectedness. Since the ubiquitous presence of the camera, it has been used to "memorialize, to restate symbolically, the imperiled continuity and vanishing extendedness of family life", as in the context of industrialization traditional extended familial bonds were quickly vanishing (Sontag 2008 [1977]:8). Through the personal snapshots of the family members and the intimate views into their living spaces, their activities, and relationships, Yoors possibly took his photographs in an effort to symbolically establish himself as partaker in the Gypsies' family life and a member of the *kumpania*. His photographs do reveal and express his position as a "family member", a teenager among his friends (Yoors 2004:8). Through photography, he could produce images that would bear witness to his connectedness with them, express his position as an "adoptive son" and an intimate friend of the *Lowara* tribe he lived and traveled with for vast periods of his youth, symbolically manifesting the Gypsies as his own family.

Yoors's intention to take photographs as visual memories is clear in a discussion he had with his Gypsy father Pulika. As winter approached and Yoors was preparing to return to his parents' home for a few months, Yoors requested Pulika to pose for a photograph: "Why do you need a photo of me? Are you going to betray me to the police?" Yoors replied that he simply wanted a photograph to remember him by, upon which Pulika responded: "If you need a piece of paper to remember me by, forget me" (Yoors 2004:8).

Yoors photographed his Gypsy family to remember them later, when the situation would have changed. From the statement it is clear that he was conscious of the temporariness of his situation, and that the fairy-tale-like youth he was living with the Gypsies wasn't everlasting. As Sontag mentions, "when we are nostalgic, we take pictures". She goes on to state that all photographs are *memento mori*: "To take a photograph is to participate in another person's (or thing's) mortality, vulnerability, mutability. Precisely by slicing out this moment and freezing it, all photographs testify to time's relentless melt" (Sontag 2008 [1977]:15). Making the comparison between the photographs of the vanishing and changing streets of Paris by Atget (1857-1927) and Brassaï (1899-1984) and family photographs, she states that the camera is a device available to record what will disappear. Berger compares the camera to memory; when wondering about what served the place of the camera before its invention, he concludes that the most revealing answer might be memory: "what photographs do out here in space was previously done with reflection" (Berger 2009 [1980]:54). He states that the camera holds appearances unchanging, which, before its invention, nothing else could do except the "faculty of memory". Like Sontag's *memento mori*, he argues that the camera has been an instrument to contribute to a living memory: "the photograph is a *momento* from a life being lived" (Ibid.:55-56). By photographing the Gypsies, Yoors had documents of his loved ones for later, at a time when he would no longer live with the Gypies; in the short term for a couple of winter months, in the longer term, of course, for when he would leave the Gypsies and return to Occidental "civilization" for good. His will to photograph also reflects his awareness of the effects of time, that his Gypsy friends would age and eventually disappear, that his beloved *kumpania* would change, and so forth. On a more profound level, not only his adoptive family, but Gypsy culture in general would change and be threatened with disappearance by several factors (cf. infra). Thus, his photographs are *memento mori* on several levels: by photographing his Gypsy family, he partakes in the mutability, fragility, even mortality of his own family, their living situation, and even Gypsy culture more generally.

2.2. Jan Yoors's prewar photography as visual anthropology

Another interpretation can be given to Jan Yoors's photographs from his youth, namely that of anthropological fieldwork. According to Jo Govaerts, Yoors took a portion of the photographs during the war years, which was also when he gradually started neglecting his studies at La Cambre and became evermore engaged in "ethnological and social interests" (Govaerts 2016:81). In a letter from 1942, Dr. Frans M. Olbrechts (1899-1958), who was head of the anthropology department of the University of Ghent, described how Yoors was executing important research with Olbrechts's guidance:

> "Jan Yoors is one of my students at the National Institute for Sculpture and Decorative Arts in Brussels. With the knowledge and approval of his parents, he has been showing an interest in the language, life and habits of the Gypsies. He has regularly kept contact with me, and I, insofar it was possible, have guided him with his studies in this domain. […] Mr. Yoors is undoubtedly more aware of the language, the life and the manners of the Gypsies than anyone

in our country. The Gypsies are one of the most important groups to be studied from an ethnological perspective in Europe. When one compares what many foreign scholars, such as Von Wlislocki, Miklosich, Giorgjevitsj, Gluck, Lebzelter and others have written about the subject, with the material that Yoors has collected, one must conclude that his findings bring a great amount of new and highly valuable information for knowledge of the Gypsies. […] The task that Jan Yoors has taken upon himself demands great nerve and courage, and science will be thankful to him for his results, of which he has already published some in the acclaimed weekly journal *Vandaag* […]." [4]

Yoors himself refers to Olbrechts in his introduction to *The Gypsies*, where he mentions that Olbrechts closely followed his travels, and discouraged him from reading what others had written about the Gypsies, "at least until my own observations had become settled and partly organized" (Yoors 1987 [1967]:8). Following these testimonials, Yoors took photographs of the Gypsies in an effort to conduct photographic anthropological fieldwork or to produce visual anthropology of Gypsy culture. Visual anthropology is a subfield of social and cultural anthropology that is dedicated to the practice of anthropology by means of visual media and the study of visual phenomena within culture and society (Banks and Morphy 1997:1; Östör 2018). Ira Jacknis defines the scope of visual anthropology as very broad, including the specialized study of film and video, the production and analysis of still photographs, the study of art and material culture, and the investigation of gesture, facial expression and spatial aspects of behavior and interaction. She states that many anthropologists have been doing visual anthropology without realizing it (Banks and Morphy 1999:4). David MacDougall defines visual anthropology in a first instance to be the study of visual cultural expression. In a second instance he defines the discipline as the use of visual media to describe and examine culture, or to study how visual media is used to do so (MacDougall 1999:283).

During the first decades of the 20th century, cultural relativist ideals became axiomatic within anthropological research, established by Franz Boas (1858-1942) and later developed by his students. Cultural relativism was based on the idea that human values weren't universal but had grown and existed in different cultural realities (Fernandez 2015:484). In the era of modernization and early globalization, the change or disappearance of cultures caused cultural relativist ideals in anthropology to draw attention to the value and unicity of cultural identity. In this view, all races and cultures were regarded to be of equal value. Boas, heavily influenced

[4] Translation from Dutch: "Jan Yoors is mijn student aan de Nationale Hogere School voor Beeldhouwkunst en Sierkunsten, te Brussel. Met medeweten en goedkeuring van zijn ouders is hij zich de laatste drie jaar gaan interesseren voor de taal, het leven en de gewoonten van de zigeuners. Hij heeft regelmatig met mij contact gehouden, en ik heb, in de mate van het mogelijke, zijn studies in dit domein geleid. […] Dhr. Yoors is ongetwijfeld beter op de hoogte van de taal, het leven en de zeden van de zigeuners dan wie dan ook in ons land. De zigeuners zijn een van de belangrijkste groepen die van etnologisch standpunt uit Europa te bestuderen zijn. Wanneer men vergelijkt wat vele buitenlandse geleerden zoals Vol Wlislocki, Miklosich, Giorgjevitsj, Gluck, Lebzelter en anderen erover geschreven hebben, met het materiaal dat Yoors erover verzamelde, komt men tot het besluit dat zijn vondsten veel nieuwe en hoogst belangrijke gegevens voor de kennis van de zigeuners betekenen. […] De taak die Yoors op zich genomen heeft […] en waarvan hij reeds een deel in het zo gunstig gekende weekblad Vandaag […] publiceerde." (Govaerts 2016: 77-78)

by Enlightenment philosophers such as Kant, Herder and Von Humboldt, first articulated the idea in 1887, stating that "civilization is not something absolute, but (…) it is relative, and (…) our ideas and conceptions are true only so far as our civilization goes" (Boas 1887 in Caduff 2011:468) These ideas reflect a reaction against 19th century concepts within anthropology, most apparently the idea of cultural evolutionism, that built upon Darwinian views and arranged the world's cultures in a hierarchical and nonlinear manner, from savage to civilized, in which they regarded Western civilizations as the most civilized. This idea entailed that "lower cultures", meaning brown- or black-skinned populations, were racially incapable of having civilized culture. Boas was a passionate anti-racist and rejected the idea that there would be connections between race and culture. He stated that culture—*sui generis*—originated from its own source. Boas also explicitly opposed antisemitism (Hegerman 1998; Greenhouse 2010:4-5).

Next to opposing 19th-century evolutionist theories, cultural relativism was a reaction against the apparent global Westernization, as cultural entities were evermore evolving towards a dominant Western model of civilization. Western ethnocentrism dominated the way in which cultures were viewed, as they were put into reference with Western civilization, which was perceived as the ideal (Caduff 2011:468). Boasian anthropologists wished to record or even salvage these from change, or even disappearance. Boas had a holistic approach to culture, which included not only obvious expressions of culture, such as food, art, music, religion, etc. His approach also included psychological aspects of members of the culture, the totality of their mental and physical actions, behavior that characterizes a social group, both collectively and individually in relation to their environment, to other groups, to members of their own group, and to themselves (Greenhouse 2010:4).[5]

Boas and his students understood that, if they were to thoroughly comprehend the culture they studied, as well as escape the limits of their own ethnocentrism in doing so, they would have to spend extended periods of time within the culture, learn the language, attempt to be (at least partly) integrated into the culture and gain the studied group's trust. This research method can be referred to as "participant observation", a method within ethnography, in which the ethnographer spends extended periods of time participating in the civilization he studies (Fine

[5] Following a number of critics, this reaction against Western ethnocentrism in anthropology is to be nuanced. During the 1960s and 70s, some anthropologists recognized an unmentioned by deep-rooted alienation or submission to the administrative and political interests of the colonial enterprise in prewar anthropology (De Suremain 2014). Kathleen Gough and Jean Copans claimed that anthropology was the child of Western imperialism, and that many anthropologists, conscious of it or not, were in service of a system countering global revolution (independence of Vietnam, Latin America, Angola, etc.) connected to colonial administration (Buijtenhuis 1992:139; Gough 1968:12-13). Talal Asad stated that prewar social anthropology became a workable and effective enterprise within power relations between Europe, the dominating, and the non-European, the dominated. He urges the questioning of how this relationship has affected the practical conditions of social anthropology (Asad 1973:17). Postmodern theory caused anthropologists to recognize that their objective science was in fact laden with ideologies and observer bias (Eakin 2013). The postmodern critique claimed that the subjectivity of the human researcher precluded the possibility of science discovering an objective truth. Related to this argument, it states that science, according to the ideological interests, serves dominant social groups, oppressing the "other" (Spiro 1996:759; Eakin 2013). As such, postmodern critique considers science to be dominated by ideology and interests (Spiro 1996:771).

2015:530).[6] The method of participant observation in cultural and social anthropology found its most important origins in the fieldwork of Bronislaw Malinowski (1884-1942) between 1915 and 1918 in Papua-New Guinea. In his seminal *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* (1922), he advocated a research from the perception of a member of the culture, which could be obtained through participant observation. It is this ethnographic method that was bolstered by the cultural relativism of Franz Boas, and also taught by Boas to his students at Columbia University (Bryman 2001:XII; Eriksen and Nielsen 2013:49; Shah 2017:51).

Within the larger frame of early-20th-centruy anthropology, the development towards a holistic approach to the research of cultures can be recognized as a general current. The four anthropologists that are generally considered to be the founding fathers of modern anthropology, Franz Boas, Bronislaw Malinowski, Alfred Reginald Radcliffe-Brown (1881-1955) and Marcel Mauss (1872-1950), despite the differences in their research, most importantly had in common that they all sought to ground their research in the totality of the researched culture (Eriksen and Nielsen 2013:46). They aimed to carry out a "detailed study of customs in relation to the total culture of the tribe that practiced them" (Boas 1896 in Eriksen and Nielsen 2013:65). Central to their approach to anthropological research is that cultural traits could no longer be studied isolated from each other. A ritual was no longer seen as a detached "survival" of a lost hypothetical past but must be considered within the total society, studied within its context. Therefore, anthropology evolved to a holistic science in the beginning of the 20th century, aiming to describe cultures and societies as integrated wholes. The American branch of anthropology in the early 20th century, generally referred to as cultural anthropology, with its most prominent figures being Boas and his pupils, researched cultural traits, such as symbols, beliefs, behaviors, art and myths in their local context. The "European" social anthropology, within the influence of Malinowski and Radcliffe-Browne, researched social behavior, political organization and social structure. These two approaches frequently converged and generally complemented each other. After World War II, the differences between these traditions began to blur (cf. infra) (Ibid.: 99).

Frans Olbrechts, who can be seen as an important guardian figure and mentor of Yoors's, was deeply influenced by the anthropological developments of his time and an innovative ethnographer himself. After having obtained a doctorate's degree in Germanic languages at the Catholic University of Leuven in 1925, he spent the following year in New York City, to study at Columbia University with above-mentioned Franz Boas. Under Boas's mentorship, he undertook fieldwork projects in the United States; first in North Carolina, to study the

[6] Sarah Pink defines ethnography as a process of creating and representing knowledge about society, culture and individuals, that is based in the ethnographer's own experiences. While it does not claim to produce an objective or truthful account of reality, it should aim to present versions of the ethnographer's experiences of reality that are "as loyal as possible to the context, negotiations and intersubjectivities through which the knowledge was produced". Ethnography may entail reflexive, collaborative or participatory methods (Pink 2007:22). Hammersley and Atkinson state that ethnography involves the ethnographer participating in the daily lives of the studied subjects for an extended period of time, observing and collecting data on the issues that concern the focus of the research (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007:3). Fetterman (1998) simply describes ethnography as the art and science of describing a group or culture (Bryman 2001:IX).

Cherokee, then in New York State to study the Onondaga. Inspired by Boas's publication *Primitive Art* (1927), he would stay dedicated to the study of African art in a holistic manner, which combined research methods from both anthropology and art history. At the University of Ghent, he was professor in ethnology and in primitive art, and in 1936-37 he was a guest lecturer at Columbia University. Boas's influence is recognizable in Olbrechts's research, mainly focusing on African art. He stressed the importance of a chronological and holistic approach to works of art and the recognition of the individual artist, in order to comprehend the artwork's full meaning. He advocated an approach that wouldn't *a priori* label his study objects as "exotic" or "non-Western" art, but as art that is approached with the same value as any other (Western) piece of art, made by an artist, in a social and historical context. In his ethnological fieldwork, as in his studies in folklore, Olbrechts carried out his research with attention to the cultural context and to the psychological characteristics of his subjects. In his research, he didn't study (non-European) ethnological subjects any differently than his studies on Western culture. The courses he gave at the University of Ghent, despite carrying the name of "primitive art" until 1971, was in many ways unique and innovative in Europe.[7] Olbrechts was also an advocate and a promoter of anthropological fieldwork. For instance, the doctoral dissertations that resulted from the *in-situ* fieldwork in the Ivory Coast by two of his students, Pieter-Jan Vandenhoute and Albert Maesen, respectively in 1945 and 1946, were the first two dissertations on African art in the world that were based on fieldwork (Forde 1958:193-194; Van Damme 2011:368; Petridis 2017; "Wie is Frans M. Olbrechts").

Frans Olbrechts undoubtedly saw an enormous potential in Yoors in terms of ethnographic fieldwork. In the situation Yoors found himself in, living for months on end with the Gypsies, he would form an ideal "participant observer". As Olbrechts mentions in the letter from 1942, Yoors was "undoubtedly more aware of the language, the life and the manners of the Gypsies than anyone in our country" (cf. supra). This was precisely what the developments in ethnographic fieldwork methods were striving towards: participant observers were to spend extensive periods of time with their subjects, learning their language, getting familiar with their facial expressions and their mannerisms, in order to come into a position of mutual trust and comfort between the ethnographer and the studied population. Yoors found himself in a situation where he had become an "insider", like a family member, and regarded the Gypsies as his best friends, making his perspective a truly valuable one for ethnographic research. Western ethnocentric ideologies were absent in Yoors's view on the Gypsies.[8] In fact, Yoors's

[7] "Primitive" would refer to the idea that the civilizations in which the artworks were manufactured would be less "civilized" than the Western civilization. However, as mentioned above, Olbrechts carried out his research in a Boasian manner, that didn't adhere to the evolutionist way of thinking. Olbrechts's approach to culture was one that didn't classify them hierarchically in reference to the "civilized" West but placed "exotic" pieces of art at the same level as Western art. Olbrechts's research method, which integrated ethnographical, anthropological and art historical elements, was later also acquired by Albert Maesen at the Catholic University of Leuven, and by Marie-Louise Bastin at the Université Libre de Bruxelles (Petridis 2017).

[8] Following the postmodern critique within anthropology (cf. supra), this statement should be nuanced. Even though Yoors was an "adopted Gypsy", he also was still a member of Occidental society. As such, even though he wasn't aware of it, an Occidental gaze upon the "other", in his case the Gypsies, might have been subconsciously present.

photographs can be seen as a sort of auto-ethnography, as he was a fully integrated and accepted member of the cultural group he photographed, thus disregarding the notions of "exotic" or "non-Western" in his approach to the Gypsies. He can be considered as both an outsider and an insider, having grown up in the comfort of the middle-class suburbs of Antwerp and being able to return there during the autumn and winter, while, on the other hand, spending the summer months fully participating in, and accepted into, the Gypsy life of his *kumpania*.

The developments in anthropology towards the valorization of the daily lives and the everyday customs of the individual in society, as for the holistic study of cultures, was reflected by the use of the camera in this scientific discipline. As was the case for photography in general, the introduction of the Kodak brought a general diffusion of the camera as a research tool, starting around 1880-1890, making the camera a relatively popular tool in anthropological research by World War I. Amongst others, its practicality, weight, short shutter time and smaller size allowed the ethnographer to document daily activities in a rather spontaneous manner, which went hand in hand with the developments in anthropological interests (Phyllis 2013:485). Whereas photographers in the 19th century tended to use photography in an attempt to recreate extinct or disappearing rituals in a very artificial manner, using costumes, masks and theatrical poses, portable cameras allowed the intrusive qualities of the camera to be minimized, allowing a more truthful and spontaneous documentation of reality. For example, Malinowski commented on his research in the Trobriand Islands in Papua, New Guinea in 1914 as follows: "If the picture looked nice in the camera and fitted well, I snapped it […]. Instead of drawing up a lot of ceremonies which must at any price be documented by pictures and then making sure that each of these pictures was taken, I put photography on the same level as the collection of curiosities […]" (Malinowski 1935 in Young 1998:8). Anthropologists used photography for recording everyday cultural traits, such as food, shelter, ceremonies, artefacts, customs, etc., which are exactly the subjects Yoors depicts in his photographs from the period. For example, Yoors photographed the living environment of the Gypsies (Fig. 2, Fig. 6 & Fig. 12), their way of cooking (Fig. 19), and a Gypsy wedding (Fig. 20-24). Here, again, Sontag's idea of a *memento mori* of cultures that would change or disappear due to various cultural factors, such as global Westernization, is applicable (Sontag 2008 [1977]:16).

Regarding the contemporary anthropological context from the time in which Jan Yoors made his photographs, as well as his contacts with Frans Olbrechts, the assumption that Yoors had anthropological motives while making his prewar photography, or at least a part of them, is a plausible one. In any case, his prewar photography reflects many of the ideas that were present in anthropology at the time.

However, Jo Govaerts doubts the anthropological ambitions of Jan Yoors's early photographs. She states that it is likely that the Yoors family sought contact with Frans Olbrechts during the war years, when Yoors wasn't going to school at La Cambre, where he was enrolled, but frequenting the Gypsies, who were considered to be outlaws in the context of World War II.

With the help of Olbrechts, who was truly interested in Yoors's contacts with the Gypsies, his absences could be justified as being "anthropological studies" (Govaerts 2016b:263).

Whether Govaerts's doubts are justified or not, Frans Olbrechts's above-mentioned claims about Jan Yoors's activities underline the anthropological importance of his photographs, intentionally so or not. Elizabeth Edwards states that photographs can offer valuable contributions to the anthropological discourse either way: "Whether the results of such enterprises may not necessarily be "anthropological" in terms of a fully informed and integrated theoretical position, they nonetheless constitute documents of culture or cultural documents whose legitimacy is drawn from the fact that their creators are attempting to communicate values and negotiated realities, which are internal to human experience and consciousness" (Edwards 1997:54). Though it is unsure whether Yoors's photographs were intentionally anthropological, they do contain visual data that allow ethnographic research of the *Rom*. As any photograph, Jan Yoors's preserve the way the Gypsies lived and looked during the time he lived with them, making them historically important as time passes, and cultures change or disappear (Hunt 1997:67; Batchen 2008:130).

3. Jan Yoors's photography in the context of World War II

3.1. Introduction

3.1.1. *An upbringing of pacifism and resistance*

A consideration of Jan Yoors's parents' engagements, specifically from World War I to World War II, offer an important insight into the context in which he was raised. The activities undertaken by both of his parents during the troubling first half of the 20th Century illustrate the values, both political and ethical, that lived in the Yoors family household. In considering the environment of pacifism and resistance that Jan Yoors was surrounded with, it becomes clear that Eugène Yoors and Magda Peeters were more than simply "liberal and open-minded" (Falino et al. 2012:14). Yoors undoubtedly carried these values with him for the rest of his life, marking his own view on humanity, and further influencing his artistic oeuvre.

From the beginning of World War I, Yoors's parents were outspoken pacifists. After the German invasion of Belgium, Eugène Yoors was recruited to fight in the fifth Fortress Regiment for the protection of Antwerp. As the fortifications rapidly fell, Eugène fled to Amersfoort in the Netherlands, where he resided in a tent camp for Belgian refugees (Govaerts 2016:18). Magda Peeters, originally having planned to flee to the United Kingdom with her family, eventually also fled to the Netherlands, regularly visiting the camp in Amersfoort. As Eugène Yoors remained mainly dedicated to the creation of his art during the war years, Peeters increasingly engaged in pacifist activities. Having originally been a poet, she used her literary talent to write articles in pacifist magazines and newspapers, as several writers did at the time. Manifesting herself as an established war journalist, writing for papers such as the Belgian resistance journal *Vrij België*, the Dutch *De Groene Amsterdammer* and the Swedish *Dagens*

Nyheter, Peeters became one of the pioneers of Flemish pacifism (Govaerts 2016:20). Peeters became involved in the peace movement IFOR, the International Fellowship for Reconciliation, eventually becoming secretary of IFOR Flanders in 1924. During her time at IFOR, she became acquainted with some of the primary figures of the resistance against the increasing Fascism, such as the British Muriel Lester (1883-1968), the Indian politician and peace activist Mahatma Gandhi (1869-1948) and the German priest Max Josef Metzger (1887-1944) (Govaerts 2016:22).

An important figure in the Yoors family entourage was Betsie Hollants (1905-1996), who also became Jan Yoors's legal guardian during World War II, when Eugène Yoors and Magda Peeters had fled to the United Kingdom. Hollants was a journalist for *De Morgenpost*, after which she became assistant of the Flemish Nationalist Catholic politician Gustaaf Sap, co-owner of the newspaper *De Standaard*. Through her work, Hollants was confronted daily with the troubling actuality of Europe during the interbellum. Together, Peeters and Hollants took part in the "European youth crusade for disarmament and peace", which was organized by IFOR. In 1936, they were also co-founders of the Catholic Bureau for Israel. They saw the primary task of the organization to be the spreading of knowledge about Jewish culture, hereby inciting sympathy and understanding for the many Jews that fled into Antwerp. Paradoxically, Peeters also became engaged in Rex, the fascist party of Léon Degrelle, in 1936. However, she declared that she only joined the party due to Degrelle's false promise of a peace ministry, and the fact that Rex originally offered resistance against antisemitism (Govaerts 2016:45-46). After having fled to London in 1940 and having split from Rex, she joined IFOR again. It is interesting to note that Betsie Hollants was posthumously honored for her resistance engagements by *Yad Vashem*, the Israeli foundation for the remembrance of victims of the Holocaust, as she was taken up in the list of "Righteous for the savior of Jewish fellow citizens during World War II" (Govaerts 2016:42).

3.1.2. *Porajmos (1933-1945)*[9]

The Yoorses' pacifist and resistance background offer a clarification on why they would allow their young son to leave their home to travel with a group of Gypsies, especially at a time when they were in increasing danger considering the changing political climate in Europe. Though the fate of the Gypsies during World War II can be compared to that of the Jews, it is much less widely known, probably due to the continuing mistrust of Gypsies that lives in Western society. Exactly this mistrust and social prejudice was one of the main reasons for the Nazi actions against the Gypsies. The Nazis judged Gypsies to be racially inferior and "undesirable," subjecting them to internment, forced labor, and execution in the killing centers in the German occupied regions. Between 1933 and 1945, the Gypsies faced prosecution and extermination which has only been historically researched since recently. An estimated 220,000 to 500,000 Gypsies were killed by the Nazis and their collaborators, which counts for one fifth to half of

[9] The term *Porajmos* means "devouring" or "destruction" in some dialects of the Gypsy language and refers to the Gypsy genocide or the Gypsy Holocaust, was introduced by Ian Hancock into Gypsy studies in the early 1990s (Hancock 1997:339).

the total population of one million in Europe (Perkins 1999:64). Romani scholar Ian Hancock estimates the death toll as high as 1,5 million (Hancock 2005:383-396).

Discrimination against Gypsies long preceded the Nazi's actions. Since the Middle Ages they had suffered from the mistrust that Western civilization had towards them (Loveland and Popescu 2016:333). Since the end of the 19th Century, this general mistrust manifested itself in concrete discrimination against the minority group, especially in Germany. As early as 1899, during the German Empire period, the imperial police of Munich established a central information registry in an effort to exercise continuous surveillance of the community. At the end of the 19th century, with the emergence of a scientific racism and social Darwinism, race more than ever became an indication of social class.[10] After World War I, during the Weimar Republic, Gypsies were deprived of a great number of freedoms, as they were regarded in Germany, and all of Europe for that matter, as criminals and spies. The *Law for the Fight against Gypsies, Vagrants and the Workshy* (1926), became the German national standard by 1929, which implied that Gypsy groups were to avoid Germany while traveling. Those already living in the regions were put under heightened surveillance, so that the German autochthonous population "had nothing more to fear from them with regards to the safety in the land". This legislation became the model for Gypsy policies in neighboring countries as well (Perkins 1999:67; Zimmermann 2001:112, "Persecution of Roma").

At Hitler's rise to power, in 1933, the police in Germany commenced more rigorous enforcement measures of prosecution of the Gypsies. The *Law against Dangerous Habitual Criminals* allowed the police to arrest "asocial" population groups, such as beggars, homeless, alcoholics, and Gypsies, and imprison them in internment camps. Evermore, legislation against Gypsies was based upon a rhetoric of racism and the Nazis needed a clear distinction of what Gypsies were. Contrary to the Jewish population, the Gypsies in Europe had been Christian for centuries, rendering ecclesiastical records useless in the determination of Gypsy descent. Thus, the Nazis turned to pseudo-science again with a research led by Dr. Robert Ritter (1901-1951) at the Department of Racial Hygiene and Population Biology, established in 1936 (Perkins 1999:73). The fieldwork determined that the Gypsies, having originated in India, had once been Aryan but were corrupted by mingling with lesser peoples during their centuries of migration. Ritter commanded for the "impure" part of the Gypsies to be sterilized, while the remaining "pure-blooded" Gypsies were to be brought to remote reservations. In reality, little distinction was made, and virtually all Gypsies became subject to the Nazi policy of persecution and extermination (Lewy 1999:213; Zimmerman 2001:118; Croes 2014:30).

After establishing the Reich Central Office for the Suppression of the Gypsy Nuisance in 1936, Heinrich Himmler (1900-1945) was greatly responsible for the persecution of European Gypsies. One of this agency's first decisions was to subject the Gypsies to the Nuremberg Laws in 1936, entailing that they lost their right to vote, just like Jews had lost theirs (Margalit

[10] Social Darwinists believed that inferior human groups and races were diminished and their cultured delimited while the strong would grow in power and cultural power over the weak ("Social Darwinism").

1999:88; Lewy 1999:201). They were also forced Gypsy camps or *Zigeunerlager* set up by Nazis, which were only a temporary step towards genocide. In 1942, Himmler ordered to begin the deportation to Auschwitz, and during *Operation Reinhard* (1941-1943) an uncertain number of Gypsies were killed in extermination camps (Zimmerman 2001:120; "Genocide of the European Roma")

In Belgium, the Gypsies received a temporary residence permit in 1941 in the form of a "Gypsy card". Gypsies could move freely throughout Belgium until February of 1943, when the first nine were incarcerated in the prison of Antwerp. Starting from the autumn of 1943, Gypsy families were arrested on a larger scale. They were incarcerated in the transit camp in Mechelen. On January 15, 1944, 351 prisoners were transported to Auschwitz-Birkenau, where some 16,000 other Gypsies from various countries were collocated. During the night between August 2 and 3, 1944, all 2397 survivors in the section were brought to the gas chambers. Only 13 of the 351 Gypsies from Belgium survived this deportation (De Keulenaar 2003).

3.1.3. *Jan Yoors's war years*

It is clear that Yoors's open-minded and liberal upbringing influenced him throughout his entire life. Not only his father's stories about the Andalusian Gypsies, but also his mother's engagement against the problematic political condition of the first half of the 20th Century, would have influenced Yoors's attraction to the Gypsies.

Next to his friendship with the Gypsies during his youth, his engagements during World War II form important testimonials of Yoors's ideologies and moral values. In 1940, the Yoors family fled the German invasion of Belgium and crossed the Canal to the United Kingdom. However, Yoors stayed behind as he was to report to the Belgian army in the south of France. Yoors described in *Crossing* how, on the first day of the German invasion, he decided to leave the Gypsies and join the Belgian army. As he had already experienced too much happiness and improvidence during his years with the Gypsies, he felt it was now his responsibility to fight in the war (Yoors 1972 [1971]:35). Another reason why he felt it was time to leave the Gypsies, was that he had turned down a marriage that Pulika had arranged with Djidjo, a girl from another tribe that had joined their *kumpania* in 1939. After arriving in Paris on his way to the south, he was approached by the French Resistance. They asked Yoors not only to join them, but also to integrate the Gypsies into their troops, so that they could partake in their activities of bringing allied soldiers and threatened minorities to safety, supplying food to those in need and smuggling arms into occupied France, Belgium and the Netherlands. During these years, Yoors was enrolled in the La Cambre art school for a training in sculpture. It is possible that this education was a cover for his activities in the resistance, as many members of the resistance hid behind *façades* of normalcy. He was also officially a "parentless minor" and Betsie Hollants and Camille Van Deyck (1901-1963), who were both co-founders of the Catholic Bureau for Israel, were his legal guardians (Govaerts 2016:73).

In 1943, Yoors was arrested and tortured at La Santé prison in Paris for a period of six months. Upon release, he rejoined the allied troops and escorted imprisoned allied soldiers into safety, disguised as a S.S. officer. He was captured again, this time incarcerated in a Spanish concentration camp named Miranda del Ebro (Servellón 2012:35). Escaping his death sentence, he fled to the United Kingdom to join the Belgian troops there again (cf. infra). During the prosecution of Gypsies in Belgium in 1943, members of Yoors's own Gypsy family were arrested and deported to the extermination camps of Auschwitz and Dachau, of which only some survived (Govaerts 2016:89).

Yoors was brought into contact with Dora Yates, honorary secretary of the *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society* in 1944, and texts he authored were published in the journal's edition of November of 1945, shortly following the end of World War II. Yoors also contributed to the Belgian journal *Vandaag*, as Frans Olbrechts mentions in his letter dating from 1943 (cf. supra). Betsie Hollants was editor in chief of this journal and, although its general tone was of typically Flemish, Catholic innocence, it offered subtle critique on the occupation. Many of the articles in *Vandaag*, such as Yoors's pieces on Gypsy culture, could be seen as implicit acts of resistance. An article most probably authored by Yoors is "Hebben zigeuners een literatuur?" ["Do Gypsies have literature?"], published in 1941 (Falino et al. 2012:184).

3.2. "A world that might soon cease to exist": anti-fascist and human interests

The increasing animosity towards the Gypsies during the years in which Yoors lived with them add a dimension of meaning to the photographs, complementary to that of the family snapshot. Yoors's prewar experiences and the photographs he made are unique, as he was a *Gajo*, who was welcomed into a Gypsy *kumpania* during the decade preceding World War II, a time during which the Gypsies and their culture were threatened with extermination. In Yoors's parents' expression that he should return home if any troubles were to present themselves, their worry about the danger of the Nazis can be detected (cf. supra). They undoubtedly were aware of the crimes that were being committed against the Gypsies and other persecuted populations, thanks to their engagements in the resistance. Nevertheless, they encouraged their son to travel with the Gypsies, which underlines their awareness of the uniqueness and the importance of Jan Yoors's experiences.

The work of Moscow-born biologist and photographer Roman Vishniac (1897-1990) could be used as an illustration of Yoors's intentions. In 1935, as antisemitism gained a great following, Vishniac was commissioned by the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee in Central Europe to take photographs of Jewish communities in Eastern Europe in the context of a fund-raising action to bring aid to impoverished communities. Needless to say, Vishniac was personally motivated to bring interest and understanding to his subject matter, he continued to travel throughout Eastern Europe, from Berlin to the ghettos of Poland, Romania, Czechoslovakia and Lithuania through 1938, as well as continuing his work for the Committee. During his travels, he went to work under the cover identity of a traveling fabric salesman. However, he did often get arrested, often being accused of spying. Vishniac describes his

ambitions as "to preserve—in pictures—a world that might soon cease to exist". Vishniac, thus, didn't go to work solely to preserve the memories of the Jews, but he actively sought to spread awareness in Europe on their worsening situation. Thanks to his work and ideals, Vishniac can be seen as an anti-fascist photographer (Hirsch 2000:293; Marien 2006:301; Sontag 2008 [1977]:70; Miller 2013:249; Zerwez 2016:448).

Judging by the age Yoors seemingly had in the photographs, many of them seem to have been taken just before the beginning of World War II, around 1938 and 1939 (Fig. 7 & Fig. 8). It is likely that Yoors was aware of the injustices committed against the Gypsies during this time, thanks to, among others, his parents, who had been active in the context of resistance since the late 1920s (cf. supra). Similar to the Jewish communities Vishniac photographed in Eastern Europe, the Gypsies Yoors photographed were persecuted and threatened. Both Vishniac and Yoors had the ambition to preserve a world that might "cease to exist" and to spread awareness and understanding of the persecuted communities (cf. infra). However, this comparison necessitates caution. Vischniac was an established photographer at the time of taking these photographs and had a clear motive and mission while documenting the Jewish communities, while Yoors was young and taking these photographs independently, primarily for private use. Nevertheless, the comparison between Vishniac and Yoors offers a possible illustration of their similar intentions and ideals. In this context, August Sander's (1876-1964) sociological project to photograph citizens from German society, published in *Anlitz der Zeit* [*Face of Our Time*] (1929) can also be named. Sander's portraits from 1912 to 1928 reflect the contemporary cultural and economic context and the struggle to accept social diversity. His publication, which revealed individuality, diversity and physical characteristics that did not match the genetic mythology of the contemporary totalitarian regime, was banned by the Nazis in 1934 (Hirsch 2000:281-282; Jeffrey 2009:77).

The idea of enhancing understanding and sympathy through photography was important within documentary photography and photojournalism during the 1920s and 1930s. As World War I was still a relatively recent past, the crash of Wall Street had just happened in 1929, and the Nazi and Fascist groups were increasingly present, the cultural, political and social context was anxious, which was reflected in the arts. The dominant "mode" in photography from the 1930s through the 1950s on both sides of the Atlantic was a "human interest", which emphasized the everyday man's worth, pictured with dignity (Jeffrey 1981:178). This movement is generally referred to as humanist photography. In France, the earliest expressions of this genre came into existence in a time of artistic experimentation in photography, such as double exposure, deformation, and solarization, linked to the avant-garde of Moholy-Nagy (1895-1946), Man Ray (1890-1976) and Maurice Tabard (1897-1984). In contrast to these artistic practices, photographers used the medium to witness everyday life (Jeanneney 2003:13; Beaumon-Maillet 2006:11). In France, the primary photographers were André Kertész (1894-1985), Eli Lotar (1905-1969) and Germaine Krull (1897-1985), and later Brassaï (1899-1984) and Robert Capa (1913-1954). The most influential photographer among them was Kertész, whose photographs expressed a dignity and a serenity in the midst of the troubling cultural context.

Like Kertész, Brassaï was committed to the everyday man and "little happenings", corresponding to Hannah Arendt's (1906-1975) statement in *The Human Condition* (1958) that happiness is to be found out of the mainstream. The photographs offer a positive, often hopeful glance on humanity, expressing a certain *goût de vivre*. In recording the streets, they used their medium to engender a new sense of compassion and understanding of the fellow human (Jeffrey 1981:178; Beaumon-Maillet 2006:9). An important American prewar photographer who handled within the ethos of "human interest" was, among many others, Walker Evans (1903-1975). He made a large part of his oeuvre commissioned by the *Farm Security Administration*, a photographic enterprise that aimed to improve the lives of poverty-stricken Americans (Marien 2012:166). Evans documented the everyday life of the rural Americans who suffered from the economic depression and portrayed his subjects in a dignified manner. With his photographs, he spread awareness of members of the population of which many fellow Americans might otherwise not have known about (Green 1984:20; Hirsch 2000:288; Sontag 2008 [1977]:30; Jeffrey 2009:233).

Jan Yoors captured the everyday life and the "little happenings" of the Gypsies, portraying his subjects in a dignified manner. For example, Yoors photographed a Gypsy woman, Rosa, telling ghost stories (Fig. 27), a man singing and playing the guitar (Fig. 11), and Simza and her little sister Moni in front of a wagon (Fig.32). The hypothesis that Yoors took his photographs in an effort to enhance understanding and sympathy towards the Gypsies by educating the general public, like his parents did, is a plausible one. Yoors's mother, after having co-founded the Bureau for Israel, spread understanding of the Jewish refugees that entered Antwerp by organizing lectures about their culture (cf. supra) (Govaerts 2016:45). Although Yoors's photographs weren't published during the years leading up to or during the war, it is possible that it was his ambition to do so, considering his contacts with *Vandaag* and *The Gypsy Lore Society*. The articles that he published in *Vandaag* correspond to these motives of engendering sympathy for the Gypsies through understanding and awareness. Throughout his photographic oeuvre from after World War II and, more generally, his entire artistic oeuvre, Yoors's appreciation of the fellow human forms a common thread. Several authors have noted that Yoors's work was always influenced by this deep-rooted love for humanity and its cultures, which he gained thanks to his upbringing and his youth with the Gypsies (Falino 2012:55).

4. From a family album to the Anne Frank Center: the roles and meanings of Jan Yoors's photographs throughout their social biographies

An observation of the various ways in which Jan Yoors's photographs have been presented, the forms they have taken on and the contexts in which they have received various meanings throughout space and time, may yield an understanding of the photographs that transcends the "dominant categories of Western photographic analysis: realism, referent, trace, index, icon, and the power of representation" (Edwards 2012:225). As established above, the original prints of the photographs taken during the 1930s and the early 1940s were assembled in a photo album. This specific context of their existence can open up an understanding of their use and

efficacy, building upon Jan Yoors's intention to have personal documents of his youth with his Gypsy family. The photographs have, however, been reproduced, printed and presented in various other contexts than this album, in which their performances have brought other spectrums of meaning than that of a vernacular family photograph. Throughout a consideration of the forms Yoors's photographs have taken on since he took them, the meanings they have carried can be clarified.

Elizabeth Edwards states in "Objects of Affect" that the potential range of material practices and material objects that photography comprises is enormous, naming the existence of photographs as contact prints, enlargements, postcards, and snapshots among others. Furthermore, she states that photographs are inherently defined as objects by their reproducibility and potential repurposing, as photographs are objects with active biographies, that exist in a constant state of flux. Examples of reproduction (or remediation) and repurposing of photographs within their biographies include their framing, replacing and rearranging; negatives being developed into prints, prints becoming lantern slides or postcards, ID photographs becoming family treasures, private photographs being integrated into archives, analog photographic objects becoming digital, private images becoming public and scientific production of images reclaimed as cultural heritage (Edwards 2012:225). In relation to observing photographs, Patrizia Di Bello states that "we should embrace the flirtatiousness of photographs, never yielding to one conclusive and stable meaning; and learn to flirt back," following that she wishes to "propose that we should find ways to embrace and build upon the open, indeterminate and ambiguous relationship between photography and meaning, and recognize that this ambiguity, mutability, recalcitrance to being pinned down by one discourse, one practice, one set of theoretical tools, is photography's very strength" (Di Bello 2008 in Sandbye 2014:15). Mette Sandbye uses this observation to point out that actual photographs can inform and transform theories, as well as be explained by them (Sandbye 2014:15).

Edwards's idea of "active biographies" refers to the social biography of a photographic object, which is studied within the material thinking in anthropological studies of photography. As the social efficacy of photographs is premised on their shifting roles and meanings within the various spaces and uses they are projected into, photographs can be seen as objects that are specifically made to have social biographies. Kopytoff's (1986) biographical model argues that objects, and thus photographic objects, cannot be understood within only one moment of their existence, but are marked through successive moments of consumption across space and time, fulfilling different roles and carrying different meanings (Edwards 2012:222). Edwards also mentions Poole's (1997) model of "visual economy", that accommodates the demand for the multiplicity of lives over various material originals. Poole argues that the meaning of photographs is not in content alone, but in the "relationships between a photograph's production, consumption, material forms, ownership, institutionalization, exchange, possession and social accumulation, in which equal weight is given to content and use value" (Poole 1997 in Edwards 2012:223). Hevia's (2009) model of the "photography complex" argues that the social saliency and efficacy of photographs lies not only in the flow of the

photographs, but also in the technologies and structures that give them meaning (Edwards 2012:223). Another useful framework in the analysis of the biographies of Jan Yoors's prewar photographs is Alfred Gell's (1998) model of the "distributed object". This model departs form the qualities of photography as being recodable, repurposed and remediated, and functioning ambiguously and sometimes precariously in shifting patterns of social use. The "distributed object" is created through various microhistorical trajectories, yet discursively united as a single object (Ibid.:224). By means of this model, the divergent, nonlinear social biographies of photographs over divergent multiple material originals, and "multiple, dispersed, and atomized performances of photographic objects, which themselves initiate and act in social relations" can be studied (Bell 2008 in Edwards 2012:224). Throughout the double helix of image biography and the biography of material refiguration and remediation, the meanings of photographs, material forms and ideas of appropriateness shift (Edwards 2012:224). The models that Edwards proposes in "Objects of Affect" contain useful elements for the approach of Jan Yoors's photography.

4.1. From family album to archive: the social biographies of Jan Yoors's prints

The first approach, following Kopytoff, concerning the "concrete" circulations, offers an insight into the lives of the specific original prints of Jan Yoors's prewar photographs.[11] A linear approach to the lives of these specific prints would be that Yoors collected the photographs he took himself, or that his Gypsy friends took, or were possibly taken in a photography studio, and placed them together in an album (Fig. 33-57). Having remained in a familial context, until Kore Yoors began his undertakings to archive his father's documents, the album with these prints currently resides in the archive of the Yoors Family Partnership. They were thus repurposed to be archival documents.

In the above-mentioned album, Jan Yoors assembled the photographs he took with his Kodak Brownie with photographs he let his Gypsy friends take, as he is visible in many of them, and various other forms of photography that do not seem to be taken with his portable camera. In this "family album", the photographs of the Gypsies form an eclectic mix of print sizes and colors, some having a more sepia shade or having a higher quality of print than others. Next to the very spontaneous photographs by Yoors or one of his Gypsy friends, there are a few that lend their pictorial qualities to established social and aesthetic conventions in photographs. As such, these vernacular photographs carry various meanings. Some of the photographs in the album are different from the others, as they seem to have been made in a professional photography studio. For example, in one of the photographs, Yoors and Djidjo, his Gypsy wife-

[11] In an earlier article named "Material beings: objecthood and ethnographic photographs" (2002), Edwards distinguishes two forms of social biography, which are related to two forms of materiality. First is the social biography of the image content, such as different prints, publications formats, lantern slides, etc., all of which involve changes in the material form. Secondly, she mentions the social biography of specific photographic object which may possibly be physically modified as through its successive moments of consumption (Edwards 2002:68). These two forms of social biography correspond to the double helix of image biography and refiguration she mentions in relation to Gell's (1998) model of the "distributed object", or to the material practices of repurposing and remediation of the photographic object she mentions in "Objects of Affect" (Edwards 2012: 224).

to-be, are pictured posing in a traditional manner against a neutral background. This "engagement portrait", which can also be defined as a subgenre of vernacular photography, communicates its function through the comforting use of a traditional form, use and meaning (Fig. 57 & Fig. 58) (Batchen 2014). Yoors, posing behind Djidjo, holding her in a protective manner, visually establishes the relational bond between the two. On another page, a photograph that corresponds to the conventions of a typical ID photograph can be seen (Fig. 45). On yet another, a more formal couple portrait, which beholds a similar pose to that in Yoors and Djidjo's photograph, and thus also corresponds to the conventions of the engagement portrait (Fig. 54 & Fig. 60). This particular photograph is clearly made in a studio setting, as it shows an artificial background against which the Gypsy couple is posing, and it is pasted onto a cardboard support that carries the signature of the studio. Included on the same album page is the envelope in which the couple probably received this photograph.

Complementary to the above-made linear enumeration of the social lives of Yoors's original prints, Gell's argument that photographs emerge within networks of telling, seeing and being, which extend "beyond what a photograph's surface visually displays and incorporates what is embodied in their materiality" can be used to further interpret them (cf. supra). The material practice of "placing" the original prints in the album illustrates the meaning the photographs receive within their social relations, as considerations of materiality, adjacency, assemblage, and embodied relations frame the meaning of the image within this family album (Edwards 2012:226).[12] The family album forms an assemblage of Yoors's photographic objects that clearly externalizes Yoors's relationship with them as objects he had a great affinity with. The placing of family photographs into a family album is an example of how Jan Yoors's cultural background guided him in determining the appropriate place to guard his family photographs. Edwards states that "placing" is defined as a sense of appropriateness of particular sets of social expectation and desire within space and time. In Drazin and Frohlich's (2007) analysis of practices of family photographs in British homes, they state there is a sense of "morally correct" treatment of photographs (Drazin and Frohlich 2007 in Edwards 2012:226). Edwards connects this notion to Rose's concept of "affordances" and to Goffman' notion of "appropriateness", which he defines as the culturally determined accordance of content, genre, and material performance, in that the social work of photographs as material objects allows them to be treated only in certain ways (Rose 2010 in Edwards 2012:226).[13] The Gypsies usually do not allow photography, as they prefer not to leave traces of their existence. Gypsy culture also relies more on oral traditions in terms of remembering, which goes hand in hand with their nomadism; nothing is to be fixated or sedentary, not even an image of them within a photograph. Given Yoors's upbringing in Western European culture, he found it important to document his "family" to remember them later (cf. supra), but also to place them within the photo album, which is an "appropriate" place to guard family photographs. Furthermore, the

[12] Similar to Edwards's idea of "placing", Batchen argues that photographic objects carry importance in enacting cultural and social rituals through morphological design and object-audience interaction (Batchen 2002:77).
[13] In accordance to this idea, Mette Sandbye mentions that every family photograph adheres in some way to the rituals and conventions of a particular group of people in history (Sandbye 2014:12).

culturally determined appropriate or "morally correct" placing of photographs into an assemblage in a photo album, can be regarded as an illustration of the deeply conventional and ritualized characteristics that Pierre Bourdieu demonstrated family photography to have in his *Un art moyen* (Bourdieu 1990:30). The pages of Yoors's album have the iconographic and material attributes of a typical Western family album. It includes different sizes and types of photographic prints, spontaneously taken photographs, repurposed photographic prints, such as the engagement photograph and the ID photograph, etc.[14]

A general, phenomenological theory of the ontology of photography is offered by Roland Barthes' *La chambre claire* (1980) or *Camera Lucida* (1981), in which he investigates the personal affects a photograph can have on its spectator. He recognizes two elements co-present in photographs. In a first instance, he establishes the *studium*, which is the general, docile interest in a photograph, "an application to a thing, a taste for someone, a kind of general, enthusiastic commitment, without special activity" (Barthes 1981:26); "I am interested in them, I do not love them" (Ibid.:41); "the spectacle interests me, but it does not prick me" (Ibid.:43). The element in a photograph that would "prick" the spectator, is the *punctum*, which arouses sympathy, "almost a kind of tenderness". He specifies that the *punctum* is not guided by moral principles or good taste, it can be "ill-bred" (Ibid.:43). Barthes puts forth that two possible sorts of *puncta* can exist to the spectator: a detail, a speck, a cut, an accident that "pricks" him, or time (Ibid.:26, 96). Regarding time in photography, he defines the *noeme*, or the very essence of photography to be the "that-has-been", as the spectator can never deny that the "thing" visible in the photograph has been there. It has absolutely been present, yet already deferred (Ibid.:76-77). In a photograph, he states, the spectator can deduce death in the future: "this will be" and "this has been". Yoors's intention of recording the adventures from his youth before they would change is reflected in the affect they have on him as a spectator. It is probable that he assembled the photographs into the album after his youth, possibly after the war, as some pictures in it reveal Yoors during wartime. While looking at the photographs, Yoors was undoubtedly "pricked" by the various *puncta* present within the photographs, both in the form of details, which would trigger associations in his perception, and of time, as he had the retrospective knowledge that what was depicted in the photographs, had changed. The Gypsy photographs announce a "death" in the future: the finiteness of Yoors's youth adventures, the change and aging of the people depicted, the wagons, the environment, etc. More so, they announce the "death" of the Gypsy culture, its changes within the accelerating industrialized world and its possible extermination within Nazi Europe. In a very literal sense, they announce the death of a few members of Yoors's *kumpania*, who were killed before and during World War II (cf. infra). Within the "space" of the photographic album, in Yoors's perception (or in the perception of others who will perceive a *punctum* in regarding the photographs, cf. infra), these photographs arouse what Barthes calls "great sympathy" and "almost a kind of tenderness"; Yoors "loves" the photographs (Ibid.:40, 43). Within the photo album, the

[14] The mentioning of the characteristics of a typical "Western" family album does not mean that family albums from other cultures from the postwar era are necessarily fundamentally different, as Mette Sandbye's article further illustrates in her interpretations of the Japanese photo album of Yoko's family (Sandbye 2014:9-12).

photographs are used for what Berger defines as private use, in which the photograph receives its meaning as it is read and appreciated in a "context which is continuous from which the camera removed it" (Berger 2009 [1980]:55).[15]

Yoors's album can be seen as a "biographical object" through which stories can be told, in which Yoors expressed his experiences with the Gypsies (Hoskins 1998 in Edwards 2012:227). His family album should be approached as a social and dynamic object that performs cultural work; it tells about Yoors's life and reveals his cultural identity (Sandbye 2012:12). Richard Chalfen claims in his seminal publication *Snapshot Versions of Life* (1987) that family photography must be seen at the same time as a process and a "doing", an act of communication and a "symbolic activity". He sees family photography as a "reaffirmation of cultural and structural values" (Chalfen 1987 in Sandbye 2012:3). He further underlines the importance of examining photography albums as a communication tool between people and as social statements about the everyday life of the album's producer. He writes that "making family photographs and organizing albums are modern additions to a human's many ways of symbolically defining and ordering the world". Building upon this communicative manner of interpretation, Jan Yoors's photography album can be seen as a symbolical expression of his acquired identity as a Gypsy, and his membership of the Gypsy *kumpania*. This expression comes about most clearly in the family photographs that are to be seen in the album, in which Yoors himself is depicted. In placing himself in a photograph, among Vedel, Ludu, Simza, Bossa and Carora, and assembling this photograph among other photographs of the family, he expresses a statement that he is the adoptive Gypsy son of Pulika (Fig. 8 & Fig. 33). These bonds with his two "families", his adoptive Gypsy family and his Belgian family, remained important to Yoors throughout his entire life. The album creates a discourse on his identity, a statement that he identified as a Gypsy, belonging to the *Lowara* tribe of Djidjo. His photographs are, as Empson states, not only surrogates for the absent, but powerful elements in social space "intertwined with a larger process of maintaining different forms of sociality and personhood" (Empson 2011 in Edwards 2012:229).[16]

This characterization of Yoors's photography as an act of communication within the photo album can be compared to the "making order" that Daniel Miller describes as making relationships with both people and things, which involve patterns, which give order, meaning and often moral adjudication to their lives. This order, being familiar and repetitive, may also be a comfort to them. Sandbye suggests that this order, which Miller calls "aesthetics", may be an apt term to describe most family albums, as they are in most cases highly aesthetical and personal vernacular "artworks". Sandbye further argues that family photographs and personal

[15] While Barthes stated that the reading of photographs is always a private reading of their referent, Berger similarly argued that the spectator is always in a situation of intimacy towards the referent (Barthes 1981[1980]:97-98; Berger 1997:44). Barthes calls for a reconsideration of the division between "private" and "public" and states that the photograph is experienced in two regions: the "images" or the public photographs, i.e., a photograph in which the spectator only experiences a *studium*, and what he calls "my photographs", his definition of the private photograph, in which a *punctum* is experienced (Barthes 1981[1980]:98).

[16] Kore Yoors believes that the photographs did indeed reinforce Yoors' history with the Gypsies, his Gypsy background (K.Yoors, personal communication, July 19, 2018).

snapshots link people to people, and people to objects or things. As they are strongly related to memory, melancholia, and nostalgia attached to separation, family photographs create discourse themselves, and they perform stories about gender, national identity, and family, and much more (Sandbye 2014:14). In Yoors's Gypsy family album, his "other" and "non-ordinary" family was made familiar, was "tamed", as Yoors symbolically defined an order to his world. The Gypsy family *was* his family, and would always stay his family, even in times of separation. The family album likely offered him great affective comfort, related to the nostalgia and melancholia he felt after the separation from most of the members of his family during World War II for the rest of his life. In this way, the Gypsy album can be seen as a way of processing the personal trauma of being separated from the Gypsies as the war started, not knowing where they were or even if they had survived.[17]

Yoors's family album, as an expression of his Gypsy identity and belonging to the Gypsy family, ties into Elizabeth Edwards's studies on the use of family photographs by indigenous Australians, wherein she calls the photographs "active sources" and "performative objects" in the understanding of the self, roots and culture.[18] She calls family photographs "a form of interlocutors," as they reveal memories and histories and allow them to be transferred or passed on into the present. Edwards stresses the importance of the sensory realm of social processes in which photographs carry meaning, as these social processes are integral to the material approaches to photographs. Thus, the many ways in which the photographs are experienced as tactile, sensory things that exist in time and space and are consumed by and through social relations must be analyzed critically. In relation to Jan Yoors's photographs in the album, such an ethnographical analysis of their use would mainly point to their use as a tool in narration. Though it is impossible to give a detailed ethnography of the album, Kore Yoors can serve as a trustworthy witness that it was used as a narrative tool (K. Yoors, personal communication, July 19, 2018). While Jan Yoors pointed at the pictures, handled the album, and passed it around with his family, or the friends or colleagues visiting him, he would tell about his experiences. A link can be drawn here with the idea of "visual repatriation", in which the material forms of photography are used as focal points for storytelling, among others. Again, the role of photographs in the process of history, identity and memory is illustrated. While looking at the photographs, Jan Yoors would narrate the "that-has-been" of the photographs, going far beyond a description of what is visible in them, but engaging with them in order to tell his experiences as he had lived them; the photographs truly become interlocutors between the past and present. As Hoskins states, photographs connect to lived experiences, to "images, feelings, sentiments, desires and meanings" and can be used for enactment and rhetorical

[17] Patricia Holland observed that some of the seemingly joyous compositions in family photography albums can cover up personal traumas or critical situations (Sandbye 2014:14).

[18] Yoors's album might as well be an "active source" in Kore Yoors's understanding of the self, roots and culture. Regarding the photography album, he might feel that part of his identity is shaped by the belonging to the Gypsy family himself, as he is the son of an adopted Gypsy, he carries the Gypsy name of his father's "cousin", Kore, etc. Kore does state that the photographs keep the history of his father and the Gypsies present. Carrying a Gypsy name connects him to his family's history with the Gypsies (K. Yoors, personal communication, July 19, 2018).

assertion, as various discourses temporarily intersect within them (Hoskins 1998 in Edwards 2012:229).

The repurposing of the family album into the Jan Yoors archive has added a spectrum of social agency and identity to the photographs and the album. While the album undoubtedly still is—following Barthes' *punctum*—a melancholic object to Kore Yoors and his mother Marianne Citroen, forming an object of remembrance to their respective father and partner, the photographs are also documents of Jan Yoors's life and photographic oeuvre, and could be used as documents in Gypsy studies (*studium*). They are historical, biographical, and anthropological documents in the context of this archive. Whereas in a familial setting the album could be handled and passed around in an informal manner, the etiquette in an archive is that they are to be handled with care, not to be damaged. This shift in the social role of Yoors's family album resonates with the idea that albums, to fulfill their social role, "must be in the right hands, both literally and metaphorically" (Edwards 2012:227).

4.2. From the *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society* to the Anne Frank Center: the social biographies through reproducibility and remediation

Throughout their existence, the prints Jan Yoors made of his own photographs, or the ones he collected and pasted in his family photography album, have taken on various material forms, through remediation, thanks to their reproducibility (Edwards 2012:226). As Alfred Gell states, throughout these multiple, divergent material originals, each have their own divergent, nonlinear social biographies. These material originals each have their own multiple, dispersed and atomized performances, which themselves initiate and act in social relations (Edwards 2012:224). Throughout the following performances of the photographs, they take on their role, thanks to their *studium*. They illustrate what Berger defines as the "public" use of photographs, in which the photograph isn't read within its original context but rather as a source of information (Berger 2009 [1980]:56-60).

4.2.1. *Illustrations in publications*

Directly after the war, in 1945, Jan Yoors published his first article in the *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, named "III.-Reminisces of the Lovara". He continued to publish in this journal through 1961. His articles were all autobiographical tales of his youth travels with the Gypsies, which revealed elements of the Gypsy culture. The titles he gave these articles, such as "II.-A Lowari Tale" (1946); "I.-Lowari Law and Jurisdiction" (1947); and "II.-*O Dom Le Lowarengo*: Recollections of Life and Travel with the Lowara" (1959), among others, reflect both these autobiographical and ethnographical motives. These articles can be seen as autoethnographies, which Garance Maréchal defines as a method of research that requires observation of the self and reflexive examination in ethnographic fieldwork or writing" (Maréchal 2010: 43). Carolyn Ellis defines autoethnography as "research, writing, story, and method that connect the autobiographical and personal to the cultural, social and political" (Ellis 2004: XIX). In autoethnography, the researcher embraces and foregrounds his or her own subjectivity and

personal experience. Autoethnographers are the primary participants and subjects in their personal, often creatively written, ethnographical stories and narratives (Grant et al. 2013:2). The same can be said of Yoors's books, as they all provide an in-depth and multifaceted insight in the culture of the *Lowara*, providing information about their language, familial bonds, law, religion, living customs, etc. In Jan Yoors's publications *The Gypsies*, *Crossing* and *The Gypsies of Spain*, anthropological descriptions of the Gypsies go hand in hand with the narration of the author's personal experiences and his outline of the contemporary cultural climate from an autobiographical perspective.

In his articles for the *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, Yoors often included photographs, which he had collected from his time with the Gypsies, as illustrations in his articles (Fig. 61 & Fig. 62). This way, the personal snapshots of his Gypsy family became public, as did the stories that could be told around them. As illustrations, the photographs take on the role of supporting, elucidating, and adorning the articles, but also as serving as an evidence for the integrity of Yoors's experiences, e.g., the family portrait including himself in "III.- Reminiscences of the Lovara" (Fig. 61). Sandall (1969) argued that the illustration has the function of providing a visual image to support a preexisting narrative or discourse (Peterson 2006:11). In the original print of *The Gypsies* from 1967, no illustrations were provided. It is only in the reissued version of 1987 by Waveland Press that his prewar photographs were included, along with his postwar photographs of Gypsies (cf. infra).

Hall and Pink argue that images take on different, perhaps conflicting, meanings when regarded by different audiences and in different circumstances. While Hall states that objects receive meaning through use, representation and frameworks of interpretation, Pink states that the "ethnographicness" of an image depends on its situation, how it is interpreted and used to conjure meanings and knowledge of ethnographic interest (Hall 1997:3; Pink 2007:23 Niskac 2011:129). As illustrations within anthropological publications, the photographs Yoors made as personal documents of his experiences and of his Gypsy family—though possibly with an anthropological motive as well (cf. supra)—carry an ethnographic meaning. In the context of anthropological study, Yoors's photographs are interesting for their *studium*: the Gypsies' living environment, their customs, clothing, physical attributes, etc. Yoors's vernacular, personal photographs can be regarded as a form of "visual autoethnography", revealing his first-hand experiences with the Gypsies, and the publication of these images renders them available for ethnographic research (Hunt 1997:67; Scarles 2010:909).

4.2.2. *Exhibitions*

Although Yoors didn't exhibit his prewar photography during his own lifetime, a number of exhibitions showing his photography from 1934 to 1944 have been curated since his passing in 1977. Most of the exhibitions that have included his prewar photography have placed them together with the photography of Gypsies Yoors made after World War II, serving in either retrospectives of the artist, thematic exhibitions on Gypsy culture and history, or within the broader theme of migration. The exhibitions in which both pre- and postwar photography were

exhibited, will be discussed in chapter II, which handles Yoors's Gypsy photography from the 1950s to the 1970s. However, there are two instances in which exhibitions were curated with a specific emphasis on Yoors's photography from 1934 to 1944, which correspond to the abovementioned anti-fascist and humanist motives Yoors had while making them.

In the first instance, the Museum of History and Holocaust Education at Kennesaw State University was host to the exhibition *The Heroic Present: The Gypsy Photographs of Jan Yoors* in 2008. The exhibition consisted of 65 reproduced black and white photographs, primarily from his prewar period, as well as Gypsy photographs from later in his career. The photographs were accompanied by Yoors's own writings on the Gypsies in his abovementioned publications. The central theme of this exhibition was the meaning of Jan Yoors's photography within the narrative of the Holocaust and the prosecution of Gypsies in Nazi Germany. A short documentary on Yoors, named *Weaving Two Worlds* (2008), that was originally produced by the Kennesaw State University Holocaust Education Program and by Whirlwind Creative in New York City, told the story of Yoors's life and work by means of original photographs, footage and interviews. One of the features in the exhibition, by which the thematic of the Holocaust is clearly expressed, was the interactive puzzle game named *Piecing Together the Factors of the Holocaust*, which engaged visitors of the exhibition to understand the factors that led to the Holocaust. The exhibition's opening and the peripheric programs organized throughout featured talks and lectures by Kore Yoors, as well as Dr. Ian Hancock. The lectures by this Gypsy scholar, who is, among other things, the director of the Romani Archives and Documentation Center at the University of Texas in Austin, and the former White House appointee to the United States Holocaust Memorial Council, framed the exhibition within the thematic of the Holocaust (Howell 2008; Karanth 2009).

The Museum of History and Holocaust Education describes its own mission as the promotion of education and dialogue about World War II and the Holocaust and its significance in the present day through public events, exhibitions, and educational resources, focused on these themes. The institution emphasizes that it wishes to promote a dialogue on "multiple and complex human experiences", "ethical and political consequences", "respect for the difference and diversity of life", and the "acceptance of civic and personal responsibility" ("About the MHHE"). Within this mission, the exhibition of Jan Yoors's photographs is organized to present "a candid view of a people stereotyped, maligned, and persecuted on the eve of World War II, during the Holocaust, and into the 1970s" ("SMS Spotlight").

Similarly, *Life Among the Gypsies: The Pre-War Photograph*s of Jan Yoors at the Anne Frank Center in New York City showed 34 photographs, solely from the period from 1934 through World War II ("Anne Frank Center Exhibits Jan Yoors's Gypsy Photographs"). The Anne Frank Center for Mutual Respect has a similar mission to that of the Museum of History and Holocaust Education mentioned above. Founded by Anne Frank's father, Otto Frank, in 1977, the center honors her life and diary by offering education about the consequences of antisemitism, hatred, and intolerance in general. By means of lectures, exhibitions, education resources, youth activities and scholarships, the center aims to offer education on religious,

ethnic and racial issues that still live today ("Anne Frank Center USA"). Through education and arts programming, its mission is to empower people to be ambassadors of change, taking a quote form Anne Frank's diary as guidance: "…nobody need wait a single moment before starting to improve the world" ("Our Mission"). On their official website, the Anne Frank Center states: "our mission remains constant: sharing the impact of the message of Anne's diary by promoting respect for all humanity" ("Our History").

Within these exhibitions, the photographs are reproduced and called on to do other "work" than they did in Yoors's Gypsy album. Within the context of these exhibitions, the meaning of the photographs is framed within questions of "materiality, adjacency, assemblage, and embodied relations", as well as the network of "values, relationships, desires, ideologies, and representational strategies", within these institutions (Edwards 2012:223, 226). The photographs are mobilized within the narrative of the Holocaust and prosecution under Nazism, and further discriminations against minority groups that are rejected from society and misunderstood until present. Within the narrative of the Holocaust and *Porajmos*, the spectator is confronted with a *punctum* of time; the retrospective knowledge of the genocide, at the same time "this will be" and "this has been". It is "a catastrophe which has already occurred" or, as Barthes states in reference to the portrait of Lewis Payne before his execution: "I observe in horror an anterior future of which death is the stake" (Barthes 1981:96). The candid insight into the lives of the Gypsies offers an educative view (*studium*) on how they lived and what they looked like, opening the route to understanding and acceptance. As such, the photographs act within the mission of both the Museum of History and Holocaust Education and the Anne Frank center to break stereotypes, to educate on and to promote respect for "all humanity" and for the "difference and diversity of life". Whether or not it was Jan Yoors's intention, his works have undoubtedly acted as means of the humanistic thought to create understanding and to fight discrimination, by showing the "unknown", in Yoors's case, the prosecuted Gypsies, in a candid way that hadn't been seen before by the majority of the population. These exhibitions illustrate that the photographs, in their various material performances, take on the role of "agents of change".

5. Context: London years (1945-1950): anthropology student at the University College London

After his imprisonment in the concentration camp of Miranda del Ebro in Spain from December 1943 to January 1944, Yoors was helped by the Irish author and musician Walter Starkie, who held a position at the British Institute in Madrid at the time. Being a Gypsy enthusiast himself, even naming his autobiography *Scholars and Gypsies*, Starkie took care of Yoors and brought him into contact with the British Embassy in Madrid, giving Yoors the opportunity to travel from Gibraltar to Liverpool in March of 1944 (Govaerts 2016:124). Here, as mentioned above, he joined the allied troops again as a Belgian volunteer (Ibid.:116).

After the war, Yoors and Annebert van Wettum married and moved to London, setting up a sculpture atelier on 27 Holland Park Avenue W11 in 1946 (Falino et al. 2012:10). After having

visited the exhibition *La tapisserie française du Moyen Age à nos jours* [*French tapestry from the Middle Ages to the present day*] in 1947, Yoors and Van Wettum dedicated themselves to the apprenticeship of weaving monumental tapestries, an artistic medium they would exercise for the rest of their lives. Thanks to friends of his parents', Yoors was also introduced to the University College of London, where he was invited to study anthropology from 1945. During these years, he also took courses at the School of Oriental and African Studies and at the London School of Economics. Frans Olbrechts also recommended Yoors to Darryl Doyle, a professor of anthropology at the University College London. Yoors initially started the preparatory research for a doctoral dissertation in anthropology, which he eventually didn't complete as he hadn't obtained the required diplomas to do so (Falino 2012:49; Govaerts 2016:126).

Chapter II: Jan Yoors's New York period (1950-1977)

1. New opportunities in New York City: biographical and historical context

1.1. "We thrive here": Belgians in the artistic avant-garde of New York[19]

In 1950, as Europe had still not fully recovered from the political, economic and human disaster that had unfolded on the continent a decade earlier, the United States found themselves in an economic bloom, with great prosperity and comfort. It is in this context that the center of artistic innovation found itself no longer primarily in Europe, where modernism had found its origins before World War II, but in New York City. In the United States, this European modernism found new developments, innovations and experimentations by artists of the New York School. Many of the important artists who were active in New York during the post-World War II period were emigrated Europeans, who had fled to the United States in a quest for a better life and greater artistic chances in the "New World", which hadn't been tarnished by the bombs and traumas of the war (Hess 2016:403). It is precisely in this artistic context that Jan Yoors felt more at home than in London and decided never to return to live in Europe again, after his first visit to the American metropolis (Falino 2012:49).

As is the case for many essential moments in Yoors's life, it is thanks to Betsie Hollants that Yoors came to New York City in 1950. Yoors first crossed the Atlantic for a visit, organized by Hollants, which was meant to last for a period of only six months. During this time, he would work as a journalist. Immediately captivated by the city and its wide variety of cultural minorities, all living within the microcosm of New York City, Yoors felt it was there that he could develop his artistic practices and build a career (Govaerts 2016:146). Thanks to Betsie Hollants, Yoors received his first great commissions, such as a tapestry for the new building of the United Nations, and found several clients Hollants had known before the war and had reconnected with in New York. So, in 1950, Yoors and Annebert van Wettum, his wife, established their studio in Manhattan. Marianne Citroen, Van Wettum's childhood friend, followed one year later (Falino 2012:49; Servellón 2012:39; Govaerts 2016:148).

The 1950s were exciting years for Yoors, as he was increasingly recognized as a successful immigrant artist. His work—primarily his tapestries—was relatively well-known and his past with the Gypsies and his heroic wartime history had gained him recognition and notoriety. Already in 1951, *The New Yorker* published an article on his experiences, named "Gypsiana" (Reed and Hellman 1951; Falino 2012:49; "Publications: Press"). Among the notable guests that visited his atelier Alexander Calder, Marc Chagall, Philippe Halsman, Frank Lloyd Wright, and Philip Johnson can be named. Also, the head of the Guggenheim Museum, James Johnson Sweeny, came by Yoors's atelier in the late 1950s and even bought one of his drawings (Falino 2012:50). Yoors also found himself evermore often partaking in the artistic scene of Greenwich Village (Servellón 2015:26). In this exciting context, he befriended many of the important

[19] Yoors writes "we thrive here" in a letter to his parents (Yoors 1961a).

avant-garde artists and writers who were active in this part of the city, such as Jackson Pollock among others. In 1959, Yoors, Van Wettum and Citroen moved to a loft on 329 East 47th Street, in the same street as the United Nations, which was ideal for maintaining important contacts with Belgian and French envoys (Falino 2012:52). This apartment, with high ceilings, big windows and enough space for the huge weaving loom, also offered the possibility to host parties and receptions. As the Yoorses realized that parties were an important element in establishing their name and connecting within the art world, they hosted several parties with notable invitees. For example, in 1961, Yoors and Belgian artist Ernst Van Leyden organized a party for the Mexican poet, diplomat and human rights activist Octavio Paz. Another occasion celebrated the "freedom fighters" of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), featuring a performance by jazz legend Dizzie Gillespie; yet another one supported the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund. The loft was even once the setting of an extravagant fashion show by designer Tiger Morse, a friend of Andy Warhol's. Yoors also came to personally know several key figures in the New York art world, such as the director of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, James Rorimer, a curator at the Museum of Modern Art, Dorothy Miller, and the art historian Robert Hughes among others. Rorimer was one of the important patrons to commission the manufacture of one of Yoors's monumental tapestries (Ibid.:51-52).

It is also during this period that Yoors rediscovered his love for photography. Since his photographs of the Gypsies before World War II, he had lost sight of this medium as he had prioritized other artistic media, predominantly his tapestry works. He found his love for the photographic medium again towards the end of the 1950s. For his birthday in 1957, he received a Pentax K1000 camera, as a gift from two befriended couples; Marc and Evelyne Bernheim and Jean-Claude and Solange Landau (Falino et al. 2012:193). An article in *The Herald News* in 1951 mentions for the first time that Yoors would have saved Jews during World War II, among whom family members of Jean-Claude Landau, who were imprisoned in German concentration camps. Landau and Yoors remained very close friends, and the Landaus became a sort of patrons of Yoors's work, regularly buying his tapestries and bringing him into contact with other buyers (Govaerts 2016:150). The other couple, Marc and Evelyne Bernheim, were authors and photographers, who realized a great part of their oeuvre as documentary photographers in Africa and Asia (Carroll 1969; "Marc and Evelyn Bernheim").

1.2. Travels with Henri Storck and Luc de Heusch

It is precisely this camera that Yoors would carry with him, taking his photographs around the world during the following decades. Yoors had become a fairly established artist in New York, with commissions from important institutions, clients buying his works and regularly partaking in exhibitions, and he did realize that it was his past with the Gypsies that set him apart. He became known as a Gypsy specialist and was increasingly approached in function of this trademark (Govaerts 2016:159). In 1959, Jan Yoors was approached by Henri Storck (1907-1999), a Belgian filmmaker, and Luc de Heusch (1927-2012), a professor in sociology and anthropology at the Université Libre de Bruxelles, to travel throughout Europe in the preparations of a documentary film about Gypsies. They undertook these travels in the late

summer of 1961. According to Yoors, the project was a commission from the Musée de l'Homme in Paris, and the trio would attend a convention in Athens during their travels, organized by the International Committee of the Ethnological and Sociological Film (Idib.:167). In Luc De Heusch's travel report, published in *Études ethnologiques* in 1961 under the name "À la découverte des Tsiganes; une expedition de reconnaissance", he mentions that the travels were financed by the French production house Tadié Cinéma, with the objective of collecting information about the culture, life and habits of Gypsy tribes from Paris to Istanbul. On the basis of this research, they would produce several ethnographical documentary films. De Heusch also mentions Yoors as a true connoisseur of Gypsy culture. During the travels, Yoors would be the ideal mediator between the Gypsies and the Belgians for their anthropological fieldwork: Yoors would choose the Gypsy interlocutors, conversed with them in Romani, the Gypsy language, and translated the conversations he had had for his colleagues (Ibid.:168).

However, there was a sense of disappointment among the researchers during their travels throughout Europe. De Heusch reported that only sporadically they came across true Gypsies, still nomadically wandering with their *kumpania* and belonging to the "aristocracy" of the Gypsies, the *Lowara*, whom Yoors regarded as the only true *Rom*. Yoors himself was also disappointed upon meeting *Lowara* who belonged to the family of Pulika. The Gypsies Yoors once had known, had become Occidentalized, having traded their horses and carriages for cars. This situation was indeed a fulfilled prophecy Yoors had made while living with the Gypsies and photographing them before they would change, or their culture would evolve (cf. supra). Unfortunately, the research Yoors undertook with Storck and De Heusch never led to the production of any documentary film. Annebert van Wettum wrote in her diary on August 18, 1962:

"[…] What beautiful travels Jan has made to Germany, Austria, Yugoslavia, Greece, a part of Turkey, Bulgaria, Romania, and Hungary and back, all expenses covered by Tadié, as "research for a great color film on Gyspies". Storck has done so little with it, and after a year of waiting Storck still hasn't collected enough money and Luc de Heusch still hasn't written a decent scenario. […] Jan has been waiting since May to work on the film with Luc de Heusch. But now there are many other plans, such as to make an hour or two long film for French television on Gypsies with the French filmmaker Jean Rouch. But that probably won't happen anymore this year." (Van Wettum 1962)

Yoors met Jean Rouch (1917-2004) during the travels with De Heusch and Storck, as he was also affiliated with Tadié Cinéma. Jean Rouch was an anthropologist and filmmaker, who was one of the most influential documentary filmmakers in 20th Century France and is generally considered to be one of the most important figures in postwar film and as the first practitioner and theoretician of the documentary-like film style cinema vérité (cf. infra). He is also considered to be one of the pioneers of French New Wave, a key figure in visual anthropology and the father of ethnofiction, which is a genre of stories based on extensively researched and analyzed ethnography (Stoller 1992:143; Rouch 2003:185). Rouch's best known film, one of

the most important works in the French New Wave, is *Chronique d'un été* (1961). This documentary film, which he filmed with sociologist Edgar Morin, portrays the contemporary French society (Colleyn 2008:585; Daudelin 2011:62; Berthe 2018:248). Unfortunately, as many of the artistic plans for collaborations diluted, so did Yoors's plans with Rouch and they never produced any work together.

1.3. Gypsies in New York

After moving to New York City, Yoors went on a search for Gypsy tribes in the metropolis. Upon finding one, Yoors initially did not believe that they were real Gypsies, as their clothing and lifestyle seemed too theatrical to be real (Van Schoor 1975). However, Yoors eventually became acquainted with them, and established, as he did with all Gypsies he encountered, a mutual trust. After he had received his portable camera, Yoors roamed the streets of New York City, taking street photographs and snapshots during the "photo walks" he made.

> "[…] What a wonderful gift. It has opened a totally new path for Jan. Before, we walked through New York and Jan saw so much and he made sketches. But many things couldn't be sketched. And now Jan makes photographs. We've taken many photo walks […]." (Van Wettum 1961)

Among his subjects at the time were the Gypsies of New York City, as he photographed them in their daily surroundings, during their daily activities. The next important photographic and cinematographic project Yoors undertook happened shortly after the plans with De Heusch and Storck had gone downhill. In July of 1962, Pierre-Dominique Gaisseau (1923-1997) visited the Yoorses' apartment in New York. After having become good friends and realizing they shared a fascination for the city, Yoors and Gaisseau decided to create a film about New York. Pierre-Dominique Gaisseau was a successful French documentary filmmaker, who had received an Oscar for "best documentary" for his film *Le Ciel et la Boue* or *The Sky Above and the Mud Below* (1961) in 1962. In January of 1963 they started the seven-month shoot of the film, walking and driving around the city in their Citroën *deux chevaux* with portable cameras and microphones. Yoors always kept his camera with him, as he sometimes did the "research" for the film shoot by photographing different subjects before filming them, or he just took photographs while filming (D'hoe 2016:20-23). Their records of the various cultural minorities, age groups and social classes of the city resulted in both a documentary film, that was released in 1964, and a photobook, published in 1965, which were both named *Only One New York*.

While Gaisseau was responsible for recording the moving pictures of the film, Yoors took photographs of the subjects. However, Yoors did shoot some of the scenes himself, amongst which a Gypsy wedding. This scene in *Only One New York* shows a Gypsy wedding feast that takes place behind the closed doors of a storefront in Coney Island. These scenes show traditions unique to the Gypsy culture, such as the singing of a traditional song, and the donation of coins in return for a scarf as a souvenir to the wedding (De Dietrich 1964). In the

photobook, Yoors dedicates a section of *The Happiest Day*, a chapter devoted to wedding ceremonies in various cultures, to a Gypsy wedding in Manhattan's East Village (cf. infra) (Yoors and Samuels 1965:87).

Only a selection of all the photographs that Yoors made in New York were eventually selected for his photobook, and this also applies to his photographs of the city's Gypsies. Yoors shot—often very Americanized—photographs of Gypsies in the streets of New York, for example in the Lower East Side (Fig. 94). He also recorded the Gypsies when they visited his apartment (Fig. 90-93).

1.4. Gypsies in India and Spain

From 1966 to 1967, Jan Yoors traveled the world, commissioned by Edward Sovik (1918-2014), a fellow of the American Institute of Architects. He traveled to South America, the Far East, the Middle East, Russia and Europe with the aim of photographing modern postwar architecture, such as the Notre Dame du Haut in Ronchamp (France) by Le Corbusier (Fig. 115). The commission sought to document the commonalities and diversities of sacred spaces in various cultures. Thus, Yoors photographed interiors and exteriors from a curated list of "cultic and non-cultic spaces" (Fig. 115-118). His photographs were shown during the International Congress on Religion, Architecture and the Visual Arts in 1967 ("Photography: Introduction"). Ever interested in the local cultures and the daily life of the inhabitants of the foreign countries he visited, Yoors always captured everyday candid sceneries, next to the commissioned architecture (Fig. 119-122).

Later in 1967, Yoors returned to Northern India to conduct research for a documentary film on Gypsies of India. There are a few photographs from this trip to India, showing local *Lohar* Gypsies (Fig. 123-128). However, Yoors didn't travel further than India for his research, neither was the documentary ever realized (Falino et al. 2012:13).

In 1971, Jan Yoors traveled to Spain, which gave him the opportunity to visit Andalusia, where his father Eugène had grown up. He published his experiences in a book named *The Gypsies of Spain* (1974). In this book, Yoors's texts are accompanied by photographs by André A. Lopez, although Yoors himself also took photographs of the Gypsies. As he was in Europe, he also traveled to Southern France, where he photographed the yearly pilgrimage for the Gypsy patron saint, Saint Sarah, the festivities and the living environment of the Gypsies in Saintes-Maries-de-la-Mer in the Camargue (Fig. 129-135).

1.5. Final contacts with Gypsies

In 1974, members of the extended clan of *Roma* who Yoors had spent his youth with came to New York to visit him (Falino et al. 2012:201). From 1973, he was heavily struggling with diabetes, an illness he carried with him due to the consequences of malnutrition during World War II. One year later, in 1975, the Yoors family traveled to Belgium for a big retrospective exhibition on Jan Yoors that was held in Saint Peter's Abbey in Ghent. Yoors, Annebert van

Wettum, Marianne Citroen, their Japanese roommate and model, and their children Lyuba, Vanya and Kore all reunited with Yoors's parents in Berchem (Govaerts 2016:181). This wasn't the only family reunion Yoors had during this trip, as several members of his Gypsy family came to Berchem as well. Yoors's contact sheets reveal that he photographed several family members with whom he had lived 40 years earlier: Alfons, Keja, Bosa, Nanosh, Yayal, Terom and Dodo (Fig. 157-167).

1.6. Cultural context of the postwar world: a brief outline

In the years that followed World War II, the world was recovering from the trauma caused by the injustices that were committed against humanity during the preceding decades. European and Asian nations suffered the most, as their populations had lost millions of people, cities had been distraught and great damage had been done to their territories. The economic devastations gave place to the emergence of the United States as the world's leading economic and military force (Marien 2006:311; Ludlow 2007:327). In 1945, the United Nations was founded as an intergovernmental organization of 51 countries, which were to collaborate for the improvement of international law, safety, human rights, economy and culture. In 1948, the United Nations General Assembly proclaimed the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* in Paris, declaring equal rights for all people of all nations, and for the fundamental human rights of every individual to be universally protected (Del Testa 2004:669; Brattain 2007:1386).

However, the joy that characterized the end of the war was quickly replaced by a fear of a new rival. From 1945, the communist Soviet Union increased its influence throughout eastern European regions, as well as administering eastern Germany, one of four zones into which Germany was divided at the end of World War II. In a speech in 1946, British Prime Minister Winston Chruchill described an "iron curtain", dividing eastern from western Europe. Suspicion of Soviet intentions increased, as eastern European nations refused rebuilding funds under the Marshall Plan, initiated by U.S. Secretary of State George C. Marshall. The fear of the spread of communism incited the United States to double its economic support to Europe and to some countries in the Middle East, which further polarized the world. By 1947, the American presidential advisor Bernard Baruch named the effort to combat the spread of communism the "Cold War". Churchill's allegory of the "iron curtain" seemed to come true in 1948, when Berlin was occupied by Soviet forces, and cut off from Western Europe. Later, in 1961, the Berlin Wall effectively isolated East Germany and Eastern Europe from the West. As European countries were economically and demographically devastated, the United States emerged as the world's most powerful nation. Being the only prosperous country, in exclusive possession of atomic weapons, the United States were the only country in a position to consider military and economic confrontation with the communist nations (Del Testa 2004:617; Marien 2006:311; Ludlow 2007: 328; Gassert 2012:198).

After World War II, there was a resurgent in economic globalization, driven by the prosperity of the United States and later by Western European nations, in the exchange of products, technology and science, of which the most significant developments originated in the West. In

1948, the *General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade* was signed, lowering and simplifying import duties, and promoting free global trade. The economic globalization went hand in hand with cultural globalization, as Western culture was exported by means of the new mass media, such as film, radio, television, and music. Developments in international transport and communication rendered the world's inhabitants globally connected, making them more aware than ever before of the existence and the living conditions of people in other regions of the world (Del Testa 2004: 634; Marien 2006:311; Gassert 2012:183).

It is within the context of the aftermath of World War II, the fear of an approaching nuclear war between the West and the communist nations, and the ever-increasing globalization, carrying on throughout the decades that followed, that the developments in the arts and sciences are to be understood. In both anthropology and photography, postwar figures were active within the cultural context that resulted from these historical events.

2. Jan Yoors's postwar photography as visual anthropology

Yoors's anthropological motives are most clear in his collaboration with Henri Storck and Luc de Heusch, as the main point of departure of their travels to the Balkan was to conduct photographic research in the preparations of an ethnographic documentary film (cf. supra). As mentioned above, visual anthropology is the practice of anthropology through the visual medium and the study of visual cultural and societal phenomena. Jan Yoors's postwar photography can be regarded as visual anthropology as he, following Ira Jacknis's definition, produced visual documents of culture by means of photography and, following MacDougall, used visual media to describe and examine culture. Following these definitions, the photography Jan Yoors made of the Gypsies during his world travels and in New York can be interpreted within this scope of visual anthropological research and production (Banks and Morphy 1999:4, 283). Considering Yoors's contacts within the world of anthropology, his anthropology studies at the University College London and at the School of African and Oriental Studies, and his previous publications in the *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society* among others, the assumption that Yoors had anthropological intentions, or was at least influenced by contemporary anthropology, is surely one to regard.

2.1. Jan Yoors in the contemporary anthropological context

The ideas of the prewar founding fathers of modern anthropology stayed central to researchers throughout the 20th Century. Malinowski's holistic field research method, Boas's cultural relativism and Radcliffe-Browne's search for universal laws influenced the generation of their pupils and successors to regard all societies as equivalent (Darnell 2008:45). During the years following up to, and during the war, established scholars fled Europe and relocated to New York, making the city the new undisputed center of anthropological research. Malinowski left the London School of Economics—where Yoors studied after the war (cf. supra)—,which had become the most important center of modern anthropology under his residency from 1924 to 1938, and spent his war years at Yale University (New Haven, Connecticut). Gregory Bateson

(1904-1980) undertook research that was influenced by both his European structural-functionalist background and the psychologically oriented anthropology of Boas's students Ruth Benedict (1887-1948) and Margaret Mead (1901-1978) (Eriksen and Nielsen 2013:72-74). American anthropology, starting in the 1930s, had become somewhat synonymous with Benedict-Meadian research of "culture", in the Tyloresque definition of this term, in which social organization and material culture played important roles.[20] Bateson and Mead collaborated, most notably on their widely influential fieldwork in Bali, which was also a pioneering work in visual anthropology, in which they researched and illustrated the role of culture in the formation of personality. Through extensive field notes and the innovative use of photography and film, they researched parent-child interactions, rituals, ceremonies, and artists among others (Barnard 2000:105). Claude Lévi-Strauss (1908-2009) spent the war years in New York, where he would grow to intellectual maturity. Deeply influenced by the Boasian cultural relativist tradition, he wrote his important theory on kinship. He would later dedicate his research to the importance of myth, rituals and symbols, evermore influenced by subjects that were of growing importance in American cultural anthropology and would continue to gain importance through the 1960s. The context of anthropology during the war facilitated reciprocal influence between Malinowskian and Radcliffe-Brownian British and Boasian American anthropology (cf. supra), as the distinctions between the national traditions of anthropology began to dilute, though, as mentioned above, were not erased (Barnard 2000:119; Eriksen and Nielsen 2013:99).

During the postwar period, the United States became the leading power within sciences, including anthropology. In contrast to the prominence of racist ideologies during the past decades, scientists were evermore incited to abandon the concept of race in sciences. Most biologists and genetic scientists, for instance, agreed that racial differences didn't have any correlation with the development of culture. Similarly, Boas's reactions against racism and national chauvinism gained evermore importance (Eriksen and Nielsen 2013:96). His cultural relativist term of "historical particularism", in which he claims that cultures must not be compared, but studied in own regard, remained central to the ideologies of postwar anthropologists. However, the appointment of anthropologist Ashley Montagu (1905-1999), a former student of Malinowski at the London School of Economics, as secretary of UNESCO, and his *Statement on Race* in 1951 brought ambivalence within the discipline. Though his claims fit within the contemporary anti-racist ideas, arguing in his publication that biological factors were negligible in the shaping of human nature, the underlying universalist ideologies brought friction within anthropology. On one hand, the culturalist and anti-racist views of Montagu were seen as necessary and uncontroversial, and were supported by anthropologists who were opposed to colonization, which was another universalist project. On the other hand, anthropologists recognized an unwarranted missionary inclination in the midst of the contemporary universalist winds of change. In 1947, the American Anthropology Association

[20] Edward Burnett Tylor's (1832-1917) definition of culture is "the complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, law, morals, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society" (Tylor 1871 in Barnard 2000:102).

published a statement in the *American Anthropologist*, which warned against the Western cultural imperialism, inherent in the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*. This statement reveals a strong adherence to the Boasian ideologies, which were strongly present in American anthropology at the time. Lévi-Strauss also argued that the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* was meaningless outside the West in 1948 (Brattain 2007:1393; Hazard 2011:174; Eriksen and Nielsen 2013:97).

Jan Yoors's photographs form his travels to the Balkans with Henri Storck and Luc de Heusch offer an idea of what their ethnographic film would have become, and the aspects of the Gypsy culture they were most keen on documenting. Like his prewar photographs, these images offer an insight into various aspects of the Gypsies' everyday life, from their clothing, religious rituals and ceremonies, to their way of cooking and living environments. For example, Yoors photographed a Gypsy settlement in the outskirts of Istanbul, Turkey (Fig. 84); the white "houses" of a settlement in Yugoslavia (Fig. 79); a family of Gypsies in Zagreb, Croatia (Fig. 76); and huts on buttresses in a settlement in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Fig. 77). The interest in these topics reflects a consideration of the Boasian holistic approach to culture, and correlate with the contemporary interests in cultural and social anthropology. Yoors's colleague, Luc de Heusch, who is most often described as a social anthropologist, had undertook field research of the Bantu cultures in Central Africa, following such a holistic approach. Most prominently influenced by Lévi-Strauss's application of Fernand de Saussure's structuralist theories to anthropology, he was an expert on myths, rites, symbolism, kinship, religion, and art (Barnard 2000:120). De Heusch was also outspokenly opposed to colonialism, as well as any form of nationalism. (Laviolette and De Maret 2015). The fieldwork that Yoors and his colleagues undertook are thus to be contextualized within the contemporary developments in anthropology, wherein there was a cross-fertilization between the various nuances between the national forms of social and cultural anthropology.

Yoors's inclination to a holistic approach to the study and documentation of Gypsy cultures is substantiated when considering his publications. In *The Gypsies*, Yoors handles themes going form everyday living situations in the *kumpania*, to Gypsy law and jurisprudence, rituals concerning weddings and religious ceremonies, parent-child relationships and other familial bonds. For example, in chapter twelve of *The Gypsies*, Yoors describes the nuptial ceremony between Yayal and Paprika. At the Gypsy wedding ceremony, the most important formal contract was between the fathers, who ceremoniously drank brandy and embraced each other, establishing the *khanamik*, or the newly established family-in-law relationship (Yoors 1987 [1967]:197).[21] It is presumable that Yoors had the same interests in taking his photographs; not only during his travels to the Balkan, but also throughout the rest of his career. A year after his travels to the Balkan, the tour of New York City with Pierre-Dominique Gaisseau shows an attention to similar elements in the Gypsy culture. These photographs can be interpreted as visual anthropology, as they not only served as photographic "field research" for the

[21] Margaret Mead (cf. supra) reviewed the book in the September issue of *Redbook* magazine in 1967, calling it "absolutely fascinating" (Falino et al. 200).

documentary film that was to follow, but are also visual documents in their own right. An observation of the photographs in liaison with the resulting film and book makes clear that Yoors searched for elements of kinship, familial bonds, law, ceremonies and religion, etc. For instance, the photographs of a Gypsy wedding in the Polish community on St. Mark's Place in the East Village reveal the bride, wearing golden jewelry around her neck, and the families of the bride and groom coming together, as well as the singing and dancing that took place at the wedding (Fig. 95-104). Thanks to the accompanying texts in the book, as well as the narrations in the film, the spectator is informed on the Gypsy laws regarding the bride's dowry, which is paid by the groom's family in the form of golden coins that she guards around her neck, the familial bonds that are created as a Gypsy wedding symbolizes the coming together of two tribes, and the traditional *Lowara* songs and dances that are performed at such weddings (Yoors and Samuels 1965:88-89). Such elements correspond to the contemporary approaches to culture that dominated postwar social and cultural anthropology.

The travels he undertook to India in 1967, as well as those to Spain and France in 1971, had similar motives of departure to the projects mentioned above; to do research for a documentary film in India and for a book in Spain. The specific attentions he paid to the Gypsies in Andalusia are clear in the text Yoors wrote for *The Gypsies of Spain*, which was illustrated with photographs by Andre A. Lopez. Here, again, specificities of the Gypsies' culture reveal Yoors's holistic anthropological mindset, while spending time with the Gypsies. In chapter 11 of *The Gypsies of Spain*, for instance, he describes how the Gypsies partook in the *Romería del Rocío*, a large pilgrimage in honor of the Virgin of El Rocío in Andalucia (Yoors 1974:125). He also photographed this occasion, from the procession of horse-drawn carriages to the festivities of the Gypsies (Fig. 142-147).

When meeting Gypsies, Yoors's past as a member of a *kumpania* played a vital role. Furthermore, Yoors was a polyglot and learned languages quickly, which gave him the great advantage of interacting with various people in their mother tongue, facilitating familiarity with them. During his travels with Storck and De Heusch, Yoors was an essential member of their team, as he somewhat took on the role of mediator between the Gypsies and the researchers during their stays. These competences, of course, were a great advantage for conducting participatory ethnographic research of the culture, which had become more conventional after World War II, since its introduction into anthropology during prewar decades (Eriksen and Nielsen 2013:79). During his preparations of *Only One New York*, Yoors took on a similar essential role as what Gaisseau describes as his "invaluable assistant" (D'hoe 2016:20). Both Gaisseau and Annebert van Wettum described the ease with which Yoors was able to befriend members of communities, which usually remained isolated from the other population groups of New York. Yoors took on the responsibility of gaining the communities' trust, asking them for permission to photograph and film them, and later broadcast and publish the visual documents featuring them. Through gaining a certain level of "insider" disclosure within the communities they researched, Yoors and his colleagues were granted the possibility to gain

valuable in-depth information from both observations and conversations with the Gypsies and capture unique elements of the cultures on photograph and film.

It is difficult to presume Yoors's position within the abovementioned ambivalence in anthropology, in light of the *Statement on Race* published by the United Nations. Yoors did have many important connections within the United Nations; Betsie Hollants had witnessed the foundation of the United Nations and had described the tangible feeling of freedom it brought in the United States, while visiting the Yoors family. The United Nation's Belgian delegation would commission Yoors to make a tapestry that would decorate the new headquarters on East 47th Street, the street where Yoors, Annebert and Marianne moved to in 1959. Furthermore, he would make a portrait of Maurice Schoonberg, a secretary of the Belgian delegation, who Yoors called his "sponsor" (Govaerts 2016:146). Shortly after the war, Yoors had also written a letter to Alfred Zimmern (1879-1957), a utopian thinker in international relations, who contributed to the foundation of UNESCO about how the Gypsies could receive a place within the new pacifist society of the post-World War II world (Govaerts 2016:125). In any case, it is evident that Yoors agreed with the anti-racist claims that made up an important part of the arguments of both the United Nations and the Boasian anthropologists of the time. However, the universalist, and seen by many as Western imperialist message of a united mankind, doesn't correspond to Yoors's anthropological approach to cultures. Where universalist ideologies wished to underline the correspondences and similarities between the world's cultures, Yoors rather laid importance on their uniqueness and difference, and the value of their cultural identity, corresponding to the ideas of cultural relativism. When observing Yoors's friends and collaborators, his entourage also adhered to the mindset of cultural relativism. For instance, Luc de Heusch, like his close friend and colleague Jean Rouch, was an opponent of the increasing Americanization and Westernization (Laviolette and De Maret 2015).

However, the critique on claims made by the United Nations for conveying a Western imperial message of universalism can also be nuanced. While it was understandable for anthropologists to fear imperialism within the contemporary context of the globalization and the increasing power of the United States and the West, the central message of the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* was a positive one, after the horrors of the Nazi Holocaust (Waltz 2002:438). A more thorough interpretation of Jan Yoors's photographs within this context will follow further in this chapter, as these were not only issues within anthropology, but also in postwar documentary photography.

2.2. Jan Yoors in a "discipline of words"

Yoors and his collaborators understood the importance of making visual documentations of the Gypsies and the other cultures they researched, especially in the midst of the contemporary cultural changes and developments. During the decades after World War II, the camera was not yet a commonly used research instrument in anthropological fieldwork. While Yoors, Storck, De Heusch and Gaisseau could be considered as being at the forefront of the

developments within visual anthropology during the 1950s, 60s and 70s, they most likely also suffered from the outdated customs and expectations of the discipline, which hindered the realization of their plans. Though photography and anthropology both originated around the middle of the 19th century and have developed throughout the cultural contexts of the following century and a half, there was a great polarization between these two, until the decades after World War II. Photography, though a seemingly obvious research tool for anthropological fieldwork, endured difficulties in its acceptance into the discipline (Edwards 1998:23; Schneider and Wright 2006:4, 23).

It wasn't until the late 1960s that the function of visual images and recordings in social sciences, and if these were valid research methods, was truly discussed. One of the most influential publications on the problematic polarization between visual media and anthropology is John Collier's *Visual Anthropology: Photography as a Research Method* (1967), in which he advocated observational fieldwork, during which the researcher would systematically be supported by visual technology (Collier 1986 [1967]: 13; Pink 2006:11). However, in spite of the ever-evolving and developing technologies of these instruments, visual methods were continually marginalized, being degraded to unreliable objects that would offer subjective recordings (Niskac 2011:130).

In the preface of Paul Hockings's seminal publication *Principles of Visual Anthropology* (1975), entitled "Visual Anthropology in a Discipline of Words", Margaret Mead criticizes the problematic apprehension of anthropologists to use photography in their research. She states that the various subdisciplines that make up anthropology (cultural anthropology, ethnology, ethnography, etc.) carry the responsibility of making and preserving records of the vanishing human beings and behaviors of the world. Substantiating this statement, she mentions that it has been part of the anthropological discipline since its foundation to recognize that culture and human being will inevitably vanish (Mead 1975:3). In the midst of rapid cultural change and disappearance, she is astonished that departments of anthropology were still sending out their fieldworkers equipped with only pen and paper. According to Mead, only sporadically, original filmmakers have visually documented cultures, and anthropologists who have tried to do so have disappeared, "labored, been complimented and cursed on the perverted competitiveness of the unstable and capricious market place…but that is all". She mentions Lorna and Laurence Marshall's films of the Bushmen (1960s), Gregory Bateson's films of the *Iatmul* people in Bali (1930s), and Jean Rouch's undertakings in West Africa (1940s-1970s) among the few magnificent examples of films delivered since the camera made its introduction a century earlier (Ibid.:4). Throughout this preface, Mead seeks an explanation for this failure regarding the inclusion of film and photography in anthropological fieldwork, and the insistence on continuously working with the inadequate pencil and notebook. One of the possible reasons she suggests is that anthropology grew in the context of rapid cultural change, and that fieldworkers had to rely on the informants' words, describing their own culture's dances, habits, songs, etc., rather than making observations of the subjects' contemporary situations. Thus, as anthropologists had only words to rely on, anthropology became a science

of words, reluctant to adapt to new tools (Ibid.:5). It was only in the 1980s that, following the ideas of Clifford and Marcus's *Writing Culture* (1986), "new ethnography", which advocated a reduction of the distance between the discipline and the subject of research, also paved the way for visual anthropology to be fully accepted. Anthropologists recognized that ethnographic film or photography were no more subjective or objective than written texts (Pink 2006:12; Pink 2007:1; Niskac 2011:131; Pinney 2011:108).

Yoors and his colleagues understood the importance of recording their subjects, using visual media during their fieldwork. Henri Storck was a pioneer in Belgian documentary film and is esteemed to be one of the innovators who lifted documentary to the prestige of an art form and a part of the international avant-garde, thanks to his realist style (Juan 2002:165; "Biographie"). Storck's student, Luc de Heusch, was one of the most prominent advocates of visual anthropology, as was his close friend Jean Rouch (cf. supra). In the case of the travels to the Balkan, Yoors, Storck and De Heusch formed what Mead describes as an interdisciplinary team, which was, in itself, experimentational at the time, sharing the common commitment to the creation of visual records of the Gypsies (Mead 1975:7). Their choice to use photography in the process of their fieldwork and their intentions to make ethnographic films, underline their willingness to create visual anthropology at a time when only few had ventured into this subdiscipline of anthropology. However, contrasting to the few innovators using the camera as an instrument for fieldwork, the marginal position that visual media still held within the discipline of anthropology most probably hindered Yoors, Storck and De Heusch in the realization of their projects. As they didn't succeed in collecting funds for the production of their films, which would follow the preliminary research conducted in 1961, they never came into realization. This resonates with Mead's reference to the few anthropologists, who attempted to produce visual anthropology, but didn't succeed in doing so because of the "perverted competitiveness of the unstable and capricious market place" (Ibid.:4).

Considering Mead's preface, in which she expresses her dismay of the ongoing apprehension of anthropologists to use cameras in both research and the production of ethnographies, was only published in 1975, once more underlines the progressiveness of Yoors's other undertakings throughout the 1950s, 60s and 70s. From the photographic research and the realization of a documentary film on the cultural minorities of New York, to his travels to Southern Europe and Asia, Yoors used the camera as a research instrument and as a medium to produce visual anthropology in a time when this was not yet the norm.

3. Jan Yoors's postwar Gypsy photography within the documentary tradition

Jan Yoors did not only take his photographs as ethnographic fieldwork or as a means to communicate informative and descriptive anthropological data. At his rediscovery of photography in the late 1950s, Yoors became aware of the developments made in the medium by his predecessors and contemporaries, as he respected the work of, among others, Bill Brandt, Edward Steichen, Garry Winogrand and Henri Cartier-Bresson ("Photography: Introduction"). With his portable Pentax K1000 camera, he was able to take his photographs using what he

described as a "direct approach"; he took his photographs, while his subjects were fully engaged in a certain activity or preoccupied by something, resulting in spontaneous and genuine photographs, in which the person wasn't self-conscious by the presence of the camera (D'hoe 2016:24). Yoors described his own photography as an art form with which he could reach a greater audience. Next to the tapestries, which necessitated a great craftsmanship and many hours of labor, and were thus only affordable by big corporations and millionaires, Yoors regarded photography as a democratic art form (Van Schoor 1975). In her diary, Annebert van Wettum mentions the photographs Yoors made during his "photo walks", shortly after he had received his camera, as photographic "masterpieces". Her statement illustrates the artistic approach Jan Yoors had to the medium:

"Jan makes beautiful photographs. With his eyes that see so much as an artist, it couldn't be otherwise that his photographs are small masterpieces." (Van Wettum, 1961)

Contemporary with Yoors's activities, documentary photographers and photojournalists were influenced by the visual language of anthropological photography and, inversely, visual anthropologists were inspired by the aesthetics and the iconography of contemporary documentary and reportage (Da Silva and Pink 2004:158). The "human interest", which documentary photographers had expressed in their work since the early 20th century, was an increasingly central ideal in the work of postwar photographers, as a result of the traumatizing events of the previous decades and the stress the contemporary prospect of a possible nuclear war (Badger and Parr 2004:189). A few of the most important prewar photographers founded the Magnum photography agency in Paris in 1947, in an effort to gain independence from the press and publishers, and thus rendering them able to work more freely on both a creative level and a professional level. The activities that Magnum's members undertook would be funded by the agency and the copyrights to the photographs that resulted from them would be owned by the photographers themselves. The cooperative consisted of photojournalists from all over the world, who documented the world's events (Badger and Parr 2004:189; Marien 2006:312; Hoelscher 2013:1, 2). The Magnum archive contains works depicting themes such as war, famine, poverty, drugs, crime, family life, everyday events, and even celebrity portraits (Hoelscher 2013:1). An element that was—and is—present in the work of Magnum photographers is the tension between being an artist and a reporter or documentarist. These identities, usually regarded as opposed and unbridgeable, were embraced by the Magnum photographers, delivering photographs of "striking artistry". Susan Sontag described the Magnum photographer as an itinerant image maker who was free of national identity and its possible limitations. This is a somewhat romantic vision of one of the aspects that constituted the basis of Magnum's mission at the moment of its foundation, namely the promotion of photography as a "global enterprise". The members of Magnum traveled the world to document the forces and effects of globalization, showing barely-visible human experiences, such as the lives of refugees, migrants, victims of uneven urban development, as well as the global currents of cultural, economic and political interdependence. The human subject was always central to these documentations (Hoy 2005:176; Hoelscher 2013:293).

Magnum was founded approximately contemporaneously with the United Nations and mirrored the internationalist and universalist ideologies of the time, as it envisaged to not repeat the mistakes that had led to the disasters of the past century (Marien 2006:312; Hoelscher 2013:289). Such ideals are exemplified in projects that depicted the commonality of human experience internationally, a "universality of difference". This is clear in one of the cooperative's first projects, named "People are People the World Over", published in the *Ladies' Home Journal* in 1948 (Hoelscher 2013:289-294). This series of monthly photo essays showed common activities in rural families around the world. Historian Michael Ignatieff noted that Magnum's task was "the provision of an iconography of liberal moral universalism" (Ibid.:293).

Jan Yoors was greatly appreciative of the works by one of Magnum's founders, who had been active since the 1930s, was inspired by Brassaï and Kertész, and who had become somewhat synonymous with postwar photography: Henri Cartier-Bresson (1908-2004). Yoors mentioned in a letter to his parents that he had met Cartier-Bresson twice; once at an exhibition in Houston and once when the Frenchman paid Yoors a visit in his Manhattan studio. Yoors mentioned him as "one of the best photographers in the world" ("Photography: Introduction"). Cartier-Bresson published a widely influential book in 1952, named *Images à la sauvette*, or later translated in English as *The Decisive Moment*. In its preface, Cartier-Bresson elaborated on the idea that a photograph can capture a fraction of a second, in which the significance of the photographed event is most clear. This "decisive moment" is visible most clearly in Cartier-Bresson's photograph *Behind the Gare St. Lazare* (1932), in which a man is depicted nearly landing in a large puddle on the Place de l'Europe. Ian Jeffrey states that Cartier-Bresson's photographs are rarely as spectacular as this one, and, more generally, show ordinary gestures on ordinary days in the lives of subjects from all over the world (Jeffrey 1981:191). Cartier-Bresson went to work with his 35-millimeter Leica camera to capture his subjects in the streets, on mountains, in the countryside, in the various countries he traveled to (Rouillé 2005:169). He was the first European photographer to freely travel to the Soviet-Union after World War II, after which he traveled to China, Mexico, India, and the whole of Europe. Graham Clarke describes Henri Cartier-Bresson as "not categorizable by only one label", but as a photojournalist, documentary photographer, and an artistic photographer (Clarke 1997:207).

In 1955, the Museum of Modern Art's Director of the Department of Photography, Edward Steichen (1879-1973), curated what would be one of the most successful photography exhibitions in history, and certainly the most important one curated in accordance to the postwar "humanist" mindset. *The Family of Man* can be seen as a product of, or a reaction against the alarming contemporaneous tensions and uncertainties (Marien 2006:312). The exhibition was evasive and sentimental, though many of the images in it were not (Berger 1977:46). The exhibition was no attempt to recognize the photographers' individual achievements, or their meanings within these achievements, but to illustrate the moral message that the trials and joys of all people are similar (Galassi 1995:35). Steichen attempted to evoke a renewed faith in humanity in the troubling cultural climate, by placing the theme of a

"common humanity" central, contrasting with the effects of political polarization. He illustrated universally human subjects, such as death, love, age, birth and religion, by means of a selection of works from an international group of photographers. In the preface of the exhibition catalogue, Steichen mentioned that he wished to illustrate the "essential one-ness of mankind throughout the world" and a "human consciousness, rather than a social consciousness". He chose not to include images that stressed themes as racism, discrimination, or inequality, exactly to only express a positive message (Marien 2006:312; Zanot 2013:77). Thus, similar ideals are recognizable within the Magnum photographic cooperative and Steichen's vision for *The Family of Man*.

The impression of global oneness was further suggested through Steichen's curatorial choice to harmonize the tones of the photographs, homogenizing their look, cropping them, reproducing them into a poster-size print and getting rid of their original titles (Marien 2006:312; Zanot 2013:77). Though it was a great success and generally critically acclaimed, there was also a prevailing critique that Steichen's universalist intentions were also underpinned by American imperialist ideals. Where Steichen claimed that he didn't include themes of poverty and unequal labor situations to avoid a negative sentiment, Phoebe Lou Adams, for instance, felt that Steichen neglected the inherent beliefs that divide humanity, and disregarded the cultural settings of the images and the unequal labor circumstances in certain countries (Hoffmann 2005:318; Marien 2006:313). Roland Barthes claimed that by minimalizing the cultural differences between the depicted cultural groups, in order to suggest a "shared humanity", the wealth of individual cultures was lost. Barthes argued that, if Steichen wished to evoke a brotherhood of humanity and a "human conscience", he should have included the diversity of humanity in the exhibition (Barthes 1973 [1957]:100). This critique resonates with Sontag's statements that very heterogenous subjects are united in a fictive unity through the ideology of humanism (Sontag 2008 [1977]:110-111). Mary Warner Marien describes *The Family of Man* as the "last expression of prewar documentary social realism", and Sontag describes it as the "last sigh of a Whitmanesque embrace of the nation", in which empathy, concord in discord, and oneness in diversity were preached (Marien 2006:314; Sontag 2008 [1977]:31). As the public of the 1950s wished to be consoled and distracted from the chaotic contemporary context by a "sentimental humanism", Steichen curated his exhibition so that every viewer could identify with the people depicted: "citizens of World Photography". In creating this human nature, shared by everyone, Sontag stated that the exhibition denied the "determining weigh of history", ignoring genuine and historically embedded injustices, differences and conflicts (Sontag 2008 [1977]:33).[22]

Similar to developments in anthropology, documentary photographers evermore attempted to capture the uniqueness of the individual and focused on values that set cultures and groups of

[22] Following Barthes' critique, Allan Sekula condemned Steichen's instrumentalization of the photographs as the "epitome of American cold war liberalism". According to him, the images functioned as overt racist expressions similar to earlier forms of colonialism, as "humanizing the other" was inherent to neocolonial discourse (Nguyen 2016:76).

people apart. Historian Eric Sandeen pointed out that the United Nations, like *The Family of Man*, represented a Western view on a universal community. He stated that, by using the rhetoric of international goals and principles, the United Nations affiliated members with one clear view of what was honorable and unacceptable in human culture (Marien 2006:314). In the United States and Europe, photographers, who disagreed with the Americanization of the world that came with globalization, turned to non-Western and unassimilated indigenous groups. Photographers didn't picture them as "vanishing peoples", as had happened earlier during the 20th century, but as alternatives to the artificiality of the commercialized Western society. An example is *Through Navajo Eyes* (1966), a project by Sol Worth and John Adain, documenting the non-Western culture of a native American tribe (Ibid.:314). Yoors intended his photographs to convey an alternative way of life to the materialism and mass culture of the West. He was committed to producing photographs of a culture that left barely any material evidence. Rather than measuring one's wealth by the accumulation of possessions, the Gypsies measured their lives by the richness of their interpersonal relationships (Yoors 2004:7). Alternative to sedentariness and dependence on material wealth, they lived in an everlasting "now", were in constant motion and able to fluidly adapt to changing situations, like "the flowing of water" (Yoors 1987 [1967]:5).

Jan Yoors visited *The Family of Man* several times, and even befriended Edward Steichen later on. Marianne Citroen states that, if they had met earlier, Steichen would have included Yoors's work in the exhibition (K. Yoors, personal communication, July 19, 2018). While there are resemblances between Yoors's oeuvre and the ideas around which Steichen curated the exhibition, there are important differences as well. Yoors stated that he always had a great affinity with minorities, thanks to his youth with the Gypsies (Van Schoor 1975). This affinity motivated his photographs of the Gypsies around the world. The importance Yoors paid to the individuality and non-commonness of cultures is clearly stressed in the preface of his photographic book *Only One New York*:

"[…] It is the excitement of many worlds living within a living city that obeys no conventions, recognizes no stereotypes and accepts—indifferently—every sort of human behavior and tradition. […] This book is a collection of photographs designed not so much to show what life is like among the poor or dispossessed—how they exist, we all know too well—but to record the immense and exotic beauty that has no common culture, no dominant character. New York, more than any other great city, is a place where different groups, races, and professions meet together, without abandoning their individuality and their pride of being themselves. Who can deny that life is hard for the Puerto Rican or the Negro? Who can deny that much must be done to improve their life? But the glory of New York is that they remain themselves, they are not forced to abandon their own habits and culture to assume another, homogenized, way of life, neither one thing nor another.

The images in this book are of people, in their pride, their misery, their happiness, their constant reaffirmation of individuality.

Here are faces that are seldom seen." (Yoors and Samuels 1965:8)

This statement in itself is a plea against assimilation. Surely, Yoors was a proponent of dignified treatment of all people and was opposed to discrimination and racism, corresponding to ideas central to the United Nations and *The Family of Man*, but he didn't believe that Western society was to decide on what was "good" or "acceptable" in other cultures, forcing them to conform. In the fragment above, the element of creating "human consciousness", which was also an objective of Steichen's, can be recognized. This idea of depicting his subjects, making them known, and showing them with dignity, is central to his entire photographic oeuvre. He wished to show the beauty and the individuality of the Gypsies and other cultures that were sometimes feared or misunderstood, as they were not known by the Western population. In this respect, Yoors's motives were more socially engaged than those of Josef Koudelka (°1938), a contemporary Magnum photographer who photographed Gypsies in Slovakia in the 1960s. Koudelka also spent amounts of time with the Gypsies, gaining their trust and being allowed to photograph some of the most intimate moments of Gypsy life. However, he made the photographs solely for himself, not to convey any message or to inform others (Pusca 2015:331, 333).

In Yoors's choice not to use photographs of themes such as racism, discrimination, poverty and inequality to denounce social abuse, a possible criticism could arise that he only wished to convey positive messages and ignore unjust situations, like Steichen had done in *The Family of Man*. However, Yoors didn't ignore the issues that many of the cultural groups suffered from, but he chose to show these cultures in a positive light, as their cultural wealth wasn't known to the general public, who generally only perceived them as "poor or dispossessed" (Yoors and Samuels 1965:8). Where Steichen placed the "common humanity", i.e., the similarity of people around the world, central, Yoors intended to show the difference and the individuality of his subjects. Here, the black-and-white thinking of universalism, opposed to diversity within postwar humanist photography, should perhaps be nuanced. Historian Jean-Noël Jeanneney warns photography theoreticians to not uncritically follow the general critique on humanist photography that has followed Barthes's critique in *Mythologies*, but, instead of labeling the photographs as "naïve" and "insensitive to the determining weight of history", to also understand their positivity, as a reaction against the horrors and injustices against humanity (Jeanneney 2006:9).[23] It is possible that Yoors's positivity also partly stems from the trauma he had lived during the war, which now incited him to convey a positive message of diversity during the troubling cultural times.

[23] Another theorist who has recently questioned Barthes's critique is Ariella Azoulay, who argues that in re-examining *The Family of Man*, what strikes her is multiplicity, that the different areas of the exhibition do not constitute a unified mode of behaviour. She finds that Barthes's conclusions are hasty and miss the civic potential of photography (Azoulay: 2013:20, 30) She proposes to read the photographs not as descriptive statements, but as prescriptive statements of human rights and an indication for the civic potential for photography in global citizenry (Nguyen 2016:76).

Another form of resistance against mass culture, materialism, and social conformity was expressed through the work of photographers active in postwar America. Swiss-born Robert Frank (°1924) documented the soul-damaged population of America while traveling across the highways of the country. With his documents of violence, hopelessness and despair, Frank provided an imagery, contrasting with the American prosperity of the time, and casting the commercialized Americans as alienated from each other and from society (Marien 2006:343-344; Mortenson 2014:419). These photographs were published in 1958 in France as *Les Américains*, and in 1959 in the United States as *The Americans*, which Kore Yoors remembers being part of his father's book collection ("Jan Yoors: artiest, zigeunerkind, verzetsheld…"). The introduction to *The Americans* by Beat Generation author Jack Kerouac (1922-1969) drew Frank's photography into the context of existentialism, situating Frank's unpremeditated, blurry and gritty "indecisive moment" with the contemporary literature of hipster language, stream-of-consciousness.[24] Like the abstract expressionist painters and Beat poets, among whom Frank lived in the 1940s and 50s, he believed in anti-authoritarianism and in a—typically existentialist—focus on the individual as a reaction against social conformity (Hirsch 2000:358; Badger and Parr 2004:233; Marien 2006:344-346). Contemporaneously, William Klein (°1928) photographed the streets of New York City, after he had returned from studying in Paris. Feeling alienated within his own hometown, his photography, like Frank's, was rough, raw, gestural, and a highly personal expression of the uncertain mood within the context of the Cold War 1950s (Badger and Parr 2004:233; Marien 2006:347). In 1956, his photobook *Life Is Good and Good For You In New York: Trance Witness Revels* was published by the French Editions du Seuil and, ironically enough, was never published in the United States. Klein's *New York* was less socially-politically engaged than Robert Frank's *The Americans* but was enormously influential as a document of the anxious atmosphere, typical of the era. Both Klein and Frank offered critical views of American society, as "outsiders", creating iconoclastic images of this commercialized society (Jeffrey 2009:293; Price 2015:119). Their photography was also in complete contrast to the feel-good sentimentality of *The Family of Man* (Badger and Parr 2004:235-236). The exponents of the art forms that emanated from this existentialist reaction to the uncertain cultural context gathered together in the many coffee houses of Greenwich Village. As mentioned above, Yoors also frequented these coffee houses and partook in debates with his contemporaries on art and photography.

Klein and Frank remained greatly influential on photography in the 1960s. The generation of American photographers, influenced by Frank's "other-side-of-the-tracks" iconography, found an important benefactor in Steichen's successor as curator of photography at the Museum of Modern Art, John Szarowski (1925-2007). Very aware and appreciative of the contemporary American avant-garde, Szarowski supported their work in a series of exhibitions. As the titles of these exhibitions were in reference to the American social landscape, this generation of

[24] The philosophical movement of existentialism originated in Paris, with its most notable contributors Jean-Paul Sartre (1905-1980) and Albert Camus (1913-1960). With its nihilistic mindset and its focus on the individual, it was had a great attraction among a generation who had suffered under the failure of the collective, the war. Existentialist ideas found expression in various art forms, which largely focused on the unpremeditated, spontaneous and unconscious, and indubitably on the self ("Existentialism").

photographers became known as the Social Landscape School or Snapshot School (Badger and Parr 2004:236; Marien 2006:349). *New Documents*, curated by Szarowski in 1967, marked an important exhibition in the establishment of this "school", and featured three of its most prominent photographers; Diane Arbus (1923-1971), Lee Friedlander (°1934), and Garry Winogrand (1928-1994). Influenced by Frank, these photographers were interested in the reality of mass-consumption culture, the cluttered landscapes of the city's streets and American highways. In the foreword to the exhibition catalogue, Szarowski explained that they had different aims than the documentary photographers of the 1930s and 40s, i.e., redirecting the technique and aesthetic of documentary photography to more personal ends; "their aim is not to reform life, but to know it" ("New Documents"). The photographers within this "New Documentary" tradition paid homage to photography's vernacular beginnings, and strove to take photographs that contained at once artful expressionism and artless neutrality, self-expressive personal vision and a transcendence of the personality. Their photographs seemed devoid of not only empathy, but also of judgement or opinion about the humans photographed. The resistance to mass culture was expressed in their documentations of the imperfections, frailties, and outsiders of society, as these were sources of fascination and "no less precious for being irrational" (Davis 1999:402).

As Yoors was active within the artistic atmosphere of existentialism in New York City, a consideration of his photographs within this context might offer another framework for their interpretation. Yoors's choice to photograph the Gypsies, a cultural group that had lived in the margins of society for centuries, reflects the contemporary ideas of presenting alternatives to the "everyday" mass culture society. Where, for example, Diane Arbus photographed social gatherings, feasts, and traditions of marginalized members of American society, such as dwarfs, transvestites, and nudists, Yoors's "outsiders" were the Gypsies. Furthermore, his photographs are reflexive expressions of his personality, which was fundamentally influenced by the Gypsies. Parr and Badger distinguish an impulse within this existentialist reflexivity that is to be recognized as a fundamental element of photography, namely the making of a visual diary of one's life. Walker Evans stated that Eugène Atget's photographs of the streets of pre-Haussmanian Paris represented a projection of his person. This "diaristic" impulse can be traced through to Cartier-Bresson, Frank, Winogrand and many others in the 20th century, and certainly also to Yoors, whose photographs represent a visual diary of sorts, expressing his world view, projecting his "person" (Badger and Parr 2004:237).

4. Jan Yoors's postwar Gypsy photography as an "extended family album"

Building upon Parr and Badger's figurative use of the term "visual diary", as an expression of Yoors's person through his photography, the literal meaning of this term can be recognized within his oeuvre (Badger and Parr 2004:237). Yoors took photographs as souvenirs of his travels, as a sort of visual travel diary, which he could use as narrative tools upon his return.[25]

[25] Yoors mentions in many of his letters to Citroen and Van Wettum that he looks forward to showing them his photographs. For example: "[…] I've taken many photographs (tourist photos!), but especially thinking of you!

As Sontag states, photographs are experience captured and the camera is the "ideal arm of consciousness in its acquisitive mood". Photographs provide evidence, an incontrovertible proof that the experience documented happened (Sontag 2008 [1977]:3-5). Beside his public intentions, namely to take anthropological and documentary photographs, Yoors made his photographs for private use, as personal memories, in an effort to preserve the particular context of the instants recorded, as they carried meaning to him.

A number of instances illustrate that the Gypsies Jan Yoors met during his expeditions appreciated him a lot, and regarded him as a family member, and vice-versa. An example of an occasion in which the familial relationship between Yoors and the Gypsies is clear, is the baptism of a Gypsy child, during the travels with Storck and De Heusch through Greece. At this ceremony, the parents, who were members of the *Kalderash* tribe, named Yoors the godfather of their child. They also named their child "Vanya", which is "Jan" in Romani, the Gypsy language (Fig. 64) (Govaerts 2016:169). Moreover, during Yoors's fairly regular visits to Europe, he sought contact with the Gypsies and was approached and visited by them. Another notable example is that during the months that preceded Yoors's death in 1977, many of the Gypsy families he had met during his travels flocked to New York City from all over the world to bid their last farewells (Ibid.:181). Just like the family photographs from his youth, his postwar oeuvre carries the nostalgic meaning of a personal record of his travels and, more importantly, of the Gypsy families he encountered and connected with on a personal, even familial level. As Yoors mentioned in an interview, being a Gypsy means "being part of a huge family" (Lackey 2008).

Through his photographs, he was able to construct a "portrait chronicle" of the Gypsies he met all over the world, which would bear witness to his connectedness to them (Sontag 2008 [1977]:8). He made his photographs to record situations that would change: the Gypsies he met would age, their cultural traits would change, he would return home, etc. Yoors photographed these friends and "family" members to preserve them, to render them present in these images, as the images would form what Sontag describes family photography to be: a "pocket relation to the past" (Haverkamp 1993:258; Sontag 2008 [1977]:16). Miles Orwell, among others, uses the term "extended family album" to describe the entirety of Nan Goldin's oeuvre. Goldin's photographs pay a tribute to her close circle of friends: prostitutes, drug addicts, HIV patients, and others who were generally regarded as part the margins of society. Though depicting a completely different subject matter, Orwell's term of the "extended family album" can be used to describe Yoors's photographs of the Gypsies. His oeuvre depicts his "extended family" of the Gypsy communities he got acquainted with on a close familial level, during his travels around the world and his wanderings in New York City. As such, Yoors took these

---

You will see […] I will have many impressions to process and to tell you about, and it's only starting! […]." (Translated from Dutch) (Yoors, 1961b); "[…] The day before yesterday and yesterday with the *Lowara* was a fabulous experience. You will hear about it, as well as see the tapes and photographs![…]" (Translated from Dutch) (Yoors, 1961c).

photographs, or *memento mori*, as he was nostalgic (Sontag 2008 [1977]:15). The photographs gave Yoors the surrogate possession of the cherished people and things he depicted (Ibid.:155).

5. From contact sheets to the art gallery: the social biographies through reproducibility and remediation

Like his prewar photography, Jan Yoors's postwar Gypsy photography has taken on various meanings and roles within the spaces and contexts into which they have been projected in the form of multiple material originals. As mentioned above, Elizabeth Edwards argues that photographs are objects with "active biographies" that are in a "constant state of flux", as they are defined by their reproducibility and their potential of being repurposed. As Gell (1998) states: "In the process (of viewing), photographs emerge as relational or *distributed objects*, enmeshed within various networks of telling, seeing, and being, which extends beyond what a photograph's surface visually displays and incorporates what is embodied in their materiality" (Edwards 2012:224).

5.1. Contact sheets

In a first instance, Yoors printed the photographs he made with his Pentax camera in the form of small contact prints, which he then assembled onto contact sheets. Contact prints are small prints of photographs in their original size, thus, in Yoors's case, 35 millimeters, and in their positive colors (Osterman 2007:65). As the small prints are assembled onto a sheet, they form an overview of all photographs taken on a particular occasion or with the same film. The material form of the contact print allows certain treatments and manipulations that are "appropriate" to this medium and are illustrated in Yoors's contact sheets, namely overdrawing them and making markings on them, in an effort to highlight which ones will be chosen to be printed or remediated, and how these will be edited, cropped, etc. In the case of Jan Yoors's contact sheets, some of the prints are marked with a cross, which seems to indicate which one of the series of photographs will be reproduced (Fig. 168-169 & Fig. 172). On other prints, Yoors indicated the dimensions in which he wished the photographs to be printed, for example marking "8 x 10", referring to the dimensions of approximately 20 x 25 centimeters for a photographic print. Other markings specify the finish in which the photograph was to be printed, for example "2 x 8 x 10-glossy" (Fig. 171). Markings like "8 x 10-mounted" indicate that he wished to have the prints framed with a mounting board, to subsequently either place them in a private environment or use them for exhibition purposes (Fig. 170) (cf. infra). The contact sheets of the photographs he took in the preparations of the documentary film *Only One New York* also served as a tool to make the choice which photographs to include in his eponymous photobook (Fig. 174-176).[26] For example, the contact sheets show prints of the Gypsy wedding in St. Mark's Place (Fig. 174-175 & Fig. 112-113), and photographs of the demolition of buildings, which would be shown in "Change and Decay", the last chapter of the

[26] In his use of the contact prints to make his selection for *Only One New York*, Yoors himself is interested in the photographs for their *studium.*

photobook (Fig. 176 & Fig. 114). Yoors also used these contact sheets to tell about his travels, as is clear from the expressions Yoors made to his family in his letter from the Balkans. This points to the use of the contact sheets as tactile, sensory objects that are constituted by and through social relations (Edwards 2012:228). Yoors used the photographs for "visual repatriation", using them as foci for telling stories, taking part in oral culture. As photographs connect to life as it was experienced, to "images, feelings, sentiments, desires and meanings", relating to Barthes' *punctum*, Yoors would most likely use the contact prints, not only to make a verbalized description of the contents of the images while telling stories, but he would allow the prints to become "interlocutors" with his experiences with the Gypsies (Ibid.:229).

5.2. Family photographs

Kore Yoors remembers some of his father's photographs of Gypsies to be placed within the family apartment (K. Yoors, personal communication, July 19, 2018). As Jan Yoors remediated the photographs, translating them from contact prints into frame-size prints, and adhered them to the walls of the apartment, their meaning within the social space was framed by questions of materiality, adjacency, assemblage, and embodied relations. Yoors placed the photographs "in assemblage" within the familial living space, in an assemblage with his other personal memorabilia and the photographs of his children, friends, biological family, etc. As such, their placing is defined by a sense of "appropriateness" or "affordance" to the social expectations and desires of the photographs (Edwards 2012:226). This underlines Yoors's desire of the photographs to fulfill such a function of being documents of personal memories, even "family photographs". Edwards states that through the material practice of placing, the photograph becomes a statement of social importance and efficacy, due to the social relations embodied within their placing (Ibid.). Placed in the family apartment, Yoors's photographic prints express the familial relationship he had with the Gypsies.

As mentioned above in relation to Jan Yoors's Gypsy family album from the 1940s, Daniel Miller calls the relationships between people and things, which "include material and social routines and patterns which give order, meaning and often moral adjudication of their lives", "aesthetics". In regard to this "making order", Mette Sandbye argues that the importance of the emotional facets of family photographs, their function as social instruments, the personal creation of identity, culture, and history, and the more sociological and ideological aspects of the material are to be considered in the analysis of these photographs (Sandbye 2014:14). As family photographs link people to each other, and are strongly related to memory, melancholia, and nostalgia, which can be related to Barthes' *punctum*, these elements should be considered in the analysis of Yoors's photographic prints. By placing the photographs in his family home within the same spaces as photographs of his children, partners, etc., they relate Yoors to the Gypsies from both the 1930s and his postwar travels and, like the family album from his youth, perform messages about his identity as a Gypsy. In this material practice, Yoors established his membership of the "extended" Gypsy family, and the Gypsies around the world as belonging to his family.

5.3. Publications

5.3.1. *Only One New York*

A selection of Jan Yoors's photography of the Gypsies of New York was reproduced in the photobook *Only One New York*. In this "placing", the photographs constitute a part of an assemblage with introductory texts, captions and other photographs of New York and its cultural communities. Yoors carefully sequences the images, placing them complementary or contrasting to each another. Sontag states that, by sequencing photographs, an order in which they are looked at is proposed, though readers are still free to follow any order they choose, and spend any amount of time looking at each photograph (Sontag 2008 [1977]:5). In *Only One New York*, the sequences of texts and photographic reproductions form a whole, as the entire book, with its orange hard cover with its black band, as well as its paper dust wrapper with its colorful illustration on it, is an "assemblage" in its totality. This "placing" of the images within the assemblage of a photobook can again be regarded within Rose's concept of "affordances" and Goffman's notion of "appropriateness" (Edwards 2012:226). Around the middle of the 20th century, the photobook was one of the most important mediums for photographers to share their work. Next to showing photographic prints in galleries or in museums, where photographs were being more and more accepted since the 1950s, or by publishing them in the illustrated press of the time, which decreased in popularity, such as *Vu* or *Life*, many photographers chose to publish parts of their oeuvre in books. These books formed a "supreme platform" for the dissemination of their work to a greater audience, thanks to the low production cost, the easy transportation, etc., of this medium (Di Bello and Zamir 2012:10; "The Photobook"). Sontag mentioned that, for decades, the book had been the most influential way of arranging, and usually miniaturizing, photographs. In a book, they would be guaranteed longevity, "if not immortality", and could reach a wider audience (Sontag 2008 [1977]:4-5). Yoors did indeed consider his photography as democratic art, by means of which he wished to reach a greater audience than the very few who could purchase his tapestries (Van Schoor 1975). Moreover, the photobook is tactile; it can be held, flicked through, bought and collected (Di Bello and Zamir 2012:10). Reproducing the photographs into the greater assemblage of a photobook formed an appropriate medium—"culturally determined accordance of content, genre, and material performance"—integral to the "worked asked" of Yoors's photographs (Edwards 2012:226).

As elements within *Only One New York*, the photographs receive meaning as they illustrate the messages that Yoors wishes to convey, and which are expressed in the preface of the book and in the introductory texts to each of the eight chapters. These main messages are, as mentioned above, the appreciation of the richness of the city's cultures, the value of their diversity, and the importance of preserving cultural individuality in the ever-changing city. More specifically regarding images of the Gypsies in *Only One New York*, which are assembled within the chapter "The Happiest Day", they receive their meaning as illustrations of a Gypsy wedding, thanks to the introductory text and their captions. In their placement within a sequence with photographs of a wedding ceremonies in other cultural communities of New York City, namely

that of an African-American family in Harlem and of Hassidic Jews in Brooklyn, they illustrate the differences between the wedding traditions in these cultures, and support Yoors's message of the value of these individual traditions within the cultural "patchwork" that is New York City (Fig. 112-113) (Servellón 2015:26).

5.3.2. *Jan Yoors, the Gypsy:* The Gypsies *and* The Heroic Present

In 1987, Waveland Press reissued Yoors's *The Gypsies* and, courtesy of Marianne Citroen, reproduced some of Yoors's photographs of the Gypsies in the book. As such, the photographs don't truly take on the role of illustration to Yoors's text, which recounts his experiences from the 1930s, but rather give an impression of Yoors's lifelong contacts with various Gypsy communities, that he had truly lived a "life among the Gypsies". In 2004, the Yoors Family Partnership published a book named *The Heroic Present: Life among the Gypsies*. Projected into this "space", the photographs took on a similar role of expressing Yoors's life, lived in the "heroic present", the perpetual "now" (cf. supra), and in regular contact with Gypsies. The photographs receive this meaning within the "assemblage" of the book, which, firstly, contains an introduction by Kore Yoors, wherein he explains his father's relationship with the *Rom*, and his photographic oeuvre. Secondly, the book contains a note by Dan Tucker, the editor, wherein he briefly introduces Yoors's photography of the Gypsies. Thirdly, an elaborate introduction by Ian Hancock, who provides a historical context to the world Jan Yoors depicts. Prefaced by this political introduction to the Gypsies, the placing of the photographs in assemblage with these elements is essential to a nuanced and informed interpretation of the photographs by the viewer. Throughout several chapters, Yoors's photographs accompany fragments selected from *The Gypsies*. Here, again, the photographs do not necessarily take on the role of illustrations of the texts, as they do not correspond to their content. Projected into the "space" of the book, or as parts of the assemblage of various texts and images carrying a well-chosen, conductive title, they rather partake, as mentioned above, in the illustration of Jan Yoors's life, which he lived like a Gypsy and in perpetual contact with Gypsies from all over the world. This "performance" of the photographs corresponds to the above-mentioned existentialist self-expressive quality of Yoors's photographs, as he expressed exactly this respect for and adherence to the Gypsy way of life—lived in the "heroic present"—in his images.

5.4. Exhibitions

5.4.1. *Visual anthropology: American Museum of Natural History*

In 1986, the American Museum of Natural History in New York City mounted an exhibition showing the photography Yoors made during his travels with Henri Storck and Luc de Heusch (Falino et al. 2012:14). Here, the reproductions of the photographs received a role closely related to the one intended by Yoors, Storck and De Heusch, namely that of being informational anthropological photography or visual anthropology, as they allowed the anthropological study of visual documents of culture (Banks and Morphy 1999:4, 283). As they were projected into the space of this institution, with an important department dedicated to anthropological

research, the "work demanded" of the photographs was that of offering visual data of the Gypsies that Yoors recorded. Here, their *studium* is their "ethnographicness", the meanings and knowledge of ethnographic interest they invoke, as they are interpreted within their situation (Pink 2007:23).

5.4.2. *Migration: Red Star Line museum and Musée national de l'histoire de l'immigration*

From September 2015 to April 2016, the Red Star Line Museum in Antwerp organized an exhibition named *Ik, Zigeuner. De reizen van Jan* Yoors [*I, Gypsy: The Travels of Jan Yoors*], curated by Bram Beelaert. The exhibition offered an overview of a selection of Yoors's works, from his travels with his Gypsy family during the 1930s to the photographs he took relatively shortly before his death in the 1970s. The photographs in the exhibitions were reproduced onto boards that further elaborated the subject matter shown in the photographs and featured general introductory and biographical texts on Yoors. Similar to the above-mentioned reissue of *The Gypsies* and the 2004 publication *The Heroic Present*, the central meaning the photographs carry within the assembled photographs and texts, is the manifestation of Jan Yoors's identity as a Gypsy. Besides the title of the exhibition*, I, Gypsy*, Yoors's expressions of admiration for the Gypsies, such as "But they always stay, as they describe themselves, like water, which adapts itself to every terrain. But water stays water," or "They live in the present. Not so much founded on the past, but on what they are now", accompanied the photographs. The Red Star Line museum was founded in the old hangars of the Red Star Line, a ship that transported millions of Europeans to the United States and Canada, in search of a better life, and strives to visualize the lives, dreams, expectations, and deceptions of the voyagers who crossed the Atlantic. In the context of this exhibition, Jan Yoors's photographs took on the role of contributing to the narrative of migration and human dislocation, which are central themes within the exhibitions of the Red Star Line museum ("Red Star Line").

Similarly, the exhibition *Mondes Tsiganes, Une histoire photographique, 1860-1980* [*Gypsy Worlds: A photographic history, 1860-1980*] gives Jan Yoors's pre- and postwar photographs meaning within the narrative of migration, which the museum attempts to communicate and express though its exhibitions ("Les expositions temporaires"). The exhibition *Mondes Tsiganes* is an undertaking, on one hand, to tell the history of the Gypsies, their migration, their reception in various countries, and the menaces and discrimination they endured, by means of photography and film made of them. On the other hand, the exhibition explores how the photography of Gypsies has contributed to the construction of stereotypes. The project forms a reflection on the ongoing socially-accepted racism against the Gypsies, who remain one of the most discriminated communities in France and in the whole of Europe (Stora 2018). The small selection of Yoors's photographs that are shown, from the 1930s to the 1970s, of which some also depict Yoors himself, mainly constitutes an illustration of Yoors's relationship with the *Rom*. Accompanied by a short informative text about Yoors's biography and his interactions with the Gypsies throughout the decades, the photographs assembled in this

exhibition take on the role of biographical documents of Yoors's life. Within the greater narrative of the exhibition, they contribute to the objective to spread knowledge on the Gypsies, and to allow the public to reflect on negative stereotypes, which have led to discrimination of the Gypsies throughout history (Ibid.). Furthermore, the photographs exhibited incite the visitors to carry this reflection forth to current day problematics regarding the discrimination of negatively-stereotyped or marginalized groups, such as migrants and refugees in the contemporary international political context.

5.4.3. *Fine Art: L. Parker Stephenson Gallery and FIFTY ONE Fine Art Gallery*

Jan Yoors's photographs are represented by two art galleries, which are specialized in dealing in photography. L. Parker Stephenson is a gallerist based in New York City, who specializes 20th-century photography, and also represents a number of contemporary artists whose work is inspired by photography from the past century ("About"). FIFTY ONE Fine Art gallery is based in Antwerp, and specialized in "fine art photography: vintage, classic, fashion, African, and contemporary photography" ("History"). Exhibited alongside works by other photographers and in the environment of a "white cube" gallery space, Yoors's photographs take on the role of art works and merchandise within the art market. Since the late 1960s, documentary photography entered museums, where it was considered modern art. Many photographs were integrated into the art market, in search of aesthetic validation, which would allow them to be sold as art. Solomon-Godeau stated that in this context, when, for instance, the Museum of Modern Art in New York founded a separate photography department, documentary photography became subject to traditional ideas of "connoisseurship". As such, documentary photography lost much of the original, vital social function it used to have outside of the museum and gallery context (Van Gelder and Westgeest 2011:152). Sontag states that, when viewed in the context of the gallery or the museum, spectators regard documentary photographs as studies for the possibilities of photography, instead of their subjects; they are taken from their original context and looked at formally, as "works of art" (Sontag 2008 [1977]:133, 135). Similarly, John Roberts states that the viewing conditions in museums submit documentary photographs to the pictorial traditions of painting (Roberts 2009:294). David Campany claims that "to show documents in the space of art does not simply elevate them, it always undoes them a little", as what the photographer had once intended to be a document, becomes "estranged and oddly removed" (Campany et al. 2007).

In the space of the art gallery, Yoors's photographs take on the role of works of art, generally regarded and appreciated for their formal characteristics, or, as Solomon-Godeau put it, subject to traditional notions of "connoisseurship". Here, an aesthetic or formal validation would allow them to be sold. Yoors's photographs will to a lesser extent carry the meanings or roles of being informational about either his personality or life, or the customs and habits of the Gypsies. Neither will they incite the viewer to reflect on societal subjects, such as discrimination against Gypsies, as this doesn't belong within the sets of social expectations and desires that are predominant within the environment of art galleries (Edwards 2012:226).

Conclusion

The interdisciplinary research, conducted in the context of this thesis, aims to offer an interpretation of Jan Yoors's photographs of Gypsies within the perspective of visual studies. Placed within the context of Yoors's biography and publications, the photographs were interpreted, considering his motives, ideals and influences within the contemporary cultural, social, and historical context. The "performances" of the photographs throughout their social biographies were considered as well.

In chapter 1, Jan Yoors's prewar photographs were studied. It is most probable that Yoors made these photographs as personal photographs, or family photographs, to have them as *memento mori*, or "experiences captured". Secondly, given Yoors's connection with the ethnographer Frans Olbrechts, as well as his "ethnographic interest", it is assumable that Yoors had anthropological motives as well. Within the context of contemporary anthropology, it is likely that Yoors adhered to the ideals of cultural relativism, in which human values were considered as being not universal, but to be understood within their own cultural context. As an adopted member of the Gypsy family, he was the ideal participant observer for ethnographic research. Moreover, considering Yoors's own activity in the resistance, as well as the anti-fascist ideologies of his parents, the assumption that Yoors had humanist motives, while making the photographs in the advent of World War II, is a plausible one. Yoors aimed to preserve the culture of the Gypsies, which was threatened with extermination, and to spread awareness and sympathy for the misunderstood minority group. He recorded their daily lives, depicting them in a dignified manner. These aspects are also reflected within the social biographies of the photographs. An analysis of the biographies of Jan Yoors's original prints reveals that Yoors assembled them into an album, solidifying the interpretation that they were personal, intimate family photographs. This "family album" can be regarded as a biographical object, through which Yoors expressed his identity as a Gypsy, and affirmed his membership of the Gypsy family. Moreover, the social biographies of the photographs through remediation and reproduction reveal their use within anthropological publications, as well as in exhibitions, centered around the theme of the Holocaust.

In chapter 2, Jan Yoors's postwar photographs were examined. In a first instance, an approach within the contemporary developments in anthropology, as well as Yoors's own anthropological background, have revealed that Yoors had anthropological motives. Jan Yoors studied and photographed the Gypsy culture in a holistic manner, fitting the Boasian cultural relativism, central to contemporary cultural and social anthropology. It is likely that Yoors wasn't a proponent of the universalist zeal, which contemporary anthropologists recognized in the United Nations' *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* and the *Statement on Race,* expressed by UNESCO. In a second instance, Yoors and his collaborators were innovative regarding the use of visual media in their research of the Gypsies, as the camera was still enduring difficulties in its acceptance into the discipline of anthropology. Secondly, Yoors's photography was observed within documentary photography. Yoors photographed the

diversity and the cultural identity of his subjects, and didn't wish to convey a message of universalism, which underpinned a number of contemporary photographic undertakings. Within the existentialist thought, Yoors photographed the Gypsies as an alternative to the highly commercialized, mass culture society. His photographs also express a reflexivity, typical to existentialism, as they form a "diaristic" expression of his person. Thirdly, his photographs were regarded as an "extended family album", as he photographed his "extended family" of Gypsies around the world. A consideration of the photographs' social biographies through remediation reveal that they were, again, "put to work" within an anthropological context, most notably within the American Museum of Natural History in New York. Yoors also reproduced a selection of his photographs in his photobook, *Only One New York*. In several publications, the photographs are used to illustrate Yoors's identity as a true Gypsy, carrying the Gypsy ideologies with him throughout his entire life, while also staying in regular context with Gypsies from all over the world. Moreover, the photographs were exhibited within monographic exhibitions about Yoors, as well as in exhibitions, centered around the theme of migration. Lastly, exhibited in the context of "white cube" art gallery spaces, they receive the role of fine art, rather than being documents of Yoors's life, or anthropological photography.

This study has deliberately studied the different aspects of Jan Yoors's photographs of the Gypsies separately, in order to clearly understand and contextualize his work in a chronological manner. However, the diverse layers of his oeuvre, considered separately in this thesis, complement each other and simultaneously constitute the singularity and the uniqueness of Jan Yoors's work. The diverse qualities of Yoors's photography are interrelated and allow various uses and interpretations.

SWOT-analysis

The most important strength of this research is its subject, Jan Yoors, a Belgian artist with a fascinating life and oeuvre. Yoors still is relatively undiscovered, and certainly not yet a household name. Another strength of this thesis is that it encompasses material from the Jan Yoors archive, rendered digitally available thanks to Kore Yoors. As such, the thesis contains information and photographs that have not been published or exhibited before. Thanks to Kore, a great opportunity still lies in further research on Jan Yoors's enormous artistic oeuvre. A possible weakness of this thesis is that it is not always critical regarding Jan Yoors's own publications. As Jo Govaerts has underlined in her publications on Yoors, Yoors's own descriptions of his adventures, in his books and articles, are often exaggerated or romanticized. However, the aim of this research was not to conduct a critical and detailed research on Yoors's life, which Govaerts has already elaborately done, but to regard his biography and writings to discover his personality, motives, ideals and beliefs, in order to form well-founded interpretations of his photographs. Possible threats during this research were the publications and exhibitions, which were simultaneously being written and realized. However, none had the same motive as this research, i.e., to form an elaborate interpretation and contextualization of Yoors's photographs.

Bibliography

Asad, Talal. *Anthropology & the Colonial Encounter*. Armherst, NY: Humanity Books, 1973. Print.

Azoulay, Ariella. ""The Family of Man": A Visual Declaration of Human Rights". Keenan, Thomas and Tirdad Zolghadr (eds.). *The Human Snapshot*. Berlin: Sternberg, 2013. 19-48. Print.

Baert, Barbara, Ann-Sophie Lehman and Jenke Van den Akkerveken. "A Sign of Health: New Perspectives in Iconology". Baert, Barbara (ed.). *New Perspectives in Iconology: Visual Studies and Anthropology*. Brussels: Academic and Scientific Publishers, 2011. 7-14. Print.

Banks, Marcus and Howard Morphy. *Rethinking Visual Anthropology*. London/New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999. Print.

Barnard, Alan. "From relativism to cognitive science". *History and Theory in Anthropology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000. 99-119. Print.

Barthes, Roland. *Camera Lucida*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1981[1980]. Print.

Barthes, Roland. *Mythologies*. St. Albans: Paladin, 1973 [1957]. Print.

Batchen, Geoffrey. "Snapshots: Art history and the ethnographic turn". *Photographies* 1, 2 (2008): 121-142. Web. February 20, 2018.

Batchen, Geoffrey. "Vernacular Photography". *Oxford Art Online*. 2014. Web. October 30, 2018. <http://www.oxfordartonline.com/groveart/view/10.1093/gao/9781884446054.001.0001/oao-9781884446054-e-7002254188>.

Batchen, Geoffrey. *Each Wild Idea: Writing Photography History*. Cambridge, Massachussetts: The MIT Press, 2002. Print.

Beaumon-Maillet, Laure. "Cette photographie qu'on appelle humaniste". Beaumont-Maillet, Laure and Françoise Denoyelle (dir.). *La photographie humaniste 1945-1968: Autour d'Izis, Boubat, Brassaï, Doisneau, Ronis*…. Exh. cat. Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France. Paris: Éditions de la BNF, 2006. 11-25. Print.

Berger, John. *About Looking*. London: Bloomsbury, 2009 [1980]. 52-67. Print.

Berger, John. "Ways of Remembering". Evans, Jessica (ed.). *The Camerwork essays: context and Meaning in Photography*. London: Rivers Oram Press, 1997. 42-51. Print.

Berthe, Jamie. "Disruptive forms: the cinema of Jean Rouch". *Studies in French Cinema* 18, 3: 248-251. Web. March 5, 2018.

Boas, Franz and W. H. Dall. "Museums of Ethnology and their classification". *American Association for the Advancement of Science* 9, 228 (1887): 587-589. Web. December 20, 2018.

Bourdieu, Pierre. *Photography: A Middle-brow Art*. Cambridge: Polity Press: 1990. Print.

Brattain, Michelle. "Race, Racism, and Antiracism: UNESCO and the Politics of Presenting Science to the Postwar Public". *The American Historical Review* 112, 5 (2007): 1386-1413. Web. May 4, 2018.

Bryman, Alan. "Introduction: A Review of Ethnography". Bryman, Alan (Ed.). *Ethnography, Volume 1*. London: Sage, 2001. IX-XXXIX. Print.

Buijtenhuis, Robert. "Anthropologie et impérialisme: où en sommes-nous aujourd'hui?", *Politique Africaine*, 48 (1992): 139-142. Web. June 23, 2018.

Caduff, Carlo. "Anthropology's ethics: Moral positionalism, cultural relativism, and critical analysis". *Anthropological Theory* 11, 4 (2011): 465-48. Web. January 4, 2018.

Campany, David, Tessa Codrington, Kathryn Hughes et al. "We are here". *Tate*. May 1, 2007. Web. May 15, 2018. <http://www.tate.org.uk/context-comment/articles/we-are-here>.

Castañeda, Iván. "Visual Culture, Art History and the Humanities". *Arts and Humanities in Higher Education: An International Journal of Theory, Research and Practice* 8, 1 (2009): 41-55. Web. June 30, 2018.

Chéroux, Clément. "Introducing Werner Kühler: prolégomènes personnalisés". Chéroux, Clément. *Vernaculaires: Essais d'histoire de la photographie*. Cherbourg-Octevill: Le point du jour, 2013. 9-27. Print.

Chéroux, Clément. "L'expert et l'usager. Ubiquité de l'amateurisme photographique". Gunthert, André and Olivier Lugon (ed.). *L'Art de la photographie, des origins à nos jours*. Paris: Citadelles & Mazenod, 2007. 256-274. Print.

Chéroux, Clément. "The Avant-Garde of Amateurs". Guadagnini, Walter (ed.). *Photography: A New Vision of the World 1891-1940.* Milan: Skira Editore, 2011. 14-29. Print.

Clarke, Graham. *The Photograph*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997. Print.

Cleland, Elizabeth. "Jan Yoors: The Twentieth Century's Grand Designer". Yoors, Jan, Elizabeth Cleland, Kore Yoors et al. *Jan Yoors: A Retrospective*. New York: Yoors Family Partnership, 2015. 19-22. Print.

Colleyn, Jean-Paul. "Jean Rouch à portée des yeux". *Cahiers d'Etudes Africaines* 48, 3 (2008): 585-605. Web. March 5, 2018.

Collier, John Jr. *Visual Anthropology: Photography as a Research Method*. Minneapolis: UMN Press, 1986 [1967]. Press.

Constantijn, Petridis. "Olbrechts, Frans (1899-1958)". *UGentMemorie*, 2012. Web. January 16, 2018. < http://www.ugentmemorie.be/personen/olbrechts-frans-1899-1958 >.

Croes, M.T. "Duitsland en de zigeuners: van uitsluiting tot Endlösung der Zigeunerfrage, 1407-1945". *Justitiele Verkenningen* 40, 5 (2014): 23-42. Web. March 4, 2018.

D'hoe, Michel. *Only One New York: Jan Yoors' visie op het New York van de Jaren 1960 doorheen zijn documentairefilm en fotografisch boek*. Unpublished M.A. Thesis. Leuven: KU Leuven. Faculty of Arts, 2016. Print.

Da Silva, Olivia and Sarah Pink. "In the Net: Anthropology and photography". Afonso, Ana Isabel (ed.). *Working Images: Visual research and Representation in Ethnography*. London: Routledge, 2004. 157-167. Web. October 30, 2018.

Darnell, Regna. "North American Traditions in Anthropology: The Historiographic Baseline". Kuklick, Henrika (ed.). *New History of Anthropology*. Malden: Blackwell, 2008. 35-51. Print.

Daudelin, Robert. "Découvrir les films de Jean Rouch". *Journal of Film Preservation* 84 (2011): 62-64. Web. March 5, 2018.

Davis, Keith F. *An American Century of Photography, From Dry-Plate to Digital*. Kansas City: Hallmark Cards, Inc., 1999. Print.

De Dietrich, Serge (prod.) and Pierre-Dominique Gaisseau (dir.). *Only One New York*. United States: Embassy Pictures, 1964. Motion picture.

De Keulenaar, Paul. "Konvooi Z". *Auschwitz Bulletin 2000* 12 (2003). N.p. Web. March 5, 2018. <http://users.skynet.be/bs136227/src2/Bulletin2000/Bull%2012%20Konvooi%20Z%20zigeuners.pdf.>

De Suremain, Charles-Édouard. "Ethics in ethnography. Anthropology confronted by its "little demons" (examples from Latin America)". *AnthropoChildren* 4, 4 (2015): n.p. Web. June 23, 2018.

Deconick, Ralph. "Idolatry, Ideology, Iconology. Towards an Archaeology of the Visual Studies". Baert, Barbara (ed.). *New Perspectives in Iconology: Visual Studies and Anthropology*. Brussels: Academic and Scientific Publishers, 2011. 17-22. Print.

Del Testa, David W. (ed.). *Global History: Cultural Encounters From Antiquity to the Present. The Contemporary World 1900s to Present.* Armonk, New York: Sharpe Reference, 2004. Print.

Di Bello, Patrizia and Shamoon Zamir. "Introduction". Di Bello, Patrizia (ed.). *The Photobook: from Talbot to Ruschka and Beyond*. London: I.B. Tauris, 2012. 1-16. Print.

Drake, Cathryn, Ian Hancock, Dan Tucker, Jan Yoors and Kore Yoors. *The Heroic Present: Life Among the Gypsies*. New York: The Monacelli Press, 2004.

Eakin, Emily. "How Napoleon Chagnon Became Our Most Controversial Anthropologist". *The New York Times*. February 13, 2013. Web. June 23, 2018. <https://www.nytimes.com/2013/02/17/magazine/napoleon-chagnon-americas-most-controversial-anthropologist.html>.

Edwards, Elizabeth. "Material beings: objecthood and ethnographic photographs". *Visual Studies* 17, 1 (2002): 67-75. Web. March 10, 2018.

Edwards, Elizabeth. “Objects of Affect: Photography Beyond the Image”. *The Annual Review of Anthropology* 41(2012): 221-234. Web. March 10, 2018.

Edwards, Elizabeth. “Photography and Anthropological intention in Nineteenth Century Britain”. *Revista de Dialectología y Tradiciones Populares* LIII, 1 (1998): 23-48. Web. July 30, 2018.

Edwards, Elizabeth. *Anthropology & Colonial Endeavour*. London: Taylor & Francis, 1997. Print.

Ellis, Carolyn. *The ethnographic I: A methodological novel about autoethnography*. Walnut Creek: AltaMira Press, 2004. Print.

Eriksen, Thomas Hylland and Finn Sivert Nielsen. *A History of Anthropology*. London: Pluto Press, 2013. Print.

Falino, Jeannine. “Jan Yoors in New York”. Janssen, Elsje, Jeannine Falino, Sergio Servellón and Kore Yoors. *Jan Yoors*. Exh. cat. Drogenbos, FeliXart Museum. Wijnegem: Pandora, 2012. 37-58. Print.

Fernandez, James W. “Cultural Relativism, Anthropology of”. *International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences*. Amsterdam: Elsevier, 2015. 484-487. Web. January 4, 2018.

Fine, Fary Alan “Participant Observation”. *International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences.* Amsterdam: Elsevier, 2015. 530-534. Web. January 5, 2018.

Forde, Daryll. “Frans Olbrechts”. *Africa* 28, 3 (1958): 193-194. Web. January 16, 2018.

Galassi, Peter. *American Photography 1890-1965 from The Museum of Modern Art, New York*. Exh. cat. New York, Museum of Modern Art. New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1995. Print.

Gassert, Philipp. “The Spectre of Americanization: Western Europe in the American Century”. Sonte, Dan (ed.). *The Oxford Handbook of Postwar European History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012. 182-200. Print.

Gough, Kathleen. “Anthropology and Imperialism”. *Monthly Review* 19, 11 (1968): 12. Web. June 23, 2018.

Govaerts, Jo. “Les Ambitions Anthropologiques de Jan Yoors”. *Études Tsiganes* 3, 58-59 (2016b): 260-265. Web. October 15, 2017.

Govaerts, Jo. *Jan Yoors: Kunstenaar met een zigeunerhart*. Antwerpen: Houtekiet, 2016. Print.

Grant, Alec, Nical P. Short and Lydia Turner (eds.). *Contemporary British Autoethnography*. Rotterdam: SensePublishers, 2013. Web. March 25, 2018.

Green, Jonathan. *American Photography: A Critical History 1945 to Present*. New York: Harry N. Adams, Inc., 1984. Print.

Greenhouse, Carol. “Introduction: Cultural Subjects and Objects: The Legacy of Franz Boas and Its Futures in Anthropology, Academe, and Human Rights”. *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 154, 1 (2010): 1-7. Web. January 4, 2018.

Hacking, Juliet and David Campany. *Photography: The Whole History*. New York: Thames & Hudson, 2012. Print.

Hall, Stuart (ed.). “Introduction”. *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*. London: Sage, 1997. 1-11. Print.

Hammersley, Martyn and Paul Atkinson. “What is ethnography”. *Ethnography: Principles in Practice.* London/ New York: Routledge, 2007. 1-19. Print.

Hancock, Ian. “True Romanies and the Holocaust: A Re-evaluation and an overview”. Stone, Dan (ed.). *The Historiography of the Holocaust*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005. 383-396. Print.

Hancock, Ian. “A Glossary of Romani Terms”. *The American Journal of Comparative Law* 45, 2 (1997): 329-344. Web. March 10, 2018.

Haverkamp, Anselm. “The Memory of Pictures: Roland Barthes and Augustine on Photography”. *Comparative Literature* 45, 3 (1993): 258-279. Web. December 1, 2018.

Hazard, Anthony Q. “A Racialized Deconstruction? Ashley Montagu and the 1950 UNESCO Statement on Race”. *Transforming Anthropology* 19, 2 (2011): 174-186. Web. May 4, 2018.

Hegerman, Susan. “Franz Boas and professional anthropology: on mapping the borders of the “modern.”. *Victorian Studies* 41, 3 (1998):455-483. Web. January 5, 2018.

Hess, Barbara. “Une perpétuelle quête du moi”. Holzwarth, Hans Werner and Laszlo Tachen (eds.). *L’art moderne 1870-2000. De l’impressionisme à aujourd’hui.* Köln: Taschen, 2016. 402-417. Print.

Hirsch, Robert. *Seizing the Light: A History of Photography*. New York: The McGraw-Hill Companies, Inc., 2000. Print.

Hockings, Paul (ed.). *Principles of Visual Anthropology*. The Hague: Mouton, 1975. Print.

Hoelscher, Steven. *Reading Magnum: A Visual Archive of the Modern World*. Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press, 2013. Print.

Hoffman, Katherine. “The ‘Family of Man’: An introduction”. *History of Photography*, 29, 4 (2005): 317-319. Web. May 7, 2018.

Howell, Heather. The Heroic Present: The Gypsy Photographs of Jan Yoors. Exhibit fact sheet. N.d. Yoors Family Partnership.

Hoy, Anne H. *The Book of Photography: The History, the Technique, the Art, the Future*. Washington: National Geographic Society, 2005. Print.

Hunt, William Blaine. “Documentary Photography and Applied Anthropology”. *Visual Anthropology* 10, 1 (1997): 67-73. Web. October 15, 2017.

Janssen, Elsje, Jeannine Falino, Sergio Servellón and Kore Yoors. *Jan Yoors*. Exh. cat. Drogenbos, FeliXart Museum. Wijnegem: Pandora, 2012. Print.

Jeanneney, Jean-Noël. ““Voir est un tout””. Arbaïzar, Philippe, Jean Clair, Claude Cookman et al. *De qui s’agit-il? Une retrospective complete de l’oeuvre d’Henri Cartier-Bresson*. Exh. cat. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France. Paris: Gallimard/ Bibliothèque nationale de France, 2003. 7-15. Print.

Jeanneney, Jean-Noël. “Preface”. Beaumont-Maillet, Laure (dir.). *La photographie humaniste,1945-1968: autour d’Izis, Boubat, Brassaï, Doisneau, Ronis…* Exh. cat. Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France. Paris: Éditions de la BNF, 2006. 9. Print.

Jeffrey, Ian. *De kunst van het kijken*. Gent: Ludion, 2009. Print.

Jeffrey, Ian. *Photography: A Concise History*. New York/ London: Thames and Hudson, 1981. Print.

Juan, Myriam. “Laura Vichi, Henri Storck. De l’avant-garde au documentaire social”. *Revue d’histoire moderne et contemporaine* 51-4, 4 (2004): 165-169. Web. May 7, 2018.

Karanth, Daleep. “Ian Hancock”. The University of Texas at Austin, Department of Linguistics. 2009.Web. August 5, 2018. <https://liberalarts.utexas.edu/linguistics/faculty/profile.php?id=ianh >.

La Farge, Phyllis. “On the Frontier of Photography: Carl Lumholtz and the Kodak Snapshot Camera”. *Journal of the Southwest* 55, 4 (2013): 473-494. Web. January 5, 2018.

Lackey, David E. (prod.) *Weaving of Two Worlds*. United States: Whirlwind Creative, 2008. Documentary film.

Laviolette, Patrick and Pierre de Maret. “Luc de Heusch”. *Oxford Bibliographies.* 2015. Web. May 11, 2018. < http://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo-9780199766567/obo-9780199766567-0118.xml >.

Lewy, Guenter. “Himmler and the ‘Racially Pure Gypsies’. *Journal of Contemporary History* 34, 2 (1999): 201-214. Web. March 4, 2018.

Loveland, Matthew T. and Delia Popescu. “The Gypsy Threat Narrative”. *Humanity & Society* 40, 3 (2016): 329-325. Web. March 25, 2018.

Ludlow, Piers. “Making the New Europe: European Integration since 1950”. Martel, Gordon (ed.). *A companion to International History 1900-2001*. Malden: Blackwell, 2007. 327-339. Print.

MacDougall, David. “The Visual in Anthropology”. Banks, Marcus and Howard Morphy. *Rethinking Visual Anthropology*. London/New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999. 276-295. Print.

Maréchal, Garance. “Autoethnography”. Mills, Albert J., Gabrielle Durepos and Elden Wiebe (eds.). *Encyclopædia of a case study research. Volume 2.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2010. 43-45. Web. March 30, 2018.

Margalit, Gilad. “The Jewish Holocaust and the Romani Porajmos: A Response to Donald Kendrick”. *Patterns of Prejudice* 33, 3 (1999): 87-89. Web. March 4, 2018.

Marien, Mary Warner. *100 Ideas That Changed Photography*. London: Laurence King Publishing, 2012. Print.

Marien, Mary Warner. *Photography: A Cultural History*. London: Laurence King Publishing, 2006. Print.

Mead, Margaret. “Visual Anthropology in a Discipline of Words”. Hockings, Paul (ed.). *Principles of Visual Anthropology*. The Hague: Mouton, 1975. 3-12. Print.

Miller, Daniel. *The Comfort of Things*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2010. Print.

Miller, Sarah M. “Roman Vishniac Rediscovered”. *Photography & Culture* 6, 2 (2013): 245-250. Web. March 1, 2018.

Mitchell, W.J.T. “Interdisciplinarity and visual culture. *The Art Bulletin* 77, 4 (1995): 540-544. Web. June 30, 2018.

Mitchell, W.J.T. “Showing seeing: a critique of visual culture”. *Journal of Visual Culture* 1, 2 (2002): 165-181. Web. June 30, 2018.

Mortenson, Erik. “The Ghost of Humanism: Rethinking the Subjective Turn in Postwar American Photography”. *History of Photography* 38, 4 (2014): 418-434. Web. May 7, 2018.

Nguyen, Jacqueline Hoang. “Artefact: Explaining Man to Man”. *C: International Contemporary Art* 128 (2016): 76. Web. May 28, 2018.

Niskac, Barbara Turk. “Some Thoughts on Ethnographic Fieldwork and Photography”. *Stud. ethnol. Croat.* 23 (2011): 125-148. Web. April 5, 2018.

Osterman, Mark. “Introduction to Photographic Equipment, Processes, and Definitions of the 19th Century”. Michael R. Peres (ed.). *The Focal Encyclopedia of Photography*. Burlington: Focal Press, 2007. 36-122. Web. December 20, 2018.

Östör, Ákos. “Visual Anthropology”. *Encyclopedia Britannica*. 2018. Web. October 10, 2017. < https://www.britannica.com/science/anthropology/Special-fields-of-anthropology#ref839872 >.

Ottenberg, Simon. “Frans M. Olbrechts: 1899-1958: In Search of Art in Africa”. *African Arts* 37, 4 (2004): 14-90. Web. January 16, 2018.

Parr, Martin and Gerry Badger. *The Photobook: A History*. London: Phaidon, 2005. Print.

Perkins, John “Continuity in modern German history? The treatment of Gypsies”. *Immigrants & Minorities* 18, 1(1999): 62-82. Web. March 4, 2018.

Peterson, Nicolas. “Illustration or evidence: Early 20th Century Photography of Australian Aboriginal Families”. *Visual Anthropology Review* 21, 1- 2 (2006): 11-26. Web. March 30, 2018.

Pink, Sarah. “Engaging the visual: an introduction”. *The Future of Visual Anthropology: engaging the senses*. London: Routledge, 2006. 3-20. Print.

Pink, Sarah. *Doing Visual Ethnography: Images, Media and Representation in Research*. London: Sage Publications Ltd., 2007. Print.

Pinney, Christopher. *Photography and Anthropology*. London: Reaktion Books, 2011. Print.

Pollack, Peter. *The Picture History of Photography: From the Earliest Beginnings to the Present Day*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1963. Print.

Price, Derrick. “Surveyors and surveyed: photography out and about”. Wells, Liz (ed.). *Photography: A Critical Introduction*. London/ New York: Routledge, 2015. 75-132. Print.

Pusca, Anca. “Representing Romani Gypsies and travelers: Performing Identity from Early Photography to Reality Television”. *International Studies Perspectives* 16 (2015): 317-344. Web. November 1, 2018.

Reed, Henry Hope and Geoffrey T. Hellman. “Gypsiana”. *The New Yorker*. October 27, 1951. Web. August 1, 2018. <https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/1951/10/27/gypsiana >.

Robert, John. “Photography after the Photograph: Event, Archive, and the Non-Symbolic”. *Oxford Art Journal* 32, 2 (2009): 281-198. Web. July 5, 2018.

Rouch, Jean. *Ciné-Ethnography*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2003. Print.

Rouillé, André. *La photographie. Entre document et art contemporain*. Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 2005. Print.

Sandbye, Mette. “Looking at the family photo album: a resumed theoretical discussion of why and how”. *Journal of Aesthetics and Culture* 6, 1 (2014): 1-17. Web. March 10, 2018.

Scarles, Caroline. “Where Words Fail, Visuals Ignite: Opportunities for Visual Autoethnography in Tourism Research”. *Annuals of Tourism Research* 37, 4 (2010): 905-926. Web. March 25, 2018.

Schneider, Arnd and Christopher Wright. *Contemporary art and anthropology*. Oxford: Berg, 2006. Print.

Servellón, Sergio. “Jan Yoors: A Twofold Context”. Yoors, Jan, Elizabeth Cleland, Kore Yoors, Sergio Servellón et al. *Jan Yoors: A Retrospective*. New York: Yoors Family Partnership, 2015. 25-26. Print.

Servellón, Sergio. “Niet belemmerd door grenzen: het epische oeuvre van Jan Yoors”. Janssen, Elsje, Jeannine Falino, Sergio Servellón and Kore Yoors. *Jan Yoors*. Exh. cat. Drogenbos, FeliXart Museum. Wijnegem: Pandora, 2012. 31-46. Print.

Shah, Alpa. “Ethnography?”. *HAU: Journal of Ethnographic Theory* 7, 1 (2017): 45-59. Web. July 25, 2018.

Sontag, Susan. *On Photography*. New York: Penguin Books, 2008 [1977]. Print.

Spiro, Melford E. “Postmodernist Anthropology, Subjectivity, and Science: A Modernist Critique”. *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 38, 4 (1996): 759-780. Online.

Stoller, Paul. *The Cinematic Griot: The Ethnography of Jean Rouch*. London: The University of Chicago Press, 1992. 131-144. Print.

Stora, Benjamin. “Préface”. About, Ilsen, Mathieu Pernot and Adèle Sutre (dir.). *Mondes Tsiganes, Une histoire photographique, 1860-1980*. Exh. cat. Paris, Musée national de l’histoire de l’immigration. Arles: Actes Sud, 2018. N.p. Print.

Van Damme, Wilfried. “Introduction”. Olbrechts, Frans and Lee Preedy. “The integration of Art in the Culture of Primitive Peoples”. *Art in Translation* 3, 4 (2011): 367-399. Web. August 3, 2018.

Van Gelder, Hilde and Helen Westgeest. *Photography Theory in Historical Perspective: Case Studies from Contemporary Art.* Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011. Print.

Van Schoor, Jos. *Een Vlaming in New York*. Brussel: Belgische Radio en Televisie, 1975. Documentary film.

Van Wettum, Annebert. Diary. August 18,1962. Yoors Family Partnership.

Van Wettum, Annebert. Diary. December 31, 1961. Yoors Family Partnership.

Waggoner, Diane. “Photographic amusements 1888-1919”. Greendough, Sarah, Sarah Kennel, Diane Waggoner and Matthew S. Witkovsky. *The Art of the American Snapshot 1888-1978, From the Collection of Robert E. Jackson.* Exh. cat. Washington D.C., National Gallery of Art. Washington: Publishing Office, National Gallery of Art, 2007. 7-72. Print.

Waltz, Susan. “Reclaiming and rebuilding the history of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights”. *Third World Quarterly* 23, 3 (2002): 437-448. Web. May 4, 2018.

Warren, Lynne. *Encyclopedia of 20th-Century Photography. Volume 1.* New York: Routledge, 2006. Print.

Yoors, Jan and Charles Samuels. *Only One New York*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1965. Print.

Yoors, Jan. “I. – Lowari Law and Jurisdiction”. *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society* XXVI, 1-2 (1947): 1-19. Web. March 8, 2018.

Yoors, Jan. “II. – O Drom Le Lowarengo: Recollections of Life and Travel with the Lowara”. *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society* XXXVIII, 1-2 (1959): 6-18. Web. March 8, 2018.

Yoors, Jan. “III. – Reminiscences of the Lovara.” *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society* XXIV, 1-2 (1945): 8-17. Web. March 8, 2018.

Yoors, Jan. *Crossing*. London: Weinfield and Nocholson, 1972 [1971]. Print.

Yoors, Jan. Letter to Annebert van Wettum and Marianne Citroen. August 8, 1961 (b). Yoors Family Partnership.

Yoors, Jan. Letter to Annebert van Wettum and Marianne Citroen. August 15, 1961 (c). Yoors Family Partnership.

Yoors, Jan. Letter to Jan Yoors’s parents. February 7, 1961 (a). Yoors Family Partnership.

Yoors, Jan. *The Gypsies of Spain*. New York: Macmillan Publishing, 1974. Print.

Yoors, Jan. *The Gypsies*. New York: Waveland Press, 1987 [1967]. Print.

Yoors, Kore. “Preface”. Drake, Cathryn, Ian Hancock, Dan Tucker, Jan Yoors and Kore Yoors. *The Heroic Present: Life Among the Gypsies*. New York: The Monacelli Press, 2004. 7-9. Print.

Young, Michael W. *Malinowski's Kiriwina: Fieldwork Photography 1915-1918*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1998. Print.

Zanot, Francesco. “The Family of Man”. Guadagnini, Walter (ed.). *Photography: From the Press to the Museum 1941-1980*. Milan: Skira, 2013. Print.

Zerwez, Erika Cozzonatto. “The human and the inhuman: visual culture, political culture and the images produced by George Rodger and Henri Cartier-Bresson in the Nazi concentration camps”. *Tempo e Argumento*. 8, 17 (2016): 432-454. Web. July 27, 2018.

Zimmerman, Michael. “The Wehrmacht and the National Socialist Persecution of the Gypsies”. *Romani Studies* 11, 2 (2001): 111-135. Web. March 4, 2018.

“About the MHHE: Mission”. *Official website of the Museum of History and Holocaust Education*. N.d. Web. May 28, 2018. <http://historymuseum.kennesaw.edu/about/mission.php>.

“About”. *L. Parker Stephenson Photographs*. N.d. Web. June 11, 2018. <https://www.lparkerstephenson.nyc/about/>.

“Anne Frank Center Exhibits Jan Yoors’s Gypsy Photographs”. *The Tribeca Trib*. September 6, 2013. May 28, 2018. <http://www.tribecatrib.com/content/anne-frank-center-exhibits-jan-yoors’-gypsies-photographs>.

“Archive”. *Jan Yoors*. N.d. Web. August 5, 2018. <http://janyoors.com/archive/>.

“Biographie”. *Fondation Henri Storck*. N.d. Web. May 7, 2018. <http://fondshenristorck.be/henri-storck/biographie/>.

"Books". *Jan Yoors*. N.d. Web. June 30, 2018. <http://janyoors.com/books/>.

"Diane Arbus: Revelations, Exhibition Overview". *Metropolitan Museum of Art*. N.d. Web. June 19, 2018. <https://www.metmuseum.org/exhibitions/listings/2005/diane-arbus>.

"Drawings: Introduction". *Jan Yoors*. N.d. Web. June 30, 2018. <http://janyoors.com/drawings/>.

"Existentialism". *Encyclopædia Britannica*. 2018. Web. May 7, 2018. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/existentialism>.

"Genocide of the European Roma (Gypsies), 1939-1945". *Holocaust Encyclopedia, The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum*. N.d. Web. April 5, 2018. <https://www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/article.php?ModuleId=10005219>.

"Gouache: Introduction". *Jan Yoors*. N.d. Web. June 30, 2018. <http://janyoors.com/gouache/>.

"Het Red Star Line Museum in een notendop". *Red Star Line Museum*. N.d. Web. June 11, 2018. <https://www.redstarline.be/nl/pagina/het-red-star-line-museum-een-notendop>.

"History". *FIFTY ONE Fine Art Photography Gallery*. N.d. Web. June 11, 2018. <https://www.gallery51.com/index.php?navigatieid=17>.

"Jan Yoors: artiest, zigeunerkind, verzetsheld…". *Canvas*. 2017. Web. May 30, 2018. <https://www.canvas.be/canvas-curiosa/jan-yoors-artiest-zigeunerkind-verzetsheld>.

"Les expositions temporaires". *Musée de l'histoire de l'immigration*. N.d. Web. June 11, 2018. <http://www.histoire-immigration.fr/missions/la-museographie/les-expositions-temporaires>.

"Marc and Evelyn Bernheim: Little Boys of Upper Ghana". *Metropolitan Museum of Art*. N.d. Web. April 14, 2018. <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/271209>.

"New Documents". *Museum of Modern Art*. N.d. Web. June 19, 2018. <https://www.moma.org/calendar/exhibitions/3487>.

"Our History", *Anne Frank Center for Mutual Respect.* N.d. Web. May 28, 2018. <https://www.annefrank.com/about-us>.

"Our Mission". *Anne Frank Center for Mutual Respect.* N.d. Web. May 28, 2018. <https://www.annefrank.com/about-us>.

"Painting: Introduction". *Jan Yoors*. N.d. Web. June 20, 2018. <http://janyoors.com/painting/>.

"Persecution of Roma (Gypsies) in Prewar Germany, 1933-1939". *The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum*. N.d. Web. April 5, 2018.<https://www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/article.php?ModuleId=10005482>.

"Photography: Introduction". *Jan Yoors*. N.d. Web. October 15, 2017. <http://janyoors.com/photography>.

"Publications: Catalogues & Books". *Jan Yoors*. N.d. Web. August 5, 2018. <http://janyoors.com/catalogues-books/>.

"Publications: Press". *Jan Yoors*. N.d. Web. August 5, 2018. <http://janyoors.com/press/>.

"Reflections". *Jan Yoors*. N.b. Web. August 7, 2018. <http://janyoors.com/life/jans-writings/reflections/>.

"Sculpture: Introduction". *Jan Yoors*. N.d. Web. June 30, 2018. <http://janyoors.com/sculpture/>.

"SMS Spotlight: Museum of History and Holocaust Education". *Georgia History Festival*. November 20, 2015. Web. May 28, 2018. <http://georgiahistoryfestival.org/super-museum-sunday-spotlight-museum-of-history-and-holocaust-education-at-kennesaw-state-university/>.

"Social Darwinism". *Encyclopedia Britannica*. 2018. Web. August 3, 2018. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/social-Darwinism>.

"Tapestry: Introduction". *Jan Yoors*. N.d. Web. June 30, 2018. <http://janyoors.com/tapestry/>.

"The Anne frank Center USA Announces Opening of Romani Exhibit: The Pre-War Photographs of Jan Yoors". *Cision*. N.d. Web. May 28, 2018. <http://www.prweb.com/releases/2013/9/prweb11086489.htm>.

"The Photobook: A History. Martin Parr, Gerry Badger and Hannah Watson in conversation with Simon Baker". *Tate Modern*. 2014.Web. July 3, 2018. <https://www.tate.org.uk/whats-on/tate-modern/talk/photobook-history>.

"Wie is Frans M. Olbrechts". *Olbrechtsgenootschap*. N.d. Web. January 16, 2018. <http://www.olbrechtsgenootschap.be/wie.html>.

KU LEUVEN
FACULTY OF ARTS
BLIJDE INKOMSTSTRAAT 21 BOX 3301
3000 LEUVEN, BELGIË

“We, the Rom…”

A study of Jan Yoors’s photography of Gypsies, from ca. 1934 to the 1970s.

Part II: Appendix

Michel D’hoe

Presented in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts in Cultural Studies

Supervisor: prof. dr. Mieke Bleyen (promoter)

Academic year 2017-2018

161.858 characters

KU LEUVEN
FACULTY OF ARTS
BLIJDE INKOMSTSTRAAT 21 BOX 3301
3000 LEUVEN, BELGIË

I hereby declare that, in line with the Faculty of Arts' code of conduct for research integrity, the work submitted here is my own original work and that any additional sources of information have been duly cited.

Table of Contents

1. List of Figures

Figure 65: Jan Yoors. Kavala, Greece, 1961. Yoors Family Partnership.

Figure 66: Jan Yoors. Kavala, Greece, 1961. Yoors Family Partnership.

Figure 67: Jan Yoors. Lamia, Lauris, Greece, 1961. Yoors Family Partnership.

Figure 68: Jan Yoors. *Rudari* man. Porumbacu de Jos, Romania (Transylvania), 1961. Yoors Family Partnership.

Figure 69: Jan Yoors. Romania (Transylvania), 1961. Yoors Family Partnership.

Figure 70: Jan Yoors. *Rudari* girl. Gina Brushovo, Romania (Transylvania), 1961. Yoors Family Partnership.

Figure 71: Jan Yoors. Saliste, Romania (Transylvania), 1961. Yoors Family Partnership.

Figure 72: Jan Yoors. Gura Raului, Romania (Transylvania), 1961. Yoors Family Partnership.

Figure 73: Jan Yoors. Horse-drawn caravan. Porumbacu de Jos, Romania (Transylvania), 1961. Yoors Family Partnership.

Figure 74: Jan Yoors. Gina Brushovo, Romania (Transylvania), 1961. Yoors Family Partnership.

Figure 75: Jan Yoors. Gypsy camp. Jezero, Bosnia and Herzegovina (Yugoslavia), 1961. Yoors Family Partnership.

Figure 76: Jan Yoors. Zagreb, Croatia (Yugoslavia), 1961. Yoors Family Partnership.

Figure 77: Jan Yoors. Jezero, Bosnia and Herzegovina (Yugoslavia), 1961. Yoors Family Partnership.

Figure 78: Jan Yoors. Yugoslavia, 1961. Yoors Family Partnership.

Figure 79: Jan Yoors. Gypsy settlement. Yugoslavia, 1961. Yoors Family Partnership.

Figure 80: Jan Yoors. Skopje, Macedonia (Yugoslavia), 1961. Yoors Family Partnership.

Figure 81: Jan Yoors. Gypsy horse dealers going to the fair. Yugoslavia, 1961. Yoors Family Partnership.

Figure 82: Jan Yoors. Istanbul, Turkey, 1961. Yoors Family Partnership.

Figure 83: Jan Yoors. Gypsy horse dealers going to the fair. Istanbul, Turkey, 1961.

Figure 84: Jan Yoors. Gypsy settlement. Istanbul, Turkey, 1961. Yoors Family Partnership.

Figure 85: Jan Yoors. Turkey, 1961. Yoors Family Partnership.

Figure 86: Jan Yoors. Istanbul, Turkey, 1961. Yoors Family Partnership.

Figure 87: Jan Yoors. Ege Bölgesi. Turkey, 1961. Yoors Family Partnership.

Figure 88: Jan Yoors. *Kalderash* wagon. Hungary, 1961. Yoors Family Partnership.

Figure 89: Jan Yoors. Sofia, Bulgaria, 1961. Yoors Family Partnership.

Figure 90: Jan Yoors. Party in Yoors's studio. New York City, 1950s. Yoors Family Partnership.

Figure 91: Jan Yoors. Party in Yoors's studio. New York City, 1950s. Yoors Family Partnership.

Figure 92: Jan Yoors. Party in Yoors's studio. New York City, 1950s. Yoors Family Partnership.

Figure 93: Jan Yoors. Party in Yoors's studio, New York City, 1950s. Yoors Family Partnership.

Figure 94: Jan Yoors. Two Gypsy girls. Lower East Side, New York City, 1960s. Yoors Family Partnership.

Figure 95: Jan Yoors. Gypsy wedding. St. Mark's Place, New York, 1963. Yoors Family Partnership.

Figure 96: Jan Yoors. Gypsy wedding. St. Mark's Place, New York, 1963. Yoors Family Partnership.

Figure 97: Jan Yoors. Gypsy wedding. St. Mark's Place, New York, 1963. Yoors Family Partnership.

Figure 98: Jan Yoors. Gypsy wedding. St. Mark's Place, New York, 1963. Yoors Family Partnership.

Figure 99: Jan Yoors. Gypsy wedding. St. Mark's Place, New York, 1963. Yoors Family Partnership.

Figure 100: Jan Yoors. Gypsy wedding. St. Mark's Place, New York, 1963. Yoors Family Partnership.

Figure 101: Jan Yoors. Gypsy wedding. St. Mark's Place, New York, 1963. Yoors Family Partnership.

Figure 102: Jan Yoors. Gypsy wedding. St. Mark's Place, New York, 1963. Yoors Family Partnership.

Figure 103: Jan Yoors. Gypsy wedding. St. Mark's Place, New York, 1963. Yoors Family Partnership.

Figure 104: Jan Yoors. Gypsy wedding. St. Mark's Place, New York, 1963. Yoors Family Partnership.

Figure 105: Jan Yoors. Gypy musicians. Coney Island, New York City, 1963. Yoors Family Partnership.

Figure 106: Gypsy musicians. Coney Island, New York City, 1963. Yoors Family Partnership.

Figure 107: Recording in Jan Yoors's studio. New York City, 1960s. Yoors Family Partnership.

Figure 108: Jan Yoors. Untitled, New York, 1972. Yoors Family Partnership.

Figure 109: Wedding in Harlem. Samuels, Charles and Jan Yoors. *Only One New York.* New York: Simon & Schuster, 1965. 90-91.

Figure 110: Wedding in Harlem. Samuels, Charles and Jan Yoors. *Only One New York.* New York: Simon & Schuster, 1965. 92-93.

Figure 111: Men at Hasidic wedding. Samuels, Charles and Jan Yoors. *Only One New York.* New York: Simon & Schuster, 1965. 94-95.

Figure 112: Gypsy wedding in the Dom Narodowy, St. Mark's Place. Samuels, Charles and Jan Yoors. *Only One New York.* New York: Simon & Schuster, 1965. 96-97.

Figure 170: Fragment of sheet of contact prints of photographs from Athens, Greece. Yoors Family Partnership.

Figure 171: Fragment of sheet of contact prints of photographs from Finland. Yoors Family Partnership.

Figure 172: Fragment of sheet of contact prints of photographs from India. Yoors Family Partnership.

Figure 173: Fragment of sheet of contact prints of photographs from Granada, Spain. Yoors Family Partnership.

Figure 174: Fragment of sheet of contact prints of photographs from New York. Yoors Family Partnership.

Figure 175: Fragment of sheet of contact prints of photographs from New York. Yoors Family Partnership.

Figure 176: Fragment of sheet of contact prints of photographs from New York. Yoors Family Partnership.

Figure 177: Jan Yoors. *Apollo and Daphne*. Gouache on paper. 18,4 x 16,2 cm. 1948. Yoors Family Partnership.

Figure 178: Jan Yoors. *In the Past*. Tapestry. 243,8 x 213,3 cm. 1975. Yoors Family Partnership.

2. Figures

2.1. Youth with the Gypsies

Fig. 1. Jan Yoors. Doshina, Simza, Diogo, Ludu, Paprika, Bossa, Mala. Belgium, 1934-1944. Yoors Family Partnership.

Fig. 2: Jan Yoors. Belgium, 1938. Yoors Family Partnership.

Fig. 3: Jan Yoors. 1934-1944. Yoors Family Partnership.

Fig. 4: Jan Yoors. 1934-1944. Yoors Family Partnership.

Fig. 5: Jan Yoors. Luba. 1934-1944. Yoors Family Partnership.

Fig. 6: Jan Yoors. 1934-1944. Yoors Family Partnership.

Fig. 7: Yoors with Gypsy friends. 1934-1944. Yoors Family Partnership.

Fig. 8: Vedel, Jan, Ludu, Simza, Bossa, Carora. 1934-1944. Yoors Family Partnership.

Fig. 9: Jan with Gypsy friends. 1934-1944. Yoors Family Partnership.

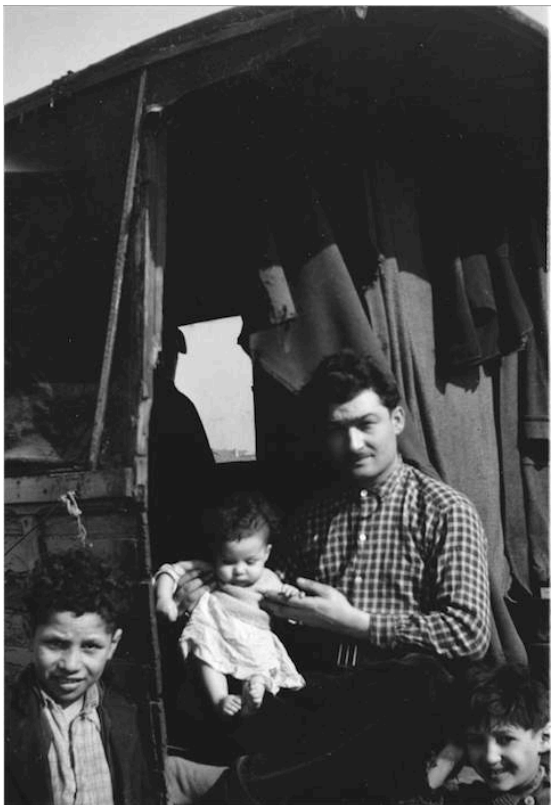


Fig. 10 & 11: Jan Yoors. 1934-1944. Yoors Family Partnership.

Fig. 12: Jan Yoors. 1934-1944. Yoors Family Partnership.

Fig. 13: Jan Yoors. 1934-1944. Yoors Family Partnership.

Fig. 14: Jan Yoors. 1934-1944. Yoors Family Partnership.

Fig. 15: Jan Yoors. 1934-1944. Yoors Family Partnership.

Fig. 16: Jan Yoors. 1934-1944. Yoors Family Partnership.

Fig. 17: Jan Yoors. 1934-1944. Yoors Family Partnership.

Fig. 18: Jan Yoors. 1934-1944. Yoors Family Partnership.

Fig. 19: Jan Yoors. 1934-1944. Yoors Family Partnership.

Fig. 20: Jan Yoors. 1934-1944. Yoors Family Partnership.

Fig. 21. Jan Yoors. Gyspy wedding. 1934-1944. Yoors Family Partnership.

Fig. 22: Jan Yoors. Gypsy wedding. 1934-1944. Yoors Family Partnership.

Fig. 23: Jan Yoors. Gypsy wedding. 1934-1944. Yoors Family Partnership.

Fig. 24: Jan Yoors. Gypsy wedding. 1934-1944. Yoors Family Partnership.

Fig. 25: Gypsy boy, Rosa and Simza walking a horse, 1934-1944. Yoors Family Partnership.

Fig. 26: Jan Yoors. Bidshika and his wife. 1934-1944. Yoors Family Partnership.

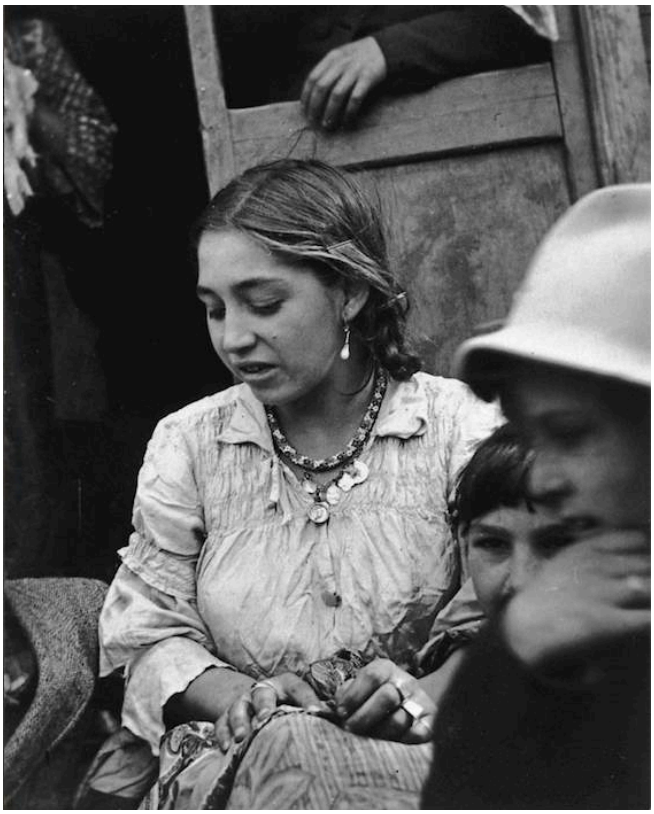


Fig. 27: Jan Yoors. Rosa telling ghost stories. 1934-1944. Yoors Family Partnership.

Fig. 28: Jan Yoors. Simza and friends. 1934-1944. Yoors Family Partnership.

Fig. 29: Jan Yoors. Simza and her little sister Moni. 1934-1944. Yoors Family Partnership.

Fig. 30: Jan Yoors. Women of Pulika's kumpania, Rosa (left) and Simza (right). 1934-1944. Yoors Family Partnership.

Fig. 31: Jan Yoors. Simza. 1934-1944. Yoors Family Partnership.

Fig. 32: Jan Yoors. Simza and her little sister Moni. 1934-1944. Yoors Family Partnership.

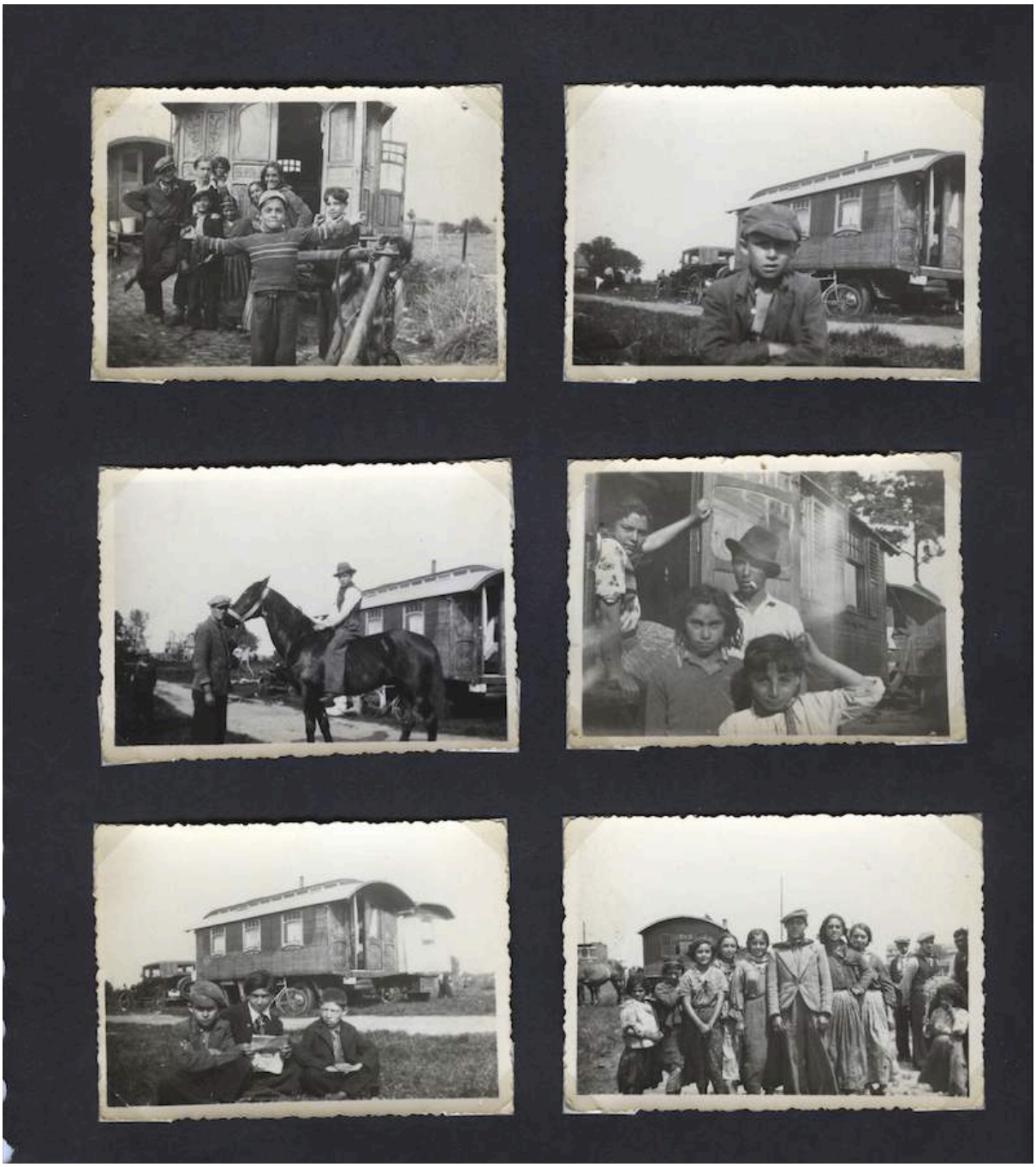


Fig. 33: Album of prewar photographs, page 1. Yoors Family Partnership.

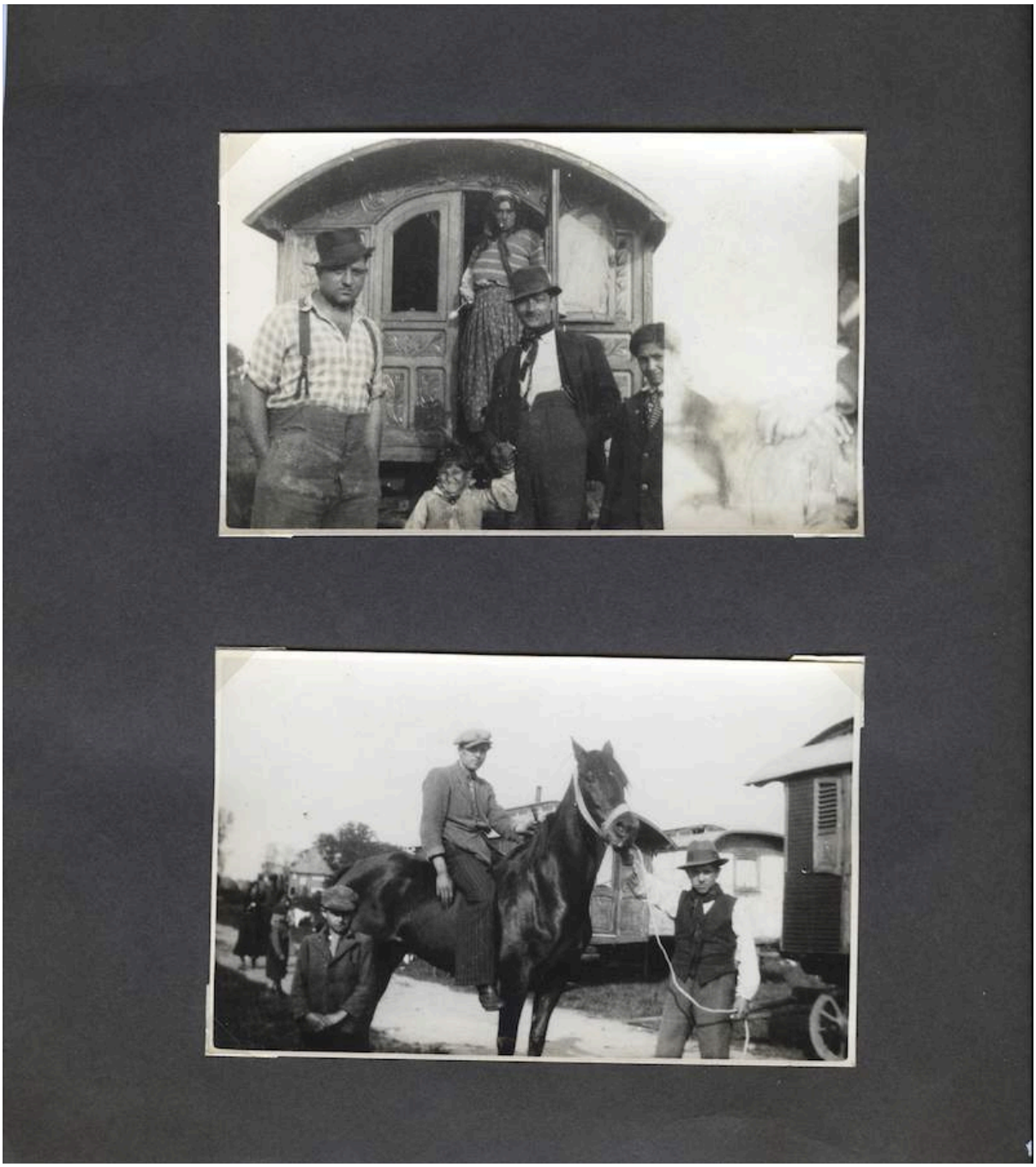


Fig. 34: Album of prewar photographs, page 2. Yoors Family Partnership.

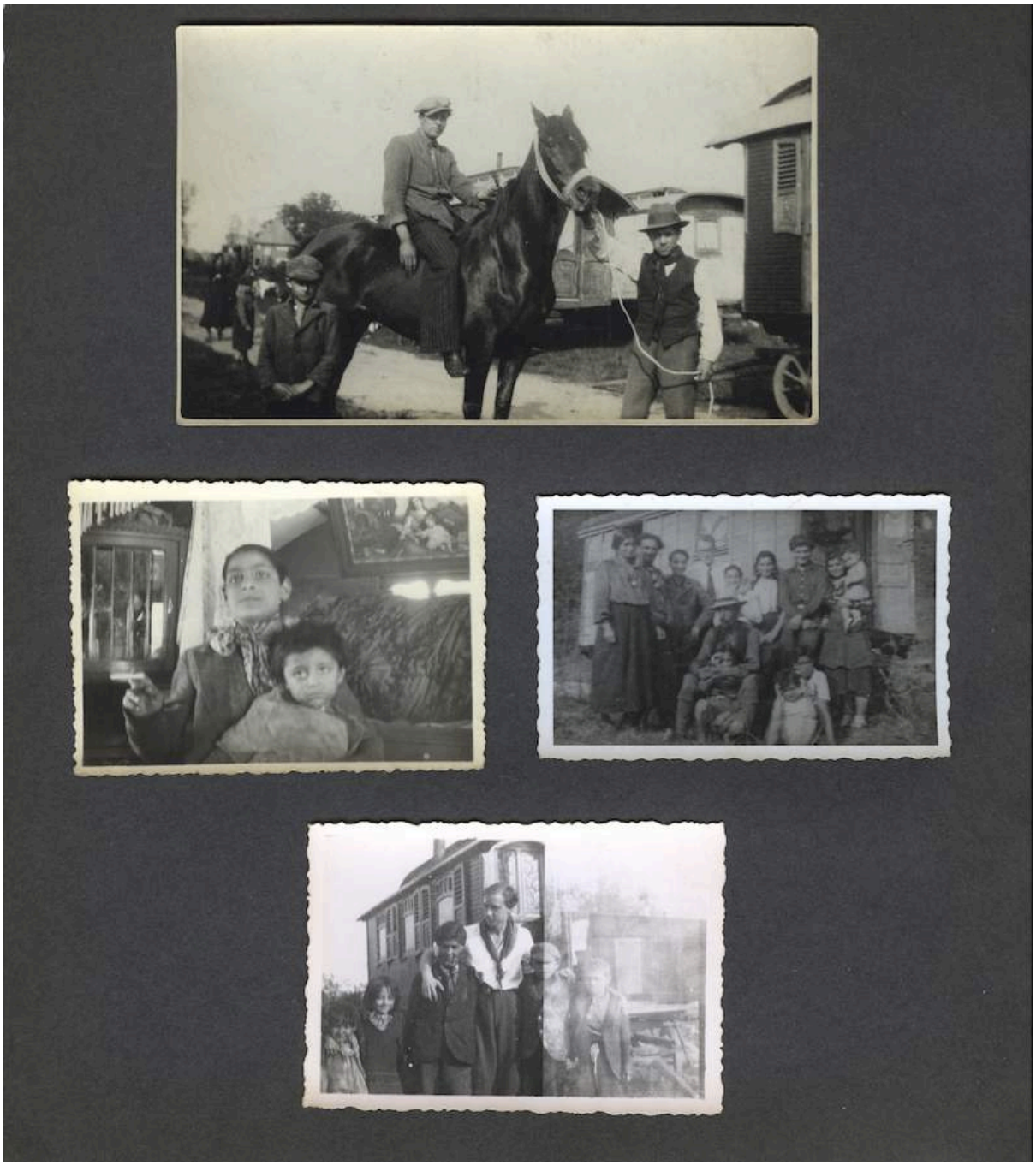


Fig. 35: Album of prewar photographs, page 3. Yoors Family Partnership.

Fig. 36: Album of prewar photographs, photograph from page 4. Yoors Family Partnership.

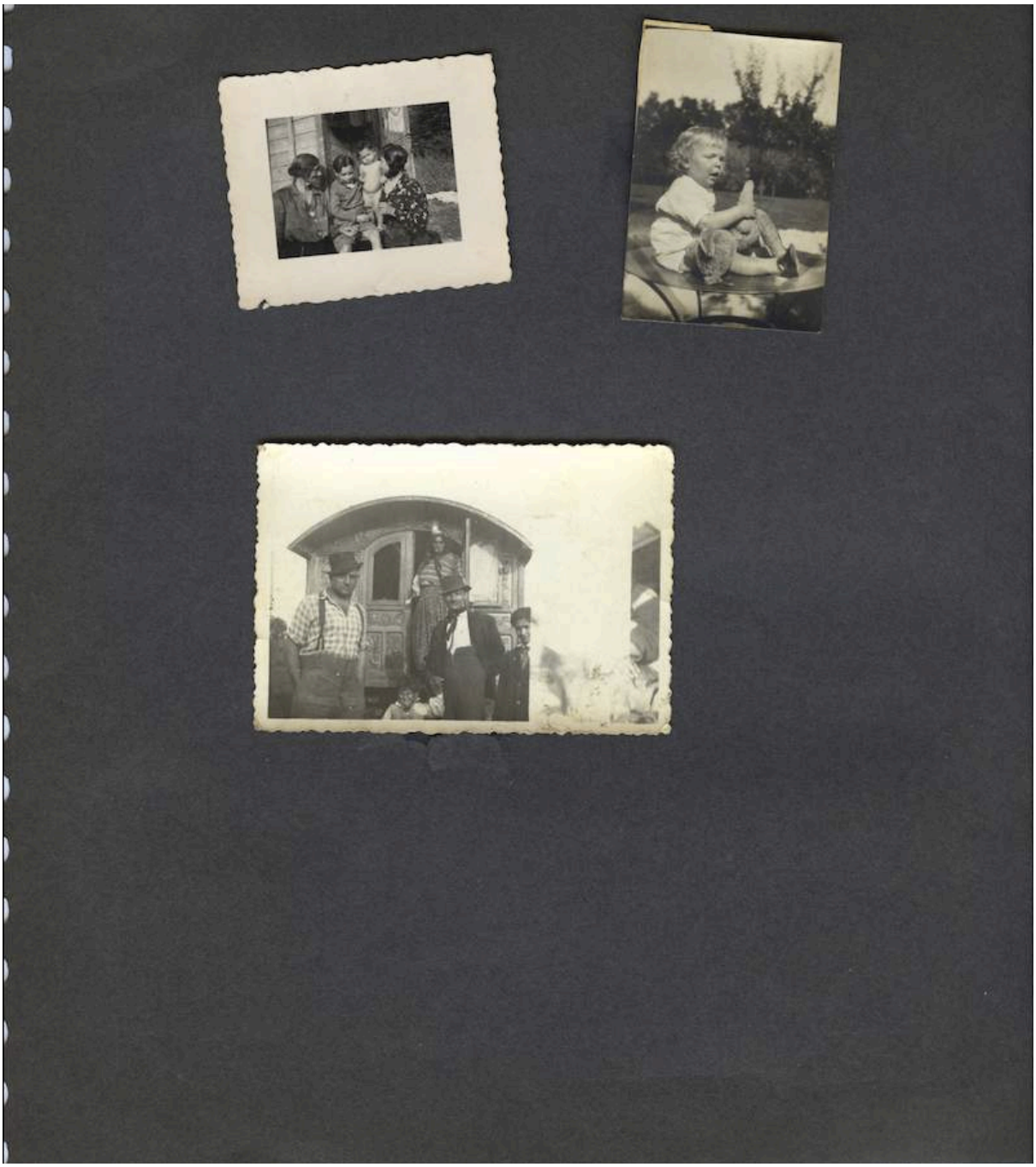


Fig. 37: Album of prewar photographs, page 5. Yoors Family Partnership.

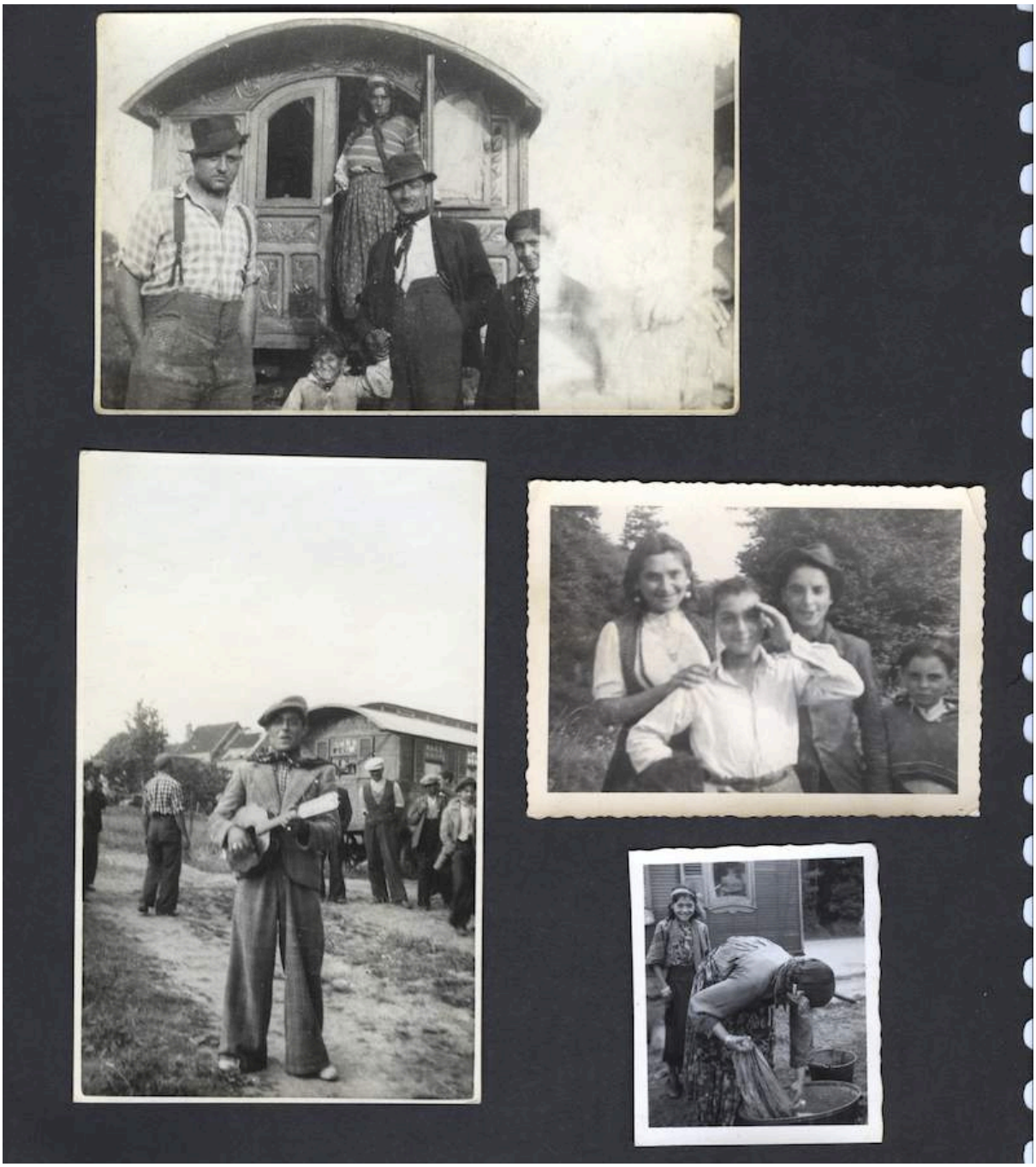


Fig. 38: Album of prewar photographs, page 6. Yoors Family Partnership.

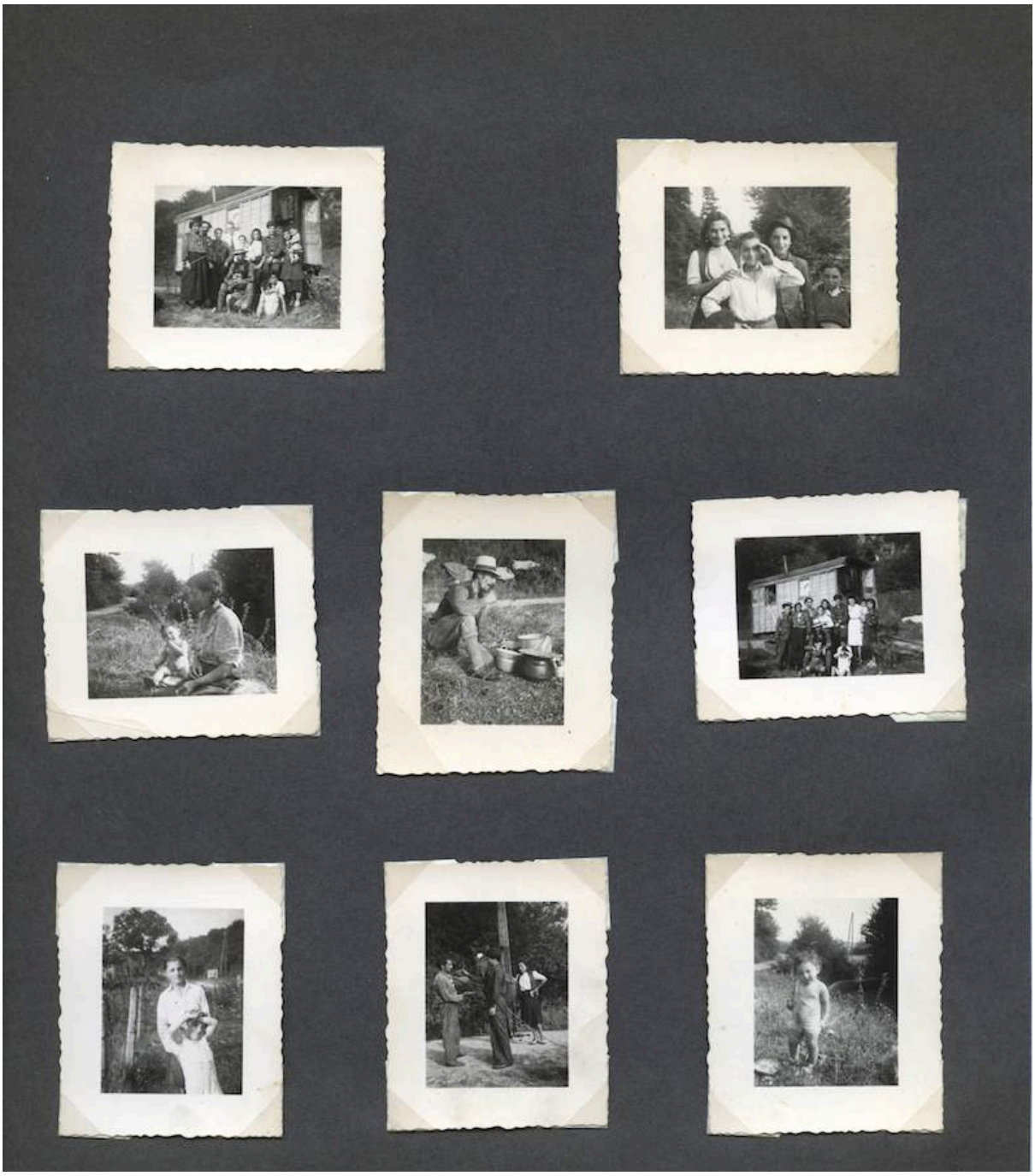


Fig. 39: Album of prewar photographs, page 7. Yoors Family Partnership.

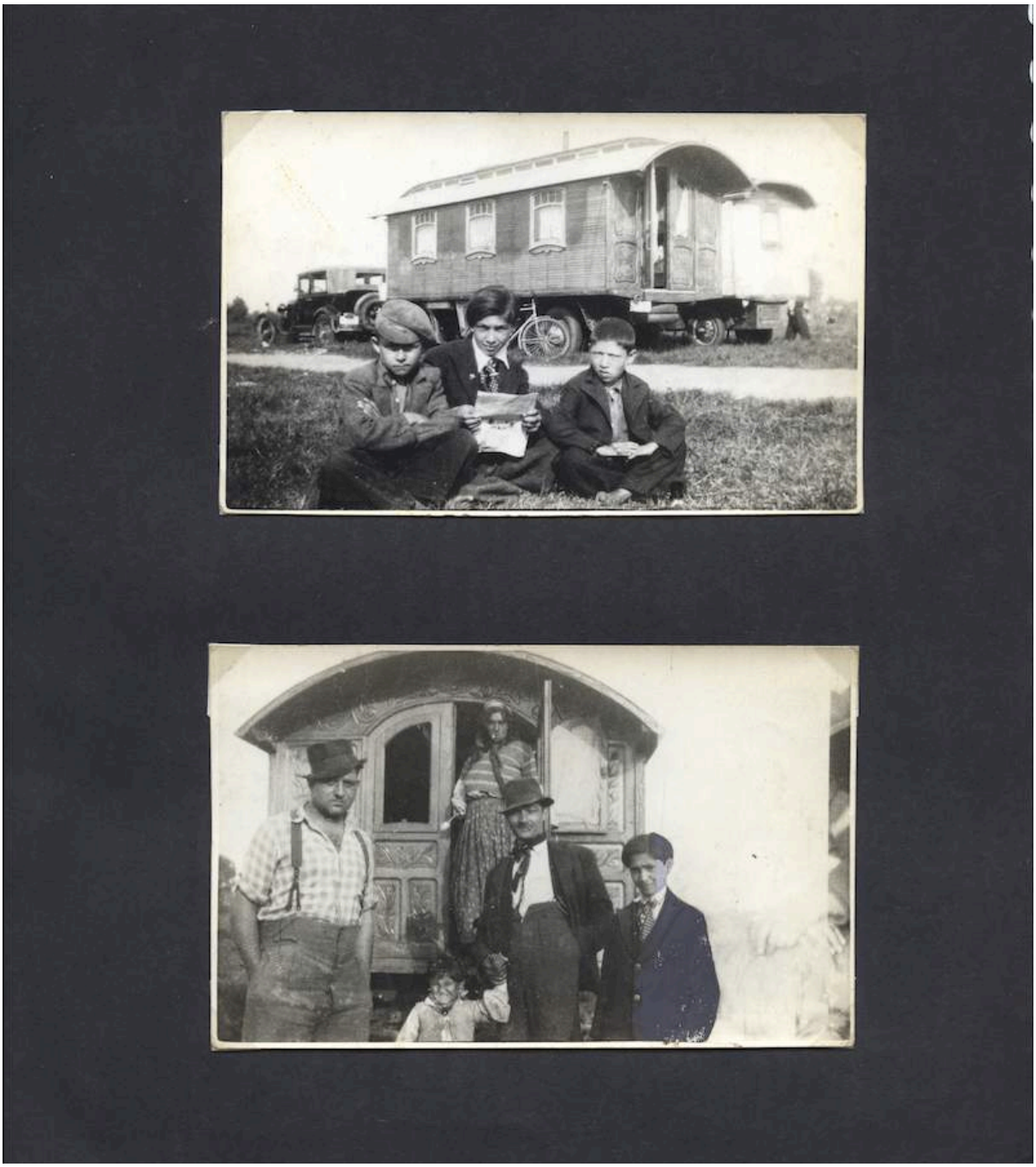


Fig. 40: Album of prewar photographs, page 8. Yoors Family Partnership.

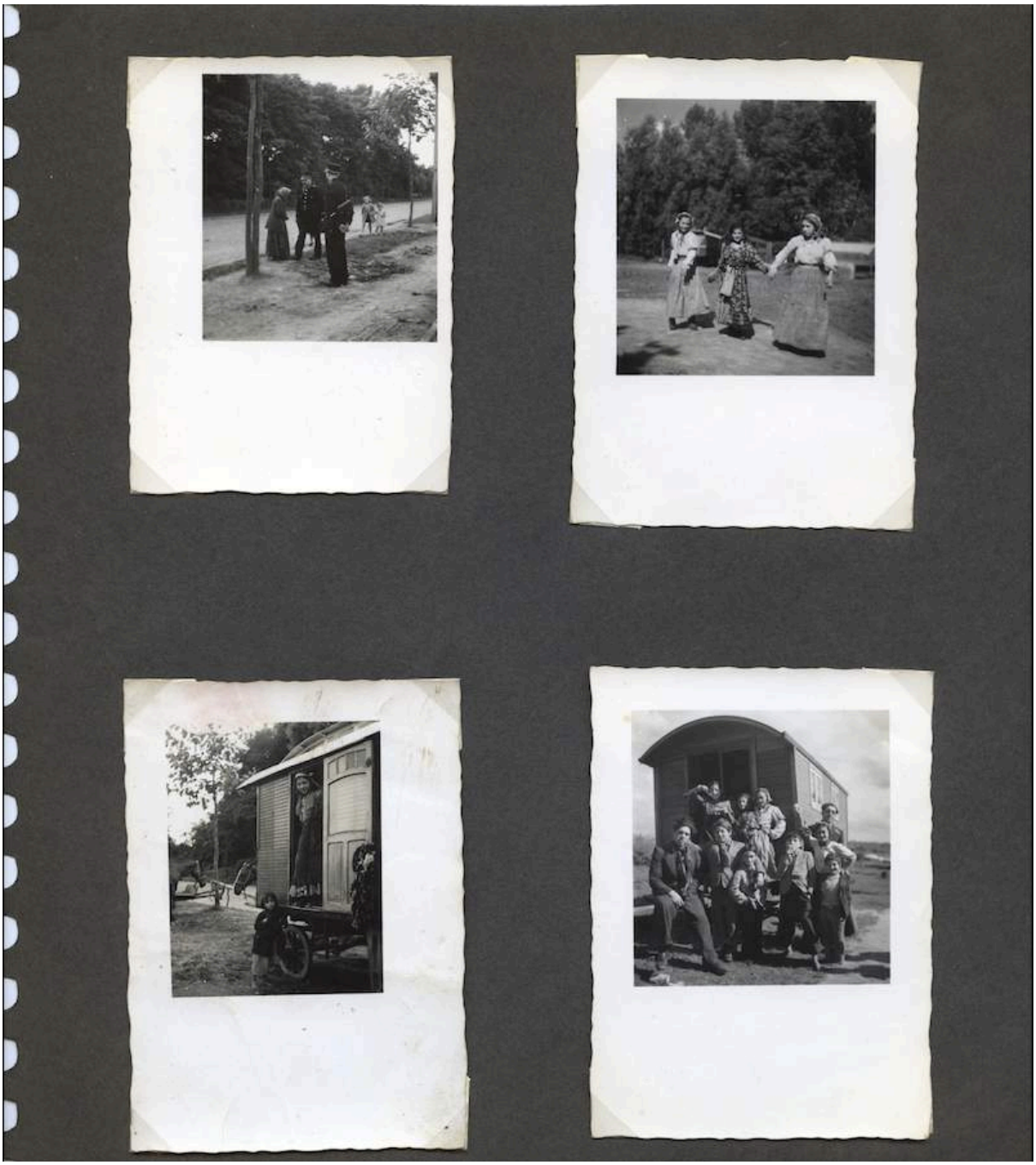


Fig. 41: Album of prewar photographs, page 9. Yoors Family Partnership.

Fig. 42: Album of prewar photographs, page 10. Yoors Family Partnership.

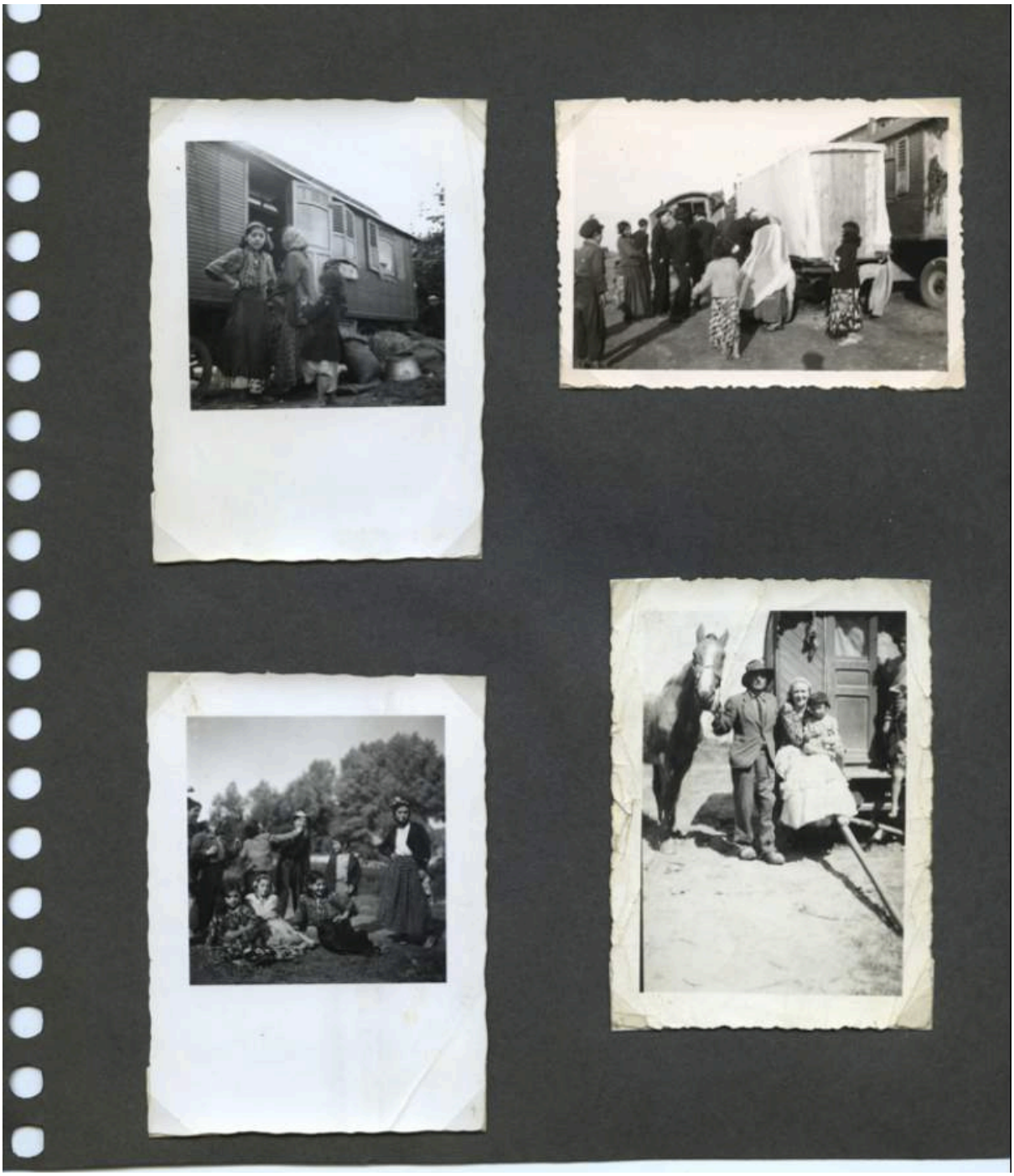


Fig. 43: Album of prewar photographs, page 11. Yoors Family Partnership.

Fig. 44: Album of prewar photographs, page 12. Yoors Family Partnership.

Fig. 45: Album of prewar photographs, page 13. Yoors Family Partnership.

Fig. 46: Album of prewar photographs, page 14. Yoors Family Partnership.

Fig. 47: Album of prewar photographs, page 15. Yoors Family Partnership.

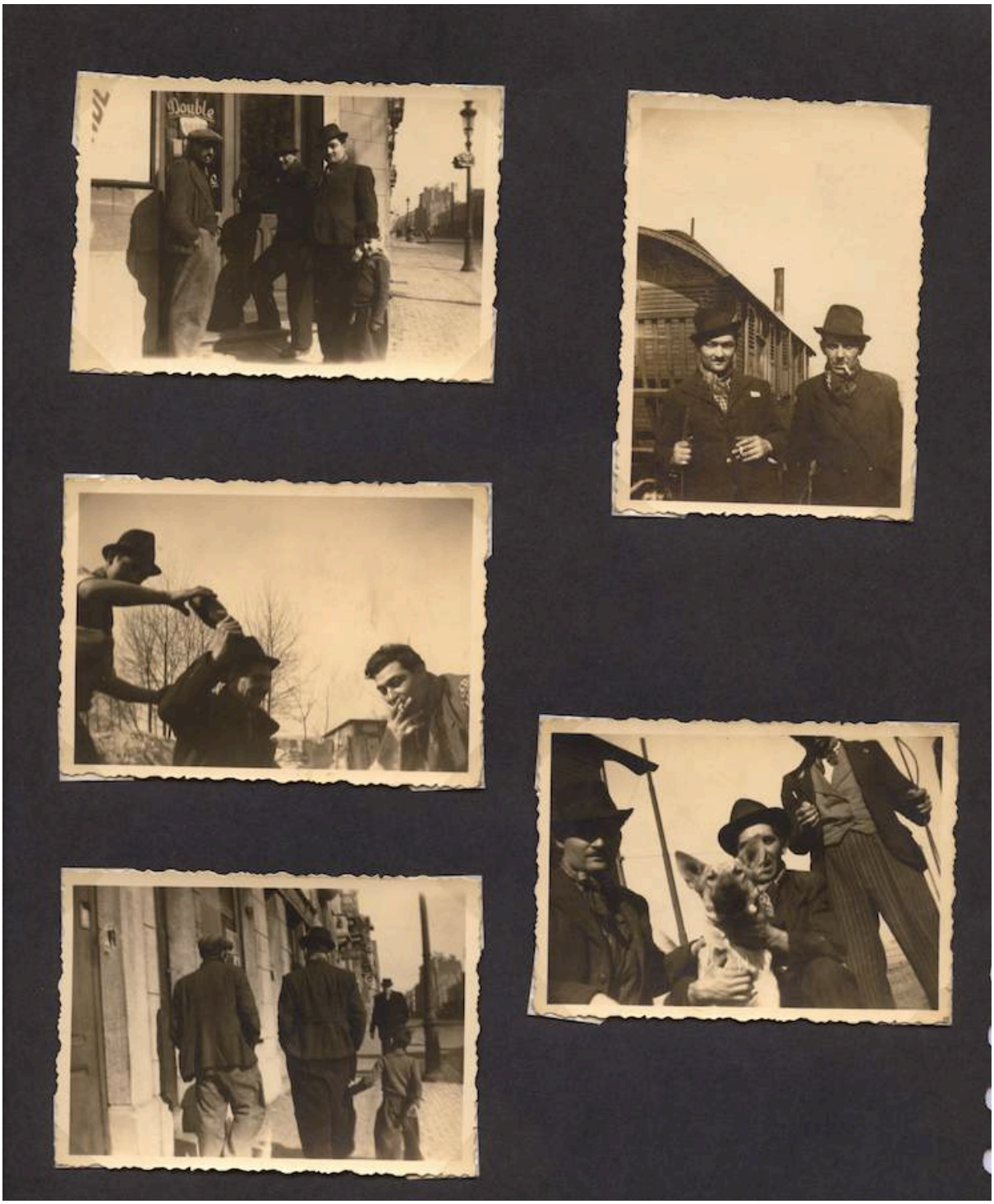


Fig. 48: Album of prewar photographs, page 16. Yoors Family Partnership.

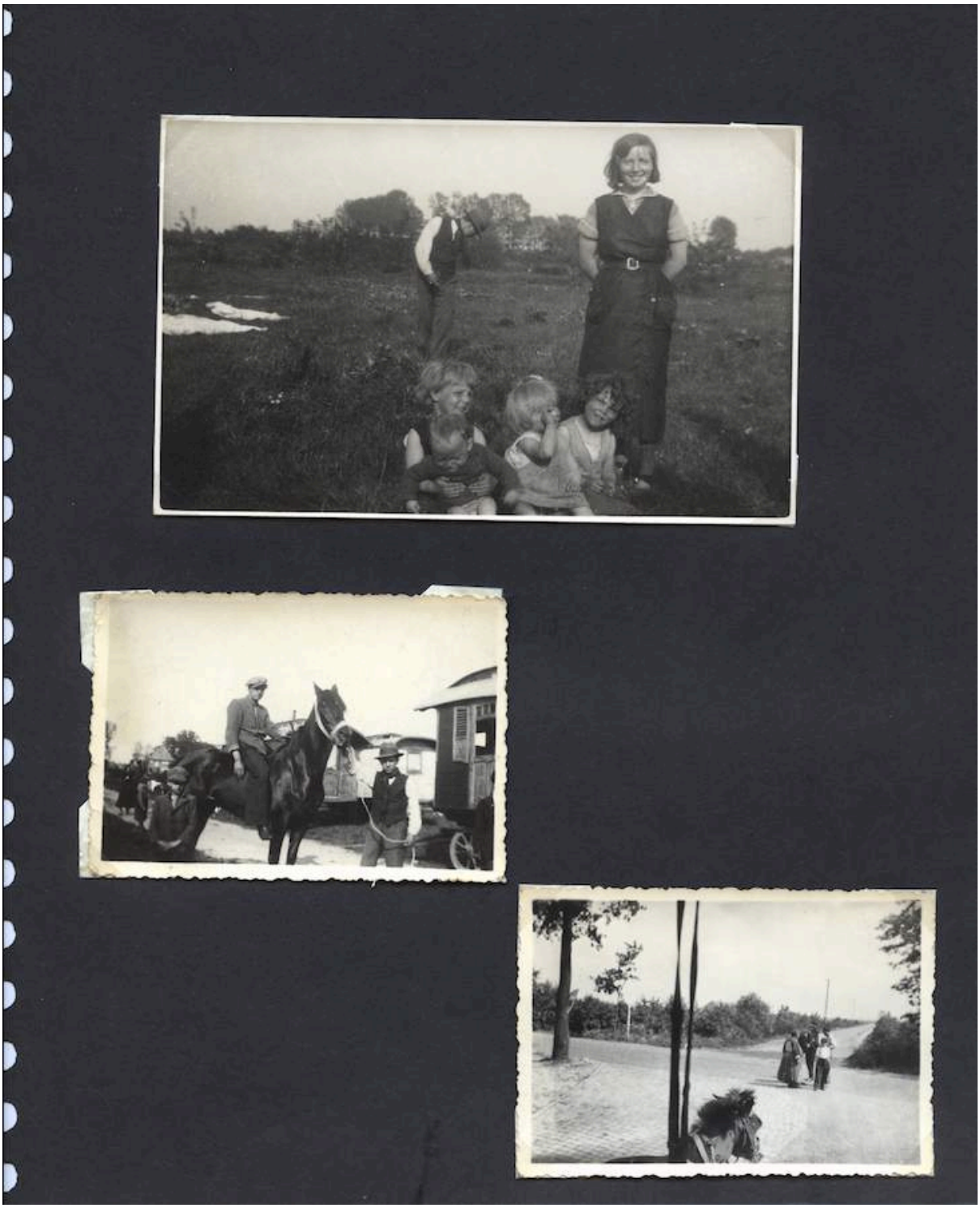


Fig. 49: Album of prewar photographs, page 17. Yoors Family Partnership.

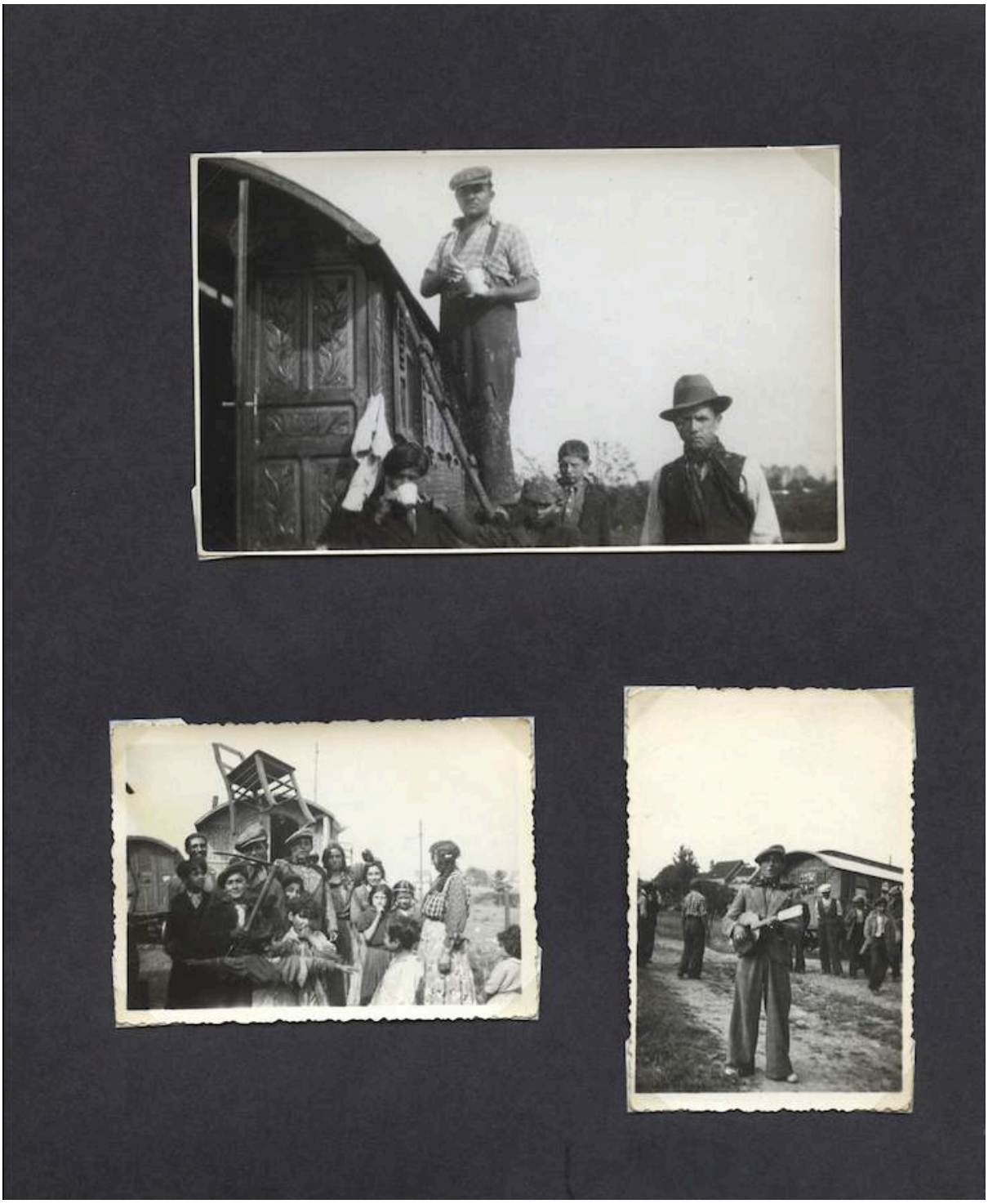


Fig. 50: Album of prewar photographs, page 18. Yoors Family Partnership.

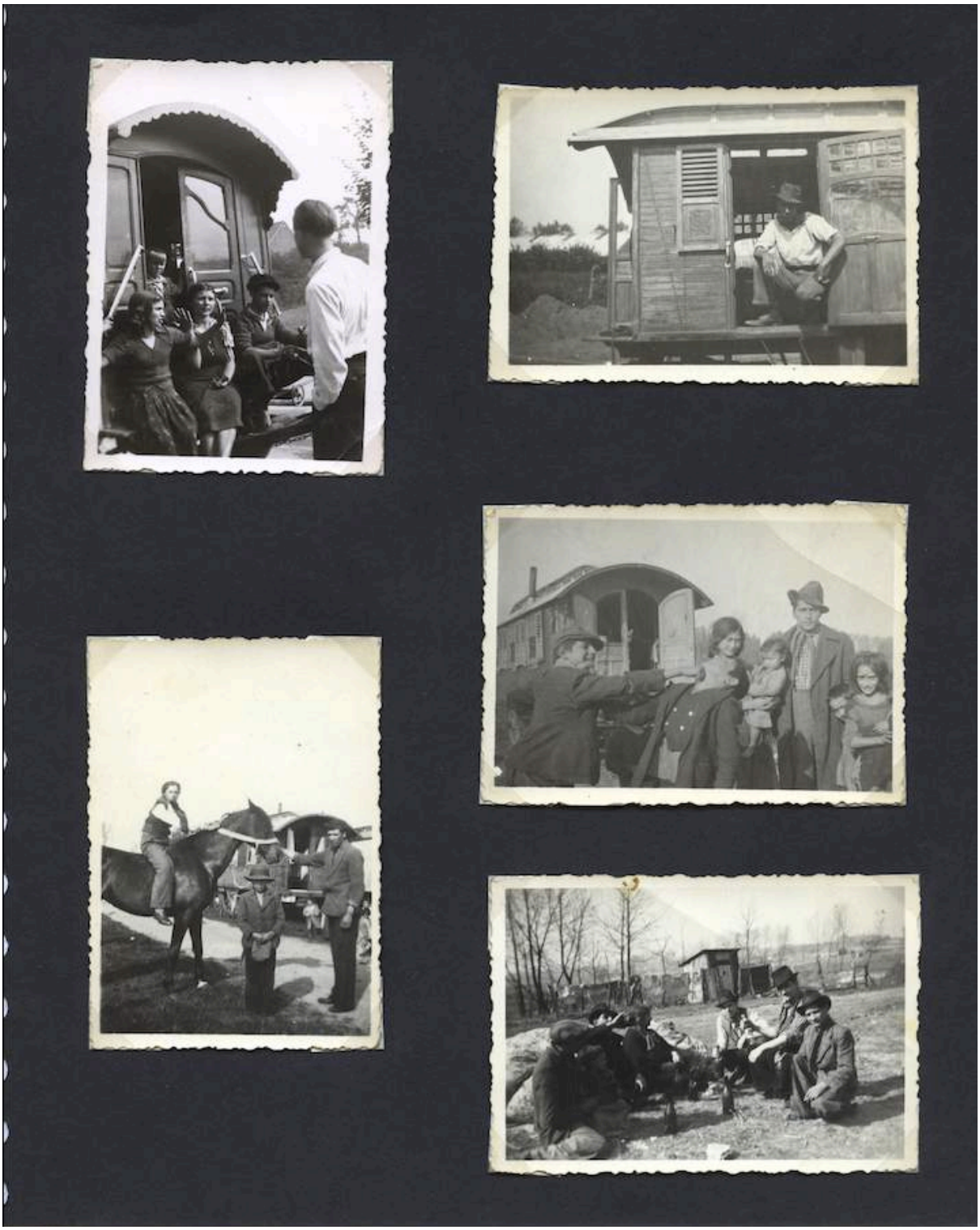


Fig. 51: Album of prewar photographs, page 19. Yoors Family Partnership.

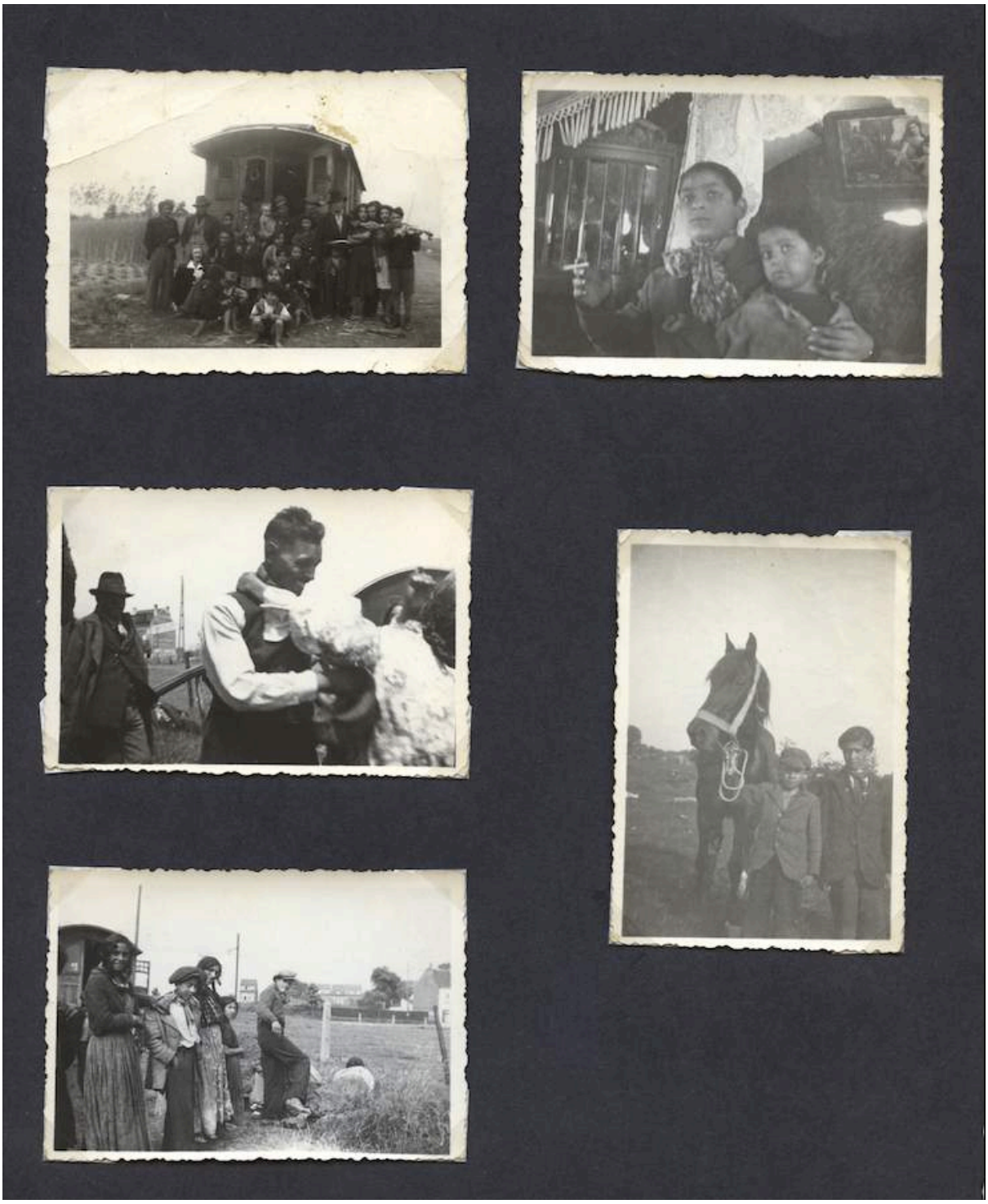


Fig. 52: Album of prewar photographs, page 20. Yoors Family Partnership.

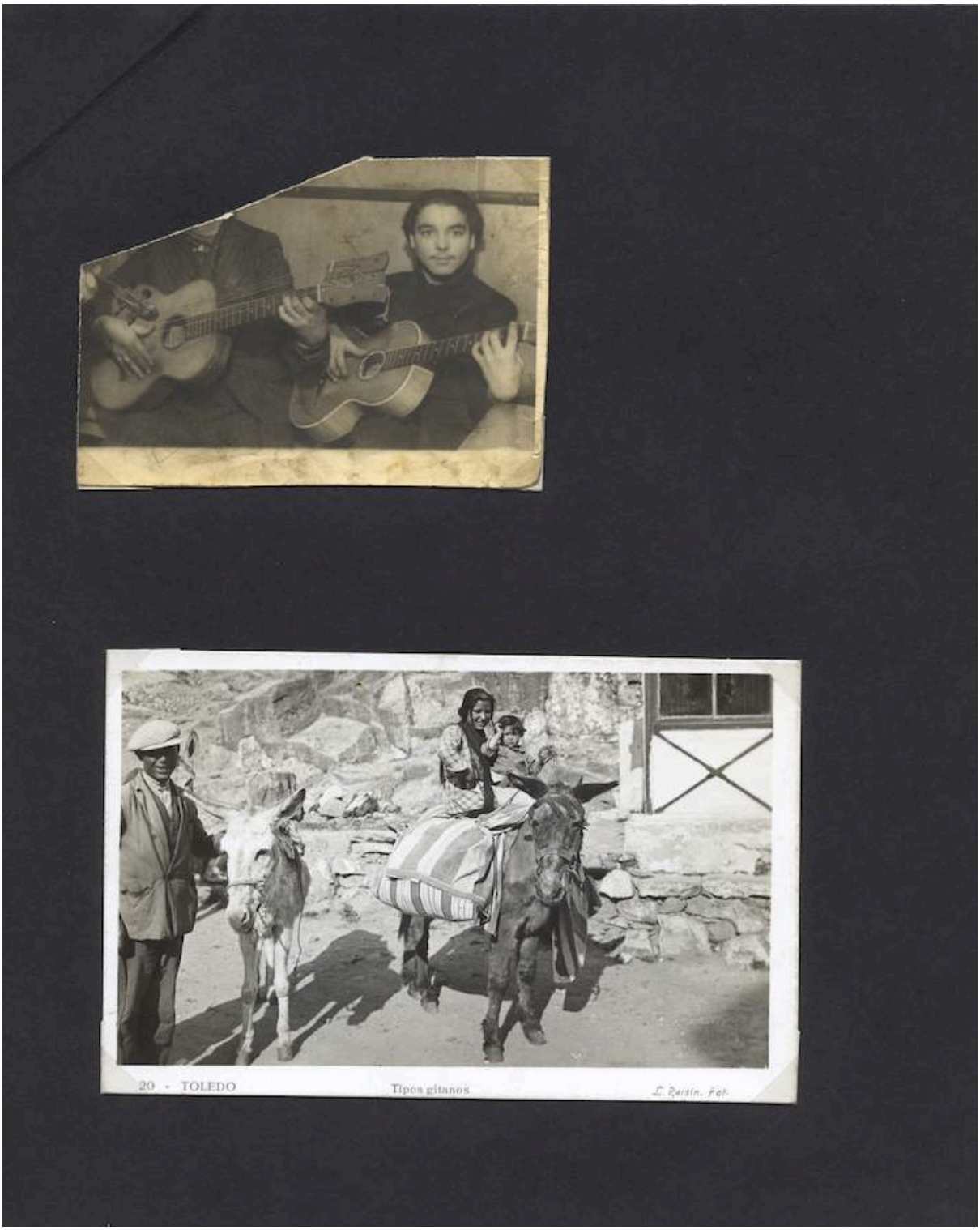


Fig. 53: Album of prewar photographs, page 21. Yoors Family Partnership.

Fig. 54: Album of prewar photographs, page 22. Yoors Family Partnership.

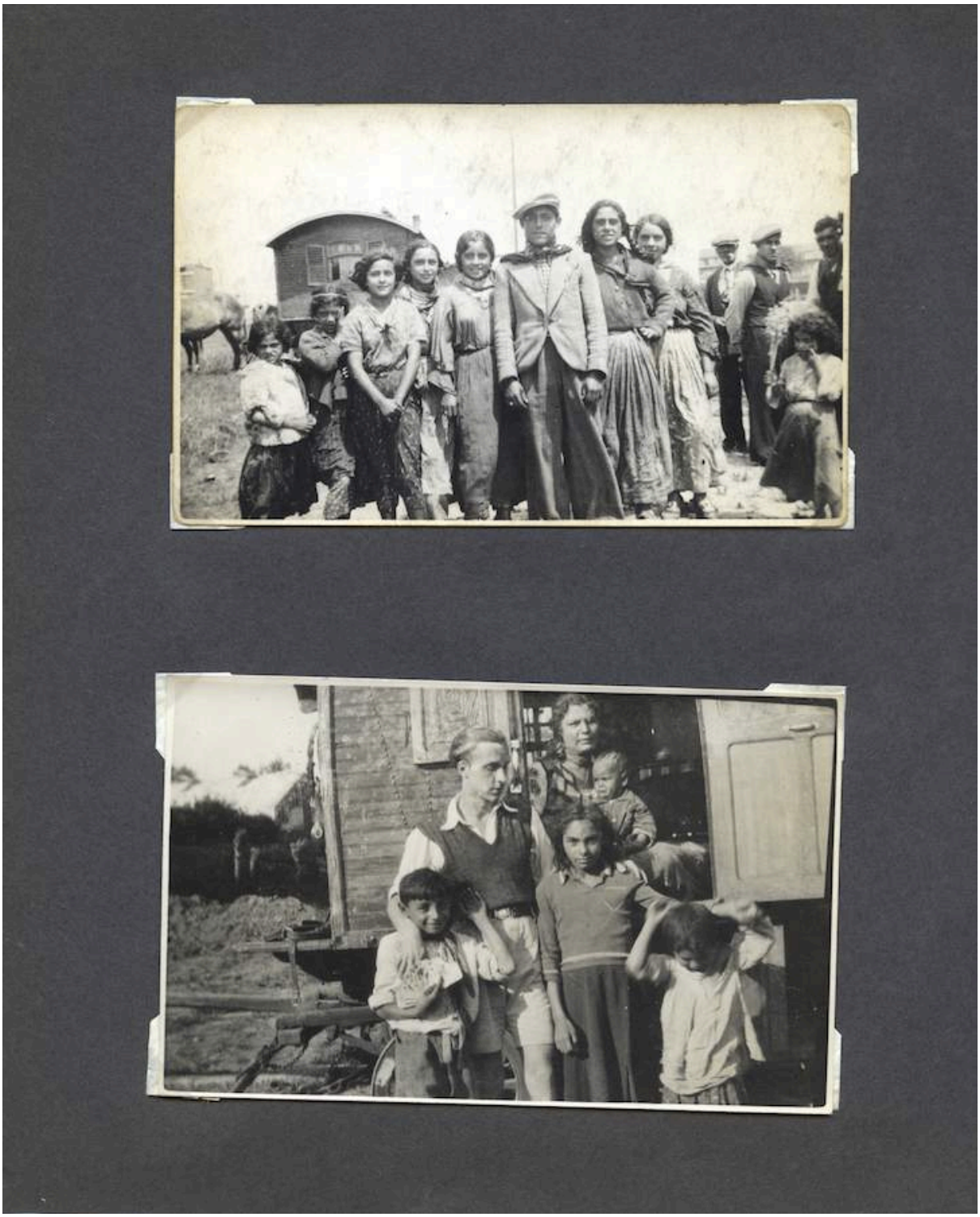


Fig. 55: Album of prewar photographs, page 23. Yoors Family Partnership.

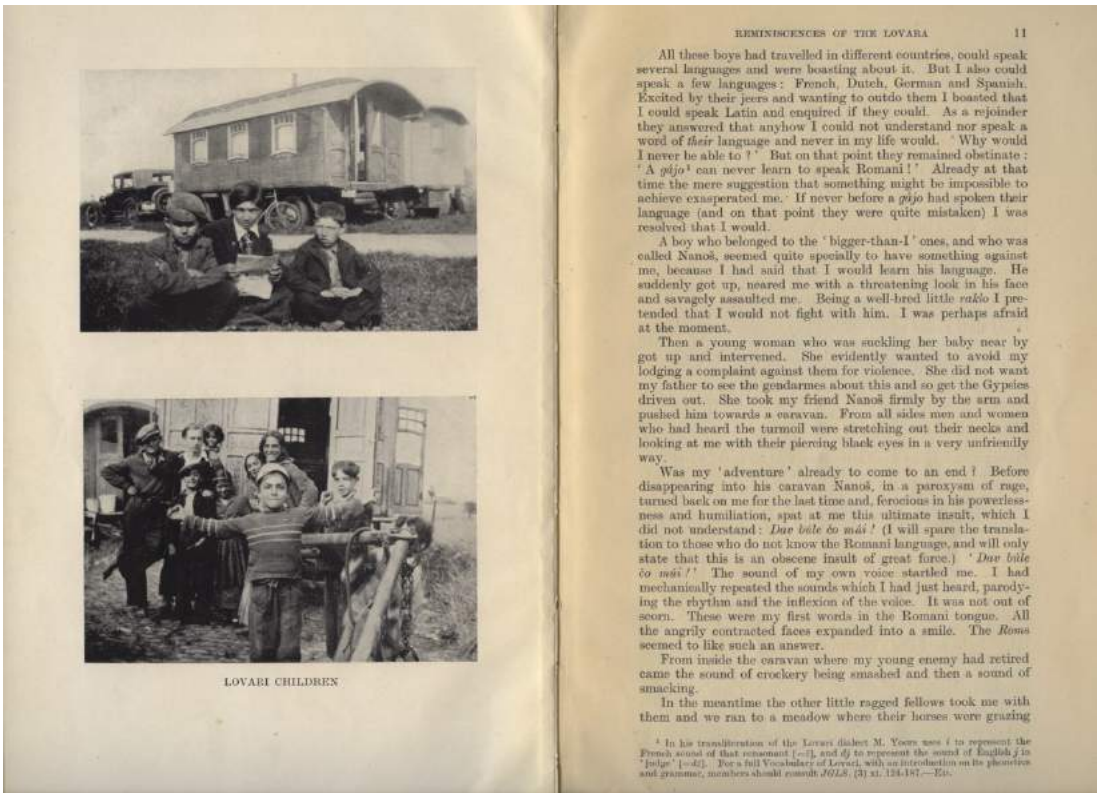
Fig. 56: Album of prewar photographs, page 24. Yoors Family Partnership.

Fig. 57: Album of prewar photographs, page 25. Yoors Family Partnership.

Fig. 58: “Engagement portrait” of Jan Yoors and Djidjo. Ca. 1940. Yoors Family Partnership.

Fig. 59: Portrait of a Gypsy couple. Ca. 1940. Yoors Family Partnership.

Fig. 60: Portrait of a Gypsy couple. Ca. 1940. Yoors Family Partnership.



LOVARI CHILDREN

REMINISCENCES OF THE LOVARA 11

All these boys had travelled in different countries, could speak several languages and were boasting about it. But I also could speak a few languages: French, Dutch, German and Spanish. Excited by their jeers and wanting to outdo them I boasted that I could speak Latin and enquired if they could. As a rejoinder they answered that anyhow I could not understand nor speak a word of *their* language and never in my life would. 'Why would I never be able to?' But on that point they remained obstinate: 'A *gújo*[1] can never learn to speak Romani!' Already at that time the mere suggestion that something might be impossible to achieve exasperated me. If never before a *gújo* had spoken their language (and on that point they were quite mistaken) I was resolved that I would.

A boy who belonged to the 'bigger-than-I' ones, and who was called Nanoš, seemed quite specially to have something against me, because I had said that I would learn his language. He suddenly got up, neared me with a threatening look in his face and savagely assaulted me. Being a well-bred little *ráklo* I pretended that I would not fight with him. I was perhaps afraid at the moment.

Then a young woman who was suckling her baby near by got up and intervened. She evidently wanted to avoid my lodging a complaint against them for violence. She did not want my father to see the gendarmes about this and so get the Gypsies driven out. She took my friend Nanoš firmly by the arm and pushed him towards a caravan. From all sides men and women who had heard the turmoil were stretching out their necks and looking at me with their piercing black eyes in a very unfriendly way.

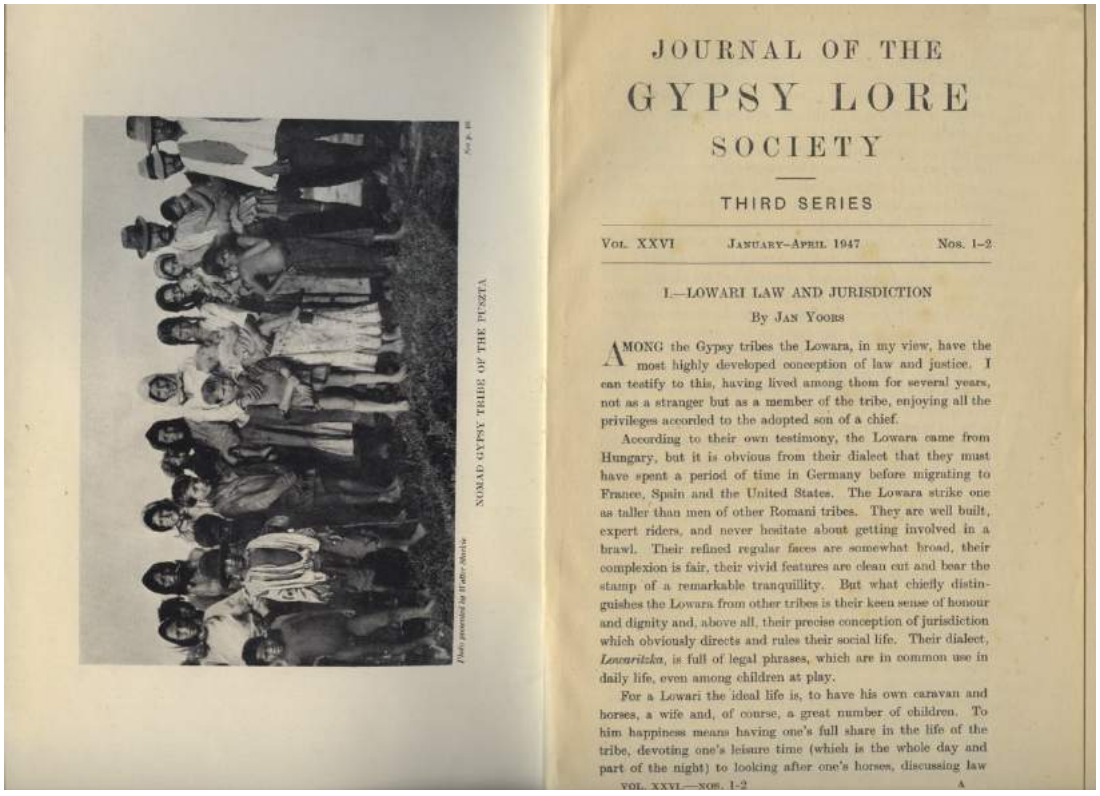
Was my 'adventure' already to come to an end? Before disappearing into his caravan Nanoš, in a paroxysm of rage, turned back on me for the last time and, ferocious in his powerlessness and humiliation, spat at me this ultimate insult, which I did not understand: *Dav bíle čo máš!* (I will spare the translation to those who do not know the Romani language, and will only state that this is an obscene insult of great force.) '*Dav bíle čo máš!*' The sound of my own voice startled me. I had mechanically repeated the sounds which I had just heard, parodying the rhythm and the inflexion of the voice. It was not out of scorn. These were my first words in the Romani tongue. All the angrily contracted faces expanded into a smile. The *Roms* seemed to like such an answer.

From inside the caravan where my young enemy had retired came the sound of crockery being smashed and then a sound of smacking.

In the meantime the other little ragged fellows took me with them and we ran to a meadow where their horses were grazing

[1] In his transliteration of the Lovari dialect M. Yoors uses *j* to represent the French sound of that consonant [ʒ], and *dj* to represent the sound of English *j* in 'Judge' [ʤ]. For a full Vocabulary of Lovari, with an introduction on its phonetics and grammar, members should consult *JGLS.* (3) xi. 124-187.—Ed.

Fig. 61: Illustrations in Yoors, Jan. "III. – Reminiscences of the Lovara." *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society* XXIV, 1-2 (1945): 8-17.



NOMAD GYPSY TRIBE OF THE PUSZTA

JOURNAL OF THE

GYPSY LORE

SOCIETY

THIRD SERIES

VOL. XXVI JANUARY–APRIL 1947 NOS. 1–2

I.—LOWARI LAW AND JURISDICTION

By JAN YOORS

AMONG the Gypsy tribes the Lowara, in my view, have the most highly developed conception of law and justice. I can testify to this, having lived among them for several years, not as a stranger but as a member of the tribe, enjoying all the privileges accorded to the adopted son of a chief.

According to their own testimony, the Lowara came from Hungary, but it is obvious from their dialect that they must have spent a period of time in Germany before migrating to France, Spain and the United States. The Lowara strike one as taller than men of other Romani tribes. They are well built, expert riders, and never hesitate about getting involved in a brawl. Their refined regular faces are somewhat broad, their complexion is fair, their vivid features are clean cut and bear the stamp of a remarkable tranquillity. But what chiefly distinguishes the Lowara from other tribes is their keen sense of honour and dignity and, above all, their precise conception of jurisdiction which obviously directs and rules their social life. Their dialect, *Lowaritzka*, is full of legal phrases, which are in common use in daily life, even among children at play.

For a Lowari the ideal life is, to have his own caravan and horses, a wife and, of course, a great number of children. To him happiness means having one's full share in the life of the tribe, devoting one's leisure time (which is the whole day and part of the night) to looking after one's horses, discussing law

VOL. XXVI—NOS. 1-2 A

Fig. 62: Illustration in Yoors, Jan. "I. – Lowari Law and Jurisdiction." Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society XXVI, 1-2 (1947): 1-19.

2.2. Travels to the Balkan with Henri Storck and Luc de Heusch

Fig. 63: Jan Yoors. Greece, 1961. Yoors Family Partnership.

Fig. 64: Jan Yoors at the baptism of a Gypsy child, Athens, Greece, 1961. Yoors Family Partnership.

Fig. 65: Jan Yoors. Kavala, Greece, 1961. Yoors Family Partnership.

Fig. 66: Jan Yoors. Kavala, Greece, 1961. Yoors Family Partnership.

Fig. 67: Jan Yoors. Lamia, Lauris, Greece, 1961. Yoors Family Partnership.

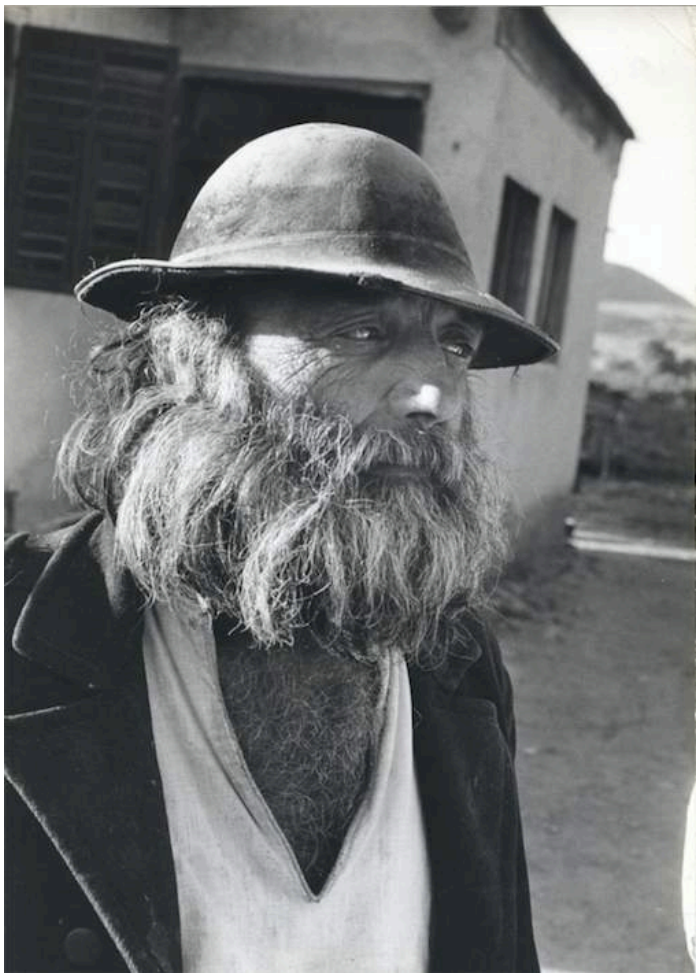


Fig. 68: Jan Yoors. *Rudari* man. Porumbacu de Jos, Romania (Transylvania), 1961. Yoors Family Partnership.

Fig. 69: Jan Yoors. Romania (Transylvania), 1961. Yoors Family Partnership.

Fig. 70: Jan Yoors. *Rudari* girl. Gina Brushovo, Romania (Transylvania), 1961. Yoors Family Partnership.

Fig. 71: Jan Yoors. Saliste, Romania (Transylvania), 1961. Yoors Family Partnership.

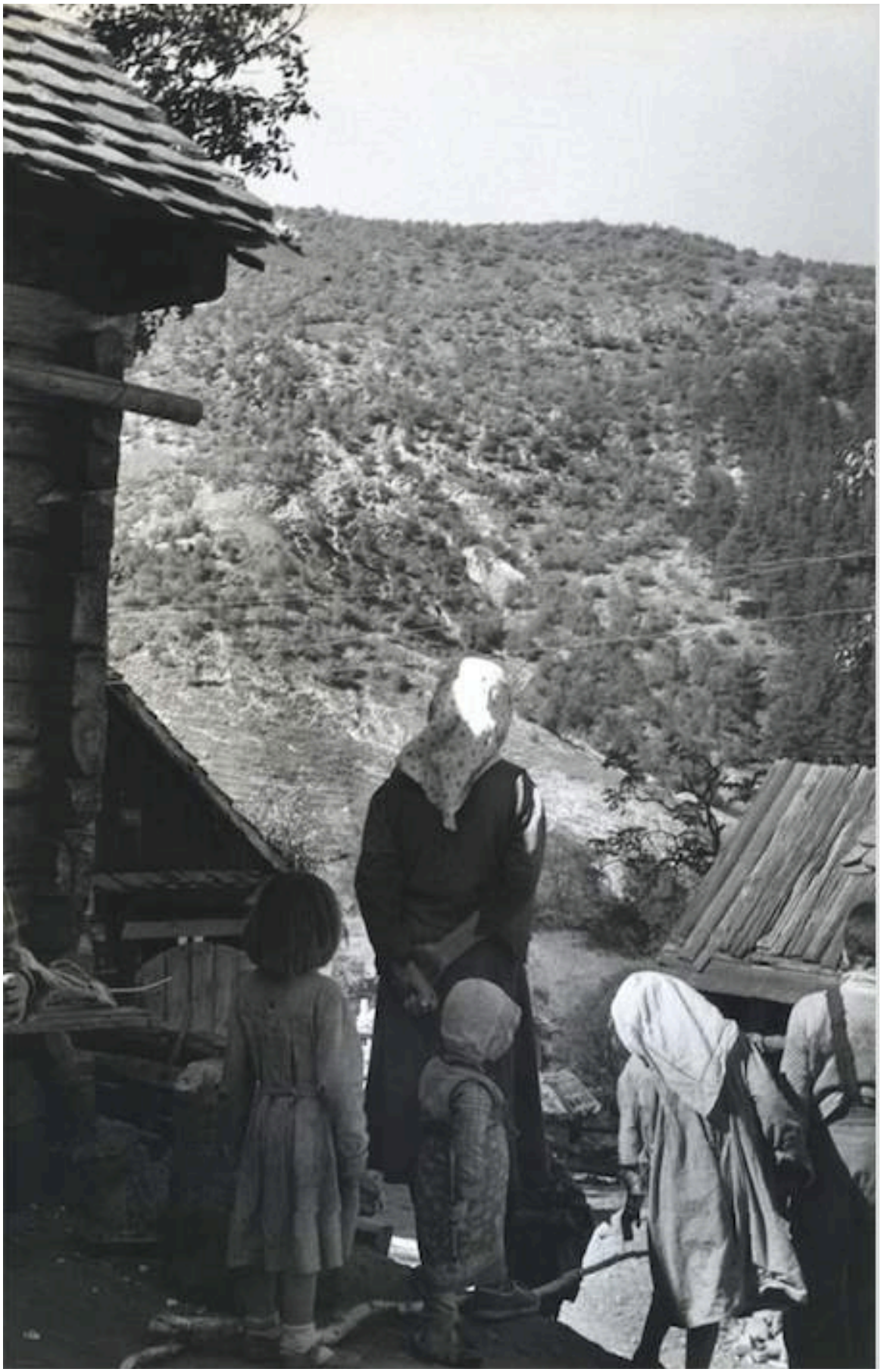


Fig. 72: Jan Yoors. Gura Raului, Romania (Transylvania), 1961. Yoors Family Partnership.

Fig. 73: Jan Yoors. Horse-drawn caravan. Porumbacu de Jos, Romania (Transylvania), 1961. Yoors Family Partnership.

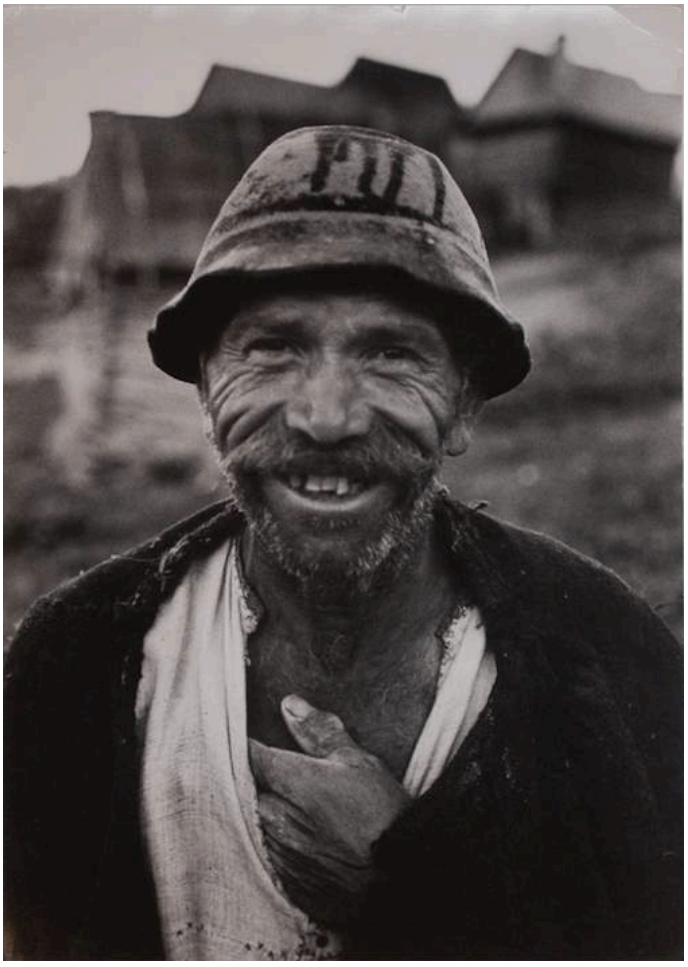


Fig. 74: Jan Yoors. Gina Brushovo, Romania (Transylvania), 1961. Yoors Family Partnership.

Fig. 75: Jan Yoors. Gypsy camp. Jezero, Bosnia and Herzegovina (Yugoslavia), 1961. Yoors Family Partnership.

Fig. 76: Jan Yoors. Zagreb, Croatia (Yugoslavia), 1961. Yoors Family Partnership.

Fig. 77: Jan Yoors. Jezero, Bosnia and Herzegovina (Yugoslavia), 1961. Yoors Family Partnership.

Fig. 78: Jan Yoors. Yugoslavia, 1961. Yoors Family Partnership.

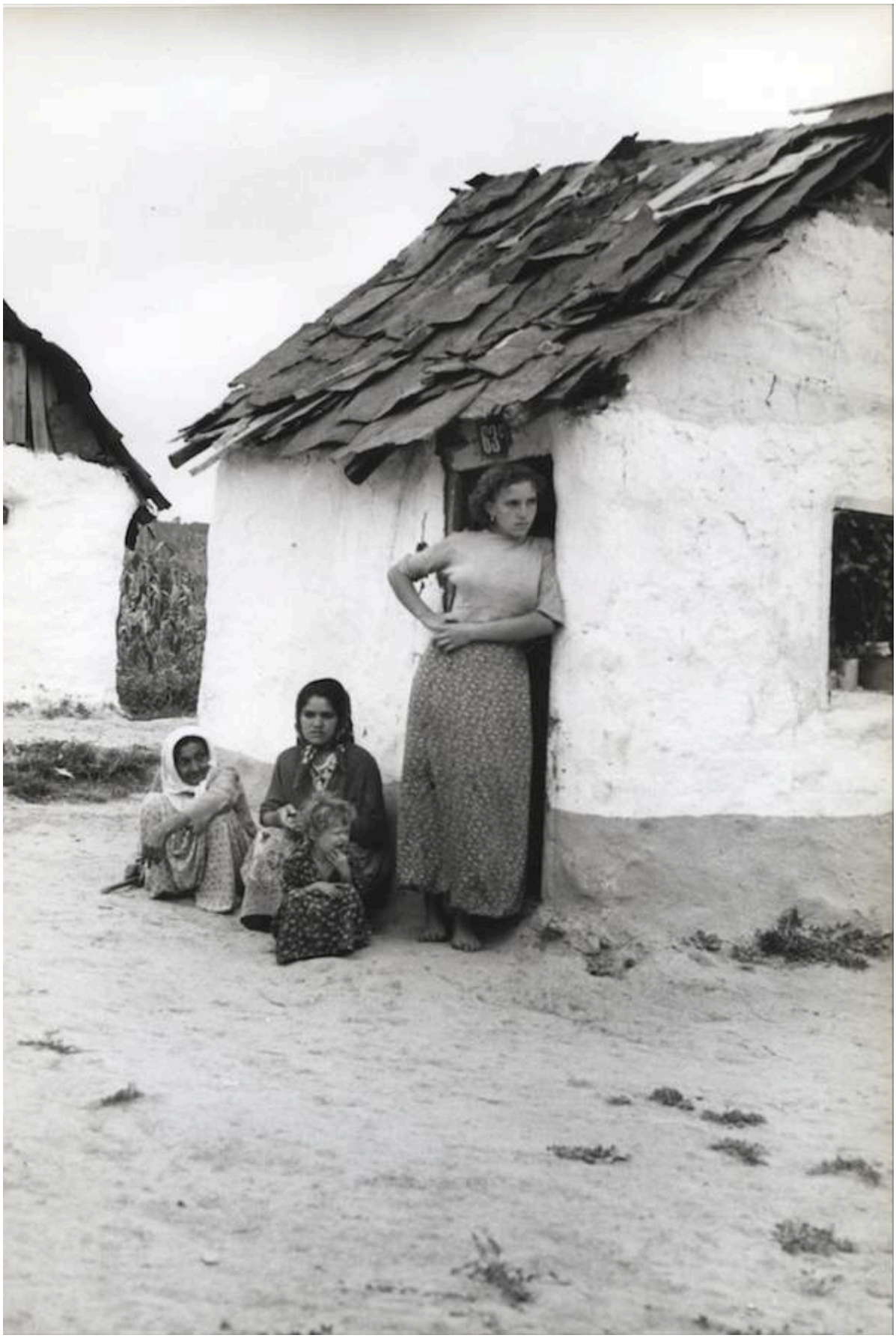


Fig. 79: Jan Yoors. Gypsy settlement. Yugoslavia, 1961. Yoors Family Partnership.

Fig. 80: Jan Yoors. Skopje, Macedonia (Yugoslavia), 1961. Yoors Family Partnership.

Fig. 81: Jan Yoors. Gypsy horse dealers going to the fair. Yugoslavia, 1961. Yoors Family Partnership.

Fig. 82: Jan Yoors. Istanbul, Turkey, 1961. Yoors Family Partnership.

Fig. 83: Jan Yoors. Gypsy horse dealers going to the fair. Istanbul, Turkey, 1961.

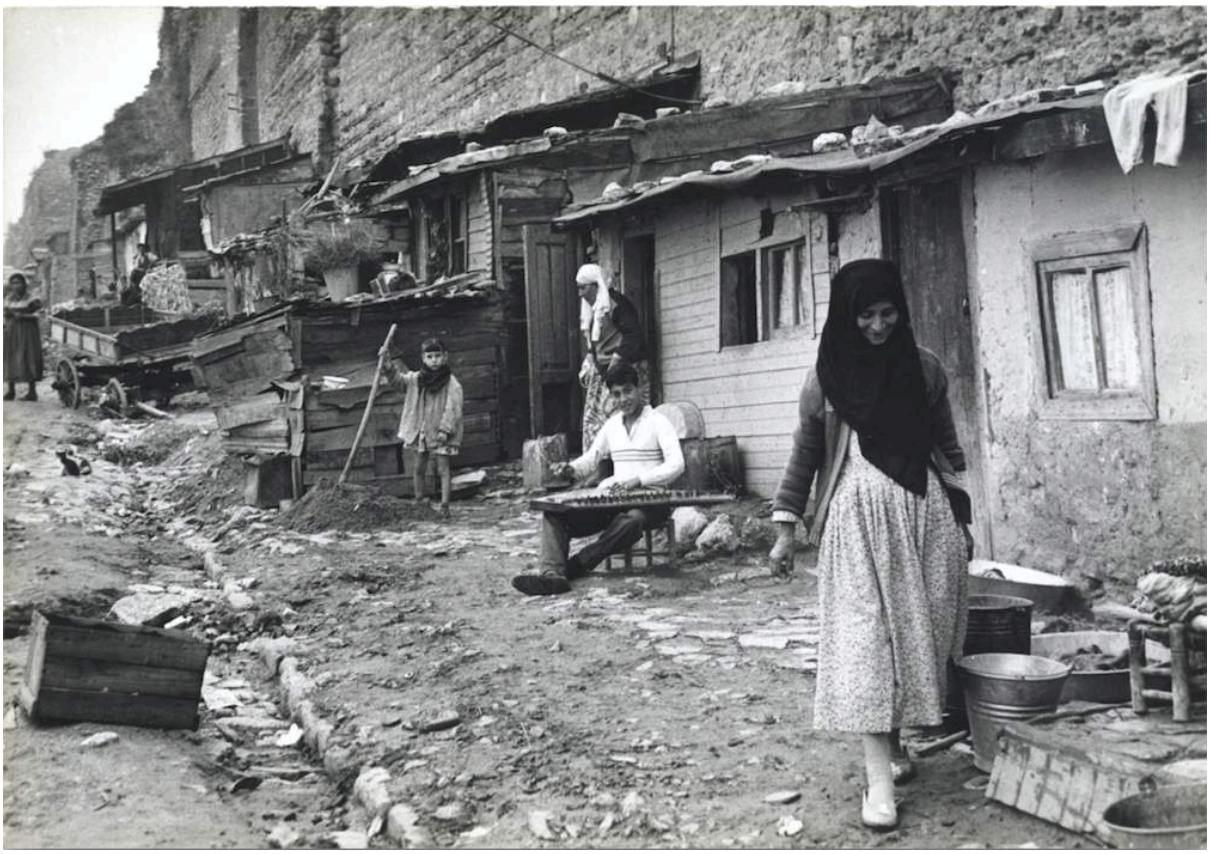


Fig. 84: Jan Yoors. Gypsy settlement. Istanbul, Turkey, 1961. Yoors Family Partnership.

Fig. 85: Jan Yoors. Turkey, 1961. Yoors Family Partnership.

Fig. 86: Jan Yoors. Istanbul, Turkey, 1961. Yoors Family Partnership.

Fig. 87: Jan Yoors. Ege Bölgesi. Turkey, 1961. Yoors Family Partnership.

Fig. 88: Jan Yoors. *Kalderash* wagon. Hungary, 1961. Yoors Family Partnership.

Fig. 89: Jan Yoors. Sofia, Bulgaria, 1961. Yoors Family Partnership.

2.3. New York City

Fig. 90: Jan Yoors. Party in Yoors's studio. New York City, 1950s. Yoors Family Partnership.

Fig. 91: Jan Yoors. Party in Yoors's studio. New York City, 1950s. Yoors Family Partnership.

Fig. 92: Jan Yoors. Party in Yoors's studio. New York City, 1950s. Yoors Family Partnership.

Fig. 93: Jan Yoors. Party in Yoors's studio, New York City, 1950s. Yoors Family Partnership.

Fig. 94: Jan Yoors. Two Gypsy girls. Lower East Side, New York City, 1960s. Yoors Family Partnership.

Fig. 95: Jan Yoors. Gypsy wedding. St. Mark's Place, New York, 1963. Yoors Family Partnership.

Fig. 96: Jan Yoors. Gypsy wedding. St. Mark's Place, New York, 1963. Yoors Family Partnership.

Fig. 97: Jan Yoors. Gypsy wedding. St. Mark's Place, New York, 1963. Yoors Family Partnership.

Fig. 98: Jan Yoors. Gypsy wedding. St. Mark's Place, New York, 1963. Yoors Family Partnership.

Fig. 99: Jan Yoors. Gypsy wedding. St. Mark's Place, New York, 1963. Yoors Family Partnership.

Fig. 100: Jan Yoors. Gypsy wedding. St. Mark's Place, New York, 1963. Yoors Family Partnership.

Fig. 101: Jan Yoors. Gypsy wedding. St. Mark's Place, New York, 1963. Yoors Family Partnership.

Fig. 102: Jan Yoors. Gypsy wedding. St. Mark's Place, New York, 1963. Yoors Family Partnership.

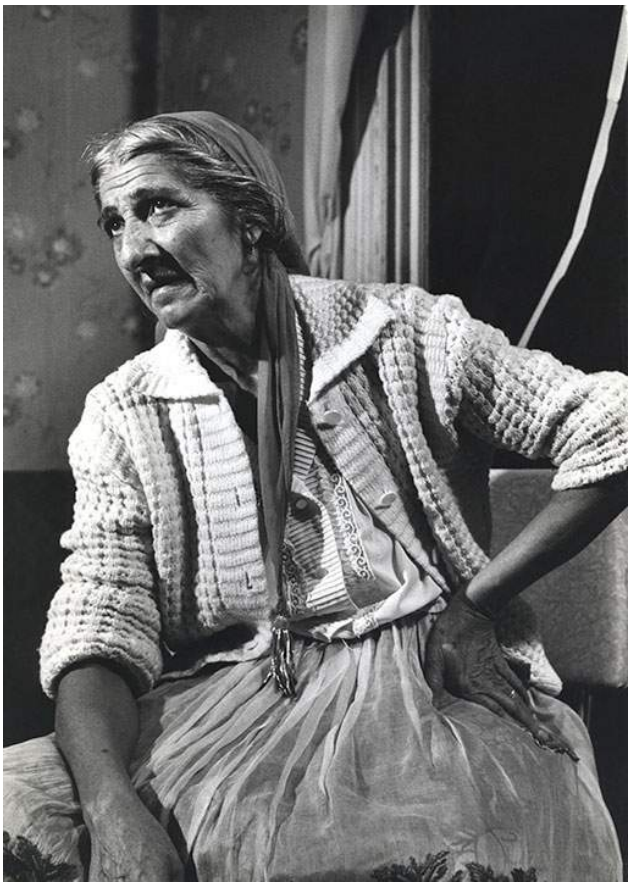


Fig. 103: Jan Yoors. Gypsy wedding. St. Mark's Place, New York, 1963. Yoors Family Partnership.

Fig. 104: Jan Yoors. Gypsy wedding. St. Mark's Place, New York, 1963. Yoors Family Partnership.

Fig. 105: Jan Yoors. Gypsy musicians. Coney Island, New York City, 1963. Yoors Family Partnership.

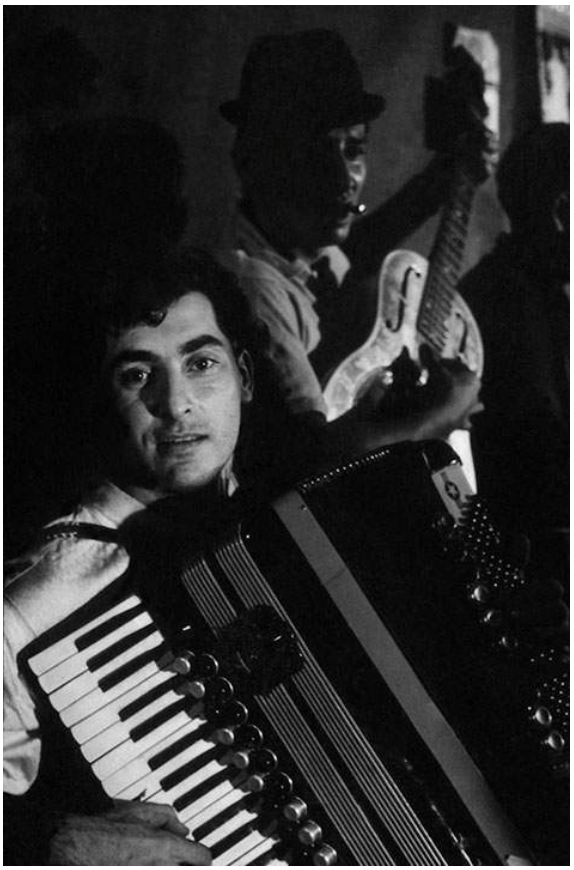


Fig. 106: Gypsy musicians. Coney Island, New York City, 1963. Yoors Family Partnership.

Fig. 107: Recording in Jan Yoors's studio. New York City, 1960s. Yoors Family Partnership.

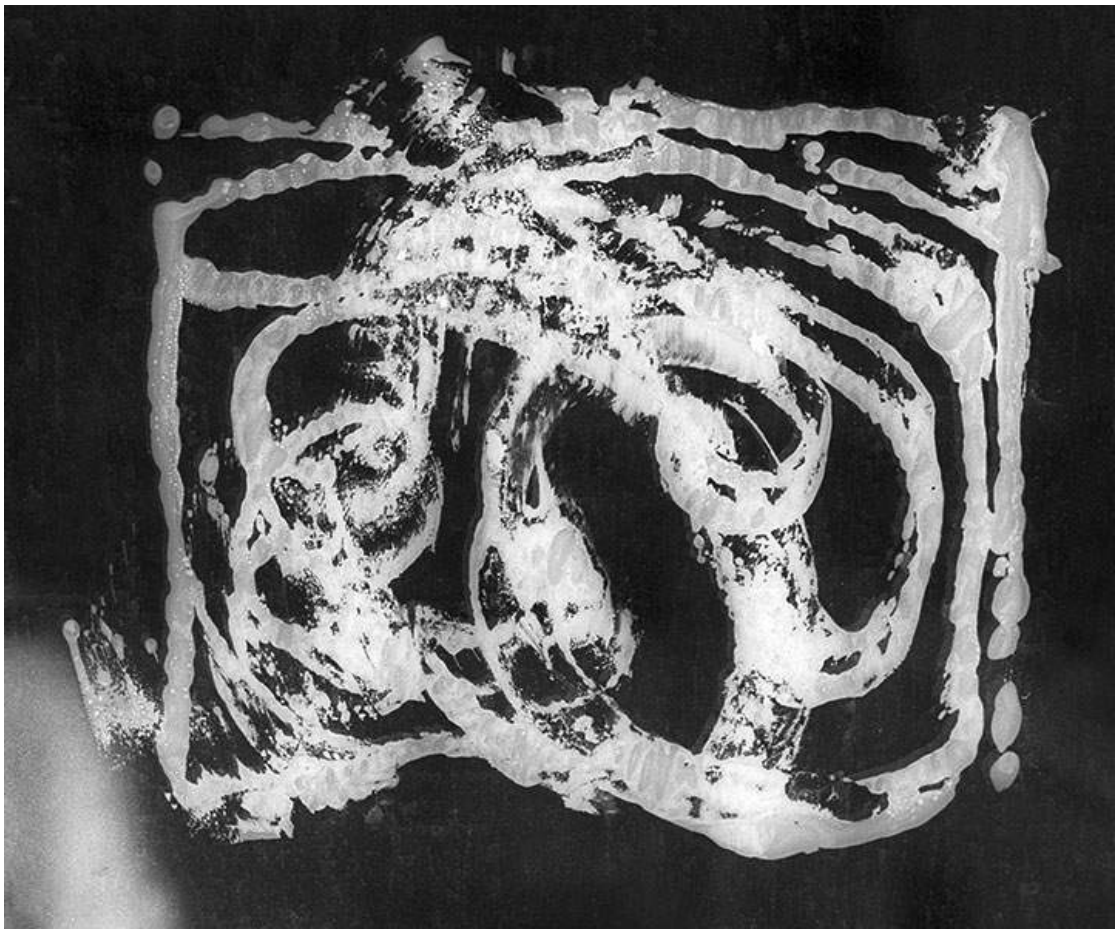


Fig. 108: Jan Yoors. Untitled, New York, 1972. Yoors Family Partnership.

2.4. *Only One New York*

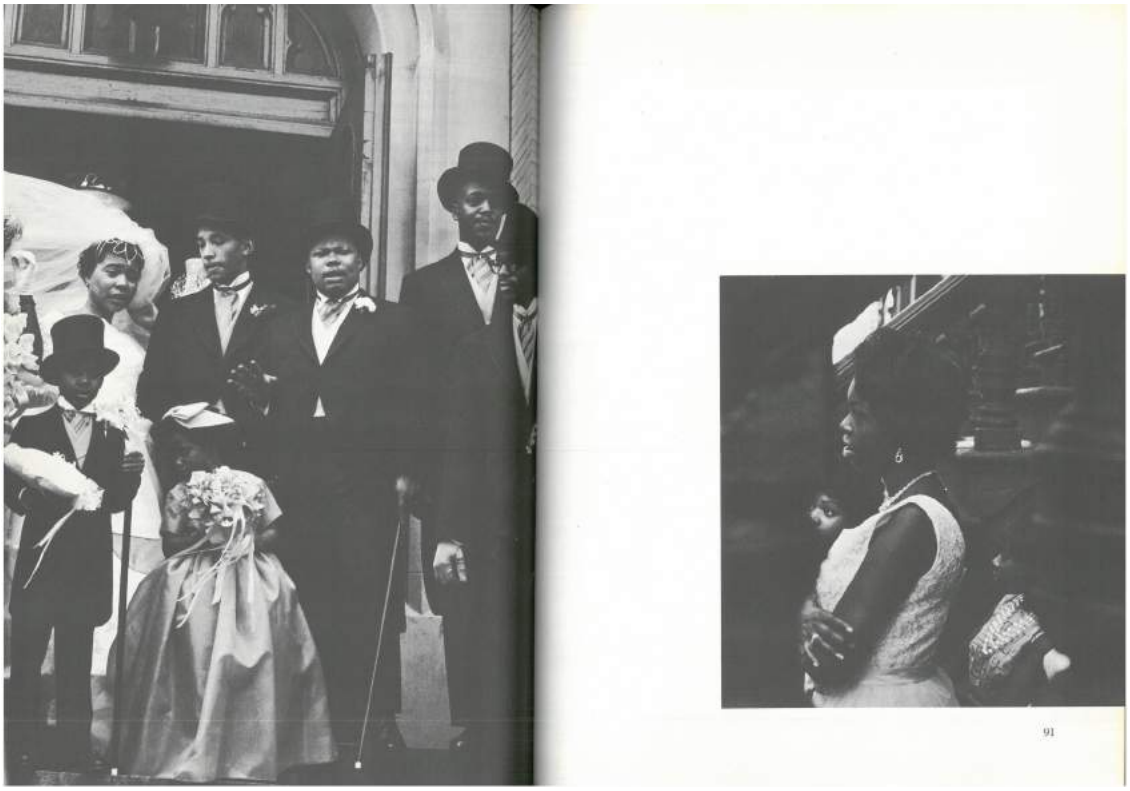


Fig. 109: Wedding in Harlem. Samuels, Charles and Jan Yoors. *Only One New York.* New York: Simon & Schuster, 1965. 90-91.

Fig. 110: Wedding in Harlem. Samuels, Charles and Jan Yoors. *Only One New York.* New York: Simon & Schuster, 1965.92-93.

Fig. 111: Men at Hasidic wedding. Samuels, Charles and Jan Yoors. *Only One New York.* New York: Simon & Schuster, 1965. 94-95.

Fig. 112: Gypsy wedding in the Dom Narodowy, St. Mark's Place. Samuels, Charles and Jan Yoors. *Only One New York.* New York: Simon & Schuster, 1965. 96-97.

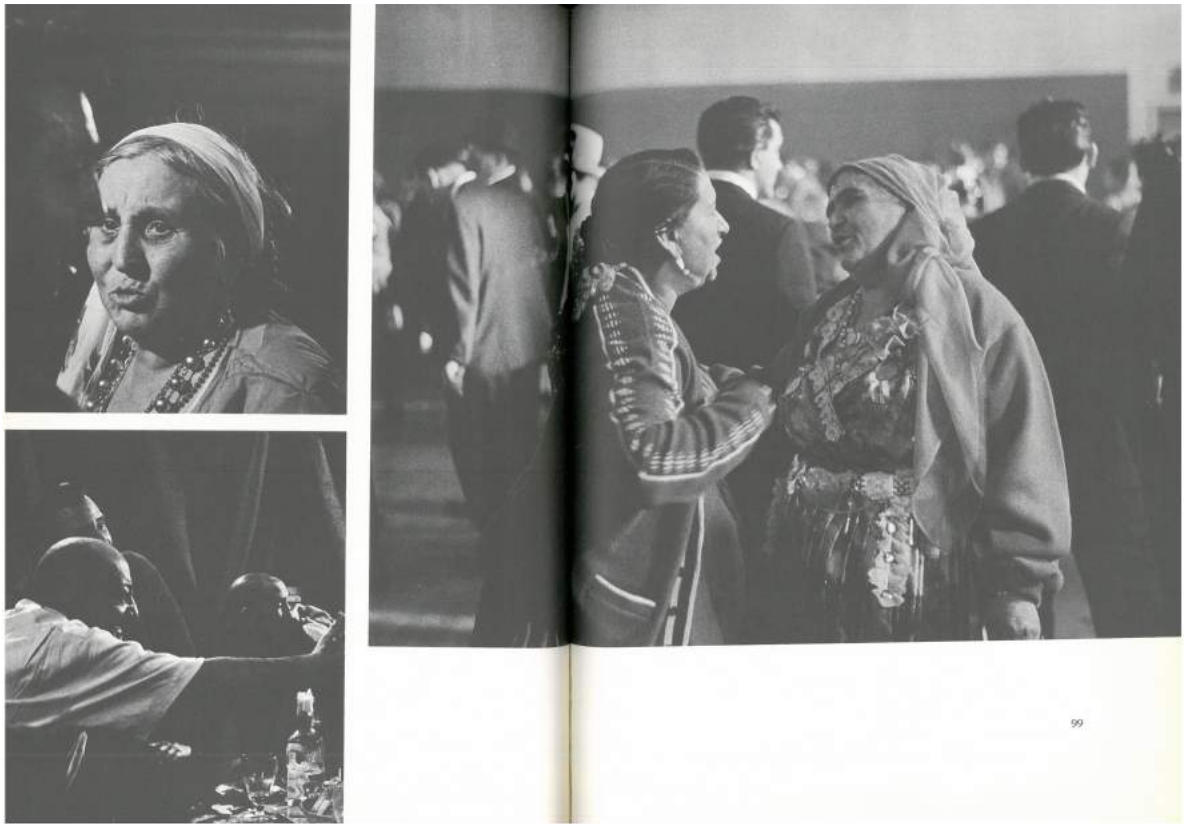


Fig. 113: Gypsy wedding in the Dom Narodowy, St. Mark's Place. Samuels, Charles and Jan Yoors. *Only One New York.* New York: Simon & Schuster, 1965. 98-99

.

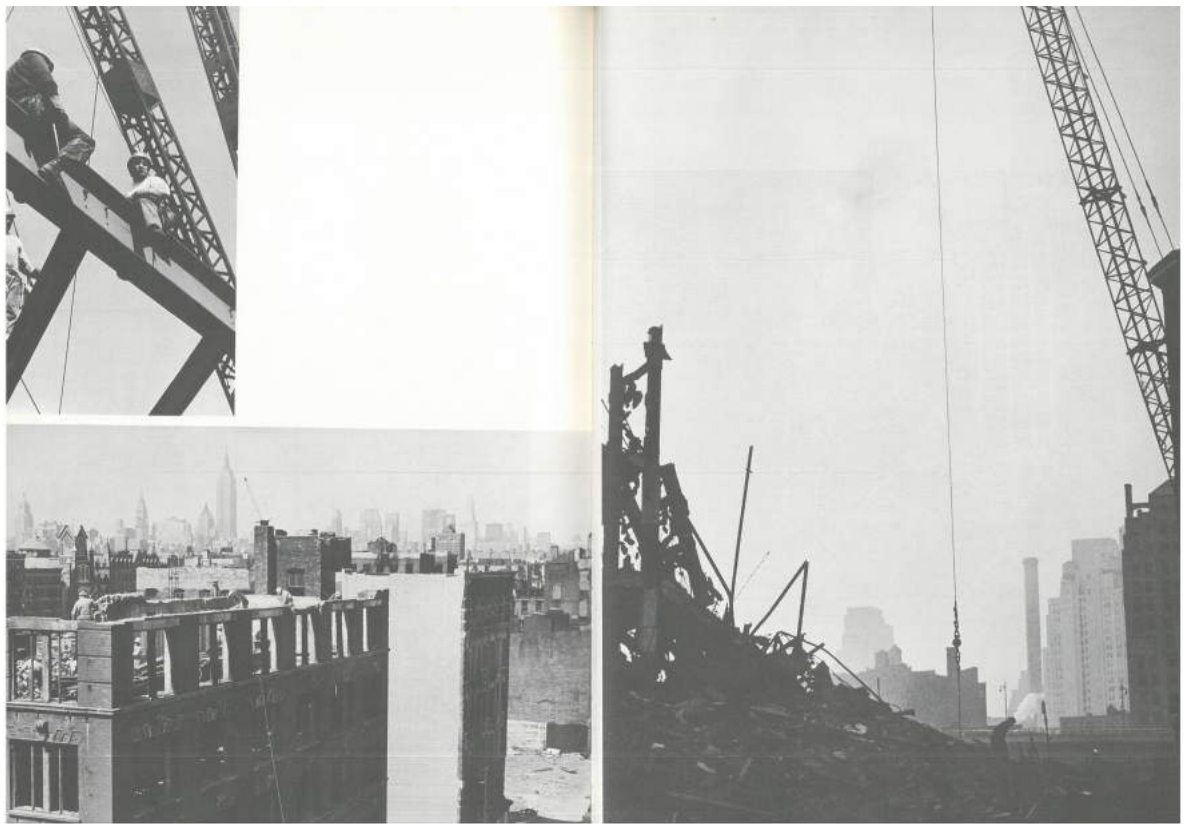


Fig. 114: Demolition in New York City. Samuels, Charles and Jan Yoors. *Only One New York.* New York: Simon & Schuster, 1965. 132-133.

2.5. Travels for the American Institute of Architects

Fig. 115: Jan Yoors. Notre Dame du Haut (1955), Le Corbusier. Ronchamp, France, 1966. Yoors Family Partnership.

Fig. 116: Jan Yoors. National Congress (1960), Oscar Niemeyer. Brasilia, Brazil, 1966. Yoors Family Partnership.

Fig. 117: Jan Yoors. Palace of Assembly (1963), Le Corbusier. Chandigarh, India, 1966. Yoors Family Partnership.

Fig. 118: Jan Yoors. St. Dominicus – Het Steiger Church (1960), Chris Knol. Rotterdam, Netherlands, 1966. Yoors Family Partnership.

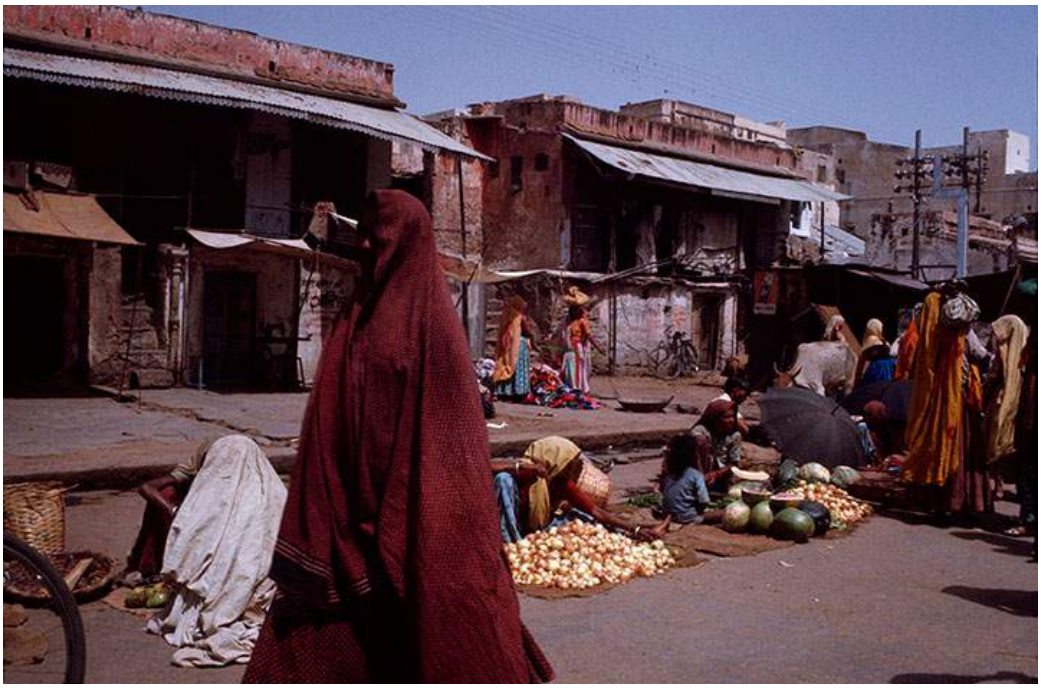


Fig. 119: Jan Yoors. India, 1966. Yoors Family Partnership.

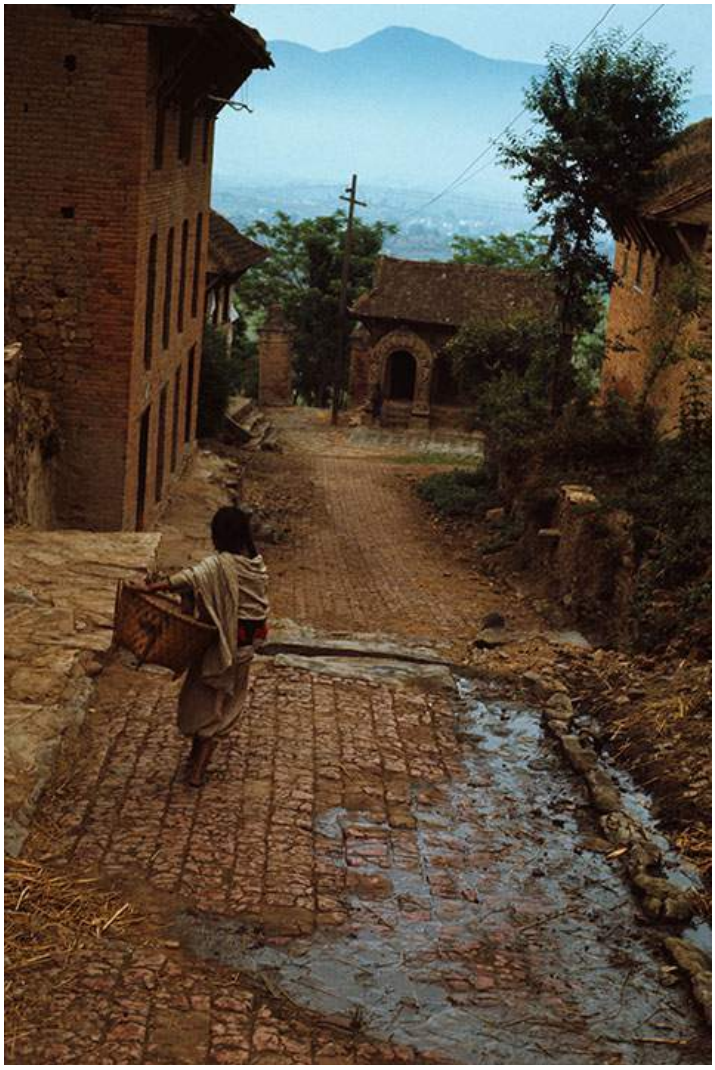


Fig. 120: Jan Yoors. Nepal, 1966. Yoors Family Partnership.

Fig. 121: Jan Yoors. Aghanistan, 1966. Yoors Family Partnership.

Fig. 122: Jan Yoors. Brazil, 1966. Yoors Family Partnership.

2.6. India

Fig. 123: Jan Yoors. *Lohar* woman. India, 1967. Yoors Family Partnership.

Fig. 124: Jan Yoors: *Lohar* women. India, 1967. Yoors Family Partnership.

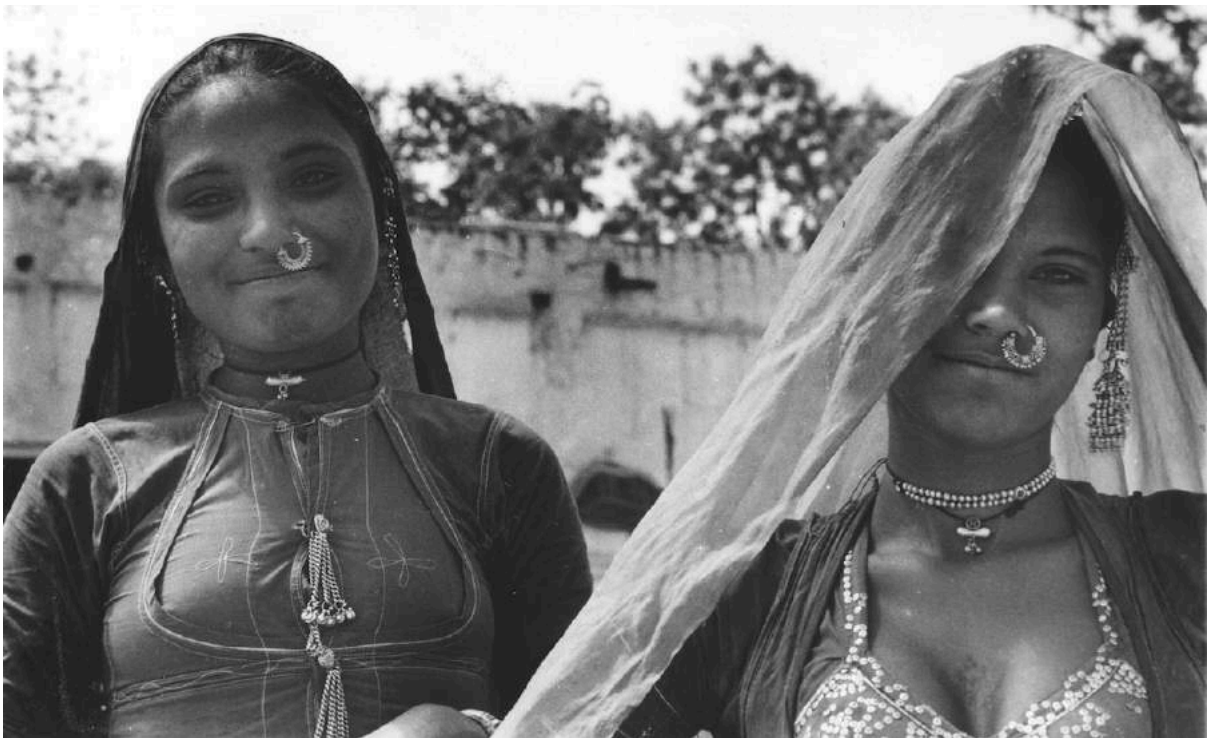


Fig. 125: Jan Yoors. *Lohar* women. India, 1967. India, 1967. Yoors Family Partnership.

Fig. 126: Jan Yoors. *Lohar* woman. India, 1967. Yoors Family Partnership.

Fig. 127: Jan Yoors. *Lohar* woman. India, 1967. Yoors Family Partnership.

Fig. 128: Jan Yoors. *Lohar* women. India, 1967. Yoors Family Partnership.

2.7. France and Spain

Fig. 129: Jan Yoors. Procession with statue of St. Sarah. Saintes-Maries-de-la-Mer, 1971. Yoors Family Partnership.

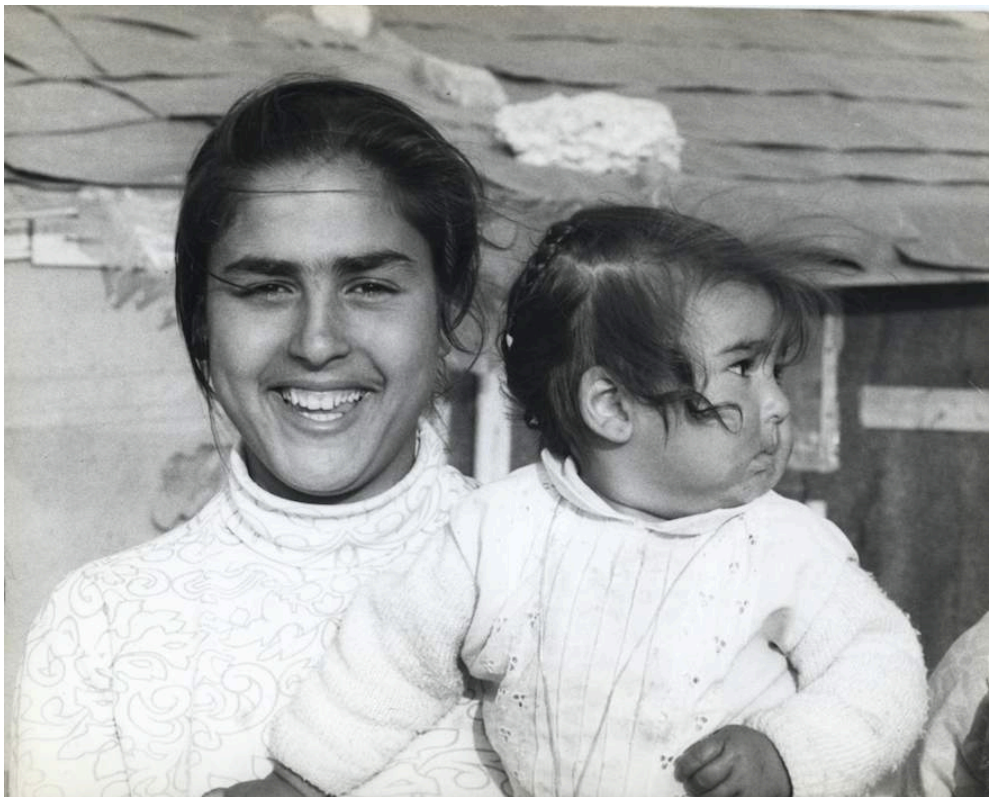


Fig. 130: Jan Yoors. Saintes-Maries-de-la-Mer, 1971. Yoors Family Partnership.

Fig. 131: Jan Yoors. Gypsy settlement. Saintes-Maries-de-la-Mer, 1971. Yoors Family Partnership.

Fig. 132: Jan Yoors. Saintes-Maries-de-la-Mer, 1971. Yoors Family Partnership.

Fig. 133: Jan Yoors. Saintes-Maries-de-la-Mer, 1971. Yoors Family Partnership.

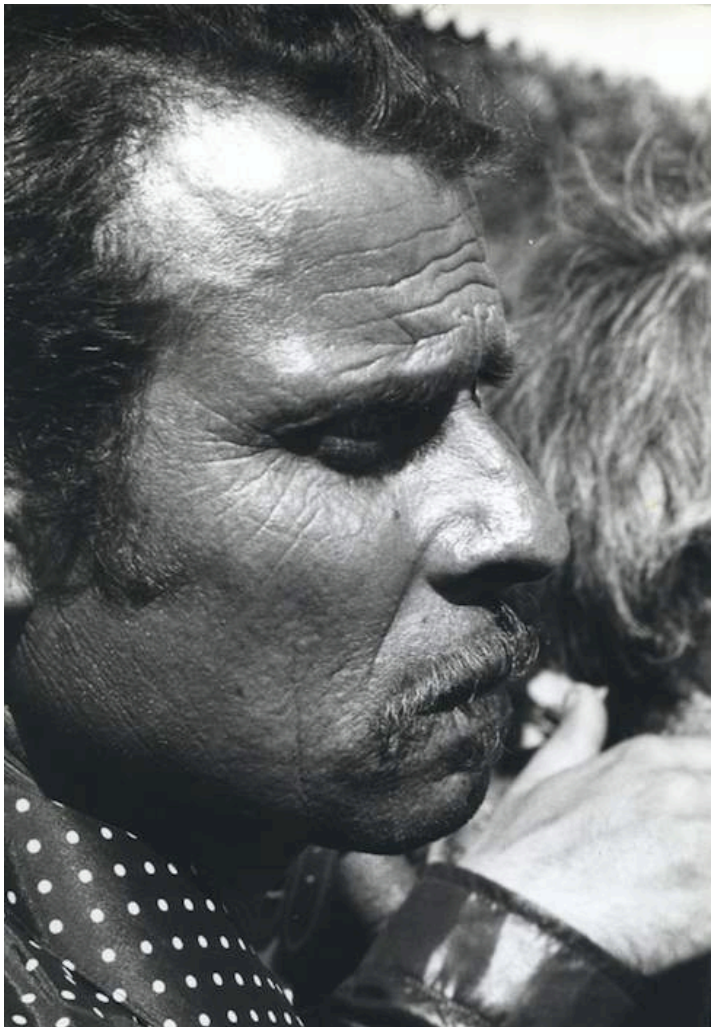


Fig. 134: Jan Yoors. Saintes-Maries-de-la-Mer, 1971. Yoors Family Partnership.

Fig. 135: Jan Yoors. Saintes-Maries-de-la-Mer, 1971. Yoors Family Partnership.

Fig. 136: Jan Yoors. Family of Carmen Amaya. Spain, 1971. Yoors Family Partnership.

Fig. 137: Jan Yoors. Gypsy settlement. Granada, Spain, 1971. Yoors Family Partnership.

Fig. 138: Jan Yoors. Gaudix, Spain, 1971. Yoors Family Partnership.

Fig. 139: Jan Yoors. Spain, 1971. Yoors Family Partnership.

Fig. 140: Jan Yoors. Cave dwellings. Gaudix, Spain, 1971. Yoors Family Partnership.

Fig. 141: Jan Yoors. Settlement outside Barcelona. Spain, 1971. Yoors Family Partnership.

Fig. 142: Jan Yoors. *Romería del Rocío* pilgrimage. El Rocío, Spain, 1971. Yoors Family Partnership.

Fig. 143: Jan Yoors. *Romería del Rocío* pilgrimage. El Rocío, Spain, 1971. Yoors Family Partnership.

Fig. 144: Jan Yoors. *Romería del Rocío* pilgrimage. El Rocío, Spain, 1971. Yoors Family Partnership.

Fig. 145: Jan Yoors. *Romería del Rocío* pilgrimage. El Rocío, Spain, 1971. Yoors Family Partnership.

Fig. 146: Jan Yoors. *Romería del Rocío* pilgrimage. El Rocío, Spain, 1971. Yoors Family Partnership.

Fig. 147: Jan Yoors. *Romería del Rocío* pilgrimage. El Rocío, Spain, 1971. Yoors Family Partnership.

2.8. Belgium

Fig. 148: Jan Yoors. Belgium, 1973. Yoors Family Partnership.

Fig. 149: Jan Yoors. Belgium, 1973. Yoors Family Partnership.

Fig. 150: Jan Yoors. Belgium, 1973. Yoors Family Partnership.

Fig. 151: Jan Yoors. Belgium, 1973. Yoors Family Partnership.

Fig. 152: Jan Yoors. Belgium, 1973. Yoors Family Partnership.

Fig. 153: Jan Yoors. Jan Yoors's grandnephew. Belgium, 1973. Yoors Family Partnership.

Fig. 154: Jan Yoors. Jan Yoors's grandniece, Belgium, 1973. Yoors Family Partnership.

Fig. 155: Jan Yoors. Belgium, 1973. Yoors Family Partnership.

Fig. 156: Jan Yoors. Belgium, 1973. Yoors Family Partnership.

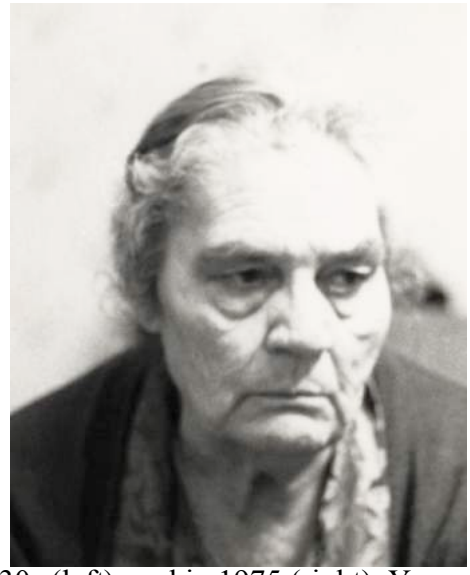



Fig. 157 & 158: Jan Yoors. Keja, during the 1930s (left), and in 1975 (right). Yoors Family Partnership.


Fig. 159 & 160: Jan Yoors. Bosa, in 1934 (left), and in 1975 (right). Yoors Family Partnership.


Fig. 161 & 162: Jan Yoors. Yayal, during the 1930s (left), and in 1975 (right). Yoors Family Partnership.

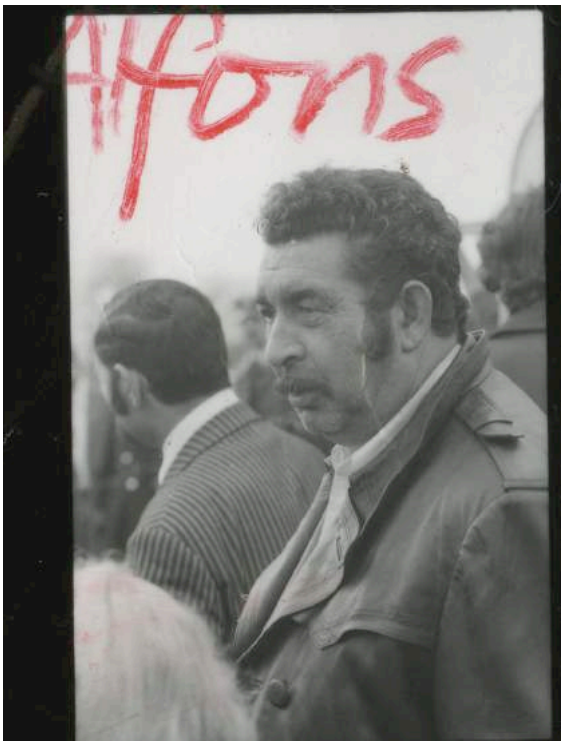



Fig. 163 & 164: Jan Yoors. Alfons, during the 1930s (left), and in 1975 (right). Yoors Family Partnership.


Fig. 165 & 166: Jan Yoors. Nanosh, during the 1930s (left), and in 1975 (right). Yoors Family Partnership.

Fig. 167: Contact sheet with contact prints of photographs of Keja, Bosa, Nanosh, Yayal, Terom, Dodo, Alfons, Paprika. Yoors Family Partnership.

2.9. Contact sheets

Fig. 168: Contact sheet with prints of photographs from Romania (Transylvania). Yoors Family Partnership.

Fig. 169: Fragment of sheet of contact prints of photographs from Lauris, Greece. Yoors Family Partnership.

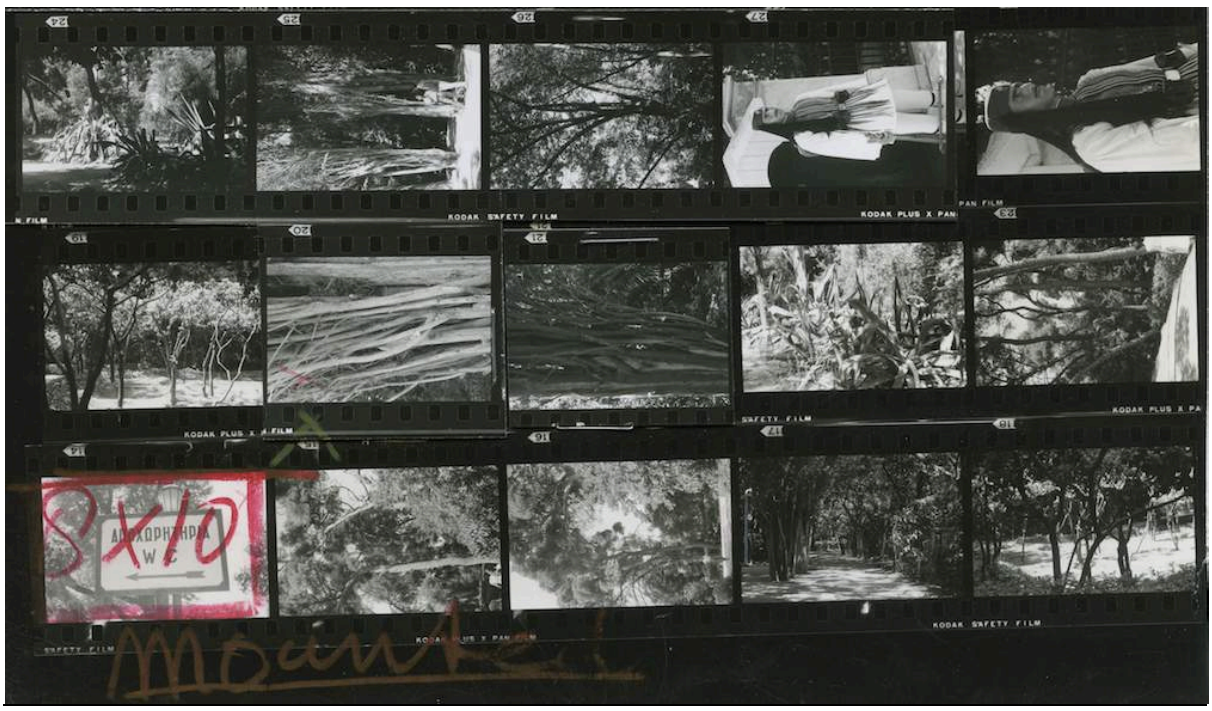


Fig. 170: Fragment of sheet of contact prints of photographs from Athens, Greece. Yoors Family Partnership.

Fig. 171: Fragment of sheet of contact prints of photographs from Finland. Yoors Family Partnership.

Fig. 172: Fragment of sheet of contact prints of photographs from India. Yoors Family Partnership.

Fig. 173: Fragment of sheet of contact prints of photographs from Granada, Spain. Yoors Family Partnership.

Fig. 174: Fragment of sheet of contact prints of photographs from New York. Yoors Family Partnership.

Fig. 175: Fragment of sheet of contact prints of photographs from New York. Yoors Family Partnership.


Fig. 176: Fragment of sheet of contact prints of photographs from New York. Yoors Family Partnership.

2.10. Gouache and tapestry

Fig. 177: Jan Yoors. *Apollo and Daphne*. Gouache on paper. 18,4 x 16,2 cm. 1948. Yoors Family Partnership.

Fig. 178: Jan Yoors. *In the Past*. Tapestry. 243,8 x 213,3 cm. 1975. Yoors Family Partnership.

3. Archival documents

3.1. List of archival documents

1. Letter from Jan Yoors to his parents, New York, February 7, 1961 (a). Yoors Family Partnership.
2. Letter from Jan Yoors to Annebert Van Wettum and Marianne Citroen, Munich, Germany, August 8, 1961 (b). Yoors Family Partnership.
3. Letter from Jan Yoors to Annebert Van Wettum and Marianne Citroen, Banja Luka, Bosnia and Herzegovina, August 15, 1961 (c). Yoors Family Partnership.
4. Annebert Van Wettum, diary entry on December 31, 1961. Yoors Family Partnership.
5. Annebert Van Wettum, diary entry on August 18, 1962. Yoors Family Partnership.
6. Howell, Heather. The Heroic Present: The Gypsy Photographs of Jan Yoors. Exhibition fact sheet. 2008. Yoors Family Partnership.

3.1. Archival documents

1. Letter from Jan Yoors to his parents, New York, February 7, 1961 (a). Yoors Family Partnership:

[…] The cost of life has increased a lot since Betsie's departure, she probably doesn't realize it comparing life in Belgium to life here. We have […] a small apartment with two rooms. It is dark and not so practical for 100 dollars per month = 5000 franks! We make a lot more here in comparison and life is a lot more expensive, so that comes down to the same thing. But we've found (or made) our "place in the sun", "we thrive here", New York is a cosmopolis! With fabulous museums, the Metropolitan, the Museum of Modern Art, Guggenheim, Frick Collection, the Cloisters (superb!), the Whitney Museum, etc.

Translation from French:

[…] Le coût de la vie a beaucoup augmenté depuis le départ de Betsie, elle ne doit pas s'en rendre compte en comparant la vie en Belgique et ici. Nous avions […] un petit appartement de deux pièces. Sombre, et pas très commode à 100 dollars par mois=5000 francs! On gagne beaucoup plus ici par comparaison et la vie est beaucoup plus chère, donc cela revient au même. Mais nous y avons trouvé (ou fait) notre "place au soleil", "we thrive here", New York est un cosmopolis! Avec des musées fabuleux, le Metropolitan, le Modern Art, Guggenheim, Frick Collection, les Cloisters (superbe!) le Whitney Museum etc.

2. Letter from Jan Yoors to Annebert Van Wettum and Marianne Citroen, Munich, Germany, August 8, 1961 (b). Yoors Family Partnership:

[…] It rained this morning, but we traveled on through the beautiful region, mountains and forests of Nuremberg (where the big trials against the Nazi's took place). It is a very beautiful "dream" city. I've taken many photographs (Tourist photos!), but especially thinking of you! You will see. Dürer Haus, etc. After that we continued to Munich, which seems very beautiful […] I will have many impressions to process and and tell you about, and it's only starting. […]

Translated from Dutch:

[…] Vanochtend natuurlijk regen er ook nog bij maar we trokken werder weer door hele mooie streek, Bergen en bossen naar Nürnberg (waar de grote processen tegen de Nazis zijn geweest), een hele mooie "droom" stad. Veel foto's genomen (toerist foto's!) maar speciaal aan jullie denkend! Je ziet wel. Dürer Haus, etc. Daarna dan nog naar München, dat heel mooi lijkt. […] Wat gai k veel indrukken te verwerken hebben en te vertellen en het begint pas ook nog. […]

3. Letter from Jan Yoors to Annebert Van Wettum and Marianne Citroen, Banja Luka, Bosnia and Herzegovina, August 15, 1961 (c). Yoors Family Partnership:

[…] The day before yesterday and yesterday with the Lowara was a fabulous experience. You will hear about it, as well as see the tapes and photographs! […]

Translation from Dutch:

[…] Eergisteren en gisteren bij Lowara was een fabuleuze ervaring. Dat horen jullie allemaal wel, ook tapes en foto's! […]

4. Annebert Van Wettum, diary entry on December 31, 1961. Yoors Family Partnership:

[…] What a wonderful gift. It has opened a totally new path for Jan. Before, we walked through New York and Jan saw so much and he made sketches. But many things couldn't be sketched. And now Jan makes photographs. We've made many photo walks and now we have many contact sheets and some beautiful prints of photographs of New York. Jan makes beautiful photographs. With his eyes that see so much as an artist, it couldn't be otherwise that his photographs are small masterpieces. Jan has also constantly taken photographs during his travels. As Jan wrote us: My camera is my loyal friend. […]

Translation from Dutch:

[…] Jan heeft de hele reis door foto's genomen met het fototoestel dat Marc en Evelyn Bernheim en Jean Claude en Solange Landau hem gegeven hebben voor zijn verjaardag. Wat een wonderlijk cadeau. Het heeft voor Jan een hele nieuwe weg geopend. Vroeger wandelden we door New York en zag Jan zoveel en soms maakte Jan schetsen. Maar veel dingen konden niet geschetst. En nu maakt Jan foto's. Wij hebben heel wat foto tochten gemaakt en zo hebben we een schat van contact sheets en enkele mooie vergrotingen van foto's van New York. Jan makt prachtige foto's. Met zijn ogen, die zoveel zien als kunstenaar, kan het ook niet anders dan dat de foto's ook kleine meesterwerken zijn. En zo heeft Jan op zijn reis ook voortdurend gefotografeerd. Zoals Jan aan ons schreef: Mijn fototoestel is mijn trouwe vriend. […]

5. Annebert Van Wettum, diary entry on August 18, 1962. Yoors Family Partnership.

[…] What beautiful travels Jan has made to Germany, Austria, Yugoslavia, Greece, a part of Turkey, Bulgaria, Romania and Hungary and back, all expenses covered by Tadié, as "research for a great color film on Gyspies". Storck has done so little with it, and after a year of waiting Storck still hasn't collected enough money and Luc De Heusch still hasn't written a decent scenario. […] Jan has been waiting since May to work on the film with Luc De Heusch. But now there are many other plans, such as to make an hour or two long film for French television on Gypsies with the French filmmaker Jean Rouch. But that probably won't happen anymore this year. […]

Translation from Dutch:

[…]Wat een prachtige reis heeft Jan gemaakt door Duitsland, Oostenrijk, Joegoslavië, Griekenland, een deel van Turkijke, Bulgarije, Roemenië, Hongarije en terug, de reizen alle onkosten betaald door Tardie, als "research voor een grote kleurenfilm over zigeuners". Wat heeft Storck er weinig mee gedaan en na een jaar wachten heeft Storck nog het geld niet bij elkaar en heeft Luc de Heusch nog geen behoorlijk scenario geschreven □...□. Vanaf mei is Jan aan het wachten om met Luc de Heusch aan de film te gaan werken. Maar nu zijn veel andere plannen o.a. om met Jean Rouch, een Franse filmman een franse televisiefilm te maken (film voor televisie) van een uur of twee over de zigeuners. Maar dit jaar zal daar wel niet meer van komen. […]

6. Howell, Heather. The Heroic Present: The Gypsy Photographs of Jan Yoors. Exhibition fact sheet. 2008. Yoors Family Partnership.

[…]

OVERVIEW

- This traveling exhibition, *The Heroic Present: The Gypsy Photographs of Jan Yoors*, consists of 65 black and white digitally reproduced photographs which are matted and framed.

- Styrene labels with text from Jan Yoors's own writings about the Roma (commonly called "Gypsies") accompany the photographs.

- Eight freestanding fabric thematic panels, that mimic Yoors's own tapestries, complement the images and provide the contextual framework. All measurements, installation information, and exhibition fees are listed below.

[…]

SPECIAL FEATURES

Weaving Two Worlds: This 12 minute original production (on DVD) tells Jan Yoors's story through original photographs, footage, and interviews. It was produced for the KSU Holocaust Education Program by Whirlwind Creative in New York City.

Piecing Together the Factors of the Holocaust: This interactive, appropriate for ages eleven and above, is intended to engage visitors in understanding the factors that led to the Holocaust. It includes 12 styrene puzzle pieces, a styrene puzzle board, and laminated fact sheets that are easily used in a gallery or classroom environment.

Speakers: Kore Yoors (Director, Yoors Family Parternship and son of Jan Yoors) and Dr. Ian Hancock (Harold C. and Alice T. Nowlin Regents Professor in Liberal Arts, The University of Texas at Austin; Director of the Romani Archives and Documentation Center at the University of Texas at Austin; Romani representative at the United Nations Economic and Social Council; Former White House appointee to the US Holocaust Memorial Council) are both available as speakers for opening events and public programs.