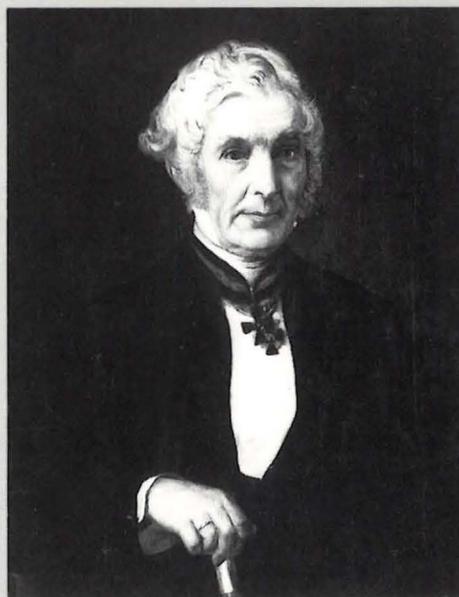
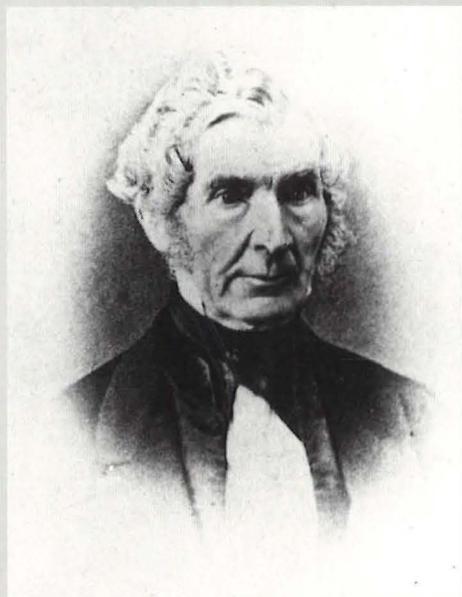


Unto Käyhkö

PAINTED AND PHOTOGRAPHED  
PORTRAITS  
IN FINLAND 1839-1870



# Unto Käyhkö

## Painted and Photographed Portraits in Finland 1839-1870

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UNIVERSITY OF JYVÄSKYLÄ

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## ABSTRACT

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The subject covered in this research is portrait photography as art during the early days of photography in Finland 1839-1870. The scope of the study has been restricted to this period in order to achieve a uniform art historical perspective. The points of contact between portrait photography and art, the major photographers and the camera picture in the service of painting art are examined in the study.

The thesis begins with a review of earlier research and the theoretical literature pertinent to the study approach. Using these as a basis, an attempt has been made to create a methodological system for the research that is based on hermeneutic theory. The studies on the hermeneutics of art history carried out by Gottfried Boehm and Oskar Bätschmann, who were especially influenced by the work of Hans-Georg Gadamer, have been of central importance in forming the perspective of this work.

Early photography aspired for a likeness with portrait painting by borrowing the general positions and subject types widely used throughout the history of art. Photography and painting both exploited and influenced each other. Photography produced a credible likeness which was and still is the central problem, although a complex and contradictory one, of the portrait. Many painters used the camera picture as an aid in achieving a credible likeness or similarity with the subject. The portrait landscapes of M. von Wright and A.J.Desarnod the Younger are presented as examples of the use of the picture projected by the camera obscura and daquerreotype camera. R.W.Ekman, E.J.Löfgren and A. Edelfelt used portrait photographs of the early period as an aid in their portraits. Of the three, Edelfelt is the main example of the dilemma and limited scope of likeness. A few of the leading early photographers are presented as examples of photographic artists. The 1840's are represented by A.J.Desarnod the Younger and F.Rehnström, and the 1850's by P.C.Liebert, L.J. Peldan and F. Mebius. Examples of the carte-de-visite photographers of the 1860's include C.P.Mazer, A.C.E.Chiewitz, J.J.Reinberg and C.A.Hårdh.

According to my research, the portrait in the early days of photography in Finland (1839-1870) is characterised by a restricted and simplified picture form, the central feature of which is rigorism, i.e. the severe rigidity that occurs in all photographs of the age. Photography of the period is therefore referred to in this thesis by the term the severe age. The severe age lasted in its strict form as the hard period up until the early part of the 1850's. This was followed up until the middle of the 1850's by the soft period, which was the result of technical advances in photography. The great style of early photography appeared at the beginning of the 1860's, and is called vignettism in this study. Vignettism is the gradual disappearance of the edges of the face, background and surroundings of the subject by means of a light effect. It is the first stylistic revolution in photography. Photography in its modern sense did not appear until the 1870's, when the exposure time was reduced so much that a snapped photograph could be taken that captured unstudied features in the picture.

An analysis of the origin of photomontage in the 1860's and of collage round about 1870 is still important from the point of view of art history.

Key Words: Early Photography; Portrait Photography and Art; the Photograph as an Artist's Aid; Hermeneutics of Art History; the Social History of Photography as Art; the Severe Age of Photography; the Hard Period; the Soft Period; Vignettism, the Great Style of Early Photography; Photomontage.

## PREFACE

Photography and art have for long been of great interest to me. I first treated their interrelationship in my practical report and master's thesis at the beginning of the 1970's.

I first started to take a more comprehensive interest in the theoretical and methodological aspects of this subject in 1977 in my studies on the influence of photography on artists during the golden age of Finnish art. In the next stage I investigated the extent to which sculptors employed photography as an aid in their work at the end of the last century. Both topics are still in the stage of uncompleted manuscripts. A change of subject, although ostensibly still within the same research field, proved to be fateful in delaying the completion of my research work.

My Licentiate thesis was centred on early photography and the camera picture in the service of painting. I became interested in portrait criteria and the problem of likeness at the same time. These topics I have now investigated in this work. This has thus continued to offer an interesting and intense field of activity.

Not only the topic, but also the problem of interpretation and methodology (after all, methodology is the etymological road to knowledge) have been time-consuming. In ordinary problems concerning the selection of correct and appropriate methods I have concluded that every study would, or at least could, require a new method. I have therefore attempted to create a methodology serving the needs of each aspect in the field. This has required the combination of many perspectives. The sector of art history in question is so multifarious that the required approaches are not, in my opinion, very obvious. This has demanded an intricate and troublesome formulation of the problems. But the nature of art is fundamentally complex. We can hardly question this seriously. This feature is therefore reflected in my studies too.

I extend my sincere thanks to my supervisor and long-standing superior, Professor Kalevi Pöykkö, whose support has been invaluable and essential for the completion of my work. His proposals about the likeness criteria of portraits has helped me focus my art historical perspective. I would also like to thank Professor Salme Sarajas-Korte, one of the examiners of my Licentiate thesis, for her many pertinent comments and encouragement. Similarly my thanks go to Professor Jukka Ervamaa and Associate Professor Eeva-Maija Viljo. I owe a debt of gratitude to Ph.D. Solfrid Söderlind for her interest on my study and for her comments on methods.

The financial support provided by the Jenny and Antti Wihuri Fund has made it possible to complete my work. For this I am extremely grateful. I wish to thank also Mr. John Derome, B.Sc., Licentiate of Forestry for the English translation of this work.

I would especially like to thank my wife and children. They have unfailingly supported me, even through the most difficult times.

Kemi, October 1994

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# I INTRODUCTION

## General

The theme of this work is portrait photography and art. Elucidation of the relationship between these two has been one of the main tasks and one which owes much to its central position as a basic study in art history.

The study deals with portrait photography as an art form during the early days of photography in Finland (1839-1870). Although no final work has yet been written on this or any of the other periods in Finland's photographic history, the scope of the study has been restricted to this period in order to achieve a uniform art history perspective. From the perspective of the social history of art, it is also important to formulate the type of portrait most characteristic of those early days of photography. This study attempts to provide a precise picture of the early stages of this period since many of photography's principle concepts were created at that time. Resorting to pure cultural history methods would certainly have been a much simpler approach. Yet many factors have contributed to justifying such an attempt on the grounds of art history and considering also its unpretentious approach.<sup>1</sup>

This study also seeks to investigate the connecting points between photography and art. Particular emphasis is placed on the role of the camera picture in the service of painting. The use of the picture reflected by a camera obscura or daguerreotype camera is brought into connection with examples from the portrait landscapes of Magnus von Wright (1805-1868) and Auguste Joseph Desarnod the Younger (ca. 1812-1850). The utilisation of portrait photographs during the early days is examined through the works of Robert Wilhelm Ekman (1808-1873), Erik Johan Löfgren (1825-1884) and Albert Edelfelt (1854-1905). These artists serve as a reference point for this study when attempting to shed light on the position of the portrait photograph during the early period, and its effect on some features inherent in portrait painting.

Ekman and Löfgren have been selected because, excluding the artisan

painters, there were only a few artists working at that time in Finland. Thus the selection criterion has been the centrality and importance of the artist in question. This is also the reason why Edelfelt has been selected as the leading example representative of the dilemma and restrictiveness of the likeness of a portrait. Other alternatives were naturally available, but the portrait art of Ekman, Löfgren and Edelfelt has only been taken as important from the point of view of the general development of art. This will become more and more evident during the course of this study.

The training and other professional skills of many painters was still rather rudimentary at the beginning of the 1840's.<sup>2</sup> Before Ekman's return to Finland there was no Finnish-born free artist who had received membership in an academy working as a portrait artist in Finland. On the other hand, both Ekman and Löfgren had received rather comprehensive and diverse training as artists e.g. in the Swedish Academy of Art in Stockholm (Kungliga Akademien för de fria konsterna).

At that time visual art in Finland was being integrated into the overall national culture, and sufficient financial support in the form of commissions was gradually becoming available. Interest in artistic matters had, in fact, declined in the latter half of the 1830's for reasons which are not completely clear, but it picked up again already by the turn of the decade.<sup>3</sup>

Contemporary views did not actually paint such a favourable picture of the situation. For instance, according to an article published in the *Borgå Tidning* newspaper in 1842, there was a great lack of artistic works in Finland.<sup>4</sup> Conditions at that time were revealed only polemically in the article. It thus gives a more underrated picture of the actual conditions than we could consider correct when viewed from a historical perspective. This in turn has had an effect on the conclusions drawn in later studies. When J.J. Tikkanen states that the only works of art needed at that time were altar paintings and the portraits of wealthy families, tends to give us the impression that conditions were rather impoverished.<sup>5</sup>

There was a social demand for art and also for portraits. Modest and dilettantish artisans and professional artists were forced at this turning point into taking an increasingly minority role because the works of Ekman, and especially of Löfgren, broke the traditions of the touring portrait painters ("counterfeiters") and professional painters in both altar paintings and portrait painting in particular. Of the work done by both artists, their portraits thus form one of the largest entities of their kind.

It is well known fact that the art world in Finland developed rather rapidly from the latter half of the 1840's. R.W. Ekman's letter to the head of the Stockholm Academy of Art, M.G. Anckarsvärd, at the beginning of 1846, gave a rather optimistic picture of the overall situation. The artist wrote that commissions were pouring in every day from all over the country continuing that a more general interest in art is also in the air because they were also establishing a drawing and painting school in Finland. Ekman considered these features to indicate progress in general and in individual art tastes.<sup>6</sup> Ekman also estimated, rather modestly that his success was partly due to the fact that he was a native Finn, because all things Finnish at that time were in fashion, and that Finns are a

very patriotic people - a fact which the artist considers to be to a credit to the nation. Future prospects and economic security appeared, on the basis of this letter, to be very favourable for Ekman.

A major invasion of portrait photographers started in Finland in 1843. Two touring professional daguerreotypists arrived in Helsinki, the Bavarian artist Benno Lipschütz, and the Sardinian commercial traveller Baptist Tensi. These represent another example of the methodological problems in this study. Apart from newspaper reports and announcements, there is no material available about the life history and work of either daguerreotypist. Neither photographer is mentioned in source material published abroad, not even Lipschütz in painting art indices. They did, however, work for a few months in Helsinki, Turku and Viborg.<sup>7</sup>

Neither Lipschütz nor Tensi signed their portrait photographs, and apparently, no photographs marked with their names at a later date have survived. As far as their output is concerned, they remain anonymous daguerreotypists. However, they were the first touring photographers who, at a price expensive for Finnish purses, offered the opportunity to order unique daguerreotype portraits (cf. reference 9, where the meaning of the terms daguerreotype and daguerreotypists etc. as used in this study are explained). The July weather favoured the two photographers and provided a propitious starting point for their work.<sup>8</sup> According to their newspaper announcements, the exposure time was only one minute.<sup>9</sup>

The price of one portrait was five roubles per person. However, there were so many people to be photographed that Lipschütz and Tensi had to go to St. Petersburg to buy more photographic materials. This time they brought so many metal plates back that they dropped the price to four silver roubles; two persons photographed on the same plate cost six roubles.<sup>10</sup> Any comparison of the pricing principles used for portrait painting (an increasing number of persons, picture size etc. increased the price of the painting) makes it all appear rather amusing. This was not, however, the intention, and charging in this way became the generally accepted practice. For instance, the price of a group photograph comprising a number of persons was double that of an individual portrait even in 1858.<sup>11</sup>

## **The starting points of the study**

With respect to the early period of photography, the aim of this study has not been to carry out an exhaustive presentation: a total of 120 photographers lived or were resident for shorter or longer periods at that time in Finland.<sup>12</sup> In addition, at least a couple of dozen photographers visited Finland, but there is no binding evidence of their work.<sup>13</sup> The theme easily crosses the bounds of moderation. I have therefore been forced to concentrate on the most important or typical representatives of portrait photography i.e., those who were professional photographers who used newspaper announcements to inform the public. Sadly,

nowadays no systematic information about the amateur photographers of that period exists. The portrait photograph of J.L. Runeberg, taken by Johan Conrad Lihr (1832-1913), is treated here as a leading example in this field.

In addition to the many portrait photographers mentioned in passing, those who also include unidentified anonymous photographers, the major photographers are dealt with in somewhat more detail despite the relative lack of source material. The selection criterion is the same as for the painters. They are all leading photographers of their day, as confirmed in the discussion proper. There have certainly been other selection criteria, too.<sup>14</sup>

The portrait photographers travelling around Finland or working professionally in the country during the 1840's that are covered in this work are: Auguste Joseph Desarnod the Younger (1812?-1850) and Fredrik Rehnström (1819-1857). The portrait photographers who started working in the 1850's are Petter Christoffer Liebert (1818-1866), Lars Johan Peldan (1827-1873) and Friedrich Mebius. Carte-de-visite photographers of the 1860's are represented by Carl Peter Mazer (1807-1884), Amalia Clementine Euphrosyne Chiewitz (1819-1899), Johan Jakob Reinberg (1823-1896) and Carl Adolph Hårdh (1839-1875).

Those photographers who spent a number of months in Finland and, judging by their announcements, photographed very actively, but of whose work there is no surviving, verified photographic material (e.g. B. Lipschütz and B. Tensi, P. Lindhberg), are also included. About a dozen photographs are available from the work of a number of photographers (e.g. F. Mebius and F. Rehnström). Equally, some photographers whose surviving work comprises dozens, perhaps hundreds of photographs, are also included (a few carte-de-visite photographers who started in the 1860's). Restrictions have had to be made on the photographic material covered in this work owing to the large number of portrait photographs available. In addition, chance has been a considerable factor governing which photographs have survived and which have not.

The selection criteria adopted here have been typicality, high quality and datability, and identification of the locality. These attributes are rarely combined in the same photograph. The most important portion of the photographers' output has not necessarily survived. There are unavoidable shortcomings in the part of the study concerned with photographers who worked abroad and visited Finland, because there are frequently rather large gaps in the source literature published abroad, e.g. information about the birth and death of the photographers, their itineraries, and bourgeois profession is missing, or indeed the photographer is not listed at all in the relevant photographer or artist catalogues.

In general, failing to establish the identity of the person photographed or the photographer has not restricted the choice of photographs because the most important aspects have been the photographic character of the picture, the type of photograph and arrangement or sometimes comparison with its prototype in portrait painting.

In its early years, photography was an anonymous profession in many respects. This has resulted in criticism in photographic literature about the practice of cultural history museums favouring photographs whose photographer or subject are known.<sup>15</sup> The reason for this is undoubtedly that they are easier for the museum to classify. The same is also true to some extent in the attitude of

cultural history museums to portrait photography.

In a study centred on art historical problems, the limited nature of cultural history can, of course, be a drawback. In 1987 Richard Brilliant wrote that it is unfortunate that portrait-appraisal research has concentrated on the nomenclature problems of the subjects and photographers.<sup>16</sup> In general, portrait research has traditionally dealt with the problems associated with the identification of the artist and subject. K.K. Meinander, in his important basic work "Portrait in Finland before the 1840's" (1931), also concluded that the major problem in his studies was the artists; who they had been and what influence they had. He considers that the second important task is to evaluate the correctness of the person's names.<sup>17</sup> Of course nomenclature problems are important in their own right in cultural history, and there is no reason to underestimate their value or necessity, although as such they are not always the most important features in art history research. Questions such as those associated with the authenticity or identifiability of portrait photographs and their photographers are also by-passed a number of times in this work. They remain methodologically of secondary importance.

## The comparative method

The relationship for a comparative parallel treatment of portrait painting and portrait photography can be shown to have a rather significant iconistical basis. The photograph was considered as a monochromatic drawing investigating the variations in tone. This can be seen from the newspapers Helsingfors Tidningar and Åbo Underrättelser's use of the daguerreotype term "ljusteckning" (light drawing)<sup>18</sup>, corresponding to the international name, already in 1839 and 1840. The impression of drawing was also evident in the fact that the early daguerreotypists, just like photographers later on, often coloured their pictures by hand. In addition to colouring, the photographs were almost always retouched or otherwise treated (e.g. chemically). So-called "dirty photographs" of this sort form the main object of this work. The rare purist or pure photographs of the early years of photography have been left outside the scope of this investigation.

In a parallel analysis of photographs, the coloured photograph was obviously also a drawing tinted to meet contemporary tastes. In this case it is a question of an artefact made from a photographic work. In this respect, too, photography touched upon painting art.

The portrait photographs at that time were, almost without exception, also compositions. They were ordered and arranged, and in this respect staged, i.e. constructed photographs where the posing was carefully thought out beforehand. In actual fact this was severely restricted by the limitations of the equipment. Looked at today, photographs from the early days - and later on - right up until the Kodak camera was invented in 1888 - seem to bear a handmade touch, despite the fact that the photograph developed on the picture surface strictly speaking without having been touched by man's hand. This was due to the com-

plicated nature of the technical and chemical processes all of which required a considerable amount of handiwork.

What is central in this work is the comparison of the portrait as a painting and as a photograph. It calls into question a partnership which is by no means unambiguous. Initially we can state that the use of this sort of comparison method (as regards the similarities and convergence points of the types of composition used in these two portrait types) emphasises the changes which take place in the forms of posture and picture contents from portrait painting to a photograph. Patterns of optical reality take the place of the traditional, aesthetic "good" forms. The process of producing a technological picture does not presuppose the use of forms considered in formalistic tradition to be good, because the machine produces the forms in the basic process of the photograph. However, there are always features in these photographically-recurable forms that are derived from the prototypical postures and picture types. This enables the effects to be examined through their inter-relationship. By comparing pictures we can find the connecting points for preceding and simultaneous art.

We can criticise this by saying that the similarity between compositions and pictorial themes is often based on rather superficial equivalence. It can be avoided to some extent by comparing only those pictures which, in addition to being somewhat similar as regards the portrait type, also have a contentwise or analogous connecting point. In addition, the typology and morphology of the postures and mimicry have not, in co-ordinate pictures or series of pictures, become finally established in their basic type, but rather vary in their details even though the formalistic basic type would be approximately the same.

It should be emphasised at this point that similarities in posture and posture type are definable as the general conventions of the visual arts. Overall we can say that there does not necessarily have to be any other connection between depictions of the same posture or posture type other than the basic type used. Nor does this presuppose that the creator of a later picture would have earlier seen the preceding work.<sup>19</sup> It is thus also a question of a form of tradition. Accordingly, there is no need to speak about a direct influence between similar types of picture, unless it is possible to demonstrate conclusively a connection with a prototype. This is the case only when, for instance, a photograph has been found that a portrait artist has utilised in implementing his painting. The comparative typological studies of J.J. Tikkanen have had an effect on the methodology of this work with respect to relationships of this sort.<sup>20</sup> Similarly, many general types of historical study have also been important.<sup>21</sup>

## **The source material used in the study**

The photographs form one important group of study objects, as is the case with the newspaper articles concerning the photographers, the photographers own newspaper announcements and press releases and, despite their scarcity, the few archive entries. Portrait photography of this period has earlier been dealt with in

a number of articles and studies. Despite their dilettantish nature, the articles of S. Grönroos "The History of Photography in Finland" (1944a), "Information about the Early Stages of Photography in Finland" (1944b), "The Early Stages of Photography in Finland" (1945a), and "The First Photographers to Practice their Profession in Finland" (1945b), all deserve mention. The most important studies employing an exacting scientific approach are Svante Dahlström's "An old photographer from Åbo and a few of his photos" (1912), Marta Hirn's "Jack-of-all-trades Desarnod" (1936), and "Petter Christoffer Liebert, xylographer and photographer" (1957), Arne Appelgren's "On the photographers in Vaasa during the 1860's and 1870's" (1948), and Sven Hirn's "Photographers in Helsingfors" (1970) and "Viborg's old photographers" (1970). The most recent treatment of the period is Pirjo Porkka's article "The early development stages of photography in Finland" (1986). In addition, there is also a notable manuscript and reference work about the first period of Finnish photography - Sven Hirn's "In front of and behind the camera: photography and photographers in Finland 1839-1870" (1972).

The most important original source material used in examining the use of photographs as a tool in portrait painting by Ekman and Löfgren, has been the paintings and photographs in question, archive information, the letters of both artists, and the newspaper articles and critiques of their work. An attempt has been made to take a step beyond these elementary starting points towards the basic questions of art history.<sup>22</sup>

Individual articles that should be mentioned include Marta Hirn's "What did Fredrik Cygnaeus look like" (1959) and Martina Standerstskjöld's "What did M.A. Castrén look like?" (1984). There is also a monograph in existence about Ekman (Bertel Hintze, 1926). The most recent treatment of Ekman's work is that by Jukka Ervamaa in his research on the Kalevala theme art of R.W. Ekman and C.E. Sjöstrand (1981). There is yet no monograph about E.J. Löfgren, but Emil Nervander's "An addition to the biography of the artist Erik Johan Löfgren" (Nervander 1900b) should be mentioned in this connection.

The above-mentioned articles and books have been of considerable importance from the point of view of the study subject and its definition. But, because they have mainly been restricted to a general cultural historical perspective when dealing with portrait photography or portrait painting, the complex art historical and theoretical problematics associated with portraiture have, in the main, been left unelucidated. As regards art history, the viewpoint of this work is mainly directed at the partnership of a parallel treatment of photography and art. As an application it approaches the term and title word form used by the Oxford Companion to Art (1971), "Photography and Art".<sup>23</sup> Solfrid Söderlind's dissertation "Portrait Usage in Sweden 1840-1865, A Study of Functions and Interactions" (1993) also provides an interesting parallel to the approach of this study.<sup>24</sup>

## REFERENCES

1. In this connection it is sufficient to refer to Martin Warnke's article *Gegenstandsbereiche der Kunstgeschichte*: "Tatsächlich ist die Forschung zur Geschichte der Fotografie, innerhalb der Kunstgeschichte in den letzten Jahren in Gang gekommen..." Warnke 1988, 21.
2. Some examples of these should be given because a number of foreign portrait painters had settled permanently or temporarily in Finland at the beginning of the 1840's before R.W. Ekman returned home: e.g. Swedish-born Johan Erik Lindh (1793-1865), Johan Knutson (1816-1890), Johan Zacharias Blackstadius (1816-1898) and the Norwegian-born Thomas Joachim Legler (1806-1873). Information about their schooling varies. According to the ordinary artist registers that they all received training at the Stockholm Art Academy, but that none of them were members proper of the Academy. Of them, the only one who went on to acquire more of an art academy training was Blackstadius, who became an *agrée* of the academy, although in fact, not until 1858. Blackstadius participated in the exhibitions of the Stockholm Art Academy in 1838 and 1840 before moving to Finland. He was awarded three medals in the 1838 exhibition: Blackstadius stayed in Finland from 1844 up until summer 1850 (Tikkanen 1896, 14, reference 2). However, the most important artist to settle permanently in Finland as a portrait painter was J.E. Lindh, who arrived in Kokkola from Sweden in 1817. In 1825 he moved to Turku, and after the fire of Turku to Helsinki in 1827. Lindh remained in Helsinki for the rest of his life, although he did travel around the provincial towns and farms. "Han står som en portalfigur för utgången av det äldre skedet och ingången av en ny tid. Han var med på den tid, då endast konstnärer stodo till buds för avbildandet, och hans konst tävlade mot slutet med den framträngande fotografien." ("He stands like a figure at the portal between the exit of old world and the arrival of the new. He was a part of that time when only artists were there to offer portraits yet towards the end, his art competed with the rude intrusion of the photograph.") Meinander 1931, 230. - Jukka Ervamaa wrote when covering Ekman's return to Finland that in our country "...there were no artists who had received an art academy training." Ervamaa 1981, 18. Ervamaa presumably means artists who had become members of an art academy. There were also Finnish-born artists who had received training at an art academy, e.g. C.G. Söderstrand (1800-1862), who studied at the Stockholm Art Academy, for some time together with R.W. Ekman (Tikkanen 1896, 24, reference 1), and Johan Gustaf Hedman (1800-1866), who presumably studied for a shortish period at the academy and whose work included a number of altarpieces (cf. Tikkanen 1896, 3). However, the only "free" artist who had received training at an art academy and became a member of the academy was the Finnish-born court painter R.W. Ekman. His portrait paintings cannot be considered modest and dilettantish in the same way as the ordinary artisan painters. - A cultural-historical study can easily find modest and dilettantish painters, especially from among professional circles, from the period before which Ekman or Magnus von Wright returned to Finland.
3. Cf. also: Tolvanen 1956, 60.
4. BT 1.8.1842. It is well known that the scarcity of works of art was exaggerated later on in newspaper articles in the 1850's. According to these, the walls of Helsinki homes were adorned at most with a few sheets of graphic art or a portrait; see this about Ervamaa 1989, 101-103. - This information does not become interesting until we realise that graphic art and portraits were the least appreciated genres of art in Finland. - "It is extremely rare in Finland, even in the capital to be see a painting or some other artefact which has any value." Mbl. 9.3.1846. The Morgonbladet article was obviously intentionally published only one day before the meeting of the Finnish Art Association. J.J. Tikkanen has pointed out that "Art does not need essential meaning, only the awareness of art as a medium of civilisation, hence the hope that it would make its way to Finland. Art had become a patriotic issue and was taken up at the sacrifice of personal interests in many cases with great enthusiasm." Tikkanen 1896, 18. The quotation is from the work "Finska konstföreningen" 1846-1896. The preface has been written by J.J. Tikkanen, likewise the work. For this reason the references are denoted:

Tikkanen 1896, and not e.g. (Tikkanen) 1896. - Bertel Hintze writes about the early years of the 19th century: "The need for the family portrait - the only real live service of art was met unavoidably by foreign painters or illustrators such as E. Thelning, Vilhelm Le Moine and K.P. Mazér." Hintze 1926, 96. Johannes Öhquist writes about the significance of the Finnish Art Association, founded on the 10th of March, 1846: "In Finland there was hardly anything that could be called art at the time the association started its activities. It was not founded to support existing pursuits, but to create such pursuits from a vacuum. Its existence stems from the belief that art is by no means a luxury, but an essential factor in the development of a natural culture and that this factor has to be created if it is not already present." Öhquist 1912, 267. Öhquist also mentions that: "Altar pieces were the only decorations that were suffered in churches, and these, as well as portraits - off which the "touring painters" made a living - almost solely satisfied the artistic requirements of our country." Öhquist 1912, 273.

5. Tikkanen 1896, 2. "---behofvet af altartaflor för kyrkorna och af porträtt i landets burgna familjer (vore) de enda hos oss på den tiden förefintliga eller åtminstone allmänare kända konstbehof."
6. This letter of Ekman's to Anckarsvärd has been continuously cited in studies on both Ekman and the history of the art association. See e.g. Tikkanen 1896, 14-15; Öhquist 1912, 273; Nordensvan 1925, 418; Ervamaa 1981, 18. "Beställningar inlöpa hvarje dag från olika delar af landet, ett allmänt intresse för konsten har prononcerat sig, en konstförening skall bildas, utom att man ifrar för ett rit- och målningsinstitut. Dessa äro rätt välmänta och välgörande mouvementer, som bevisa att smaken i allmänhet och hos enskilda är uti ett tilltagande, då gunås i Sverige det tycktes mig vara motsatsen".
7. Their stay in Finland can easily be followed on the basis of newspaper announcements. See HT 19.7.1843, 26.7.1843, 12.8.1843, ÅT 30.8.1843, WAB 7.10.1843. - The passports acquired in Helsinki in August 1843 would have permitted the two photographers to travel to Oulu. Passport documents from the Governor General's office from 1843. VA. The plan was obviously abandoned because they announced that they would be working in Turku at the end of August. ÅT 30.8.1843. Owing to the fading light of the approaching autumn, the two daguerreotypists travelled to Viborg, where they announced they would be working. WAB 7.10.1843. - S. Hirn estimates that Tensi subsequently gave up photography and shows that Lipschütz left St. Petersburg for Central Europe in spring 1844 because the traveller registers (SPZ 7.3.1844) contain his name. S. Hirn 1972, 72. - Lipschütz and Tensi also accepted work in Viborg; FAT 22.9.1843.
8. HT 19.7.1843. "Wädret har en längre tid varit uthållande wackert." (The weather has been fine for an extended period.)
9. HT 26.7.1843. "Portraittingen upptar blått en enda minut." - There is considerable variation in the spelling of the daguerreotypists' names in the newspaper announcements. The Helsingfors Tidningar's announcement of the passengers arriving on SS Furst Menschikoff on 20.7.1843 includes the name of a commercial salesman "Tenzi" (HT 26.7.1843). In the photographers' own first announcement in the Helsingfors Tidningar the name Lipschütz is written "Liepschütz". HT 26.7.1843. In the announcement in the Finlands Allmänna Tidning the name is written "Leipchütz". FAT 4.8.1843. But in later announcements the names are spelt correctly, e.g. FAT 22.9.1843. - S. Grönroos is the first photographic researcher to pay attention to Lipschütz and Tensi, see Grönroos 1945b, 66-67. S. Hirn has also examined the activities of the two daguerreotypists, see S. Hirn 1970, 97; S. Hirn 1971, 70; S. Hirn 1972, 16,72. - There are considerable contradictions in other information concerning this pair of daguerreotypists. Sven Hirn has pointed out that Lipschütz was, according to the passport documents, a Bavarian and Tensi a Sardinian. Thus the expression "from Vienna" used in the announcements is obviously an advertising gimmick. Hirn has also stated that Lipschütz's passport was issued in Estonia on 6.7.1843, or according to our calendar 18.7.1843. According to the passenger registers, their arrival in Helsinki

occurred on 20.7.1843, although information about the activities of the photographers was published already on 19.7.1843. Hirn considers that "the actual date of arrival is thus somewhat unclear". S. Hirn 1972, 16-17. Grönroos, and subsequently S. Hirn, have drawn attention to the fact that the vessel called in at both Cronstadt and Reval (Tallin) after its departure from St. Petersburg, which according to Hirn shows that the daguerreotypists came directly from Tallin to Helsinki. Grönroos 1945b, 66; S. Hirn 1972, 16-17. In my opinion the problem of their actual date of arrival can be easily solved. The fact that the information about their working in Helsinki was announced one day before their arrival in Helsinki suggests that Liepschütz and Tensi would have themselves informed the editor of the newspaper about their intentions before their arrival, either by post or through a traveller who had arrived earlier. In addition, making an advance announcement was a common international practice amongst daguerreotypists, and it was frequently employed. - Furthermore, the piece of news in the *Helsingfors Tidningar* is rather clearly based on the information provided by the photographers themselves (HT 19.7.1843). For instance, the exposure times "ready at short notice, at most a minute" are very probably too short. Also the mention that portraits "results being clean and sharp" and "The price is fair" hint at second-hand knowledge and that the daguerreotypists had well beforehand selected Helsinki as their destination. - In this work the term daguerreotype is used to refer to the photographic genre named after L.J.M. Daguerre. The term daguerreotype is also used to refer to the photographic method. The term daguerreotype thus primarily refers to the method, to the daguerreotype picture.

10. HT 12.8.1843. The price of a portrait had thus already fallen from the 5 silver roubles mentioned in the first announcement (HT 26.7.1843) to 4 roubles. - FAT 4.8, 5.8, 8.8.1843.
11. "Porträtter, med vacker infattning, kosta 1 Rub. 50 kop och 2 Rub.s:r, grupper af flera personer 3 och 4 Rub." ("Portraits beautifully framed cost 1 rouble 50 copecks and 2 roubles in silver, group photographs costing 3 and 4 roubles.") Wiborg 30.10.1843. The prices of portrait photographs were thus half those at the beginning of the 1840's.
12. Sven Hirn has presented biographical information about 120 professional photographers in his work "In front of and behind the camera: photography and photographers in Finland 1839-1870". 15 of the photographers were from Sweden, 14 from Germany, 12 from Denmark, about 11 from St. Petersburg, 2 from Austria. - There are 15 Finns in the list, most of whom are from the latter half of the period. Of these, Fredrik Rehnström (1819-1857) moved permanently to St. Petersburg, and C.J. Malmberg (1825-1895) to Stockholm. 12 of the photographers working professionally in Finland were women, i.e. about 10% of all the photographers. S. Hirn 1972, 32. - Many of the foreign-born photographers settled permanently in Finland and acquired citizenship. In addition, the photographers were itinerant and in this meaning cosmopolitan, which has already been referred to in the introduction. - A purely statistical analysis does not come within the scope of this study because statistics do not shed much or any light on the art historical problems proper.
13. S. Hirn 1972, 115.
14. Other individualistic grounds for the selection were a social historical cross-section of the photographers: one with a training in painting who moved to Finland (A.J. Desarnod the Younger), one Finnish-born permanently touring photography who did not, however, remain in Finland (Rehnström), one who moved to Finland and remained there permanently (P.C. Liebert); one Finnish-born photographer who travelled around the country (Peldan), one foreign photographer who took photographs during a single season in Finland (F. Mebius), one foreign painter who visited Finland and took photographs and painted portraits (C.P. Mazer), one woman photographer (A.C.E. Chiewitz), one foreign-born photographer who settled in Finland and who also painted portraits and landscapes (J.J. Reinberg), and one photographer who had received an art academy training and initially worked as a colourer of photographs, but then became a professional photographer (C.A. Hårdh). More detailed grounds for the selection are given in connection with the treatment of each photographer.

15. See also the effects of museums on the formation of photographic style trends: Sontag 1984, 136.
16. Brilliant 1987, 172. "Unfortunately, the critical study of portraits has been hampered by a preoccupation with the naming of subjects and artists." Richard Brilliant also wrote: "The former concern emphasises the imputed resemblance of the artwork to the individual(s) portrayed, responding to the natural desire of the observer to know another person through the surrogate of the portrayed image. But portraits translate the transitory aspects of a person's life, with all its variations in appearance, into a consolidated image. The result transcends the limitations of *mimesis* through the creation of an incorporation sign (given a proper name), a distillation of the self through art. Complementing this indexing function, which designates the human subject, is the denotational expansion of the image, as presented both by the artist and the sitter through an informed repertory of conventionalised references to chaoticities, characteristics, and conditions, known to and shared with others in a social context. This tension between identity and identification, between the self and the "other", between depiction and characterisation, shapes the metaphorical construct of the portrait."
17. Meinander 1931, 6. "... de frågor som främst skola sysselsätta vår undersökning, gälla konstnärerna, vilka de varit och huru de verkat. ---En annan viktig uppgift är att granska personbenämningar, söka namn på obekanta, kritisera synbarligen oriktiga dylika."
18. HT 21.8.1839; ÅU 4.1.1840.
19. This generalisation can be justified for instance by the following words of J.J. Tikkanen, which are also an example of his typological methods: "Im Grossen und Ganzen lebt wohl die Kunst mehr von Anleihen als von eigenschöpferischer Tätigkeit, und die Motive sind Kleingeld in diesem Leihverkehr. Sie tragen ein Gepräge, d.h. eine charakteristische, leicht erinnerliche und erkenntliche Form, sie besitzen ein Valeur, d.h. einen Schönheits- oder Ausdruckswert, dessen Kurs oder Gangbarkeit jedoch aus verschiedenen Ursachen stark wechseln kann, z.B. infolge der Brauchbarkeit, bzw. Erforderlichkeit der Motive für die dazumal üblichen Kunstaufgaben, ausserdem nach der Anschauungsweise, dem Geschmack und den Moderichtungen der betreffenden Epochen und Kunstschulen, dem Beispiele der Leitenden Meister u.s.w. Wie die Gesichten der Beistellungen lehrt, ---können vorher reichlich benützte Motive sogar während vieler Jahrhunderte aus dem Verkehr fast vollständig verschwinden, um etwa unter günstigeren Umständen aus ihrer Vergessenheit wieder aufzutauchen und eine neue Beliebtheit und Verbreitung zu erlangen." Tikkanen 1913, 1.
20. The methodology that is followed in this respect has been influenced by the following studies of Tikkanen: J.J. Tikkanen, *Die Beinstellungen in der Kunstgeschichte: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der künstlerischen Motive* (1912) and J.J. Tikkanen, *Zwei Gebärden mit dem Zeigefinger* (1913).
21. They do not at all conflict with the earlier-mentioned ideas of J.J. Tikkanen.
22. For the basic questions of art history see e.g. Holly 1984.
23. *The Oxford Companion to Art* 1971, 864. - According to the list of contributors in the work, the entry has presumably been written by Aaron Scharf. *The Oxford Companion to Art*, xi.
24. See Söderlind 1993. Solfrid Söderlind's dissertation was published while my study was translated into English. The viewpoint of her study is different from mine. Söderlind is based on M. Baxandall's discussion of intention and historical distance and W. Kemp's proposals for art historical research on perception. My study is based on hermeneutic theory.

## II EXAMINATION OF THE EXTREME FEATURES OF THE RESEARCH TOPIC

### Introduction

The division into periods used in this study is mainly based on the principles presented by Dagobert Frey in his studies on *Kunstwissenschaftlichen Grundfragen* (1972). According to these principles, periodisation is more than just an arrangement principle, because a methodical arrangement will become morphologically systematic despite the fact that it is a temporal one. However, this does not yet suffice as a concept of periodicity, because it is not a question of the physical concept of time but of historicalness. Meaningfulness comes up against periodisation if it is formed from the historical character of time.<sup>1</sup> Thus a division into periods cannot, from the point of view of art history, be merely dating according to chronological numbers.

An attempt has been made to form the sort of representative sample, presupposed by modern research methods, from the research topic and its definition.<sup>2</sup> The meter is selected according to how measurable the matter is in each case. Thus a perspective has been selected which is so wide that its elements cover a complete system based on similarity and dissimilarity. On the other hand, as synthetic and homogeneous a perspective as possible is formed both with respect to the premises of the subject and also from the temporal point of view: it contains a historical cross-section and forms a unified and systematically-manageable whole.

Significance and its classification are one of the leading criteria in the treatment of the subject in this work. Hermann Deckert writes in his study "Zum Begriff des Porträts" (1929) that, from time to time in art history, there has been an almost hysterical fear of the word significance.<sup>3</sup> This is really the case when an art history study has not been able to find both a general and a special significance in the work of art itself, in its respect to art and to the traditions and principles of art. Thus, those artists and works of art that may be important in these

respects should or at least could be chosen as the main objects of study.

In practical research work these presuppositions accentuate the interpretation and methodical central position held by the picture. At the same time they warn of the incompetence of the frame of reference of cultural-history orientated art research that concentrates only on documentation and, by analysing the material in a form other than the chronological, generates a more general significance for them.

In addition to Hermann Deckert, many other researchers have considered that a picture-oriented analysis approach and interpretation is useful. After all, one of the problems of art research is to assess the extent to which one can rely solely on the material available in the archives, and on the words, correspondence and statements of the artist. There is a danger that they easily lead the researcher astray, despite the realities clearly apparent in the picture that dispel such delusions. Thus pictures can be used only as indirect evidence.

For instance, according to John L. Ward, we cannot be really sure what the artist has wanted to express in his work, and it is not really of central importance anyway. What is really important has been presented in the work itself, either directly or obscurely.<sup>4</sup> Thus it is always possible that almost everything in the contents of a picture is quite the opposite to that which could be concluded on the basis of the historical and literary documents pertaining directly to the work.<sup>5</sup> As a starting point for a study this distinguishes the methods of art history from those of (cultural) history, and also permits a problem-orientated investigation of the basic questions of art history.

### **The social historical background of early photography as art**

If our examination is to concern the art historical perspective with respect to the laws of the market economy we must first consider the supply of and demand for portrait photographs. According to these laws, competition can be considered to be a guarantee of better quality, and a lack of it an obstacle to progress. These things considered, however, market economy rules do not always apply when talking about photography or, in general, about the arts.

During the 1840's conditions were not quite ready for the creation of that kind of competition that would have had an overall effect on developments. In the 1850's, however, the first signs of competition started to appear, and competition reached a peak during the *carte-de-visite* period in the 1860's. Demand was so great that, although the slump of the 1860's in fact reduced demand, it by no means decisively stifled the need for portrait photographs in the gradually disintegrating class society of that time. In particular, the up-and-coming, so-called middle and upper social classes ordered large numbers of portrait photographs, as surviving photographic material shows. For the lower classes, however, visits to the photographic studios were rare already before the slump years of the 1860's owing to the rather high prices.

Nevertheless, those portrait photographers who travelled around the coun-

try already in the 1840's, and continued to do so throughout the whole early period of photography, took advantage of the lack of competition. Neither they, nor their clients, were concerned about the moral aspects of practicing such a profession. Portrait photography, as much as portrait painting, served biographical interests owing to their rather clear practical function. A growing level of self-awareness was making portraiture an important field. Aspects of mundane cult art were associated with photography. People were therefore prepared to pay relatively high prices for portrait photographs. It was possible that a number of portrait photographers may have, from time to time, even become relatively wealthy during the boom period.

In order to get a firm grasp of the background, it is necessary to briefly examine the legislation governing the practice of professions in Finland, and how the concept of the free artist could attain a concrete form within such a framework. This legislation, which was derived from the period when Finland was part of Sweden, remained, despite the political differences, approximately the same in our country during the whole of the first half of the 19th century, and to some extent later on also. According to the rules and regulations governing the painters' guild prescribed as early as 1622, artists were granted special status because "counterfeiters" (portrait painters) were allowed to practice their profession to the best of their ability in Sweden-Finland, as was the case in the most important German cities.<sup>6</sup>

K.E. Steneberg and his associate R. Mähönen have noticed that the name "counterfeit" was used in many old documents in Sweden-Finland to refer to portraits of the members of famous families and royalty. Steneberg and Mähönen maintain the opinion that portrait painting would have been emphasized as an art form at the expense of others. The reason for this is, they believe, that "counterfeits" have their counterpart in nature i.e. the portrait painter creates a picture in accordance with a living model and, similarly, that a portrait has the same sort of special juridical status as documentary evidence.<sup>7</sup> If this was the case, then the portrait was held in unusually high esteem in Swedish-Finland.

Portrait painters were considered to be free artists. Thus, for instance, Mikael Toppelius (1734-1821) drew attention in his application in 1762 for appointment as the official painter of the City of Oulu to, amongst other things, the general principle that "painters and counterfeiters are considered to be free artists".<sup>8</sup> The freedom of art may have primarily meant here that they were absolved from the encumbrances levied on the members of the professions (e.g. payments and other restrictions). Despite this, the concept of free art has surely been touched at an idealistic level by the old ideas of "artes liberales" and "artes mechanicae", and the external features of art theory. In fact, photography did not conflict with either of these concepts. The portrait photographers rather naturally continued the tradition of the travelling counterfeiters, and practiced their profession in accordance with approximately the same rights as the free artists.

A new phenomenon was visible in the profession of portrait photographer in the 19th century - a greater freedom of movement from one social class to another. In the early period, people became photographers to earn money. They were, nevertheless also drawn by a calling for art, and came from a very wide range of social strata - ranging from aristocrats to artisans.

Thus the Swedish daguerreotypist Isak Robert Rossander announced that he was working in July and October 1850 in Turku.<sup>9</sup> He moved from Stockholm to work as a metalworker at the Turku machine works.<sup>10</sup> The only representative of the aristocratic world in this field was Konstantin Johan Gustaf Carl Clodt von Jürgensburg (1807-1879), who worked as a photographer in Finland. He was a baron from St. Petersburg, a major general, a wood engraver and photographer. In addition to St. Petersburg, he took photographs in Viborg and undoubtedly also in Helsinki at the beginning of the 1860's.<sup>11</sup>

The Finnish-born Carl Jacob Malmberg (1824-1895) is a good example of one of those who moved out of the professional circles to become photographers. He was a goldsmith who received a journeyman's permit in St. Petersburg in 1845. Malmberg worked as a master craftsman there from 1849. However, in the 1850's, he moved to Sweden and initially worked as a travelling panotypist, but later in 1859 established his own photographic studio. When the *carte-de-visite* came into fashion at the beginning of the 1860's, Malmberg became one of Sweden's most famous portrait photographers. According to his passport documents, Malmberg appears to have spent some time in Finland on two occasions during the 1860's to photograph professionally and to meet relations. Examples of the photographs taken in Finland are also missing in Malmberg's case, although he announced that he was taking photographs in Turku in the *Åbo Underrättelser* newspaper in 1865.<sup>12</sup>

For women the photographer's profession was one of the rare possibilities at that time to participate in working life. The first female Finnish photographer was Caroline Charlotta Augusta Becker (née Elfström, 1826-1881), who worked in Viborg from 1859 to 1862. After being widowed, Caroline Becker ran a haberdashery shop and, in connection with it, a modest photographic studio. The *Wiborg* magazine considered that photography, being a beautiful art form, was a suitable profession for women and also permitted them to make an honourable income for the family.<sup>13</sup> Unfortunately no photographs taken by Becker are known, but at the time they were considered to be likenesses.<sup>14</sup> Women could thus be successful as professional photographers. At the same time the profession had surely also removed some of the prejudice possibly levelled at women.

Sven Hirn has drawn attention to the fact that the sort of people who started working with a camera often also included those unable to perform hard physical labour and those with physical handicaps. The reason for this, Hirn believes, is that "mental work was rather effectively reserved solely for the upper classes as a choice of professions, but anybody able enough could try photography".<sup>15</sup> For instance, David Fredrik (Fritz) Hirn (1834-1910), who worked at the beginning of the 1860's in Helsinki and later on in Turku, was a deaf-mute. A wide range of people may have, and in fact did work as photographers. The position of the photographers as a group was thus rather undefined.

The photographers working as professionals in Finland can be roughly divided into two main groups. The first included those who travelled around locally, and the other those who lived permanently or for extended periods in a specific town. The dividing line between these two groups is not very sharp. Those photographers who had set up in a town also frequently had to travel rather extensively in order to obtain sufficient work - the population being too

small except the largest towns to ensure a continuous income.

The photographers of the day enjoyed travelling. For instance, Lars Johan Peldan (1827-1873) who lived in Pietarsaari, had to spend most of the year travelling around Finland. The photographers also frequently moved from town to town yet living somewhat permanently in each town during the intervening periods. The real travelling photographers were those who only paid short visits to Finland. For instance, the Danish daguerreotypist, A. Hviid, photographed for two weeks in Vaasa at the end of July and the beginning of August.<sup>16</sup>

What sort of working permits were the photographers administered in order to practice their profession? The answer appears to be rather simple - in practice the portrait photographers were considered equal to counterfeiters (portrait painters). If the photographer had a profession belonging to a specific guild, he of course had to procure a licence to practice it.

On the basis of individual cases, however, we can conclude that a portrait photographer who was continuously on the move supported himself well, apart from the winter period, on photography alone, and he did not usually have to resort to some other profession at the same time as photography. As a portrait photographer he presumably did not, in order to be able to practice the profession, have to do anything else but merely refer to the general principle concerning the rights of a counterfeiter or free artist. It is most likely that the portrait photographers were never, in practice, faced with questions of this sort. The counterfeiters had already earlier been able to practice their profession in accordance with the general principle of "to the best of their abilities", which has already been discussed earlier. In addition, photographers did not usually need to procure bourgeois rights in order to be able to work professionally in Finnish cities.

The fact that the relationship between portrait painting and portrait photography was, when viewed in a general sense, so complicated, is well illustrated by the case of the Viennese Ferdinand Rottie von Rheda. Before his arrival in Helsinki he had worked for some time in St. Petersburg as a photographer, as well as a drawing and short-hand teacher. In Helsinki von Rheda officially applied for a licence to work as a portrait painter from the Provincial Government of Uusimaa in August 1852.<sup>17</sup> This is a good example of the essentialness of "source critique" in an archive study. It was very likely, or almost certainly a question of portrait photography. First of all, no portraits painted by von Rheda in Finland are known. What is even more important is that he announced in the Helsingfors Tidningar newspaper in August and September 1852 that he was only taking portrait photographs.<sup>18</sup> Ferdinand von Rheda's application also refers to the practice concerning public entertainments. This was not considered to be a part of such activities and the application was sent back to the applicant without being considered.

On the other hand, this is also an important sign that no sharp distinction was made between portrait photography and portrait painting, in contrast to what we nowadays perhaps too easily assume. During the first half of the 19th century no distinction was drawn in Finland between decorative painters and art painters. The qualifying test for a professional artist was usually to draw a portrait head. This suggests that one measure of art was considered to be achieving

an acceptable likeness.

Photographers were a group of professionals who immediately took advantage of working outside the trade guilds in a way permitted by the liberty to ply a trade, it seems. The guild system survived in Finland for a rather long time: the liberty to ply a trade did not gain acceptance until the period 1859-1879. Up until then the trade guild system in use was that enacted during the period of Swedish rule in 1720, albeit relaxed somewhat through legislative measures. For instance, new manufacturing privilege acts and an extended indoor market system came into force in 1739 that also permitted working outside the trade guilds. The indoor market system mentioned rather loosely the trades it encompassed, and it was extended to also include the new factories and artists, whatever their title.<sup>19</sup> The daguerreotypist (photographer) was a new professional title, which still contained the concept that photography was normally understood to be a new form of art. At the same time the advent of the profession was one sign of an increase in specialization.

Many features indicate that Finland was a peripheral area for photography in the sense that it usually attracted only those unpretentious and dilettantish professionals. In fact, those prominent photographers who travelled around or were seriously considering taking up the profession, occasionally travelled through Finland as early as the 1840's on their way from Stockholm to St. Petersburg. Despite this, only a few took the trouble to photograph in Finland. For instance, the Austrian portrait photographer and daguerreotypist Joseph Weninger and his brother, the chemist, as well as the daguerreotypist Heinrich Weninger (d. 1875?), disembarked in Turku at the end of August 1843.

They arrived from Stockholm and, before starting work in June 1842, had already acquired recognition with their portrait photographs taken in Copenhagen and southern Sweden.<sup>20</sup> The brothers acquired passports in Turku for their trip to St. Petersburg.<sup>21</sup> They immediately continued their journey by land to the Russian capital, where Joseph Weninger established the studio which operated from 1843 to 1860.<sup>22</sup> The brothers presumably did not use their cameras in Turku, nor during their journey through southern Finland; at least there were no announcements in the newspapers and no surviving daguerreotypes. Nevertheless, some Finns did visit the Weninger studio in St. Petersburg to have a portrait photograph taken (Picture 1).

On the basis of his daguerreotype portrait photographs, Joseph Weninger appears to have striven for an even-toned soft hue and lighting effect. Clear-cut shadows are missing from the portraits, which shows that the daguerreotypist did not take the photograph in direct sunlight, even though it would have shortened the exposure time. Joseph Weninger also skilfully coloured and improved the portrait photographs with his paint brush. He also had the ability of a gifted portrait artist to depict the subject in a natural position.

It is indirectly clear from the above that a logical, cultural historical or biographical viewpoint develops into a rather restricted sub-area of this work. This is due to the fact that the sources used in the basic study have regulated the form and organization of the perspective more than is perhaps normally the case.

Furthermore, relatively few archive sources have been located and used in the first part of the study. Similar opportunities in the second part have been

rather restricted, even though a rather large amount of archive material typical of Ekman's and Löfgren's work has survived.<sup>23</sup> This archive material only rarely touches on the viewpoint adopted in this work. This central restriction means that only those portraits of Ekman and Löfgren which have been painted on the basis of a photograph are dealt with here. In this respect they can be considered contemporary with the early period of portrait photography. The triumphant passage of photography in the field of portraiture could not fail to have had an effect on them.

Why did the portrait photographers of the early period travel so much? Of course there are many more reasons for this than need be described in detail here.

It is well known that, starting from the 1840's, a succession of major social upheavals and changes took place in Europe. At the same time a number of new professions were created as a result of specialization. It is quite clear that the photographer's profession interested so many people that they could not all possibly earn a living in their own home region. In addition, prospects appeared especially promising in the peripheral parts of Europe. This in a way turned the photographers into cosmopolitans. For many it was just as much a question of adventure as of a profession. One major reason for the arrival of the first foreign photographers in Finland was also the social historical dream of easy money. There were, of course other factors such as the lack of competition, a desire to travel and perhaps also the fact that foreigners was generally admired in Finland.<sup>24</sup> Furthermore, portrait photographers did not usually have to apply for a permit to practice their profession and, in this respect, photography was really a question of practicing a free trade. It should also be pointed out that, since the days of King Gustav III, freedom to ply a trade had been granted in some of the new towns such as Tampere and Kuopio, and later on, also in Jyväskylä.

## **R.W. Ekman and E.J. Löfgren as contemporaries of early photography**

Artists have usually been well-travelled folk. This is evident from the periods of both R.W. Ekman and E.J. Löfgren. Of the two, Ekman was forced to follow rather closely the first steps of photography. Ekman's success at the Stockholm Academy of Art resulted in a travelling scholarship, which he used for a trip to Paris via Denmark and Holland. He stayed there from autumn 1837 to the end of 1840, at which time he left for Italy.<sup>25</sup>

In his short biography Ekman wrote about his great luck in being able to study in the "Paul de la Roche" studio in Paris.<sup>26</sup> Paul (Hippolyte) Delaroche (1797-1856) was the acclaimed leader of the "juste milieu" painting school, and also a member of the Académie des Beaux-Arts and professor at the École des Beaux-Arts. In 1838 he was asked by the Académie des Sciences to act as an art expert on the question of the potential and significance of the daguerreotype for

pictorial art. In a famous speech Dominique Francois Arago presented the opinions of Delaroche that Daguerre's process represents, as a picture form, such a degree of perfection that even the most gifted artists will be forced to study it. Furthermore, in Delaroche's opinion the graphic legitimacy and pleasantness of form demonstrated that photography did not warrant the skills of artists or, in particular, engravers.<sup>27</sup> Being so close by, these discussion must have had an effect on Ekman.

Delaroche's studio also provided Ekman with his first personal contacts with the new art form: Charles Negre (1820-1879), Henri Le Secq (1818-1882), Gustave Le Gray (1820-1862) and Roger Fenton (1819-1869) - all of whom later on also became well known photographers.<sup>28</sup> However, Ekman did not develop a career as a photographer, even during the 1860's when he experienced serious reversal of artistic and economic fortune.<sup>29</sup>

Upon seeing the first daguerreotypes, Delaroche is said to have uttered the famous words that - painting art is dead from this day on.<sup>30</sup> The phrase may illustrate the fact that the invention of photography must have been quite a shock for the naturalistic landscape artists. In fact Delaroche is known to have withdrawn from participating in public exhibitions for some years after 1837, and instead concentrated on his teaching work and painting the great fresco in the assembly room of the École des Beaux-Arts, which was finished in 1841.<sup>31</sup>

After wandering around Europe for almost seven years, Ekman made his name as a member of the academy of art in Stockholm in autumn 1844; this also included the title of royal court and historical painter. It is interesting that this honours' system does not include a special title for portrait painters. In fact portrait painting belonged to historical painting if, for instance, it was a question of a painting of royalty or a personage with a correspondingly high office.

Löfgren's first steps as a pictorial artist occurred at the same time as the breakthrough and considerable publicity associated with the initial development of photography. In 1842, at the age of seventeen, Löfgren left for Stockholm to become a student at the academy of art, where he stayed until 1850. Löfgren is known to have lived at the home of C.E. Sjöstrand in Stockholm during his student days in the 1840's.<sup>32</sup> In Sweden the invention called daguerreotype attracted rather wide attention in the press as well as in artistic circles.<sup>33</sup>

It is hard to imagine that the discourse which centred around daguerreotypes would not also have affected Löfgren to some extent. This is, however, difficult to prove. Nevertheless, Löfgren must have been interested in the pictorial impression of reality created by photography because the first part of his artistic career is touched by a story of deceptively realistic copying. Rafael Hertzberg tells that Löfgren's father, a wealthy merchant, was against his son taking up a career in art until the boy removed the key of his father's chamber from its normal position on the wall, and painted a picture of the key in its place. According to the story, Erik Johan painted it so skilfully that his father did not notice the difference and tried to get hold of the painted key. Only then, it is said, did his father become convinced of his son's gifts and gave him money for his trip to Stockholm.<sup>34</sup>

The story is a rather typical adaptation of the corresponding "trompe l'oeil" stories based on the ancient fables. Irrespective of whether the story is true or

not, it suggests that Löfgren possessed at least a hidden concept of the complete iconic reality typical of the day. In general, the most important words of the 19th century appear to be "reality" and "truth", which accentuated the concepts of naturalism, realism, objectivity, candidness etc. For instance, H.G. Evers is of the opinion that a belief in reality is in fact the feature of the 19th century that most enigmatically separates the period from the present one.<sup>35</sup> We no longer live in the same universe of the mind.

## The partnership of photography and art

General art history has always had problems in proving, on the basis of written source material, that various drawing devices (camera obscura, camera lucida, camera optica, physionotrace etc.) were employed in painting certain portrait paintings before the invention of photography. In fact Giovanni Battista della Porta, for instance, recommended the use of a camera obscura in portrait painting (Jo. Baptista Porta, *Maiae naturalis libri XX*, Naples 1589). The subject had to be placed at a suitable distance in front of the aperture of the "camera" and of course directly in sunlight.<sup>36</sup> Drawings have also survived showing how the camera obscura was used as an aid in portrait painting (Pictures 2 and 3).

The literature sources demonstrate that the camera obscura was used as an aid in scenic and landscape drawings both abroad and in Finland. There is also sufficient evidence to show that many other kinds of device were used in drawing. In fact, quite apart from these, many paintings and drawings that resemble camera pictures could have been, and presumably were, drawn without the help of a camera obscura or other device. After 1839 the artist again had camera pictures as an aid in drawing. It is much easier to demonstrate this than earlier because photographs have occasionally survived and, by simply comparing the painting and photograph, the similarity between the two is made obvious.

This field is not a new one in art history or photographic literature. The first signs of an interest in the subject can be found as early as the last century in Finland.<sup>37</sup> In general art history, too, attention has been paid, both earlier and currently, to the question. The modern art historian, Heinrich Schwarz was one of the first to become interested in this field as early as the 1930's.<sup>38</sup> Schwarz expounded a methodical model in his studies, which has since been followed and expanded. However, this work is an adaptation and application of Schwarz's method. Researchers who have more recently done work in this field include Otto Stelzer (*Kunst und Photographie*, 1966), Aaron Scharf (*Art and Photography*, 1969), Van Deren Coke (*The Painter and the Photograph*, 1972), Erika Billeter (*Malerei und Photographie im Dialog*, 1977), and J.A. Schmoll gen. Eisenwerth (*Vom Sinn der Photographie*, 1980).

The international and Nordic development of photography has been taken into account only as a background to this work primarily on the basis of the histories of photography written by Josef Maria Eder, Helmut and Alison Gernsheim, Beaumont Newhall, Susanne Bonge, Roger Erlandsen and Bjørn

Ochsner.<sup>39</sup> However, none of them concentrate on comparing the resemblances to the painting and photograph as a parallel art form.

In her important basic review "The Photo History in the Nordic countries" (1990), Solfrid Söderlind wrote the discoursing catalogue of the sources and studies of the photography in the Nordic countries in the middle of the nineteenth century. Furthermore her dissertation "Portrait Usage in Sweden 1840-1865" (1993) includes comprehensively international literature of this photography.

As such then, my aim with regard to the international and Nordic literature of the early days of photography has not been to carry out an exhaustive presentation (e.g. the Russian literature is missing). The literature easily extends over the bounds of moderation. I have therefore been forced to concentrate on the Finnish literature, because there is sufficient, easily accessible information on this subject in the foreign literature of the field.

The viewpoint opened up in this introduction is based, of course, on the principle of partnership in investigating the parallel of the painting and photograph, and the use of the photograph as an aid in the portrait paintings of R.W. Ekman, E.J. Löfgren and A. Edelfelt. It is still important to treat this technique as a means of achieving the artistic goals that were already in existence, and not at all as a challenge to the old goals. These artists are simply examples in the long chain of western artists that have, since the Renaissance (e.g. Leonardo da Vinci, 1452-1519, has an illustration of a camera obscura<sup>40</sup>), used a range of scientific, mechanical or optical devices in their drawing or painting. Gene Thornton has pointedly remarked on the use of all sorts of device, that they were fully justified devices appropriate for artistic expression.<sup>41</sup> The Finnish artists who later on employed photographs include Akseli Gallen-Kallela, Eero Järnefelt, Victor Westerholm, Juho Rissanen etc.<sup>42</sup>

## Learning to be a photographer

How did people go about learning to become a photographer? There were many autodidactics during the Daguerreotype period in the 1840's. However, mastering the chemical processes required, especially at that time and also in the case of the paper photographs of the 1850's and 1860's, so much knowledge that anybody who wanted to become a professional usually had to resort to the advice of an expert. In Finland during the 1850's, for instance, there were announcements in the newspapers from people willing to teach the new French art form.<sup>43</sup>

The aim of the training was to provide a knowledge of working techniques and the necessary materials. By following and assisting the work of an older photographer, the trainee simultaneously received instruction in the basic principles of the profession. In addition to mastering the technical and chemical processes, the pupils received or took voluntary lessons on composition and arranging the postures. Professional knowledge and skills were passed on by graduating in the profession. In point of fact the training of a photographer followed the

same sort of principles as that in other professions, especially artisans. In this respect early photography was also by modern standards a form of applied art. At that time, photography was generally considered to be art, although aesthetically of less value. In England, for instance, the first newspaper articles at the beginning of 1839 considered the invention to be an art form, and it was presented under the heading "Fine Arts".<sup>44</sup>

The possibilities for taking up a career as a photographer were not governed by imperial decree, and neither were there any practical qualifications required owing to the lack of a professional school of photographers. Training obtained through courses must have been rather sporadic and limited. Although the teaching may have provided the necessary basic knowledge, the learning and development of skills did not take place until the aspirant had entered the profession in practice. Sometimes those touring photographers who provided the basic training disappeared prematurely from the area. This happened for instance to Claes Fredrik Wasenius (1825-1905) in Turku during the first half of the 1860's: he was forced to continue his education in photography using textbooks.<sup>45</sup> Wasenius was otherwise a goldsmith who played the clarinet in an orchestra and dabbled in amateur painting.

On the other hand, those who worked as an assistant to a professional photographer received a more comprehensive training. For instance, the Swedish-Finn, Carl Adolph Hårdh (1835-1875), came to Finland in summer 1858 with the Danish photographer Emanuel Philip Philipsen with the primary task, as one who had been trained at the Stockholm Academy of Art, of colouring portrait photographs.<sup>46</sup> This is also an example of the fact that in its early days photography was rather strongly associated with art handicraft.

At the same time, however, the photograph was considered to be the drawing instrument of nature (e.g. in England the term "Pencil of Nature" was used<sup>47</sup>). This, in turn, appeared to demonstrate that the camera picture was only the result of the action of light. Despite the fact that, but also because, photography strongly restricted the creativity of the mind through its strong material and instrumental provisions, concepts of this sort portray the first signs of photography becoming a secular art cult of the period. This was accentuated by the fact that portrait photographs were more popular than portrait paintings.

The possibilities for working as a professional portrait photographer were of course dependent on commissions. Taking into account and complying with the demands of the client as regards the nature of the commissioned work thus became an integral part of portraiture. The prevailing aesthetic trends and social and spiritual ideals were thus expressed in a portrait. Because portraits were usually done on commission, implementing them can be considered to be a professional skill. This applies just as much to portrait painting as to portrait photography.

The situation is analogous, for example, to that in architecture, the practical implementation of which is almost always dependent on a commission. In general we can say that this may partly explain the lesser appreciation in earlier times awarded to portraiture and architecture than to free art.

In this work I have not performed a detailed analysis of the chemical processes used in photography during the 1840's to 1860's because there is sufficient,

easily accessible information on this subject in the foreign literature of the field.<sup>48</sup> On the other hand, the dependence of photography on technology helps us to elucidate certain properties of the photograph and to distinguish, at the basic level, its expression from portrait painting. In principle the technology utilised in photography was of course the same everywhere, although there were some innovative differences in the development and integration of new inventions later on. We will come back to the technological language of photography many times in the following chapters.

## The problem of time in photography

One special problem in photography is time. This is due to the fact that the whole photographic process has its own internal relationship to time. It is simultaneously a question of both the physical concept of time in photography and the historical character of time. For this reason it is necessary to know how photography, being a new form of picture created by technology, treats time. A temporal analysis of this sort is one of the less developed methods of art history.<sup>49</sup>

The photograph can be defined, above all, as a uniform fabrication of the concepts of time and space. This can be justified on the basis that central perspective always plays a central role in the basic formulation of the picture. However the photograph is, in addition to the central perspectiveness of this space, also connected simultaneously to the concept of time.<sup>50</sup> Thus introducing the time element into the picture form is a fundamental quality. This property of photography should always be considered crucial.

The temporal analysis of art has been investigated in a number of studies. Different points of view on the problem have been put forward e.g. by Dagobert Frey in his article "Das Zeitproblem in der Bildkunst" (1955), E.H. Gombrich in his article "Moment and Movement in Art" (1964) and Hans Sedlmayr in his work "Kunst und Wahrheit: zur Theorie und Methode der Kunstgeschichte" (1978).<sup>51</sup> The difficult problem of time has been dealt with theoretically and very extensively by Gottfried Boehm in his study "Bildnis und Individuum: über den Ursprung der Porträtmalerei in der italienischen Renaissance" (1985).<sup>52</sup>

However, the "illusory time" of photographs from the early period as an ageless type of picture indicating distance can only be distinguished as an epistemological minor intrigue in the studies on photography carried out by Walter Benjamin and Rudolf Arnheim (Walter Benjamin, *Kleine Geschichte der Photographie*, 1969b; Rudolf Arnheim, *On the Nature of Photography*, 1986a).<sup>53</sup> Photography of the early period, i.e. 1840-1870, is difficult to understand unless its relationship to time is taken into account. Thus it is essential to examine the time relationship already in this connection.

For those familiar with portrait painting, the multi-layered nature of the relationship between the artist and model is self-evident, as is the fact that the presence of the artist during the painting event explains - paradoxically in fact - the observer-like distance that develops during the sitting. However, the rela-

tionship should be investigated because it explains analogically the relationship between the portrait photographer and his subject in early photography.

During a sitting the portrait painter was a sort of outsider, because in actual fact he both saw and painted something other than a single unique moment in reality. The artist saw something in the subject that was not really present in the sitter's external being. It was clear that the subject was offering himself for examination because he too wanted to be painted in accordance with his internal being. Thus the portrait painter did not usually paint mere fleeting moments or instances on the face of his subject, although the impressionists tried to do just that, but attempted to create a complete truth from the face and being of the subject. In this respect the portrait painter strove to achieve timelessness.

In fact a sitting could be like this only in theory. According to Joanna Woods-Marsden, the models have always wanted to be "ritratto al naturale", i.e. to be depicted in accordance with nature and life, and the final result can be characterised routinely with the words "una vera effigie", i.e. a true likeness.<sup>54</sup> Moreover, the model often set his own demands on the portrait. In practice, the portrait artist was forced to "flatter" the external appearance of the subject. This was the case, even though we can quote the words of Erwin Panofsky that a portrait is in fact a direct imitation already from the meaning of the term (*ritratto ritrarre*), but despite this a portrait is occasionally derived from an intellectually and universally based idea and form.<sup>55</sup>

Analogically, the situation in portrait photography was rather similar prior to the 1880's. Contemporary photographic equipment was still too cumbersome and clumsy for it to go unnoticed. The presence of the camera affected the attitude of the subject in a photographic session that felt irreversible and final. More importantly, in those days the exposure time was so long that it sufficed to formalize and freeze the photographed posture, as well as to remove gestures and all momentary expressions from the face. This is one reason why photography of the period is referred to in this work by the name "the severe period".

Photography registered only a frozen time period, isolated from the continuum of time. It was able to capture only posed, immobile persons present in the invariability of the arrangement. Photography thus suffers from randomness, or that aspect of it which breaks up the view by temporalising it. Thus in the early days photography produced a timelessness, imposed by the conditions, in almost the same sense as portrait painting. Traditionally too, the painter strived to depict the permanent nature of his subject.

Chance and movement were only visible as an indistinct form in a photograph if the model moved momentarily into a new position. Photographers did not give such photographs to their clients for reasons of professional pride. In Helsinki in 1857, for instance, Constantin Schmidt announced that his portrait photographs were extremely accurate, and that unsatisfactory ones were not given to clients.<sup>56</sup> A corresponding announcement in Finnish was also published in Kuopio in 1865 by Aron Mönkkynen: "Only successful ones are handed over".<sup>57</sup>

These announcements and practical examples indicate that the photographers sometimes sold their clients blurred photographs. Pictures that temporalised reality in this way were considered at that time to be failures.

Nowadays we can consider that they were the precedents of certain modern experimental trends in photography.

What sort of relationship did early photography have to momentariness? One of the paradoxes of a long exposure time is that it results in the disappearance of a moving object or person. The photograph was not yet a blink of time, but the time between two instances. In Finland's oldest daguerreotype, a street scene in Turku taken by district doctor Henrik Cajander (1804-1848) on the first days of November 1842, the street is deserted (Picture 4).

The desertedness of the street is not due to the fact that the daguerreotype was taken for instance early in the morning, but instead later on in the year when there was less light. This lengthened the exposure time to a number of minutes, thus resulting in the disappearance of all moving objects. The exposure time varied considerably according to the time of year, time of day and the weather.

When the daguerreotype invention was officially unveiled at the beginning of 1839 to the members of the Institut de France, the academy of arts and science in Paris, it was mentioned that the exposure time in the winter was 10 - 12 minutes, and in the summer half that.<sup>58</sup> The daguerreotype camera used by Cajander may have had a double lens, which shortened the exposure time to a few minutes under suitable conditions. This type of camera came onto the market at the beginning of 1841.<sup>59</sup> The exposure time at the darkest time of year in Scandinavia may have been as much as half an hour, according to Pirjo Porkka's estimates for photographs of this period.<sup>60</sup>

Only people that remained completely immobile appeared on photographic plates of Finnish urban scenes taken during the middle of the 1860's. In Carl Eugen Hoffer's (1832-1893) view of Kluuvikatu Street in Helsinki (Picture 5) there are two stationary men standing on the left, but at least four almost completely or only partially vanished human figures on a sunny summer's day. An analogy of the ethereal figures in these photographs can be found in art history. They are rather similar to the staffage figures of veduta painting from the 18th century, which were called *macchiette* because they comprised inkblot-like, small flecks. The similarity is due to the fact that the most famous veduta painters utilised a camera obscura when painting their topographically accurate city views.<sup>61</sup> The camera obscuras used by Antonio Canaletto (1697-1768) and Francesco Guardi (1712-1793) are nowadays in the Civico Correr Museum in Venice. The small, fleeting flecks on the photographs and the picture angles later on provided a possible model for e.g. Claude Monet's (1840-1926) corresponding pictures of boulevard views, e.g. in the painting *Boulevard des Capucines* (1873).<sup>62</sup>

The relationship to time was also accentuatedly present in practical portrait photography. In order to take the picture the photographer removed the lens cover of the camera with one hand, and checked the exposure time on a clock in his other hand or counted it off in his head. Such a setup also enabled the photographers to take photographs of themselves. In such photographs the lens cover is usually either hidden from sight or visible in the photographer's other hand. In the self-portrait photographs taken by Ottar Sigismund Mellgren (1840-1874) and Conrad A. Ljungstedt in the middle of the 18th century the camera

and/or lens cover are on display as symbols of their profession (Pictures 6 and 7). When taking a self-portrait of this sort the photographer quickly "walked into" his own photograph, adopted a suitable posture while at the same time counting off the exposure time in his head, and then rushed back to the camera to replace the lens cover. The new photographic technology that did not really arrive until after the 1870's called for greater accuracy and an automatic shutter.

The photograph as it was in the early days of photography exceeded the momentary presence of the portrayed subject owing to the length of the exposure time and the problematic nature of the equipment. In Rudolf Arnheim's opinion this is the source of the unique timelessness of the early photographs because symbolically, like the wisdom derived from another world, it obtained its pictorial expression from the fact that all the momentary movement was automatically displaced from these picture plates.<sup>63</sup>

The relationship to time as a long stretch of the temporal dimension does not make an instant snap of the world. Most probably for this reason, Walter Benjamin proposes that a synthesis of expression, caused by the prolonged immobility of the subject, was created in early photography. This expressive synthesis is, according to Benjamin, the main reason why, in addition to their lifeless simplicity, these early portrait photographs remind the viewer of well-executed, drawn or painted portraits and consequently a longer and weightier impression than the more recent photographs. The method produced a picture of what the subject was, not in a fleeting moment, but over a long period of time. In that long exposure time the subject grew and developed into a picture.<sup>64</sup> Everything in these photographs of the early period was intended to be permanent, not temporary. A relationship of this sort to time is one of the factors which opens up the viewpoint of this study into a uniform whole.

In contrast, the later "snapped" photograph is quite the opposite because it is a pictorial response to the changeable nature of the surrounding world. While photography during the last decades of the 19th century was able to capture fleeting meanings of style, it started to touch up the subjects in a way that, in point of fact, was completely new in the history of art. Photographers strove for simultaneousness.

But some analogies of this can be found from the history of art. If the artist painted or rapidly drew a single moment in time, it was not always a question of a conventional portrait in the true sense of the word. The impression of a natural stance or expression, captured quite by chance, was almost never achieved without extended deliberation both during the impressionist period and even earlier (e.g. in Frans Hals's (1580/85-1666) painting the "Jolly Toper" from 1627). Often that which at first glance appears to be pure fortuity in a portrait painting is, in actual fact, the result of carefully deliberated striving for a specific effect.

The relationship of the photograph to time changed in the 1870's when the snapshot photograph became a possibility. Snapshot photographs contain the imperfection of an instant in time that connects them in a modern fashion to the association of time. This relationship is simultaneousness. In the 1870's the portrait artists often moved from a stiff, classifying posed basic position to a more every-day manner of expression. The results were sometimes quite momentary like those in a photograph. Similarly, the uniform illumination of the subject

sometimes took on an almost ephemeral form.

Looked at from the perspective of this study, the apparent dichotomy of the photographic styles of the impressionist period may reflect these relationships to time. On the one hand there was the solid mastery and restfulness of Édouard Manet's (1823-1883) art, and on the other the abandonment of the precise, instantaneous depiction in the paintings of Claude Monet (1840-1926).

As far as the content of portraits in the 1870's is concerned, Meyer Schapiro is of the opinion that portrait painting became a superficial phenomenon that had only a little or no internal life at all, and which was, at the most merely an attractive external form. If it is claimed that portrait art degenerated during the impressionist period, the reason being not the challenge of the photographer, but rather a new figurative concept of man.<sup>65</sup> Man's new iconic conception, as proposed by Schapiro may, in my opinion however, be associated with the modern time relationship of the picture. Schapiro did not present any answers to the problems of this type, but they are to some extent verifiable - in contrast to what Schapiro guessed - via a circuitous route, i.e. through photography.

The above characterises a long period in the duration of time as the symbol of pictorial expression of the first period of photography, and delimits the momentary simultaneousness as a later generic feature of photography.

## **The technological and formalistic point of view**

There is also an internal disruption of conventions evident in the relationship between portrait painting and portrait photography. Despite the fact that an attempt was usually made in the early days of photography to conform to conventions, and to end up in unrefinedness and dissimilarity, the aims were nevertheless often external rather than analogical in the creation of resemblance and character. This can be seen, in the international style which gave photography a technological dependence, as historically the first symptom of an unstable relationship between painting art and photography.

As technology evolved people's attitude towards handicrafts became uncertain because, historically speaking, photography was the first technological form of art in the specialised meaning of the term. For these reasons the new technological period could, right from its infancy, be distinguished from the preceding periods. No novelty can, however, be completely new. A novelty, being something created for man by man, must be based on principles similar to those of the old.<sup>66</sup> Portrait photography clearly reflected the fact that photographers had taken into account the traditions of portrait painting, its picture genres and typical arrangements. Many photographers had been portrait painters, and many had received an art academy training.

For the purposes of a formalistic analysis, the portrait photograph can be defined on the basis of its form and basic structure as a flattened and shortened embodiment in central perspective, optically encoded onto a surface. In contrast,

a portrait painting can be considered to be a selected pictorial entity permeated with perspectives of different meaning. Being a central-perspective picture form, the portrait photograph is a sort of compromise product in which the physical reality of the rays of light produce a seemingly optical picture of the subject. This can take place as a joint effort between the subject and the photographer, both of whom have only limited possibilities to design, arrange and make choices. In simpler words, the basic structure of a typical photograph mainly consists of an arrangement performed in central perspective using optical hints and approximations. In such a case, the automatic paradigmaticism of free art proper is lacking.

In contrast, every line of the pencil or coloured stroke of the brush in a drawing or painting is, in itself, a purposeful assertion made by the artist about form, space, similarity, dissimilarity, light, hue, tone etc., and as such they would have been interpreted. If photographs are approached in the light of the expectations inspired by the study of hand-made pictures, then the picture produced by the camera may be a disappointment. The forms of the photographs appear to be choked in black, the volumes can be reached only with difficulty or not at all, the character and direction of the light are often uncertain, adjacent objects are neither clearly together nor apart, and the details do not appear to belong to a uniform whole etc. (Pictures 8, 9 and 10). But, as a technique, the photograph can, at its very best, be precise in its ability to reproduce everything to an accuracy permitted by the optical creation of a picture as a mechanical record of light (Pictures 11 and 12).<sup>67</sup>

It is not sufficient merely to know how a picture produced by technology differs from a hand-made picture. It is just as important to take into account how the new device treats those questions which are, or which have been considered to be, the timeless and unchangeable questions of artistic creation: interpretation, the problem of form, the essence of art, the function, significance, development, symmetry, the registering and revision of a visual impression, pure sight, characterology, ramification into different genres etc.

Such a combination of historiographical and systematic questions is, in portrait photography, almost inevitably associated with the problem and requirements of the portrait as a genre. An investigation carried out through other genres of portraiture is not based on meaningless general concepts, but on the form the pictures contain via the information and pictorial concepts they provide. As is the case with most of the basic questions of art history, they also need to be distinguished from each other. Theoretically speaking, they illuminate the modern historiographical treatment and criticism of sources used in this study, which differs from the form of knowledge created by positivism in the 19th century that believed, and may still believe today, that any past information or record whatsoever can be considered important.

## The pictorial "truth" of photography

The proximity of art and technology is apparent in the choice of words used by researchers in characterizing the new demands set on depiction or photography itself. Heinrich Schwartz, for instance, uses the following forms of expression: "representation of scientifically verisimilitude" and "the mathematically exact copying of nature".<sup>68</sup> Rudolf Arnheim uses the following characterizations of photographs as examples: "the manifest presence of authentic physical reality" and "the optical projection of the material objects it portrays."<sup>69</sup> These characterizations refer to the pictorial "truth" of the photograph. They express a desire to verify truth through art and science.

According to Heinrich Schwarz, the verification of this concept was produced in photography, because the striving for "truth", the demonstrable truth created from the synergism of art and science, had been implemented through the invention of photography.<sup>70</sup>

In this connection it should be stressed that it is not merely a question of the truth of the concept, which would only be a philosophical problem, but in my mind a figuratively feasible truth, which is some sort of approximation and not an exact repetition. Of the modern technological methods used to produce pictures, not even the hologram is able to produce more than the authentic optical truth in the form of an apparent complete likeness with the outer surface of the object.<sup>71</sup>

The truth of a technological picture is different from that of painting art, about which Hans Lipps speaks. According to Lipps, people cannot be completely depicted in a picture, but merely characterized. However, the characterization of a person does not mean portraying their character, but instead the recognition of it, i.e. making it visible. The eyes of a subject should also speak to the observer. In such a case the natural veracity of the model can be seen in the truth of the drawing, by which Lipps means the validity of the interpretation. However, the character of the subject also finds an explanation in the opticalness that produces the recognisableness of the subject.<sup>72</sup>

The pictorial truth of painting art could, according to this, be achievable through characterization. The picture is thus able to portray, in addition to the attainable truth, also imaginary truths and possible universes of the mind.

## Methodology of the interpretation

"Methodology" is, etymologically speaking, "the road to knowledge"; from the viewpoint of this study therefore, the road to the knowledge of portrait art. In this work it takes place through interpretation. Interpretation that, in a way, is based on the dialogue between portrait painting and portrait photography, and between the observer and the picture. In addition, an attempt is also made to

create an interpretation of the social form of the photograph.

When we look at a portrait, photograph or painting, it may evoke the idea that every day we all practice physionomia and reading faces. We see the portraits face to face and eye to eye.

This dialogue can be defined by looking for instance at three portraits: Friedrich Mebius's portrait photograph of M.A. Castrén (1851), R.W. Ekman's portrait painting of M.A. Castrén (1852) and E.J. Löfgren's portrait painting of M.A. Castrén from 1866 (See Pictures 90, 89 and 108).

How does the observer experience the silent message of these portraits? How has the shaping of the central perspectiveness of the photograph affected the portrait photograph, and can it be seen in the portrait painting? What sort of evidence is there to suppose that the observer can achieve a dialogue which shows, sufficiently objectively, what the observer believes he sees or understands from these portraits or from portraits in general? Is it true that we see a portrait photograph as a mechanical copy or recording of an encounter taking place in time and space? Is it in our nature to look at portrait paintings in a different way because they are the creation of the artist's hand since, after all, there are certain differences in the picture content of the forms produced on the emulsion of the camera lens compared to the outlines of the artist's brush?

An attempt is made in this work to throw more light on these questions, but not to solve them finally, because the dialogue between the observer (receiver) and the portrait, and that between the portrait photograph and the portrait painting, are part of the methodical basis of this study.<sup>73</sup>

There is little chance of bringing this dialogue to a final conclusion. The possibilities of explaining and interpreting the portrayed people as pictures appear to be unbounded. Rudolf Arnheim says too that the expression of an observation that penetrates everywhere makes the arts possible.<sup>74</sup>

There is no uniquely binding, pictorial relationship between the subject and the portrait of the subject. This cannot be exhaustively explained as a reciprocal image or reflection (of a mirror), but instead it is more of a problem. An attempt to carry out an analysis of a portrait and its interpretation thus presupposes the rejection of a sandpit game comprising only one method or theory.

For instance, according to Gottfried Boehm, an interpretation also has to increase our degree of understanding, because interpretation requires the sort of canon which is open to all the methodical drafts as long as they serve only the understanding of knowledge.<sup>75</sup> Thus the use of all available methods is restricted by the fact that some of them merely catalogue the information without interpreting it.

We should remember that certain hermeneutic researchers, such as Hans-Georg Gadamer and Gottfried Boehm, did not want to present any scholastic rules or regulations, or to suggest any normative criteria about how to interpret a work. In his famous letter, Emilio Betti writes to Gadamer that in fact he does not propose any methods, but merely describes that which exists, instead of starting from that which should be or will be.<sup>76</sup>

The above indicates that the theoretical basis of this work has its point of contact in hermeneutics; a few general impressions have also been adopted in picture analysis from the book by Oskar Bätschmann "Einführung in die

Kunstgeschichtliche Hermeneutik" (1988a) and from the article "Anleitung zur Interpretation: Kunstgeschichtliche Hermeneutik" (1988b).<sup>77</sup> None of the hermeneutic theories or methods have been considered as normative or holding the position of a dogma. The centrality and philosophical aesthetics of the historical minor sciences have also been intentionally avoided.<sup>78</sup>

The character of this study places it in the class of art history. This is partly due to the fact that the work is not methodically coherent, but different types of research method have intentionally been applied. That which has already been said and will be stated in the following are clear indications of this. One could initially claim that the different methods are to some extent at least eclectic, and in this respect somewhat inter-related. They appear to be related to one another and they all possess considerable merit but, despite this their main stress may differ. The methods used in opening up the perspective of this work are explained in the following.

The linguistic (semiotic) method remains one of the marginal areas of this work. The portrait photograph or portrait painting is, in other words, not treated as a sign, and neither is any standard significance net spread over it. This may deserve an explanation because rather many photographic researchers select semiotics, and a couple of structuralistic semiotic studies are included in the source material. The reason for this is that the perspective is associated to some extent with the message of Rudolf Arnheim that the standardized nomenclature of the linguistic picture and word sign language pertaining to such matters is nothing but the outer skin of knowledge, and reduces the message of the picture into a pitiful list of concepts and accepts the impoverished practical replies of the ordinary man in the street as a prototype of human vision.<sup>79</sup>

This indicates that a consensus has not been reached, and hardly even striven for in these basic questions. There appear to be incompatible conflicts prevailing between the different methods and theories, which do not appear to be merely rhetorical.

Despite all the problems, a rather wide range of methods and theories has been utilised as a part of the internal and external structure of the work as well as my own thoughts. This multi-layered perspective is always present in the background as a commitment in the interpretation.

Of course, the methods and theories can be used to clarify the way in which the portraits are examined and their grounds of comparison. They offer logical analysis schemes for this purpose. However, no method or theory is followed in student-like fashion, even though it would be preferable. Thus this work occasionally bypasses the discourse of a modern art historical study. According to this, interpretation and the associated understanding and explanation are of central importance.<sup>80</sup> This is the reason why the starting points in the reading of a picture and the preconditions set on its interpretation are examined in the following chapters.

## The forms of picture structure as the starting point in reading a picture

It is fully justifiable claim that a portrait painting and a portrait photograph represent an excellent arena when attempting to elucidate what makes a portrait interpretively a likeness, because it is possible to recognise in each of them reverberations of the other. Despite the fact that they belong to different types of expression genre, their synaesthetics contain relations influencing each other via the concepts of expression, the pictorial world and the subject and object. Painting and photography are, being the extreme forms of portraiture, representative of both edges of the problem of likeness, which thus stresses the relationship, dependence and independence between them. This contradiction is built up on the metaphorical nature of the painting and the picture repertoire of photography, on the concrete technologically-coded photograph and, on the other hand, on the existential metaphorical nature of the painting, and culminates in the use of the photograph as a tool in portrait painting.

A modern rhetorical method is used as a tool in the analysis of likeness. Its partial utilisation introduces two factors, the picture and the observer.<sup>81</sup> Of course it is the observer who ultimately defines the likeness. The tone of this rhetorical viewing experience can be at the individual level, such as in a photograph, or subjectively treated as in a painting. Thus we can approach the idea that the goal of photographic individuality and likeness gradually diverges from the view that only a personally and generally accepted expression can produce an authentic portrait. At the same time there is a break from the anonymous inevitability of the style of the photograph, and the picture changes into a sovereignly interpretable, rhetorically-masked artefact.

The intuitive perspective has been rejected in the interpretation of the portraits dealt with in this study. This is due to the practical experience that the first impression one gets of a picture is not usually worth trusting; one should wait for some time and then look at the picture again, because intuition alone is not usually correct or lasting. Although the observer at the first viewing can have an intuitively-based experience (even a rush of feelings) in the presence of the work, there is hardly sufficient evidential material to support such elementary objectivity of the first observation - or in a way pre-experience - an interpretation of any kind.

What then remains as a sufficient or essential precondition for the interpretation, which in point of fact is also the reading of the picture? When formulated like this, the question suggests that the analysis and interpretation of pictures bring forward, over and over again, the problem of how to read pictures. In this work the stress is placed on the properties associated with the form of the picture. At the same time we touch on Rudolf Arnheim's epistemological concept of the indispensable nature of form in the observer's viewing experience ("Form is indispensable").<sup>82</sup> In point of fact Arnheim has expressed the same idea theoretically in his study "Entropy and Art" (1971). He states that order is an indispensable precondition for whatever man has to understand. --- Order makes it possi-

ble to concentrate on that which is similar and that which is different, that which belongs together and that which is to be segregated.<sup>83</sup>

Thus an attempt is made to transfer the pictorial structure forms of the photograph into a form readable from the text. However, these forms are of course not theoretical statements, but instead the structural order inside the photograph that can be read. Thus it is a question of some sort of close-up examination. This must be stressed, because talking about reading a picture is in fact appropriate, but at the same time dangerous, from the point of view of the investigative explication of this work. This hints at linguistic analogues, according to which the picture can be reduced into a semiotic sign language for the purpose of "reading". Therefore it is necessary to perform a segregation.

How then do we "read" a picture and what makes a picture readable (i.e. also interpretable)? In this work we again have to turn to Rudolf Arnheim's theoretical concept of information. He writes that a visual observation is seeing in accordance with the models that organize those forms in the optical projection reflected in the eyes. These optical forms are the visual concepts which make a picture readable. They are like keys which lead the viewer into the extremes of the complexity of the picture.<sup>84</sup> In contrast to what the semiotics believe, we are thus not prisoners of language. Pictorial art is able to produce other possible worlds, and to attain its own truth.

The central component of the picture repertoire of a portrait photograph is the memory that was produced in the early days of photography in the form of a series of similar types of encounter, the subject often acting as the director of the images he wanted in the photograph. Right from the start the photographer and subject separated the picture into different levels. In fact the subject, being the "I" of the picture, regulates the character of the pictorial expression (Pictures 13 and 14) and the photographer remains as a spectator, even though he can affect the arrangement and pedagogy of the picture. The fantasy world forming the character in the photograph created by the photographer and subject, either jointly or separately, easily turns, however, into its negation of the circle of the void; as if there was nothing else in the photograph but the interpretable void or the external features of the model.

At first sight this generic disillusion of the photograph appears to strip the portraits into gloomy nothingness. The photograph thus does not seem to offer a reply to the interpretation, but instead an easily read, illuminated parallel register of the depicted subject. In portrait painting, on the other hand, it mediates this to a higher level than the photograph, but at the same time it is the abstract truth: knowledge without understanding, which is like the solution of a dreamed-of enigma which, on awakening, evaporates in the mind. Many writers have for long seen the creation of this truth, "the language of the soul", as the most important task of portrait painting.<sup>85</sup> Only then was the portrait seen as an expression of the real mother tongue of a creative artist. The modern aesthetic experience also sometimes appears to approach the same concept of the virtual ostensibility of the picture surface.<sup>86</sup>

Art history has often been said to be a significant branch of art that is simultaneously both the depicter of happenings in art and their interpretation. Attention has often been drawn to this.<sup>87</sup> The interpretation should, at the same

time, also be a comparative one. Hans Sedlmayr states in his study "Kunst und Wahrheit", that interpretation of the works of pictorial art should, like all interpretations, utilise comparative methods, because only through comparison can it be shown whether the object under study forms an adequate perspective, and whether it concerns the whole group of similar types of work, or whether the examination is too general, too small for drawing distinctions.<sup>88</sup>

Nowadays it is generally accepted that, in the history of art or whatever branch of history, there is no such thing as mere facts. This is not applied deconstruction, but it emphasizes that the interpretation of a work of art is, in a way, a continuous process between the general system of expression and the individual viewing event, as well as their interaction. In this we can also see the historical definition as the changing stratum of the significance and interpretation of works of art taking place over time. This may show, a little too clearly perhaps, that attempts to consolidate a single, final interpretation of a work of art are already doomed, because there is always something in a work of art that cannot be completely resolved. The starting point of this concept differs from the interpretation aiming at a final significance shown by Hans-Georg Gadamer. According to him, there is an unsolved message, but in principle also a solvable one, that explains its significance in every picture.<sup>89</sup>

### **The form component of the picture content as a precondition of the interpretation**

Portraiture was the most popular category of photography from the 1840's up until the 1870's, and it retained its position throughout almost the rest of the century. However, by the time the century came to a close the hundreds of thousands of portrait photographs that had survived appeared to have lost their significance and almost, one might venture, their human interest. When the subsequent generations looked at them they considered the portrait photographs to be, in most cases, stiff, heavy and pompous. It appeared that the possibilities and equipment for verifying and understanding them historically would have disappeared. This is especially applicable in the case of the early period of photography from 1840-1870. It is easy to find writers, both abroad and in Finland, who have disputed the significance of the portrait photographs of just this period.<sup>90</sup>

One distinct characteristic of photography is that, in most cases, the delight which is experienced from looking at photographs does not in fact develop until afterwards. In this respect the artistic experience frequently appears different from that of painting art, although fresh interpretations may often change earlier-held opinions concerning the significance and value of a painting. A pictorial art expert is normally more selective in his delights when looking at a painting for the first time compared to the situation when he is confronted with a photograph. One can be somewhat selective when looking at photographs, but not all photographs can be considered or evaluated in quite the same sense as

paintings. The portrait photographs of the early days of photography can be perhaps understood when we keep this in mind.

Of the modern portrait art researchers, Richard Brilliant and David Halle came, in 1987, to the same conclusion that portrait painting is a deceptively accessible genre.<sup>91</sup> This applies even more to photography, which at first sight may obviously appear to be a technically produced, recordable form (of art). It can be mentioned here that Brilliant has tried, in his study "On Portraits" (1971), to adapt the elements of semiotics to the interpretation of portraits. What is interesting is the idea that the perspective between the artist and the viewer should be reinterpreted as a transfer of the perspectives of the mechanism of the message from the subject, via an intermediary, to the receiver.<sup>92</sup> According to Gottfried Boehm too, it would appear that present-day portrait art research, in addition to material-oriented research, has started to create new means of interpretation.<sup>93</sup>

This study aims to include the analysis technique in question. This approach poses advantages as much as disadvantages. It has resulted in problems in restricting the work and in summarising the treatment of the topic, which in this sense would not necessarily have come to the fore at all if a more unilateral means of analysis had been employed. For this reason, however, the aim has already become so essential that one important part of the internal interest of a portrait, and also often one ground for the significance from the point of view of general art history, is the changes brought about in these by time, and the way in which they exceed the intentions and purposes of their creators. Analogically this concerns art in general, too.

On the other hand, if we concentrate solely on archive and basic research that involves listing the materials only, we would be somehow suggesting that it is the only important information or - even worse - the only progressive information. In practice this would probably set some obstacles on the interpretation and the comparative treatment. For this reason perhaps, rather little attention is paid in research to the fact that the picture itself is already an original source of material information. One does not learn and obtain information about works of art using one approach only. It is, at the same time, an epistemological question about the bases and significance of informative art. Although such problems inevitably arise, it would be nicer to avoid them than to try to take them into account.

What is important is that it is not a question of some specific theory or methodological dogma of interpretation, but rather the preconditions of the interpretation. This central limitation is supported by the message of Hans Sedlmayr that art history as a science is by no means a methodological dogma of interpretation, but learning about the preconditions of interpretation.<sup>94</sup> It is interesting to note that in Sedlmayr's work "Kunst und Wahrheit", one of the main chapters "Über das Interpretieren von Werken der Bildenden Kunst" is based primarily on the four hermeneutic canons of interpretation put forward by Emilio Betti.<sup>95</sup> In this work, on the other hand, the form elements of the content, the "empty contents", are interpreted and the treatment as such is therefore the analysis of forms.

Overall, the purpose of this and the earlier discussion has been to explicate

by separating and comparing the limitation of the theme and perspective into a single entity. At the same time an attempt has been made to form a uniform picture and framework for the study. The recurring question of the relationship between painting art and photography which has rather rarely been presented in studies on the photograph based on the perspective of art history, is as follows: Is photography only a product of science and technology, without any serious justification for inclusion in the group of arts?<sup>96</sup>

In this study investigation of the iconic properties of the photograph is associated with this question. It also directs attention to the reality relationship of photography. It should still be stressed that combining interpretation and an analysis of forms with the significance of the picture has the result that, in the following chapters, it is occasionally difficult, if not impossible, to immediately see directly with the theory in the background. This difficulty is due to the multi-layeredness of this inquiry. Underneath every "ordinary" art historical interpretation there is always something "extra", the perspective outlined in this main chapter.

## REFERENCES

1. Frey 1972, 46.
2. A demand for a sample representing this has been proposed in many theoretical studies. - See e.g. Barthes 1964, 170-172.
3. Deckert 1929, 279-280. "...mittlerweile fast hysterischen Angst vor Wort und Begriff Bedeutung."
4. Ward 1971, 20.
5. This does not however refer to intentional delusions, although talking about them might be heuristically beneficial. Intentional delusion as a term has come into use through the studies of Monroe C. Beardsley on writers' intentions, see especially Beardsley, 1970. - They have been applied to the visual arts by e.g. John L. Ward, see Ward 1970, 20-22.
6. Attention has continuously been paid to this statute in many studies. The most recent researcher to publish the most important section of the regulation in Finland is Jukka Ervamaa. The section in question goes: "Dock såsom mäst i alle förnemste Städher i Tysklans skeer, Måge och Conterfejere sitt arbete idka så som the bäst kunne,---." Ervamaa 1977, 47, reference 34. See also the literature in the note. - See and compare Reitala 1974, 4-5. Also Looström 1887, 149-150.
7. Steneberg 1955, 18-19; Mähönen 1975, 75. "effter thes lefwandes mönster (efftersyn)".
8. Mähönen 1975, 75.
9. ÅT 23.8.1850; ÅT 18.10.1850.
10. Rossander arrived in Finland from Stockholm in May and returned to Sweden in March 1850. S. Hirn 1972, 97. - See also the passport documents of the Governor-General's Office from 1850. VA.
11. Konstantin Clodt von Jürgensburg was Arvid Järnefelt's maternal grandfather. The writer states that his parents lived in the Neitsytniemi quarter in Viborg. It thus appears possible that K. Clodt von Jürgensburg lived and had a studio in the house in question in summer 1862. The Vauxhall Baths, which were visited by many wealthy people from St. Petersburg, were located closeby. The photographer also used an original signalling system: a red flag was raised on the tower of printer Cederwall's house whenever the photographer was ready to receive clients. The baron also owned a highly regarded photographic studio in St. Petersburg. He also appears to have been working in Helsinki in summer 1861 in the house of auditor Grahn (on P. Kylpylätie Road); a note lacking source references in the picture collection of Åbo Akademi (ÅAB). See Otava 4.7.1862; SPZ 10.10.1865; Järnefelt 1960, 47. Also S. Hirn 1970, 100; S. Hirn 1972a, 46.
12. ÅU 10.6.1865; Hemmingsson 1970, 28-30; S. Hirn 1972, 76. The Åbo Underrättelser' announcement is the only about C.J. Malmberg's photography and, in this respect, misleading because the surname is written as Mannberg. Rather typical mistakes of this sort can be explained by the fact that the texts of the announcement were of course written by hand. Information about Malmberg's stay in Finland is based on S. Hirn's statement: "On the basis of passport documents, M. appears to have visited Finland for two summers during the 1860's, both to work and to visit relations." S. Hirn 1972, 76. - Malmberg also took photographs of Raasepori Castle because a drawing made by Olof Arborelius on the basis of Malmberg's photograph was published in the Ny Illustrerad Tidning in 1866, 411.

13. There is information about the activities of Caroline Becker in the Wiborg and Otava newspapers: "Det är en för fruntimmer lika passande som vacker konst, att egna sig åt, för att bidraga och möjliggöra sin familjs bergning ock uppehälle. Det första modiga försöket på denna bana är derföre lika hedrande som egnadt med lifligt deltagande af allmänheten." Wiborg 20.7.1859; Wiborg 19.8.1859; 25.6.1860; Otava 13.6.1862. For her other activities see Wiborg 16.11.1859; Wiborg 3.12.1860.
14. Wiborg 20.7.1859. "...utmärka sig genom en träffande likhet."
15. S. Hirn 1972, 32. - About Fritz and Maria Hirn's work see S. Hirn 1972, 54. F. Hirn's wife Maria (née Klingenberg) was also a deaf-mute. Maria Hirn had studied painting under B.A. Godenhjelm and R.W. Ekman. After her husband became a teacher at the deaf and dumb school, Maria Hirn's time was gradually taken up by the photographic studio in the latter half of the 1860's. F. Hirn held the post up until 1897 when the school was closed.
16. Vasabl. 25.7.1857. - See also Appelgren 1948, 10.
17. See also S. Hirn 1972, 97. - Applications register of the Uusimaa Provincial Office 1852. The application is dated 20.8.1852.
18. HT 21.8.1852; HT 1.9.1852. - In St. Petersburg F. von Rheda gave lessons in e.g. shorthand, but there is no mention in the announcements that he would have painted portrait paintings, although they do mention portrait photographs. SPZ 8.3.1851; SPZ 1.8.1851; SPZ 12.4.1852.
19. "...andra fabriker och konstnärer, af hvad namn de vara må". Quotation according to Ervamaa, Ervamaa 1977, 14. Here and in the following, the treatment of the manufacturing privilege statutes and indoor-market orders follows that of Ervamaa; Ervamaa 1977, 44, reference 11, see also the literature sources in the reference. Cf. Looström 1887, 149-150.
20. S. Hirn 1970, 97, reference 2; S. Hirn 1972, 16. - Rolf Söderberg and Pär Rittsel, in their work "Den svenska fotografins historia" (1983), have drawn attention to the words of J. Weninger that achieving a good end result in daguerreotype portraits did not require anything more than "...utomordentliga kunskafer och stor erfarenhet i kemi (på grund av den komplicerade användning av klor och jod, kvicksilverångornas utnyttjande och plåtarnas fixering i saltsurtnatron), utan även en skicklig porträttnålarens konstfärdighet för anvisa den sittande en karaktärisk hållning"; Söderberg and Rittsel 1983, 16. Söderberg and Rittsel write the name of the photographer brothers as "Weninger". - J. Weninger visited Finland as a touring portrait painter in 1851-1853; see M. Hirn 1936, 48-49. - According to the passport documents in the State Archives, the portrait painter Joseph Weninger and the chemist Heinrich Weninger arrived in Turku from Stockholm in August 1843; passport documents from the Governor-General's Office Ha 148:I (1843), VA. - See also Söderlind 1993, 176-178.
21. S. Hirn 1971, 70, reference 6.
22. For information about J. Weninger's studio in St. Petersburg see: SPZ 9.10.1843; SPZ 17.10.1843; SPZ 31.3.1844; SPZ 15.5.1860; S. Hirn 1972, 16.
23. The most important overall source is the Ekman Collection in the National Board of Antiquities and Ancient Monuments. Other important sources are the correspondence concerning R.W. Ekman in the manuscript collection of Helsinki University Library (HYK) and the manuscript collection in the Åbo Akademi Library (ÅAB); see also Nervander 1900a, 247-280. B. Hintze, and J. Ervamaa who most probably agrees with him, consider it possible that Ekman's letters, diplomas and other documents were burnt following his death (Hintze 1926, 234, reference 22; Ervamaa 1981, 156, reference 3). The information is based on an undated communication to Emil Nervander from Ekman's housekeeper, Mathilda

Alm, on the death of the artist in 1873 (Nervander's notes, Ekmania, MV). - E.J. Löfgren's correspondence, which is used in this study, is located in the letter archives of the Ateneum Art Museum (Ateneum). Another important source is Emil Nervander's "Bidrag till artisten Erik Johan Löfgrens biografi " (Nervander 1900b). See also Estlander 1921.

24. This conclusion is justified on the basis of e.g. A.F. Skjöldebrand's (d. 1834) experiences of his drawing tour through Finland. Kerkko Hakulinen emphasizes how Skjöldebrand in his memoirs is still vexed that the bearers trusted the Italian Guiseppe Acerbi over him. Skjöldebrand considered that the reason for this was that the admiration for foreigners in Swedish-Finland was quite a national feature. See Hakulinen 1986, 23.
25. Hintze 1926, 40-41, 57-75. - For Ekman's earlier recognitions see Hintze 1926, 22-24, 34, 39.
26. Autobiography, in the letter Ekman to B.O. Schaumann dated 30.11.1865, Ateneum. Ekman states (about himself) that he was "vild, dyrkade Bacchus och Venus till men för Minerva".
27. Arago 1984, 22-23.
28. See for these e.g. H. and A. Gernsheim 1969, 190, 192, 189, 191; 179, 182, 186, 191, 201, 264-265, 282, 301; 176, 179-180, 181-182, 302, 335; 232, 249-250, 254. - See and compare. Gernsheim 1982, 251, 254, 259, 240, 251, 254, 215, 221, 225, 210, 221, 223, 228, 254.
29. For more details about Ekman's misfortunes in the middle of the 1860's, see Hintze 1926, 172-177. - In his letter to B.O. Schaumann, Ekman mentions that Fredrik Cygnaeus was the first to drive him from the temples of art: "...det Bunkalag, som systematisk med - hvad jag funnit - en viss C-s i spetsen, vill vräka mig ur konstens tempel." Ekman to B.O. Schaumann 27.12.1865, Ateneum.
30. This is very frequently repeated information, but is hardly likely to be true in the sense that it is generally understood. See Stelzer 1966, 29: "Er (Delaroché) hatte diesbezügliche persönliche Erfahrungen gemacht. --Wir wissen heute, dass Delaroché zu schwarz gesehen hatte."
31. E.g. see Hintze 1926, 62.
32. Tolvanen 1952, 29.
33. See Lagercrantz 1967, 18-23; Söderberg and Rittsel 1983, 20-21. "Daguerres uppfinning var inte enbart något som intresserade artister och äventyrare. Som en viktig naturvetenskaplig upptäckt intresserade den i hög grad tidens vetenskapsmän."
34. Hertzberg 1883, 28.
35. Evers 1970, 13.
36. Use of the Camera obscura (Latin = dark room) is described in Chapter XVII, paragraph 6 of the book by Porta; Porta 1589. - This information is derived from Helmut and Alison Gernsheim's work "The History of Photography"; H. and A. Gernsheim 1969, 21.
37. This refers to the first discussions of the use of photographs as an aid in Finland. See Käyhkö 1986b, 112-.
38. Heinrich Schwarz, David Octavius Hill, der Meister der Photographie (1931).
39. Eder 1978; H. and A. Gernsheim 1969; Gernsheim 1982, Gernsheim 1988, Newhall 1982, Bonge 1980, Erlandsen 1982, Ochsner 1949, Ochsner 1986. Söderlind 1990, Söderlind 1993.

40. The Notebooks of Leonardo da Vinci 1938, 243. Leonardo's description of the pictures produced by the Camera obscura are interesting: they "...will actually seem painted upon the paper".
41. Thornton 1986, 94. "It was also, of course, a valid means of artistic expression in its own right." - Gene Thornton has presented, in his article "The place of Photography in the Western Pictorial Tradition: Heinrich Schwarz, Peter Galassi and John Szarkowski" (1986), a very severe criticism of Galassi's and Szarkowski's concepts of photography and its position in western pictorial traditions. In particular Peter Galassi's work "Before Photography: Painting and the Invention of Photography" (1981) proves, in Thornton's analysis, to have ill-founded conclusions. Galassi worked on this under the leadership of John Szarkowski, whose work "The Photographer's Eye" (1966) is, in turn, in Thornton's opinion misleading in the fundamental problems. Gene Thornton writes: "...Galassi, working under the direction of John Szarkowski, used Schwarz's ideas and illustrations to support a view of photography and its place in the western pictorial tradition that was not Schwarz's but Szarkowski's, and in such a way that Schwarz's contribution could not be clearly grasped and understood." Thornton 1986, 85; Szarkowski 1966; Galassi 1981. See this discourse, Thornton 1986, 85-98.
42. See "The use of photographs as an aid by A. Edelfelt, E. Järnefelt and J. Rissanen: Käyhkö 1986a, 166-170; Käyhkö 1986b, 84-122.
43. HT 26.5.1858. "Underwisning i Photographie. Grundlig och noggrann underwisning i ofwannämde konst, sowäl som i dertill nötig kemi ach besörjande af fullständiga apparater, erhålles af undertechnad. Avgiften erlägges först efter fulländad kurs. Aftal kan ske hwarje dag kl. 8-11 f.m. C. Schmidt.
44. Scharf 1976, 41.
45. ÅU 1.8.1863; ÅU 24.1.1905; S. Hirn 1972, 111.
46. S. Hirn 1972, 62, 89; Stockmann-Lindholm 1973a, 82.
47. Scharf 1976, 17. - The quotation is from the book by William Henry Fox Talbot "The Pencil of Nature", published in 1844. The following expressions are used in the book: "the new art of Photogenic Drawing", "the mere action of Light" and "impressed by Nature's hand". These expressions clearly demonstrate why photography attained the position of a secular cult art.
48. E.g. H. and A. Gernsheim 1969; Eder 1978.
49. The concept is ideally suited to photograph research. In the following quotation of Gottfried Boehm it refers to art historical research in general, because he does not cover portrait photography: "Die Zeitanalyse gehört zu den wenig entwickelten Verfahren der Kunstgeschichte". Boehm 1985, 273, reference 1. See also the researchers mentioned in Boehm's reference, on whose concepts Boehm's arguments in this respect rest.
50. See Käyhkö 1987, 12. "It would appear, however, that photography is connected simultaneously to both the concept of time and space." What this means will become apparent later on when I treat the relationship of early photograph to the long span of time.
51. Gombrich 1964, 214-; Frey 1955, 568-; Sedlmayr 1978, 164-180. - The relationship to time treated here is almost the antithesis of that claimed by Hans Sedlmayr, see especially Sedlmayr 1978, 164-165, 174-175.
52. Boehm 1985, 89-110. - Boehm also considers temporal analysis in general in art historical research.

53. Benjamin 1969b, 67-94; Arnheim 1986a, 102-114. In the preface of his essay collection, Rudolf Arnheim writes: "My main concern continues to be epistemological; that is, I study the mind's cognitive dealings with the world of reality." Arnheim 1986a, x.
54. Woods-Marsden 1987, 209, 214, reference 2. The information in question occurs in a number of studies.
55. Panofsky 1968, 82. "Even a portrait, whose very name expresses direct imitation (*ritratto-ritrarre*), is occasionally said to arise from an intellectual and universally valid *idea e Forma*." - The fact that "disproportion and discoloration be softened, but with the limitation *ma di tal modo e con tal temperamento, che'l ritratto non perda la similitudine*" had to be taken into account as regards the relationship of female portraits to male portraits. Panofsky 1968, 223, reference 20.
56. HT 8.8.1857. "utförda på det noggrannaste sätt. --- Misslyckade bilder blifva ej aflemnade".
57. Tapio 23.9.1865.
58. The information is derived from D.F. Arago's speech on 3.7.1839. It has been frequently quoted in photographic literature. The speech has been published in its entirety in e.g. the work of Joseph Maria Eder "The History of Photography", New York, 1978. The speech has also been translated into Finnish, see Arago 1984, 22. - Photography also celebrated its official birthday. It was held on the 19th of August, 1839, when F. Arago presented L.J.M. Daguerre's (1787-1851) invention to the members of the Art and Science Academy at the Institut de France in Paris.
59. H. and A. Gernsheim 1969, 157. - The new lens invented by Josef Max Petzval improved the possibilities in portrait photography. The exposure time in Central Europe in winter was 3.5 min., on sunny days in the shade 1.5 - 3 min., and in direct sunlight 40 - 45 s. For more details see H. and A. Gernsheim 1969, 142, 143, 157, 158.
60. Porkka 1986, 6.
61. Scharf 1969, 255, reference 1. In this Scharf is referring to the information, according to which the precision of the details in Canaletto's pictures approaches that of the Camera obscura: "... I was convinced that I was in front of the scene itself...". - See also Stelzer 1966, 17.
62. For those familiar with photography the association of the picture forms may be clear, but the problem with making comparisons of this sort is reflected in the words of Aaron Scharf: "And so far as is known, no other critic (apart from Ernest Chesneau's appraisal in the Paris Journal, 25.5.1874), however insulted or baffled by this painting, associated the blurred forms, even derogatorily, with the most obvious empirical evidence to hand: photographs, many of which even in the 1860s and 70s still contained these aberrations." Scharf 1969, 131.
63. Arnheim 1968a, 103. "The equipment was too bulky to catch anybody unawares, and the exposure time was long enough to wipe the accidents of the moment from face and gesture. Hence the enviable timelessness of the early photographs. A sort of other-worldly wisdom came symbolically across when all momentary motion vanished from these metallic plates."
64. Benjamin 1969b, 74-75. "Die Synthese des Ausdrucks, die durch das lange Stillhalten des Modells erzwungen wird, sagt Orlik von den frühen Photographie, "ist der Hauptgrund, weshalb diese Lichtbilder neben ihrer Schlichtheit gleich guten gezeichneten oder gemalten Bildnissen eine eindringlichere und länges andauernde Wirkung auf den Beschauer ausüben als neuere Photographien." Das Verfahren selbst veranlasste die

Modelle, nicht aus dem Augenblick heraus, sondern in ihn hinein zu leben; während der langen Dauer dieser Aufnahmen wuchsen gleichsam in das Bild hinein...".

65. Schapiro 1950, 16-17.
66. Arnheim 1986b, 123.
67. See and compare Arnheim 1986a, 110-111.
68. Schwarz 1985, 98-101.
69. Arnheim 1986a, 102-114.
70. Schwarz 1977, 38. "Das Streben nach 'Wahrheit', nach beweisbarer, aus dem Zusammenwirken von Wissenschaft und Kunst geborener Wahrheit, das in die Tage der Renaissance zurückreicht, hatte durch die Erfindung der Photographie, durch die die alten optischen Hilfsmittel und Werkstattbehelfe allmählich verdrängt wurden, eine Verwirklichung gefunden...".
71. For the technological relationship of the picture and optical truth of the hologram especially, see Käyhkö 1984.
72. Lipps 1941, 144-. "... ein Mensch kann nicht beschreiben, sondern nur charakterisiert werden. Jemanden charakterisieren, bedeutet nicht, ihn kennzeichnen durch... Man will "ihn" erkennen, d.i. sehen lassen. Und der Blick für ihn soll geweckt werden in anderen... Nur in der Wahrheit seiner Zeichnung kann sich die Wirklichkeit eines Charakters zeigen, d.i. im Standhalten seiner Interpretation. Der Charakter bekommt aber erst durch seine Auslegung die Optik, die ihn in Schärfe erkennen lässt."
73. These questions inevitably arise, although it would be nicer to avoid the problems associated with them than to take them into account. They also cause a number of methodological problems, to which I will pay attention on a number of occasions here as well as later on. This perspective does not presuppose the copying or following of a specific "ready" method or theory. Cf. Boehm 1985, 12.
74. Arnheim 1986a, x. "Pervasive perceptual expression makes the arts possible." (Quotation from the preface).
75. Boehm 1985, 13. "Die Aufgabe der Interpretation erfordert einen Kanon, eine Form der Reflexion, die für alle methodischen Konzepte offen ist, sofern sie einer Verbesserung der Einsicht dienen." G. Boehm writes: "Im übrigen geht es nicht darum, methodische Sandkastenspiele post festum zu entwerfen." - See also Boehm 1978, 444. - The interpretation of a portrait retains its personal autonomy in the hermeneutical sense if it cannot be defined through its contents. This is the reason why portrayal hermeneutics have been taken into account in this study.
76. Betti 1967, 51, reference 188. "Im Grunde schlage ich keine Methode vor, sondern ich beschreibe was ist, statt von den auszugehen, was eben sein sollte oder sein möchte."
77. Bächtmann 1988a, 191-221; Bächtmann 1988b. The former article is from the work *Kunstgeschichte, eine Einführung*, Herausgegeben von Hans Belting, Heinrich Dilly, Wolfgang Kemp, Willybald Sauerländer, Martin Warnke, Dritte, durchgesehene und erweiterte Auflage, Berlin 1988. - A chapter dealing with the hermeneutics of art history, written by Oskar Bächtmann, has been added to the third edition of this work. (The new chapters in the other work deal with art psychology).
78. Belting 1988, 222. "So ergeht es heute der Stilkritik und einer Hermeneutik der

künstlerischen Form, mit der sich die Kunstgesichte als Wissenschaft eingeführt und einerseits gegen die philosophische Ästhetik und andererseits gegen die historischen Hilfswissenschaften abgegrenzt hat."

79. Arnheim 1986a, 111. "The standardized designations of things are nothing but husks of information. By reducing the message to meager conceptual fare, one accepts the impoverished practical responses of the modern man in the street as the prototype of human vision." ... "In opposition to this approach we must maintain that imagery can fulfil its unique function - whether photographic or pictorial, artistic or informational - only if it goes beyond a set of standardized symbols and exerts the full and ultimately inexhaustible individuality of its appearance." - See also Käyhkö 1989, 40-46.
80. E.g. Belting 1988, 222.
81. See and compare Blumenberg 1960, 88.
82. Arnheim 1986a, 106.
83. Arnheim 1971, 1. "Order is a necessary condition for anything the human mind is to understand. ... Order makes it possible to focus on what is alike and what is different, what belongs together and what is segregated."
84. Arnheim 1986a, 112. "If, however, we are correct in asserting that the messages conveyed by pictures cannot be reduced to a sign language, then our problem of how to read them is still with us. Here we need to realise, first of all, that a picture is "continuous" only when we scan it mechanically with a photometer. Human perception is not such an instrument. Visual perception is pattern perception; it organises and structures the shapes offered by the optical projections in the eye. These organized shapes, not sets of conventional ideographs, yield the visual concepts that make pictures readable. They are the keys that give us access to the such complexity of the image."
85. E.g. J.-G. Sulzer writes about portraiture: "... wir sehen die Seele in dem Körper. Aus diesem Grunde können wir sagen, der Körper sei das Bild der Seele, oder die Seele selbst sichtbar gemacht." J.G. Sulzer, Art. "Porträt", Allgemeine Theorie der Schönen Künste, Bd. III, Leipzig 1793, 719. Cited according to Boehm, Boehm 1985, 264, reference 8. In addition, Boehm states: "Mitgemeint ist, dass der Betrachter aus dem Bildnis Erkenntnis des Menschen gewinnt."
86. This can be construed from the following words of G. Boehm: "Für das neue Bildverständnis, die "Individualität der Darstellung und des Dargestellten" erscheint Leonardos Bemerkung über die Virtualität der Fläche besonders bedeutsam." Boehm 1985, 266, note 7.
87. E.g. Janson 1979, 8. In addition, Janson writes: "There are no "plain facts" in the history of art - or in the history of anything else, for that matter; only degrees of plausibility. Every statement, no matter how fully documented, is subject to doubt, and remains a "fact" only so long as nobody questions it. To doubt what has been taken for granted, and to find a more plausible interpretation of the evidence, is every scholar's task." - See also Topper 1988, 76.
88. Sedlmayr 1978, 195.
89. Gadamer 1960, 139. "In jedem Falle liegt im Bilde selbst eine uneingelöste, aber grundsätzlich einlösbare Anweisung, sie seine Bedeutung mit ausmacht."
90. For instance, Edward Weston writes as follows about early photography, the younger form of graphic art, as he says: "Because the early photographers seeking for a creative way of

working did not have any guiding tradition at their disposal, they soon started to borrow the established traditions of the painter. They were certain that photography was only a new way of painting, and its supporters tried their utmost to get the camera to produce results resembling paintings. This erroneous interpretation is the reason for the great number of terrible works, produced in the name of art, ranging from allegorical costume plays to dizzy imprecise messes." Weston 1984, 111. - Leena Saraste sees the commercially diminishing significance of early photography: "Portraiture was thus primarily a trade, and the products of commercial activities cannot usually be measured using artistic yardsticks." Saraste 1980, 69.

91. Brilliant 1987, 172; Halle 1987, 224.
92. Brilliant 1971, 13. "...as aspects of the mechanism of message transference from subject through medium to receiver". - Cf. also Brilliant 1991.
93. Boehm 1985, 44. "...neben materialorientierten Arbeiten neue Interpretationsansätze zu erkunden."
94. Sedlmayr 1978, 192. "Ich meine, dass, was die Wissenschaft der Kunstgesichte betrifft, nicht so sehr die Methodenlehre des Interpretierens --- als die Lehre von den *Voraussetzungen* des Interpretierens den Wert einer Art 'Kritik der historischen Vernunft' besitzen könnte."
95. See Sedlmayr 1978, 181-197, 243-245, references 175, 176, 178, 183, 185, 187, 189, 194, 206, 207.
96. For instance Thornton 1986, 85. "Or is photography a mere product of science and technology with no serious claim to a place among the arts?" Other general questions which Thornton presents: "What is photography's place among the older arts of picture-making? Does it continue down to the present day an artistic tradition that began more than 500 years ago in the workshops of painters, and that twentieth century painters have rejected? Did its introduction in 1839 constitute a break with that tradition, comparable to the one that occurred in painting in the twentieth century?" In Thornton's opinion these questions demand satisfactory answers. Thornton 1986, 85.

### **III THE SEVERE AGE OF PORTRAIT PHOTOGRAPHY: PORTRAIT PHOTOGRAPHY FROM THE BEGIN- NING OF THE 1840's UP UNTIL THE END OF THE 1860's**

#### **The hard period of the daguerreotype photograph**

The history of the portrait photograph starts with the daguerreotype period, which lasted for almost fifteen years from the beginning of the 1840's up until halfway through the 1850's. The culmination of the technique occurred around 1850. From the art historical perspective, the history of the portrait photograph can be considered to form one of the periphery of picture history. It is a new definition of the picture surface, central perspective, movement and the picture model of time, and a new type of phenotype of the individual.

Every daguerreotype creates an impression of an illuminated picture on a metal plate resembling a mirror surface (Pictures 15 and 16). Thus for the eye its basic characteristic is formed in the same way as the reflection in a mirror made from a shiny metal plate. It is as if the picture would take shape only when the mirror is looked at as if nature would be photographing itself and providing a copy of its features to the observer. This is perhaps partly due to the fact that the illusion of apparent truth created by the daguerreotype portrait photograph - its *trompe l'oeil*, satisfied the needs of people living in those times for an identity, and drew them into the photograph like a mirror in which the observer could recognise himself as a part of his environment. In addition, the daguerreotype photograph was like a mirror with its own memory because the picture seemed to be permanently fixed on the reflecting surface. For these reasons I refer to the period characterised by the daguerreotype by the name "the hard period".

Technically speaking, the daguerreotype is a copper plate covered in a layer of silver nitrate, overlain with a light-sensitive film of silver iodide. This is the reason for the shining, mirror-like appearance of the daguerreotype. In this

respect it is a form of picture that feels very hard to the touch.

A technique had been created that appeared to depict nature as faithfully as a mirror despite the fact that real nature in its true form is not as hard, smooth and cold as glass. According to E. H. Gombrich, when nature is a portrayer of art it always reflects the artist's own mind, his delights and enjoyments, i.e. his moods and feelings.<sup>1</sup>

The daguerreotype is generally called the incunabulum of the photograph. It is some kind of paleotype of the photograph, of which only a few relics have survived in Finland. Our public collections contain only slightly more than a hundred daguerreotypes, this figure including for instance those taken abroad. About ten daguerreotypists were professionally active in Finland: the Bavarian Benno Lipschütz together with the Sardinian Baptist Tensi in 1843, the Franco-Russian Auguste Joseph Desarnod the Younger. (1812?-1850) during 1844-1849, Finnish-born Fredrik Rehnström (1819-1857) during 1844-1851, the German Friedrich August Reinhold in 1846, Danish-born Carl Neupert during 1848-1849, the Austrian Johann Siegl in 1848, the Swede Pehr Lindbergh in 1851 and 1856-1857, and the Dane A. Hviid in 1857.<sup>2</sup> It has also been suggested that the Austrian brothers Heinrich and Joseph Weninger travelled through southern Finland from Turku to St. Petersburg in 1843, most probably without taking any photographs. Similarly, no examples of photographs taken by the famous French daguerreotypist and painter André Louis Derville, who arrived at Turku in June 1856 on his journey from Stockholm to St. Petersburg, have survived.<sup>3</sup>

## A restricted and simplified camera style

The daguerreotype portrait is inseparably connected to the period when it first appeared, even though the technological know-how used to produce such portraits is still available. Furthermore, in those days the subjects and forms of the photographs were almost the same irrespective of where they were used. In this respect they are marked with a universality of form and content. This is in turn due to the fact that there are greater possibilities, owing to its dependence on the instrument, of treating the picture produced by the daguerreotype camera as a type form and, at the same time, in a general fashion. Nevertheless, differences can in fact be seen in the individual pictures, e.g. in the arrangement of the subject, the technical level etc. The daguerreotype can be considered to be a picture form typical of its period, while at the same time it signifies that a new visual art, tied to technology, can have a changeless and universal form.

Of course photography, being a new genre of pictorial art, did not have its own traditions. Thus photographers almost always strove to follow the pictorial conventions created by traditional painting art. They had to follow, or in most cases, they tried to conform to the "laws of beauty" that they perceived in them, because they appeared to have an external form that was easily copied. It was not necessarily the photographer's fault that this form usually remained empty.

In the beginning, the photographers could not see the new possibilities offered by their equipment owing to the technological deficiencies of the times. However, the natural properties of the photograph to record external forms, to be fingerprints of reality and precisely definable in technical terms, created an unprecedented basis for a novel belief in the copying of reality (earlier the demand was for a more direct mimesis).

The daguerreotype method was a sign of the birth of a new recording art form.<sup>4</sup> We can say that it occurred through the strivings for a consensus with portrait painting, because photography borrowed the general postures and types of art history. Both photography and painting exploited each other to some extent, and both had an effect on each other. Photography especially produced marginal notes in the traditional controversies about likeness, which have been and still are of central importance for the portrait, although representing a conflicting problem owing to their individual and individualised nature.

At its very basic level, the portrait photography was something new: the picture no longer consisted of outlines, colours and plastic form, but of a grey mass created from light and shadow. Through these the picture became an optical phenomenon connected to its technological stage of development. Technological factors can be used as specific elements explaining the basic form of the photograph. The visual significance also gains a new form of content as a result of technology. An optical creativity, in the wide meaning of the term, can also be associated with the form and creation of the picture. The photographer could in fact affect this to some extent, but its external surface impression is created automatically on the surface of the picture.

Thus a picture type that is produced automatically, and which lacks normative and aesthetic qualities, can also to some extent be the subject of an aesthetic-characterising study of style history. This style-creating property was, as I see it, a rigorism, i.e. the severe stiffness that occurs in all the photographs during the period 1840-1870.<sup>5</sup> For this reason I refer to the photography of the period by the name "the severe age". It is a feature of the restricted style characteristic of such photography.

Portrait photography has come and gone as a severe style, and thus forms a synoptic period. Its divergence can in fact still be understood as at least one application of the modernity of the viewer. It is a question of photographs, and at the same time of the depiction of an individual, whose contents call for significance and value.

## **The approach to the connection between photography and art**

All that we think we already know about photography in the 19th century also includes the question of why photography became so rapidly significant and popular. It is unlikely that a final solution to this problem has yet been formulated. In Finland, Sven Hirn, and the international figures Beaumont Newhall

and Helmut and Alison Gernsheim, have investigated this basic feature of photography, in addition to many others.<sup>6</sup> Their interests have centred on photography's own internal history and its technical development.

Painting as such has not always been taken into account when considering the position of photography, even though it created its leading aesthetic standards during the 19th century. The significance of photography can hardly be explained alone on the basis of its technological development, for instance from the metal plates of the daguerreotype method via the talbotype to the behaviour of the so-called wet plate spread with colodion, and finally to the technical breakthrough of the picture type and its reproducibility in the paper picture predicted by the daguerreotype. Rather than criticising the results of earlier studies in this work, we in a way go a step further and transfer the main perspective to the relationship between photography and pictorial art.

For instance, Jean Clay has drawn attention to the difficulties and methodical problems of art research, especially to those problems which concern the effects and their contradiction. Clay considers that the reason for this lies in the narrow specialisation of many art historians, whose narrow-mindedness made them ill-equipped to handle antithetical comparisons.<sup>7</sup>

There were close links between photography and painting during the middle of the 19th century and even later on. We can say that the origin of the forms was a montage-like process in the sense that arrangements such as central perspective and fragmentation ended up being used in another field of pictorial art, and that they were inter-dependent and that even in their own development they could thus be transferred to the other genre. Influences can of course only be examined within those limits permitted by the photographic means, mainly analogical ones. Not perhaps quite as would be the case at first sight, because in fact the mutual exploitation and reception of the effects is such a complicated visual process that compatible examples would shed little light on it. They only provide us with a hint of the main influences, which themselves produce results in the picture.

The imitation of nature which, in principle, was the goal of photography was severe naturalism, which in fact was also alleviated by a naive idealism. Photography appeared to offer a concrete and sharp-featured media for the imitation of reality. The daguerreotype camera in particular produced style-setting properties in its pictures. One of these was an almost extremely sharp picture. This sharp picture style was combined with a strict rigorism. A central perspective and automatically-produced form principle developed from this. The basic reasons for the appreciation of photography probably developed through such mundane views, which became aesthetically popular, and which were associated with the complete plausibility of the camera picture as a novelty. This in turn explains why portrait photographs were considered to be likenesses.

## The camera obscura as a drawing aid and the portrait landscape

It is nowadays generally known that the basic principle of the camera was known already during ancient times, because Aristoteles mentions the phenomenon of the dark room. If light passes into a dark area through a small hole, an inverted picture of the outside world is reflected onto the opposite wall.

The camera obscura phenomenon was also well known in Finland at the beginning of the 19th century. Many travelling opticians offered the camera obscura, camera optica and camera clara (camera lucida) for sale during the 1820's and 1830's. For instance, the Swedish optician Bernhard Leja and the Germans Martin Blumenreich and H. Bering announced that they sold camera obscura equipment.<sup>8</sup> Hård Gustaf Nathan's announcement, a Jewish optician who settled in Finland and later on became a restaurant owner in Helsinki, in the *Wiburgs Wochenblatt* magazine in summer 1826 is of special interest. Nathan announced that he had built an unusually large camera obscura, with room inside for a seated person who could effortlessly draw cities, landscapes and any sort of object. For a suitable fee, all friends of art were welcome to see its properties for themselves.<sup>9</sup> H. Nathan stated his profession as a "Physical instrument maker". According to this announcement, the camera obscura could be used by anyone as a drawing aid.

There is also some information suggesting that a "camera" was used as an aid in landscape drawing in Finland already in the latter half of the 18th century. Both travellers and artists sometimes used either a camera obscura or camera optica as drawing equipment for instance during their "voyage picturesque" trips. Optical devices of this sort and their close relatives were important tools for both amateur and professional artists because they helped the drawer to depict central perspective, relationships and form. This is demonstrated by the fact that many such pictures (Pictures 17 and 18) have rather uniform contents, with similarities analogous to the camera picture. Their details are sharp and clearly distinguishable. Sharp-featuredness in the drawing style, with trees, bushes, stones and small hills in the foreground and especially small-sized buildings or other objects further back in the background, all combined through a sharp central perspective, are hints of the features characteristic of the camera photograph. When we add to this the almost mathematically-precise and logically drawn shadows and tones, the connections with picture forms reflected by the camera appear rather probable or at least possible.

It is not necessary to try to solve the question of whether cameras were used as an aid in landscape and scenic drawings merely by comparing picture forms. C.F. Fredenheim writes in his diary for 1785 how, after arriving in Turku, he heard that J.L. Desprez had also arrived and was up on the hill drawing a panoramic view of the city.<sup>10</sup> This entry has no mention of an optical tool, nor even later on in the diary in an entry which states that Fredenheim and Desprez had depicted ("aftagit") a view.<sup>11</sup> The use of the word depict ("aftaga") arouses interest. Could the word refer to a camera picture? The answer may lie in the entry for the last day of June, 1785 (Desprez had by then already left Turku).

Fredenheim mentions that he started to make arrangements to draw the cathedral using a camera optica.<sup>12</sup> Svante Dahlström and his associate Marta Hirn are of the opinion that Desprez probably had a camera lucida or camera optica, which he used to draw a view that was uncharacteristically modern and picturesque for those times.<sup>13</sup> We should point out, however, that despite having a knowledge of art, Fredenheim was not an artist. Presumably his lack of artistic skills resulted in the use, like many other people, of optical drawing aids in his drawing hobby.

Fredenheim also got to know the French-born artist Louis Belanger (1756-1816) through Desprez. Belanger drew at least a couple of dozen landscape views of our country. Frithiof Hazelius has written about Belanger's work that one is often forced to wonder why the hand and eye did not represent more than the camera obscura, dividers and ruler.<sup>14</sup> Although the drawings done with the aid of the camera obscura, camera lucida or camera optica are so-called portrait landscapes, there is no need to draw too much attention to them here because the study is mainly restricted to portraits of individuals. What is especially interesting in cases of this sort is that they tell something about how limited so-called artistic freedom can be, and how important it was to faithfully copy nature. The overall art historical significance lies in the fact that the camera picture plays a real role in determining the sort of picturesque landscape painting which the perspective type becomes. Different types of "camera" were almost definitely used as an aid by scene sketchers.

Despite the fact that optical drawing devices are associated with the work of travelling landscape drawers in the 18th century, there are no surviving drawings in Finland which, on the basis of the literature source material concerning the drawer's output, could indisputably and unambiguously be shown to have been done using a "camera". For instance, judging by the formalistic features of the picture content (apart from the fishermen figures done as "staffage" figures in the foreground) and the invertedness of the drawing, it is extremely likely that Louis Belanger's view of Helsinki from 1798 has been done using a camera obscura or camera lucida (Picture 19). No evidential material of this or of any other corresponding example of the use of a "camera" as an aid can be found in the archives; we will briefly return to this problem at a later stage.

## **The daguerreotype as an invention associated with art**

1839 is generally considered to be the year when photography was invented. The technical improvement invented by the French artist painter L.J.M. Daguerre (1787-1851), which was decisively based on the contribution of J.N. Niépce - although Daguerre arrogantly called the pictures daguerreotypes - was first presented to the public in 1839. In Finland the Åbo Tidningar newspaper reported the officially held birthday of photography in September 1839, three weeks after the occasion.<sup>15</sup>

However, the first reports about daguerreotypia date back to the beginning of 1839. At that time several researchers in a number of countries were working simultaneously on the same problem, and had in some respects already found a solution. Thus there were many inventors of photography. The idea was in the air. Perhaps slightly exaggeratingly, we can suggest that artists themselves invented photography for their own use - a piece of equipment that made their work easier.<sup>16</sup>

What is more important from the point of view of this study than to elucidate the factors influencing the development of this invention, is that the daguerreotype was generally and of course, also in Finland considered to be an invention expressly associated with the art world both before and after it was officially revealed. This conclusion is supported by the fact that the articles written about the invention were clearly flavoured with a considerable amount of advance sensation.

The first newspaper in Finland to do this was the *Åbo Tidningar*, which published a story about the new artistic technique at the end of February, 1839. The newspaper considered it highly unlikely that anything as wonderful as this would be invented for a long time to come. Placing the camera obscura in sunlight results in the picture of a landscape, including all the light and shade and natural colours, being projected through the glass of the "camera" onto paper painted with a certain chemical preparation. When the paper is removed the viewer is rewarded with a landscape that appears to be painted by the aquatint method, but which is a more precise copy than anything that even the most skilled drawer could produce.<sup>17</sup>

Special attention is drawn to the comparison with pictorial art. This is obviously a clear sign that the possibilities offered by the new invention were considered to be associated rather strongly with the field of pictorial art. The article goes on to bring up the use of the camera obscura as an aid in portrait painting because a portrait of a person can be obtained in the same way when a person stands in front of the camera. In fact the pictures achieved using camera obscura had been only ethereal ones, but the new daguerreotype invention enabled them to be fixed permanently.

It is important that attention was also paid in the article to the depiction of movement in the camera picture, because almost corresponding idiosyncrasies of the camera picture later on increased in painting art. The outlines in one of the paintings examined here are very precise, but moving objects such as the crowns of trees remain unclear because they were in regular movement caused by the wind. In the other photographic picture the coaches are drawn well, but the neck and head of the horse are missing because the horse was feeding at the time it was depicted. In the example mentioned in the newspaper the moving arms of the shoeshiner had disappeared from view.

It is rather probable that the greater authenticity of the popular generic themes and topographical views of landscape painting and drawing have clear connections with the illusion of reality created by photography. But the use of indistinct picture forms to depict the atmosphere of landscape forms (e.g. the *Paysage Intime* painting of the Barbizon school in the middle of the 19th century) and to increase the effect of movement in figures, the crowns of trees etc.

may well have been inspired by the corresponding idiosyncrasies of the camera views and, in my own words, by the "chiaroscuro" credibility of the photograph. They became more common in painting art already in the 1870's. Impressionism and neo-impressionism especially used these depiction techniques, but they may have also formed an integral part of naturalistic painting art.<sup>18</sup>

One day after the Åbo Tidningar's report, the Helsingfors Morgonblad newspaper published a news article from Berlin under the headline "Art". The article claimed that the spirit of the time is producing inventions whose goal is to disseminate a love of art and beauty to an ever-wider circle. After all Daguerre had been able, using sunlight, to fix the most unbelievable drawings of a wide range of objects.<sup>19</sup>

The Finnish newspaper the Borgå Tidningar was especially interested in the potential of the camera picture as art. Considering the invention to be a wonder of the times, the newspaper wrote that its development will bring about a complete revolution in drawing art. 20 The newspaper told that Daguerre invented the method in order to make the pictures produced by the camera obscura permanent, i.e. that they would no longer be ethereal reflections of objects, but permanent reproductions. If the newspaper reader could imagine an exact picture of nature of the sort produced by the camera obscura, then he could get some idea of these beautiful drawings. The depicted objects were said to reproduce the truth in a way that only nature is capable of.

Attention was also paid in the article to that important property of the camera picture which probably has an effect on painting art through its ability to delineate the subjects. The camera picture presumably helped to make the attraction of the random perspective and unexpected delimitation of the picture area more popular in painting art. Limitation of this sort was one of the characteristic properties of photography - although quite unintentionally and primarily by accident - already from the very beginning.

The article went on to state that the camera picture was at its best when depicting inanimate nature and architecture. For instance, trees can be depicted rather well but sunlight appears to prevent their colours (cf chapter: Colouring and form questions) from developing on the monochromatic scale as rapidly, for instance, as those of buildings. The result was, according to the newspaper, that the trees did not always have time to develop by the time the buildings appear in the picture. If the trees are allowed to develop completely, then the buildings are overexposed. However, lifeless nature, architecture, is the best side of this drawing machine. Thus a dead spider can be depicted so precisely that its anatomy can be studied without a magnifying glass. Soon tourists will be able to acquire the device and record the beautiful views and countryside, and be assured that their paint brushes will achieve a complete conformity with the subjects by following the daguerreotype.

## The effects of early camera pictures on subsequent painting art

The picture area in the later photographs during the first days of photography is usually strictly delineated. During the 1860's the photographs still included the novelty of moving objects in the form of partly unrecognizable abbreviations, with people in urban milieus appearing to fade into unrecognisable characters (cf. e.g. Picture 4). Early snaps of this sort may at least partly explain the picture forms that became more common especially in the art of the impressionists. Echoes of this are also visible in the work of e.g. Albert Edelfelt (1854-1905) and Victor Westerholm (1860-1919). These cases clearly demonstrate that influences can be transferred indirectly. For this reason they are dealt with to some extent in the following.

In Albert Edelfelt's painting the "The Child's Corsage" (1879) the frame cuts off, apparently by chance, the whole prow of the large brown boat from the picture area and leaves a rather essential detail out of the painting (Picture 20). Bertel Hintze writes that it gives the impression that "the picture had been snapped by a photographer".<sup>21</sup> Edelfelt has certainly not used a photograph as an aid in his work because the form of the depicted subjects lacks the features typically produced by the camera picture. The apparently random limits of the picture merely indicate that the delimited views, characteristic of photography, were adopted already in those days as a part of the picture tradition. Delimitation of this sort had already become such a specific property of photography during the 1860's in France that it was caricatured in cartoons. For example, the cartoonist Cham has depicted the difficulties of the photographer in photographing moving objects in his caricatures: only a small part of the rear end of a moving tramcar remains in the picture (Picture 21).<sup>22</sup> However, Edelfelt's theme is a serious one, and he was not necessarily familiar with the work of cartoonists. Being an amateur photographer he was obviously fascinated by the new form of picture that marked a break from the conventional type of delimitation.<sup>23</sup> In Edelfelt's painting it is primarily a question of the indirect effect of photography. But of course there are other forms of influence because painting art had used such techniques already before photography became popular.

In 1892 Victor Westerholm, using the pseudonym Ole King, painted a playful curiosity on a drawing slate for an "Exhibition of the Independents". The work was called "Winter Scene". There is part of a sledge on the left of the picture, cut off by the frame, only the end with the passengers and part of the driver's back being visible (Picture 22). Aimo Reitala suggests that the painting "has to be regarded as a parody of impressionism".<sup>24</sup> But another interpretation can be put forward for the work. Although the painting resembles an impressionist's snatch of fleeting reality in the French style of rapid painting, with quick strokes of the brush, it could just as easily be a rather clear parody of photography. Pictures of this sort show that the problems of the early days of photography were usually known and also scorned in artistic circles at least.

The ethereal features of the figures, although they had occasionally been used in art prior to impressionism, lacked a logical precedent in the immediate

tradition of 19th century art in Finland at least. For instance, they do not appear in the work "Finland depicted in drawings" (1845-1851), nor in any other similar type of picture anthology, a few of which were published in our country. These features are possibly echoes of photography, although such connections have rather rarely been demonstrated. Despite the fact that rather a lot of photographs of this type were taken in the 1860's and 1870's, it was very difficult to draw comparisons even in Paris, for instance. John Rewald has republished the satirical dialogue of the critic Louis Leroy in the *Charivari* magazine about the "L'exposition des Impressionistes" exhibition in 1874. The ethereal figures are referred to in the article as "lichettes noires" (black spots), and it is impossible to identify what they depict.<sup>25</sup> Leroy presumably refused to understand painting of this sort, at least partly for the reason that the ethereal figures had no direct basis in the art tradition, although they do occur in the photography of the period.

### Attitudes towards the daguerreotype picture

The first daguerreotype picture was brought from France to Finland already at the end of 1839 as a touring exhibit. It was a question of a one-photograph exhibition. The *Åbo Underrättelser* newspaper announced in its first edition of 1840 that a daguerreotype picture was on display in the rooms of the Finnish Economics Society. The town people would have the opportunity to see one of man's real triumphs over nature with their own eyes, and to get more detailed information about this "art nature product" The "light drawing" depicted a view of Eglise St. Gervais on the Quai de la Grève in Paris. Using a magnifying glass it was possible to distinguish a person's head and the tufts on the curtains in a window, for instance, in this six inches high and eight inches wide daguerreotype. In fact not quite all the picture content had been precisely reproduced on the metal plate.<sup>26</sup> The first daguerreotype to be brought to Finland has unfortunately not survived.

It is quite obvious that the newspaper's writer (editor Lars Arnell?) compared the picture made by the daguerreotype camera to graphic art, and he was the first in Finland to raise the disputable question about the camera picture as art. Comparing the light drawing with a steel etching was, according to the writer, not really valid because ordinary methods had not been used in the daguerreotypes. In addition the precision of the finest details showed that they had not been created by the human hand. These daguerreotype pictures were also comparable to the genius of classical works because, on repeated inspection, they reveal a beautiful truth not immediately apparent. But the newspaper writer admits that it is perhaps true that a work of art produced by the most ordinary methods creates a higher artistic experience. Viewing the daguerreotypes was also difficult because the metallic gloss of the pictures and the glass covering the daguerreotype picture always made it difficult to get the illumination right for viewing. The fact that the daguerreotype picture also aroused reli-

gious feelings in the viewer was also characteristic of the times.

The Åbo Tidningar newspaper also drew attention to similar features in the daguerreotype. The viewer had the opportunity, with his own eyes, to believe in the reality of these amazing drawings created with the aid of light. As with all glossy paintings, the daguerreotype picture must be carefully turned to the correct position for viewing.<sup>27</sup> The newspaper also talked about the internal features of this - presumably two-piece - daguerreotype when drawing attention to the style-creating properties, precision and mirror-imageness which is visible in unbelievable perfection and exactness. Even the writing on the nameplates of the houses was visible to the naked eye. In fact they were mirror images and looked like secret writing.

These quotations show that, during the early days of photography, the photograph was considered to be a drawing and people were convinced of the picture's conformity with truth. This is demonstrated by the use of the words "light drawing" and the use of the phrase "art nature product". It is quite understandable that these and many other concepts became confused to some extent. The main trend in painting art in those days, realism, had travelled along the road of naturalistic, almost scientific study. It was a continuation of those traditional concepts which, as is well known, were represented already by the artistic thoughts of Leonardo da Vinci, as well as Aristotle, Horatius and Vitruvius. It was dogmatically believed that the central motive in all forms of art, which at its deepest was considered to be the copying of nature, was namely mimesis. The perfect copying of nature now appeared to be possible as a result of the first daguerreotype picture.

### **Magnus von Wright's portrait panorama of Helsinki**

The first daguerreotype in Finland was taken from Turku to Helsinki for display in the school building standing next to Kasarmintori market. The occasion of course aroused considerable attention, and on the last day of February, 1840, the Helsingfors Tidningar newspaper published an article to mark the opening of the exhibition.<sup>28</sup> Magnus von Wright (1805-1868) was among the first to visit the exhibition, and he wrote in his diary that he had seen a picture produced by the daguerreotype camera for the first time.<sup>29</sup>

According to newspaper reports it was possible, using a magnifying glass, to distinguish a considerable amount of detail in every part of the picture, e.g. the fringes on curtains and the advertisements on the ends of buildings along the roads. They clearly demonstrated to the observer that the deficient hand of man could not be behind this work of creation. This feeling, which inspired all who attended the exhibition, could hardly have left M. von Wright completely indifferent. As an artist it was presumably easy for him to understand some of the possibilities offered by the camera picture in pictorial depictions of reality, as well as perhaps its deficiencies. Two years later, Magnus von Wright was forced

in his own drawing work to familiarise himself with the difference between the reality created by the hand and the view of reality produced by the camera picture.

There is an entry in Magnus von Wright's diary for September 1842 telling that he first tried to draw a panorama of Helsinki by hand.<sup>30</sup> The drawing work must have been very slow and laborious, at least. This is presumably the reason why he resorted to the use of a camera obscura, about which there is one entry in his diary.<sup>31</sup> The result of his use of the camera obscura was a nine-sheet panorama of Helsinki seen from Kalliolinna Hill (Picture 23).

The Helsinki panorama was not the only circular picture drawn by Magnus von Wright. He also drew a panorama picture of Haminalahti in 1848 (Picture 24). In this case he probably didn't use a camera obscura because there are clear formal differences between the picture outline of these two panoramas. Both of M. von Wright's portrait landscape panoramas demonstrate two basic structures of an optical picture composition much more effectively than personal portraits: a vertical and a horizontal manifestation. When these basic structures of a picture are compared with the impression produced by the human eye, it can be seen that, compared to the form displayed by a camera picture, the observation made by the eye includes the phenotype distinguishable in it. If we visit the place in Haminalahti and compare the form structure of the panorama with that seen by the eye, it is clear that the shape of the hills in the background corresponds to the proportions of height and breadth registered by the eye. In contrast, there is no such equivalence in the Helsinki panorama. The photograph repeats its subject in a flatter and broader form compared to that seen by the eye.

Those problems which are inherently associated with the means of implementation in personal portraits, are also clearly evident in the landscape portraits depicting Helsinki and Haminalahti. Walter Benjamin made the generalisation that the camera reveals a nature which is different to that seen by the eye.<sup>32</sup> What the eye sees is so different from the picture form produced by the camera that it can easily be distinguished without any problems, even though people would tend to correct what they see on the basis of the camera picture, as has already been surmised.<sup>33</sup>

## What did a daguerreotypist look like?

The ability to fix the mirror image reflected by light onto a chemically treated plate rapidly became a cosmopolitan feature. Already in January 1840 the most important Swedish family magazine, *Magasin för Konst, Nyheter och Moder*, published a satirical article about the external appearance, dress and behaviour of daguerreotypists. It is quite obvious that the magazine article was a translation from the original French text. From Finland's point of view the article is especially interesting because the cultural connections with Sweden had of course not been severed despite the separation of the two states. During the

period 1840-1870 most of the foreign photographers travelling around Finland were Swedish-born. In addition, many other photographers arrived in Finland after first making a circuit in Sweden.

The magazine characterised the daguerreotypist as an artist who is always dressed in a black tail coat, although his dress is otherwise untidy. His equipment includes a large wooden trunk containing the necessary materials, acids, plates, iodine, a camera obscura, mercury, bowl and plate for washing the pictures.<sup>34</sup> In addition to the curiosity value, the dress of the daguerreotypists is also an important expression of the attitudes typical of the artists of the day. Linda Nochlin has drawn attention to the dress of young, realistic artists fired with ideals. They were frequently dressed in a black outfit, usually a black velvet suit.<sup>35</sup>

What did a daguerreotypist do on his arrival at a new locality? After finding a comfortable inn he goes to the offices of the local newspaper, takes portraits for free and, in the name of art and to promote enlightenment and knowledge, asks the newspaper to write an article about him.

Daguerreotypists understood that this was the way to behave wherever they went. For instance, the Danish-born Carl Neupert adopted this procedure. The Åbo Tidningar newspaper wrote in August 1848 that a letter had been sent to the editor requesting space in the newspaper for the following announcement: "The daguerreotypist from St. Petersburg, Neupert, famous for his skills, will be available in Turku in a few days time. He has achieved, through energetic study of the art, a level in his portraits placing him on a par with the best foreign daguerreotypists. We imagine that there will be much work for him in these parts".<sup>36</sup> The first circulating daguerreotypists to arrive in Finland, Ben(n)o Lipschütz and Baptist Tensi, also most probably sent an announcement to the editor of the Helsingfors Tidningar newspaper informing him of their pending arrival.<sup>37</sup>

According to an article in the "Magasin för Konst, Nyheter och Moder", there was still reason to assure the editors of local newspapers that daguerreotypists had no political leanings, and also to pay a visit to the mayor. Every daguerreotypist was at the mercy of the weather. He therefore made a silent prayer for beautiful sunshine and clear weather. On his trips around the country the daguerreotypists stayed for as long as was necessary to satisfy local curiosity, which in fact took quite a long time because people had a raging passion for daguerreotype pictures. Judging by this quotation, people must have been really fervently attracted by the pictures produced by the daguerreotypists. It helps us to understand that the camera picture was marked, right from the start, with the features of a mortal cult art.

### **The camera picture as a substitute and sketch of nature**

In the early days the long exposure time considerably restricted the applications of the daguerreotype method. Depicting towns and landscapes was therefore their main function. The golden age of the camera picture started when technical

improvements widened its scope to cover character sketches and portraits. Only a small amount of light passed through the type of lens used by Daguerre. In addition, there were defects in the projection. The solution to this problem was the earlier-mentioned double lens.<sup>38</sup> The new type of lens reduced the exposure time on a clear day in southern Europe to two minutes, while at the same time producing a more realistic picture. The use of gold chloride as the fixative from 1840 onwards was also an improvement.<sup>39</sup> Better contrast and a more permanent final result were achieved.

The improvements in the daguerreotype method were also adopted rather rapidly in Finland. For instance, the *Borgå Tidning* newspaper acknowledged this, and also covered the rather interesting relationship between painting art and the camera picture in an article published in autumn 1844. It is clear that photography was still being compared to painting art, and the importance of the camera picture evaluated with respect to pictorial art.

According to the *Borgå Tidning*, it would be quite incorrect to estimate the importance of this secular invention on the basis of its ability to displace painting art. The newspaper took as an example the fact that the daguerreotype always depicts that expression or facial feature which a person wears at a specific instant, the result being that two daguerreotypes are very rarely similar. In contrast, the task of painting art is to depict the characteristic aspects of a person's facial features. The difference lies in the fact that making a daguerreotype is only mechanical art, but painting art is aesthetical. Although making a daguerreotype is in this respect much less important than painting art, it does however have the advantage of precision in reproducing the subject. A painting should be viewed slightly from afar, while a daguerreotype picture or photograph becomes more and more perfect when viewed with a keen sense of sight or the use of a special device.<sup>40</sup>

The newspaper also drew attention to the possible applications of the daguerreotype, which it considered to be the copying of antique and modern works of art for those interested in art, but also for the needs of the engraver and lithographer. Thus special emphasis is laid in the article on the use of the photograph as a sketch of the subject for new compositions, after which the artist could finish off the picture and give it ideality. The newspaper was rather optimistic as regards the opportunities provided by the camera picture, although the writer's claims for instance about the ability of the camera to save the art of actors and mimics from oblivion, and the claim about the camera's ability to capture an ethereal instant or to convert a *tableau vivant* into a copper etching, were all predictions yet to be fully implemented.

The references indicate that the role of the photograph in the service of art rather rapidly became a reality. The use of the photograph as an aid in drawing or painting did not only increase the amount of visual information, but the special features of the photographic form also resulted in many artists utilising this new tool of expression. Visually speaking, the camera picture has its own idiomatic language: as a painting aid it imparts its own "dialect" for performability. Of course it was also important that artists could make direct "sketches" of nature with an unprecedented credibility; this in fact had already been visible in earlier pictures made using a camera obscura or other optical devices.

## The early period of portrait photography

We are fully justified in treating portrait photography in Finland during 1840-1870 as a style history phenomenon, associated with a uniform design language and picture ideology. It was paradoxical that the international nature of photography and the fact that many photographers were touring entrepreneurs who moved from place to place, promoted uniformity in the content of the photographs or the basic types of picture. However, diverging picture forms did occur, with sometimes very marked differences, but they were rather rare exceptions. Photographers had an influence on contemporary art styles, and painting art also took photography into account. The historical breakthrough of photography took place in the form of portrait art.

Portrait photography was the art of identity and likeness, economic and social position and social significance. The form factors set by the model played a central role.

The special influence of photography during the 19th century, and also the feature which had an effect on pictorial art, was its relationship to reality. The photograph had its own inborn credibility because it was created automatically. One of the most important words in the 19th century was "reality", as exemplified by the concepts naturalism, realism, objectivity, scientific, unbiasedness etc. For instance, H.G. Evers is of the opinion that a belief in reality is really the most enigmatic feature of the 19th century that separates it sharply from the present day. Nowadays the reality portrayed in photography is even sometimes considered to be mere eyewash.<sup>41</sup> Owing to the strong belief in reality characteristic of the 19th century, people thought that photography would elevate man to a completely new level of consciousness, the authenticity of which could be verified in a scientific fashion. Thus during the 19th century whatever the photograph captured was often considered to be absolute realism. According to Evers, it is difficult to explain to modern man how much a conviction of this sort really meant to people of that period, and how much it meant to the artist to have a camera at his disposal for depicting flawless and realistic views.<sup>42</sup>

Photography appeared to be such an elevated expression of matter that it could only be fully recognised as the real truth via the subconscious. It is paradoxical that a belittling of photographic art and, at the same time, a belief in its self-evident truth, developed almost simultaneously around the 1850's. This attitude is different to the one which, in 1862, resulted in Dominique Ingres collecting a list of artists to support the proposal that the French government should prohibit the photograph because it causes degeneration of drawing art.<sup>43</sup> This pejorative attitude is evident, for instance, in Fredrik Cygnaeus' disparaging notion of photography as being merely a mechanical form of art.<sup>44</sup>

The ability to take portraits of people was the decisive factor in photography's success. The first Scandinavian portrait photograph is of the Danish sculptor, Bertel Thorvaldsen (Picture 25). The photograph was taken by the French businessman and daguerreotypist, Aymard Charles Theodore Neubourg (ca. 1794-1865). He took the photograph in Copenhagen in the latter half of April

1840, and then continued on his travels via Gothenburg to Stockholm. Neubourg settled down in Stockholm and arranged a photographic exhibition of views of the city in autumn the same year.<sup>45</sup> The first photographic portrait in Sweden was taken by the chromatic lithographer. Ensign Lars Jesper Benzeltstierna (1808-1880). The subject of the portrait was the actor Georg Dahlquist, whose sight was damaged by the five-minute exposure time because the picture had to be taken in strong, direct sunlight. The picture has not survived, but it is known to have been successful. Benzeltstierna worked in Stockholm during 1840-1841, and then travelled around the countryside taking photographs.<sup>46</sup>

There are rather many articles expressing the attitude of the Swedish press to daguerreotype portraiture. For instance, the article in the *Aftonbladet* newspaper in 1844 about the profile portraits of King Oskar I taken by André Derville, a daguerreotypist from Paris who claimed to be a student of Daguerre. The portraits were intended to be a model for the head on new coins, and a drawing for the painter of the king's portrait. According to the newspaper their rather unflattering likeness, which was considered to be one of the characteristic features of daguerreotypes, aroused considerable consternation. If people had only seen the king in the form of idealised portrait reliefs or paintings, then presumably the photograph would not have appeared to look like him at all. But now, for the first time, the world was able to see the king's portrait devoid of flattery.<sup>47</sup>

There is no indisputable information about the first Finnish portrait photograph. It was probably taken either by the pair of daguerreotypists, Benno Lipschütz and Baptist Tensi in July 1843, or by the district doctor Henrik Cajander from Turku, who had taken the first Finnish scenic photograph already in November 1842. Cajander carried out his pioneer work as an amateur photographer and experimentalist - after learning the art on a trip to Paris.<sup>48</sup> There may also have been one or a number of corresponding amateur daguerreotypists in Helsinki or Viborg, but it is no longer possible to verify this. The editor of the Helsingfors *Tidningar* newspaper, Z. Topelius, probably thought that daguerreotype photography was still a novelty in July 1843 and thus somewhat newsworthy. In addition, the article drew attention to one of the great advantages of photography, i.e. that people wanting a portrait no longer had to sit for hours as a model.<sup>49</sup>

One of Cajander's self-portraits, dated September 1844, has survived (Picture 26). The photograph suggest that he may have experimented rather amateurishly with photography before the touring professional photographers arrived in our country. In his self-portrait Cajander is sitting on a chair, with hands crossed over his breast, staring sternly slightly to the left. The figure in the photograph is very stiff.

## Auguste Joseph Desarnod the Younger

Art history literature contains a few brief mentions of Auguste *Joseph* Desarnod the Younger.<sup>50</sup> One example is sufficient. It states laconically: "Desarnod's

blurrednesses".<sup>51</sup> He was a Franco-Russian artist and lithographer born in Poland ca. 1812 who died in St. Petersburg in 1850. Desarnod's significance is here re-evaluated historiographically.

Joseph Desarnod may have taken the first portrait photograph in Finland, because he visited the country already in November 1842. However, this presupposes that the late time of year was not too much of a problem and that the weather was fine. This conclusion is supported by the article in the *Borgå Tidning* newspaper about a St. Petersburg who had just moved to the area and who intended to apply for a licence to establish a lithographic printing works or, more precisely, a wood engraving and galvanoplastic printing works. The newspaper went on to say that Desarnod is a skilled portrait painter who also makes portraits by the daguerreotype technique.<sup>52</sup> At this stage Desarnod was working as a touring artist.

One week later the *Helsingfors Tidningar* newspaper drew attention to Joseph Desarnod the Younger in its news about Porvoo and stated, for instance, that the man was a real Jack-of-all-trades.<sup>53</sup> Desarnod did not settle down permanently in Porvoo until autumn 1843. The *Borgå Tidning* showed an interest, as was frequently the case in those days, in the movement of artists and stated that Desarnod had already started to implement his plans. The inhabitants of Porvoo would also be able to procure daguerreotype portraits in colour, unless it was already too late in the autumn.<sup>54</sup> The expression "daguerreotype portraits in colour" means that Desarnod was able, having received a training in art, to touch up his metal plate pictures in colour. Thus the daguerreotype picture had become a hierarchy, created from the language of two different forms of expression and their intermixing.

From the biographical point of view, the information provided by Desarnod's wife Rosalie (née Walter) in one of the annual articles about her husband are interesting. According to these, Desarnod had attended the artillery school in St. Petersburg, served as an artillery officer, and was a member of the St. Petersburg Art Academy.<sup>55</sup> Auguste Joseph Desarnod the Younger's father, the artist Auguste Joseph Desarnod the Elder, had been a general in Napoleon's army. The boy received a training in painting and lithography from his father. However, it is hardly likely that Desarnod the Younger was a member of the St. Petersburg Art Academy because only his father is mentioned in such connections.<sup>56</sup>

The daguerreotype picture rather rapidly became available to landscape artists. Desarnod was probably the first artist to use the photograph, daguerreotype, as an aid and model in Finland. The occasion is readily verified on the basis of information from the *Borgå Tidning* newspaper. At the beginning of 1844 the newspaper offered to supply its subscribers, free of charge, with a daguerreotype view, which would be copied using the latest art invention.<sup>57</sup> The newspaper did not send the promised picture to its subscribers until the last edition of 1844, and gave the following reason for the delay: The artist from whom the work was commissioned was not able to start work on it until late autumn. Initially everything went well. The daguerreotype camera's picture was ready in mere minutes. Reproducing the picture on a stone slab for printing was also successful, but unfortunately the slab was flawed and the drawing had to be

redone.<sup>58</sup>

Joseph Desarnod's lithograph has survived as a print in the collections of both the National Board of Antiquities and Historical Monuments and the Porvoo Museum. However, the daguerreotype used as the model has been lost. Marta Hirn has looked closely at the print and reported that it bears the signature "D 1844" at the bottom on the right.<sup>59</sup> This observation is interesting because almost exactly the same picture can be found in the book "Finland depicted in drawings" (1845-52), edited by Z. Topelius (Picture 28). In this the signature is missing from the illustration. Marta Hirn considers that the signature has simply been scratched off.<sup>60</sup> In another connection Marta Hirn writes that the picture she has seen is signed J. Knutson. However, because Hirn considers that the picture is a clear copy of one of the lithographs made on the basis of Desarnod's daguerreotype, Knutson has perhaps felt, for copyright reasons, that it was best to omit his own signature.<sup>61</sup> We can add here that in the new Finnish language edition of the book, "Old Beautiful Finland", the same picture is attributed to an unknown artist.<sup>62</sup> Leena Saraste has published the picture in question as one example of drawings which she considers show the nature of the landscape picture without a camera, in which she talks about panorama poetry.<sup>63</sup>

In this connection we can try to find a reason for the similarity of the drawings because this is connected to many problems concerning the use of photographs as an aid in art, as well as questions connected to copyright. According to Marta Hirn, the differences between these two pictures are not great.<sup>64</sup> However, there are differences, and they are of obvious importance in the extent to which they are related formalistically to the places which the pictures depict. Despite the fact that the eye of the modern viewer is not necessarily accustomed to drawing distinctions in relationships of this sort, they do need to be discussed here. When we compare them, it is obvious that the church and bell tower are taller and thinner in the newer picture. Does this prove something?

A comparison of this sort provides more information than the other small changes or differences between the pictures. The differences between the "staffage" figures strike the eye: the pedestrians and type of horse-drawn cart are different. In addition, the staffage figures in both drawings are not placed in a logical central perspective, the horse and driver in the front appearing disproportionately small. It should also be pointed out that the restricted perspective opening out onto the subject is identical in both pictures. It may be a question of a popular lookout spot where people went to admire the view. On the other hand, Marta Hirn is surely correct in stating that the lithography of the illustration in "Finland depicted in drawings" has a soft feeling, and is hardly of artistic character.<sup>65</sup>

If we continue the comparison to cover the formal relations of height and breadth we can see that the tree trunk located almost in the centre of the drawings is clearly broader in the earlier picture, and the railings of the diagonal fence are wider (and thicker). A similar, rather logical distinction can be drawn with respect to many of the other details in the drawings. This argumentation shows that the drawing by the 'unknown artist', who was presumably the Swedish-born Johan Knutson (1816-1890) living in Porvoo, has been done in accordance with that seen by the eye. In contrast, Desarnod's drawing corre-

sponds to the forms produced by the camera.

Even though Knutson, at Desarnod's request, would have had to remove his signature from this view of Porvoo, there are clear differences in the formal content. It is therefore understandable that Knutson did not want to change the signature on the drawing to that of Desarnod, but instead sent the picture to the printers unsigned. This has in fact resulted in the view of Porvoo in "Finland depicted in drawings" usually being attributed to Knutson, because Knutson has made and signed most of the drawings in the book.<sup>66</sup> However, the overall matter is not indisputable. Knutson must have been familiar with Desarnod's popular lithograph, and he has presumably been influenced by the unconventional limitation of the picture area because he has exploited it very precisely. Despite the similarities, the lithograph drawn by Knutson (?) is not merely the product of a reproduction graphic artist, but is rather independent in many of the formal details. There is little reason to accuse Knutson of complete plagiarism.

There are differences in the artistic effect of the lithographs. The main emphasis in the landscape portrait lithograph drawn using Desarnod's daguerreotype camera is placed on the effects of tone, while in Knutson's drawing it is on the line drawing. In addition, the line drawn by Desarnod appears to express almost independent, calligraphic significance. At the same time it expresses plastic form and the effects of different materials more proficiently than Knutson's drawing. The outlines in Desarnod's lithograph even seem to be losing the precise significance of the edge features, and the tinted tone surfaces create a soft effect. The contents of the daguerreotype picture have presumably had some effect on Desarnod, although the mirror-like hardness of the daguerreotype has been softened. The talents of this Jack-of-all-trades in etching on stone are emphasised in these properties.

Similar form features can also be seen in Desarnod's other well known lithograph, the portrait of Matias Alexander Calonius (1844) (Picture 29). Has the lithograph been drawn with the aid of a photograph? This is not necessarily the case. The portrait was drawn in the first half of February 1844 at a time when there was most likely insufficient light for photography. In fact there is rather a lot of meticulous detail in the portrait, and is undoubtedly a good resemblance because the Borgå Tidning considered that the portrait was extremely successful.<sup>67</sup> J.J. Tikkanen also thought so.<sup>68</sup>

Desarnod established a lithographic printing office at the beginning of 1844. Setting up the office in Porvoo was of course noticed in Helsinki, but J.V. Snellman's "Saimaa" magazine published a light-hearted news article on the subject: Porvoo now has a lithographic office of its own, the first commission being a portrait of the city's doctor. The newspaper surmised that it would be the patients' turn next, and that the printing office would become a ticket office to the temple of the immortals, and hoped that the people of Porvoo would not miss this opportunity.<sup>69</sup> The apparent role of the portrait in achieving immortality was so obvious at that time that jokes could safely be made about it.

In August 1844 Desarnod announced for the first time in an advertisement that he intended to become a professional portrait daguerreotypist, although information about his skills as a portrait photographer had earlier come to light in the press.<sup>70</sup> It is highly likely that Desarnod carried out independent experi-

ments with the new method and searched for ways of improving it. The good financial prospects almost certainly had an effect on his decision to become a professional photographer. In selling the lithograph of Calonius to a potentially restricted clientele there was already a problem with the price of a single graphic print, which was complained about in the advertisement (the price varied according to the quality of the paper from 75 to 83 3/7 copecks/sheet).<sup>71</sup>

It is interesting to compare the prices of graphic sheets with those of daguerreotype pictures. Being singular objects, the price of daguerreotype portraits could be kept higher than that of graphic sheets, despite the fact that the number of clients would have been greater.

The pricing in Desarnod's announcements varies. The price of daguerreotype portraits varied, depending on the size, from 3 to 7 silver roubles including glass and frame. The medium size was equivalent to the page of a calendar, the largest almost double the size.<sup>72</sup>

Desarnod must have been interested in the possibilities of making the singular daguerreotype picture technically reproducible. The news about starting up a workshop for galvanoplastics in the first newspaper article about him in 1842 already hints at this idea.<sup>73</sup> If the camera picture could be reproduced, then in this respect it would have been a graphical art form. The copying and possible proofing of the pictures interested many contemporary scientists and a number of methods were developed. The *Borgå Tidning* newspaper rather closely followed the development of photographic techniques, and in 1845 drew attention to the progress that had taken place in galvanoplastics in St. Petersburg especially. Desarnod appears to have been successful in making copies because the newspaper mentions that a certain Porvoo art lover had managed to prepare, using his own galvanotechnical method, copper copies of a daguerreotype portrait. They were considered to be as good as the original pictures.<sup>74</sup> This article also indicates that Desarnod obviously had good relations with the editor of the *Borgå Tidning*. During a prolonged stay in Helsinki in summer 1845, Desarnod again mentioned, in addition to daguerreotypes, his method for copper plates based on galvanoplastics, and offered them at half price.<sup>75</sup>

As a small local newspaper the *Borgå Tidning* enthusiastically followed the achievements of Desarnod in the editorial 'puffs'. For instance, when the artist announced in the paper that he was starting professional work as a portrait daguerreotypist, the *Borgå Tidning* urged people to look at the classified advertisements section. The paper considered that daguerreotype portraits and the subjects' facial expressions were so perfect that it would be difficult to imagine a greater likeness or better clarity.<sup>76</sup> Similarly, many of the paper's news articles about the daguerreotype technique included clear references to Desarnod's skills, which would be apparent to anyone who looked at them.<sup>77</sup>

Desarnod must have taken a relatively large number of daguerreotype portraits. However, he didn't sign them. It is therefore difficult to say with absolute certainty that all the daguerreotype portraits which have come to light would have been done by Desarnod, even though the portraits were of clients from Porvoo. There is perhaps a total of seven daguerreotypes that can be regarded as Desarnod's work, as well as a number of cartes-de-visite pictures copied from daguerreotypes that may have been taken by him.<sup>78</sup>

Why did Desarnod not sign his photographs? After all his landscape portrait of Porvoo was signed. For instance, the Danish born daguerreotypist and artist Carl Neupert, who settled in St. Petersburg, engraved his signature on the bottom left-hand corner of his portrait photographs when he travelled around Finland during 1848-49.<sup>79</sup> The lack of a signature could be a sign of modesty, but also of the fact that the camera picture was considered to be an automatically made creation of the "pen of nature". The artist's name was therefore not always considered necessary or demanded. In fact the pictures taken by ordinary photographic studios soon became quite common, the photographers often gluing their firm's logo or some other form of identification on the back.

What is more important is that, during the early period of photography, people apparently felt that a photograph was something much more than just the subject or photographer, and hence the name of the photographer did not have the same sort of personal significance as the author of a painting. This was analogically the case with altar-piece painting. In such works the name of the artist was of no importance, since the main significance lay in the religious symbolism and message portrayed in the altar piece. The photograph can even be regarded as an absolute reality, and in a way this was because the photograph was understood to be a scientific truth. In point of fact it was not always important for the photographer to consider himself an artist expressing his own personality, but rather to feel respect for his work and for his role as an instrument of reality. In this respect it is understandable that many photographers did not sign their work but preferred to remain anonymous.

On the other hand, the fact that portrait photographers signed photographs is a reminder that they were continuing the tradition of the (itinerant) portrait painter. Signing was a means of emphasising the individuality and guaranteed quality of the result. If they would have signed a rather unsuccessful piece of work, it might have hindered them in their profession.

There is sufficient evidence to show that a number of daguerreotypes were in fact made by Desarnod. For instance, a photographic session is mentioned in the correspondence of some of the subjects. Similarly, Desarnod's name has been marked on the back of the picture afterwards. However, this is usually rather uncertain evidence because it is easy to remember such information incorrectly and use a local celebrity's name as the photographer instead. Many people also had their portraits taken while travelling at home or abroad.

Nowadays we can obtain only a rather fragmentary overall picture of Desarnod's portrait photographs. The daguerreotypes of only a few Porvoo celebrities have survived. These portrait photographs can justifiably be considered characteristic, prime examples of what I call the severe period of photography. A number of them are therefore treated in more detail in the following. The stylistically most significant portraits taken by Desarnod during the 1840's are those of Bishop Carl Gustaf Ottelin (1772-1864) and his family, and Johan Ludvig Runeberg (1804-1877) and his friends.

The daguerreotype of Bishop Carl Gustaf Ottelin and his family is treated first. By way of introduction it should be pointed out that the bishop was a controversial person both regarding his character and his career. Jarl Ahrenberg tells that his grandmother called Ottelin, on the basis of his religious beliefs, the high

priest of the Harlot of Babylon.<sup>80</sup> Ottelin was appointed Bishop of Porvoo in 1838. The nomination was, according to the ecclesiastical regulations, illegal because Ottelin came only fourth in the elections. He carried out his duties as bishop very enthusiastically and developed e.g. the school system.

The portrait of the bishop and his daughter Eufrosyne Sofia which has survived is a copy (Picture 30). The portrait is full-length, and the bishop is dressed for the occasion in his pontificals with full regalia. One hand rests on the arm of the chair. The other is lifted to his chest, with the thumb under the lapel of his coat as if supporting his gold bishop's cross. In this and the other photographs taken of Ottelin the cross seems by chance to be slightly askew. When we consider how meticulous Desarnod was in other respects in his arrangements, why hasn't he straightened the cross in any of these portraits? Perhaps it is a form of Franco-Russian irony because Desarnod, living in Porvoo, must have known about the contradictions of the bishop's career.

The bishop is sitting on a high-backed chair wrapped in his bishop's cope. The folds of the cloak appear to be arranged to give an overall effect of drapery. Eufrosyne Sofia crouches at her father's feet, presumably seated on a low stool. At first glance the girl's hands appear to be crossed over her breast. On closer scrutiny, however, the pious action of crossed hands over the breast proves to be an everyday activity - the girl is sewing something. The picture appears to follow rather closely the traditional and allegorical norms of picture arrangement. However, the final result digresses in the fact that, in addition to the bishop representing sacral reality, the picture also includes a profane working-day sign, a woman at work. It fits in well with the contemporary role of women and Lutheran ideals. The girl is surely intended to represent the virtue of the Protestant working day, a symbol of industrious diligence and a parable of handicraft.

Both figures in the daguerreotype have been photographed "en face". This frontal effect is central to the picture because the almost perfect rigidity of the solemn postures and facial expressions introduces a degree of dignity in the photograph that far exceeds that of ordinary portrait photographs. In addition, although the photograph uses the badges of distinction to impart a feeling of respected vanity, the picture also portrays the seriousness which the bishop wishes to adopt in his work as a preacher. Thus there is a deep consistency in almost all aspects of the picture. At the same time the bishop is self-assertive and upright, thus expressing both religious and moral ideals. In this respect he appears as a Christian contender, firmly set along the road of faith towards the heavenly kingdom, indicated by his upward-turned face.

The notable severity of the expression is not only due to the topic, because the severity is also a result of the limited possibilities offered by the camera. The picture can also be considered to be a religious photographic work in the sense that its ceremonial and stiff forms have in fact been arranged, within the limits allowed by the camera, as far as possible in accordance with Lutheran attitudes. In the arrangement of his picture Desarnod has even been consistent in avoiding the simple pyramidal arrangement that is easily the first choice for this type of set-up. The photograph is a sort of pyramidically-arranged modification of this much-used composition formula. The staged character of the picture can be seen in the fact that the badges of office have been moved to the right hand side in

order to eliminate the reversing effect of the mirror image. The daguerreotype is probably the first Finnish example of a photograph which is nowadays called "la photographie mise-en-scène". The daguerreotype has been taken outdoors in order to ensure sufficient light. In those days it was the only way to ensure a successful final result.

The effect of the harsh form of the picture surrounded by an octagonal frame is presumably so great that it is immediately evident, and does not necessarily seem to require argumentation. Sven Hirn writes about the picture that "the result is startling in the stern logicity of its arrangement".<sup>81</sup> Hirn does not present any justification for his certainly correct ideas, but leaves it to his intuitive first impression. But the longer we look at these faces, the clearer we can see that the stiff form emphasises their softer humanity and serenity. The significance of the daguerreotype is namely derived from the fact that two opposite contents are combined simultaneously in the expression, severity and softness.

The composition and form structure of the daguerreotype may reveal that it is derived from the reserve of prototypes in art history. But its optical replication mechanism has hardly weakened the expression compared to the possibilities of painting art. By employing traditional artistic postures and forms, Desarnod has conveyed a new and in a way more realistic symbolic content. The original function of the forms meant a lot for Desarnod as a photographer. The octagonal-shaped frame now takes on an obvious role in this new function, because it hints guardedly at the symbols of religion. It should thus be interpreted as expressly revealing the central space of the sun (and perhaps also of divinity). Even though it is rather small and has been made in a less impressive fashion, there is an overall optical uniformity, strength and simplicity in the daguerreotype which distinguishes it from its painting art prototype. A new, monumental, harsh form has already been developed in an entirely new way. This form can be generalised as the central style property of the period.

Desarnod also took a group photograph of the whole of Ottelin's family (Picture 31). The picture has been taken in the garden. According to Sven Hirn, Desarnod appears to have taken the daguerreotype at the same time as the portrait of the father and daughter.<sup>82</sup> However, the family portrait may have been taken one or two years earlier because Eufrosyne Sofia Ottelin looks slightly younger and slimmer.

The picture is in poor condition. Some technical flaws can be seen in the surface texture. In the daguerreotype Bishop Ottelin is sitting with his wife, with the children grouped around them. Ottelin is dressed in his bishop's cope without any regalia. The only adornment is the gold bishop's cross, again slightly askew on its chain on his chest. In this picture, too, the subjects are rather clearly arranged according to the traditional model formulae of art, e.g. the girls at the feet of the bishop. They are holding hands. This readily brings to mind many pictures of the Madonna in which angels kneel at her feet in prayer. One interesting comparison could be the left wing of Hugo van der Goes' 'Portinari' altar piece (ca. 1476), in which the two children of the Portinari family are in almost exactly the same position. However, we cannot draw any direct connections between these two pictures. But it is quite possible that Desarnod has seen a book of prototypes and applied it in his daguerreotype.

A respect for the old portrait traditions, and at the same time a sign of its continuation, can be seen in Desarnod's daguerreotypes. The portrait photographs represent the official portrait genre, despite the fact that they have obviously been intended as private family pictures and not for public view. Their prototypes are probably derived from the 'portrait d'apparat' type. They were made to increase the dignity and respect of their subjects, and they depicted the 'grands bourgeois' almost in the form of a personal picture gallery. This way of taking photographs was the general norm throughout the whole of the first period of photography.

The main emphasis was placed on taking a dignified photograph which emphasised the official status of the subject, professional attributes such as decorations and a uniform often being essential components. The whole picture space was arranged so as to take public aspects into account. Official pictures of this sort are evident of a time which believed strongly in outwardly visible order and hierarchy. The tenacious vitality of outward customs from one century to the next can also be seen in these portraits. It is the same attitude which Blaise Pascal (d. 1662) expressed in the words: the representatives of the church and earthly civil servants require their external badges of office and uniforms to strengthen the belief of the ordinary people in their infallibility: "Tout cet appareil auguste était fort nécessaire."<sup>83</sup> It is worth mentioning here that Voltaire (d. 1778) and the French encyclopaedists already considered that 'portrait d'apparat' were old-fashioned and leant on authoritarian tradition.<sup>84</sup>

A daguerreotype, published without the photographer's name, has also survived of Bishop Ottelin's family (Picture 32).<sup>85</sup> The picture has most probably been taken by Desarnod one or two years later than the family portrait discussed in the above. The arrangement of the family's two youngest daughters is almost identical. The use of a triangular arrangement in the positioning of these two girls appears to have pleased Desarnod. This picture has also been taken outside. The garden gate and grooved gate pillar are visible. In the picture the girl's appear to form a fringe around their mother and father, and the appearance of a close family, characteristic of the older family picture, is lacking. Similarly, the picture is a rather mediocre synthesis of photographic art. In contrast, the precision and sharpness of the picture indicates an improvement at the technical implementation level, but at the same time it has lost its force of expression and remains almost detached.

Desarnod probably took the first photograph of Johan Ludvig Runeberg (Picture 33) in autumn 1846. This picture has also been set in an octagonal frame. Folding the corners back at the edges has, in this case, been beneficial for the arrangement. It accentuates the central space of the photograph, which explains the great popularity of octagonal daguerreotype pictures. This shape was almost always used as the frame of daguerreotypes. The group photograph shows Runeberg together with his wife and friends. The poet is standing on the extreme left. The daguerreotype has been photographed on the street, with some of the buildings in Porvoo in the background. Owing to the poor resolution of the camera lens in reproducing points further away, Desarnod has had to draw in the outlines of the buildings. The branches in the upper forefront of the picture have also been drawn or at least touched up.

The group photograph illustrates another typical deficiency of the daguerreotype camera: the faces at the periphery of the picture are blurred. In his arrangement Desarnod has unfortunately placed both men at the extremes of the picture space. As a result, the faces of Runeberg and Adolf Sirén are blurred. Thus the daguerreotype gives us only a vague impression of what Runeberg looked like at the age of 40. However, the picture gives a rather good idea of the poet's body and presence as well as his size and build. J.E. Strömberg writes that the presence of the poet tells of his power and prosperity.<sup>86</sup> In contrast, Fredrika Runeberg in one of her letters in autumn 1846 to Augusta Lundahl-Wallenius mentions that her husband's colossal figure and forty years are not what they were when, as a young man, he resembled in his movements, height and breadth, the straw horse of Kalevala.<sup>87</sup>

It is especially interesting to find Runeberg dressed in a pleated, buttoned-up priest's coat with white collar, which could also be a white, twisted neck cloth. In the iconography of the Runeberg pictures this form of dress is associated with the convention started by Charles Giraud (1819-1892), the artist of a French expedition. In 1839 Giraud drew a portrait of Runeberg in Porvoo in which the poet was for the first time dressed in a priest's coat (Picture 34). When the lithograph made from this portrait in Paris appeared in the *Borgå Tidning* in 1845, the newspaper wrote that the picture is an unsuccessful likeness despite its artistic appearance, but a lithographic print of the sort that only Paris can produce.<sup>88</sup>

Starting from 1839 the priest's coat appears in all the official portraits of the poet. This is a sign that the photograph of Runeberg is of the "portrait d'apparat" type. On the other hand, in intimate photographs, drawings and paintings from the 1830's, Runeberg is usually dressed in more everyday clothes - a wide smoking jacket and pleated shirt. The shirt appeared for the first time in Runeberg's portrait iconography in 1843, when Johan Knutson drew a portrait using a lithograph as the model, and included it the following year in his application for the post of drawing teacher at the Porvoo Gymnasium (Picture 35). The portrait was considered to be a successful likeness and, according to J.E. Strömberg, the picture resulted in Knutson getting the post and remaining in Finland.<sup>89</sup>

Runeberg also started to have his photograph taken two years later. This is indicated by the letter the national poet sent to Emilie Björkstén a couple of days before Christmas, 1848: "We'll see whether I can get that which we talked about to you for Christmas Eve. We'll be meeting soon."<sup>90</sup> On Christmas Eve the poet writes: "I have not been able to have even a poor daguerreotype taken, even though I have visited "D" a number of times for this purpose."<sup>91</sup> Further on in his letter Runeberg brings up the common custom of the day of exchanging photographs: "In our school we exchange portraits, but it doesn't help. I have to have only your photo." Photography was obviously not possible during the winter so, at the end of May, 1849, Runeberg again went to be photographed. In his letter the poet blames misfortune in the form of Desarnod being away on a trip, for his failure to send his picture to Emilie. Although the daguerreotypist has returned home and Runeberg is able to have his photograph taken during the next few days, it is too late.<sup>92</sup> Runeberg also mentions that he intends to have his photograph taken with his family. No such daguerreotype picture is known. The

group picture must have either been a failure or, if it was ever taken, has been lost.

Desarnod spent the last five years of his life in Porvoo from 1844 to 1849, when he travelled to St. Petersburg and is said to have died there the following year.<sup>93</sup> His significance for photographic art in Finland can be considered to be a magnificent prelude. As a photographic artist, it is difficult to find his equal among the daguerreotypists who settled in Finland. Those rare daguerreotypes of Desarnod's which have survived show that he was able to forge a considerable and original career as a daguerreotypist. This was the case despite the fact that a multitude of other past-times, his trips to St. Petersburg and participation as a teacher in the 'French' girls' school run by his wife, continuously interrupted his photographic work.

Desarnod's paintings were on display in the Finnish Art Association's exhibition in 1849.<sup>94</sup> He also gave art lessons. There are a number of paintings in private homes in Porvoo done by students of Desarnod under his tutelage. J.J. Tikkanen mentions that Victoria Åberg (1824-1892) received her first training as a painter under Desarnod.<sup>95</sup> In addition, Desarnod painted an altar piece based on Leonardo da Vinci's 'Last Supper' in Porvoo Cathedral in 1846, and the painting 'Christ in Emmaus' which Dean Ad. Fred. Cremer donated to Pyhtää Church.<sup>96</sup> It is possible that there are paintings of Desarnod still lying unidentified in Porvoo.

Sven Hirn states that Desarnod had, having received an artistic training, a "tremendous amount of the sort of aesthetical conception important for painting. In addition to all this, he still attempted in an original fashion to develop and test a range of different methods associated with daguerreotypes".<sup>97</sup> Sven Hirn continues by making an appraisal of Desarnod's significance: "The results did not in all respects meet with expectations. Desarnod's diverse activities disturbed his concentration, and gave him the mark of an amateur in his photographic activities - for no real reason he was given the slightly scornful nickname of Jack-of-all-trades. Many attempts remained hopelessly half finished."

This was hardly the case. The significance of Auguste Joseph Desarnod is re-evaluated in this chapter using the artistic level of his daguerreotypes as the starting point. Their aesthetical quality is not based on the technological level of the camera picture, but on the artistic expression of his photography. This can be taken as the leading principle.<sup>98</sup> Desarnod's activities as a photographer in Porvoo and his photographing trip to Helsinki in 1845, coupled with the repeated announcements in the newspapers, show that his work cannot be characterised as a photographic occupation stamped by amateurism.<sup>99</sup> In addition, the name Jack-of-all-trades in those days was surely not a sign of scorn, but rather of admiration. We should also remember that many other photographers of the period were respected practitioners of a number of professions. There are rather many examples of such multidisciplinaryism.<sup>100</sup>

## Fredrik Rehnström

The first Finnish-born, professional touring photographer was Fredrik Rehnström (1819-1857). Rehnström was born in Mäntyharju and, after receiving a training in bookbinding, he moved in spring 1839 to St. Petersburg. There he is said to have learnt the daguerreotype technique. Rehnström presumably chose the capital of Russia as his official place of residence because he was registered in the Swedish congregation of Katariina in St. Petersburg.<sup>101</sup>

For over seven years, from 1844 to 1851, Rehnström travelled back and forth throughout Finland with his camera. His return visits to St. Petersburg were obviously only very short, the main reason probably being to purchase photographic supplies.<sup>102</sup> It would appear that Rehnström worked as a daguerreotypist only in Finland because he placed no advertisements in the annual volumes of the *St. Petersburgische Zeitung*; many other photographers had announcements in the newspaper. Newspaper announcements provide the only certain means of following Rehnström's trips around Finland. However, it is impossible in practice to verify whether he visited places which had no local newspaper. The travel itinerary of foreign photographers can be followed by studying the passport document archives and passenger lists, a surprisingly large number of which have survived. However, the registering of travellers was obviously not very systematic because these sources contain rather a lot of conflicting reports. The problem in Rehnström's case is that people from St. Petersburg were not treated as foreigners in Finland. Furthermore, people crossing the border frequently did not bother to procure a passport.

It is possible to obtain a rather clear, overall picture of Fredrik Rehnström's work. An unusually large amount of primary source material, i.e. portrait photographs, has survived, although biographical information is somewhat lacking. At least ten daguerreotype pictures are definitely known to be his work because Rehnström signed them with a printed label.<sup>103</sup> A signature was undoubtedly a good way to advertise oneself. It was also a sign of professional pride and quality. All his signed daguerreotype portraits are rather similar with respect to the style and arrangement of the picture. In addition to these, about 40 corresponding types of portrait have been catalogued which, although unsigned, are almost certainly the work of Rehnström. The number is very large when we consider that almost half of the surviving daguerreotypes in Finland were taken by Rehnström.

Rehnström had no real artistic training, and had received rather little formal education. It is not known why he became a photographer. It was probably the attraction of the new technological art form or the dream of easy money that encouraged him, like many others, to take up the profession of photographer. As was typically the case for photographers in those days, he made rather long trips throughout Finland.<sup>104</sup> The first time Rehnström publicly applied his skills was in Helsinki in September 1844. He announced in the *Helsingfors Tidningar* that he took daguerreotype portraits, the price of which ranged from three to five silver roubles, depending on the size. Photographing a number of people on the same

plate was charged according to a separate tariff. Rehnström's signature included the denotation "St. Petersburg" - presumably for commercial reasons and to advertise the quality and standard of his pictures. Rehnström had arranged a suitable room for the photographing sessions.<sup>105</sup>

Jokes were sometimes made about the photographers' hope for sunny days. The fact that photographers prayed for fine weather often seemed to bring bad weather to the district. For instance, Z. Topelius drew attention to this about two weeks after Rehnström had arrived in Helsinki. Topelius wrote that the daguerreotypist Rehnström is being blamed for the bad weather because he is using up every bit of the sunshine that manages to struggle through the autumn skies.<sup>106</sup> Topelius obviously tried to keep a light tone in his "Leopold" letter, although the weather in the latter half of September 1844 was, as the newspapers frequently mentioned, sunnier than usual. This, the only comment about Rehnström to appear in the newspapers, continued a little jokingly: "His prices are double or quadruple that paid for a single daguerreotype picture in Germany or France." Topelius does not say anything about the standard of Rehnström's pictures.

Eliel Aspelin-Haapkylä writes: "In July 1848 a (domestic) daguerreotypist called Rehnström arrived in Vaasa and remained there for a year. Even the Stenbäcks used this unprecedented opportunity to have their photograph taken, in fact they had it printed on a silver plate and we must be thankful that the couple's photographs from a true period of Pietism have been preserved."<sup>107</sup> In the portraits of Ebba and Lars (Lauri) Stenbäck (Pictures 36 and 37) they both have a Pietist hairstyle with a centre parting. Aspelin considers that the parting gives "the beardless face" of the school headmaster, dressed in contemporary priest's apparel, "a strange feminine touch or, perhaps more correctly, the appearance of a red Indian".

In interpreting this portrait of Lars it is difficult to agree with Aspelin's impression of a strange feminine touch, although a centre parting was in fact a women's fashion. In contrast, the portrait does have something Indian-like because the expression on the face brings to mind the stereotyped image of the furtive, prowling red Indian. In contrast, we can nowadays agree with Sven Hirn's interpretation that "the austere seriousness, characteristic of Pietism, has received an unaffected expression through the auspices of the photographer" in this daguerreotype portrait.<sup>108</sup>

The portrait photograph of Lars Stenbäck in particular can be considered to be one of the most significant and characteristic examples of the severe style of photography. It should be emphasised that in a portrait photograph of this type it was not only a question of the technical implementation of the picture, but also partly the artistic aims of the photograph. These portraits contain a strong compulsive excitement with a hidden sense of the rhythm of life. All the daguerreotype portraits of the severe period are also characterised by a staring look, caused by the long exposure time, which is a form of expression central to the genre. This is despite the fact that only rarely are the eyes actually visible. The staring look appears to establish contact with the observer, irrespective of whether he wants it or not. At the same time the whole portrait seems to be strongly silhouetted and the model's face is like a hard mask. Despite the small

size of the picture it imparts a feeling of monumental and rare distinction. This sublime effect is not only dependent on its abstract spiritual properties, but also on the conversion of abstract values into a masked rigorism in the features of the picture content.

The composition of the daguerreotype portraits of Ebba and Lars Stenbäck is typical of Rehnström's work. In the portraits the subjects are seated on chairs. Both photographs are cut off slightly above the knees. One of the subjects' arms rests on the back of the chair, the arm of the chair or edge of the table. In Ebba Stenbäck's portrait one arm is resting in her lap. Both faces are turned slightly to the side, almost in half profile. Their torsos are also twisted to the side. This type of arrangement is of course due to the long exposure time. The subject had to be arranged in a position which could be easily maintained without moving. It was also essential to use a variety of hidden supports. However, this type of posture was not invented by the photographers, although we could easily imagine that this was the case. There are numerous examples of the same type of posture in painting art history. The posture was ideally suited to the photographers' requirements. In this respect Rehnström's daguerreotypes are rather consistent.

Rehnström also frequently used a white sheet as the background for his portraits. However, although such a background was of considerable advantage from the point of view of illumination, it also played an important function in strongly emphasising the outlines of the figure. Many later photographers also preferred to use a light background, for instance the Swede C.A. Ljungstedt in Vaasa in 1863.<sup>109</sup>

There is evidence to suggest that the use of a white or light-coloured cloth in the visual arts was not a new device invented by photographers. The prototype for this sort of background can be seen in neo-classical painting art, for instance. Drawing a comparison with neo-classicism is analogically rather revealing because some of the stylistic features can also be found there. In addition to the fact that a light background was used in many portraits during the rococo, neo-classical and romantic periods to emphasise the portrayed features, the background in group pictures was also sometimes a light-toned curtain. This is the case, for instance, in Jean-Baptiste Greuze's (1725-1805) painting "Septimus Severus and Caracalla" in 1769 (Picture 38). Jacques Louis David (1748-1825) also sometimes used light-toned backgrounds to accentuate his sharp-featured, immobile figures (Pictures 39 and 40).

The daguerreotype portraits can analogically be considered to have, in a sense, continued the stiff and severe neo-classical style of depiction that David implemented consistently in his work, and which found its confirmation in English art. However, it reached its culmination point like an icy gust of wind in frozen photographic figures.

The corners of all the daguerreotype portraits which, with absolute certainty, can be attributed to Rehnström have been cut off to leave an octagonal-shaped picture area. They also have a light passepartout (protective frame) which made it unnecessary to cover the picture with a sheet of glass. These features are characteristic of all the daguerreotypes of the period. Rehnström's advertisements also reveal that he was able to colour his daguerreotypes.<sup>110</sup> For instance, certain details in the portrait daguerreotypes of the period were often

coloured with opaque paint in order to give the pictures an analogous resemblance to paintings. The distinction between a photograph and a painting was generally rather vague. Brush work was mainly used in portrait daguerreotypes to accentuate the accessories (watch chains etc.) on the clothes and other details. The technique was also used to improve the end result, especially the face and eyes. The obvious right of an artist to correct the imperfections of nature in realistic painting art has been brought up on a number of occasions throughout the art history of modern times.

Rehnström's daguerreotype portraits include a couple of examples of a posture in which the arm is supporting the head (e.g. Picture 41). There are only a few immediate predecessors of this type of posture in portrait art in Finland. One example (Picture 42) is the portrait of an unknown woman in the Turku Provincial Museum, which is presumably a copy made by Lorens Pasch the Elder (d. 1766) of a portrait painted by Peter Lely (d. 1680). There is also a similar portrait of Gustav Mauritz Armfelt from 1811 (Picture 43). It has presumably been painted by C.F. v. Breda.<sup>111</sup>

The reason why this type of posture came into use during the severe period of photography in Finland could not only be due to the fact that Rehnström or some other photographer had seen similar paintings or pictures. The most plausible explanation is that the hand is supporting the head, thus preventing it from moving. Another advantage was that it also made a neck support superfluous. Thus it appears logical that, after realising the advantages of the posture, the daguerreotypists would have continued to use it in their portraits. This type of posture did in fact become common in photography, but never predominant. Why were more uncomfortable and difficult positions chosen for the photographic session?

The daguerreotype portraits suggest that this type of posture simply did not appeal to the Finnish clients and was therefore not marketable. In contrast, for instance, there are a number of portrait photographs with this type of posture in the collections of the National Portrait Gallery in London. The posture was so common in the photographic portraits taken by David Octavius Hill and Robert Adamson during 1843-1848, that we can talk of a mannerism.<sup>112</sup>

The few examples which we have of Rehnström's work show that he was fully aware of the advantages of the posture, because he also used it in photographing a young girl as part of a family group (Picture 44). The posture gives the picture an impression of thought, deep pondering or dreaming, because the subject appears to have sunk into her own world. The position of the hand holding up the head has, of course, held a place in the model repertoire of art history ever since the Hellenistic period. One well known example of this chain of tradition is 'Adam', sculpted from ivory in the 12th century (Picture 45). On the other hand, the interaction may work in both directions since the gradually increasing use of this posture in European visual art may have been at least partly due to the effect of photography. The most well known example of this type of posture appears to be Auguste Rodin's sculpture "The Philosopher" (1879-1889).

Portrait painters have always been aware of the difficulty of capturing clearly distinguishable features in a child's face, or of being able to depict an expression before it passes. Rehnström could not capture such ethereal moment's

owing to the shortcomings of his equipment. Children were a difficult subject for photographers of the day. It is clear that those children present in daguerreotypes were usually at least three years' old. Rehnström had to photograph children together with their parents, for instance with the father (Picture 46). A child in a portrait is, however, also a sign of its parents' affection. Affection is demonstrated, for instance, by the act of having their arm around the child or by touching the child. There is also practical significance in this posture. It prevents the child from moving. In these portraits the children also show affection for each other by touching, or in accordance with the conventions of contemporary painting art, looking at each other. However, the children's faces in all the portraits are rather stiff and mask-like, with a fixed expression.

We can say that the daguerreotype portraits represented an attempt to follow the iconoclastic motives of painting art and their traditional significance, although they appear to have lost something of their connections to tradition. Thus an allegorical motive, gesture, expression etc. may play a stiff role in the portrait photograph and define its purpose in the contents of the portrait. All the allegorical motives included in the daguerreotypes of the period can be read in at least two ways. The interpretations cited above were also examples of this: namely a sign of the transfer of the traditional portrayal conventions of painting art to another art form, as well as a virtual sense of reality and an optical pattern.

Rehnström was diverse and gifted in his work as a daguerreotypist. In addition to teaching portraiture and photographic techniques, he also took other types of photograph, e.g. views, photographs of buildings or other sites ordered by clients, as well as copies of oil paintings and lithographs.<sup>113</sup> Rehnström presumably took the portraits in the rooms where he was staying; the photography was done indoors even though it would have been easier to do it outside. In order to get some idea of the problems involved it is worth mentioning that Karl Emil Ståhlberg wrote in his textbook on the hobby of photography in 1890: "It is extremely difficult to take portraits in a room because of the problem of arranging suitable illumination. The subject is placed about 1.5 m from the window and the camera near to the wall. A white sheet is hung next to the subject in order to reflect light onto the side in shadow. The lower half of the window can also be covered with a light-coloured sheet in order to ensure that the light comes from above."<sup>114</sup>

Rehnström reported that his exposure time during the winter was one minute, and in the summer considerably less.<sup>115</sup> We can compare this critically with Ståhlberg's information about exposure times at the end of the century, when cameras were much more developed. In his photography guide there is a table of exposure times, but with a footnote added: "However, even when using this table it is always impossible to estimate how much time is actually required, and one won't know whether it was estimated correctly until the picture has been developed."<sup>116</sup> According to the table, the exposure time when photographing outdoors in the summer is 4 - 40 seconds, depending on the weather, and indoors 8 - 50 seconds according to whether the weather is sunny, cloudy or misty.

It is clear that the exposure time depended on both the amount of experience and the type of camera used. Unless Rehnström in fact reported shorter times than he actually used, his camera must have been technically advanced. In

H. and A. Gernsheim's "History of Photography", for instance, there is a table of exposure times required by different types of camera.<sup>117</sup> According to the table, the exposure time in fine weather in Central Europe was 10 - 60 seconds with a daguerreotype camera. The exposure times in the north during the dark time of year must surely have been much longer. Despite its problems, a long exposure time of course paved the way for the development of the severe style during the first period of photography.

### **The problematics of the success of the daguerreotype portrait**

The reasons for the success of the daguerreotype portrait are rather problematic, and hence there is reason to go into them in slightly more detail. Certain generic problems come to light already when the daguerreotype portrait is being viewed, because it is not a simple procedure to analyse pictures taken by this method. One has to know the viewing angle that makes it clearly visible.

Another problem associated with the genre is the mirror-like invertedness of the picture in which left and right are reversed. Although a person accustomed to seeing his own reflection may think inversion is natural, landscape and town views often appear irritating and strange in daguerreotype pictures. The mirror image is especially disturbing if the buildings in outdoor pictures have shop signs or writing, because the signs and words are reversed. One would have thought that these problems would have made clients hesitant about purchasing such pictures.

In contrast to graphic art, the daguerreotype method could not produce copies or prints from a plate. If copies do exist, they are re-photographed reproduction pictures. In its singularity the daguerreotype picture was an autotype formed from intermediate shades of black and white. (It is interesting to note, on the other hand, that the Polaroid camera has nowadays resurrected the principle of singularity.)

The success of daguerreotypes cannot be explained on the basis of their possible applications, e.g. newspaper pictures, illustrations in books etc. In practice this picture genre did not have such uses. Photographic plates were very different from earlier art genre. Steel or copper engravings lack the mirror-like brilliantness that was the distinctive mark of the daguerreotype plate. But the daguerreotype picture had formal generic problems of its own. There is one feature that is not easily noticed in the viewing experience. A degree of formal stigmatism is produced in the eye when a daguerreotype is viewed in the normal fashion from the right: the forms and volumes of the contents become narrower owing to the obliqueness of the viewing angle. For instance, a broad face becomes a slightly narrower one, bodies become slender, and the skewness of a seated position is increased. In addition, the daguerreotype pictures were occasionally uneven and spotty even when new. These viewing problems were all typical occurrences.

Despite these drawbacks, daguerreotype portraits resulted in a considerable decrease in the amount of work commissioned from contemporary miniature painters. Some idea of the situation is provided by the basic study on portrait art carried out by K. K. Meinander, mentioned earlier, although the study is by no means a comprehensive one.<sup>118</sup> The book's material covers about a thousand works by approximately 80 artists. Around 40% of the works are miniatures. The number of miniatures being painted fell dramatically soon after photography arrived in Finland. Looked at from a more international viewpoint, Aaron Scharf considers that photography almost completely superseded miniature portrait painting in the middle of the last century.<sup>119</sup>

Judging by modern-day standards, it appears that the daguerreotype picture was considered to be a direct, parallel relationship between the depicted subject and the picture that was produced. In addition, the photographer was considered to play an insignificant role in the photographing process. This is because, in principle, the daguerreotype portraits contain a succinct recording of how the subjects see themselves. This does not mean that it is never visible in portrait paintings. Painters have frequently made portraits that conform to the wishes of their clients. However, the work of a portrait painter was not usually as obviously direct as that of a photograph. Perhaps the detailed form of the daguerreotype picture, with its beautiful, tangible lustre, helped the genre to become accepted, despite its technological and mechanical origin, as one of the new forms of art - at the very least as one of the manifestations of popular art. At its best, the clarity and naturalness of the details were illuminated in the daguerreotype picture like the unveiling of shimmering magic.

The daguerreotype picture provided man with a new and direct means of viewing himself, while at the same time achieving respect and regard. The result was considered to be an authentic likeness, carefully crystallised into a picture. This explains the success of the small daguerreotype portrait.

The daguerreotype portrait was like a personal jewel or memento that retained its intrinsic value to the client, his family or close friends. The feeling of personal contact was increased by the fact that the most popular sizes were 1/6 or 1/9 that of a photographic plate, i.e. 6 - 8 cm. Pictures of this size could be taken anywhere, and easily fitted into the hand. The side reversal created a feeling that the picture was intimate only to the subject or to one viewer at a time, i.e. a mirror image seen only by the viewer, and only his or her intimate contact.

The typical daguerreotype portraits have a content that is simple yet ambiguous to the viewer. This is quite different from the fact that the pictures were full of documented details and that they lacked choice and the uniformity it provided. They were easy to accept and understand for these reasons alone. They gave the suggestion that "art" does not need to be difficult. Easiness is spurious.

The charm of this novelty and its development into a fashion phenomenon do not completely explain the popularity of the genre. The reason may simply lie in the credible reality of the daguerreotype picture and its magical likeness. However, these reasons alone do not suffice. This is supported by the words of Richard Rudisill, who states that in those days people believed that the camera would become a means of elevating human perception to a level where man can

produce pictorial information on the basis of existing nature and the limits of man himself.<sup>120</sup> According to Rudisill, this is also associated with an universal learning capacity, self determination, sentimental impulses and nationalism. In this respect daguerreotypes still appear to be timeless.

Owing to the fact that small faults occurred rather frequently in the surface texture of the picture plates, making them often look rather shoddy, attempts were made to improve the pictures created by the daguerreotype method. Gold toning was added to the picture surface to enrich the picture and improve its appearance, as well as to create contrast and protect the picture from damage. Because the daguerreotype was a monochromatic metal picture, colours were added by scoring either part of the plate or the glass surface protecting the picture. Despite these improvements, the daguerreotype picture retained the status of an automatically created picture form.

A great number of strange beliefs grew up around the daguerreotype technique and picture - for instance, taking and fixing the picture were considered to be a form of scientific magic.<sup>121</sup> This explains why photography became a secular cult art. Even today we can still understand its wonder and enchantment. Nowadays many people are surprised at the rapid appearance of the developed negative and its final transformation into a picture.

It thus appears that daguerreotype portraits were acquired for both real and imagined reasons (distinction, fashion, novelty etc.) and not just economic ones (although the price is very low compared to a large-sized portrait painting). The causes attributable to the expansion and diversification of man's individual concept of the world had, just as obviously, only a background influence. This was the case despite the fact that the daguerreotype method was one sign of the gradual evolution of a more technological society and the gradual crumbling of subjectively-restricted, simple values, a process that continues today, too. It is paradoxical therefore that while the daguerreotype pictures in fact tell us that people want to retain their own personal values they were participating unknowingly in a technological process that would change them.

## **The soft period of the paper photograph**

### **Introduction**

The history of modern portrait photography starts in the modern sense at the beginning of the 1850's when the paper photograph displaced the metal plates of the daguerreotype method. This marked the first real revolution in photography because there was a simultaneous change in the general style of photography. The soft period of portrait photography was beginning.

Yet, we can hardly talk about development in the sense of the word used in 19th century literature. Therefore, for the purposes of this study the technologi-

cal achievement of the paper photograph shall be treated from that perspective which is limited to the surface structure in the viewer's experience. The analytical approach is thus the same as that applied in the preceding chapter.

The negative/positive photographic process was adopted rather rapidly at the beginning of the 1850's. Its starting point is undoubtedly the method developed by the Englishman, Henry Fox Talbot (1800-1877) which gave paper prints a versatile form. He had already been working successfully on the new technique since 1835. His first paper negative picture, made in 1835, has survived.<sup>122</sup> Talbot's invention, which was covered by a number of patents dating back to 1841, did not however attain the same degree of success as Daguerre's method, although the talbotype made copying possible. The talbotype, or calotype (Greek kalos = beautiful, typos = type) was mainly used in England during the 1840's and 1850's. Only a few photographers used the method in Scandinavia.

During the 1850's paper photographs were produced by two different techniques. One of them was the negative process based on the talbotype method, in which the copy was made on paper in the form of a contact print. The other technique employed a type of paper invented in 1850 that was treated primarily with egg albumin, i.e. so-called albumin paper.<sup>123</sup> It displaced the former method based on the talbotype or calotype process. Photographers gradually started to buy this pre-processed paper. It became available in Sweden at the end of the 1850's and in Finland probably a few years later.<sup>124</sup> The photographers had to master a tremendous number of chemical processes in their practical work. Many of the early Finnish photographers during the 1860's had received a pharmacist's training: Robert Ferdinand Anthoni (1837-1883), Konstantin Ha(c)kulin (1833-1900), Sigfrid Edvard Maexmontan (1831-1880) and Ottar Sigismund Mellgren (1840-1874).

The versatility of the paper photograph increased considerably when already in 1851 the English sculptor Frederick Scott Archer (1813-1857) revealed an invention involving the use of collodion in the photographic process.<sup>125</sup> The result was the so-called wet plate method. In this process the photographic plates were treated when they were still wet. Development of the negative also had to be carried out immediately after the photograph had been taken. The practical drawback to this was that the photographer could not travel very far to take the photograph because he needed a dark room for developing and fixing the picture.

This invention did not do very much to simplify the process of taking photographs because the photographic process became much more complicated and laborious. Nevertheless, the earlier photographic processes were rather rapidly supplanted by new ones. The client was offered a wider range of choice because the photographers could make a number of different types of picture based on the same photographic process: ambrotypes, panotypes, atrographs, ferrotypes and, in addition to these, stereoscopic pictures. In spite of this diversification, tradition still had its place. For instance, ambrotypes were often sold in the form of a picture showing a mirror image of the subject, and it was placed, ready framed, in the same type of beautiful box as the daguerreotypes.<sup>126</sup>

Owing to the difficulties associated with the viewing angle and other problems, the daguerreotype method had probably lost the race with the paper pho-

tograph by the mid 1850's. It should be emphasised that the practical advantages offered by the copying of photographs were not fully understood during the 1840's, nor even during the 1850's. The fact that the daguerreotype was the predominant form of photograph used during the 1840's was presumably also because paper negatives involved two preparation stages, while the daguerreotype method only used one. The fact that artists became daguerreotypists (e.g. A.J. Desarnod the Younger) demonstrates that they felt that the photograph was a credible tool in depicting likeness. At its best the precision and abundant details of the metal plates were a sign to the portrait painters that the competition to achieve likeness was threateningly difficult, and that the skills of their hands could not produce a corresponding effect as credibly and rapidly. One reason for the popularity of the paper picture was that it appeared to be less easily damaged than daguerreotype pictures. Daguerreotypes usually started to deteriorate if they were not shut up tightly in their cases, and hence were susceptible to oxidation. Similarly, the side-skewedness and simple directness of the daguerreotypes presumably demanded so much patience from the viewer that the paper photograph appeared to be more practical. In addition, when the paper pictures were coloured they looked like a small painting or coloured drawing. Thus portrait photographs became the ordinary man's substitute for portrait paintings.

The ordinary daguerreotype portraits had a simple style of posture. In most cases they were taken directly from the front, and contain very few individual expressions or gestures. The photographers who made calotypes searched for the sort of artistic composition which carried the pictorial product to an interpretation closer to art than mere depiction. They were sometimes successful in this. In England, for instance, David Octavius Hill (1802-1870) had his calotype portraits on show in official art exhibitions during the 1850's. According to Heinrich Schwartz, Hill often made sketches of his themes, and changed the perspective and illumination before starting to take the photographs - exactly the same way as he arranged his paintings. The calotype was considered to be magnificent in its simplicity.<sup>127</sup> This is one piece of evidence to show that photography, during the first decade of its existence, was considered to be art, and not merely a technical process. Photographs were usually on display in official art exhibitions throughout the whole of Europe during the 1850's, and in 1859 the French Salon included a photographic section.<sup>128</sup> In Finland, too, the photograph was accepted for the exhibitions held by art societies. This will be dealt with in more detail later on.

Technically speaking, the paper photograph can be considered to be a reaction against the metal photograph. Photographers continued to study the different phenomena, space, light, air, matter, even movement etc., associated with reality. The search for reality was given a new pictorial interpretation that immediately attracted its viewer. The paper photograph merged the individual components of the picture and details into a uniform, grey-massed whole, and destroyed the precisely drawn edges of the figures and the outlining between the distinct picture forms of the arrangement. Paper photographs are primarily built up of extensive masses of light and shadow, as opposed to the daguerreotypes characterised by their precise details. Paper pictures thus contained a loose picturesqueness.

Those photographers who had artistic ambitions were normally more interested in paper pictures than the shiny, reflecting surfaces of daguerreotypes. In fact the surface texture of the paper pictures had an important effect on the sort of aesthetic impression that the photographs created. Compared to Talbot's paper photograph method, albumin paper had a shinier surface and the picture did not have a matte, sunken surface. But both methods produced such indistinct and ineffective pictures that touching up was often necessary. The ineffectiveness of the pictures must have been due to the fact that the fibres in the paper absorbed too much of the emulsion. In the viewing experience, however, the paper photographs were more than just touched up pictures. It is important that, when coloured, these portraits can nowadays still be regarded as drawings or washes that have been compliantly made on a photographic base.

### Friedrich Mebius

According to newspaper announcements, the first paper photographs to be taken professionally in Finland were those made by the German, Friedrich Mebius, around midsummer in 1851. He had worked as a travelling portrait painter in Moscow and St. Petersburg where, as late as 1848, he announced that he made portrait paintings.<sup>129</sup> According to Kaljula Teder, he had started to take calotype portraits in Tallinn in summer 1850.<sup>130</sup>

The following year Mebius announced in the *Helsingfors Tidningar* newspaper that he took daguerreotypes on paper, i.e. so-called photographs.<sup>131</sup> The definition of paper photographs and pictorial art used in his advertisement is important: "Because this form of portraiture is still rather new, I take the humble liberty to mention that those portraits which are taken only in black and white are similar to Indian ink drawings or so-called watercolour drawings, while the coloured photographs are fully compared with aquarelle paintings." He also mentions the exposure time and copying possibilities in the advertisement: 30 or at the most 50 seconds are required to take a portrait. Portraits can be made throughout the day during cloudy weather, but in clear weather only in the afternoons between 4 and 8 P.M. Copies can be taken according to the client's wishes, and the original subject does not have to be present." The *Helsingfors Tidningar* presented its opinion of Mebius' skills about a week later, and described him as a rather talented painter who, for some time already, has devoted his time in St. Petersburg to photography, and more recently taken daguerreotype portraits that are extremely beautiful and successful in their likeness.<sup>132</sup>

Friedrich Mebius' calotypes can be considered to be portrait studies. It is highly likely that this came to the notice of his contemporaries, because in descriptions of his portrait photographs attention was paid to the softness of their values. Mebius often utilised his skills as a portrait painter to make his calotypes more picturesque by touching them up with paint. Compared to the hard sharpness of daguerreotype portraits, Mebius' calotypes have a softness created by the matte surface and the dark-grey tinged sepia tones (Pictures 47 and 48). Sepia

had first appeared in painting art in portrait and especially landscape washes at the end of the 18th century.

Thus coloured calotypes have the appearance of drawings, and were also made with other thin, water-suspended pigments such as Indian ink, bistre, sepia etc., in addition to water-colours. It is unfortunate that in some cases the painting has ruined the photograph. By the beginning of the 1860's, however, the gloss of albumin paper had been increased so much that hand painting became unnecessary. This is also one of the milestones in the history of photography because the breakthrough of the *carte-de-visite* occurred at the same time in Finland.

By today's standards even, Mebius' calotype portraits are of high quality and have a natural appearance, despite a rather similar type of arrangement of subjects in his photographs. Mebius has attempted to give some life to the postures, although the restrictions set by the camera have caused some difficulties. The prices of the photographs were high, as was generally the case for photographers who had received an artistic training. An uncoloured calotype portrait cost 5 silver roubles, a copy 3 roubles, and a coloured calotype 20 roubles.

Mebius' pricing is interesting from the point of view of social history, because it shows that only wealthy people from Helsinki or Turku could afford such high prices.<sup>133</sup> It also suggests that the good financial prospects encouraged Mebius to take up portrait photography. After all, the prices of photographs were much higher than the lithographic sheets on sale to the public. For instance, the Estonian Johan Jakob Reinberg (1823-1896) announced in the *Åbo Underrättelser* newspaper in 1852 that his lithograph series of Turku was on sale as three folders containing four pictures each. One folder cost subscribers 90 copecks and, bought individually, one lithograph was 24 kopecks.<sup>134</sup> Miniature portraits and silhouettes were considerably cheaper than photographs.

These commercial aspects provide one explanation for the nature of photography during both the 1840's and 1850's. During the 1850's photography was not yet the so-called ordinary man's art. Svante Dahlström wrote in 1912: "During the 1850's, when photography in its present form gained a foothold, it was still aristocratic art. The ordinary people could not afford to pay three silver roubles for their photographs, which was the going price at the time in Turku. Copies could be obtained for half the price. Only a small privileged group were able to pay this price for the pleasure of being photographed, it being restricted to the upper circles of society, i.e. affluent and distinguished people."<sup>135</sup>

From the point of view of the social history of art it is interesting to compare in more detail the charges levied by photographers to the price of portrait paintings. For instance, the price of a small portrait painting done rapidly by Ekman at the end of the 1840's and 1850's does not differ very much from the price of coloured photographs. Major Brofelt bought Ekman's portrait painting of Miss Elisabeth Bass (married name Brofelt) for ten silver roubles, and the book dealer J.W. Lillja paid 20 silver roubles for a portrait of the actress Mrs Hessler.<sup>136</sup>

Under no circumstances could photographs be considered cheap. In fact one of the many opinions persistently and unwaveringly expressed about photography, valid even today, is that the reason for the popularity and success of photography was the cheapness of the method compared to pictorial works of

art. The factors that have been discussed early on in this work were also important. On the other hand, when we compare the prices of portrait paintings to those of historical paintings and altar-pieces, for instance, it is clear that portrait paintings were considerably cheaper. The prices of Ekman's altar-pieces ranged, depending on their size, from 300 roubles to as much as 2000 roubles at the end of the 1840's.<sup>137</sup> This demonstrates the relatively low esteem in which portrait art was generally held. It also indicates that altar-pieces became bread-and-butter work in Finland for both R.W. Ekman and E.J. Löfgren.

Presumably for reasons attributable to his profession of portrait painter - photographs were made by a machine and in this respect they lacked the personal touch and subjective expression etc. of the artist - Mebius did not sign his calotype portraits. On occasions the photographer and the date were marked on the back of the photograph. These details, as well as the uniform size and double border on the brown-toned cardboard base, make their identification as his work almost certain. Six specimens of calotype taken by Mebius are nowadays known. They include a coloured calotype of M.A. Castrén which is dealt with in more detail later on in this work. Mebius may perhaps have painted some portraits using a photograph as a model, but no evidence of this has survived in Finland. In actual fact it is just as likely that Mebius concentrated on photography and the colouring of his calotype portraits during the six months he stayed in Finland.

According to the date on the back of Friedrich Mebius' photograph of the merchant Magnus Wilhelm Brenner, it was taken at the end of 1851 (Picture 49). Although the late time of year has clearly had an effect on the picture, it does provide us with a personal glimpse of an old man. The subject is leaning with one arm against the edge of a table, the other arm seeking support for his body by leaning on his thigh. The feeling in the calotype is of a man of intelligence, who was perhaps also somewhat sceptical with respect to himself and others, and who would hardly have felt the need to admire himself in a photograph. This penetrating human portrait photograph also hints at the achievements of the severe style.

Mebius has increased the softness of the portrait by colouring the paper photograph. This has given the picture, despite the stiffness, a certain mark of distinction. Thus the picture is a memento of a long life's work in public activities. The mask-like facial features appear, at first sight, to be almost deathly pale. This is because the facial features are almost completely devoid of nuances owing to the weak resolution of the camera lens. There is also a slightly serious expression on the lips of the subject, a frozen smile. The genre of the portrait is strongly reminiscent of the German, so-called qualitative concept of man, which is a special characteristic of the traditions of this portrait genre. We do in fact know that this social system included a number of principles, not just the external appearance and position of the subject, but also the whole habitus and characteristics of the subject.

The picture forms and figure are, as was commonly the case in the early days of the paper photograph, very weakly attached and remain thin and pale. In his colouring work Mebius has not tried to remove this impression, but has accentuated it consistently. In addition to the subject's face, it is especially apparent in the outlined leaves of the climbing plant painted in the background.

Mebius has also been forced to draw in the subject's eyes. This gives them the impression of staring sightlessly into a void. The position of the face turned to the side, with the eyes looking directly to the front, are elements associated with the rather general formula of portrait painting. They also show that Mebius has tried to follow the traditional composition bonds of art. An appraisal based on the technological perspective has been presented about this portrait photograph by Sven Hirn: "The late time of year has presumably contributed to this rather poor result, which he has attempted to improve through extensive use of the brush."<sup>138</sup>

It was a typical feature of the period that Mebius' appearance in Helsinki also aroused competition: Danish-born Pehr Lindhberg (1785-1868) had arrived a little earlier in the capital. He had received a training at the Royal Academy of Art in Copenhagen and moved in 1826 to Stockholm. In Stockholm Lindhberg worked e.g. as a pastel painter, and he was also chosen as drawing teacher for the crown prince. Lindhberg announced, a couple of days after Mebius, that he could achieve the most complete likenesses with his daguerreotype portraits, which incorporated all the latest improvements. They were also available coloured. His price range was also cheaper than Mebius'.<sup>139</sup> Simple portraits cost, depending on their size, from three to five roubles. Lindhberg put as his profession "Artist from Stockholm". His daguerreotypes were sharp according to contemporary standards but, despite this, they did not make much of an impression.<sup>140</sup> It would appear that none of his daguerreotype works have survived in Finland.

### **Petter Christoffer Liebert**

According to some fairly reliable information, Petter Christoffer Liebert (1818-1866) was the first person in Finland to succeed in fixing his photographs on paper.<sup>141</sup> The Porvoo Museum has two portrait photographs coloured by Liebert with watercolours and Indian ink in the fashion common in the 1850's. One of them is a self portrait (Picture 50), and the other a portrait of his wife Dorothea (Picture 51). Both are marked as having been taken in 1850, but the date is not necessarily correct because it could have been added afterwards. The influence of daguerreotype pictures is still strongly evident in the octagonal shape and arrangement of the pictures. Liebert was presumably the first person in Finland to start using paper photographs in his private experiments before he became a professional photographer. Liebert advertised his professional services as a photographer after moving from Porvoo to Helsinki in 1852.<sup>142</sup> The Austrian, Ferdinand Rottie von Rheda, also had an announcement in the same newspaper about making photographs on paper.<sup>143</sup> Liebert was thus immediately faced with competition from a touring photographer from the very beginning of his career.

P.C. Liebert's biographical information can be investigated rather easily in an approximately monographic form. His personal history has been dealt with a number of times.<sup>144</sup> However, there is reason to examine it a little more closely in

this connection. Petter Christoffer Liebert was born in Copenhagen. Liebert appears to have left Denmark and started touring in 1839. He arrived in Turku in 1843, and in Helsinki at the beginning of 1844 with the Danish, but Norwegian-born, Dorothea Henrietta Mogensen, where they were married.<sup>145</sup> Liebert worked in Helsinki as an itinerant carpenter, and gave his profession as "cabinet maker and découper",<sup>146</sup> He moved to Porvoo as early as in autumn 1844. Petter Christoffer Liebert was the elder brother of the landscape artist, George Emil Liebert (1820-1908). G.E. Liebert's paintings were in the Finnish Art Association's exhibitions in 1867, 1868 and 1873.<sup>147</sup>

Like many of the other photographers of the time, Liebert possessed a wide range of skills. Liebert worked as a xylographic artist already during his first Helsinki period. His woodcuts appeared in many newspapers and books, especially children's books, during the 1840's and 1850's.<sup>148</sup> Liebert demonstrated an ability in his shaded woodcuts to incise very delicate features with his engraving knife. This is due to the fact that the tonal range of the surfaces is rather wide, and halftones stand out (Picture 52). Judging by his woodcuts Liebert's skills appear to have been primarily technical ones. His drawings seem rather clumsy and naive. Liebert appears to be the only xylographic artist working in Finland during the 1840's.

One interesting piece of information about Liebert's time in Porvoo is that he announced in the first half of 1849 that he was establishing a drawing school for both novices and more advanced students as well as a technical drawing school for artisans.<sup>149</sup> His plans appear to have been based on foreign models, but the Turku Drawing School founded by C.G. Söderstrand and R.W. Ekman in 1846 for the classics may also have had an influence. The Borgå Tidningar newspaper recommended the school: "It appears to be evident that drawing skills that are only slightly developed even, are of benefit to every member of society, and that drawing is the sort of advantage which no artisan should lack from the range of skills demanded in their life's work."<sup>150</sup> The case was referred to in a slightly ironical vein in the Åbo Underrättelser in Turku, but in Helsinki the Suometar wrote positively about Liebert's undertaking and considered training to be necessary "in both pleasurable and beneficial skills. Whoever has learnt to appreciate the skills of Mr. Liebert not only in wood engraving, but also in drawing on paper, is assured of the fact that nobody will fruitlessly seek his guidance."<sup>151</sup> However, the school did not provide a livelihood for Liebert. The advantage of being a drawing teacher lay in the fact that it helped in preparing the ground for the establishment of a more permanent art college outside the major cities.

Financial reasons, and perhaps also the technical simplicity of preparing building plans, resulted in Liebert working as an architect for one and a half years from 1849. This also tells us something about his heavy debts, which were marked in his residence permit in 1847.<sup>152</sup>

The reason for Liebert's move to Porvoo was presumably because construction work in the city had got off to a good start in the middle of the 1840's. There were thus good prospects for a carpenter.<sup>153</sup> It also provided him with the opportunity to work as a building designer. In Porvoo he drew the building plans for seven residential plots and for two warehouses.<sup>154</sup> According to the documents,

however, Liebert's profession was not building master, as is usually the case for amateur architects, but "cabinet maker and carving journeyman".<sup>155</sup> The drawings have been done with considerable care, and are coloured. Liebert also started working as a photographer for economic reasons. This can be concluded from the fact that the Helsingfors Tidningar's death notice mentions that Liebert was the first in the country to be a little more talented as a xylographic artist, but that photography offered him more financial advantages.<sup>156</sup>

In 1851 Liebert moved back to Helsinki. There he worked as a professional photographer from September 1852 up until his death under mysterious circumstances. In 1856 and 1857 Liebert also spent a short time photographing in Turku.<sup>157</sup> It has already been shown that Liebert was interested in photography during his years in Porvoo. He may have moved to Helsinki because, at the beginning of the 1850's, the city had no permanently established photographer, even though art and amusement facilities in Helsinki had been increasing ever since the 1820's and the city had gradually become the cultural centre of the country. From the latter half of the 1840's onwards there was an ever-increasing number of foreign performing and other types of artist in Helsinki during the summer season. They satisfied, with obvious success, the local demand for sensational entertainment. This was especially the case after the Kaivopuisto baths became a popular place to spend the summer. Touring professional photographers also visited the city from time to time.

Liebert presumably had the attractive photographic prospects in mind when he became a professional photographer in Helsinki. In fact Liebert initially spent some of the time working as an architect, although his only profession according to the records is cartographer. In addition, he made woodcuts (as during his first period in Helsinki) and, for instance, illustrated the title page and designed the fonts of M. Akiander's textbook "The starting point to learn to write" published in 1851.<sup>158</sup>

1857 and 1858 were turning points in Liebert's career as a photographer. These years as a photographic artist were a success for him in many respects. Liebert's importance is demonstrated by the fact that he was the first photographic artist allowed to participate in the exhibitions of the Finnish Art Association.

This topic needs to be treated a little more extensively because the information presented about Liebert's participation by Sven Hirn in his basic treatise on Finland's photographic literature "In front of and behind the camera" (1972), is somewhat incomplete. S. Hirn writes: "The catalogue of the Finnish Art Association's 1858 exhibition includes....the mention that A.C. (sic!) Liebert presented four portraits. As an isolated phenomenon the occurrence is worth mentioning, and it is also relevant for the reason that photography appeared with full status as an artistic product next to the other genre - it is futile to search for corresponding tolerance from other periods. But Liebert's participation achieved nothing of real significance, and neither was it repeated."<sup>159</sup> S. Hirn again treats Liebert's participation in the art society's exhibition in the photographic catalogue of his manuscript: "Consciously speaking, the artistic perspective was not completely alien for the photographer because he had four portrait photographs on display in the Finnish Art Society's exhibition in 1858 - this appears to be the

first time in Finland that the new invention attempted to appear on an equal footing with other traditional forms of art.<sup>160</sup>

Paper photographs were understood as art, and not just as a mechanical technique, during the 1850's in Finland. One sign of this is the presence of a portrait photograph by P. Chr. Liebert in the Finnish Art Association's exhibition in 1857.<sup>161</sup> Liebert also participated with four of his portrait photographs in a repeat of the art association's exhibition the following year.<sup>162</sup>

It is nowadays impossible for us to determine which photographs were on show in the exhibition. The portrait photographs are not named in the exhibition catalogue, and the art critics did not pay any attention to them. It may have been a question of coloured portrait photographs or even the portrait of a photographer's wife (e.g. Picture 53). The photographs were probably not of well-known people. In those days the portrait paintings of public celebrities or socially respected people only appear to have been named in exhibition catalogues. This can be verified on the basis of the exhibition catalogues. The situation was the same in Sweden. Carl Peter Mazér's portraits, which were on show in the Swedish Academy of Art's (*Kungliga Akademien för de fria konsterna*) exhibitions in 1836 and 1858, are merely mentioned in the exhibition catalogues as original portraits, all painted in oils.<sup>163</sup> A photographic reproduction of a painting was on display for the first time in the 1857 exhibition of the Finnish Art Association. It was a photograph, owned by Professor F. Cygnaeus, made by an unknown photographer of a painting done by W. Holmberg.<sup>164</sup>

This raises the rather interesting question of whether photographers were classified as artists in later exhibitions of the Finnish Art Association. The next such occasion was in 1868; Eugen Hoffers' photograph entitled "Helsinki from Observation Hill".<sup>165</sup> Carl Eugen Hoffers (1832-1893) was a Prussian-born photographer who moved to Helsinki in 1861, presumably from St. Petersburg. He specialised in landscape and scenic photographs, and was the first documentary photographer. Eugen Hoffers attained fame through his 18-piece panoramic photograph of Helsinki, taken from the tower of St. Nikolai's church.<sup>166</sup>

Looked at systematically, photographers were not usually accepted as artists in the art association's exhibitions. For instance, photography had its own section in the 1863 exhibition. One of the photographs in the section was a reproduction picture of one of Walter Runeberg's sculptures, and the other five were photographs of W. Holmberg's paintings.<sup>167</sup>

It is interesting to note that the 1872 exhibition catalogue of the Finnish Art Association included two photographs under the heading "Photography". One is a photograph of a painting called "Persecution of Jews of M. Zichy. Album de peintres russes publié par A. Berggrow".<sup>168</sup> The other photograph in the exhibition catalogue is "The Studio of a Woman in Dresden", accompanied by the notation "on the basis of nature".<sup>169</sup> Is it a question of a photograph documentable to an anonymous photographer? The exhibition catalogue offers no hint about the identity of the photographer. The 1873 exhibition catalogue of the art association had sections for painting, sculpture and photographs. But again the "Photography" section only contained photographs of paintings and sculptures.<sup>170</sup>

The photographer is not always mentioned in these reproduction pictures. This may be due to a change in attitudes towards photography, and a sign of

dispute about the acceptance of photography as art. It may also be that photography was considered to be a form of anonymous work, its main function being documentation and reproduction. Although photographs were in fact included in the exhibition catalogues of the art association, they were not there as photographs but instead used to depict works of art. This gradually led to a situation in which the exhibition catalogues at the turn of the century included photographs of the artists' work instead of graphically reproduced pictures of their work.

Photography was represented in the Finnish Art Association's exhibitions before architecture. The 1859 exhibition included the work of two architects, A. Boman and N. Tallgren: the drawings of the latter architect did not arrive until after the catalogue had been printed. J.J. Tikkanen considers the case to be so significant that he mentions it in his history of the Finska Konstföreningen.<sup>171</sup> In contrast, Tikkanen did not consider the appearance of the first photographs in the exhibitions of the art association to be worth mentioning.

In 1858 Liebert must have felt that, artistically speaking, he was a very successful photographer. This is illustrated by Liebert's announcement in the Helsingfors Tidningar newspaper in the latter half of 1858 about the opening of a studio pavilion on Boulevard Street. It is highly likely that this glass pavilion was the first studio to be designed expressly for photography in Finland. Unfortunately neither the glass pavilion nor the plans have survived. But the announcement gives us some idea of what Liebert had attempted to create. The design of the building enabled daylight and shadow to be manipulated in a way ensuring as completely a likeness as possible in the portraits. Liebert also went so far as to promise that unsuccessful pictures would not be released from his studio.<sup>172</sup> According to the announcement, the prices of portraits ranged from two and a half to five roubles, and groups from five to ten roubles. Coloured portraits cost two or three roubles. Liebert estimated that his work would be fully comparable with the finest paintings done on ivory.

As far as we know, Liebert did not continue to employ his talents as an amateur architect in Helsinki: in addition to the pavilion, there are records of only one signed work in the archives of the Building History Office of the National Board of Antiquities and Historical Monuments.<sup>173</sup> In addition to lighting and illumination, Liebert also solved other problems associated with photography during the winter, e.g. the photographs were taken in a heated room in order to prevent the clients catching cold.<sup>174</sup> The photographs he took during 1859 were presumably of high quality because the Helsingfors Tidningar wrote that his photographs only rarely lacked clarity and sharpness, and that the prices were reasonable.<sup>175</sup>

According to the 1859 Helsinki address register, Liebert was the only photographer and xylographic artist permanently resident in the city. However, other photographic studios gradually appeared. The 1863 address register included entries of three professional photographers, and in 1866 already nine.<sup>176</sup>

Liebert was probably also interested in urban photography because, according to Sven Hirn, the oldest surviving photograph of Helsinki was almost certainly taken by Liebert (Picture 54).<sup>177</sup> The photograph is in fact a double portrait. On the one hand it is a portrait view of C.L. Engel's Theatre Hall, taken in

spring 1857 when the main entrance was being repaired, and on the other it appears to be intended as a group portrait of the people arranged in front of the theatre. The difference between the effect of distance projected by the ordinary camera and that of the eye is well illustrated in the picture. In contrast to the image seen by the eyes, the people in the photograph have been reduced in size, as a result of the central perspective of the camera, into indistinct, almost completely unrecognisable figures. Anybody who has ever taken photographs of people at a distance will have encountered this phenomenon.

Liebert's other activities included illustrating a book by gluing photographs onto paper. During 1862-1865 B.O. Schauman published a three-part work entitled "Photographs of paintings by Finnish artists", the photographic copies of the first two parts at least having been taken by Liebert.<sup>178</sup> Some of the original photographs are signed by Liebert and show, in Marta Him's opinion, that in his day Liebert was a talented illustrator, surely the first in Finland to devote his time to this difficult field which, some decades later, Daniel Nyblin was only rarely able to surpass.<sup>179</sup>

Liebert closely followed the fashion phenomena and developments in photography. In 1857 he announced that he used the ambrotype and panotype methods.<sup>180</sup> The following year Liebert achieved a rather short exposure period in his photography which, according to his advertisement, was from two to five seconds.<sup>181</sup> In addition, he offered "photographic portraits on paper and directly onto glass and oilcloth for medallions." The short exposure time may have been exaggerated, and primarily a reaction to the advertisements of foreign touring photographers which probably included such far-fetched claims. For instance, Danish-born Emil Rye (1820-1890) had announced the previous year that taking a portrait photograph took only a few short seconds.<sup>182</sup> In 1860 Liebert also started to take *carte-de-visite* photographs (Picture 55). In addition, he sold the portraits of national celebrities (e.g. Herman Kellgren). Only portrait lithographs of J.L. Runeberg had earlier been available in Finland.

Liebert's portrait photograph of the actor, Hedvig Charlotte Forsman (later Raa-Winterhjelm), was on sale for the first time at the end of the 1850's. It could be bought at Sederholm & co's book shop, and was considered to be rather a success. The Helsingfors Tidningar newspaper also found it necessary to compare Liebert in a favourable light with the foreign photographers who set up their studios in Helsinki during the summer season. The newspaper considered that, after eleven years, Liebert had now achieved a standard in his photographs that was fully comparable with those produced by foreign photographers.<sup>183</sup> In addition, Liebert sold copies of the works of foreign artists. He also gave lessons in photography.

We can generalise to some extent by drawing attention to the fact that documentation and copying, which demand no real aesthetical creativity, have always been an easily acceptable field for photographers. However, Liebert's main significance lies in the fact that he is the most important representative of the first period of photographic art.

## Lars Johan Peldan

Lars Johan Peldan (1827-1873) was born in the parish of Pietarsaari. He went to sea when he was fourteen. Peldan is said to have learnt photography in England, presumably in Hull, where the Pietarsaari ships often called to load and unload their cargoes. Peldan wanted photography to be his vocation because, according to the Åbo Underrättelser newspaper, he immediately felt a strong calling for the profession and was able to support himself and his family on it.<sup>184</sup> According to Sven Hirn, Peldan started to experiment with photography at home in Pietarsaari in 1856.<sup>185</sup> His first newspaper announcements appeared in summer 1857.<sup>186</sup>

Z. Topelius sent an article from the county of Uusikaarlepyy to the Helsingfors Tidningar newspaper in 1857 about Peldan's first steps as a photographer: "A certain son of Neptune, Peldan, has brought from England the ability to take photographic portraits on glass and frame them, all for the price of 1 rouble 25 copecks each. They aren't really the work of a master, and an important occasion has often resulted in a portrait showing the subject with a desolate expression, such as: do I really have to sit here like somebody having a fit merely for the sun and other people! But we should not underestimate Peldan's skills; I have even seen portraits that have turned out extremely well. In the municipality of Vaasa he is said to have taken portraits of about 300 persons, and even here (in Uusikaarlepyy) of quite a large crowd."<sup>187</sup>

At the same time Topelius drew an interesting comparison with foreign touring photographers: "A Swede visited the district at the same time with the same intentions, although somewhat better equipped, but his price was five roubles. It is truly a sign of the times that we have to pay for this form of art, as for many other things, four to five times more in our country than abroad. What sort of speculation is latent here in this neck of the woods!" This may show that Finland had become a testing ground for touring photographers in determining how much the public were prepared to pay to have themselves photographed. At the same time it explains the reason why many foreign photographers made extended trips to and around Finland, and is probably the main reason why Finland, being a peripheral country, attracted a surprisingly large number of foreigners. Topelius continues by predicting that Peldan will become rich: "Peldan will presumably make a small fortune with his small squares of glass, but nobody in southern Finland appears in this or in any other field to have been able to invent the goose that lays a golden egg."

However, we must not assume that all photographers were motivated solely by commercial instincts. Although photography may in fact have provided them with a good living, the reality was that artists or other professionals who became photographers were often faced with stiff and merciless competition. The competition between the touring photographers especially (a large majority of the photographers resident in Finland were such) was often bitter.

There was also competition between the touring photographers and those permanently resident in the cities. The photographers who had settled down permanently or for an extended period lowered their prices and increased their

advertising whenever a touring photographer arrived in the district. For example, the city of Oulu was host to a number of touring photographers during the summer of 1858. The Dane, Emanuel Philip Philipsen, arrived together with Carl Adolph Hårdh to photograph the townsfolk at the same time as Peldan arrived from the south.<sup>188</sup> Soon after, Philipsen and Hårdh left for Viborg to photograph the clients at the spa. This was presumably due to the stiff competition that resulted in a drop in prices to a level that was no longer profitable for them. Another touring photographer arrived in the district after they had left, the Danish-born F. W. Völcker.<sup>189</sup> His visit was even shorter, and he left Peldan to make an extended stay in the city. In general Peldan preferred to take photographs in Oulu and he was a regular visitor to the city during most summers from 1858 to 1869.

Stiff competition resulted in an occasional drop in prices. At such times the lower social classes could afford to have their photograph taken. Many photographers, including Peldan, must certainly have been interested in these potentially new clients. After all, these photographers were only temporary visitors, staying for the short time needed to gain the maximum gain from their professional skills. Peldan understood the advantages of taking cheaper photographs in order to attract a greater number of clients. During a short period in the city of Turku in 1859, for instance, he photographed about 200 clients, and over nine weeks in Oulu in 1860 took about 700 photographs.

It was clear that Peldan's skills improved as he gained in experience. The Åbo Underrättelser newspaper evaluated his photographs and prices as follows: "During this time Peldan has gained a lot of rather beneficial experience. The portraits he took at the beginning of his career differ from those taken more recently like night from day. In most cases nowadays he is surprisingly successful, even the smallest feature or detail usually comes out clearly and distinctly. In all his natural unpretentiousness, Peldan's prices are also modest. For one portrait on glass he charges only one rouble and 25 copecks, for two portraits on the same glass plate one and a half roubles and so on. The price also includes all the paraphernalia, and the touching up that he deems necessary in order to improve the colour of the face etc., and achieves a rather good end result. Without doubt Peldan's work is fully comparable with that of most foreigners who visit our city under the protection imparted by the profession of photographer, and who have bravely adopted the title."<sup>190</sup>

Peldan often used the ambrotype process in his work at the end of the 1850's. In this method the glass negative was normally set against a slightly under-illuminated dark background, e.g. velvet, paper etc. This resulted in the photograph appearing as a slightly greyish coloured positive. The photograph was singular, as was normally the case for daguerreotypes. However, the advantages of the method lay in its rapidity and cheapness. Although copies could not be made of ambrotypes, it didn't prevent them from becoming extremely popular during 1857-1863.

A lot of ambrotypes were produced during the period but, being made of glass, they broke easily and are nowadays rather rare. For instance, only a few dozen of Peldan's ambrotypes have survived, most of which are in the Pietarsaari City Museum. He also made panotypes. In this method a light-sensi-

tive membrane was transferred onto leather, dark oilcloth or corresponding material. At the beginning of the 1860's Peldan started to make cartes-de-visite following their rapid capture of the photograph market all over the world.

Peldan's portrait photographs corresponded to what the portrait clients demanded at the time. He succeeded in achieving a technically relevant documentation of the subject's facial features. The pictures also contain an artisan-like simplicity in the arrangement of the subjects (Picture 56).

The great demand for private portraits resulted in a stereotyped similarity that was mass produced by the portrait industry. The pressures of competition and the fall in prices forced the photographers, also in Peldan's case, to concentrate on solutions that could be as rapidly and easily implemented in all their photographic activities. Such serial production was not a new phenomenon in the portrait industry. Indeed, ever since the end of the 18th century all the touring portrait painters had prepared their model formulae beforehand, leaving the faces to be filled in when needed (Picture 57). But this industrialised form of the artisan's work now spread ever wider to become a generally respected, agreeable portrait genre. This explains Peldan's success as a portrait photographer, in addition to his relatively low prices. In fact one result of serial production was that, despite the reduction in exposure time under good conditions to one or two seconds, the portrait photographs retained the same stiff expression. They still show the mark of the style and content characteristics of the stiff period of photography. This photographic style, which had resulted from technical problems and restrictions, continued into the 1860's. It must also have been a question of aesthetic preference because the photographers were not at all free in how they could photograph people, even though from the technical point of view they were.

The rapid production of photographs in large numbers resulted in them possessing many common features. These include, in addition to the severe stiffness of the composition, the arrangement of the face which was turned slightly to the side or straight to the front (Picture 58). The monotony of the limited expression tells that the touring photographers did not necessarily devote their time to the most talented form of work. They resorted to the most readily available prototypes without always being capable of adopting, combining or developing them into new forms. Their attempts were usually rather clumsy, but they still possess the simple photographic tradition that became the predominant portrait genre everywhere. In their restrictedness they can even be considered, if possible, as a more primitive form than the personal gallery produced by artisan painters.

The large number of photographs that have survived prove, at this stage, that the photographers still used the established procedures of painting art as their immediate guidelines, or at least that painting art was still a distant prototype on which to base their arrangements. It is not surprising that many photographers produced pictorial works that were assembled from simple, suitable picture models borrowed from tradition. In the hands of ambitious photographers these formal materials would have had a considerable unifying force, but in such cases the forms of the photographs would have been hardly anything more than a mediocre, incomplete counterpart to the spirit of truth, which they

strove to bring out in their work. Portrait photographs tell us a lot about the official, external presence of their subjects, but little of their internal life. Because this was almost always associated with the popular demand for a dignified representativeness, or refined presence, the portrait photographs were in point of fact also official generic portraits in accordance with the wishes of the clients.

What is the reason for the burning desire to acquire one's own portrait photograph? The explanations put forward by contemporary newspaper articles are very consistent. The *Vasabladet* newspaper wrote in 1857 that those who had their photograph taken wished to preserve their facial features for posterity.<sup>191</sup> The *Oulun Wiikko-Sanomat* newspaper drew similar attention to people's need to immortalise themselves: "Peldan has done good work, and it appears to be constantly in demand; many of them are people who, thinking of their ultimate departure, want to leave an embodied picture for their children, family and friends; many of those who through their picture want to live on as a memory for others following their death."<sup>192</sup>

This is clearly also associated with the popular need for "correct" likeness. In other words the photograph had to be so clear and distinct that for the observer it was like looking at himself or the depicted subject in a mirror. The *Björneborgs Tidning* newspaper brought this up rather convincingly by writing in 1862 that the subjects' likeness is so astounding that every photograph is like looking at oneself in a mirror.<sup>193</sup> The newspaper even urged people to go and have their photograph taken: "We advise all those who do not yet have a portrait of themselves, but wish their features to be put in pictorial form, to take advantage of this opportunity." The article also mentions that the photographs of the Copenhagen artist and photographer Mr. Jean de Thorsøe were considered to be more progressive than those of the recent visitors to the town, Lars Johan Peldan, or the German, Franz A. Schröder. This distinguished and refined name was in part a cover for Johan Niels Martinus Thorsøe (1834-1909). Thorsøe had received acclaim especially for his portrait lithographs of the Danish royal house before he took up portrait photography in Sweden (Örebro).<sup>194</sup>

A look at Peldan's announcements shows the means he used to attract potential clients to have their photographs taken. After arriving in a district Peldan normally put an announcement in the newspaper under the heading "Photographic Portraits", which he stated were taken for a completely moderate price, and that he made portraits of a single person or of groups.<sup>195</sup> After some time there was an announcement in the newspaper: "My stay in this district will last up until the first trip of SS Osterbotten to the north".<sup>196</sup> Peldan then announced in the next edition of the newspaper: "For reasons of pure chance I will be staying for a short time longer"<sup>197</sup> Peldan may have also announced: "My stay in the district will last for only five days."<sup>198</sup> It would appear that Peldan had the skill of getting ponderous Finns to make unusually fast decisions.

As far as his skills were concerned, Lars Johan Peldan was the most typical of the rather modest practitioners of photography who travelled around our country. He has received so much attention because he was very productive. His output is much greater than that of any other earlier photographer. As a photographer Peldan mainly travelled around Ostrobothnia. Topelius appears to be correct in his prediction that Peldan would amass a small fortune with his

glass plates. At the beginning of the 1870's Peldan bought a match factory. However, the good photographer did not turn out to be a successful factory owner because the manufacturing of matches proved to be uneconomic. Before his death by suicide, Peldan attempted a comeback as a photographer in Pori.<sup>199</sup>

## Review of photography in the 1860's

### From the carte-de-visite to the great style of early photography, the vignettism

The so-called carte-de-visite (visiting card) came into fashion in Finland at the beginning of the 1860's. The method had primarily been developed in France and England already during the previous decade. In the original sense of the word, the carte-de-visite was literally a visiting card, which had a small portrait photograph next to the name. The first to demonstrate the method was the Marseilles photographer, Louis Dodero, in France in 1851 in his letter published in the *La Lumière* newspaper. Dodero also suggested that photographs be put in passports, hunting licences and similar official documents.<sup>200</sup> When the Parisian photographer André Disdéri (1819-1890?) in 1854 patented this small type of picture (the size of the photograph was ca. 85 x 55 mm and, together with a cardboard backing, ca. 100 x 64 mm), it was mainly a question of a much simpler developing method than had earlier been used. The square-lensed camera produced four small pictures on one side of the negative. This was repeated on the other side of the same plate by means of a removable cassette. The result was thus eight negatives on one plate and, after contact copying, eight similar-sized portraits which were cut out and glued onto a white cardboard backing.<sup>201</sup>

In Finland, however, the practice was a little different. Although the visiting card photograph, the carte-de-visite, was actually a standardised portrait technique, the eight-picture technique was not normally used in Finland and in most cases there were only two or four pictures on the negative.<sup>202</sup> However, more versatile cameras were probably already in widespread use halfway through the 1860's. For instance, Aron Mönkkynen announced in the *Tapio* newspaper: "The undersigned takes all sorts of photograph from now on, even every day between 9 A.M. and 3 P.M., and cartes-de-visite pictures cost 10 marks a dozen."<sup>203</sup>

What were the reasons for the success of the carte-de-visite? Arousal of the public's interest and the international success of the carte-de-visite did not start until Emperor Napoleon III who, on his march to the aid of the Italians in the war against Austria made his troops wait for him outside Disdéri's photographic studio in May 1859 while he was having his photograph taken. The Emperor needed a large number of different-sized but representative photographs for propaganda purposes. At the same time Disdéri took advantage of the free advertising and, for a time, he made a great deal of money. Almost the whole of

Paris followed their Emperor's example.<sup>204</sup>

But what was more important was that, as a result, the world received a new type of photograph that had almost the features of a whim of fashion, which lasted e.g. in Finland up until the 1920's. Despite this, the Finnish Modern Dictionary does not know the term "visiting card picture". The Parisian court had also again become the centre of fashion at the beginning of the 1850's - London having held the position for some time previously - after Eugénie de Montijo married Napoleon III. Fashion-conscious women generally copied the dress and hairstyle of the Empress, which spread around Europe in the form of cartes-de-visite. The capital of fashion phenomena was thus responsible for the carte-de-visite picture type.<sup>205</sup>

Photographs, especially carte-de-visite photographs (the same as cabinet photographs), of women were often suitable as small portraits displaying the latest dress in the elegant interior of a photographic studio (Pictures 59, 60 and 61). As is normally the case with fashion pictures, the head and body of the model were only a frame on which to hang the clothes. The expression on the face was of secondary importance because the face in full-length portraits is very small. The whims of fashion, self-complacent bearing and imposing and affected posing can be seen in the photographs. The women are often dressed in these photographs in crinolines, detachable sleeves, lace bonnets, negligées and expensive silk clothes.

In actual fact the portraits produced by Disdéri became a basic type of elegant portrait photograph. As a picture it was a standardised and stereotypic status photograph. But the representatives of the upper classes now had a model of how to appear dignified. After all, the portrait photographers had their French models on which to base their arrangements when photographing clients. At the same time it is a sign of the supremacy of an unexpectedly created convention. It would thus appear as if the traditional concepts, in a way criteria, of likeness became more refined through the cartes-de-visite. People started to demand, in principle, more photographic likeness in an ever-more distinguished form.

In Sweden Charles XV understood the opportunity provided by the carte-de-visite to increase his popularity. This was presumably associated with the king's vanity because, according to Rolf Söderberg and Pär Rittsel, Charles XV considered himself an elegant man.<sup>206</sup> Thus a carte-de-visite of the ruler was distributed in Stockholm already in 1860. From the international point of view, the situation was the same for instance in England, Austria, Germany, the United States and Russia, where carte-de-visite photographs of the ruling families resulted in the unprecedented popularity of the new type of photograph during 1858-60.<sup>207</sup> The volume of production must have been really enormous.

The carte-de-visite was joined by a competitor, the so-called cabinet picture, in England during the 1860. It was a portrait or landscape picture, larger than the carte-de-visite picture, photographed on one plate (with its cardboard backing the cabinet picture was 11 x 17 cm). The cabinet photograph competed successfully with the carte-de-visite photograph because it was a more suitable decoration on a desk or bookshelf. They could also be put in photograph albums in the same way as carte-de-visite pictures.<sup>208</sup> This type of picture was mentioned

for the first time in Finland in a newspaper announcement from 1871.<sup>209</sup> As a more expensive competitor to the *carte-de-visite* picture, it was still in use during the first years of the 20th century.

### The socio-historical perspective

For professional photographers the triumphal march of the *carte-de-visite* signified an opportunity for considerable financial gain. They could keep the price of the innovation high right from the start, although the material costs were actually lower than earlier. This resulted in a very rapid increase in the number of photographers. The number of photographers identified by Sven Hirn was 23 at the beginning of the 1860's, but already almost 70 by the middle of the decade.<sup>210</sup>

It is especially interesting to note the number of women photographers entering the profession of photographer in this period of growth. In the male-dominated society of the 1860's this new profession offered the greatest opportunities for women. At least 12 women worked professionally for shorter or longer periods as photographers during the 1860's: Caroline Becker, née Elfström (1826-1881), Euphrosyne Chiewitz, married name Magnusson (1819-1899), Hedvig Keppler, married name Löfman (1831-1882), Thora Liebert (born 1846, moved to Stockholm in 1872), Hilda Magito, married name Weckman (1844-1924), Julie Nordenstreng (1828-1883), Eugenie Roos, née Höckert (1829-1897), Rosa Sandelin, née Spolander (1835-1901), Emilia Tudeer, née Gylling (1835-1916) and Julia Widgren (1842-1917); Maria Hirn (née Klingenberg) also occasionally worked as a photographer during the 1860's.<sup>211</sup>

The relatively large number of women photographers suggests that they had an exceptional position in Finland. Similarly, the number of women painters in our country during the 19th century was considerable compared to the situation abroad. There is no reason to consider the reasons more closely here, but the socio-historical explanation concerning the relatively free status of women in Finland undoubtedly contributed to the situation. Although this is well known from the history of painting art, it is also very informative to draw a comparison with photography; women painters started to be respected more already by the end of the century, in contrast to the situation for women photographers.

Did the new profession also bring social standing for women? Perhaps this was the case, although the book published by the Finnish Woman's Association in 1896 entitled "Biographical Information about Finland's Women in Different Professions" has no entries of women working as photographers (almost all the women painters are included). This is rather surprising when we consider that the preface states that the book "also covers those professions which have so far remained unnoticed by scholars, and which from the point of view of cultural history can justifiably be published in the book".<sup>212</sup>

In addition to the different fields of art, professional women representatives of the weaving industry, handicrafts, animal protection, massage, prison work, business, women gymnasts etc., are also covered in the book. Despite the

fact that, during the 19th century, photography was one of the rare professions to which a woman could easily devote herself, the editors of the book did not show themselves to be completely unprejudiced with respect to this still rather new profession. It appears to be due to a lack of appreciation, because even the representatives of successful stationery and draper's shops have been listed. In this respect the book does not appear to have any gaps or irregular contents. In any case the book is of historical importance because it lists the forgotten achievements of the representatives of other fields in which women played an active role in society during the 19th century - often as pioneers.

In their history of Swedish photography, Rolf Söderberg and Pär Rittsel consider that, starting from the 1860's, the profession of photographer was transformed within a few years from the adventures of a few brave souls into one that rapidly produced money for almost every debutante.<sup>213</sup> In addition, they write that the term "the golden period of Swedish photography", used by Helmer Bäckström for the first half of the 1860's, would have referred to the minting of "gold", i.e. a flow of money. However, I do not consider that Bäckström used the term in this meaning. If this claim of rapid enrichment would really have been the case in Sweden, it should be stressed that the situation during the 1860's in Finland could hardly have been as good, apart from during a few short periods.

In Finland, as elsewhere in Europe, we can in fact talk about *carte-de-visite* mania, and not just about a considerable show of interest. There were short-term increases in the sale of *cartes-de-visite* in Finland, but hardly the continuous booms of the Swedish sort. An oversupply of pictures was followed rapidly by periods of recession. This was a result of the famines of the 1860's, which reached a peak in 1867-68 when over 200,000 people died. The Åbo *Underrättelser* newspaper drew attention to the serious economic situation in our country already in 1860. The newspaper considered that there was no justification to increase self-indulgence through art; the development of all other aspects of life had been neglected and most of the population were living in extreme poverty; the upper classes on the other hand benefited from the situation, especially the *intelligentsia*.<sup>214</sup> It is thus logical that the *carte-de-visite* mania in Finland mainly resulted in a portraiture of the upper social classes. The early period of the *carte-de-visite* photograph is a good example of this.

The first *carte-de-visite* photography in Helsinki was that performed by the brothers "Gebr. Borchardt" in August, 1860. They had started up a photographic business in Viborg in 1859 after first practising the profession in St. Petersburg.<sup>215</sup> Their first advertisement stated that they took ambrotypes as well as paper photographs.<sup>217</sup> The brothers used the reference to St. Petersburg to stress that they were top-quality photographers. For the same reason they signed their photographs and applied high prices. They certainly would not have been as successful if they had not been able to make *cartes-de-visite*. People in Helsinki immediately showed considerable interest. Sven Hirn writes: "The novelty immediately attracted the eye of Helsinki society, and all the persons of note appeared to have gone to have themselves photographed. Other people could not afford it because 12 *cartes-de-visite* cost 10 silver roubles. The turnover appears to have been considerable."<sup>218</sup>

The type of portrait photograph favoured by society called for a dignified

demeanour, self-confident posture and expensive paraphernalia in the background. The setting should in principle support, but not disturb, the subject of the portrait (Pictures 62 and 63). Its purpose was to give only a slight emphasis to the figure through the use of draperies, pillars, and a chair and table. The standard postures derived from portrait painting continued to be used at the beginning of the decade, as had earlier been the case in photography.

The standard form of photograph that was adopted actually depicts a person arriving for a visit (see Picture 40). The visitor is dressed for the occasion, hat in hand, on his head or on the table, and is standing or seated in the vestibule. The figure in the *carte-de-visite* seems to be waiting to be received. The photographic visiting card was, in this respect, intended for the hosts and hostesses of society. Tail coat, dinner jacket, top hat and walking stick, venerable women's dresses in shimmering silk, give the very clear message that a new and suddenly very respectable form of pictorial courtesy visit had developed, the so-called courtesy call "in effigie". In actual fact the *carte-de-visite* photographs were permanent surrogates of the subject in the homes of friends and acquaintances who, in turn, showed their appreciation of such politeness and consideration by presenting a picture of themselves in return.

Standardisation of the size of photographs according to that of the *carte-de-visite* photograph resulted during the 1860's in the mass production of albums and frames. A new idea for using the photographs also developed: the *cartes-de-visite* were mounted in photograph albums, from which the photographs were removed for the sole purpose of looking at them. When, at the same time, the price of photographs fell, a visit to the photographer came into fashion. Photograph cards were collected, exchanged, presented and saved in a folder in an orderly fashion. The fashion phenomenon also encouraged people to take up the profession of photographer, and more and more people soon started up businesses in this field.

The dream of a better future appeared to be a realistic possibility merely by procuring a camera and undergoing a short period of practice. According to Sven Hirn, there were probably more than enough photographers in Finland after the middle of the 1860's. At that time 34 known photographers were working simultaneously in Finland, but by the time "the 1870's had arrived the ratio between supply and demand had stabilised somewhat".<sup>219</sup>

In general we can say that the regulations of business life were reflected in the photographs and in the fashion whims of the photographic genres they depicted. In fact the photographer was paid for his handiwork, or as I would say on the basis of his mirror-like likeness. The photographer was forced to submit to the impersonal pressures of supply and demand. For the first time in the history of the pictorial arts the ordinary man in the street, being a portrait client, had become the main financial supporter of the visual arts. Thus the lower classes could at last afford to have their photograph taken (Picture 64). There is usually a degree of conflict in these photographs between the client and the setting.

The result was an increase in the production of photographs. The ordinary, respectable public displayed a rather strong desire to have their own portrait. This was evident, as has earlier been mentioned, in the immediate spread of

photograph albums and the popularity of the *carte-de-visite*. Very many people wanted to acquire *carte-de-visite* photographs of themselves and of the important people and celebrities which were on sale. It was not merely a question of whether the client could afford to have a portrait photograph. They were in great demand, and their sale was governed by the laws of supply and demand. Photographs were produced for these markets.

The mechanism of the art markets brought the public and the photographers together, independent of the "real value" of the photograph. The abundance of *carte-de-visite* photographs during the 1860's especially shows that the value of the photograph as art is always on very shaky ground, and is dependent on both the time and the values of society. There are perhaps too many of these details in the photographs, arranged in too approximate a fashion to create a dignified or artistic form. By the end of the century the result was sometimes almost "pure kitsch" (Picture 65).

Despite all the attempts to create a distinctive effect, the camera has frequently produced a banal picture experience, lacking artistic distinction, and turned a personal history intended for greatness into an insignificant performance. In slightly more pointed terms, we can say that the subjects make an unintentional parody of themselves. Thus, despite the attempts to create an aesthetic impression, the depiction of many *carte-de-visite* photographs often failed. Svante Dahlström was presumably referring to this when he wrote that the photographs taken during the earlier years were often more progressive than those of today, despite the developments that have taken place in techniques, materials, lighting conditions and *mise-en-scène*.<sup>220</sup> In addition, Dahlström considers that the reasons for this were the prejudices of the type of people appearing in the photographs, the special conditions characteristic of the times, and the superficiality of photographic art.

It is easiest to compare the internal arrangement of their contents when we look at the photographs. It is apparent that the early generation of photographers used a simple approach in planning their picture environment; the abundance of paraphernalia used during the 1860's (Pictures 66 and 67) appears at times to be nothing more than a pretentious or pompous attempt to make a favourable impression. In fact the travelling photographers carried no studio furniture with them. They borrowed the inevitable chair and small table (Picture 68), sometimes a carpet and a curtain to serve as the draperies considered essential to create a distinguished photograph.

The importance of making a good impression is clearly evident from the announcements in which the travelling photographer emphasises that he is staying at the house of Baron W. Klinckowström, Colonel Petander, auditor Grahn, Pastor Staudinger or squire A. Grönberg. Of course the houses of goldsmiths, innkeepers, saddle makers etc. also occur in these announcements. The public's respect for the travelling photographer lasted until the latter half of the century, when so-called respectable addresses started to disappear from their announcements.

A wide range of settings and paraphernalia started to be used in photography during the 1860's. The depiction of real objects, painted on paper, cardboard etc., so-called dummies, also came into fashion. The settings were so important

that photographers included information about them in their newspaper announcements. For instance, O. J. Aune (1837-1912?) mentioned the arrival in Turku of new settings, and stated that they gave *carte-de-visite* photographs "elegant appearances".<sup>221</sup> Photographers who had permanently settled in a district frequently used settings. If they built a photographic studio for themselves, its fittings usually included a range of different types of back cloth. They used them to create a picture environment suitable for the subject or one the client desired. The most popular were landscape and scenic types (Pictures 69 and 70). The artistic aspirations of the photographers perhaps included the creation of an atmosphere conducive to the subject of the portrait using a range of landscape settings. The traditions of portrait painting include many analogical counterparts to these means of expression (e.g. Venetian portrait art of the 16th century).

### **Social historical interpretation**

If we accept that style can also be defined as the visible configuration of society's system of values, we can try, from this perspective of social history, to elucidate the posture types of the first period of photography and the photographic style expressing it. In this case the expression adopted by photography and its significance can be interpreted as a part of that relatively rigid social system which defined, in the class structure of the times, the forms of behaviour and system of norms. This is already evident from the distinguished dress of the photographed subjects, i.e. the unwillingness to allow oneself to be photographed in everyday clothes, as well as in the postures employed by the photographers.

Posing in photographs is in fact a sign of submitting oneself to be photographed in a position which is not, and should not be, free or natural. Portraits are a form of well arranged still life. It appears to be a question of a system of social symbols reflecting the values of the social system. An attempt will be made to go into these aspects in more detail later on. At the same time we come across the problem of what really were the social aspects in a photograph.

According to Pierre Bourdieu, it is probable that the cultural ideal of appearing natural had not yet developed and it could not therefore be photographed accordingly.<sup>222</sup> For this reason the photographs of the period appeared just as they were intended. Similarly, the widespread custom of photographing the subject from directly in front was in accordance with contemporary cultural values. Respect and dignity, as such, almost presuppose that the subject in the photograph stands like a man facing another, one respecting the other and expecting respect in return, with the head high and erect. Women of course followed these unwritten rules.

Society in those days, which placed emphasis on external virtues and dignity, respectability and honour, was in actual fact a rather closed world in which contemporaries considered themselves to be under the close scrutiny of others in almost all matters. It was therefore important to portray as respectful and distinguished a picture of oneself as possible. The severe finishing off and stiff posture

(an extreme example of this is the military stance) was the result of a posing arrangement reflecting the society of the time.

The people in a number of group photographs stand in a tight group, often touching each other, well away from the central space of the photograph (Picture 71). All are looking directly at the camera. This is also the case with photographs of only two people. These uniform behavioural norms demonstrated in front of the camera were of the same type as those adopted on any other solemn festive occasion; i.e. those behaving in an exceptional manner would have immediately been the focus of disapproval. In actual fact this type of behaviour forced those being photographed into adopting a distinguished posture. It is therefore only natural that the people in the photographs are sitting or standing in a stiff arrangement, and completely immobile. For similar reasons the subjects had to be appropriately dressed in the photographs, i.e. elegantly. The photographs were so-called parade portraits. We can say that almost all of these photographs conformed to the network of social relationships characteristic of a hierarchic and almost unchanging society in which family and class were more important than the individual.

Cartes-de-visite were made and bought more to be shown to other people than to be looked at by the subjects themselves. They therefore include references to the viewer, and they strive to elevate the status of the photographed person. This is presumably the reason why the subjects in the carte-de-visite photographs are often looking directly at the camera, i.e. the viewer, even though the subject's face would have been turned in half profile. The frontal and axial composition offered as reliable and positive an impression of the subject as possible. In contrast, looking to the side would have created a feeling of evasiveness, thus preventing eye contact being established between the viewer and the subject. However, the carte-de-visite photographs do contain features revealing the character of the subject. We can see from the photographs that the subjects often lean on a table, while keeping it at a distance. Similarly the way in which the subject leans or touches the table may tell something about the personality of the subject.

From this point of view, the subject was almost a subsidiary figure in his own portrait; he appeared in the rounds of norms and virtues, or in actual fact as an attribute, and was surrounded by the harmony of bodily and moral respectability. For instance, the carte-de-visite portrait also sometimes included articles indicating the subject's profession as a sign of the work ethic, and not always merely for informative purposes (picture 72). This almost certainly originated from the traditions of portrait painting (e.g. an artist or architect held or was surrounded by articles indicating his profession). Thus portrait art still demanded that the portrait provide the viewer with information and opinions about the subject. It would thus appear that those aspects in the photographs of the early period which really had a social nature were form and style.

## Questions of colouring and form

In general, photography was considered to require some sort of artistic goal and a certain amount of order and discipline. There was an obvious need to develop a systematic discipline from the strict instructions and experiences of photography. In 1861, for instance, the *Tapio* newspaper in Kuopio considered it newsworthy that one of the residents of the city was said to have learnt "this excellent form of modern art from a travelling photograph maker".<sup>223</sup>

This desire for learning in Finland was also satisfied by the booklet published by Carl Peter Mazer (1807-84) in Stockholm "Booklet of photography, or how to learn the skill of making pictures on glass and paper with one's own hands, and to make stereo-pictures and carte-de-visite portraits with the latest and simplest techniques" (1864). Stereo-pictures were popular in scenic photographs and pornographic pictures, but as portrait photographs they were rare.

The career of C. P. Mazer is especially interesting because he visited Finland for the first time as a travelling portrait painter in 1837-38, and for the second time as a travelling photographer in 1865 (Pictures 73 and 74).<sup>224</sup> In Helsinki he painted a number of photographs for the university, student fraternities and private clients. As a photographer he visited Oulu and, presumably also Sotkamo. He had received a training in art in his youth e.g. in Stockholm and later on in Paris, where his portrait art became infected with a breath of European romanticism. This romantic trend can be recognised from the colouring of the portraits he painted, in their ashlike shades or smouldering yellowish-brown tones.

Mazer differed from the other travelling artists of his time in the fact that the most likely reason for his travels e.g. to St. Petersburg, Moscow, China and Italy, was a romantic wandering lust and the typical inspirations of his boiling Gallic character. Mazer is said to have started his career as a photographer in 1859 owing to his failing or poor eyesight.<sup>225</sup> However, it was most likely a question of French self irony. This assumption is supported by Georg Nordensvan's claim that Mazer was really interested in making his fortune as a portrait painter, but that his sharply characterised portraits did not, however, attract customers.<sup>226</sup>

We can use Mazer's booklet to obtain answers to some of the questions that we are repeatedly faced with in photography of the period. They include the colouring of photographs and the design of cartes-de-visite. In addition, an important part of the booklet contains precise instructions about the chemical and technical processes used in photography.

It has already been shown that colouring photographs was an occasional practice already right from the beginning of the 1840's. It spread rapidly. Photographers frequently employed an assistant to colour the photographs, often a young artist with an art school training. In his chapter about the colouring of photographs Mazer mentions that those photographers who were not painters only rarely coloured their paper photographs themselves. They left it to the touch-up artist.<sup>227</sup> On the other hand, according to Mazer the colouring of glass positive pictures does not require much skill, merely a steady hand and a little

artistic talent. The photographer usually did it himself.

Colouring was obviously one way of creating an artistic impression. It lent additional realism and naturalism to the viewer's experience. Based on the photographic material covered in this study (about 320 photographs including foreign photographs for comparison purposes), it would appear that the portrait photographers usually used water, pastel or oil colours. The use of coloured chalk was avoided presumably because the structure of the colouring in the photograph would then have been based almost exclusively on a line effect. This would have been against the nature of photography, because in those days it was not capable of producing a drawn line. Straight lines did not appear in photography until much later (through the experiments of the Bauhaus school in the 1920's).

On the other hand, oil, water and pastel colours could be used to achieve a picturesque effect through their soft changes in shade. Pastel colours were used especially for largish photographs which required a strong overall effect. Water-colours were suited to smaller photographs, which required more softness and fineness in the details, e.g. in small photographs on caskets, brooches, medallions etc. Oils were most popular on medium-sized portrait photographs. There were also other applications and modifications. Water-colours were primarily used prior to the beginning of the 1860's, and by the middle of the 1860's oils had become the most common because they were the most durable.

Mazer writes that colours should be applied in dry form, e.g. as so-called powder colours, which can be bought ready prepared in small bottles. An ordinary hair brush can be used to apply them. When performing the colouring work, attention of course had to be paid to the shades of the subject's face, and the correct tones selected. Mazer advises that taste and degree of skill dictate the choice of colours. It is best to start from the cheeks and apply a little carmine to the most pronounced points if the subject has a good colour. The other parts of the face are then painted in suitable shades, and the shading continued until it has blended with the carmine on the cheeks.

One drawback of carmine, a red colour with a slightly bluish tinge, is that it does not withstand light or air. It has often resulted in the irreversible fading of a coloured photograph. According to Mazer, the forehead does not need much colour. The lower lip was coloured in a slightly deeper shade than the cheeks, the upper lip on the other hand was normally left uncoloured because, in the normal division of light and shade in a photograph, it usually lay in deep shadow. Mazer also gives other guidelines for colouring the face and head. For instance, photographs taken in good light have their own illuminated points and the highest values are to be found especially in the most protruding parts of the face, on the nose and forehead. These areas should be treated with caution. The shape of the head can also be altered unintentionally by adding colours. However, the eyes in photographs should be made slightly darker, but very finely. Light brown and fair hair is coloured at the points with the strongest highlights, black or grey hair does not need to be coloured because the natural colour in photographs is almost always correct. A wide range of deficiencies could be covered or improved with a few touches of colour pigment.

Mazer's instructions warn about overcolouring clothes and draperies. As

little colour as possible should be applied because, despite careful colour treatment, it does to some extent hide the soft clarity of the surface texture, which is one of the great fascinations of the photograph.<sup>229</sup>

This need to retain the soft surface structure of the photograph is an important comment. Mazer's booklet also shows that glossy, album paper photographs had come into widespread use in Sweden in the middle of 1860's; they usually only needed touching up to correct the negative. In Finland, K. E. Ståhlberg wrote still in 1890 that: "A fine pencil and touching-up colours are used to cover all the light spots and unevenness."<sup>230</sup> Finally, the positive photographs were given a glossy finish on a "glazing machine or, if one was lacking, with a hot iron".<sup>231</sup>

The *carte-de-visite* portraits of the beginning of the 1860's were characterised by the use of full-length figures, either sitting or standing. According to Mazer, at the beginning of the 1860's people wanted to see the feet of the subject in the photograph. This was an important development because the photograph was no longer one half or one quarter of the subject, but the whole figure. Mazer wrote that this was *holisticness*. A skilful artist could use this to bring out a greater likeness in his portraits. He is not restricted to reproducing facial features alone, but can also catch individual features in the position and dress; these together give the picture its *idiosyncratic* form, the special features characteristic of the depicted subject. The paraphernalia arranged in the picture, the draperies and foregrounds, impart a pleasant finish to the photograph.

Mazer also treated the overall effect of photographs. A real artist was revealed by the arrangements and predilections if they were in harmony with the character of the portrayed subject. In this respect Mazer did not consider himself capable of giving any other advice than that which good taste and special needs presupposed.<sup>233</sup> In everything one should strive to ensure that the desired harmonic certainty spreads over the whole picture. The most important components of the picture should be clearly visible and the subsidiary objects slightly less so. Microscopic sharpness over the whole surface of the photograph was not, in Mazer's opinion, photographically advantageous.<sup>234</sup>

A wide range of supporting objects was almost always added to the *carte-de-visite* photograph in the name of good taste; these were used to try to increase the overall effect of the photograph. Draperies, balustrades, pilasters, pedestals, vases, footstools, fruit and tables etc. were placed in an arrangement considered aesthetically suitable. When painted backgrounds and dummies were used, an attempt was made to ensure that they matched the portrait. Of course one had to be careful not to arrange too many props around the subject because otherwise it would draw the attention away from the person being portrayed.

The small size of the *carte-de-visite* photographs was due to the fact that the sharpness of the surface structure of the photograph had to be as intense as possible. The surface of the camera lens therefore had to be sufficiently even and smooth. A three-quarter plate, which most lenses produced, gave a good reproduction of a seated subject. In contrast, the lens could not produce a completely accurate *carte-de-visite* photograph because the head and legs were located at the peripheries of the photographs, i.e. at the upper and lower edges. The prob-

lems produced by this technique did not prevent portraits being taken of subjects in a seated position, but standing subjects were a failure. If the head and legs came out sharply in the photograph, then the arms did not, and vice versa.

When taking photographs of standing subjects it was important to ensure that the lens of the camera was directed at the centre of the vertical figure. If not, the photograph gave, according to Mazer, the impression that the subject was suspended in the air and standing with their feet elevated above the edge of the carpet.<sup>235</sup>

When taking photographs of seated subjects, the camera had to be tilted slightly forward. The cameras used for taking *carte-de-visite* photographs in the first half of the 1860's had a screw located in the back of the camera which allowed them to be tilted. When taking photographs of full-length subjects, the subject had to be in the right proportions to the small space in the picture field; it would of course have been unfortunate if the head in the photograph would be pushed up to the ceiling. The correct proportions were considered to be that the whole figure should occupy two-thirds of the surface of the *carte-de-visite* photograph.

*Carte-de-visite* photographs also required special lighting, which had to be more intense than that in ordinary photographs. Although all the components in the photograph were relatively small, they had to be reproduced perfectly. Furthermore, there had to be sufficient light, dispersed evenly in all directions, in order to ensure that the shadows were soft. This prevented the surface effect of the photographs creating a hard environment, or merely completely black and white tones. On the other hand, Mazer also stated that a soft effect could be achieved by chemical means.<sup>236</sup>

The problems associated with the tones of the black and white scale used in early photographs is often mentioned in 19th century literature.<sup>237</sup> One of the clearest and most visible ways in which photography distorted scenes in nature was its imprecise ability to transfer colour, i.e. in translating it into tones. The negatives or plates were not sufficiently sensitive to all colours. The tones resulting from different colours could not be distinguished from each other in black-and-white photographs. The external appearance of forms separable from each other only on the basis of their colour could actually disappear.

For instance, the earliest photographic emulsions had the same sensitivity to blue and white. In addition, both yellow and red points came out completely black in the prints, and blue and violet were light coloured. We can well imagine the sort of problems photographers were faced with in facial portraiture and landscapes before the 1880's when orthochromatic plates at last became available. Imagine the dismay of ruddy-complexioned subjects - especially those with red-blue noses - if they would have seen their own photographs before certain corrective measures had been taken (e.g. touching up or colouring).

The popularity of full-length photographs may be explained by the fact that the distance between the camera and the subject had to be as great as possible. This in fact introduced a feeling of distance between what the observer saw and the subject, but one advantage was that the facial features remained small; the head is, according to human anatomy, approximately one eighth the length of the whole body. Small-sized faces did not usually need to be coloured, but

touching up of the negatives was often necessary.

What is of central importance in a full-length photograph is the degree to which the background arrangement and content are emphasised at the expense of the subject. The problem is obviously that the picture surface of the photograph is not narrow with respect to its height, even in a vertical direction, in the same way as the proportions of the human body. Attention was paid to this in general photographic literature already during the 19th century. For instance, Edward M. Estabrooke expressed the general opinion that a tall man should never be photographed standing because the picture structure easily becomes flaccid.<sup>238</sup>

Perhaps for this reason the subject was usually seated. In practice the solution appears to have been for the comfort of the client being photographed; during the first half of the 1860's when the daguerreotype posture in which the seated subject rested with his elbows on the table came back into fashion, this still required a neck support owing to the long exposure time. During the middle of the decade especially the camera came closer and closer to the subject, and half-length portraits and sometimes facial portraits became popular. This meant an increase in the psychological possibilities of the photograph - the face of the subject became the stage of his personality, while at the same time the face retained its central position in the content of the picture.

At the beginning of the 1860's there were also photographers who did not want to use props. For instance, R. Meyer who worked in St. Petersburg and Viborg and who Sven Hirn suspects was the portrait painter and photographer Carl Robert Meyer who had studied art in Dresden, announced in Viborg that he specialised in the use of light-coloured backcloths and avoided props.<sup>239</sup> It is not clear from the announcement what he did with respect to the problems of tone transfer.

### **The great style of early photography, vignettism**

The development of *carte-de-visite* photography reached a turning point half way through the 1860's. The gradual fading away of the background and environment, "vignettism", came into general use. This camera style is referred to in this work as vignettism. Its style characteristics are defined later on.

Vignettism was presumably used in Finland already in 1861 by the St. Petersburger (?) N. P. Michaelis, and on the basis of his announcement also in 1863 by the Swede C.A. Ljungstedt.<sup>240</sup> According to K.E. Ståhlberg's guidebook, vignetting was performed as follows: "A light, gradually fading background is obtained in portrait photographs by using so-called vignettes, wood or metal plates, which have a hole in the centre. The vignette is placed on the glass plate during the copying stage so that only the centre of the photograph, depending on the size of the hole, is copied."<sup>241</sup>

The picture area was thus reduced to a circular or oval shape by carefully removing the solid, peripheral features from around the subject. In pictures of

this sort the half tones of black and white appeared to come out gradually as a hatched surface in the periphery of the picture, and to become denser in the centre of the picture forming a uniform picture surface (Picture 75).

What is important is that vignetting resulted in a new style of photograph when the precise photographing of the subject through over-exposure was discontinued. The photographic trend that developed, which I call vignettism, produced a direct light impression of the subject's face. The new camera style gradually dispelled the fixed, extreme lines of the subject's face, and the figure blended softly into the light or dark background. This became the central feature of vignettism. This sort of photographic style no longer aimed for simple likeness, but interpreted the subject and his or her facial features (Picture 76).

What is the explanation for the creation of a style expressing a direct light impression? Any photographer who considers his expression genre to be art, is sooner or later faced with the question of whether it is possible to fashion a photograph in the same way as a painter in his own work. A number of photographers realised that this could be done to some extent by means of light. If the photographer had artistic talents, it is surprisingly difficult to explain the sensitivity and softness of the whole picture form in photographs of this sort. This can be seen in the work of those photographers who had gone more deeply into the possibilities of artistic expression.

We can take a number of photographers as examples. Carl Arnold Boos (1831-1880) was a German-born itinerant painter and photographer who worked in Kuopio from 1862 up until his death. Only a few of his signed, vignettted carte-de-visite photographs have survived (Picture 77). Of the photographic artists working during the vignettism period, Carl Adolph Hårdh was perhaps the one with the most ambition and also the greatest artistic expression. His vignettted carte-de-visite photograph of C. R. Procopé is examined later on in this work.

The only photograph definitely known to have been taken by Johan Petter Hamberg (1817-1898), born in Kokkola, deserves special attention. The portrait depicts an unknown couple (Picture 78), and is exceptional already for the reason that it does not conform to the traditional academic types of posture, but is rather, a rustic portrait.

The picture does not only illustrate the dicotomic coarseness which vignettism permits, but it also includes the genre specific of photography, the photographing of raw, unpolished reality. Judging by their dress, the couple belong to the lower classes. They are sitting together like two strangers, without any stereotyped arrangement. The photographer has dispensed with a formalistic picture arrangement and the final result is an informal photograph. This is apparently the first of its kind in the history of photography in Finland.

A multi-layered theoretical interpretation can be made of the photograph. At first glance the unknown man appears, in his awkward uncertainty, to be blind. This impression is due to the fact that the man appears to have eye patches. However, when we look more closely we can see that the man's eyes have been smudged afterwards. Despite this, the man brings to mind the deep expressionness of a groping figure theme. Messiness is a part, however, of the history of the picture and it has become in this case a feature characteristic of the

subject.

We do not know why photographers used vignettism to dispense with or mask all the surroundings from the photograph, apart from the oval circle formed by light. In actual fact, rococo art was greatly respected in those days, and rococo portraits were in many cases oval-shaped and lacked a specific background. This explains the rather common practice of placing portrait photographs or paintings in an oval frame.

But this explanation does not quite suffice because rococo portraits lack the direct, encircling light effect and gradual fading of the features. Photographers may have experimented with the effect of a sunburst, or it may be an analogy of the halo, familiar from Christian art as a ring or circular disc surrounding the head of a saint. Although no explanations have been found from the period, it may also be associated with the symbolic significance of inner light or an illuminating circular sign in the middle of the dark world. In vignetted photographs man therefore appears to be surrounded by an disembodied circular aura. The vignetted *carte-de-visite* photograph was precisely that genre of photography which Ekman and Löfgren experimented with when they painted portraits using photographs as an aid.

## **The origin of photomontage and collage art and the first photomontages and collages in Finland**

### **Johan Jakob Reinberg and Amalia Clementine Euphrosyne Chiewitz**

The origin of photomontages does not refer to those picture assemblages which were the first to appear in this new meaning. It is a question of a group of photographic works in which the first signs of a new typicity appear generically. We can take the work of Johan Jakob Reinberg (born 1823 in Tarto, died 1896 in Turku) and Amalia Clementine *Euphrosyne* Chiewitz (1819-1899) as examples.

Around the 1860's, newspaper articles consistently considered that photography was an art form. In Helsinki the *Papperslyktan* magazine mentioned in its "The Copier's Chronicle" column that because it is a question of art we can take the liberty to mention that two large photographic studios are being planned for the city during the summer.<sup>242</sup> There are other examples of this. The *Åbo Underrättelser* newspaper in Turku also cited artistic viewpoints as justification for assessing the photographic skills of Johan Jakob Reinberg. The reviewer considers himself to be somewhat qualified to assess Reinberg's work because, as an amateur, he has procured information abroad about this beautiful art form and can now exploit the situation to compare Reinberg's photographs with those of Swedish, French and German photographers. The writer considers these grounds sufficient to state that Reinberg has reached a higher artistic level than many other well-known names abroad.<sup>243</sup>

Similarly, Svante Dahlström in his article about Johan Reinberg does not speak only about the photographers skill in capturing the essential features of the subject's face, but also about artistic intuition. Dahlström considers Reinberg to be exceptionally gifted in bringing out glimpses of the nature and character from the subject's features. A candid photographer should be a profound and rewarding psychologist. In addition, a truthful photographer should possess the sort of reassuring air that dispels the hectic movements of a passed day, leaving space for the important characteristics of personality to be reassembled in a photographably new form of expression. In the instantaneous crystallisation process, at the speed of light and in deep competition with artistic intuition, a photograph is turned into a work of art. Dahlström goes on to surmise, for instance, that Reinberg's attempts to achieve naturalness and truth cannot, however, be considered very highly.<sup>244</sup>

Reinberg's professional standards are reflected in the fact that his clients only received photographs which he personally considered successful. Therefore the collections of Åbo Academy and the Turku Provincial Museum contain over 300 portrait photographs (e.g. Pictures 79 and 80).

Reinberg was also a lithographic artist, drawing teacher, painter and graphic artist. In his position as graphic artist to the Turku Cathedral Restoration Board he made, for instance, a sketch of the sarcophagus of Kaarina Maununtytar, located in the cathedral's Kankainen chorister.<sup>245</sup> Reinberg then took a photograph of the drawing. Reinberg was forced to make a sketch, and not a photograph directly, owing to the poor lighting and "contre jour" conditions. Reinberg's work as a portrait photographer is also reflected in his paintings. For instance, he painted a portrait of T.W. Erich, headmaster of the Turku Classical Gymnasium, at the end of the century (Picture 81).<sup>246</sup>

Reinberg may have painted the portrait using a photograph as an aid, although we cannot be absolutely certain of this. In his announcement Reinberg states that his portrait photographs could, if desired, be coloured "by a completely artistic hand".<sup>247</sup> It is a sign of confidence which tells something of his skills as a painter. Reinberg participated in the exhibitions of the Finnish Art Association with, for instance, his coloured photographs of Ekman's and Viktorine Nordensvan's paintings in 1874. In addition, he had two of his own scenic paintings in the same exhibition.<sup>248</sup>

There is a photograph of Reinberg's oil painting "The Gentlemen of Turku Hunting Rabbits" in the photograph archives of the Turku Provincial Museum (Picture 82). According to the only information in the Museum's catalogue, it is merely "an oil painting made on top of a photograph".<sup>249</sup> It is quite understandable that a photographer who also worked as a painter would sometimes use a large-sized photograph as the base for a painting. If the photographic paper was only lightly exposed it was very difficult to detect the photograph under the painting. Irma Savolainen writes: "In one oil painting depicting a rabbit shoot which, according to the writing on the back has been done in October 1860, the faces of the participants are photographs, but the rest of the painting has been painted so carefully in oils that it is difficult to detect this small trick."<sup>250</sup>

From the point of view of art history, however, what is much more important is that, in principle, it is a work done by both the collage and montage tech-

niques. The history of montages made from photographs is as old as that of its basic component, the paper photographic print. In point of fact there were five fields in which photomontage could be used around the middle of the 19th century: portrait mosaics, caricatures, propaganda pictures and book illustrations, and landscape and scenic photograph cards. They form the historical background for modern photomontage as it is nowadays understood.

Reinberg's aim in using the montage technique has probably been to give a special pictorial uniformity to his compositions. This is evident from the fact that he has clearly been aiming for a lot more than the mere colouring of photographs. Reinberg used photographic likeness to impart additional significance to his paintings. Reinberg thus appears to be the first photographer in Finland to experiment with picture systems of this sort, and to combine portrait photographs into concrete countenances in his paintings. It is a new way of supplementing the conventional concept of realism: the photograph was the creation of a machine, readily available and generally represented an acceptable likeness. Being an optical form it was not a derivative of art styles.

The painting also contains a hint of those potential artistic expressions which were implemented at the beginning of the 20th century. The 1860's were presumably not yet ripe for the creation of a theory that would have enabled the montage or collage technique to be used as art, even though it would have been possible in practice. Reinberg obviously wanted to use his technical portrayal to create a more realistic effect from a naturalistic painting.

Other experiments were made with photographs. A range of mediocre photomontages can be found amongst the popularistic and non-public art of the latter half of the 19th century. The photographs have been cut, pasted, joined, coloured, additions drawn on them (cf. the earlier analysis of Johan Petter Hamberg's photograph of an unknown married couple), or the photograph combined with other materials. As a concept the montage and collage techniques are primarily the result of man's desire for experimentation and fun. It belonged to the popular past-times of the day. In Berlin during 1916-17 the Dada group (Hannah Höch, Raoul Hausmann and John Heartfield) raised the montage technique to an artistic level which their predecessors could not attain, or did not even try to do.

Photomontages were often made during the latter half of the 19th century in the form of well-wishing caricatures, e.g. to mark an anniversary. The photomontage made in 1871 in honour of Amalia Clementine *Euphrosyne* Chiewitz and Elias Magnusson is a good example of this (Picture 83). The idea behind the picture is a playful, allegorical means of expression in which, for instance, the married couple are up in the clouds. In this example, as was frequently the case, the photomontage is one way of making the authenticity and sense of reality of the photograph questionable. At the same time the montage pokes fun at the credibility and language of the photograph.

The photomontage also characterises *Euphrosyne* Chiewitz to some extent because she was well known for her photographic inventiveness. Compared to her contemporary photographers, she was frequently more unconventional as regards both the choice of posture for her clients (Picture 84) and in the use of double takes of one person, i.e. double portraits (Picture 85).

Euphrosyne Chiewitz moved from Sweden to Turku in 1860 to live with her brother, the architect G.T.P. Chiewitz.<sup>251</sup> The two of them also had contact with R.W. Ekman. Ekman painted a portrait of the architect in 1840 in Paris and dedicated it to Euphrosyne (the portrait is now in the Helsinki City Museum). Euphrosyne Chiewitz announced that she was working as a photographer for the first time in Turku in May 1864.<sup>252</sup> An interesting parallel and sign of the normative values of the class society, as well as the occasionally appearing concept of what was proper, is that only slightly earlier a woman announced in Helsinki that she was opening a photographic studio, but modesty prevented her from revealing her name.<sup>253</sup>

## REFERENCES

1. Gombrich 1977, 338. "Neither art nor nature is ever as smooth and cold as glass. Nature reflected in art always reflects the artist's own mind, his predilections, his enjoyments and therefore his moods."
2. See S. Hirn 1972, list of photographs.
3. A.L. Derville has written that the reason for his arrival in Turku from Stockholm on 27.6.1856 was to travel to St. Petersburg. His passport has been issued in Paris on 27.4.1855, and it is a question of a pleasure trip (för nöje); S. Hirn 1972, 115.
4. The term "recording arts" started to be used in modern photographic research. See e.g. Melin 1986, 53-60.
5. Cf. Helmut Gernsheim, *The Rise of Photography 1850-1880, The Age of Collodion*, 1988, 9. The year 1851 marks for Gernsheim the beginning of a new epoch in the history of photography with the invention of the wet-collodion photographic process. - The use of the term "style creating" has had an effect on the art historical perspective of my work.
6. S. Hirn 1972, *In front of and behind the Camera: Photography and Photographers in Finland 1839-1870*; B. Newhall 1982, *The History of Photography*; H. and A. Gernsheim 1969, *The History of Photography from the Camera Obscura to the Beginning of the Modern Era*.
7. Clay 1981, 254.
8. FAT 7.12.1826; FAT 18.10.1827; FAT 18.11.1828.
9. WW 22.7.1826. "Hos undertecnad står under arbete en Camera Obscura af owanlig storlek, hwilken inom instundande wecka blifwa i komplett skick. Dess storlek kan deraf lätt bedömmas, att en person med största beqwämlighet sittande i den kan afrita städer, landskapstycken eller hwad föremål som hälst, med största lätthet. Den eller de af resp. konstälskande, som åfinnda att bese dess egenskaper, lemnas tillfälle dertill, emot den afgift den beseende helf behagar bestämma, endast anmälan derom göres hos mig."
10. Leinberg 1910, 217-243. "...satt nu som bäst at afteckna en generelle vue af staden på bergen i den andra Biskopsåkren."

11. As above, 217-243. "... med Despréz aftagit vuen från Baerska huset...". J.L. Desprez's name is written with an accent only in quotations from the diary of Fredenheim. Otherwise the name is written, in accordance with modern practice, without an accent.
12. Wollin 1943, 175-183. "Vi ... gjorde anstalt at Domkyrkan från des fönster skulle uti Camera optica aftecknas."
13. Dahlström 1940, 22; M. Hirn 1950, 15.
14. Hazelius 1921, 105.
15. ÅT 11.9.1839. "Den 19 sistl. Augusti strömmade allt hvad Paris egde af lärda, konstnärer, främlingar och notabiliteter af alla slag till vetenskapsakademiens i Paris sessionssal: hemligheter af Hr Daguerres bekanta uppfinning skulle nemligen då afslöjas."
16. For instance, Otto Stelzer writes: "Nur verstand sich die Photographie in ihren Anfangsjahrzehnten eben durchaus nicht als "Technik", sondern als Kunst; Das photographische Bild erschien als die Erfüllung eines künstlerischen Ideals. Ohne die Chemiker ging es zwar nicht, aber es waren Künstler, die den Aufstieg der Photographie ermöglichten, die sie gesellschaftsfähig machten. Die ersten wirklich bedeutenden Photographen waren Maler. Die Photographie ist ein Kind der naturalistischen Malerei." Stelzer 1966, 15-16.
17. ÅT 20.2.1839. "...att då ett papper öfverstrykes med ett viss kemisk preparat, och en vacker solskinsdag insättes uti en Camera obscura, afbildas det landskap, hvars bild genom Cameras glas infaller, med alla sina ljus och skuggor och med sina naturliga färger uppå papperet, så att då papperet uttages man har en bild af landskapet, alldeles som vore den målad uti aqvatinat manér, men trognare än den skickligaste tecknare är i stånd att åstadkomma." - According to Solfrid Söderlind the introduction of daguerreotype in France had been carefully and strategically planned, with intensive coverage by the press. Söderlind has found in the comparison of press coverage in the Nordic countries that information about the launch and subsequent developments reached these countries more or less simultaneously and was based on translations of articles in French and German newspapers (first in Sweden, followed by Denmark, Norway and Finland). - Söderlind 1990, 64.
18. See and compare e.g. Stelzer 1966, 132-142; Scharf 1969, 125-161.
19. HM 21.2.1839.
20. BT 6.3.1839. "Den stör alla vetenskapens teorier om ljus och optik samt lofvar, om framdeles vidare fullkomnas, att verka en total omstörtning uti teckningskonsten."
21. Hintze 1953, 118.
22. Scharf 1969, 155.
23. Käyhkö 1986a, 160.
24. Reitala 1967, 162.
25. Rewald 1961, 322.
26. ÅU 4.1.1840. "... att om den märkvärdiga konstnaturproducten inhemta en närmare kännedom, än som genom beskrifningar kan erhållas. Wi hafwa med uppmärksamhet betraktat denna Daguerre'ska ljusteckning, som föreställer Quai de la Grève, Eglise St. Gervais i Paris och, ehuru endast sex hög och åtta tum bred, likväl med den noggrannhet upptager allt, att wi med förstoringsglas tro oss uti ett af fenstren hafwa

upptäckt ett människohufwud och uti andra gardiner med fransar. På trenne eller flera hus urskiljas äfwen med obewäpnadt öga, inscriptioner som det dock icke lyckats oss att fullkomligen detchiffra." - The first exhibition of daguerreotypes was held in Stockholm in the late summer of 1840 at the Royal Museum, the Sweden's only public art museum. Söderlind 1993, 172.

27. ÅT 11.1.1849. "Om wi will likna dessa ljusteckningar wid något, så wore det wid de mest fulländade stålarbeten, på hwilka en glänsande politur omwärlar med en matt, men haltande blir alltid denna liknelse, emedan man genast upptäcker att den, för så beskaffade tillverkningar, wanliga proceduren här icke kunnat äga rum och att i afseende å precisionen i de minsta detaljerna en annan, än den tunga människohanden, här påtryckt sitt insegel. Dessa taflo kunde för liknas wid klassiska författares utmärktaste snillealster, uti hwilka man wid hwarje ny genomlösning städse påfinner någon dittills oupptäckt skön sanning; ty på detta wis, fastän i en annan mening, förhåller det sig äfwen med dessa teckningar, uti hwilka man, ju oftare de ses och ju fullkomligare förstoringsglasen, hwarigenom de betraktas, äro, städse anträffar något, som dittills icke warseblifwits. Wäl är det sannt, att betraktandet af en på wanligt sätt frambragt ren konstproduct skänker en högre njutning, än denna och troligen äfwen alla andra Daguerrotyper, alldenstund en wiss enformighet nödwändigt måste widlåda dem, liksom alla genom etsning tillwågabragta teckningar på stål, hwarmed de hafwa största likhet, och emedan den starka metallglansen, ännu ytterligare ökad genom det öfwer taflan befintliga glaset, i hög grad beswärar ögat och gör det swårt att finna en passande dager..." --- "...omedwetet höjde tanken till Honom, som satt menniskan till en herre öfwer naturen och gifwit henne en ande, med hwars tillhjelp hon gör elementerna sig underdåniga och nu sednast twingat ljuset, detta på ett afstånd af tjugu millioner mil till henne ilande solljuset, att såsom en annan tjenare arbeta i den werstad, hon behagar för det samma anwisa." --- "... tillfälle att med egna ögon öfwerlyta oss om werkligheten af dessa förwånade teckningar af, så tillsägande, ljusets egen hand. Såsom wi föreställt oss, liknar taflan en etsning på stål och man måste, likasom med alla blanka målringar sorgfälligt wända den tills den rätta ställningen för dess betraktande är funnen." --- "Redan med blotta ögat ser man inskriptioner på husen, men som de äro bakwända, eller uti s.k. spegelstil, faller det sig för owane swårt att de chiffra dem."
28. HT 29.2.1840.
29. Magnus von Wright, Diary, 11.3.1840. HYK. Jukka Ervamaa has kindly placed the sources concerning M. von Wright at my disposal.
30. M. von Wright, Diary, 22.9.1842. HYK.
31. M. von Wright, Diary, 30-31.9.1842. HYK. "30. de (th. dag) och 31 eft. m. tog jag en Panorama på 9 blad af Helsingfors - eller rättare hufvudpunkterna af en sida medelst camera obscura."
32. Benjamin 1969a, 41. "Es ist eine andere Natur, die zur der Kamera als die zum Auge spricht."
33. This concept occurs in many photographic studies; in music research recording techniques are assumed to have also affected how man hears music. See Melin 1986, 53-60.
34. Magasin för Konst, Nyheter och Moder, 1840, N:o I, Januari Månad.
35. Nochlin 1971, 28.
36. ÅT 18.8.1848. "Till red. har blifwit insändt, med anhållan om rum i bladet: Den för sin skicklighet kända Daguerreotypeuren Neupert från St. Petersburg lärer om några dagar inträffa i Åbo. Hr N. har genom ett ihärdigt studerande af sin konst hunnit ända derhän att han fått att frambringa porträtter anses täfla med de bästa Daguerreotypeurs i utlandet; vi förmoda här af att hans vistande härstädes skall skänka honom mycken sysselsättning."

37. The first article (HT 19.7.1843) about the work of the pair of photographers is such that it was most probably written on the basis of information provided by the photographers themselves.
38. H. and A. Gernsheim 1969, 157. - Gernsheim 1982, 50.
39. As above, 117.
40. BT 12.10.1844. "Dock skulle man skatta vigten af denna sekular-uppfinning alltför oriktigt, om man ansåge densamma hafva för ändamål att undantränga Målarekonsten. Daquerrotypen framställer den mine eller ansigtsställning, som en person har för ögonblicket, i följe hvaraf tvänne på detta sätt erhållas porträtter sållan kunna likna hvarandra, hvaremot det är Målare-konstens sak att i bild framställa det i alla ansigtställningar karakteristika hos en person. Hvardera konsten har således i detta hänseende sig egen sfer, med den skillnad att daguerrotypinsidkande är blott mekanisk, måleriet en esthetisk konst. Men om daguerrotypin i detta hänseende är måleriet vida underlägsen, så har den ett utomordentligt företräde framför den sednare uti noggrannheten i återgifvandet. En målning beskådas helst på något afstånd, hvaremot en daguerrotyp- eller ljus-bild visar sig allt fullkomligare, ju skarpare synsinnet är och ju bättre det är beväpnadt."--- "Så trogna kopior af antika och moderna bildverk och målningar, som på lätta vis kunna spridas till alla konstlärare, har förut icke varit tänkbara, äfven med den största ansträngning och konst hos eftertecknaren och gravören eller litografen."---"Och ännu mer: detta medel kan till och med begagnas till *utkast efter modell, för nya kompositioner*, dem bildhuggaren eller målaren sedan kan fullända och påtrycka idealitetens pregel, i fall han äger den i sin hand, i valet af urbilder och sätter att uppställa, sammansätta och drapera dem. *Skådespelarens* och *mimens* konst är härigenom till en del räddad från den förgänglighet, som hittills var dess lott; hvarje attityd, hvarje gruppering, som förtjenar det, kan hädanefter förvaras och spridas i afbild; hvar *tableau vivant* kan förvandlas till ett kopparstick."
41. Evers 1970, 13.
42. As above, 14.
43. The list of names is mentioned in a number of different studies, see e.g. Scharf 1969, 115-116.
44. See M. and Y. Hirn 1937, 114. Cygnaeus had "en obetvinglig motvilja mot fotografins mekaniska konst."
45. Malmborg 1978, 253.
46. Lagercrantz 1967, 16-; Malmborg 1978, 253; Söderberg and Ritsel 1983, 16.
47. Aftonbladet 1.4.1844. "Den utmärker sig genom den stränga sanning, som är daguerreotyper egen och man skall äfven finna den fullkomligt träffad, i fall man någon gång haft tillfälle att noggrannt betrakta H.M. från högra sidan; men för dem, som blott sett de mer eller mindre idealiserade porträtterna i basrelief, målning eller crayon, skall detta troligen förefalla olikt. Det säger, att H.M. äfven låtit genom samma medel afbildas sig i half face, till urbild för Hr Södermarks teckning vid sina arbeten, såsom Konungens porträttmålare. Verlden får alltså här det första och hittills oerhörda tillfället att se en Konungs bild alldeles osmickrad."
48. Hbl 29.11.1869; S. Hirn 1972, 12.
49. HT 19.7.1843. "Då, oss veterligen, Daguerre's uppfinning ej förr blifvit utöfvad i Finland, torde det, för nyhetens skull, förtjena någon uppmärksamhet----."...."---Bland andra förmåner, klipper man således äfven att uttrötta sitt tålmod genom den annars så tråkiga långa sittningen."

50. For instance, Tikkanen 1896, 3, 38; - M. Hirn 1936, 110-122; S. Hirn 1972, 17, 49.
51. Ervamaa 1989, 369, note 9.
52. BT 16.11.1842.
53. HT 23.11.1842.
54. BT 4.10.1843. - The first daguerreotype studio in Stockholm (Sweden) was established, by Johan Adolf Sevén, in the summer of 1841, which internationally, is very early. Söderlind 1993, 184.
55. Quoted according to M. Hirn, M. Hirn 1936, 111.
56. "Uppgiften om Joseph Desarnods ledamotskap i målarakademin i Petersburg har icke bekräftats i tillgängliga ryska upplagsvert; i de allra flesta omnämnes endast fadern Desarnod d.ä., som av allt att döma var en mycket mera betydande konstnär." M. Hirn 1936, 111.
57. BT 4.1.1844.
58. BT 28.12.1844.
59. M. Hirn 1936, 114.
60. M. Hirn 1936, 115.
61. M. Hirn 1950, 76.
62. Topelius 1978, 117.
63. Saraste 1980, 53-54.
64. M. Hirn 1936, 116.
65. M. Hirn 1936, 116.
66. See e.g. M. Hirn 1950, 66.
67. BT 17.2.1844.
68. Tikkanen 1896, 38, reference 1.
69. Saima 29.2.1844.
70. BT 28.8.1844; 16.11.1842.
71. BT 17.2.1844.
72. BT 28.8.1844.
73. BT 16.11.1842.
74. BT 23.4.1845.
75. HT 12.7.1845.
76. BT 28.8.1844.
77. BT 12.10.1844.

78. Joseph Desarnod's output presumably includes the following portraits taken by the daguerreotype technique: Bishop C.G. Ottelin and family (Beatrice Gripenberg). There are three daguerreotypes depicting Ottelin and his family, the picture of C.G. Ottelin and his daughter Eufrosyne Sofia having survived as a copy. The twins Bruno and Hugo Sirén (Porvoo Museum), Hedvig Elis. Adlercreutz (lawyer Eero Schrey), J.L. Runeberg with his wife and friends (Runeberg's home, Porvoo). In addition, Desarnod may have taken the original daguerreotypes of a few carte-de-visite copies of lost or destroyed daguerreotypes. Photographs in the picture archives of the National Board of Antiquities and Historical Monuments.
79. Carl Neupert had four announcements of his photography in 1848 in the Helsingfors Tidningar. He had three announcements in the Åbo Tidningar in 1848 and 1849. In addition, he was probably also working in Hämeenlinna in February, 1849. For instance, the portrait of army surgeon H.E. Arnell (1811-1853) has an engraved signature in the bottom left-hand corner.
80. Ahrenburg 1965, 347.
81. S. Hirn 1972, 48.
82. S. Hirn 1972, 48.
83. Quoted according to Wakefield, Wakefield 1984, 13.
84. Wakefield, for instance, has drawn attention to Voltaire and the French encyclopaedists, see Wakefield 1984, 13.
85. Marta and Yrjö Hirn have published this picture of the Ottelin family without the name of the photographer. M. and Y. Hirn 1937, 109.
86. Strömborg 1931, 27. "Även hans yttre gestalt, bevarad i en dagerrotypgrupp detta år på hösten, vittnar om kraft och välmåga."
87. Fredrika Runeberg to Augusta Lundahl-Wallenius, undated letter 1846. Meinander 1904, 161. "...hans kolossala figur och 40 år är ej densamma som då han som ung var rörlig och i längd och bredd hade tycke av halmstråhåsten i Kalevala."
88. BT 29.3.1845.
89. Strömborg 1929, 334.
90. J.L. Runeberg to Emilie Björkstén 20.12.1848. Castrén 1940, 66. "Få se om jag kan få till julafton åt Dig det som var fråga om. Vi råkas ju då."
91. J.L. Runeberg to Emilie Björkstén 24.12.1848. Castrén 1940, 89. "Den fattiga dagerrotypen har jag icke ens kunnat få färdig, ehuru jag flere gånger besökt D-d i detta afseende."--- "I vår skola vi växla porträtter, det får icke hjälpa. Jag måste åtminstone få äga Ditt."
92. J.L. Runeberg to Emilie Björkstén 25.5.1849. Castrén 1940, 110-111. "Ett särdeles missöde med Desarnods bortresa har vållat att jag icke, efter min afsigt, nu kan bjuda Dig ett porträtt af mig. Kanske hade det varit Dig kärt att äga ett sådant. Han är nu hemkommen och idag eller morgon skall jag sitta för honom, men då är det för sent."
93. 1849 is also taken as the year of his death.
94. Finska konstföreningens exposition 1849.
95. Tikkanen 1896, 68, reference 1.

96. M. Hirn 1936, 119, reference 1.
97. S. Hirn 1972, 17.
98. The concept of the significance of the technical degree has dominated evaluation of the photographic level ever since the first days of photography. This has been reflected in the opinions and critiques of both experts and laymen. For the modern values of photography, see e.g. Ward 1971, 20-; Berger 1987, 77, 87-88.
99. Desarnod's announcements in the press were concentrated in autumn 1844 and spring 1845, when he twice announced that he would be photographing in Helsinki. He did not make another announcement until 17.6.1848 in the *Borgå Tidning*. During this interval, in addition to his painting Desarnod photographed e.g. Runeberg and his friends. Of course his work as a teacher also took up his time, as did many of his other pastimes.
100. Photography appears to have attracted, from time to time, versatile people. For instance, the Finn Johan Petter Hamberg (1817-1898) was a bookbinder, confectioner and businessman. The Dane Carl Edvard Rye (1820-1890), who travelled around Finland in 1857-1858, was a pharmacy student, private tutor, hotel owner, book salesman, inventor. S. Hirn 1972, list of photographs.
101. S. Hirn 1971, 72, reference 9.
102. Rehnström made his last announcement about taking photographs in the magazine "Tillkännagifvanden ifrån Embets-Myndigheterna i Wiborg" on 8.10.1851. Usually Rehnström stated that he was staying in the district for "en korter tid" and taking photographs "äfvén vid mulit väder".
103. Portraits of the following persons at least, made by the daguerreotype technique and furnished with a signed label glued on the back of the picture, are known: Henrik August Almqvist (1850), Pauline Grundfelt, F.W. v. Frenckell, O.W. Roering and children (ca. 1848), Katarina Juliana Thilén (née Telén), Henrika Wilh. Juselius, E.J. and Sophie Lundström, and Ebba and Lars Stenbäck. Photographs in the picture archives of the National Board of Antiquities and Historical Monuments.
104. Sven Hirn has mentioned all the known districts and lodgings where Rehnström stayed. See S. Hirn 1972, 89-90.
105. HT 11.9.1844.
106. HT 28.9.1844.
107. Aspelin-Haapkylä 1914, 123.
108. S. Hirn 1972, 91.
109. Vasabl. 15.8.1863.
110. For instance, ÅU 21.8.1847.
111. Cataloguing book. TMM.
112. National Portrait Gallery 1981, 174, 236. - The portraits taken by Hill and Adamson are calotypes.
113. ÅU 2.5.1848.
114. Ståhlberg 1890,12.

115. ÅU 2.5.1848.
116. Ståhlberg 1890, 11.
117. H. and A. Gernsheim 1969, 582; Gernsheim 1982, 98.
118. See Meinander 1931, especially the catalogue of artists and works.
119. Scharf 1969, 23.
120. Rudisill 1971, 233.
121. In addition to this popular belief, scientists also regarded the daguerreotype method as a triumph of science: "All the physicists, chemists, and learned men of the capital were polishing silvered plates, and even the better-class grocers found it impossible to deny themselves the pleasure of sacrificing some of their means on the altar of progress, evaporating it in iodine and consuming it in mercury vapour." The quotation is from a contemporary description. See H. and A. Gernsheim 1969, 71.
122. See e.g. H. and A. Gernsheim 1969, 76; Gernsheim 1982, 55.
123. Newhall 1982, 59-62.
124. Bäckström 1925, 50-53; S. Hirn 1972, 21.
125. H. and A. Gernsheim 1969; Gernsheim 1982, 166.
126. Newhall 1982, 59-62.
127. See Schwarz 1932, 44.
128. Scharf 1969, 108-110. Photographic exhibitions were held each year in the Palais de L'Industrie.
129. SPZ 5.9.1848.
130. Teder 1972, 23. - The lifetime of Mebius is not known.
131. HT 25.6.1851.
132. HT 2.7.1851. "Då ännu detta sätt att porträttera är alldeles nytt, och följaktligen för många obekant, tar jag mig friheten upplysningsvis nämna, att de porträtter som blott i svart äro utförda, hafwa likhet med en ritning i tusch, eller såkallad aquaritur, då åter de colorerade fullkomligt kunna jemföras med en aquarelle målning." - -- "För en porträttering erfordras 30 högst 50 sekunder. Porträtteringarna verkställas wid mulen wäderlek hwarje tid på dagen, wid klart wäder endast eftermiddagarne från kl. 4-8. Kopior kunna sedan tagas efter behag utan att originalets närvaro är af nöden." --- "Fr. Mebius, en ganska skicklig målare som en längre tid i Petersburg sysselsatt sig med fotografi, tar medelst daguerrotypi utmärkt vackra och väl träffade porträtter på papper, så väl kolorerade som i svart."
133. F. Mebius announced he would be taking photographs in Turku: ÅT 19.9.1851, and ÅT 23.9.1851; ÅU 26.9.1851 and ÅT 10.10.1851. Mebius had frequent announcements in the Helsingfors Tidningar up until the middle of December, and an announcement on 3.4.1852 that he would send copies from Moscow of the portraits taken in Helsinki. Mebius had two announcements in the Morgonbladet: 30.6.1851 and 23.9.1851.
134. ÅU 11.11.1852.
135. Dahlström 1912, 450.

136. Hintze 1926, 258. Work catalogue numbers 131 and 135.
137. As above, see e.g. work catalogue numbers 134, 143, 151, 167.
138. S. Hirn 1972, 77.
139. HT 28.6.1851.
140. Bäckström 1922, 145-151; S. Hirn 1971, 76; S. Hirn 1972, photographer catalogue.
141. See M. Hirn 1957, 18.
142. HT 1.9.1852.
143. HT 1.9.1852.
144. M. Hirn 1957, 18-22; Annila 1968, 74-.
145. According to H. Annila, Liebert arrived in Turku in July 1844; it is undoubtedly a printing error; Annila 1968, 75. - M. Hirn writes the maiden name of Liebert's wife in the form "Magensen"; M. Hirn 1957, 18. This too is a printing error. H. Annila considers the wife to be Norwegian, S. Hirn Danish, and M. Hirn a Norwegian-born Dane (see Annila 1968, 75; S. Hirn 1972, 67; M. Hirn 1957, 18.).
146. HT 27.3.1844; HT 30.3.1844.
147. Finska konstföreningens exposition, 1867, n:o 115-121. The surname is written in the form "Libert"; 1868, n:o 54-59; 1873, n:o 102, where the surname is again in the form "Libert".
148. One woodcut was, e.g. in the Helsingfors Tidningar, 31.8.1853. In addition, Liebert has drawn illustrations for e.g. Johan Hübner's work "Bibliska historier ur Gamla Testamentet". Hübner 1849.
149. BT 17.1.1849.
150. BT 17.1.1849.
151. Suometar 3.2.1849.
152. S. Hirn 1972, photographer catalogue. "För att aftjena skuld till handl. A. G. Eckstein."
153. Annila 1968, 76.
154. As above, 76-77.
155. Annila 1968, 77. Liebert's profession was in Swedish "snickare och blomskärare gesäll".
156. HT 23.8.1866; Hbl 21.8.1866. - Liebert did not become a Finnish citizen until the beginning of 1865.
157. Liebert announced he was taking photographs in Turku in both the Åbo Tidningar and the Åbo Underrättelser. ÅT 23.6.1856; ÅT 17.7.1856; ÅT 24.7.1856, ÅT 28.7.1856; ÅU 20.6.1856; ÅU 9.6.1857.
158. Akiander 1851, the title page and fonts have been drawn by Liebert.
159. S. Hirn 1972, 33.
160. As above, photographer catalogue.

161. Finska konstföreningens exposition 1857, n:o 67.
162. As above, 1858, n:o 38-41. "Porträtter i fotografi".
163. Hultmark 1935, 196.
164. Finska konstföreningens exposition 1857, n:o 75. "Okänd. Fotografi efter en af W. Holmberg målad tafla. Tillhör Professor Cygnaeus."
165. As above, 1868, n:o 60. "Helsingfors från Observatorii-bergen, fotografi af E. Hoffers. Tillhör prokuratorn Peterson (vinsten n:o 1)."
166. S. Hirn 1972, 30-32, see also photographer catalogue.
167. Finska konstföreningens exposition 1863, n:os 90 and 91.
168. As above, 1872, n:o 81.
169. As above, 1872, n:o 82.
170. As above, 1873, n:o 116-118.
171. Tikkanen 1896, 95.
172. HT 3.11.1858.
173. Annala 1968, 76, reference 16.
174. M. Hirn 1957, 21-22.
175. HT 18.6.1859.
176. Address catalogues of the City of Helsinki, 1859, 1863, 1866.
177. S. Hirn 1972, 29.
178. Schaumann 1862-(1865). The texts of the pictures have been written by B.O. Schaumann. See Pakkanen 1995, 7.
179. M. Hirn 1957, 22. - Nowadays we know, however, that photographers advertised in newspapers back in the 1840's, offering services in the production of "copies of oil paintings and lithographs". See Andersson 1993, 18.
180. HT 16.9.1857.
181. HT 26.5.1858.
182. HT 18.7.1857.
183. HT 18.6.1859.
184. ÅU 30.8.1859. "...bygynte af egen inre kallelse försöka sig på fotografier och dermed lifnärt sig och de sina."
185. S. Hirn 1972, photographer catalogue.
186. Vasabl. 20.6.1857; Vasabl. 11.7.1857.
187. HT 8.8.1857. "En annan af Neptuni söner, Peldan, har från England hemfört konsten att taga fotografiska porträtter på glas och expedierar den slinkt for 1 rub 25 kop.

stycket med ram. Mästerwerk äro icke dessa arbeten, och den viktiga situation har hos den sittande ofta framkallat en min, som ser helt desperat ut på porträttet, likasom: det skall tusan sitta som ett spektakel för sol och människor! Men Peldans konst är som en begynnelse ingalunda att förakta; jag har till och med sett porträtter som lyckats förträffligt. I Wasa lärer han porträtterat innemot 300 personer och här en hel skara." "En svensk reste här samtidigt i samma ändamål, och visserligen något bättre utrustad, men så var också priset 5 rubel. Det är sannerligen på tiden att man icke mera för denna konst, likasom för mycket annat, betalar här i landet 4 till 5 gånger mer än i hvar vrå af utlandet. Hvad dock spekulationen sofver här uti smått och stort!" "Peldan samlar troligen en liten nätt förmögenhet med små fyrkantiga glasbitar, men i södra Finland tyckes ingen, i detta som i annat, ha råkat hitta uppå Columbi ägg."

188. E. Philipsen announced he would be taking photographs in Oulu on 3.7.1858 and 10.7.1858 in the Oulun Wiikko-Sanomia. His next announcement is from Viborg; W 7.8.1858. - L.J. Peldan also announced for the first time about taking photographs on the same day as Philipsen, OWS 3.7.1858.
189. F.W. Völckert announced he would be taking photographs in Oulu at the end of July. See OWS 17.7.1858.
190. ÅU 30.8.1859.
191. Vasabl. 20.6.1857. ---"sina anletsdrag förvarade åt efterverlden."
192. OWS 25.8.1860.
193. BjT 7.1.1862. "...afbildningarne blifwa så frappant lika, att hwar och en i dem kan se sig i spegel."
194. S. Hirn 1972, photographer catalogue.
195. ÅU 23.8.1859. "...emot en högst modererad afgift tillförfärdigande af såväl unipersonella som ock grupp-porträtter."
196. ÅU 13.9.1859. "Mitt vistande härstädes blifver till Ångfartyget Osterbottens första resa norrut."
197. ÅU 27.9.1859. "Af förekommen anledning kommer jag att dröja här ännu en kort tid."
198. ÅU 2.8.1859. "Mitt vistande härstädes blifver endast 5 dagar."
199. BjT 23.7.1873; Parkkari 1987, 47.
200. H. and A. Gernsheim 1969, 294. (La Lumière 24.8.1851), 301. Also the revised third edition has the same factual knowledge, see Gernsheim 1988, 189.
201. Newhall 1982, 64; Gernsheim 1988, 190.
202. Savolainen 1977, 10.
203. Tapio 23.9.1865.
204. H. and A. Gernsheim 1969, 294. "The whole of Paris followed the Emperor's example, and so great was the demand for cartes that appointments had to be booked weeks in advance." - Also Gernsheim 1988, 190. "The whole of Paris wanted to follow the Emperor's example etc."
205. H. and A. Gernsheim 1969, 300; Gernsheim 1988, 171.
206. Söderberg and Rittsel 1983, 37.

207. H. and A. Gernsheim 1969, 296; Gernsheim 1988, 193.
208. Savolainen 1977, 12.
209. Hbl. 16.5.1871; Hbl 31.5.1871.
210. S. Hirn 1972, the number has been counted on the basis of the photographer catalogue, see 38-114.
211. S. Hirn 1972, 38-114, photographer catalogue.
212. Suomen naisyhdistys 1896, 3-4.
213. Söderberg and Rittsel 1983, 34. ---"på några år förvandlades fotografiyrket från ett äventyr för att fåtal djärva till ett yrke som gav snabba pengar åt nästan varje debutant." --"den svenska fotografins guldålder"---"med betoningen lagd på 'guld', på penningflödet."
214. ÅU 1860, n:o 81. "Stegras njutningslystnaden genom konsten, der all annan utveckling är försummad, huru skall den då tillfredsställas? Jo, derigenom att massan af befolkningen lever i betryck och en annan klass profiterar genom sin öfverlägsenhet af folkets mödor; och det här om den stora massans fördelar jag talar, icke om den bildade klassens."
215. S. Hirn 1972, 38-114, photographer catalogue. - Solfrid Söderlind has managed to date the advent of the carte-de-visite in Sweden to the spring of 1860 (photographer Mathias Hansen), Söderlind 1993, 208.
216. SPZ 31.5.1852; W 28.12.1859; W 12.3.1860.
217. HT 5.7.1860; Pln 9.7.1860; HT 4.8.1860.
218. S. Hirn 1972, photographer catalogue, 44.
219. S. Hirn 1977, 9.
220. Dahlström 1912, 42-43. "Det är ett eget faktum att fotografier från tidigare decennier ofta hava ett försteg framom vår tids, trots all utveckling i teknik, i material, i belysningsordningar, i mise-en-scene."---"människotypens förtjänst, de speciella tidförhållandenas verk"---"den fotografiska konstens förytligande."
221. ÅU 11.2.1864.
222. Bourdieu 1986, 183-218. The social historical perspective which is used in this connection is partly based on Bourdieu's research.
223. Tapio 13.4.1861.
224. Meinander 1931, 223-224; S. Hirn 1972, photographer catalogue, 76.
225. For instance S. Hirn pays attention to this. See S. Hirn 1972, photographer catalogue, 76.
226. Nordensvan 1928, 91.
227. M(azer) 1864, 62. - Cf. Söderlind 1993, 260-262.
228. M(azer) 1864, 63.
229. As above, 64.

230. Ståhlberg 1890, 20.
231. As above, 21.
232. M(azer) 1864, 64-65.
233. As above, 65.
234. As above, 60.
235. As above, 66.
236. As above, 66-67. "Colladium med calciumjodering gifver ganska genomskinliga skuggor och är följakteligen för denna art af bilder mest tjenlig; silfverbadet måste vara svagt syradt och utvecklingsämnet innehålla så mycket syra, att de djupa skuggorna blifva alldeles utan nederslag. Kemikalierna böra öfverhufvud befinna sig i sådant förhållande till hvarandra, att de gifva klara och tydliga negativer."
237. See e.g. Scharf 1969, 35.
238. Estabrooke 1972, 68. Estabrooke's book originally appeared in 1872.
239. S. Hirn 1972, photographer catalogue; W 17.12.1861.
240. S. Hirn, 1972, 27; Hbl 30.6.1868.
241. Ståhlberg 1890, 19.
242. Pln 9.7.1860, 222.
243. ÅU 1858, n:o 1.
244. Dahlström 1912, 43. "(Reinberg) hade en exceptionell förmåga att framlocka det karaktäristiska och naturliga uttrycket i de fotograferades drag. Vilken djup och ergivande psykolog bör ej sanne fotografen vara! Huru bör han ej besitta de lugnande lynesdrag, inför vilka dagens snabba rörelser försvinna för att lämna rum för personlighetens väsentliga egenskaper, återspeglade i uttrycket! I en momentan kristallisationsprocess, hastig som ljuset och i djup tävlande med den konstnärliga intuitionen blir så bilden till.--- Hans strävan till natur och sanning kan icke nog högt lovordas."
245. Savolainen 1973, 14. - See other literature on Reinberg, e.g. Gardberg 1936 and Winter 1952.
246. There is a photograph of T.W. Erich's portrait painting in the picture archives of the Turku Provincial Museum. TMM.
247. ÅU 5.6.1860.
248. Finska konstföreningens exposition, 1874, n:o 55-58.
249. Cataloguing book of the Turku Provincial Museum's photograph archives. TMM.
250. Savolainen 1973, 15.
251. S. Hirn 1972, photographer catalogue.
252. ÅU 24.5.1864.
253. HT 17.2.1864.

## IV PORTRAIT PHOTOGRAPHY IN THE SERVICE OF PAINTING ART

### Introduction

There are signs in Finnish portrait art in the middle of the 19th century of a striving towards a realistic form of depiction, which was also associated with an idealistic tradition. Attitudes towards portraits or demands for likeness varied. These relationships can be examined from a number of different considerations which are interesting from the point of view of the problematics of portrait art. Attitudes towards portrait painting as an art form may have been somewhat disparaging. The entry in the diary of S.G. Elmgren in 1857, stating that portraits are not really works of art, is an example of this. They are only intended for that section of the public who are interested in art, but who have no real taste in art.<sup>1</sup> This pejorative attitude is even more applicable, if possible, to portrait photography.

Elmgren's opinions reflect those old concepts of the value system of art, according to which the portrait held a less qualified position because, owing to the demands for likeness, it was tied to the imitation of nature. In fact we should remember that the experts did not place any artistic value on portrait painting until it was able to give a form, not to the external appearance of the depicted person but, via the subject, to certain cherished and revered properties. At its best the aim was more than just a naturalistic portrait restricted to the external physiognomy of the subject, because the aim should be a personal portrait expressing the character and inner being and their dynamics.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, the one who commissioned the portrait must surely have often had his own preconceived idea of how he wanted to look, or at least about what his appearance was not. Portraits were thus only rarely mere "likenesses".

Both idealism and likeness were demanded from the portrait. "Suomen Kuvalehti" published Ekman's necrology in 1873, and estimated the artist's productivity and its consequences: "It has unfortunately to be admitted that this productiveness - in part his poverty forcing it into excess - in many ways hampered the masterful and artistic supplementation of the substance. Mistakes in the directionality of the parts of the body are often evident in Ekman's paintings; what is even worse is a certain inclination towards theatricality in arranging the parts of the body. ---we cannot thus state that Ekman would, in all his works, have maintained a high standard of the beau ideal..."<sup>3</sup> There was also a drawing of Ekman in the same edition of the magazine (Picture 86).

Turkulainen (a *nom-de-plume*) wrote one week later in the newspaper "Sanomia Turusta": "The name "Ekman the Painter" has been placed under the picture of a gentleman in "Suomen Kuvalehti" N:o 5. All we can say about this is that, although the picture is of a man, it is not a picture of Ekman the Painter, although even he was a man."<sup>4</sup> The discussion about likeness continued in the next edition of Suomen Kuvalehti, in which there was a reply under the heading "A few words to Turkulainen about Ekman's picture: "So, in your opinion, there is no other similarity between Ekman and his picture than that this a man? Many of Ekman's acquaintances here (in Turku) have, however, recognised it as Ekman, although in fact it is not a very good resemblance. But the photograph on which the woodcut is based, was in actual fact taken a decade ago."<sup>5</sup> The use of a photograph in making a woodcut was thus, in the writer's opinion, one criterion for the veracity of the likeness.

This example demonstrates that the concepts of the likeness of a portrait varied considerably already according to contemporary values. We are therefore justified in speaking rather about the limits of likeness than the criteria, although in fact they have existed (e.g. *mimesis*). The criteria also varied within the same period, and not only historically as we would imagine.

Likeness is therefore treated in this study as a problem which can be elucidated through the use of example cases in a slightly similar fashion to the question of what art is. A final or corroborative set of criteria for likeness could not really be presented. This could hardly be expected, or even considered necessary. It is quite obvious that we consider a portrait a likeness if it meets our expectations. Thus talking about the criteria of likeness always leaves room, owing to its subjectivity, for doubt.

This discussion and these opinions suggest that one common feature of a portrait was a demand for photographic likeness, whatever that means. The photograph was felt to be an excellent tool (perhaps a magically credible one) for achieving a reliable likeness. This resulted in the artists readily accepting the use of photographs. In many cases the subject had died earlier, and a photograph represented a convenient means of painting a portrait. In addition, contemporary photographs were usually ideal in the respect that they had been corrected either by touching up the negative or by colouring the positive. Small flaws in the face were often rectified in the photographs, the mouth and nose embellished, the lines in the face softened or removed completely. This reflects analogically the idealistic tradition of portrait painting. However, seldom were the photographs pristine or uncorrected, although there are a few examples of such in

existence.

If we examine the portrait photographs of Ekman (Pictures 87 and 88) and compare them to the drawing in question, we have to admit that it is rather difficult to estimate whether the portraits are in fact likenesses. This is immediately evident in cases of this sort, irrespective of whether it is a contemporary subject or one from the past. The observer may also be forced to express his opinion of the likeness of a picture in cases where he could not have seen or been familiar with the subject. Attention is also often drawn in the literature of portrait art to the fact that portraits are not, according to contemporary or to present opinions, likenesses if they are characterised by a fidelity of details.<sup>6</sup>

The dilemma associated with the likeness of a portrait may also be partly due to the fact that the traits of the subject are not examined, the subject merely being regarded as an object set among other objects. The depicted individual cannot merely be an object, for whom a likeness and properties are created solely through the external form, attributes, gestures and dress. They do not as such constitute the criteria of likeness. Although they provide us with clues about the subject's personality, they cannot completely individualise him. Adding a name to a portrait is merely a means of identification. Likeness can thus be estimated on the basis of the multi-layered variety of individual features and the overall effect which they produce. Hypothetically speaking, they form the essential nature of likeness. This concept is examined in connection with the use made by Ekman and Löfgren of photographs, and brought to a conclusion in the treatment of Edelfelt's portrait of Runeberg.

When photography started to be used as an aid in art, it affected the demands and expectations set on portrait painting. It was a question of a turning point in portrait painting. This is evident from the concepts held by certain art historians. For instance, K.K. Meinander mentions photography as one reason why his work "Portrait in Finland before 1840's" is restricted to a specific period. He considers that the changes which occurred halfway through the 19th century were epochal: the appearance of photography, which introduced completely new possibilities to portrait art, and the establishment of the Finnish Art Association in 1846, which in fact Meinander considered to be of little importance for portrait art.<sup>7</sup> Meinander may have been referring to the expectations which photography aroused for convincing and identical likeness. His study is also important as an extensive survey of the situation in Finland.

We can say that portrait painting in the middle of the 19th century was usually characterised by a demand for a photographically-faithful likeness. It is also evident that R.W. Ekman (1808-1873) and E.J. Löfgren (1825-1884) utilised photographs in a number of their portrait paintings in order to achieve a corresponding likeness. The latter artist is treated here using examples of so-called official portraits only. This an important restriction, because an attempt is made to show that portrait painting was more conservative than other forms of visual art, and that it reflects a historical continuity.

In addition to the photograph, however, personal and social aspects had an effect on how Ekman and Löfgren perceived their paintings. It is therefore appropriate to use a comparative perspective in each case. A few examples of the use of photographs that shed light on the complex nature of the problem are

taken from the work of both artists. At the same time an attempt has been made to form a representative sample.

## **The relationship between R.W. Ekman's portrait painting and the photograph**

### **Portrait of Matthias Alexander Castrén**

The first documented case where a photograph was employed by Robert Wilhelm Ekman in his portrait painting is the "Portrait of the deceased Professor M.A. Castrén on the basis of the photograph by Mebius", on show in the Finnish Art Association's exhibition of 1853.<sup>8</sup> We also know that the portrait painting (Picture 89) of the professor, who died in May, was finished at the beginning of February the following year, and that the photograph used as the model was coloured (Picture 90).<sup>9</sup>

Ekman wrote to Castrén's widow about the portrait, and said that he was not certain whether the painting resembled the deceased, but that the photograph can be recognised from it; as an artist this had been his aim, although there are considerable problems involved in such transposition.<sup>10</sup> This is an important point of view. It suggests that the photograph has obviously had an influence as an analogical phenomenon on the painting, because the fact that he spoke about transposition demonstrates that Ekman had consciously attempted to take into account another picture genre in the expression of his painting. We can go into this in more detail by comparing the painting and photograph with each other.

Bertel Hintze has also drawn attention to the photograph on which the painting is based. He emphasises that Ekman did not know Castrén, nor G.A. Wallin. Ekman's portrait of Wallin, depicting Wallin in authentic Arabic dress and turban, is based on the scanty pencil drawing made by Mrs. Conradine Lagus after the death of the subject in 1854 (Pictures 91 and 92).<sup>11</sup> The painting can be considered to be an idealised official portrait.

The newspaper articles written about the painting give us some idea of the art critics' attitudes toward portrait paintings of this sort which, according to the exhibition catalogue, had been painted on the basis of a photograph. The Helsingfors Tidningar summed up Castrén's portrait in a few words in its appraisal in April 1853, by briefly mentioning that Ekman has painted a life-sized portrait of Castrén.<sup>12</sup> In the Litteraturblad magazine Samuel Elmgren is of the opinion that the painting is, on the whole, a masterful and complete likeness. The only exception is the colouring, because the pallor which Ekman has given his subject was by no means characteristic of Castrén during his lifetime. The eyes could have been made more alive, but of course daguerreotypes are not a good guide in this respect.<sup>13</sup> A uniform photographic terminology had not yet

come into use at that time, as is evident from the fact that S.G. Elmgren talks about a daguerreotype instead of a calotype. On the other hand, neither magazine/newspaper considered Wallin's portrait to be a likeness; it resembled the amateur drawing used as the model and obviously could not depict Wallin as he really was; in other respects the portrait is, according to the writers, a rather exceptional painting and shows the observation power of a genius.<sup>14</sup>

The use of a photograph as an aid had proved its reliability in the question of likeness; he had painted, according to contemporary estimates, a likeness of Castrén from the photograph although the pallor and appearance of the subject did not correspond to Castrén's features. This is somewhat surprising if we compare Mebius' photograph and Ekman's painting because the subject clearly looks younger and the posture is slightly more natural in the painting. A photograph presumably provides sufficient hints for the portrait artist about the subject's appearance and he is able, on the basis of this, to develop a portrait which is, in a personal way, correct. This is, paradoxically, also an example of the limitation of photographic likeness, as well of its unlimitedness. Furthermore, a comparison of Wallin's and Castrén's portraits suggests that early portrait photography was capable of achieving a likeness (cf. chapter: The problem of time in photography).

In his letter to Natalia Castrén, Ekman also recommended the most suitable size for the painting. The artist considered that the most natural-looking portrait would be a full-sized one, and it would speak and be spoken about at its most decorative.<sup>15</sup> This striving for naturalness in the portrait is evident from the fact that the artist has placed his subject in an environment characteristic of the scientist, in contrast to that in the photograph, and not followed the old style of filling the picture environment with e.g. allegorical props or symbols. The scholar is characterised by Kalevala and the collated works of Runeberg on his right. In this context, Ekman is ahead of the naturalistic portraiture of the 1880's and 1890's. The bookcase is partly covered by draperies. There are some books and a globe showing northern Asia and Australia on the table on the left. The gold-rimmed glasses, black suit and open silk waistcoat are also characteristic of the man sitting in an armchair next to his desk.

Ekman demonstrates his skills in reproducing the quality of the material and surface of the objects surrounding the subject. These include the depiction of the brown desk, the visible parts of the chair and the papers and globe, by means of the light falling on the objects. They demonstrate Ekman's artistic skill in defining colour, materials, the finish and texture of surfaces, and a hardness scale and way of reflecting light, through the properties of light and shadow. This can be seen in the direct reflection of light on the details of the environmental and on the facial features of the frontally depicted subject. Ekman has striven for a psychologically neutral calmness in his depiction of the facial features, and has also wanted to portray the inner being of his subject. He has captured his subject, without letting any particular feature become dominant. Mebius' photograph provided a good starting point for this. It has resulted in the portrait painting possessing likeness, although an idealised one, and despite this a degree of individualness. Ekman has usually paid less attention to the small physiognomic details in the faces of his subjects, and more to the overall effect. If Castrén had

sat for the painting, this hardly would have been the case.

The calotype is one example of the characteristic postures, dictated by practical aspects, of contemporary photography: the subject had to be photographed in a seated position next to a table or supporting pillar. The empty background of the photograph does not isolate the subject. This makes the subject an individual, without the assistance of any of the ordinary references, because the brown background is almost neutral. The two light-coloured, broad vertical lines on the left apparently have no concrete function. These lines convey and strengthen the picture surface in the same way as in, for instance, Théodore Chassériau's "Self Portrait" (1835, oil painting, the Louvre). It also precedes the means of modern painting art (e.g. in the art of Barnett Newman).

We can detect signs of sickness in Castrén's figure, which bring a touch of reality and expression to the photograph. This is partly due to the pale, soft colouring.<sup>16</sup> These colours have increased the overall flat impression in the volume of the figure and, in places, resulted in the disappearance of the lines of the face. Perhaps Mebius has done this to increase the consumptive appearance of his subject. In this respect Ekman has not followed the lines set by the photographer.

If we compare the position of the arms and fingers in the painting and the photograph we can see that they are almost identical. The position of the left arm down to the elbow conforms to that in the photograph, but between the wrist and elbow Ekman has not portrayed quite as much broadness as in the photograph. The forward extended arm and the fingers have been enlarged by the central perspective of the photograph because they are nearer to the camera than the other parts of the body. Enlargement of the points close to the central perspective can be seen in all forms of photography. Ekman has presumably been aware of this because he has slightly altered the overall impression. The position of Castrén's right hand, including the finger tips, is also similar to that in the photograph. However, the sharp angle of the elbow in the photograph is somewhat more rounded in Ekman's painting. Similarly, the artist has tried to improve the tapering of the right arm above the fingers compared to the perspective shortening visible in the photograph. The positioning of the hands looks natural, and demonstrates a new type of realism, as well as a studied grasp of this type of posture.

If we take a closer look at the details in the photograph, we can see that Castrén has a ring on the ring finger of his right hand and on the forefinger of his left hand. Ekman has swapped the rings around in the painting. This may be because Ekman mistakenly imagined the photograph to be a mirror image. On the other hand, the buttoning on the waistcoat and the parting of the hair correspond to the photograph.

The overall impression of the subject is, in accordance with contemporary photography, a rather stern one. Castrén has adopted a position which can be maintained for a long time without moving. The tilted position of the head may be caused by the fact that photographers were forced to use an array of supporting devices. Of these the most common was the neck support, which held the head in place with a vice-like grip. The device belonged to the normal array of equipment used by photographers for decades. The height of the subject and the

structure of the head and back of the head may presumably have determined, to some extent, whether the head was slightly tilted or erect when the photograph was taken; however, the neck support could normally be adjusted.

The inclined position of the head is, despite its expressiveness, relatively rare in individual portraits in painting art, and when it is used it usually performs a function in the content of the picture. In contrast, the position appears in group portraits especially when portraying relatively unimportant or subsidiary people, or if the main subject has turned towards another person in the picture. Mebius' photograph has thus obviously introduced a new type of head position in Ekman's portrait art, because Castrén did not normally, at least judging by of the portrait painted by Gustav Budkowski (Picture 93), have his head inclined. Neither is the head inclined in one of the caricatures drawn by Castrén himself (Picture 94). In fact the position of his head may have been affected by his illness. On the other hand, the head of the subject is slightly inclined in a couple of photographs of other people taken by Mebius.

There is more interaction between character and activity in the portrait painted by Ekman than in the photograph taken by Mebius. But in both the depicted subject is open to the world. There are a number of reasons for this effect. First of all, the subject is portrayed from directly in front, "en face". This may make the individual look himself, in other words vivid, communicable and active. Use of the word activity may at first seem unexpected, because the portrait expressly lacks activity. Activity is in fact normally considered to be a criterion for distinguishing portraits from historical paintings. But potential action impulses can be found in portraits. When portraits are examined as the expressors of postures, posing and gestures, they of course do not contain any real movements or action, but only the possibility of such taking place. The idea that movement may take place is evident here in connection with the simple basic positions used in the painting. These include the direction of the head and eyes, and the position of the body and legs. What has startled the seated subject and made him look up?

Certain similarities can be found when we compare the painting techniques used by Ekman and those analogically appearing in the photograph. The darkest or lightest areas, the slightest variations in tone which are hardly visible in the inner drawing, are dominant in the portrait painting of Castrén. The physiognomic structure of the facial features in the sharpest points where the light falls (e.g. the wrinkles) is incorporated into the picture using the slightest and subtlest denotations. They are almost unnoticeable, rapidly dissipating shades in the tone scale. This form of expression, which accentuates the extreme areas of the tones, results in a portrayal of the links between the forms that is almost analogous with that in Mebius' photograph - no special lighting devices have been used to impart distinguishable external features to the physiognomical parts of the face. By exploiting this special feature of the camera picture, which almost completely removes the whole area of the intermediate tones from the "chiaroscuro" of the photograph, thus flattening the forms, Ekman has created a rather effective pictorial application and painting technique.

In the above-mentioned letter to Natalia Castrén, Ekman appears to have been referring to the facial features when, in talking about the colour scheme of

his portrait painting compared to that of the photograph, he mentions that he has made the colour tones more brilliant, but that it does not matter because time gilds everything.<sup>17</sup> However, it is obvious that the carnation of the face was, despite this, unsuccessful. This is also supported by Natalia Castrén's appraisal that Ekman's portrait of Matilda Rotkirch suffers from the same pale colouring and stiffness for which Castrén's portrait has frequently been criticized.<sup>18</sup> In addition, compared to his earlier portraits, Ekman has used a much more realistic colour scheme. In this sense, Ekman's habit of using local colours precedes Albert Edelfelt's and Akseli Gallen-Kallela's idea of natural colouring.

Ekman did not attempt to make a direct copy of the photograph, but instead created an independent content for his work. The portraic view of the subject is, despite the use of a photograph, an original "Ekman interpretation". The painting is a work of art in its own right, and the way in which the picture structure and cool idealism of the figure are depicted is characteristic of Ekman. Ekman probably felt that he was painting something much more significant than could possibly be expressed in a photograph. Therefore the phrase in the exhibition catalogue about a painting based on a photograph may be intended to encourage comparison of the photograph and the painting. On the other hand, Ekman's catalogue of works contains no reference of a painting based on a photograph.<sup>19</sup>

A medallion-shaped photograph of Castrén has also survived (Picture 95). The photograph is marked "Enlarged by C.A. Hårdh".<sup>20</sup> It has proved to be an enlarged copy of the photograph taken by Mebius. Hårdh has reduced the photograph down to an oval half-length portrait, in the photograph style popular in the middle of the 1860's and later. It is interesting to compare the eyes in Hårdh's photograph with those in Mebius' photograph; in the photographic literature, for instance, Roland Barthes starts his analysis of photographs with the eyes of the subject. Barthes states that he has seen a photograph of Jérôme, the youngest brother of Napoleon, taken in 1852. Barthes' basic insight is that he felt he was looking at eyes that had seen the emperor.<sup>21</sup> The eyes in photographs were, in other respects, the experience which Barthes wanted to follow: "I crave for the history of what eyes have seen."<sup>22</sup> However, what Barthes was referring to was the traditional demand for "living eyes" or sight in the picturesque sense.

The photograph is often better suited to an analysis of details than a painting. Comparing Hårdh's copy of the photograph with Mebius' original demonstrates that the significance of the eyes was very relative in photography at the beginning of the 1850's, because the eyes in these two photographs are different.<sup>23</sup> The eyes in the enlargement are looking in a different direction to those in the original photograph; as we can clearly see, Hårdh has added completely new, larger eyes to his copy. Furthermore, both Mebius and Hårdh have been forced to touch up the eyes of the subject in order to make them visible. We should be rather cautious with respect to the eyes in photographs from the 1850's. They have to be examined extremely carefully before we can gain any information about their original form. It is often impossible to detect touching up on an original photograph even: it has usually been done with great skill already on the negative and not on the photographic paper. The differences initially appear to be slight, but they can radically change the nature of the picture.

### Opening of the Finnish Senate, 18th September 1863

The Imperial Senate commissioned R.W. Ekman to make a formal painting of the opening of the Senate in 1863. The large painting (Picture 96) depicts the ceremonial opening of the Senate in the Throne Room of the Imperial Palace in Helsinki (nowadays the Presidential Palace), where Czar Alexander II made the opening speech in French. The recognition he had received for his painting of the Porvoo Senate was almost certainly the main reason why Ekman was awarded the commission (1853).

Ekman made thorough preparations for the painting. This is demonstrated by J.V. Snellman's letter to the court painter one week before the official opening. In the letter Snellman informs, on behalf of the imperial senate and in reply to Ekman's early letter, about the sum to be paid for the painting (300 roubles, i.e. 12 000 Finnmarks) and, furthermore, that the court painters trip to the opening of the senate would be reimbursed in accordance with his expenses. The fact that Snellman mentions that the photograph of the ceremony would be paid for is important point as far as this study is concerned. As regards who was to be included in the photographic portrait, it was left to the individual representatives to send a portrait photograph of themselves if they so desired.<sup>24</sup>

The Finland's *Allmänna Tidning* wrote, soon after the opening of the senate, about Ekman's intentions as follows: "Court Painter Ekman will paint a new painting of the senate, portraying the Senate Room in the Imperial Palace at the moment when his majesty Czar Alexander II makes his speech to the senate. A photograph has already been taken of the room and Mr. Ekman, who was himself present at the distinguished ceremony, is at the moment making preparations for his great work. Ekman is collecting photographs from the respective members of the estates, as well as from all those persons involved in the opening of the senate. We have been told that the artist intends to give greater dimensions to this painting than in his painting of the opening of the Porvoo Senate."<sup>25</sup>

However, Ekman was not able to get a photograph of the ceremony itself, presumably because of the long exposure time needed in photographing such a large internal space, and also the insufficient light. Perhaps the presence of a photographer and camera was also considered to be a disturbance which would have otherwise imposed on the solemnity of the ceremony. But Ekman did receive portrait photographs of the people who participated in the ceremony. However, he was not completely successful in putting this jigsaw of photographs in the right order. Ekman was forced to make compromises despite the fact that he consciously strove to achieve, using the photographs, a documentary-like historical creditability for this important state occasion.

How then did Ekman work on the painting? The picture in the picture archives of the National Board of Antiquities and Historical Monuments provides an answer (Picture 97). All the figures are numbered consecutively above or on the forehead of each of the depicted persons. The corresponding numbers are also listed in order at the edge of the picture indicating the identity of each person. Number 1 is Czar Alexander II, and the last one Louise Armfelt. Altogether over one hundred persons are numbered in this way, but the painting

includes about 200 individual portraits. The picture gives us some idea of how Ekman probably worked and also about the problems he was faced with when attempting to take into account the laws of optics and the reduction in size caused by central perspective. Ekman also demonstrates his academic thoroughness in the arrangement and in the large number of people portrayed.

It is interesting to note that the first documentary photographs appeared in Finland at about the same time as Ekman's painting. These new types of photograph were a direct result of Czar Alexander II's visit to Finland in July 1863. In fact photographs were obtained only of the crowds waiting for the Czar, because he did not arrive until after the sun had set. By that time the photographers had retired in disappointment. When the Czar again visited Finland for the opening of the senate in September 1863, the weather conditions were dreadful, but Eugen Hoffers (1832-1893) photographed the military parades and other events.<sup>26</sup>

Presumably Ekman also understood that the ceremony provided an opportunity to profit by collecting photographs, and to use them to paint an integrated work. A similar case occurred in photography at about the same time when Eugen Hoffers was forced to resort to collecting photographs in the same way as Ekman in planning a so-called mosaic picture of the representatives of the aristocracy in 1863-64 (picture 98). Hoffers arranged the heterogeneous pictures, taken by different photographers, into a fan-like picture composition, and added his signature on the bottom right corner of the reproduction picture.<sup>27</sup> This example demonstrates that photography was not yet able to compete with painters in this area of pictorial expression. In fact documentary photography became feasible relatively rapidly, and almost completely displaced the painters in this function.

When an artist has to paint a portrait expressly on the basis of a photograph, perhaps the most difficult feature, apart from external likeness, is that the photograph may lack feeling of the personality and characteristic features of the subject. In such a case a portrait can easily become a caricature. Ekman is referring to this in his letter to Fredrik Cygnaeus at the beginning of March 1865, when he states that the senate painting is now ready, but there are no caricatures to be found in it, despite the claims of wicked tongues.<sup>28</sup>

The main indication that a portrait photograph has been used as a painting aid is that the typical division of the shadows on the face of the subject corresponds to the abrupt demarcation between light and shade produced by the camera picture. This can be considered to be an analogical presentation of form characteristic of photography.

What sort of reception did the painting receive? The painting was on show in Ekman's exhibition in the large hall of the neo-Gothic Knights' House, designed by G.Th. Chiewitz and completed only four years earlier. The *Hufvudstadsbladet* wrote about the exhibition rather soon after it opened. According to the newspaper, the senate painting was attracting a lot of interest because the public wanted to see which of the well-known people's portraits was a likeness and which not. The newspaper considered that the public were going too far in this respect, because it was completely unreasonable to expect that every one of the over one hundred people in the painting (the chronicler of the

paper has not counted the number very accurately) should have a completely recognisable portrait. In actual fact this would have been impossible because only a few of the depicted people had actually sat for the painting, the others being painted on the basis of small photograph cards.<sup>29</sup>

The *Hufvudstadsbladet* was thus forced to defend the ridiculous demands of the public, set on Ekman, for complete portraiture in every individual picture. Although the painting was an obvious display of Ekman's prowess, neither this picture nor the other works in the exhibition restored the respect which the artist was trying to regain, and which was surely the reason for arranging the exhibition in the capital. The newspaper considered the merit of the painting to lie in its perspective and grouping, and rated the overall effect as being full of life, "the figures can be clearly distinguished from each other, and the hall and its decor are brilliantly reproduced on the canvas".

The *Helsingfors Tidningar* also wrote about the exhibition. The newspaper stated that the public were especially interested in the senate painting because it contained many familiar faces. Taking into account the great number of people in the painting and the fact that Ekman had been frequently forced to rely on *carte-de-visite* photographs, the newspaper considered that the likeness of the portrayed people was, in general, satisfactory, in many cases almost perfect, and in most cases at least recognisable.<sup>30</sup> The newspaper was also of the opinion that the grouping and perspective were certifiably from the hand of a trained painter.

Ekman strove to solve the problems of displaying a historical event by paying attention to the possibilities offered by photography. The use of photographs was also a means of introducing realism to the painting. The number of guests invited to participate in the opening of the senate was very large, and Ekman was forced to reduce the degree of portrait likeness more than he had originally intended when requesting photographs from all interested parties. As a realist and eyewitness of the occasion he attempted, however, to include as many as possible of the participants in his picture; a more idealistically-oriented artist would have perhaps concentrated on a group of only about twenty people. Ekman may have been influenced by the school of the Swede, Per Krafft the Younger (1777-1863), and its achievements.<sup>31</sup> Ekman was faced with a problem which was not easy to solve in an elegantly balanced and hierarchical fashion. He portrayed a large crowd of men, standing on the floor, as a cluster of faces arranged in an almost geometrical fashion. Although Ekman participated in the event, he did not include his own, indisputably recognisable portrait in the composition, for instance as a side figure.

The imperial throne room, which was located in the neo-Classical building designed by Pehr Granstedt (it was converted into the Imperial Palace under the guidance of C.L. Engel in 1837), formed the composition and architectural environment. The neo-Classical architecture created a suitable setting for the gravity of the occasion. It is therefore understandable that Ekman wanted to obtain a photograph of this solemn setting. The artist presumably used the photograph (since lost) to paint an exact replica of the form and decor of the throne room. He surely used the photograph in constructing the solid form and arrangement of the room. The sloping, horizontal form of the room and its architectural structure together produce an optically logical synthesis of the supporting and sup-

ported components, which the central perspective, painted according to the camera picture, displays: the painting forms an almost geometrically box-like composition. The space narrows sharply in the painting on moving from the front to the back. Ekman forces, by lining up the representatives of the estates on both sides of the empty space created by the deepness of the picture, the eyes of the viewer to turn towards the main figure in the picture, Czar Alexander II, the canopy of the throne and the large ornate chandelier, which together form the central axis of the picture.

What is more important is that Ekman has introduced a feeling of distance, which separates the audience from the ruler and his entourage. The theatrical central point of the painting is in the centre of the canvas. The artist has spent more effort depicting the surrounding area than on the faces of the figures themselves in order to give prominence to the representatives of the highest estate. Similarly, the central point is illuminated by light emanating from the left. It encloses the canopy of the throne and the czar, permitting less light to fall on the other main participants in the picture.

Ekman has tried to achieve structural solidity through the tension created between the densely grouped figures and the empty space. The result is a completely symmetrical picture space. The relationship between the figures and the picture space is not quite naturally harmonic. In fact Ekman has presumably aimed for a harmonious effect by placing his figures in such a way that the faces of the men standing at the front are lower than those of the men at the back, leaving the observer with the impression that they are standing on a staggered platform. He may have done this to accentuate the equal position of the different estates; Ekman has obviously considered it propitious to depict the most important representatives of the estates as full-length figures in the front rows.

This arrangement has provided Ekman with the opportunity to use photographs to paint a portrait gallery of heads, rising gradually upwards, whose faces are characteristic likenesses or, at least an attempt at such. Similarly, the faces are easily recognisable because they are not obscured by the people standing in front of them. This also results in the heads being slightly oversize in proportion to their bodies. It is especially disturbing in the case of the emperor's head, and of the other figures located deep in the perspective.

The doll-like enlargement of the heads is especially apparent in the female figures located on the women's side, i. e. in the galleries of the hall, who are arranged in alternate rows. Ekman painted them on the basis of photographs or small portrait sketches. Åbo Underrättelser wrote about these female figures that they could well be ephemeral angles of Rafael Sanzio, if only they could some day materialise on the balcony of the Finnish senate.<sup>32</sup> Bertel Hintze mentions that he had seen dozens of the photographs or small sketches used by Ekman of the women portrayed in the galleries.<sup>33</sup>

## Portraits of Carl Robert Procopé

During the last few years of his life R.W. Ekman was forced to earn a living in Turku by painting a number of portraits from photographs. These include the portraits of Carl Robert Procopé (1792-1868) which the artist painted in autumn 1869. The Finlands Allmänna Tidning newspaper had earlier criticised Ekman for his efficiency and lack of realism.<sup>34</sup>

Bertel Hintze has drawn attention to the family portraits, painted by Ekman, in which the artist has usually rather closely followed the photographs used as models. Hintze considered that this has not increased their artistic value. The art historian regards the portrait of C.R. Procopé's to be an exception. Hintze considers that it displays a methodical implementation, bold drawing and a warm skin colour. Thus the portrait merits a position as one of the best old portrait paintings, and its profound characterisation and living posture are by no means betrayed by the fact that the portrait has been painted after the subject's death, and derived from a photograph.<sup>35</sup> Hintze's words lead us to suspect that the young scholar has not seen the photograph. The portrait of the president of the Turku Court of Appeal, referred to here, was painted one year after his death in 1869. (Picture 99) L. Wennervirta considers the same portrait to be an example of the resurrection of this art genre, in contrast to the artisan-like works of J.E. Lindh and other counterfeiters.<sup>36</sup>

According to the picture archives of the National Board of Antiquities and Historical Monuments, there are three portraits of C.R. Procopé painted by Ekman.<sup>37</sup> The man in all three paintings is of the same age. However, a copy of the artist's catalogue of works which has survived mentions only two portraits of Procopé: "1869...Autumn, Procopé's portr. Reuter 400. The same Mister on the basis of the photograph Mrs. Procopé 200."<sup>38</sup> On the basis of this we can date the smallest portrait (Picture 100) to 1869, although the work has been marked as: "R.W. Ekman pinx 1849", because Ekman's catalogue of works from 1849 does not mention the Procopé portrait, and its price indicates that the painting is almost half the size of that marked down in the catalogue for Agronomist A. Reuter. In fact the year has been written somewhat unclearly. On the other hand, the signature is missing from the other two paintings.

Bertel Hintze has not included a signed portrait of Procopé in the catalogue of works in his monograph on Ekman, but does mention the portrait in the Turku Court of Appeal, which he considers to be a replica of the portrait owned by Reuter's estate.<sup>39</sup> On the other hand, Ekman has not included the Turku Court of Appeal's portrait (Picture 101) in his own catalogue of works. The matter is somewhat puzzling because the catalogue does include most of the works done during his stay in Finland during 1845-72, as well as their buyers and prices, which Ekman himself considered to be significant. Although the catalogue was not prepared by Ekman, according to Jukka Ervamaa it is clearly a copy of a personal list.<sup>40</sup>

Has the photograph which Ekman used survived? There is a carte-de-visite photograph of Procopé in the Turku Provincial Museum (Picture 102). It is highly likely that this photograph was the one Ekman used. Thus three very

similar portraits were perhaps painted at the time. The *carte-de-visite* photograph can be dated rather reliably, despite the fact that the year is missing, to the latter half of the 1860's, because the haziness of the background, i.e. vignettism, was the characteristic hallmark of photography of that period.

The *carte-de-visite* photograph was taken by the Helsinki photographer, Carl Adolph Hårdh (1835-1875). C.A. Hårdh's father was the graphic artist and painter, Adolph Hårdh, who had moved from Kuopio to Sweden. The boy received a training as a water-colour artist and lithographer at the Stockholm Academy of Art, and specialized in landscape painting. C.A. Hårdh initially worked as a photograph colourer (see an earlier chapter) and then as an artist and drawing teacher, but became a photographer in 1862.<sup>41</sup> Such a distinguished and versatile career is rather typical of many photographers of the period. The high artistic standard of many of the photographs of the period is partly due to similar reasons.

C.A. Hårdh demonstrated considerable artistic ambition in his photography. This can be clearly seen from his depiction of city views.<sup>42</sup> However, this striving for expression is especially evident in the vignetted portrait photographs he took, one of which is the example treated here. This vignetted *carte-de-visite* photograph contains an amazing sensitivity, difficult to explain, throughout the whole form of the picture. It is a demonstration of artistic strivings, with high goals, because Hårdh has consciously striven to mould the shapes that appear automatically in the camera picture. He has done this through strong over-exposure. The details have subsequently disappeared from the subject's forehead, leaving an impression of smoothness. The contrast is effective compared to the lower part of the face in which the physiognomical wrinkles are almost accentuatedly displayed by the contraction of the grey scale. In the photograph light etches away the outline of the head (around the parting on the left), in addition to the internal features of the forehead, to such an extent that it appears to have almost melted into the background.

Ekman has treated and studied this specific phenomenon in one of his three portraits of Procopé. He has rather logically reproduced this reflection-like use of light, based on the camera picture, in the painting, although he has not allowed, in contrast to the photograph, the light to directly break the outline. Ekman's way of depicting light is a novelty in Finnish portrait art, and hints at the internal properties inherent in the photograph. In addition, the surface structure of the subject's face in the *carte-de-visite* photograph bears the most highly regarded, distinctive mark of portrait photography: the discreet, almost undetectable transfer of the tones from black to white, which may also have had an analogical effect in the content features of Ekman's paintings.

Although the position of the subject in the paintings appears natural and characteristically profound, there are some details which reveal that a photograph has been used. The special feature in the characterisation of the subject which originates from contemporary photography is the tension around the eyes. The fact that this has been depicted in photographic fashion shows that photographic reality has been used as one of the picture components when depicting the features of the subject. Similarly, the old arrangement formula of portrait art would have meant that, when the face was turned to the left, the eyes

should be painted to look directly towards the observer. In contrast, Ekman has followed the convention occasionally favoured by photography of the period to depict the eyes looking in exactly the same direction as the subject's head.

In one of these portraits Ekman has portrayed a similar background to that in his portrait of Castrén. He utilises the attributes characteristic of the subject, and places Procopé in his typical environment besides a writing desk. There are a few sheets of paper, a collection of law books and the Bible on the table. In addition, part of a bookcase can be seen in the background.

The overall expression of the portrait paintings also appears to have been influenced by the optical reproduction of the external features of the subject as seen in the photograph. Particular attention is drawn to the depiction of the dark and light parts of the picture. The shapes gradually take form out of the dark background, the stress is not placed solely on the extreme features, but on the external shape of the figures, which are visualised by the contrast between light and shadow. The forms at highlighted points remain incomplete; their details disappear in the bright light. The sharp contrast between the dark background and illuminated parts of the picture, such as in the depiction of the face of the figure, and the front of the shirt and hands, is generally rather clear. In this respect these portraits can be considered to be examples of the close relationship with the formal picture contents of photography, and the analogy between the two portrait genre.

Procopé's face represents a certain characteristic curiosity: this is easy to characterise because the personal and individual features of the face are rather unequivocal. He is not a labile pictorial figure, which accounts for the feeling of partial characterisation in the face. This imitation of reality attains a concrete and sharp-featured form in the paintings. The depiction which Ekman is, in principle, striving for is objectivity-oriented realism, which only slightly alleviates the idealism. In two of these portrait paintings many of the details of form and texture are depicted more accurately than those in the photograph. This suggests that, in this respect, Ekman did want to compete with photography.

I would posit that the relationship between the photograph and the paintings is like a thin membrane which, modified at almost all its points, melts into the external form of the subject's face. The difference is of course that the camera picture is formed from grey masses derived from light and shadow. In addition, Ekman's paintings clearly contain much of the overall personality of the subject, which may indicate that the artist was personally acquainted with the president of the appeal court, or had at least met him on some occasion or other. The connection is rather probable considering the social eligibility of Ekman and his wife. However, there is no evidence to suggest that Procopé would have ever sat as a model for Ekman.

In conclusion we can say that the photograph presumably led Ekman into realistic characterisation of his subject. The effect of this photograph can be shown by comparison. We should avoid paying too much attention to the natural beautification and idealism that are also part of Ekman's artistic style, although the artist himself summed this up in one characteristic phrase in the notes of his autobiography: "Seek for an ideal in everything. Use nature for this,

but avoid disharmony."<sup>43</sup> On the other hand, we can talk about the conflict between the artist's realistic talent and the idealism which he strove for.

### Portrait of Flora Katarina Ranin

In 1869 R.W. Ekman made the following entry in the list of his works: "Dec. Mrs. Ranin, on the basis of the photograph, shall be payed about 800, Merchant Ranin in Kuopio."<sup>44</sup> Flora Katarina Ranin, née Kjellström (d. 1868), was the daughter of the chaplain of Viitasaari. This may be the reason why Ekman was commissioned to paint the portrait. In 1849 Ekman painted an altar-piece on the theme of the Crucifixion of Christ for Viitasaari Church. The *Morgonbladet* newspaper wrote about the consternation caused by the altar-piece; the local people found it difficult to believe that the painting had been created by the hand of man. Large numbers of people from neighbouring districts flocked to Sunday church at Viitasaari to see a completely unprecedented or unimaginable sight.<sup>45</sup> Gust. Ranin frequently visited Viitasaari on business trips and when visiting his brother, and also met his future wife there.<sup>46</sup>

No correspondence about the portrait painting has survived.<sup>47</sup> It is of course obvious that the painting was not intended for public display. It was only a private commission to immortalise a memory. The painting is not signed. Two copies of *carte-de-visite* pictures of Flora Katarina Ranin have survived (Pictures 103 and 104), one of which is a seated full-length photograph and the other a vignettted half-length photograph. Only the full-length photograph was presumably available to Ekman. This is evident from the fact that, in addition to the direction of the face, the position of the arms is rather similar to that in the painting.

The basic approach in Flora Ranin's portrait (Picture 105) is slightly different from that in the other portraits painted by Ekman on the basis of photographs. This is probably due to the fact that it is a portrait of a woman. The portrait is rather large (152 x 118 cm). Ekman has intentionally avoided depicting the environment because the back of the chair and corner of the table are only vaguely distinguishable in the picture space. The artist has added a touch of colourful contrast in the reddish and also to some extent bluish tones of the lady's bonnet and large bow arrangement.

The flowers painted by Ekman in the subject's lap and on the table add something special to the monochromaticism of the painting. However, the flowers do not quite conform to the normal so-called Biedermeier bouquet. We can therefore assume that Ekman has added floral symbolism to his work. The subject's Christian name is, in itself, indicative of this. Flora Ranin had died the previous year, and ever since the Middle ages flowers have been used in pictorial art to symbolise the transitoriness of human life. The flowers are used to construe certain simple, symbolic ideas. The sketchily painted flowers contain signs of love and suffering, purity and innocence. The flowers in her lap and those about to drop from her hand state, in accordance with tradition, that she is in

paradise. The artist is thus using his floral and colour symbolism to tell us, in accordance with the old *Vanitas* theme, that nothing on earth is permanent and that everything is in vain. This again demonstrates that, despite having used a photograph, Ekman paints independent contents in his portraits.

The photograph used by Ekman was a small *carte-de-visite* picture. Thus the differences between the painting and the photograph are, at first glance, not very great. A closer look at the physiognomy of the face reveals, however, clear differences. In fact Ekman has probably examined the photograph under a magnifying glass when painting the portrait. The characterisation of the face shows that, although Ekman has had a photograph in his hand, he has also had neo-Classical canons in mind. This has resulted in the subject's face becoming slightly oval, with large, closely set eyes, a narrow nose and small mouth, and rather straight line of the nose and forehead. When treating the face Ekman did not merely paint them as simple forms. He has also striven consistently to create a synthesis of humanity, an idealised picture free of random features. Such features form part of the properties of the ideal portrait. This being the case, the facial type is most likely based on the directions of J.J. Winckelmann and on the academic classical tradition.<sup>48</sup> Ekman was well versed in German and also read Winckelmann's main work in its original form.

These classical concepts have had an influence on the portrait of Flora Katarina Ranin. It is thus the sort of depiction of female beauty that was typical of Ekman and his contemporaries. In depicting the face he has shown the sort of skills, technical bravura, that are pictorially related to his earlier works. The parallelism of the artistic ideals has given the portrait a reciprocity with the pictorial ideas of the "Ilmatar" and "Kreeta Haapasalo" figures. In addition, the attempt to interiorise the expression has been diluted by the more picturesqueness of minor realism, especially so in the flowers and in the indeterminate incorporal background. The portrait is stylised, distant and lacking in vitality, features which were still present in Ekman's portrait of Procopé. In addition, the portrait, done "en face", has been implemented in accentuated fashion in ascetic black and grey shades. The painting also brings to mind the traditional Madonna pictures (especially in Rafael's art).

On the other hand, the form language of the painting illustrates the problems of style characteristic of Ekman and many of his contemporary artists: a rather regular balance between the classical traditions and the realistic style of depiction that was gradually gaining strength. Photography had, in general, a strengthening effect on the more realistic concepts of art. This is revealed by the new possibilities of visualising reality. Despite the neo-Classical features, the face of Flora Katarina Ranin has been given an overall expression that is almost the same as that of the photograph. This may be due to the fact that Ekman has perhaps wanted to give the viewer a sign of the photograph and, of course, his striving for likeness. Despite this, the idealised depiction technique is dominant in the facial features. It may not merely be a question of stylistic uncertainty, but rather a striving for a characterisation suitable for the subject.

Overall it appears that Ekman has not used the photograph as a complete model because, owing to the expressionless face of the subject, the characteristic features are lacking. Thus the figure in the photograph formed an empty space, delimited by its extremities, which Ekman filled with an inner drawing.

## The relationship between E.J. Löfgren's portrait painting and the photograph

### Portrait of Fredrik Cygnaeus

The situation regarding research into E.J. Löfgren's art is still open. Aimo Reitala's words that "the deficient research into Löfgren's art", and statement that "the first study on Löfgren's work has only just been started", support this.<sup>49</sup> As the first stage in this work Reitala presented a pro-seminar lecture. On the other hand, Löfgren as well as Ekman also appear to be considered as artists who have been studied sufficiently.

Erik Johan Löfgren stayed in Düsseldorf for five years (1853-1858). His sojourn and studies were made possible by the support of the Finnish Art Association. Löfgren arrived in Düsseldorf a couple of months after Werner Holmberg in autumn 1853. What is much more important is that he became one of the later followers of the lyrical-sentimental school of painting, the founder of which is generally considered to be the director of the art academy at the time, the Nazarene painter W. von Schadow. Löfgren is known to have studied under the direction of two of Schadow's pupils, Th. Hildebrand and O. Mengelberg, and thus presumably ended up as a representative of this rather academic style. In general we can say that Löfgren's academic painting style is slightly "Schadowy" conventional and rather close to the so-called international impersonality of the day. But, on the other hand, he attained an idealism and emotionality, often characteristic of the "Topelius's period", which may in fact at times be associated with an obvious lack of intensity.

In Düsseldorf Löfgren devoted himself to become a figure and portrait painter. He was thus bypassed, already at this stage, by the innovations that developed in the academy's outdoor landscape and genre painting during the 1850's. Portraiture remained as a traditional academic genre, and for this reason, conservative.

In October 1856 the Swedish-speaking press in Finland reported that Löfgren had recently been engaged in portrait painting, and had painted for instance a successful portrait of Prof. Fr. Cygnaeus, who had stayed for some time in Düsseldorf during one of his trips abroad.<sup>50</sup>

Z. Topelius also paid a visit to Düsseldorf in 1856 with the head of the art association at that time, Baron C. von Koth. Topelius published an article about his visit to Düsseldorf later on in the *Helsingfors Tidningar*; he told about the

Finnish artists, e.g. Löfgren, who was nowadays concentrating on "canonical painting" and, being a slow Finn, needs a year just to think about one painting. But then it rises soft and magnificent from the canvas.<sup>51</sup>

Löfgren has become famous in the world of Finnish art history, and his success as an artist was significantly affected by the assistance he received from the Finnish Art Association. From 1846 onwards the Association supported Ekman's recommendations with untiring patience and sacrifice by, for instance, providing grants. According to the art association's annual report, Löfgren was the only one of its many protégés who fulfilled the hopes set on him. The association's annual report of 1858 states as follows: in his works Löfgren makes up with commendable conscientiousness for that which he still lacks in energeticness and productiveness.<sup>52</sup>

In addition to Löfgren's life history, his reputation as a painter has been decisively affected by J.J. Tikkanen who ventured, as was the custom in those days, to make daring value judgements. In his history of the Finnish Art Association (1896) Tikkanen points out that the art association has forgotten that Löfgren lacks, according to the art critics, real artistic inspiration.<sup>53</sup> What is even more important is that already in 1885 Tikkanen had written in the *Finsk Tidskrift* magazine a severely negative critique of Löfgren's memorial exhibition, based on contemporary naturalistic concepts of art alone, without at all taking into account the completely different lyrical style of expression of the artist.<sup>54</sup> Tikkanen does not consider that he has anything positive to say about Löfgren's art.

Marta Hirn has published all the portraits depicting Cygnaeus in her work "What did Fredrik Cygnaeus look like?" (1959). These include the only known photograph of Cygnaeus. Using picture material and literature references, M. Hirn has been extremely thorough in shedding some light on the question of what Cygnaeus looked like. The method used by Marta Hirn is significant. But the perspective used in the study in hand differs from Hirn's because it focuses on the relationship between the photograph and portrait painting. We can use an example to illustrate the methodical differences. Mart Hirn writes: "In 1831 Cygnaeus was able to make his first trip to Sweden. The distinguishing marks in his passport at the time were: 24 year's old, dark hair, blue eyes, full face, normal height. - Cygnaeus continued to look like this throughout his time as a student, first in Turku and then in Helsinki; his studies were so prolonged that there is every reason to call him an eternal student."<sup>56</sup>

The verbal characterisation in the passport document is not enough to tell us what Cygnaeus looked like. The words provide a general idea of their subject but the same description could apply to many other people; only a picture can depict a particular person and be a likeness of him. A picture is therefore always an individual case. Language alone can hardly provide a full description of the external appearance of a particular person, because verbal expression is, by its nature, too general. In contrast, the relationship between the photograph and the subject is much closer.

According to Emil Nervander, Fredrik Cygnaeus had an insurmountable repulsion for the mechanical art of photography.<sup>57</sup> As has already been mentioned, there appears to be only one photograph of him in existence (Picture

106), and it is nowadays in the picture archives of the Historical Department of the National Board of Antiquities and Historical Monuments. There is a rubber-stamp signature on the back of the photograph: "M. Radermacher. Artist & Photographer from Düsseldorf".

Löfgren's portrait of Cygnaeus (Picture 107) was on show for the first time in the Finnish Art Association's 1861 exhibition.<sup>58</sup> The second time the painting was on show was in the memorial exhibition arranged by the art association in 1885.<sup>59</sup> Neither of the exhibition catalogues mention that the portrait has been painted on the basis of a photograph. Surprisingly, however, they do mention that some of the other Löfgren portraits in the memorial exhibition have been painted after a photograph. When we compare the photograph and the portrait we can immediately see that the subject's position is almost completely the same, even to the extent that the frame of both pictures cuts off the fingertips at almost the same point. Furthermore, the composition of Löfgren's portrait painting is analogous to that of Radermacher's photograph: it is a question of a three-quarter-length figure in which the lower edge of the picture surface in both the painting and the photograph extends down to a line above the hidden knees of the standing figure.

Matthias Radermacher was born in Bonn in 1804 and died in Düsseldorf in 1890. In Düsseldorf he was a student of C.L. Tischbein, H. Kolbe and W. von Schadow.<sup>60</sup> Radermacher was one of that large body of portrait painters who, on occasions at least, exchanged their paints and canvas for a camera. The photograph of Cygnaeus is a portrait produced on thin brown paper, with the corners of the frame rounded off. The photograph has not been coloured, but has been carefully touched up. The lack of colouring suggests that the photograph was not intended to be an official picture for display in the owner's home. Colouring would have also increased the price. In this sense frugality was a logical step because the photograph was obviously intended to be used as an artist's aid. For a slow artist such as Löfgren, a photograph would have been of great benefit as a memory aid and as a means of verification when arranging and reducing the portrait.

Was Cygnaeus trying to give some financial support to Löfgren by commissioning a portrait from him? This is a real possibility when we consider that Löfgren's letters to Cygnaeus contain so many references to the artist's poor financial position and perpetual lack of money. Emil Nervander omitted them when he published the artist's letters in January 1885 in the *Finland* magazine under the heading "An addition to Erik Johan Löfgren's biography".<sup>61</sup> Judging by the letters, Löfgren's relationship with Cygnaeus was servile and flattering. In his letter dated Düsseldorf April 1856, for example, Löfgren has every reason to address Cygnaeus with the words: "Mr. Professor, my benefactor."<sup>62</sup> In addition, Nervander mentions in his characterisation of Löfgren in the *Finland* magazine that the artist has too high an opinion of book learning.<sup>63</sup>

Cygnaeus spent the summer of 1856 abroad in Paris, Berlin and Düsseldorf. On his way out to Paris he stayed with Löfgren in Düsseldorf and perhaps then asked the artist to consider painting his portrait. The artist may have offered - perhaps as a form of thanks - to paint a portrait of his patron, because the professor wrote from Paris in a letter dated the latter half of August that he hopes to

come to Düsseldorf again in order to take advantage of the artist's promise to illustrate his physiognomy with an excellent portrait.<sup>64</sup> Although Cygnaeus' letters frequently express his concern about how to make Löfgren's studies in Düsseldorf financially more secure, they do not as such tell us whether he himself wanted to supplement the grant from the art association with a portrait commission, or whether Löfgren had spontaneously suggested the portrait, because in all the letters the ways in which the artist begs for money appear to be rather indirect. On his return trip from Paris Cygnaeus again visited Düsseldorf, and Löfgren appears to have started work on the portrait painting.

It would be interesting from the point of view of the history of the painting to know how long Cygnaeus actually stayed in Düsseldorf, and whether he went to have his photograph taken on his own initiative or as a result of Löfgren's suggestion. It is nowadays impossible to get an exact answer to these questions, and they remain hypothetical. Marta Hirn is presumably correct with respect to the length of Cygnaeus' stay when she assumes that one almost gets the impression that the stay was not a long one, because he apparently agreed to Löfgren's request to have his photograph taken.<sup>65</sup>

Under no circumstances can Cygnaeus have stayed for longer than one week at Löfgren's. However, a few days would be enough for a fast portrait painter to make a study of his subject and to carry out the necessary preliminary arrangements and sketches. According to Emil Nervander, on the other hand, getting the rather indolent Cygnaeus to stand as a model or even to sit to be photographed would have been a hopeless task.<sup>66</sup> Persuading Cygnaeus to come for a number of sittings would have been difficult, even if he would have had the time. Judging by Topelius' character sketch and the annual report of the Finnish Art Association, Löfgren was considerably slow in everything he undertook. However, his lyrical temperament may have resulted in occasional bursts of energetic fervour. At such times he may even have been able to paint quickly, and hurriedly sketch his first model studies.

Another possibility is that Cygnaeus noticed that Löfgren was not making any progress with his portrait work, and suggested that he use a photograph as an aid. This explanation appears to have some credibility, and is supported by the fact that the portrait is one of Löfgren's earliest ones and that the arrangement of a portrait based on a subject in a position of this sort presupposes a well-trained eye. Cygnaeus may himself have selected the position in accordance with one of the sculptures he owned. Thus, Matthias Radermacher may have been responsible for Cygnaeus' posture and created the whole arrangement in his studio; they bear the mark of a schooled, professional portrait painter familiar with the traditions of painting art.

According to Löfgren's letter, the portrait painting was completed in November 1856: "At the same time I have the honour to announce that last week I sent the portrait of Herr Professor to Lubeck, and I can most heartily thank (you) for the book and the letter attached to it and for the one hundred (100) silver roubles assigned to me, for which I enclose in thanks the pertinent receipt."<sup>67</sup> The correspondence between Löfgren and Cygnaeus also gives us a comprehensive picture of the problems which the work suffered from in the stages of shipment before it reached its owner. It is difficult to say whether the problems were

Löfgren's imaginary explanations about why the portrait was delayed. Cygnaeus did not receive the portrait until the latter half of March 1857, because he writes: Naturally I am especially grateful about the noble way in which Mr. L. has both interpreted and completed my portrait, and I am only sorry that I do not have the merit to deserve such excellent work."<sup>68</sup> The quotation shows that Cygnaeus greatly appreciated what I would call "his magnificent portrait".

The position of the subject in Radermacher's photograph appears to have been very carefully prepared before the photograph was taken. The result is the so-called Napoleon stance, in which the bent right arm is inserted under the lapel of the coat just above the heart. The posture can be interpreted as the oath-taker's position: the subject wants to follow only the truth and to speak only the truth. A position of this sort is therefore ideally suited for a photograph.

This posture appears relatively often in European photography. In Finland it was especially popular in photographs of artists. A good example of this is the photograph of the composer Fredrik Pacius (Historical Picture Archives, National Board of Antiquities and Historical Monuments). The head of the subject in Löfgren's painting and in Radermacher's photograph is turned to the left, but the eyes are turned to the front, looking directly towards the observer.

Radermacher has photographed his subject at a slant from below, a somewhat worm's eye view. This has given Cygnaeus' figure a sense of authority and a certain amount of romantic defiance, which are complemented by the posture of the subject. This perspective produces a dynamic feeling of upward movement, which characterises the overall figure in the picture even though the subject is dressed in a Venetian cloak, which minimises the possibilities of expressing the form of the body. The head pushes upwards with strong primeval force from the mass of light and shadow.

The conscious power of Cygnaeus' personage is latent in his expression and posture, which display the almost majestic "grandezza" of contemporary literary descriptions that, according to Emil Nervander, was apparent in his nature, and which was also associated with an expressive countenance.<sup>69</sup> Radermacher's photograph displays these characteristic features of the subject. In contrast, Löfgren's painting does not even hint at such characteristic features of Cygnaeus. Furthermore, the photograph also shows intelligence behind the slightly scornful look, which adds a touch of internal depth.<sup>70</sup>

Radermacher's photograph also readily brings to mind an example of the subsequent use of this type of picture: the external form of Auguste Rodin's (1840-1917) Balzac monument (1892-1897). We nowadays know that Rodin had asked for a photograph of a romantic writer, and that the sculptor sent thanks for such assistance after receiving the daguerreotype.<sup>71</sup>

According to the photograph Cygnaeus has not shaved, and his hair appears to be spontaneously slightly ruffled. In the photograph Cygnaeus has small sparkling (different sized) eyes set below bushy eyebrows and a thick mane of hair. No such features can be seen in the painting. Cygnaeus has smoothed off the face and hair and sharply defined the sideburns and thick moustache. According to the photograph, Cygnaeus has a large head, very broad face, a small beard under his lower lip and a strangely trimmed moustache that appears to grow straight out of his nostrils. The last-mentioned feature

increases the feeling of primitive force in Cygnaeus' figure, which Löfgren has not deemed fit to depict in his painting.

However, this peculiarity is visible in the portrait of Cygnaeus (Cygnaeus Gallery) painted by Ekman, perhaps in 1847, which is not listed in the National Board of Antiquities and Historical Monuments' register of Ekman's works, and neither in B. Hintze's biography of Ekman. In the painting, Cygnaeus' head is surrounded by wings. They may be an allegorical reference to the subject's name (in Latin *cygnaeus* = a swan) but, according to the iconological literature, these attributes can also be given another interpretation. Allan Ellenius writes that wings stretching out from the head suggest the aspirations of intellect for respect and immortality through the high and divine eminence of knowledge.<sup>72</sup>

The interior of the room is, apart from the table (part of a round table covered with a plush cloth can be seen in the photograph and painting), the creation of the artist. According to Onni Okkonen, the interior could just as easily be St. Petersburg as Düsseldorf.<sup>73</sup> In this respect the significance of the painting's expression lies in its role as a pictorial document of a rhetorical point in time. The fact that the subject's left hand is resting on a map scroll, with the heading Finland, as well as the possibilities of interpreting the red and black neck cloth as romantic symbols, accentuate this. Löfgren has placed Cygnaeus' left hand on the map of Finland in such a way that the thumb and fingers span the journey from Helsinki to St. Petersburg. In addition to the map, Löfgren has painted two books on the table, one of which bears the title "History". According to the Finland magazine, the name of the other book is "Aesthetics".<sup>74</sup> The painting must have originally been covered in a thick layer of linseed oil, because according to Marta Hirn the writing is hardly decipherable even allusively. Now, after the painting has been cleaned, we can see that the name of the book is "Per Brahe" and not "Aesthetics". In addition to the Venetian cloak, Löfgren has added drapery in the form of an indistinct brown-toned curtain, with sketchy folds, running diagonally across the right of the picture.

If we examine the painting and photograph on the basis of their three-dimensional form, we can see a difference attributable to the mechanical central perspective of the camera. Judging by the photograph, the lens of the camera has been directed with some precision at a point below the bent right arm of the subject. This has produced the slightly skewed, backwards leaning effect in the form of the upper torso and lower body of the subject in the photograph. This is further accentuated by the fact that the subject is standing and leaning slightly backwards. Cygnaeus has presumably tried to create the stance taken up by a speaker. This, however, has developed into an unnatural posture owing to the use of a camera. The inclination is especially evident in the peripheral parts of the central perspective, i.e. in the head of the subject. The camera has been placed rather close to the subject and, owing to the small focal distance of the optics, the forms of the head and body seem to be leaning in an accentuated fashion backwards. The form effect does not correspond to that which the eye really sees. The mechanical picture has made Cygnaeus' receding forehead lower and narrower than it obviously was in reality. This inference is based on Löfgren's painting. The camera has thus shortened the central perspective.

We can go into this observation in more detail. The same phenomenon

occurs in large-scale architectural photography. When the photograph is taken from ground level, the vertical forms of the building lean back and taper diagonally upwards. The error is easily seen in architectural photography, but in other photographs it is usually minimised by the small size of the objects and is hence difficult to see. This may result in the error not being noticed at all. In addition, our sight usually corrects for small errors in what we see. This example is important because it is part of the history of sight. However, these aspects are bypassed in this work.

Comparison of the generic central perspective error of the camera picture with the painting shows that Löfgren has presumably realised that the impression produced by the photograph is a disturbing one, because he has not repeated it. In contrast, he has depicted the subject's head leaning slightly forward. The almost complete lack of shadow has been taken to such an extreme in the painting that the artist has reproduced in the subject's face the lack of shadow created by direct light and the fading created by the soft differences in colour in almost exactly the same way as in the photograph. In painting a number of the details associated with form Löfgren has analogically utilised the techniques of photography.

In Löfgren's painting Cygnaeus looks restful and a conscious effort has been made to give him a pleasant appearance. In the posture solution used in the photograph, on the other hand, there is a rather severe feeling of freedom and, subsequently, a characteristic depiction. The striving for distinction is still central in the painting. This can be seen in the formal expression on the face which, however, is somewhat alleviated by the idealisation and the slightly dandified, soft manner typical of Löfgren's portrait art.

The photograph follows the common practice of depicting the subject in light directed from above, from the side and directly from in front. However, Radermacher has wanted to avoid flattening the subject's face, and therefore turned the head to a slightly skewed position. The light impinging on the subject from all sides has almost completely removed the sharp shadows from the subject's face. The photographer has presumably considered this to be a better solution than the development of opaque and cloudy shadows using light coming from one direction. However, this position of the head results in cloudy half shadow falling over the subject's left eye, while the other eye receives more light. The result of shadow and light is clearly evident in the photograph: the eye receiving more light is forced to contract and the iris appears to have lost most of its outline. In contrast, the eye lying in half shadow has become enlarged and is completely visible.

The position of the head is a typical modification of a half-profile picture. This angle, as such, already gives the portrait some movement and a feeling of life. The impression of movement in the arrangement has been strengthened by turning the subject's eyes towards the observer. Combined with the diagonal depiction of the face, this finally creates a dynamic atmosphere. The position also results in a strengthening of the individual features of the subject and the characteristic parts of the face, i.e. the nose, jaw and cheekbones. The external likeness of the subject is primarily dependent on these features.

It would thus appear that it is a simple task to analyse the criteria of external likeness, although we cannot yet talk about the similarity between the subject and picture on the basis of these criteria. It is obvious that a likeness can be achieved even though these characteristic components do not completely correspond to, for instance, the truth related by the camera. An almost referential expression is sufficient, as can be seen from the portrait painting. The strong cheekbones and recessive chin, characteristic of the subject, still catch our attention in the photograph. They do not quite correspond to the impression given by the painting about the appearance of the subject. The cruel reality of the photograph and its documentation have obviously been diametric to Löfgren's lyrical artistic temperament, because he has altered these features characteristic of his subject.

How can we explain that the first features which catch our attention when we look at the face in both the painting and photograph are the eyes and mouth? As has already been shown, the light falling on the subject in the photograph comes relatively uniformly from almost all directions and, for this reason, only a few dark shadows can be seen on the face, making it flattened and smooth. This almost generic characteristic, typical of studio photography, results in the nose, chin and cheekbones being less noticeably pronounced, attention thus being drawn to the proportions of the face and to the eyes and mouth. This gives both portraits an impression of an inspired vision. Z. Topelius' characterisation demonstrates rather clearly that the viewer's attention is drawn to the eyes and mouth: "Löfgren has laid on the canvas a picture of Cygnaeus draped in a Venetian cloak who, during a break, is reviewing with the calm look of a ruler, a large group of attendants."<sup>75</sup>

We get the impression from the portrait painting that Löfgren was consciously striving to achieve an idealistic and flattering treatment of his subject. For instance, the disappearance of certain physiognomic details, such as wrinkles, which are faintly visible in the photograph, has been taken to extremes in the painting because Löfgren has painted them using a tone scale. The creation of a portrait painting that is also an interpretation of its subject does not rule out the use of a photograph. The photograph has merely conveyed something of its realistic form to the painting. The position of the photograph remained as a form of intermediate stage, but also a model of likeness.

The appraisals of the painting were favourable. It satisfied contemporary conventions and demands for likeness in its distinguished idealism. For instance, B.O. Schauman wrote in *Hufvudstadsbladet* that the portrait reproduces, in a meritable fashion, the noble opinions and serious features of a patriot and art lover. The artist subsequently devoted himself to become a portrait painter because he had been so successful with his portrait of Cygnaeus.<sup>76</sup> According to Rafael Hertzberg, the portrait is strongly idealised and, at the same time, is a successful likeness and one of Löfgren's best works.<sup>77</sup> Marta Hirn is the last person to make an appraisal of the portrait. She considered the painting to appear conventional and flattering, and perhaps only significant in respect of cultural history.<sup>78</sup>

In his pictorial interpretations Löfgren, being a traditional academic portrait painter, produced the distinction and pomposity presupposed by his time.

He did not achieve a faithful external likeness of the subject, and probably did not even try to.

### Portrait of Matthias Alexander Castrén

In August 1858 the Helsinki and Turku newspapers contained reports about the return home of our countryman E.J. Löfgren, after completing his art studies in Düsseldorf.<sup>79</sup> One reason for his return was certainly Fredrik Cygnaeus' suggestion, as well as the plans he proposed about becoming a popular portrait painter. Cygnaeus had in fact written already the previous March to Löfgren and had said, among other things: "However, Mr. Löfgren's financial position, which in all probability will again soon become insufferable, will first have to be put in order somehow. At the same time I would like to do my best to ensure that Mr. L. is able to extricate himself with honour from Düsseldorf in the summer, and to come back here where already a number of beautiful baronesses are impatiently awaiting the distinction of being illustrated by the brushes of Mr. Löfgren, and more than one church is hoping that it will be decorated with an altar-piece."<sup>80</sup>

Löfgren was considered to have shown a significant degree of skill in the field of portrait painting with his portrait of Cygnaeus. Thus the *Helsingfors Tidningar* wrote in September 1858 that our countryman Mr. E.J. Löfgren will again be here in Helsinki after a visit to his home town of Turku, and will be remaining in the capital over the winter. In Helsinki Löfgren hopes that he will initially find use for his gifts as a portrait painter. In this he has been highly successful in reproducing the features and character of his subjects.<sup>81</sup>

Löfgren devoted his time to becoming a portrait painter in Finland, especially in Helsinki, where he spent most of his time. J.J. Tikkanen considers that the reason was a lack of money, and not real artistic inclinations.

Löfgren was very successful in Helsinki. There was little competition (for instance, J.E. Lindh was not held in much regard). The university, for instance, commissioned portraits of statesmen or professors influential in Finland's cultural life, which Löfgren painted with varying success in addition to his large number of emotional or sentimental female themes. Löfgren's portrait paintings may have generated a considerable amount of respect. The opinion held by the *Papperslyktan* magazine in 1860 suggests this. The chronicler of the paper writes: "Come and see what a portrait has to say. Finnish painting art is not capable of producing, this year at least, a more complete work of art."<sup>83</sup>

More critical impressions of Löfgren's portrait art can be found in Tikkanen's one-sided appraisals from 1885: During his decade in Stockholm Löfgren did not learn to draw in a definite and characteristic fashion or to give his objects a modelling which would accentuate their form. What Löfgren learnt in Düsseldorf and Paris never made up for that which he had already completely lost.<sup>84</sup> Tikkanen continues: this deficiency occurs perhaps the most frequently in his large number of portraits, because an eye-catching reproduction of the exter-

nal form is specifically expected and justifiably demanded in their characteristic features.

Critical appraisals of the artist's work also started to appear during Löfgren's lifetime as the art climate changed. One example of this is the Helsingfors Dagblad's wish in 1863 that Löfgren's stay in Paris would have the fortunate result of reducing the excessively strong milk and strawberry tints in the skin colouring of the artist's portraits.<sup>85</sup> But the predominant opinions of Löfgren's portraits were to be found in those newspaper articles which considered that the artist's figures have been drawn with elegance and grace and are imbued with life's airiness and unfetteredness, and that Mr. Löfgren possesses that which Goethe calls the feeling of flesh (*Gefühl des Fleisches*), and that the colours in the carnation of the subjects seem to radiate from inside.<sup>86</sup> As regards one of Löfgren's portraits, for instance, the *Hufvudstadsbladet* was of the opinion that it fulfils all the requirements of a minor work of art as regards both its likeness and artisticness.<sup>87</sup> These characterisations shed light on Löfgren's essential lyricalness and colourism at its best.

All the opinions aired in these appraisals are associated with the words likeness, form, characteristics and skin colour. The quotations also demonstrate the aspects which received attention when making artistic evaluations of portrait paintings. The camera picture sometimes also had an effect on how these qualities have been presented in Löfgren's painting art. This aspect will be examined later on.

The first of the portraits of contemporary celebrities which Löfgren was commissioned to paint after his return to Finland was the portrait of Matthias Alexander Castrén in 1859 (Picture 108). Castrén had died already in 1852. Accordingly, Löfgren was forced to resort to the available picture material and sources in the arrangement and choice of forms for his portrait. It is clear that a portrait made after the death of the subject does not usually have the same sort of documentary weight of evidence and likeness which the client has perhaps desired. Neither does the portrait always have any artistic significance. For comparison purposes we can turn to Onni Okkonen's appraisal because it is written in a positive vein: "The result is also rather successful from the point of view of the interpretation of Castrén's serious scientific presence, and the work has been implemented with care. Its colour arrangement is more varied than normal (black long-coat, grey trousers, brown and greenish background details)."<sup>88</sup>

Löfgren has fabricated his portrait of Castrén on the basis of a number of picture models. One of these was almost certainly Ekman's painting from 1853, because Löfgren's work initially appears to be a direct copy of Ekman's work. Bertel Hintze, whose doctoral thesis of 1926 placed Ekman's portrait of Castrén in the University of Helsinki<sup>89</sup>, mentions in his book "The Portrait Collection of the Helsinki University", which appeared the following year, that Löfgren's work in the university has been painted on the basis of Ekman's portrait of Castrén done in 1853.<sup>90</sup> In actual fact, Ekman's work has never been in the university. Many of the details in Löfgren's signed painting conform to those in Ekman's original work and, in addition, the paintings are almost the same size. The differences in content are extremely small: in addition to the colour hues, they include only the wallpaper and the papers on the table in the background.

The type of posture depicted in Löfgren's painting is common in contemporary portrait painting and photography. The edge of the painting bisects the seated figure through the knees to produce a threequarter-length picture. Castrén is leaning with his left arm on his desk, bearing papers and the corner of a book. There is also a globe on the table showing half of Australia and Asia. These details have been painted almost exactly according to Ekman's work. Onni Okkonen writes that "Löfgren must have based his picture arrangement on earlier material, i.e. on one coloured photograph and the painting made by Ekman in 1853, as well as on the half-length portrait painted by Budkovski in 1845."<sup>91</sup> On the other hand, B. Estlander states that Löfgren has only used a photograph. He writes in his biography of M.A. Castrén (1929), based presumably on family hearsay or books and on diary entries: "The same gentle disposition, which Castrén's young wife considered to be his best feature, is also expressed in the portrait which, after Castrén's death, Erik Juhana Löfgren painted for the wall of the university's philological lecture room on the basis of a photograph."<sup>92</sup> The portrait painted by Ekman differs specifically from the cool characterisation in Löfgren's work.

However, nothing in the portrait itself shows, completely unambiguously, that Löfgren would have also used Mebius' photograph of Castrén. In fact the only possible feature that is not present in Ekman's painting is the similarity in the slightly broader form of the face; in other respects the connection appears to be indirect. It is difficult to demonstrate the direct use of Mebius' photograph as a model by comparing only the features of the picture content. On the other hand, we can conclude that Ekman's painting has been the primary model, and the photograph clearly a subsidiary one. This conclusion is supported by the fact that the portrait painted by Löfgren does not appear to be a well studied one, nor to possess the sort of technical implementation indicating that the artist would have had the possibility to observe the basic features and characteristics of his subject. Furthermore, the portrait painted by Gustav Budkovski has not been Löfgren's model, because there are no demonstrable similarities.

When we examine Löfgren's painting we can see that the subject's body has been depicted frontally and, as an antithesis, with the head askew, while in turn the feet have been arranged at an angle. The arrangement of the body and head thus form a zigzag pattern, which is supplemented by the severely bent left arm, gently curved right arm, and the diagonal of the corner of the table. The observer is easily given the impression that the body and its components are joined together lacking complete organic uniformity. Although the differences are small compared to Ekman's painting, Löfgren's work has a slightly limping, subtle air to it. Compared to Mebius' photograph and Ekman's painting, the head of Castrén's in Löfgren's work appears to be slightly more skewed. This produces a viewing experience in which the parts of the body in Löfgren's painting appear to have been assembled together rather than flowing into each other. The longer one looks at Löfgren's work, the clearer is the feeling that the whole of the portrait, even though there has been a clear attempt at balance could, when necessary, break up into its individual components.

Thus Löfgren has been faced with real problems when attempting to copy and transfer the direct impressions of reality and personality of the subject in

Mebius' photograph and Ekman's painting into his own work: he does not seem to have been completely capable of characterising the human body with the sort of logical significance that the photograph, with its simple faithfulness, is capable of. However, we can say that the end result, despite some rather unimportant formal errors - and also because of them - satisfies the requirements nowadays set on portrait art. According to them, too, a work of art is, independent of its theme, an autonomous product or artefact.

One feature in the portrait painting attracts our attention: the trace of a small smile on one side of the subject's face. As an expression it is a long way from a laugh. Löfgren has tried to bring some life to the face by shaping the area around the right corner of the mouth, and created the impression of a struggling smile. The expression is more like a tremble. This distinguishes the painting from the possibilities of contemporary photograph to depict the changing and varied features of the face. There was no natural smile in Mebius' photograph, as was normally the case in photographs of the day. Löfgren may be intentionally using this expression to compete with photography. The first subjects who appeared to be smiling in photographs, and thus appear pleasant, did not appear until the 1870's; there was also more and more freedom in the postures. At the end of the century the smile, extending right up to the unfeigned capture of a laugh even, is very common.

The carnation is one of the distinguishing features in Ekman's and Löfgren's paintings. The skin colour normally used by Löfgren was carmine red, with a slight touch of ice blue. This shade was also the colour favoured by photographic colourers (cf. the chapter: Questions of colouring and form). But here Löfgren has used light milky shades of red to depict skin colour. A milky emulsion of this sort gives us the impression that Löfgren would have wanted to avoid making a study of carnation. Onni Okkonen wrote about Löfgren's relationship to portrait photography: "The competition was especially about taking heed of the achievements of the contemporary photographic method, so-called daguerreotype, in portrait painting."<sup>93</sup> Regardless of the fact that Okkonen does not appear to be an expert on photographic terminology, he is certainly correct in implying that Löfgren was well aware of photography and was competing with it. Löfgren was presumably one of those artists who considered that one of their tasks was to demonstrate their superiority over photography. As regards colouring, beating photography must surely have been considered an easy task.

Friedrich Mebius' photograph is almost completely without shadows. The effect has been partly achieved through colouring. However, Löfgren has in this respect followed Ekman's painting more closely, and painted shadows on the periphery of the face, sides of the cheeks and on the forehead. As in the photograph, the forehead, cheekbones and chin have no cast shadows in the painting, and thus appear analogically almost overexposed and lack any precise internal features and physiognomical details.

An artist can use shadows to modify the expression on the face of his subject. But shadows can also be cast on a picture, be it a painting or photograph, when it is being viewed. In such a case the significance of the picture can be easily changed compared to when it is looked at in uniform light. Therefore the impression gained from a reproduction picture may be surprising compared to

that remembered from the original, because there are no extra shadows caused by poor viewing conditions in the reproduction picture if it has been taken by a professional. The human eye does not always notice shadows which are often disturbingly strong in photographs. For photographers shadows represented clarity while, at the same time, posing a problem which they tried to avoid in many ways. One approach was to favour shadow-free conditions, because shadows were too diffuse in photographs.

In Löfgren's work the subject appears to be splayed flat onto the picture surface while, in contrast, the figure in Ekman's painting seems to be rising out of the background. Thus in Löfgren's work there is the feeling that the subject could easily be cut out of the surface like a paper doll. When we compare Ekman's and Löfgren's paintings, and their relationship to the photograph, in order to determine the different ways of depicting the figure and background, we can see that the subject in Mebius' photograph appears to be sitting directly against the background wall even though, according to his position of leaning against the base, there must be a space between the figure and the wall. Central perspective cannot function in the photograph because there are no objects in the background, the apparent size of which would be reduced in size according to distance.

Ekman has deliberately striven for an effect in which the background and subject do not blend into each other. He does this by progressively weakening the potency of the local colour and reducing the division between light and shade. Of the colours with equal intensity, one appears to be approaching the observer and the other to be moving away. Ekman thus uses colour to create a feeling of distance. In this sort of case especially, colour perspective has a greater effect on the perception of depth than central perspective.

In contrast, there is no logical colour perspective evident in Löfgren's painting. It is obvious that Löfgren was not capable of utilising, or did not know about this technique of depicting distance because he did not use it. Löfgren has simply depicted the background objects in an almost sketchy, vague fashion (analogically it is done like this in contemporary photography) and has presumably considered this sufficient to distinguish distance.

Löfgren's portrait of Castrén is, however, interesting because it can be compared with both Mebius' photograph and Ekman's painting, both of which have acted as its model. The comparison has identified some central weaknesses in Löfgren's painting. There may be some small errors in the implementation that are noticed in the same way as typing errors in a manuscript. But the comparison also shows that his portrait represents an academic style, officially of the "Topelius's period".<sup>94</sup>

### **Portrait of Karl Collan**

E.J. Löfgren utilised photographs in many of his other portrait paintings. These include the following portraits from the artist's memorial exhibition: Baron Carl

Fabian Theodor Langenskjöld (1865), the unsigned portrait of Alfhild Johanna Sofia Sederholm, who died at the age of six (1868), which has since been improved (Picture 109, and perhaps the photograph, Picture 110) and may have been painted on the basis of a photograph, the portrait of the postal official Matthias Weckström (1874) (Picture 111) and the portrait of Karl Collan (1875).<sup>95</sup> All of these are half-length portraits and painted after the death of the subject. Most of them are oval shaped as was frequently the custom in those days.

It has not been possible in every case to find the photographs which Löfgren probably used when painting the portraits. Not all of them are in photographic archives. The owners of the paintings or the donator of the portraits to public collections do not know where the photograph is, or the photograph has been lost etc. It is not appropriate here to analyse separately the relationship between all these portrait paintings and the photographs. What is more important than listing the cases where a photograph has been employed is to examine the interactions. One example is sufficient in this connection. Of the portraits listed above we shall look at the one of Karl Collan in more detail (Picture 112).

The portrait of the composer, writer and university librarian, Karl Collan (1828-1871), painted the previous year by Löfgren, was on show in the Finnish Art Association's 1876 exhibition.<sup>96</sup> There is no mention in the exhibition catalogue that it would have been painted on the basis of a photograph. In contrast, the statement "according to memory and a photograph" has been attached to the portrait in Löfgren's memorial exhibition arranged by the association.<sup>97</sup> According to this, Löfgren would have been forced to use a photograph to aid his memory. However, the mention of a photograph deserves some explanation, because we are not absolutely certain that the painting was done according to one. The entry in the catalogue may be based on guesswork, resulting from the fact that the subject was deceased. We would have to find a photograph that could have helped him, because the entry suggests that Löfgren knew Collan, and the artist may therefore have had his own sketches, trials etc. However, I have not been able to find a suitable sketch or drawing made by Löfgren.

The photograph albums at the National Board of Antiquities and Historical Monuments contain some photographs of Karl Collan (Pictures 113, 114 and 115). One of them (Picture 115) bears considerable resemblance to the portrait painted by Löfgren. In addition to the expression and direction of the face, similarities can also be found in the division of light and shadow. There is also similarity in the intense light falling on the subject's forehead, which almost completely removes the physiognomical features. Such derivatives of the properties characteristic of the camera picture, which have been transposed with slight modifications in the outward appearance from one work to another, can be seen in the other portrait paintings of Löfgren mentioned earlier.

The photograph is attributed to the Norwegian-born photographer, Carl Petter *Daniel* Dyrendahl Nyblin (1856-1923). He is frequently referred to as the "father of modern photography in Finland".<sup>98</sup> It is thus quite understandable that his name has sometimes been added to photographs which he has not in fact taken. We know that young Daniel Nyblin arrived in Finland in September 1875.<sup>99</sup> Karl Collan had died four years earlier and hence Nyblin could not have been the photographer. Nyblin kept a complete record of his work: he numbered

and catalogued the photographic plates in alphabetical order according to the customers' name. This material has been archived in its original form in the National Board of Antiquities and Historical Monuments. We can conclude from his papers, however, that Nyblin did not record any of his other activities such as copying and the enlargement of earlier photographs.

The photograph of Collan is clearly a copy. The mere passable technical quality and slightly more grainy texture verify to this. We can only make an inspired guess at the identify of the original photographer. Identification is made difficult by the fact that a number of photographers had realised the artistic potential of the vignетted photographs. It would be easier to find a name if the studio background and accoutrements were visible in the photograph.

The photograph of Collan may have been taken by the Danish-born photographer Charles Riis (1837-1915). Riis visited Helsinki during summer 1870 and 1871, and took professional photographs in Kaivohuone's small studio pavilion of people visiting the baths, before moving permanently from Pori to Helsinki in July 1871.<sup>100</sup> Daniel Nyblin started working for Riis after settling in Helsinki.<sup>101</sup> Collan has probably had his photograph taken in 1870 in Riis' photographic studio in Kaivopuisto Park.

Compared to the photograph, Löfgren has depicted his subject in a soft but slightly conventional fashion. The vignетted photograph tells of a strong man possessing calm gravity. Another distinguishing feature is that Löfgren has added the touch of a smile to his subject's face. It makes the mimic of the face slightly more alive. The other touches which Löfgren has added to the physiognomy of the face include a circumspect rhetorical expression that appears to make the face of his subject an almost model example of the rules and conventions of contemporary society. This is despite the fact that the portrait contains, as a painting, clearly little expressive meaning. It appears to be a question of some sort of careful conventionality of expression. However, this does not of course mean that the subject could have nothing to say. But Löfgren's weakness of expression and his careful pictorial articulation impart interpretation to the photograph and not back to the subject himself. The viewer has difficulties in realising and interpreting what is wordless or undepictable with words in this soundless dialogue.

Both the photograph and painting of Collan represent a modification of the half-profile picture in which the subject's eyes are directed at the viewer. Löfgren already used this technique in his portrait painting of Cygnaeus. It also frequently occurs in portrait art. How can we interpret the significance of the expression of such a half-profile picture or three-quarter face picture? Formalistically it accentuates the activity of the eyes and makes the look more important than the organ responsible for sight. In contrast to a full-profile portrait, in a half-profile picture both eyes are always visible through the extensively expanding look. Although the eyes in a photograph are filled with light, they do not lack any direct expressive potential. But only in a portrait painting can the artist make the eyes more active and the look more expressive through his wider range of techniques.

If the interpretation based on a hermeneutical starting point is continued in a slightly more general fashion, we can say that in point of fact a hint of this

depiction topology is a sufficiently technical arrangement for the photographer, because he can use this starting point to carry out a study of the eyes and light. In contrast, the painter does not usually accentuate the arrangement and topocity of the look in quite the same way, since he may also link intensively the look to the observer or his picture associations. The painter can utilise these techniques to create a revelational effect from the face as the site and sensual capacity and property of vision. It is a question of the visionary integratedness of the look readable from the picture form. The dialogue between the observer and the subject is reflected in this.

The photographers also appear to have used a range of techniques in trying to achieve this effect. For instance, strongly overexposing the face in vignettted photographs: the eyes become so accentuated that the observer's attention is drawn almost solely to them. Has the photographer intentionally interpreted his subject in this way?

In some cases this form of picture is most probably due to the technical problems in exposing the picture, and under no circumstance the actual intentions of the photographer. But there are also cases where the photographer has most likely attempted, using vignettism, to create an accentuated picture effect (e.g. the photographs of Procopé and Collan) The gradually fading featurelessness of the face, emphasising the look or eyes, is an obvious means of expression that has required expressive aspirations. This also enables the photographer to bring the look into a frontal confrontation with the observer, and at the same into a dialogue.

### **The starting point of likeness in early portrait photography: Albert Edelfelt's portrait painting of J.L. Runeberg from 1893 as an example**

Is it possible, using early portrait photographs, to achieve a generally acceptable likeness in subsequent portrait painting? This question is treated in the following as an example of historical continuity.

Likeness is considered to be the property and generic mark of a portrait that distinguishes it from a type and character picture. It is a picture which reproduces the internal and external features of a particular subject and his characteristics. In other words, the portrait should illustrate, in addition to the individual and physical external appearance of the subject, also his internal properties. The sameness of the portrait and the subject may be created in this way.

The portrait is sometimes idealised and stylised. In such cases what is removed is that which is expressly essential: a likeness or even more, a sameness with the subject. Similarly, reasons of delicacy and tact often change the portrait into a personal description. The external distinctive marks, robes of office or setting etc., often used in characterising the subject, also often do not suffice because it is a question of something more. Can the subject look like himself in

his own portrait? The reply requires a corroborating example.

The portraits of J.L. Runeberg (1804-1877) represent a good example of this dilemma because a considerable number of them have also survived as photographs.<sup>102</sup> A photograph has often taken the place of the subject himself when a portrait painter or graphic artist was seeking a likeness. This suggests that portrait photographers were, during the 19th century, considered to be capable of fulfilling the demand for likeness. Similarly photographicness was one criterion of likeness. Z. Topelius said about the portrait photograph of Runeberg (Picture 116), taken and copied by E. Philipsen in 1858, that the look was not recognisable. But Topelius admits that this portrait has best caught the subject compared to many other photographs of the poet.<sup>103</sup> The following year Topelius again wrote about the same picture, and stated that it was a very successful portrait and that it had been touched up with colours by our young countryman, C.A Hårdh.<sup>104</sup>

In 1859 Hårdh made a coloured lithograph of this photograph, which was on sale in a book shop (Picture 117). August Schauman wrote in the *Papperslyktan* magazine that the lithograph has attracted wider interest because the portrait is rather fine and charming, and certainly the best likeness of all the printed portraits made of the poet.<sup>105</sup> Schauman's words shed light on the problem of likeness when he continues that it is not however Runeberg, not as he is in reality and not as the artist has attempted in the portrait. This appraisal is central and important. Schauman's words suggest that external likeness alone, owing to its limited nature, is not a sufficient criterion for a portrait, but that the sameness of the picture and the subject, can only be achieved totally. As an art expert he did not consider that the dilemma of likeness could be solved simply.

There are only slight differences in the appearance of Runeberg in these portraits. Slight differences can also be seen when we compare all the known portraits of Runeberg: differences in the characteristic features of the subject and in the artists' ability to capture, in addition to likeness, Runeberg's individual traits. However, there are sufficient similarities for us to conclude that they all portray the same subject. Similarly, despite the different ages of the subject, there are similar features in most of the Runeberg portraits.

If we compare portrait photographs with portrait paintings of Runeberg, the likeness seems to be more credible in the photographs. This is presumably due to the fact that, according to the portrait artists, Runeberg was a very difficult model and it was almost impossible to produce a good portrait of him on canvas. This is further supported by what Fredrika Runeberg has said about her husband's behaviour when sitting for Löfgren. She mentions that, during the sittings, Runeberg would suddenly adopt a completely contrasting expression and thus confuse Löfgren. That delightful smile which played on Runeberg's lips, and which no artist ever succeeded in capturing, was noticed by Löfgren who tried, with considerable effort, to reproduce it, but without success. "It really must come out", Löfgren imagined in his own semi-childish fashion, but it was not to be.<sup>106</sup>

Social standing and role were, in the class society of the 19th century, a part of man's image and his most individualising characteristics. People normally strove to conform to the rules of their social position, taking special care to en-

sure that these were visible in their external and internal appearance. The portrait photograph of Runeberg (Picture 118), taken by the amateur photographer Johan Conrad Lihl (1832-1913) in 1863, is a conflicting example of this. Z. Topelius is also in the picture. The photograph of Runeberg does not portray a person playing the role of a poet. To this extent the picture and the subject seem to be the same. Would this also have been the case if the observer had not known who the picture depicts? We can hardly answer this question unambiguously. An attempt is made in the following to shed light on this interpretation problem using a number of viewpoints.

First of all we can pay attention to the fact that the subject appears, at first glance, to be displaying his social role through his posture, but he can also be seen as a person in a variety of ways at the same time, i.e. pluralism and that muteness or autonomy, which is a form of differentness compared, on the basis of the role attributes, to the overall expression of the picture. This relationship also defines Runeberg's relationship to others, in this double portrait his relationship to Topelius, while at the same time also to the observer. To say so is meaningful, because this association contains different and conflicting motives. These are examined in the following.

Topelius tells about the photographic session in a letter to J.E. Strömborg: "...The mining engineer (Fredrik Tengström) was a rascal who took the opportunity to arrange a surprise. He had earlier told one of his younger colleagues, a dilettante photographer called Lihl, to get his equipment ready. We had barely arrived when he started to arrange us on the couch and, a few minutes later, had taken the best ever portrait of Runeberg - presumably the best because Runeberg did not have time to feel uncomfortable; in situations of this sort he always felt as if he had been served up on a tray."<sup>107</sup>

Topelius' characterisation is important. It shows that Runeberg (known to be somewhat phlegmatic) did not have time to prepare himself for an official photographic session. Topelius, on the other hand, is clearly more prepared. The portrait photograph reveals that if a person has not had time to prepare himself, his face will bear the sort of expressions and features that would be absent if he was posing. The physiognomy of Runeberg's face reflects the overall result of a large number of random features, thus preventing it from conforming to a specific social role. The portrayed subject represents himself only, and therefore wears the air of an individual; he no longer represents only his profession, social class or ideals. This diversity makes the picture an independent portrait work.

Lihl's portrait photograph of Runeberg is obviously "the greatest likeness" of all the pictures of the poet. This photograph was available to many other photographers. For instance, C.A. Hårdh, Fritz Hertzell and Daniel Nyblin rephotographed it and produced it in the form of a *carte-de-visite* or cabinet picture; there were also painters who used it to paint portraits of Runeberg (Augusta af Brunér, B. Reinhold).<sup>108</sup> According to Bertel Hintze and Marta Hirn, this photograph was also used by Albert Edelfelt when he painted a portrait of Runeberg (Picture 119) in Haiko in 1893.<sup>109</sup> A reproduction picture of the painting was published in his work "Finland during the 19th century".<sup>110</sup>

When we compare Edelfelt's portrait painting and Lihl's photograph of Runeberg, we see that the painting's interpretation possesses something more

than the photograph, but also something less. Similarly, the observer perhaps finds that the expression created by Edelfelt bears a greater resemblance to the man Runeberg had been than could have been depicted simultaneously in a photograph. This justified claim is only applicable to the portrayed expression. On the other hand, we should not forget that Lühr's photograph of Runeberg is not a quick glimpse of the subject, produced in a fraction of a second, but, owing to the longish exposure time, a fragment of his personality over the continuum of time. A "snap" photograph could hardly have produced anything more than a quick glimpse of a specific feature of Runeberg or a particular expression. We therefore have to ask whether Edelfelt's portrait painting depicts Runeberg as a poet, the artist behind the painting, or the photograph from which it has been painted?

In reply we should first consider that Edelfelt visited Runeberg in 1878. He wrote about the visit in a letter to C.G. Estlander, stating that he had tried to cram as much of those dear features into his memory as possible.<sup>111</sup> However, Edelfelt never had the opportunity to make any direct studies of Runeberg. Perhaps the meeting later on helped Edelfelt to overcome his reluctance to paint portraits from the photographs of deceased persons.

Edelfelt's stylistic expression entitles us to estimate the extent to which a portrait painting also simultaneously depicts the artist himself. This is evident in Edelfelt's attempts to create a universal expression at least. The use of a photograph brings opticality to portrait painting and, through this, significance to the external surface of the produced figures. They are ordinary events in the generic formulation of the photograph. By combining these different effects in his portrait of Runeberg, Edelfelt created the figure by which Runeberg is generally still known.

All this demonstrates that Edelfelt's painting does not necessarily contain anything more than general and, in this respect, stylised impressions. Only then is it possible to create, in an entirely new way, a likeness and sameness between the portrait and the subject. The result of such an artistic reincarnation cannot be an indisputable normative criterion. Thus the painting depicts the overall figure of Runeberg and, at the same time, gives it the form of an ideal, because the portrait also resembles Runeberg's relationship to his contemporary world through the type of posture characteristic for a subject. Edelfelt achieved this significant result by working on the basis of the variable and shaky impressions that formed the starting point for the portrait, his memory and a photograph.

The conclusion we can draw from all this is that a successful portrait painting is a multi-layered phenomenon. An artist is capable, by using the external appearance of the subject and the complexity of the conceptual values, to create in the overall figure and the posture an individual and individualising portrait, based universally on diversity, that is in harmony with his subject. Only then has he actually depicted a likeness of the subject in the portrait. On the other hand, the possibilities offered by portrait photography are considerably less. They are more restricted because they are bound by the limitations of the camera. Striving to catch a large number of expressions and features simultaneously lies outside the normal scope of photography. On the other hand, early photography could produce a profound expression that was not restricted merely to the simple pos-

sibilities offered by certain features of likeness, position of the subject, lighting conditions, arrangement of space, picture angle, masking, picture material etc. A portrait photograph is a road along which the subject and likeness can be attained. Photographs offer resemblance.

The portrait paintings selected as examples of Edelfelt's work, as well as the earlier-presented works of Ekman and Löfgren, demonstrate the creation of a work of art through changes. In such cases photographicness and the personal expression of the artists take on a uniform shape. Thus something new made its presence felt in portrait painting. The nature of this "novelty" can be illustrated by the hermeneutic parallel of the transformation of metal or a sheet of paper into money. Even the language of a religious vision can be roughly adapted as a parable explaining this change: "Because now (in the photograph) it is as if we are looking in a mirror, like a riddle, but then (in a painting) face to face;---." (1st Epistle to the Corinthians, 13:12). It is now clear that the likeness of a portrait is not accomplished only through technological principles, but through artistic perception. Only this is capable of producing the multi-layered sameness of the picture and subject. Thus likeness is never ending dialogue, and not as such a criterion.

It is thus also apparent that a painter actually creates a portrait through characteristic approximation. The photograph was (as in other examples) one stratum in the diversity of the picture content. Literal interpretation of the properties of a portrait is only indicative, because an artist makes indirectly visible that which is never immediately visible. Multiplicity of the features only follows if they are part of the intact whole, the sameness of this interpretative individualisation, which is more than simple likeness. Thus a successful portrait is the balanced result of its composite materials and possible expressions only, and by no means indisputably attainable or visible truths of the depicted subject. This conclusion leaves external likeness as one stratum, while bringing sameness and individualness to the fore.

The position of the photograph in all the examples presented in this study was slightly problematic. Thus the use of a photograph in painting the portraits results, in actual fact, in those new possibilities of depicting individualness that appear as multiplicity in the picture contents, and by no means as the mere combination of two portrait genre. Such paintings also included the technological optics of the camera, which had an effect on the validity of many generic features. Thus Ekman, Löfgren and Edelfelt succeeded in their attempts to "transpose" the photograph, and the visionary experience which it evoked, to their own language.

In all these cases the portrait painting was constructed from multiplicity, which seemed to lie on a bed comprising the "picture sea" created from traditions and conventions. But of all these examples, only Edelfelt's portrait of Runeberg achieved a creditable likeness and sameness in the overall characteristicness of the subject.

## REFERENCES

1. S. G. Elmgren's notes, 248 (28.3.1857). "Ty porträtter äro egentligen inga konstverk, ämnade blott att för konsten intressera folk som intet konstsinne äga."
2. Fassman 1971, 145.
3. Suomen Kuvalehti 1.3.1873.
4. Sanomia Turusta 7.3.1873.
5. Suomen Kuvalehti 15.3.1873.
6. For instance Boehm 1985, 42. -cf. Söderlind 1991. - In my study however the likeness is treated as a problem which can be elucidated through the use of example cases.
7. Meinander 1931, 5. "Mera epokgörande voro dock förändringarna i mitten av århundradet, fotografiens framträdande, som skapades alldeles nya förutsättningar för porträtteringen, samt Finska Konstföreningens instiftelse 1846. Sistnämnda händelse blev visserligen ej omedelbart av betydelse för porträttkonsten."
8. Finska Konstföreningens Exposition 1853, 3, n:o 57.
9. Tikkanen 1896, 60.
10. Ekman to Natalia Castrén 7.2.1853, Standertskjöld 1984, 90. "Huruvida det liknar den aflidne kan jag inte bedöma, men fotografiet igenkänns deri, derom hafver jag och befilit mig, ehuru stora svårigheter uppstå vid dylika transporter..." - It should be noted in this connection that I had submitted this part of my manuscript to Prof. Kalevi Pöykkö a couple of months before Martina Standertskjöld's study appeared. Owing to the similarity of the topic, Standertskjöld's research has been of considerable benefit for my work.
11. Hintze 1926, 121.
12. HT 2.4.1853. "Hr. Ekmans nummer är ett porträtt af Castrén, knästycke och naturlig storlek."
13. Litteraturblad 1853, n:o 1, 17. "...den blekhet Hr Ekman gifvit porträttet tillhörde ingalunda originalet i lifstiden... Något mera lif i blicken hade man kunnat önska, men daguerrotyper gifva i detta anseende ingen god ledning..."
14. Litteraturblad 1854, n:o 17; HT 2.4.1854.
15. Ekman to Natalia Castrén 7.2.1853, Standertskjöld 1984, 90. "Ett portrait uti naturlig storlek blir *naturligast* och pryddligast talar af sig sjelf..."
16. Standertskjöld 1984, 86. "Ansiktet är målat i bleka färger - något har väl tiden blekt dem..."
17. Ekman to Natalia Castrén 7.2.1853, Standertskjöld 1984, 90. "Färgtonen har jag hållit klarare men det skadar icke, tiden gulnar allt något."
18. Natalia Castrén to Sofi Kellgren in autumn 1853, Standertskjöld 1984, 91. "...lider af samma bleka färg och stelhet som man så mycket anmärkt emot Castrén porträtt."
19. R. W. Ekmans förteckning på sina arbeten, Ekmania, MV.
20. The photograph is in the picture archives, Historical Archives, National Board of An-

tiquities and Historical Monuments, MV.

21. Barthes 1985, 9.
22. As above, 18.
23. I have drawn attention to the problems of photography in the 1850's, e.g. to the depiction of the eyes in my study "The Photograph as Art". See Käyhkö 1987, 12-22.
24. Snellman to Ekman 11.9.1863, ÅAB. "...vidare en fotografi af ceremonin bekostas." --- "Hvad angår fotografi portrætter af de optrædende, anses, at hver og en, som vill hafva sitt porträtt på taflan och få sin önskan uppfylld, må aflemna en fotografi afbildning af sin person."
25. FAT 22.9.1863. "Hofmålaren Ekman kommer att måla en ny landtdagstafla föreställande rikssalen i kejsrerliga palatset i det ögonblick då Majestät Kejsar Alexander II uppläser throntalet. En fotografisk bild är redan taget af salen och herr Ekman, som sjelf var närvarande vid den höga akten, är som bäst sysselsatt med förberedelser till det stora arbetet. Herr Ekman samlar fotografiporrtätter af städernas respektive medlemmar samt alla af de personer, hvilka fungerade vid landtdagens öppnande. Man har sagt oss, att artisen ämnar åt denna tafla gifva ännu större dimensioner än åt den öfver landtdagens i Borgå öppnande."
26. Stockmann-Lindholm 1971, 13; S. Hirn 1972, 31.
27. S. Hirn 1972, 58.
28. Ekman to Cygnaeus 6.3.1865, Ateneum. - The citation is from a postscript to the letter. "Landtdagstaflan är nu färdig, dock finnes där inga karrikatyrrer, såsom onda tungor påstått."
29. Hbl 19.6.1865.
30. HT 19.6.1865. Owing to the interest shown by the public, Euphrosyne Chiewitz offered in 1865 to sell large copies of Ekman's painting.
31. Hintze 1926, 201.
32. ÅU 26.7.1864.
33. Hintze 1926, 202.
34. FAT 28.7.1869.
35. Hintze 1926, 211.
36. Wennervirta 1927, 304.
37. Historical picture archives, MV.
38. R.W. Ekmans förteckning på sina arbeten, Ekmania, MV.
39. Hintze 1926, catalogue of works, 286, nos 344 and 345.
40. Ervamaa 1981, 156, reference 4.
41. Stockmann-Lindholm 1973a, 78-79.
42. S. Hirn 1972, 63; C.A. Hårdh photographed in 1868 e.g. views of Katajanokka.

43. Autobiography, Ekman's letter to B.O. Schaumann 30.11.1865. Ateneum. "Sök i allt idealet. Begagna naturen härtill, men undvik det oharmoniska."
44. R.W. Ekmans förteckning på sina arbeten, Ekmania, MV.
45. Mbl 25.10.1849. "Det var rörande att se, med hvilken rörelse allmogen först betraktade taflan, och när dess höga värde och hjärtat genomprispande innehåll förklarades, tårades alla, undrande om taflan var gjord af människohänder. Från kringliggande socknar strömmade hit människor alla söndagar för att se sådant, som de aldrig sett eller kunnat föreställa sig. Äfven stånds personer från aflägsnare orter kommo för att beskåda taflan."
46. Oral communication from architect Juhani Nylund 3.7.1986.
47. Architect J. Nyland's letter 19.1.1986. - Gust. Ranin's archives are located in the Jyväskylä Provincial Archive. There are only a few private letters. They concern remembrances and condolences on the death of Flora Katarina Ranin, e.g.: "...den aflidne lemnat dig 5 barn att uppfostra och sörja." To Carl Rosenius Gust. Ranin 2.5.1868. JyMA.
48. Winckelmann 1934, 168, 174-175. - Winckelmann points out: "Nach der allgemeinen Betrachtung der Schönheit ist zum ersten von der Proportion und zweiten von der Schönheit einzelner Teile des menschlichen körpers zu reden." Despite this, the opinions expressed by Winckelmann, "Die Regeln der Proportion", became understandable throughout Europe only as canons concerning details, although the researcher expressly warned about this: "Die Beschreibung des einzelnen aber ist in allen Dingen, also auch hier schwer." For instance, Lorenzo Hammarsköld, who painted a portrait of Ekman in Sweden in 1827 (?), provides guidelines about the correct depiction of details, the nose etc., based expressly on Winckelmann's ideas. See Hammarsköld 1817, 74. - On these pages Winckelmann also provides advice about the correct depiction of e.g. the eyebrows, women's faces etc., in addition to the nose. They are rather close to the treatment used by Ekman in his portrait of Flora Katarina Ranin.
49. Reitala 1989, 371, references 67 and 71.
50. For instance, ÅU 17.10.1856.
51. Söder om Östersjön, 19. Düsseldorf och de finske målarne, Z. Topelius, HT 24.1.1857.
52. Finska Konstföreningen, Årsmöte 10.3.1858, microfilm. JyT. -- "genom den utomordentliga samvetsgrannheten i sina arbeten ersätter hvad det ännu kan brista i energi och produktivitet."
53. Tikkanen 1896, 87.
54. FT 1885, I, 391-394.
55. M. Hirn 1959, 17-85.
56. As above, 19.
57. Nervander 1892, 295.
58. Finska Konstföreningens exposition, 1861, 6, n:o 39.
59. Finska Konstföreningens exposition af taflor och porträtt målade af Erik Johan Löfgren, 1885, 4, n:o 6.
60. Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler, 1933, 547.

61. Bidrag till Erik Johan Löfgréns biografi, af E.N., Finland 8.1.1885; 10.1.1885; Nervander 1900b.
62. Löfgren to Cygnaeus 10.4.1856, Ateneum. "Herr Professorn som min välgörare."
63. Finland 9.1.1885.
64. Cygnaeus to Löfgren 22.8.1856, Ateneum. -- "för att profitera af Herr Löfgréns löfte att illustrera min fysionomi med ett --- utmärkt porträtt."
65. M. Hirn 1959, 34.
66. Nervander 1892, 295.
67. Löfgren to Cygnaeus 20.11.1856, Ateneum. "På samma gång jag har äran nämna, att jag i förra veckan afsände Herr Professorns porträtt öfver Lübeck, får jag äfven på det hjertligaste tacka såväl för boken som det deruti inneslutna bref jemte mig tillhandakomna anvisning å Etthundra (100) Rubel Silfver, hvaröfver jag härhos tacksamligen innesluter vederbörligt qvitto."
68. Cygnaeus to Löfgren 22.3.1857, Ateneum. "Naturligtvis ar jag synnerligen tacksam för det nobla sätt, hvarpå Hr. L. både uppfattat och utfört mitt porträtt, och beklagar blott att jag ej efter förtjänst förmår honorera det utmärkta arbetet."
69. For instance, Nervander 1892, 158.
70. For instance, Topelius 1884, 179.
71. Stelzer 1966, 29.
72. Ellenius 1984, 42.
73. Okkonen 1961, 36.
74. Finland 21.2.1885; M. Hirn 1959, 40, reference 1.
75. Topelius 1884, 200.
76. Hbl 14.12.1884.
77. Hertzberg 1883, 29-30.
78. M. Hirn 1959, 39.
79. FAT 12.8.1858; ÅT 13.8.1858.
80. Cygnaeus to Löfgren 22.3.1857, Ateneum. This letter has earlier been used as a reference. "Emellertid skall med det första draga försorg derom att hr Löfgréns ekonomiska förlägenhet, hvilken sannolikt åter begynner taga öfverhanden, blir någorlunda afhulpen. Äfvensom jag af alla krafter vill bjuda till Hr. L. i sommar slipper med heder lös från Düsseldorf för att återvända hit, der redan flera vackra friherrinnor med otålighet vänta på den utmärkelsen att illustreras af Hr Löfgréns pensel och mer än en kyrka önskar blifva prydd med en altertafla."
81. HT 22.9.1858.
82. FT 1885, 393. J.J. Tikkanen writes: "Det var också endast penningsbehovet, som gjorde Löfgren till porträttmålare."
83. Pln 24.5.1860.

84. FT 1885, 392.
85. HD 30.5.1863.
86. FAT 30.7.1869.
87. Hbl 3.7.1865.
88. Okkonen 1961, 36.
89. Hintze 1926, 121, 264, n:o 171. - See Standertskjöld 1984, 92.
90. Hintze 1927. - Hintze thus does not consider Löfgren's painting a copy, in contrast to M. Standertskjöld, Standertskjöld 1984, 92.
91. Okkonen 1961, 36.
92. Estlander 1929, 220.
93. Okkonen 1961, 38.
94. This must be the case although Onni Okkonen writes: "Löfgren represents the spirit and achievements of these decades rather from the point of view of criticism than favourableness." Okkonen 1961, 35.
95. All these portraits in the exhibition of the Finska konstföreningen are marked in the catalogue as having been painted on the basis of photographs, apart from the portrait of Captain Frans Brenner which has a hand-written addendum "after a photograph". This has presumably been added by J.J. Tikkanen. Finska Konstföreningens exposition af taflor och porträtt målade af Erik Johan Löfgren, 1885, n:o 27, 33, 46, 48, 53.
96. Finska Konstföreningens exposition, 1876, n:o 31.
97. Finska Konstföreningens exposition, 1885, n:o 53. -- "efter fotografi och minnet".
98. Vuorenmaa 1986, 3.
99. S. Hirn 1977, 14; Vuorenmaa 1986, 3.
100. S. Hirn 1977, 13.
101. S. Hirn 1977, 14; Vuorenmaa 1986, 3.
102. A number of researchers have treated the portraits of Runeberg. These include K.K. Meinander, J.E. Strömborg and Marta Hirn. Marta Hirn's "Runeberg i bild" in particular has a comprehensive catalogue of all the portraits of our national poet. - See Meinander 1905; Strömborg 1931; M. Hirn 1954.
103. HT 20.11.1858. - J.E. Strömborg has also noted the impression of an unsuccessful depiction of the eyes: "Ögonen, som icke fallit väl ut vid fotograferingen, äro på porträttet utförda genom retuschering, varför senare gjorda försök att fotografiskt kopiera det av Philipsen tagna porträttet icke kunnat lämna gynnsamt resultat." Strömborg 1931, 347.
104. HT 2.3.1859.
105. Pln 7.3.1859. -- "ganska fint och nätt, och säkert det liknaste af alla de många tryckta porträtterna af skalden."-"Runeberg är det ändå icke, sådan han är och sådant man vill ha hans porträtt".

106. Runeberg 1946, 136. "Stundom då Rgb satt för honom, kunde ock Runeberg i hast taga på sig en alldeles förvärd min och förbrylla Löfgren. Det behagliga leendet som lekte kring Rgbs läppar och det ingen målare lyckats återge, såg Löfgren och bedömde sig att måla, det ville ej lyckas. - 'Nog måste det komma fram', menade Löfgren på sitt eget halfbarnsliga sätt, men icke ville det dock komma."
107. Topelius to Strömborg 30.8.1883, Strömborg 1927, 144-145. "...Bergmästaren (Fredrik Tengström) var en skalk, som begagnade detta tillfälle till en surprise. Han hade på förhand vidtalat en av sina yngre tjänsteman vid namn Lihl, som var diletant i fotografi, att det hafva sin apparat i ordning. Knappt hade vi inträdt innan vi placerades i en soffa, och få minuter derefter fanns den bästa fotografi af Rgb, som någonsin blifvit tagen, - troligen därför bäst emedan han icke fick tid att känna sig generad, såsom han alltid kände sig på en presenterbricka."
108. M. Hirn 1954, 84. M. Hirn has shown that Lihl photographed Runeberg on two occasions. For more details see: M. Hirn 1954, 81.
109. Hintze 1953, 612, n:o 672; M. Hirn 1954, 82.
110. Suomi 19:lla vuosisadalla (Finland in the 19th century), 276.
111. Edelfelt to Estlander 23.3.1878, SLS. -- "jag... försökte så mycket som möjligt inpregla de kära dragen i mitt minne."

## V CONCLUSIONS

Owing to the rather wide and extensive research material, the early period (1839-1870) of Finnish photography has been examined on the basis of examples alone. Official portraits were mainly selected as the research objects. The points of contact and relationships between portrait photography and art have been interpreted, depicted, explained, evaluated and characterised internally in accordance with a comparative perspective.

This multi-layered approach has produced some new results with a histographical basis. A classification for the stylistic trends of photography during this period, the "severe age", has been proposed on the basis of the formalistic properties of the portrait photographs. This covers the photographic trends of the 1840's and 1850's, the "hard period" of the daguerreotype picture form and the "soft period" of the paper photograph. Characterisation of portrait photographs from the 1860's has resulted in a definition of vignettism, and an attempt to interpret what I call the first great style of the period. An analysis of the origin of photomontage and collage is still important from the point of view of art history.

Also included was the application of the monographic research technique to the most important photographers of the early period. Only those portrait photographs which I consider "adulterated", i.e. touched up, coloured or otherwise treated, have been analysed. "Pure" photographs have been ignored.

A.J. Desarnod the Junior and F. Rehnström were taken as examples of photographic artists from the 1840's. Of these two, Desarnod bore, already during his lifetime, the legendary title of Jack-of-all-trades. He was also the first artist in Finland to use the camera picture as an aid in graphic art. Development of his interests in graphic art also provided an important aspect. Desarnod founded a lithographic printing office in 1844. What is even more important is that those daguerreotype photographs which have survived show that Desarnod was a leading daguerreotypist of his day and, artistically, the most important one. His work can be considered to form a magnificent prelude to the history of Finnish photographic art.

The other daguerreotypist of the 1840's, Fredrik Rehnström, is a typical

example of the photographers of the period. His daguerreotypes are characteristic of the simplified style of contemporary photography.

Friedrich Mebius and Petter Christoffer Liebert have been taken as examples of photographic artists from the 1850's. Of these two, Mebius was taking paper photographs in the form of calotypes already in 1851. He often made his paper pictures more picturesque with water-colours, Indian ink, bistre or sepia. As was frequently the case for photographers with a training as painters, the price of his photographs was very high.

P.C. Liebert was a diverse photographic artist. He probably coloured his first amateurish paper photographs already in 1850. Many of the portrait photographs that he took later on look like small-sized portrait paintings. What is also interesting is that he founded a drawing school in Porvoo in 1849. It provided a training to novices and older students. A very promising start was made at the Porvoo school on contemporary art teaching proper.

Liebert was the first photographer whose work was accepted for the Finnish Art Association's exhibitions. This happened twice, once in 1857 and again in 1858. Finland's first photographic studio was probably the "glass pavilion" which Liebert designed for himself. After all, Liebert had worked in Porvoo before his final move to Helsinki as a building planner and amateur architect.

An attempt has been made to shed light on the dilemma of likeness through pictorial examples. Likeness has been considered to be an implicit problem throughout the whole study. What is interesting is that the only documentable result pointing to normativity was the period when the man in the street believed in the "correct" likeness of portrait photographs. It was popularly believed that the photograph possessed aesthetic qualities, and the photograph was assessed according to the inherent belief in likeness. In actual fact a new criterion for likeness had developed: photographicness. At the same time more value was set on the technological scale of the photograph, i.e. the accuracy of the picture, than to the possibilities of expression it represented. Thus universality came before personality. According to this way of thinking, photography was reproduction and the copying of reality. Photography was regarded as an artisan-like skill and a technical mastery, which was employed in striving for mirror-sharp likenesses of the external features of the subject. It rarely succeeded in this.

In contrast, the art experts and critics did not consider that the photograph could achieve complete likeness, although capable of producing some other properties of portraiture. In fact the early period of photography may have brought to light, owing to its limitations, the essential subject-dominating ideas, and to displace the temporary and random aspects pertaining to the private phenomenon. They, in turn, were left to the later "snapped" photograph.

We are thus forced to conclude that likeness can rarely be defined unambiguously. We can in fact talk about some of the criteria of portraiture. However, they too are only general principles, i.e. the photograph has to be a credible and faithful picture of the subject. The goal of the portrait has not basically been to repeat only the external likeness of the subject, but to simultaneously bring out the internal properties and characteristics. Thus instead of the criteria of likeness we should talk about the sameness of the portrait and subject.

The criteria of likeness have to be solved separately for each picture - not generally - in a somewhat similar way to the criteria of a work of art. The answers are, in the end, rather subjective. It is still difficult to argue seriously about the fact that a portrait photograph is hardly ever a likeness.

The question of likeness usually makes the expert observer sceptical, because the very act of talking about likeness presupposes that the portrait meets the observer's expectations. We can talk about likeness even though the observer would never have seen the subject. Satisfactory objectivity is lacking from such appraisals. Thus the apparent criteria of likeness leave the observer unsatisfied.

The primary criterion of likeness was the demand for mirror-like likeness. Photography may in fact satisfy the prerequisite of mirror-like comparativeness. But no mirror is able, strictly speaking, to display likeness. We must all have experienced "alienness" when looking at our own reflection in a mirror. Similarly if we look at old photographs of friends or oneself, we may be surprised that the people in the photographs appear to have changed and the whole photograph to be slightly different from before, even though the new viewing experience would have taken place in the same room and under similar physical conditions. Portrait likeness was not attained on the basis of technology alone.

A preference for details and a tight pictorial form and severe surface structure was evident already in the early stages of the severe period. It was only rarely possible to achieve a more profound, psychologically based individualised depiction of the subject; all that could be done was to add paraphernalia, conducive to the subject, to the picture. Photography was believed to reproduce complete reality. Thus the portrait photographer depicted only what was typical in the socio-historical sense, rather than individualistic. The portrait photograph became a constructed, engineered whole, the tools of which hardly aimed for a final result placing more emphasis on external likeness. The profundity of a character sketch did not form part of the expression striving for general likeness.

Portrait photography also became an auxiliary tool (considered to be scientific) of painting art. The photograph is in fact constructed automatically in the picture space according to the optical laws of central perspective. The camera picture became, in the service of painting art, a sometimes admitted and sometimes hidden practice. This problem was illustrated using a number of examples of the work of A.J. Desarnod the Younger, M. von Wright, R.W. Ekman, E.J. Löfgren, A. Edelfelt and Victor Westerholm. Comparing the relationship between a painting and a photograph presupposed that two different generic works on the same theme were examined simultaneously. One picture could, in a way, be seen through the other. Similarly, it is a question of a work inside another work.

We are left with the problem that the picture which is formed hides its origins. This can only be examined through the conventions and traditions of art. In addition to the photograph used as an aid, the painting thus simultaneously contains the strata of a double effect at least. This was often laboriously compatible, if at all, because these factors lack a one-to-one relationship, and are hence not uni-aspectual.

The starting point used in studying this effect was the observance of

similarity between two works. Likeness is at its most conclusive when there are a number of similarities, when they are analogical features of expression, and when they are also associated with conformity in the content. A comparative link between two genres in an observable, analogical similarity, resulted in the effect of painting art on photography being examined as a convention, and also to the wider question of what is the position of the portrait photograph in the service of art. The main examples in this respect were R.W. Ekman, E.J. Löfgren and A. Edelfelt.

A comparison of the apparent analogy of the picture surfaces of a portrait painting and a coloured portrait photograph encouraged the testing of its validity also when talking about inter-relationships. In this, the vistas of a particular picture opened up towards other forms of art. In fact the basic features of a technological picture represented some sort of paragrammatical picture sea. There is, owing to its central perspective, super order in the photograph. Similarly, the informality of the aesthetical forms and their chaos can be seen, paradoxically, in any photograph. On the other hand, the photograph was a new peripheral area in the long chain of prototypes and models of art. The parallelism uniting these effects resulted in the painting and the photograph used as an aid being, as regards certain basic features, almost analogical fabrications of each other. But this is not quite as it would appear at first sight, because the photographers also introduced their own personality and form of expression in their pictures. What is more important from the point of view of art history is the fact that they also included those peculiarities of form which had an effect on painting art. These and many other features indicate that this work has formed a part, or at least touched, the history of seeing.

## ABBREVIATIONS

Ateneum	Ateneumin taidemuseo (The Art Museum of Ateneum)
HKM	Helsingin kaupunginmuseo (Helsinki City Museum)
HYK	Helsingin yliopiston kirjasto (Helsinki University Library)
JyMA	Jyväskylän maakunta-arkisto (Jyväskylä Provincial Archives)
JyM	Jyväskylän yliopiston museo (Jyväskylä University Museum)
JyT	Jyväskylän yliopiston taidehistorian laitos (Department of Art History of the University of Jyväskylä)
KSM	Keski-Suomen maakuntamuseo (Keski-Suomi Provincial Museum)
MV	Museovirasto (National Board of Antiquities)
NTF	Nordisk Tidskrift för Fotografi (Nordic Journal for Photography)
SLS	Svenska Litteratursällskapet i Finland (Swedish Literature Society in Finland)
SSLF	Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Litteratursällskapet i Finland (Writings published by Swedish Literature Society in Finland)
TMM	Turun maakuntamuseo (Turku Provincial Museum)
VA	Valtionarkisto (State Archives)
ÅAB	Åbo Akademis bibliotek (Åbo Academy Library)

Abbreviations of newspapers and magazines are given in the appropriate list.

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W. Ekman's letters to B.O. Schauman

Fredrik Cygnaeus' letters to E.J. Löfgren

E.J. Löfgren's letters to Fredrik Cygnaeus

Helsingin kaupunginmuseo (Helsinki City Museum), Helsinki

Kuva-arkisto (Pictorial archives)

Helsingin yliopiston kirjasto (Helsinki University Library), Helsinki

Käsikirjoituskokoelma (Manuscript collection)

Magnus von Wright, *Dagbok* (Diary), 1840, 184

Jyväskylän maakunta-arkisto (Jyväskylä Provincial Archives), Jyväskylä

Gust. Raninin arkisto (Gust. Ranin's Archives)

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- Jyväskylän yliopiston museo (Jyväskylä University Museum), Jyväskylä  
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Kuva-arkisto (Pictorial Archives)
- Museo-virasto (National Board of Antiquities), Helsinki  
Historian kuva-arkisto (Pictorial Archives of the Section for History)  
Ekmaniana (The Ekman Collection)  
R.W. Ekman's förteckning på sina arbeten (R.W. Ekman's notes of his works)  
Nervanderin muistiinpanot (Nervander's notes)  
Daniel Nyblinin kokelma (Daniel Nyblin's Collection)
- Svenska Litteratursällskapet i Finland (Swedish Literature Society in Finland), Helsinki  
Kirjearkisto (Letter Archives), (HYK)  
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- Björneborgs Tidningar (BjT)  
Borgå Tidning (BT)  
Finlands Allmänna Tidning (FAT)  
Finsk Tidskrift (FT)  
Helsingfors Dagblad (HD)  
Helsingfors Morgonblad (HMbl)  
Helsingfors Tidningar (HT)  
Hufvudstadsbladet (Hbl)

Keskisuomalainen  
Litteraturblad för allmän medborgerlig bildning (Lbl)  
Morgonbladet (Mbl)  
Otava  
Oulun Wiikko-Sanomia (OWS)  
Papperslyktan (Pln)  
Saima  
Sanomia Turusta  
Suomen Julkisia Sanomia (SJS)  
Suomen Kuvalehti  
Suometar  
Tapio  
Tillkännagifvanden ifrån Embets-Myndigheterna i Wiborg  
Vasabladet (Vasabl)  
Wiborg (W)  
Wiborgs Annonce Blad (WAB)  
Wiburgs Wochenblatt (WW)

**Swedish:**

Aftonbladet  
Magasin för Konst, Nyheter och Moder  
Ny Illustrerad Tidning

**Others:**

Charivari  
Paris-Journal  
St. Petersburgische Zeitung (SPZ)

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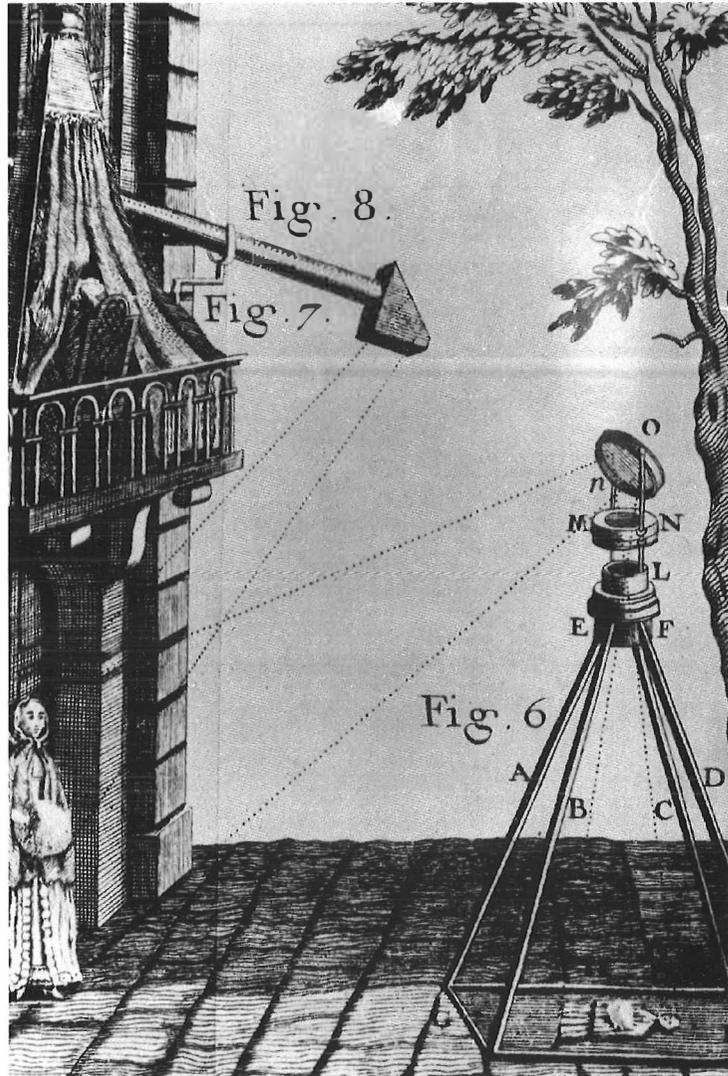
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- Picture 78. Johan Petter Hamberg, An unknown couple, photograph, in the 1860's. MV.
- Picture 79. J. Reinberg, The Quartet from Turku, photograph, c. 1860. TMM.
- Picture 80. J. Reinberg, Painter Carl Anders Ekman, photograph. c. 1854. ÅAK.
- Picture 81. J. Reinberg, Portrait of the Headmaster Th. W. Erich, oil on canvas, 1890. Turun suomalainen klassillinen lyseo. Picture: TMM.
- Picture 82. J. Reinberg, The Gentlemen of Turku Hunting Rabbits, the oil painting made on top of a photograph, 1860. Private Collection. Picture: TMM.
- Picture 83. Anonymous photographers, Euphrosyne Chiewitz and Elias Magnusson as the married couple, fotomontage, 1871. TMM.
- Picture 84. Euphrosyne Chiewitz, D.W. af Grubbens, carte-de-visite, in the 1860's(?). MV.
- Picture 85. E. Chiewitz, Elias Magnusson, double portrait, carte-de-visite, in the 1860's(?).
- Picture 86. Anonymous, R.W. Ekman. A Illustration in Suomen kuvalehti, 1873.
- Picture 87. Anonymous photographer, R.W. Ekman, in the 1860's. MV.
- Picture 88. Anonymous photographer, R.W. Ekman, in the 1860's. MV.
- Picture 89. R.W. Ekman, The portrait of M.A. Castrén, oil on canvas, 1853. Suomalaisen kirjallisuuden seura.
- Picture 90. F. Mebius, M.A. Castrén, calotype, 1851. Private Collection. Picture: MV.
- Picture 91. C. Ramstedt born Lagus, G.A. Wallin, in 1854 published lithograph by B.O. Schauman. MV.
- Picture 92. R.W. Ekman, G.A. Wallin, oil on canvas, 1854. The University of Helsinki.
- Picture 93. Gustav Budkowski, M.A. Castrén, oil on canvas, 1845. Pohjalainen valtuuskunta.
- Picture 94. M.A. Castrén, A caricature, drawn under his second voyage to Siberia, 1846.

- Picture 95. C.A. Hårdh, The copy enlargement of F. Mebius' photograph. MV.
- Picture 96. R.W. Ekman, Opening of the Finnish Senate, 18th September, oil on canvas, 1863. Ritarihuone. Picture: MV.
- Picture 97. The picture board numbering the names of the individual representatives of the Opening of the Finnish Senate, 18th September 1863. MV.
- Picture 98. Eugen Hoffers, The mosaic picture of the representatives of the aristocracy in 1863-64.
- Picture 99. R.W. Ekman, C.R. Procopé, oil on canvas, 1869. Private Collection. Picture: MV.
- Picture 100. R.W. Ekman, C.R. Procopé, oil on canvas, 1849(?). (1869). Private Collection. Picture: MV.
- Picture 101. R.W. Ekman, C.R. Procopé, oil on canvas, 1869. Turun hovioikeus. Picture: TMM.
- Picture 102. C.A. Hårdh, C.R. Procopé, carte-de-visite, c. 1866. TMM.
- Picture 103. Anonymous photographer, Flora Katarina Ranin, photograph, in the 1860's. Private Collection.
- Picture 104. Mimi Graf (Berlin), Flora Katarina Ranin, photograph, in the 1860's. Private Collection.
- Picture 105. R.W. Ekman, Flora Katarina Ranin, oil on canvas, 1869. Private Collection.
- Picture 106. E.J. Löfgren, Fredrik Cygnaeus, oil on canvas, 1856. The University of Helsinki. Picture: MV.
- Picture 107. Matthias Radermacher, Fredrik Cygnaeus, photograph, 1856. MV.
- Picture 108. E.J. Löfgren, M.A. Castrén, oil on canvas, 1859. The University of Helsinki.
- Picture 109. E.J. Löfgren, Alfild Johanna Sofia Sederholm, oil on canvas, 1868. Repainted and altered by B. Reinhold. Private Collection. Picture: MV.
- Picture 110. Anonymous photographer, Sophie Sederholm and her daughter Alfild Johanna Sofia, photograph. 1866(?) MV.
- Picture 111. E.J. Löfgren, Matthias Weckström, oil on canvas, 1874. HKM.
- Picture 112. E.J. Löfgren, Karl Collan, oil on canvas, 1875. Helsingin yliopiston ylioppilaskunta. Picture: MV.
- Picture 113. Anonymous photographer, Karl Collan, photograph, c. 1850. MV.
- Picture 114. Anonymous photographer, Karl Collan, photograph, c. 1864. MV.
- Picture 115. Charles Riis(?), Karl Collan, photograph, c. 1870. MV.
- Picture 116. E. Philipsen, J.L. Runeberg, photograph, 1858. MV.
- Picture 117. C.A. Hårdh, J.L. Runeberg, lithograph, 1859.
- Picture 118. J.C. Lühr, J.L. Runeberg, photograph, 1863. Picture: MV.
- Picture 119. Albert Edelfelt, J.L. Runeberg, oil on canvas, 1893. The Turku Art Museum.

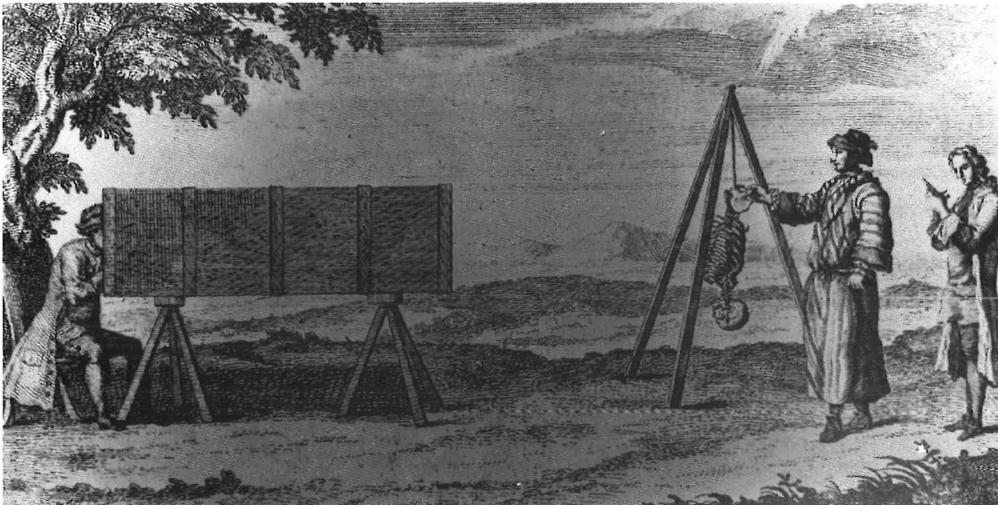


PICTURE 1  
Joseph Weninger, Senator H. A. Mechelin and his spouse,  
daguerreotype, 1847. Private Collection. Picture: MV.



PICTURE 2  
Abbé Noilet,  
Camera Obscura, 1755.

PICTURE 3  
William Cheselden,  
Camera Obscura, 1733





PICTURE 4  
Henrik Cajander,  
Nobel's house in Turku  
(Uudenmaankatu 8),  
daguerrotype, 1842. TMM.

PICTURE 5  
Carl Eugen Hoffers,  
Kluuvikatu Street in  
Helsinki, photograph,  
c. 1865. MV.





PICTURE 6  
Ottar Sigismund Mellgren, Self-Portrait, carte-de-visite, 1886(?).



PICTURE 7  
C.A. Ljungstedt, Self-Portrait, photograph, in the 1860's(?)



PICTURE 8  
Anonymous photographer,  
Doctor Wolmar Styrbjörn  
Schildt-Kilpinen, ambrotype.  
Private Collection.  
Picture: KSM.

PICTURE 9  
Anonymous photographer  
(Johan Petter Hamberg?),  
Merchant A.J.Girsen and  
his family, ambrotype, in the  
early 1860's. KSM.





PICTURE 10  
Anonymous photographer. Uno Cygnaeus, 'panotype', 1855. JyM.



*S. A. Keinänen*

PICTURE 11  
V. Selling. S.A. Keinänen, photograph, 1869(?). JyM.



PICTURE 12  
Anonymous photographer, Uno Cygnaeus' son Uno Sebastian, photograph,  
1864 or 1865. JyM.



PICTURE 13  
Anonymous photographer, Pelageja Smirnoff and her daughter Anna,  
ambrotype, c. 1859. KSM.



PICTURE 14  
Anonymous photographer, Magnus Forsblom and his family,  
ambrotype, 1860. Private Collection. Picture: KSM.

PICTURE 15  
 Johan Siegl, Natalia Emilie  
 Spåre, daguerreotype, 1848.  
 Private Collection.  
 Picture: MV.



PICTURE 16  
 Anonymous  
 photographer  
 from St.  
 Petersburg,  
 Merchant Petter  
 Smirnof, Maria  
 Smirnof and  
 A.J. Girsen from  
 Jyväskylä,  
 daguerreotype,  
 c. 1850(?), KSM.

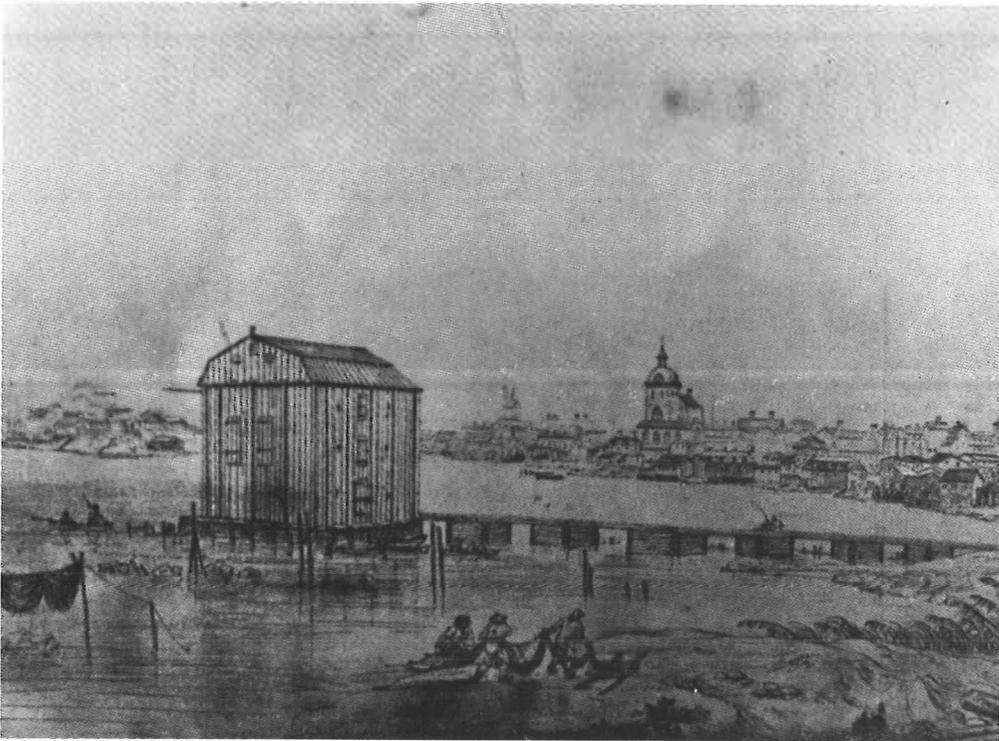




PICTURE 17  
Carl von Kugelgen, The Turku castle, drawing, 1818. MV.

PICTURE 18  
A. F. Skjöldebrand, Turku, drawing, 1818.





PICTURE 19  
Louis Belanger, *The view of Helsinki*, etching, 1798.

PICTURE 20  
Albert Edelfelt, *The Child's Corsage*, oil on canvas, 1879, Ateneum.

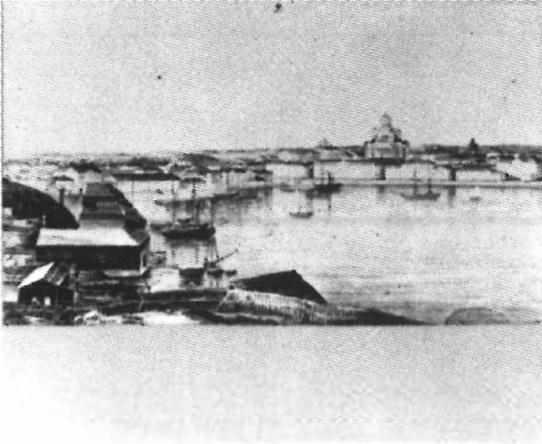


PICTURE 21  
 Cham, Detail of the  
 Disderi caricature,  
 Le Charivari,  
 Décembre 1861.



PICTURE 22  
 Ole King  
 (Victor Westerholm),  
 Winter Scene, 1892.





PICTURE 23  
Magnus von Wright, The view of Helsinki (A panorama of Helsinki, detail),  
1842. Ateneum

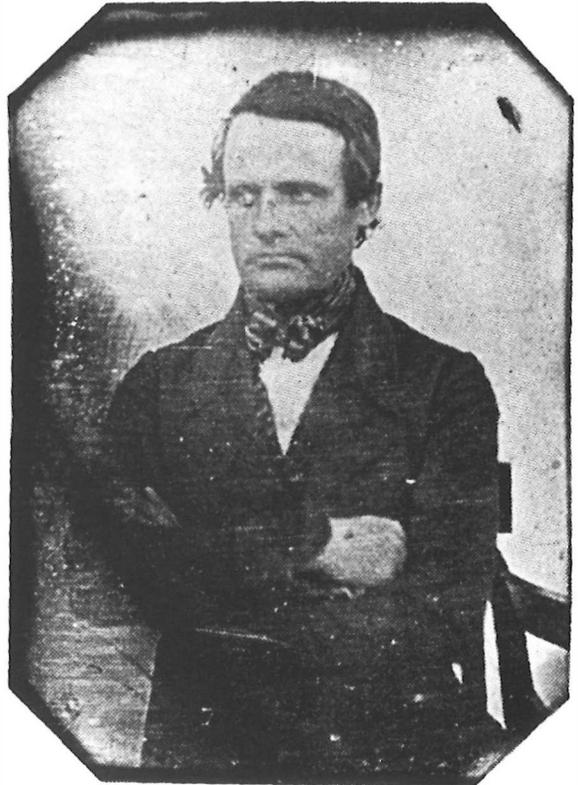
PICTURE 24.  
Magnus von Wright, The view of Haminalahti (A panorama of Haminalahti, detail),  
1848. MV.

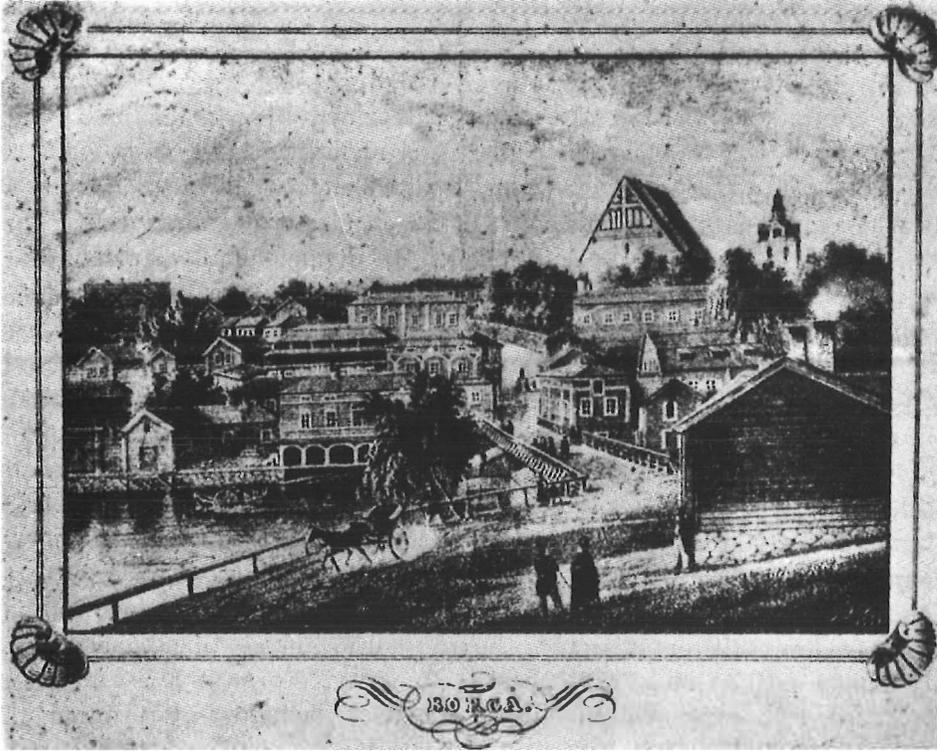




PICTURE 25  
C.A.T.Neubourg,  
Bertel Thorvaldsen,  
daguerreotype, 1840.

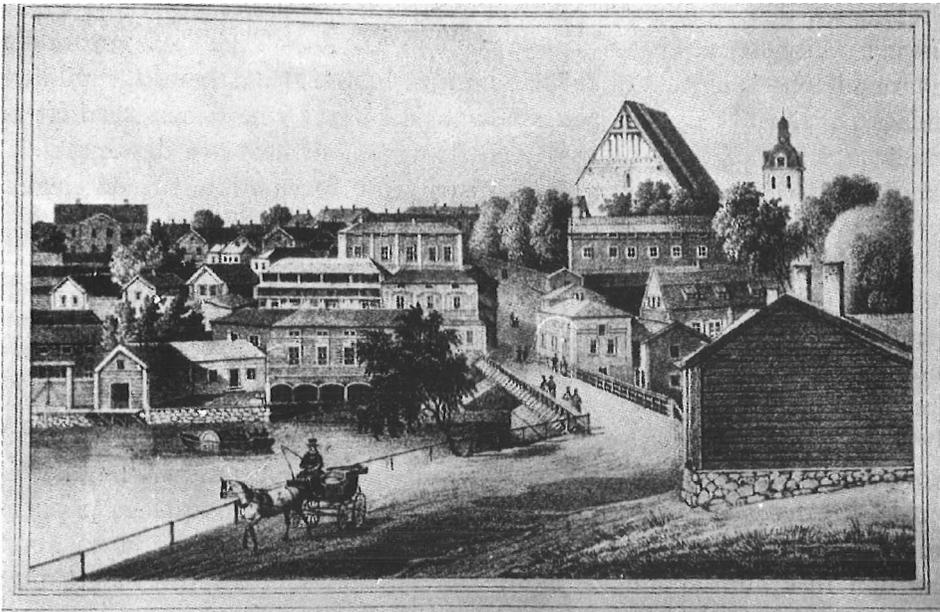
PICTURE 26  
Henrik Cajander,  
Self-Portrait, 1844. TMM.





PICTURE 27  
A.J. Desarnod the Younger, *The view of Porvoo*, lithograph, 1844. MV.

PICTURE 28  
Anonymous (J. Knutson?), *The view of Porvoo*, lithograph.





PICTURE 29  
A.J.Desarnod the Younger, The portrait of M.A. Calonius, lithograph, 1844.

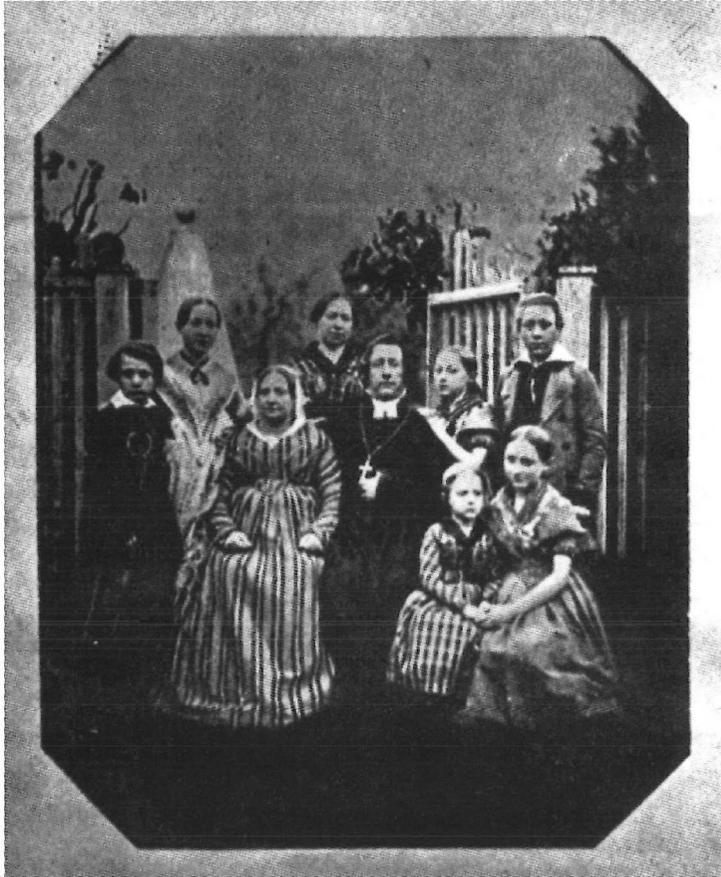


PICTURE 30  
A.J. Desarnod the Younger, C. G.Ottelin and his daughter, c. 1845. Private  
Collection



PICTURE 31

A.J. Desarnod the Younger, Bishop Ottelin and his family, c. 1845. Private Collection.



PICTURE 32  
A.J. Desarnod the Younger(?), Bishop Ottelin and his family, c. 1845.



PICTURE 33

A.J. Desarnod the Younger, J.L.Runeberg, his wife and their friends, 1846. Picture: MW.



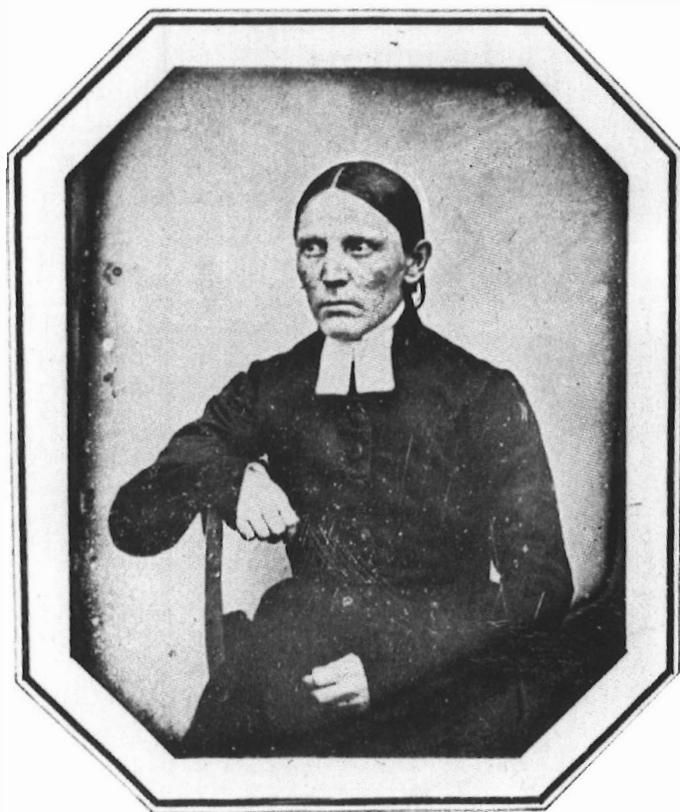
PICTURE 34  
Emile Lassalle, The portrait of J.L. Runeberg, After Charles Giraud's drawing.  
Litograph, in the 1840's. Svenska Litteratursällskapet.



PICTURE 35  
J. Knutson, Portrait of J.L. Runeberg, drawing, 1843. Runeberg's home, Porvoo.



PICTURE 36  
F. Rehnström. Lars (Lauri) Stenbäck, daguerreotype, 1848. MV.



PICTURE 37  
F. Rehnström, Ebba Stenbäck, daguerreotype, 1848. MV



PICTURE 38  
Jean-Baptiste Greuze,  
Septimius Severus and  
Caracalla, oil on canvas, 1769.

PICTURE 39  
Jacques-Louis David,  
Portrait of De Lavoisier  
and his wife, oil on canvas,  
1788.





PICTURE 40  
Jacques-Louis David, Portrait of the Count de Turenne, oil on canvas, 1818.



PICTURE 41  
Fredrik Rehnström, Katarina Juliana Thilén, daguerreotype, c. 1849. MV



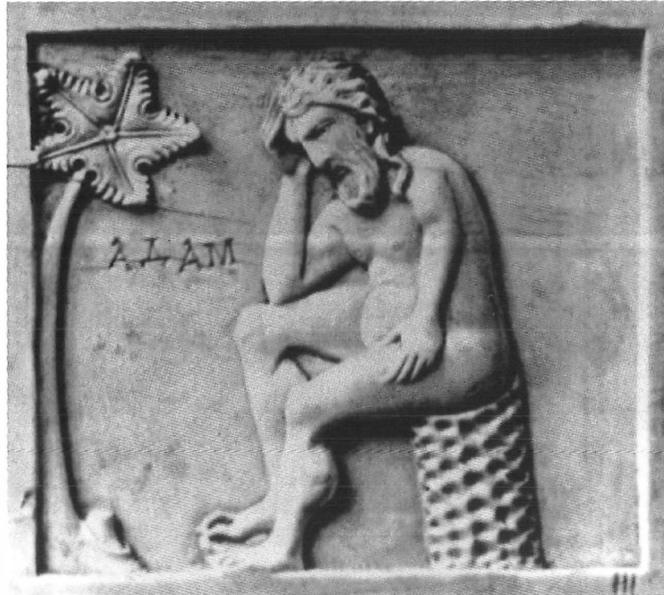
PICTURE 42  
Lorens Pasch the Elder(?), Portrait of an unknown woman, copy, TMM.



PICTURE 43  
C.F. von Breda, Portrait of Gustav Mauritz Armfelt(?), oil on canvas, 1811.



PICTURE 44  
Fredrik Rehnström, Carl Magnus Ridderstad and his children, daguerreotype,  
1850. MV.



PICTURE 45  
Adam, the byzantine relief,  
early 12th century.

PICTURE 46  
Fredrik Rehnström,  
The merchant O.W.  
Roering and his children,  
daguerreotype, c. 1847. MV.





PICTURES 47 and 48  
Friedrich Mebius,  
The Portraits of Johan Philip  
Palmén and his wife Adolfina  
Fredrika, calotypes, 1851. MV.

PICTURE 49  
Friedrich Mebius,  
M.W. Brenner, calotype, 1851.  
Private Collection. Picture: MV.





PICTURE 50  
P.C. Liebert, Self-Portrait, calotype, 1850(?), Porvoo Museum. Picture: MV.



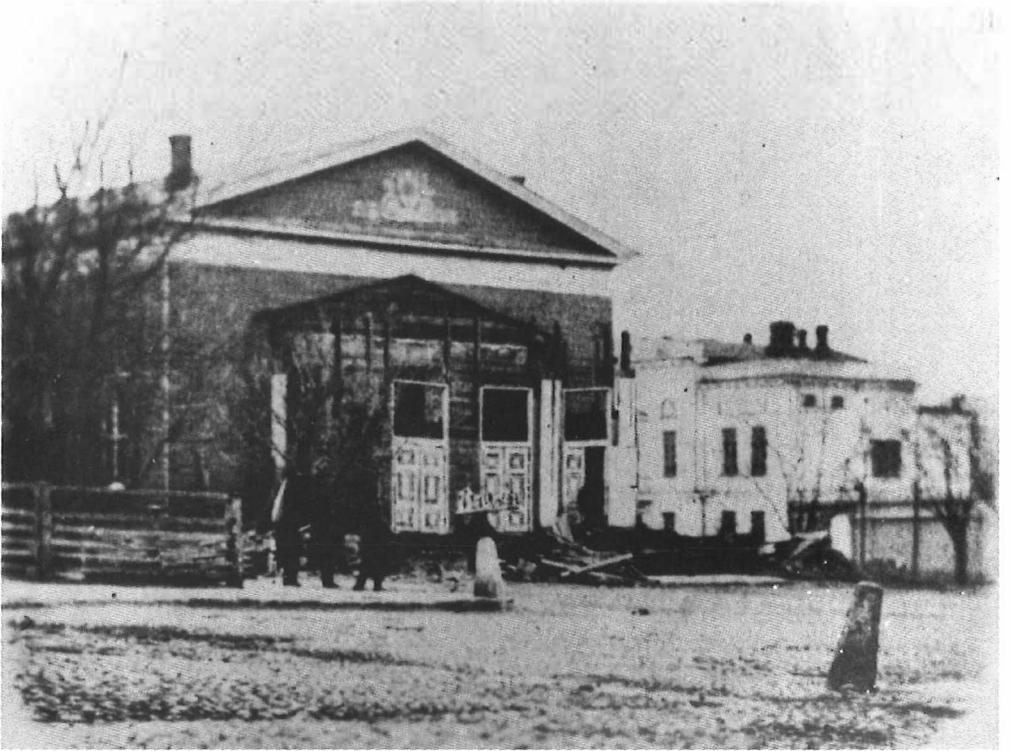
PICTURE 51  
P.C. Liebert, The spouse of the photographer, calotype, 1850(?), Porvoo Museum.  
Picture: MV.



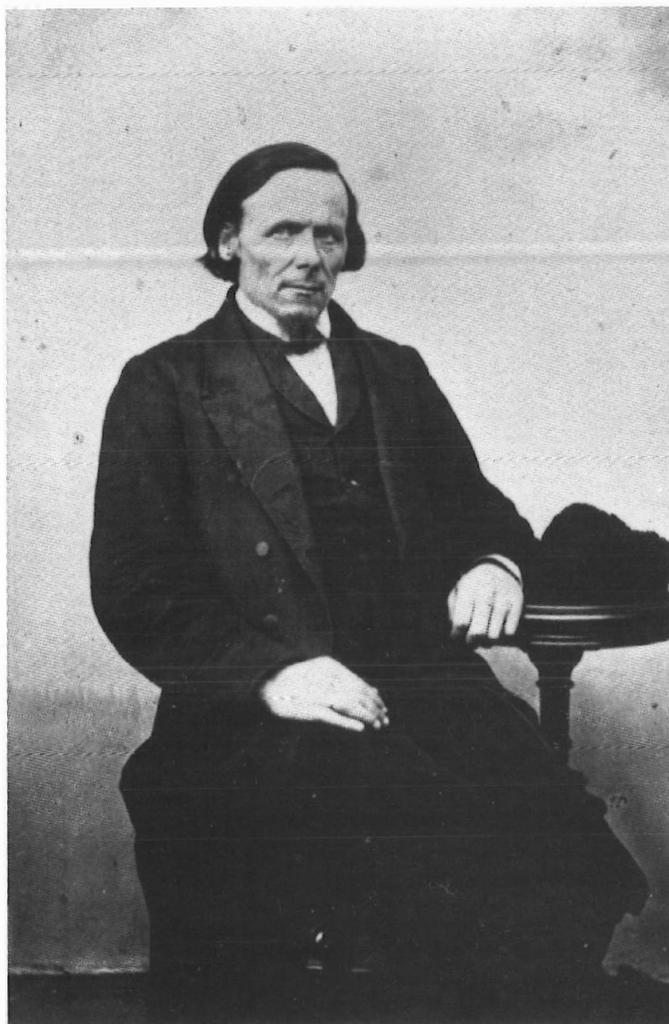
PICTURE 52  
P.C. Liebert,  
Susanna in the bath,  
woodcut, 1849.

PICTURE 53  
P.C. Liebert, The spouse  
of the photographer,  
photograph,  
c. 1885(?). MV.





PICTURE 54  
P. C. Liebert, The photograph of C. L. Engel's theater, 1857. HYK.



PICTURE 55  
P.C. Liebert, Erkki Klami, carte-de-visite, 1862(?). MV.



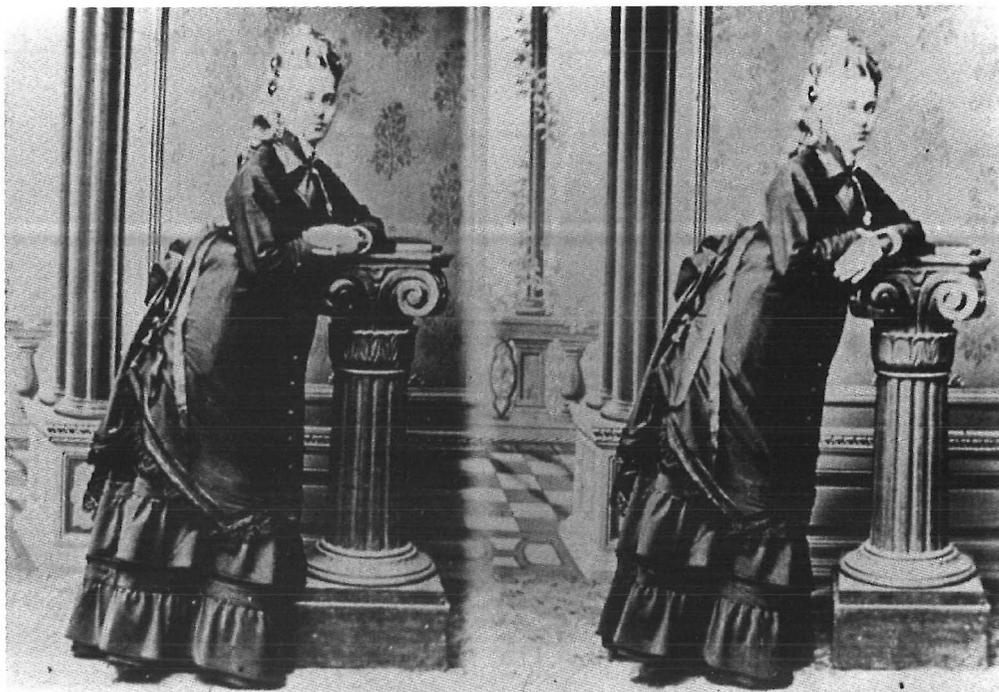
PICTURE 56  
L-J. Peldan, Portrait of two children  
(Maria and Mili Snellman), photograph,  
1858. Private Collection. Picture: MV.



PICTURE 57  
Liepmann Fraenkel, Beata Lindencrona  
(von Strussenfelt), early 10 th century.



PICTURE 58  
L.J. Peldan, Students of the Pietarsaari Girl School, photograph, c. 1860.



PICTURE 59  
O.J. Aune(?), An unknown woman, photograph, c. 1870. TMM.



PICTURE 60  
Photography studio Bergamasco (St. Petersburg), Portrait of Marie Linder,  
c. 1866-1867. HKM.



PICTURE 61  
Alfred Ottelin, An unknown woman, photograph, c. 1862. MV.



PICTURE 62  
Anonymous photographer, Portrait of Carl Fabian Langenskiöld, in the early  
1860's. MV.



*Graf Adolf Aminoff.*

PICTURE 63.  
Anonymous photographer, Portrait of the Count Adolf Aminoff, in the early  
1860's. MV.



PICTURE 64  
J. Reinberg, An unknown countrywoman, photograph, c. 1863. TMM.



PICTURE 65  
Fredrik Diehl, Three children, photograph, c. 1890. MV.



PICTURE 66  
Alfred Ottelin, An unknown woman, photograph, c. 1863. MV.



PICTURE 67

C.A. Hårdh, Two boys, photograph, in the 1860's. MV.



PICTURE 68  
L. J. Peldan, The counselor Ph. U. Strenberg, photograph, c. 1862.



PICTURE 69  
J. Behse, An unknown young man, photograph, c. 1865. MV.

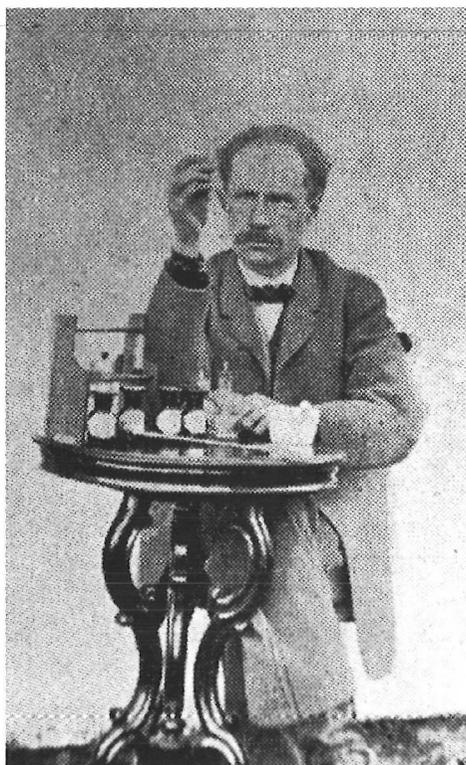


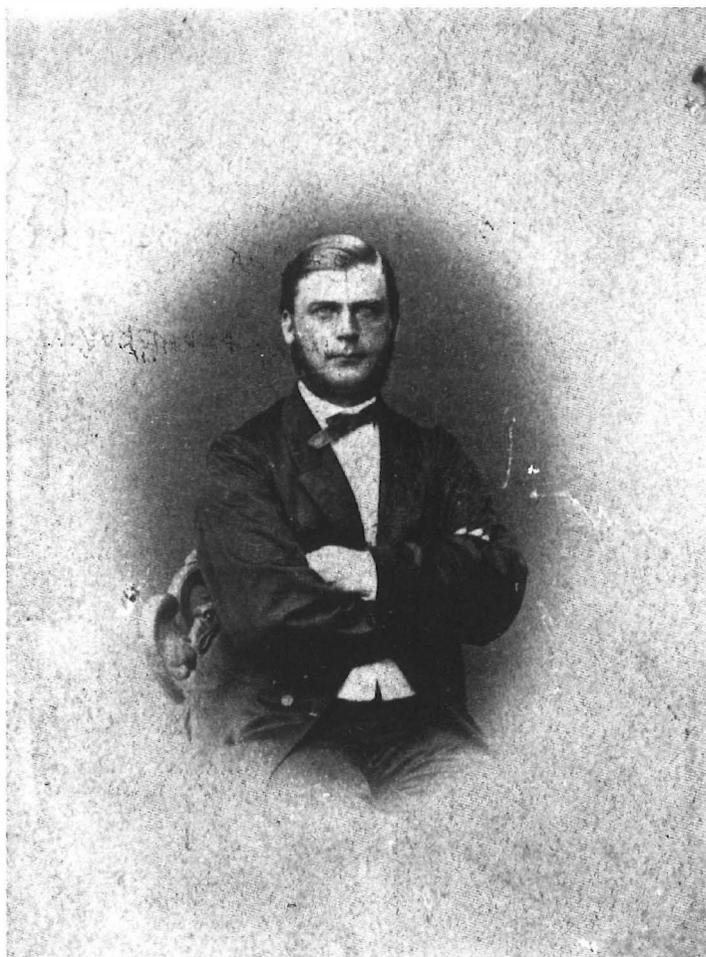
PICTURE 70  
V. Selling, An unknown woman, photograph, in the 1860's. MV.



PICTURE 71  
Anonymous photographer,  
Teachers of Jyväskylän ylä-  
alkeiskoulu, in the 1860's. KSM.

PICTURE 72  
B.W. Palin,  
The pharmacist Aschan(?),  
photograph, in the 1860's.





PICTURE 73  
C. P. Mazer, Oscar Castrén, photograph, 1865. MV.



PICTURE 74  
C. P. Mazer, Ida Nylander, photograph, 1868(?). MV.



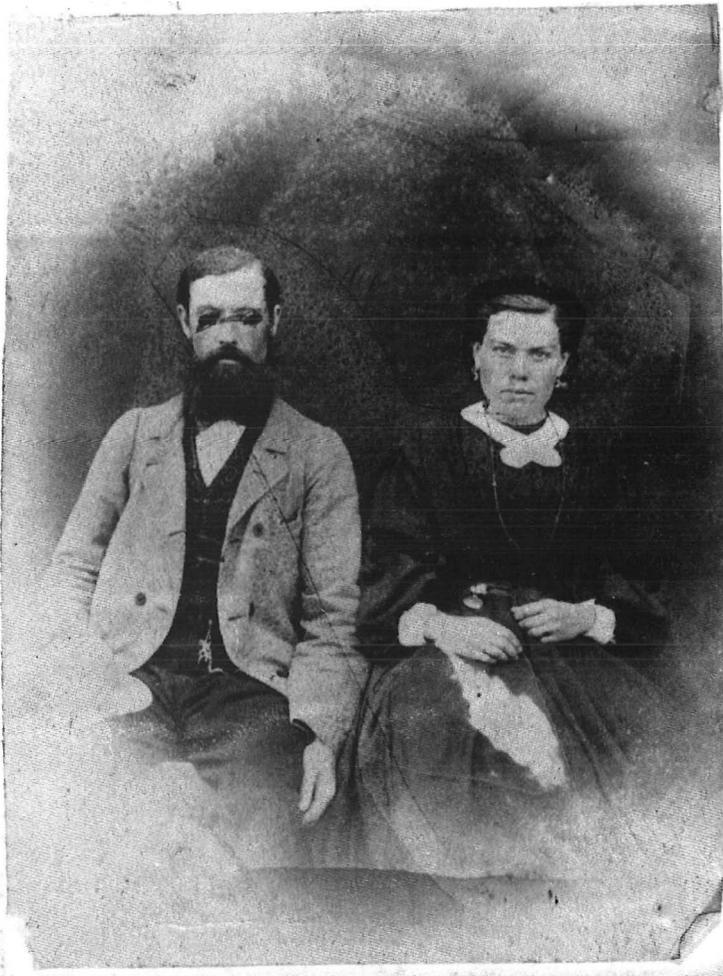
PICTURE 75  
Charles Riis, Axianne Cygnaeus, photograph, c. 1862. JyM.



PICTURE 76  
Anonymous photographer, The teacher Anders Gustaf Hovilainen,  
photograph, c. 1869. JyM.



PICTURE 77  
Arnold Boos, An unknown woman, carte-de-visite, c. 1862.  
Sven Hirn collection.



PICTURE 78

Johan Petter Hamberg, An unknown couple, photograph, in the 1860's. MV.



PICTURE 79  
J. Reinberg,  
The Quartet from Turku,  
photograph, in the 1860's. MV.

PICTURE 80  
J. Reinberg,  
Painter Carl Anders Ekman,  
photograph, c. 1854. ÅAK.





PICTURE 81  
J. Reinberg,  
Portrait of the Headmaster  
Th. W. Erich, oil on canvas,  
1890. Turun suomalainen  
klassillinen lyseo.  
Picture: TMM.

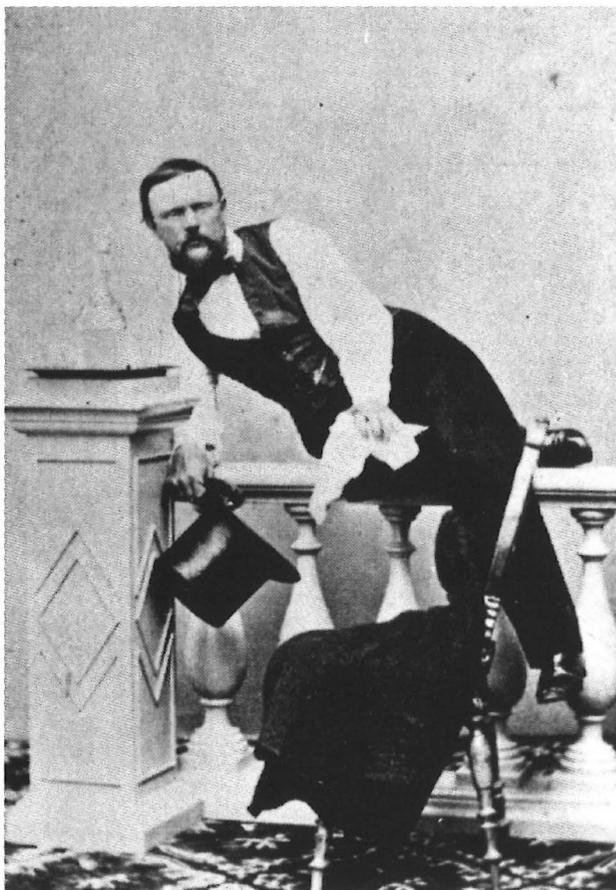


PICTURE 82  
J. Reinberg,  
The Gentlemen of  
Turku Hunting Rabbits,  
the oil painting made  
on top a photograph,  
1860. Private Collection.  
Picture: TMM.



PICTURE 83  
Anonymous photographers,  
Euphrosyne Chiewitz and  
Elias Magnusson as the married  
couple, fotomontage, 1871. TMM.

PICTURE 84  
Euphrosyne Chiewitz,  
D.W. af Grubbens,  
carte-de-visite,  
in the 1860's (?). MV.





PICTURE 85  
E. Chiewitz, Elias Magnusson, double portrait, carte-de-visite, in the 1860's(?).



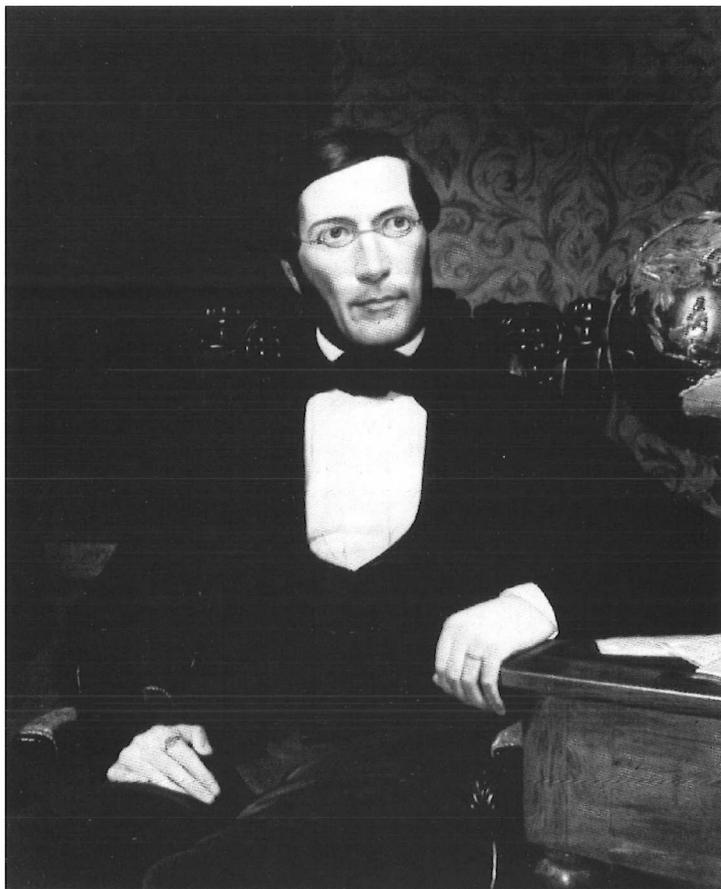
PICTURE 86  
Anonymous, R.W. Ekman. A Illustration in Suomen kuvalehti, 1873.



PICTURE 87  
Anonymous photographer, R. W. Ekman, in the 1860's. MV.



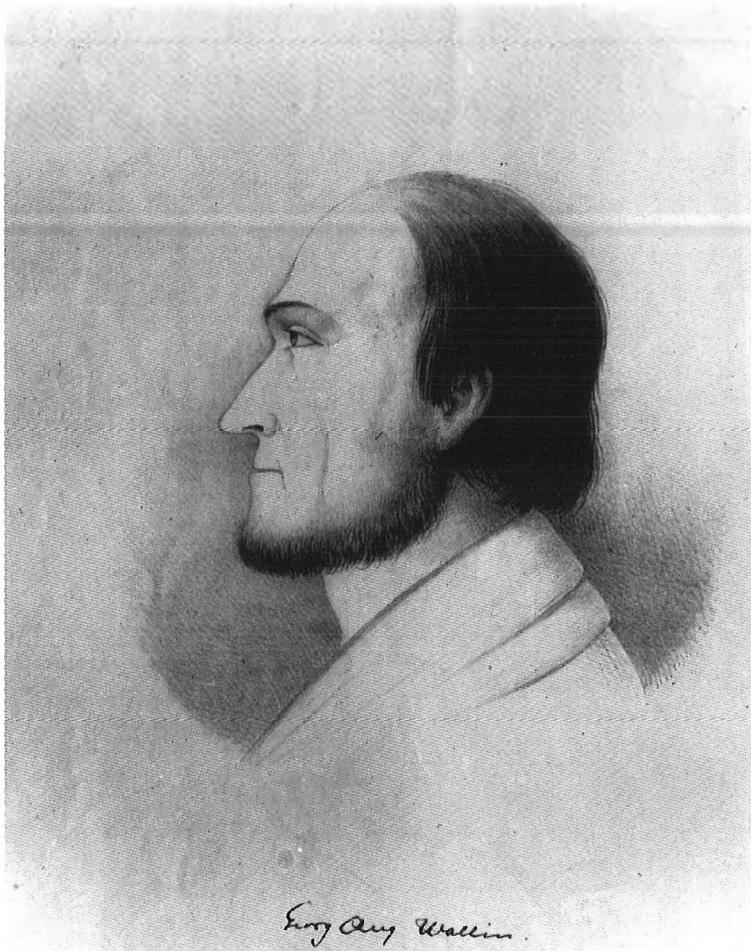
PICTURE 88  
Anonymous photographer, R. W. Ekman, in the 1860's. MV.



PICTURE 89  
R.W. Ekman, The portrait of M. A. Castrén, oil on canvas, 1853. Suomalaisen kirjallisuuden seura.



PICTURE 90  
F. Mebius, M. A. Castrén, calotype 1851, Private Collection. Picture: MV.

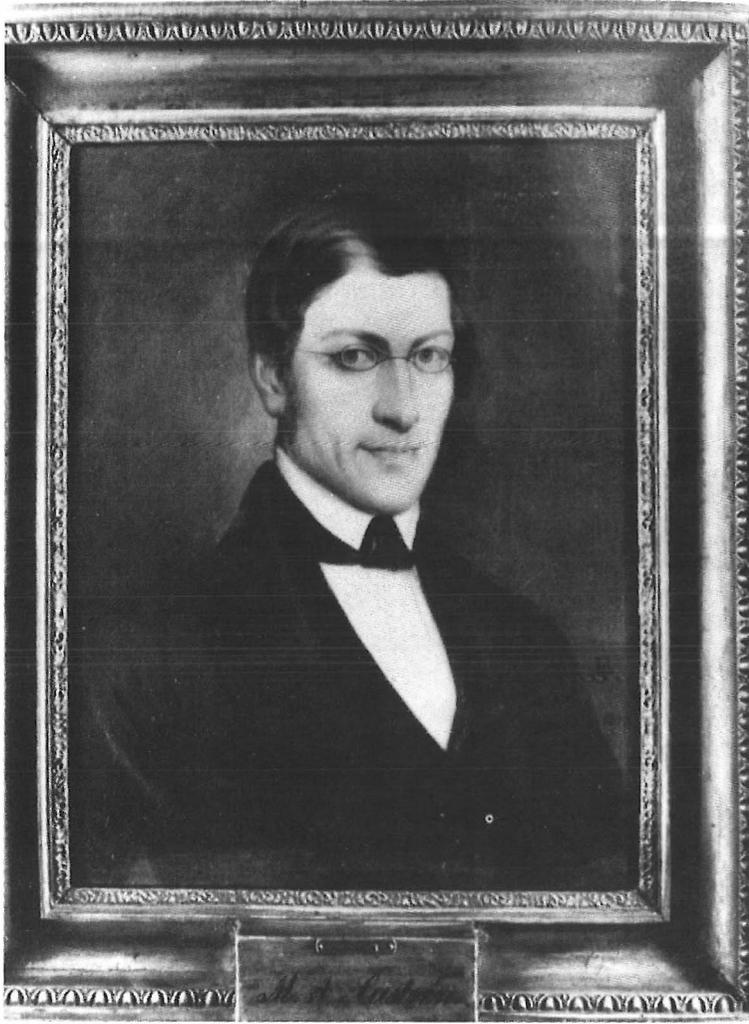


PICTURE 91  
C. Ramstedt born Lagus, G. A. Wallin, in 1854 published lithograph  
by B. O. Schauman. MV.



PICTURE 92

R. W. Ekman, G. A. Wallin, oil on canvas, 1854. The University of Helsinki.



PICTURE 93

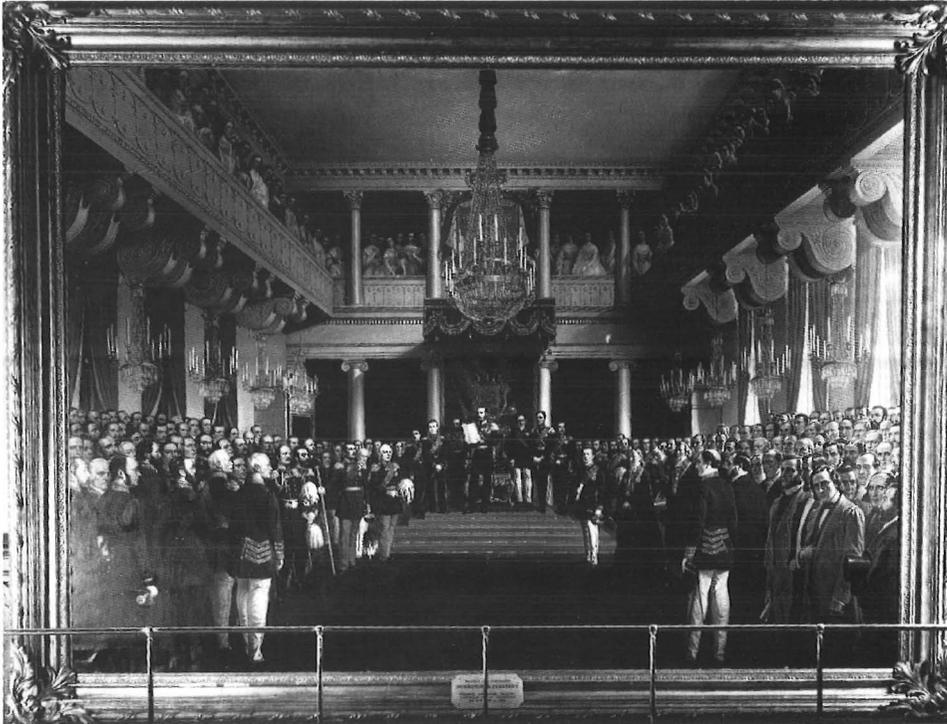
Gustav Budkowski, M. A. Castrén, oil on canvas, 1845.  
Pohjalainen valtuuskunta.



PICTURE 94  
M. A. Castrén, A caricature,  
drawn under his second  
voyage to Siperia, 1846.

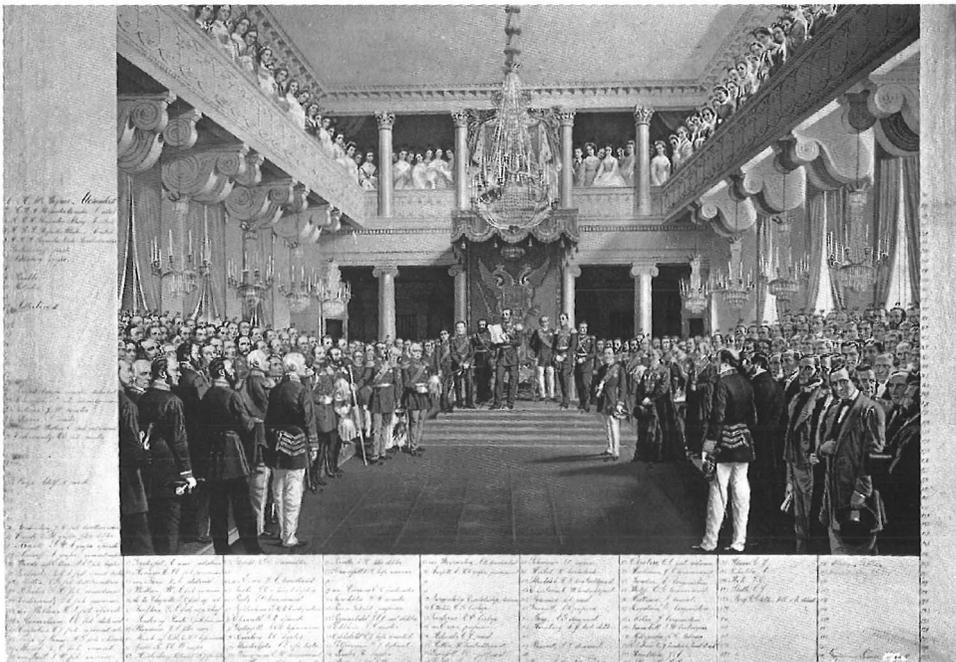
PICTURE 95  
C. A. Hårdh, The Copy  
enlargement of F. Mebius'  
photograph. MV.





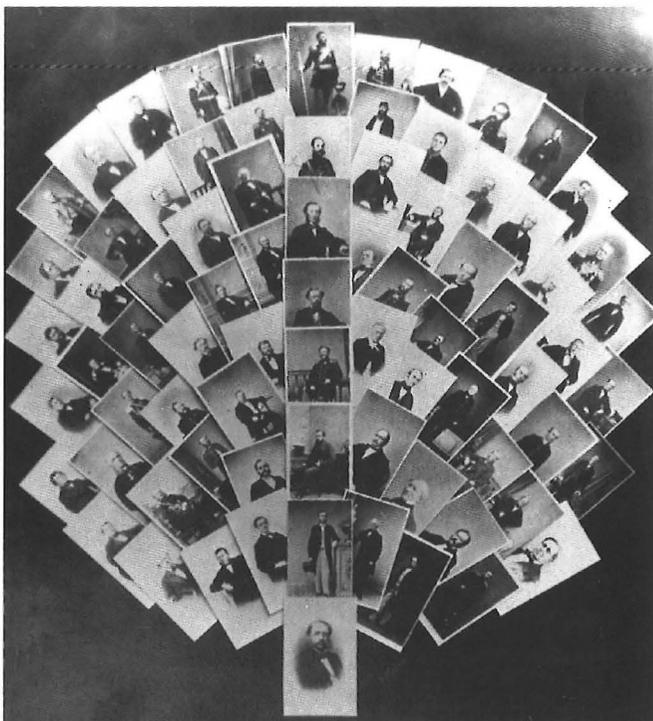
PICTURE 96

R. W. Ekman, Opening of the Finnish Senate, 18th September 1863, oil on canvas.  
Ritarihuone. Picture: MV.

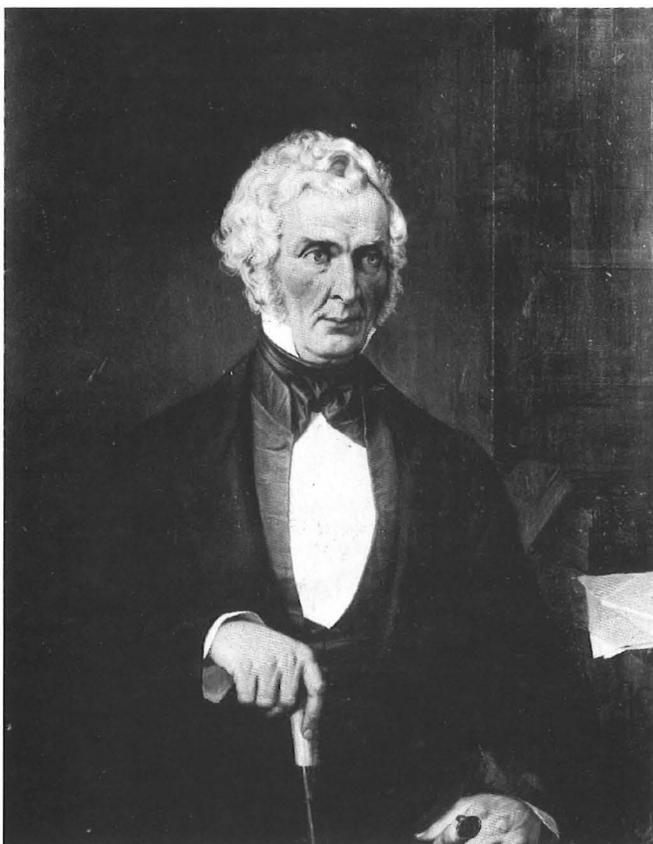


PICTURE 97

The picture board numbering the names of the individual representatives of the Opening of the Finnish Senate, 18th September 1863. MV.



PICTURE 98  
Eugen Hoffers,  
The mosaic picture of the  
representatives of the  
aristocracy in 1863-64.



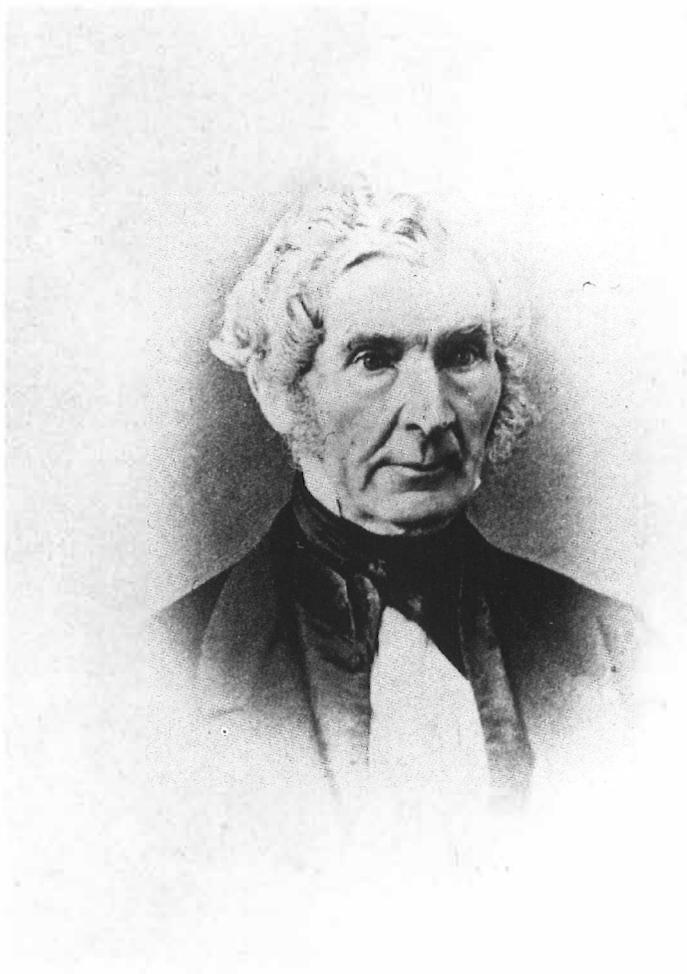
PICTURE 99  
R. W. Ekman,  
C. R. Procopé,  
oil on canvas, 1869.  
Private collection.  
Picture: MV.



PICTURE 100  
R. W. Ekman,  
C. R. Procopé,  
1849(?), 1869,  
oil on canvas.  
Private Collection.  
Picture: MV

PICTURE 101  
R. W. Ekman,  
C. R. Procopé,  
oil on canvas, 1869.  
Turun hovioikeus.  
Picture: TMM.





PICTURE 102  
C. A. Hårdh, C. R. Procopé, carte-de-visite, c. 1866. TMM.



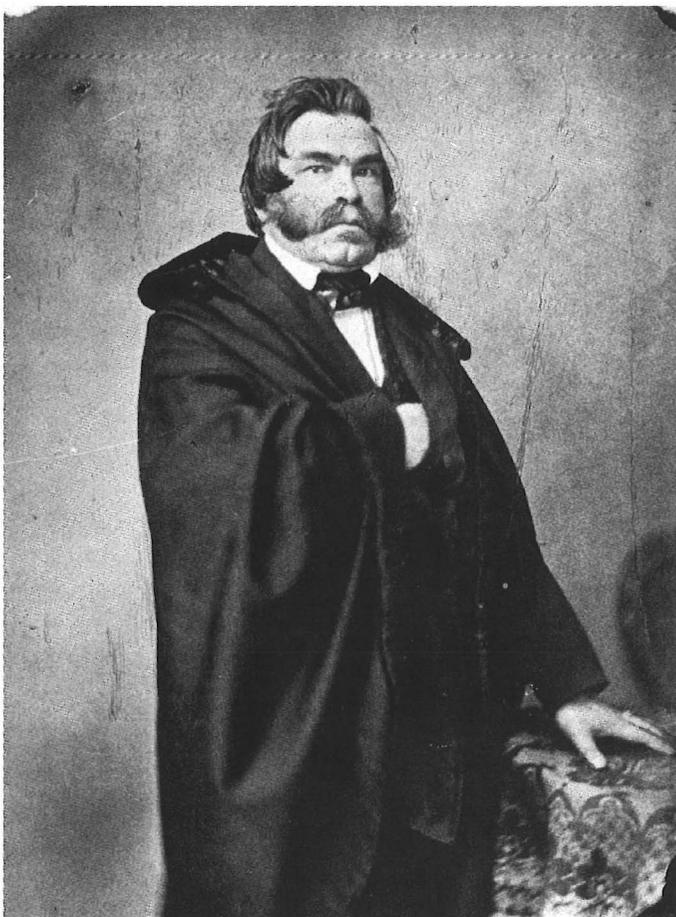
PICTURE 103  
Anonymous photographer, Flora Katarina Ranin, photograph,  
in the 1860's. Private Collection.



PICTURE 104  
Mimi Graf (Berlin), Flora Katarina Ranin, photograph, in the 1860's.  
Private Collection.



PICTURE 105  
R. W. Ekman, Flora Katarina Ranin, oil on canvas, 1869.  
Private Collection.



PICTURE 106  
E. J. Löfgren,  
Fredrik Cygnaeus,  
oil on canvas, 1856.  
The University of Helsinki.  
Picture: MV.

PICTURE 107  
Matthias Radermacher,  
Fredrik Cygnaeus,  
photograph, 1856. MV.





PICTURE 108

E. J. Löfgren, M. A. Castrén, oil on canvas, 1859. The University of Helsinki.

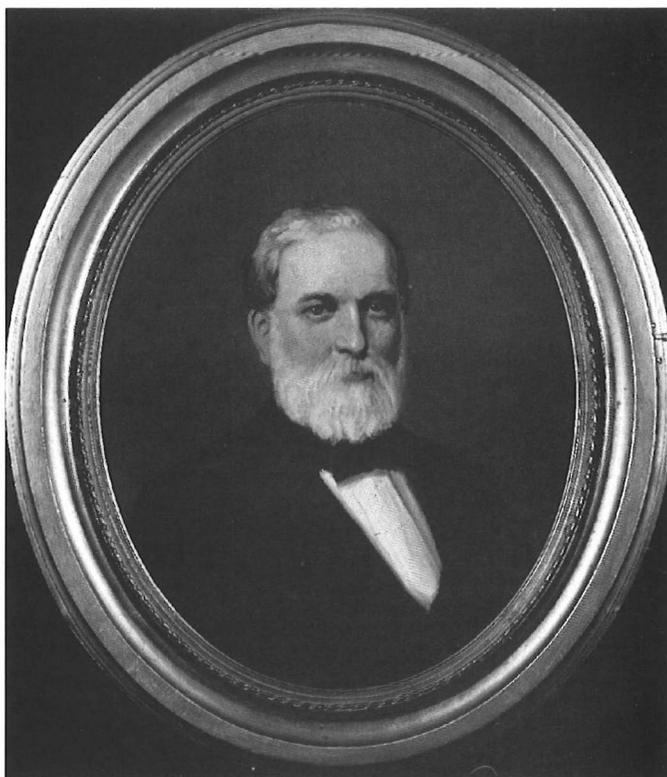


PICTURE 109

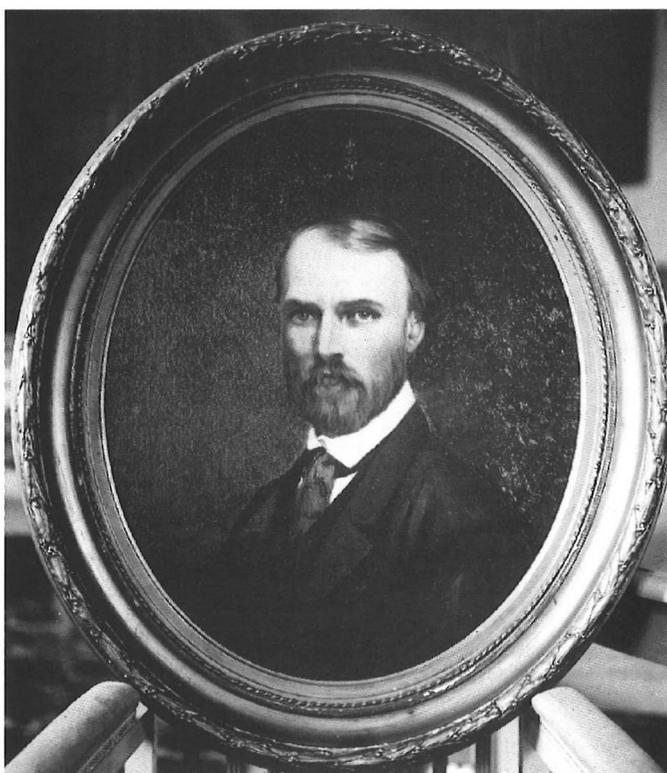
E. J. Löfgren, Alfild Johanna Sofia Sederholm, oil on canvas, 1868.  
Repainted and altered by B. Reinhold. Private Collection. Picture: MV.



PICTURE 110  
Anonymous photographer, Sophie Sederholm and her daughter Alfhild Johanna  
Sofia, photograph, 1866(?). MV.



PICTURE 111  
E. J. Löfgren,  
Matthias Weckström,  
oil on canvas, 1874. HKM:



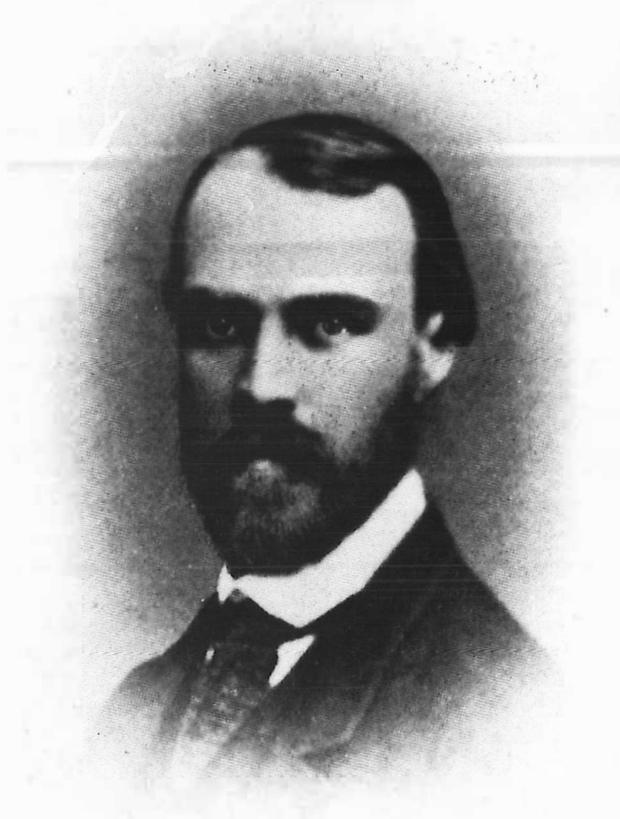
PICTURE 112  
E. J. Löfgren,  
Karl Collan,  
oil on canvas, 1875.  
Helsingin yliopiston  
ylioppilaskunta.  
Picture: MV.



PICTURE 113  
Anonymous photographer, Karl Collan, photograph, c. 1850. MV.



PICTURE 114  
Anonymous photographer, Karl Collan, photograph, c. 1864. MV.



PICTURE 115  
Charles Riis(?), Karl Collan, photograph, c. 1870. MV.



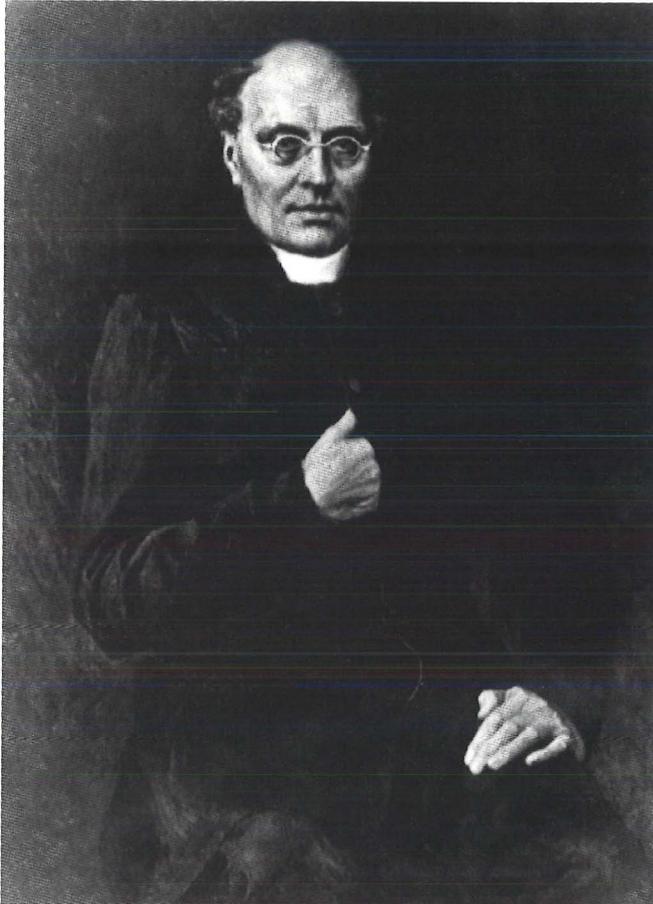
PICTURE 116  
E. Philipsen, J. L. Runeberg, photograph, 1858. MV.



PICTURE 117  
C. A. Hårdh, J. L. Runeberg, lithograph, 1859.



PICTURE 118  
J. C. Lihl, J. L. Runeberg, photograph, 1863. Picture: MV.



PICTURE 119  
Albert Edelfelt, J. L. Runeberg, oil on canvas, 1893.  
The Turku Art Museum.