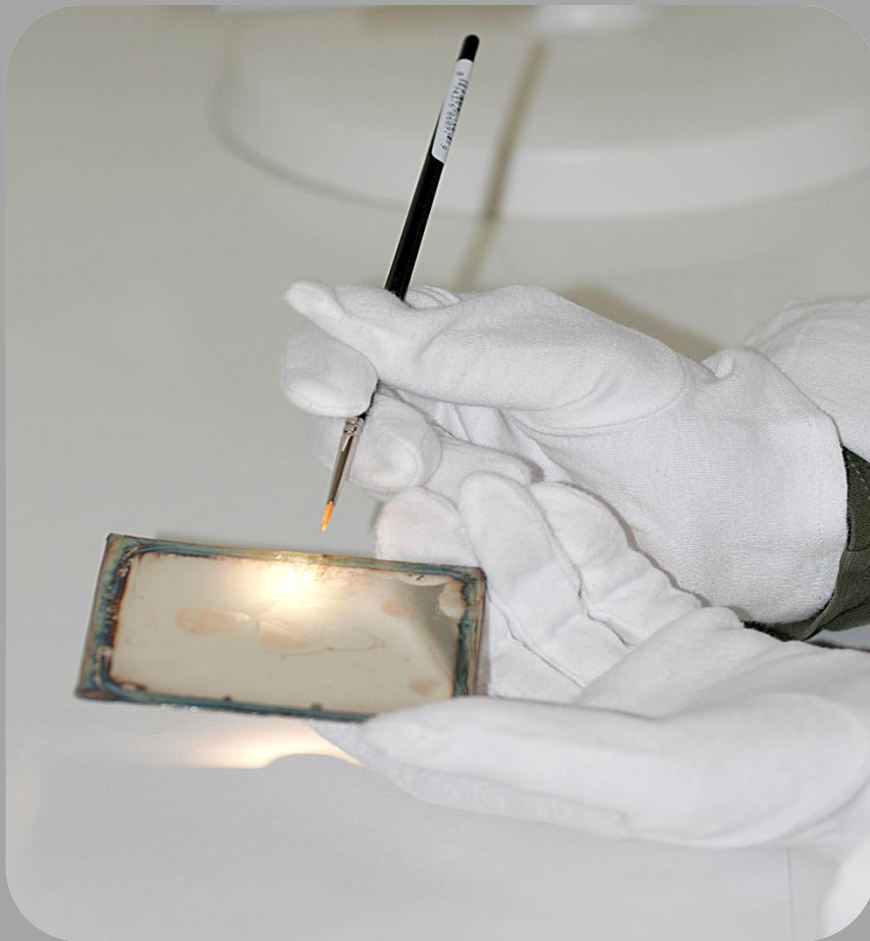


SOLFRID SÖDERLIND

HISTORY OF PHOTOGRAPHY IN THE NORDIC COUNTRIES

A REASONED BIBLIOGRAPHY OF SOURCES
AND HISTORY OF PHOTOGRAPHY RESEARCH
FOR THE PERIOD FROM 1839 TO 1865



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LUND
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DEPARTMENT OF ARTS AND CULTURAL SCIENCES
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About the author: Solfrid Söderlind (b. 1956) is a professor of art museology at the Department of Arts and Cultural Sciences, Division of Art History and Visual Studies, Lund University, Sweden, ORCID-iD <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-4281-7257>

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SUMMARY

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PREFACE

The present reasoned bibliography was published in Swedish in 1990 as part of a series of reports issued by Linköping University, *Arbetsrapporter från Tema Kommunikation*, as number 1990:4 in the series. It gained some diffusion among history of photography specialists in the Nordic countries, but was never printed. In the thirty years that have passed since then, no new and comprehensive reasoned bibliography of the earliest Nordic history of photography has been published. There are therefore reasons for making the bibliography available in a digital format, in Swedish as well as in English.

The survey is structured such that each country is dealt with separately, and the sources divided into contemporary sources, later publications, and research. The presentation of contemporary sources – unprinted sources, commentary in newspapers and periodicals, and manuals from 1839-1865 – still constitutes a current overview from each Nordic country. The presentation of later publications, however, is naturally not current as no literature published after 1990 is included. The infrastructure and focus of research have furthermore changed radically over the past three decades. Rather than updating the bibliography with research literature from the current era, I have chosen to present it as a historiographic snapshot from 1990. That will allow it to serve as a starting point for other research overviews with current assumptions and perspectives.

The value of the present bibliography thus lies in its overview of contemporary sources as well as in its description of a historiographic turning point. It was in around 1990 that the visual medium of photography began to be taken seriously as a research object. Then digitalisation had its true breakthrough, and old collections of photographs began to be made available. Since then several new directions in theorising have altered the research perspective, and old academic boundaries have been erased. Museums and art galleries have devoted a great deal of attention to photography, and public appreciation of the photographic cultural heritage has been broadened. In 1989, when the official 150th anniversary of the invention of photography was celebrated, all of these developments could just about be discerned on the horizon, but not yet be foretold with any precision.

Since 1990 there have been many publications which deal, in different ways, with technical, subject-related, social, artistic and scientific aspects of 19th-century photography in the Nordic countries, and more are on the way. Several major history of photography surveys with a national focus have been published, and a new history of

Swedish photography, publication of which is planned for 2022 and which is overseen by Professor Anna Dahlgren, will include a number of entries on 19th-century photography. These publications also include bibliographies with an international outlook. It should be emphasised, however, that a Nordic outlook is not as common. The present reasoned bibliography can therefore continue to fill a function in facilitating research into the earliest history of photography in the Nordic countries. For this reason, the many shared characteristics of the developments in these countries are compared in a summarising chapter.

In order to complete the bibliographical searches and get an idea of the most important collections of images, I visited museums, archives and libraries in Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden. Printed sources and literature that I comment on here were perused in university libraries in the capitals of each country. Some particularly valuable search instruments merit mention here. These include Niels Dejgaard's *Dansk fotolitteratur 1839-1982. En bibliografi*. (Bibliotekscentralens Forlag 1984), which lists some of the Danish literature referred to below; Bjørn Ochsner's "Kort- og billedsamlinger" (In: *Nordisk Handbok i Biblioteksvesen III*, published by Svend Dahl, 1966, pp 320-331), which deals with image collections throughout the Nordic countries; Eeva Halme's *Suomen valokuvakirjallisuus vuoteen 1970* (Helsinki: Suomen valokuvataiteen museon säätiö, 1973); Helmer Bäckström's "Sveriges fotografiska litteratur 1839-1850" (In: *Nordisk Tidskrift för fotografi* 1926); and the bibliography in Rolf Söderberg and Pär Rittsel, *Den svenska fotografins historia* (Stockholm: Bonniers förlag, 1983).

Lund, Sweden, August 2020

Solfrid Söderlind

INTRODUCTION

What we know about the earliest period of the history of the photographic image, or more generally about the history of photography, is intimately connected with contemporary texts and available literature about the period and the medium. Primary sources and the retrospective commentaries of contemporary individuals form a crucial basis for studies in this area. Research, in turn, is also an activity that changes over time. The current (1990) state of research is based to a great extent on previously published literature. At first glance the subject – seen from a Nordic perspective – appears so limited that the individual contributors' personal interests and views have influenced the state of research a great deal. It is therefore an advantage, when establishing a background for the research currently being carried out, to be informed about sources and literature as well as about researchers and institutions who have contributed to forming the current state of affairs.

But there is a further justification for writing a reasoned bibliography. History of photography research finds itself, in 1989/1990, in a special position: it has been brought into the university sphere and is favoured by public investment in the preservation of image documents and, not least, by an expanded network of international contacts. It is therefore advantageous to be able to summarise what has gone before, in order then to be able to participate with greater knowledge in what is to come.

The Nordic perspective is a given from the outset. Political and cultural ties in the Nordic countries in the mid-19th century were intense and full of paradoxes. Norway was in a union with Sweden, but for sociocultural reasons maintained closer ties with Denmark. Finland was an independent grand duchy within the Russian Empire, but had close ties with Sweden nonetheless. Denmark and Sweden had particularly effective relations. With respect to photographers as a professional group, we can even speak of a Nordic personal union, particularly during the 1840s when travelling photographers dominated, but also during several of the decades that followed, when Mathias Hansen, Axel Lindahl and Daniel Nyblin, among others, changed homeland. During the first of the decades under study, then, the Nordic countries had a partially shared history of photography.

In an international context, linguistic and cultural ties between the Nordic countries remain strong to this day. It is hardly a coincidence that the photography symposia are often held as Nordic conferences. The first Nordic history of photography symposium was held in Borgå

in 1973. Since then there have been Nordic conferences in Jeløy in 1980, in Marienlyst (Helsingør) in 1984, and in Stockholm in 1989. In 1988 there was also a Nordic symposium held at the university in Linköping. Even the International Symposium of the European Society for the History of Photography, held in Gothenburg in the anniversary year of 1989, turned out to be a surprisingly Nordic affair, as most of the delegates were from the Nordic countries.

In conclusion I would like to mention a few factors that should be taken into consideration by the reader. The present bibliography is not intended to be complete; some of the local history studies have been left out when they are of no particular interest, or are referenced as typical examples. Essays in hard-to-find volumes may have eluded me, and other material may have been excluded because I deemed it peripheral or to be repetitions of earlier publications. On the other hand I have strived to understand history of photography research in a very broad sense. This includes, aside from theses and books from university departments, libraries and archives, journalistic writing and articles of a popular science nature, as well as comprehensive exhibition catalogues. It may also be worth mentioning that ethnological and anthropological research do not make much of an appearance in this overview because they deal almost exclusively with images from the period after 1865. Literature published after the summer of 1990 has not been included.

To the reader who reacts to the use of the terms 'photography' and 'daguerreotypy' I would like to emphasise that I use the 'photography' as a generic term that includes all the processes used during this period. By extension, the professional group 'daguerreotypists' is subsumed under the large professional group 'photographers'.

DENMARK

1. Contemporary commentary in newspapers and periodicals, and unprinted sources

It is generally the case that no major, comprehensive review yet exists of advertising and newspaper articles on the one hand, and unprinted sources such as letters and memoirs on the other. What follows is therefore only a sample of how the introduction of photography in Denmark in 1839-40 is reported in the press, and in what collections of letters it can most clearly be seen. Information about the newspaper items has primarily been taken from Ochsner (1949, 1986) and Haugsted (1989).

Danish newspaper commentary on the activities in Paris begin to appear in February 1839, when the *Berlingske Tidende* newspaper, via the French press and special connections, reports the rumour about the meeting of the Academy of Sciences on 7 January. On 2 February the newspaper publishes a short item about this. Georg Carstensen, the editor-in-chief of *Portefeuillen*, a literary magazine, on 17 February published a translation of the French journalist Jules Janin's article "The Daguerreotype". On 23 February a long article was published in the *Handels- og Industri-Tidende* newspaper that was based on Janin's article. H C Ørsted's report of the meeting in Paris and on what it was currently possible to conclude about the nature of the invention appeared in the *Dagen* newspaper's Sunday supplement, *Søndagen*, on 24 February 1839. Ørsted's report was presented as a lecture to the society Selskabet for Naturlærens Utbredelse on 14 February.

The public presentation of Daguerre's working method on 19 August of the same year was reported in *Berlingske Tidende* on 9 September, on which occasion the editors speculated with considerable scepticism about the invention's utility and usability. When Daguerre had carried out his first public experiment on 7 September, the same newspaper reported extensively on this in an article published on 25 September which, by contrast, exudes genuine admiration and enthusiasm.

At around this time the editor-in-chief of *Portefeuillen*, Georg Carstensen, set off for Paris, which he said was in order to form his own opinion about the new invention. Then in February 1940 *Portefeuillen* published an article about an experiment that had taken place in Paris on 13 October, and in which the quality of the pictures was criticised, particularly on account of the many failed plates, but also for the monotony created by the shades of dark grey.

After the first daguerreotypes had arrived in Denmark on 2 October 1839 they were presented at a meeting of Selskabet for Naturlærens Utbredelse the following day. The meeting was then reported in *Berlingske Tidende* on 11

October. When the daguerreotypes were subsequently shown in several other places, *Berlingske Tidende* reported this on 2 and 15 November, and it was also commented on in the *Syd-Sjællandske Avis* magazine, issue no 2.

Daguerre's manual for his new art of reproduction was published at the end of August and in early September of 1839, immediately drawing a great deal of attention. A Danish translation was produced very quickly; at first extracts from the book were published in *Handels- og Industri-Tidende* on 8, 15 and 22 October, and these were followed by a full version in the *Nyt Magazin for Kunstnere og Haandværkere* journal on 31 October and on 7 and 18 November. These translations would have a certain significance for the spread of the new medium in Denmark.

Once a pair of cameras had arrived in Denmark, domestic experiments began to be carried out on a small scale in the autumn of 1839, but it was not until daylight had returned more fully early in 1840 that these activities intensified. *Berlingske Tidende*, for example, reported on 2 March 1840 how a teacher at the Polyteknisk Lærestanstalt, J Hellerung, had taken a picture of Rosenborg Castle in February. The *Fædrelandet* newspaper reported as early as on 31 January, and then also on 22 February, on some daguerreotypes taken by a teacher at the military academy named C J Hoffmann. According to the newspaper, his pictures had then been shown at a meeting of Selskabet for Naturlærens Utbredelse.

Nyt Magazin for Kunstnere og Haandværkere reports on 2 January 1840 that a solicitor in Christiania by the name of Hans Thöger Winther had experimented with "photogeniske Billeder" ("photogenic pictures") even before Daguerre had published his results. On 5 June of the same year the magazine described how a goldsmith in Aarhus, Christian Piil, had succeeded in producing daguerreotypes with the aid only of the magazine's own translation of Daguerre's handbook.

The papers were also keen to report on known improvements of the technique. In April 1840 *Portefeuillen* wrote about O'Shaughnessy's experiments in India with coloured daguerreotypes (autochromes, in fact). Similarly, *Handels- og Industri-Tidende* reported on 1 December 1840 about Hippolyte Fizeau's gold-toned daguerreotypes, which really did constitute a substantial improvement of the durability of the fixed plate.

Beginning in the summer of 1840, travelling foreign photographers start to pass through Denmark. The first was the French travelling salesman Neubourg, who stopped in the country in the summer of 1840. In 1842 Joseph Weninger, a painter of miniatures and chemist from Vienna, arrived. A few people learned to daguerreotype from him, and on 2 August 1842 one of his Danish pupils, a master goldsmith named Mads Alstrup, placed an

advertisement in *Berlingske Tidende* announcing that he intended to open a portrait studio. On 29 August he announced in the same paper that he had opened his studio in the “Pavillon” of the Rosenborg garden. Mads Alstrup was also mentioned in *Altonaer Mercur* in December 1842, on that occasion as an improver of the daguerreotype plate’s resistance to “cleaning”(!).

The newspaper items and articles above are examples of journalistic writing during the first few years, which includes translations of foreign newspaper articles, a few original articles, many short items, and finally some advertisements for portrait daguerreotypy as this began to appear more frequently in 1842. Such advertisements became increasingly common in the years that followed, as more and more new studios were opened. Data on advertisements is most easily obtained by searching in Bjørn Ochsner’s reference work *Fotografer i og fra Danmark til og med 1920 I-II* (1986, see below).

In parallel with the newspaper commentary and articles that eventually become increasingly frequent, comments also occurred between private writers, and some of these have been published. The most famous of these is, without a doubt, H C Andersen, who throughout his life was almost obsessed with the photographic medium in general and the photographic portrait in particular. He was fascinated by the notion of the portrait image as the mirror of the soul and of physiognomy; he eventually became a practised paper silhouette cutter, but never tried to learn to photograph. Instead he was fond of commenting in letters on the photographic portraits that were taken of him. As early as on 5 February 1839 he wrote to a friend, in an oft-quoted letter, about the new invention. This and other correspondence from and to H C Andersen touching on photography is easily accessible through printed editions, primarily Bjørn Ochsner’s specialist study (1957, see below; see also Olrik, I: *Den lille portrætkunst*, 1949, p 133).

An important correspondence between those who actually introduced photography in Denmark, Prince Christian Fredrik (Christian VIII), Christian Tuxen Falbe, and H C Ørsted was presented by the archaeologist Ida Haugsted in the periodical *Objektiv*, no 45 (1989). Haugsted’s themed issue of *Objektiv* also references an exchange of letters between a major and paper cutter (Olrik 1849, p 133), Christian Julius de Meza, and representatives of the military academy in Copenhagen in 1839.

2. Contemporary specialist periodicals

Specialist periodicals about photography were only established in the 1860s, and therefore cannot provide any contemporary testimony, in the real sense, of developments in the 1840s and 1850s. The first to be published was *Fotografisk Museum*, published in Copenhagen by Louis Touscher (1821-1896), a jack of all trades who was active as a xylographer, lithographer, photographer, journalist

and politician. Tauscher's known activity as a photographer only covers the period from 1862 to 1864. *Fotografisk Museum* was only published during 1863, and the Royal Danish Library holds copies of two issues from the second quarter of that year, which has led Ochsner to assume that two issues may only ever have been published. The photographer Jacob Holmblad, educated at Den Polytekniske Læareanstalt, edited and published *Den fotografiske Forenings Tidende* from 1865 to 1868. Den fotografiske Forening (photographic association) was formed in Copenhagen in 1865, but disbanded soon after (cf Ochsner 1962). A photographer from Schleswig and former politician, Peter Christian Koch (Ochsner 1949, p 181), who had set up a portrait studio at no 43, Vesterbrogade in 1865 launched the periodical *Alfen, Tidende for fotografien i Norden*. It ceased publication in 1869, but Koch published it again in 1876-1879, in a new series. *Alfen* ceased publication permanently after Koch's death in 1880. Thus, for a period after 1869, there was no specialist periodical in Danish that could convey news from foreign periodicals. In 1872, therefore, the photography firm of Mansfeld-Büllner & Lassen launched the periodical *Fotografiske Meddelelser. Tidsskrift for Fotografien i Norden*, which was published until the resurrection of *Alfen* in 1876, with the express intent of conveying photography news from abroad. *Fotografiske Meddelelser* was published until 1881, inclusive. At that point *Beretninger fra dansk fotografisk Forening* had been published since 1879. In the 1890s this latter periodical would become a forum for some early historical reviews, and it was the official voice of Dansk Fotografisk Forening, formed in 1879.

3. Manuals

The first manual or instructions for photography to be published was the well-known handbook by Daguerre, which first reached Denmark in private parcels sent from France. Christian Tuxen Falbe, who was in Paris throughout 1839, probably sent six copies of the book to Prince Christian Fredrik. A few copies of the book are preserved in Copenhagen (Kunstakademiet, Kunstindustrimuseet, Universitetsbibliotekets 2. afd., Det Kgl. Biblioteks Kort- og Billedafdeling). The copy extant in Kunstakademiet's library is the edition distributed by Susse Frères around 5 September 1839 (Haugsted 1989, p 18; regarding Susse Frères' edition, see Pierre G Harmant, "Gåtene rundt Daguerre's håndbok". In: *Norsk fotohistorisk Journal* Vol 1, no 3/1976, p 38 ff). As described above, Daguerre's handbook was translated into Danish, at first in extracts in *Handels- og Industri-Tidende*, then in *Nyt Magazin for Kunstnere og Haandværkere* in October and November of 1839. This made the Danish version of Daguerre's handbook one of the first translations, along with the other translations published during the autumn of 1839, into English, German, Spanish and Swedish. This fact contributed to the notably early spread of the book in Denmark and Sweden.

As we have seen, *Nyt Magazin for Kunstnere og Haandværkere* had reported back on 2 January 1840 that Danish-born Hans Thöger Winther in Christiania had conducted experiments with “photogenic pictures” even before Daguerre had made his results public. Five years later Winther published a description of his methods entitled *Anviisning til paa trende forskjellige Veie at frembringe og fastholde Lysbilleder paa Papir* etc. (Christiania 1845). Far from being a set of instructions for a well-developed and usable method, Winther’s small book comes across more as a defence of his copyright and honour. Still, it was sold in Sweden and Denmark and was commented on by several Nordic historians of photography (see below under Norway).

Danish manuals do not really begin to come into their own until the appearance of guides to photography by the pioneering Christian Piil, referred to above. These were published as articles in *Maanedskrift til nyttige Kundskabers Udbredelse* in 1856, under the following headings:

"Photographie. Deels af egen Erfaring, og deels af de bedste derover udgivne Skrifter, sammenstillet af C. Piil." (No 1, 1856)

"Photographie. Det photographiske Apparat." (No 2 1856, pp 17-30).

A few years later Piil published *Photographisk Haandbog* (Cph 1861), a handbook of photography which was then revised in 1864 and published as *Veiledning for begyndende Photographer 2den tildeels omarbejdede Udgave af "Photographisk Haandbog"* (Cph: Schou 1864, 97 pages, illustrated).

A photography handbook was published in Copenhagen in 1865 that was a translation of the German original’s fifth edition. This was L G Kleffel’s book, whose Danish title is *Fuldstændig Veiledning i praktisk Fotografi grundet på de nyeste Erfaringer og Forbedringer tillige med en udførlig Afhandling om Stereoskopi og Panotypi: for Fotografer til Selundervisning letfattelig fremstillet* (translated by Thomas Kaysen, 480 pages, illustrated).

It is likely that German handbooks has been used earlier, in the original language. The Royal Danish Library, for example, has long held such a handbook from 1862, written by Friedrich Bollmann and entitled *Vollständiges Handbuch der Photographie. Ein Lehr- und Nachschlagebuch für Photographen, Litographen, Buchdrucker* (Braunschweig 1862).

A type of manual that began to be published somewhat later is the practical guide directed at the wider public. There is one such manual which, while falling outside of the time frame of the present bibliography, is nevertheless of considerable interest. This is *Hvad man har at iagttage, naar man vil lade sig fotografere* (Odense 1874; 8 pages), which was the first but far from the last

guide for the photographing public, and which furthermore summarised the problems of the photographic process over the past decade.

4. Aesthetics

It would be some time before a national aesthetics of photography emerged. It was not until the mid-1860s that any aesthetic inquiries into photography began to develop. The situation in the Nordic countries was that aesthetics had been established as an academic discipline, and a small number of people were engaged in speculative aesthetics. In Copenhagen a chair in aesthetics had been instituted already in 1790, with K L Rahbek as the first holder. Adam Oehlenschläger held it between 1810 and 1850, and was criticised both as a poet and a teacher during the last two decades of his tenure by the influential arbiter of taste, writer and professor J L Heiberg. In Denmark it would fall to Julius Lange, then a young art critic and later professor, to initiate the legitimacy and paragon debate that had been going on since the 1840s in the countries where photography originated.

A A Disdéri's book *L'art et la photographie* was published in 1862 as a contribution to the debate about whether photographs could be considered art – a question to which Disdéri's answer was an unequivocal 'yes'. A Danish translation of it appeared as early in 1864, but bore a title that rather suggests an academic philosophical treatise in what was an established subject area: *Grundtræk af Fotografiens Aesthetik* (With an introduction by Lafon de Camarsac, translated by H Sødring. Cph 1864, 82 pages).

Julius Lange reviewed the book in *Fadrelandet* on 11 March 1865 (reprinted in *Nutidskunst*, Cph 1873, p 523 ff, and in Asger Jorn [publisher], *Nordens teoretiske Aestetik fra Julius Lange til Yrjö Hirn*, Aarhus 1967, p 81 ff; a brief overview of Lange's approach is provided by Henrik Bramsen in *Kamera og Kunst*, Statens Museum for Kunst: Lommebog 11, Cph 1980). For his part, Julius Lange was happy to recognise photography's considerable significance as an *aid* to art – as a means of reproduction, or in his words “et kommunikationsmiddel fra kunsten til publikum” (“a means of communication from art to the public”). But photography is not in itself art and never can be, even if a photographer makes certain aesthetic considerations when photographing. This can be done by applying “valg og anordning” (“choice and composition”), but the aesthetic possibilities have thereby effectively been spent. Photography can depict nature with greater accuracy and wealth of detail, but art makes a virtue of the necessity to *choose* what is to be portrayed. The artist's hand leads us through this choice to beauty. This a photograph can never do, as it *is not a craft*. Which brings us to the crucial point. For Lange, the current differentiation between art and craft was a bad thing. Art is dependent on craft, “en datter af den simple kvinde, håndverket” (“a daughter of that modest woman, craft”). Well aware of the current order of precedence, Disdéri

asserts that photography is not a craft but something more elevated – in a word, art. But here Disdéri is mistaken, Lange believes. It is precisely because photography is not a craft that it cannot be art. The more mechanical the nature of the process of origination, the farther the result (the image) is from art.

The clarification of his critique that Lange would arrive at a few decades later was not so much about photography in itself as it was about the art that had let itself be guided by it. Rigid, if subjective, classicism remained for him the only guiding principle, and realism in itself a mistaken conceit.

5. Retrospective accounts

Unlike memoir literature in general, memories presented before photographic societies are often more concise in character. It is significant that the 50th anniversary of photography in 1889 brought the beginning of retrospectives of a more informative and systematic nature.

Joint Nordic celebrations of the 50th anniversary of photography were held in 1889 in Christiania, at which the Danish court photographer Jens Petersen was scheduled to present a lecture about the history of photography. Petersen was forced to cancel his appearance, but the lecture was made public in print the same year (see *Fotografisk Tidsskrift* 1890, Sthlm 1890, p 200 ff). At that point Petersen had spent forty-five years as a photographer. When, a few years later, he held a lecture at Dansk fotografisk Forening about the history of Danish daguerreotypy, entitled “Fra Daguerrotypien her hjemme” (printed in: *Beretninger fra Dansk fotografisk Forening* 14 VII, 12 1892, pp 223-233), he had personal experience of just about the entire period during which photography had developed in Denmark. In his lecture he revisited his experiences of the technique and the improvements in the photochemical processes, the portrait studios, and of the portrait photography as an activity.

At around the same time as Petersen, the instrument maker and amateur photographer Japetus Emilius Albrecht Hansen (abbreviated J E A Hansen) published his recollections in two articles entitled “Daguerreotypiens første Fremkomst i Kjøbenhavn”, or “The first emergence of Daguerreotypy in Copenhagen” (*Beretninger fra Dansk fotografisk Forening* 14 VII, 9 1892, pp 161-175) and “Fra Daguerreotypiens Barndom”, or “From the Infancy of Daguerreotypy” (*Beretninger*. 15 VII, 17 1893, pp 332-336). Hansen was the son of the optician Peter Hansen who, together with a professor Christian Smidt, ran the instrument making firm on Silkegade which in 1840 had delivered a flat polished mirror for the military academy’s daguerreotype camera. At that time the young Hansen was only 14 – and therefore had the opportunity to follow the development of the new medium from the very beginning. A few years later, he and an employee of the firm began daguerreotyping in the courtyard

of the firm's premises, and Hansen then continued to pursue amateur photography alongside his profession as instrument maker (Ochsner 1986 I, p 350; Haugsted 1989, p 30).

A simpler form of historiographic retrospective was attempted in the small publication issued by the firm Mansfeld-Büllner & Lassen in Copenhagen, in 1872, with the title *Kort Tilbageblik paa Fotografien i Aaret 1871. Manuskript ved Mansfeld-Büllner & Lassen, Lager af fotografiske Artikler, Kjøbenhavn-Frederiksberggade 12*. The publication describes some older attempts at colour photography, but spends most of its time on the portrait photography formats that were developed in the 1860s. This also includes a certain amount of advertising of specific formats, in particular the Victoria format, launched in 1870 and midway between the Visit and the Cabinet formats in size. Some sections of the text also have the character of a manual in that the practice of printing is related to portraiture work.

6. Historical studies

Danish history of photography research began to be established at the end of the 1940s. In addition to the sources referred to above, historians of photography had another resource, outside of the country – professor Helmer Bäckström at Tekniska Högskolan, the Royal Institute of Technology, in Stockholm. Bäckström was a collector as well as a historian of photography in addition to his tenure in the area of photochemistry and technology. His articles about Swedish and Nordic history of photography in *Nordisk Tidskrift för Fotografi*, published from the end of the 1910s and over roughly twenty years, provided a background for the inventory work that began in Denmark after the war.

A major effort to present the first one hundred years of the history of photography in Denmark was made in 1939, with an exhibition at Charlottenborg in Copenhagen between 27 August and 17 September. The lasting result of this is the exhibition catalogue, *Den store nordiske Fotografiudstilling: Fotografien i 100 Aar 1839-1939*, published by Dansk Fotografisk Forening, Cph 1939 (103 pages, illustrated). Towards the end of the war, in 1944, Bjørn Ochsner (1910-1989) became head of the Royal Danish Library's Kort- og Billedafdeling (Department of Maps, Prints and Photographs), a post he held until his retirement in 1980 (lb Rønne Kejlbo, "Bjørn Ochsner 4.4. 1910 – 24.3 1989", in: *Nyt om fotobevaring* Vol 6, no 2, 1989, p 8). He then worked as a researcher there. It is no exaggeration to say that his many years of research there are central to our knowledge of Danish history of photography until 1920.

In 1949 an anthology was published under the editorship of Louis E Grandjean and Albert Fabritius, entitled *Den lille Portrætkunst i Danmark siden*

1750 (Cph: Gyldendal 1949). It included two contributions that dealt with the development of photographic portraiture in particular. One was “Portrætfotografiets Teknik”, written by Helmer Bäckström’s counterpart at Den polytekniske Læreanstalt in Copenhagen, former professor Christian Winther. The other contribution, entitled “Portrætfotograferne”, was written by Ochsner.

In 1948 Christian Winther had published a specialist history of technology study entitled *Fotografins Udviklingshistorie* (Cph: Belgisk Inport Compagni 1949, 53 pages, illustrated), which presented the prehistory of photography, the earliest photographic methods and subsequent technological developments. He returned to the technological aspects in *Den lille Portrætkunst*. Despite the title it touches very little on the specific technological problems of portrait photography, but deals extensively with the general advances that experiments in optics and chemistry made possible in the 19th and into the 20th century.

Ochsner’s contribution to *Den lille Portrætkunst* foreshadows the inventory of Danish photographers that would later take up much of his time. The article includes presentations of active daguerreotypists and a selection of the most famous photographers from the 1860s until the turn of the century, as well as what Ochsner labels an elucidation of the cultural history of photography.

One reason for printing a presentation of the most important professionals was evidently the questions that the general public asks museum staff, archivists and librarians. No simple system or guidelines for attributions existed at this time. The cultural history part was also pioneering work in that the sources with respect to daguerreotypists in particular were difficult to access, and what had been written about them was often inaccurate. Limiting the ambition for completeness to the presentation of daguerreotypists was necessary for reasons of space, but a large catalogue of all Danish photographers in Denmark during the 19th century would most likely have crossed Ochsner’s mind even at this time. Here Ochsner revisits the first experiments on Danish soil, the travelling photographers, the establishment of portrait studios in the 1840s and 1850s, the breakthrough of *carte de visite* photography and the financial reality of the studio crisis in the mid-1860s, as well as the blow that this delivered to the standing of photographers. This cultural history survey presents, in concise form, a fairly broad spectrum of issues concerning the social and economic role of the new medium.

At the time when Ochsner was beginning his research, the museum administrator Victor Hermansen (1894-1960) had long had an interest in the history of photography. As a culture historian and employee of the National Museum in Copenhagen, he had ample occasion to examine collections of images all around the country. He had studied under the famous culture

historian and museum inspector at the National Museum, Hugo Matthiessen (1881-1957), whose knowledge of photography would have considerable significance for Hermansen (Hugo Matthiessen's life-work has now been the subject of study in the ethnologist Anders Linde-Laurssen's book *Hugo Matthiessens kulturhistorie. Belysninger og baggrunde*. Højberg: Hikuin forlag 1989). Hermansen planned to publish a book on the history of photography, but never finished it. He did, however, publish an article about stereoscopic images entitled "Nogle gamle Stereoskop-billeder" in *Danske museer. Aar bog for Dansk Kulturhistorisk Museumsforening III* (Edited by V Hermansen. Cph 1952, pp 65-82).

In 1956 the first edition was published of what would become Ochsner's magnum opus: *Fotografer i og fra Danmark indtil år 1900* (Published by Landsutvalget for Indsamling af gamle Fotografier). A revised and enlarged edition was printed in 1969, and seventeen years later, in 1986, a considerably expanded edition in two volumes appeared under the title *Fotografer i og fra Danmark til og med år 1920* (Published by Landsutvalget for indsamling og bevaring af fotografier og dokumentarfilm, Cph: Bibliotekscentralens Forlag 1986). This latter edition is an ambitious reference work covering active photographers until 1920, which also includes Danes working abroad and foreign photographers working in Denmark. Considering the striking level of mobility of professional photographers during the first few decades, quite a few names occur here that later appear in Norway, Sweden and Finland. Individual photographers are listed in alphabetical order, and the localities in which he (or in some cases she) worked are included in a separate column alongside the main text. There is also a separate regional list of photographers organised by locality. In those cases where advertisements are known or preserved, a few illustrative examples are reproduced under the name in question. Customary biographical data are also included, as is information about previous professional activities. This last category is of particular interest due to extensive discussions in many countries about the social background of photographers.

Ever since Gisèle Freund's pioneering work *La Photographie en France au XIX:e siècle* was published in 1936, the need for empirical social history studies in the area has become increasingly apparent. Many of the undoubtedly magnificent works on the history and aesthetics of photography published earlier were the fruits of extensive research, but were executed by pioneers breaking new ground. Detailed research was lacking, and some assumptions – such as the generally accepted one about photographers' backgrounds as failed painters – had never really been tested against a larger body of source material. In Denmark, consequently, a preliminary cataloguing would be capable of providing a statistical outcome towards that end. Ochsner attempted to compile data about Danish photographers and presented the result in *Fotografer*

i og fra Danmark. His findings were that 23 % of photographers had previously worked in portrait painting or similar professions, 14 % had been craftsmen painters, 5 % had been bookbinders, 4 % pharmacists or musicians, 3 % barbers, goldsmiths, merchants, lithographers, drapery traders, telegraph operators or watchmakers, 2 % booksellers, dentists, glaziers, engineers, farmers, teachers or carpenters, and 1 % had had other occupations. Unfortunately Ochsner's presentation is incomplete. Whatever reading one makes of it, the above percentage distribution cannot constitute 100 % of the material. If the first percentages are correct they represent a strikingly large proportion of the material under study, and the thesis that photographers to a large extent were failed painters is strengthened. Ochsner, however, maintains that the result constitutes a refutation of that view.

Two additional general works by Bjørn Ochsner will be mentioned here. These are *Fotografi i 100 år set fra et dansk synspunkt* (Cph 1962) and *Fotografiet i Danmark 1840-1940. En kulturhistorisk billedbog* (Cph 1974), both of a more popular character. The latter is first of all an illustrated book, while the former is really a brief (49 pages) general review of the history of paper photography, i.e. the negative/positive process, from 1862 onwards. That book was commissioned by the firm Ad. Goeckers Eftf., which celebrated its centenary on 15 March 1962, and can be compared with the anniversary publication issued in the same year by the firm Budtz-Müller, written by Kristian Seeberg and entitled *100 aar i fotografiens tjeneste. Spredte træk af fotografiens historie, samlet i anledning af Budtz-Müllers Eftf. AS' 100 aarsjubilæum 4 dec. 1962* (Odense 1962).

Ochsner's anniversary book is an instructive review of the breakthrough in Denmark of the various portrait formats and technological innovations. It also includes an account of the unsuccessful attempts by the Danes to create a Scandinavian photographic association in 1879. The Fotografiske forening, formed in 1865, only lasted a few years before being disbanded. The attempts to create an association in 1879 instead led to the formation of Dansk fotografisk forening.

Kristian Seeberg begins his account by going all the way back to the introduction of daguerreotypy in Denmark, relying largely on Ochsner's publications from 1949 and 1956, but also on the then-newly published book from 1962. The author echoes a well-known view when he maintains that the photography profession in its earliest days was pursued by itinerant charlatans and failed painters, as well as local practitioners – a view, as we have noted, that was not shared by Ochsner. It follows from this that it was only at the time of the founding of the Budtz-Müller firm that the photography corps had become consolidated – a statement corroborated with quotes from an enthusiastic newspaper item from 1862. In that year Bertel Christian Budtz-Müller, who worked for the pharmacist Alfred Benzon, opened a shop for

photographic equipment, expanding it the following year by adding a photo studio and a school of photography. It is noted that a few months earlier, in March 1862, Adolf Goecker had opened the first shop specialising in photography chemicals. The value of Seeberg's small volume lies primarily in its focus on a single photographer and firm. In all other respects it substantially follows familiar material, mainly from Ochsner's publications.

Ochsner's other output includes news items, forewords, and articles in specialist periodicals such as "Hvordan fotografien kom till Danmark" in *Objektiv* no 22 1982 (p 7) and "Tidligt dansk fotografi" in *Librannica* 1950 (pp XXI-XXIV), and contributions to international publications, e.g. the foreword to Alexander Alland's book about *Heinrich Tönnies* (New York: Camera/Graphic Press 1978), the article "From expedition to holiday" in the exhibition publication *The Frozen Image* (New York: Abbeville 1982) and *Fotografen aus der Sammlung der Königlichen Bibliothek Kopenhagen* (Essen: Museum Folkwang 1975, 38 pages, illustrated). Ochsner also contributed to the above-mentioned small publication *Kamerakunst* (Copenhagen: Den Kongelige Kobberstikssamling, Statens Museum for Kunst, 1980) with "A few words on photographic technique". A particular publication that appeared during the time period under study was the small book *Fotografier av H.C. Andersen* (Odense: H.C. Andersens Hus 1957), which was written in its entirety by Ochsner. As it is a thematic study, this book also serves as a good example of an analysis and treatment of a limited material.

Portraits of H C Andersen occupy a special place in the Royal Danish Library's collection of photographs. The library has a separate collection of portraits of him, based on what is known as the Laage-Petersen collection. Odense's H C Andersen museum naturally holds a large collection of images made using various techniques, and the publication referred to above had, and continues to have, its particular use as a tool for H C Andersen researchers. But Ochsner's book, which is primarily an annotated catalogue of image types and variants, also provides a detailed description of Andersen's obsession with his own image and his comments about the pictures. Many of his own reflections are included here, and they accompany the pictures like a muffled murmur – alongside some letter replies from his female friends. The sittings sometimes resulted in failure, in his view: "fick mine Photographi-Visitkort; mit Billed er særdeles grimt; noget af det værste jeg har seet" ("received my *carte de visite* photographs; my picture is exceedingly ugly; among the worst I've seen") (1860). But that did not make him desist from regular visits to portrait studios throughout his life. One type of image which emerges from Ochsner's account as a particular category is the posed pictures of Andersen in a reading-aloud scene, surrounded by a bevy of listeners (female members of the Frijs or Melchior families). The book's great value lies in its thematic presentation of a

source material made up of contemporary views on mass-produced images and portrait custom.

After Ochsner

History of photography research has recently been given a broader base in Denmark. Two photography museums have been established – Danmarks Fotomuseum in Herning, which was founded in 1983 and opened to the public in 1984, and the museum in Brandts Klædefabrik in Odense. In addition to these two recent museums, a small private museum of photography mechanics was inaugurated in June 1990 at no 23, Abel Cathrines Gade in Copenhagen, where it displays Arne Reimann's private collection.

The Herning and Odense museums are rather different from each other. The museum in Herning has a large permanent collection centred on the history of the development of photography technology, as well as smaller temporary exhibitions with varied themes. Few of these are documented in catalogues. One of the exhibitions that preceded the opening of the photography museum was "Smil til fotografen" ("Smile at the photographer") at Herning Museum in 1979, which had the ambition of showing parts of the history of photography through the major image collections – the photographer and camera shop owner Sigfred Lövsstad's private collection, the collections in Brede (the National Museum) and the Film Museum, as well as the country's biggest collection of photographs, that of the Royal Danish Library. In connection with the exhibition a facsimile edition of *Opfindelsernes bog* (Vol 6 1880) was published, covering the prehistory of photography, its history and technology. During the anniversary year of 1989 exhibitions included a series of more than 500 child portraits from circa 1850 until the present day, collected by a camera shop owner, Jörgen Gregersen, albeit without any form of documentation. The major exhibition in 1990 deals with Peter Elfelt's photographs from the turn of the century, of royal personages.

The photography museum in Brandts Klædefabrik has a more ambitious approach, and it is therefore likelier that it will come to serve as a centre for history of photography research. Since 1988 the museum has also published a quarterly magazine entitled KATALOG which functions both as a catalogue of the exhibitions and a independent magazine.

Guides to the country's image collections have been published by Landsudvalget for indsamling og bevaring af fotografier og dokumentarfilm, via Hans Berggreen, entitled *En kortfattet vejledning om arkivering af billeder* (Copenhagen: Landsudvalget 1980, 40 pages) and *Billedsøgning - hvor finder jeg billedet?* (Cph: Landsudvalget 1986, 63 pages; 2nd ed 1990).

The Royal Danish Library's image collection, which contains millions of images, serves as the Danish national image collection but is also shown in exhibitions. The extreme rate of growth of the collection (around 40,000 units a year) has contributed to its steadily increasing importance. A report in *Objektiv* no 48 (1989, p 54) stated that discussions were underway for a future museum of photography under the auspices of the Royal Danish Library.

During the anniversary year of 1989 an exhibition was mounted with a selection from the library's own collection of images from the period between 1840 and 1910, as well as with an exposé of the court photographer Peter Elfelt's firm, which was founded in 1890. The library additionally published a book about Elfelt entitled *Kongelig Hoffotograf Peter Elfelt* (Cph: Det kgl. Bibliotek 1989). Henrik Dupont, who is a research librarian at the library, subsequently wrote about Elfelt in two short articles in *Objektiv* no 49 (1990).

Ever since the 1950s collections of local history interest have been described in short articles spread across various periodicals and yearbooks. Facts presented in these contexts have as a rule been reviewed and added to Ochsner's reference work about Danish photographers. It will suffice here to mention some of Ochsner's principal sources, which are: Svend Amholtz, *Gamle Næstved-Fotografer (Årbog for Historisk Samfund for Præsto Amt 1954)* Næstved 1955, pp 105, 216; Carl Svenstrup, *Fra Fotografiens Barndom. Små træk fra Grenaa for et lille Aarhundrede siden. Grenaa 1955*; Knud Dynesen, *De gamle fotografer i Aalborg* (In: *Aalborg-bogen 1967*, pp 7- 65).

New local history studies are being published all the time. Two recently issued volumes from Herning and Kolding can serve as examples of this. *Fotografer i Herning 100 aar 1870-1970*, with a text by the librarian Doris Frederiksen, was published by Historisk forening for Herning Kommune in 1989, and describes Herning's photographers from the outset in 1870. Inge Ladegaard's book *Fotografer i Kolding indtil 1940* was published by Kolding Stadsarkiv in 1989, and is an overview in Ochsner's spirit. Eva Tønnesen's book *Med fotograf Hude gennem det gamle Roskilde. Cand. phil. & fotograf Kristian Hude 1864-1929* (Roskilde: Siglev 1989) falls outside of the time frame of the present bibliography, but is an example of how individual photographers who worked beyond the capital are starting to receive more attention – in this case for Hude's excellent atmosphere photographs. The same applies for Finn Grandt-Nielsen's and John L Laurberg's book *Forbryderbilleder 1867-1870* (Odense 1989), which focuses on Emil Rye's work as prison photographer in Odense.

Dansk Fotohistorisk Selskab has been publishing the periodical *Objektiv* (numbered in absolute numbers since the start, published 3-4 times a year) since 1976. It is characterised by many brief items and

articles about well-known and studied events in the earliest international history of photography – but contributions about Danish events also feature occasionally. In no 44 (Dec 1988) it published a summary of an extensive degree project carried out at Aalborg University Center by Bent Nicolajsen, *Hos fotografen. Fotografiens socialhistorie i Aalborg 1843-1900*. Nicolajsen's project is a thorough revisitation of photographers' lives and work in Aalborg. The following issue (no 45) included Ida Haugsted's study "Lysets Spor", which is a comprehensive specialist study of the introduction of photography in Denmark in 1839 based on a collection of letters, never before analysed, concerning C T Falbe's activities in Paris 1839-40. The basic facts of her study were previously known and have been available in print through Victor Hermansen and Bjørn Ochsner, but by analysing the newly discovered letters in the collection as well as letters from other collections, Haugsted has succeeded in compiling a history of the events of the first two years whose wealth of detail is unmatched in Nordic history of photography research. Haugsted has also published a brief account of her finds in English, entitled "Christian Tuxen Falbe and the Pioneer Daguerreotypists in Denmark", in *History of Photography* 1/1990.

However, major studies of thematic or methodological interest are few and far between. Andre Wang Hansen's book *Fotografi og familie. En historisk og sociologisk undersøgelse af private familjefotografier* (Odense: BIDRAG series, no 5, 1982, 211 pages) was published by Odense University's Department of Literary Studies and deals with portrait photographs of a younger vintage than the period covered by the present bibliography. Wang Hansen employs a social polarisation perspective and regards family photography as an objectionable bourgeois act. His book lacks a consistently applied limitation and analysis of the material.

The photographer and historian of photography Tove Hansen Thage presented her view of the current state of history of photography research in Denmark in connection with a symposium on the photographic image that was held at the Department of Thematic Studies, Linköping University, in November 1988. In her contribution, "History of photography research – Denmark" (*Fotobilden. Nuet i historien – historien i nuet*, Linköping 1989, pp 15-29), she writes that history of photography research today is mainly carried out at universities, Kunstakademiet, and some folk high schools.

She states that this research is inspired by Walter Benjamin, Gisèle Freund, Roland Barthes and Susan Sontag, which implies that photographs are treated as a phenomenon of culture or mass culture,

but also as art, documentation, and a psycho-ideological tool. One peculiarity of the state of Danish research is that teaching in visual communication and perceptual psychology above all occurs within the disciplines of literature studies and Nordic philology. She finds that “Disciplines such as art history and e.g. film studies [...] still show a certain restraint” (p. 26). As a complement to Hansen’s description it should be pointed out, however, that a tendency can now be seen towards a loosening of the boundaries between the disciplines. The photography symposium that was held on 2 May 1990 at Copenhagen University also included participants from the area of art history.

Appendix: Iceland

Circumstances in Iceland have always been very different from those in the other Nordic countries. It is therefore hardly surprising that photography reached Iceland much later, and that once it had it did not become properly established until the 1860s. Inga Lára Baldvinsdóttir’s article “Daguerreotypiet på Island og de første fotografane” (In: *Norsk Fotohistorisk Årbok* 1983/84, pp. 17-23) shows these differences in no uncertain terms. Her article is a translation of her original article “Daguerreotypur á Islandi og fyrstu ljósmyndarnir” (In: *Arbók hins Íslenszka Fornleifafélags* 1982, pp. 141-153) which was part of her paper *Ljósmyndarar á Islandi 1846-1926, I-II* (stencil, 1984; cf. the bibliography in Ochsner 1986).

The article describes the barren conditions for the visual arts in Iceland: during the first half of the 19th century, four (4) artists returned to Iceland after having been trained abroad. The country they returned to lacked, for all intents and purposes, an urban culture. Until 1862, Reykjavik was Iceland’s only city. In 1850 the city had 1,149 inhabitants, while Akureyri had 187. Other than that, the island’s villages consisted of a handful of houses each. From this we can understand that there were no possibilities for portraitists to make a living. The first known portrait painters were therefore three clergymen who were active at the end of the 17th century. Like the foursome that returned to Iceland after having trained as artists, they could only practise their art as a sideline. When photography reached Iceland around 1850, there was consequently no real tradition of portrait painting in the country. This makes the way photography spread in Iceland unique.

The first Icelandic photographer, Helgi Sigurdsson, learned, barely, how to daguerreotype in Copenhagen in 1845-46, returned to Iceland in 1846 and then began, at an unknown date, to take daguerreotypes there. In reality there was no market nor even any interest in portraiture, and

Helgi therefore had to pursue farming for his maintenance. No original pictures by him have been preserved. The same fate befell the country's second photographer, Siggur Pálsson (who worked as a photographer between 1857 and 1862). It was only in 1861 that three photographers established themselves in Reykjavik and were successful in their pursuit. One of them was a Dane while the other two were Icelanders.

Inga Lára Baldvinsdóttir's article is a very rewarding read. When the reader is confronted with the extremely unfavourable conditions that obtained in Iceland at the time when a revolutionary new technology was rapidly being incorporated into daily life on the continent, it is easier to understand what conditions are required in order for a new technology to be introduced into a society. It is also worth noting that objects of history of photography research into the period before 1870 are absent. The history of pioneering photography in Iceland has already been studied to the full extent that appears feasible.

NORWAY

1. Contemporary commentary in newspapers and periodicals

News distribution in Norway follows a similar pattern to that in Denmark. It is worth noting that Danish periodicals constitute a link with the continent. In that respect, Swedish periodicals are of very limited significance. But there are also examples of input from German-speaking countries. Norwegian newspapers' introduction to daguerreotypy has not yet been fully charted for the whole country, even if much work has been done. A thorough review of journalism during the early period can be found in Roger Erlandsen's thesis *Frå kunstnar til handverkar* (1982, see below). His account there thus forms the basis of the following summary.

In Christiania, *Den Constitutionelle* wrote on 4 February 1839, under the heading "Daguerres Fixation af Billederne i camera obscura", about the meeting of the French Academy of Sciences on 7 January. This was the first time that the Norwegian public had the opportunity to learn about the invention in a Norwegian newspaper. For a few months after this, the newspapers contained a certain amount of speculation regarding the nature of the method. Ørsted's lecture at Selskabet for Naturlærens Udbredelse was also reprinted in *Morgen-bladet* in Christiania on 4 March, and in *Den bergenske Merkur* on 9 and 12 April. In *Intelligensblad for Kunst, Literatur, Musikk og Moder*, on 1 March 1839, the paper's editor-in-chief H T Winter – who would begin experimenting with photographic recordings himself – wrote enthusiastically about Daguerre's invention. After the method had been made public on 19 August, *Den Constitutionelle* published a short piece about it already on 2 September, following up on 3 September with a detailed article based on an account in *Journal des Debats* from 20 August. A few days later, on 8 September, *Morgenbladet* published a summary of Arago's speech. Erlandsen points out that the Danish periodical *Nyt Magazin for Kunstnere og Haandverkere* had a certain circulation in Norway. The series of articles by Ursin published in it therefore had some significance for the Norwegian public as well. As mentioned earlier Ursin also published, from the end of October, Daguerre's handbook in Danish translation.

In October 1840 a daguerreotype was shown in an exhibition at Bergen's art association. On 8 October *Bergen Stiftstidende* described the image in very positive terms. The image was of a French motif and was shown by an "optikus", Fredrik Ulrik Krog, who had been travelling during the summer. Shortly thereafter, on 13 October, *Morgenbladet* and *Den Constitutionelle* reported that there existed a daguerreotype of Rosenborg Castle in private ownership in Christiania, which had thus been in the country even before Bergen's art association had exhibited the French daguerreotype. When travelling daguerreotypists came to Norway they followed the normal pattern of

advertising their arrival in the papers. Their itineraries were usually determined by the boat services. Overland travel was very laborious, and it was therefore the customary route along the coastline that determined which cities were visited first. The biggest ports were in Christiania, Christiansand, Stavanger, Bergen, and Trondheim.

The daguerreotypists' advertisements can be tracked to some extent in Bonge's *Eldre norske fotografer* (see below), but as her work is arranged biographically the reader cannot get an overview of the frequency of advertisements in Norwegian cities. Erlandsen's study, on the other hand, allows the reader to follow closely the advertising that featured in Bergen newspapers during the 1850s and 1860s. In this connection we can note that the first daguerreotypist to advertise in *Adresseavisen* (Bergen Adressecontours Efterretninger) was the Danish-Swedish portrait painter Carl Peter Lehmann. This was on 30 November 1843. In view of the fact that Lehmann was first on the scene, it is hardly surprising that his advertisement speaks of presentations of the daguerreotype technique. He had been in Stavanger in the autumn of 1842, experimenting with the daguerreotyping process in front of an audience. In July 1843 Lehmann's advert was followed by Carl Cetti Bendixen's, published in *Adresseavisen* and stating the he would be making portrait daguerreotypes to order between 15 July and 25 November. Carl Neupert, who opened a studio in Christiania on 15 May 1844, arrived in Bergen via Trondheim that same year, and advertised his presence in *Adresseavisen* several times during the month of July.

In the same year that Neupert visited Bergen, a local there began what was probably a quite modest activity as daguerreotypist. This was the above-mentioned Fredrik Ulrik Krog, who pursued portrait daguerreotyping as a sideline for a few years at the end of the 1840s. There are strikingly few advertisements for his work, but he was nonetheless the first daguerreotypist who resided permanently in Bergen.

Krog had competition from 1847 onwards, when several travelling daguerreotypists visited Bergen for longer or shorter periods of time (Knudsen, Mathiasen & Co, Bolin, Wischmann, Mayson). In September 1852 Marcus Selmer arrived in Bergen. Selmer, a Dane, settled in the city and would become the most prominent of the daguerreotypists, and later photographers too, who worked in Bergen during the first few decades. Just like the other daguerreotypists, Selmer advertised in *Adresseavisen*, the city's premier advertising medium. Erlandsen notes (p 79) that a total of 15 daguerreotypists pursued commercial activity in Bergen. Many of them, in particular Neupert, were very frequent advertisers. Newspaper advertisements would continue to be the most important form of publicity throughout this initial period.

2. Contemporary specialist periodicals

Regular publication of periodicals specialising in photography did not occur in Norway until the photography societies – Det fotografiske selskab in Christiania and Amatörfotografen – were founded.

3. Manuals

No Norwegian translation of Daguerre's handbook was made. Instead there were two other translations available – Ursin's Danish translation from the autumn of 1839 in *Nyt Magazin for Kunstnere og Haandverkere* and the Swedish translation that was published by Bonniers förlag in December 1839. As mentioned earlier, *Nyt Magazin for Kunstnere og Haandverkere* in Denmark reported on 2 January 1840 that Hans Thøger Winther in Christiania had carried out experiments with "photogenic pictures" even before Daguerre had made his method public. Winther, a bookseller and publisher who had taken the title "Overrets-Procurator" due to his earlier work as a jurist, was reported to have made his first observations in the area as early as in 1826, and then resumed his experiments in 1839. He had already made a claim to his rights in Norway's *Morgenbladet* in September 1839 (no 277), and then did so again, in the same newspaper, on 28 June 1840.

Winther continued to experiment, and five years later published a description of his three methods whose full title is: *Anviisning til paa trende forskjellige Veie at frembringe og fastholde Lysbilleder paa Papir, som Portraitter af levende Personer, Prospecter efter Naturen, Copier af Malerier, plastiske Gjenstande, Kobber, Steentryk, Blade af Planter etc., deels et til Copiering indrettet Instrument* (Christiania: published by his own firm, 1845). In it he asserted that "Kunsten at kunde frembringe Lysbilleder paa Papir med naturlig Lys og Skygge" ("the art of generating pictures of light on paper, with natural light and shadow") was of Norwegian origin and invented by him. The book was also sold in Sweden and Denmark, and has been examined by several Nordic historians of photography during the present century, in particular Helmer Bäckström (1922, 1923), but also by Rolf A Strøm (1958) and Leif Preus (1980). Bäckström carried out a careful study of Winther's claims to priority in "En jämförande granskning av H.T. Winthers fotografiska metoder" ("A comparative examination of H T Winther's photographic methods", in: *NT/F* 1922) and found that his first method had been preceded by seven other inventors who had published almost identical methods before Winther. He also found that Winther's second procedure matched Talbot's calotyping method, which had been made public earlier, and that Winther's third method, which was not available to Bäckström, was most likely a chromate method. At the time of Winther's invention there were already several known chromate methods.

Winther also published a German translation of his book, entitled *Anweisung auf drei verschiedenen Wegen Lichtbilder, theils mit Hilfe der Cameraobscura, theils mit eines zum Kopieren eingerichteten Instruments auf Papier hervorzubringen und festzuhalten. Eine Erfindung*. This, however, appears not to have attained any spread to speak of (see Leif Preus, NFA 1980, p 52).

4. Historical studies

Analysis of the earliest period of Norwegian history of photography began late. While it is true that by 1933 a major exhibition of its history had been held in Oslo on the occasion of the centenary of Niepce's death (see *Nordisk Tidskrift för Fotografi* of the same year), in which connection some lectures were also held, this initiative appears to have been one among very few. Ten years earlier Helmer Bäckström had contributed to Norwegian history of photography research by publishing three articles about H T Winther in *Nordisk Tidskrift för Fotografi* ("De första pappersfotografierna i Stockholm och H.T. Winthers fotografiska avhandling", in *NTjF* 1922, "En jämförande granskning av H. T. Winthers fotografiska metoder", in *NTjF* 1922, and "Några biografiska data angående H.T. Winther samt ett avtryck av hans dikt över Daguerre", in *NTjF* 1923).

In 1946 Norges Fotografforbund sent out, through Nils Skarpmoen, a questionnaire survey to the country's photographers. Skarpmoen had intended to make a compilation of the responses to the survey, but died shortly after it was distributed, and this work was therefore left undone until Susanne Bonge got to grips with the material thirty years later.

A more systematic study of photographers and their work was initiated by Ragna Sollied, who was a librarian in Bergen (cf Susanne Bonge, p 10 ff). In 1952 she began collecting information about photographers in Bergen. She put together the "Gamle Bergen Portrettsamling" ("Collection of old Bergen portraits") and in 1967 published, privately and on the basis of this collection, a catalogue entitled *Eldre bergenske fotografer*. Her collection work had been done with a somewhat broader outlook, however, and therefore had information about photographers throughout Norway. From 1972 this work was continued by Susanne Bonge, who also worked at UB's Billedsamling in Bergen. In the same year Billedsamlingen distributed Sollied's working paper "Eldre norske fotografer" (1972) to affected persons across the country in order to assemble comments, corrections and additional data. This time the goal was to collect information that was as correct as possible about photographers working in all parts of Norway and – just like Bjørn Ochsner had done – also to seek information about Norwegian photographers working in the other Nordic countries and elsewhere abroad. Bonge compiled the comments that were sent in, and then continued to seek new information in printed sources and correspondence. In 1977-78 she wrote the standard work *Eldre norske fotografer*.

Fotografer og amatørfotografer i Norge frem til 1920 (Bergen 1980) (See the review by Knut Evensen in *Norsk Fotohistorisk Årsbok* 1980, p 92). *Eldre norske fotografer* is organised in the same way as Ochsner's *Fotografer* (1969) and therefore provides ample possibilities for comparisons with the situation in Denmark. In the introduction Susanne Bonge nonetheless emphasises that she has not had the occasion to travel around the country, instead she has relied wholly on printed sources and second-hand statements, circumstances which in her view lower the source value of the material. According to Bonge herself (p 11), the ambition was to present as much material as possible about the photographers' living and working conditions. This includes an account of when photographers changed studios, and which younger photographers took over older firms. She points out that she did not, however, deal with the technical aspect of the photographers' work – the reason being that she did not possess sufficient knowledge in this area.

Bonge notes that the photographers' training varied a great deal. Some studied how the camera and darkroom worked, others worked as apprentices or, from the 1880s onwards, attended courses. The social and geographical conditions in Norway meant that the photographer's profession had to be combined with other professions. In order to support himself (or occasionally herself) a photographer would have to pursue other jobs during six months of the year, or be shifting between jobs continuously. The list of "combination professions" is a long one, and coincides to a great extent with Ochsner's account of the corresponding conditions in Denmark. Another feature that Bonge points to, and which is also shared with Denmark, is the early occurrence of women photographers.

Some additional themes for further research that Bonge mentions briefly in the introduction to *Eldre norske fotografer* are travel, the transportation of equipment, and the equipment in and use of studios. She also recalls the "swindler photographers", who took pictures without having plates in the camera and made themselves scarce after receiving payment. This parenthesis in the history of the profession was predicated on the circumstance that photographers in rural areas were itinerant, and that a sudden departure from a place in itself drew little attention.

The situation regarding preserved negatives and collections of photographs is summarised by Bonge thus: the great fire in Bergen in 1916 destroyed most of the photographers' studios, and bombing by the Germans in 1940 destroyed both studios and archives in Vestlandet, Møre-kysten, in Trøndelag and northern Norway. What had been destroyed no-one really knew, but the creation of the secretariat for photography registration in 1976 brought results only after a few years. Large collections began to be analysed, and older unknown material was uncovered as a result of renewed investigation.

Cultural policy and new literature in the 1960s and 1970s

A seminar at Lysebu in 1971 preceded the establishment of Norsk Kulturråds Fotoutvalg in 1972, which recommended creating a national body for the preservation of photographs. The result was that Sekretariatet for fotoregistering (SFFR) was formed in 1976 with the task of coordinating and assisting in efforts to preserve photographs in Norway. Ever since, the secretariat has been a driving force, allowing Norway to build, in a short period of time, the most progressive archiving and conservation operation in the Nordic countries. Additionally, or rather as a consequence of this, Norway has also set up a digital registration system whose ultimate objective is to achieve as comprehensive as possible a registration of local photography collections all around the country. Despite the Nordic history of photography seminars that are held every few years, and despite the many Nordic conferences for image archivists, photographers, curators and others held in the intervening years, no initiatives of a comparable scope had been taken in the other countries until just recently.

This circumstance also has a certain relevance for history of photography research in Norway. A review of books published in the field shows a tentative beginning during the first years of the 1970s, and a formal establishment of history of photography work in 1974, when Norsk Fotohistorisk Forening was founded. Indeed, in that year alone a number of works with relevance for the field were published – of which more below. In 1980 Sofie Rogstad wrote in *Norske Fotohistoriske Årsbok* about how Norsk Fotohistorisk Forening came about:

“Norsk Fotohistorisk Forening was set up to continue the work of Norsk Kulturråd’s photography committee. This committee was appointed in 1972 to draw up guidelines for photography preservation efforts in Norway. The committee feared that the measures it proposed would be put on hold and eventually forgotten after the committee disbanded. It was therefore natural for members of the committee to work towards creating a more durable body than the committee itself, one that could continue pursuing the matter and put pressure on the authorities to follow through on the proposal. That is the reason why Norsk Fotohistorisk Forening was founded in 1974.”

In 1969 Norges Fotografforbund, the country’s federation of photographers, celebrated its 75th anniversary by holding two exhibitions, one of which was intended to show the development of photography in Norway from its earliest days up to and including the 1960s. Kulturrådet, the Arts Council, supported the project financially, and the federation brought together images from all over the country for the exhibition. These efforts were managed mainly by Bergljot Sinding, photographer at Norsk Folkemuseum.

In connection with the exhibition, the federation published *Norsk Familiealbum*, with a text by curator Else Margarethe Boye and Finn P Nyquist (Oslo: Grøndahl & Sons Forlag 1969) (See a review in *Norsk Fotohistorisk Journal* no 5 1976). In its foreword, the federation observes that it is “deplorable to note that irreplaceable images from photography’s earliest days in our country have been lost. Entire archives have been thrown away, or have been left to slowly self-destruct as the plates are not maintained in the right way”. Even at this point, then, there is an explicit dissatisfaction with the archiving situation and the lack of insight into the photographic image’s value as a historical source. The founding of a national photography archive, Statens Fotoarkiv, is then proposed. Thus *Norsk Familiealbum* can be seen as a polemical document and an attempt to show the breadth of the material.

Norsk Familiealbum is divided into lengthy sections, entitled “The photograph is born”, “Photography becomes fashionable”, “The photographer steps out”, and lastly “The image lives”. All of these, except the last, deal with photographs from the 19th century. The first section presents Hans Thøger Winther as Norway’s first photographer, referencing Rolf A Ström’s article about Winther’s photographic merit in *Norsk Teknisk Museum’s* yearbook *Volund* 1958: “Hans Thøger Winther. Norway’s first photographer and the founder of the Norwegian illustrated press”. Winther’s work had of course been thoroughly examined by Helmer Bäckström in several articles back in the 1920s and was well known to the initiated, but in *Norsk Familiealbum* it is presented to a wider audience. “Photography becomes fashionable” deals with the spread of portrait photography, taking an expression borrowed from Axel Romdahl, “the bourgeoisie’s favourite art”, as its leitmotif. In this connection it is noted that very little is still known about the earliest years of photography in Norway. Sollid’s study of Bergen photographers was, in 1969, still really the only such study available, while the text’s authors complain about the fact that a five-volume history of Norwegian culture that had been published contained not a word about photography. Instead, a historical development is traced here over a few pages, from the launch of daguerreotypy in Bergen and Christiania, over portrait photography’s set pieces and props, *cartes de visite* with individuals and groups, to the definitive emergence of amateur photography at the end of the century. The strengths of *Norsk Familiealbum* are its presentation of material and its demand for continued action in research and preservation issues.

The beautifully designed and excellently printed book *Speilet som busket. De foerste fotografer i Horten* with a text by Rolf Baggethun (Published by Preus fotohistoriske samling, Horten 1974) is nevertheless a feeblere product overall. It is a local history study, a monograph about the photographers in Horten until the beginning of the 20th century, and as such it has some value. Sadly, the text is marred by a lack of precision in relating facts and ideas. The absence

of research into the country's earliest history of photography is noticeable in the book's introductory section. As is the case with *Norsk Familiealbum, Speilet som busket* lacks a critical apparatus and a list of references, and must therefore be regarded as a popular product.

The eventful year of 1974 also saw the publication of a few other books worthy of mention here. To the collaboration between Ragna Sollied and Susanne Bonge was added professor Per Jonas Nordhagen (then a docent), resulting in an edition of *Photograf M. Selmers Bergensbilder* (Bergen: B. Giertsens forlag 1974) that is a follow-up of Sollied's Bergen studies, in which Marcus Selmer comes across as a central figure. Another book of local history of photography that was published was Kjell Jacobsen's *Bilder fra det gamle Mosjøen* (Mosjøen: Joh. Petersen bokhandel 1974). And in the same year Norsk Kulturråd published *Fotoregister og kortfattet fotoleksikon*, edited by the previously mentioned Bergljot Sinding and Jac Brun, both photographers.

The Arts Council's continuing work on photography preservation issues would, after the formation of SFFR, eventually be followed up by the secretariat in guides such as *Behandling av eldre fotografier: teknisk veiledning* (Oslo: SFFR 1979) and Liv Hilde Boe's *Veiledning i innsamling, registrering og arkivering av eldre fotografier* (Oslo: SFFR 1980). A Nordic conference on conservation issues at Voksenåsen in Oslo, in the autumn of 1982, resulted in SFFR's report *Fotobevaring*, edited by Morten Løberg (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget 1983). The secretariat's latest publication in the area, *Fotobevaringsboka* (Oslo: SFFR 1988) was written by Roger Erlandsen, Jesper Stub Johnsen, Kåre Olsen and Morten Løberg.

Not long into its life, Norsk Fotohistorisk Forening made a first attempt at publishing a periodical. With Robert Meyer – chair of the association in 1976 – as editor-in-chief, *Norsk Fotohistorisk Journal* was published by Ikaros Forlag in 1976, and was later renamed *Nordisk fotohistorisk journal*. The periodical was published under its new name in 1977 and 1978, and then ceased publication.

The express ambition was to publish four to six issues of *Norsk Fotohistorisk Journal (NFJ)* a year – one issue after each meeting of Norsk Fotohistorisk Forening. In 1976 five issues of the periodical were published, in which some familiar themes from the earliest history of photography were dealt with, including Daguerre's handbook in Scandinavia, the "enigmas" around Daguerre's handbook, and some articles about the history of daguerreotypy in Denmark, Norway and Finland. At around the same time Robert Meyer wrote an article for the recently started periodical *History of Photography* (Vol 1, no 1 1977) about the controversial daguerreotype of Bertel Thorvaldsen.

Among the material in *NFJ* that concerned the early history of Norwegian photography was an article by Torleif Lindtveit, director of the Norsk Teknisk Museum, about “History of Photography and Norsk Teknisk Museum”. The article dealt with the history of photography exhibition that was organised by Norsk Teknisk Museum, Kamera Klub and Oslo Fotografforening at Ingeniörens Hus in Oslo on 22-30 September 1933 (*NJF* no 2 1976). Lindtveit describes how history of photography lectures were arranged in connection with the exhibition. The four issues of the periodical published in 1977-78 included some pieces written by Pär Rittsel, who was seeking new contributions towards the history of daguerreotypy in Sweden – referring to the circumstance that research had been at a standstill after Helmer Bäckström.

Norsk Fotohistorisk Journal no 5 1976 mentioned the fact that Norsk Fotohistorisk Forening had instituted Norsk Fotografisk Museum at a meeting on 31 August of the same year. An interim board had been elected, and the first donations to the museum had then been received. On 3 June 1976 Leif Preus had opened his private history of photography museum in Horten outside Oslo, which was also reported in an item by Robert Meyer in *NFJ* no 3 1976. Preus’ museum included a large section of technological history as well as a gallery for showing contemporary photography. It also had an image collection and a comprehensive international specialist library accessible to researchers. The library in particular made the museum an exceptional institution in the Nordic countries from the point of view of research.

The founding of Norsk Fotografisk Museum in August of the same year thus has to be seen as an attempt to plan a publicly owned history of photography museum as opposed to the private one. Discussions about a public museum have since been held at irregular intervals, but have not led to any result. Instead, Preus’ museum has gained considerable significance for Norwegian historians of photography and those with a specialist interest, and this is in itself one of the reasons why the discussions among historians of photography about a new museum have become polarised over the years – reaching a peak in the spring of 1986, when Robert Meyer declared in a TV broadcast that Norway had no history of photography museum and that government investment in photography collections and archive matters had not been forthcoming. This statement set off an animated debate which was also echoed in the specialist press. In this connection it was noted that a country-wide effort in photography preservation issues was underway, that Norway was the leader among the Nordic countries in this respect, and that the advent of Preus’ museum of photography had reduced the urgent need for a central, international history of photography museum – a need which could moreover, in view of the smoothly running work on local history collections, be challenged. (For a more detailed overview of the issue, see e.g. *Norske*

Fotohistorisk Journal no 3 1976; no 5 1976, pp 102-103; *Nytt om Fotobevaring* no 2 1986; no 3 1986; *Norsk Fotografisk Tidsskrift* no 3 1986.)

At the end of 1978 *Norsk Fotohistorisk Journal* foundered – reportedly for financial reasons above all (See *Nytt om fotobevaring* no 2 1985, p 4) – and Norsk Fotohistorisk Forening was left without its own periodical. What had happened during these years was described by Sofie Rogstad in *Norsk Fotohistorisk Årsbok* 1980 (p 5):

”Kulturådet’s photography committee presented its proposal in May 1976, and this led to the establishment of ’Sekretariatet for fotoregistrering’. In June of the same year the country’s first photography museum opened in Horten. In parallel with these events, the association was working to institute a Norwegian Museum of Photography with the associated advisory services. Both the secretariat and the museum of photography must have felt that the association was turning into a kind of cuckoo in the nest that was the small history of photography core laboriously being built. The association ended up in the unfortunate situation of having its good intentions thrown into doubt. In the long run no association can function well when it becomes subject to doubts of this kind. The association’s activities ceased, but it did not die. This was amply shown when, in 1980, it did not just hold regular meetings for its members, but also arranged a big Nordic history of photography symposium.”

An account of the association’s first ten years, written by Jac Brun, was featured in *Nytt om fotobevaring* no 3 1985. This writing of history emphasises the association’s background in the growing interest for preservation issues and the contemporary need for experience exchange between historians of photography. The proposal for forming an association was first discussed by Olso Fotograflaug at a meeting on 15 January 1974. Nothing much happened during the association’s first two years, according to Brun, but the “general assembly” on 16 February 1976 was attended by 60 people. Jan Wiig, who was chair of the interim board, was succeeded by Robert Meyer. During the years that followed the membership grew to around 200.

For a short time the association also published a members’ newsletter called *Photohistorica*, after which Meyer published the previously mentioned *Norsk/Nordisk Fotohistorisk Journal*. Brun also lists the association’s various chairpersons after 1980, with Liv Hilde Boe, Sofie Rogstad, Leif Preus, Jac Brun and Truls Teigen, in that order (after which Kåre Olsen and Anne Thommesen were chairs in 1987 and 1988, respectively).

The 1980s

The second Nordic history of photography symposium was arranged, as mentioned, by the association in 1980, this time with 67 attendees at Refsnes Manor in Jeløy (see Jac Brun, *Nordisk Fotohistorisk Symposium 1980*. Noen hovedtrekk fra det 2. nordiske fotohistoriske symposium, som ble avviklet på Refsnes i oktober, *Norsk Fotohistorisk Årbok 1980*, pp 88-91. The symposium also produced two resolutions: one with demands for a higher education programme in photography, the other with demands for history of photography programmes at universities in the Nordic countries as well as an associated statement in support of the existing programme at Lund.)

The talks were compiled and published under the title *Kan vi stole på fotografierne? Foredrag holdt på Nordisk Fotohistorisk symposium i Jeløy 1980* (*Can we trust the photographs? Talk given at Nordisk Fotohistorisk symposium in Jeløy 1980*, Published by Norsk Fotohistorisk Forening, Oslo 1981). The Norwegian contributors included Susanne Bonge, Leif Preus and Roger Erlandsen. Erlandsen was working at University of Bergen's history department on a master's thesis about the Bergen photographers and their pictures during the period 1840-1865. His talk at Jeløy was entitled "Skrankar fototeknikken satte for fotografane 1849-72. Illustrert ved Marcus Selmers arbeid med ein nasjonaldraktserie" ("Limitations set by photo technology for photographers 1849-72. Illustrated by Marcus Selmer's work on a national costume series"). In it he reviewed the mark that then-current photo technology made on the images, as well as the limits imposed by technology on what could be photographed. These limitations, Erlandsen maintained, could be related to professional photographers' existential possibilities. Each expansion of the technological limits also increased the market and the potential customer base.

This is exemplified with Marcus Selmer's series of photographs of national costumes, which were originally done using the daguerreotype technique during the second half of the 1850s, but could not compete with existing lithographic series due to the production costs. It was only with the negative/positive technique (the wet plate method) that he could process his daguerreotype plates by photographing them, draw a background and mount the figure with the new background, and finally photograph the result anew, in *carte de visite* format. This allowed Selmer to market a powerful series of national costume motifs at an affordable price, and thus compete with the lithographers.

1980, then, was in many ways a memorable year for history of photography research in Norway. The conference in Jeløy contributed to this, as did Susanne Bonge's reference work *Eldre norske fotografer*. Additionally, a yearbook

was planned for Norsk Fotohistorisk Forening which has been published about every two years since then.

Norsk Fotohistorisk Årsbok and other periodicals

The first yearbook, *Bildene lever!* (1980) includes an article about photographs as source material for local history, by Einar Niemi. This, as it turns out, is representative of a significant theme in the yearbooks.

Many of the studies published here are about provincial photographers or landscape photography and its antithesis, “cityscape” photographers, all in keeping with the distinction, particularly important in the Norwegian context, between urban culture and rural culture. A series of contributions touch on this theme, such as Susanne Bonge, "Fotografer på landsbygden i gamle dager" (1980), Leiv Brynjulv Aartun, "Knut Jonson Heddi. Bygdefotograf, spelemann og folkeminnensamlar" (1980), Per Jonas Nordhagen, "Axel Lindahl (1831-1896). Fotografier av norsk kultur og folkeliv" (1983/84), Roger Erlandsen, "Hans Krums Trondheimsprospekt fra 1854" (1983/84), Tore Westhrin, "Tidlige fotografer i Kragerø" (1983/84), Roger Erlandsen, "Mathias Hansens Norgesbilde frå sommaren 1856" (1985/86), Eli Moen, "Vues de Norwege. Modum Blaafarveverk 1864/65" (1985/86) and Neil Morgenstern "Knud Knudsens brefotografi" (1985/86).

Another recurring theme in the yearbooks is conservation issues, which will not be dealt with in any detail here. There is also a close connection between preservation issues and image collections, which are first presented in the 1981/82 yearbook, where some of the largest institutional collections are described.

Studies of photography in the pioneer era, i.e. of the photographers and images of the first few decades, are fairly few. The first yearbook contains a brief article by Leiv Brynjulv Aartun entitled “Skal da Efterverdenen ei faae vide at jeg var?” (“So will posterity not get to know I existed?”) (1980, pp 44-47), about the poet A O Vinje’s daguerreotype portrait from about 1850. The background to the article was an appeal by *Aftenposten* in 1950 to its readers, for them to contribute information about the oldest daguerreotypes in Norway. This effort led to information about portraits from the 1840s and about some other historical sources being unearthed, including a poem – probably A O Vinje’s first – “Medens Daguerreotypisten afgnider et mislykket Portrait” (“As the daguerreotypist rubs out a failed portrait”). The poem had been published in 1863, at which time it had two stanzas. *Aftenposten*’s appeal, however, produced a version that was five verses long and was entitled “Ved et

misslykket Daguerreotypi-portræt av mig selv” (“On a failed daguerreotype portrait of myself”).

A longer article by Liv Hilde Boe dealt with the *carte de visite* in a broad context: “At lade sig forevige. Visittkortet – det populære fotografi 1860-ca 1920” (“Having your picture taken. The *carte de visite* – popular photography 1860-ca 1920”) (1981/82, pp 34-49). Her article was born of SFFR’s registration efforts of *carte de visite* collections, and can therefore be seen as a general review of historical, social and economic facts about *cartes de visite*, for the benefit of anyone involved with collections of this kind. Besides the customary historical facts, she also mentions the significance of the *carte de visite* portrait as an element of a communication process between sender and recipient, stating that many have approached the matter from this perspective. However, she only refers to one source, Henning Hansen’s paper *Fotografi og familiealbum som mytisk fascination* (Konstvetenskapliga institutionen i Lund, 1981, stencil). The intended effect of carefully prepared dress, gestures and poses is also dealt with theoretically, seemingly with the aim of emphasising the potential knowledge source that the image material constitutes. Liv Hilde Boe’s article precedes Roger Erlandsen’s master’s thesis about the photographers in Bergen (1982) which delves deeply into these matters in relation to a body of concrete source material.

The same yearbook, 1981/82, also contains an account of the court photographer Ludwik Szaciński’s career in Norway, written by Kristian Hosar. It gives an overview of Szaciński’s work from the mid-1860s, via the commission to photograph Charles XV on his deathbed, to his position as Oslo’s (Christiania’s) leading portrait photographer, and the portraitist of choice of the upper classes, until his death in 1894.

The 1983/84 yearbook opens with some notes by the new leader of SFFR, Roger Erlandsen. He points in particular to the need for specialist studies in the history of photography area. At the time, Pär Rittsel and Rolf Söderberg had just published *Den svenska fotografins historia* (Skövde: Bonniers 1983), and Erlandsen wanted to underline the importance of charting the historical material also because it would increase the significance of photographs as a historical source – a problem that had been dealt with directly or indirectly by several Norwegian historians of photography, particularly in the 1981 Jeløy report and by Einar Niemi in *NFÅ* 1980. It is not clear whether Erlandsen is critical of Söderberg and Rittsel’s representation of the history of photography in Sweden. A reflection on the actual material underlying the account would have been of interest, especially considering Pär Rittsel’s call in *Nordisk Fotohistorisk Journal* no 1 1977 (p 30) for new history of photography research into the Swedish material. Instead Erlandsen shifts immediately to the

Norwegian context, saying that “Når det gjeld det norske fotohistoria kjenner vi knapt grunntrekka” (“When it comes to Norwegian history of photography we hardly even know the basic features”) – which, considering Erlandsen’s then-recently presented research, must be seen as an exaggeration. He points instead to the yearbook’s significance for a steadily growing body of knowledge about Norwegian circumstances in the past.

The 1983/84 yearbook also includes some studies that deal with several different areas of image history. On the earliest history there are three articles that should be mentioned here – these are the two previously mentioned studies by Tore Westhrin (“Tidlige fotografer i Kragerø”) and Roger Erlandsen (“Hans Krums Trondheimprospekt fra 1854”), and Per Torgersen’s article “Ibsen og fotografiet”, which is an examination of the two motifs in Ibsen’s *Peer Gynt* and *The Wild Duck* that relate to photography. Torgersen finds that Ibsen is probably guilty of some errors in his representation of the photographic process, but asserts that this is all part of poetic licence. Westhrin’s study is, as the name states, an overview of photographers, including amateur ones, active in Kragerø between about 1850 and 1915. A comparison with Baggethun’s book from eight years earlier, about photographers in Horten, shows that meticulousness and a simple form for listing source material reliably with a critical apparatus had evolved in Westhrin’s article. Indeed, in the period between these two examples of local history studies, additional reference literature and studies of local history had been published, which facilitated a more satisfactory manner of presentation. Erlandsen’s article was intended to be the first in a series of articles “Frå fotografiets barndom i Trondheim” (“From photography’s infancy in Trondheim”); the article has a different title in the table of contents from the one that heads the text). It is thus a part of Erlandsen’s work on describing the history of photography in Norway – in particular developments in Norwegian cities. The first daguerreotypist, Carl Neupert, arrived in Trondheim as late as in 1844. A further few daguerreotypists came and went before Hans Krum arrived for the first time in 1853, subsequently returning the following year. In the article Erlandsen describes Hans Krum’s recently (autumn 1983) retrieved daguerreotypes. He notes that they are the oldest preserved photographic representations of the city of Trondheim, and that the images in terms of genre belong to the *veduta* tradition of painting.

The 1985/86 yearbook (C. Huitfeldt Forlag 1987) includes a companion piece to the article about Hans Krum. In this piece Erlandsen examines “Mathias Hansens Norgesbilde frå sommaren 1856”, a theme of joint Nordic interest which was also briefly touched on in Erlandsen’s thesis. Hansen’s position as the first Swedish-Norwegian court photographer and the profession’s place in terms of status have not yet been fully analysed, but

Erlandsen here describes four of Hansen's photographs, retrieved from the university library in Trondheim and the city archive in Bergen, respectively. The pictures were taken during Crown Prince Charles' journey in Norway in 1856, and were used as originals for xylographs in "Illustreret Nyhedsblad". The relationship between "Fotografi, xylografi og den illustrerte presse" ("Photography, xylography and the illustrated press") is also the theme of an article by Kåre Olsen, complemented by an interview with the typographer Sigurd Heiestad, who had published *Bildet i boken* in 1945, in which he also charted part of the history of xylography in Norway. Olsen's article demonstrates the lack of research on Norwegian material; only a few fundamental features of its development – in itself hardly remarkable in comparison with other countries – are known.

The 1986/86 yearbook also includes some articles about early local photographic activities. Eli Moen presents a series of stereoscopic images by Karl Gercke, a German, from Modum Blaafarveverk 1864/65, Britt Holsen writes about Peder Christophersen, a tailor who may be the author of some preserved photographs from Lofoten in 1865; and Kjell Skorgevik writes about "N.T. Nielsens virke i Ålesund i 1860-åra" – a follow-up to Skorgevik's book *Fotografer i glassplatenes tid* (Ålesunds museum 1985), which is an overview of photographers in Ålesund until about 1930. Neil Morgenstern's article about "Knud Knudsens brefotografi" from 1864 and onward strictly speaking falls outside of the framework for the present bibliography, but is nevertheless worthy of mention as it prefigures the large volume on Knudsen, published in 1988, by Åsne Digranes, Solveig Greve and Oddlaug Reiakvam and entitled *Det norske bildet: Knud Knudsens fotografier 1864-1900* (Oslo: Grøndahl 1988) and reviewed in *Nytt om fotobevaring* no 4 1988.

The 1987/88 yearbook was published in the autumn of 1989 with the heading *Bildet lever!* ("The image lives!") – a reference to the first yearbook, whose heading was "Bildene lever!". The yearbook classification had been removed, and it was explained that this was because of the difficulties in obtaining sufficient material for regular publication. This fifth volume was instead given the series name *Bidrag til norsk fotonhistorie 5* ("Contributions to Norwegian history of photography 5"). Recasting it as a series of books did not, however, change its design or the nature of its contents. Two of the contributions are about photography in ethnographic work, one describes a provincial photographer, and another two deal with collections of photographs in archives. Finally Roger Erlandsen presents, in the article "Det 'verkelige' bild. Panorama, cosmorama og fotografi i Bergen 1800-1870" ("The 'real' image. Panoramas, cosmoramas and photography in Bergen 1800-1870"), material that he had dealt with in part in his master's dissertation. This is about the introduction and use of illusory images of various forms. Erlandsen begins

with a brief polemic against Peter Galassi, who in Erlandsen's view regards the emergence of photography against the background of the development of the artistic image in the West, and therefore forgets that the emergence of the photograph must be related to the entire image tradition that existed at the beginning of the 19th century. This includes the popular image forms, in particular those that went in for successful illusions of reality. The cosmorama, the panorama and the cyclorama were all related to each other, but required external arrangements of varying magnitude, and these were what determined the extent of their spread. For a time, travelling presenters would seek out the market provided by the cities, touring them one by one. The panorama – which required a special building – was reserved for the bigger cities, and it is therefore notable that the inhabitants of Bergen also had the occasion to view the panorama. The lanterna magica and the stereoscope were inventions that allowed for greater spread, but the lanterna magica was nevertheless demonstrated against payment at the end of the 1850s. The declining popularity of illusion media towards the end of the century can, according to Erlandsen, be ascribed to the rapid development of photography and its use in stereoscopes and lantern slides.

Through its yearbook, Norsk Fotohistorisk Forening has provided a stable vehicle of publication for historians of photography within the country. Another, much more modest vehicle for those interested in history of photography emerged when SFFR began to publish a newsletter entitled *Nytt om fotobevaring* in 1984. It is published four times a year and is since 1985 also the membership gazette for Norsk Fotohistorisk Forening. In other words SFFR and NFF currently have a close collaboration.

SFFR's newsletter will be very briefly commented on here. It should be seen as current events magazine, for those interested in history of photography and for members of Norsk Fotohistorisk Forening, as well as an information leaflet for use by image archives of various kinds. *Nytt om fotobevaring* has kept its format and design ever since its inception in 1985. That was the year in which Norsk Fotohistorisk Forening became co-publisher, and the newsletter has since then included regular accounts of the association's activities including talks, meetings etc. The newsletter is also an important source for anyone working with preservation issues and digital registration of photography collections. It regularly presents new technology and relevant new literature in the field. Conferences and symposia are also reported on, which disseminates information about new material to those who were unable to attend as well.

Among generalist periodicals, *Syn & Segn* is worthy of mention. A special issue on photography was published in the spring of 1988 (no 1-2), in which a large number of writers had written short articles. The scope here was

somewhat expanded compared with *Norske Fotohistoriske Årsbok*, as the special issue did not focus exclusively on historical studies. For that reason, it includes articles about contemporary photography (advertising, press images) and the electronic image. Still, themes familiar from the yearbooks are also represented. The exhibition “Norske landskap 1850-1914” at Høvikodda in 1987 had reignited interest in the emergence of a national landscape image. In an interview with Roger Erlandsen, therefore, the editor of *Syn & Segn*, Ottar Grepstad, presented the various views that had been the subject of analysis in connection with the exhibition. The interview is a recapitulation of the contributions by the foremost photographers in the area: Mathias Hansen, Marcus Selmer, Marcus Thrane, Axel Lindahl, Knud Knudsen, and Anders Beer Wilse. Peculiarities of the conceptual and social history of landscape photography are also touched on in the discussion: the postcard and tourism, the *voyage pittoresque* tradition, and the significance of strangers for the domestic attitude towards the landscape. Erlandsen himself contributed to the special issue with an article about “Det fotografiske visittkortet” (“The photographic *carte de visite*”, which references his master’s dissertation.

Frå kunstnar til handverkar

The situation for history of photography research in Norway has been different from that in Denmark. It began later in Norway, and therefore does not have a figurehead of the kind Bjørn Ochsner became in Denmark. There is a parallel regarding the research into the period from 1839 to 1865, in that Roger Erlandsen is virtually alone in his research. Smaller bodies of material, in particular regarding photographers’ activities in delimited regions or towns, have been analysed by others, but only one master’s dissertation (hovudfagsoppgåve) has been written. Erlandsen’s dissertation is entitled *Frå kunstnar til handverkar. Fotograferne i Bergen 1840-1865* (1982) and was submitted within the subject area of history.

The thesis is organised chronologically. Developments in technological history (the daguerreotype period and the wet plate period) have determined the overall classification of the material. However, the actual disposition of the dissertation is based on the development of the photography profession. Erlandsen considers his study to be primarily an analysis of a profession, in which the interplay between market conditions, photo technology, photographic images, and the photographer’s profession are the central interest. But he also addresses the image context in which the photograph must be placed. In this connection, the relationship to painted *vedute* and landscape images are essential, as are the new illusion media of the cosmorama, the panorama, the cyclorama and the lanterna magica.

Erlandsen refers to a broad range of sources and literature. It may be worth mentioning that in addition to newspaper articles and advertisements, he has also used minutes of meetings and primary sources from various institutional archives to a very large extent, and that this has served him well, including in the form of a reliable statistical material. Particularly when it comes to the more detailed nature of the profession, this study shows that public archives have not been used to a sufficient degree in other studies carried out in the Nordic countries.

Erlandsen notes that the early daguerreotypists in Norway had often worked as painters previously. However, the material is here too small to allow for any statistically interesting conclusions. With respect to the growth in the number of photographers working at the same time, Erlandsen's study shows that the biggest expansion occurred, as expected, at the beginning of the 1860s with the advent of the *carte de visite* portrait – but the extent of the change is striking nonetheless. During the transition period from 1856 to 1862, between 3 and 6 photographers are active at the same time. Only in 1863 does the number suddenly triple, reaching a peak in 1865, when 32 photographers were registered. This fiercely competitive situation thus developed over a single year, which can be seen as comparatively extreme. Unlike the daguerreotypists, the newly established photographers had very varied professional backgrounds.

Erlandsen notes already in his foreword that he hopes his dissertation will be merely the first in a series of papers about photography and the mass-produced image. Still, until a few years ago, art history departments in Norway did not include the photographic image among their objects of study – which is one of the reasons why 19th-century image culture in Norway had not been explored earlier. The situation is different now, which may eventually serve to enrich research.

FINLAND

1. Contemporary commentary in newspapers and periodicals, and unprinted sources

It is known that some daguerreotypes were shown in Turku (Åbo in Swedish) as early as in January 1840, and that this also occurred in Helsinki during the following month. The earliest preserved daguerreotype taken in Finland was only exposed on 3 November 1842, however. This time lag is notable; it makes Finland the last Nordic country – except Iceland – to be reached by the technological innovation. No explanation has yet been found for this fact. It can be blamed on provincialism or poor transport links, but references to such factors are irrelevant. Helsinki was well placed from a trading point of view, and Turku was an important town for Swedish-Finnish relations. All this notwithstanding, travelling photographers would use the Finnish towns mainly as intermediate stations en route to Denmark, Sweden and Russia.

The course of photography's spread in Finland has been traced, as for the other Nordic countries, using the information provided by advertisements and newspaper articles. Here too it is newspapers and periodicals that have constituted the primary sources. Again as in other countries, complementary sources have included customs and passport documents, as well as address directories. Articles in foreign periodicals were reproduced in Finnish papers too. In other words, exposure in the mass media of the course of events can be said to have been similar throughout the Nordic countries. For that reason it is not necessary, nor even desirable, to provide examples of the content of the Finnish articles during the first few years. Only the dates of some of the most important articles and news items during the first two years will be mentioned here. Publication data has been taken from Sven Hirn's paper "Photografer i Helsingfors" (see below).

The photographic invention is reported on fairly early. The first press conference in France on 7 January was taken up by *Åbo Tidningar* on 20 February, by *Helsingfors Morgonblad* on 21 February, and by *Borgå Tidningar* on 6 March 1839. These reports were complemented by new articles during the summer and autumn of 1839. *Helsingfors Morgonblad* published an article on 29 July, *Åbo Tidningar* featured an article on 11 September, and another one just over year later, on 14 October 1840. *Åbo Underrättelser* wrote about it only on 4 November 1840. Several of these articles were translations of pieces published in the foreign press.

The above-mentioned presentation of daguerreotypes in Turku could be read about in *Åbo Underrättelser* on 4 and 14 January 1840, in *Åbo Tidningar* on 11 January, and in *Helsingfors Tidningar* on 19 and 20 January of the same year. A

comparison between the number of articles devoted to the new medium in general and the number devoted to the daguerreotype presentation on Finnish soil gives cause to believe that the geographical distance to the events in France dampened interest in developments there. Simply seeing the silvery plates appears to have been more inspiring than the fantastical but at the same time vague descriptions coming from the continent.

Despite the early presentation of daguerreotypes there were no experimental activities that are known of until the provincial physician Henrik Cajander in Turku carried out some trials in the autumn of 1842. Travelling daguerreotypists moreover took their time before venturing into the territory of the grand duchy. Not until 1843 do we see some modest activity which can be traced in newspaper advertisements. Here the pattern is the same as in the other countries. Having arrived, the daguerreotypist advertises in the local paper in order to attract local custom. In order to maintain this interest, the advertisement is regularly repeated until a week or so before the daguerreotypist departs. So even if the professionals' activities outwardly follow the same pattern as in the other Scandinavian countries, Finland is still distinguished by a considerable time lag. A clear example of this is provided by developments in Helsinki, the capital, where the era of the travelling photographer only ends conclusively around 1870. In technical terms, however, the lag is not as big, which is evident from advertising as well as images preserved in public collections.

Contemporary commentary in memoirs and letters has not yet been systematically examined by Finnish researchers. Johan Ludvig Runeberg can be seen as a parallel to H C Andersen in Denmark – even if Runeberg, unlike Andersen, appears to have had scant interest in his own likeness. A number of photographers shot portraits of Runeberg, among them Auguste Desarnod, a Frenchman who worked in Borgå especially during the 1840s; Emanuel Philip Philipsen, a Dane, and his assistant Carl Adolf Hårdh; Fritz Hirn; and Alfred Ottelin. Marta Hirn's voluminous work on Runeberg includes his portrait along with contemporary commentary appraising it.

2. Contemporary specialist periodicals

Specialist periodicals on photography were established late, and many fall far outside of the period covered in the present bibliography, for which reason I only include the two oldest ones. The earliest periodicals were founded in connection with the formation of clubs for amateurs. *Cameran. Organ för Fotografiklubben i Helsingfors. Tidskrift för fotografer och amatörer* was founded in 1891, with Karl Emil Ståhlberg as its driving force. *Meddelanden från Fotografiamatörklubben i Helsingfors* was established five years later (1896). It was only a

few years into the new century that a more vigorous journalistic activity began, but that is another story.

3. Manuals

Henrik Cajander was able to experiment with daguerreotypes because he had been to Paris and had acquired the necessary knowledge there. Similarly, the travelling daguerreotypists had learned the ropes beyond Finland's borders. This meant that they themselves had no need for printed manuals within those borders. When Carl Adolph Hårdh switched professions from lithography to photography in 1862, he travelled to Berlin and spent a few months there as an apprentice. It appears as if the majority of the professional practitioners sought and obtained the necessary knowledge abroad. For speakers of Swedish, moreover, there was already Bonnier's edition of Daguerre's handbook, printed in Stockholm in 1840; in short, there was no need for a printed handbook in Finnish.

It would not be until 1890 that a photography handbook was published in Finland. It was written by the photographer Karl Emil Ståhlberg and was primarily directed at amateurs, which is evident from the title *Valokuvauksen harrastaja. Oppikirja valokuvauksessa* (Helsinki 1890). It was published in Swedish in the same year, as *Amatörfotografen. Lärobok i fotografi för amatörer* (Helsinki 1890), followed three years later by an expanded Swedish edition. However, as Ståhlberg's work falls outside of the time frame for the present bibliography it will not be considered further here.

4. Aesthetics

The relationship between professionalism and amateurism assumes a distinction which in itself involves aesthetic value norms and quality criteria. A discussion about photography as art therefore began in Finland as well – towards the end of the 19th century, when professionals and amateurs had formed their respective associations and exhibition activities required reviews. Prominent contemporary authorities in France such as Hippolyte Taine and Alfred Lichtwark were cited in defence of photography as art. But by that time the aesthetic battle over photography already had a long history in Europe. The discussion that followed within a few years of the invention in France apparently never reached Finland, despite the conditions for an exchange of views being present. Aestheticians such as Carl Gustaf Estlander and Fredrik Cygnaeus should have engaged with so current and knotty a theoretical problem as the aesthetic status of photography. Still, it is not hard to find plausible reasons why such a debate failed to happen. The modest corps of photographers that was working in the country up to and including the 1860s made no aesthetic claims. The social significance of photography was still trifling, as was the number of artists that might feel threatened by the new

livelihood. In summary one could say that the conditions for an aesthetic debate were lacking during the first few decades of the existence of photography.

5. Retrospective accounts

The presentations that were held and were meant to be held, respectively, by J E A Hansen and Jens Petersen should have had their counterparts in Finland too. One indication of this is Harry Hintze's article "Fotografiamatörklubben i Helsingfors 1889-1899" in the recently mentioned membership magazine *Meddelanden från Fotografiamatörklubben i Helsingfors* 1899 (pp 2-6), as is Karl Emil Ståhlberg's "Kort öfversikt af den svensk-finska fotografiska litteraturen", from the same year and the same publication (pp 6-8). Also worthy of mention is a small brochure about the first photography exhibition in Finland, "Ensimmäinen yleinen valokuvaus näyttely Suomessa", 1903.

Other than the above, I have been unable to find any traces of retrospective undertakings similar to those that began in the other Nordic countries with the 50th anniversary, around 1890. The old photographers' memories are conspicuous by their absence. This may be partially explained by the fact that the resident and permanently active photographers founded their firms relatively late. The grand old man of Finnish studio photography, Daniel Nyblin, only opened his studio in 1876. The resident photographers began their activity so late that it was only around twenty years old when incipient amateurism in the modern sense began to take shape at the end of the 1880s. This should also be borne in mind when contemplating the "unholy" alliance that led to the first photography periodical, *Cameran*, which was edited by K E Ståhlberg and was the mouthpiece of both professional and amateur photographers.

6. Historical studies

Helmer Bäckström has had a certain significance for Finnish history of photography research as well. In connection with the joint Nordic efforts in the 1910s, 20s and 30s – when *Nordisk Tidskrift för Fotografi* had its glory days – Bäckström took the initiative for an annual Nordic photography review, *Nordisk Fotografi. En översikt över de nordiska ländernas fotokonst*, edited by him. The 1934 edition included contributions by cand.mag. (Master of Arts) H B J Cramer, Copenhagen; fil.mag. (Master of Arts) Arvi Hansten, Helsinki; and Torfinn Michelsen, Oslo. Arvi Hansten (or Hanste) also included in his outline a few words about the earliest period in Finland. Bäckström then wrote an article in *Nordisk Tidskrift för Fotografi* 1936 (pp 57-59) about "Litografen och daguerreotypisten A. J. Desarnod i Borgå", in which he also referenced Marta Hirn's then-recent article on the same subject: "Tusenkonstlaren' Desarnod och hans hustru i Borgå 1842-1852" (In: *Finsk tidskrift* 120, 1936, pp 110-122).

An interest in charting Finnish history of photography arose at the same time. With a few exceptions, it was particularly about the so-called pioneer years that little was known. An article about the Turku photographer Johan Jakob Reinberg was featured in the *Tiden* periodical as early as in 1912 (“En gammal Åbo-fotograf och några av hans bilder”, “An old Turku photographer and some of his pictures”, pp 450-454). The author, Svante Dahlström, had presented Reinberg in an article in *Åbo Underrättelser* the previous year. However, it would be almost twenty years before anyone got to grips with charting the country’s history of photography. Between the 1920s and into to the 1940s, Erland Piirinen wrote articles in the area of history of photography, of which only one will be mentioned here: his brief history of photography in Finland, “Valokuvaus Suomessa. Vähän historiikka”, published in *Valoa ja varjoa* (Borgå 1929, pp XIII-XXII). The above-mentioned Arvi Hansten (Hanste) was also active around this time. In 1931 he wrote a review of Kameranseuran’s first ten years (“Katsaus Kameraseuran toimintaan vv. 1921-31”, *Valokuvaus* 1931, pp 85-91). Between 1934 and 1940 he contributed a yearly article to *Nordisk Fotografi*, as well as writing retrospectives for other specialist periodicals, including one about the photographers’ societies. Hansten’s interest was mainly focused on the 20th century, however.

On the occasion of the 100th anniversary of the public existence of the photograph, Lauri Kari wrote an article in *Foto* 1939 (pp 99-111) entitled “100 vuotta valokuvauksen historiaa” (“100 years of the history of photography”). Where Kari had looked to international photography, others began to interest themselves in the country’s own history of photography. In 1946 E Kanto wrote the brief observation “Silmäys valokuvauksen kehitykseen Suomessa” (“A look at the development of photography in Finland”, in *Valokuvaaja* 1946, pp 63-65), which commented on different aesthetic attitudes to portrait photography in the past.

A more significant journalistic contribution, however, was that of postal inspector Simo Grönroos. Between 1944 and 1946 he wrote several important articles. “Valokuvauksen historiaa Suomessa” (“The history of photography in Finland”) and “Tietoja valokuvauksen alkuvaiheista Suomessa” (“About the earliest period of photography in Finland”) were published in 1944, in the *Valokuvaaja* periodical (pp 39-42; pp 43-44). The following year he wrote “Valokuvauksen alkuvaiheista Suomessa” (“Photography’s earliest period in Finland”) and the still-cited “Ensimmäisistä Suomessa ammattiaan harjoittaneista valokuvaajista” (“About the first photographers working in Finland”), both published in *Valokuvaaja* 1945 (pp 54-57; 66-68 and 85-87). In the year after the end of the war he then penned two brief specialist articles in the area – an examination of the term “valokuva” (photograph) in official Finnish from 1864, “Valokuva-sanaa käytettiin kirjasuomessa ainakin jo v.

1864”, and an item about photography activities in the Ostrobothnia region in the 1850s, entitled “Pari valokuvausta koskevaa tietoa Pohjanmaalta 1850-luvulta” (in *Valokuvaaja* 1946, pp 11-12; p 15).

Grönroos’ article about photography in Ostrobothnia would soon receive a fuller follow-up in Arne Appelgren’s article “Om fotograferna i 1860- och 1870-talets Vasa. Små rön i anknytning till en museiutställning” (“On the photographers in 1860s and 1870s Vaasa. Small findings in connection with a museum exhibition”, in *Arkiv för svenska Österbotten* VII, 1948, pp 5-25). In it Appelgren describes the investigative work that preceded an exhibition at Ostrobothnia’s Museum of History in 1948. Surprisingly many aspects of photographic portraits are touched on in the article. Identification of the models was part of the traditional personal iconography analysis, but Appelgren was also interested in the photographers and their establishments, the changes in image format, and the customers’ style of dress. Social differences between the different photographers’ clienteles are also discussed.

Biographical essays had barely existed earlier, but now there was an article by Helmer Winter about Reinberg, “Johan Jakob Reinberg. Turkulainen monitauturi sadan vouden taka” (“J J R, a jack of all trades in Turku a hundred years ago”, in *Turun historiallisen museon vuosikirja* 1950-52, pp 10-28). A few years later Marta Hirn wrote about Helsinki’s first resident photographer, “Xylografen och fotografen Petter Christoffer Liebert” (“The xylographer and photographer P C L”, in *Lucifer* 1957, pp 18-22). Liebert is best known to posterity for his glass pavilion, the first in Finland and erected in 1858 exclusively to serve as a photographic studio. H Anila subsequently described this edifice in the article “Peter Christopher Libertin rakennukset Porvoossa” in *Suomen Museo/Finskt Museum* 1968.

Marta Hirn had taken an early interest in the history of photography; her paper on Desarnod was published as early as in 1936. During the 1930s she worked together with her father, Yrjö Hirn, on different aspects of Runeberg. In 1937 they jointly published the book *Runeberg och hans värld* (“Runeberg and his world”, Helsinki), in which Marta Hirn had edited the photographic material and Yrjö Hirn had written the text. That same year Yrjö Hirn published an article about “Runebergs utseende och uppträdande” (“Runeberg’s appearance and manner”) in *Ord och bild* (no 46, Sthlm 1937), which is rather conventional in its outlook – here the premise is veneration of the genius and of the traces of his existence. On this view, Hirn could reject just about all the portraits of Runeberg. No image could faithfully reproduce the immaterial aura of his brilliant essence – photographs least of all.

Eventually, however, Marta and Yrjö Hirn's collaboration would result in Marta Hirn's work "Runeberg i bild" ("Runeberg in pictures", *Skrifter utg. av svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland* 343, Helsinki 1954, 142 pages; Ejnar Munksgaard Forlag, Copenhagen 1954), which will be considered in the present context as a parallel to Bjørn Ochsner's book about the photographic portraits of H C Andersen. It has a certain interest as a study of pictures of a famous person and that person's relationship to his physiognomy. In history of photography terms "Runeberg i bild" contributes a concrete example of the bourgeois clientele by reviewing extant portraits of one of the most famous people in the country. It also contains abundant material consisting of individual contemporaries' reflections on various Runeberg portraits.

The number of history of photography publications increased in the 1960s. The historical surveys were dominated by retrospectives of various associations and photography firms' history, particularly in connection with the anniversaries of the various amateur societies. Similar retrospectives had been made back in the 1930s as well, and in the decades that followed, but not to the same extent. The exhibitions connected with the associations' activities had their own history written by Pauli Oulasvirta in the article "Ensimmäiset valokuvaus näyttelyt Suomessa" ("The first photography exhibitions in Finland", in *Kameralehti* 1958:3, pp 10-13) and by Bert Carpelan, in the same periodical but a decade later ("Tärkeintä ei ole voitto", in *Kameralehti* 1969:1, pp 36-39). What is striking about the various contributions to writing Finland's history of photography that were made up to and including the 1960s is that they are mostly short articles in periodicals, written by a large number of different authors. Until this point no central figure had emerged among the explorers of the past.

The 1970s: Sven Hirn and others

At the end of the 1960s the city librarian in Helsinki and Yrjö Hirn's grandson, Sven Hirn, began to take an interest in Finnish 19th-century history of photography, writing a few short articles on the subject. In 1970 he published two longer local history essays, one entitled "Photografer i Helsingfors" (In: *Finskt Museum* 1970, pp 1-28) and the other "Viipurin vanhat valokuvaajat" ("Vyborg's old photographers", in *Finskt Museum* 1970, pp 97-123). Both of these essays are about photographers working in Helsinki and Vyborg, respectively, in the 19th century. Among Hirn's references to other writers we find names such as Helmer Bäckström, Bjørn Ochsner, Simo Grönroos, Marta Hirn, H Annila, Arne Appelgren, and Valborg Stockmann-Lindholm. Their contributions fell short, however, of allowing Hirn to track the nomadic photographers closely. Both of Hirn's essays are therefore based on primary sources throughout.

It was particularly via the newspapers that Hirn was able to reconstruct the spread of the profession. Both Helsinki and Vyborg were interesting as sojourns for travelling photographers – Helsinki as the new capital and naturally the country's central point; Vyborg as the town where all travellers between St Petersburg and Helsinki stopped over. And most of the photographers, it turned out, were from abroad. The Weninger brothers are a good example of this. Their journey in 1843 can be traced from Denmark via Sweden to Turku and Vyborg, and on to St Petersburg. Other examples include Beno Lipschütz, a Bavarian, and Baptist Tensi, a Sardinian – both of whom arrived in Helsinki from Estonia in the same year, and later also worked in Turku and Vyborg.

With the help of Simo Grönroos' earlier work, newspaper articles, advertisements, passport documents and other sources, Hirn was able to build a chronological structure that showed how the photographers established themselves during the first few decades. His local history surveys are in many ways similar to Ochsner's earlier work, in which the goal was to obtain preliminary knowledge about the introduction of a new technology, as well as of the emergence of a new profession and its practitioners. In Ochsner's case this led, by dint of dogged work, to a big register of working photographers in the country during the 19th century. Hirn managed the same thing. He published, in the photography museum's 1972 yearbook, a preliminary catalogue of early photographers (pp 8-30). Later that same year, courtesy of Finland's then-newly founded photography museum, he published a separate volume entitled *Kameran edestä ja takaa. Valokuvaus ja valokuvaajat Suomessa 1839-1870* ("In front of and behind the camera. Photography and photographers in Finland 1839-1870", Lahti 1972).

Kameran edestä provides a solid history, but is above all a listing of the period's working photographers. This type of work allows for certain conclusions to be drawn based on the assembled facts, and Hirn takes the opportunity. He notes, for example, that at least 120 photographers were professionally active during the period until 1870, inclusive. However, less than half of them (55) were "genuine" Finns. There were 15 photographers from Sweden, 12 from Denmark, 14 from Germany, 2 from Norway, and 2 from Austria. A separate group is the dozen photographers from St Petersburg, whose actual nationality is difficult to determine in Hirn's view. This compilation of figures nevertheless allows us to see that the surrounding countries supplied Finland with photographers to about equal proportions during the first twenty-five years. The introduction of new types of images can also be followed from the material: the wet plate begins to be used by Liebert in August 1852, and exactly eight years later the first *carte de visite* photographs are delivered from the Borchardt brothers in St Petersburg. Several studios are

established in 1862, including Hårdh's and Hoffers' in Helsinki and Aune's in Turku. In July 1863 Eugen Hoffers takes the first reportage pictures on the occasion of the imperial visit to Helsinki. This chronology enables us to see that developments moved faster in technological respects than in terms of professional establishment.

Just like Ochsner, Hirn expanded his photographer register. A second volume was published in 1977 and entitled *Ateljeesta Luontoon. Valokuvaus ja valokuvaajat Suomessa 1871-1900* ("From the studio out into nature. Photography and photographers in Finland 1871-1900", Lahti 1977.) Thus complementing his earlier register, Hirn now covered photographers up to the turn of the century, using the same format in the second volume, beginning with a chronological overview followed by a review of the situation in the major cities and towns, in particular Helsinki, Turku, Vyborg and Oulu. Here Hirn describes the establishment of studios and the emergence of amateur photography – in short, the rise of modern photography.

Thus the 1970s gave Finland its first major history of photography survey, based on the study of original sources. The nature of Hirn's work is traditional. It represents the first necessary step in a process of exploration. This notwithstanding, his texts include certain observations that can serve as points of departure for further research. Among these is Hirn's demonstration of the large number of women photographers and their important role in the expansion of studio photography, the early launch of reportage photography and, last but not least, his assertion that the aesthetic approach of the contemporary public differed in crucial ways from ours.

In his various works Hirn is keen to point out how the travelling photographers belong to the history of photography of several nations, and he frequently refers to Bäckström, Ochsner and other researchers from fellow Nordic countries. This openness towards the outside imbues his attitude to research work, and becomes particularly noticeable in comparison with other Nordic researchers whose references to works produced beyond their own country's borders are fairly rare. In keeping with this outlook, Hirn has also strived to present Finnish history of photography to a wider audience. He had a summary of his work published in the second issue of the first volume of *History of Photography*, a periodical with considerable dissemination around the world.

Hirn especially emphasised cross-border collaboration in his article on Neupert, "Carl Neupert" in *Norsk Fotohistorisk Journal* (Vol 1, no 3, 1976), where he states that "History of photography is a shared, collective concern. The introducers of photography moved from place to place, and every strict

delimitation appears artificially imposed. /.../ Researchers are dependent on each other. It is one of the national duties to seek out essential and usable material from local sources that are difficult to access. Not necessarily in order to emphasise patriotic points of view, but in order thus to contribute to the making of a meaningful overall picture.”

Hirn gives a good example of how such work can be done in the article about Neupert, who was probably from Denmark but worked in Norway, St Petersburg, the Baltics and Finland. Here Hirn provides an overview of Neupert’s work in Finland in order thus to contribute the Finnish piece of the puzzle to a future, bigger study. But he also refers to Kaljula Teder’s work *Eesti fotograafia teerajajaid. Saada aastat (1840-1940) arenguteed* (Tallinn 1972) for a more detailed account of Neupert’s work in Estonia. It seems reasonable to assume, all the same, that few people beyond the Estonian language barrier have made the effort to familiarise themselves with the contents of Teder’s book. The same most likely applies to the book Peeter Tooming published in 1986, on Estonian photography 1840-1940, *Tähelepanu, pildistan! Eesti fotominevikust 1840-1940*.

Hirn held a talk at the 1980 photography symposium in Jeløy that was subsequently printed in the symposium report *Kan vi stole på fotografierna? Foredrag holdt på Nordisk Fotohistorisk symposium Jeløy 1980* (Published by Norsk Fotohistorisk Forening, Oslo 1981, pp 62-67) with the heading “1800-talets fotografer i Finland – samhällsengagemang och försök till karakteristik”. Here Hirn begins by telling his audience that Finland lacks an Ochsner or a Bonge – a truly bewildering statement considering that he himself had recently published two major registers covering the period from 1839 to 1900. To an ignorant reader of the symposium report from Jeløy it may seem as if nothing had been done in Finland. And against the background of the opening statement, the continuation of the talk appears even more bewildering. When Hirn makes a comparison between photographers in Denmark and Finland, his Finnish data come across as made up for the purpose, which in fact they were not. Hirn finds that the underlying Danish data is substantially greater in quantity than that from Finland. In Denmark Ochsner found personal data on around 2,000 individuals for the period until 1900; in Finland 120 practitioners were found for the period until 1870. Hirn was unable to obtain figures for the intervening years.

The comparison between the countries also proves rewarding in another way: while Denmark has a large number of photographers, Finland is more interesting from a different aspect altogether. The country’s geographical location astride the travel and trade routes provided a unique opportunity for encounters between different influences. The notable and as yet unexplained

absence of domestic initiatives left the field open for foreign talent, which is a conspicuous difference with conditions in Denmark.

It is thus several decades before significant domestic initiatives can be seen in Finland. During the first few decades the profession was mostly pursued by individuals who pursued other professions at the same time. Only 50 of the previously mentioned 120 practitioners prior to 1870 were full-time photographers. 22 of those who combined professions were visual artists of various kinds, including portrait painters, woodcarvers (xylographers) and engravers. Additionally there were nine merchants, seven teachers, five apothecaries and pharmacists, and a few goldsmiths, soldiers and decorators. The others came from a very diverse range of professions and from varied social backgrounds.

Hirn seeks to explain the dominance of visual artists with the circumstance that portrait painters “succumbed to the competition from photographers. The brush had to be laid down and the camera picked up instead” /p 63/. By way of example he mentions Carl Peter Lehmann, who both painted and photographed (daguerreotypes). According to Hirn, the combination of photographer and equipment salesman only became common at the end of the 19th century, as the amateurs grew ever more numerous. Combining professions became necessary not because of slack demand for photographic portraits, but because it was impossible to photograph during the dark part of the year.

In his talk Hirn also describes certain difficulties to do with data from the very earliest period. He states that it is difficult to obtain information about profitability – the financial foundation of the profession. No bookkeeping has been preserved that would allow for conclusions regarding the customer base and the number of delivered portraits. Hirn is also keen to underline that “qualities of a photo-artistic nature /.../ can only rarely and tentatively be applied to the image material of the 19th century. Contemporary aesthetic viewpoints were not particularly apparent, and approaches differed starkly from the assessments of our own era” (p 67). He had expressed this view in his first book as well – without providing any more detailed justification for it on that occasion either.

The discussion about the necessity of cross-Nordic research was also the underlying theme for Hirn’s contribution (“Fotohistorisk forskning – Finland”) at the history of photography symposium in Linköping in 1988 (*Fotobilden: Historien i nuet – nuet i historien*, Linköping University, Tema Kommunikation 1989, pp 31-39). Here Hirn chose to make a chronological overview of the history of photography in Finland, concluding by articulating the demands that

in his view have to be made on future research. He highlights Helmer Bäckström's contribution to Nordic historiography of photography in general, and then shifts his attention to the Finnish contributors; Arne Applegren's article about photographers in Vaasa and Helmer Winter's article about Johan Jakob Reinberg in Turku (see above) are here held up as particularly exemplary. Hirn emphasises that several attempts were made in the 1920s to the 1940s to initiate research in the area. The initiatives were taken by the Finnish photographers' federation (Suomen Valokuvaajain Liitto, founded in 1919), which on three occasions (1923, 1936, 1943) raised the matter for discussion. Nothing came of it all the same.

Hirn then focuses on 1969, the year in which the Finnish Museum of Photography was founded, opening in premises on Korkeavuorenkatu in Helsinki. The event was accompanied by intense disputes that were publicised, garnering a great deal of attention. Hirn may be interpreted as suggesting that the publicity thus gained was a positive thing in the longer term at least. The new museum held exhibitions, collected images and equipment, and put out publications – including a yearbook. Hirn's own major works were published by the museum. In Hirn's view *Kameran edestä ja taka* was pretty much a comprehensive survey, as it deals with the very earliest period and its limited source material. He states that newspaper advertisements, among other elements, have been consistently reviewed – a job thus done once and for all. Still, he believes that he has not exhausted every aspect of the subject, instead choosing to point out merely that a register is now available.

While history of photography research in Finland in the 1970s was dominated by Sven Hirn, one should nevertheless bear in mind that there were a number of other initiatives that would be significant for the future. Public support to photographic activities increased. A professorship of fine art photography was instituted, grants were expanded, a photography commission was appointed, and exhibition activities grew in breadth. Circumstances for history of photography research can also be said to have improved, including through the addition of a new publishing forum. Historians of photography had previously been able to publish their work in local history periodicals or the generalist photography magazines *Valukova* and *Kameralehti*. To these were now added the photography museum's yearbook, *Valokuvauksen vuosikirja*, which was first published in 1972.

The yearbook has been devoted to contemporary art photography above all, but has also served as a history of photography forum. Notable contributors include Valborg Stockmann-Lindholm, who had written earlier about Eugen Hoffers (see "Fotografen Eugen Hoffers", in *Helsinki-Seura, vuosikirja* 1970-71, and "En konstnär blir fotograf", in *Finskt Museum* 1971). In the 1973 yearbook

she wrote a short essay on the decorative backdrop screens of *carte de visite* portraits in the 1860s (“1860-luvun koristeelliset taustakulissit”, pp 132-137), in which she lists some of the most famous studio photographers’ backdrop screens. In the 1974 yearbook, which was mainly dedicated to the first Nordic photography symposium in Borgå 6-11 August 1973, Hugo Simberg’s photographs were presented by Pirjo Markkanen-Porkka. Irma Savolainen, who worked at Helsinki’s city museum and had previously been at Åbo Akademi University, wrote in the 1975 yearbook about "Valokuvien ajoituksesta pukujen perusteella" (“Dating photographs with the help of clothes fashion”, pp 100/102) and later wrote an article in the 1983 yearbook entitled “Suomen pitkäikäisin valokuvaamo”, which dealt with the country’s oldest photography studio, Aunes in Turku. One further contribution from the 1980s is worth mentioning in connection with the yearbook, and this is C J Gardberg’s brief account in the 1982 yearbook of how Cajander’s daguerreotypes were rediscovered in Turku’s museum of the city’s history in 1969.

Thanks to her thorough work on Turku’s photographers, Irma Savolainen was able to correct Hirn on some points. An ambitious review of local image collections thus served to complement already known facts, and local studies continued to be published at irregular intervals in the 1970s as well. Also among them are Anlis Forss and Aimo Kehusmaa’s *Oulun valokuvia ja kuvaajia 1800-luvulta* (“Photographs and photographers in Oulu in the 19th century), published in Oulu in 1976.

A completely different kind of initiative was taken by one of the teachers on the photography programme at the University of Art and Design, Nisse Andersson, who had taken an interest in daguerreotypes in connection with history of photography teaching at the university. He therefore carried out an inventory of preserved daguerreotypes in the country, which I unfortunately have not had the opportunity to see. A country-wide inventory with reproduction photography of daguerreotypes and ambrotypes was also carried out by Museiverket, the Finnish National Board of Antiquities, from 1969 onwards.

Like the photography museum, Museiverket was also active in the area of images. The first edition of *Valokuvien hoito ja säilytys* (“Care and storage of photographs”) was published in 1976, edited by Sirkku Dölle, Ritva Keski-Korhonen, Taimi Montell, Irma Savolainen and Marketta Tamminen. The book was the fruit of a collaboration between administrators at Museiverket, the photography museum and the city museum. It employed a broad approach, with image and technique descriptions as well as directions for care and storage

of different types of materials. Brisk demand led to a new edition being released a few years later.

There were few history of photography exhibitions in the 1970s. In 1972 the photography museum's collection committee mounted a small exhibition in the museum's studio on the occasion of the 130th anniversary of photography in Finland. In 1978 Museiverket organised a general history of photography exhibition, accompanied by a catalogue entitled *Kuvat kunniaan* (roughly "We honour the photographs") and edited by Sirkku Dölle, Thomas Ehrström, Raimo Fagerström and Timo Syrjänen.

The 1980s: Where to?

In the foreword of the photography museum's 1982 yearbook, editors Kalerva Katajavuori and Jorma Komulainen state that "Photographic research into Finnish photography and photographs should continue, without delay, from the foundation created by Dr Sven Hirn's meritorious work. With special support from the art photography commission, the ambition should be to increase knowledge about Finnish history of photography by means of a close collaboration between the University of Art and Design and the Museum of Photography." This call for a fresh effort led the photography museum to begin work on a large national exhibition that would show the art of photography in Finland from the beginning until the current time. Following three years of assiduous work, *Minne?* (Where to?) opened in Kunsthalle Helsinki in 1986. According to the catalogue foreword, written by Kai Nordberg, the museum – despite being filled to "bursting point" – would only be able to show visitors the essence of the image material that the curators had gone through. The intention was also for a permanent core exhibition to be added to the photography museum after *Minne* was over.

The photography museum's 1979 yearbook dealt with the museum's ten-year history and what had happened in the area of fine art photography. A lengthy account of the course of events was provided by Sakari Sunila, Tapani Kovanen and Tuomo-Juhani Vuorenmaa under the heading "Valokuvamuseon vuosi- kymmen/Finlands fotografiska museum 10 år" ("10 years of the Finnish Museum of Photography"). But already in the foreword of the yearbook we are made aware of the museum's objective: "already a year earlier [1968], a decision was taken to begin safeguarding Finnish photography according to artistic criteria". This formulation alone gives us a glimpse of future problems. The museum's collections, which grew slowly, soon also included a small collection of early images from before 1870, which is the period on whose surviving photographic images Hirn says that "qualities of a photo-artistic nature /.../ can only rarely and tentatively be applied", as the outlook of the period "differed starkly from the assessments of our own era".

The chronological organisation of the material shown at *Minne?* would thus not be entirely unproblematic. The oldest material – from the period between 1842 and 1920 – caused the biggest problems in terms of selection. Pirjo Porkka, who was in charge of this part of the exhibition, made a broad chronological presentation of the motifs of the period. There were the oldest images, the *carte de visite* images, urban and rural photography in separate categories, and scientific photography. Amateur photography was given a special place in the exhibition, and the term “fine art photography” was discussed in a special section of the catalogue. By quoting various turn-of-the-century luminaries in the debate on fine art photography, the current view of the photograph as aesthetic object could also be considered against a background of a history of the development of concepts.

An entirely different type of catalogue was published by Helsinki’s City Museum in 1986, *Rakas Helsinki/Vårt Helsingfors* (“Our Helsinki”), which showed in a broader cultural history context how the photograph became ever more important as a medium from the 1860s onwards. For obvious reasons, the catalogue is dominated by topographic views using different techniques. In her foreword, museum director Marja-Liisa Rönkkö notes that landscape and cityscape photography was relatively modest until the turn of the century, and as a result other images had greater significance. Still, the images do belong together, regardless of technique, if we apply a content perspective. Rönkkö states that it is difficult to draw a line between art and document but, she writes, “a museum of cultural history is spared this trouble entirely.”

History of photography in universities

The aesthetic aspect of photography has been relevant also to the establishment of history of photography studies in universities. From the mid-1970s art history departments began to expand the discipline such that history of photography subjects could also be explored at the higher education level.

In 1975 Erkki Fredriksson presented a local history paper in Jyväskylä entitled *Jyväskylän valokuvaajat ja heidän asiakaspöytänsä 1800-luvulla* ("Photographers in Jyväskylä and their clientele in the 19th century"). Eleven years later there were several students in photography subjects enrolled at the department of art history in Helsinki. Leena Saraste, who published her general history of photography, entitled *Valokuva. Pakenevan todellisuuden kuvajainen* ("The photograph. The mirror of a fleeing reality", Lahti 1980), was then doing her master's thesis, and Kati Lintonen devoted herself to 1970s photography, publicly discussed a seminar paper on the subject in January 1986 and published a major work on it in 1988 via Centralkommissionen för konst (the Arts Council of Finland). Anu Uimonen wrote a master's dissertation on Finnish photography in the 1920s and Pirjo Porkka worked on her dissertation about Hugo Simberg and photography. In Jyväskylä, Unto Käyhkö will present his dissertation, preliminarily entitled *Muotokuvavalokuvaus ja taide. Näkökulmia valokuvauksen varhaiskauteen Suomessa (1839-1870) ja valokuvaan maalaustaiteen palveluksessa* ("Portrait photography and art. Aspects of early photography in Finland 1839-1870 and of photography in the service of painting"). Käyhkö has spent many years researching the connection between art images and photography in the 19th century. His dissertation additionally includes some case studies of the artists R W Ekman and E J Löfgren, and their use of photographic models.

Ongoing projects outside of the universities

The activities of local museums are often of significance for basic research, and this is certainly the case also for collective knowledge about the earliest Finnish history of photography. Outside of Helsinki, there are major image collections in Turku and Vaasa, for example. Åbo Akademi University's collections of images are fairly comprehensive and the University's librarian, Catherine af Hällström, is currently carrying out research into women photographers working in Turku. The Landscape Museum in Turku also has a photography collection. So does the Ostrobothnian Museum in Vaasa, whose collection was referenced as early as in Arne Appelgren's work from 1948 (see above).

According to Sven Hirn's contribution to the symposium report from Linköping, a major project for a register was initiated in the summer of 1988, with the intention of being completed in connection with the 150th anniversary in 1992. The register will list photographers who have worked in

Finland, but Hirn does not specify until what date. Another major project concerning the earliest history of photography is in its planning stages at the Victor Barsokevitsch Centre in Kuopio, which was founded in 1987 and holds exhibitions as well as pursuing publishing and research activities. The Centre plans to publish a complete Finnish history of photography, written by a number of specialists, in time for the anniversary in 1992.

SWEDEN

1. Contemporary commentary in newspapers and periodicals

Rumours about Daguerre's successful attempts to depict nature by mechanical means reached Swedish newspapers early. Reactions and speculations in the press were extensively covered by Helmer Bäckström in *Nordisk Tidskrift för Fotografi* (abbreviated *NTjF* below), particularly in the articles "Då fotokonsten nådde Stockholm" ("When photographic art reached Stockholm", *NTjF* 1919, pp 85-105, 113-121) and "Sveriges fotografiska litteratur 1839-1850" ("Sweden's photographic literature 1839-1850", *NTjF* 1926, pp 8-11), but also in his essays on the introduction in Skåne (*NTjF* 1924, p 167; 1925, p 185; 1927, p 135). The following account on articles in other contemporary newspapers and periodicals relies largely on these essays.

Dagligt Allehanda mentions the news from Paris already on 28 January 1839. Two days later, on 30 January, *Aftonbladet* publishes an article about "Ett landskaps afteckning genom dess blotta afspejling" ("A landscape depicted through its mere reflection"). At around the same time a number of newspapers and periodicals print short items about daguerreotypy. The press view of the invention was decidedly positive. Boye's *Magasin för Konst, Nyheter och Moder* writes in April 1839 about a "Remarkable invention of fine art, the so-called Daguerreotype" ("Märkvärdig uppfinning i skön konst, den så kallade Daguerreotypen") – an article based on the French writer Jules Janin's pieces in *L'Artiste*, and in February 1840 issues a high-flown paean to Daguerre as a tamer of the sun's rays. Renewed interest can be seen a couple of weeks after the press conference in Paris on 19 August 1839, at which the method itself was unveiled. On 25 September *Aftonbladet* describes Daguerre's public demonstration, which had taken place on 8 September. In January 1840 Boye's *Magasin* gives an account, under the headline "The Daguerreotypist", of the rapid spread of the invention – but it is only in December 1840 that its readers are able to read about the actual reproduction process.

One newspaper that gave a relatively large amount of space to the development of photographic technology was *Svenska Patriotern*, publishing no fewer than seven articles of photographic news during its brief lifetime (Uppsala 1843-1844). More important, though, was the publicity that some periodicals bestowed on the invention. The 1839 issue of *Industriföreningens tidskrift* featured a series of articles under the heading "Ljusmålning" ("Painting with light"), penned by the editor-in-chief, Georg Scheutz (pp 115-119, 130, 347-366). These describe daguerreotypy and talbotypy, as well as certain other methods. When *Industriföreningens tidskrift* ceased publication at the end of the same year, Scheutz started a new weekly periodical in the autumn of 1840, *Tidning för näringarne*. In it he wrote regularly about the developments in

photography (nos 1 and 2 1849, nos 2, 8, 9, 15, 18, 31, 46, and 48 1841). Scheutz later wrote a number of short articles about the technology of photography in *Svensk illustrerad polyteknisk journal* 1852-1854.

If Scheutz's periodicals reached only readers with specialist interests, the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences' annual publication *Årsberättelser om teknologiens framsteg*, written by G E Pasch, can be said to have reached an even more select circle. It did, however, include well-informed accounts also of developments in photography. The 1840 report was published the following year, while the 1841 report was printed in 1843 and the 1842-1846 reports only in 1849. This time lag of course diminished the value of the reports, but they were nevertheless the most detailed accounts that were publicly available.

One characteristic of the information available in Sweden was that facile speculation and accounts of lesser credibility coexisted with knowledgeably conveyed descriptions of the technology. The limitations of daguerreotypy – its inability to reproduce colour and its long exposure times, which initially only allowed for exterior views of landscapes and city panoramas – were not enough to dampen enthusiasm for and faith in the great potential of the new invention.

Thus began the Swedish history of daguerreotypy. A daguerreotype was shown in Stockholm already in February 1840. This was after the Swedish envoy in Paris, Carl Gustaf Löwenhielm, had at first sent a daguerreotype camera to Stockholm. The package went astray, so he sent another. However, Löwenhielm also took several samples of daguerreotypes with him to Stockholm, of which only one arrived undamaged. This was shown, through the agency of museum curator Lars Jacob von Röök, at the Royal Museum in Stockholm's Royal Palace. The camera was entrusted to a Lieutenant Lars Benzelstjerna. During the spring and summer he experimented with taking panoramas of the city.

At around the same time two craftsmen from Sweden's Royal Theatre, scene painter Georg Albert Müller and master costumer Ulrik Emanuel Mannerhierta, were experimenting with a daguerreotype camera. The pair showed their results in public at the Royal Museum in September; Benzelstjerna showed his images during the second half of September, in the same location. He also held demonstrations of the new technology. This first exhibition was commented on in the press, as were Benzelstjerna's continuing demonstrations. The fact that Boye's *Magasin* only described the daguerreotype process in the autumn of 1840 can probably be ascribed to the interest aroused by the exhibition and the demonstrations at the Royal Museum. Expressive descriptions were also published in the Sunday paper *Bazaren* (10 January and

31 January 1841, the end of February, 18 April 1841). Later that same year Benzeltjärna, with the help of Johan Christoffer Boklund, published a lithographic booklet called *Daguerreotyp-Panorama öfver Stockholm* and based on four daguerreotypes of different parts of the city.

The first foreign travelling daguerreotypist arrived in Stockholm in the late summer of 1840, in the form of a French commercial agent named Aymard Charles Théodore Neubourg. He advertised in *Aftonbladet* on 10 and 15 September 1840 that he would be showing city views from his journey, which had gone via Lübeck, Copenhagen, Helsingør and Gothenburg to Stockholm, and that the pictures were for sale.

Portrait daguerreotyping began in earnest in the autumn of 1841, with the establishment of Johan Adolf Sevén's business. In August 1841 *Bazaren* describes the samples Sevén had put on display in Rylander's bookshop, albeit without mentioning Sevén's name. At about the same time *Aftonbladet* mentions Sevén's pictures, and also mentions his name. Sevén himself placed his first advertisement in *Aftonbladet* on 4 August. On 7 September he also advertised in *Nyaste Dagligt Allehanda*. In October he continued to advertise, but now with a new address. During the winter there were no advertisements at all, since photography was not possible due to the seasonal shortage of sunlight. The advertisements return in the spring of 1842, with an anonymous advertiser informing the public that some rooms in the newly built Brunkeberg Hotel are being used for portrait daguerreotyping.

Business became brisker in 1843, as did advertising. Two more foreign daguerreotypists arrived in the city, Joseph Weninger from Vienna and A Derville from Paris. Their business activity can be followed through their advertisements in *Aftonbladet* (Weninger 17 July-12 August 1843, Derville 7 November 1843 and 27 April until 11 May 1844). In the summer of 1844 J W Bergström entered the daguerreotyping trade. His advertisements can be followed in *Aftonbladet* throughout his time in the trade, from 27 June 1844 until Christmas 1852.

The establishment of new studios as well as temporary stays by photographers in Swedish towns and cities were accompanied, as in the other Nordic countries and without exception, by advertisements in the press. This pattern applies for the entire period under study.

Another type of publicity deserving of mention in this context is that concerning exhibitions. Somewhere between the documenting news item and the review are certain press reactions to the few exhibitions that were arranged during the period under study. The daguerreotype show at the Royal Museum

has already been mentioned, as have the sort of displays held in bookshops, which were really of samples. At the 1851 Arts & Crafts Exhibition (Slöjdställningen) in Stockholm, which was held at the same time as the Crystal Palace Exhibition in London, included, according to the exhibition catalogue, a photograph on paper made by a student at the Chalmers industrial school. This fact was picked up on by Bäckström (*NTjF* 1928, p 81) as it must have been one of the first examples of photographs on paper in Stockholm. However, it appears as if this was not given any attention by the press.

Another event of interest for the history of photography was held at the Royal Academy of Fine Arts in Stockholm, in December 1857. Marcus Larsson, who had returned to Stockholm after spending a couple of years in Paris, organised an exhibition of oil paintings and photographs. As many as 33 photographs were reproductions of his own paintings, but 100 other photographs were original studies “after nature” executed by Gustave le Gray and the Bisson brothers. The royal family showed great interest, and the press therefore reported assiduously from the exhibition, including in *Aftonbladet* on 19 December 1857 and 2 January 1858 (cf Bäckström, *NTjF* 1925, p 173).

It would be a few more years before an exhibition was held of only Swedish photographers. It was not until 3 July 1863 that a major exhibition opened in Lea and Carl Ahlborn’s residence in Stockholm. It went on for three months and comprised around 2,000 photographs taken by nine individual photographers or studios, of which eight were from Stockholm. On this occasion interest was conspicuously low. The organisers released press statements and advertised at frequent intervals throughout the exhibition period. *Post- och Inrikes Tidningar* ran a review on 6 July that commended Mathias Hansen, C G V Carleman, and the Eurenus & Quist studio above all. Small news items were also published in *Nya Dagligt Allehanda* on 2 July, in *Post- och Inrikes Tidningar* on 14 and 29 July, and in *Stockholms Dagblad* on 15 and 30 July. Otherwise the event was passed over in silence (cf Bäckström, *NTjF* 1924, pp 8-11).

The General Industrial Exposition of Stockholm in 1866 drew considerably more interest. It included a whole section for photography, with representatives from the most famous studios in Stockholm such as Mathias Hansen, Eurenus & Quist, Jaeger, Roesler, and Valerius. Considering the large amount of press coverage the event received, however, there are few preserved commentaries. It is characteristic that the art historian and critic Lorenz Dietrichson does not take the trouble to include the photography section in his lengthy review *Skandinaviska konst-expositionen i Stockholm 1866. Sverige-Norge-Danmark- Finland*. (Offprint, Sthlm 1866; originally published in *Ny Illustrerad Tidning*). *Aftonbladet*, however, presented the exhibited photographers on 18

July 1866. Of greater interest is an article in *The Standard*, a London newspaper, which was translated and published in *Aftonbladet* on 21 September. The article praises the photographers, and the reviewer finds that the portrait photographers demonstrate particular skill in their work. Not even the Paris photographers can surpass “the products of a union between Swedish light and a Voigtlands lens”¹ (Bäckström *NTJF* 1928, p 84). In other words, Scandinavian light lends the portraits an aesthetic value.

2. Contemporary specialist periodicals

Just as in the other Nordic countries, the circumstances in Sweden in the 1840s and 1850s did not favour the establishment of a photographic periodical. The number of practitioners of the profession was tiny, and thus the need for a professional association only began to be felt well into the 1860s, when the number of photographers grew dramatically. A loose grouping somewhat like a gentlemen’s club formed in Stockholm. Bäckström points out that this association of Stockholm’s elite photographers spent its time on “small, festive gatherings at Hamburger Börs, at which members primarily indulged in the pleasures of life and did not venture unnecessarily into technical issues of photography. In those days notions still abounded of each photographer’s professional secrets, and no-one wished to divulge unnecessarily anything about the procedures they applied in their work” (*NTJF* 1924, p 11; Bäckström here references Carleman’s account in *Fotografisk Tidskrift* 1896 as his source). It goes without saying that neither the association nor any individual outside it would have been successful in publishing a periodical of photography under such circumstances. It would therefore not be until May 1888 that *Fotografisk Tidskrift* was founded, to serve as the voice of the simultaneously formed Svenska Fotografiamatörföreningen, or Swedish Association of Amateur Photographers. The first editor of the periodical was Albin Roosval.

3. Manuals

In December 1839 the editor of Svenska Industriföreningen’s periodical, Georg Scheutz, reissued his series of articles entitled “Ljussmålning” as a separate publication. It was the first description of the daguerreotype as method to be available in Sweden. Not long after, on the day before Christmas 1839, Daguerre’s manual was published in a Swedish translation entitled *Daguerrotypen, theoretiskt och praktiskt beskriven* (*The Daguerreotype described in theory and practice*) (with the half-title *Daguerrotypen. Beskrifning å den märkvärdiga uppfinningen att fixera framställda bilder & c.* [*The Daguerreotype. A description of the remarkable invention for fixating produced images etc.*]) by the A Bonnier publishing

¹ Translator’s note: this is a translation of the Swedish translation rather than a direct quote from the English original. Voigtlands, incidentally, should be Voigtländer.

firm. The small book comprises the actual manual, a description of the diorama and, as an introduction, the full text of Arago's speech. Daguerre's text is a practical handbook to guide anyone who wishes to try their hand at using the new technology. For readers of the book wishing to purchase the required equipment, Bonnier announces at the beginning that "Complete Daguerresque Apparatuses may be acquired through A Bonnier". In 1845 the book by the Norwegian H T Winther, described above, was published, and in Stockholm was marketed by the bookseller C A Bagge. Winther had had some of his own images shown in 1842 and 1844, in the hope that he could attract subscribers in Sweden too and thus accumulate a sufficient number to finance both his publishing and his experiments (Bäckström *NTJF* 1922, p 129). It is unlikely that Winther's book had any practical significance in Sweden; the supreme position of the daguerreotype in the market was in no way challenged by Winther's vaguely described alternative methods.

Ten years later, in 1854-1856, Bonnier published another important book for the general public interested in the technology of photography: *Sednare tidens viktigaste vetenskapliga upptäckter och uppfinningar* (*The most important scientific discoveries and inventions of recent times*), by a Frenchman, Louis Figuier, and translated by a teacher at the Institute of Technology in Stockholm, Alfred Henrik Fock. The book was published in two volumes, of which the second contained an overview of the history of photography (pp 423-509), daguerreotypy and photography on paper and glass, as well as of the uses of photography.

The first part of Georg Scheutz's book *Industriens bok* was published in 1861. This also included a description of the technological history and development of photography. The book's emphasis, however, is on describing techniques and processes. Bäckström states (*NTJF* 1927, p 93) that it is an adaptation of available foreign sources.

The market for new textbooks on the subject of photography was so modest, however, that it was only when *carte de visite* photography reached the peak of its popularity that a new handbook was written for the Swedish market. This was the painter and photographer Carl Peter Mazer's *Handledning i fotografi eller konsten att på egen hand lära sig att afstaga bilder på glas och papper, samt att förfärdiga stereoskopbilder och visitkortsporträtter; efter nyaste och enklaste metoder* (*Manual of photography, or the art of teaching oneself to take images on glass and paper, and to prepare stereoscopic images and carte de visite portraits; according to the newest and simplest methods*) (Sthlm: Sigfrid Flodins förlag 1864; published as no 11 in the series *Allmännyttigt handbibliotek*). The book is an adaptation of foreign sources, as Mazer conscientiously points out. The book principally describes the collodion method (the creation of positive and negative images on glass) and printing on

albumen paper. The second half of the book deals with the other methods and image types that were then being used by photographers. Bäckström highlights (NTJF 1928, p 8) Mazer's odd technical terminology, which is explained by the fact that he used foreign sources and in many cases probably made direct translations of terms used in them; and in fact the literature during the first few decades was characterised by a certain degree of terminological instability.

Exactly ten years after Mazer's handbook was published, the same publishers issued a new handbook, *Kortfattad Lärobok i praktisk Fotografi med 5 träsnitt* (*Brief textbook of practical photography, with 5 woodcuts*) (Sthlm: Sigfrid Flodins förlag 1874), written by C G Nyblaeus, who was a pharmacist and photographer in Södertälje. With its publication, handbook literature of photography can be said to have been permanently established in Sweden. It is the first example of a more modern type of publication, of a certain size (260 pages) and with a systematic exploration of all the phases of camera and darkroom work.

4. Aesthetics

The translation of Figuier's *Sednare tidens viktigaste vetenskapliga upptäckter och uppfinningar* that was published in 1854-56 also included a discussion of the aesthetic value of photography. The claims of artistic value propounded in France at an early stage are analysed here, but the author comes to the conclusion that all aesthetic pretensions must be rejected.

A mechanistic viewpoint is adopted by Lorenz Dietrichson in a discussion where portrait photography is compared to portrait painting. A bad portrait painter has acquired the ability to "work just as well as the finest photography apparatus – and, into the bargain, in colour. But should it become a question of seeking the spiritual content of a face, of expressing the life of the soul in its richest moment – then the apparatus no longer works" (*Skandinaviska konstexpositionen i Stockholm 1866*, Sthlm 1866, p 66). It has not yet been established whether Dietrichson's view can be regarded as representative. What we can say, however, is that no explorers of the relationship between traditional visual art and the new medium were present in Sweden at this time. Sweden lacked a Julius Lange.

5. Retrospective accounts

A first attempt at summarising both the general history of photography and the developments in Sweden appears in *Ny Illustrerad Tidning* in 1866, with an illustrated series entitled "To the history of photography" published anonymously under the pseudonym "R". This series would remain one of a kind for some time. The next historical reviews would not be published until twenty-five years later.

The fiftieth anniversary of photography coincided with the spread of amateur photography. A new, simplified and effective method allowed a large number of people to pursue photography as a leisure pastime. It also meant that amateur photography associations were founded throughout the Nordic countries. In Sweden Fotografiamatörföreningen was formed in Stockholm on the initiative of Tore Ericsson, who taught art history at the Royal Academy of Fine Arts. After one and a half years of activity, and various internal feuds, the association changed names to Fotografiska föreningen. Under its new name, the association was open to anyone who wished to join, and a number of professional photographers – including Johannes Jaeger and Gösta and Ernest Florman – did so. C G V Carleman, who was the association's first secretary, already had considerable experience as a professional photographer and artist. In the 1850s he had been one of the pioneers among those who had abandoned daguerreotypy to try the other methods of the transition period. And indeed Carleman came to serve as the association's conveyor of tradition. In 1891 he wrote in the association's recently launched periodical *Fotografisk Tidskrift* about the situation in Sweden in the 1850s under the heading "Några historiska anteckningar öfver fotografiens införande och utveckling i Sverige" ("Some historical notes on the introduction and development of photography in Sweden") (pp 159-161, 180-183, 230-232). Here Carleman promulgates himself as the first person to make panotypes in Sweden (1854). He also takes the credit for having introduced the collodion process and albumen paper following time spent at a painting academy in Düsseldorf where he met a photographer who demonstrated the new process to him. In his own telling, Carleman carried out photography experiments from 1844 and had a photo studio from 1855 until 1864, when – in common with certain other photographers – he left the trade. He then returned to painting.

Carleman's account of the spread of the technology of photography above all contains a significant amount of facts regarding photographers and when they became established. He also provides a rudimentary chronology for the introduction of new processes. This makes him a founder of the historiography of photography in Sweden, in which he holds a special position by virtue of his own direct experiences of the pioneer era. Carleman penned several short articles on the subject, including "Historiska Notiser" in *Fotografisk Tidskrifts Årsbok* 1892 (pp 3-9). This is a general international history of photography until 1880, and does not dwell on developments in Sweden. He also wrote a short piece about the first photography club in *Fotografisk Tidskrift* 1896 (pp 195-196).

Fotografisk Tidskrift had been able to publish some articles on the history of photography already in 1889. The periodical had a young employee, Carl Adolf Dahlström, who was head of the photochemical graphics department at

Generalstabens litografiska anstalt, the Swedish army's cartography institute. He had been collecting material on the general history of photography for some time. When Dahlström unexpectedly died in the autumn of 1888, the periodical's editorial staff compiled some of the material he had collected under the heading "From the history of photography" (pp 131-136, p 227).

The same periodical had announced in 1888 that in the following year it would be publishing an extensive article on "the historical development of the art of photography in Sweden". The name of the author was not given, but reference was made to the fact that it was "principally through the courtesy of Court Photographer J Jaeger that we are able to obtain the necessary records" (1888:5. p 5).

The article was never published, however. It is tempting to speculate about the relationship between the promised article and the one that Carleman wrote for the same periodical in 1891. Carleman does mention Jaeger's photography work, and has words of praise for him, but it is all very brief. And he does not refer to Jaeger as provider of "records" for the article. It does not seem rash, then, to assume that differences of opinion within the association governed the publication of history of photography articles in the periodical during 1890-1891. Carleman, of course, had first-hand experience of the 1840s and 1850s history of photography in Sweden, while Jaeger, for his part, only arrived in Skåne in 1858 and moved to Stockholm as late as in 1863.

The fiftieth anniversary of photography in 1889 was an event hobbled by inflated expectations. Fotografiska föreningen, in animated discussions, planned a big party in Stockholm. It was to take place in connection with an exhibition in October, but never happened. A grand Nordic anniversary party was to be held in Christiania in June, and the planners expected plenty of participants from the Nordic countries, but there was little interest. The event was preliminarily cancelled, but then in the end a conference was held in Christiania on 18-20 June. Only one Swede attended, Aron Jonasson from Gothenburg (cf Jonasson's report in *Fotografisk Tidskrift* 1889).

6. Historical studies

History of photography research in Sweden was dominated throughout the 20th century by a single person: Helmer Bäckström (1891-1964) began his career at KTH, the Royal Institute of Technology in Stockholm, where he continued to work, with brief interruptions, until his retirement in 1958. Even if his research at KTH's Photography Department was technical and theoretical in nature – his 1928 doctoral thesis was entitled *Decimalskattningen vid avläsning av symmetriska skalor* (*Estimating decimals when interpreting symmetrical scales*) – he was also interested in social, historical and aesthetic matters. He was

an early student of the development of photography technology in the 19th century, but also of the photographers who had led developments within the profession.

Nordisk Tidskrift för Fotografi (NTfF) was first published in 1917 at the initiative of John Herzberg, who became its editor-in-chief and legally accountable publisher. Herzberg, who was a photography teacher at KTH and became appointed docent there in 1921, was Bäckström's superior and an early advocate of his research interests; Bäckström, twenty years Herzberg's junior, was then working as an assistant at KTH. Bäckström began writing for NTfF as early as in 1918, when his contributions included two articles about "Kamerans tidigare historia" ("The earlier history of the camera"). In 1919 he began his series of articles "Samlingar till kamerans och fotografiens svenska historia" ("Collections towards a history of the camera and of photography in Sweden"). When he ended the series in 1944, he had written 97 articles under its banner, but had also made a number of other contributions to the periodical. Bäckström's writing was also published in other contexts than NTfF, but from a history of photography perspective his contribution to NTfF is his most important legacy. He succeeded Herzberg as its editor-in-chief and resigned that position in 1945. In 1938 he also filled Herzberg's former position as docent at KTH, where he would eventually become professor.

For a few years from 1919 Bäckström analysed the earliest period in Sweden's history of photography. This was mostly about the daguerreotyping period in Stockholm and included an inventory of Swedish and foreign daguerreotypists in the city. It is these articles from the earliest volumes of the periodical that have been most frequently cited in later years. In them he goes into some detail about the various photographers' work and life stories; individual photographers to which he devoted separate studies include Benzelstierna, Neubourg, Weninger, Bergström and Winther. From 1922 onwards he dealt with the development of paper photography, while at the same time complementing his studies of the earliest period with e g an expansion of his material so that it would also comprehend Skåne, which he quite correctly saw as the gateway to Sweden in terms of the course of photography's spread in the country.

In 1919 Bäckström noted that "the history of the camera and of photography in our country is as yet unwritten" (*NTfF* 1919, p 50). In the same piece, however, he pointed out that he had collected a fair amount of material towards such a history, but that much remained to discover. As there were no similar efforts that had preceded his, it was first and foremost a matter of collecting whatever information might be worth remembering and committing it to paper. It appears that Bäckström had begun his collection

efforts a few years earlier, and that he now felt ready to present the results piece by piece, much like a gradually completed jigsaw puzzle. And it is indeed a characteristic of “*Samlingar till kamerans och fotografiens svenska historia*” that each article appears independently of the others. This approach allowed Bäckström to add new finds as they happened, while also digressing into other areas, all without an overarching chronological order. Thus he was able, in the same issue of the periodical, to publish an article about aerial photography from hot-air balloons at the end of the 19th century as well as an account of Benzelstierna’s late activity as a daguerreotypist. It appears that all of these subjects aroused in Bäckström the same fervent interest. The prehistory of photography, exhibitions, manuals of photography, different chemical processes, improvements to lenses, dioramas, stereoscopes, reproduction techniques, statistics about professional practitioners, and the civil society side of photography – all of them are treated here to a foundational description and analysis.

History of photography exhibitions

What was labelled the first Nordic exhibition of photography, held at the Royal Academy of Fine Arts in Stockholm in September 1920, also had a historical section, a room that was intended to elucidate the then 80-year existence of photography. Court photographer Ferdinand Flodin, himself a collector of older photographs, was responsible for this section, which did not limit itself to Nordic history of photography but also, for the sake of comparison, included examples of British, French and American images. Cameras and various accessories were also on display, and included the well-known Giroux camera (in the form of the one owned by Uppsala University). This exhibition was also reviewed by Bäckström in *NT/F* 1921 (pp 33-38), where he offers judicious praise for Flodin’s room. It is abundantly clear from the review as a whole that the knowledge of domestic history of photography was limited in all the Nordic countries at this time.

A photography exhibition was held at Skansen in Stockholm in 1930, under the auspices of Nordiska Museet, Fotografiska Föreningen and Svenska Fotografernas Förbund. The show included a large collection of older photographs, among them 159 daguerreotypes from the collection of Wilhelm Dost, a German (cf Sidwall/Wigh, *Bäckströms Bilder!*, p 13; see below). As usual, Helmer Bäckström was one of the driving forces behind it. Another major exhibition was held in 1933 at Oslo’s Norsk Teknisk Museum with the participation of Oslo Fotografforening and Oslo Kamera Klub. Organised to commemorate the centenary of the death of Joseph Nicéphore Niépce in 1833, this exhibition included several lectures on its programme, as mentioned earlier. The lecture entitled “The history of photography” was given by John Herzberg in his capacity as an expert in the field. Bäckström had not yet

achieved “expert” status, and Herzberg was not just knowledgeable, but also the editor of *Nordisk Tidskrift för Fotografi* and in charge of photography teaching at KTH. The fact that Herzberg was asked to lecture is also a sign that the productive team of researchers at KTH was significant for the other Nordic countries as well.

On the occasion of photography’s centenary in 1939 Fotografiska Föreningen and Svenska Fotografernas Förbund organised a major exhibition at Liljevalchs in Stockholm, which included a large section for the history of photography (Liljevalchs konsthall, *Det nya ögat – Fotografien 100 år*, exhibition catalogue no 130). Bäckström had lent them pictures from his collection, which at this time numbered several thousand images. Concurrently a number of history of photography articles were published in *NTjF*. It was the first time that contributions there had been written by others than Helmer Bäckström, who nevertheless wrote an introductory essay aimed at a general readership, entitled “Fotografien 100 år” (pp 1-4) and two additional instalments in his series of articles. Björn Svenonius wrote about “Daguerreotyp-bilden av solförmörkelsen 1851 – historiskt fotografi av bestående värde” (“The daguerreotype image of the 1851 solar eclipse – a historic photograph of lasting value”) (pp 107-110). Carl Björkbom, a librarian at the National Library in Stockholm, presented “Ett reklamkort från en av de första svenska porträttdaguerreotypisterna” (“An advertisement picture from one of the earliest Swedish portrait daguerreotypists”) (pp 174-176), which provided the essentials of Johan Adolf Sevén’s. Finally, Arne Eld Sandström had penned an article about “Sveriges första Daguerrekamera?” (“Sweden’s first Daguerre camera?”) (pp 185-189) – the one in Uppsala University’s possession. Sandström’s article comes with some annotations in footnote form by Bäckström, which rectify the author’s incorrect information on a couple of fundamental points.

The 1940s and 1950s also saw the occasional contribution of historical interest in various periodicals. Anna-Maja Nylén explores photography as a source of ethnographic knowledge in her article “Familjealbumet” (“The family album”) in *Fataburen* 1955. Karl Sandels, the famous press photographer, wrote about “Det fotografiska bildreportaget genom tiderna” (“The photo feature reportage through the ages”) in *Fotografisk Årsbok* 1950 (pp 129-155) in a piece that dealt with early news photographs from the continent as well as the situation in Sweden from the 1860s onwards. The *Daedalus* periodical published articles related to the history of photography on a few occasions. Back in 1943 Bäckström had written a summarising article about “Daguerreotypien i Sverige” (pp 63-78). In 1953 Rune G:son Kjellander published “J W Bergström – mekanikus och daguerreotypist” (“J W Bergström – mechanic and daguerreotypist”) in the same periodical (pp 99-115).

However, his article is primarily about Bergström as a man of industry and an inventor.

The museum issue

Opinions in favour of a museum of photography appear in photography periodicals from the 1930s onwards. The idea was already old at the time, but the development of the photography medium during the first decades of the century made the issue all the more urgent. Bäckström wrote about this in an article in *NTF* 1941 (“Fotografiens svenska museifråga”, or “The issue of a Swedish photography museum”, p 810):

“All of the aids used by the photographer are technological products, and the production of every photographic image requires some technological method. This makes it immediately clear that photographic images, as well as the associated equipment and aids that have served to produce the image, ought to be collected and displayed in a museum of technology [...] As the country now has an excellent Museum of Technology, so its director, Curator Althin, has indeed been quick to address this issue. [...] It should nevertheless be equally clear to anyone who has had any closer involvement with photography that purely technological efforts are not sufficient for the production of photographic images, if one wants to achieve the best result. For that, something of an artistic sentiment as well as creative energy are required. [...] Just as a Rembrandt canvas ought not to be hung in the pictorial technology section of a museum of technology, or a statue by Michelangelo not be placed in the stone industries section of the same museum, so the most prominent works of photographic imagery do not belong in a museum of technology either, but ought without any doubt to be housed in a museum of art. In this country the National Museum is the only apt place for them.”

In his own telling, Bäckström had already brought up this subject for discussion in *Fotografiska Föreningen* twenty years earlier (in around 1920), but the general belief there had been that there would be no interest on the part of the museums. Several people advocated for a museum of photography in the 1930s, including the court photographer, Gunnar Sundgren. Then in October 1944 an exhibition was arranged at the National Museum in Stockholm through the agency of its director at the time, Erik Wettergren, under the title “Modern svensk fotokonst” (“Modern Swedish photographic art”). Wettergren’s intention was to acquire the best images for the museum’s own collection, and so they were. In December and January of 1954-55 a second photo exhibition was held at the National Museum, entitled “Svensk fotografi av idag. Svartvitt” (“Swedish photography today. Black and white”) (catalogue no 223). The creation of a museum of modern art, *Moderna museet*,

as an independent part of the National Museum in 1958 increased hopes that photography would also be given a place within the walls of the new museum.

By this time Göteborgs konstmuseum, the Gothenburg Museum of Art, had also begun to show an interest in photography thanks to its director, Alfred Westholm (see Per Hemmingsson, “Kring en fotosamling i Göteborgs konstmuseum” [“On a photography collection in the Gothenburg Museum of Art”], in *Fotografiska Årsbok* 1968, pp 51-55). Westholm had begun collecting contemporary Swedish photography back in 1948, according to the museum’s current director, Björn Fredlund. This was in the face of protests from artists (see Fredlund’s foreword in the exhibition catalogue for *Pionjärerna*, Göteborgs konstmuseum 1989). In 1956 the Gothenburg Museum of Art also showed Gernsheim’s historical collection.

When the association Fotografiska Museets Vänner (Friends of a museum of photography) was formed in 1964, it was with the aim of getting a museum of photography to open in Stockholm. Bäckström would not get to see these efforts come to fruition, however. Within a year of his death in 1964, the state acquired a large portion of his collection. It was not until 1971 that a department was created at Moderna museet which would be named Fotografiska museet. The association arranged exhibitions during the latter half of the 1960s, including one called “Konstnärstiden – en epok i svensk fotohistoria” (“The artist period – an epoch in Swedish history of photography” – in collaboration with Stockholms stadsmuseum, the city museum, in 1966). The association also published material in order to support and encourage interest among its membership. In *Fotografica 67. Sveriges fotoskribenter om aktuellt och historiskt inom svensk fotografi. Årsskrift för Fotografiska Museets Vänner* (*Fotografica 67. Swedish writers on photography about the past and present in Swedish photography. Yearbook for Fotografiska Museets Vänner*, Sthlm: Bonniers 1966), the association argued for a museum of photography that would systematically collect photographs and chart the history of Swedish photography, as well as highlight the mutual relationships between painting, graphics and photography.

Once Moderna museet’s department of photography was instituted, its scope in reality became much narrower – partly due to a lack of staff resources and partly due to an express wish to have the museum concentrate on the images that current consensus defined as being of aesthetic value. This focus in turn was based on the traditional subjectivism of art museums which, while shifting sharply over time, could nevertheless be regarded as a code for museum employees whose task it was to collect aesthetic artefacts. In this approach the definition of an aesthetic artefact varies with the zeitgeist as well

as with the individual museum buyer's taste, but is continually effected through acquisitions and exhibitions.

Conflicts arose in the gap between the association's objective and how the museum was in fact being run. Neither friends nor enemies of the museum were happy with its limited scope. The discussions and debates that have continued to rage ever since the opening of Fotografiska museet will not be explored here, but they have had a significance for where history of photography research has come to be conducted. Among the consequences of Fotografiska museet's stipulated field of interest and collection was that older collections of photographic images were left where they had ended up at some point in the past. Thus there are in Stockholm notable collections of photographs in museums such as Nordiska museet, Stadsmuseet, Tekniska museet, as well as in archives, at government authorities and in other public institutions.

Writers in the 1960s

These discussions also brought an increased interest in national history of photography and in issues of preservation. There were a number of writers who were active, contributing texts to exhibition catalogues, annuals and books in order to make the early history of photography more widely known. A summer exhibition at Gripsholm Castle bequeathed a small catalogue about *De första svenska porträttfotograferna* (*The first Swedish portrait photographers*), written by Boo von Malmborg (National Museum exhibition catalogue 280, 1963). Harald Althin wrote about “De första Stockholmsfotografierna” (“The first photographs of Stockholm”) in *Samfundet S:t Eriks årsbok* 1970 (Sthlm 1969, pp 18-41) and an article about “De första trettio åren” (“The first thirty years”) in *Fotografisk årsbok* 1970 (Sthlm: Norstedts 1969, pp 30-43). Althin also contributed to *Fotografica* 67, an article about “Fotografen för 100 år sedan” (“Photography 100 years ago”). One thing that Malmborg’s and Althin’s texts share is a strong dependence on Bäckström.

Bo Lagercrantz, who was working at Nordiska museet, became engaged with the museum issue and wrote about “Grunden till ett svenskt fotomuseum” (“The foundation for a Swedish museum of photography”) in *Fotografisk Årsbok* 1965 (pp 42-45). He had previously studied the history of the Jaeger studio, among other things. Another active writer was Per Hemmingsson, who published an initial account of “Helmer Bäckströms fotohistoriska samlingar” (“Helmer Bäckström’s historical photography collections”) in *Fotografisk Årsbok* 1966, after having been commissioned by Fotografiska Museets Vänner to inventory the Bäckström collections (Sthlm: Nordisk Rotogravyr 1965, pp 41-45). He also compiled exhibition catalogues for Fotografiska Museets Vänner in the late 1960s and early 1970s (Rejlander, Holl & Adamson). *Fotografisk Årsbok* 1967 included an article by him about the industrial exposition in Stockholm, entitled “För hundra år sedan: Om fotografins roll vid Allmänna konst- och industriutställningen i Stockholm 1866” (“One hundred years ago: About the role of photography at the General Industrial Exposition of Stockholm in 1866”, Sthlm: Nordisk Rotogravyr/ Norstedts 1966, pp 12-21). As a product of his several years of work on history of photography material, Hemmingsson published his book *Fotohistoriskt. Kring fotografins pionjärer och deras bilder* (*Historical photography. On the pioneers of photography and their images*, Sthlm 1970).

The 1970s and 1980s

Pär Rittsel wrote in *Nordisk Fotohistorisk Journal* no 1/1977 (published in Oslo), in a brief piece entitled “På jakt efter svenska daguerreotypen” (“Tracking down Swedish daguerreotypes”, p 30), that Swedish history of photography had thitherto merely repeated Bäckström’s history. What he meant was that few researchers had made new contributions to the history of daguerreotypy in

Sweden. He declared that he had himself begun a project called “Den unika bilden” (“The unique image”) together with Sven Holmström. The project aimed to inventory all extant Swedish daguerreotypes. In issue no 4/1978 of the same periodical he introduced “Müller och Mannerhjerta” to a Norwegian audience.

Rittsel’s assessment of the state of research came at a time when interest in 20th-century photographic art was generally on the rise. Fotografiska museet was in existence, the Camera Obscura gallery’s shows introduced one important artist after another. Professional and amateur photographers arranged exhibitions, “Tusen och en bild” (“A thousand and one pictures”) was shown at Moderna museet, and photography magazines had large readerships. The winds of change were starting to blow at universities as well – primarily in the art history departments at Lund and Uppsala. History of photography was included in the art history syllabus from the mid-1970s – admittedly only as an optional extra and not a requirement, but at least it was there. In other words, it was a good time to begin revising the history of photography as it stood. Still, Rittsel was right in saying that research into Swedish 19th-century history of photography had been at a standstill since Bäckström. To the extent that it was a subject of study it was as a small part of a larger survey, as for example in Rune Hassner’s *Bilder för miljoner (Images for millions, Sthlm: Sveriges Radio/Rabén & Sjögren 1977)*.

Ambitions were budding in several places at this time. An assistant at Fotografiska museet, Evert Julner, was working on a one-man project to chart Stockholm photographers up to 1865. Julner compiled his material in manuscript form in the early 1980s, but died before it was published. Karl Sandels dreamt of writing a book about Swedish history of photography, and collected material to that end. A concrete partial result of this was the bibliography he published in *Fotonyheter* no 6/1982 with the title “Fotohistorisk litteratur på svenska språket” (“Literature on the history of photography in the Swedish language”). But Sandels, too, died before having taken his project to its completion.

In parallel with Rittsel, Gunilla Ahlström at the magazine *Aktuell Fotografi* (1981) began an inventory of preserved daguerreotypes in private ownership. As far as I know the result of the inventory has never been published. Ahlström was also interested in the history of professional women photographers, and together with Bodil Österlund she wrote some articles on this subject for *Fotografiskt Album* 4/1980 and *Västerbotten* 1/82. Rittsel’s own inventory of extant daguerreotypes was never completed either. Instead it led to the publication of *Den svenska fotografins historia (The history of Swedish photography, see below)*. Yet another inventory project, but of a broader scope,

was carried out by Johan Hillermark at Stockholms stadsmuseum in the 1980s. Hillermark catalogued Stockholm photographers during the period from 1840 to 1940, with the emphasis on data about businesses established, studios, active working periods and similar.

Another major inventory effort was undertaken in the 1970s at Fotografiska museet. This involved the organisation of Helmer Bäckström's collection of historical photographs. In 1980 the museum's curators, Åke Sidwall and Leif Wigh, published the book *Bäckströms Bilder! (Bäckström's Pictures!)*, (Sthlm: Moderna museet/Fotografiska museet 1980) in connection with an exhibition of a selection of photographs from Bäckström's collection. Their book, however, also documents the history and make-up of the entire collection, as well as Bäckström's biography. It even has a rudimentary bibliography of Bäckström's written work which includes a list of all 97 articles in the series "Samlingar till kamerans och fotografins svenska historia" ("Collections towards a history of the camera and of photography in Sweden").

In 1983, then, the much anticipated survey of Swedish history of photography entitled *Den svenska fotografins historia* (Sthlm: Bonnier Fakta 1983) was published. The authors – the Senior Curator at Stockholms stadsmuseum Rolf Söderberg and the journalist Pär Rittsel – had divided the material between them such that Pär Rittsel wrote about the earliest period, until 1860, and about the period that began with the breakthrough of artistic photography; Söderberg wrote about the intervening period. The book is an accessible summary and a personal reassessment of history of photography facts. The authors furthermore succeed in conveying, by means of extensive sourcing of images, an idea of how the photographic idiom has developed. While the book is based principally on previously known facts, the thorough preparatory work that went into it also produced new archive finds. This applies in particular to the discovery of Benzelstierna's memoranda. *Den svenska fotografins historia* is a popular history survey without a critical apparatus. This notwithstanding, it offers a synoptic perspective which has been lacking in earlier articles and essays.

Studies of local history

Söderberg and Rittsel's book included some of the results of local history studies in its survey. Despite this, however, the book comes across as strongly Stockholm-centric. The authors were aware of this, as they indicate in their foreword. It proved impossible, for practical reasons, to achieve an account that covered the whole country; instead the authors chose to select a few places to give a more detailed description of. Readers with a special interest could moreover turn to the bibliography for references to local history studies.

In his time, Helmer Bäckström had studied the introduction of photography in Gothenburg, Uppsala, Helsingborg and Kristianstad. The local heritage movement and county museums have also contributed, incrementally, to local histories of photography. Otto Thulin wrote about “Göteborgs första fotografer” (“Gothenburg’s first photographers”) in *Göteborgs Musei årsbok* 1959, Bertil Widerberg wrote about Malmö photographers under the heading “Kameran minns. Fotografi i Malmö 1843-1870” (“The camera remembers. Photography in Malmö 1843-1870”) in *Sydsvenska Dagbladets årsbok* 1964, Helge Höglund published *När fotografin kom till Sundsvall (When photography came to Sundsvall, Sundsvall 1962)*, and Curt Gömlin dealt with “Fotografien i Örebro under 1800-talet” (“Photography in Örebro in the 19th century”) in *Från Bergslags och Bondebygd* 1968 (pp 43-82). Kalmar photographers were the subject of an article by Walter Olson in *Kalmar län 1976* entitled “Ljusets riddare – men även mörkermän. Om fotograferingen och fotograferna i Kalmar” (“Knights of the light – but also some obscurantists. On photographing and photographers in Kalmar”) and Pär Rittsel made a study of the Växjö area that was published in *Kronobergsboken 1977* with the title “Växjö framför kameran 1847-1900” (“Växjö in front of the camera 1847-1900”). Bo Sundin investigated what women photographers had been working in Västerbotten and published his results in an informative issue of *Västerbotten* (1/82) under the headline “Kvinnliga fotografer i Västerbotten” (“Women photographers in Västerbotten”, pp 10-31).

The 150th anniversary of photography also served as an encouragement to regional and local studies. It occasioned the publication, for example, of *Landsbygden genom linsen. Bygdefotografer i Västergötland. Västergötlands Fornminnesförenings tidskrift 1987-1988 (Rural photographers in Västergötland. Periodical of the Ancient Heritage Association in Västergötland, Editor Christer Ask and Christer Åhlin, Skara 1989)*. Many of the published studies have, for natural reasons, dealt with periods beyond the scope of the present bibliography; the introduction of the new medium was delayed by two or three decades in many parts of the country. We can nevertheless note that there is as yet no comprehensive overview of the knowledge thus far provided by studies of local history.

Photography symposia

Several photography symposia have been held during the final years of the 1980s. In previous years the Nordic history of photography symposia were held in Finland (Borgå 1973), Norway (Jeløy 1980) and Denmark (Marienlyst 1984), and in the anniversary year of 1989 it was Sweden’s turn to arrange a meeting at Stockholm’s Nordiska museet on 12-15 November. This symposium dealt above all with society’s and museums’ relationship with photographic images, which placed documentary photography and issues of

preservation at the heart of the discussions. (A brief account of the symposium at Nordiska museet, written by Åsa Thorbeck, was published in *Adomus-nytt* no 10 1989, p 33).

While history of photography issues were of secondary significance at the Nordic meeting, they were centre stage at the conference arranged by the European Society for the History of Photography in Gothenburg in September 1989, with Helmut Gernsheim as guest of honour. The conference wrangled over his contribution to world historiography of photography and found that while his achievement had been considerable it had now all but lost its currency. A few different visions of the future were presented in contrast with Gernsheim's technology and innovation-focused view of history, but no unified outlook was achieved.

At the time of the conference the Gothenburg Museum of Art was showing a selection of 19th-century photographs from the collections owned by the Société française de photographie. A richly illustrated catalogue, *Pionjärerna. Ur Samlingarna i Société Française de Photographie (Pioneers from the collections of the Société française de photographie, Göteborgs konstmuseum 1989)*, was published in connection with the exhibition.

The Nordic photography symposium at Linköping University in November 1988 was organised by the Tema Kommunikation department and was divided into three themes, entitled "Scandinavia and the history of photography", "Technology and didactics", and "Modern photography: aesthetics and ideology". The history of photography theme had a particular function here: the state of history of photography research was described by a representative of each participating country except Sweden – Tove Hansen Thage from Denmark, Sven Hirn from Finland, and Roger Erlandsen from Norway. The intention was thus to enable a direct comparison between the countries. The report *Fotobilden: Historien i nuet – nuet i historien (The photo image: History in the present – the present in history, edited by Lean Johannesson, Angelika Sjölander-Hovorka, Solfrid Söderlind, Linköping 1989)* unfortunately only includes the Finnish and Danish contributions to this description of the state of research.

The role of universities

The primary objective of the 1988 photography symposium in Linköping was to achieve a dialogue between the universities and public institutions that manage knowledge about the photographic image, including higher education institutions such as Fotohögskolan, the University College of Photography in Gothenburg and Konstfackskolan, the University of Arts, Crafts and Design, in Stockholm. The universities' own traditions in this area are relatively young. The first-cycle programme at the A/B level (= two semesters of study) which

was offered at Lund University meant, among other things, that art history as a discipline was broadened. The course has been discontinued, however. One of the teachers on the course, Henning Hansen, presented a thesis at Lund on W Eugene Smith (1987). A few years earlier he had written a paper on *Fotografi og familjealbum som mytisk fascination (Photography and family albums as a mythical fascination, Lund University, 1981)*.

At Uppsala University, too, teaching about the photographic image has broadened the subject and brought theoretical problems up to date. A few C level papers (= the third semester of study; undergraduate dissertations) have been presented here on e.g. Christer Strömholm and Galleri Camera Obscura. A few papers at the C and D levels have been written in the 1980s at the universities of Umeå and Stockholm. In the present context I will only mention Michal Sikorski's dissertation *Fotoateljéer i Stockholm, Konstruktionstyper mellan 1855 och 1915 (Photo studios in Stockholm, Construction types between 1855 and 1915, second-cycle dissertation in art history, Stockholm University, spring semester 1983)*. Sikorski also presented his findings in popular form, in *Fotonyheterna* nos 8 and 9 1983.

Also at Stockholm University's art history department, Marta Edling is doing research in the area of photography. She recently published a paper with an information theory focus, "Ljuger kameran?" ("Does the camera lie?") in *Konsthistorisk Tidskrift* 1989:4 (pp 166-172). In conclusion I will also mention that the recent research department Tema Kommunikation at Linköping University, under the leadership of Professor Lena Johannesson, has begun building an image research seminar in which the photographic image is of great significance.

Ongoing work at museums and libraries

There is at present some activity at museums and libraries that is relevant to the state of history of photography research concerning the period from 1840 to 1865. Kristina Marian at the National Library's Department of Maps and Images is working on a catalogue of older Stockholm photographers based on the National Library's collection. Her cataloguing process follows the examples of Bjørn Ochsner and Susanne Bonge. Stockholm's City Museum (Stadsmuseum) is planning to publish Evert Julner's work on Stockholm photographers in some form. Nordiska Museet is also active in terms of early photography and documentary photography. In the spring of 1990 it advertised a new post that will be part of a photography secretariat which is to serve as an advisory body on collection and preservation issues. In the longer term such a secretariat may also take on the role as a national data bank of early photography.

SUMMARY

The course of photography's spread and the press

The conditions for the spread of photography were determined by the general circumstances for the spread of information in Europe. All information was spread by courier (postal services) or telegraphy. The reports from Paris reached Scandinavia with the normal delay of around three weeks. The newspapers therefore started from more or less equal positions. The only notable thing during the initial phase (January 1839) is that a Stockholm newspaper printed a news item five days before the first Copenhagen newspaper – in fact the news ought to have reached Copenhagen a few days before it reached Stockholm. One thing the Nordic countries' printed media have in common during the early part of the process of dissemination is that much of what they publish is translated material from the foreign press.

The public demonstrations of daguerreotypes largely follow the same distribution patterns as the written information. The first demonstration took place in Copenhagen in October 1839, in Turku in January 1840, in Stockholm in February 1840 and in Bergen in October 1840. The outlier here is the early demonstration in Turku. All of the demonstrations were reported in the press.

Opportunities for having a first-hand experience of the new medium varied considerably between the Nordic countries, however. In Copenhagen and Stockholm new scientific advances were registered quickly and efficiently. Aside from the fact that those cities had major scientific societies and institutions, a few individual scientists became significant for the local exploitation of the possibilities of the medium. H C Ørsted initially served as interpreter of information in Denmark, via Selskabet for Naturlærens Udbredelse. And experiments at the Polyteknisk Lærestalt were early in adopting a systematic approach. On the other hand, Jöns Jacob Berzelius' role for the attitude of the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences has not been possible to explore in any greater depth. The first well-known experiments in Sweden were carried out in Stockholm by private individuals without previous technical-optical or chemical experience. The favourable conditions in Denmark and Sweden also include the early publication of Daguerre's manual. In Denmark excerpts from the manual were published in a newspaper as early as in October 1839; in Sweden it was issued as a separate publication shortly before Christmas 1839.

The situation for sources: periodicals, manuals and aesthetic statements

Another characteristic that the Nordic countries share is that none of them had a sufficient potential readership of specialist periodicals in the 1840s and 1850s. The number of photographers was still small, and the number of established studios was likewise negligible.

Denmark is the country in which the earliest photography periodicals become established. The first of these, *Fotografisk Museum*, was originally published in 1863; *Den fotografiske Forenings Tidende* was published 1865-68; and *Alfen. Tidende for fotografien i Norden* from 1865 onwards. In the other Nordic countries regular publication of periodicals only begins in connection with the founding of large associations of amateur and professional photographers at the end of the 19th century.

As mentioned earlier, printed Danish and Swedish translations of Daguerre's manual existed already in the autumn of 1839. However, it appears not to have had any considerable significance as a practical guide for those interested, as the information in it that could be put into practice was insufficient. Only the Danish photographer Christian Piil is reported to have begun experimenting with Daguerre's manual as his only guide. The spread of technical-practical knowledge thus occurred primarily by means of spoken demonstrations, often along the lines of conventional guild practice, with an itinerant photographer as teacher.

Printed manuals were published in Denmark in 1861, 1864 and 1865. In Sweden two overviews of the technological history of photography were published in 1856 and 1861, but the first home-grown handbook only came out in 1864. In Norway and Finland publication only occurred beyond the time frame of the present bibliography.

In the area of contemporary aesthetics, too, Denmark comes across as the country that left the earliest traces of a theoretical approach to the new medium. Julius Lange's polemic (1864) against Disdéri's *L'Art et la photographie* has no equivalent in the other Nordic countries. Emerging art criticism chose other objects for its analysis, as did the new discipline of aesthetics at universities.

Retrospective accounts

A particular source is what has been termed "retrospective accounts" here. Such historical accounts naturally began to appear in connection with photography's 50th anniversary in 1889. On the whole, however, this 50th anniversary does not constitute some grand starting point of Nordic historiography of photography. Still, it cannot be denied that it is at this point that the first attempts are made – and specifically with

memoirs by older pioneers. It may also be worth noting in passing how the surge of Scandinavism can still be discerned in connection with this anniversary, which to a large extent was a joint event (particularly in the planning stages). To the extent that the true pioneers were still alive, then, they were given an opportunity to present their recollections. In Denmark this applied to court photographer Jens Petersen and J E A Hansen; in Sweden to C G V Carleman. The retrospective accounts inhabit a territory between contemporary sources and emerging history of photography research – the latter initially being heavily inclined towards history of technology and influenced above all by Joseph Maria Eder's major history of photography publications.

History of photography literature

Thus it was that Scandinavian periodicals jointly became the forum also for the earliest experts with a history of photography interest. The photo chemist Carl Adolf Dahlström wrote about his notes on the history of photography in *Fotografisk Tidskrift* (published in Sweden) as early as in 1889. In Sweden John Herzberg and Helmer Bäckström – both at the Royal Institute of Technology in Stockholm – would come to dominate history of photography journalism in Scandinavia during the earliest decades of the 20th century. They managed the publication of *Nordisk Tidskrift för Fotografi*, in which Bäckström's legendary ninety-seven pieces on the “Swedish history of the camera and of photography” appeared between 1919 and 1944. Bäckström's writing is characterised by a thirst for knowledge and an unprejudiced approach to every imaginable aspect of the subject. The breadth of the scope of these articles is such that they have been fundamental for charting Scandinavian, and above all Swedish, history of photography, and that they continue to this day to constitute an ineluctable basis for history of photography research in our part of the world.

In the 1930s, and in particular in connection with the 100th anniversary of photography, history of photography reviews of various kinds were undertaken. Exhibitions, usually on an ambitious scale, were arranged. This also brought about a selection of photographic images that had, in contemporary eyes, aesthetic and historical value. The 1940s brought the beginning of a modest production of history of photography literature, particularly in Denmark but also in Finland. A pattern was established then which would last into the 1980s: individuals who take on history of photography tasks come from all persuasions and have enormously varied backgrounds. In Finland in the 1940s, a postal inspector and a museum curator contributed the weightiest tomes. The earliest writers in Sweden had been engineers,

but eventually curators, photographers and journalists joined in the search for new knowledge. In 1940s Denmark an engineer and a librarian were especially dominant, and in Norway there was a photographer whose efforts at documentation were soon cut short by his death.

In the postwar years image-collecting institutions began to take an interest in registration projects at the national level, to provide an overview of working photographers since the earliest days and into the 1920s. The need for cataloguing and reordering was emphasised partly by the fact that entire collections and the associated information were lost in bombed-out buildings and repurposed attics during the second world war, and partly because the possibility of documenting portraits and other images was threatening to die out with the older generation. Such projects were launched at around the same time in Denmark and Norway, even if the Norwegian one would remain nascent some time into the 1970s. At Copenhagen's Royal Library Bjørn Ochsner worked for several decades on building a register of Danish photographers; its third edition was published in 1986. In Norway the 1970s registration project, published in 1980, also became tied to a library, that of Bergen University, where Ragna Sollid and Susanne Bonge were in charge of collecting material. In Finland the city librarian in Helsinki, Sven Hirn, published a register in two volumes (1972, 1977), covering the time until 1900. In Sweden there are currently a couple of as-yet-unpublished projects that may eventually provide a comprehensive picture of the scope and distribution among different practitioners of the earliest production of photography.

The librarians who were involved in such registration projects became uniting or leading figures within the history of photography field in each country. This also meant that the research carried out up to and including the 1970s was tied primarily to these unifying institutions and not to universities or university colleges.

In addition to the registration projects, studies have focused on individual photographers and studios, collections of ethnological interest have been examined, and regional studies undertaken. For the period that the present bibliography covers, studies specialising in history of technology or of innovation have dominated work on 1840s and 1850s history of photography. The earliest years of Nordic *carte de visite* photography, by contrast, has attracted more explorations of social history. The reason for this is likely to be the fact that the number of (preserved) images increases beyond all control around 1860. Compared with unique older images, *carte de visite* portraits have less value as single

objects, but on the other hand the sheer number of preserved images opens up possibilities of generalising studies of subjects, professions and markets. Added to this are new categories of pictures – topographic views and reportage – that serve to encourage reflection on societal conditions.

Book production in the area of Nordic history of photography is growing steadily, but remains rather modest. By contrast, the production of articles in periodicals is vast and difficult to survey. Add to this exhibition catalogues, symposium reports with original articles, and unpublished academic papers. During the 1980s we have also seen a marked change in the position of history of photography research. As the study of the photographic image has slowly been incorporated into university syllabuses in the 1980s, increasing numbers of academic papers and dissertations have also been published or presented in various contexts.

The Nordic countries differ on one point, however. In Sweden it is primarily the ethnology and art history departments that have expanded their boundaries, while in Denmark this has been done by the philology-literary studies departments, led by language and media researchers such as Bent Fausing. In Finland it is the art history departments that have opened their gates. In recent times there has been a change in Norway and Denmark in that art history departments have begun to show an interest in the photographic image as well. It is too early to predict what will happen to history of photography research now that its establishment phase at universities has passed. What may be expected, however, is a development of methods and theories connected with international research in e g anthropology, art history, sociology and information theory.