



ARIZONA STATE UNIVERSITY
GENERAL STUDIES COURSE PROPOSAL COVER FORM

Course information:

Copy and paste current course information from [Class Search/Course Catalog](#).

Academic Unit	<u>HIDA</u>	Department	<u>School of Art</u>
Subject	<u>ARS</u>	Number	<u>330</u>
		Title	<u>The Portrait</u>
		Units:	<u>3</u>
Is this a cross-listed course? If yes, please identify course(s)	<u>No</u>		
Is this a shared course? Course description:	<u>No</u>	If so, list all academic units offering this course	<u></u>

Requested designation: Humanities, Fine Arts and Design-HU

Note- a separate proposal is required for each designation requested

Eligibility:

Permanent numbered courses must have completed the university's review and approval process.
For the rules governing approval of omnibus courses, contact the General Studies Program Office at (480) 965-0739.

Area(s) proposed course will serve:

A single course may be proposed for more than one core or awareness area. A course may satisfy a core area requirement and more than one awareness area requirements concurrently, but may not satisfy requirements in two core areas simultaneously, even if approved for those areas. With departmental consent, an approved General Studies course may be counted toward both the General Studies requirement and the major program of study.

Checklists for general studies designations:

Complete and attach the appropriate checklist

- [Literacy and Critical Inquiry core courses \(L\)](#)
- [Mathematics core courses \(MA\)](#)
- [Computer/statistics/quantitative applications core courses \(CS\)](#)
- [Humanities, Fine Arts and Design core courses \(HU\)](#)
- [Social and Behavioral Sciences core courses \(SB\)](#)
- [Natural Sciences core courses \(SQ/SG\)](#)
- [Global Awareness courses \(G\)](#)
- [Historical Awareness courses \(H\)](#)
- [Cultural Diversity in the United States courses \(C\)](#)

A complete proposal should include:

- Signed General Studies Program Course Proposal Cover Form
- Criteria Checklist for the area
- Course Syllabus
- Table of Contents from the textbook and list of required readings/books

Contact information:

Name	<u>Julie Codell</u>	Phone	<u>965-3400</u>
Mail code	<u>1505</u>	E-mail:	<u>julie.codell@asu.edu</u>

Department Chair/Director approval: (Required)

Chair/Director name (Typed):	<u>ADRIENE JENIK</u>	Date:	<u></u>
Chair/Director (Signature):	<u></u>		

Arizona State University Criteria Checklist for
HUMANITIES, FINE ARTS AND DESIGN [HU]

Rationale and Objectives

The humanities disciplines are concerned with questions of human existence and meaning, the nature of thinking and knowing, with moral and aesthetic experience. The humanities develop values of all kinds by making the human mind more supple, critical, and expansive. They are concerned with the study of the textual and artistic traditions of diverse cultures, including traditions in literature, philosophy, religion, ethics, history, and aesthetics. In sum, these disciplines explore the range of human thought and its application to the past and present human environment. They deepen awareness of the diversity of the human heritage and its traditions and histories and they may also promote the application of this knowledge to contemporary societies.

The study of the arts and design, like the humanities, deepens the student's awareness of the diversity of human societies and cultures. The fine arts have as their primary purpose the creation and study of objects, installations, performances and other means of expressing or conveying aesthetic concepts and ideas. Design study concerns itself with material objects, images and spaces, their historical development, and their significance in society and culture. Disciplines in the fine arts and design employ modes of thought and communication that are often nonverbal, which means that courses in these areas tend to focus on objects, images, and structures and/or on the practical techniques and historical development of artistic and design traditions. The past and present accomplishments of artists and designers help form the student's ability to perceive aesthetic qualities of art work and design.

The Humanities, Fine Arts and Design are an important part of the General Studies Program, for they provide an opportunity for students to study intellectual and imaginative traditions and to observe and/or learn the production of art work and design. The knowledge acquired in courses fulfilling the Humanities, Fine Arts and Design requirement may encourage students to investigate their own personal philosophies or beliefs and to understand better their own social experience. In sum, the Humanities, Fine Arts and Design core area enables students to broaden and deepen their consideration of the variety of human experience.

Revised October 2004

Proposer: Please complete the following section and attach appropriate documentation.

ASU - [HU] CRITERIA			
HUMANITIES, ARTS AND DESIGN [HU] courses must meet <i>either</i> 1, 2 or 3 <i>and</i> at least one of the criteria under 4 in such a way as to make the satisfaction of these criteria A CENTRAL AND SUBSTANTIAL PORTION of the course content.			
YES	NO		Identify Documentation Submitted
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	1. Emphasizes the study of values; the development of philosophies, religions, ethics or belief systems; and/or aesthetic experience.	
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	2. Concerns the interpretation, analysis, or creation of written, aural, or visual texts; and/or the historical development of textual traditions.	
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	3. Concerns the interpretation, analysis, or engagement with aesthetic practices; and/or the historical development of artistic or design traditions.	syllabus, sample ppt discussion questions
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	4. In addition, to qualify for the Humanities, Arts and Design designation a course must meet one or more of the following requirements:	
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	a. Concerns the development of human thought, with emphasis on the analysis of philosophical and/or religious systems of thought.	
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	b. Concerns aesthetic systems and values, especially in literature, arts, and design.	syllabus, readings and discussion questions
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	c. Emphasizes aesthetic experience and creative process in literature, arts, and design.	
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	d. Concerns the analysis of literature and the development of literary traditions.	
		THE FOLLOWING TYPES OF COURSES ARE EXCLUDED FROM THE [HU] DESIGNATION EVEN THOUGH THEY MIGHT GIVE SOME CONSIDERATION TO THE HUMANITIES, ARTS AND DESIGN:	
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Courses devoted primarily to developing skill in the use of a language. 	
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Courses devoted primarily to the acquisition of quantitative or experimental methods. 	
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Courses devoted primarily to teaching skills. 	

Course Prefix	Number	Title	Designation
ARS	330	GENRE: PORTRAITS	HU

Explain in detail which student activities correspond to the **specific** designation criteria. Please use the following organizer to explain how the criteria are being met.

Criteria (from checklist)	How course meets spirit (contextualize specific examples in next column)	Please provide detailed evidence of how course meets criteria (i.e., where in syllabus)
3. Concerns the comprehension and interpretation/analysis of material objects, images and spaces, and/or their historical development.	Course examines the history of portraits as material objects and as reflections of moral values, social class, gender and political content in each historical period in which the portraits were produced and how each portrait relies on its historical precedents to endorse or revise traditions.	Short paper requires the interpretation of objects and images applied to a portrait from the Phoenix Art Museum and not examined in class. Written assignments in lessons 5, 10, 12 require students to prepare questions on interpretation of objects and images.
4. b. Concerns aesthetic systems and values, literary and visual arts.	Course examines the aesthetics of portraiture across history and a variety of portrait subjects from diverse classes, genders, and cultures (not just European or American), to explain how aesthetic values are affected by traditions, modernity and social changes.	Textbook is organized by themes applied to portraits arranged historically and chronologically in a dialogue across time (see Table of Contents of Textbook). Web assignments for all lessons require knowledge of stylistic features and relationships to past conventions.

SYLLABUS: ARS 330 THE PORTRAIT SPR 2014 TTH 10:30-11:45 COOR L1-10

Professor Julie Codell OFFICE: Art 250 EMAIL: Julie.codell@asu.edu

OFFICE HOURS: TTH 11AM to noon or by appt. *Please contact me by email if you want to meet with me outside of office hours.*

COURSE DESCRIPTION: This course examines the history and production of portraits in contexts of social hierarchies, historical events, gender, politics, class, morality and aesthetics with a focus on the 15th to the 21st centuries in painting, sculpture, and photography. **Pre-requisites:** at least one course in literature, OR history OR any arts history (music, art, theater, film, architecture) OR studio art at the 200-level with a grade of B or better.

COURSE WEBSITE: **This website has** assignments, syllabus, readings, additional course material as needed; updates will be posted, so check website weekly.

EMAIL: You must have an asu.edu email address. I cannot use any other email to contact you. If you have problems with course website links, email me as soon as possible. You are advised to check your asu.edu email daily.

WARNING: SOME MATERIAL IN THIS COURSE MAY BE SENSITIVE. Course content and readings have mature content; discretion advised before signing up for this course.

COPYRIGHT NOTICE: ALL LECTURES, HANDOUTS, WEBSITE CONTENT are copyrighted. Students may not record lectures or sell notes taken during the course.

COURSE CHANGES: information in the syllabus, other than grade and absence policies, may be subject to change with reasonable advance notice. All notices will be made in class and on the course website.

COURSE OBJECTIVES:

- Gain an understanding of the history of portraiture
- Learn to analyze the formal and social content of portraits
- Recognize how portraits comment in events and important ideas in history
- Study the material culture represented in portraits
- Study differences in portrait content, style and typology throughout art history of Europe and the US, and in examples of Asian portraiture

LEARNING OUTCOMES:

- Remember significant events in the history of portraiture
- Identify relevant terms to assess portraits in several media
- Gain rudimentary art historical knowledge of artists, styles, periodization
- Gain skills to analyze relationships of works of art to historical events and identities
- Analyze the relationships between social history and the production of portraits
- Navigate the internet to find course material on reputable sites
- Identify the conventions of portraiture in relation to historical events and material culture

GRADE POLICIES: SEE "ASSIGNMENTS OVERVIEW" BELOW FOR DESCRIPTIONS:

1- Weekly web assignments, 14 points total

2-Three quizzes: 20 points each (TOTAL 60 points).

3-Weekly discussion: 14 points total: extra points awarded to students who participate actively in class discussion all semester.

4-Short 3-page paper, 12 points

GRADES:

A+ Only given for people who have perfect scores on all assignments.

95-99 = A

75-79.9 = C+

90-94.9 = A-

70-74.9 = C

87-89.9 = B+

60-69.9 = D

83-86.9 = B

59 and below = E, failure

80-82.9 = B-

ABSENCE POLICIES: Attendance required

Grade is reduced by 5 points (1/2 grade) for every 3 unexcused absences. An unexcused absence is an absence without note from a medical practitioner or other official documentation for emergencies, etc.

Quizzes can be made up only in emergency cases with prior notification to the instructor.

Students should notify instructor at the beginning of the semester about the need to be absent from class due to religious observances or university-sanctioned activities (a note is required for university activities).

FOR ALL ABSENCES FOR ANY REASON: Students are responsible for materials covered during their absence. It's a good idea to make a friend in class and share notes in the case of absences. It's a better idea to have two friends in class and share both their notes!

SPECIAL ACCOMMODATIONS: To request academic accommodations due to a disability, please contact the ASU Disability Resource Center (Phone: (480) 965-1234; TDD: (480) 965-9000). This is very important, as accommodations cannot be made retroactively. When requesting accommodation for a disability you must be registered with the Disability Resource Center (DRC) and submit appropriate documentation from the DRC. Please submit the appropriate documentation from the DRC to the instructor no later than the second week of the course, so we can discuss the accommodations you need for this class.

ACADEMIC INTEGRITY: All necessary and appropriate sanctions will be issued to anyone involved in plagiarizing any and all course work, including cheating on exams, assisting other students in cheating, inventing information, citing others' ideas without acknowledging sources. Plagiarism and other forms of academic dishonesty that violate the Student Code of Conduct will not be tolerated; their consequence may include failing the course or dismissal from the university. Students are required to read the Academic Integrity Policy: <http://provost.asu.edu/academicintegrity>

ACCEPTABLE CLASSROOM BEHAVIOR: Self-discipline and respect for the rights of others in the classroom and university community are necessary for a civil and productive learning and teaching environment. Threatening or violent or disruptive behavior will result in an administrative withdrawal of the student from the class. Students are required to read and act in accordance with university and Arizona Board of Regents policies, including:

Student Code of Conduct and Arizona Board of Regents policy regarding threatening behavior:

www.asu.edu/aad/manuals/ssm/ssm104-02.html

The Computer, Internet and Electronic Communications Policy:

<http://www.asu.edu/aad/manuals/acd/acd125.html>

All pagers and cell phones must be turned off during class; lectures may not be recorded.

ASSIGNMENT OVERVIEW:

REQUIRED TEXTBOOK: Shearer West, *Portraiture* available at the ASU bookstore and online sites.

1- WEB ASSIGNMENTS DUE EVERY TUESDAY, SINGLE SPACED, ONE PAGE (unless otherwise noted on the syllabus): 14 points total (1 pt each)

SUMMARIZE in one paragraph from 1/3 to 1/2 page typed and in your own words a brief bio of the main artist OR answer assigned questions on the content of assigned websites. **DO NOT CUT AND PASTE** information from websites (this is **PLAGIARISM!**), but summarize your web sources in your own words and emphasize professional matters, not personal life in any bio.

2-THREE QUIZZES: 20 points each (TOTAL 60 points). Quizzes will include slide identification, definitions of terms, and short essays. Reviews will be given during the class before the quiz. **MAKEUP QUIZZES** will **NOT** be given unless there is an emergency for which you have **prior approval from instructor to take a makeup test.**

Quiz 1, Feb 11, Lessons 1-5

Quiz 2, March 25, Lessons 6-10

Quiz 3, May 1, Lessons 11-15

3-DISCUSSIONS on THURSDAYS: 14 pts (additional points at end of semester for students who actively participate). This implies attendance--you cannot participate if you are not there!

Questions on the readings are provided, so you can prepare answers for discussion. You are always welcome to raise points you think are important, and you do not have to stick to discussion questions. Discussions are based on readings and web assignments; all readings NOT in your textbook are linked electronically on the course website; discussions are scheduled for Thursdays **and you are advised to bring textbook and other reading assignments to class on Thursdays.**

4-SHORT PAPER (3 pp; 12 pts) DUE MARCH 25 on one of the 23 portraits chosen from the course website's list of portraits (in Guidelines for paper folder) at the Phoenix Art Museum:

Who is the artist (dates, something about the artist)?

Who is the subject (not just the name but biography; speculate briefly if the subject is unnamed)?

What are the medium, size and date?

What course topics/issues appear in the work?

To what works studied in the course can it be compared/contrasted?

What one or two ideas from our textbook would apply to your selected portrait?

You have an option to re-write/revise this paper, deadline April 15.

MUSEUM HOURS: Monday & Tuesday: Closed Wednesday: 10am-9pm

Thursday-Saturday: 10am-5pm Sunday: 12-5pm First Friday of every month: 6-10pm

FREE ADMISSION TIMES: Wednesdays 3-9 pm; First Fridays 6-10 pm

STUDENT ADMISSION (WITH ID): \$10.00

Paper style: Times or Times New Roman 12 point font

1" margins on all sides and top and bottom

Double spaced

Attach museum ticket and the writing check sheet (and follow its rules) from the course website to your paper; **points deducted** for not following check sheet rule and writing guidelines.

LESSON 1: Jan 14/16 INTRODUCTION; The uses and meanings of portraits

DUE Jan 16—prepare these BRIEF answers to turn in as hard copy:

Website: <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Portrait>

Web Assignment: List 4 media of portraits and 4 kinds of portraits

Website: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Portrait_painting

Web Assignment: List 4 techniques and 4 sizes/lengths and postures in portraits

LESSON 2: Jan 21/23 Antiquity: portrait conventions and status, real or ideal

WEB ASSIGNMENT (2 pts):

www.visual-arts-cork.com/genres/portrait-art.htm

- (1) List 3 historical period portraits (e.g., Roman, Renaissance, Realism, etc.) and one feature of each type of portrait from those periods you choose
- (2) List 3 kinds of portraits in antiquity from Egypt, Rome, Greece, etc.
- (3) list 4 characteristics of portraits
- (4) list 4 types of portraits

www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/ropo2/hd_ropo2.htm : list 3 points mentioned here

www.metmuseum.org/Collections/search-the-collections/100004780

list 3 points mentioned here

READING: West, "Introduction," 9-19; prepare discussion questions on this introduction.

OPTIONAL READING: Woodall, "Introduction," *Facing the Subject*

January 23: Professor Nancy Serwint, "Portraits in Antiquity"

LESSON 3 Jan 28/30: Northern Renaissance portraits

WEB ASSIGNMENT (2 pts): <http://www.visual-arts-cork.com/genres/renaissance-portraits.htm>

list differences between Northern and Southern European portraits

http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/port/hd_port.htm#slideshow4

list 5 points made in this website on Renaissance portraits

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arnolfini_Portrait

List 5 of the symbols in the painting; briefly describe the mirror and briefly describe the debate over the painting

READING: West, Chapter 1, "What is a Portrait?" 21-41; prepare discussion questions.

LESSON 4: Feb 4/6 Italian Renaissance portraits

WEB ASSIGNMENT: Summarize 6 points about the aesthetics and history of this painting

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mona_Lisa

READING: Annenberg: Renaissance portraits: Focus on how conventions are transferred from one painting and period to another

West, "The Functions of Portraiture," 43-69; prepare discussion questions.

Feb 4: Professor Renzo Baldasso on Renaissance portraits

QUIZ REVIEW Feb 6

LESSON 5: Feb 11/13 Baroque portraits; Renaissance and Baroque sculptural portraits

Quiz 1 Feb 11

Feb 13 Written assignment due by 5 PM: answers to EITHER even OR odd numbered discussion questions on assigned West chapter "Power and Status," emailed to me at PRCODELL@GMAIL.COM by 5 PM, Thursday, 2/13

WEB ASSIGNMENT (2 pts): **DUE Feb 11**

Baroque portraits: <http://www.visual-arts-cork.com/genres/baroque-portraits.htm>

Summarize 3 points from this site

Bernini 1 <http://www.getty.edu/art/exhibitions/bernini/>

Summarize 3 points about Bernini's portrait busts

Bernini 2 <http://www.getty.edu/art/exhibitions/bernini/slideshow.html>

Summarize details of 3 of Bernini's portrait busts in this slideshow

<http://www.bluffton.edu/~sullivanm/france/versailles/bernini/louisfourteen.html>

Summarize 3 points made on this statue of Louis XIV

<http://www.nndb.com/people/913/000071700/>

Brief one paragraph biography of Velázquez

READING: West, "Power and Status," 71-103; discussion questions on West reading

LESSON 6: Feb 18/20; Rococo portraits

WEB ASSIGNMENT: CITE 3 characteristics of Rococo art

<http://www.artapprenticeonline.com/artstudies/apprentart/edacarthistory/edacclhistroc.html>

READING: “ The Enlightenment and Rococo” pdf on course website.

LESSON 7: Feb 25/27 17th and 18th centuries

WEB ASSIGNMENT:

Summarize what Reynolds says about portraits in Discourse 4:

<http://www.authorama.com/seven-discourses-on-art-6.html>

One-paragraph bios on Gainsborough, Reynolds, Hogarth

GAINSBOROUGH: <http://www.nndb.com/people/607/000030517/>

REYNOLDS: <http://www.nndb.com/people/898/000084646/>

HOGARTH: <http://www.nndb.com/people/705/000084453/>

Feb 25: Professor Anthony Gully: "Hints on how to read 18th-century portraits"

READING: West, "Group Portraiture," 105-129, prepare discussion questions

LESSON 8: MARCH 4/6 18th and 19th centuries

WEB ASSIGNMENT:

CITE 3 characteristics of Neo-Classical Art

<http://www.artapprenticeonline.com/artstudies/apprentart/edacarthistory/edacclhistneo.html>

CITE 3 characteristics of Romanticism in Art

<http://www.artapprenticeonline.com/artstudies/apprentart/edacarthistory/edacclhistroma.html>

Summarize 3 points on Goya: http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/goya/hd_goya.htm

Summarize 3 points on David: <http://www.nndb.com/people/797/000084545/>

Summarize 3 points on Ingres: <http://www.nga.gov/cgi-bin/tbio?tperson=1411&type=a>

Summarize 3 points Baudelaire makes about Ingres in PDF Ingres by Baudelaire on website

READING: West, "The Stages of Life," 131-144, prepare discussion questions

SPRING BREAK: MARCH 9-16

LESSON 9: March 18/20 Male and Female Artists' Self-Portraits

WEB ASSIGNMENT: **4 topics:** List 2 types of self-portraits, 3 artists who did self-portraits over their lifetimes, how mirrors were used in self-portraits, 2 functions of self-portraits:

http://www.rembrandtpainting.net/rembrandt_self_portraits.htm#about

Summarize 5 differences between male and female artists' portraits:

<http://www.bluffton.edu/~sullivanm/forum/gender2.html>

One-paragraph bios of Vigee-Lebrun, Labille-Guiard, Fontana

VIGEE-LEBRUN: http://www.bc.edu/bc_org/avp/cas/his/CoreArt/art/ancien_lab.html;

LABILLE-GUIARD: http://www.bc.edu/bc_org/avp/cas/his/CoreArt/art/anc_lab_self.html

FONTANA: <http://www.3pipe.net/2011/03/lavinia-fontana-and-female-self.html>

READING: West, "Self-Portraiture," 162-186, prepare discussion questions

March 20: Professor Betsy Fahlman, “Women Artists’ Self-Portraits”

LESSON 10: March 25/27 19th-century

SHORT PAPER DUE MARCH 25

Web Assignment (2 pts): Summarize in 1 paragraph each, bios of Whistler, Eakins, Cassatt

Whistler: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ILvupFAIdnI>

Eakins: http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/eapa/hd_eapa.htm

Cassatt: http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/cast/hd_cast.htm

Summarize 5 points from Henry James on Sargent, *Harper's Magazine* (Oct. 1887), 683-91 (Text and images in one file)

In one paragraph briefly describe the history of the National Portrait Gallery in London:

<http://www.npg.org.uk/about/history.php>

QUIZ REVIEW March 25

WRITTEN ASSIGNMENT FOR MARCH 27; EVEN OR ODD-NUMBERED DISCUSSION QUESTIONS on *Victorian Portraits*, EMAILED TO ME AT: prcodell@gmail.com BY 5 PM.
 READING: VICTORIAN PORTRAITS, prepare discussion questions

LESSON 11: April 1/3 19th-century photography and painting

QUIZ 2 APRIL 1

Web assignment: Summarize Cameron's bio:

http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/camr/hd_camr.htm

Define cartes de visite and list 3 kinds of carte genres:

<http://www.codex99.com/photography/49.html>

Describe some props in photos in: <http://collections.tepapa.govt.nz/theme.aspx?irn=835>

READING: West, "Gender and Portraiture," 145-162, prepare discussion questions

OPTIONAL READING:

Codell, "Victorian Portraits: Re-Tailoring Identities," *Nineteenth-Century Contexts* 34/5 (2012), 493-516.

John Plunkett, "Celebrity and Community: The Poetics of the *Carte-de-visite*," *Journal of Victorian Culture* 8/1 (2003), 55-79, prepare discussion questions.

LESSON 12: April 8/10 Photography and "Others"

FOR APRIL 8: Professor Thomas Swensen: "Edward Curtis and the Construction of Whiteness"

Web assignment: Biographies of Dayal and Keita, one paragraph each:

LINK TO LIFE SKETCH at this site: <http://www.deendayal.com/photogallery.htm>

<http://www.seydoukeitaphotographer.com/biography>

READING: Paige Raibmon, "Introduction: Authenticity and Colonial Cosmology," *Authentic Indians* (Durham: Duke Univ. Press, 2005), 1-14.

OPTIONAL READING:

Codell, "Photographic Interventions and Identities," *Power and Resistance: The Delhi Coronation Durbars*. Ed. Codell (Ahmedabad: Mapin, 2012), 110-39.

WRITTEN ASSIGNMENT DUE APRIL 10: answers to EITHER even OR odd-numbered discussion questions on Raibmon essay, emailed to PRCODELL@GMAIL.COM due 5 PM

LESSON 13: April 15/17 Modern portraits

Paper re-writes due April 15

Web assignment: define each of these terms in a few sentences: German Expressionism,

Fauve, Dada, Surrealism, Cubism from website: <http://www.artmovements.co.uk/home.htm>

READING: West, "Portraiture and Modernism," 186-204, prepare discussion questions.

Professor Claudia Mesch: "Surrealism and Portraits"

LESSON 14: April 22/24 Case studies: Alice Neel, Chuck Close, Cindy Sherman

Web assignment: Summarize 3 biographies on the course site of these artists, one paragraph each

Briefly define photorealism (pdf on course website) and list the 10 characteristics of postmodernism and a sentence on what each means (pdf on course website)

READING: West, "Identities," prepare discussion questions.

LESSON 15: April 29/MAY 1, Conclusion on portraits

QUIZ REVIEW April 29 and QUIZ 3 MAY 1

ARS 330 The Portrait catalog description

This course examines the history and production of portraits in contexts of social hierarchies, historical events, gender, politics, class, morality and aesthetics with a focus on the 15th to the 21st centuries in painting, sculpture, and photography

Lesson 6, discussion questions on West, chapter 4, "Group Portraiture"

1. How do group portraits differ from individual portraits in formal and psychological issues?
2. What are some "subtexts" (p. 106) of group portraits?
3. What does West say about Titian's portrait of Pope Paul II and his grandsons?
4. What defines a family and how old is the family portrait? Is the notion of family the same in all historical periods?
What kinds of families are there?
5. What are the differences between Holbein's drawing of Thomas More's family and van Leemput's copy of Holbein's painting of Henry VIII's family?
6. What characterizes Northern European portraits of the 17th and 18th centuries?
7. What constitutes a hierarchy in a group portrait?
8. What dynamics are conveyed in Degas's family portrait of the Bellelli Family?
9. What signs of antiquity did Piero della Francesca deploy in his double portrait (p. 113)? How are separate portraits of wife and husband meant to be displayed? United?
10. How are children represented in family portraits and with whom? What meanings do children have in these portraits? Look up Jean-Jacques Rousseau's ideas on childhood.
11. What kinds of organizations commission civic and institutional portraits?
12. When did such portraits first appear and what purpose do they serve?
13. What does *doelenstuk* mean?
14. What was Hals especially good at in his group portraits?
15. What does West say about Rembrandt's *The Night Watch*?
16. What kinds of group portraits featured women?
17. What are the 3 issues West discerns in 17th century and some modern group portraits?
18. West's third group portrait genre is the artist group. What function does this portrait type have? What is West's analysis of Stuart Pearson Wright's group portrait (pp. 122-23).
19. What qualities does West see in Zoffany's group portrait? Where are the two women founders of the Royal Academy in that portrait?
20. How does Fantin-Latour's group portrait compare/contrast with Bazille's group portrait?
21. What makes Max Ernst's group portrait a manifesto (also define manifesto)?

Lesson 7, discussion questions on West, chapter 4, "Group Portraiture"

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16. What kinds of group portraits featured women?
17. What are the 3 issues West discerns in 17th century and some modern group portraits?
18. West's third group portrait genre is the artist group. What function does this portrait type have? What is West's analysis of Stuart Pearson Wright's group portrait (pp. 122-23).
19. What qualities does West see in Zoffany's group portrait? Where are the two women founders of the Royal Academy in that portrait?
20. How does Fantin-Latour's group portrait compare/contrast with Bazille's group portrait?
21. What makes Max Ernst's group portrait a manifesto (also define manifesto)?

Lesson 14, discussion questions on West, Chapter 9, "identities"

1. How do postmodern artists deal with identity issues? What various contexts do they see as part of our identity outside our body or individual experiences?
2. What are "key areas of artistic exploration" (205), according to West?
3. What aspects of traditional portrait representation does West think have become "more self-conscious" (206)?
4. Who was the first artist to introduce this self-consciousness? How did he do this and what does she say about his work?
5. What are West's assessments of the contributions to portraiture of Mapplethorpe and Sherman?
6. What do these artists emphasize (p. 208) and what philosophic ideas do they convey?
7. What is another aspect of postmodern portraiture and what does West see in the work of the Singh twins?
8. What role does mass media have on postmodern portraiture?
9. What are West's views of Morimura's *Portrait (Futago)*, 1988? Does she think it's a portrait?
10. How does Tracey Emin challenge portrait conventions in *Everyone I Have Ever Slept With, 1963-1995*?
11. How have postmodern artists challenged conventional images of the body? What does West say about works by Saville and Orlan?
12. How do Chuck Close, Bruce Nauman and Jo Spence represent the body in new ways?
13. What is Arnulf Rainer's contribution to these changed views of the body?
14. What does West mean by the globalization of portraiture?

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Introduction

The National Portrait Gallery is itself a Victorian creation. On 4 March 1856, its longstanding advocate, the historian Lord Stanhope (*fig. 1*), argued in the House of Lords for a public collection of what he called 'historical portraits'. Three months later, Parliament voted a sum of £2,000 for the establishment of a 'British Historical Portrait Gallery' and, almost immediately afterwards, the statesman and poet Lord Ellesmere offered the so-called 'Chandos' portrait of Shakespeare for the new gallery. It became NPG registered number 1: the first portrait to enter the collection.

Although contemporary to the gallery, most of the portraits reproduced in this guide were acquired long after they were made: indeed the original rules which the Trustees of the new gallery laid down for themselves strictly forbade the admission of portraits of living sitters. Yet the spirit in which the NPG was founded – the belief that portraits might constitute a public record of the nation's past – tells us much about the Victorian portraits in this booklet and the Victorians' attitudes to portraiture in general. Consider Millais' paintings of Disraeli and



fig. 1: Philip Stanhope, 5th Earl of Stanhope by Sir George Hayter

Gladstone (*pp. 34-5*), as examples of how the Victorians wanted the great figures of their own age to be represented. Although both private commissions, the portraits seem as though they were poised to enter the public realm from the moment of conception and would have been widely known through the exhibition at the Royal Academy and through engravings. Severe and serious works, they show their subjects in modern dress with little attention to accessories. They are images that are stripped down to their essentials and, although in three-quarter length format, they demand that we turn our attention

to their subjects' heads. As Millais (*fig. 2*) himself wrote of the Gladstone portrait, he was pleased that he was 'the humble means of giving to posterity some of the characteristics of so great a man'. Millais was convinced he was working for, as he says, 'posterity', and of Gladstone's place as one of the principal agents in the history of his own time. He was self-consciously creating an 'historical portrait'.

If Stanhope was the prime mover in the establishment of the National



fig. 2: Sir John Everett Millais by Herbert Watkins

Portrait Gallery, then its intellectual father was Thomas Carlyle, shown in Julia Margaret Cameron's photograph on the cover of this guide. In his speech to the Lords on 4 March 1856, Stanhope quoted part of a famous statement by Carlyle, expressing his conviction in the value of portraits for our understanding of the past. 'Any representation', he wrote, 'made by a faithful human creature, of that Face or Figure, which he saw with his eyes ... is now valuable to me ... Often I have found a Portrait superior in real instruction to half-a-dozen written "Biographies", as Biographies are written; or rather, let me say, I have found that the portrait was a small lighted *candle* by which Biographies could for the first time be *read*'. At the heart of Carlyle's remarks is a belief in authenticity, the making of a portrait from life 'by a faithful human creature'. True to this, the NPG shunned posthumous or fanciful likenesses and thus distanced itself from earlier collections of portraits which were more strictly of the nature of ideal pantheons. Thus, the 'Chandos' Shakespeare was valued as being the nearest known portrait to an authentic likeness. Moreover, Carlyle's words carry the presumption that such a likeness would tell us much about the inner individual, would serve 'as a small

lighted candle'. Again, Victorian portraits were also made with a conviction that they would reveal the character and intellect of their subjects and that it was this that gave them value as historical records. We have seen how Millais' portraits of Gladstone and Disraeli are formed so as to command an insistence on the head and face: in the case of Disraeli a face in which a contemporary critic felt he could read the agonies of his last illness.

An artist who, to an even greater extent than Millais, believed in the importance of recording the likenesses of his contemporaries for future generations was George Frederic Watts (*fig. 3*). As he wrote to the *Times* in 1887: 'The character of a nation as a people of great deeds is one, it appears to me, that should never be lost sight of'. And it was in this spirit that Watts conceived a series of historical portraits of his most eminent contemporaries, a 'Hall of Fame' which he worked on from about 1850 until the end of his long career and which he presented to the Gallery. His portrait of William Morris (*p. 29*) is characteristic of the series and shows how Watts deployed similar methods to Millais in order to focus our attention on the head and face of the sitter. Like most of the series it is confined to a head and

shoulders format and there is little indication of background or dress. Watts selected sitters for his series who were noted for their intellect or vision and, by representing them in such a way, sought a profundity of characterisation befitting his notion of their historical importance. 'What I try for', he wrote, 'is the half-unconscious insistence on the nobilities of the subject'.

If many Victorian portraits strive to invest their subjects with a sense of posterity, another sort of portraiture shown in this guide – the large group portrait – records the key historical

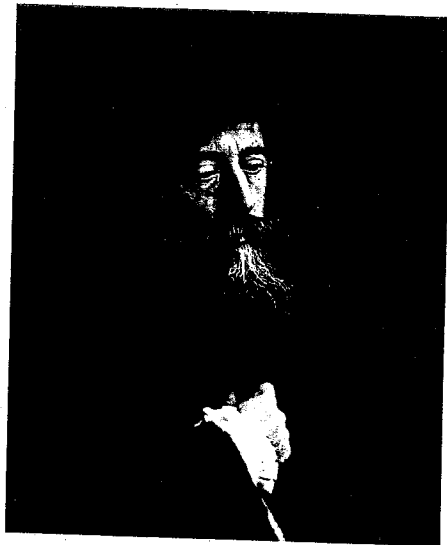


fig. 3: George Frederic Watts by Julia Margaret Cameron

events of the period. Paintings like Jerry Barrett's 'The Mission Of Mercy: Florence Nightingale Receiving the Wounded at Scutari' (*pp. 14-15*) or Thomas Jones Barker's 'Relief of Lucknow' (*pp. 22-3*) continue a tradition in British painting which merges conventional distinctions between portraiture and history, or subject, painting. In these we are shown contemporary heroes at the moment of their greatest triumph, performing the acts for which they will be remembered. Yet if these paintings also seem to look towards posterity, we should not ignore what must have been, for those who first saw them, a very strong sense of their contemporaneity. They are paintings produced for a public who, with the rise of the popular illustrated press, had become used to seeing depictions of topical events. They were to some extent the product of this culture and, through being engraved, fed back into the marketplace. Indeed a work like Barrett's was made precisely with the profits from engraving in mind. He was subsidised by the art firm Agnew's to go to Scutari. They then bought the resulting painting, including its copyright, and published the engraving of it in April 1858.

Developments in popular journalism and reproductive techniques during the



fig. 4: Adelina Patti by Camille Silvy

Victorian period made portraiture available as never before, much as the NPG gave access to portraits formerly in private collections. As one newspaper commented of the engraving of the companion painting to Barrett's 'Mission of Mercy', it will be 'a memorial to be hung up by many an English hearth'. As mentioned before, Millais' portraits of Gladstone and Disraeli were both engraved and could each be purchased for between one and six guineas, depending on the proof state. This was the upper end of the market. The invention of photography in the period eventually led to the mass dissemination of portrait images whether as original photographs such as the inexpensive *cartes de visite* of the 1860s (*fig. 4*) or through the countless cheap engravings made from photographs.

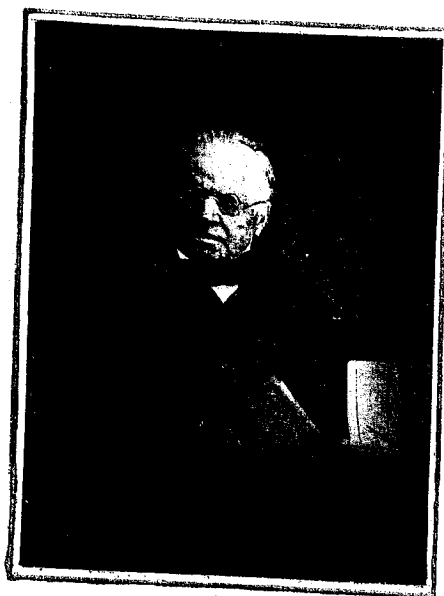


fig 5: Sir Marc Isambard Brunel,
photographer unknown

Photography is, of course, the one crucial development which sets Victorian portraiture apart from that which came before. The effect it had on the aesthetics and practice of the painted portrait is harder to assert. Its invention, and gradual development as a commercially viable medium for portraiture, certainly led to the decline of one type of portraiture: the portrait miniature. But limitations in its scale, and the sensitivity to light of photographic processes – at least until near the end of century – did not make it a real challenge to the oil portrait. Indeed there seems to have been a certain amount of interdependence between the two forms of portraiture. Both Millais and Watts used photographs as

aids in getting a likeness while it might be said that the greatest early photographers, such as Julia Margaret Cameron, aspired to, and often achieved, the sort of effects more commonly associated with the painted portrait. There is a similarity in tone and expression, for instance, between Cameron's portraits (cover, p. 32) and those by her friend, Watts.

To the modern viewer, Victorian portrait photographs can have a striking immediacy. Howlett's Brunel (p. 19), with the great engineer standing before the massive chains of his *Leviathan*, impresses by its feeling of modernity while a very early photograph of his father, Sir Marc Isambard Brunel (fig. 5), is remarkable as a photograph of a man whom we chiefly associate with the age before photography's invention. It was certainly taken within a decade of the announcement of the daguerreotype process, of which it is an example. By the end of the century, a photograph such as Frederick Evans' 1894 portrait of Aubrey Beardsley (p. 31) shows the level of perfection, both technical and aesthetic, which portrait photography had achieved.

Evans' Beardsley is also a permanent record of friendship between the sitter and the photographer. Within this guide there are other such portraits

which record friendships between sitter and artist: Maclise's painting of the young Dickens (p. 9), for example, or Millais' of Wilkie Collins (p. 11). Indeed, portraits are often at their most interesting when they disclose relationships or when the circumstances of their making evoke something of their era. The fact that we know Bastien Lepage's sketch of Henry Irving (p. 30) was conceived at a supper party at the Lyceum theatre, with both Ellen Terry and Sarah Bernhardt present, makes it far more than a mere likeness of the actor. In the same way, Sir William Blake Richmond's unfinished portrait of Robert Louis Stevenson (fig. 6) takes us back to a hot, thundery afternoon on 10 August 1886 when Stevenson visited the artist's studio in Hammersmith, and sat talking and smoking with him and other notable guests while Richmond painted.

For Sir Charles Holmes, the first Director of the Gallery to be appointed in the post-Victorian era, the acquisition of Bastien's portrait of Irving in 1910 came as a breath of fresh air. Himself a disciple of the sort of French naturalism the painting exemplifies, Holmes clearly found it a welcome relief from the formality which characterised much of the collection during



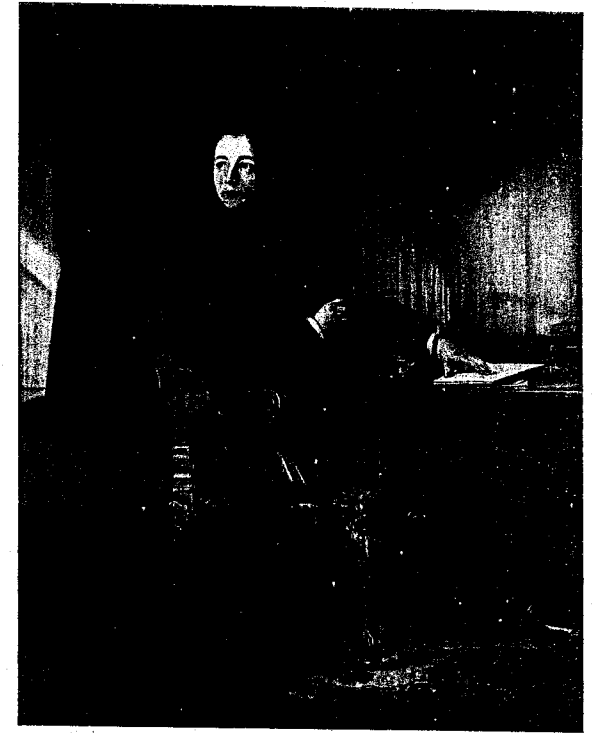
fig. 6: Robert Louis Stevenson
by Sir William Blake Richmond

his time. Today, we value such portraits equally, whether Bastien's informal evocation of a famous late Victorian theatrical figure or Millais' more public statements in his paintings of the period's greatest politicians. Between the two, Victorian portraiture reveals itself as highly varied and this part of the Gallery's collection – which continues to grow – as rich in both personalities and art.



QUEEN VICTORIA
1819–1901
By Sir George Hayter,
1863
Oil on canvas
285.8 x 179 cms

Queen Victoria came to the throne in 1837 at the age of eighteen, on the death of her uncle, William IV, and was crowned queen on 28 June 1838. She wrote in her Journal on the day of her coronation: 'I really cannot say *how* proud I feel to be the Queen of *such* a Nation', and some of this idealism is conveyed in Sir George Hayter's coronation portrait. In the early years of her reign Queen Victoria much preferred his work to that of the painters who had portrayed her uncle. Hayter also undertook several large group portraits for her, recording her coronation, her marriage to Prince Albert, and the christening of the Prince of Wales. She described a small version of this portrait, which Hayter painted for her private apartments, as 'excessively like and beautifully painted'. This version was given to the Gallery by Queen Victoria in 1900, and is an autograph replica of an original of 1838.



CHARLES DICKENS
1812–1870
By Daniel Maclise, 1839
Oil on canvas
91.4 x 71.4 cms

The most famous and best loved of all Victorian novelists, Dickens was a highly prolific writer. Like many of his contemporaries, his books first appeared in serial form in the periodical press of the day, a fact which their episodic construction betrays but which also gave them massive circulation. His early successes included *Pickwick Papers*, *Oliver Twist* and *Nicholas Nickleby*, novels which contain some of his most famous characters. He went on to write such masterpieces as *David Copperfield* and *Great Expectations*, both partly autobiographical, and *Bleak House* and *Little Dorrit*, works which show his enduring concern for contemporary issues.

The Irish painter Daniel Maclise was a close friend of the novelist and portrayed him on more than one occasion, as well as making portraits of his wife and children. This portrait, though idealised, was regarded by contemporaries as a good likeness. Dickens' fellow novelist Thackeray wrote: 'as a likeness perfectly amazing: a looking-glass could not render a better facsimile. Here we have the real identical man Dickens.'



THE BRONTË
SISTERS
By Branwell Brontë,
c.1834
Oil on canvas
90.2 x 74.6 cms

This is the only surviving group portrait of the three famous novelist sisters – from left to right: Anne (1820–1849), Emily (1818–1848) and Charlotte (1816–1855). The portrait narrowly escaped destruction, for Charlotte's husband, perhaps respecting her wishes, kept it hidden, folded up on top of a wardrobe, where it was found after his death by his second wife: the folds are clearly visible today. It appears once to have included a self-portrait of their brother, for the features of a man whose description corresponds to his can be seen as a ghostly form under the central column. The portrait was painted some years before the sisters' poems were published pseudonymously in 1846. Their celebrated first novels followed: Charlotte's *Jane Eyre* (1847), Emily's *Wuthering Heights* (1848) and Anne's *Agnes Grey* (1848), published under their respective *noms de plume* of Currer, Ellis and Acton Bell.

Branwell Brontë was studying with the Leeds artist William Robinson around the time this was painted. After a brief career as a portrait painter in Bradford between May 1838 and May 1839, he faltered from one job to another and, debilitated by opium and drink, died aged thirty-one in 1848, the year of his sisters' greatest success.



WILLIAM WILKIE
COLLINS
1824–1889
By Sir John
Everett Millais, 1850
Oil on panel
26.7 x 17.8 cms

The son of a popular and successful painter, William Collins, the novelist Wilkie Collins began his career articulated to a firm of tea merchants and was subsequently called to the bar. His literary career developed through the friendship and encouragement of Charles Dickens, and Collins became a regular contributor to Dickens' magazine *Household Words*. He collaborated with Dickens in the *Lazy Tour of Two Idle Apprentices* and *Perils of Certain English Prisoners* (1857) and again in *No Thoroughfare* (1867). His acclaimed novel *The Woman in White* appeared in serialised form in 1860, and his later work included *The Moonstone* (1868) and several plays.

This small, beautifully painted picture was one of a handful of portraits undertaken by Millais while he was a member of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood. A close friend of Collins' younger brother, the painter Charles Allston Collins, Millais was a frequent visitor to the family home at Hanover Terrace, Regent's Park, around the time he painted this portrait. Many years later, he recalled of the picture that 'Wilkie Collins had a great bump on his forehead exactly as depicted'.



THOMAS BABINGTON MACAULAY

1800–1859

By Edward Matthew Ward, 1853

Oil on canvas

63.5 x 76.2 cms

Macaulay is best known for his *History of England* and the narrative poem 'Lays of Ancient Rome', but he had come to writing after an active political career: he had been an MP, and served as Secretary for War. This portrait shows him at home in Albany, central London, surrounded by his books and papers: an evocative scene of the life of a scholar in mid-Victorian England. Macaulay, however, was dissatisfied with it, complaining not only that he been poisoned by the smell of paint, but also that the resulting portrait made him look worse than a daguerreotype. It is one of a series of at least seven paintings of writers in their studies, including Thackeray and Dickens, executed by Ward in the 1850s.

JAMES THOMAS BRUDENELL,
7TH EARL OF CARDIGAN

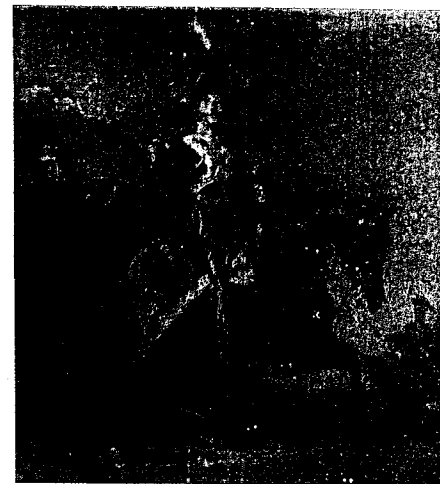
1797–1868

By Sir Francis Grant, 1841

Oil on canvas

40 x 36.5 cms

The British army went to war with Russia in the Crimea in March 1854, ill-prepared and poorly commanded. Within a year the full extent of the military and administrative disaster was clear, epitomised by the disastrous Charge of the Light Brigade at Balaclava, led by the Earl of Cardigan. Shown here in Grant's lively sketch for a large painting at Deene Park, Cardigan survived wounded from the Charge which left 113 of his own men dead on the battlefield.



LORD FITZROY SOMERSET,
1ST BARON RAGLAN

1788–1855

By Roger Fenton, 1855

Salt print

20 x 14.9 cms

Raglan was commander of the British forces in the Crimea. He had served heroically under Wellington, losing his right arm at Waterloo, but had never before commanded troops in the field. He died of dysentery on 28 June 1855, before he could see the Siege of Sebastopol successfully concluded.

Roger Fenton was commissioned by the art dealer Agnew's to photograph the Crimean war and, with the support of the Prince Consort, gained access denied others, resulting in a series of remarkable photographs.

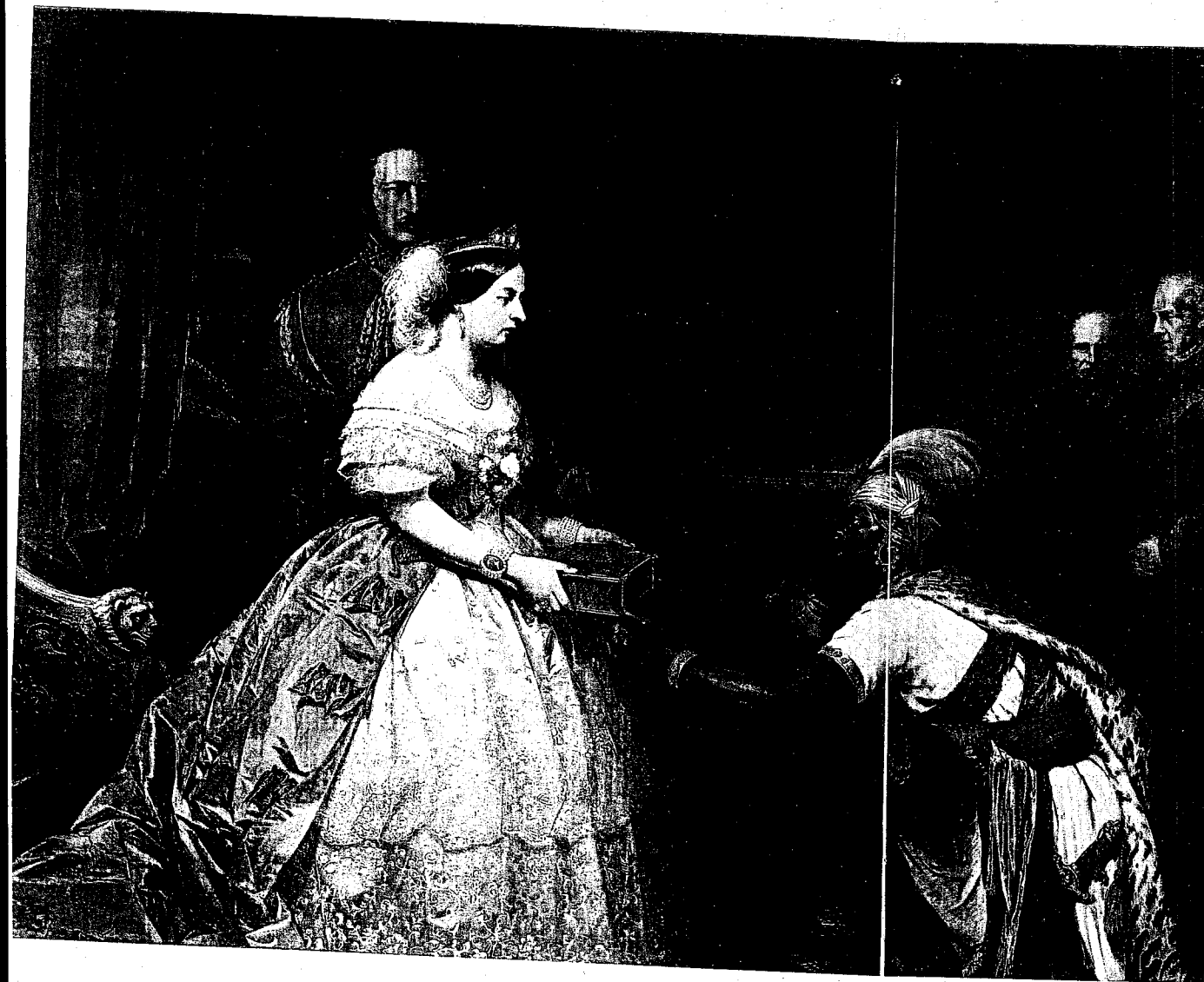


Few people came out of the Crimean débâcle with credit, but Florence Nightingale's campaign on behalf of the sick and wounded British soldiers was one of the great achievements and made her a national hero. She had travelled to Scutari, a suburb of Constantinople, in October 1854, where she transformed the appalling conditions at the Barrack Hospital, and laid the foundations for lasting reforms in nursing care. Clearly highlighted near the centre of Barrett's painting, she is shown receiving casualties in the quadrangle of the hospital. Through the gateway on the right can be seen more sick and wounded climbing up from the makeshift landing stage on the Bosphorus, and, in the distance, the gardens of the Seraglio and the Mosque of St Sophia. Nightingale (1820–1910) is shown surrounded by those most closely associated with her work at Scutari, notably the chef Alexis Soyer, who transformed dietary regimes at the hospital and who stands at the extreme left of the picture, holding a sunshade.

Little is known of Barrett's career, but this picture is his masterpiece. It was praised at the time for its attention to detail, and, although imaginary in composition, is based to a high degree on eye-witness evidence – Barrett went to Scutari in the summer of 1856, where he set up a studio in the hospital. He has included himself in the painting, looking out on the scene from the window above Florence Nightingale.



THE MISSION OF MERCY:
Florence Nightingale Receiving the Wounded at Scutari
By Jerry Barrett, 1857
Oil on canvas
141 x 212.7 cms



**'THE SECRET OF ENGLAND'S
GREATNESS'**

(Queen Victoria presenting a Bible in the Audience
Chamber at Windsor)

By Thomas Jones Barker, c.1863

Oil on canvas

167.6 x 213.8 cms

This group epitomises the Victorian concept of the British Empire, which was seen as conferring the benefits of European civilisation, and Christianity in particular, on the peoples over whom it ruled. Here Prince Albert stands to the left of Queen Victoria, while on the right in the background are the statesmen Lord Palmerston and Lord John Russell. In the foreground Queen Victoria presents a Bible to a man wearing African dress. Although the portraits of the British sitters are accurate and the setting at Windsor, with Benjamin West's large painting of 'The Institution of the Order of the Garter' carefully indicated in the background, no actual occasion for the picture's subject has been identified. It was engraved under the title 'The Bible. The Secret of England's Greatness' in 1864, suggesting that it was conceived, in part at least, as an allegory of Empire.



PRINCE ALBERT OF
SAXE-COBURG-GOTHA
1819–1861

By Franz Xaver
Winterhalter, 1867
Oil on canvas
241.3 x 156.8 cms

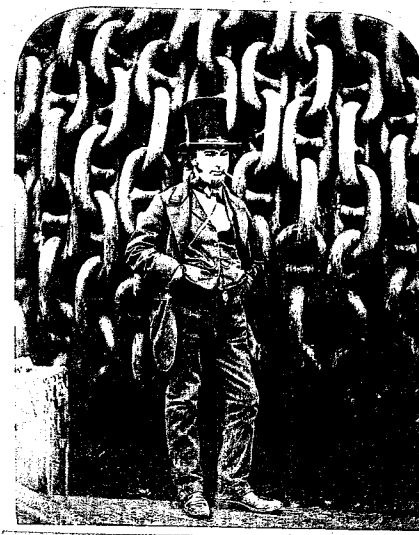
Opposite left:
ISAMBARD KINGDOM
BRUNEL
1806–1859

By Robert Howlett, 1859
Albumen print
28.6 x 22.5 cms

Opposite right:
CHARLES BABBAGE
1791–1871

By Antoine Claudet,
c.1847–1851
Daguerreotype
7 x 6 cms

Prince Albert married his cousin Queen Victoria in 1841. Their marriage was an extremely happy one, and the Prince Consort was of great assistance to the queen in her role as monarch. He also pursued his own interests, and is perhaps best remembered for his vision of the Great Exhibition of 1851 which celebrated the artistic and manufacturing skills of Britain and the Empire. He and Queen Victoria were enthusiastic patrons of the German-born artist Winterhalter, and commissioned over one hundred works from him. The original version of this portrait, showing Prince Albert wearing the Star of the Garter and the uniform of the Rifle Brigade, was one of the last portraits to be painted of him before his premature death from typhoid in 1861: it formed a pair with a portrait of Queen Victoria. This version was commissioned for and given to the Gallery by the queen in 1867, and is an autograph replica of the original of 1859.



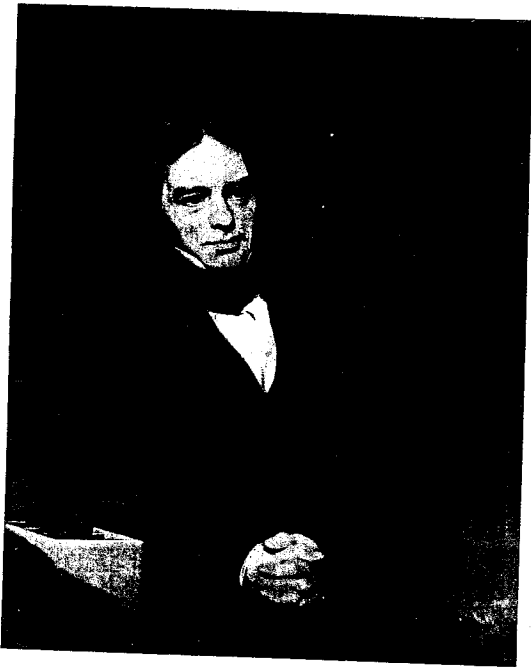
The son of the engineer Sir Marc Isambard Brunel, Brunel earned early experience working on his father's Thames Tunnel. He went on to design the Clifton suspension bridge and to build not only the Great Western Railway but also railways in Italy, India and Australia. His greatest fame, however, came as a designer of ocean-going steamships, the last and greatest of which was the *Leviathan*, whose massive anchor chains provide the backdrop in this photograph.

Little is known of Howlett, whom the *Illustrated Times* rightly called 'one of the most skilful photographers of the day'. He died less than a year after this picture was taken, poisoned, it was suggested, by his own photographic chemicals.

Even by Victorian standards, Babbage was a formidable polymath. He was a mathematician, scientist and inventor, a political economist and a reformer. But he is best remembered today as a pioneer of computer technology, the development of his 'Difference Engine', and, later, his 'Analytical Engine', dominating his life's work.

A native of Lyon, Claudet came to England in 1829 and in the 1840s became a leading practitioner of the daguerreotype. Invented in 1839 by his countryman L. J. M. Daguerre, and the first type of photographs to be publicly announced, daguerreotypes are unique images. Claudet was working with Babbage on various photographic experiments around the time this portrait was taken.





MICHAEL FARADAY

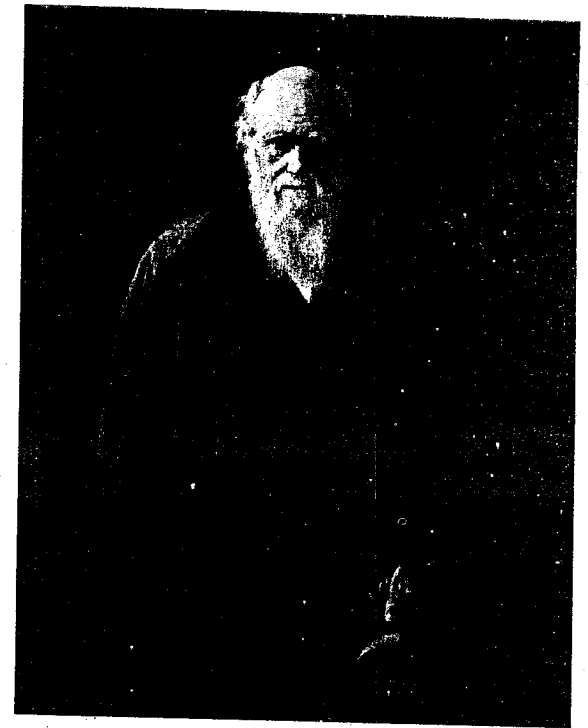
1791-1867

By Thomas Phillips,
1841-1842

Oil on canvas
90.8 x 71.1 cms

Born the son of a blacksmith, and largely self-taught, Faraday became one of the greatest of all scientists: his discoveries continue to affect our lives today. He received his scientific education from Sir Humphry Davy, working as his assistant at the Royal Institution from 1813. The Institution, in London's Albemarle Street, was to remain Faraday's home and workplace until the end of his life, and it was there, on 29 August 1831, that he made his greatest discovery: electromagnetic induction. This breakthrough led to a series of experiments carried out over the following ten weeks which are now acknowledged as the basis of modern electrical technology. Important though this discovery was, Faraday's achievements ranged far beyond it, his work in chemistry, his continuing investigations into the nature of electricity and his revolutionary ideas on the fundamental nature of the physical world all led to many significant later developments. He was also a great populariser of science: his Christmas lectures for children and Friday evening Discourses at the Institution were among the great public occasions of Victorian London.

Phillips' portrait shows Faraday with two essential pieces of laboratory equipment. On his right is a Cruickshank battery of the sort he used in his electrical experiments, while to his left flames indicate a furnace – necessary for a range of laboratory work at the time.



CHARLES
ROBERT DARWIN

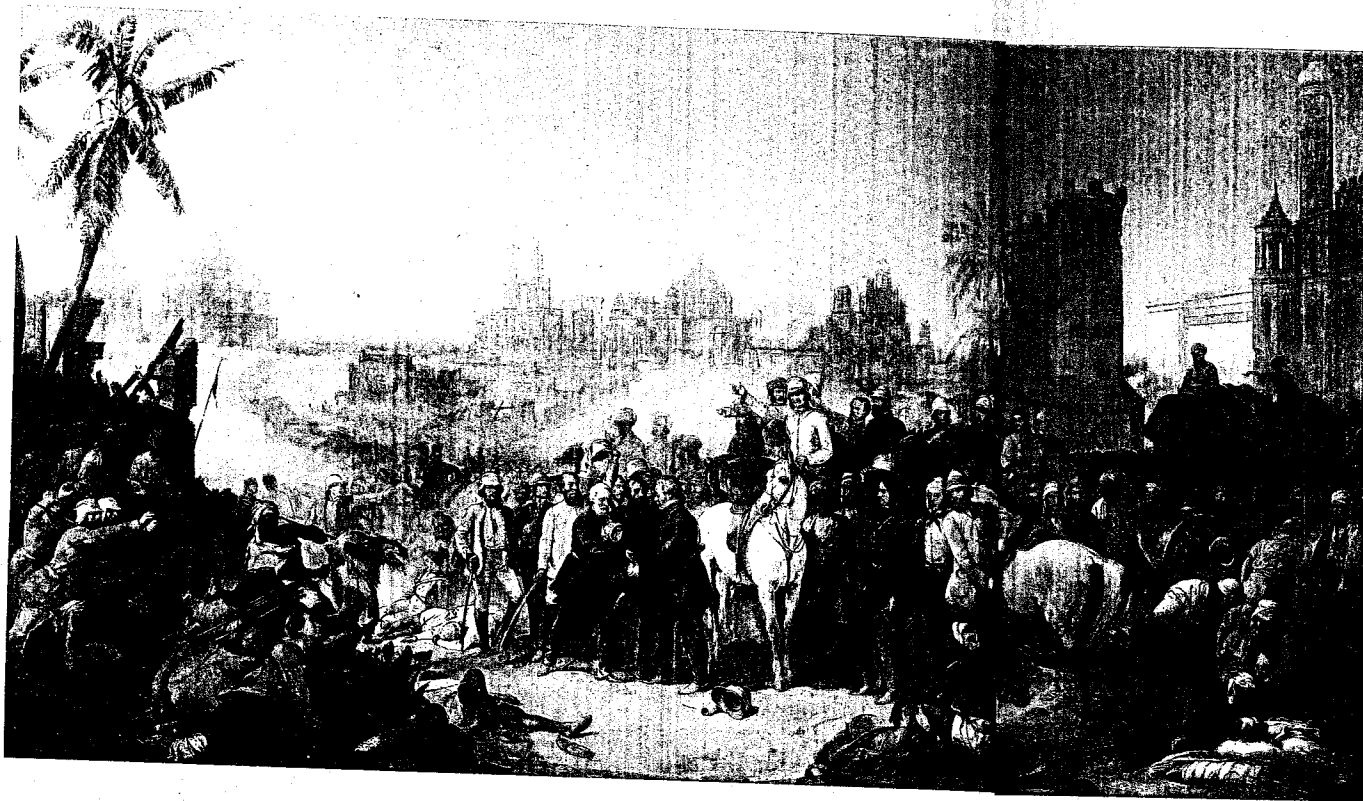
1809-1882

By John Collier, 1883
Oil on canvas

125.7 x 96.5 cms

After an undistinguished undergraduate career at Cambridge, Darwin embarked on the *Beagle* in December 1831 on its scientific expedition to South America. He returned five years later an accomplished naturalist equipped with observations from which he was to form his ground-breaking theory that species evolved by means of natural selection. It was not until 1858, however, when Alfred Russell Wallace sent him a paper which had come to similar conclusions, that Darwin was urged by friends to make his ideas public. The following year *On the Origin of Species* provoked furious opposition from the clergy, for whom it undermined the biblical account of creation. No other Victorian can be said to have so changed the attitudes of his contemporaries, and Darwin's ideas continue to influence thinking on the relationship between man and nature.

The painter John Collier was the son-in-law of Thomas Henry Huxley, the most ardent supporter of Darwin's ideas in the years following publication of the *Origin of Species*. (He was known, caustically, as 'Darwin's bulldog'.) This portrait is Collier's amended version of one he painted for the Linnaean Society in August 1881. His portrait of Huxley is also in the Gallery's collection.



THE RELIEF OF LUCKNOW

By Thomas Jones Barker, 1859

Oil on canvas

105.4 x 181.3 cms

The scene is one of the key events of the Indian Mutiny, when the siege of Lucknow, which had lasted from July 1857, was at last raised by Sir Colin Campbell, the new commander of the British armies, on 17 November. Campbell, later Baron Clyde (1792–1863), is depicted on the right of the central group of three figures: the other two are, on the left, General Sir Henry Havelock (1795–1857), who died only a week after the ending of the siege, and, in the centre, Sir James Outram (1803–1863). Havelock and Outram had brought much needed reinforcements to bolster the small number of troops initially under siege. In the background are the towers and minarets of the city of Lucknow.

Thomas Jones Barker did not visit India, but worked from the sketches of Egron Lundgren, who was commissioned by the London art firm of Agnew's to record the events at Lucknow. Barker painted two versions of this picture (the other is in the Glasgow Museum and Art Gallery), and an engraving of it was then sold by Agnew's.



FREDERICK GUSTAVUS BURNABY

1842–1885

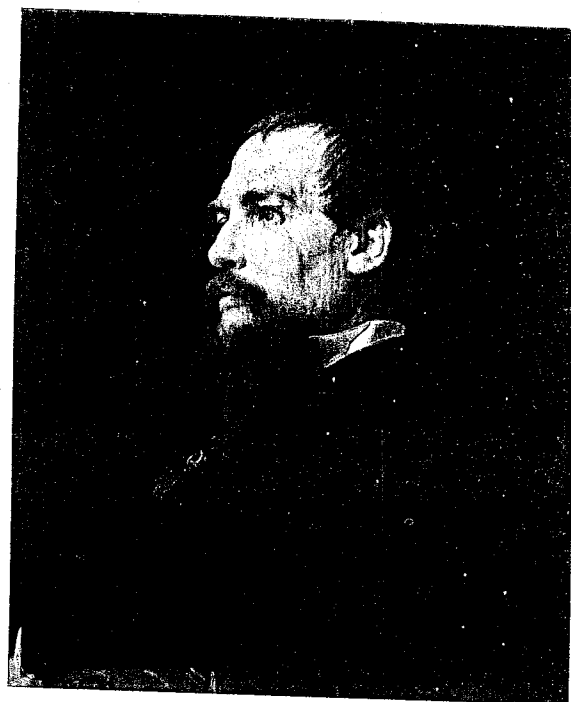
By James Jacques Tissot, 1870

Oil on panel

49.5 x 59.7 cms

An army officer with a gift for languages and a penchant for travel and exploration, Burnaby became renowned both for his exploits and his writings about them. *A Ride to Khiva* (1876), the narrative of a journey on horseback across three thousand miles of the Russian steppes in winter, and *On Horseback through Asia Minor* (1877), which described a tour of Asia Minor during which he fought on behalf of the Turks against the Russians, were both best-sellers. A huge man, nearly two metres tall, he was reputed to be the strongest man in the British Army, and was said to have carried a pony under one arm. He was also a keen balloonist, and in 1882 succeeded in a solo crossing of the English Channel from Dover to Normandy. In 1884 he joined the expedition to relieve Khartoum in the Sudan, and died from a spear wound at the battle of Abu Klea.

The French artist Tissot, who for a time worked for the periodical *Vanity Fair*, made a number of portraits of fashionable English sitters, characteristically setting his elegantly posed subjects in highly decorative interiors, as is the case here, where the man of action reclines nonchalantly smoking, the horizontal composition emphasising his long legs.



SIR RICHARD
FRANCIS BURTON

1821–1890

By Frederic Leighton,
Baron Leighton,

c.1872–1875

Oil on canvas

61 x 50.7 cms

Sir Richard Burton first won fame with the publication of several books on travel and culture in India, the fruits of a period as a subaltern there, after he had been sent down from Oxford. Unlike most Englishmen in his position, Burton set about learning the languages and culture of India from the Indians themselves. This was to set the pattern for his career: in 1849 he was commissioned by the Royal Geographical Society to travel to Mecca, did so disguised as a Muslim and published an account of his adventures. He subsequently went to Africa, where, with John Hanning Speke, he was the first European to see Lake Tanganyika. He spent most of the rest of his life in consular posts, at Fernando Po, Santos, Damascus and finally Trieste, where it was thought he could do little harm. His famous translation of the *Arabian Nights* was ensured a success by virtue of its scandalous 'explanatory' footnotes.

Leighton began work on this portrait in April 1872, after Burton had been dismissed from his Damascus consulship. He was evidently impossible as a sitter but the two men formed a friendship which lasted until Burton's death. In 1876 he helped Leighton to buy an important collection of tiles for the famous Arab Hall at his house in Holland Park.



THE LANDING OF PRINCESS ALEXANDRA AT GRAVESEND,
7 MARCH 1863

By Henry Nelson O'Neil, 1864

Oil on canvas

132.1 x 213.4 cms

This group of over fifty figures commemorates the arrival in England of Princess Alexandra of Denmark (1844–1925) for her marriage to the then Prince of Wales, later Edward VII. It shows the Prince leading his betrothed along the Terrace Pier at Gravesend, after her disembarkation from the royal yacht *Victoria and Albert*. The Prince and Princess are accompanied by the King and Queen of Denmark (who stand immediately behind them) and other members of the Danish royal family, officials and dignitaries, and, as the *Illustrated London News* reported, a 'bevy of pretty maids, who, ranged on each side of the pier, awaited, with dainty little baskets filled with spring flowers, the arrival of the Princess, to scatter these, Nature's jewels, at the feet of the Royal lady'.



DAME ALICE
ELLEN TERRY

1847–1928

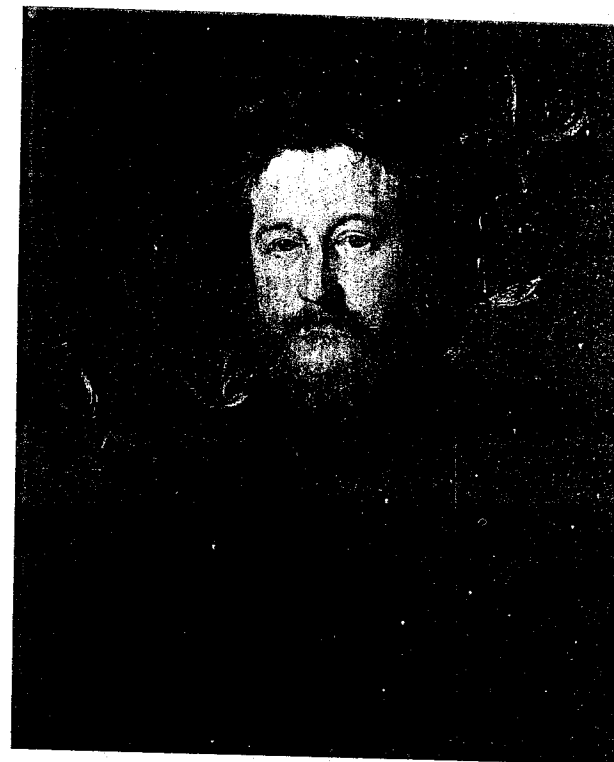
By George Frederic
Watts, c.1864

Oil on board

48 x 35.2 cms

Ellen Terry first appeared on the stage as a child of nine in 1856. Regarded as the greatest English actress of the period, she began performing with Henry Irving in 1867, and played many leading roles in Irving's productions between 1878 and 1896, most notably Portia in Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice*.

Known as 'Choosing', this delicately sensuous portrait shows the seventeen-year-old sitter choosing between the camellias, symbolising worldly vanities, with which she is surrounded, and the small bunch of violets in her left hand, symbolising innocence and simplicity. The year before this portrait was painted she married, briefly and unhappily, the artist G. F. Watts, who was thirty years her senior.



WILLIAM MORRIS

1834–1896

By George Frederic
Watts, 1870

Oil on canvas

64.8 x 52.1 cms

Morris was one of the most important and inventive artistic figures of the Victorian period. His name has become synonymous with the Arts and Crafts Movement of the latter part of the century, and his firm, Morris & Co., designed and manufactured furniture, fabrics, wallpapers and other decorative materials, espousing standards of craftsmanship which Morris traced back to the medieval period, rather than following the trend for mass-production. Both his approach and his characteristically rich and colourful designs were highly influential. His wish to find dignity in work led to a form of socialism and in 1884 he founded the Socialist League. His influence, in art, design, printing and manufacture, was extremely important as the century progressed.

Watts's portrait of Morris forms part of his 'Hall of Fame', a series of portraits of his most eminent contemporaries, whom he selected himself, and later bequeathed to the National Portrait Gallery. This was painted in one sitting, in 1870, although it may not have been given its final form until 1880, when it was first exhibited. Morris' friends regarded the portrait as 'almost libellous'.



SIR HENRY IRVING

1838–1905

By Jules Bastien-Lepage, 1880

Oil on canvas

43.2 x 45.7 cms

Irving dominated the London stage for the last thirty years of Victoria's reign. Born John Henry Brodribb, he worked as a clerk in London and studied elocution to overcome a stutter. During the 1860s he achieved success on the London stage, and in 1867 played for the first time with Ellen Terry, the start of a long and memorable partnership. Irving established his reputation as a tragedian with his *Hamlet* at the Lyceum in 1874. His style was individual and controversial, but its power and intensity kept audiences spellbound. A great manager as well as actor, Irving made several American and Canadian tours, received many honours, and was the first actor ever to be knighted.

This portrait was conceived at a supper party at the Lyceum, when Irving and Ellen Terry entertained the artist and Sarah Bernhardt. It was abandoned after only one or two sittings, presumably because Irving disliked this informal style of depiction. In 1910 Ellen Terry gave the portrait to the National Portrait Gallery.



OSCAR WILDE

1856–1900

By Napoleon Sarony, 1882

Albumen print

30.6 x 18.4 cms

Playwright, wit and apostle of the aesthetic movement, Wilde achieved fame while still an undergraduate at Oxford. His period of greatest creativity, including the publication of *The Picture of Dorian Gray* (1891) and a succession of brilliant comedies culminating in *The Importance of Being Earnest* (1895), was cut short by two years' imprisonment as a result of his love affair with Lord Alfred Douglas. Sarony's photograph shows him in New York in January 1882, wearing full aesthetic garb and preparing to proclaim his creed of art and beauty to audiences across North America.



AUBREY BEARDSLEY

1872–1898

By Frederick Evans, 1894

Platinum print

13.6 x 9.7 cms

'I invented Aubrey Beardsley,' Wilde remarked of the outstanding young artist who illustrated his *Salomé* and who for a period in the early nineties was one of his keenest followers. Like Wilde, Beardsley provoked furious controversy with his strange illustrations, charged with morbidity and eroticism, for the *Yellow Book* and the *Savoy*. This photograph by his friend and patron Frederick Evans emphasises his striking face (likened by Wilde to 'a silver hatchet') and his physical fragility. He was to die of tuberculosis aged only 25.



ALFRED TENNYSON

1809–1892

By Julia Margaret Cameron, 1869

Albumen print

25.5 x 20 cms

With the publication of his Arthurian poems *Idylls of the King* in 1859, Tennyson, who had succeeded Wordsworth as Poet Laureate nine years earlier, finally won popular recognition and a celebrity which lasted until his death. As a result the demand for photographs of him greatly increased, and his strong, idiosyncratic features made him an especially good subject. Carlyle described him as 'one of the finest looking men in the world'.

Julia Margaret Cameron, the wife of a retired coffee planter living in the Isle of Wight, aspired 'to ennoble Photography'. Her neighbour, the Poet Laureate, had a rather more pragmatic response, inscribing under a version of this photograph: 'I prefer the Dirty Monk to the others of me.'



CHARLES LUTWIDGE
DODGSON ('LEWIS CARROLL')

1832–1898

Self-portrait, c.1856

Albumen print, 14 x 11.7 cms

Better known as the author of *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* under the pseudonym Lewis Carroll, Dodgson was a mathematics don at Christ Church, Oxford. Fascinated by all forms of gadgetry, from about 1856 he became an enthusiastic amateur photographer. Although always interested in its techniques, he saw photography primarily as a means of expressing himself artistically, and often signed his prints 'from the Artist'. This print is from an important album of twenty-eight photographs in the Gallery's collection, of Dodgson's friends and contemporaries at Oxford.



DINNER AT HADDO HOUSE, SEPTEMBER 1884

By Alfred Edward Emslie, c.1884

Oil on canvas

36.2 x 57.8 cms

Emslie's small painting offers a glimpse of a political gathering at the end of the last century. The host and hostess are the Earl and Countess of Aberdeen, and the composition takes as its focus the conversation between Lady Aberdeen and William Ewart Gladstone (1809–1898), the veteran statesman and then Prime Minister, who was on a speaking tour of Scotland.

To the left of Lady Aberdeen is Archibald Philip Primrose, 5th Earl of Rosebery (1847–1929), who succeeded Gladstone as Prime Minister in 1894. Other guests include Mrs Gladstone and Lady Rosebery, and the Earl and Countess of Elgin. It was customary at Haddo to entertain guests at dinner with the sound of bagpipes. The piper is Andrew Cant.

After receiving a double first in Classics and Mathematics from Oxford, Gladstone was elected a Conservative MP in 1832. His first important speech, in 1833, was for the emancipation of slaves, and from then on no English politician has remained so long on the public stage: for over 60 years he was a presence, becoming the 'Grand Old Man' of British politics, serving as Prime Minister no less than four times from 1868 to 1894, often alternately with Benjamin Disraeli.

Disraeli's political career was almost as long: nearly half a century. He was first elected a Conservative Member of Parliament in 1837, but did not become Prime Minister until 1868, and again from 1874 to 1880. In his novels *Sybil* (1845) and *Coningsby* (1844), two of the earliest political novels in English, he set out the principles of Toryism anew, under which England was no longer to be 'two nations', rich and poor, but united under church and crown. A close friend of Queen Victoria, he caused her to assume the title of Empress of India in 1876. He was created Earl of Beaconsfield in the same year.

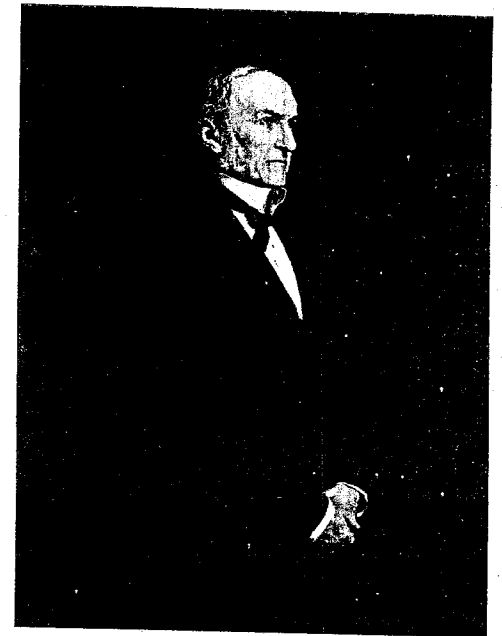
Gladstone sat for five one-hour sittings for his portrait, remarking in his diary of 6 July 1879 that Millais' 'ardour and energy about his picture inspire strong sympathy'. Disraeli's portrait was unfinished at his death, but on Queen Victoria's request it was completed by Millais and sent to the Royal Academy as a late, special exhibit.

WILLIAM EWART
GLADSTONE

1809–1898

By Sir John Everett
Millais, 1879

Oil on canvas
125.7 x 91.4 cms

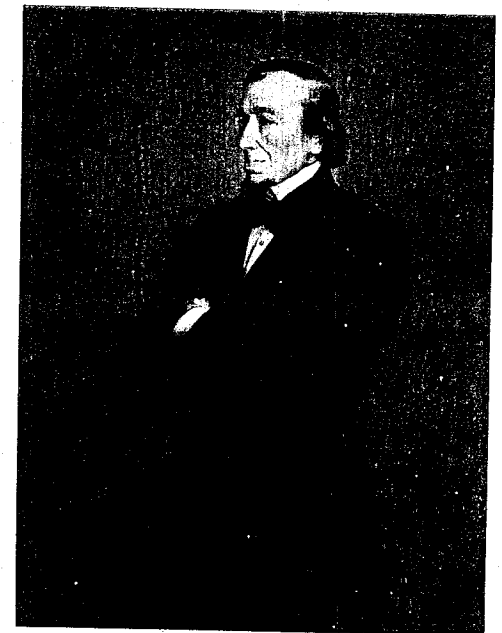


BENJAMIN
DISRAELI, EARL OF
BEACONSFIELD

1804–1881

By Sir John Everett
Millais, 1881

Oil on canvas
127.6 x 93.1 cms





GERTRUDE
ELIZABETH BLOOD,
LADY COLIN
CAMPBELL
1858–1911
By Giovanni Boldini, c.1897
Oil on canvas
182.2 x 117.5 cms

Gertrude Blood married Lord Colin Campbell, younger son of the Duke of Argyll, in 1881, but separated from him in 1886 after a scandalous case in which she alleged her adultery with four co-respondents. She worked as an art critic for *The World* and the *Ladies' Field*, and was admired for her athletic prowess in fencing, swimming and riding. Her published works include *A Book for the Running Brook*, articles on English freshwater fish, *A Miracle in Rabbits* and *Etiquette of Good Society*.

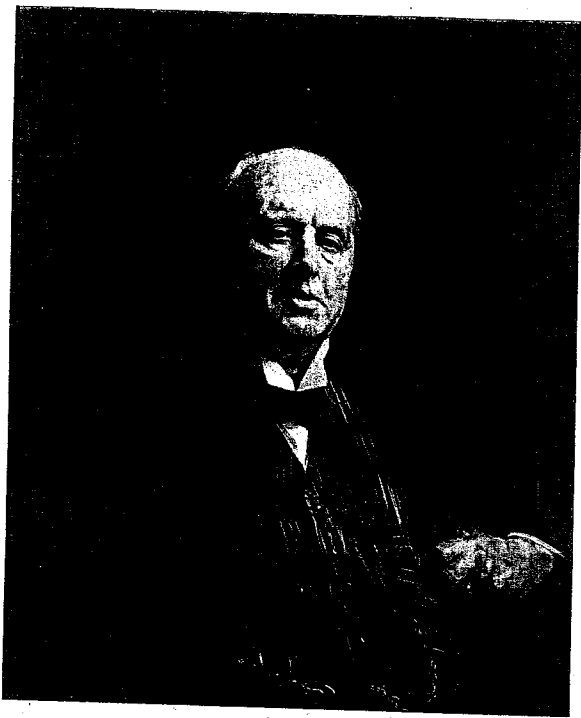
The Italian society painter Boldini imparts a special glamour to this alluring sitter, dwelling in her provocative expression and voluminous black dress, and treating the rules of anatomy with magnificent contempt. Although much admired by some, the painter Walter Richard Sickert later referred with scorn to the 'Vriggle-&-Chiffon School of Boldini'.



SIR FRANK
SWETTENHAM
1850–1946
By John Singer Sargent,
1904
Oil on canvas
170.8 x 110.5 cms

A portrait of the colonial administrator Sir Frank Swettenham was commissioned in 1903 from the leading society portraitist of the time, the American Sargent, by the Malay Straits Association of London. Swettenham had enjoyed a long career in Malaya, encouraging social and economic progress, while showing great interest in and sympathy for the people and their customs. He was made governor of the Malay States in 1901, and retired three years later.

Sargent first painted a full-length portrait of him, which was sent to Singapore, where it remains, and a replica was commissioned from one of Sargent's regular copyists. However, Sargent took over the painting of the replica. Swettenham gave fresh sittings for the head, and this new three-quarter-length portrait, with significant differences from the first portrait, is the result. Swettenham is shown surrounded by accessories evoking his Far Eastern career: a huge globe just visible in the top left hand corner hovers over a chair draped with the magnificent Malayan brocades that he collected. He wears his white uniform and adopts an elegant, Van Dyckian pose, more vigorous than the original upright pose, leaning against the chair, gripping it with his right hand; his clawlike fingers provide a note of tension.



HENRY JAMES
1843–1916
By John Singer Sargent,
1913
Oil on canvas
85.1 x 67.3

The American-born novelist Henry James had settled in England, at Lamb House, Rye, in 1898. By the time this portrait was painted he was at the end of a career which had seen the success of early novels such as *Portrait of a Lady* (1881), followed by the late masterpieces *The Wings of the Dove* (1902) and *The Golden Bowl* (1904). This portrait was commissioned to celebrate James's seventieth birthday, by a group of 269 subscribers organised by the American novelist Edith Wharton, although ultimately Sargent, a fellow American and friend, waived his fee. James had ten sittings and records admiringly the artist's ability to make such details as his waistcoat and sleeves of interest in the finished composition. When it was completed he pronounced it 'a living breathing likeness and a masterpiece of painting'.

Like James, Sargent was an expatriate American who found his spiritual home in Europe. He won great success as a fashionable portrait painter. Endowed with a miraculous touch, he expressed to the full, through the sheer virtuosity of his brushwork, the boundless self-confidence of the late Victorian and Edwardian upper classes.



GWEN JOHN
1876–1939
Self-portrait, c.1900
Oil on canvas
61 x 37.8 cms

This self-portrait was painted when Gwen John was at the beginning of her artistic career. She had followed her brother Augustus to the Slade School of Art in London, where she studied from 1895 to 1898, winning a prize for figure composition. On leaving she worked briefly in Paris with Whistler and returned to London in 1899, where she began to exhibit her work and where this portrait appears to have been painted. It is one of two self-portraits from this period: the other is in the Tate Gallery, and presents a somewhat wistful characterisation of the artist, whereas here the jutting hand on hip and a stance which seems deliberately to burst the bounds of the picture frame, allied to an expression of watchful superiority, indicate a much more confident view of herself.

Celebrity and Community: The Poetics of the Carte-de-visite

John Plunkett

If we have lost something in artists, we have gained something in gratifications. If our curiosity be excited by daring deeds or prominent actions, the lens and chemical paper present the doer and the place to our eyes, and we see what manner of man he is and where the events took place. Our kings, queens, and princes, our statesmen, our scholars, our pretty women and our mountebanks, may be brought for eighteen pence apiece – genuine likenesses; for the lower priced articles may or may not be such.
(*London Review*, August 1863)¹

In the early 1860s photography established itself as a public and commercial media through a rage for *cartes-de-visite*. The *carte-de-visite* was a small photograph around 9 × 6 cm that had been pasted onto a piece of card (fig. 1). Its name derived from the fact that it had the physical appearance of a visiting card, a purpose for which it was rarely used. Through being an ideal format for exchanging the photographs of family, friends and celebrities, the *carte* heralded an unprecedented dynamic between mass culture and photography. It was the advent of the *carte* that made the photographs of favourite preachers and actresses, Queen Victoria and her consort, and, later, well-known sportsman, available in large numbers. By examining a series of articles that were published in *Once a Week*, *All the Year Round* and the *Art Journal*, this essay excavates the insinuating and intimate frisson of the celebrity *carte*. I argue that, among its first commentators, who were often writing from a fine art standpoint, the celebrity *carte* provoked fears of a populist broadening of the public sphere. Critics were concerned that the *carte* would introduce a more superficial notion of celebrity itself. With the coming-into-being of photography as a mass media, the *carte* was so potent because it was a thinking of the self through things. It was part of an individual's construction of themselves in relation to a wider collective identity.

The imaginative impact of the celebrity *carte* stemmed from the



Fig. 1. Selection of *cartes-de-vistes* by (from left to right) A. Claudet (c.1860); John Edwin Mayall (c.1860); Beer and Sons, Bristol (1895); Charles Keeping, Exeter (c.1870). (Courtesy of Bill Douglas Centre for the History of Cinema and Popular Culture.)

novelty of the individual and collective experience it generated. The *carte* provided a strange and new experience of figures who were nevertheless wholly familiar. Celebrity photographs were particularly notable for their collective agency because, through their extensive circulation, they went beyond the scope of existing graphic media like engraving and lithography. Their ubiquity helped to provide a collective experience of well-known individuals. Thus, photography was instrumental in creating the familiar and iconic image of Queen Victoria in her widow's weeds. Significantly though, the *carte* was equally notable for the intimate relationship it generated between individual consumers and public figures. The widespread dissemination of the *cartes* only had an impact because of the potency with which they were experienced. Compared to existing graphic media, the realism of the camera proffered a more authentic and affective relationship with the distinguished sitters so depicted. The collection of celebrity *cartes* in albums also helped to reinforce an individual's sense of themselves as belonging to an imagined national community. Collecting photographs was an activity that was an expression of selfhood: the photographic album constituted part of the bricolage of subjectivity. Thus, while this article is devoted to the general aesthetics of the *carte*, it focuses in particular on responses to the first published photographs of the British royal family. It does so partly because they were amongst the most widely circulated and written about. Principally though, because the royal *cartes* worked to reinvent the centrality of the monarchy in national life, they exemplify the way that photography was used to foster a collective belonging.

To understand the novelty of the *carte-de-visite*, it is first necessary to understand the restrictions under which photography had operated up until the late 1850s. The first Daguerreotype portrait studio opened in London at the Royal Polytechnic Institution on 23 March 1841. However, the high price of a sitting kept the number of studios at a relatively small level. The daguerreotype, being unique and non-reproducible, had more in common with the miniature portrait than the *carte*. During the 1840s commercial studios were also restricted by the fact that they had to operate under licence. The agents of Louis Daguerre and Henry Fox Talbot rigidly enforced the patent restrictions upon their respective processes. Photographers had to pay heavily for the privilege of using their methods. As is well-known, it was only in 1851, when Frederick Scott Archer published the details of his collodion process without any patent restraints, that photography began to free itself from the legal and technological shackles that had previously constrained it.² Archer's process was a significant advance

over previous methods because his collodion negative plate was both reproducible and more sensitive than Fox Talbot's calotype. It needed much less exposure time and was therefore more suitable for portrait photography.

Despite the advantages of the collodion process, during the early 1850s the practice of photography remained limited predominantly to upper-class amateurs who were motivated by a mixture of artistic interest and scientific improvement.³ In its fledgling state, photography required time, expensive materials and a rudimentary knowledge of chemistry. Its pursuit was limited to those with independent financial means and a high level of education. The Photographic Society, which was formed in 1852, along with the many other local photographic societies that followed it during the 1850s, were intended to cater for the genteel amateur. Only as the decade progressed and photography broadened in appeal did aesthetic and commercial questions come to the fore. In 1855, Cuthbert Bede commented on the reputed standing of photography by declaring that 'For the present at any rate, Photography has the patronage of aristocratic – may we not add, Royal? amateurs. It has not yet become *too* common; nor, indeed, is it likely to become so.'⁴ Victoria and Albert's interest in photography belongs to the tradition of royal patronage. Yet, at the same time, as reputed practitioners, they exemplify the upper-class amateurs to whom photography was an affordable pastime.

After the collodion process had been refined and standardised, there was a rapid increase in the number of photographic studios during the second half of the 1850s. Evidence abounds of the way that the increasingly commercial character of photography altered perceptions of the medium. In its review of the 1857 exhibition of the Photographic Society, the upmarket *Saturday Review* complimented the society on having escaped the 'deluge of portraits of "Ladies and Gentlemen", which might reasonably have been expected from the shoals of professors in this line with which every thoroughfare is now pestered, and whose sole idea of the use of this valuable art seems to be that it is meant to perpetuate imbecile faces by a ghastly and too faithful likeness'.⁵ These comments are typical of the distaste towards what was seen as the prostitution of the medium by the burgeoning number of portrait studios. The sardonic reference to Ladies and Gentleman emphasises that the accessibility of the new studios was already equated with the loss of photography's artistic distinction. The changing role of photography is also evident in that fact that the late 1850s saw the first attempts to publish series of photographs of famous figures. The most long running of these was *Photographic Portraits of Living Celebrities, executed and pub-*

lished by Maul and Polybank. Forty numbers of this monthly series were published between May 1856 and October 1859. However, with each albumen print measuring 19.5×14.5 cm, these large pictures were far removed from both the size and comparatively low price of the *carte*.⁶

A French photographer, André Adolphe Eugène Disdéri, originally patented the *carte* in November 1854. Instead of one large negative plate being used for a single photograph, Disdéri used a camera with multiple lenses to expose a number of identical portraits on a single negative plate.⁷ Disdéri's initial patent specified ten images on one plate but this was subsequently reduced to a standard format of eight images. With single plates producing eight small prints instead of one large picture, individual *cartes* were hence reproduced at a fraction of the cost previously incurred for one full-plate picture. Having eight pictures upon one plate also dramatically increased the potential to reproduce a large number of pictures in a short space of time. Both of these factors were crucial in being able to create and supply a large market.

The technological format of the *carte* encouraged distinguished personages to let their photographs enter public circulation. In 1861, the *Saturday Review* claimed that, prior to the *carte*, photography had distorted and exaggerated the prominent features of the face to the extent that celebrities had not been prepared to let themselves be revealed in such unflattering guises.⁸ What was different about the *carte* was the type of lens that it used. *Carte* portraits had a long depth of field and a consequent lack of spatial hierarchy. Sitters were characteristically depicted in a full-length format: their faces were distant enough from the camera to ensure that many signs of age or excess went unnoticed. As an article in the *Quarterly Review* by Robert Cecil put it in 1864, 'it gives you a kind of panoramic view of your friend, and gives a prominence to his best coat and trousers, which cast his features into the shade'.⁹ Disdéri's patent was granted in 1854 but *cartes* did not catch on until late 1858 or 1859, when a veritable explosion of interest in France quickly crossed into Britain. Disdéri's published portraits of Napoleon III, Empress Eugénie, and other dignitaries of the Second Empire were hugely successful.¹⁰ They may well have provided a reassuring model for the publication of photographs of the British royal family because, in August 1860, a well-known Regent Street Photographer, John Edwin Mayall, was permitted to publish his *Royal Album* (fig. 2). It was not until the Manchester Art Treasures exhibition in 1857, which included a photograph of Prince Albert, that a photograph of a member of the British royal family was officially shown in public for the first time. Royal photographs had been shown at subsequent exhibitions of the Photographic Society, but these pictures had a singular existence, being



Fig. 2. John Edwin Mayall, *The Queen and Prince Consort* (1861). (Courtesy of the Bill Douglas Centre for the History of Cinema and Popular Culture.)

neither for sale nor reproduction. Mayall's *Royal Album* was a wholly different kind of venture. Consisting of fourteen *cartes* of the royal family, the *Royal Album* was a phenomenal success. After only a few days on sale wholesalers had already demanded 60,000 sets.¹¹ Between 1860 and 1862, three to four million copies of Queen Victoria's *cartes* were claimed to have been sold.¹²

With the pleasure of seeing photographs of family, friends and celebrities for the first time, collecting *cartes* became the latest fashion. In October 1861, the *Art Journal* compared the collection of *cartes* to an *ad infinitum* multiplication of national portrait galleries. The National Portrait Gallery first opened its doors in 1858, with the explicit intention of displaying portraits that would embody a grand national history.¹³ The *Art Journal* saw the celebrity *carte* as creating a similar national constituency, and, in a significant turn of phrase, claimed that they reproduced the 'family portrait of the entire community'.¹⁴ *Cartes* constituted and expressed an inclusive communal identity; they integrated well-known figures into the intimate arena of individual subjectivity. Royal photographs were at the forefront of this shared pattern of experience, and the *Art Journal* was in no doubt of the importance of Victoria's *cartes*:

The production and the reproduction and the diffusion of the *carte-de-visite* portraits of Her Majesty the Queen, and of the various members of the Royal Family, would furnish materials for no ordinary chapter in the history of popular Art ... It would be difficult to form an estimation of the extent to which these beautiful little portraits may be reproduced. Without a doubt they will be required in tens of thousands. They will have to find a way into every quarter of our sovereign's wide dominions, and into every city and town, both at home and in the colonies ... These royal *cartes-de-visite* leave far behind all other agencies for enshrining our Sovereign's person and her family in the homes of her people. They do for everybody, as much as Winterhalter can do for the Prince Consort himself.¹⁵

The *Art Journal* is not concerned with making an aesthetic evaluation of the *cartes* but with conceptualising the impact of such a widespread dissemination. The comparison to Franz Xavier Winterhalter is significant because his royal portraits, mostly undertaken during the 1840s and 1850s, were the result of commissions from Victoria, and some of them were specifically intended as personal presents for Prince Albert. By equating them with the possession of a royal *carte* the *Art Journal* is eulogising the intimacy of the personal insight that they offered.

The publication of the *Royal Album* exemplifies the way that the first celebrity *cartes* became part of popular culture. Initially, *cartes* had

a protean status, moving uneasily between being fine art portraits and media images. One photographic retailer, Charles Asprey of 166, Bond St, advertised the *Royal Album* at £4 4s. Individual photographs from the album, as well as those of other European monarchs, were 1s 6d each.¹⁶ At these prices the complete portfolio was very much a luxury item. Accordingly, the *Royal Album* followed the pattern of expensive steel and mezzotint engravings in its mode of publication. A private viewing of the royal photographs took place at Mayall's studio prior to their being put on show as a public exhibition,¹⁷ in the same way that paintings were often placed on private view at printsellers before they were engraved.

When the *cartes* went on sale they were initially available in two formats in an imitation of the distinction between proof copies of engravings and ordinary prints. Proof copies were the first impressions taken from the engraving plate. They were consequently sharper and sold at a higher price than the large number of standard prints. Despite the fact that there should have been no difference between photographs from the same negative, Mayall's *cartes* were first of all to be available in proof impressions on India paper. Subsequent impressions were to be available in albums of the kind that would become the norm for collecting *cartes*.¹⁸ Such practices embody the way that the pictures of Victoria and Albert did not mark a wholehearted embrace of the potential of celebrity photographs. Indeed, it is important to emphasise that the frisson of the first royal *cartes* existed because of a distinct uneasiness over the publication of any such photographs. In August 1860, when John Watkins was honoured with the patronage of the Queen to take photographs of the Prince of Wales and his entourage just prior to his visit to Canada, the *Art Journal* noted that '[t]he portraits though, of course, not intended for circulation, may be seen at the rooms of the photographer'.¹⁹ In the very same month as the publication of the *Royal Album*, the *Art Journal* was automatically assuming that such 'family' photographs would not be published. Connoisseurs, however, could visit Watkins's studio to appreciate them.

The *Royal Album* was situated in a fine art milieu, yet individual *cartes* had a far broader audience and a very different existence. The celebrity *carte* was subject to the same logistical dictates as any other popular commodity. Celebrity *cartes* had their own London wholesale house, Marion & Co., which acted both as the central supply point for retailers and as a distribution hub for most major photographers. Marion & Co. stocked thousands of celebrity photographs of every kind. In 1862, its manager claimed that 50,000 *cartes* passed through the firm's hands every month.²⁰ Thus, in many respects, the *Royal Album* was actually out of

kilter with the popularity and the nature of individual celebrity *cartes*. The latter's success stemmed less from their aesthetic qualities and more from the voyeuristic curiosity they aroused. In their initial mode of publication, Mayall's royal photographs suggest that, even at the moment of their release, neither their mass potential nor their appeal were fully perceived.

Unfortunately, for many West End photographers at least, photography became commercialised so quickly in the early 1860s that it was not yet adequately covered by any copyright law. Forgeries of celebrity *cartes* became commonplace and large profits were made out of an immense number of quasi-illegal pictures.²¹ After numerous protests by the photographic industry a revised Copyright Bill finally came into effect on 29 July 1862. To qualify for protection under the new act a photograph had to be registered at Stationer's Hall for a fee of one shilling. Prosecutions took place regularly in the years following the copyright legislation. Reported cases in the 1860s involved photographs of the Prince of Wales and the Duke of Cambridge, as well as copies of popular paintings like William Frith's *Railway Station*, Holman Hunt's *The Light of the World* and Millais' *The First Sermon* and *The Second Sermon*.²² The paintings by Millais were part of several prosecutions from 1868 that were instigated by the well-known London printseller Henry Graves, who had expended £1,700 upon the copyright of Millais's pictures, and around £25,000 preparing the plate for Frith's *Railway Station*, only to find photographs of both engravings cheaply available.²³ These court cases, involving a firm that was one of the leading printsellers, epitomise the way photography was superseding engraving, and hence why the responses to the *carte* focused heavily on the potency of its reproductive agency.

The Stationer's Hall records demonstrate the type of collective experience provided by the *carte*. The copyright records are a quantitative index to the celebrity photographs in circulation after 1862. They do not reveal the volumes sold of any one photograph but they do record the number of registered portrait photographs of any one sitter. Working on the basis that photographs were registered specifically because they were expected to be commercially successful, the copyright records are a guide to the photographic prominence of distinguished figures. There is nevertheless one significant qualification in interpreting the supply of pictures. The number of photographs registered reveals as much about privileged access to the public sphere as it does about which sitters were necessarily the most popular. A *carte* of a working-class celebrity might have enormous sales, even though his or her participation in the media arena was limited to just one photo-

graph. Distinguished personages had significant advantages because photographers often solicited them for a sitting. As well as gaining a lucrative negative, the studio concerned would share in the prestige associated with their sitter.

The copyright records suggest that, especially during the 1860s and 1870s, the supply of celebrity *cartes* was saturated by those of royalty, politicians, artists and the leading clergy. Crown, Church and State were dominant, and a wonderful *Punch* cartoon from 1870 is typical in satirising the suspicion of earthly vanity surrounding those preachers achieving recognition through their *cartes*. Only in the 1880s and 1890s did actresses, singers and sportsmen transform a media hegemony that was intimately bound up with the social hierarchy. The first set of photographs ever registered for copyright were two portraits of Alfred Tennyson on 15 August 1862. Four days later came the second ever set of photographs to be registered, a series of seven portraits of Princesses Helena and Louise. During the first month of the law's operation, when there were eleven sets of photographs registered, six of them involved current members of the British royal family. Of the first 2,000 photographs that were registered, going up to 11 September 1863, some 317 contained one or more members of the British royal family, a proportion of just over 15%. Yet, it was far from being the first month or the first 2,000 photographs that were notable for the ubiquity of the royal presence. Table 1 extrapolates data from a catalogue of the copyright records edited by Russell Harris to provide a sample of the sitters who appear most frequently between 1862 and 1901.²⁴ Table 2 provides a year-by-year breakdown of the records for five of the most photographed personages of the century, including Queen Victoria, Ellen Terry and William Gladstone.

The number of royal photographs registered, compared with those of other prominent politicians, clergymen and actresses, highlights the extent to which the British royal family was able to dominate the imagined community of the nation. The Prince and Princess of Wales were by far the most photographed personages of the century, with 655 and 676 photographs registered. Despite Victoria's seclusion after Albert's death, the only non-royal figure to surpass her was Ellen Terry. One factor in the total number of royal photographs registered was clearly the sheer longevity of the Queen and most of her children. Yet even on a year-by-year analysis Victoria exceeds comparable figures such as Gladstone. His life as a public statesman was one of the few to approach Victoria's in length. Table 2, however, demonstrates that the number of photographs of Gladstone which were registered was still well below the number for the Queen and the Prince and Princess of

AUGUST 6, 1870.]

PUNCH, OR THE LONDON



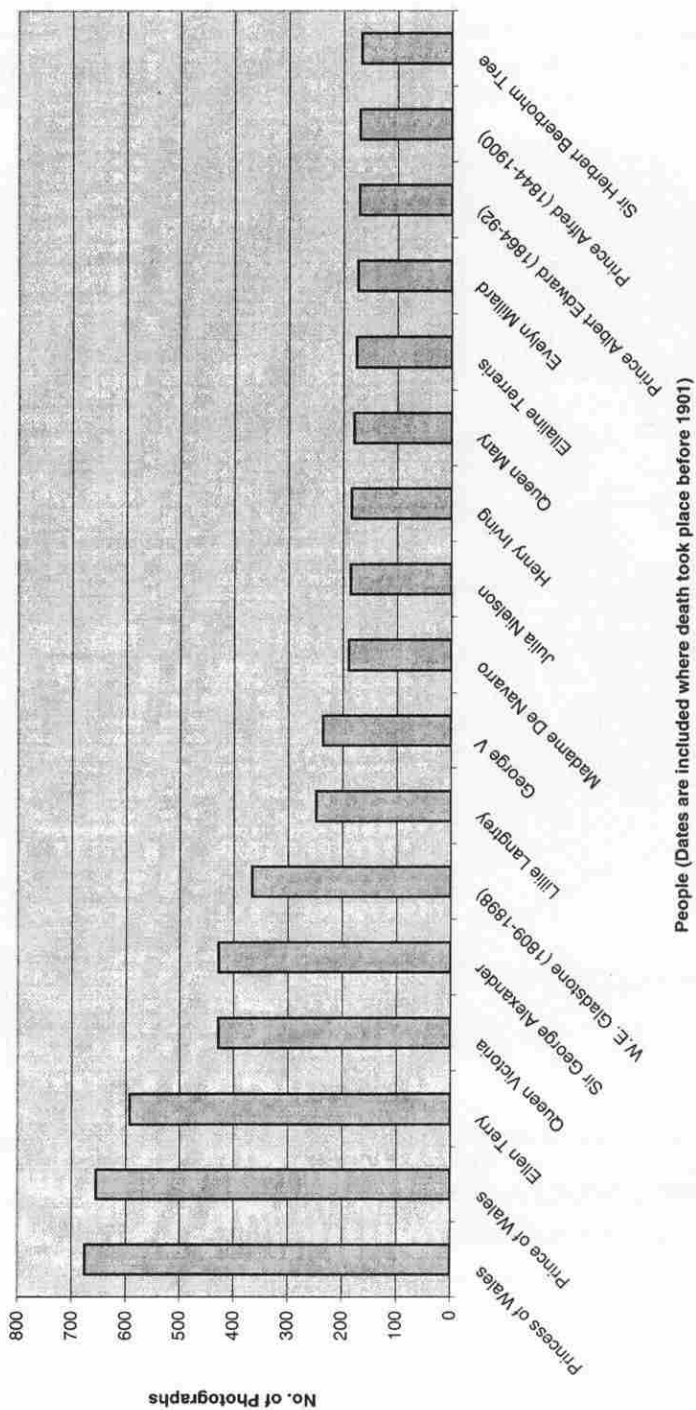
HIGH JINKS.

THE REV. ALBAN ROCHET HAS HIS PHOTOGRAPH TAKEN IN "FULL RITUALISTIC FIG" TO PRESENT TO HIS FLOCK.

Country Photographer. "THE HEYES MIGHT BE HELEVATED A LITTLE 'IGHHE, YOUR REVERENCE!!"

Fig. 3. 'High Jinks', *Punch*, 6 August 1870: 55. (Courtesy of Exeter University Library.)

Table 1. Photographs registered for copyright by Sitter, 1862-1901.



Celebrity and Community: The Poetics of the Carte-de-visite

Table 2. Year-by-year sample of photographs registered at Stationer's Hall, 1862-1901.

Year	Queen Victoria (1819-1901)	W.E. Gladstone (1809-1898)	Samuel Wilberforce (1805-73)	Ellen Terry	Princess Alexandra	Prince of Wales
1862	5	8	7	0	45	37
1863	44	11	22	0	71	75
1864	9	7	4	5	24	9
1865	9	1	7	0	31	51
1866	2	3	0	0	91	8
1867	14	5	3	0	5	10
1868	2	4	0	0	13	3
1869	0	13	1	0	7	4
1870	0	0	0	0	0	1
1871	3	0	2	0	37	37
1872	6	0	1	0	11	14
1873	0	7	15	0	0	0
1874	0	5		0	3	0
1875	1	0		0	0	4
1876	6	4		0	13	8
1877	7	10		0	2	13
1878	0	0		0	0	9
1879	4	7		6	16	6
1880	0	7		8	19	5
1881	7	15		0	11	5
1882	27	10		0	4	41
1883	0	22		38	15	4
1884	0	27		44	13	17
1885	0	4		14	13	8
1886	26	4		57	17	21
1887	40	8		11	25	15
1888	13	18		13	12	17
1889	18	16		101	18	20
1890	2	15		35	2	15
1891	2	7		43	3	12
1892	4	16		33	1	6
1893	13	23		44	13	13
1894	4	18		0	8	19
1895	0	13		34	0	3
1896	14	11		25	38	32
1897	47	19		37	32	31
1898	30	26		20	24	23
1899	37	2		13	11	23
1900	26	0		2	1	7
1901	6	0		10	27	29
Total no of photographs registered	428	366	62	593	676	655

Wales. A similar situation can be seen for Samuel Wilberforce, the well-known Bishop of Oxford, and E.W. Benson, Archbishop of Canterbury between 1882 and his death in 1896. A comparison between the royal photographs and those of three theatrical figures, Ellen Terry, Henry Irving and actress Ellaline Terriss, shows that, although the latter had a similar number of photographs registered to the royal family, most of them were supplied in a concentrated fifteen year period late in the century. The first photographs of Ellaline Terriss and Henry Irving, for example, were not registered until 1893 and 1896. The ubiquitous supply of photographs of the British monarchy created an extensive royal media presence that was the imposition of a shared experience rather than simply the satisfaction of widespread demand.

Photography played an important role in moulding a 'popular' royal family because celebrity *cartes* were celebrated for their 'democratic' and equalising character. Partly, this was due to the changing status of photography: a counterpoint to the concern that photography had been debased into a vulgar medium was the claim that it had been democratised into a universal one. Moreover, whereas it was the traditional role of the portrait painter to search after the ideal – and in so doing judiciously flatter the well-heeled sitter – the lens of the camera was lauded for truthfully seeing alike all who sat before it. In an article in *Once a Week* on the superseding of the miniature portrait by the photograph, Andrew Wynter sardonically commented that, 'Tompkins or Hopkins may submit to go down to posterity as livid, corpse-like personages; but the Lady Blanche or the fair Geraldine forbid it, Oh heavens!'²⁵ The camera imposed its unadorned realism upon all of its sitters. The aristocratic connotations of the ideal meant that photographic realism thus had a demythologising and egalitarian agency.

The egalitarian eye of the camera was matched by the uniformity of the *carte* as an object. The mania for *cartes* owed much to their nature as artefacts. Their size and format conditioned their use and, consequently, the way in which they offered an intimate relationship with their sitters. *Cartes* had an equalising agency because they created an experience of photography as something both familiar and everyday. In 1863, the *Athenaeum* condescendingly declared that photography could never be an art, precisely because of the type of pleasure given by the medium:

As pleasant memoranda of things seen and enjoyed, as suggestions of the unseen substantialities of art (for we doubt one feels awed by a photograph of the pyramids), *photographs are handy*.²⁶

'Handy' is here being used to describe a lack of sublimity, a predisposi-

tion towards the ordinary. Small, ephemeral artefacts which were widely available, easy to hold, easy to pass around, easy to look over by the dozen within a drawing-room, *cartes* possessed little distinction in themselves. As the *Reader*, put it, 'the poorest carries his three inches of card-board; and the richest can claim no more'.²⁷ *Cartes* were literally touchy-feely artefacts – not to be framed and looked at with deferential awe or revered from a distance but catalogued and collected, gossiped and commented upon. By the very literal handyness of their use, *cartes* imbued their subjects with the quotidian qualities of their format.

Closely connected to the equalising nature of the *carte* as an object was its status as a circulating commodity. In a second article in *Once a Week*, Andrew Wynter contrasted the National Portrait Gallery, with its restrictive opening hours of only three days a week, to the accessibility of the street-portrait galleries of the many photographic establishments. Wynter claimed that scarcely a dozen people a day made their way to see the portraits at Great George St., Westminster, where the National Portrait Gallery was then located, and that he had often been alone in the rooms for several hours at a stretch:

Certainly our street portrait galleries are a great success: no solemn flight of stairs tends to pompous rooms in which pompous attendants preside with a severe air over pompous portraits; no committee of selection decide on the propriety of hanging certain portraits. Here, on the contrary, social equality is carried to its utmost limit, and Tom Sayers is to be found cheek-by-jowl with Lord Derby, or Mrs Fry is hung as a pendant to Agnes Willoughby. The only principle governing the selection of the *carte-de-visite* portraits is their commercial value, and that depends upon the notability of the person represented.²⁸

For many reviewers, the democracy of the *carte* was constituted by the space of their exhibition and circulation. The National Portrait Gallery only admitted portraits of historical figures. The only living figure whose portrait was permitted was that of the sovereign. Despite attempts to make the gallery appeal to a broad public, sitters from a historical national elite dominated the portraits on show.

In contrast to the National Portrait Gallery, the *carte* was both contemporary and egalitarian. Several other articles drew attention to the disconcerting equality achieved through the display of disparate personages together.²⁹ As the *Art Journal* put it 'the most curious contrasts may be drawn and the most startling combinations effected ... when even the most hurried of passing glances reveals to us the fac-simile of Lord Shaftesbury and Cardinal Wiseman, and of the French Emperor and Sims Reeves side-by-side'.³⁰ Celebrity *cartes* brought an unlikely diversity of sitters together through their photographs, and this simul-

taneity offered both a defamiliarising erosion of class difference and an accentuated expression of collectivity. Each studio window was a bricolage of images that provided a novel embodiment of the nation as an imagined community; one that was remarkable because of its contrast with the official polity imposed by bodies like the NPG.

The democracy of the celebrity *cartes* thus stems from the power that they gave to individual consumers. It was through their choices that celebrities were formed, and this is one of the reasons why photography contributed to the populist character of the monarchy. The celebrity *carte* created a new marker of cultural visibility, one less connected to traditional notions of status and wealth. This phenomenon was something the *Reader* drew attention to in 1864:

Photography is levelling and indiscriminating. Brown or Jones makes as good or better photographs than men of the stamp of Newton or Napoleon. We do not recognise men by the light of their photographs, though we usually recognise photographs when we have become familiar with the countenances they represent ... On canvas or in marble let us preserve the resemblance of our great men for the benefit of our children, and take little heed about the permanence of photography.³¹

The *Reader* wonderfully captures the way that the extensiveness of the *carte* produced a recognition value that was independent of the social status of the sitter. Although the photographs that dominated the market in the 1860s were very much a reflection of the existing social hierarchy, the broad appeal of photography meant that there was increasing cause to latch onto popular figures such as sportsmen, singers and actresses. Hence, it is significant that the earlier quotation from *Once a Week* singled out the well-known boxer Tom Sayers as an example of the disturbing equality of the *carte*. Sayers is one of the earliest examples of a working-class figure being turned into a celebrity through the aid of photographs. In April 1860, Sayers fought the American champion, John Heenan, in what was effectively a fight for the undisputed championship of the world. The fight attracted widespread attention, including a mock epic poem by Thackeray in *Punch*. Sayers was also beset with photographers claiming the honour of paying for his sitting; however, his reported answer was 'It's no good, gentlemen, I've been and sold my mug to Mr Newbold'.³² Newbold was a publisher of one of the sporting papers and 50,000 *cartes* of Sayers were reportedly sold around the time of his fight.³³ Newbold's treatment of Sayers is an early example of photography beginning to be used in the constitution of celebrity. It is perhaps the first occasion in which photography worked to allow a figure like Sayers to achieve the type

of prominence that members of the British royal family would only subsequently enjoy.

Another factor in the equalising propensity of the *cartes* was their status as commodities. For *Once a Week*, the *Reader* and the *Art Journal*, all sitters were equal in the sense that all commodities were equal. Marx famously claimed that exchange-value created only equivalence, and it was the equivalence embodied in photographic studio window displays, where *cartes* of disparate personages were placed together, which made them so disconcerting. For some critics, the individuality and social status of distinguished sitters were alienated by being reduced to the exchange-value of their photograph. Entrance into the gallery of *cartes* was no longer dependent on status but on market value. Public notability was increasingly less commensurate with social nobility. Thus, while the *cartes* may have removed one type of aesthetic distinction, it is important to realise that, in their own way, they were equally able to fetishize their subjects. The prevalence of the *carte* soon meant that it lost its novelty; it was no longer possible to experience what Walter Benjamin would call the aura of the photograph. The recognition-value of celebrity *cartes* nevertheless meant that they were increasingly able to manufacture an aura around a sitter.

Royal photographs, because of the station of the sitter, were particularly subject to the equalising aesthetic I have been outlining. Numerous articles in the periodical press took a gleeful pleasure in examining what celebrity *cartes* revealed about their sitters. There was a desire for well-known figures to justify the imaginative investment in them, and a satisfying pleasure when they were demythologised by the camera. In a typical article, *All the Year Round* amused its readers by wondering if Elizabeth I's *carte* might show her to be a 'coarse ill-favoured old hag',³⁴ or whether George IV's *carte* would show him to be all padding and crinoline. Contemporary European monarchs fared little better in their treatment from *All the Year Round*, and the periodical went so far as to hail the various royal *cartes* as revolutionary artefacts:

It has done much – a thousand times more than democrat or demagogue could ever do – to demolish the Right Divine to govern wrong. From the *carte-de-visite*, we learn the astounding fact that kings and queens are in dress and features exactly like other people ... They are compelled to tread like common mortals; and many of them look like very coarse and vulgar mortals too ... The ex-Queen of Naples appears in knickerbockers. The ex-king stands sulkily with his hands in his pockets of a pair of very ill-made peg-tops ... As for the incomparable *carte-de-visite* of the Emperor Napoleon the Third, in a plain frock and shining hat, with his pretty, graceful wife on his arm, his moustaches carefully twisted, and a waggish

smile on his face – what does he look like? The dark and inscrutable politician? The arch plotter? The gloomy man of December? Not a bit of it. He looks like a confident gentleman who knows a thing or two, who is going down into the City to do a little stroke of business and who will afterwards buy his wife a new bonnet on Ludgate Hill, or a new dress in St Paul's churchyard.³⁵

There is a voyeuristic *schadenfreude* at being able to see the authentic countenances of kings and queens for the first time. It is nevertheless crucial to realise that this was a revolution not to be feared but revelled in. *Cartes* did not bring down Napoleon III or Queen Victoria – they helped to remake them as respectable citizens. The ordinariness exposed by the *carte* is part of the intimacy offered by photographic realism. The irreverent attention bestowed on the royal photographs is another expression of the collective familiarity produced by the celebrity *carte*.

The familiarity created through celebrity photographs was far from being a wholly benevolent affair. Photography helped to make public figures available for widespread consumption, but it encouraged expectations that could not be controlled or contained. The irreverent comments upon the royal *cartes* suggest how easily the intimacy of photography could spill over into a more undesirable form of attention. Susan Sontag has described the camera as a promiscuous form of seeing and, in the early 1860s, it began to live up to that description.³⁶ While the *Art Journal* lauded the *cartes* for placing Victoria literally inside the home of her subjects, other reviews of the *Royal Album* celebrated the fact that the camera had been allowed behind the gates of the various royal residences. *The Times* praised Mayall for showing the 'inner life of royalty',³⁷ while the *Athenaeum* claimed that the pictures contained a 'homely truth, far more precious to the historian than any effort of a flattering court painting'.³⁸ A highly successful series of stereoscopes of the interiors of Sandringham, Buckingham Palace, Windsor, Osborne and Balmoral was also published in 1861.³⁹ Stereoscopic pictures, seen through specially designed viewers, provided a 3-D experience where the viewer was taken inside the world of the photograph. The potency of such virtual interaction meant that the camera was already disreputably associated with a more intrusive form of celebrity. A series of engagement *cartes* of the Prince of Wales and Princess Alexandra, taken by the Belgian photographers-royal, Ghemár Frères, and registered at Stationer's Hall on 21 October 1862, exemplify the tension aroused by the camera's double-edged intimacy.

Ghemár Frères' engagement *cartes* depict the affections of the affianced couple. Several of the photographs show Edward or



Fig. 4. Ghemár Frères, *Edward and Alexandra* (1862). (Courtesy of Royal Collection.)

Alexandra standing with their arms resting lovingly on the shoulders of the other. These displays of intimacy were far removed from the formality of a state portrait and typify the appropriation of photography for family occasions. The romance they conveyed made these *cartes* incredibly successful. In 1866, the *British Quarterly Review* commented that the sale of the Frères' photographs of Victoria, and of the Prince and Princess of Wales, had exceeded two million copies.⁴⁰ The pictures of Edward and Alexandra were nevertheless found to be distasteful by some commentators. The couple were felt to be indiscriminately making available their most private feelings. In particular, there was a prurient reaction against the excessively overt female sexuality that was perceived to be on display.

Three articles, two from the *London Review* and one from *Once a Week*, heavily criticised the publication of the royal *cartes*. Significantly, although *Once a Week* was far more successful and had a far higher circulation than the *London Review*, both of these periodicals were aimed at the upper end of the market.⁴¹ The *London Review* condemned the *cartes* of Edward and Alexandra as fabrications: it refused to believe that they could ever have consented to release such intimacy for wholesale consumption:

a vast number of these supposed portraits from the life are 'cooked up' by foreign artists, whose main object is to make everything look pretty and sentimental. The result is often miserably false and bad. Here, for instance, we have before us a card which contains portraits of the Prince of Wales and Princess Alexandra, issued several weeks before there were married. His Royal Highness sits in a chair, while the Princess stands over the back of the chair, with her two hands resting on his shoulders. Pretty, is it not? – Sentimental, sweet, and lover-like? Very – only not quite probable or in the best taste. That a young lady may have stood, in that attitude of tender watching at the chair of her future husband, is likely enough, but she would never think of being photographed at so confiding a moment. The 'lover' would certainly object to the artist 'posing' his intended in such a way, and the lady herself would object to it with still greater vehemence. Can Paterfamilias possibly believe that the Prince and Princess allowed themselves to be shown after this fashion to the general gaze?⁴²

The impropriety of the picture did not stem from the scene having taken place. Rather, it derived from it having been deliberately photographed, and, even worse, of it being made publicly available.

In *Once a Week*, Andrew Wynter echoed the criticisms of the *London Review*. For Wynter, like the *London Review*, the principal culprit of the *cartes* were the Frères. They had taken advantage of the 'natural frank-

ness and amiability of their Royal Highnesses to pose them in a manner which, to say the least of it, jars on the good taste of the fastidious beholder'.⁴³ Wynter attacked the impropriety of the photographer, thereby carefully avoiding any personal criticism of Edward or Alexandra. The *London Review* went further in that it disputed the very realism of the photographs. Its scepticism reveals that the celebrity *carte* spawned its own critique at the moment of its coming to prominence. The portraits were condemned not simply for their intimacy but for their pandering to the sentimental and sensational taste of the public. For the *London Review*, the *cartes* were not truly private moments revealed. They were spectacles of privacy manufactured in the knowledge of their appeal. The censure of the *London Review* is premised on the awareness that the intrusiveness of the camera was undermining the separation between public and private. Much of the frisson of Ghemár Frères' *cartes* stemmed from the way they crossed the boundary between these two separate spheres.

The *London Review* article went even further in censuring what it regarded as the contrived nature of the latest *cartes* of Victoria. The photographs in question were those released after the death of Albert, showing Victoria was in full mourning, often gazing melancholically upon a bust or a photograph of Prince Albert. These photographs are well known and they have been reproduced in many biographies, yet their position in the genealogy of the celebrity *carte* has not been sufficiently acknowledged.⁴⁴ Despite Victoria's complete retirement after the death of Albert, several series of these mourning *cartes* were released. The *cartes* were public demonstrations of the depth of Victoria's grief, which, paradoxically, justified her inability to contemplate performing any state engagements. Notwithstanding the custom for a decorous period of retirement, the first mourning photographs were being advertised as early as March 1862.⁴⁵ Ghemár Frères and William Bambridge registered further series of *cartes* at Stationer's Hall, on 16 January and 17 October 1863 respectively. These photographs, and others like them, dominated Victoria's representation in the first years after Albert's death.

What was the reaction to these photographs? Victoria was in total retirement and her photographs displayed the depth of her grief. The viewer was thus made into a painful voyeur on the Queen's suffering. The mourning *cartes* provided an unprecedentedly charged insight into the life of such a well-known figure. As such, they were caught in the same contradiction as the engagement photographs of Edward and Alexandra. The *London Review* found the mourning photographs to be profoundly uncomfortable because of their intimacy, and distastefully

theatrical because of their perceived fabrication. The critic from the *London Review* could not believe that photographs depicting the innermost feelings of Victoria could have been published, and roundly denounced them as forgeries: 'It is quite lamentable that any one should believe these fancy pictures to be photographs from life, or real scenes: yet we doubt not that they are generally so accepted'.⁴⁶ The *London Review* was fiercely critical of those who were ignorant enough to suppose that Victoria, 'who has withdrawn herself from public life ever since her great affliction, would have permitted a photograph for his trading purposes, thus to invade the privacy of her grief'.⁴⁷ The incredulity of the article, along with its mistaken interpretation of the photographs, expresses the extent to which celebrity *cartes* undermined a belief in photographic realism.

When the article from the *London Review* was reprinted in the *Photographic News* an editorial aside noted how woefully misinformed the commentator was. Importantly though, it agreed with the *London Review* that there was too much ground for the charge of bad taste, and it thought the article as a whole worthy of serious consideration. The belief in the impropriety of these two sets of royal photographs was certainly not shared by all. Yet the reviews nevertheless demonstrate the inherent risks of the celebrity *carte*. Its familiarity could easily tip over into a discomfort about having the life of the monarchy constituted to such an extent through the camera. The first royal photographs were dogged by concerns of excessive exposure, with the *London Review* publishing another article attacking the over-familiarity between photographers and the royal family: 'whether it be joy or grief affecting the royal family, in some way the lens of the camera appears to spy into it in the most offensive manner ... these sacred feelings are turned to commercial account'.⁴⁸ The *London Review* and *Once a Week* emphasise that the collective experience created by the celebrity *carte* did not just make the monarchy available to 'the People'. It meant the royal family sharing its love and grief with a wider public. The potency of this interaction is evident in the fact that it was so overcharged with both affect and discomfiture. It is, of course, a situation, that continues to this day.

The mania for *cartes* lasted only for the first years of the 1860s. A glutted market, along with the development of a larger format of cabinet photograph, meant that the *carte* exhausted its capacity to shock and delight. As the critiques in the *London Review* and *Once a Week* demonstrate, a sceptical attitude also developed towards the uses to which photography was being put. This scepticism was widespread and numerous other articles satirised the social performance typical of standard *carte* portraits. The overuse of elaborate props and lavishly

painted backgrounds, imitating the conventions of Reynolds and Gainsborough, was particularly attacked. A whole sub-industry had grown up to provide the majority of photographic studios with cheap wooden balustrades and papier-mâché ornaments. Such aristocratic accessories made the *cartes* of working-class sitters more of a metamorphosis than a mimesis. The photographic portrait studio was as much a space for fantasy as it was for stern and unadorned revelation. The resultant pictures were accused of being as fabricated as the photographs of Edward and Alexandra. There is thus an elegant irony to the *carte* portrait. While many studios used backgrounds and props to elevate their sitters' class status, the celebrity *cartes* of Victoria, Albert, Napoleon, and Eugénie, were notable for the way they elided their aristocratic status. Royal photographs were celebrated for their 'democratic' ordinariness at the same time as the *cartes* of the working-class were criticised because the sitters refused to accept their own ordinariness.

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Endnotes

1. 'Photography as industry', *London Review*, 22 August 1863: 213-14.
2. The process involved coating a glass plate with a mixture of collodion and potassium iodide, which was sensitised immediately by a second coating of silver nitrate. The plate was exposed whilst it was still wet.
3. Grace Seiberling and Carolyn Bloore, *Amateurs, photography and the mid-Victorian imagination* (Chicago: Chicago University Press and International Museum of Photography, 1986), 1-18.
4. Cuthbert Bede, *Photographic Pleasures: popularly portrayed with pen and pencil* (London: Thomas McClean, 1855), 54.
5. 'The Photographic Society's Exhibition', *Saturday Review* 3 (Jan.-June 1858): 78.
6. Other series included the *National Photographic Portrait Gallery*, a monthly publication started in late 1857 with a large photograph of Lord Palmerston, accompanied by a short biographical notice. The photographs were by Herbert Watkins but the series only lasted for ten numbers. There was also the *Photographic Album of Literature and Art*, of which only one number was published in May 1858, a photograph of a lithograph of the Princess Royal in her wedding dress.
7. Although Disdéri patented the *carte-de-visite*, he was not the first to envisage the format. Elizabeth Anne McCauley, *A.A.E Disdéri and the Carte de Visite Portrait Photograph* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 32-5.
8. 'Lord Derby's *carte-de-visite*', *Saturday Review*, 4 May 1861: 446.
9. Robert Cecil, 'Photography', *Quarterly Review*, 116 (1864): 516.
10. McCauley traces Disdéri's connection with the imperial court from the mid-1850s. By 1857, Disdéri had begun amassing portraits of the members of the French aristocracy and their entourages. Between 1860 and 1862, he published two one-franc instalments a week of a *carte* portrait accompanied by a short biographical sketch. McCauley, 44-6.
11. 'The Royal Album', *The Times*, 16 August 1860: 9.

12. Andrew Wynter, 'Contemporary News. Cartes De Visite', *British Journal of Photography*, 25 March 1869: 149.
13. See Lara Perry, 'The National Portrait Gallery and its constituencies, 1858-96', *Governing Culture: Art Institutions in Victorian London*, ed. Paul Barlow and Colin Trodd (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), 145-59.
14. 'Cartes-de-visite', *Art Journal*, n.s. 7 (1861): 306.
15. 'Cartes-de-visite', *Art Journal*: 306.
16. Charles Asprey, *A new and enlarged catalogue of photographic portraits of the royal and imperial families of Europe, etc* (Charles Asprey: London, 1861), n.p.
17. 'Photographs of the Queen and Royal Family', *Illustrated London News*, 18 August 1860: 118.
18. 'The Royal Album', *The Times*, 16 August 1860: 9.
19. 'Minor Topics of the Month', *Art Journal*, n.s. 6 (1860): 253.
20. 'Mason v Heath', *Photographic News*, 7 March 1862: 116-17.
21. 'Talk in the Studio', *Photographic News*, 22 February 1861: 96.
22. 'Talk in the Studio', *Photographic News*, 13 March 1863: 132. 'Photography in Court', *British Journal of Photography*, 11 November 1864: 43.
23. 'Photographic Piracy', *Photographic News*, 15 May 1868: 218-19. 'More Photographic Piracy of Engraving', *Photographic News*, 6 March 1868: 116. 'More Piracy', *Photographic News*, 13 March 1868: 131.
24. Russell Harris, *List of Copyright Records in the Public Record Office* (Kew: PRO and Elm Trust, 1996). My figures are taken from this draft publication which lists the sitters in the Stationer's Hall records. One qualification to the figures is that an appearance in a group photograph appears on the records for every individual sitter, thereby double-counting the family photographs of the monarchy.
25. Andrew Wynter, 'Photographic Portraiture', *Once A Week* 8 (1863): 148. Wynter was one of the most significant writers on photography during this period. His articles on the *carte-de-visite*, in *Once a Week and Good Words*, were reprinted in the photographic journals and in several of his own volumes of essays, *Fruit Between the Leaves* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1875); *Peeps into the Human Hive* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1874); *Subtle Brains and Lissom Fingers* (London: Robert Hardwick, 1863).
26. 'Talk in the Studio', *Photographic News*, 24 July 1863: 359. Sections of the article from the *Athenaeum* were reprinted in the *Photographic News*.
27. 'Photography', *Reader*, 9 August 1862: 118.
28. Andrew Wynter, 'Cartes de Visite', *Once a Week* 6 (Dec. 1861-June 1862): 135.
29. See also 'Photography', *The Reader*, 9 August 1862: 118.
30. 'Cartes de Visites', *Art Journal*: 307.
31. 'Photographic Improvements', *The Reader*, 8 October 1864: 457.
32. Wynter, 'Cartes de Visites', 135.
33. Wynter, 'Cartes de Visites', 135.
34. 'The Philosophy of Yourself', *All the Year Round* 9 (1863): 392.
35. 'The Philosophy of Yourself', 393.
36. Susan Sontag, *On Photography* (1977; Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1979), 129.
37. 'The Royal Album', 9.
38. 'Our Weekly Gossip', *Athenaeum*, 18 August 1860: 230.
39. 'Stereoscopic views of the Royal Palaces', *Art Journal*, n.s. 7 (1861): 30.
40. 'Photographic Portraiture', *Photographic News*, 9 November 1866: 534. The article from the *British Quarterly Review* was reprinted in the *Photographic News*.
41. The *London Review* lasted for only nine years between 1860 and 1869, with frequent changes of price within that period. *Once a Week*, in contrast, was one of the most

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highly regarded journals, and its contributors included Millais, Tenniel, Ellen Wood and George Henry Lewes.

42. 'Photography and Bad Taste', *Photographic News*, 10 April 1863: 174. The article was reprinted from the *London Review*.
43. Wynter, 'Photographic Portraiture': 149.
44. Margaret Homans, for example, compares Victoria's photographs to those of Julia Margaret Cameron. Margaret Homans, *Royal representations: Queen Victoria and British Culture 1837-1867* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1999), 50-5.
45. Ashford Brothers & Co., *The Stationer*, 4 (1862) 66.
46. 'Photography and Bad Taste': 175.
47. 'Photography and Bad Taste': 175.
48. 'The Medley of Portrait Cards', *London Review*, 20 June 1863: 658.

PHOTOGRAPHIC INTERVENTIONS AND IDENTITIES: COLONISING AND DECOLONISING THE ROYAL BODY

Julie F. Codell

...the great chiefs and native retainers, indescribably clothed... an Eastern survival of the old feudal grand seigneurs of Catholic Europe... One maharaja, half insensible from opium, had a loyal, beneficent smirk... painted... on his inexpressive countenance... in their howdahs of fantastic design... What histories, what traditions, what crimes they represented!... a horrible medley of the infernal and the grotesque, the ancient barbaric and the modern vulgar, the superb and the squalid... power without glory, and rank without grace...¹

There was no group of Indians upon whom the British expressed more emphatically and desperately their dependence in running the Raj than the princes of the Native States, sometimes called “Ruling Chiefs”. And, as the above excerpt reveals, they were “read” by presupposed notions of Eastern decadence against the unspoken assumptions of a Western work ethic and British stiff upper lip. The author Pearl Craigie also describes the eyes of Oriental princes that “seem to express every possible evil and good emotion at a single glance”, with “an effeminate figure, a clumsy gait, and an air of unmistakable intelligence”.²

I will focus on contradictions between what the British projected onto princes’ bodies and the princes’ own ways of negotiating their public identities and images in Britain and at home through photographs. Analysing maharajas’ portraits in official government-approved books published for each

coronation durbar, especially the images of maharajas who attended at least two durbars, held high rank or were British favourites, I will examine these photographs’ place and function within the broader spectrum of similar photographs taken in other circumstances in London and throughout India, commissioned by the maharajas themselves and thus in their control.

As Barbara Ramusack notes, “After 1858, colonial knowledge specifically targeted the princes and their states”.³ Put forward and honoured in every coronation durbar, the princes were not a monolithic group, and their roles changed significantly between 1877 and 1911, changes reflected in their photographic portraits in each coronation durbar’s official book. The photographs represented a complex mix of prevailing stereotypes of maharajas, the political intent of individual viceroys, princely self-fashioning and their photographers’ own styles.

Maharajas varied widely in their views of their roles in the Raj and of the Raj itself, some loyal enough to fight and die for Britain, others resistant in subtle ways. They also had a variety of relations to their subjects: some with long genealogical legitimacy, like the Rajputs, others with recent kingships, some sharing the religion and culture of their subjects, others at variance with them. The princes were not a cohesive group and did not share overarching cultural, social and political views. They differed among themselves on how to rule; whether to support the Indian National Congress, and if so, to what extent; and how to institute social change and reform.⁴

Princes and the Native States

In 1900, there were almost 700 Native States in British India,⁵ dispersed over the territory and constituting about 42% of the dominion. Native States were defined as autonomous, but in 1858 their rulers formally assumed the status of feudal vassals owing allegiance to Queen Victoria. The policy of indirect rule, the prime condition of such subordination, did not preclude the British from removing rulers they felt were “uncooperative” and replacing them with distant relatives, often hand-picked young boys educated by British tutors; or by taxing rulers and charging them for military assistance to the British; or for the construction of railroads, all justified by the concept of paramountcy (British authority and laws override local laws) articulated by Viceroy Lytton.⁶

The British approved successors, adoptions (if there were no sons), princes’ expenditures and travels abroad.⁷ British resident officers supervised princes’ economic and political affairs, and *diwans*, pro-British Indians, were maharajas’ assigned “consultants” or regents.⁸ The colonial administration took a percentage of state taxes, minerals and agricultural wealth. Depending upon political affiliation—Tory or Liberal—the viceroys formulated different strategies in their treatment and expectations of the princes, as did residents and *diwans*. Princes had to continually navigate policy changes and conflicts between Parliament and the India Office in London, and between the viceroy and his political secretary in India.⁹

The British also created a hierarchy of princes, each accorded a number of gun salutes: 21 the highest, nine the lowest—Queen Victoria received a 101-gun salute, the viceroy a 31-gun salute. For the 1877 Durbar, Lytton raised the three richest rulers, Hyderabad, Baroda and Mysore, to 21-guns each. The more loyal to the British in 1857, the more guns, sometimes with gifts of territory. Many princes tried to raise their place in the hierarchy and gain more gun salutes. Maharajas also complained that the fewer gun salutes allotted to them, the more the Government of India interfered

in their administration and finances.¹⁰ Choreographed protocols indicated seating arrangements, dress codes and the assigned spot where a prince stood to meet government representatives, viceroys or members of the British royal family.

The ceremonies initiated for Lytton’s 1877 Coronation Durbar—or “Imperial Assemblage”, a term the viceroy preferred—set precedents for rituals and homage rites for subsequent durbars. Among post-1858 institutions was the Order of the Star of India for princes and British military and civilian officers in 1861. The first 25 members included the loyal maharajas of Patiala and Gwalior. Members received a sun pin and necklace of alternating rose and lotus patterns with a pendant image of the queen. By 1865, the Order included hundreds in a three-tier hierarchy. Meanwhile, bestowing with one hand while appropriating with the other, British economic interests took from the states land taxes, agricultural revenues and revenues from manufacture of arms, opium, salt and alcohol. British land management often pitted princes against nobles, and provoked peasant riots. Heavy taxes were oppressive for both landlords and peasants.¹¹

The British worked to find ways to bind maharajas to the Raj. Initially the British strategised to educate princes as little Englishmen, but in the 1870s they added “traditional” education and parallel versions of British public schools, creating elite colleges for princely sons. The general opinion, however, was that these young princes received only a smattering of moral and intellectual education, and spent too much time on sports and other diversions.

Some princes complied with British demands, and others resisted. The states of Gwalior, Idar, and Bikaner fought for Britain in the Boxer Rebellion in China in 1900–01 and in World War I. Maharana Fateh Singh of Mewar, Udaipur turned back at the Delhi train station in 1903, refusing to attend the ‘Curzonation’—Viceroy Curzon’s Delhi Durbar—as a vassal. He did not attend the 1911 Coronation Durbar

either; the British considered deposing him several times.¹² Some princes went abroad to avoid viceregal control. Several maharajas were reformers who, on their own initiative and without consulting the British, developed industries, public institutions, roads, trains, social reforms (e.g., age of consent for girls), and infrastructural grids for electricity and water supply.

The Viceroys and the Princes

Intent on devising a symbolic mechanism to strengthen political affiliations, Lytton proposed to establish an Indian peerage to bring the maharajas closer to the Crown, but the government finally did not agree to this.¹³ Curzon's attitudes toward Indians were more complicated; he did not think them capable of complex administrative tasks and refused to have any on his Council.¹⁴ He admired only G.K. Gokhale among Congress members, did not like Bengalis, and greatly admired the rough masculinity of Beluch Sirdars and the Mahsud Waziris.¹⁵ He proclaimed Scindia of Gwalior "my colleague and partner"¹⁶ and expressed appreciation for the maharajas of Jaipur, Cochin and Travancore. He created the Imperial Cadet Corps so that the princely sons could be meaningfully placed and engaged with the empire.

Curzon complained that the queen invested maharajas with a halo; to dampen Victoria's fascination, he reported on "dissolute" chiefs as "frivolous and sometimes vicious spendthrifts and idlers", describing the habits of each one he disliked.¹⁷ He admonished Anglophile princes against sending their sons to Oxford where a prince's son learned "to despise his people, their ways and their ignorance".¹⁸ The viceroy thought one promising maharaja became "a sensual extravagant debauchee" and another "a nerveless inebriate" through the experience of European travel. His circular in August 1900 insisted that princes' European trips must benefit both chief and people. He upbraided chiefs on private family matters, including their sexual activities. Curzon "glorified the feudal image of the princes", and considered the conservative Madho Singh of Jaipur the

ideal ruler. He wanted princes to be hardworking but not too efficient, yet he identified Maharaja Madho Rao Scindia of Gwalior as his favourite with the observation that: "... in his [Scindia's] remorseless propensity for looking into everything and probing it to the bottom he rather reminds me of your humble servant".¹⁹ But writing to the India Secretary, he described princes as "unruly and ignorant and rather undisciplined school boys", which is probably a more accurate expression of his feelings.²⁰

Viceroy Hardinge praised the chiefs' loyalty and admired the nizams, Rajput chiefs and Jaipur's "sterling loyalty", Scindia ("one of my greatest friends in India"),²¹ and the ruler of Idar, Pratap Singh's "exceptionally high and chivalrous character", which included being "the best pig-sticker in India."²² As an administrator Hardinge admired Indians for loyalty and manliness, but found Indian troops useless, and dismissively noted "the extraordinary ignorance of ordinary Indians."²³

After 1858, the British encouraged Indians to dress in as "Indian" a manner as possible, as defined by the British, especially during the Prince of Wales' 1875–76 visit to India in anticipation of Victoria becoming empress.²⁴ By the 1877 Durbar, the British considered princes "natural" leaders, and important allies by 1910 when the Raj was confronted with increased Indian nationalism.²⁵ Maharajas travelled to England for Victoria's Jubilees in 1887 and 1897, and for coronations in 1902 and 1911, often appealing to the crown when granted an audience. By then the viceroys invited them into legislative councils which some maharajas resisted (Hyderabad and Mysore) as threats to their personal authority, but which others supported.

Rules of homage and dress symbolic of lost autonomy were crucial to the mandated protocols of public ceremonies; for one viceregal trip, the government undersecretary dictated that "the Viceroy will receive His Highness within the Reception Room, at a distance of one pace from the threshold."²⁶ Curzon required maharajas to wear their finery

and bring their elephants, even when they drove cars to Delhi; cars first appeared in India c.1890s and private planes in the 1920s. Bernard Cohn describes these codes of conduct as a means for enabling Britons to keep a distance from Indians “physically, socially, and culturally”.²⁷

Wearing finery, jewellery (often jewellery that was part of the state’s official wealth, not privately owned) and turbans had been standard durbar dress for decades in many native

states.²⁸ However, when required by the British, dress became a symbol of being kept “medieval” and subjugated, and thus could also be deployed as a symbol of resistance. Those who broke even minor infractions were reprimanded. In 1911, Viceroy Hardinge condemned Baroda for removing his jewellery and changing into “the ordinary white linen everyday dress of a Mahratta with only a walking stick in his hand” at the homage ceremony for the king and queen;²⁹ even more serious was the allegation that the maharaja had



68 **SIR ANTHONY VAN DYCK (1599–1641)**
Charles I at the Hunt, c. 1635
Oil on Canvas, 2660 x 2070 mm
Musée du Louvre–Paris (INV. 1236)



69 **THOMAS GAINSBOROUGH (1727–1788)**
Jonathan Buttall: The Blue Boy, 1770
Oil on Canvas, 1794 x 1232 mm
The Huntington Library, Art Collections, & Botanical
Gardens–San Marino, California

turned his back too abruptly. His real sins, however, besides his “un-Indian” dress, were his many reforms that made him a model of independent rule among the influential nationalists whom he hired at his university (moderate Romesh Chandra Dutt, radical Aurobindo Ghosh, and Maratha activists)³⁰ and met in Paris during his frequent European trips. He was an honoured speaker at the Congress’s 1902 anti-durbar counter-meeting in Ahmedabad.³¹

Pre-Raj Portraiture: Conventions of Royal Images

Many early photographers in India were originally portrait painters,³² and this training infiltrated their handling of the new medium later to dominate the visual rendering of the durbar extravaganza. Mughal conventions of painting included the face delicately rendered in profile and contrasting with the large scale of the body. Often maharajas were depicted in battles or hunts, displaying masculinity, or in durbar settings, displaying royal prerogative; some of these conventions persisted into the subsequent centuries.³³ From the seventeenth century on, maharajas hired British portraitists who brought to India aesthetic conventions³⁴ in which figures are posed amid furniture and in front of columns, or against distant landscapes. Occasionally, objects such as books or maps refer to the subject’s interests or achievements.³⁵ Perhaps the paradigm of British aristocratic portraiture is Anthony Van Dyck’s *Charles I*, c.1635 (fig. 68), the king’s power metonymically represented by his horse and the landscape of his domain, and embodied in his “swagger” pose, associated with “a theatrical excess... rather than anything of the sitter’s own character or disposition”.³⁶ Thomas Gainsborough’s *Blue Boy*, 1770 (fig. 69), continued conventions of aristocratic, posed and self-absorbed figures before a rich, agitated landscape, which haunts the 1854 portrait of Duleep Singh commissioned by Queen Victoria³⁷ (fig. 70) from her court painter, Franz Winterhalter.

Similar portraits of Indian aristocrats were done in India by British artists.³⁸ The 16-year-old Duleep Singh appears against the backdrop of a Punjab rooted in a Gainsborough-like



70 **FRANZ WINTERHALTER**
Portrait of Maharaja Duleep Singh, 1854
Oil on Canvas, 2038 x 1095 mm
Royal Collection, Osborne House, East Cowes,
Isle of Wight

imaginary. He looks directly at the spectator with a typically aristocratic gaze. His haughty stance, however, disguises stunning imperial contradictions. In 1848, at the age of 10, he converted to Christianity, became a ward of Britain, and was given a country manor, Elveden Hall, in East Anglia. His father Ranjit Singh, the “Lion of the Punjab”, resisted the British; this resulted in his son’s exile. His extremely valuable Koh-i-Noor diamond was taken by Governor-General Dalhousie for Queen Victoria; the gem was presented to her by Lord Dalhousie in 1850 through the young exiled Duleep Singh, who was coerced into presenting the diamond to her. In this colonial cultural economy, Singh in aristocratic pose disguises the tensions of his forced exile with a pretence of regal authority that does not hint at his confinement or foreshadow his later anti-British sentiment, rebuttal of his financial settlement, and self-exile to Paris where he died in 1893. Singh’s chivalry and apparent autonomy is really a defeat whose colonial signifier is the image of Victoria around his neck. Belying its iconicity, his sword signifies impotence, not Punjabi militancy; it also foreshadows all the princes later being formally reduced to subjugation as feudal lords in 1858.³⁹

Princes and Photography

... the specifically English backdrop and the style of portraiture were intended to convey a sense of place and occasion... Ranji of Nawangar actually took along different outfits, discarding his army fatigues for brocades, pearls and emeralds in the same sitting... grand postcards for the visiting rulers... with tell-tale signs of their westernisation, such as... the Maharaja of Gondal’s English country estate backdrop.⁴⁰

The conventions that characterise Singh’s portrait persist in those of later maharajas; for instance the one of Rajah Ajit Singh of Khetri (in Rajasthan’s Jaipur district) by the Lafayette Studio taken during his visit to London in June 1897 for the Diamond Jubilee (fig. 71).⁴¹ Specialists in

photographing British royalty, this studio was very popular with Indians.⁴² In a quilted silk coat with fringed cuffs, epaulettes and sequins, Khetri stands beside European furniture and a studio column before a painted backdrop typical of eighteenth-century British portraits.⁴³

Maharajas were intrigued by photography, some hiring personal photographers to record themselves, their families and domains. In 1869, Maharaja Malhar Rao of Baroda hired Hurrichind Chintamon; Ragubir Singh of Bundi hired Ganapatrao Kale, while Holkar of Indore paid Lala Deen Dayal who worked in the Indore Public Works Department and was hired by the Nizam of Hyderabad in 1884 as official photographer, and given the title ‘Raja’. In Secunderabad, Dayal had a *zenana* studio where Mrs. Kenny-Levick photographed women who followed the custom of *purdah*.⁴⁴ Wealthier maharajas were photographed in Calcutta, Delhi and Bombay by prominent photographers and firms like Bourne & Shepherd or Deen Dayal, and they frequented fashionable London studios—Lafayette, Vandyck’s or Bassano’s.⁴⁵ Maharajas came with changes of dress: Indian royal finery, military uniforms and English suits. Studios provided props—tables, chairs, statuettes—and curtains or backdrops of columns, stairways, grand architecture or eighteenth-century painted landscapes. Similar backdrops appear in Raja Ravi Varma’s oil portraits of maharajas,⁴⁶ recycling photography conventions back into painting. Additionally, many painted portraits were often copied from photographs.⁴⁷

Photographs symbolised the maharajas’ modernity and progressiveness: princes hired photographers to record their reform and famine relief projects, construction of new schools, viceregal visits, etc. These photographs were placed in bejewelled albums. The Maharaja of Marwar photographed his subjects for an ethnographic record in 1891. Maharaja Ram Singh of Jaipur, who was a member of the Bengal Photographic Society and owned many cameras and over 2500 glass plate negatives,⁴⁸ created a



photography department at the local university. Jaipur probably learned photography from Colin Murray, his court photographer in the late 1860s who became a partner in Bourne and Shepherd's firm.⁴⁹ The maharajas of Tripura were photographers: Birchandra Mankikya founded a photography club and his son Bara Thakur won medals for his abilities with the new medium.⁵⁰

Bourne & Shepherd were official photographers for the 1877 Coronation Durbar book by J. Talboys Wheeler, although many of the photographs in the official book were taken by Bourne & Shepherd during the Prince of Wales' 1875–76 tour of India, and often cropped when put into the durbar book (the original images are in the 'Royal Photographic Album' created for the Prince in 1876, and now in the Royal Collection).⁵¹ Their portraits are filled with standard props (furniture, tables, flowers, books, rugs) against blank walls. The Gaekwad of Baroda's sword (fig. 72), almost as tall as he is, drags on the floor, signifying his subservience: the British deposed his predecessor, placed the naïve youngster on the throne and hired an English tutor for him.⁵² He is further colonised by the "AE" cipher of the Prince of Wales on the

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- 71 **LAFAYETTE STUDIO**
Rajah Ajit Singh of Khetri (Jaipur district of Rajasthan),
Visit to Britain for Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee, 1897
381 x 330 mm
Victoria and Albert Museum, London (Photographer's Ref.
GP (L) 1245B, 18 June)

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- 72 **BOURNE & SHEPHERD**
H.H. Maharaja Sayaji Rao III, Gaekwar of Baroda, c. 1877,
from the album 'Chiefs and Representatives of India', 1877
Albumen Print, 335 x 260 mm

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- 73 **BOURNE & SHEPHERD**
H.H. The Begum of Bhopal, G.C.S.I., from 'The History
of Imperial Assemblage at Delhi', c. 1877
Woodburytype, 191 x 121 mm

cover of the book set curiously upright on the table against which he leans.

The Begum of Bhopal (fig. 73) is one of the few portraits in which the sitter stands gazing directly at the camera. She is self-assured, her robes filling the space and pushing studio props to the margin of the frame. Her dress is a hybrid of Indian and British—she wears a *kameez* over a *churidar*, Western shoes and gloves, with the mantle, sash, collar and insignia of the Order of the Star of India. Her dress symbolises her family's dynastic support of British rule for generations. The begums of Bhopal were Muslim women leaders who ruled for decades, esteemed by, but keeping their distance from, the British. Sikander Begum supported the British during the 1857 Uprising, and consequently was decorated with the Star of India; her 1870 book describing her pilgrimage to Mecca was "dedicated, by gracious permission, to Queen Victoria". The begums utilised *pardah* strategically, veiling at viceregal meetings but not when photographed, as evidenced in splendid images of them in court regalia as well as informal dress, taken in 1862 by Lieutenant James Waterhouse who had been assigned to photograph the "tribes" of Central India. Sikander's daughter Shah Jahan Begum, who attended the 1877 Durbar, commissioned a mosque in the English town of Woking.⁵³ Her well travelled author-daughter Sultan Jahan Begum combined a personal commitment to Muslim piety with support for women's emancipation. Her veiled appearance during the homage ceremonies at the 1903 Durbar, while laying a gold casket at the viceroy's feet, was described by the enthralled press, as the high point of the day's ceremonials.⁵⁴ European fascination with her had its own frisson.

The Maharaja of Gwalior's portrait (fig. 74) is a cropped version of the original (fig. 75) in which his figure is much smaller against a large wall space, and seated off-centre on the settee as if waiting in a parlour, visually trapped by the carpet's obtrusive patterns, table and settee frame. The disengaged countenance of Holkar of Indore, photographed with an





attendant (fig. 76) fulfilled the stereotype of the “decadent” maharaja, as he was described by various viceroys. His dreamy glance contrasts with the Begum of Bhopal’s assertive stare. In Wheeler’s book, these portraits alternated with photographs of Delhi ruins, the symbolic format implying that princes were relics of the past and, like India’s historical ruins, needed British care.

In the 1903 Durbar’s official book by Stephen Wheeler, son of J. Talboys, there is more variety, with standing portraits and three-quarter views. The figures’ clothing appears less ornamented and more restrained: the Gaekwad of Baroda in simple whites with a walking stick (fig. 77), or the military uniforms worn by the maharajas of Bikaner in a three-quarter portrait (fig. 78) and Gwalior (fig. 79), whose loyalty was rewarded with military honours rarely bestowed upon native princes. Against these images, the viceroy appears overdressed in his regalia (fig. 80). The portrait of Raghbir Singh of Bundi (fig. 81) by his court photographer Ganapatrao Kale contrasts with the others; he is in simple dress in customary durbar pose, hieratic, seated against a *gaddi* (the traditional durbar cushioned throne) with shield and sword, metonymic of Rajput warrior ideals. The conservative Raghbir Singh kept his distance from the British, adhering to Rajput traditions. His father equivocated during the 1857 Uprising, but he and his son retained good relations with the colonial regime.⁵⁵

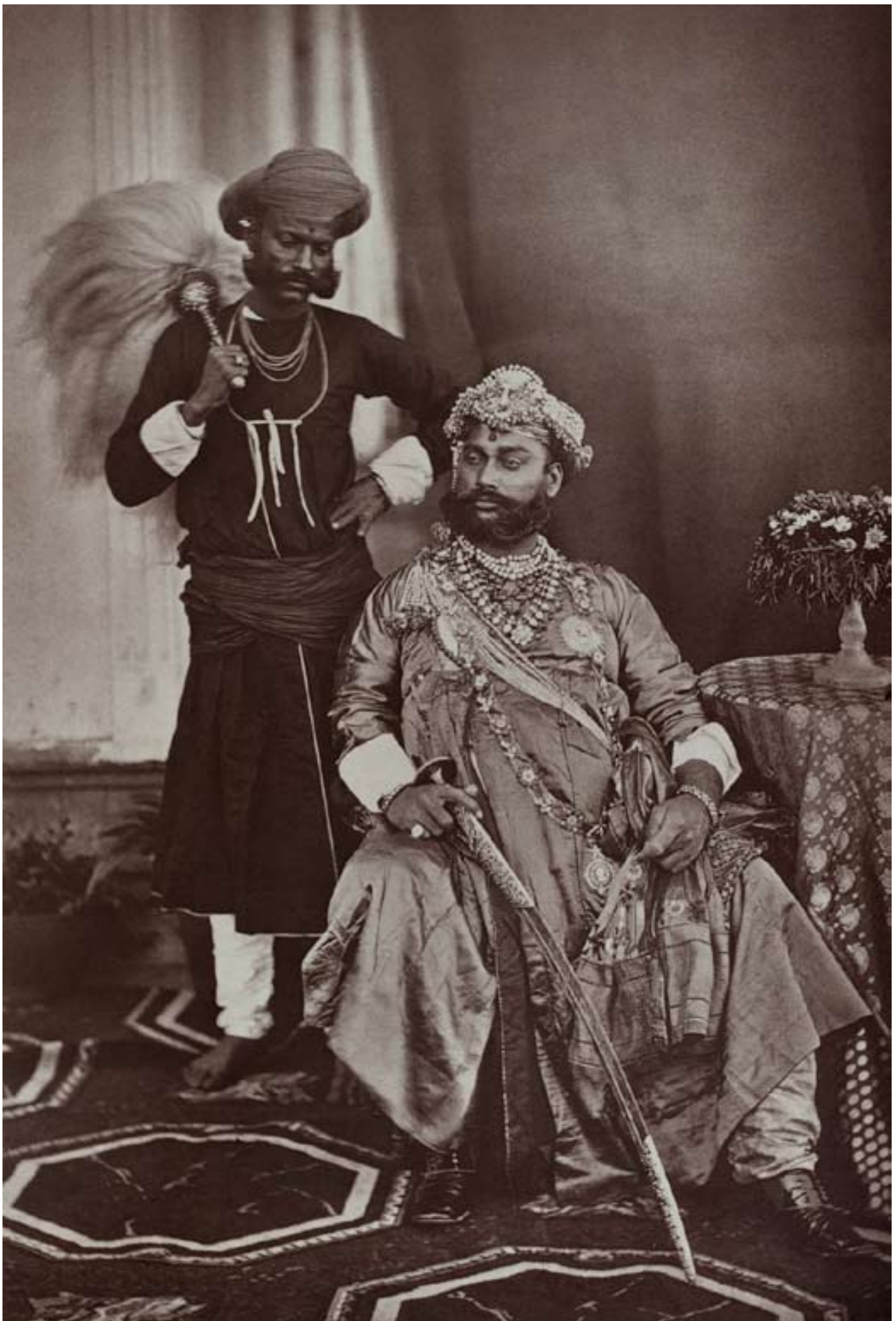
These images appear more masculine and less ornamental than the images of the 1877 Durbar. This perhaps indicates a practice of construction of identity by the subjects of the photographs between the 1877 and 1903 Durbars. Examining the images and stated purposes of Sorabji Jehangir’s *Representative Men of India* (1889), Christopher Pinney notes a split in the ideology of late nineteenth-century photographs: on the one hand, their function of positing an ethnographic hierarchy in which the subject was framed within an ethnic-geographic identity; and on the other, their position as representative portraits of cosmopolitan, well travelled and often Anglophone elites.⁵⁶ The photographs



74 **BOURNE & SHEPHERD**
H.H. General The Maharaja Sindia of Gwalior, G.C.B,
G.C.S.I., from ‘The History of the Imperial Assemblage at
Delhi’, c. 1877
Woodburytype, 192 x 120 mm

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75 **BOURNE & SHEPHERD**
Madhav Rao Sindhia, Maharaja of Gwalior, from the
album ‘Chiefs and Representatives of India’, c. 1877
Albumen Print, 278 x 238 mm





of 1877 seemed to imply the ethnographic siting of the maharajas, their collective identities, with little variation, marked by signifiers of clothes, jewels and postures.

The 1903 collection, a more diverse selection, indicates more agency on the part of the maharajas in terms of choosing how to present themselves and therefore actively constructing their public identities, probably with some knowledge of the widely dispersed and diffused spectating public for these photographs.

In the official authorless “compiled” book documenting the 1911 Durbar, published in 1914, images are characterised by the appearance of the most elaborate backdrops, full of columns, palatial walls, outdoor views and grand staircases. The theatricality of dress, jewels and traditional court garments is replaced by another staged dress that is increasingly martial. Pratap Singh (fig. 82), a military leader and avid Anglophile rewarded with the state of Idar in 1902 for his loyalty, is in military dress, as is the Maharaja of Dhar (fig. 83), whose sword completes an animated curving line from the staircase through his cummerbund.⁵⁷ The Gaekwad’s “seditious” dress (fig. 84) consists of under decorated white clothing. The Begum of Bhopal is in black with a white cape (fig. 85) beside an ornate chair before a backdrop of columns, as are the royalty of Baroda, Idar, and Gwalior. All are standing, except for Ragubir Singh (fig. 86), whose pose resembles that of the 1903 image, but without the shield and with more flamboyant flared skirts, his beard longer on each side, and epaulettes adding a martial touch. His appearance is more “othered” and fierce—his open gaze in 1903 becomes in 1911 a determined glare to the side, refusing to acknowledge the spectator. But this 1911 photograph is actually dated 1888 and has a backdrop with pilasters and

thin graphic curtains drawn on either side, creating a curious combination of studio props and traditional *gaddi*, sword and martial Rajput pose. Ironically, most of the maharajas, who were in fact forbidden to have armies or significant weaponry under their control, are in military uniform, except Gwalior (fig. 87) who wears a wide robe and folk-like white costume with English shoes. The Nizams’ portraits from 1877 to 1911 also show a steady increase in the elements of Westernised clothing and more assertive stances (see Benjamin Cohen’s essay in this volume).

The official books for the 1903 and 1911 durbars are conglomerate collections of portraits.⁵⁸ In 1903, photographers and studios included Deen Dayal, Bombay; R. Holz, Simla; R.L. Desai, Gwalior; Edulji Behramji, Bombay; Herzog and Higgins, Mhow; George Craddock, Lahore; Barton, Son & Co., Bangalore; F. Nelson, Junagadh, and from London: Esmé Collings, Lafayette, W. Whiteley, and Carl Vandyck.⁵⁹ The photographers and studios in 1911 include many of these, along with Jahlboy, Lawrie, Jenkins, Bremner, Johnston & Hoffmann, and Lumsden, among others. Photographs in these books were made in many cities under varied circumstances; some were even taken in London during princes’ visits there. The varied sources of these photographs gathered for the official books for the 1903 and 1911 durbars imply that the maharajas had some autonomy in selecting which of their portraits were to be

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76 **BOURNE & SHEPHERD**

H.H. The Maharaja Holkar of Indore, G.C.S.I., from ‘The History of the Imperial Assemblage at Delhi’, 1877
Woodburytype, 190 x 122 mm

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77 **BOURNE & SHEPHERD**

H.H. Maharaja Sir Sayaji Rao Gaekwar of Baroda, G.C.S.I., from ‘History of the Delhi Coronation Durbar 1903’, 1902–3 (Published 1904)
Photogravure, 187 x 125 mm

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78 **ESMÉ COLLINGS**

H.H. the Maharaja (Sri Sir Ganga Singh Bahadur) of Bikaner, K.C.I.E., from ‘History of the Delhi Coronation Durbar 1903’, 1902–3 (Published 1904)
Photogravure, 163 x 120 mm







79 **C. VANDYK**
Colonel H.H. the Maharaja (Sir Madho Rao Scindia Bahadur of Gwalior, A.D.G., G.C.S.I., G.C.V.O.), from 'History of the Delhi Coronation Durbar 1903', 1902-3 (Published 1904)
Photogravure, 194 x 115 mm



80 **BOURNE & SHEPHERD**
His Excellency, Lord Curzon of Kedleston, P.C., G.M.S.I., G.M.I.E., Viceroy and Governor General of India, from 'History of the Delhi Coronation Durbar 1903', 1902-3 (Published 1904)
Photogravure, 197 x 121 mm

Facing page

81 **GANPAT RAO ABHA**
H.H. the Maharao Raja of Bundi (Sir Raghu Singh Bahadur), G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., from 'History of the Delhi Coronation Durbar 1903', 1902-3 (Published 1904)
Photogravure, 163 x 119 mm





82 **GOBINDRAM AND OODEYRAM**
Major-General His Highness Maharaja Sir
Pratap Singh of Jodhpur, G.C.S.I., G.C.V.O.,
K.C.B., A.D.C., from 'The Historical Record
of the Imperial Visit to India 1911', 1911-12
(Published 1914)
Printed Photograph, 190 x 140 mm



83 **VERNON**
His Highness the Raja of Dhar, K.C.S.I., from 'The
Historical Record of the Imperial Visit to India 1911',
1911-12 (Published 1914)
Printed Photograph, 190 x 139 mm



84 **VERNON**
His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda,
G.C.S.I., from 'The Historical Record of the Imperial
Visit to India 1911', 1911-12 (Published 1914)
Printed Photograph, 189 x 140 mm



85 **FREDERICK BREMNER**
Her Highness the Nawab Begum of Bhopal, G.C.S.I.,
G.C.I.E., C.I., from 'The Historical Record of the Imperial
Visit to India 1911', 1911-12 (Published 1914)
Printed Photograph, 176 x 140 mm



86 **GANPATRAO KALE**
His Highness the Maharao Raja (Sir Raghu Singh)
of Bundi, G.C.I.E, G.C.V.O., K.C.S.I., from 'The
Historical Record of the Imperial Visit to India 1911',
1911-12 (Published 1914)
Printed Photograph, 166 x 138 mm



87 **CARL VANDYK**
Major-General His Highness the Maharaja Scindia
of Gwalior, G.C.S.I., G.C.V.O., A.D.C., from 'The
Historical Record of the Imperial Visit to India 1911',
1911-12 (Published 1914)
Printed Photograph, 190 x 139 mm

featured. The portraits then became “official” by virtue of their inclusion in these volumes and by the texts to which these images were appended.⁶⁰

These portraits simultaneously revealed and concealed the embedded political contradictions of the princes’ post-1858 status. Studio props collected and diffracted their own symbolic associations as signs of the maharajas’ Europeanisation, power to travel and be photographed, and control over their public images. In culturally specific and intensely symbolic terms, princes’ bodies were also imbued with *darshan*, the power to bless the viewer/worshipper through the royal power of auratic presence.⁶¹ Tinting photographs further underscored their spiritual authority while downgrading photography’s documentary functions by the “unreality” of tinting. Tinting then underscored princes as active patrons of arts, religion, scholarship and sports, involved in policies of reform and social justice and actively shaping regional and national cultures and identities.⁶² They hired European servants, governesses and photographers. Women of princely families supported social institutions.⁶³ Just as princes found ways to exploit inconsistencies in the colonial administration, they managed to acquire agency with regard to their own photographic representations, which glorified them among their subjects even as the images reinforced the reality of British panoptical surveillance.

Reading Bodies, Reading Props

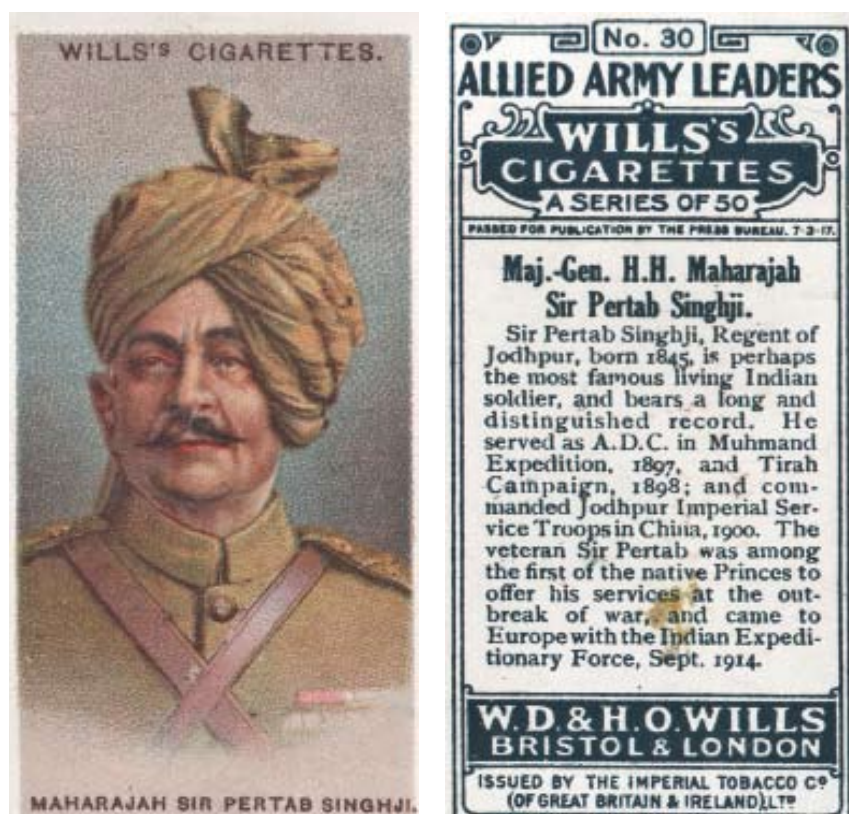
... photographers grappled with the difficulties of establishing a single, incontrovertible meaning through their medium; despite strategies of closure, such as narrative sequencing or captions, photography’s status as a pure tool of positivist science came under challenge.⁶⁴

Given the conglomerate nature of images in the official accounts of the 1903 and 1911 durbars, it is obvious that the portrait photographs were de-contextualised from their

original production conditions when they were placed in these books. I would like to at least partly re-contextualise them within the many other kinds of photographic images of maharajas rendered in this period: with their staff or *diwan* or British Resident or tutor, at meetings with other maharajas, on horseback in Western clothes, on hunts, at durbars and state ceremonies, in cars and aircraft, and with their families. Their wives and children were subjects of individual and group portraits, sometimes with servants. Photographs of Indian princes and English administrators together recorded visits, durbars and other ceremonies. Bust portraits, portraits in vignette frames, and tinted photographs were also popular with the native rulers.⁶⁵

After mid-century, photographs were republished in varied texts. James Waterhouse’s powerful images of the begums of Bhopal, taken in 1862, were reprinted in Volume 7 of the multi-volume *The People of India* (1868–75) and in *The Textile Manufactures and Costumes of the People of India* (1866).⁶⁶ By the 1890s, *Rulers of India*, a series of biographies of prominent princes, British governor generals and viceroys,⁶⁷ and books on regional rulers created a valorising discourse of these narratives while re-using earlier photographs. By 1911, several maharajas were well known, having been described and imaged for decades in the *Illustrated London News* and the *Times*. Photographs of the 1911 homage ceremony were printed as popular postcards. During World War I, portraits of maharajas who supported Britain even appeared on *carte-de-visite*-sized advertisements for Wills’s cigarettes (figs. 88, 89).⁶⁸

Their widely varied circulating images appeared in a range of media—postcards, newspapers, books, advertisements, *cartes-de-visite* and studio portraits—offering complex, layered subjectivities constructed in “dynamic and intimate relationship between colonial photographer and subject”, and between consumer and subject.⁶⁹ Such wide circulation of photographs in a broad range of photographic genres generated multiple meanings for individual photographs as



Left

88 MAHARAJAH SIR PERTAB SINGHJI

Wills's Cigarettes advertisement

Carte-de-visite, 36 x 68 mm

Collection of Russell Harris

Right

89 The back of Wills's Cigarettes advertisement.

complicated signifiers among different texts and captions, uses, consumers, and circulation trajectories. Their trajectories continue now in websites for museums owning these photographs, in the tourism-oriented websites of historic cities in former Native States, and on the websites of auction houses.⁷⁰

The princes exploited this wide public presence: the Maharaja of Patiala, for instance, ordered five dozen prints at one

time.⁷¹ Having their portraits done by prominent studios defined the maharajas' social status and "made it visible to themselves and to others".⁷² There are correlations between a photograph's style and use, from a formal photograph made by Bourne & Shepherd for commercial release, to the Vandyk "backstairs" images of the Patiala royal family, which were marked "not for publication".⁷³ The images were hung on walls and incorporated into books, albums, personal souvenirs, press reports and handwritten ephemera. It is intriguing to speculate as to whether the public's readings of maharajas' portraits were similar to their interpretations of photographs of European royalty, and whether durbar portraits of the extravagantly clad viceroys were read as "oriental" or feminised, as were images of maharajas.

Props in maharajas' portraits, reminiscent of furnishings they bought in Europe to decorate their state palaces, mark them as anglicised Indians. Yet in Indian clothes they appear as guests in English-furnished parlours and are thus equated with middle-class Britons and Indians also photographed in these studios. Maharajas are simultaneously de-historicised and re-historicised in a space both theirs (after all they purchased British furniture) and not theirs (Indian dress in English interiors). Inert backdrops and objects evoke spaces that are both familiar and strange, intimate and alien. We can read these "official" bodies as images of both compliance and resistance. The general trend toward a standing posture in the 1903 and 1911 durbar photographs, as opposed to a seated posture in the 1877 photographs, brings them closer to aristocratic paintings than to popular Victorian portraits, and thus seems to masculinise them.

Gandhi notes in his autobiography that the maharajas felt feminised in being forced to dress up in their finery for the coronation durbars.⁷⁴ This had been traditional durbar practice for centuries in Native States, with elaborate vestments symbolic of the ruler's divinely-ordained mandate; however, the same clothing demanded by the British, so sure that clothes were simple codes whereby

Indians could be ethnically and socially classified, only reflected the subjugation and reification maharajas experienced at the durbars and under other imperial events and regulations.⁷⁵

Over the course of three coronation durbars, maharajas decolonised their bodies by wearing simpler, martial clothes, including high boots, and assuming masculine postures. Changed settings from European furniture to backdrops of grand columns implied they were indeed Curzon's "pillars", as he called them, on which India rested. This change also aligned the images with other kinds of portraits; for instance, in the case of Sayaji Rao's portrait by Vandyk in London in June 1911 (fig. 90), where the ruler wears the Vikramaditya, a Baroda state medal he may have designed but which he would not have worn publicly in Britain.⁷⁶ Another Vandyk image of Sayaji Rao in his uniform appeared on a postcard produced by Beagles Postcards, London, which cited Baroda's offer of troops to Britain in World War II.

Sayaji Rao's local Baroda uniform, a variation of that of the 6th Bengal Cavalry, exemplifies Emma Tarlo's notion of how such clothes construct classifications, as well as simply follow them.⁷⁷ In their martial dress, the maharajas were redefining themselves by breaking the stereotype of lazy and decadent princes associated with heavily ornamented dress. These relatively austere images of 1911 bring maharajas closer to the English in military dress, thus eliding a crucial difference that justified imperial policy and ideology. Princes become the "reformed, recognizable 'Other'... almost the same but not quite" that Homi Bhabha notes is constructed by patterns of mimicry subtly practiced by many maharajas.⁷⁸ Only by de-ornamenting their dress could maharajas at least partially resist being typecast and caricatured as brutish, indolent voluptuaries habituated to dynastic privilege, and re-present themselves as multifaceted, manly and modern.

Thus, reflecting such progressive aspirations, these later portraits appear more "authentic" in terms of elite subject-

- 90 **CARL VANDYK**
 Sir Sayaji Rao III, Maharaja of Baroda, 21 June 1911
 Glass Plate Negative, 304.8 x 254 mm
 National Portrait Gallery, London (NPG x34592)
 Given by Bassano and Vandyk Studios, 1974

ivities, even if backdrops now intrude as theatrical illusions. In later durbar photographs we can see, hyperbolic backdrops notwithstanding, that the subjects have managed to realign their identities toward an assertive masculinity, despite, (or perhaps necessitated by) the hollowness of their crown and their lack of military power. As Pinney observes, their photographs appear “as a creative space in which new aspirant identities and personae can be conjured”.⁷⁹

Yet even masculinised images, however efficiently presented as an alternative to the stereotype of “degenerate” princely demeanour, are conventionally anglicised—in uniform, on horseback, in cars, or amid prolific families. The stylised repackaging of the “modern” self against the rigid aesthetic conventions signified via props or settings results in hybridised identities; this mode of “king-building” is the construction of public identities “in which different performances are acquired”, and photography in these cases is a technology of “augmentation... to leave substantive traces of what otherwise would be mere dreams”,⁸⁰ in these cases, dreams of masculinity and equity acquired through Anglophilia and maharajas’ self-representation within European conventions.

The portraits paradoxically both expose and disguise difference and similarity; their subjects’ varying dress, props and backdrops simultaneously articulate the maharajas’ self-fashioning and mimicry, and British-imposed otherings of them. Many anglicised Indians moved easily and contingently between Indian and European dress in their ordinary lives, changing identities to fit social and professional circumstances.⁸¹ Through their engagement with photography, the princes were able to practice this adaptation in formal/political terms as well, remaining sensitive with regard to the varying impact and effect of their image as Raj vassals in both Britain and India.

Celia Lury defines “seeing photographically” as modern subjectivity constituted in a post-photograph counter-

memory,⁸² an “afterlife” Barthes calls “the advent of myself as other” in photographic image of “what-was-but-is-no-longer.”⁸³ The moment of posing is when “I am neither subject nor object but a subject who feels he is becoming an object... I am truly becoming a spectre”.⁸⁴ For Barthes’s spectator, photographs become sites for imagining and reconstructing selves out of a desire that can never be satisfied. In portraits of the Indian elites, British viewers saw their own fantasies of a dying epic which maharajas could be read as representing, despite the incongruity of being located in contemporary Victorian spaces recreated in studios. Queen Victoria herself compiled a series of albums in which photographs of maharajas were placed in the midst of images of European royalty and politicians in yet another context of her imagination.⁸⁵ This surreal relocation or dislocation of native self and persona resuscitated in photographs filled these portraits with “suggestibility and the powers of animation” as Craigie’s asserts, despite their portrayal of princes as thoroughly anglicised and domesticated in the studio and, thus, habituated to these modes of being strategically ‘othered’ and enframed.⁸⁶

Arjun Appadurai describes backdrops of colonial photographs as producing “various cultural imaginaries” in a “struggle between photographic modernity” and the cultural environments of colonised spaces, believed to exist in a pre-modern state.⁸⁷ Backdrops invite subversive ironies, because as pastiches they generate “sites of epistemological uncertainty about exactly what photographs seek to represent”. Like Duleep Singh, the princes appear aristocratic, while in reality they are feudal vassals. Their photographs also invoke ontological slippages, questions of the nature of the princes’ post-1858 identities defined by Raj authority, not by ancestral histories or places. Backdrops further subvert the realism presumed to be photography’s ontology, by putting the maharajas in a homogenised studio space without locale or temporal dimensions, but open to imagination. Appadurai considers backdrops visible (in the picture) and invisible/hidden (derived from earlier photographers’ images



91 **LAFAYETTE PHOTOGRAPHY LTD. AND EDE AND RAVENSCROFT**
Duleep Singh's daughters (Oriental), possibly for Queen Victoria's Golden Jubilee
(Thanks to Russell Harris for this information)
Glass Plate Negative, 305 x 380 mm

92 **LAFAYETTE PHOTOGRAPHY LTD. AND EDE AND RAVENSCROFT**
Duleep Singh's daughters, possibly for Queen Victoria's Golden Jubilee
(Thanks to Russell Harris for this information)
Glass Plate Negative, 305 x 380 mm

and discourses).⁸⁸ The backdrops in the maharajas' portraits bear invisible discourses of aristocratic portraits from earlier centuries.

However, visible backdrops in the pictures are simulacra, not real landscapes, columns, or staircases. Their rolled edges peek out behind the figures' feet and furnishings, satirically puncturing the façade of what they are not. In this respect, the studio is a fantasy site where subjects play dress-up, unlike ethnographic subjects who are presumably in 'authentic' dress, despite their often being photographed in studios made to look like natural settings. The daughters of Duleep Singh are shown in "Oriental" costume and in English 'costume' in poses reminiscent of orientalist photography and eighteenth-century aristocratic female portraits, respectively (figs. 91 & 92), their identities as fluid as those of any Briton gone native—as they, Indians raised in England, appear to have done in these photographs.⁸⁹

Reading these images post-colonially, I see their disparate functions as instances of British surveillance and Indian self-fashioning. They also contain complex layers of self-assertion and mimicry that expose fault lines of power and control, as maharajas take advantage of changing viceroys

and circumstances to find new avenues of power, resistance, and compliance. Images of the 1903 and 1911 durbars indicate a British willingness to see princes as 'modern', as the princes self-fashioned themselves in these photographs. Victorians subscribed to the notion that visibility permitted control and knowledge of colonial subjects, but visibility in these photographs hides and eludes much, and offers disjunctions and ironies that do not simply reflect identities imposed by the state apparatus. On their part, the maharajas appropriated conventions of portraiture, manipulating props and costumes as they "tried on" images for different circuits of public consumption. Christopher Pinney describes how "local photographic traditions creatively deform the geometrical spatialisations of colonial worlds".⁹⁰ In the maharajas' portraits, creative deformation emerges from within colonial worlds themselves. Princes' portraits offer their own "vernacular modernism" that subverts "colonial representational regimes" by treating those regimes to ludic interventions and mimicry that upend colonial "rationality". It seems that studio backdrops engender not a documentary realism but an imaginary site, paradoxically valid in completely opposite ways for subject and viewer: as an exotic pre-Raj ideal for Britons, and as a progressive, modern autonomy for the maharajas.⁹¹

Notes

1. John Oliver Hobbes [pseud. Pearl Craigie]. *Imperial India: Letters from the East* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1903), pp. 14–16. Another eyewitness account is that of a young Australian woman called Ruby Madden in *A Season in India*. Ed. Helen Rutledge (Sydney: National Trust, 1976), pp. 95, 96.
2. Craigie 1903, *op. cit.*, p. 33.
3. See Barbara Ramusack, *The Indian Princes and Their States*, Vol. III, No. 6 of *The Cambridge History of India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 88.
4. The general trend before 1858 was to increasingly restrict the princes, keep them isolated from one another and drain their resources. This changed considerably after 1857. See Ramusack 2004, *op. cit.*, p. 85.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 53. This number shrank to under 570 by 1929; see Ramusack 2004, *op. cit.*, pp. 2, 53. In this section I draw heavily from the work of this author, whose bibliographic essay lists many books on maharajas. See also Robin Jeffrey (ed.), *People, Princes and Paramount Power: Society and Politics in the Indian Princely States* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1978).
6. Ramusack 2004, *op. cit.*, p. 97.
7. Maharaja Ramachandra of Pudukkottai was not approved to spend Rs. 10,000 for his daughter's 1867 puberty rites but was permitted to spend Rs. 20,000 to attend an 1870 reception for the Duke of Edinburgh. See Joanne Punzo Waghorne, *The Raja's Magic Clothes* (University Park: Penn State Press, 1994), p. 48.
8. Ramusack 2004, *op. cit.*, p. 183. All parties did not always agree: viceroys, residents, and Diwan Salar Jung disagreed over whether the young Nizam of Hyderabad should learn Arabic, Persian and Urdu, as well as English (p. 110).
9. *Ibid.*, p. 130. These inconsistencies sometimes became institutional, and changes could be very radical, as between interventionist Curzon and his successor Minto, who had a laissez-faire attitude towards the administration of the Native States (*ibid.*, pp. 106, 130).
10. Charles Allen and Sharada Dwivedi. *Lives of the Indian Princes* (New York: Crown Publishers, 1984), p. 211.
11. Ramusack 2004, *op. cit.*, p. 114.
12. Allen and Dwivedi 1984, *op. cit.*, pp. 96–98.
13. In 1877, the government had little faith in the populace and only slightly more in the princes. In a letter dated 3 June 1867, Foreign Secretary Lord Salisbury wrote to Disraeli (Hughenden Papers, Box 92, B/XX/Cel/77): "The masses are no use, the literary class which we have unwisely warmed into life before its time is of its nature *frondeur*. Whether the aristocracy themselves are very powerful may be doubted... but... their goodwill & co-operation, if we can obtain it, will at all events serve to hide to the eyes of our own people & perhaps of the growing literary class in India the nakedness of the sword upon which we really rely".
14. David Gilmour. *Curzon* (London: John Murray, 1994), p. 168.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 169. See also David Dilks, *Curzon in India*, Vol. 1 (London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1969), pp. 227–29.
16. Gilmour 1994, *op. cit.*, p. 186, citing Curzon's speech at Gwalior on 20 November 1899. See also Adrian Sever (ed.), *Documents and Speeches on the Indian Princes States*, 2 vols. (Delhi: Stosius Inc/Advent Books Division, 1985), Vol. 1, p. 343.
17. Gilmour, *op. cit.*, pp. 185–86.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 188.
19. Cited in Ramusack 2004, *op. cit.*, p. 115. From Oriental and India Office Collections (OIOC), MSS Eur F111/159, Curzon to Lord George Hamilton, dated 26 November 1899.
20. Letter from Curzon to Hamilton, dated 29 August 1900, in Sever (ed.) 1985, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 346. See Curzon's minute of 29 February 1904, PSCI, 1875–1911, Vol. 163, No. 694/1904, cited in S.R. Ashton, *British Policy toward the Indian States, 1905–1939* (London: Curzon Press, 1982), p. 24.
21. Lord Hardinge. *My Indian Years, 1910–1916* (London: John Murray, 1948), p. 35.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 34.
23. *Ibid.*, pp. 11, 21.
24. See Bernard S. Cohn, *Colonialism and its Forms of Knowledge* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), p. 124.
25. Ramusack 2004, *op. cit.*, pp. 129–31.
26. Joanne Punzo Waghorne. *op. cit.*, p. 35.
27. Cohn 1996, *op. cit.*, p. 111.
28. Allen and Dwivedi 1984, *op. cit.*, pp. 214–16.
29. Simple dress was part of Baroda's larger political views. Sayaji Rao first asked to be excused from the coronation durbar because he felt the demands of dress and pomp made of the maharajas by Curzon were demeaning. In 1911 his white suit, expressing his refusal to dress like a maharaja, and his dress and English walking stick were taken by Viceroy Hardinge as signs of the former's resistance to British rule. On Sayaji Rao's case in relation to dress codes and their applications to resistance, see Cohn 1996, *op. cit.*, pp. 127–29.
30. Hardinge 1948, *op. cit.*, p. 51. The Gaekwad's predecessor Malhar Rao, whom the British deposed, appointed Dadabhai Naoroji, later a founder of the Indian National Congress (1885), as *diwan* in 1874; Naoroji later became the first Indian MP in London.
31. See my comments on the INC's conference and exhibition in the introduction to this book. See also Manu Bhagavan, *Sovereign Spheres: Princes, Education, and Empire in Colonial India* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003); J. Codell, "Resistance and Performance: Native Informant Discourse in Biographies of Maharaja Sayaji Rao III of Baroda" in J. Codell and D. Macleod (eds.), *Colonialism Transposed: Impact of the Colonies on Britain* (Aldershot: Scolar, 1998), pp. 13–45; and J. Codell, "Ironies of Mimicry: The Art Collections of Sayaji Rao III Gaekwad, Maharajah of Baroda, and the Cultural Politics of Early Modern India" in *Journal of the History of Collections*, 15 (2003), pp. 127–46.
32. See John Falconer, "Photography in Nineteenth-Century India" in C.A. Bayly (ed.), *The Raj* (London: National Portrait Gallery Publishers, 1990), p. 268.
33. One example is the 1906 painted portrait, *Maharaja Sir Sri Krishnaraja Wodeyar Bahadur* by K. Keshavayya of Mysore, in Mildred Archer, *Company Paintings* (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1992), p. 71. See other examples in this book at pp. 49, 162, 163.
34. See George Willison's *Muhammed Ali Khan, Nawab of the Carnatic*, c.1774, India Office Library and Record, F 12, in Bayly 1990, *op. cit.*, p. 121. See also Simeran Man Singh Gell, "The Origins of

- the Sikh 'Look': From Guru Gobind to Duleep Singh" in *History and Anthropology*, Vol. 10, No. 1 (1996), pp. 37–83.
35. Fateh Muhammad's *Thakur Raja Bakhtawar Singh of Alwar*, c. 1880, stands in a European-style interior (Victoria and Albert Museum).
 36. The "swagger portrait" was a phrase coined by Andrew Wilton. See *The Swagger Portrait* (London: Tate Gallery, 1992) for an exhibition of this genre. See also Christopher Pinney. *Camera Indica*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), p. 74.
 37. Victoria hired Austrian Rudolf Swoboda to paint portrait sketches of Indian artisans brought to London for the 1886 Colonial and Indian Exhibition, and then sent him to India to do portraits of Indians from all castes. These works are now at Osbourne House; see Saloni Mathur, *An Indian Encounter: Portraits for Queen Victoria* (London: National Portrait Gallery, 2002).
 38. In Robert Home's *Ghazi-ud-din Haidar, Nawab (later King) of Oudh*, Lucknow, c.1814 (Victoria Memorial, Calcutta), Haidar stands in a frontal posture with sword, column and distant Reynoldsian landscape, reproduced in Mildred Archer, *India and British Portraiture, 1770–1825* (London: Sotheby Parke Bernet, 1979), pp. 330–32.
 39. See Cohn 1996, *op. cit.*, p. 110, and Gell 1996, *op. cit.* Also see the latter's "The Inner and the Outer: Duleep Singh as an Eastern stereotype in Victorian England" in Shearer West (ed.), *The Victorians and Race* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1996), pp. 68–83; and Michael Alexander and Sushila Anand, *Queen Victoria's Maharajah: Duleep Singh, 1838–93* (New York: Taplinger, 1980).
 40. Russell Harris. *The Lafayette Studio and Princely India* (New Delhi: Roli Press, 2001), pp. 12–13.
 41. See *Chiefs and Leading Families in Rajputana* (Calcutta: Superintendent, Government Printing, 1894), pp. 76–77.
 42. James Lafayette's published photograph in the press. See a brief history of Lafayette by Jane Meadows, September 1990, available at http://www.vam.ac.uk/vastatic/microsites/1158_lafayette/back_dev.php
 43. Alexander Bassano's studio in Old Bond Street contained an eighty-foot panoramic scene on rollers with various settings; see Russell Harris, *Maharajas at the London Studios* (New Delhi: Roli Press, 2001), pp. 5–6.
 44. See Clark Worswick's *Princely India* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1980), p. 20. She is called Mrs. Kennedy in G. Thomas, *History of Photography, India 1840–1980* (Andhra Pradesh: Andhra Pradesh State Akademi of Photography, 1981), p. 32. Thomas lists several Indian *zenana* studios, pp. 31–32.
 45. A brief essay on maharajas at the Lafayette Studio by Kavita Devgun (January 2002, Issue 18), online at <http://www.the-south-asian.com/Jan2002/Maharajas-at-Lafayette-studio1.htm>, reviews a 2002 Delhi exhibition of maharajas' photograph from the Lafayette Studio. Examples of photographic portraits in the Ehrenfeld Collection appear in Robert Flynn Johnson, *Reverie and Reality: Nineteenth-Century Photographs of India from the Ehrenfeld Collection* (San Francisco: Fine Arts Museum of San Francisco, 2003).
 46. Varma's investiture portrait of Baroda is in Maharaja Fateh Singh Museum, Baroda, and reprinted in Codell 2003, *op. cit.*, p. 133.
 47. See Waghorne 1994, *op. cit.*, p. 37, for some examples.
 48. See Yaduvendra Sahai, *Maharaja Sawai Ram Singh II of Jaipur* (Jaipur: Dr. Durga Sahai Foundation, 1996).
 49. Falconer 1990, *op. cit.*, p. 277.
 50. Vidya Dehejia (ed.). *India through the Lens* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 2000), pp. 226–29.
 51. See Sophie Gordon, "Presenting an Image: Princely Photography in India" in Rosie Llewellyn-Jones (ed.), *Portraits in Princely India, 1700–1947* (Mumbai: Marg Publications, 2008), pp. 110–23.
 52. Baroda and Patiala were among the royals most famed for their jewels. The House of Cartier handled its biggest commission "when they converted casket after casket of Patiala jewels into European designs", according to E. Jaiwant Paul, *The Unforgettable Maharajas* (New Delhi: Roli Books, 2005), p. 96. This richly illustrated book has many fine examples of hand-tinted photographic portraits.
 53. See Shaharyar M. Khan, *The Begums of Bhopal: A Dynasty of Women Rulers in Raj India* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2000); and Siobhan Lambert-Hurley, "Princes, Paramountcy and the Politics of Muslim Identity: The Begam of Bhopal on the Indian National Stage, 1901–1926" *South Asia*, Vol. 26, No. 2 (2003), pp. 169–195.
 54. See Rutledge 1976, *op. cit.*, p. 96, and *The Times of India*, 3 January 1903, p. 4.
 55. Raghbir Singh was made a K.C.S.I. in 1897 and a G.C.I.E. in 1901.
 56. Pinney 1997, *op. cit.*, p. 97.
 57. An in-depth portrait of Pratap Singh is offered in Susanne Hoeber Rudolph and Lloyd I. Rudolph (eds.), *Reversing the Gaze: Amar Singh's Diary* (Boulder: Westview Press, 2002).
 58. In Harris 2001, *op. cit.*, p. 28, the portrait of the Maharaja of Kolhapur is dated August 1902, for example.
 59. For a list of the many Indian studios in Bombay, see G. Thomas, *History of Photography, India 1840–1980* (Andhra Pradesh: Andhra Pradesh State Akademi of Photography, 1981), p. 30.
 60. This conglomeration is like photographs in *The People of India*, haphazardly collected without being adequately visualised in thematic sequences, and discursively ethnographic by virtue of contiguity and their fit within the text. See John Falconer, "A Pure Labour of Love: A Publishing History of *The People of India*" in E.M. Hight and G.D. Sampson (eds.), *Colonialist Photography* (London: Routledge, 2002), pp. 51–83.
 61. Given the mass circulation of some maharajas' portraits in their provinces, this is a variation on Christopher Pinney's term "corpotherics", defined as the devotional engagement of spectators with mass-produced images of Hindu gods. See Pinney, *Photos of the Gods* (London: Reaktion, 2004), pp. 8, 19–22.
 62. Ramusack 2004, *op. cit.*, p. 132.
 63. *Ibid.*, p. 144.
 64. Jane Lydon. *Eye Contact: Photographing Indigenous Australians* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005), p. 5.
 65. See a rich variety of such portraits in E. Jaiwant Paul, *op. cit.*, p. 58–131. *The Rajas and Taaluqders of Oudh* (1880) features head shots in oval vignette frames the size of *cartes-de-visite* (3½ x 2½ inches), probably by Darogha Haji Abbas Ali. See G. Thomas, "The Rajas and Taaluqders of Oudh" in *History of Photography*, Vol. 4, No. 4 (1980), pp. 283–88; see also Brij B. Sharma, "Darogha Ubbas Ali: An Unknown 19th-Century Indian Photographer" in *History of*

- Photography*, Vol. 2, No. 1 (1983), pp. 63–68.
66. See Janet Dewan, “Delineating Antiquities and Remarkable Tribes: Photography for the Bombay and Madras Governments, 1855–70” in *History of Photography*, Vol. 16, No. 4 (1992), p. 307.
 67. William Wilson Hunter edited this series published by Clarendon Press. The 1892 publication, on Ranjit Singh, was by Lepel Griffin who wrote books on Sikh rulers.
 68. I wish to thank Russell Harris for generously sharing his collection of these cards with me.
 69. Lydon 2005, *op. cit.*, p. 5.
 70. Most Indian cities have websites with extensive genealogies of rulers. These photographs are featured on the websites of The National Portrait Gallery and the Victoria and Albert Museum.
 71. Harris 2001, *op. cit.*, p. 9.
 72. Satish Sharma, cited in Harris 2001, *op. cit.*, p. 10.
 73. Harris 2001, *op. cit.*, p. 10. Annual international photography exhibitions began in 1888 to c.1898, and photography journals were published by the societies; see G. Thomas 1981, *op. cit.*, pp. 33–34. Curzon patronised the largely British Calcutta photographic society (p. 34).
 74. Mohandas Gandhi. *An Autobiography: The Story of My Experiments with Truth*. Trans. Mahadev Desai (Boston: Beacon Press, 1993), p. 230. See Julie Codell, “Excursive Discursive in Gandhi’s Autobiography: Undressing and Redressing the Transnational Self,” in D. Amigoni (ed.), *Life Writing and Victorian Culture* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 166–95.
 75. See Emma Tarlo, *Clothing Matters: Dress and Identity in India* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), p. 3.
 76. I am grateful to Russell Harris for information on Sayaji Rao’s apparel.
 77. Tarlo 1996, *op. cit.*, p. 7.
 78. Homi Bhabha. *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994), p. 86.
 79. Pinney 1997, *op. cit.*, p. 85.
 80. *Ibid.*, p. 91.
 81. Tarlo 1996, *op. cit.*, pp. 8–10. See also Abigail McGowan, “All that is Rare, Characteristic Or Beautiful’: Design and the Defense of Tradition in Colonial India, 1851–1903” in *Journal of Material Culture*, Vol. 10, No. 3 (2005), pp. 263–87. McGowan cites government reports on household items of Muslim Gujaratis as evidence of the heterogeneous cosmopolitan nature of Indian domestic life among middle and upper classes (pp. 272–74), in their “commitment to local cultural ideals on the one hand, while at the same time marking knowledge of the wider world and all it had to offer... expressing global ideas in local terms” (p. 273). See J. Codell, “Indian Crafts and Imperial Policy,” (eds. in Myzelev & Potvin) *Material Cultures, 1740–1920: The Meanings and Pleasures of Collecting* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2009), 149–70, and Codell, “Imperial Exchanges of Goods and National Identities: Victorian and Swadeshi Views of Crafts under the Raj,” in J. Anderson (ed.) *Crossing Cultures* (Melbourne U P, 2009), 311–15.
 82. Celia Lury. *Prosthetic Culture: Photography, Memory and Identity* (London and New York: Routledge, 1998), p. 86.
 83. Cited in *Ibid.*
 84. Roland Barthes. *Camera Lucida*. Trans. R. Howard (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1981), p. 15.
 85. Gordon 2008, *op. cit.*, p. 115.
 86. Lury 1998, *op. cit.*, pp. 88–91.
 87. See Arjun Appadurai, “The Colonial Backdrops” in *Afterimage* 24 (1997), p. 6. See also Malavika Karlekar, *Re-visioning the Past: Early Photography in Bengal, 1875–1915* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 12–15.
 88. Appadurai 1997, *op. cit.*, pp. 4–7.
 89. Cohn 1996, *op. cit.*, p. 132, on Indians adopting European dress.
 90. See Christopher Pinney’s “Notes from the Surface of the Image: Photography, Postcolonialism, and Vernacular Modernism” in C. Pinney and N. Peterson (eds.), *Photography’s Other Histories* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003), p. 202.
 91. The popularity of these photographs in exhibitions and websites, recent books on maharajas, and neo-imperialist scholarship implies that some of us, like late Victorians, find in them a “dalliance with the fetish and the atavistic possibilities” that Andrew McCann describes in “The Savage Metropolis: Animism, Aesthetics and the Pleasures of a Vanished Race” in *Textual Practice*, Vol. 17, No. 2 (2003), pp. 318, 320.

ROCOCO PORTRAITS

18th century



Francois Boucher, *Portrait of Madame Pompadour*, 1759. Oil on canvas. 35.8 X 26.8 in. The Wallace Collection, London

Francois Boucher, *Portrait of Madame Pompadour*, 1756, Oil on Canvas. 23 1/8 x 29 1/4 in. The Wallace Collection, London



[François Boucher, *Marie-Louise O'Murphy*, 1752](#)

Élisabeth Vigée-Lebrun, *Marie Antoinette à la Rose*, 1783



Marie-Antoinette "en gaulle" by Elisabeth Vigée-Lebrun





Thomas Gainsborough, *Mr and Mrs Andrews*, 1748 -49, oil on canvas. 27.6 in X 46.9 in. National Gallery, London



Thomas
Lawrence,
*Sarah Barrett
Moulton,
"Pinkie,"* 1794.
Huntington



Sarah Barrett Moulton: Pinkie,
Thomas Lawrence, 1794

Thomas Gainsborough, *The Blue Boy*,
Jonathan Buttall, 1770, oil on canvas.
70.0 in x 44.1 in. Huntington Library, San
Marino, CA

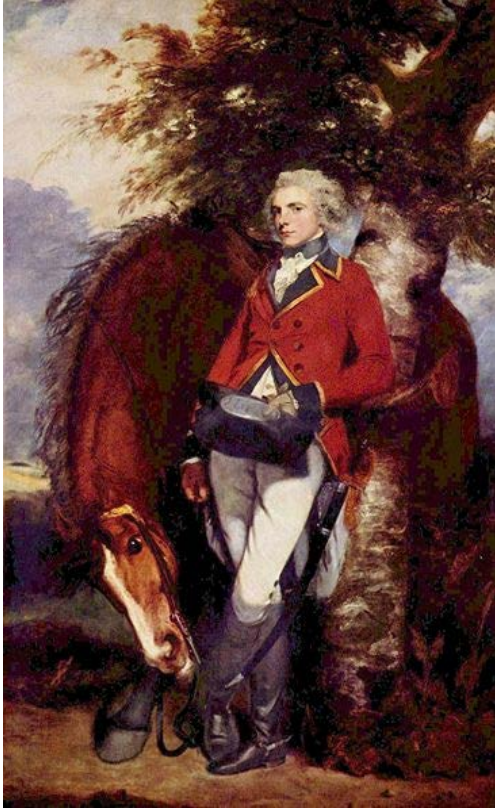


Thomas Gainsborough, *Portrait of Mrs. Sarah Siddons*, 1785
oil on canvas. 49.6 × 39.4 in
[National Gallery, London](#)



Joshua Reynolds, *Mrs. Siddons as the Tragic Muse*. 1783 and exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1784. The Huntington, San Marino CA

Sir Joshua Reynolds, *Colonel George K. H. Coussmaker, Grenadier Guards, 1770-1780*, oil on canvas. The Met, NYC



Reynolds, *Lord Heathfield of Gibraltar, 1787*, oil on canvas 55.9 × 44.7 in. NG, London





Reynolds, *Portrait of Nelly O'Brien*, 1763. Oil on canvas, 127.5 X 101.5 cm. Wallace Coll, London



Reynolds, Mrs. Baldwin. 1782,

Oil on canvas. 137 x 110.5 cm.

Bowood Coll., Wiltshire, UK



[William Hogarth](#),
The Strode Family,
c.1738. Oil paint
on canvas. 870 x
915 mm. Tate,
London

conversation
piece



Francisco de Goya *Charles IV of Spain and His Family*, 1800-1801, oil on canvas, 110.2 × 132.3 in.
Prado, Madrid

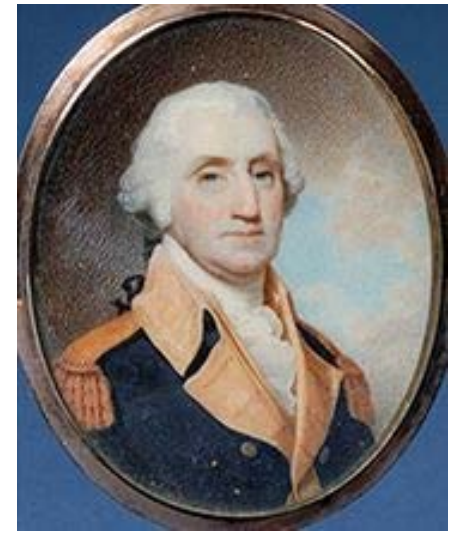
Portrait Miniature



Christian Horneman's miniature portrait of Ludwig van Beethoven (1802)



Portrait Miniature of Margaret Roper by Hans Holbein the Younger, c. 1535-36



Miniature of George Washington by Robert Field (1800)



Levina Teerlinc (1510/20-76), Portrait of Lady Katherine Grey, c. 1555-60. Watercolour on vellum, stuck to pasteboard; in its original turned ivory box. Inscribed on the reverse, 'The La Kathe'/ Graye. / Wyfe of Therle of / hertford'. Lady Katherine Grey and her sisters Jane and Mary were the granddaughters of Henry VIII's sister. In 1560 Elizabeth I imprisoned Katherine in the Tower of London for secretly marrying without her permission.

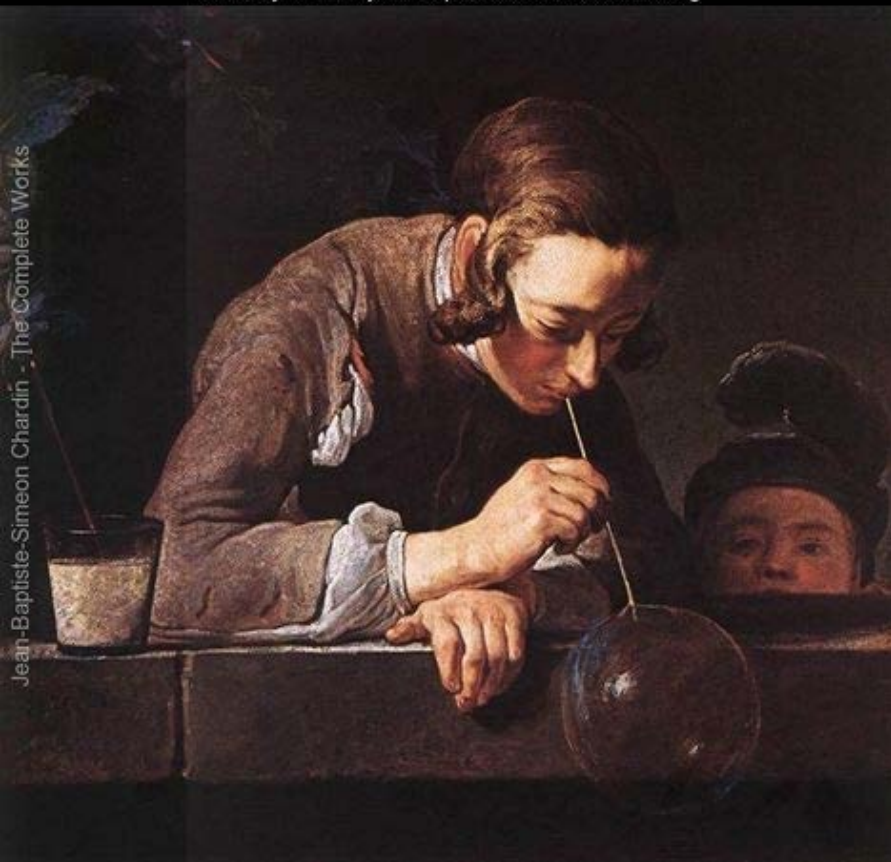
Richard Cosway, Portrait of Lady Augusta Murray, 18th c., watercolor on ivory,



Henry, Charles Heath, Miniature Portrait of Queen Victoria, 1890

courtesy of www.jean-baptiste-simeon-chardin.org

Jean-Baptiste-Simeon Chardin - The Complete Works



Jean Siméon Chardin

Soap Bubbles, probably 1733/1734,
oil on canvas. 36 5/8 x 29 3/8 in. NG,
Washington, DC

Portraiture and Genre painting

Jean-Baptiste-Simeon Chardin - The Complete Works



courtesy of www.jean-baptiste-simeon-chardin.org

The Young Schoolmistress c. 1736

Hogarth, *The Strode Family*, 1738

Joshua Reynolds, *Nelly O'Brien*, 1763

Thomas Gainsborough, *The Blue Boy*, 1770

Francois Boucher, *Mde. De Pompadour*, 1756

Elisabeth Vigee- LeBrun, *Marie Antoinette*,

Conversation piece, family in informal setting and poses; with servants and pets and their estate

Portrait miniature—portable, celebrity, memorial, beloved

Rococo: 18th century, pastel colors, fluid brushwork, casual poses even by aristocrats, ,