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Some aspects on the Pictures of the North

The objectives of this article are to draw the attention too, in my view, two necessities in the field of research on illustrated travel literature. I will argue that in order to understand the nature of illustrated travel literature the research has to be multidisciplinary and has to deal with the written text as well as the illustrations. The reader gained their perceptions of the places described from both pictures and texts and in order to retrieve how different parts of the world were, and still is, perceived according to certain criteria stated in travel literature, scholars must work with a variety of visual and textual communication strategies. The second of my “necessities” is that this material urges scholars to study it with quantitative methods. There are so many different illustrated travel books that it would be a loss if researcher did not try to study them as one unit and thereby gain generalized knowledge on the field. Having stated these two “necessities” I must also state that I do not mean that all research into travel literature must have these approaches but I hope that they will be important factors in the discourses the coming years.

In order to show some of the possibilities of the methods mentioned above I will discuss some of the possible aspects of a quantitative study of the pictures of the north as they appear in illustrated travel literature of the nineteenth century. I will present statistics dealing with artistic subjects, differences between the patterns of illustrations in books published in different languages and how the pictorial revolution in the 19th century changed the travel literature. In the second part of the article I will examine one illustrated travel book in order to high-light how text and illustration complemented each other and created significance together.

In my work I have so far examined 128 different travel books that were written by foreign travellers to the northern parts of Europe during the nineteenth century, and thereby is a quantitative

approach necessary. I have therefore studied variables such as how many of these travel books were illustrated, the number of illustrations in relation to the size of the book, changes between different editions and genres or artistic subjects. To these variables should also be added where, when and in what language the travel books were published.

There are of course many problems with a quantitative approach to this kind of material. One obvious problem is that it is very difficult to categorize individual works of art into genres and that one illustration can hold many different artistic subjects. Another problem is that it is hard or in fact impossible to transform aesthetic values into statistics. Questions such as artistic style and its development therefore tend to be neglected in this kind of study. To try to solve some of these problems I decided to put the illustrations into more than one category. In addition, one can always ask if the material is large enough to conduct a statistical analysis. I argue that the material with 128 different travel books and nearly 3 500 illustrations is large enough and that it is possible to generalize the statistics from this project to a wider context such as the illustrated travel book in general or book illustrations in a wider perspective.

There are some aspects that need to be commented on in the first figure. It is obvious that there was a pictorial revolution in the late nineteenth century. Of all the illustrations in this material about 80 % occur in books printed after 1880. This can be explained by the new printing techniques that were introduced in this period. These made it easier and cheaper to print pictures and led to a more elaborate use of illustrations. In the last 20 years of the century almost one of six pages were illustrated and this can be compared with the first 20 years when the ratio of illustrated pages were one to 50. But having pointed out the importance of the technical development it also must be stated that the will to illustrate travel books, and probably also other kinds of books, was the same during the 19th century as the percentage of illustrated book where the same or higher in the earlier parts of the century.

	-1820	1821-40	1841-60	1861-80	1881-	Totally
Number of books	14	12	22	30	50	128
Illustrated books	9	8	10	18	29	74
Percentage illustrated books	64 %	67 %	45 %	60 %	58 %	58 %
Total amount of illustrations	168	97	58	353	2 773	3 449
Illustrations/book	12	8	3	12	55	27
Percentage illustrated pages	2 %	1 %	0,5 %	3 %	15 %	6 %

Fig. 1. Books, illustrated books and pages

The next step in the analysis concerns the different languages and if there are any substantial differences between them on the same basic level. One must first of all state that there are not enough books in most of the languages to draw any substantial conclusions and there are such small changes over time that they can be said to be of little or no interest.

	-1820	1821-40	1841-60	1861-80	1881-	Totally
Danish					2/1	2/1 (50 %)
English	2/2	5/5	7/2	14/11	14/11	42/31 (74 %)
French	2/1	2/1	3/3	3/2	12/6	22/13 (59 %)
Dutch		1/1		2/1	1/0	4/2 (50 %)
Italian	1/1		1/1	1/1	4/2	7/5 (71 %)
Portuguese					1/1	1/1 (100 %)
Russian				1/0	1/1	2/1 (50 %)
Spanish					1/0	1/0 (0 %)

Swedish	3/1	1/0	3/0	2/2	2/2	11/5 (45 %)
Czech					1/1	1/1 (100 %)
German	6/4	3/1	8/4	7/1	11/4	35/14 (40 %)
Totally	14/9 (64 %)	12/8 (67 %)	22/10 (45 %)	30/18 (60 %)	50/29 (58 %)	128/74 (58 %)

Fig. 2. Books/illustrated books and languages

The three languages that are represented with enough books to draw any statistical conclusions are English, German and French. It is easy to see that there are differences between the ratio of illustrations in books published in these three languages. Books published in English have the highest percentage of illustrations whereas the German editions have the lowest. There can be a number of explanations to this but it is likely that the subjects of the books and their target groups have influenced the publications. Many of the German texts have a more scientific approach while the English editions were intended for a wider range of potential readers. The illustrations may in the latter case have been a way to sell the books. On the other hand it can be argued that illustrations have a long tradition as scientific tool in the English speaking countries. Many of the results of British scientists during the enlightenment were communicated through pictures and many British artists were engaged in scientific projects. It must also be said that the printing industry were more developed in Britain than in many of the other parts of Europe.

	-1820	1821-40	1841-60	1861-80	1881-	Totally
Portraits	4 (2 %) (1 %)	18 (14 %) (5 %)	4 (5 %) (1 %)	86 (16 %) (25 %)	240 (7 %) (68 %)	352 (9 %) (100 %)
Maps	28 (14 %) (44 %)	2 (1 %) (3 %)	5 (6 %) (8 %)	6 (1 %) (10 %)	22 (1 %) (35 %)	63 (1 %) (100 %)
Landscapes	38 (20 %) (5 %)	25 (18 %) (3 %)	23 (29 %) (3 %)	62 (12 %) (8 %)	595 (17 %) (80 %)	743 (17 %) (100 %)
Cityscapes	10 (5 %) (3 %)	5 (4 %) (2 %)	1 (1 %) (0 %)	27 (5 %) (9 %)	262 (8 %) (76 %)	313 (7 %) (100 %)
Cultural	11 (6 %)	4 (3 %)	7 (9 %)	112 (21 %)	736 (21 %)	870 (20 %)

history	(1 %)	(0 %)	(1 %)	(13 %)	(%) (85 %)	(100 %)
Archaeology	3 (2%) (1 %)		1 (1 %) (1 %)	13 (2 %) (5 %)	257 (8 %) (93 %)	274 (6 %) (100 %)
Ethnography	59 (31 %) (6 %)	48 (35 %) (5 %)	23 (29 %) (2 %)	116 (22 %) (11 %)	770 (23 %) (76 %)	1 016 (24 %) (100 %)
Indigenous people	14 (7 %) (3 %)	25 (18 %) (6 %)	14 (18 %) (3 %)	87 (16 %) (20 %)	298 (9 %) (68 %)	438 (10 %) (100 %)
Botany	4 (2 %) (80 %)	1 (1 %) (20 %)				5 (0 %) (100 %)
Zoology	10 (5 %) (16 %)	3 (2 %) (5 %)		6 (1 %) (10 %)	44 (1 %) (69 %)	63 (1 %) (100 %)
Nat. sciences in general	7 (4 %) (7 %)	2 (1 %) (2 %)			84 (2 %) (90 %)	93 (2 %) (100 %)
Other subjects	4 (2 %) (3 %)	4 (3 %) (3 %)	2 (2 %) (2 %)	24 (4 %) (18 %)	98 (3 %) (74 %)	132 (3 %) (100 %)
Totally	192 (100 %) (4 %)	137 (100 %) (3 %)	80 (100 %) (2 %)	539 (100 %) (12 %)	3 406 (100 %) (79 %)	4 362 (100 %) (100 %)

Fig. 3. Artistic subjects, the first %-number states the ratio during the time span whereas the second states the ratio within the actual artistic subject.

The next subjects I will address are artistic subjects. First of all I must once again draw the attention to the fact that one illustration can be categorized in more than one genre or group of artistic subjects. For instance, an illustration with a named Sami, in the traditional costume in a landscape, is categorized as a landscape, a portrait, a picture of indigenous people and as an ethnographical picture. This is the explanation to the fact that the 3 449 illustrations in fig. 1 and 2 have become 4 362 in fig. 3 and 4. I cannot comment on all aspects of this figure in a short article but I would like to draw attention to some of them.

The artistic subject with the most illustrations is illustrations dealing with ethnography in different forms. That shows that the travellers or authors were interested in the peoples who lived in these parts of Europe. This is further emphasized by the fact that the cultural history of the Nordic north was also a subject of high interest. On the other hand are the natural sciences of very low interest. This can be explained by the fact that the authors that were scientists and worked with for instance botany or zoology had other channels for publishing their results.

Other important artistic subjects are landscapes. Many of the landscapes can be described as ways of trying to capture the sublime and the whole genre can be seen as a part of the romantic tradition with its roots in the early parts of the nineteenth century.

There are changes over time in some of the artistic subjects. Maps are for instance more frequent in the material from the early parts of the century. This may be due to the fact that even early travel books often included at least one map but as the total amount of illustrations increased the ratio of maps diminished. Illustrations with archaeological material are on the other hand more frequent in the latter parts of the century. This can be explained in two different ways. Firstly, the archaeological material is primarily important to two authors, Ferdinand Krauss and Paul Belloni du Chaillu, and their travel books, published in 1882 and 1888, have a large amount of illustrations. Secondly, archaeology in the Nordic countries was of a very high standard in the latter parts of the nineteenth century. It is therefore natural that archaeological material becomes an important feature in the travel books produced during that period.

	English	French	German	Totally
Portraits	121 (8 %) (35 %)	25 (4 %) (7 %)	35 (4 %) (10 %)	352 (9 %) (100 %)
Maps	32 (2 %) (50 %)	7 (1 %) (11 %)	15 (2 %) (24 %)	63 (1 %) (100 %)
Landscapes	251 (17 %) (34 %)	113 (20 %) (15 %)	172 (19 %) (23 %)	743 (17 %) (100 %)
Cityscapes	99 (7 %) (32 %)	60 (11 %) (19 %)	50 (6 %) (16 %)	313 (7 %) (100 %)
Cultural history	260 (17 %) (30 %)	88 (16 %) (10 %)	251 (28 %) (29 %)	870 (20 %) (100 %)
Archaeology	81 (5 %) (30 %)	53 (9 %) (19 %)	67 (8 %) (24 %)	274 (6 %) (100 %)
Ethnography	368 (25 %) (36 %)	152 (27 %) (15 %)	184 (21 %) (18 %)	1 016 (24 %) (100 %)
Indigenous people	148 (10 %) (34 %)	48 (8 %) (11 %)	88 (10 %) (20 %)	438 (10 %) (100 %)
Botany	5 (0 %) (100 %)			5 (0 %) (100 %)
Zoology	31 (2 %) (49 %)	10 (2 %) (16 %)	4 (0 %) (6 %)	63 (1 %) (100 %)

Nat. sciences in general	41 (3 %) (44 %)	1 (0 %) (1 %)	7 (1 %) (8 %)	93 (2 %) (100 %)
Other subjects	64 (4 %) (48 %)	11 (2 %) (8 %)	13 (1 %) (9 %)	132 (3 %) (100 %)
Totally	1 501 (100 %) (35 %)	568 (100 %) (13 %)	886 (100 %) (20 %)	4 362 (100 %) (100 %)

Fig. 4. Artistic subjects and languages, the first %-number states the ratio in the language whereas the second states the ratio within the actual artistic subject.

The last figure illustrates the relations between languages and artistic subjects. Again, I have chosen to only present the numbers for English, French and German. As can be seen in fig. 4 there are small differences between the books published in these languages. The differences that should be noted are that there seems to be a higher interest in the cultural history in the German speaking countries than in the rest of the material and that the English speaking authors or the publishers in Great Britain and the US published maps to a greater extent than in, for instance, France. One can speculate as to why these differences appear. They may have a connection with a long tradition of the study of different aspects of cultural history in central Europe, but they may also be connected to reasons I have previously mentioned. The travel books published in the English speaking countries were meant for a wider audience who needed the maps to orientate themselves in the geography and the maps were also a way to promote the books. The fact that the differences are very small indicates that there was common view of the Nordic North outside the area and that this material could be seen as a unit.

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After these statistics I will turn to one example concerning the relation between text and illustrations. Through this example I want to highlight that research into illustrated travel literature has to be multidisciplinary and that text and illustrations create

significance together.¹ If researchers choose to ignore either text or illustrations the results might be less valid, at least if the aim is to understand what image the travel literature gives and gave to the readers, and in a wider perspective: how the travel literature formed the conceptions of different parts of the world.

In the afternoon of 6 December 1820 Sir Arthur de Capell Brooke and his party started their journey from Alten in northern Norway. Their goal was to cross the Finmark Mountains and Norwegian, Finish and Swedish Lapland to get to Torneå where Capell Brooke was to continue back to England.² After nearly three weeks in the wilderness they arrived in Torneå the day before Christmas Eve. Even though Capell Brooke tries to emphasise the hardships of the journey it must be mentioned that during these weeks he and his party stayed six nights in Kautokeino. The route Capell Brooke took from Alten to Torneå was the traditional Sami trails through the northern landscape, mainly following the Alta, Muonio and Torneå rivers. For some parts of the journey the party had to leave the frozen rivers and lakes and instead continue over the mountains of Finmark or through the forests. The route is nearly identical with the one taken by Anders Fredrik Skjöldebrand and Giuseppe Acerbi in 1798 and 1799, possibly because Capell Brooke had met Sköldebrand in Stockholm on his way to the North Cape.³

¹ On the question concerning the relations between text and illustrations see for instance Günther Kress, & Theo van Leeuwen, *Multimodal Discourse: The Modes and Media of Contemporary Communication*, London: Arnold, 2001.

² Capell Brooke uses the term "Russian Lapland", but that should be interpreted as Finland. When Capell Brooke made his journey Finland was a part of the Russian empire.

³ Carl Huitfeldt, *Norge i andres øine: Utdrag av utenlandske reisebeskrivelser gjennem 2000 år*, Oslo: Gyldendal, 1932, 139. See also Anders Fredrik Sköldebrand, *Charte von dem Laufe der Flüsse Torneå, Muonio und Alten Nebst einem großes Theile von Lappland und einem Stücke der Küsten des Eis-Meers Zu Oberst Skjöldebrands Reise nach dem Nord-Kap*, Weimar: Geograph. Institut, 1805 and Giuseppe [Joseph] Acerbi, *Travels through Sweden, Finland and Lapland to the North Cape*

Some years after the journey to Torneå, Capell Brooke published *A Winter in Lapland and Sweden, with Various Observations Relating to Finmark and its Inhabitants, made during a Residence at Hammerfest, near the North Cape*.¹ This book must be regarded as a sequel to Brooke's *Travels through Sweden, Norway and Finland, to the North Cape in the Summer of 1820*.² The first 400 pages of the 1826 edition deal with Brooke's stay in Hammerfest whereas the second part of the book, about 200 pages, concerns the journey back home. The main focus is the winter journey from Alten to Torneå. Accompanying this part of the book there is also a volume of 24 pictures. The title of the volume of pictures is *Winter Sketches in Lapland or Illustrations of a Journey from Alten on the Shores of the Polar Sea in 69° 55" North lat. Through Norwegian, Russian and Swedish Lapland to Torneå at the Extremity of the Gulf of Bothnia. Intended to Exhibit a Complete View of the Mode of Travelling with Rein-deer, the Most Striking Incidents that Occurred during the Journey and the General Character of the Winter Scenery of Lapland*.³ Both the

in the years 1798 and 1799, London: Joseph Mawman, 1802. Capell Brooke also refers to places that had been visited by Leopold von Buch nearly 15 years earlier, Arthur de Capell Brooke, *A Winter in Lapland and Sweden, with Various Observations Relating to Finmark and its Inhabitants, made during a Residence at Hammerfest, near the North Cape*, London: J. Murray, 1826, 460. See also Leopold von Buch, *Reise durch Norwegen und Lappland*, Berlin: O. C. Nauch, 1810.

¹ Arthur de Capell Brooke, *A Winter in Lapland and Sweden, with Various Observations Relating to Finmark and its Inhabitants, made during a Residence at Hammerfest, near the North Cape*, London: J. Murray, 1826.

² Arthur de Capell Brooke, *Travels through Sweden, Norway and Finland, to the North Cape in the Summer of 1820*, London: Rodwell & Martin, 1823.

³ Arthur de Capell Brooke, *Winter Sketches in Lapland or Illustrations of a Journey from Alten on the Shores of the Polar Sea in 69° 55" North lat. Through Norwegian, Russian and Swedish Lapland to Torneå at the Extremity of the Gulf of Bothnia. Intended to Exhibit a Complete View of the Mode of Travelling with Rein-deer, the Most Striking Incidents that*

travel book and the volume of pictures were first published in 1826 and republished one year later.¹

The artistic expression of the pictures can be related to the English neo-classical as well as Romantic traditions and can be said to be of higher quality than the general book illustration of the period. It is obvious that the artists involved in this project wanted to give a correct view of the landscape as well as provide an artistic touch.²

The 24 pictures in the portfolio are organised according to geography and time to make it possible for the reader to follow Capell Brooke from the beginning of the journey in Alten on 6 December 1820 to the arrival at Torneå on 23 December. As the journey was divided into two distinctive parts, to and from Kautokeino, where Capell Brooke stayed for nearly a week, the pictures can also be divided into these parts. There are 15 pictures from the first part of the journey and nine from the latter part. This means that the majority of the pictures are from Norwegian Lapland. Some of the pictures have dates and most of them have geographical positions, but in order to know when Capell Brooke visited the different places it is necessary to consult the written

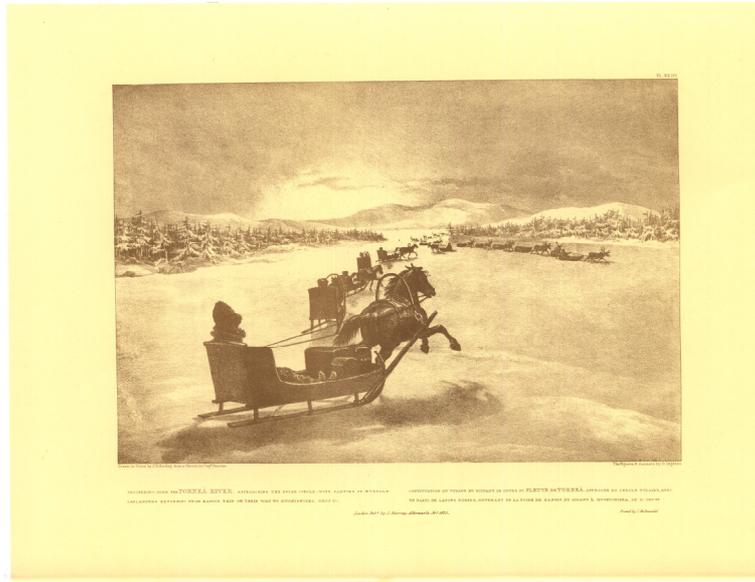
Occurred during the Journey and the General Character of the Winter Scenery of Lapland, London: J. Murray, 1827.

¹ The volume of pictures was first published by Rodwell and Cornhill and the later edition was published by John Murray. There are supposed to be hand-colourised copies as well. According to Samuel Bring the tones of the colours are different in the two editions. Samuel E. Bring, *Itineraria svecana: Bibliografisk förteckning över resor i Sverige fram till 1950*, Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1954, 164

² The lithographies were made from drawings by Capell Brooke, but figures and animals were improved by D. Dighton. There were two lithographers involved in the work with the volume: J. D. Harding who made 22 of them and Dighton who made the last two. C. Hullmandel printed the lithographies and below the text it is said that the pictures were published in 1825 by John Murray, with two exceptions: plate IX was published in 1826 and plate XXI has no date. The format of the plates is 24 x 37 cm and the actual pictures are 19 x 31 cm. The paper is light yellow and the pictures and text are printed in sepia.

travel book. This shows the importance of studying both written documents and pictures when analysing illustrated travel literature. In the written travel book there are references to the pictures and it is possible to say that Capell Brooke's and his editor's intention was that text and pictures should complement each other.

The pictures may be grouped according to the themes landscape, weather, natural phenomena, depiction of the Sami, hardships and dangers and Capell Brooke as travelling subject. The landscape is obviously present in all the illustrations as the portfolio of pictures presents a journey through the landscape of northern Norway, Finland and Sweden. There are representations of an alpine landscape as well as pictures of lowland and lower mountains. Lakes and rivers are dominant features. In some of the pictures it is hard to distinguish lakes and rivers from other types of landscapes as they are covered with ice and snow. The reason for the interest in rivers and lakes is, of course, related to the fact that Capell Brooke, as many travellers before and after him, used them for his travel. There is a striking difference between, on one hand the depiction of the lakes and rivers and on the other the forests. The lakes and rivers have positive connotations as the journey runs smoothly on these surfaces, whereas the forests are rather presented as obstacles.

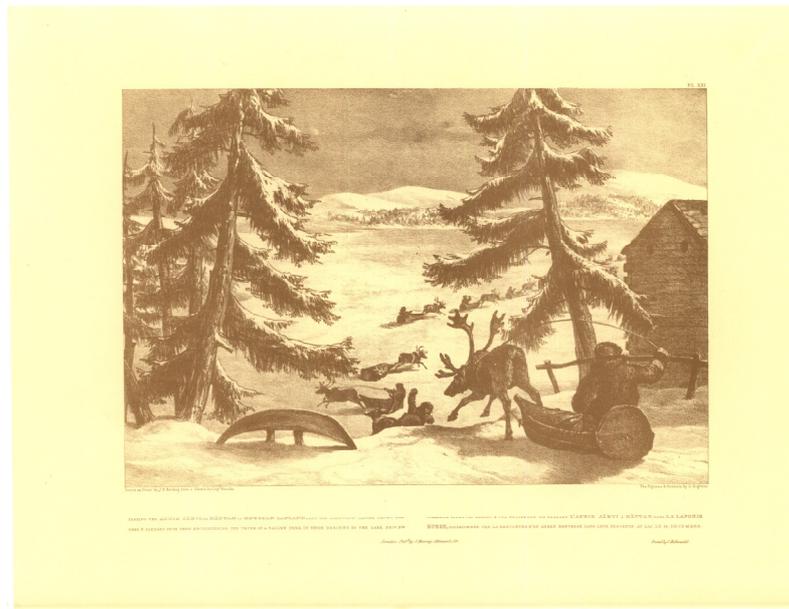


December 21th, "Proceeding down the Torneå River. Approaching the Polar circle, with parties of Russian Laplanders returning from Kangis fair on their way to Muonioniska."

Even though the landscape is present in all the illustrations it is seldom the primary topic. Instead, the landscapes serve as a setting for the travelling party and other aspects Capell Brooke wanted to highlight. In a way this function contradicts to the ideals of the Romantic era when Capell Brooke lived. During the Romantic period the landscape became one of the prime subjects in art as well as an important topic for theoretical discussions.¹ If one on the other hand compares the illustrations of the landscapes with the written travel book the illustrations give much more information than the text. It is obvious that the descriptions of the

¹ Margaret A. Rose, "Theories of Nature from Hegel to Marx," *British Journal of Aesthetics*, 1986: 2, 150-160, Jan Holmgaard, *Det sublima och döden: En essä*, Stockholm: Ailos, 1994, Joseph Leo Koerner, *Caspar David Fredrich and the Subject of Landscape*, London: Reaktion, 1990.

landscapes that Capell Brooke was acquainted with during his journey were easier to communicate in pictures than in text.



December 18th, "Passing the Aunis Järvi, at Hättan in Russian Lapland, and the confusion caused among the deer & sledges from their encountering the trunk of a fallen tree, in their descent to the lake."

If the landscapes are characterised according to style they are closer to the idea of the neo-classical portrait-landscape. The illustrations should primarily be seen as a way to communicate certain values and facts to the readers and only secondarily as a part of the art sphere. Therefore it is not surprising that the pictures do not correspond to the artistic mode of the era. Another explanation can be related to the fact that the illustrations belonged to the tradition, whereas the art of the Romantic period in a sense challenged this very same tradition.

Just like the landscape, the weather is present in all of the illustrations. The weather it becomes important, and a subject, when it is a problem, such as fog or heavy snowfall. In addition,

the weather is more important in the part of the portfolio that covers the first leg of the journey, before the stay in Kautokeino. In the written travel book Capell Brooke comments on the first segment of the journey, noting that it took four days instead of the usual two due to bad weather.¹ In the section of the travel book that concerns this part of the journey the weather is frequently mentioned.

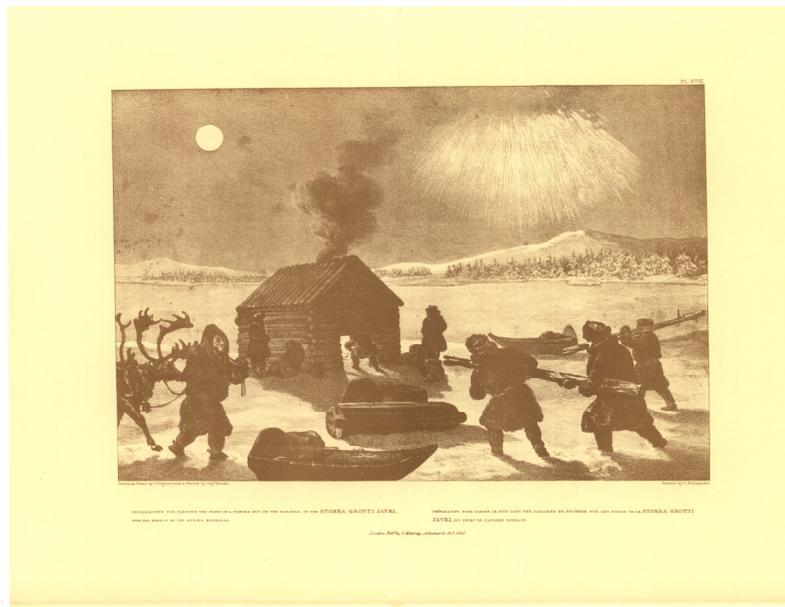


"Laplanders encountering the snow drift (snee fog) while passing the Chouis Niumi mountains in Norwegian Lapland."

Another conclusion is that the weather is commented on in the same way and with the same content in both illustrations and text, as far as facts are concerned. On the other hand the illustrations give more of a feeling of the hardships that the travelling company had to endure because of the weather. Thus, text and illustrations communicate on different levels.

¹ Arthur de Capell Brooke, 1827, 472.

Apart from the weather, the Aurora Borealis is present in the illustrations. The Aurora Borealis, and how it was seen, differs from the weather even though they are both natural phenomena. The main difference is that the weather is always there, even in the pictures that do not emphasise it, but the Northern lights are specific, so when they are depicted they become the primary subject. The Northern lights are present in three pictures.



”Preparations for passing the night in a fishing hut on the borders of Storra Grotti Javri, with the effect of the Aurora Borealis.”

That they are the primary subjects of these pictures is emphasized in the captions. That three of 24 illustrations concern the Aurora Borealis indicate that it was an important subject for Capell Brooke. In the written travel book the Aurora is given two pages.¹ This shows that it was, relatively, a more important topic in the pictures than in the text.

¹ Arthur de Capell Brooke, 1827, 517-18.

In a travel book the descriptions of the encounters with the local population constitute a source of information about a range of topics. Maybe the most important is how the travelling subject viewed the local inhabitants and their way of life. The Sami are present in most of the illustrations as they played an important role in Capell Brooke's journey. It was Sami guides who made the journey possible. The travelling party were in their hands as they went through the wilderness of the north.

Even though the Sami are present in most of the pictures they are not the subjects of the narratives in more than a few of them. In the other ones they could be exchanged for Finns, Swedes or Norwegians without changing the general content of the picture. The Sami are seen as the hard-working guides who helped Capell Brooke and his party through the wilderness.¹ This is underlined in the texts accompanying the pictures. The caption to the fourth illustration, for instance, says "Morning scene. Laplanders preparing to pursue their journey." One of the illustrations from 9 December gives some information about the hierarchy of the travelling party and of how Capell Brooke viewed the Sami. The picture shows the campsite by Biggi Jaure and the accompanying text says: "Our Laplanders, who bivouacked on the outside, were this night almost entirely covered over by the snow, which fell heavily until morning." Firstly, the Sami are described as "Our Laplanders," which signals a clear patron-client relation. Secondly, they sleep outside and therefore have a status just above the reindeer.

¹ On the representation of Sami see Eli Høydalsnes, *Møte mellom tid og sted: bilder av Nord-Norge*, Oslo: Bonytt, 2003.



”Night quarters in a fishing gamme on the borders of the Biggi Jaure. Our Laplanders, who bivouacked on the outside, where this night almost entirely covered over by the snow, which fell heavily until morning”

There is a striking difference between the written travel book and the pictures when the Sami are concerned. One of the dominating themes relating to the Sami in the written text is alcohol. Capell Brooke states that they were heavy drinkers and had to be bribed with alcohol to continue the journey.¹ The obvious question is why there are such great differences between the media. One reason might be that it is harder to make a valid representation of the drinking problem in pictures than in text. A drinking Sami would not correspond to the pictorial decorum of the portfolio and would stand out from the rest of the pictures in a striking way. This means that those who only read the written travel book were informed about the Sami drinking problem, but for those who only saw the pictures, the Sami were the noble savages who aided the

¹ Arthur de Capell Brooke, 1827, 457.

civilised Capell Brooke through the wilderness of Northern Europe.

Another obvious theme is the hardships and dangers Capell Brooke had to endure. As early as the subtitle of the portfolio: *Intended to Exhibit a Complete View of the Mode of Travelling with Rein-deer, the Most Striking Incidents that Occurred during the Journey and the General Character of the Winter Scenery of Lapland*, it becomes obvious that one of the aims is to show the dangers of travelling in the Nordic regions and thereby promote Brooke's own projected image as an explorer and adventurous traveller. In the first part of the portfolio the main danger is the weather and as the weather improves other possible dangers diminish. Apart from the weather, the dangers that are shown in the pictures are connected to crossing unfrozen water, the reindeer as an unruly animal, the slippery surface and the dangerous descents of hills or mountains.

If the pictures are compared with the written text there are dangers that are not shown in the pictures. One of them is the feeling of loneliness and the fear that Capell Brooke and his travelling companions could be left in the wilderness if they were to be separated from their Sami guides.¹ Another theme in the written text is the cold. On several occasions Capell Brooke states the exact temperature and on other occasions he mentions that members of the travelling party suffer from the chilly climate. On the other hand he also mentions that the Sami clothing he uses keeps him warm.²

Apart from the themes discussed above there are also absent ones. In the pictures "culture," from both a wide and narrow perspective, is missing. There are no genre subjects that describe the Sami way of life and there is nothing that reflects religious matters, although both culture and religion are present in the written text. Capell Brooke describes the food and states that Sami are excellent storytellers.³ In other parts of the book he discusses

¹ Arthur de Capell Brooke, 1827, 412-13.

² Arthur de Capell Brooke, 1827, 417.

³ Arthur de Capell Brooke, 1827, 426.

languages and the names of places in different languages.¹ As Capell Brooke comes to Kautokeino he reflects on how the work of the clergymen and the church is affected by the constant movements of the Sami.² Such issues are more suited for text than pictures.

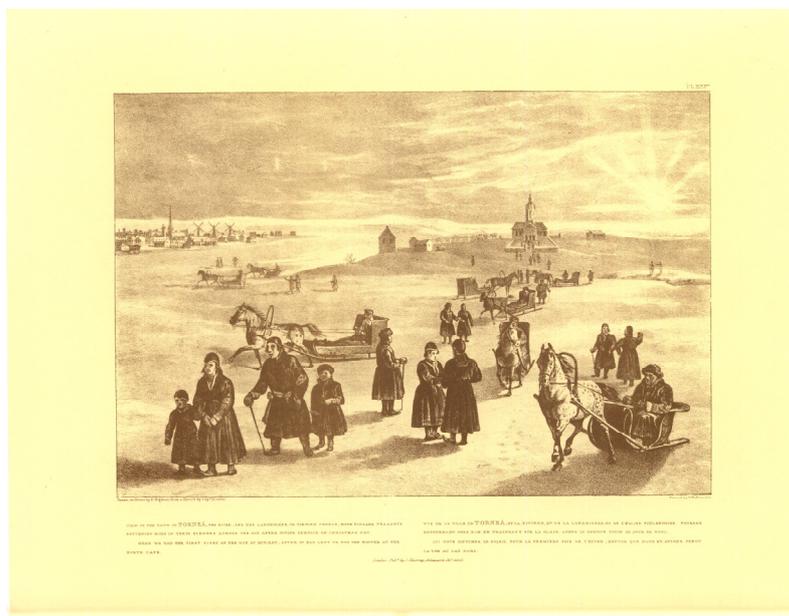
In all of the pictures except the last one the sun is absent. Its absence is underlined in the text that accompanies the last picture of the portfolio:

View of the town of Torneå, the river, and the landkirker, or Finnish church, with Finland peasants returning home in their sledges across the ice after divine service on Christmas day. Here we had the first sight of the sun mid-day, after it had left us for the winter at the North Cape.

In the caption Capell Brooke shows the sun as connected to the civilised regions of the world. In the two sentences he combines religion, a larger population and the sun with an image of civilisation. For Capell Brooke Torneå was the gateway to the south and the first sight of civilisation for nearly three weeks. The contrasts between, on the one hand Torneå and, on the other the more or less unexplored wilderness is striking. This is further emphasised when Capell Brooke points out that he came to a town where civilisation in the form of Christian holidays and peasants was visibly present.

¹ Arthur de Capell Brooke, 1827, 460.

² Arthur de Capell Brooke, 1827, 475.



"View of the town of Torneå, the river, and the landkirker, or Finnish church, with Finland peasants returning home in their sledges across the ice after divine service on Christmas day. Here we had the first sight of the sun mid-day, after it had left us for the winter at the North Cape."

During the journey, the darkness impaired visibility and bad weather always constituted a background to the pictures as well as to the text. To give one example, Capell Brooke complains that the snowdrifts on 9 December were so thick that it was hard to see the reindeer in front of him.¹ Altogether the journey is described as most troublesome and dangerous, but when he reaches Torneå he is home safe.

Nature was seen as a reflection of the presence of God in the Romantic era, but in a way Capell Brooke shows that God was not present in the wilderness of Lapland, at least not in a positive way. When he writes about being towed in a sledge behind a reindeer

¹ Arthur de Capell Brooke, 1827, 455.

he uses the term “purgatory”.¹ With this in mind and the fact that the last picture and its caption emphasize the light and the sun, a possible interpretation of the journey and its documentation in text and pictures is as a journey through darkness towards light. The light could be seen as redemption through civilization as well as Capell Brooke’s actual experience of light for the first time in weeks.

It is clear that, to get a grasp of the view of the North Capell Brooke transmits, it is necessary to study the portfolio as well as the written travel book, as different themes are emphasised in different ways in the two media. The view of the Sami varies from the hard working guide through the wilderness to people who had to be bribed with alcohol to do what they were hired to do. There are also differences in the way the landscape is represented. In the portfolio it is always present, even though it is seldom the primary subject, but in the written text it does not have the same status. The last example concerns the timetable of the journey. The portfolio of pictures suggests that Capell Brooke was in the wilderness for three weeks, whereas the written travel book makes clear that he stayed for nearly a week in Kautokeino. These examples show that only one of the media would not have given a correct picture. And it further shows that the study of travel books has to be multidisciplinary.

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¹ Arthur de Capell Brooke, 1827, 409.

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