IIPC Debate 4 Sven-Erik Klinkmann

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Runeberg, Cooper and Ford: the panorama in popular discourse

The word panorama is of Greek origin, combining the two words *pan* (all, all encompassing) and *horama* (view). The word has spread to a great many languagues. It has become something of a universalia, a word everyone is suppose to know, implying a very common experience, something we are all familiar with. I checked the word's popularity by googling the other day. The result was 365 million hits. So we are talking of a word with quite a broad usage.

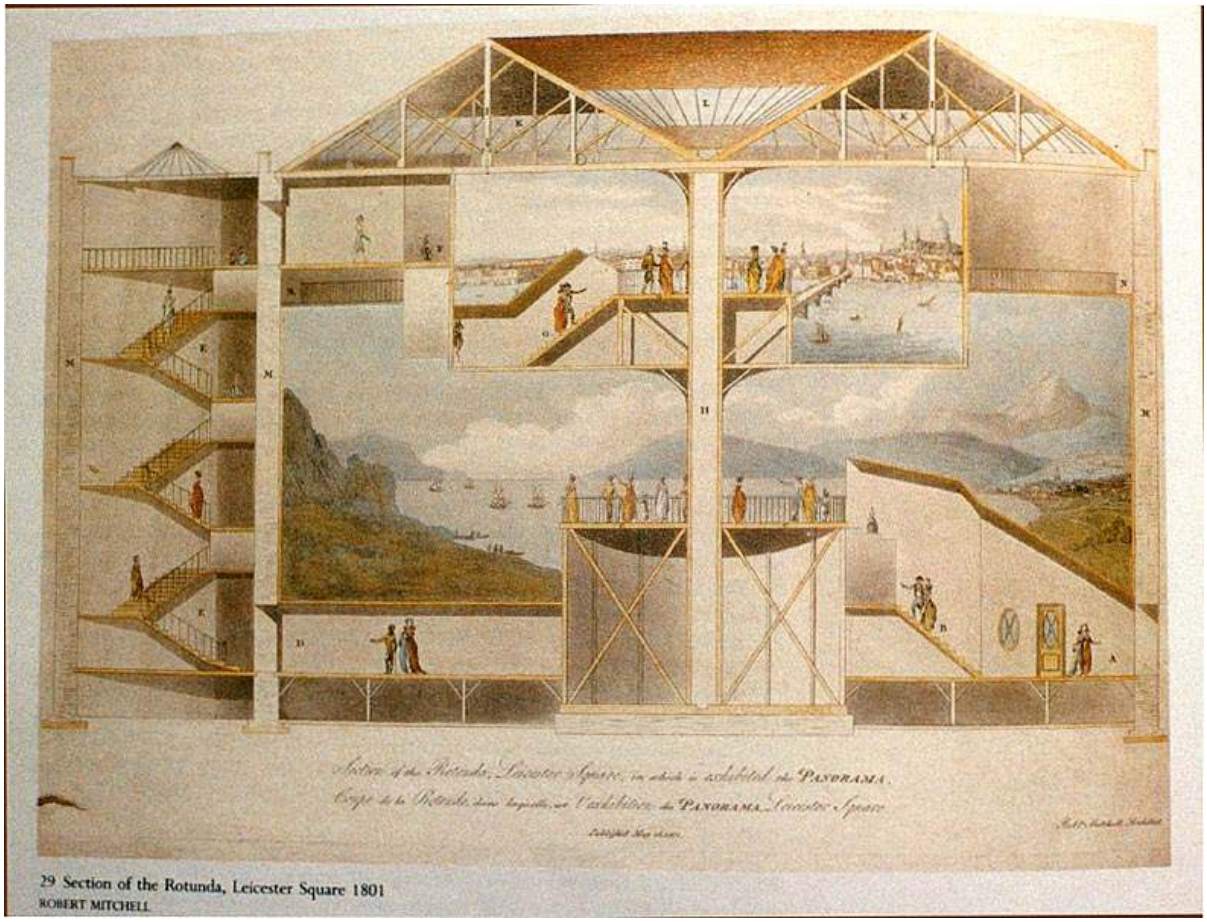
It is important to note that there are three main areas of use of the word: First the one signifying a "machinelike" painting which can be viewed from the center, in a 360 degree cylinder from the inside out so to speak. The second meaning is a more general one, applying to a broad painting, picture, photograph or scene in a movie, of a landscape, and especially a landscape seen from a higher point of view than the rest of the landscape in the vicinity. Something which can be done from an observation tower or a hill or rooftop. In Portuguese there is the word *miradouro* which I think is a wonderful word for this kind of powerful viewpoint. Bird's view or even God's point of view are other concepts which can be used about this experience, this special "technique" of looking or glancing.

The third area of usage of the word panorama is a metaphorical one, to signify a broad area of interest, e.g. when discussing something like world history's mighty panorama.

What I will be discussing here is mainly the second of these meanings of the word panorama, not forgetting the first and the third usages, since they are of course interconnected and the first one predates, I think, the second, and the second the third.

But first, let's look at the timing of the phenomenon and concept, because it is very important to understand the circumstances which led to this new technique and way of looking, in order to understand the mechanics and poetics of it. This we can do only by working our way into the concept through a careful contextualization.

I want you to consider a certain time in history and three almost parallel events having a bearing on the concept of panorama.



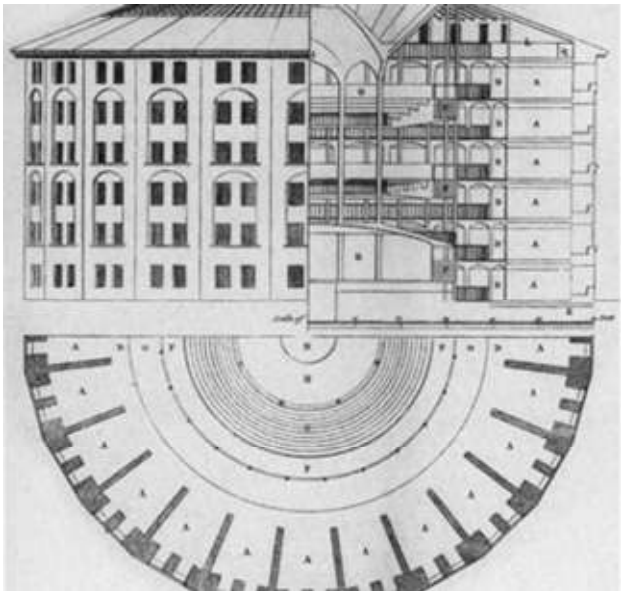
1. Section of the Rotunda, Leicester Square, 1801. Barker's Panorama, Leicester Square: cross section (acquatint from Robert Mitchell's Plans and Views in Perspective of Buildings Erected in England and Scotland, 1901).

2. Robert Barker’s Panorama of Old Edinburgh. Plan for the panorama of London, 1792.

First there is the portrait / landscape painter Robert Barker inventing a new form of painting describing Edinburgh in Scotland, shown on a cylindrical surface. Barker’s panorama was an instant success and several other panoramas followed, soon also in the United States, the English-speaking parts of the word being the ones in which the panorama spread fastest and most thoroughly in the first half of the 19th Century.

Panoramas, and other visual spectacles, such as diorama, cyclorama etc., also spread all over Europe and was quite a craze in the early 19th Century.

Barker's invention, originally called View-at-a-Glance, or Nature Viewed-at-a-Glance (in French *La Nature à Coup d' Oeil*), was however also looked upon with scepticism from an older artistic regime, deeming it sensationalist, topical and populist. This kind of view on the panorama is most distinctly articulated by romantic poet William Wordsworth in his autobiograpic long poem *Prelude*, book 7. I think we can consider this an important date as to the rivalry between high and popular art, also the emergence of new popular media forms competing with literature and the fine arts. English painter John Constable voiced a similar kind of response to the panorama[1].



3. Panopticon Blueprint by Jeremy Bentham, 1791.

The second event I want you to consider is the invention of a device for "total" visual control and surveillance, the panopticon, or a view from one point stretching all over in this case a prison, the inside of a prison building. The inventor was the English philosopher and social theorist, Jeremy Bentham, founder of the utilitarist school in the late Age of Reason, the late 18th and early 19th Century. The panopticon is a type of prison building design which allows for maximum visibility while the viewer remains invisible, something one could call "the sentiment of an invisible omniscience", using architect scholar Silke Berit Lange's expression.

The panopticon as a means of control has of course been adopted as a critical concept by Michel Foucault in his *Discipline and Punish* (1975) for an understanding of and a critique of the modern surveillance and control based societies, including such modern institutions as besides prisons, hospitals, schools, the military apparatus, factories and so on. The semicircular mode which can be seen as derived from Bentham's panopticon is today widely used in many forms of screening activities, video surveillance rooms and other such control and monitor rooms of the control society of today.

It is interesting to note that at the Leicester Square in London, where Barker's panorama-enterprise was such a big attraction, later on, in the 1850s, there was also another occupant, built on the east side of the Square: the Royal Panopticon of Science and Art, which proved to have a short and unsuccessful lifespan. The idea of the Royal Panopticon was to serve as an institute for scientific exhibitions and for promoting discoveries in the arts and manufacturing.

Diderot's travel to Holland

The third of these events taking place in the late 18th Century may seem a more "natural" and less revolutionary type of action than the other two mentioned here, but it is one which might in a significant way help us to understand the panoramic mode.

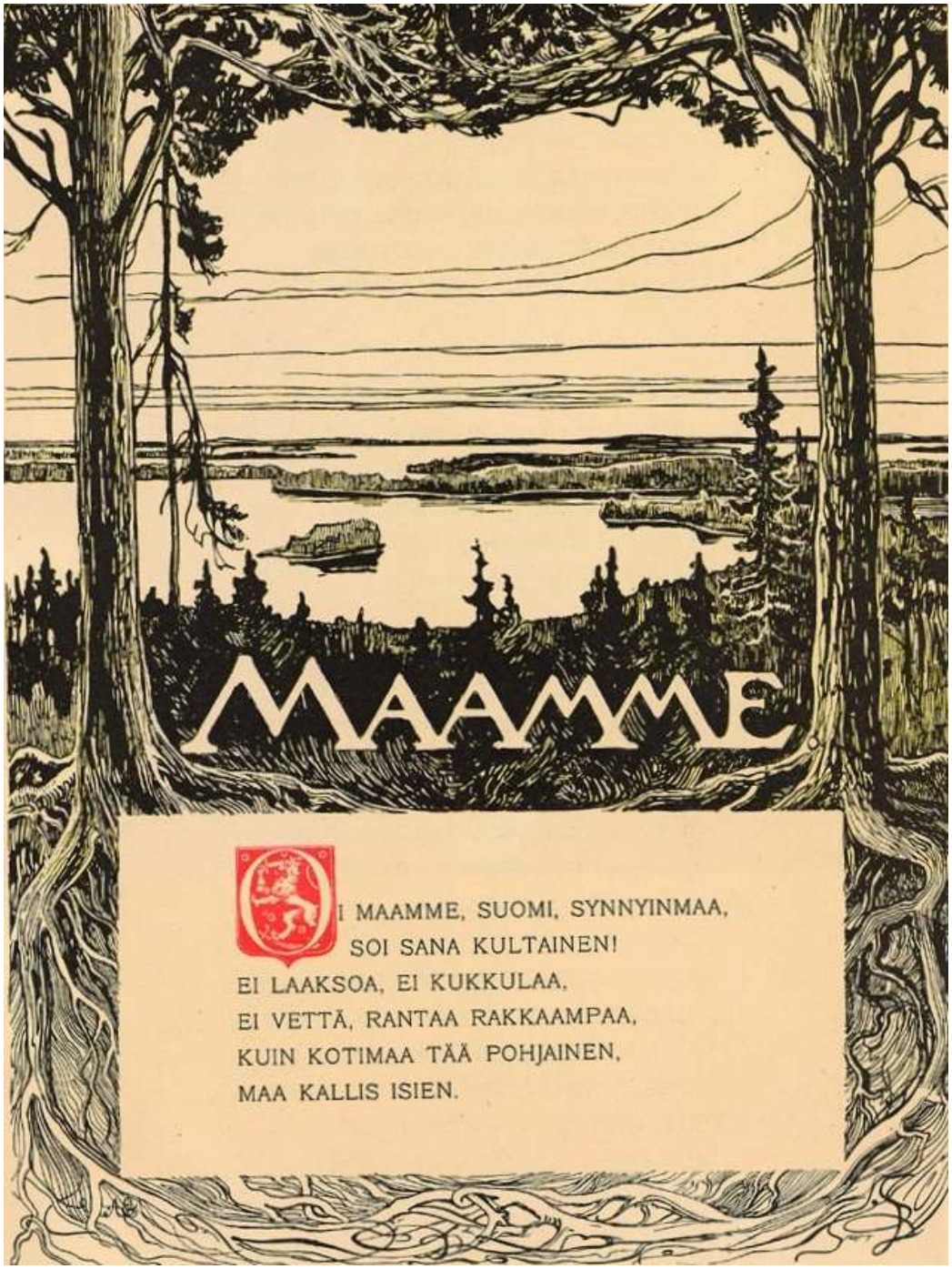
This third case involves the French encyclopaedist and philosopher Denis Diderot travelling through Holland in the 1770s (1773). I will try to understand what Diderot aimed at in his travel writings from this trip by using an analysis made by Norwegian folklorist Bjarne Rogan, in a text called "traveller chic". A cultural historical view on travel, tourism, ritual and expressiveness, as the subtitle says (my translation to English, the text, from an anthology on Rituals, is in Norwegian).

What Rogan is able to show in his text is, by way of contrast, how the symbolic relevance of travel has been in various ways historically transformed. An especially interesting notion in his paper is the cultural critique which can be said to flow both fro and to various ways of travelling, some forms of which Rogan deals with. So the travel narrative of Denis Diderot to St Petersburg via Holland in the 1770s is in itself an intense critique of a kind of travel, which precedes it, in which astonishment, surprise and a sense of the exotic play an important role. Instead the philospher's explorations of Holland – where he stayed for nine months – is for Diderot an exercise in control, overview. The movement on Diderot's part is always from the top downwards, from the highest point in the region out to its fringes, from center to periphery, with a decidedly visual emphasis to the undertakings, and with careful studies conducted in advance at home, so that the possibilities for learning about the new country or landscape are maximized. Knowledge and a totalising overview are then the guiding lights of this kind of travelling exercise and ritual.[2]

Rogan contrasts this viewpoint with a romantic one, exemplified by another French traveller, or tourist, literary professor Armand de Tréverret who is a pioneer in what could be called an early form of mass tourism, travelling by train, ship and occasionally horse and carriage through Scandinavia with a small group of fellow travellers in the fall of 1892. The romantic traveller of Tréverret's type is just like Diderot interested in the visual aspects of travelling, but from an altogether different angle, experiencing the sublimity of the nature and largely ignoring the culture of the areas travelled through. For this romantic traveller the voyage is a *rite de passage* of sorts with a catharsis effect being acted upon him or her in the confrontation with nature.

These two examples of traveling[3] and travel writing – although Tréverret traveled in a later, more industrialised period – might shed some light on a split or bifurcation operating in intellectual and popular discourse in this period located at the seams of the age of reason and the romantic era. This is at least my understanding which I am trying to apply to this material here.

We are, I think, confronted with a forging of different thought elements here, something which we could call romantic and realistic ones, or if we prefer that, nostalgic and forward looking ones. This kind of forging can be found both in Sir Walter Scott, James Fenimore Cooper and Johan Ludvig Runeberg.



4. Albert Edelfelt: illustration to Runeberg's poem Vårt land/Maamme from *Ensign Stål's Tales*, 1900.

The aesthetics of Runeberg has been called an ideal realism (by C. F. Estlander) or a poetic realism (by P.D.A. Atterbom) but it could also be called a romantic historicism of a type we can also find in Walter Scott or Johann Wolfgang Goethe, or in the architecture of Gottfried Semper[4]. Both in Runeberg and Semper there is a search for roots and nature. For both the concept of nature is a quest for something primordial, and also for something idealized and cultivated, from the culture of antiquity. Both Runeberg and Semper – and one might add Scott and perhaps also James Fenimore Cooper – are influenced by thinkers such as Montesquieu, Goethe and the German romantics from Jena.

As discussed by Nigel Leask[5], historicism is connected to temporalization, an aesthetics of time, as well as of distance. Moving between cultures also means moving from one historic period to another, as Scott's novel *Waverley* (1814) clearly is showing.

Runeberg's writings can then be placed in a tradition of early 19th literature which can be described as "the invention of the historic situation"[6] (James Chandler). David Simpson[7] has written on the nowadays quite popular phenomenon of *situatedness*. He says that authors like Scott only claim to be able to represent a historic situation from yesterday, in something called its own terms, but also at the same time are writing into the narrative the constructed gesture which is actualized in the author's now-position. What follows from this is that, as one can see in the case of Scott, as much as one as a reader is invited to mentally move to the historic world of the Scottish highlands this kind of literature also offers hyperbolic retractions, confessions of anachronisms and flagrant signifiers of fictionality. Also Runeberg's *Ensign Ståls Tales* are part of this tradition.

5. Turner: Loch Coriskin /Coriusk, 1832. Illustration to Scott's poem The Lady of the Lake.

which creates a myth of how both the author's own times and history can be comprehended. So we can say that Runeberg's descriptions of picturesque and sublime landscapes have their counterparts in Europe and the rest of the Western world. I alredy referred to two parallel cases, Walter Scott and James Fenimore Cooper.

The sublime and the picturesque

In Scott's case his descriptions are concerned with the Scottish Highlands and the islands in the northwestern parts of Scotland. One can note that the illustrator of Scott's poetry was none other than Joseph Mallord William Turner, the painter of light, as he is called, the famous "revolutionary" of landscape painting, often working in watercolor. It is, as Fraser McDonald has noted, hardly a coincidence that above all the Scottish Highlands and the islands of northwestern Scotland are in focus in this period. This happens in literature and art at the same time as tourism to these regions grows and the popular response to these landscapes is changing. An island like St Kilda in the outer Hebrides, which MacDonald discusses, becomes a sought after touristic sight, both for travels and travel writings, formed by notions of both the sublime and the picturesque.

6. Turner: Snow Storm - Steam-Boat off a Harbour's Mouth making Signals in Shallow Water, and going by the Lead (1842).

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7. Picture of Aran islands.

Incidently, of later enactments in movies of these kinds of sublime landscapes two comes immediately to mind, Powell & Pressburger's fiction story *I Know Where I'm Going!* from 1945, filmed partly on the Isle of Kiloran in the Hebrides, and before that Robert Flaherty's documentary *Man of Aran*, from 1934, about the Aran islands on the Irish west coast in the Galway Bay area. Another coincidence: John Ford's parents who emigrated in the 1860s to USA were both from this latter area. His father was from the Galway Bay town of Spiddal och his mother was from one of the Aran islands themselves. The visual panoramas young Ford experienced in his hometown of Portland, Maine were also quite spectacular, according to biographer Joseph McBride.

St Kilda might be seen as a parallel to the sublime landcapes in Runeberg, above all his coastal landscapes. Islands like St Kilda can be seen as representing the sublime. The vastness of the sea, the isolation of the island and the danger involved all represent the sublime effect.

Also in America we find parallels to the European romantic art and literature representations. Except Cooper also the Hudson River School in painting and not least English born painter Thomas Cole, who can be considered the founder of this particular movement, are here important to note. Both The Hudson School in general and Cole particularly were concerned with both the picturesque and the sublime effects of the American landscape.

Nalle Valtiala in his dissertation on James Fenimore Cooper's landscapes[8] writes that Cole in a lecture noted that there were places in America where the combination of the sublime and the picturesque does not have any equivalents in other parts of the world. Another important factor is that America in those days had more connections to the future than to the past, which according to Cole made the need for an indulgence in nostalgia minimal. But as we shall see, this point must be challenged.

8 Thomas Cole: The Oxbow or or View from Mount Holyoake, Northampton, MA, after a Thunderstorm, 1836.

View from Mount Holyoke, Northampton, Massachusetts, after a Thunderstorm, also known as The Oxbow, was painted by Thomas Cole in 1836. As noted by Malcolm Andrews,[9] Cole's painting presses the dialectic of the wild and the cultivated into one picture, which is split diagonally, with the landscape at the left marked by a storm while the landscape at the right is an idyllic, sunlit river landscape. Andrews adds that these two landscapes squeezed into one single frame also represent two traditions in art history, the idyll associated with Claude Lorrain and the sublime in the tradition of Salvator Rosa, leading masters of these two forms.

An even stronger sense of nostalgia and exoticism can be experiened in Frederic Edwin Churches painting's, not least from South America.

9. Frederic Edwin Church: El Rio De Luz, 1877.

10. Hjalmar Münsterhjelm: Hämeenlinna/Tavastehus, 1872.

In Finnish art we find variations on these types of picturesque landscapes in the works of e.g. Hjalmar Münsterhjelm, whose landscape paintings are very much concerned with different moods. Münsterhjelm's specialty was lake and inland landscapes from Tulois in Häme. He also frequently painted sunsets and moonshines. His painting of the landscape at the old castle at Hämeenlinna might be one of his most "panoramic". Münsterhjelm, as well as some of the Hudson River School painters, had been trained in the Art Academy of Düsseldorf. Other Finnish painters from this period who had studied in Düsseldorf were Werner Holmberg, Berndt Lindholm, Fanny Churberg and Karl Emanuel Jansson. Among the American painters from the Hudson River school influenced by the Düsseldorf Academy besides Cole and Church also Albert Bierstadt should be mentioned.

Clichés of Finnishness

It could be argued that Runeberg's landscapes – and I am now referring to his preferred type of Finnish landscape – the lake distict landscape he himself as a private teacher had experienced in both Ruovesi and Saarijärvi in the early 1820s – are representations of loneliness and tranquility, seen as a mirror of divineness, something which in this case has become one of the founding clichés of Finnishness. According to Maunu Häyrynen[10], the picturesque establishes itself as a kind of intermediary, in contrast to the earlier topographical landscape tradition and the sublime. The picturesque was based on everyday sceneries which were transformed into aesthetic objects. My view on Runeberg's depictions of landscape is that they are situated along the axis from the topographical via the picturesque to the sublime.

The difference is one about among other things different preferences of taste and effects. While the picturesque taste favors nature sceneries which are untouched and distant from the spheres of art and the artful, but also celebrates the foreign, wild and spontaneous, the picturesque in the end will move towards the conventional and known, standardized. Malcolm Andrews[11] contrasts this visual mode with the sublime which displaces of the rational sense altogether and concentrates its effects directly on the feelings. At the same time the sublime represents a strongly gender-biased aesthetics through its rough, primitive and patriarchal associations.

If we think of a key text in Runeberg, his essay on the life in the Finnish inland parish Saarijärvi (1832), the essay strongly resembles a travelogue, a literary form which was very popular at the end of the 18th centruy and the beginning of the 19th century. The gaze of Runeberg – also to be found in his epic *The Elk Hunters*, also from 1832 – as much as it tries to become "ethnographic" is actually also touristic, displaying a gaze by an outsider who could hardly understand the language spoken in these parts of the country.

The nature of Runeberg's Saarijärvi text is not that far from what one can find in a writer such as Mary Wollstonecraft when she travels through Scandinavia. The similarities are about distanciation and the picturesque, which go hand in hand, also some use of sublime effects and panorama as a way of looking at the world in a more verisimilitude or conscious way.

Both in the literature and painting of this period we often find what might be called effects of affective realism: the writer or painter brings a figure into the sceneries as a mirror figure or representative of the reader/viewer.

But what can be said about the special topos of Runeberg, his landscape panoramas? Kai Laitinen[12] has identified seven main aspects of Runeberg's panoramas: 1. They involve a summer landscape, 2. the landscape is seen from a summit, ridge or hilltop, 3. There are lakes and forests in the landscape, 4. and also cultivated land and sometimes settlement or traces of settlement, 5. names of places are often mentioned, 6. the panorama is connected to different types of lighting and 7. it might be accompanied by sound from nature or the village community.

According to Laitinen a defining character of Runeberg's landscape pictures is aesthetically a combination of light and shadows, and as to the possibilities for an ideological interpretation their patriotism and platonism.

What Laitinen does not do is place Runeberg's use of panorama in a more general European or romantic context of the age. Seen in that light, Runeberg is not alone in using this kind of visual mode. We find it also in Walter Scott, James Fenimore Cooper, travel writer Emma Roberts, Gustave Flaubert, Stendhal, to name but a few. Panoramas are also used quite exensively in exhibitions, museums and not least art from the end of the 18th century onwards.

Affective realism

The illusion of a mimetic recreation of reality and presence in the moment which the panorama can be said to create has been described by Swedish author Ulf Peter Hallberg who talks about the invention of Barker in late 18th century Great Britain:
"… the viewer is supposed to feel as if he is standing in the city, hearing sounds, birdsong, seeing the dawn, the midday hour, the dusk." [13] Hallberg's notion of the panorama is fully in line with Ruth Hedvall's description of Runeberg's way of describing and relating to the solitary landscape. She writes: "He sorts of sinks into the landscape, lets it embed him. He don't ascend to the hilltops and sees it before his eyes with purple ridges far away, he walks the winding paths deep down in the forest, stands at the beach of a deep forest lake, to which steep, barren ground no breath of air ever has found its way, and the surface of which never has been broken other than of the shoal of hurtches or the solitary chasing diver "[14]

It is not easy to know how well Runeberg was informed of these developments concerning the panoramic mode. At least we know there is a strong influence from Scott in Runeberg's work and aesthetics, but there is also a more general predilection for this mode of representation. The panorama fits perfectly into the romantic literary and artistic sensibility. It is in a way a logical development and extension of the romantic way of looking at and placing oneself into the world. The panorama has, I think, as a technical invention and mode of visualization a certain middle classness built into it: on one hand with the help of new spectacles such as the panorama and the diorama one can both satisfy and awake a curiosity towards the outer world. On the other hand one can at the same time reserve a certain distance in relation to all things foreign. In this respect the technology of the panorama in a striking way resembles tourism as a popular form of traveling.

I earlier mentioned the affective register in connection to Mary Wollstonecraft's Scandinavian travelogue. Nigel Leask has noted that the kind of description Wollstonecraft offers forms a link to an earlier mode of description based on curiosity and a later one moving towards an *amor patriae* sensibility, that is an affective anchorage built upon patriotism (which is of course a central ingredience in Runeberg's aestethics)[15]. That affective realism also has direct consequenses for the technique of observation and vice versa is shown by e.g. the Scotsman James Bruce's *Travels to Discover the Source of the Nile* (1790). In order to be able to catch his travel experiences better also verbally Bruce used a camera obscura. i.e. a device with a light sealed room with a small hole on one side functioning as a light lens.[16]

A key phrase in Runeberg's aesthetics is to "dip oneself into the times" ("att doppa sig i tiderna")". Johan Mortensen has noted[17] that Runeberg learnt his literary technique concerning the creation of local color from Walter Scott. This new technique was in the air at the time. It is connected to a new view upon man as being an entity wholly dependent on external circumstances. Runeberg has in a remarkable passage commented on his aesthetic viewpoint and especially something he calls the poetry of the future. "The idea of this poetry is to faithfully express both life and moods in the time at hand and give the reader a feeling even of the air in the country which it pictured."

I think James Fenimore Cooper's fiction can to a certain extent be viewed as a parallel case to Runeberg's poetry, with some important differences of course, which I will now ta a look at, using as my guides a couple of Cooper scholars who might help to cast some light on the question we are interested in here, namely Cooper's panoramic landscapes, if there are any.

Cooper's neutral ground

In an essay on the picturesque vision in Cooper, the book is called *Cooper's landscapes* (1976), Blake Nevius writes about the special problem facing a writer such as Cooper, in a country with a wilderness of a grander scale than in Europe and lacking the kinds of artifical accessories so indispenible to European romance[18]. How can an artist individualize such an American setting, understood by Cooper as "the boundless forest" or "interminable forest"? The invention of Cooper, and here I follow Nevius' analysis, is that Cooper in each instance in e.g. his second Leatherstocking-novel *Last of The Mohicans* (1826) has sought out some natural or artifical accessory in the landscape that will be strikingly visible and that will serve as a central magnet, so to speak, around which one phase of the action may cohere. Nevius cites an assessment of Cooper's style and aesthetics in his own times, writing about one of the most striking of the action scenes in *Last of The Mohicans*, the episode at Glens Falls at the Hudson River, which occupy five chapters of the narrative and is of course absolutely central as to the unfolding of the story. The contemporary critic saw only grand effects and grand scale in Cooper's composition.

But Nevius notes[19] that Cooper, who hade visited Glens Fall's himself in 1825 – in a way similar to Runeberg's visits to the Häme and Central Finland's wilderness and Scott's to the Scottish highlands - uses this original milieu for his own narrative purposes. The falls, "the very scene for a romance", as a companion to Cooper said on their visit there, must on the reader's part be fully understood visually, so that he or she can orient

him/herself during the headlong course of the action. What follows then is, Nevius notes, a *coup d'oeil*, taken in daylight from an imagined vantage point at the summit of the falls and exhibiting, incidentally, more sensivity to aesthetic considerations than the hero of the novel, Hawkeye's modesty admits or his creater's, Coopers, sense of decorum ought to allow, "the whole design of the river seems disconcerted," remarks the guide, as if he were a landscape gardener discussing "capabilities" or a painter appraising a detail of the scene behind him.

Nevius notes that Cooper in his novel had emphasized the pictorial rather than the moral or symbolic values of setting: he had taken advantage of every natural accessory – waterfall, watercourse, open glade, spring, pyramidal mound, beaver pond, table rock, and precipice as well as the meager artifical accessories of the frontier civilization and frontier past to compose a succession of marvelous tableaux (to use Balzac's phrase; in Runeberg's *Elk Hunters* we all remember the description of the log cabin at the beginning of the epic). Cooper is in Nevius' analysis a highly topographically oriented writer.

Another Cooper scholar, Donald A. Ringe[20] has identified another important device or topos in Cooper's work, the so called neutral or middle ground between opposing forces. As a physical and moral no-man's land, this middle ground then reflects the ambiguities that pervade the entire novel, according to Ringe. This type of milieu tests the character's moral stamina, the good are distinguished from the wicked and moral justice will ultimately prevail.

An important re-evalution of the concept of neutral ground in Cooper is offered by Dutch scholar W.M. Verhoeven[21] who thinks that for Cooper the qualities of boundlessness and possibility is found not only in the forest and the sea (both seen as boundless areas) but also in the neutral ground itself, the setting of the action, which is made deliberately to stand for the boundless promise of the entire land.

I want to expand on this notion of a particular view from a neutral ground or a contested battleground, and especially starting from the notion of *coup d'oeil* or a rapid glance which of course is a military concept, describing the instant or moment in which a general or other military leader can evaluate the strategic and tactical possibilities of a military situation.

What is especially striking with the panorama seen in this light is its connection to military uses. This has been expanded upon by American art historians Alan Wallach and Michael Newman. I shall follow their course a bit and add some observations on this important, but marginalized aspect of the panorama and the panoramic. Wallach, in the anthology *Landscape Theory*[22], notes how in Western history the panoramic gaze also is one of control and domination, much in the same way as the one adopted in Runeberg's panoramas. The relationship between an I and an it or other offers in one respect a landscape seen as a category of alienated life, and on the other one of the domination of the landcape. Through a set of conventions the kind of view ultimately depended on an identification symbolically with the dominant forms of political power. With the panopticon and the panorama invented at almost the same time – and also the colonizing, conquering gaze of the encyclopedist taking "charge" of his surroundings – we end up, and I still roughly follow Wallach, with the panoramic mode becoming a key feature of bourgeois culture. Landscape tourism, painting and photography augmented and reinforced a view of the world in which the different nations' agenda – imperial as in

11. Thomas Cole's illustration to *Last of The Mohicans*. Cora Kneeling at the Feet of Tamenund, 1827.

the case of United States, or just nationalistic as in the case of Finland - takes on an appearance of naturalness and inevitability.But it is Newman's discussion of the close promixity between the panorama and the military sector which in my view is the most interesting to discuss[23]. It has of course bearing on all the artists considered here. Both Runeberg, Cooper and Ford are very much working in areas in which the military and heroism rule, Runeberg in his *Ensign Stål's Tales* and the poem The fifth of July, Cooper in his *Leatherstocking Tales* and John Ford in his *Cavalry Trilogy* and several other films playing out within the military arena (including some from the second WW).

Michael Newman notes (in the anthology *Landscape Theory*) that a film called Ariana, made by the artist Marine Hugonnier, concerns a filmmaker going to Afghanistan, trying to find a panoramic viewpoint. The fictive crew of the film is continuously frustrated because all the panoramic viewpoints have military installations, so they are either dangerous or forbidden. Newman, who wrote an essay on the film, discovered that panoramas had a military origin in tactical planning. So, he adds, the whole idea of the panorama is tied to the military domination of the landscape, which is conceived as a battlefield.

And: the prehistory of the panorama is, as shown by Newman, clearly an offspring of a militar, topographical undertraking. In Scotland after the Jacobite Rebellion in 1845, which of course was the setting of "the first historical novel", as it has

been called, Scott's *Waverley* in 1814, two brothers, military draughtsmen Paul and Thomas Sandby, travelled for some four years in the Highlands of Scotland, on behalf of the British military, using a camera obscura, to make accurate renditions of the terrain, including panoramic views. Paul Sandby was also a dominant force in the development

12. Paul Sandby: Mapping the Scottish highland (part).

13. Paul Sandby: Panoramic view of Windsor Castle circa 1865.

of early English landscape painting in the topographic tradition which predated and to some extent paralleled the picturesque and sublime ones[24]. Expanding on this one can note how great many modern war movies, and especially movies involving long distance snipers, är full of panoramic, often breathtakingly beautiful landscape views. I will just give some examples taken rather at random: Two recent films from the war in Irak, Kathryn Bigelow's *The Hurt Locker* (2008) and Ridley Scott's *Body of Lies* (2008), both feature snipers, strategic point of view-positions, scanning of the surroundings and magnificent desert landscapes seen from a bird's view or from a satellite (the latter in Scott's film). The view from above, via satellite, underlines the military use of those kinds of panorama views.

Films featuring snipers

Two quite different types of films, both with key scenes shot from a long range sniper's view, are Alejandro González Iñárritu's art house movie *Babel* (2006) and Antoine Fuqua's action movie *The Shooter* (2007). In both films there are magnificent panoramic scenes seen from the point of view of the sniper and – of course - the cinematographer. In *Babel* we enter a highly panoramic landscape in Morocco of desolute mountains, barren valleys and deserts, seen from the viewpoint of the young Arab (a boy more than a terrorist). In *The Shooter* a very similar milieu, in the highlands of Ethiopia, is seen from the viewpoint of a couple of American soldiers operating there. In both films there is an ambush on a moving target, in *Babel* on a tourist bus, in *The Shooter* on a military convoy. A similar western world vs. the undeveloped and dangerous Third World-scenario is unfolding in Fernando Meirelles' *The Constant Gardener* (2005), also filmed

14. Iñárritu: *Babel*, 2006.

15. Fuqua: *The Shooter*, 2007.

in Africa, in Kenya and southern Sudan. The latter location is partly seen from above, from a military airplane. The panaroma views are as fabulous as any seen in a David Attenborough-series from BBC.

16. John Ford: *The Searchers*, 1956.

We all know that John Ford was quite fond of the panoramas of Monument Valley, situated in the Navaho Indian Reservation where Utah meets the northeastern corner of Arizona. Ford virtually made this American landscape an iconic dreamscape of the American West. Prior to his films it had been largely forgotten by the main American public, except as featured in some cartoons, e.g. *The Road Runner* and some odd western from the silent movie era (*The Vanishing American*, 1925, based on a novel by Zane Grey).

The panoramas of Monument Valley

Why did Ford prefer this strange, sublime landscape in so many of his films? Seven of them were at least partly shot there: *Stagecoach* (1939), *My Darling Clementine* (1946), *Fort Apache* (1948), *She Wore A Yellow Ribbon* (1949), *The Searchers* (1956), *Sergeant Rutledge* (1960) and *Cheyenne Autumn* (1964). Two other, often thought to having been shot there, *Wagon Master* (1950) and *Rio Grande* (1950) were actually shot in Moab, Utah, which is of course not so very far from Monument Valley.

The opening view in *The Searchers* of Monument Valley, seen from the point of view of the log house of The Edwards family, is also called John Ford's point. One can note that the view is framed by two gigantic cliff formations, in a way which of course is a common device in landscape painting also. German romantic painter Caspar David Friedrich uses this device in e.g. *Kreidefelsen auf Rügen,* Chalk Cliffs of Rügen, 1818, as

does Albert Edelfelt in his illustration of Runeberg's Vårt land / Maamme-poem (see above).

So, what is the significance of this particular landscape in Ford's cinematographic thought? Why has it this centrality in his works? The answer would require an essay in itself, but I will just make a couple of points, derived both from film scholars and from the man himself.

Thomas and Vivian Sobchack[25] say something important, about Ford's interest in this sublime landscape when they note that Ford is famous for spacious westerns, with scenes where the sky fills nearly two-thirds of the frame. Although Ford's essentially optimistic themes generally stress the positive aspects of taming the wilderness into a civilisation, many of his long shots, the Sobchacks say, dwarf the characters and their creations, such as wagons or houses, showing them as small and inconsequential against the awesome breath and power of nature. The vast landscape emphazises the heroism and the fragility of their attempts to civilize wilderness. And I would like to add: the landscape is not only one signifying wilderness but also another culture and civilization, that of the Native Americans, and therefore moving in much the same emotional terrain as already Cooper's Hawkeye and his friends & adversaries did. There is also a strong feeling of nostalgia involved over a culture, a way of life on the vane, historically speaking in all of Ford's Western movies. In none perhaps more so than in *The Man Who Killed Liberty Valance* (1962). But the feeling of guilt or unease over being not able to voice the American Indian is a very strong theme in many Ford movies, beginning with *Stagecoach* and ending with *Cheyenne Autumn*.

Ford himself has called Monument Valley his favorite location: "…It has rivers, mountains, plains, desert, everything the land can offer. I feel at peace there. I have been all over the world, but I consider this the most complete, beautiful, and peaceful place on earth."[26]

Another point should be added: *The Searchers* was shot in PanaVision which is a moderately panoramic format. It succeeded the craze of the 50s of CinemaScope, which by the early 60s and the financial disaster above all the historical spectacle movies hade turned out to be – but there were also other tehnical problems with the format, e.g. the "bumping" of characters shown in close ups – meant that the era of CinemaScope was rather short. And several old school directors, if we might call them that, such as Ford, were not very interested in the format at all. Ford, just as e.g. Orson Welles was, as noted by film scholar David Bordwell[27], a master of the deep focus shot, something one can also see in the short opening sequence from *The Searchers*. These types of deep focus establishing shots are frequent in Ford's movies. We see them also in *Stagecoach* and *Fort Apache* with Monument Valley as a frame. Lately I saw a Turkish movie, using this same kind of visual device, Uzak/in the States in is called *Distant* (2002), by Nuri Bilge Ceylan. In the beginning of this film we see a mountaineous landscape with a road and a very small figure moving forward, disappearing out of the frame and re-appearing. The scene is very Fordian, I think. Also Runeberg's landscape comes to mind.

I have up to now avoided a placing of Ford in a contemporary ideological and aesthetic general frame in the same way as I tried to do with Runeberg and Cooper. This is due to the fact that I think it is much more difficult to discuss his work in this way, both because the times when he was active are not that easy to grasp from a common ideological and aethetic point of view, and especially since Ford as a director of

commercial movies in the classic Hollywood-tradition is also, apart from being an *auteur*, very much part of a larger aesthetic system. I think it is more fruitful to discuss his work and use of panoramas and panoramic views in connection to certain visual motifs and clichés in Hollywood movies.

And perhaps a bit surprisingly, a connection can in this field also be made between Ford and of all persons, Runeberg. I take my cue from literary scholar Lars Burman who in *Ensign Ståls Tales* has spotted a rhetorical modell for interperation and understanding of the Tales[28]. They have, he says, the emotional intensity and laconism of a well made Hollywood movie, and I tend to agree. The stories in the Tales are full of presence, a feeling of fast acceptance, logical somersaults and dramatic verve. Burman also emphazises the visual character of the Tales, their ability to create inner pictures, a sense of presence but at the same time a construction of distance.

The poetic method of Runeberg seen in this light is oddly reminiscent of what one can find in e.g. John Ford's work. Both are characterized by an interest in a grandiose nature, vast vistas and panoramas, but also of heroism, patriotism, the pathetic and the comic registers, and sentimentality. Film critic Ephrain Katz' evaluation of Ford could easily be applied to authors such as Runeberg and Cooper:
"His ideas and his characters are, like many things branded "American", deceptively simple. His heroes … may appear simply to be loners, outsiders to established society, who generally speak through action rather than words. But their conflict with society embodies larger themes in the American experience."[29]. There is in Ford, Runeberg and Cooper a populist feature which would be interesting to analyze further.

Two aesthetics of the panorama: the gaze and the glance

So to sum up my argument about the panorama and popular discourse:
There are at least two general aestethics, if I may call them that, attached to the panorama and to panoramic views. Or put in another way: there are two quite different ways of looking at the phenomenon of panorama, grasping its influence and power on us as viewers. The first one is the one associated with control and power, leading up to the colonial and military use of panoramas and panoramic views. This is all about visibility and reason, about gaze, seeing but not being seen, about a picture of the world which seems omniscient. This is also the idea linking the panorama and the panopticon, two visual devices from the same age and the same socio-cultural sphere, Great Britain in the late 18th Century, in the later phase of the age of reason and the new romantic age fastly moving in.

But the second way of watching a panorama is as important as the first one. It is the glance moving around in the picture, dreaming and fantasizing and ultimately creating a kind of thought figure or reflexion on the borderlessness or sublimity of the picture. This sublime mode is very much a part of the panoramic, just as the notion of verisimilitude is.

So, I think this internal split of the panoramic has much to do with this middle ground, also played out, as I noted, in literature between realistic and romantic genres and modes of expression. In this area we can find early romanticism, historicism and ideal realism, as we have here seen in writers as diverse as Runeberg, Scott and Cooper.

In painting, literature and travel writing from the same time we find landscapes in various modes between realist and non-realist, picturesque and sublime modes. These scopic regimes, as we might call them with an expression taken from Martin Jay[30], are in the late 18th and early 19th Century constantly competing with one another. In e.g. landscape painting we find both these visual modes expressed and also some mixing of the two. Notions of nostalgia and it's partner and counterpart progress, and also of the picturesque and the sublime were at the heart of much painting from this period: we find it in e.g. Constable, Turner (who illustrated Scott's poetry), Friedrich, we find it in America in Thomas Cole (who made some illustrations to Cooper's Leatherstocking Tales) and in the whole Hudson River School. And there was in landscape painting an important center, The Düsseldorf Art Academy. spreading its influence both to the American romantic painters and to Nordic and Finnish painters of this period.

17. Caspar David Friedrich: Wanderer above the Sea of Fog. Der Wanderer über dem Nebelmeer, 1818.

Caspar David Friedrich, with his lonely wanderer at the sea of fog as perhaps the ultimate notion of the romantic passion and gaze, offers a picture which has also been analyzed in connection to the forthcoming Nietzschean Übermensch-discourse. The painter was well aware of the panoramic craze of the day. From a philosophical and aesthetic point of view Friedrich's work has been interpreted as combining an observation of nature with a melancholic and religious meditation on the endlessness of nature. Friedrich disposes of the elevated point of view of earlier landscape painters and presents extreme situations, often involving the sea, mountains and some other horisontal plane. In the Wanderer, the figure is standing at the crossing point of the dominating lines of the painting, thus preventing the viewer from screening what lies in front of his *Rückenfigur*.[31]

The panoramic view might as a pictorial mode not simply be equated with pictures spreading over a vast canvas or screen, horisontally oriented, although that clearly is the most common type. We must also consider the question of point of view, its height, the way we are able to move into the picture and the depth of the picture. As noted by Ville Lukkarinen, in Finnish landscape painting there is a difference in the way in which these pictures from the 19th century invite the viewer to step into the picture. There are those pictures which have as their point of view a place from which it is clearly impossible to even imaginatively step into the picture. Steep cliffs and other obstacles make this impossible. Other pictures invites us via a road, a field etc. to move with our gaze and imagination further into the picture.

Digital panoramas

The eagle eye's view from above is one which leads to several important variations in today's surveillance and control society: think of all these pictures taken from video cameras, airplanes and helicopters, even satellites. And apropos hawkeye, the name of the protagonist of Cooper's novel. The name is used today for a a virtual reality tracking system in tennis, cricket and other sports.

In cinema Michael Mann has established a new mode or fashion with his helicopter shots in *Collateral* (2004). But it was, if I remember correctly, used also in *The Fugitive* (1993). The new digital technique makes possible such pictures, taken even in the dark. This leads us to the whole video surveillance and satellite culture and the Internet with several new applications of the panoramic view and mode. One can also note on the audio side how the panoramic or panauratic is spreading: in home video we have surround audio systems bringing us into the midst of the drama we are looking at. Panoramic illusions are also created today by way a digital Grand Tour around the world which we might take in just a couple minutes or hours. This field is expanding fast. New panoramic modes are constantly created, it seems. There is on google maps something called google street view where one can move around in a city at different addresses. Microsoft's version of something similar is called Bing maps. It has a somewhat different agenda, but the main area of usage is still quite overlapping with google maps.

Then there are several techniques, involving different lenses, of creating 360 degrees panoramas, so called circular panoramas. And there is a technique of rotating the picture 360 degrees, with something called quick time virtual reality, which nowadays is possible

19. Circle panorama on the net.

also in several other programs. An example might be a view from a top on Mount Everest, where one can rotate the picture and also zoom in and out in the picture.

All in all the the panoramic mode is expanding fast today. At the same time it is strongly reminiscent of the dreams of yesterday, expressed already in the early 19th Century by German naturalist and explorer Alexander von Humboldt who dreamed of a European planetary consciousness by ways of panoramas and dioramas, "which might substitute for travelling through different regions" as "the spectator, enclosed as it were, within a magic circle, and wholly removed from all the disturbing influences of reality, may more easily fancy that he is actually surrounded by a foreign scene."[32]

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[1] See Wilcox p. 21, in Hyde 1988. Wilcox cites Constable who looks upon the panoramas as a kind of trick or illusion, something great landscape painters in his view never have strived at. On the other hand Constable in 1803 wrote that the panorama painting seems to be all the rage.
[2] See Diderot 1773 (1982).
[3] On the interconnections between the development of new travel technologies (e.g. steam boats and railways) and the panoramic gaze, see Lofgren 1999: 41ff. On the cultural repercussions of railway travel, see Schivelbusch 1987.
4 Other architects of the period, working within the confines of romanticism and historicism, were e.g. Karl Friedrich Schinkel, August Welby Pugin, Leon Vaudoyer, Henri Labrouste, Eugène Viollet-le-Duc.
[5] Leask 2002: 43ff.
[6] Chandler 1998: 194ff.
[7] Simpson 2002: 119ff.
[8] Valtiala 1998: 38ff.
[9] Andrews 1999: 160ff
[10] Häyrynen 2000: 11ff. On questions of sublime landscapes and the romantic ideology, see also Cosgrove 1998: 223ff.
[11] Andrews 1999: 129ff.
[12] Laitinen 1984: 32ff.
[13] Transcription from a radio interview with Hallberg. See blog *Längre inåt landet* 27.7. 2009
[14] Hedvall 1915: 44f.
[15] Leask 2002: 42f.
[16] Ibid. 71ff.
[17] Mortensen 1904: 73ff.

[18] Nevius 1976: 6f.f.
[19] Ibid.
[20] Ringe 1993: 109ff.
[21] Verhoeven 1993: 71ff.
[22] Walach 2008: 315ff.
[23] Newman 2008: 129ff.
[24] On Paul Sandby as a landscape painter, see e.g. Dorment 2009, Colley 2009.
[25] Sobchack, Thomas & Vivian C. 1980: 75f.
[26] McBride: 2003: 288.
[27] See Bordwell 2008 263ff., also 2005: 111f.f
[28] Burman 2004: 42.
[29] Katz 2005: 490.
[30] Jay 1988: 3ff.
[31] Cf. Eschenburg 1991: 65ff., also Anttila 1991: 248ff.
[32] von Humboldt is cited in Leask 2002: 306f.