

# LISBON AND ITS REGION: STEREOSCOPIC PHOTOGRAPHY, C. 1853-1890

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## Abstract

This paper concerns the use of stereoscopic photography in Lisbon and its region, especially in Sintra, from the 1850s to the end of the 1880s. We will synthetically address the documents and images generated by professional and amateur photographers, their context and their themes.

The first informations about stereoscopic photography, the first stereoscopic images and the first imported stereoscopes arrived in Lisbon in the 1850s through photographers, most of them foreigners, who brought them for their local use. A very small number of professionals took stereoscopic portraits in studios. As of the late 1850s, some professionals and trained amateurs used this technique and portrayed the city and its region. At the end of that decade and the beginning of the next, stereoscopic photos were sold in photographic studios and in a specialised warehouse. Already in the 1850s, but mainly after the late 1860s, Parisian photographers and editors of stereoscopic photos also occasionally produced and sold images of Portugal, including Lisbon, and had them listed in their catalogues. In the 1860s and 1870s, stereoscopic photos were exhibited in shows, according to contemporary descriptions, although their precise technical nature was not always very clear. The occasional production and commercialisation of stereoscopic images continued into the 1870s and declined sharply in the 1880s. It was only at the end of the next decade, and above all during the start of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, would stereoscopic photography regain the interest of professionals and amateurs.

**Keywords:** *history of photography, stereoscopic photography, Portugal, Lisbon, Sintra, Mafra, 19th century.*

In this work, we aim to contribute to the knowledge of the use of stereoscopic photography in Lisbon from the 1850s to the end of the 1880s. This paper is not concerned with the analysis of images in this format, made by professional and amateur photographers, but with the study of the context of its production and commercialisation. We will also consider some of the establishments which sold stereoscopic material and shows of stereoscopic images which took place in this period.

The adoption of the geographic limits of Lisbon and what we nowadays call its greater region results from a necessary reduction of the scope of this text, and not the specific reality of the production and use of stereoscopic images. Nevertheless, naturally there were photographers who limited their work to Lisbon and occasionally to its surroundings, as did photographers who were established in other cities.

This text follows up a previous paper with a similar theme but centred in the city of Oporto, presented at the conference *Stereoscopic & Immersive Media 2015*, which will be published in the book *The Third Image. Stereoscopic Image in Portugal*, organised by Victor Flores. For this reason, some subjects common to both, namely the foreign photographers and editors, are here succinctly presented and adapted to the theme of Lisbon and its region.

## The Introduction of Stereoscopy in Lisbon

The known texts about stereoscopic photography from the period of its introduction in Lisbon are scarce and very synthetic. The first stereoscopic photos made in Portugal were

portraits and views, and were probably taken by Wenceslau Cifka (1853-c.1860), followed still in the 1850s by the stereoscopic work of Tony Chabut (1854-1855), Henri Plaul (c.1856), Louis Nasi (1857-1858) and Alfred Fillon (1859-1865). The fact that these first stereo photographers were foreigners can be explained by the role they played in the introduction of photography to Portugal and their privileged relationship with the European centres of culture. Centres where professional photographers were then already practising the stereoscopic technique, and commercial establishments were already selling technical manuals, stereoscopic images, and the devices necessary to produce and view them. We will discuss what we consider relevant to the knowledge of their stereoscopic work.

## The Presentation of Stereoscopy in Portuguese Publications, 1852-1860

In 1852, the French photographer P. K. Corentin, with an atelier set up in Lisbon, wrote the first known monographic text about photography published in Portugal, *Resumo Histórico da Photographia desde a Sua Origem até Hoje*. In the short paragraph *Stéréoscopo* he wrote:

About one year ago, MM. Dubosc and Soleil manufactured a simplified stereoscope to which photogenic images, obtained under various conditions, can immediately be adapted, providing them with an extraordinary relief. / We owe this optical system to the English physicist Wheatstone, capable of the highest illusion of relief. Through his device one can observe images by means of reflection. Doctor Brewster, his

compatriot, devised some glasses suitable for direct transmission of the stereoscopic images to the eyes, be it on plates or on paper.<sup>1</sup>

As a curiosity, we can mention that, in 1853, Guilherme Pega-do published an article in the *Diário do Governo* with the title *Retrato stéréoscopico de Arago*, and in another newspaper with the title *Stéréoscopia natural* <sup>2</sup>. In these articles he explained the principle of the stereoscopic vision, with references to the works of Arago, Claudet and Wheatstone. After explaining that they had achieved the stereoscopic effect with two images, he claimed he had discovered the *natural stereoscope*, since he had been able to view the same effect with a single daguerreotype image, at night, with a good light, converging the optical axis and looking fixedly at the portrait, what he referred to as the *cross-eyed view*. According to his technically *sui generis* description, he had succeeded, to his great surprise and satisfaction, in perfectly seeing the object as a volume in space, as if it were present. Not being motivated by a craving for the glory of the invention, he therefore made it known to everyone who possessed people portraits or well-drawn views, that “bearing the discomfort of being internally cross-eyed”, an action he described as an *inexpensive stereoscope*, once it dispensed

with the device with the same name, they could view objects in relief using a single image.

In 1859 Alexandre Magno de Castilho [Júnior] (1834-1871) <sup>3</sup> wrote a short informative text with the title *Stereoscopo*, published in the *Almanak de Lembranças Luso-brasileiro para o anno de 1859* <sup>4</sup>.

**The First Professional Producers of Stereoscopic Views**

Wenceslau Cifka (1811-1883), a native of Bohemia<sup>5</sup>, was a multifaceted character strongly connected to the visual arts. A fellow countryman of King Dom Fernando II, he came to Portugal to work as his collaborator. Some years later, he set up as a daguerreotype photographer in Lisbon, on the 1<sup>st</sup> floor at nº 31, Rua Direita das Necessidades. He probably began his activity in 1848<sup>6</sup>, although he might have started photographing at least two years prior to that (Pato, 1907, pp. 36-37). In 1851, he announced he had in his establishment a belvedere “all covered in glass and perfectly closed”, which allowed him to take daguerreotype portraits even in rainy and windy weather<sup>7</sup>. Together with the studio portraits he

made and commercialised, to “amateurs of photogenic views [photographs on paper], a collection of complete views” for sale in large formats for 960 reis each, first at his atelier and then at the bookshop Silva Júnior<sup>8</sup>, which he advertised between October 1852 and February 1853 (Madeira, 1992, p. 17) (fig. 1)<sup>9</sup>. As of April 1853, besides these *photogenic views* of Portugal, he also advertised stereoscopic images for sale (fig. 1)<sup>10</sup>. In 1854, he visited Paris and probably London and Berlin, to perfect and update the photographic technique<sup>11</sup>. On the 29<sup>th</sup> of March 1855, he requested the title of Photographer of the Royal House, which he used, although its register is absent from the royal archives (Matos, 2009, pp. 134-135, 232)<sup>12</sup>. In his first atelier, at the mentioned address, he had already used white stereoscopic cards with frame and captions printed in gold: “Venceslão Cifka, Photographer of the Royal House. Nº 31, Rua Direita das Necessidades, 1<sup>st</sup> floor [...] takes portraits and photographic views in all sizes and teaches photography” (fig. 2). They probably date from 1853 to 1859, as in that year Cifka set up a new studio at Rua do Loreto, where, besides taking portraits, he also sold pictures “of Dom Pedro V and Dom Fernando II, reproductions of works of art and views of Sintra and Colares in “stereo”” (Monteiro, 1993-1994, p. 13).

According to the *Grande Enciclopedia Portuguesa e Brasileira*, among the photographers who were his pupils are Carlos Relvas and the brothers Silveira, who also used stereoscopic photography<sup>13</sup>.

The French photographer Tony Chabut arrived in Lisbon at the end of 1853 or at the beginning of 1854 and stayed temporarily at Mr. Isidro’s restaurant and guesthouse, at nº 31, Rua do Ferragial de Cima. He initially declared he would work for only two months in that city. In January and February, he advertised that he took daguerreotype portraits on glass using the collodion process and on paper. He also took “views for the curious using the deguerrotype and the stereoscope” (fig. 3) <sup>14</sup>. He ended up residing in the city until 1855 at three different addresses and, eventually, in Sintra, having advertised his presence there<sup>15</sup>.

1) The text of this short monography was also published in *O Ecco Popular*, Oporto, nº 112 (19<sup>th</sup> May 1853), pp. 1-2.  
2) We do not have biographical information about Guilherme J. A. D. Pegado; *Diario do Governo*. Lisbon, nº 259 (3<sup>rd</sup> Nov. 1853), p. 1512; *A Revolução de Setembro*. Lisbon, nº 3476 (5<sup>th</sup> Nov. 1853), p. 2.  
3) Júnior was most likely not his name and was used to distinguish him from his uncle, who edited him and shared the same name.  
4) Lisbon: Alexandre Magno de Castilho, 1858, p. 284. In the same periodical, he also published a text about the daguerreotype (pp. 229-231), in which he briefly explains this process, and another about the magic lantern (p. 249).  
5) From a place in the Austrian Empire now belonging to the Czech Republic.  
6) *A Revolução de Setembro*. Lisbon, nº 1932 (22<sup>nd</sup> Aug. 1848), p. 4.  
7) *A Revolução de Setembro*. Lisbon, nº 2738 (10<sup>th</sup> May 1851), p. 4, to nº 2787, (12<sup>th</sup> Jul. 1851), p. 4.

8) At nº 109, Rua do Ouro, in Lisbon.  
9) *A Revolução de Setembro*. Lisbon, nº 3170 (21<sup>st</sup> Oct. 1852), p. 4, to nº 3255 (5<sup>th</sup> Feb. 1853), p. 4; Madeira, José Luís (1992). ‘Wenceslau Cifka’. In *Rever Lisboa*. Lisbon: Fundação Oriente, p. 17.  
10) *A Revolução de Setembro*. Lisbon, nº 3314 (20<sup>th</sup> Abr. 1853), p. 4, to nº 3517 (24<sup>th</sup> Dec. 1853), p. 4; Madeira, 1992, p. 17.  
11) Cifka (Wenceslau). *Grande Enciclopédia Portuguesa e Brasileira*. Lisbon / Rio de Janeiro: Editorial Enciclopédia, vol. VI (1940), p. 757.  
12) A.N.T.T., Mordomia da Casa Real, doc. 9052, cit. in Monteiro, 1993-1994: 13.  
13) Id. note 11.  
14) *A Revolução de Setembro*. Lisbon, nº 3532 (12<sup>th</sup> Jan. 1854), p. 4; id., nº 3540 (21<sup>st</sup> Jan. 1854), p. 4, to nº 3552 (6<sup>th</sup> Feb. 1854), p. 4.  
15) *A Revolução de Setembro*. Lisbon, several numbers between 1853 and 1855.

We should stress that Cifka and Chabut, besides taking portraits, also printed views using large formats and stereoscopy, and considered their clients curious and amateurs<sup>16</sup>.

The French photographer Henri Plaut (Paris, 1819 – d.1870) produced and commercialised a series of approximately, presumably, 150 stereoviews of Lisbon and Sintra. Plaut initiated his photographic activity in 1851 as a portraitist, at the house of the optician and daguerrotypist Deleuil, at nº 7, Quai Conti, in Paris, who he probably succeeded at the same address before August 1853<sup>17</sup>, and where he stayed until 1858, when he moved to nº 62, Rue Vanneau (Voignier, 1993, p. 206). Plaut patented various photographic devices, among them one in 1853 called *boîte-stereoscope*<sup>18</sup>. His activity as author of stereoviews dates from at least that year (Ferreira, 2003-2016)<sup>19</sup>. He published a series of stereoviews of France, England, Switzerland, Germany, Holland, Russia, Italy, Egypt, Mexico, Spain and Portugal (Voignier, 1993, p. 206; Pellerin, 1995, p. 110)<sup>20</sup>. In the *Catalogue des Collections d'Épreuves Stéréoscopiques de la Maison H. Plaut - Rue Vanneau, 52 - Paris*, [n.d.], p. 23, a hundred images of Portugal are mentioned with the description “Cette collection renferme une centaine de types fort curieux représentant le principaux monuments, les plus belles églises et les panoramas plus intéressants”. The series of Portugal contains at least 145 images, including views of Lisbon and

*S. G. du Gouv*<sup>22</sup>, also printed in gold (fig. 4), but on light brown and beige cardboard, only with the caption of the image and its number in the series of Portugal (fig. 5)<sup>23</sup>.

At least one lower quality edition of Plaut's Portuguese stereoviews, possibly unauthorised, was commercialised, without captions and glued on orange cardboard <sup>24</sup>.

Between the 28<sup>th</sup> of March and the 30<sup>th</sup> of January 1858, the company Alexis Gaudin et Frère, established in Paris and London, at nº 9, Rue de Perle, and nº 26, Skinner Street, respectively, advertised photographic articles, stereoscopes and stereoviews of France, Algeria and several other countries, including paper copies of Spain and Portugal<sup>25</sup>, particularly Lisbon<sup>26</sup>. Each dozen costed 10 francs and 50 cents (fig. 6).

Sintra, most likely dated from 1856<sup>21</sup>, printed on glass and on paper glued on two types of white cardboard with frames in gold and his monogram HP. On one of them the text *Breveté*.

16) The term “amateurs” is here used in the usual 19<sup>th</sup> century sense of those who develop a distinctive taste for something, and not in the sense of non-professionals.  
17) *La Lumière*. Paris: Alexis Gaudin et Frère, y. III, nº 34 (20<sup>th</sup> Aug. 1853), p. 134.  
18) Patent nº 15716, 24 Mar. 1853 (Pellerin, 1995: 110).  
19) *La Lumière*. Paris: Alexis Gaudin et Frère, y. III, nº 34 (20<sup>th</sup> Aug. 1853), p. 134.  
20) There exist stereoscopic images by him of Cádiz, in the south of Spain (Fernández Rivero, 2004: 116, 120, 175, 188, 229).

21) As one of his stereoviews of the Palace of Monserrate, in Sintra (fig. 5), has the initials of the buyer and the date 7<sup>th</sup> of January 1857 (author's collection) inscribed on it. It still depicts the palace built by Gerard DeVisme in 1791 and the excavations which we believe to be the beginning of the remodelling works of the garden made by Sir Francis Cook, 1<sup>st</sup> Viscount of Monserrate, who bought the palace in 1856.  
22) Patented. Without government warrant.  
23) Ferreira (2003-2016). Author's col.  
24) Copies belonging to the author's collection.  
25) *La Lumière*. Paris: Alexis Gaudin et Frère, y. VII, nº 13 (28<sup>th</sup> Mar. 1857), p. 52, to y. VIII, nº 5 (30<sup>th</sup> Jan. 1858), p. 20; Firm constituted by Alexis Gaudin (1816-1894) and his younger brother Charles Gaudin. It was active between 1855 and 1864 (Pellerin, 1995: 106; Pellerin, 1997).  
26) *La Lumière*. Paris: Alexis Gaudin et Frère, y. VII, nº 29 (18<sup>th</sup> Jul. 1857), p. 116, to nº 36 (5<sup>th</sup> Set. 1857), p. 144.

Although the series of Spain is well known<sup>27</sup>, the images of Portugal, of which we probably know of some copies, have not yet been identified as part of this edition. The Gaudin Brothers resold pictures taken by other photographers, frequently French ones, including Henri Plaut<sup>28</sup>. Taking this fact and the date of the images into consideration, it is possible, according to Denis Pellerin, that the Gaudin Brothers had also resold the Portuguese stereoviews of Henri Plaut.

**Louis Nasi**<sup>29</sup> was a painter and a photographer. As a political emigrant in London, he took a photograph of Garibaldi<sup>30</sup>, from

which a lithography was made in Lisbon<sup>31</sup>. He travelled from London to Lisbon around 1857 and in September he had already set up his atelier at nº 46, Rua Oriental do Passeio. In that year and in the next he advertised various photographic services, including “any type of stereoscopic portraits and views”<sup>32</sup> at a moderate cost, particularly the group portraits, in which several people could be portrayed in a single image. Moreover, in 1858 he advertised he had received “a large collection of English stereoscopes”, which he sold at a low cost (fig. 7)<sup>33</sup>. We must stress the technical quality of his images, namely the permanence of his deep blacks. Besides praising the group portraits taken by this photographer, a short article published in a newspaper in March 1858 observed:

Through the stereoscope, an instrument still little known among us, of which a collection in a new fashion was recently received by Mr. Nasi, for sale at a very reasonable price, can everyone see the portrait of all their family reunited, not on a flat and smooth paper anymore, like common portraits, but in very detailed relief. What a beautiful invention, to keep in a

volume inferior to a quarter of paper the portraits of our loved ones, and to see them at all time, almost as if they were alive!<sup>34</sup>

Events and Personalities, 1850s – 1870s

In March 1859, the Frenchman Alfred Fillon (1825-1881) re-located his photographic establishment from Oporto to Lisbon<sup>35</sup>. He advertised the execution of stereoscopic portraits in Oporto in 1858 and early in 1859<sup>36</sup> and, in that year, he also advertised he took *stereoscopios*<sup>37</sup> at his new establishment at nº 13, Rua das Chagas, in Lisbon. In 1865, he continued to advertise his *stereoscopos* (fig. 8)<sup>38</sup>.

27) Fernández Rivero attributed to Eugène Sevaistre the stereoscopic series of Spain commercialised by this firm (Fernández Rivero, 2004, pp. 173-177).  
28) Information from Denis Pellerin (Fernández Rivero, 2004, p.175)  
29) We presume him to be Louis Victor Maria Nasi, a native of the city of “Chamboy” (Chambéry, Rhône-Alpes?) in the Duchy of Savoy (when he came to Portugal, Savoy belonged to the Kingdom of Sardinia and was integrated in France in 1860), whose presence in Lisbon at that time is documented (ADPRT, parish registers of Vitória, Oporto, book of marriages of 1880, fl. 78-78v; book of baptisms of 1886, fl. 129v, reg. nº 254).  
30) *A Revolução de Setembro*. Lisbon, nº 4611 (5<sup>th</sup> Sep. 1857), p. 3.  
31) At *Lith[ographia] de Castro* (nº 33, Poço Novo, Lisbon) (Author’s col.).  
32) *A Revolução de Setembro*. Lisbon, nº 4611 (5<sup>th</sup> Sep. 1857), p. 3, where he is identified as «sr. Luigi Nasi, photographo e stereoscopio»; *Jornal de Bellas-Artes*. Lisbon, 1<sup>st</sup> series, 2<sup>nd</sup> year [1858], nº 7, p. 15.  
33) *O Asmodeu*. Lisbon, 2<sup>nd</sup> year, nº 39 (14<sup>th</sup> Nov. 1857), p. 4, to 3<sup>rd</sup> year, nº 4 (30<sup>th</sup> Jan. 1858), p. 4; *Jornal de Bellas-Artes*. Lisbon, 2<sup>nd</sup> year [1858], nº 8, p. 16.

34) *O Asmodeu*. Lisbon, 3<sup>rd</sup> year, nº 11 (25<sup>th</sup> Mar. 1858), p. 4.  
35) *O Commercio do Porto*. Oporto, y. VI, nº 55 (10<sup>th</sup> Mar. 1859), p. 2.  
36) *O Commercio do Porto*. Oporto, y. V, nº 110 (18<sup>th</sup> May 1858), p. 3, to nº 18 (24<sup>th</sup> Jan. 1859), p. 4.  
37) *A Revolução de Setembro*. Lisbon, nº 5199 (2<sup>nd</sup> Sep. 1859), p. 4, to nº 5246 (27<sup>th</sup> Oct. 1859), p. 4.  
38) Barbosa, Zacarias de Vilhena (1865). *Almanak industrial, commercial e profissional de Lisboa para o anno de 1865*. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, p. 90.

At the end of the 1850s and in the 1860s and 1870s, the period of the introduction of stereoscopic photography in Portugal and its greater popularity, Lisbon was the stage of a series of well-attended events, mainly related to the Portuguese royal family and the inauguration of urban monuments. Among these we draw attention to the receptions of Queen Dona Estefânea de Hohenzollern, on the 18<sup>th</sup> of May 1858, and of Queen Dona Maria Pia de Sabóia, on the 6<sup>th</sup> of October 1862 (fig. 9-11)<sup>39</sup>, the acclamation of King Dom Luís I, on the 22<sup>nd</sup> of December 1861<sup>40</sup> and the inauguration of the statue of King Dom Pedro IV at the Rossio, on the 29<sup>th</sup> of April 1870. These events lent high media visibility to the royal family, not only through photographs in conventional formats and engravings published in Portuguese and, above all, foreign newspapers and magazines, usually based on photographs, but also through stereoview images, frequently by unknown authors. We mention the group portrait of the Portuguese royal family and the Princes of Hohenzollern taken at the palace of Necessidades during the preparations for the wedding of Dona Antónia de Bragança and Leopoldo de Hohenzollern, attributed to Alfred Fillon, who commercialised this image as a visit card<sup>41</sup>. The same photographer developed and commercialised a set of stereoscopic images of the reception of Queen Maria Pia.

39) Image 11 was previously published by João Clode (Clode, 2010, fig. 16). Another copy of the image in fig. 10 has a paper glued on the back with the embossed stamp of António Aprá, the owner of a costume jewellery shop in Lisbon, who most likely commercialised it. (Col. José Manuel Martins Ferreira). We know of yet another image of the same event with the stamp of H. Dulac, placed on the back of the card in a way which suggests not only ownership, but also authorship (private col.). Dulac was an amateur photographer and a member of the *Club Photographico Lisbonense*. He lived at Quinta do Cabril, in Alpiarça, where he presumably ran his photographic laboratory (oral information from José Luís Madeira, 19<sup>th</sup> Oct. 2007, and message, 1<sup>st</sup> Feb. 2011).

40) *Arquivo Pittoresco*. Lisbon: Castro, Irmão & C.<sup>ª</sup>, y. IV, nº 44 (1861), pp. 345-346.

41) Group portrait with Infanta Dona Antónia de Bragança, King Dom Pedro V, Infantes Dom Luís, Dom João, Dom Augusto and Dom Fernando de Bragança, and Princes Leopoldo and Carlos de Hohenzollern (Col. Manuel Magalhães, in Dias, 2001, p. 52).

Given the small size of stereoscopic images, they required a shorter exposure time, which made them more suitable to capture scenes with moving elements, particularly people, horses and transportation vehicles. We must not forget that, internationally, the first images taken and sold as instant photos were the stereoviews, obtained from collodion glass plate negatives in the second half of the 1850s (Gernsheim, 1988, pp. 73-86). Besides the three-dimensional perception and its growing acceptance in this early period of its introduction, this may be one of the reasons for frequently finding stereoscopic registers of scenes with urban movement.

Local aristocracy and various prominent personalities were also stereoscopically portrayed, both individually and in group. We have as examples the portrait of Alexandre Herculano (Dias, 2007, p. 179), the group with Count de Casal Ribeiro, his family and acquaintances, by Alfred Fillon, also printed on the visit card format (fig. 8). We also have that of the group with the family of the Viscount of Cartaxo, portrayed at the studio of the photographer José Nunes da Silveira (Forjaz, 2001, p. 113) (fig. 12).

### Amateur Photographers in the 1850s and 1860s

From this early period of stereoscopic photography, we know of various copies made by amateur photographers in the region of Lisbon. We will present the examples of Antero Frederico de Seabra and Carlos Relvas, and we will consider the possibility that Joseph James Forrester, a British citizen living in Oporto, had taken stereoscopic views of Lisbon still in the 1850s. The only sources on this photographer are two texts by

William Darrah. We first thought that he mistakenly described Lisbon as his residence, but he was probably referring to the city that he photographed. Assuming he identified it correctly, in his work *The World of Stereographs*, Darrah (1977, p. 125) claims that this author made a small number of excellent views dated from the late 1850s. In their more recent *Photographers of the World*, Treadwell & Darrah are more specific concerning two stereoscopic views of urban streets by this author. In both texts the city of Lisbon is referred to (Treadwell & Darrah, 1994, p. 92). We lost track of these images, as previously mentioned (Araújo, 2015).

In 1857 **Antero Frederico de Seabra** started a photographic survey of landscapes, urban spaces and architectonic monuments of Portugal, using large formats and stereoscopy simultaneously. The large format series was commercialised with the pictures glued on cardboard with the frame, the title *Portugal* and the subtitle of the image printed in gold or black. Several copies have a blindstamp with the name of the author on the cardboard (fig. 13). There are also various copies where the images are glued on cardboard without any print and usually with the name of the theme handwritten. The stereoscopic series, which frequently repeats the views of the large formats, is made on varied cards, with no printed title and only the name of the theme handwritten on the backside (fig. 14). In other cases, it is glued on cardboard with the printed title *Portugal*, or the title *Scênas de Portugal* and the subtitle ink stamped on a label glued on the card. Although Seabra intended to undertake a global register of the country, he photographed mainly the northwest, where he was serving in the army. From the region of Lisbon, we only know of one stereoview of Mafra, which we attribute to him. These images

were commercialised in several establishments in Oporto, although without identifying its author<sup>42</sup>.

The stereoscopic images taken at the *Club Photographico* or which belonged to it, possibly the *Club Photographico*

*Lisbonense*<sup>43</sup>, confirm the interest in the technique and viewing of stereoscopic photographs among amateurs, and even its use.

A still unidentified author, possibly an amateur, commercialised a series with the title **Portugal**. *Cintra*, followed by the subtitle of each image, printed in blue on a label glued on the

back of the stereoscopic card, datable from the late 1850s or, less likely, from the early 1860s. A monogram with the initials CM was inscribed on the negatives (Ferreira, 2003-2016) (fig. 16a). It was not yet possible to reliably identify this author<sup>44</sup>. These images, with the same initials, are also present on stereoviews of Sintra, commercialised by José Alexandre & C.<sup>a</sup> with the title Portugal. *Vistas Stereoscopicas*, a series with more than 60 images (fig. 15 and 16b). The same company also published a series with the title *Vistas Stereoscopicas de Lisboa*, with approximately a minimum of 250 images. Besides these, the company José Alexandre & C.<sup>a</sup> published the series with the title *Panorama de Lisboa* and *Panorama de Lisboa e Cintra*, with photographs by Filipe Mesquita, maybe shortly after the above-mentioned ones (fig. 16c and 17). We do not know if some of those series by unidentified authors also included images by Filipe Mesquita (Ferreira, 2003-2016). The different names were probably given to the same series as it

gradually grew and its composition was altered. We know that José Alexandre & C.<sup>a</sup> was established at nº 10 and 12, Rua do Chiado, in Lisbon, and that it published and probably also sold pictures. We also know that Filipe Mesquita took photographs. On the 5<sup>th</sup> of June 1863, he took the train from Lisbon

42) Araújo, Nuno Borges de [forthcoming]. *Antero Frederico de Seabra. Fotógrafo de Portugal, 1857-1867*.

43) We know of a group portrait datable from the 1860s which, according to an inscription on the back, was taken at the *Club Photographico* (Col. João José P. Edward Clode), as well as a copy of an interesting instant view of a religious ceremony in the chancel of a church, probably in the early 1860s, with the inscription "belonging to the *Club Photographico*" and the nº 71 on the back (author's col.).

44) He may probably be Filipe de Mesquita, and the "C" may be a second name or a surname. This question cannot be clarified due to a lack of biographical information. He could also be Charles Alexander Munro (1819-1900), an amateur photographer, active between 1857 and 1866, about whom we do not have information on the use of stereoscopic photography. At last, it should not be excluded the possibility of being Wenceslau Cifka, but in this case the initials wold be inverted and the surname would be before the name (CW), which seems to us unlikely.



to Almourol and Constância in the company of some friends<sup>45</sup>, to take pictures. As soon as they disembarked off the train in front of the castle of Midagoa, Filipe Mesquita “started to activate the instruments of his art, looked for the best positions, arranged the clutches, disposed the ingredients and started the manoeuvres”<sup>46</sup>. In this text, we are told that Mesquita took photographs on glass plates of the castle of Almourol, of the metallic bridge over the Tagus in Santarém and a group portrait of the friends who travelled with him.

The renowned photographer Carlos Relvas (1838-1894) was in Lisbon and its region in several occasions between the 1860s and the 1880s, and in some of those stays and short visits he took large format photographs and stereoscopic photographs<sup>47</sup>. At the 7<sup>th</sup> exhibition of the *Sociedade Promotora das Belas Artes em Portugal*, which took place in Lisbon in

November 1868, he exhibited a set of photos of Leiria, Batalha and Alcobaça, including stereoviews, to be offered to the organisers at the end of the exhibition<sup>48</sup>. At the exhibitions of the *Société Française de Photographie* in 1869<sup>49</sup>, 1870<sup>50</sup> and 1874<sup>51</sup>, he presented stereoviews of Portugal which were afterwards integrated in the collection of the S.F.P. We know that Relvas took stereoviews of Lisbon and its region, namely the monastery of the Jerónimos, the pier of Lisbon, the palaces of Pena and Monserrate and the gardens of Monte Cristo, in Sintra<sup>52</sup>. Nevertheless, considering the small number of images available, an evaluation of his stereoscopic work in this region is premature<sup>53</sup>. We know of stereoviews glued on various cards by Carlos Relvas, of which we should mention one with the title *Portugal*<sup>54</sup>, probably dating from the middle of the 1860s, and two others personalised with the printed titles *Vues du Portugal / Vistas de Portugal*<sup>55</sup> and *Vues du*

*Portugal*<sup>56</sup>, both datable from the 1870s (Sena, 1998, p. 66; Tavares & Medeiros, 2015, p. 136, 170; Col. João Clode) (fig. 18). These titles imply a project encompassing the whole country, and the last two, using the French language, which denote the intention of internationalising of his photographic work, above all at exhibitions. Until now, we only know of images of the region of Lisbon by Carlos Relvas glued on cards of the penultimate type.

Professional Photographers in the 1860s

Among the professional photographers who used stereoscopic photography in Lisbon and its region in the 1860s, we will mention the series made by José Nunes da Silveira, Lucas de Almeida Marrão, Francesco Rocchini and Augusto Xavier Moreira.

The Luso-American photographer **José Nunes da Silveira**, with documented activity in California between 1851 and 1856 (Araújo, [forthcoming]), and in Lisbon between 1859<sup>57</sup> and 1867, also used stereoscopic photography in this region. In January 1860, with an atelier at nº 11, Rua do Salitre, he advertised that he took permanent photographic portraits using several processes, including on paper and *sterioscopo*, while charging moderate prices. The client would not pay for the portrait or would have another taken were he not pleased

with the result<sup>58</sup>. As of August of the same year, he started using the commercial name *Photographo Americano*, at the same address, and continued taking stereoviews<sup>59</sup>. Possibly still in that year he moved to nº 15, Rua do Tesouro Velho (nowadays Rua António Maria Cardoso), with Henrique Patrício Mac-Donald as administrator and main *operador* [or photographer]<sup>60</sup>.

45) Sarga, João de Menezes, José da Silveira and Nicolau de Brito.  
46) ‘De Lisboa a Abrantes’. *Gazeta de Portugal*. Lisbon, nº 170 (9<sup>th</sup> Jun. 1863), p. 1 (information from José Luís Madeira).  
47) Darrah, 1977, p. 125, tells us that Carlos Relvas published a series of views of the region where he lived in the 1860s-1870s, which he mistakes for Lisbon, as previously took place in the case of Forrester. We make use of the chronology confirmed by some of the images that we know of.  
48) *Diário de Notícias*. Lisbon, y. IV, nº 1129 (15<sup>th</sup> Oct. 1868), p. 1.  
49) *Catalogue de la huitième exposition de la Société Française de Photographie, comprenant les oeuvres des photographes français et étrangers*. Paris: Gauthier-Villars, 1869, pp. 19-20; *Jornal do Comércio*, 4<sup>th</sup> Apr. 1869, p. 1, as cited in Oliveira, 2007, pp. 40, 41, 169.  
50) *Catalogue de la neuvième exposition de la Société Française de Photographie, comprenant les oeuvres des photographes français et étrangers*. Paris: Gauthier-Villars, 1870, p. 27. For this exhibition, he sent 85 stereoviews of Portugal which belong to the collection of the SFP (FRSFP\_IR\_tirages\_RELVAS\_Carlos\_0351.pdf).  
51) *Catalogue de la dixième exposition de la Société Française de Photographie, comprenant les oeuvres des photographes français et étrangers*. Paris: Gauthier-Villars, 1874, pp. 19-20 (information from Juan Antonio Fernandez Rivero).  
52) Casa-Estúdio Carlos Relvas (Golegã), and col. João José P. Edward Clode.  
53) See also: Centro Internacional das Artes José de Guimarães (2104) *Carlos Relvas. Um homem tem duas sombras: paisagens, (auto)retratos, objectos e animais*. [Guimarães]: A Oficina, CIPRL / Sistema Solar (Documenta), p. 88.  
54) Cards with European printing design of the early 1860s, white, gold printed, commercialised without title and with the title *Portugal*, probably sold in Portugal and used by several amateur photographers.  
55) Orange cards with violet pink back, which Relvas had printed with his initials, the series title and the medal awarded in 1870, at the exhibition of the *Société Française de Photographie*.

56) Blue cards which Relvas had printed with his initials, the series title and the medals awarded in 1870, at the exhibition of the *Société Française de Photographie*, and in 1873, at the Vienna's World Fair.  
57) *A Revolução de Setembro*. Lisbon, nº 5300 (31<sup>st</sup> Dec. 1859), p. 4.  
58) *A Revolução de Setembro*. Lisbon, nº 5312 (15<sup>th</sup> Jan. 1860), p. 4, to nº 5417 (23<sup>rd</sup> May 1860), p. 4.  
59) Or, informally, *Photographia Americana; A Revolução de Setembro*, Lisbon, nº 5476 (4<sup>th</sup> Aug. 1860), p. 4, to nº 5482 (11<sup>th</sup> Aug. 1860), p. 4.  
60) *Diário de Notícias*. Lisbon, nº 682 (18<sup>th</sup> Apr. 1867), p. 3, and nº 691 (1<sup>st</sup> May 1867), p. 3.

He most likely also counted on his brother Joaquim Goulart da Silveira. In November 1862, he was visited at his atelier by a journalist who noticed, among the pictures in exhibition, views for *stereoscopes*<sup>61</sup>. In fact, with the ink stamp of the *Photographo Americano* or even without any identification but the theme on the back, he commercialised a large series of stereoviews of Lisbon and Sintra (fig. 19). Although the ink stamp of the *Photographo Americano* occurs sporadically on images dating from much later than 1862, he probably stopped using it after this date, when he won an award at the Universal Exhibition of London and started using the name J. Silveira. In 1863, Silveira, the *Photographo Americano*, advertised that he sold stereoviews of Lisbon and Sintra, “the most perfect, at comfortable prices”<sup>62</sup>. In 1865 or in the next year, Silveira inserted on the backside of his photographs the honorific designation of photographer of the Chamber of His Royal Highness the Serene Infante Don Sebastián Gabriel, and the arms of the Spanish royal house. His address was now at nº 25-27 of the same Rua do Tesouro Velho (Araújo, [forthcoming]). In March 1866, Silveira continued advertising his “stereoscopic views of Lisbon, Cintra, etc.” (fig. 20)<sup>63</sup>. Considering that he only started using his name on the cards of his studio portraits as from 1862, we suppose that the stereoviews of those places were printed in that year or afterwards, identified with a printed label glued on the back of the cards: *Photographias de J. Silveira* /

*Rua do Thesouro Velho, 27*, followed by the number and title of the image.

**Lucas de Almeida Marrão**, born in the town of Seia, studied at the Academia das Belas Artes in Lisbon between 1847 and 1852 (Lima, 1944, pp. 29-32). Besides being a visual artist, he worked as a photographer. In 1863<sup>64</sup> his *Photographia Artistica* was already active in Lisbon, at nº 58 Rua do Caldeira, neighbouring the glass factory at Rua das Gaivotas, where he also lived (Lima, 1944, p. 32). He was the author of a series of stereoscopic views of Lisbon and Sintra, probably generating approximately two hundred images, some of them sold with a small ink stamp on the back of the card (fig. 21), or, more frequently, only with the handwritten identification of the theme on the back (Ferreira, 2003-2016). Darrah (1977, p. 125) dates his stereoviews of Sintra from the 1870s.

61) *Gazeta de Portugal*. Lisbon, nº 4 (13<sup>th</sup> Nov. 1862), p. 3.

62) *Novissimo guia do viajante em Lisboa*. 1<sup>st</sup> ed. Lisbon: Typ. da Sociedade Typographica Franco-Portugueza, 1863, advertisement on p. without nº.

63) *Jornal do Commercio*. Lisbon, nº 3719 (14<sup>th</sup> Mar. 1865), p. 4 (information from José Luís Madeira).

64) Photographic visit card (Author's col.).

**Francesco Rocchini** (1822-1893), born in Monteleone, in the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies (Madeira, 1992, p. 26)<sup>65</sup>, a professional woodworker in Italy, came to Portugal in 1847 settling in Lisbon. There he learned the daguerreotype technique in 1851, with a Frenchman, probably P. K. Corentin, and in 1853 he started to photograph (Sena, 1998, p. 84)<sup>66</sup>. He used several techniques and formats, including stereoscopy. He also built photographic devices on request and carved drawings on wood for printing (*woodcut*). In 1865, he had his *Galeria Photographica* on the 1<sup>st</sup> floor at nº 45, Travessa de Santa Gertrudes, where he advertised the sale of a stereoscopic camera and its accessories<sup>67</sup>. In May 1869, after moving to Rua Larga de São Roque, with access through the 2<sup>nd</sup> floor at nº 1, Travessa

da Água de Flor, he advertised the sale of all the necessary equipment to take photographs and stereoviews<sup>68</sup>. In his picture catalogues of 1873, 1879 and 1882<sup>69</sup> he placed a final note mentioning that, besides the listed photographs, there were many more for sale, including views for *stereoscopios* (fig. 22)<sup>70</sup>. That said, in his last catalogue (1894), broader and more specific in this respect, he announces he has for sale 290 stereoviews (*vistas photographicas em estereoscopios*) at 200 reis each, the same price as a *carta album* (cabinet format) and twice the price of a *carta de visita*<sup>71</sup>. It should be noted that Rocchini fixed his price list according to the size of the photographic images.

The photographer **Augusto Xavier Moreira**, owner of the *Photographia Bragança*, at nº 28, Rua do Alecrim, and author of the *Album Lisbonense*, with photos of the capital, also sold views of Lisbon in visit card format and stereoview, in the 1860s, identified with his label<sup>72</sup>.

In 1862, the *Photographia Belga* of **Maximilien Baumont**, at nº 27, Largo da Abegoaria, in Lisbon, also advertised the sale of stereoscopic images, most likely taken by himself. More specifically, we know about the existence of stereoviews of the

65) Born in Naples, the capital of this kingdom, according to his marriage register on the 11<sup>th</sup> of October 1851, at the Freguesia da Lapa, in Lisbon (ADLSB. Book of marriages nº 6, fl. 219v).

66) *A Semana Illustrada*, Lisbon, y. I, nº 22 (19<sup>th</sup> Mar. 1888), pp. 171 e 173, mentioned by França, 1966: 286, note 186.

67) *Jornal do Commercio*. Lisbon, nº 3491 (4<sup>th</sup> Jun. 1865), p. [2].

68) *O Diario Popular*. Lisbon, nº 940 (9<sup>th</sup> May 1869), p. [3].

69) The street name of his atelier had meanwhile been changed to Rua de São Pedro de Alcântara.

70) *Catalogo das vistas photographicas de Francisco Rocchini*. Lisbon: author, 1873, p. 10 (Imprensa Nacional); *Catalogo das vistas photographicas que se encontram á venda no atelier de Francisco Rocchini [...]*. Lisbon: author, 1879, p. 11 (Typographia Editora); *Catalogo das vistas photographicas que se encontram á venda no atelier de Francisco Rocchini [...]*. Lisbon: author, 1882, p. 14. (Typ. de Christovão Augusto Rodrigues).

71) *Catalogo das vistas photographicas que se encontram á venda no atelier de Francisco Rocchini [...]*. Lisbon: author, 1894, p. 18.

72) Catalogue of the 2<sup>nd</sup> auction of “Potássio 4” (Nov. 2006), p. 9, lot 11.



asylum of Campo Grande, with groups of children who lived there<sup>73</sup>. There are also doubts about the authorship of the *stereoscopes* whose sale was advertised in 1865 by the *Photographie A. Sazerac*, on the 2<sup>nd</sup> floor at nº 25, Largo de São Carlos, facing the Escadinhas de São Carlos<sup>74</sup>.

Foreign Photographers And Publishers

In 1869, the Frenchman **Jean Laurent** (1816-1886), owner of a photographic studio in Madrid, at nº 39, Carrera de San Geronimo, travelled to Portugal to obtain views of the most important cities and monuments and to reproduce works of art from the Portuguese collections. This journey allowed him

to extend his large archive of images from Spain to the whole Iberian Peninsula (Teixidor, 1997; Teixidor, 2007: 33-48; Araújo, 2010, pp. 87-108). Most of his trip was made by train, and his small laboratory-car, which he needed for the development of the negatives involved in the wet-collodion process, was carried in a wagon, on the railway tracks already in use. For the first time, in his 1872 image catalogue, he included the *Vues et Monuments du Portugal*, among which were a significant number of images of Lisbon and its region<sup>75</sup>. In the 1879 catalogue, besides the large format images, a note refers to the existence of stereoviews of most of the images of the same themes and others which were then added, although they were probably

taken during the same journey<sup>76</sup> (fig. 23 and 24). Specifically, 17 stereoviews of Lisbon, 12 of Sintra, castle of Pena and Monserrate and one of Mafra<sup>77</sup>. Laurent used a 13x18 cm photographic camera with a single lens to capture his stereoscopic photographs (Teixidor, 2007, p. 44). The stereoscopic images of Portugal were sold on two types of cards, surely corresponding to two editions from different periods<sup>78</sup>.

In 1879, the images of Laurent were sold in Lisbon, at the *Depósito Geral de Estampas* of A. de Matos Antunes (nº 88, Rua do Chiado), in Oporto, at the picture shop of Manuel Costenla (nº 198-202, Rua de Santo António), and in many places in Spain and Europe<sup>79</sup>.

The collections of stereoscopic images became a niche market, and therefore it became usual to take large formats and stereoscopic formats of the same themes in the same photographic session. It follows that same occurred in the case of Laurent, of the French firm Lévy and, about a decade previous, of the amateur Antero de Seabra.

Between the 1860s and the 1880s, several Parisian editors commercialised stereoscopic views of Portugal on glass and on paper, including the city of Oporto. We should mention François Blanc, the firm J. Lachenal, L. Favre & C.<sup>ie</sup>, Adolphe Block and the successive firms centred around J. Lévy. The complexity of the editorial history of these firms and the questions they continue to raise require a more global approach to this question.

73) *Jornal do Commercio*, Lisbon, nº 2628 (12<sup>th</sup> Jul. 1862), p. 4; nº 2629 (15<sup>th</sup> Jul. 1862), p. 3.

74) Barbosa, 1865, p. 91.

75) Includes 21 images of the city of Lisbon, with the numbers 800 to 816, 13 images of Sintra, of the castle of Pena and Monserrate, and 1 image of Mafra (*Oeuvres d'art en photographie. L'Espagne et le Portugal au point de vue artistique, monumental et pittoresque. Catalogue [...]*. Madrid / Paris: J. Laurent, 1872. Paris: Imprimerie Centrale des Chemins de Fer A. Chaix et C.<sup>ie</sup>, pp. 165-166).

76) According to the opinion of Carlos Teixidor (IPCE).

77) *Guide du Touriste en Espagne et en Portugal, ou itinéraire à travers des pays, au point de vue artistique, monumental et pittoresque. Catalogue [...]*. Madrid / Paris: J. Laurent et C.<sup>ie</sup>, 1879, pp. 179-180, 187-188, 257.

78) Some in varied colours, with a blindstamp with his signature and captions written with pencil on the back. They most likely belong to the oldest series, datable from the 1870s. Other, editions that could be later editions, were commercialised with series title and author printed on blue cards: *Vues, Musées & Costumes d'Espagne & du Portugal / J. Laurent et C.ie*, 39, *Car.ª S. Geronimo Madrid / 90, Rue Richelieu, Paris*, and the caption of the image printed on the photography.

79) *Guide du Touriste en Espagne et en Portugal, [...]*, 1879, p. X.

The photographer **François Blanc**<sup>80</sup>, with establishment in Paris at nº 56, Rue de la Rochefoucauld, had recently travelled through Spain and Portugal when he exposed glass stereoviews of several countries, surely including those two (82), at the 8<sup>th</sup> exhibition of the *Société Française de Photographie* (1869)<sup>8182</sup>. In the same year, now at nº 72, Boulevard de Sebastopol, published his *Catalogue de vues stéréoscopiques sur verre de l’Espagne et du Portugal*<sup>83</sup>. Included were 60 images of Portugal, with numbers 1201 to 1260, of which 21 images of Lisbon, 8 of Belém and 8 of Sintra, 83 images of Spain, with numbers 1301 to 1383, and 5 images of Biarritz, with numbers 1384 to 1388. In this and the following year we find him at this address selling stereoviews. Our information on Blanc

is lacking after 1871 (Voignier, 1993, p. 33)<sup>84</sup>. In that year or in the year prior he probably sold or transferred his establishment and photographic archive, because in 1871, the Parisian firm **J. Lachenal, L. Favre & C.**<sup>ie</sup>, of the photographers Jean Lachenal and Claude Louis Fabre, which also specialised in the sale of glass stereoviews and magic lanterns of foreign countries, was settled at that address (Voignier, 1993, pp. 99, 145)<sup>85</sup>. For that reason, in 1873, this firm advertised images of the same countries and themes that were photographed and commercialised by Blanc in 1870, some of them quite uncommon among the European photographers and editors<sup>86</sup>. J. Lachenal, L. Favre & C.<sup>ie</sup> published several catalogues of stereoviews and devices for magic lantern on glass, and we

have information about the 1871<sup>87</sup> and 1874<sup>88</sup> catalogues. The described images are equal to the ones published by Blanc in his catalogue<sup>89</sup>, removing any remaining doubts about their authorship. They include 60 images of Portugal, specifically 21 images of Lisbon, 8 of Belém and 8 of Sintra. Probably, J. Lachenal, L. Favre & C.<sup>ie</sup> commercialised the copies already printed on glass by Blanc, and made new copies of the same images from the original negatives. In fact, we know of a copy in which the initials “L. et F.”, surely Lachenal and Fabre, were placed before the number and title of the image<sup>90</sup>. Through careful analysis of the features and finish of the copies extant in the collections we might clarify this question.

At an uncertain date, J. Lachenal, L. Favre & C.<sup>ie</sup> sold the rights of the stereoviews of Portugal to the Parisian photographic editor **Adolphe Block** (1829-1903)<sup>91</sup>. It is therefore for this reason why, among the stereoviews of Portugal edited by Block under the titles *Vues du Portugal*, *Portugal* and *Le Monde Merveilleux*, we find photographs by François Blanc which later integrated the archive of J. Lachenal, L. Favre & C.<sup>ie</sup> (fig. 25)<sup>92</sup>. In the 1870s and probably even in the 1880s, Block made several editions of stereoviews of Portugal, using various cards

where he placed his initials B.K., as was his use (Pellerin, 1995; Ferreira, 2003-2016)<sup>93</sup>.

80) The electoral register of the 3<sup>rd</sup> district of Paris, in 1871, identifies him as François Blanc, born on the 24<sup>th</sup> of April 1826, in Paris, photographer at this last address (information from Denis Pellerin). In 1868 and 1869, M[onsieur] Blanc and M[onsieur] Blanc fils, from Laval (assuming they were not the same person), made some reports about photographic technique and, specifically, about the dry collodion process and stereoscopy on glass, at the *Société Française de Photographie*. (*Bulletin de la Société Française de Photographie*. Paris: Gauthier-Villars, vol. XIV (Apr. 1868), pp. 87-88 (Dec. 1868), pp. 310-311; vol. XV (May 1869), pp. 115-116, (Jul. 1869), pp. 170-171). Considering the content of the texts and the dates of their presentation, he was probably François Blanc.

81) In Paris, at the Palais de l'Industrie, between the 1<sup>st</sup> of May and the end of November 1869. The images for the exhibition had to be delivered until the 10<sup>th</sup> of April at the latest (*Bulletin de la Societé française de Photographie*. Paris: Gauthier-Villars, vol. XV, pp. 25 (Jan. 1869), 122 (May 1869), 289 (Nov. 1869); *Jornal do Porto*. Oporto, y. XI, nº 157 (15<sup>th</sup> Jul. 1869), p. 2.

82) *Catalogue de la huitième exposition de la Société Française de Photographie [...]*. Paris: Imprimerie de Gauthier-Villars, 1869, p. 6; *Jornal do Porto*. Oporto, y. XI, nº 157 (15<sup>th</sup> Jul. 1869), p. 2.

83) Paris: [s.n.: 1869]. Contains 20 images of Lisbon (nº 1201-1221), of which 11 instant views of Oporto, 9 of Belém (Lisbon), of which 1 instant, 1 of Setúbal, 7 of Sintra, 3 of Alcobaça, 6 of Batalha, 5 of Tomar, 2 of Coimbra, and 7 of Oporto (in which is included the image on fig. 25, with the number 1203).

84) *Annuaire-almanach du commerce [...]* (*Didot-Botin*). Paris: Firmin Didot Frères, Fils et C.<sup>ie</sup>, y. LXXIV (1870) (information from Denis Pellerin, Oct. 2015).

85) About 1882 Lachenal continued his business alone (Voignier, 1993, p. 99).

86) As Industan or the islands of Saint Helena, Réunion, Mauritius, etc. (*Annuaire-almanach du commerce [...]* (*Didot-Botin*). Paris: Firmin Didot Frères, Fils et C.<sup>ie</sup>, y. LXXVII (1873) and y. LXXIV (1870) (information from Denis Pellerin, Oct. 2015).

87) *Catalogue général des vues stéréoscopiques sur verre J. Lachenal, L. Favre et C. ie photographes. Paris: [J. Lachenal, L. Favre et C. ie]*, 1871, pp. 42-44. Includes 60 views of Portugal, namely 21 of Lisbon, nº 1201 to 1221, 8 of Belém, nº 1222-1229, and 8 of Sintra, nº 1230-1237.

88) *Catalogue général des photographies sur verre pour le stéréoscope et la projection de J. Lachenal, L. Favre et C. ie photographes*. Paris: [J. Lachenal, L. Favre et C.<sup>ie</sup>], 1874, pp. 39-42. Includes the same 60 views described in the previous note.

89) The identification of these images as belonging to the firm J. Lachenal, L. Favre & C.<sup>ie</sup> was made in 2004 by Ferreira (2003-2106). This was based on the comparison between the numbering and captions of the known images with the ones from the catalogue, an information provided by John B. Cameron.

90) Copy of nº 1244. *Fontaine du cloître de Batalha, Portugal*.

91) Member of the *Société Française de Photographie* (1879-1891).

92) Verified by Ferreira (2003-2016).

93) *Vues du Portugal, du nº 1 au nº 40. [...]. Catalogue*.

The Parisian editor **J. Lévy**<sup>94</sup> also commercialised glass and paper stereoviews of Portugal. His route in this country and the themes he portrayed are very similar to the ones portrayed by Blanc / J. Lachenal, L. Favre & C.<sup>ie</sup>, and he probably used the catalogue of the rival firm as a reference<sup>95</sup>. Lévy was a successor of Ferrier Père, Fils & Soulier<sup>96</sup>, which is revealed by the name *Ferrier P. et f., Soulier & J. Lévy S.<sup>r</sup>* identifying the glass stereoviews of Portugal (1872-). These images of Portugal are absent from the 1870 catalogue<sup>97</sup> but form part of the supplement to the general 1876 catalogue<sup>98</sup>, which suggests that they were taken after 1870 (fig. 26 and 28). The first data resulting from the approximate dating of the photographs edited in Coimbra reveal that they made more than one visit to Portugal – in the mid-1870s, in the 1880s and at a later date<sup>99</sup>. They were most likely taken by more than one photographer. There are editions with captions in French and in Portuguese, destined to the Portuguese market and, eventually, to Brazil and to the Portuguese colonies.

The stereoscopic series of the *Collection L.L.* printed on paper named *Vues du Portugal*, or simply *Portugal*, had several editions with different cards, and surpasses two hundred images (Ferreira, 2003-2016) (fig. 28). The series of glass stereoviews by J. Lévy named *Nouveau voyage en Portugal* includes 21 images of Lisbon (nº 11201 to 11222), 13 of Belém (nº 11223 to 11234), 6 of Sintra (nº 11235 to 11240), and a significant number of other places, amounting to 78 images<sup>100</sup>.

As we claimed in a previous work (Araújo, 2015), the firms J. Lévy & C.<sup>ie</sup> and J. Lachenal, L. Favre & C.<sup>ie</sup> dominated the French stereoscopic editions of international themes in the 1870s (Davanne, 1880, p. 48).

We cannot but notice the coincidence of several themes and even the similitude of the frames they edited, compared to the stereoviews by F. Blanc, also commercialised by J. Lachenal, L. Favre & C.<sup>ie</sup> and Adolphe Block, which probably denotes a previous acquaintance with these images.

Possibly already in the 1880s, Benjamin West Kilburn (1827-1909), based in Littleton, New Hampshire, USA, edited a series of stereoviews of Portugal, assembled on curved cards, which were introduced about 1880, aiming at the increase of the three-dimensional perception of the images. Initially, they were identified with the name of the firm Kilburn Brothers (c.1865 - c.1877), although his brother Edward (1830-1884)

had already left the firm, and later only with the name B. W. Kilburn. The images of Portugal were still edited after the 1890s. The back of the cards informs that they were photographed and published by the editors, but it is clear that at least some of these images were taken by other photographers. Some of them belonged to the archive of the firm Lévy, from Paris, probably dating from the 1870s, as we can confirm in the present example (Darrah, 1997, p. 14; McShane, 1993, pp. 92-93; Ferreira, 2003-2016) (fig. 28 and 29).

Except for the editions of the Kilburn Brothers in the 1880s, this decade is a period when the interest in stereoscopic photography declines, when compared to the two previous decades. This fact is confirmed by the decreasing edition of images and the scarce references to stereoscopic photography in publications, both in Portugal and abroad<sup>101</sup>.

In the late 1890s we would witness a renewed interest in stereoscopic photography, which reached a new peak in the first decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

**The Access To Technical Information On Stereoscopy**

The technical information on stereoscopic photography was accessible through publications which could be ordered and bought at the main Lisbon bookshops<sup>102</sup>, as well as through

94) Isaac or Georges J. Lévy (1833-1913), member of the *Société Française de Photographie* (1867 or 1874?-1885), with the address rue Louis-le-Grand, n.º 25 (Voignier, 1993: 164).  
95) However, we should not forget the importance of the main French travel guides and reference books about Portugal, and the existing railway line as a preferential means of transport.  
96) The Parisian firm of photographic editors Ferrier Père, Fils & Soulier was founded by Claude Marie Ferrier (Lyon, 1811 - Paris, 1889), member of the SFP (1855-1889), his son Jacques Alexandre Ferrier (Lyon, 1831-1911), member of the SFP (1879 - dossier nº 0142), and Charles Soulier (1834-1876). Their establishment was located at nº 99, Boulevard de Sébastopol, Paris (1859-1864).  
97) Information from John B. Cameron to José Manuel Martins Ferreira, based on data published by Jean-Marie Voignier and Pierre Marc Richard (Ferreira, 2003-2016, <http://paginas.fe.up.pt/~jmf/stereo/fr/frfs/frfs-info.htm>).  
98) *Catalogue des vues stéréoscopiques et lanternes magiques sur verre des nouveaux voyages en Portugal et en Suisse photographiées par J. Lévy & C.ie, successeurs de Ferrier père, fils & Soulier. Supplément n.º 5 au Catalogue général*. Paris: [J. Lévy& C.ie], 1876, pp. 3-6.  
99) Provisional dates attributed by Alexandre Ramires for the images of Coimbra. Oral information, 2014.  
100) *Catalogue des vues stéréoscopiques et lanternes magiques sur verre des nouveaux voyages en Portugal et en Suisse photographiées par J. Lévy & C.ie, successeurs de Ferrier père, fils & Soulier. Supplément n.º 5 au Catalogue général*. Paris: [J. Lévy & C.ie], 1876, pp. 3-6; we cannot but notice that the title suggests there was a journey before the one that resulted in this list of images of Portugal.

101) We must observe that, in the monography *Photographia*, published in the collection *Bibliotheca do Povo e das Escolas* in 1884 (Lisbon: Empresa das Horas Românticas, de David Corazzi, y. IV, 10<sup>th</sup> series, nº 78. «Propaganda de Instrução para Portugueses e Brasileiros», following the editorial model of the *Biblioteca del Popolo*, of the Casa Editrice Sonzogno, Milano, 1874-), despite focusing on several photographic techniques, contemporary and historical, there are no references to stereoscopic photography.  
102) For instance, the bookshops of Ferin & Robin, Paul Plantier, Silva Junior & C.<sup>a</sup>, Campos Júnior, etc.

direct contact with some of the photographers working in this city, some of whom travelled to the main European capitals for professional updates and held photography classes.

Commercialisation of Stereoscopic Images and Viewers

Besides the photographers themselves, presumably the pioneers in the commercialisation of stereoscopic photography in Portugal, several establishments in Lisbon are known to have commercialised stereoscopic images and viewers during this first period of photography.

In February 1856 the *Centro Commercial*, with a warehouse at nº 53 and 54, Rua das Portas de Santa Catarina, in Lisbon, advertised the sale of “stereoscopes and glass plates with

photographs for these instruments” (fig. 30)<sup>103</sup>. In March 1858, this establishment advertised the reception of *stereoscopios* and stereoviews<sup>104</sup>. In June, the *Bazar* located at nº 14 and 15, Rua Oriental do Passeio Público, advertised the sale of views for *stereoscopia* (fig. 31)<sup>105</sup>.

In January 1859, the *Deposito Geral de Estampas*, at nº 18, Rua das Portas de Santa Catarina, with a warehouse at nº 24, Rua do Arsenal, advertised the sale of “varied views of Lisbon, Oporto, Sintra, etc., lithographed on photographs and for stereoscope”<sup>106</sup>. In the late 1850s or the early 1860s, they advertised the sale of “a wide assortment of *estereoscópeos* and views on plates, paper and glass”, most of which were most likely imported (fig. 32), or “a varied assortment of *estereoscópeos* of an entirely new taste, and beautiful collections of views for them, on plates, transparent paper and

on glass”<sup>107</sup>. In February 1861, with a new warehouse at the same street, nº 122, and a shop at nº 88, Rua do Chiado, facing the church of Mártires, they advertised a novelty: the “new stereoscope to see moving figures”<sup>108</sup>. In July 1862, it served as a commission house and supplied imported photographic and lithographic material<sup>109</sup>. It sold cameras for capturing portraits and views, accessories, chemical photographic products, stereoscopes, stereoviews, very diverse photo albums at 929 to 13500 reis, passepartout frames and boxes for portraits<sup>110</sup>. Between July 1862 and the beginning of the following year they advertised the arrival of a shipment of “stereoscopes and views”, for sale at a very reasonable cost<sup>111</sup>. Still in 1863, they advertised they had for sale a “Machine to take portraits of every size. Varied assortment of views and stereoscopes.”<sup>112</sup>. In 1865, the *Depósito Geral de Estampas* is referred to at the same address as “Commission House and General Supply for Photography and Lythography”, selling “Mirrors, golden and polished frames, passepartouts, albums, drawing objects, machines for taking portraits, views

for stereoscopes, cosmoramas, etc.”<sup>113</sup>. At that time, its owner was Manuel Costenla<sup>114</sup>, who, years later (1881-1891), would run a similar business in Oporto. Between 1886 and 1891, after the name of Rua do Chiado had changed to Rua Garrett, but while keeping the same door number, the proprietor of the *Depósito Geral de Estampas* was M. A. Antunes. He continued selling photographic material between 1886 and 1891, although we do not know if he also sold stereoviews and stereoscopic material<sup>115</sup>.

António Aprá ran a costume jewellery shop at nº 3-5, Rua do Corpo Santo, in Lisbon, where he sold stereoviews around 1862, as shown by his label on the back of the cards. In the 1880s he was still active at the same address.

Livraria de Campos Junior was a bookshop at nº 77 to 81, Rua Augusta, in Lisbon, which sold photographs at least between 1865<sup>116</sup> and 1869<sup>117</sup>, including stereoviews. We occasionally find its stamp on the back of its cards<sup>118</sup>.

103) *Jornal do Commercio, Industria e Agricultura*. Lisbon, y. III, nº 717 (1<sup>st</sup> Feb. 1856), p. 4, to nº 720 (7<sup>th</sup> Feb. 1856), p. 4, and nº 834 (27<sup>th</sup> Jun. 1856), p. 4, to nº 836 (29<sup>th</sup> Jun. 1856), p. 4.  
104) *Jornal do Commercio, Industria e Agricultura*. Lisbon, y. V, nº 1335 (4<sup>th</sup> Mar. 1858), p. 4.  
105) *Jornal do Commercio, Industria e Agricultura*. Lisbon, y. V, nº 1416 (15<sup>th</sup> Jun. 1858), p. 3; nº 1419 (18<sup>th</sup> Jun. 1858), p. 4.  
106) *A Revolução de Setembro*. Lisbon, nº 5021 (21<sup>st</sup> Jan. 1859), p. 4.

107) *A Revolução de Setembro*. Lisbon, nº 5255 (8<sup>th</sup> Nov. 1859), p. 4, to nº 5312 (15<sup>th</sup> Jan. 1860), p. 4; nº 5359 (13<sup>th</sup> Mar. 1860), p. 4, to nº 5383 (12<sup>th</sup> Apr. 1860), p. 4.  
108) *A Revolução de Setembro*. Lisbon, nº 5626 (2<sup>nd</sup> Feb. 1861), p. 4.  
109) *Novissimo guia do viajante em Lisboa*. 1<sup>st</sup> ed. Lisbon: Typ. da Sociedade Typographica Franco-Portugueza, 1863, advertisement in p. without nº.  
110) *Jornal do Commercio*. Lisbon, nº 2622 (1<sup>st</sup> Jul. 1862), p. 4, to nº 2707 (15<sup>th</sup> Oct. 1862), p. 4.  
111) Id. previous note; *A Revolução de Setembro*. Lisbon, nº 6207 (21<sup>st</sup> Jan. 1863), p. 4.  
112) *Novissimo guia [...]*, 1863, advertisement in p. without nº.  
113) Barbosa, 1865, p. 88.  
114) *Almanach de Lembranças Luzo-Brazileiro*. Lisbon: [s.n.], 1863 and 1865, p. 88.  
115) *Almanach Commercial de Lisboa [...] para 1887*, 1886, p. 179; *Almanach Commercial de Lisboa ou annuario de Portugal para 1888*. Lisbon, 1888, p. 554; *Almanach Commercial de Lisboa ou annuario de Portugal para 1889*. Lisbon, 1888, p. 513; *Annuario do Commercio [...] para 1889*. Lisbon, [s.d.], p. 818; *Almanach Commercial de Lisboa para 1890*. Lisbon, 1889, p. 530; *Annuario do Commercio e Almanach Commercial de Lisboa [...] para 1891*. Lisbon, [s.d.], p. 399.  
116) *Diario de Noticias*. Lisbon, nº 42 (21<sup>st</sup> Feb. 1865), p. 4.  
117) *Jornal do Commercio*. Lisbon, nº 4705 (7<sup>th</sup> Jul. 1869), p. [3].  
118) We know of copies by J. Silveira (Author's col.).

In 1869, the glassware and optical shop of José Joaquim Ribeiro at nº 222-224, Rua do Ouro, advertised “magic lanterns and views, stereoscopes, grimakitiscope and phenakistiscopes”<sup>119</sup>. In 1881-1885 he still sold stereoscopes<sup>120</sup>.

Stereoscopic Shows

There is a long prephotographic tradition of shows exhibiting views of famous places from the capitals of Europe or from exotic places around the world, like stages for media events. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, itinerant businessmen travelled throughout the Continent and came to the main Portuguese cities with shows where a set of images could be viewed, prephotographic at first, and later also photographic. Very different in nature and in size, they could be viewed through various machines and optical devices, and using a diversity of names: panoramas, cosmoramas, neoramas, dissolving views, stereoscopic

views, etc. It is not very clear, through the advertisements and the reports, whether these images are prephotographic or photographic. Among those whose documented description suggests the presence of photographic images, we mention two shows which advertised the viewing of glass stereoviews in Lisbon.

Late in May 1861, Mr. José Manuel Ricaud, just arrived from Paris, at nº 31 and 33, Rua do Salitre, presented his *Cosmorama Universal*. It was already his 14<sup>th</sup> exhibition of 27 views in 9 stereoscopes, 3 views in each of them. We assume them to be reproductions of paintings, since he declared them to be “works of the first artists of Italy and France”. Its owner describes it as a “magnificent *Cosmorama* that has already been admired in the main capitals and cities of Europe and America”. It is not clear if he travelled himself to those places, if someone else to whom he bought the images did, or if the comment was mere misleading advertising. The entry costed 40 reis. At the same time as the *Cosmorama*, and at the same establishment, it was advertised the making of *Photographia* on glass and *Daguerrotypo* on metallic plate<sup>121</sup>. In 1865, José Manuel Ricaud was active as a photographer at the same address, which led us to believe that it was him who photographed at the *Cosmorama*<sup>122</sup>.

Early in 1877, the exhibition of glass stereoviews of Mr. Boix Jovani had been in Lisbon for two years, after touring Europe,

where it had also caught the attention of the public. It toured from Lisbon to Braga (1877)<sup>123</sup>, from there to Oporto (1877-1879), and then to Coimbra (1879). It was a set of 100 glass stereoviews of the main capitals of Europe, the ruins of Rome, the most important buildings of Paris, etc.

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120) *Almanach Commercial de Lisboa para 1882*. Lisbon, 1881, pp. 191 and 665, and *Almanach Commercial de Lisboa para 1885*. Lisbon, 1884, pp. 188 and 620.  
121) *Diario de Annuncios*. Lisbon, nº 65 (24<sup>th</sup> May 1861), p. 2.  
122) *Jornal do Commercio*. Lisbon, nº 3467 (6<sup>th</sup> May 1865), p. 4, to n.º 3472 (12<sup>th</sup> May 1865), p. 4; Barbosa, 1865, p. 91.

123) *Jornal Academico*. Braga, nº 8, (3<sup>rd</sup> May 1877), p. 3.

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