



Scanian Landscape Paintings
Identity and Historiography 1885–1915

A Master's Thesis for the Degree of Master of Arts (120 credits) in Visual Culture

Anna Johansson

Division of Art History and Visual Studies
Department of Arts and Cultural Sciences
Lund University
KOV12, Master Thesis, 30 credits
Supervisor: Ludwig Qvarnström
Spring semester 2024

Acknowledgement

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to colleagues and friends who have encouraged and supported me along the way with this thesis. Thank you Julia Björnberg, Jenny Nordberg, and Felicia Tolentino for your presence, humor, and sharpness, thank you Clara Gustafsson Kadziolka for your keen eye and Mimmi Sjö for your thoughtfulness and good advice. Thanks also to Jenny Kalliokulju, Ellen Klintenberg, Andreas Kurtsson and Emma Reichert for all conversations we've had over a long period, which I have carried with me.

I also want to thank my manager Kirse Junge-Stevnsborg, director at Malmö Konstmuseum for providing me with opportunities to face the challenges I need. I would also like to extend a big thank you to my supervisor Ludwig Qvarnström, for his pedagogical skills, patience, and insightful conversations.

Abstract

This thesis explores reasons of the marginalization of Scanian landscape paintings in the Swedish art history between 1885–1915. The first research question will investigate the construction of the narrative of Swedish art history and how it correlates to the perceived image of Sweden at the turn of the century. The second question examines the consequences this has had for the perception of the Scanian art. By comparing the image of Sweden with the Scanian landscape paintings, the third question explore the similarities and differences between them. The period holds a prominent place in Swedish art history, marked by a craze for nature that led artists to explore Swedish landscapes. Although differences between the individual landscapes were seen as the diversity of the nation's identity, depictions of Scania have largely been excluded. Seen through art history, this has contributed to a one-sided image of Sweden. A selection of survey textbooks in general art history and a series of Scanian landscape paintings, presented at Malmö Museum between 1908–1914, forms the corpus of the thesis. In the critical historiography, I apply theories by Foucault, Piotrowski, and White. In the analyses of the art works, I am informed by W. J. T Mitchell, and consider the art works to be active identity makers. To produce new knowledge and meaning in relation to the context of Scania, I conduct semiotic analyses based on Saussure, Peirce, and Barthes. The investigation reveals how the narrative is constructed and its dominating ideals, but most important is from which position the narrative is written. From that point of view, the image of the peripheral Scania did not fit in. The investigation also show that it is possible to change a narrative that has been reproduced for 100 years.

Keywords: nationalism, Scania, identity, historiography, periphery

Table of Contents

Introduction	1
Aim and research questions.....	3
Background and relevance	4
Empirical material and delimitations	6
Theory and methods	8
History and narration.....	9
Temporalities.....	11
Nationalism and provincialism.....	13
Semiotics and the production of meaning	15
Previous research.....	18
Disposition of the thesis	22
Chapter 1: A common identity?	24
1.1 Formation of a national identity	24
1.2 Formation of a Scanian identity.....	27
Chapter 2: The grand narrative of Swedish art history 1885–1915	31
2.1 The narrative and its construction	32
2.2 The books and their structure	34
2.3 Changes in the narrative.....	39
Chapter 3: A national art with new ideals	42
3.1 A changed perception of Sweden.....	42
3.2 Sweden according to Carl G. Laurin	44
3.2.1 Nature and traditions	45
3.2.2 Material heritage	52
3.2.3 Scania	54
Chapter 4: The Scanian landscape paintings – an empirical analysis	56
4.1 A short background of Malmö Museum and its art collection in 1908.....	56
4.2 Titles as textual messages	58
4.3 The half-timbered house.....	60
4.3.1 In the light of modernity.....	63
4.4 Vegetation	65
4.5 The Scanian air, light and colour	71
Chapter 5: Swedishness, Scanianness? A comparative discussion	79
5.1 Landscape as subject matter – similarities	79
5.2 Signs of Sweden, signs of Scania – differences	80
5.2.1 The material heritage.....	82

5.2.2 In the light of modernity.....	82
Conclusion.....	85
References	89

List of figures

Fig. 1. Otto Hesselbom, *Vårt land. Motiv från Dalsland* (Our Country. Motif from Dalsland), 1902. Photo: Nationalmuseum/DigitaltMuseum

Fig. 2. Carl Wilhelmson, *Jordarbetare från Uppland* (Farm workers), 1904. Photo: Thielska Galleriet

Fig. 3. Carl Wilhelmson, *Kyrkfolk i båt* (Church people in a boat), 1909. Photo: Nationalmuseum/DigitaltMuseum

Fig. 4. Carl Larsson, *De mina* (Mine), undated. Photo: Reproduction from book/Anna Johansson

Fig. 5. Carl Larsson, *Kräftfiske* (Crayfishing), ca 1894. Photo: Reproduction from book/Anna Johansson

Fig. 6. Anders Zorn, *Midsommardans* (Midsummer dance), 1897. Photo: Nationalmuseum/DigitaltMuseum

Fig. 7. Anders Zorn, *Ute* (Outdoor), 1888. Photo: Hossein Sehatlou/ Göteborgs konstmuseum

Fig. 8. Prins Eugen, *På ingående* (Entrancing), undated. Photo: Reproduction from book/Anna Johansson

Fig. 9. Eugène Jansson, *Riddarholmsfjärden en midsommarnatt* (Riddarholmsfjärden on a Midsummer Night), before 1915. Photo: Wikipedia Commons.

Fig. 10. Oscar Björck, *Vadstena slot* (Vadstena Castle), undated. Photo: Reproduction from book/Anna Johansson

Fig. 11. Prins Eugen, *Stockholms slott* (Stockholm Castle), undated. Photo: Reproduction from book/Anna Johansson

Fig. 12. Gustaf Rydberg, *Bondgård i Brunnby* (Farm in Brunnby), 1893. Photo: Malmö Konstmuseum

Fig. 13. Justus Lundegård, *Arilds pinier* (Arild's pines), undated. Photo: Malmö Konstmuseum

Fig. 14. Per Gummeson, *Gård i senvinter, Röstånga* (Farmhouse in late winter, Röstånga), 1908. Photo: Malmö Konstmuseum

Fig. 15. Gisela Henckel Trapp, *Haga vid Arild* (Haga in Arild), 1901. Photo: Malmö Konstmuseum

Fig. 16. Gustaf Rydberg, *Slättbild från Höja* (Plain View from Höja), 1890. Photo: Malmö Konstmuseum

Fig. 17. Axel Hjalmar Lindqvist, *Bokskog* (Beech forest), 1882.
Photo: Malmö Konstmuseum

Fig. 18. Justus Lundegård, *Arilds pinier* (Arild's pines), before 1903.
Photo: Malmö Konstmuseum

Fig. 19. Gustaf Rydberg, *Vid Arilds strand* (At the beach in Arild), 1890.
Photo: Malmö Konstmuseum

Fig. 20. Gustaf Rydberg, *Morgondimma vid Arild* (Morning fog in Arild), 1893.
Photo: Malmö Konstmuseum

Fig. 21. Anders Trulson, *Arilds hamn* (Arild's Harbour), 1904.
Photo: Malmö Konstmuseum

Fig. 22. Herman Österlund, *Solnedgång, Rövarekulan vid Löberöd* (Sunset, Rövarekulan at Löberöd), 1900. Photo: Malmö Konstmuseum

Fig. 23. Per Gummeson, *Vårmorgon, Röstånga* (Spring morning, Röstånga), 1907.
Photo: Malmö Konstmuseum

Fig. 24. Hugo Salmson, *Landskap* (Landscape), before 1894.
Photo: Malmö Konstmuseum

Introduction

Paintings of fields with fertile farmland, half-timbered houses, beech forests and coastal motifs, greeted the visitors who entered the collection of art from Scania (Skåne), the southernmost part of Sweden, at the top floor at Malmö Museum in 1908. Their titles referred to places in the region such as Arild, Brunnby, Höja, Löberöd and Röstånga, and dated from the late 19th century to the beginning of the 20th century. They were made by artists such as Per Gummeson, Justus Lundegård, Gustaf Rydberg and Herman Österlund, at the time some of the most frequently exhibited artists in the region.

As part of an extensive European movement, Sweden was influenced by nationalistic currents that aimed to create a common cultural identity to strengthen the sense of the nation. In the second half of the 19th century, depictions of landscapes became instruments in the nation-building process by highlighting what was considered as the essence of Sweden. The provincial romanticism was flourishing and authors and artists were described as artistic conquerors because of the increased interest to examine the home villages and the local history.¹ The individual uniqueness of each landscape was considered to constitute and give character to the nation.² In Scania, the landscape paintings were seen as an expression of belonging to the nation and to Scania and its people.³ In the light of the nationalistic currents, the Scanian art collection and its landscape paintings can be seen as a product of its time and reflects the prominent interest in capturing the history and identity of the homeland. In 1908, Malmö Museum was visited by almost 18,000 people, which should be considered a large number in a city that, at the turn of the century, had a population of 60,000.⁴ The artworks were on display until 1914. In a time when museum visits had been a public concern, many took part of the depictions of the Scanian landscape.

In 2023, 115 years later, the paintings displayed in the collection between 1908–1914 had long been in a silent existence in the museum's storage. Nowadays, the storage is the place where most of the museum's collection is situated. Although the primary reason is usually the

¹ A. Gauffin, 'Sveriges moderna målarekonst', *Sydsvenska Dagbladet Snällpostens riksnnummer*, 1914, p. 43.

² S. Nordin, 'Sveriges kulturella storhetstid', in J. T. Ahlstrand et al. (eds.), *Signums svenska konsthistoria. Konsten 1890–1915*, Lund, Bokförlaget Signum, 2001, p. 17.

³ A. Hahr, *Skånekonst*, Malmö, Skånes konstförening, 1912, p. 5–6.

⁴ H. E. Larsson, Redogörelse för Malmö Museums förvaltning och tillväxt, 1908. Malmö Museum's Archive.

lack of public exhibition spaces, some works tend to remain unexhibited for decades. Considered unfashionable or not relevant in the prevailing agendas of the museums, the works remain stored, out of reach for the visitors, and easily falls into oblivion. On the contrary to distinguished artists such as Nils Kreuger and Karl Nordström, whose emblematic works has become associated with Halland, Carl Larsson and Anders Zorn gave a face to Dalarna, Bruno Liljefors became connected to Uppland and Carl Willhelmson to Bohuslän, most of the Scanian landscape painters have not been inscribed in the narrative of Swedish art history. Their images have neither been disseminated nor reproduced like those of their contemporaries. This caused my curiosity to examine the underlying reasons behind it further.

Through my work as a curator at Malmö Konstmuseum, I have had the opportunity to get familiar with the wide range of landscape painters from Scania from the turn of the century. However, my interest in the paintings grew out of a detour through contemporary art and *The Flatlands–Network for Artistic Research of Scania* (Den platta jorden – nätverk för konstnärligt utforskande av Skåne). It was established in 2021 by me together with Julia Björnberg, previous curator at Ystad konstmuseum, Andreas Kurtsson, previous artistic director at Röstånga konsthall and Jenny Kalliokulju, director at Åstorp konsthall. We all shared a common interest in Scania as a place and examined aspects of what can be called modern art geography through issues that we faced in our everyday practice at the art institutions. We questioned administrative borders as a starting point for exhibitions and museum acquisitions, we examined consequences for artistic production between urban and rural places in the region, and together with invited artists we explored the gap between two- and three-dimensional perceptions of what a place can be and enabled the notion that a place is created in relation to the surrounding world to guide the process. The network was in its initial years funded by the Swedish Arts Council and the Region of Skåne and resulted in artists residencies, a conference, a publication, and smaller exhibitions.⁵ While working with the contemporary art projects, we got fascinated by the landscape paintings in the museum storage that we at the time didn't have much knowledge about. We also got interested in the notion of cultural identity and belonging that were expressed by the museum and through literature and art criticism at the turn of the century. It was radically different from our point of view, but still ideas that once again have been brought up in Swedish politics though the

⁵ The documentation of the networks first projects can be found in J. Björnberg et al (eds.) in *In Search for Scania*, Malmö, Den platta jorden, 2022.

decision to create a national canon.⁶ Our work proceeded and for the first time shown together since the 1970s, the Scanian landscape paintings are now on display in the exhibition *Gränstrakt* (Borderland), curated by Julia Björnberg, Ellen Klintenberg and myself at Malmö Konstmuseum and Ystad konstmuseum.⁷ This time in dialogue with contemporary art.

This thesis can be considered an offspring from previous projects. My driving force in this process has been my own curiosity to understand why the Scanian landscape paintings have been marginalized in art history. The works that are inscribed in the history are those considered the best, and in this way, they also represent an image of Sweden. Viewed through the lens of the nationalist currents at the turn of the century and their eagerness to seek a national identity, my question arose if the paintings, that depict the nature of Scania and a cultural landscape shaped by its proximity to the continent, did not correlate to the image of Sweden. This prompted me to investigate the narrative of Swedish art history and its ideological implications further. The title of the thesis *Scanian Landscape paintings, Identity and Historiography 1885–1915* aims to reflect the intersection between identity and historiography.

Aim and research questions

The aim of this thesis is to get an understanding of the marginalization of Scania and depictions of the Scanian landscape in the Swedish art history during the period between 1885–1915. My aim leads to following questions:

- How is the grand narrative of Swedish art history between 1885–1915 constructed, and how is this correlated to the perceived image of Sweden at the time?
- Which consequences has this had for the perception of Scanian landscape paintings in particular?
- What similarities, and what differences, can be found between the Scanian art and the image of Sweden at the time?

⁶ The Government of Sweden: [En svensk kulturkanon ska tas fram - Regeringen.se](https://www.regeringen.se/pressmeddelanden/2023/09/en-svensk-kulturkanon-ska-tas-fram), (accessed 6 Sept. 2024)

⁷ The exhibition *Gränstrakt* is shown between May 18 to November 3, 2024. For more information about the exhibition and the exhibited artists: <https://denplattajorden.se/projects/borderland/>

The thesis takes its point of departure in the context of the nationalistic currents that influenced the society and got manifested through a diverse cultural expression, where the art and depictions of the landscape is one. Although the period is characterized by an emerged interest in artistic examinations of the landscapes of Sweden, considered to constitute the diversity of the nation, the Scanian landscape paintings have to a large extent been marginalized in the history.

Through an analysis of the grand narrative of art history at the turn of the century, based on readings of some of the most spread survey books in general art history, I will examine how the construction of the narrative and its ideological implications have affected the marginal position of the Scanian artists. Contemporary to the events, public educator Carl G. Laurin published the poster book *Sverige genom konstnärsögon* (Sweden Through the Eyes of Artists) (1911) that was translated to English, French and German to spread the image of Sweden. This book will be used to further examine how the image of Sweden was perceived at the time. This perception of Sweden will then be compared with the Scanian landscape paintings in order to examine similarities and differences and between them. The point of departure for my analysis of the Scanian landscape paintings are the paintings that were presented in the collection at Malmö Museum in 1908 where they remained displayed until 1914. Through the analysis I will examine their characteristics and meaning production.

With the thesis, I intend to make a corrective to the grand narrative of Swedish art history 1885–1915. Rather than claiming that the Scanian landscape paintings should be included into the canon, I hope to produce new knowledge that gives a broader understanding of the art history and the Scanian landscape paintings. In the long term, I hope to contribute to a broader understanding of the image of Sweden than what art history conveys.

Background and relevance

The period between 1885–1915 occupies a prominent place in Swedish art history. Numerous survey books, dissertations and exhibitions catalogues have been produced that covers different perspectives of it. They share a focus on the narrative surrounding the group of artists known as the Opponents, later the Artists' Association, and the artistic milieu among them. The years 1890–1915 has been referred to as 'Sweden's cultural golden age', due to its

flourishing cultural scene and the number of writers and artists that put Sweden on the world map.⁸ The period is characterized by a duality with one foot in the traditions and the other in the emerging modernity. The society underwent significant changes with the expansion of the railway network, industrialization, urban development, export industries and stock trading. The notion of democracy was widely discussed, which the labour movement and women rights movement contributed to. Two major exhibitions manifested modernity through the latest developments within technology, industry, and art: *The General Art and Industrial Exposition of Stockholm* in 1897 who gathered participants from Scandinavia and *The Baltic Exhibition* in Malmö in 1914 with participants from Denmark, Germany, Russia, and Sweden.

The changes in the name of modernity contributed to a turbulent era, and the nationalist movement took on a new form. An emerged interest appeared in the history of the nation and the different provinces, as the landscape were called. The original roots were seen as a link that would strengthen the nation which gave rise to numerous associations that examined the material and immaterial cultural heritage. The time is also characterized by words that express the love to the nation, of longing for Swedishness and of the searching for a national identity. It is within this context, the authors and artists begin to explore the country's various landscapes through text and image. Many of the Scanian artists devoted their practice to portray the homeland, inspired by the characteristics of the landscape. Landscape paintings was highly respected, and depictions of the own landscape was considered to reflect not only the nature but also the character of the inhabitants. As part of the nationalist currents and the ongoing nation-building process their works was considered to enhance the national identity and create a sense of belonging. It was regarded as necessary in a time of momentous change.

The art history 1885–1915 is dominated by the members of the Artists' Association who have become canonized. Their works and the narrative continue to be reproduced and circulated through books and exhibitions, reproductions on towels, postcards, puzzles, cookie jars and in tv-series. To a certain extent they have become a culturally inherited notion of Sweden. It's a unilateral history, and a monotonous image of Sweden. In this light, the Scanian landscape paintings from the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century is a largely unexplored field in the Swedish art history. This is testified by the lack of academic research, essays, and exhibitions, before the one I have curated with my colleagues.

⁸ S. Nordin, 'Sveriges kulturella storhetstid', in J T. Ahlstrand et al. (eds.), *Signums svenska konsthistoria. Konsten 1890–1915*, Lund, Bokförlaget Signum, 2001, p. 9.

At the turn of the century, grand worlds were used to praise the greatness of Scania and its art. Since the 1970s, however, Scanian art from the period has to a large extent been relegated to museum storages.⁹

Empirical material and delimitations

The empirical material that constitutes the corpus for this thesis is based on both literature and art works. In my examination of the grand narrative of Swedish art history between 1885–1915, the empirical material is constituted by several survey books in general art history that covers the period. As surveys they are limited by their need to be general and is thereby written by strongly driven arguments. The need to make selections in terms of geography, chronology, selection of art works and in relation to traditions affects the narrative. Through the selection process, the surveys provide a canon of what is considered as the most exceptional art. Due to the survey textbooks apparent aims and limitations, they constitute a point of departure for my examination of their structure and its consequences of marginalizing the Scanian landscape paintings.

Following survey textbooks constitute the corpus for the examination: *Konsthistoria* (Art History) (1900) and *Konsten i Sverige* (Art in Sweden) (1915) both written by Carl G. Laurin.¹⁰ He was one of the most prominent public educators at the time, contracted by the publishing house Nordstedt and engaged in the associations Art in Schools (*Konsten i skolan*) and Art at Home (*Konsten i hemmet*).¹¹ Laurin's *Konsthistoria* (Art History) became highly appreciated and was re-published in eleven editions until 1945. *Konsten i Sverige* (Art in Sweden) is a popularly book that aimed to reach readers with no previous knowledge of art. Further on, I use Sixten Strömboms two volumes *Konstnärsförbundets historia 1885–1890* (The History of the Artists' Association 1885–1890) (1945) and *Nationalromantik och radikalism. Konstnärsförbundets historia 1890–1920* (National Romanticism and Radicalism. The History of the Artists' Association 1890–1920) (1965). These books are not to be considered as general survey books but have been groundbreaking in terms of later research

⁹ An exception is Carl-Fredrik Hill who have gained much attention the last decades. This will be touched upon in analysis in of the grand narrative of Swedish art history 1885–1915. However, Hill did not devote his practice to examine the landscape of Scania, even if some of his early paintings depicts the surrounding of Lund.

¹⁰ Please note that the English translation of Swedish book titles throughout the thesis has been done by me. Apart from Carl G. Laurin's *Sweden Through the Eyes of Artists*, none of the books are translated to my knowledge.

¹¹ S. Nordin, 'Sveriges kulturella storhetstid', in J T. Ahlstrand et al. (eds.), *Signums svenska konsthistoria. Konsten 1890–1915*, Lund, Bokförlaget Signum, 2001, p 15.

on the period and on artists who were members at the Artists' Association. In the examination I also use the third part in *Sveriges konsthistoria, från forntid till nutid* (The Art History of Sweden, from Ancient Times to the Present) (1946) by Professor Andreas Lindblom and *Konsten i Sverige från 1800–1979* (Art in Sweden from 1800–1979) (1988) by Professor Sven Sandström, two books which have had impact through their use as teaching material in universities' foundation courses in art history. Finally, the two comprehensive works *Signums Svenska konsthistoria. Konsten 1890–1915* (Signum's Swedish Art History. Art 1890–1915) (2001), and *Konst och visuell kultur i Sverige 1810–2000* (Art and Visual Culture in Sweden 1810–2000) (2007) have been used in order to examine how the narrative has been changed with new awareness on history writing.

To further examine the notion of Sweden and how it was perceived at the turn of the century, I take the point of departure in *Sverige genom konstnärsogon* (Sweden through the eyes of artists) (1911) by Carl G. Laurin. The book can be considered as a travelogue through Sweden with the purpose of recapturing the sense of belonging to the nation. Through examples of paintings by various artists in conjunction to Laurin's descriptions, his ideological ideals become visible. The book was translated to English, German and French and was used as promotional material by the Swedish Tourist Association (Svenska Turistföreningen). Thus, the book can be considered to have influenced and affected the perception of what has been regarded as Swedish art and Swedish nature. Here, I also use Richard Bergh's essay 'Svenskt konstnärskynne' (Swedish Artistic Character) (1899) which can be considered as the Artists' Association's program for a new national art.

The body of works that constitute the empirical material for chapter 4 is the landscape paintings presented in the collection at Malmö Museum 1908–1914. The collection is documented in *Vägledning genom Malmö Museum* (Guide Through Malmö Museum) (1908), compiled by director Hans Emil Larsson and is a valuable historical document. The collection of Scanian painters consisted of 25 works by 16 artists. 14 of them were landscape paintings which make visible the popularity of the genre at the time. Other genres were portraits, interiors, and a city scape as well as works that are categorized as studies (see appendix A). My analysis is based on the landscape paintings that I have been able to identify, and I do not aim to analyse the collection in its full entity. The works contributed to produce the identity of Scania and as such the works gives a valuable insight in what was considered as valuable to portray. They reflect the norms and ideals in Scania. A full list of the paintings that will be analysed is attached in chapter 4.

I have limited the period for this thesis to the thirty years between 1885–1915. 1885 marks the year for the establishment of the Opponents, who have a prominent role in the historiography. It also marks an approximate year for the return to Sweden by the many expatriate artists and their longing for Swedish nature which will become the recurrent motif at the turn of the century. The year of 1915 marks an approximately end of the era of a national art in the historiography even if the Artist's Association, which becomes the established form of the Opponents, continues to exist until 1920. However, the art works in the collection at Malmö Museum were produced between 1882–1908, and the survey books in general art history are published between 1900–2007. This demonstrates that art history writing generally is conducted retrospectively, with a temporal perspective on the events and artistic movements described. The historiography will in this sense continue to be produced.

Theory and methods

The aim and research questions of this thesis implies a critique towards the established narrative of art history. In accordance with Michael Foucault and in contrast to traditional art history, I will in this thesis argue that Swedish art history doesn't correlate to the considered truth, as presented in the grand narrative, but is rather a construction that is affected by power relations, ideologies, and ideals.

The thesis consists of a discourse analysis in the intersection of historiography and ideology.

I am supposing that in every society the production of discourse is at once controlled, selected, organized, and redistributed by a certain number of procedures whose role is to avert its power and its dangers, to cope with chance events, to avoid its ponderous, awesome materiality. In a society as our own we all know the *rules of exclusion*. The most obvious and familiar of these concerns what is *prohibited*.¹²

This reflects Foucault's view of discourse as a regulated and structured system that holds power and shapes in societal structures. In this sense I understand the discourse as an

¹² M. Foucault, *Diskursens ordning*, trans. M. Rosengren, Stockholm/Stehag, Brutus Östlings Bokförlag Symposium, 1993, p. 7. My translation from Swedish to English is based on: 'jag antar att diskursproduktionen i varje samhälle på en och samma gång kontrolleras, väljs ut, organiseras och fördelas av ett visst antal procedurer vilkas roll är att kringgå dess tunga, skrämmande materialitet. I ett samhälle som vårt är *utestänings*procedurer naturligtvis välkända. Det tydligaste och mest bekanta är *förbudet*.

expression of how certain ideals, ideas and notions are formed rather than others, and how these formed ideals become regulated and distributed. A discourse analysis can thus be considered as a study of how ideals and knowledge is constructed and disseminated. However, I do not intend to follow a strict set of tools but am rather informed by Foucault's writings. I neither claim to get behind the discourse since the premise is that a truth never can be reached.¹³

In order to examine the reasons why the Scanian art have been marginalized in the Swedish art history 1885–1915, I will examine the grand narrative and its structure. Further, I will investigate how ideological ideals that constituted the visual perception of Sweden at the turn of the century. As such, this thesis will deal with a series of theories from critical historiography to nationalism.

History and narration

In *L'archéologie du savoir* (1969), Foucault questions the evolutionary and linear history writing which is based on predetermined goals. He argues that history is marked by discontinuities, breaks, and shifts that traditional historiography often overlook.¹⁴ In addition to my inspiration from Foucault's critique of historiography, I will mainly use literary scholar Hayden White and art historian Piotr Piotrowski.¹⁵

Hayden White explores the idea that historical writing share similarities with literary creation, emphasizing the role of the narrative structure and language in shaping historical accounts. White challenges traditional historical objectivity, suggesting that historians inevitably engage in a form of storytelling influenced by literary devices.¹⁶ In *Metahistory, The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (2014) White develops an analytical model that will constitute the theoretical base and methodological tool in the analysis of the grand narrative of Swedish art between 1885–1915. White distinguishes five

¹³ A comprehensive and accessible account of discourse analysis and its challenges can be found in M. Winther Jørgensen and L. Philips, *Diskursanalys som teori och metod*, Lund, Studentlitteratur AB, 2000.

¹⁴ M. Foucault, *The Archeology of Knowledge*, trans. A. M. Sheridan Smith, London and New York, Routledge Classics, 2002, p. 10–15.

¹⁵ In this context, J. Elkins, *Stories of Art*, New York and London, Routledge, 2000, also provides pedagogical explanations into counter narratives.

¹⁶ H. White, *Tropics of Discourse. Essays in Cultural Criticism*, John Hopkins Paperbacks edn., Baltimore and London, John Hopkins University Press, 1985, p. 81–99.

different levels of structures that constitute the construction of a historical work: *chronicle*, *story*, *mode of emplotment*, *mode of argument* and *mode of ideological implication*.¹⁷

Chronicles can be understood as a selection and arrangement of events in a temporal order.

Further, the chronicles then become a *story* by arranging the chronicles into spectacles or happenings through a storyline with a beginning, middle and end. Implicitly, the arrangement of events contributes to suppress others. White argues:

The events are *made* into a story by the suppression or subordination of certain of them and the highlighting of others, by characterization, motif repetition, variation of tone and alternative descriptive strategies [...] all of the techniques that we would normally expect to find in the emplotment of a novel or play.¹⁸

The *mode of emplotment* (Romance, Tragedy, Comedy, Satire) is a further conceptualization which refers to the process of how the narrative is told and explained. White refers to the archetypal form of the story that involves significant interpretive elements akin to those found in fiction.¹⁹ By using the specific content of these literary genres, historians give shape and meaning to their accounts of the past, influencing how readers understand and interpret historical events. However, no history is intrinsically romantic or tragic, it all depends on from which point of view the text is structured.²⁰ The metaphor is another tool used by historians in the creation of historical works. The metaphor, White states ‘[...] tells us what images to look for in our culturally encoded experience in order to determine how we *should feel* about the thing represented’.²¹ It gives a direction to find images that we can associate with that thing. *Mode of argument* (formist, mechanistic, organistic, contextualistic) shows how historians construct and interpret events through specific formal, rhetorical, and conceptual lenses, whereas *mode of ideological implication* (anarchist, radical, conservative, liberal) implies how a narrative is structured according to a certain ideological worldview.²² I will not use White’s methodology in a strict sense since I do not aim to categorize the

¹⁷ H. White, *Metahistory. The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, Fortieth-anniversary edn., Baltimore, John Hopkins University Press, 2014, p. 5.

¹⁸ H. White, *Tropics of Discourse. Essays in Cultural Criticism*, John Hopkins Paperbacks edn., John Hopkins University Press, Baltimore and London, 1985, p. 84.

¹⁹ H. White, *Metahistory. The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, Fortieth-anniversary edn., Baltimore, John Hopkins University Press, 2014, p. 7.

²⁰ H. White, *Tropics of Discourse. Essays in Cultural Criticism*, John Hopkins University Press, Baltimore and London, 1985, p. 84–85.

²¹ *ibid.*, p 91.

²² H. White, *Metahistory. The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, Fortieth-anniversary edn., Baltimore, John Hopkins University Press, 2014, p. 5, p. 7.

construction of every single survey textbook. I will rather use it to create an understanding of the recurrent structure of the narrative as presented in the books.

How a history is written is also dependent on from where it is written. The centric perspective in art history is criticized by art historian Piotr Piotrowski who argues that art produced in peripheral areas become marginalized. At the turn of the century, Paris was considered the center, with the consequence that art produced in peripheral places not only has been invisible in the Western art history, but they have also consequently been compared with the styles that were developed in France. More complex networks of influences from other places have thus been invisible which makes the narrative appear monotonous.²³ Piotrowski writes from an Eastern European perspective and in ‘Towards a Horizontal History of the European Avant-Garde’, he argues that the hegemonic narrative excludes alternative artistic developments and movements that do not fit into the linear progression that often constitute the centered narrative.²⁴ Piotrowski’s critical perspective on the imagined centre and its effects on the narrative is useful in my analysis. When Stockholm was seen as the centre of the Swedish art history, the margins were symptomatically displaced.

Temporalities

The thesis engages with different temporalities which are affected by various perceptions of art that have been dependent on their specific context. This understanding of time goes hand in hand with the critical historiography. Here, I will primarily relate to Dan Karlholm’s *Kontemporalism, om samtidskonstens historia och framtid* (Contemporality, On the History and Future of Contemporary Art) (2014) where he distinguishes nine different aspects of time related to an artwork: *conception time, production time, systematic time, art historical time, embodied time, physical time, acquisition time, installation time and reception time*.²⁵ The different temporalities are partly overlapping and I will use the ones that corresponds with the aim and research questions of my thesis.

²³ P. Piotrowski ‘Towards a Horizontal History of the European Avant-Garde’, in S. Bru., P. Nicholls (eds.) *European Avant-Garde and Modernism Studies*, vol. 1., Berlin, De Gruyter, 2009, p. 50-51.

[Piotrowski Piotr 2009 Toward a Horizontal History of the European Avant-Garde.pdf \(monoskop.org\)](#), accessed 13 Aug. 2024.

²⁴ *ibid.*, p. 50.

²⁵ D. Karlholm, *Kontemporalism. Om samtidskonstens historia och framtid*, Stockholm, Axl Books, 2014, p. 74–86.

Conception time and *production time* can easily be understood as the time for thinking and the time for production of an artwork. The two are indeed sometimes overlapping since the act of painting also involves thinking. Here, I argue in similarity to Malcom Andrews (1999) that the final artwork is a product of a judgement process. The process of thinking and producing the artwork implies selecting and editing where some visual information is suppressed and subordinated in favour of other information which are informed by current norms and ideals.²⁶ My point of view contradicts with the essentialist and modern perception of art, which considered the art authentic and pure. The notions are not described or further developed in my thesis but constitute an important starting point of how I critically engage with the artworks. I will also relate to Karlholm's concept of *systematic time* which can be understood both from a micro and macro perspective. From a micro perspective, *systematic time* aims to situate an artwork within the artist's oeuvre to understand it entirely. In this thesis I rather relate to the oeuvre of the artists to indicate repetitions of motifs to create an understanding of the ideological implications that shaped the norms and ideals. Thus, the thesis does not include any overviews over the artist's oeuvre's since it does not correlate with my aim and research questions. From a macro perspective, *systematic time* is used to situate the artworks in its extended context of the currents of modernity or nationalism. Occasionally, I also refer to the *art historical time*, which is a tool to periodize an artwork which implies a possibility to interpret the work in relation to for example the Düsseldorf school, naturalism, or the tradition of plein air-painting. *Embodied time* indicates what the artwork depicts, the motifs, but can also be understood as the ideas the artwork actively produce. On the contrary to the understanding of an image as static, Karlholm argues that the *embodied time* activates the content and motifs of the work and is rather related to a forward-looking motivation. This aspect of time goes hand in hand with semiotics, and the understanding of the signs as something that becomes in relation to the interpreter. Finally, the thesis deals with Karlholm's notion of *reception time*, which in his description includes every interpretation an artwork has gone through from classifications and descriptions to the interpretations that has been done when the artwork has been exhibited, through research and art criticism. My thesis does not provide a reception history of the artworks, but the notion of reception time becomes apparent in relation to the canonized art works that have continued to circulate until our time. My analysis of the historiography can from the perspective of

²⁶ M. Andrews, *Landscape and Western Art*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1999, p. 3.

reception time also be seen as a part of it, even if most of the literature that I use have been produced after 1915.

Nationalism and provincialism

The context of this thesis is constituted by the nationalistic currents. Nationalism is a huge research field but in simplified terms, nationalism is distinguished into two directions: the political and the cultural. The political version derives from the French Revolution and the national idea is connected to a mutual consent defined by citizenship. The cultural version, which was the most common in the Nordic countries, derives from the emergence of Germany as a nation state. In this thesis, I will deal with nationalism as a culturally constructed notion rather than its political and ideological form. This corresponds to Benedict Anderson's now well-known definition of national community and identity:

[...]it is an imagined political community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign. It is imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion.²⁷

From this perspective it is emphasized that the notion of the nation and its community is imagined since most of the inhabitants don't know each other. It is rather about a feeling of belonging, where art and culture become instruments to strengthen the feeling of belonging to the nation and the national identity.²⁸ A common language, history and culture was seen as the unifying link.

The influences from abroad that affect the nationalistic currents in Sweden are thus many, and sometimes difficult to separate from each other. Many of the ideas drew from the German Romantic philosophers Johan Gottfried von Herder and Johann Gottlieb Fichte. Herder put emphasis on the importance of a folk culture to support the nation and his concept of the state was as 'a community bound by spiritual ties and cultural traditions.'²⁹ His theory

²⁷ B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, 2nd edn, New York and London, Verso, 1991, p. 6.

²⁸ B. Ehn, J. Frykman, and O. Löfgren., *Försvenskningen av Sverige: det nationellas förvandlingar*, Stockholm, Bokförlaget Natur och Kultur, 1993, p. 10.

²⁹ M. Facos, *Nationalism and the Nordic Imagination, Swedish Art of the 1890s*, Berkley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1998, p. 28.

was published in the book *Volkslieder* (folk songs) published in 1779. The fascination of what was considered as indigenous costumes and handicrafts was also found in the folkish ideology by German philosopher W.H Riel who emphasized the mutual relationship between beings and their natural surroundings.³⁰ In difference to Herder who posited that the intrinsic qualities of kinships and customs defined nationhood, Riel considered that the members of a nation were united through bonds that were expressed through rituals and celebrations.³¹

Inspiration was also found in the writings of Charles Darwin and Friedrich Nietzsche which influenced the social atmosphere at the turn of the century. In comparison to our own time, no distinction was made between what was perceived as the people and the individual. Darwin's evolutionary theory and Nietzsche's ideal of the *Übermensch* were intertwined with the concepts of the people and the nation.³² Adopted to Swedish circumstances, with the emergence of social democracy and a modernist worldview, art historian Michelle Facos argues that the notion of Swedisness and national identity became a symbiosis of 'individual freedom, social harmony, symbiosis with nature and preservation of indigenous tradition'.³³ I will not delve further into these ideas in the thesis but rather examine their consequences.

In the thesis I use the concept 'provincial romanticism' to describe the local currents of the nationalistic movement. Here I'm aiming at the craze for the Scanian nature, and the emerged interest in the local history and heritage of the region. However, I have not been able to trace the origin of the concept. Most likely it has emerged in the aftermath of the concept 'national romanticism', which has been attributed to art historian Johnny Roosval who established it in 1938.³⁴ None of the concepts were thus not used during the time of the events. I sometimes also use the words *province* and *provincial* which were used at the turn of the century. According to SAOB, *province* (provins) means a part of the country, often situated outside the capital. *Provincial* was used to attribute specific dialects, and character traits of the province.³⁵ By the use of them I want to put emphasis on the currents of the time, since much of the identity at the time was implicitly embedded in the language. The words are rarely used today, and, in such cases, they are used with negative condescending connotations. Visible in

³⁰ *ibid.* p. 47.

³¹ *ibid.*

³² S. Nordin, 'Sveriges kulturella storhetstid', in J.T. Ahlstrand et al. (eds.), *Signums svenska konsthistoria. Konst 1890-1915*, Lund, Bokförlaget Signum, 2001, p. 16.

³³ M. Facos, *Nationalism and the Nordic Imagination, Swedish Art of the 1890s*, Berkley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1998, p. 3.

³⁴ Johnny Roosval is considered as the first to use the term 'National Romanticism', which he does in the article 'Den levande konsten i historiens skåpfack' published in *Konsthistorisk Tidskrift*, 1938.

³⁵ SAOB: https://www.saob.se/artikel/?unik=P_2055-0184.nA07&pz=3 (accessed 14 Aug. 2024)

the historical sources is though that the attitude towards the words begins to change at the turn of the century. Whereas it previously had been used to express the uniqueness of a region, there were now tendencies toward a dismissive attitude, as when the Scanian artists were labeled provincial by art critics in Stockholm. I also use the words *Scanian artists* and *Scanian landscape paintings*, which is rather outdated today. A contemporary artist would be offended (or regard it as a joke) by being labeled as a Scanian artists today, especially given that we live in a globalized context. The reason why I use them is dependent on the original categorization of the paintings at the museum. This can be seen in the light of art geography, a concept that was developed in many different directions. In its ideological form, it drew inspiration from the Romantic worldview and the idea that there was a connection between the art and the temperament of the people in a specific place.³⁶ Even though I haven't come across such thoughts in the archival material, there is reason to believe that the museum drew inspiration from those ideas. It was also a generally prevailing view that the art was shaped by nature and its inhabitants.

Semiotics and the production of meaning

In order to produce new knowledge about the landscape paintings of Scania, I consider the paintings as a process where meaning is produced, as active identity makers, rather than considering the paintings as a genre that passively reflect the surrounding landscape. The paintings have not only been preceded by an act of a conscious selection of a site and a view. As previously mentioned, the act of selecting also comes with a certain amount of editing where some views or motives are suppressed while others are highlighted. The process of selecting and editing is affected by ideas and ideals of what constitute a good view.³⁷ Here, I turn to W. J. T Mitchell who contributes to a new understanding of landscape as a cultural practice. Instead of examining what a landscape *is* or what it *means*, he asks *what it does*.³⁸ 'Landscape, we suggest, doesn't merely signify, or symbolize power relations; it is an instrument of cultural power, perhaps even an agent of power that is (or frequently represents

³⁶ L-O. Larsson, 'Konstgeografi och nationalstil', in M. Ohlin (ed.), *Konsten och det nationella. Essäer om konsthistoria i Europa 1850–1950*, Stockholm, The Royal Swedish Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities, p. 74.

³⁷ M. Andrews, *Landscape and Western Art*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1999, p. 3–4.

³⁸ W. J. T. Mitchell, *Landscape and Power*, 2nd edn, Chicago and London, The University Press of Chicago, 2002, p. 1.

itself as) independent of human intentions'.³⁹ Thereby, Mitchell's understanding of landscapes allows me to go beyond the period's naturalized perception of landscape as an objective, pure and innocent depiction of reality, and rather understand them as a process of identity making of Scania.

With the aim to examine the meaning production of the Scanian landscape paintings I will use a semiotic method in my analysis which opens an understanding of the paintings as a landscape of signs. The signs, in turn, stand for something other than themselves. The signs are produced and gets their meaning in relation to the context which is framed by the nationalistic currents and their appearance in Scania and nationally. Through semiotics, we can understand the paintings as a body of knowledge. The founders of semiotics, the Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure (1867–1913) and the American philosopher Charles Peirce (1839–1914), had explicitly in common their understanding of the *sign* that it *is nothing that is but become*. Someone has to perceive the sign in order to become and the meaning that is produced in the perception is dependent on conventions.⁴⁰ Saussure used the terms 'sign, signifier, signified' and noticed that the linguistic sign and our psychological interpretation of a sign is connected through associative bonds, but there is no implicit link between the signifier and the signified.⁴¹ The sound-image of a tree accounts for the actual tree but is only the concept of a tree. The *signifier* is therefore the word tree whereas the *signified* is the actual tree. The relation between the sign and the signified, called *signification*, is arbitrary, because it follows how society traditionally has used a specific word (linguistic sign) to signify a specific object.⁴² From Peirce I will mainly use the type of signs that he distinguished: *icon*, *index* and *symbol*.⁴³ Simply described the *icon* can be understood as a hypothetical similarity to the sign itself, whereas the *indexical* sign is based on a nearness or causality between the sign and its content. The understanding of the *symbol* is vaguely described by Peirce, but according to Mieke Bal and Norman Bryson the correlation between the sign and the object or meaning is based on the readers knowledge about the culture in which the sign appears.⁴⁴ Even though Roland Barthes developed his understanding of semiotics from Saussure I find it

³⁹ *ibid.* p. 1–2.

⁴⁰ S. Petersson, 'Inledning', in S. Petersson, M. Hedlin (eds.), *Semiotik: Teoretiska tillämpningar i konstvetenskap 3*, Stockholm, Stockholm University Press, 2022, p. 19.
DOI: <https://doi.org/10.16993/bbv.a>. Licens: CC BY 4.0, (accessed 13 Aug 2024).

⁴¹ F. d. Saussure, *Course in general linguistics*, trans. W. Baskin, New York, Columbia University Press, 2011, p. 65.

⁴² *ibid.* p. 74

⁴³ I am not using Peirce tricotomistic structure of the representament, the interpretant and the referent.

⁴⁴ M. Bal and N. Bryson, 'Semiotics and art history', *The Art Bulletin*, Jun., vol. 73, no. 2, 1991, p. 191.

fruitful to also use his theory in combination with Peirce. Barthes put emphasis on the context meaning occur and visualize the ideology of the image. In Barthes's essay *Rhétorique de l'image* (1964), he analyses the Panzani image, a pasta advertisement that has the intention to sell. Through the image, Barthes identifies three different messages (1) the linguistic message, (2) the literal message, and (3) the symbolic message. The linguistic message (1) can be understood as the text that accompanies the image, like the title or a label and is divided into *denotations* and *connotations*. A denotated image refers to the linguistic message as it is, the name Panzani, whereas the connotated image refers to the idea of Italy or even something 'Italianicity'.⁴⁵ The literal message (2) refers to the denotated image where an image of a tree literally means a tree. However, Barthes argues that there exist no images that are purely denotated since we automatically interpret.⁴⁶ A denotated image, without a code, mediates an idea of an objectively image of the world, as the paintings that I will analyze once was considered as. The symbolic message (3) is discontinuous and refers to the connotated image which involve cultural and symbolic meanings that the image conveys that are established through established codes and conventions. The meaning is thus dependent on the viewer's cultural and personal context.⁴⁷ He defines this as the meaning that the viewer attribute to a system of signs within the image. The signs are deciphered by a cultural code, which differs on the individual's *lexicon* (practical, national, cultural, esthetical knowledge). Since we don't share the same lexicon (body of knowledge), the meaning is produced as an intersection between the artists and the viewer.⁴⁸

In the analysis of the images represented in *Sverige genom konstnärsögon* (1911) I will attribute some signs as *Swedish signs*, according to the perception of Carl G. Laurin. I will also attribute *Scanian signs* in the analysis of the Scanian landscape paintings. These signs are attributed as such since they consist of a complex set of signs (denotated as well as connotated) that occur in single images but also in relation to the cultural environment. It can be regarded in comparison to how Barthes attribute the Panzani advertisement as something 'Italianicity'. These signs points at the context and gives a direction towards what the artists considered as valuable to depict, dependent on ideals and ideas. The rhetoric of the images is dependent on codes and conventions and what secures the connotations to prevail can from a

⁴⁵ R. Barthes, *Bildens retorik*, trans. K. Aspelin, Stockholm, Bokförlaget Faethon, 2016, p. 36.

⁴⁶ *ibid.* p. 34, p. 45.

⁴⁷ *ibid.* p. 53.

⁴⁸ *ibid.* p. 54.

Foucauldian perspective be seen as an ideology or dominant order of truth. In chapter 3 and 4 I will conduct formal analyses and semiotic analyses. Each individual work is not analyzed in detail, I rather aim to find traits in the perception of Swedish art, as presented by Carl G. Laurin in *Sverige genom konstnärssögon* (Sweden through the eyes of artists) (1911), and the Scanian landscape paintings. These will be compared in chapter five.

Previous research

Through the aim and research questions of my thesis a variety of research fields is of relevance: the context of nationalism, historiography, and the Scanian art.

The context of the thesis is constituted by the currents of nationalism and its cultural manifestations. This is discussed throughout the thesis. Since research on nationalism is a broad field, I have primarily limited my research to literature that deals with a Swedish cultural context. In *Försvenskningen av Sverige* (The Swedishization of Sweden) (1993), the ethnologist Billy Ehn, Johan Frykman and Orvar Löfgren points how notions of an imagined national identity have been created through feelings, rituals, and everyday routines during different decades. In *Landskapet i våra hjärtan. En essä om svenskars naturumgänge och identitetsökande* (The Landscape in Our Hearts. An Essay on Swedes' Relationship to Nature and the Search for Identity) (2002), history of ideas scholar Jakob Christensson examines how emotional bonds have been established between humans and different landscapes since the 18th century, and how the experience of the landscape has affected the formation of identities. Art historian Jeff Werner's *Blond and Blue-Eyed. Whiteness, Swedishness and Visual Culture* (2014) have brought new perspectives on the well-researched field of Swedish art at the turn of the century. He investigates ideas about how the notion of the Swede and Swedishness have been created and disseminated until our time through visual culture. Theoretically, Werner bases his discussions in critical whiteness perspectives as formulated by bell hooks, Franz Fanon, and Sara Ahmed, among others. As an analytical tool, he also uses 'the white gaze' which is a further development of Martin A Berger's concepts of 'the male gaze' and 'the tourist gaze'. From the hypothesis that natural images can be colour-coded, Werner put focus on which kinds of images of Swedish nature that have become connected to notions of Swedishness, and which sections of the population that has been associated with the image of Sweden. Even though Werner's extensive essayistic examination has been of great value, it

differs from mine in the sense that I lean towards semiotics in my examination of notions of Sweden and Swedishness and its similarities and differences between the depictions of the Scanian landscape. I primarily take point of departure in Carl G. Laurin's *Sverige genom konstnärsögon* (Sweden through the eyes of artists) (1911) while Werner takes a broader temporal approach that extends to our day. His examination also encompasses visual media in a broad sense. Michelle Facos' *Nationalism and the Nordic imagination* (1998) takes a theoretical point of departure in historian and nationalist researcher Ernst Gellner and Pierre Bourdieu's notion of *Habitus*. Facos' American perspective gives valuable insight in different connotations. Further, the anthology *Konsten och det nationella: Essäer om konsthistoria i Europa 1850–1950* (Art and the National: Essays on Art History in Europe 1850–1950) (2013) has been of importance to my understanding of the art historical literature from the early 20th century. The anthology consists of essays that historicize the national but also demonstrate how international the national movements were. Worth mentioning is also Gertrud Olesen's dissertation *En fælles forestillet nation, Dansk landskabsmaleri 1807–1875* (A Common Imagined Nation. Danish Landscape Painting 1807–1875) (2016) in which she examines how the canonized image of Denmark as a nation has been produced exclusively through depictions of the North Zealand landscape. The book has not been used to any further extent in my thesis but worked as a source of inspiration.

Plenty of research has also been conducted within the field of critical historiography. Here, I primarily lean towards Hayden White's *Tropics of Discourse. Essays in Cultural Criticism* (1978) and *Metahistory. The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth Century Europe* (1973) has been of great use, even though I do not follow his methodology in a strict sense. Art historian Piotr Piotrowski has contributed further to the research on historiography through his essay 'Towards a Horizontal History of the European Avant-Garde' (2009), where he criticise the centric perspective. His point of departure is Eastern European art in the 20th century, whereas mine is Scanian art in the 19th and early 20th century. Although the perspectives differ, history writing has traditionally followed the same pattern and been written and valued from a centre. Piotrowski suggest a horizontal perspective instead of what he describes as a hierarchical vertical perspective, which would visualize parallel art scenes and its different circumstances. However, my aim is not to provide a comprehensive image of the Scanian art scene. In that sense Piotrowski's text has been useful on a theoretical rather than methodological level. Art historian James Elkin's *Stories of Art* (2000) discusses how art history is established through narrative and cultural conventions, formed by the time it is produced. Elkin suggests an

understanding of art histories in plural. To get an understanding of the role of the genre of survey textbooks in general art history in development of the art historical field, Dan Karlholm's *Handböckernas konsthistoria. Om skapandet av "allmän konsthistoria" i Tyskland under 1800-talet* (The Art History of Handbooks. On the Creation of 'General Art History' in German during the 19th Century) (1996) have been of importance for my thesis. Even though the departure from older German-language material there are similarities in the general approach and the didactic and ideological function with the surveys that I use as my empirical material.

The research about the art produced in Sweden in the late 19th century and beginning of the 20th century are extensive and primarily focus on the artists connected to the Opponents, later Artists' Association, their networks, and the art scene that surrounded them. Since their main focus has been different to mine, these books have been used to get an insight and to gain an understanding in the period. Here, "*En natur för män att grubbla i*". *Individualitet och officialitet i Varbergskolonins landskapsmåleri* ('A Nature to Ponder'. Individuality and Officiality in the Landscape Painting of the Varberg Colony) (2000) by Lars Wängdahl, and *Richard Bergh, Konstnär och kulturpolitiker 1890–1915* (Richard Bergh, Artist, and Cultural Politician 1890–1915) (1978) by Birgitta Rapp are worth mentioning.

As mentioned before, previous research on the art in Scania during the period 1885–1915 is deficient, and there is a lack of both surveys, comprehensive works, and in-depth studies. The limited amount of research has primarily been conducted before 1946. With the end of World War II, a new world and new possibilities emerged. The early books primarily deal with the artists' development and methodological issues related to colour and form. Among these Helge Kjellin's *Gustaf Rydberg. Skånes målare* (Gustav Rydberg. Scania's painter) (1925), H. Hedemann-Gade's *Justus Lundegård. En minnesteckning* (Justus Lundegård. A Memorial) (1927) and Nils Gösta Sandblad's *Anders Trulson. En studie i sekelskiftets svenska måleri*, (Anders Trulson. A Study in Swedish Painting at the Turn of the Century) (1944) can be mentioned. The Scanian art history begins to be produced by The Scanian Art Association (Skånes konstförening) established in 1904, to promote the members of Scanian Art Community (Skånska konstnärslaget). Their publications *Skånekonst* (Scanian art) (1912), *Skånes konstförening 1904–1939* (The Scanian Art Association 1904–1939) (1939) and *Skånska målningar i skånska museer efter 1800* (Scanian Paintings in Scanian Museums after 1800) (1947) has been useful to understand the perception of art at the time. Ernst Nordlind's

two books *Från Skåne. Ett häfte om diktning och konst* (From Scania. A Booklet on Poetry and Art) (1903) and *Skåne genom skånska konstnärsögon* (Scania Through the Eyes of Scanian Artists) (1925) and Ernst Fischer's *Nutida skånskt måleri* (Contemporary Scanian Painting) (1946) have also contributed to the narrative of Scanian art history, which to a certain extent has been useful for my thesis. Nils-Olof Olsson's *Skåne genom konstnärens öga* (Scania Through the Artist's Eye) (1999), consists of an extensive survey and covers a period from prehistoric times to post-war times and has the character of a travelogue.

Three more recent texts exist, of which two are published. In Tomas Gunnarsson's essay 'From Realism to Expressionism' published in the exhibition catalogue *Baltic Reflections* (2014), a short paragraph is dedicated to the Scanian art at the turn of the century. With the point of departure in Malmö Konstmuseum's collection, he briefly examines what constituted the distinctive identity of the region. He makes assumptions that the Scanian artists partially studied in and conducted study trips to other places than the artists in Stockholm which gave them other influences than the other Swedish artists. This, I argue, is a general assumption primarily based on Ernst Nordlind due to his distinctive position in the Scanian art scene. The comparative analysis between the Scanian and Swedish art is only based on the visual expressions and lacks the perspective of a critical historiography which results in too generalised conclusions that there seems to be a lack of connection between the Scanian and Swedish tradition. In the survey book *Signums svenska konsthistoria 1890–1915* (Signum's Swedish Art History. Art 1890–1915) (2001), art historian Birgit Rausing writes about Scanian art at the turn of the century in the chapter about painting. Compared to previous survey books, Rausing's contribution is to consider as a pioneering one since the artists, except from Gustaf Rydberg and Carl-Fredrik Hill, has been invisible before. The text follows a traditional framework where distinguished artists are highlighted, however many are mentioned, friendships, study trips abroad and international influences are emphasised as well as the main lines in the artistic development are generally explained. Rausing posits that there was a strong current among the members at Scanian art to express their feelings for their native village, however she primarily focuses on their treatment of colour and form and lacks to exemplify how the provincialism was expressed. With my semiotic analysis, I hope to contribute to further knowledge about how this provincial characteristic was formulated. It is also noticeable that Rausing, whose expertise is Scanian artists, overlooks the role of the art scene in Malmö and just focuses on Lund. The third text is an essay by Jeff Werner, unpublished and unedited, commissioned by me and my colleagues when we began to delve into the Scanian landscape paintings in 2023. It consists of a survey of Scanian landscape

painting between 1850 and 1950 against a background of landscape painting in general and in relation to the prevailing ideals during the period. His starting point is essentially a national perspective, a focus on Gustaf Rydberg and the art scene in Scania. Unlike my thesis, he does not examine the context of nationalism, provincial romanticism nor analyze any artworks. The three texts are unified in noting that the Scanian landscape paintings differ from the canonized once, but none of them delve into the context, historiography, or compares the Scanian art to the image of Sweden. Here, I hope that my investigation can contribute to a field of research that is still in its infancy.

Disposition of the thesis

This thesis is structured into five chapters. The first chapter is titled ‘A common identity?’ and is divided into two parts. The first gives a brief background and context of the nationalistic currents and how it got manifested nationally. In the second part I give a brief context to its manifestations in Scania which also problematize the notion of a common identity further. The second chapter is called ‘The grand narrative of Swedish art history 1885–1915’ and consists of a critical historiography. The chapter begins with a discussion about survey books in general art history and continues with an analysis of the narrative and its construction which is based on readings of several survey textbooks in general art history during the forementioned period. The third chapter is called ‘A national art with new ideals’ and is divided into two parts. The first part consists of a background to the changed perception of Sweden and Swedishness, seen through Richard Bergh’s vision for a new national art. The second part continues with an analysis of Carl G. Laurin’s book *Sverige genom konstnärsögon* (Sweden through the eyes of artists) where I aim to trace his perception of Sweden. That part is divided into paragraphs based on motifs and tendencies. The fourth chapter is called ‘The Scanian landscape paintings – an empirical analysis and is divided into five parts. It begins with a short background to the collection of art at Malmö Museum at the turn of the century and continues with a formal and semiotic analysis of the Scanian landscape paintings that was presented in the collection 1908–1914. The analysis is divided into paragraphs based on motifs and tendencies that repeatedly occurs. In the fifth chapter, called ‘Swedishness, Scanianness? – A comparative discussion’, I compare similarities and differences found in chapter three and four. The thesis is concluded with a summarizing discussion.

Chapter 1: A common identity?

This chapter aims to give a contextual idea historical background of the nationalistic currents in Sweden and how it was manifested in immaterial and material terms to create common cultural identity and a sense of belonging to the nation. The title ‘A common identity?’ alludes to Anderson’s notion of imagined communities. The idea of a unified common identity is problematized in the second part of the chapter, which highlights the search for a Scanian identity.

1.1 Formation of a national identity

The rise of nationalism in Sweden occurs when the country is greatly reduced, and the borders are negotiated. In 1809 Sweden loses Finland to Russia, and a much-disputed union with Norway is constituted in 1814. However, the process in Sweden was not an isolated phenomenon but part of a larger European upheaval of the formation of nations and identity processes. The nation states got stronger in relation to previous times, when Europe instead consisted of several principalities and realms.

To understand the rise of modern nationalism it is important to consider the turbulent time that occurred when old social system and its elites lost power in favor of capitalism and bureaucratic state formations. On the one hand there was the ongoing urbanization and the technological advances that industrialism brought with it, on the other hand social changes, such as the labour movement and women right’s movement that emerged during the 19th century. Progressive changes that took place in the name of modernity also meant a loss of traditional values. Philosopher Marshall Bergman titled this turbulent shift between the old and new world the *maelstrom of modernity* to describe the ambivalence among people in relation to the past and the new modern life.⁴⁹ Modernity awakened nostalgia and traditional values became highly appreciated.

In this regard, new forms of symbolic pillars became necessary to produce a shared sense of loyalty and belonging. Benedict Anderson identified print capitalism as one of the

⁴⁹ M. Bergman, *All That Is Solid Melts Into Air: The Experience of Modernity*, 2nd edn, London, Penguin Books, 1988, p. 15.

early factors that made such sense of community possible since it allowed the dissemination of a shared language, symbols, and narratives among diverse populations which contributed to the formation of imagined communities based on a common national identity. In this sense, the possibility to mass-produce reproductions and dissemination of ancient remains which combined new entities and communities with the past.⁵⁰ In similarity, the increased interest that emerged in the 19th century in preservation of traditions and old building types, the establishment of ancient memory associations, interest in folk costumes and traditional customs and practices can be understood.

The 19th century consisted of a complex set of initiatives that aimed to support the nation of Sweden and unite its people. New words that arose during the 19th century such as *national feeling*, *national love*, *national pride*, *national soul* and *national consciousness* all tells the story of the importance of feeling a sense of belonging to the nation.⁵¹ The establishment of the national anthem and the Swedish flag were also symbolically important parts of the nation building process. It is also the century of monuments; previous kings, authors and scientists was immortalized in bronze. During the second half of the century the national rhetoric was intensified and got materialized through the establishment of new institutions such as Nationalmuseum. Ethnography as science won terrain and contributed to the interests in traditions, which were manifested through Arthur Hazelius' establishment of Nordiska Museet and Skansen. The 19th century has been seen as a time when traditions were mass produced.⁵²

During the second half of the 19th century a gradual shift takes place between the previous conservative, so called old-fogey punch-room patriotism, and a more democratic or accepted form of nationalism. In this shift, the sense of nature plays a significant part.⁵³ The Swedish national identity and national character were said to have sprung from nature. Several authors, from Erik Gustaf Geijer (1783–1847), Carl Johan Almqvist (1793–1866), August Strindberg (1849–1912), Ellen Key (1849–1926) to Verner von Heidenstam (1859–1940), attempted to

⁵⁰ B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, 2nd edn, New York and London, Verso, 1991, p. 37-38. Note that Anderson primarily focuses his argumentation on 'imagined communities' in postcolonial contexts.

⁵¹ B. Ehn, J. Frykman and O. Löfgren, *Försvenskningen av Sverige*, Stockholm, Bokförlaget Natur och Kultur, 1993, p. 43.

⁵² *ibid.*, p. 47.

⁵³ J. Werner, *Blond and Blue-Eyed. Whiteness, Swedishness, and Visual Culture*, Göteborg, Skiascope 6, Gothenburg Museum of Art Publication Series, 2014, p. 107-108.

define a national character, resulting in just as many contradictory sets of traits.⁵⁴ When professor Gustaf Sundberg published *Det Svenska folkkyrnet* in 1912, he, on the other hand, claimed to describe the national character. Characteristic of the time, the most prominent trait was the love of nature, a yearning for deserted spruce forests and secluded waterways.⁵⁵ In *Landskapen i våra hjärtan. En essä om svenskars naturumgänge och identitessökande* (The Landscape in Our Hearts. An Essay on Swedes' Relationship to Nature and the Search for Identity) (2002), Jacob Christensson traces the national feelings for nature through the establishment of The Swedish Society for Nature Conservation (Naturskyddsföreningen). In their first yearbook *Svensk natur* (Swedish Nature), published in 1910, the experience of nature is expressed in terms of democracy in the meaning that nature was for everyone, but the reader was also enlightened with moral and patriotism. Nature nurtured man and his character and thereby the nation was formed.⁵⁶ The fascination for nature and the role of it in the nation-building process also went hand in hand with the emerging tourism. The Swedish Tourist Association that was established in 1885 with the watchword *Känn ditt land!* (Know your country!) encouraged the citizens to discover the different landscapes.⁵⁷ It was the uniqueness of each landscape that made up Sweden and it was from the diversity that the nation got its character. In the footsteps of the ethnographers who previously had examined the landscapes differences, artists and authors continued the exploration through words and images. Heidenstam, seen as the foremost interpreter of the nation, also wrote about the area around Vättern, Erik Axel Karlfeldt (1864–1931) was the nature lyricist of Dalarna. However, according to Nordin (2001) it is Selma Lagerlöf (1858–1940) and her book *Nils Holgerssons underbara resa genom Sverige* (The Wonderful Adventures of Nils), published in 1906, that canonized the perception of Sweden's different landscapes.⁵⁸

⁵⁴ B. Ehn, J. Frykman and O. Löfgren, *Försvenskningen av Sverige*, Stockholm, Bokförlaget Natur och Kultur, 1993, p. 152.

⁵⁵ H. Berggren and L. Trägårdh, *Är svensken människa. Gemenskap och oberoende i det moderna Sverige*, Stockholm, Nordstedts förlag, 2009, p. 20.

⁵⁶ J. Christensson, *Landskapet i våra hjärtan: en essä om svenskars naturumgänge och identitessökande*, Lund, Historiska media, 2002, p. 56.

⁵⁷ *ibid.*

⁵⁸ S. Nordin, 'Sveriges kulturella storhetstid', in J T. Ahlstrand et al. (eds.), *Signums svenska konsthistoria. Konsten 1890–1915*, Lund, Bokförlaget Signum, 2001, p. 18.

1.2 Formation of a Scanian identity

The general traits of the nationalism and its manifestations have its equivalents in Scania. As part of the nationalistic currents, several initiatives testify about the emerging interest in the history of the region. The Archeological Society of the Scania Provinces (De Skånska landskapen historia och arkeologiska förening) established in 1865, was the first association to produce the Scanian history. The Scanian Dialect Society (Skånska landsmålsföreningen), established in 1875, collected and recorded Scanian dialects, folklore, customs, beliefs, and folk music. Georg Karlin (1859–1939) collected Southern Swedish building types to the open-air museum Kulturen in Lund which was established in 1892 and authors such as A. U. Bååth (1853–1912) and Ola Hansson (1860–1925) became the interpreters of the Scanian landscape through words.

However, the general traits are often emanating from the perspective of the centre. Ancient Monuments Societies were popular at the time and the Scanian one was not the first. They all shared a strong ideological incentive. By getting to know the history of one's own landscape, the feeling for the nation would be strengthened.⁵⁹ However, how the Scanian history should be formulated was a sensitive matter. In a time when the issue of national borders was still up in the air, history writing caused tensions and could challenge the power in Stockholm or the relationship to Denmark.⁶⁰ Similar ambivalence arose in Scania when monuments were to be erected at the turn of the century. The selection of which people, events and ideas that should be immortalized in bronze was a sensitive affair. 'What was truth in the centre could be debatable in the periphery and a lie in another center', historian Ulf Zander argues, referring to the tension that existed between Stockholm and Scania.⁶¹ The construction and inauguration of the monument commemorating the Battle of Lund, 1883, the monument to Karl X in Malmö, 1896, and Magnus Stenbock in Helsingborg, 1901, all contributed to heated debates and conflicts of loyalty. On the other hand, Zander posits, that the specific history of the regions annexed by Sweden from Denmark in 1658 was neglected in the Swedish historiography, as the history of the regions was considered to be Sweden's. Since the history

⁵⁹ F. Persson, *Skåne, Den farliga halvön, Historia, identitet och ideologi 1865–2000*, PhD Thesis, Lund University, Lund, Sekel bokförlag, 2008, p. 30.

⁶⁰ *ibid.*, p. 46.

⁶¹ U. Zander, 'Historia i brons och granit: nationella monument och regionala identiteter i Öresundsområdet', in S. Tägil, F. Lindström, F., S. Ståhl (eds.), *Öresundsregionen-visioner och verklighet*, Lund, Lund University Press, 1997, p. 32. My translation is based on: 'Vad som var sanning i centrum kunde vara diskutabelt i periferin och lögn i ett annat centrum'.

was mainly written and disseminated from Stockholm, this centrally controlled perspective was dominating.⁶² Due to Scania's historical bonds to Denmark, and its geographical location, historian Sven Tägil posits that Scania was considered a periphery by the authorities in Stockholm, and a mental barrier remained until the 1950s.⁶³

The Scanian art scene, on their turn, also contributed to produce the provincial romanticism. The art was described in grandiose and romanticising terms. The early publications from the Scanian Artist's Community and The Scanian Art Association testify to an unmistakable local patriotism.⁶⁴ The need to create a sense of belonging among the artists, but also Scania's peculiar natural conditions and the nature of the people motivated the establishment of the Scanian Artist's Community.⁶⁵ Celebrations of the Scanian nature is also found in artist and writer Ernst Norlind's books *Från Skåne. Ett häfte om diktning och konst* (From Scania. A Booklet on Poetry and Art) (1903) and *Skåne genom skånska konstnärsogon* (Scania Through the Eyes of Scanian Artists) (1925) which echoes lyrical expressions of the landscape and how nature has formed humanity. 'The plain fosters longing and music', he writes, in contrast to more mountainous regions, which he argues foster 'defiance and grandiosity'.⁶⁶ This testify of the perception of art where the artists were seen as earthbound and the role of the artists was to interpret the temperament of the nature of Scania and its people.

The focus on Scania can also be seen through the exhibition history at Malmö Museum where the frequency of the words *Skåne* (Scania) and *Skånska* (Scanian) appears every year until 1930, after which the words return every fourth-fifth year until 1940 when it became less frequent and disappears completely in 1989. From 1901–1914, the two artists associations held annual members exhibition at Malmö Museum, in addition to solo exhibitions with local artists but also with other Swedish and Danish artists.⁶⁷

In many texts from the turn of the century, the word 'Skåneland' (Scania land) appears. The meaning of the word can be traced to a description of the area that was ceded to Sweden in 1658 after the Peace in Roskilde, but also to poetic context where it is used to

⁶² *ibid.*

⁶³ S. Tägil, 'Öresundsregionen – en nygamal historia', in S. Tägil, F. Lindström, F., S. Ståhl (eds.), *Öresundsregionen-visioner och verklighet*, Lund, Lund University Press, 1997, p. 6.

⁶⁴ See for example A. Hahr, *Skånekonst*, Malmö, Skånes konstförening, 1912, p. 12.

⁶⁵ *ibid.*

⁶⁶ E. Nordlind, *Skåne genom skånska konstnärsogon*, Malmö, Föreningen Malmö Musei Vänner, 1925, p. 3. My translation is based on: 'Slätten föder längtan och musik', 'trots och storvulet sinnelag'

⁶⁷ G. Larsson, List of exhibitions at Malmö Museum 1879-2008, Malmö Museum's Archive.

evoke a sense of local pride and belonging.⁶⁸ This is also reflected in the texts about the art at the time. In *Skånekonst* (Scanian art) (1912), art historian August Hahr states that the members of the Scanian Artist's Community seek '[...] all means of art both expression of the personal and the Scanian national, the connection with the land and people of Scania'.⁶⁹ If Scania was considered as a nation in the nation, I leave unsaid. However, it reveals the view of the artists as a natural link between the people and the province. The great proudness of the own art and nature of Scania made Hans Emil Larsson, director at Malmö Museum, express his sincere feelings in similar terms in the local newspaper that was nationally distributed in relation to the opening of *The Baltic Exhibition* in Malmö in 1914:

Scania is not like a province, it is a kingdom [---] and the Scanian has its own temperament [---] He is in the process of creating a distinctive culture, Swedish indeed, but with a particular Scanian temperament. [---] No one cherishes their homeland more than a person from Scania. Yet there is no one who loves the entire country, of which the homeland is a part, more than a Scanian loves the entire country of, Sweden.⁷⁰

It was the rich variety of nature, the Scanians calmness and power and the artists and authors that have captured it that contributed to Larsson's grandiose words. It was in the capacity of a large city with 100,000 inhabitants, with steam ferry routes to Copenhagen and Rügen and a dense railway network that facilitated both people and export goods, that Malmö hosted the exhibition. Many artists from Scania participated through the Scanian Artist's Community. However, in *Officiell berättelse öfver Baltiska utställningen i Malmö 1914* (Official Account of the Baltic Exhibition) (1919), the official report of the exhibition, it becomes clear that the artists that were invited by the exhibition's director Oscar Björck (1860–1925), got most attention and space. Anders Zorn (1860–1920) was represented with 250 art works, Carl Larsson (1853–1919) with 72 and Bruno Liljefors (1860–1939) with 34, whereas the artists represented by the Scanian Artist's Community were not even are

⁶⁸ SAOB: https://www.saob.se/artikel/?seek=Sk%C3%A5neland&pz=1#U_S5637_73712 (accessed 14 Aug. 2024)

⁶⁹ A. Hahr, *Skånekonst*, Skånes konstförening, Malmö, 1912, p. 5–6. My translation is based on: '[...] en konst alla medel både uttryck för det personliga och det skånskt nationella, samhörigheten med Skånes land och folk'.

⁷⁰ H E. Larsson, 'Skåne', *Sydsvenska Dagbladet Snällpostens riksnnummer*, 1914, p. 58. My translation is based on: 'Skåne är icke som en provins, det är som ett konungarike [---] Och skåningen har sitt eget lynne. [---] Han håller på att skapa sig en egenartad kultur, visserligen svensk, men med särskildt skånskt kynne. [---] Det finns ingen som har sin hembygd mera kär än skåningen. Men det finns ej heller någon som mera högt älskar hela detta land, af hvilket hembygden utgör en del, hela sitt hemland, Sverige'. The phrase 'Scania is not like a province, it is a kingdom' was first used by The King Karl XIV when he first visited Scania in 1816. The same phrase was later used by King Carl XIV Gustaf at his visit in Scania, 2023. <https://www.kungahuset.se/arkiv/tal/2023-06-20-h.m.-konungens-tal-vid-lansbesoket-i-skane-lan>

mentioned by name.⁷¹ From the perspective of *The Baltic Exhibition*, the Scanian art was considered as a peripheral history despite the grandiose words by Larsson.

Although an intensive search for a Scanian identity was explored through the history, nature, and art, in line with the national movement, historiography suggests that Scania was peripheral and the idea of a shared national community was far from obvious. The historiographic aspects will be further analyzed in next chapter, where I investigate the grand narrative of Swedish art history 1885–1915.

⁷¹ E. Brolin, 'Konstafdelningen', in H. Fr. Ahlström (ed.), *Officiell berättelse öfver Baltiska utställningen i Malmö 1914, Andra bandet, andra delen, andra bandet*, Malmö, Förlagsaktiebolagets i Malmö Boktryckeri, 1919, p. 960.

Chapter 2: The grand narrative of Swedish art history 1885–1915

This chapter consists of a critical historiography based on readings of some of the most spread survey textbooks of general art history in Sweden between 1885–1915. The chapter is divided into three parts. The first part describes the established narrative and is based on a reasoning informed by Hayden White, who argues that historiography can be compared to fiction in the way it is constructed. In the second part I focus on the structure of the specific books, but I also present an argument about centre and periphery based on Piotr Piotrowski. In the third part I focus on the parallel narratives that appear when the structure of the books is changed. The purpose of this chapter is to examine which factors in the narrative structure that have contributed to suppress the Scanian art. The chapter reflects what Karlholm (2014) distinguishes as *reception time* in the sense that it addresses art in its mediated form.⁷²

There has been written several survey textbooks in general art history that covers the period 1885–1915, and as surveys they imply numerous dilemmas. They are divided into time periods of centuries and decades and are labeled with a style or movement where one style is followed by another. The 1880s are often titled Plein-air and naturalism and 1890–1910 as the decades for a national art and symbolism, sometimes called National Romanticism. 1900 marks a change, not only as the turn of the century, sometimes it also marks a vague shift for the emergence of modernism and the beginning of a new future-looking era. The thirty years period between 1885–1915 narrates, in similarity to both previous and later art history, an evolutionary story. It is a story about the development of styles and techniques, where one event is followed by another and structured into a story that emphasizes trait of characters and repetition of motifs. Other events, which does not follow the characteristics have in accordance with White been subordinated or suppressed.⁷³ Through the division of decades and styles, the narrative become strictly compromised and monotonous. As *surveys* in *general art history*, they automatically imply a delimitation in the narrative. In *Handböckernas konsthistoria* (Art History of Handbooks) (1996), Dan Karlholm states that survey books are

⁷² D. Karlholm, *Konsttemporalism. Om Samtidskonstens historia och framtid*, Stockholm, Axl Books, 2014, p. 85.

⁷³ H. White, *Tropics of Discourse. Essays in Cultural Criticism*, John Hopkins Paperbacks edn., Baltimore and London, John Hopkins University Press, 1985, p. 84.

primarily based on the consumption that it just exists one great cumulative story, with distinguished heroes and a story that develops through theoretical breakthroughs.⁷⁴

As mentioned in the introductory chapter, the survey books are often produced to provide a general educated reader with an overview of art in its art historical development and includes what is considered to be the most important to know. Through the general content their primarily ideological function becomes visible: to present the *most excellent* art to the reader. Karlholm (1996) further argues that ‘as no other art historical text the general art history give notice of which artworks that is included in the canon [...]’.⁷⁵ Due to the survey textbooks apparent aims and limitations, they constitute a point of departure for my examination of their structure and its consequences of marginalizing the Scanian landscape paintings.

2.1 The narrative and its construction

The narrative of Swedish art history between 1885 and 1915 begins with the *events* of the artists who longed for other motifs than Sweden could offer.⁷⁶ Inspired by the new plein-air painting and the leading character Jules Bastien-Lepage (1848–1884) the artists went to France in the beginning of the 1880s and gathered in the artist’s colony in Grez-sur-Loing. Karl Nordström (1855–1923) and Carl Larsson (1853–1919) was among the first once, Richard Bergh (1858–1919), Nils Kreuger (1858–1930) and about 20 Scandinavian artists followed. On the contrary to previous traditions of studio-based work, the paintings would only be produced outside. According to the narrative, there is a consensus regarding the idea that no images should be arranged. The importance of being true to reality rather than painting what one found beautiful is a recurrent theme. In the middle of the 1880s the artists begin to experience homesickness. Home again, a group of 85 artists under the leadership of the artist Ernst Josephson (1851–1906), called the Opponents, accused the Royal Academy of Arts of its old-fashioned education, the obsolete exhibition system, and the prevailing tradition of history painting. This specific *event* is often described as a demarcation line which includes

⁷⁴ D. Karlholm, *Handböckernas konsthistoria. Om skapandet av "allmän konsthistoria" i Tyskland under 1800-talet*, PhD Thesis, Uppsala University, Stockholm/Stehag, Brutus Östlings Bokförlag Symposium, 1996, p 244.

⁷⁵ *ibid.*, p. 65. My translation is based on: ‘Som ingen annan konsthistorisk text ger en allmän konsthistoria besked om vilka verk som ingår i kanon, [...]’

⁷⁶ The text below is based on reasoning by Hayden White. The narrative described is hegemonic and is repeated in every survey book. Therefore, I have not referred to specific books in this paragraph.

ideological implications between radicals and conservatives, even if many of the involved artists neither considered themselves as one or the other. When the Opponents refused to participate in the Academy's 150-years jubilee show in 1885, and instead arranged their own exhibition, *Från Seines strand* (By the beach of the river Seine), it was considered a great success and a *breakthrough* for the plein-air painting in Sweden. In 1886 the Opponents re-organized and the Artists' Association was established, but the name Opponents often continues to be used in the historiography, consciously or unconsciously, which strengthen an ideological conflict zone where the Opponents implicitly symbolizes the new progressive ideas. The narrative also includes conflicts such as the outmaneuvering of Josephson as a front figure. Instead, Hugo Salmson (1843–1894) became the new leader, followed by Richard Bergh and Karl Nordström. Together with members such as Georg Pauli (1855–1935), Per Hasselberg (1850–1894), Nils Kreuger, Bruno Liljefors (1860–1939), Carl Larsson, and Anders Zorn (1860–1920) they constituted the most distinguished artists and leading troupe. The Artists' Association became an important power agent in the Swedish art life, with more influence than the Academy. They established their own education in concurrence to the Academy but were also influential in the art political debate where they agitated and succeeded to renew acquisition policies and create better conditions for exhibitions. The Artists' Association develops in three different fractions and continues to exist until 1920, however with less power.

The narrative of 1885–1915 is also a story about the visions for a new national art and about the discovery of the landscapes in Sweden. The late 1880s and the early 1890s are considered to be the time period when the national interests awake. Strindberg had already in the 1870s longed for a national art and Richard Bergh, who is the Artists' Association's theorist and visionary, proclaims a new vision for a national art.⁷⁷ The story of a national art is made up of chronicle-like events such as when Karl Nordström settles in a villa at Skansen for two months in 1886, Carl Larsson moves to Sundborn in Dalarna in 1892 and Anders Zorn to Mora, also in Dalarna, in 1896 to mark that the notion of Sweden and its origin becomes important.⁷⁸ The naturalistic ideals transitions, according to the surveys, to a symbolically charged twilight painting in the 1890s.

⁷⁷ M. Facos, *Nationalism and the Nordic Imagination. Swedish Art of the 1890s*, Berkley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1998, p. 105.

⁷⁸ A. Lindblom, *Sveriges konsthistoria. Från forntid till nutid. Tredje delen: Från Gustav V till våra dagar*, Stockholm, Nordisk Rotogravyr, 1946, p. 879.

Despite the political changes that the Artists' Association succeeded to realize, the story about the Association and the period 1885 to 1915 is not the least a story about the distinguished artists and their individual practices and successes: Carl Larsson, Bruno Liljefors and Anders Zorn. In every single survey book, they are represented by chronicle-like texts about their artistic developments. It also made visible that the *reception time* of these artist's works, has been far longer and more extensive than for many other artists. Their works have continued to circulate through reproductions and have thus been incorporated into the general consciousness and constitute the image of Sweden and Swedishness.⁷⁹

From year 1900 the narrative expands to parallel stories, primarily due to what is described as the *breakthrough* of modernism which is dated to 1909 through the *De ungas* (The Young's) exhibition. Most of the participating artists were members of the Artists' Associations third fraction, but rather than national interests their sources of inspirations are described as Paul Gauguin, Vincent van Gogh, and Paul Cézanne. However, the narrative of the distinguished artists and members of the Artists' Association continues in parallel to modernism and comes to an end by the outbreak of the First World War 1914.

2.2 The books and their structure

As early as 1900, contemporary to the events, Carl G. Laurin (1868–1940), published the comprehensive work *Konsthistoria* (Art History) which became highly appreciated and was re-published in eleven editions until 1945. It was also published in an easier version aimed to schools. His aim was to write a short survey that easily described the development of art by which he wanted to arouse interest among a general audience.⁸⁰ The short survey exceeds 600 pages, and the part about Sweden begins with the Middle Ages, ends in 1899 and is dominated by his own contemporaries. Here, the members of the Opponents occupy a significant part of the text that describes the development between the 1880s to 1899.⁸¹ The closer in time, the looser structure the text gets. He primarily focuses on individual artists whose practices and works are emotionally described with a penchant for the national

⁷⁹ J. Werner, *Blond and Blue-Eyed. Whiteness, Swedishness, and Visual Culture*, Göteborg, Skiascope 6, Gothenburg Museum of Art Publication Series, 2014, p. 144.

⁸⁰ C G. Laurin, *Konsthistoria*, Stockholm, P. A. Nordstedts & Söners förlag, 1900, preface.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 572–598.

atmosphere. No one had attached the heart of the Swedes as Liljefors, who had contributed to create a Swedish perception of the nature, Laurin writes.⁸² Noticeable is that Liljefors paintings are described with words like *heaviness*, and *darkness*.⁸³ Paintings by Nordström and Kreuger are described as ‘heroic’⁸⁴. Laurin was a representative for the time’s new public education ideal, one of the early 20th century’s most active public educators within art and culture and published extensively. In 1915, he published *Konsten i Sverige* (Art in Sweden), a concise and popularly book that was written to reach those with no previous knowledge. Here, he develops further the sense of Swedishness, and the need of feeling proud of the country and what the artists and architects have contributed to.⁸⁵ The fascination for the provincial at the turn of the century is apparent in his descriptions and by giving the artists the epithet of the landscape they were born; however Zorn is mentioned as a Swedish artist.⁸⁶ Laurin’s perception of art becomes visible also through his emphasis of Carl Larsson, Bruno Liljefors and Anders Zorn that he considers have opened the eyes to Swedish beauty. Here, he also mentions that the Gothenburg based businessman Pontus Fürstenberg (1827–1902) from 1883 comes to play an important role in his financial support of Josephson, Larsson, Liljefors, Nordström and Zorn’s study trips and by acquiring their works which he later donated to Göteborgs Konstmuseum.⁸⁷ Together with the Stockholm based banker Ernst Thiel (1859–1947), they become two of the foremost mecenates of the members of the Artists’ Association.⁸⁸ Through the two of Laurin’s above-mentioned books, the story of the Opponents, The Artists’ Association and their significant members is early on inscribed in the historiography.

However, the greatest impact for the historiography of Swedish art at the turn of the century and specifically the Opponents and the Artists’ Association is the two volumes *Konstnärsförbundets historia 1885–1890* (The History of the Artists’ Association 1885–1890) (1945) and *Nationalromantik och radicalism. Konstnärsförbundets historia 1891–1920* (National Romanticism and Radicalism. The History of the Artists’ Association 1890–1920) (1965) by Sixten Strömbom. His pioneering effort, based on research of The Artists’ Association’s archival material and exhibition histories, has been criticized but the

⁸² C G. Laurin, *Konsthistoria*, Stockholm, P. A. Nordstedts och söners förlag, 1900, p. 590.

⁸³ *ibid.*

⁸⁴ *ibid.*, p. 587.

⁸⁵ C G. Laurin, *Konsten i Sverige*, Stockholm, P. A. Nordstedts & Söners förlag, 1915, p. 153–154.

⁸⁶ *ibid.*, p. 130.

⁸⁷ *ibid.*, p. 122.

⁸⁸ S. Sandström, *Konsten i Sverige. Från 1800–1970*. Stockholm, Nordstedts, 1988, p. 238–239.

contribution for future research have though been groundbreaking.⁸⁹ These are not survey textbooks of general art history but have had a great impact on the understanding of Swedish art. Strömbom's literary structure follows an evolutionary line, not only based on a strict chronology but in the description of the development of art. He polarizes the events by a frequent use of metaphors, specifically related to violence, to build up and create a dramaturgy in the story. The shift between the academic conservative art that dominated European art until the 1880s and the naturalistic French-inspired plein-air painting is described as a *violent breakthrough*, the Artists' Associations' process of change for better conditions is expressed in terms of *frontiers* and *gains and losses*, not infrequently with loyalty issues reinforced by words like *knife throwing*.⁹⁰ Together, the volumes exceed 600 pages. Noticeable is that the members of the Artists' Association were keen to write their own history, as Strömbom points out in the first volume, and he took over the work of writing in 1938, after the previous author had passed away.⁹¹ With his close relation to the members and the material, he has difficulties with keeping distance, which is visible through all the details. He appears driven by the desire to present the correct history and to give considerable attention to the artists he deemed most prominent. The account of their political struggle also takes on crucial importance in the second volume.

Carl G. Laurin draw the first sketches about the story of the artists that were members of the Artists' Association, their conflict with the Royal Art Academy and the most distinguished artists. This story has continued to dominate the narrative until our time. In the traditional survey books included in this examination, that follows a chronology with chronicle-based texts about the artists, it is evident that narratives about artists who were not members of the Artists' Association or that were active in other places than Stockholm, have been suppressed.

A symptomatic feature is how the survey textbooks in Swedish art history follows the same pattern as the so-called western art historiography in terms of centre and periphery. The art history has traditionally been formulated with a focus on the metropolises which of course have varied through time. In the late 19th century and the beginning of 20th century, the primary metropole in the western art scene was Paris, even if artists still studied and travelled to

⁸⁹ For criticism, see for example L. Wängdahl, *En natur för män att grubbla i. Individualitet och officialitet i varbergskolonins landskapsmåleri*, PhD Thesis, Göteborg University, 2000, p. 16–17.

⁹⁰ S. Strömbom, *Nationalromantik och radikalism. Konstnärsförbundets historia 1891–1920*, Stockholm, Albert Bonnier förlag, 1965, p. 37.

⁹¹ S. Strömbom, *Konstnärsförbundets historia 1885–1890*, Stockholm, Albert Bonnier förlag, p. 1–5.

Düsseldorf, and Munich played an important role for history painting.⁹² The division between centre and periphery has resulted in the consequence that the art produced in the centres have provided ‘the canons, hierarchies of values, and stylistic norms’, Piotr Piotrowski states in his critical essay ‘Towards a Horizontal History of the European Avant-Garde’.⁹³

Symptomatically, countries that has been considered as geographically peripheral, as Sweden, has been excluded from the grand narratives of western art history. Thus, the Swedish historiography follows the same model of centre and periphery, where Stockholm have constituted the imagined centre. That is where the Royal Academy of Arts was situated, Nationalmuseum who acquired and exhibited works, and galleries, the national newspapers, private collectors and a social and economic bourgeoisie was located. When the centre shifts, the margins is displaced. The position from which art history has been written has affected the Scanian art, as well as many other art scenes in Sweden, considered as peripheral.

Geographically considered, the narrative is, as previous mentioned, concentrated to Stockholm but a few exceptions appear. The artist colony in Varberg, situated on the west coast, gets extensive space in several of the books. Here, however, it becomes clear again how the narrative is dominated by some of the Artists’ Association’s most distinguished artists, Karl Isaksson, Nils Kreuger and Richard Bergh, who were the ones who gathered in Varberg in 1893 to 1895. Another example are the artists who gathered by the sea Racken in Värmland in 1897: Christian Eriksson (1858–1935), Gustaf Fjæstad (1868–1948) and Maja Fjæstad (1873–1961), all of them members of the Artists’ Association.

In the light of the nationalistic currents and the rising interest in discovering the different landscapes, several Scanian artists are however mentioned in Professor Andreas Lindblom’s third part of the series of Swedish art history, *Sveriges konsthistoria, från forntid till nutid* (The Art History of Sweden, from Ancient Times to the Present) (1946). Here, Gustaf Rydberg (1835–1933) is inscribed in the historiography alongside Alfred Wahlberg (1834–1906) as the Swedish plein-air avantgarde in the 1880s. The Scanian Artist’s Community with its members Anders Trulson (1874–1911), Per Gummeson (1858–1928), Justus Lundegård (1860–1924) and Ernst Nordlind (1877–1952) are also mentioned, however Lindblom briefly states that their influences are German, and their impact on the future

⁹² T. Björk, ‘Bildvärlden’, in L. Johannesson (ed.), *Konst och visuell kultur i Sverige 1810–2000*, Stockholm, Bokförlaget Signum, 2007, p. 42.

⁹³ P. Piotrowski ‘Towards a Horizontal History of the European Avant-Garde’, in S. Bru., P. Nicholls (eds.) *European Avant-Garde and Modernism Studies*, vol. 1., Berlin, De Gruyter, 2009, p. 51.

development in art is low.⁹⁴ There is no further explanation provided but Lindblom sets the tone on how the landscape paintings of Scania should be understood and by attributing the influences as German, he implicitly say that they are different.

Gustaf Rydberg keeps his position in the historiography until the most previous book *Konst och visuell kultur i Sverige 1810–2000* (Art and Visual Culture in Sweden 1810–2000) (2007), where Rydberg has been deleted in favor for the broader context of visual culture. In *Konsten i Sverige från 1800–1970* (1988), Scanian Artist's Community is described as an interest organization with a strong focus on the provincial.⁹⁵ No further explanation is provided. An exception from the previous mentioned Scanian artists is Carl-Fredrik Hill (1849–1911), born in Lund but rarely mentioned as a Scanian artist, most probably because he was not part of the movement of artists that consequently devoted the practice to examine the landscape. Hill's position in the historiography appears as unquestionable, most likely due to the strong idiosyncratic expression of his paintings and drawings. However, the interest in his art has also been fluctuating. Hill got his breakthrough after his death in 1911 and Lindblom states that Hill are mentioned with a few words in *Svensk konsthistoria* (1913) by Axel L. Romdahl and Johnny Roosvall. When Lindblom writes his book in 1946, Hill is considered the most prominent landscape painter in Sweden in the 19th century.⁹⁶

The survey books are dominated by *chronicles* about individual artists and their artistic developments are seen through issues related to colour and form. Frequently their oeuvres or separate works are labelled or compared to the French art movements. Within the *art historical time*, to use Dan Karlholm's word, the Swedish artists' works are compared with impressionism, symbolism and synthesisism, each of them with specific aspirations. However, Lindblom states that in the 1890s the interest in colour were still French but soon new ingredients made change which he mentions was the monumental vision and the emotionality. Together with the national subject a Swedish style was created.⁹⁷ In *Konsten i Sverige från 1800–1970* (Art in Sweden from 1800–1979) (1988), Sven Sandström states that the landscape paintings in the late 19th century was characterized by grandiose views that together with a national feature could be summarized as monumental.⁹⁸ The use of the term *National Romantic* that labels the national interest within art and architecture fluctuates.

⁹⁴ A. Lindblom, *Sveriges konsthistoria. Från forntid till nutid. Tredje delen: Från Gustav V till våra dagar*, Stockholm, Nordisk Rotogravyr, 1946, p. 885–886.

⁹⁵ S. Sandström, *Konsten i Sverige. Från 1800–1970*. Stockholm, Nordstedts, 1988, p. 269.

⁹⁶ A. Lindblom, *Sveriges konsthistoria. Från forntid till nutid. Tredje delen: Från Gustav V till våra dagar*, Stockholm, Nordisk Rotogravyr, 1946, p. 865.

⁹⁷ *ibid.*, p. 879.

⁹⁸ S. Sandström, *Konsten i Sverige. Från 1800–1970*, Stockholm, Nordstedts, 1988, p. 247.

2.3 Changes in the narrative

A considerable change in the narrative of Swedish art history appears in the 21st century through *Signums Svenska konsthistoria. Konsten 1890–1915* (Signum's Swedish Art History. Art 1890–1915) (2001). Instead of telling a chronological story, the book is thematically divided which allows parallel narratives to appear. Although art historian Birgit Rausing, the author behind the chapter on painting reproduce the previous established narrative about the Artists' Association and gives extensive space to a selection of the artists individually, she also makes a pioneering contribution by broadening the perspective in terms of geography and gender. For the first time in the survey books that is included in this examination, extensive space is devoted to the art scene in Scania. Here, she highlights some of the members of the Scanian Art Community, with the artist Justus Lundegård (1860–1924) as its first chairman together and the artists Fritz Kärfve (1880–1967), Albert Larsson (1869–1952), Ernst Norlind (1877–1952), Anders Trulson (1874–1911) and Herman Österlund (1873–1964) as the founding members. All of them represented the younger generation of artist. Similar to Andreas Lindblom, Rausing argues that the characteristics of the Scanian painters are the German influences.⁹⁹ This, I argue, is a general assumption based on works by Ernst Nordlind, who studied in Dachau, and a series of later paintings by Justus Lundegård, but which here give character to a whole group of painters. In her turn, Rausing refer to the art critic August Brunius (1879–1926) who, in an art review of an exhibition by Justus Lundegård in 1909, stated that the Scanian painters had a more 'pan-German' expression.¹⁰⁰ Considered as a survey book, the paragraph gives a balanced insight in the Scanian Art Community, artistic interests and descriptions of artists and their works. Noticeable though is that Rausing, with Scanian artists as her research profile, only mentions Lund as the center for art at the turn of the century when Malmö had an organized art scene. Noticeable is also that Rausing highlights a generation of artists such as Ester Almqvist (1869–1934), Arthur Bianchini (1869–1955), Bengt Hedberg (1868–1953) and Harriet Sundström (1872–1961), who has previously been overshadowed in the historiography by the domination of the

⁹⁹ B. Rausing, 'Måleriet', in J T. Ahlstrand et al. (eds.), *Signums svenska konsthistoria. Konsten 1890–1915*, Lund, Bokförlaget Signum, 2001, p. 331.

¹⁰⁰ H. Hedemann-Gade, *Justus Lundegård. En minnesteckning*, Malmö, Skånes konstförenings publikation, 1927, p. 11–12.

Artists' Association. They were all from a generation younger than the front men of the Association and played an important role in the shift between symbolism and the emerging expressionism. Rausing's explanation of the marginalization of this middle generation of artists is based on a weakened educational system, that the new associations that were formed, partly in opposition to the Artists' Association, such as Swedish Artists' Association (Svenska konstnärernas förening), Swedish female artists (Svenska konstnärinnor) and The Graphic Society (Grafiska Sällskapet) never really succeeded to gather the younger generation, and in the collective exhibitions they were overshadowed by the more established and famous artists.¹⁰¹ The marginalized generation of artists has been highlighted before, in Nils Gösta Sandblad's dissertation *Anders Trulson. En studie i sekelskiftets Svenska måleri* (Anders Trulson. A Study in Swedish Painting at the Turn of the Century) (1944) where Sandblad emphasizes how the younger generation of artists between the Artists' Association and the expressionist had been reduced in the historiography.¹⁰² Many of the members in the Scanian Art Community belonged to the same generation of artists born in the 1960s and 1970s. This may thus have also impacted the Scanian artists of that generation.

Similarly, *Konst och visuell kultur i Sverige* (2007) is divided into several parallel paragraphs that are thematically divided into different forms of visual expressions. However, in the paragraph about the artists examination of Sweden, emphasis is put on the north of Sweden.¹⁰³ No other artists than Carl-Fredrik Hill represents Scania from the period of 1885–1915. This shows that thematically divided survey books have a greater variation.

My examination has shown that history writing clearly reflects the knowledge horizon of its time. Whereas Laurin had an unbiased approach to art, occupied by describing the strong notions of Sweden that surrounded him, and he contributed to produce, there is a clearer distance from the romanization of the nation in the later ones where the focus rather is about colour and form, the social networks, and the art scene. The knowledge horizon is also reflected in the books published in the 21st century with an increased awareness of history writing, geography, gender, and post-colonial perspectives. Those books also present a broader idea historical perspective.

¹⁰¹ B. Rausing, 'Måleriet', in J T. Ahlstrand et al. (eds.), *Signums svenska konsthistoria. Konsten 1890–1915*, Lund, Bokförlaget Signum, 2001, p. 206–208.

¹⁰² N G. Sandblad, *Anders Trulson. En studie i sekelskiftets svenska måleri*, Gleerups förlag, Lund, 1944, p. 9–16.

¹⁰³ T. Björk, 'Bildvärlden', in L. Johannesson (ed.), *Konst och visuell kultur i Sverige 1810–2000*, Stockholm, Bokförlaget Signum, 2007, p. 86–87.

There are several possible reasons that have contributed to that narratives about the Scanian art have been marginalised. Even though some of the artists from the Scanian Art Community have been mentioned, they have been referred to in diminishing terms (Lindblom, 1946, Sandström, 1988). My examination has shown that the narrative about the members of the Artists' Association and the dominance of the artists Kreuger, Larsson, Liljefors, Nordström and Zorn has been inalterable. That narrative has formed an ideal that has been regulated and distributed as the only existing for 100 years (1900–2001). This has suppressed all other narratives to appear. The chronological narrative structure and the fact that the history of Swedish art has been written from a centre perspective have contributed to the suppression of other narratives. One such narrative is the Scanian artists, another the middle generation of artists, of which Österlund, Trulson, Gummeson, and several others belonged to. The constitution of a narrative is however more complex and is also dependent on events that happens before the surveys are written. Power relations such as social networks and the influence of institutions, galleries and art criticism has not been examined in the thesis. In this chapter I have just touched upon Carl G. Laurin's perception of Sweden. This will be followed up in the next chapter, where I will examine the visions for a national art as formulated by Richard Bergh and Carl G. Laurin.

Chapter 3: A national art with new ideals

This chapter is divided into two parts. The first part aims to give a background to the changed perception of Sweden, primarily seen through Richard Bergh's programmatic writings. The second part consists of an empirical analysis based on Carl G. Laurin's book *Sverige genom konstnärsögon* (Sweden through the eyes of artists), published in 1911. The book can be considered as his contribution to the understanding of Sweden. The aim is to examine how the image of Sweden was perceived at the turn of the century.

3.1 A changed perception of Sweden

In Europe, national characteristics had distinguished art for a large part of the 19th century and were expressed through its shifting ideals of history painting, naturalism and plein air painting.¹⁰⁴ With the exception of previous generations of Swedish artists such as Marcus Larsson (1825–1864), Edvard Bergh (1828–1880) and Alfred Wahlberg (1834–1906), who constructed imaginary representations of Sweden in the Düsseldorf tradition, Sweden was considered rather shameful until the late 1880s. The ideals had previously been the classical art and nature found in the south of Europe. Richard Bergh (1858–1919), one of the many artists who went to Paris in the beginning of the 1880s, suffered from inferiority complex and expressed the importance of getting rid of the Swedishness in order to fit into the international contexts: 'speak [...] as much as possible – in Italian, French or German, but best of all in Greek [...]. Up with your Norrköping nose, your blond lump of dough!.'¹⁰⁵ However, the longing back home to Sweden seemed to change his mind, along with many other expatriate artists and intellectuals of the time. In a letter in 1887 from the homesick Bergh to his fellow artist colleague George Pauli (1855–1935), Bergh expresses his new ideals of how the artists from now on needs to become Swedish to win back the Swedish audience.

¹⁰⁴ S. Strömbom, *Nationalromantik och radikalism. Konstnärsförbundets historia 1891–1920*, Stockholm, Albert Bonnier förlag, 1965, p. 25.

¹⁰⁵ R. Bergh, 'Svenskt konstnärskynne' (1899), in *Om konst och annat*, Stockholm, Bonniers, 1919, p.155. My translation is based on: 'bryt [...] så mycket som möjligt – på italienska, franska, eller tyska, men helst på grekiska [...]. Raka ut Norrköpingsnäsan, din blonda degklump!'

We must become Swedes, we have been French long enough. We have to take off our French gloves and crawl into our 'peau de Suède'—then we will first defeat the Swedish audience completely, we must poke at its finest heart nerves—then victory will forever be ours¹⁰⁶

To crawl into our “peau de Suède” can be understood as the artist should be the instrument that sensitively registers the atmosphere of the end of the century, to interpret the innermost feelings of the Swedes.

Artist and critic Richard Bergh had a position of power that must be regarded as undisputed. He was one of the foreground figures for the Opponents and the Artists' Association, co-founder of the Varberg colony (Varbergskolan), member of Eva Bonniers' donation board and became director of Nationalmuseum in 1915. In addition to that he was also a frequent debater, critic, and orator where he expressed what according to him characterized true Swedish art and the artist's responsibility to convey the feeling of the nation.

In 1898–99 Bergh formulates a program for a Swedish national art titled 'Svenskt konstnärskynne'. The artist's role, according to Bergh, was to bring together the citizens through the art and awaken their sense for the Swedish nature. In the program, his perception on art becomes clear: 'Our art [...] shall be like our nature! It shall interpret our uniqueness and our heartbeat, using the colours and forms that once and for all belong to our land and our people.'¹⁰⁷ The art was an emotional affair, and the artist would interpret the shifts of the soul and open up what was closed in the innermost part of the human. Nature was to be considered as alive and should be interpreted as a temperament which can be seen as a critique against the academic traditions.

Art means feeling [...] You have to be able to *recognize* in all art in order to be able *to feel* properly. [...] It is not an art revolution that we currently need, it is a revolution in *everyone's* feeling for the homeland.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁶ G. Pauli, *Konstnärsbrev I*, Albert Bonniers förlag, Stockholm, 1928, p. 32. My translation is based on: 'Vi måste bli svenskar, vi hava nu länge nog varit fransmän. Vi måste taga av oss våra franska handskar och krypa in i vårt 'peau de Suède' – då skola vi först besegra den svenska publiken fullständigt, vi måste pillra på dess finaste hjärtnerver – då blir segern för alltid vår!'

¹⁰⁷ R. Bergh, 'Svenskt konstnärskynne' (1899), in *Om konst och annat*, Stockholm, Bonniers, 1919, p. 135. My translation is based on: 'Vår konst [...] skall bli lik vår natur! Den skall tolka vår egenart och vårt hjärtslag och därvid använda de färger och former som nu en gång för alla äro vårt lands och vårt folks'.

¹⁰⁸ R. Bergh, 'Svenskt konstnärskynne' (1899), *Om konst och annat*, Stockholm, Bonniers, 1919, p. 162–163. My translation is based on: 'Konst betyder känna [...] Man måste i all konst kunna *känna igen* för att rätt kunna *känna för*. [...] Det är inte en konstrevolution vi numera behöfva, det är en revolution i *allas* känsla för hemlandet'. His program for a national Swedish art is further discussed in B. Rapp, *Richard Bergh, Konstnär*

The national feeling was deeply connected to nature and in order to awaken the national feeling the artists were supposed to depict the nature. In similarity to many other artists and intellectuals at the time, Bergh regarded the people as emerged from the landscape. ‘Svenskt konstnärskynne’ (Swedish Artistic Character) can also be seen in the light of other texts, as mentioned in chapter 1, that was published at the turn of the century as a try to awaken the national feeling.

With today’s perspective, many of the nationalistic expressions from the turn of the century appear striking. According to Rapp, the Artists’ Association was politically and artistically organized under a red banner like the working-class movement and can be considered from a politically progressive perspective.¹⁰⁹ She describes how Bergh and the Artists Association’s political visions was closely connected to the Social Democrat party that was established in 1889.¹¹⁰ This is also supported by Facos, who argues that the Artists’ Association’s success in defining Swedishness lay in the focus of the future generations. Their view of culture was well-aligned with the political, social, and economical system of social democracy.¹¹¹

3.2 Sweden according to Carl G. Laurin

Carl G. Laurin’s book *Sverige genom konstnärssögon* (1911) can be considered a similar attempt to overcome the indignation and inferiority complex of being Swedish as Bergh’s visions. Like Bergh’s texts, Laurin’s book also resonates with the love for the nation and the striving for a unified people.

The most sympathetic is the same daring that the old Vikings had, and the desire to look around; the least attractive is the lack of feeling for the value of Swedish uniqueness. The calm, justified feeling of

och kulturpolitiker, 1890–1915, PhD Thesis, Stockholm University, Stockholm, Rabén & Sjögren, 1978, p 35–26.

¹⁰⁹ B. Rapp, *Richard Bergh, Konstnär och kulturpolitiker 1890–1915*, PhD Thesis, Stockholm University, Stockholm, Rabén & Sjögren, 1978, p. 33.

¹¹⁰ *ibid.*, p. 48.

¹¹¹ M. Facos, *Nationalism and the Nordic Imagination, Swedish Art of the 1890s*, Berkley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1998, p. 3.

one's own superiority, which exists among the English, Norwegians, French, Hungarians, and Americans, is unfortunately still missing among Swedes.¹¹²

In similarity to many of his contemporaries, Laurin did not strive for an isolationist form of nationalism. The Swedish art, as he considers to be in its golden age, have been inspired by international influences.¹¹³ His persistent work as public educator, shaped by the educational ideals of his time, and author of several art historical surveys can be considered in the light of what he considered as a lack of feeling for the value of Swedish uniqueness. As mentioned in the previous chapter, Laurin already in *Konsthistoria* (Art History) (1900) put emphasis on the Swedishness in the art, which he exemplified through the selection of works by members in the Artists' Association. With the book *Sverige genom konstnärsögon* (Sweden through the eyes of artists) (1911) he wished to instil the feeling of thankfulness and proudness in the Swedes about what the people had got from the artists and emphasized the importance of recapturing the sense of Sweden as a country.¹¹⁴

In the book, Laurin expresses the strength and pride in Sweden through various examples of art works and let these works identify the different landscapes. The book consists of 23 colour images which are dominated by members of the Artists' Association. In addition, the book consists of several smaller black and white reproductions. Noticeable is that no of the images is represented by a woman.

Below is an analysis of a selection of images from the book. I have categorized the images by motif, and these categories form the subheadings.

3.2.1 Nature and traditions

The book begins with an image of Otto Hesselblom's *Vårt land* (Our country) from 1902, a scenery in bird eye's perspective of a forested landscape with lakes in dusk. The perspective contributes to the monumentality of the image and creates an impression of a forest that stretches infinitely. As an *icon*, the forest can be seen just as a forest, a large number of trees

¹¹² C. Laurin, *Sverige genom konstnärsögon*, Stockholm, Nordstedt, 1911. p. 10. 'Den mest sympatiska är samma vågsamhet, som de gamla vikingarna hade, och lusten att se sig om; den minst tilldragande är bristen på känsla för den svenska egenartens värde. Den lugna, mer eller mindre berättigade känslan af det egnas öferlägsenhet, som finnes hos engelskmän, normän, fransmän, ungrare och amerikaner, saknas tyvärr ännu hos svenskar'.

¹¹³ *ibid.*

¹¹⁴ *ibid.*, preface.

standing together. The tension in the image is however created together with the other *icons* such as the lakes, the extended view, and the atmospheric light which evokes connotations in two directions. On the one hand, they evoke an image of original roots. According to Werner, the coniferous forest is often associated with Sweden due to its connection to landscapes like Värmland and Dalarna, which was considered as the original Swedish areas. This was further strengthened by literature and writers such as Erik Gustaf Geijers, Essaias Tegner and Selma Lagerlöf.¹¹⁵ In such reading, the efforts and struggles it entails to handle the forest evokes an image of the strengths of Sweden and its inhabitants. On the other hand, the image can be seen in the light of modernity. In the early 20th century, 50 % of Sweden was covered by forests, and wood pulp was one of the foremost export goods.¹¹⁶ Through the monumentality of the image, an idea of endless natural resources is evoked which can be understood as a safeguard for the nation's survival, and the well-being of the people. Seen through the title, *Vårt land* (Our Country) the painting manifests the twofold direction of the future and the past where the nature become the unifying link.



Fig. 1. Otto Hesselbom, *Vårt land. Motiv från Dalsland* (Our Country. Motif from Dalsland), 1902.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁵ J. Werner, *Blond and Blue-Eyed. Whiteness, Swedishness, and Visual Culture*, Göteborg, Skiascope 6, Gothenburg Museum of Art Publication Series, 2014, p. 118.

¹¹⁶ G. Schotte, 'Sveriges skogar', *Sydsvenska Dagbladet Snällpostens Riksnummer 1914. Industri, Konst, Jordbruk*, 1914, p. 39–40

¹¹⁷ The title of the image in Laurin's book is *Vårt land* (Our Country). The title found at Nationalmuseum has been added the descriptive part *Motiv från Dalsland* (Motif from Dalsland).

Among the 23 colour reproductions in the book, images of coniferous forests, lakes, and the rocky coastline in Stockholm archipelago are well represented. According to Laurin's perception of Sweden, they can be seen as *Swedish signs*. However, they should be regarded in relation to the combination of signs that appear in each painting, or in relation to their total cultural environment.

Humans are represented in eight of the 23 images, mirroring a state of melancholy, and suffering as in Carl Wilhelmson's *Kyrkfolk i båt* (Church people in a boat) or *Jordarbetare* (Farm workers), which also can be found in equivalent literature of the time.



Fig. 2. Carl Wilhelmson, *Jordarbetare från Uppland* (Farm workers), 1904.

Fig. 3. Carl Wilhelmson, *Kyrkfolk i båt* (Church people in a boat), 1909.

In contrast, a sense of curiosity and levity is found in Carl Larsson's *De mina* (Mine) where Karin, Larsson's wife, and their four kids are looking at the viewer. Their Falu red house Sundborn is situated in the background. As an *index*, the Falu red house evokes images that can be understood in its total cultural environment. As such, it *connotes* to Swedish interior design, and not least, to homeliness until our days. Laurin writes that 'no Swede has shown, like Carl Larsson, how well the children lived in the country during "summer the beautiful, then the land she rejoices"'.¹¹⁸ This can be understood as a sense of belonging to the nation is created through the family and their intimate relationship to the nature. The sense of summer evokes a positive feeling which he, through the emphasis on the Swede, connects to the nation. The family and especially the children can implicitly be understood as a direction

¹¹⁸ C. Laurin, *Sverige genom konstnärsögon*, Stockholm, Nordstedt, 1911. p. 12. My translation is based on: 'Ingen svensk har som Carl Larsson visat, hur bra barnen ha det på landet under "sommaren den sköna, då marken hon gläds"'.

towards the future. The family members look relaxed and are surrounded by animals, which further emphasize the connectedness to nature.

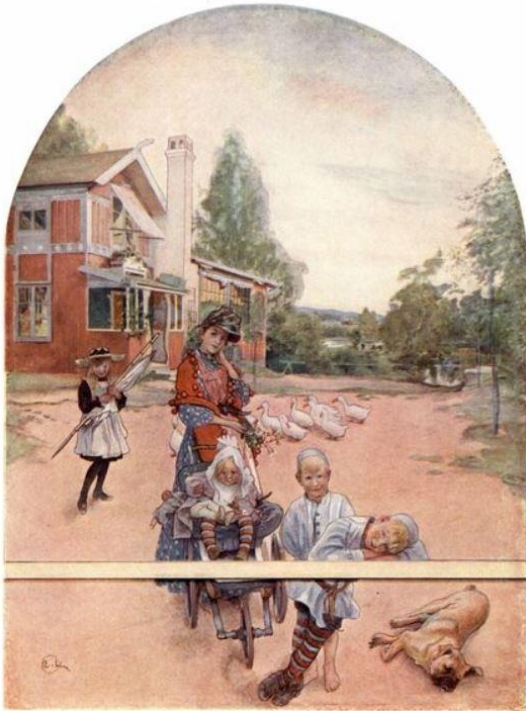


Fig. 4. Carl Larsson, *De mina* (Mine), undated.

Among the images selected by Laurin, he also focuses on Swedish traditions such as in Larsson's *Kräftfiske* (Crayfishing), ca 1894 and Anders Zorn's *Midsommardans* (Midsummer dance) from 1897. In Larsson's painting the viewer is introduced to one of the strongest traditions in the early autumn. Children stand by the lake with fishing nets in their hands, an iron pot is prepared for boiling the crayfish and on the table in the foreground, the red crayfish are laid out together with a bottle of aquavit and glasses. They all constitute *icons*, but it is through the combination of them that the image connotes to the crayfish party. This further testifies the need to unite the inhabitants around common reference points such as holidays.

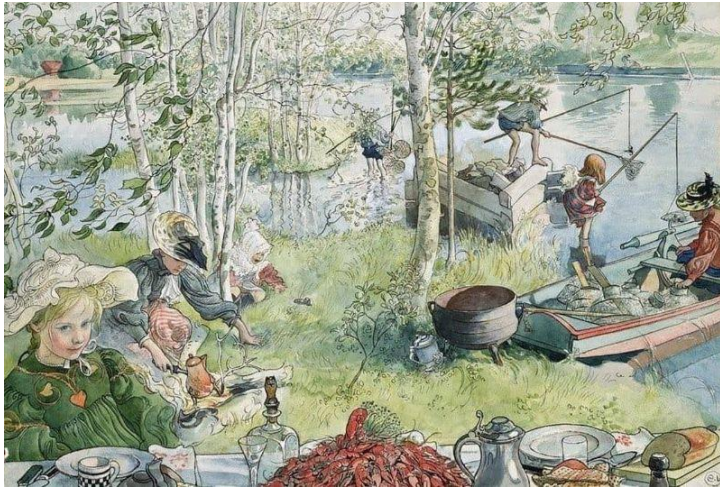


Fig. 5. Carl Larsson, *Kräftfiske* (Crayfishing), ca 1894.



Fig. 6. Anders Zorn, *Midsommardans* (Midsummer dance), 1897.

In Zorn's painting, the dancing couples are dressed in folk costumes in front of the maypole, a half-timbered economy building, and a Falu red painted residential house. The scenery takes place in front of an open sky in the morning sun. Here, Zorn create a symbiosis of nature and the local culture. In *Nationalism and the Nordic Imagination*, Facos argues that Zorn consciously choose folkish elements to establish the rootedness of the culture.¹¹⁹ Facos also emphasizes the different connotations that the image evokes dependent on the viewers context. Where an American might project an 'agrarian antimodernism of the Amish', the Swedish viewer would most likely identify the image to Midsummer and 'understand the significance of the uniquely Swedish holiday'.¹²⁰ Consistent to Facos, Werner states that many of the paintings represented by the Artists' Association, which dominates in Laurin's book, have become national treasures but especially they are reflecting settings and moods that by many have become to be perceived as genuinely Swedish.¹²¹

According to Laurin, the coastline of Bohuslän is as its best depicted by Karl Nordström who has painted the soft lines of the granite rocks with harsh masculinity.¹²² The images of the

¹¹⁹ M. Facos, *Nationalism and the Nordic Imagination, Swedish Art of the 1890s*, Berkley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1998, p. 50.

¹²⁰ *ibid.*, p. 52.

¹²¹ J. Werner, *Blond and Blue-Eyed. Whiteness, Swedishness, and Visual Culture*, Göteborg, Skiascope 6, Gothenburg Museum of Art Publication Series, 2014, p. 144.

¹²² C. Laurin, *Sverige genom konstnärsögon*, Stockholm, Nordstedt, 1911. p. 14.

archipelago are however depicting Stockholm. Anders Zorn's *Ute* (Outdoor), 1888, is one of them, depicting three nude women on a rock at Dalarö, which Zorn often visited. It is 'a Swedish image' according to Laurin who mentions the granite slab, the blond women and the sense of freedom and freshness in the untouched nature.¹²³ The impressionistic painting caused reactions due to the nude women but as Werner points at, the nude bodies and the salt water also connotates to naturalness and health which was an urgent topic at the time.¹²⁴ Fresh air and outdoor swimming was frequently debated during the 19th century and regarded to have medical effects on humans. Other ideas that occurred during the 19th century was the idea of sun bath, and light therapy.¹²⁵ Seen through Karlholm's concept of *embodied time*, the image both activates the connectedness to nature and the latest ideas of health that arise in the light of modernity.



Fig. 7. Anders Zorn, *Ute* (Outdoor), 1888.

¹²³ C. Laurin, *Sverige genom konstnärsögon*, Stockholm, Nordstedt, 1911. p. 13. My translation is based on: 'en svensk bild'.

¹²⁴ J. Werner, *Blond and Blue-Eyed. Whiteness, Swedishness, and Visual Culture*, Göteborg, Skiascope 6, Gothenburg Museum of Art Publication Series, 2014, p. 133-134.

¹²⁵ *ibid.*, p. 134.

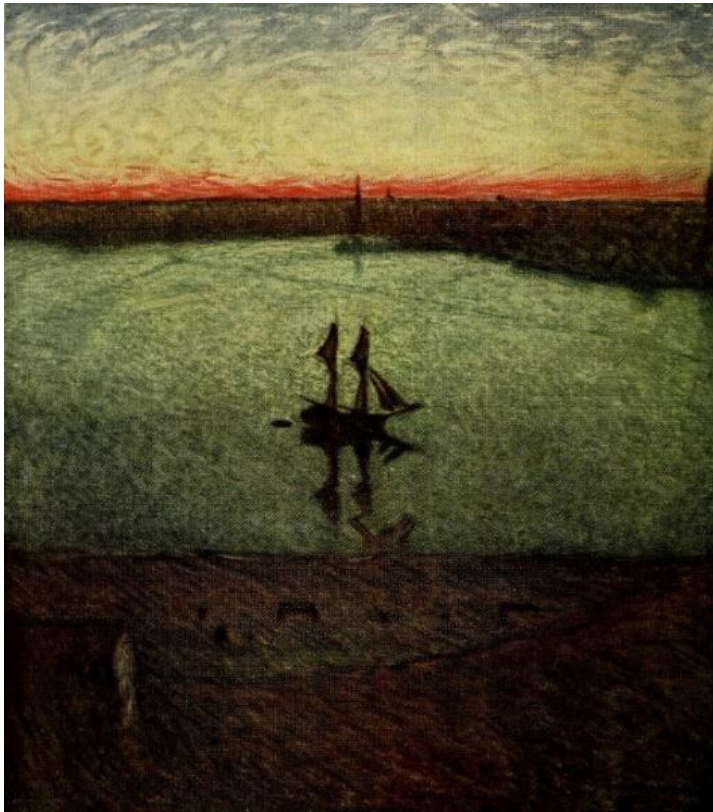
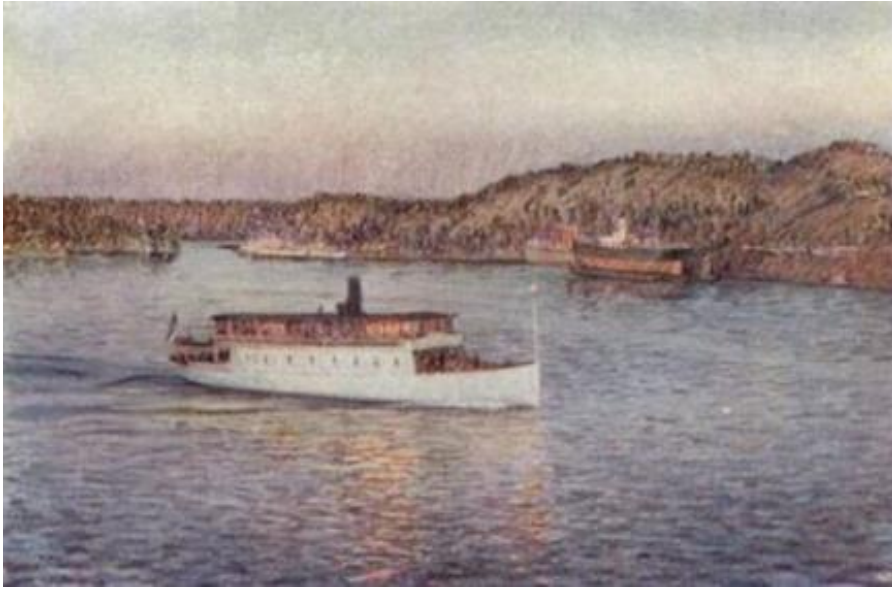


Fig. 8. Prins Eugen, *På ingående* (Entrancing), undated

Fig. 9. Eugène Jansson, *Riddarholmsfjärden en midsommarnatt* (Riddarholmsfjärden on a Midsummer Night), before 1915.

Twelve of the images are characterized by the atmospheric light in late evenings or through sunsets. Prins Eugen's *På ingående* (Entrancing), depicting a steam ferry in twilight is one of them, Eugène Jansson's *Riddarholmsfjärden en midsommarnatt* (Riddarholmsfjärden on a Midsummer Night) is another one, and also the last image in the book. Both points to

modernity and the possibilities of the future: Prins Eugen through the steam ferry, Jansson through the endless horizon that emanates a sense of individual freedom. Both also have a connection to what was considered the origin of the inhabitants, nature. Painted from a hill in Stockholm, Jansson depicts an extended view of the bay of Riddarholmsfjärden where the silhouettes of a sailboat and the forest stands out against the horizon in twilight. According to Laurin, Jansson's landscapes contains the most Swedish characteristics: 'melancholy, longing, a sense for splendid colours, something lyrically musical, something at once delicate, defiant, and all-embracing'.¹²⁶ His interpretation is to a large extent subjective, but through the words, Laurin's desire to convey how art should feel and touch becomes evident, similarly to Richard Bergh's perception of art. It is through the senses for the nature and the art that the feeling for the nation would be rekindled.

3.2.2 *Material heritage*

Laurin's perception of the nation can also be seen through the material heritage. The Falu red houses that occurs in the images of Larsson and Zorn, has its origin in the landscape of Dalarna in the 16th century, where the characteristic red timber houses early on came to be associated with richness and status.¹²⁷ Through the dissemination of images by Larsson and Zorn, the Falu red houses have become deeply intertwined with the notion of Dalarna which, as previously mentioned, was considered as the authentic Sweden. Other depicted buildings in Laurin's book are Oscar Björck's painting *Vadstena slott* (Vadstena Castle) and Prins Eugen's *Stockholms slot* (Stockholm Castle) which further express his perception of the nation.

¹²⁶ C. Laurin, *Sverige genom konstnärsögon*, Stockholm, Nordstedt, 1911. p. 56.

¹²⁷ <https://falurodfarg.com/om-falu-rodfarg/historien-om-falu-rodfarg/>, (accessed 13 Aug. 2024)



Fig. 10. Oscar Björck, *Vadstena slott* (Vadstena Castle), undated.

Fig. 11. Prins Eugen, *Stockholms slott* (Stockholm Castle), undated.

Vadstena Castle was built by Gustaf Vasa in 1554 and Laurin expresses his thankfulness to the previous king.¹²⁸ At the turn of the century, a craze emerged around Gustav Vasa, who was the king of Sweden between 1523 and 1560 and considered the father of the country. This was among other examples manifested in the art through Carl Milles' sculpture portraying Vasa in the entrance of the Nordic Museum in 1907 and through Carl Larsson's monumental painting at Nationalmuseum in 1908.¹²⁹ Stockholm Castle, built in 1697 under the King Gustaf II Adolf, was associated with Sweden's Great Power Era which was also greatly

¹²⁸ C. Laurin, *Sverige genom konstnärsogon*, Stockholm, Nordstedt, 1911. p. 38.

¹²⁹ M. Olin, "Anekdotens trollmakt" Heidenstam och nationalromantikens konsthistoria', in M. Olin (ed.), *Konsten och det nationella. Essäer om konsthistoria i Europa 1850–1959*, Stockholm, The Royal Swedish Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities, 2013, p. 230.

admired and publicly debated at the turn of the century.¹³⁰ Despite Laurin's overview of depictions of different landscapes and cultural heritage, it is visible that the area in Sweden that he perceived as the most Swedish is Mälardalen. In the guise of the artist Gunnar Hallström, who not only spread a scent of Swedishness, both the landscape and the people were presented as they looked, Laurin said: 'white, tall, with a noble posture and the curls of dreams in the crowns' which reminded him of the original roots, the pre-history of the country and the Birka era.¹³¹

While the Falu red houses anchored Swedishness in nature, Laurin's historical references connote a more grandiose nationalism. This was manifested by reinforcing the country's origins and a period marked by power and authority.

3.2.3 Scania

Scania is the landscape that differs from Laurin's conception of Sweden. He argued that Scania gave an un-Swedish impression with its 'fertile plains, its yellow brick factories, and the white-stepped farmhouses'.¹³² Even if plains did not just exist in Scania they were often associated to the region and, as I will discuss in next chapter, the perception of them have varied through time. The yellow brick and the white-stepped farmhouses that Laurin points to is however, typical *Scanian signs* and a reminder of the history with Denmark and the proximity to the continent. For the traveler from the continent, it was not until the train whizzed through the pine forests of Småland that one could feel that you were at home in Sweden, he stated.¹³³ This also points at his aesthetic ideal of Swedishness, and his impressions of Scania did not correlate to the ideal.

Even though Scanian artists like Gustaf Rydberg, Ernst Nordlind and Axel Kulle had depicted the 'proud, uniformly and solidly built' white farmhouses, he complains that Scania had no modern depicter as it deserved. They were not even close to the prominence Nils Kreuger and Karl Nordström possessed over Halland and Bohuslän.¹³⁴ It is in other words through a comparison with two of the most distinguished artists and members of the Artists' Associations he compares the Scanian artists to, whose perception of art he shared and

¹³⁰ *ibid.*, p. 226.

¹³¹ C. Laurin, *Sverige genom konstnärsoögon*, Stockholm, Nordstedt, 1911, p. 21. My translation is based on: 'vita, höga, med ädel hållning och drömmens krus i kronorna.'

¹³² C. Laurin, *Sverige genom konstnärsoögon*, Stockholm, Nordstedt, 1911, p.18. My translation is based on: 'bördiga slätter, sina gula tegelfabriker och de hvitrappade bondgårdarna ett osvenskt intryck.'

¹³³ *ibid.*

¹³⁴ *ibid.*

represented. The image representing Scania is a small black and white reproduction of Ernst Nordlind's *Skånsk bondgård* (Scanian farmhouse). Laurin also complains that no artist had depicted the water of Öresund or the beech forest.¹³⁵ This shows that Laurin did not put attention to the art produced in Scania, where several artists such as Rydberg, Österlund, and P.A. Persson had painted the coastline and the light Scanian forest before his book was published. Beside solo exhibitions, they participated in member exhibitions with the Scanian Art Community in Scania but also in Norrköping, 1906, and Gothenburg, 1908. The Community's first presentation in Stockholm was in 1912, the year after Laurin's book was published.¹³⁶

Emblematic to Laurin, and other of his contemporaries, was the search of character traits which was considered to be reflected by the nature. According to Laurin, who made it clear that Scania did not appear Swedish due to its different nature and architecture, the Scanians' where imposed traits that he partly was envious of and partly disturbed by. He draws a connection between the plains and intelligence and good self-esteem but also boastfulness and rustling dialect.¹³⁷

The book *Sverige genom konstnärsögon* can be regarded as a typical example of the great interests in the nation and the landscapes that occurred during the turn of the century. The book was translated into English, French and German to ensure that the pride and beauty of Sweden was widely spread.¹³⁸ It was also used by The Swedish Tourist Association (Svenska Turistföreningen) as promotion material in their exhibition at *The Baltic Exhibition* in 1914.¹³⁹ Through the book, Laurin contributed to produce the image of Sweden and it also forms part of the collected historiography of Swedish art. Laurin shared the same perception of art as the first generation of members of the Artists' Association. This partly explains Laurin's choice of artworks that he describes in the book, and the ones he chooses to be represented by images. By repeatedly highlighting their art, I argue that he can be seen as of the Association's foremost mediators.

¹³⁵ *ibid.*, p. 17.

¹³⁶ H Hedemann-Gade, *Skånes konstförening 1904–1939*, Skånes konstförenings publikation, 1939, p. 58.

¹³⁷ C. Laurin, *Sverige genom konstnärsögon*, Stockholm, Nordstedt, 1911, p.18.

¹³⁸ *ibid.*, p. 7.

¹³⁹ R. F. Petre, 'Turistutställningen', in H. Fr. Ahlström (ed.), *Officiell berättelse öfver Baltiska utställningen i Malmö 1914, Andra bandet, första delen*, Malmö, Förlagsaktiebolagets i Malmö Boktryckeri, 1915, p. 686.

Chapter 4: The Scanian landscape paintings – an empirical analysis

The empirical material that forms the body of this chapter is constituted by the landscape paintings that were presented in the collection of Scanian art at Malmö Museum 1908–1914. I have been able to identify twelve of them and these are included in the analysis. For full list of works in the collection, see Appendix A. In this chapter I conduct formal and semiotic analysis. The aim is to examine the meaning produced by the paintings, considered in the light of the nationalist currents and the modern society. I have categorized the images by motifs or tendencies, and these categories form the subheadings. The chapter begins with a short introduction to the museum and the art collection.

4.1 A short background of Malmö Museum and its art collection in 1908

Established in 1841 as a Scanian natural history museum, Malmö Museum moved to its first permanent building in 1901, situated at Regementsgatan in Malmö.¹⁴⁰ The building, made by architect John Smedberg, is four levels high and built in brick to highlight the Scanian and Zealand heritage.¹⁴¹ When Hans Emil Larsson became the new director in 1895, the museum turns its direction towards a Scanian cultural history museum and begins to collect art. In parallel to the work at the museum, Larsson was also director at the city library of Malmö and manager of the local lecture association.¹⁴²

The artifacts were systemized according to an evolutionist methodology, as in most of the western museums at the time. According to Larsson, the visitors should walk ‘from the lower to the higher’, which meant from the animals on the first floor, who in their turn were typologically organized from corals to fishes and birds, and ‘ascend to man’ which were represented by the art.¹⁴³ In between, ethnographic artifacts were situated as well as a department for pre-historical artifacts from Scania.

On the contrary to our present time, the concept of a collection was defined by the material that the museum successively collected and thereafter presented in the museum. No

¹⁴⁰ The building is now Malmö City Library.

¹⁴¹ H. E. Larsson, *Vägledning genom Malmö Museum*, Malmö, 1908, p. 6.

¹⁴² E. Fischer, ‘Museets uppkomst och utveckling’, in Ad. Anderberg, E. Fischer, E. Hansen (eds.), *Malmö Museum 1841–1941*, Malmö, A. B. Allhems förlag, 1941, p. 68–69.

¹⁴³ H. E. Larsson, Utlåtande ang riktlinjer för Malmö museums utveckling 1913, p. 3. Malmö Museum’s Archive. My translation is based on: ‘från det lägre till det högre’, ‘stiga upp till människan’

storages existed, with the consequence that the museum soon was overcrowded with artifacts. At the time, the museum had as objective to collect quantity wise, which was informed by ideas from archeology to have a complete collection. By the end of the 19th century, The Swedish National Heritage Board recommended museums to seek an as extensive collection as possible.¹⁴⁴

In *Vägledning genom Malmö Museum* (Guide Through Malmö Museum) (1908), the museum publishes the collection for the first time. The aim of the book is not mentioned, however the word *vägledning* (guide) implicitly indicate that the book was aimed to provide the visitors with information about the artifacts in the collection. Whereas the ethnographical and historical artifacts from Scania are described in detail, the art is only mentioned by the artists names, title of the works and material. There is no mentioning of production year, and, in some cases, titles are also missing.¹⁴⁵ The lack of information can be understood because of Larsson whose interest primarily was focused on the cultural history.

An exhibition, on the contrary to the collection, was a temporary event that lasted 5 to 7 weeks. Between 1901 and 1914, the museum conducted between five and nine exhibitions every year. Each year until 1914, the two local art associations the Scanian Art Community and the Art Association of Southern Sweden held annual member exhibitions. The associations were considered as tenants and as payment art works from the exhibition were donated to the museum.¹⁴⁶ This is in other words how the collection of art initially was developed in addition to donations and a few acquisitions.

Even though *Vägledning genom Malmö Museum* (Guide Through Malmö Museum) (1908) lacks some information about the artworks, the book is a valuable historical document that gives insight into which works were included in the collection and how it was categorized. The art collection was placed on the third floor and categorized into four groups: *sculpture, paintings, engravings, and miniature portraits*. Paintings were sub-categorized into four groups: *Scanian painters, Other contemporary Swedish painters, Older Swedish painters, and Danish, Norwegian, and Other foreign painters*. The categorization reflects the perception of art at a time where the artist's place of origin was considered to be reflected in the works.

¹⁴⁴ M. Waldeborn, *Folkbildning och museum. Hans Emil Larssons verksamhet på Malmö museum 1891–1922*. Dokumentationsenhetens rapporter 2000:2, Malmö Museum, 2000.

¹⁴⁵ H E. Larsson, *Vägledning genom Malmö Museum*, Malmö, 1908, p 184.

¹⁴⁶ A. Anderberg, 'Museets utställningsverksamhet', in Ad. Anderberg, E. Fischer, E. Hansen (eds.), *Malmö Museum 1841–1941*, Allhems förlag, Malmö, 1941, p 118.

The collection of art works grew the forthcoming years, but the categorization and initial works, as presented in *Vägledning genom Malmö Museum* (Guide Through Malmö Museum) remained until 1914 when the collection, due to acquisitions made at *The Baltic Exhibition*, expanded extensively and the presentation of the collection was changed.¹⁴⁷

4.2 Titles as textual messages

Following identified works were included in the collection and will be analysed below.

Per Gummeson (1858–1928)	<i>Vårmorgon, Röstånga</i> , 1907 (Acquired 1908) <i>Gård i senvinter, Röstånga</i> , 1908 (Acquired 1908)
Hjalmar A Lindqvist (1843–1917)	<i>Bokskog</i> , 1882 (Donation 1902)
Justus Lundegård (1860–1924)	<i>Arilds pinier</i> , undated (Acquired 1903)
Gisela Henckel Trapp (1873–1958)	<i>Haga vid Arild</i> , 1901, (Acquired 1903)
Anders Trulson (1874–1911)	<i>Arilds hamn</i> , 1904 (Acquired 1904)
Gustaf Rydberg (1838–1933)	<i>Bondgård vid Brunnby</i> , ca 1900. (Donation 1900) <i>Slättbild från Höja</i> , 1890, 1900 (Donation 1900) <i>Vid Arilds strand</i> , 1890, (Donation 1900) <i>Morgondimma vid Arild</i> , 1893, (Donation 1898)
Hugo Salmson (1843–1894)	<i>Landskap</i> , undated, (Acquired 1901)
Herman Österlund (1873–1964)	<i>Solnedgång, Rövarekulan vid Löberöd</i> , 1900 (Acquired 1901)

In the meeting with the artworks, the titles often give the first sign to an interpretation. Considering the museum systematization, it even contributed to an a priori understanding by mentioning the adjective *Skånska* (Scanian) before the noun paintings. The adjective Scania do not just refer to the geographical place, it reflects the time's perception of art that considered the artists as earthbound and whose practice gave expression to the place they

¹⁴⁷ H E. Larsson, Redogörelse för Malmö Museum, dess förvaltning och tillväxt under år 1914, Malmö Museum's Archive. Through the state, Malmö Museum and Göteborg Konstmuseum were received 62.500 kr each to acquire works from *The Baltic Exhibition*. Nationalmuseum received 125.000 kr.

lived in. The museum's objective was to collect and present what was considered as typical Scanian, and Larsson emphasised that he, by presenting Scanian artifacts, not just aimed to mediate a historical value, but also to evoke an atmosphere.¹⁴⁸

Seen from a semiotic perspective, the titles, or texts in connection to the artwork, contributes to anchor the meaning of the artwork and directs the viewer in the right direction. As connotated images, the titles helps to identify parts of the scene in the image or the image itself.¹⁴⁹ Thus, Herman Österlund's painting points to Rövarekulan in Löberöd, the titles of the paintings by Justus Lundegård, Anders Trulson, Gisela Henckel-Trapp and two of Gustaf Rydberg's artwork all refers to places in and around Arild, other paintings by Rydberg presents sections of even smaller villages as Höja, and Brunnby, situated nearby Arild, and Per Gummesson's two paintings refers to Röstånga. Titles should however always be understood with some caution as they may have been changed when they, for example, are purchased by museums.¹⁵⁰ Barthes further states how these texts, or titles not only directs the interpretation but also comes with control.¹⁵¹ In these images, the control lies in what they depict, which is shaped by artistic ideals of the time and the provincial romanticism that left its mark in society.

¹⁴⁸ H E. Larsson, Utlåtande ang. riktlinjer för Malmö Museums utveckling 1913, Malmö Museum's Archive.

¹⁴⁹ R. Barthes, *Bildens retorik*, trans. K. Aspelin, Stockholm, Bokförlaget Faethon, 2016, p. 38.

¹⁵⁰ This is the case with Rydberg's paintings *Slättbild från Höja* and *Vid Arilds strand*. In *Vägledning genom Malmö Museum* (1908) they are just referred to as *Høj* and *Arild*. Through their inventory number, I've been able to identify them.

¹⁵¹ R. Barthes, *Bildens retorik*, trans. K. Aspelin, Stockholm, Bokförlaget Faethon, 2016, p.43.

4.3 The half-timbered house



Fig. 12. Gustaf Rydberg, *Bondgård i Brunnby* (Farm in Brunnby), 1893.

In the vicinity of Arild and Kullaberg, Brunnby is situated, where Gustaf Rydberg draws inspiration for several paintings. The painting *Bondgård i Brunnby* (Farm in Brunnby) from 1893 is structured according to Rydberg's characteristic diagonal that crosses the horizon line, a composition method he brought with him from his studies in Düsseldorf in 1859 to 1864. In the painting, the left foreground consists of a rocky area and pasture, while the farm, to which the title refers, is placed to the right. In front of the farmhouse a straw stack is situated, whose sunlit part faces the pasture. Further away, on the horizon, chimneys and smoke can be vaguely discerned. The painting is on a first glimpse characterized by a calmness and simplicity that is enhanced by the light.

From a semiotic perspective *Bondgård in Brunnby* consists of several signs that are worth to examine further. It's from the perspective of the selection of motifs that the painting intrigues, where he consciously situates the farmhouse in the center of attention. The farm itself is an *icon* to use Peirce's word, with a primary function that tells us that it is used for animals. The visible door, wider than a door to a residential house, can be used to bring the animals out to pasture or to bring tools to work the soil. The farm can also be considered as an *index* in the

sense that it, despite the lack of people, as in many of Rydberg's paintings, also talks about a life of farmers and agriculture, further enhanced by the haystack on the side of the building. However, by looking at the style of the barn, other layers appear in the image that relates to the geographical and historical context. The farm in Rydberg's painting is placed in an angle, whitewashed, and built in half-timber, a technique that has been used since ancient times but became especially common during the Middle Ages in Europe. The building method was used primarily for wood-saving reasons, which suited areas with less forest. Denmark, Scania and Halland therefore became the northernmost outposts for the half-timbered method. In the areas that made up Sweden before 1658, there are thus no half-timbered buildings. Here we can therefore speak of a typical *Scanian sign* that forms an important part of the visual language of the Scanian landscape.

Throughout Rydberg's oeuvre, the half-timbered buildings often occur in his paintings. This becomes particularly visible in the book *Gustaf Rydberg. Skånes målare* (Gustav Rydberg. Scania's painter). Among the 163 black and white reproductions of his works, half-timbered and/or whitewashed buildings are depicted in 48 of them.¹⁵² The frequent repetition of the motif, I argue, contributes to the meaning production of the Scanian landscape and reinforces the provincial romanticism.



Fig. 13. Justus Lundegård, *Arilds pinier* (Arild's pines), undated.

¹⁵² H. Kjellin, *Gustaf Rydberg. Skånes målare*, Stockholm, Sveriges Allmänna Konstförenings publikation, 1925, p. 145–234.



Fig. 14. Per Gummesson, *Gård i senvinter, Röstånga* (Farmhouse in late winter, Röstånga), 1908.



Fig. 15. Gisela Henckel Trapp, *Haga vid Arild* (Haga in Arild), 1901.

In the collection at Malmö Museum, as it was presented in 1908, the half-timbered buildings also occur in other works; Justus Lundegård's *Arild's pinier* (Arild's pines), in Per Gummesson's *Gård i senvinter, Röstånga* (Farmhouse in late winter, Röstånga), and in Gisela Henckel Trapp's painting *Haga vid Arild* (Haga in Arild). In Gummesson's and Henckel Trapp's depictions, the building itself is the center of the painting whereas in Lundegård's painting, which is painted from a height, the building looms further down the slope towards the sea. Gummesson's painting consists of a red-plastered building, probably a larger

residential building, outlined against a twilight sky. In front of the building, he makes space for a thaw landscape where the earth emerges from the melting snow. Gisela Henkel Trapp's painting *Haga vid Arild* (Haga in Arild) consists of a half-timbered building in undulating greenery. Here it is Hagagården in Arild that is depicted, a place that served as a hotel and meetings place for artists who gathered in the area during the summers.¹⁵³ The paintings are united in that they all consist of a Scanian building type, although, the specific character of the buildings differs.

The artist's choice of motifs has been directed towards a symbolic pillar, a distinctive type of building that contributes to a sense of cultural community in Scania which simultaneously faced the threat of disappearance. The paintings were made between 1893 and 1908, which coincides with the time when Georg Karlin, director at Kulturen i Lund, collected southern Swedish building types that were believed to be at risk of disappearing from the cultural landscape. The artworks embody a Scania that is not considered destroyed by the changes of modernity. In relation to what Karlholm calls *embodied time* that describes as the aim or toward-looking motivation of the artworks, I argue that the works can be considered as traces of a strong desire to immortalize the past for the sake of the future.

Here, I also argue that we can speak of an art being marked by an ideology, a dominant ideal that creates a truth for a certain group. The rhetoric of the images is based on conventions about an idea of what constituted the authentic Scania. This ideology did not only influence the artist but also the museum who had selected and acquired the works presented in the collection. Inhabitants in Scania would probably not have any difficulties to connotate them to Scania. However, a viewer with another *lexicon*, from another geographical context in Sweden at the turn of the century would probably have different connotations. To be able to understand the message of the paintings, the viewer needs to share the same the knowledge of the cultural context of Scania.

4.3.1 *In the light of modernity*

The paintings are characterized by a strong nostalgia directed towards the landscape of Scania. This nostalgia is however not specific to the paintings from Scania at the turn of the

¹⁵³ H. Wivel, 'Kunstnerernes tranedans på Kullaberg', in B v. Folsach, J. Preetzmann (eds.), *Kunstmerkonieme Hornbæk & Arild*, Nivaagaards Malerisamling, Denmark, 2023, p. 89.

century but represents a general trait that derives from the Romanticism in the 18th century era and arose as a backlash against the encroaching of modernity. If we return to Rydberg's painting *Bondgård i Brunnby* again and focus on the horizon line where the chimneys appear, that constitute a literal division between the old, and according to Rydberg the beautiful, and the new society where the growing cities encroach. Depending on the direction, the chimneys in the horizon could be Ängelholm or Höganäs whose factories around 1890 consisted of brickworks. However, the nearby situated Helsingborg was the city in Scania which, along with Malmö, grew the fastest during the 19th century and perhaps this is what Rydberg was taken aback by. In the middle of the 19th century, the city had 4,000 inhabitants, and 50 years later the city was up to 25,000 inhabitants, who primarily made a living from trade, crafts, and industry. When Rydberg made the painting, Helsingborg was a growing industrial city where the brick, rubber, margarine, weaving, and chocolate industries flourished. Helsingborg was also a growing port city and for a large part of the coming century was Sweden's third largest industrial port city, second only to Gothenburg and Stockholm.

In a letter to curator Axel Gauffin at Nationalmuseum in 1919, Rydberg expresses his outrage of the change in the landscape clearly:

Back then there were picturesque things everywhere, now you have to search for them with light and lantern, but rarely find anything. Everything old is torn down. Instead of the old farmhouses, you now find villa-like buildings, with verandas and steeples, and the old crofter's cottages with their picturesque surroundings transformed into dull brick houses with cardboard or tin roofs. Everything must be so hygienic. The colourful piles of manure, which used to always be at the entrance gate, have now disappeared [---] Industrial buildings are springing up all over the country [---]it grieves an old landscape painter to see how one of the country's most beautiful and picturesque provinces through industry and stupid architects – just look at some new churches in the country - has been bungled.¹⁵⁴

Rydberg's words shine light to the nostalgic tendencies that made great imprints in a society in change. Rydberg saw the beauty in what he considered unspoiled. In *Skånekonst*, Hahr

¹⁵⁴ H. Kjellin, *Gustaf Rydberg. Skånes målare*, Stockholm, Sveriges Allmänna Konstförenings publikation, 1925, p. 60. My translation is based on: 'Då fanns det pittoreska saker överallt, nu får man söka derfetter med ljus och lyckta, och dock sällan någonting finna. Allt gammalt nerrives. I stället för de gamla bondgårdarna finner man nu villalikhande byggnader, med verandor och tornspiror, och de gamla torparstugorna med sin pittoreska omgivning förvandlade till tråkiga tegelstenshus med papp- eller plåttak. Allt ska vara så hygieniskt. De färgrika gödselhögarna, som förr alltid lågo vid inkörporten, äro nu försvunna [---] Industribyggnader uppväxa överallt på landet [---] det grämer en gammal landskapsmålare att se, hur en av landets vackraste och mest pittoreska provinser genom industrien och dumma arkitekter – se bara några nya kyrkor på landet – blifvit förfuskad.'

argues that what makes the Scanian art specific is not the artist's travels to foreign countries, even if that could be fruitful for the artist's own development. Rather, an artist like Per Gummeson, he states, who related his practice to the same place his whole career, the meditative spirit of Röstånga and its old farm houses, became more specific for Scanian landscape art.¹⁵⁵ With a strong sense of nostalgia Hahr also mentions Lundegård who also was a frequent depicter of farmhouses. 'What an old-fashioned atmosphere, what painterly details these farms intimately united with nature offer, anyone who has become familiar with the Scanian countryside knows'.¹⁵⁶ The old farms, according to Hahr, seems to derive from nature. This also shows what he considered beautiful and worth to portray, an ideal that he shared with many of the artists in Scania. The meaning of the painting is emphasized by the position of the farmhouse in the centre and the chimney in the background. The chimneys appear like an upcoming threat whereas the rest of the image appears naturalized.

4.4 Vegetation



Fig. 16. Gustaf Rydberg, *Slättbild från Höja* (Plain View from Höja), 1890.

¹⁵⁵ A. Hahr, *Skånekonst*, Skånes konstförening, Malmö, 1912, p. 6.

¹⁵⁶ *ibid.*, p. 7. My translation is based on: 'Hvilken gammaldags stämning, hvilka måleriska detaljer dessa med naturen intimt förenade gårdar erbjuda, vet hvar och en, som gjort bekantskap med skånsk bygd.'

In *Slättbild från Höja* (Plain View from Höja) from 1890, Rydberg has depicted a plain landscape with grazing cows and willow trees, placed in a weak diagonal across the surface. The willow trees mark the line between the foreground and the background, where the foreground is marked by the dry grass. Along the horizon line, a strip of forest spreads out with a farm and further in the picture, the top of a whitewashed building stands out between the trees. Höja is located outside Ängelholm, near Brunnby where his previous mentioned painting was depicted.

The landscape paintings do not only produce ideals, but they also mirror the changes in the landscape. In the essay 'Skånska landskap', Werner points at the changes caused by the Enclosure Reforms in the 19th century which contributed to dissolved villages.¹⁵⁷ Instead, the farms were placed adjacent to the consolidated fields and appeared like small islands. The plantings of willow trees are also a consequence of the rationalization of agriculture. Willows do indeed grow throughout Sweden, but in the southern parts of the country they were planted both to provide shade for the roads, but also to provide protection for the limited forest that existed, often adjacent to the estates.¹⁵⁸ In Rydberg's painting they appear naturalized, as they have always existed, which is strengthened by the calm and peaceful atmosphere.

The plain has over time come to be associated with Scania. Rydberg began to depict the plain as early as the 1860s, but in a much more formalistic form. In *Slättbild från Höja* (Plain View from Höja) the French influences have affected both the brush works, the light, and the bright denominations. Depicting the plain, however, was not self-evident. It had long been considered monotonous and uninteresting, and from that point of view, Rydberg has been described as the discoverer of the beauty of the plain.¹⁵⁹ Werner states that the prerequisite for landscape painting of Scania to arise was that the plain landscape began to be accepted as landscape in general. 'The image worthy nature belonged to the wild, and the Scanian landscape was perceived as too arranged by human', he states.¹⁶⁰

The plain can be understood as an *icon* and *index*. As an icon it gives character to the landscape with its shifts in colour and light. As an index, seen from a farmers' perspective,

¹⁵⁷ J. Werner, 'Scanian landscapes', (Unpublished, unedited), p. 6.

¹⁵⁸ [Pilevallar och pilerader | Länsstyrelsen Skåne \(lansstyrelsen.se\)](#) (accessed 13 Aug. 2024)

In parallel to Gustaf Rydberg, the artist Peter Adolf Persson (1862-1914) can also be mentioned as frequent depicter of the willow tree. His painting *Pilallé i Skåne* (Willow allé in Scania) became a stamp in 1973.

¹⁵⁹ H. Kjellin, *Gustaf Rydberg. Skånes målare*, Stockholm, Sveriges Allmänna Konstförenings publikation, 1925, p 45.

¹⁶⁰ J. Werner, 'Scanian landscapes', (Unpublished, unedited), p. 7. My translation is based on: 'Den avbildningsvärda naturen hörde det vilda till, och det skånska landskapet uppfattades som alltför av människan tillrättatlagd.'

however, the plain is primarily farmland that contributes to crops that eventually become food. This contributed to recognize Scania as a wealthy region. Even if the idea of wealth in our part of the world most probably is something else today than an image of a plain, the plain was connotated to wealth already when Carl Linnaeus conducted his Scanian trip in 1749. Overwhelmed by the landscape's crops and crowds he meant that the greenery, the cornfields, and the many estates corresponded to the fat Scanians.¹⁶¹ Carl Linnaeus' linkage between the plain and fat people can be understood from the fact that the rest of Sweden was largely poor. A similar trip through Scania was made by Carl August Ehrensvärd in 1795, where he investigated how the climate affected people's character, appearance, and behavior. According to him, the people who lived in the plains, in contrast to the people who lived in the forests, were healthy and ruddy and resembled of the people of Southern Europe, which corresponded to his ideals.¹⁶² As mentioned before, the Scanian plain did not correlate to Carl G. Laurin's notion of Sweden. Photographer Alfred B Nilsson confirmed the perception of Scania as monotonous but also emphasized how Rydberg's art had contributed to a changed perception.

Rydberg is the pioneer of Scanian landscape painting. [...] That Scania was a hideously ugly country was at the time an established dogm – the country was a pancake and nothing else. And it was not suitable for artistic treatment, they said. But 'who can nowadays look at a Scanian plain landscape on a high summer's day, without being reminded of his art'.¹⁶³

The Swedish context differs from the Danish one, where depictions of the plains occurred in paintings by artist such as C.W. Eckersberg (1783–1853), P. C. Skovgaard (1817–1875) and J. Th Lundbye (1818–1848) in the first part of the 19th century and whose painting have contributed to formulate the notion of Denmark. Rydberg had become familiar with the Danish art already during his education at the Royal Art Academy in Copenhagen between 1852 and 1857, with Fredrik Christian Kiærskou (1808–1891) as a teacher. *Slättbild från Höja* (Plain View from Höja) could from that point of view be considered as a Scanian situated painting with inspiration from the Danish realist tradition and French colourism. 'He

¹⁶¹ J. Christensson, *Landskapet i våra hjärtan: en essä om svenskars naturumgänge och identitetssökande*, Lund, Historiska media, 2002, p. 69.

¹⁶² S-Å. Nilsson, *1700-talets ansikte. Carl August Ehrensvärd*, Nordstedts, Stockholm, 1996, p. 82–83.

¹⁶³ A B. Nilsson, 'Skånes målare Gustaf Rydberg 75 år', *Idun*, no. 37, 1910, cited in J. Christensson, *Landskapet i våra hjärtan: en essä om svenskars naturumgänge och identitetssökande*, Lund, Historiska media, 2002, p. 75. My translation is based on: 'Rydberg är pionjären för det skånska landskapsmåleriet. [...] Att Skåne var ett rysligt fult land det var den gången en fastslagen dogm – landet var en pannkaka och ingenting annat. Och för konstnärlig behandling lämpade det sig föga, menade man. Men 'hvem kan numera betrakta ett skånskt slättlandskap en högsommardag, utan att erinras om hans konst'.

strikes the true Scanian note', the artists and author Ernst Norlind states in a celebrating description of Rydberg.¹⁶⁴ In Scania, the plain was cherished at the time.

In the Scanian historiography, Rydberg has received the rather grandiose epithets *Scania's artistic discoverer* and *Scania's painter*. The words *artistic discoverer* alludes to the fact that no artist previously had depicted Scania, which of course not is the case. However, his impact got the consequence that the following generation of artists consequently has been compared to him.¹⁶⁵



Fig. 17. Axel Hjalmar Lindqvist, *Bokskog* (Beech forest), 1882.

In Axel Hjalmar Lindqvist painting *Bokskog* (Beech Forest) from 1882 he brings the viewer to the interior of a beech forest. The emblematic light of the forest on a sunny day, enters from the right and is stretched along a diagonal in the painting. After his studies at the Royal Academy of Arts in Stockholm in 1858 to 1865, he moved to Lund whose surroundings he often depicted in addition to the area around Ringsjön. Although he made a study trip to Paris in 1882 his paintings are mostly influenced by the realist and naturalistic tradition.

¹⁶⁴ E. Norlind, *Från Skåne. Ett häfte om diktning och konst*, Lund, A. & O. Schedin, 1903, p. 9. My translation is based on: 'Han slår an den äkta skånska tonen'.

¹⁶⁵ See for example *Skånekonst*, 1912, p. 7., *Justus Lundegård. En minnesteckning*, 1927, p. 8., *Nutida skånskt måleri*, 1946, p. 9.

As mentioned in previous chapter, the dark coniferous forest up the country was considered originally Swedish and was depicted by both poets and artists. The lighter beech forests, on the other hand, are only found in Scania, and parts of Halland and Blekinge. In Scania, the beech forest was connotated to the culture that was created around the budding leaves around Pentecost during the latter part of the 19th century, which contributed to people traveling in flocks out into the countryside. The townspeople of Helsingborg made their way to Pålsjöskogen and after the train between Malmö and Genarp was completed in 1894, as many as 15,000 people a day could make the pilgrimage to the beech forest to see the leaves budding. Among the rural youth, the tradition was to celebrate the first of May by meeting in the evening with freshly split beech twigs in hand and then walking between the cabins singing.¹⁶⁶ When Lindqvist completes the painting *Bokskog* (Beech Forest), the culture around the budding leaves is very much alive. In contrast, no people are visible in the painting, but their presence has left traces in the form of paths. Considering the geographically limited extent of the beech forest in the country, one can also speak of a typical *Scanian sign*.



Fig. 18. Justus Lundegård, *Arilds pinier* (Arild's pines), before 1903.

In Justus Lundegård's painting *Arilds pinier* (Arild's pines) the viewer is situated on a hill with an extended view of Skålderviken. Here the sea rises into the sky, and we can see the

¹⁶⁶ J. Christensson, *Landskapet i våra hjärtan: en essä om svenskars naturumgänge och identitetssökande*, Lund, Historiska media, 2002, p. 77.

silhouette of the coast. As previously mentioned it also consists of a whitewashed half-timbered house, a sign that is connotated to Scania. Another sign is the stone wall that extends along the vegetation and marks the division between the meadow and the trees. These stone walls can also be considered a *Scanian sign* in the cultural landscape since it primarily exists in the southern part of Sweden. According to Barthes, all images are polysemic in the sense that they have ambiguous meanings. The polysemic message appears in relation to the linguistic message of the title *Arilds pinier* (Arild's pines). The title leads us to Arild, more specifically the artist is located just west of Arild, looking out over Skälderviken. However, the word *pinier*, an older word for pine tree, is rather connotated to the Mediterranean area where the pine trees grow. At the time, there were in fact a stand of trees on the site that visually resembled pine trees, and this is what caught Lundegård's attention.¹⁶⁷ These sturdy trees stand in a cluster on the right in the picture, with characteristically softly shaped crowns. By alluding to pine trees, Lundegård reinforces an exotic view on the Scanian nature. The place and the view are literary in Arild whereas the idea of the pine trees and the image of them connotates to southern Europe. The unit of the messages that is produced creates an image that appears like a postcard with the aim to attract, which alludes to the nascent tourism in the area around Arild at the time. The tourism industry would the coming decades make a great impact on the area.

The continental air of the coast and its rocks in Arild was noticed by authors, artists, and intellectuals by the time. Gustaf Cederström was reminded about Capri on his first visit in the area and compared it to the Paradise.¹⁶⁸ Ernst Nordlind described the nature and topography of the area as reminiscent of Cornwall or Normandy.¹⁶⁹ Due to the dramatic coastline, the infinite view, the vegetation, the light and the climate, artists had been visiting Arild since 1817, and in the later part of the 19th century it developed into a colony where artists from the Nordic countries gathered. Lundegård, who between 1886–1890 was a member of the Artists' Association, traveled to France in 1891, where he encountered the Impressionists and got inspired by the light and its influence on the colour scale. After his study trip to France, Lundegård became a frequent painter in Arild. *Arilds pinier* is an example in how he expresses his French influences with the light and vivid brushwork while translating it into a Scanian context, thus alluding to Southern Europe.

¹⁶⁷ According to information from Clas Hellstrand, board member of Föreningen Arildskonstnärernas Vänner, E-mail 30 March 2024.

¹⁶⁸ H. Wivel, 'Kunstnarernes tranedans på Kullaberg', in B v. Folsach, J. Preetzmann (eds.), *Kunstnerkoloniene Hornbæk & Arild*, Denmark, Nivaagaards Malerisamling, 2023, p. 126.

¹⁶⁹ E. Nordlind, *Skåne genom skånska konstnärsögon*, Malmö, Föreningen Malmö Musei vänner, 1925. p 2.

The vegetative signs that have been discussed above can all be regarded as *Scanian sign* that constitute an important part of the visual language of the landscape. The character of the landscape is affected by a slightly different climate, and soil than in the middle and north of the country. Considered through a longer time span, the visual language of the landscape is also a consequence by geological changes.

4.5 The Scanian air, light and colour

It requires a certain empathy in the landscape to understand the beauty even in the flat plain. Strindberg sensed it when he states that ‘the sky has an imaginary lighter colour’. But this lighter colour is not imaginary, it is as real as the white fields, the ivy, and the wild vine. The beauty of the plain does not lie in the structure of nature, it lies in the air, the days, in the colour, in the shifting changes, when a cloud passes over a clear sky.¹⁷⁰

Ernst Fischer, curator at Malmö Museum’s department for art and cultural history in 1923–1955, explained the beauty of the Scanian landscape through Gustaf Rydberg’s work. What Fischer also does, and many had done before him, was to establish a norm of how to consider the Scanian paintings through Rydberg’s depictions of the plain, its air, light, and colour. However, through the paintings that were exhibited in the collection at the museum in 1908, we will see that even Rydberg’s sense of the air went through a development.

¹⁷⁰ E. Fischer, *Nutida skånskt måleri*, Stockholm, Bonniers, 1946, p. 7–8. My translation is based on: ‘Det fordrar en viss inlevelse i landskapet för att förstå skönheten även i den platta slätten. Strindberg anade den, när han konstaterar att ”himlen har en inbillad ljusare färg”. Men denna ljusare färg är inte inbillad, den är lika verklig som de vita gårdarna, murgrönan och vildvinet. Slättens skönhet ligger icke i naturens struktur, den ligger i luften, dagrarna, i färgen, i de skiftande växlingarna, när ett moln drar över en klar himmel’.



Fig. 19. Gustaf Rydberg, *Vid Arilds strand* (At the beach in Arild), 1890.

Fig. 20. Gustaf Rydberg, *Morgondimma vid Arild* (Morning fog in Arild), 1893.

In the end of the 1880s Rydberg begins to depict the ocean, and it is at the same time he leaves the studio-based work and gets fully devoted to plein-air painting. The ocean offers a landscape with an endless view, a sense of the sublime where the space expands. Rydberg finds several motifs in and around Råå, Arild and the island of Ven during the coming years. In the painting *Vid Arilds strand* (At the beach in Arild) from 1890 he has depicted the jetty in Arild's harbour where the white foam of the waves hits the shore. Two thirds of the painting is constituted by the sky with its grey blue clouds. This painting has, in comparison with his previous mentioned works a more dramatic appearance. The wind has embraced and the light yellow-pink colour he uses for the paintings of the plains is here darker and muted. In the collection at Malmö Museum there was also *Morgondimma vid Arild* (Morning fog in Arild) from 1893. Here, a calm morning is depicted, yet a dense atmosphere strengthened by the sun that light up the fog and reflects the sea. The sea is calm but appears to be facing a dramatic change. On the contrary to Rydberg's bright and light paintings of the plain, *Morgondimma i Arild* is rather reminiscent of the sublime and previous decades of marine paintings. It is the elevated and boundless nature we encounter that is at the same time both

peaceful and unsettling. Here, his interest for staffage is also visible, with the stooped woman who picks up the fishing net in the foreground, and behind her two small sailboats and hanging fishing nets are situated. In the sea, there are two men in a rowboat and further away, the silhouette of small sail boats is visible. Although it just differs three years between the paintings, and they depict the same place, they show that he used different artistic methods to emphasize the atmosphere and light in Arild.

In *Nutida skånskt måleri*, Ernst Fischer refers to an article by Georg Karlin published in relation to Scanian Art Community's first exhibition in 1902. Here, Karlin complains the non-Scanian perception of the nature which were expressed by some of the members. The Scanian character, Karlin argued, was primarily created by the Scanian air. Gustaf Rydberg, he believed, had painted Scania more truly than, for example, Justus Lundegård, Per Gummeson and Herman Österlund, whose intense blue and orange colours did not agree with the natural palette of Scania.¹⁷¹ What Karlin did not realized, is that it is a younger generation of artists came to portray a Scania in twilight, with a vein of melancholy. Five of them were represented in the collection at Malmö Museum; Per Gummeson, Fritz Kärffe¹⁷², Justus Lundegård, Anders Trulsson, and Herman Österlund. In the following Gummeson's *Vårmorgon, Röstånga* (Spring morning, Röstånga), Trulssons aquarelle *Arilds hamn* (Arild's Harbour), and Österlund's *Solnedgång, Rövarekulan vid Löberöd* (Sunset, Rövarekulan at Löberöd) will be discussed. In these paintings, the Scanian signs do not correspond to the appearance of the landscape but rather to emotions. The provincial romanticism can only be understood through their titles in conjunction with the motifs and the knowledge about their oeuvre.

¹⁷¹ E. Fischer, *Nutida skånsk konst*, Stockholm, Bonniers, 1946, p. 23.

¹⁷² Since the painting by Kärffe do not exist in the collection anymore, his work *Silverklippor* is not included in the analysis. Kärffe, together with Ellen Trozig and Ernst Norlind, were three representatives for the nature mysticism that occurred in Scania at the turn of the century.



Fig. 21. Anders Trulson, *Arilds hamn* (Arild's Harbour), 1904.

In Anders Trulson's aquarelle *Arilds hamn* (Arild's Harbour) from 1904 we are encountered by two wooden row boats at land, and two small sail boats at the jetty. It is the same jetty as in Rydberg's previously mentioned painting, and most probably the only one that existed in the fishing village Arild at the time.¹⁷³ The rowboats constitute the foreground whereas the sea, the horizon and the light pink sky in the background gives the painting its silent and calm atmosphere. Trulson visits Arild during the summers of 1904 and 1905 and finds several motifs in the fishing village.¹⁷⁴ The absence of fishermen, and the emphasis on the twilight witnesses of an interest in the atmosphere rather than the hard reality of the life on sea. It is the textual message of the title that tells us that the painting is depicted in Arild, Scania.

¹⁷³ The same jetty is depicted by many other works which is visible in the book B v. Folsach, J. Preetzmann (eds.), *Kunstnererkolonierne Hornbæk & Arild*, Denmark, Nivaagaards Malerisamling, 2023.

¹⁷⁴ E. Wrangel, *Anders Trulson 1874–1911*, Lund, A.-B. PH Lindstedts universitetets bokhandel, 1912, p. 5.



Fig. 22. Herman Österlund, *Solnedgång, Rövarekulan vid Löberöd* (Sunset, Rövarekulan at Löberöd), 1900.

Even in Herman Österlund's painting *Solnedgång, Rövarekulan vid Löberöd* (Sunset, Rövarekulan at Löberöd) from 1900 it is the light and the atmosphere that calls attention. We are encountered by the bright light from the sunset in the ravine of Rövarekulan, surrounded by greenery. The painting is conducted as fields of colour, similarly to the synthetism that emerged in France in the 1880s. Rather than depicting the appearance of the landscape, the synthetism gave prominence to the emotions by distilling the visible world to its irreducible essence. Österlund was born in Löberöd, came to live there after his studies in Stockholm and primarily devoted his practice to depict the forests in the area. Here, he expresses the admiration to the area through emotions rather than of signs in the cultural landscape. In similarity to the painting by Trulson, it is the title that activate the notion of provincial romanticism. The title *Solnedgång, Rövarekulan vid Löberöd* (Sunset, Rövarekulan at Löberöd) connotes to an idyllic and relaxing life and reflects the use of the place today, which have become a popular area for recreation, famous for its beauty and rich vegetation. It demonstrates what Werner describes as a picturesque tourism. In the wake of the landscape paintings, postcards, and magazines, at the beginning of the 20th century, a tourism that sought beautiful views developed.¹⁷⁵ Arild is an early example of that, Rövarekulan a later, which became a protected nature area in 1975.

¹⁷⁵ J. Werner, 'Skånska landskap', (Unpublished, unedited), p. 5. 2023.



Fig. 23. Per Gummesson, *Vårmorgon, Röstånga* (Spring morning, Röstånga), 1907.

In Per Gummesson's painting *Vårmorgon, Röstånga* (Spring morning, Röstånga) from 1907, Gummesson situates the viewer in front of a seemingly infinite nature. The traces from wheels, an *indexical sign*, are marked in the ground as the only witness of humans. In the centre of the image, a hill rises and marks a silhouette against the pink shaded morning sky. Röstånga is situated in the area of Söderåsen, a ridge, which was established as a National Park in 2001. However, the area attracted tourism already in the late 19th century. It is probably not Söderåsen that Gummesson have depicted since that is a higher ridge, but the terrain of the area also consists of several hills. The area is famous for its beech forest, but in Gummesson's painting it rather looks like junipers which grew in the areas together with heaters which arose after deforestation in the 19th century.¹⁷⁶ Gummesson's painting lacks incentives as Scanian signs. However, from his title and the knowledge about his oeuvre that was basically only concentrated to the area around Röstånga, we can interpretate his sense of home, and belonging to the village.

In the light of modernity, Rydberg's paintings to a large extent witness of a nostalgia for the past and a concern for the future through depictions of the silent and considered undestroyed landscape. The nostalgia in the paintings by Trulson, Österlund and Gummesson's *Vårmorgon, Röstånga* (Spring morning, Röstånga) is visible in their depictions of the air. The twilight and

¹⁷⁶ 'Naturförhållandena på Söderåsen', [Naturf.rh.llande \(bjuv.se\)](http://Naturf.rh.llande(bjuv.se)), p. 25, (accessed 13 Aug. 2024)

atmospheric air caused much attention by artists at the turn of the century in Sweden and activates the notion of a society in change marked by rapid modernization and social transformation. The light focuses on a sense of uncertainty and longing, a transition of the hours of a day as much as of the transitional state between the traditional and an anticipation of the future.



Fig. 24. Hugo Salmson, *Landskap* (Landscape), before 1894.

In addition to previous mentioned art works, there was one more landscape painting in the 1908 collection at Malmö Museum, the pastel *Landskap* (Landscape) by Hugo Salmson. In comparison with the previous mentioned paintings, the perspective is changed. Here, Salmson situates the viewer on eyelevel with the grass where white flowers are spreading. The horizon is emphasised by bushes and the sky is painted as a compact abstract grey-white field. The painting is sketchy in its execution but offers a closeness to the nature that none of the other paintings does. Salmson's painting in the collection also differs from his other works. Educated in Stockholm, and having travelled to Copenhagen, Düsseldorf, and Paris he was well familiar with the tendencies in western Europe. He joined the Opponents, became its leader, and taught Prins Eugen while they stayed together in Dalby during the summers.¹⁷⁷ There were tendencies towards modern painting, something that *Landskap* give witness to.

¹⁷⁷ T. Björk, 'Hugo F Salmson'. [Hugo F Salmson \(riksarkivet.se\)](https://riksarkivet.se), (Accessed 13 Aug. 2024)

However, he also had an interest in the technical aspects of history painting which many of his portraits presents. *Landskap* has no significant *Scanian signs* and appears as a painting with influences of the Impressionism through its distinguished fast drawn and bright green lines in the grass and its close-up perspective of the greenery.

In this chapter I have analysed and discussed the Scanian landscape painting that were presented in the collection at Malmö Museum in 1908 to 1914. I have discussed them in relation to traditions and their idea historical context and in relation to the vegetation that characterize Scania. I have identified several *Scanian signs* which appears in the majority of the works, however they are expressed in different ways which reflects the development of art. Whereas in some of them, the *Scanian signs* reflect the visual language of the landscape such as the cultural heritage and the vegetation, others through an emotional approach that can be understood in regards to the titles and the knowledge of the artists' oeuvre.

Chapter 5: Swedishness, Scanianness? A comparative discussion

In this comparative discussion, I will focus on similarities and differences between the notion of Sweden as presented in Carl G. Laurin's *Sverige genom konstnärsögon* (Sweden through the eyes of artists) and the Scanian landscape paintings. The comparison aims to examine if the contrast between them might have affected the concealment of the Scanian landscape paintings in the Swedish art history 1885–1915. The phrase 'Swedishness, Scanianness?' should be understood in light of the identity formation process at the turn of the century. The period is characterized by the search for the essence of the national and local culture, and of attributes that were considered as uniquely for the province and the nation.

5.1 Landscape as subject matter – similarities

One of the most apparent similarities between the examined paintings, which has not been touched upon to any greater extent in the analysis, is the distanced relationship to the depicted landscape. This is a general trait at the time and belongs to the tradition of the genre of landscape paintings where the landscape has been treated as something inevitable that objectively exists. The landscape, as presented in Laurin's book and among the paintings at Malmö Museum, appears naturalized, as something original and unspoiled. A landscape is thus always artificial, a cultural and social construction.¹⁷⁸ In paintings, where traces from human appear, whether a planted coniferous forest, a jetty, or a building, they talk about human control.¹⁷⁹ What the artists has done is a conscious act of selecting the *perfect view*, a selection process that is shaped by the ideals of its time and context. This is where we approach the differences. What was considered beautiful and worth to portray differed, as I will discuss below, between the contexts of Scania and among the members of the Artists' Association. However, what the landscape does is to 'greet us a space, as environment, as that within which "we" [...] find—or lose—ourselves'.¹⁸⁰ Deeply intertwined with identity, the landscape paintings present to us an image which we can mirror ourselves in.

Another similarity is that landscapes were painted in general. As a Western tradition, it dates back to the turn of the 15th century, but at that time, the landscape served more as a backdrop for scenes unfolding in the foreground.¹⁸¹ The landscape paintings that has been the

¹⁷⁸ W. J. T. Mitchell, *Landscape and Power*, Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 2002, p. 2.

¹⁷⁹ M. Andrews, *Landscape and Western Art*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1999, p. 156.

¹⁸⁰ W. J. T. Mitchell, *Landscape and Power*, Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 2002, p. 2.

¹⁸¹ M. Andrews, *Landscape and Western Art*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1999, p. 28.

subject for this thesis is rather linked to the 19th century, when a greater distinction was made between cities and the countryside.

The art examined in the thesis can be seen as products of the nationalistic movement that influenced Sweden throughout the 18th century. As art went through a development, the expressions shifted from staged depictions to plein-air painting. At the same time, the art works contributed to nurture the nationalistic movement, as art and society interacts. The search for a national and local identity, is an obvious similarity between the paintings, as the enthusiasm for what was perceived as authentic and pure. Here, similarities to the German Romantic philosopher Herder can be found, who highlighted the importance of the folkish traditions to strengthen the nation by spiritual ties and cultural traditions.¹⁸² However, the expressions of how this took shape differs.

Visible in the empirical material is also a general influence of French art which is visible through the play of light. However, I have not been able to examine the works on equal terms, as the artworks in Laurin's book have been studied as printed reproductions. The influences differ somewhat, as the paintings in the collection consisted of several works dated to the 1880s and 1890s. These are characterised by naturalism and realism rather than impressionism. In both the collection and Laurin's book, there is the emblematic light of the sunsets. This can be understood in relation to modernity, as a reflection of societal change during the transition between the old and the uncertain future.

Worth mentioning is also that the representation of women is nearly non-existing. It was a gender-hierarchical society, which is reflected in the collection where one woman, Gisela Henchel-Trapp was represented, and no woman in Laurin's book.

5.2 Signs of Sweden, signs of Scania – differences

In the analysis of Laurin's perception of art and his selection of works, *icons* such as coniferous forests, the lakes, and the rocky coastline was highlighted. However, it is not just the forest itself that was interesting to him, but the *connotations*. The dark dense coniferous forest reminded him of Sweden. It connotes to heaviness and struggles of the work it entails to handle it, but also points at it as a natural resource. According to Laurin, the harsh granite

¹⁸² M. Facos, *Nationalism and the Nordic Imagination, Swedish Art of the 1890s*, Berkley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1998, p. 28.

slabs at the coast of Bohuslän, depicted by Nordström, reminded him of harsh masculinity whereas Zorn's painting *Ute* (Outdoors) of nude women at the rocks by the sea in the Stockholm archipelago reminded him of freedom and freshness. This can be understood as a distinct division between men and women, but also terms of desirable human qualities.

The Scanian landscape paintings testify of diverse natural conditions, affected by its proximity to the continent with a slightly different climate and soil, and a cultural history connected to Denmark. The beech forest was depicted in Scania due to its presence in the region. Light and delicate on the contrary to the darkness in a dense coniferous forest, the beech forest connotated to traditions of happiness and gatherings in the spring. The coast in Scania mainly consists of sandy beaches and in the paintings depicting the sea among those represented at the museum, the focus was rather on the infinite horizon and the idea of the sublime, a painting tradition that dates to the 18th century. The Scanian landscape was to a greater extent a cultivated landscape with its widespread plains. The perception of the plain has however varied through time but often been connotated to wealth and richness. According to Laurin, who celebrated the wild and untouched nature, the plains clearly gave a non-Swedish impression.

In Laurin's selection of works, the presence of humans' express melancholy and suffering as in the works by Carl Wilhelmson, or the importance of the family as in Carl Larsson's works. The image of the family does not only create a sense of belonging among the family members, but also becomes a sign of belonging to the country through the experience of the nature. In the Scanian landscape paintings at Malmö Museum, there were no humans depicted, which is also a general trait in the Scanian landscape paintings at the turn of the century. However, traces of them are visible through the cultivated fields, the farmhouses, the jetty, the boats, and traces from wheels. Traces that testify of human hands that have provided circumstances to make life easier by the access of food, roof for the animals, conditions for the fishers and farm implements. This attest of an image of Scania that, rather than aiming forward, embodies the past and the traditional everyday life that is about to be changed through the encroaching modernity. Traditions from Laurin's point of view emphasized the rootedness in the nation and implicitly had the meaning of pass on to future generations. Traditions as depicted by Larsson and Zorn was about gatherings with family and friends surrounded by a positive spirit, but also a connection to the nature that seems intertwined with the humans. In the light of provincial romanticism, both Zorn and Larsson contributed to produce the perception of Dalarna as it was considered genuinely Swedish.

5.2.1 *The material heritage*

The half-timbered houses that were depicted in four of the works at Malmö Museum, is a trace of the cultural history and the region's connection to Denmark. The building type that has its northern outpost in Scania and Halland, can be seen as a symbolic pillar that contributed to create a sense of belonging to Scania. Laurin, on the other hand, highlighted Dalarna's Falu red houses and images of the Castles in Vadstena and Stockholm, which can be seen as manifestations of the birth of the nation and the Great Power Era in Sweden. To a large extent the images selected by Laurin, have a more grandiose tone and monumental appearance than the Scanian paintings. Although the half-timbered houses were seen as valuable for the identity of the Scanian landscape, they might have been perceived as outdated and provincial, in a negative sense, by a viewer lacking knowledge of the cultural context of Scania. It is dependent on which perspective you take. From a Scanian perspective, the grandiose manifestations of the nation can similarly have been perceived as domineering. Scania was considered as a periphery, and the regions that were conquered by Sweden from Denmark in 1658 was neglected in the historiography. In the same spirit as the history books, Laurin's perspective reflects a view of the nation created in the Mälardalen region.

5.2.2 *In the light of modernity*

One of the main differences that I discern concerns the view of modernity. Traces of the Enclosure Reforms that were conducted in the 19th century are visible in Rydberg's *Bondgård i Brunnby* (Farmhouse in Brunnby), *Slättbild från Höja* (Plain View from Höja), and Gummeson's *Vårmorgon, Röstånga* (Spring morning, Röstånga). However, the paintings' calm, and peaceful expressions make them appear as silent reflections, even if chimneys are visible in the horizon of Rydberg's *Bondgård i Brunnby*. In the painting, the chimneys are also used to mark an impending threat.

The paintings represented in Laurin's book have a clearer direction toward the future, at the same time they are anchored in the past. Anders Zorn's *Ute* (Outdoors) testifies of the new health ideals, ideas that emerged in the wake of modernity. Prins Eugen's *På ingående* (Entrancing) depicting a steam ferry, which had had a decisive impact on industrialization but also served as an enabler for travels. Otto Hesselblom's *Vårt land* (Our Country) aspires on the future of the country though the exportation of wood at the same time as the paintings

alludes to original roots. Here, depictions of the family and traditions have a similar function. They implicitly anchor the paintings in the past but aims at future generations that will ensure the survival of the nation. Among the Scanian paintings, Justus Lundegård's *Arilds pinier* (Arild's pines), has a similar tendency of being anchored in the past through the half-timbered house, the meadow, and the stone wall. However, the title of the work, and the of the stand of trees alludes to the Mediterranean. Together with the extended view, Lundegård aspires to the nascent tourism which the coming decades would have – and still has – a significant impact on the area. However, the work *Solnedgång i Rövarekulan vid Löberöd* (Sunset, Rövarekulan, at Löberöd) by Herman Österlund and Per Gummesson's *Vårmorgon, Röstånga* (Spring morning, Röstånga) appeal to relaxation and outdoor activities, which would soon have a transformative significance for the inhabitants when the rights to leisure and vacation were introduced in the 1930s.

In *Landscape and Western Art* (1999), Malcom Andrews writes that 'Landscape in art tells us, or ask us to think about, where we belong. Important issues of identity and orientation are inseparable from the reading of meanings [...].'¹⁸³ In the context of the nationalistic movement, the search for a national identity and a sense of belonging to the nation was highly regarded, which is visible in the literature from the turn of the century. In Laurin's visual perception of Sweden, Scania was not included. Similar tendencies can be found in the historiography of Sweden, and *The Baltic Exhibition*, as discussed in chapter one, where Scania was situated in the margin. The tendencies of exclusion can be seen in the light of the 'mental barrier' that existed between Scania and Stockholm that remained until the 1950s.¹⁸⁴

Could it be that Laurin did not understand the Scanian context, that he lacked the *lexicon* needed to comprehend the Scanian landscape paintings? This is something we can just speculate about. From his ignorance of the Scanian art, we might also speculate that he was not particularly knowledgeable about it. However, the comparative analysis clearly shows that the Scanian signs differed significantly from the national style that Laurin represented.

My conclusions about what distinguishes the Scanian landscape paintings from Laurin's perception of Sweden have, of course, been influenced by the empirical material.

¹⁸³ M. Andrews, *Landscape and Western Art*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1999, p. 8.

¹⁸⁴ S. Tägil, 'Öresundsregionen – en nygammal historia', in S. Tägil, F. Lindström, F., S. Ståhl (eds.), *Öresundsregionen-visioner och verklighet*, Lund, Lund University Press, 1997, p. 6.

Other conclusions might be possible if the empirical material would have been different. With this said, I want to emphasize that no analysis is the only possible one.

Conclusion

In this thesis, I explored the possible reasons of the marginalization of Scanian landscape paintings in the Swedish art history between 1885–1915. The exploration deals with the historiography and identity of Swedish art and three questions were raised. The first one: ‘How is the grand narrative of Swedish art history between 1885–1915 constructed, and how is this correlated to the perceived image of Sweden at the time?’ was directed towards historiography and the dominance of certain ideals. The two following: ‘Which consequences has this had for the perception of Scanian landscape paintings in particular?’ and ‘What similarities, and what differences, can be found between the Scanian art and the image of Sweden at the time?’ concerned identity and the ideological implications.

My hypothesis was that the Scanian landscape paintings, characterized by a cultural landscape shaped by its proximity to the continent, did not correlate to the image of Sweden and thereby have been excluded from the narrative. My investigation has thus showed that the history is more complex than that.

The thesis is structured into five chapters. The first chapter, called ‘A common identity?’ provided a short idea historical context to the nationalistic currents seen from a national and Scanian perspective. My investigation made visible that there were similar tendencies nationally and locally in Scania with an increased interest in the history, customs, old buildings-types and traditions and a similar perception of art. The nationalistic currents also affected the language and new grandiose words were used to highlight the nation as well as the ‘province of Scania’. However, due to Scania’s geographical position and its historical ties to Denmark, a mental barrier remained until the 1950. Through several examples from the historiography, there are tendencies made visible that Scania was considered as a peripheral concern.

The second chapter, called ‘The grand narrative of Swedish art history 1885–1915, consisted of a critical historiography based on theories by Foucault, White and Piotrowski. The empirical material consisted of several survey textbooks in general art history 1885–1915, published between 1900–2007. The surveys published in the 20th century are all based on chronological structure, and tells the story about the Opponents, later Artists’ Association, and

the distinguished members Larsson, Liljefors and Zorn and a few others. Thus, becoming the image of Sweden. The repetition of the same artists, events and ideals that have constituted the narrative which have become hegemonic, other narratives has consequently been suppressed. Except from Gustaf Rydberg and Carl-Fredrik Hill, other Scanian painters have been peripheral and when they were mentioned, it was stated that their impact was low.

The examination shows that history writing clearly reflects the knowledge horizon of its time. The early books published in 1900 and 1915 was affected by the nationalistic currents whereas the books published in 1946 and 1888 tended to focus on colour and form. Since Carl Laurin wrote the first of the examined survey, *Konsthistoria* (Art History), already in 1900, it is likely that he also founded the narrative that would remain for 100 years. The book was highly appreciated and published in eleven editions until 1945. The images in the book, and in the following *Konsten i Sverige* (Art in Sweden) (1915) was primarily represented by members of the Artists' Association. At the same time, one should not overlook the power position that the Artists' Association held, with an agitator like Richard Bergh at the helm. They were also keen on creating their own history. However, even if Strömbom was the one who compiled their books, I argue that Laurin, who shared their perception on art, can be considered as one of their foremost mediators. Thereby, he also contributed to control the values, ideals, and norms.

In the investigation I also highlighted the perspective of geography in terms of centre and periphery. From where a story is narrated seems to have had a significant impact on the marginalization of the Scanian artists. The members of the Artists' Association dominated the art scene in Stockholm and was also supported by mecenates. Scania was considered a periphery. By applying theories of Piotrowski, I pointed at how canon, values and stylistic norms was provided in the imagined Centre. The role of the periphery is thus to adopt to them.

It is not until the 21st century, when the narrative structure of the survey textbooks is changed that parallel narrative appears. In *Signums svenska konsthistoria. Konsten 1890–1915* (Signum's Swedish Art History. Art 1890–1915) (2001), Birgit Rausing contributes with an extensive essay about the Scanian artists at the turn of the century. Her essay also makes visible how a generation of artists previously had been over-shadowed by the impact of the first generation of members in the Artists' Association which also might have affected some of the Scanian artists. In comparison to previous surveys, it is categorized through mediums. The book testifies of an increased awareness in historiography in terms of centre-periphery, gender, and post-colonial perspectives.

In chapter 3, called ‘A national art with new ideals’, I examined Carl G. Laurin’s perception of Sweden on a background of Richard Bergh’s visions of a new national art. To a large extent they shared the same values and ideas. Carl G. Laurin’s perception of Swedish art was examined through the book *Sverige genom konstnärsögon* (1911). Here, he made visible his ideals of Sweden and Swedishness in text and images, which are dominated by reproductions of the members in the Artists’ Association. He put emphasis on the coniferous forests, lakes, and the rocky coastline, which reminds him of Sweden, but also the sense of melancholy, longing, and suffering. The coniferous forest was considered as wild and authentic. In line with his time, he put emphasis on the history of Sweden and celebrates Gustav Vasa as the father of the country and highlight Sweden’s Great Power Era. There is a clear dual perspective in many of the paintings that I discussed that aims both forward and backward in time where the nature becomes the unifying link. Through traditions and the family and the connection to nature, the feeling of belonging to the nation would be passed on to the next generations. The paintings also testify of modern ideas, technology and export that can be considered to ensure the survival of the nation.

Chapter 4, called ‘The Scanian landscape paintings – an empirical analysis’ consisted of a formal and semiotic analysis of the landscape paintings that was part of the presentation of the Scanian art collection at Malmö Museum in 1908 to 1914. In the analysis I attributed *Scanian signs* that corresponds to the visual language of the Scanian landscape. They formed norms and ideals of what was considered as valuable to portray. Like Laurin’s book, the paintings can be considered as products of the nationalistic currents as much as they contribute to produce it, however from a local perspective. This is testified by the works that depicts the half-timbered houses, a building type that just exist in the geographical area of Scania and Halland in Sweden and that makes visible the historical ties to Denmark. The buildings can be considered as a symbolic pillar that contributed to a sense of belonging to Scania, buildings that also were at risk of disappearing due to modernisation. I argued that the artist’s choice of depicting them have been under influence of an ideology, based on conventions of what was seen as the authentic Scania. The *Scanian signs* also testifies of diverse natural conditions, affected by its proximity to the continent with a slightly different climate and soil than in central and northern parts of Sweden. In the light of modernity, the general trait is that the paintings rather are anchored in the notion of the past. There are traces that witness of modernity and talks about the changes of the landscape through the Enclosure Reforms, but

rather than engaging in new ideas they embody a notion of the past for the sake of future. Here, Lundegård's painting differed, by alluding to the emerging tourism, and similar tendencies can also be found in works by Herman Österlund and Per Gummeson who alluded to the forthcoming notions of vacation and outdoor life. Seen from a historiographical point of view, Gustaf Rydberg has been seen as the foremost interpreter of the Scanian landscape. This was also visible in the presentation of the collection where he was represented by five paintings. Due to his position, the younger generation of artists have consequently been compared to Rydberg.

Chapter 5, called 'Swedishness, Scanianness? A comparative discussion' consisted of a comparison between Laurin's perception of Sweden and the Scanian landscape paintings. Also here, the question of geography appears. The Scanian works reflects the values and ideals that was considered as valuable to portray in Scania. The Scanian landscape, characterised by its proximity to the continent differed from the nature that is depicted in Laurin's book. The Scanian landscape was also to a larger extent a cultivated landscape, which did not correlate to Laurin's vision of authenticity and original roots. In comparison with Laurin's grandiose image of Sweden, the Scanian landscape appears local and provincial (in its negative sense). It is again a question of from which side we perceive it. In my comparative discussion it became visible that Laurin's notion of Sweden and Swedish art did not correlate to the Scanian. The art he represented also had a grand approach.

Rather than being a question of the characteristics of the landscape, I argue that the marginalization of the Scanian artists in the first hand is a consequence of geography, and from which position the narrative is written. The narrative of Swedish art has been constructed from Stockholm, where the art scene was dominated by the Artists' Association and its distinguished artists. Stockholm, and the Artist's Association, provided the canon, and the norms of how the national art should be perceived.

By providing a canon, the survey books contribute to share an idea of a cultural identity. The same monotonous perspective was repeated for 100 years. My research also shows that with new narrative structures, the history of Swedish art can take on more diverse perspectives.

References

- Anderberg, A., 'Museets utställningsverksamhet', in Anderberg, Ad., Fischer, E., & Hansen, E. (eds.), *Malmö Museum 1841–1941*, Malmö, Allhems förlag, 1941, pp. 117–124.
- Anderson, B., *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, 2nd edn, London & New York, Verso, 1996.
- Andrews, M., *Landscape and Western Art*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1999.
- Bal, M., and N. Bryson, 'Semiotics and Art History,' *The Art Bulletin*, vol. 73, no 2, 1991, pp. 174–208.
- Barthes, R., *Bildens retorik*, trans. K. Aspelin, Stockholm, Bokförlaget Faethon, 2016.
- Bergh, R., 'Svenskt konstnärskynne' (1899), *Om konst och annat* Stockholm, Bonniers, 1919.
- Bergman, M., *All That Is Solid Melts Into Air: The Experience of Modernity*, 2nd edn, London, Penguin Books, 1988.
- Berggren, H., and Trägårdh, L., *Är svensken människa. Gemenskap och oberoende i det moderna Sverige*, Stockholm, Nordstedts förlag, 2009.
- Björk, T., 'Bildvärlden', in L. Johannesson (ed.), *Konst och visuell kultur i Sverige 1810–2000*, Stockholm, Bokförlaget Signum, 2007.
- Björnberg, J., et. al (eds.), *In Search for Scania*, Malmö, Den platta jorden, 2022.
- Brolin, E., 'Konstafdelningen', in H. Fr. Ahlström (ed.), *Officiell berättelse öfver Baltiska utställningen i Malmö 1914, Andra bandet, andra delen, andra bandet*, Malmö, Förlagsaktiebolagets i Malmö Boktryckeri, 1919, pp. 958–961.
- Christensson, J., *Landskapet i våra hjärtan: en essä om svenskars naturumgänge och identitetssökande*, Lund, Historiska media, 2002.
- Ehn, B., Frykman, J, and Löfgren, O., *Försvenskningen av Sverige: det nationellas förvandling*, Stockholm, Natur och Kultur, 1993.
- Elkin, J., *Stories of Art*, New York and London, Routledge, 2000.
- Facos, M., *Nationalism and the Nordic Imagination, Swedish Art of the 1890s*, Berkley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1998.
- Fischer, E., *Nutida skånskt måleri*, Stockholm, Bonniers, 1946.
- Fischer, E., 'Museets uppkomst och utveckling', in Ad. Anderberg, E. Fischer, E. Hansen (eds.), *Malmö Museum 1841–1941*, Malmö, A. B. Allhems förlag, 1941, pp. 25–88.

- Foucault, M., *The Archeology of Knowledge*, trans. A. M. Sheridan Smith, London and New York, Routledge Classics, 2002.
- Foucault, M., *Diskursens ordning*, trans. M. Rosengren, Stockholm/Stehag, Brutus Östlings Bokförlag Symposium, 1993.
- Gauffin, A., 'Sveriges moderna målarekonst', *Sydsvenska Dagbladet Snällpostens riksnnummer*, 1914.
- Hahr, A., *Skånekonst*, Malmö, Skånes konstförening, 1912.
- Hedemann-Gade, H., *Skånes konstförening 1904–1939*, Malmö, Skånes konstförenings publikation, 1939.
- Hedemann-Gade, H., *Justus Lundegård. En minnesteckning*, Malmö, Skånes konstförenings publikation, 1927.
- Johannesson, L., 'Om folkkonst, massbildsproduktion och andra visuella moderniteter', in Johannesson, L., T. Björk, B. Lärkner, et. al (eds.) *Konst och visuell kultur i Sverige 1810–2000*, Stockholm, Bokförlaget Signum, 2007.
- Karlholm, D., *Kontemporalism, om samtidskonstens historia och framtid*, Stockholm, Axl Books, 2014.
- Karlholm, D., *Handböckernas konsthistoria. Om skapandet av "allmän konsthistoria" i Tyskland under 1800-talet*, PhD Thesis, Uppsala University, Stockholm/Stehag, Brutus Östlings Bokförlag Symposium, 1996.
- Kjellin, H., *Gustaf Rydberg. Skånes målare*, Stockholm, Sveriges Allmänna Konstförenings publikation, 1925.
- Larsson, Alb., *Från skånebygd*, Lund, C.W.K. Gleerup, 1905.
- Larsson, H E., 'Skåne', *Sydsvenska Dagbladet Snällpostens riksnnummer*, 1914, p. 58.
- Larsson, H E., *Vägledning genom Malmö Museum*, Malmö, 1908.
- Larsson, L O., 'Konstgeografi och nationalstil', in M. Olin (ed.), *Konsten och det nationella, Essäer om konsthistoria i Europa 1850–1950*, Stockholm, The Royal Swedish Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities, 2013, pp. 73–83.
- Laurin, C G., *Konsten i Sverige*, Stockholm, P. A. Nordstedts och söners förlag, 1915.
- Laurin, C G., *Konsthistoria*, Stockholm, P. A. Nordstedts och söners förlag, 1900.
- Laurin, C G., *Sverige genom konstnärsögon*, Stockholm, Nordstedt, 1911.
- Lindblom, A., *Sveriges konsthistoria. Från forntid till nutid. Tredje delen: Från Gustav V till våra dagar*, Stockholm, Nordisk Rotogravyr, 1946.
- Mitchell, W.J.T., *Landscape and Power*, 2nd edn, Chicago and London, The University of Chicago Press, 2002.

- Nilsson, S-Å., *1700-talets ansikte. Carl August Ehrensvärd*, Stockholm, Nordstedts, 1996.
- Nordin, S., 'Sveriges kulturella storhetstid', in J T Ahlstrand et al (eds), *Signums svenska konsthistoria, konsten 1890–1915*, Lund, Bokförlaget Signum, 2001, pp. 9–25.
- Nordlind, E., *Från Skåne. Ett häfte om diktning och konst*, Lund, A & O Schedin, 1903.
- Nordlind, E., *Skåne genom skånska konstnärsogon*, Malmö, Föreningen Malmö Musei Vänner, 1925.
- Oelsner, G., *En fælles forestillet nation. Dansk landskabsmaleri 1807–1875*, PhD Thesis, Aarhus University, Copenhagen, Strandberg Publishing, 2021.
- Olin, M., "'Anekdotens trollmakt" Heidenstam och nationalromantikens konsthistoria', in M. Olin (ed.), *Konsten och det nationella, Essäer om konsthistoria i Europa 1850–1950*, Stockholm, The Royal Swedish Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities, 2013, pp. 225–245.
- Olsson, N-O., *Skåne genom konstnärens öga*, Malmö, Färgrappan Arc and Art, 1999.
- Pauli, G., *Konstnärsvärd I*, Stockholm, Albert Bonniers förlag, 1928.
- Persson, F., *Skåne, Den farliga halvön. Historia, identitet och ideologi 1865–2000*, PhD Thesis, Lund University, Lund, Sekel bokförlag, 2008.
- Petersson, S., 'Inledning', in S. Petersson, M. Hedlin (eds.), *Semiotik: Teoretiska tillämpningar i konstvetenskap 3*, Stockholm, Stockholm University Press, 2022, pp. 1–28. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.16993/bbv.a>. Licens: CC BY 4.0, (accessed 13 Aug 2024).
- Petre, R. F., 'Turistutställningen', in H. Fr. Ahlström (ed.), *Officiell berättelse öfver Baltiska utställningen i Malmö 1914, Andra bandet, första delen*, Malmö, Förlagsaktiebolagets i Malmö Boktryckeri, 1915, pp. 678–688.
- Piotrowski, P., 'Towards a Horizontal History of the European Avant-Garde' in S. Bru., P. Nicholls (eds.) *European Avant-Garde and Modernism Studies*, vol. 1., Berlin, De Gruyter, 2009, pp. 49–58.
[Piotrowski Piotr 2009 Toward a Horizontal History of the European Avant-Garde.pdf \(monoskop.org\)](https://monoskop.org), accessed 13 Aug. 2024.
- Rapp, B., *Richard Bergh, Konstnär och kulturpolitiker 1890–1915*, PhD Thesis, Stockholm University, Stockholm, Rabén & Sjögren, 1978.
- Rausing, B., 'Måleriet', in J T Ahlstrand et al (eds), *Signums svenska konsthistoria, konsten 1890–1915*, Lund, Bokförlaget Signum, 2001, pp. 203–335.
- Roosvall, J., 'Den levande konsten i historiens skåpfack', *Konsthistorisk Tidskrift*, 1938, vol. 7, no. 1–4, pp. 1–14. <https://doi-org.ludwig.lub.lu.se/10.1080/00233603808603260>
- Sandblad, N G., *Anders Trulson. En studie i sekelskiftets svenska måleri*, PhD Thesis, Lund University, Lund, Gleerups förlag, 1944.

- Sandström, S., *Konsten i Sverige. Från 1800–1970*. Stockholm, Nordstedts, 1988.
- Saussure, F.d., *Course in general linguistics*, trans. W. Baskin, New York, Colombia University Press, 2011.
- Schotte, G., ‘Sveriges skogar’, *Sydsvenska Dagbladet Snällpostens Riksnummer 1914. Industri, Konst, Jordbruk*, 1914, pp. 39–40.
- Strömbom, S., *Nationalromantik och radikalism. Konstnärsförbundets historia 1891–1920*, Stockholm, Albert Bonnier förlag, 1965.
- Strömbom, S., *Konstnärsförbundets historia 1885–1890*, Stockholm, Albert Bonnier förlag, 1945.
- Tägil, S., ‘Öresundsregionen – en nygamal historia’ in Tägil, S., F. Lindström, S. Ståhl (eds), *Öresundsregionen-visioner och verklighet*, Lund, Lund University Press, 1997.
- Waldeborn, M., *Folkbildning och museum. Hans Emil Larssons verksamhet på Malmö museum 1891–1922*, Dokumentationsenhetens rapporter 2000:2, Malmö Museum, 2000.
- Werner, J., *Blond and Blue-eyed. Whiteness, Swedishness, and Visual Culture*, Göteborg, Skiascope 6, Gothenburg Museum of Art Publication Series, 2014.
- White, H., *Metahistory. The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, Fortieth-anniversary edn, Baltimore, John Hopkins University Press, 2014.
- White, H., *Tropics of Discourse, Essays in Cultural Criticism*, John Hopkins Paperbacks edn., Baltimore and London, The John Hopkins University Press, 1985.
- Winther Jørgensen, M., and L. Philips, *Diskursanalys som teori och metod*, Lund, Studentlitteratur AB, 2000.
- Wivel, H., ‘Kunstnerernes tranedans på Kullaberg’, in B v. Folsach, J. Preetzmann (eds.), *Kunstnerkolonierne Hornbæk & Arild*, Denmark, Nivaagaards Malerisamling, 2023, pp. 89–178.
- Wängdahl, L., *En natur för män att grubbla i. Individualitet och officialitet i varbergskolonins landskapsmåleri*, PhD Thesis, Göteborg University, 2000.
- Zander, U., ‘Historia i brons och granit: Nationella monument och regionala identiteter i Öresundsområdet’, in S. Tägil, F. Lindström, S. Ståhl (eds.), *Öresundsregionen-visioner och verklighet*, Lund, Lund University Press, 1997.

Unpublished sources

- Hellstrand, C., E-mail correspondance with board member of Föreningen Arildskonstnärernas Vänner, 30 March 2024.
- Larsson, G., List of exhibitions at Malmö Museum 1879-2008, Malmö Museum’s Archive.

Larsson, H E., Redogörelse för Malmö Museums förvaltning och tillväxt, 1908. Malmö Museum's Archive.

Larsson, H E., Utlåtande ang. riktlinjer för Malmö museums utveckling 1913, Malmö Museum's Archive.

Werner, J., *Skånska landskap*, (Unpublished, unedited), 2023.

Websites

Björk, T., 'Hugo F Salmson.' [Hugo F Salmson \(riksarkivet.se\)](https://riksarkivet.se), (accessed 13 Aug. 2024)

Den platta jorden, <https://denplattajorden.se/projects/borderland/>, (accessed 13 Aug 2024)

Falurödfärg, <https://falurodfarg.com/om-falu-rod-farg/historien-om-falu-rod-farg/>, (accessed 13 Aug. 2024)

Länsstyrelsen Skåne, [Pilevallar och pilerader | Länsstyrelsen Skåne \(lansstyrelsen.se\)](https://lansstyrelsen.se) (accessed 13 Aug. 2024)

Naturförhållandena på Söderåsen', [Naturf rh llande \(bjuv.se\)](https://bjuv.se), p. 25, (accessed 13 Aug. 2024)

The Government of Sweden: [En svensk kulturkanon ska tas fram - Regeringen.se](https://regeringen.se), (accessed 6 Sept. 2024)

The Swedish Royal Court: <https://www.kungahuset.se/arkiv/tal/2023-06-20-h.m.-konungens-tal-vid-lansbesoket-i-skane-lan> (accessed 14 Aug. 2024)

SAOL: https://www.saob.se/artikel/?unik=P_2055-0184.nA07&pz=3 (accessed 14 Aug. 2024)

SAOL: https://www.saob.se/artikel/?seek=Sk%C3%A5neland&pz=1#U_S5637_73712 (accessed 14 Aug. 2024)

Appendix A

Artworks presented in the collection, according to the publication *Vägledning genom Malmö Museum*, published 1908.

Artist	Title of art work	Production year	Notes
Per Gummeson	<i>Vårmorgon, Röstånga</i>	1907	Landscape
	<i>Gård i senvinter, Röstånga</i>	1908	Landscape
Anders Kallenberg	<i>Kor i ladugård</i>	1900	Interior (farm)
	Fem studier: Kor och landskap	x	Unidentified
Fredrik Krebs	<i>Hon bor icke här</i>	1901	Portrait
Axel Kulle	Studier och teckningar	x	Unidentified
Fritz Kärfve	<i>Silfverklippor</i>	x	Landscape unidentified
Albert Larsson	<i>Afton öfver Fredriksberg</i>	1903	Cityscape
Hjalmar A. Lundqvist	<i>Boskog</i>	1882	Landscape
	Studie hufvud	x	Portrait
Justus Lundegård	<i>Arilds pinier</i>	approx. 1900-1903	Landscape
A Montan	<i>Skrifvande man</i>	1892	Portrait
Alexander Roslin	<i>Huslig scen</i>	18 th Century	Interior
Artist unknown	<i>Porträtt av okänd herre</i>	18 th Century	Portrait
Gustaf Rydberg	<i>Bondgård i Brunnby</i>	1893	Landscape
	<i>Slättbild från Höja</i>	1890	Landscape
	<i>Vid Arilds strand</i>	1890	Landscape
	<i>Morgondimma vid Arild</i>	1893	Landscape
	<i>Vinterlandskap</i>	x	Landscape unidentified
Hugo Salmson	Studie till tavlan Konfirmanderna	18 th Century	Portrait
	<i>Landskap</i>	Before 1894	Landscape
Gisela Henkel Trapp	<i>Haga vid Arild</i>	1901	Landscape
Anders Trulson	<i>Arilds hamn</i>	1904	Landscape
Anders Persson Valdur	<i>Min far</i>	x	Portrait, unidentified
Herman Österlund	<i>Solnedgång, Rövarekulan vid Löberöd</i>	1900	Landscape