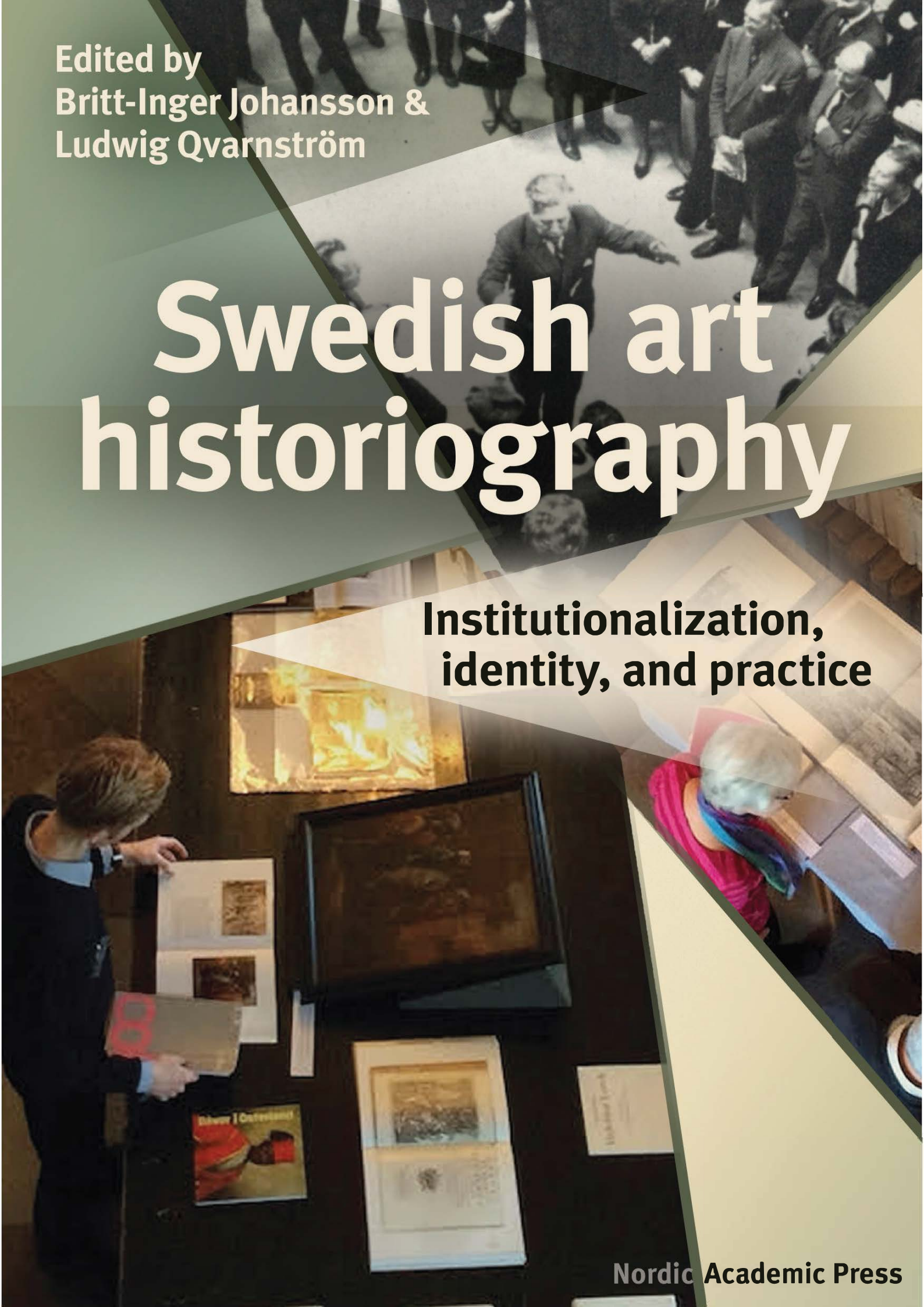
Edited by
Britt-Inger Johansson &
Ludwig Qvarnström

Swedish art historiography

Institutionalization, identity, and practice



Nordic Academic Press

SWEDISH ART HISTORIOGRAPHY

Endpapers:

Front left: David Beck, *Queen Christina*, 1650.
Photo: Nationalmuseum. See Charlotta Krispinsson, chapter 12.

Front right: Gothenburg conservation students listening to professor Ola Wetterberg in Trastevere in Rome. Photo: Stavroula Golfomitsou, 2019. See Henrik Ranby & Ola Wetterberg, chapter 7.

End left: A permanent exhibition at Arkitekturmuseet in Stockholm, opened in 1998. Photo: Åke E:son Lindman. Courtesy of ArkDes. See Christina Pech, chapter 10.

End right: Titian, *The Flaying of Marsyas*, *c*.1570–6. Oil on canvas, 220×204 cm. Archbishop's Palace, Kroměříž, Czechia. See Max Liljefors, chapter 20.

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Students attending the course 'Istanbul – Cultural Encounters,
Monuments, and Identity Between East and West',
preparing field work at Uppsala University Library, 11 February 2014.
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Contents

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In 2019, a century had passed since the first chairs in art history were founded at the universities of Uppsala and Lund. These two anniversaries were the impetus for a conference held at Uppsala University, which brought together Swedish scholars to reflect on the discipline's history and future. We wish to thank all who participated at the conference and the Royal Swedish Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities for the financial support that made the conference possible. At the conference we immediately saw the opportunity not only to publish the proceedings in the original Swedish, but to rework the papers into an edited volume for an international audience in English. We would like to thank Michelle Facos for her insightful peer review of the essays and our publisher Annika Olsson for her support from the first. We are immensely grateful to our co-editor Kathryn Boyer for her efforts not only in translating several of the texts, but also for making extensive suggestions on how to improve the essays and harmonize the terminology. For the final copyediting we are grateful that Nordic Academic Press engaged Charlotte Merton in their efforts to conform the essays to British English. For the financial support that made this publication possible we wish to thank the following foundations: Einar Hansens Allhemsstiftelse, Magnus Bergvalls stiftelse, Stiftelsen Elisabeth Rausings minnesfond, Åke Wibergs stiftelse, Gustav VI Adolfs fond för svensk kultur, Kungliga Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundet i Lund, Kungliga Patriotiska Sällskapet, and Gunvor och Josef Anérs stiftelse. Finally, we owe a debt of gratitude to the contributors to this volume for their patience along the way from the conference in 2019 to this book we now proudly present.

Britt-Inger Johansson & Ludwig Qvarnström

Swedish art historiography —institutionalization, identity, and practice

An introduction

Britt-Inger Johansson & Ludwig Qvarnström

Swedish art history as an academic discipline has international roots, yet its foundations and development are revealed most clearly through local processes. As a country on the margins of Europe, Sweden, like its Nordic neighbours, is at best considered provincial and at worst not properly European. Art history has historically been a Western project and profoundly Eurocentric, and in many ways still is. Writing the history of Swedish art history risks merely adding a new quasi-myth to Western art historiography. What it could do instead is problematize that historiography and disrupt conventional narratives, leading to productive comparisons that drive a more pluralistic understanding of Western art historiography. In pushing beyond the accepted, traditional accounts, this volume is designed to be a helpful addition to a more inclusive art historiography.

The field of historiography

The first significant attempt to formulate the history of Swedish art history came with the edited volume *8 kapitel om konsthistoriens historia i Sverige* ('8 chapters on the history of art history in Sweden') of 2000. In the introduction, the editors observed that almost a hundred years had passed since the establishment of art history as an independent academic discipline in Sweden.[1] They also noted what they regarded as a renewed interest in the discipline's history. This has not faded since, evidenced in the number of art history doctoral theses, articles, and studies to have included historiographical reflections in the last twenty years. Unfortunately, like *8 kapitel,* few of these texts are accessible in languages other than Swedish, a problem this present volume sets out to remedy. For Sweden to be a more active partner and integrated into the international project of writing art historiography, the research needs to be accessible. One notable example is the Gothenburg Museum of Art's bilingual publication series Skiascope, which has produced several issues about historiographical topics, especially the latest (2021), *Kanon: Perspektiv på svensk konsthistorieskrivning/The Canon: Perspectives on Swedish Art Historiography*. It addresses canon formation in relation to the collections at the Gothenburg Museum of Art and Norrköpings Konstmuseum.

The edited volume *8 kapitel* consists of eight essays written by five scholars, with a variety of perspectives on the discipline, from its prehistory to the early stages in museums and universities and developments outside these institutions. It is an excellent overview of the formation and initial phases of art history in Sweden. As the title indicates, the aim was to generate a dialogue about the history of Swedish art history. However, it does not address the late twentieth century in detail. It was not intended as a comprehensive narrative or the last word on the discipline's history.

The eight essays were written at a time of intense activity in the discipline in Sweden and a very evident theoretical turn, as theoretical and methodological expansion brought a wider palette of theories, a critical understanding of art history as an academic discipline, and a broadening of the empirical material. Of course, this turn was grounded in events reaching back to at least the 1970s, particularly regarding research on popular culture and a reconceptualization of art as part of a vast visual culture. However, little of this was discussed in the 2000 volume. There have been considerable changes since, including how art history is organized in Swedish universities today. These

realignments have come with the relabelling of several departments, something that might be thought merely cosmetic, but which betrays a reimagining of disciplines and academic trends.

In 2019, nearly twenty years had passed since the publication of *8 kapitel*, and it had been a century since the first chairs in art history had been created at the universities of Uppsala and Lund. The marking of these two anniversaries provided the impetus for the June 2019 conference held at Uppsala University, where we invited Swedish scholars to reflect on the discipline's history and future. Previous research has often focused on the institutions where art history was first introduced in Sweden—the departments in Gothenburg, Lund, Stockholm, and Uppsala, and the Nationalmuseum—or its most influential professors. Given the authority of these institutions and professors until the 1970s, this is not surprising. However, rather than critical examination, such narratives reinforce the myths of the discipline's origins, enduring stories, and unquestioned beliefs and goals.

There is a more extensive, complex history of art history to be investigated, discussed, and analysed, embracing both teaching and research. Art history education grew in pace with the number of new universities since 1960, requiring that we reflect the true breadth of the discipline's history. It behoves us as historiographers to maintain a critical position in order to examine the discipline from every angle, although in truth it is an almost impossible ideal: often what we can articulate are no more than fragments of a historiographical collage. The call for papers to the 2019 conference encouraged work on institutions beyond those traditionally celebrated and considered most important. Furthermore, there was a desire to explore art history's relationship to other closely related academic disciplines. The result, published here, includes a diverse range of subjects and methodologies that contribute to a more comprehensive view of Swedish historiography. And yet, inevitably, there are still institutions and subjects not represented here.

Much of the research in this book builds on or relates to work in the 2000 volume, as a glance at the critical apparatus shows. Some of the arguments here presuppose a certain knowledge of *8 kapitel*'s main thrust, so to assist non-Swedish-speaking readers a précis is incorporated into this introduction, and with it an overview of the institutional development of art history at Swedish universities.

The first art history departments

The institutionalization of art history came relatively late in Sweden compared with many countries in continental Europe. It was first established as an independent subject in the German-speaking cultural sphere as early as the first half of the nineteenth century. In the second half of the century, it became a university discipline elsewhere in Europe. Copenhagen was first in the Nordic countries, with a chair in art history in 1856, followed by Oslo (Christiania) in 1875, and Helsinki in 1897.[2] In Sweden, art history was sanctioned as an independent discipline with the creation of *stolsprofessurer* (established chairs), the first five being in Stockholm (two chairs), Uppsala, Lund and Gothenburg between 1889 and 1920. It would not be until the 1970s that additional chairs were established at other universities.

Stockholm University College founded a chair in cultural history in 1885, first held by the author Viktor Rydberg (1828–1895). In 1889, the position was converted into a chair in art history (*J. A. Bergs professur i de bildande konsternas teori och historia*, or the J. A. Berg Professor in the History and Theory of Fine Art), named for the donors, Johan Adolf and Helen Berg.[3] When Rydberg died in 1895 the post was left vacant until 1908, when Osvald Sirén (1879–1966) was appointed. Fifteen years later, in 1923, the Nationalmuseum recruited Sirén as head of the museum's department of paintings and sculpture. His career—from teaching and research to his key role acquiring Italian Renaissance art for the Nationalmuseum and Chinese art for the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities—is presented in Johan Eriksson's essay in this volume.

Before art history achieved independent status at Sweden's universities, the subject had been taught at the universities of Uppsala and Lund together with literature as part of the education in aesthetics, although not in a systematic manner. It was therefore possible to study and obtain a PhD in art history long before the subject was an official university discipline in its own right. However, art history's standing in the curriculum varied greatly depending on the professors' areas of interest. In 1917, after several years of lobbying from the universities of Uppsala and Lund, the Swedish government, which even then regulated most institutions of higher education in Sweden, determined that the chairs in aesthetics at both institutions should be divided into two chairs—one in the history and the theory of art, and one in literary history with poetics. At Uppsala University, August Hahr (1868–1947) was appointed professor of art history on 31 December 1917; at Lund University, Ewert Wrangel's chair in aesthetics was converted into a chair in art history in 1919. These two professorial chairs set the imprimatur of academic approval on the discipline in Sweden. The unyoking of art history from aesthetics reflected a desire for a more empirical, positivist approach, with clear links

to German models. This was undoubtedly a consequence of several Swedish art history scholars having studied in Berlin in the early twentieth century, as they brought back to Sweden ideas of stylistic analysis and iconography, as represented by Heinrich Wölfflin and Adolf Goldschmidt.

In 1920, over two decades after the endowment of the chair that Rydberg first held, another chair in art history was founded at Stockholm University College, with Johnny Roosval (1879–1965) the first to hold it. It was funded by a donation from the Swedish artist Anders Zorn (1860–1920) and carried his name (*Anders Zorns professur i Nordisk och jämförande konsthistoria*, or the Anders Zorn Professor of Nordic and Comparative Art History).[4] Lastly, also in 1920, Gothenburg University College was granted a government-subsidized professorship in art history, with Axel Romdahl (1880–1951) the first appointed to the chair.

The institutions of art history

This traditional account of the foundations of art history in Sweden appears straightforward enough, yet it is only a fragment of a complex institutional record. The interplay between art history and other disciplines in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries attested to the shared sources and interests of multiple fields. The various forces that forged Swedish art history into a professional discipline not only worked on universities, but also on museums, galleries, auction houses, publishers, and academies. To comprehend which institutions were essential to the processes by which Swedish art history emerged, we need to cast our net wider than the usual suspects.

It is possible to address what is 'Swedish' about the history of Swedish art history by considering Swedish-language education and research conducted elsewhere, as Fred Andersson does in his essay on art history in Finland. This Nordic country was part of Sweden from the twelfth century until 1809, when it was lost to Russia. As a result of this centuries-long history, Finland has a large Swedish-speaking minority, and the manner in which art history teaching and research developed there is intrinsically connected to the discipline's history in Sweden. This complicated relationship calls into question 'Swedishness' and 'Finnishness' per se.

Art history became an independent discipline in Sweden through a process paralleled by related humanities subjects, and often with overlapping sources and interests. Exploring these interconnections thus is vital to unravelling art history's tangled past. Cecilia Hildeman Sjölin's essay outlines the conflated relationship of medieval archaeology and art history at Lund University, including the role of museums. Crucial to medieval studies there was the Lund University Historical Museum, the institution where the two disciplines met. From the mid twentieth century, though, the fields diverged as Swedish art historians moved away from the materiality of the studied objects, instead favouring iconographical studies.

A similar example of disciplines converging and splitting is the Built Environment Conservation Programme at Gothenburg University, as described by Henrik Ranby and Ola Wetterberg. The programme was jointly founded by art historians and ethnologists. However, because of the focus on materiality and its specific application to architecture and the built environment, the discipline gradually took on a unique character, thus breaking away from art history.

Architectural history has always been an important subcategory of art history in Sweden. It has been taught at architecture schools, initially by architects. Britt-Inger Johansson has taken a long view of architectural history from the eighteenth century on, tracking its antecedents in older genres such as antiquarian theses and early guidebooks. Rebecka Millhagen Adelswärd concentrates on an individual building of great national importance, the Royal Palace of Stockholm, to demonstrate how political viewpoints have influenced art historians' assessments of its value in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In their essay, Claes Caldenby and Anders Dahlgren detail the elaborate relationship between art history as a discipline and the role of architectural history for practising architects. They follow the migration of architectural history in and out of architectural schools in the twentieth century, where often the lecturers were art historians rather than architects.

Aside from the academic departments and divisions associated with art history, museums are arguably the most consequential institutions in art historiography. They have documented, preserved, and researched art; they have constructed art-historical narratives and courses. In Sweden, the most important of these has undoubtedly been the Nationalmuseum, the nation's first proper art museum. Although there are already several studies of the Nationalmuseum in English, the state of research at the museum in recent years has not been examined, and this topic is the subject of Solfrid Söderlind's essay. She discusses the recent reorganization of Nationalmuseum's research and the specific conditions of object-centred research characteristic of an art museum.

There are numerous other museums and archives significant to the development of art history in Sweden, including the Gothenburg Museum of Art, Malmö Konstmuseum, Moderna Museet, and Norrköpings Konstmuseum, none of which is historiographically

explored in this study. (The 2021 issue of *Skiascope* examines the role of the Gothenburg Museum of Art and Norrköpings Konstmuseum in the modernist process of canon formation.) Arkitekturmuseet (the Swedish Museum of Architecture, today ArkDes), founded in 1962, has had a key role in the documentation of Swedish architecture and the construction and dissemination of modern Swedish architectural history. In her essay, Christina Pech describes the formation of the museum and analyses several of its exhibitions from a meta-historiographical perspective. At Lund University, the origins and history of Skissernas Museum—Museum of Artistic Process and Public Art is unique in Sweden and even globally. This institution is rooted in research and a modest archive founded in 1934, connected to the Lund Department of Art History. Ludwig Qvarnström recounts the museum's prehistory, formation, and early development, further illuminating the multifaceted nature of the study of art history revealed through investigations of the creative process.

These museums represent only some of the multitude of art collections in Sweden, which are central to art history, owing to the discipline's inextricable connection with physical objects. Because of the art historian's need to experience works of art and other visual material first-hand, be they works in museums or edifices and pieces to be experienced in situ, travel has always been important to Swedish art historians. In the foundational years of the subject, students and researchers were expected to conduct these studies on their own. Such journeys—and their documentation—are key to Swedish research and art history education. In particular, Rome was an essential destination for the aspiring humanist. Later, trips to such cultural centres as Rome, Paris, London, and Berlin became an indispensable part of the art history courses. The earliest documented trips from Swedish art history departments to Rome date to the early 1930s. The relatively extensive visits to Rome in the 1930s have continued in a variety of forms since. From the autumn of 1959, Swedish art historians could apply to take a course in Roman art history at the Swedish Institute in Rome. Still today, this course is offered to Swedish graduate students. In his essay, Lars Berggren chronicles the phases of the course, including its prehistory.

Academic art history

From 1920 to the mid-1970s, art history at the university level in Sweden was overseen by the men who held the five professorial chairs at the universities of Gothenburg, Lund, Stockholm, and Uppsala.[5] These were coveted positions and so rarely changed hands. In this period, art history departments were still relatively modest, with the professors and a few lecturers in charge of all the teaching and research at each institution. It was a small world—everyone knew everyone else.

Initially, there was a certain amount of movement between the departments, exemplified by two of the most influential art historians in Sweden: Gregor Paulsson (1889–1977) and Ragnar Josephson (1891–1966). Paulsson studied at Lund University, earning his PhD in 1915, and later ended up at Uppsala University where he had a tremendous impact on the discipline and, as professor (1934–56), nurtured a generation of distinguished art historians. Conversely, Josephson studied at Uppsala University, earned his PhD in 1918, and spent his career in Lund. Serving as professor at Lund University for twenty-eight years (1929–57), Josephson holds the record for the longest tenure of a chair. His work with the archive and museum that evolved into Skissernas Museum—Museum of Artistic Process and Public Art left an indelible mark on the department. Besides these two instances of interinstitutional exchange, there was also the case of Johnny Roosval, professor at Stockholm University College (1920–46), who arrived at the department after completing his doctorate in Berlin in 1903.

Although these distinguished examples show there was a measure of mobility on the part of the Swedish art historians in the first decades, once they were established in their departments a culture and bureaucracy grew up around these individuals. As an unintended but inevitable secondary result of these cultures, the departments only recruited internally, thwarting exchanges between departments for several decades. For long periods, Swedish departments of art history all had their members of staff who had studied there and stayed on to be lecturers and researchers in the same department. There were exceptions to this rule, the most notable being those who relocated from Gothenburg, Lund, Uppsala, and Stockholm—the first four art history departments—to new departments at the younger universities, where art history expanded in the 1970s. In the twenty-first century, there is once again considerable mobility, with many graduates applying to different institutions upon completing their doctorate. Nonetheless, the senior positions at many institutions continue to be filled by art historians recruited from within.

The manner in which art history evolved requires an understanding of the discipline's position in the expanding network of institutions of higher education in Sweden over the past fifty years or so. Furthermore, the reorganizations of art history departments have had a significant impact on the discipline in terms of collaborations and self-image. In 1965 a

new university was founded in Umeå; its first chair in art history was established in 1975, held by Folke Nordström (1920–1997). In 1967, *universitetsfilialer* (branch campuses) were established in Karlstad, Linköping, Växjö, and Örebro to help meet the rapidly increasing number of students. In a relatively short amount of time, these institutions were elevated to the status of university college, and they have all since become universities. The art history taught at the new branch campuses in Karlstad, Växjö, and Linköping is addressed in the essays by Margareta Wallin Wictorin and Hans T. Sternudd (Karlstad and Växjö) and Gary Svensson (Linköping). At all three, the discipline allied with other subjects, forming divisions that facilitated collaboration in broad educational programmes. Cross-disciplinarity thus seems to have been important for the establishment of art history at these institutions. Lena Johannesson became professor of visual communication in Linköping in 1988 (moving to the University of Gothenburg in 1996 to be professor of art history until 2010) and Hans-Olof Boström was made the first professor of art history in Karlstad in 2000.

Parallel to the emergence of art history at several new university colleges and universities (the most recent addition being Södertörn University College in 2003, where Dan Karlholm was made the first professor in 2007), there has been a tendency for older art history departments to merge with other disciplines into ever-larger multi-disciplinary departments. These bear names such as Arts and Cultural Sciences (Lund), Culture and Aesthetics (Stockholm), or Cultural Sciences (Gothenburg).[6] More recently, entire institutions have consolidated, often to provide for more effective administration. In 2010, Växjö University and Kalmar University College joined to become Linnaeus University. In 2013, Gotland University College and Uppsala University merged, with the smaller institution becoming the semi-independent Campus Gotland. The Department of Art History at Uppsala University is now one of the largest departments in the Faculty of Arts at the university, the result of pooling art history teaching staff and others from Gotland and Uppsala with the disciplines of textile studies and conservation, which now form their own divisions in the department.

The art of naming

Along with its institutional reorganizations, the discipline changed names over the years, a reflection of trends and regional distinctions. When art history first became a university discipline in Gothenburg, Lund, Stockholm, and Uppsala, it was as *konsthistoria med konstteori* (the history and theory of art). In 1969, all departments of art history in Sweden changed to *konstvetenskap* (the study of art and art history), denoting the theoretical and historical study of art, and echoing the German term *Kunstwissenschaft*. In a later shift, in the wake of *Bildwissenschaft* or image theory, the department at Gothenburg University was renamed *konst- och bildvetenskap* (the study of art and images, often translated as art history and visual studies). This is a label formerly used at Linköping University in several variations. Today at Linköping it is *konstvetenskap och visuell kommunikation* (art history and visual communication) while *konst- och bildvetenskap* was also adopted at the universities of Växjö and Karlstad, in the latter case owing to the merger of art history with visual art education.

Since 1998, the art history department at Lund University has grown into a large, complex organization. In 2009, because of the heterogeneity of the division, it became *konsthistoria och visuella studier* (art history and visual studies), indicating its breadth and the addition of an international master's in visual culture. The new moniker emphasizes the inclusion of visual matter beyond works traditionally labelled as art. This shift was not sudden; its roots reach back to the late 1960s and 1970s and the repositioning towards mass-produced and popular images, social history, feminism, and visual communication. Today, only the department in Uppsala and the divisions in Stockholm and Södertörn are still called *konstvetenskap*. However, a name change has been discussed in Uppsala, given that the department comprises three disciplines.

Education reforms

Education reforms in the past half-century have had a major impact on various aspects of the administration of art history. The 1969 PUKAS education reform led to the formalization of all university departments' routines for curricula and reading lists.[7] It also contributed to the restructuring of undergraduate art history courses, with the first-year course options for art history, the AB1 course (a chronological survey of Western art history), complemented with a parallel course, AB2 (which focused on contemporary art, photography, and the built environment). In Lund, an elective course centred on photography began in 1969, eventually expanding to become a parallel course to the ordinary introduction to Western art history. In 1977, the course, called the Photographic Image, replaced the AB2 course.

In Uppsala in the 1970s, there was considerable interest in mass-produced images and photography. As Hedvig Brander Jonsson addresses in her essay, this was a period marked by creativity and sweeping

changes, for both teaching and research. Although the essay concentrates on the situation in Uppsala and the work of Rudolf Zeitler (1912–2005) and Allan Ellenius (1927–2008), the trends outlined are applicable elsewhere.

The 1969 education reform included measures meant to cut the average time needed to complete a doctorate, which then stood at ten years. However, these changes had no significant effect and it was not until the 1997–1998 Tham reforms that this goal was achieved, mainly because all doctoral students were guaranteed four years of funding. It is worth noting that Swedish residents do not pay tuition fees and the government-run financial aid system used to cover living expenses is capped at approximately six years—before the Tham reforms, doctoral students competed for grants to fund their studies, and most had to work, often full-time, to support themselves while completing their degrees. The natural by-product of this new policy was a substantial drop in the total of doctoral students. Departments could only accept as many candidates as there were funds to support. As discussed in Gary Svensson's essay, this administrative change was likely influenced by pioneering efforts in the late 1980s and early 1990s at Linköping University to reform graduate education. His text also critically analyses the general history of the cross-disciplinary education involving art history, addressing its challenges and rewards. Today, doctoral programmes are offered at the universities of Gothenburg, Lund, Stockholm, Uppsala, and the university college of Södertörn.[8]

The education reforms of the second half of the twentieth century also affected academic faculty positions, including new posts and the recalibration of various faculty members' duties. The establishment of chairs has long been a valuable instrument for the government to direct the focus of research at institutions of higher education. At the same time, there are numerous examples of privately endowed professorships, including the two chairs in art history at Stockholm University. Typically, a department would have only one professor, and this person, in the past always a man, possessed broad powers in terms of administrative and academic oversight and development. The fact these men often remained in their posts for decades meant that each art history department experienced only a handful of professors. Because professor was not a title of merit open to multiple scholars at the same institution, distinctions of academic proficiency were indicated by the docent system.

Towards the end of the twentieth century, the government gradually relaxed its control on professorships. Finally, in 1999, universities were given the autonomy to create professorships and to promote senior lecturers to the rank of professor (an outcome of the Tham reforms). A significant change, it was partly the result of attempts to rectify the gender imbalance in academia. Where there was once a fixed number of chairs, primarily instituted by the government, there are now departments with several faculty members who hold the rank of professor. However, there are significant differences between institutions in who they will promote and how the research, teaching, and administration load is proportioned. In those departments with several professors, administrative and financial duties can more easily be apportioned. Still, though, some departments have only one professor.

The rank of *universitetslektor* or senior lecturer (assistant professor in American English) was introduced in 1958. The position was a purely teaching one to relieve the burden on professors, allowing them to devote more time to research and supervising. Senior lecturer is the dominant post for professional academics today; while it consists mainly of teaching duties, there is some time set aside for research.

There are also academic titles or positions in Sweden that denote specific qualifications beyond the doctorate, but not necessarily linked to a faculty position. One is the academic rank between PhD and professor, *docent* (associate professor in American English). The title is used in other European countries, such as the *Privatdozent* or *Privatdozentin* in German-speaking countries, although substantial differences mean they are not all immediately comparable. In Sweden, docent is a designation bestowed by a qualified university board, but the process is external to a specific professional situation. Thus, an art historian can be granted the title of docent and not have a place of employment. However, initially a docent could receive a stipend of up to six plus six years for postdoctoral research and some minor teaching responsibilities. This position did not automatically lead to tenure, though. After the 1960s, these stipends became less common, and by the 1980s they were abandoned. The title docent is still awarded today as a mark of merit.

To help hone research skills, a temporary postgraduate position emerged in the 1970s: the four-year, non-tenured *forskarassistent* or postdoc research fellow (assistant professor in American English). The position had an 80/20 split between research and teaching. The post was intended to absorb some of the large number of PhDs then emerging from university departments, enabling them to produce work to be used in their application for the rank of docent, and ultimately for promotion to the few chairs that existed. Postdoc research fellows have lately been supplanted by a new tenure-track position called *biträdande lektor*, or associate senior lecturer. It has the same

80/20 research–teaching split, but because they are tenure-track jobs the concern is they might lead to less movement and less competition. It is probable that departments would promote such associate senior lecturers rather than advertise for senior lecturers. For that reason, associate senior lecturers are rare in the humanities. However, this entry-level position is likely to become more important for new PhDs. In 2021, only one associate senior lecturer in art history has recently been appointed, at Umeå University.

Teaching and researching art history

The expansion and reconfiguration of universities in the 1960s contributed not only to new venues for art history education, but also a broadened theoretical framework, embracing critical theory, feminism, and visual culture. This more inclusive approach helped expose how groups and subjects had been marginalized in the discipline. As evident in the contributions to this volume, art history has been a male-dominated field since its conception, and in some ways still is. In Sweden, Gerda Boëthius (1890–1961) was the first woman to defend a thesis in art history, at Stockholm University College in 1921. She remained the sole female art historian for fifteen years, until Monica Rydbeck (1906–1998) successfully completed her thesis at Lund University in 1936. In the subsequent three decades, only 9 more female art historians earned doctorates in art history—out of approximately 80 students in all. In the 1970s, however, there was a marked shift and women then comprised nearly half of all PhDs in art history. Since then, women have been in the majority among both art history undergraduate and graduate students. Nonetheless, men have long dominated the posts of professor and senior lecturer in art history. Recently, though, greater gender parity has been reached. The aim of the Tham reforms to see more women as professors has to a certain extent been achieved since 2010.

Turning from gender balance in degrees and employment to implementing gender perspectives in the teaching of art history in Sweden, a new situation emerged in the 1970s on. As Linda Fagerström and Johanna Rosenqvist demonstrate in their essay, gender perspectives began to be gradually incorporated into art history courses starting in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Today, most art history students are introduced to gender perspectives in their first year of studies by their required reading. As the authors note, though, including gender in reading lists is less critical than how that material is employed in the teaching.

Another sort of marginalization in art history can be seen in terms of media and material previously not deemed worthy of attention. Photography, digital art, posters, postcards, and scenography have become accepted objects of study in recent decades, contributing to greater theoretical and methodological awareness in the discipline. In her essay, Anna Orrghen follows the Swedish historiography of digital art from a marginalized art form in technological trade magazines to an integrated art form in Swedish art history textbooks. Similarly, Astrid von Rosen focuses on an initially marginalized art form, scenography. However, she approaches its historiography as a subject of study and as an idea—the development of scenography as a theoretical concept, leading to new areas of research.

Charlotta Krispinsson looks beyond established art-historical methodologies in analysing the concept of portraiture with early twentieth-century understandings of iconography. Finally, on a more general methodological level, Max Liljefors queries how we as art historians today can embrace both meaning and presence in our encounters with art. Building on the terminology of the literary scholar Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht, Liljefors argues for the relevance of both meaning and presence in our discipline in a way that could meaningfully contribute to the experience of art for many people in multiple situations—especially in the burgeoning area of arts and health.

Concluding remarks

Although the history of art can be the history of institutional changes, shifts in academic paradigms, and other structural transformations, it is also a history of people with their own ambitions, hopes, and sensibilities. Occasionally this personal angle surfaces in the volume, but most often the histories are grounded in the contributions of academics seen from a distance. One exception is the biographical narrative centred on the career of a specific scholar, as with Johan Eriksson's essay on Osvald Sirén. And then there is the autobiographical account, as offered by Hans-Olof Boström, the first professor at Karlstad University, in his highly personal view of what it has been like to work as an art historian in Sweden. Of course, Boström's reflections are subjective, but that is also the point; art historians are individuals, and they have their own expectations and personal perceptions. With this in mind, we should see art history in Sweden today as the product of the meeting between different purposes and situations without a common thread or explicit plan—yet still with the coherence born of similar interests and institutional ties.

The enormous diversity of topics tackled in this volume is an indication of the breadth of material relevant to art historiography. The careers and contributions of untold people, archival material (organized as such or merely collections of letters and documents

preserved in homes and offices), and even oral histories relate to this conversation. In the essays presented here, significant emphasis has been placed on the role of professional art historians, given that they eventually become the official arbiters of the history of Swedish art history. But there are many decisions, transactions, and negotiations that take place outside the ivory towers of academia and the rarefied spaces of museums.

We hope this volume will encourage new investigations that elucidate further perspectives. Most of all, our ambition is that the research set out here will help remove the obstacles to art historiography in Sweden from joining in the international dialogue on the subject.

Notes

1 Britt-Inger Johansson & Hans Pettersson (later Hayden) (eds), *8 kapitel om konsthistoriens historia i Sverige* (Stockholm: Raster, 2000).

2 What follows is based primarily on Johansson & Pettersson, *8 kapitel*. For a brief introduction to the history of art history and visual studies in the region as a whole, see Dan Karlholm, Hans Dam Christensen & Matthew Rampley, 'Art History in the Nordic Countries', in Matthew Rampley et al. (eds), *Art History and Visual Studies in Europe: Transnational Discourses and National Frameworks* (Leiden: Brill, 2012).

3 From 1989, the J. A. Berg Professor of Art History.

4 From 1998, the Anders Zorn Professor of Art History.

5 Gothenburg University College and Stockholm University College became universities in 1954 and 1960 respectively, but even before then had chairs in art history and the right to examine doctoral students, and so were fully on par with the universities of Uppsala and Lund.

6 The implication of these mergers is addressed by Max Liljefors elsewhere in this volume.

7 For the education reforms, see Högskoleverket (Swedish National Agency for Higher Education), *Högre utbildning och forskning 1945–2005: En översikt* (Rapport 2006:3 R; Stockholm: Högskoleverket, 2006).

8 The division of art history and visual studies at Linnaeus University has recently applied for the right to award third-cycle qualifications.

PART I

IDENTITY, BORDERS AND BORDER CROSSING

CHAPTER 1

Is Finland Swedish?

The role of the Swedish language, Swedishness, and Swedish history in Finnish art historiography

Fred Andersson

If the present volume is dedicated to one hundred years of Swedish art historiography, the aim of this essay is to establish a factual basis for the problematization of what it means to define a certain corpus of historiography as 'Swedish'.[1] On the other side of the Baltic Sea to Sweden, Finland provides geographically close and academically significant instances of Swedish teaching and research that are not Swedish, in a country that once was Sweden. This paradoxical relationship highlights not only the undertakings of Swedish-speaking art historians and art critics before and after 1920, before and after art history was recognized as an independent discipline in Finland, but also the very notions of Swedishness and Finnishness. Accordingly, it is useful to begin with a simplified account of the genealogy of these notions and how they were constructed in political, linguistic, and cultural practices.

What follows are the basic facts that can serve as a foundation for further discussion, presented as a chronicle of the key art historians of various nationalities who were members of Finland's Swedish-speaking art history community. The scholars' decision to use Swedish as the language of instruction and writing is an important factor for their inclusion in the present narrative. Yet their choice of language cannot be separated from the consolidation of Finnish art history as a national project in Finland after 1920, or from the attitude scholars with a Swedish or foreign identity had towards this shift. Therefore, their ideological preferences and choice of research subjects are also outlined. While the result is at first glance a catalogue of names and works, I would argue it clarifies both the institutional structures and the genealogy of Swedish identity among art historians who regard themselves as belonging to the national minority known as 'Finland Swedes' (individuals of Finnish ancestry whose mother tongue is Swedish).

One person whose career was a good example of the far from straightforward nature of this Swedish identity was Johan Jakob Tikkanen (1857–1930), who was the first to hold the title of docent in art history and aesthetics in Finland. Tikkanen delivered his lectures primarily in Swedish, but he wrote his doctoral thesis in German, and completed it in 1884. Forty-two years later, he still had the art history seminar at the University of Helsinki. By then the university was slowly but steadily evolving from a Swedish- and German-speaking institution into a Finnish-speaking one. Belonging to an older generation, however, Tikkanen was not associated with the Finland Swedish movement that had formed as a reaction to the Finnish nationalist politics of Fennomania. The notions of Finland as a separate nation-state and of Finland Swedes as the Swedish-speaking minority of Finland are modern ones, dating from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In order to explain why this is so, some clarification of the minutiae of national and nationalistic matters will be useful.

What is 'Finland'?

The main portion of the territory that in 1917 was recognized as the independent nation of Finland had been separated from Sweden in 1809 under the Swedish–Russian peace treaty signed in Fredrikshamn/Hamina. Later it was granted the status of a grand duchy in the Russian Empire and the right to uphold its existing Swedish constitution. The south-eastern territories around Vyborg (Swe. Viborg, Fin. Viipuri), lost by Sweden in earlier wars, were incorporated into

the new grand duchy by the constitutional assembly of Borgå/Porvoo in 1812.

The contemporary, international use of the terms 'Finland', 'Finnish', and 'Finn' originated in Swedish administrative taxonomy, where they were codified as Sweden consolidated into a unified political entity in the late Middle Ages. The Finnish-speaking inhabitants of medieval Sweden most likely called themselves *suomalaiset*, their native lands Suomi, and the western or 'Swedish' lands Ruotsi, as these were the terms later established in written Finnish. In the Middle Ages and beyond, 'Finland' as a geographical term usually referred only to the far south-western area of Suomi—the area closest to the Åland Islands and mainland Sweden. This fact is still reflected in the Swedish name for this region, Egentliga Finland (lit. Finland proper).

Here, on the strategically vital Aura River, a small, fortified ecclesiastical centre was established shortly after the area came under the influence of the diocese of Uppsala and the historically obscure worldly rulers of Svithiod (the central land of 'the Swedes') in the mid to late twelfth century. It later grew into the Swedish town Åbo, today better known by its Finnish name, Turku, which remained the administrative and ecclesiastical centre of Finland or Österlanden (lit. Eastern Lands) until a devastating city fire in 1827. Before 1809, there was no constitutional difference between 'Finland' as the eastern and 'Sweden' as the western part of Sweden. Historians have sometimes called Finland 'the eastern *half* of the realm' (*östra rikshalvan*), but a more correct term is the eastern *part*, as the country's borders underwent many changes between 1560 and 1809.[2] In 1640, Regia Academia Aboensis was inaugurated in Turku as the third Swedish university (after Uppsala University in 1477/1593 and Academia Gustaviana in Dorpat/Tartu in 1632).

Finnishness and Swedishness in modern Finland

At Academia Aboensis, or Åbo Akademi, the first fragmentary attempts at a Finnish *historia* (in the ancient rather than the modern sense) of cities and monuments were published. The language of these treatises was not Swedish, but the academic *lingua franca* of the time: Latin. The most studied example is *Aboa vetus et nova* ('Turku Old and New'), the thesis that Daniel Juslenius (1676–1752) defended in a public viva at Åbo Akademi on 12 May 1700. Importantly, the *historia* of Juslenius and his instructors was a Finnish national history along the same fanciful lines as that attempted by Olof Rudbeck (1630–1702), who had relocated various Old Testament sites to Scandinavia in his work *Atlantica*. Juslenius, the youngest of four sons of a parish priest in Virmo/Mynämäki, north of Turku, announced himself as a 'Borea-Fenno' or Northern Finn—from the north of Finland proper—on the title page of the book. For him, it was indisputable that the Finns had descended directly from the followers of Magog following the Flood, that the Vandals were originally Finns, and that Finnish was the origin of all Slavic languages. Juslenius posited that Swedish oppression accounted for the absence of any historical records of the once so powerful kingdom of the Finns, with its mythical kings such as Sumble and 'Rostiofi':

> Now I shall examine why we have no written records. I can find no other explanation for this than the fact that *our literature was destroyed after the conversion to Christianity in order to thereby eradicate the terrible old idolatry*, as had been done in Sweden.[3]

In the same paragraph, Juslenius, whose own name was Swedish, wrote that 'Another clear proof of this is the fact that one no longer finds a single Finnish personal name, although in other languages at least some original names survive'.[4] Juslenius clearly regarded himself to be a Finn, not a Swede, and for a long time the Swedish term *finne* did not denote a linguistic or ethnographic identity, but simply that a person was born in Finland.

The national project outlined by Juslenius was continued in a more temperate fashion in the Enlightenment, notably in the philological work by the Åbo Akademi professor Henrik Gabriel Porthan (1739–1804). In his documentation of Finnish folk poetry, or *kansanrunoja*, new generations of scholars could find inspiration for their construction of Finnishness as a new or revived national identity after 1809. This process of national awakening was strongly associated with such names as Elias Lönnrot (1802–1884), Johan Vilhelm Snellman (1806–1881), and Zacharias Topelius (1818–1898). Like all members of the academic bourgeoisie, they wrote in Swedish. As a child and young man, Snellman witnessed how the Russian imperial authorities renamed the university the Imperial Alexander University of Finland, and later moved it to Helsinki following the Turku city fire of 1827.[5] Helsinki became the new capital of the grand duchy of Finland, Turku rose only slowly from its ashes, and the problematic Swedish connection was conveniently swept under the carpet.

The pressing question of the Finnish nation and its history was addressed by Zacharias Topelius in a famous speech to Osterbottniska afdelningen, the club for students from Österbotten/Pohjanmaa at the Imperial Alexander University, in November

1843. In his address, entitled 'Äger finska folket en historie?' ('Do the Finnish people possess a history?'), Topelius proclaimed in best Hegelian spirit that a 'people' cannot have a history without recording their history in writing or before they have 'an articulated notion of its own nationality that is self-conscious and positively formed'.[6] The articulation of a 'positively formed' nationality was here implicitly opposed to the merely negative consciousness of Finns as a subjugated group, eager to isolate themselves from the dominating Swedes, but still dependent on Sweden for their government, as had been the case before 1809.

Referring to these assertions, Topelius said that the whole cultural development in Finland before 1809 should be regarded, from the viewpoint of *finska folket* (the Finnish people), as prehistoric.[7] Yet he used the term *finska historien* (the history of Finland) in the sense of a history starting in 1157, which was supposed to be the year of the Swedish conquest.[8] He regarded this pre-1809 history as Swedish history, drawing a clear distinction between 'the history of Finland' and the history of the Finnish people. The latter history could only be modern history, as the *finska folket* did not reach an advanced consciousness of themselves until modern times. As exemplified below, this division structured the way Finnish history was written, and continues to do so today.[9]

The language question seems not to have been as crucial for Topelius as for Elias Lönnrot, the compiler of the nineteenth-century epic poem *Kalevala*. With *finska folket*, Topelius implied only the educated and self-conscious part of the Finnish people, by which he meant the Swedish-speaking population. His related concept *Finlands folk* (the people of Finland) could be taken to include the Finnish-speaking commoners. Topelius hoped that Finnish would develop into a shared language for elite and commoners alike. Though, as Pertti Anttonen has remarked, 'the Finnish language was still regarded by most educated people as unfit for education, civilization and modern artistic expression'.[10]

This view changed rapidly after a permanent chair in Finnish was established at the Imperial Alexander University in 1850. In the 1850s and 1860s, the first *lukiot* or secondary-level courses were established for Finnish-speakers in their own language. A language reform proposed by Emperor Alexander II in 1863 permitted the use of Finnish in administrative and legal communications. According to the plan, by 1883 Finnish and Swedish would be equivalents in such contexts; however, being a major constitutional change, this principle could not be codified into law until 1902.[11] Still, the formal legal measure merely confirmed the brisk progress of fennification between 1863 and 1902. The outcomes of the process were evident after the parliamentary reform of 1906. The reform permanently broke the political dominance of the Svecomans, the pro-Swedish, Swedish-speaking aristocrats and urban merchants who constituted the majority of the former *lantdag*, or Diet of Finland. The Fennomans of the Finnish Party or 'Old Finns' had at last raised the status of Finnish, making it an official, national language alongside Swedish.

The legislative changes between 1863 and 1906, with the swift development of Finnish-language education and literature and the daily press, led some to worry that Swedish culture and language were in danger. This spurred the creation of new societies, movements, and institutions to strengthen Swedishness as a national identity separate from Finnishness. One example was Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland (the Society of Swedish Literature in Finland) founded in 1885. Politically, the Swedish-minded adapted to the new parliamentary situation in 1906 and were reorganized the same year as Svenska folkpartiet i Finland (SFP, the Swedish People's Party of Finland). The new Swedish university of Turku, named Åbo Akademi after the original Swedish university, was founded in 1918 to provide Finland's Swedish-speaking students with an academic education in Swedish.[12] Its first rector was the famous ethnographer and sociologist Edvard Westermarck (1862–1939).

One aspect of the modern construction of Swedishness in Finland is still salient in everyday language use. Today, Finland Swedes tend not to call themselves *finnar* (Finns, today the term for individuals of Finnish ancestry whose mother tongue is Finnish), and instead use the term *finländare* (Finlanders, all people living in Finland). This distinction was recommended by leading Swedish-speaking intellectuals around 1913, as documented in the daily press and the influential review *Studentbladet*.[13] The first instance of the now common term *finlandssvensk* (Finland Swedish) that I found in the complete online archive of the Finnish press dated from 1908.[14] Additional data collated from the same archive shows that the term was established in only ten years.

Early academic art history in Finland

Carl Gustaf Estlander (1834–1910) was the professor of aesthetics and modern literature at the Imperial Alexander University between 1868 and 1898. He was a public intellectual typical of his times, not only a scholar but also a publicist, politician, and prominent member of many cultural societies and committees. In 1876, he founded *Finsk Tidskrift*, one of Finland's principal Swedish-language scholarly journals. Estlander wrote, lectured, and published almost exclusively in Swedish. His political views, which he

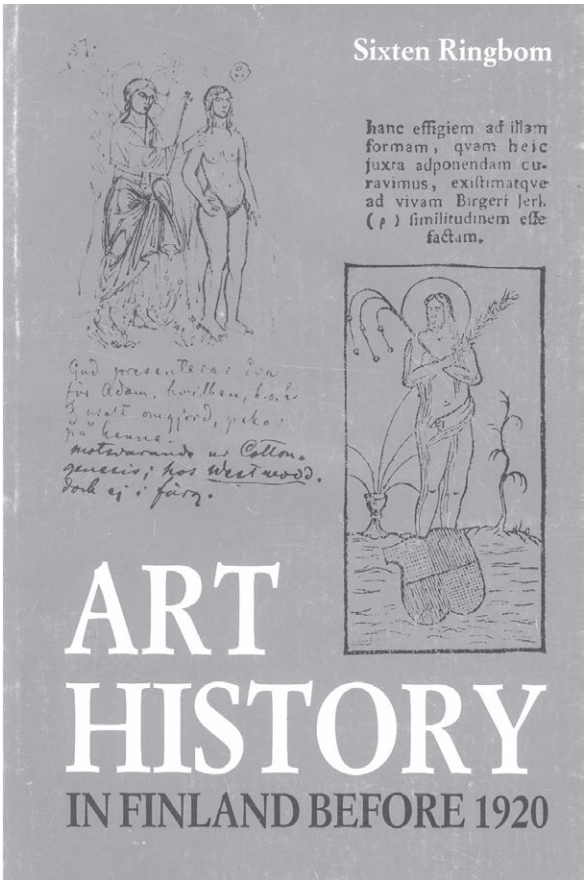

Figure 1.1. The cover of Sixten Ringbom's *Art History in Finland before 1920*, published in 1986. Reproduced with the permission of Societas Scientiarum Fennica.

defended in several articles in *Finsk Tidskrift*, were liberal and Swedish-minded.[15]

Among Estlander's students were Eliel Aspelin-Haapkylä (1847–1917) and Johan Jakob Tikkanen. Although the two came from similar backgrounds, they differed considerably both politically and in research interests. Aspelin-Haapkylä adopted the Fennoman ideology early on. As a member of the Finnish Archaeological Society, founded and run by Emil Nervander (1840–1914), he prioritized the kind of antiquarian and Finnish topics that had been of only superficial interest to Estlander.[16] Of utmost significance for Aspelin-Haapkylä's development as a historian of Finnish art and architecture was the Finnish Archaeological Society's second expedition in 1874, which he led. He used the findings from it and similar studies in his 1878 doctoral thesis on medieval sculpture, written in Finnish, and in his popular book, *Suomalaisen taiteen historia pääpiirteissään* ('The main features of the history of Finnish art'), which was published in 1891. He succeeded Estlander as the professor of aesthetics and modern literature in 1901. To publish and lecture in Finnish was a conscious choice for Aspelin-Haapkylä. He even added the Finnish 'Haapkylä' to his Swedish surname in 1906.

Johan Jakob Tikkanen, for his part, refused to take sides in the national language debate.[17] Even though his father was the well-known Finnish-speaking journalist Paavo Tikkanen (1823–1873), most of his early influences were his mother's Swedish-speaking relatives.[18] Tikkanen wrote and published in Finnish, Swedish, and German. He was an internationally recognized art historian. According to the art historian Sixten Ringbom (1935–1992) in his study *Art History in Finland Before 1920* (Fig. 1.1), Finnish research in art history 'came of age' with Tikkanen: 'Although he had studied aesthetics with Estlander, Tikkanen was still, like his fore-runners, self-taught as an art historian. But this did not deter him from going straight to the central problems of Byzantine and European art history.'[19] Ringbom was referring here to Tikkanen's doctoral thesis on Giotto, written in German under Estlander and examined in 1884.[20] In the same year, he was the first Finnish scholar to hold the title of docent in art history and aesthetics. He continued as a lecturer at the Imperial Alexander University and was awarded a personal chair there in 1897. From then on, it was possible to obtain an art history degree in Finland with Tikkanen as supervisor. Finally, Tikkanen's personal chair was made into an established chair in art history in 1920, which he held until his retirement in 1926. By then, Finland was an independent country and Helsingin yliopisto (the University of Helsinki), as the Imperial Alexander University had become, was rapidly turning into a Finnish-dominated university, in contrast to the small, Swedish-language Åbo Akademi in Turku.

The role of Yrjö Hirn (1870–1952) is interesting in relation to both Aspelin-Haapkylä and Tikkanen. Hirn's versatility and familiarity with a wide range of aesthetic, literary, and historical topics earned him international fame. He started his academic career in the relatively humble position of librarian at the Imperial Alexander University. As a student of aesthetics under Estlander, he took an early interest in experimental psychology. Hirn's doctoral thesis, on the implications of psychology and anthropology for the study of aesthetic phenomena, was written in Swedish and influenced by the work of his mentor Edvard Westermarck.[21] When the thesis was examined in 1896, it was a pioneering piece of research in a field that, in Helsinki, was still dominated by Estlander's idealist approach to the philosophy of history. Hirn's second major work, *The Origins of Art: A Psychological and Sociological Inquiry*, was first published in London in 1900 and later translated into German, Russian, and Swedish. In 1910, Hirn became professor of aesthetics and modern literature as Aspelin-Haapkylä's successor. He remained in this position until 1937. Hirn's influence can be traced in

the work of several of Tikkanen's students, including Onni Okkonen, of whom more later.

Two internationalists and one regionalist

Evidence of the liberal, energetic atmosphere of Tikkanen's seminars was the variety of research interests and ideological standpoints of those who attended them. Tikkanen's lecturing style was vividly described in an obituary by a former student, Osvald Sirén (1879–1966).[22] Sirén moved to Stockholm the same year he completed his PhD, and today he is remembered as the antiquarian and scholar who made the Nationalmuseum of Sweden an important centre for the study of Chinese art and culture. However, he came from a Swedish-speaking Finnish family in Helsinki, and earned his degree under Tikkanen with a thesis on the Swedish eighteenth-century painter Pehr Hilleström, examined at the Imperial Alexander University in 1900.[23]

Another prominent Tikkanen student, Tancred Borenius (1885–1948), also left Finland to pursue his art history career. Coming from a Swedish-speaking and cosmopolitan upper-class family from Vyborg, Borenius had the financial and intellectual resources for an international career.[24] Encouraged by Tikkanen, he specialized in Northern Italian Renaissance painters and honed his scholarship and connoisseurship by frequent trips to archives and art collections in Europe. The primary goal of his research in these formative years was to recover from near oblivion the lives and *oeuvres* of a group of painters active in Vicenza. In 1909, the 24-year-old scholar presented his results in *The Painters of Vicenza 1480–1550*, published in London. He focused on three Vicenza masters: Bartolomeo Montagna, Benedetto Montagna (son of Bartolomeo), and Giovanni Buonconsiglio. With this publication, Borenius earned his doctorate in art history at the Imperial Alexander University.[25]

Painters of Vicenza was also Borenius' ticket to the elite circle of London's art critics, scholars, and antiquarians. In 1910, after moving there with his wife, he wrote for the *Burlington Magazine*. He was appointed a lecturer in art history at the Slade School of Fine Art of University College London in 1914, and between 1922 and 1947 he was the first holder of the Edwin Durning-Lawrence chair of art history at the Slade. Apart from teaching and lecturing, Borenius was a prominent figure in the British art world as an advisor and expert on attribution, working for museums and commercial art businesses. Some of his books on European masters have been reissued as British classics of art history.

In contrast to Sirén and Borenius, Karl Konrad Meinander (1872–1933) dedicated his life to the collection and study of art objects from the grand duchy of Finland. As a prominent medievalist, his key contribution was his expertise on imported and native ecclesiastical art of the Middle Ages. Meinander published only in Swedish, and it has been assumed that personal shyness made it difficult for him to cope with other languages.[26] His doctoral thesis on medieval altarpieces and woodcarvings in Finland's churches was published by Finska fornminnesföreningen (Suomen muinaismuistoyhdistys or the Finnish Antiquarian Society) in 1908.[27] In 1900, Meinander had joined the staff of the National Museum of Finland in Helsinki, and the same year he became editor of the Finnish Antiquarian Society's journal, *Finskt Museum/Suomen Museo*. His second book—on portraiture in Finland before 1840—was not published until 1931.[28] It is interesting that Meinander's work paralleled that of the Swedish scholar Sixten Strömbom (1888–1983) at a time when the latter was setting up Svenska porträttarkivet (the Swedish Portrait Archive) in Stockholm.[29]

Nationalist art history takes precedence

While Meinander seems to have shared Tikkanen's neutral position in the language debate, younger scholars were more explicit about their ideological preferences, as was the case with Ludvig Wennervirta (1882–1959) and Onni Okkonen (1886–1962), both of whom studied with Tikkanen. Wennervirta's choice of last name signified his development into a highly prolific Fennoman—before 1926, he had gone by the ordinary Swedish surname of Wennerström. In the post-independence community of art historians, Wennervirta was primarily an art critic and chronicler, especially of Finnish art after 1809. However, he was also a medievalist, and his doctoral thesis on Gothic mural painting in the churches of Western Finland and the Åland Islands was published in 1930.[30]

Wennervirta was the first person to earn a doctorate in art history with a thesis written and published in Finnish. (Although Aspelin-Haapkylä had written his thesis in Finnish in 1878, a specialist art history degree was not then available in Helsinki.) The choice of language was no doubt a deeply ideological one for Wennervirta. His views on Finnish sovereignty and language aligned with those of the nationalist, pro-German Isänmaallinen kansanliike (IKL, Patriotic People's Movement), and between 1932 and 1944 he was a correspondent and art critic for the IKL newspapers *Ajan Sana* and *Ajan Suunta*.

When Wennervirta completed his degree, Onni Okkonen was the professor of art history, having succeeded Tikkanen in 1927. Okkonen's role in Finnish intellectual life between the wars was not so different from Wennervirta's. Apart from his 1910 doctoral thesis on Melozzo da Forli and his school, which was written in German, Okkonen wrote all his major works in Finnish.[31] Also active as a painter and a writer of poems and short stories, Okkonen was a typical representative of an aesthetic subjectivism in the study of art. His 1916 book *Taiteen alku* ('The origin of art') was influenced by Hirn's anthropological theories and was distinctly polemical in tone. For Okkonen, the historical study of artistic styles and their development argued for an evolutionist, normative theory of art.[32] In most of his production after 1917, he promoted in Finland what he regarded as the universal ideals of artistic culture. To a significant extent, Okkonen shaped the perception of what is frequently called the 'golden age' of Finnish art, at the end of the nineteenth century.

The case of Johannes Öhquist

Among writers on art, Johannes Öhquist (1861–1949), being neither an art historian nor from a Finnish-speaking family, was arguably the most typical representative of the alliance between Fennoman and German nationalism that shaped Finnish politics and cultural policies between the wars. In fact, he was not even from the grand duchy of Finland but from the neighbouring region of Ingria (Fin. Inkerinmaa, Swe. Ingermanland) around St Petersburg. The son of a Swedish-speaking parish priest and a German-speaking mother, he learned Finnish as a student in St Petersburg, but initially he was more closely associated with the Swedish-minded than with the Fennomans.[33] In 1895 he was appointed senior lecturer in German at the Imperial Alexander University, a position he held until 1916. He also worked as a journalist and literary critic, writing for the Swedish-language daily *Nya Pressen* and the learned journal *Finsk Tidskrift*.[34] Öhquist did not write his lavish and widely read 1912 volume on the history of Finnish art in Finnish, but in German. It was translated into Finnish by Helmi Krohn (1871–1967), who helped Öhquist with several similar projects.[35]

Öhquist lived in Berlin from 1916 until his death, where he first worked for the Finnländisches Büro, which organized German support for the victorious Whites in the Finnish Civil War (1918). With his steady output of books, articles, and translations in German and Swedish, he became the voice of right-wing Finland in Germany and of German nationalism in Finland. Working directly for the Nazi Party's propaganda section and the Fenno-German Suomi Liitto (Finnish League) in Hitler's Germany, his wartime books of the 1940s dealt with such topics as 'The Land of the Führer' and 'Finland, Brother in Arms'.[36] Both Öhquist and Wennervirta represented dominant currents in Finland's political and cultural life between 1918 and 1945, evident from the title of *professor honoris causa* (honorary professor) bestowed on them by the University of Helsinki (Öhquist in 1925 and Wennervirta in 1952).

Åbo Akademi and a Galician outsider

The process by which art history was established as a discipline in Finland corresponded with that in Sweden, but there were differences. In Sweden, the first chair in art history was established in 1917 at Uppsala University, when it was awarded to August Hahr (1868–1947). Earlier, the discipline of aesthetics at the university had developed in an increasingly literary direction, because of the dominance of the literary historian Henrik Schück (1855–1947), who was professor of aesthetics between 1898 and 1920. Thus, a separate chair in art history had become necessary, followed later by a separate chair in literature. At Lund University, the chair in aesthetics was simply split into two positions in 1919, one in art history and one in literary history. In Finland, however, Hirn continued to be the professor of aesthetics *and* modern literature after 1917. The established chair in art history created for Tikkanen in 1920 at the University of Helsinki did not change his professional responsibilities; he remained the only lecturer to specialize in art history. Åbo Akademi was at the time a new university, so its art history seminar had no connection to any previously existing seminar in aesthetics or literary history. There was no established chair in art history at Åbo Akademi until 1970.

In these limited circumstances, with only one permanent position in the country and with few students, the approaches to art history at the two Finnish universities were largely determined by the preferences of those who led the seminars. It is noteworthy that before 1980, in contrast with work produced at the University of Helsinki and later at the University of Jyväskylä (founded in 1966), the majority of theses and other major publications by art historians from Åbo Akademi were on international topics rather than specifically Finnish or Finland Swedish ones.

Here, the role of Josef Strzygowski (1862–1941), born in Biała in Austrian Galicia, should not be underestimated. As his successor Lars Berggren (b.1951) puts it, Strzygowski was 'a strange bird' in Finnish academia.[37] In light of nearly three-quarters of a century

Figure 1.2. Josef Strzygowski in the art-history seminar room at Åbo Akademi, April 1922. Courtesy of the Image Archives of Åbo Akademi University.

of mostly negative assessments of Strzygowski's work and career, in particular his *Nordforschung* ('Northern research'), it is hard today to grasp the full extent of his fame and influence in 1920. That year, he accepted the invitation from Edvard Westermarck to teach art history at the recently founded Åbo Akademi. Westermarck supported Strzygowski's optimistic plans for an international research institute of art history in Turku. However, a new and more austere leadership quickly replaced Westermarck and his circle, and in 1925 Strzygowski returned to Vienna. The seminar in art history continued under the guidance of the young Lars-Ivar Ringbom (1901–1971).

Strzygowski led a busy life and his time in Turku was no exception (Fig. 1.2). In the space of a few years he published some of his most influential works. He also found time to study Finnish art and architecture, especially wooden structures. After a research trip to the eighteenth-century wooden churches of Petäjävesi and Keuruu, in 1923 he wrote three articles in which he gave the churches a place in his speculative scheme of 'Northern' research. But he also questioned the standard opinion that church builders in Finland had only followed plans authorized by the central administration in Stockholm.[38] Later research has borne out Strzygowski's conclusions that such designs were not always determinative.

However, 1923 was not a propitious time for outsiders to question the expertise of Finnish specialists. As soon as Strzygowski's articles were translated into Swedish and printed in the Helsinki daily *Hufvudstadsbladet*, Karl Meinander quickly wrote a sharp reply. He questioned the ideological agenda of his foreign colleague, and asserted, 'Nor does Professor Strzygowski's promise to secure a prominent place for our primitive architecture in art history appear persuasive, at least not with the extravagant interpellations and far-fetched parallels he makes with Siberia, Armenia, Greece, etc.'[39] Later the same year, Meinander published further critical objections in a lengthy article for the *Finskt Museum/Suomen Museo* journal.[40]

Strzygowski's translated reply to Meinander was not printed in *Finskt Museum/Suomen Museo* until 1925. It had the polemical title 'Den nordiska konstforskningen under humanismens ok' ('Nordic art-historical research under the yoke of humanism').[41] Strzygowski defended his approach to the study of art and artefacts in a manner familiar to readers of his *Die Krisis der Geisteswissenschaften* ('The crisis in the humanities') of 1923. For Strzygowski, *Humanismus* (humanism) was

always a derogatory term, signifying the narrow-mindedness of specialized scholars who considered only written sources to be valid evidence. Meinander's insistence on the importance of documents such as the Swedish regulations for rural church buildings only proved in Strzygowski's mind that Meinander was 'the typical humanist', unable to shake off certain strictures and traditions.[42]

In questioning the reliance on written sources and the distrust of visual and material observations among 'philologists and historians', Strzygowski also doubted Eurocentric explanations of stylistic development and influence. His arguments are easy to understand. Eurocentrism will always be a consequence of limited linguistic and historical knowledge in Europe. Scholars who read only Greek and Latin documents will naturally avoid Arabic or Persian subjects, and they will most probably favour explanations that trace all technological and stylistic developments in Europe back to Athens and Rome.[43] Against this dominant tradition, Strzygowski and his students provocatively suggested a reversed model, according to which Aryan civilization had spread from Persia to the Baltic and Nordic regions and then determined the course of European development in a movement from east to west and north to south, not the other way around. Ideologically, the future of European culture was associated with vital and creative impulses not originating in classical, Christian, Islamic, or Jewish culture, but in Zoroastrian Persia.

After the Second World War, such scholarly and political agendas were deeply compromised. But the wide scope of Strzygowski's knowledge and research interests profoundly influenced Lars-Ivar Ringbom. Ringbom directed the art history seminar at Åbo Akademi from 1925 to 1968. He received his doctorate in art history in 1931 and was named *professor extraordinarius* in 1943, but had to wait until 1958 before this position was changed into a personal chair in the history and theory of art. Unlike most Nordic art historians of later generations, Ringbom did not avoid prehistoric art and archaeology. His studies of the technology of Bronze Age spiral ornaments represented a genuine scientific discovery.[44] Ringbom's interest in Persian art and religion was evidenced by his 1951 *Gralstempel und Paradies* and his 1958 *Paradisus terrestris*.[45]

Two key appointments and their consequences

Between 1900 and 1949, seventeen art history theses were examined in Finland, none of which dealt with architecture or city planning. The foremost academic authority in architectural matters in Finland at the time, Carolus Lindberg (1889–1955), did not work at the University of Helsinki or Åbo Akademi, but at Tekniska högskolan (the Helsinki University of Technology). Lindberg was a Finland Swedish architect and architectural historian who earned his doctorate at the Helsinki University of Technology in 1919 with research on bricks in medieval church walls in Finland.[46] A prolific author on subjects of Finnish architecture and architectural history, Lindberg preferred writing in Swedish. With *Finlands kyrkor* ('Finland's churches'), published first in Finnish and a year later in Swedish, he laid the foundation for a national documentation project concluded over forty years after his death.[47] Other prominent Finland Swedish architects of the period included Rafael Blomstedt (1885–1950), Sigurd Frosterus (1876–1956), and Gustaf Strengell (1878–1937), who were all prodigious writers on architecture and modern design, but had little or no professional affiliation with academic art history.[48]

When the Finland Swede Lars Pettersson (1918–1993) succeeded Okkonen as the professor of art history at Helsinki in 1951, this situation changed. Architecture soon became a more prioritized area in the Helsinki seminar. In 1950, as part of qualifying for the professorship, Pettersson completed his doctoral thesis on wooden church architecture in East Karelia.[49] The research was based on extensive material collected during his military service in 1942–1944, when he was responsible for the preservation of cultural heritage in the Finnish-occupied Karelian region.

As the art historian Renja Suominen-Kokkonen (b.1953) has laid out, the Helsinki appointment process in 1951 (in which all applicants except Pettersson ultimately withdrew their applications) was complicated by conflicting opinions on the identity and role of art history in Finland.[50] Pettersson's emphasis on Eastern influences in both Karelian and Finnish wooden architecture conflicted with the notion of an independent national development, of which Okkonen was a leading representative. As Pettersson's supervisor, Okkonen had only a minor role, though: Pettersson relied chiefly on the advice of his Swedish mentor, the architect and art historian Erik Lundberg (1895–1969). It is also obvious that Pettersson drew inspiration from Strzygowski's approach to north-eastern building traditions.[51] Pettersson remained the professor of art history at the University of Helsinki until 1981.

After Lars-Ivar Ringbom's retirement, in 1968, his personal chair at Åbo Akademi became a permanent one. When four Finland Swedish applicants were judged eligible for the position at the end of 1969, it was evident that regardless of who was selected the generational change would be significant. Whereas

Ringbom had written little on architecture, three of the applicants specialized in architecture, building techniques, and city planning: Knut Drake (1927–2013), Carl Jacob Gardberg (1926–2010), and Henrik Lilius (b.1939). Gardberg had studied under Ringbom, completing his thesis on Turku Castle in 1959, while Drake and Lilius were both students of Lars Pettersson's.[52] It was the fourth applicant, Ringbom's son Sixten Ringbom, who was appointed to the post, though. He shared his father's international orientation but not his tendency to conflate scientific method and German *Weltanschauung*.

In a perceptive article from 2012, the art historian Marja Väätäinen calls Ringbom *père et fils* a 'mythmaker' and a 'myth-breaker' respectively.[53] Lars-Ivar Ringbom, himself a painter in his younger years, was shaped by the same vitalist philosophy and expressionist ideas that Sixten Ringbom meticulously deconstructed in his trailblazing work *The Sounding Cosmos* of 1970.[54] Although the father published almost exclusively in Swedish and German, the son, mentored by Ernst Gombrich at the Warburg Institute, was the first Finnish-born art historian since Borenius to write all his major works in English. His doctoral thesis on fifteenth-century devotional painting established Sixten Ringbom's reputation as a practitioner of strictly specialized source criticism, reported with Anglo-Saxon clarity and rigour.[55] However, as Väätäinen argues, it is a simplification to describe Sixten's choice of language, style, and scholarly ideals as merely a revolt against paternal authority. Father and son also had many things in common, not least an interest in medieval culture and spiritual traditions. The intellectual, artistic atmosphere in which Sixten grew up shaped him as one of the outstanding art historians of his generation, by domestic and international standards. For these reasons, and regardless of the familial ties, the Turku professorship could probably only have been awarded to Sixten Ringbom. Oscar Reutersvärd (1915–2002), Lund University's professor of art history, was the external expert for the appointment. In his statement, he referred to the statutes then in effect for professorships in art history in Finland, and concluded:

> These require that the professor in the history and theory of art, in addition to expertise in the history of painting, sculpture, and architecture, also possess insights in the theory of art, the psychology of art, and technical aspects of the fine arts, or, in other words, approximately the same four specialized areas on which the discipline is based in Sweden. With this in mind, R's qualifications are those which best correspond to the stated requirements for the position. Like the others, he does not meet all the criteria, but his range of knowledge is the strongest and, according to formal criteria, most adequate. First of all, the proportion in scientific work between factual and theoretical treatment is strikingly balanced in his case. In his research, practical and theoretical considerations interact with each other in a co-dependent and purposeful way. Taking into consideration the areas of factual knowledge, his competence is primarily in painting, to some extent in sculpture, and not at all in architecture.[56]

However, Ringbom was to dedicate more time to the study of nineteenth- and twentieth- century architecture later in his career, as documented in his work *Stone, Style and Truth* of 1987.[57] Meanwhile, architecture and city planning continued to have a strong position in art history at the University of Helsinki under Henrik Lilius, who succeeded Lars Pettersson as professor in 1983. After Lilius left in 1993, architectural subjects have remained prominent among thesis topics. Now, though, the Helsinki department is almost exclusively Finnish-speaking.

Continuity in Finnish art historiography

The need for a history of Finnish art with greater academic credibility than that of Öhquist's 1912 survey of Finnish art was met in 1926 by a volume in Swedish entitled *Finlands konst* ('The art of Finland') from the Helsinki publishing house Söderström.[58] This book resulted from a collaboration between Ludvig Wennervirta and five other experts in art history, archaeology, and ethnography. If compared to both earlier and later surveys of the same kind, it provides a key example of how national historiography and disciplinary borders have developed in Finland. It is noteworthy that more than half the book (361 pages out of 620) was dedicated to painting, sculpture, and design after 1809. These chapters were written by Wennervirta (painting and sculpture) and Rafael Blomstedt (contemporary applied art and design). Carolus Lindberg wrote a chapter on Finnish architecture and city plans of all periods, and Karl K. Meinander wrote all the chapters on painting and sculpture before 1809. The section on the pre-medieval period and folk art was not written by art historians but by the archaeologist Aarne Äyräpää, né Europaeus (1887–1971), and the ethnographer Uuno Taavi Sirelius (1872–1929).

The disposition reflected Topelius' view that the era of Swedish political control was merely the prehistory of Finnish national consciousness. The priority given to different historical periods also paralleled the same

general pattern of Aspelin-Haapkylä's *Suomalaisen taiteen historia pääpiirteissään* ('The central features in the history of Finnish art') of 1891 and Öhquist's *Suomen taiteen historia*.[59] It is also interesting that out of the six contributors to Wennervirta's publication, at least three—Blomstedt, Lindberg, and Meinander—belonged to the Swedish-speaking community, likely explaining why the Finnish version of the volume appeared a year after the Swedish one. In the early period of the Finnish Republic, Finnish-minded and Swedish-minded scholars still cooperated in projects of national importance. However, institutionalization had made art history a specialized field in which vernacular and prehistoric artefacts were left to archaeology and ethnology.

A comparison with a similar multi-author project first published half a century later demonstrates both a certain continuity in the approach to Finnish history and an increasing specialization and differentiation in art history. *Konsten i Finland* (later translated into English as *Art in Finland*, 2000), was a decidedly Finland Swedish book project. Sixten Ringbom edited it, the contributing authors were Finland Swedes, and all save one were affiliated with Åbo Akademi.[60] It started with the early Christian period (*c.*1150–1250), contained no material about folk art or popular art forms, and devoted little space to applied art and design. There was a strict separation between the chapters on architecture, painting, and sculpture. Out of 383 pages in the 1998 edition, two-thirds were dedicated to the period of the Grand Duchy of Finland (1809–1917) and the era of independence (1917– on).[61]

Juxtaposing Wennervirta's *Finlands konst* and Ringbom's *Art in Finland* demonstrates two main points linked to Swedishness and historiography in Finland. First, by 1978, the Finland Swedish community had separated from Finnish majority culture to the point where it had its own public sphere, its own literary and artistic field, and its own historiography. The role of Åbo Akademi and organizations such as the SFP were decisive in this process.[62] Second, despite increasing divisions between Finnish and Finland Swedish public life, there was a remarkable homogeneity and continuity in attitudes to national history. It is also evident that, with a few notable exceptions, national topics have dominated art-historical research in Finland after 1917.

The topics of art history doctoral theses are a simple measure of this. As the Åbo Akademi art historian and researcher Mia Åkerfelt (b.1979) has recently demonstrated, out of 47 art history theses in Finland examined between 1950 and 2013 on topics related to architecture, only 5 were on non-Finnish topics and only 10 on pre-1809 topics.[63] Åkerfelt's explanation of this pattern agrees overall with the above observations on Finnish art historiography as a national project. For comparison, in the whole field of art history in Finland, a total of 70 doctoral theses were examined between 1950 and 1999, most of them in the 1990s—48 from the University of Helsinki, 16 from the University of Jyväskylä, and 6 from Åbo Akademi—of which 17 were on non-Finnish topics and 16 on pre-1809 topics.[64]

Cultural belonging and international relevance

Johan Jakob Tikkanen, Lars-Ivar Ringbom, and Sixten Ringbom all had close ties to the Finnish cultural community. They took an active part in the work of Finnish cultural organizations and frequently contributed to publication series and journals in Finland. However, they were also respected authorities on non-Finnish and non-Scandinavian art. Thus, they balanced the demands of their local context and the need to contribute to international debates in art history.

The same could be said of Sixten Ringbom's childhood friend and successor at Åbo Akademi, Bo Ossian Lindberg (1937–2021). Both Ringbom and Lindberg started their careers as art critics for the Turku Swedish-language daily *Åbo Underrättelser*. Following the example of his friend, Lindberg lived and worked in London for some years in his time as a doctoral student. There, he specialized in the imagery, poetry, and philosophy of William Blake—the topic of his acclaimed doctoral thesis of 1973.[65] For many years, Lindberg was a senior lecturer in art history at Lund University before being recalled and installed as professor at Åbo Akademi in 1994. He conducted extensive research on painting techniques and artistic materials, especially in early Renaissance Italian painting. Unfortunately, much of this genuinely interdisciplinary research is still unpublished.

Among Sixten Ringbom's research students, his cousin's wife, Åsa Ringbom (née Nikander, b.1945), was the first to graduate. Although her doctoral thesis was on a nineteenth-century architectural subject, she later became a distinguished medievalist, specializing in the stone churches of western Finland and the Åland Islands.[66] She headed an art history section at Åbo Akademi known as Medeltidsinstitutet (the Medieval Institute). In that role, she was awarded a personal chair in 1997. Since the early 1990s, Åsa Ringbom has developed new scientific methods for mortar dating.[67] Her interdisciplinary research group used Finnish and Åland Island medieval stone churches as test cases, backdating some of these churches more than one hundred years. Although the results have been reliably tested and confirmed, they have been

questioned by a group of Finnish medievalists who seem reluctant to accept the weaknesses in earlier historical interpretations.[68] This is perhaps another sign of how the preservation of ideologically motivated conceptions of Finnish art history is conditioned by excluding certain research areas and methods (such as those of archaeology) from the county's main field of art historiography.

During Sixten Ringbom's leave of absence to conduct research in 1986–1989, Eeva Maija Viljo (b.1939) acted as deputy professor of art history at Åbo Akademi. Viljo is a scholar who would never consider herself a Finland Swede, but who has nonetheless contributed significantly to the corpus of Finnish art history in Swedish, mainly on architectural subjects.[69] Between 1998 and 2002, she was the professor of art history at the Finnish-language Turun Yliopisto (Åbo universitet, University of Turku), not to be confused with Åbo Akademi. Its chair in art history was instituted in 1992. Sixten Ringbom's untimely death the same year meant that several senior lecturers acted as temporary heads of the Department of Art History at Åbo Akademi, before Bo Ossian Lindberg was made professor in 1994.

When Lindberg retired in 2002, both Swedish and Finland Swedish applicants competed for the position. Swedish-born Lars Berggren of Lund University was appointed in 2003. With Berggren's specialization in Italian *Risorgimento* public monuments, and his long experience of interdisciplinary and international cooperation, art history at Åbo Akademi has maintained its strong connection to research currents outside Finland.[70] At the same time, Berggren has contributed substantially to Finnish architectural and institutional history, not least with his book co-authored with his wife, Annette Landen (b.1956), *Väggarna talar* ('The walls speak'), which is an extensive documentation of academic buildings in Turku.[71] As professor, Berggren also initiated the development of visual studies as a minor subject in the department's undergraduate programme. Thus, for a short period between 2009 and 2013, the Department of Art History at Åbo Akademi offered three specializations: a major in art history, a minor in medieval studies, and a minor in visual studies.

In 2009, the staff working with Berggren and Åsa Ringbom included one senior lecturer (*akademilektor*) in art history, one lecturer (*universitetslärare*) in art history, one lecturer in visual studies, one teaching assistant, and one archival assistant. In addition, four doctoral students worked as part-time teaching assistants. However, following Åsa Ringbom's retirement in 2010, no permanent position was reallocated to the Medieval Institute, and teaching in medieval studies gradually ceased. Since then, Ringbom has continued her acclaimed work as an independent researcher. After many organizational reforms imposed by the university between 2010 and 2019, there is no longer a department but only the 'subject' of art history at Åbo Akademi. Moreover, with Berggren's retirement in 2016, the established chair in art history was replaced with a tenure-track position held by Marie-Sofie Lundström (b.1965), who completed her doctorate under Lindberg and Berggren in 2006. The remaining staff includes me (b.1972, PhD from Lund University in 2007) as the lecturer in visual studies and Mia Åkerfelt (PhD from Åbo Akademi in 2011) as the lecturer in art history.

The future of our subject and Swedish art historiography in Finland is hard to predict. This is also true for the academic status of the Swedish language in Finland, where publications in English are today prioritized in most contexts—which also facilitates cooperation with Finnish-speaking researchers. One might hope that the current focus on mobility and networking in official university policies will strengthen ties to the international academic community. But as Åkerfelt observes, the Finnish funding system has encouraged local and national research topics in the post-1989 era. If then the sense of belonging in a self-conscious nation still determines much of the economy and output of the humanities in Finland (albeit often in English), a look at the past shows that, at least in art history, the marginal position of Swedishness in the country has provided fertile soil for research outside the confines of methodological nationalism.

Notes

1 'Is Finland Swedish?' (Fin. 'Onko Suomi ruotsalainen?') echoes the title of a documentary series broadcast by Finnish state television YLE in 2015: *Suomi on ruotsalainen* ('Finland is Swedish'). I am indebted to Heidi Pfäffli of Åbo Akademi University for her generous guidance and detailed knowledge of a topic that, as a Swede, was largely unfamiliar to me.

2 As recommended in Nils Erik Villstrand, *Riksdelen: Stormakt och riksprängning 1560–1812* (Helsinki: Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland, 2009).

3 Daniel Juslenius, *Aboa vetus et nova* (PhD thesis, Regia Academia Aboensis, 1700) tr. Tuomo Pekkanen et al. as *Vanha ja uusi Turku, Åbo förr och nu, Turku Old and New* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2005), Caput II, §31, original emphasis: 'Nunc examinabo causam defectus monumentorum. Quae alia se mihi non offert, quam quod *abolitae sin illae literae, post adscitam religionem Christianam, ut simul horrenda illa prisca idololatria extirparetur*, ad exemplum Suecorum.'

4 Juslenius, *Aboa vetus et nova*, Caput II, §31: 'Cuius rei non minimum argumentum erit, quod ne unicum quidem nomen hominis proprium Fennicum magis inveniatur, aliis linguis illorum semper aliquot servantibus'.

5 See, for example, Lars Berggren & Annette Landen (eds), *Väggarna talar: Åbo Akademis byggnader under hundra år* (Turku: Åbo Akademis förlag, 2017).
6 Zacharias Topelius, 'Äger finska folket en historie?' *Joukahainen* 2 (1845) Österbottniska afdelningen, Kejserliga Alexanders Universitet, Helsinki, 195: 'en sig själv medveten och i positiva former utpräglad nationalitet'.
7 Topelius, 'Äger finska folket en historie?', 216.
8 Topelius, 'Äger finska folket en historie?', 193.
9 See Pertti Anttonen, 'Oral Traditions and the Making of the Finnish Nation', in Timothy Baycroft & David Hopkin (eds), *Folklore and Nationalism in Europe in the Long Nineteenth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 325–50.
10 Anttonen, 'Oral Traditions', 342.
11 Jennica Thylin-Klaus, *'Den finländska svenskan': Tidig svensk språkplanering i Finland ur ett idéhistoriskt perspektiv* (PhD thesis, Åbo Akademi University; Turku: Åbo Akademis förlag, 2012), 18.
12 For the statutes of Åbo Akademi University, see *Åbo Akademis författningar*, I: 1919 (Turku: Åbo Akademi University, 1919), 1–3.
13 See, for example, Tidningsklipparn (pseud.), 'Med sax och penna', *Hufvudstadsbladet*, 3 April 1913, 6–7 [Helsinki-based newspaper].
14 'Imorgon resa de unga finlandssvenskarna till Uppsala och på aftonen uppför Brage "Ett Österbottniskt bondbröllop", folkmusikdrama i 7 tablåer', *Västra Finland*, 7 July 1908, 2 [Turku-based newspaper].
15 Eeva Maija Viljo, 'Carl Gustaf Estlander and the Beginning of Studies of the Visual Arts at the University of Helsinki', in Renja Suominen-Kokkonen, *The Shaping of Art History in Finland* (Helsinki: Society of Art History, 2007), 25–39.
16 Hanne Selkokari, 'Eliel Aspelin as Researcher of Ancient Greek Sculpture: A Detour, or a Breakaway from C. G. Estlander?', in Suominen-Kokkonen, *Shaping of Art History*, 143–56.
17 See Johanna Vakkari's studies of Tikkanen, for example, 'J. J. Tikkanen and the Teaching of Art History', in Suominen-Kokkonen, *Shaping of Art History*, 69–83.
18 Sixten Ringbom, *Art History in Finland before 1920* (Helsinki: Societas Scientiarum Fennica, 1986), 62.
19 Ringbom, *Art History*, 62.
20 Johan Jakob Tikkanen, *Der malerische Styl Giottos: Versuch zu einer Charakteristik Desselben* (PhD thesis, Imperial Alexander University of Finland; Helsinki, 1884).
21 Yrjö Hirn, *Förstudier till en konstfilosofi på psykologisk grundval* (PhD thesis, Imperial Alexander University of Finland, 1896; Charleston, SC: Nabu, 2010).
22 Osvald Sirén, *Johan Jakob Tikkanen som konsthistoriker* (Societas Scientiarum Fennica 10 B 3; Helsinki: Mercator, 1933).
23 Osvald Sirén, *Pehr Hilleström: Väfvaren och målaren, hans lif och hans värk* (PhD thesis, Imperial Alexander University of Finland; Stockholm: Wahlström & Widstrand, 1900); see also Johan Eriksson elsewhere in this volume.
24 Johanna M. Lindfors, 'Tancred Borenius: Our Man in England', in Suominen-Kokkonen, *Shaping of Art History*, 169–80.
25 Tancred Borenius, *The Painters of Vicenza 1480–1550* (PhD thesis, Imperial Alexander University in Finland; London: Chatto & Windus, 1909).
26 Ringbom, *Art History*, 83.
27 Karl K. Meinander, *Medeltida altarskåp och träsniderier i Finlands kyrkor* (PhD thesis, Imperial Alexander University of Finland; Helsinki: Finska fornminnesföreningen, 1908). Meinander's work was continued by the Finland Swedish archaeologist Carl-Axel Nordman (1892–1972), director general of the State Archaeological Commission in 1936–1959 and leader of the project *Finlands kyrkor* ('Churches of Finland'), whose book on medieval wooden sculpture in Finland, *Medeltida skulptur i Finland* (Helsinki: Finska fornminnesföreningen, 1964), remains a standard reference work.
28 Karl K. Meinander, *Porträtt i Finland före 1840-talet* (Helsinki: Söderström, 1931).
29 See, for example, Charlotta Krispinsson, *Historiska porträtt som kunskapskälla: Samlingar, arkiv och konsthistorieskrivning* (PhD thesis, Stockholm University; Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2016); for Strömbom's role, see Krispinsson elsewhere in this volume.
30 Ludvig Wennervirta, *Goottilaista monumentaalimaalausta Länsi-Suomen ja Ahvenanmaan kirkoissa* (PhD thesis, University of Helsinki; Helsinki: Finska fornminnesföreningen, 1930).
31 Onni Okkonen, *Melozzo da Forli und seine Schule* (PhD thesis, Imperial Alexander University of Finland; Helsinki: Suomalainen tiedeakatemia, 1910).
32 Onni Okkonen, *Taiteen alku: Tutkimus taiteen synnystä, esteettisästä ja taiteellisestä muodostumisestä sekä tyylillesestä kehittymisestä* (Helsinki: Otava, 1916).
33 Teppo Jokinen, 'Johannes Öhquist im Spanningsfeld von Kunst und Nation', in Suominen-Kokkonen, *Shaping of Art History*, 181–94.
34 See, for example, Johannes Öhquist, 'Det unga Tyskland', *Finsk Tidskrift: Kultur, Ekonomi, Politik* 28/4 (1890), 249–64.
35 Johannes Öhquist, *Suomen taiteen historia* (Helsinki: Kirja, 1912).
36 Johannes Öhquist, *Das Reich des Führers: Ursprung und Kampf, Weltanschauung und Aufbau des Nationalsozialismus geschildert von einem Ausländer* (Bonn: Ludwig Röhrscheid, 1941).
37 Lars Berggren, 'Josef Strzygowski: En främmande fågel i Finland', in Suominen-Kokkonen, *Shaping of Art History*, 84–98.
38 Josef Strzygowski, 'De gamla träkyrkorna i Keuru och Petäjävesi', *Hufvudstadsbladet*, 14 Oct. 1923, 12; 'Finlands västkust i träbyggnadskonsten', *Hufvudstadsbladet*, 3 Nov. 1923, 6; 'Våra träkyrkors konstvärde', *Hufvudstadsbladet*, 11 Nov. 1923, 11–12.
39 Karl K. Meinander, 'Vår äldre träarkitektur', *Hufvudstadsbladet*, 4 Nov. 1923, 12: 'Inte heller professor Strzygowskis löfte att tilldela vår primitiva husbyggnadskonst en framträdande roll i konsthistorien verkar övertygande, åtminstone inte med de våldsamma interpellationer och långsökta paralleller med Sibirien, Armenien, Grekland o.s.v. han förebringar.'
40 Karl K. Meinander, 'Finlands träbyggnadskonst och prof. Strzygowski', *Suomen Museo/Finskt Museum* 30/2 (1923), 33–52.
41 Josef Strzygowski, 'Den nordiska konstforskningen under humanismens ok', *Suomen Museo/Finskt Museum* 32/2 (1925), 1–9.
42 Josef Strzygowski, 'Den nordiska konstforskningen', 5: '*Humanismus*'; 'den typiske humanisten'.
43 Josef Strzygowski, *Die Krisis der Geisteswissenschaften, vorgeführt am Beispiele der Forschung über bildende Kunst* (Vienna: Anton Schroll, 1923), 25–6: 'Inzwischen fragt man, was Philologen und Historiker eigenlich von der Wesenswissenschaft und der

Forschung in den einzälnen Fächern verstehen? Sie bewegen sich in einzälnen Sprachkreisen und sehen die Denkmäler womöglich durch die Brille der schriftlichen Aussagen.'

44 Lars-Ivar Ringbom, *Entstehung und Entwicklung der Spiralornamentik* (Copenhagen: Levi & Munksgaard, 1933), repr. from *Acta Archaeologica* 4.

45 Lars-Ivar Ringbom, *Graltempel und Paradies: Beziehungen zwischen Iran und Europa im Mittelalter* (Stockholm: Wahlström & Widstrand, 1951); Lars-Ivar Ringbom, *Paradisus terrestris: myt, bild och verklighet* (Helsinki: Societas Scientiarum Fennicae, 1958).

46 Carolus Lindberg, *Om teglets användning i finska medeltida gråstenskyrkor* (PhD thesis, Technical University of Finland; Helsinki: Schildt, 1919).

47 Carolus Lindberg, *Suomen kirkot: Maamme kirkkorakennuksia käsittelevä tietoteos* (Helsinki: Kustantaja Kuvataide, 1934). As curators of the National Museum in Helsinki and members of the State Archaeological Commission, the archaeologists Nils Cleve (1905–1988) and Carl-Axel Nordman (see n. 27) devised an extensive project for the further documentation of Finnish churches. The first of the resultant series was Nils Cleve, Carl Axel Nordman & Tove Riska, *Suomen kirkot/ Finlands kyrkor* (Helsinki: Finska fornminnesföreningen, 1959). After training as an archaeologist, Nordman's daughter Tove Riska (b.1923) was the series's assistant editor and later editor-in-chief.

48 See, for example, Gustaf Strengell, *Byggnaden som konstverk: En skissering av arkitekturens uttrycksmedel* (Helsinki: Schildt, 1928).

49 Lars Pettersson, *Die kirchliche Holzbaukunst auf der Halbinsel Zaonež'e in Russisch-Karelien: Herkunft und Werden* (Helsinki: Finska fornminnesföreningen, 1950).

50 Renja Suominen-Kokkonen, 'Changing Ideals in Art History: Onni Okkonen and Lars Pettersson', in eed., *Shaping of Art History*, 110–25.

51 Renja Suominen-Kokkonen, 'Studies of Wooden Churches in Finland: Josef Strzygowski and Lars Pettersson', *Tahiti: Taidehistoria tieteenä* 6/4 (2016).

52 Carl Jacob Gardberg, *Åbo slott under den äldre Vasatiden: En byggnadshistorisk undersökning* (PhD thesis, Åbo Akademi University; Helsinki: Finska fornminnesföreningen, 1959); Knut Drake, *Die Burg Hämeenlinna im Mittelalter: Eine Baugeschichtliche Untersuchung* (PhD thesis, University of Helsinki; Helsinki: Finska fornminnesföreningen, 1968); Henrik Lilius, *Der Pekkatori in Raahe: Studien über einen eckverschlossenen Platz und seine Gebäudetypen* (PhD thesis, University of Helsinki; Helsinki: Finska fornminnesföreningen, 1967).

53 Marja Väätäinen, 'From Ringbom to Ringbom: The Art of Art History of Lars-Ivar Ringbom and Sixten Ringbom: A Mythmaker and a Myth-breaker in Åbo, Finland', *Journal of Art Historiography* 7 (2012).

54 Sixten Ringbom, *The Sounding Cosmos: A Study in the Spiritualism of Kandinsky and the Genesis of Abstract Painting* (Turku: Åbo Akademi, 1970).

55 Sixten Ringbom, *Icon to Narrative: The Rise of the Dramatic Close-up in Fifteenth-Century Devotional Painting* (PhD thesis, Acta Academiae Aboensis series A 31/2; Turku: Åbo Akademi, 1965).

56 Åbo Akademi University, research archive of the author (uncatalogued), Referee statement by Oscar Reutersvärd of Lund University, Lund, 4 May 1970, 35: 'Enligt dessa fordras av professorn i konsthistoria med konstteori utöver sakkunskap i måleriets, skulpturens och arkitekturens historia, också insikter i konstteori, konstpsykologi och konsternas teknik, dvs. i ungefär samma fyra kunskapsspecialiteter som disciplinen i Sverige är uppbyggd av. Sedda mot detta är R:s kvalifikationer de som klarast överensstämmer med de föreskrivna fordringarna. Han saknar i likhet med de övriga full täckning i fråga om instruktionens nyssnämnda moment, men hans kunskapsregister är det riktigaste och formaliter mest adekvata. Till att börja med är fördelningen mellan sakbehandlande och teoretisk vetenskapsutövning påfallande jämnt vägande. Det praktiska och teoretiska griper också in i vartannat i hans forskning på ett ömsesidigt betingat och väsensenligt sätt. Med hänsyn till de sakbehandlande momenten gäller hans konsthistoriska kompetens främst måleriet, i mindre utsträckning skulpturen och inte alls arkitekturen.'

57 Sixten Ringbom, *Stone, Style and Truth: The Vogue for Natural Stone in Nordic Architecture 1880–1910* (Helsinki: Finska fornminnesföreningen, 1987).

58 Ludvig Wennervirta et al., *Finlands konst från förhistorisk tid till våra dagar* (Helsinki: Söderström, 1926).

59 Aspelin-Haapkylä, *Suomalaisen taiteen historia pääpiirteissään* (Helsinki, 1891) is silent on the pre-medieval period, has 42 pages on the Swedish period and 42 pages on the (brief) Russian period; Öhquist, *Suomen taiteen historia*, has 9 pages on the pre-medieval period, 180 pages on the Swedish period, and 432 pages on the Russian period.

60 The exception was Bengt von Bonsdorff (1936–2005), who had studied in Helsinki.

61 Carl Jacob Gardberg et al., *Konsten i Finland: Från medeltid till nutid* (3rd edn, Esbo: Schildt, 1998).

62 The strong support for the SFP among Finland Swedish intellectuals is evidenced by entries in local biographical dictionaries such as the 1967 edition of *Vem och Vad?* (Helsinki: Schildt, 1967). Of the Finland Swedish art historians and archaeologists mentioned in the present essay and born around 1900, Nils Cleve, Carl Jacob Gardberg, Bertel Hintze, Carl-Axel Nordman, and Lars-Ivar Ringbom were all members of the SFP. One notable exception was Aune Lindström (1901–1984), the first woman to receive a PhD in art history in Finland with *Taiteilijaveljekset von Wright* (PhD thesis, University of Helsinki; Helsinki: Otava, 1932). A student of Onni Okkonen's and later chief curator at the Ateneum (the Finnish National Gallery), she wrote mainly in Finnish and was affiliated with the conservative party, Samlingspartiet.

63 Mia Åkerfelt, 'Architecture from the Swedish Era in Finnish Art-historical Theses: A Case Study', *Konsthistorisk Tidskrift/ Journal of Art History* 85/1 (2016), 29–43.

64 For a list of Finnish theses in art history in 1878–2006, see Suominen-Kokkonen, *Shaping of Art History*, 233–9. The exponential growth in the number of doctoral theses and the continuity of preferred topics is further illustrated by the 2000–2006 period when there were thirty theses, of which six were on non-Finnish or theoretical topics and only two on pre-1809 topics.

65 Bo Lindberg, *William Blake's Illustrations to the Book of Job* (PhD thesis, Åbo Akademi University; Turku: Åbo Akademi, 1973).

66 Åsa Ringbom, *Societetshusen i storfurstendömet Finland* (PhD thesis, Åbo Akademi University; Helsinki: Finska fornminnesföreningen, 1988).

67 See, for example, Jan Heinemeier et al., 'AMS 14C dating of lime mortar', in *Proceedings of the VII Nordic Conference on the Application of Scientific Methods in Archaeology, Savonlinna, Finland, 7–11 September 1996* (Helsinki: Finska fornminnesföreningen, 1997), 214–215.

68 See Åsa Ringbom, 'Ålands kyrkor: Svar till Markus Hiekkanen', *Historisk Tidskrift för Finland* 80/2 (1995), 263–6.

69 See Eeva Maija Viljo, *Theodor Höijer: En arkitekt under den moderna storstadsarkitekturens genombrottstid i Finland från 1870 till sekelskiftet* (PhD thesis, University of Helsinki; Helsinki: Finska fornminnesföreningen, 1985).

70 See Lars Berggren, Lennart Sjöstedt & Annette Landen, *L'ombra dei grandi: monumenti e politica monumentale a Roma (1870–1895)* (Rome: Artemide, 1996).

71 Berggren and Landen's project enlarged on Sixten and Åsa Ringbom's *Akademiska gårdar: Arkitektur och miljöer kring Åbo Akademi* (Turku: Åbo Akademi, 1985); see also Berggren & Landen, *Väggarna talar*.

CHAPTER 2

Medieval material

Navigating between art history and archaeology at Lund University

Cecilia Hildeman Sjölin

Interest in the visual and material culture of the Middle Ages evolved in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In Sweden as elsewhere, the history of the study of medieval culture is rooted in different disciplines and institutions, both in and outside academia. This essay focuses on Lund University to chart how the emerging discipline of art history intersected with medieval artefacts and the field of archaeology. It has been a century of complex interplay between academic departments and museums, often influenced by key individuals engaging with medieval objects.

At Lund University, the gradual evolution of the study of medieval material occurred first in the fields of history and philosophy. Then, out of these faculties grew the discipline of aesthetics in the mid nineteenth century. And eventually, in the second decade of the twentieth century, art history broke off from the Department of Aesthetics to become an independent discipline.[1] Art historians conducted extensive research on medieval artefacts and monuments, and had a significant impact on the subsequent establishment of medieval archaeology as a discipline. The contributions of the architect Carl Georg Brunius (1792–1869), who held the university chair in Greek, are noteworthy here. He worked on the restoration of numerous medieval churches throughout Skåne, and in 1850 wrote a history of medieval art in the county, besides earlier studies of medieval structures, but his greatest project was the renovation of Lund Cathedral.[2] His groundbreaking documentation was critical in developing the study of medieval architecture. Owing to the multifaceted strategies he brought to medieval structures, he looms large in nineteenth-century history in Lund. Thus, art history, archaeology, and medieval objects were part of an elaborate, synergistic matrix for many years. This essay addresses the processes of interaction, cooperation, and separation in the period.

Unique to Lund, shaping medieval studies there and the eventual creation of the discipline of medieval archaeology, was Historiska Museet (Lund University Historical Museum, LUHM). There is no corresponding institution at any other Swedish—or Scandinavian—university. Although the origins of medieval archaeology in relation to art history developed in an international context, in Lund they were situated within the walls of LUHM. This space is critical to the following account of medieval studies in Lund, for it was there in the museum the disciplines of art history and medieval archaeology met. Over time, the objects that scholars from these disciplines addressed and the methods they employed led to an ever-greater dissociation of the two fields.

Foundations of the museum

The history of medieval studies in Lund and its branching off in different directions was a product of key individuals and the physical expansion of the university, with its earliest phase in the early nineteenth century. In 1805, the history professor Nils Henrik Sjöborg (1767–1838) took charge of the cabinet of curiosities assembled by Kilian Stobaeus (1690–1742). The collection, donated to Lund University in 1735, was the kernel of the university's museum, known as the Museum Stobaeanum.[3] On top of being the genesis of LUHM, it also provided the nucleus of the university's zoological and botanical collections. The prehistoric and medieval portions, which were continually augmented, were kept and displayed in Lundagårdshuset, also known as Kungshuset, a

sixteenth-century residence used as the university's main building until 1882.[4]

Among the museum staff in the nineteenth century was Bror Emil Hildebrand (1806–1884), who was later director general of Riksantikvarieämbetet (the Swedish National Heritage Board). He was employed at LUHM in the 1830s, in connection with his studies in archaeology (also known as *fornkunskap*, literally the study of ancient times) in Copenhagen, under the Danish archaeologist Christian Jürgensen Thomsen (1788–1865). Hildebrand helped introduce the three-age system of the Stone Age, Bronze Age, and Iron Age to the museum and throughout Sweden.[5] His scholarship was a decisive influence on LUHM and thus on the study of the visual, material culture of the Middle Ages at Lund University.

Sven Nilsson (1787–1883), the professor of zoology at Lund University from 1832 to 1856, also had a key role in developing ancient studies and LUHM.[6] As head of the Museum of Zoology he worked closely with LUHM's staff, given that both institutions were still part of the Museum Stobaeanum. He engaged with archaeological material because of his work in palaeontology and geology, which led to investigations of the remains of prehistoric human activity. This prompted his interest in Stone Age tools and comparative studies of tools in contemporaneous tribal societies. His work can therefore be connected to the expansion of archaeology and anthropology, and serves as an example of the breadth and variety of activity open to academics in the period.

The enrolment of more students and an increased number of disciplines hived off from Lund University's original four faculties led to the construction of many new buildings in the city centre. A science building built in the 1840s in Krafts torg, at the east end of the cathedral, became the new home of the Museum of Zoology. LUHM moved there following the relocation of the Museum of Zoology in 1917 to new premises, leaving it with the medieval and prehistoric collections.[7]

The early twentieth century

Aesthetics, art history, and archaeology were among the fields that branched out from the original four university faculties in the early twentieth century. This happened alongside the work carried out at LUHM and other institutions. In museum spaces and academic departments, scholars examined physical objects, conducted research, taught courses, and pursued knowledge in a tangle of activities.

In 1919, Otto Rydbeck (1872–1954) was appointed director of LUHM, a post he would keep until his retirement in 1945. Rydbeck's background was in art history, having completed a doctoral thesis on Skåne's medieval murals in 1904 at Lund's Department of Aesthetics.[8] Also in 1919, he became the first professor of archaeology at the university. However, designations in all the fields changed frequently in the early twentieth century, frustrating the attempts to identify discrete disciplines and their concomitant frameworks and methods. Rydbeck was first a docent in art archaeology in Lund from 1909 to 1918, after which he was promoted to the chair of prehistoric and medieval archaeology. As professor, he represented the subject of Nordic and comparative archaeology. There were thus different ways of defining and designating the study of material from the prehistoric and medieval periods. Plainly, the 'archaeology' of early periods was understood to be the study of ancient history, with no particular methodological considerations as to excavations as a system of investigation.

At the same time as Rydbeck was made professor of archaeology, which strengthened the discipline's status, art history broke away from the Department of Aesthetics, where it had been sorted alongside literary history. On the initiative of Ewert Wrangel (1863–1940), the professor of aesthetics since 1899, the position was divided between the head of the newly formed Department of Art History—which Wrangel assumed—and the head of Department of Literary History, which went to Fredrik Böök (1883–1961). Wrangel had a broad range of academic interests. Besides art history, he wrote extensively on literature, on the poets Esaias Tegnér, Carl Michael Bellman, and Johan Ludvig Runeberg, and before specializing in art, he had published on medieval visual culture—for instance, on Allhelgonakyrkan (All Saints') in Lund, a neo-Gothic church designed by Helgo Zettervall (1831–1907) built in the early 1890s.[9] Wrangel also published several texts on medieval architecture, images, and objects, including Lund Cathedral, Cistercian influence on Swedish ecclesiastical architecture, and the reredos from Ystad held at LUHM.[10] In these pieces, beyond offering general descriptions, he tackled issues such as the origin, form, style, influences, and, when possible, creators of the objects studied.

The changes in Lund were in keeping with national and international developments in academic art history. Around the turn of the century, chairs in art history were established at other Swedish universities. In Stockholm, Viktor Rydberg (1828–1895) was appointed professor of *kulturhistoria* or cultural history in 1885, a position four years later restyled as *de bildande konsternas teori och historia* or the history and theory of fine art. Henrik Schück (1855–1947), Wrangel's predecessor in Lund, was appointed professor of aesthetics in Uppsala in 1899. As in Lund,

the department later split, and August Hahr (1868–1947) became the first professor of art history in Uppsala, while Schück continued as the professor of literary history.[11]

Just as art history was going through significant changes, the study of medieval objects also altered owing to the attention from art historians. In 1914, Wrangel and Rydbeck, with Theodor Wåhlin (1864–1948), who held the post of architect at Lund Cathedral, curated an exhibition of medieval ecclesiastical art from Skåne for the Baltic Exhibition in Malmö. Thus, spearheading this project was a professor of aesthetics (soon to be professor of art history) and a docent in art archaeology (soon to be professor of medieval archaeology). One outcome was the publication of *Äldre kyrklig konst i Skåne* ('Early ecclesiastical art in Skåne') in 1921, an extensive, multi-authored catalogue of the 1914 world's fair.[12] The book was organized thematically. Rydbeck's contribution, for example, concerned roods and pulpits in Skåne churches, Wrangel's covered retables, and the theologian Lars Tynell (1853–1923) had a chapter about baptismal fonts.

The Malmö world's fair came four years after a groundbreaking show on the same theme in Strängnäs in Södermanland, and two years after the first issue of the series *Sveriges kyrkor: Konsthistoriskt inventarium* ('The churches of Sweden: An art-historical inventory') in 1912.[13] Evidently, the collaboration between Rydbeck, Wrangel, and Wåhlin in 1914 transpired in a larger context of engagement with medieval material. *Sveriges kyrkor* was published by Kungliga Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien (the Royal Swedish Academy of Letters, History, and Antiquities) in cooperation with the Swedish National Heritage Board, at the instigation of Sigurd Curman (1879–1966) and Johnny Roosval (1879–1965). Curman, who was in charge of the series for almost half a century, was later director general of the Swedish National Heritage Board, while Roosval was a professor of art history at Stockholm University and a pioneer in research on Swedish medieval art. The project aimed to catalogue every church building in Sweden, including written descriptions, images, and drawings, and the history of each building and its holdings. Such attention to medieval material was not limited to Sweden, as a corresponding project has been underway in Denmark—*Danmarks kirker* ('The churches of Denmark')—since the 1930s.

The activities associated with medieval artefacts and culture, including the exhibitions and surveys of church objects and the academic disciplines studying these works, were closely linked, being connected to a movement to document and preserve cultural heritage, of which medieval ecclesiastical objects and buildings formed an important part. This development began in the nineteenth century and can be understood in relation to the National Romantic movement.

In its early years, art history in Sweden was concerned with local monuments and works, not least medieval ones. Art history had a central role in medievalism, attempting to inventory, document, and restore material. These activities had a profound impact on many of Skåne's churches, with the restoration of Lund Cathedral serving as an early example. Substantial numbers of artefacts were collected, resulting in museum collections and the documentation of monuments—often in print, as with *Sveriges kyrkor*.

The 1914 Malmö world's fair exhibition featured retables, crucifixes, and other wooden sculptures (for example, madonnas and saints) alongside stone sculptures, including baptismal fonts.[14] These objects then formed the basis of LUHM's collection of medieval objects on display once it moved to Krafts torg in 1918, under the supervision of Otto Rydbeck. Thus, the exhibition of medieval material created at LUHM focused on church culture—sculpture, mural paintings, and liturgical objects, and the imagery found on them.[15]

After its move to Krafts torg, the museum was also the home of the Department of Archaeology until the 1990s. Besides the medieval ecclesiastical material, the museum contained a prehistoric collection, organized according to the tripartite system of Stone, Bronze, and Iron Age objects, structured to some extent by type. This created boundaries in the museum, the medieval collection being set apart by its specialization in objects and images from a Christian sacred space. For parts of the permanent exhibition, this meant presenting the works in a church-like setting according to their original function, rather than as objects per se. In this manner they were classified as art in the art-historical narrative of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[16]

Medieval archaeology as an academic discipline was a presence in the LUHM building; however, the medieval collections were not connected to archaeological methodologies, such as excavations. Lund had been a medieval town and there were regular local excavations, but the archaeological knowledge of the material history of the Middle Ages was associated not only with LUHM but also with an institution next door: Kulturhistoriska Museet, the museum of cultural history known as Kulturen. Kulturen was founded in the early 1890s under the leadership of Georg Karlin (1859–1939) as part of the efforts of a local antiquarian society (Kulturhistoriska föreningen för södra Sverige), whose aim was the preservation of southern Sweden's cultural history. It was an open-air museum, and significant for the establishment

of similar museums in Sweden. Moreover, it played a key role in the production of archaeological and historical knowledge in and about Lund.[17] At Kulturen, then, the methodology of field archaeology was developed. Its work led to it collecting a wide range of material, including folklore from southern Sweden covering all times and materials, and thus, naturally, from the Middle Ages. Throughout most of the twentieth century, Kulturen oversaw excavations in the urban spaces of Lund. In contrast, finds from the rest of southern Sweden—the former Danish parts of the country—and especially its rural areas were predominantly LUHM's concern.

Kulturen handled Lund's medieval material culture and displayed it for the public, while LUHM's exhibitions primarily addressed sacred spaces and objects from the Middle Ages, collected from churches in the region, which for decades served as a study collection for university students and scholars. With these two institutions evolving side by side in Lund, medieval artefacts recovered from churches and excavations were documented, displayed, and studied in different settings by the disciplines of art history and archaeology, gradually establishing the distinctions between the two.

The 1920s to the early 1960s

After its separation from aesthetics, art history continued to include research in medieval visual culture and to play a vital role at LUHM. This was true even after Wrangel stepped down in 1929, to be replaced by Ragnar Josephson (1891–1966), whose focus did not include medieval art. The work of museum staff and graduate students ensured there was a strong relationship between the Department of Art History and LUHM, with the continued presence of art historians working with the medieval collection, notably Otto Rydbeck, his daughter Monica Rydbeck (1906–1998), and Erik Cinthio (1921–2018). The available methods, material, and areas of investigation open to these scholars were vast.

As evidence of the rich cross-pollination when working with medieval material, consider Ragnar Blomqvist (1901–1983), who trained as an art historian with a doctoral thesis on church murals in Småland published in 1929. In the 1930s, he worked at Kulturen as the inspector of ancient monuments and was put in charge of excavations. This work would later be significant in the review of his merits for promotion to docent in art history in 1959–1960, as was his role in the extensive excavations that led to the discovery of the location of Lund's medieval Dominican friary.[18]

Among Blomqvist's contemporaries—the medieval art historians born around the turn of the century—were Aron Borelius (1898–1984) and Monica Rydbeck. In 1927, Borelius completed his doctoral research and became docent in art history. Three decades later he succeeded Josephson as professor. Borelius' research covered a broad range of topics, including Swedish nineteenth-century painting and the art of Diego Velázquez. In addition, he wrote two substantial works on medieval murals, which he described as *monumentalmålningar* (monumental paintings), using a term of the time to clearly highlight an art-historical discourse, as opposed to the *kalkmåleri* (al fresco or fresco secco) consistently used by Otto Rydbeck and Monica Rydbeck. The different terminologies embodied competing approaches to the medieval material, with the Rydbecks more absorbed with the material qualities of the works, and Borelius embracing an art-historical visual analysis.[19]

Monica Rydbeck spent many years working with the LUHM's medieval collection, and she dedicated her research to medieval matters.[20] She wrote an important work on medieval mural painting, which included church archaeology and architecture.[21] Specifically, it dealt with secondary late medieval vaults in Skåne churches and the associated mural paintings. The focus was the chronology of vault types and forms in connection with the paintings on the vault surfaces, such as the cells and ribs. She employed archaeological methods to examine the walls and vaults, with formal analysis and style criticism. The last words in the thesis concerned the paintings in the church in Vinslöv and the guild chapel in St Peter's in Malmö, mentioning the painter as 'one of the most talented and most skilful mural painters'.[22] Here, where there was an attempt to determine chronologies using material and stylistic evidence, the art historian still saw it as her role to pass judgement on the aesthetic value of the paintings, including when writing about medieval murals. In this respect, her work was compatible with art-historical analyses of art from later periods. Her investigations, however, were based on examinations of the actual buildings and written sources, in keeping with the work of *Sveriges kyrkor*. A pivotal point in Rydbeck's study was the establishment of chronologies through formal analysis, which she used to date and map out a sequence of vaults and murals in relation to one another. To this was added a style-based quality assessment, in which Rydbeck identified—and emphasized—particular artistic personalities, even when they were anonymous.

The relationship between LUHM, art history, and archaeology entered a new phase in the 1950s, with a further branching of academic disciplines under Erik Cinthio, who was a central character in the museum's

history. Initially, Cinthio's work and leadership further intertwined art history and archaeology. Although he wrote his thesis in the Department of Art History, he also worked extensively with archaeological issues because of his research at LUHM under Holger Arbman (1904–1968), the professor of Nordic and comparative archaeology. Unlike his predecessor, Otto Rydbeck, Arbman was an active archaeologist who took part in excavations and specialized in prehistory.

Cinthio's thesis was on Lund Cathedral, particularly the medieval history of the building.[23] Otto Rydbeck had tackled this topic in a major publication back in 1915, where he aimed to explain the history of the medieval building and some of its stone sculptures.[24] Cinthio built on this to offer a rather different interpretation of the structure and its various phases of construction. In Rydbeck's text, the interest in form and comparative style analysis was the most dominant methodological factor, though written sources played an important part. Cinthio used a combination of investigative approaches: written sources, a material examination of the masonry, and a comparative stylistic analysis. His third and final chapter, 'Image and Symbol', dealt with the cathedral's architectural sculpture and the symbolic value of the building. In other words, the material examination of the building was apparent in this study, matched with a shift in attitude towards the material. There was less focus on form and more on meaning, which in the mid twentieth century became more prominent in art history, seen in the overall development of the art-historical discipline and most often in Erwin Panofsky's iconographic methodology.

The change of focus was evident in other art-historical research at Lund's Department of Art History at this stage. The thesis by Karl Erik Steneberg (1903–1960) on seventeenth-century painting centred on the era of Queen Christina and iconological considerations.[25] Sven Sandström (b.1927) wrote his thesis on Odilon Redon, which while far removed from the medieval period was nonetheless another study in iconology.[26] Both exemplify the new focus in art history. Although on a general level there was still some emphasis on formal analysis and didactic categorizations of time, place, and artists, the interest in meaning and interpretations was growing.

The tendency towards formal analysis and iconographic interpretation provides one avenue for understanding how art historians interrogated medieval material. Consider the favourable assessment of Ragnar Blomqvist's professional expertise in excavations as part of his application for a docentship in art history—there was a perceived value in Blomqvist's knowledge and experience of medieval fieldwork. Further insight into the relationship between art history and archaeology may be found in a close reading of Cinthio's thesis and his contributions to descriptions and analyses of medieval structures and material, as against the documentation of Borelius' appointment to professor of the Department of Art History.[27]

The external experts' evaluation of Borelius' research included consideration of his work on Romanesque figurative murals, their iconography, and questions of chronology and style. One of the assessors, Henrik Cornell (1890–1981), a professor at Stockholm University and a specialist in medieval art, lauded Borelius' research and underlined the benefit of medieval studies for art history. He argued that medieval studies have particular challenges and characteristics, and that deductions made in the field were important and beneficial, while acknowledging its deductions were often more hypothetical than research into periods characterized by abundant source material. Cornell also stressed the difficulties associated with the research, the necessary boldness in taking on the work, and the different fields of knowledge to be mastered to understand medieval images. Cornell said he would prefer documented research into the art of the Middle Ages and later periods were a requirement to attain a professorship in art history.

Borelius was awarded the chair in art history in 1957, the year Cinthio was made a docent in art history and medieval archaeology. Later, in 1962, Cinthio was made a *preceptor* in medieval archaeology, which qualified him to oversee student examinations. In the argument for establishing a position that would provide instruction as well as the assessment of courses in medieval archaeology, some said archaeological scholarship about the Middle Ages had initially depended on LUHM's director and professor at the Department of Archaeology, Otto Rydbeck, who was an art historian by training and a specialist in the Middle Ages.[28] When he was succeeded in 1945 by Holger Arbman, an archaeologist whose main area was the prehistoric era, the medieval section of the discipline lost on the teaching and examination fronts, which thus needed to be strengthened.

In 1962–1963, Cinthio wrote an introduction and overview of medieval archaeology, its history and status.[29] He categorized how medieval archaeology was understood and practised in various European countries, and its relation to other research fields. Christian archaeology, meaning the archaeology of churches—buildings and objects—a branch of medievalism most prominent in France, was mentioned, as was medieval archaeology in Britain, which had taken a different direction to France by focusing on secular buildings and human activity beyond the Church. British archaeology employed excavation as an established method of investigation. Cinthio also sketched

the background to the discipline at Lund University, including Otto Rydbeck's role. He pointed out that Rydbeck worked on archaeological excavations and used other specifically archaeological methods, but concentrated on lecturing about medieval church art.

Thus, by the end of the 1950s, art history and archaeology were still closely linked, particularly in the professional experience of those in positions of leadership. But work in university departments began gradually segregating into diverging practices, methods, and areas of interest.

Rethinking medieval archaeology

Cinthio's academic promotions contributed to the elevation of medieval archaeology at the university. They opened up further opportunities for students to study medieval archaeology (not just archaeology, meaning prehistoric archaeology) as a separate subject for a university degree. In time, this cumulated in Cinthio's personal chair in medieval archaeology in 1969, located expressly at LUHM, which he held for the rest of his career. These developments provided a platform for graduate degrees in the field.

The reasoning behind the establishment of medieval archaeology, including a faculty which could examine the students, was directly linked to increased activity because of Sweden's urban renewal in the 1960s and 1970s with its building projects in former medieval towns. The petition from the faculty stated there was an explicit need for archaeologists with special qualifications in working with medieval material. Swedish law (from the 1988 Kulturmiljölag, previously Lag om fornminnen) stipulates that archaeological remains must not be destroyed or removed without being documented. Therefore, sites of archaeological interest must first be excavated before being disturbed, for instance, by building activity. In an urban context, occupation layers from earlier periods qualify as archaeological remains. Any building project in a town or city of medieval origin would require a team of trained archaeologists with specialized knowledge of medieval material to conduct the investigation and excavation of the site. Given that the 1960s and 1970s were a time of rapid inner-city renewal in Sweden, an urgent need was identified for excavation archaeologists with such qualifications, positioning archaeology as a subject of interest outside academia.

The demand for practical skills and craftsmanship in archaeological methods, separate from expert knowledge of medieval material, would profoundly affect academic disciplines. It is striking how quickly the split took place. Blomqvist had secured a docentship at the end of the 1950s, largely because of his archaeological skills. Thus, archaeology and art history were understood to be two branches securely connected to the same trunk. The distance between them grew, however, and specialization increased because of the emphasis on methods and aims.

Art history and archaeology for some decades realigned themselves in relation to each other regarding the study of the Middle Ages. Various factors were influential in determining which material was imperative. The extensive archaeological activity in urban settings, with excavations of medieval occupation layers, put urban, secular material centre stage. This stood in opposition to the church archaeology that formed the LUHM collection, most of which was collected directly from churches. These different focuses affected approaches to the material, aesthetics, meaning, and function of the disciplines' objects of study, with art historians increasingly invested in the visual imagery, which can be interpreted using texts, and archaeology concentrating on the material aspects of excavated objects.

Medieval studies after the 1960s

In the 1960s, the study of art history and medieval archaeology was regulated by curricula. After the PUKAS education reform of 1969, the forms and routines for curricula and reading lists were further formalized. Also in 1969, first-year course options for art history expanded: AB1, a chronological survey of primarily Western pictorial art (painting, graphics, sculpture) and architecture starting in ancient times; and AB2, a course focused on the study of contemporary art, photography, and the built environment. When these reforms were implemented and changes were made to the curricula, the number of students attending Swedish universities surged, resulting in the appointment of more lecturers.[30]

With a broadening of research topics came administrative changes. At Lund University, medieval studies continued to be a major focus of study in the Department of Art History—for the faculty and for graduate and undergraduate students. For example, Torkel Eriksson (1933–2002) wrote a licentiate dissertation on Byzantine iconography. Thereafter, as a member of the department he dedicated himself to medieval iconography, which included contributions to the medieval section in the department's book project *Konsten i Sverige* ('Art in Sweden'). Additionally, Inger Ahlstedt Yrlid (b.1939) wrote a thesis on Romanesque murals, and she later became a senior lecturer specializing in the Middle Ages.[31] Other theses were written on medieval stone sculptures, manuscripts, and wooden sculptures.[32] Oscar Reutersvärd (1915–2002) succeeded Borelius as the professor of art history in 1964, and although he was not primarily a medie-

valist, he published articles on stone sculpture and initiated a project on baptismal fonts.

From the 1970s, art history students had only limited contact with medieval material and methods. In the first semester of undergraduate studies, the curriculum included a short course on medieval artefacts, and in the second semester there was an introduction to iconographic methods that featured medieval material. As for undergraduate dissertations, the expanded choice of material taught in the department meant that medieval topics gradually fell out of favour—though they did not disappear entirely, as a small percentage of work done at this level showed.

According to the institutional records, the first syllabus for medieval archaeology from the 1970s stated that in order to take the subject undergraduates had to have completed courses in prehistoric archaeology, though they could qualify by having done courses in art history, ethnology, history, or classics in combination with a basic course in prehistoric archaeology, which would introduce them to archaeological methods.[33] In the 1984 curriculum, the initial course in medieval archaeology could, for the first time, be taken in the second semester. However, there were still the same course requirements and opportunity to connect studies in the different disciplines. While the distance between medieval archaeology and art history gradually expanded in the later twentieth century, the prerequisites of undergraduate coursework helped tether the disciplines to one another.

With time, though, medieval archaeology would be less firmly secured to art history and other subjects. It was strengthened by a third-cycle programme, which in the 1970s and 1980s attracted students from across Sweden and other parts of Scandinavia. In the 1980s, Cinthio's personal chair was converted into an established chair in medieval archaeology, thus ensuring the discipline's continued existence at Lund University. Cinthio retired in 1986, but he nonetheless maintained contact with LUHM. He was succeeded by Hans Andersson, a regional inspector of ancient monuments for Gothenburg and Bohuslän who had worked at the Göteborgs historiska museum (Gothenburg Historical Museum) and had a licentiate degree in archaeology. Andersson represented a stronger orientation towards archaeological practices outside academia, particularly focusing on methodological archaeology. His arrival in the department marked the discipline's separation from art history all the more clearly.

The Department of Archaeology continued at LUHM until the 1990s. Lectures and seminars took place in the museum's gallery spaces. The Iron Age room doubled as a lecture hall, with the material in immediate proximity to students and researchers. The department vacated LUHM in the 1990s, moving into the Department of Theology's old premises in sight of LUHM. This relocation meant that for the first time the discipline was separated from the museum and its collection. Over the past two decades, the museum has strengthened its public outreach, partly due to the wave of interest following the sensational discovery of a vast trove of Iron Age objects at Uppåkra, immediately south of Lund, which is kept and displayed at LUHM.[34]

Historical archaeology

The Department of Archaeology's move brought changes to the discipline, to medieval art, and to art history. LUHM's medieval collections were no longer a self-evident forum for archaeological teaching, research, and exhibition, even if much remained as before. Contact with medieval archaeology was no longer synonymous with contact with the museum and vice versa. The permanent medieval exhibition was and remains an exhibition of church objects written into the art-historical narrative as objects of art-historical study.

In the 2000s and 2010s, the final separation between the disciplines of medieval archaeology and art history occurred in undergraduate studies. The Department of Archaeology officially changed its name to the Department of Historical Archaeology. The subject now encompasses the Middle Ages and the early modern and modern eras; that is, it includes the history of literate northern Europe, grounded in written sources.[35] However, at time of writing there is a strong emphasis on the Middle Ages, in both instruction and research projects.[36] Most important, with the change to historical archaeology, course offerings at the undergraduate level can be studied without taking a required course first.

Conclusion

The history of the study of the material and visual culture of the Middle Ages in Lund is similar to such histories at other European universities in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. It is a story of expansion, divisions, and subdivisions, of redefinitions and ever more differentiation. It is one of higher enrolment numbers, of expanding university organizations, of new approaches to the fields of research, and art history's and archaeology's relation to society and activity outside academia. The physical repositioning of departments in various buildings can be seen to mirror the expansion and definition of the fields of study. In time, art history staked a claim to medieval material, which assumed its place in a broader historical

field. Medieval archaeology, clearly defined, gradually modified its approach to professional practices, gradually moving towards material investigations in accordance with specific archaeological methods.

The two disciplines of art history and archaeology thus treat medieval material differently according to the context. The process set out in this essay was one of separating the study of visual culture from the study of material culture, where answers were sought in disparate sources and theoretical and methodological approaches. These approaches, however, were constantly in flux, as were the claims of the source material. And with the overlaps and divergences, including analytical aims at odds, they provided a range of perspectives that gave greater access to knowledge about medieval culture.

Notes

1 For the early development of art history in Sweden, see Britt-Inger Johansson & Hans Pettersson (eds), *8 kapitel om konsthistoriens historia i Sverige* (Stockholm: Raster, 2000); for the prehistory of art history in Sweden, see Solfrid Söderlind, 'Konsthistorieämnets förhistoria', in ibid.

2 C. G. Brunius, *Skånes konsthistoria för medeltiden* (Lund: Gleerup, 1850); C. G. Brunius, *Nordens äldsta metropolitankyrka: Eller historisk och arkitektonisk beskrifning om Lunds domkyrka* (Lund: Gleerup, 1854).

3 Lena Liepe, *A Case for the Middle Ages: The Public Display of Medieval Church Art in Sweden, 1847–1943* (Stockholm: Kungl Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien, 2018), 162; for Stobaeus and the collection, see Lund University Historical Museum, www.historiskamuseet.lu.se/stobaeus-project/who-was-kilian-stobaeus (accessed 6 Nov. 2020); see also Otto Rydbeck, *Lunds universitets historiska museum* (Lund, 1910).

4 The latter meaning the King's House, referring to its earlier function as a residence for Crown officials.

5 Rydbeck, *Lunds universitets historiska museum*, 3.

6 See Rydbeck, *Lunds universitets historiska museum*, 3; Fredrik Tersmeden, 'Idealismens tid 1700–1852', in Björn Magnusson Staaf, Fredrik Tersmeden & Petra Francke (eds), *Lunds universitet under 350 år: Historia och historier* (Lund: Lunds universitet, 2016), 73.

7 Hjördis Kristenson, *Vetenskapens byggnader under 1800-talet: Lund och Europa* (Stockholm: Arkitekturmuseet, 1990), 79; Liepe, *Case for the Middle Ages*, 167.

8 Otto Rydbeck, *Medeltida kalkmålningar i Skånes kyrkor* (PhD thesis, Lund University; Lund: Berlingska boktryckeriet, 1904); see also Johansson & Pettersson, *8 kapitel*, 227.

9 Ewert Wrangel, *Allhelgonakyrkan i Lund: Det gamla och det nya templet skildrade: med biskop Flensburgs tal vid invigningen 1 november 1891* (Lund: Lindstedt, 1893).

10 Among Ewert Wrangel's texts on medieval themes, see *Lunds domkyrkas äldsta ornamentik: En studie* (Copenhagen 1910); *Cisterciensernas inflytande på medeltidens byggnadskonst i Sverige: Prof̈föreläsning hållen vid Universitetet i Lund den 28 januari 1899* (Lund: Lindstedts, 1899); *Det medeltida bildskåpet från Lunds domkyrkas högaltare: ett ikonografiskt och stilkritiskt bidrag till skulpturens historia* (Lund: Gleerup, 1915); *Altarskåpet från Ystads klosterkyrka* (Ystad, 1917); with Otto Rydbeck, *Medeltidsmålningarna i Dädesjö och öfvergången från romansk stil till gotik* (Stockholm: Cederquist, 1918); *Studier i gammalkristen ornamentik* (Lund, 1918); *De forna altarstiftelserna i Lunds domkyrka* (Lund, 1922); *Konstverk i Lunds domkyrka* (Lund, 1923); *Lunds domkyrkas konsthistoria: förbindelser och stilfränder* (Lund: Gleerup, 1923); *Korstolarna i Lunds domkyrka* (Malmö, 1930).

11 See Hans Pettersson, 'Konsthistoria som universitetsdisciplin', in Johansson & Pettersson, *8 kapitel*, 63–92.

12 Otto Rydbeck & Ewert Wrangel, *Äldre kyrklig konst i Skåne: Studier utgivna med anledning av kyrkliga utställningen i Malmö 1914* (Lund, 1921); see also Liepe, *Case for the Middle Ages*, 117–22.

13 For the exhibitions, see Liepe, *Case for the Middle Ages*, 79–127.

14 Rydbeck & Wrangel, *Äldre kyrklig konst*.

15 See Hampus Cinthio, *Medieval Church Art at the Historical Museum in Lund: A catalogue* (Lund: Lund University Historical Museum, 2013).

16 Erik Cinthio, 'Medieval Archaeology as a Research Subject', *Meddelanden från Lunds Universitets Historiska Museum 1962–63* (Lund, 1963); for the exhibition terminology, see, for example, Rydbeck & Wrangel, *Äldre kyrklig konst*.

17 For Kulturen, see Nils-Arvid Bringéus (ed.), *Karlin och Kulturen* (Kulturens Årsbok 1992; Lund, 1992); Björn Magnusson Staaf, 'Museer, samlingar, arkiv och botaniska trädgården', in Staaf et al., *Lunds universitet under 350 år*, 218–219.

18 Arkivcentrum Syd (Archive Centre South), Lund (ACS), Lunds universitetsarkiv (Lund University Archives) (LUA), Filosofiska fakulteten, Historisk-filosofiska sektionen, handlingar 1957–64, 'Yttrande av Aron Borelius över anhållan 11 november från Ragnar Blomqvist om förordnande som docent i konsthistoria med konstteori, Protokoll'.

19 Aron Borelius, *Skånes medeltida monumentalmåleri: Fyra undersökningar* (Stockholm: Norstedts, 1954), tr. as *Romanesque Mural Paintings in Östergötland* (Stockholm: Norstedts, 1956) which uses 'mural painting' in the title, pointing to painting as a third option, beyond material and proportion.

20 Sten Nyman & Göran Tegnér, 'Monica Rydbecks tryckta skrifter', *Fornvännen: Journal of Swedish Antiquarian Research* 93/2 (1998), 135–9.

21 Monica Rydbeck, *Valvslagning och kalkmålningar i skånska kyrkor* (Lund: Gleerup, 1943).

22 M. Rydbeck, *Valvslagning*, 325: 'En av de mest begåvade och skickliga kalkmålarna'.

23 Erik Cinthio, *Lunds domkyrka under romansk tid* (PhD thesis, Lund University; Lund: Gleerups, 1957).

24 Otto Rydbeck, *Bidrag till Lunds domkyrkas byggnadshistoria* (Lund: Gleerup, 1915).

25 Karl Erik Steneberg, *Kristinatidens måleri* (PhD thesis, Lund University; Malmö: Allhem, 1955).

26 Sven Sandström, *Le Monde Imaginaire d'Odilon Redon: étude iconologique* (Lund: Gleerup, 1955).

27 For Ragnar Josephson's assessment of Cinthio's thesis, see ACS, LUA, Filosofiska fakulteten, Historisk-filosofiska sektionen, handlingar 1957–64, 'Protokoll, maj 1957, Bil§167'.

28 ACS, LUA, Filosofiska fakulteten, Historisk-filosofiska sektionen, handlingar 1957–64, 'Anhållan inkommen 10 februari 1964 till Större akademiska konsistoriet angående petita till

1964 års riksdag', Lund, 8 Feb. 1964 signed by H. Arbman, A. Borelius, J. Rosén, and S. Svensson.

29 Erik Cinthio, 'Medieval Archaeology as a Research Subject', *Meddelanden från Lunds Universitets Historiska Museum 1962–1963* (Lund, 1963).

30 See Hedvig Brander Jonsson elsewhere in this volume.

31 Inger Ahlstedt Yrlid, *Och i hopp om det eviga livet: Studier i Skånes romanska muralmåleri* (PhD thesis, Lund University; Lund: Corpus Iuris, 1976).

32 Frans Carlsson, *The Iconology of Tectonics in Romanesque Art* (PhD thesis, Lund University; Hassleholm: AM-Tryck, 1976); Lena Liepe, *Den medeltida träskulpturen i Skåne: Produktion och förvärv* (PhD thesis, Lund University; Lund: LUP, 1995); Thomas Rydén, *Det anglosaxiska Köpenhamnsevangeliariet: Det Kongelige bibliotek Gl. Kongl. Saml. 10 2* (PhD thesis, Lund University; Lund: Vetenskapssocieten i Lund, 2001); Cecilia Hildeman Sjölin, *Bilden, texten och kyrkorummet: en studie av scener kring Jesu födelse och Kristoffermotivet i Sydskandinaviens medeltida kalkmåleri* (PhD thesis, Lund University; Lund: Edition Arcana, 2006).

33 ACS, LUA, Humanistiska och teologiska falkuteterna, Kansli, 'Kursplaner, medeltidsarkeologi, fastställd av linjenämnden', 1978–1993.

34 For Uppåkra, see Lars Larsson, 'Uppåkra: A Central Site in Southern Scandinavian Iron Age: Stability and Change through More Than a Millennium', *Acta Archaeologica* 90/2 (2019), 13–42.

35 ACS, LUA, Humanistiska och teologiska falkuteterna, Kansli, 'Kursplaner, Medeltidsarkeologi/Historisk arkeologi'.

36 The department lists PhD theses in medieval/historical archaeology www.ark.lu.se/forskning/forskarutbildning/doktorsavhandlingar-historisk-arkeologi.

CHAPTER 3

The 'Rome Course' in art history at the Swedish Institute in Rome

Lars Berggren

Once upon a time, no one was considered properly educated without having spent some time in Rome.[1] From at least the seventeenth century on, this norm applied to all ambitious artists, architects, poets, and authors, including those from Sweden. Prominent names in Swedish art history worth noting in this context were Nicodemus Tessin (father and son), David Klöcker Ehrenstrahl, Johan Tobias Sergel, Johan Niklas Byström, Bengt Erland Fogelberg, Anders Zorn, and Carl Milles, just to mention a few.[2] The same unwritten rule held true for twentieth-century art historians who followed in their footsteps, and for most other scholars in the humanities: Latinists, archaeologists, historians, theologians, literary historians. Their education required seeing and experiencing the Eternal City and its wonders.

One such scholar was Henrik Schück (1855–1947), the polyglot professor of literary history, vice-chancellor of Uppsala University, and member of the Swedish Academy and several other learned societies, whose keen interest in the history of art and architecture brought him to Rome time and time again. His books on the city, especially *Rom: En vandring genom seklerna* ('Rome: A journey through the centuries'), long remained mandatory reading for Swedish art history students.[3] Schück also belonged to the intimate circle around Crown Prince Gustav Adolf (1882–1973), in which the Istituto Svedese di Studi Classici a Roma (Swedish Institute of Classical Studies in Rome) was planned; and he became a member of its first board, constituted in 1925.[4] This essay is a description of the origins of art-historical studies at the Swedish Institute, their successive institutionalization as the 'Rome Course', and the by-products and significance of the programme.

Initially, all art-historical travel for Swedish scholars depended on the individual's own initiative and was at their own expense. This applied to personal journeys and to the larger Italian 'excursions' organized by art history departments starting in the 1930s.[5] The latter were carefully documented in official journals, with entries for each monument visited (including the costs)—and sometimes these precious documents are still extant.[6] There were variations in preferred routes, but with few exceptions the main destination was Rome. On the way, Berlin or Paris might be visited, and in Italy, Venice and Florence were essential stops; once in Rome, a short tour to Naples was occasionally fitted into the programme.

Academic expeditions of this sort were carefully prepared, and the participants were given individual assignments to be presented in situ—before a square, a building, a painting, a sculpture, or some other object of art-historical importance. In Rome, individual monuments and greater designs were introduced, discussed, and commented on in 'walking seminars', usually led by a professor of art history from a Swedish university. For these tours, some palaces, churches, and urban squares became recurring and mandatory objects of study. Their facades and interiors were described and analysed, as were particular objects in the Vatican and Capitoline Museums. Even though the curriculum centred on Renaissance and Baroque objects, visiting the Forum Romanum and the Palatine Hill was always a matter of course. The chronicle of Lund University's art history seminar's tour of Italy in 1934 contains a series of entries describing the events of this six-week programme.[7] Details such as the means of transportation, accommodation, and the content of various 'analysis assignments' are specified for each day. The solemn pinnacle of their sojourn in Rome was the seminar group's audience with the Pope. Expeditions of this length and level of ambition used to be costly and time-consuming, involving many practical difficulties. With the creation of the Swedish Institute in Rome, everything changed.

Figure 3.1. Ragnar Josephson with students in Rome, 1934. Private collection.

The Swedish Institute in Rome

The Swedish Institute in Rome was founded in 1925 at the initiative of the then crown prince, later King Gustav VI Adolf, along with the professor of classical antiquity Martin Persson Nilsson (1874–1967) and a small group of academics and cultural figures such as Henrik Schück and Sigurd Curman (1879–1966).[8] From the start it was emphasized that the history of fine art and architecture would be an important part of the new institution's activities. Its first statutes state that 'The purpose of the Institute is to establish a vital connection between Swedish culture and the culture of antiquity with the direct mediation of knowledge and the promotion of research, and in other respects to serve the interests of humanistic research and the arts'.[9] The same year, Axel Boëthius (1889–1969), son of the crown prince's history tutor at Uppsala University, was appointed as first director of the Institute. His primary area of expertise was classical archaeology and the history of antiquity, in those days a discipline with a broad, open definition. In the first course, offered in 1926, lecturers and students included not only aspiring archaeologists and architects, but also Latin philologists, literary historians, and art historians. Some years later, in 1931, at least eight out of fifteen participants were art historians.[10]

The founding of the Institute facilitated the planning and realization of the Swedish art historians' visits to Rome in several respects. It supplied both Swedish and foreign teaching expertise, and its contacts with local authorities enabled access to monuments typically closed off, for example on the Forum Romanum. There is a photo of Ragnar Josephson (1891–1966), the Lund University professor of the Department of Art History, with his students analysing a Roman facade in 1934 (Fig. 3.1). During their stay in Rome, his students were also taught by Boëthius as well as the Institute's future director, Arvid Andrén (1902–1999), and the architectural historian Erik Lundberg (1895–1969).[11] Throughout the 1930s several other art history groups arrived in the Eternal City—from Stockholm University College (in 1932), Gothenburg University College (in 1933), and Uppsala University (in 1935)—led by the art history professors Johnny Roosval (1879–1965), Axel Romdahl (1880–1951), and Gregor Paulsson (1889–1977), respectively.[12] The increased frequency and size of the groups put greater demands on the Institute staff, creating a more acute need for a regular course in art history. This was raised repeatedly in the director's reports to the Institute's board.[13] However, owing to the lack of financial resources and the humble facilities at the Institute's disposal—first at Via del Boschetto 68 and, from 1928, in the Palazzo Brancaccio—any decision was constantly postponed.[14]

Torgil Magnuson and the early stages

After the Second World War, visits to Rome were first resumed by the Uppsala University art history professor Gregor Paulsson in the autumn semester of 1947. Among the participants was a young, promising scholar on his first visit to Rome: Torgil Magnuson (1922–2015). He immediately succumbed to the lure of the city and could not tear himself from it until early spring the following year. A couple of years later he secured a reason to settle there: the revision of the second volume of Henrik Schück's *Rom. En vandring genom seklerna*, a project he began in the autumn of 1950.[15] The commission provided the impetus for Magnuson's doctoral thesis on early Renaissance architecture in Rome, *Studies in Roman Quattrocento Architecture*. He was made a docent at Uppsala University in the spring of 1958. Magnuson's advancement proved to be decisive in establishing a Roman art history course at the Institute. The combination of financial constraints and a lack of specialized competence at the Institute had stood in the way, but now, with a Swedish docent in art history living in Rome, the situation was completely altered.

In 1940, the Institute had moved into new premises at Via Omero 14: a well-adapted and generously spaced building bordering the grounds of the Villa Borghese (Fig. 3.2). It was designed by Ivar Tengbom (1878–1968), the former director general of Kungliga Byggnadsstyrelsen (the Swedish National Board of Public Building), furnished by the famous designer Carl Malmsten (1888–1972), and paid for by the wealthy Wallenberg Foundation. Thus, lack of space was no longer an excuse for postponing the start of a course focusing on art history.

The realization of these plans, though, depended on the dedication of certain individuals, probably

Figure 3.2. The main facade of the Swedish Institute in Rome, facing the Via Omero. The Danish Academy is on the right. Photo by the author, 2017.

most importantly Boëthius and Nils Gösta Sandblad (1910–1963). The former, as director of the Institute, had considerable experience of collaborating with art historians. Already in the early 1930s he had stressed the benefits associated with creating an art history course, particularly for archaeologists.[16] Recently returned to Sweden after his third stint as director of the Institute (1955–1957), Boëthius was likely the key spokesperson in discussions helping to establish the course. His main interlocutor was Sandblad, then the professor of art history at Uppsala University. Sandblad was acquainted with both Rome and Boëthius since at least 1934, when as a young scholar he had participated in the Italian tour led by Josephson and had been introduced to the art-historical treasures of the Eternal City.

Boëthius and Sandblad must have been in talks for some time, and more or less in secrecy, given that their plan depended on Magnuson's successful defence of his thesis. At the post-examination dinner, the new PhD was approached with the course proposal.[17] As soon as he had confirmed he was interested, the plans were quickly put into effect: the first Swedish course in Roman art history was offered in the autumn of 1959. At the time, Magnuson could hardly have imagined that it would be only the first of the thirty-three annual courses he would lead, that he would introduce over 300 students to Roman art and architecture, and that he would become something of an icon in Swedish art history (Fig. 3.3).

In the beginning, however, the future of the course was not at all certain. It was not until 1966, with the establishment of six annual grants for participants, that it became an integral part of the Institute's general programme. But the lecturer's salary remained a temporary provision. Every year the art history departments had to persuade the boards of their sections, faculties, and universities of the need to allocate funds in their teaching budgets for the Rome Course. This was always a difficult negotiation, and one that often failed in times of financial austerity. Regardless of the outcome of these deliberations, Magnuson was rarely fully paid for his time.[18]

Only after Magnuson's retirement did circumstances change. In 1990, the Institute created a senior lectureship in art history to be held for a six-year term. At the same time, the course adopted its first formal syllabus, which in reality merely confirmed the status quo.[19] Although leading the art history course was the principal responsibility associated with the post,

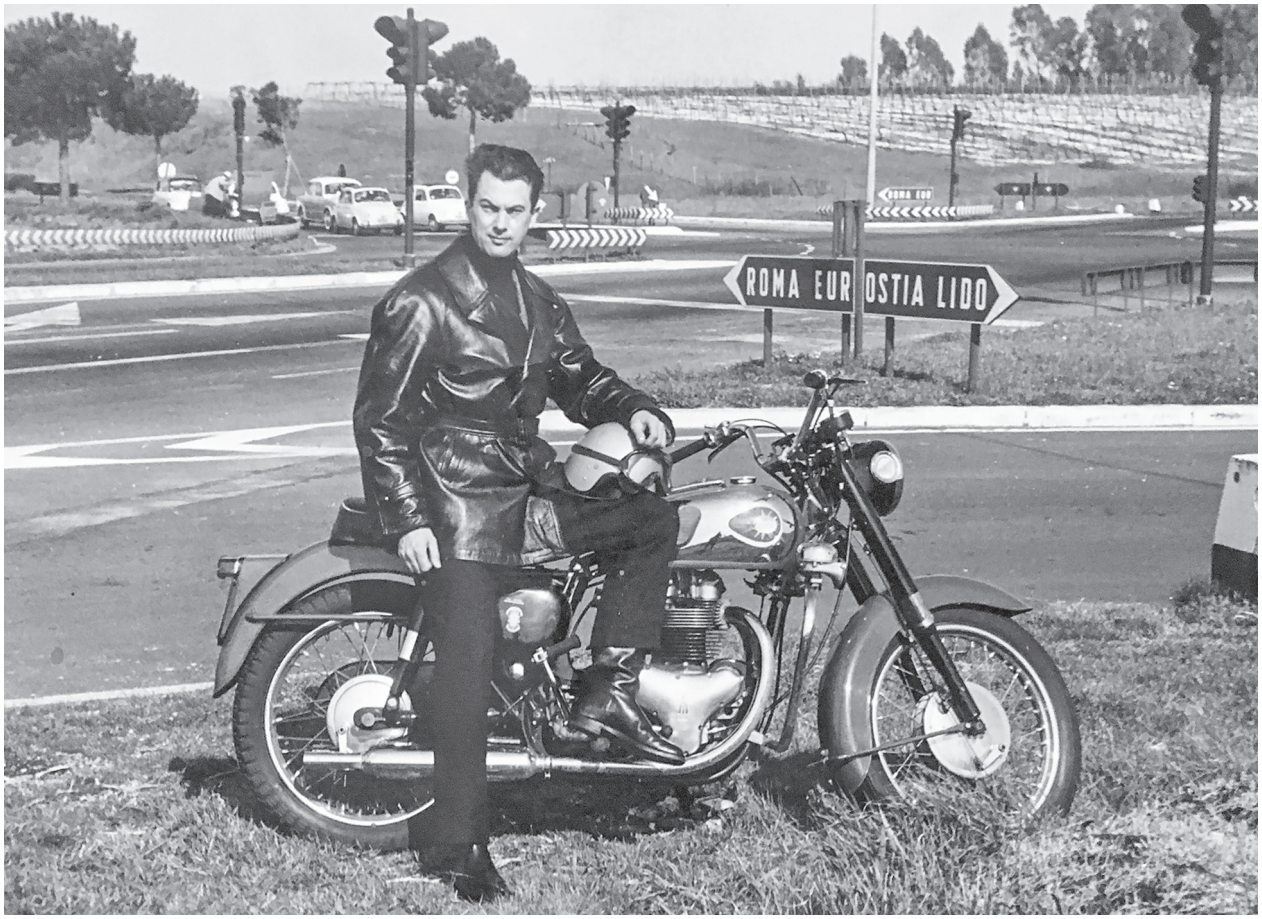

Figure 3.3. Torgil Magnuson with his motorcycle, probably en route to Ostia in the early 1960s. Courtesy of the Archive of the Swedish Institute, Rome.

other duties included conducting individual research and serving as the Institute's assistant director, a role Magnuson had filled since 1978. In the autumn of 1991, Magnuson gave the course for the last time and handed over his responsibilities to Börje Magnusson (b.1943), also a docent at Uppsala University. What Torgil Magnuson entrusted to his successor was no longer a makeshift construction but an institutionally, structurally, and financially solid edifice.

From the outset, the Rome Course in art history was intended as an optional specialization for students who had completed at least two semesters of full-time studies in art history, but from 1974 on only doctoral students were admitted. According to Magnuson, this restriction marginally affected the level of previous knowledge among participants.[20] One key reason for the modification in the admission policy was the sheer number of art history doctoral students, which, at the time—counting all five Swedish universities—amounted to over 300.[21] Two decades later, though, this number was slashed in the wake of the educational overhaul of 1997–1998.[22] Thereafter, there were few substantial institutional changes until 2017, at which point the administrative responsibility of the course was transferred from the Institute in Rome to Stockholm University, and for the first time it was included in the national system for admission to higher studies. It is unclear to what extent this will affect the course and the role of art history at the Institute, but there is reason to believe that the financial conditions and the scope and structure of the studies will remain the same for some time: ten weeks of study, of which one is set aside for preparations at home and nine for studies of Roman art history in situ, starting with Roman antiquity and ending with the visual art and architecture of Fascist Italy.

The education on offer

From the beginning, the majority of the instruction took the form of 'walking seminars' led by the course director, often assisted by a recipient of an Institute fellowship, or by an expert from one of the other institutes or universities in the city. Introductory lectures and seminars were held at the Institute. Initially, much time was dedicated to architectural terminology and traditional analyses of facades. This terminological exercise was not an end in itself. It was an essential element in the students' training, taking them beyond seeing and understanding objects, structures, and set-

Figure 3.4. Torgil Magnuson and students, analysing the ceiling fresco by Giovanni Battista Gaulli in Church of the Gesù, Rome. Photo by the author, 1977.

tings to articulating something infinitely more complex than the textbooks' stereotyped simplifications. An objective and factual description constituted the foundation on which the analysis of artworks, styles, epochs, and contextual links should be built. These discrete analyses could then be tied together to formulate an understanding of the 'long lines' of how art unfolded over the centuries, from antiquity to the recent past. Artists and monuments were studied in strict chronological order and woven into a broad historical context. The shifts in style of churches and palaces as well as simple apartment buildings, in whole environments and architectonic details, were fitted into developmental schemes. These were not, however, understood as abstract art-historical markers. Instead, they were solidly anchored in social, religious, economic, urban, and technical circumstances.[23]

The same principles applied to painting and sculpture. Questions related to stylistic development and varieties of artistic influences were included, but the original settings and functions of visual artworks were of particular interest (Fig. 3.4). The course demonstrated how visual codes originated and were reproduced: when, where, why, how, and by whom. Some students wanted an 'aesthetic' approach and others lamented the lack of Marxist dialectical materialism in the analyses, but the broad historical perspective provided a rich and varied foundation for further investigations in almost any direction.

In many ways, Torgil Magnuson's field-based teaching—the 'walking seminar'—copied that of the Institute's archaeological course.[24] After some initial adaptations to meet the needs of art history instruction, the format remained largely unchanged over the years. The course was traditional in the sense it methodically worked its way through the whole repertoire of canonical monuments, covering the period from antiquity to the mid eighteenth century, using the common conceptual framework of styles and epochs. However, the emphasis was on the stylistic periods most influential in distant Sweden—the Renaissance and Baroque. This had been the rule from the beginning, and so it would remain until Magnuson's retirement. By the mid-1970s, though, he found that he needed to spend 'the entire first week' on classical antiquity, because Swedish undergraduate art history courses had significantly reduced instruction in ancient art. Given that the tradition of antiquity was (and is) a constant point of reference for all later Roman art, this serious lacuna of requisite knowledge among the

Figure 3.5. Börje Magnusson showing students the Palazzo Piccolomini and its gardens. Photo by the author, 2016.

participants proved problematic. The void now had to be filled before continuing with the curriculum.[25]

But antiquity and the Middle Ages were important merely as a background to the period that began with the return of the papal court from Avignon to Rome. The 'real' course started with the early Renaissance and the entry of Pope Martin V into the Holy City in 1420. Rome then once again became the centre of Western civilization, a place attracting capital and artists, with intense competition, and where the rules changed with every new pontiff. The city attracted the ambitious in vast numbers, all of them striving to transform their skills, wealth and contacts into cultural capital, to climb the social ladder, and to secure their place in eternal memory. Place of birth, kinship, education, social abilities, changing financial circumstances, and innumerable other factors determined the fate of individuals—and the direction of artistic development. Throughout the Rome Course, each artist and artwork was thus fitted into many contexts, demonstrating the intricate interplay among them. Still, the time devoted to each artist, patron, or object was largely a measure of their status in the history of art.

Over the years, the students' expectations of the course altered, while Magnuson's curriculum remained more or less constant. The traditional approach to classical art history was not always valued by the more 'socially conscious' doctoral students, especially in the 1970s. In the Swedish graduate seminars, there were members who, in the radical spirit of 1968, considered the Rome Course to be out of step with correct political thinking. Furthermore, the expectation of 20 to 30 rigorous hours of lessons every week, on top of managing individual reading requirements and essay writing, were demands to which students were no longer accustomed. The winds of change were blowing hard at Swedish universities, rapidly affecting what and how students were expected to learn and master. But in the three decades of Torgil Magnuson's leadership, things stayed the same in Rome: the course started at the Forum Romanum and ended at one of the major monuments of the eighteenth century, the Trevi Fountain or the so-called Spanish Steps.

When Magnuson retired, it was immediately clear to his successor that some adjustments had to be made to adapt the Rome Course to current circumstances. In his first years, Börje Magnusson kept closely to his predecessor's programme, but then he gradually rearranged and expanded it (Fig. 3.5). His most radical measure was to extend the time frame and to include nineteenth- and twentieth-century

visual art, architecture, and urban planning, thereby demonstrating the importance of the Roman cultural heritage—from antiquity to the Renaissance and Baroque periods—to unified Italy and its new capital, and later to the imperialist manifestations of the Fascist era. The course directors who have succeeded Magnusson (Sabrina Norlander Eliasson, Martin Olin, and Lars Berggren) have largely preserved this structure, with some modifications to areas of focus and the choice of objects for study. Olin and Berggren introduced a 'mini conference' for participants to discuss the preliminary results of their writing tasks. The course has increasingly benefitted from the expertise provided by other disciplines, institutes, and universities in Rome. Between 2015 and 2017, for example, besides the archaeologists residing at or working for the Institute (who from the beginning were responsible for the presentations at the Forum Romanum, the Palatine Hill, and Ostia Antica), valuable contributions were made by architects, cultural heritage experts, church historians, and Latinists at various stages of the course.[26]

A multifaceted academic environment

Today, participants of the Rome Course are accommodated in the *foresteria*, a guest wing added to the Institute's main building in 1964, comprising seven single rooms and a shared kitchen. The Institute has eight additional living quarters of varying sizes, from single rooms with shared-kitchen facilities to small, separate apartments. The latter are intended primarily for the fellows in art history or philology, architecture, and classical archaeology and ancient history. The others are available for long- or short-term visits by scholars conducting research, participating in symposia, etc. Those on the course interact with scholars from Sweden and other countries in the kitchens, libraries (both the general library with the archaeological holdings and the specialized art-historical library), and other common spaces. Weekly Institute seminars in term time give visiting scholars the opportunity to present and discuss their projects, introducing course participants to a variety of fields of inquiry and research topics.

Besides the Institute's art history library (Fig. 3.6), which is exceptionally well equipped as regards Roman art history, the residents also have access to several other libraries. With the local library network, URBIS, which combines the resources of about twenty foreign and Italian research institutes, even the rarest items can be obtained. Some of the libraries are conveniently close, owing to city plans from a century ago. Although the area around Via Omero, where the Institute is now located, had been singled out for development in connection with the International Exhibition of 1911 (celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of Italian unification in 1861), it was then left largely undeveloped until the Fascist regime about 1930 decided it was suitable for foreign centres of culture and research; plots of land were offered to several nations on favourable terms.[27] The only two extant remains of the exhibition structures were the Galleria Nazionale dell'Arte Moderna (National Gallery of Modern and Contemporary Art) and the British Pavilion, the latter designed by Edwin Lutyens (1869–1944) and remodelled into the British School at Rome, a 'research centre for archaeology, history and the fine arts'.[28]

Romania, the Netherlands, Belgium, Austria, and Sweden had immediately accepted the offer of plots, followed later by Denmark, Egypt, and Japan.[29] The Swedish Institute, now occupying the site of the American exihibition pavillion 1911, is thus placed amid a cluster of *academia* or research centres with which it cooperates closely. The Norwegian and Finnish institutes were established on the Janiculum (the latter in the famous Villa Lante), on the other side of the city centre and thus a considerable distance away, yet they nevertheless maintain a close cooperation with the Swedish Institute. Other longstanding research partners are the American Academy (situated between the Finnish and Norwegian institutes), the historical and archaeological institutes of Germany, and one of the finest art-historical libraries in the world: the Bibliotheca Hertziana, occupying the Palazzo Zuccari, near the Trinità dei Monti. The palace is named for its architect, Federico Zuccari (*c*.1541–1609), the first principal of the Accademia di San Luca in Rome. In other words, the Swedish Institute's scholars and course participants have access to top-quality, multifaceted, and international research environments, where the opportunity to network with representatives of other disciplines and nations is virtually unlimited, and where many joint ventures and projects have been initiated over the years. The number of conferences, seminars, and lectures offered by the over thirty academies and institutes dedicated to education and research in the humanities is truly overwhelming.[30]

Designed and furnished by the most distinguished Swedish architects and artists of the day, the Institute building itself is worthy of art-historical attention. Everything was of excellent quality and made specifically for the building. It has thus retained much of its original furnishings and interior décor, including such extraordinary pieces as the third and final version of the famous *Molnet* (The cloud), painted by Prince Eugen (1865–1947) especially for the conference room

Figure 3.6. The Swedish Institute's library with its furnishings by Carl Malmsten. Only the Murano chandeliers are Italian. Photo by the author, 2017.

(Fig. 3.7). Several other well-known Swedish artists have also left their mark on the Institute. In the courtyard the visitor is met by Carl Milles's *Solglitter* (Naiad on dolphin), and indoors the collection includes works by Gustaf Wilhelm Palm (1810–1890), Ferdinand Boberg (1860–1946), and Märta Måås-Fjetterström (1873–1941). Most of the artists represented in the collection had lived for long periods in Rome.

The immediate surroundings of the Institute are also of great art-historical interest. The Institute and its academic neighbours constitute only the most recent layer of Roman culture at the site, concealing its more ancient origins. The somewhat elevated Via Omero provides a view of the summer residence of Pope Julius III, the Villa Giulia. Built in the mid sixteenth century, it is a masterpiece of Mannerist architecture, and today houses the Museo Nazionale Etrusco (National Etruscan Museum). The best route to the Bibliotheca Hertziana and the city centre is through the Villa Borghese, with its garden architecture from the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries. At the west end of the park is the Galleria Borghese, which counts among its artistic treasures the famous sculptural groups by Gianlorenzo Bernini. Continuing towards the centre one crosses the ancient Aurelian city wall to the Monte Pincio, which affords the best views of the entire Field of Mars and St Peter's on the other side of the Tiber. Then, after walking past the celebrated Palazzo Medici (since 1803 home of the French Academy in Rome), one comes to the Trinità dei Monti church, towering over the Spanish Steps. Standing there beneath the obelisk looking down on Via Condotti, it is worth noticing that the palazzo immediately to the left was built by the Swedish sculptor Johan Niclas Byström in the 1840s, and possibly intended as a kind of Swedish Institute. The Field of Mars and city centre, with all its palaces, churches, libraries, archives, and tourist attractions, may also be reached via an alternative route: by descending directly to the ancient Via Flaminia and entering the city through the Porta del Popolo, just as Queen Christina of Sweden did with pomp and circumstance in 1655.[31]

The Rome Course and Swedish art history

For nearly a century, the Rome Course has left an indelible imprint on Swedish art history and research. The course Classical Archaeology and Ancient History that began at the Institute in 1926 attracted many art and architectural historians, owing to its focus

Figure 3.7. The Swedish Institute's conference room, with the original furniture by Carl Malmsten and Prince Eugen's famous painting *Molnet*. Photo by the author, 2017.

on Roman architecture, architectural history, and urban planning, all of great interest to the art historians then. With time, this field of research became of less importance to Swedish archaeologists. After the Second World War, they developed a special interest in pre-Roman cultures and Etruscology, and practical fieldwork in the region north of Rome grew into an Institute priority. The major excavation sites at Acquarossa, San Giovenale, and Luni produced epochal results and significant publicity, fuelled by the active participation of King Gustav VI Adolf of Sweden and the future Queen Margrethe II of Denmark in the excavations.

Swedish art-historical research in Rome has focused primarily on Swedish artists and architects and their sojourns and activities in Italy, especially Rome.[32] But few studies of genuinely Roman topics and conditions have been attempted, in part because of the language barrier. In the twentieth century, the steps of accessing and utilizing the research literature, delving into Roman archives, and communicating with Italian colleagues all required a mastery of Italian, and preferably also some basic Latin. If the situation has changed somewhat today, it is because the majority of Italian scholars now speak English, although they still most often publish in their own language. The archival documents are, as always, in Latin or Italian.

Torgil Magnuson spent most of his life in Rome, and while he hardly ever ventured into the archives, his post-thesis scholarly work addresses only Roman topics: *Alexander VI: Påven Borgia* ('Alexander VI: The Borgia Pope'), the two-volume *Rome in the Age of Bernini*, and *The Urban Transformation of Medieval Rome, 312–1420*. The Rome-based research produced by Swedish scholars after the start of the Rome Course has been conducted primarily by his students and successors. One example is my doctoral thesis, from 1991, on the Giordano Bruno monument in Campo de' Fiori, and *L'ombra dei grandi: Monumenti e politica monumentale a Roma 1870–1895*, a study on the public monuments dedicated to the Risorgimento (i.e. the Italian unification movement) in Rome.[33] The latter project was realized in cooperation with the historian Lennart Sjöstedt and conceived over our shared meals in the Institute's *foresteria*.[34] Börje Magnusson's publications in his sixteen years as assistant director and head of the art history course included a comprehensive guidebook to Rome, a study on suburban growth in the area between Rome and Tivoli over the past 150 years, and a volume on the role of

Ovid's *Metamorphoses* in visual art—all highly useful to a wide range of cultural historians.[35]

Throughout its six decades, the Rome Course has influenced the development of art history in Sweden in myriad ways, inspiring generations of students and future researchers, and affecting research policies and teaching curricula to a considerable degree. Since it began, the course has run annually with only a few exceptions—when the Institute was renovated in 1987, in the great Jubilee year 2000, in 2018 when it was replaced by a one-week seminar, and during the COVID-19 pandemic in 2020. In total, 453 people have attended, of whom over 150 later earned doctorates and most stayed in academia (27 have gone on to hold chairs in art history or related disciplines, 5 of them in other countries, to wit Germany, Austria, Estonia, Norway, and Finland).[36] Until recently, most higher academic positions in art history in Sweden were filled by past participants of the Rome Course. Many have found employment in museums and other cultural institutions, and the remaining group comprises independent researchers, authors, journalists, editors, translators, and visual artists.[37] The opportunity to study monuments on site in Rome, after years of acquiring knowledge mainly through literature and various types of reproductions (and more recently online), has often constituted the final step of the students' basic education and a first towards a professional specialization. It would be interesting to investigate more closely how the Rome Course has influenced its graduates' careers.

One of the inevitable consequences of the Rome experience is that it soon becomes clear that the gaps between humanistic fields of study are not as wide as they may seem at home, where competition for limited resources often leads to exaggerated views on the uniqueness and importance of one's own discipline. Working at the Swedish Institute reveals how much disciplines overlap, and inspires curiosity about other subjects. Henrik Schück's *Rom. En vandring genom seklerna* and Bengt Lewan's *Drömmen om Italien* ('The dream of Italy') exemplify how literary historians' work has proved both inspirational and useful for many art historians.[38] Recent projects in which Swedish art historians have been involved also include scholars of Latin, literary history, general history, church history, and the history of architecture.[39]

The future of the course

Despite the evident correlation between the Rome Course, Swedish scholarship, and art history careers in Sweden, the future of the Rome Course is not unproblematic. Implementing the Bologna Process, with its rigid paths of study, has made it increasingly difficult for students to participate in the programme. Even arranging the schedule remains a cumbersome and time-consuming task. In 1988, Magnuson recalled the challenges of the first decades:

> [Y]ou must know when and to what extent the monuments are accessible, that St Peter's is often closed for papal audiences on Wednesdays, that the Carracci Gallery [in the Palazzo Farnese] can only be seen on Wednesday afternoon and then only with written permission, that the courtyard of Palazzo Spada [with Borromini's fake perspective] can only be viewed if you manage to contact by telephone the elderly princess who lives there, how to get hold of the key to SS. Luca e Martina, how locked doors can be opened by slipping money to an unhelpful caretaker or by treating cranky nuns of a certain church appropriately, etc.[40]

Today the situation is different in many respects, but hardly better. Mass tourism has made the major monuments more difficult to reach and costly to visit. Elaborate security policies create new problems. Each year it must be established whether the sites intended for study are closed for renovation; if so, alternatives must be found and permits obtained. Furthermore, the need to adapt to the general schedule of studies in Sweden means that the course now starts in early September instead of October, and thus the first weeks of study are often too hot for longer city walks. The list continues. A complication of another kind and magnitude stems from the uneven level of previous knowledge among course participants in areas relevant to the curriculum (mainly general history, biblical knowledge, mythology, terminology, and languages). Owing to the Roman Course admission guidelines, a group can include students well acquainted not only with ancient art history, but also related disciplines such as history, archaeology, literary history and iconography—along with others possessing hardly any of this academic foundation. To organize a course rewarding for both the typical doctoral student working on a classical thesis *and* the fresh MA student who may have only studied nineteenth- and twentieth-century art and art theory is almost impossible. It could therefore soon be necessary to decide whether the course ought to be targeted towards beginners—who, according to Torgil Magnuson, cannot differentiate between columns and pillars or Moses and Abraham—*or* whether it should continue as an in-depth option for future researchers with adequate backgound knowledge.

The week-long trips which most art history departments used to arrange annually as an inducement to further studies in classical art history in Rome

have unfortunately almost ceased. In the 1970s and 1980s, these trips provided students, and especially the second-year undergraduates, with an essential complement to studies at their home universities and raised awareness of the Swedish Institute and the Rome Course.[41] As art history instruction has skewed towards contemporary art, trips to Rome have fallen off, and today the annual visit to Rome and the Institute is a routine practised only by disciplines on the margins of art history. Thus, both the Department of Architecture at Lund University and the Department of Conservation at the University of Gothenburg have maintained the tradition for the last three decades.[42] But for the art history programmes in Sweden, field trips abroad are no longer a fixed element, although certain universities attempt short visits to nearby capitals.

Uppsala University now offers the course Konst, kontext och uppvisningskultur i renässansens och barockens Rom (Art, Context, and Performative Culture in Renaissance and Baroque Rome), which is largely comparable to the Roman art history course in terms of study credits (15 ECTS) and even content. Stockholm University promotes the Rome Course in Art History, which it has administered since 2017, as its own. The course description states it 'is given in cooperation with the Swedish Institute in Rome. Contact the Institute for information on accommodation and grants.'[43] That the Swedish Institute is responsible for the instruction and that it furnishes the materials, lodging, and guaranteed funding is not mentioned. This local profiling likely has a negative impact on both the attention received and the number of course applications from the rest of the country. These developments, not entirely a result of the re-structuring of higher education on a national level, may eventually undermine the position of art history at the Institute.

Earlier generations of Swedish art historians considered the Rome Course a valuable complement to what they had been taught at their home departments, not only about Roman art history, but in terms of what art history is in its most inclusive sense. However, these were far from the only benefits. While in Rome, students met colleagues and researchers from many countries and could, possibly for the first time, appreciate being in a truly international research environment. The nine weeks in Rome were not only an unforgettable experience, but often also proved to be a turning point in their lives, where the study of art history transformed from a pleasant pastime into a scientific calling. Over the years, the course has also strengthened the contacts among Swedish art historians; living with students from other universities for nine weeks of intensive study promotes friendships of a kind not created in shorter joint courses, seminars, or conferences.

Today, the function of the Rome Course is possibly more important than ever. Because of a series of higher education reforms, the content of the art history courses offered at Swedish universities continues to diverge, and there is no body of knowledge shared by all art historians that can be taken for granted, not even at the doctoral level. Recent decades have brought a narrowing focus on popular image studies and contemporary art, leaving less and less space for studies of the art of earlier periods. Some previously essential areas of art history, such as the history of architecture, are now threatened with extinction. There remains only one single course common to all educational bodies of art history in Sweden, and that is the Rome Course. One could well claim that, to an even higher degree than before, it provides the students with knowledge and experiences not available at their home universities.

Academic studies and research are moving towards greater interdisciplinary collaboration. The Swedish Institute in Rome has from the beginning in 1926 been a place where students and researchers in the humanities have been able to conduct work in their fields and, even more importantly, where they have met, benefitted from each other's knowledge and abilities, solved problems together, and, in the widest possible sense, collaborated on courses and research projects. Western cultural heritage evolved in constant dialogue with its roots in antiquity, and the study of this process requires cross-disciplinary approaches and collaborations. To integrate various disciplines in the Rome Course curriculum and teach students to consider the full range of competencies, as in the era of Axel Boëthius and Ragnar Josephson, is to prepare them for future challenges.

Notes

1 What follows is based in part on my article 'Den konsthistoriska kursen', *Romhorisont* 68 (2018), 5–9.

2 Nicodemus Tessin the elder (1615–1681), court architect; Nicodemus Tessin the younger (1654–1728), court architect; David Klöcker Ehrenstrahl (1628–1698), court painter; Johan Tobias Sergel (1740–1814), court sculptor; Johan Niklas Byström (1783–1848), court sculptor; Bengt Erland Fogelberg (1786–1854), court sculptor; Anders Zorn (1860–1920), painter, sculptor, and etcher; and Carl Milles (1875–1955), sculptor.

3 Henrik Schück, *Rom: En vandring genom seklerna*, vol. 1: *Antiken och den tidiga medeltiden* (Stockholm: Gebers, 1912).

4 Erland Billig, Ragnhild Billig & Frederick Whitling, *Dies Academicus: Svenska institutet i Rom 1925–1950* (Stockholm: CKM, 2015), 21, 32.

5 Neither Dan Karlholm nor I have found any evidence of art-historical field trips to Rome before 1931. Dan Karlholm, 'Vetenskapens vardag', in Britt-Inger Johansson & Hans Pettersson (eds), *8 kapitel om konsthistoriens historia i Sverige* (Stockholm: Raster, 2000), 105–106. Only the Lund University professor of art history, Ewert Wrangel (1863–1940), seems to have taken his seminar abroad—to Copenhagen in 1905 and Berlin in 1906. The main exception in the humanities was Vilhelm Lundström (1869–1940), professor of Latin at the University of Gothenburg, who relocated his seminar to Rome for the whole spring of 1909, see Anna Blennow, '"Vår svenske romare": Vilhelm Lundström och filologins platser', in Eric Cullhed & Bo Lindberg (eds), *Klassisk filologi i Sverige: Reflexioner, riktningar, översättningar, öden* (Stockholm: Kungl. Vitterhets historie och antikvitets akademien, 2015), 84.

6 'Dagbok över konsthistoriska seminariets Italienfärd 1934', photocopies in the author's collection, original located in Arkivcentrum Syd (Archive Centre South), Lund, Lunds universitetsarkiv (Lund University Archives), avdelningen för konsthistoria och visuella studier (Division of Art History and Visual Studies).

7 'Dagbok över konsthistoriska seminariets Italienfärd 1934', photocopies in the author's collection.

8 The constitutive meeting was called by the king at the Royal Palace in Stockholm, 8 May 1925; for the planning and creation of the Swedish Institute, see Billig, Billig & Whitling, *Dies Academicus*, 75–89.

9 Billig, Billig, and Whitling, *Dies Academicus*, 108: 'Institutets uppgift är att bringa svensk kultur i levande beröring med antikens kultur genom att direkt förmedla kunskap och främja forskning i denna och att i övrigt tjäna den humanistiska forskningen samt konstens intressen.'

10 Torgil Magnuson, 'Konsthistoria vid Institutet', in Börje Magnusson (ed.), *Humanist vid Medelhavet: Reflektioner och studier samlade med anledning av Svenska Institutet i Roms 75-årsjubileum* (Stockholm: Rubicon, 2002), 396.

11 'Dagbok över konsthistoriska seminariets Italienfärd 1934', photocopies in the author's collection.

12 Magnuson, 'Konsthistoria vid Institutet', 396; Karlholm, 'Vetenskapens vardag', 105–106.

13 Riksarkivet (Swedish National Archives), Stockholm (RA), Svenska institutets i Rom arkiv (Archive of the Swedish Institute in Rome), Annual reports. Axel Boëthius often returned to the subject in his articles in the newspaper *Svenska Dagbladet* (for example, 1 July 1945).

14 The Institute's first premises in Via del Boschetto consisted of three rooms for students, four rooms for the director, a small auditorium, and three small terraces (*Svenska Dagbladet*, 2 Nov. 1925). Two years later, in 1928, it moved to larger premises in the Palazzo Brancaccio (on Via Merulana), probably at the suggestion of one of its existing residents, Claes Lagergren (1853–1930), a papal marquis and chamberlain—the only Swede ever to hold that rank.

15 This classic work was first published in two volumes in 1912 and 1914; a revised version followed in 1923. The first volume (Antiquity and the early Middle Ages) was later revised by the classical archaeologist Erik Sjöqvist and published in 1949. Magnuson's 'completely revised' version of the second volume (The late Middle Ages and the Renaissance) was published in 1956.

16 Magnuson, 'Konsthistoria vid Institutet', 396. Per Gustaf Hamberg (1913–1978), professor of art history at the University of Gothenburg, is also said to have had a part in this process, see Torgil Magnuson, 'Romkursen från 1959: Synpunkter och hågkomster', *Konstvetenskaplig Bulletin* 33 (1988), 20.

17 Magnuson, 'Romkursen', 20.

18 Magnuson, 'Romkursen', 20.

19 Folke Nordström & Jan Rosvall, 'Konstvetenskapliga kursen i Rom i framtiden', *Konstvetenskaplig Bulletin* 33 (1988), 47–51.

20 Magnuson, 'Romkursen', 23: 'Apparently, in the present university education, it is possible to acquire a doctorate in art history with the same knowledge of Italian art history as that of second-year students in Uppsala in the 1940s' ('Man kan tydligen, med nuvarande universitetsutbildning, bli fil.dr. i konstvetenskap med ungefär samma kunskaper i italiensk konsthistoria som 40-talets tvåbetygare i Uppsala').

21 A survey of doctoral students and their thesis topics at the universities of Gothenburg, Lund, Stockholm, Uppsala, and Umeå is available in *Konstvetenskaplig Bulletin* 16 (1976), 22–27.

22 The Tham Reform, as it was known, stipulated that departments could only admit as many doctoral students as they could fully fund. This replaced the practice of having no limit on the number of doctoral students a department could accept; for further discussion of the reform, see Gary Svensson elsewhere in this volume.

23 A description based on my own experiences, first attending the course and then twice as Magnuson's teaching assistant. See Berggren, 'Den konsthistoriska kursen'; see also Thomas Hall, 'Torgil Magnuson: Doctus Peregrinus', in Thomas Hall, Börje Magnusson & Carl Nylander (eds), *Docto Peregrino: Roman Studies in Honour of Torgil Magnuson* (Stockholm: Svenska institutet i Rom, 1992), 13–14.

24 Magnuson, 'Romkursen', 21.

25 RA, Svenska institutets i Rom Arkiv, Annual reports, Magnuson's addendum to the 1975 annual report; see Magnuson, 'Konsthistoria vid Institutet', 399.

26 RA, Svenska institutets i Rom Arkiv, Annual reports.

27 The history, locations, and impact of the exhibition are dealt with in the exhibition catalogue, Gianna Piantoni (ed.), *Roma 1911: Catalogo* (Rome: Soprintendenza Speciale alla Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Moderna e Contemporanea, De Luca, 1980).

28 British School at Rome, s.v. 'History', www.bsr.ac.uk/about/history (accessed 26 Apr. 2020); see also Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, *The British School at Rome: One Hundred Years* (London: British School at Rome, 2001).

29 The Swedish government received its offer in the spring of 1936, some years after the others (Billig, Billig & Whitling, *Dies Academicus*, 156), probably because of its tense relations with Italy over the latter's invasion of Ethiopia in 1935 (see Marcos Carlomagno Cantera, 'Ett folk av mänsklig granit', in Magnusson, *Humanist vid Medelhavet*, 326–328).

30 One important network is the Unione Internazionale degli Istituti di Archeologia, Storia e Storia dell'Arte. For a detailed account of the participating institutes' history, see Paolo Vian (ed.), *Speculum Mundi: Roma centro internazionale di ricerche umanistiche* (Rome: Presidenza del Consiglio dei Ministri, 1993).

31 For the Institute's surroundings, see Börje Magnusson, 'Via Flaminia från Porta del Popolo till Ponte Milvio', *Romhorisont* 48 (2008), 9–13. For Byström's life and architectural activ-

ities in Rome, see Annette Landen, 'Johan Niklas Byströms bostäder och byggnader i Rom 1810–1848', in Magnusson, *Humanist vid Medelhavet*, 295–311.

32 Sabrina Norlander (ed.), *Drömmen om Italien: Nordiska resenärer i södern 1750–1870* (Stockholm: Nationalmuseum, 2004), a catalogue of the exhibition 'The Dream of Italy' at the Nationalmuseum in Stockholm, outlines the state of Swedish art-historical research about Italy in the twentieth century, and over half the fifteen authors had attended Torgil Magnuson's art history course.

33 Lars Berggren, *Giordano Bruno på Campo dei Fiori: Ett monumentprojekt i Rom 1876–1889* (PhD thesis, Lund University; Lund: Artifex, 1991); Lars Berggren & Lennart Sjöstedt, *L'ombra dei grandi: monumenti e politica monumentale a Roma* (1870–1895) (Rome: Artemide, 1996).

34 For the inception of both projects, see Lars Berggren 'Från Marcus Aurelius till Viktor Emanuel', in Magnusson, *Humanist vid Medelhavet*, 312–22.

35 See Börje Magnusson, *Rom: En konst- och kulturhistorisk vägledning* (Stockholm: Wahlström & Widstrand, 2001); *Förvandlingskonst: Ovidius Metamorfoser* (Stockholm: Nationalmuseum, 2007); 'Visible and Invisible along Via Tiburtina', in Hans Bjur & Barbro Frizell (ed.), *Via Tiburtina: Space, Movement and Artefacts in the Urban Landscape* (Stockholm: Svenska institutet i Rom, 2009), 145–164.

36 For a list of all participants between 1956 and 1986, see *Konstvetenskaplig Bulletin* 33 (1988), 35–38. The list has thereafter (1987–2017) been updated by Börje Magnusson and Lars Berggren. The original documents are preserved at the Swedish Institute in Rome.

37 To trace the participants' subsequent careers, I have used lists of theses and academic staff available online, the Swedish national union catalogue maintained by the National Library of Sweden (libris.kb.se), and personal communications from former course leaders and participants. The survey is far from complete, in part because of difficulties tracing women who have married and changed name.

38 Bengt Lewan, *Drömmen om Italien: Italien i svenska resenärers skildringar från Atterbom till Snoilsky* (Stockholm: Natur och kultur, 1966).

39 One example is the project 'Topos and Topography', in Anna Blennow & Stefano Fogelberg Rota (eds), *Rome and the Guidebook Tradition* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2009); the result of another such project was published in 2012, in Olof Brandt (ed.), *San Lorenzo in Lucina: The Transformations of a Roman Quarter* (Stockholm: Svenska institutet i Rom, 2012).

40 Magnuson 'Romkursen', 21–2: 'man måste veta när och i vad mån vilka monument är tillgängliga, att Peterskyrkan ofta är stängd för påveaudienser på onsdagar, att Carracci-galleriet [i Palazzo Farnese] bara kan beses på onsdag e.m. och efter skriftlig ansökan om tillstånd, att Palazzo Spadas gård [med Borrominis skenarkitektur] bara kan beses om man per telefon lyckas kontakta den åldriga prinsessa som bor där, hur man skall få tag i nyckeln till S.s. Luca e Martina, hur man skall få dörrarna att öppnas genom att ge dricks till en ohjälpsam vaktmästare eller behandla sura nunnor i någon viss kyrka på rätt sätt o.s.v.'

41 With some exceptions, the Lund University Department of Art History arranged trips to Rome every year in this period. *Konstvetenskaplig Bulletin* has annual reports on the various Swedish universities' visits.

42 For the Department of Conservation, see Henrik Ranby & Ola Wetterberg elsewhere in this volume.

43 Stockholms Universitet, 'Sök kurser och program', s.v. 'Konstvetenskaplig fördjupningskurs vid Svenska institutet i Rom', www.su.se/sok-kurser-och-program/kv6000-1.424586 (accessed 26 Apr. 2020): 'ges i samarbete med Svenska Institutet i Rom. Uppgifter beträffande boende- och stipendiemöjligheter lämnas av Institutet'. Compare this with how the archaeologists present their course, which is run by the University of Gothenburg, clearly stating the director of studies and funder: kursplaner.gu.se/pdf/kurs/sv/AN2076 (accessed 26 Apr. 2020).

CHAPTER 4

Ragnar Josephson and the Skissernas Museum—Museum of Artistic Process and Public Art

Ludwig Qvarnström

Imagine if you could collect material traces of the creative process behind an artwork. Consider how you could then follow that development and understand artistic innovation—the birth of a work of art. These were the musings of the Swedish art historian Ragnar Josephson (1891–1966) while listening to a lecture given by the ageing Swedish artist Georg Pauli (1855–1935) in 1933. Pauli was speaking on his favourite subject—public art—and he urged his audience to document monumental painting and sculpture in Sweden. It gave Josephson an idea. Artists who make public art, be it sculpture or painting, make numerous models and sketches, from the first idea to the finished work of art. Often, these sketches have little commercial value, lying around in artists' ateliers or cold storage. Why not collect these sketches and models, not only a few from each series but all of them, to assemble unbroken series tracking creative processes to study the birth of a work of art.

An anecdotal account, yes, but based on Josephson's own words about what inspired him to start the Arkiv för dekorativ konst (Archive of Public Art).[1] This was a repository that grew rapidly, and in 1941 it opened as a museum, the Archive Museum, today called Skissernas Museum—Museum of Artistic Process and Public Art (the official name is purposefully bilingual). At the time of Pauli's lecture, Josephson was a professor of art history at Lund University, a post he held from 1929 until his retirement in 1957, besides the short period in 1948–1951 when he was director of the Royal Dramatic Theatre in Stockholm. In 1960 he became a member of the Swedish Academy. This essay discusses the early development of the archive and museum, including its connection to art history education and research at Lund University. It is worth comparing this situation in Lund with similar institutional arrangements both in Sweden and elsewhere.

From university collection to regional art museum

In his posthumously published memoirs, Josephson described first entering the premises of the Department of Art History with Art Theory, as it was known in 1929. His predecessor, Ewert Wrangel (1863–1940), met him on the top floor of Universitetshuset, Lund University's main building, to provide a tour of the department and hand it over to him. Wrangel opened the doors to the library, the seminar room, the office, and finally 'the large exhibition hall; the year before, he [Wrangel] had installed partition screens across the hall and arranged the collection of paintings into a proper museum.'[2] As the incoming professor of art history, Josephson's duties would include responsibility for a corpus of art and a small art museum. In one of his last undertakings, Wrangel had put together a catalogue of the works on display in what was then Lunds universitets konstmuseum (the Lund University Art Museum).[3] The assortment of 247 paintings (most on display) was not one collection but a mix of works of art from various collections, along with 50 paintings borrowed from the Nationalmuseum in Stockholm.[4]

The origins of an assemblage of art at Lund University reach back to graphic prints kept by the drawing masters in the eighteenth century. From 1722 until 1917, students at the university were instructed in drawing as part of the *exercitia*.[5] When, in the 1840s, discussions began about creating a collection of art, the university thus already owned several graphic prints. It also possessed assorted portraits, busts, and sculptures. Plans for a more extensive collection of art were not realized until the 1860s, and then as Skånska Konstmuseum (the Skåne Art Museum). These were works belonging to Akademiska före-

ningen (the Academic Society, a student body) and not the university.[6]

The Skåne Art Museum was founded in 1861 by Gustaf Ljunggren (1823–1905), the professor of aesthetics, with the artists Johan Christoffer Boklund (1817–1880), Joseph Magnus Stäck (1812–1868), and Theodor Billing (1817–1892), all of them from the southernmost county of Skåne. The incentive for building the collection came from idealistic views developed in the students' *Bildung*. Accordingly, the works were meant to be accessible to the students at the university. Ljunggren oversaw the collection, initially on display in the Academic Society building, built in 1850–1851. From the 1860s on, the Skåne Art Museum received and acquired many works. There were art donations to the Academic Society and the university. Soon a more proper exhibition space was needed, and in the spring of 1868, Ljunggren moved the sculptures in the Skåne Art Museum's collection to an old orangery in what had once been a botanical garden adjacent to the Academic Society building. There the sculptures were exhibited with artworks from the university's collection. By 1871, this intermingling was already a source of confusion about the different holdings. Which artworks belonged to the Academic Society and which to the university?[7] Although this confusion persists today, its resolution is not important to the topic at hand. By the late nineteenth century not only had various works of art been amassed, but there was also an ambition to make the repository accessible to the students at Lund University.[8]

For Lund University's new main building, in front of the Academic Society building and inaugurated in 1882, the architect Helgo Zettervall (1831–1907) had planned a modern painting gallery with a skylight in the top floor of the south wing. The Lund University Art Museum opened in 1883 in this beautiful gallery hall, displaying paintings from both the Skåne Art Museum and the Lund University Art Collection, later complemented with paintings from the Nationalmuseum.[9] This room was the final one Wrangel opened when guiding Josephson around the department in 1929.

The tour had started with the library, in one of two large rooms on the top floor of the north wing. These had formerly been used for drawing classes.[10] When the university's last drawing master, Axel Hjalmar Lindqvist (1843–1917), died in 1917, he was never replaced and the drawing *exercitia* were cancelled. Two years later, art history became an independent department at Lund University and moved into the top floor of the main building. The first chair in art history at Lund University was established in 1919, with Wrangel the first to hold it. He had formerly been the professor of aesthetics, which comprised the history of art and literature. In 1919, the position was divided to create a chair in literary history, which went to Fredrik Böök (1883–1961), and another in art history with art theory. Administration of the Lund University Art Museum and the two art holdings—the Lund University Art Collection and the Skåne Art Museum—fell to the professor of art history. This responsibility was therefore passed from Wrangel to Josephson in 1929.

The revival of the Skåne Art Museum

Although, according to his memoirs, Josephson was impressed with the work Wrangel had put into arranging the paintings in the gallery hall, he soon had other plans. Only months after assuming the professorship, Josephson was invited to speak at the Academic Society. Standing before the students, looking at the great hall surrounding him, he envisioned transferring items from the Skåne Art Museum back to the Society building.[11] In his post, Josephson was also head of the Skåne Art Museum, despite the works technically belonging to the Academic Society. He immediately negotiated with representatives of the organization and ended up with a strategy to reinvigorate the Skåne Art Museum.

Instead of simply continuing to administer the old collection of art, Josephson wanted to use Universitetshuset's gallery hall for temporary exhibitions.[12] Parts of the Skåne Art Museum were therefore moved back to the Academic Society, and the Lund University Art Collection was placed in other spaces and storages at the university. But several paintings from both sets were retained, with many rehung in other parts of the Department of Art History. In the now empty gallery hall, Josephson immediately launched an exhibition programme curated by the art history students, under his supervision, and funded by the Academic Society.[13] Even though these temporary shows had no direct connection to the Skåne Art Museum's collection, they were arranged as though they did (while the gallery hall was often called the Lund University Art Museum). In other words, Josephson altered the meaning of the Skåne Art Museum; yet, in his plans, it is easy to identify the same idealistic certainty of the positive effect of introducing art to students. In the first paragraph of the by-laws that Josephson proposed for the organization, he declared that the Skåne Art Museum, through exhibitions and lectures, would 'arouse and elevate the aesthetic sense of the members of the Academic Society, providing them with the pleasure that works of fine art aspire to convey'.[14]

Despite Josephson's intention to arrange these exhibitions in Universitetshuset's gallery, the first

show of the revamped Skåne Art Museum was in the Academic Society's premises.[15] On 21 March 1931, *Ungt svenskt måleri* (Young Swedish Painting) opened, an exhibition which revealed Josephson's ambition to associate the Department of Art History with the contemporary art scene.[16] While not all the Skåne Art Museum shows were so up to date, most clearly indicated an interest in twentieth-century art. From 1931 until 1956, the Skåne Art Museum arranged an average of five or six exhibitions a year along with a couple of lectures, several open seminars, and even concerts.[17] The exhibitions ended in the 1960s but were resumed in 1981, and are now organized by a student-driven gallery, Pictura.[18]

The archive

When Josephson attended Georg Pauli's lecture in 1933, he had already started a gallery where he and his students arranged exhibitions. The direct handling of art and the planning of shows seem to have been essential to his teaching. Thus, in December 1933, in the wake of Pauli's inspirational talk, Josephson gave each student 10 kronor as they prepared to leave for the Christmas holiday. With the money, they were to buy postcards with photographs of public art in their hometowns.[19] This would be the modest start of the documentation of public art in Sweden.

Josephson always said Pauli's lecture nudged him into founding what became the Archive of Public Art. However, he also noted his earlier experiences studying the collection of sketches and drawings by the Swedish artist Nicodemus Tessin the younger (1654–1728) as part of his work as secretary of Stockholms skönhetsråd (the Stockholm Council for Protection of Aesthetic Matters).[20] It is likely these earlier studies and experiences, along with Josephson's many close contacts with contemporary artists, were of equal importance in his decision to set up the Archive.

In the autumn of 1934, Josephson launched a division in the Department of Art History, initially called the Archive of Swedish Public Art.[21] Together with his students, he assembled postcards, gathered photographic documentation, and acquired preparatory sketches for public art, along with material pertaining to competitions for artistic commissions. The response from Swedish artists was positive, resulting in many donations of large series of sketches, and so the collection grew rapidly. Two of the first to hand over material to the Archive were Georg Pauli and Prince Eugen (1865–1947). The latter was important not only as an artist, art collector, and patron of the arts but also as a backer of the museum. He was a significant force in the Swedish art scene from the late nineteenth century until his death.[22] When Josephson gave an address about the Archive to Kungliga Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundet i Lund (the Royal Society of Humanities at Lund) in 1935, he highlighted Prince Eugen's gift of several sketches. Josephson also quoted from a letter he had received in which the prince expressed his support for the Archive.[23]

Decades later, when Josephson described transforming the Archive into a museum, he gave the impression that from the outset his focus was on collecting series of sketches from contemporary artists specifically to study the creative process.[24] While that was undoubtedly one of the original aims, it was not the only one. When the project was first conceived, the intention was also to create a record of monumental art from the Vasa Renaissance onwards (primarily as photos) and of folk art (focusing on wall paintings).[25] Unfortunately, although Josephson described preliminary results from these two enormous projects in his account of the Archive in 1935, they appear to have been short-lived and were not mentioned in later official reports.

In its first years, the Archive of Public Art had no funding from the Lund University, little external financial support, and relied on donations from artists, along with volunteer work by students and the teaching assistants in the department. It received its first public funds in 1936, and the year after, it started to gather material from the other Nordic countries: Denmark, Norway, Finland, and Iceland.[26] This necessitated a name change from the Archive of Swedish Public Art to the Archive of Public Art.

The birth of a work of art

Several exhibitions organized by the students in the 1930s centred on series of sketches donated to or acquired by the Archive. Simultaneously, Josephson used his seminar in art history to analyse these sketches, to discern patterns in creative processes. Thus, from the beginning, it seems as if most students were engaged in the exhibitions at the Skåne Art Museum or worked with the Archive—or both. In the 1930s, the seminar work also spawned a larger research project, which involved material in the Archive and a wide range of sketches and finished works by artists ranging from Leonardo da Vinci to Paul Cézanne.[27] Josephson presented the first results of this research in an article in 1939.[28] The following year, he developed his thoughts into a full-fledged theory. He published it with several new case studies in his major theoretical work, *Konstverkets födelse* ('The birth of the work of art'), a book extensively used as required reading in art history at Swedish universities well into the twenty-first century.[29]

Josephson's conviction that any sketch revealed the spontaneous expression of the artist's individuality, the source of their originality, was rooted in ideas from at least the early modern period.[30] Similarly, the notion that the act of drawing is a cognitive process through which the beauty of art can be grasped, a view also cherished by Josephson, can be traced back to antiquity; it was stated in Aristotle's *Politics*. This conviction likely lay behind the inclusion of drawing lessons at the early European universities as one of the *exercitia*. In other words, the belief that the sketch was revelatory in artistic creativity was not new in 1940. Nevertheless, Josephson's theory presented in *Konstverkets födelse* was at the time groundbreaking in its systematized perception of artistic methods. By studying series of sketches, he tried, through empathic insight, to grasp what transpired between the different stages—the creative process leading to the completion of the artwork. He attempted to extract general patterns of creativity and to gain new insights into the finished artwork. In that sense, for Josephson, the sketch was not merely a passive object for study, but a vehicle for actively pursuing new knowledge.

Josephson worked in the tradition of comparative analysis with a focus on form that emanated from Heinrich Wölfflin, although he does not mention him in the book. Instead, Josephson presents Paul Frankl's theory about the artistic process as initiated by an inspired idea—*Das Schöpfen*—which leads to the creation of the work of art—*Das Schaffen*. This was in contrast to Henri Delacroix's psychology of art, where the creation of a work of art is a slow process, with the idea gradually taking form throughout.[31] For Josephson, these two theories represented polar opposites, while he viewed creativity as a combination of both, or as a movement between them. He also developed these concepts in dialogue with other theories, foremost André Malraux's theory of artistic creativity, where every new form is based on a recreation in an already established language of forms; Max Deri's conclusions about the artist's relation to nature; and Henri Focillon's theory about the life of forms.[32] However, his main point of departure was Yrjö Hirn's tripartite explanation of the origin of art as the aesthetic, the social, and the psychological.[33]

In the case studies that make up the bulk of the book, Josephson analysed the artistic process from several perspectives, separating and connecting the development of form and meaning in the material he surveyed. Considering his focus on series of sketches and creativity as a primarily internal operation, he was not open to sociological explanations. Although his project was connected to contemporary research in art psychology and aesthetics, and was based on comprehensive empirical material, he viewed the book as only an outline, a starting point for further studies, unfortunately never developed by him or anyone else.[34] Sven Sandström (b.1927), who began his studies in art history at Lund University in 1946 and knew Josephson well, recalls that Josephson received several offers to translate *Konstverkets födelse*, but refused them all.[35] Even though other scholars encouraged him to continue the research he inaugurated in this book, he never did. In his memoirs, Sandström discusses why this might have been, and finally suggests that Josephson did not necessarily view himself as the one to pursue this research. Sandström concludes:

> For him, the very breath of life was found in the world of art—including the dramatic—with its people and events, exhibitions and performances. He did not want to be perceived as primarily an abstract theorist, and was aware of how difficult it can be to be accepted as both.[36]

Even though today Josephson's book seems old fashioned and rather conservative in its understanding of art, his theories, from the perspective of later art-historical research and developing artistic research, are worthy of a re-evaluation. Much artistic research today attempts to analyse and conceptualize the artist's creative process, laying bare knowledge about the role of sketches, thus offering analogies to Josephson's work.[37] Josephson was convinced that the creative act always depended on previous works or ideas, in a never-ending dialogue between images. Every artist always starts from their own *formvärld* (world of form). Even though Josephson did not explicitly refer to the realm of art as one parallel to nature (or evolving from nature), his theory indicates such a direction. This line of reasoning provides an opening for a comparison between Josephson's *formvärld* and Ernst Gombrich's concept of *schemata* in *Art and Illusion* from 1960. To such a juxtaposition can be added concepts introduced in later creativity research, such as domain-specific expertise, and similar concepts employed in cognitive psychology to describe a general mental structure used to organize knowledge and increase understanding.[38] In Josephson's analysis of the creative process, he identified several types of moments, such as *utbrytning* (separation), *korsning* (intersections), *utfyllnad* (filling out), *omflyttning* (displacement), and *sammanhållning* (unity). John Landquist (1881–1974), a professor of psychology and Josephson's good friend, noted in relation to Josephson's concept of *korsning* that Sigmund Freud has identified such a fusion of two or more people in the dream world, although this was never developed further.[39] Maybe even more interesting today would be to look back at Josephson's work with the aid of

current neurological findings about the brain and creativity. There are several possible starting points for a contemporary rereading of Josephson's outstanding book, *Konstverkets födelse*.

Skissernas Museum

The Archive that Josephson started in 1934 soon outgrew its allotted space in the Department of Art History. In 1937, an opportunity opened up when Lund University bought the buildings formerly used by the teacher training programme in Lund. The following year, Josephson pushed for the relocation of the Archive of Public Art to what formerly had been the school's gym.[40] On 6 April 1941, as other museums in Sweden and elsewhere closed and moved their collections to safety, Arkivmuseet (the Archive Museum) as it was immediately known, opened its doors to the public (Fig. 4.1).[41] In the ensuing eight decades, the museum has undergone several name changes; today it is called Skissernas Museum—Museum of Artistic Process and Public Art.[42] At the museum's inauguration, Prince Eugen gave a speech in which he talked about the creative process behind a work of art, providing examples from his work, employing sketches owned and displayed by the museum. Also among the speakers was the director general of the Nationalmuseum in Stockholm, Axel Gauffin (1877–1964). He stressed the theories which informed the museum's existence, mentioning *Konstverkets födelse* and the museum's importance for art-historical research.[43] Gauging by the speeches and the press articles about the event, the museum was primarily thought of as a research institute.

The seminars that had started in the 1930s, where students analysed series of sketches, did not end with the publication of *Konstverkets födelse*, but continued until Josephson's retirement in 1957.[44] Aron Borelius (1898–1984) succeeded Josephson as the art history professor. Borelius had formerly served as director at Norrköpings Konstmuseum (the art museum in Norrköping). After arriving in Lund, he immediately moved out many artworks on display in the department, had some of the originally red walls painted white, and returned only a fraction of the paintings to its spaces.[45] It seems as if there was a rather radical shift in the department, with a new generation taking over after nearly three decades of Josephson's leadership. However, Josephson remained director of the Archive Museum until his death in 1966, constantly expanding the collection and developing both the archive and museum. With Josephson's retirement from the department, a clear separation between the Archive Museum and the Department of Art History emerged. The museum developed into

Figure 4.1. Ragnar Josephson in the Archive Museum in front of a model for Ivar Johnsson's statue of Tycho Brahe, 1953. Photo: Lennart Nilsson. TT Nyhetsbyrån.

an independent institution with no formal and few informal connections with the department.

In 1949 the museum had already outgrown the gym and expanded into a temporary space (that nonetheless persisted for half a century until 2001): the old military barracks that adjoined the gym. In 1959, the museum expanded again, with a new large exhibition hall attached to the front of the gym (what became the Swedish Hall).[46] These expansions were necessitated by the growth of the collections, which, in the 1960s, included additions from other European countries, mainly France—sketches by artists such as Sonia Delaunay, Henri Matisse, Fernand Léger, Amédée Ozenfant, and others—and a large number of sketches for Mexican murals by artists such as Diego Rivera, Pablo O'Higgins, Juan O'Gorman, José Clemente Orozco, and David Alfaro Siqueiros.[47]

Throughout its history, the museum has eschewed the 'white cube' aesthetic popularized in museums in the mid twentieth century. Still today it embraces the same pedagogical ideas, covering the walls and the ceilings of the gallery rooms—in a more or less *horror vacui* manner—with series of sketches, resembling

nineteenth-century gallery rooms. For Josephson, the museum functioned both as a place for displaying parts of the collection to the public and as a creative space. In his mind, the museum should resemble an artist's atelier.[48] In other words, the museum is not only the public face of a research institute, but exists as a pedagogical experiment, supplying potential art-historical cross-references and serving as a source of inspiration for art historians, artists, and the general public.[49]

The physical expansion of the museum has continued to this day, with three additional buildings. In 1988, an extension was built facing Sölvegatan, housing a small sculpture hall and a library. In 2005, the old military barracks were replaced by a new large gallery for temporary exhibitions, adding premises for conservation and storage. The latest enlargement of the museum came with a new entrance hall, a restaurant, and an auditorium, inaugurated in the spring of 2017.[50] The museum has the largest collection in the world of sketches and models for public art, and as an institution specialized in public art and artistic processes it is unique in an international perspective—and yet rather anonymous.[51]

In a national and international context

In Lund, there existed a possibility for art-historical teaching and research using a collection of art, an archive, and a museum rarely found at any university. And while Skissernas Museum has developed into an unparalleled institution, such cooperation and exchange between academic departments and bodies of artworks and other objects is not novel—internationally or even in Sweden.

Art history as an academic discipline was first established in Sweden at Stockholm University College and was definitively established as a university discipline in 1917 at Uppsala University and in 1919 at Lund University, breaking away from aesthetics. In 1929, when Josephson came to Lund, art history was also taught at Gothenburg University College, and it seems there was also a close association between teaching and the art museum in that city. The first professor of art history in Gothenburg was Axel Romdahl (1880–1951). After studying at Uppsala, he began a museum career, first at Nationalmuseum (1903) and then at Nordiska Museet (1904) in Stockholm, before moving to Gothenburg as curator of the Gothenburg Museum of Art in 1906. In Gothenburg he also became docent at Gothenburg University College, with a promotion to professor in 1920, establishing art history with art theory as an independent department. He nonetheless stayed on as curator at the museum until his retirement, in 1947.[52] Consequently, there was an intimate relationship between the art history courses and the art museum because of Romdahl's dual positions. Classes took place in the museum, but the students do not seem to have been engaged in curating exhibitions or involved in research directly tied to the museum's collections as in Lund. When Romdahl retired, the roles of professor and curator became two posts. Although the arrangement influenced Romdahl's role as professor and curator (and probably suited him well), it was originally a strategy for establishing art history at Gothenburg University College. Romdahl wrote in his memoirs:

> The combination of museum curator and the teaching position at the University College was foreseen from the beginning, and for the University College the most convenient and immediate way to get art history represented. There was no possibility of obtaining funds for a completely independent professorship.[53]

Thus, the situation in Gothenburg does not seem to have developed as a conscious plan based on pedagogical ideas and ideals and an extensive research programme similar to what Josephson created in Lund. Nonetheless, in both cases, the connection between teaching, research, and a museum appears dependent on a particular individual. These bonds then dissolved when Romdahl and Josephson retired.

Possibly the most noteworthy contemporary examples of a close working collaboration between a department of art history and a museum were the Fogg Museum at Harvard University and the Museum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte (Museum of Art and Culture) as part of what was originally the Jubiläums-Kunstinstitut at the University of Marburg. Both museums opened in 1927. Although the historical, economic, and sociological circumstances of these institutions differ, they demonstrate that 'learning and research in art history were ideally shaped by the interactive study of objects, images, techniques, and texts in a single, unified space', as Kathryn Brush formulates it.[54] The American and German institutions left their mark on the larger, international field of art history. All the same, there is no evidence of any direct link between these two examples and the archive and museum Josephson developed in Lund. However, establishing an archive and a museum in close alliance with an art-historical department seems to have been in vogue in the 1920s and 1930s. One major difference was that the Archive for Public Art, later the Archive Museum, grew out of an initially small division in the Department of Art History in Lund. The first dedicated museum building was erected only after several decades of activity, and then

as an addition to existing structures. The museums in Harvard and Marburg had large purpose-built buildings as early as the 1920s. What they did share was an emphasis on the interactive study of objects, which was also fundamental to Josephson's teaching and research.

Skissernas Museum today

Arguably, the artistic process is non-linear and occurs on many levels—intellectually and intuitively. The artist has to consider various aspects, from the individual vision to the place and the audience. In Josephson's day, public art as site-specific objects was hardly questioned. Now, however, negotiating works in public spaces involves relational aesthetics and new genre public art, along with other ephemeral expressions in public settings, such as graffiti and street art. New materials, techniques, and expressions have not only changed the role of art in public spaces, but also the role of the sketch in the creative process. The close synergy between the Archive Museum and the Department of Art History in the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s has never reached the same level since then, although the museum has been used in the education of future art historians and there have been numerous joint research projects between the two institutions. Today, Skissernas Museum has evolved into a platform for interdisciplinary dialogue about creativity, the creative process, and issues that affect our public spaces—a meeting place for boundary-crossing collaborations.

Notes

1 Josephon described this event in 'Museum kring en idé', in Ragnar Josephson (ed.), *Bilden på muren: studier i Arkiv för dekorativ konst* (Stockholm: Natur & Kultur 1965), 9.

2 Ragnar Josephson, *Strimmor av liv* (Stockholm: Albert Bonniers, 1967), 137: 'den stora utställningshallen; han hade året tidigare försett den med tvärgående skärmar och ordnat upp tavelsamlingen till ett verkligt museum.'

3 Ewert Wrangel, *Katalog över Tavelsamlingen i Lunds universitets konstmuseum* (Lund, 1928).

4 Wrangel, *Katalog över Tavelsamlingen*, 6; Sten Åke Nilsson, 'Lunds universitets konstsamling: En historik', in id. (ed.), *Lunds universitets konstsamling: Måleri & skulptur i urval* (Lund: Lunds universitet, 2001), 16.

5 For a history of the drawing masters at Lund University, see Johan Cederlund, *Ritmästarna vid Lunds Universitet* (Lund: LUP, 1990).

6 For a brief history of the Skåne Art Museum, see *Skånska Konstmuseum 1861–1986* (Lund: AFs förlag, 1986); see also Nilsson, 'Lunds universitets konstsamling', 10–13.

7 Nilsson, 'Lunds universitets konstsamling', 13.

8 As recently as 2020, Skissernas Museum (as of 2013 responsible for the Lund University Art Collection) drew up an internal unpublished report on the subject.

9 Nilsson, 'Lunds universitets konstsamling', 14.

10 Cederlund, *Ritmästarna vid Lunds Universitet*, 128.

11 Josephson, *Strimmor av liv*, 149–51.

12 Josephson, *Strimmor av liv*, 151.

13 From 1931 until his retirement in 1957 Ragnar Josephson chaired the board of the Skåne Art Museum, where he was joined by a couple of senior students and faculty members of the Department of Art History; see Landsarkivet i Lund (Regional State Archives in Lund) (LuLa), Skånska Konstmuseum, Div. handlingar och arkivalier, vol. 2.

14 Quoted in Nilsson, 'Lunds universitets konstsamling', 18: 'väcka och höja det estetiska sinnet hos Akademiska Föreningens medlemmar och bereda dem den njutning, som den bildande konstens skapelser avser att skänka'.

15 Although the majority of the Skåne Art Museum's subsequent exhibitions were in the gallery hall in the main university building, exhibitions were occasionally arranged in the Academic Society's premises.

16 Although he never curated the exhibitions—that was always the responsibility of one or two students from the department—Josephson could make suggestions because of his position at the Skåne Art Museum (see n. 13).

17 LuLa, Skånska Konstmuseum, Div. handlingar och arkivalier, vol. 2 has a list of the exhibitions, lectures, seminars, and concerts arranged by the Skåne Art Museum, 1931–1956, probably compiled in 1956 or 1957 (the year Josephson retired).

18 *Skånska Konstmuseum 1861–1986*, 21.

19 Marianne Nanne-Bråhammar, 'Museet Annorlunda: Arkiv för dekorativ konst i Lund', *Anno 1963, Årskalender för Förlagshuset Norden* (1963), 310.

20 Josephson, 'Museum kring en idé', 9.

21 This archive became a division in the department, but initially Josephson presented it as a division of the Lund University Art Museum, which at that time was seen as part of the department. It was also the name of the gallery hall in the main university building, but later, with the exhibitions arranged by the Skåne Art Museum, that began to be known as the Skåne Art Museum instead.

22 Christina G. Wistman, *Manifestation och avancemang: Eugen: konstnär, konstsamlare, mecenat och prins* (PhD thesis, University of Gothenburg; Gothenburg: Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis, 2008).

23 Ragnar Josephson, 'Arkiv för dekorativ svensk konst', *Kungl. Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundet i Lund årsberättelse 1934–1935* (Lund: C. W. K. Gleerups, 1935), vi. 238–9. Josephson often noted that the first sketches donated to the museum were from Prince Eugen, and he often quoted his letter in later presentations of the archive and museum.

24 Josephson, 'Museum kring en idé', 11–12.

25 Josephson, 'Arkiv för dekorativ svensk konst', 243–8.

26 Josephson, *Strimmor av liv*, 172–4.

27 Josephson, 'Arkiv för dekorativ svensk konst', 238. These seminars analysing the sketches were also outlined in a report on the state of Swedish art history research by Oscar Reuterswärd, 'Om fyrtiotalets svenska konsthistoria', *Ord & Bild* 54/10 (1945), 460–8.

28 Ragnar Josephson, 'Konstpsykologiska betraktelser', *Tidskrift för Konstvetenskap* 22/3 (1939), 3.

29 Ragnar Josephson, *Konstverkets födelse* (Stockholm: Natur och kultur, 1941).

30 See, for example, Albert Boime, *The Academy and French Painting in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Phaidon, 1971); Marta Edling, *Om måleriet i den klassicistiska konstteorin: Praktikens teoretiska position under sjuttonhundratalets andra hälft* (PhD thesis, Stockholm University; Stockholm: Stockholms universitet, 1999).

31 Paul Frankl, *Das System der Kunstwissenschaft* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1998 [1938]); Henri Delacroix, *Psychologie de l'art: Essai sur l'activité artistique* (Paris: Félix Alcan, 1927).

32 André Malraux, 'La psychologie de l'art', *Verve* 1/1 (1937); Max Deri, *Naturalismus, Idealismus, Expressionismus* (Leipzig: E. A. Seemann, 1919); Henri Focillon, *Vie des formes* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1939).

33 Yrjö Hirn, *Konstens ursprung: en studie öfver den estetiska värksamhetens psykologiska och sociala orsaker* (Stockholm: Wahlström & Widstrand, 1902); *Det estetiska livet* (Helsinki: Söderström, 1913); *Konsten och den estetiska betraktelsen* (Stockholm: Wahlström & Widstrand, 1937).

34 The first edition of the book, published in 1940, was followed by new editions in 1941, 1946, and 1955, with only minor revisions by Josephson. In 1975, the book came out in paperback (repr. 1984). The last edition, with an afterword by Jan-Gunnar Sjölin, came out in 1991. Until recently, the book was required reading at several Swedish universities. Unfortunately, it has yet to be translated.

35 Sven Sandström, 'Studietiden', in *Passion och Repression*, www.svensandstrom.se in his memoirs discusses Josephson's book *Konstverkets födelse*.

36 Sandström, 'Studietiden': 'Det som var själva livsluften för honom fanns i konstvärlden—inklusive den dramatiska—med dess människor och händelser, utställningar och föreställningar. Han ville inte bli uppfattad som i första hand en abstrakt teoretiker, och var medveten om hur svårt det kan vara att bli accepterad som bådadera.'

37 Michael Biggs & Henrik Karlsson (eds), *The Routledge Companion to Research in the Arts* (New York: Routledge, 2011).

38 Teresa M. Amabile, *Creativity in Context: Update to 'The Social Psychology of Creativity'* (Oxford: Westview, 1996); Jin Li & Howard Gardner, 'How Domains Constrain Creativity: The Case of Traditional Chinese and Western Painting', *American Behavioral Scientist* 37/1 (1993); Robert L. Solso, *The Psychology of Art and the Evolution of the Conscious Brain* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2003).

39 John Landquist, *Tankar om den skapande individen* (Lund: Gleerups, 1970), 58.

40 Hjördis Kristenson, *Skissernas Museum: arkitektur, plats, process* (Lund: Skissernas Museum, 2019), 28.

41 The opening of the museum was widely covered in the Swedish press and well documented in a photo album in the museum's archive.

42 Arkivmuseet (the Archive Museum) changed its name to Konstmuseet—Arkiv för dekorativ konst (the Art Museum—Archive of Public Art) in the 1980s, and in 1991 changed again to Skissernas Museum—Arkiv för dekorativ konst. The current name was adopted in 2017.

43 Prince Eugen's and Axel Gauffin's speeches are pasted into the museum's scrapbook from 1941.

44 Two of Josephson's students, the former museum director at Skissernas Museum Gunnar Bråhammar (1922–2011) (personal communication 2005) and Sven Sandström (b.1927), professor emeritus of art history (personal communication 2008), said this course element survived into the 1950s.

45 Nilsson, 'Lunds universitets konstsamling', 18.

46 Kristenson, *Skissernas Museum*, 55–6, 64.

47 The work done to bring the sketches to the museum is described by Viveka Bosson, Gunnar Bråhammar & C. O. Hultén, *Visionärer och utmanare: resor och möten med konstnärer i Frankrike, Mexiko, Afrika* (Lund: Skissernas museum, 1995).

48 The former director of the museum Jan Torsten Ahlstrand, who started as assistant at the museum in the early 1960s, confirmed this at a seminar at the Department of Art History, Uppsala University, 22 Mar. 2010 (personal communication).

49 As early as 1935, Josephson, 'Arkiv för svensk dekorativ konst', 236 wrote of the didactic and inspirational potential of the new archive.

50 Kristenson, *Skissernas Museum*, 75–97.

51 To my knowledge there is only one comparable museum, the Museum for kunst i det offentlige rum (Museum of Art in Public Spaces) in Køge, Denmark, founded in 1977 along the same lines as Skissernas Museum.

52 *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon*, s.v. 'Axel Romdahl' by Björn Fredlund, sok.riksarkivet.se/sbl/.

53 Axel Romdahl, *Som jag minns det: Göteborgsåren* (Gothenburg: Rundqvists, 1951), 226: 'Kombinationen av museiintendenturen och lärarebefattningen vid högskolan var ju från början förutsedd och för högskolan den mest bekväma och närliggande vägen att få konsthistorien representerad. Det fanns ingen möjlighet att skaffa medel till en helt fristående professur.'

54 Kathryn Brush, 'Marburg, Harvard, and purpose-built architecture for art history, 1927', in Elisabeth Mansfield (ed.), *Art History and Its Institutions: Foundations of a Discipline* (London and New York: Routledge, 2002), 73. For a detailed study of the Fogg Art Museum, see Kathryn Brush, *Vastly More Than Brick & Mortar: Reinventing the Fogg Art Museum in the 1920s* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003).

CHAPTER 5

The 1970s—the transformation of a discipline

An Uppsala perspective

Hedvig Brander Jonsson

In May 1968, the Department of Art History at Uppsala University celebrated its fiftieth anniversary.[1] The discipline of 'history and theory of art' had attained a permanent position in Uppsala on the establishment of a chair in 1917, with August Hahr (1868–1947) the first to assume this post. He was succeeded in 1934 by Gregor Paulsson (1889–1977), who would have a major impact on the discipline in Sweden and nurtured a generation of distinguished art historians. When Paulsson stepped down in 1956, he was followed briefly by Nils Gösta Sandblad (1910–1963), and in 1964 Rudolf Zeitler (1912–2005) became the fourth professor of the department (Fig. 5.1).

The 1968 anniversary celebration, hosted by Zeitler, came at a time when several reforms would soon be implemented in Swedish higher education. The year stood out for its dramatic historical events, including political demonstrations, student uprisings, and challenges to the establishment. Much of this spilled over into academic life, where a sense of impending change was palpable. The reforms by Universitetskanslersämbetet (the Swedish Higher Education Authority) brought increased regulation and reorganization, and among them in 1969 the change from *konsthistoria med konstteori* (history and theory of art) to *konstvetenskap* (the study of art and art history). The Swedish language is closely related to German, and the long-established German term *Kunstwissenschaft* equates to the Swedish *konstvetenskap*, emphasizing a contextual research process rather than a traditional chronological discourse.

After welcoming the crowd of guests at the celebration and before his lecture on the current state of art history,[2] Zeitler offered reflections on two past recipients of honorary doctorates at Uppsala University: the art historian Erwin Panofsky (1892–1968) in 1953; and the artist Bror Hjorth (1894–1968) in 1959.[3] While Zeitler provided no general descriptions of Hjorth's art, he did express his delight that the artist had seen the installation of his controversial sculpture *Näckens polska* (The nix's dance) in front of Uppsala railway station, and he noted that Hjorth had created work after work imbued with 'emotional warmth … This warmth is the mark of his art'.[4]

Figure 5.1. Rudolf Zeitler (1912–2005) by his colleague Anders Almgren (1920–2000). Zeitler fled Germany for Sweden in 1937, where he was a teacher before resuming his academic career at Uppsala University with Gregor Paulsson's support, ending as professor of art history (1964–1977). Gustavianum, Uppsala University Art Collection, UU 0980.

In speaking of Panofsky, the eminent scholar of international repute, Zeitler described the relation-

ship established when Panofsky was the Gottesman lecturer, and gave talks in Uppsala and at Gripsholm Castle in the autumn of 1952. These presentations would later be published as *Renaissance and Renascences in Western Art*.[5] He highlighted Panofsky's 'brilliant genius as a historian and raconteur', arguing that he had developed these talents through the work he had done after emigrating to the US. 'The German books are filled with scholarship and have been fundamental for a whole focus of research in art history, but the skill of historical narration flourished first when Panofsky started to write in English, which is an epic language.' Panofsky had last visited Sweden in 1966 for the Christina Exhibition at the Nationalmuseum. On that occasion, he spoke on Titian and Ovid, captivating the audience with his command of antiquity and the Renaissance. Panofsky had appeared 'profoundly affected by his subject, profoundly affected by the reality of transformation, and conscious that it wouldn't leave him unchanged.'[6]

In his comments, Zeitler juxtaposed these two very different giants in existential terms—thoughts about emotional warmth and transformation. And the lecture he gave, 'Art History Today', centred on deeply personal experiences and feelings, the individual and the unique. He highlighted the twentieth-century approach to art history. His critical analysis addressed Heinrich Wölfflin's and Alois Riegl's style history as expressions of G. W. F. Hegel's evolutionary historical philosophy. Furthermore, as applied to the field of art, Karl Marx's theories consider it dependent on the social context. Finally, he briefly discussed art psychology according to Rudolf Arnheim's model and Erwin Panofsky's need to seek out the worldview behind the work. Zeitler saw the merit in these approaches, while nonetheless declaring them to be insufficient. Great artists and major works, such as Rembrandt and his paintings, could not be understood or interpreted using these methods, as they failed to account for 'a central issue and a central problem in art history, namely the singularity of the great artists'.[7] There was a need for the unique and exceptional if art history were to be meaningful. This was the key issue Zeitler wanted to convey in his anniversary speech.

Ten years later, in 1978, the discipline of art history looked very different. At Uppsala University, Allan Ellenius (1927–2008) had succeeded Zeitler as professor in 1977, and in November the following year, he hosted a conference on doctoral studies (Fig. 5.2). He opened it with the talk 'Values and Valuations in Art History' and stated that 'in recent years our subject has expanded significantly, achieving such breadth we need to adjust our methods to the new material'.[8] The solution to the new challenges,

Figure 5.2. Bronze medal of Allan Ellenius (1927–2008) by Liss Eriksson (1919–2000) to commemorate his retirement in 1992. On the obverse, Allan Ellenius Prof. Upsaliensis mcmlxxvii–mcmxcii; on the reverse, a flying bird and three birds sitting in a tree to mark his keen interest in ornithology. Photo: Magnus Wijk. Gustavianum, Uppsala University Coin Cabinet 201490.

he said, was 'methodical pluralism and a continuing dialogue about methods'.[9]

So what happened between 1968 and 1978? The answer to this question is the focus of this essay. Ellenius provided clues in his presentation 'Visual Communication', published as a department report in 1976.[10] In the introduction, he addressed the new volume of choices of subjects and methods he had referred to in his 1978 speech—'a kaleidoscope of diversity'—a development not without its problems.[11] Employing examples from mass images, adverts, and comics, it was his belief these new research areas in art history could not be understood without drawing from 'the concepts and pictorial conventions of established art'. Ellenius then presented thoughts on the undergraduate art history course Visual Communication, which was intended to contribute to 'all-round information about the range of modern art and its roots, primarily the variety of image production of the nineteenth century'.[12] It would include mass images, art, photography, and film.

It was not only time that separated Zeitler's idealistic remarks on how to approach art history's masterpieces and their masters from Ellenius' methodological pragmatism in the face of a seemingly infinitely broad field. Explaining the disconnect requires an examination of the passing of the baton from Zeitler to Ellenius. Before proceeding further, though, it should be noted that the changes in the Uppsala Department of Art History in the 1970s were equally

results of initiatives and interactions emanating from other lecturers too—and even researchers, graduate students, and undergraduate students.[13] Nonetheless, there are good reasons to focus on these two professors, not least because of their significant and yet different international networks, as seen in their surviving letters and in department seminar records.

The archive

The term archive has been central to the art-historical discourse in recent decades. Spanning Aby Warburg's bibliophile pursuits to Christian Boltanski's installations, the metaphor of the archive has been used as an apt descriptor for all manner of meaning-making, from memory capacity to stores of physical records. In this case, 'the archive' refers to the archive of Uppsala University's Department of Art History. In the period addressed in this text—the years when Lena Johannesson and I, the 'we' of this essay, were teaching assistants and doctoral students—the archive was a redoubtable storage and also a small, mythical treasure in the bowels of the department. There, one could find bachelor and licentiate theses, research material, applications, and various reports. Last but not least among the collected material were curricula and course syllabuses, accumulated year upon year, and records from upper-level seminars. There was always a sense of ceremony when requesting permission to browse among the archives.

A variety of material has been drawn on for this study, including our own experiences—preserved in memoirs, papers, and records—as doctoral and postgraduate students and employees of the department throughout the expansive 1970s; sources from the department's archive, in particular the minutes of the seminars from 1969 to 1978; selected official correspondence for Gregor Paulsson, Rudolf Zeitler, and Allan Ellenius; and issues of *Konstvetenskaplig Bulletin* up through 1999.[14] Zeitler's complete correspondence from his time as professor (1964–1977) is held by his family, who generously made it available.[15] The same is true of Ellenius' personal correspondence with colleagues, which has also been made available to us.[16] *Konstvetenskaplig Bulletin*, which presented the national disciplinary discussions of the 1970s, was first published in 1969 and thus did not include the commission reports and reform proposals from earlier in the 1960s. By using the Uppsala archive it is possible to fill in the gaps.

This research has revealed that the standard practices at the nation's art history departments varied considerably. We have compared our observations with those of Ingrid Sjöström (b.1938), a docent in art history at Stockholm University, who was one of the first generation of postdoc research fellows in art history following the introduction of the new ordinance in 1969. Sjöström noted, for example, that seminar records of the sort kept at Uppsala University were never standard practice at Stockholm University.[17]

Radical or romanticized? Myths of an era

In the period leading up to the changes in the art history introductory courses in the 1970s, details regarding the role of the state, the university departments, and the faculty and students provide some of the most important corrections to the histories of educational programmes and the discipline itself.

No clear narrative has emerged about the initial push for the new orientation in education. This was particularly true of the new two-term undergraduate introductory course known as AB2 (equivalent to 60 ECTS), with its focus on social history and contemporary art, and the ABC course option (90 ECTS), where each course built on the previous one. Students had asked for the latter as part of their attempt to bring greater equity to the programme. A review of archival documents produced by the government, art history departments, and faculties reveals that the government was the significant driving force.[18] Many younger art historians and art critics have long considered the 1969 education reforms and the adoption of sweeping changes to the course material to be primarily a result of student opposition to the academic status quo. The cultural debate—and even the leading activists at the time—increasingly moved away from the clichéd view of the influence of the student revolts of 1968, yet the somewhat romanticized version of rupture persists.

Annika Öhrner contributed to this narrative with her essay 'Radikalisering av konstvetenskapen i Stockholm och Lund' ('The radicalization of art history in Stockholm and Lund') and her paper at a June 2019 conference in Uppsala, 'Hundra år av svensk konsthistoria—och sen?' ('A hundred years of Swedish art history—and then?').[19] Öhrner summarized her main argument about the AB2 alternative thus: 'By looking at the development of the AB2 course it is possible to see the convergence of government forces, academe, and the more radical student elements, which paved the way for the change in direction to more social science-based course syllabuses.'[20] This research was built on secondary sources derived from other disciplines at the universities of Stockholm and Lund, along with primary sources such as *Konstvetenskaplig Bulletin* and interviews with Sven Sandström, professor emeritus at Lund University.[21] In 1965, Sandström had published a polemic titled *Konstforskning: Stagnation eller förnyelse?*

('Art research: Stagnation or rebirth?'), in which he noted art history's fixation on the historical perspective and the lack of solid foundations in social and behavioural science.[22] According to Öhrner, the views put forward represented those previously shared by all the art history professors, and had been the basis for their approach to art history.[23] Here, however, discussions about the discipline and courses from the early 1970s have been conflated with the lesser-known goings-on of the reform process in the late 1960s.

Even though our conclusions broadly agree with Öhrner's regarding the results of the reform, our methods of analysis differ. For example, the group of 'radical student elements' mentioned above played a negligible role as a force of change in our material; specific elements can thus deviate in the generalized overview of events. An examination of the archival material combined with our experience of the process results in a somewhat different history, which centres on the efforts of several individuals to resist strict government regulation, both nationally and in Uppsala. Zeitler was one of these often overlooked figures, and his meticulous records of events have been collected in his files labelled 'Letters from my years of tenure 1964–1968–1977', complemented by his personal reflections in his extensive private correspondence to 1977.[24]

1965–1969, recruiting strategies and career prospects

Government leaders felt the weight of political opinion among the larger social groups as people applied in ever-growing numbers to post-secondary education in the 1960s. It was necessary to restructure both the educational and financial aid programmes. In 1965, a government-run student financial aid programme, Centrala studiemedelsnämnden (the Swedish Board of Student Finance), was launched. As a result, enrolment and results statistics were strictly monitored for the first time, leading to the need for clear course syllabuses and records of the number of students moving through departments. These developments lay behind the call for a national review of art history instruction, with its outlines in place as early as 1966.

In December 1965, the faculty board for theology and the humanities at the then Swedish Higher Education Authority summoned the art history department heads from the four largest universities—Gothenburg, Lund, Stockholm, and Uppsala—to a meeting in Stockholm on 21 January 1966. Prior to the meeting, Zeitler wrote a six-page missive to his colleagues in which he proposed that they meet to confer on the morning of 21 January. He set out the professional skills he thought a modern art-historical education should deliver. He stressed the need for new units in the introductory courses, including urban building and environmental studies, sociology, and psychology. He also presented his views regarding those areas where Swedish art history research had 'the personnel resources to achieve positive results of an international quality … architectural history, urban studies, modern art, art pedagogy, and art psychology'.[25]

Reactions to his memorandum varied. What seemed most disconcerting to the other professors were Zeitler's views regarding the strengths in Swedish art history; he was criticized for neglecting the outstanding research being done on medieval art and the eighteenth century. Others noted there should be more emphasis on increasing the number of positions in both instruction and research.

The chief purpose of his proposal, however, was to discuss career possibilities. He offered an overview, describing the potential paths open to students who took art history in the mid-1960s. His list included teaching, the mass media and publishing, museums, research, auction houses and the antiques trade, and professions in architecture and design, thus reflecting the divisions in the programme corresponding to the requirements for undergraduate and research degrees.[26] Remarkably, doctoral studies are not privileged in his discussion of the professions.

Surviving correspondence reveals how, at the later meeting, the professors defended their discipline in terms of the departments and faculties in the face of the impending reform as Universitetskanslersämbetets arbetsgrupp för fasta studiegångar (UKAS, the Swedish Higher Education Authority's Working Group for the Fixed Courses of Study). The reform set out to regulate all first-cycle courses, streamlining them into programmes, which were to be limited to three years. The allocation of funding to universities, like the student grants, necessitated uniformity in the organization of semesters and the credits awarded for courses, and, as a corollary, precise records of the number of students completing courses.

The university reforms were announced on 4 April 1968, but it was only after the student riots in France in May and that summer's occupation of the student union in Stockholm that student criticism gained traction. In the autumn of 1968, the somewhat sleepy student opposition made some headway, particularly in terms of demands for representation on faculty boards, future department boards, and other university organizations. The primary issue for students was the proposed organization of courses into rigid programmes: they wanted to retain the possibility of creating individual course combinations. The government agencies eventually acquiesced on this point, and on 19 March 1969, Parliament approved

the revised version of the UKAS reforms, now called Palme's UKAS or PUKAS (Olof Palme being the Minister of Education and Science).[27] A report outlining the discipline's proposed reforms was submitted.[28] The first issue of *Konstvetenskaplig Bulletin* in 1969 carried Zeitler's summary of PUKAS's conclusions under the heading 'Plan for the study of art and art history, undergraduate courses AB1, AB2'.[29]

In a letter to the Swedish Higher Education Authority of 15 April 1966 titled 'Some general observations about art history in Sweden', Zeitler summarized the principal views of the five art history professors on the discipline's strengths and weaknesses.[30] The demands the education reforms would make of university lecturers and the onus on Zeitler as the one overseeing the process were astounding, he said. In an eight-page letter in December 1968 about the slated changes to the art history programmes, he wrote of his workload, opening with a critique of the harsh conditions mandated by the reforms: 'For my work with the art history programme, I have had to assume that the new courses cannot be more costly than the previous ones'.[31] The sacrifices he had to make throughout the process can be deduced from a letter he wrote in 1970 to his German colleague Klaus Lankheit, where he noted that he was exhausted from the work resulting from the Swedish education reforms.[32]

The only indication of student opinion or student opposition found in Zeitler's correspondence from this period were a couple of letters from 'The task group on aesthetics' at Uppsala University. These letters came in the wake of a project carried out in 1966 by Zeitler and Carl Fehrman, professor of literary history at Lund University, on setting up 'a programme for developing the aesthetics research resources at the university level'.[33] Criticism from the division of aesthetics at Uppsala University specifically targeted the presentation of the 'alternative undergraduate course in art history' in the reforms, and what was seen as evidence of a future annexing of the discipline of aesthetics in the art history undergraduate courses.[34] Zeitler quickly reassured the division of a desire to collaborate and find a mutually satisfactory solution.[35] A subsequent letter from a student advisor in the division stresses that he has discussed his letter with the task group, which included student representatives for each level of study, including doctoral students, and none of the lecturers was involved in the student action.[36] In his own department, Zeitler, as professor, encountered students who demanded representation on department boards, an obligatory feature in the new reform.

Zeitler's case illustrates the degree to which an individual could be drawn into an extraordinary amount of work for a government study and reform programme. Furthermore, he was asked by Uppsala University to write a formal comment on the proposals produced with the reform. He continued to work actively with the national development of the doctoral programme and the forthcoming AB2 programme, particularly by attending national meetings in the early 1970s. At the same time, he put his younger colleagues onto creating the new curricula.

After 1969, the nationally mandated designation for the discipline became *konstvetenskap*, the study of art and art history, to correspond with new directions in the study of literature and music (previously literary history and the history of music), thus underlining the need to move away from a chronological perspective to embrace discursive studies of the sociocultural context of art. It would appear this approach was well established at this time, and the departments at the universities quickly set about developing new courses and areas of specialization. Aside from the overall revision of the curricula, the most noticeable structural changes to emerge in the wake of the reform were numerous new posts, such as careers advisors, student advisors, research assistants, postdoc research fellows, heads of department, and directors of studies. Those filling these posts worked primarily with student-oriented tasks.

The AB2 experiment and competing courses

In the national conversation, the introductory AB2 courses became a gauge of the 'radicalization' the discipline underwent in fulfilling the new requirements stipulated in the reform.[37] Anders Åman (1935–2008), a professor at Uppsala University from 1993 to 2000, wrote in 2000 that AB2 was perceived as 'an alternative undergraduate education' and differed from any other course of study.[38] The AB2 course spanned two semesters and started chronologically in 1800, thus disregarding older art save for a summary. The main idea was to focus on modern social development, starting with industrialization, and on new methods, particularly in art teaching and sociology. Urban planning and environmental studies were central topics. Åman viewed AB2 as a model for innovative courses in the study of art, encouraging students to enrol in other, shorter undergraduate courses such as Visual Communication, Images and Mass Media, Architecture and Built Environment, or Women, Art, and Creativity.[39] This is a somewhat misleading analysis, given that most courses mentioned besides Architecture and Built Environment were developed for the B level or as alternative courses in AB1. Architecture and urban environment became the primary areas of instruction in AB2 by our colleagues

Carl-Erik Bergold (b.1943) and Christina Thunwall (b.1940). In the end, the AB2 course never became the ideological, national model for a new art history as originally envisioned, and in Uppsala its content was moved into two second-semester B-level courses.

In 1970–1971, the Uppsala AB2 course was a heated topic at national conferences. Clearly, the universities had interpreted the course concept differently. According to the records, the departments in Lund, Stockholm, and Gothenburg reacted most strongly to the required inclusion of non-European art in the curriculum, considering this to be the most radical demand and the most difficult to implement in art history courses. Additionally, there were lively national discussions about finding a balance between art sociology and art psychology. In Uppsala, the three interdisciplinary anthologies on the sociology of art, the psychology of art, and art in society published by Sven Sandström in 1970 were welcome additions to the available literature for the new undergraduate courses, including AB2. For example, Pierre Bourdieu's ideas were introduced to art history undergraduates.[40]

Visual arts versus architecture

It is interesting how the AB2 courses initially stressed built environments and architecture from a social perspective, and that the move to non-European art history was considered controversial. Newer media, such as photography and mass images, were conspicuous by their absence from the curricula. This remained the case in all art history departments except in Uppsala, where these areas were first included in the A and B courses.

In the reform process, Zeitler vigorously supported urban planning research, which was further strengthened at Uppsala by the significant work by the department's first postdoc research fellow, Marie Nisser (1937–2011), particularly for the AB2 course (Fig. 5.3). It is surprising that in his 2000 essay on the development of the discipline before and after 1970, Åman, a distinguished historian of architecture, wrote that competition was common between researchers in the visual arts and architecture. In this he seems to rely on secondary sources, given that he was not at the department when the reforms came in (1968–1978), as he was a lecturer in architectural history and theory at the Royal Institute of Technology in Stockholm.

Accounts of the sort Åman outlined call for a more in-depth review of another point in the historical record. However, the AB2 course was eventually discontinued in all departments in the 1980s and 1990s, a result of its narrow focus when student interest in a well-rounded ABC education was growing. 'The general survey once again had a near monopoly, for better or worse', Åman wrote to clarify the weakening position of the AB2 course.[41] He overlooked, however, the vibrant developments in terms of methodology, educational science, and content in the elective courses offered in the ABC system at the time.

Figure 5.3. Marie Nisser (1937–2011). In 1992, she was appointed the first professor of Industrial Heritage Studies at KTH after a long career at Uppsala University. Photo in the property left by Marie Nisser.

ABC programmes and visual communication

Students increasingly advocated a more uniform curriculum, with each course building on the previous one, providing a straightforward metric for an undergraduate degree. Paradoxically, this step-by-step ABC education, which corresponded to the first, second, and third semesters, proved to be the context for introducing new subject areas and teaching methods in Uppsala. However, the year-long AB1 course continued to offer the traditional chronology, starting with antiquity and working through to modernism, while still leaving room for new material. The ABC system, though, started with one semester of an abridged introductory art history survey, the A-course. In the late 1970s the B-level was not a single fixed plan of study but several alternative courses, such as Nordic Art History, Mass Images (for example, images from popular culture, press images, and book illustrations), Architecture and Built Environ-

ment, Children's Book Illustration, Contemporary Art, and Visual Communication (which included film and photography). They were in high demand and quickly became mainstays of the programme. The energy and enthusiasm of the younger lecturers—including Hedvig Brander (b. 1949), Christian Chambert (b.1940), Gustaf Hyltén-Cavallius (1932–2014), Thomas Hård af Segerstad (b.1944), Lena Johannesson (b.1945), and Barbro Werkmäster (1932–2020)—and doctoral students proved to be the driving force behind such change.

Allan Ellenius' work in visual communication provided an overall framework for this wealth of innovative activity. Ellenius, who had been a docent and senior lecturer in the early phases of the reform and then, from 1977, was the professor and head of department, also contributed to the inventive teaching methods. These included project-based groups for the production of B- and C-level dissertations, which resulted in several papers on nineteenth- and twentieth-century art and architecture. Such projects had a hand in developing novel practices in terms of theory and method. At times, these were the result of working closely with Uppsala's newly formed Department of Sociology of Literature, headed by Lars Furuland, for example on press images and children's book illustration.

From an academic perspective, it is interesting that, under Ellenius' direction, the department's theoretical orientation veered towards Anglo-Saxon methods in the tradition of art historians such as Ernst Gombrich, Francis Haskell, Michael Baxandall, Albert Boime, and T. J. Clark, all of whom worked in a functional-analytical tradition. The research of the American museum curator and historian of prints and visual communication William M. Ivins was also of consequence. The department collaborated with German ethnologists such as Wolfgang Brückner and Christa Pieske on the popular consumption of images. These contacts were all important for the establishment of the field of visual communication at the department.

Zeitler's earlier insistence that art history education be geared towards potential careers and the current job market had a real impact at Uppsala. As a part of regular coursework, the students visited off-campus sites, including museums, cultural organizations, and architectural practices and schools; from 1972 on, careers advisors gave lectures to students and invited guest speakers to talk on these topics.

The legacy of the critique of ideology

As teaching assistants in charge of some of these courses, we witnessed the collaboration between lecturers and doctoral students in developing pedagogical and methodological approaches. In reality, the friction between these groups was not as pronounced as often presumed in the debate centred on 1968.

The Uppsala archive provides evidence of discussions regarding whether Arnold Hauser's social-historical textbook should be used instead of Gregor Paulsson's equally social-historical world history—Zeitler was sceptical about Hauser. Similarly, Wolfgang Fritz Haug's Marxist-inspired commodity aesthetics was never part of the curriculum in Uppsala, unlike other departments, for example in Lund. However, John Berger's similarly Marxist-inspired texts did find their way into some courses, particularly contemporary art, and Walter Benjamin's photo-philosophical texts served as a point of departure for theory at all levels of study.

In cultural debates, interest in the 'critique of ideology', which resembled the norm criticism prevalent in the 2010s, evaporated. It had centred on a left-wing institutional criticism that, while frequently apposite, often became a tool to brand individuals and artistic expressions deemed to be of the wrong political persuasion. This war of words can be compared with the more recent culture wars about political correctness. The critique of ideology did not emanate from any specific manifesto, but its supporters were polemically active in the newspapers' culture sections and in debates on university campuses. Interestingly, though, activism was not evident at the Uppsala Department of Art History, where several of its younger members were actively involved *outside* the department in cultural, non-profit, and political organizations. Among these were neighbourhood associations, anti-war groups, political publications, the Student Literary Club, the Film Studio, the Writers' Centre, the 1968 meeting of the World Council of Churches, Laboremus (a social-democrat student club in Uppsala), Clarté (a socialist student organization), and *nationer* (student social clubs).[42] All this channelled the ideological conversation to arenas outside the department.

Thus, the palpable ideological polarization found in the art history departments in Stockholm and Lund was not especially evident in Uppsala. It should be borne in mind, though, the distinction between the campuses in terms of student organizations, and particularly the stark contrast in the social opportunities for students in Stockholm and Uppsala. Beyond the cultural arenas mentioned above, Uppsala has many student social clubs, each with its own building and programme of activities and events, including concerts and political and cultural debates. The university departments rarely served as the primary forums for political activism, critiqued rhetoric, coded symbolism, or, later, postmodernism. The heroic critique of ideology that defined the art-historical debate in the 1970s was disarmed, and slowly fizzled into insignificance.

A new profession–postdoc research fellows

As a postdoc research fellow and pioneering historian of industrial heritage, Marie Nisser played a decisive role in developing Uppsala's Department of Art History in the 1970s. Early on, she organized the large body of doctoral students into three groups, based on their areas of study—architecture, visual arts, and applied art—and encouraged each one in their curriculum studies for the new doctorate.[43] Under the older system, all doctoral students took obligatory courses in theory and Nordic art history, but the majority of their time was spent on supervisor-approved independent study courses, such as non-European art history or Baroque portraiture.

From 1968 on, the seminar records reflect the influence of Nisser's area of specialty. She was inspired by British industrial archaeology and founded the field of industrial heritage research in Sweden. She invited guest lecturers in the discipline, including Kenneth Hudson (1916–1999), from Bath University of Technology, who visited Uppsala in 1968 and 1971.[44] With her guidance, postgraduate research seminars included days dedicated to particular themes and cross-disciplinary sessions on Swedish industrial history, including industrial building types, urban expansion in industrialization, and cultural heritage conservation.[45] In addition, Nisser organized trips to industrial heritage sites, and she trained doctoral students in mapping, for example in Strömsbro outside Gävle. An early study trip to England, in 1969, had industrial heritage as its main focus. Two years later, she arranged a trip to the Soviet Union, an unusual destination.[46] In the spring of 1973, she organized a trip to Finland for the doctoral students, following eight preparatory seminars.[47] Thereafter, detailed seminars preceded all such trips. Fortnightly trips were led alternately by Zeitler or Ellenius or Nisser, including to Berlin, northern Italy, and the Netherlands and Belgium, in keeping with the template developed in Paulsson's time. Nisser's contributions to the department and the discipline of art history in Uppsala provided a much-needed refocusing of the doctoral programme. They also helped broaden the field of art history to comprise overlooked areas such as urban environments and cultural heritage.

In the 1970s, following the introduction of the new doctorates in 1969, postdoc research fellowships were established in all the art history departments, and the people appointed to the positions had an enormous impact on the discipline, both at their own institutions but also in terms of national collaborations and networking. They created a national platform, Samarbetsnämnden (the Coordinating Committee). They were also responsible for launching *Konstvetenskaplig Bulletin* (1969–1999), which every year published each department's courses, number of students studying at each level, and so on, and the departments took turns to edit the journal. Ingrid Sjöström, the first postdoc research fellow of art history appointed at Stockholm University, describes how quickly this new band of professional art historians devised novel working methods and means of collaborating at the national level—work that was previously the professors' domain. This first generation of young, energetic research leaders made a lasting impression on their departments.[48]

Two high-profile professors

Rudolf Zeitler contributed to developing the undergraduate curriculum in Uppsala primarily through his work for the reform commission. Allan Ellenius also had a crucial role in planning Uppsala's undergraduate curriculum and courses as a docent and senior lecturer. In their roles as professors, supervisors, and researchers, both were internationalists who made use of their extensive networks for their postgraduate research seminars.

When Rudolf Zeitler left Germany in 1937 for political and ideological reasons, he had completed an advanced degree the year before at the German University in Prague, working under the notable historian Victor Ehrenberg on the thesis *Sophokles und die Polis*. Meeting Gregor Paulsson in Sweden moved him towards art history, which he had studied as a 20-year-old in Germany under Richard Hamann. In the 1940s, Zeitler began publishing in the field, the most notable book of his early career being *Albrecht Dürer*. He eagerly returned to German topics, including Caspar David Friedrich, while his Swedish work included the small group of graphic artists from Falun and turn-of-the-century painters such as Bruno Liljefors and Prince Eugen (1865–1947), whom he introduced to German audiences. Zeitler also developed his own theory of the affinities between Uppsala Cathedral and the North German Brick Gothic architectural style. His doctoral thesis, *Klassizismus und Utopia*, was international in focus, and classicism and neo-classicism continued to be subjects of interest. He contributed to the art history encyclopaedia *Propyläen Kunstgeschichte*, and edited its volume on nineteenth-century art, *Die Kunst des 19. Jahrhunderts*. He also wrote the guidebook *Schweden* for the Reclams Kunstführer series. Throughout his life he wrote for the German art journal *Kunstchronik*, including reports on developments in Swedish art history and research.

In Zeitler's time as professor (1964–1977), the position changed substantially. The introduction of a *prefekt* (head of department) competed with the role of professor in terms of power. The additional changes that came to departments in the wake of reforms of the late 1960s—more staff, increased administration, numerous queries from university supervisors—all placed new demands on the department's leadership. It thus became more and more difficult for the professor to maintain the department's focus on research and to provide opportunities for academic exchanges on all levels including abroad. Evidence of such efforts are found in the steady stream of guest lecturers to Zeitler's postgraduate research seminars and his extensive correspondence with the likes of Klaus Lankheit and Udo Kultermann.

The guest lecturers included art historians from both West and East Germany and scholars working on everything from classicism to contemporary art and culture. Thus there was Herbert von Einem, from Bonn, who spoke in 1968 on 'Michelangelo und die Antike', and Edgar Lehmann, from East Berlin, who led a seminar in 1974 on 'Kaisertum und die monastische Reform im frühen Mittelalter'.[49] Hannelore Gärtner, from Greifswald, spoke in 1972 on twentieth-century art history in a lecture about socially critical art in Germany in the 1920s and 1930s; Peter H. Feist, from East Berlin, talked about contemporary art in East Germany; and Hanna Deinhard, an art sociologist then working in New York, spoke in 1976 on 'The Work of Art as Primary Source: A Sociology of Art Based on Modern Painting'.[50]

Lectures were regularly given in German (by visitors from both East and West Germany and from Poland), and Swedish audiences most likely struggled to grasp their meaning, as indicated in Zeitler's frequently detailed summaries. Zeitler's letters reveal that his relationships with many of these people were both long lasting and genuine, on both an academic and a personal level. It is also clear that he devoted significant time and energy to these invitations, which, as these visits were often the only opportunity for researchers in the East to travel to the West, required a deft diplomatic touch.

At Zeitler's retirement ceremony, in 1977, Ellenius summarized his predecessor's approach to art: 'For Rudolf Zeitler, art has always been a deeply moral pursuit, a means of asserting man's value and integrity, in contrast to the barbarism of Nazism and other ideologies of violence. He is firmly rooted in the main cultural traditions of European humanism.'[51]

Allan Ellenius succeeded Zeitler as professor, serving his entire career at the Department of Art History at Uppsala University. He acquired his art-historical training in Gregor Paulsson's seminars, influenced by his instructor's theories about artefacts and their social context, and by the scholarship of Erwin Panofsky and E. H. Gombrich. In his initial work Ellenius was drawn to the history of ideas and its founder in Sweden, Johan Nordström. In 1960, he completed his thesis, *De arte pingendi: Latin Art Literature in Seventeenth-Century Sweden and Its International Background*. His scholarship thereafter covered a wide range of topics, including Baroque art theory and iconography; visual representations from Sweden's era of greatness, including *Karolinska bildidéer*; nineteenth-century monuments; scientific images; and Swedish artists such as Bruno Liljefors and Torsten Renqvist. He published throughout his career, his bibliography being one of the most extensive of all Swedish art historians.

By the time Ellenius was made professor, in 1977, the department had undergone momentous changes in structure and content, changes he had facilitated. His principal contribution was with dissertation projects at the undergraduate and graduate levels: he encouraged collaboration, with students working together on a particular theme, developing their skills in formulating questions and ideas, and then critically reviewing one another's results. The first group of bachelor's dissertations were in Art and Municipal Politics, where students inventoried public art from 1900 to 1960 in their home communities in several regional cities. Alongside this material, the students examined archival documents related to the commissioning of the works. While serving as their supervisor, Ellenius conducted research for his book *Den offentliga konsten och ideologierna* ('Public art and ideologies').[52]

Under Ellenius' guidance, both the curricula and research in Uppsala focused on visual communication, including an undergraduate course on the subject. We with Thomas Hård af Segerstad, Börje Magnusson, Barbro Werkmäster were the five of his doctoral students who worked together on the public-financed project Bildens och bildkonstens kommunikationsproblem under 1800- och 1900-talen (Problems of communication in images of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries).[53] The publications which resulted from this research included *Visual Paraphrases: Studies in Mass Media Imagery*.[54] For the last research project he oversaw as professor, Ellenius worked with Peter Gillgren (b.1958), Börje Magnusson (b.1943), Karin Sidén (b.1961), and Mårten Snickare (b.1962) and returned to artistic expression in the time of the Swedish Empire, with the results published as *Baroque Dreams: Art and Vision in Sweden in the Era of Greatness*.[55]

Throughout his long career as an art historian, as his surviving letters attest, Ellenius was greatly

influenced by his trips abroad and international contacts, illustrated here by three of the most prominent: Francis Haskell (1928–2000), Michael Baxandall (1933–2008), and Ernest Gombrich (1909–2001).

The correspondence with Haskell dealt primarily with preparations for his trips to Sweden in 1972 and 1983. For the first, plans were made for visits in Lund, Gothenburg, Uppsala, and Stockholm—a taxing programme. The four leading art history departments joined forces to sponsor Haskell's visit, with each afforded the opportunity to become acquainted with this esteemed art historian. He proposed three topics for his lectures, his preference being 'Aristocracy, Nouveau-riche, Bourgeois: Art Patronage in France in the Early Years of the Nineteenth Century', which focused on the patron Gian Battista Sommariva, the most influential in France of his time. 'His career raises some extremely interesting points and the material I have found out about him has never been published and is I think entirely original', Haskell wrote enthusiastically.[56] Haskell's open lecture was not commented on in the Uppsala seminar records. However, for the evening seminar on the same day, it was indicated that he spoke on the second topic on his list: 'Political and Social Metaphor in 19th-Century Art Criticism'. Zeitler led the seminar and offered a summary: 'A protracted use of political metaphors in the latter half of the nineteenth century led artists to view their works as politically revolutionary'.[57] Some years later, Uppsala invited Haskell back, a visit that included only Uppsala and Stockholm, with Ellenius overseeing arrangements. At both institutions, Haskell lectured and led seminars—well attended in Uppsala—on the topic 'The Wolf and the Lightening: Some Reflections on Art History Evidence'.[58]

Ellenius' acquaintance with Baxandall, who was at the Warburg Institute, seems to have started in the mid-1970s. In 1976, Ellenius invited him to come to Uppsala, and they agreed on the topic for his talk:

> As for your lecture your subject will suit us perfectly. The social interpretation of art has for a long time been a well-known topic at our institute. I assume you have heard about professor Paulsson's writings on these problems, e.g. his *Die soziale Dimension der Kunst*. He once set the pace for the investigation of art from points of social history and social psychology and is now recognized as a pioneer for this kind of research in this country (and he deserves to be better known abroad). We announce your lecture under the title proposed in your letter, that is 'Art and Social History: Pre-Reformation German Sculpture'.[59]

By 1977, their acquaintance had developed into friendship, and their communications were more informal. Ellenius supported Baxandall's scholarship in the department and wrote in a letter, 'It might interest you to know that your book on painting and experience is now established reading in our introductory classes and will be read every term by approximately 150 students. Knowledge proceeds!'[60] As a result of their close relationship, Ellenius was invited to join the international advisory board (as the only Scandinavian) of the new journal *Art History*, its first issue appearing in 1978.[61]

Of those working at the Warburg Institute, though, none was more important to Ellenius than Gombrich, and their correspondence was large, with forty letters preserved from 1959 to 1999, although there is much to suggest there were other letters now missing.[62] Copies of Ellenius' typed letters have been saved, while Gombrich's missives are the originals, some handwritten and some typed. The tone and manner of address gradually shifted throughout their exchanges, from a high degree of formality in the early letters to Dear Ernst/Dear Allan following Gombrich's second visit to Sweden, in the autumn of 1969. The letters are frequently long and include detailed discussions about the topic of interest, with two themes dominating: views on art and methodology ('how to do art history') and their own scholarship. A sense of mutual respect comes through, even if Gombrich, the senior of the two by nearly twenty years, had the role as a sort of mentor, to whom Ellenius often turned for counsel.

The expanding field of art history and the concomitant issues of methodology were touched on in their letters, such as those from 1969. For example, Ellenius, working on his book on public monuments, wrote that 'the method has to be constructed from case to case'.[63] Gombrich responded:

> I am very glad you are writing on public monuments and think it is a lovely subject … Of course the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries are an ideal testing ground for your approach. So much of art produced at that time is not classified as art, though I am sure that this blanket condemnation of 'official' art cannot last. There are signs that the cloud is lifting.[64]

He finished by urging Ellenius to seek out Haskell, as we know he did:

> Well, I have chatted too much; take it as a sign how much all this interests me. There is one man here in England who shares some of this interest on a more factual level, he is Francis Haskell, now professor of Art History in Oxford. You ought to talk to him.

After receiving a copy of *Den offentliga konsten och ideologierna*, Gombrich wrote to thank Ellenius, who reported that the book was a success, with favourable reviews at home and abroad, including James Ackerman's comments regarding 'a new way of doing art history'.[65]

Gombrich and Ellenius corresponded until nearly the end of the elder scholar's life, and Ellenius contributed to the 1994 festschrift *Sight and Insight: Essays in Honour of E. H. Gombrich*. Their extensive correspondence deserves more thorough examination, and while it is only touched on here the substance of the letters plainly had a bearing on the new directions seen in the Uppsala perspective from the late 1960s to the late 1970s.

This essay revisits the traditional historiography of Swedish art history that focuses almost exclusively on national pioneers such as Johnny Roosval, Gregor Paulsson, Ragnar Josephson, and other 'founding fathers'. Later elements of the history of the discipline are highlighted, where not only global theories and paradigm shifts are found to have been significant, but also the contributions by groups and individuals are given due weight—there are perils in jettisoning the biographical perspective. National changes were demonstrably affected by local conditions, as were the pace and nature of developments at the various art history departments across Sweden.

Notes

1 This essay was written in close collaboration with Lena Johannesson, professor emerita, with whom I share memories of our time as doctoral students and teaching assistants in Uppsala in the 1970s, hence the use of the first-person plural pronouns. The translation was generously funded by Kungl. Gustav Adolfs Akademien för svensk folkkultur in Uppsala.

2 According to the seminar record, nearly one hundred people attended. Additionally, Prof. P. G. Hamberg, University of Gothenburg, spoke on August Hahr, and Prof. Sten Karling, Stockholm University, gave the closing speech. Uppsala universitets arkiv (Uppsala University Archives), Uppsala (UUA), Konstvetenskapliga institutionens arkiv (Department of Art History Archive) (KIA), Högre seminariet (Higher Seminars), May 1968.

3 UUA, KIA, Rudolf Zeitlers arkiv, Olika konsthistoriska manuskript 6, 'Konstvetenskap nu'.

4 UUA, KIA, Rudolf Zeitlers arkiv, Olika konsthistoriska manuskript 6, 'Konstvetenskap nu': 'märklig livsvärme … Denna livsvärme är hans konsts särmärke'.

5 For the publication process, see UUA, KIA, Allan Ellenius arkiv for the extensive correspondence between Ellenius and Panofsky, because Ellenius was the contact at the department.

6 UUA, KIA, Rudolf Zeitlers arkiv, Olika konsthistoriska manuskript 6, 'Konstvetenskap nu': 'underbara begåvning som historiker och berättare'; 'De tyska böckerna är fyllda av lärdom och har varit grundläggande för en hel forskningsinriktning inom konstvetenskapen, men historieberättartalangen blomstrade först när Panofsky började skriva på engelska, som är ett episkt språk'; 'gripen av sitt tema, gripen av förvandlingens realitet och medveten om att den inte skulle lämna honom själv oförvandlad'.

7 UUA, KIA, Rudolf Zeitlers arkiv, Olika konsthistoriska manuskript 6, 'Konstvetenskap nu': 'ett kärnfaktum och kärnproblem i konstvetenskapen, nämligen de stora konstnärernas singularitet'.

8 For a précis of Allan Ellenius' speech, see Siegrun Fernlund & Peter Schönström, 'Värden och värderingar i konstvetenskapen', *Konstvetenskaplig Bulletin* 20 (1979).

9 Fernlund & Schönström, 'Värden och värderingar': 'vårt ämne har på senare tid vidgats väsentligt och fått en sådan bredd att vi måste anpassa våra metoder till det nya materialet'; 'metodisk pluralism och att fortsätta att diskutera metoderna'.

10 Allan Ellenius, 'Visuell kommunikation' and 'Institutionsrapport', *Konstvetenskaplig Bulletin* 14 (1976), 57–8.

11 Ellenius, 'Visuell kommunikation', 57: 'en kalejdoskopisk mångfald'.

12 Ellenius, 'Visuell kommunikation', 57–8: 'den etablerade konstens idégods och Bildkonventioner'; 'allsidig information om det moderna bildutbudet och dess rötter i främst 1800-talets mångskiftande bildproduktion'.

13 Their deliberations and choices can be traced in conference reports and departmental activity reports published in *Konstvetenskaplig Bulletin*, the journal of Samarbetsnämnden (the Coordinating Committee).

14 The editorship of *Konstvetenskaplig Bulletin* in 1969–1999 rotated between the art history departments in Gothenburg, Linköping, Umeå, Uppsala, and Karlstad, with most of the editing done by teaching assistants, research assistants, and postdoc research fellows there.

15 Zeitler family archive (private), Uppsala (hereafter ZFA), Skrivelser från min ämbetsperiod 1964–1968–1977. We are extremely grateful to have been granted access to Zeitler's private papers, currently held by his son, the architect Sven Georg Zeitler.

16 Our thanks to the conservator Sara Ellenius, Stockholm, who currently oversees Allan Ellenius' papers, for allowing us to consult the family's private records, the Ellenius family archive (hereafter EFA).

17 Ingrid Sjöström, Lena Johannesson & Hedvig Brander Jonsson, Stockholm, 3 & 5 Feb. 2020 (personal communication). Starting in 1989, Ingrid Sjöström worked on the Sveriges Kyrkor (Swedish churches) series for Riksantikvarieämbetet (the Swedish National Heritage Board).

18 The designation AB was a one-year course (60 ECTS), the A course in the autumn and the B course in the spring. Until 1969, a full year of study resulted in two final grades and was the only way to continue studying art history. At Uppsala, an A course with one final grade was offered, considered a general survey that could be built on; abandoned as something of a cul-de-sac, after 1969 the courses and course units were divided into discrete points.

19 Annika Öhrner, 'Radikalisering av konstvetenskapen i Stockholm och Lund', *Praktiske Grunde* 4 (2011), 57–65.

20 Öhrner, 'Radikalisering av konstvetenskapen', 62: 'Genom att följa tillkomsten av AB2-kursen framträder här bilden av hur statsmaktens, akademins och studentradikalernas intressen i flera avseenden drog åt samma håll, vilket var garanten för

att förändringen i kursplanerna i en mer samhällsrelaterad riktning verkligen kunde komma till stånd.'

21 The studies were conducted by education scientists and historians.

22 Sven Sandström, *Konstforskning: Stagnation eller förnyelse?* (Stockholm: Natur & Kultur, 1965).

23 Öhrner, 'Radikalisering av konstvetenskapen', 60. This version was corroborated by Sandström at the Uppsala Conference in 2019; Sandström had not been invited to the first meeting as he was not then a professor, but he did atttend a later meeting.

24 ZFA, Skrivelser från min ämbetsperiod 1964–1968–1977.

25 ZFA, Skrivelser från min ämbetsperiod 1964–1968–1977, 'PM 3.1 1966', 5: 'har vissa personella förutsättningar att åstadkomma goda resultat av en även internationellt godtagbar kvalitet är följande: arkitekturforskning, stadsforskning, forskning om modern konst, konstpedagogik och konstpsykologi'.

26 ZFA, Skrivelser från min ämbetsperiod 1964–1968–1977, Folke Nordström to Zeitler, Sävar, 17 Jan. 1966; ibid., Sven Sandström to Zeitler, Lund, n.d; ZFA, Skrivelser från min ämbetsperiod 1964–1968–1977, 'PM 3.1 1966', 5: '1. Läraryrket, där konsthistoria ofta kombineras med litteraturhistoria och historia 2. Verksamhet vid massmedia och bokförlag, där konsthistoria ofta kombineras med estetik, litteraturvetenskap och/eller ett modernt språk 3. Teckningsläraryrket 4. Museums- och lands-/stads-antikvarieverksamhet, där konsthistoria ofta kombineras med nordisk fornkunskap eller folklivsforskning, 5. Forskningsverksamhet.—Därutöver förekommer ströfall: blivande arkitekter, formgivare i konstindustrien etc, läser konsthistoria.' ('1. Teaching, where art history is often combined with literary history and history 2. Work in mass media and publishing, where art history is often combined with aesthetics, literary studies, and/or modern languages 3. Drawing teacher 4. Museum curator 5. Research. Beyond that, the occasional case of future architects, industrial designers, etc., studying art history.')

27 Gusten Holm, 'Året då studenterna bankade på dörren', *Ergo: Uppsala Studentkårs Tidning*, 13 May 2008. From 1840 to 1967, it had been Ecklesiastikminister (Minister for Ecclesiastical Affairs), Palme's title in his first year in the post.

28 For the art history working group's proposals, see Universitetskanslersämbetet (UKÄ, Swedish Higher Education Authority), *Utbildningslinjer vid filosofisk fakultet, ii: Förslag till studieplaner* (Stockholm, 1968), 215–20.

29 Rudolf Zeitler, 'Studieplan för ämnet konstvetenskap, grundkurs AB1, AB2', *Konstvetenskaplig Bulletin* 1 (1969), 1–12.

30 ZFA, Skrivelser från min ämbetsperiod 1964–1968–1977, 'Några allmänna synpunkter om konsthistoriens läge i Sverige. Skrivelse till UKÄ 15.4 1966, på uppdrag av professorerna Per Gustaf Hamberg (G), Sten Karling (S), Oscar Reuterswärd (L), Armin Tuulse (S), och undertecknat av Rudolf Zeitler (U)'.

31 ZFA, Skrivelser från min ämbetsperiod 1964–1968–1977, 'Till UKAS. Några kommentarer till studieplanen i konstvetenskap, Uppsala den 10.12.1968': 'Vid mitt arbete på studieplanen i konstvetenskap har jag haft att utgå från att den nya undervisningen inte finge bli dyrare än den hittillsvarande.'

32 ZFA, Skrivelser från min ämbetsperiod 1964–1968–1977, Zeitler to Klaus Lankheit, 15 Feb. 1970.

33 ZFA, Skrivelser från min ämbetsperiod 1964–1968–1977, copy of UKAS II Dnr UKÄ 4 April 1967, 'Till Fakultetsberedningen för humaniora och teologi, Universitetskanslersämbetet, Stockholm, Lund och Uppsala den 1 mars 1967, Carl Fehrman, Professor i litteraturhistoria med poetik och Rudolf Zeitler, Professor i konsthistoria med konstterori': 'ett program för utveckling av de estetiska forskningsresurserna på universitetsnivå'.

34 ZFA, Skrivelser från min ämbetsperiod 1964–1968–1977, Arbetsgruppen i estetik (Aesthetics working group), 'Till professor i Konsthistoria Rudolf Zeitler. Uppsala 18.9.68': 'alternativ grundkurs I i konstvetenskap'.

35 ZFA, Skrivelser från min ämbetsperiod 1964–1968–1977, Zeitler to the aesthetics working group, Uppsala, 20 Sept. 1968: 'Om de i UKAS II tryckta förslagen för estetik och konstvetenskap går igenom i befintligt skick, vill jag mycket gärna samråda med lärarna och studenterna i estetik för att få till stånd en för båda parter tillfredsställande uppläggning av undervisningen.' ('If the proposals regarding aesthetics and art history in UKAS II are adopted in their current state, I will gladly work with the aesthetics lecturers and students to reach an arrangement regarding the courses that is satisfactory to all partners.')

36 ZFA, Skrivelser från min ämbetsperiod 1964–1968–1977, 'Till Humanistiska fakulteten vid Uppsala universitet. Ang förslag till remiss å U 68', 28 Dec. 1970. The letter of response from the guidance counsellor Ulf Liljedahl provides a review of possible course syllabuses and reading lists, and stresses that (Teddy) Brunius and (Göran) Sörbom were unaware of the students' initiatives.

37 See Anders Åman, 'Före och efter 1970: Från konsthistoria till konstvetenskap', in Britt-Inger Johansson & Hans Pettersson (eds), *8 kapitel om konsthistoriens historia i Sverige* (Stockholm: Raster, 2000), 213–14.

38 Åman, 'Före och efter 1970', 213–14: 'en alternativ grundkurs'.

39 Åman, 'Före och efter 1970', 214: 'Visuell kommunikation', 'Bild [sic] och massbild' (correctly 'Bildkonst och massbild'), 'Arkitektur och bebyggelse', 'Kvinnor, konst och skapande'.

40 Sven Sandström edited *Konst och psykologi: Konstpsykologiska texter, Konstsociologi: Konstsociologiska texter*, and *Konst i samhället*, all published in 1970 by Gleerups in Lund.

41 Åman, 'Före och efter 1970', 214: 'Den breda översikten var åter nästan allenarådande. På gott och ont.'

42 The anti-war groups active in Sweden in the 1970s were generally pro-Viet Cong.

43 Discussions about revamping the graduate programme continued throughout the period in question. An early example was UUA, KIA, Högre seminariet, 22 May 1969.

44 Kenneth Hudson visited on 27 May 1968 and 1–3 Nov. 1971, lecturing on both occasions on 'Industrial Archaeology'. In mid July 1971, various speakers gave a series of lectures on cultural heritage; Kenneth Hudson had begun employing the term 'industrial archaeology', which Nisser considered misleading, choosing to use 'industriminnesforskning' (industrial heritage research) instead. In 1972, Morgan Rees of Cardiff University visited and lectured on the 'Industrial Archaeology of Wales'. In the spring of 1972, Nisser presented her research on Norrköping's industrial buildings, later published in 1976.

45 UUA, KIA, Högre seminariet, 4 Nov. 1973, 4 Apr. 1974, 13 May 1974, 29 Sept. 1976 et passim. Nisser, a talented photographer, used her own slides in her teaching. High-quality images taken with a Hasselblad camera, the slides are now

held in the Marie Nisser's picture archives in Jernkontorets archives, Stockholm.

46 The report from the trip was published as Hans-Olof Boström (ed.), *Riga, Tallinn, Leningrad: Uppsatser från Konstvetenskapliga institutionens resa till Sovjetunionen i april 1971* (Uppsala, 1971).

47 'Finlandsexkursionen 24.4–7.5 1973', foreword by Marie Nisser (course compendium; Uppsala: 1973).

48 Ingrid Sjöström, Lena Johannesson & Hedvig Brander Jonsson, Stockholm, 3 Feb. 2020 (personal communication) note that the original group included Marie Nisser (Uppsala), Ingrid Sjöström (Stockholm), and Jan Torsten Ahlstrand (Lund); Ingrid Sjöström to Lena Johannesson & Hedvig Brander Jonsson, 5 Feb. 2020 (personal communication).

49 UUA, KIA, Högre seminariet, has Einem visiting the department on 8 Mar. 1968 and Lehman on 26 Aug. 1974.

50 UUA, KIA, Högre seminariet, has Gärtner, 5 May 1972; Feist, 20 Jan. 1969; and Deinhard, 4 May 1976.

51 UUA, KIA, Allan Ellenius Arkiv, draft of Ellenius' essay on Zeitler's academic approach, written at the request of the university chancellor Torgny Segerstedt for Zeitler's retirement, 22 Oct. 1977: 'Konsten har för Rudolf Zeitler alltid varit en djupt moralisk angelägenhet, ett medel att hävda människans värde och integritet gentemot nazismens och andra våldsideologiers barbari. Han är fast förankrad i den europeiska humanismens stora kulturtradition.'

52 Allan Ellenius, *Den offentliga konsten och ideologierna: Studier över verk från 1800- och 1900-talen* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1971). At the same time, Sven Sandström at Lund University also led research on public and contemporary art, largely taking a sociological approach.

53 Allan Ellenius, 'Presentation av projektet Bildens och Bildkonstens kommunikationsproblem under 1800- och 1900-talen: Statens Humanistiska forskningsråd 1972–1977', *Konstvetenskaplig Bulletin* 16 (1976), 33–6.

54 Hedvig Brander Jonsson et al., *Visual Paraphrases: Studies in Mass Media Imagery* (Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 1984).

55 Allan Ellenius (ed.), *Baroque Dreams: Art and Vision in Sweden in the Era of Greatness* (Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 2003).

56 UUA, KIA, Allan Ellenius arkiv, Francis Haskell to Ellenius, 1972.

57 UUA, KIA, Högre seminariet, 19 May 1972: 'Ett långt bruk av politiska metaforer ledde mot slutet av 1800-talet till att konstnärerna uppfattade sitt nyskapande som politiskt revolutionärt'.

58 UUA, KIA, Allan Ellenius arkiv, Haskell to Ellenius, 23 Sept.–31 Oct. 1983; ibid., Haskell to Åke Fant, Stockholm, copy, 21 Nov. 1983; UUA, KIA, Högre seminariet, 6 Dec. 1983.

59 UUA, KIA, Allan Ellenius arkiv, Ellenius to Michael Baxandall, 4 Nov. 1976.

60 UUA, KIA, Allan Ellenius arkiv, Ellenius to Baxandall, 22 Aug. 1977. The book in question was *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth-Century Italy* of 1972.

61 UUA, KIA, Allan Ellenius arkiv, Baxandall to Ellenius, 12 July 1977.

62 EFA, Allan Ellenius brev, Ellenius correspondence with E. H. Gombrich, 1959–1999.

63 EFA, Allan Ellenius brev, Ellenius to Gombrich, 8 Jan. 1969.

64 EFA, Allan Ellenius brev, Gombrich to Ellenius, 11 Jan. 1969.

65 EFA, Allan Ellenius brev, Gombrich to Ellenius, 13 Dec. 1971; ibid., Ellenius to Gombrich, 22 Feb. 1972.

CHAPTER 6

A complex relationship

Architectural history and the architects

Claes Caldenby & Anders Dahlgren

The late 1960s and early 1970s witnessed an architectural history turn, as architects exhibited a new interest in architectural history.[1] Essentially, it was a reaction to the disregard for history in the post-war economic boom—disregard for the subject of history and disregard for the history of existing buildings and urban environments. The turn was the profession having second thoughts, *post factum*.

Examples of this turn were manifold and international. The Declaration of Amsterdam from the European Architectural Heritage Year, in 1975, stated that the preservation of architectural heritage is 'a matter of vital importance'.[2] The International Confederation of Architectural Museums, ICAM, was founded in 1979 to 'foster the study of architectural history in the interest of future practice'.[3] The first Venice Biennale of Architecture was held in 1980 with the theme 'La presenza del passato', the presence of the past. And in 1999 an issue of the *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* announced that interest in history had grown considerably in the last quarter century, as seen in the architecture schools' 'repatriation' of architectural history and the remarkable increase in the number of architectural museums around the world, from 15 to 90 in two decades.[4]

The same turn was evident in Sweden. The art historian Anders Åman (1935–2008) claimed that one of the dramatic changes in his professional life was the sudden interest in around 1965 that architecture students had in architectural history.[5] Soon thereafter, multiple developments confirmed the importance of architectural history for architectural practice. Doctoral programmes in architectural history were formalized at schools of architecture in the early 1970s. The number of PhDs in these programmes increased quickly, from zero to seven in the 1970s to twenty in the 1980s. Architecture also secured a stronger position in art history departments in 1969 with the introduction of the AB2 programme and its focus on contemporary art and architecture. From the 1960s to the 1970s, the number of doctorates in architectural history from art history departments increased tenfold, and in the 1980s this was matched by those from the schools of architecture. Additionally, a Swedish museum of architecture was founded in 1962 by the National Association of Swedish Architects as a private foundation.[6] It received public funding in 1978, indicating wider support for the institution. And in 1976, *Arkitektur*, the Swedish review of architecture, appointed an art historian as an editor for the first time.[7]

The 'migration [of architectural history] in and out of architecture schools and art history departments has always coincided with upheavals in the profession itself', the American architectural historian Alina Payne (b.1954) argued in 1999.[8] She seems to view art history and schools of architecture as interconnected, where an increased interest in the architectural profession helps to separate architectural history from art history. It is worth noting that in the architectural history turn in Sweden around 1970, all teachers of architectural history at the country's four schools of architecture had trained as art historians.[9] Åman later asserted that the interest in a broader history of the built environment started at the schools of architecture and spread to art history departments.[10] Perhaps, more correctly, it should be understood as a parallel interest, current at young architectural practices, schools of architecture, and art history departments.

There is an asymmetry between the subjects of art history and architectural history. Architectural history is a sub-category of art history, while art history is never expected to be incorporated into architectural history.[11] This essay investigates the history, in Swe-

den, of the complex relationship between art history as a discipline and the role of architectural history for practising architects—that is, the relationship between academia and practice. The focus will be the post-war architectural history turn and especially its manifestation at the School of Architecture at Chalmers University of Technology when Elias Cornell (1916–2008) was professor of architectural history. The reasons are twofold: the strength and importance of this institution and access to information, including both archival and first-hand knowledge of the institution and Cornell.[12] Although architectural history at the School of Architecture at Kungliga Akademien för de fria konsterna aka Konstakademien (the Royal Swedish Academy of Fine Arts or Royal Academy) in Stockholm was in many ways as influential as that at Chalmers, its history has been well chronicled in recent publications.[13] The histories of the three other architecture schools—the other two being at Kungliga Tekniska högskolan (KTH, the Royal Institute of Technology) and Lund University—and the place of architectural history at these institutions, is, however, an unexamined field.[14] Therefore, even though Chalmers and Elias Cornell are central in this account, we will also attempt to provide a rough sketch of the broader perspectives, the place of architectural history in the education of architects, from the beginning of such an education to the present. In that narrative, we comment on the changing relevance of architectural history for the practice of architecture. With this expanded view, it becomes apparent that what occurred in the 1970s was not the first architectural history turn.

Architects as historians and architect–historians

The history of academic art history in Sweden is the subject of this volume. And it has its parallels in the equally brief history of architectural history. This does not mean that architectural history was absent from the earlier education of architects. Quite the opposite, in fact. But until the advent of modernism it was taught by professors of architecture—*architect–historians*, one could say—as an unquestioned basis for architectural practice.

The founding of the Royal Academy in 1735 coincided with the construction of the new royal palace in Stockholm.[15] More formal regulation of the academy's work came in 1773, which included a chair in architecture. An architectural education was launched in 1781, focused on competitions for travel grants. With it came a library collection to serve as a teaching resource, which by 1806 already comprised 660 books and volumes of engravings. Classical architecture was the self-evident model, taught by the professor of architecture.

From around 1800 there was a *lägre byggnadsskola* or foundation course, with a more practical education, which later moved to KTH in Stockholm. In the early nineteenth century, the academy attempted to find a balance between practical and technical instruction and the veneration of classical rules, which was achieved, according to the art and architectural historian Göran Lindahl (1924–2015), when Fredrik Wilhelm Scholander (1816–1881) was professor (1848–1881).[16] Scholander considered the architects of antiquity and the Renaissance to be necessary models of study for their principles, but not to be slavishly followed: 'Then each can do what he deems best and prefers'.[17] The majority of the leading Swedish architects of the late nineteenth century were taught by Scholander.

When Sigurd Curman (1879–1966) was appointed professor of Swedish and comparative architectural history at the Royal Academy in 1912, he was the first to hold a chair in architectural history.[18] This not only amounted to an architectural history turn, it marked the start of the second phase in the relationship between academia and practice, one presided over by men who were both architects and historians. There was a defence of an older building culture under threat by industrialization and modernization. Curman had recently completed his PhD in art history in Uppsala, but he was also well versed in architectural history. He had been teaching the subject at the Royal Academy since 1910, and the chair was designed for him. There was another applicant for the position, the art historian August Hahr (1868–1947), who was older and had stronger academic qualifications, but he lacked Curman's experience of measurement and restoration work. Curman got the chair with little hesitation owing to his competence as a practising architect, which was valued as much as his academic merits. As soon as Curman began teaching in 1910 there was a shift from a criticized focus on the 'prize projects' to more hands-on contact with the buildings, both with a view to restoration and as an inspiration for new design. For example, Curman organized bicycle excursions into the Swedish countryside for three weeks every June, a student tradition adopted from the art history department. Curman also lectured on Swedish architectural history at KTH as part of his duties. Nevertheless, after only six years, in 1918, Curman left the Royal Academy for more practical restoration work at a newly reorganized Riksantikvarieämbetet (Swedish National Heritage Board). In 1923 he was appointed Riksantikvarie (National Antiquarian).

Curman's successor as professor was Martin Olsson (1886–1981), who was also both an architect and an

art historian, with a licentiate degree from Uppsala University. He held the chair until 1946 while working as a leading restoration architect, heading major projects such as the work on Riddarholmen Church, the Royal Palace in Stockholm, and Kalmar Castle. In 1946, Olsson also succeeded Curman as National Antiquarian. Erik Lundberg (1895–1969), who replaced Olsson at the Royal Academy, was, like his mentor Curman, both an architect and an art historian, and worked as a productive restoration architect.

Lundberg's retirement in 1961 marked the end of a half-century-long tradition at the Royal Academy of architectural history professors with combined expertise in art history, architecture, and restoration. Of the six applicants shortlisted for the position in 1961, only one had trained as an architect and an art historian; all the others were art historians. Two of them, Göran Lindahl and Elias Cornell, were also active as critics of contemporary architecture, but this does not seem to have been important to the appointment committee.[19] The position required an ability to teach both Swedish and Nordic architectural history and architectural restoration. Curman assessed the candidates in great detail and concluded none had the requisite experience as a restoration architect. In the end, though, Göran Lindahl, with his licentiate degree in art history, was unanimously recommended by the committee for the professorship, owing to his ability to teach architectural history.

The course Lindahl took over in 1961 still followed the lines established by Lundberg. There were study tours with measurement exercises, and discussions of restoration problems in churches and castles, occasionally with students from KTH's School of Architecture. However, in 1962 the department's focus was already shifting to the ongoing transformation of Sweden's inner cities. Thus, after a long initial phase of architect–historians in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, followed by a half-century of architects and historians in charge of architectural history, came the architectural history turn, with historians as critics, who brought a critical perspective and a determination to influence contemporary architectural practice.[20] This last development will be discussed below after an introduction to the history of the schools of architecture at Chalmers and KTH.

Chalmers University of Technology

Chalmers University of Technology in Gothenburg offered its first course in architecture or *civil byggnadskonst* (lit. civil architecture) in 1856, the second such programme in Sweden.[21] It started as a three-year course of study, the first two years corresponding to the same curriculum as other engineering programmes, and only the third year specialized in building. The course was technical and practical, and the teaching of Stil och formlära med särskild hänsyn till konstruktionen (Style and Form with Special Regard to Construction) fell to the architecture lecturers. The architect Victor von Gegerfelt (1817–1915) served as the primary lecturer in the subject from 1868 to 1876. Trained at the Bauakademie (Building Academy) in Berlin, he included Karl Bötticher's book *Tektonik der Hellenen* in his list of required reading (in the original German, it being the standard foreign language in Sweden).

The architect Hans Hedlund (1855–1931) took over from 1886 to 1923. In 1911 he became the first professor of what was then called *husbyggnadskonst* (lit. the art of building). A glimpse into his teaching methods may be found in lecture notes taken by one of his students, the architect Cyrillus Johansson (1884–1959). He recorded Hedlund's introduction to the subject: 'The history of architecture can be organized by historical periods or nationalities; here we will organize it according to basic construction principles. Note: The aesthetic art form is derived from the construction and not the other way around.'[22] This short preface is followed by a list of the periods to be covered: from Primitive Architecture, through the 'straight covering of space (the beam)', to arches and vaults, and, finally, the contemporary architecture ('of eclectic nature', encompassing everything from the Renaissance to Empire).[23]

In 1923, Melchior Wernstedt (1886–1973) succeeded Hedlund and also lectured on the history of architecture, but with less emphasis on construction skills. Restoration was not part of the Chalmers course. From 1946, late in Wernstedt's tenure, the course in the history of architecture, which fell in the second and third years of the studies, was taken over by the art history doctoral student Elias Cornell.

KTH Royal Institute of Technology

The course in *byggnadskonst* (architecture) began at the then Teknologiska institutet (Institute of Technology) in Stockholm in 1858, only two years after Chalmers. In 1877 the Institute of Technology was reorganized as a university, KTH. With that, the Royal Academy's foundation course was moved to KTH and its new school of architecture.

As at Chalmers, the teaching of architectural history fell to the professor of architecture. Besides being a noted architect, Isak Gustaf Clason (1856–1930) was an influential professor of architecture at KTH between 1890 and 1904. He was also close to the families of both Sigurd Curman and Hans Hedlund and had likely advised Curman to study architecture.[24]

Following Clason's departure, the architect Gustaf Lindgren (1863–1930) took over the teaching of the history of architecture in 1905; much like Hedlund's, his lectures focused on construction.[25]

Curman's chair at the Royal Academy required him to lecture on Swedish architectural history at KTH—a practice continued through the professorships of Olsson and Lundberg, and Lindahl's first years. By mid century, though, the architecture students at KTH had little interest in architectural history, according to Ove Hidemark (1931–2015), later professor of the art of restoration at the Royal Academy. He noted how he helped Lundberg change slides for an almost empty lecture hall in the early 1950s.[26] This changed dramatically a decade later.

Chalmers under Elias Cornell

In 1965, four years after Lindahl's installation as professor at the Royal Academy, a chair in architectural history at Chalmers University of Technology was announced—the first such position in an architecture department at a technical university in Sweden.[27] The post required many areas of expertise, including theory and method, relationships between humans and their environment, knowledge of individual buildings and works of architecture, architects, and commissioners, and the relationship between buildings and society in a variety of contexts.[28] It is reasonable to assume that the recruitment process, both in designing the position and assessing the candidates, reflected experience gained from the search at the Royal Academy five years earlier. Neither the advertisement of the position nor the assessments referred to a need or interest in the double competencies of architectural history and architectural practice.

In the event, Elias Cornell was the only candidate who applied by the deadline.[29] Cornell had received his training in art history at Uppsala University, earning his doctorate in 1952, and had been teaching at Chalmers' school of architecture since 1946.[30] One assessor, Göran Lindahl, who had been Cornell's contemporary as a doctoral student, noted that the list of requirements for the chair at Chalmers was short and gave little guidance. Notwithstanding, he identified three areas he deemed essential for the position: the production of high-quality academic work; competence in current issues related to the field of architecture and architectural history, even those of a non-academic nature; and pedagogical skills. In their assessments, Lindahl, the Norwegian architectural historian Erling Gjone (1898–1990), and the Swedish art historian Per Gustaf Hamberg (1913–1978) all concluded that Cornell fulfilled the requirements, was qualified, and should, as the only applicant, be offered the chair.

It is unknown whether the dual competencies of architect and architectural historian were purposely omitted from this search or if this was a consequence of the 1961 Royal Academy recruitment process. However, in all three assessments of Cornell's application, his writing about contemporary building and planning, alongside his research in architectural history and his teaching experience, were considered relevant qualifications. At Chalmers, unlike at the Royal Academy, the curriculum did not include building restoration, and therefore an architect–historian with practical experience as a restoration architect was not needed. Notably, while Lindahl's chair at the Royal Academy was in Swedish and contemporary architectural history, the chair at Chalmers was in the theory and history of architecture, which reflected Cornell's areas of expertise. Thus, the historian Chalmers needed, or at least the one it got in Cornell, would reinterpret the history of art and architecture to raise its relevance for contemporary architecture and education.

'Interpretation and guidance'

Cornell formulated the objective of the architectural historian as being twofold: interpretation and guidance.[31] His aim in interpreting existing architecture—historical and contemporary—was to mediate a knowledge of architecture, assisting the reader in understanding buildings and built environments. In this manner, the historian could serve as a guide to the contemporary architect about which existing buildings to seek inspiration from and which direction to take in the designing of new structures. This meant that Cornell did not engage in empirical research about buildings and the circumstances under which they were constructed. Instead, he used existing writings on the history of architecture as the points of departure for his analyses. While the appointment committee acknowledged this aspect of Cornell's academic production, it did not in their view detract from his qualifications; it even seemed to work in his favour.[32] Cornell's licentiate and doctoral theses were the only exceptions to this lack of empirical research, probably because it was expected in the field of art history when he earned his degrees.[33]

In his writings, Cornell repeatedly strove to integrate history and theory with criticism and interpretation, often about contemporary architecture or related issues. This was the case with the books *Ny svensk byggnadskonst* ('New Swedish architecture'), *Byggnadskonst eller bedräglig nytta* ('Architecture or false utility'), *Bygge av stad och land* ('Architecture, town and country'), and *Rivningsraseriets rötter* ('The demolition frenzy's historical roots'), where he criticized contemporary architecture from a clearly formulated

ideological standpoint, especially in the later books. Cornell's ambition of tying together elements of history, theory, and criticism in his work, combined with his interest in commenting on contemporary architecture, justifies his classification here as historian as critic.

To see Cornell as part of a larger contextual change, it is reasonable to draw parallels between him and currents in architectural history. For example, in 1964, the American Institute of Architects organized a seminar where the trinity of history, theory, and criticism was discussed in connection with architectural education and research.[34] The Italian architectural historian Bruno Zevi (1918–2000) argued that the teaching of history should not only be reintroduced into architectural education but it should be at the centre of it. Even though Cornell never explicitly referred to Zevi in his writing, he was inspired by him. The same was true of Cornell's relation to the Swiss architectural historian Sigfried Giedion (1888–1968), who, like Cornell and Zevi, was interested in the spatial interpretation of architectural form. As the architectural historian Sokratis Georgiadis (b.1949) has pointed out, Giedion thought 'historical knowledge was to be turned into an instrument, to be used operationally in the day-to-day architectural "struggle",' and he thereby adopted a stance on the aims of architectural history analogous to Cornell's interpretation and guidance.[35]

In Cornell's inaugural address on assuming the chair in 1965, he declared that in his teaching and writing he wanted to integrate the different professional areas of the building industry. These areas, he contended, had drifted apart in the era of modernity and industrialization, a development with roots in the eighteenth century, in the Enlightenment and the Industrial Revolution.[36] He argued that the result had been the loss of a holistic understanding of building in society, and he set the task for himself and the School of Architecture to restore this more comprehensive approach by integrating technology, art, and architecture.[37] In his writing, aimed at uniting these perspectives, Cornell drew connections between two traditions: the art-historical narrative of the history of style and the modernist theories of (architectural) space.

For Cornell, the formulation and application of the theory of space in his interpretations served to bridge the gap between art-historical research and contemporary architecture. Although Cornell was linked to a contemporary international field of research and writing on space in architectural history, he made no explicit references to his contemporaries.[38] Instead, Cornell built his own theory, starting with the book *Humanistic Inquiries into Architecture*, where he states that the uniqueness of the phenomenon of architecture is its fusion of an exterior form and an interior space. When the building is inhabited and occupied by its users, the dichotomy of exterior and interior is united into 'an integrated whole'.[39] He asserts that it is in these aspects—the merging of the outside and inside of a building—that the specificity of architecture is to be found, and this then is the point of departure of any architectural analysis. This analysis also demands perspectives from the humanities to address the holistic understanding of architecture.[40] Cornell applied this architectural theory in several texts, examining specific works of architecture.[41]

In *Humanistic Inquiries into Architecture*, Cornell drew on theories of modernist architecture and modernist architectural history about space, grounded in a history of ideas that reached back to the art historians Alois Riegl (1858–1905), Heinrich Wölfflin (1864–1945), and August Schmarsow (1853–1936).[42] This part of Cornell's theoretical writing and architectural interpretations bore many similarities with Giedion's books *Space, Time and Architecture: The Growth of a New Tradition* and *Architecture and the Phenomena of Transition: The Three Space Conceptions in Architecture*, and with Zevi's *Architecture as Space: How to Look at Architecture*, even though he did not refer to these texts per se.[43] Like Giedion, Cornell used the same narrative structure common in the history of style; history is divided into different periods and analysed as a continual development, where one phase leads to another. Giedion identified this as a problematic aspect of *Space, Time and Architecture*, which he tried to overcome in later works.[44] For Cornell, this was never an issue. Instead, his goal was a holistic review of architectural history, with which he could link historical to contemporary architecture.[45]

The ambition to integrate the study of history with the practice of architecture can also be traced in Cornell's teaching at Chalmers. Often, his students built models of historical buildings or general examples of building types. This practical, material, and creative approach to architectural history allowed him to bring together students with different areas of expertise to work on projects. It was also an opportunity to frustrate contemporary trends in separating intellectual and manual work.[46] Cornell's teaching methods shared elements with those of Zevi's. In 1945, after several years in exile, Zevi became a professor of the history of architecture at the University of Venice, and then later in Rome in 1964. When he moved to Rome, Zevi added 'history as a method of teaching architecture' to the curriculum. To integrate studies in architectural history with architectural projects, Zevi worked with what he called 'visualized criticism'.[47] He felt it necessary to teach architectural history not only through words but also through action, to let

students use the tools of architectural presentation and analysis: the drawing and the model. Under his guidance, his students practised visual criticism by building models of Michelangelo's architecture. Cornell's model studio at Chalmers was based on a pedagogical theory and method similar to Zevi's visualized criticism.

Beyond integrating intellectual and manual labour into architecture, Cornell also advocated the merging of historical studies with architectural projects for future buildings. This was achieved through a collaboration with Helge Zimdal (1903–2001), a professor of architecture. Students worked with projects that combined architectural schemes with architectural historical analysis. According to Cornell, knowledge about historical developments provided a solid platform for architectural projects.[48]

The focus of Cornell's writing and teaching on history, theory, and critique—as an interpreter and guide for contemporary architects—makes him a typical example of a historian as critic. As such, Cornell belonged to an international movement in contemporary schools of architecture and academics, along with Zevi and Giedion. However, Cornell, like Lindahl, had trained as an art historian, and thus, unlike Lundberg at the Royal Academy, was not qualified to expound on architectural practice and architectural history. He compensated for these lacunae in his architectural education and practical experience by incorporating aspects of interpretation and critique into his writing.

Here, Cornell differed from his peer Lindahl, who also could aspire to the historian-as-critic label, having written on both contemporary and historical architecture. But Lindahl drew a clear line between scholarly historical analysis of architecture and practical artistic knowledge about architecture.[49] Consequently, in his writing we never see the integration of historian-as-critic perspectives that featured in Cornell's holistic, spatial examination of architecture. This difference was articulated in Lindahl's assessment of Cornell's scholarly production in 1965. Lindahl concluded that Cornell's holistic and spatial analysis did not provide a useful tool for the historical study of architecture, given that Cornell's interpretation focused on the qualities and organization of spaces without considering the buildings' historical chronology.[50] In other words, Cornell read historical buildings from a contemporary perspective.

Historians as critics

It is remarkable that at the point of the architectural history turn around 1970, art historians were teaching architectural history at all four schools of architecture: Göran Lindahl at the Royal Academy; Elias Cornell at Chalmers; Anders Åman at KTH; and Olle Svedberg (1938–2019) at the newly established school of architecture at Lunds Tekniska Högskola (LTH, the Faculty of Engineering) at Lund University. Nonetheless, they were all critical historians for a critical generation of architecture students, albeit in different ways. No longer was the goal merely a close study of buildings in preparation for careful restoration; instead, there was a much broader take on the built environment, and a general critique of the lack of historical perspective in the economic boom of the 1960s (Fig. 6.1–6.4).

Lindahl reshaped the course at the Royal Academy within years of assuming the chair. In articles in daily newspapers and in his public lectures, he had shown a critical interest in the ongoing transformation of Sweden's inner cities. He questioned the concept of *funktionsduglighet* (functionality), that is, modifying old cities to meet the demands of cars and mass retail. Beginning in 1968, the school had a one-year programme in *användningsplanering* (resource planning), initially modelled on the industrial city of Norrköping. The idea was to understand the city's historical fabric and buildings, and to adjust to these functions rather than the other way around. This was also a new perspective for the heads of the National Heritage Board and a clear, relevant example of the architectural history turn.[51]

Elias Cornell built up a large department at Chalmers, with regular research seminars and some twenty doctoral students following the 1968 national education reform that introduced PhD programmes at schools of architecture. Some of the graduates went on to important teaching positions at Chalmers, even in subjects other than architectural history. For example, one of the postdoc research fellows, Boris Schönbeck (1935–1996), questioned the ongoing urban renewal projects in Gothenburg in the 1960s and 1970s, proposed alternative projects, and developed a conservation course at Chalmers. His objective was not to become an architectural historian but to gain 'a scientifically grounded basis for our future profession as architects and planners'.[52] Other former students worked with local community planning in close contact with village communities along the west coast and in central housing districts in Gothenburg.

Anders Åman, an art historian educated at Uppsala University, taught architectural history at KTH from 1964.[53] In the 1960s, the final separation between the Royal Academy and KTH was set in motion (concluded by 1978). For some years, Lindahl thus taught the architectural history of antiquity and the Middle Ages at KTH. Åman never built up a research environment similar to the one at Chalmers. In his

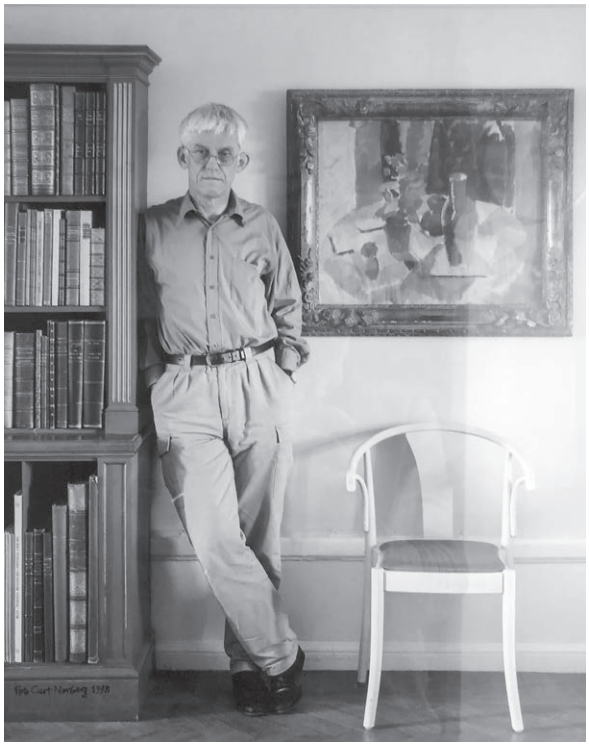

Figure 6.1. Anders Åman (1935–2008) graduated in art history from Uppsala University in 1963 and lectured in architectural history at KTH (1967–1977). He then returned to art history, ending his career as professor of art history at Uppsala University (1993–2000). Photo: © Curt Norberg.

Figure 6.2. Elias Cornell (1916–2008) was a lecturer in architectural history at Chalmers University of Technology from 1946 and obtained a PhD in art history from Uppsala University in 1952. He was made professor of the theory and history of architecture at Chalmers in 1965. Courtesy of Per Cornell's estate.

Figure 6.3. Göran Lindahl (1924–2015) graduated in art history from Uppsala University in 1953. He was professor of architectural history at the School of Architecture at the Royal Academy of Arts (1961–1991), but viewed himself more as a journalist and critic than an academic. Photo: Roland Jansson. TT Nyhetsbyrån, 1973.

Figure 6.4. Olle Svedberg (1938–2019) graduated in art history from Lund University and lectured in architectural history at the new Lund University of Technology from 1964. He was promoted to professor in 1999. His study tours to Rome were legendary. Photo: Anna-Maria Blennow.

scholarship, he had a comprehensive take on architectural history, pursuing unconventional subjects, including nineteenth-century architecture, the social history of public institutions such as hospitals and jails, and the architecture of Eastern Europe in the Stalinist era. His courses commenced with the history of medieval Stockholm and then went straight to the general history of nineteenth- and twentieth-century architecture. The second semester jumped back to Gothic and Renaissance architecture, skipping all of antiquity. The third semester focused on modern building types.

The third school of architecture at a technical university in Sweden was at LTH in Lund and opened in 1964. For a short period, the architect Stefan Romare (b.1924) taught architectural history, focusing on modern architecture. Soon Olle Svedberg, an art historian educated at Lund University, took over. He broadened its scope to include premodern architecture, introducing a study tour to Rome in the third year, a one-week bicycle tour of south-eastern Skåne, and measurement exercises with older buildings. Later on, Svedberg also introduced Clio, a semester-long writing course.

In Sweden, the early 1970s also ushered in a period of economic crisis, which then affected several public programmes. The architectural history turn was partly the product of the collapse of the large housing and urban renewal programmes, which led to the unemployment of many architects. Local studies and small-scale rebuilding of all building types were among the few commissions where young architects, who had trained in such work, had an advantage. Several architects of this generation would spend their entire professional careers in conservation, restoration, and preservation. A deeper knowledge of traditional building techniques and cities was developed quickly, with the practical usefulness of architectural history apparent.

'Undisciplined' historian–architects

As a reaction to the focus on urban renewal in the 1970s and early 1980s, a postmodern interest in classical and vernacular architecture developed, with structures from these eras serving as models for new buildings. In a lecture delivered at KTH in 1991, Lindahl was asked to explain the usefulness of architectural history for practising architects. He responded by underlining the difference between *arkitekturkännedom* (architectural knowledge) and architectural history.[54] The first, he said, was what professors of architecture taught until the early twentieth century; the second was something much more significant in its interest in the context and transformation of architecture.

The aftermath of the architectural history turn brought several changes. For one, the art historians of that generation were, to a large extent, succeeded by their students: architects with doctorates in architectural history from the technical universities rather than from art history departments. This prompted the art historian Thomas Hall (1939–2014) to ask in 2008 whether technical universities were taking over research in architectural history.[55] However, this younger generation faced novel problems, such as losing the newfound interest in conservation and developing an enthusiasm for theory. In some schools, this led to a split between the history and theory of architecture. Additionally, the 1998 reform of the graduate school system in Sweden complicated the funding of PhD studies, especially in the humanities. The dramatic fall in the number of doctorates in the 2010s can partly be attributed to this reform.

When Lindahl retired in 1991, the chair in architectural history at Kungliga Konsthögskolan (the Royal Institute of Art) went to the art historian Fredric Bedoire (b.1945). In his work, Bedoire has shown an interest in the long history of especially Swedish architecture, leading him post-retirement to write the first ever overview of Swedish architectural history.[56] Bedoire was succeeded by Peter Lang, an American architect with a PhD in urban studies from New York University. His professorship was in architectural theory and history (2013–2019), with a field of interest described as 'architecture and critical studies'. He started his position 'at a time when contemporary research, documentation and discussion involving the subjects of architecture and urban design is moving towards new, untested fields'.[57]

Cornell's chair at Chalmers went in 1983 to Björn Linn (1933–2011), who had trained as an architect and had a doctorate from KTH, supervised by Sven Silow (1918–2001). As an architect, Linn had experience of restoration work, and his research focused on *storgårdskvarter* (urban perimeter blocks). He was succeeded in 1998 by Claes Caldenby (b.1946), an architect educated at KTH with a PhD from Chalmers; he had begun his thesis, on collective houses, under Cornell but completed it in 1992 under Linn. One of *Arkitektur*'s editors since 1977, Caldenby's main interests lie in twentieth-century architecture, approaching it using the triad of history, theory, and criticism. In 2018, Isabelle Doucet (b.1976) was appointed professor of the theory and history of architecture. She is an architect with a PhD from the Delft University of Technology; her thesis was published in 2015 as *The Practice Turn in Architecture: Brussels after 1968*. Doucet's research is on the social, critical, and environmental responsibility of architecture, and her writings in architectural theory

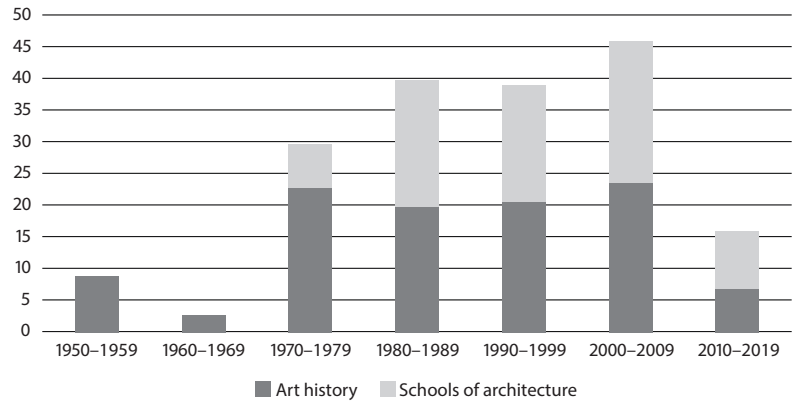

Figure 6.5. Architectural history theses completed at Sweden's art history departments and schools of architecture, 1950–2019.

are anchored in a relational, embodied, and situated reading of architectural practices, informed by feminist thinkers, philosophers, and historians of science such as Isabelle Stengers (b.1949) and Donna Haraway (b.1944).[58]

In 1978, Anders Åman left KTH for a chair in art history at Umeå University, later moving on to a chair in art history at Uppsala University. Fredric Bedoire replaced him at KTH, and when he moved on to the Royal Institute of Art in Stockholm in 1992, the position at KTH was assumed by Johan Mårtelius (b.1952), an architect who had trained at LTH and had a PhD in architectural history from KTH in 1987 with a thesis on Isak Gustaf Clason's early twentieth-century Nordiska Museet building in Stockholm. Mårtelius' interests include the long history of architecture and global perspectives, especially Islamic architecture. From the 1990s on, there was a parallel interest in architectural theory among other researchers at KTH. Currently, Helena Mattsson (b.1965), an architect who studied at KTH, is the professor of history and theory at KTH's School of Architecture. Her primary interest is contemporary architectural history and the 'interdependency between politics, economy and spatial organizations'.[59]

In Lund, much of the architectural history lecturing in the early 2000s was passed to Anna-Maria Blennow (b.1945), who had trained as an architect at LTH, where she earned her PhD in the Department of Architectural History with a thesis on town-planning architects in the late 1880s and early 1900s. Tomas Tägil (b.1958), an architect with a PhD in architectural history, also teaches this subject. Courses in conservation were taken over by other instructors. When Blennow retired, in 2007, no successor was appointed. The subject was renamed Theory and History of Architecture, and the more systematic teaching of architectural history known from earlier periods was discontinued.[60]

A fourth school of architecture was started in Umeå in 2009, but this time connected to an art school at the university and not, like the other three schools, to a technical university. From the beginning, the school had many international teachers. Initially, responsibility for architectural history fell to the art historian Katrin Holmqvist-Sten (b.1971). The emphasis is on twentieth-century architecture and the history of general architectural concepts such as rationalism, expressionism, composition, and public space. Theory is taught as a separate subject, and the Dutch architect Roemer van Toorn (b.1960) is the professor.

The overall situation today is somewhat contradictory. At schools of architecture there is an apparent broadening of the subject of architectural history toward theory and criticism and also an internationalization in the lecturers' profiles. In a move to make criticism 'operative', theory and history have taken on an 'undisciplined' character—much like the practice of architecture, 'moving towards new, untested fields'.[61] At the same time resources have been slashed, with a dramatic drop in the number of doctoral students and theses. A review of the earlier increase in PhD theses in architectural history illustrates the architectural history turn of the 1970s (Fig. 6.5). The turn that began in art history departments was sustained by architecture schools for four decades. The precipitous fall in the 2010s to less than half that of previous decades is largely the result of institutional changes. But it may also have followed on the removal of disciplinary boundaries.

Conclusion

The story of the ties between architectural history and architects was one of the relationship between academia and practice. We have distinguished three phases of this story, with a fourth one ongoing.

In the first phase, the relationship was under the guidance of architect–historians. This was the situa-

tion until the early twentieth century if not longer, before there was an academic subject called art history or architectural history. Architectural history was a self-evident part of the practice of architecture, offering a repertoire of solutions, sometimes with a stress on materials and constructions.

With the establishment of art history as an academic subject came the architects and historians with a double education: the second phase, as epitomized by the careers of Curman, Olsson, and Lundberg. In their practice as architects they focused on the restoration of monuments such as churches and manor houses, buildings partly left behind by a modernized society. The teaching focused on Swedish architectural history and practical work such as measurement exercises.

The members of the third generation to oversee the relationship were historians as critics, such as Cornell and Lindahl, who instructed and mentored a generation of 'critical architects', offering them a broader perspective on architectural history than the one centred on monuments. Architectural history at departments of art history is now taught as a study of the history of the built environment, building categories, and everyday architecture. This is what we have called the architectural history turn. As such, it must be understood from the perspective of an architectural practice that in the post-war decades had lost contact with its history. From the standpoint of art history, though, it would be more properly termed the practice turn, making architectural history useful for all sorts of architectural practice.

Some of the 'critical architects' went on to lecture in architectural history at architecture schools. They can be said to be continuing to further open the discipline, to approach practice with an interest in architectural theory, critical studies, and coming subjects such as the environmental humanities, to the extent of becoming 'undisciplined' historian–architects. This has occurred concurrently with cuts in resources at schools of architecture and art history institutions alike.

Paradoxically, the architectural history turn initiated by art historians teaching at architecture schools is being replaced by a continuing practice turn, contributing to the widening gap between a shrinking discipline of art history and historian–architects searching beyond disciplinary borders in their quest for guidance in an alternative architectural practice. A similar development seems to have been underway in the US and UK. Art history and schools of architecture have been described as closely interconnected, but equally as caught up in a long-term process of separating architectural history from art history.[62] In the second and third phases sketched out above, knowledge and people travelled mostly from art history to architectural practice and schools, and not in the opposite direction.[63] For the fourth phase—undisciplined historian–architects—the close interdisciplinary relationship between art history and architectural history seems lost. It is now only one of many possible relationships, and not even the primary one.[64] A comparable expansion of disciplinary borders can be discerned at Sweden's art history departments. The current interest in critical studies in the theory and history of architecture is by definition interdisciplinary. Inherent in it is a pursuit of project-based collaborations, thus potentially offering new meeting-points between the disciplines (and departments) of art history and architectural history, grounded in their common interest in artefacts.

Notes

1 The idea of 'den arkitekturhistoriska vändningen' (the architectural turn) seems to have been introduced by Claes Caldenby in his article 'Vad bör göras? Arkitekturhistorien och arkitektpraktiken', *Konsthistorisk Tidskrift/Journal of Art History* 77/1–2 (2008), 32–40 in an issue of the journal based on a colloquium on architectural history research; see also Claes Caldenby & Johan Linton, 'The Presence of the Past: Tendencies in Architectural History', *ICAM Print 03* (2009), 80–7.

2 International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS), 'The Declaration of Amsterdam: 1975', 11 Nov. 2011, www.icomos.org/en/.

3 ICAM, 'General Information', icam-web.org/about.

4 Eve Blau, 'Introduction: Architectural History 1999/2000: A Special Issue of JSAH', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 58/3 (1999), 278–80.

5 Anders Åman to Claes Caldenby in the 1990s (private communication). Åman began to teach architectural history at the Royal Institute of Technology (KTH) in Stockholm in 1964. Caldenby began to study architecture at KTH in 1966, and noted how popular Åman's lectures were. Thus the change Åman recalled decades later must have happened in 1965 or 1966.

6 See Henrik Ranby & Ole Wetterberg and Christina Pech elsewhere in this volume.

7 The art historian Eva Eriksson (b.1941) was appointed editor in 1976. From 1977, Lis Hogdal (b.1944), an art historian, and Claes Caldenby, an architect and PhD student in the theory and history of architecture, also worked at *Arkitektur*.

8 Alina A. Payne, 'Architectural History and the History of Art: A Suspended Dialogue', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 58/3 (1999), 296.

9 The four teachers were Göran Lindahl at the School of Architecture at the Royal Swedish Academy of Fine Arts, Elias Cornell at Chalmers University of Technology, Anders Åman at KTH Royal Institute of Technology, and Olle Svedberg at LTH Faculty of Engineering, Lund University.

10 Anders Åman, 'Före och efter 1970: Från konsthistoria till konstvetenskap', in Britt-Inger Johansson & Hans Pettersson (eds), *8 kapitel om konsthistoriens historia* (Stockholm: Raster, 2000), 212.

11 Also noted by Mark Crinson & Richard J. Williams, *The Architecture of Art History: A Historiography* (London: Bloomsbury Visual Arts, 2020), 5.
12 Anders Dahlgren has done research in the Cornell archive, held in Landsarkivet i Göteborg (Regional State Archives in Gothenburg) (GLA), Chalmers Tekniska Högskolas arkiv (Chalmers University of Technology University Archive) (hereafter CTHA); Claes Caldenby was a PhD student of Cornell's in the 1970s.
13 See Leif Jonsson, *Göran Lindahl: Ett annat perspektiv* (Stockholm: Balkong, 2019) for the work of Göran Lindahl, professor of Swedish and comparative architectural history at the Royal Academy/Royal Institute of Art from 1961 to 1991; see also Anders Åman, *Sigurd Curman: Riksantikvarie: Ett porträtt* (Stockholm: Kungl. Vitterhets historie och antikvitets akademien, 2008), which covers the early twentieth century of the institution.
14 Johan Mårtelius in Stockholm and Anna-Maria Blennow and Tomas Tägil in Lund (personal communications), who lecture on architectural history, all lament the lack of historiography about their subject; the present essay sets out possible approaches to remedy this. There is a brief history of the teaching at Chalmers University of Technology in Claes Caldenby, 'Architecture at Chalmers 1856–2016/Arkitektur på Chalmers 1856–2016', in *Chalmers School of Architecture Yearbook* (Gothenburg: Chalmers University of Technology, 2016).
15 Göran Lindahl, *Konstakademiens byggnadsskola: En historisk översikt 1773–1977* (Stockholm: Konsthögskolans arkitekturskola, 1977).
16 Lindahl, *Konstakademiens byggnadsskola*, 7–8.
17 Lindahl, *Konstakademiens byggnadsskola*, 8: 'Sedan kan hvar och en göra, hvad honom bäst synes och lyster.'
18 Åman, *Sigurd Curman*, 64; for subsequent developments after Curman, see also Jonsson, *Göran Lindahl*, 108–110.
19 Jonsson, *Göran Lindahl*, 101–104.
20 In the summer of 1960, Göran Lindahl wrote two articles for the Swedish daily *Svenska Dagbladet*, one on inner cities and one specifically on Stockholm's inner city (Jonsson, *Göran Lindahl*, 412); his 'Omvandlingen av städernas mitt', *Arkitektur* 5 (1965), 152–9 summarized his arguments against the contemporary 'transformation' of inner cities based on ideas of future 'funktionsduglighet' (lit. serviceability) rather than existing values.
21 Caldenby, 'Architecture at Chalmers', 10–11.
22 Håkan Lindqvist's private archive, Cyrillis Johansson lecture notes, 1904: 'Byggnadskonstens historia kan indelas efter historiska perioder eller efter nationaliteter; här skall användas en indelning efter de olika grundkonstruktionerna. Märk: den estetiska konstformen härleder sig ur konstruktionen och icke tvärtom.'
23 Håkan Lindqvist's private archive, Cyrillis Johansson lecture notes, 1904: 'Rak öfvertäckning av rum (bjälken)'; 'af eklektisk natur'.
24 Åman, *Sigurd Curman*, 34.
25 Lindgren wrote several articles on architecture for the second edition of the encyclopedia *Nordisk familjebok* (1904–1926), demonstrating his interest in construction.
26 Ove Hidemark in conversation with Claes Caldenby in the early 1970s (private communication).
27 The 'programme' for the application was determined by Universitetskanslersämbetet (UKÄ) on 24 Feb. 1965, with 5 Apr. 1965 as the deadline for applications.
28 GLA, CTHA, 'Program för professuren i Arkitekturens teori och historia', UKÄ 24 Feb. 1965.
29 Sven Hesselgren, then based in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, applied for the position, but his application reached Chalmers University of Technology eight days after the deadline and was not considered (GLA, CTHA, G. Brockman to Hesselgren, 20 Apr. 1965).
30 GLA, CTHA, Erling Gjone, 'Sakkunnigutlåtande för professuren i Arkitekturens teori och historia vid Chalmers Tekniska Högskola', 26 July 1965.
31 Claes Caldenby, 'Interpretation and Guidance: Historians as Critics in Swedish Architecture from 1920s to 1970s', in Tom Simons (ed.), *Quo Vadis Architectura? Architectural Tendencies in the Late 1930s, 1940s, and the Early 1950s* (Helsinki: Department of Architecture, Helsinki University of Technology, 2008).
32 GLA, CTHA, Sakkunnigutlåtande (External expert assessments), Göran Lindahl, 'Sakkunnigutlåtande för professuren i Arkitekturens teori och historia vid Chalmers Tekniska Högskola', 29 July 1965; Erling Gjone, 'Sakkunnigutlåtande för professuren i Arkitekturens teori och historia vid Chalmers Tekniska Högskola', 26 July 1965; and Per Gustaf Hamberg, 'Sakkunnigutlåtande för professuren i Arkitekturens teori och historia vid Chalmers Tekniska Högskola', 15 July 1965.
33 Cornell wrote an undergraduate dissertation on the cast iron industry, *Modernitetens fingeravtryck: Gjutjärnet som byggnadstekniskt och dekorativt material* (Stockholm: Signum, 2012), and a doctoral thesis on international industrial fairs from the late sixteenth century to the 1940s, *De stora utställningarnas arkitekturhistoria* (PhD thesis, Uppsala University; Stockholm: Natur och kultur, 1952).
34 Marcus Whiffen, 'The 1964 AIA-ACSA Teacher Seminar: Abstracts and Extracts', *Journal of Architectural Education (1947–1974)* 19/3 (1964), 2.
35 Sokratis Georgiadis, *Sigfried Giedion: An Intellectual Biography* (Edinburgh: EUP, 1993), 36.
36 GLA, CTHA, Elias Cornell, 'Teknik, arkitektur, konst' [lecture], Chalmers University of Technology, 1 Dec. 1965.
37 Elias Cornell, *Humanistic Inquiries into Architecture I–III* (Gothenburg: Gumpert, 1959), 8.
38 For studies of the use of space in architectural historiography and theory, see, for example, Johanna Gullberg, 'Voids and Bodies: August Schmarsow, Bruno Zevi and Space as a Historiographical Theme', *Journal of Art Historiography* 14 (June 2016); Matt Demers, 'Giedion's Figural Conception of Urban Space–Time & the Analysis of Le Corbusier's Modern Urbanisms', in *Considering Research: Proceedings of the ARCC Spring Research Conference* (Southfield, MI: Lawrence Technological University, 2011).
39 Cornell, *Humanistic Inquiries*, 20–21.
40 Cornell, *Humanistic Inquiries*, 44.
41 See, for example, the closing chapter in Cornell, *Humanistic Inquiries*; id., *Arkitekturhistoria* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1968); and id., *Rummet i arkitekturen: Historia och nutid* (Stockholm: Norstedts, 1996).
42 See, for example, Anthony Vidler, *Histories of the Immediate Present: Inventing Architectural Modernism* (Cambridge, MA:

MIT Press, 2008), 8; Sven-Olov Wallenstein, *Den moderna arkitekturens filosofier* (Stockholm: Alfabeta/Anamma, 2004), 17; and Rainer Schützeichel, 'Architecture as Bodily and Spatial Art: The Idea of Einfühlung in Early Theoretical Contributions by Heinrich Wölfflin and August Schmarsow', *Architectural Theory Review* 18/3 (2013), 293–309.

43 For the common denominators in Cornell's and Giedion's writing, see Anders Dahlgren, 'Arkitekturhistoria, vetenskap och pedagogik: Vetenskapsteoretiska positioneringar i Göran Lindahls och Elias Cornells historiografi', *Bebyggelsehistorisk Tidskrift* 72 (2016), 10–22 (with English summary).

44 Georgiadis, *Sigfried Giedion*, 178.

45 Johan Mårtelius, 'Historien och det konkreta: ett samtal med Elias Cornell', *Magasin Tessin* 1 (1983), 25. This was also a historiographical ideal in Giedion's work (Georgiadis, *Sigfried Giedion*, 178).

46 GLA, CTHA, Elias Cornell, 'Arkitekturhistoria: Humanistisk bildning och utbildning' [lecture], Chalmers University of Technology, 26 Oct. 1982. The models were archived and catalogued in *Katalog över modellkammaren vid Avdelningen för arkitekturens teori och historia: tillägnas Elias Cornell den 5 februari 1986* (Gothenburg: Chalmers Tekniska Högskola, 1986). The Chalmers tradition of models of historical buildings has continued since Cornell's retirement, with a recent example in Atli Magnus Seelow, *Reconstructing the Stockholm Exhibition 1930/Stockholmsutställningen 1930 rekonstruerad* (Stockholm: Arkitektur förlag, 2016).

47 This was also the title of his talk at the symposium 'History, Theory and Criticism: The 1964 AIA-ACSA Teacher Seminar' (see Whiffen, 'The 1964 AIA-ACSA Teacher Seminar', 2).

48 GLA, CTHA, Elias Cornell, 'Arkitekturhistoria: Humanistisk bildning och utbildning' [lecture], Chalmers University of Technology, 26 Oct. 1982, 4. Cornell also collaborated with the professor of construction, Gunnar Kärrholm, which resulted in Elias Cornell, *Byggnadstekniken: metoder och idéer genom tiderna* (Stockholm: Byggförlaget, 1970).

49 Dahlgren, 'Arkitekturhistoria', 18.

50 GLA, CTHA, Sakkunnigutlåtande, Göran Lindahl, 'Sakkunnigutlåtande för professuren i Arkitekturens teori och historia vid Chalmers Tekniska Högskola', 29 July 1965.

51 For a detailed description of Lindahl's work at this stage, see Jonsson, *Göran Lindahl*, 121–89.

52 Boris Schönbeck, 'Historisk medvetenhet i arkitekturforskningen', *Tidskrift för Arkitekturforskning* 1/2 (1987), 85–90: 'mer vetenskapligt grundade utgångspunkter för våra framtida yrken som arkitekter och planerare'.

53 Torgny Nevéus (ed.), *Nya professorer vid Uppsala universitet: Installationer hösten 1993* (Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 1993), 54.

54 Göran Lindahl, 'Nyttan av historia', *Tidskrift för Arkitekturforskning* 4/4 (1991), 9–17.

55 Thomas Hall, 'Arkitekturhistorisk forskning: Igår, idag, i morgon', *Konsthistorisk Tidskrift/Journal of Art History* 77/1–2 (2008), 4–5.

56 Fredric Bedoire, *Den svenska arkitekturens historia*, 2 vols. (Stockholm: Norstedts with Stockholms byggnadsförening & Kungl. Konsthögskolan, 2015).

57 'Peter Lang: Ny professor i arkitekturteori och arkitekturhistoria', Kungl. Konsthögskolan, 6 Dec. 2012 (press release), kungliga-konsthogskolan.mynewsdesk.com/pressreleases/peter-lang-ny-professor-i-arkitekturteori-och-arkitekturhistoria-819339.

58 Interview with Isabelle Doucet, Feb. 2020 (personal communication); see also the co-edited issue of *ATR* with Hélène Frichot, 'Resist Reclaim Speculate: Situated Perspectives on Architecture and the City', *Architectural Theory Review* 22/1 (2018).

59 KTH, Profiles, s.v. 'Helena Mattsson', www.kth.se/profile/helenam (accessed 5 June 2021).

60 Anna-Maria Blennow email to Claes Caldenby, 29 Feb. 2020 (personal communication).

61 See also Claes Caldenby 'Den odisciplinerade praktiken: Arkitekturkunskapen och bebyggelsehistorien', *Bebyggelsehistorisk Tidskrift* 72 (2016), 23–37.

62 Crinson & Williams, *Architecture of Art History*, 131–4.

63 The only exception being Anders Åman, who studied art history, worked at KTH in the 1960s and 1970s, and later was professor in the art history departments at Umeå University and Uppsala University.

64 This also corresponds to the state of affairs in the US and UK (Crinson & Williams, *Architecture of Art History*, 132).

CHAPTER 7

Art history and built environment conservation at the University of Gothenburg, 1978–2020

Henrik Ranby & Ola Wetterberg

In August 2000, Henrik Ranby reviewed the historiographical volume *8 kapitel om konsthistoriens historia i Sverige* ('8 chapters on the history of art history in Sweden') in the daily newspaper *Sydsvenskan*. Under the headline 'From magic lanterns to gender perspectives', he noted that it was 'remarkable that the transdisciplinary Built Environment Conservation Programme offered for over twenty years now at the University of Gothenburg is not mentioned'.[1] The contributing author he felt should have mentioned the programme was Anders Åman (1935–2008), who covered the theme of built environments in the chapter titled 'Före och efter 1970: Från konsthistoria till konstvetenskap' ('Before and after 1970: From the history of art to the science of art'). Featured in the book were Gregor Paulsson (1889–1977), Sigurd Erixon (1888–1968), Göran Lindahl (1924–2015), and the schools of architecture (including Chalmers University of Technology), but Åman had indeed neglected to mention the Bebyggelseantikvariskt program (Programme in Integrated Conservation of Built Environments) at the University of Gothenburg.[2]

Was Åman signifying the programme was outside the scope of art history? Some argue that he was being loyal to the architecture schools, because he had taught history of architecture at the Royal Institute of Technology, KTH, in Stockholm and was perhaps not comfortable with a built environment conservation programme outside those institutions. The question of whether built environment conservation or restoration should be incorporated into architecture programmes or have its own freestanding programme (and, if so, whether it should be defined as an art or science) has long been a contentious topic, particularly in Gothenburg.[3]

This essay addresses, in an art-historical context, the theme excluded by Åman: art history and built environment conservation. However, in this limited focus, this essay provides neither a comprehensive interpretation of the university discipline of built environment conservation nor a history of the Department of Conservation in Gothenburg.

Demolition, art history, and urban ethnology

The establishment of the Built Environment Conservation Programme in 1978 coincided with several national and international initiatives about the conservation of the built environment. First there was the 1974 Government Bill on Cultural Policy, soon followed by the Council of Europe's 1975 Declaration of Amsterdam, with its concept of 'integrated conservation', promoted through the European Architectural Heritage Year. In 1976, county conservator posts were created throughout Sweden. And in 1977 came higher education reforms, which advocated complete degree programmes in place of what were then called 'individual' (now 'freestanding') courses. Two important sources of inspiration were Gregor Paulsson's *Svensk stad* ('The Swedish town'), reprinted in 1972, and in 1974 *Kulturvård och samhällsbildning* ('Heritage conservation and the formation of society') by Sverker Janson (1908–2005).[4]

Some fifteen years earlier, Gothenburg, like many other Swedish cities, had been plagued by a demolition craze, a trend that lasted into the late 1970s. Urban renewal in the neighbourhoods of Masthugget, Stigberget, and Nordostpassagen led to what the daily *Expressen* called, in October 1963, 'the largest slum clearance in Europe'.[5] The property developer Göta Lejon, under the leadership of the 'Demolition General' Louis Campanello (1915–2007), initiated the clearing of workers' housing. In the Vegastaden and Nordostpassagen district, more than a hundred of Gothenburg's distinctive brick-and-timber *lands-*

hövdingehus were destroyed.[6] The same developer made a clean sweep of Landala, a residential district of similar buildings on the hill below the Chalmers campus.[7] Landala had had much of the student housing, and thus the demolitions generated a great deal of student protest, which was supported by Elias Cornell (1916–2008), the professor of architecture at Chalmers.[8] There was a battle raging over the fate of the Haga district, and in November 1976, protestors occupied Kungstorget, Gothenburg's main market square, to stop an underground car park. Public engagement in Gothenburg's urban environment was at full boil.

In reaction to such dramatic urban transformation, Jan Rosvall (b.1941) and others started the Built Environment Conservation Programme at the University of Gothenburg. Rosvall had begun his academic career in the Department of Art History, where he met Per Gustaf Hamberg (1913–1978), who held the chair in art history from 1959 until his death in 1978. Rosvall regarded Hamberg as knowledgeable and generous, and soon became his administrative assistant. Hamberg encouraged Rosvall to pursue research, including time at the Swedish Institute in Rome; his mentorship and the exposure to international perspectives proved decisive in Rosvall's scholarly development.[9]

In the late 1960s, Hamberg arranged a conference on practical art history—meaning conservation—which greatly inspired Rosvall. At the same time, a course called Renovation and Restoration was offered by the Department of Art History in collaboration with Chalmers' School of Architecture. The course approached conservation in a pragmatic manner and attracted students from various disciplines. It promoted contacts between previously disparate academic fields, creating a platform on which a history of the built environment in Gothenburg could develop. Rosvall served as one of the course lecturers and was a driving force in establishing the academic programme for built environment conservation professionals at the University of Gothenburg. The other course leader, the architect Boris Schönbeck (1935–1996), backed the development and integration of conservation as a central part of the architectural degree programme and research at the School of Architecture at Chalmers.[10]

The Department of Art History's academic environment was crucial for the ideas underlying the programme in conservation of the built environment, and thus also its eventual organization. In the mid-1970s, two important theses were written there, one by Lars Stackell (1938–2017) on seaside resorts in western Sweden, and one by Börje Blomé (1921–1988) on the restoration of Swedish churches.[11] Rosvall belonged to the same generation, and while his 1975 thesis concerned typography, he nonetheless worked closely with art historians who followed Gregor Paulsson's lead, inventorying milieu types (as Stackell did).[12] He also worked with those critical of Swedish central bureaucracy who campaigned for restoration or conservation based on the study of building history rather than on the architects' artistic endeavours (as Blomé did).[13]

The new bachelor's programme in the conservation of the built environment was also influenced by the discipline of ethnology, with the ethnologist Nanne Engelbrektsson (b.1941), Jan Rosvall's life companion, as a pivotal player. Rosvall's and Engelbrektsson's roles in the emergence of the programme were indistinguishable. Under their guidance, built environment conservation brought together the history of architecture (from art history) and research into living conditions, in and among buildings, and the everyday lives of ordinary people in ordinary streets, blocks, and public squares (from ethnology).[14]

In 1968, Engelbrektsson had been commissioned by Göteborgs Historiska Museum (the Gothenburg History Museum), now Göteborgs Stadsmuseum (the Museum of Gothenburg), to document the old Landala neighbourhood, where she had lived as a student.[15] The following year, she submitted her undergraduate dissertation in ethnology at Lund University on the topic, with Sven B. Ek (1931–2016) as her supervisor (who had researched the working-class district of Nöden in Lund).[16] Engelbrektsson went on to teach ethnology at the University of Gothenburg once the discipline was established there in 1969. In the mid-1970s, the ethnology division at the University of Gothenburg fell under various departments, including Art History, before forming its own department in 1979, where Ek became professor in 1980. The conditions were right for collaboration between art history and ethnology once the fervour of urban renewal (and the consensus among city administrators and the Gothenburg business community it depended on) wavered.

From the start, the Conservation Department and the Built Environment Programme involved the two fields of art history and ethnology. The focus on people and their relationship with the environment would be equally as strong as that on buildings and architecture.

Conceptualization and beginnings

In the 1970s, the typical education for conservators was a bachelor's degree that included a mix of courses in archaeology, ethnology, and art history. Such a curriculum did not provide the necessary instruction to tackle the great urban and social transformations unfolding or to address the cultural heritage emphasized in the 1974 Government Bill on Cultural Pol-

icy. In addition to the built environment perspective formulated in the 1970s, what was needed was a professional degree programme with practical vocation training. It would prepare graduates to work in different sectors of society (the public and private sectors, social organizations, and as individual citizens) and to push a broader integrated agenda than the traditional national cultural heritage conservation agenda championed by the authorities. It would require a shift in the way the field of cultural heritage conservation was conceived—from preservation to heritage management.

Set up in 1978, Gothenburg's Built Environment Conservation Programme was soon its own division in the Department of Ethnology. The programme was based on subjects in a typical 'museum BA' curriculum with components of human geography, economic history, conservation, and preservation. These were complemented by material related to public administration, building construction, etc., intended to prepare students for professional practice. Aside from Engelbrektsson and Rosvall, the programme's founders included the ethnologist Karin Arvastson (b.1952), the art historian Kent Åberg (1944–2014), and the engineer Roger Petersson (b.1947). It was one of the first professional academic degree programmes in cultural heritage conservation and museum studies in Sweden. (Library studies had been established in 1972 in Borås at the Swedish School of Library and Information Science, followed by archival studies at Stockholm University in 1973, and museum studies at Umeå University in 1981.[17])

The programme came at the right moment, aligning with current research efforts and the prevailing social situation. At first it had limited resources and struggled to find the right level of ambition. Courses took on the character of doctoral seminars, with relatively high demands placed on the students. The format could be stressful, as it raised expectations for the theoretical component of the students' theses, but it also contributed to a stimulating education.[18] The programme was a point of controversy for those who thought it should have been developed as a continuing education curriculum for architects at Chalmers (where both Rosvall and Engelbrektsson worked for a time). Moreover, at a 1981 educational conference in Gothenburg, Riksantikvarieämbetet (the Swedish National Heritage Board) expressed scepticism about the project.

Art history traditions

The Built Environment Conservation Programme had an art history legacy—not from the history and theory of painting and sculpture, perhaps, but certainly from architecture. Survey coursework in architectural history, a natural element in the art history introductory course, had long been based on Robert Furneaux Jordan's textbook *A Concise History of Western Architecture*. An art historian often taught the class, starting in 1978 with Kent Åberg, who introduced art history to future built heritage conservators for thirty years. His main areas of interest were classical antiquity, the Middle Ages, and the Renaissance (particularly Alberti and Palladio). Besides facade analyses, he addressed concepts such as 'linear' and 'painterly', and included references to cultural historians such as Jacob Burckhardt. His lectures regularly made use of double projectors in the manner of Heinrich Wölfflin.[19] For many years, Åberg was assisted by Lars Stackell, who lectured on Renaissance and Baroque architecture, the eighteenth century, and English architecture and landscape parks. In terms of Swedish architectural history, the course literature included Sven Sandström's *Konsten i Sverige* ('Art in Sweden') and Paulsson's *Svensk stad*.[20] The curriculum also explored meaning and expression in architecture and the built environment. It being the heyday of postmodernism, the reading list featured Christian Norberg-Schulz's *Meaning in Western Architecture* and Rudolf Arnheim's *The Dynamics of Architectural Form*.

Complementing the art-historical elements of the course were frequent city walks and field trips, not least the week in Rome that Rosvall oversaw in the programme's second year. In addition to leading visits to key institutions of cultural heritage conservation, he conducted walking seminars around the city, with student presentations of monuments, and site analyses in a tradition that could be traced back to Ragnar Josephson (1891–1966), the art history professor at Lund University. Here, Rosvall incorporated the lessons of the Rome Course offered by the Swedish Institute in Rome, modifying it to produce a condensed version.[21]

A break with tradition

A decisive break with the art-historical tradition lay behind the development of the professional degree programme and the demand that dissertations include 'applied aspects'. This meant that the programme, like the departmental research, had to embrace various areas of expertise specific to cultural heritage, and likewise strive to be relevant to the treatment of built environments. Rosvall had criticized the lack of practical and professional skills in art history. The history of architecture and *kulturminnesvård* (preservation) had focused on examples of architecture and environments of the 'historically valuable' wealthy elites. Now, settlement history and the history of

”Kulturhistoriskt intressant”

Fabrikören kartläggs

— Dokumentationsmaterialet skall inte bara bli en pappersprodukt, utan skall också tillbaka till allmänheten . . .

Det lovar de fyra göteborgsstudenter som nu påbörjat ett tre terminer långt arbete med tt dokumentera den kulturhistoriskt intressanta miljön i kvarteret Fabrikören i Falköping.

Det är arbetet med den så kallade bevarandeplanen för Falköping i kombination med samarbete mellan kommunen och Göteborgs universitet som gjort dokumentationen möjlig.

De fyra studenterna Fredrik Landergren, Lars-Erik Jönsson, Marie Hedberg samt Björn Holtermann studerar på universitetets bebyggelseantikvariska avdelning — den enda i sitt slag i Sverige.

Under tre terminer skall de ägna sig åt att i bild och text kartlägga miljön i kvarteret. Det handlar alltså om Haglunds och Forss gamla fabriksbyggnader, en av Falköpings äldsta kvarvarande industrimiljöer. Kartläggningen är både kulturhistoriskt inriktad men tar också sikte på att skildra samhällsutvecklingen under de drygt 100 år sen området exploaterades.

— En sån här kartläggning skulle vi aldrig kunnat klara själva från kommunens sida, säger museiintendenten Helge Andersson.

— Nu kostar den inte kommunen mer än ca 15.000 kr, och för det får vi en kvalitativt mycket bra dokumentation, menar han.

För studenterna själva betyder arbetet mycket för att få praktiska erfarenheter under utbildningstiden.

— Det är viktigt för dem att komma ut på et här sättet så att eleverna kan ställa sina teoretiska kunskaper i praktisk belysning, tycker läraren Nanne Engelbrektsson.

— Vi har arbetat på det här sättet i flera år och vi har blivit alltmer efterfrågade, säger hon.

Resultatet av elevernas arbete skall bli en uppsats som redovisar kartläggningen.

Ambitionen är samtidigt att utforma denna på ett sånt sätt att den kan fånga intresset hos allmänheten och inte bara bli en pappersprod[illegible]

— Arbetet skall ”tillbaka till allmänheten” på så sätt att den skall spridas i Falköping. Vi skall också ordna en utställning. Syftet är att göra det hela allmänintressant — det kanske svåraste av alltihop — men ofta något som blir förbisett i sådana här sammanhang, förklarar Lars-Erik Jönsson.

Nu kartläggs kvarteret Fabrikören i Falköping ur bland annat kulturhistorisk synpunkt. I arbetet deltar fr.v. Nanne Engelbrektsson, Kristina Svensson, Fredrik Landergren, Helge Andersson, Lars-Erik Jönsson, Björn Holtermann, Marie Edberg och Göran Haglund på Haglunds fabriker.

Figure 7.1. The Built Environment Conservation students's projects were frequently covered by the local press. *Skaraborgs Läns Allehanda,* 14 Dec. 1983. Kulturvårds klippbok. Courtesy of the Archive of the Department of Conservation in Gothenburg.

the built environment (in the Paulsson and Lindahl tradition) aligned with contemporary conservation. However, as Ingrid Martins Holmberg (b.1964) has put it, the history of the built environment was more a means in the conservation discourse than an end in itself.[22] The architectural content of art history was one historical background of many. It was continually being augmented, both by old vernacular material from Sigurd Erixon and approaches passed down from Paulsson to Börje Hansen (1917–1979) and on to newer ethnological built environment research and cultural analysis. Thus, *Culture Builders* by Jonas Frykman (b.1942) and Orvar Löfgren (b.1943) was an important eye-opener for students.[23]

In the Built Environment Conservation Programme, the study of the history of the built environment allowed for a merging of ethnological perspectives past and present with human ecology, architectural history, and economic history. Added to these were the histories of science and ideas. The discipline of built environment conservation was also grounded in contemporary urban transformation and in the funda-

mental idea that much of the older built environment warranted safeguarding for economic, ecological, and social reasons. In its mission to prepare students for professional practice, the programme focused on the best-preserved building stocks (from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries) and came to incorporate the study of building construction methods. Engagement with craft—that is, a conviction that building conservation would require the revival of expertise in traditional materials and methods—was an integral part of the division's positioning in the university in the 1980s.[24] Several undergraduate studies and papers about Nääs, a heritage environment in Lerum outside Gothenburg, written as part of the Built Environment Conservation Programme, laid the foundation for what in 1990 became one of Sweden's most prominent building conservation centres.[25] Practical analyses of construction methods involved making exploratory openings in buildings slated for demolition—conservation's answer to medical dissection.

Interest in the fate of everyday building stock, what happens to buildings in history, and people's relationship with the built environment took centre stage. To this was added a practice-oriented study of legislation, political conditions, and Swedish, Nordic, and international (especially Italian) perspectives. The radical 'spirit of '68' in the form of oppositional attitudes and criticism of consumption, power, and bureaucracy was still a force to be reckoned with, as were its historical materialist interpretations of society.

Built environment conservation is essentially the application of social science to urban planning, an interest in the challenges contemporary society has placed on historical environments, and efforts to take care of these environments. Students were trained in applied skills in the second year of study, in group projects focused on various built environments run in collaboration with local authorities, parishes, historical societies, and the like, and often in west Sweden (Fig. 7.1). Alongside such projects, Åberg developed 'church studies', involving fieldwork, analyses of physical conditions, and the identification of problems.

Expansion and breakthrough

What began in 1978 as the Integrated Conservation of Built Environments course in the discipline of ethnology quickly expanded. In 1985 the Department of Conservation was formed, along with a new education, Konservatorsprogrammet (the Conservation of Cultural Heritage Objects Programme), thus instituting Rosvall's concept of 'applied art history' and cultural heritage management.[26] Many of the students who took the programme were also art history students. To create a space for the new department, a complete renovation began the following year of Kontoristföreningens Hus, an art nouveau building at Bastionsplatsen in Gothenburg, a project honoured by the Europa Nostra Awards. In 1991, conservation became an independent discipline. Then, in 1992–1993 the department transferred from the Faculty of Humanities to the Faculty of Science. This merger was officially because of the discipline's ties to chemistry, but it was as much for financial reasons (there was more funding per student). Between 1986 and 1998, the department also offered courses in museum studies that spanned two semesters.[27]

The BA programme in Conservation of Cultural Heritage Objects trained conservators in the preservation of paintings, textiles, and paper, photographs, and film as well as general conservation. Around 1990, the microbiologist and conservator Margareta Ekroth Edebo (b.1944) was brought in to head the programme, and several internationally recognized experts contributed to the curriculum.

The undergraduate degree in Integrated Conservation of Built Environments was relatively unknown in museum and heritage workplaces around Sweden in 1985. Just five years later, though, it was recognized as a 'certification' or 'licence' for anyone who wanted to work as a conservator for a county administrative board, county museum, or local authority. Plan- och bygglagen of 1987 (the Planning and Building Act), focusing on the importance of the nation's heritage environments, played a significant role in the programme's success. It should also be noted that the 1980s was a time when all levels of government still had great faith in knowledge-driven management. For example, the phrase 'conservation expertise' was used in the job description for a local authority conservator in Höganäs in 1989.[28] The Built Environment Conservation Programme was shown to confer solid professional expertise on its graduates, and eventually even the Swedish National Heritage Board's initial scepticism subsided.

Academic research in conservation

At first, the Built Environment Conservation Programme had neither professors nor doctoral students of its own. But in 1979, when Jan Rosvall was still a docent, he landed a large research project for the division, the Svensk Konstvetenskaplig Bibliografi (SKvB, Swedish Art History Bibliography), funded by Humanistisk-samhällsvetenskapliga forskningsrådet (HSFR, the Council for Research in the Humanities and Social Sciences). The project was staffed part-time by the librarian and art history doctoral student Charlotta Hanner Nordstrand (b.1952), who had studied art history at Umeå University under Folke Nord-

ström (1920–1997) and Lasse Brunnström (b.1948). The SKvB was to be part of the journal *Konsthistorisk Tidskrift/Journal of Art History*, which traditionally was produced in Stockholm.[29] The division received annual funding for the SKvB project for more than a decade.[30]

Rosvall also set in motion a photogrammetry project, which was staffed by the built environment conservation students Anders Lie (b.1959) and Bosse Lagerqvist (b.1957), and worked with the archaeologist Jarl Nordbladh (b.1939) in the 1970s on the photogrammetric documentation of petroglyphs. The project ran from 1983 to 1986 with funding from HSFR.[31] Eventually, it led to one of the first theses anywhere in the discipline of conservation.[32]

In the late 1980s, as Sweden's demolition frenzy gradually subsided, air pollution (mainly from motor traffic) surfaced as a new threat to cultural heritage, an issue on the border between built environment management and conservation. It incorporated the natural sciences, art history, and the humanities—and was as relevant in Rome as in Stockholm or Gothenburg. The problem greatly preoccupied Rosvall, and he addressed it in his research and at conferences, networking with and lobbying those with influence (such as Volvo's president P. G. Gyllenhammar).[33] At a 1985 conference in Rome—Air Pollution and Conservation: Safeguarding Our Architectural Heritage—organized in collaboration by the Department of Conservation at the University of Gothenburg, the Swedish Institute in Rome, Volvo, and the international partners ICCROM, ICOMOS, and Italia Nostra, the term 'sustainable conservation' was coined to describe how cultural heritage could be protected in a farsighted, sustainable manner.[34] In conjunction with the conference, the subject of air pollution was widely publicized in the media.

In the 1980s, the built environment conservation division, and later the Department of Conservation, wrestled with the problem of too few of its lecturers pursuing doctorates and a lack of a doctoral programme. It was almost as though substantial undergraduate dissertations were the only research the division could produce. Students with research ambitions had to apply to other disciplines, departments, and universities: Ola Wetterberg (b.1956), one of the first students of the Built Environment Conservation Programme, earned his doctorate at Chalmers University of Technology in 1993 with the thesis *Monument & Miljö* ('Monument & environment'). The built environment conservator Lars-Eric Jönsson (b.1961) did his doctorate in ethnology at Umeå University under Billy Ehn (b.1946).[35] It is worth noting that in the 1980s, equivalent to about 75–82.5 ECTS in ethnology were included in the Built Environment Conservation Programme, and the only additional coursework required for admission to the doctoral programme in ethnology was in folklore.[36] To be admitted to the doctoral programme in art history, though, candidates needed coursework in the history of painting and sculpture. Thus, a built environment conservator of that era was more ethnologist than art historian.

The uncertainty surrounding heritage conservation and the ability to find a supervisor for a doctorate led Hanner Nordstrand to complete her doctoral research not in conservation but instead in art history, initially under Maj-Brit Wadell (b.1931) and then Lena Johannesson (b.1945), on art collecting and the Gothenburg art scene.[37] For the built environment conservator Henrik Ranby (b.1965), the choice was between ethnology at the University of Gothenburg and art history at Lund University, and he ultimately chose the latter in order to use an architecture chapter in a local-authority-funded history textbook as the point of departure for his thesis.[38] Other built environment conservators switched to art history, including Ingrid Fredin (b.1943), who completed her PhD in 2001 on the Halland artist Arvid Carlson (1895–1962).

Built environment conservation as a discipline

After conservation had been introduced as a discipline in 1991, the doctoral programme began two years later in 1993. As the Department of Conservation was the only institution in the world where a conservator of cultural heritage objects could complete a PhD in conservation rather than in chemistry, it became a forum for international collaboration, thus elevating the department's international status. The establishment of a new discipline was an administrative matter for the University of Gothenburg, but the funding for a chair was a more complicated issue.[39] Finally, with support from the Swedish National Heritage Board, a new position was announced in 1997. It was filled by Lasse Brunnström, who had completed an art history thesis in 1981 at Umeå University on Kiruna's early twentieth-century built environment. Unfortunately, Brunnström left the department after six months for the Röhsska Museum of Design and Craft. He was replaced by Bengt O. H. Johansson (1934–2021), who began as a part-time adjunct professor. He was able to open up new possibilities for the discipline because of his vast experience in the practice of conservation and with the major institutions in the field. He had earned his licentiate degree in 1965 at Uppsala University with work on the architect Carl Bergsten and architectural politics in Sweden, and had worked with heritage conservation at Byggnadsstyrelsen (the

Figure 7.2. Jan Rosvall (*right*) and Nanne Engelbrektsson (*behind Roosvall*) at Bosse Lagerqvist's (*left*) thesis defence celebrations, 1997. Lagerqvist was the first to obtain a doctorate in conservation at the University of Gothenburg. Kulturvårds photo album. Courtesy of the Archive of the Department of Conservation in Gothenburg.

National Board of Public Buildings) before going on to be the director of Arkitekturmuseet (the Swedish Museum of Architecture) in Stockholm from 1966 to 1977, a county conservator in Kalmar and later in Stockholm, and then head of the heritage environments division at the Swedish National Heritage Board. Thus, Johansson was an art historian with a comprehensive overview of the conservation field. He was highly influential in developing the doctoral programme, serving as supervisor for some of the early theses in the discipline.[40] Alongside Johansson, Åberg continued to teach architecture at the University of Gothenburg in the 1990s. He had a broad range of interests that included theory and historiography—and consequently the relationship between the history of architecture in art history and, for example, the ideas that found expression in Paulsson's work on architecture in society.[41]

The two art historians from Uppsala (Johansson) and Gothenburg (Åberg) were joined by new forces from in the department. Bosse Lagerqvist was the first student of the Built Environment Conservation Programme to earn a doctorate, in 1997, with a thesis on photogrammetry.[42] (Fig. 7.2) Industrial and maritime heritage were among his early areas of research. Michael Landzelius (b.1958) earned a licentiate of arts degree in conservation in 1996 and a PhD in conservation in 1999, bringing a more philosophical, complex architectural interpretation to the curriculum.[43] His approach was expansive, transdisciplinary, and steeped in theory, yet also driven by his interest in the materiality of buildings.[44]

University departments

The Department of Environmental Science merged with the Department of Conservation in 1997 to form the Department of Environmental Science and Conservation. However, the collaboration never worked well, owing in part to differing financial circumstances. The intention had been for the Conservation Department to move from Bastionsplatsen to the Department of Environmental Science, but that had to be shelved because the building permit was denied. So the Conservation Department remained put, which, because of its distance from the Environmental Science Department, frustrated their efforts to merge. The Department of Conservation split from the Environmental Science Department eight years later.

In 2001, Jan Rosvall was made professor of heritage conservation, although not in the Department of Conservation but at Göteborgs Miljövetenskapliga Centrum (GMV, the Centre of Environmental Science and Sustainability), later known as Göteborgs centrum för hållbar utveckling (the Gothenburg Centre for Sustainable Development).[45] This centre functioned as an arena for joint work between Chalmers and the University of Gothenburg. Rosvall considered this forum 'more expansive' than the Department of Conservation and more focused on conservation as part of a sustainable society—the same mission as outlined at the 1985 conference in Rome.[46] In his post at GMV, he supervised doctoral students, whose theses were then published in the series Gothenburg Studies in Conservation.

Ola Wetterberg became the full-time professor of conservation of built heritage in the Department of Conservation in 2002. He assumed the position at the same time as Agenda Kulturarv (Agenda Cultural Heritage) was in progress, a national project which proved to be a key moment for heritage conservation. Later, similar perspectives were advanced in the book *The Uses of Heritage* by Laurajane Smith (b.1962), an important source of inspiration in the department. After 2000, the earlier role for expertise in conservation changed when political-ideological aspects of cultural heritage became emphasized. This was also the period when the wider societal implications of conservation and cultural heritage became a discipline

in its own right. According to Smith the Eurocentric tendencies in archaeology and art history were problematic. Wetterberg continued to take students on the customary trip to Rome, visiting heritage institutions and studying history and conservation measures. Gradually, the job market for graduates of the Built Environment Conservation Programme shifted. Initially, in the 1980s, it was dominated by the public sector; since then, the field has broadened to include private consulting firms, small and large.[47]

After 2000, art history expertise in the Department of Conservation was provided by Charlotta Hanner Nordstrand, who completed her doctorate in 2000. She lectured on premodern architectural history, particularly the Middle Ages and the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. She led the 'church study', a project offered to students of the Conservation and Built Environment Conservation Programme. When Åberg went into semi-retirement in 2004, Ulrich Lange (b.1954) was brought in to lead the History of the Built Environment in the Industrial Age course. He was also a research assistant in a research consortium at Nordiska Museet. Lange had studied art history in Uppsala but did his doctorate at the Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences. In 2008, he became senior lecturer in the Department of Conservation at the University of Gothenburg on Åberg's retirement, and in 2018 he was promoted to professor.[48] The department gained valuable expertise from Claes Caldenby (b.1946), a professor at Chalmers, who lectured on the history of architecture.

Over time, the Built Environment Conservation Programme shifted focus from the history of built environments to urban planning issues. This meant less instruction in ethnology and more in sociology and urban cultural geography, while retaining the art and architectural history content.

Graduates of the Built Environment Conservation Programme who continued to doctorates in conservation increased in both number and influence. Ingrid Martins Holmberg was a standout example. She first worked in the department after completing her bachelor's degree, and later, after earning her PhD, was appointed to a senior lectureship.[49] She completed her thesis, *På stadens yta: Om historiseringen av Haga* ('On the surface of the city: The historicization of Haga') in 2006, carrying on the tradition from Engelbrektsson of examining a Gothenburg district at a time of urban renewal, evaluating and re-evaluating an urban environment. Where there had been three theses completed in the 1990s, the Department of Conservation went on to produce a steady stream of PhDs, tallying 50 by 2020.

In the wake of the Bologna Process, the department added a master's programme in 2008. A specialized master's programme for conservators was added in 2020, where the first year of studies focused on the conservation of paintings. While the undergraduate degrees (the Built Environment Conservation Programme and the Bachelor's Programme in Conservation of Cultural Heritage Objects) were vocational degrees with specialized curricula, the PhD programme was broad and open to doctoral students from various cultural historical disciplines.

Figure 7.3. The Department of Earth Sciences in Guldhedsgatan has been the home of the Department of Conservation since 2008. Photo: Henrik Ranby, 2020.

In 2005, it was once again decided that conservation should form a department separate from the Department of Environmental Science, but now by a merger with the DaCapo School of Crafts in Mariestad. The theoretical and practical elements of building conservation were thus more closely knit. The craft sciences developed over time, primarily under Peter Sjömar (b.1950) and Gunnar Almevik (b.1969), a professor since 2018. In 2008, the department moved its Gothenburg operations from its beautiful but impractical premises at Bastionsplatsen to the more prosaic Department of Earth Sciences at Guldhedsgatan 5 (Fig. 7.3). The following year, the Swedish National Heritage Board tasked the department with establishing a national centre for heritage crafts in Mariestad. The undergraduate course Ledarskap i

Figure 7.4. Students enrolled in various University of Gothenburg conservation programmes in Trastevere, Rome, listening to Ola Wetterberg. Photo: Stavroula Golfomitsou, 2019. See also front endpapers of this volume.

slöjd och kulturhantverk (Conservation with Specialization in Leadership and Handicraft Programme) was launched in 2011 in the Department of Conservation, bringing handiwork back into academia, and appealing to students who want to work with heritage crafts in the fields of culture, commerce, and tourism, or as home handicraft consultants.

Three new senior lecturers who joined the department in 2014 bolstered the Built Environment Conservation Programme: Eva Löfgren (b.1971), a built environment conservator who earned her degree from the department in 2011 with a dissertation on courthouses; Krister Olsson (b.1961), who earned his degree in regional planning from KTH with a dissertation on the creation of cultural values in urban planning; and Henrik Ranby, who began as a built heritage conservator and went on to a PhD at Lund University in art history, while accumulating over 25 years of experience as a local authority conservator.

In the past few years, the historical gender imbalance in conservation departments and programmes has been a subject of comment. The number of female students has steadily increased in the Department of Conservation, as in many other academic institutions. In 2019, 13 out of 20 students admitted to the Built Environment Conservation Programme were women, and in the Conservation Programme, 16 out of 19 enrolled were women. In the Master of Science in Conservation Programme, 5 of 9 students were women.[50] The department's faculty of professors, docents, and senior lecturers is relatively evenly divided between women and men. In terms of teaching and research in the department, there is a widespread consciousness about gender and cultural heritage, and about cultural heritage and architecture as tools of power. But most of the research on cultural heritage as a gender construct is being done in the Leadership in Handiwork and the Home Handiwork Research projects. In the cultural heritage research in the built environment, there remains room for progress in terms of gender studies (Fig. 7.4).

The future of heritage conservation and art history

For forty years, art history, and particularly the history of architecture, has been a pillar of the Built Environment Conservation Programme and the Department of Conservation. As demonstrated in this essay, art-historical traditions endure and even evolve;

however, we have noted the breaks with tradition in the establishment of a distinctive heritage conservation discipline. Throughout the period in question, bonds were formed between art history institutions in Gothenburg, Uppsala, Umeå, and Lund. Some were put on a formal footing—SKvB, the national platform for university art history departments or Samarbetsnämnd (the Coordinating Committee), the journal *Bebyggelsehistorisk Tidskrift* (the *Nordic Journal of Settlement History and Built Heritage*)—while others were sustained in the personal networks of the various professors, researchers, and lecturers.

What happens in and around buildings, whether in urban or rural areas, has always been important to the department, as has been cultivating a broad definition of cultural heritage. From the start, the Department of Conservation has steered clear of a narrow focus on the privileged classes in favour of the 'history for all' advocated in the 1974 Government Bill on Cultural Policy. Today, heritage conservation is a complex field comprising craft training programmes and research on cultural heritage, home handicrafts, gardens, landscapes, urban planning processes, churches, and more.

Given the field's many transformations over the years, how then can new art-historical content be relevant to built environments and heritage conservation? Cultural heritage is largely visual, and heritage conservation therefore demands visual expertise. In heritage conservation, images are significant for research into visual conceptions of earlier eras. They are also key to projects that use digital reconstructions of lost heritage environments, such as Gunnar Almevik's work on the medieval parish church in Södra Råda. Expertise in image analysis is probably more in demand than ever. Image and video streams are often used in the media to 'objectively' present cultural heritage, and animations of urban plans are something every graduate from the Built Environment Conservation Programme must be able to parse and at least to some extent critique. There is an urgent need among practising built heritage conservators for art-historical skills in the form of paint and colour theory—the ability to understand, assess, and recommend paint types and colours for heritage buildings.

Although the wide-scale demolition of old working-class neighbourhoods is a thing of the past, today's various tower projects and mega-developments are comprehensively transforming Sweden's cities in ways comparable to what was seen in the 1960s. This is undoubtedly true in Gothenburg. The built environment will always need its conservation professionals.

Notes

1 Britt-Inger Johansson & Hans Pettersson (eds), *8 kapitel om konsthistoriens historia i Sverige* (Stockholm: Raster, 2000); Henrik Ranby, 'Från skioptikonbilder till genusperspektiv', Sydsvenskan, 14 August 2000: 'Det är också märkligt, att den tvärvetenskapliga bebyggelseantikvariska utbildningen, som i över tjugo år funnits vid Göteborgs universitet inte omnämns.'

2 Anders Åman, 'Före och efter 1970: Från konsthistoria till konstvetenskap', in Johansson & Pettersson, *8 kapitel*, 211–13.

3 See Claes Caldenby & Anders Dahlgren elsewhere in this volume.

4 Gregor Paulsson (ed.), *Svensk stad*, 2 vols (Stockholm: Albert Bonniers, 1950–1953); Sverker Janson, *Kulturvård och samhällsbildning* (Stockholm: Nordiska Museet, 1974).

5 Rolf Simonsson, 'Rivningen av det Gamla Masthugget 1960–1970', *Tidlös Spännande Historia* [blog], Mar. 2019, www.tidlosspannandehistoria.se/mina-artiklar/rivningen-av-det-gamla-masthugget-28495035 (accessed 14 Jan. 2021): 'Europas största saneringsprojekt'.

6 Built for the working class from 1875 to 1940, *landshövdingehus* were blocks of flats with brick ground storeys and two timber upper storeys.

7 Nanne Engelbrektsson, *Landala: Stadsdel och livsform som försvann* (Gothenburg: Etnologiska föreningen för Västsverige, 1982), 7.

8 See Claes Caldenby & Anders Dahlgren elsewhere in this volume.

9 University of Gothenburg, 'Emeriti 18: Vetenskapens seniorer om forskningen, karriären och livet', Lars Hamberger, Jan Rosvall & Mats Oscarson in interview [video], 29 Nov. 2013, at 05:20–06:35, 08:20–10:20, https://play.gu.se/media/Emerti+180/0_bat1hs70 (accessed 1 Feb. 2022).

10 Ingrid Martins Holmberg, 'Med bebyggelsehistoria som medel', *Bebyggelsehistorisk Tidskift* 60 (2010), 83.

11 Lars Stackell, *Den svenska västkustens havsbadort: En miljöstudie* (PhD thesis, University of Gothenburg; Gothenburg: University of Gothenburg, 1974); Börje Blomé, *Kyrkorestaurering i teori och praxi: Den italienska restaureringsdoktrinen och tillämpning vid restaurering av tre svenska kyrkor 1966–77* (PhD thesis, University of Gothenburg; Gothenburg: University of Gothenburg, 1977).

12 See Johansson & Pettersson, *8 kapitel*, 225.

13 See Lars Stackell, 'Några synpunkter på Svensk stad som konstvetenskaplig inspirationskälla', in Ingrid Hammarström & Thomas Hall (eds), *Perspektiv på Svensk stad: Staden som forskningsobjekt 1950–1980* (Malmö: Akademilitteratur, 1981); Victor Edman, *En svensk restaureringstradition: Tre arkitekter gestaltar 1900-tales historiesyn* (Stockholm: Byggförlaget, 1999), 187–91.

14 Henrik Ranby, *Henriks byggnadsvård: Kulturarvsarbete mellan teori och praktik* (Gothenburg: Institutionen för Kulturvård, University of Gothenburg, 2014); Ola Wetterberg, 'Utgivarens förord', in Ranby, *Henriks byggnadsvård*.

15 Engelbrektsson, *Landala*, 7; Björn Ohlsson, 'Översikt över etnologisk stadslivsforskning om Göteborg' (Gothenburg: 2015), industrihistoriaivast.net/onewebmedia/O%C-C%88versikt%20etnologisk%20stadslivsforskning%202014-NY%5B8024%5D.pdf.

16 The study of Landala was one of a number on local historical identity overseen by Ek, later published in 1982 as Engelbrektsson, *Landala*; Sven B. Ek, *Nöden i Lund: En etnologisk stadsstudie* (Lund: Liber, 1971).
17 Nanne Engelbrektsson et al., *A, E, K: Arkeologi, etnologi, konstvetenskap: Utbildningssituationen: Rapport* (Gothenburg: Göteborg Universitet, 1976); Nanne Engelbrektsson & Jan Rosvall, 'Förslag till inrättande av byggnadsantikvarisk utbildning som lokal utbildning vid Göteborgs universitet', *Meddelanden från Avdelningen för Etnologi vid Göteborgs Universitet* (1978); Nanne Engelbrektsson & Jan Rosvall, 'Conservation of Building Areas: Short Presentation of a Three-Year Education Programme', unpublished report, Department of Conservation archive, University of Gothenburg, 1979.
18 Ranby, *Henriks byggnadsvård*, 27–8.
19 Ranby, 'Från skioptikonbilder'.
20 Sven Sandström (ed.), *Konsten i Sverige* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1974–); Paulsson, *Svensk stad*.
21 Ranby, *Henriks byggnadsvård*, 31; see Lars Berggren elsewhere in this volume.
22 Holmberg, 'Med bebyggelsehistoria som medel'.
23 Jonas Frykman & Orvar Löfgren's *Den kultiverade människan, as Culture Builders: A Historical Anthropology of Middle-Class Life*, tr. Alan Crozier (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1987).
24 Tomas Olsson, 'Built Heritage Conservation 1982–1986' to authors, 22 Aug. 2019 (personal communication).
25 Ibid.
26 The choice of conservation to translate the Swedish term *kulturvård* (lit. culture care) was widely discussed at this point, as was the term *kulturvård* itself.
27 Högskoleverket (Swedish National Agency for Higher Education), *Granskning av utbildningarna inom kulturvård och ABM-området* (Stockholm: Högskoleverket, 2008), 77, 89.
28 Ranby, *Henriks byggnadsvård*, 23, 41.
29 Anna Dahl & Maud Roberts, 'Svensk konstvetenskaplig bibliografi', *ARLIS Norden Info* 17/1 (2002), 14–15, www.arlisnorden.org/uploads/6/0/9/2/6092407/arlisnorden-info_2002–1.pdf.
30 Charlotta Hanner Nordstrand, conversation with authors, 21 June 2019 (personal communication).
31 Bosse Lagerqvist to authors, 25 June 2019 (personal communication).
32 Bosse Lagerqvist, *The Conservation Information System: Photogrammetry as a Base for Designing Documentation in Conservation and Cultural Resources Management* (Gothenburg: Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis, 1996).
33 See University of Gothenburg, 'Emeriti 18', at 19:12–23:00, 25:00–27:40; see also Stig Aleby & Jan Rosvall (eds), *Air Pollution and Conservation: Safeguarding Our Architectural Heritage* (Amsterdam: Elsevier Science, 1988).
34 Christer Gustafsson & Jan Rosvall, 'The Halland Model and the Gothenburg Model: A Quest Towards Integrated Sustainable Conservation', *City & Time* 4/1 (2008), 2.
35 Lars-Eric Jönsson to authors, 25 June 2019 (personal communication).
36 Ranby, *Henriks byggnadsvård*, 65.
37 Charlotta Hanner Nordstrand to authors, 24 June 2019 (personal communication).
38 Ranby, *Henriks byggnadsvård*, 65–6; Henrik Ranby, 'Stadsplanering och arkitektur efter 1820', in Oscar Bjurling (ed.), *Malmö stads historia, vi: 1939–1990* (Malmö: Kira, 1992).
39 Jan Rosvall, preface to Christer Gustafsson, *The Halland Model: A Trading Zone for Building Conservation in Concert with Labour Market Policy and the Construction Industry, Aiming at Regional Sustainable Development* (Gothenburg: Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis, 2011), ii.
40 Michael Landzelius to authors, 1 June 2019 (personal communication); see also, Bengt O. H. Johansson, *Den stora stadsomvandlingen: Erfarenheter från ett kulturmord* (Stockholm: Regeringskansliet, 1997); Ingrid Martins Holmberg, *På stadens yta: Om historiseringen av Haga* (PhD thesis, University of Gothenburg; Gothenburg: Makadam, 2006), 9.
41 Michael Landzelius to authors, 1 June 2019 (personal communication).
42 Lagerqvist, *Conservation Information*.
43 Michael Landzelius, *Dis[re]membering Spaces: Swedish Modernism in Law Courts Controversy* (PhD thesis, University of Gothenburg; Gothenburg: Göteborgs universitet, 1999).
44 Michael Landzelius to authors, 1 June 2019 (personal communication).
45 Rosvall's position was partially funded by the Department of Conservation.
46 University of Gothenburg, 'Emeriti 18', at 21:20–23:00.
47 Bosse Lagerqvist, Ingrid Martins Holmberg & Ola Wetterberg, 'Integrated Conservation of Built Environments: Swedish Reflections from Three Decades of Preservation Proper Development', in Barry L. Stiefel & Jeremy C. Wells (eds), *Preservation Education: Sharing Best Practices on Common Ground* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 2014).
48 Ulrich Lange, conversation with authors, 22 June 2019 (personal communication).
49 Ingrid Martins Holmberg to authors, 25 June 2019 (personal communication).
50 Statistics provided by Laila Stahre, Study Administrator at the Department of Conservation, Sept. 2019 (personal communication).

CHAPTER 8

Art history and Linköping University's interdisciplinary experiment

Gary Svensson

Linköping University began as a branch campus of Stockholm University in 1967, evolving into a university college in 1970. At first, it concentrated on medicine and technology, soon joined by art, social science, and general sciences, and finally education science. The university college was eventually given university status in 1975.

Unlike other Swedish universities, which inherited traditional European faculty divisions further split into well-defined academic disciplines, Linköping University adopted a novel, more fluid, and unique interdisciplinary structure for its graduate studies. An experimental Institutionen för Tema (Department of Thematic Studies) was launched in 1980, where the disciplinary structure for doctoral studies was abandoned in favour of broader interdisciplinary themes. Thus, scholars in science, medicine, social science, and the arts were recruited according to what they could contribute to a specific theme and not in line with traditional academic disciplines. The Tema experiment had around fifteen years to establish its strategy, demonstrating these alternative programmes could produce results commensurate with traditional university systems.[1] The assessments, conducted by both international and national experts, were predominantly positive.[2] Within years of launching, thematic studies was an established part of the Swedish research community, as scholars from Linköping University published widely, were frequently cited in the media, and competed successfully for national research grants. A recent example of a substantial research project at Tema is The Seed Box: An Environmental Humanities Collaboratory, a transdisciplinary programme in environmental humanities that has attracted generous funding from Mistra and Formas.[3]

Linköping's themes were initially subdivided into Communication Studies, Health and Society, Technology and Social Change, and Water and Environmental Studies. The additional themes of Child Studies and Gender Studies came within a decade. The cross-disciplinary approach gradually spread beyond Tema, becoming an essential part of Linköping's DNA, resulting in new themes in other parts of the university: Culture and Society (2000), Ageing and Later Life (2008), and Ethnicity (2008) (now Migration, Ethnicity and Society, aka REMESO).

Visual studies—art history and its later manifestations—was integrated into the Tema division of Communication Studies, first with individual courses starting in 1984, and then more firmly established in 1988 with a chair (Fig. 8.1). This 'aesthetics professorship' alternated between art history and literature. Gunnar Hansson first held the position, and upon his retirement in 1988 he was succeeded by art historian Lena Johannesson. Additional staff were provided by a postdoc research fellowship in literature (held first by Cai Svensson followed by Eva Haettner-Aurelius).[4] Among those who earned their doctorates in the programme were Solfrid Söderlind (b.1956), professor of art history and former director general of the Nationalmuseum in Stockholm; Anna Tellgren (b.1964), a curator at Moderna Museet; and Anette Göthlund (b.1965), a professor of visual arts at Konstfack, the University of Arts, Crafts and Design in Stockholm.

Repositioning visual studies

From the mid-1980s to the mid-1990s, the division of Communication Studies was strongly influenced by linguistic communication research, and thus theories and methods associated with it infused the environment in which work on visual studies occurred. Conversation studies and discourse analysis were central to the studies conducted in the Tema, and cognitive science and human-computer interaction,

Figure 8.1. The old linen mill in Platensgatan, one of several buildings converted into Linköping's campus in the 1980s. It was here Tema was launched. Tema K was based on the top floor until 1987 (far left). Photo previously published in Christer Knuthammar & Eli Hjorth Reksten, *LiU: Ungt universitet på väg*, Linköping 2013.

studied primarily through participant observation and interviewing methods. Diachronic perspectives were rare or even cautioned against. For literary and art scholars, the study of mass communication was not expected, as media research already had its own well-established institutions and research platforms by the 1980s. Instead, they focused on qualitative studies of discursive elements in artistic practice and individual visual communication. Nevertheless, there were conscious efforts in Communication Studies to carry the interdisciplinary perspective into the theories and methods practised, crossing previous boundaries and adopting strategies from other disciplines.

One challenge faced by researchers in visual studies lay in explaining the humanist approach and analytic traditions, distinguishing them from the technological and scientific image-analytic traditions. For example, the language employed in computer science and medicine was closely related to the idiom of visual studies, with terms such as 'image analysis', 'image processing', and 'scientific imaging' commonly used. Humanities academics collaborated well with the Linköping Institute of Technology and its advanced research on digital images, but they constantly needed to clarify their terminology in relation to that of computer science. Among image scholars in Communication Studies, this drew extra attention to the fact that the humanities could no longer claim a philosophical interpretative hegemony regarding the epistemology of the image.[5]

Interdisciplinary scholarship

'Det här med bild', 'This picture business'. That was the phrase Lena Johannesson recalls being constantly directed at image research or visual communication by a lecturer from another discipline in Communication Studies. She remembers it as 'it was as if he couldn't grasp that what we were doing belonged to a very old and well-established scholarly field with traditions as old as those of linguistics, and grounded in "a great method", as Helmut Hartwig put it'.[6] The 'translation problem' between the different research fields was evident. While the level of ambition was high, the interdisciplinary project had many obstacles to overcome. This was especially noticeable in the weekly seminar programme Culture and Mediated Communication, and in the various thesis projects in the field of imagery. Both lecturers and graduate

students described difficulties in studying and devising suitable methods in this new system.[7]

Completing a thesis that could meet the expectations set by the Communication Studies Tema and the academic traditions of art history was a challenge. However, for the first generation of graduate students—among them Solfrid Söderlind, Anna Tellgren, Anette Göthlund, and Angela Sjölander-Hovorka (1944–2003)—the skills gained in the attempt have proven their competitive value over the years.[8] Söderlind, who wrote her thesis on the encounter between portrait painting and portrait photography, did a pilot study focusing on photographic positioning codes based on the studies of primate behaviour by the ethnologist Paul Ekman. Together with Sjölander-Hovorka, she was an assistant editor for the first major symposium of a newly formed photo-group: a photo history conference with Nordic representation, documented in *Fotobilden: Nuet i historien—historien i nuet* ('The present in history—The history of the present'), in 1989. Sjölander-Hovorka studied vernacular communication codes using interviews and observation. And Anette Göthlund conducted one of the first fully gender-oriented studies in art history in Sweden. The second generation included Yvonne Eriksson (b.1957), Margareta Ståhl (b.1947), and myself. Eriksson studied images for the blind both tactilely and theoretically. Ståhl wrote about the semiotics and imagery of banners for workers' and trade unions. I was one of the first in Sweden to analyse digital artworks.

As a consequence of the interdisciplinary experiment, the Tema professors' commitments also included supervising work outside their fields. For this reason, Johannesson became a supervisor in religious studies and also of Karin Wennström (b.1961), who completed her doctoral thesis on *LL-böcker* (age-appropriate, easy-to-read books) in 1995. Wennström's studies were part of a project headed by Johannesson and Birgitta Qvarsell (b.1939), a professor at the University of Stockholm and visiting professor at Communication Studies. This research was supported by Myndigheten för tillgängliga medier (the Swedish Agency for Accessible Media) and Skolverket (the Swedish National Agency for Education). Owing to this joint seminar work, the group associated with the project later published the volume *Den olydiga boken: Om lättläst-bokens kommunikativa rum* ('The disobedient book: About easy reading's communicative space').

The edited volume *Tro mot tradition? Om den frikyrkliga identiteten* ('Faith versus tradition? On the Free Church identity') resulted from research by four doctoral students (Karin Wennström and Gunilla Petersson among them), working from different backgrounds, including sociology and religious studies.[9] They were joined by scholars of rhetoric and political science from the University of Örebro, supervised by Erik Amnå and Johannesson. Additional Tema doctoral students and researchers participated in Johannesson's project Myt, bild, symbol (Image and Symbol in Swedish Worker Culture) in a nationwide interdisciplinary project of the Swedish Council for Research in the Humanities and Social Sciences called Arbetarrörelsen och språket (The Labour Movement and its Language). From this came the edited volume *Arbetarrörelse och arbetarkultur: Bild och självbild* ('Labour movement and labour culture: Image and self-image') in 2007, edited by Johannesson, Ulrika Kjellman, and Birgitta Skarin Frykman.

An exclusive approach

The organizational model for the Tema PhD programme was unequivocal on all points. The professors had no responsibilities for undergraduate studies at Linköping University, but could devote themselves to research and supervision. New doctoral students were accepted only every two years, all were guaranteed a full-time studentship from the outset, and they were to complete their doctorate in four years. The admission process was formalized with interviews in which even current doctoral students participated. Usually, four to six students were accepted at a time, and a typical intake for the Communication Studies Tema would include one each in linguistics, education, sociology, theology, psychology, and art history; in exceptional cases, two students in the same discipline were accepted. Significant time was expended on supervisions, resulting in a suite of innovative routines, such as a mid-seminar for each thesis section, and a final thesis defence seminar with an *opponent* (external examiner) before the thesis was sent to print.[10] All of these were unusual routines at the time, but are now standard practice at most Swedish universities and university colleges.

The programme also provided generous grants to finance conferences, trips, and invitations to guest lecturers, hence the visits by famous scholars, with W. J. T. Mitchell, Abigail Solomon-Godeau, Griselda Pollock, Arthur M. Imhof, Søren Kjørup among many others. In 1990, the Boston-based photo historian Estelle Jussim was awarded an honorary doctorate. The Swedish guest lecturers were legion and were a constantly rejuvenating and stimulating element in the seminars.

Further support for the programme came in the shape of generous resources allocated for constructing an exclusive photo and video studio, partly for recording interviews and partly for establishing a digital image bank to replace the traditional art history

slide archive. This was unusual but, paradoxically, the internet has now outdated that instrumental research infrastructure. Study tours to build up the image bank were made to the Freie Universität in Berlin, the Bildarchiv Foto Marburg, the Louvre, and the Washington Center of Advanced Studies in Washington DC. The work with these image databases and digitization was institutionally coordinated with the Nordic Archives Data Council (NAD), and analyses were made of how text and image would be digitally coordinated.[11] It should be noted that as early as 1986 the division of Communication Studies, along with the university's computer science institutions, sponsored a Nordic conference on computer–human interaction in anticipation of possible developments that could affect research techniques and academic practices. Johannesson spearheaded this project, in collaboration with the mathematician and docent Ingemar Lind, one of the founding fathers of Tema and later vice-chancellor of Örebro University. Anna Tellgren and I have documented the art history seminars and the cultural communication activities, projects, and conferences in the division of Communication Studies from 1989 to 1997, including those presented above.[12]

The Tema experience as a resource

Over time, many practices and policies developed in Tema migrated from Linköping to other Swedish universities. For example, in 1995, Johannesson was made professor of art history at the University of Gothenburg. With her, she took many of the innovative routines for graduate studies developed at Linköping University: intensive supervisions, a co-supervisor, thesis seminars, and thesis defences with an external examiner.

In 1998, the Swedish Ministry of Education introduced new legislation for doctoral studies, known as the 'Tham-reform' after the minister Carl Tham. It was likely inspired by graduate studies at Linköping University, where, more often than at other universities, students completed their doctorates in the stipulated four years of full-time studies—most probably a result of the studentships.[13] Similar financial support was unknown at the other Swedish universities, where doctoral students could be accepted and begin part-time study while employed elsewhere, uncertain of what financial support they might receive. For most, completion of their doctorates lay years ahead, and a substantial number never finished—except in Linköping.[14] This was regarded a waste of resources.

Given that the Linköping model apparently worked, it was implemented nationwide through new legislation, but without the same level of funding provided under the Tema programmes, although even that funding had decreased for some years. The policy was implemented without the authorities having taken on board the practical and theoretical experience accumulated in Linköping. All in all, the division of Communication Studies at Linköping University was a remarkable Swedish experiment in how to conduct research.

In the 2000 edited volume *8 kapitel om konsthistoriens historia i Sverige* ('8 chapters on the history of art history in Sweden'), Linköping's graduate studies was described as an exception and an unusual experiment in interdisciplinarity.[15] Today, there have been mergers at most Swedish universities so all departments of art history except at Uppsala University are now divisions in larger departments comprising several related disciplines. An interdisciplinary justification usually serves as an ideological umbrella, but the mergers are often prompted by financial necessity. Graduate studies and research opportunities are structured according to economic parameters and the success rate of undergraduate education.

Undergraduate art history at Linköping

The history of the undergraduate programmes in art history at Linköping University followed a different trajectory than that of graduate studies. In the 1980s, the university added sixteen new disciplines at the undergraduate level. Among these was image science—art history with elements of visual studies.[16] The discipline was positioned in and considered an important component of the thematically organized Cultural Studies Programme, launched in 1981. The programme combined several arts disciplines into 'epoch studies'. Instead of disciplines being introduced one at a time, added value would be created by integrated curricula. For example, ancient periods were approached by lecture series in art history, literary studies, philosophy, and history in parallel.[17]

Initially, two people were recruited to teach art history, and they came to collaborate closely on the programme: Bengt Lärkner and Lena Johannesson. Lärkner earned his PhD at Lund University in 1984 and began as a senior lecturer in undergraduate courses in the Department of Social Sciences; he was later promoted to docent. The discipline went through several name changes and is now called 'art history and visual communication'. In the intermediary period, the term 'art and visual studies' was also used (Fig. 8.2).

Having the undergraduate and PhD programmes placed in different departments and faculties did not hamper cooperation between them. Doctoral students took on teaching duties in the undergraduate courses, and students from the undergraduate

Figure 8.2. The Tema building at Campus Valla since 1987. Photo by the author, 2020.

programmes could apply for admittance to graduate studies in Tema. However, national competition for these positions was fierce, with up to forty applicants for each place. Collaboration at the master's level was also established in visual studies. Over time, master's students participated in the postgraduate research seminars.

In the early 1990s, a second senior lectureship in art history was added, filled by Angela Sjölander-Hovorka. A few years later, many of the undergraduate courses, including the Art and Visual Studies Department, were transferred into the Tema division of Communication Studies. The disciplines of art history and literature came to be exclusively associated with Communication Studies. Thus, undergraduate and graduate studies in art history were combined for the first time in the same department. In addition, cultural studies formed a large part of the division, which included anthropology, educational science, conversational analysis, cognitive psychology, and human–computer interaction. Around this time Johannesson moved from Linköping to the University of Gothenburg, and no permanent successor to the chair in art history or visual culture was appointed in Linköping. In 2003, a third lectureship in art history was added, to which I was appointed. It became increasingly apparent, though, that without a professor it would be difficult for art history as a discipline to assert itself or effectively compete in terms of graduate studies.

In the twenty-first century, art history at Linköping University continued almost solely at the undergraduate level, with only a single doctoral student accepted. Frequent reorganizations of departments and the merging of disciplines into new constellations were in keeping with trends seen at every Swedish university. In Linköping, one would have thought that Communication Studies was well equipped for the future, given the inclusion of disciplines connected to social media and digital services, which were so topical and relevant. Nonetheless, on 1 January 2007 the division was closed, and the research environments and undergraduate courses transferred to other departments in Linköping University. Art history was no longer included in one of the Tema divisions, but ended up in the new Institutionen för kultur och kommunikation (Department of Culture and Communication). However, 2019 brought a new overhaul of the humanities and social sciences. As of 2020, art history is in the new Institutionen för kultur och samhälle (Department of Culture and Society) and has several lecturers: a senior lecturer, Anna Ingemark (b.1972); two graduate students,

Kerstin Lind (b.1964) and Karin Ström Lehander (b.1961), the latter a PhD student at the University of Turku; a lecturer, Niclas Franzén (b.1979); and an adjunct lecturer, Dietmar Mölk (b.1956).

After almost forty years, the bachelor's programme in Cultural Studies was shut down in 2018, resulting in art history losing a great many undergraduates, and the staff increasingly lecture for other programmes. Instead of educating students taking an art history degree, smaller courses are now given as part of several programmes, such as graphic design and communication or urban and regional planning. The emphasis is more on visual culture than on traditional art history.

Because of the frequent reorganizations in recent years and their consequences for art history, it is difficult to predict the future for the discipline, but apparently, art history, as it is traditionally known, may be marginalized in favour of the broader field of visual culture. The history of art history at Linköping University has been one of a somewhat limited group of lecturers and students. However, those working in the discipline have consistently participated in many educational programmes and research environments, far beyond what has been discussed here. Thus, it may be in the research environments of these fields, including gender studies, child studies, and environmental change, where historians of art (or visual culture) will remain active.

Notes

1 I owe a debt of thanks to Lena Johannesson, professor emerita of art history, for her many contributions to this essay, her help analysing how art history was established in the early years of the Department of Thematic Studies and for discussing the records from the period before I joined the department.

2 See Timothy C. Brock (ed.), *Interdisciplinary Research and Doctoral Training: A Study of the Linköping University (Sweden), Tema Departments* (Stockholm: UHÄ & Linköping University, 1987); Ingemar Lind, 'Organizing for Interdisciplinarity in Sweden: The Case of Tema at Linköping University', *Policy Sciences* 32/4 (1999), 415–20.

3 Mistra is an independent Swedish foundation for strategic environment research. Formas is a Swedish government research council for sustainable development

4 For the seminar, see Anna Tellgren & Gary Svensson (eds), 'Kultur och Medierad Kommunikation. Verksamhetsberättelse 1989–1997' (Linköping: Linköping University Electronic Press, 1997), DiVA.org:liu-175908 (accessed 3 June 2021).

5 Gary Svensson, *Digitala pionjärer: Datakonstens introduktion i Sverige* (PhD thesis, Linköping University; Stockholm: Carlsson, 2000), 34–8; see also Lena Johannesson et al. (eds), *Images in Arts and Sciences: Selected Papers from a Conference Held by the Royal Society of Arts and Sciences in Göteborg, 13–14 October 2004* (Gothenburg: Royal Society of Arts & Sciences, 2007).

6 Lena Johannesson, conversation with author, 7 Oct. 2019 (personal communication).

7 Solfrid Söderlind, 'Avhandling mellan tre stolar', *Valör* 4/4 (1993), 3–10; Lena Johannesson, 'Att studera och forska kring bild vid universitet i Linköping: om forskning kring bildkonst vid universitetet i Linköping', *Konstvetenskaplig Bulletin* 38 (1991–2), 5–14.

8 Anette Göthlund, *Bilder av tonårsflickor: Om estetik och identitetsarbete* (PhD thesis, Linköping University; Linköping: Institutionen for Tema, 1997) was unfortunately omitted from the survey of Linköping theses in Britt-Inger Johansson & Hans Pettersson (eds), *8 kapitel om konsthistoriens historia i Sverige* (Stockholm: Raster, 2000), 226.

9 As elsewhere, Sweden's Free Churches are independent Christian denominations that have dissented from the Established Church, the Church of Sweden.

10 Swedish theses in the humanities are usually published, often by commercial publishers.

11 'Aspekter på Gränssnitt och kategoriseringsproblematik', in Yvonne Eriksson (ed.), *Bilddigitalisering vid bibliotek, arkiv och museer: en lägesrapport för Nationella arkivdatarådet (NAD) och Humanistisk-samhällsvetenskapliga forskningsrådet (HSFR)* (Arbetsrapport Tema K 1995:24; Linköping: Linköping University, 1995).

12 Tellgren & Svensson, 'Kultur och Medierad Kommunikation'.

13 Högskoleverket (HSV, Swedish National Agency for Higher Education), *Utvärdering av tematiska magister- och forskarutbildningar vid Linköpings universitet* (Report 2006:43 R; Stockholm: HSV, 2006), 74 notes that 55 of 90 doctoral students who started the programme went on to successfully defend their theses, https://www.uka.se/download/18.12f2579815 6a345894e28bc/1487841896867/0643R.pdf.

14 HSV, 'Orsaker till att doktorander lämnar forskarutbildningen utan examen: En uppföljning av nybörjarna på forskarnivå läsåren 1999/2000 och 2000/01 (Report 2012:1 R, Stockholm: HSV, 2012) https://www.uka.se/download/18.12f2579815 6a345894e2b8e/1487841900934/1201R-doktorander-forskarutbildning.pdf.

15 'Professorer i konsthistoria', in Johansson & Pettersson, *8 kapitel*, 248–9.

16 Christer Knuthammar & Gary Svensson foreword to Gary Svensson (ed.), *Bildberättelser: sju texter till Bengt Lärkner* (Linköping: Linköpings universitet, 2006), 5.

17 In fact, philosophy came later; initially, history of ideas was part of the programme.

CHAPTER 9

Establishing art history in the twenty-first century

Karlstad and Växjö

Margareta Wallin Wictorin & Hans T. Sternudd

In the 1960s, on the heels of significant economic growth, Sweden experienced increased demand for higher education. However, Sweden's four universities—Gothenburg, Lund, Stockholm, and Uppsala—lacked key resources such as lecture rooms and student housing, and could not absorb the new influx of students. Studies showed that student applications, which the government wanted to encourage, were positively correlated with proximity to a seat of higher learning. The government's concerns included a rising need for trained civil servants, while the proportion of blue-collar workers in the industrial sector had decreased already by the mid-1950s.[1] In 1965, a new university was founded in Umeå, intended to satisfy the demand for advanced education in northern Sweden. Furthermore, that same year, the Swedish Parliament established *universitetsfilialer* (branch campuses) attached to the four original universities to provide more people access to higher education. They were located in Karlstad, Linköping, Växjö, and Örebro, starting in 1967.[2] The branch campus in Linköping was raised to the level of a university college in 1970, and in 1975 it became the country's sixth independent university. In time, the others followed suit.[3]

With the 1977 higher education reforms in Sweden, all post-secondary education would now be conducted at universities (complete with graduate studies) or university colleges. The branch campuses in Karlstad, Växjö, and Örebro were remodelled as independent university colleges. Simultaneously, all post-secondary schools in other cities were also merged into new university colleges—in Borås, Eskilstuna and Västerås, Falun and Borlänge, Halmstad, Jönköping, Kalmar, Kristianstad, Luleå, Sundsvall and Härnösand, and Östersund. The 1977 reform included a decision to direct students into educational programmes, typically three-year combinations of certain academic subjects aimed at targeted areas of professional work. However, it was, and still is, possible to study separate courses in different academic subjects, which is often important for academic work in the humanities. The expansion of higher education continued with the founding of Södertörn University College in 1996 to meet the educational needs of young people in the southern suburbs of Stockholm. In 1999, the university colleges in Växjö, Karlstad, and Örebro were assigned full university status with graduate education, the result of research efforts and budgetary allocations.[4] In 2010, Växjö University merged with Kalmar University College to form Linnaeus University, a two-campus institution with 33,000 students as of 2018. That same year, Karlstad University had 16,000 students.[5] Nationwide, the number of students engaged in higher education had quickly increased, from 37,000 in 1960 to over 400,000 in 2018.[6]

It took some time before the expansion of higher education led to additional art history departments at new universities. But the demand for art history instruction came from many directions. The developing teacher training programmes included visual arts education, which called for knowledge of theory and art history; departments of design education needed design history; departments of cultural history required instruction in art history; and the general public was interested in gaining a greater appreciation of art.

This essay offers an account of how the discipline of art history, with the added 'visual culture' or 'visual studies', evolved at the new university colleges in Växjö and Karlstad around 2000, a century after the discipline was established in Sweden.[7] For the new departments

of art history at regional university colleges and small universities, alliances with other disciplines allowed the formation of strong organizations, offering synergies of competence, finance, and administration. The strategy was a far cry from the process art history departments went through in the early twentieth century, when art history emerged as an independent discipline, and when it was essential to segregate it from other fields to claim its identity, relevance, and right to resources to develop specific theories and methods.[8] Of course, even today alliances can threaten the identity and content of a discipline, but, handled well, cooperation can strengthen the field of study by mustering shared resources and expertise, thus promoting constructive collaborations. These, in turn, can lead to educational and research developments in shared areas of interest, such as art history, contemporary art, art educational science, and visual culture.

Before considering the histories of art history at the universities of Karlstad and Växjö, it is worth noting the turns of events at the other new universities and university colleges. At the university college in Halmstad, art history courses were first offered in 1990, and could be the principal course of study in Kultur och kommunikationsprogrammet (the Culture and Communication Programme).[9] By 2020, only a single course on Swedish design remained.[10] Dalarna University College provided courses in art history between 1999 and 2008, with some included in Kulturvetarprogrammet (the Arts and Culture Programme).[11] On the island of Gotland, art history courses were occasionally available in the 1960s, with county officials bringing in lecturers from the universities of Stockholm and Uppsala; these courses became more regular after 1996, shortly before the founding of Gotland University College in 1998. In recent years, many courses have been available online and on campus, such as those in the undergraduate Föremålsantikvarieprogrammet (Objects Conservation Programme). In 2013, Gotland University College merged with Uppsala University.[12] At Södertörn University College, art history was established in 2003, since when the discipline has expanded significantly, both on campus and as online courses.[13] Offering online education seems to be a winning concept for new university colleges, although a variety of factors can contribute to success for these new forms of education.

Karlstad

Before the founding of the branch campus in Karlstad in 1967, the city boasted a teacher-training college for primary and secondary school teachers established over a century earlier in 1843. The creation of the branch campus resulted in many new university subjects, so that by 1973 it was possible to study history, English, French, German, Nordic and Swedish languages, comparative literature, statistics, informatics, mathematics, economics, business administration, political science, sociology, educational science, and human geography. There were also occasional courses in art history, with teachers travelling from Gothenburg (for example, Gustaf Cavallius, Lars Stackell, and Henri Usselmann), about three hours away by train. In 1974, the school of education and the branch campus departments were merged and moved from facilities throughout the town centre to a new university campus in Kronoparken, a public-owned forest area on the outskirts of the city, where a new suburb was being built. (Something similar happened with the new university campus at Teleborg in Växjö, where a suburb for nearly 10,000 inhabitants was also under construction.)

In 1977, when Karlstad University College was formally founded, the Department of Education included a division of visual arts education. After some years, this division became an independent department. Lennart Wängestam, the only lecturer to teach art history, was assisted by guest lecturers. In 1993, the department hired a docent in art history, Hans-Olof Boström, and in 2000 he was promoted to professor. Meanwhile, guest lecturers from other universities and institutions continued to be engaged. Starting in 1993, it was possible to study art history in Karlstad at the A level (basic level, corresponding to 1–30 ECTS) and B level (corresponding to 31–60 ECTS), and in 1994 students could first study at the C level (corresponding to 61–90 ECTS) or BA level, and the following year at the D level (corresponding to 91–120 ECTS). A number of undergraduate dissertations were produced on topics such as architecture, medieval wooden sculpture, the Rackstad artist colony, and regional and national artists from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Three of the students pursued graduate studies at other universities, completed doctorates, and later became senior lecturers (Fred Andersson in Turku, Fredrik Krohn Andersson in Stockholm, and Margareta Wallin Wictorin in Växjö and Karlstad).

The Visual Arts Department also offered courses in visual arts education for teachers. Visual arts education is a multidisciplinary subject that includes visual arts, visual culture, visual communication, and education, and is intended for primary and secondary school teachers.[14] Art historians can lecture on several of these areas, but engaging visual arts educators to teach art history is a more difficult proposition. A telling reason for engaging art historians in visual arts education was the lack of doctoral-level competence among visual arts education teachers, because the colleges training visual arts teachers in Sweden have not had graduate programmes. The few visual arts

teachers who went on to take a PhD did so in either art history or educational science. More recently, this has changed, and there have been targeted research consortiums in didactics for arts programmes.

In 2004, art history was merged with the visual arts education at what was by then Karlstad University. The Swedish National Agency for Higher Education criticized this when it conducted its evaluation in 2006. In its report, the agency recommended that the university 'establish a clear goal and strategy for the cooperation between art history and visual arts education'.[15] In addition, the agency required that at least two lecturers have PhDs in art history to authorize the right to award undergraduate degrees. It was not until 2007 that Eva Zetterman was employed in a tenured position as senior lecturer in art history. With this addition, along with the one full professor, it seemed as though the university fulfilled the requirements for formal national examination rights for undergraduate degrees in art history. However, financial problems at the university led to staff reductions in many disciplines at the behest of the university leadership. Boström, who had reached retirement age, withdrew from his position later in 2007, and once again the university had only one art history lecturer with a PhD. Zetterman reworked syllabuses and modernized courses, but without an ability to confer bachelor's degrees, it was difficult to recruit students and to fund a second senior lecturer. In 2011, art history courses were replaced with ones in 'cultural studies', a wider subject that could be given together with lecturers from the history of ideas.

The Karlstad example illustrates the need for a sufficient number of graduated teachers to develop a discipline. The funding for this comes from the enrolment of a critical mass of students, given that the financing of Swedish university education is dependent on student numbers.[16] Another conclusion is that it is crucial to know the distinct qualities of the disciplines and to adhere to the academic structures on national and international levels. Even if it is possible and preferable to include visual arts education and art history in the same department to benefit from economies of scale in expertise, finance, and administration, it is necessary to appreciate the boundaries between disciplines.

Art history courses have once again been offered at Karlstad University since 2017, and as of 2020 there are two senior lecturers, Hedvig Mårdh and Margareta Wallin Wictorin. Classes are given at the A and B levels, both on campus and online. These can be taken in the Arts and Culture Programme, providing a certain stability regarding the number of students enrolled each year, but also as separate, stand-alone courses by students outside the programme. Art history is an important part of the competence that the programme furnishes. The art history lecturers are now members of a department comprised of several subjects in the humanities, including history, history of ideas, and religious studies. Research collaborations are managed in Kulturvetenskapliga forskargruppen (the Research Group for Culture Studies) at Karlstad University, which gathers disciplines such as comparative literature, English, and intercultural studies with art history and the history of ideas. Students often write essays on art history and visual culture with a cultural studies perspective, thus benefitting the development of the discipline of art history.

The art history lecturers at Karlstad collaborate on research projects with other art historians at the universities of Gothenburg, Stockholm, and Uppsala, and Linnaeus University and Södertörn University College. In addition, participation in national and international research conferences and networks provides further academic opportunities, as does work with regional and national art institutions, including class visits, case studies, conferences, and internships.

Växjö

Even when it was a branch of Lund University, evening courses in art history were offered in Växjö, taught by lecturers from Lund (for example, Lars Berggren, Anna-Maria Göransson, and Tora Göransson), about three hours away by train.[17] The occasional evening classes continued after 1977, when Växjö University College was founded. In 2000, after the college had become Växjö University, the head of the Department of Pedagogy asked Yvonne Eriksson, who has a PhD in art history, to explore the possibility of adding art history education to the department's curriculum for teachers in the visual arts. She was also tasked with developing a course in design theory for the design education slated to launch in Växjö. While art history classes had been on offer for several years, the Department of Pedagogy wanted to improve things even further with qualified lecturers in the visual arts and design, and this proficiency could more easily be found in art history than in visual arts education and design.[18]

Thus, the scope of the courses was expanded successively, and beginning in 2005 it was possible to earn a bachelor's degree in art history at Växjö because of an arrangement whereby a senior lecturer from the University of Gothenburg evaluated the examinations—a natural spin-off from University of Gothenburg graduates teaching art history in Växjö (Yvonne Eriksson and Bia Mankell). At the end of 2006, after hiring two senior lecturers in art history (Emilie Karlsmo from Uppsala and Margareta Wallin Wictorin from

Gothenburg), Växjö University gained the right to award undergraduate degrees in art history. The addition of two lecturers in art history, Eva Cronquist and Berit Linden, and four in visual arts education provided an even broader pool of expertise. Following the 2010 merger that formed Linnaeus University, visual arts education continued to be taught in both Växjö and Kalmar. The disciplines of art history and visual arts education first transferred into the Department of Cultural Sciences, and then in 2013 into the Department of Music and Art.

For art history, the name change from *konsthistoria* (art history) to *konst- och bildvetenskap* (art history and visual studies) around 2002 marked the alignment with a wider field of visual culture. The shift reflected the influence of the Department of Art History at the University of Gothenburg. There, as of 2000, the discipline was now called *konst- och bildvetenskap*, after an initiative by Lena Johannesson, professor of art history at the University of Gothenburg, under whom several lecturers in Växjö had completed their doctorates. This background also encouraged an emphasis on methodological issues; in Växjö, the first art history course includes orientation in theory and methods.

From around 2008, breadth and depth were added to the discipline by the recruitment of personnel and competencies. Senior lecturers came from Lund University, starting with Linda Fagerström, Johanna Rosenqvist, and Hans T. Sternudd. Later additions included Lena Liepe from Oslo University (2017) and Jan Bäcklund from the Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts (2019). As of 2021 the faculty consists of three docents and two professors (Liepe and Sternudd), while Eva Cronquist, promoted to senior lecturer, combined a BA in art history with a PhD in educational science with a focus on art education. The close collaboration between teachers in visual arts education and art history at Växjö University resulted in integrated efforts in terms of budgets and administration, but also in its art history teaching. Johanna Rosenqvist and Berit Linden's contemporaneous teaching in the Department of Design further enriched art history education.

Important for the establishment of art history and visual studies at Växjö was the founding of Kulturledarprogrammet (the Arts and Culture Programme) in 2003. Art history and visual studies is one of the possible specializations in the programme, the others being musicology and film studies. The combined programme provides a larger, more stable student base. Additionally, courses in visual arts education contribute to budgets that pay for lecturers in art history, who then teach visual arts education classes and serve as the programme's examiners. It is also essential to note that for several years the Department of Design at Växjö (now Linnaeus) University funded part of a position in art history for courses in the history and theory of design. This was also instrumental in the fruitful cooperation between these academic areas.

Cross-disciplinary research is of course vital for developing a discipline. Thus, art history researchers at Linnaeus University have participated in multidisciplinary research collaborations in the prioritized research environments at the Linnaeus University Centre for Intermedial and Multimodal Studies and the Linnaeus University Centre for Colonial and Postcolonial Studies, as well as in other national and international research networks.

Today at Linnaeus University, every discipline is required to provide courses and programmes at all university levels, including graduate degrees. It was in line with this that the discipline of art history and visual studies was granted the right to award master's degrees in 2017 (with the first programme starting in 2022) and has since applied for the right to award third-cycle qualifications.

From its inception, Växjö University College offered evening courses in art history to improve access to further education. These classes went at a slower pace than normal full-time study. In 2010, digital education began in response to a demand for art history education from satellite towns and the nearby countryside: lessons were broadcast to regional centres, where students gathered and had remote contact with their lecturer in Växjö. Starting in the 2013 autumn semester, online learning platforms replaced this system. Lectures were streamed in real time, allowing students to pose questions and comment using a chat function; they were also recorded, enabling students to listen to them afterwards. As of the autumn of 2016, art history courses are only available online, except those in the Arts and Culture Programme.

Conclusions and discussion

Collaboration and the pooling of intellectual and physical resources (premises, equipment, administration, and communications) can encourage dialogues that promote more dynamic developments in and between academic fields. To maintain boundaries between disciplines and to respect their identity is to preserve and build on core knowledge of theory, method, and materials. Each discipline earns the right to confer academic degrees at both undergraduate and graduate levels.

As demonstrated here, lecturers in art history at the universities of Karlstad and Växjö worked with teachers in visual arts education in myriad ways and to varying effect. Cross-disciplinary cooperation seems to have been common at smaller universities

and university colleges, where the introduction of art history was driven by the requirements of the teacher education programmes. Something similar is found at Konstfack, the University of Arts, Crafts and Design in Stockholm, which offers visual arts education with courses in arts, craft, and design. Additionally, in university fine arts and architecture programmes, the art historians often teach classes in history and theory.

Today, at most Swedish universities, art history is administratively merged with other disciplines such as comparative literature, cultural heritage studies, ethnology, film studies, gender studies, history of ideas, media studies, musicology, textile studies, or theatre and performance. While the edited volume *8 kapitel om konsthistoriens historia i Sverige* ('8 chapters on the history of art history in Sweden') is a narrative of the establishment of art history as an independent discipline in Sweden at the turn of the twentieth century, the past twenty years can be described as a journey in the opposite direction. In Karlstad and Växjö, the discipline's operational 'home' has changed several times since 2000, but it has always been combined with other disciplines. Obviously, a variety of demands pertaining to education and knowledge, along with assorted issues related to organization, personal relationships, and individual preferences, have been decisive for the establishment of art history in both Växjö and Karlstad. Education programmes in teacher education and the Arts and Culture Programme have provided financial and administrative stability, enabling expansion. In this, the ability to work with other fields of study, such as design, has been significant, as has collaboration with other disciplines and universities.

Organizational context can influence disciplines. For example, in Växjö, art history's close relationship with visual arts education resulted in the formation of pedagogical perspectives for fine art in public institutions, including art education for children and adults. Other areas of development involve semiotic perspectives in the visual arts and an emphasis on images as communicative tools, postcolonial perspectives, and the history and theory of craft and design.

Despite the clear benefits of cross- and multidisciplinary partnerships, the identity and integrity of a discipline must be maintained, striking a healthy balance between preservation of the subject's core and growth in new directions. We must ask ourselves how our relatively small discipline can retain its status, and how we can claim its comparative advantages in a multidisciplinary environment, where other fields of study sometimes claim primacy in defining how images should be analysed and interpreted. In Växjö and in Karlstad, this has been achieved by the choice to emphasize art history's rich and varied set of specific theories, methods, and materials.

Notes

1 Bengt Schüllerqvist, 'Varför fick Karlstad en universitetsfilial? Utbildningspolitik, bostadspolitik och samhällsförändring 1950- och 60-tal', in Peter Olausson (ed.), *Universitetsfilialen i Karlstad 1967–77* (Karlstad: Karlstads universitet, 2017), 27.

2 The branch campuses founded in 1967: University of Gothenburg—branch campus in Karlstad; Lund University—branch campus in Växjö; Stockholm University—branch campus in Linköping; Uppsala University—branch campus in Örebro.

3 Schüllerqvist, 'Varför fick Karlstad', 25–27; see also Berit Askling, *Expansion, självständighet, konkurrens: Vart är den högre utbildningen på väg?* (Gothenburg: Göteborgs universitet, 2012), 47, gupea.ub.gu.se/handle/2077/29313.

4 Högskoleverket (HSV, Swedish National Agency for Higher Education), *Högre utbildning och forskning 1945–2005: En översikt* (Rapport 2006:3 R; Stockholm, HSV, 2006).

5 The figures are for registered undergraduates and postgraduates, taken from the universities' annual reports published online.

6 The number of students in higher education in Sweden was 10,621 in 1940; 16,828 in 1950; 37,405 in 1960; 68,691 in 1965; 115,610 in 1968; 177,405 in 1977/78; and 405,539 in 2018. For the figures for 1940–1968, see Schüllerqvist 'Varför fick Karlstad', 27; for the figures for 1977/1978 and 2017/2018, see Statistikmyndigheten (SCB, Statistics Sweden), https://www.scb.se/hitta-statistik/statistik-efter-amne/utbildning-och-forskning/hogskolevasende/studenter-och-examina-i-hogskoleutbildning-pa-grundniva-och-avancerad-niva/pong/tabell-och-diagram/registrerade-studenter/registrerade-studenter-efter-lasar-och-kon-197778202021/

7 We will refer to the discipline as art history for simplicity's sake, although it varied from university to university.

8 Hans Pettersson, 'Konsthistoria som universitetsdisciplin', in Britt-Inger Johansson & Hans Pettersson (eds), *8 kapitel om konsthistoriens historia i Sverige* (Stockholm: Raster, 2000), 63–91.

9 Hugo Palmsköld to Margareta Wallin Wictorin, 14 May 2020 (personal communication).

10 Helene Fuchs to Wallin Wictorin, 28 Apr. 2020 (personal communication).

11 Maria Görts to Wallin Wictorin, 30 Apr. 2020 (personal communication).

12 Lars Wängdahl to Wallin Wictorin, 28 Apr. 2020 (personal communication).

13 Dan Karlholm to Wallin Wictorin, 29 Apr. 2020 (personal communication).

14 Lars Lindström (ed.), *Nordic Visual Arts Education in Transition: A Research Review* (Stockholm: Vetenskapsrådet, 2009), 15.

15 HSV, *Utvärdering av ämnena film-, konst-, musik- och teatervetenskap vid svenska universitet och högskolor* (Rapport 2007:19 R; Stockholm: HSV), 96: 'Upprätta en tydlig målsättning och strategi för samarbetet mellan konst- och Bildvetenskap och Bild'.

16 Askling, *Expansion, självständighet, konkurrens*, 13.

17 Lars Berggren to Wallin Wictorin, 13 Aug. 2020 (personal communication).

18 Yvonne Eriksson to Wallin Wictorin, 16 Nov. 2020 (personal communication).

CHAPTER 10

Exhibiting the History of Swedish Architecture

Arkitekturmuseet in Stockholm

Christina Pech

In the broader framework of Swedish art historiography, the subcategory of architectural history has received comparatively little scholarly attention. The chief advocates of the field have been the architect, critic, and historian Claes Caldenby (b.1946), with art and architectural historian Anders Åman (1935–2008). To date, the main outline remains a 2004 article by Caldenby. Unsurprisingly, since the article focuses on content and approaches and not institutions, Arkitekturmuseet (the Swedish Museum of Architecture) is mentioned only once.[1] Nonetheless, many publications that Caldenby considers key to Sweden's architectural historiography are directly or indirectly connected to this museum. In this essay, Arkitekturmuseet will be at the centre of this history. The museum's role and agency in the production of architectural history in Sweden from 1962, when the museum was founded, until 1998, when it relocated to a new facility, are examined. The permanent exhibition of Swedish architecture that inaugurated the new premises is discussed as the first comprehensive exhibited history of Swedish architecture. In addition to discussing the institution's explicit activities and strategies, the essay addresses architecture's evolution in a museum setting and in official policy.[2]

Arkitekturmuseet, what is now ArkDes (the Swedish Centre for Architecture and Design), was founded in 1962 as Stiftelsen Sveriges arkitekturmuseum (the Swedish Museum of Architecture). It was an early example of a museum dedicated to modern architecture whose founding was intimately linked to Sweden's ambitious industrialized national building programmes, involving both housing and urban renewal, in the post-war period. As this modernization of the building stock and infrastructure came to attract extensive international interest, the Svenska arkitekters riksförbund (SAR, National Association of Swedish Architects) soon identified the need for a professional institution—a museum—to take over management of material and information. In 1962, SAR donated a small sum, its image collection, and a modest drawing collection, and it appointed an archivist to direct the work.[3] The association further offered without charge a cramped attic where the nascent and underfunded museum operated provisionally. Following the formation of a museum board in 1963, the architectural conservator Bengt O. H. Johansson (1934–2021) was appointed director in 1966.[4] From 1965, the museum occupied a few rooms in a former office and storage facility for nautical charts on the island of Skeppsholmen in central Stockholm.[5] It operated as an independent foundation primarily funded by the Swedish government until 1978, when it was reorganized into a government agency.[6]

Exhibition as critique

Arkitekturmuseet's initial mission included presenting advances in Swedish architecture to an international, professional audience, and thus involved promoting the welfare state's building initiatives. However, closer inspection of the museum's curatorial activities and exhibitions reveals a turn towards more complex and seemingly contradictory projects—ones that rather than flying the flag concentrated on counterculture, institutional criticism, and history-making. Exhibitions from the museum's first years, in the mid to late 1960s, confirm the diversity of its approach: traditional, historical, monographic shows together with highly contemporary, critical, multidisciplinary, and multimedia exhibitions with contributions from many people and representing different institutions. The two concurrent inaugural exhibitions in 1966 were illustrative. *Hej stad!* (Hi, City!) was an

immersive audiovisual experience in the large hall of Moderna Museet that addressed urban life in a global world.[7] In contrast, the parallel show Helgo Zettervall (1831–1907) revisited a nineteenth-century restoration architect in a straightforward display of drawings and photographs in the museum's own limited exhibition space.[8]

With their very different formats and content, the shows were an odd pairing that confused contemporary reviewers.[9] Nevertheless, in providing insight into what the new museum could offer in terms of historiography, the combination was revealing. Then-current concerns guided its interrogations of the past; the challenges of modern, urban life in the mid-1960s were matched with the advent of nineteenth-century modernism. This engagement with different temporalities and causalities was to govern the museum's work for years to come. Or, as Johansson has put it, the museum's range was considerable as it pictured 'History and the present hand in hand'.[10]

A series of exhibitions continued to contribute to contemporary debates, such as the consequences of urbanization or the historical city under threat by modern planning. *Klara färdiga* (Ready Steady),[11] in 1967, targeted the ongoing demolitions in central Stockholm by overtly criticizing political decision-making and calling for civic participation and the presentation of viable alternatives to the destruction. In 1969, *Staden i retur* (Recycling the City) focused on the preservation of housing stock and directed attention away from monuments as heritage to the anonymous urban fabric. *Bostadskris och mönsterbostad* (Housing Crises and Model Homes) in 1972 had a full-scale replica of the working-class model kitchen by Gunnar Asplund (1885–1940), originally exhibited in 1917 at Svenska Slöjdföreningens hemutställning (the Swedish Society of Crafts and Design Home Exhibition).[12] Beyond historicizing the housing question fundamental to Swedish modernism, this show's revisiting of a historical exhibition indicates an awareness of the importance of exhibitions as vehicles for information and comment about the past.[13]

By employing the visual aesthetics of the protest and counterculture movement, complete with handwritten signs, exclamation marks, and rhetorical questions, these exhibitions helped establish the museum as a place of debate. Narrative techniques borrowed from an angry press were interwoven with video clips into exhibition environments full of contrasts and juxtapositions—light and dark, past and present, cause and effect—creating a dynamic space in which the museum operationalized a form of architectural criticism.[14]

In 1973 and 1975, two related exhibitions, *Bevare mig väl* (Save Me) and *Låt husen leva!* (Let Buildings Live!), further elaborated on topics both past and present. The former addressed the definition of heritage and its preservation, while the latter was Sweden's response to the motto of the 1975 European Architectural Heritage Year, 'A Future for Our Past', which sought to include all types of existing buildings and their treatment in the wider perspective of cultural history. Undoubtedly, this re-evaluation of architecture and the broadening of the discourse to include vernacular buildings and entire environments was evident in the discipline, not least in higher education, particularly in the postgraduate training at the Royal Academy of Fine Arts that started in the early 1960s under the guidance of professors such as Göran Lindahl (1924–2015) and John Sjöström (b.1931).[15] This expansive approach to architecture also contributed to the instituting of a professional training programme in conservation at the University of Gothenburg and the launch of the scholarly journal *Bebyggelsehistorisk Tidskrift* (the *Nordic Journal of Settlement History & Built Heritage*) in 1981.[16]

Towards a consolidated history of modern architecture

In 1976, Arkitekturmuseet presented a seminal exhibition, *Funktionalismens genombrott och kris: Svenskt bostadsbyggande 1930–1980* (The Breakthrough and Crisis of Functionalism: Swedish Housing 1930–1980), notable for its attempt at a scholarly history of modern housing in Sweden. With its didactic displays which offered a variety of spatial experiences, media, and artistic interpretations, it tackled narratives once initiated by the main protagonists of modern Swedish architecture.[17] The 1970 doctoral thesis *Funktionalistiskt genombrott* ('Functionalist breakthrough')—note the similarities with the exhibition's name—by the art historian Per G. Råberg (b.1934), on the discourse of modern Swedish architecture in the 1920s and 1930s, provided a theoretical point of departure.[18] The first edition of the thesis had been published by the museum, underlining its close links to academia and an engagement with modern historiography. This exhibition also reflected a shift in the understanding of modern Swedish architecture in the 1970s. The show travelled to eight institutions in four countries before being revised in 1980 for a Swedish audience on the fiftieth anniversary of the 1930 Stockholm Exhibition. The version presented at Kulturhuset in Stockholm marked the beginning of what was a more acquiescent phase of modern Swedish architectural history, negotiating the frequent criticism and debates from around 1970, and offering a renewed appreciation for and faith in modernism's utopian impetus.

With few exceptions, all these exhibitions were thematic. But since the founding of the museum, monographic exhibitions continued to be frequent, either by hosting international touring exhibitions or by taking its own curatorial initiatives. In the 1980s, the museum's dual commitment to contemporary and historical material was reflected in shows that rotated architects of the late nineteenth century with those from the heyday of modernism and ones currently active.[19]

In the 1980s, Arkitekturmuseet favoured individual authorship before architecture firms, the only exception being shows about White and Nyréns in the late 1980s. The museum's founding history and acquisition policy left it highlighting the careers of various men. Building on its holdings, Arkitekturmuseet collected the papers of individual architects, typically at the point when an architectural office shut down following the architect's retirement. The architectural production of corporate offices that emerged in the 1960s was, and is, less represented in the museum's collections. Corporate offices evolve through mergers and takeovers, and documentation is transferred to the new company instead of entering a museum archive. Thus, beyond a scholarly tradition concerned with individual authorship, there were also institutional reasons for Arkitekturmuseet's continued engagement with the individual.

There were significant intersections between the exhibited and written historical work about Swedish modern architectural history in the 1980s and 1990s. In two chapters on Swedish post-war architecture in *20th-Century Architecture 4: Sweden*, an exhibition catalogue co-produced by the museum, Caldenby set out a 'genealogy' of Swedish modern architects in a so-called libertarian tradition by elaborating on the concept devised by the architect Jan Gezelius (1923–2016).[20] Several of the architects mentioned by Caldenby were featured in exhibitions at the museum in this period (examples include Gezelius himself alongside Peter Celsing, Gunnar Asplund, Carl Nyrén, and KF, the Swedish Cooperative Union and Wholesale Society's Architect's Office). Significantly, the museum's first show dedicated to female architects was a 1992 group exhibition, *Kvinnorum* (Women's Space), curated by Gunilla Lundahl (b.1936) and based on her research.[21]

Internationally, the 1970s and 1980s saw the development of new organizations and businesses associated with architecture. Beginning in New York in the mid to late 1970s, architectural drawings were introduced in the commercial art market.[22] This appreciation and validation endowed drawings with an artistic value as autonomous works of art, regardless of their functional value for architectural practice. But it also, and importantly, gave them a price tag. In a Swedish context, the international interest in Gunnar Asplund's drawings, first by Max Protetch's New York-based gallery and later by other institutions, was indicative of this commercial development and had a particular bearing on Swedish modern architectural historiography. The attention added to Asplund's international reputation and also sparked a debate in Sweden about its national cultural heritage, affecting Arkitekturmuseet's role in safeguarding, exhibiting, and, ultimately, canonizing the work and personas of such 'modern masters'.[23]

In *Drawing on Architecture: The Object of Lines, 1970–1990*, Jordan Kauffman argues that the expansion into the gallery and auction world not only mirrored the transformation of architecture, it was a catalyst for the postmodern appreciation of architecture's diverse artefacts.[24] There is a strong reciprocal relationship in the Swedish case, too: just as Arkitekturmuseet 'created' the architects represented in its archive, the architects also helped to create the institution.[25]

Inevitably, the international scene changed dramatically in a matter of years. Several national museums or collections of architecture were founded in the 1960s (for instance, in 1968 the Hungarian Museum of Architecture in Budapest and, one year later, the Archives d'Architecture Moderne in Brussels). In the late 1970s and early 1980s, today's major international actors, such as the Canadian Centre for Architecture, the Deutsches Architekturmuseum, and the Getty Museum, took on internationally leading roles in the collection of architectural drawings. Around 1980 a veritable boom of such institutions was well underway, catering to the emerging field of architecture beyond building.

The ultimate impact of this international growth in architectural museums and institutions on the historiography of modern architecture in a Western context remains to be determined. Kauffman points to a process that was competitive and instrumental in identifying and tracking down books, documents, and manuscripts, and making architectural drawings accessible, thus facilitating historical research.[26] With professional architectural curators came new figures to help develop narratives of the history of architecture. The slew of new architectural institutions, museums, and centres was codified by the founding of ICAM, the International Confederation of Architectural Museums, in 1979, which today has nearly a hundred members worldwide and serves as an important forum for discussing and validating both the content and form of museums. ICAM contributed to the shaping of international modernist accounts and provided guidance on the proper mission of an architectural museum.

A permanent history

From the beginning, Arkitekturmuseet strove to equip the public with an overview of architecture in Sweden; its very founding was grounded in a need to safeguard, organize, and exhibit the architectural production of the country. Becoming a government agency strengthened these aims and broadened the museum's mission, including an explicit focus on collaboration with educational institutions, producing study materials and guided tours, and serving a wider audience.[27] Creating a permanent exhibition became a priority. Unfortunately, the museum's existing premises permitted nothing beyond small-scale, temporary shows. For more ambitious projects, the institution was pushed—often successfully—to collaborate with local and regional actors and to put on touring exhibitions.

In the early 1980s, board members grew increasingly impatient about the lack of progress in expanding the museum. Sweden had been well ahead of its time in founding a museum of architecture in 1962, but now board members eyeing the international scene feared that Arkitekturmuseet was about to fall behind architectural museums abroad equipped with suitable spaces and adequate financial resources.[28] Satisfactory premises went hand in hand with the processing of historical material. A 'proper' museum, the board argued, required a permanent exhibition of Swedish architecture.[29]

By 1985, when the architect Jöran Lindvall assumed the role of director, the museum space had been slightly enlarged, and plans for a permanent exhibition were underway. Steered by Lindvall, the plan was to open a fully fledged museum furnished with appropriate spaces in five years.[30] This meant putting plans for a permanent exhibition on hold, and instead strategically channelling their efforts into high-quality, temporary exhibitions that could convince the Ministry of Culture of the need for a new museum building.[31] Given this aim, monographic exhibitions resonated well with audiences and policymakers: they drew attention to the cultural value of the collection and could be toured internationally, further increasing the institution's visibility. However, the intense exhibition-making exhausted the museum's capacity—in these years two exhibitions on Asplund and Lewerentz, for instance, were on tour. The prospect of space for a permanent exhibition, besides all its other merits, was also raised as something that would relieve the limited staff of the constant need to produce temporary exhibitions, allowing them to focus on long-term institutional development.[32]

A processed archive

The early 1990s was thus a busy period for Arkitekturmuseet. In the autumn of 1991, *Inblicken* (Look-In), a small-scale, permanent show, opened in one of the museum's exhibition spaces (Fig. 10.1). Christina Engfors, responsible for education and publications at the museum, curated the show in collaboration with Hans Fog (1927–2005), a professor, artist, and architect who had a longstanding affiliation with the museum.[33] *Inblicken* was intended to be a 'meeting place' and an introduction to Arkitekturmuseet. It operated on five different levels of architectural knowledge, laying out the full scope of the museum, from cursory presentations to in-depth encounters with the archive.[34] By covering the late nineteenth century to the present, the show reflected both the time frame of modern architecture and the time span of the museum's collections. In terms of design, the show consisted of rectangular wooden display panels (roughly 1 × 1.5 m) lining the walls of the room, each with texts, reproductions of photographs, and drawings arranged geometrically. At the base of each display was a ledge for original models from the collections. The display combined a chronological layout—one panel for each decade—with different themes presenting significant developments and buildings in Sweden. It offered a broad range of material, from monuments to housing and various urban components, such as infrastructure or city plans. It also embraced multiple perspectives on architecture, technological issues, and the concerns and needs of those developing and using its structures. The exhibition included a viewing room for slides and films, and a small on-site library.[35]

In the spring of 1991, before the opening of *Inblicken*, it was announced that the Spanish architect Rafael Moneo's entry had been selected for the new Moderna Museet building, which would incorporate Arkitekturmuseet. Even though *Inblicken* was essentially unrelated to this move, it became a rehearsal of sorts for how a permanent exhibition of Swedish architecture could be organized. In 1992, while the show was still on, *The Swedish Art of Building* was published, a co-production between the museum and the Swedish Institute and edited by Lindvall.[36] The book provided a visual overview of Swedish twentieth-century architecture, with the majority of its images drawn from Arkitekturmuseet's photo collection and new photos commissioned by the museum from the architectural photographer Max Plunger. Additionally, a few short chapters addressed town planning, social and functional demands on housing, housing management and renewal, and the construction process. These sections contrasted

Figure 10.1. *Inblicken*, which opened in 1991, was Arkitekturmuseet's first permanent exhibition in its former historic premises. Photo: Thomas Hjertén.

sharply with the strong visual material, signalling the social ambitions of the museum.

From a historiographical perspective, the manner in which *Inblicken* manifested the museum's mission, merging a presentation of architecture for the general public with the latest research and an introduction to its new premises, indicated a growing self-awareness of the need to collect and historically process material.[37] Even if the later permanent exhibition would end up being very different, *Inblicken* served as a template by addressing concerns key to exhibiting architectural history. Issues such as the public awareness of architecture, the time scope of the exhibition versus the contents of the collections, and the societal enterprise of architecture were all raised again in conjunction with the next permanent exhibition but were not necessarily handled in the same way.

In 1991 Arkitekturmuseet hosted the sixth conference of ICAM, where Lindvall had taken on an active role as secretary general. Former Arkitekturmuseet employees today argue that most museums of architecture in the world at the time were managed by architects, for architects. However, in ICAM, the Swedish museum worked to bolster the importance of architectural museums catering to public audiences too (this was also the main topic of the 1991 congress).[38] Central to this ambition was a substantial permanent exhibition on the recent history of Swedish architecture.

To prepare for such a major exhibition, the objectives were laid out in the museum's strategic development plan in the late 1980s. As mentioned, *Inblicken* provided a blueprint, and the plan included one main exhibition along with two smaller sections. In an enlarged format, the complex processes of building could be expounded on more fully, explaining the problematic entanglements and developments over time: the politics and technologies of housing production; the building process and the actors involved; urban and regional planning processes; and traditional architecture.[39] The museum's collections would constitute the principal resource, even if exhibited mainly as reproductions. Architectural drawings were intended to represent architectural ideas or working material, not autonomous works of art. Combined with models in appropriate settings, they would communicate architectural processes from the late nineteenth century to the present day. In addition, one small section would present a broad overview of Swedish building traditions and architecture from the medieval period until the late nineteenth century, and another an abridged narrative of the most emblematic buildings of Western architecture, from Greek antiquity to the twentieth century.[40] By 1996, the nine thematic categories and a multimedia presentation had been settled on, and their development delegated to scholars and practitioners.[41] However, the discrepancy between intention and final result offers an intriguing insight into how the museum construed architecture and its history.

Educating the public

With Arkitekturmuseet occupied with the intense planning phase and the design of larger-scale exhibitions, the architect Thomas Hellquist (b.1948) was hired as head of exhibitions in 1996. Hellquist was an experienced exhibition designer, a practising architect, and an educator. Through his engagement as editor of the journal *Magasin Tessin*, he had helped introduce and discuss international postmodernism in a Swedish context.[42]

Under Hellquist and Bianca Heymowska (b.1952)—writer, architectural historian, and Hellquist's life partner—the permanent exhibition quickly evolved into an immersive experience of architecture that focused on the buildings themselves. An impressive two-tiered structure—a wooden scaffolding evoking the constructive fundamentals of architecture—provided a powerful scenography. In this playful, visually dynamic, spatial orchestration of architectural material, the museum's public education mission became paramount. Humorous working titles such as 'Arkitekturens universum' ('The Universe of Architecture') or 'Snyggt Byggt!' ('Handsome Houses!') were consistent with the ambition to communicate the wonders of

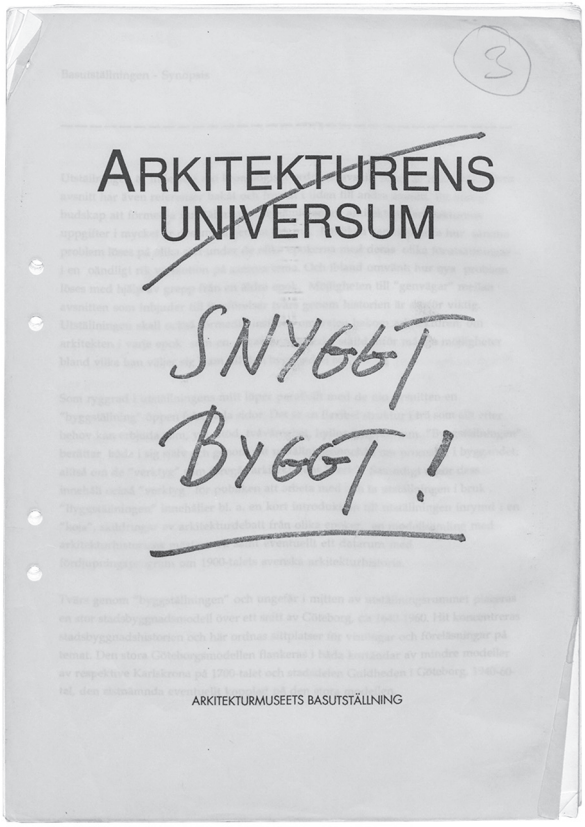

Figure 10.2. Project description of the permanent exhibition with the 'Snyggt Byggt!' working title. ArkDes, F1:15 Arkitekturmuseet. Diarieförda handlingar 1997.

architecture to large audiences (Fig.10.2).[43] From what can be reconstructed of the process through the archival material, the exhibition adopted a spatial storytelling form centred on specific buildings.

This new strategy was less reliant on the museum's collections and eschewed the social aspects of building the museum had previously stressed. Of its intended tripartite organization (main exhibition plus two smaller sections), only the survey of Western architectural icons remained a separate unit. The 'Parnassus of Architecture'—another carefully chosen title—on the upper level would display a collection of wooden models commissioned by Arkitekturmuseet and produced by students at KTH's School of Architecture under the supervision of Johan Mårtelius and Sture Samuelsson.[44] The complexities of the architectural trade, its social aspects, and the multiple perspectives emphasized in the first drafts were toned down significantly, although these issues surfaced in the unusually detailed didactic labels.[45] Omitted from the final version of the show was the long twentieth century corresponding to the museum's collections. The exhibition that opened in February 1998 offered a broad history, a chronological 'promenade' past architectural achievements presented in a variety of media, supported by contextualizing physical settings (Fig. 10.3. This encompassed pre-medieval wooden houses, various interpretations of classicism—such as the 'theatricality' of the 1920s displayed in a theatre setting—the modernist breakthrough and its postmodern responses, and current environmental challenges. The exhibition was roughly split between pre- and post-1900.

Parallel with the creation of its permanent exhibition, Arkitekturmuseet participated in another historical project, which, while separate from the monumental enterprise of its new primary showpiece, may have influenced its eventual concept and design. In 1997, as part of a series of shows on twentieth-century architecture, the Deutsches Architekturmuseum in Frankfurt opened an exhibition of Swedish architecture curated by the institution's director Wilfred Wang.[46] To assist the German museum, Arkitekturmuseet appointed the architect and museum board member Rasmus Waern to work on the selection of material and the exhibition design of what was predominantly a photo exhibition. Accompanying the show was the scholarly architectural history *20th-Century Architecture 4: Sweden*, which remains the most comprehensive history of Swedish architecture from the previous century. It had essays by prominent Swedish architectural historians, some of whom were affiliated with Arkitekturmuseet. Despite these major historical ventures being unrelated, it is still plausible that, in a small organization such as Arkitekturmuseet, the one affected the other.[47] With staff having recently produced the *20th-Century Architecture* catalogue which set out to give 'a picture of architecture in its cultural and social context', the permanent exhibition may have been indirectly driven in a direction that enlarged on the book beyond the twentieth century, away from its scholarly historical explorations towards spatial experiences and encounters with objects.[48]

Hellquist today explains how the focus on edifying the general public in architecture guided the overall concept of the permanent exhibition.[49] He and Heymowska wished to build on what he calls an existing 'holiday home interest'—a movement popular in the 1990s focused on rebuilding and restoring private dwellings. An exhibition strategy aimed at creating an 'atmosphere' would communicate additional qualities about architecture difficult to convey by the usual means of architectural drawings and exhibition texts.[50] For example, period rooms from around 1900 introduced the concept of the total work of art. Furthermore, the ramps, along which the modern architecture section was displayed, referenced the speed and movement of bodies and vehicles elaborated on in avant-garde architecture, and to the variations on ramps recurring in Le Corbusier's architecture.[51] The presentation was based on colourful pedagogical models (in different scales, not the architects' abstract

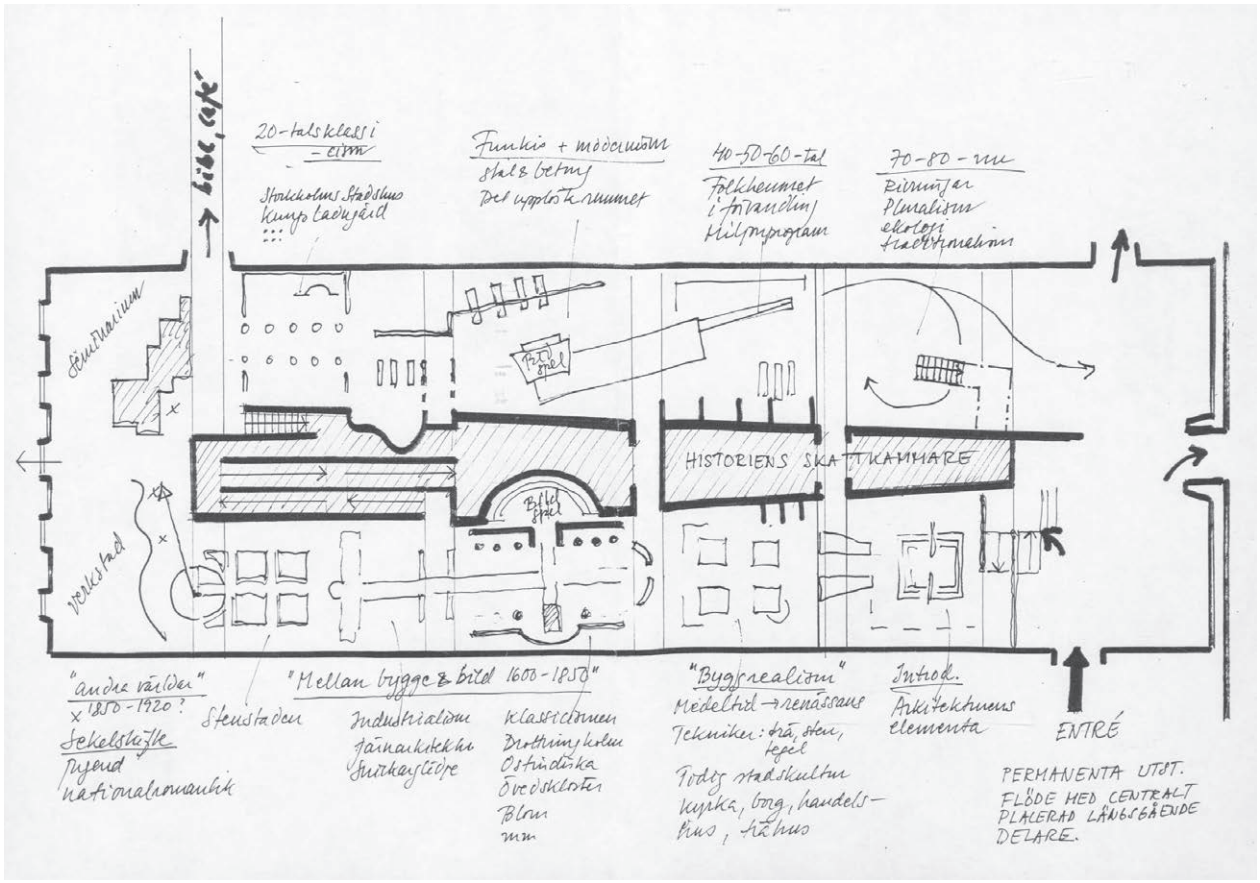

Figure 10.3. The overall concept, planned movement, and the thematic chapters for the 1998 permanent exhibition, sketched in early 1997. The exhibition was the result of long planning but a rapid curatorial phase. ArkDes, F1:15 Arkitekturmuseet, Diarieförda handlingar 1997.

ones) and a chronological sequence.[52] Chronology was favoured over themes as an established and accessible way of organizing the past, enabling audiences to understand causal relationships and to discover artistic connections between different periods.[53] The spatial layout was also rich in didactic cross-connections between centuries, such as juxtaposing classical work from antiquity with the classically inspired style of nineteenth-century Sweden. Moreover, the exhibition was accessed through an enclosed 'square', yet another central architectural feature, allowing entry from both 'ends' of the chronology.[54] Corridors surrounding the square provided a climate-controlled space that displayed original material from the museum's collections (Fig. 10.4–6).

Heymowska's exhibition labels complemented the ambition to cater to broader audiences. They provided a short explanatory text combined with a fact-and-figure section that included basic data and style classifications. The museum's 1998 yearbook doubled as the catalogue of the permanent exhibition, explaining its structure and highlighting some objects.

In terms of history, the content of the 1998 exhibition was an assemblage of existing knowledge in the field, drawing heavily on the museum's previous work and that of many institutions, public agencies, and scholars. When asked in what way the 1998 exhibition related to existing historical accounts or if it was a statement of intent, Hellquist brought up the positive critical assessments of modern architecture. He recalled how a new wave of modernism gained ground in the 1990s and how, in contrast to what he describes as a narrative of the progressiveness of modernism, he and Heymowska wished to highlight the richness of the past. In this sense, he acknowledged that the exhibition was critical of modern architecture, although it did not explicitly address matters of historiography.[55] He admitted that in 1998 the inclusion of the stylistic period on the labels accompanying each project could have been understood as a provocation.[56] Its novel contribution to historiography was a product of the design, elaborating on the media of the architecture exhibition.

In the end, the exhibition turned out to be not so permanent after all. In 2002, the detection of mould forced Moderna Museet and Arkitekturmuseet to close, and with this interruption the permanent exhibition was revised. When Arkitekturmuseet reopened in 2004, the public encountered a redesigned presentation. Further alterations followed the move to an adjacent space in 2008. Ultimately, a move back to the original exhibition hall in 2018 necessitated a

Figure 10.4. Jöran Lindvall, who since becoming director in 1985 had campaigned for the new premises the museum needed for a large-scale permanent exhibition, greeting the audience at the inauguration in February 1998. Photo: Åke E:son Lindman. Courtesy of ArkDes.

reduced version as a placeholder for the new permanent exhibition planned for 2024.

Making a Swedish architecture museum

The history of Arkitekturmuseet's permanent exhibition highlights how the development of a historical exhibition was interwoven with the evolution of the institution. The exhibition's long prehistory coincided with the 'making' of the museum, and underlines how the final content and its arrangement were shaped by different parameters, personal and political, and the museum building itself. This concluding section offers further instances of the interplay between the institution, the discipline of architecture, and its historical interpretation.

As for Hellquist's observation on the return of modernism and the permanent exhibition's relationship to existing histories, one question centres on the sources of inspiration for the exhibition. Were there any models, in Sweden or abroad? The key players consulted all agree there were no specific examples among exhibitions or historical accounts they attempted to follow or comment on. What seems to have united them instead was a genuine engagement in the media of exhibitions to communicate architecture to a wider audience. Moreover, Christina Engfors argues that the exhibitions of Arkitekturmuseet 'reflected the collective knowledge of the museum'.[57] This statement points to the strong network of scholars and practitioners who worked on various projects, while still identifying the museum as a hub for the production of history. This work in creating (architectural) history can thus be understood to be deeply embedded in the creation of an architecture museum. With high ambitions but limited funds, exhibition spaces, storage, and staff, those in charge sought to build relationships with people outside the museum, fostering collaborations with scholars and practitioners alike. Arkitekturmuseet's historical work was firmly rooted in academia, and several staff members also had academic affiliations. As a result, many of the museum's exhibitions and publications were based on original research that were substantive contributions to the field.[58] Collaborations with public agencies such as the Swedish Council for Building Research, the National Property Board, or the Swedish Institute resulted in a wide range of important projects, from international touring exhibitions to various government reports and publications.[59] A productive partnership between Arkitekturmuseet and professional architects and firms led to the publication of books and catalogues and special issues of journals, such as *Arkitektur* (the

Figure 10.5. The finished permanent exhibition in the old navy drill hall was an immersive experience, with life-size settings, models, photographs, drawings, and multimedia. Photo: Åke E:son Lindman. Courtesy of ArkDes. See also back endpapers of this volume.

Swedish review of architecture). *Sverige bygger* ('Sweden builds'), a guide to contemporary architecture published every five years by Arkitektur förlag, was featured in recurring exhibitions, as was the Kasper Salin Prize, the preeminent national architectural prize awarded annually by Architects Sweden. To this could be added the museum's yearbook, which was designed as an important forum for matters of architectural history in its own right, for many years edited by Christina Engfors, and the numerous catalogues to which directors and curators, notably Karin Winter (b.1942), contributed.

When established as a public agency in 1978, Arkitekturmuseet underwent an 'institutionalization' phase whereby staff were trained and the collections were considerably expanded.[60] Cataloguing systems and registration were improved and computerized; several documentation and reproduction projects, films, and slide shows were initiated; and in-house and national database projects were begun, including 1900-talsarkivet (the Twentieth-Century Archive), documenting building stock in collaboration with the Swedish National Heritage Board. Arkitekturmuseet now played a central role in the country's architectural culture, linking practice, higher education, and publishing with museum politics.

Museum politics and the politics of the museum

Even though Arkitekturmuseet played a significant role in publishing and research through its collections and affiliated scholars, the museum's novel contribution to the architectural discourse was the manner in which architectural exhibitions at the institution were explored and evolved, over time offering an expanded understanding of architecture. In terms of politics, Arkitekturmuseet entered the Swedish museum landscape at a time when the role and organization of museums were under political scrutiny as part of Sweden's political welfare-state initiatives.[61] While the founding of Arkitekturmuseet was not a direct effect of these policies, it too came to reflect the oscillation between what museologist Olof Näsman identifies as the move away from the traditional 'cultural heritage museum' to the 'community museum'—and back again—between 1965 and 1990. In its objective to make museums more serviceable to society, and to emphasize public outreach and matters of social engagement, the Swedish government paid significant attention to exhibitions and the particular qualities and opportunities they presented in terms of communication. For instance, Riksutställningar (the Swedish Exhibition Agency)

Figure 10.6. The exhibition invited visitors to take a 'promenade architecturale' of a thousand years of architecture in Sweden. Photo: Åke E:son Lindman. Courtesy of ArkDes.

was founded in 1965 to actively develop themes and raise public awareness through exhibitions (it was abolished in 2017). According to Näsman, public policy encouraged museums to engage in and revise existing historical narratives rather than produce new ones.[62] Arkitekturmuseet's relatively late arrival to this rethinking of the museum's role might explain why its history production, critique, and revision seemingly ran in tandem rather than in sequence. A shift of focus towards the public, specifically in terms of education, was explicitly affirmed in a government directive from 1973, and was subsequently included in the museum's mission statement when reorganized as a public museum in 1978.[63] Arkitekturmuseet's official mission thus mirrored the general reorientation of Sweden's museums in the period. Despite the overarching institutional directives guiding the museum, notable individuals also helped shape the museum's policies. Specifically, the acting head of the 1965 museum commission, Lennart Holm, who played a key role in Swedish architecture and planning, education, and public policy, and had a long list of commissions to his credit, became a close and influential ally of Arkitekturmuseet.[64]

History is not the archive

A characteristic trait of architectural historiography is the discipline's unstable position between architecture as art and architecture as social enterprise. It is evident in the way architecture is taught and studied and how it is placed (or misplaced) in the landscape of cultural politics. Founded by the National Association of Swedish Architects, Arkitekturmuseet was firmly associated with architecture as art. Nevertheless, from the outset, key players intended the museum to communicate a broad conception of architecture, demonstrating the discipline's relevance to all of society. When the future of the foundation was discussed in the late 1970s, Arkitekturmuseet's board echoed this ambition. Its members opposed a proposed merger with Statens konstmuseer (the Swedish National Art Museums), which until 1999 comprised Moderna Museet, the Nationalmuseum, and the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, arguing that such a move would contribute to a narrow understanding of architecture that would diminish its social relevance.[65]

In the late 1970s, Arkitekturmuseet's then director, the architect and historian Henrik O. Andersson (1939–2005), reflected on this dual identity, writing that, luckily for architecture, it had been considered an art, a human science, thus making it a subject for historical studies and not merely perspectives limited to progress. The opposite had befallen most technology, an area largely deprived of its history, he argued.[66] Still, he voiced dissatisfaction over the historiographical destiny of architecture of the nineteenth century, which was devalued aesthetically and caught between the histories of heroic artist–architects of the eighteenth century and the masters of the Swedish modern movement of the twentieth.[67] The national distribution of archives reflected the situation, according to Andersson. The 'golden age' of architecture, referring to the eighteenth century, was preserved at the Nationalmuseum, while contemporary architectural history, kept at Arkitekturmuseet, started with the work of Isak Gustaf Clason and Ragnar Östberg in the late nineteenth century.[68] The 'scattered remains' of nineteenth-century architecture at Arkitekturmuseet originated from a 1965 loan from the Royal Academy of Fine Arts, while that institution still retained an 'equally random' collection.[69] Andersson pointed out that neither the mid nineteenth century nor the architects and engineers of rural Sweden had a dedicated location in Swedish archives. Given the institution's national status, it was deemed problematic that the archives of Arkitekturmuseet did not include material on mundane, anonymous architecture. However, Andersson concludes, 'in our contribution to the discussion on the built environment, through exhibitions and publications, we seek to embrace this all-encompassing perspective'.[70] Or, as Andersson's successor Jöran Lindvall puts it today, they wished to create a place that included 'everyday' architecture.[71]

Art history or architectural history?

Arkitekturmuseet as an institution raises the question of the position of architecture in the broader context of museums. It also provides an opportunity to discuss the institutional framework of historical research and the two traditional branches of the discipline of art history (including architectural art history), museums and universities. The art historian Charles W. Haxthausen has addressed the differences in methods, subject, and research questions that can exist between museums' object-focused scholarship and academics' theory-based and socially preoccupied art history, noting that the division is sometimes contentious.[72] Taking an architecture museum as an example, this tension can be complicated further. Architectural displays by necessity deal with representations of architecture and not the object, the 'real thing'.[73] For another, putting architecture in a museum raises a question about the discipline itself. Does this mere action—the collecting, displaying, and studying—bring not only the final result but the material remains of its process to the realm of the fine arts? But it can be argued this duality of conflict laid out by Haxthausen is a false one, as the case of Arkitekturmuseet shows, given

that temporary exhibitions produced by the museum were often the result of collaboration between the museum and academia.

The 1998 permanent exhibition marked a decisive curatorial turn in the museum's exhibition history. The show emphasized the immersive experience and artistic qualities of architecture, and its narrative relied on the 'repetition' of accepted knowledge rather than 'novelty'.[74] It employed chronology rather than topics, presented a sequence of historical events rather than issues of the day, and was less concerned with answering why or how, or highlighting causal relationships and complex processes. The permanent exhibition emerged as a thoughtful visual, spatial orchestration of the past; an architectural history curated by a museum.

An example of how the 'competing visions' of the 'two art histories' surfaced in the conception of the permanent exhibition is found in the architectural historian Martin Rörby's assessment of the show before it reopened in 2004. Rörby, here representing the academic perspective, objected to what he considered an all-too-linear and progressive chronicle in the tradition of historians such as Sigfried Giedion or Nikolaus Pevsner. He argued that a more nuanced historical approach would have been preferable, one accommodating local and regional aspects, which would be more relevant to contemporary scholarly interests. He criticized what he viewed as an outdated idea of style in the didactic labels, including the notion of stylistic transfer over time from supposedly 'higher' levels of society or artistic practice to the vernacular. Compounding the problem, according to Rörby, were style designations that did not correspond to ones utilized by art historians. A further academic concern, he noted, was artistic authorship. He felt that the exhibition's reference to 'the architect' as sole author did not account for how the profession had evolved.[75]

In many ways, the permanent exhibition stood in stark contrast to previous exhibition strategies at Arkitekturmuseet—storytelling, immersive, directing attention to the aesthetic qualities of the architectural object—representing a curatorial turn in interpreting architectural history. A comprehensive pedagogical programme also accompanied the show. In sum, the permanent exhibition that opened in 1998 distanced itself from contemporary academic art and architectural history issues. However, it also moved the institution further away from a legacy grounded in architectural practice, away from what was called the 'architect's museum,' towards a museum of architecture.[76] With these curatorial and institutional choices, the museum increasingly came to occupy the in-between space of architecture as studied at universities and architecture as understood and practised by architects—a new position in architecture that the museum helped create.

Conclusion

In 2008, the Swedish daily *Svenska Dagbladet* announced, 'Museum director wants to close her own museum'. Arkitekturmuseet was to be replaced by a new national centre for architecture and design.[77] This institution would incorporate material beyond architecture, its exhibition activities would be outsourced, and its extensive architecture collections would be relocated. In effect, this implied closing the museum as it was known. The controversial proposal was based on a remit from the National Council for Architecture, Form, and Design, a government-appointed group of experts comprising architects, designers, and cultural administrators, which in 2004 was tasked with developing strategies to strengthen the role of architecture, form, and design in Swedish society.[78] The museum's then director, the architect Bitte Nygren (b.1961), was enthusiastic. Charged with broadening the museum's scope towards design and form, and now approaching the end of her appointment, she welcomed the new plans, describing them as impressive and bold.[79]

Thus, only ten years after the long-awaited opening of a full-size museum of architecture and a permanent exhibition on architecture in Sweden, Arkitekturmuseet and its core functions of collecting, safeguarding, and exhibiting were once again being re-examined. This politically instigated new orientation that sought to make the museum more serviceable to national government policies resulted in considerable turmoil, but it did not lead to the immediate closure of the museum. However, it did add to the museum's areas of responsibility, which now included a more far-reaching conception of design, and eventually in 2013 a new directive for the institution, plus a new name: the Swedish Centre for Architecture and Design, ArkDes.[80]

This essay has employed Arkitekturmuseet as a case study of institutional historiography and its inherent complexities. It highlights a period of vibrant museum-making, which coincided with an intense stretch of writing the history of modern architecture through exhibitions, publications, and public programmes. Arguably, these processes of museum-making and historiography demonstrate a high degree of reciprocity, and that the simultaneous activities of exhibiting, collecting, publishing, along with academic research and public education, were inextricably bound up with the museum's historical output. The museum participated in expanding the object of architecture

beyond the physical building to the realm of representations, images, ideas, and printed and spoken words. In short, the essay identifies the museum as a new, longstanding, and politically invested institution that forged a new understanding of architectural discourse and its subsequent historiography.

As ArkDes has now embarked on a journey towards a new permanent exhibition scheduled to open in 2024, many questions remain the same. Should its structure be chronological or thematic? What periods to focus on? Should it reflect the collections (the profession) or architecture in the country in general (the built environment)? What constitutes architecture—what *objects* can display it and how should the full-scale reality be treated? At the same time, new questions are being added that bear witness to changing dynamics in the study of architecture. How can a permanent exhibition build on more recent academic research interests, especially power, gender, ethnicity, and race? How can it describe colonial structures in Sweden's practice of architecture? What balance should be struck between the existing canon (the archive's highlights) and the untold stories in the archive (the accumulation of indiscriminate data), and how would that add up to a history of architecture? Some questions are specific to this one museum, while others reflect the changing body of knowledge and understanding of the field. Ultimately, what history should be written? And who should write it?

Notes

1 Claes Caldenby, 'Halva kungariket? Om den svenska arkitekturens historiografi', *Nordisk arkitekturforskning* 17/3 (2004), 19–32. Other important contributions were published in *Konsthistorisk Tidskrift/Journal of Art History* 77/1–2 (2008) ed. Thomas Hall and 85/1 (2016) ed. Claes Caldenby & Britt-Inger Johansson.

2 This essay is based on primary sources held in archives of ArkDes (the Swedish Centre for Architecture and Design) in Stockholm and on secondary publications such as the museum's yearbooks and exhibition catalogues, supplemented with three interviews with former associates of the museum: Christina Engfors (b.1940), long-term employee, curator, and editor of the museum's yearbook; the architect Thomas Hellquist (b.1948) head of exhibitions and, together with Bianca Heymowska (b.1952), responsible for the 1998 permanent exhibition; and the architect Jöran Lindvall (b.1939), director of the museum 1985–1999.

3 Birgitta Wallgren (later Rønnestad), 'Sveriges arkitekturmuseum', *Arkitekten* 19 (1966), 279–80.

4 The chair of the board was a representative from Statens fastighetsverk (the National Property Board), who was joined by representatives from the construction sector, higher education, Svenska institutet (the Swedish Institute), and the museum sector, among them the renowned director of Moderna Museet, Pontus Hultén.

5 Naval activities on Skeppsholmen phased out in the 1950s and the island came to house a variety of cultural institutions, including Moderna Museet and Kungliga Konsthögskolan (the Royal Institute of Art).

6 For a brief history of the museum, see Ulla Eliasson, 'Samlingarnas historia', in Christina Engfors (ed.), *Samlingarna* (Stockholm: Arkitekturmuseet, 1997), 7–20.

7 Where available the English translations of titles are taken from Malin Zimm (ed.), *The Swedish Museum of Architecture: A Fifty Year perspective* (Stockholm: Arkitekturmuseet, 2012).

8 Thordis Arrhenius & Christina Pech, 'The Swedish Museum of Architecture 1962–1978: The Making of a National Museum of Architecture', OASE 99 (2017), 46–55.

9 Alf Liedholm, 'Framtidsvisioner och förflutet: Arkitekturmuseets expoupptakt', *Uppsala Nya Tidning*, 20 Apr. 1966.

10 Bengt O. H. Johansson, 'The Early Days', in Zimm, *Swedish Museum*, 32. Note, however, that 'Historia och samtid hand i hand' is translated as 'History and modernity hand in hand', whereas mine is a more literal translation.

11 A play on words. The phrase 'Klara färdiga' means 'Ready, steady', but literally 'Klara ready', Klara being the name of a historic district in central Stockholm.

12 Thordis Arrhenius, 'Debate and Display' and 'Return of the Million Homes Programme', in Zimm, *Swedish Museum*.

13 Christina Zetterlund, 'Conversations in, with and about a Sofa', in Zimm, *Swedish Museum*, 58–9.

14 Christina Pech, 'Criticism on Display: The Swedish Museum of Architecture and the Production of History in the mid-1970s', paper presented to Toward a Geography of Architectural Criticsim: Disciplinary Boundaries and Shared Territories, Institut National d'Histoire de l'Art, and Académie d'Architecture, Paris, 3–4 Apr. 2017, abstract mac.hypotheses.org/christina-pech.

15 Anders Åman, 'Före och efter 1970: Från konsthistoria till konstvetenskap', in Britt-Inger Johansson & Hans Pettersson (eds), *8 kapitel om konsthistoriens historia i Sverige* (Stockholm: Raster, 2000), 211–13; Leif Jonsson, *Göran Lindahl: Ett annat perspektiv: Arkitekturhistoria, samhällsdebatt, undervisning, forskning: ett vänporträtt* (Stockholm: Balkong, 2019); John Sjöström, *En arkitekts minnen och tankar om hus: Bibliografi 1955–2019* (Stockholm: Balkong, 2019).

16 See Henrik Ranby & Ola Wetterberg elsewhere in this volume.

17 Christina Pech, 'Arkitekturmuseets utställning "Funktionalismens genombrott och kris": Ett bidrag till historieskrivningen om svensk 1900-talsarkitektur', in Monica Sand (ed.), *Forskning i centrum* (Stockholm: ArkDes, 2014), 33–64, 305–306.

18 Per G. Råberg, *Funktionalistiskt genombrott: En analys av den svenska funktionalismens program 1925–1931* (Stockholm: Arkitekturmuseet, 1970), 334–8.

19 Uno Åhrén (1897–1977) was exhibited in 1981, Peter Celsing (1920–1974) and Erik Lallerstedt (1910–1978) in 1982, and Bengt Lindroos (1918–2010) in 1984. Monographic exhibitions peaked in 1988–1989 with *Landskapet i staden: Erik Glemme och Stockholms parker; Henrik Åberg 1841–1922; Ralph Erskine Architect; Helge Zimdal Architect; Georg A. Nilsson; Arkitekt Jan Gezelius; Sven Markelius Arkitekt 1889–1972*; and *Nyréns*.

20 Claes Caldenby, 'De stora programmens tid', in id. et al. (eds), *20th-Century Architecture*, iv: *Sweden* (Munich: Prestel, 1998), 161–4.

21 Gunilla Lundahl (ed.), *Kvinnor som banade väg: Porträtt av arkitekter* (Stockholm: Statens råd för byggnadsforskning, 1992).
22 For the detail of these developments, see Jordan Kauffman, *Drawing on Architecture: The Object of Lines, 1970–1990* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2018).
23 Gunnar Asplund was Protetch's most exhibited architect with a total of seven exhibitions in 1984–1999, www.maxprotetch.com/exhibited-artists-and-architects/; Thordis Arrhenius and Christina Pech, 'The Asplund Collection and the Swedish Museum of Architecture', paper presented to Frascari Symposium IV: The Secret Lives of Architectural Drawings and Models: From Translating to Archiving, to Collecting and Displaying, Kingston School of Art, Kingston upon Thames, 27–29 June 2019.
24 See Kauffman, *Drawing on Architecture*.
25 Asplund has been the most sought-after architect in ArkDes's holdings. His collection is one of few, and by far the most extensive, to be digitized in its entirety (in 2013–2014) and made publicly available.
26 Kauffman, *Drawing on Architecture*, 300–303.
27 Statens offentliga utredningar (SOU) (Swedish Government Official Reports), SOU 1973:5 *Museerna* (Stockholm: 1973), 176–7.
28 ArkDes, Stockholm, Arkitekturmuseet arkiv (AM), A1:2 Styrelseprotokoll 1981–84 (Board meeting minutes), 29 July 1982.
29 ArkDes, AM, A1:2 Styrelseprotokoll 1981–84, 26 Oct. 1983.
30 ArkDes, AM, A1:3 Styrelseprotokoll 1985:01–1991:06, 'Arkitekturmuseets framtid' (development plan), 10 Feb. 1985.
31 Jöran Lindvall, interview with author, 20 May 2020 (personal communication).
32 ArkDes, AM, A1:3 Styrelseprotokoll 1985:01–1996:06, Memorandum, 15 Dec. 1986, presented to the board 18 Dec. 1986.
33 The architect Hans Fog had studied at the Royal Academy of Fine Arts and the Royal Institute of Technology (KTH), was a professor at Chalmers University of Technology, and worked for KTH and the National Swedish Institute for Building Research (SIB). The exhibition—which was realized with the help of the architect and historian Eva Rudberg and the architectural historian Martin Rörby, and designed by Stina Berglund—was funded by Statens råd för byggnadsforskning aka Byggforskningsrådet (BFR, the Swedish Council for Building Research).
34 ArkDes, AM, A1:3 Styrelseprotokoll 1985:01–1991:06, Christina Engfors, Memorandum, 7 Feb. 1990.
35 The 1991 yearbook was dedicated to *Inblicken* and characterized the exhibition as a 'Faktarum' or 'facts room'; Christina Engfors (ed.), *Arvet i nuet: Om arkitektur och arkiv* (Stockholm: Arkitekturmuseet, 1991), 113.
36 Jöran Lindvall (ed.), *The Swedish Art of Building* (Stockholm: Swedish Institute, 1992).
37 *Inblicken* offered some novel historical insights; for example, as early as the nineteenth century, Sweden was actively exporting timber houses. Christina Engfors, interview with author, 19 May 2020 (personal communication).
38 Christina Engfors (19 May 2020), Thomas Hellquist (2 June 2020), and Jöran Lindvall (20 May 2020) interviews with the author (personal communications), especially re the educational ambitions. Lindvall referred to discussions with the manager of the Netherlands Architecture Institute, which, in contrast to Arkitekturmuseet, decided not to have a permanent exhibition; see also Jöran Lindvall, 'Tankar inför ett nytt arkitekturmuseum', in Christina Engfors (ed.), *Lära om hus* (Stockholm: Arkitekturmuseet, 1993), 18–19.
39 ArkDes, AM, A1:3 Styrelseprotokoll 1985:01–1991:06, Utvecklingsplan 1990–95, 5 Feb. 1988: 'Ett nytt arkitekturmuseum eller ett byggnadskonsten museum?'
40 Lindvall, 'Tankar', 19–20.
41 Themes included 'Elements of architecture' (Arkitekturmuseet head of exhibitions, Thomas Hellquist); 'Urban design and development' (Prof. Hans Bjur, Chalmers); 'Local traditions of building' (SIB researcher Gärd Folkesdotter); 'Construction and architectural style' (Prof. Sture Samuelsson, KTH); 'Public buildings' (architectural historian Martin Rörby); 'Housing development' (architect and Arkitekturmuseet researcher Eva Rudberg); 'How buildings are made' (architect Rodel Stintzing); 'The giants of architecture' (Prof. Johan Mårtelius); 'Power, Economy, Politics' (Prof. Jan Bröchner, Chalmers); 'The Archives' (Arkitekturmuseet archivist Ulla Eliasson); and a multimedia presentation (architect Mikael Bergquist and graphic designer Björn Nilsson with producer Jacob Landefjord, who did the programming), inspired by Otto Kapfinger's similar technique.
42 *Magasin Tessin*, first published in 1980, was named for the Swedish Baroque architects Nicodemus Tessin, father and son. It became the main academic forum for international postmodernism and architecture in Sweden.
43 ArkDes, AM, F12:3 Handlingar rörande museets basutställning 1998; ArkDes, AM, A1:5 Styrelseprotokoll 1993.06.1–1996.12.31; ArkDes, AM, F1:15 Diarieförda handlingar 1997.
44 The architect Tomas Lewan and the model builder Stig Victorsson contributed as instructors; Christina Engfors & Sture Balgård (eds), *Att visa arkitektur* (Stockholm: Akitekturmuseet, 1998), 119–26.
45 Thomas Hellquist, interview with author, 2 June 2020 (personal communication). Jöran Lindvall, interview with author, 20 May 2020 (personal communication) acknowledged the exhibition's merits, but was uneasy about the silence on architecture's social connection in a 'largely art-historical narrative'.
46 *Architektur im 20. Jahrhundert: Schweden*, Deutsches Architekturmuseum, Frankfurt, 4 May–28 June 1998.
47 Confirmed in interviews by both Rasmus Waern, 18 May 2020, and Jöran Lindvall, 20 May 2020 (personal communications).
48 Claes Caldenby, Jöran Lindvall & Wilfred Wang, foreword to Caldenby et al., *20th-Century Architecture*, 7.
49 Thomas Hellquist, interview with author, 2 June 2020 (personal communication).
50 Ibid., according to whom the scenographic or 'atmospheric' exhibition ideal was under criticism at the time.
51 Ibid.
52 Ibid.
53 Thomas Hellquist & Bianca Heymowska, 'Att göra en utställning', in Engfors & Balgård, *Att visa arkitektur*, 18; Thomas Hellquist, interview with author, 2 June 2020 (personal communication).
54 The 'square' was taken down in 2000, as it was thought the enclosed walls caused confusion about the entrance where the two main exhibition halls met.
55 Thomas Hellquist, interview with author, 2 June 2020 (personal communication).

56 Ibid.
57 Christina Engfors, Thomas Hellquist, and Jöran Lindvall, interviews with author in May and June 2020 (personal communications).
58 The Swedish Museum of Architecture collaborated with academics and developed especially strong ties with the Royal Institute of Art (hived off from the Royal Academy of Fine Arts in 1978), sharing premises with its Department of Architecture. Henrik O. Andersson (director between 1978 and 1985), Ann Katrin Pihl Atmer, Fredric Bedoire, Eva Rudberg, Anders Åman, and others produced notable work in collaboration with the museum. Hans Fog, Lennart Holm, and Björn Linn were all professors who held positions in government agencies, and were regularly consulted by, or were board members of, Arkitekturmuseet.
59 The Swedish Council for Building Research (Statens råd för byggnadsforskning, BFR) was a state funding agency active between 1960 and 2000. In 2001 its responsibilities were taken over by Forskningsrådet för miljö, areella näringar och samhällsbyggande aka Formas (the Swedish Research Council for Environment, Agricultural Sciences and Spatial Planning).
60 Jöran Lindvall, interview with author, 20 May 2020 (personal communication).
61 See the reports by the influential MUS 65 commission of inquiry: SOU 1972:45; SOU 1973:5; SOU 1974:43.
62 Olof Näsman, *Samhällsmuseum efterlyses: Svensk museiutveckling och museidebatt 1965–1990* (PhD thesis, Umeå University; Umeå: Umeå University, 2014), 201–203.
63 Launched in 1965 as '1965 års museisakkunniga', MUS 65 produced several reports, of which SOU 1973:5, 175–7 is the most relevant here.
64 For Holm's affiliations and commissions, see Digitalt Museum, s.v. 'Lennart Holm (1926–2009)', digitaltmuseum.org.
65 ArkDes, AM, F3:4 Arbetsgruppers och kommittéers handlingar 1977–1978, Arkitekturmuseet report to the Ministry of Eduction, 10 Nov. 1977.
66 Henrik O. Andersson, 'Om byggnadsritningar', in *Arkitekturmuseet årsbok 1979* (Stockholm: Arkitekturmuseet, 1979), 22.
67 Ibid. 23
68 Ibid. 25.
69 Ibid. 25: 'lika tillfällig rest'.
70 Ibid. 26: 'I vår medverkan i diskussionen om den byggda miljön genom utställningar och publikationer, söker vi hålla detta helhetsperspektiv.'
71 Jöran Lindvall, interview with author, 20 May 2020 (personal communication).
72 Charles W. Haxthausen introduction to id. (ed.), *The Two Art Histories: The Museum and the University* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), xi–xii.
73 See, for example, Thordis Arrhenius introduction to ead. et al. (eds), *Place and Displacement: Exhibiting Architecture* (Zurich: Lars Müller, 2014), 15–16; Jean-Louis Cohen, 'Exhibitionism and Its Limits', *ICAM Print 03* (2009), 64–9; Eeva-Liisa Pelkonen, *Exhibit A: Exhibitions that Transformed Architecture 1948–2000* (London: Phaidon, 2018), 16–18.
74 Patricia Mainardi, 'Repetition and Novelty: Exhibitions Tell Tales', in Haxthausen, *Two Art Histories*, 80–6 uses 'repetition and novelty' to represent the objectives of museum and university histories respectively.
75 ArkDes, AM, F12:5 Basutställningen 2004, Martin Rörby memo, 12 Mar. 2003.
76 Johansson, 'Early Days', 35.
77 Elisabet Andersson, 'Chef vill lägga ned sitt museum', *Svenska Dagbladet*, 18 Apr. 2008.
78 Rådet för arkitektur, form och design, *Ett centrum för arkitektur, form, design och gestaltningen av den gemensamma miljön* (Ku 2004:02 report 2008:1; Stockholm: Rådet för arkitektur, form och design, 2008).
79 Andersson, 'Chef vill lägga ned'.
80 In 2009, Arkitekturmuseet's mission expanded to include form and design, and it was instructed to actively engage with housing and urban development issues. The directive to act as a 'meeting place' for architecture, form, and design came in 2010. See, for example, SOU 1999:123, *Mötesplats för form och design: Delbetänkande från Form- och designutredningen* (Stockholm: Regeringskansliet) and the Rådet för arkitektur, form och design's reports between 2005 and 2008, www.riksdagen.se/sv/dokument-lagar/dokument/kommitteberattelse/radet-for-arkitektur-form-och-design-ku_GSB2Ku02.

CHAPTER 11

Object-centred research at the Nationalmuseum in Stockholm

The realities of art history

Solfrid Söderlind

Art museums have a long history as research institutions.[1] The need to classify and systematize collections is evident in the surveys that document the evolution of art museums from the eighteenth century on. Although taxonomic work has always been part of the process, the pursuit of art-historical literacy has expanded and intensified significantly in recent decades, particularly in the intersections between collections and exhibitions. And since the nineteenth century, research in university art history departments has also played a decisive role in art museums. Fortunately, public and private collections have for centuries resulted in copious amounts of documentation, generated by processing and exhibiting a single work, a group of objects, or entire collections. Over time, there was a growing need for accessible, summarized information about the objects to allow staff to manage the artworks and conduct art-historical research, and to meet educational needs and the ever-expanding public interest.

Collections of works in art museums are groups of physical research objects with shared associations. They need to be studied with the assembled documentation to produce a factual foundation for further research. Since the 1990s, though, it has not been unusual for scholars to take whatever material is available online and apply a methodological and theoretical framework to it. Yet, even with the advancement of technology resulting in the digital access of complete collections and archives in high-resolution photos and 3-D imaging, hands-on examination of the physical objects continues to disclose essential information about the works. For a researcher, this sort of inquiry demands considerable skill in combination with diligence, curiosity, and imagination as well as the ability to pose questions and draw reasoned conclusions. And critically, it requires that the researcher have access to the object and its attendant documentation.

The earliest digitization projects in the 1980s coincided with a global upswing in blockbuster exhibitions, which were purposely created to draw large crowds of visitors.[2] These two phenomena may seem independent of one another, but both were part of the normative development of museums, with greater accessibility the common goal. Large exhibitions and digital technology have had a similar effect on the research of objects by throwing a limited group of works into the spotlight. Blockbuster shows have been the subject of much discussion and criticism. Yet, they have undoubtedly contributed to the heightened attention—at times manifested in throngs of visitors—that art museums in the Western world have received since the Second World War. This has benefited research and other projects in the larger museums. Substantial public investment has also advanced ambitious catalogue projects, leading to international collaborative research.

These commercially successful shows of the 1980s entailed numerous loans of artworks, and with them the expectations of high-quality examinations and documentation of the physical objects shipped from their home museums in specially designed crates to different climate conditions. Thus, the artworks not only experienced severe strains, they also underwent analyses contributing to new findings. This relatively rapid development created a need for strategic research.

Europe's national museums share similarities owing to their government-ordained missions. The collections differ in their histories and character, but the museums' foundational priorities—to collect, document,

care for, preserve, and display—are the same.[3] The unique role of serving a national function follows the dictates of quality. The working methods and issues tackled must be grounded in the government mission, otherwise the institution's leading position can be questioned. In national terms, it is necessary to stay one step ahead, even in research.

It is reasonable to expect publicly owned art collections to have a high standard of administration; hence, the museum must embody the best practices in the country and be on a level comparable with similar institutions elsewhere.[4] These expectations even extend to the conditions for conducting research at a national art gallery, given it is presumed to be grounded in the physical examination of the objects, which is not always the case at universities. It is generally accepted that the significant integration of research into the museum's practices will contribute to quality work throughout the institution. Therefore, how object-centred research has been carried out in national art museums is critical, as is its role in terms of the collections and public outreach, and, most important, in exhibitions. The conditions for engaging in research at Swedish art museums have varied considerably over the past few decades. The course of action taken by the Nationalmuseum has had historiographical consequences, particularly for art-historical research based on the study of its collections and objects. The increase in research produced by the Gothenburg Museum of Art and Moderna Museet can be understood as building on previous developments at the Nationalmuseum.[5]

The Nationalmuseum until 1990

In 1990, the Nationalmuseum's mission was determined by the government and Parliament because it was part of the Swedish National Art Museums, a government authority comprising three museums—the Nationalmuseum, Moderna Museet, and Östasiatiska Museet (the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities)—of differing sizes and approach to public outreach.[6] Moderna Museet split off from the Nationalmuseum in 1958, and its focus was limited to twentieth-century art. The Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities opened in 1926, separate from the Nationalmuseum, its collections built on the archaeological excavations led by Johan Gunnar Andersson (1874–1960) in China. Only first in 1959 came a decision to combine its holdings with the East Asian collections of the Nationalmuseum and Riksantikvarieämbetet (the Swedish National Heritage Board). With this merger, it became a national, specialized art museum, housed since the early 1960s in Tyghuset (the Arsenal) on the island of Skeppsholmen.

The museums' mission, as set down in 1988 by the Swedish government and Parliament and revised a decade later in Ordinance SFS 1998:1716, was as follows:[7]

> 1§ The National Art Museums have as their mission to promote art, an interest in art, and knowledge of art. The agency will present older and contemporary art forms and their connections with societal development; it will also strive to promote artistic and cultural development … 2§ The nation's art museums shall in particular 1. care for, register, academically process, and through acquisitions enrich the collections entrusted to the agency, 2. maintain a selection of the collections intended for display accessible to the public, manage and support a programme of exhibitions and other educational operations, as well as manage a programme of loans and long-term loans, 3. register and academically process other public-owned collections of art and applied art, along with collections of art that the state supports but does not own, as well as supervise such collections and the manner in which public agencies care for permanently affixed public-owned artworks where the collections or artworks are not, in accordance with other decisions, under the supervision or care of another agency or institution with the requisite expertise about such art. (Ordinance SFS 1988:1549).

Twice the phrase 'academically process' featured, but not the word 'research'. These three museums, dissimilar as they were, could not be grouped in terms of a research policy: shared directives and spending authorizations could have led to difficulties, particularly for Moderna Museet, which at that point lacked any tradition of research. Moreover, the head of the Swedish National Art Museums was always also the director general of the Nationalmuseum. Thus, the work of registering and overseeing the collections in the agency tended not to be evenly divided.[8] This dual leadership role was on display: since the nineteenth century, the office of the Nationalmuseum's director general was in the museum's main building on Blasieholmen. Consequently, it was the headquarters for the Swedish National Art Museums and the Nationalmuseum. This inherent symbolism was lost on no one: the Nationalmuseum was the senior museum, charged with administering the legacy of being the nation's art museum for the past two hundred years.[9] The monthly board meetings reinforced this imbalance. The board members were drawn primarily from the Nationalmuseum staff, with only a

few representatives from Moderna Museet and the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities.

The Nationalmuseum's curators researched the museum's own collections, a practice followed since the nineteenth century, when it was viewed as one of 'the learned offices of the state' (the others being the Swedish National Archives, the Swedish National Heritage Board, and the Royal Library).[10] Nils Fredrik Sander (1828–1900) wrote the first catalogue of the painting collection, published in 1867, and the first sculpture catalogue came out the following year. Second editions of both works followed in 1911. Next, Lorentz Dietrichson (1834–1917) produced a survey of the collection of prints and drawings in 1869. The appointment of a new director general in 1880, Gustaf Upmark the elder (1844–1900), brought a new museum charter (SFS 1880:62). It tasked civil servants—called amanuenses, later curators—to 'closely follow art-historical developments' and organize and display the collections using scholarly methods.[11] In his monograph to mark the bicentenary of the museum, the former director general Per Bjurström (1928–2017) singled out the art historian Georg Göthe (1846–1933) as the one responsible for the museum's first 'catalogues produced with academic ambitions'.[12]

A revised charter went into effect in 1913 (SFS 1912:421), providing an updated division of departments and professional guidelines. Artworks were divided between the departments of painting and sculpture, prints and drawings, and applied arts, each led by a curator, who, with the conservator, formed a board headed by the director general. The Royal Castles Collections came under the personal supervision of the director general. In 1918, during the short tenure of Richard Bergh (1858–1919) as head of the museum (1915–1919), another department was added: long-term loans. It included the Royal Castles Collections, and soon took on the work of touring exhibitions. The 1913 charter applied for over sixty years, until 1976 and the formation of the Swedish National Art Museums. Throughout this time, catalogues of the collections continued to be produced.

Starting in 1990, the museum began publishing catalogues of its collections in Swedish and English, first covering painting, then sculpture. Catalogues raisonnés of specific parts of the collections had been published in German, French, or English ever since the nineteenth century. This practice continued throughout the period addressed in this essay.[13] Over the years, the annual administrative reports were published in different series, including *Nationalmuseum Bulletin* (1977–1993), with two to four issues a year, with articles by the curators and external art historians, mostly pertaining to the museum's own collections. *Nationalmusei Årsbok* (1919–2011) was published with a rotating editorship and a variety of themes. The yearbooks contributed specialized knowledge in a particular area by providing space for longer articles.

Both *Nationalmuseum Bulletin* and *Nationalmusei Årsbok* were in Swedish and therefore largely inaccessible to foreign readers, the exception being an annual English issue of *Nationalmuseum Bulletin*. We should remember, though, that the museum's audience was overwhelmingly Swedish-speaking, and the institution's explicit mission—to promote art, an interest in art, and a knowledge of art—was national in scope. Translations of its publications were not a priority. As a result, though, research suffered, given that such work is international by nature. Furthermore, the museum's role in generating readily accessible information about the artworks remained generally unfamiliar to most.

Similarly, before 1990, exhibition catalogues rarely appeared in translation. These publications reached an extensive Swedish-speaking audience and had a hand in disseminating knowledge and creating an interest in a wide variety of art. They featured essays by specialized scholars, but written to be accessible to an engaged, general readership. They had limited penetration in the art history community, however, mainly because of the language barrier, contributing to the situation where knowledge of art from 'small-language' regions, such as the Nordic countries, remained local.[14] The increase in international loans from and to the Nationalmuseum meant more translations were needed, though, particularly into English. This demand was met partly by the requirement that every catalogue entry accompanying the loaned objects be comprehensible in the relevant languages of the lending and borrowing institutions.

The art-historical hierarchy played a significant role in the display of works in the museum's spaces. Throughout its long organizational history, this norm left its imprint on the museum's permanent—or, rather, longstanding—hangings and display arrangements. Thus, as early as the 1860s the art collections were highest up in the building, while the historical and archaeological collections were on the middle and ground floors. Over the decades, the displays expanded and contracted due to gifts and relocations. Additions included the gift of King Charles XV's collections (1872) and later donations, and the acquisitions of contemporary art. The departure of the Royal Armoury (1884) and Swedish History Museum (1940) created space to expand the Nationalmuseum's art collections in its own building. The permanent exhibitions were even stripped of pre-Reformation works, which, organizationally, belonged to the Swedish History Museum.[15] Following its evacuation in the Second

World War, the museum was dedicated solely to art. The paring down took some seventy years and resulted from organizational, aesthetic, and academic decisions.

As of 1990, paintings remained on the top floor of the building, while applied arts and design were displayed on the middle floor. The internationally renowned collection of prints and drawings was on the ground level, along with the Royal Castles Collections and the offices for long-term loans, touring exhibitions, and art education. Thus, they were near the loading docks, packing room, and security offices. This distribution of departments arose partly from the traditional art-historical rankings of painting and sculpture, and partly from a widespread perception that any works that fell outside the narrow constrictions of traditional painting and sculpture were automatically of less interest. This applied to graphic art and even to sketches, models, replicas, copies, or other objects deemed of lower quality.

However, the implementation of the museum's value hierarchy varied in practice. In the early twentieth century, sculptural art, once highly regarded, fell out of favour.[16] Because sculpture often requires significant space, the museum curators' interest in these pieces waned to the point where the museum had difficulty fulfilling its mission to have representative sections of its holdings on public display. The solution came as part of an initiative by the curator Pontus Grate (1922–2018), before his retirement in 1988, to create a permanent exhibition of the sculpture collection in the Orangery at Ulriksdal Palace. Painting now stood unchallenged in its premier position in the building. Conversely, the museum's vast holdings of prints and drawings, considered by specialists to be among the finest in the art museum world, were classified as a study collection. There was only limited access; their storage and exhibition spaces were relegated to the ground floor. The applied arts collection was at a disadvantage because of the conventional wisdom that fine art is superior to functional works.

To understand how normative art-historical evaluations affected daily work in the collections—and which works were selected for research—it is necessary to further underline the connection between art history and its physical manifestation in the museum building. Even its organization speaks volumes. The regulations (SFS 1976:439) that applied from 1976 to 1988 stated:

> §10 … The Nationalmuseum comprises four departments, one for older painting and sculpture, one for prints and drawings, one for applied arts, and one for art education. Each department is to be headed by a curator. The Nationalmuseum also has studios for the conservation of artworks. …
>
> §15 In the agency falls the department of the Royal Castles Collections, a department for long-term loans and touring exhibitions, a library, and a unit that includes a photo studio, image archives, and the Swedish Portrait Archive. Each department is to be headed by a chief curator.[17]

Although the subsequent ordinance (SFS 1988:677, §8) permitted the agency's board to determine which departments the museum should have, the old organization persisted.[18] The structures that formally existed for the Nationalmuseum, and those outside the museum but in the Swedish National Art Museums, were the product of tradition compounded by its mission. The department overseeing touring exhibitions and long-term loans served both the Nationalmuseum and Moderna Museet, and so could be said to have had a shared role in the agency. The same could not be said of the Royal Castles Collections, which as of 1949 were an independent department.

Even though the 1976 directives classified the Nationalmuseum's holdings by medium, in truth another system of differentiation was at work: the artworks housed in the main building were valued most. Art displayed outside the main building included works in the royal palaces and castles. In the 1860s, the pieces deemed most valuable from an art-historical perspective had been moved from the royal residences into the museum. The 'outside' works also included those suitable to travel and to be exhibited outside the capital.[19] This art was viewed by museum insiders as inferior both in terms of aesthetics and art-historical importance, and thus unworthy of a place in the Nationalmuseum proper. Instead, it assumed a role in the agency's other operations. Where the Royal Castles Collections differed from the long-term loans and touring exhibitions was that they were permanently housed in the royal palaces. At the same time, long-term loans were administered as if they were temporary exhibitions and loans.

The Nationalmuseum also had an unspoken rule not mandated by the 1880 or 1913 charters, nor found in the directives of 1976 and 1988, and difficult to substantiate in its official documentation before 1970: the rejection of female artists and undervaluing of female staff in carrying out the museum's mission. Eva-Lena Bergström (b.1961) has established that men ran the departments of collections until the 1980s; that the museum acquired works by women only through gifts, not purchases; and that works by women comprised only a mere fraction of the exhibitions put on and were not the subject of research.[20] However, five out of eight heads of the long-term loans department between 1918 and 2012 were women, which likely

correlated with the lower value associated with this 'outside' operation.[21]

The day-to-day practice of differentiating between works in the collections—based on artistic ability, style, period, material, technique, genre, traditional aesthetic hierarchies, and gender—translated into the privileging of the individual curator's trained aesthetic judgement over other art-historical aspects of the collections—contextual, norm-critical, and theoretical. Museum routines suffered from a lack of introspection and critical review, which impacted on all parts of its operations. Aesthetic discernment played a key role in proposed acquisitions and exhibition themes, decisions about which objects to consign to storage, the prioritization of conservation work, inventories, photographic documentation, and loans.

This norm-driven administration was also reflected in the production of texts. No clear forum existed for generating change or promoting long-term relationships with university art history departments. The art historians working at the Nationalmuseum had earned their degrees from these institutions. Still, given there were few posts for art historians at the museum, and little turnover in them, there was minimal exchange between the Nationalmuseum and institutions of higher learning.[22] A mutual distrust developed between universities and the museum regarding the art history scholarship they produced. What Haxthausen and others have described as 'the two art histories' was evident to those, like me, with a foot in both worlds.[23] But the mutual dependence of the two spheres eventually prompted a new arrangement, stemming from common research interests and from doctoral students working at both the museum and their universities.

Ambitions and consequences of the 1992 anniversary

At the end of the 1980s, a plan for the museum's bicentenary in 1992 took form. The Nationalmuseum had celebrated its centenary in 1966, but the organizational forerunner to the Swedish National Art Museums had been founded in 1792 as the Royal Museum. The anniversary provided the opportunity for major projects that would attract crowds and bolster the institution's finances through ticket sales, gifts, and sponsorship (which was relatively new to Sweden at the time). Moreover, there was yet another payoff to the commemoration: in 1993, the Louvre would celebrate its bicentenary, and thus the timing of the Nationalmuseum's anniversary would situate the institution in the elite circle of senior international art museums, even if the Royal Museum technically opened to the public in October 1794.[24]

Ambitious catalogues accompanied the larger exhibitions planned for 1992. They included *Empiren i Sverige* ('The Empire style in Sweden'), *Från två hav: Anders Zorn & Joaquin Sorolla* ('From two seas: Anders Zorn & Joaquin Sorolla'), *Carl Larsson*, *Rafaels teckningar* ('Drawings by Raphael'), *Louis Jean Desprez*, and *Rembrandt och hans tid* ('Rembrandt and his age'). Smaller shows slated for the celebration also required careful preparation. In the autumn of 1992, the museum hosted a colloquium, Rembrandt and His Pupils, for leading researchers in the field, and its proceedings were duly published.[25] The museum also oversaw two parallel projects: a study of the Royal Museum's collection of classical sculpture, led by Anne-Marie Leander Touati (b.1951); and the reconstruction of the Lesser Stone Gallery in the Royal Palace, in which the Piranesi collection would be reinstalled according to the 1794 layout.[26]

Olle Granath (b.1940), the director general of the Swedish National Art Museums (1989–2000), noted that the 1992 anniversary was a record year for visitors. The Carl Larsson exhibition drew 330,000 visitors, who bought over 100,000 books on the artist. On 28 June, the actual anniversary, over 8,000 people poured into the museum in only six hours. By year's end, 665,662 museum visitors had been tallied, representing a more than doubling of museum attendance.[27] This was the return on the extraordinary investment in time and energy by the museum staff. It also led to a proliferation of international contacts, aided by faxes, which permitted fast, reliable written communication delivered at any time of the day or night.[28]

The advantages of faster communication came to the aid of research. The rise in the number of international loans led to a need for couriers to deliver these highly insured objects, with curators most often filling this role. Once they had completed their task of following the works 'nail to nail', they could then meet with scholars in the field, broadening their art history networks. Other museum staff, such as conservators, were rarely used as couriers and so missed out on these opportunities.

The 1992 anniversary introduced a more intense programme of exhibitions and activities, which took precedence over the long-term planning for the permanent collections regarding documentation, conservation, research, and display. And even though various museum and educational activities were tied to the celebrations, their inclusion often came late. Thus, temporary exhibitions marginalized other operations throughout the year, with the museum's internal resources stretched to the limit. Swifter external communication also necessitated more effective internal coordination for already pressured staff. As a result,

weaknesses inevitably surfaced in the day-to-day administration of the museum.

For all those involved, it was an expansive period. The museum's official mission continued to be national in scope, but it had now raised its sights and was pursuing changes to match the standards of its international counterparts. The Nationalmuseum's ambitions had outgrown its organization.

Redesigning the framework

Nationalmuseum's organization continued to reflect the 1976 directives, although the director general, under the new directives, could alter it with the board's support. The herculean tasks involved in major exhibitions and catalogues required well-functioning collaborations between the museum's departments and its art library, image archives, and document archives, and the staff working together on loans, packing, transport, security, finance, and human resources. It nevertheless became clear that education and all other public-facing roles were only brought in in the final stages. Those working on the main exhibitions marvelled that they were (nearly) ready for the opening, despite the inner mechanisms being severely strained. These successes came at a cost, as everyday operations were put on the back burner until the pressure eased and long-overdue measures could be taken.

Reorganization and minor renovations typically occur within the ordinary organizational framework, without extra government funding, but a change was in the works. Since his time as director of Moderna Museet (1979–1989), Granath had pushed for a new building for that museum. A competition that first narrowed the pool of architects to five eventually led to the selection of Rafael Moneo (b.1937) in 1991. The new building gained government approval in 1992 and finally opened in February 1998. With an increase in government funding, Moderna Museet could then move into its first purpose-built premises as an independent public agency. The Swedish National Art Museums then dissolved, even though it technically existed until 2001.[29] Resources and collections moved from the Nationalmuseum to Moderna Museet, including most of the twentieth-century prints and drawings. Thus, these works were less accessible for research because they were now shared by two government agencies, with all the bureaucratic obstacles that implied. However, the art library still fell under the Nationalmuseum's organization, but in an administrative collaboration with Moderna Museet.

With the Swedish National Art Museums about to disband, the Nationalmuseum needed a complete overhaul. The cost of the alterations, though, had to be met within the existing budget and organizational remit. The Nationalmuseum remained by far the largest art museum in Sweden, with continuing expectations of its leading role in the academic work centred on the country's public art collections. But in contrast to the past, when curators guarded their areas of scholarly interest, they now needed to collaborate if they were to elevate the museum to an international level.

In late 1993, the curator Jan af Burén (b.1942) and I were tasked with a scoping exercise to identify an organization that could better serve the museum's mission. While it was an internal investigation, it adhered to the government's instructions and appropriations guidelines. The suggested modifications were to create a clear management structure that gave all areas of the Nationalmuseum the flexibility to adapt to new challenges and an expanded mission. We submitted our proposal to the board of the Swedish National Art Museums in 1995. A focus group developed it further, with the new organization to be implemented a year later in May 1996. The changes included combining all areas devoted to physical artworks into one section, the Collections, and all public operations into another, the Public Access Department. The new plan also proposed revising the management of exhibition projects and research, so for the first time they were separate units—and soon revealed their potential.[30]

Expansion through coordination from 1997

Before the reorganization in 1996, curators had carried out scholarly work on the collections and published the results, as stipulated in the formal directives. However, the mission statement had no guidelines for how this work should be conducted, leading to research activities grounded in art-historical traditions established in the nineteenth century, where individual taste took precedence over institution-wide strategies. Curators had free access to the collections, archives, and library, provided they kept to their specialized fields and departments. Documents, books, and photographs could be lent to offices without lending documentation or confirmation that the material had been returned. Although a librarian oversaw the art library, the archive staff did not have the requisite education for the work. The document archives had no head of department in the early 1990s. Riksarkivet (the Swedish National Archives), the supervising agency, weighed in, concerned about the museum's public records, but also the personal archives that had been donated to the museum. Researchers from outside the museum had access to the art library reading room and the image archives, albeit for a limited number of hours, and they even participated

in open seminars under the museum's aegis. Seminars open only to museum staff provided opportunities for curators to present work in progress to one another a few times per year. The research was then published in catalogues, the *Nationalmuseum Bulletin*, and the *Nationalmusei Årsbok*.[31]

The museum's new organization reflected the Nationalmuseum's mission. Collections was one large department, in accordance with the mandate to collect, register, document, care for, and preserve. The new department included the storage facilities and the conservation department. Public Access was charged with documentation and display. It comprised art education, the art library, the archive, the photo studio, and touring exhibitions and long-term loans. This equally large department followed the mandated rules that applied to both the Nationalmuseum and Moderna Museet about long-term loans and touring exhibitions, and, serving both institutions still, the art library.[32]

Specific bodies for conducting research and organizing exhibitions were put in place, tasked with budgeting and scheduling the projects they oversaw, which left the ordinary operations free to plan their own allocations and schedules for the year. The research group led the coordination of all current research and academic work on the collections. On top of this came added roles: the coordination of new projects with grant applications and the museum's publications. Exhibition catalogues came under the auspices of both new organizations, which were then managed with the curators, who served as authors and editors.

Financially and organizationally, the new research unit was small, comprising a research head and a secretary or coordinator, and later an editor. Initially, the post of chief curator was filled by the previous head of the department of sculpture and painting, Görel Cavalli-Björkman (b.1941), whose first task was to decide which projects they would take on. The group's method, its *raison d'être* even, was to discuss and evaluate every research project before it was approved or denied, making the museum's research activities more transparent. The focus of these deliberations included the potential outcomes of the work and funding.[33]

Traditionally, large research projects, except for some publications, were conceived in conjunction with exhibitions. Despite this being an established principle, the launch of the new research organization meant its projects could be fast-tracked. And because catalogues of the collections and catalogues raisonnés were the responsibility of the research organization, hitherto disregarded parts of the collections were now included in the plans for upcoming shows.

In principle, external funding was required for all research projects. Applications to research councils and others thus had to be coordinated to avoid multiple applications to the same funder. The focus shifted from individual researchers to the Nationalmuseum as a research institution. This led to a consensus that the professional management of applications on behalf of the museum would increase funding and donations for research. Using this principle, it was possible to stage exhibitions in concert with substantial research projects, such as the Nicodemus Tessin the younger: Sources, Works, Collections project. Its team of researchers and editors published their findings in several volumes between 2002 and 2004, with Riksbankens Jubileumsfond (RJ) providing most of the funding. For the 2002 exhibition, *Nicodemus Tessin d. y.—Kunglig arkitekt och visionär* (Nicodemus Tessin the younger: Royal Architect and Visionary), the yearbook doubled as a catalogue, while an international conference was held to mark the exhibition. The research project—the multivolume publication in English, the exhibition, and the conference—brought Nicodemus Tessin the younger's *oeuvre* to an international audience. Other research projects that culminated in publications and exhibitions included the second and third volumes of *Dutch and Flemish Paintings*, published in 2005 and 2010 to coincide with the exhibitions *Holländsk guldålder* ('Dutch Golden Age') in 2005 and *Rubens & Van Dyck* in 2010.

Thus, research went from serendipitous initiatives to a centrally organized enterprise linked with the exhibition operations, which facilitated efforts to secure funding. With this new organization came added work, though. Artworks had to be processed to prepare for exhibitions and catalogues, and projects involved laborious conservation and documentation. Such work could be included in grant applications and so attract external funding. Operating in this manner meant the care and preservation of works in the museum's collections became part of the research process. In the long run, the conservators' status rose, as did the demand for internal synchronization.

The museum's existing publication channels could be put into action to present finished, ongoing, and upcoming projects. The *Nationalmuseum Bulletin* was replaced by the *Art Bulletin of Nationalmuseum Stockholm* in 1996. The journal provided information about the collections, research, and exhibitions to a worldwide audience, catering to an international readership of professionals.

Under Cavalli-Björkman's leadership, the research group became a dynamic organization that altered the role of research at the Nationalmuseum. It was now plain that the museum's formal mission should be amended to add 'research' to the phrase 'academically process', a change that could only be accomplished by revising the governing documents for

museums under government oversight. It was duly introduced in the government's letter of appropriation issued to the Nationalmuseum in 2004.[34] The new guidelines facilitated collaboration with universities and research-funding bodies. Support from RJ and Kungliga Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien (the Royal Swedish Academy of Letters, History, and Antiquities) was of particular significance for two five-year research positions at the Nationalmuseum.

The new organization also led to the restructuring of acquisitions in 2004. The improved teamwork between departments in Collections, the research group, and the exhibitions group had elucidated the need for a revised acquisitions policy, which stipulated that decisions be made by the director general in consultation with the heads of Collections and the research group. Regular meetings before art auctions led to better long-term planning. Set procurement procedures saw acquisitions processed into scheduled catalogues and new research. These measures were not an abandonment of past aesthetic traditions, but it was now the case that acquisitions had to be justified using scholarly arguments based on art history and the history of the collections.

The organization after 2007

External constraints and internal interpretations of the museum's mission played a crucial role in the transformation of research in terms of conditions, structure, and actual results. The first ten-year period established an appreciation of the possibilities for internationalization, digitization, and research funding. Furthermore, the continual in-house cataloguing and organization of resources, scholarship, collections, and ideas indicated that an amplification of research could be advantageous to everyday operations and public outreach.

Curators still embraced time-honoured aesthetic traditions, but whereas exhibition ideas were pitched based on aesthetic preferences and experiences of popular exhibitions, proposals were now increasingly formulated according to scholarly interest. The Royal Castles Collections were far more visible in the museum's exhibition profile.[35] New scholarly catalogues included Swedish and Nordic miniature painting, Spanish painting, icons, Dutch and Flemish painting, nineteenth-century French painting, Flemish painting, Italian painting, Swedish silver, and European silver.[36] While many exhibitions developed out of research conducted at the museum and financed through external funds, others grew out of collaborations with national institutions, international museums, and specialists. Thus, the museum presented a slate of exhibitions based on research, most intended for a broad audience, but some directed at specific groups.

At the end of 2002, when I took the helm, the Nationalmuseum's organization and programme of exhibitions was in urgent need of review. The frenzied pace established with the 1992 anniversary had not slackened, and several people working with the administration of the collections felt that the exhibitions shifted too many resources away from the collections. Even the research department risked being seen as a burden if it were not understood as being essential to the museum as a whole.

The 1996 reorganization had to be modified to bring all the museum's spheres into better balance. This included reassessing the museum's mission and devising realistic management plans for projects, with the time they took from daily operations spelled out. The new organization, introduced in stages, therefore required clear divisions between core and support operations. The former were split into departments according to main areas of responsibility: preservation, public access, and scholarly development.

Previously, the care and preservation of artworks had been overseen by Collections, headed since 1997 by Torsten Gunnarsson (b.1945). Now, for the first time, a Conservation Department was instituted. In the recruitment process for a new department head, Conservation was initially led (2007–2010) by the head of the Royal Castles Collections, Magnus Olausson (b.1956). Since 2011, Kriste Sibul (b.1967), formerly the head of the Conservation Centre Kanut (Estonia), has led the Conservation Department, which covers both conservation and the photo studios. The projects office was transformed into the Exhibitions and Loans Department by incorporating the exhibition projects into the new line organization structure. The research unit—now the Research, Archives, and Library Department, shortened to Research Department—was similarly integrated by taking over the archives, image archives, and art library, and by assuming responsibility for the research projects.

A research infrastructure

Starting on 1 July 2007, the role of research in the museum's operations became more apparent and more influential. The art library, the image archives (including the Swedish Portrait Archive), the public records of the museum, other document archives, the publications office, and the senior research officer could now, under joint leadership, coordinate their work with the other departments. Previously, when the library and archives were sections in the Public Access Department, their primary focus had been public accessibility. Consequently, their holdings

were not necessarily considered a research resource. Now, as part of the research mission, these two sections could participate in project applications, with the prospect of external funding for the processing of documents and prints.

Before Cavalli-Björkman's retirement in May 2007, the museum hosted a large international conference that culminated in *Research and Museums (RAM)*, a publication that addressed art museum research alongside museums of science and technology, providing a multidisciplinary perspective on this work.

In the first ten years, the research department (as a project organization) successfully organized and systematized projects, which reaped dividends in the number of research grants tied to the collections. Even scholarly catalogues focusing on the permanent collections could be supported with external funding. Research grants from the Swedish Research Council and RJ made it possible to hire external researchers. These projects often required conservation work, prompting the need for new equipment. Through a substantial donation from the Wallenberg Foundations, the conservators' technical equipment was upgraded, which enhanced their operating capabilities and raised the profile of their material-technical research, now integrated into the Research Department's work.

In 2008, Karin Sidén (b.1961) took over as director of the Research Department. She developed the new and larger department, both through internal and external networks and contacts. Such networks include the Nationalmuseum's Research Committee, with representatives from art history departments at Swedish universities. Applications for funding could thus be coordinated between the museum researchers and the universities, and particularly with scholars at the universities of Stockholm and Uppsala. In addition, the annual Tessin Lecture, established in 2006 to highlight the collections through the scholarship of internationally prominent art historians, evolved into a specific, recurrent opportunity to bring together universities and the museum.

The establishment of a research infrastructure now made it possible to combine in one department the museum's membership of various international organizations, such as Arlis, for art libraries, and Codart, a network of specialists studying Dutch and Flemish art.[37] On Sidén's initiative, the Nationalmuseum also joined Research Institutes in the History of Art (RIHA),[38] which coordinates art history research institutions. Among RIHA's most notable members are the Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts at the National Gallery of Art, Washington DC; the Institut national d'histoire d'art, Paris; the Bibliotheca Hertziana, Rome; the Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles; the Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz—Max-Planck-Institut, Florence; the RKD Netherlands Institute for Art History, The Hague; and Zentralinstitut für Kunstgeschichte, Munich. The Nationalmuseum's membership of RIHA was contingent on an expanded organization of the Research Department, open to internal and external researchers, which then created numerous possibilities for collaboration. However, institutional and individual membership in umbrella organizations—the International Council of Museums (ICOM) for institutions, for example, or the Comité International d'Histoire de l'Art (CIHA) for art historians—lay outside the Research Department.[39]

In 2010, Sidén oversaw the formulation of the museum's first formal research policy, which extended the department's work into several neglected areas.[40] For example, art history research at the museum had not included work done by conservators and educators, but now material-technical research and scholarship about educational operations were addressed. With these steps, all the museum's government-mandated missions constituted potential areas of research.

Clearest evidence of the expansion of the Research Department and its resources came with its relocation to the former premises of Sjökarteverket (the Nautical Chart Department) on Skeppsholmen, now called B21.[41] Here, the museum's researchers and external researchers could access the archives, art library, and publications. The site also had meeting spaces for the Research Committee and Seminar Operations. Fifteen years after the 1997 establishment of a separate research group, the department now had an extensive research infrastructure, its own premises, an editorial unit, and several research projects in progress, all financed by large and small external grants from governmental and private sources. It also collaborated closely with university art history departments. An essential difference between 'the two art histories' was no more—as was evident in the carefully evaluated, object-based strategic research, which resulted in large public exhibitions. The government mission regarding the scholarly study of the collections had developed into a form of research understood as extending the museum's mission.

While director general of the Nationalmuseum, parallel with developing research, I worked for eight years on plans to renovate the old building on Blasieholmen. All the preparatory work for this major construction project had been delivered by the turn of 2012 and awaited the government's decision. At that point, my successor, Berndt Arell (b.1959), was charged with guiding the museum through the renovation process. Throughout this period, the Research Department was shut down. The museum reopened

in October 2018, and under the leadership of the new director general, Susanna Pettersson (b.1966), the Research Department followed suit in July 2019, with Martin Olin (b.1967) as its head. The Research Department is once again playing a crucial role in the museum's operations and has resumed its strategic scholarly work in concert with the academic art history community.

Notes

1 I saw first-hand the changes at the Nationalmuseum between 1993 and 2011. In the spring of 1996, I left the Nationalmuseum for a four-year postdoc research fellowship at the Department of Art History at Uppsala University; in the autumn of 2000, I headed the public access department at the Nationalmuseum; in 2001–2002 I was professor and head of the Department of Art History at Uppsala University; and from 2003 to 2011, I was the director general of the Nationalmuseum and Prins Eugens Waldemarsudde. Jan af Burén and I first submitted a proposal for the reorganization of the Nationalmuseum in 1996, and in 2003–2011 I developed and oversaw a further reorganization. Görel Cavalli-Björkman, head of the research department 1997–2007, was succeeded by Karin Sidén, 2008–2012.

2 There had been blockbuster exhibitions before, especially in the US, but the global upswing came in the 1980s. This required agreement among art museums on exhibition organization and the handling of objects, which led in 1992 to the founding of the International Group of Organizers of Major Exhibitions aka the Bizot Group (named for Irène Bizot, then director of the Réunion des Musées Nationaux in France).

3 The terminology reflects cyclical processes with numerous elements, ranging from acquiring (procuring) and collecting (registering or documenting), processing, and maintaining inventories to protecting, caring for (conserving or preserving), displaying (educating), and providing public access (outreach). There is a growing interest in deaccessioning works—moving works out of museum collections—although it falls outside the scope of this essay.

4 Not to say that privately owned museums in the US, such as the Getty, are not cutting-edge in this respect. The conditions for art museums in Europe are quite different, as are their public funding and operating systems.

5 Kristoffer Arvidsson & Jeff Werner (eds), *Fådda och försmådda: Samlingarnas historia vid Göteborgs konstmuseum/Received and Rejected: The History of the Collections at the Gothenburg Museum of Art* (Gothenburg: Göteborgs konstmuseum, 2012); Anna Tellgren, Martin Sundberg & Johan Rosell (eds), *The History Book: On Moderna Museet 1958–2008* (Stockholm: Moderna Museet, 2008); for Moderna Museet's current research projects, see www.modernamuseet.se/stockholm/sv/samlingen/forskning/.

6 Förordning (1976:439) med instruktion för Statens konstmuseer, repealed 1 July 1988, www.riksdagen.se.

7 Förordning (1988:677) med instruktion för Statens konstmuseer, issued 2 June 1988, repealed 1 July 1999: '1 § Statens konstmuseer har till uppgift att främja konsten, konstintresset och konstvetenskapen. Myndigheten skall levandegöra äldre och nutida konstformer och deras samband med samhällets utveckling samt verka för konstnärlig och kulturell förnyelse. … 2 § Statens konstmuseer skall särskilt 1. vårda, förteckna, vetenskapligt bearbeta och genom nyförvärv berika de samlingar som har anförtrotts myndigheten, 2. hålla ett urval av de samlingar som är avsedda för utställning tillgängligt för allmänheten, driva och stödja utställningsverksamhet och annan pedagogisk verksamhet samt driva utlånings- och depositionsverksamhet, 3. förteckna och vetenskapligt bearbeta övriga staten tillhöriga eller av staten understödda samlingar av konst och konsthantverk samt öva tillsyn över sådana samlingar och över hur statliga organ vårdar staten tillhöriga konstverk som är fast anbringade, i den mån dessa samlingar eller konstverk inte, enligt särskilda bestämmelser, står under tillsyn eller vård av någon annan myndighet eller inrättning som har betryggande sakkunskap i fråga om sådan konst. (Förordning 1988:1549).'

8 According to the directives (Ordinance SFS 1988:677), the head of one of the other museums could have been director general, but that was never the case.

9 From 1792 to 1866 as the Kongliga Museum.

10 Per Bjurström, *Nationalmuseum: 1792–1992* (Stockholm: Nationalmuseum, 1992), 138–67; Maria Görts, *Det sköna i verklighetens värld: Akademisk konstsyn i Sverige under senare delen av 1800-talet* (PhD thesis, Stockholm University; Bjärnum: Typsnittsarna prepress, 1999), 71–124; Solfrid Söderlind, 'Konsthistoria på museerna', in Britt-Inger Johansson & Hans Pettersson (eds), *8 kapitel om konsthistoriens historia i Sverige* (Stockholm: Raster, 2000), 42–60, 55–60.

11 1880 års museistadga (Ordinance SFS 1880:62): 'uppmärksamt följa den konsthistoriska vetenskapens utveckling'.

12 Bjurström, *Nationalmuseum*, 138: 'med vetenskapliga ambitioner utarbetade kataloger'.

13 Bjurström, *Nationalmuseum*, 392–6.

14 Charles W. Haxthausen addresses the issue from an anglophone perspective, with a focus on German and French as publication languages, in 'Languages of Art History', in Michael F. Zimmerman (ed.), *The Art Historian: National Traditions and Institutional Practices* (Williamstown, MA: Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, 2003), 192–9.

15 Lena Liepe, *A Case for the Middle Ages: The Public Display of Medieval Church Art in Sweden 1847–1943* (Stockholm: Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien, 2018), chs 2, 4.

16 The waning interest in sculpture stemmed partly from painting's rise in status, partly from the drop in the value of copies compared to originals; see Solfrid Söderlind (ed.), *Gips: Tradition i konstens form: En konstbok från Nationalmuseum* (Stockholm: Nationalmuseum, 1999), 11–33, 115–55, 195–207.

17 '§10 Inom nationalmuseet finns fyra avdelningar, en för äldre måleri och skulptur, en för teckning och grafik, en för konsthantverk samt en för konstbildning. Varje avdelning förestås av en förste intendent. Till nationalmuseet hör ateljéer för konservering av konstföremål. … §15 Inom myndigheten finns en avdelning för slottssamlingar, en avdelning för depositioner och vandringsutställningar, ett bibliotek samt en enhet som omfattar fotoateljé, bildarkiv och Svensk porträttarkiv. Vardera avdelningen förestås av en förste intendent.'

18 The staff working with the collections included curators, storage managers, and secretaries. The formal relationship between the conservation department and others differed,

but in practice they worked on assignment with the various collections departments.

19 At Sixten Strömbom's prompting a touring exhibitions department was formally established in 1918 while Richard Bergh was director general, and the first exhibition catalogue was produced in the 1920s; see 'Bilaga över vandringsutställningar' in Bjurström, *Nationalmuseum*, 406; Eva-Lena Bergström, *Nationalmuseum i offentlighetens ljus: Framväxten av tillfälliga utställningar 1866–1966* (PhD thesis, Umeå University; Umeå: Umeå universitet, 2018), 175–85.

20 Bergström, *Nationalmuseum*, 225–31, 401.

21 Ibid. 228.

22 In the grey zone between the universities and museums, students worked as museum educators and assistants. Some were able to turn these jobs into permanent positions, often through serial temporary appointments.

23 Charles W. Haxthausen (ed.), *The Two Art Histories: The Museum and the University* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002); see also id., 'Beyond "The Two Art Histories"', *Journal of Art Historiography* 11 (2014), 1–10; Michael Hatt, 'Against Consensus: Why We Need More than Two Art Histories', in Görel Cavalli-Björkman & Svante Lindqvist (eds), *Research and Museums: RAM: Proceedings of an International Symposium in Stockholm 22–25 May 2007* (Stockholm: Nationalmuseum, 2008), 103–115; see also Solfrid Söderlind, 'Avhandling mellan tre stolar', *Valör* (1993), 4, 8–10.

24 Andrew McClellan, *Inventing the Louvre: Art, Politics, and the Origins of the Modern Museum in Eighteenth-Century Paris* (Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1999); Magnus Olausson, 'Offentlighetstanken och skapandet av ett museum', in Solfrid Söderlind (ed.), *Kongl. Museum: Rum för ideal och Bildning: En konstbok från Nationalmuseum* (Stockholm: Streiffert, 1993), 39–47; Solfrid Söderlind & Magnus Olausson, 'The Genesis and Early Development of the Royal Museum in Stockholm: A Claim for Authenticity and Legitimacy', in Donald Preziosi & Claire J. Farago (eds), *Grasping the World: The Idea of the Museum* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 572–600; Magnus Olausson & Solfrid Söderlind, 'Nationalmuseum/Royal Museum, Stockholm: Connecting North and South', in Carole Paul (ed.), *The First Modern Museums of Art: The Birth of an Institution in 18th- and Early 19th-Century Europe* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2012), 191–211.

25 Görel Cavalli-Björkman (ed.), *Rembrandt and His Pupils: Papers Given at a Symposium in Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, 2–3 October 1992* (Stockholm: Nationalmuseum, 1993).

26 Söderlind, *Kongl. Museum*; Anne-Marie Leander Touati, with contributions by Magnus Olausson, *Ancient Sculptures in the Royal Museum: The Eighteenth-Century Collection in Stockholm*, i (Stockholm: Swedish National Art Museums, 1998).

27 *Nationalmuseum Bulletin* 17/1 (1993), 3.

28 Email was being used, but from the late 1980s to the late 1990s the fax machine was the backbone of rapid communication between international art museums.

29 Moderna Museet's new director, David Elliot (b.1949), did not hold Swedish citizenship, a requirement to be head of a government authority. The result was the dissolution of Statens konstmuseer (the Swedish National Art Museums) when Lars Nittve (b.1953) was named director of Moderna Museet in 2001 (SFS 2001:608). The Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities became part of Statens museer för världskultur (National Museums of World Culture) in 1999. Prins Eugens Waldemarsudde had come under the umbrella of the Swedish National Art Museums in 1995, and remained under the supervision of the Nationalmuseum until 2017, when it became an independent foundation and museum.

30 Nationalmuseum, Stockholm (NM), Nationalmuseums myndighetsarkiv, Statens konstmuseer (Swedish National Art Museums) (SKM), Memorandum, 'Förslag till omorganisation av Nationalmuseum och vissa delar av de gemensamma resurserna vid statens konstmuseer samt redovisning av arbetsgruppens arbete (Proposal regarding the reorganization of the Nationalmuseum and certain shared resources at the state's art museums, and a report on the progress of the task force), 22 May 1996.

31 The Friends of the Museum contributed to the financing of the annual publication of the *Nationalmuseum Bulletin*. The organization also funded grants, including a major research grant.

32 The public records of the museum were split up, as was the photo studio, and Moderna Museet took over the holdings of prints and drawings designated 'modern'.

33 A government report was presented in 1995, SOU 1994:51 *Minne och Bildning: Museernas uppdrag och organisation* ('Memory and education: The museums' mission and organization') which proposed that museum research be externally funded (116–17) and specified research funds (formerly budget item B37) be distributed by the Swedish Arts Council for museum research projects. The money would be exempt from competition from the Vetenskapsrådet (the Swedish Research Council, formerly Humanistisk-Samhällsvetenskapliga forskningsrådet) and was for projects directly tied to museums. However, the amount earmarked was modest and many museums qualified to apply for funding. There were no set grant procedures and the funds were used for a broader range of purposes than the inquiry intended.

34 Kulturdepartementet, Regleringsbrev för budgetåret 2004 avseende Nationalmuseum med Prins Eugens Waldemarsudde (Appropriation directive for the Nationalmuseum and Prins Eugens Waldemarsudde), 11 Dec. 2003, www.esv.se/statsliggaren/regleringsbrev/?RBID=5247: 'Verksamhetsgren Kunskapsuppbyggnad Mål 1: Målet är att Nationalmuseum med Prins Eugens Waldemarsudde genom kunskapsuppbyggnad grundad på forskning och i samverkan med andra skall bidra till ny kunskap inom sitt ämnesområde. Särskilt avseende skall fästas vid samarbete med universitet och högskolor, skolor och andra museer, såväl nationellt som internationellt.' ('Branch of Activity, Knowledge Development, Goal 1: The aim is for the Nationalmuseum together with Prins Eugens Waldemarsudde, through knowledge development grounded in research and in cooperation with others, to contribute to new knowledge in their areas. Collaboration with universities, colleges, and other museums, national and international, should be prioritized.')

35 This applied primarily to Läckö Castle, Gripsholm Castle, the Institut Tessin in Paris, and even the Gustavsberg Porcelain Museum into the early 2000s.

36 *Svenska och övriga nordiska miniatyrer/Illustrated Catalogue: Swedish and Other Nordic Miniatures*, 2 vols (2001); *Spanish Paintings* (2001); *Icons* (2002); *Dutch and Flemish Paintings*,

ii: *Dutch Paintings c.1600–c.1800* (2005); *French Paintings*, iii: *Nineteenth Century* (2006); *Dutch and Flemish Paintings*, iii: *Flemish Paintings c.1600–c.1800* (2010); *Svenskt silver 1500–1850/Swedish Silver 1600–1850* (2009); *Europeiskt silver 1500–1850/European Silver 1500–1850* (2011); *Italian Painting in the Nationalmuseum: Three Centuries of Collecting*, i (2015).

37 Arlis/Norden, 'Association', www.arlisnorden.org/association.html (accessed 1 Feb. 2022): 'Art Libraries Society Norden is an association for Nordic art libraries and art librarians. The association was established in 1986. ARLIS/Norden is a member of IFLA (International Federation of Library Associations and Institutions) Section of Art Libraries, together with a growing number of sister associations around the world.' CODART, 'About CODART', www.codart.nl (accessed 1 Feb. 2022): 'CODART is the international network of curators of Dutch and Flemish art … At present, CODART connects over 600 curators from more than 300 museums in almost 50 countries. Members not only work for prestigious institutions such as the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam, the Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten in Antwerp, the Prado in Madrid, the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, the Louvre in Paris, and the Hermitage in St Petersburg, but also for less well-known museums in Australia, Cuba, Mexico, Poland and Ukraine. These curators serve a large audience: the museum-going public. As a result, CODART ultimately reaches a far broader target group than just its members: art historians, museum visitors, private collectors and art dealers; in fact, anyone interested in Dutch and Flemish art.' It was founded in 1998.

38 RIHA, 'About RIHA', www.riha-institutes.org (accessed 1 Feb. 2022): 'The purpose of RIHA, the International Association of Research Institutes in the History of Art, founded 1998 [sic] in Paris, is to promote education and research in art history and related disciplines, to intensify cooperation between the institutes by facilitating the flow of information on scientific and administrative activities as well as the exchange of research findings, and to encourage the institutes to undertake joint projects.'

39 CIHA's statutes, www.ciha.org (accessed 1 Feb. 2022) include, 'increasing the research resources available to art historians: data bases, bibliographies, photographic and iconographical documentation, etc.; to serve international cooperation in the sense defined by the CIPSH.'

40 NM, Nationalmuseums myndighetsarkiv, Nämndprotokoll (Board minutes), 28 Jan. 2010.

41 In the period it functioned as a project organization, 1997–2007, the art library and most of the archives were housed close by at Ostindiefararen 1 (the building closest to the museum) and in Artillerigården (next to Armémuseum in the Östermalm district), but reorganizing and then relocating to B21 made it possible to consolidate all the research facilities.

PART 2

THE PRACTICE OF ART HISTORY

CHAPTER 12

Studies of early modern portraiture

Charlotta Krispinsson

One of the most significant studies of Swedish early modern art history is Karl Erik Steneberg's *Kristinatidens måleri* ('Painting in the era of Queen Christina') of 1955.[1] In it, Steneberg (1903–1960) described the introduction and acceptance of Baroque painting in Sweden in the reign of Queen Christina (1626–1689, r.1632–1654). His interest in the monarch derived from her contribution to Swedish art history as a patron of foreign artists invited to her court in Stockholm. What is more, Steneberg was the first art historian to introduce Erwin Panofsky and the principles of iconology into a Swedish context.[2] In *Kristinatidens måleri*, Steneberg interpreted a 1650 portrait of Queen Christina painted by the Dutch artist David Beck, employing the tenets of iconology (Fig. 12.1). Moving from a descriptive, formal analysis of the image to an exploration of content and meaning, he declared the painting to be an allegorical riddle, the iconography representing the four elements. The breeze catching the veil of the queen's dress represented air, the barely visible fountain to the left represented water, and the globe on which she rested her right hand represented earth. The grand finale of this iconographical study, however, was his claim to have solved the hidden message in the picture: the monarch herself represented the fourth element—fire. According to Steneberg, Queen Christina personified light.[3]

This type of examination is a conventional, iconological analysis. It represents a methodological paradigm operational in art history from the 1950s on. Scholarly attention turned towards period style, attributes, clothing, and setting; with the conundrum of the painting solved, something about the inner meaning of the image is revealed. In this case, it is about the identity of the person depicted—her intellectual qualities and character—but the painting is first considered as a piece of Baroque art.

This essay describes the development of art-historical studies of portraiture in Sweden in the first half of the twentieth century, before iconographical analyses in the sense they are known today changed the way art historians thought about portraiture. The opening analysis of Queen Christina's portrait serves as a reminder of a familiar way of thinking about a picture, which I hope will aid in historicizing the concept of portraiture, facilitating the process of looking beyond later established art-historical methodologies for studying the genre.

Figure 12.1. David Beck, *Queen Christina*, 1650. Photo: Nationalmuseum. See also front endpapers of this volume.

It is a relatively straightforward undertaking to list scholars, publications, and dates, adding to a growing chronicle of art historiography in the German-speaking countries, and to replicate this process for each country that has followed their lead. However, as Christopher Wood so eloquently explains, chronicling art history's past is not only about the outcome—the texts—but also about tracing a 'history of historical

thinking about art'.[4] For this reason, part of my aim is to look beyond texts and individual scholars to consider how cultural patrimony has helped shape art history.

Most paintings were portraits

In the advent of the discipline, art historians considered it their responsibility to establish a national canon of art by adding new information to a growing number of known facts about the past of their respective countries. In this, they were guided by what remained of objects and buildings, with the names of artists, artisans, and architects mentioned in textual sources or left as signatures.[5] To state the obvious, the cultural patrimony preserved from past generations until modern times has, for multiple reasons, varied by country and geographical area. It has affected the paths art history has taken on a national level as it developed into an independent academic discipline in country after country. Both contemporaneous ideologies and the materiality, afterlife, and reception of artistic artefacts have shaped the history of art history.[6]

Painting holds a privileged position in studies of art history. Reasons for this can be found in the gradual rise in the status of painters as artists since the sixteenth century. In addition, the materiality and media-specific characteristics of painted pictures have played a role. The combined flatness and portability of paintings executed on material supports such as panel, canvas, or copper makes them ideal for several purposes: to cover empty wall space; to trade and ascribe surplus value as commodities; and to collect and preserve as property. They can easily be transported from one spatial context to another, such as a museum collection.[7] Compared with objects characterized by three-dimensionality, for instance sculpture, the flatness of paintings makes them easy to reproduce as photographic images in other media contexts, including art-historical publications. Once a picture has been made, it can continue to live a long life and exist for centuries, be moved around, and end up on a museum wall—in contrast to site-specific wall paintings or objects made of less durable materials, such as wax effigies. In short, if we allow ourselves to think about paintings as pictures, 'units', or singular material artefacts, it helps us better understand the situation faced by the first professional Swedish art historians.

A point of departure for this text is the presumption that the majority of paintings produced in early modern Sweden were portraits, and this explains the strong interest in portraiture among Swedish art historians in the first part of the twentieth century.[8] While there are no quantitative studies to confirm a presumed predominance of portraiture in early modern Sweden, this claim is supported by what is known from Swedish art history. When considering the history of painting in the territories of the kingdom of Sweden from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries (and in Scandinavia in general), there was no one major artistic centre. Yet there were periods when Sweden was an economic centre, with a wealthy elite who demanded paintings. In the artistic hubs of Northern Europe—such as Antwerp or Amsterdam in the seventeenth century—religious, mythological, and historical subject matter, landscapes, still-lifes, and everyday scenes developed into standardized genres and were painted in large numbers for the emerging commercial art market.[9] Therefore, with few exceptions, paintings could be bought and brought to Sweden from elsewhere—*except* portraits. Portraiture depended (at least for the most part) upon direct observation by an artist of the subject in a sitting, and thus the quantity of portraits made in a country is determined by the size and wealth of the commissioning aristocracy and monarchy.

Little is known from primary sources about painting in Sweden in the sixteenth century, other than the names of a handful of artists active in the country, such as the German painter and printmaker Jacob Binck (*c.*1500–1569) or the Dutch Johan Baptista van Uther (*fl.* 1562, d.1597), who travelled to Sweden to paint portraits for the ruling Vasa dynasty.[10] The seventeenth century was a war-torn and turbulent chapter in the history of Northern Europe, but by dint of being on the winning side in the Thirty Years War, Sweden became a politically and militarily powerful nation with a wealthy aristocracy and monarchy. Military successes led to a sudden influx of money and a growing demand from the wealthy elite for portraits, drawing many foreign painters to Sweden. The most renowned among them was the Hamburg-born court painter David Klöcker Ehrenstrahl (1628–1698), and like many other painters active in Sweden in the seventeenth century he primarily painted portraits.

In Swedish art historiography, the eighteenth century has received the greatest attention, with the focus on the 'Gustavian Style', named after King Gustav III (1746–1792, r.1771–1792). Art historians in the twentieth century coined the term, loading it with national significance. It describes architecture, furniture, and objects of applied art with stylistic elements and characteristics adapted from French neoclassicism.[11] The Gustavian period is the closest to an early modern Swedish 'golden age' that art historians can agree on. Nevertheless, as in previous centuries, the majority of paintings created in eighteenth-century Sweden were portraits, as were most pictures from

the early modern period, and as part of their afterlife, they have actively shaped art historiography.

Terra incognita

In the first decade of the twentieth century, Swedish art history took form in close dialogue with the art-historical profession at academic institutions and museums. The first academic position for an art historian—a professorship—was instituted at Stockholm University College in 1889, followed by another university chair nearly thirty years later at Uppsala University in 1917.[12] Even before that, however, art history was taught and practised at other educational and museum institutions.[13] In 1880, the museum charter of the Nationalmuseum in Stockholm stipulated that the curators remain up to date with recent developments in art-historical research.[14] This was part of a general process of institutional professionalization at European art museums, and the emergence of professional art-historical awareness. At the end of the nineteenth century, art-historical research at universities and museums came to be intimately connected with a belief in thorough, empirical methods for studying the past. Since the 1880s, the Nationalmuseum has been an intellectual authority in Swedish art-historical research. Starting in the nineteenth century, the art historians at the Nationalmuseum explored and studied Sweden's national art collections using methods derived from contemporary developments in art-historical research in Europe. For this reason, it might be argued that the professionalization of the study of art as an academic undertaking in Sweden evolved in the museum sphere before the establishment of professorships and art history departments at the universities.

At the end of the nineteenth century, a large part of the national art collections from early modern Sweden was kept at the royal palaces or the Nationalmuseum in Stockholm. Inventories reflect the pictures displayed or stored at the royal palaces. At that time, though, essential information in terms of who had executed the works, when they were made, where they came from, and the identity of the sitters for the portraits were mostly unknown or vague, because the historical source material had yet to be professionally studied. Thus, the art collections from early modern Sweden were—more or less—a terra incognita of pictures from the past.

As a first step in learning more about these collections, the art historian Gustaf Upmark (1844–1900), the director general of the Nationalmuseum (1880–1900), divided the paintings into three main categories: (*i*) portraits; (*ii*) paintings of primarily general, historical, biographical, or cultural historical importance, such as battle or genre paintings; and (*iii*) paintings of primarily art-historical or decorative importance.[15] When considering this ordering further, it is interesting to note that portraits are treated separately from all other paintings. Since the early modern era, portraiture as a genre was ranked in the hierarchies of art. However, the divisions set up by Upmark do not seem to have been firmly based on early modern classifications, given they do not specify into which division other genres such as still-life or landscape painting would belong.

The categories say nothing about period, style, authorship, or geographical background, which seems to confirm the lack of art-historical knowledge about early modern painting in Sweden. Upmark and other art historians did not yet sufficiently understand Swedish art history to group the pictures in the national art collections into more specific sections and sub-sections. Practising connoisseurship and deciding which paintings were aesthetically pleasing and art-historically valuable, though, were within their limits of expertise, as was filleting out the portraits (Upmark's first category) from the rest of the paintings in the collections.

The order designated by Upmark, and particularly the primacy of portraiture, speaks of the many portraits in the national art collections. In addition, the separation of portraiture from other paintings indicates that, at the end of the nineteenth century, these works were considered distinct from other genres. Together with portraits in private collections and in civic and religious institutions such as universities and churches, the portraits in the national art collections constituted a broad, cultural patrimony. But, as was true about early modern Swedish art in general, little was known about them. Starting at the end of the nineteenth century, the business of learning more about early modern Swedish works occupied art historians for decades. Before looking closer at how this research developed in Sweden, the advent of portraiture studies in German-speaking art history must first be examined, as academic studies of portraiture first emerged there.

The first German-language scholarship

On 10 March 1885, the cultural historian Jacob Burckhardt held a lecture at the University of Basel about the new portrait painting of the Italian Renaissance.[16] His core ideas, first detailed at this talk, were later published in 1898, in what became a standard reference for art historians studying portraiture. The legacy of this essay can be traced in most literature about portraits since.[17] Burckhardt's approach to

portraiture was groundbreaking, as it was the first attempt to write the history of the genre. Previously, early modern writers on portraiture, such as Roger de Piles or Joshua Reynolds, had discussed what distinguished a good portrait, its artistic status in the hierarchy of genres, the tricky question of likeness, proper iconography, settings, postures, and other conventions of concern to a portrait painter.[18] Burckhardt, however, was more engaged in the genre as a historian, thus relativizing what had been deemed timeless and essential—the aesthetic criteria specific to such works.

In his lecture, Burckhardt asserted that portraiture had a beginning (its golden age, the Renaissance) and an end (the modern period, with the rise of photography replacing painting as the primary medium). He described the history of portraiture as the 'Geschichte der Ähnlichkeit, des Vermögens und des Willens, dieselbe hervorzubringen' or 'the history of likeness and the capacity and will to achieve it'—the cultural history of portraiture understood as the historically situated possibility for the artists of a particular period to portray the people of their time as individuals.[19] More specifically, when Burckhardt referred to 'individualism' as a kind of recognizable style in images, he viewed the features in depictions of faces as mimetically accurate renderings of how the sitter had looked. The portrait was important as more than a piece of art. In line with generally accepted beliefs in the nineteenth century adopted from pseudoscientific physiognomy, Burckhardt considered portraits to be documentation of an individual's inner character mirrored in her or his facial features.

In the decade after the publication of Burckhardt's lecture, scholarly literature confirmed the new interest in the history of portraiture and the understanding among art historians of its complexity.[20] Alfred Lichtwark's *Das Bildnis in Hamburg* was published in 1898, the same year as the publication of Burckhardt's lecture. In his preface, Lichtwark, museum director of Hamburger Kunsthalle, admitted that he had not read and thus could not draw on Burckhardt's history of portraiture.[21] Nevertheless, like Burckhardt, Lichtwark wrote the history of portraiture as a visual documentation of individuals in a larger cultural history, from the 'birth' of portraiture in the fifteenth century until the present, including the rise of portrait photography. There were, however, two crucial differences between these two texts: in contrast to Burckhardt's general, cultural history of portraiture, Lichtwark provided the local history of portraiture in Hamburg; and while Burckhardt focused on portrait painting, Lichtwark included portraits in a variety of media.

One of the most influential art historians in the history of the discipline, Aby Warburg (1866–1929), can also be counted among those whose interest in portraiture was piqued after reading Burckhardt. In his 1902 essay 'Bildniskunst und florentinisches Bürgertum', Warburg began his prefatory note by praising Burckhardt's text, which influenced him in terms of methodological approach and choice of subject: a sequence of donor portraits embedded in a fresco in the Florentine chapel Santa Trinita depicting members of the Medici family.[22] The fresco was painted by the Renaissance artist Domenico Ghirlandaio, and Warburg examined it to analyse the accuracy of the portrait heads as historical documentation of individual likenesses, rather than as exquisite expressions of Quattrocento Renaissance art.

Today, the best-known example of writings on portraiture in the footsteps of Burckhardt is Alois Riegl's (1858–1905) *Das holländische Gruppenporträt* (*The Group Portraiture of Holland*) of 1902, while the seminal 'Geschichte der Porträtbildnerei in Wachs' of 1911 by Julius von Schlosser (1866–1938) is still read as a key reference on the history of the uncanny and curious phenomenon of wax portraiture.[23] One contribution perhaps less well remembered today is *Die Kunst des Porträts* of 1908 by Wilhelm Waetzoldt (1880–1945).[24] Waetzoldt set out to establish an impressive, all-encompassing theory of portraiture by mixing intellectual currents typical of his time with ideas rooted in early modern art theory, ranging from theoretical reflections on the problem of likeness to conventions and meanings regarding the depiction of bodies, composition, and iconography.

The Swedish Portrait Archive

In 1915, the art historian Sixten Strömbom (1888–1983) lectured for two private Swedish societies: Personhistoriska samfundet (the Personal History Association of Sweden) in Stockholm and Sällskapet Gnistan (lit. the Spark Society) in Gothenburg.[25] Among the members of both societies were intellectuals, descendants of the old nobility, and men from the new financial elite; Strömbom wanted to stimulate their interest in funding a national portrait archive. This aim was achieved, and Svenska porträttarkivet (the Swedish Portrait Archive), with Strömbom as its director, was founded the following year.[26] From the start, the Swedish Portrait Archive was organized as a private foundation to map and photograph early modern portraits, and to collect this information in an image archive and card index. It then developed into an institution where the mapping, documenting, and collecting of photographs of portraits was combined with scholarly research activities. As such, it can be compared to other art-historical research institutes founded and supported by art historians

Figure 12.2. The Swedish Portrait Archive at the Nationalmuseum, 1939. (*From left*) Märta Upmark-Landegren, Folke Holmér, Brita Sjögren-Lundquist, Boo von Malmborg. Photo: Nationalmuseum.

and influential members of society in the first half of the twentieth century, including the Courtauld Institute of Art in London and the Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie (RKD, Netherlands Institute for Art History) in The Hague.[27]

Before further examination of the history of the Swedish Portrait Archive and its impact on the study of portraiture, it is worth considering Strömbom's talk and Swedish art history. In his lecture, Strömbom summarized texts written by earlier art historians, demonstrating his familiarity with art-historical interest in portraiture. It also indicates that one chief purpose for initiating a national portrait archive stemmed from a desire to support future studies on this topic.

Strömbom had begun his academic career in 1908 at Gothenburg University College, where he studied under the art historian Axel Romdahl (1880–1951). In 1907, Romdahl held public lectures at Gothenburg University College on the history of portraiture in Western art, printed and published the same year as his *Ur porträttmåleriets historia* ('From the history of portrait painting').[28] As Romdahl acknowledged in his preface, he relied on previous literature by Burckhardt, Riegl, and Lichtwark.[29] Strömbom's talk, then, began with a synopsis of Romdahl's text, presenting the cultural history of portraiture established by Burckhardt. For example, the fifteenth-century Ghent Altarpiece (attributed to the Van Eyck brothers) is described as groundbreaking because of its embedded donor portraits, and the Italian Renaissance is understood to be the golden age in the history of portraiture. In addition to recycling content from Burckhardt and Romdahl, Strömbom also included seventeenth-century Dutch group portraiture, showing the clear influence of Riegl's *The Group Portraiture of Holland*.

In the first three decades of the twentieth century, literature on the early modern history of portraiture proliferated in Sweden. Art historians important to the professional and institutional formation of art history wrote articles and theses on the topic.[30] For instance, August Hahr (1868–1947), one of the first art historians in Sweden with a permanent academic position, wrote his thesis on the portrait painter Per Krafft the elder (1724–1793) in 1898, and Strömbom wrote about the portraitist Lorens Pasch the younger (1733–1805) in 1915.[31] In his talk, Strömbom merged these and other studies into a coherent survey of the history of portraiture as part of an emerging narrative about the history of art in Sweden.

Since the end of the nineteenth century, portraits kept in private and institutional collections in Sweden had been catalogued and listed by art historians, members of the Personal History Association of Sweden, and other enthusiasts to add to the history of portraiture in Sweden.[32] The Swedish Portrait Archive then continued the work. From 1918 to 1926, assistants at the archive travelled around Sweden documenting private, public, and institutional portrait collections. Any work thought to have been made between 1500 and 1850 was photographed and described in accordance with clear protocols. Unsurprisingly, only paintings, sculptures, and drawings were recorded, thus excluding portrait photography, prints, and other media.[33]

In 1930, the holdings of the Swedish Portrait Archive were donated to the Nationalmuseum. The archive was then transformed into a semi-independent institution within the museum consisting of two main parts—a card catalogue and many running metres of files with photographs of portraits. New photos and other types of documentation and information continued to be added to the archive until it was closed to visitors in 2012. Today, the archive is kept in storage at the museum, and is now considered a finished project.[34] Strömbom was the director of the Swedish Portrait Archive until 1948, assisted by a staff of art historians (Fig. 12.2).

When the Swedish Portrait Archive was initiated in 1916, the principal purpose was to build a repository of 'Swedish portraits', which did not refer to all portraits existing or executed in Sweden, or painted by portrait painters considered Swedish.[35] Swedish portraits in this context referred to portraits *of* Swedes, reflecting the currents of nationalism and biographical interest for history prevalent in early twentieth-century Sweden.[36] As a consequence, a portrait painted by, for example, the Danish painter Jens Juel (1745–1802) of the Swedish artist Johan Tobias Sergel (1740–1814) could be accepted as a 'Swedish portrait' and thus fit the criteria of the Swedish Portrait Archive. But a portrait medallion depicting Juel designed by Sergel would not be accepted (Fig. 12.3).

The idea behind a national archive of 'Swedish portraits' was ideologically rooted in a belief in the continuity of biologically determined, fixed, and essential visual markers characteristic for a Swedish 'people' or 'race'.[37] How those markers might have looked, however, are not specified in art-historical literature from this time.[38] Needless to say, from a biological viewpoint there are no timeless visual markers characteristic of Swedish ethnicity. But even if there were, a portrait from the early modern period also reflects historically specific, transnational visual ideals and stereotypes, and changing concepts of identity and subjecthood. Burckhardt was indeed right to emphasize the connection between portraits and the culture in which they were created. A portrait is a product of intersecting contexts, which complicates the question of likeness. It is therefore hard to avoid anachronistic fallacies and speculative thinking when making assumptions about the resemblance between an image and its sitter. Even though the art historians of the Swedish Portrait Archive might have believed it possible to 'spot a Swede' in a portrait by the facial features and hair colour, a portrait is as much an artwork as a likeness, and with few exceptions (for instance, heraldic signs), there is no typically 'Swedish' style or iconography in portraiture.

Interestingly, this led to practical—and unexpected—obstacles when the identity of the person depicted in a portrait was unknown or uncertain. The first published annual report of the activities of the Swedish Portrait Archive mentions that its members, when they documented and photographed existing portrait collections, had difficulty separating 'Swedish' from 'non-Swedish' portraits. To solve the problem, those portraits where the identity of the sitter was uncertain or unknown were to be listed, photographed, catalogued and included in the holdings of the Swedish Portrait Archive until it could be proven that they were not Swedish portraits.[39]

The archive served a general historical purpose and functioned as a corpus of images that together manifested 'Swedishness', thereby symbolizing the nation. In addition, the collected works reflected the foremost function of portraiture: just as a single portrait represents a memorial to the sitter, the archive preserved the lives of past generations and the faces of individuals otherwise forgotten.

A methodological paradigm

The early twentieth century saw the development of a new methodology for analysing portraiture. A century ago, many Swedish art historians specialized in portraits of early modern Swedish regents. Gustaf Upmark was the first to study portraits of Gustav I (1496–1560, r.1523–1560), August Hahr became an expert in portraits of Charles XII (1682–1718, r.1697–1718), and, employing material from the Swedish Portrait Archive, Sixten Strömbom published extensively on portraits of the monarchs and their families, from Gustav I to Charles XII.[40] An interest in the portraits of Queen Christina is first observed in Axel Romdahl's article of 1904, followed in 1916 by Ewert Wrangel (1863–1940) (the first to hold a chair in art history at Lund University, 1919–1940), and, in 1928, by Karl Erik Steneberg (Wrangel's stu-

Figure 12.3. The cropping of the photos in *Index över svenska porträtt 1500–1850*, a 1935 catalogue of the Swedish Portrait Archive's collections, demonstrates the importance of the portraits as historical documentation, as the focus is on facial characteristics rather than the artwork as a whole. Photo: National Library of Sweden.

dent and later the professor at the Department of Art History at Stockholm University College).[41]

Steneberg first analysed David Beck's portrait of Queen Christina in 1928 using a different methodological paradigm than that applied in his later 1955 article noted earlier (Fig. 12.1).[42] Steneberg's two interpretations differ regarding signs of individual character traits. When compared, the analyses represent two methodologies for studying portraiture, corresponding roughly to the first and the second halves of the twentieth century. In 1928, as part of an extensive study on all known portraits of Queen Christina, Steneberg touched on stylistic aspects only briefly, in keeping with the art-historical practices of the time. The examination of the motif concentrated on the likeness, treating the portrait as a historical documentation of the sitter. He assumed that Beck had captured the queen's spiritual nature in her facial features, while overlooking attributes and setting. Therefore, he focused primarily on the body and face, with other pictorial elements deemed to be of less importance. He vividly described how the face of Queen Christina 'spoke' of intelligence and learned occupations, which he believed explained the pallor of her face. Instead of contextualizing her paleness as a time-bound beauty standard, he read it as evidence that the queen had spent most of her time indoors studying.

In his iconological study from 1955, however, face and body were subordinated to other pictorial elements, which became vital clues to the inner meaning of the image. In both analyses, he claimed that the image represented the spiritual nature of the queen as an intellectual, but in 1928 it was in the form of mimetic representation, and nearly three decades later as an allegorical riddle.

The chief similarity between art historians in Sweden and in German-speaking countries in the first decades of the twentieth century was a shared interest and belief in the particular nature of the portrait genre, and a shared attraction to portraiture as part of cultural history. Catherine Soussloff has argued that a theory of portraiture 'in and for art history' was established in German-language scholarship at the beginning of the twentieth century. Vienna was its intellectual centre—the setting of other academic developments and the base for many learned individuals, including Riegl, and Sigmund Freud.[43] According to Soussloff, the most significant outcome of this intensified fascination with portraiture was the attempt to understand

the complex interior lives of individuals. Subjectivity began to be acknowledged as a social and historical construct, where social relationships and formative events shaped individual identity.

While Swedish art historians also exhibited great interest in portraiture, their explorations instead addressed the inner 'character' of specific historical individuals. Whereas art historians in German-speaking countries were concerned with more general questions regarding identity, subjectivity, or the specific qualities of portraiture, Swedish art historians did not seem attracted to this path of inquiry given they followed a stricter empirical approach. These Swedes sometimes directed attention towards the correlations between outer appearance and a reflected interior life, but the main emphasis lay in physiognomy and comportment. Steneberg's 1928 analysis of what he could read in the depicted face of Queen Christina serves as a case in point.

Swedish portraiture studies of the early twentieth century frequently employed the term 'iconography'—but not iconography in the sense most art historians are familiar with today, as a methodology for unveiling the meanings of symbols, as developed in the works of Erwin Panofsky.[44] Iconography in this context instead derived from an older meaning of the word, referring to the body of portraits of a specific individual, or a collection of portraits of royals or other famous people.[45] When used in texts on early modern portraits, it signalled a shared value in listing and analysing images of the faces and bodies of individuals in history, connecting to an overall desire to determine which portrait best resembled the sitter. Studies of the iconography of early modern Swedish monarchs often employed a comparative methodology, with portraits of the same person juxtaposed to measure their level of veracity, to single out the best likenesses.[46] These investigations relied on a mix of pre-existing conceptions about the sitter's biography and psychological character traits, eye-witness accounts from contemporaries of the subject's appearance, and fairly speculative assumptions about how the sitter *must have* looked. In some cases, they consisted of a close study of a single portrait.[47] Portraits were also often examined in terms of realism vis-à-vis idealism (considered as opposing currents in the history of art, not as styles or ideologies limited to a specific time period).

When Swedish art historians such as Strömbom or Steneberg specialized in portraits of the seventeenth-century monarchs Gustav II Adolf (1594–1632, r.1611–1632) or Queen Christina, it was not merely as the conservative symptoms of patriotism. Their work indicates an interest in thinking about and laying bare the connections between the external appearance and interior lives of their subjects. They were intrigued by the individuals depicted in portraits, an approach abandoned after the 1940s, when iconographical readings inspired by Panofsky came into vogue.

In the first half of the twentieth century, Swedish art historians had a distinct understanding of the genre of portraiture, based in the scholars' attention to mimetic correspondence. Portraits were regarded as a potential trove of information about the sitters; documentation of what they had looked like superseded the issues of aesthetic and formal qualities. Far from looking through a glass darkly at the souls of the sitters, the images would be brought into sharp focus by art-historical expertise. However, Swedish art historians' fascination with portraiture would never have been so strong were it not for the many portraits that survive from the early modern period.

Notes

1 Karl-Erik Steneberg, *Kristinatidens måleri* (PhD thesis, Lund University; Malmö: Allhem, 1955).

2 Steneberg, *Kristinatidens måleri*, 29–30. Steneberg explains his methodological use of iconography and iconology with reference to the introductory chapter of Erwin Panofsky, *Studies in Iconology: Humanistic Themes in the Art of the Renaissance* (New York: OUP, 1939), later reprinted as 'Iconography and Iconology: An Introduction to the Study of Renaissance Art', in *Meaning in the Visual Arts: Papers in and on Art History* (New York: Doubleday Anchor, 1955). In 1952, three years before Steneberg introduced Panofsky to Swedish readers, Panofsky visited Sweden for a week of lectures and seminars held at Gripsholm Castle, home of the Swedish National Portrait Collection. Art historians from all Swedish universities and major art museums participated. The symposium resulted in Panofsky, *Renaissance and Renascences in Western Art* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1960). For Panofsky's visit to Sweden, see the editor's preface to *Renaissance and Renascences*. See also Hedvig Brander Jonsson p. 66 in this volume.

3 Steneberg, *Kristinatidens måleri*, 134–44.

4 Christopher S. Wood, *A History of Art History* (Princeton: PUP, 2019), 9.

5 For the reception of local cultural heritage and the establishment of a canon in non-Germanophone countries, see, for example, Krista Kodres, 'Scientific Baroque—For Everyone: Constructing and Conveying an Art Epoch in the Stalinist Period in the Soviet Union and in Soviet Estonia', *Journal of Art Historiography* 15 (2016); for national art historiography, see Matthew Rampley, 'The Construction of National Art Histories and the "New" Europe', in id. et al. (eds), *Art History and Visual Studies in Europe: Transnational Discourses and National Frameworks* (Leiden: Brill, 2012).

6 I derive the theoretical perspectives used here from material culture theory in the sense that I acknowledge the materiality of cultural patrimony. The early Swedish art historians studied several portraits or a single picture, not portraiture in general as an art-historical genre. Michael Yonan, 'Materiality as

Periphery', *Visual Resources* 35/3 (2018), 1–17 and elsewhere addresses the materiality and objecthood of artworks, and how the material history of objects has influenced the way art has been studied and art history written. W. J. T. Mitchell, *Image Science: Iconology, Visual Culture, and Media Aesthetics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015), 16–18 examines the distinction between pictures and images, where a picture is a material object and an image an immaterial entity. In line with this, my purpose in choosing to discuss 'portraits' and 'pictures' is to underscore their objecthood; see Charlotta Krispinsson, 'Temptation, Resistance, and Art Objects: On the Lack of Material Theory in Art History before the Material Turn', *Artium Quaestiones* 29 (2018), 5–23.

7 For the materiality and media-specific characteristics of paintings in a historical perspective, see Hans Belting, *Spiegel der Welt: Die Erfindung des Gemäldes in den Niederlanden* (2nd edn, Munich: C. H. Beck, 2013), 7–16.

8 The Swedish early modern period runs from the early sixteenth century to the late eighteenth century.

9 Neil de Marchi & Hans J. van Miegroet (eds), *Mapping Markets for Paintings in Europe, 1450–1750* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006).

10 For early modern art and culture in Scandinavia, see Kristoffer Neville, *The Art and Culture of Scandinavian Central Europe, 1550–1720* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2019); Ludwig Qvarnström (ed.), *Swedish Art History: A Selection of Introductory Texts* (Lund: Lund Studies in Arts and Cultural Sciences, 2018).

11 Hedvig Mårdh, *A Century of Swedish Gustavian Style: Art History, Cultural Heritage and Neoclassical Revivals from the 1890s to the 1990s* (PhD thesis, Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 2017); Sabrina Norlander Eliasson, 'Det gustavianska som svensk modell? Texter och tolkningar', in Martin Olin (ed.), *Konsten och det nationella: Essäer om konsthistoria i Europa 1850–1950* (Stockholm: Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien, 2013).

12 For the early history of the academic discipline in Sweden, see Dan Karlholm, Hans Dam Christensen & Matthew Rampley, 'Art History in the Nordic Countries', in Rampley et al., *Art History*, 425–6, 428.

13 Until the end of the nineteenth century, the prehistory of art history in Sweden was dominated by antiquarian and idealist traditions; see Solfrid Söderlind, 'Konsthistoria på museerna', in Britt-Inger Johansson & Hans Pettersson (eds), *8 kapitel om konsthistoriens historia i Sverige* (Stockholm: Raster, 2000).

14 Maria Görts, *Det sköna i verklighetens värld: Akademisk konstsyn i Sverige under senare delen av 1800-talet* (PhD thesis, Stockholm University; Bjärnum: Typsnittsarna prepress, 1999), 82–3; for this stage in Nationalmuseum's history, see also Eva-Lena Bergström, *Nationalmuseum i offentlighetens ljus: Framväxten av tillfälliga utställningar 1866–1966* (PhD thesis, Stockholm University; Umeå: Umeå universitet, 2018), 66–148.

15 The three categories also served practical purposes, in the sense that they helped determine which pictures in the national art collections should be moved or remain on display at the Nationalmuseum, Drottningholm Palace, and Gripsholm Castle (Charlotta Krispinsson, *Historiska porträtt som kunskapskälla: Samlingar, arkiv och konsthistorieskrivning* (Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2016), 40–1). Works in the first category, portraits, were to be kept with the existing portrait collection at Gripsholm Castle, which had been used as an exhibition space for a national portrait gallery since 1823, its collections becoming part of the Nationalmuseum in the 1880s; see Per Widén, 'Meritorious Citizens in Royal Surroundings: The National Portrait Gallery of Sweden and Its Use of a Historical Environment as Exhibition Space', *Museum History Journal* 8/1 (2015); Krispinsson, *Historiska porträtt*, 45–6, 54–9.

16 Jacob Burckhardt, 'Die Anfänge der neueren Porträtmalerei', in Emil Dürr (ed.), *Vorträge: 1844–1887* (Basle: Benno Schwabe, 1918).

17 Jacob Burckhardt, 'Das Porträt in der italienischen Malerei', in *Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte von Italien* (Basle: Lendorff, 1898).

18 See the chapter 'Sur la manière de faire les portraits' in Roger de Piles, *Cours de Peinture par Principles* (Paris: 1708), published in English as 'Of Portraiture', in *The Principles of Painting* (London, 1743); see also discourse IV and XIV in Joshua Reynolds, *Discourses on Art* (London, 1797), repr. ed. Robert R. Wark (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997).

19 Burckhardt, 'Das Porträt', 266.

20 For the history of portrait literature and theories of portraiture, see Charlotta Krispinsson, 'Eye-witnessing through Portraiture in Early Twentieth-Century Art Historiography', in Claudia Hattendorff & Lisa Beißwanger (eds), *Augenzeugenschaft als Konzept: Konstruktionen von Wirklichkeit in Kunst und visueller Kultur seit 1800* (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2019); Catherine Soussloff, *The Subject in Art: Portraiture and the Birth of the Modern* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006), 27–38; Daniel Spanke, *Porträt—Ikone—Kunst: Methodologische Studien zum Porträt in der Kunstliteratur: Zu einer Bildtheorie der Kunst* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 2004).

21 Alfred Lichtwark, *Das Bildnis in Hamburg* (Hamburg: Der Kunstverein zu Hamburg, 1898).

22 Aby Warburg, 'Bildniskunst und florentinisches Bürgertum', in *Gesammelte Schriften*, i (1902) (repr. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1932), and as 'The Art of Portraiture and the Florentine Bourgeoisie', in *The Renewal of Pagan Antiquity: Contributions to the Cultural History of the European Renaissance*, tr. David Britt (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1999); for Warburg, his interest for portraiture, and the Ghirlandaio fresco, see Georges Didi-Huberman, 'The Portrait, the Individual and the Singular', in Nicholas Mann & Luke Syson (eds), *The Image of the Individual: Portraits in the Renaissance* (London: British Museum Press, 1998); for the reception history, the cult of Warburg, and his scholarship in general, as well as his essay on portraiture in particular, see Christopher S. Wood, 'Aby Warburg, Homo victor', *Journal of Art Historiography* 11 (2014), first pub. in French in *Cahiers du Musée national d'art moderne* 118 (2011/2012).

23 Alois Riegl, 'Das holländische Gruppenporträt', *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 22 (1902), repr. as *The Group Portraiture of Holland*, tr. Evelyn M. Kain & David Britt (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1999); Julius von Schlosser, 'Geschichte der Porträtbildnerei in Wachs: Ein Versuch', *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 29 (1910–1911), repr. as 'History of Portraiture in Wax', in Roberta Panzanelli (ed.), *Ephemeral Bodies: Wax Sculpture and the Human Figure*, tr. James Michael Loughridge (Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2008).

24 Wilhelm Waetzoldt, *Die Kunst des Porträts* (Leipzig: Ferdinand Hirt & Sohn, 1908).

25 In nineteenth-century Sweden, personal history (in the sense of individual rather than private) was a biographical approach to the past which concentrated on 'great men'. For Gnistan, see Axel Romdahl, *Sällskapet Gnistan 1904–1918: Berättelse af Sekreteraren* (Gothenburg: Wald. Zachrisson, 1918), 16 repr. Krispinsson, *Historiska porträtt*, 283–91.

26 Sixten Strömbom (ed.), *Index över svenska porträtt 1500–1850 i Svenska porträttarkivets samlingar* (Stockholm: Nordisk rotogravyr, 1935), i. pl. 8. For the history of the Swedish Portrait Archive, see also Charlotta Krispinsson, 'Collecting Faces: Art History and the Epistemology of Portraiture: The Case of the Swedish Portrait Archive', *Sensorium Journal* 1 (2016); Krispinsson, *Historiska porträtt*, 85–93.

27 The Courtauld Institute and the RKD were both founded in 1932. While there are institutional studies—for example, 'The Warburg Institute: A Special Issue on the Library and Its Readers', *Common Knowledge* 18/1 (2012)—there are still no comparative studies of independent art-historical research institutes, despite their impact on art history as an academic discipline. For a comparative study of photo archives and their significance for art history, however, see Costanza Caraffa (ed.), *Photo Archives and the Photographic Memory of Art History* (Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2011).

28 Axel Romdahl, *Ur porträttmåleriets historia* (Stockholm: Albert Bonnier, 1907). Romdahl studied art history with Heinrich Wölfflin (1864–1945) and Adolph Goldschmidt (1863–1944) at the University of Berlin for one semester in 1902, so it is likely that he was influenced by the developing interest in portraiture in the German-speaking countries, either then or later (Krispinsson, *Historiska porträtt*, 104–5). Romdahl enjoyed a successful career as an art historian and helped shape the discipline in Sweden. He stayed in contact with Goldschmidt; see Kathryn Brush, *The Shaping of Art History: Wilhelm Vöge, Adolph Goldschmidt, and the Study of Medieval Art* (Cambridge: CUP, 1996), 97. See also Kristoffer Arvidsson, 'The Lively and Authentic: Axel L. Romdahl as Art Historian', in Kristoffer Arvidsson & Martin Sundberg (eds), *Kanon: Perspektiv på svensk konsthistorieskrivning/The Canon: Perspectives on Swedish Art Historiography* (Skiascope 10; Gothenburg: Gothenburg Museum of Art, 2021).

29 Romdahl, *Ur porträttmåleriets historia*, 5–6.

30 For a contemporary bibliography of portraiture, see Carl Björkbom & Boo von Malmborg, *Svensk porträttlitteratur: Bibliografisk förteckning* (Stockholm: Svenska porträttarkivet, 1941) which lists 1,800 titles, an indication of the size of the field; Krispinsson, *Historiska porträtt*, 275–81, 298 ff.

31 August Hahr, *Per Krafft d.ä. och hans verksamhet i Sverige: En konsthistorisk studie* (PhD thesis, Uppsala University; Stockholm: Wahlström & Widstrand, 1898); Sixten Strömbom, *Lorens Pasch d.y.: Hans liv och konst* (PhD thesis, Gothenburg University College; Stockholm: Norstedt & Söner, 1915).

32 For example, August Hahr, *Svenska målade porträtt i Uppsala universitets konstsamlingar* (Uppsala: Edv. Berling, 1903); Nils Sjöberg, *Svenska porträtt i offentliga samlingar*, i: *Drottningholm* (Stockholm: Hasse W. Tullberg, 1905).

33 Strömbom, *Index över svenska porträtt*, i. pl. 6, 8, 11.

34 Strömbom, *Index över svenska porträtt*, i. pl. 1, 6, 11. Since coming under the Nationalmuseum in 1930, the Swedish Portrait Archive has played a part in the Nationalmuseum's institutional history, albeit a neglected one—it is not mentioned in Per Bjurström, *Nationalmuseum 1792–1992* (Höganäs: Bra Böcker, 1992), the standard work on the museum's history, institutions, and collections. When the Nationalmuseum was closed for restoration 2013–2018, the institution and its activities and collections were reorganized, and the decision was taken to close the Swedish Portrait Archive permanently.

35 'Svenska Porträttarkivet', *Personhistorisk Tidskrift* 18/3 (1916), 58: 'svenska porträtt'.

36 For the connection between nationalism and art-historical scholarship in Sweden, see Olin, *Konsten*.

37 For the construction of Swedishness and whiteness in modern visual culture, see Jeff Werner & Tomas Björk (eds), *Blond och blåögd: Vithet, svenskhet och visuell kultur/Blond and Blue-eyed: Whiteness, Swedishness, and Visual Culture* (Skiascope 6; Gothenburg: Gothenburg Museum of Art, 2016).

38 Although art-historical literature from the first half of the twentieth century did not define the visual, racial markers for 'Swedishness', it was a common enough topic in other publications and presumably influenced Swedish art historians. One notorious example from the field of eugenics was the thumbnail portraits of different 'types' of Swedes in Herman Lundborg, *Svenska folktyper: Bildgalleri, ordnat efter rasbiologiska principer och försett med en orienterande översikt* (Stockholm: Hasse W. Tullberg, 1919).

39 'Svenska porträttarkivet', *Tidskrift för konstvetenskap* 2 (1917), 130; Krispinsson, *Historiska porträtt*, 89, 91.

40 Gustaf Upmark, 'Gustaf Vasas porträtt', *Ord & Bild* 3/1 (1894). The list of August Hahr's publications on Charles XII's portraits is long, but examples—one early and one late—include 'Karl XII:s-porträtten: En porträtthistorisk studie', *Ord & Bild* 10/11 (1901), and 'Ett nytt Karl XII:s porträtt upptäckt i Tyskland', *Tidskrift för Konstvetenskap* 21 (1938). For the publications by or edited by Strömbom, see, for example, *Iconographia Gustavi Adolphi* (Stockholm: Nordisk rotogravyr, 1932); *Index över svenska porträtt*, i; *Index över svenska porträtt 1500–1850 i Svenska porträttarkivets samlingar*, ii (Stockholm: Nordisk rotogravyr, 1939); *Svenska kungliga porträtt i Svenska porträttarkivets samlingar*, i: *Gustav I–Karl XII* (Stockholm: Nordisk rotogravyr, 1943).

41 Steneberg was appointed to the chair at Stockholm University College in 1957, only three years before he died. Axel Romdahl, 'Drottning Kristina-porträtt', *Ord & Bild* 13/3 (1904); Ewert Wrangel, 'Till drottning Kristinas ikonografi', *Tidskrift för Konstvetenskap* 1 (1916); Karl Erik Steneberg, 'Porträtt av drottning Kristina', in Aron Borelius (ed.), *Studier i konstvetenskap tillägnade Ewert Wrangel av yngre lärjungar* (Lund: n.p., 1928).

42 Steneberg, 'Porträtt av drottning Kristina', 118–19; Steneberg, *Kristinatidens måleri*, 134–44.

43 Soussloff, *The Subject*, 123.

44 See, for example, Panofsky, *Meaning*; see also Jaś Elsner & Katharina Lorenz, 'The Genesis of Iconology', *Critical Inquiry* 38/3 (2012). In the early twentieth century, analyses of iconography—'the content' or 'meaning' of a work of art—were often considered to be the opposite of formal analyses. Daniela Bohde, 'Kulturhistorische und Ikonographische Ansätze in der Kunstgeschichte im Nationalsozialismus', in Ruth Heftrig, Olaf Peters & Barbara Schellewald (eds), *Kunstgeschichte im*

'dritten Reich': Theorien, Methoden, Praktiken (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2008) maintains that in the 1930s, studies of iconography also came to represent a conservative, anti-modernist, and nationalist ideology, disconnected from both the later more famous iconography and iconology in the tradition of Panofsky and the Warburg school. In 1930s Sweden, studies of iconography had a similarly conservative agenda, but unlike Germany the use of the term 'iconography' also signalled an interest in early modern portraiture.

45 For the etymology of 'iconography', see Peter Schneemann, 'Ikonologie, Ikonographie', in Gert & Gregor Kalivoda (eds), *Historisches Wörterbuch der Rhetorik*, iv (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1998); see also Eugene Dwyer, 'André Thevet and Fulvio Orsini: The Beginnings of the Modern Tradition of Classical Portrait Iconography in France', *Art Bulletin* 75/3 (1993). From the seventeenth century on, collections of engraved portraits were known as 'iconographies', for example, Giovan Angelo Canini, *Iconografia* (Rome, 1669); Anthony van Dyck, *Icones Principum Virorum Doctorum Pictorum* (Antwerp: Gillis Hendricx excudit, 1645–1646), translated into French in the early eighteenth century and thereafter known as the *Iconographie*; Ennio Quirino Visconti, *Iconographie Romaine* (Milan: M.P., 1818); Johann Jacob Bernoulli, *Römische Ikonographie* (Stuttgart: W. Spemann, 1882).

46 Krispinsson, *Historiska porträtt*, 117–33. For the widespread use of 'iconography' for sitters and for portraiture in general, see examples such as Sixten Strömbom, 'Bidrag till svensk regent-ikonografi, i: Två Kristinaporträtt i Braunschweig', *Personhistorisk Tidskrift* 16/4 (1914); Wrangel, 'Till drottning Kristinas ikonografi'; Sixten Strömbom, 'Bidrag till svensk regentikonografi: Karl X Gustaf–Karl XII', *Meddelanden för Bokvänner från H. Klemmings Antikvariat* 3 (1919); Karl Erik Steneberg, 'Till Gustav II Adolfs ikonografi', *Tidskrift för Konstvetenskap* 15 (1932); Strömbom, *Iconographica Gustavi Adolphi*; Karl Erik Steneberg, 'Bidrag till svensk fursteikonografi: Gustav Vasa, Katarina Jagellonika, Sigismund, Maria Eleonora, Kristina', *Tidskrift för Konstvetenskap* 20 (1937); Karl Erik Steneberg, 'Bidrag till svensk fursteikonografi: Karl X Gustav och Hedvig Eleonora', *Tidskrift för Konstvetenskap* 24 (1941).

47 See, for example, Gustaf Upmark, 'Ett porträtt af Sigismund', *Ord & Bild* 7/1 (1898); Osvald Sirén, 'Ett porträtt af Erik XIV', *Ord & Bild* 14/6 (1905); Johnny Roosval, 'Ett nyfunnet Kristina-porträt', *Kunst & Kultur* 3 (1912); August Hahr, 'Det restaurerade Gustaf Vasa-porträttet', *Konst & Konstnärer: Populär konsttidskrift* 3/1–2 (1912); Karl Erik Steneberg, 'Ett nyfunnet Kristinaporträtt', *Ord & Bild* 43/7 (1934); Karl Erik Steneberg, 'Ett Maria Eleonora-porträtt av Jacob Hoefnagel', *Tidskrift för Konstvetenskap* 27 (1944).

CHAPTER 13

Osvald Sirén

From Renaissance Italy to the Far East

Johan Eriksson

Around 2010, I became involved in the Italian Project at the Nationalmuseum in Stockholm, whose aim is to inventory the institution's collection of Italian paintings in two extensive catalogues raisonnés. The first volume came out in 2015.[1] Early in the project it was decided to organize the works according to provenance. Given that I was responsible for paintings from the period 1200–1500, and given that Osvald Sirén acquired the majority of these, I now had the opportunity to deepen my understanding of his aesthetic preferences and acquisition policies (Fig. 13.1).

The Nationalmuseum archives hold material about several acquisitions that Sirén initiated and implemented.[2] But there are also his interesting travel books, with detailed descriptions and drawings, and several photo albums from his trip to Italy in 1912, along with numerous exams and curricula with grading criteria from his time as a senior lecturer at Stockholm University College. On the curricula, he stated, 'Art-historical studies ought, as far as possible, to derive from the artworks themselves'.[3] Later in the same document he noted he regretted the shortcomings in the Swedish stock of international paintings and monuments.[4] This was a core concern which guided Sirén's research, teaching, and acquisition policies.

Sirén was born in Helsinki on 6 April 1879.[5] Having passed the matriculation examination for the Imperial Alexander University of Finland, now the University of Helsinki, in 1897, he began his academic studies under Johan Jakob Tikkanen (1857–1930). Tikkanen was the first professor of art history in Finland, and in the 1880s had published on Italian medieval art.[6] Heavily influenced by German scholars and recognized by them, Tikkanen wrote on topics ranging from formal analysis to iconographical analysis.[7] As a young student, Sirén must have been inspired by Tikkanen's lectures and publications, and he graduated

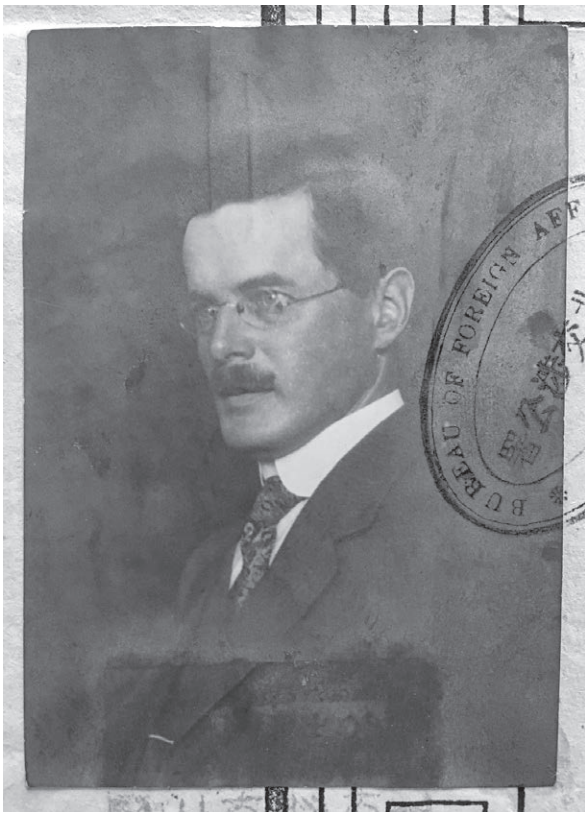

Figure 13.1. Osvald Sirén's photo for his passport to China dated 4 April 1929. Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, Osvald Siréns arkiv, A:2, Brev och dokument 1920–1929.

with a bachelor of arts at the same university in 1899. The following year, Sirén, aged just 21, presented his doctoral thesis, *Pehr Hilleström d.ä.: Väfvaren och målaren, hans liv och verk* ('Pehr Hilleström the elder: Weaver and painter, his life and work'). Also in 1900, he became an *amanuensis* or assistant curator at the Nationalmuseum in Stockholm. Sirén initially devoted his efforts to Swedish and Scandinavian art, publishing a book on Carl Gustaf Pilo (1711–1793) in 1902.[8]

Figure 13.2. Palazzo Barberini, Rome. Photo: Osvald Sirén, 1912. Nationalmuseum, Enskilda arkiv, Osvald Sirén, OS 1:10, Fotografisamling Italien.

In his first years at the Nationalmuseum, Sirén also started work on the museum's Italian master drawings, an undertaking that later culminated in the first catalogue raisonné of the collection.[9] It was probably this work, combined with experiences from his years as a student of Tikkanen's, that led to his increased interest in Italian Medieval and Renaissance art. In several visits to Italy, Sirén became acquainted with Bernard Berenson (1865–1959) and Lionello Venturi (1885–1961), the foremost experts on Trecento and early Quattrocento art, resulting in Sirén's publications on Lorenzo Monaco and Giotto di Bondone.[10] Sirén's research trips to Italy were documented in detailed descriptions, drawings, and skilfully composed photographs (Fig. 13.2). In addition, letters in the Nationalmuseum archives and the archives of Berenson's Villa I Tatti outside Florence confirm that Sirén remained in contact with Venturi and Berenson, and that they had a great impact on his further development as a researcher and connoisseur.[11]

When Sirén was appointed the Berg chair in art history at Stockholm University College in 1908, he borrowed elements of the cultural-historical approach to art history from his predecessor Viktor Rydberg (1828–1895), who had been influenced by the Swiss cultural historian Jacob Burckhardt (1818–1893).[12] As noted, Sirén in his curricula asserted that the study of art must emanate from the artwork itself. He continued: 'However, a more comprehensive and independent knowledge of the material of art history can be achieved only through long journeys, as it is spread over large parts of Europe, Asia and America'.[13]

Sirén began his tenure with a flurry of research, focusing on Italian Renaissance art and seventeenth-century Swedish architecture.[14] In the early 1910s, he published a catalogue raisonné of Stockholm University College's art collection, a major work on Leonardo da Vinci, and a two-volume tome on the architecture of Nicodemus Tessin the elder and his contemporaries: *Gamla Stockholmshus av Nicodemus Tessin d.ä. och några samtida byggnader* (Old Stockholm houses by Nicodemus Tessin the elder and some contemporary buildings).[15]

Sirén considered the study of the great masters a prerequisite for understanding and subsequently identifying schools, pupils, followers, and lesser-known artists. It is in this light we should view his work on masters such as Giotto and Leonardo, and, to some extent, his volumes on the grand master of Swedish Baroque architecture, Tessin the elder. The Leonardo publication was well received by the international art-historical community and led to an invitation from

Yale University, where he held a lecture on Leonardo in 1914. He subsequently gave talks at Harvard University, the Fogg Museum, and the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston. While in Boston, he came into contact with the city's high society and the circle around the estimable art collector Isabella Stewart Gardner. He later visited the Theosophical Society at Point Loma, known as Lomaland, in California several times, where he saw key paintings and sculptures from East Asia. The first time Sirén mentioned art from East Asia in print was in the article 'Primitiv och modern konst' ('Primitive and modern art'), published in 1915, the year after his return to Sweden.[16] By primitive art he meant Italian Trecento and Quattrocento paintings, while modern art was the art of Paul Cézanne. In a footnote he also went out of his way to refer to two Chinese works in the collection of the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston: Zhou Jichang's paintings of arhats (saints) from a Song Dynasty series dated 1178, with a provenance reaching back to the Daitoku-ji temple complex in Kyoto.[17] It seems that he included this reference because he was captivated by the two paintings, which probably also influenced his future acquisitions (Fig. 13.5). He returned to them in his 1917 work on theory, *Rytm och form och andra fragmenter om kinesisk och europeisk målarkonst* ('Rhythm and form and other fragments on Chinese and European painting').[18] In it, Sirén paraded his newly acquired knowledge of Chinese Song painting, comparing it with works from fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Italy. He also employed 'rhythm' for the first time as an important formalist concept.

Following a visit to Japan in 1917–1918, he wrote a history, *Den Gyllene Paviljongen* ('The Golden Pavilion'), a popular account of painting, sculpture, architecture, and, not least, landscape architecture (Fig. 13.3). As in *Rytm och form*, Sirén drew comparisons between East and West, setting the Japanese sculptor Unkei's realistic wooden sculptures of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, for example, against those of the Italian Renaissance sculptor Donatello.[19] The comparisons were rooted in his knowledge of Italian Trecento and Quattrocento art, which he viewed as a foundation for the analysis of all foreign art. But he also considered universal spiritual values through the lens of his theosophical convictions, and stated that it is possible to 'trace a certain essence of being in both perception and execution'.[20] This particular essence of being can be discovered in the theosophical synthesis of the ancient beliefs of the West and the religions and philosophies born in the East.[21] Sirén's interest in Japanese art remained strong, but with time his focus shifted towards China, and it was in this field he made his most outstanding scholarly contributions.

Figure 13.3. Ginkaku-ji, the Temple of the Silver Pavilion, Kyoto, Muromachi period. Photo: Osvald Sirén, [1917–1918]. Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, Osvald Siréns arkiv, D:6, Artiklar och föreläsningar 1918–1938.

Sirén's visit to the US, and the art-historical communities and societies he came in contact with there, inspired him to institute a Swedish society for art historians, and in late 1914 he and his colleague Johnny Roosval (1879–1965) founded Konsthistoriska sällskapet (the Society of Art Historians). The founding members of the Society were drawn from the art history departments in Uppsala, Lund, and Gothenburg, but with greater representation from Stockholm University College and the art-historical establishment, including museums and auction houses.[22] With this national association for art historians, the Society created opportunities for people interested in early modern art by arranging lectures and providing a forum for presenting scholarly papers. Beginning in 1915, the Society published the periodical *Konsthistoriska Sällskapets Publikation*, which was absorbed into *Tidskrift för Konstvetenskap* (the Journal of Art History) in 1926. Given that this journal was based in Lund and the majority of its contributors were active in Stockholm, a new periodical, *Konsthistorisk Tidskrift*, was launched by the Society in 1932, eventually becoming the leading Swedish journal of art history (now published as *Konsthistorisk Tidskrift/Journal of*

Art History by Taylor & Francis). Sirén and Roosval invited internationally renowned art historians to lecture in Sweden and to write for the journal. Thus, the Society and its periodicals had a major impact on art-historical discourse and the discipline in Sweden.

Although Sirén was a driving force behind the Society and the Department of Art History at Stockholm University College, his long periods travelling Europe, the US, and Asia forced him to leave his academic position in 1923. After a couple of years spent abroad, mainly in London and Paris, he was recruited in 1926 by the new director general of the Nationalmuseum, Axel Gauffin, to head the museum's department of paintings and sculpture. The collection of Italian paintings was considered poor, having been neglected ever since Queen Christina took the most important examples to Italy following her abdication as queen of Sweden in 1654. Even though the museum had acquired Nicola Martelli's collection at the turn of the nineteenth century and parts of Johan Niklas Byström's collection some decades later, comprising primarily seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Italian painting, it held few significant pieces of the Trecento and Quattrocento.[23] Sirén was therefore employed to remedy this shortcoming by building up the collection of Italian paintings. The only early paintings originally in the collection were the small *Madonna and Child*, attributed to Marco Basaiti, the two fragments *St Benedict of Nursia* and the Martelli collection painting *The Archangel Michael*, credited to the Master of the Fogg Pietà, and *The Adoration of the Magi*, which Sirén reattributed from Masaccio to the Sienese painter Guidoccio Cozzarelli.[24] Sirén had only a limited interest in the other paintings in the Martelli and the Byström collections, and began his time as curator abroad to 'prepare acquisitions for the museum's Italian collection'.[25]

This was not a new departure for Sirén. Earlier, in 1911, he had had a hand in acquiring Italian paintings for the Nationalmuseum: Giovanni Bellini's *Christ Crowned with Thorns*; a *Madonna and Child with the Infant St John* by Piero di Cosimo or his workshop; *The Conception of the Virgin*, attributed to Bernardo Pinturicchio or his workshop; and a magnificent altarpiece of the *Adoration of the Magi and Saints*, which he attributed to Jacobello del Fiore. Additionally, around 1920, the Society of Art Historians had become an important network for Sirén. Through it, he negotiated important donations to the Nationalmuseum, including *Portrait of a Man* by Dosso Dossi, Nardo di Cione's *St Benedict of Nursia* (Fig. 13.4), and Lorenzo di Credi's studio work *Madonna and Child with the Infant St John and Angels*, the latter bequeathed to the museum by the famous Swedish opera singer Christina Nilsson, Countess de Casa Miranda. Sirén continued

Figure 13.4. Nardo di Cione, *St Benedict of Nursia*, *c.*1350, acquired for the Nationalmuseum by Osvald Sirén in 1920. Nationalmuseum, NM 2259.

to acquire Italian paintings and soon after taking the helm of the paintings and sculpture department he had accumulated an impressive collection of early Italian paintings for the Nationalmuseum.[26] The acquisitions were featured in an exhibition he arranged in 1933, accompanied by the catalogue *Italienska tavlor och teckningar i Nationalmuseum och andra svenska och finska samlingar* ('Italian paintings and drawings in the Nationalmuseum and other Swedish and Finnish collections'). The new additions were placed alongside

Italian paintings from other collections in Sweden and Finland. The catalogue addresses broad cultural-historical themes and specific aspects of the style, form, and attribution of individual works, consistent with the methods Sirén had learned from Venturi and Berenson.

Sirén was appointed curator of paintings and sculpture not only for his expertise in early Italian painting, but also because of his new-found interest in and knowledge of East Asian art. However, according to the correspondence with his colleague Johan Gunnar Andersson (1874–1960)—nicknamed Kina-Gunnar (China Gunnar)—he had difficulties getting a response regarding his plans for an East Asian Department at the Nationalmuseum, and feared he would need to abandon his research on Chinese art if he had to continue 'to slave' at the museum.[27] Sirén had visited Japan and China in 1917–1918 and again in 1921–1923, trips that precipitated numerous acquisitions, among them two paintings of arhats from the Muromachi period (Fig. 13.5), and the publication of *The Walls and Gates of Peking* (1924). Now, after a few years concentrating on Italian painting, in 1929 he finally set off on a long journey to East Asia once more to carry out research and secure new works for the museum (Fig. 13.1). He did not return to Sweden until the following year, and again he took meticulous notes and documented his trip with detailed descriptions, drawings, and photographs.[28] With the procurement of some thirty significant sculptures and a considerable quantity of paintings, the journey resulted in a permanent collection of East Asian art at the Nationalmuseum, which, with Johan Gunnar Andersson's East Asian collections, would form the basis of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities that opened its doors in Stockholm in 1963.

For many years, Sirén worked with both the Italian and East Asian collections. It was typical that he rounded off his career at the Nationalmuseum with the two volumes of *Kinas konst under tre årtusenden* ('Three millennia of Chinese art') in 1942–1943, and a new exhibition and catalogue, *Italienska tavlor, teckningar och skulpturer ur svenska och finska samlingar* ('Italian paintings, drawings and sculptures from Swedish and Finnish collections') in 1944. After his retirement, he prepared a catalogue raisonné of the East Asian collections, producing a volume with 348 entries, many of them works he had acquired for the museum.[29] In his later years, he focused his research on Chinese painting, which he published as *Chinese Paintings: Leading Masters and Principles* in seven volumes between 1956 and 1958.

Sirén had first encountered the Theosophical Society when he visited Boston and Point Loma in 1914–1915. Like his predecessor Viktor Rydberg, he was also active in the Scandinavian Theosophical Society, serving as its general secretary from 1938 to 1948. It seems to have shaped his understanding and view of art in the beginning, when theosophy had led Sirén to an appreciation of East Asian art.[30] Over time, however, as his interest in East Asian art and culture grew, he was increasingly influenced by Chinese and Japanese philosophies of life, especially Zen Buddhism.

Figure 13.5. Arhats, from a series of sixteen arhats originating from a Japanese temple, Muromachi period. Acquired for the Nationalmuseum by Osvald Sirén in 1922. Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, NMOK 118.

Sirén was of undisputed importance for Italian and East Asian art in Sweden, and thus for the holdings of Italian art at the Nationalmuseum and of Chinese works at the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities. In the first half of the twentieth century, he built up a collection that, though relatively modest in size, was representative of early Italian art. He had written predominantly about the Florentine Trecento and Quattrocento and the International Gothic style in Florence, represented by artists such as Lorenzo Monaco, the Master of the Bambino Vispo (Gherardo Starnina), and Masolino da Panicale. In time, as the curator of paintings and sculpture, he also acquired works attributed to these masters. The collection still reflects Sirén's spheres of interest and expertise, but it also includes Italian works outside these areas. It thus is a product of Sirén's tastes and provides examples of Italian painting from the mid thirteenth to the sixteenth century. Sirén was in a position to both write about and acquire those artists he considered to best live up to the ideals of theosophy, and to draw comparisons with counterparts in Chinese and Japanese art. The acquisitions of East Asian art also reflect his expertise in and publications on Chinese art, and cover a vast chronological span, from the Tang to the Qing Dynasty.

As an art historian, Sirén was first influenced by the cultural-historically coloured approach of Burckhardt, Tikkanen, and Rydberg. In his teaching he constantly emphasized the importance of studying art in situ, the chief impetus for his many travels, leading to acquisitions of artworks from Italy and East Asia. In his art-theoretical work *Rytm och form*, there was a shift towards the formalist approach to art history introduced by Burckhardt's student Heinrich Wölfflin. However, Tikkanen had introduced formalist theories in his study of Giotto. Therefore, the roots of the theoretical approach in Sirén's book can also be traced to these early theories from his teacher. Over time, Sirén was increasingly influenced by the connoisseurship of Venturi and Berenson, which was founded on the method of Giovanni Morelli, as formulated in his *Kunstkritische Studien über italienische Malerei* (published in several volumes in 1890–1893). Sirén's connoisseurship was then paired with John Addington Symonds's theories regarding how an artist's personality could be interpreted in a work of art, an approach that resulted in a synthesis characteristic both of Sirén and his writings on art from Italy to the Far East.

Notes

1 Sabrina Norlander Eliasson et al., *Italian Paintings: Three Centuries of Collecting* (Stockholm: Nationalmuseum/Hatje Cantz, 2015). The project has continued as Italian Paintings in the Nationalmuseum: Market, Musealisation, Materiality, with a digital publication and a second volume in progress.

2 Nationalmuseum, Stockholm (NM), Enskilda arkiv, Osvald Sirén OS 1:3–10. There is also a large Osvald Sirén archive held by the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, which has been extensively studied and published by Minna Törmä, *Enchanted by Lohans: Osvald Sirén's Journey into Chinese Art* (Hong Kong: HKU, 2013).

3 NM, Enskilda arkiv, Osvald Sirén OS 1:3–10: 'De konsthistoriska studierna böra, så vidt möjligt, utgå från studiet av konstverken själva'.

4 NM, Enskilda arkiv, Osvald Sirén OS 1:3–10.

5 For biographical details, see Bo Gyllensvärd, 'In memoriam: Osvald Sirén', *Konsthistorisk Tidskrift* 35/3–4 (1966), 102–105; *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon*, s.v. 'Osvald Sirén', sok.riksarkivet.se/sbl/; Törmä, *Enchanted by Lohans*.

6 See, for example, Johan Jakob Tikkanen, *Der malerische Styl Giottos* (Helsinki: Frenckell, 1884); *Genesismosaiken von S. Marco in Venedig und ihr Verhältnis zu den Miniaturen der Cottonbibel* (Helsinki: Druckerei der Finnischen Litteratur-Gesellschaft, 1889). For Tikkanen's role as the first Finnish professor of art history and the founder of Finnish art history, see Osvald Sirén, 'Johan Jakob Tikkanen som konsthistoriker', *Societas Scientiarum Fennica: Årsbok/Vuosikirja* (1933); Johanna Vakkari, *Focus on Form: J. J. Tikkanen, Giotto and Art Research in the 19th Century* (Helsinki: Finnish Antiquarian Society, 2007).

7 *Biografiskt lexikon för Finland*, s.v. 'Johan Jakob Tikkanen', URN:NBN:fi:sls-4838-1416928957444.

8 Osvald Sirén, *Carl Gustaf Pilo och hans förhållande till den samtida porträttkonsten i Sverige och Danmark* (Stockholm: Sveriges Allmänna Konstförening, 1902).

9 Osvald Sirén, *Italienska handteckningar från 1400- och 1500-talen i Nationalmuseum* (Stockholm: Bröderna Lagerströms Förlag, 1917). In the introduction (vii), he deplores the collection's heterogeneity, 'så är det öfverhuvud knappast möjligt för *en* forskare att nå full klarhet i hvarje enskildt fall' ('so it is hardly possible for just one researcher to obtain full clarity in every single case'); see, for example, Per Bjurström, *Kännare* (Stockholm: Nationamuseum, 2005), 32.

10 Osvald Sirén, 'Di alcuni pittori fiorentini che subirono l'influenza di Lorenzo Monaco', *L'Arte* 7 (1904), 349–52; *Don Lorenzo Monaco* (Strassburg: Heitz, 1905); *Giotto: En ledning vid studiet af mästarens verk: Ett försök till framställning av det kronologiska problemet* (Stockholm: Ljus, 1906). Sirén's mentor, Johan Jakob Tikkanen, had written on Giotto in the publication *Der malerische Styl Giotto's* (Helsinki: Frenckell, 1884).

11 NM, Enskilda arkiv, Osvald Sirén OS 1:3–10; Villa I Tatti, Fiesole, Berenson Library, Bernard Berenson correspondence.

12 The Berg chair was founded and funded by the influential engineer, patron, and art collector Johan Adolf Berg for his friend Viktor Rydberg in 1883.

13 NM, Enskilda arkiv, Osvald Sirén OS 1:3: 'En mera omfattande och självständig kunskap om konsthistoriens arbetsmaterial kan emellertid icke vinnas annat än genom mycket långvarig resor, ty detta är spridt öfver stora delar af Europa, Asien och Amerika.'

14 See Sten Karling & Götz Pochat, *Humanistisk forskning vid Stockholms universitet* (Stockholm: Stockholms universitet, 1973).

15 Osvald Sirén, *Beskrifvande förteckning öfver Stockholms Högskolas Tafvelsamling jämte konsthistorisk inledning* (Stockholm: Ljus, 1912); *Leonardo da Vinci: Hans lefnadsöden, bildverk, personlighet och målarbok* (Stockholm: Ljus, 1911), rev. & tr. as *Leonardo da Vinci: The Artist and the Man* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1916); *Gamla Stockholmshus av Nicodemus Tessin d.ä. och några samtida byggnader*, 2 vols (Stockholm: P. A. Norstedt & Söner, 1912–1913).

16 Osvald Sirén, 'Primitiv och modern konst', *Ord & Bild* 47 (1915), 35–47.

17 Sirén, 'Primitiv och modern', 40–1; Törmä, *Enchanted by Lohans*, 16.

18 Osvald Sirén, *Rytm och form och andra fragmenter om kinesisk och europeisk målarkonst* (Stockholm: Lagerström, 1917), 23–30.

19 Osvald Sirén, *Den Gyllene Paviljongen* (Stockholm: P. A. Norstedt & Söner, 1919), 200–209.

20 Sirén, *Gyllene Paviljongen*, 203: 'spåra en viss väsensfrändskap såväl i uppfattning som i utförande'.

21 See Törmä, *Enchanted by Lohans*, 11.

22 The first petition for an art-historical society was signed by Karl Asplund, Sigurd Curman, Axel Gauffin, Andreas Lindblom, Martin Olsson, Carl Ulrik Palm, Johnny Roosval, Osvald Sirén, Gustaf Upmark, and Erik Wettergren. Harald Brising of Lund University refused to sign, because he considered the initiative to be a purely Stockholm concern. The first board consisted of Osvald Sirén (chair), Johnny Roosval (vice-chair), Carl Ulrik Palm (treasurer), Karl Asplund (secretary), Axel Gauffin, Gustaf Upmark, August Hahr (Uppsala), Ewert Wrangel (Lund), and Axel Romdahl (Gothenburg); see Karl Asplund, 'Kort historik över sällskapets verksamhet, november 1914–maj 2015', *Konsthistoriska Sällskapets Publikation* (Stockholm, 1915).

23 See Daniel Prytz & Johan Eriksson, 'The Martelli Collection: Further Notes Toward its History', *Art Bulletin of Nationalmusem Stockholm* 16 (2009), 77–86; Norlander Eliasson et al., *Italian Paintings*, 129–32.

24 See Prytz & Eriksson, 'Martelli Collection', 77–86; Johan Eriksson, 'Guidoccio Cozzarelli, The Adoration of the Magi', in Norlander Eliasson et al., *Italian Paintings*, 129–32.

25 Per Bjurström, *Nationalmuseum: 1792–1992* (Stockholm: Nationalmuseum, 1992), 237: 'för att "förbereda förvärv till museets italienska samling"'.

26 Among the new acquisitions and donations were the Leonardesque *Madonna and Child* (NM 2636) by Francesco Napoletano; *St Hugh of Lincoln and St Benedict of Nursia* (NM 2678), attributed by Sirén to the anonymous Maestro di Bambino Vispo, whom later scholars have identified as the Florentine painter Gherardo Starnina; Pietro Perugino's *St Sebastian* (NM 2703); Niccolò Rondinello's *Madonna and Child with St Andrew and St Lawrence* (NM 2796); Spinello Aretino's *St Julian Killing his Parents* (NM 2849); and a *Madonna and Child with Two Angels* by the Maestro della Natività di Castello (NM 2868). Later, Sirén also managed to acquire Lorenzo Monaco's *Madonna and Child* (NM 3936) and Masolino da Panicale's *Madonna and Child with Two Angels* (NM 5173); see further catalogue entries by Johan Eriksson in Norlander Eliasson et al., *Italian Paintings*.

27 Törmä, *Enchanted by Lohans*, 101.

28 NM, Enskilda arkiv, Osvald Sirén 25:1 B:1–2, Antecknings-böcker; Östasiatiska Museet (Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities), Stockholm, Osvald Siréns arkiv 25:1 E:1–2, Studiematerial.

29 Osvald Sirén, *Kinesiska och japanska målningar och skulpturer i Nationalmuseum Stockholm: Beskrivande katalog* (Stockholm: Nationalmuseum, 1945).

30 Östasiatiska Museet, Osvald Siréns arkiv 25:1 E:1–2, Studiematerial; Sirén also published in the international theosophical press, for example, 'The Heroism of Self-Forgetfulness', *Sunrise: Theosophic Perspectives* 3 (1954).

CHAPTER 14

Swedish castles, palaces, and mansions

A brief survey of the antiquarian tradition

Britt-Inger Johansson

This essay is part of an ongoing project in collaboration with Uppsala University Library, in which the library's antiquarian topographical dissertations from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries are investigated as the forerunners of architectural history.[1] Here, these documents are surveyed alongside an array of other publications of an antiquarian nature that contributed to the establishment of the art history subdiscipline of architectural history. These works—some more popular in their approach and others more academic—were the earliest attempts to introduce royal castles and palaces as well as aristocratic mansions in Sweden to a larger audience. By the early twentieth century, elite housing and churches were a focus of research for architectural historians, largely owing to an existing antiquarian tradition. Support and funding for this tradition, though, was more sporadic and of a lower priority than that supplied for research into ecclesiastical buildings. It can also be said that, throughout their history in Sweden, antiquarian texts both in and outside the university were influenced by patriotism and, later, nationalism.

The antiquarian tradition of historical topographical accounts accompanied by descriptions and depictions of monuments began in Rome in the sixteenth century and spread to other countries, including Sweden, in the early modern era.[2] In its initial phases, the antiquarian movement in Sweden was more engaged with ancient Nordic languages and less focused on material culture. Yet by the mid seventeenth century, even Sweden was considered to have monuments worthy of being viewed as antiquities and thus studied as such. This perception was fuelled in particular by the efforts of Olof Rudbeck the elder (1630–1702), who considered Sweden to be the location of ancient Atlantis. Initially, these studies were largely the product of private interest, although some were royally sponsored endeavours.

Magnificent buildings, visualized

The origins of Swedish antiquarian studies addressing buildings and the built environment are found in an ambitious project initiated by Erik Dahlbergh (1625–1703).[3] Starting in 1660 and continuing for over fifty years, this undertaking was intended as a comprehensive national survey of towns, churches, castles, and other important buildings. It resulted in the book *Suecia Antiqua et Hodierna* ('Sweden ancient and modern').[4]

Dahlbergh was schooled as an artist and a gentleman in Germany (sponsored by a benefactor in the army). There he encountered the works of Martin Zeiller (1589–1661) and Matthäus Merian the elder (1593–1650), who produced their first topographical surveys in 1642. In their collaborations, Zeiller was often responsible for the text and Merian the illustrations.[5] Dahlbergh was likely introduced to their work by one of his art teachers, Merian's son Matthäus Merian the younger (1621–1687), who also had a hand in some of the surveys. These works inspired Dahlbergh to tackle a similar Swedish venture.[6]

In 1660, after the declaration of peace in the Second Northern War, Dahlbergh settled in Sweden. He needed something to occupy his time and mind, and the following year he was granted a royal privilege to begin work on preparatory drawings for engravings of Swedish buildings (exteriors and interiors), cityscapes, and grand vistas. The professor of rhetoric at Uppsala University, Johannes Loccenius (1598–1677), was entrusted with the accompanying text, although in the end his contribution was negligible.[7] Given the project's aim to aggrandize Sweden, it was regarded as

a sound political investment. For decades, Dahlbergh criss-crossed the country, collecting information and drawing, and engaging other army officers to work alongside him in this vast enterprise.

Dahlbergh's work was suspended in 1674, when he was appointed quartermaster general for the Swedish Army, but in 1684 he returned to the project. Engravers were recruited, principally from the Netherlands. The task of writing texts was now handed over to a succession of elderly professors at Uppsala University, all of whom held the position of *rikshistoriograf* (national historiographer).[8] Unfortunately, each in turn died before finishing what they had been contracted to do; Klas Örnhiälm provided some historical material, but none of them wrote about any individual object. The final publication, which came out in 1716, after Dahlbergh had been dead for some years, therefore had the engravings but very little text.[9]

Several monuments engraved in *Suecia Antiqua et Hodierna* had connections to the royal family. Pride of place went to the predominantly medieval Royal Palace in Stockholm, depicted before it burnt down in 1697, and the Renaissance castles of Uppsala and Svartsjö. The royal palaces of Karlberg and Drottningholm, still partly under construction then, were also included.[10] Despite the lack of accompanying texts, it was still the earliest attempt to introduce a selection of royal castles and noble houses to a wider audience. However, the main focus was not the buildings as historical monuments, but their contemporary appearance—possibly a natural outcome of the lack of accompanying texts explaining their histories. While the preparatory drawings used to make the engravings were often accurate, the engravings tended to portray the buildings as more elegant, impressive, and modern than they actually were.

The *raison d'être* of Dahlbergh's operation was thus political; its purpose, the strengthening of Sweden's status. Sweden's position as a powerful political leader in Europe was understood to be mirrored in the dual focus on its elite architectural history and its contemporary urban centres. *Suecia Antiqua et Hodierna* was in effect a template for how to research and present monuments of national importance, where empirical and archival studies were considered essential.

An early research institute

Presumably because of the early success of Dahlbergh's endeavour, an antiquarian research institution—Collegium Antiquitatis or Antikvitetskollegium (the Collegium of Antiquities)—was founded in 1666 by a royal decree. It is most likely that Johan Hadorph (1630–1693), the academy secretary at Uppsala University, lay behind its establishment, supported by the chancellor, Magnus Gabriel De La Gardie (1622–1686). Initially, it was under the aegis of Uppsala University and included several professors, including Loccenius, the professor first tasked with writing texts for the *Suecia* project. Altogether, the staff comprised one director, six members, one of whom served as secretary, their assistants, and some clerks. Their mission was to survey, describe, depict, and publish Swedish antiquities—predominantly manuscripts, but also some objects and monuments. However, in comparison with Dahlbergh's enterprise, it was poorly funded from the start and suffered further financial setbacks.

The Collegium's secretary and leading figure, Johan Hadorph, pushed to have the research institute moved to Stockholm in the late 1670s, both for personal convenience and to gain greater proximity to the king. The manner in which Hadorph influenced the Collegium's operations indicates his autonomy regarding the organization. After Hadorph's death, in 1693, the Collegium was reorganized as Antikvitetsarkivet (the Archive of Antiquities). Its staff was then slimmed down to a director, two assistants, a translator, two scribes, a draftsman, and a caretaker. It became a division of Riksarkivet (the National Archives), which was then in the Royal Palace in Stockholm. As a result, some collections were destroyed in the 1697 fire. Initially, in the mid eighteenth century, the Archive of Antiquities was relocated to Kungliga biblioteket (the National Library of Sweden). Towards the end of the century, however, the Archive of Antiquities was merged with the newly created Kungliga Vitterhets-Historie- och Antikvitetsakademien (Royal Swedish Academy of Letters, History, and Antiquities), under the patronage of the royal family. Then, in 1865, its collections of objects became the foundation for Historiska Museet (the Swedish History Museum), when it opened as part of the Nationalmuseum. In 1939, the History Museum moved to its present location.[11]

The Collegium and then Archive of Antiquities would play an essential role in expanding the collection of empirical knowledge about Swedish material culture beyond the structures included in *Suecia Antiqua et Hodierna*. In 1666, Hadorph, as secretary for the newly founded Collegium, launched a national inventory of rune stones, monastery ruins, churches, castles, burial mounds, etc., and archaeological finds, medieval documents, folk traditions, folk songs, and more. Requests in the name of the king seeking information about these objects and structures were sent out in 1666 and 1676 to Sweden's governors, bishops, parish clergy, and mayors, soliciting details and drawings to be sent to the Collegium.[12] Hadorph reviewed the reports, selected the ones to pursue further, and then made survey tours, accompanied by assistants whose

task it was to collect material and oversee drawings. This royal attention to local history and monuments may have played a role in sparking a more general interest in studying Sweden's antiquities.[13]

Hadorph's primary focus and contribution in the project was the systematic collecting of medieval documents for the Collegium. Nonetheless, he also published older manuscripts such as ancient laws and poetic works, a survey of rune stones in the parish of Färingsö, and a bibliography of antiquarian literature. Interestingly, the works he produced were often in Swedish, making them more accessible to a Swedish readership. The arguments for using the vernacular were rooted in a didactic, patriotic discourse.[14] In contrast, he used Latin for an international audience. Frequently, his texts were even bilingual, thus addressing both groups of readers in the same text.

Hadorph was succeeded as secretary of the Collegium by a relative, Johan Peringskiöld (1654–1720), a skilled draftsman and engraver. Peringskiöld continued with the systematic collecting of medieval manuscripts. Additionally, he planned a multivolume project of drawings and descriptions of archaeological finds, rune stones, and outstanding buildings (in particular, strongholds, castles, palaces, and mansions). However, only two volumes were completed—on Uppsala and the province of Uppland—in 1710 and 1719. The texts were published in Latin and Swedish, and with their discussions of, for example, Uppsala Castle, they are still of importance today.[15] However, the vast majority of the material they collated would remain unpublished in the archive, though available to later antiquarians. Peringskiöld also edited and published a work that had been compiled over seventy years earlier, the fifteen volumes of *Scondia Illustrata* ('Scandinavia illustrated'), written by the historian Johannes Messenius (1579–1636) while imprisoned for treason.[16]

There were various reasons why the Collegium of Antiquities garnered less interest and consistently received less funding than *Suecia Antiqua et Hodierna*, and thus was, frankly, less successful. One was the competition with its forerunner, Dahlbergh's more glamorous project. Another was the Collegium's focus on collecting historical source material rather than on publication. This perhaps diminished its appeal to its royal sponsor, given that the results did not lend themselves to the same blatant self-aggrandizement. The material gathered was potentially available and of interest primarily to a small group of scholars. In modern terms, it represented foundational research and not applied research. A third reason was financial. After the mid seventeenth century, Sweden's military successes were fewer and the government's coffers were depleted after decades of war. Funding was scarce.

Academic antiquarianism

Despite several Uppsala professors having a hand in the founding of the Collegium of Antiquities, antiquarian scholarship seems to have had little impact on student work at the university in the seventeenth century. This is evident from dissertations, as academic papers were called, in the Uppsala University Library, the bulk of which are catalogued and which serve as the basis for this essay.[17] While the greater part of the dissertations in the Uppsala University collection were the university's own, as might be expected, there were a significant number which had been submitted at Lund University. Further, there were a smaller number from Åbo Akademi and occasional examples from Greifswald (both of which were Swedish universities at the time).[18]

It should be noted that historically the term *dissertation* was used for different kinds of academic papers and always for the works required for bachelor's and master's degrees. For a doctorate, students had to go abroad until 1870, and for that reason all earlier academic papers not at the level of PhD are referred to here as dissertations and the later PhD dissertations as PhD theses. When examined, the candidate was called the *respondens* (sometimes *respondent*) and the person presiding over the examination was called the *preses*. For the bachelor's degree, the student had to prepare and defend a *dissertation pro exercitio* (a 'defence exercise'), which in general was printed, and for the master's degree, a printed *dissertation pro gradua* (a 'proper' defence of a thesis written by the candidate). As a rule, a professor served both as supervisor and examiner (preses), contributing to varying degrees to the dissertation. There were examples of professors who wrote dissertations for their students for a fee, where the student paid the printing costs and was examined on it in the public viva. By the end of the eighteenth century this had become more common. However, this occurred mainly in other fields than the one under discussion here. In rare instances, with the permission of the faculty, someone who had recently earned a master's degree and had more material to publish than could be included in his *dissertation pro gradua* could fill the role of *preses* on a bachelor's dissertation that he had written, which the candidate would then defend—and pay for printing.[19] The written product consisted initially of a few printed pages with statements (theses), which, when contextualised, formed the embryo of later dissertations. These publications were intended as a support for the oral defence of the claims, which took the form of the all-important debate (*disputation*). By the end of the seventeenth century more began to choose the

long-form dissertation, which eventually became of equal importance and an end in itself.[20]

Until the early nineteenth century, knowledge of Latin was essential to scholarly communication in Europe, resulting in dissertations being written in and defended in Latin, except at Åbo Akademi, where Swedish seems to have been more common. Starting in the mid eighteenth century, the first dissertations appeared in Swedish, albeit only sporadically for most disciplines. The noted exception was works written under Anders Berch (1711–1774), the first professor of political economics, who favoured Swedish. It was only when doctorates began to be awarded in Sweden that Latin was finally abandoned. Therefore, up to this point, the majority of dissertations circulated mainly in academia; however, this meant that they were accessible to an international audience, for which they were often intended. The print runs went from some 200 in the mid seventeenth century to 600 by the end of the century—a figure comparable with today's print runs in the humanities, which rarely exceed 600.[21]

The earliest dissertations at Uppsala after the start of the Reformation in Sweden in 1527 appear to have been printed in the early seventeenth century. It was not until the 1690s, though, that the first antiquarian dissertations were submitted: topographical accounts of the counties of Dalarna and Härjedalen and a monograph on the heathen temple and former cathedral of Gamla Uppsala (Old Uppsala).[22] The following decade, interest was still lukewarm, with only two dissertations of this kind, covering Öland (in Uppsala, 1703) and Gotland (in Lund, 1706).[23]

From 1710 on, though, the genre appeared more often. Until 1770, on average, fifteen topographical dissertations were examined nationally per decade, judging by the LIBRIS catalogue.[24] Then, the number dwindled for a time. In 1800, the author of a dissertation on Södermanland had to argue vehemently for the right to conduct his study, noting that the region had been omitted from antiquarian surveys. In making his case, he mentioned major topographical and antiquarian surveys of other regions, although they were not academic dissertations but were instead popular accounts written in Swedish.[25] They nonetheless relied heavily on the structure set by the dissertations, covered a broad range of topics, and were, on the whole, written by men who had attended university. As a group, such texts were evidence of a new popular domestic genre born in the mid eighteenth century.

Of over 13,000 catalogued dissertations at Uppsala University, only some 150 were antiquarian and topographical.[26] It is safe to say the genre was peripheral to academia, and dependent on individual efforts and interests—usually owing to personal knowledge of the area studied. The seeming dearth of antiquarian topographical dissertations can be addressed by an investigation of the disciplines' development and the role of the professors. Given that the disciplines of art history and architectural history only took hold in Sweden in the early twentieth century, it is not surprising the topics strongly associated with them were not avidly pursued in the centuries before. The subjects were added to standard curricula only in the mid nineteenth century. In *8 kapitel om konsthistoriens historia i Sverige* ('8 chapters on the history of art history in Sweden'), Solfrid Söderlind has drawn attention to the important role played by university librarians as art history pioneers.[27] Of these librarians, one stands out: the antiquarian Johan Schröder (1791–1857), who took over responsibility for the examination of the antiquarian topographical dissertations. Until his death in 1857, he presided as examiner for 23 such dissertations (one-sixth of the 150 in the library catalogue), most of them about different parishes. Afterward, without his stewardship, the genre seems to have gone out of fashion at Uppsala University. As a teacher, some said Schröder emphasized the importance of empirical investigations of monuments.[28]

From the seventeenth until the mid eighteenth century, dissertations on architecture as heritage were thus supervised by professors from an array of disciplines, including logic and metaphysics, astronomy, poetry and rhetoric, philology, theology, and theoretical philosophy. Some of the supervisors began their academic careers at the university library before being awarded a professorship. With easy access to the literature and source material, they were well suited to supervise antiquarian dissertations.[29] In the 1740s, it became more common for professors of history to take on antiquarian dissertations. Personal inclination seems to have determined which professor mentored these projects.

Dissertations on antiquarian topographical subjects typically dealt with one of a range of general areas: a geographic region or specific parish, a town, or, more rarely, a specific building. Their length varied from a few pages up to 30 or 50 pages or more, depending on the academic level. And almost invariably, the student had a personal connection to the place studied. The dissertations aimed to furnish a comprehensive historical account of the chosen area and its more remarkable features and buildings, but often without supplying much detail. They regularly cited and enlarged on older antiquarian scholarship—frequently Peringskiöld, Messenius, Olof Verelius (1618–1682), and other seventeenth-century authors—and sources held in the Archive of Antiquities, the National Archives, private collections, and university libraries. Some

of these examples amounted to early attempts to write architectural history, providing a foundation for future scholarship.

Regarding individual monuments, only thirteen ancient castles and former strongholds were the subject of monographs found among the dissertations. This can be compared with dissertations on churches and monastery ruins, which amount to roughly twenty. Of these studies of secular buildings, the oldest subject is the ruin of the fifth-century stronghold Ramundaborg, then presumed to be of the Viking Age (in a dissertation examined in 1814).[30] Medieval castle ruins in this group of monographs were Axevalla (1727), Almare Stäket (1750), Ymseborg (1755), a Greifswald dissertation on Stegeborg (1798), and Hörningsholm (1819 and 1824).[31] Several medieval and Renaissance castles still standing, many of which were once royal, were also subjects: Läckö (1734), Kalmar (1735), Örebro (1739), Örbyhus (1757), a Lund dissertation on Tåsterup (1763), Räfsnäs (1809), and Visborg on Gotland (1842).[32] These dissertations often had a similar structure, with the name of the place explained, the site described, the castle historically contextualized, the presumed builder identified, and later owners listed. Particular historical incidents connected to the structure are mentioned, rounded off with a description of the building as it appeared at the time. This structure corresponded with dissertations of geographic areas that incorporated monuments, while, obviously, providing greater detail.

Popular antiquarian topographical accounts

The eighteenth century saw the first publications similar to the academic volumes outlined above, but written in Swedish and aimed at a broad, non-academic audience. They were produced outside the universities and fell into a range of genres, including antiquarian, historical, or economic topographical accounts; travelogues; general guides or handbooks for travellers; and guides to buildings.[33] Some were broadly pragmatic in purpose and scope, some more informal and intimate, and others more academic and informational. The manner in which architecture in Sweden was attended to in these various texts differed according to their purpose, the writer's background, and even how they were funded.

Customarily, texts falling into the first category—the antiquarian topographical—were written by authors who had lived in the area. The authors also often footed the bill, although the publisher might cover the costs. They were modelled on the Latin dissertations, but were frequently more ambitious in scope, occasionally running to several hundred pages. Swedish, not Latin, was the language of choice, with the express intention of educating the public. When applicable, local castles or mansions were included. In the event, the texts were fairly popular with both armchair tourists and actual travellers.

The earliest of these lay antiquarian topographical volumes seem to be from 1741, written by Lars Salvius (1706–1773), who eventually turned to publishing and printing. It is apparent from the title—*Beskrifning öfver Sveriget, första tomen om Upland* ('Description of Sweden, first volume on Uppland')—and the introduction that he originally intended to write a series of books covering the whole of Sweden.[34] However, only the one volume about Uppland was ever printed. Other authors followed his lead, though, and at least twenty such texts featuring different Swedish regions were published over the next six decades.[35] In 1762, Adolf Samuel Edman (1719–1786) put out a booklet in the form of a letter to an imaginary enquirer that supplied instructions on how to write a topographical description, signalling the genre's popularity.[36]

Salvius mentioned that Dahlbergh's *Suecia Antiqua* served as an inspiration for his account, and he refers to Latin dissertations, early antiquarian authors, and archival material in the Uppsala University Library as his sources when writing the book. Given that he was a former university student and had a command of Latin, this range of references seems reasonable.[37] The volume was systematically organized in a manner typical for the genre, beginning with a general description of the region and continuing with each town in turn, from the largest to the smallest, starting with Stockholm and ending with country parishes. Otherwise only royal castles and mansions were singled out as worthy of comment, although not at any length. Such cursory treatment of the buildings seems to have been common to the genre, a consequence of the wealth of other information that was included.

The rise of the travelogue

The second genre of non-academic topographical publications was the travelogue, which was assumed to be based on personal observation. These volumes seldom dealt with history, instead being limited to contemporary eyewitness descriptions. This informal perspective was often underscored by the text taking the form of a diary, or letters addressed to a real or fictional correspondent, thus lending it a sense of intimacy. In the eighteenth century, personal correspondence was not necessarily regarded as private, and was frequently read aloud to family and friends. Other than Olof Rudbeck the younger's much-esteemed chronicle of his journey to Lapland in 1701, of which only parts were published, travelogues first

appeared in the 1740s, the first being Carl Linnaeus' diary from his visits to Öland and Gotland.[38] As with the early topographical books, several travelogues were published by Lars Salvius, a pioneer in the field and the most important publisher and bookseller of his time.[39]

Towards the end of the eighteenth century, the genre abandoned the diary model for the imaginary correspondence model, as seen in the later travelogues by Carl Jonas Linnerhielm in the 1790s and early 1800s.[40] However, the bulk of the travelogues in Swedish libraries were written by tourists of other nationalities, with the works imported and read in the original language and occasionally in translation. One example was Mary Wollstonecraft, whose travelogue was translated into Swedish and published as early as 1798.[41] Despite their form, the descriptions in these texts have a fleeting character, based on the traveller's impressions, and buildings are rarely if ever included. Driving home this point was the 1749 travelogue by Carl Hårleman (1700–1753), one of the principal architects of the Royal Palace. One might have expected him to have paid more attention to architecture than to industry and farming, but he hardly mentioned buildings at all, a consequence of the commercial interests of those backing the project.[42] The reader had to be satisfied with a cursory commentary on heritage—or turn to the topographical accounts for more information.

Travel guidebooks and architectural guides

In the early eighteenth century, the first example of a guidebook for travellers appeared in Sweden, produced by the Rev. Peter Warnmark in 1709. It contains prayers for travellers, tables of distances between the inns where they could change horses, and a few random notes on things to see.[43] This book set the standard for the early guidebooks, where issues such as roads and distances were of more importance than notable sights, until the late nineteenth century. In the 1740s, the surveyor and engraver Georg Biurman published a more comprehensive guidebook, covering all the regions of modern Sweden and parts of what today is Finland.[44] It was reprinted four times before it was reissued a century later by Carl P. Hagström.[45] A few regional guidebooks were published towards the end of the eighteenth century.[46] Initially, comments about landmarks were few and brief, being more of the character of footnotes about places mentioned because they had an inn where visitors could rest. A more substantial 'Handbook for Travellers' was published in 1815 in Gothenburg. Its anonymous author recommended that travellers read several of the topographical books referred to above, including Dahlbergh's, before setting off, while offering more detailed comments on sights they might encounter along the way.[47]

Finally, a further type of guidebook, which was in effect a more specialized handbook, first appeared in Sweden in the mid-1700s to complement the books already noted. These were monographs about notable buildings, primarily castles and cathedrals: a type of guide in a format developed in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century France and Britain.[48] They were designed to help travellers prepare for a visit or even to carry around the building, which was reflected in the modest size of most books. In Sweden, royal castles were open to high-born visitors as early as the seventeenth century, making it all the more surprising that it was over a century before the guidebooks appeared. In the Enlightenment, the numbers of sightseers rose, until the monuments were fashionable attractions for what amounted to local mass tourism, with steamboat routes to Drottningholm Palace outside Stockholm in the early nineteenth century.[49]

The origins of what developed into the tourism industry lay in the early seventeenth century, when aristocrats undertook Grand Tours, or educational trips to the continent. With the expansion of the middling classes in the eighteenth century, the number of potential tourists also increased, especially those for whom embarking on trips at home were cheaper and less strenuous than weeks-long journeys abroad. Memoirs, diaries, and letters of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries confirm that people from different social classes spent time doing what today would be called sightseeing.[50] It seems it quickly became a natural part of the inquisitive person's life to explore their local area for recreational purposes. As a case in point, the diary of Märta Helena Reenstierna, a member of the lower nobility, provided examples of her day trips, occasionally in the company of her housekeeper.[51] The early visitors thus stimulated the writing of guides. In turn, reading guidebooks, travelogues, and topographical surveys created an interest in visiting the places they featured. In other words, one business contributed to the growth of the other.

While the guidebooks typically included a historical introduction to the building, they focused on the interiors rather than the exteriors—guides of the same sort are still produced today. It is possible that in its detailed descriptions the genre was modelled on the inventory, first introduced as an administrative and valuation tool to keep track of someone's possessions. In inventories, it was customary to describe the building and then the rooms and furnishings, with works of art counted as part of the interior. If artists were mentioned by name, it was only after the

location and motif of the painting. The inventories later inspired printed guides, which, because of the detailed accounts of a building's use and appearance at a known point in time, allow for comparisons of accounts from different periods. With some caution, it is possible to form an impression of alterations over decades or even centuries.

It was not until the nineteenth century, though, that the guidebook genre took off. The middle classes had far greater travel opportunities; for those who could not afford a private carriage, steamboats and later the railways made longer journeys possible. Soon a market arose for descriptions of sights, and a canonical list evolved for members of the educated, leisured middle class.

There were a few early guides to Sweden's royal palaces, written in the eighteenth century by staff who escorted chance visitors around. The guidebooks probably reflected what the writers typically highlighted during their tours and visitors' interests and questions, and thus give a picture of what was considered worthy of attention and useful for the contemporary reader to know. The guides were usually sold on-site, although they could also be ordered and delivered by post. Märta Helena Reenstierna described in her diary the delight of receiving book parcels with travelogues, and, at least once, a castle guidebook.[52]

The first Swedish example, a guide to Gripsholm Castle (complete with portrait catalogue), was published in 1755 by Carl Fredrich Ljungman, with a revised edition in the 1790s, necessitated by Gustav III's alterations of the building's interiors.[53] It being a royal castle it had a keeper—Ljungman—whose tasks included guiding visitors around. One assumes the book was an indication of the sheer number of visitors. As such, it was a reflection of the emergence of early domestic tourism on a larger scale and the public fascination with heritage and monuments. Following Ljungman's lead, the keeper of Drottningholm Palace, Anders Björklund, produced something similar in the 1790s.[54]

The question is, what prompted Ljungman to write his guidebook in the mid eighteenth century? Had he tired of showing visitors around? Was it his own idea or had his employer suggested it? Had he seen a foreign example in the castle library? One possible source of inspiration may have been Jean-Aimar Piganiol de la Force's 1701 guidebook to Versailles, reprinted in extended editions throughout the eighteenth century and found in private libraries in Sweden. As far as can be told, Ljungman's first edition was his own initiative, even though, according to the preface, Queen Lovisa Ulrika (1720–1782) sponsored its publication. Likewise, the preface of the 1790 edition indicated that King Gustav III actively promoted its publication.

It is also important to highlight the role of women in this industry, where they were active as tourists and even as authors of travelogues and guidebooks. From the 1860s on, the most diligent Swedish guidebook writer was Octavia Carlén (1828–1881), who penned over twenty accounts of castles, churches, cities, etc., with frequent reprints and revised editions.[55] These books were aimed at a broad audience, and some were published in the Öreskrifter för Folket series (lit. 'Penny prints for the people') and therefore were comparatively cheap. They were the paperback books of their day, and the fact the they did not limit themselves to an elite readership says something about how well they were received. The structure of Carlén's monographs conformed to the convention established by Ljungman. First, there was a general history, followed, if it was a royal palace, by a description of the rooms and events held there which might interest the reader, whether festivities to welcome visiting royalty or family gatherings such as baptisms and weddings. Carlén's guidebooks attracted some criticism because of their romantic gloss—which was to miss the point of the works' popular focus.

With Sweden's class structure in mind, it is not inconceivable that leisured middle-class and aristocratic women constituted a large proportion of these reading and travelling circles. It is indicative that Märta Helena Reenstierna and her female acquaintances were faithful local tourists in the eighteenth century, that the writer and early women's activist Fredrika Bremer (1801–1865) published travelogues in Swedish from abroad in the 1840s, and that Octavia Carlén earned her living writing guidebooks in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

Guidebooks and academia

The early guidebooks rarely provided expert analysis in history or art history, a logical corollary to neither being a specialized discipline until the twentieth century. However, the variety of texts written in the nineteenth century on aesthetics, history, and archaeology contributed to the formation of both disciplines. The women who contributed to the guidebook genre were self-taught, not having access to higher education, while the men usually had university degrees (bachelor's or master's). It was not until the end of the nineteenth century that the genre took a more scholarly direction when art history was established as an independent discipline and women were admitted to Sweden's universities. It was also then that National Romanticism, along with growing patriotic interests, spread in Sweden, stimulating an interest in cultural heritage.

August Hahr (1868–1947), from 1918 the first professor of art history at Uppsala University, published a series of guidebooks in 1899–1900. These portrayed eight of the Swedish royal palaces and were intended to be bound into one volume.[56] Popular descriptions more extensive than Carlén's were plentiful in his books, they were richly illustrated with photographs, and were printed in a large format, meaning they could not easily be tucked in a bag or pocket. In contrast to Carlén, he allotted considerable space to the history of each building. Hahr had been one of Carlén's detractors, warning his readers of her guidebooks' lack of reliability, without specifying what, exactly, he found suspect. Hahr then proceeded to borrow heavily from Carlén's work in both form and content. That his accounts could then be considered equally problematic seems to have eluded him. In his first volume, Hahr's introductory address to an imaginary reader states that his book is aimed at a general audience fascinated by royalty. It is popular history, to use a modern term. As a consequence, the descriptions come with few or no scholarly references, and thus there are risks involved in using them today. For the most part, it is unclear when Hahr has employed existing knowledge that may be inaccurate and when he has offered newly acquired, corroborated facts. Given that in the closing note to the luxury edition of 1899 he also referred to archival studies as the basis for the text, it can be assumed that new information had been added. Not all periods were treated equally, with some presented only summarily. For instance, the era of the first Bernadotte king, Karl XIV Johan, being close to the author's own time, was seemingly a less compelling research subject than was the more distant past. As will be seen, Hahr's scholarly work, in contrast to his trendy guidebooks, rested on the more solid foundation of empirical research.

Hahr completed his doctorate in 1898, with a PhD thesis devoted to the eighteenth-century artist Per Krafft the elder (1724–1793).[57] The guidebooks mentioned above, therefore, were written early in his career, before he had produced any notable scholarly works on architectural history, and presumably when he needed the income. The popular texts possibly sparked his enthusiasm for the buildings, as later he wrote an impressive number of palace monographs. Further inspiration may have come from his brother Erik Hahr, a successful architect. August Hahr's first book on architectural history was a pioneering, substantial survey from 1902 intended for students and the interested public.[58]

Hahr taught art history at Lund University from 1908 to 1913, during which time he was promoted to docent and collected material for future publications. Throughout the period before the establishment of art history as an independent discipline in 1919, art history was a subject in the Department of Aesthetics. The professor of the department, Ewert Wrangel (1863–1940), who also published several notable works in architectural history, encouraged Hahr's endeavours.[59] In 1914, Hahr returned to Uppsala, where his work would have a profound impact on architectural history in the Department of Art History. Because of his efforts, architectural history moved from the margins of art-historical research to occupy a position equal to the pictorial arts, a position it retains today.[60]

Hahr's early scholarly architectural monographs on castles include the multivolume series *Skånska borgar i uppmätningsritningar, fotografiska avbildningar samt beskrivande text* ('Skåne castles in survey drawings, photographs, and descriptive text'). The title testifies to his dedication to rigorous empirical research, but also calls to mind Dahlbergh's *Suecia Antiqua et Hodierna*, which continued to be influential into the twentieth century.[61] Additionally, Hahr contributed to *Svenska slott och herresäten* (1908–1914, 'Swedish castles and mansions'), to which we will return. His research into architectural history eventually narrowed to the Renaissance and the Vasa dynasty, and Skåne's Renaissance castles and strongholds.[62]

The year before Hahr began to publish, the journalist and writer Herman Ring wrote an impressive tome about the Royal Palace in Stockholm. A comparison of these works reveals many similarities.[63] Ring had a university education and published extensively in different fields, including the history of theatre. The value of both authors' books resides, like that of their predecessors, in the contemporary descriptions they provide. That said, the historical information must be regarded with a critical eye unless verified by more scholarly texts, in particular for Ring.

In the early twentieth century, Albin Roosval (1860–1943) oversaw the first phase of a comprehensive survey of Swedish castles and manors, *Svenska slott och herresäten vid 1900-talets början* ('Swedish castles and manors in the early twentieth century'), which was published in installments, one per mansion, to be bound together as one volume per *landskap* (province), which resulted in five volumes in 1908–1914 and a further four volumes in 1919–1924.[64] Roosval was a journalist, photographer, and professional editor, and the brother of the art historian Johnny Roosval (1879–1965), who held a personal chair in art history at Stockholm University from 1918, and in 1926 became the Anders Zorn Professor of Nordic and Comparative Art History. Johnny Roosval had initiated a similar national survey of churches in 1912—*Sveriges kyrkor* ('The churches of Sweden')—a project conceivably inspired by his brother's venture. This latter enterprise was adopted by the National

Board of Antiquities, received public funding, and ran for a century, though without being completed.

The castle surveys in *Svenska slott* may also be regarded as the late descendants of the more all-embracing survey of Swedish towns, churches, and buildings begun under Erik Dahlbergh in 1660. They resembled some of the older topographical literature, but were more systematic in their approach, and its authors were professional art historians and historians, including August Hahr. The outbreak of the First World War interrupted work on the series. When it was resumed, the title was slightly modified, with *Ny följd* ('New series') appended to the title. This new series continued from 1918 to 1924. Albin Roosval later made a third attempt to bring the plan to completion in the early 1930s, and, although some further volumes were issued, the Second World War was the final nail in the coffin, ending all versions of the series.[65] In the post-war era, art historians turned their attention to new areas because, in the modernist age, art and architectural historians were more engaged in urban issues. In the 1950s, Gregor Paulsson (1889–1977), the most influential of all the Uppsala professors, published *Svensk stad* ('The Swedish town'), which became a staple of Swedish art and architectural history.[66]

Even though the multiple volumes of *Svenska slott* were written by historians and art historians, the series was still aimed at the general public and therefore lacked scholarly references, apart from the occasional erratic footnote. The descriptions rested largely on much earlier texts where available, and subsequent academic research. To guarantee commercial viability, the focus was on contemporary characterizations of the buildings and (mostly) their interiors, and less on history, as the series title indicates. Some castles and mansions had already featured earlier in the series but were included again in later volumes because of significant changes to their interiors. Aside from the royal castles and palaces, most buildings included were not open to the public. These books provided the only opportunity to be acquainted with them. That the volumes were not intended as actual guidebooks is evident from their hefty size, which precluded them being carried around on sightseeing trips. But the organization of the texts was inspired by the above-mentioned guidebooks while also being reminiscent of contemporary magazine articles featuring homes and properties.

August Hahr continued to publish work on Swedish castles, and in 1930 he brought out a slim, non-academic book on the Royal Palace in Stockholm through a bestselling ladies' magazine.[67] The first words of the title—*Stockholms konungaborg*—were the same as Ring's aforementioned work. Then, in 1939–1941, a scholarly three-volume work on the history of the Royal Palace was released, based on research in the 1930s. It remains the leading authority for researchers.[68] Rebecka Millhagen Adelswärd's essay elsewhere in this volume and her recent PhD thesis on the museification of the Royal Palace are the first significant additions to the topic in decades, aside from some book chapters and articles of a more limited scope.[69]

Finally, in the 1960s, a new survey and book series, *Slott och herresäten i Sverige* ('Castles and manors in Sweden'), was launched and completed.[70] Sweden's post-war boom supplied the means to engage more art historians in the work, which seems to have been important to the project. Eighteen volumes were issued, with two volumes treating royal palaces and castles, one on national fortifications and residences, and the rest mainly aristocratic mansions. After the abolition of entail in the mid twentieth century, this series has become valuable for the descriptions of environments and collections which were subsequently dispersed. Despite the recruitment of art historians to write the series, the target group remained the same as for the earlier survey: the educated public. The scholarly apparatus was once again scaled down, the bibliographies were select, not comprehensive. Therefore, the collection's scholarly legitimacy rested on the authors' reputations as solid researchers in other contexts. As with earlier publications, this series tended towards the descriptive, eschewing any engagement with critical analysis.[71]

In the first decade of the twenty-first century, yet another large initiative centred on Swedish architecture was undertaken: Byggförlaget's proposed multivolume work on the royal castles. The publisher's editorial team, which included Millhagen Adelswärd, collaborated with the royal court and many specialized art historians and historians. Rather than cover the same ground as earlier work, the intention was to supplement and revise, to create a hybrid text that combined a popular approach with scholarly references. As always, ambitious, long-term projects of this nature are a challenge to complete, and after five out of fifteen planned volumes had been issued the series was discontinued when the publisher's owners, Sveriges byggindustrier (the Swedish Building Industry), abruptly closed the business, saying it did not fit with its core operations, despite having been commercially successful for over fifty years.[72]

Conclusion

This essay considers how the three most important research strands in Swedish architectural history—scholarly works on churches, mansions, and the urban environment—can be traced back to the seventeenth

century. As the survey of historical texts on castles, palaces, and mansions shows, a literary structure evolved for presenting and describing buildings and their histories. In the mid eighteenth century, this structure was transcribed, mostly by men with academic training, into more popular, commercial works aimed at educating the Swedish literate citizenry in the historical marvels of their own country.

The Latin antiquarian topographical dissertations survived from the end of the seventeenth century until the mid nineteenth century, when the genre died out. The commercial editions written in Swedish have continued until the present, however. At the turn of the twentieth century, when the first art history professors (Roosval, Wrangel, and Hahr) were installed at Stockholm, Uppsala, and Lund, systematic scholarship into the history of buildings, with scholarly publications of a modern kind, were introduced. Their work was built, though, on previous attempts to write a sort of architectural history from the seventeenth century on. Thus, older textual traditions with roots in the seventeenth century were, for an extended period, paradigmatic, influencing how architectural histories were told until the twenty-first century. In recent decades, architectural research and writing has become more analytical and willing to question earlier assumptions. Verifiable data, a critical scrutiny of sources and older literature, and empirical research have replaced an uncritical referencing of various texts of scholarly disposition, including those by revered pioneers such as Peringskiöld.

The practice of producing bilingual texts accessible to many that started in the early seventeenth century also survived, even if there was a decades-long hiatus from around 1690 to the late eighteenth century where Latin dominated. It is still not uncommon for scholars to address both a more lay audience and the academic world in the same publication, as many examples presented here attest to. When the 1960s survey series *Slott och herresäten i Sverige* ('Castles and manors in Sweden') brought to fruition attempts to marry scholarly and saleable material, it was likely an outcome of the post-war economic boom, allowing the authors to do the work on university and museum salaries. In addition, the number of academics had also grown significantly since the beginning of the century, meaning there were more scholars available. The commercial survey projects can be compared with the national survey of churches (*Sveriges kyrkor*), which received substantial public subsidies for almost a century and was published by the Swedish National Heritage Board. For the private enterprises, the reliance on temporary, external, private funding made it more difficult for them to be sustained to completion.

Since the pioneering efforts of those writing about Swedish monuments, a multitude of scholars have published monographs, book chapters, and articles on castles and manors.[73] The field has expanded considerably, now intersecting with other disciplines besides art history. Meanwhile, new multidisciplinary networks have been established, new cross-disciplinary projects are being started every year, and new data has become available through online databases (mainly thanks to the efforts of Göran Ulväng, docent in economic history at Uppsala University). The historical basis, resources, and opportunities provide the wherewithal and even the direction for the dynamic research being conducted on Sweden's built heritage across many disciplines.

Notes

1 External funding has made it possible to digitize a number of the dissertations used in the project 'Svensk byggnadshistoria i vardande 1630–1871' (Architectural History in the Making, 1630–1871) and make them available in the online database Alvin-portal.org or in the Swedish research repository DiVA-portal.org. Other texts discussed here have been digitized by other institutions, including the National Library of Sweden, Project Runeberg, the University of Gothenburg, Umeå University, and Litteraturbanken.se, and as such are generally accessible using the author and title details.

2 Pamela O. Long, *Engineering the Eternal City: Infrastructure, Topography, and the Culture of Knowledge in Late Sixteenth-Century Rome* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2018), 126–76.

3 Dahlbergh's project has been researched primarily by Börje Magnusson, whose most important publication on the topic is *Att illustrera fäderneslandet: en studie i Erik Dahlberghs verksamhet som tecknare* (Ars Suetica 10; PhD thesis, Uppsala: Uppsala Universitet, 1986); see also 'Sweden Illustrated: Erik Dahlbergh's "Suecia antiqua et Hodierna" as a Manifestation of Imperial Ambition', in Allan Ellenius (ed.), *Baroque Dreams: Art and Vision in Sweden in the Era of Greatness* (Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 2003), 32–59; 'An Amateur Draughtsman and His Engravers: The Case of Erik Dahlbergh', in Barbara Brejon de Lavergnée & Marianne Grivel (eds), *L'estampe au Grand siècle: Etudes offertes à Maxime Préaud* (Paris: Ecole des Chartes Editions, 2010), 429–48.

4 For material from the book—engravings and drawings and textual information—see Kungliga biblioteket (National Library of Sweden) suecia.kb.se.

5 For example, Martin Zeiller, *Topographia Galliae* (Frankfurt am Main, 1655); Martin Zeiller, *Topographia Heluetiæ, Rhætiæ et Valesiæ* (Frankfurt am Main: Matthæum Merian, 1642); Matthäus Merian & Martin Zeiller, *Topographia Westphaliæ* (Frankfurt am Main, 1647).

6 Arne Losman, 'Förlagshuset Merian och Sverige', in Leif Jonsson (ed.), *Stormaktstid: Erik Dahlbergh och Bilden av Sverige* (Lidköping: Läckö institutet, 1992); Daniel Burckhardt-Werthemann, *Matthäus Merian, 1593–1650* (Basle: Helbing & Lichtenhahn, 1951).

7 *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon* (*SBL*), s.v. 'Johannes Loccenius' by Stig Jägerskiöld, sok.riksarkivet.se/sbl/.

8 Klas Arrhenius-Örnhiälm (1627–1695), Petrus Lagerlöf (1648–1699), and Olof Hermelin (1658–1709); see *Nordisk familjebok*, s.v. 'Klas Örnhielm', xxxiv. 158–9; *Svenskt Biografiskt Handlexikon*, s.v. 'Petrus Lagerlöf', ii. 12–13; *SBL*, s.v. 'Olof N S Hermelin', by Sven Olsson. The position of *historicus regni* (national historian or historiographer) was introduced in 1626. For a time it was *historiographus regius* (royal historiographer), and finally, from 1720, *historiographus regni* (national historiographer). Those holding the title were entrusted with writing annual chronicles of what had occurred at home and abroad. The historiographer was a public servant belonging to the Kanslikollegium (Royal Chancery) in Stockholm. With a brief interruption from 1714 to 1718, the position existed until 1834. In the seventeenth century, the position was usually filled by a professor at Uppsala University (fho.sls.fi/uppslagsord/7027/rikshistoriograf/).

9 Börje Magnusson, 'Tryckningen av Suecia Antiqua', *Biblis* 73 (2016), 19–49.

10 The original castle of Drottningholm was started in 1579, but was never completed. After it burned down, in 1661, Nicodemus Tessin the elder designed the current palace. The main building was constructed in 1662–1665, when it was roofed, but work on the interiors and construction of the wings continued for the rest of the century. Karlberg Palace was built in 1634 as a private mansion; it was taken over by the royal family in 1688.

11 Riksarkivet (Swedish National Archives), Stockholm (RA), 'Antikvitetskollegiet och Antikvitetsarkivet (1666–1785)' by Stefan Östergren (Stockholm, 1996) [archive description], sok.riksarkivet.se/agent/6lfen9GrP4QX1lZVNYks71 (accessed 1 Feb. 2022).

12 *Kongl. Maysttz: Placat och Påbudh, Om Gamble Monumenter och Antiqviteter i Rijket. Publicerat Förste gång Åhr 1666. Ther hoos nu twenne Kongl. Maysttz: Breff bijfogade warda: Ett Til alla Gouverneurer och Landzhöfdingar, Thet Andra Til Erchiebiskopen, Biskoperne, och Superintendenterne i Rijket om Antiqviteternes Vpspanande Communication och Conservation, Item Ett Vthtogh aff Rijkz-Dagz Beslutet åhr 1668. Antiqviteterne angående* (Stockholm: Niclas Wankijff, 1669). Extracts of the royal request of 1676 were published by Johan Hadorph as, *Extract aff Kongl. May:tz tryckte placat til Rijkzens ständer, så och breeff til alla Gouverneurer, landzhöffdingar, biskopar och superintendenter i rijket om monumenters och antiquiteterz vpspanande och conservation* (Stockholm: Kongl. Tryckeriet, 1676). Short titles are used for all other publications.

13 *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon*, s.v. 'Johan Hadorph' by Jan Liedegren.

14 Bo Lindberg, 'De lärdes modersmål', in Peter Zeeberg & Marianne Alenius (eds), *Litteratur og lærdom: dansk–svenske nylatindage april 1985* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Forlag, 1984), 33–40; Bo Lindberg, *De lärdes modersmål: Latin, humanism och vetenskap i 1700-talets Sverige* (Gothenburg: Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis, 1984).

15 Johan Peringskiöld, *Then första boken af Swea och Götha minnings-merken vthi Vplandz första del Thiundaland Monumentorum sveo-gothicorum liber primus, Uplandiæ partem primariam Thiundiam* (Stockholm: Enaeus, 1710); Johan Peringskiöld, *Monumenta Ullerakerensia cum Upsalia nova illvstrata, eller: Vlleråkers häradz minnings-merken, med nya Vpsala, vti Vplands första del Thiundaland* (Stockholm: Horrn, 1719).

16 Johannes Messenius, *Scondia illustrata*, 15 vols (Stockholm: Olavi Enæi, 1700–1705).

17 For a substantial new study on dissertations, see Bo Lindberg, *Disputation, dissertation, avhandling: Historien om en genre* (Stockholm: KVHA, 2022) who argues the dissertation as a literary genre was introduced to Sweden in 1600 and continued in the same form until 1852, when *pro exercitio* dissertations were abolished, leaving only *pro gradu* dissertations, while further reforms led to the modern thesis being introduced from 1870 on (209–26). Dissertations were also written at the *gymnasium* level, which preceded university studies, by pupils and teachers alike, some of which were printed. In all, Lindberg (13–14) claims that in total 23,721 dissertations were produced at Swedish universities (Uppsala, Lund and Åbo) between 1600 and 1852, of which 13,552 were produced at Uppsala university alone.

18 Almost all of the early dissertations at Uppsala University have been catalogued and many are digitized and available in full text from the open thesis archive, www.diva-portal.org. Statistical information was collected using the national Swedish library catalogue Libris, cross-checked against Digitala Vetenskapliga Arkivet (DiVA) and the publication lists for 1701–1800 in Mattias Legnér, *Fäderneslandets rätta beskrivning: mötet mellan antikvarisk forskning och ekonomisk nyttokult i 1700-talets Sverige* (PhD thesis, Stockholm University; Helsinki: Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland, 2004), 255–68. Legnér's list is more inclusive, as he includes economic topographical dissertations that he differentiates from the antiquarian ones; see also, Herman Richter, *Geografiens historia i Sverige intill år 1800* (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1959) and his substantial survey of local histories.

19 Claes Annerstedt, *Upsala Universitets historia*, iii/2: 1719–1792: *Universitetets organisation och verksamhet* (Uppsala, 1914), 169–70. Today, Swedish neo-Latin scholars tend to agree with Annerstedt that the majority of students wrote their own dissertations; however, there were some well-known examples where a professor disseminated his own research in his students' dissertations. See, for example, Hansson's introduction to Johannes Sundler, *Nyköping 1735–1739*, ed. & tr. Per Hansson (Nyköping, 1967), 5–7; Peter Sjökvist & Krister Östlund, 'Tidigmoderna dissertationer i Sverige: En överblick', *Läroverkssamlingen i ljuset: Almedalsbibliotekets äldre boksamling* (Visby: Almedalsbiblioteket, 2017), 9–13; Anna Fredriksson, 'Form och frihet: Avhandlingsskrivande på 1600-talet', in Peter Sjökvist (ed.), *Bevara för framtiden: Texter från en seminarieserie om specialsamlingar* (Uppsala: Uppsala Universitetsbibliotek, 2016), 29–36.

20 Lindberg, *Disputation*, 25–38, 58–65.

21 Lindberg, *Disputation*, 43.

22 Georg Gezelius (candidate) & Anders Goeding (examiner), *Breves observationes ad antiqvitates Dalecarlicas spectantes…* (diss., Uppsala: Uppsala university, 1693); Johannes Olai Unæus (candidate) & Anders Spole (examiner), *Dissertatio geographica qva Herdaliæ* (diss., Uppsala: Uppsala University, 1694); Petrus Hesselius (candidate) & Jacob Arrhenius (examiner), *De templo Upsala* (diss., Uppsala: Uppsala University, 1698).

23 Nicolaus O. Vallinus (candidate) & Pehr Elvius (examiner), *De Oelandia dissertatio gradualis…* (diss., Uppsala; Stockholm:

J. H. Werner, 1703); Johannes Gane (candidate) & Andreas Stobæus (examiner), *Skiagraphia Gothlandiæ novo-antiquæ brevissima* (diss., Lund; Lund: Abrah. Habereger, 1706).

24 Almost all dissertations submitted at Uppsala University have been catalogued in LIBRIS, the Swedish union catalogue, but many from other universities still remain to be catalogued. Thus, the number per decade may prove to be greater, albeit fairly modest compared to other topics. The commonest disciplines were theology, medicine, and science.

25 Isacus Daniel Thim (candidate) & Eric Michael Fant (examiner), *Monumenta Sudermannica in templo et paroecia Jæder* (diss., Uppsala; Strängnäs: A. J. Segerstedt, 1804).

26 Fredriksson, 'Form och frihet', 29–36.

27 Solfrid Söderlind, 'Konsthistorieämnets förhistoria', in Britt-Inger Johansson & Hans Pettersson (eds), *8 kapitel om konsthistoriens historia i Sverige* (Stockholm: Raster, 2000), 11–15.

28 Solfrid Söderlind, 'Johan Schröder som professor och bibliotekarie med mera', in Per Cullhed & Krister Östlund (eds), *I lag med böcker: festskrift till Ulf Göranson* (Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 2012), 362–3.

29 Claes Annerstedt, *Upsala Universitets historia*, 169–70.

30 Carl Eric Norrman (candidate) & Ebbe Samuel Bring (examiner), *Descriptio ruinarum Ramundaborg in Ostrogothia* (diss., Lund; Lund university, 1814).

31 Paulus O. Rhyzelius (candidate) & Johan Hermansson (examiner), *Axevall, antiquissimam Vestergothiæ arcem breviter descriptam* (diss., Uppsala: Uppsala university, 1727); Swedish trans. as 'Axevall, en mycket gammal borg i Västergötland: en kort beskrivning från år 1727', *Föreningen för Västgötalitteratur* (1995), 7–[38]; Olavus Er. Berg (candidate) & Olof Celsius (examiner), *Dissertatio historica, de Almar Stäk* (diss., Uppsala: Uppsala university, 1750); Nicolaus J. Drysén (candidate) & Johan Ihre (examiner), *Dissertatio academica, de arce Ymseborg…* (diss., Uppsala: Uppsala university, 1755), trans. as Nils J. Drysén, 'Ymseborg: akademisk avhandling', tr. Sven Blomgren, *Föreningen för Västgötalitteratur* (1987), 2–50; Axel Johannes Lindblom (candidate) & Johann Georg Peter Möller (examiner), *Dissertatio historica fata arcis Stegeborg…* (diss., Greifswald: I. H. Eckhardt, 1798); Andreas Blixen (candidate) & Elias Christopher Grenander (examiner), *De prædio Hörningsholm dissertatio. Cujus particulam primam* (diss., Uppsala: Uppsala university, 1819); Andreas Blixen (candidate) & Erik Gustaf Geijer (examiner), *De prædio Hörningsholm dissertatio. Cujus particulam secundam* (diss., Uppsala: Uppsala university, 1824).

32 Axel P. Luth (candidate) & Johan Hermansson (examiner), *Specimen academicum, de Leckoea, olim episcopali, nunc regia Wester-Gothiæ arce* (diss., Uppsala: Uppsala university, 1734), trans. as Axel P. Luth, 'Akademiskt lärdomsprov om Läckö', tr. Sven Blomgren, *Föreningen för Västgötalitteratur* (1987); Eric Catonius (candidate) & Andreas Grönwall (examiner), *Specimen academicum de Arce Calmariensi* (diss., Uppsala: Uppsala university, 1735); Johan Fredric Bagge (candidate) & Johan Ihre (examiner), *Dissertatio historico-topographica de arce regia Oerebroënsi* (diss., Uppsala: Uppsala university, 1769); Johannes Hjärpe (candidate) & Carl Fredrik Georgii, *Dissertatio gradualis, de arce Örbyensi* (diss., Uppsala: Uppsala university, 1757); Sven Ulrich Nidelström (candidate) & Sven Lagerbring (examiner), *Dissertatio historica, de villa bovili Tåsterup* (diss., Lund: Lunds university, 1763); Lars Eric Götlin (candidate) & Olav Åkerlind (examiner), *Dissertatio de prædio regio Räfsnäs* (diss., Uppsala: Uppsala university, 1809); Carl Johan Bergman (candidate) & Johan Henrik Schröder (examiner), *De arce Wisbyensi…* (diss., Uppsala: Uppsala university, 1842).

33 To what extent these genres, the antiquarian topographical dissertations, and Dahlbergh's *Suecia Antiqua et Hodierna* were inspired by the ancient Greek writer Pausanias' travelogue *Tes hellados periegesis* of the first century BC is hard to establish, but while most likely it was at second hand, it should be noted that Linköping Diocesan Library has two copies of the earliest Latin translation so it may at least have been known in Sweden. One, published in Frankfurt in 1583, was inherited by the library from archbishop Erik Benzelius the younger (1675–1743) who was a book collector, but it may have been in the family's possession even longer. When the later edition, published in Leipzig in 1696, entered the library is uncertain since there is no information on this in the current library catalogue.

34 Lars Salvius, *Beskrifning öfver Sveriget, första tomen om Upland* (Stockholm, 1741).

35 For three examples, see Georg Wallin & Martin Georg Wallenstråle, *Gothländska samlingar 1–2*, i: *1747–76* (Stockholm, 1747); Jacob Richardson, *Hallandia antiqua & hodierna*, i: *1752–53* (Stockholm: Lars Salvius, 1752) the title a nod to Dahlbergh's project in the seventeenth century (Legnér analyses the book in *Fäderneslandets rätta beskrivning*, 63–79); Carl Fredric Broocman, *Beskrifning öfwer the i Öster-Göthland befintelige städer, slott, sokne-kyrkor, soknar, säterier, öfwer-officersboställen, jernbruk och prestegårdar, med mera* (Norrköping: Edman, 1760).

36 Adolph Samuel Edman, *Bref til N, med swar på desz förfrågan, hwad wid et landskaps beskrifning bör i akt tagas* (Stockholm: Peter Hesselberg, 1762).

37 Salvius, *Beskrifning öfver Sveriget*, 23.

38 Olof Rudbeck (the younger), *Olof Rudbecks sonens Nora Samolad eller Uplyste Lapland medh resan igenom Upland, Gestrikland, Helsingland, Medelpa, Ångermanland, Wästerbotn, Lule Lapmark, Norbotn, Torne Lapmark, Österbotn, Finland, Åland* (Uppsala, 1701); Carl von Linné, *Öländska och gothländska resa åhr 1741* (Stockholm & Uppsala: Gottfried Kiesewetter, 1745). Almost as early there was, for example, Pehr Kalm, *Wästgötha och bohusländska resa förrättad år 1742* (Stockholm: Salvius, 1746).

39 For Salvius' publishing enterprises, see Henrik Schück, *Lars Salvius: minnesteckning* (Stockholm: Norstedts, 1929).

40 Jonas Carl Linnerhielm, *Bref under resor i Sverige* (Stockholm, 1797), *Bref under nya resor i Sverige* (Stockholm, 1806), and *Bref under senare resor i Sverige* (Stockholm, 1816). Other examples include Otto Sebastian von Unge, *Promenader inom fäderneslandet*, 2 vols (Stockholm, 1831–1832) and *Vandring genom Dalarne* (Stockholm, 1829); Thure Gustaf Rudbeck, *Strödda anteckningar under en resa i Sverige år 1831* (Stockholm, 1833); Frans Anton Ewerlöf, *En ångbåtsresa på Götha canal: beskrifven i bref till en vän* (Stockholm, 1838); Carl Georg Brunius, *Antiqvarisk och arkitektonisk resa genom Halland, Bohuslän, Dalsland, Wermland och Westergötland år 1838–1839* (Lund, 1839). For Linnerhielm's travels, see Eva Nordenson, *Mitt förtjusta öga: J. C. Linnerhielms voyages pittoresques i Sverige 1787–1807* (Malmö: Arena, 2008).

41 Mary Wollstonecraft, *Letters Written in a Short Residence in Sweden, Norway, and Denmark* (London: J. Johnson, 1796), trans. as *Bref, skrifna under et kort wistande i Swerige, Norrige och Danmark* (Stockholm: J. C. Holmberg, 1798).

42 Carl Hårleman, *Dag-bok öfwer en ifrån Stockholm igenom åtskillige rikets landskaper gjord resa, år 1749* (Stockholm: Salvius, 1749).

43 Warnmark, Peter, *Then swänske Ulysses eller En nyttig rese-book* (Gothenburg: Hageman, 1709).

44 Georg Biurman, *Wägwisare, til och ifrån alla städer och namnkunnige orter, uti Swea och Göta riken, samt stor furstendömet Finland* (Stockholm, 1743).

45 Carl P. Hagström, *Vägvisare genom Svea och Göta riken samt storfurstendömet Finland* (Stockholm: Carl P. Hagström, 1807).

46 *Vägvisare genom Stockholm, för år 1788* (Stockholm: J. C. Holmberg, 1788) is more address book than guidebook, listing notable inhabitants and where to obtain imported goods. More typical guidebooks included Mårten Johan Rivell, *Wägwisare igenom Södermanlands höfdingedöme* (2nd edn, Nyköping, 1788), initially published in a shorter version 1763 reprinted 1768; Olof Insulander, *Wägvisare eller beskrifning Gefleborgs län* (Gefle, 1795); and Carl Fredrik Hillebrandsson Uggla, *Wägvisare genom Örebro höfdingedöme 1800* (Nyköping, 1800).

47 *Handbok för resande i Sverige och Norrige* (Gothenburg, 1815).

48 See, for example, Jean Aimar Piganiol de la Force, *Nouvelle description des chateaux et parcs de Versailles et de Marly … avec plans de ces deux maisons royalles* (Paris, 1701). This was soon extended with numerous new editions throughout the eighteenth century, encompassing ever more royal palaces.

49 See Britt-Inger Johansson, 'I historiens ljus: Restaureringar och nybyggnader under 1800-talet', in Göran Alm & Rebecka Millhagen Adelswärd (eds), *Drottningholms slott*, ii: *Från Gustav III till Carl XVI Gustaf* (Votum: Karlstad, 2010), 250–1. Others who address early cultural heritage tourism and guidebooks include Karin Lindvall, 'Präktiga egendomar, stilenligt kulturarv och trevliga besöksmål', in Mats Hellspong et al. (ed.), *Herrgårdsromantik och statarelände: En studie av ideologi, kulturarv och historieanvändning* (Stockholm: Carlsson, 2004), 58–107; Mia Geijer, 'Vallfärder till vasaborgar: Från bildningsresande till kulturarvsturism', *Bebyggelsehistorisk Tidskrift* 56 (2008), 73–90; Per Widén, 'Kulturarvsturism innan massturismen: Besökare på kungliga slott ca. 1750–1870', RIG 100/3 (2017), 150–62.

50 Widén, 'Kulturarvsturism', 150–62.

51 Märta Helena Reenstierna, *Årstadagboken: journaler från åren 1793–1839*, ed. Sigurd Erixon & Gunnar Broman, 3 vols (Stockholm: Generalstaben, 1946–1953). Reenstierna belonged to the lower aristocracy and her published diary shows how she spent her time, which included repeat visits to near-by sights, and in summer almost annual visits to the royal palaces of Drottningholm, Svartsjö, Haga, and Rosendal, and the Royal Palace in Stockholm.

52 Reenstierna, *Årstadagboken*. Thus on 'Dec 13' (132), she wrote of a four-volume guide to Stockholm by Elers that she had wanted for years. For a biography, see *Svenskt kvinnobiografiskt lexicon*, s.v. 'Märta Helena Reenstierna' by Christina Sjöblad, skbl.se/sv/.

53 Carl Fredrich Ljungman, *Beskrifning om Gripsholms slott* (Stockholm: Nyström, 1755, rev. 1790).

54 Anders Björklund, *Beskrifning öfver Kongl. Lust-Slotten Drottningholm och China* (Stockholm, 1796).

55 Octavia Carlén's first guidebook in 1859 dealt with the collections of the Royal Armoury and the Royal Wardrobe. She then turned her attention to the royal palaces of Drottningholm (1861), Gripsholm (1862), Ulriksdal (1863), Stockholm (1866), 'Sko slott' aka Skokloster (1870), Tullgarn (1871), and Tyresö (1877). She reissued and sometimes extended a number of volumes, and produced other guidebooks dealing with Gotland (1862), Stockholm (1866), Gothenburg (1869), Strängnäs (1871), and Uppsala (1877). She also wrote romantic novels.

56 August Hahr, *De svenska kungliga lustslotten Drottningholm, Gripsholm, Ulriksdal, Haga, Rosenberg, Rosendal, Tullgarn och Sofiero…* (Stockholm, 1899[–1900]) which boasts 600 illustrations.

57 August Hahr, *Per Krafft d.ä. och hans verksamhet i Sverige: En konsthistorisk studie* (PhD thesis, Uppsala University; Stockholm: Wahlström & Widstrand, 1898).

58 August Hahr, *Arkitekturens historia i öfversiktlig framställning för självstudiet och den konsthistoriska undervisningen* (Stockholm: Wahlström & Widstrand, 1902).

59 Among Ewert Wrangel's titles were *Tegelarkitekturen i Norra Europa och Uppsala domkyrka* (Stockholm: Antiqvarisk Tidskrift för Sverige, 1896); *Cisterciensernas inflytande på medeltidens byggnadskonst i Sverige: prof̈öreläsning hållen vid Universitetet i Lund den 28 januari 1899* (Lund: Lindstedts, 1899); *Medeltidskyrkorna i Småland (Jönköpings och Kronobergs län), med 10 planscher och 20 autotypier* (Jönköping: n.p., 1907); *Vad en smålandskyrka kan berätta* (Växjö: n.p., 1912); *En bok om borgar: vårt fasta försvar under den äldre medeltiden: ett kulturgeografiskt forskningsprogram* (Malmö: [Allhem], 1938).

60 At Uppsala University, only a few monographs on castles were published before 1842 and none after. However, not long afterward, two cathedral PhD theses were presented, indicating the direction for the academic treatment of buildings, approaching what today is considered architectural history: Erik Schram, *Upsala domkyrka och dess återställande efter branden 1702* (PhD thesis, Uppsala: Uppsala universitet, 1857); and Peter August Gödeke, *Anteckningar om Linköpings domkyrka och hennes ställning till de stilriktningar, som uppenbarat sig i den nordiska medeltidsarkitekturen* (PhD thesis, Uppsala: Linköping, 1872).

61 The fortified buildings in *Skånska borgar i uppmätningsritningar, fotografiska avbildningar samt beskrivande text*, 2 vols (Stockholm: Norstedts, 1914–1922) were Bollerup, Glimmingehus, Gyllebo, Hofdala (Hovdala), Månstorp, Sandby, Skarhult, Svaneholm, Svenstorp, Tomarp, Torup, Wittsköfle (Vittskövle), and Örup. Hahr's later scholarly monographs were about the castles of Linköping (1921), Nyköpingshus (1923), Vadstena (1923), Läckö (1923), Västerås (1931), Uppsala (1932), and Karlberg (1932).

62 August Hahr, *Kalmar slott* (Stockholm: 1907); id., *Studier i Johan III:s renässans*, 2 vols, (Uppsala: Akademiska bokhandeln, 1907).

63 Herman A. Ring, *Sveriges konungaborg: Stockholms slott från Birger Jarls och Vasarnes till Oscar II:s tid: Med omkring 600 illustrationer* (Stockholm: Fröléen, 1898).

64 Albin Roosval (ed.), *Svenska slott och herresäten vid 1900-talets början*, 5 vols (Stockholm: Lundquist, 1908–1914), 4 vols (Stockholm: Lundquist, 1918–1924).

65 Albin Roosval (ed.), *Svenska slott och herresäten: Ny samling*, 3 vols (Stockholm: Natur & kultur, 1931–1934).

66 Gregor Paulsson, *Svensk stad*, 2 vols (Stockholm: Bonnier, 1950–1953); see also, Anders, Dahlgren, *'Fullständigt otillförlitlig, men absolut oumbärlig': En historiografisk undersökning av projektet Svensk stad* (PhD thesis; Gothenburg: Göteborgs universitet, 2018).

67 August Hahr, *Stockholms konungaborg i ord och bild: Dess arkitektur och dekoration: Utg. av Svensk damtidnings redaktion* (Stockholm: Saxon & Lindström, 1930).

68 John Böttiger, Martin Olsson & Tord Olsson Nordberg (eds), *Stockholms slotts historia*, i: *Det gamla slottet* (Stockholm: Norstedts, 1939), ii: *Det tessinska slottet* (Stockholm: Norstedts, 1940), iii: *Från Fredrik I till Gustaf V* (Stockholm: Norstedts, 1941).

69 Rebecka Millhagen Adelswärd, *Monument, minne, museum: Stockholms slott under det långa 1900-talet* (PhD thesis, Uppsala: Uppsala universitet, 2021).

70 S. Artur Svensson & Sven T. Kjellberg (eds), *Slott och herresäten i Sverige: ett konst- och kulturhistoriskt samlingsverk*, 18 vols (Malmö: Allhem, 1966–1971).

71 For an assessment of the lack of scholarly heft in this series, see Rebecka Millhagen Adelswärd, 'More than Meets the Eye: "Castles and Manor Houses in Sweden Revisited"', *Konsthistorisk Tidskrift/Journal of Art History* 85/1 (2016), 97–108.

72 Elisabeth Andersson, 'Kulturhistoriska förlag läggs ner', *Svenska Dagbladet*, 22 Nov. 2006. Later on by another publisher, Votum, one volume on Haga palace (2009, ed. Ingrid Sjöström) and two volumes on Drottningholm were published (2010, eds Göran Alm & Rebecka Millhagen Adelswärd).

73 The Svenska Herrgårdar 'Herrgårdsnytt' newsletter keeps updated lists of new publications, www.svenskaherrgardar.se/herrgardsnytt (accessed 1 Feb. 2022).

CHAPTER 15

Classic ground

The Royal Palace of Stockholm as a field of art-historical research in the twentieth century

Rebecka Millhagen Adelswärd

The Royal Palace of Stockholm has been in continual use as a royal residence since the mid eighteenth century, with apartments at the disposal of Sweden's head of state.[1] For most of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, this magisterial work of the architect Nicodemus Tessin the Younger (1654–1728) has also been a primary monument in art history research, and thus a vital arena for Swedish art and architectural historians. In general reference works, monographs, and specialist studies, most scholars have concurred that Tessin's Royal Palace laid the foundation for Sweden's architectural tradition—and that the palace, more than any other building, had a rejuvenating effect on generations of architects and artists.[2] These statements have been repeated with such regularity in the twentieth century that they provide a persistent theme in the national narrative of art history.

In the second half of the twentieth century, art and architectural historians have been increasingly critical of Tessin's contribution and his legacy.[3] They have thus been forced to contend with earlier assessments of Tessin's standing in Swedish architectural history in their attempts to expand the national perspective and to place Swedish architecture in a broader European context.

Tessin's chief influences for the architecture and interior decor of the Royal Palace derived from the Roman Baroque style of Gianlorenzo Bernini and the Régence interiors of Jean Bérain for the court of Louis XIV.[4] The building's design is thus firmly rooted in the French and Italian late Baroque. However, the primary issue for many art historians has been less Tessin's stylistic models and more the relationship between his architecture and Caroline Absolutism, an examination that allows for consideration of various milieus and socio-historical perspectives.[5] Many later scholars, however, no longer automatically accepted that Tessin was the central figure in Swedish architecture.[6] They argued that the more consequential inspirations for Swedish architecture lay not in Tessin's classicism and Caroline traditions, but in the utilitarian ideals of the eighteenth century and the more subdued architectonic ambitions that typified the Age of Freedom (1718–1772).[7] Increasingly, there was more of an emphasis on the eighteenth century and the importance of the Royal Palace as an educational project and its contribution to a broader schooling in taste (Fig. 15.1).

This essay presents various narratives, research perspectives, and recurring themes in twentieth-century art history literature on the Royal Palace. A historiographical review indicates two dominant leitmotifs in the writing of national art history. The first of these is based on the palace's accepted aesthetic and national significance, and its relevance to Sweden's identity and position as a civilized nation. The second relates to the palace as a national endeavour and the key role the building played as a school for Swedish arts and the art industry, having a decisive influence on Swedish interior design in the eighteenth century and later developments in the fields of art and architecture.

Ideal classicism with national qualities

The narrative of the Royal Palace as the foremost example of an ideal classicism with national qualities was established in the early nineteenth century by writers such as Lorenzo Hammarsköld (1785–1827). His *Utkast till de bildande konsternas historia* ('A tentative history of the visual arts') amounted to a guidebook to Swedish art and architecture, in which the palace

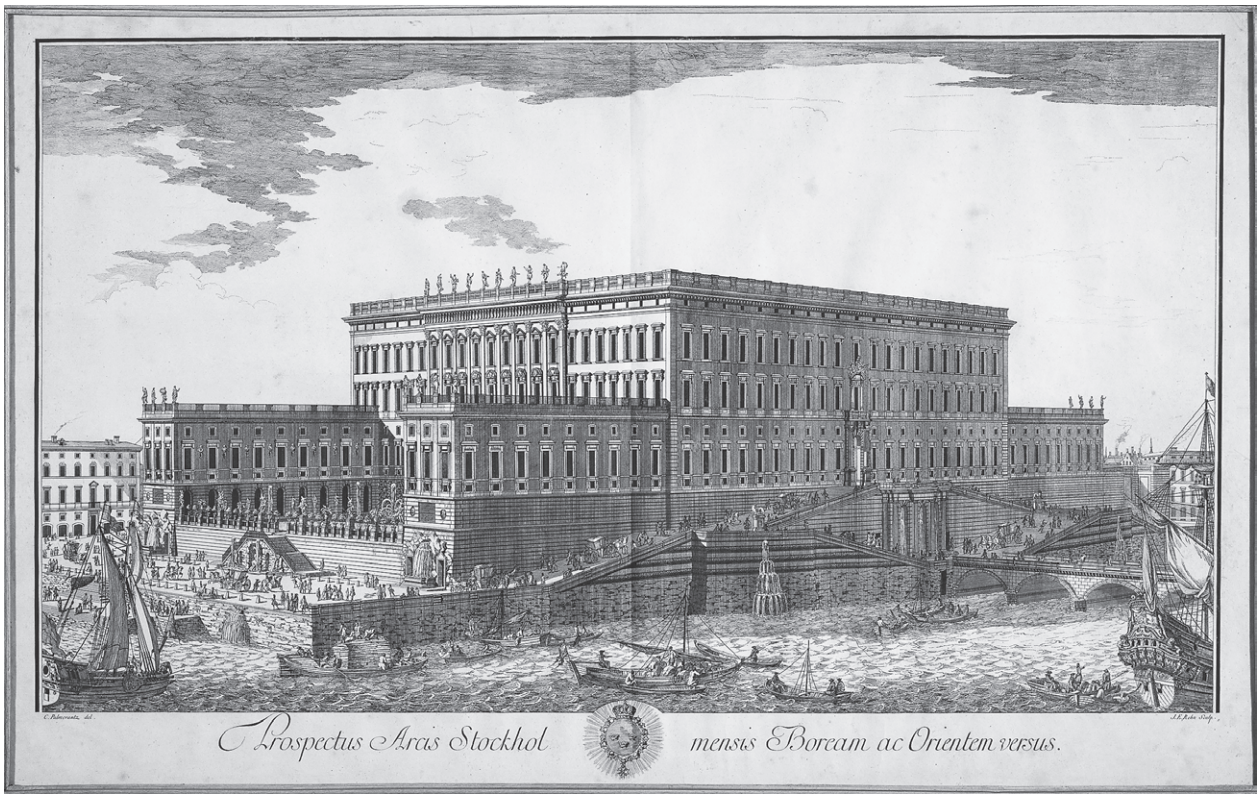

Figure 15.1. The Royal Palace of Stockholm from the north-east in a mid-eighteenth-century engraving by Jean Eric Rehn, emphasizing the ideal classicism and perfect geometric character of the building. Photo: Nationalmuseum.

was discussed in a section that outlined the evolution of the visual arts in Sweden, from Charles XI to the founding of the Royal Academy of Fine Arts in 1735. Hammarsköld promoted the Caroline era of the late seventeenth century as an illustrious period for the arts in Sweden, one 'that is perhaps the most glorious we have ever had'.[8] Like his contemporary historians, he based much of his description of these artistic developments and general national characteristics on the meteorological climate theories of Montesquieu and Johann Winckelmann.[9]

Some decades after Hammarsköld's publication, in an addendum to Wilhelm Lübke's *Geschichte der Plastik von den ältesten Zeiten bis auf die Gegenwart* (1871, *History of sculpture, from the earliest ages to the present time*), Christoffer Eichhorn (1837–1889) attempted to formulate where the palace's significance for art history lay, and something about its specific qualities in the Swedish translation, published in 1871 as *Arkitekturens historia från äldsta till närvarande tid*. In his review of Swedish architecture, Eichhorn emphasized that Tessin was heir to a 'clear and pure' architecture. In his closing discussion, he attempted to suggest there was a Tessin-style tradition in Swedish architecture, an idea that later art historians would develop in their works on Tessin and the Royal Palace:

> The influence of this great work of genius can be consistently traced through Swedish architecture. Not only does it stand there, like an eternal, sturdy model for the practising architect, as a continually purifying source of artistic taste for the people, it has also in practice been a school for many types of artists and builders. Almost all the leading architects of the Age of Freedom were linked to the building of the Royal Palace in one way or another, and thus had opportunities for constant instruction.[10]

Eichhorn characterized the palace as a unified symbol of simple, magnificent classicism, an architectural style decisive for the evolution of Swedish architecture in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. This normative view of Tessin's palace as an ideal building with specific national qualities arose at the start of the nineteenth century, but it was firmly established in Eichhorn's hands.[11] This perspective would be repeated in later art history handbooks and reference books, comprising a recurring element in the narrative of Swedish art history.

Georg Nordensvan's *Svensk konst och svenska konstnärer i nittonde århundradet* ('Swedish art and Swedish artists in the nineteenth century'), 1892, is considered the first modern general reference work for Swedish art history.[12] Like Eichhorn, Nordensvan

(1855–1932) stressed the significance of the Tessin tradition and the vital role of the palace to Swedish art and architecture in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. According to Nordensvan, Tessin's classicism provided the foundation of Swedish tradition, epitomizing Swedish architecture over the next century.[13] In his 1925 revised and expanded version of the survey, Nordensvan further developed his position, highlighting the importance of eighteenth-century events and processes, including the Gustavian era (1772–1809), which had been a consequence of the French 'schooling' of Swedish taste in the first half of the century. Additionally, the arts had come under the protection of the government in the eighteenth century and were subject to a 'legislated organization, protected for patriotic purposes'.[14] Thus, resuming construction of the palace after the Great Northern War (1700–1721) was decisive for the country's development: 'In the subsequent period, artistic endeavours centred on this monumental national effort. Stockholm's new palace rose up as a symbol of Sweden's unbroken power and vitality.'[15]

In *Konsthistoria* ('Art history'), 1901, published in several editions, Carl G. Laurin (1868–1940) advanced two themes about the Royal Palace: the simplicity and geometry of Tessin's architecture that could be detected in the work of Tessin's heirs, the architects Carl Hårleman (1700–1753) and Carl Fredrik Adelcrantz (1716–1796); and the interior designs, typical of the Age of Freedom, and their role in promoting the nation's art and architecture.[16] Laurin also singled out the emerging art industry as one area that benefitted from the construction of the palace: 'a school of architecture grew' based upon Tessin's ideals, and 'the domestic arts and crafts received guidance from foreign artists and soon, encouraged by the royal court, cabinetmaking, faience and porcelain manufacturing, and other art industries flourished.'[17]

Gustaf Upmark the Elder (1844–1900) embraced this view in *Svensk Byggnadskonst 1530–1760* ('Swedish architecture, 1530–1760'), when he underscored the relevance of the Royal Palace, practically, artistically, and organizationally:

> The Royal Palace is not only Sweden's largest construction project, but it was also of the greatest importance for Swedish culture in aesthetic and practical terms. The work that was done here, particularly by the Frenchmen who were brought in, was decisive in the development of the decorative and applied arts.[18]

Barely ten years later, his son Gustaf Upmark the Younger (1875–1928) revised a section of his father's text on architecture in the Caroline era for the reference work *Svensk konsthistoria* ('Swedish art history'), highlighting the national theme even more clearly. This approach fitted well with the scholarly programme of the project, which included some of Sweden's leading art historians. The editor, Axel Romdahl (1880–1951), explained in his foreword that the work aimed to systematically explore art and architecture to 'study the taste and sense of beauty among our people over time'.[19] The contributing scholars were interested in what shaped national developments in art history, as they hoped to formulate the specifically Swedish characteristics in the evolution of domestic art and architecture.[20]

Figure 15.2. An idealized portrait bust of the architect Nicodemus Tessin the Younger by the sculptor John Börjeson has stood in the Western Staircase of the Palace since 1886. Courtesy of the Royal Collections.

The grand narrative

This national perspective was evident in the work of Ragnar Josephson (1891–1966), whose research greatly influenced the twentieth-century perception of Tessin as the central figure in Swedish architecture.[21] In the 1920s and 1930s, Josephson examined Tessin's architecture in numerous works, with the Royal Palace as the natural focus. In total, over almost three decades, he produced fifteen scholarly articles and publications dedicated to the architect and his work. In his 1922 essay 'Stockholms slott: En stilstudie' ('The Royal

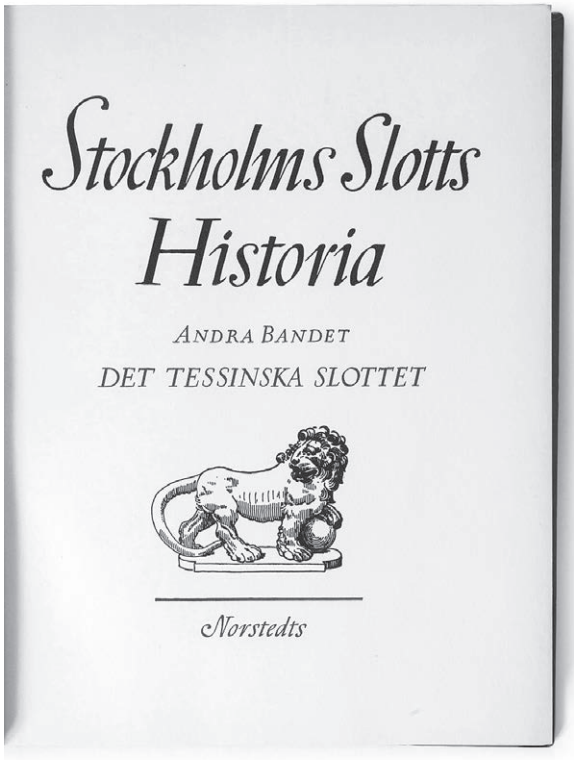

Figure 15.3. The second volume of the monumental monographic work 'The History of the Royal Palace' was published in 1940 and entirely devoted to the Tessin project. The frontispiece was designed by artist Akke Kumlien.

Palace of Stockholm: A study of style'), Josephson discussed the synthesis of classicism and distinctive national qualities he considered the strength of the palace's architecture. The culmination of Josephson's intensive study of Tessin was his two-volume monograph *Nicodemus Tessin d.y.: Tiden, mannen, verket* ('Nicodemus Tessin the Younger: The era, the man, the work').[22] It is a portrayal of Tessin's architecture, explaining how foreign influences shaped the palace design, and how these gave rise to an architecture characterized by Roman magnificence and Nordic severity. Josephson presented Tessin as an artist in the service of the absolute monarchy, an architect who emulated classical role models and consistently transformed them into something even grander: a Swedish architecture that was part of the major European tradition (Fig. 15.2).

At the pinnacle of all the literature on the palace was *Stockholms slotts historia* (1940–1941, 'The History of the Royal Palace of Stockholm'), which remains the principal work on the building. This three-volume work had contributions from many of Sweden's foremost art historians, with new research based on archival sources that mapped the history of the palace and its interior design. Josephson was the lead author of the second volume, devoted to the building and Tessin's contribution. In the third volume, Andreas Lindblom (1889–1977) and Nils G. Wollin (1892–1964) examined the palace interiors, most of which were designed in the second half of the eighteenth century by the architects Carl Hårleman, Carl Fredric Adelcrantz, and Jean Eric Rehn. The imposing multivolume work confirmed the status of the palace as a national monument, a memorial to the most eminent architects, and the manner in which it represented the merging of Swedish tradition and foreign influences.

In the foreword, the editor, Martin Olsson (1886–1981), wrote that the work gave the Royal Palace the prominence it deserved in national and international art history. He concluded by employing a motto that the art historian and museum curator Gustaf Upmark the Elder had used when writing his reference work on the history of architecture: *Ad maiorem patriae gloriam* (For the greater glory of the Fatherland). Olsson noted this motto could equally serve as the guiding principle of the publication.[23] The research in *Stockholms slotts historia* thus aimed, at a general level, to honour the nation and to highlight a Swedish building tradition (Fig. 15.3). For his part, Josephson defined the importance of the Royal Palace as that of a national and autonomous creation in a European context:

> The greatness of this palace lies in its ability to embrace a very European cultural content and to give it a Swedish quality. Its qualities are retrospection, collection, refinement, maturity. With its walls, it has constructed a Swedish classicism.[24]

Josephson was not the first to claim that Tessin's era was a golden age of Swedish architecture, but his was a consistent assessment of Tessin's work and he supplied new knowledge about the architect's contributions to Swedish and European architecture. Using drawings and archival material, he attempted to establish Tessin's creative processes, the origins of his ideas, and how his designs took shape. In evaluating Tessin's architectural achievements, his point of departure was Tessin's unique stature as a national architect and the palace as a stunning union of Swedish tradition and foreign classicism. However, this interpretative model did not go unchallenged and was the object of contemporary criticism. In the late twentieth century, further art-historical reassessments have questioned Josephson's national interpretations of the architecture of Caroline Absolutism.

The art-historical interest in Tessin and his prime creation, the Royal Palace, spearheaded by Josephson, coincided with the early twentieth-century enthusiasm for classical motifs in architecture and design. This can be linked to the fascination with Caroline architecture and Sweden's great-power status, and a wish

to promote a national architecture.[25] In this period, authors and artists inspired by National Romanticism perceived the Caroline era to be a model of aesthetics and morality worth emulating, owing to its strict ideals and restrained approach. In his heroic tale *Karolinerna* (1897–98, 'The Carolines'), the novelist Verner von Heidenstam immortalized Sweden's warrior king, Charles XII, foregrounding the decisive influence of the Caroline era on the formation of the nation's cultural heritage. This story helped establish the idea that Sweden's military traditions, along with the significant power exercised by its monarchs in the seventeenth century, embodied its proud legacy.[26] Thus, the grand narrative of the nation's illustrious past and the Caroline era as a virtuous age came to influence many writers, artists, and historians, shaping their values and conceptions and advancing monumentality and grand scale.[27]

As others have argued, Josephson held up Heidenstam as his primary role model in identifying the specifically Swedish mentality of the Carolines. He asserted this era had inspired artists to create something that could be characterized as a national style.[28] However, the perception of Tessin as a creator of classicism and the palace as a building of national significance was already well established in earlier works on Swedish architecture. Josephson's contribution was a historical synthesis, drawing attention to Tessin's artistic models and his achievements as an artist in the service of the nation. This allowed Josephson to merge the general interest in Caroline classicism with his own interest in the artistic process and the creativity of great artists: 'The Caroline spirit is simultaneously the power of heroism in famine and hardship, and the forceful, magnificent, defiantly proud gesture.'[29]

Tessin the eclectic

Josephson was not the only enthusiastic interpreter of the palace in the 1920s and 1930s. Many other art historians underscored the palace's vital role in Swedish architectural history and the building's national character. The art historian Andreas Lindblom, who later in his career had a notably more critical opinion of Tessin's architecture, also adhered to the calls for a national stance. In his short study *Stockholms slott genom seklerna: En konsthistorisk överblick* ('The Royal Palace of Stockholm through the centuries: An art-historical overview') of 1925, he provided a reverential introduction to the building's architecture and interior design. The book was based on lectures Lindblom gave at Stockholm University College in 1923. In depicting the contributions of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Lindblom highlighted the richness of the building's artistic traditions and how the Royal Palace was a 'clear reflection of artistic development in these centuries' in Sweden and Europe. The palace was

> the noblest monument to professional skill to be found in our country. Through a common effort, the king and people have, over seven centuries, constructed this building to the nation's pride and honour. It has become what it is through shared sacrifice and the commissioning of the best domestic and foreign labour.[30]

In the third volume of *Stockholms slott genom seklerna*, Lindblom wrote about the interior decoration of the palace in the Age of Freedom and the Gustavian era, noting the importance of foreign influences on the palace's decor and the Swedish architects' interpretation of foreign design ideals. In particular, he commented on the significance of French craftsmen and sculptors, not only for the palace's interior design, but also for 'the orientation of Swedish taste towards Gallic restraint and elegance'.[31]

In the 1940s, this favourable interpretation segued into criticism. Now the Royal Palace was deemed unoriginal architecture. In the second volume of *Sveriges konsthistoria: Från forntid till nutid* ('Sweden's art history: From prehistory to the present'), Lindblom bewailed the 'un-Swedishness' of the palace's architecture and what he perceived to be an unimaginative, mechanistic imitation of foreign role models: 'The details on the facades are, almost without exception, copies of Italian originals … Tessin is usually excused, because at the time plagiarism was so common that no one took notice. Maybe so, but still it remains evidence of derivativeness.'[32] According to Lindblom, the Royal Palace was something fundamentally alien to the Swedish urban environment and, in a polemical tone that seems aimed at Josephson, he states that 'however beautiful and however Swedish it in many ways appears to us in its grandiose simplicity, it is impossible to escape the fact that this giant Roman palace in a snowy Nordic capital embodies an incredible contradiction.'[33]

Lindblom did not condemn the palace's architecture out of hand, though, indicating that it could be considered 'Swedish' to some extent because it expressed national character in its admiration for classical culture and Mediterranean role models. And he still viewed Tessin to be a giant of architecture, despite the strong international orientation and apparent disloyalty to his own culture.[34] It can be noted that Lindblom's demands for a specifically Swedish style coupled with contempt for foreign influences were formulated in the Second World War and were accentuated by the concerns of the war years, as other scholars have argued.[35]

Unlike Lindblom, whose views changed over time, Josephson's former professor, August Hahr at Uppsala University, remained consistently positive in his analysis of Tessin and the Royal Palace. For example, in the popular reference work *Svensk arkitektur* ('Swedish architecture') in a section on the Swedish Empire entitled 'Storhetstiden' (lit. 'Age of Greatness'), Hahr described the Royal Palace as a 'shining symbol' of Sweden in the late seventeenth century: 'The palace was Tessin's premier creation, the final forceful word on Sweden's architectonic world for centuries to come'.[36] A national theme infuses Hahr's recounting of the palace's architecture and Tessin's influences, and it is representative of many affirmative texts about the building.

However, even if many scholars shared such favourable views about Tessin and the Royal Palace, pockets of criticism about Tessin-style architecture and its principles had existed since the early twentieth century, targeting the architect's dependence on foreign role models and eclecticism, predating Lindblom's re-evaluations. For instance, in *Svensk Byggnadskonst 1530–1760*, Gustaf Upmark the Elder noted Tessin's dependence on Roman models and how Tessin was, on this point, considered to have an 'eclectic nature'.[37] This derogatory comment that hinted at unoriginality would be repeated by other art historians, and was largely an expression of the early twentieth century's nascent criticism of nineteenth-century revivalism.

The triumph of the eighteenth century

In the 1930s, the art historians who adopted a modernist approach to art and architecture rejected the classical ideals of Swedish architecture and Tessin's supremacy. In terms of the history of Swedish architecture, Tessin no longer held a de facto position as the preeminent figure. The national rhetoric was increasingly toned down. One architect who attracted substantial interest was Tessin's successor, Carl Hårleman, who took classicism forward into a new era and adapted the palace's interior design in the French Rococo style. Hårleman's work seemed to exhibit a more human scale, simplicity, and measured elegance; this was attractive in a modern age in which increasing numbers of art historians came to question the grandiosity of Tessin and the late Baroque era.

In the first volume of *Den svenska konstens historia* ('The history of Swedish art'), Henrik Cornell (1890–1981) described Tessin's architecture and the Royal Palace, but omitted any observations regarding their national character. Furthermore, he sharply criticized the catholic elements of Tessin's architecture, calling him 'a pronounced classicist and eclectic', and stating that he had none of the 'creative power of the great Roman architects'.[38]

Cornell's work betrayed no significant influence from Josephson's research on Tessin. Neither did it include the narrative about the Tessin tradition and subsequent dependence on Caroline design ideals. Instead, Cornell granted Hårleman a more prominent role, portraying him as a representative of the 'new architecture' and an innovative architect in his own right. As such, his assessment aligned with Lindblom's. Overall, Cornell's text appears more grounded in a modernist appreciation of the simplicity of eighteenth-century architecture and was more restrained in its judgement on Tessin's elevated position in Swedish architectural history.

Ideological criticism

In *Konsten i Sverige* ('Art in Sweden') of 1948, Axel Romdahl, like Lindblom and Cornell, offered a critical appraisal of Tessin that clearly diverged from earlier ones, maintaining that the architect never deviated from the tried and traditional in architecture, and thus was not a particularly 'original creator of style'.[39] He also repeated the dualistic view of Tessin which was gaining traction at the time: on the one hand, eclectic; on the other, unparalleled artistic consistency. This ambivalence made a marked impression on later evaluations of Tessin and the palace, which increasingly were the object of ideologically focused criticism. The art historian Gregor Paulsson (1889–1977) stated in his autobiography, *Upplevt* ('Experienced'), that early in his career he considered writing Tessin's biography, but decided against it when he realized 'that Tessin was an eclectic who borrowed freely from others'. However, he said, Tessin's contribution lay in 'the creation of an environment for absolutism'.[40]

Göran Lindahl (1924–2015), the professor of architectural history at the Royal Academy from 1961 to 1991, formulated more detailed critical views on Tessin and architecture's relationship to power and Caroline Absolutism, and on the architect's connections to classicism and contemporary European architecture.[41] In his contribution to *1600-talets ansikte* ('Face of the seventeenth century'), the proceedings of a three-day symposium of the same name, he attempted to clarify the twentieth-century literature's assessment of Tessin's architecture. He provided an analysis that included a restrained appreciation of Tessin's role in late seventeenth-century Sweden and the political circles of the Caroline era, some general reflections, and a detailed description of the architect's life and work. As an outspoken advocate for preservation and an architectural historian interested in twentieth-century urban planning, Lindahl took a sceptical

approach to the Tessin-style legacy in architecture. In a symposium paper, 'Den tessinska radikalismen' ('Tessin's radicalism'), Lindahl summarized several critical perspectives on Tessin's work, placing the Royal Palace and the architect's own house in Slottsbacken opposite the palace at the heart of an overtly radical vision. Nonetheless, he argues, Tessin's creation is evidence of his general gift as an orchestrator of palace interiors and ceremonies for the royal court and his desire to make manifest great power and absolutism at any price. It was therefore primarily in the grand staging and planning that Tessin demonstrated his superiority and more autonomous approach, he concluded.

Lindahl also emphasized Tessin's essential contributions as a public administrator and national organizer of building projects and a collector of drawings and books, which would serve as reference material for assistants and subsequent generations of architects. In this way, Tessin laid the foundation for domestic architectural training and the establishment of an art academy in 1735. Tessin thus strove to improve quality in every area, but the ultimate aim was to take Sweden to the highest European level in terms of artistic quality.[42] Tessin's successors, who served as chief superintendents at Överintendentsämbetet (the Board of Works), likewise endeavoured to develop an organized training for architects and craftsmen, and to recruit the best foreign skilled workers. As a result, the palace's construction became a project of instruction and a key component in an increasingly 'broad education in taste', according to Lindahl.[43] The aims of the structure and decoration now lay beyond buttressing the Caroline state, Swedish military power, and absolutism as a political system; instead, the palace, in a spirit of patriotism, was to promote Sweden on the European stage as an important civilized nation, and a kingdom with a flourishing art industry.

The Royal Palace set the tone

The conception of the palace as a pedagogical project was a major focus for Sten Åke Nilsson (b.1936) in his examination of the 'Post-Caroline eighteenth century' in *Konsten i Sverige* ('Art in Sweden'), published in eight volumes between 1974 and 1981 and edited by Sven Sandström (b.1927). Nilsson offered a more comprehensive examination of the milieu and various societal issues, such as how the artist's role was shaped, the organization of the arts, and higher education. The foundation of the Royal Academy of Fine Arts while the palace was being built was covered in detail, as was the vital role the architects' study tours in Italy and France had for the interior design of the palace. Additionally, Nilsson attempted to broaden the perspective on the progression of architecture and art beyond the Royal Palace's apartments to include the design of country houses and official buildings outside the capital. The palace thus appeared as one element of a larger cultural context, and as a vital arena of study, influencing the architectural environment of the Age of Freedom. The national perspective must give way to regional perspectives—and the greater European frame of reference.

The main narrative of the palace as a building that represented Sweden's entry onto the stage of European architecture has been a constant theme in the writing of the national art history established at the end of the nineteenth century. Tessin's architecture too was regarded as the foundation of a specific Swedish tradition, vital to the nation's progress in the arts. At the same time as this national hagiography of the Royal Palace took root, the building was also written into a larger account of the classical tradition.

Closely linked to this view was the perception of the Caroline era as a golden age of Swedish architecture, and the Tessin tradition as a model for classical, monumental architecture in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The conclusion that the palace served as the foundation of Swedish taste and artistic development in eighteenth-century architecture, arts, and decorative arts, by uniting the best of Swedish and foreign taste, was repeated in both general reference works and in specialist studies of the building.

In the 1940s and 1950s, the intense research interest that the Royal Palace had attracted in the early twentieth century subsided, and some assessments now revealed unambiguous criticism. Scholars now focused more on interior design from the Age of Freedom and the Gustavian era. Contributions to the palace by Hårleman, Adelcrantz, and Rehn gained favour, possessing to modern eyes an artistic value and significance in shaping Swedish interior design tradition. These men were also understood to have had decisive roles in the continued development of refined taste. Nicodemus Tessin the Younger was no longer regarded as a giant in the field of architecture, and was instead increasingly viewed as an adroit, eclectic, and a ruthless player of power games. The palace was described in similar terms: it was an expression of Caroline Absolutism and its authoritarian approach, in sharp contrast to the democratic ideals of the twentieth century and the more human scale of modernism. The reverential admiration for Tessin and the palace of the early twentieth century and the war years was replaced several decades later by ideological criticism. Presentations of the palace as an educational project and the locus of ideal interior design in the Age of Freedom were given greater emphasis in the moulding of public taste and Sweden's coming of age as a civilized, European nation.

Notes

1 Sweden has been a monarchy since its history began and today is a representative democracy with a constitutional, hereditary monarchy and a parliamentary system based on popular sovereignty. The current king, Carl XVI Gustaf (b.1946), undertakes ceremonial duties and his official residence is the Royal Palace of Stockholm. The palace was the work of the architect Nicodemus Tessin the Younger (1654–1728); construction began in 1697 and the interiors were completed by the 1750s, with substantial contributions by the architects Carl Hårleman (1700–1753) and, later, Carl Fredrik Adelcrantz (1716–1796) and Jean Erik Rehn (1717–1793).

2 Andreas Lindblom, *Stockholms slott genom seklerna: En konsthistorisk överblick* (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1925), 137; Gustaf Upmark, *Svensk Byggnadskonst 1530–1760* (Stockholm: Norstedts, 1904), 202; Ragnar Josephson, *Tessin: Nicodemus Tessin d.y.: Tiden, Mannen, Verket*, 2 vols (Stockholm: Sveriges Allmänna Konstförenings publikation, 1930–1931); August Hahr, *Svensk arkitektur: Från Sigtuna ruiner till Gärdeshusen: En översikt genom tiderna med särskild hänsyn till 18- och 1900-talens byggnadskonst* (Stockholm: Bonnier, 1938), 73.

3 Axel Romdahl, *Konsten i Sverige: Från medeltidens början till vår tid* (Stockholm: Bonnier, 1943), 116–17; Andreas Lindblom, *Sveriges konsthistoria: Från forntid till nutid*, ii: *Från Gustav Vasa till Gustav III* (Stockholm: Nordisk Rotogravyr, 1944), 441–2; Göran Lindahl, 'Den tessinska radikalismen', in Sten Åke Nilsson & Margareta Ramsay (eds), *1600-talets ansikte* (Nyhamnsläge: Gyllenstiernska Krapperupsstiftelsen, 1997), 43–63; Göran Lindahl, 'En arkitektkarriär i maktens följe', in Mårten Snickare (ed.), *Tessin: Nicodemus Tessin d.y.: Kunglig arkitekt och visionär* (Stockholm: Nationalmusei Årsbok, 2002), 33–5.

4 Bo Vahlne, 'Inredningskonst i teori och praktik', in Snickare, *Tessin*, 127–49; Patricia Waddy & Bo Vahlne (eds), *Nicodemus Tessin the Younger: Sources, Works, Collections: Traictè dela decoration interieure 1717* (Stockholm: Nationalmuseum, 2002).

5 Royal absolutism was introduced in the reign of Charles XI (1655–1697, r.1660–1697), but ended with the death of his son, King Charles XII, in 1718. Sweden's Caroline period is often referred to as the Age of Absolutism.

6 Lindahl, 'Den tessinska radikalismen', 43–63; Lindahl, 'En arkitektkarriär', 33–35.

7 Sweden's Age of Freedom began with the transition from absolutism to a parliamentary form of government, where political power rested with the Estates of the Diet.

8 Lorenzo Hammarsköld, *Utkast till De Bildande Konsternas Historia, i Föreläsningar* (Stockholm: Olof Grahn, 1817), 414–15: 'som kanske är det mest lysande de härstädes hafva haft'.

9 See Ragnar Josephson, *Den svenska smaken: Konstkritik och konstteori från barock till romantik*, ed. Hugo Palmsköld (Lund: Studentlitteratur, 1997), 212–213 written in 1928. For Hammarsköld's sources, approach to art history, and foundation in academic art theory, see Solfrid Söderlind, 'Konsthistorieämnets förhistoria', in Britt-Inger Johansson & Hans Pettersson (eds), *8 kapitel om konsthistoriens historia i Sverige* (Stockholm: Raster, 2000), 20–3.

10 Christoffer Eichhorn, *Svenska byggnadskonsten: Historisk öfversikt* (Stockholm: Hierta, 1871), 703–704; 'Inflytandet af detta storartade snilleverk kan sedan alltjemnt spåras inom den svenska bygnadskonsten. Icke nog med att det stått der såsom en alltid oförvansklig förebild för den utöfvande arkitekten, som en ständigt renande källa för konstsinnet hos folket; det har äfven praktiskt varie en skola för flere slägten af konstnärer och bygmästare. Nästan alla mer framstående arkitekter under frihetstiden voro på ett eller annat sätt fäste vid slottsbyggnaden och hade sålunda tillfälle till ständig undervisning af densamma.'

11 Christoffer Eichhorn's history of Swedish architecture had considerable impact as it was required reading for the architecture course at the Academy of Arts school of architecture and later at the Institute of Technology; conversation with Britt-Inger Johansson, 27 Mar. 2020 (personal communication).

12 Georg Nordensvan, *Svensk konst och svenska konstnärer i nittonde århundradet* (Stockholm: Bonnier, 1892); see Dan Karlholm, 'Handböcker i allmän och svensk konsthistoria', in Johansson & Pettersson, *8 kapitel*, 130.

13 Nordensvan, *Svensk konst* (1892), 22.

14 Georg Nordensvan, *Svensk konst och svenska konstnärer i nittonde århundradet*, i: *Från Gustav III till Karl XV* (Stockholm: Bonnier, 1925), 2: 'lagbunden organisation, hägnas i patriotiskt syfte'.

15 Nordensvan, *Svensk konst*, i. 3: 'I detta monumentala nationella företag fick konstverksamheten under det följande skedet sin medelpunkt. Stockholms nya slott reste sig som en symbol av Sveriges obrutna kraft och livsvilja.'

16 Carl G. Laurin, preface to *Konsthistoria* (2nd edn, Stockholm: Norstedts, 1901) expressed an interest in describing each era's preferences and how the striving for beauty found different forms of expression over the years. In his account, the palace spanned both the Caroline Era and the Age of Freedom.

17 See Laurin, *Konsthistoria*, 580: 'den inhemska konstslöjden fick af utländska konstnärer handledning, och snart börjar, uppmuntrade af hofvet, möbelsnickeriet och fajans- samt porslinstillverkningen och annan konstindustri att blomstra.'

18 Upmark, *Svensk Byggnadskonst*, 202: 'Stockholms slott är ej endast Sveriges största byggnadsföretag, utan det blef äfven av största betydelse för svensk kultur i estetiskt och praktiskt afseende. Den verksamhet, som här utöfvades, särskildt av de inkallade fransmännen, blef bestämmande för utvecklingen av dekorationskonsten och konsthandtverket.'

19 Axel Romdahl, foreword to Axel Romdahl & Johnny Roosval (eds), *Svensk konsthistoria* (Stockholm: Aktiebolaget Ljus, 1913), 2: 'studera smaken och skönhetssinnet hos vårt folk genom tiderna'.

20 Gustaf Upmark, 'Byggnadskonsten under karolinska tidehvarfvet', in Romdahl & Roosval, *Svensk konsthistoria*, 327–372; see also Hedvig Mårdh, *A Century of Swedish Gustavian Style: Art History, Cultural Heritage and Neoclassical Revivals from the 1890s to the 1990s* (PhD thesis, Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 2017), 89–93; Hans Pettersson, 'Konsthistoria som universitetsdisciplin', in Johansson & Pettersson, *8 kapitel*, 77–8 discusses the reference work's scholarly aims and historiographical significance.

21 For an overview, see Rebecka Millhagen, 'Det tessinska arvet', in Snickare, *Tessin*, 189–93, 214.

22 Josephson, *Tessin*.

23 Martin Olsson, preface to Martin Olsson & Tord Olsson Nordberg (eds), *Stockholms slotts historia*, i (Stockholm: Norstedts, 1940).

24 Ragnar Josephson, 'Det tessinska slottet', in id. (ed.), *Stockholms slotts historia*, ii: *Det tessinska slottet* (Stockholm: Norstedts, 1940), 181: 'Detta slotts storhet ligger i att ha mäktat ta mot ett väldigt europeiskt kulturinnehåll, att ha hållit det fast i sin vida famn och att ha gjort det till svensk egendom. Dess art är återblick, samling, förädling, mognad. Det har med sina murar byggt upp en svensk klassicitet.'

25 Both Millhagen, 'Det tessinska arvet', 189–93 and Anders Bergström, 'Bilden av Tessin och den nationella arkitekturen', in Martin Olin (ed.), *Konsten och det nationella: Essäer om konsthistoria i Europa 1850–1950* (Stockholm: Kungl. Vitterhetsakademien, 2013), 217–18 discuss the importance of the spirit of the time in early twentieth-century research on Tessin and the Royal Palace, with particular emphasis on Josephson's contributions and Andreas Lindblom's more critical approach to the Roman influences on Tessin. For Lindblom, see also Inga Lena Ångström-Grandien, 'Andreas Lindblom: Storsvensken bland svenska konsthistoriker', in Olin, *Konsten*, 147–62; for the interest in Caroline architecture and National Romanticism, see Martin Olin, 'Anekdotens trollmakt: Heidenstam och nationalromantikens konsthistoria', in id., *Konsten*, 225–32.

26 See Ulf Zander, *Fornstora dagar, moderna tider: Bruk av och debatter om svensk historia från sekelskifte till sekelskifte* (PhD thesis, Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2001), 115–17; Martin Olin, *Det karolinska porträttet: Ideologi, ikonografi, identitet* (PhD thesis, Lund University; Stockholm: Raster, 2000), 8–13; Olin, 'Anekdotens trollmakt', 225.

27 For grand narratives, heritage discourse, and nation-building, see Laurajane Smith, *Uses of Heritage* (London: Routledge, 2006), 11, 48–9.

28 See Olin, 'Anekdotens trollmakt', 225–232; Ragnar Josephson, 'Konsten och nationalkänslan', in id., *Nationalism och humanism* (Stockholm: Bonnier, 1935), 111–15.

29 Josephson, *Tessin*, ii. 225: 'Det karolinska är på en gång hjältekraften under svält och nöd och den stormäktiga, magnifika, trotsigt övermodiga gesten'.

30 Lindblom, *Stockholms slott genom seklerna*, 137: 'det ädlaste monumentet över yrkesskicklighet som vårt land besitter. I gemensam strävan ha konung och folk under sju århundraden uppbyggt detta hus till nationens stolthet och heder. Genom ömsesidiga uppoffringar och med anlitande av de bästa inhemska och främmande krafter har det blivit vad det är.'

31 Andreas Lindblom, 'Frihetstidens och den äldre gustavianska tidens rumsinredningar', in id. (ed.), *Stockholms slotts historia*, iii: *Från Fredrik I till Gustaf V* (Stockholm: Norstedts, 1941), 5: 'den svenska smakens inriktning mot gallisk måtta och elegans'.

32 Lindblom, *Sveriges konsthistoria*, 441: 'Fasadernas detaljer är nästan undantagslöst kopierade efter italienska förlagor. … Man brukar urskulda Tessin med att plagiering på den tiden var så vanlig att ingen fäste sig därvid. Må vara; ett bevis på osjälvständighet är det likafullt.'

33 Ibid. 442: 'hur vackert och hur nationellt det på många sätt kan synas oss i sin storvulna enkelhet, så kan man dock aldrig komma ifrån att detta romerska jättepalats i en snöig nordisk huvudstad innebär en fantastisk motsägelse'.

34 Ibid. 441–4.

35 Grandien, 'Andreas Lindblom', 155–60.

36 Hahr, *Svensk arkitektur*, 73: 'Det slottet blev Tessins förnämsta skapelse, det sista kraftordet på århundraden i Sveriges arkitektoniska värld'.

37 Upmark, *Svensk byggnadskonst*, 131.

38 Henrik Cornell, *Den svenska konstens historia* (Stockholm: Bonnier, 1944), i. 249: 'som en utpräglad klassicist och eklektiker'; 'av de stora romerska arkitekternas skapande kraft'.

39 Romdahl, *Konsten i Sverige*, 116–17: 'originell stilskapare'.

40 Gregor Paulsson, *Upplevt* (Stockholm: Natur & Kultur, 1974), 86: 'att Tessin var en eklektiker, som friskt lånade av andra'; 'skapandet av en miljö för enväldet'.

41 Göran Lindahl, 'Storhetens villkor i Tessins tid', *Arkitektur* 6 (1997), 4–17; id., 'Den tessinska radikalismen', 43–63; id., 'En arkitektkarriär', 33–5.

42 Lindahl, 'Den tessinska radikalismen', 48–49, 53.

43 Ibid. 60–63: 'bredare smakfostran'.

CHAPTER 16

Art between scholarly theory and museum practice

Personal reflections

Hans-Olof Boström

In his introduction to *The Two Art Histories*, the professor and former museum curator Charles W. Haxthausen draws attention to the 'widening gap' between art history as practised in university departments and as practised in museums. He quotes his colleague Richard Brilliant, who notes this is taking place 'in a manner reminiscent of C. P. Snow's "two worlds".'[1] My career has been formed and most firmly rooted in the museum world, and what follows are some personal reflections, based on my career as both a museum curator and a university scholar, about the relation between art history at Swedish art museums and universities. In providing these recollections, I am reminded of Lena Johannesson's question about whether the historiographical mission 'shouldn't always be analysed as a historio-biographical complex'.[2]

Only a few decades ago—in Sweden as elsewhere—it might have been relatively common for art historians and other humanists to alternate between working in museums and university institutions of art history, archaeology, or ethnology. A licentiate degree was required to qualify as a director at a Swedish county museum or at an art museum in the larger cities. It was not unusual then for directors of major museums or curators at what today are called 'central museums' (the vast majority of them in Stockholm) to move on to university posts as professors or honorary professors. While this may still occur today, it is not as common.

When I was an undergraduate at Uppsala University in the 1960s, I was quite certain I would be an art historian. The idea was to build a solid foundation for my studies in art history through initial coursework in Scandinavian and classical archaeology. I was equally determined to become a museum curator, and I gradually completed my qualifications in ethnology and aesthetics, while simultaneously studying art history. In my classes on Scandinavian archaeology, we spent a significant amount of time analysing prehistoric artefacts. Under the guidance of Pär Olsén (1904–1987), an eminent teacher, we handled, examined, and sketched Stone Age axes, Bronze Age brooches, and Iron Age fibulae. We became familiar with them as types but also as specimens. As a beginner in art history, I had the impression that individual art objects were treated too cursorily, and that we students were denied the opportunity to get acquainted with each object in as much detail as in the two archaeological subjects. Not until I was a graduate student and could listen to the penetrating interpretations of 'great art' by Rudolf Zeitler (1912–2005) was I convinced about my choice of subject. I was eager to get to know the masterpieces of art and architecture as original works and not just through slides or book illustrations. Course excursions and my own study trips allowed me to gradually work my way through the world of art.

When I eventually began my thirteen years of museum work (which would take me through the Nationalmuseum in Stockholm, the Gothenburg Museum of Art, the Röhsska Museum of Design and Craft in Gothenburg, and the Bror Hjorth Museum in Uppsala) courier trips and participation in conferences further broadened my scope. There were opportunities to visit collections and temporary exhibitions in Europe and the US by leading art tours for circles of museum friends or commercial tourist agencies. While on the faculty at Karlstad University (1993–2007), I pushed for trips in the Scandinavian countries and abroad. Altogether I conducted over eighty art tours.

The Uppsala art history professor Gregor Paulsson (1889–1977) once maintained that it is essential to see the works of art you write about, a sentiment I share, and, indeed, my choice of research topics has almost always been initiated by my museum work and engagement with artworks. As a museum curator I wrote on a wide range of material for popular and scholarly publications, including vernacular architecture in the province of Jämtland, the iconography of German Baroque furniture, Scandinavian painting and sculpture from around 1900, and churches in the diocese of Karlstad.

While working as a guide at Skokloster Castle, an impressive Swedish Baroque castle, I found the subject for my master's dissertation in the close study of a Baroque cabinet.[3] I pursued the same theme in my doctoral thesis, and again decades later with a book about King Gustav II Adolf's Augsburg cabinet, or *Kunstschrank*, now in the Museum Gustavianum in Uppsala.[4] This research was also presented in the anthologies *The Origins of Museums* and *Grasping the World*.[5]

My book about the painter Thor Fagerkvist (1884–1960) originated in an exhibition I curated at the Nationalmuseum early in my career.[6] My introductory remark about 'the two art histories' hardly held true for this museum. Almost all the curators had PhDs or licentiate degrees, and several were directly recruited from universities, myself included. Many of the staff were doing eminent scholarly work, most often grounded in the collections, frequently resulting from research necessary to prepare exhibitions. This was work in which university art historians regularly participated, and it made for a stimulating intellectual atmosphere. My contributions included new findings for two large exhibitions in the summers of 1980 and 1981 at Läckö Castle in the province of Västergötland. These shows centred on the magnate Count Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie (1622–1686) and were mounted in collaboration with the Swedish Riksantikvarieämbetet (National Heritage Board) and the Västergötland Tourist Board.[7]

Per Bjurström (1928–2017) was the chief curator in the department of drawings and graphic art when I worked at the Nationalmuseum. Soon after, he became the museum's director general and would be appointed professor at the Nationalmuseum, an unusual event given that most professorships were tied to a university or were a personal appointment. He encouraged me to deepen my early iconographical orientation towards a more demanding iconology, which resulted in an article about love emblems in the Swedish Baroque castles of Venngarn and Ekholmen.[8] Owing to the mentorship of Bjurström and my four years at the Gothenburg Museum of Art under its director, Björn Fredlund (1938–2020), I became something of a connoisseur in various fields of art. At the Nationalmuseum, my specialty was drawings and graphics and the seventeenth-century Bologna School, while at the Gothenburg Museum of Art it was turn-of-the-century Nordic art. While the term connoisseurship might be disparaged by the more outspoken theorists, its importance in art history is difficult to deny.

As curator and catalogue editor of the Nationalmuseum exhibition *Skivomslag* (Album Covers), organized in 1981–1982 with the Aarhus Art Museum in Denmark, my work in some measure was part of a revision of the museum canon. It was the first museum show in Sweden of LP covers and was a public success. Some years later I curated a similar exhibition at the Gothenburg Museum of Art, and another show featuring film posters and film star photos. The catalogue entries were based on descriptive interpretations rather than thorough theoretical concepts, as is often the case in a museum context.[9] This interest in popular culture imagery later resulted in a narratological analysis of the comic strip *Tom Puss* by Marten Toonder, and led to my attending inter-art studies conferences in Sweden and abroad.[10]

At the Gothenburg Museum of Art, the situation was quite different than at the Nationalmuseum, and in my tenure there Björn Fredlund was the only other staff member with a doctorate. In Gothenburg, scholarly research was not considered part of the work, as this was a municipal museum, and the scant amount done fell under the heading of 'treatment and studies' in budget proposals and annual reports. Some of my colleagues might have suspected that I conducted some research despite the general policy, a suspicion not wholly unfounded. My impression—rightly or wrongly—was that my colleagues held attitudes that were anti-intellectual, traditional, and self-limiting. But there were also positive exceptions, above all Fredlund.

Haxthausen offers the following observation in *The Two Art Histories*: 'That exhibitions can constitute major, indeed path-breaking contributions to scholarship … may seem a point beyond dispute'.[11] This was unquestionably true about *Northern Light: Realism and Symbolism in Scandinavian Painting, 1880–1910*, an exhibition curated by the American curator Kirk Varnedoe and presented at three museums in the US before opening, in the summer of 1983, at the Gothenburg Museum of Art, its only European venue. It inspired an abundance of research, mainly in Scandinavia, but to a certain extent in the US and Canada too, prompting several studies of my own on Scandinavian art from around 1900.

Odd as it might seem, I was also the only one on the museum staff who collaborated with the Department of Art History at the University of Gothenburg, where I led a graduate class in art theory. However, much has changed over the years, and since 2008 the museum has had a successful and productive research department, headed by Kristoffer Arvidsson (b.1977). With this new resource, research has provided important impulses for exhibitions at the museum, which have encouraged university research, as exemplified by *The Canon: Perspectives on Swedish Art Historiography* and the book of the same title.[12]

My book about Carl Larsson (1853–1919) as a monumental painter took its point of departure in my confrontation with his *Fürstenberg Triptych*.[13] The private gallery of the collector and patron Pontus Fürstenberg (1827–1902), in his palatial home in Gothenburg, housed the most extensive collection of late-nineteenth-century Scandinavian art, primarily by artists belonging to Svenska Konstnärsförbundet (the Swedish Artists' Association), who opposed the conservative Royal Academy of Fine Arts in Stockholm. Having no heirs, Fürstenberg and his wife bequeathed their art collection to the City of Gothenburg, which duly transferred it to the old East India Company building. In 1925 the works of art were moved again, this time to the Gothenburg Museum of Art's new building, where the gallery was faithfully recreated on the top floor. Long after my period at the museum, I wrote about the Fürstenberg Gallery in the museum's publication series *Skiascope* regarding the changes the gallery had undergone since its incorporation into the museum. In accordance with Fürstenberg's will, the gallery hanging was to correspond to the original one in the family home, and all works should be displayed. However, these prescriptions were violated in the first years of this century, when one curator was given free rein to select and reorganize the paintings and sculptures in the gallery according to 'pedagogical' principles. Thus, the authenticity and personal character of the hanging were severely damaged.[14]

At times, exhibitions that run counter to the canon do not always land well at first. I experienced this in Gothenburg when attempting to exhibit French Salon art then kept in the museum's storage. The impetus for this proposal came from a visit to the newly opened Musée d'Orsay in 1986. My efforts were met with little collegial enthusiasm, even though they were in line with international interest in this art form, represented in exhibited paintings from the permanent collections of the new Paris museum.

When I worked with Scandinavian art from around 1900, I had the opportunity to present my initial findings to Scandinavian colleagues at the first NORDIK (Nordic Association for Art Historians) conference in Helsinki, in 1984. My paper dealt with representations of women in turn-of-the-century Scandinavian art, using a theoretical point of departure from feminist art history and literature. To my surprise and disappointment, the majority of the women in the audience booed my performance: as a man I apparently had no right to speak about images of women (some of them nude), even if painted by male artists. I was upset by this early outbreak of identity politics. Nevertheless, different versions of the paper were published, including in my book *Sett* ('Seen'), from 1992.[15] The title was partly a reaction to the sudden increase in the use of theory, which awoke my scepticism. My admired doctoral supervisor Rudolf Zeitler often complained that far too many art historians have 'no eyes to see with', and his teachings greatly influenced my formative years as an art historian. I have tried to use my eyes in meetings with works of art and not just rely on writings about them. As the artist and critic John Sundkvist (b.1951) has stated, the theoretical turn 'often resulted in a distrust in the possibility of a specific pictorial meaning, and led to many works being surrounded by a wealth of text with rather tenuous contact with what is actually *seen*'.[16]

When the next NORDIK conference was held in Gothenburg in 1987, I participated in the organizing committee and proposed the theme, 'Patrons and Sponsors'. A half-year stint as deputy director of the Röhsska Museum inspired my topic: the Röhsska Museum's foundation and first patrons.[17] This was a relevant subject because attendees at the NORDIK conferences included many museum art historians.

At the Röhsska Museum my ambition to transform the outdated chronological parade of styles in the permanent exhibition was met with opposition from my colleagues. Their discouraging attitude towards research and change contributed to my decision to leave Gothenburg for the directorship of the Bror Hjorth Museum in Uppsala, which provided independence in terms of research and arranging exhibitions. However, my hopes for a fruitful collaboration with the Department of Art History at Uppsala University led to my leading only a few seminars.

My interest in the Swedish painter and sculptor Bror Hjorth (1894–1968) started in the 1970s, when I committed myself to the struggle to preserve the artist's studio in Uppsala as a museum. Finally, a municipal Bror Hjorth Museum was founded, and when the directorship was announced in 1987 I applied for the position. Some colleagues expressed their surprise that I left my job as chief curator at the Gothenburg Museum of Art (the second largest art institution in Sweden) for this little gallery. One of my reasons, however, was a desire to write a monograph on Hjorth's art, for which I had begun collecting material. The book

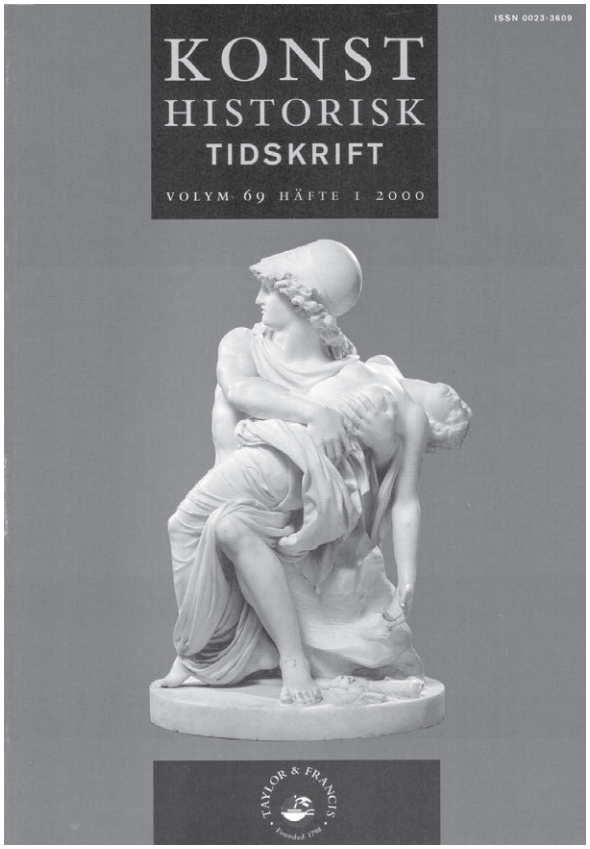

Figure 16.1. Cover of *Konsthistorisk Tidskrift*, 2000.

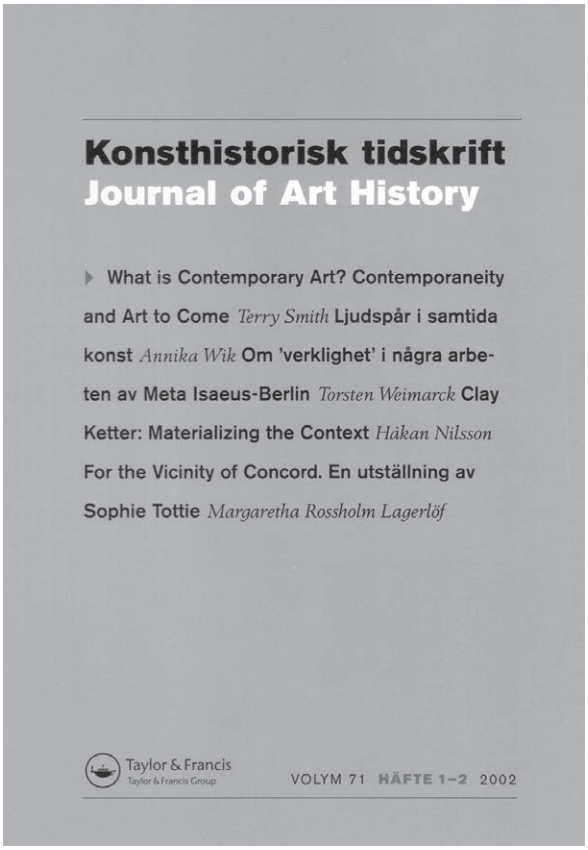

Figure 16.2. Cover of *Konsthistorisk Tidskrift/Journal of Art History*, 2002.

was published by Sveriges Allmänna Konstförening (SAK, the Swedish Association for Art) in 1994, with extensive notes and an English summary, which was not common in SAK publications.[18]

After six years at the Bror Hjorth Museum, I returned to academic life at Karlstad University, in the county of Värmland where I grew up. Much had happened in the university world in my museum years. As a curator I had used art theory and art-historical methodology ad hoc, depending on which artworks I was writing about or caught my attention. Art institutions foster artefact knowledge and connoisseurship, artworks are treated as physical and aesthetic objects, and theoretical knowledge is often ignored. While working at museums I fortunately had regular doses of theoretical and methodological material as a guest scholar abroad, above all in a year at the Zentralinstitut für Kunstgeschichte in Munich (1982–1983). There, contact with art historians and historians of ideas directed my interest to the Annales School and historical anthropology, and to reception aesthetics and narratology (Michael Fried, Wolfgang Kemp). These encounters were consequential both for my curatorial work and my art-historical research, as with the 1998 article 'Jaget och världen speglade i förra sekelskiftets nordiska måleri' (The representation of self and the world in Scandinavian painting around 1900).[19]

Being back in the art history department provided the opportunity to update and broaden my theoretical and methodological skills. New concepts had been introduced into art history, including the new art history, visual culture, critical theory, and trends in French and Anglophone philosophy and humanities. Unfortunately, the ascent of these influences had been to the detriment of German ones (younger Swedish students and academicians rarely read German, and even weighty German contributions to our studies are not always translated into English). Like Anders Åman (1935–2008), an art historian at Uppsala University, I saw myself as a 'theoretical minimalist' and honoured methodological diversity. On arriving at Karlstad University in 1993, I was asked if I took a hermeneutic or semiotic approach. My answer, without hesitation: 'hermeneutic'.

W. J. T. Mitchell's assertion in 1994 that the linguistic turn in art history was now giving way to the pictorial turn was highly welcomed, and I sympathized with Barbara Maria Stafford, when she confessed a couple of years later, 'I deplore the one-sided estimation of language that has installed it as the paradigm for depth, seriousness, thought, even our very identity'.[20] It was a regrettable sign of the new art history's

fixation on text and a disregard of the image when, in 2002, *Konsthistorisk Tidskrift/Journal of Art History* created a cover that included only text and omitted pictorial illustrations taken from its articles (Fig. 16.1 and 16.2). For me, images stimulate the imagination and arouse curiosity, inspiring me to turn to the text referred to by the picture. 'All theory is grey', according to Goethe, and the new *Konsthistorisk Tidskrift* could animate the intellect only, not the senses. A contribution by Max Liljefors elsewhere in this volume discusses the notions of meaning and presence as integral components in our response to art.

As Haxthausen laments, a gulf between 'the two art histories' seems to have emerged. These days art is seldom seen as 'a source of pleasure' at the universities, and John House rightly observes that 'it is as if the pictures cannot sustain the viewer's interest on their own'.[21] Another quotation from Haxthausen seems relevant in this context:

> university-based art history has ceased to be interested in the aesthetic dimensions of the art object; if there is a love of art to be found here, it has become a love that dares not speak its name, at least not in the halls of academe. On the other hand is the view that museums have become part of the entertainment industry, that the social, economic, and political conditions of museum work, the unrelenting quest for money and audiences, make serious, critical scholarship an impossibility.[22]

It can be added that, somewhat paradoxically, from the universities' point of view, museums are often considered conservative (a view perhaps not wholly unfounded), despite their commitment to the market and entertainment industry.

My return to academia provided the occasion to devote more time to theoretical studies than had been possible. Among the outcomes was an analytical and historical study of the concept of *style* in a volume I edited: *Tolv begrepp inom de estetiska vetenskaperna* ('Twelve aesthetic concepts').[23] This was followed some years later by a little book on Erwin Panofsky and iconology (*Panofsky och ikonologin*).[24] Finally, I actually got a touch of the linguistic turn, resulting in my narratological study of the comic strip *Tom Puss*, mentioned above.

The re-entry to university life did not mean my ties with the museum world were severed. I joined the board of Rackstadmuseet in Arvika in Värmland, with collections centred on the Rackstad artists' colony, which flourished at the turn of the twentieth century. Curatorial opportunities cropped up, among them a show in 2005 that commemorated the centenary of the dissolution of the union of Sweden–Norway, accompanied by a book with contributions by Swedish and Norwegian art historians.[25]

Some twenty years ago, Dan Karlholm (b.1963) published an article in *Konsthistorisk Tidskrift*: 'Historiografins konstvetenskap: Diagnos av grundutbildningen och en historiotopisk reform' ('The art history of historiography: A Diagnosis of undergraduate degree courses and a proposal for historiotopian reform'). Karlholm wants to offer a 'critical scholarly education' before the students are exposed to the objects to which it should be applied.[26] He maintains that 'Art history ought to be an art history of historiography or meta reflection; an art history that incorporates philosophy and history about itself in itself'.[27] I am sceptical of Karlholm's confidence in individual students' ability to fit the pieces together on their own to construct what is to be interpreted, aided by a 'critical scholarly education'. As Rudolf Zeitler insisted, art history should be pursued *con amore*. As Michael Ann Holly notes, 'it should still be possible in this new art-historical universe to wonder about the enduring allure of certain objects, about the nagging question of aesthetic pleasure, about the romance of research'.[28]

Notes

1 Charles W. Haxthausen, introduction to id. (ed.), *The Two Art Histories: The Museum and the University* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), ix.

2 Lena Johannesson, 'Ett nygammalt kapitel i svensk konsthistoria', *Svenska Dagbladet*, 23 Aug. 2001: 'Kanske borde det historiografiska uppdraget alltid analyseras som ett historio-biografiskt komplex?'

3 Hans-Olof Boström, *Ett Eger-skåp på Skokloster: En ikonografisk studie* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1972).

4 Hans-Olof Boström, *Fünf Egerer Kabinettschränke des 17. Jahrhunderts in schwedischem Besitz* (PhD thesis, Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 1975); id., *Det underbara skåpet: Philipp Hainhofer och Gustav II Adolfs konstskåp i Uppsala* (Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 2001).

5 Hans-Olof Boström, 'Philipp Hainhofer and Gustavus Adolphus's Kunstschrank in Uppsala', in Oliver Impey & Arthur MacGregor (eds), *The Origins of Museums* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1985), 90–101; id., 'Philipp Hainhofer and Gustavus Adolphus's *Kunstschrank*', in Donald Preziosi & Claire Farago (eds), *Grasping the World: The Idea of the Museum* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 537–59.

6 Hans-Olof Boström, *Thor Fagerkvist 1884–1960* (Karlstad: NWT, 1984).

7 Hans-Olof Boström, 'Porträtt av Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie', in Ulf G. Johnsson & Gösta Vogel-Rödin (eds), *Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie* (Stockholm: Nationalmuseum, 1980), 20–7; id., 'Till Magnus Gabriel De la Gardies ikonografi', in Karin Sidén & Ingrid Lindell (eds), *Barockens visuella värld: Essäer om konst i 1600-talets Europa, Festschrift for Professor Görel Cavalli-Björkman* (Stockholm: K. Sidén & I. Lindell, 2008), 56–9.

8 The article was first published in the museum's journal as Hans-Olof Boström, 'Love Emblems at Ekholmen and Venngarn', *Nationalmuseum Bulletin* 4/3 (1980), 91–110 and much later, a revised version, in the Glasgow Emblem Studies series as 'Love Emblems at the Swedish Baroque Castles of Ekholmen and Venngarn', in Simon McKeown & Mara R. Wade (eds), *The Emblem in Scandinavia and the Baltic* (Glasgow: University of Glasgow Dept. of French, 2006), 103–26.

9 Hans-Olof Boström, 'Från folkdansorkester till alternativrörelse: Folkmusikens skivomslag 1960–1980', in Jens Erik Sørensen & Hans-Olof Boström (eds), *Skivomslag* (Stockholm: Nationalmuseum, 1981), 117–26.

10 Hans-Olof Boström, 'Ikonotextens narrativa strukturer: Tom Puss av Marten Toonder', in Åke Bergvall, Yvonne Leffler & Conny Mithander (eds), *Berättelse i förvandling: Berättande i ett intermedialt och tvärvetenskapligt perspektiv* (Karlstad: Institutionen för kultur och kommunikation, 2000), 87–106.

11 Haxthausen, 'Introduction', ix.

12 See also Görel Cavalli-Björkman & Svante Lindqvist (eds), *Research and Museums: RAM* (Stockholm: Nationalmuseum, 2008). Examples from Gothenburg, where research has inspired exhibitions, include a major 2014 exhibition on history painting (*En målad historia/A Painted History*), and more recently *Mloda Polska* (Young Poland, 2018–2019), as well as *Kanon: Perspektiv på svensk konsthistorieskrivning/The Canon: Perspectives on Swedish Art Historiography* (Skiascope 10; Gothenburg: Gothenburg Museum of Art, 2021).

13 Hans-Olof Boström, *Carl Larsson: Monumentalmålaren* (Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 2016).

14 Hans-Olof Boström, 'Fürstenbergska galleriet/The Fürstenberg Gallery', in *Fådda och försmådda: Samlingarnas historia vid Göteborgs konstmuseum/Received and Rejected: The History of the Collections at the Gothenburg Museum of Art* (Skiascope 5; Gothenburg: Göteborgs konstmuseum, 2012), 217–93.

15 Hans-Olof Boström, 'Kvinnoskildringar i sekelskiftets nordiska måleri', in id., *Sett: Essäer om 1800- och 1900-talskonst* (Stockholm: Carlsson, 1992), 213–230.

16 John Sundkvist, *Mellan närvaro och sken: Om konst* (Stockholm: Schultz, 2003), 89, original emphasis: 'ofta resulterat i en bristande tilltro till möjligheten av en specifikt bildmässig mening, och lett till att många verk omgetts med textmassor som stått i ganska bristfällig kontakt med vad som faktiskt varit *synligt*.'

17 Hans-Olof Boström, 'Röhsska konstslöjdmuseets tillkomst och första donatorer', *Konsthistorisk Tidskrift* 57/3–4 (1988), 112–18.

18 Hans-Olof Boström, *Bror Hjorth 1894–1968* (Stockholm: Sveriges Allmänna Konstförening, 1994).

19 Hans-Olof Boström, 'Jaget och världen speglade i förra sekelskiftets nordiska måleri: Bildkonstens människoskildring i en övergångsperiod', *Konsthistorisk Tidskrift/Journal of Art* 67/4 (1998), 269–86.

20 W. J. T. Mitchell, *Picture Theory: Essays on Verbal and Visual Representation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 11, 13; Barbara Maria Stafford, *Good Looking: Essays on the Virtue of Images* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1997), 8–9; see also Hans-Olof Boström introduction to id. (ed.), *Tolv begrepp inom de estetiska vetenskaperna* (Stockholm: Carlsson, 2000), 7–17 at 13–14.

21 John House, 'Possibilities for a Revisionist Blockbuster: Landscapes/Impressions of France', in Haxthausen, *Two Art Histories*, 154–61, at 159.

22 Haxthausen, 'Introduction', xi.

23 Hans-Olof Boström, 'Stil', in id., *Tolv begrepp*, 115–37.

24 Hans-Olof Boström, *Panofsky och ikonologin* (Karlstad: KUP, 2004).

25 Hans-Olof Boström (ed.), *Nation och union: Konst och konstnärer i Sverige, Norge och Värmland under unionstiden* (Arvika: Ideella föreningen Rackstadmuseet, 2005).

26 Dan Karlholm, 'Historiografins konstvetenskap: Diagnos av grundutbildningen och förslag till en historiotopisk reform', *Konsthistorisk Tidskrift/Journal of Art History* 70/1–2 (2001), 33: 'kritisk vetenskaplig skolning'.

27 Ibid. 32: 'konstvetenskap borde vara en historiografins eller metareflektionens konstvetenskap; en konstvetenskap som införlivar filosofin respektive historien om sig själv med sig själv.'

28 Michael Ann Holly, 'What Is Research in Art History Anyway?', in Cavalli-Björkman & Lindqvist, *Research and Museums*, 90–101, quote at 99.

CHAPTER 17

Historicizing digital art in Sweden

Anna Orrghen

In 1966, IBM Sweden's in-house magazine, *IBM-kontakt*, published an article on 'Datakonst' ('Computer art'), which introduced employees to the phenomenon of art made by computers.[1] Technological novelty had not deterred a group of American engineers wanting to make art on an IBM computer, and forty years later, digital art was an established art form and, for the first time, featured in a Swedish textbook on art history.[2] The article in *IBM-kontakt* and the essay in *Konst och visuell kultur i Sverige 1810–2000* ('Art and visual culture in Sweden, 1810–2000') are two examples of writings on digital art in Sweden from different eras. The former is an unsigned article in a technological trade magazine targeted at IBM employees, enthusiastically engaged in the nascent practice and written at the dawn of digital art. The latter, however, was by two art historians and edited by a professor of art history once digital art had been affirmed as an art form. *Konst och visuell kultur* takes a historical approach to the same processes addressed in the 1966 article and is now used in undergraduate studies in art history at several Swedish universities.

This essay examines the steps by which digital art is historicized in Swedish texts, a development bookended by these two examples.[3] It provides a survey of the material produced in these four decades, offering an analysis and outline of the publications on digital art in Sweden. Elsewhere I have proposed that the international body of texts on digital art could be divided into three phases, beginning with pioneer stories, which make visible the individuals and equipment involved in making digital art. This is followed by efforts to map and categorize, as the experts work to confirm the status of the pioneers. And in the third phase, there are attempts to problematize and contextualize the new art form, establishing its place in art history.[4] These divisions also appear to apply in Sweden. Historiographical studies on other technological art forms, such as video art, suggest a comparable classification, as does analogous work on the history of computers.[5] Thus, the advent of new technological art forms seems to follows a similar pattern in the evolution of art-historical writing. This is partly, although not entirely, a chronological process characterized by sequential phases.

Earlier research on digital art indicates that the medium challenged art history as a discipline.[6] Several art historians outside Sweden have noted, often in anthologies with a holistic approach to the field, what they perceived to be a lack of satisfying methodologies for dealing with digital art. They worry about how this will affect its relationship with art history as a discipline.[7] Methodological concerns have also been presented in several ethnographic studies on the creative practices involved in making digital art.[8]

This essay draws attention to the lack of compelling image analyses of digital art. Such close readings of the artworks would allow a deeper understanding of their components and how they relate to one another—their inner dynamics. Thus, the absence of these methods has implications for understanding the artworks. From an international perspective, similar claims are made by researchers who have looked at the interpretation and reception of other types of technical art. Additionally, in keeping with what has been claimed regarding photography and video art, it has been asserted that digital art is neglected in art criticism.[9] Perhaps this disregard applies not only to technological art forms but to new fields. In a historiographical study on visual culture, the art historian Dan Karlholm (b.1963) posits that the analyses of works of art in early textbooks on visual culture do not correspond to how artworks are usually confronted in art history. He notes: 'In reading these books, it becomes increasingly clear this field's foremost merit lies not in image analysis, but in its offering of ways of combining and interconnecting image and theory (words) in a slightly broader sense.'[10]

The literature employed in the present study includes magazines, journals, exhibition catalogues,

conference proceedings, monographs, anthologies, popular writings, and theses and other scholarly writings on digital art by Swedish authors. Taking a historiographical approach, the material is first examined in terms of the authors, where and when it has been published, and the terminology used for digital art. Second, the rhetoric of digital art is considered, and what questions have—and have not—been addressed. Third, given my argument that the lack of methodological strategies has implications for the artworks, particular attention is paid to how the discourse on digital art in Sweden differs from that in an international context.

The emergence of digital art

The emergence of digital art in Sweden has followed international developments.[11] Swedish artists have been represented abroad in key exhibitions, festivals, and journals dedicated to the medium since the early 1970s. In this context, scholars on art and media have drawn attention to Swedish digital art in a variety of forums, addressing, for example, art-and-technology collaborations and the role of digital art in Sweden in a Nordic art scene.[12]

As Christiane Paul has noted, digital art terminology is 'extremely fluid'.[13] Since the 1960s, various terms have been used, including computer art, multimedia art, and new media art, and this changing terminology found in international publications coincides with new digital technology.[14] In this essay, 'digital art' is used as an umbrella term, in keeping with Paul's definition:

> art that uses digital technologies as a *tool* for the creation of traditional art objects—such as photography, print, sculpture, or music—and art that employs these technologies as its very own *medium*, being produced, stored, and presented exclusively in the digital format and making use of its interactive or participatory features.[15]

Pioneer stories

Pioneer stories, in which artists describe their experience of working with digital technology, appeared in Sweden in the late 1960s along with the digital art, and they continue to be produced today. These pieces contain large amounts of detail, including information about specific equipment employed, but they refrain from any analysis of the creations as artworks, and they gloss over the novelty of the technology. Primarily, they are found in periodicals and conference proceedings.[16] Given that digital art in the 1960s and 1970s as good as demanded collaborations with engineers or scientists, pioneer stories from these years also included accounts written from the engineers' points of view.[17] Initially, these narratives were published in technological trade magazines such as *Modern Datateknik*, *IBM-kontakt*, and *Vips: Vi på Saab-Scania*, and eventually appeared in Swedish art magazines, including *Beckerell*, *Paletten*, and *Material*.[18]

In a 1972 unsigned *Modern Datateknik* article, the Swedish artist Sture Johannesson (1935–2018) and the computer expert Sten Kallin (b.1928) described their collaborative efforts in creating digital art, with Kallin explaining, 'First, we discuss together the ideas for the forms to be produced, and they have often been based on the basic forms that Sture Johannesson previously worked with.'[19] The article continued in an equally matter-of-fact manner:

> He [Kallin] then designs a program that allows them [Kallin and Johannesson] to control the shape of the figure from the keyboard of the computer, an 1130, i.e., parameter values for different properties of the figure. After the programs have been compiled and tested, they are run many times with different parameter values, and the best results are saved for publication. The large images are produced by silk screen printing. In many of the images, the substrate is a simple mathematical formula with many parameters. Experience shows that the simpler the basic theme, the better picture one can get on the Calcomp plotter.[20]

Much about this article makes it a typical example of the genre categorized as pioneer stories. There were thorough and accurate descriptions of the process and the particular equipment used. There was no analysis of the artwork. And it was published in a technology trade magazine. Although most of these accounts were written by artists using a technology then considered new, this point rarely was emphasized in the pioneer stories.

The Swedish pioneer stories resembled their international counterparts, but conspicuous by their almost total absence from this body of literature were accounts by institutions which were fostering digital art.[21]

Mapping and categorizing digital art

Where the pioneer stories consisted of individual artists telling their stories, expositions of digital art set out to map and categorize the particular artists working with digital art, the technology they used, and the works of art created, and were frequently written by museum curators and art historians. These texts approached digital art as a broader concept, gathering artists in categories of digital art such as computer

art, game art, and new media art. These categories were then often reflected in the titles of articles and books, such as *The Pioneers of Game Art: From Ars-Doom to SimBee*.[22] Expository texts were generally published in art periodicals, artist biographies, and popular literature. Also contributing to the mapping and categorizing of digital art were several exhibitions from the 1960s on featuring such work. Given these shows brought together artists in a particular genre of digital art, their exhibition catalogues were also part of the literature designed to map and categorize the medium.[23]

This body of expository texts introduced artists and their *oeuvres*. Typically, they were richly illustrated and written by art world professionals and by technological or scientific experts. However, the works of art in these essays were not subject to thorough analyses in which the artworks' various components are discussed and related to one another. Instead they are mentioned in passing as specimens of a specific category of digital art, underscoring their novelty. An early case in point is Beck & Jung's *Chromo Cube*, from 1981–1982, in which the computer art innovator François Molnar described the artist duo Beck & Jung—Holger Bäckström (1939–1997) and Bo Ljungberg (1938–2007)—as 'daring enough to turn to this machine [the computer] which was to revolutionize the second half of the twentieth century'.[24] The pair is also described by the artist Leif Eriksson (1939–2019) as belonging to 'the pioneers of computer art', and by the architect Wolfgang Huebner (1926–2018) as holding 'a special position among the computer artists'.[25]

While the pioneer stories made digital art visible in the first place, expositions of digital art established its innovators as pioneers. *Chromo Cube* was a typical example of how it was done. The artists were literally introduced as trailblazers, and there was an emphasis on their use of a specific technology and that they were among the first to use it to create art. Those making the claims were art experts, and therefore it was not only a matter of what was being asserted, but also on whose authority the claims were made.

A similar formula was found in more recent texts which introduced artists in other genres of digital art. For instance, in the 2002 publication *Into the Brain: Electronic Works Since 1987, A Selection*, Olle Granath (b.1940), the former director of Moderna Museet and the Nationalmuseum, argued that the artist Teresa Wennberg (b.1944) created 'one of the first computer manipulated pieces of video art in Sweden'.[26] Martin Ingvar (b.1955), then a docent in clinical neurophysiology at Karolinska Institutet, added that Wennberg's work represented 'significant explorations on the interaction between the human mind as we know it and new forms of art expression'.[27] Thus, Wennberg, akin to Beck & Jung, was presented as a pioneer.

Also key to fashioning these artists as innovators was the stress on their use of not just technology, but new technology—where computers allowed them to create 'brand *new* visual experiences', open up '*new* worlds for artists', and are the 'seeds for a *new* artist role'.[28] However, at issue in these accounts was not only the artists' use of innovative technology, which might suggest novel experiences and possibilities, but also that the experts perceived this technology to be better than earlier methods at creating art. For instance, Molnar claimed that 'Computers can do more for plastic art than just increase its production speed. More important, these instruments enable artists to create *never-yet-seen* pictures'.[29] Likewise, Ingvar argued that 'While picture art captures the moment for later enjoyment by invoking emotional reactions, video art and Virtual Reality driven concepts provide a dynamic tool with *a promise of a unique experience* for the mind every time'.[30] This language was in line with Christiane Paul's claim: 'What is in fact new is that digital technology has now reached such a stage of development that it offers entirely new possibilities for the creation and experience of art.'[31]

In a historical perspective, the practice of claiming an advance on older technologies was similar to how photography was compared to painting and printmaking in the nineteenth century.[32] To borrow a phrase from the media historians Lisa Gitelman and Geoffrey Pingree, this phase was part and parcel of the 'identity crisis' of the new medium.[33] Before a new technology can be established it must negotiate its role relative to older technologies, and to its advantage.

There were a few exceptions, where the newness of digital art was not attended to. The artist biography *Mikael Lundberg MCMXCIII–MM* by Mikael Lundberg (b.1952) and critic and curator Timo Valjakka (b.1953) serves as an example. Even though Lundberg's *oeuvre* fits Paul's definition of digital art, it was not described as such. Moreover, there was no emphasis on how his works differed to or could be evaluated in contrast to previous subcategories of the medium. Instead, Lundberg's body of work was discussed in relation to artists such as Vilhelm Hammershøi, Helene Schjerfbeck, and Christian Boltanski.[34] Rather than address the novelty of the technology Lundberg used, the authors presented his creations in a purely art-historical context.

Pioneer stories and the expositions that map and categorize digital art are not considered scholarly texts: they lack references to academic sources and often provide no notes or bibliography. Although they use terms to describe digital art, these terms are neither

defined nor critically examined. This sets them apart from the academic literature.

Digital art as the object of study

The Department of Art History and Visual Studies at the University of Gothenburg hosted the symposium *Bilder och Internet* ('Images and internet') on 5–6 March 1999, gathering graduate students, researchers, senior lecturers, professors, artists, art critics, and freelance IT producers. The participants, who were drawn from art history, media and communication studies, sociology, the fine arts, and the cultural sector, all shared an interest in art, images, and digital media. The papers presented were published in *Bilder och Internet: Texter kring konstruktion och tolkning av digitala bilder* ('Images and internet: Texts on the construction and interpretation of digital images'), which was one of the earliest art-historical publications on digital art in Sweden.[35] The book's inclusion of participants from different disciplines and levels of expertise, along with a few practitioners in the medium, was typical of early scholarly writings on digital art. The emergence of such publications at the turn of the century can be understood against the backdrop of the political strategy in Sweden. In the 1990s, political leaders set their sights on making the country a leader in information and communication technologies.[36] This vision was further reflected in Swedish research policy. More specifically, the 2000 government bill *Forskning och förnyelse* ('Research and renewal') highlighted information technology as one strategic initiative among many.[37]

Soon after, several papers were published in various academic disciplines on the implications of digital technology for the art field. Based on interviews and surveys with artists who used digital technology in Sweden, they shed light on the implications of its use in making art.[38]

The first Swedish thesis on digital art came in 2000: *Digitala pionjärer: Datakonstens introduktion i Sverige* ('Digital pioneers: The introduction of computer art in Sweden') by the art historian Gary Svensson (b.1961) (Fig. 17.1).[39] This was soon followed by three further art history theses, by Karin Wagner (b.1959), Anna Dahlgren (b.1967), and Lars Vipsjö (b.1959), and my own in media and communication studies.[40] Despite differences in approach, with some looking at multiple works and images and others focusing on a few case studies, these theses contributed to the understanding of digital art as a new phenomenon. The first and most obvious way this was done involved the rhetoric used to engage with digital technology. All the authors called digital art novel because of the technology. For instance, Dahlgren, who investigated

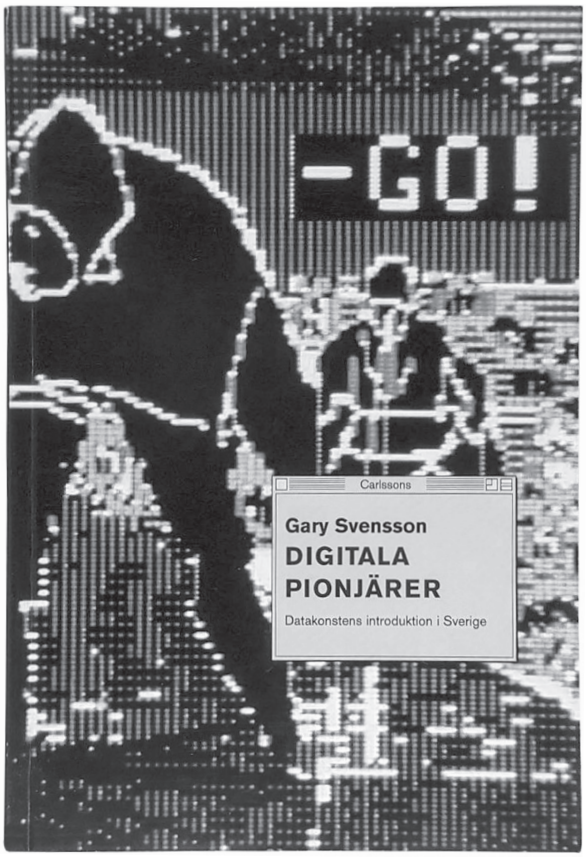

Figure 17.1. The first thesis on digital art in Sweden, *Digital Pioneers*, was by the art historian Gary Svensson in 2000. Courtesy of Gary Svensson and Carlssons Bokförlag.

digital image processing, wrote of 'the new tools' and 'the new computer programs'.[41] In texts that map and categorize digital art, new was equated with progress, but that was not the case in this collection of academic writings, where new is simply used to denote to the latest technology. Nevertheless, there was an underlying assumption among these scholars that novelty had some bearing on the art world.

Second, due to the authors having identified a new phenomenon, they devoted considerable space to defining and discussing concepts related to digital art. For example, Svensson spent much of his introductory chapter addressing the shifting terminology of the medium, before presenting his term of choice: computer art.[42] Third, the methods used to obtain knowledge about the field were also an important aspect of tackling digital art as a new phenomenon. Svensson, Wagner, Dahlgren, and Vipsjö all employed interviews, and on closer inspection their arguments for this methodological strategy are found to be inextricably tied to the topic being novel and thus unexplored. Existing archival material was not sufficient. In terms of the methodology used to analyse the works of art, only Wagner conducted actual image analyses. She also had an explicit purpose for developing

a model suitable for this. Her thesis stands out as an exception in this group.

Finally, there was the provincial focus of the theses. These authors examined almost exclusively Swedish source material, except for a few Nordic cases.[43] They were all published in Swedish, invoked Sweden or the Nordic region in their titles, and relied on Swedish research, seen in their tendency to cite one another.

In subsequent work on digital art, the space devoted to defining concepts has dwindled, as has the rhetoric of 'new' technology. Therefore, there is an emergent body of literature in which digital art is the object of study and which, like its international counterparts, is concerned with problematizing and contextualizing aspects of it. This material includes examinations of art-and-technology collaborations and of public art, art criticism, and various themes in digital art.[44] Yet unlike the earlier Swedish scholarly literature, these are often written in English and published in international journals and edited volumes, and the source material is to a larger extent multinational. Thus, the more problematizing the literature, the less provincial it is.

Perhaps such publications also map and categorize, but these later works actively explain and critically examine the grounds on which digital art is categorized. They not only seek to characterize it as a new phenomenon but also to contribute knowledge about its implications for the art world—by discussing and defining concepts that identify its originality, and by investigating which actors, artworks, conditions, and environments are vital for its existence. Academic studies have a role to play in incorporating digital art into an art-historical context. This is largely done by referring to both art history and various technological fields, thus spelling out its pioneering qualities and its place in art history.

Digital art in art history

It should not be forgotten that there is a body of scholarly work which featured digital art but where this art was not the main object of study. These texts are therefore important to the process by which the medium has been historicized. By including digital art in these investigations of art-historical questions, the works are accorded a place in art history.

One example was the 2007 monograph *Inlevelse och vetenskap: Om tolkning och bildkonst* ('Involvement and subjectivity in scholarly interpretations of visual art') by the esteemed art history professor Margaretha Rossholm Lagerlöf (b.1943).[45] Through analyses of selected international masterpieces by artists such as Jan van Eyck and Nicolas Poussin and some contemporary Swedish artists, Rossholm Lagerlöf examined interpretation, imagination, and subjectivity. One of the artworks she considered was a digital interactive piece by the Swedish artist Peter Hagdahl, *Simulated Social Model No.2 (Sensoric Transformation)*. Its inclusion was based on what it can contribute to the overall theory of the role of subjectivity in interpreting art—not on the medium in which it was made. Thus, Hagdahl's work was not treated as part of an emerging field of digital art, but as an integrated part of art history with canonical art-historical masterpieces. This was further illustrated by the book jacket, which included Hagdahl's work alongside those of Bill Viola, Jacob van Ruisdael, and Van Eyck (Fig. 17.2).

Figure 17.2. The jacket of the art historian Margaretha Rossholm Lagerlöf's *Inlevelse och vetenskap* of 2007 includes the Swedish artist Peter Hagdahl's digital artwork *Simulated Social Model No.2 (Sensoric Transformation)* alongside works by Bill Viola, Jacob Isaacksz van Ruisdael, and Jan van Eyck. Courtesy of Bokförlaget Atlantis.

A few art history theses moved digital art more securely into the discipline. While they included artworks that can be characterized as digital art, neither the main theses nor the research questions referred directly to the medium, and they contained no discussions about the field. Like in Rossholm Lagerlöf's monograph, the artworks were employed to tackle art-historical issues.[46] However, in contrast to the writings in which digital art was the object of examination, these studies had no extended discussion of the terminology of the medium and did not include the term in their titles. These examples thus treated

digital art in the manner it was dealt with in *Konst och visuell kultur*, the textbook referred to in the introduction.[47]

Digital art historicized

This essay has presented the process by which digital art has been historicized in the Swedish literature, whether as pioneer stories, texts that map and categorize digital art, or scholarship in which digital art was the object of study, and thus problematized and contextualized. Although these phases partially overlapped, there was a clear chronology to them. The early writings appeared in technological trade magazines, and the later ones more frequently in art history publications. Furthermore, the changing terminology—from computer art to designations such as multimedia, virtual reality, art and new media, game art, and technoscience art—coincided with the development of digital technologies.

These phases thus resemble a similar process by which digital art was historicized in an international context. There was a crucial difference between the Swedish and the international literature that should be borne in mind, though. Since the early 2000s, international researchers have drawn attention to the lack of satisfying methodologies for the study of digital art and the consequences this has for art history. But Swedish writings have not addressed this concern, with implications for the artworks. This essay finds this was indeed the case. With few exceptions, such as Wagner and Rossholm Lagerlöf, Swedish research has not elaborated on *what* the works of art mean and *how* that meaning was structured, and this results from a lack of in-depth image analyses. Thus, a key issue overlooked in the texts was a deeper understanding of the works based on close readings.

Given that the analysis of artworks is essential to art-historical practice, this raises the question of why so few Swedish studies have delved into the works of digital art on a more profound level. From an art-historical perspective, there are several possible reasons. It may be because digital art is still a relatively unexplored field. In the early stages of engaging with any new technology, scholars focus on identifying, mapping, defining, and contextualizing works, and in so doing a body of terms for the field emerges. A lack of knowledge about digital technology may play a role, as seen with research on other technological art forms, for example, photography or video art. Given that digital technology is an important part of digital art, if art historians do not know about the medium, they will not be able to understand the artwork. There is also the ephemerality of digital technology, which poses a challenge for a variety of art, including kinetic art, film installations, and time-based media art. The impermanence of some pieces naturally frustrates encounters and engagement with them.

Last, there seems to be a tendency in contemporary art-historical research that favours analyses where artworks are used as illustrations to support a broader theoretical claim.[48] Artworks are thus not examined because of their qualities, but because of their ability to illustrate the overall thesis in that particular research. Perhaps the lack of in-depth image analyses of digital art may be less because of the medium and more because of trends in art-historical research in general.

Notes

1 'Datakonst', *IBM-kontakt 6* (1966), 19.

2 Yvonne Eriksson & Bia Mankell, '1950–2000', in Lena Johannesson (ed.), *Konst och visuell kultur i Sverige 1810–2000* (Stockholm: Signum, 2007), 257.

3 This essay was written as part of the research project Digital Monuments: Technology, Ephemerality and Memory in Swedish Public Art, 1994–2015, funded by the Swedish Research Council (Dnr 2018–01676).

4 Anna Orrghen, 'Surveying the Literature on Technoscience Art: From Pioneer Stories to Collaborations between Artists, Scientists and Engineers as the Object of Study', *Digital Creativity* 28/2 (2017), 157–76.

5 For video art, see Malin Hedlin Hayden, *Video Art Historicized: Traditions and Negotiations* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015), 2; for the history of computers, see Thomas J. Misa, 'Understanding "How Computing Has Changed the World"', *IEEE Annals of the History of Computing* 29/4 (Nov. 2007), 52–63.

6 See, for example, Oliver Grau (ed.), *Media Art Histories* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2007); Christiane Paul (ed.), *A Companion to Digital Art* (Hoboken, NJ: Wiley Blackwell, 2016).

7 See, for example, Edward A. Shanken, 'Historicizing Art and Technology: Forging a Method and Firing a Canon', in Grau, *Media Art Histories*, 43–70.

8 See, for example, Chris Salter, *Alien Agency: Experimental Encounters with Art in the Making* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2015).

9 Simone Osthoff, 'Elsewhere in Contemporary Art: Topologies of Artists' Works, Writings, Archives', *Art Journal* 65/4 (2006), 16.

10 Dan Karlholm, 'Visuella kulturstudier', *Konsthistorisk Tidskrift/Journal of Art History* 72/3 (2003), 194: 'Under läsningen av dessa böcker framstår det allt tydligare att detta fälts främsta förtjänst inte ligger på bildanalysen, utan på dess tillhandahållande av sätt att sammanföra och samköra bild och teori (ord) i en lite vidare mening.'

11 For the history of digital art from an international perspective, see Hannah B. Higgins & Douglas Kahn (eds), *Mainframe Experimentalism: Early Computing and the Foundations of Digital Arts* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012); Grant D. Taylor, *When the Machine Made Art: The Troubled History of Computer Art* (New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2014).

12 For art and technology collaborations, see Siri Bjurwill & Vanessa Ware, 'Sweden: Unseen Scenes', in Minna Tarkka & Mirjam Martevo (eds), *Nordic Media Culture: Actors and*

Practices (Helsinki: M-Cult, Centre for New Media Culture, 2003), 79–94; Stephen Wilson, *Information Arts: Intersections of Art, Science, and Technology* (Cambridge, MA: MIT, 2002), 46. For digital art in Sweden as part of a Nordic art scene, see Tarkka & Martevo, *Nordic Media Culture*; Tanya Toft (ed.), *Digital Dynamics in Nordic Contemporary Art* (Bristol: Intellect, 2019).

13 Christiane Paul, *Digital Art* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2008), 7.

14 Orrghen, 'Surveying the Literature on Technoscience Art', 162–3.

15 Paul, *Digital Art*, 8, original emphasis.

16 For articles in periodicals, see, for example, Jan W. Morthenson, '1970', *Nutida Musik* 3 (1970/1971), 12–13; Sture Johannesson, 'Om gränser och andra snitt: Föredrag för Dataföreningen i Sverige, Malmö Börshus, 27. 10. 1992', *SIGRAD-Bulletinen* 43 (1992), 10. For conference proceedings, see Ingalill Söderqvist, *Tendenser inom datorstödd konst: april 21–27 1994: Ett symposium vid Högskolan i Skövde* (Skövde: Art and media, 1994); Gary Svensson (ed.), *Konst och teknik: symposium om nya medier: Norrköping 18 oktober 2004* (Linköping: Linköpings universitet, 2005).

17 See, for example, Sten Kallin, 'Experiences with the Image Interactor', *SIGRAD-Bulletinen* 44 (1993), 14–19.

18 See, for example, 'Datorkonst med störfunktioner', *Modern Datateknik* 14 (1972), 20; Ossian Sunesson, '"Art in art is not art—Science in art is art": Sture Johannesson lever!', *Beckerell* 2 (1992), 16–19.

19 'Datamaskinerna demokratiserar', *Modern Datateknik* 14 (1972), 20: 'Först diskuterar vi tillsammans uppslagen för de former som skall framställas och de har ofta utgått ifrån de grundformer som Sture Johannesson tidigare har arbetat med.'

20 'Datamaskinerna demokratiserar', 20: 'Sedan utformar han [Kallin] ett program som tillåter dem att från datorns, en 1130a, tangentbord styra figurens utformning, dvs parametervärden för olika egenskaper hos figuren. Sedan programmen har kompilerats och testats körs de många gånger med olika parametervärden och de bästa resultaten sparas för publicering. De stora bilderna framställs genom silk screentryck. I många av bilderna är underlaget en enkel matematisk formel med många parametrar. Erfarenheten visar att ju enklare grundtema dess bättre bild får man ut på Cal Complottern [sic].'

21 An international example is Craig Harris (ed.), *Art and Innovation: The Xerox PARC Artist-in-Residence Program* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1999); a Swedish exception is Torsten Weimarck, *Charlot & Sture Johannesson: The Digital Theatre* (Copenhagen: Eks-Skolens Forlag, 1983).

22 Mathias Jansson, *The Pioneers of Game Art: From ArsDoom to SimBee* (Åkarp: Jag behöver inget förlag, 2015); see also, Olle Essvik & Joel Nordqvist, *Den här datorn: svensk datorkonst 1983–2015: samtal, verk och dokument* (Gothenburg: Rojal, 2015).

23 See, for example, *Dator och konstnär: Arkiv för dekorativ konst 1 mars–30 mars* (Lund: Arkiv för dekorativ konst, 1980); *Digitala drömmar: en lägesrapport om konst och datorer: Norrköpings konstmuseum 25 mars–22 april 1990* (Norrköping: Konstmuseet, 1990); Lars Gustav Midbøe (ed.), *Electrohype 2004: tredje nordiska biennalen för datorbaserad och högteknologisk konst / Third Nordic biennial for computer based and high technological art* (Malmö: Malmö konsthall, 2004).

24 François Molnar, 'Artiste et ordinateur'/'Artist and computer', in Beck (pseudonym of Holger Bäckström) & Jung (pseudonym of Bo Ljungberg), *Chromo Cube* (Bjärred: Wedgepress & Cheese, 1981–1982), 3.

25 Leif Eriksson, 'Beck & Jung och datakonsten'/'Beck & Jung and Computer Art', in Beck & Jung, *Chromo Cube*, 11: 'pionjärerna inom datakonsten'; Wolfgang Huebner, 'Människan och maskinen'/'Man and his machine', in Beck & Jung, *Chromo Cube*, 29: 'intar en särställning bland datakonstnärerna'.

26 Olle Granath, 'A Crack in the Consciousness', in Teresa Wennberg & Olle Granath, *Into the Brain: Electronic Works Since 1987, A Selection* (Stockholm: Almlöf, 2002), 15.

27 Martin Ingvar, 'The Art of Perception', in Wennberg & Granath, *Into the Brain*, 64.

28 Debbie Thompson, preface to *Digitala drömmar*, unpaginated, my emphasis: 'helt nya visuella erfarenheter'; 'nya världar för konstnärer'; Jan-Erik Lundström, 'På party hos verkligheten, reflektioner kring teknologier och datakonster', in *Digitala drömmar*, unpaginated, my emphasis: 'frön till en ny konstnärsroll'.

29 Molnar, 'Artiste et ordinateur', 9, my emphasis.

30 Ingvar, 'Art of Perception', 64, my emphasis.

31 Paul, *Digital Art*, 7.

32 Mary Warner Marien, *Photography and Its Critics: A Cultural History, 1839–1900* (Cambridge: CUP, 1997), 101.

33 Geoffrey B. Pingree & Lisa Gitelman, 'Introduction: What's New about New Media?', in eid. (eds), *New Media, 1740–1915* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2003), xi–xxii.

34 Mikael Lundberg & Timo Valjakka, *Mikael Lundberg MCMXCIII–MM* (Stockholm: Almlöf, 2001), 53, 56, 60.

35 Anette Göthlund & Anna Tellgren (eds), *Bilder och Internet: Texter kring konstruktion och tolkning av digitala bilder* (Gothenburg: Konst- och Bildvetenskapliga institutionen, Göteborgs universitet, 1999).

36 Per Lundin, 'Computers and Welfare: The Swedish Debate on the Politics of Computerization in the 1970s and the 1980s', in Christian Gram, Per Rasmussen & Søren Duus Østergaard (eds), *History of Nordic Computing 4, 4th IFIP WG 9.7 Conference, HiNC 4, Copenhagen, Denmark, August 13–15, 2014, Revised Selected Papers* (Heidelberg: Springer, 2015), 3–11.

37 Proposition 2000/01:3, *Forskning och förnyelse*, www.regeringen.se/rattsliga-dokument/proposition/2000/09/prop.-2000013--/ (accessed 1 Feb. 2022).

38 See, for example, Maja-Brita Mossberg, *De nya frihetsrummen: Svenska röster om informationsteknik i samtidskonsten* (Stockholm: Teldok, 2000); Árni Sverrisson, *Fotograferna i den digitala utvecklingen: Rapport från en enkätundersökning* (Stockholm: Sociologiska Institutionen, Stockholms universitet, 2000).

39 Gary Svensson, *Digitala pionjärer: Datakonstens introduktion i Sverige* (PhD thesis, Linköping University; Stockholm: Carlsson, 2000).

40 Karin Wagner, *Fotografi som digital bild: Narration och navigation i fyra nordiska konstverk* (PhD thesis, University of Gothenburg; Gothenburg: Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis, 2003); Anna Dahlgren, *Fotografiska drömmar och digitala illusioner: Bruket av bearbetade fotografier i svensk dagspress, reklam, propaganda och konst under 1990-talet* (PhD thesis, Stockholm University; Stockholm/Stehag: Brutus Östlings Bokförlag Symposion, 2005); Lars Vipsjö, *Den digitala konstens aktörer: En studie av datorintegrering i svensk konstundervisning*

(PhD thesis, University of Gothenburg; Gothenburg: Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis, 2005); Anna Orrghen, *Den medierade konsten: Scenen, samtalet, samhället* (PhD thesis, Stockholm University; Hedemora: Gidlunds, 2007).

41 Dahlgren, *Fotografiska drömmar*, 11: 'de nya verktygen'; 'de nya datorprogrammen'.

42 See Svensson, *Digitala pionjärer*, 9–38.

43 Two of the cases examined by Wagner are Swedish, one Norwegian, and one Danish. There is a range of international contributions in the conference proceedings Göthlund & Tellgren, *Bilder och Internet*, but with an emphasis on Swedish examples.

44 For art and technology collaborations, see Anna Orrghen, 'Driven by Visualization: Sten Kallin's Collaborations with Astrid Sampe, Sture Johannesson and Mats Amundin as Explorations of Computer Technology', *Konsthistorisk Tidskrift/ Journal of Art History* 84/2 (2015), 93–107. For public art, see Linda Ryan Bengtsson, *Re-negotiating Social Space: Public Art Installations and Interactive Experience* (Karlstad: Media and Communication Studies, Karlstads universitet, 2012), Anna Orrghen, 'From Visions of Technological Progress to Technological Ruins: The Swedish Millennium Monument and the Challenges of Presevation of Digital Public Art', *Public Art Dialogue* 11/2 (2021), 208–225. For art criticism, see Anna Orrghen, 'Changing Crossroads: An Interplay Between Art, Art Discourses and Media Technologies in the Art of Peter Hagdahl as Construed in the Art Critique in *Dagens Nyheter* and *Svenska Dagbladet*: A Historical Perspective', in *Media Research in Progress: JMK Conference Contributions 2002* (Stockholm; Stockholm University, 2003), 168–83. The art historian Charlotte Bydler (b.1971) examines the role of the body in digital art in 'Markerat kroppslig: Om fysiska möten med digital konst', in Yvonne Eriksson & Anette Göthlund (eds), *Från modernism till samtidskonst: Svenska kvinnliga konstnärer* (Lund: Bokförlaget Signum, 2003), 129–54. For categorizations of digital art, see Håkan Nilsson, 'Konsten med nya medier', *Konsthistorisk Tidskrift/Journal of Art History* 74/4 (2005), 198–208; Anna Orrghen, 'ICT in Art in Sweden, 1996–2014: Tool, Medium and Theme', in Gram et al., *History of Nordic Computing* 4, 78–89.

45 Margaretha Rossholm Lagerlöf, *Inlevelse och vetenskap: Om tolkning av bildkonst* (Stockholm: Atlantis, 2007).

46 See, for example, Anna Brodow, *Konstnärliga projekt och experiment: Beviljade projektbidrag ur Sveriges bildkonstnärsfond 1976–2007* (PhD thesis, Uppsala University; Stockholm: Ultima Esperanza Books, 2014) who examines the relationship between the state and artists using Swedish Arts Grants Committee funding as a case study. Although one of the examples discussed is a work of art that uses digital technology (191–6), the issues surrounding digital art fall outside the scope of Brodow's thesis.

47 For example, digital art creations are included—alongside other artforms—in a section on art-historical issues such as self and identity; Eriksson & Mankell, '1950–2000', 279–84.

48 Discussed in Max Liljefors, 'Temporalitet i visuell kultur: Om samtidens heterokrona estetiker', *Konsthistorisk Tidskrift/ Journal of Art History* 88/3 (2019), 150–3.

CHAPTER 18

Scenography

From a marginalized object of study to a vital theoretical concept

Astrid von Rosen

Scenography, with its origins in the Ancient Greek *skēnē* (hut) and *-graphia* (writing), has been a tricky term since its inception, its theory so unclear as to be difficult to employ in academic contexts.[1] This essay sets out to clarify the meaning(s) of the word by examining scenography in a Swedish academic context since the 1960s. The 2000 edited volume *8 kapitel om konsthistoriens historia i Sverige* ('8 chapters on the history of art history in Sweden'), where scenography is conspicuous by its absence, is a useful albeit disheartening starting point. Around the turn of this century, scenography had a marginal position in Swedish art history, both as an idea and as a subject of study.[2] Twenty years later, the situation is little changed. Scenography studies occupy only a small corner of the broader field of art history. Moreover, in the history of the Swedish performing arts there has been essentially no substantial or theoretically focused interest in scenography as an academic concern.[3]

Look outside Sweden, however, and a more vital field emerges. As recently demonstrated by the scenography scholar Rachel Hann, the term has undergone significant theoretical revision, emphasizing its holistic and multisensory—in contrast to only visual—approaches to events in the theatre and other settings. In recognition of these developments, this essay addresses how holistic, multisensory approaches can be instrumental to scenography studies in art history, in and outside Sweden, and considers how Swedish research could contribute to the international field of scenography.

In its exploration of the understandings and applications of scenography dominant in Sweden since the 1960s, the essay examines how a new theory of scenography can be productive for art history. Everyday understandings of scenography in Sweden; the advent of scenography in Swedish performing arts and media in the late 1960s; theoretical developments and contested issues in Swedish scenography studies in the early 2000s; Hann's holistic understanding of scenography as a durational, multifaceted event that happens in time and place; and ways of combining Hann's theory of scenography with Swedish doctoral research in historically oriented, archival-based studies of scenographic practice: these five main areas together argue for the relevance of a holistic, multisensory theory for scenography studies in particular and for art history more broadly.

A lay–professional understanding of scenography

For the past ten years, as a university lecturer and researcher, I have discussed scenography and the profession with students and colleagues, and with individuals in non-academic contexts. When reviewing the results, at an everyday level people plainly do not see scenography as 'proper art history'. Without hesitation, people associate scenography with the theatre, and, to some extent, with film and exhibition design. Academics and non-academics alike know that scenography refers to the design of certain spatial and visual dimensions of a staged event, especially in the theatre, and those responsible for the designs are scenographers.

Several examples illustrate this point. Recently, staff at the Göteborgs Stadsmuseum (Museum of Gothenburg) mentioned that they would recruit a scenographer to design an upcoming exhibition. On the Nationalmuseum's website, the term 'scenography' is used to denote spatial design and to describe the spatial presence of a piece of glass art.[4] And at Backa Theatre, a youth venue in Gothenburg, in a glossary provided for the public, scenography is defined as 'the design of the stage space', and included is a description of the scenographer's specific tasks in the production

process.[5] Also, in a rehearsal at Backa Theatre, people used the term *rummet* (space) rather than scenography when talking about spatial design. Perhaps this avoidance of 'scenography' is evidence that the word has unfortunate overtones, lacks clarity, or carries elitist connotations that people wish to avoid.

Particularly interesting in these examples is the intertwining of everyday and professional jargon in perceptions of scenography and scenographers. This lay–professional use of terminology is continually reinforced by the media, for example in reviews or adverts in the press, or in PR and marketing, or in a broad range of informational materials, such as performance programmes or flyers. While I appreciate such understandings and applications of scenography, I intend to highlight other ways of employing the term in an academic context, with a view to its inclusion in art history. It is first necessary to consider how the term is used in Sweden, to understand why the lay–professional view of scenography is so dominant.

The 1967 change in terminology

Today, the commonly accepted use of the term scenography is the most recent stage in a process that began over fifty years ago. Before the late 1960s, *dekorationer* (lit. decorations) was the standard term for set or stage design. *Dekorationsmålare* (scene-painter), *teaterdekoratör* (scenographer), and *teatermålare* (scenic artist) were common designations for the professionals who worked with stage design. *Scendekoratör* (lit. set decorator) was used for the set or stage designer, often abbreviated to *dekoratör*; however, to underscore their high-art qualifications, some called themselves *scenkonstnär* (lit. set artist) instead.

The term *dekoratör* was also used outside the theatre for professional practitioners who took on a broad range of work. The artist Carl Grabow (1847–1922) is a prime example in that his studio not only undertook stage productions and set design, but also facades, restaurants, entertainment venues, private homes, and outdoor festivities. The Swedish art historian Per Bjurström (1928–2017) used a related term in the title of his *Teaterdekoration i Sverige* (lit. 'Theatre decoration in Sweden').[6] In 1961, when Bjurström published his doctoral thesis on the Baroque scenographer Giacomo Torelli (1608–1678), scenography or stage design had long been the English terms equivalent to the Swedish *dekorationer*.[7] Since the early twentieth century, the terms *dekorationer* and *dekoratör* had been problematic, because they did not denote high art or elevated artistic status.

That said, we should be careful not to devalue people and practices in other times or contexts because of differences in labels. A case in point: Grabow's 1907 designs as the set decorator for August Strindberg's *A Dream Play* have repeatedly been described by generations of literature, theatre, and art history scholars as messy and malfunctioning.[8] There are reasons to believe that the majority of the scholars who talk about Grabow's designs never actually looked at the original colour items. When Grabow's work was revisited it resulted in a scholarly underpinned re-evaluation of the *Dream Play* designs, and an argument for abandoning the sharp divide between set decorator and scenographer when conducting historical investigations of set design and scenographic events.

A survey of the National Library of Sweden's newspaper database reveals that the terms *scenografi* and *scenograf* gained public recognition in 1967. In adverts, the words were first used by Dramaten (the Royal Dramatic Theatre) in Stockholm and Stora Teatern (the Grand Theatre) in Gothenburg.[9] Both institutions explicitly listed who stood for the scenography for their performances. Moreover, the names were employed in journal articles and reviews, marking a distinct shift in terminology in the Swedish performing arts. This linguistic turn highlights the significance of the artistically qualified scenographer for stage productions and the importance of scenography as an artistic component of performance. Thus, from the late 1960s on, there has been a strong bond between scenography—understood as material, visual, and artistic design for the theatre—and the professional occupation of the scenographer.

In Sweden, the adoption of the new terms—from set designs to scenography and from set decorators to scenographers—was connected to the Prague architect and scenographer Josef Svoboda (1920–2002) and his promotion of scenography as a vital agentic element of performance. His approach can be described as a second wave of holistic scenographic thinking, building on the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century theories of Adolphe Appia (1862–1928) and Edward Gordon Craig (1872–1966) about 'the total work of art'. Svoboda's ideas first attracted international attention because of the success of his Laterna Magika theatre and projection technology at Expo 58, the 1958 Brussels World's Fair.[10] Understanding scenography as integrating multimedia, lighting design, and advanced technology with performance, Svoboda theorized scenography as a holistic, relational, and affective event experienced by the audience, rather than merely a visual image or built milieu.[11] For him, a scenographer was an irreplaceable co-creator of a performance, which the labels 'set decorator' or 'designer' did not capture. The revised vocational terminology was attractive to Swedish designers hoping to gain in artistic status.

Svoboda's introduction to the Nordic region came in June 1966 at a theatre seminar held in Oslo, Nor-

way, where he exhibited his work and lectured on 'Architecture and Scenography for Directors'.[12] The seminar was arranged by the collaborative organization Nordisk Teaterunion (the Nordic Theatre Union) to provide additional training in the performing arts.[13] It was well attended by Swedish theatre directors and set decorators (the soon-to-be scenographers), and Svoboda's scenographic ideas took root in Swedish theatre.[14] Under Svoboda's influence, Swedish interest in the culture of the Eastern Bloc grew. A special issue of the journal *Horisont* in 1967 that explored Czechoslovakia's cultural life specifically said this interest included scenography.[15] When, in the autumn of that year, Svoboda's work was exhibited at the Nationalmuseum in Stockholm, the concept of scenography was already gaining ground in Sweden.[16]

In 1967, Svoboda was closely involved with the first Prague Quadrennial, today the world's largest platform for 'design for performance, scenography, and theatre architecture', and with the International Organisation of Scenographers, Theatre Architects and Technicians (OISTAT), established in Prague in 1968, which further strengthened the status of scenographers as an artistically skilled professional group.[17] In Sweden, the use of Svoboda's terminology coincided with the opening of the country's first institution of higher education for the performing arts. Inaugurated in 1970 in Stockholm, Dramatiska Institutet (the Swedish Institute of Dramatic Art) provided academic instruction in various theatrical occupations, including scenography. With this, an earlier apprenticeship system for set decorators was replaced by one that could elevate the status of the scenographers with an academic diploma.

Towards the end of the 1960s, art museums also treated scenography as an artistic expression worthy of study and curation, as seen in Bjurström's 1969 exhibition *Bild och teater: Svensk scenografi från 1900-talet* ('Image and theatre: Swedish scenography of the twentieth century').[18] Tellingly, 'image' and 'scenography' are linked in the show's title, underlining the visual aspect of scenography as an art form. In academia, the shift from set designs to scenography was demonstrated in *Isaac Grünewalds scenografi 1920–1930: Vision och verklighet* ('Isaac Grünewald's scenography, 1920–1930: Vision and reality'), a doctoral thesis by the art historian Eva Sundler (b.1939).[19] Focusing on Grünewald (1889–1946) and his role as a scenographer, Sundler explores the relationship between traces from the *mise en scène* process, such as letters and designs, and the performance as an event, employing photographs and written evidence, such as reviews. While elevating Grünewald to the status of artist scenographer, Sundler uses the term set decorator for the equally artistic, scenographically skilled Knut Ström (1887–1971).[20] Indeed, Ström is positioned as a craftsperson, while Grünewald is promoted to the level of an artist–scenographer worthy of the art historian's attention. Such constructed hierarchies between high art and craft are highly problematic for scenography studies in art history and other disciplines. In arguing for a new scenography theory, I discuss a 2005 study that paved the way for the current theoretical transformations.

Visual dramaturgy, expanded scenography

The 2005 art history thesis by Magdalena Holdar (b.1970), *Scenography in Action: Time, Space and Movement in Theatre Productions by Ingmar Bergman*, was a watershed in Swedish scenography studies.[21] Holdar's strong theoretical emphasis prefigures more recent work such as Rachel Hann's. However, the thesis's approach risks alienating such research from the art-historical tradition and from the practices of scenographers and other professionals involved in crafting performances.

Challenging what she terms a conventional conception of scenography as a 'material setting', Holdar argues that 'the core of scenography is, in fact, the combination of dramaturgy and space'.[22] She defines scenography as 'the sum of relevant spaces in performance, relevant in the sense that they shape the audience's knowledge of the (spatial) constitution and preconditions for presentational space'.[23] Drawing on theoretical developments in performance studies, Holdar steers away from 'conventional art-historical explorations', with their focus on artistic intent and the conditions for performance creation.[24] Criticizing previous Swedish scenography studies for their lack of engagement with theory, Holdar also dismisses them for being too centred on people (such as scenographers) and material traces in archives.[25] Because of her interest in what scenography *does* rather than what it *is*, she explores how scenography 'appears in performance' and therefore does not theorize the underlying intent.[26] Instead, Holdar explores the transformational, immaterial interplay between actors, audience, and space, stressing the synesthetic, bodily dimensions of visual experience.[27] By studying 'the parameters space, time, and movement', she distinguishes 'set design (i.e., a material construction) from scenography (meaning the activated space in performance)' to 'capture the visual dramaturgy that characterizes this art form'.[28]

Holdar's clear distinction between scenography as a durational event and scenography as a material construction crafted by the scenographer is in line with more recent attempts to theorize scenography.[29] Her view of scenographic 'visuality' as something

synesthetic and corporal invites greater reflection on scenography's holistic, multisensory character. Thus, the term 'visual dramaturgy' is problematic, as it does not capture the multisensory, experiential dimensions of scenography.[30] Holdar's devaluation of scenography's materiality has become dated with the rise of new materialism, with her emphasis on 'space' as a key feature of scenographic action and transformation open to debate. Hann argues, for example, that 'place' is a more useful concept than 'space', as the former already has social and material relations and therefore should not be dismissed as redundant or seemingly neutral.[31] Indeed, the shift from 'space' to 'place' reveals a greater theoretical awareness of the material agency in scenographic world-making.

Another complication for scenography theory concerns aspects of the field that extend beyond the theatre. In pursuit of theoretical clarification, Holdar argues that even if the concept of scenography has been utilized to understand phenomena outside the theatre, further stretching risks rendering it unclear and thus useless. 'If its meaning is too wide, it can be applied to everything; if all the world's a stage, all we see is scenography. But obviously, it is not, which is why it needs to be defined, and separated from reality'.[32] In recognition of this still highly relevant plea, a broader understanding of scenography has gained ground internationally and has also been critiqued, including by scholars such as Hann.[33] In particular, Joslin McKinney and Scott Palmer have contributed to a more comprehensive understanding of scenography with their work *Scenography Expanded: An Introduction to Contemporary Performance Design*.[34] However, although a more inclusive definition of scenography would have a wealth of scenographic potential, I agree with Holdar and Hann that such a definition remains difficult to use because then scenography could refer to essentially anything.

Coinciding with the Svoboda-inspired theoretical turn, there has been an academic and practitioner-driven interest in non-theatre scenography in Sweden since around 1970. For example, the multitalented artist, actor, director, and scenographer Yngve Gamlin (1926–1995) created a *rumsgestaltning* (spatial design) for an indoor public square constructed in Gothenburg in 1972.[35] Gamlin, like many others, contributed to an expanded scenography by working in settings other than theatres. Additionally, in 1981, the architectural historian Bosse Bergman (1942–2018) analysed the Swedish central bank building in Stockholm as 'scenography', or an 'environment' that 'makes a claim'.[36] Lastly, the 1997 Nordic edited volume *Det andra rummet: En nordisk antologi om scenografisk konst* ('The other room: A Nordic anthology about scenographic art') explored 'spatial organization' through a scenographic lens in a variety of spaces and milieus, including the stage, television, architecture, urban planning, and a myriad of art forms, including installations and performance.[37] This is assuredly a more comprehensive understanding of scenography. These brief examples demonstrate that despite a lack of theoretical clarity, there is a genuine interest in employing the notion of scenography in contexts separate from traditional theatre, one that must be taken seriously and accounted for in any new scenography theory.

Before moving on to these developments, I will return to Holdar's critique of pre-video-age scenography literature. Holdar develops her theoretical argument by emphasizing how it differs from previous scenographic explorations in art history. She states:

> The researchers make inventories of costumes, props, and pieces of scenery from saved photographs, in order to catch every detail in the set design. Indeed, it seems like a detective's work trying to recreate the picture of a performance, finding the small pieces of an immensely complex jigsaw puzzle. I found these procedures increasingly unsatisfying, as they captured everything in scenography except its aliveness, its most vital characteristic.[38]

Though she dismisses artefacts such as photographs, Holdar states that video recordings are 'invaluable tools in the study of scenographic changes: they reveal how the actors use the space around them, and how space, in turn, is affected by it'.[39] This would suggest that scenography before the video age cannot be explored in any meaningful way. It is also worth observing that such a dismissal of both archival traces (such as designs and models created by the scenographer or photographs documenting the design in performance) and historical methodologies (such as the retrieval, description, and analysis of the materials) disregards the scenographer's work, and the efforts of the many people involved in the production. The task then is to validate pre-video-age historical research and to include practitioners in theoretically engaged art history research on scenography. This requires an examination of the latest international developments in scenography theory.

A holistic, multisensory scenography theory

In her recently published *Beyond Scenography*, Rachel Hann has two overarching aims. She brings the concept of scenography back to the theatre *and* she theorizes its capacity to function in the expanded field. Intending

to resolve the clash between a narrow, theatre-oriented term and a more inclusive one without limitations, she defines scenography as 'place orientation', addressing how atmospheres perceived through multiple senses are the outcome of the interplay between theatrical techniques such as lighting, sound, costume-bodies, set, smell, screens, video, and so forth. Hann employs the term scenographics to argue what 'scenographic traits afford' in and beyond the theatre.[40] Importantly, scenographics comprise extra-daily acts that can contribute to shifts in perceptions of the world, where proper theatre methods are not involved, for example, when activists pitch tents in front of a government building, transforming the entire scene. Thus, crafting an environment and situation other than in the theatre, without theatrical techniques, is not scenography, although the result can be scenographic.

Using Jane Bennett's new materialism, as presented in *Vibrant Matter*, Hann asserts that we are all physical entities and integrated components in multisensory encounters, rather than merely visually oriented, distanced observers. Furthermore, Hann promotes the importance of performance phenomena which were previously downplayed or ignored. This includes those perceived by the senses other than sight, including elements experienced by hearing and smell or even through a combination of senses, such as lighting, atmospheric creations, and costumes. Where the visually oriented understanding of scenography made it strange or illogical to include scenographic explorations such as sounds, smells, and atmosphere, Hann's framework makes it possible and critically relevant to do so.

Hann combines Gilles Deleuze's assemblage theory with the concept of affective atmospheres developed by Ben Anderson and Gernot Böhme, employing them to account for the experiences and transient qualities generated in scenographic occurrences. Thus, assemblages and the production of feelings are essential to Hann's 'scenographic ecology', or what I describe as the 'felt relational interdependencies of material circumstances in and beyond the theatre'.[41] To further help us notice, define, and question these interdependencies, Hann borrows from Kathleen Stewart's definition of worlding as world-making. For example, when a Christmas tree is brought into the home and set up, no scenographer is likely involved and no proper theatre techniques used; nevertheless, when decorated and lit, the tree immediately alters the environment, and plays a role in evoking feelings and producing memories and expectations for those in that space. Even if it is experienced differently by each person, the tree orientates the place and changes the affective atmosphere. It actively forms part of a scenographic ecology that contributes to the generation of feelings and atmosphere. When the ordinary setting is transformed to make it unfamiliar, exceptional, or novel, scenographics help us expose and analyse ideologies and norms, in this example about Christmas. Inspired by Sara Ahmed's *Queer Phenomenology: Orientations, Objects, Others*, Hann uses othering to refer to the capacity of scenographic traits to expose, challenge, and potentially change those ideologies and norms.

Hann's conceptual divide between scenography and scenographics makes it possible for the discipline of scenography to respect the theatre as a place involving particular theatre methods and to address extra-daily features in an expanded field. Hann thus includes analyses of scenographic elements traditionally found in the theatre or in amusement parks, gardens, and urban spaces in order to consider slow architecture (traditional monuments, buildings, and urban structures) and fast architecture (gardens, urban milieus—the kinds of environments continually altered by people's actions). It is here, in this broad multisensory approach, that a connection lies between the new scenography theory and art-historical tradition. In fact, the history of art is multisensory in the extreme. It includes caves, catacombs, medieval churches, oil paintings, tactile surfaces, installations of light, smell, and sound, and performances of models taking over gallery spaces. Scenography theory could also change the study of gardening, a practice and art form that is clearly multisensory. As noted by the Swedish art historian Catharina Nolin (b.1962), the art form of gardening has been marginalized in art history and has suffered from a lack of sense-oriented theories and methods.[42]

Swedish scenographic history in action

While Hann deftly navigates between scenographic features both inside and outside the theatre, she shows little interest in historical explorations of scenography. In Sweden, however, most scenography-oriented doctoral theses in art history have addressed historical topics; typically, they focus on individuals and are grounded in archival sources. How then might Hann's theoretical framework be combined with the individual- and archive-oriented approaches to scenographic history?

The art historian Gunnar Olofgörs (1926–2009) wrote his doctoral thesis on one of Sweden's most prominent artist–scenographers: *Scenografi och kostym: Gunilla Palmstierna-Weiss: En verkorienterad monografi* ('Scenography and costume: Gunilla Palmstierna-Weiss: A work-oriented monograph').[43] For Olofgörs, scenography (which he equates with set design) and costume are understood as two theatri-

Figure 18.1. Model by Knut Ström for *Ride this Night*, 1942. Courtesy of Teatersamlingarna, Göteborgs Stadsmuseum, GTM: 717.

cal methods employed by Gunilla Palmstierna-Weiss (b.1928). With this research, he models methods on how to understand the work of the scenographer that centres on the practitioner and the staging of drama. He conducts interviews with the artist–scenographer, and she therefore becomes a key participant in the research process. He then combines this material in a semiotic, contextual analysis. Not only does his dialogic, participatory approach contribute valuable knowledge about Palmstierna-Weiss's *oeuvre*, it also acknowledges practitioner skill and knowledge.

Over the past decade, other Swedish researchers have followed in Olofgörs's footsteps, embracing participatory approaches to practitioner knowledge. For instance, Viveka Kjellmer (b.1964) and I have done work on olfactory art and the performing arts.[44] This means that, for example, olfactory artists, costume designers, scenographers, and dancers are lending their expertise to research carried out by art historians. Drawing on these cross-border collaborations, I would suggest that scenography history could focus on practice and participation, thus inviting the scenographer or other practitioners back into academic dialogue and inquiry. This approach would clearly differ from Hann's focus on scenography as a holistic phenomenon, separate from the scenographer. Moreover, components from Hann's strategy could be adopted in analyses of *mise en scène* processes and artistic practices to better understand their agentic, multisensory dimensions.

The second approach in Swedish scenographic history can be found in *Kungliga teaterns scenografi under 1800-talet* ('The Royal Opera's scenography in the nineteenth century'), where the art historian Hans Öjmyr (b.1961) combines the scrutiny that a theatre historian brings to the performance as process and event with the art historian's inspection of designs as works of art in their own right.[45] Even though Öjmyr's conception of the art historian's task in relation to scenography is too limited, it is productive to explore these various approaches: the *mise en scène* process; scenography as a holistic occurrence; and more independent studies of artefacts, such as designs. Furthermore, it is vital to understand that designs—even those never realized on stage—have agency and can be reimagined as valuable archival resources.

Employing nineteenth-century international scenography theory and practice, Öjmyr contextualizes several set decorators and their scenographic methods. The result is a useful corrective to the devaluation of the profession, challenging art history's tendency to create a hierarchy that privileges artists over artisans. Öjmyr's examination of scenographic techniques capable of transforming spaces and producing emotions demonstrates the possibility of testing Hann's framework on much older material. It is worth noting that by limiting his scope to scenographers connected

Figure 18.2. Performance photograph of *Ride this Night*, 1942. Note how the lighting effects resonate with the fir tree. Courtesy of Teatersamlingarna, Göteborgs Stadsmuseum, GTM 5086:18.

with the Royal Swedish Opera, Öjmyr situates his research in a high-art, institutional discourse, excluding set decorators working, as was common, in the expanded field of scenography. Scenographics, and Hann's concepts of fast and slow architecture, could effectively be used for studying scenographic features external to the theatre.

The third and final approach to Swedish scenographic history can be found in my 2010 doctoral thesis, *Knut Ströms scenografi och bildvärld: Visualisering i tid och rum* ('Knut Ström's scenography and world of images: Visualization in time and space'), the title of which reflects art history's emphasis on visual material. Subsequently, when revisiting my empirical analysis of past scenographic events, I noted that my understanding of how theatre methods interact has become holistic and multisensory, rather than only visually oriented. This allows for the fuller detection of the volume of multisensory echoes in the archival material. Although no film footage of Ström's *oeuvre* exists, archival material offers numerous traces of technological inventions, lighting as a material phenomenon, colour as a tactile–visual theatrical method, various sound effects, costume–body interactions, smell, and experimentation with moving images. Plainly, without exploring the *mise en scène* process, including the scenographer's work, it is impossible to account for the multisensory echoes of past scenographic ecologies.

My recent examination of the theatre production *Ride this Night* at Göteborgs Stadsteater (Gothenburg City Theatre) in 1942, with Ström as scenographer–director, presented the opportunity to test Hann's theoretical framework. It provided a distinct, useful focus on relational ecologies and the interplay crafted by theatre techniques in the performance.[46] Utilizing Hann's strategies, it was possible to 'better reflect on the agency of "things" and the affective potential of staging', rather than focus only on the 'signs (semiotics) of performance'.[47] Thus, for example, a giant fir tree juxtaposed against the small bodies of the actors (not present in the model), combined with almost palpable misty lighting, sound effects, a slowly moving landscape, and dialogue, became an active agent of performance, assertively partaking in the crafting of an sense of Sweden's mobilization in the Second World War (Fig. 18.1). In a later scene, the powerfully felt presence of the fir tree—its size, its anthropomorphic qualities—was transposed into a growing shape, transforming into lighting effects at the moment when nature joined forces with farmers to oppose Nazism (Fig. 18.2). While the multisensory approach does not mean that practitioner contributions and the sign systems constructed in the *mise en scène* are devalued or need to be excluded from the analysis, it does help to make manifest echoes of the dynamism from past performances.

Towards a multisensory approach to scenography

Holistic, multisensory scenography theory is relevant for art history and scenography studies specifically. In Swedish contributions to such research, there is an awareness that scenography extends beyond the visual. However, there is also a tendency to force the visual paradigm onto the multisensory character of scenography. This is now shifting. Today, scenography is understood neither as a material object of study similar to that of sculpture, painting, architecture, photography, and so on, nor as immaterial, visual dramaturgy, but as a relational, multisensory, and situated phenomenon with a critical, transformational capacity.[48]

While Hann's multisensory, holistic framework is liberating for scenography studies in art history, it is important to move past her indifference to artistic practice and the production process. I would suggest that scholars exploring scenography will benefit by being alert to three stances in particular: participatory approaches to practitioner knowledge; exploration of the *mise en scène* process; and inquiry into multisensory echoes of past theatrical performances or events in any setting, or studies of current scenographic experiences inside and outside the theatre.

In *8 kapitel*, the art historian Peter Gillgren (b.1958) writes that 'without an interest in the "purely visual expression", art history loses much of its distinctiveness—about this, the early formalists were right.'[49] This sums up a long, visually oriented tradition dominant in 2000 when the volume was published. Today, the strict visual stance seems insufficient. Much of art history, and more specifically scenography, has a great deal to gain from welcoming a multisensory approach. Indeed, it promises to be liberating for art history topics ranging from gardens and urban settings to DIY art and socially engaged art projects.

Notes

1 It is outside the scope of this essay to explore the origins and transformation of scenography more broadly. For a recent view, see Arnold Aronson, *The Routledge Companion to Scenography* (Electronic resource: Routledge, 2017) and Rachel Hann, *Beyond Scenography* (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2019).

2 Britt-Inger Johansson & Hans Pettersson (eds), *8 kapitel om konsthistoriens historia i Sverige* (Stockholm: Raster, 2000).

3 As my focus is art history, I will not explore scenography in the history of the performing arts, for which in Sweden there has been little theoretical engagement: scenography remains a practice that historians mention as a component of performance, but rarely explore in depth or theorize.

4 Nationalmuseum, 'New acquisition: Glass installation by Ingelena Klenell' (8 May 2019), www.nationalmuseum.se/en/nyf%C3%B6rv%C3%A4rv-installation-i-glas-av-ingalena-klenell (accessed 6 Apr. 2021).

5 Backa teater, Göteborgs Stadsteater, 'Liten teaterordlista' (2016), stadsteatern.goteborg.se/backa-teater/vada-teater/liten-teaterordlista/ (accessed 29 Sept. 2019): 'scenrummets utformning'.

6 Per Bjurström, *Teaterdekoration i Sverige* (Stockholm: Natur & kultur, 1964).

7 Per Bjurström, *Giacomo Torelli and Baroque Stage Design* (PhD thesis, Uppsala University; Stockholm: Norstedts, 1961).

8 Astrid von Rosen & Eszter Szalczer, 'Scenographic Dialogues: Staging Carl Grabow's 1907 Designs for *A Dream Play* [Part 1]', *Dokumenterat* 51 (2020), 4–42, musikverket.se/musikochteaterbiblioteket/arkiv/dokumenterat (accessed 20 May 2020).

9 These conclusions are borne out by the theatre programmes in Teatersamlingarna (the theatrical collections) of Göteborgs stadsmuseum (Museum of Gothenburg). See Astrid von Rosen, *Knut Ströms scenografi och bildvärld: Visualisering i tid och rum* (PhD thesis, University of Gothenburg; Gothenburg: Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis, 2010), 191.

10 Svoboda's success was also noted in Sweden; see 'Filmskvaller', *Norrskensflamman*, 21 Oct. 1959.

11 Hann, *Beyond Scenography*, 14.

12 Ingrid Luterkort & Ann Mari Engel, *Nordisk Teaterunion: Sjuttio år av samspel, 1937–2008* (Helsinki: Finnish Theatre Information Centre, 2008), 37: 'Arkitektur och scenografi för regissörer'.

13 Ibid. 8, 33.

14 Carl Gunnar Wallin, 'Stor Svoboda-utställning på regiseminariet i Oslo', *Dagens Nyheter*, 31 May 1966.

15 Vladimir Jindra, 'Modern scenografi', *Horisont: Specialnummer om kulturlivet i Tjeckoslovakien* 14/1 (1967), 90–1 which mentions Svoboda as moving in influential theatrical circles.

16 See, for example Elisabeth Sörenson, 'Tekniken fångad i svansen för att tjäna teaterns syften', *Svenska Dagbladet*, 31 Dec. 1967.

17 Prague Quadrennial, 'What is PQ', www.pq.cz/what-is-pq/ (accessed 21 Mar. 2020).

18 Per Bjurström, *Bild och teater: Svensk scenografi från 1900-talet* (Stockholm: Nationalmuseum, 1969).

19 Eva Sundler (later Sundler Malmnäs), *Isaac Grünewalds scenografi 1920–1930: Vision och verklighet* (PhD thesis, Stockholm University; Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1975).

20 Ibid. 18.

21 Magdalena Holdar, *Scenography in Action: Space, Time and Movement in Theatre Productions by Ingmar Bergman* (PhD thesis, Stockholm University; Stockholm: Stockholms universitet, 2005).

22 Ibid. 7.

23 Ibid. 117.

24 Ibid. 11.

25 Ibid. 21–2.

26 Ibid. 9.

27 Ibid. 12.

28 Ibid. 103, 116, 118.

29 See Aronson, *Routledge Companion*; Hann, *Beyond Scenography*.

30 Hann, *Beyond Scenography*, 52–6, rejects visual and design dramaturgies, arguing that they instead refer to the *mise en scène* process, and thus to the scenographer and the creative

team's ideas for staging the performance. This is the complete opposite of scenography as an event.

31 Ibid. 22.

32 Holdar, *Scenography*, 118.

33 Hann, *Beyond Scenography*, 5. Not as critical as Hann, I have tested the expanded approach, particularly applying affect theory to historical and fragmentary materials in Astrid von Rosen, 'On the Wire: Scenographing Affect at Sillgateteatern in Gothenburg around 1800', in Randi M. Selvik, Svein Gladsø & Anne M. Fiskvik (eds), *Genres in Context: Dance, Theatre and Opera around 1800* (London: Routledge, 2020), 204–217.

34 Joslin McKinney & Scott Palmer (eds), *Scenography Expanded: An Introduction to Contemporary Performance Design* (London: Bloomsbury Methuen Drama, 2017).

35 The process in the autumn of 1972 can be followed in the daily papers using the National Library of Sweden's newspaper database, tidningar.kb.se.

36 Bosse Bergman, 'Rikets bank, en uppbruten kassakista', *Nya teatertidningen: Scenografi* 14–15 (June 1981), 86: 'scenografi'; 'miljö'; 'påstår'.

37 Claus Lynge & Ingamaj Beck (eds), *Det andra rummet: En nordisk antologi om scenografisk konst* (Eslöv: B. Östlings bokförlag Symposion, 1997), 7: 'sätt att organisera rummet'.

38 Holdar, *Scenography*, 103.

39 Ibid. 25.

40 Hann, *Beyond Scenography*, 133. For the term 'costume-bodies', see Astrid von Rosen, 'Costume in the Dance Archive: Towards a Records-Centred Ethics of Care', *Studies in Costume & Performance* 5/1 (2020), 33–52.

41 Hann, *Beyond Scenography*, 18, 20–1; see also Astrid von Rosen, 'Scenographing Resistance: Remembering *Ride This Night*', *Nordic Theatre Studies* 31/2 [special issue Theatre & Memory Wars] (2020), 20, doi.org/10.7146/nts.v31i2.120122; Gilles Delueze, *Two Regimes of Madness: Texts and Interviews 1975–1995*, ed. David Lapoujade, tr. Ames Hodges & Mike Taormina (New York: Semiotext(e), 2007); Ben Anderson, 'Affective Atmospheres', *Emotion, Space & Society* 2/2 (2009), 77–81; Gernot Böhme, 'The Art of the Stage Set as a Paradigm for an Aesthetics of Atmospheres', *Ambiances: International Journal of Sensory Environment, Architecture & Urban Space* (2013), 2–8.

42 Catharina Nolin, 'From Gardening Manuals to Signum's Swedish Art History: Approaches to the Historiography of Swedish Landscape Architecture', *Konsthistorisk Tidskrift/ Journal of Art History* 85/1 (2016), 126–40 at 135.

43 Gunnar Olofgörs, *Scenografi och kostym: Gunilla Palmstierna-Weiss: En verkorienterad monografi* (PhD thesis, Stockholm University; Stockholm: Carlsson, 1995).

44 Nordic Scenography, nordic-scenography-network-for-archives-and-research.webnode.se/ (accessed 12 Aug. 2020).

45 Hans Öjmyr, *Kungliga teaterns scenografi under 1800-talet* (PhD thesis, Stockholm University; Stockholm: Stockholms universitet, 2002), 17–18.

46 See von Rosen, 'Scenographing Resistance'.

47 Hann, *Beyond Scenography*, 75.

48 A telling example of scenography as a material object of study can be found in Eva Sundler, 'Scenografin', in *Signums svenska konsthistoria*, xii: *Konsten 1915–1950*, ed. Sofia Danielson (Lund: Signum, 2002), 238–57.

49 Peter Gillgren, 'Metoder i svensk konstvetenskap', in Johansson & Pettersson, *8 kapitel*, 194: 'utan intresset för "det rent visuella uttrycket" förlorar konstvetenskapen mycket av sin särart—däri får man ge de tidiga formalisterna rätt.'

CHAPTER 19

The history of mainstreaming gender in art history in Sweden

Linda Fagerström & Johanna Rosenqvist

Starting in the late 1990s, the Swedish government tasked universities with integrating, and thus mainstreaming, gender perspectives in all higher education.[1] This project culminated in 2016. According to the Ministry of Education and Research, this strategy was 'to achieve the gender equality policy objectives'.[2] The approach has since contributed to changes in academic programmes and curricula, including courses' scope and required reading. This essay describes how this strategy has affected art history, here taken to comprise all forms of visual studies.

Pioneering scholars first introduced critical gender perspectives (then called women's studies) into higher education in Sweden as part of the grassroots Women's Liberation movement in the mid-1970s.[3] Forty years before such critical perspectives were an official requirement, this was a trailblazing and groundbreaking stance. Then, in the late 1980s and early 1990s, the approach formed the basis of an affirmative action plan, a method typically associated with tactics utilized to rectify discrimination in employment and education. Affirmative action can be described as positive discrimination of a kind.[4] Here, the term is used to discuss the effects of including literature with a gender perspective in art history curricula at Swedish universities. The results of inclusion are, in our experience, forceful.

Once universities were compelled to take measures to realize gender equality, many art history curricula were revised to draw attention to the often implicit—yet obvious—androcentric perspective. Most frequently, this involved updating reading lists and sometimes also courses and whole programmes. The consequences of the subversive strategies of the 1970s and later of affirmative action are evident in art history curricula today. These adjustments by themselves regularly fall short, however, in the absence of engaged lecturers. The risk is that gender perspectives remain nothing more than a list of titles added to a curriculum: the contents of books and articles mentioned only *en passant* in lectures, seldom confronted in assignments or exams. As with all other scholarly perspectives and methods, integrating critical gender perspectives into higher education require that lecturers (and mentors, supervisors etcetera) teach them in lectures and seminars. Moreover, the ideas need to be presented as knowledge necessary for passing courses.

The following material is based on our work teaching gender and feminist perspectives in art history for the past twenty years, combined with peer recollections and an overview of recent curricula. The essay thus presents the history of introducing gender perspectives: first, women's studies strategies; second, affirmative action; and third, mainstreaming. For the last phase, we include our experiences with a project at Lund University in the early 2000s which set out to address gender imbalance in teaching and studying art history.

Teaching gender, a background

When and where did teaching with a critical gender perspective begin? In the mid-1970s, when some Swedish art historians tried applying a gender perspective in their research, undergraduate students benefited from this—in keeping with the traditional educational ideal where professors pass on the latest research perspectives via seminars and courses. In 1971, the Yale University professor Linda Nochlin (1931–2017) wrote her groundbreaking essay 'Why Have There Been No Great Women Artists?', which, along with her lectures, prompted scholarly debate and student engagement with the issues.[5] With time, her essay motivated students in the US and Europe to identify shortcomings in curricula, questioning the traditional canon-based, gender-biased teaching that

excluded women artists. These actions eventually led to a call for change.

In Sweden, requests of this nature were first put to the art history departments in Uppsala and Lund.[6] As early as 1978, Uppsala presented seminars on 'feminist aesthetics', while in Lund, Anna Lena Lindberg (b.1939) set up an undergraduate seminar series titled 'Women Graphic Artists and Sculptors' in 1980. Gradually, a range of similar courses spread to other Swedish art history departments. By the early 1990s, Irja Bergström (b.1932) taught courses on women artists at the University of Gothenburg—from 1995 as an elective third-term course called Women Artists.[7] Eva-Lena Bengtsson (b.1956) and Barbro Werkmäster (1932–2020) arranged the course Women, Art, and Creativity at Uppsala University (15 ECTS equivalent).[8] At Umeå University, the first course offered at the then Department of Art History was Women and Art (15 ECTS equivalent), arranged in collaboration with a project that later developed into the Museum Anna Nordlander in Skellefteå (inaugurated 1995).[9] In the 1990s, all undergraduate art history courses at Stockholm University featured introductory lectures held by Eva Hallin (b.1949) and Nina Weibull (b.1947) on feminist research and art history.[10] Also, in those years, Lindberg taught Women, Art, Society (7.5 ECTS equivalent, second and third terms) at Lund University.[11] Thus, in the 1990s, art history students at many Swedish universities could choose courses that directly addressed gender theories. Note, though, these courses did not alter the tenor of the curricula, being elective—non-compulsory—and often designed to augment the art-historical canon, not to revise it.[12]

Which titles were on the reading lists for these early courses? Options included the 1979 classic by the Australian art historian Germaine Greer, *The Obstacle Race: The Fortunes of Women Painters and Their Work*. When translated into Swedish in 1980, it included an extra chapter by Lindberg and Werkmäster, 'Kvinnliga konstnärer i Norden' ('Women artists in the Nordic countries').[13] These two Swedish art historians also wrote 'Kvinnor i svenskt avant-garde, 1910–40' ('Women in the Swedish Avant-Garde, 1910–40') for the exhibition catalogue *Andra hälften av avantgardet, 1910–40: Kvinnliga målare och skulptörer inom de tidiga avantgardistiska rörelserna* ('The second half of the avant-garde 1910–40: Female painters and sculptors of the early avant-garde movements') when it came to Kulturhuset in Stockholm in 1981.[14] In addition, the newly established Swedish women's studies journal *Kvinnovetenskaplig Tidskrift* published a thematic issue on art history with Swedish translations of articles such as Griselda Pollock's 'Vision, Voice and Power: Feminist Art History and Marxism' and Lisa Tickner's 'Body Politics'.[15] Reading lists also frequently had titles in English, such as 'Why Have There Been No Great Women Artists?' and Rozsika Parker and Griselda Pollock's *Old Mistresses: Art, Women, and Ideology*, along with the edited volume *Feminism and Art History: Questioning the Litany*, edited by Norma Broude and Mary Garrard.[16] Also included were Swedish texts aimed at a broader public, such as the edited volume *Kvinnor som konstnärer* ('Women as artists') and the exhibition catalogue *Vi arbetar för livet* ('We work for life'), with articles on women artists.[17]

By the 1990s, courses that provided a gender-critical perspective evolved from subversion, challenging the status quo from the margins, to a more affirmative action-based approach. The firmer international status of gender research equipped Swedish art history lecturers with a more extensive choice of literature, including further titles by Pollock and Parker and also by Linda Nochlin, Whitney Chadwick, Norma Broude and Mary Garrard.[18]

In early 1992, *Kvinnovetenskaplig Tidskrift* devoted a second issue to art, which included Griselda Pollock's 'Generations and Geographies: Feminist Theory and Art Historical Practice' translated into Swedish, and an interview with Nochlin by Leif Dahlberg (b.1962).[19] The following year, Carol Duncan published *The Aesthetics of Power: Essays in Critical Art History*.[20] It was followed in 1995 by *Women Artists and the Parisian Avant-Garde* by Gill Perry, and *Konst, kön och blick* ('Art, gender and gaze'), a volume of essays on art and gender by international scholars in Swedish translation, edited by Anna Lena Lindberg.[21]

The 1990s brought the first attempts to mainstream a gender perspective, by incorporating it into the general curricula at some Swedish art history departments. Literature used only for specific courses on women artists and gender perspectives was now added to the reading lists of standard survey courses. Most departments adopted Chadwick's *Women, Art, and Society*, which, probably owing to its chronological structure, was considered a suitable complement to textbooks such as H. W. Janson's *History of Art*. However, students, ourselves included, witnessed how Chadwick's book was little more than a curricular token: lecturers rarely mentioned it in lectures and seminars, and it was never required for examinations.

Thus, when the Swedish government, in the late 1990s and early 2000s, suggested implementing gender perspectives and directives in higher education, many art history departments already had some affirmative action strategies in place, apparent in the revised syllabi and grounded in feminist strategies of the 1970s. When it came to mainstreaming, though—implementing gender in instruction and examinations—things were

haphazardly applied, as it depended on individual lecturers' engagement. At least that was how gender perspectives in art history curricula evolved at Sweden's older universities. At more recently established departments gender-integrated curricula were present from the start. This was the case at both Linnaeus University (then Växjö University), where art history was established around 2000, and Södertörn University, where the art history department was founded in 2003.[22] The universities of Linköping and Karlstad were even more exceptional cases. At Linköping, all research is structured in interdisciplinary thematic clusters known as 'Tema environments', such as Child Studies, Technology and Social Change, and Gender Studies. Therefore, art history scholars specializing in gender theory collaborated in those groups rather than attempting to introduce gender perspectives in traditional disciplines.[23] Circumstances at Karlstad University were different in another way. For a long time the department had only one senior lecturer, which had both advantages and disadvantages. While the solitary position led to a heavy teaching burden, it also afforded exclusive authority regarding changes in the curricula. Initially, a gender perspective was not included. Since 2007, though, collaboration with the university's strong Centre for Gender Studies has led to the inclusion of gender in all course syllabi.[24]

At Halmstad University College, art history was established as a discipline in 1990. Shortly thereafter, Halmstad became the first Swedish institution of higher education to introduce a compulsory module devoted to gender, Gender Perspectives' on Art History (7.5 ECTS equivalent), in its introductory art history course (30 ECTS equivalent).[25]

The state of university curricula in 2020

Gender has been incorporated into art history education at all Swedish universities since the 1990s. But what is the current situation? To present an overview of gender perspectives in Swedish art history departments, we have examined undergraduate course syllabi for the academic year 2019–2020.[26] The survey covered a range of courses taught at ten Swedish universities and university colleges.[27] Reading lists were obtained from each department or division. What follows is a general summary and analysis of this material.

For some courses, gender-specific titles are compulsory reading; for others, not. At times, online courses provide different points of entry into the discipline compared to on-campus courses. However, most Swedish art history students encounter material related to feminist perspectives during their first semester. In certain departments, over 10 per cent of the literature for first-term courses addresses gender issues. Even so, it is possible to study an entire semester of art history without ever being introduced to a gender perspective. Depending on their course choices, students could in fact go through a whole year of study and only briefly encounter material viewed through a gendered lens.

A range of different methods are typically employed to introduce students to feminist perspectives, but a common approach is to require them to read a couple of monographs or a selection of journal articles. To include a monograph on a reading list signals the importance of the subject, whereas articles may convey the impression that the topic is not as consequential, even though articles may be more profoundly engaging and eye-opening than a monograph.

Three particular books appear on the reading lists at most Swedish art history departments: Chadwick's *Women, Art and Society*; *Konst, kön och blick* edited by Lindberg; and *Möten med bilder: Att tolka visuella uttryck* ('Encountering images: Interpretations of visual expressions') by Yvonne Eriksson (b.1957) and Anette Göthlund (b.1965).[28] Chadwick's historical overview presents hundreds of Western female artists in a chronological survey from the Middle Ages to the present. Regular revisions have added more recent developments. It contextualizes a wide range of subjects: social perspectives on the artistic profession and education, the art-historical canon, and society's ever-changing perceptions of gendered difference. Because of its chronological structure, *Women, Art and Society* is well suited for programmes of historical studies, its chapters matching up with relevant historical periods. In Linköping, Lund, and Uppsala it was introduced to first-term art history students in the early 1990s as a course textbook, and almost thirty years later it continues to be employed this way. One can ask whether this practice either reflects a winning strategy, or a general lack of engagement, or deficiencies in the faculty's subject-specific knowledge. Whatever the reason, its presence in syllabi facilitates lecturing on gender perspectives and discussions on canonical art history—and in that way expands the range of the canon.

The second book, the edited volume *Konst, kön och blick*, sheds new light on familiar art-historical matters, from antiquity to the present, by looking at gender, power, and social issues. Rather than adding female artists to the canon, the articles problematize it—providing models which students can apply to the traditional art history in their curricula. For example, the edited volume includes Nochlin's seminal essay 'Why Have There Been No Great Women Artists?', which still seems to be the one essay on a gender perspective which most Swedish students encounter. At Karlstad University, Linnaeus University, and

Södertörn University College, *Konst, kön och blick* is the title of choice for undergraduate courses. Texts are paired up with appropriate historical eras in the survey classes. In this manner, essays such as Patricia Simon's 'Women in Frames: The Gaze, the Eye, the Profile in Renaissance Portraiture' provide a gender perspective on fifteenth-century European art. In addition, Carol Duncan's 'Happy Mothers and Other New Ideas in French Art' addresses eighteenth-century image culture in France, and Leena-Maija Rossi's 'Re-Turning the Gaze' deals with contemporary art.

The third title, *Möten med bilder*, introduces a range of art-historical interpretative methods, mainly applied in analyses of images from outside the traditional art sphere: advertising, comics, instructional brochures, and book illustrations. A gender perspective is presented as a fundamental, significant dimension when it comes to analysing images. However, only a few art history examples are included. First-term art history students at the universities in Stockholm and Gothenburg experience gender perspectives only and exclusively through this title. Neither university places much emphasis on knowledge of female artists at any stage of history, or the ability to critique the canon; instead, the gender perspective revolves around the suggested image-analysis methods in *Möten med bilder*.

The inclusion of any or all three of these titles reflects each department's position in applying a gender perspective in their curricula. Some courses focus on historical overviews, some on contextualizing the art-historical canon, and others on image analysis. In our experience, though, the most crucial question hinges on how these titles are introduced to students and taught by lecturers. Are the contents presented in lectures and discussed in seminars? Are the titles required reading in order to pass exams? If titles are part of the syllabus but not used in teaching, students tend to conclude that the material is optional reading.[29]

Implementing a critical gender perspective

Our survey of gender-oriented literature employed by Swedish art history departments indicates that practices vary, but that most departments include a gender dimension in their programmes. However, that says nothing about how the perspectives present in the required reading are presented in lectures or used by students. To address this gap, we would like to share our experiences from the project Implementing a Critical Gender Perspective at the Lund University division of art history and visual studies, which ran from 2004 to 2006. Along with Katarina Wadstein MacLeod (b.1973), we worked under the leadership of Anna Lena Lindberg, using funding granted for a pedagogical programme that examined alternatives to canonical art history teaching.[30] A pressing reason for the project was the steep gender imbalance in the discipline. Given the great number of women students at the undergraduate level, there was a statistical underrepresentation of women students at graduate levels, thus contributing to an underrepresentation of women lecturers in Swedish art history departments, including those promoted to professor.[31] In 2000, still only 11 per cent of art history professors in Sweden were women. Furthermore, those of us running this project found that interest and support for graduate research in gender perspectives was low.[32]

The project aimed to outline strategies for introducing critical gender perspectives in all of the art history division's undergraduate programmes, lectures, seminars, and written exams in 2004–2006.[33] Particular units were added throughout the syllabus to avoid the cordoning off of gender studies.[34] We employed a method of interest-led learning, involving students in the educational process. Student representatives were also invited to participate in the planning and ongoing analyses of the project and its programme and development. The students' experiences and their views on the demand for gender discussions were indispensable.

We analysed courses, and especially the reading lists, focusing on how to handle texts that did *not* raise gender issues. Thus, the incentives for the literature survey in this essay were already present in the 2004–2006 initiative. Our work was inspired by Lisa Tickner's 'Feminism, Art History and Sexual Difference', which encourages readers to recognize how sexual difference 'is everywhere inscribed in both the objects it discusses and the terms in which they are discussed'.[35] In 2006, where introductory courses still used Chadwick's *Women, Art, and Society* as a complement to Janson's *History of Art*, we drew students' attention to the dilemma inherent in the required reading itself. Students were asked to identify differences between the two titles in their respective texts on the Renaissance, gender, genre, and artistic practice, and to discuss their conclusions in seminars. They were asked to pose the same questions of both Chadwick and Janson in order to identify ideological patterns in gender perspectives (Chadwick) and 'traditional' art history (Janson). The active involvement of engaged lecturers aided the students' ability to think independently. For examinations, we collaborated with colleagues outside the project to bolster the effects of the perspective. One of them noted that the students 'seem to have had their eyes opened to gender—and that in our discipline, this is not just about adding women artists into an already

defined canon', and remarked on the students' ability to critically reflect on gender.[36] Besides tactics that targeted courses and classrooms, the project included an annual Gender Marathon Day for faculty and students alike. These events featured international guest lecturers, for example, Marsha Meskimmon, who held a seminar on theory and method based on her book *Women Making Art: History, Subjectivity, Aesthetics*.[37]

The project employed two methodological concepts—the 'cloud' and 'shared image'—to guide student involvement and learning processes.[38] The cloud served as a tool to navigate through the plethora of misconceptions surrounding the concept of 'feminism'. Our experience had shown this was an essential step in the project. Before entering productive discussions on phenomena in the art world—such as historical forms of art history or the deconstruction of conventional art interpretations—misconceptions had to be identified and clarified. The process involved brainstorming, categorizing, and clearly articulating 'common beliefs and concrete problems'.[39]

The 'shared image' provided a platform, or a meeting place, for the specialized competence of the lecturer and the students' knowledge, interests, and opinions. We used the concept to help guide students in their choice of curricula literature to work with and which questions to address. A significant takeaway from the project was that lecturers need to be willing to let go of their 'preconceived structure of analysis' and be 'sufficiently skillful to be able to structure discussion according to the students' contributions'.[40] At the heart of our use of the 'shared image' lay the conviction that any learning situation should provide not only knowledge but also insights of existential importance. For this to happen, both lecturer and student must proceed from a common set of suppositions.

In the end, the project's methods yielded no substantive modifications on behalf of the art history division, even if the students recognized the challenge of drawing gender perspectives into the courses. This was spelled out in one student evaluation: 'By not integrating [this] lecture and seminar in the rest of the teaching it becomes evident that gender aspects […] are considered less important!'[41] Evidently, at the time the gender project could be viewed as extracurricular in scope and effect; for us, though, it proved an insightful experience. And it certainly points to the further benefits to be gained from engaging with critical gender perspectives.

Conclusion

The theoretical and methodological focus of critical gender perspectives has shifted since they were first introduced as women's studies in the mid-1970s. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, the field entered a phase of affirmative action, and in the late 1990s gender mainstreaming was made government policy, implemented at all Swedish universities as part of a gender equality strategy. Swedish universities, since 2016, have been tasked with producing plans outlining their intended gender mainstreaming efforts. Thus, as demonstrated here, all art history departments have had to apply a gender perspective in their research and instruction.

The Lund University project Implementing a Critical Gender Perspective made evident the advantages of providing a more unambiguous, comprehensive gender approach for all students. In the project, the literature was only one of several elements addressed, but as the results of the reading-list survey presented here demonstrate, mainstreaming can be counted a success: generally, every first-year course syllabus has at least one title with a solid gender perspective. Quantitatively, that might not be considered significant; qualitatively, however, gender-relevant texts still provide a theoretically critical element that can inspire students to experience canonical art history differently.

Perhaps teaching art history and gender perspectives is yet another example of a privileged position per se. To question any and every normative structure is, and must continue to be, integral to all academic endeavour, and indeed several pioneering, gender-oriented strategies of recent decades are firmly mainstreamed in today's curricula. In the present volume, however, an essay on critical gender perspective stands out as an exception, and an unnecessary one at that. Had all art history departments embraced that perspective this whole book would have reflected the same. Much remains to be done.

Notes

1 Regeringskansliet (Government Offices of Sweden), Utbildningsdepartementet (Ministry of Education and Research), 'Gender Equal Higher Education Institutions' (Article no. U17.003), June 2017, 2, www.government.se/49cad5/contentassets/60882d76271144949o3d43cff8131831/fact-sheet-gender-equal-higher-education-institutions.pdf (accessed 4 Dec. 2020): 'the Government tasked all public-sector universities and university colleges with producing a plan outlining their intended gender mainstreaming efforts and how gender equality will be integrated and become a part of their ordinary activities.'

2 Ibid.

3 See for example Anna Lena Lindberg, 'Who Belongs in Art History? On the History of Art and Feminism', in Anna Nyström et al. (eds), *Artfeminism. Strategies and Consequences in Sweden from the 1970s to the Present* (Stockholm: Atlas, 2005), 274–5, 'The dominant current in the 1970s was termed women's studies. Unlike research into gender equality studies, which

was quantitative and counted heads … women's studies were qualitative, aiming to break up hierarchies … With the term *gender*, which in Sweden began to be used in the 1980s, the relationship between the sexes was problematized and made clearer.' Translation: William Jewson.

4 Binod Khadria, 'Gender Based Positive Discrimination: Is There a Case?', in Mary-Louise Kearney (ed.), *Women on Power and the Academy: From Rhetoric to Reality* (New York: Berghahn, 2000), 21–7; see also Anna Lena Lindberg, 'Affirmative Action: Experiences of "Implementing a Critical Gender Perspective in Art History/Visual Culture"', *n.paradoxa: International Feminist Art Journal* 24 (2009), 30–7.

5 Linda Nochlin, 'Why Have There Been No Great Women Artists?', in Thomas B. Hess & Elizabeth C. Baker (eds), *Art and Sexual Politics: Why Have There Been No Great Women Artists?* (New York: Macmillan, 1971)—the third revised edition published in a year.

6 Anna Lena Lindberg, 'Krönika: Kvinnoforskning inom konstvetenskapen i Sverige', *Kvinnovetenskaplig Tidskrift* [now *Tidskrift för Genusvetenskap*] 1 (1992), 58–62, ojs.ub.gu.se/ojs/index.php/tgv/article/view/1775/1549 (accessed 18 June 2021).

7 Karin Wagner and Viveka Kjellmer (University of Gothenburg) email correspondence with authors, 9–14 April 2020 [personal communication].

8 Eva-Lena Bengtsson (Uppsala University) email correspondence with authors, 12–14 Oct. 2020 [personal communication]: 'Kvinnliga grafiker och skulptörer'; 'Kvinnor, konst, samhälle'; 'Kvinnor, konst och skapande'. The Bengtsson and Werkmäster course was adopted at Umeå University when they relocated there; see Barbro Werkmäster 'Vision och möda', in Maria Carlgren et al. (eds), *Genuspedagogiska gärningar: Subversiv och affirmativ aktion* (Stockholm: Vulkan, 2011), 23–33 at 31.

9 The course was first taught by Barbro Werkmäster and Brit-Marie Andrén, and later Ann-Catrine Eriksson; former head of department Ann-Catrine Eriksson email correspondence with the authors, 9–29 May 2020 (personal communication). For a discussion of gender-critical approaches in teaching, see also Ann-Catrine Eriksson, 'Spelregler och schackdrag: Reflexioner kring in-, ut- och omskrivningar i konstvetenskap', in Anneli Bränström Öhman & Mona Livholts (eds), *Genus och det akademiska skrivandets former* (Lund: Studentlitteratur, 2007).

10 Lindberg, 'Krönika', 61a.

11 Anna Lena Lindberg, 'Implementing a critical gender perspective in art history/visual culture' (Report; Stockholm: Högskoleverket, 2007), 4.

12 Griselda Pollock, *Differencing the Canon: Feminist Desire and the Writing of Art's Histories* (London: Routledge, 1999), 23–6 suggests a three-step strategy, the first being to add women. The second step identifies positions of power, and the third, feminism, 'encounters the canon as a discursive strategy in the production and reproduction of sexual difference and its complex configurations with gender and related modes of power'.

13 Germaine Greer, *Hinderloppet: Kvinnans väg genom konsten*, tr. Annika Preis (Uppsala: Bromberg, 1980).

14 Lea Vergine, *Andra hälften av avantgardet 1910–1940: Kvinnliga målare och skulptörer inom de tidiga avantgardistiska rörelserna* (Stockholm: Bokomotiv, 1981). Lea Vergine curated the exhibition. The Swedish catalogue included not only the Lindberg and Werkmäster piece, but also one by the Swedish art historian Birgit Rausing (b.1924) on the painting *Ryttaren* ('The Rider') by the Swedish modernist painter Tora Vega Holmström (1880–1967).

15 *Kvinnovetenskaplig Tidskrift* 4 (1981), ed. Karen Davies et al. of which Griselda Pollock's article, 'Vision, Voice and Power: Feminist Art History and Marxism', was reprinted in *Vision & Difference: Femininity, Feminism and the Histories of Art* (London: Routledge, 1988) and Lisa Tickner's article had previously been published as 'The Body Politic: Female Sexuality & Women Artists since 1970', *Art History* 1/2 (June 1978).

16 Norma Broude & Mary D. Garrard (eds), *Feminism and Art History: Questioning the Litany* (New York: Harper & Row, 1982).

17 Anna Lena Lindberg & Barbro Werkmäster (eds), *Kvinnor som konstnärer* (Stockholm: LT, 1975); Louise Robbert (ed.), *Vi arbetar för livet* (Stockholm: Liljevalchs Konsthall, 1980).

18 Rozsika Parker & Griselda Pollock (eds), *Framing Feminism: Art and the Women's Movement 1970–85* (London: Pandora, 1987); Pollock, *Vision & Difference*; Linda Nochlin, *Women, Art, and Power and Other Essays* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1988); Mary Garrard, *Artemisia Gentileschi: The Image of the Female Hero in Italian Baroque Art* (Princeton: PUP, 1989); Whitney Chadwick, *Women, Art, and Society* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 1990); Lynda Nead, *The Female Nude: Art, Obscenity and Sexuality* (London: Routledge, 1992); Norma Broude & Mary D. Garrard (eds), *The Expanding Discourse: Feminism and Art History* (New York: HarperCollins, 1992).

19 Griselda Pollock, 'Generationer och geografier: Feministisk teori och konsthistorisk praktik', *Kvinnovetenskaplig Tidskrift* 1 (1992), 3–16; Leif Dahlberg, 'Kvinnoperspektiv: Intervju med Linda Nochlin', *Kvinnovetenskaplig Tidskrift* 1 (1992), 54–7.

20 Carol Duncan, *The Aesthetics of Power: Essays in Critical Art History* (Cambridge: CUP, 1993).

21 Gill Perry, *Women Artists and the Parisian Avant-Garde* (Manchester: MUP, 1995); Anna Lena Lindberg (ed.), *Konst, kön och blick: Feministiska bildanalyser från renässans till postmodernism* (Stockholm: Norstedts, 1995; repr. Lund: Studentlitteratur, 2014).

22 Dan Karlholm, former head of department at Södertörn University, email correspondence with the authors, 10 Apr. 2020 [personal communication]. Art history has been taught in Växjö since the 1960s; see Margareta Wallin Wictorin & Hans T. Sternudd elsewhere in this volume.

23 The advantages of this situation sketched out here has been confirmed by a former head of department, Bengt Lärkner, email correspondence with the authors 12–20 May 2020 [personal communication]; see also Gary Svensson elsewhere in this volume.

24 Eva Zetterman, former senior lecturer at Karlstad University, email correspondence with the authors, 9–28 Apr. 2020 [personal communication].

25 This course was started and taught by academics from Lund, Linda Fagerström among them; Hugo Palmsköld, former head of department, Halmstad University College, email correspondence with the authors 30 Apr.–18 May 2020 [personal communication].

26 A table compiling the results of this survey is available from the authors.

27 Note that Umeå University did not offer a BA in art history between 2014 and 2020, see Umeå University 'Förändringar

i arkeologi och konstvetenskapsutbildningar', 16 Dec. 2014, www.umu.se/nyheter/forandringar-i-arkeologi-och-konstvetenskapsutbildningar_5822606/ (accessed 9 Nov. 2020).

28 *Women, Art and Society* was first published in 1990, rev. edn 2019; *Konst, kön och blick*, rev. edn 2014; Yvonne Eriksson & Anette Göthlund, *Möten med bilder: Att tolka visuella uttryck* (Lund: Studentlitteratur, 2012).

29 As undergraduate students at Lund University in the early 1990s, we experienced precisely this. *Women, Art and Society* was on the reading list for the first-term lectures, but it was passed over in silence by our lecturers and it did not feature in any of the exams.

30 In addition to our personal experience, for what follows see Lindberg, 'Implementing', and further analysis in Lindberg, 'Affirmative Action'. While we start here with the 2004–2006 project, it was also the focus of a 2009 symposium *Genuspedagogiska gärningar* and a 2011 volume of the same name (edited by the organizers, Maria Carlgren, Linda Fagerström, Johanna Rosenqvist and Katarina Wadstein MacLeod); see Rosenqvist & Wadstein MacLeod, 'Fortsatt implementering av ett kritiskt genusperspektiv', in ibid. 71–80.

31 The first woman promoted to art history professor in Sweden was Gerda Boëthius, who in 1939 was made a professor by the government (as is open for the government to do when someone has made outstanding contributions in their field). In 2000, only 11 per cent of art history professors were women, see Hans Pettersson, 'Konsthistoria som universitetsdisciplin', in Britt-Inger Johansson & Hans Pettersson (eds), *8 kapitel om konsthistoriens historia i Sverige* (Stockholm: Raster, 2000), 174.

32 Lindberg, 'Implementing', 4.

33 For a more detailed description of the methods, see Lindberg, 'Implementing'. Introductory lectures and seminars were provided for all students; seminars were limited to groups of fifteen and participation was voluntary. Interaction, cooperation, and group discussions were prioritized over traditional lecturing. Recent art education research and gender teaching practice informed the analytical strategies. A platform of basic gender understanding was introduced from which to investigate and deconstruct hierarchies in high art, textile art, photography, performance, design, architecture, etc. Terms such as male/female versus masculinity/femininity and gender-transgressing queer concepts were introduced to heighten students' awareness of representation. In seminars we provided extra opportunities for students to discuss their elective courses from a gender perspective.

34 Ibid. 7.

35 Lisa Tickner, 'Feminism, Art History and Sexual Difference', *Genders* 3 (1988), 92. Project discussions, including definitions of feminism, gender, and equality, were also inspired by Fredrik Bondestam, *Könsmedveten pedagogik för universitetslärare: En introduktion och bibliografi* (Uppsala: UPI, 2003).

36 Cited in Lindberg, 'Implementing', 12.

37 Marsha Meskimmon, *Women Making Art: History, Subjectivity, Aesthetics* (London: Routledge, 2003). Meskimmon has since been a guest professor at the universities of Gothenburg and Stockholm, and as of 2018 is professor of art history and theory at Loughborough University, the School of Arts, English and Drama, and Director of the Institute of Advanced Studies.

38 Anna Wahl, 'Molnet: Att föreläsa om feministisk forskning', *Kvinnovetenskaplig Tidskrift* 17/3–4 (1996), 31–44. The 'cloud' method centres on brainstorming the ramifications of the word 'feminism', where notions that do not fit under research (i.e., patriarchy), politics (i.e., women's liberation), or ideology (i.e., equality) probably fall into the 'cloud of misunderstandings' category; see also Anna Wahl, 'The Cloud: Lecturing on Feminist Research', NORA, *Nordic Journal of Feminist & Gender Research* 7/2–3 (1999), 97–108. The 'shared image' is an educational imperative developed in art education and formulated by Lindberg in *Konstpedagogikens dilemma: Historiska rötter och moderna strategier* (PhD thesis, Lund: LUP, 1988). It has also been revisited in art education situations by Maria Carlgren, 'Den gemensamma bilden i praktik och i retorik', in Carlgren et al., *Genuspedagogiska*, 83–94.

39 Lindberg, 'Implementing', 8.

40 Ibid. 7.

41 Ibid. 11.

CHAPTER 20

Have art historians forgotten about presence in art?

Max Liljefors

In the terminology of the literary scholar Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht, there are two sides to art: meaning and presence.[1] Does art history as an academic discipline today have the capacity to embrace both meaning and presence? Historically, meaning has dominated our scholarly endeavours, and, with art history's current emphasis on interpretation, questions of meaning seem even more prevalent. Yet experiences of presence have in some manner always guided scholarly interpretations, and still do. Greater acknowledgement of the role of presence in art historians' work—and its role in aesthetic appreciation in general—could help the discipline contribute even more meaningfully to many people's experience of art, especially in the burgeoning area of arts and health.

Meaning is explored in our various interpretations of the historical, cultural, and religious significance of artworks. Take, for example, Titian's painting *The Flaying of Marsyas* (1570–1576), now in Kroměříž Castle, Czechia (Fig. 20.1). The motif, popular in the Renaissance, is from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. The satyr Marsyas has challenged the god Apollo to a musical duel and lost, and, as punishment for his hubris, the Olympian god flays him alive. In Titian's canvas, Marsyas hangs upside down from a tree while Apollo, kneeling, knife in hand, strips the skin from his body. A man in a Phrygian cap assists the god. Behind Apollo, a figure plays the *lira da braccio*, a bowed string instrument of the Renaissance; some scholars have identified him as Apollo too, but in another guise of the god.[2] Marsyas' instrument, the panpipes, is hanging above him in the tree.[3] King Midas, who judged the contest, is the old man to the right gazing pensively at the gruesome scene. He is also believed to be a self-portrait of Titian. The overall composition is clearly influenced by Giulio Romano's handling of the same motif in the drawings for one of his frescos in Palazzo del Te in Mantua (1525–1535).[4]

The painting has attracted several art-historical interpretations, of which two are especially pertinent here. Jaromír Neumann, a Czech art historian who published the first monograph on the painting in 1962, reads the motif as an allegory of the Christian doctrine of salvation, but infused with Neoplatonic ideas.[5] When Apollo removes Marsyas' skin, Neumann argues, he is liberating the human soul from the body, its earthly prison. Thus released, Marsyas' soul gains access to the spheres of divine harmony expressed in Apollo's music. In contrast, the Italian art historian Augusto Gentili, who applies a socio-historical approach, sees in Titian's painting a reflection of growing social tensions in late sixteenth-century Italy.[6] For Gentili, the vindictive god represents the privileged nobility, and Marsyas, the rural population toiling under the yoke of oppression. Both interpretations invoke circumstantial historical evidence: in Neumann's case, the abiding influence on Renaissance culture of the Platonic Academy in Florence (although it was disbanded when Titian was young); in Gentili's, it is the rise in popularity among the Italian nobility of motifs where gods punish mortals for challenging their superiority. Two analyses, two contrasting conclusions. One finds an image of spiritual redemption in Titian's canvas, the other finds the essence of societal conflict.

The art historian James Elkins has proposed, in a book titled *Why Are Our Pictures Puzzles?*, that the inclination of art historians to interpret a wealth of meaning in images is a modern enthusiasm.[7] In premodern times, he notes, no one wrote long texts about pictures. Philostratus the elder (*c.*172–*c.*245) describes sixty-five paintings in a gallery in Naples in his *Eikones*, a landmark in the art of ekphrasis. Among these accounts, the longest is little more than a handful of pages. It is about a single work, a painting of an archipelago, but even so Philostratus goes off at

Figure 20.1. Titian, *The Flaying of Marsyas*, *c.*1570–6. Oil on canvas, 220 × 204 cm. Archbishop's Palace, Kroměříž, Czechia. See also back endpapers of this volume.

a tangent with anecdotes about the islands. Giorgio Vasari is similarly succinct in *The Lives of the Most Eminent Painters, Sculptors, and Architects*, in which Leonardo's *The Last Supper* (1495–1498) in the refectory of Santa Maria delle Grazie in Milan warrants only a couple of pages. In contrast, today's art historians can produce entire books about the meaning of a single work of art, without, it seems, exhausting the artwork's capacity to spawn new interpretations.

What speaks in favour of presence? That would be the work of art itself, however hard it is to describe in words: its form and substance, its expressive resonance, its ability to hold our attention by its presence before us. It is the aesthetic experience, if we understand this term as referring not merely to sensory input but to a process involving imagination and perception, reaching deep into the human psyche. What is required, then, to intuit an artwork's presence in this sense? An aphorism ascribed to performance artist Laurie Anderson hints at an answer: 'Art is about paying attention.'[8] We must pay for the presence of art with our presence, the prior condition of attention.

When Gumbrecht sets presence against meaning, he does so strategically, as part of a critique of what he considers the postmodern humanities' preoccupation, ad infinitum and ad nauseam, with interpretation—

the endless production of ever more meaning. Some fifteen years earlier, the literary scholar George Steiner launched a similar critique in his book *Real Presences*, describing postmodern, verbose discourses about art as 'parasitic' and 'secondary'. In one passage, however, Steiner juxtaposes 'meaning' (roughly in Gumbrecht's sense) not with 'presence' but with 'meaning*fulness*', a passage Gumbrecht was to quote.[9] Steiner's juxtaposition is noteworthy, because the *–fulness* suffix conveys presence's qualities of repleteness and stillness, as if a movement has completed its trajectory, reached its destination, and thus slowed to a halt. Meaningfulness thus denotes both climax and rest. To set meaning against meaningfulness is to not to suggest the two are polar opposites, but rather that they are related. Neither Steiner nor Gumbrecht says that one pole in the meaning–presence bipolarity should wholly dictate our approach to art. Their critique of meaning is purely strategic, in a specific intellectual context. Both acknowledge that the two poles are, in reality, complementary and mutually reinforcing. We tend to oscillate between them in our encounters with artworks, and probably could not stop doing so, even if we wanted to.

And that is precisely what makes so pertinent the question of whether art history today has the capacity to embrace presence *as well as* meaning. If both are intrinsic to our dealings with art, ought not both be legitimate objects of knowledge for art historians? Should they not be regarded as equally valuable objects of study and knowledge? I worry that art history as a discipline has become too focused on meaning and inattentive to presence. Not only would it then neglect a fundamental aspect of our relation to art in principle, but also certain developments in society today that *should* be of interest to the discipline. Because elsewhere, outside the confines of academic disciplines, the interest in presence effects of art is clearly on the rise. I will return to this societal concern at the end of this essay.

Art history, a study of culture?

Art history was established as an academic discipline in Sweden about a century ago. At Lund University, where I work, the subject was instituted in 1919 when the position held by Ewert Wrangel (1863–1940), then professor of aesthetics, overseeing a department that comprised the history of art and literature, was split into two departments. Fredrik Böök (1883–1961) took up the chair in literary history with poetics; Wrangel, the chair in art history with art theory. Ninety years later, in 2009, the Department of Art History and Musicology in Lund (the two subjects had been combined into one administrative unit in 1997) merged with the Department of Ethnology and the Department of Cultural Science to make a new, larger department, named, after some debate, Institutionen för kulturvetenskaper (the Department of Arts and Cultural Sciences). It currently encompasses a dozen disciplines.

Note that the word *konst* (art) is absent from the new department's name in Swedish. This reflects a trend: in the last decade, most art history departments in Sweden have been transformed into divisions in newly formed larger departments. While these divisions usually retain the name of the discipline, they are framed institutionally by the department's title, from which, more often than not, the word *konst* has been excised. Only at Uppsala University does art history still constitute a department bearing the discipline's name. At Linnaeus University, it is sorted under the Department of Music and Art, with four other subjects. At the other Swedish universities there is a common pattern: art history has been incorporated into other departments that feature the word 'culture' in their names. Hence at the University of Gothenburg, the Department of Cultural Sciences; Linköping University, the Department of Culture and Communication; Stockholm University, the Department of Aesthetics and Culture; Umeå University, the Department of Culture and Media Studies; and Södertörn University College, the School of Culture and Education.

Art history in Sweden is thus framed institutionally as one among several disciplines concerned primarily with culture. What does this mean for its identity as a discipline? Some might assume that the organization and naming of university departments are bureaucratic exercises with no real bearing on education and research; however, in my experience, the new superdepartments comprising many humanities disciplines are meant to be environments where researchers and lecturers collaborate across disciplinary boundaries. The departments are integrated epistemological milieus where ideas about what constitutes legitimate knowledge and relevant questions are shaped. It is in this light that art historians ought to ask themselves what it means to be defined as scholars of culture.

Another factor is the proliferation in the last decade of visual culture studies. As recently as 2006, art history in Scandinavia seemed undecided about how to relate to visual culture studies. That year, the eighth triennial conference of NORDIK (the Nordic Association for Art Historians) was held in Bergen, Norway, entitled Tradition and Visual Culture, where 'tradition' stood for art history proper. Art historians debated whether visual culture studies—with its focus on popular and vernacular imagery and gender and postcolonial identities—was threatening the disci-

pline's 'core' of historical inquiry. Visual culture studies was a marginal phenomenon next to art history, but, a source of somewhat neurotic anxiety among art historians, it represented a much larger empirical field: *all* visual artefacts, not only art (although art history has a long-standing interest in architecture, design, and crafts, and since the 1970s has embraced photography and mass-produced images). Some scholars worried that art history would be relegated to being a subdiscipline in visual culture studies. Today, it appears that this tension has mostly evaporated, and visual culture studies is being conducted within art history with little friction. The names which the discipline of art history goes by today at some universities seems to support this conclusion. Instead of the traditional *konstvetenskap* (like the German *Kunstwissenschaft*, the study of art and art history), it is now called *konst- och bildvetenskap* (*Kunst- und Bildwissenschaft*, the study of art and images) at the universities of Gothenburg, Umeå, and Linnaeus, and at Lund it is *konsthistoria och visuella studier* (art history and visual studies). Rather than one field of study defeating the other, the two have merged unscathed.

What is culture, then? Although it is a notoriously nebulous term, its meaning in the present context can be defined adequately as *meaning*. To study objects and actions as culture is to study what they mean (or meant) to someone—what they represent, express, reflect, perform, symbolize, signify, and more synonyms besides. What objects and actions signify may be a multitude of things: ideas, worldviews, values, fears, power structures, gender roles, ethnic and other identities, and so on. The point is that, in having meaning, objects and actions point beyond themselves. To only study meaning, therefore, is like inhabiting a hall of mirrors where phenomena reflect other phenomena, and every interpretation spurs new interpretations. Clearly this speaks to one of the two sides of art discussed above: meaning.

However, a hall of mirrors is a maze; finding the exit is never easy. If framed exclusively as culture, will the discipline of art history still be able to emerge from the labyrinths of meaning to grasp the complexities of presence? Will art historians have something to say, and questions to ask, when objects and actions stop pointing towards meanings beyond themselves? Will art historians know what to do when artworks are just *there*, replete with meaning or content, but also vibrantly present?

Theorizing presence

I should point out that I look favourably on the institutional developments described above. In my experience, the amalgamation of art history departments into humanities superdepartments that encompass many disciplines has increased cross-disciplinary collaboration in research, and has helped mitigate disciplinary isolation. Moreover, the influx of visual-culture perspectives has enriched art history empirically and methodologically. Yet any systematic study of culture should surely inquire into the cultural perspective's limitations. What falls outside the scope of the cultural approach? One answer is the complexities of presence. 'Ah, but every experience of presence is unavoidably embedded in a cultural context, where it serves some meaning-making function,' runs the objection, 'and thus, such experiences must be analysed as expressions of culture.' It is undoubtedly correct that experiences of presence *can* be analysed in that way. There are two reasons, though, why it would be unwise to analyse them only in that manner. First, as will be seen, the essential aspects of presence-effects are distorted if they are reduced to nothing more than a variant of meaning-effects. Second, it would entail passing up the chance to reflect, on a metalevel, on the knowledge criteria which inform the analysis of art as meaning. And that would be a waste, as art history is so well equipped for such meta-reflections, the tension between meaning and presence being a common thread throughout its history, albeit in a variety of guises and terminologies.

At the most basic level, the tension can be understood as one between scholarly and personal subjectivity. When art history took shape as an academic discipline in Germany and Austria in the nineteenth century, its status as *Wissenschaft*, the pursuit of scholarship, was of critical importance. The meaning of the word was not static, though. While at the turn of the century it was primarily humanistic erudition, later, the influence of the natural sciences nudged it towards empirical precision, the study of primary sources, and specialization. For the study of art, this meant separating subjective aesthetic judgements from art-historical accounts.[10]

In the late nineteenth century, as theories and methods became more complex, the meaning of the scholarly approach in art history went far beyond empirical meticulousness. Scholarship meant formulating general analytical systems based on functional criteria—such as sets of formalistic features in opposition, or notions of a rule-bound succession of recurrent phases in cultural evolution—and the application of those systems to historical material, all to explain the stylistic development of art in different eras and cultures. It was characteristic of the discipline's 'golden age', ranging roughly from the 1890s to the 1920s. This was when the scholars now known as the founding fathers of the discipline—Heinrich Wölfflin, Alois Riegl, Aby Warburg, Erwin Panofsky—pub-

lished their seminal works. A fundamental principle in much of their scholarship was the elimination of aesthetic normativity: to achieve a correct historical understanding, the art of every age and culture must be studied on its own aesthetic terms, not those of the historian's. Thus, the scholarly study of art required that the art historian set aside personal, cultural aesthetic preferences. In terms of the meaning–presence dichotomy, the art historian's own aesthetic gratification—the presence-effects potentially experienced in an encounter with art—was at best irrelevant and at worst distracting and distorting, and served no analytical purpose.

But that is not the whole story. On a deeper level of analysis, presence has been at the centre of art-historical inquiry. The art historian Michael Podro demonstrated this in an insightful reading of what he termed 'the critical historians of art', including those already mentioned along with several others now of varying stature in the annals of the discipline. The art historians of the golden age were 'critical' (as opposed to merely 'archaeological'), Podro said, because at the heart of their scholarship was an attempt to explain how art shaped the relationship between external reality and a person's inner life, as articulated in and through a specific historical culture.[11] Art was not only a result of historical conditions, but also a formative force. It was a matter of connecting artistic freedom and individual freedom, the ability to comport oneself towards life's conditions, Podro explained. The core idea was that the first of the two freedoms gave rise to the second: the evolution of artistic form—a result of artistic freedom—spawned new forms of inner life. Podro summed it up in a formula: composition leads to composure. Apply that to the meaning–presence dichotomy and presence re-enters the equation, because for artistic composition to affect moral composure, the beholder's presence before the artwork must be presupposed, and not only in a merely physical sense, but as manifested in the beholder's mental receptivity to the influence of the artwork.

At this point it makes sense to look at Riegl's book *The Group Portraiture of Holland*, published in 1902, only one year after his magnum opus, *Late Roman Art Industry*, and three years before his untimely death.[12] In *Late Roman Art Industry*, Riegl took his much-discussed concept of *Kunstwollen*, or artistic volition, first posited in his *Problems of Style*, and developed it into a fully fledged theory of the inner dynamics of artistic evolution.[13] *Kunstwollen* was understood as art's intrinsic driving principle, observable on the level of nations and in individual artists, and to which external factors, such as practical purposes and materials, played only a negative, restraining role. In recent decades, however, it is another of his theses, this time from *The Group Portraiture of Holland*, that has captured art historians' attention. Riegl enlarged on his reasoning about the internal composition of artworks in order to accommodate the beholder; that is, he proposed a theory of reception. In Dutch sixteenth- and seventeenth-century group portraiture, largely overlooked by earlier scholars, Riegl noted a new type of composition. The sitters were not a tightly knit unit, as seen in a family portrait, nor did they enjoy the sovereignty of sitters in individual portraiture. Instead, they form a composition in between: a constellation of distinct people linked by a particular bond—the same civic guard, the same professional guild—while otherwise retaining their autonomy as individuals.[14] Riegl referred to their attitude in the paintings as *Aufmerksamkeit*, or attentiveness, a term he operationalizes by contrasting it to will, which seeks to subjugate, and feeling, which reacts with pleasure or distaste to the outside world. In the attentive attitude,

> The individual becomes open to the outside world, not to subjugate it, to unite with it in pleasure or to recoil from it in displeasure, but in pure, selfless interest. On the one hand, attentiveness is passive, since it allows external things to affect it without attempting to overcome them; at the same time, it is active, since it searches things out, though without attempting to make them subservient to selfish pleasure.[15]

This attitude of selfless attention among the sitters in Dutch group portraits correlated, in Riegl's view, to a compositional device he termed coordination, in contrast to what he saw as its opposite, the subordination seen in Italian and Flemish art. In Italian Renaissance art, for instance, the characters in a painting will be arranged so they appear subordinate to one dominant will or action in the picture, presenting the beholder with a self-encapsulated world of internal coherence. For compositions governed by the principle of coordination, though, the elements are afforded more autonomy: they are of equal 'rank', and none is dominant. But that is not all. The critical point in Riegl's analysis is that the coordinated compositions of Dutch group portraiture establish *external* coherence—a coherence based on a relationship with the beholder of the picture—rather than the internal coherence that results from subordination. In other words, the picture invites the beholder to become part of, and thus complete, the composition.

It was this theory about the picture addressing the beholder, who is then engaged in the pictorial composition's field of force, that caught the attention of art historians in the late twentieth century. While

Riegl tried to capture an aesthetic trait he judged to be characteristic of the Dutch *Kunstwollen* exclusively, later interpreters have extracted from his theory a more general approach that, in principle, can be applied to any picture. Hence, Margaret Olin, in an essay on Riegl's notion of attention, perceives a similar attentiveness towards the beholder emanating from paintings by Gustav Klimt and Egon Schiele, and from Pablo Picasso's *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon* (1907) and Walker Evans's famous photograph *Sharecropper's Wife* (1936).[16]

This decoupling of Riegl's theory of attention from his broader theoretical framework, where *Kunstwollen* expressed a national psychological disposition, allows for a wider range of comparisons to other conceptual apparatuses. Furthermore, this exists not only in the homologous sense, where resemblances can be shown to stem from a common origin, but in the analogous sense too, where resemblances are based more abstractly on function. Margaret Iversen detects such resemblances between Riegl and the French linguist Émile Benveniste, the film scholar Laura Mulvey, and especially the art critic Michael Fried (who, in contrast to Riegl, dismissed the address of artworks to the beholder as 'theatricality').[17] Olin, in turn, points to the profound kinship of Riegl's notion of attention with the phenomenological philosophy of his contemporary Edmund Husserl, and perhaps even more so with Martin Buber's theology of intersubjectivity as expressed in an I–Thou relationship.[18] We are well into existential–ethical territory, with only a tenuous thread to Riegl's historicist framework. For Iversen, Riegl's attentiveness means freedom from 'egotistic isolation'.[19] For Olin, attention must grow from the mutual respect of other and self; respect, she reminds us, being in part derived from Latin's *respicere*, to look back, to return the gaze.[20]

These theoretical affinities, as Wolfgang Kemp has it, pivot on 'a common concern with the viewer and with the structures of the gaze', which came to prominence in the twentieth century.[21] I would add a recent interest in the agency of images and their power to address and compel the beholder, which is a view pursued, for instance, by Horst Bredekamp and Georges Didi-Huberman.[22] Differences notwithstanding, these theoretical approaches form a 'family' because they are linked to one another, not by a single common denominator, but by overlapping similarities, different but the same, in what Ludwig Wittgenstein called family resemblance.[23] My point is that the meaning–presence dichotomy belongs to this family, and that the discourses touched upon here may serve as bridges for art historians who seek to move towards a scholarly approach where artworks are not solely about meaning, but where their presence counts too.

It may be argued, and correctly so, that neither Riegl nor his commentators are in any way opposed to interpreting meaning in art. The meaning–presence dichotomy is not one of mutual exclusion but of complementarity and interdependence. A shift of analytic focus from its meaning-pole to its presence-pole is perhaps best described as a move between what French psychoanalyst Jean Laplanche has identified as two fundamental dimensions of signification. A signifier is always expected to be *un signifiant de quoi*, a signifier *of* something; its function is to represent the signified; yet, as Laplanche maintains, the signifier must then necessarily also be *un signifiant à qui*, a signifier *to* someone, suggesting its function is to speak on some level to its recipient, the interpreter of the sign.[24] The latter dimension concerns not *what* a sign—here an artwork—represents, but *how* it comes to matter to the beholder.[25] It is the latter dimension which matters when the art historian addresses presence in art.

Writing presence

Theory is not everything. What we do as art historians in our daily practice, whether in research or teaching, in art criticism or museological work, is much more than the articulation of theoretical positions. Many would say that the era of art-historical grand theories is over, and I do not know of many colleagues who would allow an absolutist theoretical stance to dictate their art-historical inquiries. Neither would I, come to that. It seems much better to 'follow the material' in whatever direction its nature seems to warrant. The interesting thing about the meaning–presence dichotomy, though, is that it is most telling not in theoretical positions but in our real encounters with artworks and in the attitudes our discipline prescribes for these encounters.

Nowhere is this clearer than in the two unwritten rules of art history, passed on to students about how to write their first dissertation. 'Never write about an artwork you have not seen with your own eyes!' they are told. This postulates the importance of the art historian's presence before the artwork, and for sound reasons. The scholar should not rely on photographic representations or textual descriptions because essential data could be missing, revealed only through first-hand examination of the work. Hence, in his book on Titian, Panofsky refused to decide whether *The Flaying of Marsyas* was painted by the Venetian master (a matter of dispute at the time) because he had not seen the canvas in person.[26] It may be argued this rule carries less weight for art forms where there is no obvious original, such as digital photography

or video. Conversely, it might be said to carry more weight for performance and installation art, where documentation seldom captures the full dimensions of the work. Nonetheless, it remains a golden rule that the art historian should acquire first-hand knowledge of the artwork by sharing its space and spending time with it.

The second rule is equally sound, but does not always sit easily with the first. 'Never write about your own feelings about the artwork'—or re-phrased 'Don't make yourself the object of study'. In none of the three steps that typically make up an art-historical inquiry—description, analysis, interpretation—should art historians obscure the artwork with accounts of their personal response to it. Not only would that blur the distinction between objectivity and subjectivity, which at one time was crucial to establishing the discipline's academic status, it would also easily come across as an inappropriate display of self-centeredness. Thus, most supervisors would discourage their students from indulging in confessions such as that of novelist-philosopher Iris Murdoch, who recalled seeing Titian's *Marsyas* in person for the first time in 1983, when the painting was on loan to the Royal Academy of Arts in London:

> The ego disappears and you see the world with absolute vividness and clarity. I felt this when I saw the picture by Titian. … The beauty and intensity of the picture—it is a wonderful picture, painted by Titian when, I think, he was over ninety. It was a sense of the burning of the human spirit in front of one's eyes. … It is to do with the entry of the spiritual into the human situation and the closeness of the gods.[27]

Art history's tacit rules make sense singly, but when taken together they leave the student in a predicament. First-hand experience of the object of study is indispensable to the integrity of the art historian's argument; however, the art historian is allowed only a much-reduced version of that first-hand encounter—merely one stratum, not its full multidimensionality—in their writing. Where to draw the line? What to keep and what to omit? It may not seem complicated when viewed in the light of theoretical principles. Objectivity? Yes. Subjectivity? No. Or in Laplanche's terms, what is the artwork a signifier *of*? That's a legitimate question. How is it a signifier *for me*? Don't go there.

But the actual processes of thinking and writing can rarely be divided in so clear-cut a manner. As art historian Michael Baxandall has remarked, even the most descriptive account of a picture represents not so much the picture itself as what the author has thought after seeing it, and the will to express some particular interest taken in it.[28] Baxandall was writing about historical explanations specifically, but his argument is no less valid about other kinds of interpretations. Art-historical writing is typically replete with indirect references to subjective aspects of in-person encounters with artworks, but these references tend to be framed as descriptions and/or explanations of intrinsic features of the artworks. Take, for instance, the last paragraph in Neumann's book on Titian's *Marsyas*. It is a passage where he first refers back to the Renaissance Neoplatonic framework that forms the basis of his historical interpretation, only to propose that the relevance of the painting reaches beyond its historical origin:

> While the Neo-Platonic theory, which had once influenced the artist, has become merely a subject for historical study, Titian's picture about the ancient myth has retained its immediate effect and can reveal its attitude to vital and aesthetic values still relevant today. Its universality and relevance constitute the ageless beauty and enthralling power of this work of art.[29]

It seems unlikely that Neumann would, or could, have written those words had he not experienced, when beholding and studying the canvas, some resonance of that 'enthralling power' in himself. Neither, I venture, would a more recent commentator on Titian's work, Daniela Bohde, have authored the following lines—which, in terms of the meaning they detect in the painting, point in quite the opposite direction from Neumann's—had she too not found herself personally addressed by the picture:

> Marsyas' breast compels the spectator to simultaneously perceive the skin as motif and the impasto brush strokes as painterly event. … The Neoplatonic attempt at meaning, perceiving Marsyas' soul as being freed from the body is deflected by this coloured skin. Titian does not just put the conception of self into question, which is constructed via a separating off and divorcing of inner and outer, but also our cognitive model, with which the truth is buried in a concealed core. Instead Titian offers the spectator skin and the paint as a means of self-reflection.[30]

There is a slight difference in how the authorial 'I' is accommodated in these passages' rhetoric. In Neumann, it is 'still relevant today' that marks his absorption in the painting (which is nonetheless quite palpable throughout his study), while Bohde uses the universal 'spectator' to stand in for her response to

the work. Consider, then, a third text, which comes even closer to spelling out its author's irreducible awareness of being *there*, in the artwork's presence: Didi-Huberman's account of the sequence of presence-effects and meaning-effects in his encounter with a small fresco of the Annunciation in a monk's cell in the monastery of San Marco in Florence, painted in the 1440s by Fra Angelico. This is the first of the perceptual–cognitive shifts Didi-Huberman walks his readers through over some fifteen pages:

> After one's eyes have adjusted to the light, this impression is oddly persistent: the fresco 'comes clear' only to revert to the white of the wall, for it consists only of two or three stains of attenuated color placed against a slightly shaded background of the same whitewash. Thus where natural light besieged our gaze—and almost blinded us—there is henceforth white, the pigmentary white of the background, which comes to possess us.[31]

Didi-Huberman then goes on to outline a scholarly position that relies on empathic imagination rather than academic erudition. It is a willingness to set aside, at least temporarily, what the scholar already knows—that which would form the basis of interpretations, permitting an understanding of the artwork—and instead encounter the artwork as that which *takes hold of the art historian*. The quoted passage is part of Didi-Huberman's comprehensive critique of a Kantian paradigm of knowledge that he sees governing the field of art history, the foremost proponent of which he finds in Panofsky. But what is important in the present context, regardless of Didi-Huberman's theoretical underpinnings, is that his approach seems to favour presence over meaning. What is required of the scholar, he argues, is a readiness to be absorbed in the encounter with the artwork *before* its symbolic meanings have been deciphered and subsumed into the existing patterns of cultural signification.

> It is more *event* than painted object. … It just offers itself: a pure 'appearance "of something"' that puts us in the presence of the chalky color, long before it tells us what this color 'fills' or qualifies. All that appears, then, is the quality of the figurable—terribly concrete, illegible, presented.[32]

Rhetorically, Didi-Huberman's formulations do not match Murdoch's 'I felt this when I saw'. Nevertheless, his consistent use of the pronoun 'we', uniting author and reader, leaves no doubt that he speaks from experience and aims for an experiential form of knowledge, dependent on the beholder's sensitivity to his co-presence with the artwork.

Ultimately, the experience of presence—in the sense of the meaning–presence dichotomy—cannot be exorcised from art-historical discourse because it has always been there, whether implicitly or explicitly, and it is inextricably intertwined with the interpretation of its twin, meaning. The key question, therefore, is whether art history at Swedish universities can treat presence as a legitimate object of study. When the discipline is framed institutionally as the study of culture, and primarily addresses knowledge about meaning(s), will art historians find the conceptual tools necessary to pose penetrating questions about presence? And if such questions are raised, will they be dismissed as unwarranted flares of egotistical subjectivity? Can art historians imbue their questions about presence with broader forms of relevance—social, cultural, existential—that transcend the merely personal?

Why presence now?

Why should today's art historians engage with the question of presence? I would say that when people approach artworks at museums, galleries, and elsewhere, it is not solely to analyse their meaning. Some, arguably all, are seeking the aesthetic illumination of life that flows from art's presence. If the discipline of art history loses sight of presence as an object of knowledge it will also lose touch with an essential dimension of people's encounters with art, to the detriment of its broader relevance in society.

There is also a more specific reason for art historians to attend to questions of presence. Recent cross-disciplinary research about the positive health effects of aesthetic and creative experiences has recruited a range of sciences to the field now known as 'arts and health'. A recent milestone was a report by the World Health Organization in November 2019, compiling findings from some 4,000 studies that show a broad range of positive health effects from encounters with the arts, from prenatal to palliative care.[33] The field of arts and health is dominated by the medical and health sciences, but also involves sociology, psychology, and ethnology; largely absent, though, is input from the aesthetic disciplines such as art history that traditionally stand for scholarship about the arts. It is not an exaggeration to say that two separate spheres of knowledge have formed around art: art history is one of them, the other is arts and health.

I have reflected elsewhere on the epistemological divide between art history and art and health, why we should try to bridge it, and a possible strategy for doing so.[34] Art history is uniquely positioned to contribute something I would argue is sorely lacking from the burgeoning field of arts and health: a discourse that can navigate between subjectivity and

objectivity in new ways. What is needed is a combination of theoretical and experiential understandings of presence; an ability to speak from first-hand experience about such experiences, and in ways that do justice to their unique nature and contribute to a methodological framework for their mediation. If the field of arts and health has a blind spot it is the encounter with the artwork, replete with all its presence and meaning. There is every effort made in the planning and outcome preparation, from the design of an organized art activity for a group of patients to the registering of health effects using physiological measures, self-rating scales, and interviews. Yet the thing on which everything hinges, the encounter with the artwork itself and its inner dynamic, is at best disregarded. Here, art historians, with their tradition of attending to artworks as sources of meaning and presence, have a vital contribution to make.

Notes

1 Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht, *Production of Presence: What Meaning Cannot Convey* (Redwood City: Stanford University Press, 2003).
2 See Jutta Held, 'Titian's Flaying of Marsyas: An Analysis of the Analyses', *Oxford Art Journal* 31/2 (2008), 179–94.
3 In Ovid and other classical sources, Marsyas plays the *aulos*, a double-reeded wind instrument, and Apollo plays the lyre.
4 See Edith Wyss, *The Myth of Apollo and Marsyas in the Art of the Italian Renaissance: An Inquiry into the Meaning of Images* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1996), 98, 134–8.
5 Jaromír Neumann, *Titian: The Flaying of Marsyas* (London: Spring, 1962).
6 Augusto Gentili, *Da Tiziano a Tiziano: Mito e allegoria nella cultura veneziana del cinquecento* (Milan: Feltrinelli, 1980), quoted in Held, 'Titian's Flaying', 189–90.
7 James Elkins, *Why Are Our Pictures Puzzles? On the Modern Origins of Pictorial Complexity* (London: Routledge, 1999), 17–20.
8 To be seen on a sign outside the Skissernas Museum—Museum of Artistic Process and Public Art in Lund.
9 George Steiner, *Real Presences* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 4, 24.
10 Matthew Rampley, 'The Idea of a Scientific Discipline: Rudolf von Eitelberger and the Emergence of Art History in Vienna, 1847–1873', *Art History* 34/1 (2011), 59, 70–1.
11 Michael Podro, *The Critical Historians of Art* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), 4–6.
12 Alois Riegl, *The Group Portraiture of Holland*, tr. Evelyn M. Kain & David Britt (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1999); Alois Riegl, *Late Roman Art Industry*, tr. Rolf Winkes (Rome: Bretschneider, 1985).
13 Alois Riegl, *Problems of Style: Foundation for a History of Ornament*, tr. Evelyn Kain (Princeton: PUP, 1992).
14 Riegl, *Group Portraiture*, 62.
15 Ibid. 75.
16 Margaret Olin, 'Forms of Respect: Alois Riegl's Concept of Attentiveness', *Art Bulletin* 71/2 (1989), 295–7.
17 Margaret Iversen, *Alois Riegl: Art History and Theory* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1993), 129–36.
18 Olin, 'Forms of Respect', 295.
19 Iversen, *Alois Riegl*, 94.
20 Olin, 'Forms of Respect', 291; see also Riegl, *Group Portraiture*, 105.
21 Wolfgang Kemp, introduction to Riegl, *Group Portraiture*, 2.
22 Horst Bredekamp, *Image Acts: A Systematic Approach to Visual Agency*, tr. Elizabeth Clegg (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2018); Georges Didi-Huberman, *Confronting Images: Questioning the Ends of a Certain History of Art*, tr. John Goodman (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2005).
23 Ludwig Wittgenstein, *Philosophical Investigations*, tr. G. E. M. Anscombe, P. M. S. Hacker & Joachim Schulte (4th edn, Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), § 66–7.
24 Jean Laplanche, *Essays on Otherness* (London: Routledge, 1999); see also Max Liljefors, 'Bodies Against Meaning: De-Subjectification in Body Art and Bioart', in Martin Gunnarsson & Fredrik Svenaeus (eds), *The Body as Gift, Resource, and Commodity: Exchanging Organs, Tissues, and Cells in the 21st Century* (Huddinge: Södertörns högskola, 2012), 169–203.
25 These dimensions of signification are two sides of the same coin, but the nature of their interrelatedness can vary. Laplanche's interest was in signs, in which the signifier's function to represent was muted, leaving only its interpellating address as an enigma, simultaneously demanding and resisting interpretation.
26 Erwin Panofsky, *Problems in Titian, Mostly Iconographic* (New York: NYUP, 1969), 171, n. 85.
27 Jeffrey Meyers, 'Iris Murdoch's "Marsyas"', *New Criterion* (Feb. 2013), 33. She was interviewed in 1985, when the British artist Tom Phillips was painting her portrait (1984–1986). Titian's *Marsyas* fills the upper half of the background of the portrait, which is now in the National Portrait Gallery in London.
28 Michael Baxandall, *Patterns of Intention: On the Historical Explanation of Pictures* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 5, 10.
29 Neumann, *Titian*, 31.
30 Daniela Bohde, 'Skin and the Search for the Interior: The Representation of Flaying in the Art and Anatomy of the Cinquecento', in Florike Egmond & Robert Zwijnenberg (eds), *Bodily Extremities: Preoccupations of the Human Body in Early Modern European Culture* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), 45–7.
31 Didi-Huberman, *Confronting Images*, 11.
32 Ibid. 17–18, original emphasis.
33 Daisy Fancourt & Saoirse Finn, *What is the Evidence on the Role of the Arts in Improving Health and Well-being? A Scoping Review* (World Health Organization, 2019); see also the (UK) All-Party Parliamentary Group on Arts and Wellbeing, *Creative Health: The Arts for Health and Wellbeing* (report, 2nd edn, July 2017), www.culturehealthandwellbeing.org.uk/appg-inquiry/ (accessed 1 Feb. 2022).
34 Max Liljefors, 'Aesthetic Experience as a Boundary Object', in Kristofer Hansson & Rachel Irwin (eds), *Movement of Knowledge: Introducing a Medical Humanities Perspective on Medicine, Science and Experience* (Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2020), 205–232.

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