The Idea of North:
The Art of David Wallin, 1876-1957

Isabelle Christentze Beatrice Gapp

University of York
MA by Research
History of Art
September 2016

Abstract

This dissertation will examine the role the artist David Wallin (1876-1957) played in the history of Swedish, and Nordic, art. It will look at how, through his painting, not only did he maintain elements of the National Romantic tradition, but how his *oeuvre* reveals an artist concerned less with belonging to a specific group, and instead painting what inspired him most. Through analysing and observing his works, most of which focus on his family and his native landscape, an image of Sweden, and indeed Scandinavia, will be formed. This image will challenge the stereotypical understanding the Anglophone world has of the North. This thesis will moreover focus on unearthing an artist who fit no one category or classification of art, and consequently has been ignored by the study of Nordic art history. With regard to the latter, there has to date been little room for manoeuvre in the study of artists who worked outside the brackets of National Romanticism and Modernism, however by not merely adhering to a study of 'isms' the opportunities are endless. Moving away from the study undertaken by Kirk Varnedoe in *Northern Light*, I will consider how the approach required today is one which takes into account the individuality of each artist, using Wallin as an example. Furthermore, I will examine how artists of Wallin's generation, as well as those that came before and after him, not only related to one another, but were inspired by, and also inspired, artists in Europe and across the Atlantic.

For John Coltrane and Bob Marley,
my eternal study buddies.

Table of Contents

Abstract 2

Table of Contents 4

List of Illustrations 5

Authors Declaration 11

Introduction **12**

I. Nordic or Scandinavian? 14

II. c.1890 15

III. Northern Light 24

IV. A Nordic Romantic 31

Chapter 1: c.1902 **34**

I. The Birth of the Siren 38

II. Springtime 45

III. Shades of Blue 50

Chapter 2: c.1912 **55**

I. The Allure of Paris 56

II. Mauve is the Colour 60

III. Maternal Instinct 64

Chapter 3: c.1932 **68**

I. A Boldness in Colour, A Boldness in Form 68

II. Trans-Atlantic Relations 73

III. 1932: Los Angeles 76

Conclusion **86**

Illustrations 90

Bibliography 172

List of Illustrations

Plates:

1. David Wallin's Olympic Gold Medal Certificate for *Vid Arilds Strand*, Los Angeles, 1932. Image: Royal Library Archives, Stockholm
2. David Wallin's Certificate for *Vår (Primavera, Springtime)* at the Exposición Internacional del Centenario 1910 in Buenos Aires. Image: Royal Library Archives, Stockholm
3. Anders Zorn. *Impressions de Londres.* 1890. Watercolour on paper. 72 x 55cm. Image: Gothenburg Museum of Art.
4. Hugo Birger. *Outside a Restaurant on Bois de Boulogne, Paris.* Unknown Date. Oil on canvas. 33 x 52cm. Image: Nationalmuseum, Stockholm
5. Nils Kreuger. *The Road to Orleans.* 1886. Oil on canvas. 52.5 x 81cm. Private collection. Image: the-athenaeum.org
6. Akseli Gallen-Kallela. *Väinämöinen's Voyage.* 1909. Oil on canvas. 90.5 x 117cm. Image: Ateneum, Finnish National Gallery, Helsinki.
7. Akseli Gallen-Kallela. *Lake Keitele.* 1905. Oil on canvas. 53 x 66cm. Image: National Gallery, London
8. Carl Milles. Detail of *Aganippe: The Fountain of the Muses.* 1951-55. Bronze. Displayed within the Lamont Wing, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York in 1956. Image: The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin, 1956
9. Carl Milles. *Monument of Peace.* 1936. Onyx. 10.9m high. St Paul's Courthouse, Minnesota. Image: atlasobscura.com
10. David Wallin. *Sketch for a Portrait of Gustaf Cederström II.* 1915. Oil on canvas. 50 x 40cm. Private Collection. Photo: Stockholms Auktionsverk.
11. David Wallin. *Kraka Meets Ragnar Lodbrok*. 1902. Oil on canvas. 223 x 149cm, Unknown Collection Image: Royal Library Archives, Stockholm.

12. David Wallin. *Sketch of William Morris after a Painting by George F. Watts Painted in 1870.* 1905. Oil on board. 25 x 16cm. Held within Royal Archives. Image: Royal Library Archives, Stockholm.
13. August Malmström. *King Heimar and Aslög.* 1856. Oil on canvas. 119 x 102cm. Image: Nationalmuseum, Stockholm.
14. David Wallin. *Dagny by the Stream in Svenshyttan.* 1914. Oil on canvas. 29 x 37cm. Private Collection. Image: Stockholms Auktionsverk.
15. Mårten Eskil Winge. *Kraka*. 1862. Oil on canvas. 160 x 217cm. Image: Nationalmuseum, Stockholm.
16. David Wallin. *Najad*. 1917. Oil on board. 36 x 45cm. Private Collection. Image: Isabelle Gapp.
17. David Wallin. *Elin Wallin in Wallin's Studio.* Unknown Date. Photograph. Held within Royal Archives. Image: Royal Library Archives, Stockholm
18. David Wallin. *Spring Holiday III*. 1924. Oil on board. 50 x 40cm. Private Collection. Image: Isabelle Gapp.
19. Richard Bergh. *Vision: Motif from Visby*. 1894. Oil on canvas. 122 x 209cm. Image: Nationalmuseum, Stockholm.
20. David Wallin. *Springtime: The Artist's Wife in Lill-Jans Forest.* 1905. Oil on canvas. 133 x 124cm. Unknown Collection. Image: Royal Library Archives, Stockholm.
21. David Wallin. *Elin Lundberg*. December 1904. Oil on canvas. 55 x 46cm. Private Collection: Image: Stockholms Auktionsverk.
22. David Wallin. *Creation of Adam, copy after Michelangelo.* 1909. Oil on canvas. 47 x 38cm. Private Collection. Image: Isabelle Gapp.
23. Helmer Osslund. *Summer Landscape from Norrland*. Unknown Date. Oil on canvas upon panel. 64 x 100cm. Unknown Collection. Image: Bukowskis Auctions.
24. Helmer Osslund. *The Spirit of Spring in Torne Träsk.* Unknown date. Oil on canvas. 40 x 67.5cm. Unknown Collection. Image: Bukowskis Auctions.
25. David Wallin. *Hedwig Waldenström.* Unknown Date. Oil on canvas. Image: Nationalmuseum Archives, Stockholm.

26. David Wallin. *The Opera Singer John Forsell.* 1915. Oil on canvas. 80 x 73cm. Private Collection. Image: Isabelle Gapp.
27. David Wallin. *A Young Woman in a Spring Landscape.* 1906. Oil on board. 54 x 41cm. Private Collection. Image: Bukowskis Auctions.
28. David Wallin. *Elin W.* 1906. Oil on canvas. 45 x 47cm. Private Collection. Image: Isabelle Gapp
29. Claude Monet. *Study of a Woman Outdoors: Woman with a Parasol.* 1906. Oil on canvas. 131 x 88.7cm. Image: Musée d'Orsay, Paris.
30. David Wallin. *Greta Lidberg in a Spring Landscape.* c.1912. Oil on canvas. 125 x 87cm. Private Collection. Image: Isabelle Gapp.
31. David Wallin. *Greta Lidberg in Ljusterö.* c.1912. Oil on canvas. 21 x 31cm. Private Collection. Image: auctionet.com
32. Prince Eugen. *Spring Sun on the Meadow.* 1894. Charcoal and watercolour. 100 x 150cm. Image: Prins Eugen's Waldemarsudde.
33. David Wallin. *Nude Study.* 1911. Oil on canvas. 100 x 84cm. Private Collection. Image: Isabelle Gapp.
34. David Wallin. *Fable Eternelle.* 1911. Oil on canvas. 81 x 100cm. Private Collection. Image: Stockholm's Auktionsverk
35. David Wallin. *Elin with a Coat Over her Arms.* 1910. Oil on canvas. 81 x 100cm. Private Collection. Image: Royal Library Archives, Stockholm.
36. Edvard Munch. *Snow Landscape from Kragerø.* 1912. Oil on canvas. Unknown measurements. Private Collection. Image: blouinartinfo.com
37. Edvard Munch. *Mary Gallén on the Kuhmoniemi Bridge.* 1890. Oil on wood. 33 x 22.9cm. Private Collection. Image: thoughtsthatcureradically.com
38. Arthur Hughes. *April Love.* 1855-56. Oil on canvas. 89 x 49.5cm. Image: Tate.
39. John Singer Sargent. *Lady Agnew of Locknaw. 1892.* Oil on canvas. 127 x 101cm. Image: National Gallery of Scotland.
40. John Singer Sargent. *The Piazzetta, Venice.* c.1904. Watercolour on paper. 34 x 54cm. Image: Tate.

41. David Wallin. *Elin Modelling Outdoors.* Unknown date. Photograph. Image: Royal Library Archives, Stockholm.
42. David Wallin. *Preliminary Photograph for Fable Eternelle - Hillevi and Dagny.* c.1911. Photograph. Image: Royal Library Archives, Stockholm.
43. David Wallin. *A Mother and her Sleeping Child.* Unknown date. Oil on canvas. Unknown measurements. Image: Royal Library Archives, Stockholm.
44. David Wallin. *In the Beginning.* c.1912. Oil on canvas. Unknown measurements. Image: Royal Library Archives, Stockholm.
45. David Wallin. *Mother and Child.* c.1912. Pencil on paper. Unknown measurements. Image: Royal Library Archives, Stockholm.
46. David Wallin. *Oil sketch* for *In the Beginning.* c.1912. Oil on canvas. Unknown measurements. Image: Royal Library Archives, Stockholm.
47. David Wallin. *Elin and Dagny.* c.1912. Photograph. Image: Royal Library Archives, Stockholm.
48. Eugène Carrière. *Maternity.* c.1890-1906. Oil on canvas. 30 x 40cm. Image: Musee d'Orsay, Paris.
49. Eugène Carrière. *Maternal Love.* 1904. Oil on canvas. 75.5 x 59cm. Image: Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Brussels.
50. David Wallin. *Dagny with a Red Hat.* 1918. Oil on canvas. Private Collection. Image: Isabelle Gapp.
51. Edvard Munch. *In the Garden.* 1902. Oil on canvas. 75 x 82cm. Unknown Collection. Image: the-athenaeum.org
52. Edvard Munch. *Starry Night*. 1893. Oil on canvas. 135.6 x 140cm. Image: The J. Paul Getty Museum.
53. David Wallin. *Ragnhild.* c.1922. Oil on canvas. Unknown measurements. Image: Royal Library Archives, Stockholm.
54. Carl Wilhelmsson. *Toilette in the Studio.* 1916. Weimar colours on canvas. 83 x 49cm. Image: Bukowskis Auctions.
55. David Wallin. *Summer.* 1914-1923. Oil on canvas. Image: Royal Library Archives, Stockholm.

56. David Wallin. *Mother and Child.* Unknown date. Oil on canvas. Unknown measurements. Image: National Museum Archives, Stockholm.
57. David Wallin. *Morning Toilette.* 1930. Oil on canvas. 76 x 71 cm. Unknown Collection. Image: Royal Library Archives, Stockholm.
58. David Wallin. *Preliminary Version of Morning Toilette*. c.1930. Oil on canvas. Unknown Measurements. Image: Royal Library Archives, Stockholm.
59. Lotte Laserstein. *Morning Toilette.* 1930. Oil on panel. 99.1 x 65cm. Image: National Museum of Women in the Arts, Washington D.C.
60. David Wallin. *Two Women in a Landscape.* 1933. Oil on canvas. Unknown Measurements. Private Collection. Image: Isabelle Gapp.
61. Carl Larsson. *Crayfishing*. c.1897 (1899 - as published in *Ett Hem*). Watercolour. Image: Ett Hem.
62. David Wallin. *Female Head - Study for Midsummer's Eve.* c.1950-51. Oil on canvas. 42 x 55.5cm. Private Collection. Image: Isabelle Gapp.
63. Anders Zorn. *Midsummer Dance.* 1897. Oil on canvas. 140 x 98cm. Image: National Museum, Stockholm.
64. David Wallin. *Girl with a Racket.* 1931. Oil on canvas. 73 x 60cm. Unknown Collection. Image: Royal Library Archives, Stockholm.
65. David Wallin. *At the Seaside of Arild.* c.1932. Oil on canvas. 134 x 124cm. Unknown Collection. Image: Royal Library Archives, Stockholm.
66. Ruth Miller. *Struggle*. c.1932. Oil on canvas. Unknown measurements. Image: Santa Barbara Independent, independent.com
67. David Wallin. *A Summer's Day in Arild.* c.1932. Approx 134 x 124cm. Image: Royal Library Archives, Stockholm.
68. David Wallin. *Sunbathing on the Cliffs at Arild.* 1931. Oil on canvas. Unknown measurements. Image: Royal Library Archives, Stockholm.
69. David Wallin. *Bathing by the Cliffs of Arild.* Unknown Date. Oil on canvas. Private Collection. Image: Isabelle Gapp.

70. Pierre Puvis de Chavannes. *The Bathers.* c.1890. Oil on canvas. 55.4 x 35.5 cm. Image: Art Gallery of Ontario, Canada.
71. Pierre Puvis de Chavannes. *Young Girls by the Seaside.* 1887. Oil on canvas. 61 x 47cm. Image: Musée d'Orsay, Paris.
72. Ernst Josephson. *The Water Sprite*. 1882. Oil on canvas, mounted on masonite. 216 x 150cm. Image: Prins Eugen's Waldemarsudde, Stockholm.
73. Ernst Josephson. *Gåslisa.* 1888-89. Oil on wood. 72 x 58cm. Image: Prins Eugen's Waldemarsudde, Stockholm.
74. David Wallin. *Girl Arranging her Hair*. 1938. Oil on board. 39 x 36cm. Private Collection. Image: Isabelle Gapp.

75-82. T*he next 8 images represent the exhibition layout for David Wallin's 1952 Retrospective at the Royal Academy of Art, Stockholm.* Images: Royal Library Archives, Stockholm.

Authors Declaration

I declare that this dissertation is a presentation of original work and that I am the sole author. This work has not previously been presented for an award at this, or any other, University. All sources are acknowledged as References.

Introduction

The study of Scandinavian art often starts in the 19th century**.** Many scholars, including Neil Kent, David Jackson, and Kirk Varnedoe, regard this time, throughout the Nordic nations, as the 'golden age' of painting. From a Swedish standpoint Carl Larsson and Anders Zorn, born into academic tradition, were the instigators of a new way of painting; through their move to the continent and in the case of Zorn, in particular, through his numerous trans-atlantic commissions.[1] As categorised by art historians in recent studies and exhibitions, including *Symbolism and Decadence* (Waldemarsudde, Stockholm, 2016) and *Dreams of a Summer Night* (Hayward Gallery, London, 1986), and in the writing of Kent[2] and Torsten Gunnarsson,[3] among others, this was the time of National Romanticism. However, Larsson and Zorn, alongside their numerous colleagues, both within Sweden and wider Scandinavia, do not signify the extent of this field of art history. It is not just a history of 'isms' as many art historians, including Kent and Gunnarsson, have considered it. It was not simply a move from National Romanticism (and Symbolism),[4] to Modernism at the beginning of the 20th century; rather a number of artists existed during the intermediary period; belonging to neither one nor the other. Among these, most of which were born in the 1870s, was the artist David Wallin (1876-1957).

Wallin provides us with an antithetical example to the image we traditionally have of the Nordic nations. Whereas we are often preoccupied with the idea of northern angst, Wallin gives us something entirely different. In his painting he moves away from the traditional image brought about in the works of Larsson, for example, and instead provides us with a personal, sometimes idealistic, image of what Sweden means for him. In this dissertation I will focus on Wallin's use of form, function and colour as identified in his scenes of the mother and child, the recurrent theme of the nude in a landscape, and in both his personal and commissioned portraits. Through this

---

[1] See: Tostmann, Oliver. *Anders Zorn: A European Artist Seduces America*. (Paul Holberton Publishing, 2013).

[2] A specialist in Russian and Scandinavian art at the Scott Polar Research Institute, University of Cambridge. Kent's works include, *The Triumph of Light and Nature: Nordic Art 1740-1940*; *The Soul of the North: A Social, Architectural and Cultural History of the Nordic Countries, 1700-1940*.

[3] Head curator at the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, Torsten Gunnarsson's works include *Nordic Landscape Painting in the Nineteenth Century*, as well as chapters in the catalogues including *Impressionism och Norden*.

[4] The relationship between the two will be discussed later on in this introduction.

analysis I will also seek to identify the relevance Wallin came to have not only at home, but also abroad, looking for example at paintings which garnered him international success and recognition. These include paintings for which he received medals at the Olympic Games in Los Angeles, 1932 (the certificate for which can be seen in Plate 1) and the success garnered, early on in his career, at the Exposición Internacional del Centenario 1910 in Buenos Aires (Plate 2). This thesis will introduce and situate an artist whose career has as yet gone unrecognised by the study of art history, and therefore provides us with a means of reevaluating the way in which should study art. Wallin enables us to look at the 'in-between' artist, the one who fits neither the generation before him - the National Romantics - or those who succeeded him - the Modernists.

Although inspired by certain modern techniques and artists - a boldness in colour, an emphasised delineation of form, and a repetition of composition as inspired by Cézanne - Wallin was deemed as belonging "to the generation of Swedish artists from the turn of the century, who weren't motivated by greatness or monumentality, but rather strived to give an intimate portrayal of nature, humanity and poetry."[5] This being said, the idea of rebuking greatness and monumentality, contradicts what one Swedish right-wing political faction - the *Gymniska Förbundet* (functioning between 1928-1932, and a precursor to the *Samfundet Manhem*),[6] of which Wallin was a member for one year in 1929 - strove for. The impact this political ideology had on Wallin as an artist will be determined later on, however, it is not impossible to ignore the albeit minimal role it had in his life, and that of many other Swedish artists and notable cultural figures.[7] Putting politics aside for the time being, those artists who inspired in Wallin a classical and historical appreciation of art, were the Swede Ernst Josephson, and the French pioneers of Symbolism Pierre Puvis de Chavannes and Eugène Carrière; and those further back in history, among whom Wallin favoured the Dutch and Italian Masters of the 16th and 17th centuries (with works of this period belonging in his own collection). It was the artist's own understanding and interpretation of these artists' works that came to be represented in his paintings.

---

[5] "David Wallin tillhör den svenska konstnärsgenerationen från sekelskiftet, som inte lockades av storhet och monumentalitet, utan som strävade att ge en intim skildring av natur, människor och dikt." Ohtomies, Olli. *David Wallin - Den nordiska målarkonstens romantiker.* (Letter, 1945). p.1.

[6] Samfundet Manhem - a pro-nazi Swedish organisation founded in 1934, with members from the middle and upper-classes of Swedish society.

[7] The prominence of the Gymniska Förbundet in artistic and cultural circles shall be discussed further in Chapter 3.

This thesis seeks to examine the role Wallin played in the history of Swedish, and Nordic, art; how, through his painting not only did he maintain elements of the so-called National Romantic tradition, but also how his *oeuvre* reveals an artist less concerned with belonging to a specific group, and instead painting what inspired him most. Painting only portraits on commission, most of his works were created for private reasons, depicting his family - his wife, daughters, and sons - and his native countryside. The influences and passions of Wallin discussed in the following chapters, consider how each decade of his fifty year career marks a distinct point in the vast volume of his *oeuvre*.

I. Nordic or Scandinavian?

Before delving into the artistic study of the Nordic nations (locally referred to as *Norden*), it is first important to discern the meaning of certain terminology that will be used within this dissertation. The most contentious issue in this regard, is the use of the word *Scandinavia*. Traditionally the latter refers to the countries of Sweden, Denmark and Norway, with *Nordic* referencing the wider spectrum of northern countries - including not only Finland, but Iceland, Greenland and the Faroe Islands. However, in his recent television series, *The Art of Scandinavia*,[8] Andrew Graham Dixon comments on how the Scandinavian countries were linked geographically, culturally and linguistically. On this premise, Finland cannot be excluded. It is similarly linked by land to Sweden, albeit in the far north, in Lap territory. Furthermore, it was previously part of the Swedish Empire, and to this day Swedish remains a second language. It can further be argued that, putting geography aside, the similarities in terms of culture, politics, and art are much more in accordance with its Scandinavian neighbours than with Russia to the east. And indeed in the catalogues for both *Northern Light* and *Dreams of a Summer Night*, Finland is included in a study and exhibit of *Scandinavian* Art. With this in mind, the inclusion of Finland as part of Scandinavia can be justified when writing about the visual arts, and thus *Nordic* and *Scandinavia* (alongside *Norden*, or *nordisk* - the verb) will be used interchangeably.

[8] *Art of Scandinavia, Episode 1, Dark Night of the Soul.* 2016. BBC 4. 14 March, 21:00.

II. c.1890

When we think of Scandinavian art, Edvard Munch and Vilhelm Hammershøi tend to come to mind. They embody the northern angst and loneliness, respectively, that have come to be seen as the stereotypes of Scandinavian art. In the mind of Anglophone viewers and art historians, they evoke the sentiments we often associate with the Nordic nations. Unlike Wallin, who belongs to no one 'ism' but rather traverses many, and whose paintings depict the glorious springs and summers rather than the bitter winters of Sweden, Munch and Hammershøi are psychologically insightful and stylistically different in relaying the stereotypes we so want Scandinavia to represent. However, they are not the only representatives of Nordic art during this time. This section will explore the rise of Symbolism in Scandinavia, identifiable in the works of both Hammershøi and Munch, as well as many of their colleagues, forming a basis upon which to later examine Wallin's own Symbolist roots. It also enables us to situate Wallin in a wider Nordic, not only Swedish context. As the Finnish journalist Olli Ohtomies wrote in 1945: "art critics have called David Wallin the greatest romantic within Swedish art, and a romantic he definitely is, he says so himself, but would rather the epithet 'nordic' prefaced the word."[9]

During the nineteenth century, there was a wave of nationalist sentiment that permeated Europe. In her book *Symbolist Art in Context*, Michelle Facos attributes this to a longing for a national identity which originated in the American and French Revolutions, where the question "What is a nation?" was first raised.[10] Many European countries had become aware, through growing literacy, of their countries' heritage and culture, and developed a longing to restore the fantasy of what had once been. This cultural awareness consequently meant that more people were noticing and becoming involved in art, literature and music. This in turn led to artists searching for a way to embody these growing political and cultural sentiments. In this regard, "Symbolism was effective in promoting national identity because it appealed to emotion rather than intellect"[11] - not only the emotions of

---

[9] "Konstkritiker ha kallat David Wallin den störste romantikern inom Sveriges konst och romantiker är han, det säger han själv, men önskar framför ordet sätta epitetet 'nordisk.'" *David Wallin - Den nordiska målarkonstens romantiker.* p.3.

[10] Facos, Michelle. *Symbolist Art in Context*. (University of California Press, 2009). p.147

[11] *Ibid*, p.149

viewers but also that of artists. As this dissertation reveals, much of Wallin's work was an account of what he personally loved.

The importance of emotion was the defining inspiration behind Nordic Symbolism, or National Romanticism.[12] Despite a market interest in Symbolism, for the Scandinavian artist paintings were not merely created on commission, but also for the artists' own pleasure. It was 'emotion' which instilled a sense of national pride in the painters' themselves; and which determined the subject matter of their paintings - of the loves and losses of the mythical gods, of death and all it conquered, and of a landscape that revealed the beauty of the nation and the love felt by the artist for the very land they came from. Symbolism and the artists' own emotions became the outlet through which change was sought.

By the 1890s Nordic artists had become disenchanted and uninspired by cities and the process of industrialisation. Instead it was "the countryside [which] lured them in with its nature and old culture."[13] Artists had begun the search for something "original and true",[14] where their art could embody a sense of purity which they believed couldn't be found in the capitals of Europe. Having previously worked in the vein of Realism and Impressionism, Nordic artists during the 1880s were preoccupied with an exploration of style and emulating the works of their French counterparts. It was artists such as Jean Francois Millet, Jules Bastien-Lepage, Claude Monet and Auguste Renoir whose Realist and Impressionist tendencies inspired the generation of Nordic artists that included P.S.Krøyer, (and his Skagen colleagues), Laurits Andersen Ring, Carl Larsson, and Richard Bergh.

With the focus relying very much on the imitation of style and composition, and recreating scenes of French urban and rural life, for the Swedish artist the homeland came to play a much less significant role. In Zorn's *Impressions de Londres* (1890, Plate 3), Hugo Birger's sketch *Outside a Restaurant on Bois de Boulogne, Paris* (*Utanför en restaurang på Bois de Boulogne*, Unknown

---

[12] The use of this term shall be discussed further, later in the introduction.

[13] "Landsbygden lockade med sin natur och gamla kultur." *Symbolism och Dekadens*. 19 Sep 2015 - 24 Jan 2016. Prins Eugen's Waldemarsudde, 2015. p.10.

[14] *Ibid,* p.10

Date, Plate 4),[15] and Nils Kreuger's *The Road to Orleans* (*Vägen till Orleans*, 1886, Plate 5),[16] for example, the vast impact of Impressionism and the inspiration instilled by the French city and landscape is most notable. With loose brushstrokes and softer, more subdued, colours, painting *en plein air,* the Swedish Naturalist painter[17] came to evoke their surrounding environments in the native style. At this time, in the works of certain Swedish artists, including Bergh and Larsson, there was no longing for home, rather it was Bergh's proclamation that "No, Sweden was not the land for art",[18] which had contributed to the initial move to France. Having rebuked the 'archaic' traditions of the Royal Academy of Art in Stockholm, a group of artists, in which the former were included, imposed upon themselves self-exile, "leaving 'barbaric' Sweden to become cosmopolitans."[19] This being said, Swedish artists, such as Kreuger and Nordström, did return home for brief intervals, and in this time scenes of Swedish life are represented in a similar vein to their paintings of rural and urban France. For much of the 1880s, these artists worked both in France and occasionally at home; using the French styles that had come to define their continental studies. There is very little that truly distinguishes their paintings from their European contemporaries during this period. With very little self-expression or nationalism pervading the composition, it was only during the 'second phase' of their careers that this would become apparent.

The 1890s in Swedish art saw a decisive u-turn in the desires of the artist. Swedish artists had become more concerned with their own nationality and sense of identity than with foreign motifs. Despite the earlier infatuation with France, it was Bergh who was "instrumental in defining the so-called National Romantic style in Sweden."[20] He developed his own theories on art which came to be widely accepted by the Swedish art establishment. In his essay 'On the Necessity of

---

[15] Much of Birger's works are focused on Paris and the French countryside, as following the completion of his academic training in Stockholm, much of his career was spent abroad, dying at the tender age of 33 on arrival in Helsingborg, Sweden from France. Source: *Impressionism och Norden*, 25 Sep 2002 - 19 Jan 2003. Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, 2002. p.66

[16] *Ibid*, p.112.

[17] Berg, Knut. *Nordic Art at the Turn of the Century* in *Dreams of a Summer Night: Scandinavian Painting at the Turn of the Century.* Hayward Gallery, London, 1986. p.33

[18] Bergh, Richard. *Svenskt konstnärskynne* in *Om konst och annat.* (Stockholm,1908) p.148.

[19] "att lämna 'barbarlandet' Sverige för att bli kosmopoliter." *Symbolism och Dekadens*, p.38.

[20] Varnedoe, Kirk. *Northern Light: Nordic Art at the Turn of the Century*. (Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1988). p.50

Exaggeration in Art' (1886), he presents three of his principles, the latter two of which became fundamental tenets of Swedish Symbolism: "that exaggeration is essential to art, that art expresses an individual's emotional response to a subject, and that the first duty of art is to interpret nature."[21] As has been previously mentioned, and will be discussed further, emotion and nature were intrinsic to the art of Nordic Symbolist painters. The importance of nature was further discussed by Bergh, in that "he believed that Nordic art was independent because it sprang from an affinity with the native landscape."[22] Although he admitted that the influence of France had been great on Scandinavian painting, during the 1890s it ceased to be mere imitation, and instead Nordic artists sought their own language and a way to convey what was familiar.

In Denmark, artists, especially those working out of Skagen, were similarly accustomed to working in the styles of Impressionism and Realism. The paintings of Krøyer and Michael Ancher reveal from the outset the natural beauty of their native land. The importance of nationalism reaches varying levels in Scandinavia during the 1880s and 1890s. Unlike in Sweden where it was only during the final years of the 19th century that nationalism came to the fore, for Denmark, where political divisions were growing and a "continued national malaise" persisted following their devastating defeat at the Battle of Schleswig-Holstein in 1864,[23] the concept of nationalism had played an intrinsic part of their culture for decades.

One of Denmark's most prevalent artists, Laurits Andersen Ring (1854-1933) marks in his *oeuvre* the transition of style, from Social Realism, which strongly recalls the works of Jean Francois Millet and Bastien Lepage, to Symbolism. Ring was described as being "among very few artists [in Denmark] who created socially based representations of rural laborers with psychological insight and advanced artistic means."[24] Ring bridged the two periods of artistic change as identified by Varnedoe in the catalogue for *Northern Light*.[25] His career spanned the introduction of Realism and

---

[21] Facos, Michelle. *Nationalism and the Nordic Imagination: Swedish Art of the 1890s.* (University of California Press, 1998). p.106.

[22] *Northern Light: Nordic Art at the Turn of the Century*. p.50

[23] Berman, Patricia G. *In Another Light: Danish Painting in the Nineteenth Century.* (Thames and Hudson Ltd. 2007). p. 181

[24] *Ibid*, p.188

[25] *Northern Light: Nordic Art at the Turn of the Century*, p.208

Naturalism to Scandinavia in the 1880s (carried forth most prominently in Denmark by the group of Skagen painters), and the subsequent replacement of this in the 1890s with a "resurgence of nationalist, isolationist sentiment"[26] in the form of Symbolism.

Much like in Sweden, Danish art reveals the moment at which style and concept began to merge; where there was no longer a strict delineation between the two, or between varying stylistic techniques. It was in 1893 that Symbolism was formally introduced to the Danish public, with the writer Johannes Jørgensen writing in his journal *Taarnet* (*The Tower*):

> All true art is and will always be symbolic. With all of the great masters you will find a perception of nature as an exterior sign of an inner spiritual life […] It is furthermore my firm belief that any true view of the world must necessarily be mystical. The world is deep.[27]

In this Jørgensen suggested that Symbolism was not an isolated movement, but one which had permeated the history of art; that, at its essence, it was an exploration of spirituality, psychology and mysticism, not solely restricted to the visual representation of myth and legend. These words mark not only the introduction of Symbolism into Danish culture, but provide a transitionary moment - that although a different style, it had in fact existed throughout art just in varying degrees.

Unlike its neighbours, Danish symbolists did not adhere to one type of Symbolism, but were rather influenced by the varying approaches taken by foreign, predominantly French, artists. In the work of Gad F. Clemens, for example, the influence of the Nabis (a group of young French Symbolists, which included Paul Sérusier, Édouard Vuillard and Pierre Bonnard) is palpable.[28] Clemens dispensed "with traditional perspective" and constructed "a painting through rhythmic, decorative lines and masses that echo one another."[29] However "the Danish Nabis represented only one of several eclectic manifestations of Symbolism in the 1890s."[30] Another was Puvis de Chavannes,

---

[26] *Northern Light: Nordic Art at the Turn of the Century*, p.15

[27] *In Another Light: Danish Painting in the Nineteenth Century.* p.195

[28] *Ibid*, p.200

[29] *Ibid,* p.199

[30] *Ibid,* p.200

whose linear, sculptural forms and flat use of colour, made him one of the most admired artists in 19th-century Denmark, and indeed Scandinavia as a whole. The works of Hammershøi reveal a strong appreciation of the French painter. Despite visual similarities, in style and tone, the symbolic undertone in Hammershøi's work, much like Puvis de Chavannes, is suggested rather than depicted. It is not exact scenes of mythology which occupy the canvas, rather the focus rests on emotion and composition as a way of instilling a symbolic understanding. Most recently the subject of a solo exhibition at the Royal Academy of Arts in London in 2008, entitled *The Poetry of Silence*, and also a favourite of Michael Palin (featured in the TV series *Palin on Art*, also in 2008), Hammershøi is recognised nowadays for his stripped-back interior scenes, often with a lone figure contained within the space. They instil a sense of loneliness and silence; and of self reflection - perhaps with the intention that the audience transfers their emotions onto the solitary figure; they ponder what exists beyond the window.[31] They are "gloriously full of […] [their] own emptiness."[32]

It was through their native landscape that Scandinavian Symbolist painters created something that embodied the national romantic spirit which came to define this period of Nordic art history. This being said, the landscape had always played a prominent part in the artistic education of the artist. In France, the village of Grez-sur-Loing, once an artistic retreat for American and British artists during the latter years of the 1870s,[33] soon became the hearth around which Scandinavian, although predominantly Swedish, artists were drawn. From 1880 until the turn of the century, the colony at Grez thrived, providing an abundant source of inspiration for artists including Larsson, Nordström and Liljefors, all of whom sought an escape from the hustle-and-bustle of the capital. It was also during a visit to Grez in 1882 that Larsson met his future wife, the artist and interior designer Karin Bergöö (they were married a year later).

---

[31] The window is not the frame within which the painting is contained, but the focus of the painting. It is a reverse take on the "window painting" approach. Source: Glover, Michael. *Great Works: Sunbeams or Sunshine. Dust Motes Dancing in the Sunbeams 1900 (70 x 59 cm), Vilhelm Hammershoi.* (Independent Online, 7 Jan 2011). http://www.independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/art/great-works/great-works-sunbeams-or-sunshine-dust-motes-dancing-in-the-sunbeams-1900-70-x-59-cm-vilhelm-2177717.html, accessed 10 May 2016.

[32] *Ibid*.

[33] Lübbren, Nina. *Rural Artists Colonies in Europe 1870-1910.* (Rutgers University Press, 2001). p.2

This artist colony lifestyle translated easily back home. In Sweden, from 1894 until 1919, Prince Eugen established a base in Tyresö,[34] a district of Stockholm. Subsequently further colonies were established on the Racken lake by Gustaf Fjæstad and his wife Maja in 1898; and in Varberg, which provided refuge for artists Bergh, Nordström and Kreuger. In Norway, the colonies of Fleskum in 1886 attracted artists including Gerhard Munthe and Erik Werenskiold, while Åsgårdstrand, during the 1880s, inspired the likes of Munch and Christian Krohg;[35] whereas in Finland, the artists' colony on lake Tuusula, just outside of Helsinki, lured in artists Pekka Halonen and Eero Järnefelt, to name a few.[36] In Denmark on the other hand, the already established, and internationally renowned, Skagen community, went from strength to strength. This being said, the artist colony wasn't exclusive to 19th-century Nordic artists. The community of Arild (which I discuss in subsequent chapters in relation to Wallin), for example, became a thriving hub for artists and the European elite at the turn of the century. Although the countryside existed in abundance in both France and at home, its true potential as a source of nationalist inspiration wasn't realised until the subsequent decade.

At this point the landscape gained unprecedented prominence in Nordic art. It became a way to localise national identity. Throughout the 1890s and in the works of subsequent generations, the landscape was a constant feature; however it was, more often than not, unidentifiable. Although we can distinguish the various artist's colonies in certain works, it was very rare that features unique to one location were depicted. Instead, during the 1890s, the "importance was the terrain's potential to trigger feelings of familiarity and affection."[37] It was not the locality of the landscape that was of importance, but rather how it made the audience feel.

The concern with the national consciousness had been apparent in Finnish and Norwegian art throughout; it was the reason why the visual arts flourished. There was a "nationalist temperament,

---

[34] In 1894, Prince Eugen was invited to Tyresö by the author Helena Nyblom. Established as an artists' colony from thence forward, it attracted artists including Oscar Björck, Richard Bergh, the Danish artist Viggo Johansen. Tyresö's time as a hub of artistic activity ended in 1919 following the death of Bergh. Source: *Konstnärskolonin på Tyresö*. 8 June - 15 Sep 2013. Prins Eugen's Waldemarsudde, Stockholm, 2013. p.13

[35] *Rural Artists Colonies in Europe 1870-1910.* p.2

[36] *Halosenniemi Museum*, Lake Tuusula. Available from: http://web.tuusula.fi/halosenniemimuseum/, accessed 5 May 2016.

[37] *Symbolist Art in Context*, p.160

strengthened by a continuing push for political independence"[38] that motivated artists to create works representative of their own culture. In contrast to their neighbours, Denmark and Sweden, the adoption of nationalism was borne out of a longing for drastic, immeasurable change. For Finland which had been caught up in a century-long tug-of-war between the Russian Empire and Sweden; and for Norway which was and still remained part of the Swedish Empire until 1905. Art and literature were the tools with which this change was to be implemented. It was not a political protest against the archaic values of artistic institutions, as in Sweden and Denmark, it was much greater, and indeed, of national importance.

In Finland it was the region of Karelia, and the folklore of the *Kalevala,*[39] which were the primary sources of inspiration for Finnish art. Finland, much like Norway, was still under the control of a foreign power. Having previously been part of the Swedish Empire, and a contentious part in numerous Russo-Swedish wars, Finland was conceded to Russia in 1809 (and remained such until 1917). The importance of Karelia becomes apparent when viewed in its socio-political context. It was located on the border with Russia and in "a politically contested area containing intermarried populations of Finns (Lutherans) and Russians (Orthodox Christians)."[40] Furthermore, much like Norway, industrialisation had stagnated, thriving only with a boom in the lumber industry in the 1860s,[41] and much of the country was impoverished, therefore "the only grandeur it could claim was its wilderness and the epic heroism of the *Kalevala*."[42] This epic poem became "their book of independence, their passport into the family of civilised nations"[43] and a historic model "on which to build the society of contemporary Finland."[44]

---

[38] *Northern Light: Nordic Art at the Turn of the Century*. p.14

[39] First published by the folklore specialist, Elias Rönnrot in 1835, and again in 1849, the *Kalevala* had been part of the oral tradition of the Karelia region for centuries. It chronicles the creation of Earth, which includes the birth of Väinämöinen, about whom much of the Kalevala concerns, by the goddess Ilmatar. In it Väinämöinen's rise to power is chronicled, through tales of lust, jealousy, revenge and destruction; and similarly his ultimate demise. Source: Lönnrot, Elias. *The Kalevala*. (Oxford University Press, 2008).

[40] *Symbolist Art in Context*. p.160

[41] Hjerppe, Riitta. *The Finnish Economy 1860-1985*. (Bank of Finland Publications, 1989). p.41

[42] *Symbolist Art in Context*, p.160

[43] Wilson, William A. *The "Kalevala" and Finnish Politics.* (Journal of the Folklore Institute, Vol.12, No.2/3, 1975), p.131

[44] *Ibid*, p.132

For the the artist Akseli Gallen-Kallela, one of the foremost pioneers of Finnish Symbolism, these mythical tales became the inspiration behind much of his work, and was used to further the cause of Finnish nationalism. Among his paintings, are *Väinämöinen's Voyage* (*Väinämöinen venematka*, 1909, Plate 6) and *Lake Keitele* (1905, Plate 7), both of which depict the boat journey the mythic folk hero took, in its literal and symbolic form respectively.[45] Gallen-Kallela fully embraced his native land, he "fostered a sense of collective identity by formulating a distinctive Finnish style, living an authentically Finnish life, and building a home and studio in the Finnish Wilderness."[46] Although arguably, Gallen-Kallela's style was not merely an isolated representation of his home country, it also came to typify something emblematic of Scandinavia as a whole. The importance of embracing one's own surroundings, of the national landscape, was for many Scandinavian artists not only their inspiration but their home (Prince Eugen and his home Waldemarsudde and the Norwegian Nikolai Astrup and his home district of Jølster).[47] Furthermore, National Romantics believed "that an individual's character was formed by his habitat."[48] And in the case of Finland, Gallen-Kallela was a prime example, where the "inspiration from *Kalevala* themes sustained him artistically for the rest of his life."[49]

In the case of Norway, the role the arts played up until this point had been rather minimal and unobtrusive. In a recent exhibition, from 2014-2015, at the National Gallery in London, the Norwegian artist Peder Balke (1804-1887) was introduced to a British audience, revealing an exploration of Romanticism in the vein of Caspar David Friedrich. In associating Balke with the German Romantic painter, a category was established into which he could be internationally understood and appreciated. Having remained relatively unknown outside of Norway, in part due to minimal success Balke garnered during his career (consequently retiring from painting), this association with Friedrich gives him international standing. Come the 1890's, however, art in Norway began to change. Among the leaders of this artistic revolution were the Neo-Romantic

---

[45] In *Lake Keitele* the delineated water, the grey streaks breaking up the reflective surface of the lake, appear to allude to the boat journey.

[46] *Symbolist Art in Context*, p.160

[47] *Painting Norway: Nikolai Astrup 1880-1928*. 5 Feb - 15 May 2016. Dulwich Picture Gallery, London, 2016.

[48] *Symbolist Art in Context*, p.160

[49] *Northern Light: Nordic Art at the Turn of the Century,* p.82

painters - a term used solely in relation to Norwegian Symbolism[50] - Munch and Gerhard Munthe (1849-1929). The latter, “abandoned naturalistic depictions of the Norwegian landscape for a ‘rhythmic-constructive’ structure intended to evoke the ‘adventure-mysticism’ of Norwegian myths and legends.”[51] In Munthe’s works legend, folk art and fine art were brought together to create something representative not only of Norway’s heritage but of contemporary social and political concerns. In both the art of Finland and Norway, unlike their politically powerful neighbours, “the political frustrations of the two nations, and their desire to break free of neighbouring domination, translated into an artistic polemic less exclusively concerned with opening up to foreign innovations, and more dedicated to the revelation of local truths.”[52]

Torsten Gunnarsson described the Symbolist movement as having “acquired its strongest northern stronghold in Finland.”[53] Through a desire for self-control and self-determination, Symbolist painting became the propaganda with which change could be enacted. Used in such a manner, in varying degrees, throughout Scandinavia, the fables and cultural history of the respective nations had a new purpose. They were seen through the eyes of the painter, telling not only the ancestral story of the country, but were also reinvigorated for the present day. Painting became as much concerned with composition and technique, as it did with story telling, cultural exchange, political frustration, and the artists’ own individuality.

III. Northern Light

The concept of National Romanticism has become synonymous with Nordic art. It has become the model through which art historians have approached the generation of Scandinavian artists working during the last decade of the 19th century, and subsequent artists who worked in a similar vein. However, this model has arguably become outdated - and not one which all artists conform to. In this case, it paves the way for an alternative approach to be formulated; one which lends

---

[50] Neo-Romanticism - An alternate term used to describe Norwegian Symbolism, as National Romanticism had already been identified as a time, between 1830 and 1867, in Norwegian art. This included artists such as Peder Balke, J.C. Dahl.

[51] *Symbolist Art in Context*, p.156

[52] *Northern Light: Nordic Art at the Turn of the Century,* p.16

[53] Gunnarsson, Torsten. *Nordic Landscape Painting in the Nineteenth Century*. (Yale University Press, 1998). p.262

credence to individuality and the artist's own way of thinking. Formally introduced by Varnedoe in his exhibition catalogue for *Northern Light: Realism and Symbolism in Scandinavian Painting, 1880-1910* in the USA in 1982*,* it was developed in his research assistant, Facos' doctoral thesis, which focused specifically on National Romanticism in Swedish Art of the 1890s.[54] National Romanticism became a way of identifying Scandinavian Symbolism, of differentiating it from its European counterparts, and of placing Nordic art in a wider context.

There were two pivotal exhibitions which introduced Scandinavian art to an international audience; the first of these was Varnedoe's *Northern Light*; followed by *Dreams of a Summer Night: Scandinavian Painting at the Turn of the Century* at the Hayward Gallery in London in 1986. Scandinavian art and design was at this point, arguably, reinvented for an Anglophone world. Works by lesser known artists were exhibited alongside paintings by artists including Zorn, Larsson, Gallen-Kallela, Munch, and Krøyer, to name a few. However, these were not the first two exhibitions on Scandinavian art to be staged outside of Scandinavia. Numerous artists including Carl Eldh, Zorn, Larsson and Wallin - focusing on Sweden specifically - had exhibited in both Europe and the USA. Records reveal that in 1924 an exhibition, simply entitled *Exhibition of Works by Swedish Artists 1880-1900*, was held at the Royal Academy of Arts in London.[55] This exhibition highlights, that sixty years prior to *Northern Light*, an Anglophone audience had been made aware of these internationally unfamiliar artists, including Carl Hill, Hugo Salmson, and Ivar Arosenius (a contemporary and classmate of Wallin's). Furthermore, twelve years prior to this, an exhibition on *Contemporary Scandinavian Art* was staged at the American-Scandinavian Foundation, New York (1912), displaying much of the same work, where the catalogue considers the work of these Nordic painters in a Trans-Atlantic context.[56] It would later go on tour, stopping off in Boston, Buffalo, Chicago and Toledo. As a result of these earlier stagings of Nordic art, it would be interesting to consider what happened in those sixty to eighty years, where a familiarity with Swedish, and Scandinavian art dwindled, so much so that it needed to be reintroduced.

---

[54] Facos undertook her PhD at the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University. Her dissertation title was: "Individualism, Nationalism, Socialism: Swedish Avant Garde Painting in the 1890s." Source: Facos, Michelle. *Academic CV.* Available from: http://arthistory.indiana.edu/faculty/facos.pdf, accessed 04 June 2016.

[55] *Royal Academy London, 1924: Exhibition of Works by Swedish Artists, 1880-1900.* Available from: http://www.racollection.org.uk/ixbin/indexplus?record=VOL6222&_IXp=76&_IXz=1, accessed 21 February 2016.

[56] *American-Scandinavian Exhibition on Contemporary Scandinavian Art.* 10-25 Dec. 1912. The American Art Galleries, New York, 1912. The importance of this exhibition will be discussed later, in Chapter 3.

Yet meanwhile, the prominence of Scandinavian design and craft grew, an example of which included the simplistic interior design initiated by Carl and Karin Larsson (a later exhibition at the V&A in 1997 - *Carl and Karin Larsson: Creators of the Swedish Style* - highlighted the extent of their influence on design both at home and abroad),[57] and was subsequently reinvented and marketed in the flat-pack creations of IKEA. It is an interesting study into what was deemed important to an international audience during that time - no longer promoting the visual arts, but instead becoming synonymous with clean and simple design.

What distinguishes *Northern Light* from its predecessors, was that Varnedoe, alongside Facos, established an 'ism' into which this period of art could belong. This was not merely a display of art created within the same twenty years, but rather it was an attempt to group these artists together. Regarded as following in the Symbolist style, a description sparsely used at the time,[58] with France as their main source of inspiration, a more localised model for categorising these artists was required. With this, the concept of National Romanticism came to be. Defined as a variant of continental Symbolism, it was a term which referred exclusively to Scandinavian art of the 1890's.

In her book, *Nationalism and the Nordic Imagination*, Facos sought to establish a differentiation between National Romanticism and Symbolism. Facos argued that the term 'National Romanticism' reflected a nationalistic Symbolism present in Swedish (and indeed Nordic) art, and the general term 'Symbolism' referred to a more solipsistic Symbolism, or in this case French Symbolism. In its early days, justifications were made to lend greater credence to the definition of National Romanticism - that it was more than just a sub-heading in the history of Scandinavian art, but that greater theories applied. Facos, further went on to write that "a primitive animism defined the governing paradigm in National Romantic thought: that the physical world is an extension of the spiritual world so that the relationship between the two realms is not metaphorical but actual."[59] Despite Facos' attempts at justification, and delving further into the possibilities that National

---

[57] The growth of Scandinavian design as a whole, especially in Sweden and Denmark. Creating products, such as Ikea, which has become synonymous with simplicity, comfort, and affordability in furniture and interior decor.

[58] *Nationalism and the Nordic Imagination*, p.132

[59] *Ibid,* p.108

Romanticism might have to offer, it has since been used as a way of generalising a group of artists, their beliefs, and their paintings.

Looking further first, however, at the relationship between National Romanticism and its founding parent, Symbolism - the idea that the two are one and the same can be debated. In the introduction to the exhibition catalogue for *Symbolism and Decadence,* held at Prince Eugen's Waldemarsudde in Stockholm (2016), Margaretha Rossholm Lagerlöf writes that "in Swedish art history, native art of the 1890's is often described as atmospheric, or expressive of a national romantic spirit. However several works that were produced in Sweden in the 1890s […] might also be considered symbolic."[60] Lagerlöf further mentions a newspaper article written by Ulf Linde in 1992 for the Svenska Dagbladet (*Swedish Dailymail*), where he remarks that "Swedish artists of the 1890s [were neither] romantic nor nationalistic. They were instead marginally regional Symbolists."[61] This understanding of Nationalism, Romanticism and Symbolism as different entities suggests that these characteristics can be regarded as mutually exclusive. This being said, Lagerlöf seems to contradict herself, by considering identity as a property of Symbolism, writing that "the environment in which a person is brought up was regarded as the basis for personal feeling and identity."[62] The arguments focused on defining this generation of Swedish artists, in particular, as National Romantics have become confused. The term has become the category to which these artists belong, yet they work in the style of Symbolism. It is not a decisive way of examining these artists, and leaves a lot open for conjecture.

The approach taken by Varnedoe and Facos became one of contextualising the Nordic field of art in relation to what was going on in Europe at the time. That "we must set aside our traditional ideas of the evolution of modern European painting and pay closer attention to what was local and particular to the Scandinavian situation."[63] However, thirty years on, a broader understanding is required. If one is to properly understand and place Swedish, and Nordic art, in a wider European

---

[60] "I svensk konsthistorieskrivning har 1890-talets inhemska konst ofta beskrivits som en stämningskonst, eller som uttryck för en nationalromantisk anda. Men ett flertal av de målningar som tillkom i Sverige på 1890-talet." *Symbolism och Dekadens*, p.11

[61] "Nittiotals svenska målare [var varken] romantiska eller nationella. De var snävt regionala symbolister." *Ibid*, p.11

[62] "Den natur en människa växt upp i sågs som grunden för självkänsla och identitet." *Ibid,* p.21

[63] *Ibid*, p.54

and Trans-Atlantic context, it is not enough to look at this as a one-way relationship. The art of Osslund, Fjæstad, and the Danish Symbolist Jens Ferdinand Willumsen, for example, were among those which influenced the Canadian Tom Thomson and the Group of Seven. The latter first exhibited as a group in 1921,[64] and became the leading artistic movement in Canada in the following years. The motivation behind their painting being "to throw off the alien influences of art movements long since discarded in Europe",[65] such as the Barbizon School, and find an adequate way to represent the Canadian landscape. However they couldn't go it alone, and in the art of Scandinavia they found a kindred spirit. After witnessing the Buffalo stage of the American-Scandinavian Foundation's exhibition on Scandinavian art in 1913, J.E.H. MacDonald wrote to fellow Group of Seven member Lawren Harris:

> We were pretty pleased to find a correspondence with these feelings of ours, not only in the general attitude of the Scandinavian artists, but also in the natural aspects of their countries. Except in minor points, the pictures might all have been Canadian and we felt, 'This is what we want to do with Canada.'[66]

Not only did Scandinavian painting help the Group of Seven in finding a language through which to depict their own native land, and visualise their national identity, but it formed a bond between the art of the polar worlds. These synergies between Scandinavia and the North American continent, had also existed in the personal relationship between artist and patron. Zorn had been the recipient of numerous commissions on the other side of the Atlantic; as well as making seven lengthy trips to the USA. As a result, his commissioned portraits came to include paintings of three presidents (Grover Cleveland, William H. Taft, and Theodore Roosevelt), as well as numerous portraits of wealthy socialites, many of which remain in private collections. Further to this, sculpture by artists such as Carl Eldh (whose wife and daughter relocated to California in 1921, opening up opportunities in the American market) and Carl MIlles (who resided in America from 1931-1951, acting as sculptor-in-residence at Cranbrook Educational Community, Michigan) came to adorn public areas. Examples of Milles' work, include his *Aganippe: The Fountain of the Muses* (1952-55,

---

[64] Davies, Blodwen. *The Canadian Group of Seven*. (The American Magazine of Art, Vol.25, No.1, July 1932), p.16

[65] *Ibid*, p.16

[66] Hill, Charles C. *The Group of Seven: Art for a Nation*. (McClelland & Stewart Inc, 1996) p. 48

Plate 8) originally placed within the Lamont Wing of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York and later sold to Brookgreen Gardens, South Carolina; and *Monument of Peace* (c.1936, Plate 9) in the St Paul Courthouse, Minnesota. Milles' work can further be found in public collections including the Cranbook Art Museum, Michigan, The Nordic Heritage Museum, Seattle, Washington, and The Museum of Fine Arts, Houston.[67] This undeniable presence of Swedish art reveals the high regard it received from patrons and viewers in America; with artists leaving a physical impression on the land.

The writing of Varnedoe and Facos established a problematic way to categorise Nordic art in the 1890s. The defining term National Romanticism came to represent an entire genre and generation of art. However this overarching term, in a history of art defined by 'isms', has lost the resonance it had. It is no longer possible to consider an artist merely in relation to his, or her, contemporaries, rather it is necessary to consider the wider history and culture within which the artist was inspired or associated. As in the case of Wallin, an artist who doesn't conform to merely one way of painting, we must look at him in the context of those that came before him as well as those he worked alongside. The term, National Romanticism, has been used to identify the Symbolist artists working in Scandinavia during the 1890s; those who sought to depict their native landscape, culture and heritage, and instil in both their compositions and the viewer, an emotional response that was individual. It was also a way of situating this period of art in the wider European context. In her writing, Facos further examined the lasting presence it had in the works of those Swedish artists at the beginning of the 20th century, focusing on those artists, such as Fjæstad and Osslund, whose early careers coincided with the rise of Symbolism in the 1890s.

However, focusing specifically on Sweden, the study of these National Romantic artists only goes so far as to include those working during the latter end of the 19th century, it does not consider the lasting effect it had on the subsequent generation of artists. Among these, were not only Wallin, but also Arosenius, Erik Tryggelin, and Oscar Lycke. Here the artist was similarly concerned with the tenets of Swedish National Romanticism as presented by Bergh in his theories on art. In the works of Wallin and Lycke in particular, the focus remains on the artists' native landscape and the

---

[67] *Milles World Wide, Millesgården.* Available from: http://www.millesgarden.se/milles-world-wide.aspx, accessed 5 May 2016.

emotions it inspired in both artist and audience. Working, for much of their careers, alongside artists such as Sigrid Hjertén and her husband Isaac Grünewald who came to exemplify Swedish Modernism, these artists painted were often more concerned with personal preference than fashionability. Yet despite this lack of interest in remaining current, artists were, much like their modernist counterparts, drawn, not only to the rural landscape, but to the thriving capitals of Europe.

The approach required today is one of moving away from a study of 'isms' which has been the focus of Swedish art history, and instead considering the individual attitude of each artist; and further, how artists, both male and female, not only related to one another, but were inspired by, and also inspired, artists in Europe and across the Atlantic. This Northern Hemispheric, or Euro-American, relationship is one which has been considered in recent artistic studies. It is the idea of a more globalised understanding of art history, and the nation-to-nation bonds which have existed throughout the history of art. One of the foremost studies in this field has been undertaken by Whitney Davis, whose research focuses specifically on the idea of 'World Art Studies.' Here, he has sought to highlight exactly this concept; that of placing art throughout history in its international context. Davis writes that, "I agree with many of the authors in their opinion, explicit or not, that world art studies is the only plausible general frame for art history on the global stage in the next fifteen years or so."[68] He further proceeds to argue that "without world art studies, the discipline of art history has little prospect of maintaining a coherent project as a global enterprise."[69] This being said, the study of 'World Art' works on a greater scale, and doesn't consider the individual artist, but instead the wider spectrum of style and approach. In the context of Swedish art, it is worth furthermore considering the naturally cosmopolitan state of its art scene - instinctively drawn towards the European continent, and beyond, with artists seeking out what artistic inspiration they could draw from further afield.

It is not always sufficient to merely categorise and group artists together alongside their generational or stylistic peers. This especially applies in the realm of Scandinavian art, which through a sense of belated modernism (something which has become increasingly fashionable of

---

[68] Davis, Whitney. *Comment: World without Art.* (Association of Art Historians, 2009). p.711

[69] *Ibid*, p.711

late, in post-Colonial cultural studies),[70] is often excluded from the wider study, despite the influence specific individuals have exerted on international art and design. This thesis will unearth an artist who transcended the boundaries enforced by the 'isms', and consequently has been ignored by the study of Swedish art history. With regard to the latter, there has to date been little room for manoeuvre in the study of artists who worked outside the brackets of National Romanticism and Modernism, however by not merely adhering to a study of 'isms' the opportunities are endless.

IV. A Nordic Romantic

As mentioned at the beginning, during an interview with Ohtomies, Wallin remarked that he wanted to be seen as a "Nordic romantic" not merely a Swedish one; and in his paintings is revealed an artist whose embodiment of a romantic spirit, is akin to that of his Nordic colleagues. This comment references Wallin's own desires not to be considered merely in the context of Swedish art, but that of wider Scandinavia. By undertaking a study of his work it will reveal that not only does he belong in a history of Nordic art, but that his art reached far beyond the confines of Scandinavia and the European continent.

With his prolific career came great recognition both at home and abroad, with numerous exhibitions staged throughout Sweden, Europe and the United States. Among these, were displays in San Francisco, Buenos Aires, Berlin, and more regular exhibitions at Stockholm's intimate art hall, Liljevalchs Konsthall and also Turestams Konstsalong.[71] Interspersed among these smaller exhibitions, was perhaps his greatest achievement, that of winning the gold medal in Painting at the Olympic Games in Los Angeles in 1932 and a subsequent tour of the USA in 1933 (both of which shall be discussed later on). However, despite garnering international success, post-1933,

---

[70] Hyde, Emily. *A Way of Seeing: Modernism, Illustration, and Postcolonial Literature.* (Princeton University, 2013).

[71] *Full List of Exhibitions includes:* 1910 - Exposición Internacional del Centenario, Buenos Aires. 1914 - Baltic Exhibition, Malmö, Sweden. 1915 - San Francisco, USA. 1916 - Charlottenborg, Denmark; Grosse Berliner Ausstellung. 1917 - Liljevalchs Konsthall, Stockholm, Sweden. 1923 - Exhibit in Pittsburgh, Toronto, London. 1926 - Separatutställning Konstakademien, Stockholm. 1927 - Budapest; In Schwedischer Ausstellung zu Wiener Sezession. 1931 - David Wallin's Utställning, Konstakademien, Stockholm. 1932 - Olympic Games, Los Angeles, USA. 1933 - Tour of USA. 1935 - Linköping, Sweden. 1936 - Borås Konsthall, Sweden. 1937 - David Wallin's Konstutställning, Uppsala, Sweden. 1942 & 1943 - Turestams Konstsalong. 1944 - Jönköping. 1946 - Turestams Konstsalong. 1949 - Molnhammars Konstsalong. 1952 - Konstakademien, Stockholm. 1953 - Helsingborg. 1958 - Posthumous exhibit, Linköping. Source: Royal Library Archives, Stockholm. *David Wallins papper, 1896-ca 2000.* Acc 2008/138.

Wallin receded to Sweden, content perhaps with leading a more simple life. This is marked most notably by the locations of his exhibitions from thence forward, with all of them taking place within the confines of Sweden; culminating in a vast retrospective exhibition in 1952 at the Royal Academy of Art in Stockholm. With national and international recognition came a vast number of reviews of Wallin's work. The reception of his paintings will be discussed throughout this thesis, however it is interesting to note at this stage the way in which his works were received at home.

In the eyes of many, Wallin was considered "the greatest romantic"[72] in Swedish art, where he "sees 'old' motifs through the light of modern painting."[73] As with this thesis, the focus of critics and writers over a century ago similarly rested heavily on Wallin's use of colour. One critic writes, when reviewing his 1935 exhibition in Linköping, that "He is a colourist; he loves the way in which colours play together and he knows how to control it."[74] Although many commented upon and admired the distinctive palette in his works, with another critic remarking in 1926, that "it is more the light than the line which is the foremost used instrument in his painting," Wallin wasn't without his harsher critics. According to archival records, the number of negative reviews seem to be few and far between, and in both instances - in the writing of Bo Lindwall and Lars Erik Åström - they criticise the tonality of his paintings, with Åström writing, in a review of the 1952 exhibition, that "One can hardly talk about colour with character, when his paintings are only ever concerned with pale, […] bodies against lifeless greenery."[75] Lindwall further elaborates that "Wallin's romanticism is starved of new life: it is sterile. It is a hanger-on of a now stale and watered-down English tradition."[76] In this regard, it is likely that Lindwall was commenting on the Pre-Raphaelite influence that Wallin had drawn from. From Lindwall's perspective, the Pre-Raphaelitism which had pervaded Wallin's works no longer had a place in the contemporary art scene - rather now the focus should rest on promoting and bringing forth new ideas, rather than invigorating belated artistic traditions and motifs. Lindwall's criticism of the English influence on Wallin's art could in turn be interpreted as an encouragement of Swedish art finding its own identity, rather than relying on styles no longer

---

[72] "den störste romantikern". *David Wallin - Den nordiska målarkonstens romantiker.* p.3.

[73] Unknown author. *En östgötsk målare*. (Norrköpings Tidningar: 7 Sep 1935).

[74] J.H. *David Wallin utställer i Linköping*. (Östgöten: 28 Sep 1935). "Han är kolorist; han älskar färgernas spel och han behärskar det."

[75] Åström, Lars Erik. *David Wallin.* (Expressen, 11 Nov 1952).

[76] Lindwall, Bo. *David Wallin*. (Aftontidningen, 13 Nov 1952).

current in the country of origination. These reviews and comments are merely a snapshot of the praise and criticism Wallin received during his career, and further remarks will be featured throughout this thesis. However, what these do contribute at this point is that Wallin was considered by many of his countrymen to embody a bygone era, one which they sought to retain in amidst a constantly changing artistic world.

In undertaking a study of Wallin's *oeuvre*, and the changes his art went through, it is not sufficient to merely consider this forgotten artist in isolation. His artistic training took him all over Europe, from the Tuscan hills in Volterra, to the thriving capital of Paris, as well as much of Central and Northern Europe. This European tour, which took place within the bracket of 1905 and 1912, in turn played a great role in inspiring the young artist, inspiring both the approach he took in both terms of style and technique. His paintings were furthermore exhibited all over Sweden and the world, making Wallin an artist who can, or should, not only be viewed in a national context, but one whose work was far-reaching, depicting a Sweden which broke with convention, and yet which appealed greatly to a foreign, if not most prominently, Anglophone audience. Wallin's paintings reveal an artist undeterred by the fast-paced environment of the *avant garde*, and instead concerned with painting what he loved; remaining true to his own passions and beliefs.

Chapter 1: c.1902

The Royal Academy of Art in Stockholm had been caught up in a desire for modernisation. Students, including Bergh and Larsson, during the 1880s, had rebelled against the archaic values promoted by the academy. It was no longer a time for studying the sculpture of classical antiquity, but to instead learn from nature and the human form; to work in the same vein as the French artists they so admired - "to be educated according to European demands."[1] It was with this in mind that steps were taken to put Swedish art on a par with the rest of Europe. As a means of achieving progress without depending on the outdated practices of the Royal Academy, the Konstnärsförbundet (Artist's Association) was established, where the members were influenced by contemporary French art, especially realism and naturalism. Similar alternatives already existed on the continent, where in France, for example, it took the form of more forward thinking academies - including the Académie Colarossi and Académie de la Grande Chaumière - which opposed the traditionalist practices of the École des Beaux Arts. In Sweden, it was a rebellion against the rigid policies of the academy rather than the artistic practices of its teachers. This being said, it was with these teachers, working mostly in the genre of history painting, that students continued to be trained in what they deemed the required learning from the history of art.

When, in 1898, Wallin commenced his studies at the Royal Academy many of his teachers "belonged to a generation of Swedish artists who, above all, had cultivated their artistic viewpoints through contact with the Düsseldorf school, which promoted romantic landscapes as well as anecdotal and often sentimental folk-life paintings."[2] The Düsseldorf school revolved very much around the city's Academy of Fine Arts, with artists, both local and foreign, attending in great numbers during the 19th century. Among these were a great many Scandinavians, including a number of significant figures in the Swedish art scene, who subsequently became heavily involved in the Royal Academy in Stockholm. These included the artist Julius Kronberg, a professor at the Academy between 1895-1898, and who was most famous for his history and mythological scenes, many of which still adorn the walls and ceilings of the Hallwylska Palace in Stockholm. In addition

---

[1] "att utbilda konstnärer efter europeiska krav." *Richard Bergh - ett konstnärskall.* 12 April - 23 June 2002. Prins Eugen's Waldemarsudde, Stockholm, 2002. p.48

[2] *Anders Zorn: Sweden's Master Painter.* Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, 2013. p.60

to Kronberg were the history painters Georg von Rosen (also the director of the Academy from 1893-1899, and whom Wallin painted in 1908),[3] and Gustaf Cederström (similarly director of the Academy between 1899-1911, and whom Wallin painted in 1915, Plate 10). The training Wallin received during his time at the Academy was, as result of those who taught him, and the styles in which they worked, heavily influenced by German academic painting.

In light of this, it interesting to note that upon completion of his studies, Wallin was for all intent and purpose an academic painter - something most notable in his painting *Kraka Meets Ragnar Lodbrok*. However, despite this stringent academic influence and the success which Wallin garnered during his time at the Academy, the role Germany played in his subsequent training was much less prominent, with his attention focused on the thriving cosmopolitan art scene in Paris. One might however propose a Germanic influence on Swedish National Romanticism, and indeed the Nordic art scene of this time as a whole - where cultural, philosophical, political, and social synergies had been prevalent throughout the previous centuries and persisted into the 20th century, with some individuals maintaining this relationship despite the historical developments of the 1900s. Wallin's own response to the political environment in both Germany and Sweden, during the 1920s and 1930s is something which shall be discussed further later on.

The evolution of style in Scandinavian painting was often one step behind the rest of Europe. This regional belated modernism, often contained within the 1880-1910 bracket of Nordic art, with Swedish painting of the early 20th century, in particular, not being entirely concerned with the generally accepted concept of Modernism. Indeed this "regional modernism" has become fashionable of late, in studies of late modernism, where the trajectory of Western European and American art during the first half of the 20th century was sequentially belated. Although much of the analysis carried out in this regard is focused on more far removed cultures, such as Aboriginal art, Latin American or Indian painting, a similar approach can be applied to certain European countries often deemed as being on the periphery of the wider study of European modernism.[4] These artists are often disregarded, as they fail to conform to the norm. Instead a study of their

---

[3] This was Georg von Rosen's second appointment as Academy director, having previously held the position from 1881-1887.

[4] Elkins, James. *Writing About Modernist Painting Outside Western Europe and North America.* (Transcultural Studies, no1, 2010). pp.42-77.

painting requires a multi-faceted stylistic analysis, rather than merely categorising them, and grouping them together. In fact, a generation of Swedish artists, including Wallin, all born in the 1870s, pursued a more individual path. Here, styles converged and subject matter looked at everything from remote landscapes to the hustle-and-bustle of urban cityscapes. Despite these artists falling in-between the gaps of recorded art history, through their works we are provided with an interesting insight into why the process of art historical categorisation isn't always the best approach.

In the introduction to *Nationalism and the Nordic Imagination*, Facos writes that Varnedoe's "'Northern Light' presented works that did not comfortably fit the categories art historians had established."[5] Ironically, however, it was with *Northern Light* that these artists came to be categorised, grouped together under one unifying term - National Romanticism. Rather than maintaining an individualistic approach to the study of artists of the 1890s, where "some paintings seemed provincial […] examples of Impressionism and late Realism" and where "others exuded a Symbolist aura,"[6] these artists were brought together, all of whom seen as representative of the same movement, the same ideologies and approaches to art. This is not to say that an individualistic strategy doesn't come with its own problems - the risk of becoming caught up in the originality of the individuality could lead to the disregard of external influences even when noticeably apparent, could be seen as one obvious example.

The approach taken in the catalogue for *Dreams of a Summer Night,* however, is one which refers to the two differentiating terms - National Romanticism and Symbolism - yet which doesn't use them to excess. It rather acknowledges their presence in the study of Scandinavian art history, seeking instead to take a more all-encompassing approach. The chapters within, reflect both the history, culture, and art scene of the Nordic nations, recognising the various societal and historical moments which inspired Scandinavian artists at the turn of the century. It further goes on to identify the "Naturalist"[7] phase of Nordic painting during the 1880s, and the subsequent influence this time

---

[5] *Nationalism and the Nordic Imagination*, p.1

[6] Ibid, p.1

[7] House, John. *An Outside View* in *Dreams of a Summer Night: Scandinavian Painting at the Turn of the Century.* (Hayward Gallery, London, 1986). p.18

exerted on the following decade. In mentioning once again the importance of how this period of art has been studied, motivated by the two pivotal exhibitions of *Northern Light* and *Dreams of a Summer Night*, a study of Wallin can be established.

It is not possible to 'categorise' Wallin; he is neither a National Romantic, nor a Symbolist; neither is he a Naturalist or a Modernist. Instead we can identify in his work an artist who took an eclectic approach to painting, learning from and working in styles that appealed to him personally, revealing at times, whether intentionally or not, specific artistic influences (I refer here to the likes of Monet, Cezanne, and Botticelli). This eclectic nature might in turn reflect his own interests in the history of art, looking in particular at the art of the Renaissance and Baroque. It was with the writing of Johann Winckelmann, in 1763, that the term eclecticism was first used to describe the art of the Carracci brothers - Annibale, Agostino, and Ludovico. Winckelmann referenced the eclectic nature of the Carracci brothers, which during the 20th century sparked an enigmatic debate surrounding the stigma associated with the term - that it confuses the concepts of imitation and inspiration, and mere copying. The art historian Charles Dempsey later writes that "The Carracci overcame a true eclecticism by subscribing to the doctrine of imitation, studying the paintings of past masters and imitating the perfections they expressed, but only consequent to an investigation of those styles through their foundations in nature."[8] This analysis of the Carracci, and the concept of eclecticism when viewed in its broader sense, does furthermore manifest itself in the art of Wallin - whereby he brought together personal stylistic preferences, with an individual study of nature. He does not, like many of his peers, merely adhere to the latest *avant-garde* trends or the training enforced by the Academy.

The first years of Wallin's career were marked by a vast amount of experimentation, toying with the function and visual impact of pastel shades and darker hues, and of thick impasto paint and soft powdery brushstroke's. It is during these early years, identified in this chapter as being between 1902 and 1912, just as he had moved to Paris, that Wallin established himself as an 'individual' in the Swedish art scene; already shunning the categorisation of being an 'ism' painter. As a result of the approach taken by Wallin during his career, in studying his art we must work just like the artist. A study of Wallin's *oeuvre* is not the story of origination, rather it is a sometimes vague, and often

[8] Dempsey, Charles. *Annibale Carracci and the Beginnings of Baroque Style*. (J.J.Austin Verlag, Gluckstadt, 1977). p.56

contradictory analysis of an artist primarily concerned, not with being ‘current’ but with doing what it was he liked - whether this be through a thirty-year-long recurrent composition, or an experimentation with colour. This method provides an interesting alternative to the wider study of art history; where instead of working in an organised, sequential, and categorised manner, we should now consider the artist as an individual, working within the wider context. Hereby we would consider the artist not only in isolation but, how they as an individual, were placed within the context of national and world art history. This approach is less concerned with the ‘ism’ to which the artist belongs, rather more with the individuality of the painter - who they were, how it was they worked, who they worked with, and how they established themselves within the artistic community, both at home and abroad.

In this first chapter I will identify a number of works - including *Kraka Meets Ragnar Lodbrok*, *Springtime*, and *A Young Woman in a Spring Landscape* - which highlight Wallin’s development as an artist within the given dates. Here, there is a distinct progression of style, working in a similar vein to those Impressionist, Realist and Symbolist painters who came before him. Furthermore, I will highlight how it was with these works that the seeds were sown for the rest of his career.

I. The Birth of the Siren

In the study of Wallin’s art there are two recurring themes: that of his family, and the female nude (often using his wife as the model). This section looks at the very first works which began this career-long trend. From the outset, the role of the female nude played a pivotal part in his compositions. The first example of this, and indeed the first recorded painting by Wallin, is *Kraka möter Ragnar Lodbrok* (*Kraka Meets Ragnar Lodbrok*, 1902, Plate 11). For this painting, Wallin was awarded the Ducal Medal; the second highest honour that a student at the Royal Academy could receive - the highest being the Royal Medal, which Wallin would receive two years later, upon completion of his training. Wallin’s painting of the scene from Norse legend, not only strongly recalls the traditional National Romantic, or Symbolist, approach of the previous generation, but also evokes the academic training he received under the tutorship of Von Rosen and Cederström. It does not challenge the conventions instilled in him during his academy years, however it does introduce us to his version of the youthful, blonde nude (something which had already played a

prominent role in the genre of academic painting) and which would become a recurrent theme throughout his career.

The subject of Kraka, or Aslög (English spelling, Aslaug), had, much like the fables of the gods, played a prominent part in Nordic art during the 1800s. Indeed, mythological scenes had already been a source of nationalistic inspiration during the 1850s and 60s, particularly in Sweden. However, the tale of Kraka and Ragnar also features in the works of Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood member and Arts & Crafts instigator, William Morris. Among his poems based on the *Volsunga Saga* (a collection of tales from Norse myth and legend) was *The Fostering of Aslaug* - a retelling of the couple's relationship, thought to have been based on a version of Benjamin Thorpe's *Northern Mythology,* published in 1851.[9] Morris' interpretation of the saga, "is revelatory of the contrast between old Scandinavian and modern English ideals and of the transformation which results when more or less primitive folk material passes through the imagination of a conscious artist."[10] The poem was highly praised by contemporary critics, with George Bernard Shaw considering it to be "the greatest epic since Homer."[11] The general perception being that this Anglophone interpretation of Norse mythology would eventually "take its place among the few great epics of the English tongue."[12] Although the poem has perhaps not received the fate which was intended for it, it does present us with a worthy insight into the reception of Nordic stories, albeit perceived through an English mind, in an Anglophone world. It is also interesting to consider a possible corresponding influence that Morris and indeed the Pre-Raphaelites as a whole, may have had on Wallin: for whilst on his honeymoon, the artist carried out a sketch of the designer and poet, based upon a George F. Watt's painting of 1870 (Plate 12). A journalist writing in 1926 further highlights this source of inspiration, in this instance that of Dante Gabriel Rossetti, when he writes that:

---

[9] Banham, Joanna. ed. *William Morris and the Middle Ages.* (Manchester University Press, 1984), p.13

[10] McDowell, George Tremaine. *The Treatment of the Volsunga Saga by William Morris.* (Scandinavian Studies and Notes, Vol.7 No.6, 1923), p.151

[11] Ennis, Jane Susanna. *A Comparison of Richard Wagner's Der Ring des Nibelung and William Morris's Sigurd the Volsung.* (The University of Leeds, Department of German, 1993), p.8. http://etheses.whiterose.ac.uk/231/1/uk_bl_ethos_271132.pdf, accessed 10 August 2016.

[12] *Ibid.*

> Wallin is the most romantic of our living artists. However, it is not the dismal suffering of Delacroix's paintings which burns bright in his fantasy-filled paintings, rather it is a more modern and colourful reflection of the English Pre-Raphaelites; with a strong similarity to Rossetti's pale and grieving beauties.[13]

In Wallin's painting it is the approach taken by the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood as a whole which manifested itself in his works. It was furthermore a generational thing, as commented upon by Lindwall earlier on. For Wallin, an artist working during a time of Modernism, it was the styles of English and French Symbolism, styles no longer deemed relevant in modern art, which inspired him. These parallels between English Symbolism, as seen in the works of the Pre-Raphaelite's, and the lasting influence of the style on the continent, was not restricted to the Nordic nations, but also found solidarity in the art of Poland at the turn of the century.

The focus of an exhibition at the Tate Britain in 2009 - *Symbolism in Poland and Britain* - this display brought together the work of two schools of art and evaluated the synergies that existed between them. Among the artists featured were Edward Burne-Jones, Lawrence Alma-Tadema, and Alfred Gilbert, in contrast to their Polish counterparts, Stanisław Wyspiański (1869-1907), Józef Mehoffer (1869-1946), Witold Wojtkiewicz (1879-1909). Similar approaches in style and technique exist between the two groups of artist, yet I would further argue, that in identifying these Polish artists with English Symbolism, one might further consider not only Nordic artists, but artists specifically of Wallin's generation. The above Polish painters all undertook training, much like Wallin, at the Académie Colarossi in Paris, with the similarities extending to the inspiration Wyspiański drew from the French Symbolist, Pierre Puvis de Chavannes. Furthermore, the illustrations of Wojtkiewicz evoke the works of Swedish artist Einar Nerman (1889-1983), who is still recognised within Sweden for his caricatures and imaginative drawings. In acknowledging the similarities between English and Polish Symbolism at the start of the 20th century, one might further propose a more in depth study into the similar relationship between Sweden and England -

---

[13] "Wallin är väl den mest romantiske av våra nu levande konstnärer, men det är inte Delacroix' dystert lidelsefulla glöd som brinner i hans fantasimättade bilder, det är snarare en modernt färgad reflex av engelsk pre-rafaelitism i dessa dukar, där en stark likhet med Rossettis bleka och sorgbunda skönheter." Unknown author. *David Wallin utställer i Konstakademien.* (Svenska Morgonbladet, 26 Feb 1926).

especially when one considers the lasting impact the latter had on the art of Sweden, lasting well into the 20th century.

What we see happening in 1890s Scandinavia, however, is a second-wave of nationalism, with the fables of the Norse gods providing sustenance to their cause once again. However, here, the differentiating factor rests on style and technique rather than subject matter. The works of Mårten Eskil Winge (1825-1896) and August Malmström (1829-1901), two leading figures in the Swedish art scene during the 1850s and '60s, retell the tales of Norse mythology with classical precision. As Neil Kent writes, their works were "rich in Scandinavian antiquarian detail" with "the work's compositional arrangement […] none the less also firmly rooted in Neo-classical painting."[14]

In the works of both Winge and Malmström, the entrancing Kraka makes an appearance. In Malmström's painting, *King Heimar and Aslög* (1856, Plate 13), it is a child Kraka who sits at the feet of her foster father King Heimar as he plays her the harp (in which she was hidden, as a way of concealing her beauty. She was later dressed in a long hood and covered in tar, by her adoptive family, who had killed Heimar). There is furthermore a sweet innocence to the girl, which is somewhat evocative of Wallin's own oil sketch of one of his daughter's, *Dagny vid bäcken i Svenshyttan (Dagny by the Stream in Svenshyttan,* 1914, Plate 14), embodying a childish fantasy, with the reflection of the rainbow playing upon the frothy water and the grass beneath her feet. In Winge's painting on the other hand, simply entitled *Kraka* (1862, Plate 15), there is the classical monumentality that Kent refers to, brought to life in the voluptuous form of the soon-to-be queen. Here, the figure of Kraka occupies most of the surface, with the net (brought to conceal her modesty before Ragnar) strewn across her lap, and a dog (brought so she wouldn't be alone) following her gaze out to sea. These unusual features, are part of the parable of Kraka, whose immense beauty was revealed, when she was found bathing by King Ragnar's men. Ragnar subsequently sent for her, and as a test of her wisdom, commanded her to arrive neither dressed nor undressed, neither hungry nor full, and neither alone or with company. Impressed at how she had interpreted his requests, he proposed marriage, making her his third wife, and a queen.[15]

---

[14] Kent, Neil. *The Triumph of Light and Nature: Nordic Art 1740-1940.* (Thames and Hudson, London, 1987), p.81

[15] Waggoner, Ben. *The Sagas of Ragnar Lodbrok.* (lulu.com, 2009), p.9

However, unlike the versions by Winge and Malmström, Wallin's painting is an all-encompassing narrative, with Ragnar and his men brought into the heart of the composition. Here, a demure Kraka stands before the emboldened warrior and king, Ragnar; his arms out-stretched unnaturally to his sides, his closed eyes avoiding hers. The suggestion of the net used to conceal her modesty barely visible in the painting, becoming entangled in her mane of golden hair. It is this female figure which would appear throughout Wallin's *oeuvre.* The image of a mythological beauty - a nude blonde figure, set within an untamed landscape - became intrinsic to Wallin's compositions.

This nymph-like figure seems to have first appeared in a painting entitled *Siren* (1906), which was sold at auction in 1990. However it also made an appearance in Wallin's *Najad* (1917, Plate 16); representative of a type of nymph from Greek mythology who presided over mountains, wells, streams, brooks and other bodies of fresh water. It a delicate painting in contrast to *Kraka*, rather sketch-like in its execution, yet atmospheric and characteristic of a nature nymph, who dwells in the depths of the forest. This mythological beauty was furthered with Wallin's wife, Elin, acting as model for many of his later paintings. This transference of the mythological figure onto that of a real woman is revealed in a photograph of Elin (Plate 17), which mirrors the composition of *Vårferie III* (*Spring Holiday III*, 1924, Plate 18). It is also possible that this photo was the inspiration for other paintings by Wallin, as the similarity in his compositions might at times be considered repetitive; "constantly returning to the same motif so as to find a harmonious composition."[16]

This recurrence of theme is something Wallin had adopted during his studies of Cezanne, an artist whose artistic process he actively sought to emulate, writing in his notes that:

> It is not enough to perceive Cezanne's greatness, one must also recognise his limits; he sees this himself. When I discovered that he spent a whole year painting a bouquet of artificial flowers, his artistic tendencies became clearer to me. And I hoped that I could likewise express myself in such a way.[17]

---

[16] Lilja, Gösta. *Svenskt måleri under 1900-talet.* (W&W serien, 1968), p.20

[17] "Det ä förresten icke ens nog med att se Cezannes storhet man måste se hans begränsning, det anser han själv. När jag fick veta att han målade ett helt år efter en bukett konstgjorda blommor, blef han måleriska tendens klarare för mig. Och måtte jag i mina arbeten kunna uttrycka mig." Wallin, David. Unknown recipient. (Letter, 1913).

The process of repetition and consistently returning to the same subject matter throughout his career, is not to be seen as negative, but rather reveals the studious nature of Wallin; an artist concerned with his own improvement and education. Wallin's infatuation with more contemporaneous artists, only extended as far as Cezanne, with his feelings for Henri Matisse for example, being unfavourable to the say the least. He had even been cited in a newspaper article as saying that the "charming and cold use of colour" in the latter's work had contributed to the French modernist being "a dangerous man, whose technical bravura [was] a result of opium intoxication."[18] This aversion to Matisse is arguably what distances Wallin from those Swedish Modernists working alongside him; for while they were exploring the new ideas and developments within art, Wallin was perfecting a style which was quickly falling out of favour.

The exclusion of Wallin from the study of Swedish art history might in part be due to his perceived lack of originality, as one of his foremost critics, Bo Lindwall wrote, Wallin was "a foreign bird in contemporary art […] a sentimental and steadfast tin soldier."[19] This should, however, not be a determining factor. Hailed within the canon of 19th-century art history are the series paintings of Monet, for example, whereby he would return to the same motif, perceived differently only in the changing light of the day. Monet's *Water Lilies* are among some of the most recognised works in the history of art, and yet they are multiple representations of the same scene. In contemporary reviews of Wallin's exhibitions and works, the consistency in theme is something which was often highlighted, paying particular attention to the image of the nude in the landscape, and the mother and child scene. By following the same artistic process as Cezanne, and with a steadfast adherence to painting along the same compositional lines for the entirety of his career, Wallin reaffirms the individual nature of his painting. It is not a matter of running out of ideas, or lacking in

[18] "Matisse en farlig man, vars tekniska bravur är ett opiumrus." Unknown Author. *David Wallin i Konstakademien*. (Dagens Nyheter: 1931).

[19] "David Wallin är en främmande fågel i vår nutida konst, […] en sentimentalitetens ståndaktige tennsoldat." Lindwall, Bo. *Veckans Konstrond.* (Morgon Tidningen, 20 Feb 1946).

originality, but rather being content with painting what he loved, rather than merely changing for the sake of it.

These influences did not merely extend to artistic process, however. More specific, is a comparison drawn by Viggo Loos, in his unpublished manuscript on the first half of Wallin's life, between the representation of the viking vessels in Wallin's *Kraka,* emerging from the horizon as if in a mirage, and those in Bergh's painting, *Vision: Motif from Visby* (1894, Plate 19). Perhaps a tenuous similarity, it is nonetheless highly likely that Wallin was aware of the painting. Whether the decision to draw from Bergh's work was intentional or not, is another matter, as in 1913, Wallin wrote that Bergh had tried to monopolise the "truth of Swedish art" and that "he paints some of the most vile paintings we have."[20] A harsh critic, but indicative nevertheless of how Wallin perceived the art of one of Sweden's leading artists. Loos' comment therefore takes on a different meaning, one of an attempt to directly associate Wallin with Bergh, establishing an artistic relationship between the generations. Wallin does not, however, aggressively mimic Bergh, and indeed *Kraka* is not about Bergh - rather it is an assimilation of German academy training and a love for the extravagance of Norse mythology.

Although Wallin did assimilate artistic trends of artists spread throughout the history of art, it is noteworthy to recognise Wallin's own desires to be entirely individual artist. Despite the contradictory nature of this sentiment, Ohtomies writes in his article that "the young David Wallin had a strong desire to be entirely self-sufficient and free from outside influences"[21] and that "in his longing for individuality within his art, he would even go so far as to tear apart those canvases he believed revealed an undeniable influence from other artists."[22] One might therefore consider that the varying approach in style, colour and technique in Wallin's earlier works, is a result of this. Wallin sought to be an individual artist, void of any external influences - an abundance of originality

---

[20] "målar [han] de vidrigaste målningar som vi har." Royal Library Archives, Stockholm. *David Wallins papper, 1896-ca 2000*. Acc 2008/138.

[21] "Den unge David Wallin hyste en synnerligen stark önskan att vara absolut självständig och fri från främmande inflytanden." *David Wallin - Den nordiska målarkonstens romantiker,* p.2

[22] "I sin strävan till självständighet inom sin konst gick han så långt att han till och med skar sönder de dukar, där han tyckte sig se en om också oavsiktlig påverkan från andra konstnärer." *Ibid*, p.2.

- however, as we have seen already, and will further observe, he is an artist who, whether intentionally or not, assimilated the ideas and artistic tendencies of those artists he admired.

II. Springtime

As we have already seen, Wallin's academic pursuits were commended with the highest honours offered to attending students', however his success didn't end here. It was not confined to working as an Academy painter, but thrived following the completion of his studies. Among the first portraits he made of his wife, Elin, was *Vår: Konstnärens Hustru i Lill-Jans Skogen* or *Springtime: The Artist's Wife in Lill-Jans Forest* (1905, Plate 20), painted at the start of their marriage, and for which he later won the silver medal at the Exposición Internacional del Centenario 1910 in Buenos Aires. It was also later exhibited at the Panama-Pacific International Exposition in San Francisco in 1915. In both instances, Wallin was among a group of painters, which included Larsson, Fjæstad, Osslund and John Bauer (a colleague of Wallin's), all of whom represented the Swedish contingency.

Unlike in *Kraka Meets Ragnar Lodbrok*, *Springtime* shuns the traditional approach taken by Nordic Symbolism, and instead begins to consider the possibility of an underlying Symbolism, one reliant on emotion rather than mere visual representation. It is not a retelling of a mythological tale, but rather a simple, stripped back scene, left blank for us to interpret. It furthermore reveals an experimentation with colour that is unlike anything he painted before or after - and which is apparent both in *Springtime* and in his first portrait of Elin, carried out the year before (December 1904, Plate 21). Moreover this distinctiveness of palette, might be considered a detriment to the furthering of an atypical idea of Scandinavia. At the time of the expositions in San Francisco and Buenos Aires, Wallin's style and the tonality of his works had progressed, as will be identified later on, yet it is *Springtime* which the Swedish selection committee sought to use to highlight the traditional understanding of Nordic nature and the respective seasons. The perceived darkness of the north is intrinsic to *Springtime*, yet it is not an accurate representation of a season generally

typified by light and colour. It rather supports the widely accepted stereotype, used as a means of propaganda rather than honest representation.

In *Springtime* she is spring incarnate. The forest, is consumed by darkness, mirroring the dark clothing of the figure; with only the white of her blouse, and her porcelain skin bringing some light to the dark. We are not to see this as a literal representation of spring, rather we are to consider her the embodiment of the season. There is nothing typical of a Swedish spring in this painting - no blossoming flowers, or the colours of nature being brought to life by the longer days - rather, we are thrown into the depths of winter. It is therefore more likely to presume that we are not meant to understand this painting as an exact representation of spring, but rather that the title instead alludes to Elin's art school nickname: 'Botticelli's Madonna' (a reference to the latter's painting *Primavera*).[23] It would be interesting to note at this point, the influence the Mediterranean worlds had on Wallin's artistic training. In the summers of 1909 and 1910, the Wallin family spent a considerable amount of time in Italy, based mainly in the Tuscan village of Volterra, where Wallin wrote that "it is said that [in Volterra] Dante was inspired to write his Inferno. I lived on the other side of the ridge and likewise felt inspired to write about Paradise. I spent the entire summer painting God's naked children."[24] Furthermore, sketches carried out of Michelangelo's Sistine Chapel ceiling (Plate 22), whilst in Rome in 1909, reveal Wallin's appreciation of the art of the Renaissance masters. There is a classical undercurrent to his work, encouraged during his studies, and furthered as an established artist. It is the reminder of the classical undercurrent to early 19th century Scandinavian art, where artists including Bertel Thorvaldsen emulated the Neo-classical spirit, brought about in Revolutionary France. For Wallin, this underlying classicism lies in the natural understanding of mankind and the human form.

---

[23]Loos, Viggo. *Manuscript om David Wallin: Om konstnären David Wallin, den kontroversielle fram till 1918-1920*. (Unpublished, Written 1958-1963). Courtesy of Monika Bystedt, Hillevi Tolnai-Andersson and Eva Åkesson. p.12

[24] "Det sägs, att Dante där inspirerats till Inferno. Jag bodde på andra sidan af dalen (om Inferno) och kände mig också närmare inspirerad att dikta om paradiset. Jag målade hela sommaren Guds nakna människobarn." *Ibid*, p.31

The focus of *Springtime* rests on the beauty of the model, Wallin's muse, standing out against the overwhelmingly dark palette, of mottled browns and crisp black. As many of his subsequent paintings would further reveal, it is the title which provides depth and greater understanding to the work. This has already been made apparent in Wallin's *Najad*, providing a mythological meaning to an otherwise recurrent image in Wallin's *oeuvre.*

Depicting the seasons was not a new feature of Scandinavian art. It was an intrinsic part of the Nordic artists' exploration of their own country and nature; visualising the environment in which they had been brought up in and continued to surround themselves with. It is interesting to consider the distinct prominence the countryside played in the lives of most of Sweden's painters, for example, all of whom remained inspired by its beauty throughout their careers - whether this be the artist colony at Tyresö, or Wallin's own rural muse, Arild. For artists such as Fjæstad and Oscar Lycke, it was the snow scene which became emblematic of their *oeuvre* - revealing through paint how the cold can manipulate the landscape, moulding it into a new, snow-covered world. If one looks, in contrast, at the works of Helmer Osslund (1866-1938, an artist who inspired the Canadian Group of Seven), each season was depicted in their various nuances and guises. Here the vivid colours and undulating brushstrokes mould and reinvent the landscape; where the reflective waters of a calm summer's day in *Norrländskt Sommarlandskap* (*Summer Landscape from Norrland,* unknown date, Plate 23), are fragmented with trees laden with leaves, drooping under their own weight; and the bountiful colours of spring, although unnatural, make up the mountainous backdrop in *Vårstämning i Torne Träsk* (*The Spirit of Spring in Torne Träsk*, Unknown date, Plate 24). In Wallin's paintings, including *Sommar* (*Summer*, 1914-23, See Plate 55), *Sommardag vid Arild* (*A Summer's Day in Arild,* See Plate 67) - which shall be discussed later on, as a preliminary version of Wallin's Olympic winning painting, *Vid Arild's Strand* (*At the Beach of Arild*) - and of course *Springtime*, there is a continuation, or progression, of this same fascination with the seasons and the multi-coloured prism through which nature can be seen.

Wallin doesn't conform to the general understanding of the north - he avoids winter entirely. Unlike Fjæstad or Osslund, he doesn't invite us to view icy landscapes fraught with cold, or scenes of never-ending darkness. In this regard, Wallin doesn't conform with what Anglophone art history wants from Scandinavian art. This status quo is difficult to break, with the writing of Facos most notably, maintaining and categorising those artists who adhere to it. In her study of National Romanticism in Swedish art, Facos groups artists within this 'ism', representing "in their imagery the values and ideals embedded in the Swedish *habitus*."[25] This concept further comes to recognise a so-called "second generation" of National Romantics, those who "continued to paint the quintessentially Swedish subjects the first generation had defined."[26] Among these were the likes of Osslund and Fjæstad, as previously mentioned. However, with Wallin, and indeed his generation as a whole, their subject matter is not taken into account; it was no longer concerned with maintaining the cliché. Instead it is distinctive seasons, where summer is unbearably warm with the lakes being one's only solace; in Wallin's paintings, it is an emotional and personal interpretation of nature, moving away from the postcard image of how we imagine *Norden*.

This darker tonality is the most distinctive feature of the works Wallin produced during 1904 and 1905. It is this feature alone which distinguishes them from much of Wallin's subsequent body of work, with many of his later paintings focused on an exploration of brighter, richer and indeed often pastel tones. As becomes apparent, a study of Wallin's oeuvre is as much about shades of colour, as it is composition and style. This sense of darkness, of monochromatic hues, however, is not exclusive to *Springtime* but also comes through in a portrait of Elin, entitled *Elin Lundberg*, carried out a year earlier (see Plate 21). At this time, the young couple were merely in the courting stage of their relationship - having met whilst Wallin was a student at the Royal Academy and Elin herself a student at Ahlins School of Painting. It is a bare suggestion of green in her hat and the touch of pink on her lips which brings life to an otherwise solemnly coloured portrait. There is moreover a fashionability to this portrait, which is missing in his many of his later paintings of his wife - yet which persists in his commissioned portraits. It is not timeless like many of his other works, instead providing us with a distinct point in his life and career.

---

[25] *Nationalism and the Nordic Imagination*, p.119

[26] *Ibid*, p.194

Among his commissioned works were included portraits of the likes of Carin Thiel (the daughter of art patron and collector, Ernest Thiel), Hedwig Waldenström (Plate 25), and John Forsell (the leading baritone for the Royal Swedish Opera, 1896-1916, Plate 26). These paintings exude a sophistication and maturity that is reminiscent of the societal portraits of Zorn. Although there is an familiarity between artist and sitter, it is, at times, not as insightful as Wallin's portraits of his wife. The sense of individuality in the sitter is most apparent when viewed in isolation; when viewed collectively the darker shades, and formal poses become relatively indistinguishable. They are however evocative of the time, easily placed within the era in which they were painted - determined mainly by fashion and style - a notion which is not often applied to Wallin's art. It furthermore reveals that he is an artist who can work to context, making himself modern when the painting calls for it.

Although comparisons can be made between *Springtime* and the portrait *Elin Lundberg*, in the case of the latter there is no underlying Symbolism. It is merely a portrait, it is not trying to be anything else, nor does it have to. Here, Wallin finds a way to adopt his ever-changing style to something more refined and professional. Throughout his life it is easy to differentiate between his 'personal' paintings - those of his family, or of his native land - and his 'commissioned' portraits, which brought him recognition within Swedish society and garnered him patrons (something which was intrinsic to the Swedish artists' career between 1880-1940). In this case, Wallin appears to have shunned the Symbolism that so apparently consumed his painting of *Kraka Meets Ragnar Lodbrok*, in favour of a more reserved outlook on the human form and the natural landscape. It is about conveying the identity of the sitter and the beauty of the countryside, rather than implying there is anything further to be known.

In his book, *The Idea of North*, Peter Davidson, writes that there are "two central ideas of north - endless dark and endless day."[27] In the art of Wallin we are made most familiar with the latter.

[27] Davidson, Peter. *The Idea of the North*. (Reaktion Books, 2005). p.55

Despite the brief suggestion that “the dark and gloomy climate of the northern latitudes permeated them with a pensive and somber mood”,[28] in his painting it is the joyful sensation of Spring and frivolous summers which comes to the fore. This evocation of the north, further comes through in the familiar face of Elin, appearing as a steadfast and welcome feature of many of his most intimate paintings. With his paintings of *Elin Lundberg* and *Springtime*, in particular, the initial years of Wallin’s artistic career and the state of his personal relationships are typified. As we have seen, colour comes to play a pivotal role in the exploration of composition; where nudes bathe and lounge in the wilderness of the Swedish landscape; where children, his children, frolic in by the water; and where the various nuances of the Swedish landscape, with fields of gold and skies a vivid blue, stretch for miles.

III. Shades of Blue

A year after Wallin painted *Springtime*, these colours had morphed into a play with shades of white and pastel hues. The importance of colour had identifiably become an intrinsic part of Wallin’s early years. As already noted, the darker colours in *Springtime* weren’t representative of the time of year, normally typified by blossoming flowers and longer days, rather is more akin to the stereotypical image the general public has of the Nordic countries - one, where we believe them to be consumed by a never-ending darkness (this is however something which Davidson debunks in *Idea of North*). This sombre inclination didn’t persist in Wallin’s paintings for long, as this final section will reveal. Here I will look at three paintings, two of which were painted in 1906, and the other in 1912, and which all feature, in varying degrees and approaches, the pastel blue that can be associated with this time in Wallin’s career. Furthermore, this study will round-up the study of colour in his early years, whilst highlighting the lasting impact it had on his *oeuvre*.

In 1906, Wallin continues with unpredictability. It is the same painter at the same moment, yet in his painting there is something entirely different at play. This an artist entirely aware of the artistic tendencies of the French impressionists, exploring in his own work these very techniques and trends. There are two paintings which best represent a variant of Wallin’s style, *Ung Kvinna i*

[28] Carter, Karen L. and Susan Waller. ed. *Foreign Artists and Communities in Modern Paris, 1870-1914: Strangers in Paradise.* (Ashgate, 2015). p.48

Vårlandskap (*A Young Woman in a Spring Landscape*, 1906, Plate 27) and *Elin W*. (1906, Plate 28), both of which approach Impressionism in a very different manner, yet, on both occasions putting technique to the fore.

In *A Young Woman in a Spring Landscape* the texture is unlike any of his other works. The trees are scraped out of the impasto background, appearing as shadows upon the board, drawn upwards and out of the brown earth; their leaves disappearing, a mere suggestion upon the thick, clouded sky. There is an abruptness to the method of painting here, something almost rushed, contrasting greatly with the more gentle approach we see in a painting of the same year, *Elin W.* Before jumping ahead, however, *Young Woman in a Spring Landscape*, toys with the horizon; with a slanted perspective, made up of mottled browns - much like those we observed in Wallin's painting *Elin Lundberg* - creating a distinct barrier between land and sky. The sky itself is an impasto mass of white clouds, with only teasing hints of blue sky breaking through. In each of these characteristics, it is easy to perceive that Wallin was very much away of the Impressionists, and that he sought to emulate the palette and techniques adopted by the generation of French painters.

When looking at *A Young Woman in a Spring Landscape*, it knows it is Monet. It understands the technique and style of the artist, revealing, in its colour and application of paint, an appreciation of the French Impressionist painter. In it we can see a similarity with Monet's *Study of a Woman Outdoors: Woman with a Parasol* (1886, Plate 29); where the skies and the ground are equally unruly, and the features of the female figure are indistinguishable. Wallin would have been familiar with the works of the latter, through the influence he, and indeed the Impressionists as a whole, had on the generation of 1880s Nordic painters (including most notably Larsson, Zorn and Liljefors). At a time when many of Wallin's colleagues were becoming entrenched in the ideologies and stylistic tendencies of Modernism, this painting reveals that not all had been forgotten. It is worth noting here, that one of Wallin's closest friends and colleagues, the artist Erik Tryggelin (1878-1962), worked solely in the Impressionist style throughout his long career, working out of Paris (at the same time as Wallin) and Stockholm. With this in mind, unlike his friend, Wallin did not remain an Impressionist, and this discernible influence of Monet subsequently dissipates; the colours, however, persist. This shade of pastel blue becomes a prominent feature in Wallin's work

of this time, culminating in one of his most 'typical' compositions - that of a girl in a landscape - in *Greta Lidberg i Vårlandskap* (*Greta Lidberg in a Spring Landscape*, c.1912, Plate 30).[29]

Before considering the culminating effect of Impressionism on Wallin's painting, it is interesting to consider further the unrefined nature of *A Young Woman in a Spring Landscape* in contrast to paintings of that same year. Despite the rough application of paint, the result is atmospheric of an early Spring; a time where the effects of winter on the landscape have begun to be softened by the flourishing of spring. The trees are barren, the ground appears as if the snow has just melted away, only dead grass remaining beneath the feet of the solitary figure. There is something unclean about the palette, which would be familiar to someone in the Nordic countries, reminiscent of that murky change from winter to spring. This painting furthers the Impressionist tendencies, but also highlights the importance of the audience in interpreting the meaning of the composition.

This level of personal feeling is felt on a much more intimate level, however, in *Elin W.* which conveys a level of intimacy as yet to be seen in Wallin's painting. Unlike in *Springtime,* where there is a level of formality in the image, the figure of Elin remaining physically beyond his reach, in this later painting the intimacy between the sitter and artist is palpable. This comes through not only in the chosen composition, but also in the dusty, pastel blue background, liberally applied to the board, the downcast gaze of the model, with her unruly hair falling upon her naked chest, and an innocent, rosy flush to her cheek.

This blonde colour palette adopted by many Scandinavian artists during the 1880s, including Larsson and Carl Frederik Hill, and emulated in this painting by Wallin, was seen as typical of *en plein air* painting. The prominence of painting en plein air has been recently explored in the exhibition, *Magic Light - Plein Air Painting from the Late 19th-century* (13 February - 28 August, 2016) at Waldemarsudde, Stockholm. Here the focus rested very heavily on the women artists of Scandinavia, featuring occasional examples by the afore mentioned artists. The distinctiveness of the palette dissipating when viewed all together; encouraging therefore, that one try and view the works in isolation. In the vein of Impressionism comes the seemingly intentionally unfinished nature

[29] Exhibited - 1931, nr.22, Separatutställning at Konstakademien, Stockholm; and 1952 - nr. 20, Separatutställning at Konstakademien, Stockholm.

of *Elin W.* - the brushstrokes appearing as a patchwork on the surface, with her face and shoulders formed from individual strokes, her facial features disappearing into the depths of the paint.

When envisioning the Swedish woman, the stereotype is that of a blonde and blue-eyed beauty. In Wallin's portrait of *Greta Lidberg in a Spring Landscape*, she is the embodiment of this very idea. Greta is the vision which many hold, to this day, of what the Swedish woman looks like. A frequent model of Wallin's, with another oil sketch of that same year entitled *Greta Lidberg vid Ljusterö* (*Greta Lidberg in Ljusterö*, 1912, Plate 31), depicted in the same pastel blue smock, there is a youthfulness to the figure, brought about, perhaps, through the different use of a model. Indeed, Elin wasn't the only inspiration behind his works, with records revealing that he did in fact use specific models for the different ideas of woman he sought to depict.[30] Further to the portrait of Greta herself, there is something subtly symbolic to the landscape. Here, the sky moves from light to dark, the clouds fading as they meet the darkness. The shadows of the sky consuming the landscape, leaving only the figure of the girl untouched by the oncoming darkness. This is furthermore evocative of the description given by Varnedoe when describing the art of Bergh, in that he remarks, that Bergh's painting,

> Relies solely on the mystical power of natural phenomena - light and landscape - to heighten reality. […] He believed that Scandinavia's midsummer nights and midwinter scenes triggered primitive emotional responses in its people, much as music may arouse spiritual feelings. Sweden, to his mind, was a new Eden, capable of inspiring poetry and art in those that were willing to seek it.[31]

It is interesting how darkness seems to permeate Wallin's paintings of springtime, it is very much summer which enthrals and inspires him the most. The distinctiveness of his summer portraits, is something which will be explored at great length in his works of the 1930s. With his painting of Greta Lidberg, we are presented with the stereotype that Wallin spent much of the years before

---

[30] Models - Anna Senferrt - ljusröd, Folkungog 8, 5567. Elva Allin - 16 år, Blekingagatan 13. Judit Sjöberg - mörk. Anna Larsson - svart, postcode -7739. Signe Andersson - 17 år, mycket bra. Blekingagatan 18. Anna Ohlsson. Source: Royal Library Archives, Stockholm. *David Wallins papper, 1896-ca 2000*. Acc 2008/138.

[31] *Northern Light: Nordic Art at the Turn of the Century*, p.54

trying to shun. She is furthermore a culmination of this identifying pastel blue which became so representative of the latter half of the 1900s.

Within this period of 1902 to 1912, prior to the artist's move to Paris, there is no consistency in style or colour, rather it is a time exemplary of the artist trying to find his own footing and avoiding the *avant garde* trends that were coming to the fore. In his painting, from 1904 until 1912, he moves between Academic idealism, Pre Raphaelite detail orientation, and something with an Impressionist air. During this time, Wallin works to his own rhythm, incapable of being categorised, and shunning the advancements being made in modernist artistic spheres. However, he is not void of external influences as he so wanted to be. Despite the consideration that Wallin did not belong to the 20th century, as he remains inspired by artists of the late 19th century, and working in a similar vein to those who came before him, his fascination with colour and technique does in fact make him more of a 20th century artist. Although his compositions are recurrent and follow similar themes, it is his palette and technique which mark distinct points in his career.

With these early years, comes an artist trying to find his own place in the world, and not being entirely sure how to get there. However, by the beginning of the 1910s, with paintings such as *Greta Lidberg in a Spring Landscape*, there is a feeling of an artist who finally has an idea of what he wants to paint, and how he wants to paint it. This being said, no sooner did Wallin finally find his feet, than he moved to Paris, and during this time, was influenced by some of the foremost artists of the time, as well as those who had come to exemplify French Symbolism and had influenced the previous generation of Nordic artists. Wallin had finally discovered the Symbolic roots that had underpinned some of his earliest works.

Chapter 2: c.1912

Although Symbolism came to the fore in Swedish, and Nordic art as a whole, during the 1890s, an infatuation with the style persisted in Sweden well into the early 20th century. It remained for some, such as Wallin and the sculptor Carl Eldh and John Bauer, an intrinsic part of their personal artistic education. These artists did not disregard the tradition of art - studying at the academies and acquiring classical training - but rather sought to integrate those practices and styles which they admired, both past and present, into their own works. While many of Wallin's contemporaries were studying under the likes of Matisse, Wallin spent his time following in the footsteps of the previous generation of both French and Swedish painters; adapting the "serene, harmonious evocations of a distant past"[1] into his own compositions. This chapter will examine the identifying features of French and Swedish symbolist painting in his style, both through the approach taken in composition and motif, but also in the distinctive mauve palette of his Parisian years.

Between the years of 1910 and 1913, Wallin resided in France, making only sporadic visits back to Sweden, and two other recorded visits, to Germany and Spain. During this time Wallin familiarised himself with those artists, most notably Pierre Puvis de Chavannes and Eugène Carrière, who had, through the influence they had on the previous generation of Scandinavian artists, inspired his work. The works of the Swedish painters Georg Pauli and Prince Eugen reveal the admiration held by Scandinavian artists for the French pioneer of Symbolism, Puvis de Chavannes. Pauli wrote in an article on artistic life in Paris, for the Swedish magazine *Ord och Bild* (*Words and Pictures,* 1892): "It's odd about this Puvis: all currents in art - from the old, from the Academicians to the Impressionists, Symbolists and Synthesists, they can all find something useful in his work."[2] The "classical simplicity and purity of line"[3] was the most admired principle in the works of Puvis, and was emulated most notably in the works of Hammershøi and Prince Eugen, as seen in his sketch for the painting *Spring Sun on the Meadow* (1894, Plate 32). The flatness of colour and stylised classicism of Puvis' work is reinvented in Prince Eugen's painting, reminiscent of the former's own idyllic, paradise-like, landscapes. This work is perhaps further representative of the artist's own

---

[1] *Nationalism and the Nordic Imagination,* p.120

[2] *Nordic Landscape Painting in the Nineteenth Century*, p.234

[3] *Ibid*, p.234

imagination than a naturalist appreciation of his surroundings. Much like the works of Wallin, Prins Eugen merges a Naturalist temperament, with a Symbolist appreciation of subject matter. There does persist a symbolic undertone throughout Wallin's *oeuvre*, adapting to the stylistic and cultural changing taking place around him.

For the reason that modernism is an ever-changing term - as art historian and critic Christian Brinton wrote, "that men whose names half a dozen years ago were considered the synonym of modernity, today find themselves occupying a relatively middle position"[4] - Wallin cannot be considered a modernist. As is identifiable during his Parisian period, and later during the 1930s, even extending to the final decade of his career, Wallin remains more often than not unchanged, surfacing in the modern world periodically. Here he assimilates current trends into his work, the compositional motif remaining constant, but the play with colour or the delineation, or as in Paris haziness, of form emerging through the paint. Just as he admires and learns from Cezanne or Puvis de Chavannes, or heightens the use of colour in his paintings during the 1930s, evoking very much a sense of Art Deco boldness and clarity; he maintains the same stylistic approach throughout, something which first reached fruition in his painting of *Greta Lidberg in a Spring Landscape*. As a consequence of this, it is not sufficient to class him as outdated, for it outmodes the artist; rather he remains true to himself, introducing the characteristics of 'modernist' style when it suits him. He was only ever, arguably, a modernist in terms of facture, never form. For this reason, Wallin can only be considered modern, and not strictly a modernist.

I. The Allure of Paris

Facos writes, in the introduction to 'Symbolism in Sweden', that "In Sweden, the Symbolist influence came directly from Paris […] they were intellectually orientated towards France."[5] Paris was the artistic centre for many a Nordic, and indeed Swedish artist. It was the capital of cosmopolitanism, of artistic radicalism and development, and a place of intellectual intrigue. For Swedish artists, it was the allure of the new, moving beyond the German Realism which had seen

---

[4] Brinton, Christian. *Introduction to Exhibition of Contemporary Scandinavian Art.* (The American Art Galleries, New York, 1912). p.23

[5] *Nationalism and the Nordic Imagination,* p.119

them through their artistic education, towards something more progressive and individualistic. For the National Romantic painters of Sweden, for Pauli, Bergh and Eugen, it was a chance to further explore the opposing styles of Impressionism, Naturalism and Symbolism over a twenty-year period; styles which arguably could never meet. For Pauli, Naturalism forbade "all subjects from the world of imagination, dreams, history, legend and myth."[6] This balance of style and composition was, however, found in Paris. For Scandinavian artists, previously drawn in by the Impressionists and the opportunities offered by painting en plein air, it was during the 1890s, that the works of the Symbolists ignited in them a new appreciation of the national spirit. At the time of Wallin's move to the capital, Swedish painters had just discovered the art of Matisse, with artists Sigrid Hjertėn and her husband, Isaac Grünewald, later leading the way for the Swedish modernist movement. For Wallin, however, he didn't follow the trajectory of his contemporaries, but rather sought to emulate those artists of the previous generation, most prominently Carrière and Puvis de Chavannes, as well as Swedish Symbolist Ernst Josephson. Wallin's time spent in Paris, was concerned with studying the history of art, intrigued by contemporary developments but not verging on the *avant garde*; remaining a traditionalist.

The hub of artistic activity during the beginning of the 20th century had moved from Montmartre, around the foot of Sacra Coeur, to the bohemian quarter of Montparnasse. The prevalence of international artistic communities working out of Montparnasse during this time, is explored in the volume *Foreign Artists and Communities in Modern Paris*. Here the broad spectrum of artists is examined, including Polish, German and Czech artists, all of whom had sought out a Parisian artistic education. The study undertaken in the afore mentioned work, however, only briefly highlights the prominence of Scandinavian artists in Paris, with the focus limited to a study of Munch and his Norwegian colleagues, including Christian Skredsvig. As a consequence, broader generalisations are made on Nordic art, using Munch as an antithetical example of the typical Scandinavian artist, one who employed the "French Impressionist or Naturalist styles they had studied in the Parisian academies to represent stereotypical Scandinavian themes."[7] Munch is instead identified as being an artist who "presented himself with French-inspired motives and

---

[6] *Nationalism and the Nordic Imagination,* p.119

[7] Carter, Karen L. and Susan Waller. ed. *Foreign Artists and Communities in Modern Paris, 1870-1914: Strangers in Paradise.* (Ashgate, 2015), p.48

style", furthermore appearing to "adjust his exhibition tactics strategically according to the city or location in order to stand out and thus attract attention."[8] The assimilation of French ideas and characteristics into their own art was not exclusive to painting, but is rather exemplary of the rising fashionability of cosmopolitanism - integrating with the society they were living in.

The concept of cosmopolitanism is one which represents an eagerness to assimilate the cultural habits and traditions of another nation into ones own life. For artists this came into fruition by living within foreign communities in which they worked. In the case of the Scandinavian artists who worked out of Paris, they remained a very close knit group. The idea of disappearing into someone else's culture, could only go so far for the Nordic artist, remaining linked to their home country despite living abroad.[9] It rather became a matter of assimilating those foreign characteristics, of inner city living and of a rural French existence into ones own being and way of working, and subsequently carrying these ideas home. Through relocating to Paris, artists such as Wallin and those who came before him, were looking for something more than what home could offer. It was a chance to be seen on an international stage, for ones art to be exhibited and recognised alongside names far better known on the continent and beyond. By being cosmopolitan, by experiencing the lifestyle of one of the main capitals of Europe, the artist would gain respectability that was otherwise unattainable at home. In the case of Wallin, his time spent in Paris resulted in numerous exhibits at the Parisian salon's, as well as providing him with the opportunity to learn from those artists close-up who had inspired him from afar.

Living first on the Rue de l'Abbé Grégoire and later on the Rue de la Grande Chaumiere, in the centre of the Montparnasse district, Wallin was caught up in the throngs of Parisian artistic society, surrounded not only by his colleagues, but also his friends. In 1910, the artist furthermore held a studio on the Rue Vavin, and later on the Rue de Vaugirard. According to Loos, Wallin would share his studio space with his closest friend, Erik Tryggelin (1878-1962) - both of whom are recorded to have studied the same model, painting alongside each other. Tryggelin, who arrived in Paris in the autumn of 1911 and remained there until the start of 1913, provides, through his diaries, a detailed

---

[8] *Foreign Artists and Communities*, p.49

[9] Douthat, Ross. *The Myth of Cosmopolitanism.* (The New York Times, 2 July 2016). Available from: http://www.nytimes.com/2016/07/03/opinion/sunday/the-myth-of-cosmopolitanism.html?_r=3, accessed 24 June 2016.

insight into the life and artistic process of Wallin, something which the latter very rarely provides himself. Those artists who further made an appearance during this time in Paris, were the artists John Sten (1879-1922) and Karl Isakson (1878-1922), the latter having been a student at the Royal Academy at the same time as Wallin. In Loos' partially written manuscript, he recalls an occasion in which these artists stayed up until three-o'clock in the morning, discussing the merits of Cubism, a movement which Wallin was not entirely convinced by. In earlier comments concerning the Cubist painter André Loth, he writes that:

> Anyone could have categorised him and his Impressionist painting, when he was an Impressionist. Yet now, three years later, he's a Cubist, and all the greats have bought his paintings. Yet I wonder if anyone has a definite idea of what his painting now entails. I think this latter statement is characteristic of the movement as a whole.[10]

The opinion Wallin held of the Modernist art movements to which many of his colleagues belonged, varies greatly. Although Wallin disliked the works of Matisse, and indeed the reaction of many artists from his own generation, including Eigil Schwab (1882-1952) and Olof Ågren (1874-1962), to the French painter were mixed, he did, unlike Tryggelin, appreciate their place in the context of art history. Tryggelin was thoroughly opposed to modernism, whereas Wallin actively sought to study from, or at least look upon, all forms of painting regardless of personal preference. Loos recalls in his manuscript, a moment in which the two artists visited the collection of paintings by Cezanne in Neuilly, brought together by entrepreneur and art collector Auguste Pelerin (one of the foremost collectors of Cezanne and Edouard Manet at the start of the 20th century). At this time, both artists were impressed by Cezanne's landscapes and portraits, yet disappointed with his nudes - an interesting point, considering the prevalence of the nude in Wallin's own painting. Wallin thoroughly immersed himself in Parisian culture and art, and in doing so came to create some of his most intimate and distinctive paintings.

---

[10] "Hvem som helst kunde klassificera honom och hans impressionistiska konst då han var en impressionist. Men nu sedan tre år är han kubist, alla storheter här har köpt hans målningar och jag tror inte någon har något mer bestämt begrepp om hvad han just (nu menar). Jag tycker att det är så betecknande för hela rörelsen." Royal Library Archives, Stockholm. *David Wallins papper, 1896-ca 2000*. Acc 2008/138:42.

II. Mauve is the Colour

Mauve is the colour of Wallin's Parisian period. Throughout the period of 1910-1913, the colour appears throughout his work, in some cases more subtly used, as in *Nakenstudie* (*Nude Study*, 1911, Plate 33), where it emerges in the foliage in the background and in the streaks of her blonde hair. It is, however, an intrinsic part of the composition of *Fable Eternelle* (1912, Plate 34), creating a physical divide between the two sleeping girls. It is this painting which shall be the focus of this section. It was a work which was among only a handful of paintings to be exhibited by Wallin at the Parisian Salon, the first of which was his portrait of Elin, entitled *Elin med kappa på armen* (*Elin with a Coat over Her Arm*, 1910, Plate 35). Among those other works exhibited later on, were his portrait of Carin Thiel, as mentioned in the previous chapter, also *L'Air du Printemps* (*The Spring Air*), and as shall be the focus here, *Fable Eternelle.* This latter work, was displayed at the Salon des Indépendants in 1912, an exhibition which also included Albert Gleizes *Les Baigneuses* (*The Bathers*, 1912), Jean Metzinger's *La Femme au Cheval* (*Woman with a Horse*, 1911-12), and Jean Gris' *Portrait of Picasso* (1912). In contrast to these avant-garde modernist paintings, This section will examine the prevalence of the colour mauve in Wallin's painting of this time, and the hazy, unfocused effect this colour induces; a feature which emerged through inspiration taken from the French Symbolist, Eugène Carrière.

Fable Eternelle, or *Eternal Fables*, evokes the idea of dreaming, of disappearing into one's own imagination. Here, Wallin's two eldest daughters - he and Elin had had four children by this time, Helena (b.1906), Hillevi (b.1907), Bianca (b.1909) and Dagny (b.1912) - lie sleeping above each other. There is a childish innocence to this work. Embracing the sleeping figures are the colours typical throughout his Parisian paintings - "grey and earthly colours",[11] and purples, yellows and greens. Moreover it is with "the childish softness of the lines, [and] the springlike colours",[12] that the dream-state of the composition is heightened. Helena and Hillevi are lost in their nocturnal imaginations, while appearing to float in an indeterminate space. The perspective is flat, depth alluded to in the hand of the smaller child, that on top, as she disrupts the surface of the stream running between them, causing the water to froth on the surface. One might further consider that

[11] Royal Library Archives, Stockholm. *David Wallins papper, 1896-ca 2000*. Acc 2008/138.

[12] Unknown author, *Konstens Trädgård*. (Östergötland Dagbladet: 13 Sep 1935).

the title alludes not only to the sleeping state of the two children, but also that the composition of the painting is in itself evocative of the undeterminable nature of dreams - with no space in reality; they occupy a nothingness. The positioning of the figures above each other, both of whom rest lightly on the surface of the painting might be seen as furthering the idea of eternal fables. Wallin's own sentiments on the depiction might additionally be considered here, that "A young child spends little time living in reality […] they dwell in their fantasies, and therefore the nature surrounding them has to complement the child's imagination, there has to be harmony between the two."[13] A man whose children were the models for many of his works, *Fable Eternelle* is suggestive of the inspiration their childish whiles inspired in him.

Further notable in this work is the unity between the tonality of the landscape and that of the figures. The use of mauve, in this instance, situates the sleeping children in their imaginary landscape. Through the richness of colour along the banks of the stream, and the fine line delineating the figures, the two become one. In discussing once more the prevalence of the landscape in Wallin's paintings, it is interesting to note that, during his time in Paris, Wallin did on occasion, use studies of the Swedish countryside, carried out during the summer of 1911 in Järnboås, Västmanland, in his works of this time.[14] The assimilation of these two identities, not only provides a visualisation to the literal understanding of cosmopolitanism, but maintains the arguably nationalist nature of Wallin's paintings, despite him living abroad. Unlike his predecessors, such as Larsson and Zorn, who wholly embraced French culture and life, Wallin sought to merge the two cultural identities. His works emulate the French influences that inspired him during his Parisian sojourn, whilst maintaining a link to the homeland - most prevalent in the native landscapes that remained the backdrop to many of his works.

The distinctiveness of the colour mauve during this period rests in how it contrasts with the generally nude palette, where only hints of the green undercoat provide any further depth to the tonality of the canvas. The colour purple appears throughout Wallin's *oeuvre*, albeit in varying degrees. In a painting which shall be examined in the subsequent chapter, *Morgon Toilette*, the purple is more vivid and less suggestive; it dominates the composition, contrasting with the orange

---

[13] *Konstens Trädgård,* 1935.

[14] *Manuscript om David Wallin,* p.39

and the blue of the backdrop. It is moreover, a colour featured throughout Nordic painting. In this regard I look to two examples, the first being Munch's *Snow Landscape from Kragerø* (1912, Plate 36), which uses a similar shade of purple to Wallin's Fable Eternelle, yet here, the colour is cold, emphasising the mounds of snow which regress into an icy blue-green sky and frozen sea. It lacks the warmth which Wallin's paintings imbue, embodying that widely identifiable Nordic spirit. The colour makes a much more vivacious appearance in Gallen-Kallela's *Mary Gallén on the Kuhmoniemi Bridge* (1890, Plate 37), however. Here the colours, much like Wallin's *Morgon Toilette*, contrast starkly with one another - the sky alive with a burning orange, and bold blue, the two colours clashing with each other, setting the sky on fire. This juxtaposition of colour, although interesting to discuss in relation to the use of purple, does not appear in Wallin's works until the 1930s. During this time, Wallin would use "a rather thick, mildly dark undercoat on his canvases, applying a thin layer of citrus yellow and pink, almost violet, to the top."[15] With these colours Wallin brought forth a sense of "sunlight"[16] on the figures within the painting. As was often the case, as seen in *Fable Eternelle* and indeed his later works, including *Vid Arilds Strand*, there is no direct source of light, rather it is used to add depth to the figures, shining on them from an indeterminable source.

Wallin's use of the colour mauve, was much like his approach to Symbolism, belated. The colour had become fashionable during the late 1850s and early 1860s, constituting "the Mauve Decade."[17] Even the name 'mauve' which was brought about as an alternative to the original name the colour was given, 'Tyrian purple', came into existence only because "there was more benefit to be had from an association with Parisian *haute couture* than with antiquity."[18] The fashionability surrounding the colour was represented in works including *April Love* (1855-86, Plate 38) by the Pre-Raphaelite painter Arthur Hughes, and later a prevalent feature of the works of John Singer Sargent. Much like Wallin, Singer-Sargent reinvigorated the use of mauve, using it in the sash in his portrait, *Lady Agnew of Lochnaw* (1892, Plate 39), and a similar shade to Wallin's mauve appearing in the gondola's of his Venetian watercolour, *The Piazetta, Venice* (c.1904, Plate 40).

---

[15] "Först hade han dock en ljusstark, rätt tjock undermålning, det öfre tunna färglagret utfört i svagt citrongula och rosa, något violett." Tryggelin describing Wallin's artistic process in 1912. *Manuskript om David Wallin*, p.38

[16] *Ibid,* p.38.

[17] Ball, Philip. *Bright Earth: The Invention of Colour.* (Random House, 2012). p.237

[18] *Ibid*, p.240.

The fashionability of mauve, and indeed the colour purple, appears to have made a return at the turn of the century, albeit with less gaudiness than during the initial phase. In Singer-Sargent's paintings, one might attribute this to the colour's association with fashion - bearing connotations of prestige and therefore used in the portrait of Lady Agnew. With regards to Wallin, one might hypothesise that the use of mauve, was more to do with its relation to Paris; being instead evocative of a cosmopolitan location, than any particular fashion.

The emphasis on colour in Wallin's work is something which has already been readily talked about, however, it is something which remained pivotal in his exploration of composition and style. Indeed, in the diaries of Tryggelin, colour is one of the focuses of his writing when describing the works of his friend and colleague. In his Paris diaries, Tryggelin recalls that Wallin's paintings were "beautiful in their tonality, not a trace of the modern",[19] they were instead evocative of a bygone era of Symbolist romanticism and, to use Facos' term, National Romanticism. Furthermore, "colour was never an intrinsic value to his [Wallin's] painting, rather it was a way of visualising those feelings which occupied his mind: of an ensouled natural experience, of romantic yearning, and lyrical idealism."[20] This romantic and idealist nature features prominently during this time. In the case of *Fable Eternelle*, it is the romantic nature of one's own imagination, beyond the realms of reality which comes into focus.

Indeed, the composition for this painting, originates in a photograph taken by Wallin of Hillevi and Helena, in his Paris studio. The prominence of the photograph in Wallin's artistic process is not one which has been discussed at great length, yet is one which plays a key role in the formation of his compositions. Many of the photos found in the archives, for example in a photo of Elin standing by a tree and rock formation (Plate 41), reveal that Wallin would work upon the photos with a pencil, building up the composition from there. In this case, the figure has been outlined, a shawl added around her waist - the painting does not originate on the canvas, but rather starts off on a photograph, taking shape from there. In the preliminary photograph for *Fable Eternelle* (Plate 42),

---

[19] "vackra i färgtonen, icke ett spår av en moderna grannlåten (men möjligen något lösa i teckningen)." *Manuskript om David Wallin*, p.37

[20] "Färgen har för honom aldrig varit något egenvärde utan endast ett underordnat, tjänande medel att uttrycka de känslor av besjälad naturupplevelse, romantisk längtan och lyrisk idealism, varav hans sinne är så överströmmande rikt." *Ibid*, p.37

we can see that the figures are obviously not floating, but sleeping either on the ground or on a raised surface - the foot of Hillevi still dangling off the end. The longevity of this process, lasting throughout Wallin's career, with a rather comical and intimate photo depicting an older Elin in her underwear, reclining in the Djurgården in Stockholm, reading a newspaper. What these photos further allowed was for Wallin to reuse the poses in other compositions and paintings. For example, the sleeping figure of Helena can be found once again in *En mor och hennes sovande barn* (A *Mother and her Sleeping Child*, Unknown date, Plate 43), without her sister in this instance, but instead with Elin watching over her child.

III. Maternal Instinct

This final section will look at the rise of the mother and child scene, as further inspired by Carrière, using Wallin's painting *I begynnelsen* (*In the Beginning*, c.1912, Plate 44) as a case study. With the birth of his first daughter in 1906, and his youngest daughter during his time in Paris, being a newborn baby, born in 1912, the importance of his children in his life was undeniable. Exhibited at the Salon des Independents in 1913, Wallin's *In the Beginning* is an intimate insight into the early stages of motherhood. Here the newborn Dagny, lies against her mother's breast, her piercing black eyes "look out at the world in wonder."[21] There is an allusion to time, brought forth in the clock above the bed; where the child is entirely dependent on their parents, the moment before she grows up.

This moment between mother and child was reworked many times by Wallin during that year. We can also see it in a pencil drawing (1912, Plate 45), as well as in a small oil sketch (Plate 46) and a preliminary photograph (Plate 47). In the full scale pencil drawing, the child, lies sleeping, enveloped in a sea of blankets. The background and the foreground merge, the monochromatic nature of the image, once again, as with *Fable Eternelle*, evoking that dreamlike quality. There is something serene to this drawing, something which is both "beautiful and soulful, earthly but also spiritual."[22] The nature of this drawing, brings to mind once again the writing of Tryggelin, who

---

[21] *Manuskript om David Wallin*, p.46

[22] Unknown author. *Konstföreningens utställning: En sevärd samling av östgötakonstnärensverk.* (GS Tidningen: 20 Oct 1924).

wrote that Wallin “doesn’t perceive nature and its colouring directly but sees everything through his own imagination.”[23] The muted palette of both the painting and the oil sketch, reveal an artist much more concerned with conveying intimacy in his paintings than with exploring the depths that colour allows. Here, it is the play with light and shade, an exploration of *chiaroscuro*, which emphasises the forms and features of the compositions. Upon the face of Elin, in *In the Beginning*, a dabbling of white paint along her cheek suggests a source of light, her left shoulder catching some of that light also, leaving the child shrouded in darkness.

Having already discussed the influence Carrière had on the muted palette and hazy focus of Fable Eternelle, I would like to look further into the artist, and the influence he had on the maternal aspects of Wallin’s work. Described by James Hunecker in his book of 1910, *Promenades of an Impressionist*, Carrière was seen as “solitary, one of the most original thinkers among modern French painters.”[24] Carrière was furthermore, alongside Puvis de Chavannes, one of the foremost influences on Scandinavian artists of the 1890s. An exhibition in 1983 staged at the Museum of Art and History in Geneva focused on the prints of Carrière and Zorn - both remembered today, as much for their paintings, as for their engravings.

Carrière's influence on Wallin’s art is arguably most palpable during his Parisian sojourn. The use of muted colours, or indeed lack of colour, induces a hazy feeling, as if we are viewing the palette through an indeterminable filter. In *Fable Eternelle*, the children appeared as if in a haze, and here, in *In the Beginning*, the influence of Carrière comes through. An artist who was similarly inspired by the mother and child, he commonly introduced a likeness to his wife in his paintings, with his wife and children, much like Wallin, acting as his most important models. If we look at Carrière’s *Maternité* (*Maternity*, c.1890-1906, Plate 48) and *L’Amour Maternel* (*Maternal Love*, 1904, Plate 49), for example as a comparison to Wallin’s own *In the Beginning,* we can observe a familiar bond between mother and child. The critic Goncourt writes about Carrière’s paintings, that he paints “children’s faces with luminous temples […] the fluidity of milky cheeks […] faces of children gazed

[23] “Tar ej naturen och dess färg direkt utan ser allt genom sin fantasis synglas.” *Manuskript om David Wallin*, p.38

[24] Huneker, James. *Review: Promenades of an Impressionist.* (American Art News, Vol.8 No.29, 1910), p.2

at in loving, leaning attitudes."[25] A similar such description could be applied to Wallin's own portrayal of his children; as with the oil painting of *In the Beginning*, it is not just the artist who gazes upon the child, but vice versa. However, unlike Carrière, the impasto nature of elements of the paint, apparent in the oil painting of *In the Beginning*, there is a depth that is otherwise imperceivable in the works of the French Symbolist. Wallin's work is never truly a strict reimagining of another artist's work, he draws elements of inspiration, whether that be composition, style or tonality, and uniting it with his own way of painting.

Following their return to Sweden in 1913, Wallin's career remained focused on doing what he loved best - painting his wife, children, and the landscape that inspired him the most. However, despite the fruitfulness of the 1910s for Wallin's art, it ended in the most devastating of ways. In 1919, two of Wallin's daughters - Hillevi and Dagny - drowned. It is not known exactly what happened, but story has it, that during a summer holiday on Lake Mälaren that year, Helena, the eldest, along with Hillevi, Bianca (b.1909) and Dagny (b.1912) went for a swim, however, only Helena was actually capable of swimming. No sooner had the children swum out into the water than they got into difficulty, and Helena was forced to swim out to rescue them; reaching out to grab one and bring her to shore. By the time she had brought Bianca back to the beach, the other two girls had succumbed to the water.[26] His children were the inspiration behind some of his most intimate paintings so far - Hillevi depicted alongside Helena in *Fable Eternelle*, and Dagny the subject of a sweet portrait, a year before her death, entitled *Dagny med röd mössa* (*Dagny with a Red Hat*, 1918, Plate 50). This moment was a decisive one in the career and life of Wallin and his wife. The tragedy of this incident meant that Elin ceased painting altogether, and in Wallin's own painting the attention was focused even more of portraying his children, with his second eldest, surviving, daughter Bianca (herself an aspiring artist) became one of his foremost muses in the subsequent decades.

---

[25] Hollis, Richard. Ghostly Realist. (The Guardian, 26 Aug 2006). https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2006/aug/26/art.art, accessed 10 Aug 2016.

[26] This information was attained through conversations with the granddaughters of David Wallin, and the children of Bianca. The first of which took place in Stockholm, Sweden in August 2014, with Monika Bystedt, Hillevi Tolnai-Andersson and Eva Åkesson.

The distinctiveness of the 1920s in Wallin's *oeuvre* remains rather subdued. Indeed, Loos wrote that "The Swedish 1920s started as the time of illusions. One dreamed of a new heaven and a new earth. But this beautiful complete world was an illusion, it was neither beautiful nor complete." [27] During this time, Wallin returned to Sweden, moving away from the muted and mauve palette of his Parisian days, and instead focusing on the Swedish landscape and portraits of his children. It is during this time that the critical impact the death of his two children had on his life becomes most apparent. There is a lack of experimentation in his work, and moreover all of his exhibitions were staged within Sweden. It is only with the start of the 1930s, that Wallin's painting is reinvigorated - both in colour and with international fame.

[27] "Det svenska 1920-talet började som en illusionernas tid. Man drömde om en ny himmel och en ny jord. Den vackert avrundade världen var en illusion, den var varken vacker eller avrundad." *Manuskript om David Wallin*, p.52

Chapter 3: c.1932

In 1932, Wallin won the Olympic Gold in Painting, in Los Angeles. He fended off competition from the rest of the world's nations, with the American painter Ruth Miller taking second place with her painting *Struggle*. Up against some of the defining artists of Swedish art history, as well as those from other countries, Wallin's *Vid Arilds Strand* took home the gold - depicting something naturally Swedish, and romantic in its appreciation of nature and the humans which inhabit it. This chapter will examine the defining features of Wallin's paintings of the 1930s - looking at his use of style, with brighter, more distinctive colours, a delineation of form, and a frivolous air to his compositions. It will examine the a number of works, including *Morgontoilette* (*Morning Toilette*) and his Olympic winning painting, *Vid Arilds Strand (At the Seaside of Arild)*, which epitomise this noticeable change in style and approach. This chapter will furthermore examine the strong relationship that existed between Sweden, indeed Scandinavia as a whole, and America, referencing in particular the exhibition of 1912 in New York, and how this became a defining moment in the Anglophone understanding of Nordic art. It will consider the role this cross-Atlantic relationship played, in the reception Wallin received in Los Angeles in 1932. It will, furthermore, consider how him winning a gold medal, brought him not only greater recognition in America, but also at home.

I. Trans-Atlantic Relations

In 2012, the American-Scandinavian Foundation in New York brought together some twenty of the Scandinavian artists who were exhibited in their original 1912 exhibition. It was not a recreation of the original exhibition, rather a commemoration and continuation of what they had brought to the American people a century earlier. Moreover this exhibition, *Luminous Modernism*, was extended to include Finland and Iceland, in an all-encompassing display of turn of the century Scandinavian art. In both instances, whether it be establishing or reaffirming the place of Nordic art, the works of the respective nations was met with great admiration and awe, whereby "the regional modernism of Scandinavia […] became a unique idiom within international developments in modern art."[1] The effect of this very first exhibition was powerful, it was regrettably, however, short lived. Soon after

[1] *Luminous Modernism - Scandinavian Art Comes to America, 1912.* Available from: http://www.scandinaviahouse.org/events/luminous-modernism-scandinavian-art-comes-to-america-1912/, accessed 10 July 2016.

the exhibition closed in New York, to begin its tour the ‘Armory Show’ arrived in town - bringing with it examples of European modernism and futurism. The latter exhibit has often been characterised as “the first attempt to open the eyes and minds of America to the art Europe had to offer”,[2] however, if this were a race, then the American-Scandinavian’s staging of Nordic art, won that very contest. Forming a relationship between the arts of America and Europe was a decisive one, and in the case of Sweden in particular, the intention of the Foundation was to "facilitate cultural exchange between the U.S. and Scandinavia.”[3] As a result, the role of the individual Swedish artist in America, including Milles, Eldh, Zorn and indeed Wallin, was as crucial in advancing their careers, as merely working within the confines of their home country.

The original, groundbreaking exhibition of *Contemporary Scandinavian Art* in 1912, was received with high acclaim, with one critic writing that: “Taking the exhibition in its entirety, we may very well congratulate ourselves upon having had it.”[4] Words such as ‘radical’ were further used to describe the paintings on display, with the likes of Munch being introduced to an American audience for the first time. Among the six works by Munch first shown to the American public, were *In the Garden* (1902, Plate 51) - strongly evocative of Paul Gauguin in the vibrancy of colour and undulating, curving brushstrokes which form the landscape - and *Starry Night* (1893, Plate 52), reminiscent not only of Van Gogh’s *Starry Night* but of J.M. Whistler’s *Nocturne’s*. It is easy to appreciate, with these paintings in mind, how Munch came to be so admired: he was something new and exciting; strange and radical, with a sense of ‘colour insanity’ that the American people had not witnessed before.

Munch, however, was not the sole focus of the exhibition; with other artists, including the Norwegian painters Christian Krohg, Skredsvig, and Erik Werenskiold on display. The Swedish contingency was further represented in works by Prince Eugen, Larsson, Zorn and Fjæstad; with the Danes on show, including Krøyer, J.F. Willumsen, Julius Paulsen, and Laurits Andersen Ring.[5]

---

[2] *Marketing Modern Art in America: From the Armoury Show to the Department Store*. http://xroads.virginia.edu/~museum/armory/marketing.html, accessed 15 Aug 2016.

[3] Chayka, Kyle. *How Early Scandinavian Modernism Lit a Fire Under America’s Avant-Garde*. (Blouin Art Info Online, 31 Oct 2011). Available from: http://fr.blouinartinfo.com/news/story/749523/how-early-scandinavian-modernism-lit-a-fire-under-americas, accessed 10 July 2016.

[4] Cary, Elisabeth Luther. *Scandinavian Art*. (Art and Progress, Vol.4, No.4, 1913), p.857.

[5] *Introduction to Exhibition of Contemporary Scandinavian Art.* (The American Art Galleries, New York, 1912).

No added attention was given to one artist over the other, this was a time to recognise the art of Scandinavia in equal measure, not to encourage a bias or stereotype.

The exposure of Nordic artists to the North American continent and vice versa, became a defining factor in the artistic growth of the Group of Seven during the first half of the 20th century. It can be considered a visual fulfilment of the wishes of the Foundation; to further the bonds between Scandinavia and North America. As Christian Brinton, curator of the 1912 exhibition,[6] writes: "It may be unpatriotic to say so, but, judged by current European standards, we are distinctly behind the times when it comes to the matter of esthetic *[sic]* development."[7] The reciprocal relationship of artistic exchange can be observed in the works subsequently created by the Group of Seven, and although not the United States, it reveals the vast impact such an exhibition had on shaping the identity of a neighbouring country's art scene. It also addresses what Brinton makes comment on, bringing across the Atlantic some of what North America had been lacking - a way to visually express their own identity; to form a "native artistic birthright", something which Scandinavia had so vehemently guarded.[8]

In furthering this relationship, an exhibition on *American Painters of Swedish Descent*, a joint effort between the American-Scandinavian Foundation and The Art Institute of Chicago in 1920, was exhibited in three cities throughout Scandinavia, and also in New York and Chicago. The object of this exhibition being, much like its predecessor, "to foster friendly relations between the Europeans and Americans of Scandinavian inheritance."[9] I mention this exhibition, as among the exhibitors, was Wallin's brother Carl Efraim Wallin (1879-1968), himself an artist, who had relocated to Chicago in 1902 to study at the city's Art Institute. Carl Wallin was among those Swedes who had emigrated to the States, following a tradition which had started nearly three hundred years earlier,

---

[6] Brinton was a leading figure in promoting Nordic art and bringing it to an American audience. The same applied with Russian art and trying to dissolve the issue of race and nation in the world of art during the inter-war period. One of the sole commentators on Scandinavian art in America at this time, leading the way, Brinto also went against what many of his colleagues were advocating - i.e. modernism and its Expresssive forms.

[7] *Introduction to Exhibition of Contemporary Scandinavian Art,* p.24

[8] *Ibid*, p.12

[9] Unknown Author. *American Art for Sweden.* (The American Magazine of Art, Vol.11, No.9, 1920), p.336.

with the first Swedish colonists settling primarily in the states of Illinois, Michigan and Minneapolis (with the latter playing home to the American-Swedish Society).[10]

Wallin's own exposure across the Atlantic saw him included in a number of exhibitions across North America. As has already been mentioned, his portrait of Elin in *Springtime* was among the contingency of artists who represented Sweden at the Panama-Pacific International Exposition in San Francisco in 1915. On the Swedish contribution to the Exposition, Brinton lends his own insight on the "clear colour, sharply silhouetted forms and mighty rhythms of seemingly illimitable stretches of mountain and sky."[11] Brinton furthermore comments on "their directness of vision as rare as it is stimulating"[12], where "the art of Sweden derives its strength from the silent, persistent community between nature and man. The elements are few but they are all-sufficient."[13] One can envisage this latter comment relating to Wallin's *Springtime*, where the figure stands alone in the vast forest surrounding her; as much as one with nature as with her own self.

This affinity between Sweden and North America also saw Wallin exhibit in Pittsburgh and Toronto in 1923. In the case of the former, it was his portrait, *Ragnhild* (c.1922, Plate 53), given the title *A Girl of Sweden* for the purposes of the exhibition, which represented him at the Carnegie Institute organised exhibition. Other Swedish artists represented in Pittsburgh, included Carl Wilhelmsson (1866-1928), a student of Larsson and Liljefors, whose works primarily reveal an appreciation of Impressionist and Post-Impressionist style and technique, especially in the pointillist nature of some of his paintings, including *Toilette i ateliern* (*Toilette in the Studio*, 1916, Plate 54). In an article written in Paris, *Revue du Vrait et du Beau*, the author Clement Morro describes *Ragnhild* as "filled with the deep and dreamy poetry of the nordic nations."[14] She is atypical of Wallin's women, with dark hair, and yet darker attire, she becomes submerged in the background of the composition. In many ways, she is more reminiscent of *Springtime* than any of his other works. It is

---

[10] Cayton, Andrew R.L. ed. *The American Midwest: An Interpretive Encyclopedia.* (Indiana University Press, 2006), p.98.

[11] Pantazzi, Sybille. *Foreign Art at the Canadian National Exhibition 1905-1938.* (Bulletin 22, 1973). http://www.gallery.ca/bulletin/num22/pantazzi5.html, accessed 15 Aug 2016.

[12] *Ibid.*

[13] *Ibid.*

[14] "Wallin exponerar i Pittsburgh en tavla kallad "A girl of Sweden" "Ragnhild" av en sällsynt god kvalitet. Denna studie av en svenska är i sanning fylld av de nordiska nationernas djupa och drömmande poesi." Morro, Clement. *Revue du Vrait et du Beau.* (Salongerna, La Revue Moderne, Paris: 10 Sep 1923). p.17

interesting therefore to consider that those two works exhibited in the United States before the Olympics in 1932, were both “stereotypical” of the Swedish image - a country believed to be shrouded in darkness and never-ending cold.

Among those works displayed in Toronto (and later in London), as part of the gallery’s decade-long season of visiting Scandinavian painters - Denmark was later represented in 1925 - were his paintings *Sommar* (*Summer*, c.1914-23, Plate 55), *Den sista strängen* (*The Last Straw*), and a rather sketch-like, *Modern med sitt barn* (*Mother and Child*, Unknown Date, Plate 56).[15] These works go against the typical image one had of Wallin in his previous North American exhibits; they are rather much more characteristic of his *oeuvre* as a whole. In *Summer* in particular, it is the female nude, her modesty concealed with a wrap-around shawl, who dominates the composition, while the female figure seated beside her, reading, is a mere continuation of this Nordic beauty, becoming one with nature around her. Despite only having access to a black and white image, in a description available in the archives it describes the reds, greens and yellows; of multicoloured water and hills (barely discernible in this image), with the central figure bathed in a golden light.[16]

It was the allure of Scandinavian painting, where the artists’ "mythologized their landscapes and the quality of light in the circumpolar region”;[17] which appealed, and indeed resonated, with a North American audience. The exhibitions of 1912 and 1920 introduced the American public, artists, and critics to painters they had never heard of before; with the exhibition of 1923 broadening the horizon for Swedish painting in particular. The smaller names, who hadn’t yet had their North American breakthrough, including Wallin were represented on an international stage. However, for Wallin it was with the Olympic Games of 1932 that his moment came. In an article published in the *Nordstjernan* (*The North Star*, a New York based publication, for an American-Scandinavian audience), in 1933, at the time of Wallin’s American tour, the journalist wrote that “in American art circles, Wallin is no unknown figure.”[18] His Olympic victory had brought him recognition not only across the Atlantic, but worldwide. Wallin’s painting of this time encompassed many of the stylistic

---

[15] *Revue du Vrait et du Beau*. p.17

[16] Royal Library Archives, Stockholm. *David Wallins papper, 1896-ca 2000*. Acc 2008/138:35.

[17] *How Early Scandinavian Modernism Lit a Fire Under America’s Avant-Garde,* accessed 10 July 2016.

[18] “I amerikanska konstkretsar är Wallin ingen okänd storhet.” Unknown Author. *En timme med olympiamålaren*. (Norstjernan, Tidning för svenska befolkningen i Amerika: 19 Oct 1933).

trends and ideals of the 1930s: a revived interest in classicism, a vibrancy of colour, and linear forms and shapes, yet remaining true to those compositions and motifs which had sustained his artistic career up to this point.

II. A Boldness in Colour; A Boldness in Form

In 1917, Wallin remarked during an interview that "the artist who lets themselves be influenced by the style and fashion of the moment, I don't understand."[19] At this point in his career, Wallin had arguably not been influenced by the art of the day - working instead in similar fashion to his predecessors; in the styles of Impressionism, Symbolism and Naturalism. However, during the 1930s Wallin was much more a part of the 'time' than ever before. With this comment in mind, one can presume that Wallin was either unaware of the influence modern art had on his own painting or that through slight changes, he became someone who was modern, someone who could conform to new ideas. His figures contrast more starkly with the background, aided in part by the enhanced vibrancy of his palette, however, his compositions remain very much unchanged. It is an attempt to keep up with the times, to follow in part the "fashion of the moment",[20] when at the same time never truly changing what he does or who he is.

This change in style is best highlighted in Wallin's adoption of brighter, more vivid colours in canvases of a traditional composition. An example of this can be found in his *Morgontoilette* (*Morning Toilette*, 1930, Plate 57), a subject matter which had become a venerable theme throughout Western and Japanese art during the 18th and 19th centuries. There is a sense of urgency to the application of the paint, the vitality of the colours highlighted in the vast, sweeping brushstrokes of rich purples and blues, which contrast with the washed-out orange. The figure, that of Elin, has furthermore been separated from the background, a thin purple line highlighting her form. "The 'blond' colour palette has been replaced by a colder tonality; the barely contrasting violet has become more dominant and the light has become colder, clearer"[21] - so writes one critic

---

[19] *"Den konstnär som låter sig påverka af stundens, af tidens smak och mode förstår jag ej."* Unknown author. *En nyupptäckt målare.* (Svenska Dagbladet: 17 June 1917).

[20] *Ibid.*

[21] "Den 'blonda' färgskalan har efterträtts av en kallare, det tidigare mestadels blott kontrasterande violetta har blivit mer dominerande, ljuset har blivit kallare, klarare." Unknown author. *David Wallins utställning: Figurmåleri, porträtt och landskap å Norrköpings Museum.* (Östergötlands Folkblad: 10 Apr 1935).

in 1935. This is indeed a fair assessment of Wallin's change in tonality, although perhaps not 'colder', rather a more emboldened use of colour.

This finished painting is, however, not representative of the image Wallin had initially envisaged. In a black and white photograph (Plate 58), we can see that not only was the canvas cut down in size, but that the reflection of the figure in the mirror behind was a much more prominent feature - it appears as a barely indistinguishable part of the orange background. We might at this point, consider Diego Velazquez's *The Toilet of Venus* or *Rokeby Venus* (c.1647-51), as it is more commonly known, who gazes upon her own reflection as she languorously reclines on a *chaise longue*. The tradition of this motif appears throughout art history, yet this example might furthermore be considered as an influence on Wallin - whose own art historical studies, took him to both Spain, the home of Velazquez, and London, where the painting was acquired by the National Gallery in 1906. The influence of Spanish art on Scandinavia has not yet been widely considered, aside from the later artistic synergies between the languorous beach scenes of Joaquin Sorolla and that of the Skagen painters, particularly noticeable in the works of Krøyer. In the case of those artists' who revered the great masters of Baroque painting, it is worthwhile taking into consideration this Mediterranean nation, alongside its Italian neighbour.

A more contemporary example, however, completed the same year as Wallin's own painting, is fellow Swedish-German artist Lotte Laserstein, painting of the same theme, *Morning Toilette* (1930, Plate 59). Similar to Wallin's painting is the disregard for the figure's own reflection; in Laserstein's painting, as with the finished version of Wallin's *Morning Toilette*, it is not concerned with vanity but with an honest reflection of a woman carrying out her morning ablutions. The choice of theme is, in the case of Wallin's painting, a means through which to experiment with style and tonality, rather than it being the focus of the work itself.

This same boldness of palette, can be found in numerous other works of the 1930s, among which are included, not only his Olympic winning painting, *At the Seaside of Arild*, but also *Två kvinnor i ett landskap* (*Two Women in a Landscape*, 1933, Plate 60). Here, a similar delineation of the central figure - a shawl carefully wrapped around her waist as she rearranges her hair in typical Wallin fashion - adds emphasis to her form, physically separating her from the background. It is

clear at this point that “the colours ring noticeably stronger and brighter in his [Wallin’s] later paintings than in his earlier works.”[22] The palette is distinctively modern, contemporary to the traditions which emerged during the 1930s. They are furthermore evocative of the sense of summer Wallin continuously seeks to evoke in his paintings. There is nothing muted or subdued, or indeed flat, about the colour here - in this regard, I look to the watercolours of Larsson reproduced in his infamous book *Ett Hem* (*A Home*, published 1899), whose scenes of idyllic Swedish life, including one of *Kräftfångst* (*Crayfishing*, Plate 61), are rather temperate in comparison. They bear an illustrative quality, moving beyond the Impressionist and Symbolist tendencies of Larsson’s earlier works. Here, it is the traditional Swedish existence which comes to the fore; in the work of Wallin however, it is arguably more indicative of a regular summer’s day at the beach. Not characterised by a moment in the Swedish calendar, as with *Crayfishing*, but rather visually representative of the normal, daily way of living.

The use of colour in Wallin’s painting marks him as an artist who “lives in his own time and has therefore remained current because he follows the modern path.”[23] Ignoring the convoluted way in which this statement is written, it does however suggest that Wallin was an individual in the contemporary art scene, drawing from modernism as he saw fit. A statement written in the 1930s, it is characteristic of his *oeuvre* at this time, although not necessarily applicable throughout his entire body of work, with many determining that his style and compositional choice remains consistent. During the 1940s and 1950s, the palette becomes one again much softer and more muted. His painting *Kvinnohuvud - studie till ‘Midsommarafton’* (*Female Head - Study for Midsummer’s Eve*, c. 1950-51, Plate 62), is an example of such - returning to the pastel shades of his Parisian years, yet maintaining the distinctive outline of the figure as used during his paintings of the 1930s. This painting was among some of the last works carried out by Wallin, completed only six years before his death. The title is atypically representative of a specific moment in the Swedish calendar - Midsummer’s Eve. Although unlike Zorn’s painting, *Midsummer Dance* (1903, Plate 63), it doesn’t bear any of the specific characteristics of this event - there is no dancing around the maypole, or

---

[22] “Färgen klingar visserligen starkare och högre i de senare målningar än i de tidigare.” Unknown author. *Review of Kungliga Akademien Utställning.* (Aftonbladet: 20 Feb 1926).

[23] “Han lever i sin egen tid och har blivit aktuell därför att han följer modern riktningen.” Unknown author. *David Wallin: Målare och guldmedaljör*. (Östgöta Correspondentens Söndagsläsning: 23 Jan 1933).

traditional folk costume, rather Wallin's painting is much more nostalgic and relaxed in its approach. Wallin's study for Midsummer's Eve - no photographic evidence has been found of a finished painting, presuming one was made - is a reflective take on the once exciting and *snaps*-fuelled summer evenings. The figure, lost in her own thoughts, perhaps reflecting on what once was; now a time for lounging in a armchair in the garden, for self-contained evenings.

Returning however, to the Wallin of the 1930s, one of the best examples of this heightened use of colour, culminates in his Olympic winning painting. *At the Seaside of Arild*, is the embodiment of those characteristics which make up Wallin's *oeuvre* - the mother and child, and the central semi-nude woman, and in this case, a bather just about to dive into the water. Here, the figures set amidst the landscape, are overwhelmingly painted in shades of pink and orange, with an indeterminable source of light illuminating the central figure. There is something whimsical and nostalgic to this painting, as if painted after the moment - recalling a summer that has just been.

III. 1932: Los Angeles

In the summer of 1932, Wallin received information that he had won the Olympic Gold Medal in Painting. Upon hearing the news, the artist initially thought it was his painting *Tennisspelerskan* (*Girl with a Racket,* 1931, Plate 64) which had been awarded the medal, however, upon hearing the news that it was his *Vid Arilds Strand* (*At the Seaside of Arild*, 1932, Plate 65) he remarked that "this particularly pleased me, as I had wished for so long to find a richer way of expressing this branch of art."[24] Among those five works exhibited by Wallin at the Olympics - *Girl with a Racket*, *Woman Descending into Bath*, *Sun Bath,* and *Repose After Bath* - this section will focus specifically on *At the Seaside of Arild*, as well as looking at the tradition of Arild in Wallin's *oeuvre* as a whole. It will consider how this work exemplified a typical Swedish summer, breaking with the stereotypes and instead envisioning a Sweden where summer days are spent lounging by the sea, and furthermore how it represents an amalgamation of all the motifs that make up Wallin's *oeuvre*. It is indeed with this painting, that Wallin reaches the pinnacle of his career.

---

[24] "En tidning visste berätta, att det skulle ha varit "Tennisflickan", som valts, men senare fick jag höra, att det var en av mina naketmålningar. Detta gladde mig alldeles särskilt, då jag länge sökt finna ett rikare uttryck för denna gren av konsten." Unknown Author. *En timme med olympiamålaren*. (Norstjernan, Tidning för svenska befolkningen i Amerika: 19 Oct 1933).

With the reinvention of the Olympic Games at the end of the 19th century, it wasn't until 1912 that the Art competitions were reinstated as part of the summer event. They had been part of the vision of the founder of the Modern Olympic Games, Pierre de Frédy, Baron de Coubertin - for the games to be a challenge of both the mind and body of man. By the time of the 1932 Los Angeles Games, the art competitions included the categories of music, architecture, town planning, literature, painting, prints, water colours and drawings, reliefs and medallions, and statues.[25] One of the most concise and thorough study of the art competitions in the modern Olympic Games can be found in Richard Stanton's *The Forgotten Olympic Art Competitions*. Here, Stanton undertakes a study of the administrative process behind each games, as well as referencing those works which featured in each event. Very little is said about the works themselves, although it is possible to ascertain the environment into which these works were entered into the competition. The assembly of the Swedish entries into the Arts Competition exhibit, was undertaken by the landscape painter Anshelm Schultzberg (who like Wallin, also exhibited in San Francisco in 1915), and was unlike the other exhibits which were assembled by their respective National Olympic Committees.[26]

Stanton further provides us with the information pertaining to the jury for the Painting exhibition. Those who would have judged and awarded Wallin his gold medal, included the American painters Benjamin C. Brown (1865-1942, a Californian Impressionist painter and exhibitor in San Francisco in 1915), John C Johansen (1876-1964, a Danish-American portraitist), Reginald Poland (1893-1975, director of the San Diego Museum of Art), Eugene Savage (1883-1978, an American muralist and sculptor), and the Mexican social realist painter David Alfaro Sigueiros (1896-1974).[27] It is worthwhile noting the varying styles of the judging panel, from California Impressionism to Social Realism - Wallin's painting would have had a diverse appeal. It is possible to perceive how Wallin's *At the Seaside of Arild* would have appealed to the vast range of artists judging him; it lends itself to each of the ascribed styles. Monumental in size, measuring at 134x124cm, it merges the looser impressionist brushstrokes of the landscape, characteristic of his works, with a stricter delineation of form, separating the figures from the background. There is furthermore a softness to

---

[25] Stanton, Richard. *The Forgotten Olympic Art Competitions*. (Trafford, Canada, 2000), p.151-152

[26] *Ibid*, p.144

[27] *Ibid*, p.149

the brighter use of colour - a very feminine palette, composed of pinks and reds, and sunburnt oranges.

Among those Swedish artists competing alongside Wallin in the Painting category, were Grünewald, Oscar Hullgren, Georg Lagerstedt, Liljefors, Osslund, Schultzbergh, Schwab, Axel Sjöberg and Acke Åslund.[28] Wallin won his medal in competition against some of the most recognised names in Swedish art history. As a side note, when discussing the relevance of Swedish artists and sculptors in America, it is interesting to note that Carl Milles was on the jury panel for Sculpture; an example, of the recognition this man had garnered during his time living in America. Aside from Wallin, Carl Fagerberg received an honourable mention with his sculpture *Skater*, and Gösta Von Henning's received an honourable mention for his watercolour *Acrobat Girl*. The only further recognitions received by a Swede was for a *Design for a Community House* by K. Martin Westerberg, in the town planning category, for which the British architect John Hughes was awarded gold for his *Design for Sports and Recreation Centre with Stadium for City of Liverpool*.[29]

Returning, however, to the painting itself, among those works which were awarded medals, or honorary recognition, Wallin's painting was the only one to depict women. In the still male-dominated world of sport and art, whereby the other contenders for the Painting category, more often than not, are recorded to have depicted the strength and virility of man, Wallin opted for a non-competitive scene of a Summer idyll; of sport in its more natural form. Among the other exhibitors, was the American painter, Ruth Miller with her silver medal winning *Struggle* (Plate 66), where the two overly-muscular figures wrestle with each other, their limbs intertwined in an impossible tangle. Those artists who received an honorary mention, as no bronze medal was awarded that year, included the Polish artists Waclaw Borowski with *The Archer*, and Michal Bylina with *Riding;* American painter George Hill with *Surf Fishing*; British artist Charles Pears and *Shamrock V*; and the second female contender in this shortlist, Guatemalan painter Antonia Matos with *Course de Pirogues*. Although images aren't readily accessible for all of these works, those which can be viewed reveal an exploration of male dominated activities, even in the works of

---

[28] Jönsson, Åke. *Missförstånd bakom svenskt OS-guld i konst*. (Sveriges centralförening för idrottens främjande blå bok: 2002).

[29] *The Forgotten Olympic Art Competitions*, p.149

Matos and Miller, both paintings relay the muscularity of man, as they struggle in a fight, or power their way through the unsteady water on their boat.

At the Seaside of Arild, as has already been mentioned, was an amalgamation of all the genres which have come to typify Wallin's *oeuvre*: the sleeping mother and child, the nude figure with a towel wrapped loosely around her waist, and the seascape of Arild, a familiar scene of summer in Wallin's landscape paintings. It is only the diver, captured as she readies herself to dive into the water, who is an unfamiliar presence in the beach scenes of Wallin's painting. It is with her appearance, that the painting meets the criterion for Olympic entry; to be remotely sports related. An earlier painting, entitled *Sommardag vid Arild* (*A Summer's Day in Arild*, Plate 67), reveals an almost identical composition, although lacking the diver in the background and the child on the mother's lap. This work was exhibited in Wallin's major retrospective exhibition at the Royal Academy in 1952, therefore two canvases do exist, and the Olympic winning painting is not merely a reworking of the same canvas. It is interesting however, to view the changes Wallin made to an otherwise typical composition, to make it relevant to an international competition. The changes made, with the diver added to the background, adds a depth to the figural placement, otherwise rarely seen in Wallin's paintings, with the figures often occupying the same space on the canvas. These two works further contribute to the prevalence the seaside town of Arild played in Wallin's paintings of the 1930s.

As was briefly mentioned in the introduction, Arild was a thriving community of artists and Europe's elite during the first half of the 20th century. First discovered by the Norwegian painter, Adolph Tidemand, it is also came to appeal to many Scandinavian painters, including the Danish painters Krøyer and Viggo Pedersen. For many the light reminded them of Skagen, and was as a result regularly frequented by many of Sweden's most recognised painters, including Bergh, Prince Eugen, and Kreuger. For Wallin, it became a prominent family holiday destination from the 1920s onwards, with many of his paintings inspired by the coastal landscape upon which the town resided. The idea of the seaside is one which is often disregarded in the international study of Swedish art. For the Anglophone audience, one doesn't often associate Sweden with the sea. However, it is something which has been important, and remains such, to the Swedish person. Still to this day, many Swedes holiday along the west coast for their summer holiday's. It does away

with the stereotype once again; that it is not a country of barren, treacherous lands, but rather where people either spend their time lounging by the beaches of the west coast, or on the lakes of which there are many.

In Wallin's painting, Arild appears in many of his nude compositions. Not only do two of his Olympic entries reference Arild specifically, but is also featured in works including *Solbad vid Arilds klippor* (*Sunbathing on the Cliffs at Arild*, 1931, exhibited in the 1952 Retrospective, Plate 68) and *Bad vid klippor i Arild* (*Bathing by the Cliffs of Arild*, Unknown Date, Plate 69). Although there are indeed many coastal locations which feature specifically in Wallin's works, including Ålandshav on the east coast, the distinctive softness of light and the harsher waters of the North Sea in the Arild landscape, makes for an interesting study. It furthermore highlights the prominence of an artist colony in the work of Wallin, not one who went there with other artists, but who was likewise inspired by the light and location which drew many others there.

The light in *At the Seaside of Arild*, falls on the central two figural compositions. It highlights the porcelain skin of the central nude figure, with the sleeping mother and child, sharing in both the darkness and the light. In an interview, following his Olympic victory, Wallin remarked that "the wife and child have always been my most cherished and maybe original models."[30] Their appearance in this painting is inherently typical of Wallin, they bear no relevance to the Olympic requirements, but rather contribute to the natural state of the subject. It is not an exploration of athletic prowess, instead it is a painting depicting a typical day by the seaside. As one reviewer wrote, these figures "are one with the earth, one with nature - the young woman with the flowing hair by the waves and cliffs of Arild, and the women with her child resting against her chest by the foot of the tree."[31] The material of the mother's clothing merges with the ground surrounding the tree, physically removing any divide between the two. Each figure is distinct from the other, and yet through colour, and through their place in the landscape they are brought together. The ground itself has an indeterminable, uneven surface, only the tumultuous sea provides any defining boundary. Following an exhibition in 1931, the reviewer, Gunnar Silfverstolpe wrote that:

---

[30] "Hustru och barn ha alltid varit mina käraste och kanske ursprungligaste modeller." Source: *En timme med olympiamålaren*.

[31] "Wallins gestalter äro ett med jorden, ett med naturen - den nakna ungmön med det fläddrande håret vid Arilds vågor och klippor, kvinnan med barnen vid sin barm vilande vid trädens fot." Source: *Ibid*.

> What he [Wallin] looks for is the relationship between man and the earth, nature is never just the background, the figure is never the only focus, the young woman is one with the flourishing greenery, and then mature woman is integrated with the lush flowering summer.[32]

It is not merely the artist who considers the relationship between man and nature, and hopes to convey this in his works, but furthermore the critic perceives this too. Wallin's painting, in particular *At the Seaside of Arild,* approaches this bond head on. There is no perceivable distinction between the figures in the foreground, and the receding sea. The mother and child, are the product of the roots of the tree. One might further read into this painting a potential symbolic undertone - that it is the many stages of woman. From being a child in her mother's arms, to a youthful beauty, voluptuous and enticing; to a woman partaking in sports, something often associated with man; to the mother herself. It is a cyclical nature, the flow from the towering tree to the diver in the background, into the sea and back again. In 1933, during Wallin's tour of the United States, following his Olympic win, a reviewer writes for the *American Newspaper for the Swedish Population*, that, "One often reads symbolic intentions in his art. Perhaps Wallin's painting is as Swedish as ever Zorn's or Carls Larsson's, or that of our other great painters', works were - perhaps even more so."[33]

There are two artists worth considering as influences on Wallin at this point, when determining the Swedish-ness of Wallin's works, the first is Puvis de Chavannes. An artist who similarly explored the motif of women by the seaside, his paintings *The Bathers* (c.1890, Plate 70) and *Young Girls by the Seaside* (1887, Plate 71), are an interesting comparison in this regard. In the case of the latter, the three figures form a triangular composition, each gazing off into a different direction - with the central figure facing the sea rather than the viewer. There is a lack of depth despite the inclusion of the seascape, which appears flat against the surface. It is simplified, inspired by the

---

[32] "Vad han söker är relationen mellan människan och marken, naturen blir aldrig fond, figuren aldrig staffage, den unga kvinnan är ett med den spirande grönskan, den mogna kvinnan är införlivad med den yppigt blommande sommaren." Mascoli Silfverstolpe, Gunnar. *David Wallins Utställning*. (Stockholmstidningen: 1931).

[33] "Man vill ofta inläsa symboliska intentioner i hans konst. Dock är kanske Wallin's konst lika svensk som någonsin Zorns eller Carl Larssons och våra andra stormålare - kanske mera och djupare så." Source: *En timme med olympiamålaren*.

simplicity of antiquity, with the figure shown from the back challenging the standard conventions of painting. She is shut off from us, yet we are seeing what she is seeing; we are viewing the sea, just as she does. An artist who inspired Wallin, one can ascertain this in the semi-nude central figure, who is similarly draped in a towel, hanging in folds around her waist. Yet unlike Puvis' painting, Wallin brings together the figure and the landscape, they are not separate from one another, but exist side-by-side. For Puvis the focus rests on the idea of the unconscious, wanting the audience to interpret the composition, rather than providing all the answers himself. We are not to know where this painting is set, neither are we to read anything into the personalities of the figures, instead each viewer will have an alternate personal perception of what this painting means. A forlorn longing for something long since gone out to sea, or perhaps each figure lost in their own thoughts, each individual unattainable. Although this is a characteristic which does on occasion appear in Wallin's own work, in the instance of *At the Seaside of Arild*, the influence Puvis had, rests on the choice of motif, and the depiction of the figure, rather than on the composition. Wallin's painting is a richer and more vibrant fulfilment of Puvis' working of the same theme.

In the central figure of Puvis' painting, we can see the beginnings of the inspiration on a specific type of nude in Wallin's *oeuvre* - she is either seated or standing, with her arms often drawn awkwardly up behind her head as she rearranges her hair. This motif appears over and over again, originating in the figure of Kraka, and developing into works such as in *Two Woman in a Landscape*. Although in Wallin's Olympic winning painting, the figure allows her hair to fall freely, caught up in a gust of wind, I mention this tradition here, as it is a recurring feature of Wallin's nudes. Although much of the inspiration Wallin drew came primarily from France and indeed the continent as a whole, there was one prominent Swedish artist who inspired him in equal measure - the Swedish Symbolist, Ernst Josephson. Most famous today for his painting *Strömkarlen* (*The Water Sprite*, 1882, Plate 72) and for having driven himself mad, and consequently dying from this insanity at a young age, Josephson's works are few and far between. Yet despite the scarce number of works available, they reveal in them an stylistic and psychological insight, which made little appearance in the art of his colleagues, including Larsson and Bergh.

Josephson's painting *Gåslisa* (*Goose Girl*, 1888-1890, Plate 73) can moreover be considered a direct influence on Wallin's nude rearranging her hair. A direct comparison, can for example be

drawn between *Goose Girl* and *Flicka som ordnar sitt hår* (*Girl Arranging her Hair*, 1938, Plate 74). The arrangement of the hands above the head, and the same kneeling pose, suggest a definite source of inspiration. This same pose can furthermore be seen in a photograph of Elin, perhaps a preliminary photograph for *Girl Arranging her Hair*. Not only do these works by Wallin reveal the outside sources that inspired him in his compositions and stylisation of the figure, they furthermore emphasise that he has "turned the study of the nude female figure into a means of achieving heavenly beauty, which exceeds the mere physical."[34] It is as with Josephson's painting, the examination of female beauty in the context of her natural surroundings, although perhaps in Wallin's work, there is something more delicate and feminine to the handling of the paint, something which overwhelms Josephson's *Goose Girl.* It is the softness of the female ideal, the blonde haired beauty, with which we so often associate Scandinavia, which comes to the fore in these works.

For many, Wallin's women represent a Nordic ideal, but for a few critics at the time these women were deemed controversial. When examined in the context of the European political scene during the 1930s, Wallin's figures might, and indeed have, been misinterpreted. The synergies between Wallin's painting and that of Germany had already been identified by critics and art historians, Bo Lindwall and Lars Erik Åström, who identified in his painting "echoes of German Idealism."[35] The direct association with Germany at this time, was not something which was looked upon favourably by the artist, despite the long established artistic relationship that existed between the two countries. This negative association with German Idealism was heightened by Wallin's own membership in the *Gymniska Förbundet* in 1929, a right-wing political faction. It is important to consider, however, that this membership was short lived, lasting only a year, and that the political scene in Sweden at the time was very much that way orientated. Many artists, including Eldh, Fjæstad, Aron Gerle, Liljefors, Milles and Tore Strindberg were similarly members of the organisation, the same year as Wallin.[36] It appears that membership in right-wing political groups was indeed a part of artistic life in Stockholm during this time. I mention this political blip, as a way

---

[34] "Han har gjort studiet av den nakna kvinnofiguren till ett medel för strävandet efter andlig skönhet, som genomskimrar kroppens." Carlsund, Otto G. *Thurestamskonstsalong Utställning 1942,* Stockholm, p.5

[35] "i hans måleri finns också ekon från tyska idealismen." Lindwall, Bo. *Veckans Konstrond.* (Morgon Tidningen, 20 Feb 1946).

[36] *Gymniska Förbundet: 144 members, 1929.* Available from: http://www.tobiashubinette.se/gf.pdf, accessed 20 July 2016.

of disregarding why this should not be a factor for excluding Wallin from the study of Nordic art history. His figures, blonde, blue-eyed beauties, perhaps typical of the preferred woman in Germany at the time, does instead depict the typical idea of the Swedish woman. And if one is to use this as a reason for discrediting Wallin as an artist, then one must consider Milles and Fjæstad, for example, in a similar light, artists who have been hailed and studied as some of the greatest figures in Swedish art history.

One might further take this notion into consideration when looking at *At the Seaside of Arild*, a painting which ignoring these assumed negative connotations, went onto tour America following his Olympic win, the same year as Hitler was appointed Chancellor of Germany. With Wallin's Olympic success, came a tour of the US, including an exhibition in New York. This international recognition, had brought him great acclaim both at home and abroad. Wallin remarks during an interview a few years later, "Yes, of course the Olympic gold medal in Los Angeles has played a big role in the interest people have for my art. And even I am happy with that, it is after all very rare for a little country like ours, to be recognised on the world stage."[37]

When the exhibition *Luminous Modernism* was staged by the American-Scandinavian Foundation in 2012, there were many paintings "as little known in America today as they were a century ago. In fact, some of the countries represented in the show didn't exist at the time of the original exhibition."[38] The steps taken by the 2012 exhibition were done to enhance the coverage of Nordic art across the Atlantic, and attempt to further its place in the context of World Art history. It moreover highlighted the importance these artists had played a century earlier, in their inaugural exhibition; and more importantly, the relevance these artists should still play in today's study of the history of art. Although not featured in the exhibition, Wallin is similarly an artist who once was a recognised artist on the North American continent, whose works were seen not only in Los Angeles in 1932, but in San Francisco in 1912, and in Toronto and Pittsburgh in 1923. With this in mind, Wallin is an artist who should not be forgotten, and whose painting bears not only considering in a

---

[37] "Jo, naturligtvis har den olympiska guldmedaljen i Los Angeles spelat en stor roll för intresset för min konst. Och även jag är glad åt den, det är ju ändå relativt sällan ett litet land som vårt blir ihåg-kommet i världskonkurrensen." Unknown author. *Den olympiska mästaren*. (Veckojournalen, no4: 1935), p.25.

[38] P.W. *Northern Lights.* (The Economist Blog, 7 Dec 2011). Available from: http://www.economist.com/blogs/prospero/2011/12/scandinavian-art, accessed 10 July 2016.

Swedish, and Scandinavian context, but should also be viewed in the wider Anglophone understanding of art history; considering the reciprocal effect his art had after garnering success in America.

Wallin's paintings of the 1930s are distinctive of this period, bringing forth "a specific nordic sentiment despite all international reflected observation."[39] With his Olympic winning painting, *At the Seaside of Arild*, Wallin brought to an Anglophone audience, something inherently Swedish: a day by the seaside in the middle of summer. It broke with the conventions held over what Nordic life was like - the stereotype being a place of indefinite cold, and increasingly shorter days. Here, Wallin depicted what he always painted, remaining true to himself while at the same time meeting the sports related criteria for an international competition. It is the many stages of woman, from child to mother - his own children and wife being those who inspired him most. It does not, as with most of his work, conform with one particular 'ism' or genre, it rather traverses them all. From the loose Impressionist brushstrokes of the sea, to the delineated, classicised central figure, evocative in many regards of the nudes of Puvis de Chavannes. Furthermore, this painting marks a point in Wallin's career, where not only is he experimenting with the modern notions of more vibrant colour and emphasised lines, but it also bridges the time between his earlier, more experimental years, and those works created during the subsequent two decades. His later works, come to represent an artist who has found his footing, bringing together those characteristics which came to define each of the previous decades.

[39] "Den bär fram ett specifikt nordiskt stämningsliv på trots mot all internationell reflekterad observation." *Thurestamskonstsalong Utställning 1942,* Stockholm, p.5

Conclusion

In 1952, Wallin held a retrospective exhibition at the Royal Academy of Art in Stockholm; it was the culmination of his life's work. Among the works exhibited, of which there were over three hundred, were included some of his most intimate works, as well as some of those which best exemplified him as an artist. These included some of his monumental nudes, as well as smaller oil sketches; reworkings of those motifs which have been prevalent throughout. Photographs taken of the exhibition rooms (Plate 75-82), reveal the vast extent of Wallin's *oeuvre*, and the development he undertook as an artist, which has been examined in this thesis. These images further enable us to not only appreciate the way in which the paintings were displayed, as coordinated by the artist himself, but also allows us to gauge the true breadth of his study of the female figure and the Swedish landscape. As is written in the introduction to the exhibition catalogue: "Twenty-five years ago Tor Hedberg wrote that David Wallin belongs to those artists whose works you have to view in a collected line, to be able to understand. This applies even more so today, where David Wallin's painting must seem even more timeless and individualistic to today's modern viewer."[1]

The main points considered within this dissertation focused on the style, changing tonality, composition and influences throughout Wallin's *oeuvre*. They marked a distinction within the tonality of his compositions, from his early years, in the dark shades of *Springtime* to the pastel hues of *A Young Woman in a Spring Landscape*; from the mauve used by Wallin is Parisian paintings, principally in his depiction of the dreamworld of children in *Fable Eternelle*; to a preference for bolder hues in his paintings of the 1930s, best typified in *At the Beach of Arild*. This diversification of colour, yet consistency in composition, allows us to group Wallin's fifty-year-long career into identifiable moments of influence and inspiration. Wallin "allowed himself the extravagance to be himself"[2] as one critic wrote, using his painting as a platform to promote his own ideals and artistic preferences, rather than following in the footsteps of any particular artist. The anonymous critic further writes that "his artistic development is organic and harmonic, imbued

---

[1] "För tjugofem år sedan skrev Tor Hedberg, att David Wallin hör till de konstnärer, som man måste se i samlad linje för att kunna förstå. Det gäller med ännu större rätt i dag, då David Wallins måleri för moderna ögon måste te sig ännu mera otidsenligt och enslingsmärkt." *David Wallin: Retrospektiv utställning i Konstakademien, 2-30 Nov. 1952.* Konstakademien, Stockholm, 1952).

[2] "Wallin har tillåtit sig den extravagansen att vara sig själv." *Thurestamskonstsalong Utställning 1942,* Stockholm, p.5

with the memory of a deep tragedy, carried forth by a romantic pathos."[3] It is, how many critics discussed in reviews during his lifetime, that Wallin was among the last Nordic romantics in the Swedish art scene. His painting is both nostalgic, when at the same time maintaining a sense of current-ness in its acknowledgement of contemporary trends, embracing characteristics of certain periods, such as in the vivacity of colour and delineation of form as observed in his paintings of the 1930s. The ultimate conclusion being that Wallin is not an artist who strictly adhered to any 'ism' within the history of art, but who rather painted those same compositions throughout his life. This was done not out of shear lack of originality, rather it being what fuelled his passion for art, and continued to inspire him throughout his life.

Those further points made within this dissertation, focused not only on Wallin's place within the context of Swedish art - seeing him as a continuation of the National Romantic tradition to which Larsson and Bergh were deemed to belong according to Facos and Varnedoe - but also viewed him and indeed Swedish art as a whole within a broader international, and most prominently Trans-Atlantic context. The relationship between Scandinavia and the Anglophone art came to the fore during the latter years of the 19th century, and was maintained through prominent exhibitions, including the American Scandinavian Foundation Exhibition of 1912. With this in mind, the approach required when studying Nordic artists in particular, is one of moving away away from the study of 'isms', instead embracing the artists' individuality. The approach taken by the art historian should mimic that of the artist, how artists were not only inspired by one another, but also inspired artists both in Europe and America. Among these artists, whose work reached the American continent, and whose painting was internationally recognised following his Olympic win in Los Angeles in 1932, is Wallin. Despite him not belonging to the history of 'isms' followed by many an art historian, including Berman, Varnedoe, and Facos, he is an artist belonging to the intermediary period, belonging to neither Symbolism before or Modernism after.

In building upon the study of Wallin, I would have further explored the reasons Wallin might have been neglected from the study of Nordic art history. One might, for example, further hypothesise that the longevity of his career meant that situating his art in a definite context was more difficult. If

---

[3] "Hans artistiska utveckling är organisk och harmonisk, samtidigt som ha hämtar sin näring ur minnet av en djup tragik, bäras den vidare av ett romantiskt patos." *Thurestamskonstsalong Utställning 1942,* Stockholm, p.5

one looks at those artists Wallin studied alongside at the Royal Academy of Art in Stockholm, all of whom were born within a few years of each other, many died at a relatively young age in comparison. Both Wallin and Tryggelin, artists of the same generation, lived into their eighties, yet both artists have fallen from public favour since their deaths. In the case of Karl Isakson, however, considered within Denmark (where he spent most of his professional career) to be the father of Scandinavian Modernism, it was only with a posthumous display of his works at Liljevalchs Konsthall in 1922, the year of his death, that his work came to be recognised. Most recently, Isakson has been the sole subject of an exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art (Moderna Museet), Stockholm in 2004, here his art was perceived as a modern interpretation of the continued tradition of National Romanticism, fostered in the art of the late 19th century.[4] Further examples include John Sten and Ivar Arosenius, the latter of whom suffered an untimely death in 1909, at the tender age of 31, yet whose illustrative paintings and watercolours are among some of the most recognised works in Swedish art history. Arosenius similarly took to the international stage, with an exhibit of 86 watercolours at the 1905 Salon des Indépendants in 1905. Although this approach can be seen as conjecture, it is perhaps not altogether unreasonable to propose that Wallin outlived the fame his career had brought him. Come the 1950s, his art remained, as ever, a fulfilment of his own passions rather than a desire to meet the trends emerging in contemporary art.

It is for this very reason, shunning contemporary developments, that Wallin should not be disregarded from the study of Nordic art history. It is not for a lack of originality that Wallin persisted with painting the mother and child scene or the nude figure within the landscape, but rather it was these subjects which inspired him. We do not disregard Monet's series paintings of waterlilies, for example, they rather signify the artists' process and what it was that inspired him. Slight changes in the compositions of Wallin, inspired momentarily by more modern notions, enable us to situate him within certain time periods.

Although Wallin experiments on occasion with more daring notions of colour and style, when viewed in the context of Scandinavian art history, he is most definitely a traditionalist. Succeeding

---

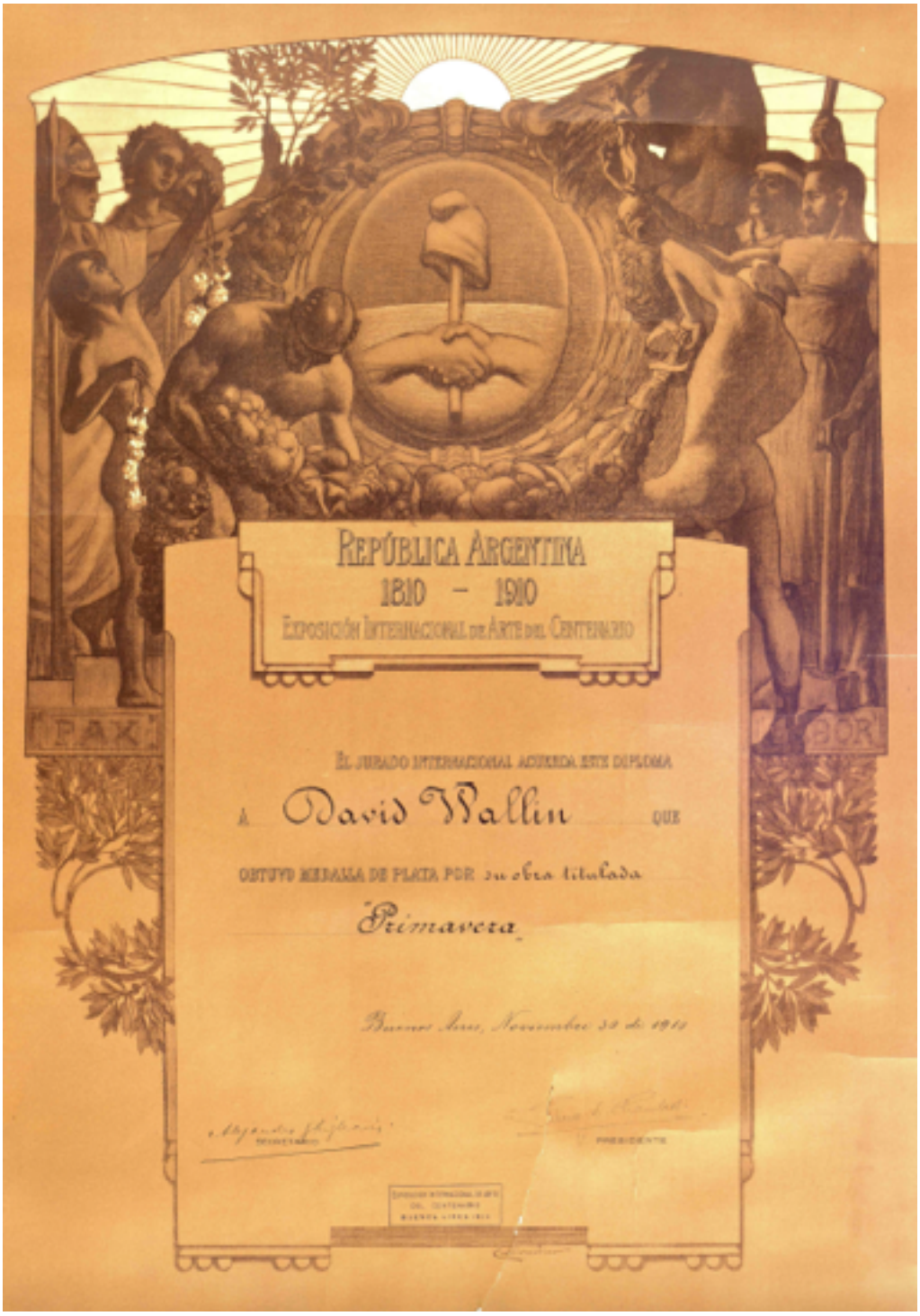
[4] *Karl Isakson*. Moderna Museet, Stockholm. 15 May 2004 - 29 August 2004. http://www.modernamuseet.se/stockholm/sv/utstallningar/karl-isakson/karl-isakson-och-hans-motivvarld/, accessed 24 July 2016.

the likes of Larsson and Bergh, his painting embodies, if not to a greater extent than the afore mentioned artists, the nationalism with which they are so often associated. Artists who traded at one point in their careers, their homeland for cosmopolitan France, they are still perceived to be among the most nationally romantic of Nordic artists. Wallin, however, despite living in Paris for a number of years, maintained a longing for Sweden, using, as we have already noted, studies of the Swedish landscape in paintings carried out in France. It is not possible to categorise Wallin as National Romantic, the term coined by Facos and Varnedoe, yet it is possible to consider him a continuation of some of the values which their paintings imbue.

This more holistic approach is at times more time-consuming and arduous, however with much of the underlying work having been undertaken in the study of Nordic art, it is time to build upon this, and do away with the confines of categorisation. Wallin is an example of an artist, who despite garnering significant fame during his career, a respectable and long-lived one at that, maintained his own individuality in a time often categorised by a fascination with exploring the *avant garde*. Wallin is an artist who transcended multiple 'isms', and has as a result been ignored from the study of Swedish art history. He is an artist who should be studied as the individual he was, looking at the multiple sources which inspired him, and how these influences were merged with his own study of nature and the models before him. Using Wallin as an example, although one might also look at artists including Tryggelin, and the sculptor Eldh, it is possible to stop merely categorising and grouping artists together - whether generationally or stylistically. This approach further allows us to consider these artists, most notably Wallin, not only in the context of Sweden, and Scandinavia, but also how their work reached as far as America. To be able to further the study of art history, and more importantly make a place for Scandinavian, specifically Swedish, art history in the wider context it is necessary to look at the wider picture, and in this case, consider the place it held in the Anglophone world, looking at how not only they were inspired by artists from Europe and America, but how in turn they inspired them.

Illustrations

Pl.1. David Wallin's Olympic Gold Medal Certificate for *At the Seaside of Arild*, Los Angeles, 1932. Image: Royal Library Archives, Stockholm.



Pl.2. David Wallin's Certificate for *Vår (Primavera, Springtime)* at the Exposición Internacional del Centenario 1910 in Buenos Aires. Image: Royal Library Archives, Stockholm.

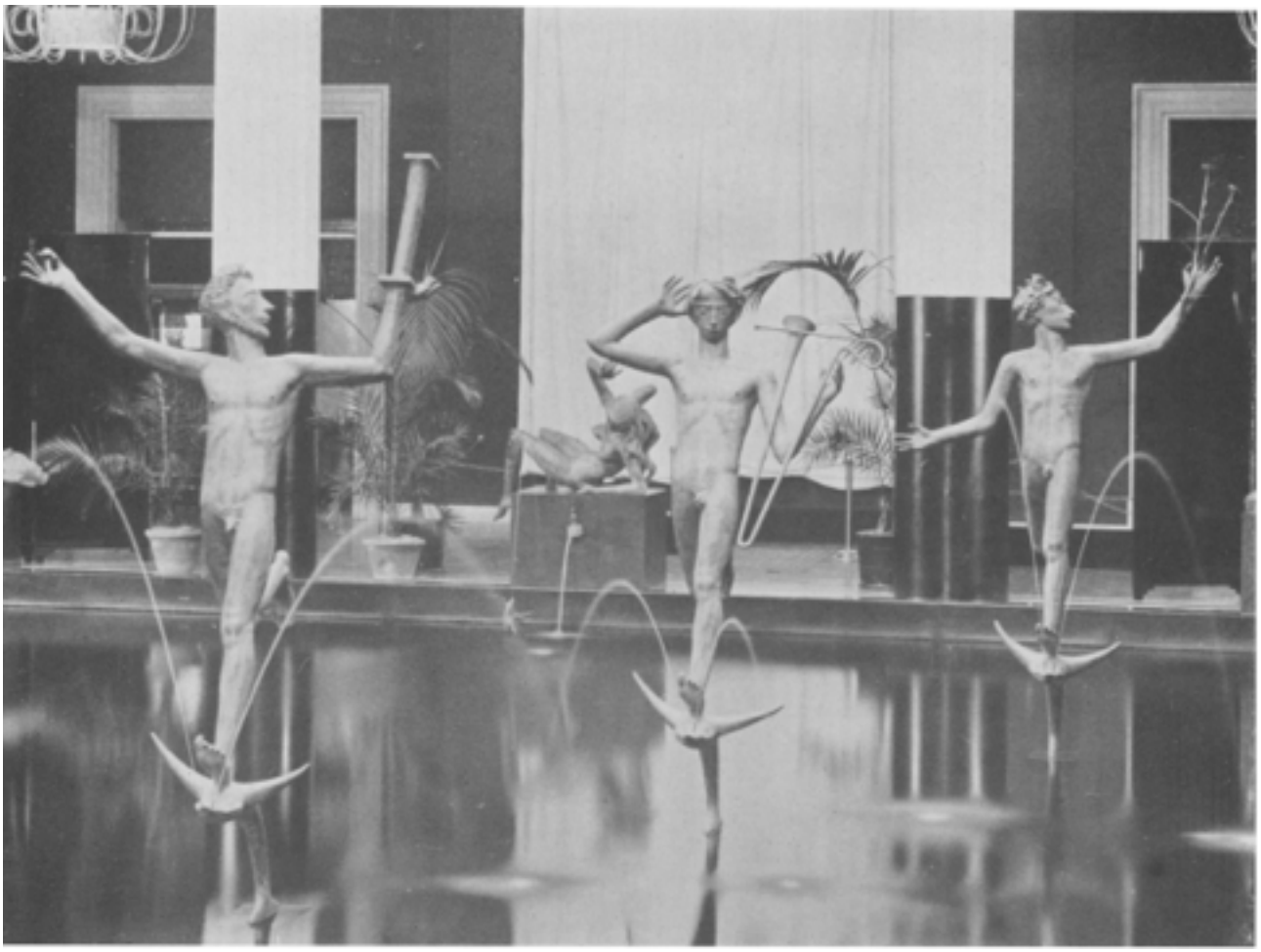
Pl.3. Anders Zorn. *Impressions de Londres.* 1890. Watercolour on paper. 72 x 55cm. Image: Gothenburg Museum of Art.

Pl.4. Hugo Birger. *Outside a Restaurant on Bois de Boulogne, Paris.* Unknown Date. Oil on canvas. 33 x 52cm. Image: Nationalmuseum, Stockholm.

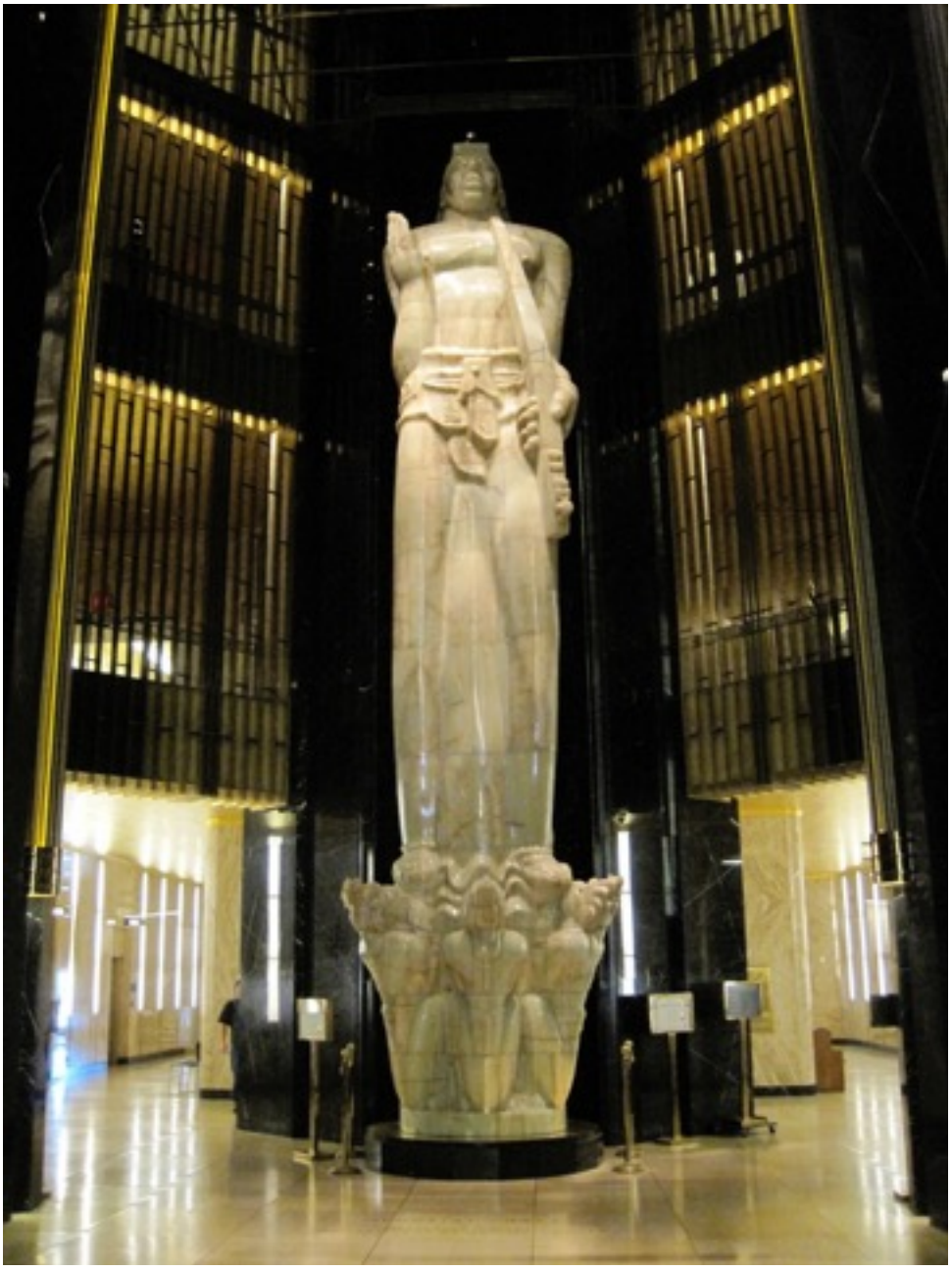
Pl.5. Nils Kreuger. *The Road to Orleans.* 1886. Oil on canvas.
52.5 x 81cm. Private collection. Image: the-athenaeum.org

Pl.6. Akseli Gallen-Kallela. *Väinämöinen's Voyage.* 1909. Oil on canvas.
90.5 x 117cm. Image: Ateneum, Finnish National Gallery, Helsinki.

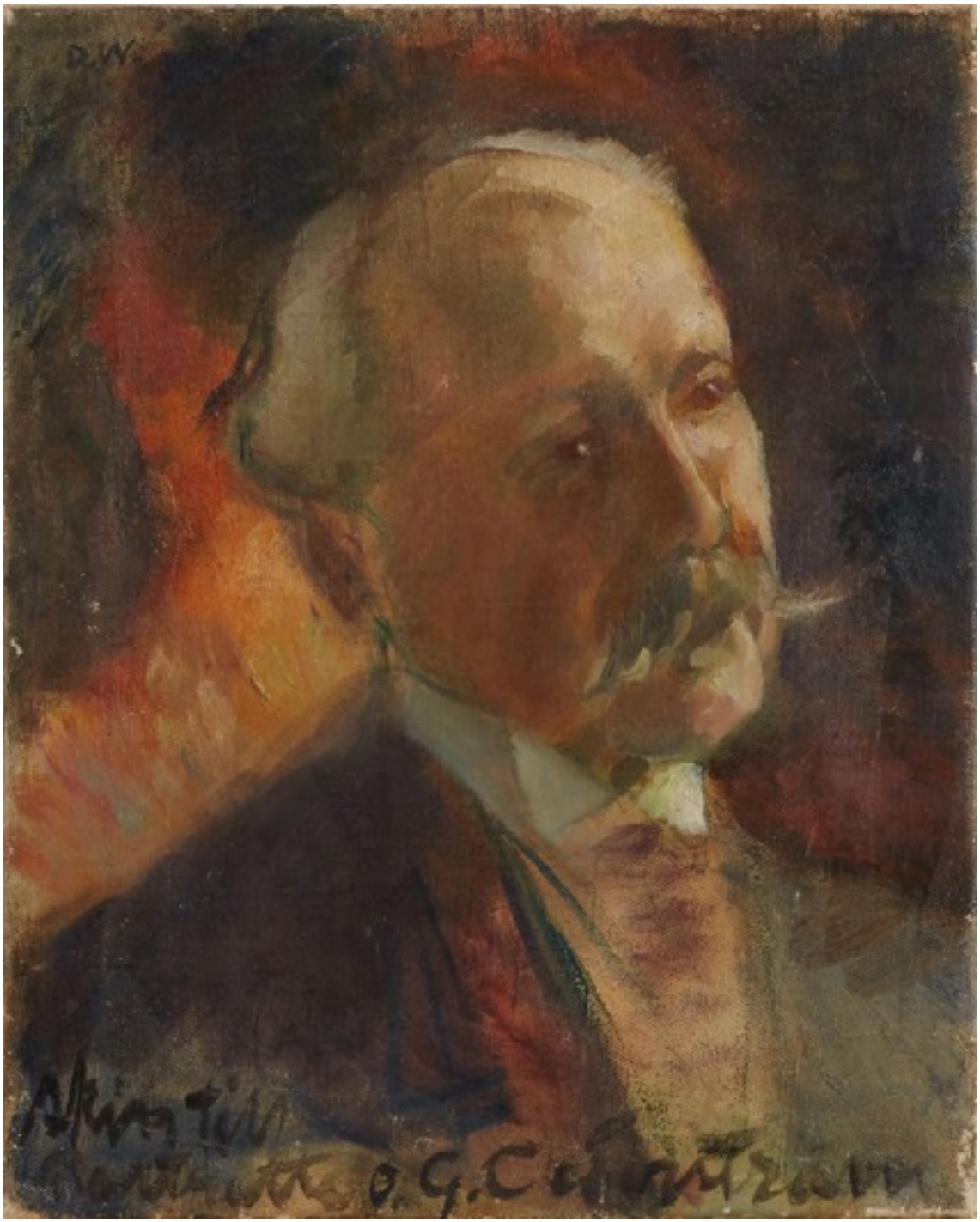
Pl.7. Akseli Gallen-Kallela. *Lake Keitele.* 1905. Oil on canvas.
53 x 66cm. Image: National Gallery, London.



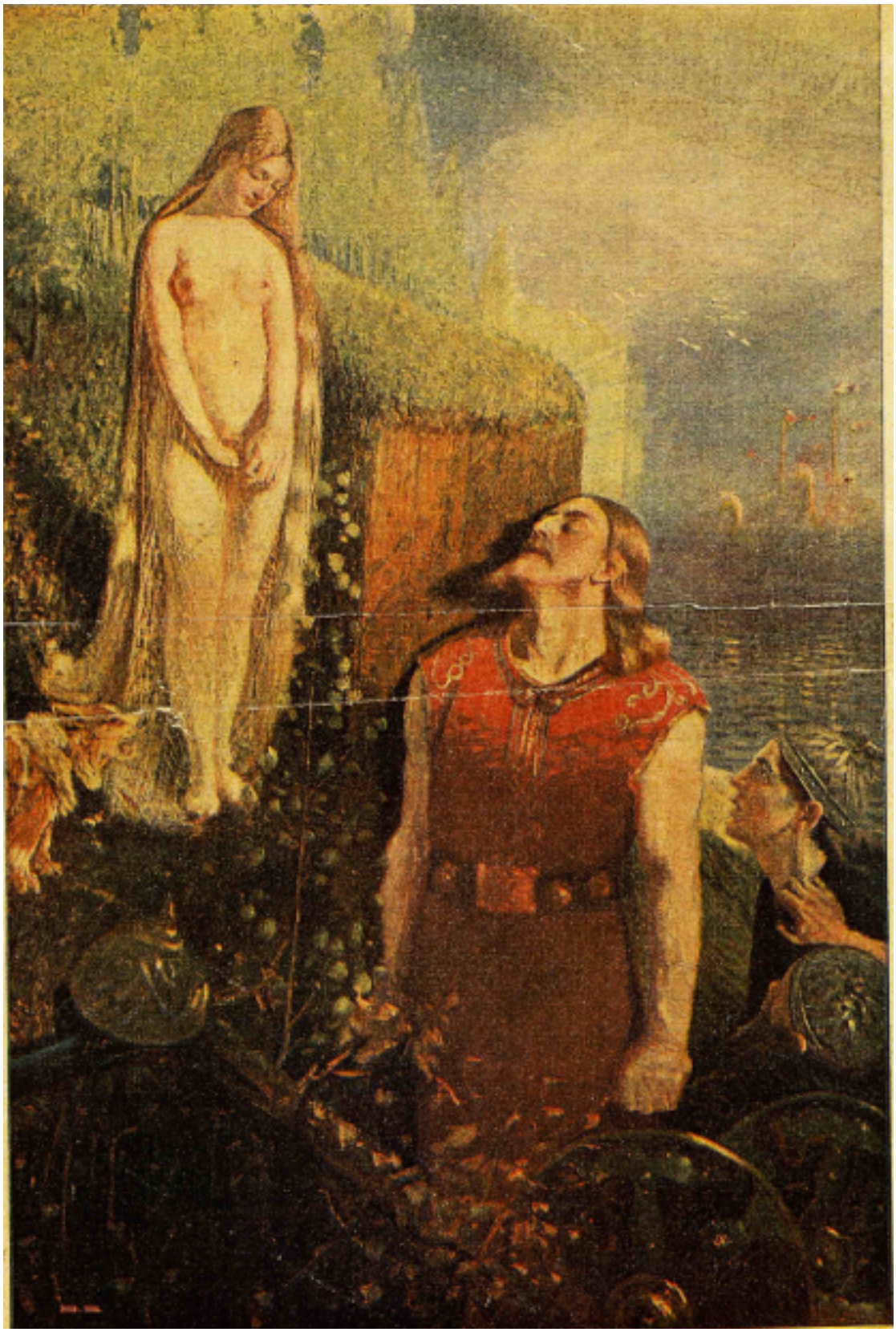
Pl.8. Carl Milles. Detail of *Aganippe: The Fountain of the Muses.* 1951-55. Bronze. Displayed within the Lamont Wing, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York in 1956. Image: The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin, 1956.



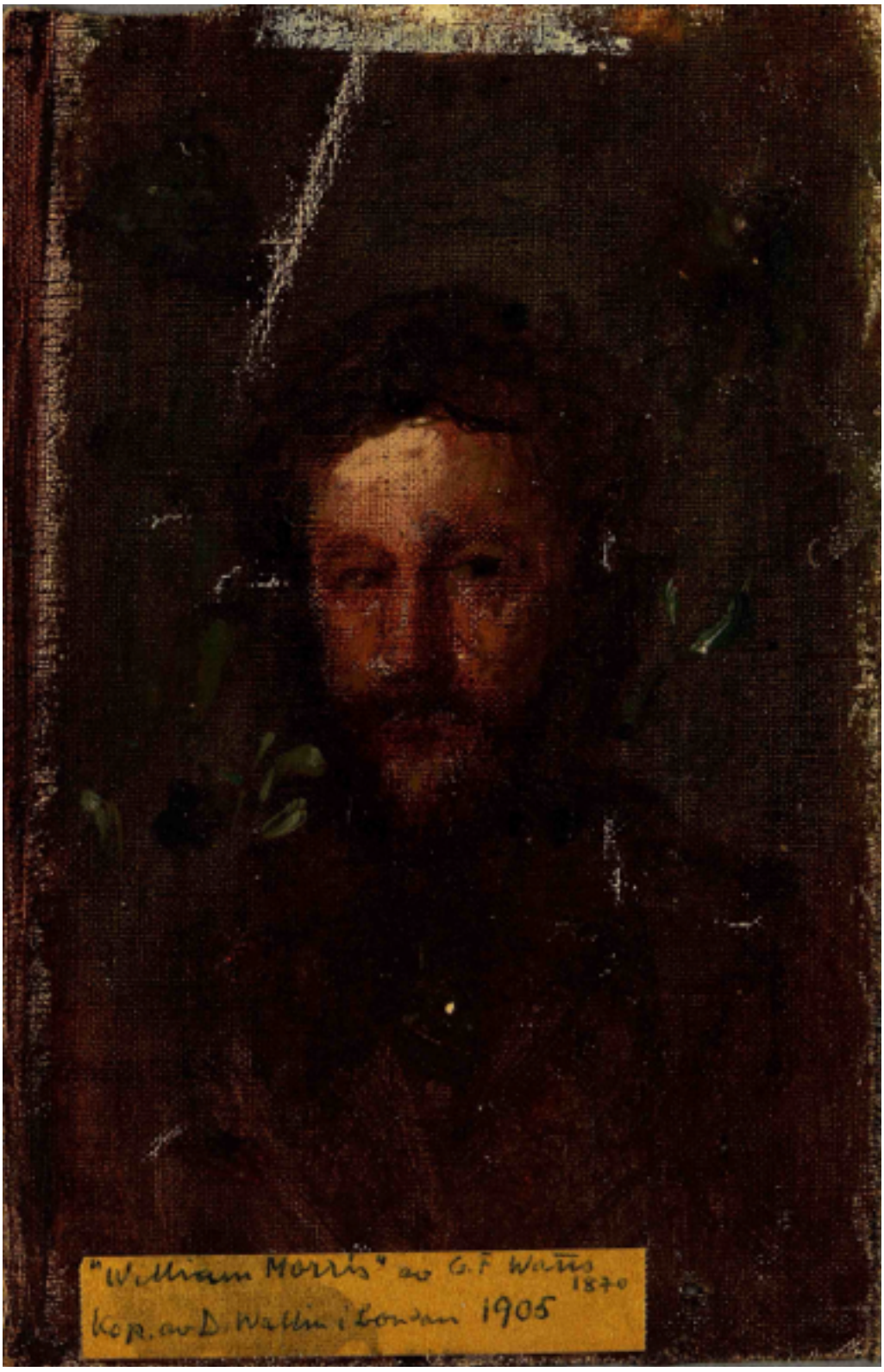
Pl.9. Carl Milles. *Monument of Peace.* 1936. Onyx. 10.9m high.
St Paul's Courthouse, Minnesota. Image: atlasobscura.com



Pl.10. David Wallin. *Sketch for a Portrait of Gustaf Cederström II.* 1915. Oil on canvas. 50 x 40cm. Private Collection. Photo: Stockholms Auktionsverk.



Pl.11. David Wallin. *Kraka Meets Ragnar Lodbrok*. 1902. Oil on canvas. 223 x 149cm, Unknown Collection Image: Royal Library Archives, Stockholm.

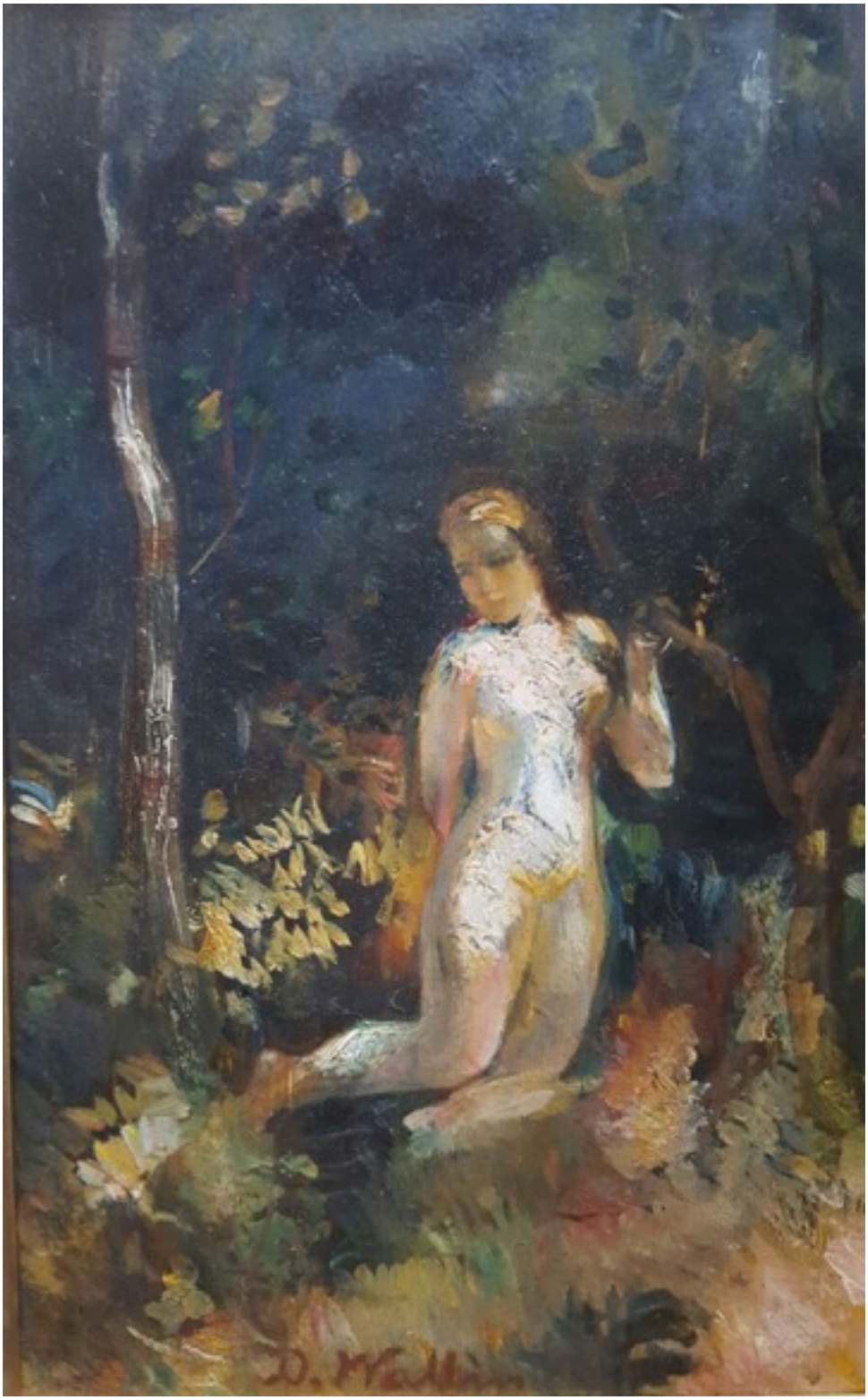


Pl.12. David Wallin. *Sketch of William Morris after a Painting by George F. Watts Painted in 1870.* 1905. Oil on board. 25 x 16cm. Held within Royal Archives. Image: Royal Library Archives, Stockholm.

Pl.13. August Malmström. *King Heimar and Aslög.* 1856. Oil on canvas.
119 x 102cm. Image: Nationalmuseum, Stockholm.

Pl.14. David Wallin. *Dagny by the Stream in Svenshyttan.* 1914. Oil on canvas. 29 x 37cm. Private Collection. Image: Stockholms Auktionsverk.

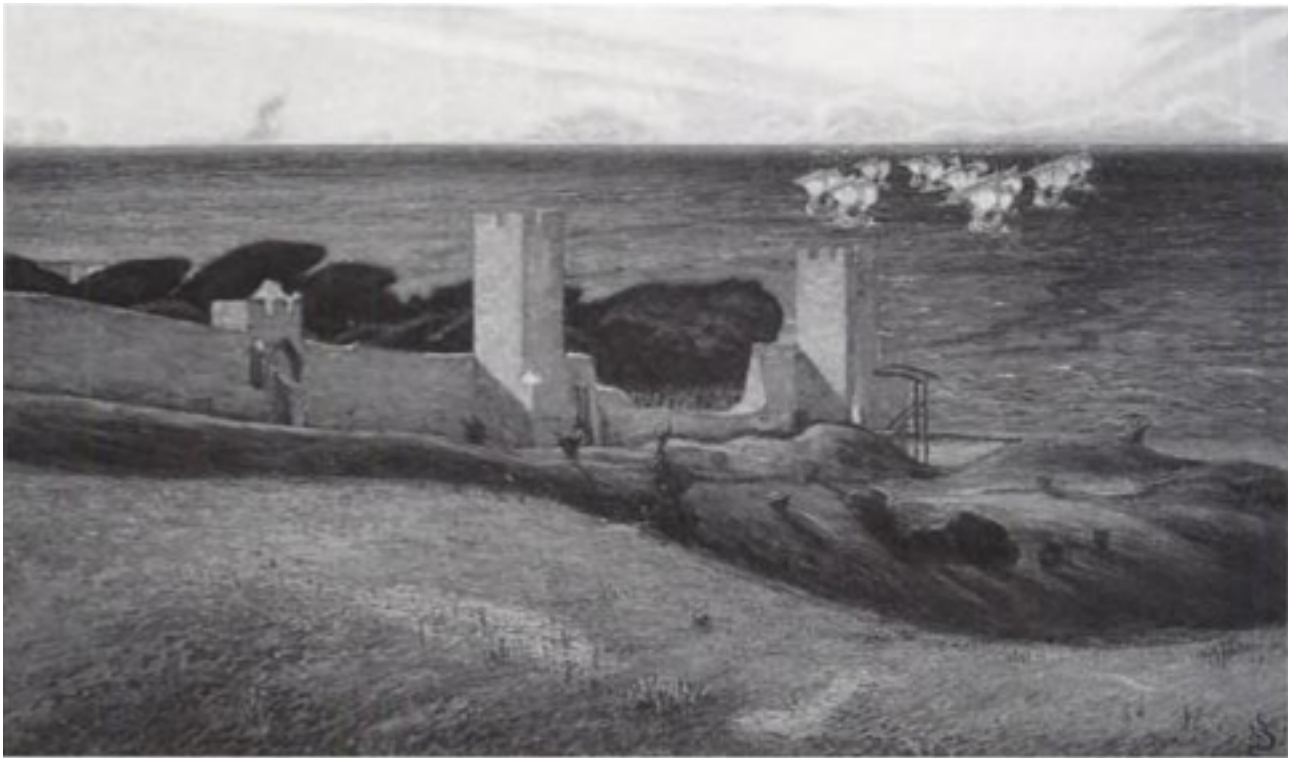
Pl.15. Mårten Eskil Winge. *Kraka*. 1862. Oil on canvas. 160 x 217cm.
Image: Nationalmuseum, Stockholm.



Pl.16. David Wallin. *Najad*. 1917. Oil on board. 36 x 45cm.
Private Collection. Image: Isabelle Gapp.

Pl.17. David Wallin. *Elin Wallin in Wallin's Studio.* Unknown Date. Photograph. Held within Royal Library Archives. Image: Royal Library Archives, Stockholm.

Pl.18. David Wallin. *Spring Holiday III*. 1924. Oil on board. 50 x 40cm.
Private Collection. Image: Isabelle Gapp.



Pl.19. Richard Bergh. *Vision: Motif from Visby*. 1894. Oil on canvas.
122 x 209cm. Image: Nationalmuseum, Stockholm.

Pl.20. David Wallin. *Springtime: The Artist's Wife in Lill-Jans Forest.* 1905. Oil on canvas. 133 x 124cm. Unknown Collection. Image: Royal Library Archives, Stockholm.

Pl.21. David Wallin. *Elin Lundberg*. December 1904. Oil on canvas.
55 x 46cm. Private Collection: Image: Stockholms Auktionsverk.

Pl.22. David Wallin. *Creation of Adam, copy after Michelangelo.* 1909.
Oil on canvas. 47 x 38cm. Private Collection. Image: Isabelle Gapp.

Pl.23. Helmer Osslund. *Summer Landscape from Norrland*. Unknown Date. Oil on canvas upon panel. 64 x 100cm. Unknown Collection. Image: Bukowskis Auctions.

Pl.24. Helmer Osslund. *The Spirit of Spring in Torne Träsk.* Unknown date. Oil on canvas. 40 x 67.5cm. Unknown Collection. Image: Bukowskis Auctions.

Pl.25. David Wallin. *Hedwig Waldenström.* Unknown Date. Oil on canvas.
Image: Nationalmuseum Archives, Stockholm.

Pl.26. David Wallin. *The Opera Singer John Forsell.* 1915. Oil on canvas.
80 x 73cm. Private Collection. Image: Isabelle Gapp.

Pl.27. David Wallin. *A Young Woman in a Spring Landscape.* 1906. Oil on board. 54 x 41cm. Private Collection. Image: Bukowskis Auctions.

Pl.28. David Wallin. *Elin W.* 1906. Oil on canvas. 45 x 47cm.
Private Collection. Image: Isabelle Gapp.

Pl.29. Claude Monet. *Study of a Woman Outdoors: Woman with a Parasol.* 1906. Oil on canvas. 131 x 88.7cm. Image: Musée d'Orsay, Paris.

Pl.30. David Wallin. *Greta Lidberg in a Spring Landscape.* c.1912. Oil on canvas. 125 x 87cm. Private Collection. Image: Isabelle Gapp.

Pl.31. David Wallin. *Greta Lidberg in Ljusterö.* c.1912. Oil on canvas.
21 x 31cm. Private Collection. Image: auctionet.com

Pl.32. Prince Eugen. *Spring Sun on the Meadow.* 1894. Charcoal and watercolour. 100 x 150cm. Image: Prins Eugen's Waldemarsudde.

Pl.33. David Wallin. *Nude Study.* 1911. Oil on canvas. 100 x 84cm.
Private Collection. Image: Isabelle Gapp.

Pl.34. David Wallin. *Fable Eternelle.* 1911. Oil on canvas. 81 x 100cm.
Private Collection. Image: Stockholms Auktionsverk.

Pl.35. David Wallin. *Elin with a Coat Over her Arms.* 1910. Oil on canvas. 81 x 100cm. Private Collection. Image: Royal Library Archives, Stockholm.

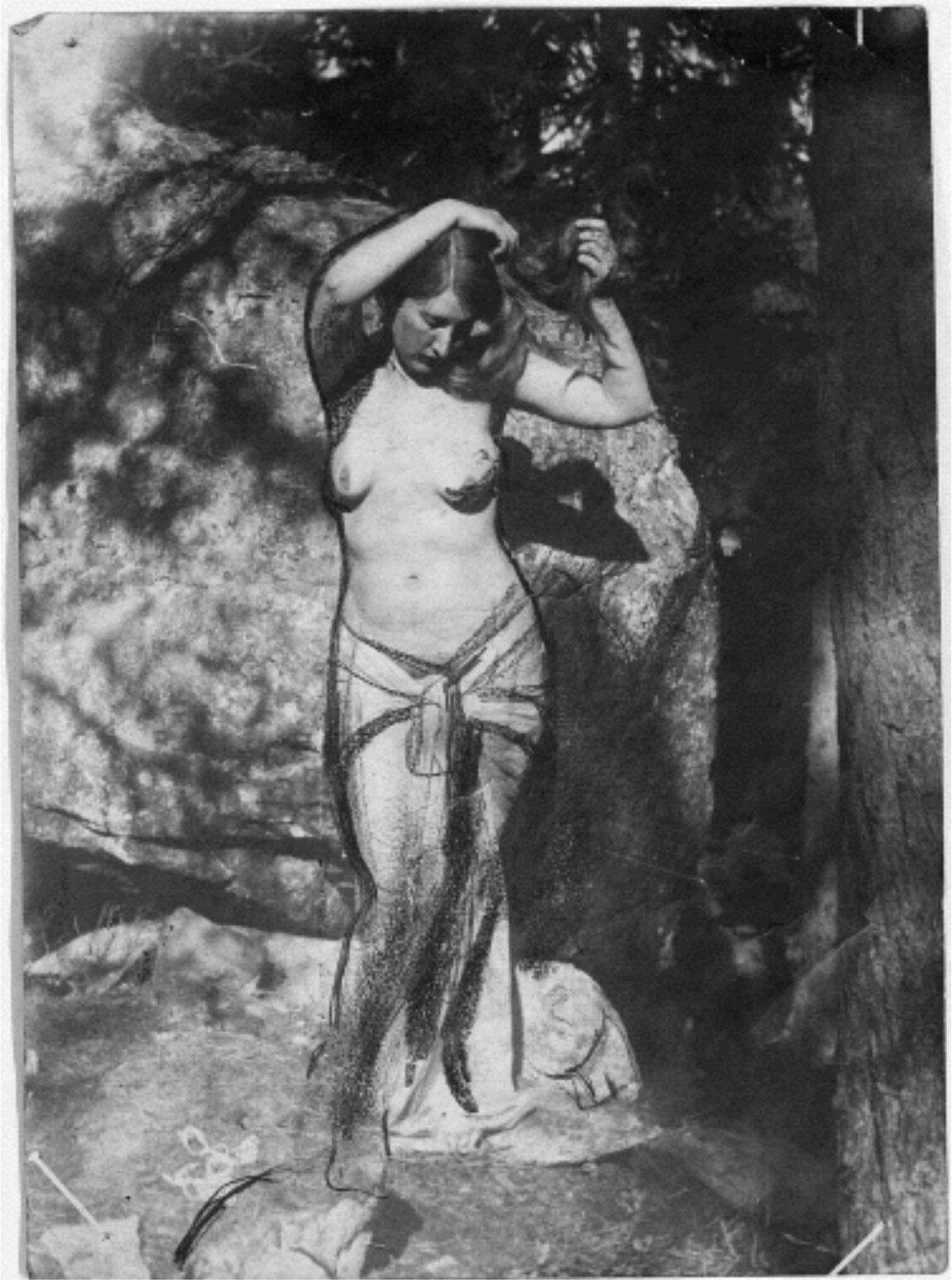
Pl.36. Edvard Munch. *Snow Landscape from Kragerø.* 1912. Oil on canvas. Unknown measurements. Private Collection. Image: blouinartinfo.com

Pl.37. Edvard Munch. *Mary Gallén on the Kuhmoniemi Bridge.* 1890. Oil on wood. 33 x 22.9cm. Private Collection. Image: thoughtsthatcureradically.com

Pl.38. Arthur Hughes. *April Love.* 1855-56. Oil on canvas.
89 x 49.5cm. Image: Tate.

Pl.39. John Singer Sargent. *Lady Agnew of Locknaw. 1892.* Oil on canvas. 127 x 101cm. Image: National Gallery of Scotland.

Pl.40. John Singer Sargent. *The Piazzetta, Venice.* c.1904.
Watercolour on paper. 34 x 54cm. Image: Tate.



Pl.41. David Wallin. *Elin Modelling Outdoors.* Unknown date.
Photograph. Image: Royal Library Archives, Stockholm.

Pl.42. David Wallin. *Preliminary Photograph for Fable Eternelle - Hillevi and Dagny.* c.1911. Photograph. Image: Royal Library Archives, Stockholm.

Pl.43. David Wallin. *A Mother and her Sleeping Child.* Unknown date. Oil on canvas. Unknown measurements. Image: Royal Library Archives, Stockholm.

Pl.44. David Wallin. *In the Beginning.* c.1912. Oil on canvas. Unknown measurements. Image: Royal Library Archives, Stockholm.

Pl.45. David Wallin. *Mother and Child.* c.1912. Pencil on paper. Unknown measurements. Image: Royal Library Archives, Stockholm.

Pl.46. David Wallin. *Oil sketch* for *In the Beginning.* c.1912. Oil on canvas. Unknown measurements. Image: Royal Library Archives, Stockholm.

Pl.47. David Wallin. *Elin and Dagny.* c.1912. Photograph.
Image: Royal Library Archives, Stockholm.

Pl.48. Eugène Carrière. *Maternity.* c.1890-1906. Oil on canvas. 30 x 40cm.
Image: Musée d'Orsay, Paris.

Pl.49. Eugène Carrière. *Maternal Love.* 1904. Oil on canvas. 75.5 x 59cm.
Image: Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Brussels.

Pl.50. David Wallin. *Dagny with a Red Hat.* 1918. Oil on canvas.
56 x 46cm. Private Collection. Image: Isabelle Gapp.

Pl.51. Edvard Munch. *In the Garden.* 1902. Oil on canvas. 75 x 82cm.
Unknown Collection. Image: the-athenaeum.org

Pl.52. Edvard Munch. *Starry Night*. 1893. Oil on canvas.
135.6 x 140cm. Image: The J. Paul Getty Museum.

Pl.53. David Wallin. *Ragnhild.* c.1922. Oil on canvas. Unknown measurements. Image: Royal Library Archives, Stockholm.

Pl.54. Carl Wilhemsson. *Toilette in the Studio.* 1916. Weimar colours on canvas. 83 x 49cm. Image: Bukowskis Auctions.

Pl.55. David Wallin. *Summer.* 1914-1923. Oil on canvas.
Image: Royal Library Archives, Stockholm.

Pl.56. David Wallin. *Mother and Child.* Unknown date. Oil on canvas.
Unknown measurements. Image: Nationalmuseum Archives, Stockholm.

Pl.57. David Wallin. *Morning Toilette.* 1930. Oil on canvas. 76 x 71 cm.
Unknown Collection. Image: Royal Library Archives, Stockholm.

Pl.58. David Wallin. *Preliminary Version of Morning Toilette*. c.1930. Oil on canvas. Unknown Measurements. Image: Royal Library Archives, Stockholm.

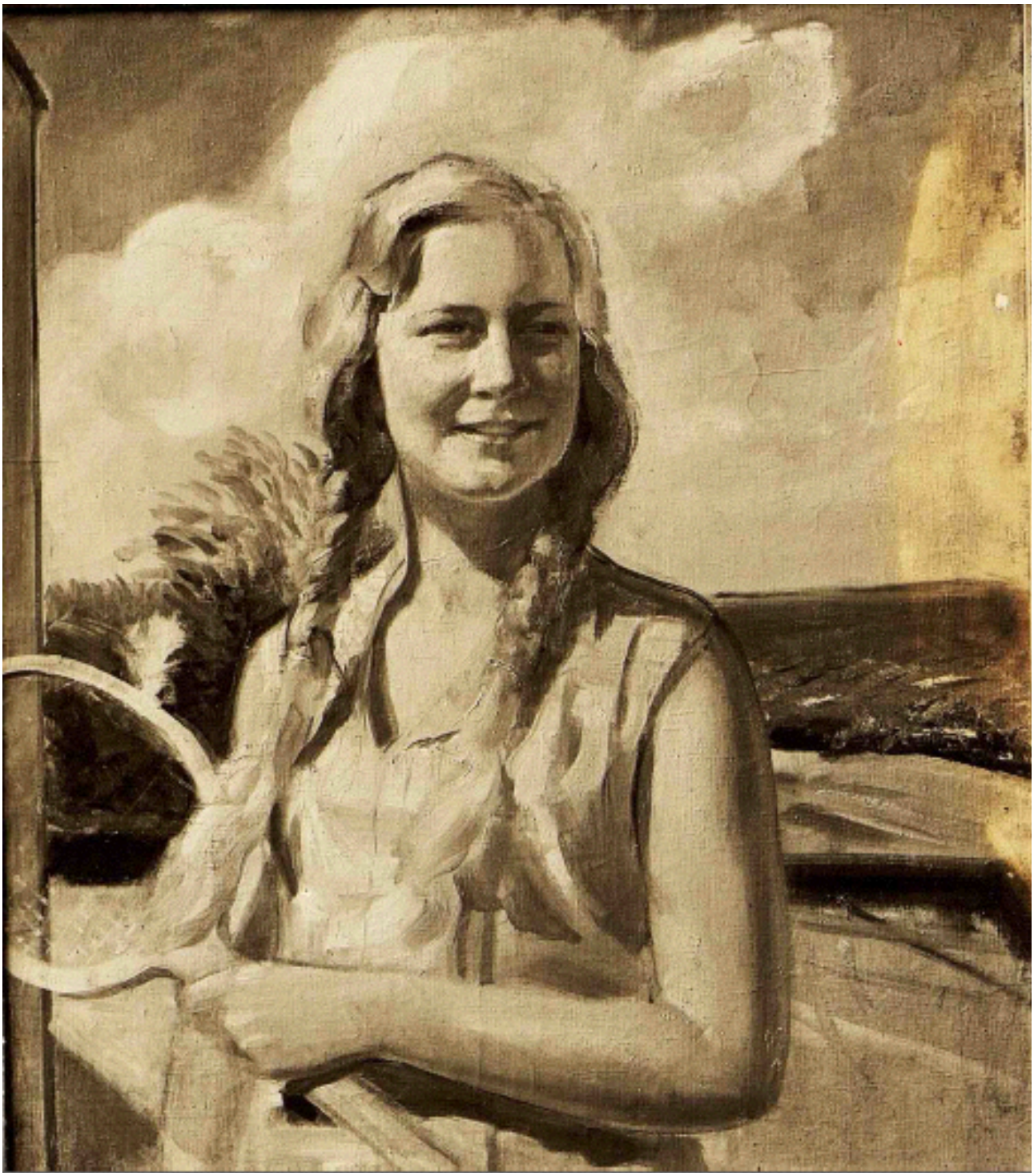
Pl.59. Lotte Laserstein. *Morning Toilette.* 1930. Oil on panel. 99.1 x 65cm.
Image: National Museum of Women in the Arts, Washington D.C.

Pl.60. David Wallin. *Two Women in a Landscape.* 1933. Oil on canvas. Unknown Measurements. 58 x 50cm. Private Collection. Image: Isabelle Gapp.

Pl.61. Carl Larsson. *Crayfishing*. c.1897 (1899 - as published in *Ett Hem*).
Watercolour. Image: Ett Hem.

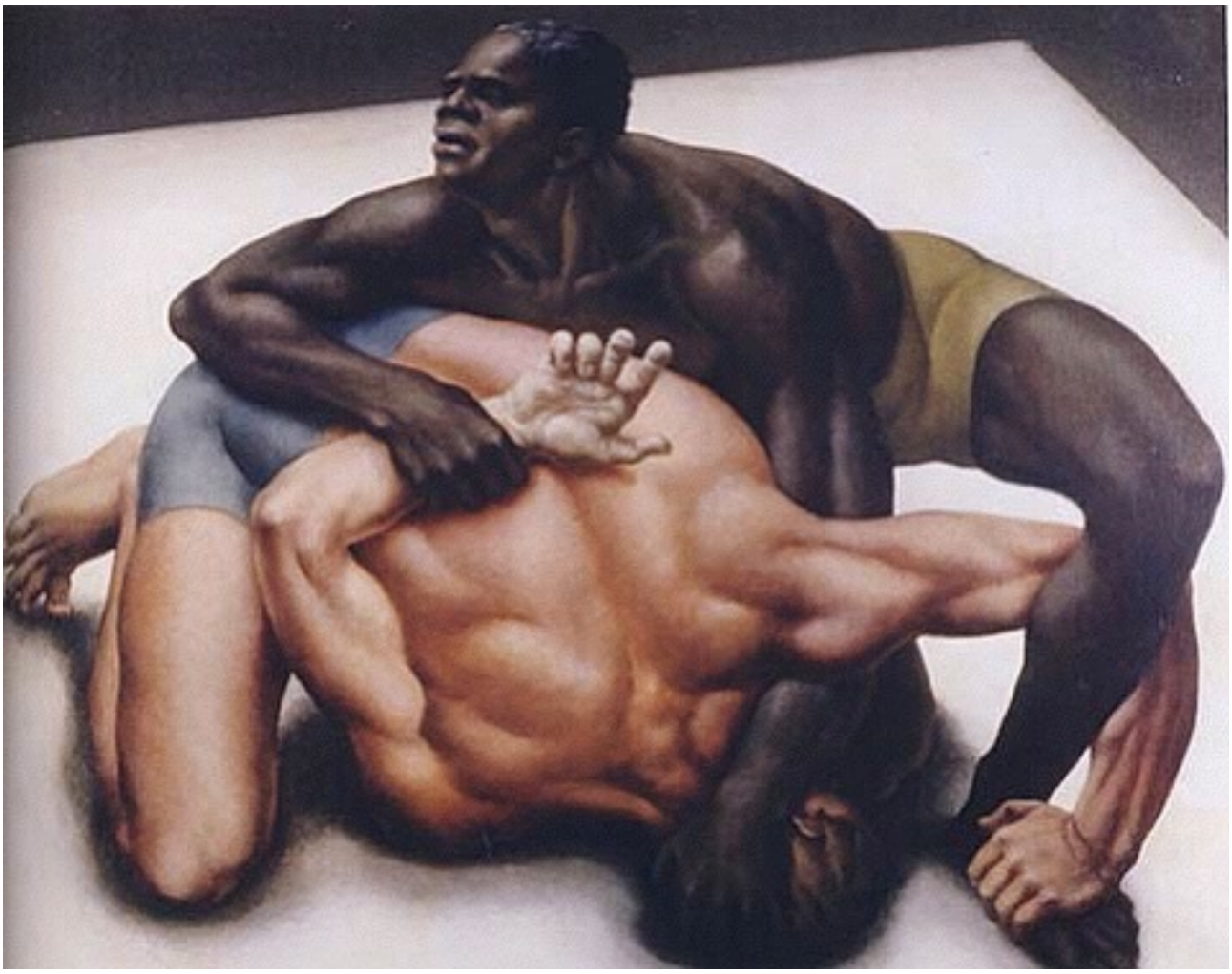
Pl.62. David Wallin. *Female Head - Study for Midsummer's Eve.* c.1950-51.
Oil on canvas. 42 x 55.5cm. Private Collection. Image: Isabelle Gapp.

Pl.63. Anders Zorn. *Midsummer Dance.* 1897. Oil on canvas. 140 x 98cm.
Image: Nationalmuseum, Stockholm.



Pl.64. David Wallin. *Girl with a Racket.* 1931. Oil on canvas. 73 x 60cm.
Unknown Collection. Image: Royal Library Archives, Stockholm.

Pl.65. David Wallin. *At the Seaside of Arild.* c.1932. Oil on canvas. 134 x 124cm. Unknown Collection. Image: Royal Library Archives, Stockholm.



Pl.66. Ruth Miller. *Struggle*. c.1932. Oil on canvas. Unknown measurements.
Image: Santa Barbara Independent, independent.com

Pl.67. David Wallin. *A Summer's Day in Arild.* c.1932. Approx 134 x 124cm.
Image: Royal Library Archives, Stockholm.

Pl.68. David Wallin. *Sunbathing on the Cliffs at Arild.* 1931. Oil on canvas. Unknown measurements. Image: Royal Library Archives, Stockholm.

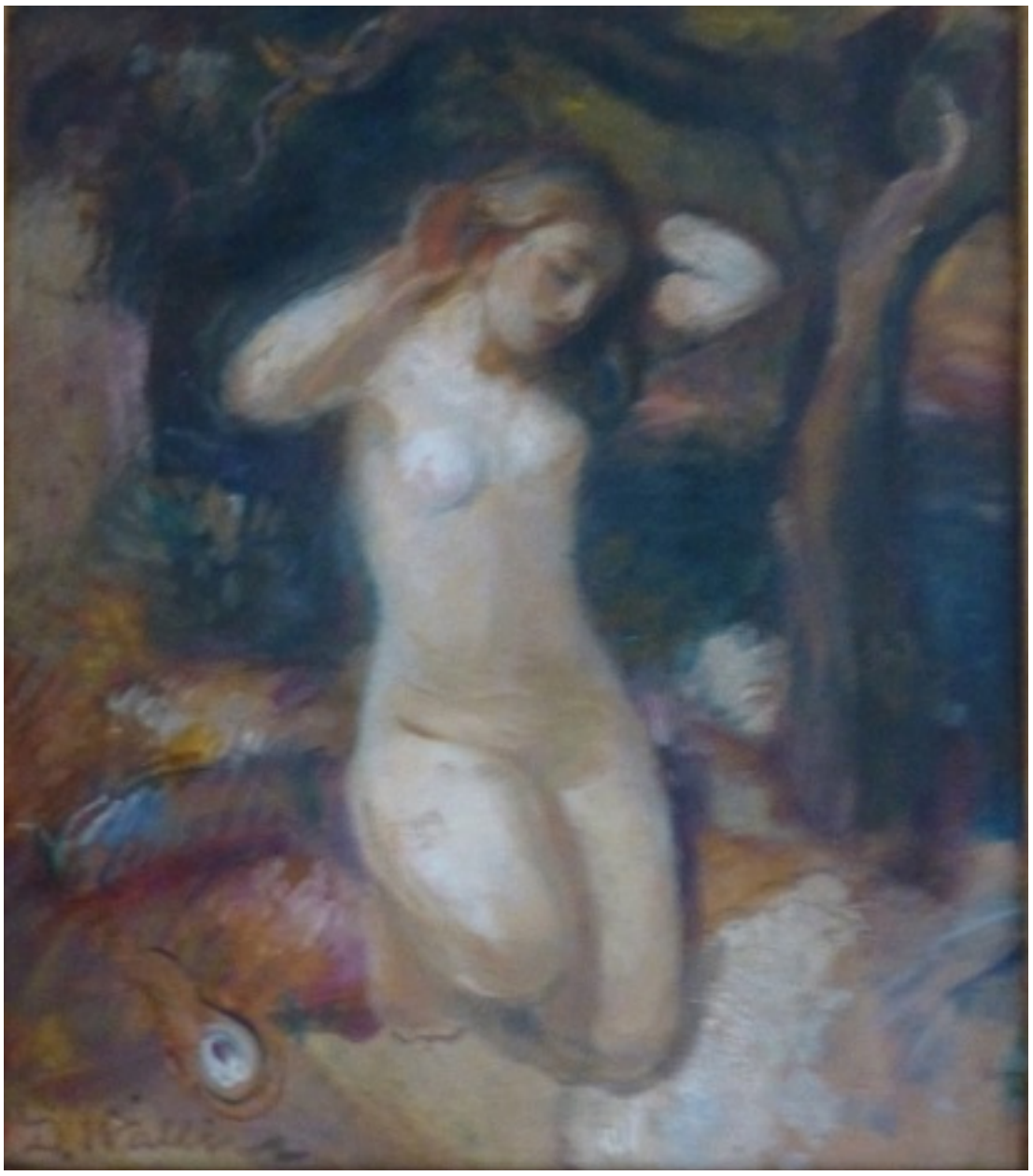
Pl.69. David Wallin. *Bathing by the Cliffs of Arild.* Unknown Date. Oil on canvas. 70 x 58cm. Private Collection. Image: Isabelle Gapp.

Pl.70. Pierre Puvis de Chavannes. *The Bathers.* c.1890. Oil on canvas. 55.4 x 35.5 cm. Image: Art Gallery of Ontario, Canada.

Pl.71. Pierre Puvis de Chavannes. *Young Girls by the Seaside.* 1887.
Oil on canvas. 61 x 47cm. Image: Musée d'Orsay, Paris.

Pl.72. Ernst Josephson. *The Water Sprite*. 1882. Oil on canvas, mounted on masonite. 216 x 150cm. Image: Prins Eugen's Waldemarsudde, Stockholm.

Pl.73. Ernst Josephson. *Gåslisa.* 1888-89. Oil on wood. 72 x 58cm.
Image: Prins Eugen's Waldemarsudde, Stockholm.

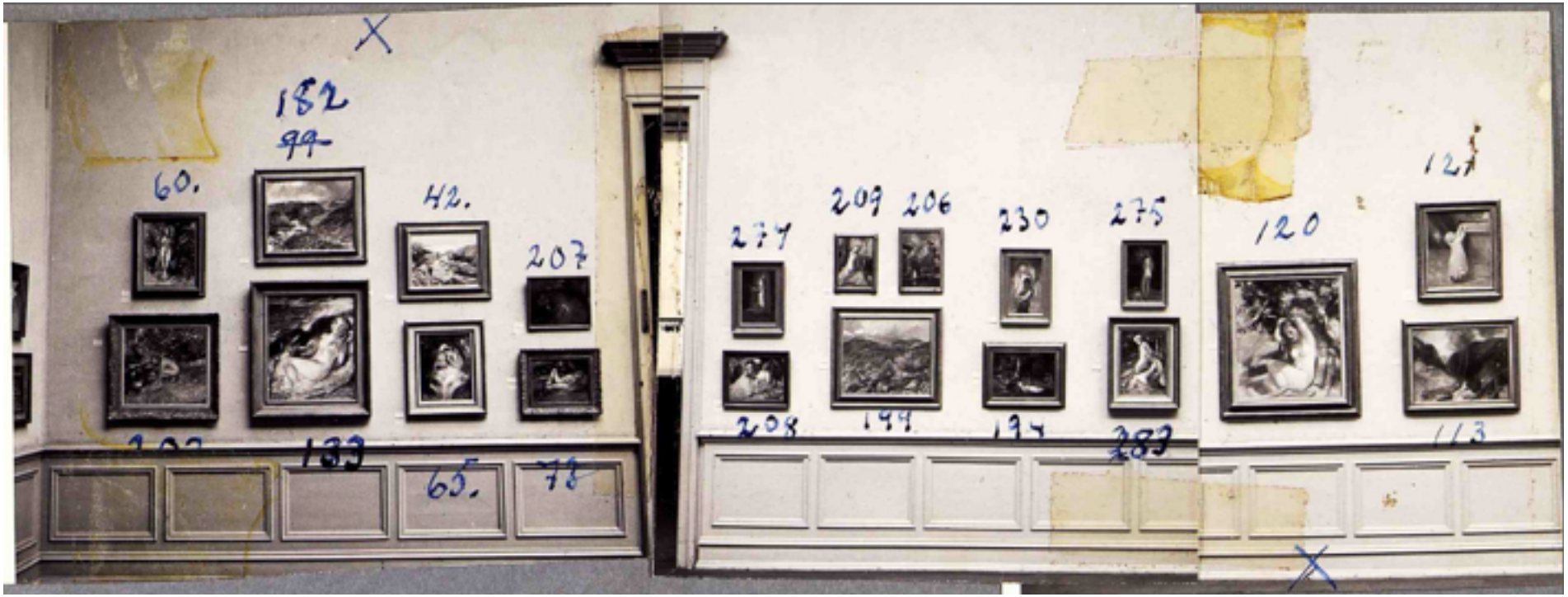


Pl.74. David Wallin. *Girl Arranging her Hair*. 1938. Oil on board.
39 x 36cm. Private Collection. Image: Isabelle Gapp.

Pl.75-82. *The next 8 images represent the exhibition layout for David Wallin's 1952 Retrospective at the Royal Academy of Art, Stockholm.*
Images: Royal Library Archives, Stockholm.


8
286+
176
223
2
270
13
247
44
51.
12.
163
282
76
233
170
123
158
189
139
296
145
153
63
188
117
86
211
154

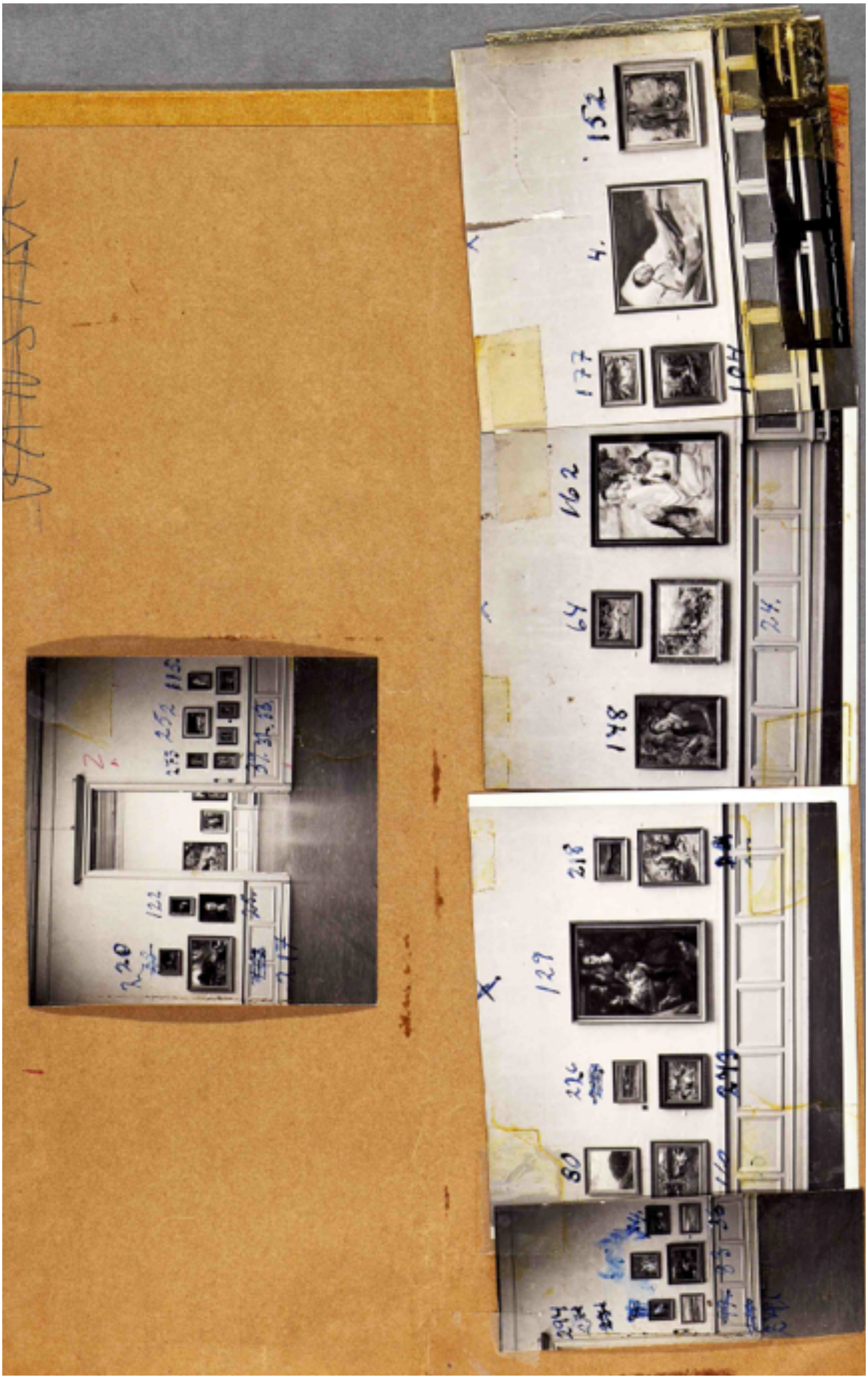

1.
30.
43
128
197
191
190
97.
41
216
94
1


182
99
60.
42.
207
277
209
206
230
275
120
121
208
144
194
283
113
189
65.
78


142
100
160
9.
92
109
192
175.
2
270
13
247
118.
44.
103
16.
20.
71


49
251
181
241
70
50
224
187
146
266
171
54
47-98
260
101
132.
18.
149
166
116.
176
8.
265
300
7.


131
210
204
21.
77
31
168
140
212
114
276
70
151
172
10.
105
290
57.
238
165.
233
170
123
158
139
296
175
153
15
257
124
193
91



Bibliography

Primary Sources:

Royal Library Archives, Stockholm. *David Wallins papper, 1896-ca 2000*. Acc 2008/138.

———. *David Wallins papper tillägg*, Acc 2002/33.

———. *Wallinska Släktarkivet*, Acc 2008/24.

———. *Wallinska Släktarkivet tillägg*, Acc 2008/137.

Loos, Viggo. *Manuscript om David Wallin: Om konstnären David Wallin, den kontroversielle fram till 1918-1920*. (Unpublished, Written 1958-1963). Courtesy of Monika Bystedt, Hillevi Tolnai-Andersson and Eva Åkesson.

Secondary Sources:

Books:

Arnborg, Beate. ed. *En udde med utsikt - Prins Eugens Waldemarsudde 100 År*. (Stockholm, Prins Eugens Waldemarsudde. 2005).

Ball, Philip. *Bright Earth: The Invention of Colour.* (Random House, 2012).

Banham, Joanna. ed. *William Morris and the Middle Ages.* (Manchester University Press, 1984), p.13.

Bergh, Richard. *Om konst och annat.* (Stockholm,1908).

Berman, Patricia G. *In Another Light: Danish Painting in the Nineteenth Century.* (Thames and Hudson Ltd. 2007).

Bonnier, Tor and Georg Svensson. *Nedre Manilla: Katalog över den bonnierska porträttsamlingen.* (Stockholm: Albert Bonnier Förlag, 1982).

Carter, Karen L. and Susan Waller. ed. *Foreign Artists and Communities in Modern Paris, 1870-1914: Strangers in Paradise.* (Ashgate, 2015).

Cayton, Andrew R.L. ed. *The American Midwest: An Interpretive Encyclopedia.* (Indiana University Press, 2006), p.98.

Davidson, Peter. *The Idea of the North*. (Reaktion Books, 2005).

Dempsey, Charles. *Annibale Carracci and the Beginnings of Baroque Style*. (J.J.Austin Verlag, Gluckstadt, 1977).

Eskeröd, Albert. *Skånes kust.* (LTs Förlag, 1960).

Facos, Michelle. *Nationalism and the Nordic Imagination: Swedish Art of the 1890s*. (University of California Press, 1998).

———. *Symbolist Art in Context*. (University of California Press, 2009).

Garfield, Simon. *Mauve - How One Man Invented a Colour That Changed the World*. (Faber & Faber, 2013).

Grünewald, Isaac. *Matisse och expressionismen*. (Stockholm: Wahlström & Widstrand, 1944).

Gunnarsson, Torsten. *Nordic Landscape Painting in the Nineteenth Century*. (Yale University Press, 1998).

Hill, Charles C. *The Group of Seven: Art for a Nation*. (McClelland & Stewart Inc, 1996).

Hjerppe, Riitta. *The Finnish Economy 1860-1985*. (Bank of Finland Publications, 1989).

Hyde, Emily. *A Way of Seeing: Modernism, Illustration, and Postcolonial Literature.* (Princeton University, 2013).

Jackson, David. *Nordic Art: The Modern Breakthrough 1860-1920*. (Hirmer, 2012).

Jönsson, Åke. *Missförstånd bakom svenskt OS-guld i konst*. (Sveriges centralförening för idrottens främjande blå bok: 2002).

Kent, Neil. *The Triumph of Light and Nature: Nordic Art 1740-1940*. (Thames and Hudson, London, 1987).

———. *The Soul of the North: A Social, Architectural and Cultural History, 1700-1940*. (Reaktion Books, 2001).

Lilja, Gösta. *Svenskt måleri under 1900-talet*. (W&W serien, 1968).

Lönnrot, Elias. *The Kalevala*. (Oxford University Press, 2008).

Lübbren, Nina. *Rural Artists Colonies in Europe 1870-1910.* (Rutgers University Press, 2001).

Rosenblum, Robert. *Modern Painting and the Northern Romantic Tradition*. (Icon, 1977).

Shaw, Jennifer. *Dream States: Puvis de Chavannes, Modernism and the Fantasy of France*. (Yale University Press, 2002).

Stanton, Richard. *The Forgotten Olympic Art Competitions*. (Trafford, Canada, 2000).

Tostmann, Oliver. *Anders Zorn: A European Artist Seduces America*. (Paul Holberton Publishing, 2013).

Varnedoe, Kirk. *Northern Light: Nordic Art at the Turn of the Century*. (Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1988).

Waggoner, Ben. *The Sagas of Ragnar Lodbrok*. (lulu.com, 2009).

Wistman, Christina G. *Manifestation och Avancemang*. (Gothenburg University, 2008).

Newspaper Reviews:

B.E. *David Wallin och romantiken*. (Kvällsnytt: 12 March 1953).

Berendsohn, Walter A. *David Wallin*. (Der Kreis, Hamburg: 1927), pp.81-84.

C.K. *David Wallin - Utställning i Thurestamskonstsalong, 1946.* (Kulturvärlden - Den folkliga konsttidskriften, no2: Jan-March 1946).

Hedberg, Tor. *David Wallin - Separatutställning Konstakademien, 1926.* (Dagens Nyheter, 1926).

J.H. *David Wallin utställer i Linköping*. (Östgöten: 28 Sep 1935).

Heller, Reinhold. *Painters from the Midnight Sun: Review of Kirk Varnedoe's Northern Light.* (New York Times, 21 Aug 1988).

Huneker, James. *Review: Promenades of an Impressionist.* (American Art News, Vol.8 No.29, 1910), p.2

Johansson, Gustaf. *David Wallin - Borås Konsthall, 1936*. (Svenska Dagbladet: 5 Jan 1936).

Lindblad, Eric. *David Wallin: måleriets romantiker.* (Solna Posten: 1946).

———. *David Wallin: måleriets romantiker i Ådalen.* (1946).

Lindwall, Bo. *Veckans Konstrond.* (Morgon Tidningen, 20 Feb 1946).

———. *David Wallin*. (Aftontidningen, 13 Nov 1952).

Lundmark, Efraim. *Wallins Utställning, II: Porträtten*. (Nya Dagligt Allehanda: 01 Feb 1931).

———. *Lördagens Vernissage: David Wallins Utställning*. (Nya Dagligt Allehanda: 1931).

Mascoli Silfverstolpe, Gunnar. *David Wallins Utställning*. (Stockholmstidningen: 1931).

Morro, Clement. *Revue du Vrait et du Beau.* (Salongerna, La Revue Moderne, Paris: 10 Sep 1923).

Näsström, Gustaf. *David Wallin i Konstakademien*. (Stockholms Dagblad: 01 Feb 1931).

Nyström, Carl H. *Om tvenne altartavlor och deras skapare*. (Från Bygd och Vildmark i Lapplan och Västerbotten: 1941), p.279-286.

Schiller, Harald. *Romantikern bland svenska konstnärer*. (Sydsvenska Dagbladet: 5 July 1936).

S.H. *David Wallins konstutställning*. (Uppsala Tidning: 1 Nov 1937).

Sooke, Alastair. *Peder Balke, National Gallery, review: 'disingenuous.'* (Telegraph: 11 Nov 2014).

Unknown Author. *David Wallin i Konstakademien*. (Dagens Nyheter: 1931).

Unknown Author. *En timme med olympiamålaren*. (Norstjernan, Tidning för svenska befolkningen i Amerika: 19 Oct 1933).

Unknown author. *David Wallin: Målare och guldmedaljör*. (Östgöta Correspondentens Söndagsläsning: 23 Jan 1933).

Unknown author. *Målaren som fick guldmedalj.* (Norrköpings Tidningar: 7 Jan 1933).

Unknown author. *David Wallins utställning: Figurmåleri, porträtt och landskap å Norrköpings Museum*. (Östergötlands Folkblad: 10 Apr 1935).

Unknown author. Världsbekant konstnär i Borås konsthall. (Borås Nyheter: 17 Sep 1936).

Unknown author. *En konstnär blir aldrig mogen…* (Stockholm Tidningen).

Unknown author. *Guldmedaljören David Wallin till Amerika*. (Veckojournalen, no39: 1933).

Unknown author. *Den olympiska mästaren*. (Veckojournalen, no4: 1935), p.24-25.

Unknown author. *Svensk sommar: sedd av en aktuell svensk konstnär.* (Svensk Damtidning, no24: 1936).

Unknown Author. *American Art Works Lead Olympic Awards*. (New York Times: 3 Aug 1932).

Unknown author. *En nyupptäckt målare*. (Svenska Dagbladet: 17 June 1917).

Unknown author. *Konstföreningens utställning: En sevärd samling av östgötakonstnärensverk*. (GS Tidningen: 20 Oct 1924).

Unknown author. *Östgötakonstens uppvisning.* (Norrköpings Tidningar: 9 Nov 1925).

Unknown author. *David Wallin utställer i Konstakademien.* (Svenska Morgonbladet: 26 Feb 1926).

Unknown author. *En östgötsk målare*. (Norrköpings Tidningar: 7 Sep 1935).

Unknown author. *Konst, Måleri och Skulptur: några stockholmsutställningar*. (Uppsala Tidningen: 14 Nov 1942).

Unknown author. *Konstens Trädgård*. (Östergötland Dagbladet: 13 Sep 1935).

Unknown author. *Review of Kungliga Akademien Utställning.* (Aftonbladet: 20 Feb 1926).

Wallin, David. *Matisse är en farlig man, vars tekniska bravur är ett opiumrus*. (Dagens Nyheter: 27 Feb 1931).

Åström, Lars Erik. *David Wallin.* (Expressen: 11 Nov 1952).

Journal Articles:

Cary, Elisabeth Luther. *Scandinavian Art*. (Art and Progress, Vol.4, No.4, 1913), pp.851-857.

Davies, Blodwen. *The Canadian Group of Seven*. (The American Magazine of Art, Vol.25, No.1, July 1932), pp.13-22.

Butlin, Martin. *Review of Torsten Gunnarsson's 'Nordic Landscape Painting in the Nineteenth Century*. (The Burlington Magazine, Vol.141, No.1152, Mar. 1999), pp.183-184.

Carley, Lionel. *Dreams of a Summer Night - Hayward Gallery.* (The Delius Society Journal, No.90, Summer 1986), pp.17.

Davis, Whitney. *Comment: World without Art.* (Association of Art Historians, 2009). pp.710-716.

Elkins, James. *Writing About Modernist Painting Outside Western Europe and North America.* (Transcultural Studies, no1, 2010). pp.42-77.

Facos, Michelle. *A Controversy in Late Nineteenth Century Painting: Ernst Josephson's "The Water Sprite."* (Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte, No.56, 1993), pp.61-78.

———. *News from the North.* (Oxford Art Journal, Vol.25, No.1, 2002), pp.119-127.

———. *Reviewed Work: Carl and Karin Larsson: Creators of the Swedish Style by Michael Snodin Elisabet Stavenow-Hidemark*. (Studies in the Decorative Arts, Vol.7, No.1, 1999-2000), pp. 120-123.

Grünewald, Isaac. *Cézannes budskap*. (Published in Kunst og Kultur, 1937).

Julius, Arvid. *David Wallin*. (ERGO, No.13: 30 Oct 1937), p.187.

McDowell, George Tremaine. *The Treatment of the Volsunga Saga by William Morris.* (Scandinavian Studies and Notes, Vol.7 No.6, 1923), p.151-163.

Unknown Author. *American Art for Sweden.* (The American Magazine of Art, Vol.11, No.9, 1920), pp.335-36.

Wilson, William A. *The "Kalevala" and Finnish Politics.* (Journal of the Folklore Institute, Vol.12, No. 2/3, 1975), pp.131-155.

<u>*Exhibition Catalogues:*</u>

American-Scandinavian Exhibition on Contemporary Scandinavian Art. 10-25 Dec. 1912. The American Art Galleries, New York, 1912.

Anders Zorn: Sweden's Master Painter. Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, 2013.

Brinton, Christian. *Introduction to Exhibition of Contemporary Scandinavian Art.* The American Art Galleries, New York, 1912.

Carlsund, Otto G. *Thurestamskonstsalong Utställning 1942,* Stockholm.

Catalogue of the Competition and Exhibition of Art, Xth Olympiad Los Angeles, 1932.

Dreams of a Summer Night: Scandinavian Painting at the Turn of the Century. Hayward Gallery, London, 1986.

David Wallin: Utställning 20-30 Sept. 1944. Jönköping: Föreningen Smålandskonstnärers Konstsalong.

David Wallin: Separatutställning, 26 Nov. - 5 Dec. 1949. Molnhammars Konstsalong, Örebro.

David Wallin: Retrospektiv utställning i Konstakademien, 2-30 Nov. 1952. Konstakademien, Stockholm, 1952).

Impressionism och Norden, 25 Sep 2002 - 19 Jan 2003. Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, 2002.

Inspiration Matisse, 13 Sep 2014 - 15 Feb. 2015. Prins Eugen's Waldemarsudde, Stockholm, 2014.

Konstnärskolonin på Tyresö. 8 June - 15 Sep 2013. Prins Eugen's Waldemarsudde, Stockholm, 2013.

Luminous Modernism: Scandinavian Art Comes to America, A Centennial Retrospective 1912-2012. 25 October 2011 - 11 Feb 2012. The American-Scandinavian Foundation, 2013.

Paintings by Peder Balke. 12 Nov 2014 - 12 April 2015. National Gallery, London, 2014.

Painting Norway: Nikolai Astrup 1880-1928. 5 Feb - 15 May 2016. Dulwich Picture Gallery, London, 2016.

Richard Bergh - ett konstnärskall. 12 April - 23 June 2002. Prins Eugen's Waldemarsudde, Stockholm, 2002.

Symbolism och Dekadens. 19 Sep 2015 - 24 Jan 2016. Prins Eugen's Waldemarsudde, Stockholm, 2015.

Unknown author. *David Wallin - Thurestamskonstsalong utställning,* Stockholm, 1946.

Van Gogh to Kandinsky: Symbolist Landscape in Europe 1880-1910. 14th July - 14th October 2012. Scottish National Gallery. Thames Hudson, 2012.

Letters:

Ohtomies, Olli. *David Wallin - Den nordiska målarkonstens romantiker.* (Letter, 1945).

Wallin, David. Unknown recipient. (Letter, 1913).

Websites:

Anders Zorn: Sweden's Master Painter, November 9, 2013 – February 2, 2014. Available from: http://legionofhonor.famsf.org/legion/exhibitions/anders-zorn-swedens-master-painter, accessed 10 July 2016.

Budick, Ariella. *Anders Zorn: Sweden's Master Painter, National Academy Museum, New York – Review.* (Financial Times, 17 Mar 2014). Available from: http://www.ft.com/cms/s/2/6ac22352-a5e6-11e3-b9ed-00144feab7de.html#axzz41ZAQJPMK, accessed 10 July 2016.

Chayka, Kyle. *How Early Scandinavian Modernism Lit a Fire Under America's Avant-Garde.* (Blouin Art Info Online, 31 Oct 2011). Available from: http://fr.blouinartinfo.com/news/story/749523/how-early-scandinavian-modernism-lit-a-fire-under-americas, accessed 10 July 2016.

Douthat, Ross. *The Myth of Cosmopolitanism.* (The New York Times, 2 July 2016). Available from: http://www.nytimes.com/2016/07/03/opinion/sunday/the-myth-of-cosmopolitanism.html?_r=3, accessed 24 June 2016.

Ennis, Jane Susanna. *A Comparison of Richard Wagner's Der Ring des Nibelung and William Morris's Sigurd the Volsung.* (The University of Leeds, Department of German, 1993), p.8. http://etheses.whiterose.ac.uk/231/1/uk_bl_ethos_271132.pdf, accessed 10 August 2016.

Facos, Michelle. *Academic CV.* Available from: http://arthistory.indiana.edu/faculty/facos.pdf, accessed 04 June 2016.

From Symbolism to Expressionism, Willumsen (1863-1958), a Danish Artist. (2006). Available from: http://www.musee-orsay.fr/en/events/exhibitions/archives/exhibitions-archives/browse/13/article/du-symbolisme-a-lexpressionnisme-willumsen-1863-1958-un-artiste-danois-4244.html?S=&tx_ttnews%5BbackPid%5D=252&cHash=bf6c50b038&print=1&no_cache=1&, accessed 4 May 2016.

Glover, Michael. *Great Works: Sunbeams or Sunshine. Dust Motes Dancing in the Sunbeams 1900 (70 x 59 cm), Vilhelm Hammershoi.* (Independent Online, 7 Jan 2011). http://www.independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/art/great-works/great-works-sunbeams-or-sunshine-dust-motes-dancing-in-the-sunbeams-1900-70-x-59-cm-vilhelm-2177717.html, accessed 10 May 2016.

Gymniska Förbundet: 144 members, 1929. Available from: http://www.tobiashubinette.se/gf.pdf, accessed 20 July 2016.

Halosenniemi Museum, Lake Tuusula. Available from: http://web.tuusula.fi/halosenniemimuseum/, accessed 5 May 2016.

Hollis, Richard. *Ghostly Realist.* (The Guardian, 26 Aug 2006). *https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2006/aug/26/art.art*, accessed 10 Aug 2016.

Johnson, Ken. *Review: Shadowy Lure of Scandinavia Fights the Bright Pull of Paris.* (The New York Times, 1 Dec 2011). Available from: http://www.nytimes.com/2011/12/02/arts/design/luminous-modernism-at-scandinavia-house-review.html?_r=0, accessed 10 July 2016.

Karl Isakson. Moderna Museet, Stockholm. 15 May 2004 - 29 August 2004. http://www.modernamuseet.se/stockholm/sv/utstallningar/karl-isakson/karl-isakson-och-hans-motivvarld/, accessed 24 July 2016.

Luminous Modernism - Scandinavian Art Comes to America, 1912. Available from: http://www.scandinaviahouse.org/events/luminous-modernism-scandinavian-art-comes-to-america-1912/, accessed 10 July 2016.

Marketing Modern Art in America: From the Armoury Show to the Department Store. http://xroads.virginia.edu/~museum/armory/marketing.html, accessed 15 Aug 2016.

Milles World Wide, Millesgården. Available from: http://www.millesgarden.se/milles-world-wide.aspx, accessed 5 May 2016.

Niesewand, Nonie. *Simply Swedish.* (The Independent, 17 Oct 1997). Available from: http://www.independent.co.uk/life-style/simply-swedish-1236628.html, accessed 23 April 2016.

Ohlsen, Nihls. *This is What We Want to do With Canada*. (The I.B.Tauris Blog, 5 Dec 2012). Available from: http://theibtaurisblog.com/2012/12/05/this-is-what-we-want-to-do-with-canada/, accessed 23 April 2016.

Pantazzi, Sybille. *Foreign Art at the Canadian National Exhibition 1905-1938*. (Bulletin 22, 1973). http://www.gallery.ca/bulletin/num22/pantazzi5.html, accessed 15 Aug 2016.

The Photographs of Hugo Simberg. Available from: http://publicdomainreview.org/collections/the-photographs-of-hugo-simberg/, accessed 21 February 2016.

Preparations for 'Carl and Karin Larsson: Creators of the Swedish Style' (V&A Conservation Journal, Issue 25, October 1997). Available from: http://www.vam.ac.uk/content/journals/conservation-journal/issue-25/preparations-for-carl-and-karin-larsson-creators-of-the-swedish-style/#ref1, accessed 14 May 2016.

P.W. *Northern Lights.* (The Economist Blog, 7 Dec 2011). Available from: http://www.economist.com/blogs/prospero/2011/12/scandinavian-art, accessed 10 July 2016.

Royal Academy London, 1924: Exhibition of Works by Swedish Artists, 1880-1900. Available from: http://www.racollection.org.uk/ixbin/indexplus?record=VOL6222&_IXp=76&_IXz=1, accessed 21 February 2016.

Stockholms utställningen 1897. Available from: http://filmarkivet.se/sv/Film/?movieid=461, accessed 21 February 2016.

Stromberg, Joseph. *When the Olympics Gave Out Medals for Art*. (Smithsonian Magazine, 24 July 2012). Available from: http://www.smithsonianmag.com/arts-culture/when-the-olympics-gave-out-medals-for-art-6878965/?no-ist, accessed 10 February 2016.

TV & Film:

Palin on Art.

Art of Scandinavia, Episode 1, Dark Night of the Soul. 2016. BBC 4. 14 March, 21:00.