

Sámi, Indigeneity, and the Boundaries of Nordic National Romanticism

Bart Pushaw



In 1900, the Swedish artist Karl Nordström painted a colossal landscape of a place he had never been.¹ Unlike many of his other landscape paintings, this new work was not supposed to be a “landscape of the soul.” Instead, Nordström was working under the commission of the Luossavaara-Kiirunavaara Aktiebolag (LKAB), a mining company founded in 1890 to extract iron ore from northernmost Sweden. His task was to paint a panoramic view over the pristine, steppe-like landscape of Kiirunavaara for display in Paris at the World’s Fair that same year. At the display, Nordström’s painting was encircled by a wooden frame bearing the names of the sites of the company’s new mining ventures: Gällivare, Luossavaara, and Kiirunavaara (fig. 1). Below the painting were geological samples of local iron and other minerals found in the region. In front of Nordström’s painting was Christian Eriksson’s three-dimensional model of the mining site with a vision of the society which would spring around it. This would be one of the first models of Kiruna, the new town founded around the iron ore mine.

Karl Nordström’s painting, entitled *Kiruna*, presents pulsating sun rays over Sweden’s highest mountain, Kebnekaise, which dominates the canvas. But Nordström had never ventured north of the Arctic Circle where Kiruna was, and instead based his image on a photograph taken by a professor, who had sent it to him. Michelle Facos notes that Nordström’s painting was thus “unhindered by experience,” creating a work “intended to strike a responsive chord in the Swedish viewer.”² Facos suggests that *Kiruna* functioned within the context of a renewed urge among Sweden’s bourgeois elite to re-establish their

connection with the natural world, citing the declaration of Swedish poet Verner von Heidenstam that “it is the primitive that we city dwellers seek in the rural areas during the summer, the primitive and its peace.”³ Large tracts of wilderness and a historically low population density in the Nordic countries had long fostered an intimate connection between humankind and the natural world. Only in the late nineteenth century did Nordic urbanites consider this relationship under threat from rapid industrialization.

Nordic peoples and artists sought to reclaim this connection with nature by tracing the roots of their character, chiselled by their resilience in a harsh climate, specifically to their native land. Art historians have routinely argued that while some European artists cultivated myths of the artist-cum-savage through their encounters with foreign peoples and cultures, Nordic artists cultivated an inner primitivism rooted in their homeland, a notion that encouraged even Karl Nordström to declare he was so moved by the colours of the Swedish landscape that he almost ripped his heart out of his chest.⁴ Traces of this connection remained with this generation well into the twentieth century. In a 1932 interview, for instance, Finnish painter Pekka Halonen declared that the greatest works of art in the world were not to be found in the Louvre, but in the snowy wilderness just outside his rural atelier.⁵

Scholars have deployed the term National Romanticism to encapsulate this idea of a pulsating patriotic primitivism informing the works of Nordic artists at the turn of the twentieth century.⁶ Since the 1980s, National Romanticism has been the dominant mode of interpretation for the



Fig 1. Unknown photographer, Luossavaara-Kiirunavaara Aktiebolag Display at Paris Exposition Universelle, 1900, photograph, dimensions unknown, Kiruna Bildarkiv, Kiruna.

so-called “Golden Age” of Nordic art, with a focus on delineating the cultural specificities of art in each country.⁷ But a dark absence and flagrant irony loom over Karl Nordström’s *Kiruna* and the National Romantic ideology behind works of Nordic “primitivism.” To portray Kiirunavaara as “untouched” enacts a dangerous colonialist discourse of indigenous erasure. Sweden’s northern climes might have appeared vast, unending, and powerful, but they were never uninhabited. Sápmi, the northernmost areas of Norway, Sweden, Finland, and Russia’s Kola Peninsula, has been home to the indigenous Sámi for centuries.⁸

Sámi occupied a precarious and fluctuating position in the construction of Nordic regional and cultural identities. They frequently appear in Nordic artworks, but any discussion of their presence in the so-called “Golden Age” of Nordic National Romantic art is remarkably and embarrassingly limited. One reason is that readings of National Romanticism have become so entrenched that they regurgitate one another, leading even well-read scholars to conclude that Sámi simply “failed to show up in golden age canvases.”⁹ This statement is manifestly false, but it is indebted to a general and rarely questioned consensus that “the overall impression one gains from the cultural ambiance of the period is one of peace and social harmony, of common devotion to the fatherland, its nature, and the proud heritage of its past, of dedication to venerable, shared moral and cultural values.”¹⁰ The assertion that this period between 1880 and 1920 in the Nordic countries was peaceful and harmonious because of “shared values” never included Sámi people, who witnessed the deterioration of their rights and their classification at the bottom of a nefarious racialized hierarchy of power. If there was a growing sense of equality in the Nordic countries, then the Sámi did not experience it. The main ideas that underwrite Nordic National Romanticism – growing gender equality, a closeness to the natural world, social democracy, the beginnings of a welfare state – are described teleologically, a historical blueprint to understanding the

Nordic countries today. That colonialism and indigeneity are missing from our picture of this period is no mistake. Gunlög Fur presciently notes that the discursive placement of the Nordic countries is beyond the pale of early modern colonialism – in the distant past and with little bearing on the future – and has created a trajectory “from no colonialism to post-colonialism without stopping at the in-between,” which is to say, without self-reflective and decolonial practices.¹¹ As such, Nordic countries present themselves as bastions of minority rights while ignoring their own historical abuses.

At a time when Sámi people were brutalized, put on display in cages, and sterilized under the banner of protecting the Nordic races from “contamination” with degenerate Sámi blood, National Romantic artists across the Nordic countries urged for a return to nature and the “primitive,” celebrating in themselves the exact same characteristics they demonized in their indigenous neighbours. Some of the most well-known artists in the Nordic countries, including Carl Larsson, depicted Sámi people and Sápmi landscapes, extolling their “exotic” features, while also supporting and contributing to exhibitions which delineated racial hierarchies of power. Yet both Sámi and non-Sámi artists who used their works to champion indigenous rights have been all but forgotten, or highly marginalized, within histories of Nordic art.¹²

This article critically investigates how representations of Sámi in Nordic art intersected with ideologies of race and place in the decades framing 1900. Its aim is to expose the colonial and racialized dimensions teeming under the pristine veneer of Nordic National Romanticism. Rather than assuming a “benign nationalism” devoid of dehumanizing consequences, I wish to explore the ways in which artists and their works contributed to the racialization of Sámi and normalized colonialist understandings of their culture. What becomes of Nordic National Romantic art

when seen through the lens of Sámi history and in the context of nascent Sámi political activism? Johan Turi's path-breaking 1910 *Muitalus sámiid birra* (*An Account of the Sámi*), the first secular book written in a Sámi language, is a guiding force in elucidating Sámi perspectives regarding the images discussed below. I draw on Turi's text because he had written it "so that people wouldn't misconstrue things, particularly those who want to lie about the Sámi and claim that only the Sámi are at fault when disputes arise between settlers and Sámi in Norway and Sweden."¹³ Using Turi as a source is no mere tokenism. Turi's own life was intimately intertwined with other Nordic artists, and he himself was even the subject of the photographs of Borg Mesch, sculptures by Christian Eriksson and paintings by Emilie Demant Hatt, among others.¹⁴ Turi's narrative, then, seems an especially appropriate source regarding Sámi understanding of their representations by outsiders. This essay focuses mostly on Sweden because Swedish artists represented Sámi in their works to a significantly greater extent than their colleagues in Finland or Norway.¹⁵ As Sámi remain mired in what Sámi artist and activist Sofia Jannok has termed a "nineteenth-century level" of indigenous rights and representation in Scandinavia, an investigation of their earlier portrayals retains surprising urgency and relevance today.¹⁶

MYSTICAL LIGHTS, MYTHICAL BEINGS

The colonization of Sápmi began in earnest in the sixteenth century, when foreign migrants from the south, encouraged by royal decrees, began settling Sámi land in the hopes of expanding the wealth of the Swedish, Danish, and Russian Empires. Christian missionaries sought to eradicate all traces of indigenous belief systems, with brutal punishment – sometimes even death – for defectors. Between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries, Sámi remained oppressed and ostracized for centuries at the behest of dominant powers, and their freedom of movement, necessary for nomadic groups, severely curtailed. Popular ideas ranging from

the Enlightenment-era "noble savage" to the biological determinism of Social Darwinism were fodder for Nordic and Russian colonizers to justify their demonization of the Sámi as the dim-witted, primitive "Other" for their continued nomadic culture and historical refusal to assimilate. By the beginning of the twentieth century, Sámi were a minority in their own land. Many outsiders assumed Sámi were doomed to extinction, and that cultural assimilation into Nordic and Russian cultural spheres was the sole option forward.

As the rights of Sámi worsened over the course of the nineteenth century, their nomadic lifestyle, colorful costumes, and shamanistic beliefs became profitable as white Europeans and North Americans became obsessed with the display of "exotic types" in the nineteenth century. Continuing as late as 1950, many Sámi, most forced, but some by their own will, were put on display in circus-like travelling caravans with reindeer and sleighs, or in cages at human zoos and world fairs, where many died from malnourishment.¹⁷ Oblivious to the horror of these displays, foreign viewers saw Sámi as exotic emblems of northernness, thus Nordic artists deployed them as visual tokens in their works in order to insert a degree of cultural and regional specificity into representations of the Nordic countries, nowhere more superficially than in Frants Diderik Bøe's canvas *Sámi and Reindeer in the Northern Lights* of 1885 (fig. 2).

Brilliant and ephemeral pink, yellow, and pearl tones of the Aurora Borealis glisten above a herd of reindeer grazing in the shadow of a towering mountain. A man jolts his poles into the frozen ground, arresting his skis, as he turns his head towards us. At least one reindeer turns in the same direction. Both look out at us, the viewers, as if we have disrupted them or encroached upon their territory. When the Norwegian Bøe painted *Sámi and Reindeer in the Northern Lights* in Bergen in 1885, he had sought to capture some of



Fig 2. Frants Diderik Bøe, *Sámi with Reindeer in Northern Lights*, 1885, oil on canvas, 40 x 33 cm, private collection (Photo: Wikimedia Commons).

the most salient visual markers of Norway's distant north: the glimmering Aurora Borealis, rugged mountain ranges and sweeping valleys covered in frozen snow, reindeer, and, of course, a Sámi man.

Frants Bøe (1820–1891) was part of the first generation of Norwegian artists to settle in Norway and make a living as a professional artist. He had built a reputation in the 1850s and 1860s as a still-life painter, and often lavished in the painterly details of his depictions of flowers and animals. Bøe's younger colleagues, including Christian Krohg, Frits Thaulow, and Erik Werenskiöld had championed open-air painting in 1882 when they founded the Autumn Exhibition (*Høstutstillingen*), an alternative venue to the bourgeois Christiania Art Association. The new art at the Autumn Exhibition was not only new in style, but often with distinctively Norwegian subjects. This surge in nationalism emerged to emancipate Norway from its union with Sweden both culturally and politically. Bøe began exhibition at the Autumn Exhibitions in 1884 and would continue to exhibit there at least four more times before his death in 1891.

Bøe's *Sámi and Reindeer* was an unusual foray for the artist, not only in subject but in style. Bøe painted the snow in an array of delicate tones ranging from light pinks to hints of muted lavender and periwinkle. Many passages of the painting, especially the lower right corner, appear rather painterly, suggesting a decisive turn away from the strict confines of Realism to make the work appear as though it was painted outdoors. However this was not the case. As illuminating as the Northern Lights may be, it is their aching elusiveness that makes them so alluring as subject matter, as well as impossible to paint from reality. The light sources in the painting do, however, highlight an intriguing corner. Beneath the male figure we see two granite stones where snow has melted to reveal a glistening mineral, perhaps gold or copper. However, the Sámi man

shows little interest in this precious and valuable resource. With these glimpses of minerals in the granite, Bøe's image implicitly suggests that Sápmi is an area rich in a natural wealth unknown to the region's indigenous inhabitants and thus ripe for exploration and exploitation. In reality, of course, Norwegians had been actively mining copper ore in Sámi areas since it became economically profitable in the 1640s, and sometimes even depended on Sámi labour for metal extraction.¹⁸

The painterly appearance of the image combined with the implausibility of the scene highlight the utter superficiality of Bøe's painting, finished, as the back of the canvas informs us, in his Bergen studio, where it was very likely conceived. Bøe created no more than an ethnographic pastiche, as if collating a checklist of stereotypes about Norway's most distant region and its least understood populace, in return for profit and acclaim. Under the mystical northern lights stands an equally mystical figure. Exotic, distant and even dim-witted, Bøe's Sámi man would become the norm regarding Sámi representation in the 1880s and 1890s. It is for this reason that the Sámi images of his Swedish colleague Johan Tirén would appear so radical.

REINDEER IN THE PARLIAMENT: JOHAN TIRÉN PAINTING SÁMI PATHOS

In 1892, the Swedish painter Johan Tirén (1853–1911) placed dead reindeer in the Swedish parliament. In doing so, he powerfully proclaimed his stance in the “culture wars” ravaging Sweden in the early 1890s and presented himself as a defender of Sámi indigenous rights. Although Tirén did not bring actual dead carcasses into the government's hallowed halls, the lifeless bodies of three reindeer strewn across a muddy clearing were the subjects of his harrowing canvas *Sámi Attend their Shot Reindeer* (fig. 3). Tirén's painting was a direct response to the illegal shooting of reindeer by Swedish and Norwegian farmers in the winter of 1890–91.

In 1886, the Swedish parliament passed the first piece of legislation regulating reindeer herding (*renbeteslagen*) in order to ease the burden of reindeer herders at a time when newly imposed national borders between Norway, Sweden and the Russian Empire had severely curtailed traditional migration zones. It was also the first time in Swedish history that it became necessary to define who was and who was not Sámi in legal terms. The law explicitly connected Sámi identity to nomadic reindeer herding, creating a complicated system for those Sámi who lived in forests or along the coastlines and were not nomadic.¹⁹ Furthermore, the law also severed any connection between reindeer husbandry and contemporary ideas of “civilization” by ordering that Sámi collectively live together in certain “Sámi villages.” The law created conflict and confusion in areas where Sámi communities did not live together, as well as among reindeer herders who were not Sámi, but Swedish or Norwegian. This inconsistency resulted in what some perceived as a sudden surge in wild reindeer herds, spiralling out of control to such an extent that one county government wrote a letter of complaint to the King of Sweden. Obstinate and unwilling to wait for a royal response, William Farup, a local Norwegian mill owner, was determined to take the issue into his own hands. He would lead the crusade against the reindeer “invasion” by any means necessary. In the winter of 1890–91, he systematically shot reindeer *en masse* as soon as they entered his property.

The violent mass murder of reindeer prompted great debate across Sweden, not only in the press, but also in the parliament. Farup enlisted lawyers and journalists to promote his cause and make Sámi herders compensate him for the damage. Gustaf af Geijerstam wrote pro-Farup articles in *Dagens Nyheter* and later published his articles as a book on the “culture wars” of Härjedalen. Unabashedly, Farup declared “anyone who shoots reindeer is my greatest friend.”²⁰ For Farup and his supporters, the reindeer were an invasive nuisance and their wild, destructive behaviour

was indicative of the ignorance of their Sámi herders and their inability to provide proper care. But on the other side of the debate, Farup's violent and brash actions violated Sámi agency over their reindeer newly enshrined in the 1886 law. A reporter in *Lunds Weckoblad* revealed that one Sámi family had found 52 dead reindeer in the span of just one day. The reporter declared that Farup's mass murder violated not only the law, but "a sense of justice," leaving Sámi "so terrified of the landowners and their weapons that they do not even dare to venture forth in fear of collecting the remains of their scattered herds."²¹ Tirén's painting would prove pivotal to this debate.

A sober, almost unsettling mood colors Tirén's autumnal canvas. Sunken with grief and incredulity, all eyes in the painting – at least of the living – stare at the body of the fallen reindeer in the center. Even the black dog stares over in seeming disbelief. Tirén painted a bullet hole prominently at the top of the central reindeer's left leg. The artist also painted two clear strokes of red spilling over in different directions, suggesting that, at one point, blood from the gunshot wound had spurted profusely. Equally unsettling is the small stroke of gray paint Tirén painted on the reindeer's eye, an unequivocal signal of his death. Above all, however, it is Tirén's depiction of the reactions of the figures around the reindeer that makes the scene so disturbing. The kneeling woman in the foreground stretches her hand over his fur, as if longing for and mourning a lost family member. The seated man in front of her wears a expression of utter hopelessness on his face. With only three reindeer depicted, one wonders how many other dead reindeer this family has encountered before, or may encounter again in the near future.

Tirén's solemn portrayal of the four distraught Sámi alongside their similarly distressed animal companions brought a radical new pathos to the depiction of Sámi subjects in Nordic art. Tirén was not Sámi, but he dedicated

his art to painting Sámi realities, drawing attention to the violence and injustices of life in Sápmi. Tirén grew up in an impoverished but artistically inclined family in Jämtland, giving him a perspective on social injustices which would follow him throughout his career. His younger brother, Karl, would be a leading musicologist cataloguing Sámi *joiks*. He would spend his life painting Sámi people engaged in everyday pastimes, as well as capturing the more dramatic moments of northern life. Explaining why he painted Sámi so frequently, he declared:

Anyone with eyes can see that the Sámi, in his right surroundings and living conditions, is just as beautiful as other people. He belongs to and decorates the mountain ranges as naturally as the knotty birch at the foot of the mountain. And many times – and people may call me biased – despite a difficult struggle for existence, he has with his humble, little self, appeared to me with a heroic beauty. This beauty speaks to me more than that of the gods, goddesses, and Madonnas – that is why I paint it.²²

Though his opinion here reads as slightly patronizing ("decorating" the mountain, their "little" stature), Tirén knew this beauty intimately. He lived among Sámi and took note of their worries and interests, but never from an ethnographic perspective. He would hunt and fish with Sámi friends, and even stood guard for reindeer overnight outdoors in the bitter winter cold. Tirén's Sámi friends and colleagues would come to him for advice and help, even letting him act as an arbitrator in internal Sámi conflicts. And, most importantly, Sámi people respected and admired his paintings of them. In 1938, twenty-seven years after Tirén's death in 1911, Torkel Tomasson, the editor-in-chief of the Sámi newspaper declared in *Samefolkets Egen Tidning* (*The Sámi People's Own Newspaper*) that "in the memory of the Sámi people lives the name of an artist who devoted his love and most powerful deeds to the Sámi. His name



Fig 3. Johan Tirén, *Sámi Attend their Shot Reindeer*, 1892, oil on canvas, 150 x 241 cm, Nationalmuseum, Stockholm (Photo: Wikimedia Commons).

is Johan Tirén. His name is preserved in memory, but his pictures are still living.”²³ Kajsa Andersson has argued that Tirén’s images were beloved among the Sámi for their “correct detail and important authenticity.”²⁴ Sámi viewers objected to the authenticity of his scenes only in rare exceptions.²⁵ Key in Tomasson’s declaration is the idea that Tirén’s paintings are still “living.” For Sámi viewers, they were not historically grounded images of the past, but rather depictions of an ever-present reality, divorced from an externally imposed idea of linear time. One need but look to the recent proliferation of bullet-ridden reindeer skulls in the provocative 2017 installations of Sámi artist and activist Máret Anne Sara to see the chilling relevance of Tirén’s paintings today.²⁶

In situations of asymmetrical racialized power relations between artist and subject, it is rare that indigenous persons have been able to voice their own opinions about the way they are depicted in artworks, let alone approve of them. What is especially remarkable about Tirén’s works is that he was able to use the authenticity of his paintings to change political discourse in Sweden about Sámi rights in their favour. To this end, the work of parliament member Claes Adelsköld was pivotal. Adelsköld purchased Tirén’s painting and displayed it in the club room of the Swedish parliament, where it sparked critical debate, eventually leading to the restructuring of the legislation in 1898.²⁷ Central to the success of the painting was, of course, Tirén’s portrayal of Sámi pathos and sympathy, through depicting the heart-wrenching aftereffects of William Farup’s mass murder of reindeer. Painting Sámi people with dignity and actual relatable human emotions distanced them from the mystical image of Bøe’s innocent noble savage under the northern lights.

Tirén’s authenticity comes into play here for two specific reasons. By painting a bell on the collar of the large reindeer in the foreground, Tirén reveals it to be the *beallohke*, the

reindeer which knows to lead the flock and keep it together once called by the herder.²⁸ Therefore it is especially heart-wrenching for the people in the painting to discover that their *beallohke* has been murdered, as it is an ominous sign for the rest of the flock. The decision to paint this scene in the autumn was also carefully calculated. As Sámi herder, hunter, and author Johan Turi explained in his 1910 *An Account of the Sámi*, autumn is “a time of contending weather: the cold battles against the warmth, and each in its turn wins for a while.”²⁹ As temperatures fluctuate, reindeer must determine whether to continue to graze on grass or to begin the search for lichen. Sámi herders know to follow reindeer in the autumn seasons because the animals instinctively know where to travel in search of better grazing food. Thus it is crucial to let reindeer roam unguided in the autumn. It was precisely this independent grazing that enraged people like William Farup, who assumed it was the result of lazy, ignorant herders. In other words, it was Farup’s complete ignorance of Sámi life and customs and unwillingness to engage with Sámi herders that led to the tragic incident and Sweden’s decisive “culture wars.”

Claes Adelsköld gifted Johan Tirén’s *Sámi Attend their Shot Reindeer* to Sweden’s Nationalmuseum in the mid-1890s, a sign of the painting’s significance both politically and aesthetically. In his time, however, Tirén was often lambasted by his colleagues. A few years earlier in 1889, when the Nationalmuseum bought Tirén’s canvas *After the Snowstorm* – another socially critical painting of Sámi tragedy – the artist Georg Pauli denounced the work as “wretched.”³⁰ Pauli was a leading figure in the group of Swedish secessionist artists who sought to liberate themselves from the confines of descriptive realism, as taught at Stockholm’s Royal Academy. This group, including Carl Larsson, Karl Nordström, and Anders Zorn, among others, later formed the Artists’ Association (*Konstnärsförbundet*), and would dominate the Swedish art world in the 1890s

and into the early twentieth century. Tirén never belonged to this group because of his involvement with the Academy and his dedication to a detailed and descriptive realism. Aesthetically, Tirén’s style encapsulated everything the Artists’ Association wished to transcend. It is for this reason he has unjustly remained a peripheral figure in the history of Nordic art.

Tirén’s erasure from most narratives of Nordic art partly derives from the celebration and elevation of avant-garde art at the detriment of academic or mainstream art. But it was precisely the artist’s style that enabled him to paint his Sámi subjects and their shared landscape with such conviction and authenticity. Sámi audiences advocated for and celebrated this realist and visually legible authenticity. Tirén’s legacy demonstrates that progressive politics were not always an aspect of those works considered aesthetically modern. Ironically, it would be Tirén’s more famous and celebrated National Romantic colleagues who would create images enacting some of the most damaging and enduring stereotypes about Sámi people, and actively contribute towards Sweden’s nefarious pseudo-science of racial biology.

SÁMI DEATH AND SWEDISH DEVELOPMENT IN THE “LAND OF THE FUTURE”

Early-twentieth-century Sweden witnessed not only widespread poverty, mass emigration, staggered industrialization, but the dissolution of its union with Norway in 1905. Yet few Swedes framed these issues as the degeneration of their nation. Instead, most cultural figures saw Sweden’s predicament as “a dawning hope that the time will now come when we can vigorously devote ourselves to our internal development.”³¹ H. Arnold Barton has named this new period of cultural flourishing, ca. 1905–1920, the “Silver Age” of Swedish National Romanticism.³² But as Sverker Sörlin has revealed, Sweden’s new vigorous devotion to its internal development relied on a new polarizing of the nation, envisioning itself along a north-south axis, rather

than an expansive east-west axis, during the union with Norway.³³ With this renewed northern focus, Sweden's ambitions for its future development were set (again) on Sápmi, and its landscape, seemingly pristine and yearning for development, would find the industrialist Hjalmar Lundbohm ready to answer its call.

It is difficult to overestimate the importance of Hjalmar Lundbohm in the cultural transformations of Sápmi in the early twentieth century. Beyond his role as the manager of LKAB mining company, Lundbohm had an extensive social network including some of Sweden's most distinctive cultural figures, and they would cross paths in Kiruna, the city Lundbohm himself is credited with founding.³⁴ Central to Kiruna's social development was cultural enrichment, which Lundbohm found possible through the organization of art exhibitions. He was childhood friends with the painter Karl Nordström and a well-known and respected patron among Sweden's avant-garde. In 1904, Lundbohm wrote to the Artists' Association, asking if they would bring their latest exhibition in Uppsala to a wider community in Kiruna. With Lundbohm covering the costs of the show, the Association agreed, and Swedish artist Eugène Jansson traveled to Kiruna to organize it. The show displayed works of contemporary Association artists, and loans from Lundbohm's own collection and the famous collection of banker Ernst Thiel.³⁵ At the opening, Lundbohm invited the artists Prince Eugen, Carl Larsson, and Anders Zorn, which, as we will see for Larsson, was a formative encounter seldom acknowledged.

The works displayed in Kiruna in 1904 had no connection to Sápmi, its people, or its landscape, but one critic in *Norrbottens Kuriren* hoped the show would "bring an awakening among our youth, the people of the future, [...] and [...] open their eyes to the rich, never-ending source of artistic inspiration offered by the magnificent nature of Norrland and Sápmi."³⁶ Lundbohm had similarly hoped

that Kiruna and its surrounding vistas would attract enough artists to form an artists' colony, even sending photographs of the landscape to contemporary artists to stimulate their creative senses.³⁷ The nearby area of Abisko would indeed attract Swedish artists, including landscape painters Helmer Osslund and Leander Engström.³⁸ The artists John Bauer, later renowned for his folkish drawings of trolls and mythical creatures in the publication *Bland Tomtar och Troll (Among Trolls and Elves)*, and Folke Hoving also traveled to Abisko, but not in relation to its potential as an artists' colony. In 1908 the geologist Frederik Svenonius and the pastor Olof Bergqvist had commissioned Bauer and Hoving to illustrate their new publication *Lappland: Det stora svenska framtidslandet (Lappland: The Great Swedish Land of the Future)*.

The Great Swedish Land of the Future casts Sápmi as Sweden's wild, new frontier, brimming with mineral resources and untapped wealth. But a tempered optimism colours the texts, as Svenonius wonders if Sweden's iron will bring its people joy and triumph, or sorrow and destruction. This dialectic between admiration for the grandiose and unspoiled Swedish landscape and its inevitable destruction to benefit the nation caused immense anxiety not only about the landscape, but its indigenous inhabitants. The sudden mushrooming of Swedish settler towns brought Swedish culture into unprecedented proximity with Sámi culture. Art critic and historian Carl Laurin was blunt about the future, stating "our culture is death to the Sámi."³⁹ And for many in the early twentieth century, Folke Hoving's painting *Sameättnam, Lappland* (fig. 4) similarly foretold a brutal ending.

Hoving's *Sameättnam, Lappland* is the first image that viewers encounter in *The Great Swedish Land of the Future* and, as Annika Lindskog rightly notes, it sets the tone of the volume.⁴⁰ Hoving painted *Sameättnam* as a site of dazzling contrasts. In the foreground, a young Sámi boy in a blue

coat and pants and red collar sits on a jagged rocky outcrop. At the very bottom of the canvas, stylized, sinuous plants dance onto the rocky edge. As viewers, we seem to share this stony surface with the young boy and Hoving's tight cropping of the image reinforces that sense of intimacy. But with the vertical orientation of the painting and its high horizon line at the top of the canvas, Hoving also inverts the typical format of grandiose Nordic landscape painting, eliding the more common panoramic view. Instead, with the high horizon point hidden in the endless mountain ranges, we delight in the brilliant colours in the sky, blazing oranges interrupting and interweaving with streams of muted lavender, and their crystalline reflection on the top of the lake below. A depiction of the actual "land of the midnight sun," Hoving's summer landscape is mysteriously dark around the mountain ranges, emphasizing the vast imposing structure of these geological giants, while also promoting them as resources to be extracted.

When the composer Wilhelm Peterson-Berger saw the reproduction of this painting in *The Great Swedish Land of the Future*, he became enraptured by the Sámi boy, who seemed to be "mourning in the face of all this melancholy and radiant beauty."⁴¹ Since the boy is turned away from us and we cannot read his expression, his body becomes a visual marker for the expression of the viewer. For Peterson-Berger, the idea of seeing the boy as "mourning" or "melancholic" because he is overwhelmed by the beauty of the landscape places him within the realm of Swedish and European romantic philosophy about the transcendent power of sublime nature. From a Sámi perspective, however, it bears to keep in mind what writers such as Johan Turi declared:

When a Sámi is closed up in a room, then he does not understand much of anything, because he cannot put his nose to the wind. His thoughts don't flow because there are walls and his mind is enclosed. And it is

*also not good at all for him to live in dense forest when the air is warm. But when a Sámi is on the high mountains, then he has a perfectly clear mind.*⁴²

For Turi, isolation was conducive to critical thinking. Mountains were also beneficial to Sámi people because they fostered a sensitivity that fuelled their desire “to live in places where no one else is living besides [themselves]. The Sámi would live permanently up in the high mountains if it were possible to keep warm up there and provide for their animals, the reindeer.”⁴³ While it is self-evident that one should adopt Sámi perspectives and ideas on anything related to Sámi, especially their portrayal by outsiders, it is especially pertinent to do so here because Hoving deliberately titled his painting *Sameättnam, Lappland*, arguably the first time a Swedish artist gave their painting a bilingual title in a Sámi language and in Swedish. In the overwhelming majority of Sámi history, however, Sámi perspectives were never taken into consideration, and thus for many viewers of the painting and readers of *Land of the Future*, a melancholic or mournful Sámi seemed appropriate. *Sameättnam* thus becomes particularly distressing when read against Carl Laurin’s discussion of the Sámi in Swedish art in his 1911 book *Sweden through the Eyes of Artists*:

*Our culture is death to the Sámi. When one gazes out from Abisko over Torneträsk and sees the grey reindeer herds grazing on wide open spaces on the shore, and glimpses dark blue Sámi clothing among the mountain birches, one thinks with a certain sadness that soon the last Sámi will stride along with his peculiar rolling gait over the dwarf birches, as stunted as he is, and vanish under the blazing Northern Lights in his sledge, leaving the last Swedish Sámi tent, where he once so contentedly and cheerfully cut reindeer meat with his decorated bone-knife, driven out by forces he cannot grasp, much less resist.*⁴⁴

Laurin might have cast *Sameättnam* as a grim vision of the future and as a reinforcement of his biases, and indeed, by referencing the boy’s blue clothing, isolation, and blazing northern colours, the paragraph could well describe Hoving’s painting. But the idea that the Sámi were doomed to extinction, overwhelmed, melancholic, and ignorant derived from a situation common to settler societies across the Americas, Australia, New Zealand, as well as within Europe.⁴⁵ White European settlers fused indigeneity with the idea of being “one with nature,” and writings on Sámi in the Nordic languages routinely referred to them as *naturfolk* or “nature people.” The precise connection between Sámi and the natural world was never elaborated. Rather, as Tore Andersson Hjulman has argued, the concept of being “at one with nature” worked merely to cleave the Sámi from settler-colonialist ideas of civilization.⁴⁶ As such, Swedish industrial expansionists saw their ravenous consumption of natural resources as incompatible with Sámi survival since the Sámi *were* nature in the Nordic colonialist imagination. The connection between Swedish industry and Sámi thus needs clarification.

Hjalmar Lundbohm followed the norms of his time and supported the strict segregation of Sámi from Swedish life, but he was also endlessly fascinated by Sámi culture. He even took part in the “discovery” of Sámi sacrificial sites (*seitar*). Although Sámi people accompanied Lundbohm on these excursions, including Johan Turi, someone called “Polis Nikki,” another unnamed participant (it is exceedingly rare to find Sámi people to be dignified with names in most settler accounts), and the Danish ethnographer Emilie Demant-Hatt, we must be sceptical of his practices.⁴⁷ Lundbohm often took remnants from the sites, branded in popular colonialist archaeology of the times as “hedonistic deity icons,” and kept pieces for his collection. One piece was so beloved by Lundbohm that the illustrator Albert Engström reimagined it into Lundbohm’s ex-libris (fig. 5), with a Sámi man in ceremonial costuming raising his

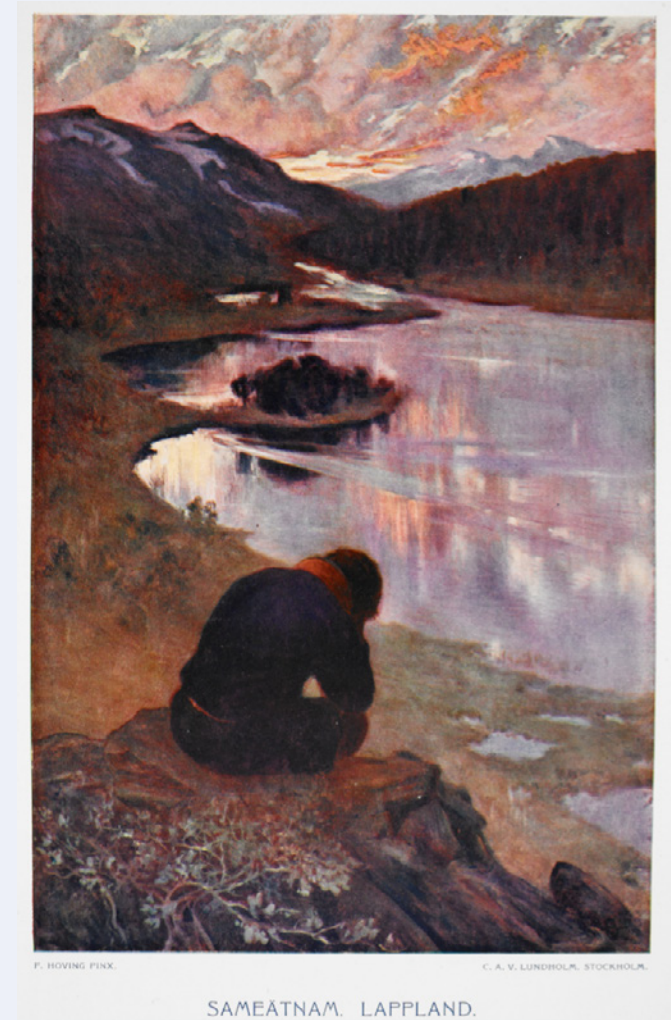


Fig 4. Folke Hoving, *Sameättnam Lappland*, 1908, oil on canvas, 100 x 66.5 cm, reproduction from Svenonius and Bergqvist, *Lappland: Det stora svenska framtidslandet* (Stockholm: C.A.V. Lundholm 1908).

arms towards the site surrounded by reindeer antlers and bones. It is particularly distressing to see how Swedish artists had no qualms in transforming sacred elements of Sámi cultures into a literal visual emblem of Lundbohm's hegemony. Moreover, in the very collection of these objects, Lundbohm enacts a patriarchal discourse so typical in colonial settings, wherein the colonizer feels it is his moral duty to protect the cultural heritage of the colonized, as if the Sámi were unable to take proper care of their own culture. On the other hand, Lundbohm was not oblivious to the role that the LKAB and Swedish settlers had played to the detriment of the Sámi.⁴⁸ It was Lundbohm's genuine interest in Sámi issues that made the publication of Johan Turi's ground-breaking *An Account of the Sámi* possible; it articulated Sámi issues and visualized Sámi ideas, a topic that requires further research.⁴⁹

CARL LARSSON'S ENDURING RACE PROBLEM

In an article for *Svenska Dagbladet* in 2016, the art historian Per-Olof Boström declared that "there is no evidence that Carl Larsson harboured racist sentiments [...] against the Sámi."⁵⁰ Boström's claims were in response to a 1995 article by Per Bjurström, then Chief Curator of Sweden's Nationalmuseum. Bjurström's article "What story does *Midwinter Sacrifice* tell?" outlined how Larsson's infamous *Midwinter Sacrifice* propagated harmful racist stereotypes of Sámi and Jews.⁵¹ As such, he emphatically declared that the painting did not warrant its intended prominent placement in the museum, or even as a part of the museum's collection. In the late 1980s Bjurström initially wanted to oust the painting from the museum on aesthetic grounds, but his later 1995 analysis of race and visual representation in Larsson's work was ahead of its time. For Boström in 2016, however, much was at stake in reclaiming *Midwinter Sacrifice* from its controversial history, as he was about to publish a new monograph on Larsson's monumental paintings.⁵² In order to prove Carl Larsson never harboured prejudices against Sámi people, Boström cited the artist's

painting *Breakfast in the Open* (fig. 6). Boström described the painting as follows:

In his large painting Breakfast in the Open, the central figure of the composition is a Sámi musician, Jon Johansson or Lapp-Jon. [Larsson] has mentioned that he had wandered in as if ordered to Sundborn, when he needed to find a figure for his picture. Studies in oil and watercolor demonstrate the loving interest he devoted to Lapp-Jon's physiognomy and Sámi clothing. When this one published the book Exorcisms and Spells: The Black Arts of Lappland, [Larsson] was among the underwriters.⁵³

This reading of Carl Larsson's depiction of the Southern Sámi musician Jávva Johansson in *Breakfast in the Open* blatantly reinforces stereotypes about Sámi people, and ignores Sámi demands for respectful language – the latter a public debate for over a century. For example, Boström refers to Johansson by the derogatory name of "Lapp-Jon," as if the nickname suddenly reveals a well-known figure to Swedish readers. The suggestion that Johansson conveniently "wandered" over to Sundborn just at the moment when Larsson was struggling with his composition suggests both aimlessness and mystical intervention. Furthermore, we must question the assumptions and biases in the argument that an artist of a dominant race can portray the physiognomy and clothing of someone of an oppressed race with "loving interest." It is imperative to interrogate the thin line between a "loving interest" in physiognomy and the illusionistic projection of truthfulness within figural realism.

The fact that Larsson supported Johansson's 1917 publication on indigenous "exorcisms" and "spells" blatantly reveals that Larsson indeed possessed prejudices and biases against Sámi. Johansson's book merely acted as fodder for Swedish stereotypes about Sámi indigenous

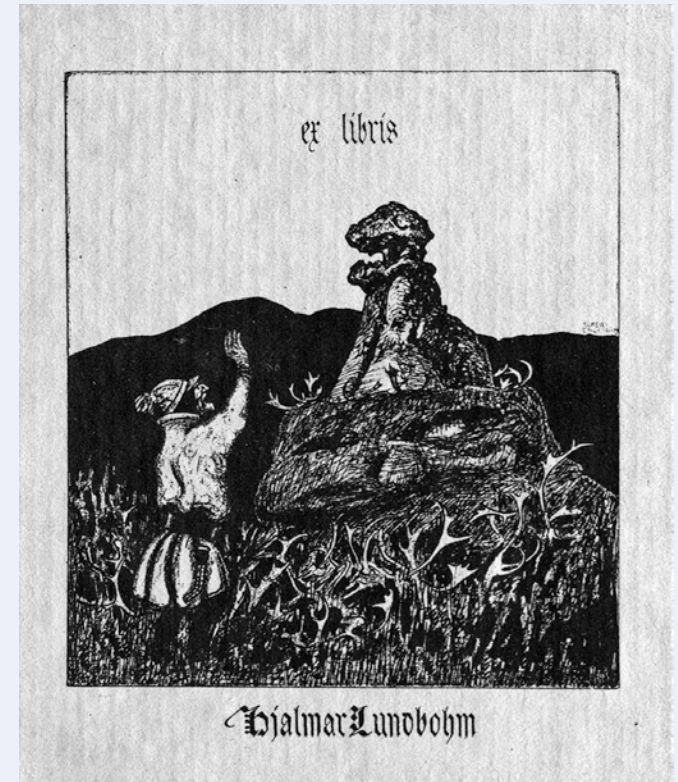


Fig 5. Albert Engström, *Ex-Libris of Hjalmar Lundbohm*, ca. 1908–1915, ink on paper, Hjalmar Lundbohmsgården, Kiruna.

culture, and ensured that their relationship to nature remained primordial and thus permanently incompatible with European “civilization.” Moreover, the final sentence in the original Swedish refers to Jåvva Johansson as *denne*, literally “this one,” whereas Larsson remains the subject “he,” *han*. Even the syntax reinforces Larsson’s unquestioned authority, completely removing any of Johansson’s agency in the situation. Boström’s problematic text reveals that Sámi people continue to occupy a precarious place in the construction of regional and national identities in the Nordic countries today as much as a century ago. He addresses the issue of race and Sámi representation by declaring it a non-issue. In doing so, his rhetoric reinforces Sámi erasure, and marginalizes Sámi people even more from public discourse than they normally are.

At 185 centimetres tall, Jåvva Johansson towered over Larsson. He was a master at the fiddle, participating in several music competitions throughout Sweden and winning first prize in 1907 in Muneberget.⁵⁴ Johansson was born into a destitute family and, despite his musical talents, would never escape poverty. He would travel long and far with his fiddle, playing wherever he could to earn a meagre income. In Larsson’s painting, Johansson sits on a green wooden lawn chair, plucking the strings of his fiddle for the amusement of a young seated boy, Larsson’s son Esbjörn. The central placement of Johansson in the canvas suggests that he is the main subject of the painting and not, as the title suggests, the outdoor breakfast. Unlike the young girl prominent in the foreground of the painting, wistfully staring off into the distance, we as viewers occupy a position more akin to the little boy, intently staring at Johansson. Larsson has paid close attention to the intricate details of Johansson’s dress, including the striking red embroidery on the front of his coat, the undulating red and navy blue embroidery beneath his collar, and the bundles of yellow, blue, and red threads at his ankles. This clothing, which we have seen in every example of Sámi representation thus far, is



Fig 6. Carl Larsson, *Breakfast in the Open*, 1910-1913, oil on canvas, Norrköpings Konstmuseum (Photo: Wikimedia Commons).

known as *gákti* or *kolt*, and is traditional, often ceremonial clothing. Johansson’s dress thus clearly delineates him from the other figures in Larsson’s composition, marking him as Sámi and the painting capitalizes on this difference.

The assumption that Carl Larsson never harboured sentiments against Sámi people because he painted Sámi costume in a “beautiful manner” is not only dangerous, but also glosses over the artist’s own contacts with Sámi people and culture. Larsson visited Kiruna at least twice before painting *Breakfast in the Open*, once in 1904 and again in 1905 in conjunction with the art exhibitions Hjalmar Lundbohm had funded. But beyond Larsson’s “patronage” of Johansson’s *The Black Arts of Lappland*, the most damning evidence proving Larsson’s worldview was his participation in the 1919 Exhibition of Swedish National Types (*Svenska folktypsutställningen*), which travelled

around Stockholm, Uppsala, Gävle, Göteborg, and Visby. The exhibition focused on the exploration of Sweden’s various “races,” and displayed, among other objects, the photographs of Borg Mesch, including a portrait of Johan Turi in the Sámi section.⁵⁵ Larsson, together with the artists Anders Zorn and Ossian Elgström, signed commemorative certificates, signalling they played at least some role in the organization of the exhibition.

Shows such as the 1919 Exhibition of Swedish National Types were the direct precursor to the establishment of the Swedish State Institute for Race Biology in Uppsala in 1922. This institution, the first official organization for race biology in the world, would lay the foundation for eugenics to be treated as a serious science undergirded by state funds. In Sweden, the Institute advocated for the separation of (especially non-nomadic) Sámi children

from their families, forcing them into brutal assimilationist boarding schools, and later the sterilization of Sámi people deemed by the Institute to be dangerously harmful or “racially inferior” to the “purity” of the white Nordic race. As Ulrika Kjellmann has demonstrated, photography played a pivotal role in asserting the importance of racialized hierarchies promulgated by the Race Biology Institute, thus Larsson’s participation in 1919, alongside that of Anders Zorn and the painter Prince Eugen must be seen as directly related to these endeavours.⁵⁶ Although the Institute was founded officially only in 1922 (Larsson died in 1919), its ideologies had been popularized by Herman Lundborg for decades in Nordic cultural spheres. Carl Larsson’s *Breakfast in the Open* must be understood within this context, for Swedish interest in Sámi physiognomy was never neutral, and to consider it “loving” is naive as it is dangerous.

As one critic has rightly observed, Larsson’s painting may be titled *Breakfast in the Open*, but it is certainly not breakfast for all.⁵⁷ The picture is problematic; it creates a “false idyll” of communal joy among Sweden’s haves and have-nots, for it reveals not only a divide between social classes but also between who is and who is not Swedish. Jåvva Johansson does not take part in the breakfast, nor was he even invited to take a seat at the breakfast table. He sits and performs as exotic entertainment for Larsson’s son, a marker of desperately sought novelty in what was by 1913 more than a well-worn subject by the artist. To shed light on Sámi representation and critique the works of the most beloved generation of Nordic artists is, for some, an assault on their most cherished cultural values. But if we cannot come to terms with the damaging and harmful ideas normalized in artworks over a century ago in order to restore Sámi dignity and agency, then the Nordic countries are clearly not as open, welcoming, and progressive as the National Romantics had envisioned. In a way, then, Carl Larsson’s *Breakfast in the Open* is not too distant from Sweden today, tacitly acknowledging Sámi presence and

reinforcing ethnic stereotypes, while burying their voices, especially when they dissent. They perform for Swedish audiences under a veneer of inclusivity and cooperation. They sit in the sunny yard alongside Carl Larsson’s family, but should be grateful if they get to eat more than the scraps from the breakfast table. At least in Sundborn they are not obliged to pose awkwardly by a reindeer or under the northern lights.

Unless otherwise indicated, translations are by the author.

¹ Research and writing for this study were carried out before the publication of Svein Aamold, Elin Haugdal, and Ulla Angkjaer Jorgensen's edited volume *Sámi Art and Aesthetics: Contemporary Perspectives* (Aarhus: Aarhus Universitetsforlag, 2017). I am grateful to Marja Lahelma and Frances Fowle for encouraging my investigation of this topic, as well as to the anonymous peer-reviewers for their insightful commentary in earlier versions of this article. Additional thanks are due to Roland Papp for his editorial prowess. Any further errors remain mine to bear.

² Michelle Facos, *Nationalism and the Nordic Imagination: Swedish Art of the 1890s* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 89.

³ Facos, *Nationalism*, 89.

⁴ Anna Meister and Karin Sidén, ed., *Karl Nordström. Konstnärernas konstnär* (Stockholm: Prins Eugens Waldemarsudde, 2014); Michelle Facos, "Primitivism in Sweden: Dormant Desire or Fictional Identity?" in *Antimodernism and Artistic Experience: Policing the Boundaries of Modernity*, ed. Lynda Jessup (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 206–214; Patricia G. Berman et al., "Wildly, Modestly Modern: The North American Reception of the Scandinavian Exhibition of 1912," in *Luminous Modernism: Scandinavian Art Comes to America, A Centennial Retrospective*, ed. Patricia G. Berman (New York: The American-Scandinavian Foundation, 2011), 25–27. Reproduced at the beginning of this essay, on page 12 is a photograph of the Swedish painter Anna Boberg (1864–1935). Clad in heavy fur coats, her paints frozen on her palette, she demonstrates in her deliberate self-fashioning the self-primitivizing tendencies of Nordic artists at the turn of the twentieth century.

⁵ Anna-Maria von Bonsdorff, "Pekka Halosen taiteen maailma: Ihmisen ja luonnon harmonia," in *Pekka Halonen*, ed. Anna-Maria von Bonsdorff (Helsinki: Ateneum Art Museum, 2008), 7.

⁶ This term likely gained its politicized dimension in art history from Sixten Strömbom's 1965 study *Nationalromantik och radikalism. Konstnärförbundets historia* (Stockholm: Bonniers, 1965).

⁷ Kirk Varnedoe, *Northern Light: Realism and Symbolism in Scandinavian Painting, 1880–1910* (New York: Brooklyn Museum, 1982). Scholars generally regard Varnedoe's ground-breaking scholarship on Nordic fin-de-siècle art as inaugurating ideas of National Romanticism into wider parlance, and sparking an international boom

in the field in the late 1980s and 1990s.

⁸ Sámi (also written as Sami or Saami) live across the Nordic countries and parts of Russia, but historically lived in their northernmost areas. Whenever possible, I use the words "Sámi" and "Sápmi" instead of "Lapp" and "Lapland" even in period translations because Sámi people see the other imposed names as derogatory slurs. During the first pan-Sámi congress of 1917 in Norway, the debate over which name was appropriate was one of the first topics of discussion.

⁹ Glenda Dawn Goss, Sibelius: *A Composer's Life and the Awakening of Finland* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 382.

¹⁰ H. Arnold Barton, "The Silver Age of Swedish National Romanticism," *Scandinavian Studies* 74 (2002): 511.

¹¹ Gunlög Fur, "Colonialism and Swedish History: Unthinkable Connections?" in *Scandinavian Colonialism and the Rise of Modernity: Small Time Agents in a Global Arena*, ed. Magdalena Naum and Jonas M. Nordin (Springer: New York, 2013), 26.

¹² The topic of race and visual representation in Nordic art is a growing field, but one still in its infancy. The most thorough study is Jeff Werner and Tomas Björk, *Blond och blåögd: Vithet, svenskhet och visuell kultur / Blond and Blue-Eyed: Whiteness, Swedishness and Visual Culture* (Göteborg: Göteborgs Konstmuseum, 2014). Studies on the connections between race and exhibition practices in the Nordic countries include Rikke Andreassen, *Human Exhibitions: Race, Gender and Sexuality in Ethnic Displays* (London: Routledge, 2015); Leila Koivunen, *Eksotisoidut esineet ja avartuva maailma: Euroopan ulkopuoliset kulttuurit näytteillä Suomessa 1870–1910-luvuilla* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2015); and Åsa Bharathi Larsson, *Colonizing Fever: Race and Media Cultures in Late Nineteenth-Century Sweden* (Lund: Mediahistorisk Arkiv, 2016). Larsson argues that Sámi are beyond the realm of her study—a curious choice in a study about race and representation in Sweden—though they are mentioned in passing. Scholarship on this Sámi imagery is marginalized and appears most often within Sámi-specific works, rather than in art historical scholarship. Of the former, the most important to these endeavours are the recent colossal volumes edited by Kajsa Andersson. See Kajsa Andersson, ed., *L'Image du Sápmi: Études comparées* (Örebro: Örebro University, 2009) and the updated Swedish versions. *Sápmi i ord och bild: En antologi I*, ed. Kajsa Andersson (Hyltebruk, Sweden: On Line Förlag, 2015) and *Sápmi i ord och bild: En antologi II*, ed. Kajsa Andersson (Hyltebruk: On Line Förlag, 2017).

¹³ Johan Turi, *An Account of the Sámi*, trans. Thomas A. DuBois (Chicago: Nordic Studies Press, 2011), 9.

¹⁴ See Barbara Sjöholm, *Black Fox: A Life of Emilie Demant Hatt, Artist and Ethnographer* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2017).

¹⁵ Unlike in Norway or Finland, northernmost Sweden became increasingly accessible through railways, and thereby more available

to artists. Tuija Hautala-Hirivoja has also done ground-breaking work on images of Sámi in Finland to a degree unparalleled in Sweden. See Tuija Hautala-Hirivoja, "The Image of the Sámi in Finnish Visual Arts Before the Second World War," *Acta Borealia* 23 (2006): 97–115. On Sámi-Finnish relations in the twentieth century, see Veli-Pekka Lethola, *Saamelaiset suomalaiset: Kohtaamisia 1896–1953* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2015). I have recently expanded Hautala-Hirivoja's research in the context of Finland's exploitation of its Sámi populace for international display. See Bart Pushaw, "Our Country Has Never Been as Popular as It Is Now! Finland at the 1900 Exposition Universelle," *Expanding Nationalisms at World's Fairs: Identity, Diversity, and Exchange, 1851–1915*, ed. David Raizman and Ethan Robey (London: Routledge, 2017), 130–146. Monica Grini has provided a compelling overview of the image of Sámi in Norwegian art and art historiography. Monica Grini, "Historiographical Reflections on Sámi Art and the Paradigm of the National in Norwegian Art History," *Sámi Stories: Art and Identity of an Arctic People*, ed. Charis Gullickson and Sandra Lorentzen (Tromsø: Nordnorsk Kunstmuseum, 2014), 48–67.

¹⁶ Elin Klemetz, "Det är en kolonisation utan dess like: Sofia Jannok om rötter," *Filter*, 2013.

¹⁷ Cathrine Baglo, "På ville veget? Levende utstillinger av samer i Europa og Amerika" (PhD dissertation, Tromsø University, 2009).

¹⁸ Troy Storjell, "Colonial Palimpsest. Tracing Inscriptions of Sápmi and the Sámi" (PhD dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 2001), 121.

¹⁹ Under the influence of racial hygiene and social Darwinism, laws such as the legislation of 1886 would help create the image of the "correct" Sámi solely as nomadic reindeer herders. Sámi who were hunters or fishermen in the forests and along the coasts thus became targets for assimilation, where over generations many would lose their knowledge of Sámi languages and connection to indigenous ways of life. See Daniel Lindmark, "Colonial Encounter in Early Modern Sápmi," in *Scandinavian Colonialism and the Rise of Modernity: Small Time Agents in a Global Arena*, ed. Magdalena Naum and Jonas M. Nordin (Springer: New York, 2013), 131–146, here 144. Ulf Mörkenstam, "Om 'Lapparnes privilegier': Föreställningar om samiskhet i svensk samepolitik 1883–1997" (Stockholm: Stockholm University, 1999); and A. Amft, *Sápmi i förändringenstid: En studie av svenska samers levnadsvillkor under 1900-talet ur ett genus-och etnicitetsperspektiv* (Umeå: Umeå University, 2000).

²⁰ Lennart Lundmark, *Stulet land: Svensk makt på samisk mark* (Stockholm: Ordfront, 2008).

²¹ "Striden mellan bofaste och lappar," *Lunds Weckoblad*, March 19, 1891.

²² Kajsa Andersson, "Om Johan Tirén – samernas konstnär," in *Sápmi i ord och bild: En antologi*, ed. Kajsa Andersson (Hyltebruk: On Line

Förlag, 2015), 142.

²³ Torkel Tomasson, “Johan Tirén – konstnären som stod samerna nära,” *Samefolkets Egen Tidning* 2 (1938), 15–16, quoted in Anderson, “Johan Tirén,” 137.

²⁴ Anderson, “Johan Tirén,” 153–154.

²⁵ As Kajsa Andersson explains, Tomasson took issue with Tirén’s *Wolves Attack* the scene was too implausible. Tomasson argued that Tirén, as person initiated into Sámi culture, would have known better than to place a Sámi person charging at wolves with his dog. It speaks volumes that Tomasson otherwise admired Tirén’s imagery to be keenly aware of the artist’s mishaps.

²⁶ See, for instance, Richard Martyn-Hemphill, “In Norway, Fighting the Culling of Reindeer with a Macabre Display,” *New York Times*, 6 Dec 2017. <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/12/06/world/europe/reindeer-norway-trial.html>, accessed on 27 Feb 2019.

²⁷ Lennat Lundmark and Lars Rumar, *Mark och rätt i Sameland* (Stockholm: Institut för Rätthistorisk Forskning, 2008).

²⁸ Andersson, “Johan Tirén,” 157.

²⁹ Turi, *Account of the Sámi*, 31.

³⁰ Andersson, “Johan Tirén,” 155.

³¹ Barton, “The Silver Age,” 512.

³² Ibid.

³³ Sverke Sörlin, *Framtidslandet: Debatten om Norrland under det industriella genombrottet* (Stockholm: Carlssons, 1988), 49–52.

³⁴ To this day, the mine produces the majority of Sweden’s iron ore, which is one of the country’s main exports, but the state is in the process of literally moving the city as it is in danger of collapsing.

³⁵ Brit-Marie Andrén, *Konsten i Kiruna: Patriarkalism och nationalromantik 1900–1914* (Umeå: Rathje, 1989).

³⁶ *Norrbottnens Kuriren*, June 23, 1904, cited in Curt Persson, *På disponentens tid: Hjalmar Lundbohms syn på samer och tornedalningar* (Luleå: Tornedalica, 2013), 128.

³⁷ Lundbohm likely kept in mind the numerous successful Nordic artists colonies elsewhere, most notably Skagen in Denmark, Fleskum in Norway, Varberg in Sweden, and the Åland Islands and Tuusula in Finland, among others. See *Art in Translation*, Vol 9, No 2, 2017, “Nordic Artists’ Colonies 1870–1914 (Part 1),” ed. Frances Fowle, <https://doi.org/10.1080/17561310.2017.1339253>, accessed on 27 Feb 2019; *Art in Translation*, Vol 9, No 4, 2017, “Nordic Artists’ Colonies 1870–1914 (Part 2),” ed. Frances Fowle, <https://doi.org/10.1080/17561310.2017.1405646>, accessed on 27 Feb 2019.

³⁸ John Bauer’s time in Sápmi and image of Sámi people were the artist’s first significant projects before illustrating *Bland Tomtar och Troll*. The relationship between his Sámi images, their supposed closeness to nature, and his subsequent well-known troll imagery has never been researched in depth, despite their clear interconnectedness. Bauer’s legacy is thus

another example where Sámi imagery has been excised from ideas of Swedish and Nordic National Romantic art.

³⁹ Carl Laurin, *Sverige genom konstnärsögon* (Stockholm: P. A. Norstedt & Söners Förlag, 1911), 45.

⁴⁰ Annika Lindskog, “Natures and Cultures: The Landscape in Peterson-Berger’s *Symfonia lapponica*,” *Svensk tidskrift för musikkforskning* 14 (2011), http://musikforskning.se/stmonline/vol_14/lindskog/, accessed on 27 Feb 2019.

⁴¹ *Dagens Nyheter*, January 26, 1908, quoted in Lindskog, “Natures and Cultures.”

⁴² Turi, *Account of the Sámi*, 9.

⁴³ Ibid., 37.

⁴⁴ Laurin, *Sverige genom konstnärsögon*, 45.

⁴⁵ See, for instance, Steven Conn, *History’s Shadow: Native Americans and Historical Consciousness in the Nineteenth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004); Leslie Allan Dawn, *National Visions, National Blindness: Canadian Art and Identities in the 1920s* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2006); Ian MacLean, *White Aborigines: Identity Politics in Australian Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

⁴⁶ Tore Andersson Hjulman, *Ett med naturen. En studie av hur naturen omförhandlades i mellankrigstidens konflikter mellan naturskydd och samiska rättigheter* (Luleå: Luleå Tekniska Universitet, 2017).

⁴⁷ Persson, *Hjalmar Lundbohm*, 143–145.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ On the art of Johan Turi—a subject itself which needs to be framed within Swedish National Romantic discourse as well—see Harald Gaski, “More than Meets the Eye: The Indigeneity of Johan Turi’s Writing and Artwork,” *Scandinavian Studies* 83 (2011): 591–608. On Turi’s influence on the later art of Emilie Demant-Hatt, see Barbara Sjöholm, “The Art of Recalling: Lapland and the Sami in the Art of Emilie Demant Hatt and Johan Turi,” *Feminist Studies* 40 (2014): 356–393.

⁵⁰ Hans-Olof Boström, “Målning som alla tycks vilja missförstå,” *Svenska Dagbladet*, March 24, 2016.

⁵¹ Per Bjurström, “Vad berättar Midvinterblot?” *Konsthistorisk Tidskrift* 64 (1995), 3–15.

⁵² Hans-Olof Boström, *Carl Larsson: Monumentalmålaren* (Uppsala: Uppsala University Press, 2016).

⁵³ The original reads “I hans storamålning *Frukost i det gröna* (1913–14) är kompositionens centralfigur en samisk spelman, Jon Johansson eller Lapp-Jon. Han har själv berättat att senare kom vandrande som på beställning till Sundborn, då han behövde en samlande gestalt på tavlan. Studier iolja och akvarell visar det kärleksfulla intresse han ägnat Lapp-Jons fysionomi och samedräkt. När denne några år senare gav ut boken *Signerir och besvärjelser. Svartkonst från Lappland* hörde han till abonnenterna.” Boström, “Målning,” 2016.

⁵⁴ Sören Vedin, “Lapp-Jon – ett original,” *Angerman: Organ för Ångermanlands hembygdsförbund* (2007): 1.

⁵⁵ Thomas DuBois, “Borg Mesch: The Role of a Culture Broker in Picturing the North,” *Journal of Northern Studies* 8 (2014): 45–70.

⁵⁶ Ulrika Kjellmann, “A Whiter Shade of Pale: Visuality and Race in the Work of the Swedish State Institute for Race Biology,” *Scandinavian Journal of History* 38 (2013): 180–201.

⁵⁷ Estoardo Barrios Carillo, “Falsk idyll ger tröst utan att starka,” *Stockholms Fria*, October 19, 2013.