Hee Sook Lee-Niinioja

Landscapes in Shaping Nordic National Identity through Ephemeral-Perpetual Green Midsummer and White Winter in Romantic Art

Hee Sook Lee-Niinioja
Independent Scholar/Finland-Helsinki
leeheesook@hotmail.com

The Romantic view posits the object-subject theory of creation whose form is discovered in the inner insight of the individual ability, inspiration, and genius. It returns to the eternal world and celebrates the expression of inner ideas and cultivates personal resources. Mythic nature and winter landscape in the light-darkness of the infinite space became the agency of spiritual, existential, or emotional notions. Nordic art welcomed long snowy winters with the sparkling light of shifting colours and emotions. Norway's national poet Bjørnson was enchanted by spectacular winters as an attribute, through which Romantic painters could reveal a national awareness in art. Midsummer celebrates spirit nights when fairies, magic, and mischief abound on a bewitching night, and the future can be disclosed for enchantment. Nordic artists borrowed this festivity to find their identity of National Romanticism and were encouraged to depict local native landscapes. Urban internationalism and Realism in Europe led to a focus on the characteristics of the Nordic, enforcing its nationalism. Skagen, Denmark's fishing village, turned into a haven for isolated life, facilitating new attention to indigenous traditions after homecoming. The phenomenal landscape was ephemeral yet perpetual, depending on tradition, culture, and emotions. The Nordic landscape was validated with the blue forest mood and nocturnal water. The Midsummer's overtone symbolism invited the white winter to connect human's inner psychology through the landscape, shifting the self and nation towards Nordic art. Bergh revealed the mystical power of light and landscape to heighten reality, while Zorn created a Midsummer festival as a tradition for villagers' dance around the maypoles. Munch used this mood to symbolize the eternal cycle of life and love. Sohlberg and Krøyer were not exceptional. This paper introduces the Nordic summer and winter landscapes and related theories to enhance our understanding of the topic.

Keywords: Nordic landscape, national Romanticism, Midsummer, winter, cultural identity, collective memory, Edvard Munch

Nordic Summer

Richard Bergh (1858-1919) grew up in an artistic milieu under the influence of his father, Edvard Bergh, a distinguished landscape painter and professor at the Royal Academy of Fine Arts in Stockholm. Bergh studied at Edvard Perseus' art school and the Academy, and then, he divided his time between Sweden and France. After receiving a medal at his debut at the Salon (1883), he was commissioner of Sweden's participation in the Paris World Fair (1889). His early work depicts Nordic historical scenes or local legend in a German academic style. During his residence in Paris (1881-1888), Bergh was influenced by Impressionism. However, his work at Paris Salon and the World's Fair brought him an international reputation as a portraitist. As a critic, author, and organizer, he set up the Artists' Union against the Swedish Royal Academy. His efforts to cooperate with the artists' association in politics and fundraising reflected the social art theories of the 19th-century's Victorian thinkers. Bergh defined his art as the Swedish National Romantic style. Despite the French influence, Nordic art was independent, derived from an affinity with the native landscape. To exploit Nordic nature, he moved to the isolated town of Varberg in western Sweden and created a new style of landscape painting. After 1900, his ideas were accepted by the Swedish art establishment, leading the director of the National Museum to become a more democratic, modern and dynamic institution.

The painting *Nordic Summer Evening* (fig. 1) was started in Assisi (Italy) in 1899 when Bergh made an oil sketch of the singer Karin Pyk. Later that same year, he sketched his friend Prins Eugen on the second-floor veranda house on the Lidingö Island. Prins Eugen recalled the day of discovering Bergh's breakthrough in painting with clarity and naturalism. Bergh incorporated both studies into this canvas of 1900. *Nordic Summer Evening* reveals the spiritual power of natural phenomena, light, and landscape to intensify actuality. During his stay in Italy (1897-1898), Bergh developed a new appreciation for the Swedish landscape of Midsummer nights and winters, which generated primitive responses in its people. This emotional experience also contains a sexual awakening by the female's conscious attitude yet the vague psychological tension in a diffused scene. In the picture, the lack of interaction exists between man and woman, and figures and

1 Richard Bergh, *Nordic Summer Evening*, oil on canvas, 1899-1900

landscape. The veranda is an analogy of windows to the outdoors, where the couple meditates in the nearer and far space. For Bergh, the Nordic world is here and now, pointing to Swedish and foreign nationalism and internationalism through *Nordic Summer Evening*.

Anders Zorn (1860-1920) spent his childhood on his grandparents' farm in Mora, Dalarna. He attended the Royal Academy of Fine Arts in Stockholm (1875-1881) and developed his style by imitating the watercolours of Egron Landgren. He travelled to Europe for new subjects, lighting effects, and studies of the old masters. After his marriage with Emma Lamm, the couple spent the winter in the artists' colony of St. Ives, France (1887-1888), switching his interest to oil painting. They settled in Paris, and his studio was a gathering place for influential Scandinavians. From this point onwards, he restricted himself to three themes of portraits,

nudes and genre scenes set in his home province. Zorn moved back to Mora (1896) and was involved in the community and indigenous art. He built a house (now the Zornmuseet) in the old style and encouraged the revival of local customs. That summer, Prins Eugen attended the local Midsummer festival and suggested Zorn depict this subject. Zorn's reaction was a rapid oil sketch of horizontal format, but he executed this version the following year, bringing him the Medal of Honour at the 1900 World Exposition in Paris.

The subject of *Midsummer Dance* (fig. 2) is a Nordic cultural tradition. Therefore, on presenting a May tree to the Morkarlby village, Zorn succeeded in reviving a tradition from pagan times. Around June 23, the longest days of the year, people flocked to the villages in rural areas to dance around the maypoles under the bewitching light of the summer night. At midnight, the peasants erected a tall pole decorated with flowers and greenery and danced under the stars until the sun came up. For the opalescent light without shadows and the atmosphere of the summer nights, Zorn captured the charm of a cheerful night of enjoying the return of light after the long winter.

Despite careful attention to details of costumes, foliages, and buildings, Zorn was captivated by native peasant costumes and their local variations. Moreover, the dancing position of the couple in the centre harbours a hidden aim. In the 1890s, a concern for safeguarding the peasant culture appeared in industrialization and in dislocating the population to the cities. As the Dalarna region remained most affected by its history and traditions, Zorn's embedded awareness in his native culture prolonged encouragement, support, and management of the local arts and folk actions. *Midsummer Dance* is an expression of Sweden's National Romanticism. Zorn contributed an evocation of Nordic magical summer nights to the Paris World Fair (1900).

Edvard Munch (1863-1944) was born in the rural Løten at Hedmark, but his family moved to Christiania (Oslo). Despite his entering engineering school, Munch decided to paint. In 1881 he enrolled at the Christiania Royal School of Drawing and continued at the Pultosten studio under Christian Krohg's supervision. After a debut at the Christiania Autumn Exhibition (1883) and attendance at Frits Thaulow's Open Air Academy at Modum, his first scholarship enabled Munch to visit Antwerp and Paris and contact Christiania bohemian avant-garde

2 Anders Zorn, *Midsummer Dance*, oil on canvas, 1897

naturalists. These formative years witnessed Munch's lifelong preoccupations with human biological and physical patterns. With his solo exhibition in Christiania, Munch revisited the tiny town of Åsgårdstrand before travelling to Paris to study at Léon Bonnat's studio. In 1890, the news of his father's death made him physically collapse, and he moved away from Naturalism to be more resonant with the inner life of Synthetic art. After his solo exhibition, the Berlin artists' circle invited Munch, whose paintings scandalized the city. Munch continued to visit Paris and spend summers in Norway, but he remained in Berlin with bohemian intellectuals in order to publish the periodical Pan. He began to assemble his ambitious group painting, *The Frieze of Life*.

Munch experimented with colour lithography and the graphic technique of woodcut, exploring the psychological potentiality of colours and lines. By the turn of the century, he was mentally exhausted and suffered from alcoholism. Nevertheless, *The Frieze of Life* was finally exhibited at the Berlin Secession (1902), and Munch won the commission of the Oslo University Festival Hall murals, which was infused with the bright northern sunlight and muscular health of the country's philosophy. In 1916, on unveiling his murals, Munch purchased a house at Ekely and isolated himself and yet stayed productive until his death. His art was exhibited in every major city in Europe and revered by the German Expressionist painters.

The Frieze of Life composes several psychological levels, connecting to the mysteries of life, love, and death. *The Voice, Summer Night* (fig. 3) was the first painting of the series displayed in Christiania (1893). The painting treats the blue twilight of the Åsgårdstrand shore on the Christiania fjord, which Munch took as a unifying element in his series. The theme is associated with the Midsummer night and the Nordic festivity foretelling the homecoming of summer and light. It is a moment of celebration and denial of social norms and behaviour. The wooded beaches of the fjords were encountering places for lovers on this night, while boats accommodating celebrants filled the water. The poet Franz Servaes described the setting in 1894: "Here the sexual will rise stiffly for the first time during a pale moonlit night near the sea, the girl roams among the trees, her hands cramped together behind her, her head tossed back and her eyes staring wide and vampire-like. But the world is a mixture of the misty and the glaring, of sexual fantasy and revulsion" (cited by Heller, 1973, 46).

The theme is taken from Munch's momentary experience of his first kiss when he stared at his partner's beckoning eyes. The picture expresses the tension between the background and the woman in the foreground. It assumes a keen pose of the virginal figure of sexual longing. She looms in the foreground and demands a personal reaction, such as awakening, expectation, reaction, fear and repulsion. The geometrical trees and the beam of the moon's reflection on the water resonate with her rigid dominance. She is integrated into the fixed landscape, partaking in the joyous, erotic mood of the summer night.

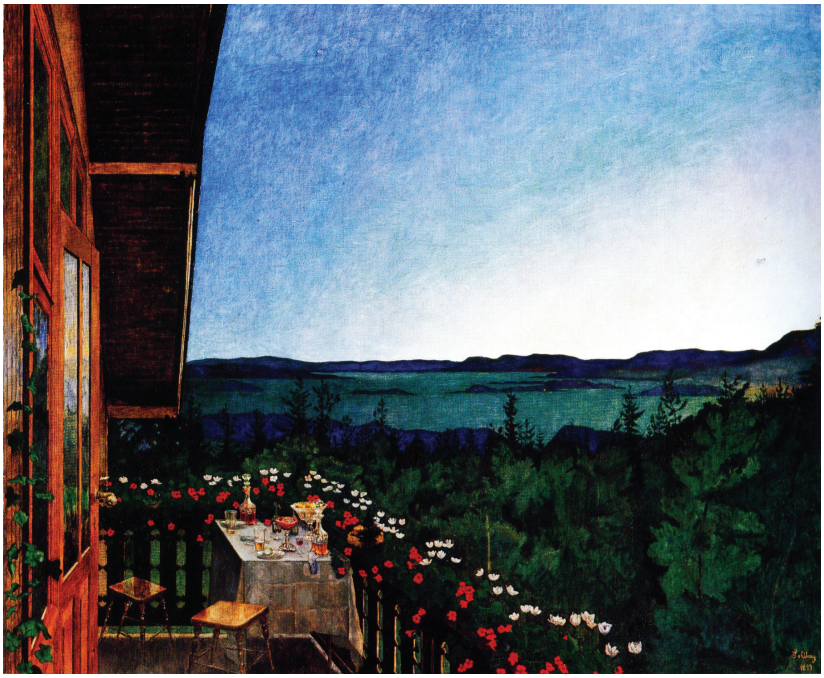
Born in Christiania, Harald Sohlberg (1869-1935) apprenticed to a decorative painter at his father's request. In 1890 he became the pupil of Sven Jørgensen, an eminent painter of rustic scenes. From the start, Sohlberg revealed a feeling for landscape and worked alone in nature, first at Nittedal, a rural retreat north of Christiania. The following year, he joined a group of young painters, and the

3 Edvard Munch, *The Voice, Summer Night*, oil on canvas, 1896

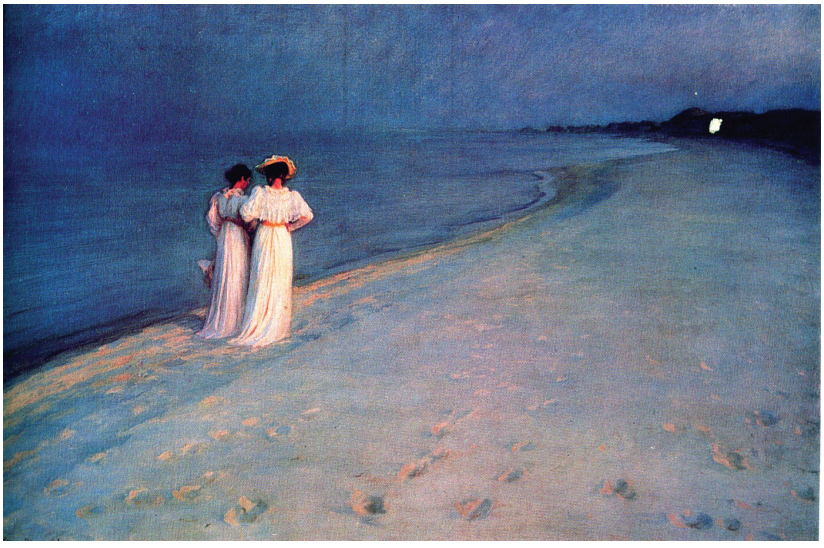
symbolic power of landscape began to mature in him. After studying at Kristian Zahrtmann's school in Copenhagen, he returned to Christiania and attended the Royal Academy of Drawing and Harriet Backer's school. In 1893 Sohlberg painted his first picture, *Night Glow*, which received praise at the official exhibition in Christiania. His travel grants allowed him to visit Paris and Weimar. After his marriage (1901), the couple went to the highlands near the Rondane mountain range and then the mining town of Røros. He finally settled in Christiania with the completion of *Winter Night in the Rondane Mountains* for the Norwegian Jubilee Exhibition (1914) and San Francisco's Panama Pacific Exhibition (1915).

In the 1890s, a silent landscape painting from the house balcony on the Nordstrand ridge to the south-eastern Christiania peaked Sohlberg's dream – *Summer Night* (fig. 4) describes the power and intensity of the Nordic summer night, hidden worlds, and unfolding mysteries. The empty party table for the couple is laid within a frame of flowers, and the opened veranda door invites the infinite panorama of forest, fjord, island, and hills. The tension between the detailed foreground and the broad landscape generates the primary division between two different realms of experience - the intimate and the ethereal. Despite the absence of human presence, the table set for the couple and a woman's deserted hat and gloves facilitate a quiet ambience, which echoes the departed lovers' presence. The picture resounds with a solemn ritual and a festive evening of Sohlberg's engagement. Moreover, the hat and gloves intensify the summer night's mystic sense and association with love, courtship, and sexual awakening, while their leaving suggests the end of the evening and an unforgettable feeling of transience.

Peder Severin Krøyer (1851-1909) was born in Norway but was raised in Copenhagen by his foster father, Hendrik N. Krøyer. At ten, he made scientific illustrations for his father's book. He entered the Royal Academy and travelled to Germany and the Swiss Tyrol (1875). After he visited the Netherlands and Belgium two years later, he entered the Paris studio of Léon Bonnat, who advised him to see the work of the Spanish masters in Madrid. In 1882, Krøyer went to Skagen at Michael Ancher's invitation. His frequent travels made him a cosmopolitan artist, but he always returned to Skagen. He was named a member of the Danish Academy and married Marie Triepcke. During the 1880s, Krøyer was established as Denmark's foremost plein-air artist and portraitist of international reputation with honorary



4 Harald Sohlberg, *Summer Night*, oil on canvas, 1899



5 Peder Severin Krøyer, *Summer Evening on the South Beach at Skagen*, oil on canvas, 1893

medals at the Paris World Expositions (1889, 1900). However, his manic-depressive disorder prevented him from working toward the end of his life.

His painting *Summer Evening on the South Beach at Skagen* (fig. 5) is representative of landscape painting in vogue between the late 1880s and early 1890s. Named "Blue Painting", this genre is characterized by its illusory mauve-blue palette and sinuous composition. The style was based on James Whistler and the French Synthetists and encouraged by the specific atmosphere in the painting. In the long Midsummer evenings, the twilight forms are the blue hour around 10 p.m. when the low sun dissolves the surroundings into a blue mist.

Krøyer painted several similar scenes to join the cosmopolitan trend, and his favourite outdoor painting was from Skagen. In the picture, the models are his wife Marie Krøyer and the painter Anna Ancher. The women dominate a scene with elegant white draped summer dresses and elongated, delicate figures. Krøyer photographed their pose on the beach and copied it in the studio. The artistic paintings were modern techniques, and photography could aid his memory of the painting composition because Nordic summers were too short to devote to colour and light studies. Skagen artists copied Krøyer; the overall luminous tones of paintings supplanted the rustic images of the village fishers for mood, nuance, and decoration. With the place, its people and the intense light, Krøyer discovered the bluish twilight poetry of the white nights. It was the start of the school of atmosphere and light.

Nordic Winter

Munch's landscape painting belongs to a tradition where nature is a sounding board for the human state of mind. In the 19th century, nature frequently functioned as an eternal, significant framework of fateful actions. Later, Munch broke away from a symbolic, psychological painting of the human spirit. Instead, a pure landscape without human figures started to emerge. *White Night* (fig. 6) demonstrates a winter landscape disguised in the half-light of the moon. The spectator's eyes are invited to a trail down a tree-clad hill and farther across the frozen façade of the fjord. The bold difference between foreground and background generates an illusory depth, signified as a sign of seclusion, apprehension, and loneliness.

The secret magic of the landscape is transmuted to the celestial synchronization of the background. It is reminiscent of an essay by Nordberg-Schultz in

Winter Land (1994, 37) about snowing in the courtyard: "The wind blew, and the drifting snow blurred every line and contour. 'This weather is just what I like', you said; I felt a stab of joy; for I like this sort of weather too. I can still feel it; this is how it was when I was a child, and I've never felt any differently".

The Rondane Mountains are lifted above the trees in the foreground, towering upwards to the starry sky, representing the sublime in the Norwegian landscape. Two big trees formulate a gateway into the mountain regions. Sohlberg painted the first sketches of *Winter Night in the Rondane Mountains* (fig. 7) in oil on his charcoal studies. He wrote to his mother about the effect of nature (8 December 1901): "Mountains in the winter compel one to silence. One is overwhelmed in much the same way as beneath the vast vault of a church, only a thousand times stronger".

The intensity of the dramatic mountain is Sohlberg's ambition to paint. A spontaneous decision to join a ski trip in the winter of 1899 allured his confrontation with the Rondane, and at first sight, he was fascinated to make its nine versions and many sketches. His focused on-site study was in the winter of 1900-1901, and his painting was assisted by an acetylene torch, with the cold hindering his watercolours and hands. He prepared his final version for the 1915 Norwegian Jubilee exhibition. Sohlberg traced the motif's progress from Naturalism to Symbolism in interpretation. As he worked on-site, he had powerful impulses of the mystical revelation from the Rondane. To express this experience, he broke with a representational approach to the mountains, working his compositions into the symmetrical mass of the mountains and others around them. The colour reflects a moody night as a pulsating field of blue. Sohlberg returned to the Northern Romantic tradition to formulate mystic nature and indigenous Nordic nation.

Regarding the examples above, a question arises: What was the cause or motivation(s) of the Midsummer and winter paintings? It is cultural identity, and collective memories with emotions shared among Nordic artists.

Cultural Identity

Culture composes explicit and implicit behavioural patterns, constituting the human group's distinct achievement. The core of culture has traditional ideas and their attached values, and its system is the production of action. Culture as a

6 Edvard Munch, *White Night*, oil on canvas, 1901

7 Harald Sohlberg, *Winter Night in the Rondane Mountains*, watercolour and pastel, 1911

visual language involves embodiments in artefacts such as the landscape (Geertz, 1973). Moreover, the notion of culture generates several meanings due to its relation to daily life. According to Barthes (1972, 9), culture displays "all the apparently spontaneous forms and rituals of contemporary bourgeois societies, which are subject to a systematic distortion, liable at any moment to be dehistoricized, 'naturalized', converted into myth". Identities related to culture are a heritage character and the combined elements of the locality. Pritchard and Morgan (2001) saw the relationship between culture, place identity and participants' representation to sustain the local identity as a combination of historical, social, economic and political processes. Identity bears multiple levels and changes with the environment (Hall, 1997).

Identity is a production constituted in representation; thus, this production continues as a life process without completion. Identity is unstable, changeable and arises from a place that has a history. People categorize identity to stand in a position by the past narratives. This identity generated in the past comes under the influence of place, time, history and culture (Hall, 2003). Cultural identity highlights the similarities to be shared.

The memory of the past is the core of the present. It ties to the sense of identity and is an innate part (Walker, 1996). Without memory, a sense of identity and culture is lost. People create and hold back cultures and traditions through remembering, as memories are conflated and embellished. Identities are validated and contested, and the adoption and cultivation of the past strengthen belongingness, purpose and place (Lowenthal, 1985). The meaning of individual or collective identity across time and space is continued by recalling the past. "What is remembered is defined by the assumed identity" (Connerton, 1989, 3).

Collective Memories

The idea of collective memory can be found in debates by Carl Jung, Emile Durkheim and Maurice Halbwachs in the 19th century. Jung (1912) theorizes that universal leanings to fear or desire for social status came from a collective unconscious within the human. It accompanies memories of life from past generations. Durkheim (1912; 1995) observed the relation of a new generation to the past to carry forward their memories. Within social memory, the human connects

to prior generations and seeks repeating actions to associate with the past. Religious rituals are a repetitive social practice due to the same beliefs and worship in similar ways. They transfer traditional beliefs, values, norms, and shared rituals to create the collective transcendence of the profane individual into a united religious group. Individuals' collective thoughts must participate for the universal experience of sharing within the group. As this collective experience requires physical gatherings, groups must extend the unity if demolished. Durkheim's theory was the transmittal of the past to the present, but his argument was grounded on individual memory, and the ritual celebrations triggered those memories.

The term "collective memory" appeared in the second half of the 19th century. Halbwachs coined the term as a basic framework to study social remembrance. His analysis (1925; 1992) proposes an option of construction, sharing, and passing on by social groups, communities, nations, and generations. All individual memories are recorded by filtering their collective memories within social structures. Individual memory is understood through a group context: collective memory develops as people keep their history.

Cultural symbols are references for uniting people to past generations and influencing their memory. Every collective memory relies on specific groups described by space and time; the group constructs the memory, and the individuals do the work of remembering.

Halbwachs's concept, "the present," in collective memory was elaborated because the necessity for the present would influence social constructions of memory. Current issues and understandings can shape collective memory, and groups take different memories to explain them. To illuminate the present, groups reconstruct a past in choosing events to remember through rationalization. Once done, they rearrange events to conform to the social narrative (Hakokõngäs, 2017). The deliverance of various forms of collective remembering and commemoration to a shared past is voiced (Connerton, 1989), or collective memory has a fragmented, collected, and individual character (Young, 1993).

Halbwachs raises two issues. (1) Collective memories rely on the context of remembering. In dealing with this, a group must reaffirm their decisions from the past. Then, collective remembering brings a selection of narratives responding to present and future needs. (2) Collective memory paves a group's way to the

future. Instead, people have a history of collective memory as a fabricated narrative in social-ideological needs or a creative impulse of a particular historian (Gedi and Elam, 1996).

"Communicative memory" – a variety of collective memory on everyday communication – resembles the exchanges in the memories collected through oral history. With this activity, each memory makes up itself in communication with other groups, who formulate their unity and characteristic through a universal image of their past. Every individual is the property of such groups and treats collective self-images and memories (Assmann, 2008).

Conclusion

The word "emotion" (Latin *exmovere*) defines "move out", "agitate", or "excite." In moral behaviour, three theories exist. According to Plato and Kant, emotions hamper good behaviour, while Aristotle and Smith viewed emotions as vital elements generating ethical conduct. For Hume (1751), all moral judgments express the speaker's emotions. In the 20th century, emotions define neural impulses due to their psycho-physiological state, moving from organism to action with short-lived phenomena (Goleman, 1995). They are a fused phenomenal cluster and a crucial point in personality, offending the senses to prepare feelings or evoke reactions (Griffiths, 1997). Of three categorical theories of emotions (evolutionary, social, internal), evolutionary theories facilitate a historical analysis of emotions. Social theories consider emotions to be cultural or social products; internal emotions describe the process of the emotion.

In this regard, a question pursues collective memories-emotions among National Romanticism and its cultural identity of Nordic countries. Why so? The Midsummer celebration exemplifies an emotional tradition and custom arising from each culture's collective memory. For example, pagans – the Celts, Norse, and Slavs – believed it as the annual spirit nights of magic's wandering and the other world's opening. Shakespeare captured this mood in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (ca. 1590-1596) with fairies, magic, and mischief on a magical night in the forest (Franklin, 2002).

Moreover, bonfires meant defeating darkness, and circle dances worshipped the sun god until St. John the Baptist's feast took over in Christianization

in the 10th century. It was a time for collecting plants, searching for healing, or practising divination. The collected herbs and plants made maidens see their future mates, while farmers observed their abundant harvest and fertility. The Midsummer celebration has been directed toward the past and the future through the present. Nordic winters have their celebrations too.

With the adoption of Nature as part of daily life, Nordic artists turned their eyes to green summers and white winters to establish National Romanticism and shape Nordic cultural identity. Summers and winters are integrated with Nordic souls, minds and hearts. Remarkably, Nordic artists searched for their ephemeral-perpetual collective memories and emotions. Nature has been a universal mediator between tradition and the future. At the dawn of the Romantic era, Bergh, Zorn, Munch, Sohlberg, and Krøyer fulfilled tangible yet intangible mediation through their artwork.

References

- Assmann J., Communicative and Cultural Memory, in: *Cultural Memory Studies: an International and Interdisciplinary Handbook* (eds. A. Erll and A. Nünning), Berlin, 2008, pp. 109-118.
- Barthes R., *Mythologies*, New York, 1972.
- Bjerke Ø.S., *Edvard Munch - Harald Sohlberg: Landscapes of the Mind,* New York, 1995.
- Connerton P., *How Societies Remember*, Cambridge, 1989.
- Daniels S. and Cosgrove D.E. (eds.), *Iconography and Landscape. The Iconography of Landscapes: Essays on the Symbolic Representation, Design and Use of Past Environments*, Cambridge, 1988.
- *Dreams of Summer Night (Scandinavian Painting at the Turn of the Centur*y), Arts Council of Great Britain, Hayward Gallery London, 10 July to 5 October 1986.
- Durkheim E., *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*, Free Press, 1912 (1995).
- Franklin A., *Midsummer: Magical Celebrations of the Summer Solstice*, Llewellyn Publications, 2002.

- Gedi N. and Y. Elam, Collective Memory - What is it?, *History and Memory*, 8/1, 1996, pp.30-50.
- Geertz C., *The Interpretation of Cultures*, New York, 1973.
- Goleman D., *Emotional Intelligence*, New York, 1995.
- Griffiths P.E., *What Emotions Really are: The Problem of Psychological Categories*, Chicago, 1997.
- Hall S., *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*, London, 1997.
- Hall S., Cultural Identity and Diaspora*, N.P.: Journal Framework,* 2003, pp. 222-237.
- Heller R., *Edvard Munch: The Scream*, London, 1973.
- Heller R., *Munch: His Life and Work*, London, 1984.
- Halbwachs M., *On Collective Memory* (ed. L. Coser), Chicago, 1925 (1992).
- Hakoköngäs E., Visual Collective Memory: A Social Representations Approach, PhD diss., University of Helsinki, 2007.
- Jung C., *Psychology of the Unconscious*, London, 1912 (1916).
- Lowenthal D., *The Past is a Foreign Country*, Cambridge, 1985.
- Nordberg-Schultz C., *Minnesjord*, Oslo, 1991.
- Pritchard A. and Morgan N.J., Culture, Identity and Tourism Representation: Marketing Cymru or Wales? *Tourism Management* 22/2, 2001, pp. 167-179.
- Varnedoe K., *Northern Light: Realism and Symbolism in Scandinavian Painting 1880-1910,* New York, 1982.
- Varnedoe K., *Northern Light: Northern Art on the Turn of the Century*, New Haven, 1988.
- Walker B., *Dancing to History's Tune*, Belfast, 1996.
- Young J. E., *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meaning*, New Haven-London, 1993.
- *Winterland, Norwegian Vision of Winter*, The XVII Lillehammer Winter Olympic Games 1994, Oslo, 1993.

Illustrations

Fig. 1 Richard Bergh, *Nordic Summer Evening*, oil on canvas, 1899-1900, 170x223.5 cm, Art Museum, Göteborg, Wikimedia Commons, sandstead.com, public domain.

Fig. 2 Anders Zorn, *Midsummer Dance*, oil on canvas, 1897, 140x98 cm, National Museum, Stockholm, Wikimedia Commons, www.nationalmuseum.se, public domain.

Fig. 3 Edvard Munch, *The Voice*, *Summer Night,* oil on canvas, 1896, 90x119 cm, Munch Museum, Oslo, Wikimedia Commons, Google Art Project: pic, public domain.

Fig. 4 Harald Sohlberg, *Summer Night*, oil on canvas, 1899, 114x136 cm, National Gallery, Oslo, Wikimedia Commons, fwFhWhw8IK_4JQ at Google Cultural Institute, public domain.

Fig. 5 Peder Severin Krøyer, *Summer Evening on the South Beach at Skagen*, oil on canvas, 1893, 100x150 cm, Museum, Skagen, Wikimedia Commons, gEOHIMEsC_EQg at Google Cultural Institute, public domain.

Fig. 6 Edvard Munch, *White Night*, oil on canvas, 1901, 115.5x111 cm, National Gallery, Oslo, from The XVII Lillehammer Winter Olympic Games, 1994, p. 121.

Fig. 7 Harald Sohlberg, *Winter Night in the Rondane Mountains*, watercolour and pastel, 1911, 56.5x64 cm, The Rasmus Meyer Collection, Bergen, from The XVII Lillehammer Winter Olympic Games, 1994, p. 105.