

# Non-avant-gardist Conceptions of Experimentation

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Among the High Modernist artistic canons in the West, *experimentation* has been valued as a central characteristic of the avant-garde or, *avant-gardism*, as an umbrella term covering a cycle of artistic movements or styles rooted in early Modernism. The concept of *avant-garde*, literally the foreguard, is associated with artists who are seen to be ahead of others, or with new and experimental techniques and ideas. The typical evaluation criterion against which the level of advancement is measured is provided by the notion of abstraction. This grand narrative of Modernism has been strongly criticised. However, the progressive model is not necessarily given up by this criticism, but abstraction may be replaced with more sophisticated terms, such as the notion of art's increasing conceptuality, which appears to involve even more complex issues than just the negation of sensory perception. The *arrière-garde* or afterguard, on the other hand, is generally accused of both conformity to norms and being prone to commodification.

However, an avant-gardist resistance against commodification, or Adornoan *commodity fetishism*, can paradoxically result in increased fetishism<sup>1</sup>: the fetishising of the “new” and “innovative.” Simultaneously, a problematic hierarchy between the intellectual and the sensory is reconstructed. The most concrete, practical problem is that these ranking systems exclude the greater part of the actual art that was produced in the early 20th century. This goes even for France, the motherland of the Modern-isms.<sup>2</sup>

This issue becomes even clearer when we turn to Finland, a young nation in Northeast Europe. As the population of Finland totalled about four million in 1950, the sheer smallness of the country did not allow for large part- or subcultures, or specialised audiences for different types of art. In Finland, moreover, the effective institutionalisation of the art field coincided with a growing questioning of the academic system. The first art schools and annual exhibitions had been launched by bourgeois art societies in the 1840s, but a more effective system of scholarships to study abroad, the building of representative museums, as well as the establishment of artists' own associations, took place during the final decades of the century. An art market only began to appear as late as the 1910s, together with a modern media culture. Part of the new practices was

the dealer-critic system, which had been the key to the success of Impressionism in France.<sup>3</sup>

Ranking was still seen as a necessary element in the structuring of the art world, even if the established academic ranking system had undergone a fundamental relativisation. In the early 20th century, moreover, Modernist canons of art had been popularised through the rapidly expanding print media. Facing this situation and the difficulty of travel during the political conflicts and economic crises characteristic of early 20th century Europe, many artists, based in their various geographically and culturally anchored locations, figured out more or less vernacular solutions to the challenges of modernity.

## Figurative rigour

To suggest a multiplication of our understanding of *experimentation* on less hierarchic terms, I first turn to an example from Finnish art, the artist Helge Dahlman (1924–1979), who as late as the mid-1950s painted a cycle of rural landscapes in an astounding variety of late 19th- and early 20th-century styles. We should not overlook the fact that, at the same time, a polemical, clear-cut abstraction/figuration distinction, elaborating on Theo van Doesburg's 1930 *Art concret* manifesto, was brought to Finland by a group of Concretist artists and critics.<sup>4</sup> Concretism was not seen as part of the palette of alternative styles to choose from. However, less categorical understandings of the characteristics of modern art continued to flourish on the side of the more methodical, Puristic approaches. Indeed, in 1953 the patron and “art lover” Jalo Sihtola gave a personal testimony in *Kuva* (Picture) magazine that 85 % of the art he had recently seen abroad had been figurative, and 15% abstract, which he also saw as a feasible division for the future. He assumed that this dualism would be peacefully resolved in due course.<sup>5</sup>

The greatest part of early 20th-century art and art debate in fact eludes the dichotomies created by contemporary pamphlets and latter-day art history. It also seems that, together with his Finnish audience, Helge Dahlman (as just one example of a vernacular approach to Modernism) saw his landscapes as abstract, albeit to a certain degree. In its unassuming composition, a painting depicting the church of Inkoo (1955–1961, Fig. 1) is a prime example of this:



Fig. 1 Helge Dahlman, *Church of Inkoo*, 1955–1961. Oil on canvas, 54 cm × 65 cm. Olavi Turtiainen Collection, Joensuu Art Museum. Photograph Joensuu Art Museum

the intentional banality constitutes a masterpiece in understatement. The motif, a precisely localisable, although visually dull Finnish landscape, with a functioning Lutheran-Evangelical church, is typical of what was criticised as inward-looking traditionalism.

The late mediaeval church of Inkoo dates from between the early 15th century and the 1510s.<sup>6</sup> Clearly identifiable through its characteristic gable decoration, this building is situated near the coast in Southern Finland, some 50–60 kilometres from Helsinki, the capital of Finland. Initially, before the Reformation, it was a Catholic church dedicated to Saint Nicholas. Dahlman's composition is reduced to the essential, and its intimate simplicity references depictions of village centres in folk art, or the spirit of Biedermeier painting.

Dahlman shows little bathos in representing the mediaeval edifice rising freezing cold from the flat ground in early spring, along with a separate bell tower with a geometrically shaped, tar-black wooden roof built a couple of centuries later (1739–1740). The only argument that we can read in the image concerns the geometrical shapes of the buildings' masses. Another version of the painting, with snow covering the ground, demonstrates the serial nature of the imagery, typical of painterly Modernism (*Church of Inkoo*, 1956. Oil on canvas. Private collection).<sup>7</sup>

With regard to religion, the artist remains indifferent, and non-oppositional. The church is a phenomenon of the physical environment, which was the focus of Dahlman's attention. The novelist Hannu Raittila, the son of a fellow artist, has characterised the 1950s attitude: "Beneath its modest surface, however, the anti-Romanticism typical of the decade was strict, passionate and proud."<sup>8</sup> Later on, Dahlman confronted his Romantic urges more directly.

The subject of the *Church of Inkoo* is indeed specific and identifiable, but we get the feeling that it could be any other stony mass on the ground—such as the remains of a burned-down cattle shed that Dahlman also painted (1955, Fig. 2). In Dahlman's paintings a church seems to have been emptied of its sacrality, in the same way as a destroyed cowshed is devoid of its intended function and becomes an abstract structure in space. Yet these phenomena were always observed on the spot by the artist. At that time, Dahlman chose his subjects within an area of about a 100-kilometre radius from Vihti, where he lived and worked for a period of six years, from the autumn of 1949 until 1955, afterwards returning to the capital with his spouse and their two children who had been born in the meantime. In retrospect, the artist considered this period spent in the countryside as fruitful in a formative way, both



Fig. 2 Helge Dahlman, *Burned-down Cowshed at the Gräsa Manor*, 1955. Oil on canvas, 33.5 cm x 48 cm. Olavi Turtiainen Collection, Joensuu Art Museum. Photograph Joensuu Art Museum

in artistic and personal terms, even though he and his wife had missed the city.<sup>9</sup>

Both versions of the *Church of Inkoo* and the painting depicting the remains of the cattle shed thus belong to a larger set of landscapes created by the artist in the mid-1950s. The imagery also includes the ruins of a late mediaeval church in Vihti. The stone church had been partly demolished in the early 19th century because it had been built on unstable ground and was falling apart. It was partly restored in 1946–1952, when Dahlman was residing in the area.<sup>10</sup> In one of his paintings, a modern door closing off the remains of the sacristy is clearly visible, with something with the appearance of footprints leading towards it in the snow (*Ruins of the Vihti Old Church*, 1955. Oil on canvas. Private collection).<sup>11</sup>

In a painting like the *Old Stable* (1956, Fig. 3), the horizontal and diagonal outlines of farmhouses and stables, still in use at the time, are marked with black, while the whitewashed stone walls are decoratively accentuated by tiny window holes or arched door openings. Half inadvertently, as it were, an electric pole ascertains the modernity of the scene. The precision of the wall profiles and the poignant angularity of the roofs gain emphasis in the black-and-white print material, still common in illustrations during the

1950s.<sup>12</sup> In fact, the delicate irregularity of the lines shows them to have been carefully hand-drawn, which adds a personal touch and a first-hand, lived-in feel even to this particular suite of architectural landscapes.

For a long time after the end of the War in 1945, it was difficult for artists to find studio space in Helsinki. Dahlman was virtually forced to retreat to a rural environment which was completely new to him as an urban person. He explored it through hunting wildfowl and rabbits, and painting.<sup>13</sup> The imposing granite and brick structures offered themselves for study in changing atmospheric conditions, and in a new kind of open space, thus forming a complex but concrete psycho-physical, phenomenological exercise for the artist. Moreover, as a 17-year-old volunteer in the Continuation War, the artist had lost one of his arms. Starting and finishing his art education thereafter, by 1945 he had to continuously revise his techniques due to his physical handicap.

Dahlman's mode of expression around 1955 seems definite, and is indeed quite studied. Yet it was just one in a chain of experiments with different Modernist styles. His initial artistic idiom had been (late) Expressionist, commenting on the experience of war. In a kind of fragmentary memoir the artist himself recounted how retreating to the countryside



Fig. 3 Helge Dahlman, *Old Stable*, 1956. Oil on canvas, 46 cm x 55.5 cm. Ester and Jalo Sihtola Fine Arts Foundation Donation, Finnish National Gallery/Ateneum Art Museum, Helsinki. Photograph Finnish National Gallery/Janne Mäkinen



Fig. 4 Helge Dahlman, *Ruins of the Vihti Old Church*, 1951. Oil on plywood, 22.5 cm x 27 cm. Olavi Turtiainen Collection, Joensuu Art Museum. Photograph Joensuu Art Museum

enabled him to work intensively on his technique, “trying different stylistic movements.”<sup>14</sup> Dahlman himself emphasised the importance of this unexpected possibility of delving into the warehouse of styles that the history of Modernist painting provided.

As for the art movements themselves, it was, rather surprisingly, his versions of synthetic Impressionism and Pointillism that preceded his austere spring and winter landscapes. In these more summery versions the ruined granite walls of the Vihti Old Church appear far less massive and resilient (Fig. 4), and the scenery depicting the steep bank of Lake Hiidenvesi by the Oravala estate (Fig. 5) transfers us by association to the coastline of France or Belgium. The artist’s early 1950s production also includes some delicate pictures of softly undulating, snowy hills with geometric paths that must depict the manor house grounds (Fig. 6). In critiques, his extensive use of white, or “snowed-in” canvases was clearly identified as an experiment.<sup>15</sup>

Dahlman was not completely idiosyncratic in his manner of exploring the stylistic chart of Modernist figurative art in order to carry out exercises in plastic composition. We can, for example, compare his approach to that of Taisto Ahtola’s (1917–2000), who studied in the 1950s (starting from 1952–1953) another mediaeval church, that of Hattula, built of brick in the latter half of the 15th century.<sup>16</sup> In one of the versions, the Holy Cross Church is seen from the north side, highlighting the sacristy, with a slightly modified rhythm of openings (Fig. 7). Ahtola explored the surroundings of the town of Hämeenlinna, a familiar milieu to which he had returned in 1950 after a period of time spent elsewhere. To Ahtola, too, the medieval

edifice constituted more of a monument of cultural resilience and a path to painterly abstraction, rather than a personal credo or an expression of devotion.<sup>17</sup>

What makes Dahlman’s practice especially engaging is his unembarrassed, trusting way of articulating his approach to modern styles as a general artistic register or chart, freely available and ready-to-use for anyone. He also seemed to carry out a fairly conscious experimentation of isolating the Finnish landscape from associations with nationalistic feeling and turning it into a generic “landscape.” This was more easily done with French or continental-looking landscapes which had started to signify ‘art’ in general.

A younger cohort of Finnish colleagues, such as Rafael Wardi (b. 1928), broke even more clearly with the expected order of stylistic development: Wardi started his career with abstract art at the end of the 1940s, but made a definitive, and very positively received turn to figuration as late as the mid-1950s.<sup>18</sup> The adoption of techniques and styles created several decades earlier cannot thus be regarded as passive “influences,” but rather a very conscious aesthetic choice. This implies that the Modernist tradition was really assumed to be the new “general style,” or norm, replacing the older academic system of and criteria for art-making, and setting new parameters for experimentation. This kind of experimentation did not need to be ground-breaking, ahead of other artists, or unique; in accordance with the Impressionist doctrine, its sincere and personally felt relationship to sensory perception guaranteed its singularity.

The Finnish art world seems to have considered the stylistic developments starting with Impressionism as

being something firmly settled, something permanent to choose from. Through new publicity technologies, this selection of styles was also communicable for everybody, although some schooling—exercise and experimentation—still remained advisable for the aspiring artist. Non-figurative art could be interpreted either as a break with this tradition, or as its continuum.

### Illustrated periodicals as facilitator

In the second part of my paper, I would like to briefly present a hypothesis concerning what this kind of amalgam of survival and revival of allegedly outmoded features could be based on. My ongoing study on the illustrated press ranging from the 1910s to the end of the 1950s indicates a possibility that in a country like Finland, the persevering, wide appeal of Late- and Post-Impressionist styles in particular, was to a large extent made possible and maintained through a dynamic field of popular magazines.<sup>19</sup> In art history, the impact of the popular print media has been somewhat sidelined by a strong focus on professional art criticism in predominantly bourgeois daily newspapers. This has been partly due to the fact that the press cutting collection of the Finnish National Gallery (formerly the Finnish Art Society and The Fine Arts Academy of Finland) remained for a very long time the most easily accessible newspaper clip archive that was available. With the digitalised materials of today, provided, for example, by the National Library of Finland, the popular magazines can be searched and studied with unprecedented effectiveness. Although digitalisation is still very much in progress, it has already become apparent that art was quite widely discussed in both general-interest and more specialised magazines, journals and calendars of various fields, as well as throughout the whole political spectrum.

It was a fairly widely assumed practice that the same critics and other agents of the art world, such as curators, wrote in several different forums.<sup>20</sup> Accessibility was a shared goal of the modern media. Indeed, Helge Dahlman himself published an article on Georges Braque, among all artists, in the art journal *Taide* (Art) in 1947.<sup>21</sup> The ethos of the young Protestant nation was educational, and reading was a popular pastime in both national languages, Finnish and Swedish. In both languages a variety of periodicals addressed to more or less educated audiences were published, some of them as short-term experiments only.

With the flourishing of the illustrated press, especially in the 1920s and onwards, the genres of art writing were transformed, and forms of more person-centred, emotionally engaging journalism, such as the interview and the questionnaire, were gaining ground. More essayistic approaches aimed at reaching a broader readership were also emerging. On the side of this new focus on artist personas, the flow of “isms”

was—internationally—established as a standard trope in art journalism.<sup>22</sup> In this Modernist lineage, Impressionism, Post-Impressionism and Cubism had their firmly canonised places. This was in spite of the fact that Impressionism proper had never really been adopted by Finnish artists or collectors.<sup>23</sup>

Some of the democratic organisations of the new nation, such as the co-operative movement,



Fig. 5 Helge Dahlman, *Oravala Manor, Vihti*, 1951. Oil on canvas, 38 cm × 46.5 cm. Olavi Turtiainen Collection, Joensuu Art Museum. Photograph Joensuu Art Museum



Fig. 6 Helge Dahlman, *Winter Landscape*, undated. Oil on canvas, 38 cm × 47 cm. Tatjana and Pentti Wähäjärvi Collection, Riihimäki Art Museum. Photograph Riihimäki Art Museum/Tuija Vertainen



Fig. 7 Taisto Ahtola, *Old Church of Hattula, III*, 1953. Oil on canvas, 81 cm × 65 cm. Private collection. Photograph Archive of Hämeenlinna Art Museum/Marjukka Vainio

transferred the sequence of continental styles to the national art scene, with examples also drawn from Finnish art. The Social Democrat art critic Antero Rinne (1896–1950), for example, tried to explain the purpose of modern art and outline its developments in a yearbook of the Central Union of Consumption Cooperatives, addressed mainly at families residing in the countryside. According to him, modern art began in the 1860s with French Naturalism, which opposed the banality of the *petit bourgeoisie* view of art (“il faut sortir le banalité”), while Impressionism took a stance towards the painterly expression of sensory perceptions and inner tensions.<sup>24</sup> Rinne’s main occupation was that of a social scientist’s with a career in academia. The majority of the specialised art journals were slightly narrower in their address. What distinguishes modern art such as that of Dahlman’s from actual popular culture is their serious fine-art attitude. Even self-referentiality in terms of art (another hallmark of the *avant-garde*) is to be found, but in a less ironic mode than in Modernism “proper.”

In its most popularised form, the French (*École française*) and Paris schools (*École de Paris*) were the main points of reference; painting as a modern medium of art was often implicitly framed as a specifically French phenomenon. Popular French art periodicals such as the monthly *L’Amour de l’art*

(1920–1938) and the *Beaux-Arts* (the newspaper-like twice-a-month supplement of the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*) were also offered on sale in interwar Finland.<sup>25</sup> These journals often discussed Parisian art institutions, such as the Salons des Indépendants or Salons d’Automne, which had replaced the official academic Salon. However, this semi-official art scene was not as central in the Finnish reception, but was rather seen as compromisingly elitist.<sup>26</sup> When the French art critic Camille Mauclair’s reactionary *La farce de l’art vivant* (The Farce of Living Art, 1928–1929) was translated into Finnish (*Elävän taiteen ilveily*, 1931), it was not very favourably received.<sup>27</sup> The Finnish art world adopted the Parisian toolbox of styles, but not its purposes and evaluation criteria as such. By the interwar years, in Finland the popular take on “French art,” or “modern art,” was inclusive in nature, not exclusive. Personal experiments with “Classic” Modernism were accepted as a more or less natural part of the field.

I would like to suggest that this kind of popularisation of the art scene via media culture, even as it took place according to the conventional tropes of movements and styles, should be acknowledged as a highly modern phenomenon in its own right. The forms and practices of mainstreaming and popularising figurative art can in themselves be seen as experimentative gestures. Experimentation could be carried out in terms of new practices and functions of art instead of just formal innovations or iconographic content. These new practices could be collectively shared and very personal at the same time: an everyday Modernism within which established stylistic choices could assume experimental functions in terms of psycho-social and societal developments.

Partly due to the successful popularisation of modern art via modern print media and photography, painting as a medium never experienced a profound crisis in Finland and has, internationally seen, still today a fairly firm grounding in the national art world. This seems to be a more general feature of the Scandinavian art scene. This, however, would be a theme for another paper.

My point here has been to show how forms of art can be neglected in mainstream Art History precisely because they are received as being too mainstream. The borders between high- and low-brow are continuously shifting, and a slanted high culture, or a mature style, has a curious potential for bad taste, even kitsch. This is the reverse side of being fetishised as a novelty or innovation. This example also shows how risky any engagement in the ranking of art is, and the problematic way in which progressivistic patterns are embedded in art discourses. On the other hand, it also demonstrates the potential for transformation in any evaluative system.

## NOTES

- 1 Simon Jarvis called this “the deployment of fetish against commodity fetishism” in his *Adorno: A Critical Introduction* (Cambridge: Polity, 1998), 118; see also Jerome Carroll, *Art and Limits of Perception: The Aesthetic Theory of Wolfgang Iser* (Oxford et al.: Peter Lang, 2006), 177–178.
- 2 See e.g., Natalie Adamson and Toby Norris, eds., *Academics, Pompiers, Official Artist and the Arrière-garde: Defining Modern and Traditional in France, 1900–1960* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009).
- 3 For a classic study on the marketing of Impressionist painting, see Harrison C. White and Cynthia A. White, *Canvases and Careers: Institutional Change in the French Painting World* (New York et al.: John Wiley & Sons, 1965).
- 4 For a hagiographic historiography of Concretism in Finland, see Tuula Karjalainen’s dissertation *Uuden kuvan rakentajat. Konkretismin läpimurto Suomessa* (Helsinki: WSOY, 1990); for a critical reflection, see Tutta Palin, “Die Bedeutung des Figurativen in der finnischen Kunst der 1950er Jahre,” in *Skandinavische bildende Kunst von 1950 bis zur Gegenwart*, eds. Brigitte Hartel and Bernfried Lichtnau (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang GmbH, 2015).
- 5 Jalo Sihtola, “Figuratiivinen ja abstraktinen taide. Erään taiteenrakastajan kirje toiselle taiteenrakastajalle,” *Kuva* 2 (1953), 20. Jalo Sihtola (1882–1969) was an important art collector and “art lover,” as he defined himself. He made a career in the field of forestry.
- 6 See e.g., Markus Hiekkänen, *Suomen keskiajan kivikirkot* (Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2007), 432–435.
- 7 For an illustration, see Torsten Michelsen, ed., *Helge Dahlman* (Helsinki: Otava, 1995), 75.
- 8 Hannu Raittila, “Come and See,” in *Kolme taidemaalaria—Tre konstnärer—Three Painters: Tuomas von Boehm, Helge Dahlman, Tapani Raittila*, eds. Timo Simanainen, Eeva Toikka and Katja Vuorinen (Riihimäki: Riihimäki Art Museum, 2004), 26. Hannu Raittila also knew Dahlman through his father, the painter Tapani Raittila.
- 9 Helge Dahlman, “Helge Dahlmanin muistelmista Oravala-ajalta,” in *Muistikuvia Oravalasta*, ed. Jarl Pousar (Vihti: [Jarl Pousar], 1984); reprinted as an interview (somewhat different transcription) by Seppo Niinivaara, as “Minä Helge Dahlman. Edesmenneen taiteilijan haastattelu,” in *Helge Dahlman*, 17, 20. For the artist’s biography more generally, see the previously mentioned catalogue *Helge Dahlman*, edited by Torsten Michelsen in 1995.
- 10 See e.g., Hiekkänen, *Suomen keskiajan kivikirkot*, 488–490.
- 11 For an illustration, see the auction catalogue *Bukowski’s F166: Modern + Contemporary* (Helsinki: Bukowski, 2013), 179 (lot 463).
- 12 Cf. e.g., the selection of reprinted images in the anthology *Suomen taidetta 1950-luvulta* (Finnish art from the 1950s), edited by Kaarlo Koroma in 1961, 23 (for Taisto Ahtola), 43–44 (for Helge Dahlman). In Australian research, the impact of mass media, including black-and-white illustrations, on local Modernism has been noted. See e.g., Terry Smith, *Transformations in Australian Art. Volume Two: The Twentieth Century—Modernism and Aboriginality* (Sydney: Craftsman House, 2002).
- 13 Dahlman, “Helge Dahlmanin muistelmista,” 43–44. Dahlman’s retreat to this condition of cultured nature was also explained in one of the main Helsinki newspapers by the journalist William Hancock, see Hank., “Vildmarksbon Dahlman målar stilleben, jagar and,” *Hufvudstadsbladet*, August 28, 1952.
- 14 Dahlman, “Helge Dahlmanin muistelmista,” 44. Dahlman settled with his family in the 200-years-old former main building of the Oravala manor in Vihti. The estate was owned by Artturi Hiidenheimo, a distant relative of his spouse, and a patron of art, who used the newer character house nearby. For the owner, see Arno Forsius, *Artturi Hiidenheimo 1877–1956. Elämää Vihdin Oravalassa, työtä yhteiskunnan hyväksi* (Vihti: Elli ja Artturi Hiidenheimon säätiö, 2002).
- 15 Ola Zweybergk (O. Z.), “Helge Dahlman hos Artek,” *Hufvudstadsbladet*, October 14, 1952. The critique does not view Dahlman’s transfer around 1950 from his previous colourist manner to a “Pointillist painting in white” as too favourable a move. In 1955, Olli Valkonen detected a stronger evolutive force in the artist’s constantly shifting phases, including his white period, despite the persistent, right-wing orientation towards inner worlds and backwards in time (“von Boehm–Dahlman–Lucander,” *Suomen Sosialidemokraatti*, November 4, 1955).
- 16 Hiekkänen, *Suomen keskiajan kivikirkot*, 282–291. For variation no. I (1952. Oil on canvas. Private collection), see e.g., “Taiteilijoiden vuosinäyttely,” *Kuva* (Picture) 3 (1953), 14–15. I thank Leena Ahtola-Moorhouse for the information concerning this suite.
- 17 Maila-Katriina Tuominen, “Viisi näytöstä etsii näyttelijää,” in *Taisto Ahtola. Maalauksia 1948–1988* (Hämeenlinna: Hämeenlinna Art Museum, 1988), 12.
- 18 Palin, “Die Bedeutung des Figurativen,” 175.
- 19 See e.g., my monograph *Ester Helenius. Värihurmion palvoja* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2016).
- 20 See, e.g., Riitta Ojanperä’s dissertation *Kriitikko Einari J. Vehmas ja moderni taide* (Helsinki: Valtion taidemuseo, 2010).
- 21 Helge Dahlman, “Georges Braque,” *Taide* (5–6) 1947, 87–89.
- 22 E.g., in journals for school teachers and in a Social Democratic worker’s calendar: Arvo Sainio, “Maalaustaiteen ymmärtämisestä, I–III,” *Opettajain lehti* 44, 46, and 50 (1932), and as revised, “Maalaustaiteen ymmärtämisestä,”

- Alakansakoulu* 6–9 (1940); Gertrud Serner, “‘Ismi’ maalaustaiteessa,” in *Työväen Kalenteri* 36/1943 (Helsinki: Suomen Sosialidemokraattinen Puoluetoimikunta, 1942), 168–173. Serner was a Swedish curator.
- 23 Cf. Ludvig Wennervirta, “Luova ja jäljittelevä taide,” *Valvoja-Aika* 3 (1933), 149.
- 24 Antero Rinne, “Hiukan kuvataiteiden nykyisistä suunnista,” in *Koti. Perhepiirin vuosikirja 1937* (Helsinki: Kulutusosuuskuntien Keskusliitto, 1937), 46–60.
- 25 See e.g., Ludvig Wennervirta, “Kiertokatsaus. Ranskalaista taidearvostelua,” *Aika* 9 (1921), 318–322; *Kotimaalaisten ja ulkomaalaisten aikakauslehtien luettelo 1928* (Helsinki and Turku: O. Y. Yleinen sanomalehtitoimisto, 1928), 83.
- 26 See e.g., Wentzel Hagelstam (Alienus), “Finländska konstnärer i Paris,” *Hufvudstadsbladet*, May 29, 1921.
- 27 See e.g., Olavi Paavolainen, “Elävän Taiteen Ilveily,” *Aamu* 7–10 (1931); Sainio, “Maalaustaiteen ymmärtämisestä, III,” 848–849.