

French Connections

In 2019, the Musée Marmottan Monet in Paris and Skagens Kunstmuseer formed a scientific and strategic partnership under the patronage of HM Queen Margrethe II of Denmark. This close collaboration is built around the features we have in common. First and foremost is the history of our two institutions, which were once inhabited dwellings. They are therefore on a domestic scale and bear the marks of their former owners. Secondly, they both host important art collections; one contains the largest accumulation of Monet paintings in the world, while the other possesses a remarkable set of works by Peder Severin Krøyer. As museums for collectors and artists, their mission is to develop and enhance their collections through research and dissemination beyond the borders of their home countries.

Thus it was that in June 2021, the exhibition *The Blue Hour of Peder Severin Krøyer* opened at the Musée Marmottan Monet. This exhibition, the first in France devoted to Krøyer's work, met with huge success. It enabled Parisians to rediscover the art of this major figure of

the Northern School who, during his lifetime, had close connections with the French art scene. The relationships he developed with French and other foreign artists have been researched by the two curators of the exhibition, Dominique Lobstein and Mette Harbo Lehmann, and their results will be revealed in the second phase of our partnership.

Opening in the spring of 2022 at Skagens Kunstmuseer, *Krøyer and Paris. French Connections and Nordic Colours* will display Krøyer's works alongside those he became familiar with during his various stays in France between 1877 and 1903. A visitor to the official Salon, he very soon became one of its regular exhibitors, highly praised by critics and the recipient of the jury's awards on several occasions. He formed lasting friendships with artists at the Cernay-la-Ville colony and enjoyed a close working relationship with the representatives of French art with whom he organised a large exhibition in Copenhagen in 1888.

Sympathetic to the Naturalist teaching of Jules Bastien-Lepage, Krøyer was also a witness to Impressionist paint-

ing, presenting his own canvases on the same walls as Monet, Renoir, and Sisley at the Galerie Georges Petit in Paris. However, this did not mean he subscribed to the Impressionist movement, and the exhibition will seek to enlarge upon this point by focusing on 10 canvases on an exceptional loan from the Musée Marmottan Monet, among them the masterpiece *Impression, Sunrise*. This picture alone demonstrates the differences and similarities between the Impressionists and Krøyer. Whereas, in this view of Le Havre, Monet works by applying rapid strokes of colour, Krøyer remains loyal to a more traditional technique. However, the subject itself establishes a mysterious harmony between the two painters. In France, the depiction of a sunrise was of minor interest in this period, but for painters of the North it was a major theme. By exhibiting *Impression, Sunrise* in Denmark for the first time, we aim to illustrate the shared sensibilities and the singularities of each of the artists represented here, who were not only contemporaries but sometimes also friends, precursors, or heirs to a new aesthetic.

The book and the exhibition *Krøyer and Paris. French Connections and Nordic Colours* has benefited from the support of many museums in France and abroad, to whom we extend our warmest thanks. We also wish to thank the director of Skagens Kunstmuseer, Lisette Vind Ebbesen, and her team together with the two curators of the exhibitions, Mette Harbo Lehmann and Dominique Lobstein. We are also grateful to the Danish Ministry of Culture and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark, the Danish Embassy in Paris, the Danish Agency for Cultural Affairs, and the Carlsberg Foundation, which have all supported us throughout the period of cooperation between our two institutions. Finally, our deep gratitude goes to HM Queen Margrethe II, who has placed these two exhibitions under her patronage.

Érik Desmazières

Member of the Académie des Beaux-Arts
Director of the Musée Marmottan Monet

Nordic Colours

The distance between Skagen and the rest of the world has never been great. It might look that way when perusing a map, but there has always been a lively exchange between Denmark's northernmost town and the wider world that unfolds north, south, east, and west of the headland. For many years, a large part of that exchange was driven by the Skagen Painters, who eagerly set out to find new inspiration and meet other artists, to see new colours and experience new landscapes. The artists took these impressions with them to Skagen, where they all contributed to raising the artistic proficiency of the artists' colony, thereby also helping the small fishing village to evolve. For Skagens Kunstmuseer, continuing this legacy is a crucial part of our mission, and this means maintaining an open dialogue with the world and helping to ensure the exchange of perspectives, experiences, and impressions – in art and in our museums.

This is why it gives us such great pleasure to present the exhibition *Krøyer and Paris. French Connections and Nordic Colours*, which was created in a fruitful collaboration with the Musée Marmottan Monet, and with Krøyer as a marvellous wellspring of inspiration for international exchange. Krøyer travelled extensively throughout his life, with Paris being a favourite destination, and successfully incorporated the many French impulses he encountered into his art, bringing them with him to Skagen.

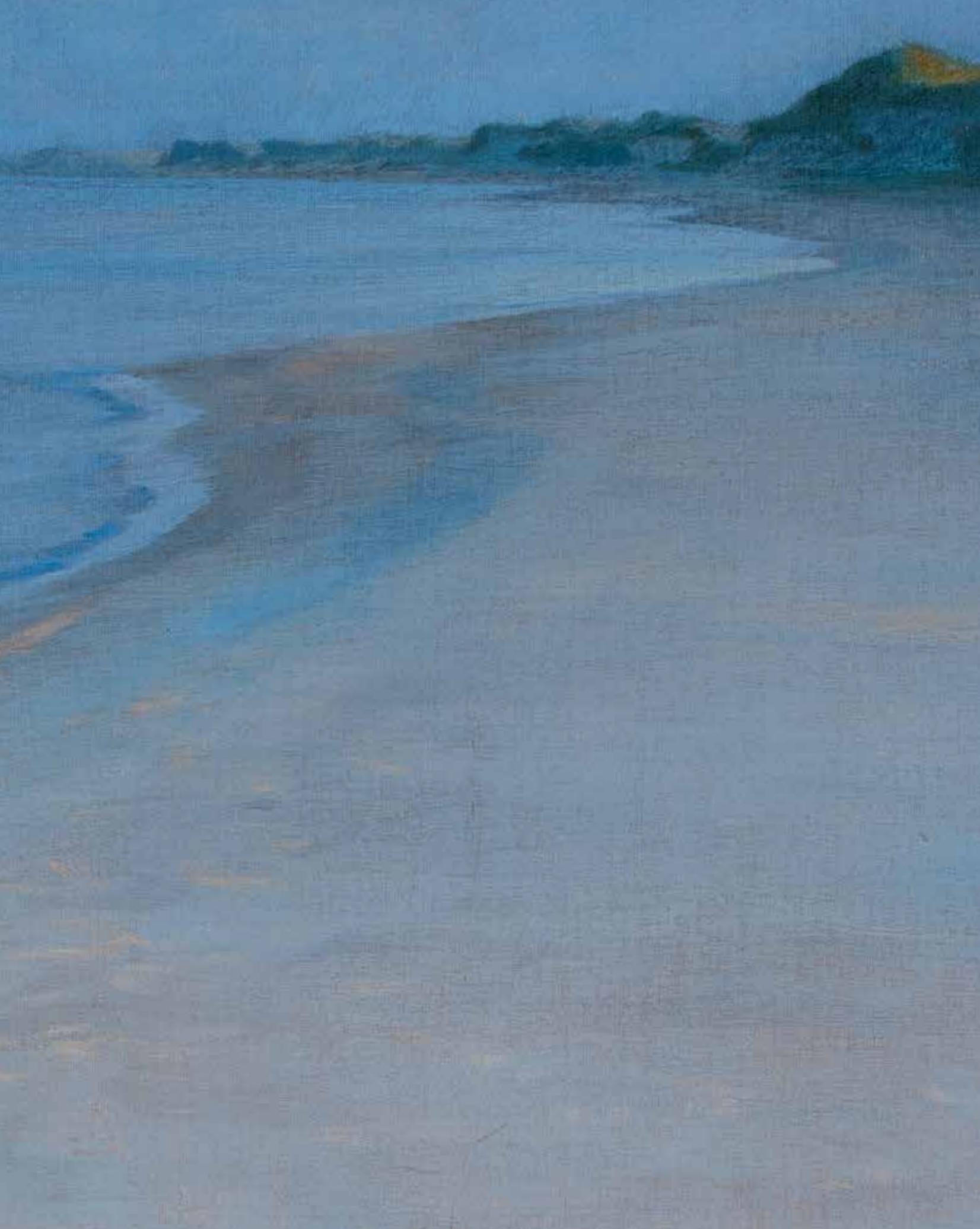
The exhibition offers a unique opportunity to experience the magnificent and exciting works that Krøyer saw, was inspired by, and commented on during his travels to France. These are works that influenced his choice of subject matter, his colours, and his techniques. He made his first visit to Paris in the spring of 1877 and would return almost every year for the rest of his career. Krøyer became deeply involved in the French art scene as an artist, as a member of various exhibition committees, and through

his connections to a wide range of other artists and cultural personalities. Krøyer's French connections were significant and enduring. At the same time, he contributed glimmers of something exotic to the French art scene: the famous 'blue hour' at Skagen, lingering twilight over calm seas by a light sandy beach, with fishermen or white-clad women gazing pensively out while dusk settles over the land. The bright glare of a sunny day with children merrily playing and bathing in the water, or moonlight over the moor at midnight. These Nordic tones formed a melody that won favour with international audiences.

The work on the exhibition marks the conclusion of the academic and strategic collaboration between Skagens Kunstmuseer and the Musée Marmottan Monet. The project has received extensive and crucial support from the Danish Ministry of Culture, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark, the Danish Embassy in Paris, the

Agency for Culture and Palaces, the Augustinus Foundation, the Beckett Foundation, the Knud Højgaard Foundation, the Lemvig-Müller Foundation, the New Carlsberg Foundation, the Spar Nord Foundation, and the Aage og Johanne Louis-Hansen Foundation. A special thank you goes to our much-appreciated collaborators at the Musée Marmottan Monet and to HM Queen Margrethe II, who is the patron of this comprehensive and comprehensive project. The combined forces of all these generous contributors have enabled fruitful collaboration in an international perspective, ensuring that we can now – with the exhibition and with this book – enjoy an exquisite slice of the French art scene which for more than two decades inspired and developed Krøyer's art.

Lisette Vind Ebbesen
Director, Skagens Kunstmuseer



Krøyer and Paris. French Connections and Nordic Colours

Peder Severin Krøyer (1851–1909) was based in Paris for four years, from 1877 to 1881. Here he forged many connections in the flourishing art scene, and in subsequent years he would repeatedly return for briefer stays. His experiences in France proved to be of great significance for his artistic career. It was during this first four-year sojourn abroad that Krøyer developed his Naturalist style of painting. He had trained at Det Kongelige Danske Kunstakademi in Copenhagen from 1864 to 1870, studying under the Golden Age painter Wilhelm Marstrand, who was his professor, while the slightly younger teacher Frederik Vermehren was his main supporter and source of inspiration.

At this point in time, National Romanticism was the predominant style in Denmark, and the nascent Modern Breakthrough in Scandinavia had paved the way for the first artists' colony in Hornbæk, where Krøyer did *plein air* painting during the summers from 1874 to 1876, exhibiting Naturalistic subjects at the academy's annual juried spring exhibitions at Charlottenborg in Copenhagen. Thus, Krøyer's style was still influenced by Danish Golden Age painting when he set out for France in 1877, but

his choice of subject matter fell within the scope of the Realism associated with the Modern Breakthrough.

Other researchers have already addressed the topic of Krøyer, France, and international relations, and the catalogue *The Blue Hour of Peder Severin Krøyer* from 2021 by Dominique Lobstein and Mette Harbo Lehmann is a precursor to this book. In 2011–2012, Skagens Kunstmuseer, working in collaboration with Den Hirschsprungske Samling, created the large exhibition project *Krøyer. An International Perspective*, elucidating Krøyer's connections with Paris on a par with his ties to Spain, Italy, England, Norway, and Sweden, primarily in the form of the solid research conducted by Marianne Saabye, the art historian and then director of Den Hirschsprungske Samling. Saabye's research often focuses on direct sources of inspiration – Krøyer sees a painting and then paints his own, drawing direct inspiration from his chosen role model. The approach is beneficial for getting an overview, but in *Krøyer and Paris* we will apply a broader perspective, while also examining a wider art historical development and the differences between Krøyer and his sources of inspiration. Another leading figure within Krøyer

research is art critic and art historian Peter Michael Hornung, author of the book *Peder Severin Krøyer*, which was published by Forlaget Palle Fogtdal in 2001. Hornung's book is a biographical treatment of Krøyer's life from cradle to grave and contains a few sections about the artist's stay in Paris. In December 2019, art historian and director of Ribe Kunstmuseum Anne-Mette Villumsen published an article in the online art history journal *Perspective* with the title "Why do you dance to the tune of the French?" Joakim Skovgaard and the first Danish pupils at the Atelier Bonnat'. The article examines the significance of Danish artists' stays in Paris from the mid-1870s to the early 1890s, when several of them studied under the French artist Léon Bonnat, including Krøyer. Curator at Skagens Kunstmuseum Mette Bøgh Jensen also merits mention for her contribution to Krøyer studies: her comprehensive books *At male sit privatliv. Skagensmalernes selvscenesættelse*, published by Skagens Museum in 2005, and *Brøndums spisesal – til tak for glade dag*, published by Skagens Museum in 2011, take a fresh look at Krøyer and the Skagen Painters. Jensen focuses on how the Skagen Painters' self-awareness as artists and staging of their public personas affected their choice of subject matter and overall artistic endeavours. This also applies to an article in the anthology *Krøyer. An International Perspective* in 2011, addressing inns as meeting places for artists of many nationalities in the international artists' colonies of the period. Not many non-Danish studies are dedicated to Krøyer alone, but several art historians have considered him while addressing broader contexts, including Patricia G. Berman, Frank Claustrat, Vibeke Røstorp, Kerry Greaves, and Thor J. Mednick.¹

In *Krøyer and Paris. French Connections and Nordic Colours*, we illuminate the artist's relationship with and inspiration from Paris from a range of different angles. It

will become apparent that Krøyer had many different sources of inspiration. French contemporary art came to be of great significance for him, but he took a broad outlook in his search for inspiration, looking to different types of artists, various nationalities, and older art, too. Krøyer used his accumulated knowledge to forge his own path – to find his own subject matter and his own distinctive style. Several of the French and Nordic artists mentioned in the following chapters are further described in the texts accompanying individual works, as a number of French and Nordic paintings are shown alongside some of Krøyer's most important pieces. We begin with a review of the Parisian art scene Krøyer entered in 1877, describing how it evolved throughout his career. It can be difficult to discern which French exhibitions were minor, major, very important, or less significant during that period. For example, readers may be unclear on the nature of the Salon, and some confusion reigns about the significance of museums and gallery exhibitions. To clarify matters, this first chapter strives to establish an overview of the period's exhibition setting.

Next comes the whole story of Krøyer's time in Paris and France, covering not only his first four years there, during which he did not return to Denmark, but also his repeated visits over the course of his subsequent career. Accordingly, the main focus is the years 1877 to 1881 and then the following years until around 1900. Krøyer lived until 1909, and while the latter part of his career, after 1900, is also interesting from an art historical perspective, he no longer had a strong connection to or need for Paris at this time. His work underwent a gradual shift in focus, and especially after 1890 it looked far more towards other major foreign art centres such as Berlin, Munich, Vienna, Venice, St Petersburg, London, and Chicago.

1. Among others: Berman, *In Another Light*; Claustrat, *La peinture nordique*; Røstorp, *Le Mythe du retour*; Greaves,

'Pedagogy, Provocation and Paradox'; and Mednick, 'Danish Internationalism'.

The chapter ‘Krøyer and the Scandinavian Artists in Paris’ looks a little further back in time to understand how a Danish artist was able to make a name for himself in Paris at all. It accounts for a more extensive previous history of Nordic artists in Paris who paved the way for Krøyer and his Nordic motives and colour palettes, as well as explaining how the pioneers’ orientation towards France sparked controversy in their native countries.

The French artist Jules Bastien-Lepage is highlighted in the chapter ‘Jules Bastien-Lepage and Naturalism’. Bastien-Lepage, with his Naturalist style, was Krøyer’s greatest role model. Firmly convinced that originality is crucial to an artist, Krøyer did not copy his style directly, but rather used his knowledge of Bastien-Lepage’s manner in his own adaptation of and view of Naturalism.

The Impressionists got their name three years before Krøyer came to Paris, at a time when their artistic movement had been in progress for some years. Because the careers of Krøyer and the French Impressionists overlap slightly in time, many art enthusiasts and several art historians have, somewhat mistakenly, drawn parallels between them up through art history. The chapter ‘Impressionism and Naturalism’ clarifies who and what

the Impressionists were, comparing and contrasting them with Krøyer’s Naturalism.

An important event is given special attention in the chapter ‘The 1888 French Art Exhibition in Copenhagen’. Numbering more than 600 works, this large exhibition picked up many threads relevant to Krøyer’s French connections and also gave rise to new works and new-found acclaim in France. The years and events surrounding the exhibition were of great importance to Krøyer and caused ripples in both Denmark and France. French artists also took part in exhibitions of French art in Vienna, Philadelphia, Melbourne, and Barcelona, but none were as large or prestigious as the Danish instalment.

The final chapter, ‘Krøyer’s School’, caps off the French sojourns and takes us back to Denmark, considering the impact that Krøyer’s French connections had on an entire generation of Danish artists who received instruction at his department of Kunsternes Studeskole over almost two decades – a topic that has not previously received separate attention in academic studies.

The introduction and chapters 2, 3, and 7 were written by Mette Harbo Lehmann, and chapters 1, 4, 5, and 6 by Dominique Lobstein.



The Paris Art Scene 1870–1910

1

The Parisian art scene before Krøyer, 1817–1877

Art institutions in Paris were supported or controlled by the state and the Académie des Beaux-Arts, which was a distant descendant of an institution created by Louis XIV in 1648; having been abolished during the Revolution, it was revived in 1816. Under the reign of Napoleon III, from 1851 to 1870, these institutions were at their peak, due mainly to three factors, namely training, exhibitions, and museums.¹

There were many *Écoles des Beaux-Arts* under public supervision – the most important being the one in Paris’s rue Bonaparte (ILL. 1), founded in 1817, whose curriculum could lead to the scholarship known as the Prix de Rome and a four-year stay in the Eternal City (ILL. 2). These coexisted with private academies where teaching was often carried out by recognised artists: together, they provided a wide range of training within the French capital.

The presence of artists in both types of establishment offered a stepping stone for students to gain entry to the prestigious annual exhibition known as the ‘Salon’ or to the Fine Arts exhibitions at World’s Fairs, known in France

as Expositions Universelles, such as the two held in 1855 and 1867, whose award systems could represent the springboard of a career (ILL. 3). There were many marks of recognition for artists, from a pass with distinction to a gold medal – known as first class – or from the personal medal of honour awarded each year to a painter or sculptor to the Légion d’honneur itself. These accolades enabled artists to establish careers and to see their works exhibited on the fringes of the official event, in the tentative art market that was just beginning to emerge thanks to the appearance and development of new exhibition spaces, in the form of galleries.

Their support from the Ministry of Education meant that the Beaux-Arts had the means to promote artistic activity and, most importantly, possessed a budget enabling them to support and reward artists, and to maintain a modern art museum: the Musée du Luxembourg was the first modern art gallery in the world. From 1818, the state temporarily deposited works there that were the glory of French art (ILL. 4).

But in 1870, after the defeat of Napoleon III and France by Prussia, this useful arrangement soon revealed ten-

¹ See, in particular: Vaisse, *La Troisième République*; Thomson, *Art of the Actual*.



ILL. 1 Adolphe Giraudon: *Façade of the École des Beaux-Arts, 14, rue Bonaparte, Paris, c. 1900.*
 École nationale supérieure des beaux-arts, Paris. Ph 8675

sions which, until then, had only appeared sporadically. For example, two Salons des Refusés were mounted in 1863 and 1864, and there was an abortive attempt to reform the École des Beaux-Arts in 1863. Relationships between the national administrative system and the Académie (which tended to see itself as a state within the state and, at various times, to play off artists against the administration or *vice versa*) were deteriorating, while an accusing finger was pointed at the administration's role in art training and exhibitions, deeming it anachronistic.

After 1870, therefore, many artists founded their hopes on the new Republican government: it alone seemed capable of restraining the Academicians, whose sole wish seemed to be to maintain tradition and support the

status quo. But in 1873, following a royalist majority vote, Marshal Patrice de MacMahon took over as Republican head of state. This military man was a defender of the moral order and remote from the world of art. Until he retired from politics, in 1879, artistic life was dependent on private initiatives which were more concerned with the art market: galleries began to play a more important role and there was increased opposition to the idea of a single Salon. This in turn led to the creation of an independent exhibition, which was subsequently highly publicised, although it was not the first or last. It was the earliest of eight exhibitions described as Impressionist and held between 15 April and 15 May 1874 at 35, Boulevard des Capucines in Paris, in premises vacated by the photo-

grapher Nadar. Subsequent exhibitions, organised by young artists in defiance of tradition, took place in 1876 and 1877. The second of these was held between 4 and 30 April at 6, rue Le Peletier, in a five-room apartment situated opposite the Durand-Ruel gallery at number 11 on the same street. It ended before the Danish artist Peder Severin Krøyer could visit it during his first stay in Paris, which began on 10 June. Between this date and his final brief Paris sojourn in June 1903, he would have had intimations of the rapid disintegration of that Beaux-Arts network which had been one of the wonders of France.

Evolution and revolutions of the art scene

Knowing that his stay in Paris would be short lived, and with the help of Danish friends who were already settled in the city, Krøyer wished to benefit from instruction by one of the leading lights in French painting rather

than join the *École des Beaux-Arts*. He therefore presented himself at the renowned studio run by Léon Bonnat near Avenue de Clichy, where several other Danish artists had already spent time, in 1875–1876: Laurits Tuxen, who was to meet Krøyer there in 1877–1878; Theodor Philipsen; and Carl Locher, who would return there in 1878–1879.

This studio was the only one that Krøyer attended, since he had already trained in Copenhagen. He was never interested in the future of the rue Bonaparte school, which in 1870 had been renamed '*École nationale et spéciale des Beaux-Arts*', a name that was retained until 1903. Of all the elements in the Paris artistic landscape, this school was probably the one that changed least. The only major development was that its number of students increased – from 1897 onwards, the *École* also welcomed women students and it expanded by taking over neighbouring buildings such as the Hôtel de Chimay, on Quai Malaquais, in 1883. It would soon include studios, as well as large rooms intended for posthumous exhibitions

ILL. 2 *View of the Villa Medici, Rome, 1891. Musée Hébert, Paris. MNEH 1977-4-78*



of the work of outstanding artists such as, in March and April 1885, Jules Bastien-Lepage; Krøyer probably visited this exhibition. But he may have been there even before this, to see, for example, the annual exhibition of *Envois de Rome*, which began shortly after his arrival, and ran until 30 June. This was a collection of the compulsory pieces submitted from the Villa Medici by the most recent winners of the Prix de Rome, who would form the future élite of French art.

It was the world of exhibitions that underwent the greatest transformation. Galleries had long been private, for a limited audience, but now they began to experience exponential growth and were soon offering artists an alternative to the Salon. When Krøyer arrived in Paris in June 1877, this was not yet the case, even though the review *La Chronique des arts et de la curiosité*, a supplement of the most important French art magazine, the famous and luxurious *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, recorded around 10 Paris exhibitions organised for private individuals.

By the time of Krøyer's brief stay in Paris in June 1903, there had been significant changes, and, in addition to the official events, he was able to visit exhibitions devoted to the watercolourist Louis Lessieux at the Trotti gallery, and the painter Georges Manzana, at the Sibelberg gallery.² A striking innovation, more prevalent since the 1880s, was that it was not just galleries but many other places that now hosted exhibitions. For example, during those same few days in Paris in 1903, *La Chronique des arts et de la curiosité* suggested that readers should visit no less than seven exhibitions in Paris during the week of

8 to 14 June.³ These were just a fraction of the nearly 150 Paris exhibitions recorded for that year.

Most of these were one-person exhibitions or brought together a limited number of artists; a significant and steadily increasing share of them were organised on the Salon principle but restricted to one group,⁴ or else to a particular theme or technique.⁵

Despite the opportunity offered by all these smaller events, artists still sought public recognition through participation in the official event, with its potential rewards. But between this desire and the reality lay the long-disputed issue of the admissions jury. Despite numerous reforms, this jury was largely in the hands of Academicians who, including teaching among their other roles, tended to favour their own students when it was a question of gaining access to an exhibition whose capacity to accept artworks was not infinite and whose rewards were limited. Each year, therefore, various protests expressed the discontent of those who were excluded. Most of the time, these ended in an attempt at reform that settled nothing and aroused even more discontent. With the departure of MacMahon on 30 January 1879 and the advent of a true Republic the situation changed, and those newly appointed at the Ministry of Education and Fine Arts were able to surround themselves with competent, energetic people. Jules Ferry occupied the ministerial post several times, starting from 4 February 1879, and the day after his appointment he nominated Edmond Turquet as Under-Secretary of State for the Fine Arts.

This decision to appoint a servant of the state who was very familiar with artistic circles, at a time when a spirit

2. The two exhibitions closed on 15 June and 16 June 1903, respectively.

3. The seven recommendations were: *Exposition nationale du Travail (beaux-arts, arts industriels et décoratifs)* at the Salle des fêtes du Globe; the exhibition of the painting *La Revue de Bétheny* by the Russian painter Jean

Rosen at the Cercle Militaire; the *Exposition de panneaux pour la décoration de la mairie de Vanves* in the Saint-Jean room of the Hôtel-de-Ville; the *Exposition de peintures coloniales* at the Association syndicale des journalistes coloniaux; and, finally, the *Exposition d'objets d'art*

et de fontes perdues de M. Adrien A. Hébrard in his studio.

4. For example, the Société des femmes artistes at the Galerie Georges Petit, or the Société des Agents de la Compagnies P.-L.-M. et des Compagnies de Chemins de fer français.

5. For example, Société des Peintres-enlumineurs-miniaturistes at the Salon Belin, or Peintres et Sculpteurs de Chasse et de Vénérie on the terrace of the Orangerie in the Tuileries Gardens.



ILL. 3 G. Michelez: *Works exhibited at the annual Salon organised by the Ministère de l'Instruction publique et des Beaux-Arts, on 1 May 1880, at the Palais des Champs-Élysées, à Paris: General view of the garden; Centre, 1880.* Archives Nationales, Paris. F/21/7650/fol. 29



ILL. 4 *Musée du Luxembourg, sculpture hall, c. 1905.* Musée d'Orsay, Paris. DOC-MO-2017-10-63



ILL. 5 Ambroise Vollard: *Cézanne exhibition at the 1904 Autumn Salon*, 1904. Musée d'Orsay, Paris.

of revolt was in the air, anticipating the forthcoming Salon, meant that urgent measures were imposed – a simple change in the rules being no longer sufficient – which led to the state withdrawing from the event in 1881. Artists would henceforth be members of a society, the Société des Artistes français, and had to take charge of their own destiny. But this was nothing more than a vain hope, and quarrels and disputes started up again with renewed vigour. Since the state was no longer present to ensure the cohesion of the Salon, the event collapsed shortly after the 1889 Exposition Universelle and a second society was then set up, known as the Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts. But even prior to that, in 1884, a group of artists calling themselves the Groupe des artistes indépendants had organised an event under the auspices of the City of Paris. Its first exhibition ended in uproar – the police had to be called in – but the group was recreated

in 1886 under the title of the Société des Artistes indépendants and, depending on the exhibition spaces allotted to it by the Paris city council, it went on to have a peripatetic life. Soon, other events claimed the title of Salon, the last one being of some importance in the period under review: this was the *Salon d'Automne*, which, in 1903, organised its first show in the brand new Petit Palais, built for the 1900 Exposition Universelle, and handed over by the state to the City of Paris in order to create its Musée des Beaux-Arts.

Behind these numerous events with their various titles, which hosted ever greater numbers of artists anxious to be on show in order to launch their careers, different aesthetics were more or less in evidence. The oldest of these was claimed by the Artistes français. As their name might suggest, they were not exactly open to foreign influences: they were strong adherents of the old rules

and were very content to accept only those artists who upheld tradition and had gone through the *École des Beaux-Arts*. The next most sizeable group was that of the *Artistes indépendants*, in its 1886 form. This group had overturned tradition by stipulating in its rules that exhibitions would in future be held ‘without either a jury or an award,’ a decision that discarded what had until then been the specific feature of the Salon. However, this freer approach offered to artists did not lead to a huge influx of exhibitors, since many were horrified by the aesthetic principles of the standard bearers, who were defenders of neo-Impressionism. Without being quite so uncompromising, the statutes of the *Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts* adapted certain articles of the *Indépendants*, but its organisers, who were from the former *Société*, ensured that some respect was shown for tradition. This did not, however, prevent them from being more welcoming to foreigners and more open to Naturalism.

Nevertheless, all these upheavals dividing the art world did produce some innovations: the organisation of retrospective exhibitions within different Salons (ILL. 5); recognition of the decorative arts and their exhibition in specially allotted sections; and, finally, the introduction of musical performances at exhibitions, an idea borrowed from the Belgian *Libre Esthétique* exhibitions.

One final feature that should be mentioned in this general review is the fate of the *Musée du Luxembourg*. From being a simple annexe of the Louvre, it gradually gained independence thanks to the patient work of its curator-director Léonce Bénédite. The museum became a place not only for displaying its permanent collections but also for holding exhibitions. Despite becoming a fully

fledged museum, it nevertheless suffered from a lack of funds (for a long time, the expansion of its collections depended on a selection from among the state’s often timorous purchases at the Salons), as well as from the power that Academicians continued to exert over its administration. The most striking example of this concerned the difficulties over the French Impressionist painter Gustave Caillebotte’s 1894 bequest, which was only presented to the Luxembourg in 1929, and then only in a reserved form.

From 1877 to 1903, Peder Severin Krøyer made numerous visits to Paris, but his almost immediate recognition by the artistic establishment meant that he remained distant from many of these upheavals. His works were officially exhibited from 1878 onwards and from 1884 he held the silver medal, second class, that would allow him to exhibit without appealing to the jury of the *Artistes français*.⁶ Nevertheless, as a foreigner with Naturalist sympathies who was influenced by the zeitgeist, he opted shortly after 1890 for the Secessionist Salon of the *Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts*, which several of his friends had joined. He also took advantage of the opportunities offered him by galleries, participating on several occasions in the group exhibitions organised by the *Galerie Georges Petit*, in 1884 under the name *Exposition Internationale de Peinture*, and subsequently the *Exposition Internationale de Peinture et de Sculpture*, at which his friends exhibited and where he met, among others, Auguste Rodin, Claude Monet, and Pierre-Auguste Renoir. Without all these radical changes, his Parisian career would probably not have been the same, and he certainly understood how to use the opportunities created by the changes.

6. See also chapter 2, 28.



S12
21 April 79
Carnegie, Louisiana

Krøyer in France

2

Four years with Paris as his base, 1877–1881

Peder Severin Krøyer's decision to embark on a grand tour of France in 1877 rested on certain elements of an arbitrary nature. This was later described by two of his fellow artists, commenting independently of one another. The Danish painter Laurits Tuxen made the following observation in his autobiography: 'He [Krøyer] felt the urge to go on an extended trip abroad, perhaps for reasons that did not directly concern art, and stated that he would probably do a little work at some artist's studio.'¹ The painter and art historian Karl Madsen went a little further, revealing that 'In 1877, when the gossip in Copenhagen was preoccupied with one of Krøyer's presumed conquests, he decided rather suddenly to make a major trip abroad.'²

While both artists can be described as eyewitnesses, their memoirs were written many years later, meaning that hindsight may well have come into play. In any case, Krøyer decided to leave Denmark for a period, and the

choice to go to Paris was undoubtedly rooted in professional reasons. Krøyer had also spent the winter before his departure learning French and Italian, suggesting some premeditation.³ Prior to the trip, the tobacco manufacturer and art collector Heinrich Hirschsprung had also commissioned him to prepare the ground for an exhibition of French art on Danish soil, a plan that never came to fruition.⁴

Among Danish artists, there was growing dissatisfaction with the teaching at the Royal Danish Academy of Fine Art, which they regarded as old-fashioned and obsolete,⁵ prompting several of them to look abroad for new inspiration. Some of Krøyer's Danish contemporaries such as Karl Madsen, Laurits Tuxen, and marine painter Carl Locher were already in Paris, as were a wealth of other Scandinavians. The city was the new art capital of choice for young Scandinavian artists.⁶ Spending several years abroad was not part of Krøyer's original plan, but as things turned out he did not interrupt his journey until all his money had been spent and financial concerns forced him to do so.⁷

1. Tuxen, *En Malers Arbejde*, 75. He makes another similar statement on p. 190.

2. Madsen, *Skagens Malere og Skagens Museum*, 121.

3. PSK to Viggo Johansen, Copenhagen, 18 December 1876. KB NKS 4192, 4°.

4. See chapter 3.

5. For example, their discontent found expression in missives exchanged via the press between Vilhelm Kyhn, Julius Lange, and Vilhelm Groth. The latter published the leaflet 'Dansk Kunst i Forhold til Udlandets' in 1876.

6. See chapter 1.

7. Hornung, *Peder Severin Krøyer*, 65. His financial troubles can be traced in his correspondence with Heinrich Hirschsprung, culminating in a letter sent by Krøyer from Rome on 3 April 1881: 'I yearn for home. And another

thing weighs heavily upon me. My debts are mounting - I need to go back home to save up some money.' Quoted from Mentze, *P.S. Krøyer. Kunstner af stort format*, 95.



ILL. 6 Léon Bonnat: *Adolphe Thiers*, 1877. Oil on canvas, 126,5×93 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris. INV 20374

When Krøyer arrived in Paris by train on the morning of Sunday 10 June 1877, he was struck by the vastness of the city, its scope unlike anything he had ever seen before.⁸ This in spite of the fact that he had grown up in the Danish capital and had already visited the largest cities in Germany, the Netherlands, and Belgium. In his first letter home he wrote: ‘It is a city so colossal that you cannot begin to imagine it. Getting from one end to the other is an entire journey in itself, and there is the most splendid bustling life and traffic.’⁹ He rented a small room at 5, Rue de Douai and spent the first fortnight of his stay exploring the city and visiting art exhibitions. He saw the magnificent castles, churches, and public and colossal private buildings, as well as the large department store opposite the Louvre, which fascinated him. He saw the spectacular processions of people going to and from the horse race in the ‘Boulogne Forest,’ as Krøyer called it – the vast park Bois de Boulogne on the western outskirts of Paris. He saw the lively traffic on the boulevards and the many people sitting outside the cafés drinking coffee, beer, or wine while watching the passers-by, only slightly perturbed that in the City of Light, beer was more expensive than wine.¹⁰ He immediately went to the Salon des Artistes Français to find out more about French art. At first he was overwhelmed, struggling to find meaning in the many impressions. It took him a few days to navigate all these new things and become excited about them.

One of the things that first struck me when I came to Paris and saw French art was that it was not ‘finished’. My attention was drawn to many excellent pictures which seemed to me only

sketches; elsewhere I would find a single thing, admittedly the main thing in the picture – very carefully done, with the rest only hinted at – I could not comprehend why the artists would not ‘finish it’.¹¹

In Denmark at this time, paintings for exhibitions were still expected to be technically fully finished, which in Krøyer’s view was not the case in France. In a letter to Hirschsprung back home in Denmark, Krøyer wrote about a couple of the works he liked best at the Salon. These were Léon Bonnat’s *Adolphe Thiers* (ILL. 6) and Jules Bastien-Lepage’s portraits of the artist’s parents (CAT. 13, 14).¹² Among the exhibits at the Musée du Luxembourg – a national museum of contemporary art – he emphasised Henri Regnault’s *Juan Prim, 8 October 1868* from 1869 (ILL. 7), Jules Breton, and Jean-François Millet.¹³ The Millet in question would have been either *The Church of Gréville* (FIG. 15) or *Two Bathers*, from 1848 (Musée d’Orsay), as these were the only works by this artist at the museum. Even at this early stage, one clearly sees the wide-ranging diversity of Krøyer’s sources of inspiration. The works mentioned are very different, but he mostly, though not exclusively, highlights the modern, Realist, and Naturalist painters.

Atelier Bonnat

In the late 1800s, Paris was home to several state-operated and private art schools. Up until now, it has been asserted that in 1876 Karl Madsen had been given a place in Paris at one of the state-run art schools, an *École des Beaux-Arts*, studying under Jean-Léon Gérôme.¹⁴ In fact, how-

8. PSK in a letter home, Paris, 26 June 1877. PSK Archive 40.
9. PSK in a letter home, Paris, 26 June 1877. PSK Archive 40.
10. PSK in a letter home, Paris, 26 June 1877. PSK Archive 40.

11. Copy of letter: PSK to Frederik Vermehren, Cerney-la-Ville, 20 May 1879. PSK Archive 58.
12. Letter from PSK to Frants Henningsen, Paris, 9 July 1877, reproduced in Mentze, 42–45. The two works are featured in

the Salon exhibition catalogue as nos. 243 and 118.

13. PSK to Heinrich Hirschsprung, Paris, 5 November 1877, referenced in Mentze, 51.

14. The Danish encyclopaedia of artists *Weilbachs Kunstnerleksikon*,

which is to a great extent based on information provided by the artists themselves, notes this as far back as in its 1896 edition. Karl Madsen did not die until 1935, giving him ample opportunity to change this information.



ILL. 7 Henri Regnault: *Juan Prim, October 8, 1868*, 1869. Oil on canvas, 315×258 cm. Musée d'Orsay, Paris. RF 21

ever, the school in question must have been the private Atelier Gérôme, which Gérôme ran as a sideline.¹⁵ In 1875, Laurits Tuxen applied to study under the French painter Alexandre Cabanel at the École, but when no space was available, he chose instead the private school run by the French artist Léon Bonnat.¹⁶ At any rate, it was not necessarily desirable for Scandinavian artists to apply to the state-run schools, as doing so might require a period of waiting when they had little time to spare. At the same time, opting for other solutions meant they could avoid the competitive environment of the crowded studios.¹⁷ Scandinavian students were often dissatisfied with the old-fashioned teaching provided at their native countries' art academies and went in search of training that did not resemble the academic teaching familiar from home. Indeed, the Atelier Bonnat was generally regarded as the best private school among the Scandinavian artists. This information was passed on by word of mouth among the artist community, which is why Bonnat had had 12 Scandinavian students by 1877.¹⁸ According to a letter written in 1867, when he was elected *patron* of the school, Bonnat had planned to poach plenty of students from Gérôme,¹⁹ and the school was to some extent founded with a view to catering to the many foreign painters who visited the city. Bonnat was successful at the Salon, presenting works in a monumental, Naturalist portrait style. Achieving success here was important to the students, even more so than the Prix de Rome, and Bonnat endeavoured to point his pupils in a more commercial direction.²⁰ This was where Krøyer applied to receive tuition. He knew of the Atelier Bonnat in advance: two of his friends, Carl Locher and Laurits Tuxen, had attended

the school in 1875. On 24 June, Krøyer commenced his studies at Atelier Bonnat.

Bonnat was a portrait painter, and his pupils painted after the life in the studio. It follows, then, that this was not where Krøyer learned about French *plein air* and landscape painting. Rather, at Bonnat's he was primarily taught about nude model studies (ILL. 8). As is apparent from Tuxen's painting from the studio in 1877, students sat close to one another, painting after the same model (ILL. 9). Bonnat focused a great deal on the *chiaroscuro* effect, favouring a marked contrast between light and dark, as is also evident in Krøyer's and Tuxen's studies. To promote this effect, the windows in the studio were covered except for a single large window as a source of daylight, and the walls were painted reddish brown so as not to reflect the light back on the model, facilitating a strong effect of light and shadow.²¹ The French Naturalism taught here differed from the teaching at the Danish academy by focusing more on the totality than on the details. If you are looking at the model's face, you will quite naturally be unable to maintain the same focus on their foot. In the French style, therefore, the face had to be detailed, while the foot was merely indicated. As regards colours, Bonnat taught *valeur* painting, where each individual colour was modulated by means of black and white rather than by using other colours for areas of light and shadow. Bonnat inspected and corrected his students' work in the morning twice a week and in the evening once a week.²² Krøyer respected him, and in an 1879 letter to his former teacher at the art academy in Denmark, Frederik Vermehren, he offered the following description of Bonnat: 'he is perhaps the most serious and one of the

15. Gérôme primarily taught French pupils at the École des Beaux-Arts, but one often finds students from abroad stating that they attended that school rather than his private school.

On inspection, the records of pupils at the École des Beaux-Arts do not list Karl Madsen. Labat-Poussin and Obert, *Archives de l'École Nationale Supérieure*, 416.

16. Tuxen, 64.

17. Challons-Lipton, *The Scandinavian Pupils*, 39.

18. Challons-Lipton, 67 and Appendix A.

19. Challons-Lipton, 39.

20. Challons-Lipton, 52.

21. Challons-Lipton, 41.

22. Tuxen, 66.



ILL. 8 Peder Severin Krøyer: *Male Model*. Half-length, 1877. Oil on canvas, 59 × 44.6 cm. Skagens Kunstmuseer. SKM12



ILL. 9 Laurits Tuxen: *Male Nude in the Studio of Bonnat*, 1877. Oil on canvas, 65.2×50.3 cm. Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen. KMS8266

most talented teachers in France, and he knows how to open his pupils' eyes and to infuse his pupils with energy and a desire to work.²³ Others shared this opinion, as was made clear when Bonnat was later appointed to teach at the *École des Beaux-Arts* in 1888 and went on to become its director in 1905. Bonnat also urged his pupils to study old masters such the Dutch painter Rembrandt van Rijn, as well as the Spanish painters Jusepe de Ribera and Diego Velázquez. In his first year in Paris, Krøyer began to copy Rembrandt's *Bathsheba at her Bath* from 1654 at the Louvre.²⁴ The following year he copied Jean Alaux's *Josias, comte de Rantzau, Maréchal de France*, from 1834 (Versailles), at Versailles outside Paris, having been commissioned to do so by the master brewer Carl Jacobsen of Carlsberg fame. The painting was finished in 1879.²⁵ Bonnat also recommended going to Spain to copy Velázquez and Ribera, studying their use of light and their naturalism.²⁶ In that sense, Krøyer's sojourn in Spain in 1878 can be seen as part of Bonnat's teaching. In Spain, Krøyer was particularly interested in Velázquez, whose paintings he studied at the Museo Nacional del Prado in Madrid. Upon his return to Denmark, two of Krøyer's copies after Velázquez adorned the walls of his studio (ILL. 10). Krøyer spent a substantial amount of time in Spain, seven months in all, in the intermittent company of a handful of artist friends. In addition to visiting the Prado, Krøyer went on a journey of discovery into the countryside, subsequently settling in Granada to paint works that could be exhibited and sold. When he returned to Paris in early September 1878, he did so carrying a small fortune in genre paintings that he rolled up and kept under his arm for the entire journey home by train.²⁷

23. Copy of letter: PSK to Frederik Vermehren, Cernay-la-Ville, 20 May 1879. PSK Archive 58.

24. Krøyer's copy is reproduced in the Bruun Rasmussen auction catalogue: *Malerier + Antikviteter*, 31–32.

25. PSK in a letter home, Paris, 22 December 1878. PSK Archive 54.

The World's Fair in 1878

While Krøyer was travelling through Spain, the Exposition Universelle opened in Paris on 1 May 1878. The exhibition lasted until 10 November, and here Krøyer exhibited his work for the first time ever in Paris, contributing two works to the Danish department in the huge art gallery Palais du Champ-de-Mars. French art took up half of the 219,000 square metres of floor space in the building; the other half was transected by a passage called the Street of Nations on the map of the exhibition, where other countries exhibited their works.

One of Krøyer's two contributions was a commissioned piece, a portrait of the painter Otto Diderich Ottesen from 1873 (Det Nationalhistoriske Museum, Frederiksborg Slot), and the other was *The Smithy at Hornbæk* from 1875 (CAT. 3). Besides Krøyer's paintings and a few other contributions by young artists, the Danish display consisted mostly of works of older date, some even by deceased artists who represented what we now refer to as the Golden Age of Danish painting. For this reason, Denmark's exhibit was not well received by French critics overall, but Krøyer garnered positive responses for his depiction of the smithy, which was skilfully painted.²⁸

When Krøyer arrived in Paris in September, he had the opportunity to explore the exhibition complex. He offered an evocative account of his experiences in a letter to his mother:

This letter to you is long overdue, but you can probably imagine how things are for me here in Paris at this time. In the morning I venture out to the exhibition and spend all day there taking in

PSK in a letter home, Paris, 28 January 1879. PSK Archive 55. PSK to Carl Jacobsen, Paris, 13 January 1879. J.C. Jacobsens Familiearkiv FA 2-008-00021, box F 4.

26. Challons-Lipton, 63.

27. Tuxen, 194.

28. Blanc, *Les Beaux-Arts*, 342.

ILL. 10 V. Tillgers atelier, Krøyer in his studio with his copies after Velázquez in the background, c. 1882–1883. Det Kgl. Bibliotek, Copenhagen.



the sights; it is far away from where I live, so I usually do not eat until seven. After this, those of us comrades still left spend the evening together and discuss all these strange things we have seen. [...]

I have now been here for more than three weeks already, and you may rest assured that I have seen and experienced much. It is, after all, an immensely interesting exhibition and tremendously grand. Simply walking from one end to the other takes almost half an hour. I have mainly viewed the art section, of course, doing more than that would be almost impossible, as it is quite a mouthful in itself. Only now have I truly got to know what French art is and learned to admire it. In the past, it has been more about their principles. There is in particular a portrait by Dubois (pronounced 'Dyboa') depicting his two children, which is undoubtedly the finest that portrait painting has produced in modern times. And a diversity in all directions and a skill on all points, which can certainly flabbergast an ordinary Danish painter like me. And all the training that has preceded my work here in Paris has brought me to a point where I am able to fully understand and enjoy all the good things unclouded by prejudice.²⁹

According to this letter, Krøyer was particularly fascinated by Paul Dubois, who was primarily known as a sculptor, and by his painting *My Children* (location unknown). The work depicted a young girl and her older brother as standing, full-length figures, holding hands and looking directly out at the observer. Here was yet another new source of inspiration, this time within the portrait genre, and one which Krøyer describes as modern and praises with enthusiasm. Krøyer later contacted Dubois, and the work was subsequently included in

the French exhibition in Copenhagen in 1888, where it is illustrated in the accompanying catalogue.³⁰

Daphnis and Chloë

Krøyer returned to Bonnat's school in October 1878, where Bonnat encouraged him to paint a piece that would show what he had learned and which he could exhibit at the Salon. This was to be his first appearance at the Salon since arriving in Paris. The difference between the Salon and the Exposition Universelle was that the jury for the Salon was French, while the exhibition committee for the Danish section at the Exposition Universelle was Danish.

Krøyer rented an apartment at 35, Boulevard Rochechouart together with Carl Locher. They each had a room on the seventh floor and their own studios on the sixth. Krøyer had decided to paint a mythological scene featuring two naked people, a subject he believed might cause offense in Denmark.³¹ It is evident from his correspondence with family and friends that he took a long time settling on an exact subject. In a letter to Heinrich Hirschsprung he writes the following about his new surroundings: 'However, I now have a very good and comfortable studio with all the necessary tools in place, with views of the whole of Paris on one side and, on the other, the heights of Montmartre with its picturesque houses and ridges and its light trees reaching up into the air.'³²

He eventually settled on the ancient Greek pastoral tale of *Daphnis and Chloë* (CAT. 24) as the subject of his Salon picture, and Locher later stated about the further process that Krøyer hired a couple of models, but that the work came into being on the basis of too many undigested theories.³³ When Bonnat saw it in his studio, he was not

29. PSK in a letter to his stepmother, Paris, 4 October 1878. PSK Archive 52.
30. *Illustreret Katalog*, no. 109, 11.

31. PSK to Carl Jacobsen, Paris, 13 January 1879. J.C. Jacobsens Familiearkiv FA 2-008-00021, box F 4.

32. PSK to Heinrich Hirschsprung, Paris, 2 November 1878, reproduced in Mentze, 64.

33. Locher, 'Fra Krøyers Ungdom', 152.

satisfied either. Nevertheless, Krøyer submitted the work at the end of March 1879,³⁴ and according to Locher, Bonnat used his influence as a member of the jury to make sure it was hung next to the painting *Pastoral Idyll* from 1879 (Musée du Petit Palais, Paris) by the French artist Jean-Jacques Henner, whom Krøyer admired, even though his works were more idyllic and dreamlike than naturalistic.³⁵ Despite his admiration, Krøyer did not think that the juxtaposition with Henner did his own work any favours. In a letter to Vermehren, he writes:

I have been so lucky, or unlucky as it happens, to have my painting of Daphnis and Chloé hung next to him. Although my picture is by no means meagre in disposition, in fact it is quite luminously thick and full-bodied, next to him it becomes ever so dry, so hard, so ugly in colour; above all, it lacks simplicity, there are too many small, fussy shapes. But it has been most instructive for me to see my picture thus compared, and that is worth more than if it had hung among poor companions, looking more to its advantage and (perhaps) being sold.³⁶

Krøyer's debut at the French Salon was not a great success, and only a single critic noted the work:

This idyllic image certainly testifies to thorough preparation and a well-thought-out composition, but why has the artist not chosen a more beautiful model than this Daphnis, who is shown seated and playing the pan flute? Chloé, depicted illuminated and in profile, leans against her beloved's shoulder. The two bodies are well drawn and modelled in a thick layer of paint. The picture demonstrates obvious talent and a clear understanding of the subject – a beautiful, powerful, and most strange idyll.³⁷

His effort to paint a Naturalist work on a Romantic theme was never fully resolved – he did neither one nor the other with complete precision. At this point, Krøyer almost entirely abandoned 'the great genre' – history painting and mythological scenes – and devoted himself to Naturalism instead.

In connection with the Salon exhibition in 1879, Krøyer's great admiration for one of his near contemporaries, the French artist Jules Bastien-Lepage, flourished. Prior to the exhibition, Krøyer wrote: 'But I was rather discouraged by a picture I saw today by Bastien Lepage. He is ever so good, you know.'³⁸ Concerning the exhibition, Krøyer wrote, among other things:

The number one at the salon must unequivocally be Bastien Lepage's potato gatherer [FIG. 39];³⁹ a picture in a square format, life sized, a girl in a field pouring potatoes into a sack. Her head and hands are admirably done, it is austere and energetic like the old Italians, yet at the same time has all the freshness, power, and realism of modern art. It is a strange picture. The surroundings seem almost sketch-like but are done with great precision and true in colour. There is an immediacy and independent view of nature here which is a veritable joy to see.⁴⁰

It was this Naturalism – the freshness, vitality, and realism of modern art – that Krøyer would pursue that spring.

Travelling around rural France in 1879

By May of 1879, Krøyer had reached greater clarity in his views on the many impressions received from the Parisian art scene during his time in the city. In April he had set out for the French artists' colony in Cernay-la-Ville a little southeast of Paris, from where he wrote a long letter to his

34. Catalogue no. 1704.

35. Catalogue no. 1540. Jean-Jacques Henner: *Eglogue*, c. 1879.

36. Copy of letter: PSK to Frederik Vermehren, Cerney-la-Ville, 20 May 1879. PSK Archive 58.

37. Véron, *Dictionnaire Véron*, 326–327.

38. PSK to Heinrich Hirschsprung, Paris, 12 March 1879. HH Archive

713. Marianne Saabye writes that the passage presumably refers to the

work *Hay Making* (Musée d'Orsay), which Krøyer must have seen in the artist's studio; Saabye, 'Krøyer & Bastien-Lepage', 25.

39. *Saison d'octobre*, catalogue no. 164.

40. Copy of letter: PSK to Frederik Vermehren, Cerney-la-Ville, 20 May 1879. PSK Archive 58.

Danish former teacher Frederik Vermehren, demonstrating how he could now put his impressions of the Parisian art scene into perspective.⁴¹ He explained how Bonnat's teaching differed from the teaching provided in Denmark, and how Bonnat emphasised the study of nature – meaning that you painted the model as you saw him, not as you knew he looked.⁴² He went on to say:

[Vilhelm] Kyhn has no cause to mock us because we have chosen Bonnat (whom he, showing such little knowledge of the actual situation, calls a fashion painter) as our tutor, and I hope in time that the results will show that what we have learned are by no means 'tricks' aimed at 'pulling the wool over people's eyes.' I have never received more serious and solid instruction, and Bonnat avoids all mannerisms, tricks, artifice like the plague. It seems quite comical to me when I hear such widespread talk about the technique one is to learn in Paris, 'La Nature Oh je suis esclave de la nature, c'est mon seul maître' [Nature! Oh, I am the slave of nature, it is my only master], Bonnat once said to me.⁴³

In the same letter, Krøyer alluded to some of the most important French artists who exhibited at the Salon in 1879. In addition to the aforementioned Bonnat, Henner, and Bastien-Lepage, he brought up precursor of Symbolism Pierre Puvis de Chavannes, landscape painter Charles-François Daubigny, genre painter Gustave Guillaumet, portrait painters Paul Dubois and Carolus-Duran, and the Impressionists. Krøyer simply wrote 'the Impressionists', mentioning no names, but the only one of them to exhibit that year was Pierre-Auguste Renoir, so Krøyer must either have been referring to him or have considered more artists to belong in the category. Alternatively, he may have seen other artists from the group represented elsewhere, perhaps at the fourth Impressionist Exhibition, from 10 April

to 11 May 1879. He concluded by stating that there were some lovely landscapes by Benner (Emmanuel or his brother Jean), Antoine Guillemet, Léon Germain Pelouse, Alexandre Defaux, and many others.

The list demonstrates that Krøyer was broadly acquainted with contemporary French art, but Pelouse stands out for the simple reason that Krøyer wrote the letter in Cernay-la-Ville. Pelouse was a self-taught artist who had settled in this town, located in the extensive, wooded area of Vaux-de-Cernay. Despite his lack of formal training, he had achieved success as an artist. He had shown several landscapes at major exhibitions, including the Exposition Universelle in 1878 and the Salon in 1879. In posterity, however, his success has been overshadowed by the Barbizon painters, who had established the first and most famous artists' colony in France in the forest of Fontainebleau a little further south.

In the town of Cernay-la-Ville, Pelouse had gathered a circle of pupils around him. Alongside Danish painter Christian Zacho, Krøyer spent April, May, and June in Cernay with a number of Pelouse's students and other French and American artists, interrupted only by a single, brief trip back to Paris, which was only a few hours away. The French contemporaries with whom Krøyer formed the closest ties included Flavien Peslin, Ernest Baillet, and Léon Joubert. None of them, however, achieved the same position or fame within the contemporary French art world as Pelouse.

One of the first things Krøyer painted in Cernay was *Country Road with Girl Walking. Gathering Storm. Cernay-la-Ville*, dated 21 April 1879 (ILL. 11). All of his newfound Naturalism unfolds in this small *plein air* study. He had done some outdoor painting previously, including in Hornbæk in Denmark and in Granada in Spain, but here another dimension was added in the form of the more fully 'digested' impressions from the art scene in Paris

41. An overview of Krøyer's travels can be obtained through studies of the extensive correspondence that still survives in various archives and

publications. Not everything has been preserved, so there are gaps in our knowledge. Jesper Svenningsen provides the best, most comprehensive

and elaborate timeline of Krøyer's activities in Svenningsen, 'Chronology – Krøyer's life & movements', 328–333.

42. See also chapter 7.

43. Copy of letter: PSK to Frederik Vermehren, Cernay-la-Ville, 20 May 1879. PSK Archive 58.



ILL. 11 Peder Severin Krøyer: *Country road with girl walking. Gathering storm. Cernay-la-Ville, 1879*. Oil on canvas, 31.2×39.7 cm. Skagens Kunstmuseer. SKM1178

and his training under Bonnat. This melange was also tinged with the Naturalism of the Scandinavian Modern Breakthrough and with French Naturalism, especially in the form of the influence of Bastien-Lepage and now also Pelouse. The work shows a woman under a stormy sky reflected in the puddles on the gravel road. She has become part of the landscape she inhabits, and her modest size emphasises her interconnectedness with the setting.

Exactly why Krøyer went to Cernay-la-Ville remains unknown, but his decision was presumably prompted by a desire to get out of the city, to find a suitable place for *plein air* painting with lots of company, and to paint a larger work intended for public display, just as he did in Spain the year before. In this case, that larger work was *French Workers on a Sunken Road* (CAT. 25).

Once the large canvas was completed, and after another brief stay in Paris, Krøyer went on to visit Brittany in early July in the company of Zacho and an unidentified French painter of the same age – following in the footsteps of Pelouse, as it were. They travelled by train to Morlaix on the north coast of Brittany, after which they continued on foot for some 90 km south to the artists' colony of Pont-Aven, and then onwards to another artists' colony called Concarneau a short distance away. Pelouse had previously visited and painted scenes from both colonies. The first artists arrived in Pont-Aven in 1866.⁴⁴ When Pelouse visited the city in the early 1870s, there were not yet many artists there. When Krøyer arrived, the place had grown somewhat too crowded for Pelouse, but it was not until the 1880s that Paul Gauguin truly put the place on the map. Krøyer stayed in Pont-Aven for a few weeks, making only small studies there.

In Concarneau, Krøyer met up with Tuxen. Wishing to paint a larger *plein air* work, Krøyer settled there for two months until the end of September. The old fishing village

had a certain attraction with its authentic fishing environment, and the town was also home to the French artist Alfred Guillou, who laid the foundations of an artists' colony there in the 1870s.⁴⁵ Krøyer got to know Guillou during his stay and painted a portrait of him there (Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen). However, several circumstances stood in the way of Krøyer's ambition to engage in *plein air* painting in Concarneau. He wrote the following report to a friend in Denmark, the painter Frants Henningsen:

So much fuss had been made about the glories of Brittany that I – when, moreover, the season was growing somewhat late – decided to go to Brittany instead of Italy, and I must admit that it is rich and original in terms of landscape as well as figures. However, I would not say that the place I have settled is the most interesting – quite the contrary. Nevertheless, I am by the sea and with my comrades, Zacho among others. First of all, I have had to face the circumstance, less than fortuitous for a figure painter, that it has been almost impossible to get models because it is the great sardine fishing season. And so everyone, men, women, girls, boys are busy for the few months it lasts. I wasted several weeks on vain searches, feeling aggrieved at all existence, until I came upon the idea of trying to paint something in the sardine factories themselves. There I found a very picturesque interior and, using the times of rests and stormy days, I have been able to get the women to model for me. My picture is almost finished and I think it will be much better than the workers [*French Workers on a Sunken Road*]. The colour effect and lighting in particular have proven quite successful.⁴⁶

44. Lübbren, *Rural artists' colonies*, 172.

45. Lübbren, 167.

46. PSK to Frants Henningsen, Concarneau, 2 September 1879. SKMB25.

The interior in question was *A Sardine Curing and Packing Factory in Concarneau* (ILL. 12), and as a substitute for a *plein air* painting it was extremely successful. The composition is well executed with its diagonal view down through the factory hall, the colours of the regional costumes, and the contrast between the dark room and the daylight from the skylights and the door at the end of the hall, reflected in the sardines' shiny scales. The workers are portrayed with great seriousness and respect. As in *French Workers on a Sunken Road*, there is no interaction between the people in the picture; the artist's full attention is focused on the labour, the post-work fatigue, and the setting that surrounds the figures.

By late September 1879, Krøyer was back in Paris. From here he managed to fit in a brief trip to the famous artist colony of Barbizon in the forest of Fontainebleau. Whether he made a day trip or stayed a few days is unknown, but at any rate this meant that he had now visited the most famous French colonies.⁴⁷

In early October 1879, shortly after his trip to Barbizon, Krøyer travelled from Paris to Italy. Once again, he journeyed from the border on the south coast of France to Genoa on foot. These hikes were presumably made due to their inherent opportunities for experiencing nature, enjoying each other's company and making sketches, rather than because of insufficient funds. He spent a month in Florence before travelling to Rome in late November. Here he remained until April, but without painting much. Instead, he enjoyed socialising with several fellow artists from Denmark and other Nordic countries, and engaged in studies of Italian art.⁴⁸ He did not paint scenes of urban life in any other cities, whether Copenhagen, Berlin, Paris, or Madrid. He had no interest in the subject, just as he did not paint Parisians of either

sex.⁴⁹ In that sense he was more like artists such as Millet, Bastien-Lepage, and Pelouse (who took no interest in Paris life either) than Impressionists or certain Naturalists such as Paul-Albert Besnard, Albert Edelfelt, or Anders Zorn, who did.

In early May, Krøyer set out for Sora, southeast of Rome, where there was ample opportunity to paint the magnificent landscape and rural population there. He stayed for a long time, embarking on his largest painting to date, *Italian Field Labourers, Abruzzo* (Kunstmuseum Brandts, Odense), measuring 124.3 x 186 cm. However, his stay was interrupted by a few weeks in Paris in mid-June to see the Salon, to which he had submitted *A Sardine Curing and Packing Factory in Concarneau*. There were various reasons why his stay in Paris did not last longer. In addition to the unfinished picture of the Italian field labourers waiting for him in Sora, there was also a private matter that kept him away from Paris. An acquaintance there, Harald Foss, believed that Krøyer ought to marry a young Scandinavian woman whom Krøyer had met in Rome, but who was now in Paris with her family, the Ditrichsons.⁵⁰ By his own admission, Krøyer was fond of the girl, but not in love with her. He therefore asked Tuxen, who was in Paris, to get the lie of the land and find out whether he could even go to Paris that year at all. A lengthy letter to Tuxen on 27 May opens with the following words:

You lucky thing. Now you can go to the Salon and enjoy Bastien Lepage and Dubois and also dine every day with the sweet, lovable girls, attend the Theatre Francais, etc., etc. And I must remain exiled, imprisoned, for a very dubious crime, forced to give up my long-settled plan to travel to Paris and see my painting at the Salon.⁵¹

47. The trip to Barbizon is not included on the timeline in Saabye, *Krøyer. An International Perspective*, 328–333. However, the fact that Krøyer did spend time in Barbizon is apparent from two drawings, one depicting the Finnish

literary scholar Adolf Fredrik (Fritz) Wetterhoff (The Hirschsprung Collection), the other the Swedish painter Johan Ericson (sold at auction by Bruun Rasmussen on 4 March

2004). The latter is dated 'Barbizon 5 October 1879'.

48. Hornung, 118.

49. PSK to Heinrich Hirschsprung, 35, Boulevard de Rochechouart, Paris, 12 March 1879. HH Archives 713.

50. PSK to Laurits Tuxen, Sora, 21 May 1880. KB NBD 2nd rk.

51. PSK to Laurits Tuxen, Sora, 27 May 1880. KB NKS 2339, 2° 5.



ILL. 12 Peder Severin Krøyer: *A Sardine Curing and Packing Factory in Concarneau*, 1879. Oil on canvas, 101,5×140,5 cm. Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen. KMS3108



It appears that a brief stay was deemed possible after all. He arrived in Paris around 11 June and stayed until 20 June. One of Krøyer's French friends, the painter Adrien Jourdeuil, had helped him with the practicalities regarding the framing of the work, which had remained in Paris, and Jourdeuil also helped him submit it in time for the exhibition opening so that Krøyer could arrive later. The work received somewhat more attention than *Daphnis and Chloë* did the year before. This time Krøyer received positive mention in several reviews or reports of the exhibition, two of which went so far as to indicate that he should have received a medal.⁵²

The French critics did not see Krøyer's work as particularly inspired by French art; on the contrary, they emphasised his unique style and Nordic roots. Several mentioned his treatment of light and the realism in his treatment of working women and men.⁵³ The French art historian and critic Marius Vachon described the work as follows:

Although Krøyer spent some time in Bonnat's studio, he retained a distinctively Danish feel and expression in his works. His *A Sardine Curing and Packing Factory in Concarneau* stands out as an example of his exploration of *chiaroscuro* effects, of playing with light falling softly into the space through apertures, and the use of reddish-brown shades, all quite characteristic of the Nordic schools of painting; the artist has intelligently achieved a good result by bringing all these different elements into play.⁵⁴

After almost three and a half months in Sora, interrupted only by his brief trip to Paris in mid-June, Krøyer wrote a letter to his comrade Frants Henningsen, including small drawings of the two paintings he was working on there: *Italian Field Labourers, Abruzzo* and *Italian Village Hatters*

52. The two critics were Olivier Merson, 'Salon de 1880. VI', 9 and Paul Mantz, 'Le Salon. VII', 20 June 1880, [p. 2].

53. Including Havard, 'Le Salon de 1880', 2 and Seigneur, *L'Art et les artistes au Salon de 1880*, 67.

54. Vachon, 'Le Salon de 1880', 3.

(ILL. 13). In the letter, he related that the picture of the field labourers, which was quite large, took longer than expected to paint (CAT. 35), and that he had therefore also begun to paint the hatters, a work which he believed held great promise:

The lighting and the contrast between the nature of the various naked torsos, the father's lean, characteristic body and the children's, one lean and the other round and plump. It is a pure pleasure to paint.⁵⁵

He also told of his field labourers and hatters in a letter to his patron Heinrich Hirschsprung's wife, Pauline Hirschsprung: 'I am not given to telling stories, except for what might come under the heading of the Zolaesque, for which I make no apologies.'⁵⁶ In saying so he meant that he stuck to the kind of naturalistic narratives from real life of which the French author Émile Zola was an exponent, meaning that he eschewed mythological or historical scenes that were far removed from the everyday lives of labourers or fishermen.

After completing the two major works in Sora, Krøyer travelled around Italy. He stayed in Naples for a while, where he shared a studio with the Italian sculptor Pasquale Fosca, whom he had met in Sora.⁵⁷ He was back in Rome by December 1880. Here he embarked, perhaps somewhat surprisingly, on a historical scene which he had already considered doing during his first stay. The prompt was that he had been commissioned to do a watercolour of an Italian model.⁵⁸ For this task, he had used the model Vittoria. Krøyer knew that she had previously posed for the French painter Aimé Nicolas Morot for his *Medea* (CAT. 7),⁵⁹ and for the so-called Gallic amazons in *The Ambrones. Episode of the battle at Eaux-Sextienne* (Musée des Beaux-Arts, Nancy).⁶⁰ Krøyer would have had the opportunity to view these at the Paris Salon in 1877 and

1879, respectively.⁶¹ Morot had won the French Prix de Rome in 1873, resulting in a four-year stay at the French Academy's department at Villa Médici in Rome. Krøyer decided to have Vittoria pose for his historic *Messalina* (FIG. 7), which he completed in April 1881. Krøyer described his choices to his colleague, Tuxen:

I then went on to paint a couple of watercolours and finally my famous *Messalina*. But perhaps you have not heard it mentioned at all? After all, I myself, and most others with me, am so amazed that I, a painter of fishermen and peasants, should be painting a *Messalina* that I do believe everyone must be astounded by it. Be that as it may, I am painting *Messalina*, a single figure, in her box at the amphitheatre; she has risen at some exciting moment of the combat below and is animatedly following someone in the arena. In the background is a crowd of people, or next to her background, I should say. She is wearing a light white-blue, pale red robe against a yellow silk drapery with gold fringes, and the side of her in shadow (well, really there is none because it is a flat light) stands out against the golden side of the imperial seat; oriental rugs adorn the edge of the box. The main effect is, then, yellow and gold with a little red. It is a pure portrait of a magnificent, glorious – if a little *passée* – Roman model, Vittoria. She who posed for Morot's *Medea* and his Gallic amazons.⁶²

Messalina was sent to the Nordic Art Exhibition in Gothenburg that same year, whereas *Italian Village Hatters* was sent to the Salon in Paris.

At the end of his four-year stay abroad, Krøyer travelled from Italy to Paris to see the Salon. Here he was awarded the medal that he did not receive the year before. It was

55. PSK to Frants Henningsen, 15 August 1880. SKMB26.

56. PSK to Pauline Hirschsprung, Sora, 8 September 1880. HH Archives 725.

57. Saabye, 'P.S. Krøyer, Pasquale Fosca and the Neapolitan art scene', 143–177.

58. Müller, 'Peter Severin Krøyer', 606.
59. Catalogue no. 1557 at the 1877 Salon.

60. Catalogue no. 2194 at the 1879 Salon 1879.

61. PSK to Laurits Tuxen, Rome, 24 March 1880. KB NKS 2339, 2° 5 and

Saabye, '1880–81 Napels, Rome & Paris', 208.

62. PSK to Laurits Tuxen, Rome, 24 March 1880. KB NKS 2339, 2° 5.

ILL. 13 Peder Severin
Krøyer, Letter to Frants
Henningesen, Sora, 1880.
Skagens Kunstmuseer.
SKMB26



a third-class medal, quite a feat for a non-French artist, prompting even more numerous reviews and mentions than before. This time Marius Vachon wrote:

[...] a most original work by Krøyer, the creator of *Sardine Curing and Packing Factory in Concarneau*, which attracted such attention at the Salon last year. It depicts a dark and smoky shop room at the village hatter. We see three workers stripped to the waist, painted in a palette reminiscent of Rembrandt, powerfully executed and with a unique intensity in its portrayal of character.⁶³

Krøyer spent three weeks in Paris in May 1881, after which he returned to Copenhagen. Prior to his departure, he painted the small picture *Excursion on the Seine* (ILL. 14). It is a small study that was not intended for exhibition, but more of a note made during his travels. We do not know the identities of the people in the picture, but they are most likely some of Krøyer's acquaintances in Paris, creating a kinship with the Impressionists' range of subject matter and how they often painted scenes of artists socialising in the big city.

Krøyer and France after 1881

Krøyer's hectic travel schedule never stopped. From 1881, he simply divided his year, wintering in Copenhagen and summering in Skagen, where he stayed for the first time in 1882. His connection to the French art scene lasted for many years, but from around 1890 he increasingly visited other European cities. Krøyer now mainly visited Paris for a few weeks in spring to experience the Salon and other exhibitions and museums.

In 1882 he exhibited a full-length portrait of Ferdinand Meldahl (CAT. 41) at the Salon, as well as some drawings

in a Scandinavian gallery on Avenue de l'Opera, operated by the Norwegian author H.G. Petersen-Gade, who had settled in Paris.⁶⁴ In a departure from his usual habit, Krøyer did not exhibit in Paris in 1883, but nevertheless visited the city. He would faithfully return each year in connection with his exhibition activity until 1889, when he married the painter Marie Triepcke. A small series of four photographs shows a social lunch in Paris in the spring of 1889 in the company of Scandinavian artist friends (ILL. 15).⁶⁵ Following this, his visits became more sporadic. He could be found in Paris in the years 1892, 1895, 1898, and 1899, and in 1900 after his mental breakdown. On that occasion he visited the Exposition Universelle, the Danish part of which he had helped to arrange. Afterwards, he visited again in 1902, 1903, and, while passing through, in 1907.

Only a few of his visits during that period were prolonged. One of the more eventful took place in 1884, when he had submitted three works to the Salon: *Fishermen Hauling a Seine Net at Skagen Nordstrand. Late Afternoon* (CAT. 42), *Artists' Luncheon at Brøndum's Hotel* (Skagens Kunstmuseer), and, in the section for works on paper, the pastel *Summer Evening* (Nationalmuseum, Stockholm).⁶⁶ The two oils received the most publicity, winning him a second-class medal, of which a total of 12 were awarded. He came close to receiving a first-class medal, of which none were ultimately awarded that year.⁶⁷ Still, receiving the silver medal was a considerable achievement, and it came with the huge benefit that from this point on, he could exhibit works of his choice without having to submit them to a jury first. That same spring, he visited the predominantly Swedish artists' colony south of Paris, Grez-sur-Loing, not far from Fontainebleau.⁶⁸ Here he immortalised the company in the pastel *Artists' Luncheon in Grez* (Prins Eugens Waldemarsudde, Stockholm).

63. Vachon, 'Le Salon de 1881', 3.

64. Lobstein, "'A Lover of Light'", 53.

65. Left to right: Ursule Tuxen, Ida Schandorph, Michael Ancher,

Hanna Rönneberg, Sophus Schandorph, Anna Ancher, Marie Triepcke, and Peder Severin Krøyer.

66. Nos. 1340, 1341, and 2904 at the Salon in 1884.

67. 'Au Salon. Les Deuxième Médailles de la Peinture', 2.

68. Lübbren, 168-169.



ILL. 14 Peder Severin Krøyer: *Excursion on the Seine*, 1881. Oil on panel, 12.7×21.7 cm. Skagens Kunstmuseer. SKM17

A French contemporary, Paul-Albert Besnard, whom Krøyer had met in Paris, also came to play a major role in Krøyer's career during the 1880s. In 1886, Krøyer exhibited a large painting, *Skagen Men going out Fishing at Night. Late Summer Evening* (CAT. 44), at the Salon in Paris. For practical reasons, he left the large painting with Besnard, and gifted it to him two years later. In 1899, Besnard donated it to the Musée du Luxembourg, which could not afford to buy it. Thus, it was thanks to his good friend Besnard that Krøyer was represented at the museum of contemporary art with such an impressive work. A watercolour depicting his wife, *Marie Krøyer and their daughter Vibeke reading in their home at Skagen*

from 1898 (CAT. 55), exhibited at the Exposition Universelle in 1900 in Paris, was subsequently acquired by the Musée du Luxembourg and is now at the Louvre (deposit from Musée d'Orsay).⁶⁹

In 1886 and again in 1889, just before his wedding to Marie Triepcke, Krøyer visited the French city of Luchon in the Pyrenees, close to the Spanish border. This was not the site of an artists' colony but a spa town, which Krøyer visited quite alone. Here he underwent cures with baths and diets to improve his health, and at the same time created small-scale works, including the very atmospheric naturalistic *Labourers at an Inn, Luchon*, created during his first stay (Den Hirschsprungske Samling, Copenhagen).

69. Lobstein, "A Lover of Light", 61. The work would have been no. 74 or 75, both of which are listed under the title

Scène d'intérieur - aquarelle in the exhibition catalogue for the *Exposition Universelle de 1900*.



ILL. 15 Peder Severin Krøyer: Luncheon, presumably in Asnières, 1889.

From 1888 to 1889 he made a long stay in Paris, partly in connection with the preparations for the French exhibition in Copenhagen in 1888 and partly to paint and exhibit *Committee for the French Art Exhibition in Copenhagen 1888* (CAT. 47). In 1889 he exhibited at the Salon and at the Exposition Universelle.

As a very special achievement, Krøyer was awarded the French Order the Légion d'honneur twice; first as

Chevalier (knight) and then the higher rank as Officier (officer).⁷⁰ The Order was awarded twice a year, in January and July, and was not always bestowed in recognition of any particular event. Nor do any documents on the awarding of the Légion d'honneur to foreigners survive in French archives. Krøyer received his first Légion d'honneur on 8 July 1887, and the cover letter states no reason why he was awarded it. Thus, the motivations must

70. The two diplomas pertaining to the Ordre National de la Légion D'Honneur and La Décoration de Chevalier de

l'Ordre National de la Légion d'honneur Paris in 1887 and 1901, as well as the covering letters, are in the collection of

Skagens Kunstmuseer (Krøyer's insignia and diplomas, nos. 7 and 2).

remain a matter of conjecture, but one possible explanation may be that Krøyer had once again made a name for himself at the Salon in 1887 with the two works *Music in the Studio*, 1886 (Nasjonalmuseet, Oslo), and *Summer Day at Skagen Sønderstrand*, 1884 (Den Hirschsprungske Samling). The second time Krøyer received the Order was 18 January 1901, presumably given due to his involvement in the organisation of the Danish contribution to the 1900 Exposition Universelle. By this time, Krøyer had also (in November 1897) become a Corresponding Academician at the Académie des Beaux-Arts, which was solely an honorary title, and he had won several medals and prizes, the most important being the Grand Prix received for his participation in the Exposition Universelle in Paris in 1889 and 1900.⁷¹

A career of a thousand connections

In his artistic practice, Krøyer can be described as a nomad navigating through the endless sands of the desert to find ever-shifting oases. Or as a sailor who navigates his way through archipelagos solely by means of his sense of time and place. Krøyer did not live within a closed system, but in an open and changing world, and his art changed along with it. He took something with him from Bonnat's school in terms of his brushwork, *chiaroscuro* effects, and degree of detail, as well as the processing of paint to make it thicker. But he continued to do preliminary studies for his *plein air* paintings in line with the practices he learned at

the art academy. He did not relinquish preliminary studies the way the Impressionists did in order to cultivate immediate impressions. In this way, he created a synthesis of what he had learned and absorbed from various sources, adding to this mix his own very special relationship with light, which found expression in interiors, portraits, and landscapes by twilight, in storms, and in bright midday sunshine. He was aware of staying original in his style, ensuring that he did not look like, for example, his French role models. He wrote about this in a letter to his former teacher at the Danish academy of fine arts, Vermehren, in 1879 while describing Bonnat's teaching,⁷² and it also found expression in his own teaching of future artists at Kunstnerens Studieskole.

As regards his choice of subject matter, he favoured Naturalist images in the 1870s and 1880s, but also found a distinctly Nordic tone in Skagen during the 1880s and 1890s, seasoning it with dashes of international impulses such as Japonisme, which deeply fascinated Karl Madsen and others;⁷³ French Symbolism, as in Puvis de Chavannes; and not least the Arts and Crafts movement, inspired by his wife's interest. In 1890, before the couple returned from their combined honeymoon and study trip, Krøyer wrote to the landlord of his studio at 33, Bredgade, Axel Prior, informing him that the studio was now to be painted white in order to accommodate the new works he would paint.⁷⁴ After 1900, his *plein air* paintings evolved, using freer, broader brushstrokes, bold colour contrasts, and strong sunlight filtered through the leaves of trees.

71. Appointed Correspondent de l'Institut, Académie des Beaux-Arts, Paris, 20 November 1897; Krøyer's insignia and diplomas, no. 24.

72. Copy of letter: PSK to Frederik Vermehren, Cernay-la-Ville, 20 May 1879. PSK Archive 58.

73. Karl Madsen's first book, *Japansk Malerkunst*, was on Japanese painting.

74. PSK to Axel Prior, Civita d'Antino, 17 June 1890. PSK Archive 125.1. Halkier, 'The studio at Bredgade 33', 68.

