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Architectural Education in Sweden from the late 19th to the early 20th century

—National Romanticism and the *Stipendieresa* (Stipendiary Study Trip)—

Tomoyo Kobayashi Osaka University

Abstract

ARCHITECTS such as Ragnar Östberg (1866-1945), Ivar Tengbom (1878-1968) and Erik Gunnar Asplund (1885-1940) pioneered modernism in Swedish architecture. These architects completed their studies in both engineering and art which allowed them to develop into architects who combined these elements into their designs. Their architectural style is called Swedish "National Romanticism", which, compared to Swedish architecture in the previous centuries, has a style that is often said to represent "Swedishness". These architectural design, however, also reflect various European influences.

A typical and ideal education for Swedish architects has been observed to follow a particular path: a student will begin their studies at a technical institute or college and then go on to complete their architectural studies at the Swedish Royal Academy of Arts. The prominent Swedish architects above, completed their architectural studies at the Royal Institute of Technology of Sweden (established in 1826) and afterward studied at the Swedish Royal Academy of Arts (established in 1773). Tengbom, another prominent Swedish architect, studied at the Chalmers College of Technology (established in 1823) first and then continued on to the Swedish Royal Academy of Arts.

The Swedish Royal Academy of Arts was deeply influenced by the curriculum of the *École des Beaux-Arts* and offered a gold medal along with the opportunity to participate in the *Stipendieresa* (Stipendiary Study Trip) to the best student in each department. This prize allowed one student in each graduating class to travel Europe for three years in order to expand their exposure to various architectural designs and styles. Many prominent Swedish architects received this award during their education including: Östberg in 1883, who traveled to Chicago and in 1896 visited Germany, France, Italy, Greece, Spain, England, and Belgium (1896-89) and; Tengbom, who travelled to Denmark (1903) and France (1905-06). However, not all famous Swedish architects were given this opportunity, notably Asplund, who quit the Swedish Royal Academy of Arts, did not participate in the *Stipendieresa*.

Stipendieresa program helped to reinforce Swedish "National Romanticism", whereby major architects combined the designs of traditional Swedish architecture and both classic and exotic European architecture. They first acquired technical training and basic knowledge at a technical institute or college, and then completed their architectural education at the Swedish Royal Academy of Arts where they studied architectural styles in Sweden and other European countries and learned various models for their future work in the style of "National Romanticism".

Keywords: National Romantic Architecture in Sweden, Stipendieresa (Stipendiary Study Trip), architecture education in Sweden.

Introduction

THIS paper will discuss the Swedish architectural educational system and how it functioned from the mid-1880s to the mid-1900s. The main focus of this paper is how the *Stipendieresa* (Stipendiary Study Trip) contributed to the development of Swedish architectural design in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. This paper begins with a brief outline of the department of architecture in the Swedish Royal Academy of Arts and its relation to the Royal Institute of Technology. Previous literature suggested that many architects from this era finished their studies both at the Royal Institute of Technology and at the Swedish Royal Academy of Arts. Few articles clarify this complicated system in this area of study. Following this outline, the paper will focus on the *Stipendieresa* system and how it is reflected in individual architects' work and the National Romanticism of Swedish architecture.

1. Educational Institutions

THE background of the Swedish Royal Academy of Arts, known as *Kungliga akademien för de fria konsterna* (Royal Academy of Free Arts) and the *Konsthögskolan* (The Royal Institute of Fine Arts) is summarized as follows. In 1773, Gustav III established the *Kungliga målare och bildhuggarea akademeins byggnadskola* (Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture, and Architecture). Its mission was to show Swedish society that education at the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture and Architecture was an important part of the "public" education system and that its teachers and masters were representative of a variety of professions and of each educational institute respectively.

Starting in 1810, it was officially re-named the *Kungliga akademien för de fria konsterna* (Royal Academy of Free Arts) and was relocated to Fredsgatan 12 in Stockholm. The old site was transformed into the *Konstakademien* (The Royal Academy of Fine Arts). It is still used to exhibit art collections and serve as a research hub for academics.

At the *Kungliga akademien för de fria konsterna*, the School of Architecture, *Arkitektur-skolan* followed a path distinct from that of the School of Painting and Sculpture¹⁾ and became an independent department from the years of 1876 to 1908. About three decades, the *Tekniska Högskolan* (Institute of Technology) was developed to provide specific architectural education at the *Kungliga akademien för de fria konsterna* (Royal Academy of Free Arts) to prepare students to enter the *Arkitekturskolan*.

As students were required to graduate from the *Tekniska Högskolan* (Institute of Technology) before entering the *Arkitekturskolan*, these institutions established a special relationship. One of the reasons for the creation of the *Tekniska Högskolan* was to develop students' abilities and understanding of engineering as it applied to architectural studies. In 1876, the *Arkitektur*-

1) — Modellstudiet efter levande modell eller efter antika skulptur förblev längre undervisningens tyngdpunkt för både målare och skulptörer. Det stöddes av lektionerna i anatomi och övningarna i persepektivritining och skugglära. Göran Lindahl, Konsthogskolan i Stockholm: måleri, skulptur, grafik, arkitektur [Royal Institute of Art, Sweden: Paintings, sculptures, graphic and architecture], Stockholm,1984, p.5.

skolan (School of Architecture) was officially founded and the *Tekniska Högskolan* worked as *fackskoka för arkitektur* (the training school for School of Architecture) at *Kungliga akademien för de fria konsterna* their prospective students.²

In 1826, *Tekniska Högskolan*, the forerunner of the *Kungliga Tekniska Högskolan* (Royal Institute of Technology, Sweden), known as KTH, was founded. The philosophy of education at the *Tekniska Högskolan* at Stockholm at the time was "application of the technology " for the Swedish society.³⁾ The Institute of Technology at Stockholm was a 4 year diploma program which offered comprehensive free standing courses such as physics, math, geometry, science, and engineering.⁴⁾ Beginning in the 19th century, there was discussion about the "architecture in Sweden itself". The idea was that Sweden should have its own style and not only imitate the architecture from other countries and centuries. This was also the beginning of the debate surrounding whether architecture belonged in scientific or artistic field.⁵⁾

With the scientific innovations such as electricity, *Tekniska Högskolan* and *Kungliga akademien för de fria konsterna* tried to build relationships with each other. In 1870, governors and scholars from both institutions formed a community established for the education of architects, *Arkitekturskolan*.⁶⁾ The institution was put in place with the goals of producing architects with a combination of strong engineering and artistic skills.

Prospective students of the *Arkitekturskolan* must have completed their training in architectural engineering before entering the *Arkitekturskolan*. Thus, *Teckniska Högskola* at Stockholm was often the choice of those students who wished to seek admission.

In the *Arkitekturskolan* students were trained with a more aesthetic focus for three years (for example, making sketches of decorative art, architecture, orders, columns work on compositions and so on.) and they had more opportunities to experience the design of bigger and more complex building than students at the former school of architecture.⁷⁾ During their fourth year, all students would work for prize money on individual work activities known as the *Stipendieresa* (Stipendiary Study Trip).

In 1908, *Kungliga akademien för de fria konsterna* changed its name to *Kungl Konsthögskolan* known as KKH (Royal University College of Fine Arts). In 1978, *Kungliga Konsthögskolan* became an independent college under the Ministry of Education and started to translate "the Royal Institute of Art of Sweden".

6)———Lindahl, 1977, p.9.

Göran Lindahl, Konstakademiens byggnadsskola: en bistorisk översikt 1773-1977 [School of Architecture at Royal Institute of Art, Sweden: Historic Outline between 1773 and 1977], Stockholm: Konsthögskolan arkitekturskola, 1977, p.9.

^{3)————}Fakta om KTH[Fact of KTH] https://www.kth.se/om/fakta/historik [2015.09.02]

^{5)——}Peter Sundborg, *Svensk arkitekturkritik under hundra år* [Swedish architec critics under 100 years.] Stockholm, 1993.

^{7)———}Lindahl, 1984, p.34.

2. Stipendieresa (Stipendiary Study Trip)

THE *Stipendieresa* (Stipendiary Study Trip) was awarded with the gold medal from the *Kungliga akademien för de fria konsterna*. Several students from Departments of Sculpture, Painting and School of Architecture were nominated every year. For architectural students, the *Stipendieresa* was a privilege. Students who had the highest grades and demonstrated architectural abilities were candidates to participate. Candidates had to have passed certain *Arkitekturskolan*'s criteria including that they should be Swedish, between the ages twenty and thirty, and have basic knowledge of French and German. The winner of the *competition at Arkitekturskolan* could travel to any countries they wanted. Moreover, *Stipendieresa* winners qualified for as much as 3000 SEK per year.⁸

Students from all departments who received a *Stipendieresa* qualified to go to Paris to the *École nationale supérieure des beaux-arts de Paris* (National School of Fine Arts in Paris), known as *École des Beaux-Arts*, because of the strong connection between the *Kungliga akademien för de fria konsterna* which was established in the mid 18th century.

Anne-Mari Neovius's *Studie och studieresor Stockholmarkitekters studier under 1800-talets senare hälft och Erik Josephsons studieresa 1888-1889* [Study and Study Trip, early half of the 19th century Stockholm's architects' studies and Erik Josephson's Study Trip 1888-1889] is a previous research study of the *Stipendieresa* and analyzed the destinations of *Stipendieresa* students between 1857 and 1906. However, the information about from the winners of the *Stipendieres* from 1906 to 1910 is lacking from their records and has therefore not been included in this review.

Building on Neovius's analysis, this paper also explores the backgrounds of influential Swedish architecture professors had on the destination choices made by *Stipendieresa* students. The years from 1857 to 1906 can be divided into two sections. The first of these are students under the professor Fredrik Wilhelm Scholander (1816-1881) from 1857 to 1881 and the second is made up of students under professor Claes Grundström (1844-1925) from 1883 and 1906.

2.1. Destinations of *Stipendieresa* students under the Professor Fredrik Wilhelm Scholander from 1857 to 1881

A previous section entitled "Educational Institutions" introduced the education at *Arkitekturskolan* which put emphasis on aesthetic and practical approaches. These approaches were Scholander's way to develop student's comprehension of architecture itself. As an artist, architect and scholar, Scholander taught at *Arkitekturskolan* from 1848 and until his death, in 1881. Before he taught at the *Arkitekturskolan*, he had studied in Paris (1841-1843) from Charles Garnier (1825-1889) and also in Italy during the winter of 1843. Even during that short time, he produced approximately 1100 water colour sketches in Italy. His philosophy was that ancient and Renaissance architecture styles were necessary themes and crucial learning for students to understand architecture?⁹

8)_____Neovius, 1981, p.14 9)_____Lindahl, 1977, p.7.

Destinations of Scholander's students. Axel Fredirk Nyström (1793-1868) who received it in 1885 are unknown. Albert Theodor Gallestedt (1836-1914) who did the *Stipendieresa* visited Denmark, Germany, France, and Italy in 1862-1864. Gustaf Dahl (1835-1927) went to England, Germany, France, Italy, and Spain in 1864-1869. Ernst Jacobsson (1839-1905) visited England, Scotland, France, Italy, and Germany in 1864-1866. Herman Theodor Holmgren (1842-1914) went to Germany, France, and Italy in 1871-1874. Frederik Olaus Lindström (1847-1919) visited Germany, France, and Italy in 1874-1876. Claes Grundström (1844-1925) went to Germany, France, and Italy in 1875-1881. Carl Möller (1857-1933) visited France and Italy after 1879.

The influence of Scholander appears in the choice of destinations students made for their *Stipendieresa* during his time as educator at the *Arkitekturskolan*. Gellerstedt, Dahl, Jacobsson, Holmgren, Lindström, Grundström, and Möller all chose to visit Italy as one of their destinations during *Stipendieresa*.

Stipendieresa has also been seen to affect architects' styles, long-term. For example, Dahl who built the *Kugliga Biblioteket* (National Library of Sweden) in 1877, went to Italy as one of his destinations on his *Stipendieresa* and was seen to respect historical Italian styles with true Renaissance form over the course of his career.¹⁰ Möller's famous work, the Johannes Church in 1890, showed influence from the Viollet-le-Duc's attitude towards Gothic architecture style and he studied at the *École des Beaux-Arts* in winter of 1879-80 and at the Atelier Gaudet.¹¹

2.2. Destinations of *Stipendieresa* students under Professor Claes Grundström from 1883 to 1906

Claes Grundström (1844-1925), who had graduated from the *Arkitekturskolan*, was the successor of Scholander at the *Arkitekturskolan* and taught there from 1883 to 1912.Grundström encouraged students to visit a broader range of European countries during their *Stipendieresa*. Moreover, compared to Scholander, Grundström focused on training students to understand the architectural styles of the centuries. He encouraged students to learn from medieval and Renaissance architectures explaining that these were "free compositions".

At the same time, the Stockholm city governments decided to plan buildings that represented the "Lake of the City" and began to plan to build national bank, court house, city hall, parliament house, *riksarkivet* (archive institution), universities, and so on.¹²⁾ *Arkitekturskolan* worked on this project together with Stockholm City. Beginning in 1897, students who studied under professor Grundström designed authority architecture such as the *Skånebanken* (Skåne bank) by Gustaf Wickman (1858-1916) in 1900, the *Nordiska Museet* (Nordic Museum) [Fig.1] by Isak Gustaf Clason (1856-1930) in 1907, the *Stadion* (Stockholm Olympic 1912's Stadium) by Torben Grunt (1871-1945), *Tekniska Högskolan* (Royal Institute of Technology) by Erik Lallerstedt (1864-1955) in 1917, and *Stockholms Stadshus* (Stockholm City Hall)[Fig.2] by Ragnar Östberg (1866-1945) in 1923.

11)____Ibid., p.132.

12)———Lindahl, 1977, p.12.

^{10)————}Henrik O. Andersson, *Svenska Arkitektur Ritningar 1640-1970* [Swedish Architecture Drawings 1640-1970], Byggförlaget: Stockholm, 1988 (written in both in Swedish and English), pp.112-113.



Fig.1 Isak Gustaf Clason, Nordiska Museet (Nordic Museum), 1907



Fig.2 Ragnar Östberg, Stockholms Stadshus (Stockholm City Hall), 1923

Kawashima Yoichi (1997) and Ann Katrin Pihl Atmer (2011) point out that Grundström focused his teachings to more overseas than Swedish architecture. This focus left some students became dissatisfied with their studies at the *Kungliga akademien för de fria konsterna*¹³⁾ Moreover, Erik Gunnar Asplund (1885-1940) quit the Royal Academy of Art in 1910 and established the *Klara Skola* (Klara School of Architecture).

Students of Grundström travelled following destinations. Ludvig Peterson (1853-1931) visited France, Spain, and Italy in 1881-1883. Clason went to Spain, Italy, and France in 1883-1886. Wickman visited Germany, France, and Italy in 1881-1884. Ferdinand Boberg (1860-1946) went to France and Italy in 1885-1886. Aron Johansson (1860-1936) visited Denmark and Germany in 1886-1869. Eugen Thoburn (1860-1931) visited Italy, Austria, Denmark, England, France and Germany) in 1887-90. Axel Lindegren (1860-1933) went to Germany, France, and Italy in 1890-1894. Lallerstedt visited France and Italy in 1894-96. Gustaf Améen (1864-1949) visited Germany, Austria, Italy, France, Spain, and England in1894-1896. Östberg first went to the USA in 1893 when a world exposition was held in Chicago, and visited Germany, France, Italy, Greek land, England, and Spain in 1896-99. Grunt stopped his trip because he wanted to help his ongoing architecture in Stockholm. Alfred Nilsson (1871-1949) went to France and Spain in 1903. Ivar Tengbom (1878-1968) visited Denmark in 1903 and France in 1905-06.

Beginning in the 1880s, students chose to visit more southern countries than in the previous decades. Similar to the students of Fredrik Wilhelm Scholander, they visited France and Italy but what set them apart if those countries like Spain became more popular. For example, Peterson, Clason, Aaméen and Östberg all went to France, Italy and Spain on their respective *Stipendieresa*. According to Tengbom, who later became a professor at *Kungliga Konsthögskolan*, introduced interesting episode about Clason's *Stipenderesa*. During his *Stipenderesa* trip, Clason wrote a letter to *Kungliga akademien för de fria konsterna* from Pompeii in April 1884 to

13) See Ann-Katrin Pihl Atmer, Stockholms stadshus och arkitekten Ragnar Östberg : drömmen och verkligheten [Stockholm City Hall and its architect Rangar Östberg: Dream and Reality], Stockholm: Natur & Kultur, 2011. Yoichi Kawashima, "The history of Klara School and its meaning: Research on E.G Asplund.7", Summaries of technical papers of annual meeting Architectural Institute of Japan (Kanto), Architectural Institute of Japan, 1997. pp.359-360.

suggest academy for the destinations of *Stipendieresa*. Students must visit Pompeii and feel the difference from Rome or northern Italy or north France (Amiens, Reims, and Rouen) or the west and middle of Germany. In addition to this, he suggested to see Renaissance in Toscana, Florence, Venice and Mantua, and requested students to end their trip at Hanoverian school of architecture in Germany.¹⁴

Tengbom introduced Clason's destinations for his *Stipendieresa*. In 1883 he travelled around Spain and visited Madrid (La calle de Alcalá), Granada, Verona and Burgos. In 1884, he moved to Italy to visit Sicilia and Pompeii and Replant. In 1885, he visited Italy, mainly Bologna, Venice and Milano. In 1886, his trip was finished at Paris.

Clason's destinations appeared to be Östberg's destinations as well. Östberg (1866-1945) had worked for Clason when he studied at *Arkitekturskolan*, his destinations did not match perfectly with Clason's suggestion but he visited cities pointed out by Clason. In 1893, he visited Chicago for the Chicago exhibition. In 1896, he visited Germany to see Berlin, Dresden, Prague and Southern Germany. Also in 1896, he visited France and went to Paris, Normandy, Brittany, Anjou, Orleans, and Île de France. In 1897, he traveled through Southern France to Sicily then to Paestum and Pompeii, Rome, Northern Italy, Venice and Florence. In 1898, he visited Assisi, Rome, and went to Greece. He also visited Switzerland, the Rhineland, Belgium, and England, London. In England, he visited Durham. then went to Brussel and Paris. In the same year, he went to Spain to visit Burgos, Salamanca, Madrid, Toledo, Avila and Córdoba. In 1899, he visited Seville.¹⁵

It is uncertain if Academy accepted Clason's idea but it seemed that Östberg followed Clason's suggested destinations. According to Tengbom, Clason's letter surprised professors at *Kungliga akademien för de fria konsterna*.

2.3. Changing Stipendieresa (Stipendiary Study Trip)

As we discussed at previous sections, there was a growing tendency to visit southern European counties on *Stipendiresa* as time went on. As discussed in 2.1 and 2.2, France and Italy are two countries that are constantly visited by *Stipendiresa* student architects. From the middle of the 18th century to today, there has been a connection between *École des Beaux-Arts* and The Swedish Royal Academy of Arts. Except for Johansson and Grunt who received the gold medal in 1898 but quit his trip to work with ongoing city planning projects, all architects who chose to visit France had the opportunity to visit the *École des Beaux-Arts* to take a look at their architectural education and see the work of their architecture and city planning graduates. Italy was popular destination because of its rich history of fine art and culture.

Architects who participated in *Stipendieresa* travelled more frequently to places in Southern Europe such as France, Italy and Spain. However, Germany gradually became a less popular *Stipendiresa* destination and that, with the exception of Denmark and Austria, there were few

 Ivar Tengbom, En kunglig medaljörs stipendieresa på 1880-talet : Ur I.G.Clasons brev och anteckningar. Föredrag på Akademiens för de fria konsterna högtidsdag den 30 maj 1947 [A Royal medalist's study trip around 1880: I.G. Clason's letter and note. Talk at Akademiens för de fria konsterna 1947 May 30th Tuesday], Stockholm, 1947, p. 49.
Pihl Atmer, 2011.

architects who were interested in going to Nordic countries, Eastern Europe or England and Scotland.

Taking these into account, we can consider that these students identified with the architectural style of central and southern European countries and had strong motivations to visit. Additionally, many of these student architects may have admired the architectural history that can be seen through the architectural changes over time from the medieval times to the Renaissance, along with the movement to the Baroque era in Italy and France.

3. "National Romanticism" in Swedish Architecture

ALTHOUGH many Swedish architects found their inspirations abroad, many Swedish architects and scholars sought authentic Swedish architecture. The combination of *Tekniska Högskolan* and *Arkitekturskolan* was one solution presented to provide this to the people of Sweden. The prominent buildings discussed above and built in the early 20th century were characterized Spanish, Italian or French architecture in design. However, with these design, those architectures had the essence of "Swedishness". This style was characterized as "*Kubism*", for its mass and volume inspired form of early modern architecture, by art critic August Brunious (1879-1926) in his "*Kolorism och Kubism i ny svesnk arkitektur*" ["Colorism and Kubism in new Swedish Architecture" in 1913 and Eva Eriksson (2001) described "*Kubism*" for Vadstena, Kalmar Gripsholm and Lackö slots's forms.¹⁶

The term "National Romanticism" was first used by a Swedish scholar, Johnny Roosval (1879-1965) at the Kahn lecture series at Princeton University in 1929. Roosval gave a series of eight lectures on the subject of Swedish art and architectural history from 1100 to 1929. In his final lecture, he divided Swedish modern architecture into four movements and ages: Eclectic Romanticism (1870-1905), Naturalism (1890-1915), National Romanticism (1900-1930) and Functional Classicism (1930-present).⁷⁷ He remarked that the influences of Italian and French historical architecture can be seen today in Swedish National Romanticism architecture. This may indicate some effect of the *Stipendiresa*, along with the teachings of certain professors from the Royal Academy of Fine Arts, on national Swedish National Romanticism is the Stockholm City Hall by Ragnar Östberg. Often regarded as the maturity of Swedish National Romanticism architecture, this building has Venetian and Byzantine elements with Swedish traditional architecture style. The composition of the towers was borrowed from Swedish medieval castles, such as Läckö and Kalmar castles, and the size of the bricks at the City Hall are the exact size as those used during the Middle Ages in Sweden, 9.5×13×27cm¹⁹ However, the façades, court yard

¹⁷⁾ _____Johnny Roosval, "Modern Architecture" in *Swedish art: being the Kahn lectures for 1929, Stockholm*, 1932, pp.70-77.

¹⁸⁾_____Andersson, pp.35-36.

and garden of the City Hall, are a reflection of the San Marco Square in Venice²⁰⁾ As for inside, the golden hall's wall art of Queen Mälaren was created in the style of Byzantine wall arts.

July 23rd 1923's on *midsommarafton* (midsummer's day) was Stockholm City Hall opening ceremony to celebrate the day when King Gustav Vasa (1496-1560) came to Stockholm to establish the Kingdom of Sweden. Many visitors who came to Stockholm City hall on that day commented that the building reminded them of the street in San Marco Square, Italy and Östberg's photographs and sketches at *Stipendiresa* show his adoration for Mediterranean art and culture and his work in Sweden shows how he incorporated this love into his work and designs.²¹

From this evidence, Swedish National Romanticism architecture includes elements of Swedish traditions influenced heavily by the admiration of Southern Europe held by architects at the time. Moreover, this theme plays out again in the way that Swedes regard themselves as part of European architectural history, regardless of Sweden's geographical position nearer the Arctic Circle than the majority of other European countries.

Conclusion

OVERALL, this paper can be used to clarify the Swedish architectural education system, and especially to examine the role of two institutions, the Institute of Technology and the Swedish Royal Academy of Arts. The scientific and practical Institute of Technology was produced in order to educate architectural students easily at the School of Architecture. On the one hand, the system seemed to provide students with profound knowledge and highly professional skill. On the other hand, it would take architecture students almost seven years to complete their studies.

Educations by professors Scholander and Grundström were appeared to student's destinations for *Stipendieresa*. Moreover, they seem to have reinforced students' design in prominent public architectures. The *Stipendieresa*, offered by the Swedish Royal Academy of Arts, allowed architects to travel and learn. As a result of the student's strong interest in going to Southern Europe, some of the essence of the Southern European architecture found its way into the architecture of Swedish National Romanticism.

Erik Gunnar Asplund (1885-1940) is known to be first architect who brought *Funktion-alism* (Modernism) to Swedish architecture. His Stockholm Exhibition in 1930 represents the birth of new era in Swedish architecture. Asplund, however, quit the Royal Academy of Art in 1910 and established the *Klara Skola* (Klara School of Architecture) because he was tired of studying at the Swedish Royal Academy of Arts which was very similar to *École des Beaux-Arts.* As he quit the Academy, he couldn't be a candidate for *Stipendieresa*. Asplund's appearance in to Swedish architecture had marked the end of an era of the *Stpendieresa*.

Architects who represented Swedish National Romanticism completed their studies both at the Institute of Technology and the Academy of Art. Some architects who became the next

20)———Pihl Atmer. *Stockholm Town Hall.* Stockholm: Arkitekturmuseet, 2011. 21)———Ibid.

generation of National Romanticism did not complete their studies as the previous architects did. This resulted in a period of transition from National Romanticism to Modernism in Swedish architecture.

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