

BETWEEN FRANCE AND SWEDEN (1919–1929)

Olov Janse made his first journey to Paris in June 1914, after two years of studies in Uppsala. He may have been inspired by Ture Nerman's journalistic travels across Europe, Russia, and the United States, or by Einar Nerman, who had spent three years in Paris studying under Henri Matisse. But unlike Ture, who quickly returned to home base after each journey, and Einar, who also returned and settled in Sweden after his study sojourn, Olov Janse fell in love with Paris. With exceptional social abilities and a linguistic talent he soon became fluent in French. Translation came easier for him than for most others, and he soon turned his social competence and language skills into professional assets. In letters to Ture and Birger Nerman, he expresses his love for France and clear political sentiments: "Vive la France! A bas l'Allemagne!"¹²⁵

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While his fellow students spent the summer of 1914 excavating and vacationing in Sweden, Olov Janse set off to more distant lands. He travelled via Cologne to France where he stayed with a Professor Valot and his family in Liesle and Boulogne-sur-Mer, from June to September.¹²⁶ It was

125. Letter from O. Janse to B. Nerman, 7 September 1914. Riksarkivet. Kartong I. Korrespondens Brev I 1897–1922.

126. This was likely the family of Jules Valot (1851–1926), Professor at the University of Liesle, with the son Stephen Valot (1879–1950), who became a journalist at *L'Oeuvre*, author, and Secretary-General of the International Federation of Journalists. Letters and

his first visit to France, and it was love at first sight. Letters and postcards to his friends in Sweden abound with positive sentiments: “I am still splendidly content here in ‘the delightful land’.”¹²⁷ But the war broke out when he had just arrived in July, and as he was preparing to leave France to return to Uppsala at the end of September, he wrote to Birger Nerman that he feared he might not be able to reach Sweden and would be forced to turn back to France: “It is like (pardon the word) Hell to travel now.”¹²⁸

He did, however, return safely to Sweden, where he spent the war years completing his graduate studies in Uppsala. In the summers of 1915–16 he travelled to the island of Gotland in the Baltic Sea and assisted Birger Nerman in his excavations of an Iron Age burial site at Trullhalsar.¹²⁹ In the summer of 1917, just after he had completed his bachelor’s degree at Uppsala, he joined Birger Nerman in another excavation, this time of six grave mounds from the late Iron Age at Kummelby near Norrköping,¹³⁰ and the following year he pursued his own excavations at an Iron Age burial site with sixteen mounds at Åby in Kvilleinge, not far from Norrköping.¹³¹ Both excavations were supported and funded by Vitterhetsakademien – the Royal Swedish Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities. Apart from excavations and studies in Uppsala he wrote and published a couple of reviews and short texts in the local and national newspapers,¹³² waiting for the war to end.

The war was initially like a distant theatre play for the young archaeologist – “God how they fight. [...] A war is undoubtedly exciting”¹³³ – but

postcards from O. Janse to B. Nerman, 16 June 1914; 21 June 1914; 7 September 1914. Riksarkivet. Kartong I. Korrespondens Brev I 1897–1922.

127. Letter from O. Janse to B. Nerman, 10 August 1914. Riksarkivet. Kartong I. Korrespondens Brev I 1897–1922. In Swedish: “Trivs fortfarande överdådigt här i ‘det juvliga landet’”

128. Postcard from O. Janse to B. Nerman, 25 September 1914. Riksarkivet. Kartong I. Korrespondens Brev I 1897–1922. In the Swedish original: “Bäste Broder! // Står i begrepp att fara till England f.v.b. mot Närge-Uppsala män fruktar få vända tillbaka till Frankrike. Det är ett (förlåt ordet) Hälsike att resa nu. // I all hast. // Din vän Olle.”

129. Letter from O. Janse to B. Nerman, 14 May 1918. Riksarkivet. Kartong nr 1. Korrespondens Brev I 1897–1922.

130. *Norrköpings Tidningar*, September 1917. “Kummelby forntidskummel genomforskade”.

131. *Norrköpings Tidningar*, 19 June 1918. “Forngravar vid Åby undersökta.”

132. E.g. Janse 1918.

133. Letter from O. Janse to B. Nerman, 7 September 1914. Riksarkivet. Kartong I. Korrespondens Brev I 1897–1922. In Swedish: “Gud så dom släss. [...] Ett krig är onek-

by the time it was over in November 1918, the remaining impression was of horror and meaningless destruction. Huge numbers of individual lives had been wrecked, and political and cultural institutions across Europe has been left in ruins. Ture Nerman wrote a famous poem about the destruction of the war – *Den vackraste visan om kärleken*:

Den vackraste visan om kärleken
kom aldrig på pränt.
Den blev kvar i en dröm på Montmartre
hos en fattig parisstudent.
Den skulle ha lyst över länderna
och bringat en vår på knä,
och en värld skulle tryckt till sitt hjärta
en ny, en ny Musset.
Han skulle ha vandrat längs kajerna
med en blåögd liten Lucile
och diktat violer och kyssar
nu en natt i april.
Men den vackraste visan om kärleken
kom aldrig på pränt.
Den begrovs i en massgrav i Flandern
med en fattig parisstudent.¹³⁴

The poem reflects a romantic image of Paris and its student life that was maintained by Olov's friend and role model Ture Nerman, and how that image of Paris as the place for innocent romantic adventure and pleasurable intellectual creativity was irreversibly shattered by the war. Meanwhile in Norrköping, the war put an end to the privileged security and prosperity that characterized Olov's childhood and adolescence, with the candy factory facing ruin and Hilma Janse's unexpected death

ligen spännande.”

134. Ture Nerman 1916 (first published in the poetry collection *Fruntimmer* 1918, and set to music by Lille Bror Söderlundh 1939). In our translation: “The most beautiful song of love / was never put in print. / It remained in a dream at Montmartre / with a poor Paris student. // It would have lit up the lands / and brought a spring to its knees, / and a world would have taken to heart / a new, a new Musset. // He would have wandered along the quays / with a blue-eyed little Lucile / and written violets and kisses / now on a night in April. // But the most beautiful song about love / was never put in print. / It was buried in a mass grave in Flanders / with a poor Paris student.”

in August 1917. The war also meant the end of the habitual travelling that had been part of prominent Swedish archaeologists' research profiles since the nineteenth century. In the previous chapter we described how Oscar Montelius and Oscar Almgren both travelled widely and visited hundreds of museums and artefact collections across Europe for their research. Their travels enabled the development of the important typological method, and also contributed to pan-European ideas dominating nineteenth-century archaeology.¹³⁵ These ideas, and the lifestyle of the travelling nineteenth-century archaeologists were fundamental inspirations for Olov Janse, who also had the resources to develop a cosmopolitan travelling lifestyle with his father's wealth, the networks offered by his uncle Otto and the Nerman brothers, and of course his own linguistic and social talents. But the war put a definitive end to the travelling habits of the nineteenth century, with its restrictions of movement and several years of closed borders, and with the introduction of passports that emphasized the importance of border control. If the nineteenth century had been a time of unrestricted movement (for the privileged classes), the twentieth century would be characterized by a focus on the nation state with citizenship, passports, and border controls.¹³⁶ In Sweden, the dissolution of the union with Norway in 1905, combined with awakening Scandinavianist political sentiments, contributed to an inward focus on the Swedish nation.¹³⁷ This brought an intensified concentration on the nation in archaeological research, which meant that the broader pan-European and diffusionist perspectives that had prevailed in the nineteenth century fell out of fashion in Swedish archaeology.¹³⁸

When Janse was finally able to travel to France again, he did not waste any time. He was on the move already in August 1919, seven weeks after

135. As an example, Oscar Almgren visited over 100 museums and other archaeological collections in Europe and Russia when writing his theses. *Svenskt Biografiskt Lexikon*, Band 1 (1918), p. 435.

136. Torpey 2000:111–115. See also letter from O. Janse to B. Nerman, 5 December 1916; 11 December 1916. Riksarkivet. Kartong I. Korrespondens Brev I 1897–1922.

137. The dissolution of the union with Norway had, for example an impact on *Nordiska museet* (The Nordic Museum) in Stockholm. From having been a museum covering all the Nordic countries, it now focused on Swedish folk culture in a very nationalistic sense. Oscar Montelius played a significant part in this change of direction (Hillerström 2010).

138. Most Swedish archaeologists active in the years after the First World War (including Birger Nerman) tuned into the national focus, and many restricted their international outlook to communication with Germany. A few, including Ture Arne and Nils Åberg (Nordström 2015:137), shared Janse's interest in broader European perspectives.

the peace treaty had been signed in Versailles. But it was in many ways a new world that he travelled through. While he kept and maintained the internationalist, cosmopolitan ideals of the nineteenth and early twentieth century, the world around him had changed, with an intensified focus on national identity and the security and integrity of the nation state.

He left Scandinavia on SS *Jupiter*, travelling from Bergen in Norway to Newcastle in the United Kingdom in August 1918. In Bergen he stopped to meet with the Norwegian archaeologists Brøgger and Shetelig, only to find that they were away on excavations.¹³⁹ Haakon Shetelig (1877–1955) has been described as “the European among Norwegian archaeologists”, and he was a Francophile just like Janse. After the First World War he even deleted the c in his original family name (Schetelig) to avoid any associations with Germany.¹⁴⁰ It remains obscure how they first met, but somehow Shetelig pointed Janse to the *École pratique des hautes études* (EPHE) at the Sorbonne, where the renowned sociologist Henri Hubert was lecturing on Celtic and Germanic archaeology and history of religion.¹⁴¹ Upon arrival in Paris, Olov Janse enrolled at the EPHE in accordance with Shetelig’s advice and soon got in contact with Henri Hubert. Their acquaintance and subsequent friendship meant the beginning of a new phase in Janse’s life and career.

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Henri Hubert (1872–1927) was twenty years senior to Janse, and one of the most devoted members of the academic circle around the legendary Émile Durkheim (1858–1917) and his journal *L'Année Sociologique*.¹⁴² In the late nineteenth century Émile Durkheim had launched a new sociological

139. Letter from O. Janse to B. Nerman, [“D/S Jupiter, Nordsjön”], 13 August 1919. Riksarkivet. Kartong 1. Korrespondens Brev I 1897–1922.

140. https://nbl.snl.no/Haakon_Shetelig, accessed 18 September 2016. See also Slo-mann 1955.

141. Janse 1959:15.

142. For details on the underpinnings of Henri Hubert’s professional contributions, see the volumes *Henri Hubert et la sociologie des religions* edited by Jean-François Bert (2015) and *La Mémoire et le Temps* edited by Laurent Olivier (2018). Janse is only mentioned a couple of times in passing, and in the latter volume referred to as “Olaf Jansé”. See also Dussaud 1927 and Seligman 1927 for biographical details. We are most grateful to Christine Lorre at the Musée d’Archéologie nationale (MAN), for providing us with valuable information about Henri Hubert and the MAN during the research process.

paradigm that became foundational for modern social science. It consisted of a view of society as a *sui generis* reality – something which is unique to itself and forms a whole that is greater than the parts it contains. Society could not, according to Durkheim, be reduced to psychological or biological explanations. It needed to be studied *socio*-logically. Hence he developed a new methodology for the study of human societies based on “social facts”, elements of collective life (such as kinship, religion, political organization, or currency) that exerted external constraints on the individual. Émile Durkheim, who had a distinct political profile, was actively pro-Dreyfus and a founding member of the French Human Rights League, was immensely influential in French academic life around the turn of the century. He surrounded himself with a group of followers, an *équipe* of younger scholars whose works he published alongside his own in his journal *L'Année Sociologique*.

In this *équipe*, in the inner circle closest to Durkheim, was Henri Hubert. Hubert's proximity to Durkheim was very much due to his close relationship with Durkheim's nephew and closest disciple Marcel Mauss. They were in many ways each other's opposites. If Mauss had an outgoing air of self-evident importance, Hubert was more timid in character, as if he was always longing to retreat to his study. And while Mauss spent most of his senior career finishing the works of others (mainly colleagues lost to the First World War), Hubert started and maintained many projects at once, but left most uncompleted.¹⁴³ Yet they were joined by their passion for Durkheimian sociology, and they had known each other since they were fellow students at the prestigious *École Normale Supérieure*, and later at the *École pratique des hautes études* at the Sorbonne. Hubert had originally been a student of Semitic languages and the history of religion of the Near East, but in his later career focused his research on comparative archaeology and the history of religion in Europe and Asia. His historical interests made him unique in Durkheim's *équipe*, where all other members focused on the study of contemporary societies.¹⁴⁴

In 1898, in the same year as Durkheim founded *L'Année Sociologique*, Hubert was appointed lecturer in *sciences religieuses* at the *École pratique des hautes études* in Paris, and in the same year he was attached as unpaid curator to the Musée des antiquités nationales. Four years later, in 1902, he was nominated to represent France at the first international congress

143. Olivier 2018:119–122.

144. Strenski 1987:354.

for the study of the Far East in Hanoi in French Indochina,¹⁴⁵ a congress that celebrated the recent foundation of the colonial research institute *École française d'Extrême-Orient* (EFEO, which would three decades later be hosting Janse's work in Indochina), and took the opportunity to make a journey around the world. His experiences from this world tour and the Hanoi congress fed his interest in comparative cultural studies.¹⁴⁶

Several aspects of Henri Hubert's persona and academic oeuvre are worth mentioning in relation to Olov Janse. Like most members of Durkheim's *équipe*, Hubert was politically motivated and saw the French republican society as the highest form of civilization.¹⁴⁷ He was, just like Janse, a privileged cosmopolitan, and he opposed the anti-Jewish nationalistic sentiments that were growing in Germany and in parts of French politics and science.¹⁴⁸ Like Marcel Mauss and the other Durkheimians, he understood the value of broad language skills to enable comparative cultural analysis. And just like Mauss, who worked with ethnographic museum collections, Hubert had a taste for material objects.¹⁴⁹ Both Mauss and Hubert worked in museums and based their analyses on artefacts from "primitive" societies. They organized them in analytical series and used their language skills to make comparative studies of the cultural contexts they belonged to. Hubert, however, stood out from the rest of the Durkheimian *équipe* with his focus on prehistoric societies, and hence on ancient artefacts. His works have thus been mentioned as noteworthy for merging Durkheimian sociology with prehistoric studies.¹⁵⁰ What he ended up with was an artefact-oriented, broad and bold comparative cultural analysis akin to the works of Janse's academic lodestar Oscar Montelius.¹⁵¹

145. EFEO 1903.

146. Lorre 2015a.

147. Strenski 1987:356.

148. Strenski 1987; see also how these sentiments affected his approach to archaeological interpretation in the chapter "Des Celtes aux Germains" in Olivier 2018.

149. Hubert & Besnard 1979:207; Mauss 1966:3.

150. Strenski 1987:354; Lorre 2015b:152; Olivier 2018.

151. There were other important nineteenth-century scholars for the development of comparative culture-historical studies in both Sweden and France. In Sweden, Sven Nilsson should be mentioned (e.g. Hegardt 1997), and in France, Gabriel de Mortillet had since the mid nineteenth century shown the way in comparative analysis of "primitive" cultures in the past and present (e.g. Olivier 2018:133). It should be pointed out that Janse's interest in diffusionism as a model of explanation was not, however, a main strand in Henri Hubert's oeuvre (Lewuillon 2018:155). Other French archaeologists who

In a short autobiographical text,¹⁵² Hubert describes how he was attracted to the ethnographic side of archaeology, and how he worked with the comparative collections displayed in the *Salle de Mars* at the Musée des antiquités nationales – “where the diversity of archaeological relics corresponds exactly with the diversity of peoples” – to “create a microcosm” on display.¹⁵³ The way Hubert made use of the archaeological and ethnographic objects as illustrations, or reminiscences of his comparative cultural theories, and hence made the *Salle de Mars* into an intellectual laboratory on public display, bore striking resemblance to the way Oscar Montelius had worked with the displays of the History Museum in Stockholm to make his theories of typology and cultural development available for public consumption.¹⁵⁴ However, with his bold ethnographic comparisons, Hubert widened the scope of possible comparative analysis much further, when he ascribed primacy to the similarities of things regardless of whether their contexts of origin were separated by thousands of miles or thousands of years, and thus more or less ignored the detailed temporal contexts that were absolute key for Montelius’s analyses and displays.

Hubert’s analytical approach to historic and prehistoric societies was fully in line with the Durkheimian perspective of comparative cultural analysis that flourished around *L’Année Sociologique*. However, the First World War left the intellectual milieu around the *Année* severely injured. The radical intellectual principles at the heart of the *Année* were battered, as were the members of Durkheim’s *équipe*. Hubert served in the infantry, where many of his peers were killed. Durkheim also died, from a stroke, during the war. When the war came to an end, his devout disciples Mauss and Hubert decided to join efforts and take over what was left of the *Année*. And it was here, in the period of shock and restoration immediately after the First World War, that Janse first met Hubert.¹⁵⁵

Inspired by the advice from Haakon Shetelig, Janse attended Hubert’s lectures in Celtic and Germanic archaeology and history of religion at

have worked more clearly with the concept of cultural diffusion were Paul Rivet, to whom we will return later in this chapter, and Marcel Mauss’s student André Leroi-Gourhan (1911–1986), e.g. Stiegler 1998:48–49.

152. Written at the time of war mobilization in 1915 as an intellectual testimony meant for his young son and friends (Hubert & Besnard 1979).

153. Hubert & Besnard 1979:206–207; our translation.

154. See Part I for more details on Montelius and the National Museum in Stockholm, also Baudou 2012.

155. Correspondence from Janse to Hubert is found in the archive of MAN.

the *École pratique des hautes études* (EPHE) in the years following the war. Hubert had lost his friends and his mentor in the war. Janse had just lost his mother, and the relationship with his father had taken a blow when he remarried soon after her death. Hubert, who has been described as a very gentle and honest scholar with vast knowledge, lively intellect, and fragile health,¹⁵⁶ took the young Janse under his wings and they eventually developed a strong intellectual and personal relationship that would have a decisive impact on the rest of Janse's life and career.

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In the autumn of 1919 Janse was back in Paris, relieved. In a letter to Birger Nerman he writes about his thoughts for the future:

When I have defended my doctoral thesis God knows what I shall do. Most of all I would like to return to the homeland of my soul, where I hope to find something to do. Review Scand. archaeol. lit. in *d'Anthropologie* e.g. [...], correspondent for [Social-Demokraten], library assistant at the Scand. Library, assistant curator at some museum [...]. At least I would like to try to get the opportunity to stay here a couple of years.¹⁵⁷

He stayed in Paris the whole winter and spring. He attended Hubert's lectures at the EPHE, spent time with the visiting Swedish archaeologist Nils Åberg, and did studies in preparation for his doctoral thesis. In an article published in the Swedish newspaper *Social-Demokraten*, he writes in glowing terms about the student life in *le quartier latin*. He writes that the universities at the Sorbonne and the Collège de France offer interesting lectures (almost for free)¹⁵⁸ and through the student association, students can have good food and wine (again, almost for free) and discounts on

156. Dussaud 1927.

157. Letter from O. Janse to B. Nerman, 1 December 1919. Riksarkivet. Kartong 1. Korrespondens Brev I 1897–1922. In the Swedish original: "Sedan jag disputerat vete Gud vad jag ska ta mej till. Hålst skulle jag vilja återvända till min själs fädernesland, där jag hoppas alltid kunna hitt på något. Recensera skand. arkeol. litt. i *d'Anthropologie* t.ex. (om Akad. skulle bevilja något anslag för saken), korrespondent för Soc-D., biblioteks-amanuens på Skand. biblioteket, amanuens på ngt museum eller dylikt leker mej i hågen. Åtminstone skulle jag vilja försöka skaffa mej möjlighet att stanna här några år."

158. The lectures at the Collège de France were in fact entirely free.

books, clothes, and theatre tickets. Student life, however, was marked by the war and Janse writes, reminiscent of Ture Nerman's poem: "the five years of war struggles and nameless sufferings have indeed put a damper on the joy. When they gathered again after the peace, many of their friends had not returned from Yser, Champagne, Verdun ...". But despite the sorrows of the war, he concludes, a sojourn in *le quartier latin* is an excellent opportunity for Swedish students to get to learn, understand, and love the French language and French culture.¹⁵⁹ He did not return to Sweden until May 1920.

Then he stayed in Sweden for about a year. This time he settled in Stockholm (an hour by train from Uppsala, and three hours from Norrköping), first at Bellmansgatan 8 in Södermalm, and later at Heimdalsgatan 3 in Vasastan. While in Stockholm he wrote regularly to Henri Hubert in Paris. The first letter was sent immediately upon arrival on 27 May to express his gratitude for the generosity and kindness he had been shown in Paris, and to ensure Hubert that he would receive the information they had talked about as soon as possible.¹⁶⁰ In October he wrote from Heimdalsgatan 3, with apologies for his long silence. He had been held up by



Fig. 15. Olov Janse in Stockholm, September 1920.

159. *Social-Demokraten*, 15 July 1920: (Olov Janse), "Bland Parisstudenter: Några intryck från le quartier latin."

160. Letter from O. Janse to H. Hubert, 27 May 1920. IMEC-Fonds Mauss-Correspondance Janse-Hubert. Transcription Professor Rafael Faraco Benthien - December 2009.

personal affairs and with work for his degree, and it was only now that he had found time for his *chères études* – his beloved studies. In November he wrote again, only to say that he would not return to Paris until the following year.¹⁶¹ Evidently, he was torn between the steady, inward research work that was needed in order to complete his doctoral thesis in Uppsala, and the more exciting cosmopolitan life and museum work with Hubert in Paris. With support from Henri Hubert he published an article in the French journal *Revue archéologique* summarizing the findings of his thesis.¹⁶² The article, which relied heavily on Montelius's typology and argued that the stylized male figure on golden bracteates from the Migration Period found in Scandinavia was Attila, leader of the Huns (and not Odin, as had been argued by Scandinavian scholars). Its publication was noticed in the Scandinavian press and received positive reviews in Swedish and Norwegian newspapers.¹⁶³

He returned to France late in the spring 1921, and made an immediate escape to the countryside to rest after a bowel infection he had come down with (“on the way through Germany – of course”).¹⁶⁴ Back in Paris in early June, he stayed at Rue de Prague near Place de la Bastille, and took up the connection with Henri Hubert at the Musée des antiquités nationales. Maintaining his role as facilitator and communicator between France and Sweden, he made plans with Nils Åberg to make and send replicas (*moulages*) of artefacts from the Musée des antiquités nationales to a museum in Uppsala,¹⁶⁵ and communicated with the Director of the Musée des antiquités nationales, Salomon Reinach, about photographs (*clichés*) of bracteates he had made for his article in the *Revue Archéologique*.¹⁶⁶ But most of his time was devoted to completing his doctoral thesis: *Le travail de l'or en Suède à l'époque mérovingienne: Études précédées d'un mémoire sur les solidi romains et byzantins trouvés en Suède*, which he printed in France and published with Paul Pigelot & fils, because it was cheaper than in Swe-

161. Letters from O. Janse to H. Hubert 4 October 1920; 24 November 1920. Ibid.

162. Janse 1921.

163. *Social-Demokraten*, 4 May 1922: “En tilltalande teori av en svensk arkeolog”; *Tidens Tegn*, 8 May 1922: “Sigurd Favnesbane eller Attila? En ny hypotese om de gamle brakteater.”

164. Letter from O. Janse to Nils Åberg, 3 June 1921. ATA: Nils Åbergs arkiv.

165. Ibid.

166. Letter from O. Janse to Solomon Reinach, 28 July 1921. Archive of MAN: General Correspondence/Janse.

den.¹⁶⁷ He defended it in Uppsala on 15 May 1922 with Birger Nerman as the Faculty Opponent. The thesis itself was a study of golden bracteates and similar pieces of jewellery from Scandinavia (mostly found on Öland and Gotland) in the Migration Period (Swe: *folkvandringstid*, AD 400–600), 259 pages long and written in French. Bracteates are coin-like pendants that appear to mimic Roman coins depicting the face, torso or full figure of a human, often assumed to be male, with text elements and other associated motifs. If previous studies had focused on the Norse characteristics of the bracteates (arguing they were depictions of Odin with his two ravens Hugin and Munin), Janse looked for broader comparative references and argued that the figure was Attila and the birds were falcons, according to the culture of the ancient Huns.¹⁶⁸ Salomon Reinach, Director of the Musée des antiquités nationales, wrote in a short review that the composition of the book left much to be desired and therefore that it had been printed with unnecessary luxury, but that it nonetheless contained some very useful statistics and was overall a testament to a work of high quality.¹⁶⁹ In Sweden, the thesis was well received with positive reviews in the newspapers, of which several were written by Janse's friends (for example Birger Nerman and Arthur Nordén).¹⁷⁰

Janse's doctoral thesis is not, however, particularly well known among Swedish archaeologists of later generations. There are probably several reasons. One is Janse's choice to write in French (Swedish archaeology would have Swedish and German as working languages over the following decades), and another is the fact that Janse was about to leave Sweden for good, and therefore is not very well known in Swedish archaeology. But perhaps most importantly, the trend in Swedish archaeology was about to turn away from the broad comparative and international perspectives that had been advocated by Oscar Montelius and adopted by Olov Janse, towards an inward-focused and German-inspired perspective that would form a dominant discourse for decades to come.¹⁷¹

167. Letter from O. Janse to N. Åberg, 3 June 1921.

168. Janse 1922.

169. Reinach 1922.

170. E.g. *Dagens Nyheter*, 5 May 1922: (Sven Jansson), "Våra brakteater minnespenningar till Attilas ära"; *Norrköpings Tidningar*, 9 June 1922: (Arthur Nordén), "Ännu en Norrköpingsarkeolog"; *Stockholms Dagblad*, 19 March 1923: (Birger Nerman), "Ett arbete om Sveriges 'guldålder'".

171. Works by prominent archaeologists such as Sune Lindkvist (1887–1976) and Birger Nerman are examples of the Scandinavian/German turn, a shift that would not

The defence of his thesis, and the subsequent promotion to Doctor of Philosophy on 31 May 1922, also in some sense marked the end of Olov Janse's adolescence. Oscar Montelius had died in December the previous year, and Ture Nerman got married, to Nora Hedblom, in January 1922.¹⁷² Both Norrköping and Uppsala now belonged to his past. His future lay in Stockholm and – so he hoped – in Paris. In August he would be thirty years old.

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Henri Hubert, who wanted to expand his comparative collections and nurtured a particular interest in Scandinavian cultural history, was keen to pursue exchanges of artefacts, or artefact replicas, between the Musée des antiquités nationales and the History Museum in Stockholm. Somewhat curiously, Hubert proposed an exchange involving Palaeolithic artefacts from the famous Piette collection,¹⁷³ which was not allowed to leave the museum in Saint-Germain. Olov Janse acted as mediator, conveying Hubert's proposal to have original artefacts from the Piette collection sent to Stockholm in exchange for replicas of artefacts from the Swedish collection, to the Director of the History Museum in Stockholm. The proposal, which was made in June 1922, was accepted "with pleasure" by the Director – who also happened to be Olov's uncle Otto. Awaiting a formal decision by the Royal Swedish Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities (*Vitterhetsakademien*), Olov Janse wrote to Hubert that when he later returned to Paris he was hoping to bring to the Musée des antiquités nationales:

end until the 1950s when Swedish archaeologists after the Second World War turned to the English language and to British archaeology as the main source of inspiration. Cf. Åkerlund 2010.

172. Olov Janse wrote and sent Birger Nerman a poem on the occasion of Ture's wedding. In the Swedish original: "[...] Övrraskande nyhet om Tures giftermål. Ett mariage coup de foudre? Framför till brudparet mina ärligaste lyckönskningar men visa dem ej denna vanvördiga bröllopsvers (åtminstone ej för bruden). 'Bortgift Blev Bäddens Bärsärk, // Butnings Bötors Blide Betalare, // Brottslige Borgares Blodige Bane. // Bikte sig Birgers Bråttome Broder, //(Beständigt i Brynja och Brånad). // Blek Blev Bruden!'" Letter from O. Janse to B. Nerman, 5 January 1922. Riksarkivet. Kartong 1. Korrespondens Brev I 1897–1922.

173. The Piette collection is a unique private collection, which was once incorporated into the Musée d'Archéologie nationale under the pretext that it must never be dispersed or removed from the museum.

[...] casts, galvanized replicas, replicas in bronze and iron (the latter made by an art foundry in Stockholm), some cardboard reproductions of picture stones or rune stones, as well as some originals (pottery samples, axes, swords, etc.). Should you be interested, I could also perhaps bring a certain number of archaeological publications from the Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities (“Gravfältet vid Vendel”, “Birka”, “Kung Björns hög”, “Die ältere Eisenzeit Gotlands”, the “Fornvännen”, etc., etc.). Here in Stockholm we would be very pleased to have, if possible, apart from objects from the Palaeolithic period, some pieces from other periods that would be of interest for comparative studies. I will send later a list of objects wanted by the Sthlm Museum. As for exchanges with the Museums in Copenhagen, Christiania [Oslo] and Bergen, I plan to have that arranged by the end of this month.¹⁷⁴

After a brief excavation sojourn on Gotland and a visit to Norrköping in June and July, Olov Janse returned to Paris (without artefacts or publications, as far as we can see) at the end of the summer 1922. Once settled in Paris, he immediately began working with Henri Hubert at the Musée des antiquités nationales. The museum, the official French name of which was *Musée des antiquités nationales à Saint-Germain-en-Laye*, was founded in a grand château in Saint Germain, 13 kilometres west of Paris, by Napoleon III in 1862, and has ever since housed the official French archaeological collections.¹⁷⁵

174. Letter from O. Janse to H. Hubert, 10 June 1922. Archive of MAN, Fonds Hubert/Correspondance dossiers/Dossier Janse. In the French original: “[...] des moulages, des galvanos, des copies en bronze et en fer (ces dernières faites par une fonderie d’art de Stockholm), quelques reproductions sur carton de pierres imagées ou runiques, ainsi que quelques authentiques (des spécimens de poterie, des haches, des épées, etc.). Si vous le croyez intéressant, je pourrais aussi peut-être apporter un certain nombre de publications archéologiques de l’Académie des Belles-lettres, etc. (‘Gravfältet vid Vendel’, ‘Birka’, ‘Kung Björns hög’, ‘Die ältere Eisenzeit Gotlands’, le ‘Fornvännen’, etc., etc.). Ici à Sthlm on serait très heureux d’avoir, si possible, outre des objets de l’époque paléolithique, quelques pièces d’autres époques et offrant un intérêt pour les études comparatives. Je vous transmettrai plus tard une liste des objets désirés par le Musée de Sthlm. Quant aux échanges avec les Musées de Copenhagen, de Christiania et de Bergen, je pense pouvoir arranger cette question à la fin de ce mois-ci.”

175. Lorre 2015b. See also Lundbeck-Culot 1997 for a discussion of the museum’s foundational relations to Scandinavia, through Napoleon III’s relations with the Danish

Janse worked mainly with the museum's comparative collections in the *Salle de Mars*. His presence was informal at first, but the affiliation was formalized as a one-year employment by the *Ministre de l'Instruction Publique et des Beaux-Arts* on 13 January 1923.¹⁷⁶ A letter written by Henri Hubert to the Director of the Museum, Salomon Reinach, in December 1922, offers insights into why they wanted to have Janse attached to the museum. Henri Hubert begins his letter with a description of how his colleague at the Louvre, Monsieur Guiffrey, had managed to get a Dutchman to work as a temporary foreign attaché (*attaché libre temporaire étranger*) with a classification of Dutch drawings in the collections of the Louvre, by writing to the Minister. He continues:

[...] I propose that you do the same; I not only propose, but I demand that you do this for me. To hand we have Janse, who managed to annoy you last year with your proofs [?], but who, nonetheless, gave us a really interesting article, with a fine discovery. He is a serious boy, with all possible qualifications. He came to complete his education with me. I can think of no better than to begin again to sort out the Piette collection together with him. He has now worked with me three weeks, three days a week; it is a real pleasure to work with a boy of this kind; his meticulousness and sense of order is particularly valuable considering the diabolical mess that I have to sort out. On the one hand, I would like to be able to keep him, by offering some kind of honorary benefits in return for his services according to my instruction; together with him I may be able to sort out the nightmare of the Piette collection, and that would be no small thing. On the other hand I would like to not always be stuck to his heels; if we had him as foreign attaché on a temporary mission, he would be a key, he would have a certain responsibility, I would not be obligated to guide him, I could from time to time let him work alone; at the moment all the help he gives me should be reason for embarrassment. But think also of the moral effect of making a young Scandinavian with good connections, good reputation, who has been temporarily affiliated with the museum in Stockholm, who

king Frederik VII.

176. Letter from O. Janse to H. Hubert, 2 February 1927. Archive of MAN: Fonds Hubert/Correspondance non classé.



Fig. 16. Henri Hubert in his office at the Musée des antiquités nationales. Photo by Johannes Bœ.

may one day become curator there, come to do a period of work with us. I believe that would have a very good effect. Consider also that I am in great need of help; I have been able to start breathing only after I was offered Meunier, the brave soldier, as secretary; that has given me four arms; my affairs look a little better since I remitted Pèpin to do the numbering; I don't dare say that they would be entirely fine if I had an attaché, because we have a horrible past, but they start to get close to being fine.

Would you like it if I took, with your approval, the necessary actions towards the administration? We could perhaps give Janse the mission to classify our Scandinavian collections. Last but not least there is a precedent in Guiffrey's Dutchman, and Guiffrey is certainly not in as much need of help as I am.¹⁷⁷

The letter contains several important pieces of information that could not be found in official accounts. One is that Henri Hubert found himself in desperate need of help at the Musée des antiquités nationales; understaffed, with a difficult financial situation, and with "a diabolical mess" to sort out in "the nightmare of the Piette collection".¹⁷⁸ Another is that Janse had a reputation of being well connected and well regarded, and

177. Letter from H. Hubert to Salomon Reinach, 14 December 1922. Archive of MAN/Correspondance/Hubert_à_Reinach. In the French original: "Je vous propose d'en faire autant; non seulement je vous le propose, mais je vous le demande pour moi. Nous avons sous la main Janse, qui a pu vous agacer l'année dernière avec vos épreuves, mais qui, tout de même, vous a fait un article bien intéressant, avec une jolie découverte. C'est un garçon sérieux, avec tous les titres possibles. Il vient compléter son éducation auprès de moi. Je n'ai rien trouvé de mieux que de me remettre avec lui au triage de la collection Piette. Voilà trois semaines qu'il travaille avec moi trois jours par semaine; c'est un véritable plaisir de travailler avec un garçon de cette espèce; ses qualités de minutie et d'ordre sont mises en valeur par l'inférieur désordre que j'ai à débrouiller. D'une part, je voudrais pouvoir le retenir, lui imposer une espèce d'obligation en échange de l'instruction que je lui donne, en lui donnant une espèce d'avantage honorifique; avec lui j'arriverai peut-être à sortir de ce cauchemar de la collection Piette et ce ne serait pas peu de chose. D'autre part, je voudrais pouvoir ne pas être toujours attaché à ses talons; si nous l'avions comme attaché étranger en mission temporaire, il aurait une clef, il aurait une certaine responsabilité, je ne serai pas obligé de le conduire, je pourrais de temps à autre le laisser travailler seul; en ce moment l'aide qu'il me donne a une contre partie de gêne. Mais songez aussi à l'effet moral du fait qu'un jeune scandinave bien apparenté, bien vu, qui a été attaché temporaire au musée de Stockholm, qui y sera quelque jour conservateur adjoint, vienne faire un stage chez nous. Je crois que cela ferait un très bon effet. Songez aussi que j'ai bien besoin d'aide; j'ai commencé à respirer quand on m'a donné ce brave gendarme de Meunier comme secrétaire; cela m'a fait quatre bras; mes affaires vont un peu mieux depuis que j'ai remis Pépin au numérotage; je n'ose pas dire qu'elles iraient tout à fait bien si j'avais un attaché, car nous avons un arriéré effrayant, mais elles commenceraient à s'approcher du bien. Voulez-vous que je fasse, avec votre approbation, les démarches nécessaires à l'administration? Nous pourrions faire donner à Janse la mission de classer nos collections scandinaves. Enfin il y a le précédent du Hollandais de Guiffrey, qui n'a certes pas autant besoin d'aide que moi".

178. Cf. Reinach's description of Hubert as someone who "Took on too much at the same time and moved from one set to the next before having finished the first work

that Hubert thought that he did his museum work meticulously with an outstanding sense of order. Hubert was interested in developing the typological method and must have seen Janse's training from Scandinavian archaeology (hence the reference to "meticulousness and sense of order") as a real asset.¹⁷⁹ A third important piece of information is that Janse had somehow managed to annoy Reinach, the Director, in connection with the article that he published in *Revue archéologique* earlier the same year.¹⁸⁰ Salomon Reinach was the official Director of the museum, but he was not present in the everyday museum work nearly as much as Henri Hubert. As a member of the *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres* and editor of *Revue archéologique* he had duties elsewhere. Moreover he suffered from poor health, which also affected his presence at the museum. But he was a man of power and influence, at the museum and in French academic life. Reinach overcame, it seems, his initial irritation vis-à-vis Janse, and they had a good professional relationship for several years until they ended up in severe controversy, which forever ended the good spirit between them. We shall return to that controversy shortly.

*

Janse's formal affiliation with the Musée des antiquités nationales in January 1923¹⁸¹ was noticed widely in the Swedish press, with Janse being described as the first foreign person ever to be officially attached to a French museum.¹⁸² This marks the beginning of a period of great intensity in his life and career. His first, temporary, one-year position at the museum was renewed several times.¹⁸³ Between 1923 and 1927 he was constantly on the move between France and Sweden, and appears to have been standing more and more securely with one foot in Stockholm and one in Paris.

(Fre: *Entreprit trop à la fois et passât d'une série à l'autre avant d'avoir ermine le premier travail*)" (Salomon Reinach 1927, quoted in Olivier 2018:13.

179. Laurent Olivier has written about Hubert's development of a "technotypological method" as avantgarde, but without any reference to Scandinavian inspirations or connections (2018:142–144).

180. Letter from O. Janse to S. Reinach, 5 June 1921. Archive of MAN.

181. Document addressed to Salmon Reinach from Le Directeur des Musées Nationaux et de l'École du Louvre, 17 January 1923. Archive of MAN.

182. E.g. notices in *Svenska Dagbladet*, *Dagens Nyheter*, and *Stockholms Dagblad*, 22 February 1922.

183. Letter from Salomon Reinach to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1924 (n.d.). Archive of MAN.

In Paris, his relationship with Henri Hubert deepened through their work together at the museum. Janse's official assignment was to organize a collection of Scandinavian artefacts that were the very first to have entered the inventory of the museum, as a gift from the Danish King Frederik VII to Napoleon III in the 1860s.¹⁸⁴ He organized the artefacts according to Montelian typology, which was also in line with Hubert's preferences, and filled the gaps in the typological series with cast replicas (*moulages*) made by conservators at the History Museum in Stockholm.¹⁸⁵ In an article in the Swedish newspaper *Aftonbladet* from the summer 1923, it is reported that, to date, Janse had commissioned between four and five hundred casts to complete the Scandinavian collections in the *Salle de Mars*:

Together, the originals and cast replicas will render a complete view of prehistoric Sweden, which obviously is a great asset for all students and researchers who visit the museum to acquire knowledge about our prehistory.¹⁸⁶

In focus for Janse's work with Hubert at the Musée des antiquités nationales were the Scandinavian parts of the museum's comparative collections on display in the *Salle de Mars*. However, Janse's knowledge of Scandinavian languages and culture, and not least the prospect of having an in-house mediator to facilitate exchanges and communication with Scandinavian museums and Academies, undoubtedly contributed to Hubert's eagerness to have him attached to the museum. Indeed, the Swedish press reports of Janse's affiliation in spring 1923 also emphasized his role as mediator between academics and institutions in France and Scandinavia.¹⁸⁷

An important part of the communication between museums at this time was the exchange of artefacts, or cast replicas of artefacts, to complete

184. Janse 1959:16–17. See also Lundbeck-Culot 1997.

185. According to *Aftonbladet*, 1 August 1923: "Svensk forskning i S:t Germain", it was the museum's conservators E. Sörling and Mr Schultz, who were assigned to make the cast replicas.

186. *Aftonbladet*, 1 August 1923: "Svensk forskning i S:t Germain". In the Swedish original: "Tillsammans komma originalen och avgjutningarna att lämna en fullständig bild av det forntida Sverige, vilket givetvis är till stor fördel för alla studerande och vetenskapsmän, som besöka museet i syfte att inhämta kunskap om vår förhistoria."

187. E.g. notices in *Svenska Dagbladet*, *Dagens Nyheter*, and *Stockholms Dagblad*, 22 February 1922. NAA: Janse 2001-29.

typological series.¹⁸⁸ Having one's own collection of complete typological series from different cultural contexts served the purposes of comparative analyses, so archaeologists with an interest in broad international comparative studies, like Hubert and Janse, had a particular interest in this form of exchange. During the four years that they worked together at the museum in Saint Germain, they pursued a number of artefact exchanges with the History Museum in Stockholm. In April 1923 a decision was made by the Swedish government (Swe: *K. M:t*) to have a number of artefacts in the collections of the Swedish History Museum released from state ownership to be sent to the Musée des antiquités nationales. In return for the artefacts, which belonged to the older collections of the museum and therefore lacked inventory numbers as well as details of their provenance, the Musée des antiquités nationales would send a number of objects, books, and leaflets of archaeological interest, says a newspaper article.¹⁸⁹ The article does not mention any names, but Janse and Hubert were no doubt the motors of the exchange project, which complemented the parallel exchanges of cast replicas.

And their exchange ambitions stretched further, beyond the French–Swedish connection. Janse discussed (but never pursued, as far as we know) exchanges with museums in Norway and Denmark, and when Birger Nerman moved to Estonia in 1923 to become professor in Dorpat (now Tartu), they immediately started to plan for artefact exchanges, which were realized later the same year.¹⁹⁰

Over the following years, the shipments of artefacts from Paris to Stockholm continued. In April 1924 came a Roman terra sigillata bowl along with a collection of ostraca found at the famous site of Lésoux,¹⁹¹ and in July 1925 came a collection of Scandinavian-style Viking Age weapons that had emerged from the dredging of a tributary of the Seine. The weapons were donated to the Swedish History Museum by a French industrialist and amateur archaeologist named Henry Koechlin, and

188. See Proust 2017a and 2017b for a discussion of the importance of replicas in French archaeology, and the practice of manufacturing *moulages* at the Musée d'antiquités nationales.

189. *Dagens Nyheter*, 2 August 1923: “Utbyte av föremål mellan Statens historiska museum och franskt museum”.

190. Letter from O. Janse to B. Nerman, 6 November 1923. Riksarkivet. Kartong 1. Korrespondens Brev II 1923–1934.

191. *Svenska Dagbladet*, 20 March 1924: “Årets fornyfynd i Statens historiska museum.”

Fig. 17. The Piette Collection at the Musée d'archéologie nationale in Saint-Germain-en-Laye.



brought to Stockholm by Olov Janse.¹⁹² At the same time, in the summer of 1926, there also came a number of objects from ongoing excavations of a Palaeolithic site at La Quina in Charente. The excavations were led by the French archaeologist and palaeontologist Léon Henri-Martin, and Janse had already visited the site in 1923.¹⁹³ The objects that came to Sweden in 1926 were, however, brought to the museum in Stockholm by Janse's colleague Ture Arne, who had participated in the excavations together with the Swedish botanist John af Klercker.¹⁹⁴

The most important was, however, Hubert's and Janse's last and final transfer of objects from Paris to Stockholm, which was executed by Janse in September 1927. A collection of Palaeolithic objects from the famous Piette collection, which Henri Hubert had described as "a nightmare" in his letter to Reinach, and which he had mentioned in his very first

192. *Nya Dagl. Allehanda*, 20 July 1925: "Nordiska vikingars vapen uppmuddrade ur Seinen, nu i svenska statens ägo."

193. Letter from H. Hubert to Léon Henri-Martin, 6 August 1923. Archive of MAN, Fonds Hubert/Correspondance non classé.

194. *Nya Dagl. Allehanda*, 20 July 1925.

exchange proposal to the Swedish Academy in 1922, were now sent to the museum in Sweden.¹⁹⁵ The Piette collection was, and is, however, a very special part of the collections of the Musée des antiquités nationales (now Musée d'archéologie nationale). It consists of the entire private collection of the famous palaeontologist and archaeologist Édouard Piette (1827–1906), and was donated to the museum in 1904 under the strict condition that it would always be kept intact and never dispersed.¹⁹⁶ Judging from Janse's letter from June 1922 (above), it was a priority for the Swedish museum to obtain Palaeolithic objects. This is not surprising considering the prominence of France and French sites in Palaeolithic archaeology, and the fact that the land that is now Sweden was covered by ice during much of the Palaeolithic period, hence Palaeolithic artefacts found in Sweden are sparse. However, it remains obscure why Henri Hubert agreed to exchange original objects and not replicas, and how he managed to sidestep the important conditions of Piette's testament, to have objects from that particular collection sent to Stockholm.¹⁹⁷

While Janse strengthened his relation to Henri Hubert and built a more solid foundation for his presence in Paris, the situation in Stockholm was more fragile. After Montelius's death in 1921, the triangular relation of power and authority between the Swedish History Museum, the National Board of Antiquities, and *Vitterhetsakademien* (the Royal Swedish Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities) was destabilized. Bernhard Salin had been appointed Director of the National Board of Antiquities after Montelius retired in 1913, but resigned only two years later, unable to fulfil his obligations. Otto Janse stepped in as Acting Director of the National Board of Antiquities and Secretary of *Vitterhetsakademien* from 1918 to 1923, at the same time as he was the curator in charge of the medieval collections at the History Museum.

Having his uncle at these key positions ought to have helped to open important doors for Olov Janse in the early years of his career, and to stabilize his position in Sweden. We have seen, for example, how he pur-

195. *Dagens Nyheter*, 28 September 1927: (Sven Jansson), "Då kubisterna ännu härjade med ensamrätt: Vacker föremålssamling från fransk stenålder."

196. Schwab 2008.

197. At an inventory in the Musée d'archéologie nationale around 2010, it was discovered that the above-mentioned objects from the Piette collection had been removed (on the initiative of Henri Hubert and Olov Janse) and were located in Stockholm. The objects have since then been returned and have been back in the Piette collection since October 2012.



Fig. 18. Olov Janse in the Swedish History Museum 1926, with the new cardboard boxes in the foreground.

1924 he returned to Sweden for summer employment (Swe: *sommartjänstgöring*) at the History Museum, and excavated an Iron Age burial site on Gotland.¹⁹⁸ When he returned to Stockholm the following summer he was put to work at the museum. In July 1925 he writes to Henri Hubert that he is busy organizing the osteological collections of the History Museum, which “have until now been deposited without order in the basement”. He mentions that the comparative collections had been summarily classified, apart from the Chinese objects, which would be

sued excavations under the auspices of *Vitterhetsakademien* during his summer breaks. In 1923, however, Otto Janse was replaced by the charismatic and dynamic Sigurd Curman (1879–1966), who became Director of the History Museum and Director of the National Board of Antiquities (Swe: *Riksantikvarie*) and would make dramatic changes in both institutions over the following years. This meant that Olov Janse had lost some of his secure base in Sweden during the summer breaks, and he spent the summer of 1923 travelling around France, visiting excavation sites like La Quina. Birger Nerman, who had recently taken up his position in Estonia, came to visit and they discussed artefact exchanges between Dorpat and the Musée des antiquités nationales.

Over the following years, Janse established a good relationship with Sigurd Curman, although it was never close or cordial as with Henri Hubert. In the summer of

198. Janse 1924a.

personally handled by Johan Gunnar Andersson.¹⁹⁹ Sigurd Curman had serious plans for the museum, which was still located on the ground floor of *Nationalmuseum* at Blasieholmen, where it had been founded and built in 1866.²⁰⁰ When Curman took over as director, there was chaos behind the scenes. The storerooms were bursting at the seams and there was no efficient system for storage of the artefacts and materials that were not on display. To sort out the mess, Curman almost doubled the number of employees, from 20 to 36 over his first five years on the post. In addition to these, a number of people (Axel Bagge, Birger Nerman, Hanna Rydh, Nils Åberg, and Olov Janse, to mention a few) worked on temporary assignments funded by *Vitterhetsakademien*.²⁰¹

Olov Janse was employed on such a temporary assignment in the summer of 1925, together with a colleague two years his junior, Axel Bagge (1894–1953). Their task was to come up with a new system to organize the storage. After only a brief overview, they were able to confirm that there was no existing comprehensive system; the collection had been registered according to several different systems, and artefacts and materials were stored randomly all over the storerooms. Bagge and Janse suggested that the objects should instead be placed in cardboard boxes, which would in turn be placed in accessible wooden drawers. The objects should be ordered according to the accession numbers they were given as they entered the collection, and two card indexes should be set up; one for objects, and one for topography. With this system, the objects could be stored in a fixed place, and new objects could be added without any need for reorganization. To find a certain object, one could find clear directions to its storage place in the card indexes. With the new system, anyone would have access to the objects in the collection and it was no longer dependent on the museum staff's personal knowledge of the storeroom. Their ideas were realized, and by 1926 chaos had been turned into order in the stores of the Swedish History Museum.²⁰²

199. Letter from O. Janse to H. Hubert, 26 July 1925. Archive of MAN: General correspondence/Janse.

200. The Swedish History Museum was separated from *Nationalmuseum* (which then became devoted entirely to historic art and design) and moved to its present location on Narvavägen in 1939.

201. Nordström 2015:58.

202. Nordström 2015:61. Still today Janse's and Bagge's wooden drawers containing cardboard boxes can be seen in the stores at the Swedish History Museum. See more in the chapter "Memorabilia".

Encouraged by Henri Hubert, Janse spent quite a lot of time in Sweden between 1925 and 1926. A letter to Salomon Reinach in August 1923 shows that Hubert saw Janse's work at the Stockholm museum as beneficial for Janse's own career and thereby in the long run also for the Musée des antiquités nationales.²⁰³ In addition to his work with Bagge in the museum stores, Janse pursued contract excavations in the summer of 1925, at the site of Rekarne between Eskilstuna and Kvikksund, under the auspices of the History Museum.²⁰⁴

But there were changes on the way in Swedish archaeology. In Uppsala, Oscar Almgren had become weaker and was steadily losing his sight, until he was entirely blind and had to retire from his position in 1925.²⁰⁵ He was succeeded in 1927 by Sune Lindqvist (1887–1976), who held the professorial chair until 1952. Sune Lindqvist had started his career at the Swedish History Museum in 1910, and when Sigurd Curman, as a part of his great reformation project, set about modernizing the displays in 1926–1928, he appointed Lindqvist to manage the work.²⁰⁶ Sune Lindqvist belonged to a new generation of Swedish archaeologists who were not so keen on the typological method with its broad comparative analyses that had been advocated by Montelius and Almgren. Instead, he was focused on writing the prehistory of the Swedish nation state, from a more limited and German-related perspective. This focus suited the dominant nation-focused politics in Swedish society at large at the time, and it fitted well with Sigurd Curman's ambition to be aligned with the political formation of a new, modern Swedish nation based on the concept of *folkhemmet*.²⁰⁷ During the 1930s and '40s this new generation, with Lindqvist in the forefront, would come to dominate the research milieu in the archaeology department at Uppsala University and the Swedish History Museum, with a patriotic focus on the prehistory of the Swedish nation.²⁰⁸

In addition to the new nation-bound and Germany-related focus, which was quite contrary to Olov Janse's Francophile cosmopolitan movements and broad comparative analyses (remember his claim that

203. Letter from H. Hubert to S. Reinach, 6 August 1923. Archive of MAN. Correspondance/Hubert à Reinach.

204. *Sörmlandsposten*, 12 August 1925: "Gravfältet i Rekarne undersökes idag"; *Sörmlandsposten*, 24 August 1925: "Vikingagravarna i Rekarne nu undersökta."

205. Nerman 1945.

206. Nordström 2015:61.

207. Bergström & Edman 2005.

208. Nordström 2015:60. See also Berggren 1999; Werbart 2000.

the figure depicted on the bracteates was Attila, not Odin), was the fact that Sune Lindqvist did not like Janse at all. Already in 1924, Janse had written from Paris to Birger Nerman to ask if he could investigate why he had never got any response to an article proposal that he had submitted a long time ago for the journal *Fornvännen*, and suggested it may be owing to the fact that Lindqvist's works had not been referenced.²⁰⁹ And, indeed, Lindqvist's aversion to Janse is confirmed by a letter to Sigurd Curman in 1932, where he furiously attacks Janse for being incompetent and not referring to Lindqvist's own publications.²¹⁰ Ergo, despite his international qualifications, his language skills, and his reputation as a person with an excellent sense of order and a meticulous attitude to museum work, his antipathetic relations with Lindqvist made it increasingly difficult for Janse to find a secure position in Swedish archaeology.

Moreover, the aversion was mutual. In Paris, where he spent most of his time between 1923 and 1927, Janse took a clear stance against the nationalistic Germany-oriented tendencies advocated by Sune Lindqvist among others. Like Henri Hubert he maintained a view in which French republican society rested on a historical foundation of many races which had together formed the nation (rather than the German conception of the nation as based on one pure race) represented the highest form of civilization.²¹¹ He surrounded himself with Scandinavian archaeologists who, like himself, had an internationalist and cosmopolitan rather than a nationalistic approach. In his closest network were Ture Arne (1879–1965), Nils Åberg (1888–1957),²¹² Johannes Bøe (1891–1971), Haakon Shetelig

209. Letter from O. Janse to B. Nerman, 14 December 1924. Riksarkivet. Kartong 1. Korrespondens Brev II 1923–1934. See also letter dated 6 June 1928.

210. Letter from Sune Lindqvist to Sigurd Curman, 26 July 1932. Gustavianums arkiv. Korrespondens med svenskar F8 D:10.

211. See for instance an interview with Janse in *Dagens Nyheter*, 3 September 1926: "Svensk arkeolog lär fransmän vår fornkunskap". See also Saada 2002; Conklin 2013: chapter 2.

212. See Baudou 2002 for a discussion of the relations between Nils Åberg, Sune Lindqvist, Oscar Montelius, and Gustaf Kossinna. Kossinna (who is often associated with laying the foundation for the use of archaeology by Nazist ideologists) was strongly influenced by Montelius when he developed his "settlement archaeology", but they were in disagreement as to where the origins of the cultures of Germany and Sweden were to be found. Åberg, who was perhaps the Swedish archaeologist who most strongly promoted Montelius's typological method after his death (e.g. Åberg 1929), and who also pursued international artefact studies much like Janse, was also closely associated with Kossinna. This demonstrates that it was not the question of clear-cut categories of nationalistic



Fig. 19. Olov Janse in Paris 1925. Photographer: Johannes Bøe.

(1877–1955), Hanna Rydh (1891–1964), and Bror Schnittger (1882–1942). He encouraged them to plan visits to Paris, and facilitated connections with museums and academic institutions for exchanges and lectures.²¹³ Johannes Bøe spent five months with Janse at the Musée des antiquités nationales in 1923–1924. With Birger Nerman, Hanna Rydh, and Bror Schnittger he even made plans for a French-Scandinavian archaeological society,²¹⁴ but the plans were never realized. In this context, however, his relation with Birger Nerman became more complicated. If Nerman had at first been keen on the French connections, at this point he began to shift focus and became more interested in the nationalistic Germany-inspired approach advocated by Sune Lindqvist. In a letter from January 1924, Janse warns him about getting too close to the German archaeologist Gustaf Kossinna:²¹⁵

archaeologists who were sympathetic to Germany (and later Nazism) vs internationalist archaeologists who were anti-Germany (and later Nazism) in Sweden in the 1920s and '30s, but a more complex mix of personal relations, methodological preferences, and political sentiments (e.g. Werbart 2000).

213. These persons are mentioned frequently in correspondence with B. Nerman, found in Riksarkivet (Kartong 1. Korrespondens Brev II 1923–1934) and in correspondence with H. Hubert. Archive of MAN: General correspondence/Janse.

214. E.g. letter from O. Janse to B. Nerman, 14 January 1924. Riksarkivet. Kartong 1. Korrespondens Brev II 1923–1934.

215. Kossinna died in 1931, but his work was foundational for Nazi ideology (e.g. Arnold 2006:11, Baudou 2002).

P.S. In the article about Germanic emigration when you talk about Kossinna, avoid saying “have the honour of, is rewarded with”, etc. To be correct to him will suffice! Anything above that can only do harm. He has acted towards his colleagues both in France and in Germany in a way that is incompatible with good manners and normal tact. Even before the war he resorted to the most grotesque vulgarities against France. All (undeserved) politeness vis-à-vis K., could be read as some kind of sympathy for Kossinna’s political excesses. Be therefore on your guard, because you may harm yourself.²¹⁶

Birger Nerman would later, during the 1930s and ’40s, become more and more aligned with Sune Lindqvist’s nation-bound focus on prehistory.²¹⁷ Their differences of opinion on this matter, however, seemed not to have had any major damaging effects on the life-long friendship between Nerman and Janse.

From his position with one foot in Sweden and one in Paris, Janse worked as a promoter – for French scholars and institutions in Sweden, and for Swedish scholars and institutions in France. Henri Hubert became a foreign corresponding member of *Vitterhetsakademien* in 1922, and in 1927 Janse was involved in organizing a lecture tour for Léon Henri-Martin in Stockholm, with the Crown Prince and Princess attending the first lecture on 12 May.²¹⁸ In France, he made *démarches* to have Birger Nerman elected as member of the *Société Préhistorique française* in 1926, and introduced Nerman to both Hubert and Reinach when he came to visit Paris. He reviewed his friends’ works in French journals, beginning with a review of Birger Nerman’s work in *Revue des Études anciennes* in

216. Letter from O. Janse to B. Nerman, 14 January 1924. Riksarkivet. Kartong 1. Korrespondens Brev II 1923–1934. In the Swedish original: “P.S. Undvik i artikeln om Germanska utvandringar att på tal om Kossinna säga ‘har äran av, tillkommer förtjänsten’ l. dyl. Det räcker att vara correct mot honom! Vad därutöver är, är av ondo. Han har uppträtt mot sina collegor både i Frankrike o. Tyskland på ett sätt som är oförenligt med god hyfs o. vanlig takt. Mot Frankrike har han även före kriget farit ut i de mest groteska klumpigheter. All (oförtjänt) artighet mot K., kan bli uppfattad som något slags sympatyttring för Kossinnas politiska förlöpningar[?]. Var därför på din vakt, ty du kan skada dig själv.”

217. Nordström 2015:60.

218. Letter from O. Janse to B. Nerman, 27 April 1927. Riksarkivet. Kartong 1. Korrespondens Brev II 1923–1934.



Fig. 20. Olov Janse and Sueji Umehara in Paris 1926.

1924,²¹⁹ and continuing through the early 1930s. When the Japanese archaeologist Sueji Umehara visited Paris in December 1926, he spent time with Janse at the Musée des antiquités nationales. Janse encouraged him to travel to Sweden, and made sure he was well looked after by Birger Nerman.²²⁰ Both Nerman and Janse eventually became good friends with Umehara, who made several visits to Stockholm.

In Paris, Janse also made a name for himself as a facilitator and guide for visiting Swedes from a much wider circle than his closest associates. In December 1926 he accompanied Sigurd Curman to the Musée des antiquités nationales, where he met Henri Hubert and studied museum technology. He even arranged accommodation for Curman's daughter Brita when she visit-

ed Paris in 1926. He was also active at the Scandinavian Institute at the Sorbonne, where he met and entertained acclaimed invited lecturers such as Andreas Lindblom and Marika Stiernstedt, and was keen to be noticed by members of the press.²²¹ A Swedish newspaper article with the headline "Between Montmartre and Montparnasse" features Janse's work and endeavours in Paris.²²² The 1920s are known as *les années folles* – the crazy years in the entertainment quarters of Montmartre, and intellectual life was thriving in the cafés of Montparnasse. Janse's personal letters to Ture and Birger Nerman abound with allusions to theatres, cabarets, and more

219. Janse 1924b.

220. Letters from O. Janse to B. Nerman, 31 December 1926; 15 February 1927. Riksarkivet. Kartong 1. Korrespondens Brev II 1923–1934.

221. E.g. *Stockholms Dagblad*, 22 March 1927, Kjell Strömberg: "Mellan Montmartre och Montparnasse."

222. Ibid.

or less unattainable women in and around the Parisian nightlife.²²³ In another newspaper article, the author Widar concludes: “A better, more knowledgeable, and more sympathetic cicerone one could not wish for.”²²⁴

His time in Paris gave him great joy and intellectual inspiration, but his life was also rather lonely. In March 1926 he writes to Birger Nerman that he has just acquired a radio, which is “great company”.²²⁵ And in yet another newspaper article he is described as a “Swedish-French museum man”.²²⁶ His identity was now that hyphen, literally in the space between Sweden and France.

*

Along with the work that they did together in the collections of the Musée des antiquités nationales, Hubert soon began to involve Janse in his university teaching. In early January 1923, even before his museum affiliation was formalized, Hubert had offered Janse to give a series of lectures in Nordic and comparative history of religion for the EPHE at the Sorbonne.²²⁷ It took some time, however, before these plans were realized, and Janse’s first lecture at the Sorbonne on 6 December 1924 was instead in a series of public lectures organized by the Institut d’Études Scandinaves and hosted by the founder of the Institute, Professor Paul Verrier.

The subject of Janse’s first lecture was Scandinavian Bronze Age rock carvings, and it was given on Saturday at 5 p.m. in *Amphithéâtre Descartes*, one of the large lecture halls at the university. According to Swedish press reports and Janse’s own letters to Birger Nerman, it was a great success.²²⁸ In the audience, with over 200 people, were the Swedish minister Albert Ehrensward, a number of notable members of French academ-

223. E.g. letters from O. Janse to T. Nerman, 20 December 1925; 19 January 1926; 27 March 1926. Arbetarrörelsens arkiv och bibliotek. Ture Nerman 3.1.7. and to B. Nerman, 7 January 1926. Riksarkivet. Kartong 2. Korrespondens Brev II 1923–1934.

224. *Dagens Nyheter*, 22 January 1926: “En svensk vetenskapsman i Paris.” In Swedish: “Bättre, sakkunnigare och trevligare ciceron kan man inte önska sig.”

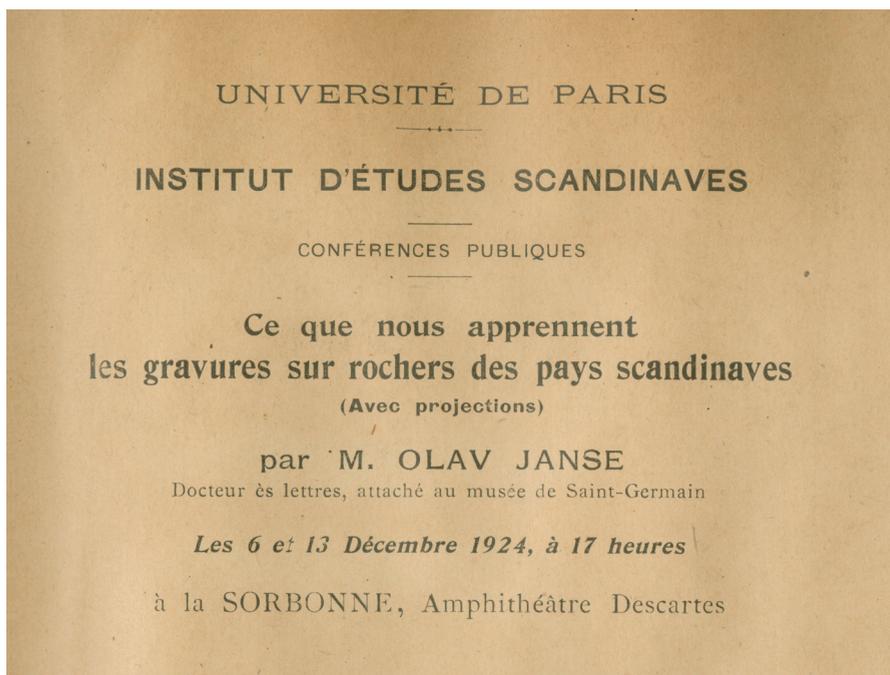
225. Letter from O. Janse to B. Nerman, 12 March 1926. Riksarkivet. Kartong 1. Korrespondens Brev II 1923–1934.

226. *Norrköpings Tidningar*, 23 January 1926: “Norrköpingsbo vik. fransk professor: D:r Olof Janse som svensk-fransk museiman.”

227. Letter from O. Janse to B. Nerman. 6 January 1923. Riksarkivet. Kartong 1. Korrespondens Brev II 1923–1934.

228. *Aftonbladet*, 15 December 1924: (Harald Wägner), “Dr O. Janse föreläser i Paris: Intressanta föredrag om hällristningar i Skandinavien.”; Letters from O. Janse to B.

Fig. 21.
Flyer for
Olov Janse's
first public
lecture at the
Sorbonne in
1924.



ia, and representatives from the Scandinavian embassies in Paris. In his introduction, the host Paul Verrier had emphasized the importance of political and cultural contacts between France and Scandinavia through history. In the lecture, which was illustrated by “excellent diapositives”, Janse referred to the research of his old teacher Oscar Almgren, and drew attention to similarities between the Scandinavian rock carvings and prehistoric finds in other parts of the world. The icing on an already delicious cake was Janse’s flawless French, which was noted by a professor of French literature in the audience.²²⁹ The lecture was followed by second one, on the same subject and in the same venue, on the following Saturday.

Soon thereafter, in early 1925, Janse was invited to step in for Henri Hubert and lecture in his undergraduate courses on Germanic prehistory, at both the EPHE and the École du Louvre. If the EPHE was a university institution with a broader scope, the École du Louvre had been dedicated to studies in Archaeology in the early years after its foundation in 1882, and from there expanded to include Art History, Anthropology and

Nerman, 9 December 1924; 14 December 1924. Riksarkivet. Kartong 1. Korrespondens Brev II 1923–1934.

229. *Aftonbladet*, 15 December 1924.

Epigraphy. Janse stepped in for Hubert at both the EPHE and the École du Louvre during the spring semester 1925. After the summer break he wrote gratefully, almost in awe, from Stockholm to accept an offer to continue Hubert's courses:

My dear Master,

I am, how could one not be, flattered by your gracious offer to continue the course on the Germanics at the École du Louvre. How could I thank you enough for the kindness that you show me?²³⁰

His position in Paris was formalized in the late autumn (after a long time in the museum stores in Stockholm), when it was clear that Hubert had to take a long leave of absence owing to poor health. He was appointed Assistant Professor at the École du Louvre for the academic year 1925–1926, and gave his first lecture on 11 December 1925. In the first semester he lectured on the Germanic civilization in the pre-Roman Iron Age, based on research publications from Scandinavia and Germany, and artefacts in museum collections at the Musée des antiquités nationales, and at museums in Germany and Scandinavia. Like Henri Hubert before him, he emphasized the Celtic influence on Germanic culture.²³¹ In the second semester he lectured on the Iron Age in the Gaul region, based on artefacts in the collections of the Musée des antiquités nationales. The course followed upon, as a sort of paraphrase and complement, a course on the Bronze Age of the Gaul region previously given by Henri Hubert.²³²

Janse spent most of his time in Sweden during the years 1925–26, and did not return to Paris until late October 1926, a little more than a month before he began teaching at the École du Louvre. In Paris, he stayed in a room in L'Île de la Cité, at 9 Quai aux Fleurs. He continuously filled in for Hubert, at the Musée des antiquités nationales and in his courses and public lectures at the École du Louvre and at the EPHE. In the spring of

230. Letter from O. Janse to H. Hubert, 24 August 1925. Archive of MAN: General correspondence/Janse. In French: "Mon cher Maître, // Je suis, on ne peut plus, flatté de la gracieuse offre que vous me faites de continuer votre cours sur les Germains à l'École du Louvre. Comment vous remercier de la bienveillance que vous me témoignez?"

231. Cf. Olivier 2018, where there is no mention of Janse in relation to Hubert's research and writings on *les Germains*.

232. Extrait du Journal officiel de la république française, 1926: "Rapport sur L'administration et la conservation des musées nationaux et sur l'enseignement de l'école du Louvre pendant l'année 1926". NAA: Janse 2001-29.

1927, Hubert was back to do some of his teaching. But Salomon Reinach was largely absent owing to poor health,²³³ and Hubert was left with the duties of the museum. Hence Janse continued to lecture in lieu of Hubert at the École du Louvre,²³⁴ and delivered ten lectures on the Germanics at the Institut d'études Scandinaves, from 7 March to 15 May.²³⁵ In late April he wrote to Birger Nerman, evidently content, that the lectures were very well paid, with 500 francs per lecture, and attracted audiences of up to 150 people.²³⁶ In another letter to Birger Nerman, Janse wrote that he had been asked to maintain Hubert's professorship during 1928 as well, and that Hubert had moreover asked if he would be interested to participate with a section on Germanic History of Religion, for a large comprehensive publication on the History of Religion, of which Hubert was the editor. He appeared very keen to accept both offers.²³⁷ Then, suddenly, the unthinkable happened. On 26 May 1927, Janse received a telegram saying that Henri Hubert had died in his home in Chatou.²³⁸ Three days later he wrote to Birger Nerman:

Paris Saturday

Mon cher ami,

Have this morning followed Henri Hubert to the grave. [...] Was invited to déjeuner at Hubert's a short while ago. He seemed then to be in particularly good spirits and relatively good health. He was at the museum on [Tues]day and worked there until around five o'clock. When he arrived at his home in Chatou he felt tired and went to bed not feeling any worry. On Wednesday morning, however, the situation had got worse. He lost consciousness

233. Letter from O. Janse to B. Nerman, 20 April 1927. Riksarkivet. Kartong 1. Korrespondens Brev II 1923-1934.

234. Letter from O. Janse to H. Hubert, 9 April 1927. Archive of MAN, Fonds Hubert/Dossier personnel.

235. Letter from O. Janse to H. Hubert, 2 February 1927. Archive of MAN, Fonds Hubert/Correspondance non classé.

236. Letter from O. Janse to B. Nerman, 27 April 1927. Riksarkivet. Kartong 1. Korrespondens Brev II 1923-1934.

237. Letter from O. Janse to B. Nerman, 15 February 1927. Riksarkivet. Kartong 1. Korrespondens Brev II 1923-1934.

238. Letter from O. Janse to B. Nerman, 26 May 1927. Riksarkivet. Kartong 1. Korrespondens Brev II 1923-1934.

during the course of the day and death occurred in the afternoon on the same day. It is a hard blow for his young sons and for his many friends and disciples. The funeral was very moving. I am struggling to take it in that Hubert is no longer among the living.

Yours truly

Olle ²³⁹

*

All of a sudden, Janse found himself in a new, much more fragile position in Paris. Already on the day before Hubert died, Janse wrote to Birger Nerman that he would probably decline the offer to keep the position at the *École du Louvre* for the academic year 1927–28, considering how little he was paid and the fact that he would never be able to get a permanent position there.²⁴⁰ Two weeks later, when Hubert was gone, he wrote, again to Birger Nerman, that he was not sure if he would return to Paris in the autumn.²⁴¹ The situation at the *Musée des antiquités nationales* was insecure. Salomon Reinach suffered from diabetes and insomnia, and had been largely absent in the months before Hubert's death.²⁴² The archaeologist Raymond Lantier (1886–1980) had been appointed *conservateur adjoint* (Hubert's previous position) in 1926, and stepped in to take over more of the responsibility for the running of the museum after Hubert's death and in Reinach's absence. Letters indicate that Lantier and Janse

239. Letter from O. Janse to B. Nerman, n.d. around 29 May 1927. Riksarkivet. Kartong 1. Korrespondens Brev II 1923–1934. In the Swedish original: "Paris lördag / Mon cher ami, / Har idag på morgonen följt Henri Hubert till graven. [...] Var bjuden på déjeuner hos Hubert för kort sedan. Han föreföll då vid ovanligt gott humör och relativt god hälsa. Han var på museet i [tis]dags och arbetade där till bortåt fem-tiden. När han kom hem till Chatou kände han sig trött och gick till sängs men anade ingen oro. På onsdags morgon hade tillståndet emellertid förvärrats. Han förlorade medvetandet under dagens lopp och på eftermiddagen samma dag inträffade döden. Det är ett hårt slag för hans små söner och för alla hans många vänner och lärlingar [sic]. Jordfästningen var mycket gripande. Jag har svårt att fatta att Hubert icke mera är bland de levande. / Din tillgivne / Olle."

240. Letter from O. Janse to B. Nerman, 25 May 1927. Riksarkivet. Kartong 1. Korrespondens Brev II 1923–1934.

241. Letter from O. Janse to B. Nerman, 10 June 1927. Riksarkivet. Kartong 1. Korrespondens Brev II 1923–1934.

242. Letter from O. Janse to B. Nerman, 20 April 1927. Riksarkivet. Kartong 1. Korrespondens Brev II 1923–1934.

were on good terms, and that Lantier supported Janse's continued presence at the museum.²⁴³ But the situation at the museum remained fragile.

Then there were the publications. At the time of his death, Henri Hubert had been working on two major publications: one that was almost complete on prehistoric and historic Celtic civilization – *Les Celtes*, and one on the Germanic – *Les Germains*, that was in a more fragmentary state. Marcel Mauss took on the task of finishing the book on the Celts, which was published in 1932.²⁴⁴ And shortly after Hubert's death, Olov Janse, supported by Mauss, set out to complete the research on *Les Germains* and edit it for publication. Janse knew this part of Hubert's work better than anyone else. It was based largely on the courses Janse had taught alongside Hubert at the École de Louvre, and in letters from Sweden he instructed Mauss on where exactly in Hubert's office he could find notes and research material on a given subject.²⁴⁵ So Mauss needed Janse to sort out the work of their mutual friend. But although he fully encouraged Janse's efforts to complete Hubert's oeuvre, it is clear that Mauss's practical support for Janse was not as strong as the support he had enjoyed while Hubert was alive.

Marcel Mauss, however, exerted a major influence on Janse's own work, as it was about to take a turn towards Asia. Together with Paul Rivet, who had a background in physical anthropology, Mauss organized the first university training in "ethnology" (Fre: *ethnologie*) in France, at the Sorbonne in 1925. Rivet and Mauss were both active socialists, and the new ethnology (which was more akin to social anthropology as we know it today than to folklore studies, which is more commonly associated with ethnology today) took a clear stance for cultural pluralism, against the growing anti-Jewish racist tendencies in parts of French society expressed for example in the Dreyfus affair.²⁴⁶ Their political orientation was shared by Olov Janse and characterized overall the academic and museum-oriented community he was part of in Paris. Over the late 1920s and 1930s, Mauss and Rivet also reformed the Musée de l'Homme – the Museum of Man – and thus put a decisive mark on the development of academic studies of Man in France in the direction of Durkheimian

243. Letters from O. Janse to R. Lantier, 27 September 1933; 5 October 1933. Archive of MAN: General correspondence/Janse.

244. Hubert 1932.

245. Letter from O. Janse to M. Mauss, 5 October 1932. Fonds Marcel Mauss au Collège de France: mauss-janse-008.pdf

246. Conklin 2013:3.

sociology, with on-site fieldwork and studies of ethnographic artefacts.²⁴⁷

In the years that followed after Hubert's death, Janse's relationship with Salomon Reinach went from friendly to ice-cold, when they ended up on opposite sides of the debate about Glozel. What has become known as *The Glozel Affair*²⁴⁸ was sparked in March 1924, when Émile Fradin, a seventeen-year-old son of a local farmer, uncovered an underground chamber made of bricks and tiles that contained bone and ceramics, after one of his cows had got stuck in a field in Glozel near Vichy in central France. The news about the unusual find first attracted local attention, and enticed Antonin Morlet, a physician and amateur archaeologist from Vichy, to come to Glozel to excavate. He found clay tablets with what appeared to be the script of an unknown language, and engraved figures reminiscent of Palaeolithic cave art. Had they been authentic prehistoric finds, they would have challenged much of what was known about prehistory in Western Europe. In 1925, Dr Morlet published a report with Émile Fradin as co-author, saying that the finds were Neolithic. The report was readily dismissed by academic archaeologists in Paris, but Morlet responded by inviting a number of leading archaeologists to Glozel to excavate in 1926. Among them were Salomon Reinach and the esteemed archaeologist Henri (Abbé) Breuil, who both returned from the excavation site impressed and apparently convinced of its authenticity. Reinach immediately wrote a statement to the *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* verifying the authenticity of the finds. Abbé Breuil, on the other hand, withdrew his initial judgement in 1927, blaming his misjudgement on bad weather and poor light at the time of his visit to Glozel, and from that moment on maintained that everything but the stoneware pottery was fake. He was soon joined by the renowned prehistorian Vayson de Pradenne, and two distinct positions emerged – one of “Glozelians” claiming authenticity and the other of “anti-Glozelians” claiming it was all fake and fraud. New finds appeared over the years that followed, and the Glozel affair ballooned to become one of the most famous cases of alleged fraud in the history of archaeology. In 1928, René Dussaud, renowned epigrapher and Curator at the Louvre, accused the young farmer Émile Fradin of being guilty of fraud in an interview in the morning newspaper *Le Matin*. Fradin, who was offered free legal repre-

247. Ibid.

248. Reinach 1928; Biaggi 1994; Gerard 2005; Craddock 2009:119–125; “Emile Fradin”, Obituary in *The Telegraph*, 4 March 2010.

sensation by the Glozelians, responded by filing a lawsuit and had both Dussaud and *Le Matin* convicted for defamation. The site at Glozel has been excavated and investigated many times since 1924, but the question of whether or not the finds were authentic to a prehistoric or historic period, or deliberately fabricated in modern times, remains unresolved.²⁴⁹

From his position at the Musée des antiquités nationales and the École du Louvre, Janse was located at the centre of events concerning the Glozel affair. The first time Glozel is mentioned by Janse is in a letter to Birger Nerman in November 1926.²⁵⁰ He had just arrived from Stockholm to begin teaching at the École du Louvre. Hubert was still alive, Reinach had just returned from three days of excavations at Glozel, convinced of its authenticity, and Abbé Breuil had not yet taken a clear stance for the fraud side. In the letter Janse writes that he had just had tea at Hubert's house, where they had discussed the developments at Glozel. Hubert had resisted making any definite judgement before he had had the chance to talk to Abbé Breuil, but thought, nonetheless, that Reinach had given the finds too early a date and suggested that they might be Eneolithic (i.e. between the Neolithic and the Bronze Age).²⁵¹ Janse, at this point, had no opinion at all.

It took until the summer 1927 before he focused on Glozel again. Hubert was dead, and the debate between Glozelians and anti-Glozelians was getting heated. In a letter to Birger Nerman he writes, on 10 June, that he might be going to Glozel on a mission for the Swedish newspaper *Stockholms Dagblad*.²⁵² And indeed, before he left France for his usual summer employment in Sweden, he went to visit Glozel together with the Swedish botanist John af Klercker (1866–1929), the military commander and epigrapher Émile Éspérandieu (1857–1939), Professor Auguste Audollent (1864–1943) from Clermont-Ferrand, the editor and ethnologist Émile Nourry (1870–1935), and his “critical-minded” wife Camille Nourry-Saintyves.²⁵³ The group arrived in Glozel on 21 June, and the pur-

249. Biaggi 1994; Gerard 2005; Craddock 2009: 119–125; “Emile Fradin”, Obituary in *The Telegraph*, 4 March 2010.

250. Letter from O. Janse to B. Nerman, 1 November 1926. Riksarkivet. Kartong 1. Korrespondens Brev II 1923–1934.

251. Ibid.

252. Letter from O. Janse to B. Nerman, 10 June 1927. Riksarkivet. Kartong 1. Korrespondens Brev II 1923–1934.

253. *Sydsvenska Dagbladet*, 23 October 1927: (John af Klercker), “Som vetenskaplig Sherlock Holmes i Glozel.”

pose of their visit was to oversee the excavation of a hitherto unexcavated grave that had recently been discovered.²⁵⁴ On behalf of the surveillance group, Olov Janse was given the task of registering all the finds as they were taken out of the trench, but was, according to af Klercker, constantly distracted by the local school teacher Miss Picandet, who disturbed him with her “witty and gracious conversation”. In a letter to Birger Nerman, Janse also describes Vichy, as “a nice town with many beautiful and gracious women”.²⁵⁵ Having witnessed the excavation, the surveillance group expressed doubts concerning the control and integrity of the site, but could not point to any clear evidence of a fraud. John af Klercker, however, brought some soil samples back to Sweden for analysis.²⁵⁶

The Glozel affair caught a lot of attention in the Swedish press in the autumn of 1927. In several articles from early September, Janse is interviewed and referenced, expressing doubts about the authenticity of the finds.²⁵⁷ In October, after Abbé Breuil had turned and taken a clear stance for the fraud side, Janse’s and other Swedish archaeologists’ opinions were suddenly quite clear in favour of the anti-Glozelian side.²⁵⁸ After November 1927, when the famous interview with René Dussaud had been published in *Le Matin*, all the question marks from September had been replaced with exclamation marks, in articles with acerbic headlines like:

254. The excavation is described in detail in a long newspaper article written by John af Klercker: *Sydsvenska Dagbladet*, 23 October 1927: (John af Klercker), “Som vetenskaplig Sherlock Holmes i Glozel”. See also *Sydsvenska Dagbladet*, 17 October 1927: (John af Klercker), “Med två svenska forskare i Glozel, där sommaren omstridda fornyfynd gjorts”; *Dagens Nyheter*, 30 October 1927: (Olov Janse) “Farsteatern i Glozel”.

255. Letter from O. Janse to B. Nerman, 20 June 1927. Riksarkivet. Kartong 1. Korrespondens Brev II 1923–1934.

256. *Sydsvenska Dagbladet*, 23 October 1927: (John af Klercker), “Som vetenskaplig Sherlock Holmes i Glozel.”

257. *Svenska Morgonbladet*, 2 September 1927: “Jättefalsarium eller epokgörande fynd? Vichyfynden välla oerhört skarp strid.”; *Nya Dagl. Allehanda*, 2 September 1927: “Falsarium eller vetenskapliga fynd?”; *Stockholmsstidningen*, 3 September 1927: “Urtidsskrift eller jättefalsarium? Bondpojken och läkaren väcka med sitt franska stenåldersarkiv en vetenskapens hetsigaste fejder.”; *Svenska Dagbladet*, 3 September 1927: “Fransk kultur den äldsta i världen? Fransk skrift från 3000 år f.Kr. – eller renässanstid?”.

258. *Svenska Dagbladet*, 7 October 1927: “Glozelproblemet. Spänningen ökas varje dag. Kontrollkommitténs medlemmar ha delade åsikter. Fyra för, två mot. Salomon Reinach illa ute på annat håll.”; *Stockholmsstidningen*, 13 October 1927: “Glozelfynden: en förfälskning under trance? Dr af Klerckers jordanalyser klara i dag eller i morgon. ‘En otrolig bluff.’”; *Dagens Nyheter*, 30 October 1927: “Farsteatern i Glozel.”; Letter from O. Janse to B. Nerman, 2 November 1927. Riksarkivet. Kartong 2. Korrespondens Brev II 1923–1934.

“‘Glozel’s gnome’ offers good finds to his Masters”, and “Glozel is humbug!”²⁵⁹ Olov Janse was quoted or interviewed in most of these articles.

Three decades later, Janse described the Glozel affair in elaborate detail in his memoirs *Ljusmannens gåta*.²⁶⁰ Even if the finds had no connection to his research interests or his archaeological expertise, which was of much later periods (the Iron Age, rather than the Stone Age), he clearly thought of Glozel as an important event for his career. We can see two main reasons for that. One is that Glozel became an international media event. We have seen how Janse was drawn to the limelight, how he was always keen to have good relations with the press, and how he learnt to use newspapers to have his activities and achievements noticed across borders. When news about Glozel surfaced in the Swedish press, he could act as the perfect translator between the French scene of academic archaeology and the Swedish readers. Hence the Glozel affair became a great opportunity for him to boost his career by increasing his visibility in the Swedish press.²⁶¹ The second reason why Glozel became so important for Janse was that it led to a serious conflict between him and Salomon Reinach. Reinach remained a staunch supporter of the Glozelian side and advocated the authenticity of the finds for the rest of his life. He even wrote a small book on Glozel published in 1928, where he describes the ancient “Glozelians” in a vivid narrative, as a people who were “not yet farmers or weavers” but sedentary pottery makers, whose underground dwellings were now being uncovered.²⁶² From Janse’s point of view, at least from 1928 onwards, Reinach was clearly wrong. Most of the academic archaeological experts were also on the anti-Glozelian side, and depicted Reinach as a sad and slightly stupid figure who had been fooled by a physician and a peasant boy. “He has completely lost his head”, says Janse in a letter to Birger Nerman:

259. *Svenska Dagbladet*, 6 November 1927: “Nytt dokument i striden om Glozelfyndnen. Arkeologen Dussauds broschyr utkommen. Åberopar bl.a. en svensk arkeolog som betvivlar fyndens äkthet.”; *Dagens Nyheter*, 24 November 1927: “‘Glozels tomte’ ger goda fynd åt sina herrar. Skarpt uttalande av franska arkeologen René Dussaud ‘Allt är falskt: föremål, inskrifter och teorier.’”; *Dagens Nyheter*, 7 December 1927: “Sentida ben i ‘fortida’ Glozelgravar. Organiska beståndsdelar betänkligt väl bevarade. Märkligt resultat av portugisisk arkeologs analys.”; *Aftonbladet*, 6 March 1928: “Glozel är humbug! Intervju med svensk arkeolog i Paris.”

260. Janse 1959:24–30.

261. He declined, however, an offer made by Sigurd Curman to write about Glozel in the Swedish journal *Formvännern*. Letter from O. Janse to S. Curman, 14 March 1928. ATA: Sigurd Curmans arkiv, vol. 108.

262. Reinach 1928:44.

Not long ago, he said at a reception at his home that he wanted to call all anti-Glozelians a short word of three letters. This word is very vulgar and can barely be written. It begins with a c and ends with an n [i.e. cunt, Fre: *con*, our remark]. Several members of *L'Institut* have written to R. and protested against his harsh personal outburst.²⁶³

Hence Janse's involvement on the anti-Glozelian side made it increasingly difficult to work at the Musée des antiquités nationales when he returned to Paris in January 1928, after a long stay in Stockholm.²⁶⁴

The spring of 1927, which ended with the death of Henri Hubert and the surveillance trip to Glozel, had taken its toll on Janse. He arrived in Sweden exhausted around midsummer, after a journey via Brussels, Cologne, Berlin (where he fainted from exhaustion), Hannover, and Skanör in southern Sweden where he made a stop and stayed in John af Klercker's house. After a few weeks of rest in his family's summer house at Skagshamn near Valdemarsvik, he set off to Stockholm where he stayed with Ida Nerman (mother of Ture, Birger and Einar) at Sibyllegatan 6 in Östermalm. When he was not engaging in the Glozel debate he spent the autumn working for the Swedish History Museum, where he received the shipment with objects from the Piette collection in September,²⁶⁵ and endured the cold winds and rains of October and November in various inspections and minor excavations in Östergötland (in Klockrike, Skärkind, HäradsHAMMAR, Hannäs, and Gryt). Between his assignments, he spent all his free time on the completion of Henri Hubert's book on the Germanics. In a letter to Marcel Mauss in August he describes how the work is proceeding, and says that he has discussed "his future natural-

263. Letter from O. Janse to B. Nerman, 18 January 1928. Riksarkivet. Kartong 1. Korrespondens Brev II 1923–1934. In the Swedish original: "R. har alldeles tappat huvudet. För inte länge sedan, sade han vid en mottagning i hans hem att han ville kalla alla antiglozelianer med ett litet kort ord med tre bokstäver. Detta ord är mycket vulgärt och kan knappast skrivas. Det börjar med c och slutar med n. Flera medlemmar av l'Institut ha skrivit till R. och protesterat mot hans hätska, personliga utfall."

264. Letters from O. Janse to B. Nerman, 16 January 1928, 18 January 1928, n.d. written on paper from Abda Hotel. Riksarkivet. Kartong 1. Korrespondens Brev II 1923–1934.

265. *Dagens Nyheter*, 28 September 1927: (Sven Jansson), "Då kubisterna ännu härjade med ensamrätt. Vacker föremålssamling från fransk stenålder. Nya förvärv. Åter en värdefull sändning till Historiska museet."; *Norrköpings Tidningar*, 29 September 1927: "Fornsaker från Frankrike till svenskt museum. En ny sändning till historiska [sic] museet. D:r. Janse sänder 12,000-åriga synålar och en statyett."

ization” with Monsieur Mondon at the French legation in Stockholm.²⁶⁶ Evidently, he was still hoping for a future in Paris.

Back in Paris in January 1928 he stayed in the guesthouse Abda Hotel, on 12 rue Juliette-Lamber near Place de Wagram. He was now 35 years old, and kept moving from room to room, back and forth between France and Sweden. Despite the increasingly tense situation with Reinach, he continued to do some work at the Musée des antiquités nationales. He collaborated with the new curator Raymond Lantier to complete the display in the Scandinavian part of the comparative collections. Lantier showed a vivid interest in Scandinavia and endorsed Janse’s presence at the museum. In a letter to Birger Nerman, Janse writes that “once he becomes Director of the Musée des antiquités nationales he will surely continue on the same path as Hubert. He is even thinking about learning Swedish.”²⁶⁷ So there were glimpses of hope in Paris, despite the conflict with Reinach.

In Sweden, however, Janse’s mobility was becoming a problem. Although his presence in France was in many ways regarded as an asset – a well-informed translator of the happenings in the Glozel affair; a facilitator of contacts between Swedish and French academics and institutions; a motor for artefact exchanges; and a door-opening guide for Swedish academics and their relatives visiting Paris – his movements were at the same time considered uncomfortable and unfit for the Swedish system. The previous interest in broad international contacts and collaborations cooled down during the 1920s, and became more or less ice-cold in the 1930s, with a political rhetoric that encouraged an inward-focusing and border-controlling nation. And as mentioned earlier, if Swedish archaeology showed any interest in, or derived any inspiration from, any country outside Scandinavia, it was Germany. In the spring of 1928, when the Glozel debate peaked and dominated French archaeology, Swedish archaeology was dominated by a scandal of more personal character: Sigurd Curman, Director of the National Board of Antiquities and the Swedish History Museum, left his wife and children to marry his secretary. Janse writes to Birger Nerman, on 23 June:

266. Letter from O. Janse to M. Mauss, 19 August 1927. Fonds Marcel Mauss au Collège de France: mauss-janse-0001a.pdf

267. Letter from O. Janse to B. Nerman, 11 March 1928. Riksarkivet. Kartong 1. Korrespondens Brev II 1923–1934. In the Swedish original: “När han en gång blir chef för Saint-Germainmuseet kommer han säkerligen att förfölja traditionerna från Hubert’s tid. Han funder [sic] t.o.m. på att lära sig svenska.”

The news about Curman's sentimental adventures is nigh-on unbelievable. It is particularly distressing for Mrs C. and the children, especially the small girls. [...] It must be a strange atmosphere at the museum now? ²⁶⁸

With Curman occupied with his private family issues, Sune Lindqvist became more dominant and Janse's position in Stockholm looked increasingly fragile. At this point, early in the summer of 1928, he was counting on his naturalization to be completed in a few months, and was not sure if he could come home [sic] for the summer. He wrote to Birger Nerman that it all depended on his financial situation.²⁶⁹ Two weeks later, his uncle Otto stepped in and arranged a late summer employment at the History Museum in Stockholm.²⁷⁰ The summer in Paris was unbearable – “so hot so I can just barely lift the pen”, he wrote to Birger Nerman – and on 25 July he travelled to Sweden via Trier, Cologne, Hamburg, Kiel, and Lübeck.²⁷¹ As usual, he made stops to study museum collections on the way. Now, as in the summer before, he found it particularly important to study collections in Germany for his work with Hubert's book on the Germanics.

During the autumn 1928, Janse sat quietly in Stockholm. He worked on Hubert's book, but the work proceeded much slower than he had hoped and wanted. He was still waiting for his naturalization to be completed, and his contract with the EPHE looked insecure. But at least Raymond Lantier had promised him a future at the *Musée des antiquités nationales*.²⁷²

Most of his energy this autumn, however, was devoted to an upcoming gold exhibition at the History Museum in Stockholm. The temporary exhibition, which was on display for a month in January–February 1929,

268. Letter from O. Janse to B. Nerman, 23 June 1928. Riksarkivet. Kartong 1. Korrespondens Brev II 1923–1934. In the Swedish original: “Nyheten om Curmans sentimentala äventyr är hart när otrolig. Det är särskilt synd om fru C. och barnen i synnerhet om de små flickorna. [...] Det bör vara en egendomlig stämning på museet nu?”

269. Ibid.

270. Letter from O. Janse to B. Nerman, 9 July 1928. Riksarkivet. Kartong 1. Korrespondens Brev II 1923–1934.

271. Letter from O. Janse to B. Nerman, 18 July 1928. Riksarkivet. Kartong 1. Korrespondens Brev II 1923–1934.

272. Letter from O. Janse to M. Mauss, 20 December 1928. Fonds Marcel Mauss au Collège de France: mauss-janse-0002.pdf.



STATENS HISTORISKA MUSEUM

*inbjuder Eder härmed
att tisdagen den 15 januari 1929 kl. 12—2 e. m.
taga i betraktande en tillfällig
utställning av*

SVENSKA GULDFYND FRÅN TIDEN 100—600 E. KR.

Utställningen pågår c:a en månad

Museet hålles öppet

*Söndagar 1—5 (fritt), onsdagar och lördagar 12—2 (fritt),
övriga dagar 12—2 (inträde 50 öre), måndagar stängt*

*Detta kort medgiver fritt tillträde
vid ett besök i museet under utställningstiden*

Gäller för 2 personer

RIKSANTIKVARIEN

Fig. 22. Invitation card for the gold exhibition at the Swedish History Museum, 1929.

featured gold artefacts from the Roman Iron Age and Migration Period (100–600 AD) in the museum's collections. It opened on 15 January 1929, and was a great success. Janse was the curator responsible for the selection of objects. He also wrote an exhibition catalogue, where he used the expertise gained through the work with his doctoral thesis to give the visitors contexts and more information about the objects on display.²⁷³ Press reports talk of an outstanding, beautiful and interesting display, where the pièce de résistance was a massive neck ring weighing seven kilograms. They lament the limitations of the premises of the History Museum, with its displays restricted to the ground floor of the National Museum, allowing only a small alcove of space and a month's time for the gold exhibition. Janse, however, gets nothing but praise for his knowledgeable introduction to the exhibition: "A moment's study of the gold exhibition guided by Dr Janse's descriptions opens up for various culture-historical perspectives", one reviewer writes.²⁷⁴ In addition to the catalogue, Janse wrote a long newspaper article for *Social-Demokraten* with a background and introduction to the objects on display,²⁷⁵ and another

273. Janse 1928.

274. *Svenska Morgonbladet*, 15 January 1929: "Prima guld från hedenhös. En enastående utställning på Historiska museet". In Swedish: "En stunds studium av guldutställningen med ledning av dr. Janses beskrivning öppnar åtskilliga kulturhistoriska perspektiv"; see also *Nya Dagl. Allehanda*, 14 January 1929: "2.000-åriga guldsmycken ur svensk jord exponeras i Historiska museet. En utsökt vacker och högtintressant exposition. Förtröskade halsringar och andra underbara ting"; *Aftonbladet*, 14 January 1929: "Gammalt guld från fem sekel. Intressant utställning på Historiska museet"; *Svenska Dagbladet*, 15 January 1929: "'Betalningsringar', filigransmycken o. gamla guldmünt. Från Folkvandringstidens Sverige. Intressant utställning på Historiska museet"; *Social-Demokraten*, 15 January 1929: "Svenska guldfynd från vår tidräknings början. En intressant utställning på Nationalmuseum under en månad"; *Stockholms Dagblad*, 16 January 1929: "Dvärgasmiden och dravguld. Historiska museet utställer praktfynd från tiden 100–600 e. Kr."; *Dagens Nyheter*, 20 January 1929: "Gotiska ordnar och järnåldersportmonnäer"; *Aftonbladet*, 11 February 1929: "Fin lampkrok"; *Nya Dagl. Allehanda*, 11 February 1929: "Svenskt fornguld"; *Sydsvenska Dagbladet*, 12 February 1929: "Svenska guldskatte på ståtlig parad. Historiska museet visar fram rikedomar, som funnits i Sveriges jord"; *Svenska Dagbladet*, 12 February 1929: "Kragar av guld"; *Nya Dagl. Allehanda*, 14 February 1929: "Utställningen av svenskt fornguld."

275. *Social-Demokraten*, 9 February 1929: (Olov Janse), "Svenskt guldsmede hade en storhetstid för 1500 år sedan. Fynden av ädelmetall ha ibland fått göra tjänst som 'trilleband' och lampkrokar."



Fig. 23. Olov Janse's gold exhibition at the Swedish History Museum, 1929.

article for the French *Le Figaro*.²⁷⁶ The exhibition was also noticed in both German and British press.²⁷⁷

The successful gold exhibition is a great example of Janse's situation at the end of the 1920s. Stimulating in its unpredictability, with bursts of acclaim and short periods of success – and at the same time volatile, draining (financially, physically, and mentally) and frustrating because of its unpredictability. For several years to come he would continue to travel between Sweden and France, and he waited yet another year, in vain, for

²⁷⁶ *Le Figaro* – supplement artistique, 28 February 1929: (Olov Janse), “l’Orfèvrerie ancienne en Suède”, pp 326–328.

²⁷⁷ *Prager Presse*, 24 January 1929: “Antike Guldfunde in Schweden. 2000jährige Goldschmuck-Gegenstände und Goldmünzen.”; *The Illustrated London News*, 16 March 1929: Notice with photographs, p. 449; *International Studio*: (Naboth Hedin), “Pre-Viking Age of Gold in Sweden.”, June 1929, Vol. XCIII, No. 385, pp 27–29.

his naturalization to become French citizen.²⁷⁸ For as long as he was a Swedish citizen, he could not proceed to a permanent position as lecturer or museum curator in France.

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There was, however, another possible way forward. New plans, marked by a new interest in Asia, began to take shape in the last years of the 1920s. Henri Hubert had taken much inspiration from his world tour and sojourn in Hanoi in 1902, and he may well have conveyed some of that enthusiasm to Janse when they worked together in the *Salle de Mars*.²⁷⁹ Janse's friendship with Sueji Umehara, as well as the plans to create a separate museum for the Swedish geologist, archaeologist, palaeontologist and art collector Johan Gunnar Andersson's magnificent collections of East Asian art that germinated in Stockholm around 1926, might further have sparked Janse's interest. Marcel Mauss and his ethnology must also have been an important influence.

For Janse, however, the interest in Asia was initially only of a long-distance character. Rather than considering travelling to East Asia himself, he saw prospects of studying how elements of Asian culture had influenced European culture by diffusion.²⁸⁰ In the months after his successful gold exhibition at the History Museum, he received a research grant – *Letterstedtska stipendiet* – for a seven-month study of eastern influences on the early Iron Age Hallstatt culture of Central Europe.²⁸¹ But the interest in Asia would eventually grow stronger, and in hindsight this moment stands out as the beginning of an entirely new phase in Olov Janse's life and career.

There was also an important change in Janse's social life around this point in time. He met and married Ronny Sokolsky, whom we will get to

278. He eventually withdrew his application for naturalization in 1930. The process up to the withdrawal can be followed in his letters to Marcel Mauss. Fonds Marcel Mauss au Collège de France: mauss-janse-0016.pdf

279. Janse 1959:17–18.

280. E.g. *Svenska Dagbladet*, 27 September 1927: "Stockholm har nu blivit Kinaforsknings centrum. Japansk lärd är imponerad. Tror sin kunna konstatera ett kultursamband redan i stenåldern mellan Skandinavien och Kina. Vackra gåvor till Nationalmuseum", on the occasion of Sueji Umehara's visit to Stockholm.

281. The grant was of 5000 Swedish kronor. *Dagens Nyheter*, 10 December 1929: "Forntrust i Hallstadt. D:r O. Janse stipendiereser sju månader nästa år."

know better in the next chapter. The fact that he was no longer alone also affected his new, or rather, *their* new interest in Asia. Further enabling the turn towards Asia were a number of influential new friends: Johan Gunnar Andersson, René Grousset, David David-Weill, and C. T. Loo.

The Swedish museum director Johan Gunnar Andersson (1874–1960) was one of Janse's most important professional relations in the years after Henri Hubert's death. Andersson, who was originally a geologist working for China's National Geological Survey, had developed his knowledge and skills in Chinese archaeology through on-site experiences and artefact collection.²⁸² He was an outstanding entrepreneur, creating a museum (with one of the world's finest collections of Chinese art and archaeological artefacts), an academic position as Professor of Chinese archaeology, a national reputation as a leading China expert (with the nickname *Kina-Gunnar* as testimony to his popularity), and an international reputation as one of the founding fathers of Chinese archaeology and as partly responsible for the discovery of the Peking Man. The correspondence in Andersson's professional archive around the time that he became acquainted with Janse demonstrates his extraordinary skills at fundraising and building support structures for his museum activities within the highest strata of Swedish society. He made particularly canny use of his close relation to the Swedish Crown Prince (later King Gustaf VI Adolf), who was himself a keen amateur archaeologist and art collector,²⁸³ to attract wealthy industrialists and other potential supporters to fundraising events.²⁸⁴

In 1929, when Johan Gunnar Andersson was busy organizing his new museum, the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities in Stockholm, he took some time off to go on a lecture and study trip to Paris, London, and Berlin. Back in Stockholm he wrote to his friend and fellow collector of Chinese antiquities, Orvar Karlbeck:

[In Berlin] was a major exhibition of Chinese art [...] which was quite beautifully arranged, yet without being sensational. [...] In London there were no outstanding new things either [...]. More remarkable was what I saw in Paris, which is now bustling with

282. Cf. Fiskesjö & Chen 2004 and Johansson 2012 for two slightly differing perspectives on Andersson's archaeological and collecting pursuits.

283. Isaksson 1972; Whitling 2014.

284. Östasiatiska samlingarnas arkiv. Korrespondens 1928–1934.

new impressions and wonderful treasures on the Chinese antiquities market.²⁸⁵

More spectacular than anything else that he had seen in the bustling French capital was the Pagoda – a six-storey Chinese-style building in the centre of Paris, which was the showroom of C. T. Loo, famous dealer in Chinese art and antiquities. An awestruck Andersson reported back to Karlbeck that the Pagoda was, “a true temple of beauty”, where Loo had his “Chinese treasures exposed in a way that had no equivalence on earth”.²⁸⁶

Andersson had thus identified Paris as the current and future hot-spot of the Chinese antiquities market, but his French was not as good as his excellent English, and he lacked both networks and competence to establish the connections with Paris that he desired. Olov Janse’s presence and good connections in Paris were well known among Swedish archaeologists at the time, and shortly after his return Andersson wrote to ask Janse to investigate some bronze artefacts from Indochina in the comparative collections at the Musée des antiquités nationales.²⁸⁷ In the same letter he also asked if Janse, “with as much discretion as possible”, could track down a French private collector named Monsieur Malortigue (who had lived in Yunnan-fu and was said to have over thirty small bronze objects in his possession), and “in a nice way” persuade him to sell his bronzes to the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities.²⁸⁸ Janse took on both tasks, completed the museum investigations successfully, but never, despite considerable efforts, managed to find Monsieur Malortigue. He had, however, proven useful to Andersson.

This was two years after Henri Hubert’s death, and Janse had lost much of his professional support in Paris. He still did some teaching and

285. In the Swedish original: “Jag utreste i början av Februari på en föreläsning och studieresa till Paris, London och Berlin. På det sistnämnda stället pågick just den stora utställningen av kinesisk konst [...] som var mycket vackert ordnad, utan att dock vara sensationell. [...] I London var heller icke någonting märkligt nytt [...]. Desto märkvärdigare var det som jag såg i Paris, som nu sjuder av nya intryck och underbara rikedomar på den kinesiska antikvitetsmarknadens område.” Östasiatiska samlingarnas arkiv. Korrespondens 1929 E1A:3, 0255–0256.

286. Östasiatiska samlingarnas arkiv. Korrespondens 1929 E1A:3, 0255–0256.

287. Letter from J. G. Andersson to O. Janse. Östasiatiska samlingarnas arkiv. Korrespondens 1929 E1A:3, 0237.

288. Ibid.

some work for the Musée des antiquités nationales (not least the task of editing Hubert's *Les Germains*). But he was struggling to make ends meet, and his future was uncertain.²⁸⁹ Andersson's invitation to focus on Asia came as a welcome detour, and it did not take long before Janse started working at the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities in Stockholm. He was put in charge of editing the three first volumes of the museum's new *Bulletin of Far Eastern Antiquities*, helped Andersson with connections in Paris, and did some study trips on his behalf. During this time, Andersson developed and nurtured relations with important French art collectors such as David David-Weill and C. T. Loo. We know that they later became close friends with Janse, and guess that it was here that they first met and became acquainted.

Janse was profoundly impressed by Andersson's ways and manners as a museum director and artefact collector. The relationship with the influential Swedish Crown Prince, which would remain cordial through Janse's later career, was also established while he was working for Andersson. It was here, through Andersson's movements in the slippery borderlands between official (which ought to be legal) and private (not always legal) collections of Asian antiquities,²⁹⁰ that the social sphere of influential private collectors and the rules and realities of the antiquities market entered Olov Janse's professional realm. For reasons that we shall return to in the following chapters, Janse's relation to Andersson was broken completely after 1938. But it was while working for Andersson at the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities that he learnt many of the crucial skills and manners of an archaeological expedition leader and artefact collector, and also came to understand the value of rich and influential patrons.

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An immensely influential actor in the art museums of Paris from the 1920s to his death in 1952 was the philanthropist banker and passionate art collector David David-Weill (1871–1952).²⁹¹ He was born in San Fran-

289. E.g. letters from O. Janse to M. Mauss, 3 March 1932; 17 June 1932. Fonds Marcel Mauss au Collège de France: mauss-janse-0005.pdf; mauss-janse-0006.pdf

290. Andersson used private addresses in Sweden to pass customs in China. To be able to get the delivery through Swedish customs he wrote the authorities and explained the deal. Östasiatiska samlingarnas arkiv. Korrespondens 1932 E1A: 7, 0740, which shows O. Janse's part in the deal.

291. Feliciano 1997: chapter 7.

cisco, into the enormously wealthy family of the Lazard Frères bank. His father Alexandre Weill, a French entrepreneur who had founded Lazard Frères with his brothers, moved his family back to France in 1884 so that his son would get a French education. David, who later changed his family name to David-Weill, retained a close connection with the United States, but lived for the rest of his life in France where he worked as the head of the Paris branch of Lazard Frères.

His passion for art started at an early age. When he was still a child and the Weill family was moving back to France from the United States, they did a typical grand tour of Europe before settling in Paris. Young David visited museums and was deeply influenced by what he saw on the trip. A few years after the family had settled in Paris he, then a teenager, began to collect art in the form of miniatures and enamels.²⁹² In 1897 he married Flora Raphaël, who also had a great interest in art, and his father built a house for them in wealthy Neuilly on the outskirts of Paris. They moved to Neuilly in 1904 and began to fill their new house with fine art. They gradually expanded their collection, from European eighteenth- and nineteenth-century art works, outwards in time and space to include large parts of the world, from early historical to contemporary art:

Enamels from Limoges and porcelain from Japan were displayed alongside Egyptian antiquities and Islamic ceramics and metal-work. There were prints by Degas, Manet, Renoir, Toulouse-Lautrec, Gauguin, Bonnard, and Vuillard, who was a friend of the family. There were sculptures by Sarrazin, Houdon, Caffieri, and Carpeaux, as well as *Dancers and Horses* by Degas and female figurines by Maillol. In the garden was Rodin's *The Age of Bronze*.²⁹³

David-Weill's first donation to the Louvre was in 1912. This marked the beginning of a long and intense relationship with the museums of Paris. Unlike other private collectors, David David-Weill made donations during his lifetime. His profound interest in art seems to have overshadowed the desire to own it, and he is known to have donated objects from his own collections to a museum if curators pointed out the importance of the object for the museum's collection. Moreover, he occasionally

292. Feliciano 1997:86–87.

293. *Ibid.*:87.

contributed financially to the activities of museums and their staff.²⁹⁴ This symbiotic relationship between the private collector and the official museum institutions not only gave David-Weill much credit and position as a leading philanthropist, but it also gave him access to leading experts and important events related to the national collections.

In 1931, David David-Weill became president of the Board of Directors of the French National Museums. His collections had grown so large that he decided to employ Marcelle Minet (who had already worked with his collection for several years along with Georges-Henri Rivière, the prominent museologist who later became one of the founders of ICOM) as a full-time curator. Janse made the acquaintance of David-Weill around this time, but it is not entirely clear how it happened. We know, however, that David-Weill's interest in Asian art was growing at this time, and he was close to René Grousset at the Cernuschi Museum, whom we shall return to in a moment. We know also that David-Weill was in contact with Johan Gunnar Andersson around the same time, when Janse worked at the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities. Through his work for Andersson, and later with his and Ronny's growing interest in Indochina, Janse became more closely involved in the Parisian web of influential museum curators, directors, and private collectors of Asian art, where David-Weill was one of the main actors.

Another important collector and patron was Gabriel Cognacq (1880–1951). In 1928 Gabriel Cognacq inherited the legendary Paris department store *la Samaritaine* from his uncle by adoption, Ernest Cognacq. Like David David-Weill, Ernest Cognacq and his wife Louise Cognacq-Jay had used the wealth from their successful business for social philanthropy and art-collecting (their collection was donated to the city of Paris after their death and became the Cognacq-Jay museum). At the death of his uncle, Gabriel Cognacq also took over the presidency of their Cognacq-Jay foundation; a foundation for social solidarity promoting health, social service and education. But Gabriel Cognacq had a particular interest in art, and in the first years after taking over the business from his uncle he made several donations to the museums of Paris, for instance to purchase the studio of the sculptor Antoine Bourdelle and turn it into a museum (now the *Musée Bourdelle*). It was also around this time that he became acquainted with Janse.

The world-famous dealer in Chinese art and antiquities, Chang-Tsin

294. Feliciano 1997:88–89.

Loo (1880–1957)²⁹⁵ was not a direct financial contributor to Janse’s work in Asia, but their friendship and professional collaboration offered important support in other ways. C.T. Loo had a remarkable life and career. Born as Lu Huan Wen in a village in the Zhejiang province in China, he lost both his parents at a young age and began to work for the rich and influential Zhang family in and around Shanghai. He soon advanced to become assistant to the family’s brilliant son Zhang Jinjiang, who suffered from a muscular disease and needed constant assistance. When Zhang Jinjiang was appointed Third Secretary at the Chinese Embassy in Paris, Lu Huan Wen was chosen to go with him. He arrived in Paris twenty-two years old, at the peak of the belle époque. Zhang Jinjiang had business interests and let Lu Huan Wen manage a shop for Chinese merchandise. Lu Huan Wen knew no French and had no business experience. But he was ambitious and attentive to the surrounding world, and it was not long before he exchanged his silk robe and hair plait for a three-piece suit and a dandy haircut. Managing the “Curio Zhang” shop he learnt the basics of Parisian business life and exports of goods from China. His exotic dandy appearance was attracting attention in the social life of Paris, but his flirts always remained secret, for it was unthinkable for a French woman to get openly involved with a young Chinese man. So when he met the love of his life, she chose to deny their relationship officially, but arranged for him to marry her daughter Marie-Rose. Marie-Rose hesitantly agreed to the marriage, they had four daughters, and remained for the rest of their lives in an unofficial threesome relationship with her mother.

After a few years managing Curio Zhang, Lu Huan Wen realized that the only things selling really well in the shop were antiquities. They cost almost nothing to buy in China, hence the gross profit was potentially great. In 1908 he opened his own gallery in Paris called Lai Yuan, and changed his name to Lu Qin Zhai, which was later adjusted to Chang-Tsin Loo and abbreviated to C.T. Loo. In 1915 he opened a branch gallery on Fifth Avenue in New York, and another one in London’s Manchester Square after the First World War. Loo soon got a reputation as an discerning dealer in fine Chinese art and antiquities, and his network included the richest and most influential art collectors of the Western world. But his methods of purchase and export from China were questioned, and he has been accused of pillaging his own patrimonial heritage. He

295. All the biographical information about C.T. Loo is taken from Géraldine Lenain’s biography *Monsieur Loo* (2013).



Fig. 24. The Pagoda on Rue de Courcelles in April 2014.

mingled with influential curators and wealthy collectors of Asian art at Loo's Pagoda events, which attracted his extensive social and professional networks in the upper Parisian bourgeoisie. C.T. Loo was known for his amiability and loyalty to his friends, and his social functions at the Pagoda were legendary. During these years, Ronny Janse and Marie-Rose Loo developed a close friendship which lasted the rest of their lives.

Most important of all of Janse's new friends was, however, the French historian, orientalist and museum director René Grousset (1885–1952). A historian by training, Grousset published in 1922 *Histoire de l'Asie*, a three-volume opus which rendered him a position as a leading French orientalist. Over the following thirty years he wrote a great number of ambitious, comprehensive works on the history, art, and philosophy of Asia – from the Near East to India, Indonesia, Indochina, China, and

was chased by Chinese authorities, but always claimed that his business had been legal and rightful, often by arguing that there were no laws to prevent his actions at the time.

In 1928, C.T. Loo was awarded the French Legion of Honour, and the same year he opened his magnificent Pagoda – a five-storey gallery and showroom in a mandarin-style building designed by the French architect Fernand Bloch on Rue de Courcelles. The international market for exclusive Chinese art and antiquities, which C.T. Loo had been involved in creating, was at an all-time high around 1930. Johan Gunnar Andersson had just opened his new museum in Stockholm, and was awestruck by his visit to the Pagoda. David David-Weill was tuning in to Asian art as well, and Indochina was featured as the Pearl of the French Colonial Empire in national colonial propaganda. The newly-weds Olov and Ronny Janse

the Mongolian steppes. He relied almost entirely on studies of written sources and artefacts, and only visited Asia twice, on one trip to Syria and Iran in 1929–1930, and one to Japan, with a stopover in Indochina, in 1949. Hence René Grousset is best described as a celebrated armchair orientalist and culture-historian, who, “with a scholar’s precision and a poet’s imagination” made the history of Asia alive for public consumption and school curricula.²⁹⁶ An exceptionally active academic, Grousset was not only writing influential books on Asia but also worked as a museum director. He was appointed curator (*conservateur adjoint*) at the French *musées nationaux* in 1925, and later became Director (*conservateur en chef*) of the Cernuschi and Guimet Museums,²⁹⁷ which are the two main museums and research institutions for Asian art in Paris. Paul Demiéville writes in his obituary that he was a remarkably social person, who enjoyed “the spectacles of Parisian life” and was ever present and active at salons, dinners and committees of all sorts. But, adds Demiéville, he never forgot about his professional obligations, and it was the combination of his devoted professionalism and social skills, with the ability to connect his museums with benevolent collaborators, that made the Cernuschi and Guimet Museums into model institutions for instructive display and centres of vital research.²⁹⁸

When Olov Janse, sometime around 1930, began to turn his career away from European comparative archaeology towards Asia and Indochina, René Grousset became an invaluable supporter of his project. Like Grousset, Janse was a person of great social skills, who thrived on the spectacles of Parisian life. They shared an interest in bold comparative history writing, and they both relied on artefacts in museum collections for their analyses. Grousset was just seven years older, but had pursued a splendid early career so he was professionally more senior. The amiable René Grousset was influential and well connected among museum col-

296. Auboyer 1955:3. In French: “Avec une précision de savant et une imagination de poète [...]”

297. The Cernuschi Museum belongs administratively to the City of Paris, and is located in the former residence of the Italian banker and art collector Henri Cernuschi at 7 Ave Vélasquez, adjacent to Parc Monceau. René Grousset was the Director of the Cernuschi Museum from 1933 to his death in 1952. The Guimet Museum is the French national museum of Asian art located at Place d’Iéna. René Grousset was affiliated with the Guimet Museum from 1925 (first as Curator, later Director) from 1925 to his death in 1952.

298. Demiéville 1954:414.

lectors and academics of Asian art and archaeology in Paris, and he was keen to support Janse's career turn towards Asia. For Janse, this offered a vital support similar to what he had once received from Henri Hubert for his comparative European studies, and Grousset's backing allowed him to continue his in-between archaeological pursuits, but now with the focus set on Asia. Through Janse, Grousset gained access to direct experience of archaeology in Asia that he could not reach from his armchair. They eventually developed a close friendship that would last until Grousset's death in 1952.

On an academic level, Grousset connected Janse with knowledgeable and influential Asia scholars like Paul Pelliot and Sylvain Lévy, and anthropologists like Paul Rivet. Although they were not close to Janse, they were part of the same milieu in Paris and shared the same networks. Paul Rivet, in particular, shared Janse's interest in comparative cultural analysis with diffusionist models of explanation, but had South America as his area of expertise.²⁹⁹ In the coming years, Rivet would be passionately engaged in intellectual resistance to fascism and Nazism, and at the time Janse was planning his expedition, Rivet worked together with Marcel Mauss and Georges-Henri Rivière (who will appear later on in our story) in the establishment of the Musée d'ethnographie de Trocadéro (MET) which opened its doors to the public in 1932.³⁰⁰ Marcel Mauss, who also endorsed Janse's turn towards Asia and came in with support along the way, was particularly interested in the possibility of using Janse as an ethnographic envoyé, as he did with his doctoral students and other young anthropologists that were going to be associated with the MET.³⁰¹ Even though Paul Rivet, Sylvain Lévy, and Paul Pelliot were not immediately involved in Janse's work, they were important actors in the milieu that encouraged and supported Janse's planning for his expedition.

But the practical scale of Janse's new turn to Asia also required considerable financial support. Through his position at the Guimet and Cernuschi Museums, René Grousset were connected with patrons and collectors like David David-Weill and Gabriel Cognacq. They all joined forces and created a web of funding and institutional support for an archaeological expedition to Indochina, allowing Olov and Ronny Janse to embark in Marseille in October 1934, on the SS *d'Artagnan* bound for Saigon.

299. Rival 2010:140; Conklin 2013:65.

300. Conklin 2013: chapter 3.

301. Conklin 2013:3.